

The Antiphonary of Bangor and its Musical Implications

by

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Abstract

This dissertation examines the hymns of the Antiphony of Bangor (AB) (*Antiphonarium Benchorensis*, Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana C. 5 inf.) and considers its musical implications in medieval Ireland. Neither an antiphony in the true sense, with chants and verses for the Office, nor a book with the complete texts for the liturgy, the AB is a unique Irish manuscript. Dated from the late seventh-century, the AB is a collection of Latin hymns, prayers and texts attributed to the monastic community of Bangor in Northern Ireland. Given the scarcity of information pertaining to music in early Ireland, the AB is invaluable for its literary insights. Studied by liturgical, medieval, and Celtic scholars, and acknowledged as one of the few surviving sources of the Irish church, the manuscript reflects the influence of the wider Christian world. The hymns in particular show that this form of poetical expression was significant in early Christian Ireland and have made a contribution to the corpus of Latin literature. Prompted by an earlier hypothesis that the AB was a type of choirbook, the chapters move from these texts to consider the monastery of Bangor and the cultural context from which the manuscript emerges. As the Irish *peregrini* are known to have had an impact on the continent, and the AB was recovered in

Bobbio, Italy, it is important to recognize the hymns not only in terms of monastic development, but what they reveal about music. In light of musical fragments recovered from the Schottenstift in Vienna, and its links with the Irish recruiting ground in Rosscarbery, County Cork another portion of Ireland's past has become known. Only by looking back to the AB and piecing the evidence together can the significance of the recovery be fully appreciated. While there are more questions raised in this dissertation than can be answered, the AB is part of a larger history that intersects with the study of medieval music.

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Abbreviations

- AB *Antiphonary of Bangor. An Early Irish Manuscript in the Ambrosian Library at Milan*, edited by F. E. Warren, 2 volumes. Part I, Facsimile, Part II, Amended Text: Henry Bradshaw Society 4 and 10. London, 1893-5.
- CLA E. A. Lowe, ed., *Codices Latini Antiquiores. A Palaeographical Guide to Latin Manuscripts Prior to the Ninth Century*. 10 vols. Oxford, 1934-1963.
- DACL *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, edited by F. Cabrol and H. Leclercq. Paris, 1907-1953.
- HBS Henry Bradshaw Society
- MD Martyrology of Donegal
- MGH *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*. Berlin, 1826.
- MGH, SRM *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum*
- PL *Patrologiae cursus completus, Series Latina*, ed. J. P. Migne, Paris, 1844.
- PRIA *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*

Chapter 1

The Antiphony of Bangor, its Contents, and History

What then is the proper description, and what is the *raison d'être* of this book, which is partly a Hymnarium, partly a Collectarium, partly an Antiphonarium, with the occasional introduction of Eucharistic and other elements?¹

La difficulté est précisément de savoir á quelle catégorie le manuscrit de Bangor appartient exactement, et quel était son usage.²

The Antiphony of Bangor (Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, C. 5 inferiore) is unique among medieval liturgical manuscripts.³ As a rich collection of Latin texts dated from seventh-century Christian Ireland the Antiphony “is rightly regarded as one of the most precious surviving

¹ Frederick Edward Warren, ed. and trans., *The Antiphony of Bangor: An Early Irish Manuscript in the Ambrosian Library at Milan*, Part II (London: Harrison and Sons, 1895), ix.

² Fernand Cabrol, “Bangor (Antiphonaire de),” *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, Tome Deuxième (Première Partie) (Paris : Libraire Letouzey et Ané, 1910), 186.

³ The shelf number is abbreviated in the following form: “MS C 5 inf.” For information regarding the press mark on the flyleaf see Warren, *The Antiphony of Bangor*, Part I, xix. MS. Milan Bibl. Ambrosiana C. 5 inf. On the Antiphony of Bangor see Michael Curran, *The Antiphony of Bangor: An The Early Irish Monastic Liturgy* (Blackrock, Co. Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1984); James F. Kenney, *The Sources for the Early History of Ireland: Ecclesiastical, an Introduction and Guide* (New York: Columbia Press, 1929; Dublin: Pádraic Ó Táilliúir, 1979); Ludovico Muratori, *Anecdota ex Ambrosianae bibliothecae codicibus* (Anecdota Ambrosiana) IV (Padua: 1713), in Jean-Paul Migne, ed., “Antiphonarium Monasterii Benchorensis (Murat. Anecd. T. IV),” in *Patrologiae cursus completus* (PL), *Series Latina* LXDXII (72) (Paris: Garnier Fratres, Editores et J.-P. Migne sucesores, 1878), 579-606; Carolo O’Conor, “Antiphonarium Monasterii Benchorensis, annorum plusquam mille,” in *Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores*, Tome 1 (London: Buckinghamae, excudebat J. Seeley, 1814), clxiii-clxxvii; William Reeves, “The Antiphony of Bangor,” *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* First Series, vol. 1 (1853): 168-179; Frederick Edward Warren, *Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1881; second edition with introduction by Jane Stevenson (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1987); Warren, ed. and trans., *The Antiphony of Bangor: An Early Irish Manuscript in the Ambrosian Library at Milan*, Henry Bradshaw Society, Volumes 4 and 10 (London: Harrison and Sons, Printers, 1893-1895); Cabrol, “Bangor (Antiphonaire De),” 183-191; Michael Lapidge, “Columbanus and the ‘Antiphony of Bangor’,” *Peritia* 4 (1985): 104-116; Leo Wiener, “The Antiphony of Bangor,” in *Contributions Toward a History of Arabico-Gothic Culture*, Volume 1 (New York: The Neale Publishing Company, 1917), 95-106; W. C. Bishop, “A Service Book of the Seventh Century,” *The Church Quarterly Review* 37 (1893-94): 337-63; and Peter Jeffery, “Eastern and Western elements in the Irish Monastic Prayer of the Hours,” in *The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages: Methodology and Source Studies, Regional Developments, Hagiography*, edited by Margot E. Fassler and Rebecca A. Baltzer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

witnesses to the early Irish church.”⁴ In reality the so-called Antiphonary has defied classification. Scholars such as Frederick Edward Warren (1842-1930) and Fernand Cabrol (1855-1937) have questioned its “*raison d’être*,” evident in the excerpts above, and not surprising, the title “Antiphonarium Benchorensis,” has been deemed “inadequate.”⁵ While the title perhaps belies its purpose, the magnitude of its literary content has been a constant source of information for students of hymnology, liturgy, and paleography.⁶ From its recovery in the library of Bobbio, Italy, to the present, the Antiphonary of Bangor is perhaps more familiar to medieval and liturgical scholars than to those in musicology.

Prompted by an earlier theory by Fernand Cabrol who proposed that the Antiphonary of Bangor was perhaps a hebdomadary, or a book “used for the office by the president of the choir” in his weekly duties,⁷ I began so consider the manuscript from a musical perspective. Cabrol’s hypothesis is an interesting one as the Antiphonary is without musical notation and his theory derives entirely from its liturgical content rather than from neumes that typically accompany antiphonal texts. Although notated sources are the cornerstone of medieval music, and indeed

⁴ Lapidge, “Columbanus and the ‘Antiphonary of Bangor,’” 104.

⁵ See Curran, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, 197, note 11; and Michael Lapidge, “Columbanus and the ‘Antiphonary of Bangor,’” 104-105: “[...] the manuscript is in no sense an ‘antiphonary’ or ‘antiphoner’ (that is, a book of chants, antiphons, verses, responsories and invitatories for the Office) as the term is used to describe the chant-books which survive from the ninth century and later, but would more accurately be described as a liturgical commonplace book for the Office, compiled over a period of time by several scribes, and perhaps intended for use by the hebdomadarian (the designated president of the Office during a given week).” Peter Jeffery notes: “The manuscript is not in fact an antiphoner in the modern sense, for it does not contain a complete repertory of Proper Office chants arranged according to the liturgical year,” see Jeffery, “Eastern and Western Elements in the Irish Monastic Prayer of the Hours,” 113.

⁶ Ian Adamson, *Bangor, Light of the World* (Belfast: Pretani Press, [1979] 1987), 13.

⁷ Cabrol, “Bangor (Antiphonaire de),” 188. See Curran, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, 14, where he discusses Cabrol’s conclusions. A definition of a hebdomadarian can be found in *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, edited by F. L. Cross and E. A. Livingston (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 741. Michael Lapidge also suggests that a more accurate function of the Antiphonary was perhaps “for use by the hebdomadary;” see Lapidge, “Columbanus and the ‘Antiphonary of Bangor,’” 105.

for the study of Gregorian chant,⁸ un-notated manuscripts are another source of valuable information. René-Jean Hesbert, in his introduction to *Antiphonale Missarum Sextuplex* has pointed out the relevance of such liturgical texts:

Mais le point de vue musical n'est pas ici seul en cause; et l'en ne saurait nier que le témoignage de documents aussi vénérables soit de la plus haute importance, tant pour l'étude du texte lui-même que pour celle de l'organisation liturgique des pièces chantées de la messe.⁹

Details give insight into the religious culture and the ways music may have been utilized. Still, the Antiphonary of Bangor is a rare Irish manuscript. Where is its place in the study of chant?

If the sound of the liturgy from the Antiphonary may be irretrievable, Cabrol's theory draws attention to the texts and to elements of Irish culture: the poetry of the words and the monastic liturgy from early Christian Ireland. Not much can be known about music in medieval Ireland if research is limited to sources with musical notation as no evidence is known, for now, until about the late eleventh century.¹⁰ However, if the Antiphonary of Bangor was a type of musical servicebook and is one of the few early surviving sources of the Irish liturgy, this opens

⁸ For more on chant see Kenneth Levy, *Gregorian Chant and the Carolingians* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University, 1998); David Hiley, *Gregorian Chant* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); Willi Apel, *Gregorian Chant* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1958); and recent books by Thomas Forest Kelly, ed., *Oral and Written Transmission in Chant* (Surrey, England: Ashgate, 2009); Thomas Forest Kelly, *Chant and its Origins* (Farnham, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009); Thomas Forest Kelly, *The Practice of Medieval Music: Studies in Chant and Performance* (Farnham, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010). For some further sources on the Carolingians and cultural developments see Rosamond McKitterick, ed., *Carolingian Culture: Emulation and Innovation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Rosamond McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the Written Word* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989); Rosamond McKitterick, *The Frankish Church and the Carolingian Reforms, 789-895* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1977); and Pierre Riché, *The Carolingians: A Family Who Forged Europe*, translated from the French by Michael Idomir Allen (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993).

⁹ René-Jean Hesbert, ed., *Antiphonale Missarum Sextuplex* (Rome: Herder, 1985 [first edition 1935]), vii.

¹⁰ A pre-Norman source is the Downpatrick Gradual, GB-Ob, Rawl. C. 892. The Drummond Missal is only partially notated; see Frank Lawrence, "What did They Sing at Cashel in 1172? Winchester, Sarum and Romano-Frankish chant in Ireland," *Journal of the Society for Musicology in Ireland* 3 (2007-8), 121-122, notes 44 -48, online journal, accessed September 30, 2010 <<http://www.music.ucc.ie/jsmi/index>>. For more on the Drummond Missal see Casey, "'Through a Glass, Darkly': Steps Towards Reconstructing Irish Chant from the Neumes of the Drummond Missal." *Early Music* (2000): 205-215.

onto another area of research. The hymns alone are one of its features and the manuscript is an important witness to the extraordinary intellectual milieu of Bangor, the monastic community named as its place of origin. As Frank Lawrence has recently observed about two “un-notated twelfth-century manuscripts, the Corpus Missal and the Rosslyn Missal” also of Irish provenance, “although these are books without musical notation this does not mean that they should be considered as books without music.”¹¹ Spurred by such insights into un-notated sources and intrigued by Cabrol’s theory, my research gives priority to the Antiphonary of Bangor, its hymns and the monastic culture it represents. I contend that as a servicebook the Antiphonary is essential to the study of music.

The methodology governing the following chapters is to focus first on the hymns of the Antiphonary. I then discuss the Irish hymn in relation to the history Christian hymnody. The hymns are striking pieces of literature because they combine elements of Irish poetical practice and the style of earlier hymn writers such as Hilary of Poitiers. Crafting poetical features from two spheres of cultural influence, the Irish created something entirely new. Hymns also have a long tradition in the Church and the Antiphonary reflects the influence of the wider Christian world. Therefore, as expressions of faith the hymns have made a valuable contribution to the corpus of Latin literature, and they are of interest to musicologists and medievalists alike.

From the hymns I expand my research to monastic developments and the monastery of Bangor in chapter 3. In chapter 4 I discuss the history of the hymn and the influence of the *filid* the learned class in Irish society. Next, given that the Irish *peregrini* are known to have influenced the spread of Christianity on the continent, I devote chapter 5 to understanding this spiritual phenomena and implications of *peregrinatio*. In chapter 6 I consider later continental

¹¹ Lawrence, “What Did They Sing at Cashel in 1172?” 123.

developments between Ireland and Austria by way of musical evidence. The musical fragments from the Irish Benedictine Schottenstift in Vienna founded in 1155 are remnants of a significant continental relationship during a period of spiritual renewal. In Ireland, a priory was established in Rosscarbery which supplied recruits to the monasteries of Würzburg and the Vienna, collectively known as the Schottenklöster. While it is tempting to consider the musical evidence from Vienna as evidence of notated sources of Irish liturgical practice, it is important to consider the fragments within the context of local influences. The fragments represent an interesting chapter of Irish continental relationships seem proof that Ireland's past is still unfolding; perhaps in musical ways previously thought unknowable. Finally, chapter 7 delves into the problem of music notation and the problems which confront research into the so-called Celtic liturgy.

The word "Celtic appended to "rite" suggests that there was a definable "Celtic church" as a separate practice. Even the music historian Richard Hoppin used the term "Celtic liturgy" suggesting a distinct style which does not survive, at least in any notated form. Although written over thirty-five years ago, Hoppin's words reflect perhaps an older attitude to the study of the Irish liturgy which still permeates to the present. His book was one of my textbooks and his comments are, in part, responsible for my present research. More recent scholars such as Neil Xavier O'Donoghue and T. M. Charles Edwards have shown the difficulty of using the term "Celtic" to describe the church in Ireland. Aware of such problems it is more useful to discuss the developments in Ireland in relation to the larger Roman Church. Although it has been common to refer to the "Celtic church" or the "Celtic liturgy," there was no unified practice which linked the Celtic regions together as a collective church. More appropriate terminology is the "Irish church" and used throughout this thesis, and in the ninth century were engaging with Carolingian reforms. Even the interpolation of the words "filioque" (Latin "and from the

Son”)¹² to the Nicene Creed signifying the co-equivalence of the Son with the Father found in the Stowe Missal (ninth century) shows that the Irish were responding to changes in the Western Church.¹³ There has been a tendency to treat Ireland as an anomaly because it was on the fringe of the Roman world and that the Christian developments gave way to a distinct style of liturgical practice. In reality, Ireland adapted to Christianity and can be viewed as part of the larger Roman world.¹⁴ When the early history of Ireland is considered from this perspective the developments in the Irish church can be viewed not as oddities, but adapting to Christian influences. Still, references to the “Celtic liturgy” require clarification in order to appreciate the nuances of the term. With little musical evidence it is understandable that there is an avoidance to look more closely at the references to music in the Irish church or to look more fully more critically at the liturgy.¹⁵ It is these avoidances of a deeper discussion of the Irish church which my work seeks to address.

This present chapter begins with a history of the Antiphony of Bangor, its association with Bangor in Northern Ireland, and a review of its contents. Next, if there remain questions about the manuscript, many concern its Italian connections. Given the Antiphony became part

¹² John McGuckin, “filioque,” *The Oxford Companion to Christian Thought: Intellectual, Spiritual, and Moral Horizons of Christianity*, edited by Adrian Hastings, Alistair Mason and Hugh Pyper (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 241.

¹³ See George F. Warner, ed., *The Stowe Missal: MS. D. II. 3 in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy*, Dublin (Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Henry Bradshaw Society by The Boydell Press, reprinted in one volume, 1989; [1906 (Vol. I) and 1915 (Vol. II)]. On folio 20v the text is modified from “ex patre procedentem cum patre et filio coadorandum et conglorificandum” to “ex patre **filioque** procedit qui com patre et filio **simul** coadoratur et conglorificatur;” see page 8, note 7. The facsimile at the front half of the book is unnumbered, but counting from the frontis piece see page 17.

¹⁴ See Neil Xavier O’Donoghue, *The Eucharist in Pre-Norman Ireland* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame, 2011), 1-60, especially 37-38 on the discussion of Celtic liturgy.

¹⁵ See for example the discussion of the “Celtic Liturgy” in Gabriel Ramis, “Liturgical Families in the West,” in *Handbook for Liturgical Studies: Introduction to the Liturgy*, volume 1, edited by Anscar J. Chupungco (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, A Pueblo Book, 1997), 30. The handbook is a five-volume series which is a reference to the theological history of the liturgy.

of the library collection of the monastery of Bobbio, more needs to be said about its recovery.

Two people influenced the destiny of the Antiphonary of Bangor: Cardinal Federico Borromeo (1564-1631) and Ludovico Muratori (1672-1750), the first editor of the Antiphonary.

Borromeo's establishment of the Ambrosiana Library in Milan, Italy was instrumental in the removal of the Antiphonary of Bangor from Bobbio in 1606, and ultimately, its preservation.¹⁶

Angelo Paredi records that Cardinal Federico's envoy "succeeded in persuading the monks of the high aim of the new Milanese foundation and in 1605 seventy-six codices were brought from Bobbio to Milan."¹⁷ And most probably the Antiphonary was among them. In the Sforza Castle Museums a summary of the Pinacoteca states the library was founded in 1606 and Borromeo's legacy was "amassing manuscripts."¹⁸

¹⁶ Michael Curran states the Antiphonary of Bangor was brought to Milan in 1606, see Curran, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, 197, note 10. This date is confirmed by Cabrol: "C'est en 1606 que l'antiphonaire quitta Bobbio pour Milan, avec plusieurs autres manuscrits précieux, quand le cardinal Frédéric Borromeo fonda la bibliothèque ambrosienne," see Cabrol, "Bangor (Antiphonaire de)," 185. Pamela Jones notes that the Ambrosiana was developed in stages and the date for the founding of the library is 1607; the art museum in 1618; and the art academy, which was active ca. 1613; see Pamela Jones, *Federico Borromeo and the Ambrosiana: Art Patronage and Reform in Seventeenth-Century Milan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 39. The official inaugural opening was in 1609 when Cardinal Borromeo organized a solemn celebration on the feast of St. Ambrose to mark the opening of the Ambrosiana, see Angelo Paredi *A History of the Ambrosiana*, translated by Constance and Ralph McNerny, *Storia dell' Ambrosiana* (Published for The Medieval Institute University of Notre Dame by the University of Notre Dame Press, 1983), 21-22. For more information see, Luigi Gramatica, "Ambrosiana, Biblioteca," *Enciclopedia Italiana di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti*, volume 2 (Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana Fondata da Giovanni Treccani, 1950), 802-803. See Gustav Becker, "§32: Coenobium Bobiense=Bobbio. Saec. X," *Catalogi bibliothecarum antiqui*, im Anhang Rezension von Max Perlback und Nachträge von Gabriel Meier (Hildesheim; New York: Georg Olms Verlag, 1973), 64-73 for a catalogue of the manuscripts from the monastery of Bobbio. The Antiphonary may be one of the items listed under the subheading "Item de Libris, quos Dungalus praecipuus Scottorum obtulit beatissimo Columbano," 70-71. Angelo Paredi notes that manuscripts were removed from Bobbio in 1605, 14. The Ambrosiana website gives the date for the founding of the library as 1607; for more information see "Storia e presentazione," *Biblioteca Pinacoteca Accademia Ambrosiana*, accessed June 19, 2010, <<http://www.ambrosiana.eu/cms/storia-171.html>>.

¹⁷ Paredi, *A History of the Ambrosiana*, 14.

¹⁸ The Sforza Castle Museums, Room XXVI: Lombard Painting in the Borromeo Era, Fra' Galgario, Ceruti and the Portrait, fieldnotes 25 September 2011.

Along with the Stowe Missal,¹⁹ the Antiphonary is one of the few surviving sources of the Irish church. Michael Curran notes: “Our knowledge of the Irish or ‘Celtic’ liturgy is due almost entirely to the survival of two manuscripts, namely, the Antiphonary of Bangor and the Stowe Missal.”²⁰ However, that an Irish manuscript became the property of the Ambrosiana, an institution with high aims and founded to “reform Christian scholarship and the figurative arts,”²¹ is a significant development. Research aims directed towards examining the Antiphonary for Irish characteristics have added another dimension to Christian scholarship.²² Although a monumental work for its time, Ludovico Muratori’s study was superseded by the two-volume publication, edited by Fredrick Edward Warren, with the facsimile in collotype by William Griggs published in 1893 and 1895 by the Henry Bradshaw Society (HBS).²³ Of the first volume W. C. Bishop remarked: “The Bangor MS [...] is eminently worthy of so costly a presentment on many grounds.”²⁴ The photographic reproduction was a considerable technological advancement. The large HBS editions remain a definitive study of the

¹⁹ For more on the Stowe Missal see Warner, *The Stowe Missal, MS D II 3 in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin* (London: Henry Bradshaw Society, 1906-15); and Thomas F. O’Rahilly, “The History of the Stowe Missal,” *Ériu* 10 (1926-8): 95-109; Sven Meeders, “The Early Irish Stowe Missal’s Destination and Function,” *Early Medieval Europe* 13 (2005): 179-194; Thomas O’Loughlin, “The Stowe Missal: The Eucharist as Refreshment,” *Celtic Theology: Humanity, World and God in Early Irish Writings* (London; New York: Continuum, 2000), 128-146; and Neil Xavier O’Donoghue, “The Stowe Missal,” *The Eucharist in Pre-Norman Ireland* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2011), 62-71.

²⁰ Curran, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, 11. For more on the Celtic liturgy and a summary of manuscripts see L. Gougaud, “Celtiques (Liturgies),” *DACL*, Tome Deuxième (Paris: Libraire Letouzey et Ané, 1925), 2969-3032.

²¹ Jones, *Federico Borromeo and the Ambrosiana*, 39.

²² Curran, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, 11.

²³ See Warren, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, I: A complete facsimile in collotype by W. Griggs, with a transcript; accompanied by an introduction descriptive of the history and paleography of the MS., II: Liturgical Introduction, Amended Text, Notes, and Appendix. The “photographic facsimile” for its time was a significance step in manuscript production and preservation; see Bishop, “A Service Book of the Seventh Century,” 337-8.

²⁴ Bishop, “A Service Book of the Seventh Century,” 338.

Antiphony of Bangor.²⁵ As one scholar has put it, “Warren’s book incorporated so much information that it is still helpful today.”²⁶ Indeed, it would be almost impossible to conduct research without the valuable facsimile and commentary (see Appendix IV: Chronology). Even so, there remains more to say about the AB and the prominent monastic community of Bangor at the forefront of some continental developments, particularly in the *peregrinatio* of Columbanus. Along with studies by James F. Kenney, Fernand Cabrol, and more currently by Michael Curran and Peter Jeffery, these are some of the major scholarly sources that inform my work.

To assist in the presentation of the manuscript, I have assembled four appendices. Appendix I provides the list of the 129 items in the index of the Antiphony; Appendix II contains the incipits and the headings of the twelve hymns as they appear in the manuscript; and Appendix III presents the Latin texts of the twelve hymns with English translations gathered from several sources. When referring to the hymns I have followed Michael Curran’s use of “AB” and the numbering of the contents and I include this with the titles referenced. As I know of no full translation of the AB, the culled sources reflect part of my ongoing research. The translations are in themselves an interesting witness to antiquarian studies and show the popularity of certain hymns in places such as the Anglican hymnal and the Church of Ireland hymnal. These appendices serve as references in order to enhance my discussion of the AB and

²⁵ Warren, *The Antiphony of Bangor*, Part I and Part II, 1893 and 1895. Warren notes in the Introduction to Part I, v: “Furthermore, so far as this MS is concerned, Muratori’s work is both imperfect and inaccurate. We say this with no sense of disrespect for a writer of immense learning and research, to whom the world of letters is indebted beyond almost anyone else, and beside whose monumental labours the works of most Editors of the present day stand like the works of pygmies.” The reference to “dwarfs standing on the shoulders of giants” is attributed to Bernardus in John of Salisbury, *Metalogicon*, Liber III:, 136, lines 23-4: “Dicebat Bernardus Carnotensis nos esse quasi nanos gigantium humeris insidentes;” see *Metalogicon: Libri III*, Ioannis Saresberiensis Recognovit et Prolegomenis, Apparatu Critico, commentario, Indicibus Instruxit, Clemens C. I. Webb (Oxonii: E. Typographeo Clarendoniano, 1929), 136. For more on the phrase see Edouard Jeuneau, “nani gigantum humeris insidentes”: Essai d’interpretation de Bernard de Chartres,” *Vivarium* 5/1 (1967): 79-99.

²⁶ Jeffery, “Eastern and Western Elements in the Irish Monastic Prayer of the Hours,” 99.

can be referred to as each hymn is discussed. Appendix IV provides a timeline or “chronology” that highlights events and publications related to the Antiphonary and Irish medieval history.

Admittedly, I may raise more questions than I can answer in this dissertation. After all, without notated sources, there are gaps, large gaps in what is known about music in early Ireland. I believe it is important to raise questions, to try to probe the evidence further, so that we are better able to critically assess what is truly knowable about musical evidence related to Ireland, particularly with new musical research coming to light. The reader may take issue with all the material presented and the historical information about Irish monasticism and hymnology. However, the impact of Christianity had such enormous consequences in Ireland that only by knowing more of the history is the magnitude of the Antiphonary’s literary and liturgical content fully appreciated. The texts have much to tell us about monastic culture and the liturgy at the core of the performative aspects of the manuscript; something not to be overlooked when examining the Antiphonary. Andrew Hughes has described the fundamentals of the liturgical service in words such as “signaling,” “communal prayer,” or “movement,” elements which in a sense orchestrate the performance and the ceremonial aspect of the liturgy.²⁷ As the title of Hughes’ book indicates there is “style and symbol” behind medieval music. Although the material covers the period from 800-1453 and the Antiphonary predates notational developments that are an essential component of medieval music, his insights into the ceremonial aspect of religious service are helpful and remind us that the fundamentals of the liturgy are important considerations, which also apply to un-notated sources. Surely the monastic communities sang and chanted their expression of faith as glimpsed in the folios of the Antiphonary of Bangor.

²⁷ Andrew Hughes, *Style and Symbol; Medieval Music: 800-1453* (Ottawa: the Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1989), 283.

1.1 The Antiphony of Bangor

The Antiphony of Bangor (Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, C. 5 inf.) (hereafter abbreviation AB), is a collection of antiphons, prayers, responses, and hymns written in Latin and used in the Divine Office attributed to the monastery of Bangor (*Beannchor Uladh*), located on the Ards peninsula in Northern Ireland.²⁸ The history of the monastery will be discussed in greater detail in another chapter, but briefly, Bangor was founded by St. Comgall, or Comgill (Anglicized from the Irish Comhghall) in c. 555²⁹ and became renowned for its teaching and “rigorous asceticism.”³⁰ The eminent monk Columbanus was a pupil of Comgall, who later went on to found important monastic centers on the continent, including Luxeuil (not before 593), Fontaines (? 590-2), Annegray (ca. 592),³¹ and relevant to the present discussion, Bobbio, Italy (founded c 613), in which the Antiphony was recovered. Bangor was frequently

²⁸ For the Irish name and the location of Bangor see Warren, *The Antiphony of Bangor*, Part I, ix. A Latin translation for Bangor is *Bend-chor*, *Benchor*, or *Benchuir* as noted by Kenney, *Sources*, 707; and Warren, *The Antiphony of Bangor*, Part I, ix.

²⁹ There is some discrepancy with the dates and the founding of Bangor. Curran states that the monastery was founded in 555 but Warren gives the date as 558 and where “Comgall died as its first Abbot, at the age of 85, in 602,” see Warren, *The Antiphony of Bangor*, Part I, ix. One of the difficulties in conducting research into medieval Ireland is that there are often controversies as to the founding of monasteries. Some of the older publications are not always accurate and for this reason, I have consulted dictionaries or encyclopaedias on Ireland that have more recently been published in order to confirm information. If Comgall was born in 517 and he founded the monastery in 558 (see Warren as above, page ix), this would confirm his obit in the Antiphony when he died in 602. Unfortunately, the Irish Annals and Martyrologies state that he died at the age of 91 (see Warren as above, page ix). The discrepancies seem inevitable and are to be accepted as part of the research gambit. For more on Comhghall of Bangor see Pádraig Ó Riain, *A Dictionary of Irish Saints* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2011), 217-219.

³⁰ Curran, *The Antiphony of Bangor*, 13. The *Regula Monachorum* of Columbanus gives a glimpse of what must have been the outcome of his training in Bangor. As Kenney observes, “Although written for the use of continental institutions, we may feel certain that the Rule, like its author, is a true product of the Irish Church.” See Kenney, *Sources*, 198. For commentary and translation of *Regula Monachorum* and *Regula Coenobialis* see G. S. M. Walker, editor, *Sancti Columbani Opera* (Dublin: The Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1957). For a discussion of the Rules of Columbanus and its influence on the practice of Gallus, Burgundofara, Donatus and other Merovingian saints, see Jane Stevenson, “The Monastic Rules of Columbanus,” in *Columbanus Studies on the Latin Writings*, edited by Michael Lapidge (Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 1997), 203-216.

³¹ For more discussion on the timeline of Columbanus’ foundations at Luxeuil, Fontaines, and Annegray, see Donald Bullough, “The Career of Columbanus,” in *Columbanus: Studies on Latin Writings*, edited by Michael Lapidge (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 1997), 1-28.

plundered by Vikings from 795 onwards which ultimately led to its final destruction.³² Many of the monastic community were killed, or fled to other parts of Ireland, Britain, or the continent. Most of the servicebooks were destroyed and the treasures of the monastery dispersed. All that is known to have survived is the AB, and the bell, now in the North Down Museum in Northern Ireland.³³ Dated from 680 to 691, the evidence relies almost entirely on the obits of the abbots listed in one of the Bangor hymns and two Bangor-hymns discussed later in the chapter.

The AB is a small book measuring 9 inches x 7 inches comprising thirty-six leaves.³⁴ The script is considered to be “in Irish half-uncial with an admixture of minuscule.”³⁵ Given the size this implies it was probably intended for use by an individual monk possibly as a hebdomadarian,³⁶ rather than for a group of monks to collectively gather around and use as a communal book, as the text would be too small.³⁷ The manuscript is made up of three unequal

³² Warren, *The Antiphony of Bangor*, Part I, xii. For further discussion of the importance of the monastery of Bangor, see Reeves, “*The Antiphony of Bangor*,” 168-179. For more on Bangor, see “Bangor,” in Aubrey Gwynn and Richard Neville Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: Ireland: With an Appendix to Early Sites*; with a foreword by David Knowles (Harlow: Longmans, 1970), 161.

³³ For information about the bell see Reeves, “The Antiphony of Bangor,” 168-179 and 179 for a sketch. Recent excavations have been made of the old wall of the monastery. For information about this project see Ronan McHugh, “Excavations at Malachy’s Wall, Bangor Abbey, County Down,” *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* 3 (2004): 65-75; also accessed March 21, 2012, <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/20568338>. The report is also available as a PDF file from Queen’s University, Belfast; see Ronan McHugh, “Malachy’s Wall, Bangor Abbey,” (Data Structure Report No. 035), Centre for Archaeological Fieldwork, School of Archaeology and Palaeoecology, Queen’s University, Belfast, accessed March 21 2012, <<http://www.qub.ie/schools/CentreforArchaeologicalFieldworkCAF/PDFFileStore/Fileupload,180994,en.pdf>> There is a PDF file of the brochure for the North Down Museum available, accessed March 21, 2012, <<http://www.discovernorthernireland.com/downloads/NorthDownAndArdsChristianHeritageTrail.pdf>>. The brochure shows a picture of the bell and features Christian Heritage sites in North Down and Ards. It is produced co-jointly by the Bangor Tourist Information Centre and the Ards Tourist Centre. This information brings the Antiphony of Bangor into the present.

³⁴ Kenney, *The Sources*, 707.

³⁵ See Warren, *The Antiphony of Bangor*, Part I, xix-xx.

³⁶ See Kenney, *The Sources*, 711. An interesting reference to the hebdomadary is discussed under “Celebrant” in Jovian P. Lang, *Dictionary of the Liturgy* (New York: Catholic Book Publishing, 1989), 92.

³⁷ See Kenney, *The Sources*, 711-12 regarding his discussion of the AB’s purpose.

gatherings, with a few inserted leaves that appear to be of the same date as the manuscript.³⁸

The gatherings are arranged in the following groupings: folios 1-6 and 10-13; folios 14-21; and folios 22-28 and 30-36 respectively. The organization pattern of the manuscript divides roughly into three sections as follows:

Part I: ff. 1r - 17v	Canticles and hymns
Part II: ff. 18r - 29v	Two groups of collects; group one contains two sets of collects for all the hours of the office; group two contains seven sets of collects for various parts of the morning office
Part III: ff. 30r - 36v	Hymns, antiphons, and collects all incomplete but used in liturgical occasions ³⁹

A more recent and detailed descriptions of the AB has been compiled by Peter Jeffery.⁴⁰

Jeffery's description includes information about the gatherings, as well as comments on the contents liturgical function and provides a detailed synopsis of the AB. In his study Jeffery questions the origin of the AB and argues for a Bobbio provenance. To further substantiate his claim Jeffery points to the organization of the texts which are grouped by a more general rather than as a complete liturgical cycle of the office.⁴¹ Jeffery suggests the possibility that the AB may have existed as a series of fascicles before becoming an antiphoner, in a more organized sense, as found in the Turin fragment.⁴² The Turin fragment (Turin, MS BN 882) is an

³⁸ Warren, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, Part I, xviii and see accompanying pictorial on the opposite unnumbered page. I thank Professor Dooley for pointing out that the addition of extra leaves is often a feature of Irish manuscript production.

³⁹ Curran, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, 13; see Warren, *Antiphonary of Bangor*, Part II, ix; see Cabrol, "Bangor (Antiphonaire de)," 185-186. A good outline of each of the contents is explained in Reeves, "The Antiphonary of Bangor," 172-179. See Warren, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, Part I, the introductory notes regarding the gatherings.

⁴⁰ See Warren, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, Part I, xv-xvii; Bishop, "A Service Book of the Seventh Century," 337-363; and Jeffery, "Eastern and Western Elements," 114-115. Jeffery lists the contents by folio and headings, and incorporates Warren's numbering scheme of each item from [1] to [129].

⁴¹ Jeffery, "Eastern and Western Elements," 115.

⁴² Jeffery, "Eastern and Western Elements," 116. See F. E. Warren, "An Early Irish Liturgical Fragment," *The Journal of Theological Studies* (July 1903): 610-613.

incomplete manuscript comprised of six leaves and contains twenty-one canticles, psalms, two hymns and fifteen collects; all but four of the collects are found in the AB.⁴³ Given the Turin's parallel with the AB, this suggests that there may have been stronger liturgical connections to the continent. Although the research of Warren, Cabrol, and Curran provide information that is necessary to our understanding of the AB, Jeffery's work presents fresh insight from a more recent study of the manuscript. While I agree with Jeffery that there is strong evidence to support the theory that the AB originated from Bobbio, on the other hand there are items in the manuscript which seem specific to the community of Bangor.

The majority of the hymns are in the earlier quires of the manuscript, but the third quire begins with the hymn "Versiculi familiae Benchuir" on folio 30r and concludes with the last hymn "In Memoriam Abbatum nostrorum."⁴⁴ These hymns have been utilized to date the manuscript as they provide details about the monastic community and point to Bangor as the provenance of the AB. However, there are Ambrosian and Gallican influences which seriously challenge the accepted view of Bangor as the origin of the AB. The last five of the twelve hymns (see Appendix II) have been described as more "commemorative and historical" rather than "devotional" in nature.⁴⁵ The distinction is significant as the scribes are not only recording a history into the AB, but they are asserting the authority of the Irish church. The commemorative and the devotional elements of the hymns offer remarkable insight into the adaption of Christian texts and the performative aspects of the AB. As much as writing was a technological achievement in the late seventh-century, there is a sense that this is something new and that we

⁴³ Warren, "An Early Irish Liturgical Fragment," 610.

⁴⁴ Warren, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, Part II, ix and for the heading "[In] Memoriam Abbatum Nostrorum" see, 33. Also see Curran, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, 13.

⁴⁵ Warren, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, Part I, xvi.

are peering over the shoulders of the monk as he records the *ecclesia* of Bangor into the folios of the manuscript. But if we want to know how Ireland was considered in relation with its nearest neighbour, Britain, we need look no further than the Venerable Bede (673-735) in *A History of the English Church and People* compiled in 731. Bede may have admired the church in Ireland and how “frugal and austere”⁴⁶ the manner of Irish monks, but he was less enamored with their obstinacy against the dating of Easter or the Paschal controversy which created friction in Anglo-Saxon Britain.⁴⁷ We learn a great deal of Irish temperament through Bede and the power dynamics behind a developing Christian Church. It is for this reason that we also need to be sceptical of Bede’s perspective as a historian. For as Neil Xavier O’Donoghue observes: “Bede is not simply recounting facts as they happened; he is, in fact, constructing a theological view of reality.”⁴⁸ Indeed, Bede’s tone is heavily weighted toward the English people and the English church thus, “it is biased, and particularly biased against the Irish.”⁴⁹ While it may appear that Ireland was at odds with the Roman Church, in reality the Easter question needs to be recognized as negotiating liturgical practices. Although the controversy continued in Columbanus who carried the matter to the continent and wrote a letter to Pope Gregory on the subject,⁵⁰ the issue eventually was resolved. While the Roman calculation would place the Ireland less at odds with the larger Western Church, it is important to recognize that other Irish centers had incorporated

⁴⁶ Bede, *A History of the English Church and People*, translated by Leo Sherley-Price and revised by R. E. Latham (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1968 [1955], §III. 26, 193-195. Also see Bede, *The Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation*, with introduction by Vida D. Scudder (London; Toronto: J. M. Dent; in New York: E. P. Dutton, 1927), §III. 26, 152-4.

⁴⁷ See for example Bede, *A History of the English Church and People*, §II.2, 102; § III.25, 185-192; and §V.15, 299-300.

⁴⁸ O’Donoghue, *The Eucharist in Pre-Norman Ireland*, 11.

⁴⁹ O’Donoghue, *The Eucharist in Pre-Norman Ireland*, 11.

⁵⁰ Walker, *Sancti Columbani Opera*, 6 and see *Epistola* I§4; and Ó Cróinín, *Early Medieval Ireland 400-1200*, 201.

changes and adapted to these changes. The spiritual consequences were divisive but there has perhaps been an over emphasis on Ireland's isolation regarding the date of Easter. In this respect it is worth noting Jeffery's comments, particularly in light of the highly influential Bede:

The relationship of the early Irish church to Rome and other churches is in fact one of the major questions we face in seeking to re-imagine its liturgy, for the leading figures of Irish Christianity certainly considered themselves loyal to Rome, even as they fought to maintain practices that were incompatible with Anglo-Saxon and Continental expressions of *Romanitas*.⁵¹

Given this insight, a broader perspective shows that the Irish church considered themselves in relation to the larger *Romanitas*.

The AB has been dated to the late seventh century between the years 680 to 691.⁵² The evidence for this is based on information conveyed in the triad of so-called "Bangor hymns":

Hymn 9, *Hymnum Sancti Comgilli abbatis nostri*:

Recordemur justitiae [AB 14] (Comgall's Hymn, ff. 15v-17v);

Hymn 11, *Versiculi familiae Benchuir*:

Benchuir bona regula [AB 95] (Praise of Bangor, ff. 30r-30v);

Hymn 12, *In memoriam abbatum nostrorum*:

Sancta sanctorum opera [AB129] (The Abbots of Bangor, f 36v).

⁵¹ Jeffery, "Eastern and Western Elements in the Prayer of the Hours," 100.

⁵² Curran, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, 1984; Patrick V. Brannon, "Medieval Ireland: Music in Cathedral, Church and Cloister," *Early Music* (2000): 193-204; Ann Buckley, "Celtic Chant," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, volume 3 (London: Macmillan, 2002), 341-349; Cabrol, "Bangor (Antiphonaire de)," 184-191; and Jeffery, "Eastern and Western Elements in the Irish Monastic Prayer of the Hours," 99-143. The primary liturgical sources of the early Irish Church are the Antiphonary of Bangor and the Stowe Missal. See Warren, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, Part I and II; Warner, *The Stowe Missal, MS. D II 3 in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin*; Kenney, *The Sources*, "§92: Hymns of the Monastery of Bangor," 265-266 and "§568: The Antiphonary of Bangor," 706-712. On the Stowe Missal see Kenney, "§555: The Stowe Missal," 692-699. Curran uses the abbreviation "AB" throughout his book and in his index and I have maintained this designation in reference to specific items in the manuscript. I also include the folio numbers abbreviated 'f' for a single page and 'ff.' for multiple pages.

The three hymns have been singled out, not only for their association with Bangor, but because they outline the historiography of the monastery.⁵³ For example, Hymn 9 [AB 14] is for St. Comgall, the first abbot of Bangor; Hymn 11 [AB 95] refers to the “good rule of Bangor”; and Hymn 12 [AB 129] preserves the fifteen abbots of Bangor up until the time of Cronán, the fifteenth abbot of Bangor, and who is known to have ruled from 680 to 691.⁵⁴ To illustrate this information, the hymn is presented with the abbots in bold type, and another detail, the verb change:

⁵³ Curran states that the “Hymn for the Abbots of Bangor” was written during Cronán’s administration at Bangor from 680-691, see Curran, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, 82; and 197, note 10. Kenney notes that in the reference to Cronán “the tense changes to the present indicating that the poem was composed within this period” between the years 680-691, see Kenney, *The Sources*, 266.

⁵⁴ Cabrol, “Bangor (Antiphonaire De),” 184.

2. Amavit Christus **Comgillum**,
Bene et ipse Dominum,
Carmum habuit **Beognoum**,
Domnum ornavit **Ædeum**.
Elegit sanctum **Sinlanum**,
Famosum mundi magistrum,
- Quos **convocavit** Dominus
Coelorum regni sedibus.
- Christ loved Comgillum
well, and He held
Beognous dear;
He adorned the lord Aedeus;
He chose holy Sinlanus,
famous master of the world,
whom the Lord has called together
in the seats of the realm of the heavens.
3. Gratum fecit **Fintenanum**,
Heredem, alnum, inclitum,
Illustravit **Maclaisreum**,
Kaput abbatum omnium,
Lampade sacrae **Seganum**
Magnum scripturæ medicum.
- Quos [convocavit Dominus
Coelorum regni sedibus.]
- He made Fintenanus gracious,
celebrated nurturer of heirs;
He illuminated Maclaisreus,
head of all abbots,
with the lamp of sacred scripture,
Seganus the great doctor,
whom the Lord has called together
in the seats of the realm of the heavens.
4. Notus vir erat **Berachus**,
Ornatus et **Cumenenus**,
Pastor **Columba** congruus,
Querela absque **Aidanus**,
Rector bonus **Baithenus**,
Summus antistes **Critanus**,
- Quos [convocavit Dominus
Coelorum regni sedibus.]
- Berachus was a noted man
and Cumenenus an adorned one,
Columba a fit pastor,
Aidanus without quarrel,
Baithenus a good rector,
Critanus the highest priest [or ‘bishop’,
Lit. ‘he who stands before’],
whom the Lord has called together
in the seats of the realm of the heavens.
5. Tantis successit **C[o]lmanus**,
Vir admirabilis omnibus,
Xpo [i.e. Christo] nunc sedet supremus
Ymnos canens. Quindecimus
Zoen ut carpat **Cronanus**,
Conservet eum Dominus.
- Quos **convocabit** Dominus
Coelorum regni sedibus.
- To such men Colmanus succeeded,
a man loveable by all.
Now he sits supreme.
singing hymns to Christ. Fifteenth,
that Cronanus may seize life
may the Lord conserve him,
whom the Lord will call together
on seats of the realm of the heavens.⁵⁵

Attention has been given to the last refrain in which Cronán is perhaps referred to in the present tense. Throughout, the word “convocavit” is used in the past tense, but in the last refrain, the author changes the tense to “convocabit” meaning “he will call” suggesting an ongoing

⁵⁵ The Latin text follows the format laid out in Warren, *The Antiphony of Bangor*, Part II, 33. The square brackets denote editorial decisions by the editors of the edition. The English translation is from David R. Howlett, *The Celtic Latin Tradition of Biblical Style* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1995), 188-189.

invocation in the remembrance of the abbots of Bangor.⁵⁶ On the strength of these details the fifteenth abbot of Bangor is considered to have been alive at the time the hymn was written. This has led to the generally accepted view that the date of the AB, 680-691 relies on the Bangor hymns and in particular the evidence of the abbots of *In memoriam abbatum nostrorum* [AB 129]. This evidence seems to me to be inconclusive. For one thing, the grammar of the Latin is open to interpretation. Cronán may have already been called to heaven and the final refrain may be referring to the collective gathering of saints in heaven. Indeed, Leo Weiner has taken issue with the Warren's theory and argues that the hymn was written after Cronán was abbot and that if we look at the other Bangor hymns, the same assessment can be made of Comgill (Comgall).⁵⁷ While the dates 680-691 are accepted, it is perhaps best to keep an open mind about the AB: not only about the dates but about the provenance of the manuscript which show a number of influences from Ambrosian sources. Furthermore, in the *Annals of Tighernach* for the entry T691.1 it states: "Cronan maccu Caulne abb Bennchair obit/ Cronán great grandson of Caulne, abbot of Bennchor, dies."⁵⁸ It seems more likely Cronán was dead when the hymn was written.

The local information that is woven into the hymns also demonstrates that this was a book being written at an important moment of Christianity in Ireland. The parallels with other sources reveal the authors had a wide knowledge of liturgical and theological texts already in circulation. Influential writings such as those of John Cassian are reflected in notable

⁵⁶ Cabrol, "Bangor (Antiphonaire de)," 184. See Warren, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, Part I, 1893, x and his discussion of further alterations in the prayer where the fourteen abbots are referred to in the past but reference to Cronán is indicated in the present by the phrase *nunc sedet* ("now sits").

⁵⁷ See the arguments of Weiner, "The Antiphonary of Bangor, 97-98.

⁵⁸ See Whitley Stokes, ed., "Annals of Tighernach," *Revue Celtique* 17 (1896): 21. The Annals of Tighernach are also available online at University College Cork; see "Annals of Tighernach," CELT: Corpus of Electronic Texts, accessed May 16, 2013 <<http://www.ucc.ie/celt>>.

expressions and the construction of the monastic hours.⁵⁹ Further corroborating evidence of the obits of the abbots has been recorded in the *Annals of Tighernach*, a twelfth century manuscript based on older annal records:⁶⁰

1.	Comgillus	602
2.	Beognous	606
3.	Aedeus	----
4.	Sinlanus	610
5.	Fintenanus	613
6.	Mac laisreus	646
7.	Seganus	663
8.	Berachus	664
9.	Cumenenus	----
10.	Columba	----
11.	Aidanus	----
12.	Baithenus	----
13.	Critanus	----
14.	Camanus	680
15.	Cronanus	691

Michael Lapidge has argued that it is perhaps “more prudent” to approximate the date of the AB “on paleographic grounds to c.700 (s. vii/viii).”⁶¹ Although the date is not entirely conclusive, taken in sum, the previous details have helped to approximate the age of the manuscript.⁶² The AB contains material for the liturgy of the hours.

⁵⁹ See Curran, *The Antiphony of Bangor*, 169-177 and 192-195; and Jeffery, “Eastern and Western Elements in the Irish Monastic Prayer of the Hours,” 99-143, especially the discussion of “Offices Derived from Cassian,” 108-110.

⁶⁰ From Warren, *The Antiphony of Bangor*, Part I, x but see Whitley Stokes, “Annals of Tigernach,” *Revue Celtique* 16 (1895): 374-419; 17 (1896): 6-33; 119-263; 337-420; 18 (1897): 9-59; 150-97; and 267-303 for each of the entries. *The Annal of Tigernach* is also available online and accessed through the University of College Cork (UCC) at <<http://www.ucc.ie/celt>>. The unlisted dates arise from confusion between the obits listed in the *Annals of the Four Masters*, a seventeenth century compilation and the *Annals of Ulster*. To be sure, these are much later documents than the Antiphony of Bangor. Given that the information between the documents is, for the most part, consistent, this may suggest that the Antiphony was the exemplar.

⁶¹ Lapidge, “Columbanus and the ‘Antiphony of Bangor’,” 104 and see note 4.

⁶² For more information see Curran, *The Antiphony of Bangor*, 82; and Aubrey Gwynn, “The Irish Monastery of Bangor,” *The Irish Ecclesiastical Record* Vol. LXXIV (1950), 394.

Monasticism in Ireland was shaped by a vast “widespread enthusiasm for coenobitic and eremitic ways of life.”⁶³ The AB includes specific readings and those items necessary for the Divine Office. Although there are traces of the Gallican Rite, “to class the Antiphonary as a Gallican service book would be unsatisfactory.”⁶⁴ While there are some parallels with other texts, a subject amply explored by other scholars such as Michael Curran, James Kenney, and Peter Jeffery,⁶⁵ the Antiphonary stands apart because of the twelve hymns and the large number of antiphons that would be used with the chanting or the recitation of the psalms in the monastic hours. In this respect it is perhaps best “to situate the Antiphonary in the context of the Irish Church and of the ecclesiastical tradition of the West.”⁶⁶ One feature of the Irish church was the arrangement of the *cursus psalmoreum* that suggests an Eastern influence.⁶⁷ Here the “stamina of the Desert Fathers” is reflected in an Irish form of asceticism.⁶⁸ In Ireland, “the recitation of the entire Psalter in three parts seems to have been practiced daily.”⁶⁹ The recitation of the Psalms in groups of 50 was also known as “the three fifties.” As an element of the Irish church it reflected their spiritual fortitude. While the evidence for this derives from what Peter Jeffery notes are ninth-century monastic rules from the Céli Dé or Culdees, there are also other sources such as Columbanus’ monastic *Rules* which provide insight into the practice.⁷⁰ As a form of

⁶³ Stevenson, “The Monastic Rules of Columbanus,” 205.

⁶⁴ Curran, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, 12.

⁶⁵ For more information refer to note 3.

⁶⁶ Curran, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, 12.

⁶⁷ Warren, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, Part II, xv.

⁶⁸ Jeffery, “Eastern and Western Elements,” 104.

⁶⁹ Jeffery, “Eastern and Western Elements,” 102.

⁷⁰ Jeffery, “Eastern and Western Elements,” 102. For more on the Céli Dé and monastic reforms see Westley Follet, *Céli Dé in Ireland: Monastic Writing and Identity in the Early Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, England: Boydell Press, 2006).

“penitential practice” the recitation is representative “of a type of literature that was one of the major Irish contributions to medieval Western Christianity.”⁷¹ At the heart of Irish contributions was the creation of its unique style of practice. One of the best exponents of Irish monasticism was Columbanus, whose foundation of Bobbio went on to become a prominent monastery in medieval Italy.⁷²

The dual association of Columbanus and the AB with the monasteries of Bangor and Bobbio seems more than coincidental. The conclusion that the AB was written in Bangor has relied, as has already been mentioned, on insular and textual evidence predominantly from the hymns. Still, scholars such as Michael Lapidge have thrown doubt as to the AB’s origin thus raising speculation about AB’s origins. Lapidge’s statement “very probably at Bangor” and his assessment that the AB “is the work of several scribes” further complicate the provenance of the manuscript.⁷³ If there is evidence for more than one scribe, this means it may have been compiled in stages and this would account for the added folios described earlier. Peter Jeffery has also pointed out the difficulty of identifying the provenance of the manuscript and states,

[...] it was at Bobbio that the manuscript was discovered in the sixteenth century, and the textual content offers reasons to think that the Irishmen who created it were actually working on the continent, if not at Bobbio itself.⁷⁴

Some evidence to support this claim is that some of the texts of the AB appear in a later

⁷¹ Quoted from Jeffery, “Eastern and Western Elements,” 104. Also see Kenney, *Sources*, 235-240. See Ludwig Bieler, ed., *The Irish Penitentials* (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advance Studies, 1963).

⁷² On Bobbio see Michael Richter, *Bobbio in the Middle Ages: The Abiding Legacy of Columbanus* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2008).

⁷³ Lapidge, “Columbanus and the ‘Antiphony of Bangor’,” 104.

⁷⁴ Jeffery, “Eastern and Western Elements,” 113. See Jeffery’s discussion regarding an alternative explanation of the origin of the Antiphony of Bangor, 112-113.

manuscript known as the Turin fragment (Turin, Bibliotheca Nazionale 882 N.8) which emanated from Bobbio.⁷⁵ As Jeffery notes the parallels are significant which suggests that there was a precedent for the texts and the Turin fragment shows a more developed form of the liturgy:

A logical further step in the direction toward becoming a true antiphoner is represented by the Turin fragment – there the canticles and collects, rather than being arranged in separate collections, are interspersed in a practical liturgical order.⁷⁶

The AB's parallel with another manuscript from Bobbio, as well as liturgical connections with the Ambrosian liturgy means that we cannot rule out the possibility that the manuscript derived from Italy rather than Ireland.⁷⁷ Further, the AB also shows a close relationship with the office hours as outlined in Columbanus's monasticism. As scholars such as Curran and Jeffery have drawn attention to the similarities this would mean that the AB would have had to originate in a Columban monastery, namely Bobbio, as the AB was written after Columbanus had left Bangor. Despite the Bangor content, the manuscript was ultimately recovered in Bobbio and this means we cannot rule out the possibility the AB was compiled in Bobbio but destined for Bangor. The shift does not mitigate Irish influence, as there was a conduit between the monasteries.⁷⁸ But the theory changes the optics of the AB. While the evidence raises questions about the AB's origins, it also means that we cannot limit the texts to local practice in Ireland, or dismiss the possibility that the AB was not influenced by Irish monks in Bobbio. I agree with Jeffery's theory as I believe it would open up other areas for consideration such as conduits of musical knowledge that have not been fully understood. However, there is much about the AB which is Irish.

⁷⁵ Jeffery, "Eastern and Western Elements," 113.

⁷⁶ Jeffery, "Eastern and Western Elements," 116. See Jeffery's outline of the liturgy for the dawn hour in Turin, (BN 882 n.8) in Table 5.7, 120.

⁷⁷ Jeffery, "Eastern and Western Elements," 113.

⁷⁸ For an account of the monastery of Bobbio see Richter, *Bobbio in the Early Middle Ages*.

Another element of the unexplained has to do with the circumstances under which the AB left Ireland.⁷⁹ A plausible theory is that the AB “escaped destruction at the hands of the Danes” when Bangor was sacked in 795, and that the book was taken to the continent in the accompaniment of a fleeing monk.⁸⁰ The AB was subsequently re-discovered by Cardinal Federico Borromeo, who removed many of the manuscripts from Bobbio to his newly founded Ambrosiana Library in Milan in 1606.⁸¹ It seems more than coincidental that Bobbio was the monastery founded by Columbanus in 613, and that he himself was a monk in Bangor. That both Columbanus and the Antiphony of Bangor should begin in Bangor and end their journey in Bobbio seems an important detail and it cannot be overlooked that the AB may have been taken from Bangor to Bobbio, possibly, as has been proposed, by a fleeing monk.

Given the size of the manuscript and the selective contents, several theories have been proposed as to the use of the manuscript. William Reeves described the Antiphony as a “Book of Anthems” compiled for the community of Bangor and “thoroughly Irish in its matter.”⁸² James Kenney presented several possibilities that the Antiphony was a “supplement to a larger manuscript” or, that it was “an abbreviated breviary, a portable service book for the use of travelers.”⁸³ Warren believed that the Antiphony was “a companion volume to the Psalterium and Lectionarium for use in the Divine Office, “either (1) on Easter Even and Easter Day, or (2) on Saturdays and Sundays in Easter-tide, or (3) on Saturdays and Sundays throughout the year,

⁷⁹ For more on the manuscript see William Reeves, “The Antiphony of Bangor,” 168-179 at 171-172.

⁸⁰ Warren, *The Antiphony of Bangor*, Part I, 1893, xii.

⁸¹ Kenney, *The Sources*, p. 707. See also Curran, *The Antiphony of Bangor*, 197, notes 10 and 11; and Warren, *The Antiphony of Bangor*, Part I, 1893, xv.

⁸² Reeves, “The Antiphony of Bangor,” 170.

⁸³ Kenney, *Sources*, 711.

and also on Feasts of Martyrs.”⁸⁴ Fernand Cabrol seems to have offered the most plausible explanation of the AB and shown that the title “antiphonary,” the name given to the manuscript by Ludovico Muratori, may not be entirely inappropriate.

1.2 Fernand Cabrol’s 1910 Theory

Fernand Cabrol was a Benedictine abbot and liturgical scholar who made significant contributions to the field of Church history.⁸⁵ As editor of the *Dictionnaire d’archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie (DACL)* his study of the Antiphonary of Bangor from the 1910 edition brought together a “critique des différentes hypothèses” about the purpose of the manuscript.⁸⁶ Cabrol’s questions about the AB seem equally relevant to today scholars:

Est-ce le livre du chantre? La présence des cantiques, des hymnes, des antiennes, des morceaux comme le Te Deum, le Credo, les litanies, pourraient le faire croire. L’absence des neumes ne prouverait rien contre cette hypothèse, car ceux qui ont étudié l’histoire de la notation musicale au moyen âge, savent qu’avant le IXe siècle aucun manuscrit ne porte trace d’une notation quelconque.⁸⁷

After a review of the contents and taking into consideration the sixty-nine collects for the canonical hours, and the seventy antiphons, as well as the twelve hymns, Cabrol concluded that the AB was for an appointed priest who had responsibilities “for the devotions at the various

⁸⁴ Warren, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, Part II, p. x. See also Kenney, *Sources*, 711.

⁸⁵ E. P. Colbert, “Cabrol, Fernand,” *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, edited by Berard L. Marthaler, volume 2 (Washington, D.C: Thomson Gale in association with The Catholic University of America, 2003), 839.

⁸⁶ Cabrol, “Bangor (Antiphonaire de),” 187. See Colbert, “Cabrol, Fernand,” 839-840; and for a biography of his literary contributions, see J. Warrilow, “The Literary Work of Abbot F. Cabrol,” *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* 50 (1937), 364-369; and H. Thurston, “Two Great Catholic Scholars: Abbot Cabrol and Father B. Zimmerman,” *The Month* 170 (1937), 267-270.

⁸⁷ Cabrol, “Bangor (Antiphonaire De),” 188.

canonical hours” or “the president of the choir.”⁸⁸ As can be noted, Cabrol uses the word *hebdomadier* or *hebdomadarian*, in determining the use of the AB:

Il ne peut donc être que le livre de l’hebdomadier, ou pour nous servir d’un terme moins modern, du prêtre chargé de célébrer l’office du chœur, ou du président même du chœur, le livre de l’abbé. Nous préférons la seconde hypothèse, mais du reste si l’on veut s’arrêter à la première, nous n’y verrions pas d’inconvénient, d’autant que souvent et dans bien des endroits les deux rôles durent se confondre, l’abbé restant chargé de célébrer lui-même en majeure partie l’office du chœur.⁸⁹

A *hebdomadarian* derives from Greek meaning “a period of seven days and was the term used for the priest in a monastery or in cathedral church who presided over the Eucharist and Office for a week.”⁹⁰ The hypothesis that it was for a priest in the capacity as leader of the choir has generally been accepted and is endorsed by Michael Curran who credits “[t]he best study of the purpose for which the Antiphonary was composed was made by F. Cabrol.”⁹¹ As the head of the choir the monk had a key role in the celebration of the liturgy. Therefore, Cabrol’s hypothesis and the function of the AB can be shown to have a correlation with other monastic traditions.

Perhaps the hymns offer the greatest insight of the manuscript’s purpose and intent. The hymns of the AB are significant cultural material and provide insight into the literary history of Ireland. The subject matter, for example, of the [AB 129] *In memoriam abbatum nostrorum*, Hymn for the Abbots, or the poetic intricacies such as rhyme, meter, alliteration, and assonance, are early evidence of Hiberno-Latin verse and reflect a style of Irish liturgical practice. As well

⁸⁸ Kenney, *Sources*, 711. Also see Cabrol, “Bangor (Antiphonaire de),” 188.

⁸⁹ See Cabrol, “(Bangor Antiphonaire de),” 187.

⁹⁰ See “Hebdomadarian,” *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, edited by F. L. Cross and E. A. Livingstone, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 741.

⁹¹ Curran, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, 14. On the role of the cantor see Margot E. Fassler, “The Office of the Cantor in Early Western Monastic rules and Customaries: A Preliminary Investigation,” *Early Music History* 5 (1985): 29-51.

such items as [AB 2] *Hymnus Sancti Hilarii de Christo: Hymnum dicat turba fratrum* (ff. 3r-4v), a hymn attributed to St. Hilary of Poitiers, or [AB13] *Hymnus Sancti Patricii Magistri Scotorum: Audite omnes amantes* (ff. 13v-15v), an abecedarian hymn in honour of Saint Patrick, the earliest copy of which is in the Antiphony of Bangor, were hymns used frequently in the Irish church.⁹² With this evidence Curran observed that the Antiphony of Bangor was “a book for the office by the president of the choir and with the psalter and Bible, he was able to direct the entire office throughout the whole year.”⁹³ Curran was drawing on Cabrol’s hypothesis, but this seems a further cue to consider the manuscript in a different light. However, Peter Jeffery also notes that given the organizational plan of the AB “it would have been useful only to someone who already knew a great deal about when and how to perform the canticles, collects, and antiphons that are found there.”⁹⁴ This raises an interesting point about the role of memory in the AB and the origin of the manuscript. While it may be impossible to solve the unanswered questions about the AB, Cabrol’s theory invites further investigation and to see the AB from a different perspective. Cabrol was also editor of the *DACL* whose overarching purpose was “to make generally available exhaustive and definitive studies on archeology to c. 800 and on the liturgy to modern times.”⁹⁵ Perhaps Cabrol’s theory offers a new appreciation of the manuscript.

⁹² See Lapidge, “Columbanus and the ‘Antiphony of Bangor,’” 1985, 105-106; Curran, “Hymnum dicat turba fratrum,” in *The Antiphony of Bangor*, 22-34 and “Audite omnes amantes,” 35-44. For more on the hymn *Audite omnes amantes*, see Kenney, “Hymn of Secundinus in honor of Patricius,” in *The Sources*, 258-260; Curran, “Audite omnes amantes,” in *The Antiphony of Bangor*, 35-44; and Michael Herren, “§VI: An Early Irish Precursor of the ‘Offiziendichtung’ of the Carolingian and Ottonian Periods,” in *Latin Letters in Early Christian Ireland* (Aldershot, Hampshire: Variorum, 1996), 291-300. William Reeves notes that the alphabetical order of the verses in the hymns is “an artificial contrivance which was much adopted in the Latin hymn of the early Irish church,” see Reeves, “The Antiphony of Bangor,” 174.

⁹³ Curran, *The Antiphony of Bangor*, 14.

⁹⁴ Jeffery, “Eastern and Western Elements in the Prayer of the Hours,” 115.

⁹⁵ Colbert, “Cabrol, Fernand,” 839.

Given this insight into his theory, there seems even more reason to consider the Hiberno-Latin hymns of the AB and to try to investigate where this information might lead.

1.3 Borromeo and the Ambrosian Library

The manuscript [the Antiphonary of Bangor] formerly belonged to the monastery of Bobio in the Apennines, whence, with other Irish books, it was removed to Milan by Cardinal Frederic Borromaeo, when he founded the Ambrosian library there; and now it is to be found under the reference C. 10 in that collection.⁹⁶

The Ambrosiana Library was founded in 1606 by Federico Borromeo (1564-1631), although an official opening complete with a mass did not take place until 1609. At the time Borromeo was a cardinal and soon to be archbishop. For Borromeo, the Ambrosiana was a masterful achievement: part gallery, part library, and part museum, it was unique in its cultural and religious aims. The tripartite legacy of a *Pinacoteca*, *Biblioteca*, and *Musaeum*, all under the auspices of the Ambrosiana, was a monument to Reformation ideals. Not only could the discerning scholar study the fine collection of manuscripts preserved in the library, but the works in the gallery and museum were to provide models for artistic expression, inspiration, and moral instruction from a Catholic point of view.

Given Borromeo's ideas for the Ambrosiana, it soon gained a reputation for the arts and scholarship.⁹⁷ While the AB may have been in the monastery of Bobbio, its recovery has more to do with Cardinal Borromeo and his vision for the Ambrosiana. Given the destruction that

⁹⁶ Reeves, "The Antiphonary of Bangor," 171. In this excerpt Bobbio is spelt "Bobio" which is often the case in older writings. The shelf number for the Antiphonary of Bangor is no longer C. 10 but C. 5. inf.

⁹⁷ R. Mols, "Borromeo, Federigo," *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, edited by Berard L. Marthaler, volume 2 (Detroit: Thomson Gale in association with the Catholic University of America, 2003), 541-542. Federico Borromeo, *Sacred Painting/Museum*, edited and translated by Kenneth S. Rothwell with introduction by Pamela M. Jones (Cambridge, Massachusetts; London: The I Tatti Renaissance Library Harvard University Press, 2010).

took place at Bangor in the ninth century, at least one scholar has exclaimed about the AB's recovery:

If it had been left in Ireland it would it would have probably shared the fate of nearly all our native service-books; but, being conveyed to Italy soon after it was written, it was there preserved among other treasures of Irish industry, and remained until the seventeenth century, when it was removed to a more accessible depository in the capital of Lombardy.⁹⁸

The AB was perhaps more accessible, but fated to be permanently in an Italian collection.

Borromeo lived in Milan during a period “of considerable religious upheaval.”⁹⁹ As noted, the Ambrosiana was conceived as a tripartite institution¹⁰⁰ where religion and art came together in response to the transforming edicts of the Council of Trent. As a cardinal with elevated ideals of art, Borromeo's acquisitions made the Ambrosiana one of the renowned museums and libraries of its time; a legacy which continues to the present in the Biblioteca and the Pinacoteca.¹⁰¹

Indeed, we can trace a line from Borromeo and the Ambrosiana Library to Muratori, the first editor of the Antiphony of Bangor. At the Ambrosiana manuscripts were made available for study through Borromeo's diligent collecting. On one level, these seem enlightened aims, but in reading his treatises on sacred painting and the museum, there is a sense of ownership, and he is deeply invested in the aesthetical value of art to transform thought.¹⁰² In light of the goals Borromeo had for his institution Pamela Jones concludes that “the traditional view of ecclesiastic

⁹⁸ Reeves, “The Antiphony of Bangor,” 170. James Kenney devotes a section to “Ascendancy, Anglicization, Emancipation” in his book where he mentions the life and contributions of Reeves to Irish studies. See Kenney, *The Sources*, 68, but see section V, 48-69.

⁹⁹ Jones, *Federico Borromeo and the Ambrosiana*, 2.

¹⁰⁰ Jones, *Federico Borromeo and the Ambrosiana*, 2.

¹⁰¹ For a detailed account of the Ambrosiana see the official website for the Biblioteca Pinacoteca Accademia Ambrosiana, accessed June 19, 2010, <<http://www.ambrosiana.eu/jsp/index.jsp>>.

¹⁰² See Borromeo, *Sacred Painting/Museum (De picture sacra and Musaeum)*.

thought of the era circa 1564 to 1630 as a uniformly negative and monolithic era is outmoded.”¹⁰³ When we consider the works of art by well-known painters such as Raphael in the Ambrosiana and the collections of manuscripts of rich value, it is not hard to see why Jones might make such a statement. Three points to take from Jones’ book have implications on the study of the AB. First, Borromeo was a collector of beautiful objects and used the Ambrosiana to edify, educate, and to inspire art with a renewed vigour and passion in a period of religious change. Second, Borromeo set about to “reform Christian scholarship and the figurative arts.”¹⁰⁴ This is evident in Muratori’s edition of the AB, as detailed below. Third, the Ambrosiana as an institution charted a new course and changed how people studied art and manuscripts. The Ambrosiana becomes the place to study the AB and not the library at Bobbio, where having the collection together might have provided more insight into the influence of Irish monks. Although the AB was taken to the Ambrosiana in 1606, the solemn mass for its official opening did not occur until 1609. By then the library had acquired no less than 15,000 manuscripts and 30, 000 printed books, available for scholars to study.¹⁰⁵ Such a precedent was hardly isolated for Borromeo had models in the Medici library in Florence and the Vatican Library in Rome. However, it was in his conception of the Ambrosiana that combined a contemporary space as library - museum - art academy while “evoking the ancient libraries of the past”¹⁰⁶ that set it apart. What Borromeo collected established a way of looking at the past and he “exploited

¹⁰³ Jones, *Federico Borromeo and the Ambrosiana*, 212.

¹⁰⁴ Jones, *Federico Borromeo and the Ambrosiana*, 39. Also see Angelo Paredi, *A History of the Ambrosiana*, translated by Constance and Ralph McInerny, *Storia dell’Ambrosiana* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1983).

¹⁰⁵ Jones, *Federico Borromeo and the Ambrosiana*, 44.

¹⁰⁶ Jones, *Federico Borromeo and the Ambrosiana*, 42. The reference is reminiscent of the evocation of libraries as discussed by Alberto Manguel in *The Library at Night* (Toronto: Vintage Canada, c2006).

sacred art's documentary potential.”¹⁰⁷ In short, Borromeo's Ambrosiana Museum “was the earliest first-rate academic teaching collection in Italy, and perhaps in all of Europe.”¹⁰⁸ The Ambrosiana became an impressive monument to scholarly, artistic, and religious ideals of the seventeenth century and facilitated the study of at least one Irish manuscript: the Antiphonary of Bangor.

1.4 Muratori and the Antiphonary of Bangor

We owe our acquaintance with it (the Antiphonary of Bangor) to Muratori, the illustrious historical antiquary of Italy, who printed it at full length in his *Anecdota Ambrosiana* and assigned to it the place of antiquity and honour which it so well deserves.¹⁰⁹

Ludovico Muratori (1672-1750) was an Italian historian who became “Doctor of the Bibliotheca Ambrosiana in Milan in 1695.”¹¹⁰ With the publication of *Rerum Italicarum scriptores* in twenty-seven volumes (1723-38) and his *Antiquitates Italicae medii aevi* in six volumes (1739-43) Muratori has been considered “the founder and initiator of modern Italian historiography.”¹¹¹ Muratori believed that “historical criticism should be brought to bear on the secular phenomena of the church.”¹¹² Not unlike some of the ideals espoused by Borromeo, Muratori's writings also

¹⁰⁷ Jones, *Federico Borromeo and the Ambrosiana*, 169.

¹⁰⁸ Jones, *Federico Borromeo and the Ambrosiana*, 210.

¹⁰⁹ Reeves, “The Antiphonary of Bangor,” 171.

¹¹⁰ H. Rumpler, “Muratori, Lodovico Antonio,” *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, edited by Bernard L. Marthaler, volume 10 (Detroit: Thomson Gale in association with The Catholic University of America, 2003), 63. For more on Lodovico Muratori see Tommaso Sorbelli, *Spigolature dai Carteggi di Alcuni Corrispondenti di L. A. Muratori (Pietro Ercole Gherardi e Ludovico Antonio Muratori)* (Modena Società tipografica modenese antica Tip. Soliani, 1932).

¹¹¹ Rumpler, “Muratori, Lodovico Antonio,” 63.

¹¹² Rumpler, “Muratori, Lodovico Antonio,” 63.

reveal another sort of moral authority in cultural imperialism.¹¹³ For all his writings he is perhaps better known for his association with the AB.

As the AB's first editor, Muratori's edition in 1713 brought to light a manuscript that had already been in the possession of the Ambrosiana Library in Milan for over a century. He also had the privilege of naming the manuscript. Although Muratori's title of the AB – *Antiphonarium Benchorensis* (“The Antiphonary of Bangor”) – is perhaps inadequate to reflect the contents of the manuscript, the name, like a moniker, “has become permanent.”¹¹⁴

Perhaps Muratori recognized features about the manuscript that the title was meant to represent. Rather than see the name as a misnomer, the title perhaps calls attention to the texts. In light of Cabrol's hypothesis, there are two interpretations of the AB which point in the direction of music. While it remains unclear why Muratori used the name, we are left with a book that continues to be a fascinating document. The twelve hymns alone are examples of Hiberno-Latin poetics that “represents an imaginative recreation of an imported artifact within a

¹¹³ See Lodovico Antonio Muratori, *A Relation of the Missions of Paraguay. Wrote originally in Italian, by Mr. Muratori, and now done into English from the French translation.* London, M.DCC.LIX. [1759], *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. Gale. University of Toronto, accessed 18 October 2011 <http://find.galegroup.com/myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/ecco/infomark.do?&contentSet=ECCOArticles&type=multi&tabID=T001&prodId=ECCO&docId=CW3317414843&source=gale&userGroupName=utoronto_main&version=1.0&docLevel=FASCIMILE>. Also see Muratori, *A Relation of the Missions of Paraguay*, 87- 91. Although it is beyond the scope of this dissertation, in *A Relation of the Missions of Paraguay* (1756) a more complex history shows that Catholic missionaries had infiltrated South America and Muratori's interpretation of these experiences is an example of observations from a privileged position. The chapter on “The Music of the Indians” reveals an interesting mix of religious imperialism.

¹¹⁴ Kenney, *The Sources*, 707. Ludovico Muratori's *Anecdota ex Ambrosianae Bibliothecae Codicibus* (Anecdota Ambrosiana) IV (Padua, 1713), 119-59. I have obtained a copy based on the above publication in Migne, “*Antiphonarium Monasterii Benchorensis* (*Murat. Anecd. T. IV*, p. 121 sqq.)” 579-606.

wholly different set of aesthetic parameters.”¹¹⁵ These are rich texts imbued with information and references to a wider sphere of liturgical influences that shaped the Irish church.

1.5 Significance of the Manuscript’s Recovery

What a pity it is that a small portion of the learning and zeal which afforded to the early Irish the means of enriching, with the fruits of their labours, even distant kingdoms on the continent, does not inspire their descendants, who have time and money at command, to follow the steps that have been hallowed by the name of Irish, and gather up those fragments of national history, those legitimate materials for national pride, which remain scattered among the various nations of the Continent, and assign to the memory of Ireland a place in the western world which no other country in Europe could venture to claim.¹¹⁶

The sentiment expressed in the words of William Reeves (1815-1892) gives an indication of the motivation behind antiquarian studies. The pursuit of Irish antiquities began in earnest during the eighteenth century with the establishment of learned societies. A renewed interest in Irish history led to a growing amount of scholarship of which the Ambrosiana’s AB was well placed for further attention. These elements helped fuel societies devoted to historical studies whose aim was the preservation of Ireland’s rich past. This also points out the intricacies and the continental connections entwined with such an important book as the AB. Like a kaleidoscope, the lens through which scholars have viewed the manuscript has superimposed their interpretations on what is already a complex history. Given the AB’s Italian connection, this raises the issue of origin and on what grounds it is considered a relic of the early Irish church.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁵ Jane Stevenson, “Hiberno-Latin Hymns: Learning and Literature,” in *Irland und Europa im früheren Mittelalter/ Ireland and Europe in the Early Middle Ages: Bildung und Literature/ Learning and Literature*, edited by Próinseas Ní Chatháin and Michael Richter (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1996), 99.

¹¹⁶ Reeves, “The Antiphonary of Bangor,” 170.

¹¹⁷ For more on antiquarianism see Kenney, “§V: Ascendancy, Anglicisation, Emancipation,” and “§VI: Modern Scholarship and the Gaelic Revival,” in *The Sources*, 48-84.

If the AB was a type of service book intended for the president of the choir,¹¹⁸ then it is worth knowing more about extent of its influence. Apart from the hymns, the numbers of antiphons that accompany the Psalms also allude to chant performance. When placed in the larger history of Latin hymnody, a genre that was embraced by the Christian Church, the developments in Ireland are an important legacy. The endurance of hymns through the ages, their late acceptance into the Church liturgy, and their importance in Ireland are in themselves a compelling study.

The evidence of musical fragments recovered from the bindings of recycled liturgical manuscripts in the Irish founded Schottenstift in Vienna¹¹⁹ suggests that there is still more to learn about the Irish presence on the continent. The Schottenklöster are so-called because of the derivation of “scotus” referring to the inhabitants of Ireland as “monasteria Scotorm” were “monasteries of the Irish.”¹²⁰ Apart from references to hymns and singing, musical evidence related to early Ireland is rare (one of the earliest sources being the Drummond Missal dated from the twelfth century); the discovery is significant and has spurred a search for other artifacts, particularly in monasteries with Irish connections. A closer examination of the fragments may help to confirm more fully that a “continental musico-liturgical legacy of the Irish Church”

¹¹⁸ Cabrol, “Bangor (Antiphonaire de),” 183-191 at 187.

¹¹⁹ Martin Czernin, “Fragments of Liturgical Chant from Medieval Irish Monasteries in Continental Europe.” *Early Music* 28/2 (2000), 217-227. For more see Dagmar Ó Riain-Raedel, “Cashel and Germany: the Documentary Evidence,” in *Ireland and Europe in the Twelfth Century: Reform and Renewal*, edited by Damian Bracken and Dagmar Ó Riain-Raedel (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2006), 176-217; Ó Riain-Raedel, “Irish Benedictine Monasteries on the Continent,” in *The Irish Benedictines: A History*, edited by Martin Browne and Colmán Ó Clabaigh (Blackrock, Co. Dublin: The Columba Press, 2005), 25-63; Ó Riain-Raedel, “Ireland and Austria in the Middle Ages: The Role of the Irish Monks in Austria,” in *Austro-Irish Links through the Centuries*, edited by Paul Leifer and Eda Sagarra (Wien: Diplomatische Akademie-Wien, Vienna School of International Studies, Favorita Papers – Special Editions, 2002, 11-40; Ó Riain-Raedel, “Ireland’s Oldest Music Manuscript?” *History Ireland* 5/3 (Autumn 1997), 11-13; and Ó Riain-Raedel, “Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century Irish Annals in Vienna,” *Peritia* 2 (1983), 127-136.

¹²⁰ Pádraig A. Breatnach, “The Origins of the Irish Monastic Tradition at Ratisbon,” *Celtica* XII (1980), 58.

existed as in “the Vienna Schotten during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.”¹²¹ Given that Columbanus (*ca.* 540-615) was trained at Bangor before his monastic mission which culminated in his final endeavour, Bobbio (613) (in which the AB was subsequently discovered) and other Irish monks were transmitters of monasticism on the continent, a deeper understanding of the AB provides the liturgical framework from which to understand later notated evidence with Irish associations. Either way, it is important to see where the pieces of musical evidence fit together and if there is any relationship between earlier manuscripts.

The AB also provides insight into the structure of the liturgy in the early Irish Church at a point of social and cultural change: “It is from the texts of prayers and hymns that we can discover the characteristic ‘genius’ of this liturgy, as of any other liturgy.”¹²² The literary and linguistic dynamics at work in the texts of this manuscript have continued to draw attention from scholars in several disciplines. Within an Irish context, hymns were considered “a source of indulgence and grace, and in this connection, the singing of the last three stanzas was considered sufficient to earn a spiritual reward.”¹²³ Theological and spiritual ideas are conveyed in the verses and the hymns serve as metaphorical transport to God.

The hymns also provide examples of a poetical style that draws on the Ambrosian hymnodic tradition. Here, the advantage of a non-notated manuscript is that the intricacies of the

¹²¹ Ann Buckley, “The Liturgical Veneration of Irish Saints in Medieval Europe,” *Études Irlandaises* 27/2 (2002), 135. This search has been widened to “former centers of Irish activity” and includes specialists in musicology, palaeography, liturgiology, art history, and Irish church history,” 133-138 at 136. Also see Czernin, “Fragments of Liturgical Chant from,” 217-227 and Ó Riain-Raedel, “Ireland’s Oldest Music Manuscript?” 11-13.

¹²² Curran, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, 12.

¹²³ Buckley, “Music in Ireland c1500,” 782, note 100. In the paragraph Ann Buckley references James Carney’s discussion of the poetry of Blathmac. For more see Ann Buckley, “‘And his voice swelled like a terrible thunderstorm...’: Music as Symbolic Sound in Medieval Irish Society,” in Gerard Gillen and Harry White, eds., *Irish Musical Studies 3: Music and Irish Cultural History* (Blackrock, Co. Dublin; Portland, OR: Irish Academic Press, 1995), 11-74.

poetics can perhaps be appreciated more fully without the propensity to consider notation as a means to understanding the liturgy. As musicologist Patrick Brannon has observed,

it is important to pursue a better understanding of chant and liturgical music in medieval Ireland, not only as an example of local practice and tradition, but also within the wider context of chant repertories in England, Scotland, Wales and continental Europe.¹²⁴

While my focus is of a smaller dimension, Brannon is right, and it is important to understand Ireland in the context of Western music. At the same time, without notation there remains an element of performance practice that eludes the student of music in medieval Ireland. However, the attention given to Ireland's contribution during the early Middle Ages as a conduit of monastic and educational teachings have perhaps overshadowed the musical elements.

Liturgical documents and monastic rules used in Irish monasteries provide insight into the religious culture, both in Ireland and on the continent. During the early Merovingian period, for example, Gertrude of Nivelles, daughter of Pepin the Elder of Landen (c.580-640)¹²⁵ was instrumental in bringing Irish monks to assist in the education of her nuns. More of this history will be discussed in a later chapter. Indeed, some of the interconnections between Ireland and the continent show that there were strong links with Irish monasticism and that music must surely have been transmitted along with literary texts. The recent discovery of musical fragments in the Schottenstift in Vienna, again, a topic of a later discussion, demonstrates there is

¹²⁴ Brannon, "Medieval Ireland: Music in Cathedral, Church, and Cloister," *Early Music* 28/2 (2000): 193-204.

¹²⁵ The wife of Pepin I of Landen was Itta (d. 652) and they had three children: Grimoald (d. 656), Gertrude (d. 659), and Begga (d. 693), the "ancestors of Charlemagne." For this information and for an overview of the Carolingian lineage, see Celia Chazell, "Carolingian Dynasty," *Medieval France: An Encyclopedia*, edited by William W. Kibler and Grover A. Zinn (New York; London: Garland, 1995), 176, but see complete entry, 174-178. For a detailed history of the Carolingians see Rosamond McKitterick, *Charlemagne: The Formation of European Identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008; McKitterick, *History and Memory in the Carolingian World* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004; McKitterick, *The Frankish Kingdoms Under the Carolingians, 751-987* (London; New York: Longman, 1983; and McKitterick, *The Frankish Church and the Carolingian Reforms, 789-895* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1977).

more to learn about the Irish liturgy. For now understanding the significance of the AB will be a useful guide into the early Irish liturgy.

1.6 Conclusion

This chapter has set out to accomplish three goals: to provide a history and synopsis of the manuscript, to revisit Fernand Cabrol's theory that the Antiphonary was for use by the office of the president of the choir, and to show how Cardinal Borromeo and Ludvioco Muratori changed the destiny of the manuscript. The chapter has also shown the turn research can take when new information becomes available. The brief excursion into the period when the Antiphonary was recovered places the manuscript in another historical context that ensured its place in history. While it is unclear what happened to the AB after it was written until the time of its recovery in 1606, its texts overlap with other liturgical manuscripts of the period and show its wider influence. At least one of the earliest sources of a text used in the Milanese liturgy is preserved in the AB.¹²⁶

The hymns are a feature of AB and are of musical interest. In this respect reliable evidence can be deployed “not only in reconstructing the history of music in Ireland but also in an attempt to fill certain critical gaps in the history of music of the greater European area.”¹²⁷ As I hope will become more evident in the subsequent chapters, music needs to be considered in relation to the liturgy, and the AB is a vital resource. The monastery of Bangor was an important

¹²⁶ For example the text of the hymn *Te Deum laudamus*; see Michel Huglo, “Psalmody in the Ambrosian Rite: Observations on Liturgy and Music,” *Ambrosiana at Harvard; New Sources of Milanese Chant*, edited by Thomas Forrest Kelly and Matthew Mugmon (Cambridge, MA: Houghton Library of the Harvard College Library, 2010), 98.

¹²⁷ Buckley, “Music in Ireland to c.1550,” 808.

monastic center and the AB is a witness to the religious conversion that was to have a dramatic effect in Ireland and on the continent. The extraordinary endeavour of the Irish *peregrini*, and the monasteries founded in Ireland and in Europe, attest to their ascetic ideals. The AB is literary proof of a religious epoch of historical significance in the development of the Irish monastic movement. In it “we may well be witnessing one of the very first attempts to put the Irish Office into the written form.”¹²⁸ Investigation into the Celtic rite occupied scholarly interest and the HBS edition seems to reflect this pursuit. That the two volumes are reproduced in a larger format than several of the other books in the series seems to underscore its significance. In one respect, the Ambrosiana has in its keeping an Irish document that offers a glimpse of the Irish church. As a type of service book for the leader of the choir the Antiphony takes on a musical dimension, and it is to the hymns my study now turns.

¹²⁸ Jeffery, “Eastern and Western Elements in the Irish Monastic Prayer of the Hours,” 115.

Chapter 2

The Hymns of the Antiphonary of Bangor

In one important respect the early Irish church made a distinctive contribution to the Latin literature of medieval Europe, namely in the composition of hymns in a variety of rhythmical forms.¹²⁹

In *Peritia* Michael Lapidge once wrote that for the student of Hiberno-Latin literature “the most interesting contents of the ‘Antiphonary of Bangor’ are the various hymns.”¹³⁰ Indeed, the style of poetic verse and the Latin morphology, all provide insight into the literary milieu of early Christian Ireland. They also reflect a transition to rhythmic verse. Only two hymns in the AB are in quantitative metre: *Hymnum dicat turba fratrum* [AB 2] and *Ignis creator igneus* [AB 9].¹³¹ Given that Latin was not the indigenous language, the hymns are remarkable examples of Irish poetry, and bear their own cultural markers. But the hymns also have significance for students of music. As a form of religious expression composed in verse, the hymns convey information about the larger Christian world. In this the AB reflects a monastic community of a high order. This chapter probes Lapidge’s words to capture some of the marvel of Hiberno-Latin verse. What can the hymns of the AB tell us about the monastic culture of early Christian Ireland and music?

As the word “Hiberno” designates a distinct body of Latin literature, I begin with a definition of the term. The scholarly interest in literature from Celtic regions “since the mid-1960s” has shown that Hiberno-Latin was influenced by vernacular practices; most notably in

¹²⁹ Michael Lapidge, “A New Hiberno-Latin Hymn on St. Martin,” *Celtica* 21 (1990), 240.

¹³⁰ Michael Lapidge, “Columbanus and the ‘Antiphonary of Bangor,’” *Peritia* 4 (1984), 104.

¹³¹ Curran, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, 21.

orthographical practice.”¹³² The number of critical editions and journals devoted to Hiberno-Latin studies continues to support this academic discipline. At the same time, Michael Herren once remarked that Hiberno-Latin literatures is a subject “that lies, so to speak, beyond the Pale.”¹³³ Not only as a recent and specialized area of research, but also because the field covers a range of scholarship from the late nineteenth century onwards.¹³⁴ Although Herren’s comments were written over twenty-five years ago there are lingering opinions that continue to affect more recent studies. Tracing the history of manuscripts and proving Irish origins is more often a long and complicated process. Herren’s comments also suggest another aspect of the subject. Embedded in the scholarship are theological perspectives which are reflected in some of the individual translations of the hymns found in Appendix III. At first glance, the number of translations may seem an exercise in collecting rather than research, but the variances tell a different story and convey a theological bent. The translations also speak to the popularity of certain AB hymns as evidenced in their appearance in the Anglican or Church of Ireland

¹³² Michael Herren, “Hiberno-Latin,” *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, edited by Joseph R. Strayer, volume 6 (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1985), 221; and Michael Herren, “Hiberno-Latin Philology: The State of the Question,” in *Insular Latin Studies: Papers on Latin Texts and Manuscripts of the British Isles, 550-1066* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1981), 1-22 at 2. Herren notes that Ludwig Bieler has done much to advance the field of study with the establishment of the *Scriptores Latini Hiberniae* series published by Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies. Celtic Studies programs at universities have supported academic journals such as *Celtica* and *Peritia*. An important publication is the *Irish Texts Society* founded in 1898 “to promote the study of Irish literature” and publishes annotated texts in Irish with English translations and commentaries; see “Home Page,” accessed May 30, 2012, <<http://www.irishtextssociety.org/index.htm>>.

¹³³ Herren, “Hiberno-Latin Philology: The State of the Question,” 1. The phrase “beyond the Pale” refers to the environs around Dublin that were under English rule and the term was first used in 1495 to refer to this fortified region. There are various interpretations of the word “Pale” in relation to the inner districts known as the Maghery (*machaire*) and the area under English control. Over time the Pale was “a shifting medieval frontier whose borders coincided with geographical, cultural, administrative, political, and military boundaries between English and Irish regions in Leinster” that changed with the domination of the Tudors; see Mary Ann Lyons, “Pale, or English Pale,” *The Encyclopedia of Ireland*, edited by Brian Lalor (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 852-3 at 853. Herren’s use of a double entendre in relation to Hiberno-Latin literature is interesting and suggests a study in itself.

¹³⁴ See Herren, “Hiberno-Latin Philology: The State of the Question,” 1-22.

hymnals, for example.¹³⁵ Still, some ideas have tended to reside less in the period and more, as Marco Mostert puts it, “in the mind of the nineteenth- and twentieth-century scholars who conjured up their own images of the early medieval history of Ireland.”¹³⁶ The term “Celtic” for example, has been designate a sub-branch of Indo-European languages and has been applied retrospectively to designate a linguistic region.¹³⁷ As Julia Smith notes, “the designation ‘Celtic’ is a construct of eighteenth-century philological erudition infused with romantic-era political and cultural aspiration: it has no basis in medieval understanding.”¹³⁸ This is a large subject, but it is important to acknowledge some of the complexities surrounding Hiberno-Latin literature, particularly in light of antiquarian studies and nationalist aims,¹³⁹ a subject touched on in the final chapter.

I then focus on the twelve hymns of the AB. The Latin texts with English translations in Appendix III will be a useful guide as each hymn is discussed. Rather than re-analyze the hymns as others have done, I have compiled a synopsis of the twelve hymns found in Table 2 at the end of the section. Finally, I conclude with a discussion of two other texts in the AB: the *Te Deum*

¹³⁵ See “Hymn: 269 - Draw nigh and take the Body of the Lord,” *Hymns Ancient and Modern: for use in the services of the Church with accompanying tunes. Historical Edition with notes on the origin of both hymns and tunes and a general historical introduction illustrated by facsimilies and portraits* (London: Willam Clowes & Sons, 1909).

¹³⁶ Marco Mostert, “Celtic, Anglo-Saxon or Insular?” in *Cultural Identity and Cultural Integration: Ireland and Europe in the Early Middle Ages*, edited Doris Edel (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1995), 99.

¹³⁷ See Paul Russell, “What was best of every language,” in *A New History of Ireland, I: Prehistoric and Early Ireland*, edited by Dáibhí Ó Cróinín (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 405-450; and James Carney, “Language and Literature to 1169,” in *A New History of Ireland, I: Prehistoric and Early Ireland*, edited by Dáibhí Ó Cróinín (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 451-510.

¹³⁸ Julia M. H. Smith, *Europe After Rome: A New Cultural History 500-1000* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 19.

¹³⁹ For more on discussion on antiquarian studies and nationalism see: Elizabeth Croke, *Politics, Archaeology and the Creation of a National Museum* (Dublin; Portland, OR: Irish Academic Press, 2000); Lesa Ní Mhugháile, “Anglo-Irish Antiquarianism and the Transformation of Irish Identity, 1750-1800,” in *Anglo-Irish Identities, 1571-1845* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2008), 181-198. On music see Ita Margaret Hogan, *Anglo-Irish Music* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1966).

laudamus [AB 7, f10r], with the AB heading *Hymnus die Dominica*, and the *Gloria in excelsis* [AB 116, f33r], also known as the Angelic Hymn.¹⁴⁰ The *Te Deum* and the *Gloria in excelsis* are two of the oldest hymns of the Christian Church¹⁴¹ and the AB is the earliest known manuscript to preserve these texts. Their absence from the inventory I have listed in Appendix II is because they are often considered a type of song or canticle,¹⁴² but they may sometimes fall into the category of a hymn (see Table 1). John Harper has referred to the *Te Deum laudamus*, for example, as a “prose hymn.”¹⁴³ Andrew Hughes also points out that “although both the *Te Deum* and the *Gloria* are more reflective of psalmodic prose, and less typical of hymns with texts that rhyme, they may also be referred to as hymns.”¹⁴⁴ Given the specialized nature of these hymns, scholars such as Warren and Curran have considered them as separate texts, rather than include them in the list of the twelve hymns of the AB. Notwithstanding their ambiguity, the *Te Deum* and the *Gloria* require further comment, if only to establish their significance in relation to the AB.

¹⁴⁰ Michel Huglo, “Psalmody in the Ambrosian Rite: Observations on Liturgy and Music,” in *Ambrosiana at Harvard: New Sources of Milanese Chant*, edited by Thomas Forrest Kelly and Matthew Mugmon (Cambridge, MA: Houghton Library of the Harvard College Library, 2010), 97-124. For further information on the *Te Deum laudamus* see, Curran, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, 124-127; 184; and 189. For more on the *Gloria in excelsis* see, Curran, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, 169; 173; and 190.

¹⁴¹ For more on the *Gloria in excelsis* and the *Te Deum* see Joseph A. Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite: Its Origins and Development*, translated by Francis A. Brunner (Blackrock, Co. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1986), 346-359. Also see Ann Buckley, “Celtic chant, §6: Hymns,” *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, edited by Stanley Sadie, volume 5 (London: Macmillan, 2001), 345.

¹⁴² Harper, *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy*, 67.

¹⁴³ Harper, *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy*, 83.

¹⁴⁴ Andrew Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office: A Guide to Their Organization and Terminology* (Toronto; Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1980), 37-8.

Jane Stevenson observes that “discussing hymnody involves orchestrating a mass of small pieces of data.”¹⁴⁵ This is perhaps a theme throughout my research, but as I hope to show the history of music in medieval Ireland depends on small pieces to see the bigger picture. As scholars learn more of Ireland’s continental connections such as Michael Richter’s recent study on Bobbio,¹⁴⁶ or Sara Casey¹⁴⁷ and Ann Buckley’s work on the veneration of Irish saints in continental manuscripts, our knowledge about this historical period is changing what is known not only about Irish connections, but about music. The Hiberno-Latin hymns may offer a way into the AB, but it is important to see the vibrant liturgical culture they represent and their greater significance to the Irish church.

2.1 Hiberno-Latin

“Hiberno-Latin” as a type of Latin literature developed as a result of Christianity in Ireland which brought the “art of writing”¹⁴⁸ and the “religion of the book.”¹⁴⁹ The development of

¹⁴⁵ Jane Stevenson, “Irish Hymns, Venantius Fortunatus and Poitiers,” in *Aquitaine and Ireland in the Middle Ages*, edited by Jean-Michel Picard (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1995), 81.

¹⁴⁶ Richter, *Bobbio in the Early Middle Ages*.

¹⁴⁷ Sara Casey, *Songs for the Perigrini: Proper Chants for Irish Saints as Found in Continental Manuscripts in the Middle Ages*, 2003, Ph.D. Theses.

¹⁴⁸ Kenney, *The Sources*, 1.

¹⁴⁹ Jane Stevenson, “Literacy and Orality in early Medieval Ireland,” in *Cultural Identity and Cultural Integration: Ireland and Europe in the Early Middle Ages*, edited by Doris Edel (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1995), 11.

Christianity is generally attributed to the work of Patrick (*ca.* 373-*ca.* 463),¹⁵⁰ and Palladius (*ca.* after 432)¹⁵¹ who arrived in Ireland in the fifth-century.¹⁵² Ireland's reception to Christianity had a substantial impact on Irish culture. One area was the establishment of monastic centers which became important conduits of knowledge in the early medieval period. Another was language and the shift from an oral to a written culture. Jane Stevenson suggests that because Ireland was not conquered, this allowed for a different relationship to exist between oral and written practices.¹⁵³ Ireland was already an organized society prior to Christianity, therefore the evidence from the early period reflects this literary exchange. The mingling of two cultures

¹⁵⁰ There are several books that deal with the life of St. Patrick. Among them are: David Dumville, ed., *Saint Patrick A.D. 493-1993* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: the Boydell Press, 1993); Ailbhe MacShamhráin, ed., *The Island of St. Patrick: Church and Ruling Dynasties in Fingal and Meath, 400-1148* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2004); James Carney, *The Problem of St. Patrick* (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1961); and Ludwig Bieler, *Studies on the Life and Legend of St. Patrick*, edited by Richard Sharpe (London: Variorum Reprints, 1986). For a synopsis of his life, see Ludwig Bieler, "Patrick, St.," *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, second edition, volume 10 (Washington, D. C.: Thomson Gale in association with The Catholic University of America, 2003), 952-955. Here, Bieler notes in the bibliography that "St. Patrick's *Confessio*, the 7th-century Life by Muirchú, and the Breviarum by Tírechán were collected in the Book of Armagh, a manuscript now in Trinity College, Dublin." On St. Patrick's writings see: Newport J. D. White, *A Translation of the Latin Writings of St. Patrick* (London: S. P. C. K., 1918); Ludwig Bieler, *Codices Patriciani Latini; A Descriptive Catalogue of Latin Manuscripts Relating to St. Patrick* (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1942); and *The Works of St. Patrick: Hymn on St. Patrick/ St. Secundinus*, translated and annotated by L. Bieler (Westminster, MD: Newman Press; London: Longmans Green, 1953).

¹⁵¹ The exact dates for St. Palladius are uncertain, but he died after 432. Palladius was sent to Ireland by Pope Celestine I (d. 432) and his ministry intersects with the life of St. Patrick. An accurate account of Palladius life is complicated by the lack of evidence and the mythology that surrounds the Irish patron, St. Patrick; see P. Roche, "Palladius, St.," *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, second edition, volume 10 (Washington, D. C.: Thomson Gale in association with The Catholic University of America, 2003), 805. Thomas O'Loughlin notes that the only reliable source on the life of Palladius is Prosper of Aquitaine's *Chronicon* (c.431); see O'Loughlin, "Palladius," *The Encyclopedia of Ireland*, edited by Brian Lalor (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2003), 853. For articles related to the life of Palladius, see; Charles Thomas, "Palladius and Patrick," in *The Island of St. Patrick: Church and Ruling Dynasties in Fingal and Meath, 400-1148*, edited by Ailbhe MacShamhráin (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2004); and T. M. Charles-Edwards, "Palladius, Prosper, and Leo the Great: Mission and Primatial Authority," in *Saint Patrick*, edited by David N. Dumville (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 1993), 1-12.

¹⁵² See John Ryan, "St. Patrick" and "Monasticism in the Irish Church Between the Death of St. Patrick, A.D. 461 and 520," in *Irish Monasticism: Origins and Early Development* (Shannon, Ireland: Irish University Press, 1931), 59-104. Also see the section in Neil Xavier O'Donoghue, "Ireland and Her Place in Europe Prior to the Coming of Christianity," *The Eucharist in Pre-Norman Ireland* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2011), 2-4.

¹⁵³ See Stevenson, "Literacy and Orality in Early Medieval Ireland," 11-22.

Christian and pre-Christian, did not result in the elimination of the other, but a respect for the past and the new technology of writing.¹⁵⁴ These ideas have been pursued more recently by Mary Carruthers and M. T. Clanchy and the role of memory in the transition to written form.¹⁵⁵ From an Irish perspective Jane Stevenson notes that the history of literacy in Ireland “challenges some of the accepted paradigms, in particular, the often-voiced assumption that a quasi-Darwinian process causes written culture to drive out oral culture.”¹⁵⁶ Stevenson concludes it is perhaps “more fruitful to think in terms of biculturality.”¹⁵⁷ The term presents an interesting way to consider the development of language and the ways in which this might impact Irish culture. Doris Edel points out there are other cultural binaries under consideration in Ireland: “the parties are pagan and Christian, vernacular and Latin, oral and literate, late classical and

¹⁵⁴ Prior to writing of manuscripts, there already existed a form of written communication. Ogam, the earliest Irish-Gaelic alphabet dates from the fourth century and the inscriptions are evident on stones throughout Ireland. For more see Michael Richter, *Medieval Ireland* (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 2005b), 11; and Dáibhí Ó Cróinín, *Early Medieval Ireland 400-1200* (London; New York: Longman, 1995), 33-36. For more on ogam writing see Damian McManus, *A Guide to Ogam* (Maynooth: An Sagart, 1981); McManus, *the Ogam Stones at University College Cork* (Cork: Cork University Press, 2004); and Catherine Swift, *Ogam Stones and the Earliest Irish Christian* (Maynooth: Department of Old and Middle Irish, St. Patrick’s College, 1997).

¹⁵⁵ See Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*, 2nd edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, [1990] 2008); Mary Carruthers and Jan M. Ziolkowski, *The Medieval Craft of Memory: An Anthology of Texts and Pictures* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002); and M. T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066-1307* (London: Edward Arnold, 1979). For the emergence of music literacy see Anna Maria Busse Berger, *Medieval Music and the Art of Memory* (Berkeley; Los Angeles; London; University of California Press, 2005).

¹⁵⁶ Stevenson, “Literacy and Orality in Early Medieval Ireland,” 22.

¹⁵⁷ Stevenson, “Literacy and Orality in Early Medieval Ireland,” 22. The term “biculturality” (bi-cultural) needs to be understood within the phenomena of “culture.” Unfortunately, Stevenson does not provide a footnote for further study. For more on literacy see Walter Ong, *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word* (London; New York: Routledge, 1982); and Rosamond McKitterick, ed., *The Uses of Literacy in the Medieval Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998). For references to culture see Philip K. Bock, “Culture Change,” *Encyclopedia of Cultural Anthropology*, edited by David Levinson and Melvin Ember, volume 1 (New York: A Henry Holt Reference Book, Henry Holt and Co., 1996), 299-302; and Ward H. Goodenough, “Culture,” in *Encyclopedia of Cultural Anthropology*, edited by David Levinson and Melvin Ember, volume 1 (New York: A Henry Holt Reference Book, Henry Holt, 1996), 291-297. Some recent studies from a cultural and anthropological perspective that have been helpful to understand the complexities of Irish culture and identity are: Thomas M. Wilson and Hastings Donnan, *The Anthropology of Ireland* (Oxford; New York: Berg, 2006); Peadar Kirby, Luke Gibbons and Michael Cronin, eds., *Reinventing Ireland: Culture, Society and the Global Economy* (London; Sterling, VA: Pluto Press, 2002); and Luke Gibbons, *Transformations in Irish Culture* (Cork, Ireland: Cork University Press, in association with Field Day, 1996).

insular – Celtic – in short, the indigenous and the imported culture.”¹⁵⁸ The oral tradition was deeply ingrained in Irish culture.¹⁵⁹ Rather than dismiss the trappings of Christianity, the art of writing provided another avenue of literary expression. As there are no books which tell us about the musical process, it is important to recognize the impact of Latin and the written word. Walter Ong reminds us “we tend to think of early oral cultures, before the invention of script as simply illiterate.”¹⁶⁰ Mary Carruthers has pointed out the importance of visual cues in the role of memory and the function of images in medieval culture.¹⁶¹ Images trigger memory but they also orient a person to specific time, place, or action. From a musical perspective, notation did not replace the need for memorization, but can be seen as a means to aid in the transmission of the liturgy. Anna Maria Busse Berger has recently observed that “a study of the role of memory allows us to arrive at a new and very different picture of medieval music, a picture more in line with cultural practices of the period, where oral and written transmission interact.”¹⁶² When these ideas are taken into consideration in relation to the AB, the manuscript is in fact a witness to technological, cultural, and religious changes in Irish society. In the texts, the character of Hiberno-Latin reflects both “cultural identity and cultural integration.”¹⁶³

¹⁵⁸ Doris Edel, *The Celtic West and Europe: Studies in Celtic Literature and the Early Irish Church* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2001), 20.

¹⁵⁹ For more information, see: Kim McCone, *Pagan Past and Christian Present in Early Irish Literature* (Maynooth: An Sagart, 1990); Dáibhí Ó Cróinín, ed., *A New History of Ireland, I: Prehistoric and Early Ireland* (Oxford, GB: Oxford University Press, 2005); and Ó Cróinín, Dáibhí. *Early Medieval Ireland 400-1200* (London; New York: Longman, 1995).

¹⁶⁰ Walter Ong, *The Presence of the Word: Some Prolegomena for Cultural and Religious History* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1967), 19.

¹⁶¹ Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 274-337 at 274.

¹⁶² Busse Berger, *Medieval Music and the Art of Memory*, 44.

¹⁶³ The reference is from the book title, *Cultural Identity and Cultural Integration: Ireland and Europe in the Early Middle Ages*, edited by Doris Edel (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1995), cover.

Through contact with other Christian regions such as Spain and Gaul, texts reached Ireland and drew them into the realm of written knowledge. These skills helped to make Ireland an important scholastic center in the early Middle Ages and monasteries provided an avenue for the transmission of literature.¹⁶⁴ Along with Britain, the Irish and the Anglo-Saxons adapted “continental grammars to their own peculiar conditions” such that “a style of writing, vocabulary and syntax resulted.”¹⁶⁵ The integration of Latin literature gradually gave way to a new literary style.¹⁶⁶ Some of the features of this style can be noted in the creative use of assonance, rhythm, alliteration, and the move away from Latin metrical forms.¹⁶⁷ These features, along with other Hiberno-Latin characteristics such as the practice of adding Latin

¹⁶⁴ On the transmission of texts, see Jonathan M. Wooding, “Trade as a factor in the transmission of texts between Ireland and the continent in the sixth and seventh century,” in *Ireland and Europe in the Early Middle Ages: Texts and Transmission/Ireland und Europe im früheren Mittelalter: Texte und Überlieferung*, edited by Próinséas Ní Chatháin and Michael Richter (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2002), 14-26. For a studies on monasticism see John Ryan, *Irish Monasticism: Origins and Early Development* (Shannon, Ireland: Irish University Press, 1972), particularly “§8 Work,” 360-383 and the section on “Intellectual,” 365-383; and more recent Catherine Thom, *Early Irish Monasticism: An Understanding of Its Cultural Roots* (London: t & T Clark, 2006).

¹⁶⁵ Keith Sidwell, “Hiberno-Latin,” in *Reading Medieval Latin* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 70. Sidwell presents an informative synopsis on Hiberno-Latin, along with texts representative of the style of the Irish tradition of Latin writing, see 70-92. For a discussion of characteristic features see A. P. McD. Orchard, “Some Aspects of Seventh-Century Hiberno-Latin Syntax: A Statistical Approach,” *Peritia* 6-7 (1987-88): 158-201. For a study on *Auraicept Na N-Éces* and Middle Irish primers see, George Calder, ed., *Auraicept Na N-Éces The Scholars’ Primer: Being the Texts of the Ogham Tract from the Book of Ballymote and the Yellow Book of Lecan, and the Text of the Trefhodcul from the Book of Leinster* (Edinburgh: John Grant, 1917).

¹⁶⁶ Ireland was divided into an intricate social system which included the learned class of *filid* or seers or poets. As poets, the *filid* were highly skilled and educated in the art of poetical expression and divine gifts. Poetry and verse composition was their area of expertise. For these ideas and a discussion see Curran, “Early Irish Verse, *The Antiphony of Bangor*, 19-21. See Kenney, *The Sources*, 1-16. Doris Edel notes: “The law belonged originally to the domain of the *filid* (sing. *fili*), the professional men of learning, who combined the function of panegyric poet with that of custodian of the learned and literary tradition (history, law, poetical and narrative art),” see Edel, *The Celtic West and Europe*, 25. For more on the transition and introduction of Latin literature, see Curran, *The Antiphony of Bangor*, 19-21. For a critical edition and commentary of *Uraicecht na Ríar* concerning the grades of *filid*, see Liam Breatnach, ed., *Uraicecht Na Ríar: The Poetic Grades in Early Irish Law* (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1987).

¹⁶⁷ For more on the characteristics of Hiberno-Latin and Irish poetics Gerard Murphy, *Early Irish Metrics* (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 1961); Liam Breatnach, *Uraicecht Na Ríar*; Liam Breatnach, *A Companion to the Corpus iuris hibernici* (Dublin: School of Celtic Studies, Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 2005). For a useful discussion on technical elements of poetry in the medieval era see Dag Norberg, *Introduction à l’étude de la versification latine médiévale* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1958), and available in an English translation.

endings onto Irish words¹⁶⁸ have been called “Irish symptoms” and denote a distinct style of Latinity preserved in written form.¹⁶⁹

The term “Hiberno-Latin”¹⁷⁰ has been attributed to the medieval scholar Mario Esposito (1887-1975), who was the son of Michele Esposito (1855-1929), the musical pedagogue and professor of piano at the Royal Irish Academy of Music in Dublin from 1882 to 1928.¹⁷¹ Esposito’s work helped to define the subject as a recognized area of study. The scholarly attention given to Irish texts has made this an important academic field of study.¹⁷² Important here are the strong poetical elements. Nowhere is this more relevant than in the AB where the mechanics of the poetry brings out the lyrical qualities of the hymns. These elements point to the musicality behind the words and help to draw out the performative aspects of the AB. For example, the rhythmic aspect of the verses, the use of refrains and the organization of the texts, all suggest a type of performative aspect of the hymns. If the AB was intended as a type of choir

¹⁶⁸ Herren, “Hiberno-Latin,” 222.

¹⁶⁹ Herren “Hiberno-Latin” 221.

¹⁷⁰ Michael Lapidge states from 1907 to 1960 “Esposito did more than any scholar before or since him to appreciate and define Latin learning in mediaeval Ireland. Indeed it was through his published research that the vast extent and nature of Hiberno-Latin literature were revealed for the first time; and it was apparently he who first coined the term ‘Hiberno-Latin’ to describe the Latin literature composed in Ireland or by Irishmen abroad during the mediaeval period from approximately 400 to 1500,” see Lapidge, *Latin Learning in Mediaeval Ireland*, vii. The same sentiment is reiterated in Michael Gorman, “§1: Mario Esposito (1887-1975) and the Study of the Latin Literature of Medieval Ireland,” in *Studies in Hiberno-Latin Literature* (Aldershot, Hampshire: Ashgate/Variorum, 2006), 299.

¹⁷¹ For more on Mario Esposito see: Mario Esposito, *Studies in Hiberno-Latin Literature*, edited by Michael M. Gorman (Aldershot, Hampshire, GB: Ashgate/ Variorum, 2006); Mario Esposito, *Irish Books and Learning in Medieval Europe*, edited by Michael Lapidge (Aldershot, Hampshire, GB: 1990); Mario Esposito, *Latin Learning in Mediaeval Ireland*, edited by Michael Lapidge (London: Variorum Reprints, 1988); and Michael Gorman “§I: Mario Esposito (1887-1975) and the Study of the Latin Literature of Medieval Ireland,” in *Studies in Hiberno-Latin Literature* (Aldershot, Hampshire: Ashgate/Variorum, 2006), 299-322.

¹⁷² See Herren’s discussion in “Hiberno-Latin Philology: the State of the Question,” 1-22. An important publication was Bernhard Bischoff’s, “Wendepunkte in der Geschichte der lateinischen Exegese im Frühmittelalter,” *Sacris Eridiri* 6 (1954): 189-279. A revised version was published in *Mittelalterliche Studien: ausgewählte Aufsätze zur Schriftkunde und Literaturgeschichte*, T,1 (Stuttgart: A. Hiersemann, 1966), 205-73. An English translation was published by Martin McNamara, ed., in *Biblical Studies: The Medieval Irish Contribution* (Dublin: Dominican Publications, 1976), 73-160. For a sceptical point of view and a survey of Irish literature see Edmondo Coccia, “La cultura irlandese precarolingia: Miracolo o mito?” *Studi Medievali* 3 Ser. 8 (1967): 270-420.

then we need to be alert to musical cues which can help us to understand the manuscript from a musical perspective. There is no doubt that the AB was for a monastic setting given the number of items it contains for the liturgical hours, much of which is for “the morning Office corresponding to Lauds.”¹⁷³ If language is taken at its literal meaning, there are several references to singing in the texts. For example:

[AB 2, verse 1]

Hymnum **dicat** turba fratrum
 Hymnum **cantus** personet
 Christo regi concinentes
 Laudem demus debitas,

Raise the **song**, O band of brothers
 Let the **holy anthem ring**;
Sound the hymn of loud laudation,
 Unto Christ, our Lord and King.

[AB 11, verse 4 refrain]

Tibi sancti **canebant: alleluia**

To you the holy **sang: alleluia.**

[AB 11, verse 9 refrain]

Trinitati cum sanctis **dicamus:**
alleluia.

We may **sing** with the holy trinity:
alleuia.

There are other elements which suggest that the hymns were to be sung such as the inclusion of antiphons and the fact that the bulk of AB includes texts for twelve hymns. Although we have no music to indicate the sound of the hymn, the expressive quality of the texts and the poetical style indicate that this was to be sung and not simply read.

The hymns of the AB are some of the earliest literary artifacts of Irish culture and contain valuable information. Ann Buckley observes the Hiberno-Latin hymns represent “the largest body of material from any Celtic region and are among the most particular and striking aspects of Irish liturgical practice.”¹⁷⁴ At the same time, the AB also shows the influence of hymn writers such as Pseudo-Hilary and Ambrose.

¹⁷³ Jeffery, “Eastern And Western Elements in the Prayer of the Hours,” 120.

¹⁷⁴ Buckley, “Celtic chant, §6: Hymns,” 345. Also see Ruth Ellis Messenger, “Celtic Hymns,” *The Medieval Latin Hymn* (Washington: Capital Press, 1953), particularly chapters 2 and 3.

Apart from the technical elements and the etymological interest of the texts, there are the aesthetics of the literature. In the texts the world of the poetry operates on many levels. Multiple texts influenced the ideas conveyed in the poetry, evident in the borrowing of Latin or Greek word, or Biblical references. The individual hymns “reveal the impact of the Latin Christian tradition on the developing Irish Church.”¹⁷⁵ They convey an intimate knowledge of the monastery of Bangor reflected in the commemorative hymns to Camelacus [AB 15]¹⁷⁶ Comgill [AB 14], and in the remembrance of the Bangor abbots [AB 129] the hymns used to argue for the provenance of the AB. There are difficulties with this theory for as will become evident, some of the hymns show a greater connection to liturgical developments on the continent.

Although Hiberno-Latin covers a vast range of time and texts, the majority of the evidence has been preserved in manuscripts that survive outside of Ireland.¹⁷⁷ The AB is a case in point and is remarkable for its insights into Irish and continental hymnody.¹⁷⁸ Michael Lapidge also hoped the interest in Hiberno-Latin would spread to matters of hymnody and

¹⁷⁵ Curran, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, 85.

¹⁷⁶ Curran’s references to “Camelaci (Latin text)” include two spellings: “Camulacus” and “Camelacus”. While the saint has been referred to as St. Camelac, Warren discusses the confusion and the nationality of Camulacus or Camelacus; see Warren, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, Part II, 57. Pádraig Ó Riain’s recent book on Irish saints provides current information about Caomhlach of Raithean who was noted among Patrick’s bishop and named after the site Raithean; a place which has not been definitively identified. Raithean is sometimes linked with Rahan in County Offaly, although Ó Riain considers this to be “implausible” and gives another suggestion that the site was near Abbeylara; see Ó Riain, *A Dictionary of Irish Saints* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2011), 157-8. For consistency, I have used the spelling “Camelacus.”

¹⁷⁷ Breen, “Hiberno-Latin Literature,” 215. Important resources for Hiberno-Latin and Insular studies include: Michael Herren, ed., *Insular Latin Studies: Papers on Latin Texts and Manuscripts of the British Isles* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1981); and Michael Lapidge and Richard Sharpe, *A Bibliography of Celtic-Latin Literature, 400-1200*, with foreword by Próinseas MacCana (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 1985).

¹⁷⁸ Stevenson, “Irish Hymns, Venantius Fortunatus and Poitiers,” 81.

liturgy.¹⁷⁹ His words seem another invitation to consider the AB from a musical perspective. However, a musical approach requires the work of experts from several disciplines; an approach that also “renders the scholar more vulnerable.”¹⁸⁰ Still, Ann Buckley believes “literary evidence can be one of the most valuable resources that provide insight into performance practice.”¹⁸¹ Encouraged by the work of Lapidge, Stevenson, Herren, and Buckley, I now turn to the hymns of the AB.

2.2 The Twelve Hymns of the Antiphony of Bangor

Although Hiberno-Latin hymns were influenced by other Western collections, they form a distinct repertoire.¹⁸² Indeed, the AB stands as a remarkable document where “the fusion between Latin poetry and indigenous Irish verse forms” is represented in hymns “particularly cultivated in Ireland.”¹⁸³ Table 1 shows the hymns as they are grouped in the AB; the three so-called Bangor hymns, used to date and confirm the origin of the manuscript, are in bold type.

¹⁷⁹ See Lapidge’s statement concluding “Columbanus and the ‘Antiphony of Bangor;’” on page 116 in which he states: “In the meantime, it is to be hoped that the recent quickening interest in Hiberno-Latin studies (which the present journal is fostering superbly [*Peritia*]) will spread to matters of hymnody and liturgy.” *Peritia* is the journal of the Medieval Academy of Ireland and began publication in 1982. For more information see the inside cover of any of its yearly journals.

¹⁸⁰ Edel, *The Celtic West and Europe*, 20. Edel refers to “the border areas or areas of transition.”

¹⁸¹ Buckley, “Celtic chant,” 345. Buckley has conducted research into music and performance in medieval Ireland. For more information see Buckley, “Music and Musicians in Medieval Irish Society.” *Early Music* (2000), 165-190; “‘And his voice swelled like a terrible thunderstorm...’ Music as Symbolic Sound in Medieval Irish Society,” in *Irish Musical Studies 3: Music and Irish Cultural History*, edited by Gerard Gillen and Harry White (Blackrock, Co. Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1995), 13-76; “Music-Related Imagery on Early Christian Insular Sculpture: Identification, Context, Function,” *Imago Musicae* 8 (1991), 135-199; and “Musical Instruments in Ireland from the Ninth to the Fourteenth Centuries: a Review of the Organological Evidence.” In *Irish Musical Studies 1: Musicology in Ireland*, edited by Gerard Gillen and Harry White (Blackrock, Co. Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1990), 13-57.

¹⁸² Buckley, “Celtic chant,” 345.

¹⁸³ Buckley, “Music and Musicians in Medieval Irish Society,” 185.

Table 2, at the end of the discussion, presents a synopsis of the hymns, their poetical features, and as much as can be known of their Irish provenance. From a musical perspective, the layout of the texts, the repetition of refrains, and the metrics of the hymn are details that provide insight into the character and the performance aspect of the verses. Ultimately, the hymns must be considered in the context of the AB and “a book of prayer for the daily cycle of hours for the Office liturgy at Bangor.”¹⁸⁴ In this respect, the hymns were already designated as paeans of faith.

¹⁸⁴ Curran, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, 84.

Table 1: The Hymns of the Antiphony of Bangor¹⁸⁵

No.	Heading and First Line	Folio
AB 2	<i>Hymnus Sancti Hilarii de Christo: Hymnum dicat turba fidelium</i>	ff. 3r-4v
AB 3	<i>Hymnus Apostolorum ut alii dicunt: Precamur Patrem</i>	ff. 4v-6v
AB 7	<i>Hymnus in die dominica: Te Deum laudamus*</i>	f 10r
AB 8	<i>Hymnus quando communicarent sacerdotes: Sancti venite</i>	ff. 10v-11r
AB 9	<i>Hymnus quando caeria benedicitur: Ignis Creator igneus</i>	ff. 11r-11v
AB 10	<i>Hymnus mediae noctis: Mediae noctis tempus est</i>	ff. 11v-12v
AB 11	<i>Hymnus in natale martyrum vel sabbato ad matutinam: Sacratissimi martyres summi Dei</i>	ff. 12v-13r
AB 12	<i>Hymnus ad matutinam in domenica: Spiritus divinae lucis gloriae</i>	ff. 13r-13v
AB 13	<i>Hymnus Sancti Patricidi magisteri Scottorum: Audite, omnes amantes</i>	ff. 13v-15v
AB 14	<i>Hymnus Sancti Comgilli abbatis nostri: Recordemur justitiae</i>	ff. 15v-17v
AB 15	<i>Hymnus Sancti Camelaci: Audite bonum exemplum</i>	f 17v
AB 95	<i>Versiculi Familiae Benchuir: Benhcuir bona regula</i>	ff. 30r-30v
AB 116	<i>Gloria in excelsis Deo*</i>	f 33r
AB 129	<i>[In] memoriam abbatum nostrorum: Sancta sanctorum opera</i>	f 36v

¹⁸⁵ The list of hymns appears in Appendix II and is taken from Warren, *The Antiphony of Bangor*, Part I, xvi-xvii. The symbol “*” designates the texts were not included in the list of twelve hymns associated with the AB. The largest grouping of hymns occurs in the first section of the manuscript. Also see Curran, *The Antiphony of Bangor*, 264-266; for “Alphabetical Index of Antiphony Formulae,” 267-269.

I [AB 4] *Hymnus Sancti Hilarii de Christo: Hymnum dicat turba fidelium* (ff. 3r-4v)

As the title might suggest, *Hymnus Sancti Hilarii de Christo* is attributed to St. Hilary of Poitiers (ca 315- ca 367) one of the “dominant figures of the Gallic Church.”¹⁸⁶ A theologian, writer, and a defender of orthodoxy, St. Hilary was elected bishop of Poitiers, France in 353.¹⁸⁷ Exiled several times for preaching “the divinity of Christ,” many of his theological works produced during these episodes are in defense of his faith, particularly his view of the Trinity and his position against Arianism.¹⁸⁸ A champion of Athanasius’ stance on consubstantiation (Greek term *homoousion*), and a defender of his doctrine, Hilary has been called “the Athanasius of the West.”¹⁸⁹ Most notably, Hilary is credited “as the first Latin hymn-writer,”¹⁹⁰ and as an influential hymn writer in Gaul.¹⁹¹

The source of St. Hilary’s inspiration for the hymn may have been the Arian controversy, where hymns were used as a form of spreading propaganda in a popular style of verse. Lawrence Gushee suggests that St. Hilary may have been writing his own hymns, but in so doing he was “turning one of the heretics effective ‘propaganda weapons’ against them.”¹⁹² David Hunter observes that Hilary used hymns to convey “theological themes” and he used a variety of

¹⁸⁶ Kenney, *The Sources*, 252. Also known as “Hilarious Pictavensis” (Poitiers), see Lawrence Gushee, “Hilary of Poitiers,” *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, edited by Stanley Sadie, volume 8 (London: Macmillan, 1980), 551.

¹⁸⁷ Mary T. Clark, “Hilary of Poitiers (ca. 315-ca. 367),” *Encyclopedia of Early Christianity*, 2nd, volume 1 (New York; London: Garland, 1997), 527.

¹⁸⁸ See C. F. A. Borchartd, *Hilary of Poitiers’ Role in the Arian Struggle* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1966), 185-188.

¹⁸⁹ Clark, “Hilary of Poitiers,” 527.

¹⁹⁰ Kenney, *The Sources*, 252.

¹⁹¹ Stevenson, “Irish Hymns, Venantius Fortunatus and Poitiers,” 105-106. For further information see Borchartd, *Hilary of Poitiers’ Role in the Arian Struggle*, 183.

¹⁹² Gushee, “Hilary of Poitiers,” 551.

poetical meters to express his doctrinal stance; a style which influenced “later Latin writers.”¹⁹³

All this provides an exciting backdrop in the history of the hymn, a subject I will return to in the next chapter.

Hymnum dicat turba fidelium is arguably one of the “the most famous”¹⁹⁴ of the AB hymns. The sophistication of the Biblical references point to a wider sphere of information that was accessible at the monastery of Bangor. The hymn survives in ten manuscripts dating from the 7th to the 13th centuries.¹⁹⁵ As an acknowledged hymn writer, St. Hilary is obviously an important figure in the study of early hymnody. The problem is, although a *Liber hymnorum* is known to have been written by St. Hilary, nothing survives, except three incomplete hymns: *Ante saecula qui manes*, *Fefellit saevam*, and *Adae carnis glorioso*¹⁹⁶ preserved in an 11th century manuscript known as *Codex Arentinus 405* and recovered by Gian Gamurrini in 1884¹⁹⁷ at the “obscure library of the Pia Fraternità dei Laici in Arezzo, Italy.”¹⁹⁸ The manuscript contains St. Hilary’s *De mysteriis*, and fragments of his hymnbook that was originally in the library of Monte

¹⁹³ David G. Hunter, “Fourth-century Latin Writers: Hilary, Victorinus, Ambrosiaster, Ambrose,” in *The Cambridge History of Early Christian Literature*, edited by Frances Young, Lewis Ayres, and Andrew Louth (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 305.

¹⁹⁴ Curran, *The Antiphony of Bangor*, 22.

¹⁹⁵ Gushee, “Hilary of Poitiers,” 551. See Curran, *The Antiphony of Bangor*, 22, note 1.

¹⁹⁶ The hymn fragments are noted in Hermanus Bernardus Vroom, *Le psaume abécédaire de saint Augustin et la poésie latine rythmique* (Nijmegen: N.V. Dekker & van de Vegt en J. W. van Leeuwen, 1993), 63-66.

¹⁹⁷ Gushee, “Hilary of Poitiers,” 551. MS Codex Arentinus 405 not mentioned in Gushee’s article, and Gamurrini is referred to only by his last name. For further information regarding the three hymns see Walter Neidig Myers, *The Hymns of Saint Hilary of Poitiers in Codex Arentinus: An Edition with Introduction, Translation, and Notes*. (Philadelphia: [s.n.], 1928). Gamurrini is Gian Francesco Gamurrini (1835-1923), an archaeologist and historian, see Franco Paturzo, *Un archeologo dimenticato: Gian Francesco Gamurrini: la vita e le opere* (Cortona: Calosci, 1993).

¹⁹⁸ For this detail and more information on Gian Gamurrini, Pia Fraternità, and Codex Aretinus 405, see Maribel Dietz, *Wandering Monks, Virgins, and Pilgrims: Ascetic Travel in the Mediterranean World, A.D. 300-800* (University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2005), 44-45, especially note 2.

Cassino.¹⁹⁹ Apart from *Codex Arentinus 405*, there is other evidence to suggest that the *Liber Hymnorum* was indeed written. This comes in the documented testimonies of St. Jerome (ca. 345-420) and Isidore of Seville (ca. 560-636).²⁰⁰ In *De Viris Illustribus (On Illustrious Men)* completed after 490, St. Jerome lists “A Book of Hymns” which Hilary, bishop of the city of Poitiers wrote.²⁰¹ Isidore of Seville gives a more substantial reference to St. Hilary in Book I of *De Ecclesiasticis Officiis* and as well, we are given information about the importance of hymns:

VI. Hymns

(2) There are divine hymns, however, and there are those composed by human talent. Hilary the French bishop, born as a Pict, conspicuous in eloquence, was the first one eminent in the lyric of hymns.²⁰²

These accounts from Jerome and Isidore, two prominent Latin writers of their day, confirm St. Hilary’s accomplishments. Michael Curran notes that some scholars have found this evidence inconclusive to support the existence of St. Hilary’s hymnal.²⁰³ Given that Hilary’s *Liber hymnorum* does not survive, it seems difficult to prove with certainty that St. Hilary is the author of *Hymnum dicat turba fratrum*.

Curran argues that *Hymnum dicat* “was written by an Irishman” because its style and subject matter.²⁰⁴ Possibly to increase the hymn’s appeal, the unidentified author has given St.

¹⁹⁹ For this information see Dietz, *Wandering Monks, Virgins, and Pilgrims* 44.

²⁰⁰ Gushee, “Hilary of Poitiers,” 551. Gushee mentions that the existence of a *Liber hymnorum* by Hilary of Poitiers is attested to by St. Jerome and Isidore of Seville; see 551. For St. Hilary’s ability as a hymn-writer, the information about Isidore of Seville, and a reference in the Fourth Council of Toledo, A.D. 633, see Warren, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, Part II, 36.

²⁰¹ “C (100). Hilary the Bishop,” in Saint Jerome *On Illustrious men*, translated by Thomas p. Halton (Washington, D. C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1999), 133.

²⁰² Isidore of Seville, *De Ecclesiasticis Officiis*, translated by Thomas L. Knoebel (New York; Mahwah, NJ: The Newman Press, 2008), Book I: VI, Hymns, 31-32.

²⁰³ See Curran, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, 23 and the argument of M. Simonetti.

²⁰⁴ Curran, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, 33.

Hilary “the honour of writing it.”²⁰⁵ An artful attribution, if indeed Curran is correct. But what of its place in the AB and when was it sung? The heading gives little indication as to its place in the monastic hours, but it is the first hymn to appear in the AB after a canticle. Warren notes that phrases such as “ante lucem turba fratrum, concinemus gloriam” provide insight into the date of the hymn because this reflects an awareness of monastic life. Warren felt that the reference was to the “nocturns, or midnight and early morning devotion of the monastic orders,” indicating the canonical hours practice by the monks of Bangor.²⁰⁶ As to the authorship of the hymns, Warren concluded that the attribution to Hilary of Poitiers is more likely an acknowledgment of his popularity in Ireland, rather than authorship.²⁰⁷

Although textual variances may point to an Irish author, it is understandable that assumptions have been made about the authorship of the hymn as Hilary’s name is referenced in the rubric. However, the AB is thought to have been written by several hands and that the rubrics were added after the manuscript was written. This evidence suggests that the hymn was transmitted with the attribution already in place and the heading has undoubtedly contributed to the confusion about authorship. The attribution to St. Hilary is further perpetuated in the eleventh-century *Irish Liber Hymnorum* (LH)²⁰⁸ where the hymn is written: *Hilarius, Episcopus*

²⁰⁵ Curran, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, 33.

²⁰⁶ Warren, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, Part II, 1985, 37.

²⁰⁷ Curran, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, 24. Jane Stevenson states that *Hymnum dicat* “was one of the most consistently popular hymns in Ireland,” see “Irish Hymns, Venantius Fortunatus and Poitiers,” 103.

²⁰⁸ Two volumes of the *Irish Liber Hymnorum* survive. The first dates from the 11th century and is preserved in Trinity College Dublin. The second L.H., was written fifty years later and is part of the collection at the University College Dublin (UCD) - Order of Friars Minor (OFM) = UCD-OFM collection.

*et princeps civitatis que dicitur Pictavis fecit hunc Ymnum Christo.*²⁰⁹ Joseph Szövérfy has noted that many ascriptions were made to notable hymn writers. Writers such as “Ambrose of Milan, or, Hilary of Poitiers have been associated in medieval sources with many hymns that were certainly not written by them.”²¹⁰ The reputation of a hymn writer had a tendency to elicit “a kind of cult following” with *pseudo* writers imitating the style. There are many historical examples of this practice such as Pseudo-Aristotle, and the number of works “in antiquity that are spuriously attributed to the philosopher Aristotle (384-322 B.C.).”²¹¹ Robert Culhane believed *Hymnum dicat* dated from the Arian controversy, but was unable to go so far as to attribute authorship to Hilary.²¹² The symbolic language of the text led Culhane to conclude that in its impressive character it marked a highpoint of mystical thought on Christ.²¹³ Bobbio’s location in northern Italy meant that it was strategically placed in the heart of the Arian controversy.

Still other scholars recognized the obscurity of the language. In an article for the *Scottish Review* of 1883, John Patrick (1847-1900), who was known by his British peerage title as the third Marquess of Bute (1847-1900), stated that *Hymnum dicat turba fratrum* was certainly

²⁰⁹ In Warren, *The Antiphony of Bangor*, Part II, 1895, 36 and found on page 15 of the *Liber Hymnorum*. The word “Pictavis” as it was called in Aquitania or Poitiers, see C. F. A. Borchardt, *Hilary of Poitiers’ Role in the Arian Struggle* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1966), 1 for reference. For more information on Poitiers, see H. Leclercq, “Poitiers,” *DACL*, tome 14 (Paris: Librairie Letouzey et Ané, 1939), 1251-1339. A rendered translation: Hilary, bishop and foremost of the community of Poitiers who it is said made this hymn to Christ.”

²¹⁰ Joseph Szövérfy, “Hymns, Latin,” *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, edited by Joseph R. Strayer, volume 6 (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1985), 379-385 at 380-381.

²¹¹ See Philip Freeman, *Ireland and the Classical World* (Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press, 2001), 55.

²¹² Robert Culhane, “The Bangor Hymn to Christ the King,” *The Irish Ecclesiastical Record* LXXIV (1950), 211. Hymns were a medium to convey spiritual truths as well as propaganda during the Arian controversy. For more information about these ideas see Jane Stevenson, “Hiberno-Latin hymns: Learning and Literature,” 100-106.

²¹³ Culhane, “The Bangor Hymn to Christ the King,” 212.

ascribed to the great Hilary of Poitiers, but he was unconvinced of the authorship.²¹⁴ Although Patrick was able to acknowledge the antiquity, he concluded that the text was in “a lamentably corrupt and uncertain state; so much so indeed, as to make any attempt at a quotation of reasonable length difficult.”²¹⁵ These are unusual observations, considering that the HBS editions were already in progress and the first volume was published in 1883, the year of Patrick’s article. Perhaps more surprising is Patrick’s bland comment about the use of the hymn: “It was certainly written for some religious gathering before dawn.”²¹⁶ What is of interest about the article is that Patrick has focused on a group of Latin hymns that formed part of the liturgy of what he describes as the “ancient Celtic Church of Ireland and Scotland”²¹⁷ and brought them to light.

²¹⁴ John Patrick, third Marquess of Bute, “Ancient Celtic Latin Hymns,” *Scottish Review* 1/2 (Feb. 1883), 255, see complete article 253-276. It is important to mention that the article was not signed and it required further research to track down the author. Patrick was a Scottish aristocrat born on the isle of Bute. He wrote several articles for the *Scottish Review* where the focus was subjects related to the Celtic church such as the hymns. For more information on the life of Patrick, see David Hunter-Blair, *John Patrick Third Marquess of Bute, K. T. (1847-1900): A Memoir* (London: John Murray, 1921). He attended Oxford where he came under the influence of the Anglican Church. He later converted to the Roman Catholic faith. As a wealthy aristocrat, Patrick was able to indulge his predilection for erudite texts; see Oswald Hunter-Blair, “John Patrick Crichton-Stuart, Third Marquess of Bute,” *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, volume 3 (New York: Robert Appleton, 1908), accessed August 30, 2012, <<http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/03089b.htm>>. The term “marquess” is part of the peerage structure of British aristocracy. The word “marquess” derives from the French “marquis” or the Italian “marchese; from the Latin “marchio, marchisus” from which derives “marchiae, ‘count of the March’.” Each of these terms refers to a title of nobility. According to British peerage, a marquess was second in rank to a duke; for this information and a definition of “marquess” see John Horace Round, “Marquess,” *The Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th edition, volume 17 (New York: The Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1911), 751. The title appears in Ireland, where Anglo-Norman domination prevailed after Henry II of England exerted power in 1172. The first marquess in England was Robert de Vere (9th earl of Oxford) and who was made marquess of Dublin by Richard II in 1385; see Round, “Marquess,” 751. For other information about Ireland, see N. C. Fleming, *The Marquess of Londonderry: Aristocracy, Power and Politics in Britain and Ireland* (London; New York: Tauris Academic Studies, 2005).

²¹⁵ Patrick, “Ancient Celtic Latin Hymns,” 255.

²¹⁶ Patrick, “Ancient Celtic Latin Hymns,” 255

²¹⁷ Patrick, “Ancient Celtic Latin Hymns,” 243. The word ancient is spelt “antient.”

For all these debates, the use of the hymn in Ireland is undeniable. In the Rule of St. Ailbhe (Ailbe) of Emly (d. *circa* 534),²¹⁸ for example, there is a specific reference to the hymn:

§24. The *Hymnum dicat* should be sung when the bell sounds for the liturgy of the hours. This is done so that each monk may have time to wash his hands and put on his habit.²¹⁹

This reference indicates that the hymn was used regularly in monasteries and its appearance in the AB confirms the hymn was sung on a regularly basis. Peter Jeffery notes that most of the material in the AB “is for the morning Office, or Lauds and monks were to sing 150 psalms and a *Beati* after every fifty, and a *Hymnum dicat turba fratrum* after every *Beati*.”²²⁰ These details suggest a style of practice was performed along with the singing of the Psalms. It also reveals the spiritual fortitude which was to become the hallmark of Irish monasticism, and exemplified in Bangor’s well known monk, Columbanus. Without doubt *Hymnum dicat turba fratrum* was popular in Ireland and the AB is one of the ten manuscripts to preserve an early source.

The hymn is interesting as the verses are intricately woven around the life of Christ. The theme speaks to a larger liturgical audience, calling for the “the band of brothers to sing forth their anthem.” *Hymnum dicat turba fratrum* is one of only two hymns in the AB that takes “the

²¹⁸ The Rule of St. Ailbhe (Ailbe) is found in Brussels, Bibliothèqu Royale (formerly at the Franciscan College, Louvain) 5100-4; Dublin, the Library of the Royal Irish Academy, 23 N 10; and the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, H. 1. 11; for date and this information see Uinseann Ó Mairdín, ed. and trans., *The Celtic Monk: Rules and Writings of Early Irish Monks* (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1996), 17. The text has been edited by Joseph O’Neill, “The Rule of Ailbe of Emly,” *Ériu* 3 (1907): 92-115. For the reference to *Hymnum dicat turba fratrum* see verse 24: “*Hymnum dicat*” to be sung at the loud (?) striking of the bell for the canonical hours, that the brothers may wash their hands clean, that they may dress,” 101.

²¹⁹ Verse 24 of the Rule of Ailbhe. See Ó Mairdín, *The Celtic Monk*, 22, but see the chapter “The Rule of Ailbe,” 17-27. See also Warren, *The Antiphony of Bangor*, Part II, 1895, 37. Warren has taken the reference to the Rule of Ailbhe from J. O’Lavery, *Historical Account of the Diocese of Down and Connor*, volume II (Dublin, 1884), 116, accessed August 15, 2010, < <http://archive.org/details/historicalaccount02olav>>. The complete five volume collection is available online through Internet Archive, < <http://archive.org>>. Also see Jeffery, “Eastern and Western Elements in the Irish Monastic Prayer of the Hours,” 105-106, and his discussion of the Rule of Ailbe and parallel texts.

²²⁰ See Jeffery, “Eastern and Western Elements in the Prayer of the Hours,” 104 for this reference.

life of Christ” as its theme.²²¹ If the brothers are being “called” they are being motivated towards an action. The action of gathering the community together gives rise to spiritual performance. The sounding of the bell brings the monks together as a band of brothers who are a worshipping community. The hymn is human utterance and animates the practice of devotion.²²² More than a collection of rhythm and metrics, a spiritual message is conveyed in the text. Still, there is urgency about the text that seems to be given momentum by the underpinning of the short rhythmic lines. I think Gushee has made a good in drawing attention to the propogandist nature of verse during the Arian Controversy. In a sense, the level of sophistication of the hymn is betrayed in its structure. Whoever the author, as a hymn at the beginning of the AB the scribes seem to have intentionally drawn attention to its significance in the Irish church.

²²¹ Curran, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, 22. The other hymn is *Precamur patrem* [AB 3]. For more information about *Hymnum dicat turba fratrum* see Henry Marriott Bannister, “Irish Hymns from Liturgical Fragments,” *The Journal of Theological Studies* IX (35) (1908): 422-427. Bannister discusses a collection of fragments and other manuscripts, which contain three texts: *Hymnum dicat turba fratrum*, *Spiritus divinae lucis*, and *Te deum laudamus*,

²²² I thank Professor Dooley for drawing out this point.

II. [AB 3] *Hymnus Apostolorum ut alii dicunt: Precamur Patrem* (ff. 4v-6v)²²³

Precamur Patrem is a lengthy hymn consisting of forty-two stanzas. The subject of the hymn is the life of Christ.²²⁴ The author has included the refrain, “Alleluia” and this structure seems to suggest that the “alleluia” may have been a communal response.²²⁵ Kenny observes that the hymn is “a prayer to God, with references to the history of the Pentateuch and of the Gospel.”²²⁶ Warren claimed Irish authorship on the grounds of “the ruggedness of the metre; and the introduction of Greek or Latinized Greek words such as ‘Cincris’ for the word Pharaoh” noted in stanza xii.²²⁷ Other traits are evident in word forms such as “‘loquatur’ for ‘locatur’ as well as contractions of ‘ii’ into ‘i’ and the “variety of rhyme and assonance” that all suggest contact with other Hiberno-Latin texts.²²⁸ No other copy of the hymn is known to exist. As there is no specific mention in the AB as to when *Precamur Patrem* was used, the tone and the references to light and dark suggest that it was a hymn intended as a commemoration of the Resurrection for Easter, or Sunday.²²⁹

What is perhaps most striking are the elaborate details, and the Biblical topoi that open on to another literary world. The author of the hymn reflects a familiarity with not only the Bible,

²²³ Michael Lapidge states that the rubric was added by a second scribe who was unfamiliar with the liturgical purpose of the hymn as can be noted in the phrase “ut alii dicunt”. For this reference see Lapidge, “‘Precamur patrem’: An Easter Hymn by Columbanus?” in *Columbanus, Studies in the Latin Writings* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 1997), 256, n 5. Note the occasional interchange of “Precamur” and “Praecamur”, and the collapsed diphthong “ae” which occurs often in Latin. For consistency I have maintained “Precamur”.

²²⁴ Curran, *The Antiphony of Bangor*, 50. For more on *Precamur patrem* see Michael Herren, “*Precamur Patrem*: A Hymn from the Seventh-Century Antiphony of Bangor,” in *Christ in Celtic Christianity: Britain and Ireland from the Fifth to the Tenth Century* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, England: Boydell Press, 2005).

²²⁵ Buckley, “Celtic chant,” 346.

²²⁶ Kenney, *The Sources*, 261.

²²⁷ Warren, *The Antiphony of Bangor*, Part II, 1895, 39.

²²⁸ Curran, *The Antiphony of Bangor*, Part II, 50.

²²⁹ Warren, *The Antiphony of Bangor*, Part II, 39.

but with other Hiberno-Latin texts such as the writings of Columbanus, as well as Irish biblical commentaries. One example is a specific word reference in the hymn that has parallels with the Epistles of Columbanus. This evidence has been used to prove, almost conclusively, that Columbanus is the author of the hymn. Here is the Latin conundrum and the outcome.

In an analysis of the hymn²³⁰ Michael Lapidge was intrigued by the appearance of the word “micrologi” in verse 41:

41.	<i>Quid tam mortales Tentamus micrologi Narrare, quiviv quae nullus edicere?</i>	Why do we mortal, obsessed with trifles, try to relate things which no man can know how to proclaim? ²³¹
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The word is unusual, and does not derive from any known Irish source. Lapidge traced the grecism to Rufinus of Aquileia’s (345-410) in his *Orationes*, a work on a Greek Father of the Church, Gregory of Nazianzus, and the following reference:

*specie columbae corporalis apparvit [scil. Spiritus sanctus]: honorat enim corpus per hoc quod et ipsem adsumptum est in deum. Sed si magnitudine et pondere iudicas de divinitate et proper hoc pusillus tibi videtur spiritus sanctus, quoniam in specie parvae columbae apparuit, o **microloge** in rebus magnis, potes tu etiam regnum caelorum putare minimum, quoniam grano sinapis comparatum est.*²³²

As Lapidge argues Rufinus seems not to have found an equivalent word for the Greek word μικρολόγος means roughly “captious trifler” or “pettifogger” and provided a Latin translation

²³⁰ There are two versions of the analysis written by Lapidge. The earlier version is entitled “Columbanus and the ‘Antiphony of Bangor,’” *Peritia* 4 (1985): 104-116 and the above reference is to “‘Precamur patrem’: An Easter Hymn by Columbanus?” in *Columbanus*, 1997. The 1997 version repeats earlier arguments but with emendations because it was “drastically mutilated by printers’ errors,” 255.

²³¹ The English translation is from Howlett, *The Celtic Latin Tradition of Biblical Style*, 172-174.

²³² Lapidge, “‘Precamur Patrum,’” 259. Lapidge cites August Engelbrecht, ed., *Tyrannii Rufini Oratio Gregorii Nazianzeni novem interpretation, Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* 46 (Vindobonae: F. Tempsky; Lipsiae: G. Freytag, 1910), 129 for the English translation: “The Holy Spirit appeared in the form of a corporeal dove [cf. Luke III.22]: it honours corporeality in that the body itself is taken up into the godhead. But if you judge the godhead on the basis of size and weight and, because of this, the Holy Spirit seems very tiny to you, since it appeared in the form of a tiny dove – o you **pettifogger** in mighty matters! – you may as well reckon the Kingdom of Heaven to be tiny, since it is compared to a grain of mustard seed [cf. Matthew XIII.31],” see 259.

“microloge.”²³³ Finally, Lapidge concluded that the parallelism with the passage of Rufinus was sufficient evidence to show that Columbanus recognized the text and that by employing the grecism “micrologi,” he was not fully cognisant of its meaning and was using it as a sort of “signature tune.”²³⁴ This rather neat piece of Medieval Latin detective work points out the value of examining the texts on a deeper level (see Appendix III: Hymn II, Translation 2).

There are other interesting features in *Precamur patrem* that point to Irish contact with external sources. For example, the theological import of the hymn. Curran suggests that the hymn can be divided into two parts (excluding the introduction, stanzas 1 to 4, and the conclusion, stanzas 41 to 42). The first section (stanzas 4-15) contrast the light “which dispels the primordial darkness of the world” between the second main section (stanzas 16-39); that addresses the Word of God “who is the source of light and salvation for the world and for mankind.”²³⁵ Curran points out; there are resemblances to other sources such as “the writings of Columbanus, the hymns of Venantius Fortunatus, a Sermon of Caesarius of Arles and an apocryphal account of the descent into Hell.”²³⁶ The reference to the apocryphal account is an important detail because the author is “drawing on the Gospel of Nicodemus and Christ’s descent

²³³ Lapidge, “‘Precamur patrem’,” 259. There are two instances in the *Epistulae* where the word “micrologo” occurs. The first is *Epistula* I, 2. 2:8 “Licet enim mihi, nimirum **micrologo**, illud cuiusdam egregium sapientis elogium...” [“For although, considering my insignificance, when my poverty writes to your distinction, I might be granted with that unusual remark of a certain philosopher...”]; see G. S. M. Walker, ed., *Sancti Columbani Opera* (Dublin: The Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1957), 2 (Latin), 3 (English). The second occurs in *Epistula* V, 1. 36: 19: “Pulcherrimo omnium totius Europae Ecclesiarum Capiti, Papae praedulci, praeclso Praesuli, Pastorum Pastori, reverendissimo Speculatori; humillimus celsissimo, minimus maximo, agrestis urbano, **micrologus** eloquentissimo, extremus primo, peregrinus indigenae, pauperculus praepotenti, - mirum dictum, nova res, rara avis – scribere audet Bonifatio Patri Palumbus.” [To the most fair Head of all the churches of the whole of Europe, estimable Pope, exalted Prelate, Shepherd of Shepherds, most reverend Bishop; the humblest to the highest, the least to the greatest, peasant to citizen, a prattler to one most eloquent, the last to the first, foreigner to native, a poor creature to a powerful lord, (strange to tell a monstrosity, a rare bird) the Dove dare to write to Pope Boniface”]; see Walker, *Sancti Columbani Opera*, 36 (Latin), 37 (English).

²³⁴ See Lapidge, “‘Precamur patrem’: An Easter Hymn by Columbanus?” 259-60.

²³⁵ Curran, *The Antiphony of Bangor*, 50.

²³⁶ Curran, *The Antiphony of Bangor*, 50.

into hell”²³⁷ already a popular tradition in Ireland.²³⁸ There is much more going on in the texts which show the Irish were influenced by other traditions. Something of a performance element seems more prominent in hymns such as *Precamur patrem* because of its intricate theological details: something achieved through the skills of a learned poet and a performative tradition already familiar to the monastic community. Each verse leads to the next and in order to appreciate the full impact of its theological import, the hymn needs to be appreciated as a whole narrative. As Curran sees it “the hymn is in many ways the most striking and original of all the hymns in the Antiphony.”²³⁹ The association with other Scriptural sources also means that the Irish not only had knowledge of other sources, they were asserting their liturgical practice and creating new texts.

The confluence of textual references raises questions about the origin of the AB. While the AB texts are anonymous, Lapidge has shown that the hymn *Precamur patrem* may indeed be attributed to Columbanus. The loan word “micrologi” in stanza 41 is a striking feature of the hymn and demonstrates that an uncommon word can provide further insight into the text. At the same time, the information also shows that the AB continues to hold surprises for the researcher that enlarges the continental perspective of this important manuscript. Although there is more to learn, as Lapidge notes: “For the time being, it is sufficient to have identified a new work by the young Columbanus.”²⁴⁰ The recent information adds to the larger body of knowledge about

²³⁷ Curran, *The Antiphony of Bangor*, 54.

²³⁸ For more on the Gospel of Nicodemus see Ann Dooley, “The Gospel of Nicodemus in Ireland,” in *The Medieval Gospel of Nicodemus: Texts, Intertexts, and Contexts in Western Europe*, edited by Zbigniew Izydorczyk (Tempe, Arizona: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1997), 361-401. Here Dooley states that because *Precamur patrem* “can be dated to the sixth century makes it an extremely important early witness to the liturgical use of the apocryphal tradition of the Descent into Hell,” 363.

²³⁹ Curran, *The Antiphony of Bangor*, 57.

²⁴⁰ Lapidge, “*Precamur Patrem: An Easter Hymn by Columbanus?*” 263.

Irish hymnody, and is a reminder of the availability of continental texts in early Ireland. In order to appreciate the music behind the hymns, it is essential to understand the culture and the context from which the hymns emerge.

III. [AB 8] *Hymnus quando communicarent sacerdotes: Sancti venite* (ff. 10v-11r)

Sancti venite is a unique hymn in the AB because the heading indicates that there was a place for a hymn at the Eucharistic. This is unusual as most of the items in the AB are for the office hours. A hymn for the Eucharist suggests that the Irish church had already integrated the use of a hymn in the performance of the Eucharist. Curran notes that it is a perfectly rhythmic hymn that does not employ rhyme or alliteration, and that more care has been taken in observing structural laws; a model observed in *Audite omnes* and *Audite bonum*, probably from the sixth century.²⁴¹

In its theology *Sancti venite* has the Eucharistic doctrine at its core.²⁴² The heading indicates that it was for the Communion of the Priests which seems a practice significant to Bangor.²⁴³ The hymn is also known as “*Sancti venite* of St. Sechnall” (d. *cir.* 447) because of its association with St. Patrick, and the hymn that was supposedly sung at the Mass of St. Sechnall (Secundinus) on their reconciliation.²⁴⁴ This legend has added to the significance of its place in the Mass as the “Hymn for the Communion of Saints.”²⁴⁵

Sancti venite is comprised of eleven verses without a refrain. According to Jane Stevenson this suggests the performance style *cantus directaneus*.²⁴⁶ The reference to “cantus

²⁴¹ Curran, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, 47.

²⁴² Kenney, *The Sources*, 261.

²⁴³ Warren, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, Part II, 44.

²⁴⁴ Dean Mulcahy, “The Irish Latin Hymns: ‘Sancti Venite’ of St. Sechnall (d. *cir.* 447) and ‘Altus Prosator’ of St. Columba (521-597),” *The Irish Ecclesiastical Record* 52 (1941): 385. For the legend of the reconciliation according to the *Leabhar Breac*, see Mulcahy’s explanation on page 385.

²⁴⁵ Mulcahy, “The Irish Latin Hymns,” 386.

²⁴⁶ Stevenson, “Hiberno-Latin hymns: Learning and Literature,” 114. Stevenson presents a discussion of performance practice citing the work of Ann Buckley. Irish hymnody is a convergence of traditions and forms of hymn-practice: *cantus responsorius*, antiphonal singing, and *cantus directaneus*; see Stevenson’s section, “Performance, 110-115.

directaneus” refers to the musical performance of the Psalms in the Office, but Stevenson’s terminology derives from a source that requires further comment.

As the Psalms were an important part of the communal aspect of the Office, another aspect to their performance was how they were sung. Usually, the style of performance is described in terms such as direct, responsorial, and antiphonal. Direct psalmody derives from the earliest origins of Christianity where a soloist, or later soloists, performed the psalms while the congregation listened and refrains were usually sung by the whole group.²⁴⁷ In responsorial psalmody “the choral body, congregation or trained *schola*, responds to the solo recitation of the psalm.”²⁴⁸ Finally, antiphonal psalmody depended on the choral resources. The structure of the psalm texts could be divided into half-verses, and this allowed for two choral responses. In the Middle Ages, the two opposing choirs were known as *decani*, for its location by the Dean, and the *cantoris*, for its location by the Cantor.²⁴⁹ With the development of sacred spaces, the church accommodated the musical forces of antiphonal performance that became an important style of liturgical performance.²⁵⁰

Stevenson’s reference is from *Le psaume abécédaire de saint Augustin et la poésie latine rythmique* by Hermanus Bernardus.²⁵¹ Here, the musical execution of the psalms of the Office is explained in terms as: *le cantus responsorius, le cantus antiphonus, et le cantus directaneus*. Although they have the same meaning, most often the words are rendered into English, as they

²⁴⁷ Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office*, 24. See “The Textual and Musical Forms,” 21-43.

²⁴⁸ Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office*, 26.

²⁴⁹ Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office*, 30.

²⁵⁰ Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office*, 30. See Harper, “The Psalter,” in *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy*, 69-72.

²⁵¹ Hermanus Bernardus, *Le psaume abécédaire de Saint Augustin et la poésie latine rythmique* (Nijmegen: N.V. Dekker & van de Vegt en J.W. van Leeuwen, 1933), 24.

might appear in the *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* such as “Direct Psalmody.”²⁵² Stevenson’s discussion is important, because she has brought a musical aspect to her discussion of the Irish hymns and shown that they must also be considered as verses to be sung.

Stevenson has written several articles on Irish hymns and consulted with the musicologist Ann Buckley, regarding performance practice in the early Irish church. While there is no specific mention of musical accompaniment in the AB, the interior structure and shape of the hymn give some clues. Questions of performance practice may interrogate the evidence in ways that seem unanswerable. Perhaps, considerations of refrains, and the items that are before and after the hymns, offer further insight into a performance style, rather than read too much into the evidence. However, articles such as Stevenson’s have drawn out a salient point: music was part of the Irish liturgy.

In an accolade to the hymn the Rev. Dean Mulcahy wrote: “The hymn ought to be better known in the Ireland of our day; beautiful in itself, its value is enhanced by its antiquity, and by the glorious and irrefutable record it furnishes of the sound faith planted by St. Patrick in the Irish church.”²⁵³ While Mulcahy may lament *Sancti venite*’s unfamiliarity in Ireland, an explanation lies with the recovery of the AB in Bobbio, Italy and not Ireland. Further, that the AB lay virtually unknown for a gap of a millennium, and even when recovered was not initially studied by an Irish scholar, may have contributed to the late arrival of this hymn in Ireland.

²⁵² For a definition of “Direct psalmody” see Thomas H. Connolly, “Direct psalmody,” *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, volume 5 (London: Macmillan, 1980), 484.

²⁵³ Mulcahy, “The Irish Latin Hymns,” 386.

However, the number of translations speaks to its popularity and even in their layout, there is a certain element of poetic creativity and variance (Appendix III: Hymn III, Translations 2-8).

IV. [AB 9] *Hymnus quando caeria benedicitur: Ignis Creator igneus* (ff. 11r-11v)

The hymn is found only in the AB and a later Bobbio manuscript, Turin, biblioteca nazionale G. v. 38 (s. X in).²⁵⁴ It was probably written not later than the seventh century, and most likely is of Irish origin.²⁵⁵ The title “the hymn when the candle is blessed” is a reference to the lighting of the paschal candle. In poetic structure *Ignis creator igneus* is Ambrosian in design, consisting of eight stanzas in iambic dimeter of four lines each.²⁵⁶

The ritual of the lighting of the candle has a complicated history. A valuable discussion of the gradual acceptance of the lightening of the paschal candle or, the *Exultet* at Rome is presented by Thomas Forrest Kelly.²⁵⁷ The increased use of the paschal candle in urban areas and the elaboration of the ceremony through singing and procession appear to have led to a gradual adoption of the *Exultet* at Rome.²⁵⁸ What seems significant is that there should be a hymn for the lighting of the candles or a lamp-lighting ceremony in the Antiphony of Bangor. With the introduction of the Roman Rite the ceremony was folded into the Roman Missal. While liturgical traditions are difficult to trace, rather than see traditions as “suppressed,” in one

²⁵⁴ Stevenson, “Irish Hymns, Venantius Fortunatus and Poitiers,” 106.

²⁵⁵ Kenney, *The Sources*, 261. See Curran, *The Antiphony of Bangor*, 64. Curran concludes the hymn was written by an Irish author, but presents arguments that suggest Bobbio rather than Bangor where it was” composed,” 64.

²⁵⁶ Curran, *The Antiphony of Bangor*, 59.

²⁵⁷ Thomas Forrest Kelly, II: “Candle, Text, Ceremony: The *Exultet* at Rome,” in *The Practice of Medieval Music: Studies in Chant and Performance* (Farnham, Surrey, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate/ Variorum, 2010), 7- 68. Kelly investigates the illuminated *Exultet* rolls in his in-depth study of the *Exultet* and its history in the Catholic Mass, see Kelly, *The Exultet in Southern Italy* (New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996). In the book Kelly discusses the early stage of the individual texts for the Blessing of the Paschal Candle and reference is made to the hymn *Ignis creator igneus* found in the Antiphony of Bangor, see 42-3. The lighting of the Paschal Candle involved a ritual in which the ceremony drew on the symbolism of Christ as the light. The performance became elaborate involving symbolic gestures, movement, and processions. The *Exultet* and hymn *Inventor rutili* for the Easter Vigil have been preserved from the Gallican tradition in Roman use; for this information see David Hiley, *Western Plainchant: A Handbook* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 38, 142, 319, and 554. In the index of incipits Hiley refers to *Inventor rutili* as a processional hymn.

²⁵⁸ See Kelly, “Candle, Text, Ceremony: The *Exultet* at Rome,” 7-68.

sense the Roman liturgy represents a “universal practice” “with a measure of their local practice.”²⁵⁹ Although the Paschal theme cannot be ignored, this does not mean that it was necessarily an Easter hymn. Jeffery points out that even with a hymn which reflects an Easter theme we must not overlook the fact that much of the material in the AB “is a collection of material for the daily and weekly cycles that includes very few texts restricted to specific days of the year.”²⁶⁰ In singling out *Ignis creator* as a hymn which suggests the AB was for the Easter Vigil, or, as Jeffery observes, “to make the distinction is to view the evidence anachronistically” as there was a paschal character in Sunday services. This is an important point and I concur with Jeffery that this and even other aspects of the AB have been influenced by earlier scholarship without consideration of the broader context of paschal developments.

The hymn *Ignis creator igneus* was written “for the blessing of the paschal candle on Easter night” (*Hymnus quando caeria benedicitur*).²⁶¹ As Curran notes the author of the hymn has drawn on several sources and must have been acquainted with a number of hymn texts.²⁶² For example, the hymn is structured, as mentioned, in typical Ambrosian form that comprises eight stanzas with four lines per stanza. However, the author has diverted from the iambic dimeter and incorporated the older form of the Ambrosian model that allowed “spondaic meter at the end of the second foot.”²⁶³

²⁵⁹ Kelly, “Candle, Text, Ceremony,” 17, n 20.

²⁶⁰ Jeffery, “Eastern and Western Elements in the Prayer of the Hours,” 117.

²⁶¹ Curran, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, 64. See Jeffery, “Eastern and Western elements in the Prayer of the Hours,” 117.

²⁶² Curran, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, 59.

²⁶³ Curran, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, 59.

1. *Ignis creator igneus,
Lumen donator luminis
Vitaque vitae conditor
Dator salutis et salus.*

The hymn draws parallels with Prudentius and the Gelasian sacramentary,²⁶⁴ in particular, the Gelasian blessing used at the lighting of the Paschal candle.²⁶⁵ The hymn *Inventor rutili* by Prudentius expressed themes associated with the lighting of the Paschal candle. Thus, *Ignis creator igneus* reflects a practice of writing hymns inspired by the themes of light. The intricate interplay of texts and religious sentiment expressed by the author of the hymn demonstrates the level of knowledge required to compose such a text. The author is drawing on past traditions and creating something new. Perhaps we glean something of the literary sophistication that relates to earlier hymn models but moves forward in its expressive style and literary symbolism. The similarities with the Gelasian and the *Exultet* link the hymn to an important event in the Church and the celebration at Easter.²⁶⁶ Curran concludes that the author of *Ignis creator igneus* was “deeply influenced by that tradition” and on one level used “a traditional meter to give to the blessing of the paschal candle” was “a fitting literary expression.”²⁶⁷ These are the smaller minutiae of the hymn. In the larger context of Latin hymnody, the custom of the Paschal candle at Easter evening was one “originating in the Celtic church.”²⁶⁸ The hymn’s presence in the Antiphonary of Bangor seems unique.²⁶⁹

²⁶⁴ Curran, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, 59.

²⁶⁵ See *The Gelasian Sacramentary, Liber Sacramentorum Romanae Ecclesiae*, edited with introduction, critical notes and appendix by H. A. Wilson (Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1894), 80-81.

²⁶⁶ Curran, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, 63.

²⁶⁷ Curran, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, 64.

²⁶⁸ Warren, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, Part II, 1895, 46.

²⁶⁹ Warren, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, Part II, 1895, 45.

There are several themes expressed in the stanzas where God is referenced as “author of light, fire, life and salvation” and these are then “illustrated” in relation to the Paschal feast and Easter celebration.²⁷⁰ One striking image appears in the concluding stanzas where the paschal candle and light are referenced in relation to wax and the bee. On a spiritual level, the paschal candle is reflected in the industry of the bee to produce the wax and this symbol of light.²⁷¹

6. *Fuco depasto nubilo
Tempus decoctis sordibus
Fervente sancto spiritu
Carnem lucere ceream.*
7. *Secretos jam condens favi
Divini mellis halitus;
Cordis repurgans intimas
Verbo replesti cellulas,*
8. *Examen ut foetus novi
Ore praelectum Spiritu
Relictis coelum sarcinis
Quaerit securis pinnulis.*

The attention given to spiritual and earthly elements of daily life are important aspects of Irish poetry. On a practical note, the commodities from bees - honey and wax - were valuable to the economy. So important was the bee that a complete law tract, *Bechbretha* was written “devoted to the legal intricacies of bees and bee-keeping.”²⁷² The tract is dated from the seventh century and contains intricate regulations regarding the maintenance and the legalities of bees. Beeswax was an important byproduct, not only for the obvious use such as candles, but for the making of wax tablets; both important artifacts in monastic centers and proof found in the discovery of seventh century tablets in the Springmount Bog in County Antrim in 1914 demonstrating that

²⁷⁰ Curran, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, 59.

²⁷¹ Curran, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, 62.

²⁷² Ó Cróinín, *Early Medieval Ireland 400-1200*, 106. For an edition, translation and an analysis of the text see Thomas Charles-Edwards and Fergus Kelly, *Bechbretha* (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1983).

this writing medium was in use in Ireland.²⁷³ This detail in the poem points to the importance of the bee, a small creature of industrious example, both in the economy and the spiritual life of the monastery. In sum, *Ignis creator igneus* is, as Curran put it, “a good example of the Irish inclination to transform traditional liturgical material in order to suit their particular tastes.”²⁷⁴

²⁷³ Ó Cróinín, *Early Medieval Ireland 400-1200*, 182 and 183; and Maurice Sheehy, “Appendix I: Wax Tablets from Springmount Bog,” in *The Psalms in the Early Irish Church* (Sheffield, GB: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), 116-119. Springmount Bog is located north of Belfast and seven miles north of Ballymena.

²⁷⁴ Curran, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, 64. I thank Professor Dooley for a discussion of the hymn.

V. [AB 10] *Hymnus mediae noctis: Mediae noctis tempus est* (ff. 11v-12v)

Mediae noctis tempus est is recognized as a well-known hymn of the church. In the Ambrosian or Milanese Rite, the hymn *Mediae noctis tempus est* is prominent in the liturgy. Its appearance in the AB is “direct evidence for the use of *ambrosiani* in Ireland” suggesting that “a Continental *liber hymnorum* was known in Ireland.”²⁷⁵ In the Mozarabic Rite there are three hymns known for the midnight vigil, or “*medium noctis*”.²⁷⁶ The AB’s link with other rites such as the Mozarabic, has been one of the criticisms of the so-called Celtic rite, because of its lack of a distinct practice.²⁷⁷ At the same time, one of the features of the Irish church was its ability to assimilate other practices and texts, and to make them their own. As an important witness to the enculturation of the Christian faith in Ireland, the hymn *Mediae noctis est* attests to external influences, “most of which came via Gaul.”²⁷⁸ Warren concluded that there was little to suggest Irish authorship,²⁷⁹ but it is a remarkable piece of evidence that points again to the impact of the written word in an Irish context.

The presence of *Mediae noctis tempus est* may also be an indication that the AB may have been influenced by, or is proof that the authors were adapting to local practice. The hymn is also evidence which points to Bobbio rather than Bangor as the AB’s place of origin.

Curran offers little in his discussion of *Mediae noctis tempus est* in his book. The hymn is a sixth-century Gallican hymn for nocturns at Arles, and in the AB it is indicated for the

²⁷⁵ Stevenson, “Irish Hymns, Venentius Fortunatus and Poitiers,” 105.

²⁷⁶ Warren, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, Part II, 46.

²⁷⁷ For example, see Richard Hoppin’s comments on the Celtic rite in *Medieval Music*, 37.

²⁷⁸ Buckley, “Music in Ireland to c.1500,” 779.

²⁷⁹ Warren, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, Part II, 47.

midnight office.²⁸⁰ However, Curran notes that it must have been “brought to Bangor from a Columban center on the Continent in the seventh century.”²⁸¹ If, as Curran suggests, the hymn was brought to Bangor from a Columban center, Bobbio, then this also suggests that other texts may also have been transmitted to Ireland; indeed, perhaps the whole manuscript. Curran’s observations raise more questions about the AB and the possibility that it was written in Bobbio and sent to Ireland. The reliance on three Bangor hymns for dating the manuscript seems reasonable evidence, but this does not necessarily confirm its origin. For Stevenson, the presence of *Mediae noctis tempus* in the AB demonstrates “direct evidence for the use of *ambrosiani* in Ireland, and may help to strengthen the suggestion that a Continental *liber hymnorum*, possible emanating from Poitiers, was known in Ireland at an early date.”²⁸² Stevenson’s use of the word “ambrosiani” refers to hymns in the style of or composed by Ambrose.²⁸³

²⁸⁰ Curran, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, 64-65.

²⁸¹ Curran, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, 65.

²⁸² Stevenson, “Irish Hymns, Venantius Fortunatus and Poitiers,” 105-106.

²⁸³ See Stevenson, “Irish Hymn, Venantius Fortunatus and Poitiers,” 82-85 and 90.

VI. [AB 11] *Hymnus in natale martyrum vel sabbato ad matutinam:*
Sacratissimi martyres summi Dei (ff. 12v-13r)

Sacratissimi martyres summi Dei is an example of a eulogy for the martyrs.²⁸⁴ It was used, as the rubric indicates, for the Sabbath of the Martyrs at *Matutina* or Matins. An important feature of the Irish church is its devotion to martyrs and saints, and the elaborate hagiography of the saint, exemplified in their *vita*. The attention given to saints seems unusual, as Ireland “never experienced martyrdom in its own history.”²⁸⁵ In fact, hagiography, the Lives of Saints, became one of the main genres to emerge from the seventh century.²⁸⁶ Hagiographical texts were important to religious communities whose reputation was built on the life of the patron saint. Verses or hymns played a prominent role. Sung on the festal days, the hymn was the record of the life, preserved in memory and commemoration. Here, in the AB a style of verse is unveiled that has relevance to how later recoveries in continental manuscripts are understood, especially when musical notation accompanies the text to an Irish saint.

Sacratissimi martyres summi Dei is “a very rare hymn.”²⁸⁷ The Irish may have been influenced by the tradition of the Ambrosian hymn, but a defining characteristic of Irish hymnody is “the movement away from *laus Dei*” in praise of God, and “the movement towards hymns on the martyrs.”²⁸⁸ The repetition of “alleluia” and the refrains vary the length of the rhythm, and draws attention to the change in focus; from a global praise, “*Tibi sancti canebant,*”

²⁸⁴ Kenney, *The Sources*, 261.

²⁸⁵ Curran, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, 77.

²⁸⁶ Ó Cróinín, *Early Medieval Ireland 400-1200*, 208. Ó Cróinín notes, the “real seventh-century blossoming in Hiberno-Latin writing took place in the three main subjects of the curriculum: exegesis, grammar, and computes, see 211.

²⁸⁷ Warren, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, Part II, 48.

²⁸⁸ Stevenson, “Hiberno-Latin Hymns: Learning and Literature,” 104-105.

to a community of praise with the Trinity “*Trinitati cum sanctis dicamus*” on behalf of the martyrs. The shift in tone can be interpreted as the Irish laying claim to the martyrs of the Church and taking ownership of the communion of saints. They are asserting themselves not only as participants, but they are giving utterance to an eternal hope: to be joined to the martyrs “in sanctam Jerusalem civitatem Dei.”

The hymn is comprised of nine verses of lines varying in length of eleven to fifteen syllables, and is an example of rhythmic verse, rather than metrical verse.²⁸⁹ The hymn is splendid in its design and in its theological import (see Translation 2 for Hymn VI, 299). Each verse emphasizes the attributes of the holy martyrs, capturing the character and devotion to God in text and poetic style. In its construction the hymn not only shows the influence of Latin hymnody, but also displays the rhythmic character of ancient Irish poetry.²⁹⁰ Curran concluded that *Sacratissimi martyres* was not an imitation of a Greek model of hymn, but rather “the utilization of an ancient Irish meter for the praise of the Christian martyrs.”²⁹¹ No other copy is known to exist save the AB. Given that Ireland had no martyrs, Warren concluded that this was an imported hymn as there is no indication that it was written by an Irish author.²⁹² On the other hand, Curran concluded that the hymn showed evidence of Irish poetical traditions brought together in this Latin dress.²⁹³

²⁸⁹ Curran, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, 74 and 76-77.

²⁹⁰ See Curran, “*Sacratissimi Martyres*,” in *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, 74-80.

²⁹¹ Curran, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, 80.

²⁹² Warren, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, Part II, 48.

²⁹³ Curran, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, 74-80.

VII. [AB 12] *Hymnus ad matutinam in domenica: Spiritus divinae lucis gloriae* (ff. 13r-13v)

The hymn *Spiritus divinae lucis* has been considered an Irish hymn and appears to survive only in Ireland.²⁹⁴ As its rubric indicates, the hymn was used *ad matutinam*, or at matins on Sunday.²⁹⁵

Although the lines are of irregular lengths, the refrain seems to anchor the text to a predictable and repetitive pattern. Warren observed that the hymn did not exhibit distinct features to decide authorship, but concluded that because of the irregularity, it was more likely composed in Ireland rather than “any workshop of more polished poetry.”²⁹⁶ What is remarkable is that almost a hundred years later Curran would take the view that the whole text reflected the influence of the hymns of Marius Victorinus. Marius Victorinus (d. after 363) was an African theologian and rhetorician from the fourth century.²⁹⁷ He taught in Rome and wrote against the Arians. Among his writings are some early Latin commentaries on Pauline epistles, *On the Necessity of Accepting the Homoousion* (*De Homoousio recipiendo*), and *Adversus Arum*.²⁹⁸ Victorinus also wrote three hymns on the Trinity to which Curran refers in his discussion of *Spiritus divinae lucis*.²⁹⁹ If we accept Curran’s hypothesis, where did the author obtain the works of Victorinus? Notwithstanding the difficulties of authorship, it cannot be ignored that continental influence

²⁹⁴ Stevenson, “Irish Hymns, Venantius Fortunatus and Poitiers,” 96.

²⁹⁵ Kenney, *The Sources*, 261.

²⁹⁶ Warren, *The Antiphony of Bangor*, Part II, 48.

²⁹⁷ Michael P. McHugh, “Victorinus, Marius,” *Encyclopedia of Early Christianity*, 2nd edition (New York; London: Garland, 1997), 1159; and “Victorinus Gaius (or Fabius) Marius,” in *Dictionary of the Christian Church*, edited by F. L. Cross and E. A. Livingstone (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1997), 1694.

²⁹⁸ McHugh, “Victorinus, Marius,” 1159, and Cross and Livingstone, “Victorinus (or Fabius) Marius,” 1649. For more on his works see Mary T. Clark, *Theological Treatises on the Trinity*, Marius Victorinus (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1981; and *Marii Victorini Ars grammatica* (Firenze: F. Le Monnier, 1967).

²⁹⁹ Curran, *The Antiphony of Bangor*, 66-73.

played a part in the composition of the hymn. The works of Victorinus³⁰⁰ may have been known in Ireland, and the texts might have come from the continent, but they may also have been transmitted from northern Italy after Bobbio was founded. In other words, the hymn may have been written at Bobbio and sent to Ireland.³⁰¹ In the end, Curran weighs on the side of the transmission of the texts of Victorinus to Ireland from either Bobbio, or Spain where his works were known, and that the hymn was written in Ireland in the seventh century, and “doubtless at Bangor.”³⁰² *Spiritus divinae lucis gloriae*, along with *Hymnum dicat* are the only hymns to appear in the Antiphonary of Bangor, the Turin fragments, and the Paris fragment.³⁰³

³⁰⁰ See Curran, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, 219, note 5: Works such as *Marii victorini Opera. Pars I. Opera Theologica*, edited by P. Henry and P. Hadot, *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* 83 (Vindobonae: Hoelder-Pichler-Tempsky, 1971) which contain *Hymni de Trinitate* (285-305) and the *Adversus Arium libri IV* (54-277).

³⁰¹ See these ideas discussed in Curran, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, 73.

³⁰² Curran, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, 73.

³⁰³ Stevenson, “Irish Hymns, Venantius Fortunatus and Poitiers,” 96. The Turin Fragment (Turin, biblioteca nazionale 882 n° 8 (olim F.iv.1, fasc. 9) and the Paris fragment (Paris, BN lat. 9488) are closely related to the Antiphonary; see Stevenson’s complete article, 81-110, especially 82, note 3, and 87. Stevenson observes that Southern Gaul would have been a model for the *Te Deum* and the Gloria. For a useful discussion of manuscript sources see Henry Jenner, “The Celtic Rite,” *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, volume 3 (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1908), accessed September 30, 2010 <<http://www.newadvent.org/cathern/03493a.htm>>. The manuscript sources are important because they contain remnants of the Celtic rite.

**VIII. [AB 13] *Hymnus Sancti Patricii magisteri Scottorum:*
Audite omnes amantes (ff. 13v-15v)**

The earliest evidence for *Audite omnes amantes* is the AB, a hymn in praise of St. Patrick (d. 461) who is credited with the Christianization of Ireland.³⁰⁴ Although the hymn has been attributed to St. Sechnall (Secundinus), very little is known of his life. Curran states that he was in Ireland before Patrick and that he was bishop of Armagh from 444 until he died in 457.³⁰⁵ The difficulty with ascribing St. Sechnall with the authorship is the accuracy of the historical information. According to Ludwig Bieler Secundinus died in 447 at the age of 75.³⁰⁶ It is generally accepted that Patrick's ministry in Ireland dates from 432-462 and that St. Sechnall arrived in 439,³⁰⁷ although, even this shows a discrepancy in the death of St. Patrick. These infelicities aside, and more germane is the author's acquaintance with Patrick and his mission. As St. Patrick's contemporary, St. Sechnall was familiar with his life and ministry in order to write a hymn in praise of the saint. It is also a hymn which relates stories about St. Patrick and the important reference to the singing of a choir which Sechnall and Patrick are to have heard outside the church.³⁰⁸ The reference is to *Hymnus quando commonicarent sacerdotes: Sancti venite Christi corpus* [AB 8] a hymn to be sung as the priests gather for Communion. These references provide insight into the interconnections between the texts and that there was a hymn

³⁰⁴ Jane Stevenson states that Ireland was Christianized "in the fifth century, principally, if not entirely, by British Christians, most notably Saint Patrick;" see Stevenson, "Literacy and Orality in Early Medieval Ireland," 11-22 at 11.

³⁰⁵ Curran, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, 36. Curran discusses James Carney's view of the hymn; see J. Carney, "Audite Omnes Amantes," *King of Mysteries: Early Irish Religious Writings* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1998), 147-161.

³⁰⁶ Ludwig Bieler, "The Hymns of St. Secundinus," *PRIA* 55, Section C, No. 6 (1953), 117.

³⁰⁷ Curran, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, 36.

³⁰⁸ O'Donoghue, *The Eucharist in Pre-Norman Ireland*, 38.

for the Eucharist draws attention to the significance of Sechnall's hymn.³⁰⁹ There is an enthusiasm expressed that builds through each verse of the hymn. It also draws on the elements of the story and of being outdoors. This is an important aspect of worship in the Irish church which was not confined to the walls of the church. Given that St. Sechnall intimately connected to St. Patrick and his mission, it may seem difficult to credit authorship to another.

Still, Michael Herren has argued that this is a hymn which has been crafted by someone who had knowledge not only of St. Patrick's writings but was familiar with the poetical styles of verse, which reflects a later date for the hymn than the earlier period of St. Sechnall's life. Pádraig Ó Riain observes that much of the information about Sechnall (Seachnall) is gleaned from the author of the Tripartite Life of Patrick.³¹⁰ Herren suggests if the hymn is dated to the sixth or early seventh century, this supports a more realistic assessment of the poetics and accounts for another author: Colmán Alo. The evidence in support of Colmán Alo is strong. First, in the *Tripartite Life of Patrick* dated ca. 895 x 900 there is a reference to Colmán Alo (Elo): "Patrick's hymn, Colmán Alo recited it in his refectory thrice."³¹¹ Another reference to the hymn appears as an appendage in the *Book of Armagh* dated 807 (includes some Patrician texts)³¹² where the fourfold honour to St. Patrick included the chanting of his hymn:

³⁰⁹ O'Donoghue, *The Eucharist in Pre-Norman Ireland*, 38.

³¹⁰ Pádraig Ó Riain, "Seachnall," *A Dictionary of Irish Saints* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2011), 552.

³¹¹ *The Tripartite Life of Patrick*, edited by Whitley Stokes, Part 1 (London: Printed for her Majesty's Stationery Office, by Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1887), I: 28 b. lines 11-12; page 246 (Latin); page 247 (English). See Herren, "An Early Irish Precursor of the 'Offiziendichtung,'" 296 on the reference to *The Tripartite Life of Patrick*.

³¹² Dáibhí Ó Cróinín, "Armagh, Book of," *Medieval Ireland: an Encyclopedia* (New York; London: Routledge, 2005), 30-1 at 30.

Patricus sanctus episcopus honorem quaternum omnibus monasteriis et aeclesiis per totam Hiberniam debet habere, id est

- i. *sollemnitate dormitationis eius honorari in medio ueris per tres dies et tres noctes omni bono cibo praeter carnem, quasi Patricius uenisset in vita in hostium;*
- ii. *offertorium eius proprium in eodem die immolari;*
- iii. *ymnum eius per totum tempus cantare;***
- iiii. *canticum eius Scotticum semper canere.*

The holy bishop Patrick is entitled to a fourfold honour from all monasteries and churches throughout Ireland, that is

- i. on the feast of his *dormitation* (falling asleep in death) to be honoured (even) in the midst of spring (i.e. in Lent) for three days and three nights with every good food except meat, as if Patrick in person had come to the door;
- ii. his proper offering (Mass) to be offered on that same day;
- iii. to chant his hymn during (that) whole time;**
- iiii. always to chant his Gaelic canticle.³¹³

These references point reveal that *Audite omnes amantes* held a significant place in the liturgy of the Irish church. Furthermore, the references to singing and chanting indicate that music was integrated into the performance aspect of the liturgy. Herren concludes that the evidence points to Colmán Alo as the author, but even more significant, that what we witness in *Audite omnes* is a hymn intended for liturgical use for the office hours.³¹⁴ As Herren notes: “Perhaps, [...] it is time to consider Colmán in the “pre-history” of “Offziendichtung”.”³¹⁵ Whether Herren is indeed correct, his argument is convincing. Still, it is hard to dismiss the mythology and the

³¹³ “B: Tírechán,” *The Patrician Texts in the Book of Armagh*, edited by Ludwig Bieler (Dublin; The Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1979), 166 (Latin), 167 (English). The passage is from the text by bishop Tírechán. See Herren, “An Early Irish Precursor of the “Offziendichtung”,” 299.

³¹⁴ Herren, “An Early Irish Precursor of the “Offziendichtung”,” 300.

³¹⁵ Herren, “An Early Irish precursor of the “Offziendichtung”,” 300.

tradition of St. Sechnall as author. Regardless of the author, it is one of the popular hymns of the early Irish church.³¹⁶

By the time the hymn was written there must have been sufficient evidence of Patrick's saintly life to warrant such an elaborate hymn. Curran concludes that the hymn was likely by an Irish author, but of an early origin due to the lack of rhyme and its quantitative style.³¹⁷

Although the mythology about the life of St. Patrick has built up over time, he remains a remarkable figure. Dáibhí Ó Cróinín notes:

Patrick is the only citizen of the late Roman empire to have been taken prisoner by marauding raiders, sold into slavery, and who lived to tell the tale in written form. His is an account unparalleled in the history of the West of one man's experience as a captive beyond the frontiers of the Empire.³¹⁸

His mission to the Irish remains one of the central themes of his life. At the same time, there has been a tendency to view his efforts from a singular perspective that has sometime failed to take into account other conduits of Christian contact. While St. Patrick is a dominant figure in Ireland, his theological teachings are vital to understanding the roots of Irish monasticism. The only sources that give clues into his background and his convictions are the *Confessio* and the *Epistola*.³¹⁹ Although the details of his life are sketchy, he appears to have prepared himself to return to Ireland by studying in Gaul.³²⁰ In the *Epistola* Patrick “draws attention to his own lack of learning and culture, to the ‘rusticity’ of his Latin” and the only book he references is the

³¹⁶ Carey, “*Audite Omnes Amantes: ‘Sechnall’s Hymn’ to Saint Patrick,*” 147.

³¹⁷ See Curran, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, 44.

³¹⁸ Ó Cróinín, *Early Medieval Ireland 400-1200*, 23.

³¹⁹ John R. Walsh and Thomas Bradley, *A History of the Irish Church 400-700 A.D* (Blackrock, Co. Dublin: Columba Press, 1991), 10. For the writings of St. Patrick see A. B. E. Hood, ed. and trans., *St. Patrick: His Writings and Muirchu’s Life* (London; Chichester: Phillimore, 1978); Ludwig Bieler, *Liberi Epistolarum Sancti Patricii Episcopi* (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 1993); and Daniel Conneely, *St. Patrick’s Letters: A Study of Their Theological Dimension*, edited and presented by Patrick Bastable (Maynooth: An Sagart, 1993).

³²⁰ Walsh and Bradley, *A History of the Irish Church 400-700 AD*, 18.

Latin Bible.³²¹ But these are not the elements at the heart of the hymn. As Herren points out by crediting the hymn to Colmán, the style of verse exhibited in the AB “rhythmical adaptations of metrical models had been available on the continent for a least a century.”³²² In short, *Audite omnes amantes* may reflect this transition period.³²³

The hymn is composed in the style of an abecedarian, a form that is found elsewhere in the Antiphony, and alternates lines of eight and seven syllables.³²⁴ *Audite Omnes* is also one of the oldest hymns to have been written in Ireland, and dates possibly to the sixth century.³²⁵ The hymn had an influence on other Irish texts such as the hymn to St., and, by extension, on the cult of Patrick that “serves as a model for other centers to follow.”³²⁶ Remarkable is the construction of the hymn that draws on the Bible and Patrick’s writings, while capturing the romance and mythology that surrounds the saint’s life. The alphabetical structure strives for poetical transcendence. Curran notes that *Audite omnes* is “a full-blooded panegyric in the native traditions of eulogy.”³²⁷ The lengthy hymn is indeed a remarkable example of Irish poetry. In his study of the hymn Warren notes that Patrick is referred to in the present tense, except for the last verse where his death is mentioned.³²⁸ Warren comments on the “ruggedness

³²¹ Hood, *St. Patrick: His Writing and Muirchu’s Life*, 18.

³²² Herren, “An Early Irish Precursor of the ‘Offiziendichtung,’” 297.

³²³ Herren, “An Early Irish Precursor of the ‘Offiziendichtung,’” 297.

³²⁴ Andy Orchard, “‘Audite Omnes Amantes’: A Hymn in Patrick’s Praise,” in *Saint Patrick*, edited by David N. Dumville (Woodbridge, Suffolk, UK: Boydell Press, 1993, 1996), 153-171; and see Herren, “§VI: An Early Irish Precursor of the ‘Offiziendichtung,’” 293-300.

³²⁵ Stevenson, “Hiberno-Latin hymns: Learning and Literature,” 115. See Curran, *The Antiphony of Bangor*, 35-44 regarding an in-depth analysis of the hymn.

³²⁶ Stevenson, “Hiberno-Latin hymns: Learning and Literature,” 115.

³²⁷ Curran, *The Antiphony of Bangor*, 37.

³²⁸ Warren, *The Antiphony of Bangor*, Part II, 50.

of the meter” and the simplicity of the verse that he states is “redolent of antiquity.”³²⁹ In *Audite omnes*, not only is the author’s style and grammar called into question, but the texts that have been relied upon for the information about Patrick’s life. The “rusticity” of Patrick’s writings may be one of the markers that provide insight into the date of the hymn, but Stevenson seizes on in her comment about the hymn: “To build a panegyric out of material taken from Patrick’s less than triumphalist *Confessio* and *Epistola* demonstrates considerable creative ability.”³³⁰ Creative perhaps, but it also demonstrates that the author achieved a level of linguistic ability to compose this expressive hymn as a legacy to the Irish saint (see Appendix III: Hymn VIII, Translations 2 and 3). Too much can be made of the Latinity of Irish hymns which fails to see the remarkable qualities of the hymn. The verses are carefully crafted to balance the qualities of St. Patrick without elevating him too highly. The tradition that a spiritual reward was given on the singing of the last three verses³³¹ can only have added to its reverence and hardly diminished the honours to its author.

³²⁹ Warren, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, Part II, 50.

³³⁰ Stevenson, “Hiberno-Latin hymns: Learning and Literature,” 116.

³³¹ Carey, “Audite Omnes Amantes,” 147.

IX. [AB 14] *Hymnus Sancti Comgilli abbatis nostri: Recordemur justitiae* (ff. 15v-17v)

This is a long, alphabetical hymn comprised of twenty-three stanzas in honour of St. Comgall, the founder of the monastery of Bangor. Curran felt that the hymn dated from the seventh century and that it was written by a monk at Bangor.³³² Each stanza is comprised of eight lines of eight syllables. The meter is a rhythmic form of iambic dimeter and the main interest is the author's use of rhyme. Each line begins and ends with a letter of the alphabet, or begins and ends with the same letter.³³³ There are, however, exceptions such as in stanza ii, where the author appears to have found it impossible to maintain the pattern. In character it resembles *In memoriam abbatum nostrorum*, the last hymn that concludes the AB. Although the introductory incipit is *Recordemur justitiae*, the hymn is also referred to by the incipit of the first verse:

Audite pantes ta erga.

The style of an alphabetical hymn was a useful memory device. Given the significance of the hymn to the Bangor community and the importance of Comgall's rule perhaps some of his discipline is reflected in the author's poetical structure of the the hymns. Here the artistry is in the tedious interconnection of the "chain variety" of vowel endings.³³⁴

Introduction	"-ae"	Verse 5	"-o"
Verse 1	"-a"	Verse 6	"-ore (ie) (ae)"
Verse 2	"-am"	Verse 7	"-us (os)"
Verse 3	"-um"	Verse 8	"-us"
Verse 4	"-ibus (us) (os)"	Verse 9	"-us" (etc.)

As Warren observes, the hymn is a remarkable tour de force.³³⁵

³³² Curran, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, 81.

³³³ Warren, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, Part II, 55.

³³⁴ Curran, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, 83.

³³⁵ Warren, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, Part II, 55.

An important discovery related to *Audite pantes ta erga* and the AB was made at an early monastic site on the island of Inchmarnock in Scotland.³³⁶ Over the period between 1999 and 2004, a team of researchers led by Christopher Lowe, conducted fieldwork for the Archaeology of Inchmarnock Research Project.³³⁷ Amongst their many findings in the church and graveyard they discovered a small piece of slate measuring 120 x 70 mm.³³⁸ On the slate is the following inscription:

ADEPTUS S(AN)C(TU)M PR[E]MIUM³³⁹

Given the writing style, and that the letter forms were roughly executed, the evidence suggested that this was a kind of practice inscription. Of the incised slates found in and around the monastic setting, the “Adeptus Fragment shows familiarity with early cursive script. Whoever wrote the inscription also had a reverence for the Insular cursive minuscule model found in manuscripts such as the Book of Armagh, dated to A.D. 807 and preserved in Dublin, Trinity College, 52.³⁴⁰ The phrase “adeptus sanctum proemium” means “having reached the holy

³³⁶ Inchmarnock is a small island of 660 acres off the west coast of the Island of Bute at the estuary of the Firth of Clyde. The uninhabited island was bought by Lord Smith of Kelvin in 1999; see “Foreword,” in Christopher Lowe, *Inchmarnock: An Early Historic Island Monastery and Its Archaeological Landscape* (Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, 2008), ix. For further information see Peter Yeoman, “Inchmarnock,” in “§12: Investigations on the May Island, and Other Early Medieval Churches and Monasteries in Scotland,” in *The Archaeology of the Early Medieval Celtic Churches, Proceedings of a conference on The Archaeology of the Early Meideval Celtic Churches, September 2004*, edited by Nancy Edwards (Leeds: Maney Publishing, 2009), 231.

³³⁷ See Lowe, *Inchmarnock*.

³³⁸ Katherine Forsythe and Carlo Tedeschi, “§6.3.3: Text-inscribed slates,” in *Inchmarnock: An Early Historic Island Monastery and Its Archaeological Landscape*, by Christopher Lowe (Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, 2008), 128-151 at 137.

³³⁹ Lowe, *Inchmarnock*, 138. The fragment was identified by David Howlett, Director, Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources, the University of Oxford.

³⁴⁰ Lowe, *Inchmarnock*, 138.

reward” and the fragment is thus labeled “The Adeptus Fragment.”³⁴¹ Important here is that the line of verse is from the AB hymn *Audite pantes ta erga* (ff. 15v-17v) found on folio 16v, stanza 12:

*Magnum appendit bradium
Aeterna vita condignum,
Adeptus sanctum proemium*

The complete verse is given with the translation:

12.	<i>Magnum appendit bradium Aeterna vita condignum, Adeptus sanctum proemium Post laborem firmissimum, Cujus perfectum meritum Vocamus in auxilium, Ut mereamur omnium Vitorum excidium.</i>	He got the great victory truly proper to eternal life, having reached the holy reward, after most steadfast labour the perfect merit on which we call for help so that we can deserve of all vices the destruction. ³⁴²
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It was David Howlett who was able to shed light on the significance of the find and to connect the inscription to the AB.³⁴³ For as Lowe observes: “The fact that the hymn is in honour of Comgall inevitably raises the question of a possible connection between Inchmarnock and the saint’s foundation of Bangor.”³⁴⁴ That a line from a hymn preserved in the AB should be found on a piece of slate in and around the monastery and churchyard may suggest that this may even have been a marker of some sort, or perhaps to indicate a grave site. The inscription seems to point to a Bangor connection for an early date. The text dates from the late 7th century but the

³⁴¹ Lowe, *Inchmarnock*, 138.

³⁴² From Forsyth and Tedeschi, “§6.3.3: Text-inscribed slates,” 138.

³⁴³ See Lowe, *Inchmarnock*, xi; and Forsyth and Tedeschi, “§6.6.6: Text-inscribed slates,” 138. Lowe relates that it was through a research seminar given in 2007 at the Department of Archaeology in Oxford where David Howlett (Director, Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources, University of Oxford) was able to identify and solve the mystery about the verse on the slate.

³⁴⁴ Forsyth and Tedeschi, “§6.6.6: Text-inscribed slates,” 138.

script may be from the mid-8th century. The archaeological research at Inchmarnock and the recovery of the Adeptus Fragment is evidence which might seem to support Bangor as the source of the AB and a familiarity with Comgall. However, as Katherine Forsyth and Carlo Tedeschi are quick to point out:

While an institutional connection with Bangor remains a possibility, and certainly one worth exploring, it would be wrong to place too much stress on it. Not every monastery had a monopoly on ‘their’ saint and a particular saint might be honoured by anyone who thought his or her support worth having. [...] Thus a hymn to Comgall could be sung both within and outside the Bangor familia.³⁴⁵

But there is another possibility. What if the AB emanated from Bobbio, might someone from Scotland have travelled to Bobbio: “Is it too fanciful to imagine that a more humble scholar, such as the master of the monastic school of Inchmarnock, might also have studied there?”³⁴⁶ Still, this is a significant discovery and one which required the expertise of the archaeologist and the Latinist to make the connection to *Hymnus Sancti Comgilli abbatis nostril: Recordemur justitiae* [AB 14, ff. 15v-17v] written in honour of the founding abbot of Bangor.

³⁴⁵ Forsyth and Tedeschi, “§6.3.3: “Text-inscribed slates,” 139.

³⁴⁶ Forsyth and Tedeschi, “§6.3.3: “Text-inscribed slates,” 139.

X. [AB 15] *Hymnus Sancti Camelaci: Audite bonum exemplum* (f 17v)

The hymn is comprised of twenty-four lines and follows an alphabetical format. Although, there are a few variances to the alphabetical pattern such as an extra line beginning with “p” or the “z” in the last line where the letter is accounted for in the word “elizaro,” the pattern is maintained throughout the verses.³⁴⁷ The hymn is similar in character to *Audite omnes* and is composed in honour of Saint Camelacus. Throughout the hymn, the author draws attention to the saintly attributes of Camelacus, who appears to have had a close association with Bangor. On the one hand, we learn a great deal about the character of Camelacus, but in reality, little is known about his life. It seems Camelacus was a contemporary of Patrick and lived in the fifth century.³⁴⁸ The name Caomlach or Caomhelach means “‘the gentle’ or ‘the kindly one’”,³⁴⁹ and the hymn highlights his qualities. In the *Martyrology of Donegal* a “Caomlach Ó Raithin” is listed under the feast day of November the 3rd.³⁵⁰

Although his name is listed as one of the bishops that were ordained by Patrick in the *Book of Armagh*,³⁵¹ he appears to have disappeared into obscurity. Some further information may help to shed light on Camelacus and to explain the obscurity of such a prominent saint. In the introduction to *Adomnán of Iona*, Richard Sharpe mentions that in a letter written in the 630s

³⁴⁷ Warren, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, Part II, 57.

³⁴⁸ Curran, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, Part II, 45. James O’Lavery in his discussion of the Antiphonary of Bangor discusses each of the hymns and states that *Audite bonum exemplum* is in honour of St. Caomlach or Camulacus of Rahan, a disciple of St. Patrick; see O’Lavery, *An Historical Account of the Diocese of Down and Connor, Ancient and Modern*, volume 2 (Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son, 1880), 123, accessed August 15, 2012, <<http://archive.org/details/historicalaccoun02olav>>.

³⁴⁹ Warren, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, Part II, 57.

³⁵⁰ John O’Donovan, *The Martyrology of Donegal: A Calendar of the Saints of Ireland*, edited with the Irish texts by James Henthorn Todd and William Reeves (Dublin: Printed for the Irish Archaeological and Celtic Society, 1864), 296.

³⁵¹ Warren, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, Part II, 57.

to Ségéne (5th abbot of Iona) a reference is made to a group of leading church founders, one of whom was St. Nessian, who himself, fades away before anything was recorded of him. This explanation may be the case for Camelacus. As Sharpe notes, Rahan, Co. Offaly, was regarded as the church of Camelacus in the early seventh century, but a hundred years later the place was reassigned to St. Mochutu.³⁵² In Aubrey Gwynn and R. Neville Hadcock's book *Medieval Religious Houses*, Rahan (Rathan), Co. Offaly is "claimed to be founded by Camelacus, the Patrician bishop."³⁵³ This is a rare hymn and the AB is the only manuscript that preserves this hymn for St. Camelacus, a long forgotten Irish saint.³⁵⁴

³⁵² Adomnán of Iona, *Life of St. Columba*, translated by Richard Sharpe (London: Penguin Books, 1995), 4. Ireland produced a large body of hagiographical texts, the majority of which "are three compilations from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and known in the seventeenth century by *Codex Kilkenniensis*, represented by two copies in Dublin, *Codex Insulensis* in two manuscripts now in Oxford, and *Codex Salmanticensis*, a volume now in Brussels;" see Richard Sharpe, *Medieval Irish Saints' Lives: An Introduction to Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 22.

³⁵³ Aubrey Gwynn, and R. Neville Hadcock, *Medieval Irish Houses: Ireland: With an Appendix to Early Sites* (Harlow: Longmans, 1970), 43.

³⁵⁴ Curran, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, 209.

XI. [AB 95] *Versiculi Familiae Benchuir: Benchuir bona regula* (ff. 30r-30v)

The theme of the hymn is “the good rule of Bangor.” Here, the author describes the rule as “stricta, sancta, sedula/summa, iusta, ac mira.”³⁵⁵ As if to reflect these attributes on the page, the author has bound the structure of each verse to a strict repetition of the syllable “a”.

Highlighting the syllabic 2 + 3 pattern and emphasizing “a”, this tight format reiterates the strict “regula” portrayed in imagery and text. After extolling the virtues of the Rule in the opening verse, a model is laid down to follow:

Ben-chuir bon-a re-gu-la,	7
Rec-ta, at-que di-vin-a,	7
Stric-ta, sanc-ta, se-du-la,	7
Sum-ma, jus-ta, ac mir-a.	7

The rhythm iambic dimeter catalectic punctuates the rhythmicity of the text, reiterating the seven- syllable lines. A repetition of the opening phrase concludes the hymn and acts as a rhetorical device affirming the “Benchuir bona regula,” the “Good Rule of Bangor.” Throughout the verses, an effective strategy is employed, building on the internal repetitions. For example, the repetitions build momentum intensifying the metaphor of a strong rule. These features led Curran to conclude that the hymn was composed at Bangor because its interior meaning and composition expressed the attributes of the community of Bangor³⁵⁶ (see Appendix III: Hymn XI, Translation 2).

Another detail is that the rubric draws attention to the “familia” meaning “community”. This is an important element of Irish monastic centers and the importance given to the

³⁵⁵ Jane Stevenson, “The Monastic Rules of Columbanus,” 205: translation: “strict, holy, sedulous, highest, just and wondrous.”

³⁵⁶ Curran, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, 82.

congregation within the monastery.³⁵⁷ The term “community” is rendered in Irish “Munther”, and “Benchuir” in the genitive case; “Munther Benchuir” is the correct Irish form for *Familia Benchorice*.³⁵⁸

The hymn begins the third and final part of the AB. The hymn is followed by a collection of anthems or antiphonae which Warren concluded “justifies the title of ‘Antiphonarium’ given by Muritori.”³⁵⁹ Further, a hymn begins and ends this portion of the AB. The section also contains a collect *Super Hominem qui habet diabolum* [AB 96], an exorcism, followed by a prayer for the martyrs *Oratio de martyribus* [AB 97] and then followed by a series of antiphons. The antiphons suggest musical association as the term ‘antiphona’ indicates chant. Antiphons, as is common in liturgical practice, were short passages which framed the psalm. As Gabrieli Ilnitich points the chants are “performed by one or two cantor [cantores] or by a group of cantors [schola cantorum], while the psalms assigned to each day of the week are delivered by the choir.”³⁶⁰ Here we seem to be returning to Cabrol’s theory about the AB as a type of choirbook for a hebdomadarian, which means the manuscript is hardly an oddity, but part of the liturgical development of the medieval church. More important, the AB, along with the Old Hispanic orational of Verona, is the earliest known Western source of antiphons.³⁶¹

³⁵⁷ Reeves, “The Antiphonary of Bangor,” *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* First Series, vol. 1 (1853), 176.

³⁵⁸ Reeves, “The Antiphonary of Bangor,” 177.

³⁵⁹ Warren, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, Part II, 69.

³⁶⁰ Gabriela Ilnitich, “Music in the Liturgy,” in *The Liturgy of the Medieval Church*, edited by Thomas J. Heffernan and E. Ann Matter (Kalamazoo, MI: Published for The Consortium for the Teaching of the Middle Ages, by Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, 2001), 649.

³⁶¹ Edward Norwacki, “The Latin Antiphon and the Question of Frequency of Interpolation,” *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 21/1 (2012), 23.

XII. [AB 129] [*In*] *memoriam abbatum nostrorum: Sancta sanctorum opera* (f 36v)

Both Muratori and Warren originally amended the texts of the AB by inserting “in” and seen here in parentheses. As Warren notes, there is either a word missing, or the word “memoriam” has been transcribed incorrectly; it should read “memoria.”³⁶²

The hymn *In memoriam abbatum nostrorum* is one of the so-called Bangor hymns. It is the last of the triad of Bangor hymns that scholars have used as evidence of the manuscript’s Irish origin. From a historical perspective, the praises of the abbots seems to “decide the date of the MS.”³⁶³ The reference to each of the abbots by name reaffirms the lineage and commits them to the memory of the monastery. The hymn closes the antiphony, and as if to confirm its origin, the author highlights the names of the abbots with literary flare (see Appendix III: Hymn XII, Translations 2 and 3).

The hymn is comprised of six verses with a repetitive rhyme scheme. The end rhyme of each verse follows a pattern whereby all the words in verses 1 and 6 end in the letter “a”; in verses 2 and 3 with ‘um’; and in verses 4 and 5 with ‘us’. The pattern of “a-um-um-us-us-a” is interesting, as these are the nominative endings in the first and second declensions for the masculine, feminine, and neuter nouns in the singular. The first and sixth verses are composed of eight lines with an internal pattern of eight syllables per line. Verses two to five are composed of six lines with the same eight-syllable pattern. A further poetic device links the four internal verses in that they follow an abecedarian sequence of iambic dimeter acatalectic.³⁶⁴ Each verse is interspersed by a recurring refrain:

³⁶² Warren, *The Antiphony of Bangor*, Part II, 1985, 81.

³⁶³ Warren, *The Antiphony of Bangor*, Part II, 1895, 81.

³⁶⁴ Warren, *The Antiphony of Bangor*, Part II, 1895, 81. See the comments on the hymn in Curran, *The Antiphony of Bangor*, 82.

Quos convocavit Dominus
Coelorum regni sedibus.³⁶⁵

Already noted is the last refrain between verses five and six and the change of verb tense. A subtle linguistic change, but one that scholars have used as evidence to date the AB. Two points are baffling. For one, the change of tense may have a futuristic element. The phrase “*nunc sedet suppressimus*” could mean that Crónan “is now sitting in heaven.” Leo Wiener notes “the same sentiment expressed in the last two verses of a hymn to Comgill.”³⁶⁶ For Wiener. “the argument of the present tense is self-destructive.”³⁶⁷ Clearly, there have been a variety of opinions regarding the AB; its date, its provenance, and its purpose. In this respect it is important to consider the opinion of Peter Jeffery and his contention that the AB may have been written in Bobbio. One piece of evidence which Jeffery challenges is this hymn and the list of abbots from Comgall to Cronan’s abbacy, 680-691 who is noted to be “reigning –*nunc sedet*.” Although this hymn has been used to present the earliest possible date for the AB, Jeffery argues that this can only apply “at best to the authorship of the hymn” and not to the origin of the manuscript.³⁶⁸ To substantiate this claim, the texts of the AB reflect a closer relationship with liturgical traditions on the continent “notably the Gallican tradition of southern France at Arles” and the Ambrosian liturgy of Milan.”³⁶⁹ Another point is that the liturgical Office as outlined in the AB reflects a more developed practice going back to the Rule of Columban which would indicate one of his

³⁶⁵ Warren, *The Antiphony of Bangor*, Part II, 1895, 33.

³⁶⁶ Leo Wiener, “The Antiphony of Bangor,” in *Contributions Toward A History of Arabico-Gothic Culture*, volume I (New York: Neale Publishing, 1917), 97-98.

³⁶⁷ Wiener, “The Antiphony of Bangor,” 97.

³⁶⁸ Jeffery, “Eastern and Western Elements in the Prayer of the Hours,” 113.

³⁶⁹ Jeffery, “Eastern and Western Elements in the Prayer of the Hours,” 113.

monasteries.³⁷⁰ Finally, there are texts from the AB which appear in another manuscript from Bobbio, which has already been mentioned, known as the Turin fragments.³⁷¹ Given the arguments which Jeffery outlines there is reason to doubt the provenance of the AB and to question the reliance on the evidence such as [AB 129] *In memoriam abbatum nostrorum of the abbots* as justification for the Bangor as the origin of the manuscript.



This concludes my discussion of the hymns. As mentioned earlier, the following information in Table 2 gives an overview of the hymns. A further addendum included here is a summary of the poetical meters³⁷² in order to explain the information in Table 2. Briefly, “p” is the abbreviation for paroxytone, meaning the emphasis is on the second to last syllable, and “pp” refers to proparoxytone, where the emphasis is on the third to last syllable. The number designates the syllables such as 5p + 8pp.³⁷³ whether the hymns were sung is difficult to know from the information presented in AB. But given what will be presented in the following

³⁷⁰ Jeffery, “Eastern and Western Elements in the Prayer of the Hours,” 113.

³⁷¹ Jeffery, “Eastern and Western Elements in the Prayer of the Hours,” 113. For more on Turin, BN 882 and a discussion of the relationship of the Antiphony of Bangor with other continental manuscripts see the section entitled “The Bangor Antiphoner and its Allies,” 112-127.

³⁷² See D. A. Kidd, ed., *Collins Latin Gem Dictionary* (London; Glasgow: Collins, 1970), xxiv. The poetical metrics may be summarized as follow:

Anapest	Short – Short - Long
Dactyl	Long – Short – Short
Iambus	Short - Long
Proceleusmatic	Short – Short – Short - Short
Spondee	Long - Long
Tribach	Short – Short – Short
Trochee	Long – Short

³⁷³ Again, the book often cited in the area of Latin verse is Dag Norberg, *Introduction to the study of medieval Latin versification*, translated by Grant C. Roti and Jacqueline de La Chapelle Skubly; edited and with an introduction by Jan Ziolkowski (Washington, D. D.: Catholic University of America, 2004). For further information and a guide to Latin poetry see Floyd L. Moreland and Rita M. Fleisher, *Latin: An Intensive Course* (Berkeley: University of California, 1977). For a valuable discussion of “meter” see John Julian, *A Dictionary of Hymnology* (London; John Murray, 1907), 646-648, but see article 640-655.

discussions regarding the poetic class in early Ireland, there is more evidence to suggest a performative element was woven into the composition of the hymns. They are unique in the history of the liturgy and given Cabrol's study, it seems impossible to ignore such important evidence. Lapidge was right, the hymns are interesting, not only for students of Latin, but for the musicologist as well who grapples with what can be known about music in medieval Ireland from literary sources. The hymns, no indeed the AB and the monastic world of Bangor, launch the researcher into different historical periods. The information diverts into realms that seem unrelated to music, but in the end, reveal the extraordinary milieu in which a book such as AB takes shape. Probing Lapidge's words has been a fruitful exercise, particularly as the AB bears the name "antiphonary."

Table 2: Synopsis of the Twelve Hymns of the Antiphony of Bangor³⁷⁴

No.	Title	Poetics	Liturgical Use*	Provenance
AB 2	<i>Hymnus Sancti Hilari de Christo: Hymnum dicat turba fratrum</i>	Quantitative Trochaic tetrameter catalectic	None given in AB	Possibly Irish
AB 3	<i>Hymnus Apostolorum ut alli dicunt: Praecamur Patrem</i>	Iambic penthemime/ trochaic dimeter catalectic 40 stanzas 5p + 7pp	None specific Possibly for Easter or Sunday use	Possibly for Easter or Sunday use
AB 8	<i>Hymnus quando communicarent sacerdotes: Sancte venite*</i>	Iambic pentemime and trochaic dimeter catalectic 11 stanzas 5p + 7pp	During the communion of the priests;	Probably composed in the 6 th ; not found in any other Irish MS
AB 9	<i>Hymnus quando caeris benedicitur: Ignis creator igneus*</i>	Iambic dimeter acatalectic	Lighting of the candle or lamps; possibly for Easter Vigil	Ambrosian tradition of hymnody
AB 10	<i>Hymnus mediae noctis: Mediae noctis tempus est*</i>	Iambic dimeter acatalectic	Vigiliae Nocturnae (Midnight)	Rhythmical imitation of Ambrosian verse
AB 11	<i>Hymnus in natae martyrum vel sabbato ad matutinam: Sacratissimi martyres summi Dei*</i>	Rhythmic Anapaestic accentual feet	Matutina – for the honour of martyrs; Special observance on Saturday	Greek hymn imitation Rare hymn
AB 12	<i>Hymnus ad matutinam in dominica: Spiritus divinae lucis gloria*</i>	Rhythmic No recognized metre	Matutina on Sunday	Found only in the AB
AB 13	<i>Hymnus Sancti Patricii magistri Scottorum: Audite omnes amantes</i>	Trochaic dimeter acatalectic and trochaic dimeter catalectic ABCDarian - 23 stanzas 8pp+ 7pp	Feast Day in the <i>Kalendar of Oengus</i> Feast Day - 17 March	An Irish author and of early origin Possible model – <i>Hymnum dicat</i> [AB 2]
AB 14	<i>Hymnus Sancti Comgilli abbatis nostri: Recordemur justitiae</i>	Iambic dimeter acatalectic ABCDarian 23 stanzas 8pp	Hymn in honour of the founder of Bangor – Comgall Feast Day – 10 May	To the founder of Bangor Written by a monk at Bangor
AB 15	<i>Hymnus Sancti Camelaci: Audite bonum exemplum</i>	Trochaic tetrameter catalectic 24 Alphabetical lines	Commemoration of Camelacus -Feast Day 3 November in <i>MD</i>	Found only in AB
AB 95	<i>Versiculi familiae Benchuir: Benchuir bona regula</i>	Rhythmic imitation of iambic dimeter catalectic Rhyme: lines end in ‘a’ pattern - <i>ecta, ata, erta,</i> <i>ata</i>	Historical poem Panegyric of the Rule of Bangor	Begins the 3 rd division of the AB & precedes a collection of antiphonae and possible source for <i>Antiphonarium</i>
AB 129	<i>In memoriam abbatum nostrorum: Sancta sanctorum opera</i>	Chain type rhyme Alphabetical lines End-Rhyme Pattern: “a” “um” “us” “a” (A) (B-B) (C-C) (A) 6 stanzas 8pp	Hymn in praise of the 15 abbots of Bangor	Possibly the same author as <i>Hymnus Sancti Comgilli</i> [AB 14]; Curran notes similar expression

³⁷⁴ A synopsis of the twelve hymns derives from Curran, *The Antiphony of Bangor*; and Warren, *The Antiphony of Bangor*, Part II. The abbreviation “MD” third line from the end refers to *The Martyrology of Donegal*, see note 309. The feast days derive from Ó Riain, *A Dictionary of Irish Saints*. The asterix “*” denotes the hymns with designated office use as indicated by their heading in AB.

2.3 Additional Texts

[AB 7] *Hymnus in die dominica: Te Deum laudamus* (f 10r)

As the title suggests, this is a hymn used for the Lord's Day.³⁷⁵ Both the *Gloria in excelsis* and the *Kyrie* have been called *psalmi idiotici*, in contrast to texts of the Holy Scriptures.³⁷⁶ Joseph Jungmann notes that these lyrics were, for the most part rough, or "rude creations," and similar to the biblical psalms and canticles, they "are not constructed on rhythmic and metrical principles."³⁷⁷ Andrew Hughes notes that between the second to the fourth centuries, there was an abundance of newly-written Christian poetry that was given the name *psalmi idiotici*.³⁷⁸ Much of this poetry was eventually forbidden by the church and only a few hymns survive in the Roman liturgy.³⁷⁹

Recently, Michel Huglo has drawn attention to both the *Te Deum laudamus* and the *Gloria in excelsis* within the context of new sources of Milanese chant. In his article "Psalmody in the Ambrosian Rite: Observations on Liturgy and Music," Huglo remarked that the oldest witness to the *Te Deum laudamus* is preserved in the Antiphony of Bangor (ca. 680-691), although with different concluding verses (see Figure 1).³⁸⁰ There seems much more to say about Huglo's work, particularly in the context of the article and the recent acquisition of

³⁷⁵ Warren, *The Antiphony of Bangor*, Part II, 43.

³⁷⁶ Joseph Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite: Its Origins and Development* (Westminster, Maryland: Christian Classics, 1992), 346.

³⁷⁷ Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, 346.

³⁷⁸ Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office*, 37.

³⁷⁹ Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office*, 37.

³⁸⁰ Huglo, "Psalmody in the Ambrosian Rite," 98, see note 4.

manuscript related to the Ambrosian or Milanese Rite. That the reference to the AB is linked to this important study means the work here may be timely.

There are a few textual variances that set the AB version of *Te Deum laudamus* apart from the Roman Breviary. The variances occur towards the end of the text where verses 26, 27, and 29 are omitted where verse 26 actually corresponds to verse 28 in the Breviary. Given these variants, the text is presented as it appears in AB.

Figure 1: Text of *Hymnus in Die Dominica: Te Deum laudamus*, f 10r.³⁸¹

1. *Laudate pueri dominum laudate nomen domini. Te Deum laudamus: te Dominum confitemur.*
2. *Te aeternum Patrem omnis terra veneratur,*
3. *Tibi omnes angeli, tibi coeli, et universae potestates.*
4. *Tibi Cherubin et Seraphin incessabili voce proclamant:*
5. *Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus, Dominus Deus Sabaoth.*
6. *Pleni sunt coeli et universa terra honore gloriae tuae.*
7. *Te gloriosus apostolorum chorus.*
8. *Te prophetarum laudabilis numerus.*
9. *Te maryrum candidatus laudet exercitus.*
10. *Te per orbem terrarum sancta confitetur ecclesia.*
11. *Patrem immensae majestatis.*
12. *Venerandum tuum verum unigenitum Filium. (f. 10v)*
13. *Sanctum quoque Paraclitum Spiritum*
14. *Tu rex gloriae, Christe.*
15. *Tu Patris sempiternus es Filius.*
16. *Tu ad liberandum mundum suscepisti hominem. Non horruisti Virginis uterum*
17. *Tu, devicto mortis aculeo, aperuisti credentibus regna coelorum.*
18. *Tu ad dexteram Dei sedens in Gloria Patris.*
19. *Judex crederis esse venturus.*
20. *Te ergo quaesumus, nobis tuis famulis subveni, quos pretioso sanguine redemisti.*
21. *Aeterna [Aeternam in MS] fac cum sanctis [in] Gloria [gloriae in MS] munerari.*
22. *Salvum fac populum tuum, Domine, et benedic haereditati tuae.*
23. *Et rege eos, et extolle illos usque in saeculum.*
24. *Per singulos dies benedicimus te.*
25. *Et laudamus nomen tuum in aeternum, et in saeculum saeculi. Amen.*
26. *Fiat, Domine, misericordia tua super nos, quemadmodum speravimus in te.*

The AB text of the *Te Deum* begins with the opening verse of Psalm 112: 1 “Laudate, pueri, Dominum, laudate nomen domini” and the collects that follow are entitled “Post laudate pueri dominum in dominicorum die” (AB 123) and “Item alia post Laudate” (AB 125).³⁸² In an appendix to Part II of the Antiphony of Bangor, Warren makes a comparison of three Irish

³⁸¹ Warren, *The Antiphony of Bangor*, Part II, 10. For a comparative of the different texts of the *Te Deum laudamus* see the table on 94. For a comparison and discussion of the textual variances see Warren, *The Antiphony of Bangor*, Part II, 43-4 and 93-4.

³⁸² See Curran, *The Antiphony of Bangor*, 259, note 16.

texts of the *Te Deum laudamus* and notes the differences in the manuscripts.³⁸³ The text of the *Te Deum* is also given the heading “Hymnus in die dominica” indicating its use for Sunday and possible for matins.³⁸⁴

One point is baffling. In Warren’s synopsis of the hymn, he states:

There is “no known trace of the use of ‘Te Deum Laudamus’ in any Liturgy, Eastern or Western. [...] It is likewise unknown in the Eastern Divine Office, but in the Roman, Benedictine, and Ambrosian Breviaries it is used on Sundays and Feasts of nine or twelve Lesson in lieu of the Respond after the last Lesson in the third Nocturn.”³⁸⁵

If the *Gloria in excelsis* and the *Te Deum laudamus* were *psalmi idiotici* and were known to have been written in the early church in imitation of biblical texts, it is unclear how they would not have been known in any Eastern Office. Even more perplexing is Warren’s later comment about the use of the *Te deum laudamus* in the Mozarabic Divine Office. Here, he notes it is followed by the *Gloria in excelsis* and the Creed.³⁸⁶ This information seems contradictory, particularly when Andrew Hughes states that the *Te Deum*, although of a slightly later date, was originally one of the *psalmi idiotici* and was intended for an office service.”³⁸⁷

³⁸³ For a comparison of “Three Old Irish Texts” of the *Te Deum laudamus*, see, Warren, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, Part II, 93-94. This comparison takes in the Antiphonary of Bangor, Milan, Ambrosian Library C. 5 inf.; Harleian MS. 7653, London, British Museum (VIII. Or IX. Cent.); and the Book of Hymns, Trinity College Dublin, E (XI. Cent.) with the “*Textus hodie receptus*” of the Roman Breviary, Tournay 1879.

³⁸⁴ Curran, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, 184.

³⁸⁵ Warren, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, Part II, 43.

³⁸⁶ Warran, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, Part II, 43.

³⁸⁷ Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office*, 38. Hughes cites Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, 265, 346 regarding the *Gloria* and the *Te Deum* for an office service.

Interestingly, the acquisition of three manuscripts of Milanese Chant by the Houghton Library at Harvard has brought drawn attention to the AB.³⁸⁸ Although, musical evidence for the Ambrosian chant appears late and the acquisitions in question date from the twelfth century, one of the features is the *Te Deum laudamus*. Given that the AB is an early witness for this canticle and the link with the Ambrosian tradition may point to Bobbio as the origin of the manuscript.

[AB 116] *Ad Vesperum et ad Matutinam: Gloria in excelsis* (f 33r)

As the rubric *Ad Vesperum et ad Matutinam* indicates, the texts were intended for the Eucharistic ceremony at Matins and Vespers (morning and evening). Here the office of Matins can be divided into two parts: the first with an emphasis on psalmody has parallels with Columbanus' Rules, section VII: Of the choir Office in which he outlines the number of psalms distributed over the months of the year.³⁸⁹

synaxis for the morning and night, and second, the emphasis *Gloria in excelsis* [AB 116] Curran reconstructs the the office Warren suggests that this was "its original use and position in both Eastern and Western Christendom."³⁹⁰ However, Curran takes a different view. The text does

³⁸⁸ The volume is a collaboration of scholarly essays about the Houghton Library's (Harvard) recent acquisition of three manuscripts of Ambrosian chant; see Thomas Forrest Kelly and Matthew Mugmon, editors, *Ambrosiana at Harvard: New Sources of Milanese Chant* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Houghton Library of the Harvard College Library, 2010). This research is filling in some information about Milanese or Ambrosian chant, but it is also drawing attention to the Antiphony of Bangor connections. As Kelly states: "To the extent that these older practices can be recovered and studied, we can have a clearer picture of the early medieval cultural landscape, and a better sense of the aesthetic variety of medieval music," 1. As well, the book is beautifully illustrated and the tables are a valuable source of information.

³⁸⁹ Walker, "Monks' Rule: VII: Of the choir Office," in *Sancti Columbani Opera*, 131.

³⁹⁰ Warren, *The Antiphony of Bangor*, Part II, 75.

not indicate when the text is to be used in office of vespers and it is unclear if it was used in the daily office or just on Sundays: “This use of the *Gloria in excelsis* for vespers is quite without parallel in the West, but there is a parallel use of it in the Byzantine office.”³⁹¹ According to Curran, what seems unusual is the “double use of the Gloria in Ireland.”³⁹²

The hymn is sometimes called the “hymnus angelicus” or the “Angelic Hymn” because its opening verse is taken from Luke 2: 14, the angelic announcement of the birth of Jesus: “Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will toward men.”³⁹³ The *Gloria in excelsis* was not originally created for the liturgy of the Mass, and here may be the reason for the variances in the AB. Interestingly, Joseph Jungmann calls it “an heirloom from the treasure of ancient Church hymn.”³⁹⁴

³⁹¹ Curran, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, 173.

³⁹² Curran, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, 173.

³⁹³ For reference see Andrew Hughes, “§223, *Gloria in excelsis Deo*,” *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office: A Guide to Their Organization and Terminology* (Toronto; Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1982).

³⁹⁴ Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite: Its Origins and Development*, 346.

Figure 2: Text of *Ad Vesperum et ad Matutinam: Gloria in excelsis* f 33r.³⁹⁵

Gloria in excelsis Deo, et in terra pax hominibus bonae voluntatis.

Laudamus te, benedicimus te, adoramus te, glorificamus te, magnificamus te, gratias agimus tibi, propter magnam misericordiam tuam, Domine, rex coelestis, Deus, Pater omnipotens.

Domine, Fili unigenite, Jesu Christe, Sancte Spiritus Dei, et omnes dicimus, Amen.

Domine, fili Dei Patris, Agne Dei, qui tollis peccatum mundi, Miserere nobis.

Suscipe orationem nostrum, qui sedes ad dexteram Dei Patris, Miserere nobis.

Quoniam tu solus sanctus, tu solus Dominus, tu solus gloriosus cum Spiritu Sancto in Gloria Dei Patris. Amen

The *Gloria in excelsis* [AB 116] is followed by 12 verses noted in the AB as “antiphonae” and listed on folio 33v beginning with “Cotidie benedicimus te.”³⁹⁶

In the Ambrosian Rite, the *Gloria in excelsis* is dated to the fifth century. Huglo notes that the Greek text of the *Angelic Hymn* is among the biblical canticles transcribed at the end of the *Codex Alexandrinus* (fifth century), but the oldest Latin witness to the hymn is the AB.³⁹⁷

The parallel with the Ambrosian Rite seems more than coincidental. When some of the information from the other AB hymns is taken into consideration, the argument that the AB may have originated in Bobbio seems more probable. In the HBS notes on the AB, Warren presents six parallel texts of the *Gloris in excelsis* that includes the *Codex Alexandrinus* (British

³⁹⁵ Warren, *The Antiphony of Bangor*, Part II, 31. For “Six Parallel Texts of the *Gloria in excelsis* with Appended Anthems,” see Warren, *The Antiphony of Bangor*, Part II, 76-77. The texts include four manuscripts are Irish.

³⁹⁶ See Jeffery, “Eastern and Western Elements in the Prayer of the Hours,” 115; and Warren, *The Antiphony of Bangor*, Part II, 31.

³⁹⁷ Huglo, “Psalmody in the Ambrosian Rite,” 98.

Museum). The range of texts spans the fifth to the fourteenth century showing AB to have a prominent role in preserving the verses.

2.4 Conclusion

This chapter has focused on the hymns of the AB and brought together information from several liturgical and historical sources. The hymns are more than religious verse. They are a window on to a vibrant period of Irish poetry and given insight into the literary cultural of Bangor. From the lists of abbots in *Memoriam abbatum nostrorum*, to the hymn in honour of St. Patrick *Hymnus Sancti Patricii magistri Scotorum: Audite omnes amantes*, each textual reference unveils another level of meaning. In writing hymns in honour of an Irish saint, the author is inserting the name into hagiographical history. Though they may have faded into obscurity such as in the case of Camelacus, the memory of the saint is recalled in the verses penned in his honour and the image of his saintly character hovers over the text.

The texts served not only as means of religious worship, they were a vehicle of remembrance. The poetical devices such as rhyme, added to the aesthetic quality of the hymn. As a form of praise-poetry they display regional developments. In the AB a new style of literary expression is evident, but the hymns are also part of a much larger history. The detail in the AB “shows the willingness of Irish authors to borrow and adapt material that appealed to them” and “their eagerness to master the various forms of Latin hymnody.”³⁹⁸ As scholars continue to probe the philological and theological aspects of the texts, their research shows the extraordinary

³⁹⁸ Curran, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, 85.

variety of texts that influenced Irish literature. In studying the hymns something of the religious awe is captured in the Hiberno-Latin verse.

As a vehicle of religious expression, the hymns represent the monastic community of Bangor. The hymns seem a window onto another world and provide insight into the texts that influenced Irish verse. In this respect, they show a melding of old and new literary practices. On one level, the sophisticated use of language points to a wider sphere of influences. On another, the blend of Latin forms with Irish poetics creates a new hybrid of Latin poetry.

The AB also marks an important technological and religious shift. Here a cultural transformation is taking place on the written page. In the larger context of monastic development, the authors of the AB are laying claim to the Christian faith and organizing a servicebook. Peter Jeffery notes: “In this manuscript, then, we may well be witnessing one of the very first attempts to put the Irish Office into written form.”³⁹⁹ Significant here is the AB is the “only record” of the Bangor Office at Bangor and one of only a few remnants of the Irish church that can be dated to the seventh-century. While there is evidence which supports Cabrol’s theory that the AB was perhaps a hebdomadarian, the AB is also “a book of prayer for the daily cycle of hours for the Office liturgy at Bangor.”⁴⁰⁰ Whether Bangor or Bobbio is the origin of the AB, the hymns were already destined as paeans of faith.

³⁹⁹ Jeffery, “Eastern and Western Elements in the Irish Monastic Prayer of the Hours,” 115.

⁴⁰⁰ Curran, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, 84.

Chapter 3

Bangor and Irish Monasticism

Little remains to-day to mark the site of the once great Irish Monastery of Bangor which for eight centuries sent monks to every part of Europe.⁴⁰¹

The previous discussion has dwelt on the hymns of the AB in order to consider some of their musical and poetical aspects. Moving away from the manuscript, this chapter focuses on Bangor and monasticism in Ireland. Bangor was an important monastery and contributed to developments on the continent, but it was hardly a sustained presence as Robert Culhane's remark might suggest. Perhaps a touch of mystical reflection and wistful imaging, it reflects a style of writing which over exaggerate Irish contributions. As will become clear, Bangor had a truncated history whose legacy is more often associated with Columbanus and the AB. As the AB is considered one of Bangor's surviving relics, it seems important to know more of its origins.

A further reason to focus on Bangor is to bring together information about the monastic culture and to consider an excerpt from a text known as the *Hisperica Famina*. The *Hisperica Famina* is the title given to a series of fragmented texts written in an unusual style of Latin.⁴⁰² The text is relevant to this present discussion for two reasons: a connection has been made

⁴⁰¹ Robert Culhane, "The Bangor Hymn to Christ the King," *The Irish Ecclesiastical Record* 74 (1950), 207. I would like to thank Professor Elliott for his suggestions regarding chapters 3 and 4.

⁴⁰² James Kenney states that the strangeness of the Latin texts suggests that the *Hisperica Famina* "must have been the product of a literary society dominated by fancies," see Kenney, *The Sources*, 256. As to origin, evidence suggests Ireland or Britain, see 255-258. There are four surviving versions with the A-text dated circa 9th-10th centuries. For this information and a critical edition of the A-text, see Michael Herren, *The Hisperica Famina, I: the A-Text* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1974), see 10 for the date. In Michael Herren's article on "Hisperic Latin" *Hisperica Famina* is translated as "Elegant Sayings," see Herren, "Hisperic Latin," *Dictionary of Middle Ages*, edited by Joseph R. Strayer, volume 6 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1985), 236-237.

between the odd literary style and the monastery of Bangor.⁴⁰³ While the Bangor connection may need further proof, this is a significant claim which means another type of literary practice may have emerged from the intellectual milieu of Bangor. The literary style has also been detected in [AB 96] *Collectio super hominem qui habet diabolum* an exorcism. The second is that the *Hisperica Famina* contains a passage entitled ‘De Oratorio’ which describes the interior of a church. In this chapter I will illustrate that the information in *Hisperica Famina* opens up another area of research which has to do with how we might conceptualize of the Irish liturgy as performative in a sacred space. Architecture matters when it comes to the liturgy and the types of books used for liturgical purposes are of equal consideration. If the AB was used “by the president of the choir,” or a hebdomadarian, then it is important to move beyond the text to consider how and where it might have been used. The *Hisperica Famina* may be giving us some clues. This has implications especially for musicologists for whom such information offers insight into ways of conceptualizing Irish liturgical performance. In this chapter I will show that the evidence assembled contributes to a better understanding of the cultural context of monastic developments and the liturgy in early medieval Ireland.

⁴⁰³ See Jane Stevenson, “Bangor and the *Hisperica Famina*,” *Peritia* 6-7 (1987-88): 202-216. In the article Stevenson argues that a collect from the Antiphonary of Bangor is in a “hisperic” style of Latin similar to the *Hisperica Famina* and that Bangor “is likely to be a main centre (if not *the* main centre) for this stylistic development,” 202, quoted from synopsis. The collect that Stevenson refers to is [AB 94] *Super Cantemus Domino*, f 29. Michael Curran remarks that the collect is distinguished “only by its confused and involved style, probably intended for effect by the author, and by its lack of intelligibility,” see Curran, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, 149.

3.1 History of Bangor

The monastery of Bennchuir (also Bend-chor; see other names below),⁴⁰⁴ Anglicized as Bangor, was located on the Ards Peninsula on the shore of Belfast Lough (Loch Laoigh), County Down in Northern Ireland.⁴⁰⁵ Bangor was founded in the sixth century (between 555 or 559)⁴⁰⁶ by Comgall (*ca.* 520 - *ca.*602),⁴⁰⁷ who was born at Magheramorne, near familial power in Ulster.⁴⁰⁸ Initially destined to become a soldier,⁴⁰⁹ he renounced this profession and went to study with St. Fintan (d. 603)⁴¹⁰ at his monastery of Cluain-Aidhnech (Clonenagh in Laois). After taking holy orders, Comgall founded the monastery of Bangor from which the Columbanus⁴¹¹ was educated before he left Ireland for Gaul. As noted earlier, he founded the

⁴⁰⁴ Bangor was known by other names such as “Beannchor,” or “Bennchor.” See Gwynn and Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: Ireland*, 418. Bangor was to remain a religious center of the very highest repute until its destruction by the Vikings; see Ryan, *Irish Monasticism*, 124.

⁴⁰⁵ Curran, *The Antiphony of Bangor*, 13; Aubrey Gwynn, “The Irish Monastery of Bangor,” *The Irish Ecclesiastical Record* 74 (1950), 388.

⁴⁰⁶ See “Bangor,” in Gwynn and Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses*, 161; and John Ryan, *Irish Monasticism*, 124.

⁴⁰⁷ For the Life of Comgall see Charles Plummer, “Vita sancti Comgalli abbatis de Bennchor,” in *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, Tomus Secundus (Oxonii: E. Typographeo Clarendoniano, 1968), 3-21; and W. W. Heist, ed., “Vita S. Comgalli Abbatis Bennchorensis,” in *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae Ex Codice olim Salmanticensi nunc Bruxellensi* (Bruxelles: Société des Bollandistes, 1965), 332-334. The dates given for Comgall’s life are confusing and vary. For consistency of dates see Basil Watkins, ed., “Comgall,” *The Book of Saints: A Comprehensive Biographical Dictionary* (New York: Continuum, 2002), 127; and John Ryan, “Comgall, St.,” *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, edited by Berard L. Marthaler, volume 4 (Washington, D.C.: Thomson Gale in association with The Catholic University of America, 2002), 3-4.

⁴⁰⁸ Ó Cróinín, *Early Medieval Ireland 400-1200*, 48. Ó Cróinín notes that the emergence of the Dál Fiatach tribe may have contributed to the shift of power from Downpatrick to Bangor and their subsequent domination of the monastery, 49. This may be one reason why Bangor became a prominent monastic center. Also see Gwynn, “The Irish Monastery of Bangor,” 37-8; and H. J. Lawlor, *St. Bernard of Clairvaux’s Life of St. Malachy of Armagh* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; New York: Macmillan Company, 1920), 28, note 1 on Comgall. For more on Comgall (Comhgahall) see Pádraig Ó Riain, “Comhgahall,” *A Dictionary of Irish Saints* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2011), 217-219.

⁴⁰⁹ Gwynn, “The Irish Monastery of Bangor,” 388.

⁴¹⁰ Fintan of Clonenagh was a disciple of St. Columba at Terryglass, see Basil Watkins, ed., “Fintan of Clonenagh,” *Book of Saints: A Comprehensive Biographical Dictionary* (New York: Continuum, 2002), 207.

⁴¹¹ See Michael Herren, “Columbanus, St.,” *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, edited by Joseph R. Strayer (New York; Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1983), 485-487.

monasteries of Annegray, Fontaines, Luxeuil, and lastly Bobbio, where the AB was subsequently recovered by Cardinal Borromeo in the seventeenth-century. Bangor was soon a renowned ecclesiastical center, “which owed its high standards to its founder and abbot, Comgall.”⁴¹² Comgall’s scholarly expertise is commemorated in the AB, *Hymnus Sancti Comgilli Abbatis nostri* [AB 14, ff. 15v -17v] where he is described as, “*In Scripturis eruditus, inspiratus divinitus, in Sacramentis providus, Canonicis affatibus Veteris, novi actibus Testamenti praeifulgidus...*” (Learned in the scriptures, divinely inspired, provident in the sacraments, a distinguished scholar in canonical writings, of the Old Testament and in the acts of the New...).⁴¹³ The hymn extols the virtues of Comgall, but it contains little biographical information. Rather, the hymn, as often the case with hagiographical texts, conveys his saintly life. The surviving *Rule* attributed to Comgall of Bangor is preserved in three later manuscripts. The earliest, from MS. H. 1. 11 in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin dated *ca.* 1467, may be the oldest known version.⁴¹⁴

Although Bangor gained a reputation for its scholastic achievements, its history reflects religious change and turbulence. Following several Viking raids, the abbey eventually deteriorated after 1016. When St. Malachy (? 1094-1148) (Maol Maodhóg)⁴¹⁵ accepted the abbacy of Bangor in 1123-4, a new monastery was built, until it too was destroyed in 1127, this

⁴¹² Donald Bullough, “The Career of Columbanus,” in *Columbanus: Studies on the Latin Writing*, edited by Michael Lapidge (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1997), 7.

⁴¹³ See Warren, *The Antiphony of Bangor*, Part II, 17, stanza 9, lines 1-6. Adamson, *Bangor: Light of the World*, 204-207. Adamson acknowledges Jim Driscoll of Bangor Grammar School for his translations from Latin into English on page 7. There is some variance in the Latin translation given by Adamson and Professor Dooley rephrases “in Sacramentis providus” from “far-seeing in his prayers” to “provident in the sacraments.”

⁴¹⁴ See Uinseann Ó Maidín, “The Rule of Comghall,” in *The Celtic Monk: Rules and Writings of Early Irish Monks* (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1996), 29-35 at 29.

⁴¹⁵ Malachy was born in Armagh and died in Clairvaux, France whilst *en route* to Rome. He was regarded “as the leading Irish ecclesiastical figure of his day and was responsible for introducing the Roman liturgy into Ireland;” see C. McGrath, “Malachy, St.,” *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, edited by Berard L. Marthaler, volume 9

time by internal warfare.⁴¹⁶ Malachy then re-established Bangor and built an oratory sometime after 1140.⁴¹⁷ Until his death in 1148, the monastery remained stable and prospered. Aubrey Gwynn notes that from the twelfth to the sixteenth century Bangor “existed as an Arroasian community and retained much of the land that was the inheritance of Comgall’s former monastery.”⁴¹⁸ The Arroasians were a religious order who began as a community of secular priests who lived under a rule of bishop, but had parochial duties.⁴¹⁹ The Arroasians were

(Washington, D. C.: Thomson Gale in Association with the Catholic University of America, 2003), 65. McGrath notes that Malachy visited Arrouaise in Flanders where monks became familiar with the Cistercian and Arroasian rules, 65. For more on Malachy and his travels see Pádraig Ó Riain, *A Dictionary of Irish Saints* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2011), 442-4. On the Roman liturgy see Aubrey Gwynn, *Twelfth-Century Reform* (Dublin: Gill, 1968).

⁴¹⁶ Gwynn and Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: Ireland*, 161.

⁴¹⁷ The source of this historical information is Gwynn and Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: Ireland*, 161. See “How Malachy Restored the Monastery of Bangor and Certain Miracles,” [§VI. 12-14; §VII. 15; §VIII. 16-17; §IX. 18], in Bernard of Clairvaux, *The Life and Death of Saint Malachy the Irishman*, translated and annotated by Robert T. Meyer (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1978), 30-36. In St. Bernard of Clairvaux’s *Life of Malachy* he remarks on the church at Bangor stating: “It seemed good to Malachy that a stone oratory should be erected at Bangor like those which he had seen constructed in other regions,” §61. 34. As the editor H. J. Lawlor suggests, “this proves the building was begun after Malachy’s return from France, but also that stone oratories were an innovation and may not have been known in the district of Bangor,” see H. J. Lawlor, *St. Bernard of Clairvaux’s Life of St. Malachy of Armagh*, 109. Further, Peter Harbison notes that all the evidence seems to suggest that wooden churches were built before stone churches, but in St. Bernard of Clairvaux’s *Life of St. Malachy of Armagh*, a wooden oratory “made of smoothed planks, closely and strongly fastened together, was erected as late as the 12th century at Bangor;” see Peter Harbison, “Early Irish Churches” in *Die Iren und Europa im früheren Mittelalter*, herausgegeben von Heinz Löwe, Teilband 2 (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1982), 618. For more on the life of Malachy see Brian Scott, *Malachy* (Dublin: Veritas Publications, 1976).

⁴¹⁸ Gwynn, “The Irish Monastery of Bangor,” 397; see “The Augustinian Canons,” 146-152. For more information regarding the adoption of Arroasian practice, see Marie Therese Flanagan, “St. Mary’s Abbey, Louth and the Introduction of the Arrouaisian Observance into Ireland,” *Clogher Record* 10/2 (1980): 223-234, accessed August 20, 2012, <<http://www.jstor.org/myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/stable/27695808>>. Flanagan notes that there is no specific evidence that Bangor observed the customs of Arrouaise. Although, there is some evidence that Bangor had a religious connection with Louth Abbey, a possible source of Arrouaisian influence, 231. There are two spellings for “arroasian”: “arroasian,” used in Gwynn’s article, and “arrouaisian” used by Flanagan. I have maintained the spellings of each author when referencing their individual articles. See also P. J. Dunning, “The Arroasian Order in Medieval Ireland,” *Irish Historical Studies* 4/16 (1945): 297-315. The article is referenced in Flanagan’s article. Note the spelling of “arroasian” in the title.

⁴¹⁹ Dunning, “The Arroasian Order in Medieval Ireland,” 297.

formed in the eleventh century as Augustinian Canons under the rule of St. Augustine.⁴²⁰

Bangor remained under the Augustinian order according to the customs and statutes of the community of Arrouaise; statutes that may have been introduced at the end of St. Malachy's life, as he is known to have visited Arrouaise before he died.⁴²¹ Certainly, the monastery appears to have had a period of rest from the violence that had marred its earlier history.

From 1536 to 1547,⁴²² all monasteries in Ireland, as had been the case in England, were suppressed by Henry VIII.⁴²³ After the dissolution of Bangor in 1539, the abbey church deteriorated until it was rebuilt as an Anglo-Irish parish church in 1616 by Sir James Hamilton, Viscount Clondeboy (1559-1643).⁴²⁴ In the course of building the new church, the original foundation of the ancient site was destroyed that had once extended well beyond the parameters

⁴²⁰ Dunning, "The Arroasian Order in Medieval Ireland," 297.

⁴²¹ Gwynn, "The Irish Monastery of Bangor," 307. For the canons of Arrouaise see Jean Bequet and Ludo Milis, *Constitutiones Canonorum Regularum Ordinis Arroasiensis* (Turnholt: Brepols, 1970). Also see Aubrey Gwynn and R. Neville Hadcock, "Bangor," *Medieval Religious Houses: Ireland*, 161.

⁴²² Gwynn and Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: Ireland*, 10.

⁴²³ Gwynn and Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: Ireland*, 276. For more information on Irish suppression see Brendan Bradshaw, *The Dissolution of the Religious Orders in Ireland under Henry VIII* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974).

⁴²⁴ McHugh, "Excavations at Malachy's Wall, Bangor Abbey, County Down," 69. See also Gwynn and Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses*, 161. When the monastery of Bangor was dissolved, ownership passed to the Crown in 1603: "In 1605, James I granted James Hamilton possession of the lands "of the Abbey of Bangor, including the townland of Ballymagee. The Hamiltons later became Viscounts Clondeboye and earls of Clanbrassil;" see Sandra A. Millsopp, "Ballymagee," in *Townlands in Ulster: Local History Studies*, edited by W. H. Crawford and R. H. Foy (Belfast: Ulster Historical Foundation in association with the Federation for Ulster Local Studies, 1998), 96-109 at 98. For more information on James Hamilton see T. K. Lowry, ed., *The Hamilton Manuscripts: containing some account of the settlement of the territories of the upper Clondeboye, Great Ardes, and Dufferin, in County Down (1867)* by James Hamilton, printed from the original MSS (Belfast: Archer and Sons, 1867), accessed August 15, 2012, <<http://archive.org/details/hamiltonmanuscri00belf>>. There is no original date given on the title page, but in the introduction the date of the MSS are dated to the late seventeenth century. For the date of the most recent church: "The present church of Bangor was built within the old Abbey about the year 1616 by Sir James Hamilton, and was not finished till the year 1628; both which particulars appear from dates on a stone in the south walks, and in an old oak pulpit now lying in a corner of the church," 42. For a recent book on the colonization of Ulster in which reference is made to Sir James Hamilton and the building of the church at Bangor see Jonathan Bardon, *The Plantation of Ulster* (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 2011).

of the modern perimeter.⁴²⁵ The church had extensive repairs in 1693 and in 1833 the last remnant of the old church was removed.⁴²⁶ The church is more contemporary dating, as recently discovered through excavations, to the late nineteenth-century.⁴²⁷ The current Parish of Bangor Abbey Church stands as a reminder of the legacy of the glorious monastery.

3.2 Monasticism and Irish Developments

In order to appreciate Irish monastic developments, a brief history will provide context for the discussion. Early monasticism is a complex subject with uncertain origins.⁴²⁸ What appears evident is that during the third and fourth centuries, larger numbers of Christian men and women retreated to the desert. Here, “earnest and devoted Christians” separated themselves from the world.⁴²⁹ Some went “to live as hermits, such as St. Antony, or in communities, such as St. Pachomius (ca. 290-346), and St. Basil (ca. 330-379).”⁴³⁰ As the ideologies and social meaning of desert life became widely known, many followers of monasticism settled in the regions of Syria, Palestine and Egypt.⁴³¹ In abandoning the world and withdrawing to remote and hidden

⁴²⁵ McHugh, “Excavations at Malachy’s Wall, Bangor Abbey, County Down,” 69.

⁴²⁶ See James Hamilton, “A Short History of Bangor Abbey,” from the website of the Bangor Church Abbey, February 1, 2013 <<http://www.bangorabbey.org/history>>.

⁴²⁷ McHugh, “Excavations of Malachy’s Wall, 65.

⁴²⁸ Hugh Feiss, “Monasticism,” *Encyclopedia of Monasticism*, edited by William M. Johnston, volume 2 (Chicago; London: Fitzroy Dearborn, 2000), 873.

⁴²⁹ Benedicta Ward, trans., *The Desert Fathers: Sayings of the Early Christian Monks* (London: Penguin Books, 2003), ix.

⁴³⁰ Hugh Feiss, “Monasticism,” 871-873. For a recent book on monasticism see Alexander Ryrie, *The Desert Movement: Fresh Perspectives on the Spirituality of the Desert* (Norwich: Canterbury Press, 2011).

⁴³¹ See Maged S. A. Mikhail and Mark Moussa, eds., *Christianity and Monasticism in Wadi al-Natrun* (Cairo; New York: A Saint Mark Foundation Book, The American University in Cairo Press, 2009).

places, monks created a spiritual movement, whereby the desert became a place of both spiritual and physical investment.⁴³² Pilgrimages to the desert confirmed the extraordinary devotional commitment of the monks and this inspired others to follow the radical lifestyle.⁴³³

Stories of the desert anchorites circulated in writings such as the *Apophthegmata Patrum*⁴³⁴ and Athanasius' (ca. 296-373) fourth-century biography on St. Antony, which drew attention to the spiritual fortitude of these reclusive ascetics.⁴³⁵ In the *Life of St. Antony*, for example, Athanasius portrayed what one scholar has described as “the prototypical desert experience” that emphasized “the synergy of grace and works in asceticism.”⁴³⁶ The symbiotic relationship between grace and works was regulated in practices of prayer, fasting, and daily

⁴³² Hugh Pyper notes that the desert is “a liminal space where the constraints of social life are stripped away and both destruction and transformation are possible. The desert offers both asylum and threat;” see Hugh S. Pyper, “desert,” *The Oxford Companion to Christian Thought: Intellectual, Spiritual, and Moral Horizons of Christianity*, edited by Adrian Hastings, Alistair Mason and Hugh Pyper (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 161-162 at 161. The scriptural reference in Luke 4: 1-13 of Christ wrestling with the temptations of the devil occurred in the wilderness marking out this as an uncharted region where spiritual battles are waged. Columba Stewart notes that the legacy of the desert tradition was not only local. Through its own literature, the accounts of outsiders who visited, and the monastic forms that it inspired, the life of the Desert Fathers provided the grounding for all later Christian monasticism,” see Columba Stewart, “Desert Fathers,” *Encyclopedia of Monasticism*, edited by William M. Johnston, volume 1 (Chicago; London: Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers, 2000), 373.

⁴³³ Jane Stevenson, “Introduction,” in *The Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church*, by F. E. Warren (Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 1987), xxxvi.

⁴³⁴ *The Sayings of the Desert Fathers: The Alphabetical Collection*, translated from the Greek by Benedicta Ward (London: Mowbrays, 1975). The texts of the *Apophthegmata Patrum* are part of a series of patristic writings from the fourth century of the desert monks of Egypt, Syria and Palestine, “first in oral form and then in written memorials of the tradition, in Coptic, Syriac, and Greek and later in Latin,” xvii. The collection presents a different literary expression of monasticism depending on the format. For example, the “sayings” are a collection of addresses of principles with universal application. The “alphabetical sayings” are stories and sayings from the father and it is organized to make the material accessible, see xix. See also *The Wisdom of the Desert Father: the Apophthegmata Patrum* (the anonymous series) translated from Greek by Benedicta Ward (Oxford: S.L.G. Press, 1975). See also John Chryssavgis, *In the Heart of the Desert: The Spirituality of the Desert Fathers and Mothers* (Bloomington, Indiana: World Wisdom, 2002).

⁴³⁵ For information see St. Athanasius, *The Life of Saint Antony*, newly translated and annotated by Robert T. Meyer (Westminster, MD: The New man Press, 1950).

⁴³⁶ Alfred K. Siewers, *Strange Beauty: Ecocritical Approaches to Early Medieval Landscape* (Woodbridge: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 8. Also see Chryssavgis, *In the Heart of the Desert: The Spirituality of the Desert Fathers and Mothers, with a translation of Abba Zosimas' "Reflections"* (Bloomington, Indiana: World Wisdom, 2003).

tasks. St. Antony's *Life* (ca. 251-356) had such an impact throughout the West that he became known as "the Egyptian hermit and founder of Christian monasticism."⁴³⁷ The Desert Fathers⁴³⁸ and Desert Mothers,⁴³⁹ the collective ascetic prototypes, took the command of Jesus "quite literally, giving away possessions and living lives unencumbered by the world."⁴⁴⁰ By removal to the desert they relied on the grace of God to overcome human weakness, a strong element that resonates in Irish monasticism, and is reflected in the liturgy of the AB.

However, there was more behind a fascination with the desert and ritualistic practices. As Benedicta Ward observes, what visitors to Egypt most noticed was that "the hermits lived a life of physical hardship, which those who came from a more gentle world thought was beyond the capacity of most."⁴⁴¹ People may have come to the desert to gaze on this dramatic lifestyle, but they also witnessed what was once a private devotion.

In an article entitled "Desert Asceticism and 'The Body from Nowhere'," Patricia Cox Miller observes that there is a problem between the "angelic imagery" of the ascetic bodies

⁴³⁷ Samuel Rubenson, "Antony, St. ca. 251-356," *Encyclopedia of Monasticism* edited by William M. Johnston, volume 1 (Chicago; London: Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers, 2000), 40. William Harmless describes Athanasius's biography of Antony as "one of the first Christian bestsellers," see Harmless, *Desert Christians: an Introduction to the Literature of Early Monasticism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 97. The text not only drew attention to Antony and his desert solitude, but the book sparked other writings about the ascetics.

⁴³⁸ Stewart, "Desert Fathers," *Encyclopedia of Monasticism*, 371-373. A primary source on the Desert Fathers is: *Apophthegmata Patrum*, Greek Alphabetical Series, translated as *The Sayings of the Desert Fathers, The Alphabetical Collection* by Benedicta Ward (London: Moberys, 1975).

⁴³⁹ Francine Cardman, "Desert Mothers," *Encyclopedia of Monasticism*, 373-374. For more on the desert fathers and mothers see Douglas Burton-Christie, *The Word in the Desert: Scripture and the Quest for Holiness in Early Christian Monasticism* (New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993); and Chryssavgis, *In the Heart of the Desert: The Spirituality of Desert Fathers and Mothers*. For more on women see Patricia Cox Miller, *Women in Early Christianity: Translations from Greek Texts* (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2005).

⁴⁴⁰ Walsh and Bradley, *A History of the Irish Church 400-700AD*, 52. The Biblical reference is Mark 10: 21.

⁴⁴¹ Benedicta Ward, *The Desert Fathers: Sayings of the Early Christian Monks*, (2003), xi.

suffering in the desert, and “the human flaws and defects that mark the ascetic body.”⁴⁴² Cox Miller argues that “ascetic practice enabled the observer to see something heretofore ‘secret,’ where secrecy is a code-word for an ‘other’ kind of seeing.”⁴⁴³ Intentional, or otherwise, the contemplative life was now turned outward and open to view. The tension between spiritual “visibility” and the visual gaze of the voyeur is reflected in the writings from the period. Cox Miller points out Palladius, bishop of Aspuna (d. *ca.* 430) who wrote firsthand of his impressions of the Thebaid in his *Lausiac History*.⁴⁴⁴ Palladius’ fieldwork included interviews with several anchorites that inhabited the desert such as, Pambo, Macarius of Alexandria, Pachomius, and the Tabennesiot nuns. But even Palladius admits his voyeuristic intent:

[5] I have been privileged to see with my own eyes the revered faces of some of these, but in the case of others, who had already been perfected in the arena of piety, I have learned their heavenly mode of life from inspired athletes of Christ. In the course of my journey on foot I visited many cities and very many villages, every cave and all the desert dwellings of monks, with all accuracy as befitted my pious intentions. Some things I wrote down after personal investigation, the rest I have heard from the holy fathers, and I have recorded in this book the combats of great men, and women more like men than nature would to allow...⁴⁴⁵

⁴⁴² Patricia Cox Miller, “Desert Asceticism and ‘The Body from Nowhere’,” *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 2 (1994), 137, accessed 12 January 2010 <<http://pao.chadwyck.com.myaccess>>. The ideas of gaze and pilgrimage draw on Patricia Cox Miller’s article and readings of pilgrimage such as Anne W. Robertson, “The Beginning of Love’s Journey,” in *Guillaume de Machaut and Reims: Context and Meaning in His Musical Works* (Cambridge; Cambridge University Press, 2002), 103-127. In ethnomusicology, pilgrimage takes on a global perspective and encompasses cultures past and present. In taking up a journey to a sacred space, music can be the motivation and incorporated into the experience.

⁴⁴³ Cox Miller, “Desert Asceticism and ‘The Body from Nowhere’,” 139. For a recent study see Caroline T. Schroeder, *Monastic Bodies: Discipline and Salvation in Shenoute of Atripe* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007). For another perspective see Georgia Frank, *The Memeory of the Eyes: Pilgrims to Living Saints in Christian late Antiquity* (Berkeley: University of California, 2000).

⁴⁴⁴ Cox Miller, “Desert Asceticism and ‘The Body from Nowhere’,” 138. The question as to whether this is the same Palladius who was sent to Ireland is discussed by Dáibhí Ó Cróinín, “Who was Palladius ‘First Bishop of the Irish’?” *Peritia* 14 (2000): 205-237.

⁴⁴⁵ W. K. Lowther Clarke, ed., *The Lausiac History of Palladius* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; New York: Macmillan, 1918), Section [5], 36-7.

More than the lives themselves, Palladius has peered into the very corners of their private domains and portrayed a vision of ascetic practice that was disseminated throughout the Christian realm. Part fact, part biased reporting, the desert communities seem people living on the fringe of society. At the same time, they are deeply committed to a life of spiritual perfection. In Ireland, the status of pilgrim and hermit presents an interesting dynamic between Irish cultural practices that emphasized a structured society, and the attraction of self-sacrifice for the cause of Christ. A case in point is Columbanus and the sources that influenced his monastic orders.⁴⁴⁶ It is believed that Columbanus had knowledge about the desert before he left Bangor and acquired further knowledge on the continent, particularly in the writings of Benedict.⁴⁴⁷ At Bangor, he would have benefited from Comgall, who had already institutionalized a strict, religious order that seems influenced by desert monasticism and Irish customs. Columbanus's *Regula monachorum* and *Regula coenobialis*, produced on the continent, were known for their severity and relentless devotional hours. But Richard Woods argues that the *Rule*, while severe, had a purpose. Columbanus sought "to mitigate the ascetic practices of zealous monks eager to emulate Christ and the martyrs of old, as the penitential attempted to create a more uniform and equitable system of ecclesiastical penalties."⁴⁴⁸

⁴⁴⁶ See Jane Stevenson, "The Monastic Rules of Columbanus," in *Columbanus: Studies on the Latin writings* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 1997), 203 -216. In the article Stevenson discusses the influences on Columbanus' monastic rules. As Stevenson notes, the training Columbanus received from Comgall at Bangor "must have formed the essential matrix of his own monastic practice," 204. An important intermediary text is "Amra Cholomb Chille," in *Iona: The Earliest Poetry of a Celtic Monastery*, edited by Tomás Owen Clancy and Gilbert Márkus (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1995), 96-128 which references John Cassian.

⁴⁴⁷ An important collection of research on Columbanus is Michael Lapidge, ed., *Columbanus: Studies on the Latin Writings* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 1997). Each section deals with aspects of Columbanus' career and his influential texts. Jane Stevenson notes that the importance of the Egyptian standard and Eastern monasticism is evident in Columbanus' discussion of their monasteries in the *Regula monachorum*; see Stevenson, "The Monastic Rules of Columbanus," 216.

⁴⁴⁸ Richard Woods, "Columban, St.," *Encyclopedia of Monasticism*, edited by William M. Johnston, volume 1 (Chicago; London: Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers, 2000), 322.

Although Columbanus's *regulae* succeeded for a time, it was abandoned in favour of the less stringent Benedictine Rule adopted in many Irish founded monasteries on the continent.⁴⁴⁹ In some cases such as at Lérins, both Rules existed simultaneously in the seventh century.⁴⁵⁰

Two people also important to the development of monasticism and the Office in the West were Jerome and John Cassian. Cassian in particular had an impact on the canonical hours in Ireland. St. Jerome (345-420) was a biblical scholar whose writings had an enormous impact on the early Church.⁴⁵¹ One of his greatest achievements was the translation of the Bible into Latin.⁴⁵² His zeal often led him into religious debates such as the Arian Controversy, which caused a rift in his friendship with Rufinus of Aquileia (345-410), a defender of Origen.⁴⁵³ St. Jerome traveled to Gaul and Trier, Germany where he became acquainted with monasticism and copied Hilary of Poitiers's *De Synodis* and *De Psalmis*.⁴⁵⁴ He later joined a group of ascetics who included Rufinus, the author of *Orationes* on Gregory of Nazianzus.⁴⁵⁵ As one of the outstanding exegetics of his time, Jerome's legacy is his scriptural translations, including a new

⁴⁴⁹ In the Francian congregation of Luxeuil a combination of the *Rule* of Benedict of Nursia and the Columbanian Rule were practiced in what became known as "mixed rules." A mixed Benedictine-Columbanian rule is noted at Lérins from 660-667, see Marilyn Dunn, *The Emergence of Monasticism: From the Desert Fathers to the Early Middle Ages* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2000), 173. For more on the Rule of St. Benedict see 113-133 and 172-190.

⁴⁵⁰ See previous note.

⁴⁵¹ See "Jerome, St.," *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, edited by F. L. Cross, 3rd edition, E. A. Livingstone (Oxford University Press, 1997), 867. For a recent book on St. Jerome see Andrew Cain, *The Letters of Jerome: Asceticism, Biblical Exegesis, and the Construction of Christian Authority in Late Antiquity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

⁴⁵² See "Jerome, St.," *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 867.

⁴⁵³ See "Jerome, St.," *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 867; and F. X. Murphy, "Jerome, St.," in *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, edited by Berard L. Marthaler et al, volume 7 (Washington, D.C.: Thomson Gale in association with The Catholic University of America, 2003), 757-769. For reference to Rufinus of Aquilia see chapter 2, II. [AB 3] *Hymnus Apostoloum ut alii dicunt: Precamur Patrum*, 22-23.

⁴⁵⁴ Murphy, "Jerome, St.," 757-760 at 757.

⁴⁵⁵ See note in previous chapter regarding Rufinus.

version of the Psalter.⁴⁵⁶ His Gallican Psalter, based on the *Hexapla* text of manuscripts collected by Origen at Caesarea was the preferred text of Alcuin (*ca.* 735-*ca.* 804),⁴⁵⁷ the cultural advisor to Charlemagne. During his time in Gaul James Kenney notes that Jerome became aware of the Irish who were already establishing themselves as a Christian body of the Irish church during the Celtic period.⁴⁵⁸ Some of the works on Latin exegesis from the early Irish church were attributed to Jerome under the pen-name⁴⁵⁹ “Pseudo-Jerome”,⁴⁶⁰ but now referred to as pseudo-Jerome.

St. John Cassian (*ca.* 360-430s) was one of the most influential persons in the transmission of writings on the monastic community.⁴⁶¹ Cassian was born in Dacia, now the region known as Romania and journeyed to Bethlehem where he became part of a monastic community. He twice traveled to Egypt “in order to acquaint himself with the riches of Egyptian

⁴⁵⁶ Murphy, “Jerome, St.,” 758.

⁴⁵⁷ For this information see Lesley J. Smith, “Bible, Latin Version of,” *Medieval France: An Encyclopedia*, edited by William W. Kibler and Grover A. Zinn (New York; London: Garland Publishing, 1995), 126. For information on Alcuin, the scholar and poet of York and St. Martin in Tours see Lawrence Gushee, “Alcuin,” in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, edited by Stanley Sadie, volume 1 (London: Macmillan, 1980), 230.

⁴⁵⁸ Kenney, *The Sources*, 137-138 and 161-163. As Kenney notes: “In the writings of St. Jerome are to be found the first contemporary references to an Irishman who was also a Christian, even though, in Jerome’s opinion, a miscreant,” 161. The reference is to Pelagius, a supposed Irish monk whose fragmentary writings from Rome survived in the schools of Ireland; see 162-163 for this information., For more on Pelagius (*ca.* 354- ? 418) and “pelagianism,” see S. I. McKenna, “Pelagius and Pelagianism,” *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, edited by Berard L. Marthaler, volume 11 (Washington, D.C.: Thomson Gale in association with The Catholic University of America, 2003), 60-63. For more on the Celtic church see Michael Herren and Shirley Ann Brown, *Christ in Celtic Christianity: Britain and Ireland from the Fifth to the Tenth Century* (Woodbridge, Suffolk; Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, 2002).

⁴⁵⁹ Ó Cróinín, *Early Medieval Ireland 400-1200*, 205. For more on pseudonymy see Michael Herren, “The Pseudonymous Tradition in Hiberno-Latin: An Introduction,” in *Latin Letters in Early Christian Ireland* (Aldershot, Hampshire, GB; Brookfield, VT: Variorum, 1996, 121-131.

⁴⁶⁰ Bernhard Bischoff, “Turning-Points in the History of Latin Exegesis in the Early Middle Ages,” in *Biblical Studies: the Medieval Irish Contribution*, edited by Martin McNamara (Dublin: Dominican Publications, 1976), 82. Also see Kenney, *The Sources*, 662.

⁴⁶¹ On the life of St. Cassian see Columba Stewart, *Cassian the Monk* (New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998). For a recent edition of Conferences see Christopher J. Kelly, *Cassian’s Conferences: Scriptural Interpretation and the Monastic Ideal* (Farnham, England: Ashgate, 2012).

monasticism.”⁴⁶² He was ordained by John Chrysostom (349-407)⁴⁶³ and sent to Rome. In the 420s Cassian went to Gaul and settled in the south-east portion. It was here that he wrote his “*Institutes and Conferences* for a monastery in Marseilles circa 425 and in which he outlined the aims and methods of monastic life.”⁴⁶⁴ Several of Cassian's books were translated into Latin and transmitted throughout Gaul, and a possible conduit for influential texts to research Ireland. One Irish text that is seen as having a correlation with the writings of Cassian is the eighth-century *Navigatio Sancti Brendani*. In the Irish story, St. Brendan the navigator sets out on a voyage with a group of monks in search of the “promised land.” There are two depictions of liturgical offices that Peter Jeffery has shown to have a correlation with Cassian’s *De institutis coenobiorum*.⁴⁶⁵ The act of leaving behind the ecclesiastical *familia* and traveling to foreign lands⁴⁶⁶ is also exemplified in Brendan’s journey and the Irish propensity for an extreme lifestyle.

In Ireland, part of the attraction to monasticism was spiritual fortitude and resilience; attributes to be revered. In the AB, for example, the hymn *Versiculi familiae Benchuir: Benchuir bona regula* [AB 95] (f 30) highlights the “strictness of Bangor’s divine rule,” and “the virtues of

⁴⁶² Boniface Ramsey, translator, *John Cassian: the Institutes* (New York: The Newman Press, 2000), 3.

⁴⁶³ For a biography and dates on John Chrysostom see P. W. Harkins, “John Chrysostom, St.,” in *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, edited by Berard L. Marthaler volume 7 (New York; St. Louis: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1967), 1041-1044.

⁴⁶⁴ Elizabeth Rees, *Celtic Saints: Passionate Wanderers* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2000), 22. For more on the dissemination of Cassian and influence in Britain see Stephen Lake, “Knowledge of the writings of John Cassian in early Anglo-Saxon England,” *Anglo-Saxon England* 32 (2003): 27-42. Here, Lake suggests that the Irish appear to have known of Cassian’s works from a date earlier than the earliest Anglo-Saxon evidence from the late seventh century, 41. See John Cassian, *The Monastic Institutes Consisting of ‘On the Training of a Monk’ and ‘The Eight Deadly Sins’ in Twelve Books*, translated by Jerome Bertram (London: the Saint Austin Press, 1999).

⁴⁶⁵ Jeffery, “Eastern and Western Elements in the Prayer of the Hours,” 108-9.

⁴⁶⁶ For a discussion of the Celtic church see Caitlin Corning’s book, *The Celtic and Roman Traditions*; Marilyn Dunn, “Britain and Ireland” and “Irish *peregrini* and European Monasticism,” in *The Emergence of Monasticism: From the Desert Fathers to the Early Middle Ages* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2000), 138-157 and 158-190; and F. E. Warren, *Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church* (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1881).

monastic life at the monastery.”⁴⁶⁷ Ascetic practices also found expression in private devotions and innovations such as the *lorica*, or formulaic prayer. Pádraig Ó Néill observes that Celtic Christianity developed its own style of private devotions “characterized by freedom of expression and a talent for innovation.”⁴⁶⁸ In the *loricae*, for example, the texts were often “appellations to a saint, couched in urgent and effusive terms, imploring protection against a list of spiritual and temporal evils and were invested with the superstitious efficacy of magical incantations.”⁴⁶⁹ The Irish monasticism diverged from other regions in Western Christendom in its extreme practices such as *peregrinatio pro amore Christi*, and penance, as well as eremitism.⁴⁷⁰ Literary evidence such as the litany of psalms and prayers suggest that elements of the desert mystical life were perhaps inculcated into Irish religious life, but were imbued with cultural innovations.

Penance for personal sin became an important element in regulating the monastic communities. However, in Ireland with the advent of Christianity, an interesting problem arose concerning sin and punishment. The question of whether “public penance” should be sufficient for a lifetime, and what was an appropriate punishment for an accumulation of sins were

⁴⁶⁷ Curran, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, 82.

⁴⁶⁸ Pádraig Ó Néill, “Celtic Church,” *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, edited by Joseph R. Strayer, volume 3 (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1983), 231.

⁴⁶⁹ Ó Néill. “Celtic Church,” 231.

⁴⁷⁰ Ó Néill, “Celtic Church,” 230-231. See Thom, *Early Irish Monasticism*. Two chapters are particularly helpful in assessing the radical nature of Irish monasticism and Irish penance: see “Towards an Understanding of the Major Aspects of Irish Monasticism in the Sixth to the Eighth Century,” 1-35 and “The Ascetical Theology and Praxis of the Early Irish Penitentials,” 36-76. For major works on the significance of penitentials see Ludwig Bieler, ed. *The Irish Penitentials* (Dublin: The Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1975); and John T. McNeill and Helena M. Gamer, *Medieval Handbooks of Penance: A Translation of the Principal “Libri poenitentiales” and Selections from related Documents* (New York: Octagon Books, A Division of Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1979). For a useful synopsis of the Irish penitential see John Walsh and Thomas Bradley, “Irish Penitentials,” *A History of the Irish Church 400-700AD* (Blackrock, Co. Dublin: the Columba Press, 1991), 111-125.

problems for Christianized Ireland.⁴⁷¹ Rather than the discipline of public penance, evident in the Western church, the Celtic church “substituted a system of private penance whereby discipline was imposed by a private confessor.”⁴⁷² Irish penitentials, reconciliations for sin, reclaimed private penance, and brought a more even approach to confession. Here, the confessor was an *anamchara* (Irish) or “soul friend”⁴⁷³ and meted out “medicine for the soul.”⁴⁷⁴ In Ireland, there was no distinction between private and public prayer thus mixing the hours and penance together. Jeffery notes the significance of the Irish practice that contributed in the formation of Western penitential discipline.⁴⁷⁵ The system of penance became a principle element of the Irish church and spread to the continent with the *perigrini*. In the long range of regional developments in the Christian Church, John Walsh and Thomas Bradley observe the enormous impact of the Irish church on the West in the form of penitential practice and emphasize that it is “no exaggeration to say that the penitentials have had a decisive contribution to the social history of man.”⁴⁷⁶ Here is an element of Irish practice that was retained in the Church, throughout religious upheavals and calls for uniformity, beginning with the Carolingians. The act of penance demonstrates that a remnant of the Irish church was deeply entwined in the West and survives in the confessional practices of the Church.⁴⁷⁷

⁴⁷¹ Thomas O’Loughlin, “Penitential Books,” *Encyclopedia of Monasticism*, edited by William M. Johnston, volume 2 (Chicago; London: Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers, 2000), 1007.

⁴⁷² Ó Néill, “Celtic Church,” 229.

⁴⁷³ Walsh and Bradley, *A History of the Irish Church 400-700AD*, 120.

⁴⁷⁴ See Walsh and Bradley, *A History of the Irish Church 400-700AD*, 120: “Confession and penance were a ‘medicine for souls’. [...] The confessor was seen as a ‘soul-friend’ [...] whose job was to apply, in Christ’s place, the appropriate remedy to the soul’s disease and his penitential was to assist him in his diagnosis and prescription.”

⁴⁷⁵ Jeffery, “Eastern and Western elements in the Prayer of the Hours,” 108.

⁴⁷⁶ Walsh and Bradley, *A History of the Irish Church 400-700AD*, 124.

⁴⁷⁷ Walsh and Bradley, *A History of the Irish Church 400-700AD*, 124. For a biography and a discussion of penitential in early medieval Ireland see Kenny, “VI: Ecclesiastical Legislation – Canons and Penitentials,” *The Sources*, 235-250.

As books became an important medium of information, Ireland was a conduit of written knowledge. Bangor, though diminished in later times, was noted for its library. Jonathan Wooding considers that trade and communications between Ireland and the continent had a role to play in defining possible paths of text transmissions.⁴⁷⁸ Therefore, the source of information about desert monasticism, or any number of available texts could have come from travelers returning to Ireland, or from trade. Even churchmen traveling on chartered ships were unlikely to have taken the voyage along unknown routes, particularly if the ship carried cargo.⁴⁷⁹ Thus, the interchange of texts may have occurred through trade routes Ireland had established with Roman-occupied Britain and Gaul.⁴⁸⁰ By the fifth century missionaries, such as Patrick had already reached Ireland, proving that links to Britain and the continent were possible.

Something of the ritual life of prayer is reflected in the AB where the general outline for eight canonical hours structured at intervals around the clock is evident. While more detail about the psalms and the selection of readings is found in the *Rule* of Columbanus, it is evident from the number of antiphons and rhythmical collects, as well as the hymns in the AB that there was an expressive atmosphere that melded with the intense Office regimen. Curran notes that the first set of collects in the AB “introduces us at once into a characteristically Irish monastic setting.”⁴⁸¹ Here, the rhythmical collects for the hours are constructed as four lines of eight syllables in even iambic dimeter.⁴⁸² Most are labeled as with a reference to a monastic office. For example, [AB 22] *Collectio ad initium noctis* (see Appendix I: Contents of the Antiphonary

⁴⁷⁸ Wooding, “Trade as a factor in the transmission of texts,” 15.

⁴⁷⁹ Wooding, “Trade as a factor in the transmission of texts,” 24.

⁴⁸⁰ Wooding, “Trade as a factor in the transmission of texts,” 24.

⁴⁸¹ Curran, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, 93.

⁴⁸² Curran, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, 93.

of Bangor). The collects are interesting as they reflect another example of Irish creativity. The use of rhythmical collects is “something new in the history of the Latin liturgy” and betrays “a typical touch of Irish originality in the use of a traditional form, the rhythmical hymn, for a new purpose.”⁴⁸³ Thus, the ritual of unceasing prayer takes on a renewed character and expression in the Irish church. While the monastery of Bangor was perhaps strict, the poetry of the texts reflected in the AB seems inspired to invigorate the prayer life of the community.⁴⁸⁴

3.3 Monasticism and Bangor

The origins of monasticism in Ireland are not traceable to any single source in the fifth and sixth centuries.⁴⁸⁵ Certainly, the mission of Patrick, and the shorter mission of Palladius (d. after 432)⁴⁸⁶ had an impact on the spread of Christianity in Ireland, but monasticism was a unique response to the Christian faith. As Pádraig Ó Néill notes, “a striking feature of the institutional Celtic church was its monastic character.”⁴⁸⁷

⁴⁸³ Curran, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, 93. Curran notes that the rhythmical hymn was already a feature of the monastic office of Arles.

⁴⁸⁴ Curran, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, 96.

⁴⁸⁵ Jane Stevenson, “The Monastic Rules of Columbanus,” 207. See *A Translation of the Latin Writings of St. Patrick*, edited by Newport J. S. White (London: society for Promoting Christina Knowledge, 1918), which contains Patrick’s *Confessio* an early witness to his mission to Christianity in Ireland.

⁴⁸⁶ For the mission of Palladius see Louis Gougaud, *Christianity in Celtic Lands: A History of the Churches of the Celts, Their Origin, Their Development, Influence and Mutual Relations* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1992), 29-31; and T. M. Charles-Edwards, “Palladius, Prosper, and Leo the Great: Mission and Primatial Authority,” in *Saint Patrick, AD 493-1993*, edited by David N. Dumville (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 1999), 1-12. For further information pertaining to dates and a synopsis of Palladius’ ministry see P. Roche, “Palladius, St.” *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, edited by Berard L. Marthaler, volume 10 (Washington, D. C.: Thomson Gale in association with The Catholic University of America, 2003), 805. Although confusing, this appears to be a different Palladius from Palladius Bishop of Aspuna, who was the author of the *Lausiac History*.

⁴⁸⁷ Ó Néill, “Celtic Church,” 227. It is important not to over emphasis the monastic character of the Irish church, but to consider the organization of the communities in relation to the *paruchia*; see T. M. Charles-Edwards,

The Irish church was organized into monastic *paruchia* that extended power over the houses under their domain.⁴⁸⁸ Bangor was a principle *paruchia* and claimed authority of other “scattered daughter-houses over Ireland.”⁴⁸⁹ The diocese was administered by a bishop who would have had a number of clergy to manage each unit. The head of the community was under the authority of an abbot that formed its own *muintir* or monastery.⁴⁹⁰ This is a large topic and requires more in-depth discussion than I can provide here. Certainly, as we have seen from the hymns, the abbots held authority in the community.⁴⁹¹

The reason for the spread of monasticism in Ireland seems predicated on its integrated and hierarchical societal structure. As Kenney explains, monasticism was the basis of the Irish system.⁴⁹² That is, every important church was a monastic church that Kenney describes as “a little walled village whose dwellers were monks or nuns living under ecclesiastical discipline.”⁴⁹³ The *familia* was an important unit, often where the authority of the abbot was

“§6: The Organisation of the Early Irish Church,” *Early Christian Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 241-281.

⁴⁸⁸ Ó Cróinín, *Early Medieval Ireland 400-1200*, 162.

⁴⁸⁹ Ó Cróinín, *Early Medieval Ireland 400-1200*, 162.

⁴⁹⁰ See Walsh and Bradley, *A History of the Irish Church 400-700AD*, 52-62.

⁴⁹¹ For more see on Irish church organization see Richard Sharpe, “Some Problems concerning the organization of the Church in Early Medieval Ireland,” *Peritia* 3 (1984): 230-270; and Colmán Etchingham, *Church Organisation in Ireland AD 650 to 1000* (Maynooth: Laigin Publications, 1999).

⁴⁹² Kenney, *The Sources*, 291. Jane Stevenson notes the importance of Egypt as a model for Celtic monasticism in “The Monastic rules of Columbanus,” 203-216. Also see Peter Jeffery, “Eastern and Western Elements in the Prayer of the Hours,” 99-143. The importance of Egypt can be noted in the hymns *Benchuir bona regula* [AB 95] in verse 4, lines 3 and 4: “necnon vinea vera ex Ægypto transducta” (also true vine, led out of Egypt); see Hymn 11, *Versiculi familiae Benchuir* [AB 95].

⁴⁹³ Kenney, *The Sources*, 291. A recent study by Colmán Etchingham, *The Irish ‘Monastic Town’: Is This a Valid Concept?* (Cambridge: Hughes Hall and Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse and Celtic, University of Cambridge, 2010) builds on the previous work of Kathleen Hughes, *The Church in Early Irish Society* (London: Methuen, 1966).

similar to Irish secular law.⁴⁹⁴ As abbot or abbess, they were heir, or *comarba*, of the holy person who had founded the monastery.⁴⁹⁵ Thus, inheritance involved the administration of power and property. He, or she, as in the case of St. Brigit, was often chosen through blood-relation of the founder.⁴⁹⁶ This form of organization made the Irish church distinct in character from other monastic churches, where the relationship of the abbot was equivalent to the role of archbishop on the continent.⁴⁹⁷ By the mid sixth century “the monasteries were taking over the administrative functions that elsewhere in Europe – and previously in Ireland – belonged exclusively to the diocese and its bishop.”⁴⁹⁸ Pádraig Ó Néill observes that monasticism “succeeded in Celtic areas because its administrative structure allowed the local ruling families to build monasteries and churches on their own land, often with their own kin as abbots.”⁴⁹⁹ This was a practice carried to the continent where Columbanus, for example, forged connections

⁴⁹⁴ See Ó Cróinín, *Early Medieval Ireland 400-1200*, 110-168; and Kathleen Hughes and Ann Hamlin, *Celtic Monasticism: the Modern Traveler to the Early Irish Church* (New York: The Seabury Press, 1981).

⁴⁹⁵ Kenney, *The Sources*, 292. On women in the church in medieval Ireland see Dianne Hall, *Women and the Church in Medieval Ireland c. 1140-1540* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2003); and Christina Harrington, *Women in a Celtic Church, Ireland 450-1150* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

⁴⁹⁶ On the life of Brigit see Donncha Ó hAodha, ed., *Bethu Brigte* (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1978); John O’Hanlon, *Life of St. Brigit* (Dublin: Joseph Dollard, 1877); and Lisa M. Bitel, *Landscape with Two Saints: How Genovefa of Paris and Brigit of Kildare Built Christianity in Barbarian Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009). For liturgical music for the Office of St. Brigit see *Flame of Ireland: Medieval Irish Plainchant; an Office for St. Brigit*, performed by Canty (London: Gaudeamus, 2005). For the translation of the text on the Life of St. Brigit by Cogitosus see Sean Connolly and J.-M. Picard, “Cogitosus: *Life of St. Brigit*,” *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 117 (1987): 11-27. Also see the preceding article by Sean Connolly, “Cogitosus’s *Life of St. Brigit*: Content and Value,” in the same journal, 5-10.

⁴⁹⁷ Kenney, *The Sources*, 292.

⁴⁹⁸ Ó Néill, “Celtic Church,” 227.

⁴⁹⁹ Ó Néill, “Celtic Church,” 227. For more on the organization of Irish monasteries see Paul McGrath, “Early Medieval Irish Monastic Communities: A Premodern Model with Post-Modern Resonances,” *Culture and Organization* 8/3 (2002): 195-108, accessed June 15, 2012, <02/030195/14 copyright 2002 Taylor & Francis, DOI: 10.1080/1475955022000050195>.

with the Frankish kingdom. Here, Columbanus was given land in the Vosges by King Guntram of Burgundy where he founded the monasteries of Annegray, Luxeuil, and Fontaines.⁵⁰⁰

Knowledge of the background of Irish monasticism explains some of the inner workings that made hagiography and the development of the cult of relics such a crucial aspect of church life in the seventh and eighth centuries. Within this milieu the hymns, and other sung elements of devotion, are of particular musical interest, because of the addition of notation that begins to appear in liturgical manuscripts. The life of the saint was intricately woven into the fabric of the *muinter*. Comgall's hymn AB [AB 14] and the hymn for the Abbots of Bangor [129] reflect this point. In short, the Irish *Vitae sanctorum* brought the ecclesiasts together "as one great confraternity" under the leadership of Patrick.⁵⁰¹ Patrick as the patron saint of Ireland and commemorated in the hymn *Audite omnes amantes* [AB 13] and first referenced in the AB is part of the collective memory of saints noted in the texts of the AB.

Given the previous discussion, it is not difficult to see why monks who left the *familia* as *peregrini* were considered to be making the ultimate personal sacrifice.⁵⁰² Monks developed great attachment to the community, as noted in *Benchuir bona regula* [AB 95] and the two hymns to the early abbots of Bangor: *Hymnus Sancti Comgilli abbatis nostri* [AB 14] and *In memoriam abbatum nostrorum* [AB 129].⁵⁰³ The hymns presented in the AB "stem from the

⁵⁰⁰ Michael Herren, "Columbanus, St.," 486. For more on Columbanus in Gaul see Walsh and Bradley, *A History of the Irish Church 400-700AD*, 93-110; Donald Bullough, "The Career of Columbanus," 1-28; and H. B. Clarke and Mary Brennan, eds., *Columbanus and Merovingian Monasticism* (Oxford: B.A.R., 1981).

⁵⁰¹ Kenney, *The Sources*, 299. For the Rule of Comgall see J. Strachan, "An Old-Irish Metrical Rule," *Ériu* 1 (1904): 191-208 and "Addenda to Ériu I," *Ériu* 2 (1905): 58-9. On the Vita of Comgall see *Vita sancti Comgalli abbatis de Bennchoren*, in *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae: partim hactenus ineditae, ad fiedm codicum manusccriptorum recognovit prolegomenis notis indicibus instruxit*, Carolus Plummer (Oxford: at Clarendon Press, 1910), 3-21.

⁵⁰² See Dunn's discussion on "Monachi peregrini," in *The Emergence of Monasticism*, 140-142.

⁵⁰³ Curran, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, 84-85.

golden age of the Irish monastic movement, or the years of foundation and consolidation of the monastic *familiae*.⁵⁰⁴ The reputation of Bangor was bolstered by monks such as Columbanus, whose legacy predates the AB.⁵⁰⁵

Living in remote places alone with God was an attraction to the Irish.⁵⁰⁶ An example of desert interpretation is found in Adomán's (c. 624-704) *Life of Columba (Vita Sancti Columbae)* written ca. 700.⁵⁰⁷ A. D. S. MacDonald in his study notes that Adomnán thought of peregrination variously from the original Greek word *herimum* (ἐρημος (f.), 'desert').⁵⁰⁸ As MacDonald points out, there is another meaning behind *peregrinatio* and ascetic practice "that seeking of the desert that had been historically, the *fons et origo* of monasticism itself."⁵⁰⁹ From this MacDonald concludes that Adomnán thought of "*desertum-herimum* as a spiritual rather than as a physical entity – distinct from but in a sense encapsulating the *locus anchoitarum* that could be, presumably, the physical result of such a spiritual journey."⁵¹⁰ The monasteries of Skellig Michael or Iona⁵¹¹ are examples of remote communities. Remote as Iona might be,

⁵⁰⁴ Curran, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, 85.

⁵⁰⁵ Evidence is based on the seventh century life by Jonas of Bobbio, see Jonas, *Life of Columban*, edited by B. Krusch *MGH Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum*, IV (1902), 229-337.

⁵⁰⁶ Richard Woods, "Ireland, History," *Encyclopedia of Monasticism*, edited by William M. Johnston, volume 1 (Chicago; London: Fitzroy Dearborn, 2000), 658.

⁵⁰⁷ A. D. S. MacDonald, "Aspects of the Monastery and Monastic Life in Adomnán's Life of Columba," *Peritia* 3 (1984): 271-302. See Aidan Breen, "Adomnán Mac Rónáin," *Medieval Ireland: An Encyclopedia* (New York; London: Routledge, 2005), 3-4 for biographical information and dates.

⁵⁰⁸ MacDonald, "Aspects of the Monastery and Monastic Life in Adomnán's Life of Columba," 298 in the section entitled "Desertum and Peregrinatio," 297-300.

⁵⁰⁹ MacDonald, "Aspects of the Monastery and Monastic Life in Adomnán's Life of Columba," 297. On *peregrinatio* see T. Charles-Edwards, "The Social Background to Irish Peregrinatio," *Celtica* 11 (1976): 43-59.

⁵¹⁰ MacDonald, "Aspects of the Monastery and Monastic Life in Adomnán's Life of Columba," 298.

⁵¹¹ Iona was founded by the Irish monk Columba (521-597) who trained with Finnian, of Moville (Northern Ireland) or Finnian of Clonnard (Westmeath), the personage is uncertain, and founded the monastery on the island of Iona in the Hebrides; for information see Timothy J. Joyce, "Columba, St.," *Encyclopedia of Monasticism*, edited by William M. Johnston, volume 1 (Chicago; London: Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers, 2000), 319-20.

Columba still had a hermitage known as Hinba where he would remove himself from the community for prayer and contemplation.⁵¹² There are other literary influences and depictions. Peter Jeffery has shown that the Egyptian and Palestinian Offices according to John Cassian influenced the Offices in the eighth-century *Navigatio Sancti Brendani*, already mentioned. The monastic element in the *Navigatio Sancti Brendani* (*Voyage of Saint Brendan*) takes the influence of Christianity and makes it an underlying *topos*. If the story has a basis in reality it is the theme of monasticism that draws attention to the ideal of *peregrinatio*. John O’Meara argues that a story as “ecclesiastical as the *Voyage of Saint Brendan* can rightly be called a Christian allegory.”⁵¹³ This allegory is reflected in the comparison with the practices of liturgical offices that are noted particularly in chapter 11, “The Paradise of Birds” or chapters 17, “The Island of the Three Choirs.” O’Meara argues that there is “a firm basis of reality in the story of Brendan’s voyage and reflects such sea-journeys and visits to island monasteries as Brendan himself is reported to have made.”⁵¹⁴

Although the *Voyage of Saint Brendan* is regarded as a fictional story about Brendan the navigator,⁵¹⁵ Jeffery notes that the office depicted in the “Island of the Three Choirs” bears similarities with a Gallican source and shows parallels with Cassian’s *De institutis coenobiorum*.⁵¹⁶ Curran observes that although the Office described in the chapter is Irish, “it is a depiction that is grounded in the great tradition of the Church, by means especially of the

⁵¹² Hinba, somewhere near Iona and which has not been completely identified, was a place where anchorites could remove themselves from the community to live a more secluded life; see Thomas Owen Clancy and Gilbert Márkus, *Iona: the Earliest Poetry of a Celtic Monastery* (Edinburg: Edinburgh University Press, 1995), 10.

⁵¹³ John O’Meara, trans., *The Voyage of Saint Brendan: Journey to the Promised Land* (Atlantic Highland, NJ: Humanities Press, 1976), xi.

⁵¹⁴ O’Meara, *The Voyage of Saint Brendan*, xi.

⁵¹⁵ Jeffery, “Eastern and Western Elements in the Prayer of the Hours,” 108-110.

⁵¹⁶ Jeffery, “Eastern and Western Elements in the Prayer of the Hours,” 109.

writing of Cassian.”⁵¹⁷ The contemplative and communal aspects of Cassian’s ascetic philosophy were important elements that shaped Irish monasticism. What is significant is that the author of the *Navigatio Sancti Brendani* was at least familiar with a liturgical source that was available in Ireland.⁵¹⁸ The withdrawal to a metaphorical “desert” was replicated in the cenobitic community. The communal aspect of ritualistic devotional prayer became deeply significant in Irish monastic communities and a reflection of “daily immolation for Christ.”⁵¹⁹

While the evidence seems convincing about the links with Cassian, how accurate is the information? I contend that Cassian is the least reliable source of desert monasticism. The *Institutes* (419-25) and the *Conferences* (ca. 428) were written following Cassian’s twenty year break with the desert.⁵²⁰ Presented more as treatises, *The Institutes of the Cenobia and the Remedies for the Eight Principal Vices* are works “of a man whose influence on Western monasticism, [...] was to be formidable.”⁵²¹ It is important to realize the perspective from which Cassian is writing. Richard Goodrich argues that Cassian, “wrote for wealthy Roman aristocrats, an elite class that had more in common with Cicero, Caesar, and Augustus than mediaeval or

⁵¹⁷ Curran, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, 172. For more on the Irish liturgy see Marc Schneiders, “The Origins of the Early Irish liturgy,” in *Irland und Europa im Früheren Mittelalter/ Ireland and Europe in the Early Middle Ages*, edited by Próinséas Ní Chatháin and Michael Richter (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1996), 76-98.

⁵¹⁸ Jeffery, “Eastern and Western Elements in the Irish Monastic Prayer of the Hours,” 108, but see 99-143. Jeffery’s chapter provides an in-depth study of the Office and draws on parallel texts and references. For an English translation see O’Meara, *The Voyage of Saint Brendan: Journey to the Promised Land* (Atlantic Highland, NJ: Humanities Press, 1976).

⁵¹⁹ Clare Stancliffe, “Red, White and Blue Martyrdom,” in *Ireland in Early Mediaeval Europe: Studies in Memory of Kathleen Hughes*, edited by Dorothy Whitelock, Rosamond McKitterick, and David Dumville (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 21.

⁵²⁰ For dates see Richard Goodrich, *Contextualizing Cassian: Aristocrats, Asceticism, and Reformation in Fifth-Century Gaul* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 3.

⁵²¹ Boniface Ramsey, translated and annotated, “Introduction,” in *John Cassian: The Institutes* (New York: The Newman Press, 2000), 3.

modern followers of St. Benedict.”⁵²² While it is difficult to prove the source of monasticism in Ireland, the influence of Cassian seems undeniable. However, the type of monasticism reflected in his writings is one of a backward gaze of the desert, twenty years removed. Although Cassian’s teachings had an impact in Ireland, the AB reflects an amalgam of cultural texts and that there were other influences on the Irish church, some of which are impossible to verify. More important is what Cassian precipitates and the unique character of Irish monasticism that looks back to the desert teachings but becomes relevant to the people of Ireland.

Penance and the ambiguity between public and private prayer, presented an interesting dynamic in desert monasticism. The nature of Columbanus’s rule and the penances associated with the ritual of the “Three Fifties,” and the recitation of up to fifty psalms, seem to capture the character of the Office.⁵²³ This view is one that infiltrates Irish interpretations of penance and the response of self-sacrifice witnessed in the Irish *peregrini*. But it is the ambiguity between the private and public nature of the monastic office that recalls “the ethos of the Desert Fathers.”⁵²⁴ Another priority in Irish monasticism was its emphasis on reading, writing, and books.⁵²⁵ In *Early Christian Ireland* Máire and Liam de Paor observe that unlike the Desert Fathers, “the Irish monks valued letters and learning.”⁵²⁶ The heart of the monastic community was prayer, penance, and learning. Exile was seen as a form of penance and “almost from the beginning the Irish monastic movements was a missionary movement.”⁵²⁷

⁵²² Goodrich, *Contextualizing Cassian*, 9.

⁵²³ Jeffery, “Eastern and Western Elements in the Prayer of the Hours,” 108.

⁵²⁴ Jeffery, “Eastern and Western Elements in the Prayer of the Hours,” 107.

⁵²⁵ For more on the importance of Irish literary culture see Kenny, *The Sources*, 622-744.

⁵²⁶ Máire and Liam de Paor, *Early Christian Ireland* (London: Thames and Hudson, [1958], 1964), 52.

⁵²⁷ M. and L. De Paor, *Early Christian Ireland*, 52.

3.4 The Hours of the Bangor Office

The liturgy of the hours consisted mainly of prayers and psalms, with collects, hymns, and lections. Although the AB does not give any information about the number of psalms that were used for each hour, much of the detail of the office is drawn from Columbanus's *Rule*. There were eight hours celebrated daily at Bangor: *secunda*, *terce*, *sect*, *none*, vespers, nightfall, midnight, and matins.⁵²⁸ Curran writes that an almost complete picture of the Irish Office in the seventh-century can be reconstructed: "Taken together, the Rule and the Antiphonary gives us an almost complete account of the monastic office at Bangor in the seventh century."⁵²⁹ However, it is important to recognize that this is information pieced together from what little can be known about the Bangor office. Although we can draw information about the organization of the office from Columbanus's Rule, how much was patterned on the Rule of Comgall in Bangor remains speculative and it is not known if Columbanus's *Rule* was instituted in Bangor.⁵³⁰ Peter Jeffery observes that "it is not known for certain that Columbanian monasticism was introduced into Ireland itself."⁵³¹ Therefore, what we have in the AB is an outline of a tradition that seems in the process of development.⁵³² Given that the AB appears to date from 680 – 691, it was written well after Columbanus had left Bangor. While Columbanus may have been shaped by

⁵²⁸ Reiterated from Curran, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, 160.

⁵²⁹ Curran, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, 166.

⁵³⁰ See Walker, ed., *Sancti Columbani Opera* (Dublin: The Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1970), xlviv-lv. In Walker's comments on Columbanus' *Regula Coenobialis* and *Penitential* he points to the work of J. Laporte who argued that "the first six chapters of the *Regula Monachorum* are no more than an abridgement of some work by Comgal," xlvii. As Walker's insightful observations indicate, there is no way of verifying this theory, nor is it possible to know for certain if Columbanus' Rule was introduced to Bangor, xlvii. For the discussion by Laporte see J. Laporte "Les Sources de la Biographie de Saint-Colomban," in *Mélanges Colombaniens. Actes du Congrès international de Luxeuil, 20-23 juillet, 1950* (Paris, Alsatia: Association des amis de St. Colomban, Luxeuil, 1951), 75-80 at 76.

⁵³¹ Jeffery, "Eastern and Western Elements in the Prayer of the Hours," 113.

⁵³² See Jeffery, "Eastern and Western Elements in the Prayer of the Hours," 115 and 116.

Comgall's strict Rule at Bangor, his years in Gaul were instrumental in developing his monastic tradition.

The Office at Bangor⁵³³ began with the first hour, *secunda*, and included collects, Ps. 89. Matins was divided into two sections. The day hours were comprised of three psalms, the *Gloria in excelsis* sung at vespers, a Collect, and the *Oratio communis*. The Office at Nightfall kept the following practice: twelve psalms, a Collect, a Devotional appendix that included intercessions for peace; Apostles' Creed; and Our Father. The Office at Midnight is the lightest with twelve psalms, a hymn and a Collect. A synopsis of the hours is as follows:

<i>ad secundam</i>	(Prime)	6 a.m.
<i>ad tertiam</i>	(Terce)	9 a.m.
<i>ad sextam</i>	(Sext)	12 noon
<i>ad nonam</i>	(None)	3 p.m.
<i>ad vespertinam</i>	(Vespers)	6 p.m.
<i>ad initium noctis</i>	(1 Nocturn)	9 p.m.
<i>ad medium noctis</i>	(2 Nocturn)	12 midnight
<i>ad matutinam</i>	(Lauds/Matins)	3 a.m. ⁵³⁴

The organization seems reflective of the Office hours as outlined in the *Rule of Saint Benedict* (ca. 530).⁵³⁵ What distinguishes the Irish Office is its demanding content and the use of hymns. In both the Antiphony and the *Rule* of Columbanus there is evidence of the fortitude of the Irish monks and the practice of dividing the Psalms throughout the night into groups of fifty.⁵³⁶ For example, Columbanus, as mentioned earlier, organized the 150 psalms into groups of 50,

⁵³³ Taken from Curran, *The Antiphony of Bangor*, 169 (Day Hours); 178 (Office of Nightfall); 180 (Office at Midnight); 184 (2nd part of the Matins).

⁵³⁴ Stevenson, "The Monastic Rules of Columbanus," 209. Curran notes that from the sets of collects in the AB, there were eight hours in the daily office at Bangor; see Curran, *The Antiphony of Bangor*, 160. The hours of Columbanus precede the AB. For detailed discussion and outlines see Jeffery, "Eastern and Western Elements in the Irish Monastic Prayer of the Hours," 99-143.

⁵³⁵ See for example Barbara Russano Hanning, *Concise History of Western Music*, 4th edition (New York: W. W. Norton, 2010), 31.

⁵³⁶ Jeffery, "Eastern and Western Elements in the Irish Monastic Prayer of the Hours," 102.

known as *chori*, which were sung over the course of a night.⁵³⁷ The recitation of the Psalms was integral to monastic life. Although the AB is not a complete service book, Edward Nowacki makes an interesting observation. Contrary to an earlier view held by Frederick Warren, that no psalm “is written down in extensor,”⁵³⁸ Nowacki observes otherwise:

A rare example of written-out psalmody with refrain may be found in the Antiphonary of Bangor (680-91), where the Canticle of Moses, “*Audite coeli quae loquor*,” is divided into paragraphs usually comprising two verses with a repetition of the refrain between each paragraph.⁵³⁹

The text is [AB 1] *Audite caeli*. Nowacki concludes that it is hard to make a generalization about the repetition style of the Irish Psalms but his study presents a compelling piece of evidence that suggests a performance style was in place at Bangor. For more concrete forms of repetition Nowacki points to evidence from the tenth century where musical notation and text informs practice.⁵⁴⁰ This is a refreshing approach to psalmody, as Nowacki has brought the Irish Psalm practice and the AB together into a discussion of the early Middle Ages. Given the insight into the AB and the monastery of Bangor, I now turn to the description of a church from *Hesperica Famina* and discuss what this information means in terms of the monastic culture of Bangor.

⁵³⁷ Jeffery, “Eastern and Western Elements in the Prayer of the Hours,” 102. See Robert Taft, “The Irish Monastic Cursus in St. Columban,” in *The Liturgy of the Hours in East and West: the Origins of the Divine Office and Its Meaning for Today* (Collegville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1986), 113-115.

⁵³⁸ Warren, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, Part II, 1895, p. xi.

⁵³⁹ Edward Nowacki, “Antiphonal Psalmody in Christian Antiquity and Early Middle Ages,” in *Essays on Medieval Music in Honor of David G. Hughes*, edited by Graeme M. Boone (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1995), 294, n 17.

⁵⁴⁰ Nowacki, “Antiphonal Psalmody in Christian antiquity,” 294, see note 17.

3.5 “De oratorio” of the *Hisperica Famina*

The *Hisperica Famina*⁵⁴¹ is an unusual collection of poems written in a style of Insular Latin known as “Hisperic.”⁵⁴² Linguistically awkward, and seemingly abstruse, the Latin has all the hallmarks of a hidden language.⁵⁴³ Scholars such as Michael Herren and Michael Winterbottom⁵⁴⁴ have studied this mysterious text and elucidated its peculiar vocabulary. Herren notes that while authors of literary texts were constantly perfecting their Latinity in order to avoid accusations of “rusticity,” as St. Patrick had suffered, there seems a deliberate attempt in the *Hisperica* to obscure the meaning of the language.⁵⁴⁵

The *Hisperica Famina* is one of the more obscure texts to survive from the early Christian period. As an example of an obscure type of insular Latin, the *Hisperica Famina* is thought to have originated in a monastic center already familiar with Latin phraseology, but skilled at extricating layers of meaning. A group of texts fall into what has been called a

⁵⁴¹ The *Hisperica Famina* has been edited by Michael Herren, *The Hisperica Famina: a new critical edition with English translation and philological commentary* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1974-1987). Kathleen Hughes and Ann Hamilin write that the text obviously describes a monastic milieu and believed that it was written in the seventh century. The text relies on Isidore of Seville whose writings were already known in Ireland. As Hughes notes: “The various exercise intended to teach the pupils advanced Latin are based on the ordinary experience of the student, the daily routine, the sky, the sea, the fire, the field, the wind, the book satchel, the writing –tablet, the church, prayer, and finally an attack by enemies on the settlement;” for this information and reference see Hughes and Hamlin, *Celtic Monasticism; The Modern Traveler to the Early Irish Church*, 52, “notes 52-3.

⁵⁴² Kenney, *The Sources*, 255; “In certain manuscripts of the ninth and tenth centuries are found fragments of a composition, or series of compositions, of curious Latinity, to which the title *Hisperica Famina* – “Western Sayings” – is given.”

⁵⁴³ James Kenney remarked that the Latin of these texts “is so strange as to from practically a secret language,” *The Sources*, 256. The comment is referenced again later in the chapter.

⁵⁴⁴ Michael Winterbottom, “On the *Hisperica Famina*,” *Celtica* 8 (1968), 126-139.

⁵⁴⁵ Herren, *The Hisperica Famina*, 44. For more on the awkward linguistic style of St. Patrick see A. B. E. Hood, ed. and trans., *St. Patrick: His Writing and Muirchu’s Life* (London: Phillimore, 1978). Here Hood observes that in the *Epistola* Patrick “repeatedly draws attention to his own lack of learning and culture, to the ‘rusticity’ of his Latin. For once this is not the Christian Latin author’s deliberate choice of the ‘lowly style’ (*sermo humilis*); nor is it the conventional self-abasing apology for poor style and grammatical inaccuracy even when neither is present. Patrick is struggling to express himself in a language which he has never wholly mastered,” 18.

“bizarre” form of Latin, of which the *Hisperica Famina* is the major source.⁵⁴⁶ Kathleen Hughes once remarked that the Irish “certainly had a taste for the fantastic,” but pointed out that such Hisperic style was not typical of the seventh-century Irishman’s Latin, noting that Columbanus, and some of the Bangor hymns display a very different literary style.⁵⁴⁷ Michael Herren dated the text to the mid-seventh-century and concluded that it was written by more than one author.⁵⁴⁸ Herren observed that “the whole history of Hisperic scholarship at times seems to vacillate between lunacy and despair.” Kenney stated that the Latin of this text was “so strange as to form practically a secret language.”⁵⁴⁹ And Stevenson judged that there was enough evidence to suggest that Bangor was the source of this style of erudite Latin, or put another way “this peculiar literary aberration.”⁵⁵⁰ As to the origins of the *Hisperica Famina* Herren saw the Hisperic phenomenon, as “the culling of the most learned and abstruse words and the coining of neologism and hybrids, as commencing in Wales around the middle of the sixth century, continuing in Iona at the end of that century and culminating in Ireland near the middle of the seventh century.”⁵⁵¹ Herren does not venture a definitive provenance of the text, but the Irish element is drawn into the literary circumference of the text.

⁵⁴⁶ Clancy and Márkus, *Iona: The Earliest Poetry of a Celtic Monastery*, 31. The other texts are the *Lorica* (Gildas) the *Rubisca* and the *Adelphus Adelpha Meter* (St. Omer Hymn); see Herren, *The Hisperica Famina*, 4. For more information on the related texts see Michael Herren, *The Hisperica Famina: II. Related Poems: A Critical Edition with English Translation and Philological Commentary* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1987). Here, the related poems are: the *Lorica of Laidcenn*, the *Leiden Lorica*, the *Rubisca*, and the *Adelphus Adelpha Meter*.

⁵⁴⁷ Kathleen Hughes, *The Church in Early Irish Society* (London: Methuen and Company, 1966), 98.

⁵⁴⁸ Herren, *The Hisperica Famina*, 1974.

⁵⁴⁹ Kenney, *The Sources*, 256.

⁵⁵⁰ Stevenson, “Bangor and the *Hisperica Famina*,” 212.

⁵⁵¹ Herren, *The Hisperica Famina*, 1974, 38-9.

The reference to “De oratorio” is valuable to gain an understanding of the inner *sanctum* of a medieval Irish church. As musicologists might consider the cathedrals of Santa Maria del Fiore in Florence⁵⁵² or Notre Dame in Paris⁵⁵³ as the edifice for the music of Divine worship, it is also important to envision the liturgy in the Irish church in just such a way; particularly since philologists and archaeologists point to the importance of this discovery.⁵⁵⁴ The study of chant has been enhanced by considering the performance space of the liturgy. When considering the chant books from the church of Santa Maria del Fiore, for example, the ornate manuscripts seem to demand the magnificence of a cathedral to capture the beauty resonating from the page.⁵⁵⁵ Supported by the Medici dynasty, the manuscripts were a reflection of power and wealth.⁵⁵⁶ In

⁵⁵² For examples of architecture and music see Marvin Trachtenberg, “Architecture and Music Reunited: A New Reading of Dufay’s ‘Nuper Rosarum Flores’ and the Cathedral of Florence,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 54/3 (Autumn 2001): 740-775, accessed January 15, 2010, <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/1261923>>; and Michael R. Dodds, “Plainchant at Florence’s Cathedral in the Late Seicento: Matteo Coferati and Shifting concepts of Tonal Space,” *The Journal of Musicology* 20/4 (Autumn 2003): 526-555, accessed January 20, 2010, <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/1555206>>.

⁵⁵³ See Craig Wright, *Music and Ceremony at Notre Dame of Paris, 500-1550* (Cambridge, England; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

⁵⁵⁴ This is hardly an extreme comparison: see Charles Doherty, “The Basilica in Early Ireland,” *Peritia* 3 (1984): 303-15. In discussing the meaning of “basilica” and other church references, Doherty draws attention to the wooden church: “We have of course the famous description by Cogitosus of the basilica at Kildare, which was of wood. But before dismissing the idea that it had no architectural connections with the great basilicas of the continent one might recall the ‘basiliques de bois’ discussed by Leclercq,” see 313, note 5. For the reference to basilicas see H. Leclercq, “Basilique,” *DAcL*, 525-602. For the description of the church interior found in Cogitosus’s *Life of St. Brigit*, see Sean Connelly and J.-M. Picard, “Cogitosus: *Life of Saint Brigit*,” *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 117 (1987), §32, “Of the Church Door,” 25-27. There are other important archaeological discoveries regarding Irish churches such as the retrieval of Vitruvian vases embedded in the walls of the church at Youghal, County Cork. The recovery of resonant chambers is rare in Ireland. For more information on the significance of this recovery see: E. Fitzgerald, “On Acoustic Vases and Other Relics Discovered in Restorations Lately Made in the Church of St. Mary, Youghal,” *Proceedings and Transactions of the Kilkenny and South-East of Ireland Archaeological Society* 3/2 (1855): 303-310, accessed January 15, 2010, <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/25493665>>; Dorothea Baumann and Barbara Haggh, “Musical Acoustics in the Middle Ages,” *Early Music* 18/2 (1990): 199-210, accessed January 15, 2010 <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/3127080>>; and Robert G. Arns and Bret E. Crawford, “Resonant Cavities in the History of Architectural Acoustics,” *Technology and Culture* 36/1 (1995): 104-135.

⁵⁵⁵ On the servicebooks of Santa Maria del Fiore see Marcia Tacconi, *Cathedral and Civic Ritual in Late Medieval and Renaissance Florence: The Servicebooks of Santa Maria del Fiore* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

⁵⁵⁶ For more on the Medici’s and Florence see Ferdinand Schevill, *The Medici* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, [1949] 1960; and Michael Levey, *Florence: A Portrait* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1996).

their sumptuous pages music is intricately entwined with the choral forces required to orchestrate the liturgy. Vaulted ceilings contributed to the acoustical space in which chant could be performed for the glory of God. But if this seems too elaborate a comparison with Ireland, the recovery of Vitruvian, or acoustical vases, which were embedded in the wall of the church of St. Mary's in Youghal, shows that architectural considerations were important in Ireland as in other parts of Europe.⁵⁵⁷ There are other Irish examples such as St. Brigit's Church in Cogitosus.⁵⁵⁸ More may be said on the subject but it is important to return to a discussion of the *Hisperica Famina*.

The passage refers to a wooden church and some technical elements regarding its structure. Not only have the authors described the interior of the church, but they have also made reference to the roof and the holy altar. The excerpt "De oratorio" is here presented with the phrase of interest in bold type:

⁵⁵⁷ See Fitzgerald, "On Acoustic Vases and Other Relics Discovered;" Baumann and Hagg, "Musical Acoustics in the Middle Ages;" and Arns and Crawford, "Resonant Cavities in the History of Architectural Acoustics."

⁵⁵⁸ See Carol Neuman De Vegvar, "Romanitas and Realpolitik in Cogitosus' Descript of the Church of St. Brigit, Kildare," in *The Cross Goes North: Processes of Conversion in Northern Europe, AD 300-1300*, edited by Martin Carver (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2003), 153-170. See Lisa Bitel, "Ekphrasis at Kildare: The Imaginative Architecture of a Seventh-Century Hagiographer," *Speculum* 79/3 (2004): 605-627.

De oratorio (About the Chapel)

This wooden oratory is fashioned out of candle-shaped beams;
it has sides joined by four-fold fastenings;
the square foundations of the said temple give it stability,
from which springs a solid beamwork of massive enclosure; 550
it has a vaulted roof above;
square beams are placed in the ornamented roof.
It has a holy altar in the center,
on which the assembled priest celebrate the Mass.
It has a single entrance from the western boundary, 555
which is closed by a wooden door that seals the warmth.
An assembly of planks comprises **the extensive portico**;
(or perhaps an extended portico or porch)⁵⁵⁹
there are four steeples at the top.
The chapel contains innumerable objects,
which I shall struggle to unroll from my wheel of words.⁵⁶⁰ 560

*Hoc arboreum candelatis plasmatum est oratorium tabulis,
gemellis conserta biiug[u]is artat latera;
quadrígona edicti stabilitant fundamenta templi,
quis densum globoso munimine crevit tabulatum, 550
supernam compaginat camaram,
quadrígona comptis plextra sunt sita tectis.
Ageam copulat in gremio aram,
cui collecti cerimoniant vates missam.
Unicum ab occiduo limite amplectitur ostium, 555
quod arborea strictis fotis cluditur regia.
Extensum tabulosa stipat porticum collectura,
quaternas summo nectit pinnas.
Innumera congellat plasmamina,
quae non loqueloſo explicare famulor turno.⁵⁶¹ 560*

The description offers a rare glimpse of the interior of a wooden Irish church. Lisa Bitel observes that not much of the early wooden churches have survived, as many remains have been

⁵⁵⁹ I appreciate Professor Herren's added insight into the text.

⁵⁶⁰ Michael Herren, "About the Chapel, in *The "Hisperica Famina": I. the A – Text: a New Critical Edition with English Translation and Philological Commentary* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1974), 109, lines 547-560.

⁵⁶¹ Herren, *The Hisperica Famina*, 108 (Latin), 109 (English). The word "porticus" is a fourth declension masculine "porticus, porticus" noun translated as "portico or colonnade" in D. A. Kidd, ed., *Collins Latin Gem Dictionary* (London; Glasgow: Collins, 1970), 253.

covered over by later stone buildings.⁵⁶² These buildings are interesting because the size of the monastic community seems at odds with the size of the church. For example, J. W. Hunwicke points out that the Stowe Missal provides evidence of “a liturgical culture in which the liturgical building was intended to house only the celebrant bishops and priest during the *Missa Fidelium*.”⁵⁶³ Hunwicke notes that because the evidence shows that the oratory was small, there is an assumption that not everyone was inside the church for mass. This raises questions about hymns used for processions and how the monastic community gathered to perform their liturgical rituals. Peter Harbison states that we must be “thankful to the author of the *Hisperica Famina* for the most extensive characterization available of an early wooden oratory.”⁵⁶⁴ However, there is more information that can be brought together that relates to music and how we might consider the Irish liturgy.

Typically, monasteries were places of prayer and devotion to God. The monastic domain often consisted of a walled enclosure around a cluster of buildings. As Ireland was a rural environment, the monastic community appears less ostentatious, as compared to those on the continent. A feature of the Irish monasteries was “the way in which their internal space became divided into more sacred and less sacred zones.”⁵⁶⁵ According to Margaret Dunn, while the main focus was the church, which may contain the relics of a saint, the building was surrounded

⁵⁶² Lisa A. Bitel, *Isle of the Saints: Monastic Settlement and Christian Community in Early Ireland* (Ithaca; New York; Cornell University Press, 1990), 72. While there is little remaining evidence of the architecture of the wooden church, postholes have been uncovered that give some idea of the size of the building; see Bitel 72.

⁵⁶³ J. W. Hunwicke, “Kerry and Stowe Revisited,” *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* (PRIA), Section C 102 (2002), 1.

⁵⁶⁴ Harbison, “Early Irish Churches,” 627.

⁵⁶⁵ Dunn, *The Emergence of Monasticism*, 152. On a recent study of the monastic church at Kildare depicted by Cogitosus see Neuman De Vegvar, “Romanitas and Realpolitik in Cogitosus’ Description of the Church of St. Brigit, Kildare,” 153-170. Here, Neuman de Vegvar argues for a new perspective of the church in light of Irish ecclesiastical architecture and seventh-century politics. The Roman architectural influence suggests that in reconstructing the monastic church, the builders departed from Irish church norms. The paper presents reconstruction diagrams that show the internal area for liturgical worship.

by a sacred space known as the *termonn* (from the Latin word *terminus*) that was in itself surrounded by a wall.⁵⁶⁶ In effect, there were three concentric circles that surrounded the “holiest of holies” that consisted of the inner sanctum – the church; the next – the *platea*; and the outer realm, where the workshops, artisans, and other buildings that accommodated visitors were located.⁵⁶⁷

In an article on the “De Oratorio” Niall Brady points out the architectural terms that appear in the text.⁵⁶⁸ In particular, the interpretation of the word “*porticus*” that has usually been translated as “side chapel or choir.”⁵⁶⁹ Often the evidence has suggested that single-celled church was the norm, but Herren’s work on the *Hisperica Famina* has brought out details about architecture seldom considered. The “extensive porticum” or “extensive portico or maybe extended porch” (line 557, in bold letters)⁵⁷⁰ suggests that there was another area in the church that served a liturgical function. The “internal divisions” within the building seem “integral to the liturgical programme.”⁵⁷¹ Brady’s discussion of the architectural implications of the word “*porticus*” raises questions about the space within the church and its liturgical function. Perhaps

⁵⁶⁶ Dunn, *The Emergence of Monasticism*, 152. For more information on the monastic enclosure see Bitel, *Isle of the Saints*, 57-82. Bitel states that each monastic church “was surrounded by a sanctuary called a *termonn* and that the presence of the saints’ relics added protection to this buffer zone between church and more profane spaces,” 73. For further information on Irish churches and monasteries see Michael Herity, “The Layout of the Irish Early Christian Monasteries,” in *Ireland und Europa/ Ireland and Europe: Die Kirche im Frühmittelalter/ The Early Church* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1984), 105-116; and Ann Hamlin, “The Study of Early Irish Churches,” in *Ireland und Europa/ Ireland and Europe: Die Kirche im Frühmittelalter/ The Early Church* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1984), 117-126.

⁵⁶⁷ Dunn, *The Emergence of Monasticism*, 152. Lisa Bitel notes that “the transitional area between the most sacred space of the church and the rest of the enclosure was usually an open *platea*, a square or courtyard,” see Bitel, *Isle of the Saints*, 76. See the discussion in Macdonald, “The Plate (ol) a Monasterii,” in “Aspects of the Monastery and Monastic life in Adomnán’s Life of Columba,” 293-297.

⁵⁶⁸ Niall Brady, “De Oratorio: *Hisperica Famina* and Church Building,” *Peritia* 11 (1997): 327, but see the complete article 327-335.

⁵⁶⁹ Brady, “De Oratorio,” 330.

⁵⁷⁰ I thank Professor Herren for his insight into this passage of text.

⁵⁷¹ Brady, “De Oratorio,” 332.

some churches were much larger in order to accommodate the whole community. Throughout the article Brady draws on other references such as the interpretation of the interior of the church depicted by Cogitosus in the *Life of St. Brigit*, to make comparisons of the architectural space.⁵⁷² Part of the difficulty is the meaning behind an “extensive plank-built *porticus*” that Herren has translated as “portico.”⁵⁷³ Brady concludes that this was some kind of chancel or choir area.⁵⁷⁴ Read this way “we may also be glimpsing more general aspects of the liturgy in the early Irish church.”⁵⁷⁵ Three references are significant to the architectural size of the church. The “vaulted roof” (556), and a “square foundation” (549) from which “springs a solid beam work of massive enclosure” (550) are descriptive details which seem to suggest a larger building than previously thought. Taken in sum Brady concludes that they may be “small points,” but these details are significant.⁵⁷⁶ The information seems vital to earlier discussions about the AB. Peter Harbison observes that Herren’s translation gives us “a hitherto apparently unutilised description of a wooden oratory in a monastic context which is very probably that of seventh century Ireland.”⁵⁷⁷ Is the author describing a real or an imagined church? The answer seems unclear. Still, these details provide an opportunity to consider elements of performance space seldom discussed in relation to the AB. There is also the reference to chanting in the *Hisperica Famina*:

⁵⁷² See De Vegvar, “Romanitas and Realpolitik in Cogitosus’ Description of the Church of St. Brigit, Kildare,” 153-170; and Bitel, “Ekphrasis at Kildare,” 605-627.

⁵⁷³ Brady, “De Oratorio,” 330.

⁵⁷⁴ Brady, “De Oratorio,” 332.

⁵⁷⁵ Brady, “De Oratorio,” 332.

⁵⁷⁶ Brady, “De Oratorio,” 334.

⁵⁷⁷ Harbison, “Early Irish Churches,” 626. Roger Stalley discusses the architecture of Irish churches with reference to the church description in the *Hisperica Famina*, see Roger Stalley, “Ecclesiastical architecture before 1169,” in *A New History of Ireland 1: Prehistoric and Early Ireland*, edited by Dáibhí Ó Cróinín (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 714-743 at 721-2.

Divide the chorus of the learned into four rhythms, 235
 Sing out a holy harmony for the abundance of food,
 So that wholesome strength may flow into our stomachs.

Doctoreum quaternis segregate chorum rithmis, 235
Ageum esciferas reboate concentum in copias,
*Ut salubrem propinaverit in precordiis suzum.*⁵⁷⁸

Herren asks: “To what do the quaternis rithmis refer?”⁵⁷⁹ The reference to “rhythms” is an interesting one. Should “rhythmis” be read literary, meaning a speed or tempo or, a poetical rhythm? If we reconstruct the scenario might this mean four-part harmony. Another reading might be four different groups of singers with separate parts which produce “a holy harmony”? Herren points to a comment made by J. M. Stowasser who thought the reference was to a “christliche Hymnus.”⁵⁸⁰ Herren also suggest that “rhythmis” could refer to *Adelphus Adelpha Meter* another poetic text with “hisperic” symptoms.⁵⁸¹ Evidently there were elements of performance practice behind the texts of the *Hisperica Famina*.⁵⁸² Given this insight into the architecture of the early Irish church, understanding the performance aspect of the liturgy seems more hopeful.

Although an exasperating form of Latin, the *Hisperica Famina* is less the product of unschooled linguists than of skilled experts. The cleverly constructed texts appear a subverted form of literary expression rather than a crude form of Latin. C. E. Roth concluded that the

⁵⁷⁸ Herren, *The Hisperica Famina*, 96 (Latin); 97 (English).

⁵⁷⁹ Herren, *The Hisperica Famina*, 170, note 280.

⁵⁸⁰ Herren, *The Hisperica Famina*, 170, note 280 to accompanying lines of text. For the reference to “christliche Hymnus,” see J. M. Stowasser, ed., “Incerti auctoris Hisperica Famina,” *Dreissigster Jahresbericht über das K. K. Franz-Josef Gymnasium in Wien* (1887) (The Vatican Text).

⁵⁸¹ Herren, *The Hisperica Famina*, 170, note 280. For more the poem Michael Herren, ed. and trans., “Adelphus Adelpha Meter,” *The Hisperica Famina*, 2: Related Poems, Studies and Texts – Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 85 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1987), 104-111 and 171-91.

⁵⁸² Herren, *The Hisperica Famina*, 170. I would like to thank Professor Herren for the reference and a discussion of the text.

Hisperica Famina was the product “of a Christianized but distinctively Irish culture which, unfortunately for the historian, cannot be precisely dated to the mid-seventh century.”⁵⁸³

Professor Herren has dated the *Hisperica Famina* from 636 to 690.⁵⁸⁴ Whoever composed the text was familiar with the monastic environment including the architecture.

There is also another interesting Bangor connection that was mentioned at the beginning of the chapter. Jane Stevenson argues that a collect from the AB is “Hisperic” and has links with the *Hisperica Famina*. The collect is [AB 94] *Super Cantemus Domino* (ff 28v-29r):

*Domine, qui Cinchrim fugientes tueris bis senas per invisā tribus æmulum itinera, prius fluctibus in binis montium utrimque redactis celsorum, ceu jugis abrupte arentibus talis æquore murum quasi et de petra lymphas producens: mergatur, ergo ut olim piorum supplicium hostis aeterni, quaesumus, statores curruum, quod est cujus afflatus actusque cum cogitatu celeri nequam sit Pharaoni; rex Israelem verum quae unda salvat, ut Christo carmina canat per saecula, qui cum patre vivit, & c.*⁵⁸⁵

One suggestion to explain this literary phenomenon may be that the linguistic intricacies were still in process and that the syntax was yet to be perfected. On the other hand, Stevenson concludes that Bangor is “likely” the “main center” for this stylistic development as the monastery was of particular importance in the formation of this literary style.⁵⁸⁶ Although her thesis involves the consideration of other texts and stylistic implications that are beyond the scope of this dissertation, the main conclusion Stevenson comes to is that the seventh-century

⁵⁸³ C. E. Roth, “Some Observations on the Historical Background of the *Hisperica Famina*,” *Ériu* 29 (1978), 122. Professor Herren suggests 636 x 690 for the dates of the *Hisperica Famina*.

⁵⁸⁴ I thank Professor Herren for the dates.

⁵⁸⁵ Warren, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, Part II, 28.

⁵⁸⁶ Stevenson, “Bangor and the *Hisperica Famina*,” *Peritia* 6-7 (1987-88), 212.

“Hisperic” literature “was not an important model for the development of Hiberno-Latin” but was rather a “minor literary movement” and that the “locus of hisperic activity was Bangor.”⁵⁸⁷

If the *Hisperica Famina* was written at Bangor, as Stevenson suggests, does the description of the wooden chapel reflect the monastery of Bangor? Might it be possible to envision the sacred space in which the AB may have been used as a type of choirbook? I believe these are important questions.

Although Michael Herren did not wish to comment on the importance of this passage for archeologists, conceding that this was outside the scope of his study, his comments are significant: “[...] I believe that the A-text of the *Hisperica Famina* provides solid literary evidence for the existence of wooden churches with central altars in Ireland in the middle of the seventh century.”⁵⁸⁸ Given this information, it is hard to ignore its significance to musicologists. Stevenson more than suggests that Antiphonary of Bangor was “almost certainly written at Bangor” because it contains so much information relevant to the monastery and that there was a style of writing that went out to other centers “linked by ties of friendship or scholarly interest.”⁵⁸⁹ In other words, there was a literary practice cultivated at Bangor that “spread out from there” to other centers that were linked “by friendship or scholarly interest.”⁵⁹⁰ What this suggests is that there was a particular literary style that developed at Bangor and “spread out from there to other centers linked by ties of friendship or scholarly interests.”⁵⁹¹ Stevenson’s

⁵⁸⁷ Stevenson, “Bangor and the *Hisperica Famina*,” 212.

⁵⁸⁸ Herren, *The Hisperica Famina*, 1974, 187, note 544. See also Bitel, “Ekphrasis at Kildare: The Imaginative Architecture of a Seventh-Century Hagiographer,” 605-627.

⁵⁸⁹ Stevenson, “Bangor and the *Hisperica Famina*,” 213.

⁵⁹⁰ Stevenson, “Bangor and the *Hisperica Famina*,” 213.

⁵⁹¹ Stevenson, “Bangor and the *Hisperica Famina*,” 213.

theory may need further study, but her conclusion is important and draws attention to the literary milieu of Bangor.

While the terms used in the description are “familiar enough to the philologists” it proves the importance of expanding research that includes texts that reveal more of “the Irish context.”⁵⁹² The evidence of the AB, the *Hisperica Famina*, and its description of the church, collectively seem to add to Bangor’s importance in the early medieval period. While there remain questions about the origin of the *Hisperica Famina* that at least one scholar has pointed to Bangor as a source of this literary phenomena, is significant. Roth observes that there is more in the *Hisperica Famina* to interest scholars than “merely curious vocabulary” and that the text is a “rich source of information about early Irish culture.”⁵⁹³ Indeed, it is important to consider the work of scholars who have delved into texts such as the *Hisperica Famina* to gain greater insight into monastic culture. By gathering together the various strands of evidence that represent the liturgy, literature, and learning linked to Bangor, more of its history is revealed. Seldom, for example, is the sacred space of the Irish church drawn into a musicological discussion of the AB. If the remnants of Bangor are not in brick and mortar, or for that matter, wooden beams, perhaps the best evidence is the Antiphony of Bangor, “an impressive witness to the simple liturgical life” but that is now “one of the chief glories of the Biblioteca Ambrosiana.”⁵⁹⁴

⁵⁹² Brady, “De Oratorio,” 326 and reiterated on 334 at the conclusion of the article.

⁵⁹³ Roth, “Some observations on the Historical Background of the *Hisperica Famina*,” 122.

⁵⁹⁴ Aubrey Gwynn, “The Irish Monastery of Bangor,” *The Irish Ecclesiastical Record* 74 (1950), 394.

3.6 Conclusion

In this chapter I have brought together important information pertaining to the monastery of Bangor. I have provided a history of Bangor that served as a preface to monastic development and the influence of desert monasticism in Ireland. Next, I considered the Bangor Office in relation to Columbanus' *Rule* and the writings of Cassian. Finally, I presented a description of a wooden church from the *Hisperica Famina* and discussed the implications of this reference. While it is impossible to know the kinds of books that were available in the reputed library of Bangor,⁵⁹⁵ something of its rigorous teachings permeates the life of Columbanus, the AB, and the educational style that may resonate in the *Hisperica Famina*.⁵⁹⁶ By focusing on Bangor and Irish monasticism, I have drawn together information that provides insight to the culture of Bangor. If the wooden church was constructed as described in the *Hisperica Famina*, then there seems to have been provision made for the performance of the liturgy, and where a hebdomadarian would have need of just such a service book as the AB. This brings us back to Cabrol's theory about the AB as a type of choirbook. The hymns, the antiphons, the readings, the prayers would have been performed in the church, but given its organization, it. Although the evidence needs further study, is it possible to understand more of liturgical traditions of Ireland? For the Irish church is "enriched by the new devotional forms," which are "the hymns and prayers of the Antiphonary."⁵⁹⁷ But the style of liturgy was not confined to Bangor,

⁵⁹⁵ On the library at Bangor see Stevenson, "Bangor and *Hisperica Famina*," 212. In discussing the literary influences on the authors of the *Hisperica Famina* Jane Stevenson writes that that the library of Bangor would have included "all the kinds of sources used by the faminators – Isidore, Jerome, Sedulius and so forth as well as Gildas. It is an entirely plausible place for a literary fashion to start," 212.

⁵⁹⁶ Marilyn Dunn suggests that the *Hisperica Famina* illustrates the teaching methods of the time, in what she describes as a parody of the question-and-answer technique;" see Dunn, *The Emergence of Monasticism*, 153.

⁵⁹⁷ Curran, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, 195.

particularly when Irish monasticism was exported to the continent with the *peregrini*, several of whom hailed from the “great Irish monastery of Bangor.”⁵⁹⁸

⁵⁹⁸ See Culhane, “The Bangor Hymn to Christ the King,” 207.

Chapter 4

A History of the Hymn and What Happened in Ireland

Be thou my vision, O Lord of my heart,
Naught be all else to me save that Thou art;
Thou my best thought in the day and the night,
Waking or sleeping, Thy presence my light.⁵⁹⁹

In his book *Words and Music in the Middle Ages* John Stevens observes hymns have “a less central place in medieval Catholic than in Protestant worship.”⁶⁰⁰ While there may be several reasons for this modern outcome, hymns are an obvious feature of the AB. As Michael Curran notes: “The extensive use of verse in the Antiphony is, therefore, a reflection of the importance attached to verse in Ireland as the privileged medium of literary expression for every subject.”⁶⁰¹ Still, there was much more poetic license in early Latin hymnody than in the hymns of either the Catholic or the Protestant Churches.⁶⁰² Stevens has drawn attention to a dichotomy in denominational hymnody that perhaps speaks more to a later outcome. In reality, the

⁵⁹⁹ The hymn “Be Thou My Vision,” is also no. 351 in the *Irish Hymnal with Tunes* (Dublin: Association for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1920) and sung to the tune “Slane” – 10 10 10 10 meter. Monica Nevin, “Rab Tú Mu Baili,” *Éigse* 2 (1940), 116. The Irish translation: “*Rab tú mu baili, a Choimdhiu cridhi:ní ní neach aili, acht Rí seacht nimhi.Rab tú mu sgrutain hi llo is a n-aidchi; rob tú adcheur im cotlad caidhche,*” 116. See Gerard Murphy, ed., “Be Thou my Vision,” *Early Irish Lyrics; Eighth to Twelfth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956, 1977), 43-44, note 18, 190-91: the manuscript source is the National Library of Ireland MS. 3, f. 22 (formerly Phillipps Collections, 7022) a sixteenth-century manuscript. The prayer is from the Middle Irish period; see Monica Nevin, “Rab Tú Mu Baili,” 114-16; and Mary E. Byrne, “A Prayer,” *Ériu* 2 (1905): 89-91. The prayer also bears attributes of a *lorica* in the use of the repetitive phrase “be thou my” invoking the power of the Lord used as an incipit in verses 1 through 10. Cf. Geróid S. Mac Eoin, “Invocation of the Forces of Nature in the Loricae,” *Studia Hibernica* 2 (1962): 212-217; and Jennifer Karyn Reid, “Patrician and Augustinian Ideas of the ‘Inner Man’,” *Journal of Medieval Latin* 20 (2010): 16-37.

⁶⁰⁰ John Stevens, “Speech and Melody: Gregorian Chant,” *Words and Music in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 268, for chapter 268-307. Joseph Szövérfy observes that a definition of a hymn may compromise both earlier and later practices, and suggests that there are interconnections between the style of hymn that encompasses liturgical and non-liturgical texts; see Szövérfy, *Latin Hymns* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 1989), 29-31 and 93-96. Although hymns may not have been central in Catholic worship, there are several poetic elements in the liturgy that lent itself to this style of composition in early Ireland. Pertaining to music Szövérfy writes: “Musicologists often restrict the term “hymn” to the Office, i.e. Breviary hymns, thus excluding the sequences or Mass hymns from the scope of hymns,” 30.

⁶⁰¹ Curran, *The Antiphony of Bangor*, 21.

⁶⁰² Szövérfy, *Latin Hymns*, 70.

boundary between sacred and secular texts was more permeable in the early period. Still, liturgical variants⁶⁰³ are significant, and need to be considered in the wider context of regional developments. Certainly as an Irish service book, the AB reveals “the impact of the Latin Christian tradition on the developing Irish Church.”⁶⁰⁴ In this respect, the Irish church was asserting itself within the greater Christian world.

In discussing the hymn, then, it seems important to pry it from its religious moorings, in order to see the genre in a larger context. The particular ways in which hymns were used in secular and sacred society is an interesting one, with no lack of musical drama. Why did hymns become less central in the Catholic Church, when the opposite appears to be the case in Ireland? By unraveling the history I will show that the Irish hymn followed its own trajectory, enabled by a culture that took delight in the written and spoken word.

In Ireland an important influence on the style of Irish were the *filid*. The *filid*⁶⁰⁵ or learned class, were educated in poetics and indigenous verse was their province. Liam Breatnach’s study of the Old Irish text known as *Uraicecht na Riar* shows the importance of the seven grades of *filid*.⁶⁰⁶ Their knowledge was instrumental in the flourishing of religious poetry in Ireland. In many respects the *filid* embodied an oral and written tradition that is intimately

⁶⁰³ The idea of variants derives from Andrew Hughes and the introductory chapter in *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office: A Guide to their Organization and Terminology* (Toronto; Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1982), xxvii-xl. Joseph Szövérfy observes that Latin hymnody of the Middle Ages is mostly liturgical poetry and was not the result of a centralized ecclesiastical activity, but showed many divergences and discrepancies which are reflected in the diffusion of hymns; see Szövérfy, *Latin Hymns*, 73.

⁶⁰⁴ Curran, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, 85.

⁶⁰⁵ Gerard Murphy, *Early Irish Metrics* (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 1961), 87. The word *fili* (Irish, sing.) means “learned poet.” Curran explains that the learned class was variously described as: the *fili*, a seer or poet, the *breitheamh*, a judge, and a *bard*, a poet or minstrel. The “Order of Poets” was the *filid* that comprised the tradition of native learning; see Curran, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, 199, note 6.1; as well as 20-21.

⁶⁰⁶ Liam Breatnach, ed., *Uraicecht na Riar: The Poetic Grades in Early Irish Law* (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advance Studies, 1987), xi.

reflected in Irish literature.⁶⁰⁷ This is an intricate subject but so much is missed in the study of music if we pass over the highly educated society into which Christianity was planted. As seers and keepers of traditional ways of composing poetry, their influence is reflected in the hymns of the AB. Apart from the hymns there is also the *lorica*,⁶⁰⁸ a type of charm, as noted earlier that also influenced the style of religious prose discussed later in the chapter.

Irish literature is complex and a specialized field of study. As neither a Latinist nor a Celtic scholar, I can in no wise do justice to these specialized areas. However, in tracing musical evidence in medieval Ireland the research overlaps with other areas of Irish culture.⁶⁰⁹ Ultimately, it is important to understand the factors that contributed to the reception of the hymn in Ireland.⁶¹⁰ It must be acknowledged even terms such as “rhetoric” (sometimes spelt

⁶⁰⁷ These ideas derive from several sources: Margaret Dunn, *The Emergence of Monasticism: From the Desert Fathers to the Early Middle Ages* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2000); Clancy and Márkus, *Iona: The Earliest Poetry of a Celtic Monastery*; Adomnán of Iona, *Life of St Columba*, translated by Richard Sharpe (London, England: Penguin Books, 1995).

⁶⁰⁸ A “lorica” is a form of cursing and the *loricae*, or the hymns of the breastplate, are considered “charm-hymn,” see Eleanor Hull, “Hymns (Irish Christian), §3, Loricæ,” *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, edited by James Hastings (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1920), 27-8. Pádraig Ó Neill notes that in Celtic Christianity, private devotions took on a freedom of expression. One such innovation was the *lorica*, “a formulaic prayer, often written in pedantic language and couched in urgent and effusive terms that implored protection.” In these prayers, they were usually attributed to a saint and were “invested with the superstitious efficacy of magical incantation.” There were other forms – as litanies, the hymns attributed to a powerful Celtic saint, and private recitation of the psalms, especially Psalm 118, the *Beati*,” for this information and the quotation see Ó Neill, “Celtic Church,” *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, edited by Joseph R. Strayer, volume 3 (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1983), 231. See also Osborn Bergin, *Irish Bardic Poetry: Texts and Translations, Together with an Introductory Lecture*, with a foreword by D. A. Binchy; compiled and edited by David Greene and Fergus Kelly (Dublin: The Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1984).

⁶⁰⁹ For knowledge of the *filid* I have used Curran’s references in his study of the Antiphony of Bangor as a reference to probe the significance of the poet class to Irish versification. There are several studies available. For further sources see Eleanor Knott, *Irish Classical Poetry* (Dublin: Published for the Cultural Relations Committee of Ireland by Colm O’Lochlainn, at The Sign of the Three Candles, 1957); and Doris Edel, *The Celtic West and Europe: Studies in Celtic Literature and the Early Irish Church* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2001).

⁶¹⁰ See the remarks in Murphy, *Early Irish Metrics*, 7, and the definition of rhetoric in terms of Irish verse: The origin of rhetoric suggests that it is “less reliant on an imitation of Latin models and may best be looked on as based on the utterances of ancient *filid* (etymologically ‘seers’) in their mantic capacity of *fáithi* or ‘prophets’, while the more or less regularly stressed regularly alliterated verse [...] may be looked on as typical of the poems of ancient *filid* or *bard* in their capacity of poets composing verse designed to give pleasure.” The stages in the development of Irish poetry are complex. What is important is that the type of versification evident in the AB draws on the oral practice of the *filid* and must be examined within its cultural milieu. Rhetoric has special meaning in

“retoiric”) have special meaning in Irish poetry and require careful consideration by experts to unpack the significance of the texts.⁶¹¹ However, it may be granted that the poetic tradition had an enduring impact on Irish literary arts. In their artistry, the Hiberno-Latin hymns have been described as “verbal music.”⁶¹² Although hymns were not always written to be sung, there seems more evidence to support the theory that the AB was more than a collection of religious poetry, as Cabrol’s theory might suggest.

4.1 The Early History of the Hymn

Hymns are defined as “a wide variety of songs in honour of gods, heroes or notable men.”⁶¹³ Put another way, a hymn describes a type of “metrical, strophic, and liturgical verse written in praise of God.”⁶¹⁴ In the early church, sources confirm the place of inspirational song. For example, the scriptural reference to Jesus and the gathering of the disciples in the upper room not only brings together the central elements that became the ritual of Christian liturgy, but the

Irish poetry and requires careful consideration which is beyond the scope of this discussion. For a recent study on rhetoric and Bardic poetry in the High Middle Ages see Michelle O Riordan, *Irish Bardic Poetry and Rhetorical Reality* (Cork: Cork University Press, 2007).

⁶¹¹ For more on rhetorical devices in Irish poetry see Gerard Murphy, *Early Irish Metrics* (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, [1961] 1973), 2-7 and the discussion of “Retoiric”. Note the spelling here of the term “retoiric” in the section.

⁶¹² Thomas Finan, “Hiberno-Latin Christian Literature,” in *An Introduction to Celtic Christianity*, edited by James P. Mackey (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1989), 75.

⁶¹³ Warren Anderson, “Hymns: (1) Ancient Greek,” *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, edited by Stanley Sadie, vol. 8 (Washington, DC: Macmillan, 1980), 836. (836-851). For an overview see “Hymns,” *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, edited by F. L. Cross and E. A. Livingstone (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 809-812. For in-depth studies of the hymn form see Joseph Szövérfy, *Latin Hymns* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 1989).

⁶¹⁴ Harper, *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy*, 302.

verses also record the use of a hymn at the paschal meal: “And when they had sung a hymn, they went out to the Mount of Olives.”⁶¹⁵ That they “sang a hymn” demonstrates that there was a precedent for such a devotional response; the roots of the practice were in the synagogue, where communal singing was part of the Jewish tradition.⁶¹⁶ Interestingly, in the Book of Kells, dated from the late eighth or early ninth centuries, the epitaph on folio 114r depicting the arrest of Christ reads:

Et ymno dicto exierunt in montem oliveti
And after reciting a hymn, they went out to Mount Olivet.⁶¹⁷

The word “dicto” translated here as “reciting” seems to negate the aspect of singing, but the Bible reference is given prominence on the illuminated page calling attention to the last supper, the source of the ritual of the mass. The Eastern Church had an established tradition of using a style of short hymnic prayers known as *troparia* that became more elaborate, and influenced the development of the hymn in the West.⁶¹⁸ The Jewish tradition of singing Psalms and hymns provided a model for the liturgical practices that developed in the early church. But even in

⁶¹⁵ Matthew 26: 30; cf. Mark 14: 26. Another biblical references to the singing is Ephesians 5: 18-19, “And do not be drunk with wine, in which is dissipation; but be filled with the Spirit, speaking to one another in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, singing and making melody in your heart to the Lord.” See Josef A. Jungmann, *The Early Liturgy: To the Time of Gregory the Great* (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1959), 12: “At the last supper, at the paschal meal, He [Jesus] had sung with them the great *Hallel*; “after the hymn” – *ymno dicto*, as the evangelist puts it – He went with them to the Mount of Olives. Precisely by the institution of the Eucharist at the Last Supper He created that center of unity around which they were to assemble for common prayer and common sacrifice, for the liturgy of the new and eternal Testament.”

⁶¹⁶ Christopher Page, *The Christian West and Its Singers: The First Thousand Years* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2010), 30 and 42. Mary Berry notes that in the early centuries, the Psalms were regarded as hymns and that the *Hallel* group – Psalms 113-118 – which was sung or recited at Jewish festivals, are associated with the hymn sung at the Last Supper; see Mary Berry, “Hymns,” *The New Westminster Dictionary of Liturgy and Worship*, edited by Paul Bradshaw (Louisville; London: Westminster John Know Press, 2002), 239.

⁶¹⁷ Carol Farr, *The Book of Kells: Its Function and Audience* (Toronto; Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 104. For an image of the illuminated folio see Plate III, 35.

⁶¹⁸ J. R. Watson, “Hymns,” *The Oxford Companion to Christian Thought: Intellectual, Spiritual, and Moral Horizons of Christianity*, edited by Adrian Hasting, Alistair Mason, and Hugh Pyper (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 317. The troparion was the earliest form of Byzantine hymnography and was originally a short prayer

Ireland, recitation such as the poetry of the *filid* had a performative aspect that is blended in the liturgy of the Irish church.

Although the hymn has its origins in the Jewish synagogue, its main period of development was the fourth century in Roman Syria in the context of the Arian Controversy. The Arians (whence Arianism)⁶¹⁹ held a theological view that opposed the doctrine of the Trinity, which clashed with the orthodoxy of the early Christian Church. During this period Gnostic leaders⁶²⁰ such as Basilides (second century)⁶²¹ and Valentinus (second century),⁶²²

typically sung after a verse of the Psalms. “Troparia as short monostrophic hymns were incorporated into the vast musical forms of the *kontakon* and *kanōn*”; for this information and quote, see Dimitrie Stefanović, “Troparion,” in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, edited by Stanley Sadie, volume 19 (London: Macmillan, 1980), 172.

⁶¹⁹ The Arians, followers of Arius, were involved in a dispute with the bishop Alexander in the fourth century concerning “the divine nature of God, the Father, and the relationship of the Son” and the reason for the Council of Nicaea in 325 AD under the Emperor Constantine; see Maurice Wiles, “Arianism,” *The Oxford Companion to Christian Thought: Intellectual, Spiritual, and Moral Horizons of Christianity*, edited by Adrian Hastings, Alistair Mason and Hugh Pyper (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 37-8. A major opponent of Arianism was Athanasius who used the term “homoousios” to convey the counter doctrine of consubstantiation; see “Arianism,” *Dictionary of the Christian Church*, edited by F. L. Cross and E. A. Livingstone (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1997), 99, but complete article 99-100. See also J. M. Carmody, “Homoousios,” *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, edited by Berard L. Marthaler, volume 7, (Washington, D. E.: Thomson Gale in association with The Catholic University of America, 2003), 65-66, for his discussion of the term before and after Nicaea I. Also see *The Oxford Handbook of Early Christian Studies*, edited by Susan Ashbrook Harvey and David Hunter (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

⁶²⁰ The Greek words *gnosis* meaning “knowledge” and *gnostes* meaning “knower” were drawn upon to construct the term Gnosticism in the 18th century. The label has become an “ill-defined category” and much debated, but has refers to the philosophical and religious differences in the early Church; see Paul Mirecki, “Gnosticism, Gnosis,” *Eerdmans Dictionary of the Bible*, edited by David Noel Freedman et al. (Grand Rapids, MI; Cambridge, U.K.: William B. Eerdmans Publishing, 2000), 508-9. As one scholar puts it: “Gnosticism is the modern designation of an apparently widespread religious phenomenon of late antiquity which in some ways is similar to the New Age movements of today, not least in difficulty of definition,” see Alastair H. B. Logan, “Gnosticism,” *The Oxford Companion to Christian Thought: Intellectual, Spiritual, and Moral Horizons of Christianity*, edited by Adrian Hastings, Alistair Mason and Hugh Pyper (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 268, whole article, 268-69. The biblical reference is found in 1 Timothy 6:20: “Guard what was committed to your trust, avoiding the profane and vain babblings and contradictions of what is falsely called knowledge” has been interpreted as “Gnosticism”. For further commentary see “1 & 2 Timothy” *The New Interpreter’s Bible*, edited by Leander E. Keck et al., volume 11 (Nashville, TN: 2000), 830, and for 1 Timothy 775-831. The Gnostics were a Christian-Hellenistic sect and this made the theological tensions even more extreme. A Gnostic Psalter was written by Bardesanes (d. 223) and his son Harmonious that consisted of versified paraphrases of the Psalms. By the Council of Antioch in 269, hymns were increasingly used by Christians, but, as has been mentioned earlier, they

became prominent figures in promoting a controversial doctrinal stance that questioned the relationship of the Son to the Father and the equanimity of the Trinity.⁶²³ In this crucible of philosophically charged debates, new compositions were written to express these philosophical thoughts and ideas: a type of “versified sermon,” or a “statement of theological position.”⁶²⁴ If “hymnodic warfare” prevailed in the day, it was due to the zeal with which each faction waged its defense. Hymns, already in use in the synagogue, became a tool of propaganda. Helped, in part, by notable figures: such as Bardasanes (154-222) and his son Harmonius, whom the Greek historian Sozomen (*ca.* 400- *ca.* 450)⁶²⁵ described as “originating a heresy in vernacular verse.”⁶²⁶ These verses were then distributed and were “to be sung by the choirs.”⁶²⁷ Such

were a controversial mode of expression; for this information see Willi Apel, “Hymns,” in *Gregorian Chant* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1958), 421.

⁶²¹ The life of Basilides is difficult to trace. He was a main figure in the Gnostic school in Alexandria. Known primarily as a philosopher, his doctrines appear to have been difficult to understand and thus, were short-lived, although, influential; for this information see G. W. Macrae, “Basilides,” *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, edited by Berard L. Marthaler, volume 2 (Washington, D. C.: Thomson Gale in association with The Catholic University of America, 2003), 148-9.

⁶²² As with Basilides, the known facts about Valentinus’ life are sketchy. He was a prominent Gnostic leader, born in Egypt and schooled at Alexandria. He wrote letters, homilies, and psalms of which only a few survive “in *Stromata* of Clement of Alexandria and in other patristic sources,” and who was more of a “mystic than a theologian,” see G. W. Macrae, “Valentinus,” *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, edited by Berard L. Marthaler, volume 14 (Washington, D.C.: Thomson Gale in association with The Catholic University of America, 2003), 374 for the quotations, but see whole article 372-3.

⁶²³ The doctrine of the triune God is one of the fundamental tenets of the early Christian faith. The doctrine is reiterated in the Nicene Creed and the Athanasian Creed; see David F. Wright, “Trinity,” *Encyclopedia of Early Christianity*, edited by Everett Ferguson, volume 2 (New York; London: Garland, 1997), 1142.

⁶²⁴ Stevenson, “Hiberno-Latin Hymns,” 100. For information on the Gnostic hymns that have been preserved as well as a hymn by Valentinus, see Ferguson, “Hymns,” *Encyclopedia of Early Christianity*, 544, and article 548-550.

⁶²⁵ For information on Sozomen see F. Chiovaro, “Sozomen,” *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, edited by Berard L. Marthaler, volume 13 (Washington, D. C.: Thomson Gale in association with the Catholic University of America, 2003), 372. Sozomen was born near Gaza in Palestine and died in Constantinople. He was a contemporary of Socrates.

⁶²⁶ For the reference to Bardaisan (154-222) and Sozomen (*ca.* 400-*ca.* 450, see Stevenson, “Hiberno-Latin Hymns,” 100, note 4. I have followed up the reference and provide the expanded, relevant passage. Sozomen provides insight into tensions that underlay this controversial period and why the type of verse was considered a

sources of musical inspiration could not fail to attract attention, and appealed to rhetorists on all sides of the Arian debates.

As noted earlier, some of the hymns in the AB convey a Trinitarian *topos*.⁶²⁸ Although written well after the Arian Controversy, the Irish authors are aware of the divinity of Christ and captured the essence of their belief in literary form. In writing hymns, the Irish became participants in the wider Christian Church. By asserting their faith in poetic form they were also invoking the spirit of God as worthy recipients of divine power. These are more than esoteric ideas. The hymns suggest statements of faith. For example, in *Hymnus Sancti Camelaci* [AB 15] the closing two stanzas encapsulate the author's belief and emphasizing the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit:

heresy. See *The Ecclesiastical History of Sozomen, Comprising a History of the Church, From A. D. 324 to A. D. 440*, translated from the Greek: with a memoir of the author, also *The Ecclesiastical History of Philostorgius*, as epitomised by Photius, Patriarch of Constantinople, translated by Edward Walford (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1855), §III: 16, 135: "I am not ignorant that there were some very learned men who flourished in Osroene, as, for instance, Bardasanes, who originated a heresy designated by his name, and Harmonius his son. It is related that this latter was deeply versed in Grecian erudition, and was the first to compose verses in his vernacular language; those verses he delivered to the choirs, and even now the Syrians frequently sing, not the precise verses written by Harmonius, but others of the same metre. For as Harmonius was not altogether free from the errors of his father, and entertained various opinions concerning the soul, the generation and destruction of the body, and the doctrine of transmigrations, which are taught by the Greek philosophers, he introduced some of these sentiments in the lyrical songs which he composed." Sozomen is writing after the fact and *The Ecclesiastical History* appears to have been commenced in 443; see 6. Osroene (or Osrhoene) was located in Mesopotamia between the River Euphrates and the River Khabur. Its ancient capital was Edessa. An important discovery was the inscriptions of early Syriac script. For this information and the commentary on the inscriptions, see Han J. W. Drijvers, and John F. Healey, *The Old Syriac Inscriptions of Edessa and Osrhoene: Texts, Translations and Commentary* (Leiden; Boston; Köln: Brill, 1999), xiv, xv, and 1-3.

⁶²⁷ *The Ecclesiastical History of Sozomen*, §III: 16, 135.

⁶²⁸ See the Patrician texts, Ludwig Bieler, *Libri epistolarum Sancti Patricii Episcopi*, 2 volumes (Dublin: Stationary Office, 1952).

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|----|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 5. | <i>Regem Dominum aspexit
Salvatoremque suum:
Tribuit huic aeternam
Vitam cum fidelibus.</i> | He looked to the Lord the King
and his Saviour:
To this man God granted
Life with the faithful. |
| 6. | <i>Xps illum insinuavit
Patriarchae Abrahae.
In paradiso regnavit
Cum sancto Lazaro.</i> | Christ placed him among
the patriarch Abraham.
He will reign in paradise
With the holy Lazarus. ⁶²⁹ |

Not only is faith confirmed, but the author places Camelacus in the company of the patriarch Abraham, sealing the heavenly relationship and his eternal reward.⁶³⁰ Curran observes that in the hymns there is “a strong awareness of the great gifts of God, the grace and power of Christ” and the need “for a generous and enthusiastic response of praise and commitments.”⁶³¹ The transmission of a Trinitarian *topos* becomes transmogrified in the Irish hymn and takes on its own unique character. The emphasis on the Trinity also reveals the author’s theological ideas that would resonate in the monastic community and solidify the worshipping body of believers. The Trinitarian *topos* is a further indicator of doctrinal beliefs; an affirmation expressed in literary form. Another example, discussed previously, is *Hymnum dicat turba fratrum* [AB 2]. Here, as with the other hymns, the authors are writing in their own style, but at the same time, following foreign hymn models.⁶³² The result is an Irish hymn that weaves between two literary worlds, while evoking another.

⁶²⁹ I would like to thank Professor Dooley for discussion and further insight. I thank Susannah Brower for her help with the Latin translation.

⁶³⁰ Although these ideas are suggested in Curran, I am also drawing here on my analysis of the hymn and the English translation.

⁶³¹ Curran, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, 84.

⁶³² Curran, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, 85.

Hymns also appear to be prominent in the Rule of Columbanus.⁶³³ Jane Stevenson argues that Columbanus was familiar with hymns by Venantius Fortunatus.⁶³⁴ A hymn was sung on Sundays, and on the first day of Easter, as noted in Columbanus' *Regula coenobialis*.⁶³⁵ Although there is no evidence to suggest that Columbanus, if indeed he is the author, used his own hymn *Precamur patrem* [AB 3] it appears to have been sung on Holy Saturday.⁶³⁶ Clearly, the evidence in the AB shows that singing praises was part of worship. The syllabic hymn *Sancti venite* [AB 8] with the title *Hymnus quando communicarent sacerdotes* [AB 8] was used as a Eucharistic hymn – a hymn particular to the monastery of Bangor.⁶³⁷ While it can be argued that the AB is not a complete representation of the office celebration, even in its abridged form, the hymns, canticles and anthems demonstrate the place of rhythmic verse in the liturgy. The evidence of music is undeniable.

⁶³³ See “§VII. *De cursu* (§VII. Of the Choir Office),” in G. S. M. Walker, editor and translator, *Regula monachorum* in *Sancti Columbani Opera* (Dublin; The Dublin Institute for Advance Studies, 1957), 128-135. Also see George Metlake, “The Rule of St. Columban,” *The Life and Writings of St. Columban 542?-615* (Felinfach: J. M. F. Books, 1993), 68-89. Metlake explains the order of the three night offices that were chanted. “At night fall and midnight, twelve psalms; Matins the cursus followed: on ferial night from 25 March until 25 September, twenty-four psalms, sixteen by all the monks in unison, eight as antiphons, that is, by two choirs alternately. From 25 September the number of psalms increased until on 1 November, there were thirty-six. From 1 February, the number of psalms began to decrease until the time of the vernal equinox. A total of thirty-six psalms were sung from 1 May until 25 July; with the summer solstice the cursus was gradually lengthened, at first by selecting longer hymns and psalms, the, beginning with 1 August, by adding three psalms each week until, on 1 November, the maximum of seventy-five was reached, the winter cursus,” 78. This derives from the *Regula monachorum*. On music Metlake writes: “The Antiphony of Bangor, also, bears striking testimony to the great esteem in which sacred music and song were held in the ancient Irish Church; for in all the hymns to the Fathers of the Faith mention is made of their having promoted sacred chant.” Here, Metlake refers to the hymns for Patrick, Comgall, and notes that Comgall “offered sacrifice to the Most High God with hymns and canticles,” see 80-81.

⁶³⁴ See Stevenson, “Irish Hymns, Venantius Fortunatus and Poitiers,” 81-110. Cf. Curran, *The Antiphony of Bangor*, 66-7 and 219-20, note 5.

⁶³⁵ As referenced in Stevenson, “The Monastic Rules of Columbanus,” 210, note 38. See *Regula coenobialis*, §9: 2-3: “In omnique dominica solemnitate hymnus diei cantetur dominice et in die inchoante pashe” (And on every dominical festival let the hymns of the Lord’s Day be sung, and on the opening day of Easter-tide),” see Walker, *Sancti Columbani Opera*, 158 (Latin) and 159 (English).

⁶³⁶ Jane Stevenson, “The Monastic Rules of Columbanus,” 210.

⁶³⁷ Stevenson, “The Monastic Rules of Columbanus,” 211.

Although hymns appear prominent in the Irish church, liturgical poetry was viewed with suspicion. In Roman Use hymns were not accepted until the twelfth century despite their popularity and their place in monastic center and devotional use.⁶³⁸ One reason for the delay was “a prejudice against importing non-Biblical words into the Divine Office.”⁶³⁹ Hughes notes that hymns “were considered accretions and were not part of the original Roman liturgy and were only retained when other accretions were excised in the 16th century.”⁶⁴⁰ Another issue was the Church’s suspicion of hymns and their early association with controversial groups such as the Arians and the Gnostics.

The concerns seem justified, when considered against the backdrop of controversy. A further issue was the hymn’s association with the Roman Empire. Here, poetry and music were utilized to effectively “rally the troops.”⁶⁴¹ If a hymn can also mean “in praise of famous men,” then an example are the verses that helped order the Roman soldiers.⁶⁴² The Greek hymns that inspired the early hymn writers were modeled on a formula practiced before the fifth century. The short, “*isostichic (troparia)* rhythmic style of Greek hymns,” or “the *acclamationes* to the emperor” gave rise to new forms of poetical expression.⁶⁴³ The *versus popularis*, characterized by its meter - trochaic tetrameter catalectic - enjoyed “extraordinary popularity throughout the

⁶³⁸ Andrew Hughes, *Style and Symbol: Medieval Music: 800-1453* (Ottawa: The Institute of Medieval Music, 1989), 87.

⁶³⁹ Mary Berry, “Hymns,” *The New Westminster dictionary of Liturgy and Worship*, edited by Paul Bradshaw (Louisville; London: Westminster John Knox Press, 2002), 239.

⁶⁴⁰ Hughes, *Medieval Manuscript for Mass and Office*, 37.

⁶⁴¹ See the following discussion for the use of this pointed phrase.

⁶⁴² The phrase recalls the definition of the hymn at the beginning of this section. A hymn that epitomizes a homage to Church Fathers is “Let us now praise famous men,” by Ralph Vaughan Williams.

⁶⁴³ Stevenson, “Hiberno-Latin Hymns,” 101.

Latin world of the Roman Empires.”⁶⁴⁴ An example is the meter of the verse for Caesar’s legionaries quoted in *Divus Julius* (The Twelve Caesars) by Suetonius (ca. 69-ca.122):

*Caesar Gallias subegit,
Nicomedes Caesarem.
Ecce Caesar nunc triumphat
Qui subegit Gallias.*⁶⁴⁵

To recall, trochaic comprises a long “-” short “˘” pattern indicating the stressed and unstressed syllables in a line. Here, the verse is made up of four metrical feet (tetrameter) with an incomplete, or catalexis in the last foot $8^2 + 7^3 + 8^2 + 7^3$.⁶⁴⁶ The trochee pattern is made up of LS as opposed to dactyl which is a LSS pattern. Other references to this type of versification can be noted in such texts as the *Homeric Hymns*, where hymns were used to worship Greek and Roman gods.⁶⁴⁷ Thus, the “popularizing of meters” was a byproduct of early philosophical debates that drew on the cultural expressions of the day both Greek and Latin styles. In sum,

⁶⁴⁴ Kenney, *The Sources*, 252.

⁶⁴⁵ Cited in Kenney, *The Sources*, 252. See also Helen Waddell, *The Wandering Scholar* (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1934, 16, note 2. For the reference see Suetonius, *C. Svetoni Tranquilli: Divvs Ivliivs*, edited with an introduction and commentary by H. E. Butler and M. Cary (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927), §49: 33-35, page 23. In the commentary Butler and Cary notes the meter “trochaic tetrameter catalectic” and comments: “The second line is weak and unnecessary, and is omitted in the best MSS,” 110. For a further reference see Suetonius, *The Twelve Caesars*, a new translation by Robert Graves (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England: Penguin Books, 1957, 1962), 31: “Lastly, when Caesar’s own soldiers followed his decorated chariot in the Gallic triumph, chanting ribald songs, as they were privileged to do, this was one of them:

Gaul was brought to shame by Caesar;
By King Nicomedes, he.
Here comes Caesar, wreathed in triumph
For his Gallic victory!
Nicomedes wears no laurels,
Though the greatest of the three.”

For a helpful discussion of Classical Latin verse see Leofranc Holford-Strevens, “Latin Poetry and Music,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Music*, edited by Mark Everist (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 225-240.

⁶⁴⁶ See James Carney, *Medieval Irish Lyrics: Selected and Translated* (Berkeley; Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1967), ix, and vii-xv, and Carney’s discussion of the marching song of Caesar’s soldiers and on Irish meters. Interestingly, the words “Caesar Gallias” are reversed in Carney’s version. For further reference on the terms and Latin poetics, see Harry Shaw, *Dictionary of Literary Terms* (New York: St. Louis: McGraw-Hill, 1972); and D. A. Kidd, *Collins Latin Gem Dictionary*, xxiv-xxx.

⁶⁴⁷ Ferguson, “Hymns,” in *Encyclopedia of Early Christianity*, 548.

hymns had secular associations that were difficult to overcome. Given the hymn's political associations, it is understandable that the Church had reservations about their use in the liturgy. However, there was already a Biblical precedent for poetical verse found most especially in the Old Testament.

Another influence on early hymnody was Syriac poetry, which drew on elements of the native language, and whose structure has parallels with the Old Testament. This can be noted in the use of syllabic, strophic, and alphabetic techniques similar to the Psalms.⁶⁴⁸ Stevenson observes that Latin hymnody, which includes Ireland, "is indirectly dependent on this tradition."⁶⁴⁹ The characteristic abecedarian pattern, represented in AB 13; AB 14; AB 15; and AB 129, was a formula already in vogue and was molded into Irish poetical practice. As a way of organizing verses, the alphabet was a useful formula to guide points of rhetoric and as a mnemonic device. In the Old Testament, for example, Psalm 118 (Douay-Rheims) is an alphabetic *tour de force*, employing the Hebraic alphabet as an acrostic.⁶⁵⁰ Each poetical section begins with a letter of the alphabet throughout. Something of the import of this design is missed in translation, but the essence of the alphabetical structure is maintained in various versions of

⁶⁴⁸ Stevenson, "Hiberno-Latin Hymns: Learning and Literature," 101. Jungmann notes that Syrian liturgy had a strong impact on the Greek and to some degree on the Latin liturgies "chiefly with regard to singing in church: through a new mode of psalm-singing and through the composition of hymns. In the Syrian church, for example, the practice of chanting the psalms by two choirs, or antiphonal singing was influential on the style of singing in both the East and West;" see Jungmann, *The Early Liturgy*, 204.

⁶⁴⁹ Stevenson, "Hiberno-Latin Hymns: Learning and Literature," 101. In regards to Syriac poetry, "is similar in its structure and technical resources to that of the Old Testament. Formally, it is syllabic, strophic, and alphabetic, making use of parallelism in the Hebraic manner found in the Psalms," 100.

⁶⁵⁰ J. Clinton McCann, "Psalm 119," in *The New Interpreter's Bible*, volume 4 (Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1996), 1157-1176, complete exegetical commentaries on the Psalms, 639-1280. The sections begin with Aleph, Beth, Gimel, etc. that follows each successive letter of the 22-letter Hebrew alphabet. Some translations maintain the letter and the word of the alphabet, others a variation (for an example see the King James Version). For a comment on the "Alphabetic Psalms" in Irish Psalter studies, see Martin McNamara, "Psalter Text and Psalter Study in the Early Irish Church (600-1200 CE)," in *The Psalms in the Early Irish Church* (Sheffield, England: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), 113, and 19-142 for a history and exegetical discussion of the Psalms in the Irish church.

the Old Testament. For example, the Hebrew letters are often retained as headings or incipits.⁶⁵¹ This formula did not escape the Irish, who became exegetical scholars in their own right, and incorporated poetical techniques into their practice. John Carey supports this theory and notes that in composing abecedarian hymns “the Irish followed the example of such psalms as 118, *Beati immaculate in via*, which has this structure in the Hebrew.”⁶⁵² The impressive *Audite omnes amnates* [AB 13, ff. 13v-15v] or *Hymnus Sancti Patricii magistri Scottorum* [AB 13] in praise of the Irish patron seems to demand such an imposing formula to match the indefatigable spirit and reverence with which Patrick was held in Ireland.⁶⁵³ The 23 letters that begin each verse in the hymn represent the Latin alphabet, already inculcated into Irish practice.⁶⁵⁴

Given the insight into early hymnody it is not surprising that the hymn was a contentious element in the liturgy. At the same time, controversy affected “its subsequent development in both East and West.”⁶⁵⁵ The hymn’s association with “cult song,”⁶⁵⁶ and its dubious beginnings, presents an intriguing tension, between scriptural and non-scriptural texts, trinitarian and non-trinitarian ideologies; and the popular and traditional use of hymns. Because hymns ignited such divisions within the early Church, any attempt to “introduce hymns was considered unusual and extraordinary.”⁶⁵⁷ St. Ambrose (*ca.* 339-97) of Milan, considered the originator of the hymn

⁶⁵¹ Examples are found in the Latin vulgate Psalm 118 (Psalm 119), *Biblia Sacra: iuxta vulgatam versionem* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1994); and Psalm 119, *Holy Bible, The New King James Version* (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 1982).

⁶⁵² John Carey, *King of Mysteries: Early Irish Religious Writings* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1998), 147.

⁶⁵³ See Curran, *The Antiphony of Bangor*, 35-44.

⁶⁵⁴ Of note, the Irish alphabet has 19 letters and the English 26.

⁶⁵⁵ Stevenson, “Hiberno-Latin Hymns,” 101.

⁶⁵⁶ See William D. Furley, “Prayers and hymns,” in *A Companion to Greek Religion*, edited by Daniel Ogden (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2007), 117-131 for an interesting discussion of cult hymns in relation to performance practice in Greek society.

⁶⁵⁷ Apel, *Gregorian Chant*, 421.

genre, and whose iambic dimeter examples (*ambrosiani*)⁶⁵⁸ inspired devotion, was accused by the Arians of “bewitching his congregation.”⁶⁵⁹ Such unleashed passions for verse could hardly go unnoticed. For just when Ambrose “was introducing Latin hymns, the Council of Laodicea (ca. 360-381) was forbidding them.”⁶⁶⁰ These extreme reactions laid the ground for hymns to have a less central role in Catholic worship, but a more prominent position in the Protestant Church.

The interesting dynamics that swirl around the use of hymns helped to make them an important unifying element in both “orthodoxy and heterodoxy alike.”⁶⁶¹ A lasting impact of the Arian Controversy seems to have been the hymn, which became a popular mode of theological expression. Although the Council of Laodicea prohibited elements of devotional singing, the gradual acceptance of the hymn was spurred on by the conversion of the Roman Emperor Constantine (d. 337) to Christianity,⁶⁶² as well as the hymn’s role in the Arian Controversy.⁶⁶³ All this helped to propel the hymn form into the public realm.

⁶⁵⁸ Hughes notes that St. Ambrose is associated with the style of accentual, rhymed verse with a simple melody that is still occasionally referred to collectively *ambrosiani*; see Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office*, 37.

⁶⁵⁹ Quoted in Stevenson, “Hiberno-Latin Hymns,” 102, see note 13. The text is taken from *Sermo contra Auxentium*, §34, PL 16, 1007-26, 1017-1718.

⁶⁶⁰ Richard Hoppin, *Medieval Music* (New York; London: W. W. Norton, 1978), 110.

⁶⁶¹ Stevenson, “Hiberno-Latin Hymns,” 101.

⁶⁶² The exact date of Constantine’s conversion is uncertain. He was not officially baptized until he was on his deathbed. It was in 321 that Constantine ordered “Sunday as a public holiday,” see “Constantine the Great,” *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, edited by E. A. Livingstone (Oxford; London; New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), 127-8; and Adrian Hastings, “Constantine,” in *The Oxford Companion to Christian Thought* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 131.

⁶⁶³ Stevenson, “Hiberno-Latin Hymns,” 101.

By the sixth-century St. Benedict (*ca.* 480-*ca.* 547) had already introduced hymns into his Rule.⁶⁶⁴ As has been noted, Columbanus also incorporated hymns and the singing of psalms into his *Regula monachorum* and *Regula coenobialis*. Given the place of hymns in the office hours, hymns could be considered a monastic phenomenon. This is reflected in the daily recitation of the Psalms and the inclusion of hymns that became a central focus of the Hours of the Office in monastic centers. The eight hours at Bangor, all have their precedent in the continental tradition.⁶⁶⁵ While there are features peculiar to the Irish office such as in the use of collects after the Gospel and the hymn, there was also an attraction to rhythmical verse of Latin hymnody. By acquiring skills in hymnody, the Irish began to introduce poetry “into areas hitherto reserved for the most solemn liturgical prose.”⁶⁶⁶ This can be found in the *Blessing of the Candle* [AB 9]. The character of local practice is reflected not only in the manuscript, but also in hymns devoted to the local saints and abbots, or that make reference to local place names.

The prejudice against the use of hymns in the liturgy seems a recurring theme in Church history. One explanation is the hymn is considered less developed as a literary form, and lacking

⁶⁶⁴ For example Chapter 11 “How the Night Office is to be said on Sundays:” “When the fourth responsory is finished, let the abbot begin the hymn *Te Deum laudamus*. When that has been said the abbot shall read the lesson from the book of the Gospels, all standing with fear and reverence. That having been read, let all answer *Amen*, and then let the abbot follow with the hymn *Te decet laus*, and the blessing having been given let them begin Lauds.” See Justin McCann, editor and translator, *The Rule of Saint Benedict* (London: Burns Oates, 1952), 55. For Latin edition see *Sancti Benedicti Regula monachorum textus ad fidem Cod. Sangall. 914 adiuncta verborum concordantia* (Maredsous: [s.n], 1946). The Rule was written probably between 530 and 560; see *The Rule of St. Benedict: the Abingdon Copy, edited from Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS. 57*, by John Chamberlin (Toronto: Centre for Medieval Studies by the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1982), 1-2. See also Adalbert de Vogüé, *The Rule of Saint Benedict: A Doctrinal and Spiritual Commentary*, translated by John Baptist Hasbrouck (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1983). On a history of the Irish Benedictines see Martin Brown and Colmán Ó Clabaigh, *The Irish Benedictines: A History* (Blackrock, Col. Dublin: The Columba Press, 2005).

⁶⁶⁵ Curran, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, 195.

⁶⁶⁶ Curran, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, 154.

musical inventiveness, when measured with other repertoires of liturgical music.⁶⁶⁷ Kenney observed that although “falling far behind the great literature of continental Europe,” hymns have “real worth and interest.”⁶⁶⁸ This can be noted in the poetic structure, the intriguing wordplay, and the theological ideas that underlie the text. An interesting dynamic occurs in the Irish hymns. While it may be seen that hymns are written expressions of spiritual encounters with faith, those encounters, whether personally or vicariously through the borrowing of theological ideas, are documented in the Irish proclivity to verse. Hymns are “more than theology. They are also records of the inner life, of the movement of the soul, of awe and wonder, of penitence, fear, joy, or peace.”⁶⁶⁹

In the end, the juxtaposition of the social and religious context in which the hymn emerged influenced its poetical use. As a genre with a predictable formula, hymns are represented in both Roman Catholic and Protestant denominations that spans a wide cultural and historical timeframe. Although hymns are more common place in the liturgy, especially in the Protestant faith, it was a style of praise in song that was not easily accepted in Christian worship. Despite their massive appeal, the hymn may be something of an enigma in Church history, but of great significance in Ireland.

⁶⁶⁷ The debate about the use of hymns seems an ongoing issue in the Church and can be noted when a new hymnal is considered. The issues include: which hymns will be eliminated in the new publication and how congregations move forward in its style of worship. Evidence can be noted in the number of hymnals that are published and republished, it seems, every 20-25 years. The joint publication of the Anglican and the United Church of Canada is a case in point (see introductory note). Others are *The Catholic Book of Worship*, I, II, and III, and the number of satellite publications that are used as an adjunct to the denominational hymnal. An example is the *Gather Hymnal*; see Robert Batastini and Michael Cymbala, editors, *Gather* (Chicago: GIA Publications; Phoenix: North American Liturgy Resources, 1988). The Anglican Psalter has received current attention with a new edition; see Christopher Ku, editor, *The New Plainsong Psalter* (Toronto: Anglican Book Centre, 2008).

⁶⁶⁸ Kenney, *The Sources*, 252.

⁶⁶⁹ Watson, “Hymns,” 317.

4.2 The Cultural Role of the *filid* in Early Irish Society

In her book *Early Irish Monasticism*, Catherine Thom observes that Ireland was “a hierarchical and non-egalitarian society”⁶⁷⁰ where the *filid* occupied a place of preeminence. As noted earlier, the *filid* were a special group in pre-Christian Irish society.⁶⁷¹ Versification was the art of the *filid* whose long educational training prepared them to be the poets and the keepers of history.⁶⁷² As skilled practitioners, they were revered for their divine powers. With the introduction of Christianity, and the integration of the Latin alphabet, the Order of Poets, as they were known, produced the earliest literary texts written in Ireland during the sixth century.⁶⁷³ As Michael Curran notes, the propensity to Latin verse, “was not an entirely new development attributable to the introduction of Christianity and the beginnings of the monastic movement,” but rather the blending of literary traditions.⁶⁷⁴ The Irish were “aware of the hybrid character of their heritage”⁶⁷⁵ and nowhere is this more evident than in Irish verse. Here, Hiberno-Latin hymns and the regional developments in Ireland, diverge from continental practice.

The Irish hymn drew on the expertise of the learned class. The *filid* were of the educated class of Irish society, whose esoteric teaching involved the intricate art of memorization. As keepers of Irish laws, genealogy, and history, they kept memory vibrant, through the telling of sagas, heroic tales, and verse. Part of their training included secret languages and cryptic

⁶⁷⁰ Catherine Thom, *Early Irish Monasticism: An Understanding of its Cultural Roots* (New York: T & T Clark, 2006), 8.

⁶⁷¹ Curran, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, 20.

⁶⁷² Curran, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, 20.

⁶⁷³ Curran, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, 20.

⁶⁷⁴ Curran, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, 20.

⁶⁷⁵ Carey, *King of Mysteries: Early Irish Religious Writings*, 10.

writings.⁶⁷⁶ On the surface, the *filid* seem ideal candidates for the monastic schools that flourished in Ireland. However, the introduction of Christianity ushered in a new era and created tensions between pre- and post-Christian Ireland. These tensions resulted in a division within the poetic order. On the one hand, there was the literate class of *fili*, who took up Latin studies and embraced literacy, and on the other, were the various grades of oral poets that included “the *admall*, who composed for minor kings and nobles; the *tuathbard*, who served the ordinary landowners; the professional satirist, *dul* or *cáinte* who were banned by the church; and other assorted poets and singers.”⁶⁷⁷ The writings of the literate class of *fili* comprise a large body of religious and historical eulogistic texts.⁶⁷⁸

Although the AB may be categorized by its “abundance of verse,” it needs to be envisioned within the scope of religious practice that valued the “aesthetics” of the oral and written word. The texts are an amalgam of Latin verses and a style that blends new theological concepts and ideas. In Ireland, hymns were “an imported, rather than a native idea.”⁶⁷⁹ Pádraig Ó Néill observes that Ireland was “host to a number of languages,” the most prominent of which were Irish and Latin.⁶⁸⁰ Little wonder that manuscripts such as the AB reveal traces of other languages such as Greek, and influences from other liturgical rites.⁶⁸¹

⁶⁷⁶ Kenney, *The Sources*, 3. See the description of the *filid* training, 1-7.

⁶⁷⁷ Katherine Simms, “*fili*,” *The Oxford Companion to Irish History*, edited by S. J. Connolly (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 203. Simms presents a useful synopsis that lays out the poet structure in Celtic societies.

⁶⁷⁸ Simms, “*fili*,” 203.

⁶⁷⁹ Jane Stevenson, “Hiberno-Latin Hymns: Learning and Literature,” 99.

⁶⁸⁰ Pádraig Ó Néill, “Languages,” *Medieval Ireland: An Encyclopedia*, edited by Seán Duffy (New York; London: Routledge, 2005), 261.

⁶⁸¹ Kenney notes that in the Antiphony of Bangor “the specialists find their primary sources for the Gallican, Ambrosian, Mozarabic and oriental elements of the old Irish liturgy, for the curiously vigorous cult of martyrs, for the details of the divine office, for the Irish versions of Holy Scripture; and through its pages the general

Although the *filid* were initially hostile to Latin, the integration of the old and new practices gave way to a new educational system.⁶⁸² Monastic education provided another opportunity for the *filid* to further develop their skills.⁶⁸³ Curran observes that soon “there were learned Christians in the highest ranks of society.”⁶⁸⁴ The success of Irish monasticism is ultimately reflected in the period between the sixth and ninth centuries with the literary period of the *peregrini* on the continent. Doris Edel also notes that Christianity “brought the Irish into contact with two fundamental concepts: the linear progress of time from Creation until the Day of Judgement, and the idea of a common ancestor for all mankind, including themselves.”⁶⁸⁵ These were ideas that were brought to the fore through the skills of the *filid*. From writing in Latin, to writing in Irish, the poetical training, already a part of Irish society, took on a literary vigour.

student can receive the voice of the daily worship of God carried across twelve centuries from those famous, but shadowy, monasteries of ancient Ireland.” See Kenney, *The Sources*, 712.

⁶⁸² Although a separate study is beyond the scope of this present topic, a brief synopsis of the *filid* and Irish metrics is helpful. There are four metrical systems that developed between the sixth to the seventeenth century in Ireland. The first is the archaic form found in legal texts, genealogies and characterized by the number of syllables in a line. In the seventh century a second style the *nuachruth* (“new forms, meters”) were characterized by: “the number of syllables per line (often 7) a caesura after the 4th syllable, by end-rhyme, and by a stanzaic structure.” This is evident in the Latin hymns of the Antiphony of Bangor. The third form is noted in the metrical style of the *dán dírech* (“strict meter”) that occurred in the late twelfth century. The final period occurs in the sixteenth century with the *amhrán* (song poet) that was characterized by a strophic form in quatrains with a regular rhyme and meter. Perhaps one of the last of the tradition is evident in the work of Turlough Ó Carolain; for this information and the references see Pádraig Ó Néill, “Metrics,” *Medieval Ireland: An Encyclopedia*, edited by Seán Duffy (New York; London: Routledge, 2005), 329. For another important source on Irish poetry see Gerard Murphy, *Early Irish Metrics* (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 1961).

⁶⁸³ In the *filid*, Kenney notes that secular learning was brought together with Latin texts. “The classical system of Irish versification that prevailed from the eighth to the seventeenth century, was in its origin based on the Latin versification of the later Roman Empire,” see Kenney, *The Sources*, 4. See also the classes of texts composed or transmitted by the *filid*, 4.

⁶⁸⁴ Curran, *The Antiphony of Bangor*, 20.

⁶⁸⁵ Edel, *The Celtic West and Europe*, 29.

Latin versification, typically governed by classical meters, came into contact with the “learned class” in Ireland. The cultural clash produced a new type of versification witnessed in the hymns and texts of the AB. With the influence of the *fili*, whose schooling emphasized memory and remembrance, the hymn also memorialized local saints. This is a defining feature of the Irish hymn that would influence both the “cult of saints” and the commemorative verse composed in their honour in monastic centers on the continent. The elaborate *Hymnus Sancti Patrici magistri Scottorum* [AB 13] is distinguished in its style and subject matter. For example, the use of rhyme and assonance and as Curran notes “its broad sweeping vision of the history of salvation from the day of creation to the second coming of Christ.”⁶⁸⁶

Another feature of Irish hymns is the technique of enumeration or, “listing,” that sometimes took the form of a compendium of the attributes of a saint. This is noted to some degree in the hymn to Camelacus where the author reveals the virtues of the saint, line by line. The “listing” element help to convey the image that Camelacus is worthy of the tribute. However, the real power of the “listing” technique lies in its repetitive element and hymn-like quality. Listing can take the form of alphabetic verse, as has been noted earlier, or can include lists of witnesses, or holy names, and anatomical listing.⁶⁸⁷ One aspect of the literature of this period was hagiography and verses composed to honour saints. In these writings something of the extraordinary is exhibited in the catalogue of miracles and wonders that draws on the cultural elements of the *filid*.⁶⁸⁸

More than the words, the texts of the AB reveal the depth of knowledge and a variety of poetical expression. As Curran notes with regard to the hymns and collects, “we find echoes of

⁶⁸⁶ Curran, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, 56.

⁶⁸⁷ Mees, *Celtic Curses*, see under “listing,” 226.

⁶⁸⁸ Ó Cróinín, *Early Medieval Ireland 400-1200*, 210.

the old rhythmical, alliterative type of verse which continued to be used along with the new syllabic metres until the end of the Old Irish period.”⁶⁸⁹ The emphasis on syllables is evident in the commemoration of the abbots where each stanza highlights a particular sound. Rhymed endings and the rhythmic interplay between words seem to heighten the words and superimpose another layer of meaning. How the content was expressed mattered a great deal to the Irish, who were becoming even further skilled in the art of oral expression thanks to the introduction of Latin.

In Hiberno-Latin versification the emphasis is placed on rhythm rather than quantity. However, as we have noted in the previous chapter, quantitative elements still govern the poetic lines of verse. It is in the imitation of Latin verse that the Irish features emerge. The verses also provide insight into the external sources that influence the Irish writing style. Linguistic elements that can be interpreted as oddities are also a reflection of adapting to another language. The elements of Greek that appear in the AB seem peculiar unless considered as evidence of the kinds of texts that were in circulation in Ireland. A word such as “micrologi” for example, that appears in *Precamur Patrem* [AB 3]⁶⁹⁰ and that Lapidge has shown to derive from a text by Rufinus, connects the AB to the larger realm of continental literature. Language and the technology of writing had a transformative affect in Ireland. The oral tradition, from which the poetic class emerged was a society predicated on the preservation of culture.⁶⁹¹ As keepers of history the *filid* embodied the ancient past and their expertise was an asset in recording the Irish into Christian history.

⁶⁸⁹ Curran, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, 21.

⁶⁹⁰ See the discussion of *Precamur Patrem* in chapter 2.

⁶⁹¹ For a study of early religious texts see John Carey, *King of Mysteries: Early Irish Religious Writings* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1998).

4.3 The *Lorica* and Religious Exorcism

The *lorica* is a distinctive “Celtic feature of early Western Christianity.”⁶⁹² The *loricae* were prayers offered for protection.⁶⁹³ Kenney calls them “strange pieces” of pagan practices that were “converted” to liturgical use.⁶⁹⁴ Some hymns texts were intended as “simply versified prayers,” or as *loricae*, also known as “breast-plates,” while other hymns were treated “as *loricae* and equipped with magical properties in forestalling physical dangers.”⁶⁹⁵ Perhaps the best-known example is Patrick’s *Lorica* (Breastplate), also known as *Fáeth Fiada*, the Deer’s Cry.⁶⁹⁶ The text is attributed to St. Patrick in the fifth century, but was compiled in the two manuscripts known as the Irish *Liber Hymnorum* from the eleventh-century.⁶⁹⁷ The *Liber Hymnorum* contains the largest collection of Irish and Latin hymns that were composed for the early Church in Ireland.⁶⁹⁸ The hymn has a significant place in Ireland as St. Patrick is held in regard by both the Catholic and Protestant faiths. In the opening verse the author sets the tone of the hymn and invokes the Trinity in the first line:

⁶⁹² Mees, *Celtic Curses*, 120.

⁶⁹³ Kenney, *The Sources*, 254.

⁶⁹⁴ Kenney, *The Sources*, 254.

⁶⁹⁵ Kenney, *The Sources*, 254.

⁶⁹⁶ Kenney, *The Sources*, 273. Kenney notes that although Patrick’s *Lorica* is Irish, it shows “a fuller assimilation of the incantation-form to the Christian idea” of prayer but it also reflects an attitude of “a primitive Christian believer” and pagan superstitions; see Kenney, 273.

⁶⁹⁷ See J.H. Bernard and R. Atkinson, eds. *The Irish Liber Hymnorum*, 2 volumes (London: Henry Bradshaw Society, 1898).

⁶⁹⁸ Curran, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, 19. For more information on the hymns of the *Liber Hymnorum* see Eleanor Hull, “Hymns,” *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, 25-28. A definitive study of the two volumes was conducted by the Henry Bradshaw Society; see, J. H. Bernard and R. Atkinson, editors, *The Irish Liber Hymnorum*, volumes 13-14 (London: Henry Bradshaw Society, 1898).

I arise today in a mighty strength, invocation of the Trinity;
belief in Threeness; confession of Oneness; towards the Creator.⁶⁹⁹

The analogy of the “breastplate or armor of protection” draws on the Biblical imagery particularly in the New Testament. In Ephesians 6: 11, for example, Paul writes of “putting on the whole armour of God that you may be able to stand against the wiles of the devil.”⁷⁰⁰ Two features of the Irish *lorica* are the use of repetition and the naming of body parts. These are exhibited in the *Lorica* of St. Patrick where the protective element is reflected in the repetitive naming against that which the petitioner requests care, rather than in the listing of body parts. On one level, the verses are in the form “typical of many ancient binding spells,” but at the same time, “it still contains rhetoric suggestive of an ancient curse.”⁷⁰¹ As with a breastplate, the invocation binds the individual to Christ:

⁶⁹⁹ Kenney, *The Sources*, 273. As Kenney comments, Patrick’s *Lorica* is written “in *retoric* – periodical, rhythmical and alliterative prose – and in imitation of early secular and perhaps pagan compositions;” see 273: note here the spelling of rhetoric. For a discussion and a translation of the hymn see Carey, *King of Mysteries: Early Irish Religious Writings*, 127-135. In the Irish Hymnal with Tunes (Dublin: Association for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1920), #351 provides two tunes under the same number for St. Patrick’s Breastplate. The first is arranged by Charles Stanford with an irregular metere. The second tune is by Thomas R. Gonzalvey Jozé (1890) also with an irregular meter.

⁷⁰⁰ See Mees, *Celtic Curses*, 120. Ephesians 6: 11-16: “Put on the whole armor of God that you may be able to stand against the wiles of the devil. For we do not wrestle against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this age, against spiritual hosts of wickedness in the heavenly places. Therefore take up the whole armor of God that you may be able to withstand in the evil day, and having done all, to stand. Stand therefore, having girded your waist with truth, having put on the breastplate of righteousness, and having shod your feet with the preparation of the gospel of peace: above all, taking the shield of faith with which you will be able to quench all the fiery darts of the wicked one;” King James Translation.

⁷⁰¹ Mees, *Celtic Curses*, 126.

I summon today all those powers between me and every cruel, merciless
 power that may oppose my body and my soul,
 Against incantations of false prophets;
 Against black laws of paganism,
 Against false laws of heresy,
 Against the deceit of idolatry,
 Against spells of women and smiths and druids,
 Against every evil knowledge that is forbidden man's body and soul.
 Christ from my guardianship today
 Against poison, against burning,
 Against drowning, against wounding,
 So that there may come to me a multitude of rewards.⁷⁰²

The repetitive interplay of words seems hypnotic as though drawing on the elements of incantations and spells.⁷⁰³ Here, the hyperbolic nature of the listing is almost carried to extreme. Listing, or the enumeration of petitions from harm, a technique mentioned earlier, is effectively demonstrated in the *Lorica*. There are other Irish sources that illustrate the importance of the *lorica* in a Christian context, “such as exorcistic prayers used in baptismal services.”⁷⁰⁴ An example from the AB is known as the “Bangor exorcism,” which can be compared with a

⁷⁰² Mees, *Celtic Curses*, 127. The *Lorica* of St. Patrick is found in the eleventh-century Irish *Liber Hymnorum* and the portion of English text represented above is here given in Irish:

*Tocuiriuir etrum indiu inna huli nert so fri cech nert namnas nétrocar fristái dom churp ocus
 domm anmain,
 fri tinchetla sáibfáthe,
 fri dubrechtu gentliuchtae,
 fri sáibrechtu heretecdae.
 fri himcellacht nidlactae,
 fri brichtu ban & gobann & druad,
 fri cech fiss arachuiliu corp & anmain duini.
 Crist domm imdegail indiu
 ar neim, ar loscud,
 ar bádud, ar guin, condomthair ilar fochraice.*

Also see Kenney, *The Sources*, 273 for the English excerpt and a discussion of the text.

⁷⁰³ Kenney, *The Sources*, 273. Kenney makes an important point about the Patrick's *Lorica* that although in Irish, it shows “an assimilation of the incantation-form to the Christian idea.” At the same time “it presents in a remarkable way the attitude of mind of a primitive Christian believer, probably monk, to whom paganism and the superstitions sprung from it were a very real terror. It is written in rhetoric – periodical, rhythmical and alliterative prose – and in imitation of early secular and perhaps pagan compositions,” 273.

⁷⁰⁴ Mees, *Celtic Curses*, 123.

version found in the Stowe Missal, another Irish manuscript dated from the ninth-century.⁷⁰⁵

Given its unusual nature when compared with the hymns, it seems an important feature associated with the Irish church, appearing in two liturgical manuscripts:

From the Stowe Missal, ff. 47-8:

*Domine, sancte pater, omnipotens aeterne deus, expelle diabolium et gentilitatem ab homine isto, de capite, de capillis, de vertice, de cerbero, de fronte, de oculis, de auribus, de naribus, de labiis, de ore, de lingua, de sublingua, de guttore de faucibus de collo de pectore de corde de corpore toto intus de foris de minimis de pedibus de omnibus membris de compaginibus membrorum eius et de cogitationibus de verbis de operibus et omnibus conversationibus hic et futuro per te iesu christus qui regnas.*⁷⁰⁶

O Lord, Holy Father, all-powerful and eternal God, drive away devils and the ilk from this man. From the head, hair, crown, brain, brow, eyes, ears, nose, mouth, tongue, below the tongue, throat, gullet, neck, breast, heart, everything within the body and without, hands, feet, all the limbs, the joints of each of the limbs and the thoughts, words, deeds and all the conversations now and in the future through Thee Jesus Christ who reigns.⁷⁰⁷

⁷⁰⁵ MS Stowe D. II in the library of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin. The manuscript has been edited by George F. Warner for the Henry Bradshaw Society. See Warner, *The Stowe Missal, MS D II 3 in the library of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin*, volumes 31-32 (1906-1915). For more information on the Stowe Missal see Francis Peter Chisholm, “*The Stowe Missal: Its Historical, Cultural, Sacramental and Liturgical Significance in the Life of the Celtic Church*,” (PhD. Theology Thesis, University of Toronto, Emmanuel College, 1978); Westley Follett, “*The Stowe Missal*.” In *Céli Dé in Ireland: Monastic Writing and Identity in the Early Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 2006), 132-36; J. W. Hunwicke, “Kerry and Stowe Revisited” *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, Section C 102 (2002): 1-19; Kenney, *The Sources*, 692-699; Bartholomew MacCarthy, *On the Stowe Missal* (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 1877); and Thomas F. O’Rahilly, “The History of the Stowe Missal,” *Ériu* 10 (1926-28): 95-109. Brendan Coffey, “The Stowe Enigma: Decoding the Mystery,” *Irish theological Quarterly* 75/1 (2010): 75-91, accessed March 5, 2013, DOI: 10.1177/0021140009343369, <<http://itq.sagepub.com/content/75/1/75>>.

⁷⁰⁶ Warner, ed., “Ordo baptismi,” *The Stowe Missal*, 24; ff. 47-8. The spacing format is adjusted to accommodate both texts in Latin and English, and to facilitate ease in reading.

⁷⁰⁷ Translation from Bernard Mees, *Celtic Curses* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2009), 124. Perhaps a contemporary example is the prayer sung by the children in the fairy-tale opera *Hänsel and Gretel*, “When at Night I go to Sleep.” Other examples are discussed in Eleanor Hull, “The Ancient Hymn-Charms of Ireland,” *Folk-Lore* 21/4 (1910): 417-446.

From the Antiphony of Bangor [AB 96, f 30v-f 31r]

*Domine, sancte Pater, omnipotens aeterne Deus, expelle diabolium et gentilitatem ab homine isto, de capite, de capillis, de cerbero, de vertice, de fronte, de oculis, de auribus, de naribus, de labiis, de ore, de lingua, de sublingual, de faucibus, de gutture, de collo, de corde, de corpore toto, de omnibus compaginibus membrorum suorum, intus et deforis, de ossibus, de venis, de nervis, de sanguine, de sensu, de cogitationibus, de verbis, de omnibus operibus suis, de virtute, de omni conversatione ejus, hic, et in futuro. Sed operetur in te virtus Christi, in eo qui propassus est ut vitam aeternam mereamur, per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum Filium suum, &c.*⁷⁰⁸

Some of the features of the *lorica* are evident in the verses. One, is the enumeration of anatomical parts; the second is the invocation of the Holy Father, and the third is the use of repetition. By listing the parts of the body, every aspect of the corporeal body is given over to God for his care and keeping. The list is repetitive and lengthy, but falls into a rhythmic pattern that is reminiscent of a spell or incantation.

Something similar occurs in the *Ordines Romani* where, for example, the litany from Paris, B. N., Lat. 974 resembles the style of the *lorica* in its repetitive nature.⁷⁰⁹ An important feature of the “list” is that the unseen capacities of the body are of equal priority. The thoughts, words, and deeds are future actions, or those things that will happen. Thus the prayer of protection is allocated to God’s lasting power that extends beyond the immediate concerns of protection. The invocation calls upon the name, the triune God – Father, son Jesus Christ, and

⁷⁰⁸ Warren, *The Antiphony of Bangor*, Part II, 28-9.

⁷⁰⁹ See “Ordo XXI: Ordo letaniae maioris,” from Manuscrit: Paris, B.N., Lat. 974 in *Les ordines romani du haut moyen âge*, III: Les textes (Ordines XIV-XXXIV (Louvain: Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense, 1961), 247-249. The repetitive element of the liturgy has parallels in the *Ordines Romani*. One example is the liturgical exorcism. For more on the *ordo* see Michel Andrieu, *Les ordines romani du haut moyen âge*, volumes 1-5 (Louvain: Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense Administration, 1931-61). I thank Professor Haines for drawing my attention to this important source. For a discussion of the *ecclesia* in relation to the *ordines* see Dana M. Polanichka, “Transforming Space, (Per)Forming Community: Church consecration in Carolingian Europe,” *Viator* 43 /1 (2012): 79-98.

spirit of the eternal God. All these elements are drawn together, as in St. Patrick's *Lorica*. As Mees notes, the connection between exorcisms of this sort and breastplate prayers can hardly be denied."⁷¹⁰ This exorcistic prayer used in a baptismal service highlights the rhetorical features in the listing of parts of the anatomy and found in the Stowe Missal. There are also spells in the Stowe Missal. Here, in an Irish liturgical manuscript, following the outline of the mass, and coming at the end of the book are three spells: "for the eye," "for a thorn (blemish)," and for "a disease of the urine."⁷¹¹ Appearing, as they do after the mass, these "variants" in the missal are some of the most striking features of Irish liturgical manuscripts and the blending of practices.

The Bangor exorcism, although shorter, repeats much of the text in a similar rhetorical fashion. In the commentary Warren found it "difficult to understand why an 'exorcism' would be in a service-book."⁷¹² The exorcism makes sense if it has a Christian purpose, and, it can be argued, held significance in Irish culture. However, to return to Cabrol's theory for a moment, if the AB was a choirbook of sorts, why is the exorcism included? One reason may be that it was to be chanted, or sung at a baptism. Given the abridged nature of the AB a prayer for a baptismal service seems something that would be called into use frequently, particularly if there were adults who were to be initiated into the faith. Together with *Hymnus Quando cereus benedicitur: Ignis creator igneus* [AB 9] a hymn for the lighting of the Pashal candle but which also has baptismal associations in its symbolism, as noted in chapter two, they seem elements of a ceremonial rite.⁷¹³ Considered from this perspective the Bangor exorcism hardly seems out of

⁷¹⁰ Mees, *Celtic Curses*, 124.

⁷¹¹ Warner, *The Stowe Missal: MS. D. II3*, volume II, f 76r.

⁷¹² Warren, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, Part II, 71.

⁷¹³ Warren, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, Part II, 45-46.

place. Curran refers to it as a “curious exorcism” of Irish origin.⁷¹⁴ This is hardly the first book to present unusual material, but the AB is a manuscript that continues to surprise and amaze the researcher. Here perhaps is one of the clearest examples of the clash of cultures: pre-Christian and Christian. That the exorcism is preserved in two of the earliest liturgical manuscripts to survive from medieval Ireland is indeed remarkable. Seen from the view as exorcistic prayers used in baptismal services, the exorcism seems significant.⁷¹⁵

Although Warren questions the inclusion of the exorcism in the AB, he also provides a comparative of parallel texts from three other sources to show their textual similarities and differences.⁷¹⁶ These examples, appearing roughly a century and a half apart, all follow a similar format. Again, as above, the listings are intricate. The authors call upon God the Father for protection. After listing the body parts, which sound like a medical inventory, the text turns to the mind, the utterances, the actions, and the words of the individual. As noted above, both in the present and in the future, the very soul of the person is committed to the care and keeping of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, the essence of *homoousia*. The excerpt from the tenth-century prayer “Be Thou My Vision” that heads this chapter is also an example of a hymn that in its utterance draws on the continual presence and guiding power of the Trinity.⁷¹⁷

Apart from the AB, there are other instances where a spell is unexpected and included in a book of sermons with liturgical marginalia. Here, I turn to a manuscript whose origins are uncertain, but it provides a good example of a spell set down in the middle of a collection of

⁷¹⁴ Curran, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, 124 and see note 37 on page 237.

⁷¹⁵ Mees, *Celtic Curses*, 123.

⁷¹⁶ Warren, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, Part II, 71. The other texts are the *Stowe Missal* from the ninth-century; the *Leofric Missal* from the tenth-century; and a *Vienna Codex* also from the tenth-century. See Warren’s commentary, 71-72.

⁷¹⁷ For an interesting discussion on the triad see Patrick Simms-William, “Thought, Word, and Deed,” *Ériu* 29 (1978): 78-11.

pedantic writings. The manuscript Palatina Vaticana 220, dated from the ninth century and attributed to the Abbey of Lorsch, Germany, is a strange mix of exegetical texts and marginalia, with some interesting Irish connections. The manuscript also contains un-heightened neumes in the margins, a significant technological development in music, and the transmission of the liturgy during the Carolingian period. The script represents “a late example of a firm, rough Anglo-Saxon hand stemming from the region of the Middle or the Upper Rhine.”⁷¹⁸ At some unknown date in the tenth century, Pal. lat. 220 came to be in the library of Lorsch. In Robert McNally’s words there is “no convincing evidence to show that it was transcribed there.”⁷¹⁹ The evidence points to the Rhine Valley, an area “frequented by insular *peregrini*.”⁷²⁰ While the influence of these monks can be found in several religious centers in close proximity such as St. Gall, Metz, Reichenau, and Würzburg, tangible proof is often embedded in manuscripts and texts that betray an Irish hand. Michael Richter, for example, contends that there is a distinctive script characteristic in several continental manuscripts that point to Irish-trained scribes.⁷²¹ Liam de Paor suggests that the whole of the Rhine valley “has Irish associations” because of Irish missionaries who migrated to the continent in the sixth, seventh and eighth centuries, and contributed their scholastic expertise, particularly in Carolingian period.⁷²² While this seems an over emphasis of the role of Ireland’s continental involvement, Patrick O’Neill notes that Irish

⁷¹⁸ Robert E. McNally, “Preface to ‘Dies Dominico’ and Part II,” in *Scriptores Hiberniae Minores*, Pars I (Turnholt, Belgium): Typographi Brepols Editores Ponticici, 1973), 178.

⁷¹⁹ McNally 1973, 178.

⁷²⁰ Robert E. McNally, “‘In Nomine Dei Summi’: Seven Hiberno-Latin Sermons,” *Traditio* 35 (1979): 132.

⁷²¹ Michael Richter, *Ireland and Her Neighbours in the Seventh Century* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1999), 184.

⁷²² Liam De Paor, *Ireland and Early Europe: Essay and Occasional Writing on Art and Culture* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1997), 144.

missionaries are recorded in the annals of the Abbey of Lorsch.⁷²³ That the monastery has Irish connections requires further research, but it also makes the appearance of a spell all the more of interest. The well-known *Bienensagen* (the Lorsch Bee Charm) stands out in peculiar fashion: the text has been added in the margin, upside down.⁷²⁴ Bees were an important commodity, as has been noted in the Hymn for the Blessing of the Candle [AB 9] in the previous chapter. Controlling a swarm was a serious matter that required divine intervention. Although the Lorsch Charm is in German, the other texts are in Latin. There is so much that is unexplained about the manuscript such as the origin of marginal musical notation, its early provenance, and the reference to Columbanus in a sermon. The *Bienensagen* supports the use of exorcism within a Christian context and is proof that there was a mixing of texts within a single book. In sum we have three examples of spells: from the AB, from the Stowe Missal, and from Palatina Vaticana 220. On their own they appear as curious items, but put together they support the argument for mixing magical and liturgical elements in the same manuscript. The *Bienensagen* is another example of a spell that suggests a Christian purpose, particularly as it is found in a manuscript with sermons.

The isolation of the Irish church contributed to certain elements that distinguished its development from that of the continent, or in the East. Monasticism was still considered “a

⁷²³ Patrick O’Neill, “Ireland and Germany: A Survey of Literary and Cultural Relations before 1700,” *Studies* (Spring 1982), 46 but see the full article pages 43-54.

⁷²⁴ Palatina Latina Vaticana 220, f 53, copy from The Knights of Columbus Vatican Film Library in St. Louis Missouri. I am grateful to Professor John Haines for a copy of this manuscript and for drawing my attention to the marginalia as an area for research. For more on Palatina Vaticana 220 see: W. M. Lindsay, “The (Early) Lorsch Scriptorium,” *Palaeographia Latina*, Part III (1924): 5-48; Christoph Münch, *Musikzeugnisse der Reichsabtei Lorsch: Eine Untersuchung der Lorschermusikalischen Handschriften in der Bibliotheca Palatina in der Vatikanischen Bibliothek* (Lorsch: Verlag Laurissa, 1993; Tomás O’Sullivan, “Predictiones Palatinae”: The Sermons in Vat. Pal. lat. 220 as an Insular Resource for the Christianization of Early Medieval Germany,” Ph.D. Dissertation, Saint Louis University, Missouri, 2011. For a discussion of the Sunday Letter in Pal. Lat. 220 see Dorothy Haines, *Sunday Observance and the Sunday Letter in Anglo-Saxon England* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2010); McNally, “*In nomine Dei summi*: Seven Hiberno-Latin Sermons,” 121-143; and further M. E. Dwyer, “An Unstudied Redation of the *Visio Pauli*,” *Manuscripta* 32 (1988): 121-138.

fringe phenomenon”⁷²⁵ in the sixth century, while in Ireland monasticism was becoming an integral part of the Irish church: facilitated in part by its integrated culture and the *filid*. Following the death of St. Patrick the Irish church developed its own practice. Monastic practices, considered offensive by Roman standards and curtailed with the introduction by the Benedictine Rule,⁷²⁶ endured for a longer period in Irish monasticism. The more vigorous and eccentric forms of ascetic life such as fasting, penance, and hermitic isolation were practices of the Egyptian ascetics in places such as the Pachomian desert.⁷²⁷ These practices were, as Lester Little suggests, “an inspiration” to the Irish, who took religious life to the extreme.⁷²⁸ One illustrative example is the monastic hermitage on Scelig Mhíchil (Skellig Michael) in county Kerry, the remote islands on the western most part of Ireland.⁷²⁹ In this harsh environment the monks built small, beehive cells in order to practice their form of ascetic life, and to seclude themselves away from the clustered community for periods of private prayer. The beehive cells seem monoliths of a strange race unless we see them in the context of monks emulating an

⁷²⁵ Little, *Benedictine Maledictions*, 157.

⁷²⁶ St. Benedict of Nursia (c. 480-547) was the author of the monastic rule that was prominent in the West. The Rule was influenced by other monastic leaders such as John Cassian, and the cenobitic leaders Basil (c. 330-379) and Auggustine (354-430); see Bernard Green, “Benedict of Nursia, St.,” *Encyclopedia of Monasticism*, volume 1, edited by William M. Johnston (Chicago; London: Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers, 2000), 128-132. Both the Rule of Benedict and the Rule of Columbanus coexisted in Columban monasteries, notably in Francia. In foundations such as Corbie, St Wandrille and Jumièges; see Marilyn Dunn, *The Emergence of Monasticism: From the Desert Fathers tot the Early Middle Ages* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000), 191.

⁷²⁷ On monasticism see William Harmless, *Desert Christians: An Introduction to the Literature of Early Monasticism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004); Douglas Burton-Christie, *The Word in the Desert: Scripture and the Quest for Holiness in Early Christian Monasticism* (New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993); and Graham Gould, *The Desert Fathers on Monastic Community* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993). On the *Apophthegmata Patrum* see *The Wisdom of the Desert Fathers: the ‘Apophthegmata Patrum’* (the anonymous series), translated from the Greek by Benedicta Ward; with foreword by Archbishop Anthony Bloom (Oxford; SLB Press, 1975); and *The Desert Christian: Sayings of the Desert Fathers*; the alphabetical collection, translated and with a foreword by Benedicta Ward (New York: Macmillan, 1980, C. 1975).

⁷²⁸ Little, *Benedictine Maledictions*, 157.

⁷²⁹ On Skellig Michael see Des Lavelle, *The Skellig Story: Ancient Monastic Outpost* (Dublin: The O’Brien Press, [1976] 1993).

ascetic experience. Here, the physical and mental challenges seem a reinterpretation of Egyptian monasticism based on *hesychasm*, the act of withdrawing to the desert “to be quiet” but in a new geographical region.⁷³⁰ As an extreme settlement on the farthest edges of Ireland they also reflect anchorites who were considered to be on the fringe.⁷³¹

When these elements of monasticism are considered along with the literary evidence of manuscripts such as the AB, there can be no doubt that the impact of Christianity had a transformative result on Irish culture and society. In the lives of the Irish saints there is reflected the fortitude of their convictions. Cultural practices such as chanting and uttering clamours,⁷³² already in the arsenal of practitioners in pre-Christian Ireland, take on a new meaning in a Christian context. In Celtic Europe remnants of inscriptions and curse stones reveal an established practice of employing the divine spirits to direct outcomes. What appears as elements of pagan, or pre-Christian Ireland traditions, become incorporated into religious practices. These practices were valuable liturgical tools in the hands of experts.

4.4 Conclusion

Prompted by John Stevens’s comment, this chapter has examined the history of the hymn and the reason for its attraction in Ireland. Throughout Church history the hymn gradually gained

⁷³⁰ For more on *hesychasm* see John Chryssavgis, “Hesychasm,” *Encyclopedia of Monasticism*, edited by William M. Johnston, volume 1 (Chicago; London: Fitzroy Dearborn, 2000), 586-7.

⁷³¹ C. H. Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism: Forms of Religious Life in Western Europe in the Middle Ages*, third edition (Harlow, Essex, UK: Longman, an imprint of Pearson Education, [1984] 2001), 42.

⁷³² The practice of clamours derives from the French tradition where ecclesiastical curses “were expressed in such a way that they represent a tradition separate from the early Christian curing genres of excommunication and anathema. Given that they derive from parts of Europe influenced by Irish missionaries and scholars during the early medieval period, clamours have been ascribed an Irish origin that is based on the earlier Hibernian tradition of saintly cursing such as in the form of the cursing psalms. Towards the end of the ninth century these Carolingian curses, as they were known, were written down in formularies;” see Mees, *Celtic Curses*, 130-131.

prominence in religious practice, particularly in Protestant denominations following the Protestant Reformation in the sixteenth century. While the reaction in the Catholic Church was to restrict the use of hymns, the opposite was the case in the Protestant church. At the same time, a common element is the use of hymns.⁷³³ Unlike other forms of literature, the hymn capitalizes on word and metaphor, and reveals qualities that music adorns in performance.

Although hymns have occupied an awkward place in the early church, they were of great significance in Ireland. As a strophic song, the hymn lent itself to poetic text. The style in the hymns of Ambrose of Milan served as models for the Christian church.⁷³⁴ In adapting to the Latin language, the *filid* carried the ancient poetic practices into the Irish literary realm. In this chapter I have shown that the hymn took root in Ireland, aided by a culture that took delight in the spoken word.

⁷³³ The hymn continues to be an important vehicle for theological ideas. Perhaps a contemporary example is the Salvation Army. The founders, William and Catherine Booth, employed every means possible in declaring the gospel. Brass bands and the playing of hymns were a hallmark of the Army and Booth's well-known adage, "the devil may have the tune but the words belong to God" were taken to extreme. Amidst controversy and physical harm, the mission of the Salvation Army was propelled into the slums of inner London armed with music, and hymns; for more see *The A to Z of the Salvation Army*, edited by John G. Merritt (Landham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2009).

⁷³⁴ Thomas Finan, "Hiberno-Latin Christian literature," in *An Introduction to Celtic Christianity*, edited by James P. Mackey (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1989), 74.

Chapter 5

Irish *Peregrinatio*: Taking Faith on the Road

Now therefore you are no more strangers and foreigners; but you are fellow citizens with the saints, and of the domestics of God.⁷³⁵

Given the distance from Bangor to Bobbio – 2, 151.7 kilometers,⁷³⁶ and Irish monks, like manuscripts, have been affiliated with monasteries well beyond the realm of Ireland, it is important to account for this phenomenon. Even the theory that the AB was perhaps “a portable service book for the use of travelers: *pro sacerdotibus aut monachis itinerantibus*,”⁷³⁷ highlights Irish monks on the move. The image of a pilgrim on a journey is a frequent *topos* in religious writing. Irish *peregrinatio pro Christo* or “exile for Christ” went beyond the concept of pilgrimage.⁷³⁸ In Irish law *peregrinatio* was considered a form of penance; a temporary exile.⁷³⁹ Two types were practiced in Ireland: the “lesser exile,” referring to those who left the community but not Ireland, and the “superior exile,” meaning those who left Ireland on an unknown voyage.⁷⁴⁰ Irish *peregrinatio* was considered an ascetic form of devotional practice a feature of

⁷³⁵ Ephesians 2: 19, Douai Version. See Ephesians 2: 19 in *New Catholic Edition of the Holy Bible: The Old Testament Confraternity – Douay Version and the New Testament Confraternity Edition* (New York: Catholic Book Publishing, 1957), 251: “Therefore, you are now no longer strangers and foreigners, but you are citizens with the saints and members of God’s household.”

⁷³⁶ According to Google Map, “Bangor, Ireland to Bobbio, Italy,” accessed 22 February, 2013. No URL is given. Access the “Map” icon on the Google home page.

⁷³⁷ See Warren, *The Antiphony of Bangor*, Part II, x.

⁷³⁸ Corning, *The Celtic and Roman Tradition*, 17.

⁷³⁹ Corning, *The Celtic and Roman Tradition*, 17. On penance and Irish practice Lester Little writes: “A characteristically Irish form of spiritual behavior, whether imposed as penance or chosen as ascetic exercise, was exile and aimless peregrination,” see *Benedictine Maledictions: Liturgical Cursing in Romanesque France* (Ithaca; London; Cornell University Press, 1993), 158. Little’s emphasis on “aimless” recalls the multiple meanings embedded in the word “peregrinus” and the reference to the “wandering tone” associated with the modes; see the musical discussion of the “tonus peregrinus” later in this chapter.

⁷⁴⁰ Corning, *The Celtic and Roman Tradition*, 17.

the Celtic church.⁷⁴¹ To volunteer for a religious *peregrinatio* was considered a form of self-imposed exile and meant leaving one's homeland to become a foreigner, or stranger⁷⁴² with little likelihood of return.

Throughout the seventh and eighth centuries Ireland was a source of monastic culture and contributed to the development of monasticism in Britain and on the continent. Two Irish saints who illustrate the stages of *peregrinatio* are Columbanus (Colum Cille), and Fursa. Although St. Columba of Iona is considered Ireland's "first great missionary,"⁷⁴³ Columbanus has Bangor connections. That Columbanus and the AB should be intimately connected to Bangor and Bobbio seems more than circumstantial. As one of the earliest monks to embark on *peregrinatio*, he represents a new direction of Christianity: moving outward from Ireland. Fursa has interesting continental and familial associations. Along with his brothers Ultán and Foillán, the trio had an impact in Britain and in Belgium. Their relationship with St. Gertrude of Nivelles

⁷⁴¹ Corning, *The Celtic and Roman Tradition*, 17.

⁷⁴² T. M. Charles-Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 103. For more on the social construction of early Irish communities, see "(II) Communities," 80-123.

⁷⁴³ Walsh and Bradley, *A History of the Irish Church 400-700AD*, 94.

(b. 626 - d. ca? 653-659),⁷⁴⁴ the daughter of Pippin of Landen (ca. 580-640)⁷⁴⁵ and St. Iduberga (Ita, Itta) (d. 640), (one of Charlemagne's ancestors and founder of the family of Arnulfings or the Pippinids, later known as the Carolingians),⁷⁴⁶ demonstrates the extent to which the *peregrini* became enmeshed with prominent ruling families.

Given the emphasis on *peregrinatio* in the Irish church, a large portion of early Irish literature was given over to the *vitae* of saints.⁷⁴⁷ Richard Sharpe writes: "Whatever the historical or devotional reasons [...] medieval Ireland produced a great quantity of hagiographical documents."⁷⁴⁸ The significance of hagiographic literature from a historical and literary perspective is what the authors have to say about religious practice and the ceremonial

⁷⁴⁴ For dates and brief biography see É. Brouette, "Gertrude of Nivelles, St.," *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, edited by Berard L. Marthaler, volume 6 (Washington, D.C.: Thomson Gale in association with The Catholic University of America, 2003), 191. These dates differ from some of the following on the life of Gertude: see "Gertrude, Abbess of Nivelles (628-658)," in *Sainted Women of the Dark Ages*, edited and translated by Jo Ann McNamara and John e. Halborg, with E. Gordon Whatley (Durham; London: Duke University Press, 1992), 220-234; *Vita Sanctae Geretrudis* (the Life of Saint Geretrud) and the *Additamentum Nivialense de Fuilano* (the Nivelles supplement to the *Vita Fursei* concerning Foillan)," in *Late Merovingian France: History and Hagiography 640-720*, by Paul Fouracre and Richard A. Gerberding (Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press, 1996), 301-329; *Vita Sanctae Geretrudis*, edited by B. Krusch, *MGH, SSRM*, II (Hanover, 1888), 447-74.

⁷⁴⁵ "Pepin" or "Pippin" represents a succession of Frankish leaders and the Carolingian familial dynasty. For consistency, "Pippin" is used throughout. Pippin I of Landen is also known as "Pippin the Old or the Elder and died in ca. 640. His daughter Begga married the son of Arnulf of Metz, Ansegisel, and this resulted in Pippin becoming mayor of Austrasia by the Merovingian king Clotar II of Neustria (reigned 584-629)," for this information see Celia Chazell, "Pepin," *Medieval France; An Encyclopedia*, edited by William W. Kibler and Grover A. Zinn (New York; London: Garland Publishing, 1995), 715-6.

⁷⁴⁶ For this information see Chazelle, "Pepin," 715-6.

⁷⁴⁷ Among the prominent Irish martyrology texts are: *Félire Oengusso Céili Dé: The Martyrology of Oengus the Culdee*, critically edited from ten manuscripts with a preface, translation, notes, and indices by Whitley Stokes (London: Henry Bradshaw Society, 1905); and *The Martyrology of Tallaght: From the Book of Leinster, MS. 5100-4 in the Royal Library, Brussels*, edited with introduction, translations, notes and indices by Richard Irvine Best and Hugh Jackson Lawlor (London: Henry Bradshaw Society, 1931). Pádraig Ó Riain has written extensively regarding Irish saints. For recent work see Pádraig Ó Riain, ed., *Four Irish Martyrologies: Drummond, Turin, Cashel, York* (London: Henry Bradshaw Society, 2002); Ó Riain, ed., *A Martyrology of Four Cities: Metz, Cologne, Dublin, Lund* (London: Henry Bradshaw Society, 2008); Ó Riain, *Feastdays of the Saints: A History of Irish Martyrologies* (Bruxelles: Société des Bollandistes, 2006); Ó Riain, *A Dictionary of Irish Saints* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2011); and John Carey, Máire Herbert, and Pádraig Ó Riain, eds., *Studies in Irish Hagiography: Saints and Scholars* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2001). Further studies include: Richard Sharpe, *Medieval Irish Saints' Lives: an Introduction to Vitae Sanctorum Hibernia* (Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press, 1990).

⁷⁴⁸ Sharpe, *Medieval Irish Saints' Lives*, 5.

elements that surround the life of a saint. Although they are hardly factual biographies, they convey details about the culture in their literary style and format. As saints were venerated, the home of their relics became places of pilgrimage. An important musical connection relates to the genre known as *historia*, “a term for the office texts based on the *vitae* of saints.”⁷⁴⁹ As has been noted, research into the veneration of Irish saints in Europe is unearthing new musical evidence⁷⁵⁰ and is the subject of other ongoing studies. Such evidence is an indication of the depth of the relationship with the community. Some *peregrini* such as Fursa and Columbanus received support from rulers. This support enabled some Irish founded monasteries to develop scholastic pursuits because of royal patronage. The commemoration of Columbanus in Italy⁷⁵¹ and his legacy at Bobbio, not to mention other monasteries such as Luxeuil, all suggest Ireland was a source of liturgical influence on the continent given their prominence. Through *peregrinatio* the Irish were valiant ambassadors of Christianity and scholasticism, often remembered by the monasteries they founded. The drama and colour of cultural and political history are woven into their lives. At the same time, Columbanus set in motion the dual aspect of the practice: the lesser *peregrinatio*, demonstrated in monks who chose to remain in Ireland;

⁷⁴⁹ Nancy Phillips, “Music,” in *Medieval Latin: An Introduction and Bibliographical Guide* (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1996), 310. For more information on the *historia* of Irish saints see Ann Buckley, “Between Hagiography and Liturgy: Fragmentary Offices for Irish Saints,” in *A Carnival of Learning: Essays to honour George Cunningham and his 50 conferences on medieval Ireland in the Cistercian Abbey of Mount St. Joseph, Roscrea, 1987-2012*, edited by Peter Harbison and Valerie Hall (Mount St. Joseph Abbey, Roscrea: Cistercian Press, 2012); A. Buckley, “Music in Ireland to c. 1500,” in *A New History of Ireland, I: Prehistoric and Early Ireland*, edited by Dáibhí Ó Cróinín (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 744-813 at 776-808; A. Buckley, “The Liturgical Veneration of Irish Saints in Medieval Europe.” *Études Irlandaises* 27/2 (2002), 133-138; and A. Buckley and Sara Gibbs Casey, *Liturgical Sources for the Veneration of Irish Saints: An Annotated Checklist*, 2 volumes, in progress. For more on the chant cycles, or *historiae* sung during the Divine Office see Roman Hankeln, ed., *Political Plainchant? Music, Text and Historical Context of Medieval Saints’ Offices* (Ottawa: The Institute of Medieval Music, 2009).

⁷⁵⁰ See the work of Ann Buckley and Sara Gibbs Casey listed in the bibliography for examples.

⁷⁵¹ For more on Columbanus and his commemoration at Bobbio see Michael Richter, *Bobbio in the Early Middle Ages; the Abiding Legacy of Columbanus* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2008).

and those who left for the spiritual unknown. It seems impossible that music was not also part of the *peregrini* life.

5.1 Irish *Peregrinatio*

When Irish monks retreated to the monastic island of Skellig Michael, this was more than a renouncement from the world.⁷⁵² They were engaged in a metaphorical type of travel or *peregrinatio*. Located in a remote part of the country, the monks seem to have been “living on the fringe,” in both a physical and a religious sense.⁷⁵³ What motivated Irish monks to disengage from the world had more to do with their spiritual convictions, a form of ascetic practice or *peregrinatio*.

The word “*peregrinatio*” derives from the Latin deponent verb – *peregrinor - ari - atus* – which means “to be abroad, travel;” or “to be a stranger.”⁷⁵⁴ The word “*peregrinus*” encompasses a broad meaning: “foreign, from foreign parts, strange, alien, exotic” and even “inexperienced, or ignorant.”⁷⁵⁵ From a religious perspective, the word is often associated with pilgrimage. The model of goal-oriented pilgrimage was a common practice in the Middle

⁷⁵² In regard to Ireland, Catherine Thom observes that several major monastic sites also attest “to the irresistible drawing power and numinous nature of the sea for the early monastic founders;” see Thom, *Early Irish Monasticism*, 17, note 75. Here, Thom sites Bangor on the sea, Skellig Michael, on the remote rocky outcrop off the west coast, and Nendrum on Strangford Loch.

⁷⁵³ On the remoteness of the Skelligs in County Kerry, see Peter Somerville-Large, *Ireland’s Islands: Landscape, Life, and Legends* (London: Salamander Books, 2000), 111: “On this isolated rock, consisting of sharply angled twin peaks 214 and 195 metres (715 and 650 feet) above the sea, a group of monks, following the lead of the Desert Fathers, made their home in A.D. 600.”

⁷⁵⁴ *Collins Latin Gem Dictionary*, edited by D. A. Kidd (London; Glasgow: Collins, 1970), 238. Also see Michael Richter, “*Peregrinatio*,” *Medieval Ireland: An Encyclopedia*, edited by Seán Duffy (New York; London: Routledge, 2005), 372.

⁷⁵⁵ *Penguin Latin Dictionary*, edited by Robert Shorrock and David Butterfield (London: Penguin Reference Library, 2007), 206.

Ages.⁷⁵⁶ This usually involved a journey to a holy shrine or relics. Although Irish monks did participate in this type of pilgrimage, the distinction between other forms of practice and Irish *peregrinatio* was one of perpetual pilgrimage. In renouncing the monastic *familia*, the monks were cutting themselves off from the emotional and spiritual supports that knit the community together. The voyage was to the unknown, with little likelihood of return. The finality of personal relationships made the commitment all the more extreme.⁷⁵⁷

St. Patrick had already drawn attention to his renunciation of country and family for the cause of *peregrinatio* to the Irish. In his *Confessio*, Patrick emphasizes his alienation and decries his lack of qualifications and training: “And so I am in the first place countrified, an exile, yes, unlearned, with no idea of how to look to the future.”⁷⁵⁸ Further on Patrick writes (emphasis mine):

§26: And when I was attacked by a number of my elders, who came and brought up my sins against my arduous episcopate, certainly that day I was struck a heavy blow so that I might fall here and for ever; but the Lord graciously spared me, who was **a stranger in a foreign land for His name’s sake**, and He helped me greatly when I was trampled under foot in this way.⁷⁵⁹

⁷⁵⁶ Stephanie Hayes-Healy, “Patterns of *Peregrinatio* in the Early Middle Ages,” in *Medieval Paradigms: Essays in Honour of Jeremy Duquesnay Adams*, edited by Stephanie Hayes-Healy, volume II (Basingstoke, England: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 3.

⁷⁵⁷ The ideas summarized in this paragraph draw on Stephanie Hayes-Healy’s article. For the reference, see above.

⁷⁵⁸ A. B. E. Hood, ed. and trans., *St. Patrick, His Writings and Muirchus’ Life* (London; Chichester: Phillimore, 1978), §12, 43. The Latin text: “Unde ego primus rusticus profuga indoctus scilicet, qui nexcio in posterum providere,” 25. I was pointed to the writings of St. Patrick’s through reading Stephanie Hayes-Healy’s article “*Peregrinatio* in the Early Middle Ages,” 11-12 and see 21, note 41.

⁷⁵⁹ Hood, ed., and trans., *St. Patrick, His Writings and Muirchu’s Life*, §26, 46. The Latin text: “Et quando temptatus sum ab aliquantis senioribus meis, qui venerunt et peccata mea contra laboriosum episcopatum meum. <obiecueruntsu>, utique illo die fortiter impulsus sum ut caderem hic et in aeternum; sed Dominus pepercit proselito et **peregrine propter nomen suum benigne**, et valde mihi subvenit in hac conculcatione,” §26, 28.

In identifying himself as “a stranger in a foreign land,” Patrick underscores his alienation from homeland, but objectifies the purpose of his mission. Stephanie Hayes-Healy points out that Patrick’s articulation of his mission to Ireland as a *peregrinatio* is “an integral part of a larger ascetic discourse,” where the rejection “of his family and kin is central to his ascetic renunciation.”⁷⁶⁰ Indeed, emblematic of St. Patrick’s mission is his renouncement of family. Given that Patrick had been abducted in his youth and forcibly brought to Ireland, his voluntary return not only makes him a stranger to his family, but he is also a foreigner once again in Ireland. In this, St. Patrick recalls the desert practice of asceticism. But the self-identification with Christ is embodied in the act of physical and emotional removal from home, rather than the outward manifestations of physical suffering. Although St. Patrick’s interpretation of *peregrinatio* conveys the element of alienation and travel undertaken in God’s name, his definition seems distinct from other forms of pilgrimage of temporary duration.

As noted in the previous chapter, many pilgrims visiting the desert were on a pilgrimage, which ended once the journey was completed. At the same time, the ascetics, often the object of the pilgrimage, were also on a religious quest with undefined goals. The metaphorical and devotional interplay is hardly esoteric and highlights the double optics of the practice. The juxtaposition between the goal of the visitor, pilgrim, or the ascetic means the word “pilgrimage” can have multiple interpretations. Indeed, the concept “of life as a pilgrimage toward God” transcends religious quests.⁷⁶¹ Hayes-Healy argues that the type of *peregrinatio* undertaken by Irish men is more apt to be “labeled” as “an aberration, or an idiosyncratic form of ‘regular’

⁷⁶⁰ Hayes-Healy, “Patterns of *Peregrinatio* in the Early Middle Ages,” 12.

⁷⁶¹ Corning, *The Celtic and Roman Traditions*, 177.

pilgrimage.”⁷⁶² Neither of which fully explains an Irish interpretation of the less common *peregrinus* and *peregrinatio*.⁷⁶³

In differentiating Irish *peregrinatio*, as distinct from other forms of *peregrinatio*, then, one problem is that various interpretations have been mapped onto the word pilgrimage.⁷⁶⁴ A “goal-oriented pilgrimage,” as noted earlier, more often involved “geographical movement from the profane to the sacred and usually back again.”⁷⁶⁵ When a pilgrim traveled to a holy site, or to the desert, there was an expectation.⁷⁶⁶ A pilgrim to the Holy Land, for example, might follow in the “steps of the Master.”⁷⁶⁷ However, there is also another dimension to the practice, which recalls the previous discussion regarding what pilgrims saw in the desert and the gaze of the visitor. As has been noted, Palladius (Bishop of Aspuna, d. *ca.* 430) was seeing more than the tangible objects on his journey and writing of the spiritual devotion of the ascetics in his *Lausiac History*.⁷⁶⁸ Hayes-Healy also draws attention to the experiential dimension of pilgrimage as conveyed in the words of Jerome who wrote: “The man who has seen Judaea with his own

⁷⁶² Hayes-Healy, “Patterns of *Peregrinatio* in the Early Middle Ages,” 3.

⁷⁶³ See Hayes-Healy, “Patterns of *Peregrinatio* in the Early Middle Ages” 3-24.

⁷⁶⁴ See the discussion of society and the origins of *peregrinatio* in T. M. Charles-Edwards, “The Social Background to Irish *Peregrinatio*,” *Celtica* 11 (1979): 43-59.

⁷⁶⁵ Hayes-Healy, “Patterns of *Peregrinatio* in the Early Middle Ages,” 5.

⁷⁶⁶ Hayes-Healy, “Patterns of *Peregrinatio* in the Early Middle Ages,” 5.

⁷⁶⁷ Hayes-Healy uses this phrase in her article in reference to a comment made by Origen, see “Patterns of *Peregrinatio* in the Early Middle Ages,” 5. This was also a title of a book by Henry Vollam Morton, *In the Steps of the Master* (London: Rich and Cowann, 1934). The desert ascetics also sparked a genre of travel writing as has been noted in the previous chapter. For discussion on medieval aspects of travel and *peregrinatio* see Mary B. Campbell, ““The Object of One’s Gaze”: Landscape, Writing, and Early Medieval Pilgrimage,” in *Discovering New Worlds: Essays on Medieval Exploration and Imagination* (New York; London: Garland Publishing, 1991), 3-15. Margaret Stokes recounts her journey in *Three Months in the Forests of France: A Pilgrimage in Search of Vestiges of the Irish Saints in France* (London: George Bell and Sons, 1895). Even the travels of Charles Burney and his venture in Milan can be interpreted as a type of pilgrimage, in search of music.

⁷⁶⁸ See W. K. Lowther Clarke, ed., *The Lausiac History of Palladius* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; New York: Macmillan Company, 1918), and 35-46.

eyes... will gaze more clearly upon Holy Scripture.”⁷⁶⁹ The sensory dynamics can hardly be dismissed for it is part of the aesthetic experience embodied in pilgrimage. But there were other forms of pilgrimage that involved a non-tangible “shrine”. Here, the quest is both in the physical world, but also in the realm of the unseen.

In Irish *peregrinatio* the journey is not a “concrete, physical goal or a perceived end.”⁷⁷⁰ As *peregrini*, their lives were a perpetual journey of devotion where the element of travel away from family and community was seen as a desert experience. For the Irish the ascetic pilgrimage “held a certain fascination in medieval Ireland.”⁷⁷¹ So much so that in the sixth century *peregrinatio* was viewed as penance and exile was seen as a punishment. In Irish society, Irish law viewed the Christian *peregrini* as outsiders.⁷⁷² This interesting social dynamic has another dimension and helps us to see why earlier discussions have been useful, and why AB has been a major source of Hiberno-Latin poetry. The *filid*, the poetical elite of Irish society, discussed in an earlier chapter, had special privileges and could travel unrestricted across traditional clan boundaries.⁷⁷³ The Christian *peregrini* were considered exiles but they were given privileges, as the *filid*, and could travel. Because of the *peregrini*’s status in Irish society, this enabled them to be effective negotiators with royalty and the ruling class in the regions they inhabited.⁷⁷⁴

⁷⁶⁹ Quoted in Hayes-Healy, “*Peregrinatio* in the Early Middle Ages,” 5.

⁷⁷⁰ Hayes-Healy, “Patterns of *Peregrinatio* in the Early Middle Ages,” 4.

⁷⁷¹ Hayes-Healy, “Patterns of *Peregrinatio* in the Early Middle Ages,” 12.

⁷⁷² Hayes-Healy, “Patterns of *Peregrinatio* in the Early Middle Ages,” 12.

⁷⁷³ Reference in Hayes-Healy, “Patterns of *Peregrinatio* in the Early Middle Ages,” 12.

⁷⁷⁴ See Hayes-Healy, “Patterns of Peregrination in the Early middle Ages,” 12-13. Here, Hayes-Healy points to the work of T. M. Charles-Edwards and his theory of the *peregrini* in relation to Irish law, with discussion of the *filid*. See T. M. Charles-Edwards, “The Social Background to Irish *Peregrinatio*,” *Celtica* 11 (1976): 43-59. For a bibliography on Irish *peregrinatio* see “The Irish Peregrination,” in *A New History of Ireland, I: Prehistoric and Early Ireland*, edited by Dáibhí Ó Cróinín (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 1131-1137.

Their ability to communicate on many levels made them invaluable conduits between the old traditions and the monastic culture so much a part of AB.

If the word “peregrinus” embodies “shades of meaning”⁷⁷⁵ then it is hardly surprising that its etymological nuances have been misleading. Even in medieval music “the spurious tone”⁷⁷⁶ outside the pitches of the eight modes is referred to as the “peregrine tone” or the “tonus peregrinus.” Here, the term “wandering tone” derived from the Latin, implies a tenor or a recitation tone that changes pitch after the mediation.⁷⁷⁷ According to the *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* the terminology either derives “from the tones variable trait, or from Psalms 113 (114) known as the so-called ‘Pilgrim’s Psalm’.”⁷⁷⁸ The earliest reference to *tonus peregrinus*⁷⁷⁹ appears in the *ca.* tenth-century *Commemoratio Brevis*.⁷⁸⁰ The treatise draws parallels with the *Enchiriadis* Treatises (*Musica Enchiriadis* and *Scholia*) and is part of the corpus of speculative writings on music.⁷⁸¹ Although space here prevents a discussion of the

⁷⁷⁵ Hayes-Healy, “Peregrination in the Early Middle Ages,” 4.

⁷⁷⁶ See Terence Bailey, *Commemoratio Brevis de Tonis et Psalmis Modulandi: Introduction, Critical Edition, and Translation* (Ottawa: The University of Ottawa Press, 1979), 6 where the contents of the treatise is outlined and section X is entitled “Concerning spurious psalm-tones.”

⁷⁷⁷ “Tonus peregrinus,” *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, edited by Stanley Sadie, volume 19 (London: Macmillan, 1980), 67. No author is given for this entry.

⁷⁷⁸ “Tonus peregrinus,” 67. For more on the psalm – tone see the recent book by Mattias Lundberg, *Tonus Peregrinus: The History of a Psalm-tone and its use in Polyphonic Music* Farnham, Surrey, England: Ashgate, 2011).

⁷⁷⁹ For more on the *tonus peregrinus* see Jean Claire, “The Tonus Peregrinus – a Question Well Put?” *Orbis Musicae* 7 (1979-80): 3-14.

⁷⁸⁰ “Tonus peregrinus,” 67. For a study of the treatise see Bailey, *Commemoratio Brevis de Tonis et Psalmis Modulandi: Introduction, Critical Edition, and Translation*. As Bailey notes, the treatise contains “something of importance on the matter of ambiguities of modal classification,” 19. The date and provenance of the treatise is unknown, although Bailey notes that there is a close relationship between the *Musica Enchiriadis* of the ninth-century and the *Commemoratio* was written not long afterward, 13. As might be expected, the evidence for the origins of the treatise is inconclusive. In summation, Bailey concludes that the *Commemoratio Brevis* “was written in a Benedictine monastery” in the vicinity of “the Seine and Rhine rivers of Northern France and possibly in the region of Saint-Amand,” 14.

⁷⁸¹ Bailey, *Commemoratio Brevis de Tonis et Psalmis Modulandi*, 10.

treatise, it is thought to have been written between the Seine and Rhine River in northern France.⁷⁸² Of note is that the anonymous author of *Commemoratio* puts forth theoretical information about Psalmodic practice and antiphonal chants. The use of “peregrinus” terminology is interesting, particularly in light of Irish practice and the stream of scholastics who infiltrated the region from Ireland, namely the Irish scholar and ninth-century philosopher John Scottus Eriugena (*ca.* 810- *ca.* 877).⁷⁸³ One avenue of further study is the relationship between the *Musica Enchiriadis*, the *Commemoratio Brevis*, and Eriugena’s *Periphyseon* (*De Divisione naturae*).⁷⁸⁴ Although the authorship of the *Musica Enchiriadis* and the *Scholia Enchiriadis* are considered to be anonymous, a reference by Ludwig Bieler may serve as an example of reading too much into Irish influence on the continent. In *Ireland: Harbinger of the Middle Ages* Bieler draws attention to musical theory and notes “the earliest treatise on polyphony is, in all probability, the so-called *Musica Enchiriadis*.”⁷⁸⁵ Bieler then references Eriugena’s Book III of the *Periphyseon* relating the form of polyphony and pointing to Jacques Handschin “a leading historian of music” and who, Bieler reports, suggested that the *Musica Enchiriadis* “is the work

⁷⁸² See Bailey, *Commemoratio Brevis de Tonis et Psalmis Modulandi*, 14 and note 40 where the information is attributed to Michel Huglo’s study *Les tonaires: inventaire, analyse, comparaison* (Paris: Paris Société française de musicology, 1971).

⁷⁸³ For more on Eriugena or Johannes Scottus see Kenney, 569-589; John J. O’Meara, *Eriugena* (Cork: Published for the Cultural Relations Committee of Ireland by the Mercier Press, 1969); Deirdre Carabine, *John Scottus Eriugena* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000); *Johannis Scotti Eriugena Periphyseon (De Divisione naturae)*, edited by I. P. Sheldon-Williams; with the collaboration of Ludwig Bieler (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advance Studies, 1968); and *Johannis Scotti Eriugena Periphyseon (De Divisione naturae)*, Libre 4, edited by Edouard A. Jeauneau, with the assistance of Mark A. Zier; English translation by John J. O’Meara and I. P. Sheldon-Williams (Dublin: School of Celtic Studies, Dublin Institute for Advance Studies, 1995).

⁷⁸⁴ Máire MacAongusa has recently argues for the place of music in the study of the grammatical text known as *Auraicept n-éces* (*The Scholars’ Primer*) a training book related to the *filid*, and its parallels with Latin Grammarians. In the section entitled *Lebor Ferchertne*, a pedagogical instruction concerning music, MacAongusa states that we can “uncover a dialogue in which the teachers of the *filid* engages with mainstream European musical thought which was, at that time, dominated by the liturgical needs of the Christian Church;” see Máire MacAongusa, “*Seachta frisa toimsiter Gaedhelg – Seven things by which Gaedhelg is Measured*,” *Studia Celtica Fennica V* (2008), 54. There seems even more reason to consider musical treatises in relation to grammatical developments in Ireland. I would like to thank Professor Dooley for drawing my attention to MacAongusa’s article.

⁷⁸⁵ Ludwig Bieler, *Ireland: Harbinger of the Middle Ages* (London: Oxford University Press, 1963), 133.

of an Irishman.”⁷⁸⁶ Such reports are misleading and now unreliable. Bieler may wish that Irish authorship was the case but what is of interest is that Eriugena should be considered a possible author. Raymond Erickson argues more needs to be made of Boethius (*ca.* 480-524/526)⁷⁸⁷ as a possible influence, but also emphasizes the intellectual and musical significance of Eriugena’s writings particularly in light of the educational reforms of the Carolingians.⁷⁸⁸ Who influenced whom? There seems to be much more behind the relationship between these early theoretical treatises.⁷⁸⁹ While the evidence is confusing, this example shows that the musical influence of the Irish *peregrini* cannot be dismissed.

Given that the spiritual manifestations of pilgrimage are harder to define, it is understandable that Irish *peregrinatio* is misunderstood. For indeed, the study requires

⁷⁸⁶ Bieler, *Ireland: Harbinger of the Middle Ages*, 133. Bieler does not provide a source for Handschin’s reference which seems odd given the magnitude of his theory. See Jacques Handschin, “Die Musikanschauung de Johannes Scotus (Erigena),” *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte* 5 (1927): 136-341. I thank Professor Elliott for this reference.

⁷⁸⁷ Brian Merrilees, “Boethius, Anicius Manlius Severinus,” *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, edited by Joseph R. Strayer, volume 2 (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1983), 291.

⁷⁸⁸ Raymond Erickson, “Eriugena, Boethius and Neoplatonism,” *Musical Humanism and its Legacy: Essays in Honor of Claude V. Palisca* (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon, 1992), 53-78 at 78. Also see “Introduction,” *Musica Enchiridias and Scholica Enchiridias*, translated, with introduction and notes by Raymond Erickson, edited by Claude V. Palisca (New Have; London: Yale University Press, 1995).

⁷⁸⁹ Lest the reference to Eriugena seem an overreach of Irish influence on the continent, consider these references by John Marenbon on Eriugena and the liberal arts: “John was the most remarkable of a group of emigrant Irishmen (they included Martin, school master at Laon, and Sedulius at Liège, as well as some pupils of Eriugenia’s) who outstripped the continental scholars in learning. At Charles’s court he seems to have taught a curriculum based around the seven liberal arts – the linguistic arts of the ‘trivium’ (grammar, logic and rhetoric) and the mathematical arts of the ‘quadrivium’ (arithmetic, geometry, astronomy and music) – using Martianus Capella’s *De nuptiis* as a textbook,” see John Marenbon, *Medieval Philosophy: An Historical and Philosophical Introduction* (London; New York: Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group, 2007), 73.

A further reference: “It had been common, for more than two centuries, for Irishmen to emigrate to Europe: some continental monasteries were of Irish foundation; some contained Irish monks, copying texts in their distinctive script. In the middle of the ninth century, however, there are to be found for the first time a number of Irishmen who by their wide learning, intelligence and linguistic ability excelled all their contemporaries. Of these, the three most outstanding were John, Martin and Sedulius (who are all surnamed ‘Scottus’ meaning – at this period – ‘Irishman’),” see John Marenbon, *Early Medieval Philosophy (480-1150) An Introduction* (London; Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1983), 53.

And finally: “Ireland has been represented, often with more enthusiasm than accuracy, as the refuge of culture in the dark period of the seventh and eighth centuries,” John Marenbon, *From the Circle of Alcuin to the School of Auxerre* (London; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 2.

considering the texts more closely and retrieving the spiritual motivation behind the practice.

Catherine Thom observes that the monastic rules were in themselves a way of “distilling ascetic theology,” for by “formulating praxis, the rules were a means of obedience.”⁷⁹⁰ Thom’s observations are helpful and worth reiterating:

To go on pilgrimage, in obedience to the call of God, was a prime form of asceticism, for it took one away from one’s connection with *Túatha* or clan and ensured that one rely solely on God. Pilgrimage took the pilgrim to the place of God’s choosing: the pilgrim often set off in a curragh with nothing but the wind and the will of God to determine the destination. What mattered most was not a destination but that the movement away from homeland was *peregrinatio pro Christo*.⁷⁹¹

As Thom points out Irish monasticism is distinct in its emphasis on “the interlinked concepts of martyrdom and pilgrimage.”⁷⁹² For another feature of the Irish church was martyrdom. The Irish held a great reverence for those who were martyred, “not only for their faith, but also for those whose ascetic discipline made their lives a kind of daily immolation for Christ.”⁷⁹³ The qualifications of martyrdom depended upon the classification: red, white, or blue martyrdom. According to Clare Stancliffe “red martyrdom denotes death for Christ, white, the daily martyrdom of the ascetic life, and blue, the tears, hardships and fasting of the penitent.”⁷⁹⁴ When this aspect of mortification is taken into consideration, the theology that underlines *peregrinatio* is more clearly understood.

⁷⁹⁰ Thom, *Early Irish Monasticism*, 176.

⁷⁹¹ Thom, *Early Irish Monasticism*, 176.

⁷⁹² Thom, *Early Irish Monasticism*, 176.

⁷⁹³ Clare Stancliffe, “Red, White and Blue Martyrdom,” in *Ireland in Early Mediaeval Europe: Studies in Memory of Kathleen Hughes*, edited by Dorothy Whitelock, Rosamond McKitterick, and David Dumville (Cambridge; Cambridge University Press, 1982), 21.

⁷⁹⁴ Stancliffe, “Red, White and Blue Martyrdom,” 44.

Thus, the practice of *peregrinatio* or “white martyrdom” of exile for Christ was distinct from other forms of “goal-oriented pilgrimage.”⁷⁹⁵ Identifying with Christ as the ultimate stranger, Irish monks forsook all to identify themselves as alien. The excerpt that heads this chapter reflects a New Testament interpretation of the symbiotic relationship between citizenship and alienation, noted in St. Paul’s letter to the Ephesians written while he was in prison. The spiritual resilience required to make the ultimate commitment was an act of faith that tested the mettle of the candidate. In a state of permanent exile, the alien is a stranger and in this way the pilgrim likens themselves to Christ.⁷⁹⁶ They were also performing a type of martyrdom. As early ascetics retreated to the desert in search of a higher calling, the Irish *peregrini* can be seen as carrying out a similar means of spiritual transcendence. Over time, the word has come to characterize the activity of Irish monks during the seventh-century.⁷⁹⁷

The trysting place of the soul is a personal quest, mirrored in the word pilgrimage, which is less about a concrete goal, and more about spiritual obedience. Teasing out the strands of meaning requires envisioning *peregrinatio* as more than a quest, but a perpetual spiritual journey where the individual becomes a martyr for Christ. From the seventh-century onward, Irish monks were instrumental in the development of ecclesiastical centers that contributed to the spread of Irish monasticism. Indeed, as Thom states, “while the fact of pilgrimage as martyrdom was deeply engrained in the Irish psyche, its practice led to the spreading of Irish monasticism to

⁷⁹⁵ Hayes-Healy, “Patterns of *Peregrinatio* in the Early Middle Ages,” 3. Hayes-Healy’s work provides the most recent work in the area of Irish *peregrinatio*. There are several scholars who have written on *peregrinatio* and among them are: T. M. Charles-Edwards, “The Social Background to Irish *Peregrinatio*,” *Celtica* 11 (1976): 43-59; Kathleen Hughes, “The Changing Theory and Practice of Irish Pilgrimage,” *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 11 (1960): 143-51; and Clare Stancliffe, “Red, White and Blue Martyrdom,” in *Ireland in Early Mediaeval Europe: Studies in Memory of Kathleen Hughes*, edited by Dorothy Whitelock, Rosamond McKitterick, and David Dumville (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 21-46.

⁷⁹⁶ Hayes-Healy, “Patterns of *Peregrinatio* in the Early Middle Ages,” 14.

⁷⁹⁷ Tim O’Neill, “Columba the Scribe,” in *Studies in the Cult of Saint Columba*, edited by Cormac Bourke (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1997).

the continent in a response to the *evangelium*.”⁷⁹⁸ If Columbanus can be seen as one of the best known of the early *peregrini*, Fursa represents a continuation of the practice.

5.2 Columbanus

Although Columbanus has been discussed earlier in relation to the AB hymns, more information about his background will provide context for the present discussion. Columbanus was born in *ca.*543 in Leinster, where he received his schooling. Early in his adolescence Columbanus benefited from the wisdom of a nun, who had been an anchorite and encouraged his religious vocation. The nun identified herself as “a *peregrinationis locus*” but, as related by Thomas Charles-Edwards, “had she been a man she would have crossed the sea and sought *potioris peregrinationis*.”⁷⁹⁹ It was from this nun that the seeds of two forms of *peregrinatio* were planted.

Columbanus went on to study first with St. Sinell at Cleenish on Upper Lough Erne, and then, with Comgall at Bangor.⁸⁰⁰ After thirty years as a teacher at Bangor, Columbanus decided to embark on a *peregrinatio* to the continent.⁸⁰¹ G. S. M. Walker writes that Columbanus was “launched on his *peregrinatio* by a reluctant Comgall,” who was losing both a senior teacher and

⁷⁹⁸ Thom, *Early Irish Monasticism*, 176.

⁷⁹⁹ For this information see Charles-Edwards, “The Social Background to *Irish Peregrinatio*,” 43.

⁸⁰⁰ Walsh and Bradley, *A History of the Irish Church 400-700AD*, 95. Also see John Ryan, “Columban, St.,” *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, edited by Berard L. Marthaler, volume 3 (Washington, D.C.: Thomson Gale in association with The Catholic University of America, 2003), 863-4. To recall, Columbanus was also known as “St. Columban,” or “Columba the Younger” to distinguish him from St. Columba of Iona.

⁸⁰¹ Ryan, “Columban, St.,” 864. Ryan uses the word “sent” suggesting that this was an order or command. According to G. S. M. Walker, there was reluctance on the part of Comgall to let Columbanus go, and that the impetuous for a new *peregrinatio* came from Columbanus.

a friend.⁸⁰² Hayes-Healy writes that Columbanus “did not leave Ireland to seek a holy place or holy object: he went to achieve a state of existence.”⁸⁰³

Certainly, Columbanus’s life is a well-documented⁸⁰⁴ example of an Irish *peregrini* and he himself was a prolific writer. Indeed, through his *Regula monachorum* and the *Regula Coenobialis* mentioned earlier, they reflect not only monastic discipline, but a means to achieve a spiritual state of existence *in situ*. Of Columbanus’s penitentials, John Walsh and Thomas Bradley observe that the writing “was innovative for it brought a system which had been developed in Ireland to the continent.”⁸⁰⁵ After thirty years at Bangor, Columbanus would have been well ensconced in monastic practice, therefore the rule he established is, to some degree, a product of his training.

Although initially welcomed in Gaul, Columbanus became embroiled with the powerful ruling Merovingians and openly condemned the political feud between Brunhilde (ca. 545/50-613) the wife of the Merovingian king Sigibert I of Metz (reigned 561-75),⁸⁰⁶ and “the most powerful presence in Frankish Gaul in the 590s,”⁸⁰⁷ and her grandsons, Theudebert II of

⁸⁰² G. S. M. Walker, *Sancti Columbanus Opera* (Dublin: The Dublin Institute for Advance Studies, 1957), xix. Also see “Chapter 1: Biographical,” ix-xxxiv for more information on Columbanus. T. M. Charles-Edwards observes that Columbanus initially chose a lesser peregrination at Bangor and only after many years did he seek a new peregrination. Although Comgall was hesitant, he did grant Columbanus permission to leave Ireland for Brittany; see T. M. Charles-Edwards, “The Social Background to Irish Peregrination,” *Celtica* 11 (1976), 43.

⁸⁰³ Stephanie Hayes-Healy, “Patterns of *Peregrinatio* in the Early Middle Ages,” 15.

⁸⁰⁴ Jonas, *Ionae Vitae Sanctorum Columbanus, Vedastis, Johannis*, edited by Bruno Krusch (Hanover; Leipzig: Impensis Bibliopolii Hanniani, 1905); G. S. M. Walker, ed. and trans, *Sancti Columbanus Opera* (Shannon: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1970).

⁸⁰⁵ Walsh and Bradley, *A History of the Irish Church 400-700AD*, 93. See T. M. Charles-Edwards, “The Penitential of Columbanus,” in *Columbanus: Studies on the Latin Writings*, edited by Michael Lapidge (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 1997), 217-239.

⁸⁰⁶ Steven Fanning, “Brunhilde,” *Medieval France: An Encyclopedia*, edited by William W. Kibler and Grover A. Zinn (New York; London: Garland Publishing, 1995), 152. For an outline and further information about the regnal dates of France, see xi.

⁸⁰⁷ Richard Fletcher, *The Barbarian Conversion: from Paganism to Christianity* (New York: A Marian Wood Book, Henry Holt and Company, 1997), 115.

Austrasia (reigned 596-612) and Theuderic II of Burgundy (reigned 596-613).⁸⁰⁸ Although the struggle for power would have some gruesome consequences, it was Brunhilde and her son Childebert II of Austrasia (reigned 575-95) and Burgundy (reigned *ca.* 590-95) who gave Columbanus land and royal protection for his early monastic foundations in Burgundy.”⁸⁰⁹ Columbanus also became noted for his intransigence and his opposition to religious authorities. His stance on the date of Easter, the strict life of the monastic community, and the style of tonsor, three key elements which placed the Irish at odds with Roman practice, not only upset religious authorities, but created enmity with the ruling elite. He was also condemned by Theuderic, for not baptizing his illegitimate sons.⁸¹⁰ Given Columbanus’ difficulties, his *peregrinatio* was soon to come to an end. Arrested, and expelled from Burgundy, Columbanus was on his way back to Ireland when the journey was subverted by weather. Forced to return to port, he reentered the kingdom of Theoderic and Brunhilde with his fellow monks.⁸¹¹ Aware that his mission had been forcibly ended, and that he could no longer remain in the divided kingdom of Gaul, he “crossed over into Neustria and traveled to the royal residence in Soissons.”⁸¹² Here, the group of monks, which included Gall, was welcomed by Chlothar who wished the monks to found a new Luxeuil.⁸¹³ However, Columbanus did not accept this offer, for as George Metlake describes it, “the passion for pilgrimage had once more awakened in

⁸⁰⁸ See Fanning, “Brunhilde,” 152 for information regarding the dates of Brunhilde’s grandsons and son. Brunhilde became regent for her son Childebert and her grandson and her great-grandson Sigibert of Burgundy (reigned 613), see 152.

⁸⁰⁹ Fletcher, *The Barbarian Conversion: From Paganism to Christianity*, 115-6.

⁸¹⁰ Walsh and Bradley, *A History of the Irish Church 400-700AD*, 126.

⁸¹¹ Metlake, *The Life and Writings of St. Columban*, 165.

⁸¹² Metlake, *The Life and Writing of St. Columban*, 165. The chapter “Proscribed!” outlines the conflict with the Burgundians, see 154-168. Metlake’s book outlines Columbanus’ missionary activities into three parts: Part II, “In the Kingdom of the Franks”; Part III, “In German Lands”; and Part IV, “In the Kingdom of the Lombards;” see 43-168; 171-196; and 199-245.

⁸¹³ Metlake, *The Life and Writings of St. Columban*, 165.

Columban” and his thoughts were directed “more strongly than ever to Italy, the land of every pilgrim’s longing and devotion.”⁸¹⁴

After following a circuitous route out of France, Columbanus crossed the Alps and arrived in Milan in 612 at the court of the duke of Lombardy. He was eventually given land south of Milan by Duke Agilulf and here he founded Bobbio and died in 615.⁸¹⁵ During the journey from Gaul to Italy, Gall became ill and had to remain behind in Switzerland. The incident is remarkable because they quarreled and parted under arduous circumstances. On his deathbed, Columbanus asked that his staff be sent to Gall as a sign of forgiveness.⁸¹⁶

The monastic standards of the Columban foundations in Gaul were the same spiritual principles which prevailed in his newest monastery. Bobbio developed into one of the major scriptoria in Italy. A school of piety and learning, Bobbio was also, as John Silke puts it “a bulwark against the Arianism of the Lombards.”⁸¹⁷ The Rule of Columbanus prevailed in Colombian monasteries which gradually gave way to the less severe order of the Benedictine Rule. The Columban Rule was “completely abandoned in the tenth century.”⁸¹⁸ Although Bobbio gained a reputation for its intellectual milieu and for its library, it was also a place of pilgrimage for those on their way to Rome and for those who came to the tomb of

⁸¹⁴ Metlake, *The Life and Writings of St. Columban*, 165.

⁸¹⁵ Walsh and Bradley, *A History of the Irish Church 400-700AD*, 100-101.

⁸¹⁶ Herren, “Columbanus,” 486. Walker, *Sancti Columbani Opera*, xxxi. The staff was called Columbanus’ *cambutta* and is a “symbolic link between Bobbio and St. Gallen; see Richter, *Bobbio in the Early Middle Ages*, 46-7.

⁸¹⁷ John J. Silke, “Bobbio, Italy,” *Encyclopedia of Monasticism*, volume 1, edited by William M. Johnston (Chicago; London: Fitzroy Dearborn, 2000), 156.

⁸¹⁸ Silke, “Bobbio, Italy,” 156. See Richter, *Bobbio in the Early Middle Ages*, 9. See Achille Ratti, *Le Ultime Vicende della Biblioteca e dell’Archivio di S. Colombano di Bobbio* (Milano: Ulrico Hoepli, 1901), 9.

Columbanus.⁸¹⁹ Over time the monastery gradually declined and less a center of learning in Northern Italy. In 1649 Bobbio became part of the congregation of Santa Giustine in Padua and later in 1803 it was suppressed by the French.⁸²⁰ As has been noted, many of the Bobbio manuscripts were “carried away” to libraries such as the Ambrosian Library in Milan, the Vatican Library, and the Biblioteca Nazionale of the University of Turin.⁸²¹ This seems an auspicious end to this monastic testament to Columbanus’ legacy.

Although Columbanus’ expulsion from Gaul was due, in large measure to his outspoken religious convictions, this in no wise diminished his ardor when he arrived in the court of the Lombards. Here, the monarchy was divided over the Arian controversy. King Agilulf, who had waged a campaign against Theuderic of Burgundy and married to the widow Queen Theudelinda, a Catholic, was of the Arian faith.⁸²² This is reflected in Columbanus’ writings from this period. As G. S. M. Walker observes:

Stimulated by the prospect of debate, Columban [Columbanus] launched into a vigorous literary output, and it is probable that his extant series of Sermons, with their emphasis on Trinitarian doctrine, was delivered at this time.⁸²³

Although welcomed into the region, the response was tempered by the religious tensions prevalent in the region. Marilyn Dunn notes that Agilulf “was nominally an Arian and his wife a schismatic Catholic not in communion with Rome” and this may have lessened their enthusiasm

⁸¹⁹ Thomas Turley, “Bobbio,” *Medieval Italy: An Encyclopedia*, edited by Christopher Kleinhenz, volume 1 (New York; London: Routledge, 2004), 125

⁸²⁰ Silke, “Bobbio, Italy,” 156.

⁸²¹ Silke, “Bobbio, Italy,” 157.

⁸²² Walker, *Sancti Columbani Opera*, xxix.

⁸²³ Walker, *Sancti Columbani Opera*, xxix. Walker states that King Agilulf was “disposed to give Columban a warm welcome, because he had been a member of the coalition against Theuderic of Burgundy,” xxix. On the other hand, Michael Richer notes that Agilulf had asked Columbanus to preach against the Arians” and this had “ingratiated” himself with the Lombards “paving the way for the grant of Bobbio;” see Richter, *Bobbio in the Early Middle Ages*, 34.

for such a charismatic leader. On the other hand, Columbanus was given the ruins of a church on the Bobbio and granted permission to found what was to be one of the renowned monasteries in the Middle Ages.⁸²⁴

The legacy of Columbanus is embodied in Bobbio, which had already become “a flourishing” monastery within the few years of its founding.⁸²⁵ As John Silke notes:

At Bobbio Irish art came under Oriental influence, whereas Irish liturgy was influenced by the Ambrosian. This Ambrosian influence is to be detected in the hymns and collects of the Antiphonary of Bangor, although it was composed in Ireland and brought by some Irish pilgrim (perhaps one Dungal in the 11th century) to Bobbio.⁸²⁶

Given the status of Bobbio and Columbanus, it is surprising that more has not been written about its liturgical practice and its manuscripts. Michael Richter points out that one of the “unexplored issues” of the early history of Bobbio is Columbanus’s legacy.⁸²⁷ Richter’s study is a step in the right direction, but more needs to be done regarding the musical evidence from Bobbio and the extent of Irish influence on the liturgy. Although the evidence is, as Richter puts it “patchy,” there was a continuance of Irish and royal support that helped the monastery to sustain its presence until it was annexed in 1449 by the Benedictines of Santa Giustine in Padua.⁸²⁸

Bobbio is remarkable because of its sustained monastic presence in Northern Italy. Known for its learning, its “formative cultural influences came from Ireland and Gaul, not only because most of its early monks were northerners but also because the monastery became a place of

⁸²⁴ Marilyn Dunn, “Columbanus, Charisma and the Revolt,” *Peritia* 20 (2008), 2. This article deals with the revolt which ensued following the death of Columbanus and the new leader, Attala. Less disposed to the harsh standards of its predecessor, Bobbio combined the Benedictine *Rule* and the traditions of Columbanus.

⁸²⁵ Silke, “Bobbio, Italy,” 156.

⁸²⁶ Silke, “Bobbio, Italy,” 157.

⁸²⁷ Richter, *Bobbio in the Early Middle Ages*, 49.

⁸²⁸ Turley, “Bobbio,” 126.

pilgrimage for Irish and Gallic monks who wanted to visit the tomb of Columbanus.”⁸²⁹ This statement highlights the prominence of Bobbio, but it also prompts an important question: if Bobbio maintained a sustained presence throughout the medieval and early renaissance period, why has more attention not been given to the musical manuscripts attributed to the monastery? If there was contact with Gaul and Ireland, this may explain the AB’s recovery in the library, but this also means that there was a conduit established for musical knowledge.

The interconnections between monasteries and kingdoms, exemplified in Columbanus’ *peregrinatio*, reflect areas on the continent that received Irish Christianity. Thus, the recovery of the AB in Bobbio is all the more remarkable, because of its strong link with Bangor. While it may be impossible to prove the extent to which the Irish influenced the liturgy in Northern Italy, that Bobbio is known to have retained connections with Ireland, seems an important conduit of liturgical information.⁸³⁰ In particular, since Bobbio gained a reputation for its library. As Michael Richter notes, Bobbio became “one of the major monastic centers in Northern Italy and within the Lombard kingdom.”⁸³¹ Certainly the library stands out for the number of manuscripts in its collection. The library contained “about 700 manuscripts, which are now [...] in the Vatican, in the Ambrosiana of Milan, in Turin, Naples, Vienna, Florence, Paris, Nancy, Wolfenbüttel and the Escorial.”⁸³² Thomas Turley notes: “Between the Carolingian Renaissance and the twelfth century Bobbio was arguably the dominant cultural center in Italy, primarily because of its library.”⁸³³ Given that the Lombard king and “the court accepted

⁸²⁹ Turley, “Bobbio,” 125.

⁸³⁰ See Richter’s study *Bobbio in the Early Middle Ages*.

⁸³¹ Michael Richter, *Bobbio in the Early Middle Ages*, 13.

⁸³² Michael van den Hout, “Gothic Palimpsests of Bobbio,” *Scriptorium* IV (1952), 91.

⁸³³ Turley, “Bobbio,” 126.

Catholicism in 653, this led to greater royal patronage of the monastery.”⁸³⁴ As has been mentioned, the recovery of the AB in the Bobbio library and its subsequent removal to the Ambrosiana in Milan makes it probable that the manuscript originated in the monastery. Peter Jeffery believes that it is Bobbio that “the Irish scribes of the Bangor Antiphony (or at least some of them) did their work.”⁸³⁵

Another important aspect of the monastery is that it became a place of pilgrimage where “Irish and Gallic monks came to visit the tomb of Columbanus.”⁸³⁶ Such was his stature that Jean-Michel Picard notes, all the hagiographical and liturgical texts surrounding the cult of Columbanus suggests that “the transmission of the lore concerning Columbanus was a live phenomenon” on the continent.⁸³⁷

⁸³⁴ Turley, “Bobbio,” 125.

⁸³⁵ Jeffery, “Eastern and Western Elements in the Prayer of the Hours,” 127.

⁸³⁶ Turley, “Bobbio,” 125.

⁸³⁷ Jean-Michel Picard, “Adomnán’s *Vita Columbae* and the Cult of Colum Cille in Continental Europe,” *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy. Section C: Archaeology, Celtic Studies, History, Linguistics, Literature* 98/ 1 (1998), 1, accessed March 18 2011 <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/25516205>>. The life of Fursa is contained in *Codex Salmanticensis* (MS: Brussels Bibl. Roy. 7672-4 s XIV) and the *Codex Insulensis* collection (MSS: Bodleian, Rawlinson B 485 s XIII¹; Rawlinson B 505 s XIV¹ - Dublin Franciscan convent, Merchants Quay, A 24 A.D. 1627; for this information see Kenney, *The Sources*, 306. Also see Richard Sharpe, *Medieval Irish Saints’ Lives: An Introduction to Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 413-4.

5.3 St. Fursa (St. Fursey)⁸³⁸

Saint Fursa or Furseus (d. *ca.* 650) represents the next generation of *peregrinatio* with his mission to Britain and the continent. Fursa was born near Lough Corrib, in Ireland,⁸³⁹ although, the exact whereabouts of his home are uncertain. Following his religious training he founded a monastery in the Diocese of Tuam – Cill Fursa.⁸⁴⁰ Fursa left Ireland after 630 with a group of companions that included his brothers Ultán and Foillán.⁸⁴¹ Seized by a vision Fursa was prompted to teach the word of God:

And because of that vision he made haste and speed to build his monastery and to set it in order with regular disciplines. It was indeed a beautiful monastery there, built on the edge of the woods and the sea in a certain camp, and this was its name in English Cnobhereburg, i.e. a town named Cnobheri; and hereafterwards Anna, the King of that province, and the other noble folk who dwelt in that town, added to it afterwards.⁸⁴²

While the monastery of Cnobereburgh in East Anglia flourished, Fursa was again incited by a vision to abandon the monastic community and to seek a solitary life.⁸⁴³ Fursa's two brothers Foillán and Ultán, who were both anchorites, played a crucial role in further Irish developments

⁸³⁸ See Pádraig Ó Riain, "Fursa," *A Dictionary of Irish Saints* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2011), for a discussion of the saint's name. Fursa is sometimes known as "Fursa Cráibhtheach, 'pious,' and anglicised as Fursey," 357. For more information on Fursa see Louis Gougaud, "Saint Fursy, Abbé et évêque," in *Les Saints irlandais hors d'Irlande: étudiées dans le culte et dans la dévotion traditionnelle* (Louvain: Bureaux de la Revue; Oxford: Librairie B. H. Blackwell, 1936), 108-113.

⁸³⁹ For dates and a biography see R. T. Meyer, "Fursey (Furseus), St.," *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, edited by Berard L. Marthaler, volume 6 (Washington, D. C.: Thomson Gale in association with the Catholic University of America, 2003), 35. On Fursa's *vita* see *Additamentum Nivalense de Fuliano*, *MGH SRM 2*: 428-29.

⁸⁴⁰ Meyer, "Fursey (Furseus), St.," 35.

⁸⁴¹ Ó Riain, "Fursa," 357.

⁸⁴² Whitley Stokes, "The Life of Fursa," *Revue Celtique* 25 (1904), 390-391.

⁸⁴³ Westley Follett, *Céli Dé in Ireland: Monastic Writing and Identity in the Early Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, UK: Boydell Press, 2006), 49 and 50. Also see Kenney, *The Sources*, 500-501.

on the continent.⁸⁴⁴ When Fursa renounced his leadership of Cnobereburgh, he left the monastery in the care of Foillán and two other arch priests, Gobhán and Dicuill.⁸⁴⁵ Together, Fursa and Ultán went to a hermitage where they remained a year.⁸⁴⁶

In renouncing his home, his country, and the monastic community, Fursa had sought the life of a *peregrinus*. However, his experience is entwined with the lives of his brothers. Westley Follet observes that Ultán became an anchorite only after a long period of probation, which was similar to the Egyptian monastic custom of taking up an anchoritical vocation only after one had proven oneself in a cenobium, a process made evident through the writings of Cassian.⁸⁴⁷ Because Ultán had already maintained a solitary life, Fursa's renouncement from worldly matters in pursuit of a hermitage can be seen as an example of self-sacrifice, exemplified as an ascetic experience. Indeed, Follet probes the issue further by making a comparison with Cassian's monastic ideals and the pursuit of two types of knowledge: the coenobitical and anchoritical vocations.⁸⁴⁸ Fursa's metaphorical travel traverses two practices and his life offers further insight into "a perception of Irish asceticism in accord with the ascetic theology" which stems from Cassian, "the most influential representative of Egyptian monasticism to the Latin West."⁸⁴⁹ The year appears to have rejuvenated Fursa's desire to take up a further journey; this time to Gaul where he was welcomed by Clovis, king of the Franks, and where he is thought to

⁸⁴⁴ For more on the lives of Fursa, Foillán and Ultán see Norbert Friart, *Histoire de Saint Fursy et de ses deux Frères Saint Feuillen, évêque et martyr et Saint Ultan* (Lille; Paris; Bruges; Bruxelles: Société Saint-Augustin, Desclée, de Brouwer et Cie, 1913).

⁸⁴⁵ Stokes, "The Life of Fursa," 399.

⁸⁴⁶ Follett, *Céli Dé in Ireland*, 50.

⁸⁴⁷ Follett, *Céli Dé in Ireland*, 50.

⁸⁴⁸ Follett, *Céli Dé in Ireland*, 51. See 50-1, notes 123 and 4 for further information on Cassian's *Conlationes*.

⁸⁴⁹ Follett, *Céli Dé in Ireland*, 51.

have founded the monastery of Lagny-Sur-Marne.⁸⁵⁰ He was killed in 650 on his way to the Diocese of Amiens and his remains were taken to Péronne in France where he is venerated as a local saint.⁸⁵¹

Fursa achieved fame as a man of visions. Indeed, the stories of his visions had “a profound impression on the mediaeval mind.”⁸⁵² It is no coincidence that Bede remarks on Fursa and his abilities in the *Ecclesiastical History*,⁸⁵³ where he is recorded as “renowned for his words and doings and outstanding in virtue.”⁸⁵⁴ In this the visionary legacy transcends the saint’s life, and enhances his mythology.

The Irish influence in Picardy and Flanders was brought by what Walsh and Bradley call the “Burgh Castle Group” – Fursa, Foillán, and Ultán. As James Kenney notes, “it was with the coming of Fursa and the settlement of an Irish colony at Péronne that the heyday of Irish influence in Picardy and Flanders was inaugurated.”⁸⁵⁵ With the death of Fursa, Foillán was driven out of East Anglia and reestablished his community at the shrine of his brother in Péronne.⁸⁵⁶ Foillán later went to Belgium where his patrons were none other than Ita and Gertrude the founders of Nivelles. Ita was the widow of Pippin the Elder, of Landen (580- died

⁸⁵⁰ Follett, *Céli Dé in Ireland*, 49 and 50; Meyer, “Furseus (Furseus), St.,” 35; and Stokes, “The Life of Fursa,” 399.

⁸⁵¹ Given that Fursa’s body is enshrined at Péronne, James Kenney notes that this ensured “the monastery’s importance and the relics as the object of pilgrimage,” 501.

⁸⁵² Kenney, *The Sources*, 500.

⁸⁵³ Noted in Kenney, *The Sources*, 500.

⁸⁵⁴ Bede, *A History of the English Church and People*, translated and with an introduction by Leo Sherley-Price, revised by R. E. Latham (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin, 1955), 171.

⁸⁵⁵ Kenney, *The Sources*, 500.

⁸⁵⁶ Kenney, *The Sources*, 501.

after 640). Ita founded Nivelles for her daughter Gertrude, which was a double monastery (half for nuns, half for monks) under Irish discipline.⁸⁵⁷

Gertrude of Nivelles (d. 659) is a significant figure in medieval hagiography. Already mentioned, Gertrude was one of “the Austrasian clan that eventually produced the Carolingians.”⁸⁵⁸ As an inheritor of wealth, she was able to maintain control over her inheritance by founding a nunnery. The foundation of Nivelles in Brabant was “the first monastic foundations by the Arnulfung family of Austrasia.”⁸⁵⁹ Her relics are preserved in Nivelles and because she established hospices for travelers and pilgrims, she became the patroness of travelers.⁸⁶⁰ Her feast day is 17 March, the same day as St. Patrick.

When Gertrude became Nivelles first abbess she did two things: first, she instituted the “mixed rule” which existed at Luxeuil, Columbanus’ foundation and where both his rule and the Rule of St. Benedict co-existed; and, according to Ann Buckley and Lester Little, she is said to have sent to Ireland for monks to give instruction to her nuns in the liturgy and in letters.⁸⁶¹ The trouble with this story is that two versions exist. In his book *The Christian West and Its Singers* Christopher Page does not refer to Irish monks.⁸⁶² Page states that Gertrude obtained teachers, but from “unspecified regions overseas” from whence she acquired “experienced men who were capable of teaching ‘the *carmina* of divine law’.”⁸⁶³ And “what were ‘the *carmina* of divine

⁸⁵⁷ Kenney, *The Sources*, 501.

⁸⁵⁸ Page, *The Christian West and its Singers*, 274. On the life of St. Gertrude see *Vita Sanctae Geretrudis*, edited by Bruno Krusch, *MGH SRM*, 2: 447-74.

⁸⁵⁹ Little, *Benedictine Maledictions*, 178.

⁸⁶⁰ S. Baring-Gould, *The Lives of the Saints* (Edinburgh: John Grant, 1914), 306.

⁸⁶¹ Little, *Benedictine Maledictions*, 178.

⁸⁶² Christopher Page, *The Christian West and Its Singers: The First Thousand Years* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2010).

⁸⁶³ Page, *The Christian West and Its Singers*, 274.

law’ that the ‘experienced men’ brought from overseas?’⁸⁶⁴ The question is an important one but remains unanswered. These details are frustrating because the evidence is wanting for both theories. If the Irish monks were skilled in “carmina” and had achieved a level of expertise for which they were sought, this means they had musical knowledge in their monastic arsenal. That two scholars arrive at different conclusions is not surprising, but it is a problem especially when there has been keen interest to prove Irish influence on the liturgy. But might the two monks be the brother of Fursa, Foillán and Ultán? In her book *Three Months in the Forests of France: A Pilgrimage in Search of Vestiges of the Irish Saints in France*, Margaret Stokes writes that Gertrude persuaded “men of fame and learning” to visit Nivelles, but gives no names or places.⁸⁶⁵ Later Stokes mentions St. Foillán, whom she records, was already known to Gertrude when she was under the instruction of St. Amand, as St. Foillán had embarked for Flanders around 633 with his brother Ultán. According to Stokes Gertrude had already known of the two Irish saints and secured their services “in explaining the Holy Scripture to her nuns, preaching among the inhabitants of the farms and villages on her estate.”⁸⁶⁶ Although there are no references for this information, Stokes observations cannot be dismissed as fiction. The “Burge Trio” were in the orbit of Nivelles and Gertrude is reported to have given Ultán land at Fosse to erect a hospital for pilgrims.⁸⁶⁷ While more evidence is needed to verify the information, the stories raise more questions about the extent of Irish influence.

The spread of Christianity throughout England and the continent was greatly enhanced by the Irish monks. While Columbanus established prominent monastic centers, he also forged

⁸⁶⁴ Page, *The Christian West and Its Singers*, 274.

⁸⁶⁵ Stokes, *Three Months in the Forests of France*, 128.

⁸⁶⁶ Stokes, *Three Months in the Forests of France*, 128.

⁸⁶⁷ Stokes, *Three Months in the Forests of France*, 129.

connections with political powers. In no small measure, Christianity became increasingly linked to political power. The granting of land, the economic means to build and sustain a monastery, can be traced to patronage. The ecclesiastic role of Irish monks followed on a tradition established by Columbanus and became influential in Merovingian Gaul. An important aspect of Christianization was the cult of the saint, where “local saints who were commemorated in worship practice.”⁸⁶⁸ The Irish *peregrini* forged their way across the continent. In their wake, they left a legacy in monasteries and their intricate relationships with local communities. Although Fursa, and his brothers, made an impact in Picardy and Flanders, they were of a different caliber than Columbanus. James Kenney observes that Fursa was of the next generation after Columbanus and “had not the direct influence on European history of the founder of Luxeuil and Bobbio.”⁸⁶⁹ While the next generation of monks perhaps lacked the spiritual verve of their predecessors, the conduit to the continent had already been established. In John Scottus Eriugena, almost two centuries later, a different caliber of *peregrinus* emerges whose scholastic horizons were beyond the Irish landscape. With the rise of the Carolingian Empire a new political and religious relationship was forged that ultimately impacted the Irish church. However, in one respect Fursa achieved a lasting legacy, not only in his *vitae* and commemoration, but in his spiritual visions.

⁸⁶⁸ Jo Ann McNamara, “A Legacy of Miracles: Hagiography and Nunneries in Merovingian Gaul,” in *Women of the Medieval World: Essays in Honor of John H. Mundy*, edited by Julius Kirshner and Suzanne F. Wemple (Oxford, UK: Basil Blackwell, 1985), 36.

⁸⁶⁹ Kenney, *The Sources*, 500.

5.4 Liturgical Developments

The hymns of the AB have already been discussed as an important element of the Irish church and for their relevance to music. There is also another liturgical element that developed in Ireland and spread to the continent with Columbanus. Prayers of intercession were a feature of Columbanus' Office and also present in the AB.⁸⁷⁰ According to Jane Stevenson intercessory prayer was "apparently unique to Bangor" and does not appear to be substantiated anywhere else in Ireland.⁸⁷¹ Given that Columbanus' mission predates the AB, and that intercessory prayer was an important element in his communities; the transference of this practice to the continent is significant. While it may be argued that Bangor was influenced by an external literary source transmitted to the monastery, no other evidence has been found to corroborate the AB, apart from Columbanus' *regulae*, thus making the origins of the AB all the more perplexing. At the same time the AB may be the product of Bobbio, a monastery founded by Columbanus, who perhaps had already established the practice of intercessory prayer and this was sent back to Ireland. From this perspective, the AB may be patterning Columbanus' Office.

For musicologists, the element of intercessory prayer is an important detail that draws the Irish liturgy into the sphere of the Roman Church. In the Irish liturgy, intercessory prayer was performed by the priest asking the congregation to pray for certain groups, to which the congregation responded with *Kyrie eleison* or *Domine miserere*.⁸⁷² In the AB "the *versiculi* are

⁸⁷⁰ Jane Stevenson, "The Monastic Rules of Columbanus," in *Columbanus: Studies on the Latin Writings*, edited by Michael Lapidge (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1997), 215.

⁸⁷¹ Stevenson, "The Monastic Rules of Columbanus," 215.

⁸⁷² Stevenson, "The Monastic Rules of Columbanus," 215.

incomplete and appear to be given by the collective group of monks.”⁸⁷³ Here, the intentions are prescribed by their headings such as *Pro baptizatis* [AB 41], *Pro blasphemantibus* [AB 46], and *Pro abbate* [AB 42].⁸⁷⁴ Considering the evidence in the AB and Columbanus’s *regulae*, there may have been several groups “prayed for” before there was a response from the congregation.⁸⁷⁵ Stevenson concludes that the AB orations appear “to represent an independent synthesis of inherited motifs and personal taste.”⁸⁷⁶ Given that musicologists such as Richard Hoppin and David Hiley have pointed out the lack of evidence of the so-called Celtic rite, this seems another important aspect of the Irish church. If Columbanus learned the practice of intercessory prayer at Bangor, and then, instituted this element in his Office hours, this represents a continuance of Irish faith. But there is also a common thread that runs through the life of Columbanus and the rigorous standards he implemented in his monasteries and his relationship to Bangor. As Jane Stevenson notes, the importance “of Egypt as a model for Celtic monasticism not just that of Columbanus has often been noticed” and the desert elements that permeate his rule “may well go back to Comgall.”⁸⁷⁷ What Columbanus demonstrates through this teaching is that continuous prayer, the unceasing litany must be preserved and he integrates the practice in his monasteries.

This is also reflected in the use of Psalms as a means to affect continual prayer. In the Mass, prayers are divided by the Eucharist and the Word of God, but the Liturgy of the Hours

⁸⁷³ Stevenson, “The Monastic Rules of Columbanus,” 215-216. The references to intercessory prayer draw on Stevenson’s examples discussed in her article.

⁸⁷⁴ Curran, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, 106-13 at 106 and 109. See Stevenson, “the Monastic Rules of Columbanus,” 215, note 63.

⁸⁷⁵ Stevenson, “The Monastic Rules of Columbanus,” 216.

⁸⁷⁶ Stevenson, “The Monastic Rules of Columbanus,” 216.

⁸⁷⁷ Stevenson, “The Monastic Rules of Columbanus,” 216.

seems to reflect an Irish character. Mary Bernard Curran observes that “Eastern monasticism makes use of the 150 Psalms of the Hebrew Scriptures, whereas Western monasticism is occupied with the interior life and personal spiritual direction.”⁸⁷⁸ While this may be the case, Curran’s separation of monasticism into regional practices is problematic. Hymns may also be separated into denominational practice, but this makes what happened in Ireland all the more significant. Indeed, in Irish practice the Psalms were central to monastic life, where the recitation of the 150 Psalms, or the “three fifties” was a cornerstone of Irish monasticism.⁸⁷⁹

5.5 Conclusion

If the liturgy of Bangor is captured in AB, its “good rule” is reflected in the monk Columbanus. According to history Columbanus left Ireland sometime in 591 in the company of twelve monks, whose number is said to have included Gall (Gallus, *ca.* 550-*ca.* 627) the future founder of St. Gall (St. Gallen) in Switzerland.⁸⁸⁰ His fulfillment of a religious sojourn as a *peregrini* paved the way for others to follow. A man of strong conviction and keen ability, Columbanus of

⁸⁷⁸ Mary Bernard Curran, “Prayer: Christian Perspectives,” *Encyclopedia of Monasticism*, edited by William M. Johnston, volume 2 (Chicago; London: Fitzroy Dearborn, 2000), 1041.

⁸⁷⁹ On the three groups of fifty Psalms, see Peter Jeffery, “Eastern and Western Elements in the Irish Monastic Prayer of the Hours, 102-108.

⁸⁸⁰ St. Gall was founded in 612 by Gall (Gallus), a fellow monk with Columbanus. St. Gall fell ill en route and not able to continue the journey with Columbanus, he was left behind in Zurich. Gall later established a hermitage near the Steinach River. St. Gall (St. Gallen) emerged as an important musical center in “the Carolingian and Ottonian periods whose scholars included Moengal (d. 869) from Ireland. Along with others such as Hartman II (d. 864, Iso (d. 871), and Notker Balbulus (d. 912) they produced a large musical output that included hymns, antiphons, tropes, Notker’s *Liber hymnorum*, and established the monastery’s renowned library and scriptorium;” for this information see Alejandro Enrique Planchart, “St. Gall,” *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, edited by Stanley Sadie, volume 16 (London: Macmillan, 1980), 389-390 at 389. For more information on St. Gall see John Hennig, “§IV: Irische Einflüsse auf die frühen Kalendarien von St. Gallen,” in *Medieval Ireland, Saints and Martyrologies: Selected Studies*, edited by Michael Richter (Northampton: Variorum Reprints, 1989), 17-30. For a history and architectural study see Walter Horn and Ernest Born, *The Plan of St. Gall: A Study of the Architecture and Economy of, and Life in a Paradigmatic Carolingian Monastery*, 3 volumes (Berkeley, CA: University of California, 1979).

Bangor secured his reputation as an “influential exponent of Irish Christianity on the Continent.”⁸⁸¹ His important writings were composed on the continent. Given the legacy of Columbanus it is important to see the continental connections from different perspectives: external influences which influenced the development of monasteries such as Bangor; Bangor’s influence in the wake of Columbanus; Columbanus’ impact on the continent; and, as we shall see, continental connections with Ireland. Given all this activity it would seem odd not to consider music within this religious milieu. The problem is evidence and what is able to be proven about Irish influences.

In this chapter I have provided a discussion of *peregrinatio* by considering the lives of Columbanus and Fursa. As monks from different timeframes, they represent two stages of peregrination during the “golden age” of Irish monasticism during the seventh and eighth-centuries. Given the region in which the AB was recovered and Bobbio’s distance from Bangor, I have offered an explanation of *peregrinatio* and its broader ramifications in terms of liturgical developments and local practice. The *vitae* of Irish saints, for example, provide the material for ceremonial practice. If the AB captured the essence of hagiography in its poetical texts, the recovery of musical evidence means that we may soon be able to form a better picture of Ireland’s past.

This past year – 2012 – marked the 1400th anniversary of the monastery of St. Gall, Switzerland.⁸⁸² Founded in 612 by Columbanus’ fellow Irishman, Gall, the monastery is considered of Irish origin. To celebrate the anniversary, an exhibit was mounted which included the Antiphony of Bangor, on loan from the Ambrosiana Library in Milan. The significance of

⁸⁸¹ Michael Herren, “Columbanus, St.,” *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, edited by Joseph R. Strayer, volume 3 (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1983), 485. See Marilyn Dunn, “Columbanus, Charisma and the Revolt of the monks of Bobbio,” *Peritia* 20 (2008): 1-27.

⁸⁸² For more on the St. Gallen 1400th Anniversary see <www.st.gallen-bodensee.ch/en/gallusjubilee>.

this display ought not to be lost for the AB's connection to St. Gall may seem puzzling. It may be that the AB passed through the region, but hardly stopped in the "still to be founded monastery" of St. Gall. Perhaps, the AB was in the hands of a monk *en route* to Bobbio; or, a fleeing monk from Bangor, with the elusive AB in his possession. The unanswered questions about the AB's origins and the uncertainty of its purpose have, in a curious way, made the manuscript vulnerable to misrepresentation. At the same time, the link between the monasteries of Bobbio and St. Gall was forged when Columbanus sent his *cambutta*, or staff, to Gall as a sign of reconciliation and "would appear to have become the symbol of the link between Bobbio and St. Gallen in the centuries to come."⁸⁸³ What seems ironic is a modern day imaging of the rare AB, with yet another monastery, where the connection is through two *peregrini*, Columbanus and Gall, rather than perhaps with any liturgical or scribal associations.

The circuitous travels of Irish saints who opted for extreme *peregrinatio* provide insight into liturgical practice. Although no assumptions can be made about continental sources, they present an intriguing avenue for ongoing study. The musical fragments found in Vienna, the subject of the next section, or the recovery of the AB in Bobbio, demonstrate the importance of keeping an open mind about evidence from Irish foundations.

⁸⁸³ Richter, *Bobbio in the Middle Ages*, 47.

Chapter 6

Continental Connections, Music and the Vienna Schottenstift

The story begins in 1076 when a pilgrim monk from Tír Chonaill, Muiredach Mac Robartaigh, and better known to history as Marianus Scotus, founded a monastery known as Weih Sankt Peter in Regensburg (Ratisbon) on the banks of the Danube.⁸⁸⁴

Muiredach Mac Robartaigh, noted above, was originally on a pilgrimage from Tír Chonaill, Donegal to Rome in 1067.⁸⁸⁵ His route through parts of Germany resulted in sojourns at various religious houses including Bamberg, Michelsberg, and eventually Regensburg (Ratisbon) where he and his companions were welcomed and given employment in the scriptorium at the Nunnery of Obermünster.⁸⁸⁶ Persuaded to remain at Regensburg by another Irish monk known as Muirchertach, Muiredach Mac Robartaigh (erstwhile Marianus Scottus)⁸⁸⁷ abandoned his mission to Rome but may be seen to have embarked on a pilgrimage of a different sort. For in his response to remain and supporting the community of Obermünster, Mac Robartaigh was given a church just outside Regensburg in 1075 called Weih Sankt Peter, which drew more Irishmen to the continent. So overwhelming was the response that a second monastery was built

⁸⁸⁴ J. Coombes, "The Benedictine Priory of Ross," *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society* 73 (1968), 152. This is another Marianus Scotus (Muiredach Mac Robartaigh) (Mac Groarty) and not to be confused with Marianus Scottus (Máel Brigte) (1028-1082); see Ó Riain-Raedel, "Irish Benedictine Monasteries on the continent," 35; and Benjamin Hudson, "Marianus Scottus," in *Medieval Ireland: An Encyclopedia*, edited by Seán Duffy (New York; London: Routledge, 2005), 320. Tír Chonaill is the Gaelic lordship of the O'Donnell family; see Darren McGettigan, *The Donegal Planation and the Tír Chonaill Irish, 1610-1710* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2010), 7. I want to thank Professor Lawrence for his comments regarding the chapter.

⁸⁸⁵ Ó Cróinin, *Early Medieval Ireland*, 230.

⁸⁸⁶ William Reeves, "Marianus Scotus of Ratisbon," *PRIA Series 7* (1860), 292; and Ó Riain-Raedel, "Irish Benedictine Monasteries on the Continent," 37.

⁸⁸⁷ Muiredach Mac Robartaigh – Marianus Scottus – is to be distinguished from Marianus Scottus (in Irish Moel-Brigte) the chronicler (see above) who was banished from Moville in County Down, Ireland in 1052 and went to Cologne. He later went to the monastery of St. Martin at Mainz where he died ca. 1082-3; see Kenney, *The Sources*, 615. "As a chronicler Máel Brigte was an important contact between Ireland and the continent and his historical works are a source of information about the Irish clergy;" see Benjamin Hudson, "Marianus Scottus," in *Medieval Ireland: An Encyclopedia*, edited by Seán Duffy (New York; London: Routledge, 2005), 320. For more on Muiredach Mac Robartaigh see Mark Dilworth, "Marianus Scotus: Scribe and Monastic Founder," *Scottish Gaelic Studies* X (1965) 125-148.

at Regensburg dedicated to Sankt Jakob (St. James) (*ca.* 1089/90-1111) and St. Gertrude to accommodate the growing community.⁸⁸⁸ In short, Weih Sankt Peter and St. James became the nucleus of a group of Irish monasteries known as the Schottenklöster. A flourish of monasteries followed; at Würzburg in 1134; Nürnberg in 1140; Konstanz in 1142; Vienna in 1155; and Eichstätt in 1158-66.⁸⁸⁹ Muiredach Mac Robertaigh never reached Rome but he succeeded in invigorating the spirit of *peregrinatio* which continued after his death in 1081.⁸⁹⁰ It is within this renewed spirit of Irish *peregrinatio* which looks back to the “great Irish monastery of Bangor,” and recaptures, in a sense, the ethos and inspirational colour of early Christian Ireland, so much at the heart of Columbanus’s life and mission to the continent.

This chapter turns to later Irish developments by way of musical evidence. The musical fragments from the Vienna Schottenstift represent another aspect of continental connections but they draw attention to a group of Benedictine monasteries or “monasteries of *Scotti*” a term by which the Irish were described “in Continental sources.”⁸⁹¹ To begin I provide a synopsis of the history which led to the manuscripts in Vienna becoming “fragments” and their subsequent recovery. Then I discuss the history of the Vienna Schottenstift followed by its relationship with Rosscarbery. The priory of St. Mary’s at Rosscarbery (also Ross Carbery, or *Ros Ailithir*, Ross), in County Cork, Ireland was established to supply recruits to the Schottenklöster sometime *ca.* 1218 (date unknown) and which is also developed a relationship with

⁸⁸⁸ Ó Riain-Raedel, “Irish Benedictine Monasteries on the Continent,” 40.

⁸⁸⁹ Ó Riain-Raedel, “Ireland and Austria in the Middle Ages,” 32-33. See Breatnach, “The Origins of the Irish Monastic Tradition at Ratisbon,” 71; although no dates are mentioned for the monasteries. The dates given by Kenney in *The Sources* on page 617 although, the date for Eichstätt is 1183 and does not match the dates in the more recent research of Ó Riain-Raedel.

⁸⁹⁰ Ó Riain-Raedel, “Irish Benedictine Monasteries on the Continent,” 38.

⁸⁹¹ Marie Therese Flanagan, *The Transformation of the Irish Church in the Twelfth Century* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2010), 10.

Würzburg.⁸⁹² Rosscarbery came under the patronage of Cormac Mac Carthaig, king of Munster (1123-38) in southern Ireland. His support was recorded in the annals of the monastery, and whose influence can be noted in none other than the impressive Romanesque church consecrated in 1134 and known as Cormac's Chapel.⁸⁹³ In this context, of the successors to Muiredach Mac Robartaigh at Regensburg, the first six were from Northern Ireland, but the seventh was Christianus, a relation of Mac Carthaig who made trips to Ireland to solicit financial assistance for the Schottenklöster.⁸⁹⁴ The link was hardly tenacious but was sustained by political and religious intent. Finally, I present four examples from the Schottenstift fragments which represent excerpts from the feasts for Irish saints: St. Patrick, St. Brigit, and St. Kilian, a saint venerated for his life on the continent rather than for his cult following in Ireland.

6.1 Historical Context and the Vienna Schottenstift

In one respect the musical fragments from the Vienna Schottenstift may be considered as the outcome of the religious reforms which emanated from the monastery of Melk in the fifteenth century. Melk abbey gained prominence as a place of pilgrimage following the *translatio* of the relics of the Irish monk St. Coloman from Stockerau in 1014.⁸⁹⁵ In 1089 Margrave Leopold II gave Melk to the administration of the Benedictines of Lambach. The impressive Babenberg

⁸⁹² Ó Riain-Raedel, "Irish Benedictine Monasteries on the Continent," 58; and Coombes, "The Benedictine Priory of Ross," 152-160.

⁸⁹³ Ó Riain-Raedel, "Irish Benedictine Monasteries on the Continent," 25.

⁸⁹⁴ See Ó Riain-Raedel, "Irish Benedictine Monasteries on the Continent," 40 who references Breatnach's study of the *Libellus* a written record of the early community at Regensburg; see Pádraig A. Breatnach, *Die Regensburger Schottenlegende – Libellus de fundacione ecclesie Consecrati Petri* (München: Bei der Arbo-Gesellschaft, 1977), 254. For more on Abbot Christian see Aubrey Gwynn, "Some Notes on the History of the Irish and Scottish Benedictine Monasteries in Germany," *The Innes Review* 5 (1954), 5-27.

⁸⁹⁵ Montgomery, "Melk," 517.

castle, located on an imposing precipice overlooking the town of Melk was also given to the Benedictines by Leopold III and became the site of the church.⁸⁹⁶ Noted for its scholastic calibre, the monastery of Melk was at the forefront of a campaign of religious renewal known as the Melk Reform. Following the Council of Constance (1414-17)⁸⁹⁷ Melk took a leading role in Benedictine reforms which gave priority to writing and emphasised a return to simplicity in community life, including the liturgy.⁸⁹⁸ Although a Benedictine Schottenstift, the Irish order became embroiled in controversy as they refused to admit local monks. Unyielding in the monastery's edicts, Abbot Thomas, the last abbot of the Vienna Schottenstift, refused to follow the orders of Pope Martin V and to accept German monks.⁸⁹⁹ The Schottenstift was then taken over by the Melk monastery in 1418. The manuscripts from the Irish period were broken up and reused.⁹⁰⁰ The liturgical manuscripts were replaced with chant which reflected the new ideals of Benedictine reform. As fragments of what were once complete servicebooks they represent an interesting period of Austrian and Irish history.

If reforms were instrumental in the institutionalization of liturgical renewal and marked the end of the Irish relations with Vienna in 1418, it was the “transformation of the Irish church in the twelfth century” which marked a period of religious change in Ireland.⁹⁰¹ Muirdach Mac

⁸⁹⁶ Scott Bradford Montgomery, “Melk,” *Medieval German: An Encyclopedia*, edited by John M. Jeep (New York; London: Garland, 2001), 517.

⁸⁹⁷ James G. Clark, *The Benedictines in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2011), 295-6 and 298-9.

⁸⁹⁸ See S. H. Steinberg, “Instructions in Writing by Members of the Congregation of Melk,” *Speculum* 16/2 (1941): 210-215; and James D. Mixson, “Contesting Authority and Community: Models and Practices of Monastic Reform in Late Medieval Central Europe,” *Austrian History Yearbook* 41 (2010): 30-47, accessed May 25, 2013, <http://journals.cambridge.org.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/article_S0067237809990075>.

⁸⁹⁹ Ó Riain-Raedel, “Ireland and Austria in the Middle Ages,” 39-40.

⁹⁰⁰ Czernin, “Fragments of Liturgical Chant,” 218.

⁹⁰¹ The phrase is from the book title by Marie Therese Flanagan, *The Transformation of the Irish Church in the Twelfth Century* (Woodbridge: the Boydell Press, 2010), cover.

Robertaig may appear to have sparked a flood of Irishmen to the continent, but he was preceded by others such as St. Colman who was martyred at Stockerau in 1012.⁹⁰² It is during this time of what James Kenney notes as a period of “expansion of Irish Christianity” in which there is a renewed interest in religious asceticism.⁹⁰³ Kenney observes that there was a greater impulse for Irish monks to become “includi” such as in German religious houses where they were “walled up” in cells⁹⁰⁴ seeming to capture some of the “*fons et origo*” of desert monasticism. Marianus Scottus “the chronicler,” also known by his Irish name as Moel-Brigte (1028-ca.1082/3), from the monastery of Moville near Bangor in Northern Ireland (and to be distinguished from Mac Robartaigh), was himself interred at Fulda.⁹⁰⁵ Prior to this there was also the Céli Dé movement in the eighth-century who have been associated with a return to ascetic renewal often linked to the Stowe Missal (c. 850). More recent scholarship in the work of Westley Follett has challenged the view that this was a movement of renewal.⁹⁰⁶ Still, the element of spiritual ideal seems a consistent theme and one of the motivating factors in monks travelling to the continent.

In Ireland the Synod of Cashel in 1101 and the Synod of Ráith Bresail (near Cashel) in 1111 brought significance changes to the Irish church. A key personage in church reform was Malachy, the same St. Malachy from chapter 3, who had already initiated changes at Bangor

⁹⁰² Kenney, *The Sources*, 614.

⁹⁰³ Kenney, *The Sources*, 605.

⁹⁰⁴ Kenney, *The Sources*, 605.

⁹⁰⁵ Kenney, *The Sources*, 615. For more on Moel-Brigte, Marianus Scottus see Benjamin Hudson, “Marianus Scottus,” *Medieval Ireland: An Encyclopedia*, edited by Seán Duffy (New York; London: Routledge, 2005), 320; Kenney, *The Sources*, 614-616; and Bartholomew MacCarthy, *Todd Lecture Series, volume 3, The Codex Palatino-Vaticanus, no. 830* (Texts, Translations, and Indices) (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 1892).

⁹⁰⁶ See Westley Follett, *Céli Dé in Ireland: Monastic Writing and Identity in the Early Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, England: Boydell Press, 2006).

with the introduction of Augustinian Canons of Arrouaise.⁹⁰⁷ As a “proponent of Continental Christianity” Malachy was instrumental in Irish renewal.⁹⁰⁸ Malachy had already introduced the *Rule of Benedict* through the Cistercians at Bangor and his experience on the continent gave him a greater perspective of the changes taking place in the Church.⁹⁰⁹ Of the Synod of Cashel, Neil Xavier O’ Donoghue observes “what is most significant is that the Irish hierarchy decided that reform was necessary and that they, together with the papal legate, ought to achieve this reform by themselves.”⁹¹⁰ Perhaps the most transforming decision to come out of the Synod of Ráith Bresail, Ireland was divided into two provinces: a primacy in Armagh and the other at Cashel.⁹¹¹ While there is much more to the history than can be discussed here, it is important to recognize that Ireland was part of the reform movement.

The Schottenstift in Vienna was founded by Archduke Heinrich II Jasomirgott (1107-1177) in 1155.⁹¹² Jasomirgott was aware of the monastic order at St. James in Regensburg, and the religious fervour of the Irish monks. As Dagmar Ó Riain-Raedal notes:

Heinrich’s interest in the Irish monks is thus explained by his prior familiarity with their work and it is no coincidence that the membership of the new community in Vienna was in fact comprised of monks drawn from the mother-house in Regensburg.⁹¹³

⁹⁰⁷ See Marie Therese Flanagan, “‘Restoring the Monastic and Canonical Rules of the Church in Ireland’: St. Malachy and Monastic Reform,” *The Transformation of the Irish Church in the Twelfth Century* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2010), 118-168.

⁹⁰⁸ O’Donoghue, *The Eucharist in Pre-Norman Ireland*, 29.

⁹⁰⁹ O’Donoghue, *The Eucharist in Pre-Norman Ireland*, 29.

⁹¹⁰ O’Donoghue, *The Eucharist in Pre-Norman Ireland*, 29.

⁹¹¹ O’Donoghue, *The Eucharist in Pre-Norman Ireland*, 29.

⁹¹² Czernin, “Fragments of Liturgical Chant,” 217. Also see Dagmar Ó Riain-Raedel, “Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century Irish Annals in Vienna,” *Peritia* 2 (1983): 127.

⁹¹³ Ó Riain-Raedel, “Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century Irish Annals in Vienna,” 127.

In Vienna, Jasomirgott gave the Irish monks land at Freyung, a site, then, just outside the city limits and known as Steinfeld.⁹¹⁴ Perhaps with a plan to make Vienna the seat of the Duchy of Austria, Jasomirgott sought to make the city independent from the Bishopric of Passau.⁹¹⁵

The monastery was move to secure this independence, but Jasomirgott also ensured their autonomy by giving them the rights of ecclesiastical administration. From the beginning the monks had authority to appoint their own abbot and to maintain Irish autonomy.⁹¹⁶ Thus in 1155 the Vienna Schottenstift became an Irish Benedictine foundation which was maintained until the early fifteenth century.⁹¹⁷ By then another other changes, as noted at Melk, were taking place which brought an end to Irish influence at the Schottenstift in 1418. It is the only congregation to continue as a Benedictine foundation to the present.⁹¹⁸

The relationship with Ireland is attested to in the annals of the Schottenklöster.⁹¹⁹ There was a preoccupation with preserving the dynastic history and documenting the details of

⁹¹⁴ Heinrich Ferenczy, *Schottenkirche in Vienna: Abbey and Parish Church of Unsere Liebe Frau* (Regensburg: Verlag Schnell & Steiner GMBH, 1966/1997), 1 (accompanying English translation booklet). Also see Aubrey Gwynn, "Some Notes on the History of the Irish and Scottish Benedictine Monasteries in Germany," *The Innes Review* 5 (1954), 10.

⁹¹⁵ Ferenczy, *Schottenkirch in Vienna*, 1.

⁹¹⁶ Czernin notes: "The congregation adhered to the unique rule that only persons of Irish descent were permitted to join – leading to considerable friction between the monasteries and the local population;" see "Fragments of Liturgical Chant," 217. Given the peculiarity of the rule, it is understandable that the Irish eventually relinquished their authority of the Schottenklöster and the monasteries came under German leadership.

⁹¹⁷ Ferenczy, *Schottenkirch in Vienna*, 1. For more information on the Schottenstift in Vienna see Helmut Flachenecker, *Schottenklöster: Irische Benediktinerkonvente im hochmittelalterlichen Deutschland* (Paderborn; München; Wien; Zürich: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1995); Gwynn, "Some Notes on the History of the Irish and Scottish Benedictine Monasteries in Germany," 5-27; Ó Riain-Raedel, "Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century Irish Annals in Vienna," 127-36; Dagmar Ó Riain-Raedel, "Cashel and Germany: the Documentary Evidence," 176-217; and Dagmar Ó Riain-Raedel, "Irish Benedictine Monasteries on the Continent," 25-63; and Katherine Walsh, "From Columbanus to Luke Wadding: Irish Links with continental Europe in the Medieval and Early Modern Period," *Innsbrucker Historische Studien* (1980): 43-60.

⁹¹⁸ Ó Riain-Raedel, "Irish Benedictine Monasteries on the Continent," 47.

⁹¹⁹ See Ó Riain-Raedel, "Cashel and Germany: The Documentary Evidence," 176-217.

benefactors as well as Irish hagiography. But there was more behind this preoccupation. As Ó Riain-Raedel puts it:

Ever conscious of maintaining their status, the Schotten – monks carefully noted the anniversaries of their benefactors together with those of their own abbots and brethren in the necrology of the monastery.⁹²⁰

The necrology of the Vienna congregation is preserved in a copy of the manuscript at Würzburg – Bib. Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 10100.⁹²¹ It is the annalist material which is so vital to our understanding of the interconnections between the Schottenklöster and the importance they placed on recording history. Details such as the abbacy or the death of Irish patrons provide insight into the scribal activities which occupied the Irish Benedictine monastery. The documentary evidence from Regensburg shows that Irish events and the lives of saints were recorded in the annals and this activity was transferred to Vienna.⁹²² In Vienna it seems “a lively interest in Irish affairs and particularly in those events which affected the two most powerful families of Munster, the Clann Charthaigh or Meic Carthaigh (Mac Carthys) and Muintir Bhriain or Uí Bhraini (O’Briens), for whom indeed, they acted as propagandists.”⁹²³ Another important manuscript which records a number of Irish saints is the *Magnum Legendarium Austriacum* (the Great Austrian Legendary).⁹²⁴ It was during the abbacy of Gregory of Regensburg that the lives of Irish saints were compiled in the twelfth century and

⁹²⁰ Ó Riain-Raedel, “Ireland and Austria in the Middle Ages,” 37.

⁹²¹ Ó Riain-Raedel, “Das Nekrolog der Irischen Schottenklöster: Edition der Handschrift Vat. Lat. 10100 mit einer Untersuchung der hagiographischen und liturgischen Handschriften der Schottenklöster,” 1-119.

⁹²² Ó Riain-Raedel, “Irish Annals in Vienna,” 128.

⁹²³ Ó Riain-Raedel, “Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century Irish Annals in Vienna,” 128.

⁹²⁴ See A. Poncelet, “De magno Legendario Austriaco,” *Analecta Bollandiana* 17 (1898): 24-216.

preserved in the *Magnum Legendarium Austriacum*.⁹²⁵ Thus, the literary evidence shows the inextricable links between Ireland and Austria in terms of patronage and the record of deaths in the Irish Schottenkloster. By writing their names as recorded in history, they were ensuring their memory *in perpetuum*.⁹²⁶

The Irish Schottenstift in Vienna can be viewed as a later phase of Irish growth on the continent. Here is where previous discussions about Irish monasticism and the spread of Christianity with the *peregrini* are useful to understand the cultural context. The Vienna Schottenstift is part of a larger historical frame, or what Dagmar Ó Riain-Raedel considers as “four phases of Irish expansion abroad.”⁹²⁷ Ó’Riain-Raedel’s research into Austro-Irish connections during the Middle Ages show the significance of each phase of development.⁹²⁸ The first phase begins with Columbanus before 600⁹²⁹ an area already noted with Fursa as an example of the next generation of *peregrini*. The second phase is the contributions of Irish scholars in Carolingian courts such as Virgilius of Salzburg (d. 784) in the court of Pippin III.⁹³⁰ Pippin III (the Short; ca. 715-768) part of the Carolingian dynasty, is “considered a preface to the

⁹²⁵ Ó Riain-Raedel, “Cashel and Germany: The Documentary Evidence,” 202.

⁹²⁶ For a study on the necrology of the Irish Schottenkloster see Dagmar Ó Riain-Raedel, “Das Nekrolog der irischen Schottenklöster,” *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Bistums Regensburg* 26 (1992): 1-119.

⁹²⁷ Ó Riain-Raedel, “Ireland and Austria in the Middle Ages,” 11. See Ó Riain-Raedel, “Aspects of the Promotion of Irish Saints’ Cults in Medieval Germany,” 221 where Ó Riain-Raedel refers to John Hennig’s study of Irish saints in which he divides them into four categories; see John Hennig, “Scottorum Gloria gentis: Erwähnungen irischer Heiliger in festländischen Liturgietexten des frühen Mittelalters,” *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 52 (1970) 177-191 at 177-8.

⁹²⁸ Ó Riain-Raedel, “Ireland and Austria in the Middle Ages,” 11. Here Dagmar Ó Riain-Raedel outlines the four major phases of Irish expansion. I have provided an example for each section in order to point out the link with my research. In an earlier article Dagmar Ó Riain-Raedel acknowledges the study of Saints by J. Hennig who divided saints into four categories: see Ó Riain-Raedel, “Aspects of the Promotion of Irish Saints’ Cults in Medieval Germany,” *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie* 39 (1982): 221, note 2; for J. Hennig see Hennig, “Scottorum gloria gentis: Erwähnungen irischer Heiliger in festländischen Liturgietexten des frühen Mittelalters,” 117-191.

⁹²⁹ See Ó Riain-Raedel, “I. Columbanus,” in “Ireland and Austria in the Middle Ages,” 11-15.

⁹³⁰ See Ó Riain-Raedel, “II. Virgilius of Salzburg (†784),” in “Ireland and Austria in the Middle Ages,” 15-27.

glorious reign of Charlemagne.”⁹³¹ Shrewd in politics and in religion, the Pippinids recognized the value of forging relationships with Rome and establishing a literary culture through scholars such as Virgilius.⁹³² In this company James Kenney notes Eriugena (*ca.* 810-*ca.* 877)⁹³³ at Laon and Reims; Moengal at St. Gall;⁹³⁴ and Sedulius Scottus (flourished 848-874)⁹³⁵ at Liège who may be considered examples of prominent scholars during the dynastic era.⁹³⁶ The third phase begins “after the turn of the first millennium and is marked by a new interest in pilgrimage.”⁹³⁷ Of note is St. Koloman (d. 1012),⁹³⁸ in Irish, Colmán and noted earlier, “who became patron saint of Lower Austria and is commemorated at the monastery of Melk where he is buried.”⁹³⁹

⁹³¹ Pierre Riché, “Pippin the Short,” *Encyclopedia of the Middle Ages*, edited by Andre Vauchez et al, volume 2 (Paris: Editions du cerf; Chicago; London: Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers, 2000), 1143; and Pierre Riché, *The Carolingian: A Family Who Forged Europe*, translated from the French by Michael Idomir Allen (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993). Also see Ó Riain-Raedel, “Ireland and Austria in the Middle Ages,” 18-20.

⁹³² Ó Riain-Raedel, “Ireland and Austria in the Middle Ages,” 18-27.

⁹³³ Ian Leask, “Eriugena, John Scotus,” *The Encyclopedia of Ireland*, edited by Brian Lalor (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2003), 361.

⁹³⁴ C. McGrath, “Gall, St.,” *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, edited by Berard L. Marthaler, volume 6 (Washington, D.C.: Thomson Gale in association with The Catholic University of America, 2003), 64-5. It is difficult to trace the exact dates of Moengal. James Kenney states: “Fellow pupils of Notker Balbulus who doubtless passed under the instruction of Moengal were Tuotilo, poet, musician, painter and sculptor; Ratpert, first compiler of *Casus S. Galli*; Waldramm the monastic librarian; and perhaps abbot Hartmann (d. 925),” see Kenney, *The Sources*, 596-7. Kenney points out that all of those mentioned “contributed to the development of mediaeval hymnody, and some historians have seen the influence of Moengal’s Irish musical tastes in the fame thus acquired by St. Gall,” 597. The death of Moengal is listed in the Nekrology of St. Gall, 597. For more on Irish personalities on the continent see Ó Cróinín, *Early Medieval Ireland 400-1200*, 196-232; and for an older perspective see Heinrich Zimmer, *The Irish Element in Medieval Culture* (New York; London: G. P. Putnam’s Sons, 1891).

⁹³⁵ Michael Dunne, “Sedulius Scotus,” *The Encyclopedia of Ireland*, edited by Brian Lalor (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2003), 978.

⁹³⁶ See Kenney, “The Expansion of Irish Christianity,” *The Sources*, 486-621, at 554, 555, and 569.

⁹³⁷ Ó Riain-Raedel, “Ireland and Austria in the Middle Ages,” 11.

⁹³⁸ “Colman of Stockerau,” in *The Book of Saints* (Wilton, Connecticut: Morehouse, 1989), 131. The book is compiled by the Benedictine monks of St. Augustine’s Abbey, Ramsgate.

⁹³⁹ Ó Riain-Raedel, “Ireland and Austria in the Middle Ages,” 29. The early information about Koloman, although sketchy and unsubstantiated, “appears linked with Máel Sechnaill, the king of Meath and high-king of Ireland (d. 1022),” 28. For more on Koloman see Kenney, *The Sources*, 613-614. Koloman was on pilgrimage to the Holy Land when he was murdered near Stockerau. His *translation* to Melk occurred sometime after 1089, see 29. As Ó Riain-Raedel notes, “a cult following emerged after his death such that the aristocratic Babenbergs who were resident in Melk, adopted the cult and influenced the transference of Koloman’s remains to the city,” see 29.

The final phase is the expansion into Germany and Austria, the area under discussion. In Austria, the phase lasted until the fifteenth- century, the period in which the Irish Schottenstift were prominent.⁹⁴⁰

The Schottenklöster phenomenon is remarkable in many ways. Not only in terms of the sustained relationship between Ireland and Austria, which seems well-supported by the patronage of the kings of Munster and the reason for the priory at Rosscarbery, but also because of the literary evidence which was produced during this period including notated sources of the liturgy: albeit in fragmentary form. Still, this was a highly productive period and the literary transmission, even with Ireland has not been fully understood. The lack of evidence in Ireland makes this difficult to verify.

Another detail which has only recently come to light concerns the architecture of the Schottenstift and relates to earlier discussion regarding church structure. In the Vienna Schottenstift Irish hagiography may have also had a role in the orientation of the monastery where the feast day of St. Patrick, 17 March may have been integrated into the plans of the structure.⁹⁴¹ In an architectural survey of the church led by Erwin Reidinger in 2007, the team showed that the altar or apse was oriented to the East and that astronomy was employed to execute the exact position of the sun within a four day span around the feast day in March.⁹⁴² Calculating the axis of the sun and the placement of the apse, or the polygonal space where the altar would be situated, Reidinger and his team surveyed the foundation and concluded that the

⁹⁴⁰ Ó Riain-Raedel, “Ireland and Austria in the Middle Ages,” 11.

⁹⁴¹ I thank Martin Czernin for drawing my attention to Erwin Reidinger’s article.

⁹⁴² Erwin Reidinger, “Die Schottenkirch in Wien: Lage – Orientierung – Achsknick - Gründungsdatum,” *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Kunst und Denkmalpflege* 61/2 (2007): 181-213.

architects incorporated the feast day of St. Patrick into the architectural plans of the church.⁹⁴³ Embedding the feast day of St. Patrick seems an interesting development and may have more to do with a Benedictine interest in architecture. They may have wanted to secure the remembrance of the Irish saint in spiritual and material means. After all, the *historia* can take many forms and in the hagiography documented in the annals of the Schottenstift to the liturgical feast for the Irish saints a technique evidenced in the hymns of the AB, rhetoric, the art of poetical repetition is “writ large”. It is also to be noted that the architecture of the Schottenstift of St. James in Regensburg is remarkable for its edifice and its “famous northern portal.”

Gregorius’ achievement in building the church at Regensburg, said to have been made possible by funds received from Muirchertach Ua Briain in 1166, equalled, if not surpassed, the achievement of his predecessor, Christianus. Moreover, as far as the fabric of the church is concerned, his design is still intact today.⁹⁴⁴

While it is difficult to know the extent to which the architectural information about the Vienna Schottenstift can be verified in relation to the other Schottenklöster, the study seems significant.

On one level, the hagiographical evidence seems to show a relationship to the AB, only at a much later stage of liturgical development. In the context of Irish monasticism Dáibhí Ó Cróinín notes, “the AB illustrates a concern with the computus, or ecclesiastical calendar, which was to be a marked feature of the Irish schools throughout the medieval period.”⁹⁴⁵ Further, Ó Cróinín notes the significance of computes as a “pattern of study” and may have some relevance to the architecture of the Schottenstift.⁹⁴⁶ Irish *computus* and the calculation of Easter were to

⁹⁴³ See Reidinger, “Die Schottenkirch in Wien,” 195199. See Harper, *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy*, 288 regarding apse and alter space.

⁹⁴⁴ Ó Riain-Raedel, “Irish Benedictines,” 41-2.

⁹⁴⁵ Ó Cróinín, *Early Medieval Ireland 400-1200*, 177.

⁹⁴⁶ For more on the pattern of study in early Irish schools see Ó Cróinín, “Chapter 7: The First Christian Schools,” in *Early Medieval Ireland 400-1200*, 169-195. For more on some of the publications dealing with the architecture of Irish churches and monasteries in the medieval period see the following: Harold G. Leask, *Irish*

set Ireland at odds with the Roman Church and was an issue Columbanus fiercely defended. Only with the acceptance of a unified calendar and the gradual adoption of the Benedictine Rule did the matter of time become resolved. On many levels patterns of calculation exerted themselves and were reflected in every aspect of Irish monastic life. The calendar of the saints, the sanctorale and the *temporale*, are intricately woven into the liturgy of the Church. Therefore, in considering the Schottenstift, there are multiple avenues of research which intersect with Irish history. As is evident, even in the finest *minutiae* of the foundation, links can be made to the earliest developments of the Irish church. Here, the past, represented in the hagiography of St. Patrick, seems built into the foundation in Vienna and inserting its place in liturgical history. However, without knowledge of the AB the information would simply stand out as perhaps another bit of Irish phenomena rather fitting into a larger picture of Irish monastic culture. The evidence is hardly trivial but couched in the context of Irish medieval developments, the pieces begin to fit together and we are in a better position to appreciate the liturgical fragments preserved in the archive of the Schottenstift. All the more reason the musical element is a significant recovery, for as we shall see, there is a fragment for the Feast of St. Patrick!

Churches and Monastic Buildings I: The First Phases and the Romanesque (Dundalk: Dundalgan Press W. Tempest, 1955); Harold G. Leask, *Irish Churches and Monastic Buildings II: Gothic Architecture to A. D. 1400* (Dundalk: Dundalgan Press W. Tempest, 1958); Margaret Stokes, *Early Christian Architecture in Ireland* (London: George Bell and Sons, 1878; and Arthur C. Champneys, *Irish Ecclesiastical Architecture, with some notice of similar or related work in England, Scotland and Elsewhere* (New York: Hacker Art Books, 1970). A recent publication is Tomás Ó Carragáin, *Churches in Early Medieval Ireland: Architecture, Ritual and Memory* (New Haven; London: Published for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art by Yale University Press, 2010).

6.2 Rosscarbery (*Ros Ailithir*)

An important recruiting center for the monastery in Vienna and for Irish monasteries on the continent was St. Mary's Priory, at *Ros Ailithir*, now Rosscarbery in Co. Cork.⁹⁴⁷ Rosscarbery, located in West Cork between Clonakilty and Skibbereen, was originally founded by St. Fachna of Molana (d. 600).⁹⁴⁸ St. Fachna established the ancient Monastery of Ross – which “on account of the number of scholars coming to it from all parts, came to be called Ros Ailithir (*oilithreach* – Pilgrim – Ross of the Pilgrims) (“Headland of the Pilgrim”) and this School or Monastery became the nucleus of the Diocese of Ross.”⁹⁴⁹ Although the edifices of Rosscarbery have been ravaged over time by invaders, due in part by what W. Holland notes as “the hardy dwellers of Scandinavia and Denmark” beginning in the ninth century, the history of this remarkable town endures to the present.⁹⁵⁰ Rosscarbery became important in the twelfth century as a supplier of Irish recruits for the Benedictine houses of Würzburg and Regensburg, and later the Vienna Schottenstift.⁹⁵¹ This relationship developed through the ancestral clan of Cormac Mac Carthaig.

⁹⁴⁷ James Coombes, “The Benedictine Priory of Ross,” *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, 73 (1968), 152. The translation of “ros ailithir” from Irish means “pilgrim” and the name of the town aptly reflects its ecclesiastical history.

⁹⁴⁸ W. Holland, *History of West Cork and the Diocese of Ross* (Skibbereen: Southern Star, 1949), 21.

⁹⁴⁹ Holland, *History of West Cork and the Diocese of Ross*, 21. See Kenney, “The School of Ros-Ailithir,” in *The Sources*, 681-2 where he refers to Ros-Ailithir as “Headland of the Pilgrim.”

⁹⁵⁰ See Holland, *History of West Cork and the Diocese of Ross*. Rosscarbery has a historical society which was founded in 1995, see “Rosscarbery and District Historical Society,” accessed October 2, 2011, <www.rosscarbery.ie/Historical/index.htm>. The publication of *Rosscarbery: Past and Present* by the society to coincide with the millennium and has gone on to further editions and demonstrates their commitment to historical preservation, see *Rosscarbery: Past and Present* (Skibbereen: Published by Rosscarbery and District Historical Society, 1999). This was a collaborative project with the dean of St. Fachtna's Cathedral, Rev. Peters, dean of Ross providing an essay on the history of the cathedral, see “The Cathedral Church of St. Fachtna,” 29-34.

⁹⁵¹ See Ó Riain-Raedel, “Irish Benedictine Monasteries on the Continent,” 58; and Coombes, “The Benedictine Priory of Ross,” 153.

To place the early history of Rosscarbery in context, St. Fachtna's establishment of the school and monastery in *ca.* 570 was the period of the "golden age" of monasticism in Ireland. Other prominent centres were Bangor, already mentioned: "Clonard, founded by St. Finnian in 520; as well as the school of Enda on the Aran Islands, the school of St. Finbarr in Cork, and the school of Moville near Bangor."⁹⁵² Rosscarbery rose to prominence as an "episcopal see at the Synod of Kells in 1152."⁹⁵³ The date of the foundation of St. Mary's priory is unknown, although, the year of 1218 has been cited by J. Coombes.⁹⁵⁴ Ó Riain-Raedel notes that the traditional date of 1218 relies on a misunderstanding of historical evidence, far lengthier to recount than space permits.⁹⁵⁵ Whichever date is correct the important point is St. Mary's Priory in Rosscarbery became a dependency of the Vienna monastery, also dedicated to the honour of Mary.⁹⁵⁶ Remarkable is the sustained relationship between Ireland and Germany which endured into the fifteenth century. As mentioned earlier, given that the Schottenklöster were Irish, their autonomy was eventually challenged by local monasteries and they were forced to relinquish their authority.

An interesting piece of musical detail emerged which has been difficult to verify. The transmission of an Irish Psalter can be traced to the school of Rosscarbery,⁹⁵⁷ but the evidence seems elusive. Although a Psalter is documented in the archive in Vienna, the manuscript has been missing from the library for some time. Whether the Psalter included musical notation is

⁹⁵² Holland, *History of West Cork and the Diocese of Ross*, 33.

⁹⁵³ Ó Riain-Raedel, "Irish Benedictine Monasteries on the Continent," 58.

⁹⁵⁴ Coombes, "The Benedictine Priory of Ross," 153.

⁹⁵⁵ See Ó Riain-Raedel, "Irish Benedictine Monasteries on the Continent," 58-9.

⁹⁵⁶ Ferenczy, *Schottenkirch in Vienna*, 1.

⁹⁵⁷ Martin McNamara, "Psalter Text and Psalter Study in the Early Irish Church (600-1200 CE)," *The Psalms in the Early Irish Church* (Sheffield, England: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), 26.

another matter. However, that it is recorded as having been part of the library's collection means that the manuscript existed and may be recovered sometime in the future.⁹⁵⁸ Proving once again that in at least one manuscript, there is still more to learn about Irish relationships on the continent and if the Irish were transmitters of musical manuscripts from Rosscarbery.

6.3 Liturgical Chant Fragments from the Vienna Schottenstift

The fragments date roughly from the late twelfth to the fifteenth century the period of Irish expansion. The collection originally numbered 58 fragments, although Martin Czernin has shown that some were actually from the same page and there seems now to be approximately 48.⁹⁵⁹ Of these there are representations of 4 antiphonaries, 1 troper, 2 graduals, 2 breviaries and 1 sacramentary.⁹⁶⁰ The fragments were retrieved from the bindings of other manuscripts. When the monks of Melk took over the Vienna monastery in 1418, thus instituting a new phase of German monastic order, the chant notation, which had become "obsolete," gave way to a new musical tradition.⁹⁶¹ Martin Czernin states: "They are generally recognized as the oldest sources

⁹⁵⁸ I thank Martin Czernin for a discussion regarding the Irish Psalter and for the reference to the catalogue, see *Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum qui in bibliotheca Monasterii B. M. V ad Scotos Vindobonae servantur ex mandato reverendissimi domini abbatis dris Ernesti Hauswirth*, P. Albertus Hübl editor (Vindobonae et Lipsiae in Aedibus Guilelmi Braumüller Bibliopolae C. ac R. aulae et universtiatis (Wien: Bibliothek des Schottenstiftes, 1899), 173.

⁹⁵⁹ Czernin, "Fragments of Liturgical Chant," 224.

⁹⁶⁰ Czernin, "Fragments of Liturgical Chant," 224.

⁹⁶¹ Czernin, "Fragments of Liturgical Chant," 218. For more on Melk see Scott Bradford Montgomery, "Melk," *Medieval Germany: An Encyclopedia*, edited by John M. Jeep (New York; London: Garland Publishing, 2001), 517-8; Terence Kavenagh, "Melk," *Encyclopedia of Monasticism*, edited by William M. Johnston, volume 2 (Chicago; London: Fitzroy Dearborn, 2000), 850-53; and Gottfried Glassner, "Christian Ethos and Monastic Book Culture: the History of the Melk Abbey Library as a Guidepost to a Lifestyle in Conformity with the Horizon of Christian Values," *The American Benedictine Review* 45/4 (1994): 368-398.

of music notation in Vienna.”⁹⁶² Thus, the Vienna fragments form a corpus of evidence that spans the time the Irish were in-charge of the Schottenstift raises more questions about Ireland’s musical influence.

On the surface the musical evidence in the Schotten archive appears tangential to previous discussions of the AB. After all, the musical notation represents a later stage of musical development and the “fragmentary” nature of the evidence means it is almost impossible to know the full extent of the Schottenstift’s musical heritage. There are no complete antiphonaries with which to compare the AB. Why then are the fragments relevant to a discussion of the AB and its musical implications? Three points will show how this chapter meshes with the previous discussion: one, they represent musical evidence from an exclusive Irish Benedictine monastery strategically located on the continent and influenced at a time when musical notation was already integrated into scribal practices at monasteries such as St. Gall in Switzerland and Klosterneuburg in Lower Austria; two, some of the fragments represent feasts for Irish saints and denote a fuller expression of practices of *memoria* and commemoration noted in the AB; and three, the practice of Irish *peregrinatio* as witnessed in Columbanus and Fursa extended the influence of the Irish church in ways which are perhaps only now being fully appreciated for the musical information associated with the Offices of Irish saints.

Four examples will serve to illustrate the variety of material in the collection. The first is a fragment from the Vigil for St. Patrick (Figure 3); the second is from the Feast of St. Brigid (St. Brigit) (Figure 4); and the third is the oldest fragment (Figure 5) in the collection.⁹⁶³ Figures 3 and 4 are dated from the late twelfth century, while Figure 5 dates from the first half of the

⁹⁶² Czernin, “Fragments of Liturgical Chant,” 219.

⁹⁶³ For more on the promotion of Irish saints see Dagmar Ó Riain-Raedel, “Aspects of the promotion of Irish Saints’ cults in Medieval Germany,” *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie* 39 (1982): 220-234. I have maintained the spelling of “Brigid” for consistency when referring to the Schottstift fragment.

twelfth century. The fourth example (Figure 6) represents a fragment for the office of St. Kilian. This example has been transcribed and recorded by the medieval group Altramar. What makes the life of St. Kilian interesting is that his cult following derives from the continent rather than from Ireland. Each of the figures show an excerpt from a fuller page, but, as might be expected with fragment, the text and notation has been cut off making an accurate transcription difficult. In general, the style of notation varies from fragment to fragment. In one instance (not presented in the following figures) the notation resembles square notation, while others appear more of a hufnagel shape. Some preliminary discussion of these details is useful in order to provide a basis for musical comparison. The purpose for the discussion is to show the rich legacy of Irish influence. Thus, with Solange Corbin's study of regional notations and David Hiley's notational tables, a closer inspection of the examples reveals some interesting details.⁹⁶⁴

The antiphonal fragment for the Feast of St. Patrick (Figure 3) seems an appropriate start. As I have singled out the significance of his feast day in relation to the architectural foundation of the Schottenstift, it is fortunate that a portion of the office has survived. The example shows notation on a four-line staff placed above the text. The lines appear consistent, although it is possible to detect evidence of previous manuscript details in the background. This gives the image a curious optical illusion. As the text is quite clear I have provided a transcription below the figure. There are episodes of melismatic treatment such as occur on the final "domini" in the last complete line of text with notation. The partial letter "P" visible in the last line in the lower right corner, and the flourish of ascending notation seems a musical embellishment on the single letter, although it is difficult to know for certain. There are also episodes of syllabic treatment

⁹⁶⁴ See Solange Corbin, *Die Neumen* (Köln: Arno Volk-Verlag, Hans Gerig KG, 1973); Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, Table IV. 2.2: Palaeofrankish, Laon, Breton, and Aquitanian notational signs, 349; and Hiley, *Gregorian Chant*, Table 4.2: Eight medieval types of signs for notating chant, 182.

suggesting that the author has given consideration to the interpretation of the text. St. Patrick's name appears as "Patricium" on the second line of the text. A closer look at the musical neumes suggests there are at least three different styles: perhaps Messine, Beneventan, or Anglo-Norman.⁹⁶⁵ Beneventan, in part because there are elements of a heavier scribal hand and a suggestion of square a stylis as evident in the two neumes at the end of the first staff.⁹⁶⁶ The upright quality of the notation and the finer elements of an Anglo-Norman style can be detected in what appears to be a *quilisma* on the last line before the large "P". Given the work that has already been done on the fragments and they have been identified as Messine neumes,⁹⁶⁷ we may perhaps eliminate any other possibility. The frequent use of the *liquescents* "f" an example which occurs at the beginning of the word "domini" seem to confirm this point.⁹⁶⁸ Still, given that we are dealing with fragments, and that they may represent a variety of different influences it is important to keep an open mind about the notational styles.

⁹⁶⁵ Corbin, *Die Neumen*, 3.231. I am grateful to Professor Haines for his insight into the notation.

⁹⁶⁶ See David Hiley, *Gregorian Chant*, 182, Table 4.2.

⁹⁶⁷ Czernin, "Fragments of Liturgical Chant," 223; and Lawrence, "What did They Sing at Cashel in 1172?" 121, note 43.

⁹⁶⁸ See Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, Table IV. 2.2, 349. Here the notation is identified as Laon in accordance with Hiley's reference to Laon, Bibliothèque Municipale 239.

Figure 3: Fragment of an antiphon *Carmen digne propheticum* with the responsory *Qui me moretur domini* from the third Nocturn for the Vigil of St. Patrick. The text is incomplete, but the name of “Patricium” is clearly visible in the second line.⁹⁶⁹ (Reproduced with permission of the Schottenstift, Vienna)



Although not supplied in the article the fragmentary lines of text can be read as follows:

...Nostra. Gloria patri et filio et spiritum...
 ...Digne propheticum illustravit Patricium quem pro...
 ...olum. **Rx.** Qui me moretur domini ...
 ...rat studii nisi Gloria domini....

⁹⁶⁹ All information pertaining to the headings and the pictures of the fragments are taken from Czernin, “Fragments of Liturgical Chant from Medieval Irish Monasteries in Continental Europe,” 221, illustration 7. The 4 figures from the article are used with the permission of Martin Czernin. Czernin states that the Vigil for St. Patrick is from an Antiphony dated to be in the late 12th century.

In his study of the Schottenstift notation, Martin Czernin drew on the work of Bruno Stäblein. Stäblein had written *Schriftbild der einstimmigen Musik des Mittelalters*⁹⁷⁰ in which he considered the possibility of a style of Irish notation.⁹⁷¹ In Stäblein's study he consulted sources such as MS. Rawlinson C 892 in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, a manuscript considered to be of Irish provenance and dated from the second half of the twelfth century.⁹⁷² Using examples from Stäblein's book, Czernin was then able to make a comparison with the Schottenstift fragments. A notable feature of the fragments is the use of clefs. An example can be observed in the antiphon *Carmen digne propheticum* (Figure 3) in the third line. From these comparisons Czernin was able to distinguish certain features in the neumes from Vienna, particularly in the *quilisma* and *liquescent*.⁹⁷³

Part of the difficulty in identifying a notational style is the varying interpretations of regional types. For example, the so-called Messine signs derive from ninth-century sources at Metz, but as David Hiley points out: "No ninth-century notated sources from Metz have survived, and indeed, those from later centuries are also relatively scarce."⁹⁷⁴ Notational styles have generally been identified through certain neumatic characteristics and regional practices; and interestingly, identified on a map.⁹⁷⁵ One is reminded here of Christopher Page's geographical map of medieval music that indicates the major regions of surviving notational

⁹⁷⁰ Bruno Stäblein, *Schriftbild der einstimmigen Musik des Mittelalters* (Leipzig: VEB Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1975).

⁹⁷¹ Stäblein, *Schriftbild der einstimmigen*, 120 and 142.

⁹⁷² Stäblein, *Schriftbild der einstimmigen*, 120-1.

⁹⁷³ Czernin, "Fragments of Liturgical Chant," 223.

⁹⁷⁴ David Hiley, *Western Plainchant* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 348.

⁹⁷⁵ See Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, 349.

sources and his astute comments about the problems with such method.⁹⁷⁶ As Page observes the map “reveals a slippage” between what survives and “the major currents in the social, political and ecclesiastical history of the Middle Ages, to say nothing of musical life in the broader sense of all music making, regardless of whether it has left a deposit in notation or not.”⁹⁷⁷ Thus, “[t]he immense contribution of Ireland to the monastic and spiritual history of the medieval West, for example, fails to register on this map”⁹⁷⁸ Clearly, maps and tables can have their limitations. More important is to make close observations and to compare the evidence with other local monasteries or other Schotten houses. But to return to the discussion at hand, Metz seems to be on the “periphery” of Palaeofrankish notation, or the area known as Lotharingia “from which descends the modern name ‘Lorraine’.”⁹⁷⁹ According to Hiley because Laon is the most central city of the area, he refers to the notation as “Laon” and not Messine.⁹⁸⁰ Messine or Laon, given the interconnections that are likely to have existed between the Schottenklöster, it is not surprising that the evidence reflects elements of other styles. Given the evidence Frank Lawrence observes that the notation points to the Messine regional style.⁹⁸¹ While there was a connection between Regensburg the mother-house and Vienna, the style of notation may have been drawn from monasteries within the local vicinity such as Klosterneuberg.

⁹⁷⁶ Christopher Page, “The Geography of Medieval Music,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Music*, edited by Mark Everist (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 321.

⁹⁷⁷ Page, “The Geography of Medieval Music,” 322.

⁹⁷⁸ Page, “The Geography of Medieval Music,” 322.

⁹⁷⁹ See Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, 348-9. See Corbin, “Map I and II,” *Die Neumen*, unnumbered in “Anhang”.

⁹⁸⁰ Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, Map IV. 2.1 “Centres where Laon notation was used,” 350. Hiley calls it “Laon notation” after the “representative manuscript Laon, Bibliothèque Municipale 239 and Laon is reasonably central,” 349.

⁹⁸¹ Lawrence, “What did they sing at Cashel in 1172?,” 121, note 43.

In this respect we must consider the musical fragments within the cultural context from which they emerge. For example, in a gradual from the monastery of Klosterneuburg a similar style of musical notation can be observed as well as the use of clefs. In Klosterneuburg MS 1013 the notation is Messine, or Laon, with neumes on a four line staff.⁹⁸² Interestingly, the slant of the neumes which bear to the right are not unlike the style of neumes from St. Gall.⁹⁸³ Although the Vienna fragments may be predominantly Messine, it seems to me that other regional styles can also be detected.

Another feature to note about the fragment for the Feast of St. Patrick is the flow of the script. At a glance, the melody appears to have a wide range as the melismatic elements vary the melodic contour. The shadowy elements give the fragment an unusual quality and appear to show some previous notational material. Certainly the fragments offer a glimpse of the office for Patrick but without the full manuscript it is impossible to know where this piece fits into the larger repertoire for the veneration of the saint. In this respect it would be useful to make a comparison with other office chants for St. Patrick to distinguish the differences and similarities.

The second fragment is for the Feast of St. Brigid. Obviously there once was a complete manuscript with the feasts for St. Patrick (Figure 3) and St. Brigid (Figure 4), but from a fragment, some interesting observations can be made. For example, the shadows of vertical text, observable between the third and fourth lines of notation to the right of center may suggest a palimpsest. The curious “spidery” script, which is evident on the third stave, appears unrelated to the text and may also be a remnant of a previous text. Although the notation and the text appear legible, they are more difficult to read because there are shadows in the background suggestive

⁹⁸² Jacques Froger, “Graduel de Klosterneuburg,” *Paléographie Musicale: Les principaux manuscrits de chant*, XIX (Bern: Editions Herbert Land & Cie Sa, 1974), 46, folio 43.

⁹⁸³ See Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, 357-361.

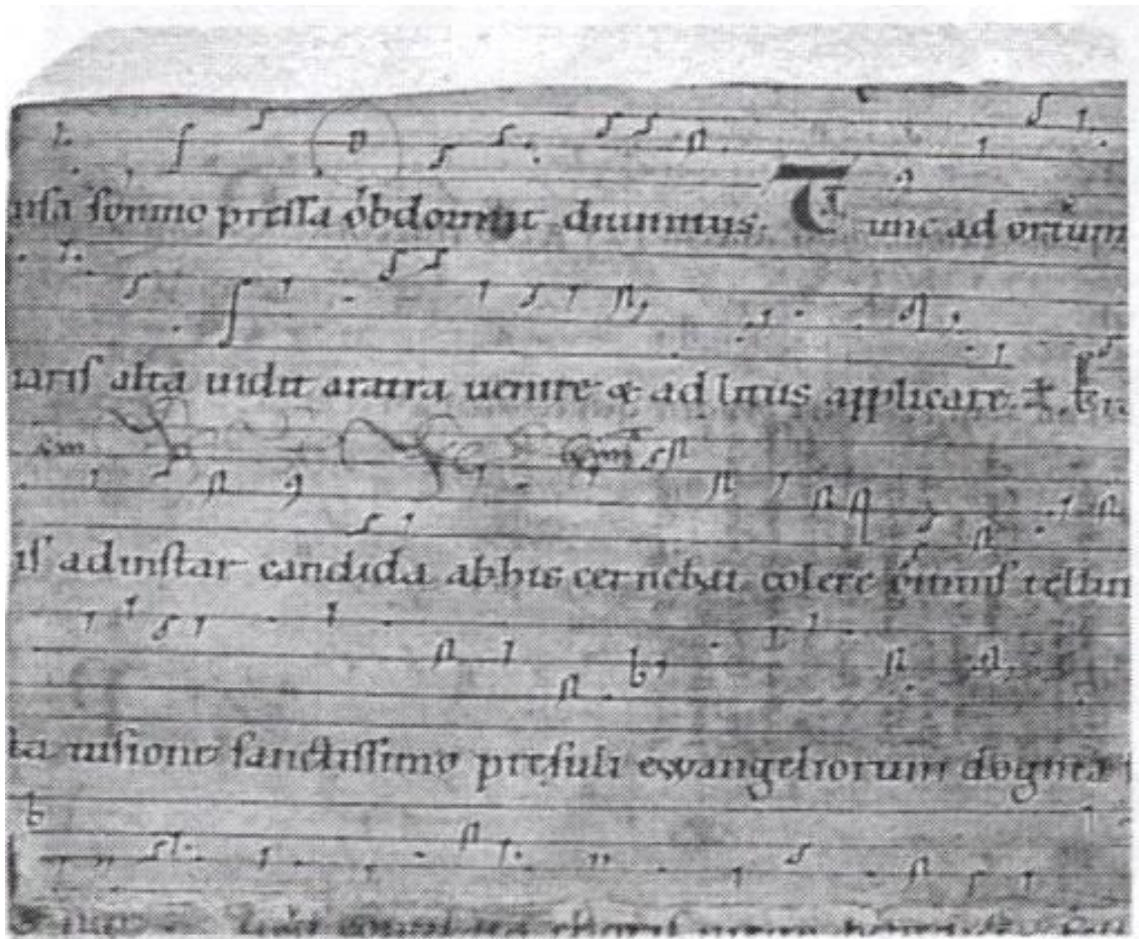
of from former texts, or script which has bled-through onto the next page. It is perhaps presumptuous to suggest the possibility that the manuscript was used previously but the shadow indicates that the text occupied space both horizontally and vertically. Although the fine neumes are Messine or Laon notational, they bear some similarities to Beneventan, particularly the fourth line of four-lined staves.⁹⁸⁴ Most notable is the mix of what seems script written with a fine stylis on the third line. Whether text has also bled-through from the previous page is difficult to tell as it is more pronounced than the other shadowy elements in the background. The outline of a capital letter “*ſ*” or “*ƒ*” and slanting to the left, seems curious and almost purposeful, as though it might represent a signature. At the same time the “*ꝥ*” made prominent in the first line beginning the word “tunc” resembles Gothic style. Further comparisons with the script can be made with which appears insular and half-uncial as appears in a fragment from Oxford, Bodleian Library, Lat. Liturg. d. 3, f 3 r depicted in David Hiley’s book *Western Plainchant*.⁹⁸⁵ This seems to me to be an interesting comparison. While it is important to compare local styles, the paleography of the fragment needs to be considered, particularly as the monks were coming from Ireland. In this respect, comparisons with the feasts for St. Brigit in the Trinity College Dublin 78 and 80 need to be examined more closely in relation to the Vienna

⁹⁸⁴ I am grateful to Professor Haines for his guidance in this area.

⁹⁸⁵ Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, Plate 2, 408, commentary, 409.

fragment.⁹⁸⁶ As the Vienna fragments are the work of ongoing research, I have tried to draw on my observations of the examples.

Figure 4: A fragment for the Feast of St. Brigid in an Antiphony (late 12th century).⁹⁸⁷
(Reproduced with permission of the Schottenstift, Vienna)



⁹⁸⁶ I am grateful to Professor Lawrence for drawing my attention to these sources.

⁹⁸⁷ Czernin, "Fragments of Liturgical Chant," 221, illustration 8. The fragment displays a shadow of former text running vertically, which suggests a palimpsest.

It is also difficult to follow the line of text with the notation. Apart from the notation, the main feature is that it is a chant for the Feast of St. Brigid. Even as remnants the prominence of Irish saints in the Vienna Schottenstift collection indicates the importance placed their remembrance.⁹⁸⁸ The evidence confirms once again the importance of hagiography in Irish monasticism; the extent to which can only be glimpsed through these liturgical fragments. St. Brigit became an important saint. One reason for her cult following was that her *vita* written by Cogitosus sometime around 675⁹⁸⁹ was widely circulated. Cogitosus' narrative elevates Brigit to one of cult figure through the power of words. In describing St. Brigit's church, for example, Cogitosus is "providing a panegyric *ekphrasis*" where the hagiography of the saint evokes "harmonious hymns, the chanted prayers, the procession lit by candles" orchestrated through the text.⁹⁹⁰ As Lisa Bitel concludes, "it was Cogitosus who led Christians to Brigit's church and located them in the history and geography of Christendom."⁹⁹¹ Even in the depiction of the church, the element of "romanitas" is evident, or as Carol Neuman de Vegvar discusses "the described church is a literary conceit rather than a lost reality."⁹⁹² But there is more. Through the *vita* a vision of the church becomes real. According to Bitel something remarkable was accomplished:

⁹⁸⁸ Ó Riain-Raedel, "Ireland and Austria in the Middle Ages," 38.

⁹⁸⁹ Ó Riain, "Brigid," in *A Dictionary of Irish Saints*, 123-125 at 123. For more on the Life of Brigid see Lisa Bitel, *Landscape with Two Saints: How Genovefa of Paris and Brigit of Kildare Built Christianity in Barbarian Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

⁹⁹⁰ Bitel, "Ekphrasis at Kildare," 607.

⁹⁹¹ Bitel, "Ekphrasis at Kildare," 627.

⁹⁹² De Vegvar, "Romanitas and Realpolitik in Cogitosus' Description of the Church of St. Brigit, Kildare," 153-170.

For those who did not know the way to Rome, or who longed to see little Romes on the hills and plains of Ireland, Brigit revealed paths. [...] Cogitosus chose to commemorate Brigit in a new genre of architectural hagiography, providing at once a saintly legend of traffic, a history of ecclesiastical building, and a map for his own generation of Christian travelers.⁹⁹³

In this light Brigit's *vita* places her in the rank of St. Patrick. But Cogitosus also emphasized the architectural space where the liturgy happens. That a fragment of her Office accompanied by musical neumes survives in the Vienna Schottenstift is significant.

As noted earlier, a more effective analysis would require careful comparison of the texts for the feast with those in Trinity College Dublin, or to compare other examples from former Schottenkloster.⁹⁹⁴ Also, given that Irish saints were incorporated into the hagiography of the monasteries and that St. Brigit had such a following. Interestingly, there is an excerpt on the recording by Altramar based on the St. Brigit fragment. Although no text is given, the piece is entitled "Puella Christi" in the form of musical estampie.⁹⁹⁵

The next example *Sanctificamini hodie et estote* and *Constantes estote* (Figure 5) is the oldest of the fragments. The excerpt is a responsory from an antiphony which predates the foundation of the Vienna Schottenstift, and may have come from Regensburg.⁹⁹⁶ Here, there is an example of more ornate letters such as the "S" highlighting the word "sanctificamini." Although there is evidence of organization in the separation of staff notation and text, the rostrum appears to have shifted, towards the lower left of the fragment and some deterioration

⁹⁹³ Bitel, *Landscape with Two Saints*, 139.

⁹⁹⁴ Having consulted T.C.D. 78 and 80 it is difficult to get a clear understanding of the remnant in the Vienna Schottenstift because of its fragmentary nature. See University of Toronto Library Collection Microtexts, M U665 14-a and M U666 14-a.

⁹⁹⁵ See accompanying booklet "no. 13 Puella Christi," *Celtic Wanderers: The Pilgrim's Road*, performed by Altramar (New York: Dorian Recordings, 2000), 12.

⁹⁹⁶ Czernin, "Fragments of Liturgical Chant," 220.

can be noted. While it is difficult to know for certain, Czernin makes a reasonable assumption that this may have been part of one of the manuscripts brought from Regensburg when the first Irish monks came to the Vienna Schottenstift following Archduke Jasomirgott's invitation.⁹⁹⁷ The notation is Messine, but other regional styles can be detected. For example, the more angular shape of the neumes and the occurrence of a heavier notational style are more reflective of Beneventan signs, particularly in the upper line.⁹⁹⁸ The mix of notation styles seems a unique feature of the Vienna fragments. This seems one of the most important elements to come from the Schottenstift fragments. While we need to consider the fragments within the sphere of monastic culture and draw on examples from other Schottenklöster, can we assume that every Irish monk came directly from Ireland or another Irish Schotten? If there are variations of notational styles observable in the fragments, how can we account for the variations in style? Is it possible that they were written by novices, or perhaps monks were coming from other Irish centers with musical skills which were utilized at the Vienna Schottenstift. Even in the few examples provided here it is evident that the ruling is not consistent, nor is the text necessarily aligned with the notation. Given the Regensburg connections, there seems a wider circle of musical influence which had an impact on the monks in Vienna.

In the larger realm, it is useful to compare Figure 5 with another manuscript that bears a similar notational style. A primary source of trouvère melodies is *Le Chansonnier Français de Saint-Germain-des-Prés*, Bibliothèque nationale de France, f. fr. 20050.⁹⁹⁹ Here the manuscript lays out a verse on a four-lined staff followed by the texts for each melody. There are some

⁹⁹⁷ Czernin, "Fragments of Liturgical Chant," 220.

⁹⁹⁸ Hiley, *Gregorian Chant*, Table 4.2 "Eight medieval types of signs for notating chant," 182,

⁹⁹⁹ P. Meyer and G. Raynaud, *Le Chansonnier Français de Saint-Germain-des-Prés (Bibl. Nat. Fr. 20050)* (Paris: Librairie de Firmin Didot et Cie, 1892. I am grateful to Professor Haines for directing me to this manuscript.

remarkable similarities with the format of *Sanctificamini hodie et estole* and *Constantes estote*. In particular the separation of the text from the staff and the visual element which reflects the organization skill of the scribe. The layout of the text in the case of the Le Chansonnier manuscript was to facilitate reading. The visual element seems to suggest that the music and text also facilitated performance. In this respect the fragment does not differ from the kinds of notation practices which were emerging beyond Austria and Germany.

Figure 5: Responsory *Sanctificamini hodie et estote* and *Constantes estote* from the first Nocturn for the Vigil of the Nativity from an Antiphony dated the first half of the twelfth-century is the oldest fragment in the Schotten archive.¹⁰⁰⁰
(Reproduced with permission of the Schottenstift, Vienna)



Sanctificamini Rx.

hodie et estote parati, quia die [crastina]

videbitis majestatem dei in [vobis].

[V.] Hodie scietis quia veniet dominus: et mane vide[bitis]

... riam eius quia. Rx. Constantes estote videbitis¹⁰⁰¹

¹⁰⁰⁰ Czernin, "Fragments of Liturgical Chant," 219, illustration 4.

¹⁰⁰¹ Text in *Breviarium ad usum insignis ecclesiae Sarum, Fasciculus I* (Cantabrigiae: Typis atque impensis almae matris academiae Cantabrigiensis, 1882), clvii-clviii. The text is from *In Vigilia Natalis Domini* for *Ad Matutina*. The square brackets [] indicate missing text.

However, an important comparison can be made with manuscripts closer to the Vienna Schottenstift. For example, the responsory *Sanctificamini hodie et estote* from Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, MS. 29 (A-Gu 29) is very similar to the Schottenstift fragment.¹⁰⁰² The manuscript is from the Abbey of Sankt Lambrecht in Steiermark located west of Vienna.¹⁰⁰³ The letter “S” in the Schottenstift fragment is more ornate when compared to the lettering in A-Gu 29. Other observations of note are the differences in the ruling and the organization of the text with the neumes. In A-Gu 29, for example, the lines are consistently even and the notation is clearly separated from the text. The alignment of the syllables, even in melismatic segments, is also well-defined. In the Vienna fragment (Figure 5) a portion of the text converges with the staff, as occurs in the lower left portion of the example which makes it difficult to read. Although there are similarities between the Vienna fragment and A-Gu 29, the notational style in the Vienna example appears less refined. Were the scribes perfecting their style and adapting to local influences? Does this fragment represent a moment of liturgical change? Given that the fragments are remnants of a larger manuscript which was destroyed, perhaps we see here a reason why the notational style and the texts gave way not only to newer forms of notational practice. In the wake of the Melk Reform and the renewal of liturgical practice, we perhaps can glimpse some notational changes by placing the fragments within the larger context of reform and renewal. The evidence raises more questions: why has evidence not survived in Ireland? Did the Irish have need of music notation? Given the traffic to and from the continent it seems

¹⁰⁰² To view the example see: Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, 29 (olim 38/8f.) (A-Gu 29), folio 34v, *CANTUS: A Database for Latin Ecclesiastical Chant*, accessed May 4, 2013 at: <<http://cantusdatabase.org/source/374033/a-gu-29>>. I thank Professor Frank Lawrence for drawing my attention to this example.

¹⁰⁰³ Information about Sankt Lambrecht from “Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, 29 (olim 38/8f.),” *CANTUS: A Database for Latin Ecclesiastical Chant*, accessed May 4, 2013 <<http://cantusdatabase.org/source/374033/a-gu-29>>. Also see information in Charles Downey and Keith Glaeske, “The Music and Text of the Lamentations: A Comparison of the Settings in Cambrai XVI and Graz 29,” *Medieval Perspectives* X (1995): 86-100.

unlikely that music knowledge was not transmitted with Irish monks, and, possible back to Ireland. Without a clear picture of what happened and in the absence of evidence it remains difficult to prove this theory.

The earliest research into the fragments was conducted by Walter Pass of the Institute of Musicology of the University of Vienna along with László Mezey of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.¹⁰⁰⁴ Since then there have been more fragments which has made a significant contribution to the study of music and medieval Ireland. As Czernin points out:

For a considerable period the importance of these fragments was not appreciated by either the Schottenstift or the academic community. It was only in the course of several research projects in the 1970s that many of the fragments of the original Irish monastic liturgy were discovered in archives and the collegiate library.¹⁰⁰⁵

In remarkable ways the fragments have pointed out that some musical pasts are not entirely irretrievable. However, solving the puzzle of origin and authorship is another matter.

All this raises the question of the sound of the liturgy and whether any have been realized in performance. The final example *O Christi martir sancte Kiliane* (Figure 6) is part of an antiphon for the First Vespers for Feast of St. Kilian and an invitational *Chorus resonet iubilantium* with a part of the antiphon *Iter beatitudinis beatus Kylianus* at the beginning of the Vigil. Although St. Kilian was Irish, his cult following derives from a German and Austrian phenomenon rather than originating from Ireland. Originally from County Cavan, Kilian went to Würzburg around 689 with other Irish companions where he was subsequently killed because he spoke out against the Duke's marriage which contravened the rules of the Church.¹⁰⁰⁶ The

¹⁰⁰⁴ Czernin, "Fragments of Liturgical Chant," 219.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Czernin, "Fragments of Liturgical Chant," 219.

¹⁰⁰⁶ H. Patrick Montague, *The Saints and Martyrs of Ireland* (Gerrards Cross, Buckinghamshire: Colin Smythe, 1981), 42. For more on St. Kilian and the manuscripts containing his two Passions see Kenney, "§317: St. Kilian of Würzburg and his companions," *The Sources*, 512-3.

excerpt has been transcribed and was recorded by the medieval group Altramar. Some careful decisions had to be made regarding the missing segments of the text. Still, something of the existing portions of the melody is captured on the recording *Celtic Wanderers: The Pilgrim's Road*. Given the significance of the recording and the relationship to the Vienna Schottenstift, the excerpt is presented below the image of the fragment.¹⁰⁰⁷

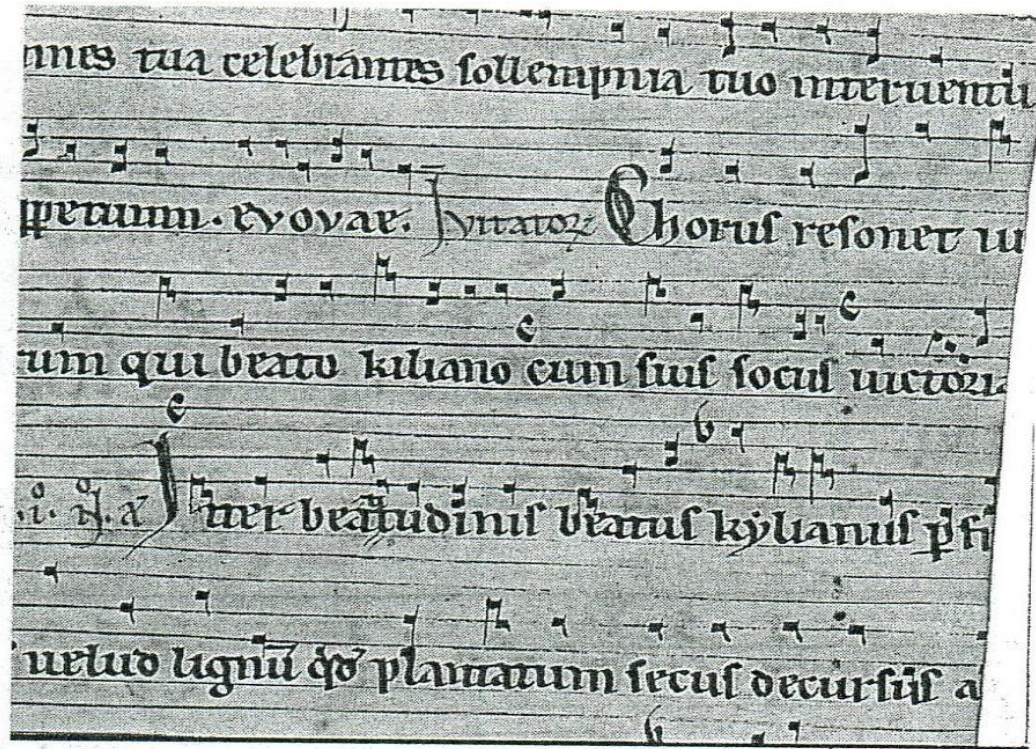
A useful book for the study of the fragments is *Music im mittelalterlichen Wien*.¹⁰⁰⁸ The book provides a catalogue with a collection of brief essays about the Schottenklöster archives. The catalogue includes musical examples of some of the musical fragments in the Vienna Schottenstift and a discussion of the material. Although not all of the images appear in the catalogue, the book is helpful to appreciate the breadth of the collection and to see images of musical manuscripts from the collections. Even here the variety of musical notation is evident. Further, there are some examples of notation *in campo aperto* which indicate that there were varying styles and types of traditions in ongoing use at the Schottenklöster.¹⁰⁰⁹

¹⁰⁰⁷ The text is from a recording by the medieval group Altramar. In the notes the musicians state that they had to make some “educated guesswork and creative reconstruction” given that some of the musical notation was missing. For a performance see “Christi marti,” and “Chorus resonet,” *Celtic Wanderers: The Pilgrim's Road*, performed by Altramar (Dorian Recordings, 2000), 9-10. The excerpts are two Vespers Antiphons from the Office of St. Kilian. The recording also includes six Antiphons from the Office of St. Kilian. Saint Kilian of Würzburg was born in County Cavan ca. 640. He became a bishop and then went on mission to the court of Gozbert, Duke of Thuringia, at Würzburg. Through Kilian's service to the bishopric, Gozbert converted to Christianity. Kilian fell out of favour with Gozbert, when he intervened in Gozbert's relationship with his brother's widow, Geilana. Seeking revenge, Geilana plotted Kilian's death and he was murdered on July 8, 752, marked as his feast day. For this information see William H. Marnell, *Light from the West: The Irish Mission and the Emergence of Modern Europe* (New York: Seabury Press, 1978), 168-170. For information on his feast day see John O'Hanlon, *Lives of the Irish Saints: with Special Festivals, and the Commemorations of Holy Person, compiled from Calendars, Martyrologies, and Various Sources relating to The Ancient Church History of Ireland* (Dublin: James Duffy and Sons, [?1875]), 172. On a Mass for St. Kilian, see Theodore Karp, “A Serendipitous with St. Kilian,” *Early Music* 28/2 (2000): 227-237.

¹⁰⁰⁸ *Musik im mittelalterlichen Wien* (Wien: Historisches Museum der Stadt Wien, 1987). This is a catalogue of an exhibition which was held December 18, 1986 to March 8, 1987.

¹⁰⁰⁹ See “11/1, Antiphonarium,” and “11/8, Breviarium,” *Musik im mittelalterlichen Wien*, 48 and 51.

Figure 6: Part of the antiphon *O Christi martir sancte Kiliane* for the First Vespers, the invitatory *Chorus resonet iubilantium* and the antiphon *Iter beatitudinis beatus Kylianus* from the beginning of the Vigil for the Feast of St. Kilian¹⁰¹⁰ (Reproduced with permission of the Schottenstift, Vienna)



O Christi marti

O Christi martir sancte Kilane, qui pro dei nomine certando coronam aeterni decoris meruisti

Omnes tua celebrantes sollempnia tuo interventu gaudium in celo exultent se habere perpetuum.

Chorus resonet

Chorus resonet iubilantium invictissimo regi martyrum qui beato Kyliano cum suis sociis victoriam contulit passionis.

O martyr of Christ, saint Kilian, who by contending for the name of God earned a crown of eternal honor;

may all who celebrate your rites rejoice

that by your intervention they have joy in heaven forever.

Let the chorus resound of those shouting for joy to the invincible king of martyrs, the king who conferred on blessed Kilian along with his companions the victory of martyrdom.

¹⁰¹⁰ Martin Czernin, "Fragments of liturgical chant from medieval Irish Monasteries in Continental Europe," *Early Music* (2000): 222, figure 9. The discovery of the St. Kilian fragments is interesting as Kilian is celebrated at Würzburg. The text is from the accompanying booklet, "I Vespers: Antiphons for St. Kilian: §5: O Christi martir; §6: Chorus resonet," *Celtic Wanderers: The Pilgrim's Road*, performed by Altramar (New York: Dorian Recordings, 2000), 10. Only a portion of the fragment has been presented in this example.

The excerpt presents three portions of the feast, or five lines of interrupted text. If there were five lines of text, line one, and over half of line two comprise the antiphon “O Christi martir sancte Kilane.” Beginning at the word “Chorus” in the second line, through to the fourth line is the invitatory “Chorus resonet iubilantium,” and finally, beginning at the heavy letter “I” on line four, through to line five, is the antiphon “Iter beatitudinis beatus Kylianus.” The excerpt is from the beginning of the Vigil for the Feast of St. Kilian.¹⁰¹¹ The neumes have more in common with gothic or square notation. Czernin states that this example contains “early square notation but lacks elaborate initials.”¹⁰¹² The two fragments from the feast of St. Kilian also represent the earliest discoveries of musical chant from the Schottenstift in the mid-1970s.¹⁰¹³

Given that the Vienna Schottenstift was an Irish Benedictine house it is hardly surprising that the fragments include feasts for Irish saints. As we have only the remnants of liturgical manuscripts it is in relation to the larger context of local practice in which the significance of the fragments can be appreciated. It is in the *Magnum Legendarium Austriacum* compiled between 1180-1200 in which the lives of Irish saints were incorporated with other saints and first collected together at Rgensburg.¹⁰¹⁴ The details of Irish saints and indeed Irish events provide documentary evidence of the close relationship between Ireland and Austria. Still, there are many questions about the musical fragments which may remain unanswered. For example, to what extent are they Irish and was musical knowledge brought from Rosscarbery? Clearly the fragments bear similarities with other communities such as Sankt Lambrecht suggesting that the

¹⁰¹¹ Czernin, “Fragments of Liturgical Chant,” 222.

¹⁰¹² Czernin, “Fragments of Liturgical Chant,” 222.

¹⁰¹³ Czernin, “Fragments of Liturgical Chant,” 221-2.

¹⁰¹⁴ See Flanagan, *The Transformation of the Irish Church in the Twelfth Century*, 13; and Aubrey Gwynn, “Some Notes on the History of the Irish and Scottish Benedictine Monasteries in Germany,” *The Innes Review* 5 (1954), 10.

Schottenstift may have been working from an exemplar. However, this does not account for melodies which Irish monks may have known from memory, perhaps in Ireland, and were transcribing them as members of the community in Vienna. Or, did monks from the Schottenstift bring knowledge back to Ireland? Obviously the evidence is isolated, since none of the complete manuscripts have survived, but another variable is that the musical knowledge may have been acquired at Regensburg, the mother-house.¹⁰¹⁵ Given Regensburg was the inspiration for Jasomirgott's invitation of the Irish to Vienna, the possibility also exists of intellectual exchange. As more evidence is uncovered, more questions need to be asked about what can be known of the differences in the liturgy, and to what degree continental musical practices were incorporated into the monastery. Or, did the Irish bring this knowledge with them? For the present, the fragments from Vienna are undoubtedly a fascinating recovery. However, the fragmentary nature of the manuscripts makes it impossible to know the full extent of the liturgy practiced in Vienna. At the same time it must be acknowledged that the recoveries fill in some information about the religious milieu at the Benedictine Schottenstift.

The extent to which the evidence is purely Irish or, a hybrid form of the liturgy raises an interesting point about more recent musical recoveries. Martin Czernin suggests that with the foundation of the Schottenstift in Vienna "there arose a wholly new practice of liturgical music, distinct in many of its characteristics from the tradition treasured by the monasteries existing in the region of Austria today."¹⁰¹⁶ For musicologists this is significant, but more research needs to be done to know the extent to which the liturgy in Ireland differed from the continent. Still, the

¹⁰¹⁵ For more on Regensburg (Latin, Ratisbon) see Amelia Carr, "Regensburg," *Medieval Germany: An Encyclopedia*, edited by Johns M. Jeep (New York; London: Garland Publishing, 2001), 637-640. See Ó Riain-Raedel, "Irish Benedictine Monasteries on the Continent," 25-63, especially 38-41 and 52-57; and Ó Riain-Raedel, "Cashel and Germany: the Documentary Evidence," 176-217.

¹⁰¹⁶ Czernin, "Fragments of Liturgical Chant," 218.

fragments help to broaden our perspective about the ecclesiastical conduits between Ireland. Given the connection between Vienna and Rosscarbery and that music and elements of Irish culture have been woven into the liturgy, more needs to be said about this important development. For even in the feast of Irish saints there is the question of hymns and whether there were models for the texts which survive. This brings us back to AB and the hymns so much a feature of the manuscript. Until we know more, it is important to learn all we can from the evidence and to see if there are correlations in texts or poetical style that can help us to fill in the gaps of our understanding of music related to Ireland.

While it is difficult to prove the strength of the connections and whether there was a sustained Irish influence on the monasteries founded on the continent, in the case of the Vienna Schotten, the evidence is more than tenuous. As mentioned earlier, to maintain Irish recruits, “daughter-houses were founded in Ireland, one at Rosscarbery in West Cork.”¹⁰¹⁷ At the same time, the connection to Regensburg (Ratisbon) provides another liturgical source of manuscripts and musical knowledge. At the same time, the ground was already laid in other Irish saints such as St. Virgilius who forged a relationship with the ruling elite in Austria. As Ó Riain-Raedel observes:

A measure of the extraordinary wide-reaching influence of the monastic institutions he founded is the leading role they played in the Christianization of the Merovingian-Frankish aristocracy, at the expense of the diocesan centres of the old Gallo-Roman dynasties.¹⁰¹⁸

In this respect, the four phases outlined by Ó Riain-Raedel organizes the history of Irish contributions on the continent and provide a methodology for musicology to consider the

¹⁰¹⁷ Ó Riain-Raedel, “Ireland and Austria in the Middle Ages,” 33. For a discussion of Rosscarbery see James Coombes, “The Benedictine Priory of Ross,” *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society* 73 (1968): 152-160.

¹⁰¹⁸ Ó Riain-Raedel, “Ireland and Austria in the Middle Ages,” 15.

growing musical evidence related to medieval Ireland. The relationships which developed between Irish monks and scholars on the continent means manuscripts may continue to be recovered beyond Ireland.

While the musical evidence from medieval Ireland is perhaps wanting, the connection between Ireland and the continent offers fresh avenues for research. The musical fragments discovered in the Schottenstift in Vienna point to the importance given to the commemoration of Irish saints. Given this evidence it is not beyond the possibility that earlier hymns, once retained in memory, may also have been notated for the congregation. For example, the other parts of the vesper antiphons from the Office of St. Kilian, mentioned earlier. Still, there remain unanswered questions about whether this musical knowledge came from Ireland, or was acquired on the continent. The hymn tradition, which began with the AB seems far removed from the musical evidence in Vienna. However, without the early manuscript the fragments seem anomalies rather than part of larger musical history. In this respect the hymn fragment “Almi Colúbe et Baitheni lantate carmina facer” in the Vienna archive, but without notation is an interesting piece of evidence.¹⁰¹⁹ From my research this would appear to refer to St. Columba of Iona and his successor Baitheni. The saints are commemorated in the Martyrology of Turin (Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale D IV 18) a manuscript dated to 1168-70, on Kalends 9 June where they are listed as “Coluim Chille et Buithine.”¹⁰²⁰ That a hymn fragment for these particular saints exists as part of the Vienna fragment collection seems to me to be an important piece of a much larger puzzle about Irish martyrology on the continent.

¹⁰¹⁹ Patterson, “Field notes,” September 15, 2011. A discussion with Professor Czernin regarding the fragment raised more questions about the liturgical connection.

¹⁰²⁰ Pádraig Ó Riain, ed., *Four Irish Martyrologies: Drummond, Turin, Cashel, York* (London: Henry Bradshaw Society, 2002), 148, although listed as Ó Riain notes, in reverse order – Báethíne, Colomb Cille. See introduction to manuscript 121-132.

Although the liturgical connections may not be immediately apparent, until more evidence becomes available, it is difficult to come to any conclusion about musical knowledge in Ireland. Clearly, the musical evidence for Irish saints shows a connection to hagiography. The interesting mix of neumes may indicate the scribe was drawing on a number of sources, but most likely these are local influence. Whatever the answer, the fragments have raised more questions about Irish musical contributions.

6.4 Conclusion

When the Irish pilgrim Muiredach MacRobartaigh (Marianus Scotus) broke his journey at Ratisbon, he perhaps could not have anticipated that he would remain there for the rest of this life.¹⁰²¹ The priory of Weih Sankt Peter in 1075 and the abbey of St. James in 1090 at Regensburg,¹⁰²² established a tradition of Benedictine monasteries which, for a time, maintain strong connections with Ireland.¹⁰²³ Founded during the twelfth-century the Schottenklöster were an influential source of Irish monasticism.¹⁰²⁴ Although their authority was gradually usurped by local German or Austrian monasteries, in the medieval and early Renaissance eras,

¹⁰²¹ Dáibhí Ó Cróinín, “Hiberno-Latin Literature to 1169,” in *A New History of Ireland, Volume 1: Prehistoric and Early Ireland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 402-03.

¹⁰²² Czernin, “Fragments of Liturgical Chant,” 217. For more on the history of the Irish Benedictines on the continent see Gwynn, “Some Notes on the History of the Irish and Scottish Benedictine Monasteries in Germany,” 5-27. For a recent book on the Schottenklöster see Stefan Weber, *Iren auf dem Kontinent: Das Leben des Marianus Scottus von Regensburg und die Anfänge der irischen «Schottenklöster»* (Heidelberg: Mattes Verlag, 2010).

¹⁰²³ Regensburg was also known as Ratisbon; see August Scharnagl, “Regensburg,” *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, edited by Stanley Sadie, volume 15 (London: Macmillan, 1980), 674.

¹⁰²⁴ An important source of research in this is Ó Riain-Raedel, “Irish Benedictine Monasteries on the Continent,” 25-63; Ó Riain-Raedel, “Cashel and Germany: The Documentary Evidence,” 176-217; and Ó Riain-Raedel, “Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century Irish Annals in Vienna,” 127-36.

priorities in Ireland were founded to supply monks to these Schottenklöster.¹⁰²⁵ Established at the invitation of Archduke Heinrich II Jasomirgott, the Vienna Schottenstift is remarkable for its self-autonomy outside of Ireland. Its links with the priory of Rosscarbery in Cork maintained a steady supply of Irish recruits to the Benedictine community. The fragments are evidence that the musical arts were folded into the liturgical practice of the monastery. Whether the fragments represent manuscripts that were transmitted from Ireland seems difficult to prove for certain, but they are an important development in Irish liturgical history.

In this chapter I have focused on the Irish enterprise known as the Schottenklöster in order to relate this information with earlier discussions about Columbanus and the *perigrini*. The AB has been a catalyst to understand not only its monastic milieu, but to try to know more of the Irish impetus for pilgrimage. The Vienna Schottenstift looks back to the extraordinary saints, commemorated in some of the hymns of the AB and kept in the memory of the new German and Austrian monasteries. When the AB is considered from a musical perspective this provides another lens from which to pursue research and to make some important connections. Drawing together musical evidence related to Ireland is a complex process and requires the piecing together of “small bits” to try to see the larger picture. The question is, how much can be attributed to Irish expertise? If there was an Irish practice, why does not more of the evidence survive in Ireland? Given that there was a connection with Rosscarbery for over 260 years during what was the era of the Irish tradition in Vienna, the lack of evidence is puzzling. Uncovering this evidence and the AB’s musical implications has been the focus of my research.

¹⁰²⁵ See Dáibhí Ó Cróinín, *Early Medieval Ireland 400-1200*, 230 who notes that the Schottenklöster or Irish monasteries “were to remain important in the ecclesiastical life of southern Germany and Austria until the Reformation.” William O’Sullivan notes the Irish missionary impulse of the seventh-century, “renewed in the tenth, and the eleventh century saw the Schottenkloster movement flourishing in Germany,” see O’Sullivan, “Manuscripts and Palaeography,” in *A New History of Ireland 1: Prehistoric and Early Ireland*, edited by Dáibhí Ó Cróinín (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 511-548 at 541.

It may be argued that the AB is far removed from the liturgical developments of this later period. The problem is, we know very little about the music of early Christian Ireland. While the liturgical practice in Ireland is different from the Irish communities on the continent, there seems more reason to piece together the evidence of already fragmented history in order to establish the sources of musical influence. The Vienna fragments are the bridge between a liturgical past and a liturgical present within the context of Irish continental developments. But given that the Schottenstift maintained exclusivity on who was admitted, and Archduke Jasmirogott granted them autonomy, it is even more important that we learn all we can about this unique Irish connection.

Chapter 7

The Problem of Musical Notation from an Irish Perspective

Musicology is about persuasion. Individuals have to persuade as many of their colleagues as possible, and in particular the most influential of their colleagues, that their views are correct. Naturally, they must also be novel, for it is a fundamental requirement that each study offers something new. Musicology is therefore also about creativity. The essential tasks are to think up, or discover, something new – and to present it persuasively.¹⁰²⁶

In his book *The Modern Invention of Medieval Music: Scholarship, Ideology, Performance* (2002),¹⁰²⁷ Daniel Leech-Wilkinson argues that “[w]ithout living in the Middle Ages and experiencing that culture we are never going to be able to make the sense of those fragments of evidence that was made of them when they were set down.”¹⁰²⁸ Indeed, he contends that too little survives from the medieval period and that the possibility of accurately verifying the evidence means that for the most part, scholars are making judgments about history without all the facts.¹⁰²⁹ In the end, there is “no way of knowing how much is anything like a true account of what happened.”¹⁰³⁰ While the reader may take issue with some of Leech-Wilkinson’s arguments, the book draws attention to a problem in musicological research.

In addressing Ireland’s marginal representation in the study of medieval music, Leech-Wilkinson’s book has been troubling. My research began with questions about the lack of musical manuscripts from medieval Ireland and interpretations of the Celtic rite which I had read

¹⁰²⁶ Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, *The Modern Invention of Medieval Music: Scholarship, Ideology, Performance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 218.

¹⁰²⁷ Leech-Wilkinson, *The Modern Invention of Medieval Music*.

¹⁰²⁸ Leech-Wilkinson, *The Modern Invention of Medieval Music*, 4.

¹⁰²⁹ Leech-Wilkinson, *The Modern Invention of Medieval Music*, 257.

¹⁰³⁰ Leech-Wilkinson, *The Modern Invention of Medieval Music*, 257.

in one of my textbooks: in Richard Hoppin's *Medieval Music* he states: "The Celtic liturgy need not detain us long [...] No music associated with the Celtic liturgy seems to have survived."¹⁰³¹ Given the lack of musical sources regarding the Celtic rite, Hoppin's view is prudent. However, there is an imbalance between scholars such as Hoppin, and the insights of Jane Stevenson, Peter Jeffery, and the early scholarship such as Frederick Warren. Hoppin passes over the Celtic rite with little discussion (and no footnotes!) and his brief synopsis invites further investigation. Still other scholars such as James Kenney, Fernand Cabrol, and Michael Curran have drawn attention to the significance of manuscripts such as the AB, and the importance of the Irish church. In short, as I have probed the question of music in medieval Ireland and peeled back the layers of previous generations of scholars I have observed that there is more than a lack of evidence which has kept Ireland from the music history books. However, if we take Leech-Wilkinson at his word and "too little survives" which gives a complete picture of the past, then where does this place the AB in relation to other liturgical evidence discussed in terms of the study of Western music? Whether we accept Leech-Wilkinson's thesis or not, his book raises questions about the value placed on musical notation. Who and what is left out and why?¹⁰³²

¹⁰³¹ Although Richard Hoppin's *Medieval Music* was published in 1978, the book, along with the companion anthology, is a focused study of early music. I was the recipient of music education in the 2000's and thus read Hoppin's paragraph regarding the Celtic rite. The short synopsis raised many questions about why the Celtic liturgy "need not detain us long" or why "[n]o music associated with the Celtic liturgy seems to have survived," see 37-8. And of which this dissertation is the result. Clearly, his book continues to exert influence.

¹⁰³² The emphasis given to the symbiotic relationship between music notation and the preservation of the liturgy has all but eclipsed other uses of notation. Take for example the notation of the classics as discussed in Jan M. Ziolkowski's book *Nota Bene: Reading Classics and Writing Melodies in the Early Middle Ages* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2007). Here, Ziolkowski draws attention to examples of notated classics such as Virgil's *Aeneid* in Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS 239, 4. *Nota Bene* is published in association with the *Journal of Medieval Latin* whose editorial board includes scholars from the Centre for Medieval Studies at the University of Toronto. For a recent study on the neglect of songs such as laments and women's song see John Haines, *Medieval Song in Romance Languages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

Over the past six chapters I have given what I hope is a considered view of music in early medieval Ireland. True, the musical evidence appears late, as compared to Britain, but this has also led me to consider a wider collection of texts that clearly shows the Irish were influenced from a wide range of liturgical sources. With the advent of Christianity the Irish gave priority to book learning and the copying of manuscripts. The extent of musical knowledge may be unknown, but not their scholastic influence. Indeed, more could be said about early Irish interest in music and references to singing, or, the hymns in the *Irish Liber hymnorum*, or the place of music in the Stowe Missal.¹⁰³³ I have only begun what must surely be a larger story; in particular the role of women and the importance of the cult of saints such as that of St. Brigit on the continent, for example. How can we be sure that the so-called “Gregorian chant” is not a conglomeration of the various chant practices that existed?

Still, questions provoke answers and generate other realms of study. Indeed, more recent scholarship has shown that opinions vary on what happened when music began to be notated.¹⁰³⁴ An overarching problem still remains: which are the authoritative manuscripts and the exemplars for Gregorian chant? Are there elements of the Irish church that are still recoverable? Even musical manuscripts present their own challenges, in particular an interpretation of neumatic variances and regional script. Given the work of scholars such as Kenneth Levy and Leo Treitler

¹⁰³³ An example is the interaction between Irish grammarians and musical treatises proposed by Máire Mac Aongusa in “*Seachta frisa toimsiter Gaedhelg – Seven things by which Gaedhelg is Measured*,” *Studia Celtica Fennica* V (2008): 54-64. Other examples concern: the *Irish liber hymnorum* and the *Stowe Missal*.

¹⁰³⁴ The question of the earliest notation has been widely researched by scholars such as Helmut Huckle, Peter Jeffery, Kenneth Levy, and Leo Treitler among others. For more information see: Helmut Huckle, “Toward a New Historical View of Gregorian Chant,” *Journal of American Musicological Society* 39 (1980): 437-467; Peter Jeffery, “The Lost Chant Tradition of Early Christian Jerusalem,” *Early Music History* 11 (1992): 151-190; and Kenneth Levy, *Gregorian Chant and the Carolingians* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1998). For a study looking back over medieval music see, John Haines, *Eight Centuries of Troubadours and Trouvères: The Changing Identity of Medieval Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

it is not surprising that opinions differ on the origins of musical notation.¹⁰³⁵ The result is that there are varying views as to the purpose of musical notation.

This chapter brings my research to a close. Throughout I have drawn on scholars from other fields to uncover more information about the hymns of the AB. Although the so-called Celtic liturgy may be criticized for its “incongruous mixture of Hispanic, Gallican, Roman, and Oriental elements,” this seems to me to be one of its remarkable features and shows the Irish authors had a wide knowledge of Christian practices and were adapting the liturgy to suit their purposes.¹⁰³⁶ In adapting other sources, the performance context of the liturgy can be overlooked and the role of music in the Irish church. Perhaps it is time to make room for discussions of the AB and to fold this information into the scope of Western music; where unnotated manuscripts are discussed in relation to musical ones. A good place to start is the formation of the Gregorian liturgy and the period known as the Carolingian period.

What I hope has been evident is that there is much more to be said about the Irish church than appears in music history books. That the AB is an important relic from Christian Ireland is undeniable, but its relevance for medieval music seems another matter. While my work is hardly new, it has required thinking about music from a literary perspective. The evidence in the AB, for example, shows hymns to have importance in the liturgy. To overlook the hymns is to miss a valuable piece of Irish history. Leech-Wilkinson’s ideas may be provocative, but maybe his

¹⁰³⁵ The subject has already been well covered. Kenneth Levy, for example, proposed that the passage of Gregorian chant from an oral to a written tradition was in process *ca.* 800 a century earlier than the accepted view of *ca.* 900; see Levy, *Gregorian Chant and the Carolingians* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1998). For a discussion from an alternative perspective see Leo Treitler, “Homer and Gregory: The Transmission of Epic Poetry and Plainchant,” in *With Voice and Pen: Coming to Know Medieval Song and How it was Made* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 131-185. Here, Treitler addresses the thorny issue of memory and oral tradition in the wake of musical notation. Among the hypotheses considered regarding the practice of “Gregorian chant” are those of James McKinnon, Kenneth Levy, and David Hughes.

¹⁰³⁶ Hoppin, *Medieval Music*, 38.

book helps to foster new ways of looking at medieval music and to consider the evidence more deeply.

As I have conducted my research into medieval Ireland I have realized that less reliance on notational- based evidence means changing the focus and placing the emphasis on other sources to bridge the gap between what is viewed as “no musical evidence,” and what can be known of the performative and musical aspect of AB. Ann Buckley contends that until recently “the liturgical music of medieval Ireland had not been much documented or studied”¹⁰³⁷ and “the musico-liturgical legacy of the Irish Church has been equally neglected.”¹⁰³⁸ While Ireland’s medieval literary tradition has long been praised for its scribal accomplishments, the lack of musical manuscripts seems puzzling and has perhaps justified its poor representation in historical musicology. At the same time, literary sources are, as I have demonstrated throughout this dissertation, valuable for the insight they provide into the cultural context of the church and the impact of Christianity on Irish society particularly concerning the learned class or the *filid*. As this final section will show there remain more questions about Gregorian chant and Ireland’s place in the study of medieval music.

¹⁰³⁷ Ann Buckley, “The Liturgical Veneration of Irish Saints in Medieval Europe,” *Études Irlandaises* 27/2 (2002), 133.

¹⁰³⁸ Buckley, “The Liturgical Veneration of Irish Saints in Medieval Europe,” 135.

7.1 Musical Notation and Gregorian Chant

In his book *Gregorian Chant* (2009) David Hiley highlights the difficulty of conducting research into the chant of the Celtic liturgy. Although Hiley notes “the strength of Irish monasticism”¹⁰³⁹ and “the spread of Irish Christianity,”¹⁰⁴⁰ the discussion ends with the following statement: “Of the chant of the Celtic church we know next to nothing, and, regretfully, in a book of this scope it has to be left aside.”¹⁰⁴¹ When it comes to Gregorian chant the response about Ireland is a familiar one. Although a manuscript such as the AB would be an asset to discussions on liturgical practice, without musical notation the so-called Celtic liturgy seems relegated to other fields of study. Musicologists would have to wait for manuscripts such as the Drummond Missal, an early twelfth-century manuscript whose neumes remain the subject of ongoing research,¹⁰⁴² the Dublin Troper (Ms. Add. 710) (*ca.* 1360),¹⁰⁴³ and the Bodleian MS. Rawl. C.

¹⁰³⁹ David Hiley, *Gregorian Chant* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2009), 93.

¹⁰⁴⁰ Hiley, *Gregorian Chant*, 93.

¹⁰⁴¹ Hiley, *Gregorian Chant*, 109.

¹⁰⁴² For a recent study on the Drummond Missal see Sara Gibbs Casey, “‘Through a Glass, Darkly’: Steps Towards Reconstructing Irish Chant from the Neumes of the Drummond Missal.” *Early Music* (2000), 205-215. Casey also completed an MA thesis on the Missal, see Casey, *The Drummond Missal: A Preliminary Investigation into its Historical, Liturgical, and Musicological Significance in Pre-Norman Ireland* (M.A. thesis, University of Pittsburgh, 1995). The Drummond Missal is preserved in the Pierpoint Morgan Library in New York, MS M. 627. The manuscript has been dated from the twelfth-century. For further studies of the texts and marginalia see F. N. Robinson, “The Irish Marginalia in the Drummond Missal,” in *Medieval Studies in Honor of Jeremiah Denis Matthias Ford*, edited by Urban T. Holmes and Alex J. Denomy (Cambridge, MS: Harvard University Press, 1948), 193-208; and Hans Oskamp, “The Irish Quatrains and Salutation in the Drummond Missal,” *Ériu* 28 (1977): 82-91. Interestingly, neither discusses the musical notation, the focus of Casey’s research. Also see G. H. Forbes, ed., *Missale Drummondense; the ancient missal in the possession of the Baroness of Willoughby de Eresby, Drummond Castle, Perthshire* (Burntisland, 1882), accessed August 15, 2012, <<http://archive.org/details/missaledrummond00unkngoog>>.

¹⁰⁴³ René Jean Hesbert, ed., *Le tropaire-prosaire de Dublin: MS Add 710 de l’université de Cambridge (vers 1360)* (Rouen: Imprimerie Rouennaise, 1966). A facsimile of the manuscript can be found in *Monumenta musicae sacrae; collection de manuscrits et d’études publiée sous la direction de Dom Hesbert*: [t.] 4. *Le tropaire-prosaire de Dublin: MS Add 710 de l’université de Cambridge (vers 1360)* (Macon, Protat frères, 1952). Also see Geoffrey J. Hand, “Cambridge University Additional MS. 710,” *Reportorium Novum: Dublin Diocesan Historical Record* 1/1 (1955): 17-32. For an earlier dating of the of the Dublin Troper (Ms. Add. 710) (DubT) *ca.* 1320 see Diane Droste, *The Musical Notation and Transmission of the Music of the Sarum Use 1225-1500* (PhD. thesis, University of Toronto, 1983), 330-331.

892¹⁰⁴⁴ to glean insight into Ireland's notational past. Even though the Irish may have contributed to the formation of Gregorian chant and manuscripts such as the AB preserve some of the earliest texts of the Christian Church, what survives in neumatic notation has been given priority in the study of liturgical traditions. As Hiley points out,

[...] plainchant is, after all, the earliest substantial (very substantial!) body of music preserved in written form. So it has a regular place in the syllabus of institutions of higher education, not least in inter-disciplinary courses in medieval studies.¹⁰⁴⁵

So regular, in fact, that the emphasis given to Gregorian chant has almost made the evidence unquestionable and it seems ill-advised to argue against another reading of medieval music, even a very small reading, without substantial evidence. Susan Rankin notes: "The Roman chant as sung by the Franks – what we know today as 'Gregorian chant' – inevitably dominates any study of music in the Carolingian world."¹⁰⁴⁶ While 'Gregorian chant' may dominate the field of study, this is what Leech-Wilkinson sees as a problem because medieval music has been predicated on an incomplete history. Little wonder Ireland's liturgy, much less any of the other poorly surviving liturgies,¹⁰⁴⁷ can be considered from a fresh perspective. But here I refer to the acquisition of two manuscripts of Ambrosian or Milanese chant by Harvard University, and a third whose contents have only of late come to light.¹⁰⁴⁸ In a recent book, which brings together

¹⁰⁴⁴ See Lawrence, "What Did They Sing at Cashel in 1172?" 121.

¹⁰⁴⁵ Hiley, *Gregorian Chant*, xvii.

¹⁰⁴⁶ Susan Rankin, "Carolingian Music," in *Carolingian Culture: Emulation and Innovation* edited by Rosamond McKitterick (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 275.

¹⁰⁴⁷ Kenneth Levy states: "No neumings survive before the second quarter of the ninth century, so little is known of most earlier dialects such as the German and Celtic;" see *Gregorian Chant and the Carolingians*, 7.

¹⁰⁴⁸ See *Ambrosiana at Harvard: New Sources of Milanese Chant*, edited by Thomas Forrest Kelly and Matthew Magnon (Cambridge, Mass.: Houghton Library of the Harvard College Library, 2010). Milanese, or

a collaboration of essays from experts across different fields of study, Thomas Forrest Kelly expresses the impact of the project in these terms:

The varying scholarly methods employed in these papers and the expanding horizon they present – beginning with the Harvard manuscripts and placing them in paleographical, historical, and artistic contexts – provide, we hope, a panorama of an important cultural patrimony and of the ways in which medieval repertoires can profitably be studied.¹⁰⁴⁹

Such an approach can hardly fail to invigorate a musicological discussion. The evidence also challenges the material of the past as Angelo Rusconi reflects in the title of her essay:

“Ambrosian Chant: New Manuscripts and New Problems.”¹⁰⁵⁰ More importantly, for a discussion on chant and what we have come to accept as the repertoire, Rusconi’s comments are telling:

For some time, the “archaeological” perspective on the study of Gregorian chant – although treated by some as the only valid one – has been considered too narrow. The evidence that liturgical chant has developed over time, always changing in a dialectical relationship between preservation and innovation, between respect for the past and attention to new needs and tastes cannot be neglected. If the restoration of old melodies is one acceptable mode of investigation, one may also study musical and liturgical sources using other methods, considering these sources as important keys to our knowledge of the historical and cultural periods to which they bear witness.¹⁰⁵¹

Ambrosian chant was not suppressed, by what Thomas Forrest Kelly describes as “the Carolingian urge to impose the universal Roman liturgy and the chant now known as Gregorian,” 1.

¹⁰⁴⁹ See Thomas Forrest Kelly, “Introduction,” in *Ambrosiana at Harvard: New Sources of Milanese Chant*, 4.

¹⁰⁵⁰ Angelo Rusconi, “Ambrosian Chant: New Manuscripts and New Problems,” in *Ambrosiana at Harvard: New Sources of Milanese Chant*, 57-77.

¹⁰⁵¹ Rusconi, “Ambrosian Chant: New Manuscripts and New Problems,” 57.

Reading Rusconi's comments there are many parallels that can be drawn between the study of the Milanese chant and the oft-cited Celtic liturgy. There may be more here in terms of an approach to research and indeed evidence which may potentially relate to the AB, given its recovery in Bobbio and the possibility of its continental associations with other liturgies. When the new sources of the Milanese chant are considered from such a refreshing approach, it seems even more important to consider liturgical developments from as many avenues of research as possible and to re-examine the repertoire of Gregorian chant. However, the reasons for the emphasis on Gregorian chant have as much to do with religion and politics, as they do with literacy, the origins of musical notation, and the promulgation of a unified liturgy during the Carolingian period.

The historical epoch known as the Carolingian Renaissance was the outgrowth of the educational reforms of Charlemagne (748-814).¹⁰⁵² When Pope Stephen II (712-757) anointed Pippin III (*ca.*715-768), his wife Bertrada (720-783), and their sons Charles (later known as Charlemagne, i.e., "Charles the Great") and his brother Carloman (751-771) in 754, he was officially "declaring the Carolingians to be the legitimate rulers of the Frankish kingdom."¹⁰⁵³ Papal sanction also confirmed the bond between Rome and the Carolingian realm. Later, Charlemagne's coronation on Christmas day in 800 (emperor 800-14), marked his official reign

¹⁰⁵² *Einhard and Notker the Stammerer: Two Lives of Charlemagne*, translated with an introduction and notes by David Ganz (London; New York: Penguin Books, 2008), xvi-xvii. For more on the Carolingian Renaissance see Giles Brown, "Introduction: the Carolingian Renaissance," in *Carolingian Culture: Emulation and Innovation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 1-51; and Pierre Riché, *The Carolingians: A Family Who Forged Europe*, translated by Michael Idomir Allen (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993). Riché provides a series of helpful genealogical tables, see 366-75. For a recent collection of studies on Carolingian learning see: John J. Contreni, *Learning and Culture in Carolingian Europe: Letters, Numbers, Exegesis, and Manuscripts* (Farnham, Surrey, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011). Whether there was a "Carolingian Renaissance" has been recently debated. For an interesting discussion, see Giles Brown's article cited above.

¹⁰⁵³ Rosamond McKitterick, *The Frankish Kingdoms under the Carolingians 751-987* (London; New York: Longman, 1983), 48.

as the crowned emperor of the Franks.¹⁰⁵⁴ Charlemagne's coronation was one more step towards liturgical unification and helped to solidify the relationship between the church and political power. In Susan Rankin's study of "Carolingian Music," she notes that is the "combination of power" that "underlies the whole history of the development of a Franco-Roman liturgy and liturgical music in the Carolingian period."¹⁰⁵⁵ This combination paved the way for Charlemagne's promotion of a unified liturgical practice throughout the region and his educational reform.

The year 800 is auspicious for other reasons. Hywel William suggests the date allows us perspective "from which we can view the evolution of the city of Rome itself as a Christian capital of the world, that '*caput orbis*' which is central to an understanding of Charlemagne."¹⁰⁵⁶ The date is also, I would argue, the year from which music history begins to plot its course. In the West the liturgical standard was the Roman rite and consolidation of the liturgies was helped by the invention of musical notation. Kenneth Levy notes that by about 800 "an authoritative Carolingian-Gregorian repertory had supplanted the local chant dialects in most Carolingian domains."¹⁰⁵⁷ Although a repertory of melodies already existed and monophonic song was reflected in local liturgies, it is under the Carolingians that these traditions were seemingly usurped by a consolidation of the Roman and Frankish chants.¹⁰⁵⁸ While Charlemagne was

¹⁰⁵⁴ Ganz, "General Introduction," in *Einhard and Notker the Stammerer*, xii. For the genealogy of Charlemagne and the years of his reign see "The Family of Charlemagne," xxii.

¹⁰⁵⁵ Susan Rankin, "Carolingian Music," 276-7.

¹⁰⁵⁶ Hywel Williams, *Emperor of the West* (London: Quercus, 2010), xv.

¹⁰⁵⁷ Levy, *Gregorian Chant and the Carolingians*, 7.

¹⁰⁵⁸ See for example Jeremy Yudkin, *Music in Medieval Europe* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1989), 40.

instrumental “in the stabilization and regulation of these disparate liturgies,”¹⁰⁵⁹ what happened during his reign also needs to be considered within a larger historical context.

Roughly fifty years before Chrodegang of Metz (712-766) “had prompted Pippin III to adopt the Roman chant in his kingdom.”¹⁰⁶⁰ Chrodegang had not only written his *Regula canonicorum* for Metz,¹⁰⁶¹ a monastery at the heart of liturgical reform and rebuilt with the support of Pippin,¹⁰⁶² but he is also considered an influential person in the introduction of the Roman liturgy and chant to the Frankish realm.¹⁰⁶³ As a favoured person in Pippin III’s court, Chrodegang helped to shape the liturgical reform carried out by Charlemagne. Susan Rankin notes that in 753 Pippin sent Chrodegang to Rome, a profitable trip which resulted in the introduction of the *cantilena romana* and *Roman ordo* to the church in Metz.¹⁰⁶⁴ Two points need to be made here which draw together information about Irish developments on the continent and the career of Chrodegang. First, that he wrote a *Regula* implies that he was aware of the importance of communal conformity. His *Regula canonicorum*, strongly influenced by the Rule of St. Benedict, also draws attention to the monastic developments during this time.¹⁰⁶⁵ Though

¹⁰⁵⁹ See Yudkin, *Music in Medieval Europe*, 39. For more see Rankin, “Carolingian Music,” 274-319.

¹⁰⁶⁰ Williams, *Emperor of the West*, 351.

¹⁰⁶¹ On Chrodegang’s *Rule* and cultural influence see Jerome Bertram, trans. *The Chrodegang Rules: The Rules for the Common Life of the Secular Clergy from the Eighth and Ninth Centuries. Critical Texts with Translations and Commentary* (Aldershot, Hants, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2005); and M. A. Claussen, *The Reform of the Frankish Church: Chrodegang of Metz and the Regula canonicorum in the Eighth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

¹⁰⁶² Claussen, *The Reform of the Frankish Church*, 28.

¹⁰⁶³ McKitterick, *The Frankish Kingdoms under the Carolingians*, 44.

¹⁰⁶⁴ Susan Rankin, “Carolingian Music,” 276. For further comment on music, the *cantilena romana* and the liturgy see Claussen, “Hagiopolis,” *The Reform of the Frankish Church*, 248-289. On Chrodegang’s visit to Rome Jerome Bertram states the visit “inspired him with the desire to introduce Roman liturgy and chant, and he founded at Metz a school of church music that was to remain famous for centuries,” see Bertram, *The Chrodegang Rules*, 13. Also see Page, “Metz,” *The Christian West and its Singers*, 339-353.

¹⁰⁶⁵ See Bertram, “The Rule of Chrodegang,” *The Chrodegang Rules*, 12-26; and Claussen, “Chrodegang and the Rule of Benedict,” *The Reform of the Frankish Church*, 114-165.

Martin Claussen shows that Chrodegang was influenced by Benedict, “monasticism provided the model of an organized community.”¹⁰⁶⁶ To recall, within this monastic milieu the writings of Columbanus still exuded influence. The developments at Metz, or the changes throughout the Carolingian realm did not occur in a vacuum. The conduits of religious teaching and educational practices already established by the Irish *peregrini*, continued to exist. If Chrodegang had to go to Rome for books, it is to be remembered that Gertrude of Nivelles did just that a generation previous when she is alleged to have invited Irish monks to teach the nuns at her foundation:

Through messengers, men of good repute, she obtained the patronage of the saints and holy books from the city of Rome and places overseas for teaching divine song to ignorant folk.¹⁰⁶⁷

The reference to “places overseas” may be a reference to the Irish who, as has been mentioned earlier in chapter 5, were already acquainted with Gertrude and her family in the person of St. Foillán. The relationship between Nivelles and its second monastery at Fosse were already under Irish leadership.¹⁰⁶⁸ Thus, a process of liturgical enculturation was well-established and may well have spread to other monasteries. Second, Chrodegang not only governed Metz, he was a supporter of other monasteries, including Lorsch.¹⁰⁶⁹ Although Lorsch was originally established as an *Eigenkloster*, a monastery founded by the family of Count Chancor (sometimes spelt Cancor) who was a member of a Frankish noble family and an assistant to the Carolingian

¹⁰⁶⁶ Claussen, *The Reform of the Frankish Church*, 122. These ideas derive from Claussen’s book and chapter 3: “Chrodegang and the Rule of Benedict,” see 114-165. Claussen suggests that it is Chrodegang’s focus on the interior conversion of the individual that most separates his *Regula canonicorum*, from Columbanus’ *Regula coenobialis* and his *Paenitentiale*, see Walker, *Sancti Columbani Opera*.

¹⁰⁶⁷ See the translation of the Vita of Gertrude in *Sainted Women of the Dark Ages*, edited and translated by Jo Ann McNamara and John E. Halborg, with E. Gordon Whatley (Durham; London: Duke University Press, 1992), 224-225.

¹⁰⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 225, and see note 20 and 21.

¹⁰⁶⁹ McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the Written Word* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 185.

mayors, in 772 it became a royal monastery under the domain of Chrodegang of Metz.¹⁰⁷⁰

Lorsch increased its wealth through endowments such that it became a prominent center of learning in the Carolingian period.¹⁰⁷¹ Important for the purposes of this discussion is that at least one manuscript, Bib. Ap. Vat., Pal. Lat. 220, discussed earlier, has Irish connections and is the repository of early musical notation.¹⁰⁷² Dated from the ninth century, but associated with the monastery of Lorsch in the tenth, the manuscript is unusual for its strange mix of exegetical texts and marginalia. While Pal. Lat 220 has garnered attention for its collection of sermons and liturgical text, the manuscript has been shown to have Irish connections. Given the paucity of musical information regarding Ireland, this seems an important development. That Chrodegang of Metz is linked to the Carolingian court and with Lorsch seems more than coincidental and requires deeper investigation than I am able to fully explore here. Particularly, since each of these monasteries had prominent libraries and scriptoria, and in all likelihood would have drawn on Irish expertise.

Apart from the Irish connections in relation to Chrodegang, there are other areas where the overemphasis on liturgical reform and unification is problematic. How was unification achieved? If a unified form of singing was to be accomplished, it required singers to teach the particular style and traditions of Rome. This was a much more complex process that seems to underscore a major flaw in the development of what has come down to us as “Gregorian chant.”

¹⁰⁷⁰ McKittrick, *The Carolingians and the Written Word*, 185.

¹⁰⁷¹ On the monastery of Lorsch see Rosamond McKittrick, “Lorsch,” in *The Carolingians and the Written Word* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989),

¹⁰⁷² For information on Palatina Vaticana 220 (preserved in the Vatican Library, Rome), see: Joseph V. Kelly, “A Catalogue of Early Medieval Hiberno-Latin Biblical Commentaries,” *Traditio* 44 (1988): 537-571; W. M. Lindsay, “Dictation,” *Palaeographia Latina*, Part IV (London: Oxford University Press, 1925), 85; Lindsay, “The (Early) Lorsch Scriptorium,” *Palaeographia Latina*, Part III (1924): 5-48; and Christoph Münch, *Musikzeugnisse der Reichsabtei Lorsch: Eine Untersuchung der Lorschener musikalischen Handschriften in der Bibliotheca Palatina in der Vatikanischen Bibliothek* (Lorsch: Verlag Laurissa, 1993). I thank Professor Haines for the opportunity to study this manuscript.

A formidable scholar in this field of research is Leo Treitler.¹⁰⁷³ As Treitler notes, there were numerous obstacles in the execution of Charlemagne's project and "the medium of transmission was human singers, not books."¹⁰⁷⁴ Even though notation was becoming more wide spread, it was not in common use. The transition from an oral to a written practice requires that we examine not only the evidence, but the process. And the process could hardly be more complex for the stories and events behind Charlemagne's propaganda of reform "were not natural processes such as 'decay' or 'evolution'."¹⁰⁷⁵ Liturgical unification was the product of promulgation.

In an age when manuscripts were painstakingly copied and books were dispatched with care, that Charlemagne managed to unify his realm is an achievement in itself. But on closer inspection there are several points in the development of liturgical reform which are open to question and show that even with musical manuscripts, there are challenges in interpreting the evidence. Apart from the difficulty of understanding the semiotics of the neumes, there are other considerations such as the history and the provenance of the manuscript. We have already seen just how complicated a history of a manuscript can be in the case of the AB. The unanswered questions which remain about its origin and its unexplained appearance in the library of Bobbio have left the manuscript in a curious position of being owned by a monastery in one country, but claimed by another as a relic of the Irish church. If Peter Jeffery has seriously questioned the origin of AB it is because the liturgical influences are varied. Tracing the development of

¹⁰⁷³ Leo Treitler, "Homer and Gregory: the Transmission of Epic Poetry and Plainchant," in *With Voice and Pen: Coming to Know Medieval Song and How it was Made* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 131-185. The article was originally published in the *Musical Quarterly* 60/ 3 (1974): 333-372.

¹⁰⁷⁴ Leo Treitler, "Homer and Gregory," 157.

¹⁰⁷⁵ Treitler, "Homer and Gregory," 157.

Gregorian chant is obviously much more complex, but the intermingling of different traditions shows that a unified practice was not so easily achieved.

Although we may never know the complete history of how an authoritative Carolingian-Gregorian repertory was to be accomplished, the evidence of the Old Roman repertory seems a complex history.¹⁰⁷⁶ For in describing what was considered “a broad-based endeavor” Kenneth Levy notes that “like its cultural progenitor, the ‘Carolingian Renaissance’ joined contributions of Visigoths and Lombards, Celts and Saxons, with those of Franks and Italians in shaping the musical traditions that for centuries thereafter was known as ‘Gregorian’.”¹⁰⁷⁷ The Carolingian realm was vast and encompassed a number of regions and local liturgical traditions. Given the cultural diversity at this time, and the array of traditions, the promulgation of a unified liturgy required more than authoritative singers.

There seems little doubt that the advent of musical notation was a significant factor in the transmission of chant. Although, Treitler reminds us, “it was singers not books” who were the medium of liturgical transmission.¹⁰⁷⁸ In his article “Homer and Gregory: The Transmission of Epic Poetry and Plainchant,” Treitler famously argued that the medieval chant book, typical practice in monasteries of the Carolingian period, was “under pressure” to conform to the ritual practices of Rome.¹⁰⁷⁹ As a consequence, the accepted view is that the chant tradition became dependent on notation as a codified system. Treitler observes that the Gregorian tradition

¹⁰⁷⁶ See Levy, *Gregorian Chant and the Carolingians*. Also see James McKinnon, *The Advent Project: The Later-Seventh-Century Creation of the Roman Mass Proper* (Berkeley; Los Angeles; London; University of California Press, 200). For a brief comment see Yudkin, *Music in Medieval Europe*, 39. For an interesting perspective see Michael Herren, “An Early Irish Precursor of the «Offiziendichtung» of the Carolingian and Ottonian Periods,” in *Latin Letters in Early Christian Ireland* (Aldershot, Hampshire: Variorum, 1996), 291-300.

¹⁰⁷⁷ Levy, *Gregorian Chant and the Carolingians*, 19.

¹⁰⁷⁸ See Treitler, “Homer and Gregory,” 157.

¹⁰⁷⁹ Leo Treitler, “Homer and Gregory,” 131.

emerged from an oral tradition and the transition to written practice requires careful consideration. Treitler draws on the work of Milman Parry and Albert Bates Lord and their study of epic poetry or the Homeric epics.¹⁰⁸⁰ Once considered the compositions of a single author, the work was shown to be transmitted “without the aid of letters” and evolved from an oral tradition.¹⁰⁸¹ What seems a complete unified form is in reality a work influenced by numerous sources and initially derives from oral practice. Rather than a work originating from the pen, it was first conceived in the mind, and later written down. It is not surprising that there would be variances in style. In the same way Gregorian chant may be the repository of a number of liturgical traditions. Given the invention of musical notation, a natural source for this development were the monastic centers in which scholastic pursuits were the daily occupation of monks. However, this also reflects a variety of liturgical practices across a vast area with different styles.

Still, the inventors of Gregorian chant placed its very being on notation. As if to emphasize the point, an enduring image in the study of Western music is the explanation of the origins of plainchant and the myth of the dove transmitting verses into the ear of Pope Gregory while a scribe copies down the chants.¹⁰⁸² The image is iconic. So enduring is the story that the

¹⁰⁸⁰ On the work of Milman Parry see *The Making of Homeric Verse: The Collected Papers of Milman Parry*, edited by Adam Parry (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971); *Serbocroatian Heroic Songs*, collected by Milman Parry; edited and translated by Albert Bates Lord (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953 -); Albert Lord, *The Singer of Tales* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1960).

¹⁰⁸¹ Treitler, “Homer and Gregory,” 169.

¹⁰⁸² See Randall A. Rosenfeld and Andrea Budgey, “The Portrait of the Music Scribe in Hartker’s Antiphoner,” in *Pen in Hand: Medieval Scribal Portraits, Colophons and Tools*, edited by Michael Gullick (Walkern, Herts, England: Red Gull Press, 2006), 19-30. The portrait of Pope Gregory is taken from Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek 390, see 21; Hoppin, *Medieval Music*, 44. Here Hoppin presents a picture of St. Gregory the Great and the bird depicted as the Holy Spirit from the thirteenth-century fresco at Subia (Foto Biblioteca Vaticana). Hoppin states: “Perhaps Gregory’s greatest contribution to the dissemination and eventual domination of the roman rite was his establishment of papal influence and authority in Britain,” 44. Another example is found in *A History of Western Music*, 6th ed., edited by Donald Jay Grout and Claude V. Palisca (New York; London: W. W. Norton, 2001), 41. Here, the picture depicts Gregory the Great (ca. 540-604) listening to the dove conveying the chant, as

origins of chant that Pope Gregory (*ca.* 540-604)¹⁰⁸³ is considered the originator of the tradition.¹⁰⁸⁴ Further, Gregory's name has been immortalized throughout Western music and heightens the value placed on "Gregorian chant."

Notation also meant that musical performance could now be collected and compiled in a book. In unifying Christendom, then, Charlemagne ensured a liturgical standard of practice that has endured to the present. The powerful medieval image of the dove spiritually transmitting chant to Pope Gregory and wedded to the technology of notation, set in motion a means whereby the liturgy became the codified property of the church.¹⁰⁸⁵ How, then, is it possible to truly understand what is a seminal event in the formation of Gregorian chant and what has become the basis of medieval music as we know it? That scholars are writing about the subject is evidence that there is more information to be incorporated into chant studies.

Charlemagne's campaign of liturgical reform was more than religious interest: his goal was to unite the Christian church. To appreciate the significance of Charlemagne's reforms and where an Irish element once again emerges, it is useful to turn to the writings of Einhard (*ca.*

though through divine intervention. Leo Treitler further illustrates the image of Pope Gregory in his discussion of Gregorian chant; see Treitler, "Homer and Gregory: the Transmission of epic Poetry and Plainchant," 131-185, and Plates VII-X between 162 and 163. Here, Treitler highlights the following images: Plate VII: the frontispiece from Paris lat. 1141; Plate VIII: Treves, Stadtbibliothek, un-catalogued single leaf; Plate IX: the frontispiece from St. Gallen 390-91 (Codex Hartker); and Plate X: frontispiece from Munich clm 17403. I thank Professor Haines for his guidance in this regard.

¹⁰⁸³ For a discussion on Pope Gregory and Roman Chant see Gustave Reese, *Music in the Middle Age: with an Introduction on the Music of Ancient Times* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1940), 119-123. On the transformation of Gregory see Constant J. Mews, "Gregory the Great, the Rule of Benedict and Roman Liturgy: The Evolution of a Legend," *Journal of Medieval History* 37 (2011): 125-144, accessed DOI: 10.1016, <http://journals.scholarsportal.info.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/tmp/9981208712226952566.pdf>.

¹⁰⁸⁴ For another example see Hoppin, *Medieval Music*, 44. On Gregorian restoration and reference to iconography, see Katherine Bergeron, *Decadent Enchantments: The Revival of Gregorian Chant at Solesmes* (Berkeley; Los Angeles; London: University of California Press, 1998), 60-62.

¹⁰⁸⁵ Hoppin, *Medieval Music*, 44.

771-840) and Notker the Stammerer (ca. 840-912).¹⁰⁸⁶ Einhard's biography *The Life of Charlemagne* (*Vita Karoli*) was written in 826-7 almost twelve years after Charlemagne's death in 814. As a friend who had served in Charlemagne's court Einhard weaves personal details into his biography of the charismatic leader. Notker's *The Deeds of Charlemagne* (*Gesta Karoli*) was written for Charles the Fat between 884 and 887 and almost seventy years after Charlemagne's reign. As with a biography written about a prominent figure, they are often shaped by the author's biases. Both Einhard and Notker reveal insight into a literary tradition which draws on hagiography, a style of writing in vogue in the early Irish church and evident in books such as the AB. As David Ganz suggests, Notker's work is more "anecdotal" relaying stories about the deeds of Charlemagne with the benefit of hindsight and aimed at people, particularly in monastic settings who were already familiar with Einhard's biography.¹⁰⁸⁷

My aim here is not to reiterate the life of Charlemagne, but to highlight an excerpt from Notker, the monk of St. Gall, which has relevance to Irish scholastic developments on the continent. Rather than begin his book with a review of Charlemagne's glorious deeds or his pedigree, Notker the Stammerer opens his biography with a story of two Irish scholars who arrive among the Franks, and, seeking an audience in the marketplace, take up the role as peddlers, hawking their wares:

¹⁰⁸⁶ Ganz, "Chronology," xvi-xvii.

¹⁰⁸⁷ Ganz, *Einhard and Notker the Stammerer*, 49.

When he [Charlemagne] had begun to rule alone in the western part of the world, and the study of letters was everywhere almost forgotten, so that the worship of the true God was weak, it happened that two scholars from Ireland came with British traders to the shore of Gaul, and they were men most wonderfully instructed both in secular and in sacred texts. When they displayed nothing for sale, they used to shout to the crowds who had come to buy things: ‘If anyone is eager for wisdom, let him come to us and receive it, for that is what we have for sale.’ They claimed that they had it for sale because they saw that the people were trading in what was priced rather than what was free, so they could either spur them to buy wisdom just like the other things they were buying; or else, as subsequent events proved, by such an announcement they provoked wonder and amazement.¹⁰⁸⁸

Although it is tempting to be skeptical of a bibliography written retrospectively, that Notker begins his biography of Charlemagne with a story about the Irish monks seems unusual but suggests that their reputation as scholars was already known. In examining Notker’s style, Ganz points out, he “chose to subvert the secular features of Einhard’s book by imposing his own categories” and where “the story of the Irish scholars is given preeminence.”¹⁰⁸⁹ Notker goes on to explain that the scholars made an impression on Charlemagne and were given a place in his court. Indeed, the flood of Irish on the continent is well-documented as has been noted elsewhere. While there remain questions about the amount of knowledge the Irish acquired in Ireland, Irish scholars were influential conduits of knowledge. On the subject, John Contreni and Pádraig Ó Neill provide insight into the intellectual milieu emanating from the great scholar John

¹⁰⁸⁸ Notker, “The Deeds of Charlemagne,” in *Einhard and Notker the Stammerer*, Part 1, 55.

¹⁰⁸⁹ Ganz, “Introduction to Notker the Stammerer: *The Deeds of Charlemagne*,” *Einhard and Notker the Stammerer*, 49. Also see David Ganz, “Humour as History in Notkers’s *Gesta Karoli Magni*,” in *Monks, Nuns and Friars in Medieval Society*, edited by E. King, J. Schaefer and W. Wadley (Sewanee, Tenn.: The Press of the University of the South, 1989), 171-183.

Scottus.¹⁰⁹⁰ John Scottus (*ca.*810-*ca.*877) who, as mentioned earlier, referred to himself as “Eriugena,” and was born in Ireland where he received his early education. Although the chronology of his career is sketchy, there is little doubt of his prodigious output, *Periphyseon* paramount among them, and who was one of “the sixty or so known Carolingian writers who created new knowledge through their own intellectual activity and who through the written word broad cast their learning to other masters and students.”¹⁰⁹¹ As one of the “Irish masters” he was part of a cadre of Irishmen who “formed the largest corps of foreign scholars in the Frankish realms.”¹⁰⁹² Their literary insignia was often their Irish names such as Murethach and Comgal, or, they adopted a Latin name “qualified by the epithet ‘Scottus’ or ‘Scottigena’” as noted in the eleventh-century Irishman Marianus Scotus (Muredach MacRobartaigh),¹⁰⁹³ or “Murethach Scottus and Sedulius Scottus.”¹⁰⁹⁴

The ongoing relationship with powerful leaders was already laid down by people such as Columbanus. St. Gall, for example, was the recipient of Charlemagne’s reforms becoming an important school with a prominent library and scriptorium.¹⁰⁹⁵ It was at St. Gall that Notker

¹⁰⁹⁰ John Contreni and Pádraig P. Ó Néill, “§VI: The Early Career and formation of John Scottus,” in *Learning and Culture in Carolingian Europe: Letters, Numbers, Exegesis, and Manuscripts* (Farnham, Surrey, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011), 1-24. This essay is “revised from sections 7f and 10 of the introduction to *Glossae Divinae Historiae: The Biblical Glosses of John Scottus Eriugena* (*Millennio Medievale* 1, Test 1), 1997, pp. 50-55, 72-84,” see “Contents.”

¹⁰⁹¹ Contreni and Ó Neill, “The Early Career and Formation of John Scottus,” 1.

¹⁰⁹² Contreni and Ó Neill, “The Early Career and Formation of John Scottus,” 13.

¹⁰⁹³ Marianus Scotus “spent time in Regensburg on his pilgrimage to Rome where he founded the priory of St. Jakob in 1090 and from which several Irish Benedictine monasteries were founded;” see Czernin, “Fragments of Liturgical Chant from Medieval Irish Monasteries in Continental Europe,” 217.

¹⁰⁹⁴ Contreni and Ó Neill, “The Early Career and Formation of John Scottus,” 14.

¹⁰⁹⁵ See Rosamond McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the Written Word* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

Balbulus presented his sequences to his teacher, none other than the Irishman Moengal.¹⁰⁹⁶ The point is, the Irish were part of the educational developments on the continent and surely had knowledge of music. It seems more than curious that very few musical sources survive and much has survived which formulates the basis of Gregorian music. One answer may be that the evidence has been organized to present a view of music history without all the facts, as Leech-Wilkinson's book suggests. The concomitance of words and music was an important cultural development centered in schools on the continent. In his book *Orality and Literacy* (1982) Walter Ong states that "writing is a technology and more than any other single invention, writing has transformed human consciousness."¹⁰⁹⁷ The shift from an oral to a written culture transformed the way in which information was transmitted; and music, appearing first as signs above text, can be seen as a form of a written invention. After all, neumatic notation has been given prominence in music history as a sign of technological advancement.

To appreciate the extent to which a focus on notation has presented a challenge, it is useful to consider how the evidence is viewed from a wider perspective. Peter Jeffery considers just such a problem in his article "The Lost Chant Tradition of Early Christian Jerusalem: Some Possible Melodic Survival in the Byzantine and Latin Chant Repertoires." Of the various chant traditions and their origins, Jeffery points to another prominent music scholar, Willi Apel¹⁰⁹⁸ who had already raised doubts about the repertoire of chant:

¹⁰⁹⁶ See Susan Rankin, "The Earliest Sources of Notker's Sequences: St Gallen, Vadiana 317, and Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale Lat. 10587," *Early Music History* 10 (1991): 201-233.

¹⁰⁹⁷ Walter Ong, *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the World* (London; New York: Routledge, 1988 [1982]).

¹⁰⁹⁸ See Willi Apel, *Gregorian Chant* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1958); and *Medieval Music: Collected Articles and Reviews*, with a forward by Thomas E. Binkley (Stuttgart: F. Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden GMBH, 1986).

Where did they come from and when did they originate: How and when did they achieve the relatively fixed form in which we know them? Questions such as these have been important in chant research during the last thirty years, ever since Willi Apel outlined what he called ‘the “central” problem of the chant, that is the question concerning its origin and development’.”¹⁰⁹⁹

For Jeffery, studies of origin and development are often too narrow and overlook “as much evidence as they include or more.”¹¹⁰⁰ At the same time these types of investigations tend to limit themselves to musical evidence,

such as the origin and semiology of the earliest (Gregorian) notations, or the possibility that particular (Gregorian and Old Roman) melodic characteristics may be clues to the interaction of various means of oral and written transmission during the formative period (s) of these two traditions.”¹¹⁰¹

While these details are obviously essential in the study of music, literary evidence presents a unique perspective into understanding the culture. Here, historical details are gleaned from other artifacts, including the texts and liturgical contexts from which they emerge.¹¹⁰² However, as Jeffery observes:

Music historians are sometimes skeptical of these kinds of evidence because of the simplistic and credulous ways they have sometimes been used in the past, particularly by those who lacked the necessary linguistic and theological training or experience. But critical evaluation of the non-musical evidence remains essential, for it can tell us much that purely musical evidence cannot.¹¹⁰³

¹⁰⁹⁹ Peter Jeffery, “The Lost Chant Traditions of Early Christian Jerusalem: Some Possible Melodic Survivals in the Byzantine and Latin chant Repertories,” *Early Music History* 11 (1992), 151-190.

¹¹⁰⁰ Jeffery, “The Lost Chant Tradition of Early Christian Jerusalem,” 152.

¹¹⁰¹ Jeffery, “The Lost Chant Tradition of Early Christian Jerusalem,” 152.

¹¹⁰² Jeffery, “The Lost Chant Tradition of Early Christian Jerusalem,” 152.

¹¹⁰³ Jeffery, “The Lost Chant Tradition of Early Christian Jerusalem,” 152.

This seems a crucial point. Indeed, as my work on the AB has proven, it has been important to take a multidiscipline approach in order to uncover the vital literary connections to Bangor. A good example is Michael Herren's work on the *Hisperica Famina* and the description of the wooden church.¹¹⁰⁴ Only by examining this evidence are we then able to consider the performance space of the Irish liturgy; a piece of "non-musical evidence." This seems an important detail that needs further study. Accepting the responses about the so-called Celtic liturgy often found in music history books limits the possibility of finding new sources of information.

If the early musical history of Ireland is relegated to a few sentences or a footnote, where is the appropriate place to discuss all that has been presented in the previous chapters? What is the criterion for a liturgy not to be "left aside,"¹¹⁰⁵ a rhetorical theme throughout this dissertation and in relation to the Irish church? This is precisely why the previous chapters of my dissertation have dwelt on the significance of the Irish hymns, Irish monasticism, the *peregrini*, the influence of desert monasticism and Cassian, the transmission of theological texts and the development of the Irish church in relation to the evidence, beginning with the AB. At the same time, music has been at the center of my research and it has been important to consider Ireland's representation in medieval music.

From a different perspective, ethnomusicologist Timothy Taylor makes an interesting observation pertaining to the historical representation of cultures. Taylor notes that marginalized groups in the study of Western music,

¹¹⁰⁴ Michael Herren, *The Hisperica Famina: The A-Text: A New Critical Edition with English Translation and Philological Commentary* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1974).

¹¹⁰⁵ David Hiley, *Gregorian Chant* (Cambridge; Cambridge University Press, 2009), 109.

have sought to dislodge the stories that western culture has told about itself, and histories and methods developed by students of western European colonial projects have destabilized western representations of its own history.¹¹⁰⁶

The way in which Ireland has been considered in the history of medieval music has sometimes seemed an example of what might be considered “a marginalized group.” There are, of course larger issues behind Taylor’s comments which are equally relevant to Ireland and its relationship to England over the centuries, a subject out of the scope of this dissertation. The problem is the fragmentary nature of the evidence and the lack of musical sources pertaining to Ireland.¹¹⁰⁷

Making the evidence “fit” into a chronological timeframe may not be possible, but this does not mean the research is not equally compelling. There are other ways that Irish scholars may have influenced the development of chant; the interconnections at work throughout the Carolingian period show that there was more to their sphere of influence than is perhaps fully known.

However, it requires following up the connections and what this means in terms of liturgical development. The Schottenstift in Vienna and the recoveries from the Bobbio library show that the evidence is scattered throughout continental libraries. Ultimately, more work is required to understand Ireland’s musical contributions in the medieval period.

¹¹⁰⁶ Timothy Taylor, *Beyond Exoticism: Western Music and the World* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007), 17.

¹¹⁰⁷ Ann Buckley, “Music in Ireland to c. 1500,” 782, note 101. Here Buckley states for further discussion and references to “surviving Irish liturgical manuscripts with music notation” see; Buckley, “‘And his voice swelled like a terrible thunderstorm...’: music in symbolic sound in medieval Irish society,” in *Irish Musical Studies*, III (1995), edited by Gerard Gillen and Harry White (Blackrock, Co. Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1995), 13-76.

7.2 The Celtic Liturgy: Reimagining the Past

In the wholesale destruction of the ancient monuments of our island in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, most of the documents connected with our early liturgy were destroyed; sufficient fragments, however, still remain to prove that in all its essential parts it was identical with the Catholic liturgy of the present day.¹¹⁰⁸

As a revivalist committed to discovering some ideal form of Irishness, Yeats in the 1880s and 1890s began assiduously to choreograph science and religion to the rhythm of ‘Celticism’ as proof for Irish exceptionality.¹¹⁰⁹

The word “Celtic” has been applied to the liturgy encompassing the regions of Brittany, Scotland, Wales, England, and Ireland. The Celtic rite presupposes a similar liturgical connection, distinguishing it from other liturgies, and implies its own unique characteristics.¹¹¹⁰ The earlier part of this chapter focused on the Carolingian period because it is during this time that the liturgies were solidified and the so-called Celtic is said to have disappeared. Susan Rankin observes that by “focusing on liturgical singing as a symbol of social unity, the early Carolingians set an entirely new value on uniformity and standardization of musical practice.”¹¹¹¹ While local liturgies are generally considered to have been absorbed into the process of reform already begun in 800 when Charlemagne was crowned king of the Franks, the difficulty is determining which was the archetype or the model of plainchant. Susan Boynton states: “Part of the mystery surrounding the origins of the Gregorian chant resides in the

¹¹⁰⁸ P. F. Moran, *Essays on the Origin, Doctrines, and Discipline of the Early Irish Church* (Dublin: James Duffy, 1864), 162.

¹¹⁰⁹ Matthew Brown, “Darwin at Church: John Tyndall’s Belfast Address,” *Evangelicals and Catholics in Nineteenth-Century Ireland*, edited by James H. Murphy (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2005), 235-246 at 244.

¹¹¹⁰ For an interesting discussion on whether the Irish and British perceived of being distinctive see, Caitlin Corning, “The Celtic Tradition,” *The Celtic and Roman Tradition: Conflict and Consensus in the Early Medieval Church* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 178-181.

¹¹¹¹ Rankin, “Carolingian Music,” 278.

difficulty of recovering what came before.”¹¹¹² Not only what came before, but what remnant can be found of earlier chant in older chant traditions. If, as Treitler notes, “the medium was singers,” this leaves the evidence open to question. Liturgical traditions carried in the mind and ingrained from early training in monasteries were not so easily left aside. The recovery of notated manuscripts across a spectrum of monastic libraries shows there are liturgical variances. Therefore, remnants of liturgical traditions, and indeed melodic variants might possibly be found in surviving manuscripts. This, as I have noted, is the work of scholars such as Ann Buckley and Sara Casey. However, given that so little has been preserved of the Celtic rite, much less in Ireland itself, why has it been important to recover this remnant of the past?

To answer address the question we need to return to some ideas discussed in the beginning chapter in relation to the Ambrosiana library. The urge to recover the Celtic rite has historic roots and was a preoccupation of earlier scholars. According to Thomas O’Loughlin interest in “Celtic monasticism” emerged in the mid-nineteenth century “among three distinct groups who envisioned a monastic landscape that served their own religious and political agenda.”¹¹¹³ The first group wanted to portray the Celtic people as “a forgotten race who lived

¹¹¹² Susan Boynton, “Plainsong,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Music*, edited by Mark Everist (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 9-25 at 19.

¹¹¹³ Thomas O’Loughlin, “Celtic Monasticism,” *Encyclopedia of Monasticism*, volume 1, edited by William M. Johnston (Chicago; London: Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers, 2000), 266. O’Loughlin’s synopsis is a reflection of ideas explained more fully in his book *Celtic Theology: Humanity, World and God in Early Irish Writings* (London; New York: Continuum, 2000). The growing interest in Celtic spirituality is reflected in the spate of books on the subject, such as: Thomas O’Loughlin, *Journeys on the Edges: the Celtic Tradition* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2000); Seán Ó’Dunn, *Where Three Streams Meet; Celtic Spirituality* (Blackrock, Co. Dublin: Columba Press, 2000); John O’Donohue, *Anam Cara* (London; Bantam, 1997); Grace Clunie, *Sacred Living: Practical Inspirations from Celtic Spirituality for the Contemporary Spiritual Journey* (Blackrock, Co. Dublin: Columba Press, 2011); Timothy J. Joyce, *Celtic Christianity: A Sacred Tradition, A Vision of Hope* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1998); Calvin Miller, *The Path of Celtic Prayer: An Ancient Way to Everyday Joy* (Downers Grove, Ill: IVP Books, 2007); Bruce Reed Pullin, *Discovering Celtic Christianity: its Roots, Relationships, and Relevance* (Mystic, CT: Twenty-Third Publications, 1999); Ray Simpson, *Exploring Celtic Spirituality: Historic Roots for Our Future* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1995); and Richard J. Woods, *The Spirituality of the Celtic Saints* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2000). Other areas of Celtic Christianity have been explored through hagiography, see Katja Ritari, *Saints and Sinners in Early Christian Ireland: Moral Theology in the Lives of Saints*

on the edge of Europe, but who had preserved “an ancient past” that “mocked the sophistication of the highly organized center but that was doomed to be swept aside.”¹¹¹⁴ From this perspective the monks were depicted as “unlearned” but of “a rugged race” which served to construct a model of “Celtic monasticism” distinct from Western Christianity but failed to take into consideration that these early monks were literate scholars who produced theological manuscripts.¹¹¹⁵

The second group were the Anglicans whose view of the past had as much to do with antiquarianism and a focus on the origins of the Celtic rite. They wanted to show that an “ancient church” of the British Isles “was a distinct ‘branch’ of the Catholic Church devoid of Roman allegiance.”¹¹¹⁶ The editions of the AB published by the Henry Bradshaw Society can, in one way, be viewed as a result of scholasticism. Neil Xavier O’Donoghue points to the work of F. E. Warren, the editor of the HBS editions of the AB whom he credits for his research, particularly his book *The Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church* (1881), a book written over a hundred years ago and “yet to be surpassed.”¹¹¹⁷ Still, O’Donoghue notes that for all Warren’s “scholarly acumen” Warren approached the subject looking for every detail which might confirm a Catholic church independent from Rome. This “shortcoming” or “desire to ‘find’ a type of proto-Anglicanism in early Ireland colored Warren’s work.”¹¹¹⁸ What scholars “saw in the early

Brigit and Columba (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2009) and Irish monastic history, see David H. Jenkins, *‘Holy, Holier, Holiest’: The Sacred Topology of the Early Medieval Irish Church* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2010).

¹¹¹⁴ O’Loughlin, “Celtic Monasticism,” 266.

¹¹¹⁵ O’Loughlin, “Celtic Monasticism,” 266.

¹¹¹⁶ O’Loughlin, “Celtic Monasticism,” 266.

¹¹¹⁷ O’Donoghue, *The Eucharist in Pre-Norman Ireland*, 37.

¹¹¹⁸ O’Donoghue, *The Eucharist in Pre-Norman Ireland*, 38.

Irish” was either an example of “the proto-Anglican” or the “ultramontane Roman Catholic” view in which there was general agreement of a Celtic rite.¹¹¹⁹ Such views have coloured research of the past.

The third group appear to have had nationalistic aims. They sought to “counter the aims of the first two” and strove for an independent culture.¹¹²⁰ This group, as O’Loughlin points out, had a more difficult challenge. Indeed, in re-reading the intricacies of each argument it is hard to keep the details clear. They wanted to show that the early Christians in Ireland were “fully Roman” but to achieve this it is worth noting the strategy:

Christianity spread throughout the Roman Empire and by the early fifth century had passed beyond its borders into a distinct political culture (Ireland). There a noble group received this heady new wine free from the corruptions of the Roman Empire. Just then that empire (now again perceived as “civilization”) was destroyed by the barbarians. Faith survived only on the fringes, and with it all that is good, as a unique nonurban culture based on monasteries arose, and these monks made Ireland “an island of saints and scholars” who eventually reconverted Europe, and thus these monks “saved civilizations.”¹¹²¹

This brilliant stratagem, I would argue, is echoed to some degree in Thomas Cahill’s book *How the Irish Saved Civilization*. The title alone embraces the mantra above. Although there has been considerable research since the AB editions, there has also been a renewed interest in Celtic spirituality.¹¹²² Earlier historical accounts of medieval Ireland tended to glorify the scholastic

¹¹¹⁹ O’Donoghue, *The Eucharist in Pre-Norman Ireland*, 38. O’Donoghue refers to Kevin Collins, *Catholic Churchmen and the Celtic Revival in Ireland, 1848-1916* (Dublin: four Courts Press, 2002), 29-31. Here Collins discusses the subject of faith under the headings of “The Genesis of Irish Nationalism,” “A Godden Age Recalled,” and “Clerical Guardians of the Past and the Gaelic Literati.” Revival of the Irish past is a complex subject but in getting to its underpinnings we are able to see why terms such as “Celtic” are problematic.

¹¹²⁰ O’Loughlin, “Celtic Monasticism,” 267.

¹¹²¹ O’Loughlin, “Celtic Monasticism,” 267.

¹¹²² See for example Rosemary Power, *Celtic Quest: A Contemporary Spirituality* (Dublin: Columba Press, 2010); *Celtic Spirituality*, translated and introduced by Oliver Davies; with collaboration of Thomas O’Loughlin;

virtues of the Irish during the proverbial “Dark Ages.” O’Loughlin states: “Although historians have conducted several revised assessments, the older views still capture popular imagination and are so entrenched that they resurface tacitly in critical studies.”¹¹²³ This complex interplay between these groups does not take into account all the nuances which emerged on the fringe of these opinions. It is hardly surprising that research into the so-called Celtic liturgy, much less an Irish church, is fraught with scholarly obstacles. Add to this the revival of the Cecilian movement in the Irish Catholic Church which played a role in the resurgence of chant under the leadership of none other than Heinrich Beyer (1862-1923)¹¹²⁴ the question is, what was being revived? Given the dynamics around Celtic monasticism it is understandable that some of these ideas fueled Irish nationalism.

To pursue the significance of interest in the Celtic rite further and why it is germane to the AB, it is important to recall a previous discussion from the first chapter. The founding of the Ambrosian Library by Cardinal Borromeo, and the work of Ludovico Muratori take on greater significance. Borromeo’s Ambrosiana and the manuscripts he collected paved the way for liturgical studies. Here, the Antiphony of Bangor became an important piece of evidence. Not only did it preserve the Celtic liturgy, but the manuscript also displayed theological awareness of other texts. That the AB shows the influence of other styles of liturgical practice suggests that the authors of the AB were drawing on a number of sources. At the same time, the AB is a

preface by James Mackey (New York: Paulist Press, 1999); and Bruce Reed Pullen, *Discovering Celtic Christianity: Its Roots, Relationship, and Relevance* (Mystic, CT: Twenty-Third Publications, 1995).

¹¹²³ O’Loughlin, “Celtic Monasticism,” 266.

¹¹²⁴ See Kieran Anthony Daly, *Catholic Church Music in Ireland, 1878-1903* (Blackrock, Co. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1995); and Paul Collins, ed., *Renewal and Resistance; Catholic Church Music from the 1850s to Vatican II* (Oxford, England; New York: Peter Lang, 2010).

representative service book that predates other liturgies. In this respect scholars not only saw the manuscript as the repository of the ancient past, but they were looking to connect the past to the present.¹¹²⁵

The Anglicans, in particular, pursued the theological past with vigour. The Anglicans wanted “to show that the “ancient church” of the British Isles was a distinct “branch of the Catholic Church devoid of Roman allegiance.”¹¹²⁶ These ideas are supported by Peter Jeffery who writes that “Warren’s views were inevitably shaped by the ecclesiastical polemics of his time, which put an exorbitant value on anything that could be interpreted as a hint of ‘independence from Rome.’”¹¹²⁷ There would be much more to say on this subject and the confusing use of “Celtic” during the emergence of the nation state. As the above quote from W. B. Yeats suggests, revivalists harnessed the potentiality of “Celticism” and evidence became proof of a Celtic past.¹¹²⁸

In trying to sort out Ireland’s musical past and the reasons for its lack of representation in Western, the problem is separating fact from fiction. Hoppin’s comments about the Celtic rite seem misleading, while Robert Culhane’s comment about Bangor “which for eight centuries sent monks to every part of Europe” exaggerates the truth. Obviously there is more current scholarship which is a correlative to the past but the troubling aspect about research is how often invention, rather than fact, has prevailed. Ireland hardly is unique. For example, Florence

¹¹²⁵ Also see Crook, *Politics, Archaeology and the Creation of a National Museum in Ireland*.

¹¹²⁶ O’Loughlin, “Celtic Monasticism,” 266.

¹¹²⁷ Jeffery, “Eastern and Western Elements in the Irish Monastic Prayer of the Hours,” 99; and also see note 4 regarding Jeffery’s comments on Warren and the notes in volume one of the HBS edition.

¹¹²⁸ See the important discussion on “Celtic” in Herren and Brown, *Christ in Celtic Christianity: Britain and Ireland from the Fifth to the Tenth Century* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2002).

Dupont observes in her book *The Invention of Literature: From Greek Intoxication to the Latin Book*:

Historical anthropology and ethnic studies have cast doubt on the supremacy of a Western, mainstream culture founded in particular on book learning, schooling, libraries, and museums. In the current debate about minority cultures, antiquity is often cast in the role of the founding myth of our own Western culture.¹¹²⁹

Dupont's work points to important issues that in reality ought not to be anything new to students of current musicology. The problem is that the history transmitted in books is often very different from reality. In music, codifying plainchant may transmit what seems a fixed style, but as studies have shown, neumatic notation is subject to interpretation and represents a fluid medium. In the case of Ireland because of lack of notation, Hoppin's comments can pass unchallenged. On the matter of writing Dupont writes:

Fixity, rigidity, and restrictiveness do not result from tradition, but on the contrary from popular art being recorded and transcribed. Transcription forces it into another kind of time, a time of stagnation and discontinuity. Conservation in conservatories does not take on the risk of life or oblivion. It hands over to specialists control over an art whose rules are unknown to its spectators.¹¹³⁰

A manuscript like the AB without musical notation will hardly be transcribed, but this also means it can be overlooked for its musical content. While it is impossible to know the sound of the Irish liturgy, or whether indeed notated manuscripts ever existed in early medieval Ireland, the challenge is to see a manuscript such as the AB with renewed vision and to avoid disconnecting it from its cultural context. If the AB is considered as a type of service book for

¹¹²⁹ Florence Dupont, "Note to the Reader," *The Invention of Literature: From Greek Intoxication to the Latin Book* (Baltimore; London: the Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), ix. The book was originally published in French as *L'invention de la littérature: de l'ivresse grecque au livre latin* (La Découverte, 1994).

¹¹³⁰ Dupont, *The Invention of Literature*, 46.

use by the leader of the choir, this opens up other avenues of musical inquiry. As Ann Buckley observes,

[...] by an almost exclusive reliance on notated heritage, music historians are overlooking large tracts of evidence which have an essential bearing on understanding the very *raison d'être* of repertoires which can be tracked, analyzed and reconstructed for performance purposes.¹¹³¹

The hymns of the AB seem a repertoire that can be tracked and to be shown to have an important place in the Irish church. When the AB is considered with a renewed perspective, this strategy builds onto antiquarian research to prove what is knowable about the Irish liturgy. However, it is a line from *Hymnus Sancti Patricii Magistri Scotorum* [AB 13] (verse 22, line 1) that I believe encapsulates the musical elements of the AB:

Hymnos cum Apocalypsi palmosque cantat Dei
He sings hymns and the psalms of God together with the Apocalypse

With or without notation the author has written “he sings.” A small point, but given that the hymn is found in a liturgical book with other hymns and antiphons for the monastery of Bangor, it seems certain from all that has been discussed that music resonates from the folios of the AB.

¹¹³¹ Ann Buckley, “‘And his voice swelled like a terrible thunderstorm...’: Music as Symbolic Sound in Medieval Irish Society,” in *Irish Musical Studies 3: Music and Irish Cultural History*, edited by Gerard Gillen and Harry White (Blackrock, Co. Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1995), 13-76 at 22.

7.3 Conclusion

There is one essential fact about Irish poetry which must never be forgotten if we are to appraise it justly: it is, with the possible exception of certain didactic compositions, composed for the ear, and at all periods of its history has been associated with music, the word-music of its own characteristic form and the music of an accompanying instrument.¹¹³²

...the restoration of any ancient musical tradition will depend to a large extent on the status of its written records.¹¹³³

The hymns of the AB seem to fit Eleanor Knott's observations of Irish poetry and harken, in a way, to the "word music" of the *filid*. While a restoration of Ireland's ancient musical tradition may not be achievable, its history is vibrant. If the recent publication of encyclopaedias and dictionaries¹¹³⁴ about Irish history and culture are any indication, there are fresh ideas coming from several disciplines. Even Ann Buckley's "Music in Ireland to c.1500" published in the multi-volume series entitled *A New History of Ireland*,¹¹³⁵ seem proof of scholarly works which

¹¹³² Eleanor Knott, *Irish Classical Poetry: Commonly Called Bardic Poetry* (Dublin: Published for the Cultural Relations Committee of Ireland by Colm O'Lochlainn, 1957), 17.

¹¹³³ Bergeron, *Decadent Enchantments*, 25.

¹¹³⁴ A number of dictionaries and encyclopaedias related to Irish history have recently been published and include: *Encyclopedia of Irish History and Culture*, edited by James S. Donnelly, Jr. (Detroit: Thomson Gale, 2004), 2 volumes; *Celtic Culture: A Historical Encyclopedia*, edited by John H. Koch (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2006), 5 volumes; *The Oxford Companion to Irish History*, 2nd ed., edited by S. J. Connolly (Oxford: University Press, 2002); *The Encyclopedia of Ireland*, edited by Brian Lalor (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2003), 2nd edition; and *Medieval Ireland: An Encyclopedia*, edited by Sean Duffy (London: Routledge, 2005). For a list and research guide, see *Research Guide to Irish History* published by John M. Kelly Library, University of St. Michael's College, maintained by Richard Carter and last updated October 2011. A copy of the guide is available at the stack in front of the main desk at the Kelly Library. For a recent publication on Irish hagiography, see Pádraig Ó Riain, *A Dictionary of Irish Saints* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2011).

¹¹³⁵ *A New History of Ireland* is published under the auspices of the Royal Irish Academy. The volumes include: Volume I: Prehistoric and Early Ireland; Volume II: *Medieval Ireland (1169-1534)*; Volume III: *Early Modern Ireland (1534-1691)*; Volume IV: *Eighteenth-Century Ireland (1691-1800)*; Volume V: *Ireland Under the Union, I (1801-70)*; Volume VI: *Ireland Under the Union, II (1870-1921)*; Volume VII: *Ireland, 1921-84*; Volume VIII: *A Chronology of Irish History to 1976: A Companion to Irish History, I*; and Volume IX: *Maps, Genealogies, Lists: A Companion to Irish History, II*, see the inner cover of Volume I. In the opening "Preface" the editors state the first volume "has been long awaited, and its appearance now reflects the development of studies in this area over the past twenty years," see *A New History of Ireland: I: Prehistoric and Early Ireland*, edited by Dáibhí Ó Cróinín (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), v. In this volume is the chapter on music written by Ann Buckley: see A. Buckley, "XXI: Music in Prehistoric and Medieval Ireland," 744-813. In this respect, these recent publications can be seen as response to the growth of Irish scholarship in several disciplines. Studies on contemporary theory and Irish culture include: Colin Graham, *Deconstructing Ireland: Identity, Theory, Culture* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh

are taking a different approach to the past. Within the last decades more research about the musical history of Ireland has made this an important area of research and seems also to have taken on a new momentum.¹¹³⁶ Here, the special edition on medieval music in Ireland published in the journal *Early Music* in 2000 and the 10-volumes series of *Irish Musical Studies*, beginning in 1990, have brought attention to Ireland's musical contributions.¹¹³⁷ Such publications are evidence of the advancement in Irish musicological scholarship which can only lead to more fruitful discussions. It is in part through these important publications that my current research questions about AB took shape. But Harry White points out, "scholarly positivism cannot be the sole destination of Irish musicology."¹¹³⁸ As White puts it "the history of ideas also beckons."¹¹³⁹ Indeed, my dissertation on the AB has been about ideas and trying to understand a problem. From my research there seems even more reason for the AB to be considered in the wider study of music and to show the Irish liturgy can "detain us long."

University Press, 2001; Thomas M. Wilson and Hastings Donnan, *The Anthropology of Ireland* (Oxford; New York: Berg, 2006); and Luke Gibbons, *Transformations in Irish Culture* (Cork: Cork University Press in association with Field Day, 1996).

¹¹³⁶ The growing scholarship in the last decades has supported musicology as an academic discipline in Ireland. See for example Harry White, *The Keeper's Recital: Music and Cultural History in Ireland, 1770-1970*; "Musicology in Ireland," *Acta Musicologica* 60 (1988): and 290-305; *The Progress of Music in Ireland* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2005). For studies on contemporary composers see for example Robin Elliott, "Passion Painting, Poetry, Pessimism: Extra-Musical Themes in the Sting Quartets of Ian Wilson," in *Irish Music in the Twentieth Century: Irish Musical Studies*, edited by Gareth Cox and Axel Klein (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2003), 150-167. The establishment of the *Journal of the Society for Musicology in Ireland* and the Contemporary Irish Music Centre are valuable resources and strengthen the discipline.

¹¹³⁷ See *Early Music* 28/2 (2000) entitled "Early Music in Ireland. For more on *Irish Musical Studies*, volumes 1-10, see "Irish Musical Studies," Society for Musicology in Ireland, accessed January 15, 2013, <<http://www.musicologyireland.com>>.

¹¹³⁸ Harry White, *The Keeper's Recital: Music and Cultural History in Ireland 1770-1970* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press in association with Field Day, 1998), 12.

¹¹³⁹ White, *The Keeper's Recital*, 12.

What I hope has been evident in the previous chapters is that our knowledge of music in medieval Ireland is limited by what artifacts and manuscripts have survived. Given that the evidence of notation in Ireland appears late, a study of the AB from a musical perspective offers a unique view of the texts on a deeper level and provides insight into Irish liturgical culture. The musical fragments in the Vienna Schottenstift represent an important connection during a period of reform. As remnants of an older liturgical style they show that Irish saints such as St. Patrick and St. Brigit were already part of the hagiography of the monastery. It is also important to couch the fragments within the larger historical context of the literary enterprise of the Schottenklöster legacy. At the same time the musical evidence draws attention to notational practices and local influences which had an impact on the Irish foundations. Hymns offer valuable insight into local practice and the liturgy of the monastery. As noted in the AB, some of the texts also have a much older association in the Church, as in the example of the *Te Deum laudamus*, or the hymn *Mediae noctis est*.¹¹⁴⁰ These connections with the AB make the survival of the manuscript all the more remarkable. As a service book of the early Irish church, the Antiphony of Bangor is essential to the study of music.

¹¹⁴⁰ See Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, I: 356 who notes that the Gloria and the *Te Deum* were not intended for the Mass and were more songs, but by the sixth century they already had a precedent in the liturgy.

Appendix I
Contents of the Antiphony of Bangor¹¹⁴¹

AB	Title	Folio
1	Canticum Moysi	1 r
2	Hymnus Sancti Hilarii de Christo	3 r
3	Hymnus Apostolorum ut alii dicunt	4 v
4	Benedictio Sancti Zachariae	6 v
5	Canticum [Moysi]	7 r
6	Benedictio [Trium] puerorum	8 v
7	Hymnus in die dominica	10 r
8	Hymnus quando communicarent sacerdotes	10 v
9	Hymnus quando caeria benedicitur	11 r
10	Hymnus mediae noctis	11 v
11	Hymnus in natali martyrum vel sabbato ad matutinam	12 v
12	Hymnus ad matutinam in dominica	13 r
13	Hymnus Sancti Patrici magistri Scottorum	13 v
14	Hymnus Sancti Comgilli abbatis nostri	15 v
15	Hymnus Sancti Camelaci	17 v
16	Collectio ad secundam	17 v
17	Item alia ad secundam	18 r
18	Ad tertiam	18 r
19	Ad sextm	18 r
20	Ad nonam	18 r
21	Ad vespertinam	18 r
22	Collectio ad initium noctis	18 r
23	Ad nocturnum	18 r
24	Ad matutinam	18 r
25	Item ad matutinam	18 r
26	Item alia ad matutinam	18 v
27	Item ad secundam	18 v
28	Ad horam tertiam	18 v
29	Ad horam sextam	18 v
30	Ad horam nonam	18 v
31	Ad vespertinam	18 v
32	Ad initium noctis	19 r
33	Ad initium noctis	19 r
34	Ad pacem celebrandam	19 r
35	Incipit symbolum	19 r

¹¹⁴¹ The index follows each of the items, the headings and the folios as presented in Warren, *The Antiphony of Bangor*, Part II. 1-33. I have consulted Curran's index in *The Antiphony of Bangor*, 264-266 and followed his textual changes substituting 'hymnum' for 'ymnum'. The textual variances, noted in the use of square brackets, are amendments made by the editors of the Henry Bradshaw Society. The use of "*" designates items which have a sub verse in the transcription and indicated by the HBS editors.

AB	Title	Folio
36	Oratio divina	19 v
37	Ad nocturnum	19 v
38	Ad matutinam	20 r
39	Item ad matutinam	20 r
40	Oratio communis fratrum	20 r
40*	[Pro peccatis nostris]	20 v
41	Pro baptizatis	20 v
41*	[Pro sacerdotibus]	20 v
42	Pro abbate	20 v
43	[Pro fratribus]	20 v
44	Pro fraternitate	20 v
45	Pro pace populorum et regum	21 r
46	Pro blasphemantibus	21 r
47	Pro impiis	21 r
48	Pro iter facientibus	21 r
49	[Pro gratias agentibus]	21 r
50	Pro eleemosynariis	21 r
51	Pro ifirmis	21 v
51*	[Pro captivis]	21 v
52	De martyribus	21 v
53	[Pro tribulantibus]	21 v
54	Collectio	21 v
55	Ad martyres	21 v
56	[Pro poenitentibus]	22 r
57	Ad nocturnum	22 r
58	Ad matutinam	22 r
59	Ad matutinam	22 r
60	Ad matutinam	22 r
61	De martyribus	22 v
62	Collectio post canticum	22 v
63	Collectio post benedictionem puerorum	23 r
64	Collectio post tres psalmos, in fine	23 r
65	Collectio post evangelium	23 r
66	Super hymnum	23 v
67	De martyribus	23 v
68	Super Cantemus Domino gloriose	24 r
69	Super benedictionem trium puerorum	24 r
70	Super laudate Dominum de coelis	24 r
71	Super canticum	24 v
72	Post benedictionem trium puerorum	24 v
73	Post laudate Dominum de caelis	24 v
74	Post evangelium	25 r

AB	Title	Folio
75	Post hymnum	25 r
76	Item post canticum	25 r
77	Item post benedicite	25 r
78	Post Laudate Dominum de caelis	25 v
79	Post evangelium	25 v
80	Post hymnum	25 v
81	[Post cantimum]	25 v
82	Post hymnum trium puerorum	25 v
83	Post laudate Dominum de coelis	25 v
84	Post evangelium	26 r
85	Item post evangelium	26 r
86	Post hymnum	26 r
87	De martyribus	26 r
88	Post cantemus	26 v
89	Post benedicite	26 v
90	Post laudate Dominum de coelis	26 v
91	Super cantemus	26 v
92	Super benedictionem trium puerorum	27 v
93	Post Laudate Dominum de coelis	28 r
94	Super Cantemus Domino	28 v
95	Versiculi familiae Benchuir	30 r
96	Collectio super hominem qui habet diabolum	30 v
97	Oratio de martyribus	31 r
98	Incipit antífona in natali Domini, super Domine refugium ad secundam	31 v
99	Incipiunt antiphonae super cantemus et benedicite	31 v
↓	[1. Super cantemus]	31 v
	[2. Super benedicite]	31 v
	[3. Super cantemus]	31 v
	[4. Super benedicite]	31 v
	[5. Super cantemus]	31 v
	[6. Super benedicite]	31 v
	[7. Super cantemus]	32 r
	[8. Super benedicite]	32 r
100	Super laudate Dominum de coelis	32 r
99....	[Antiphonae super cantemus et benedicite] (continued)	32 r
	[9. Super cantemus]	32 r
	[10. Super benedicite]	32 r
	[11. Super cantemus]	32 r
	[12. Super benedicite]	32 r
	[13. Super cantemus]	32 r
	[14. Super benedicite]	32 r
	[15. Super cantemus]	32 r
	[16. Super benedicite]	32 r
	[17. Super cantemus]	32 v

AB	Title	Folio
	[18. Super benedicite]	32 v
	[19. Super cantemus]	32 v
	[20. Super benedicite]	32 v
101	De martyribus	32 v
102	Item alia de martyribus	32 v
103	De martyribus	32 v
104	De martyribus	32 v
105	Super Domine refugium in dominicorum die	32 v
106	Item alia	32 v
107	Item alia	32 v
108	Alia cotidiana	32 v
109	Ad communionem	32 v
110	Item alia	33 r
111	Item alia	33 r
112	Alia	33 r
113	Item alia	33 r
114	Item alia	33 r
115	Item alia	33 r
116	Ad vesperum et ad matutinam	33 r
117	Ad horas diei oratio communis	34 r
118	Oratio pro abbate nostro	34 r
119	Common oroit dun	34 r
120	Ad matutinam	34 v
121	Ad horam nonam	34 v
122	Ad secundam	35 r
123	Post laudate pueri Dominum in dominicorum die	35 r
124	De martyribus	35 r
125	Item alia super laudate	35 v
126	Item alia super laudate	35 v
127	Ad cereu[m] benedice[ndam]	36 r
128	[Post laudate pueri dominum	36 r
129	In memoriam abbatum nostrorum	36 v

Appendix II

Index of the Twelve Hymns of the Antiphony of Bangor: Headings and Incipits

	Heading and First Line ¹¹⁴²	Folio
1.	<i>Hymnus Sancti Hilarii de Christo</i> <i>Hymnum dicat turba fidelium</i>	ff. 3r-4v
2.	<i>Hymnus Apostolorum ut alii dicunt</i> <i>Precamur Patrem</i>	ff. 4v-6v
3.	<i>Hymnus quando communicarent sacerdotes</i> <i>Sancti venite</i>	ff. 10v-11r
4.	<i>Hymnus quando caeria benedicitur: Ignis creator igneus</i> <i>Ignis Creator igneus</i>	ff. 11r-11v
5.	<i>Hymnus mediae noctis</i> <i>Mediae noctis tempus est</i>	ff. 11v-112v
6.	<i>Hymnus in natale martyrum vel sabbato ad matutinam</i> <i>Sacratissimi martyres summi Dei</i>	ff. 12v-13r
7.	<i>Hymnus ad matutinam in domenica</i> <i>Spiritus divinae lucis gloriae</i>	ff. 13r-13v
8.	<i>Hymnus Sancti Patricidi magisteri Scottorum</i> <i>Audite, omnes amantes</i>	ff. 13v-15v
9.	<i>Hymnus Sancti Comgilli abbatis nostri</i> <i>Recordemur justitiae</i>	ff. 15v-17v
10.	<i>Hymnus Sancti Camelaci</i> <i>Audite bonum exemplum</i>	f 17v
11.	<i>Versiculi Familiae Benchuir</i> <i>Benhcuir bona regula</i>	ff. 30r-30v
12.	<i>[In] memoriam abbatum nostrorum</i> <i>Sancta sanctorum opera</i>	f 36v

¹¹⁴² The headings for each hymn were added at an unknown date, but after the manuscript had been written. The evidence suggests that there were at least three scribes. Kenney notes, “The rubrical titles [...] are by the same hand throughout and evidently were added after the book was completed.” See Kenney, *The Sources*, 711, but also see the discussion of the script and contents in in each section, 707-710.

Appendix III

The Latin Texts of the Twelve Hymns of the Antiphony of Bangor with English

Translations

Hymn 1 *Hymnum sancti Hilarii de Christo: Hymnum dicat turba fratrum*¹¹⁴³
(Morning Hymn)
(AB 2, ff. 3r-4v)

- | | | |
|----|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. | Hymnum dicat turba fr[atrum,]
Hymnum cantus person [et,]
Christo regi concinent [es]
Laud [em demus debitas,] | Raise the song, O band of brothers,
Let the holy anthem ring;
Sound the hymn of loud laudation,
Unto Christ, our Lord and King. |
| 2. | Tu Dei d [e corde verbum,
Tu via, tu veritas,
Jesse virga tu vocaris,
Te leonem legimus.] | Gentle Jesus, hear our voices;
Thee the Word, the Truth, the Way,
Rod of Jesse, Juda's Lion; ¹¹⁴⁴
Thee we praise, to thee we pray. |
| | [f 3v] | |
| 3. | Dextra Patris, mons, et agnus,
Angularis tu lapis,
Sponsus idem, vel columba,
Flamma, pastor, janua. | At the right hand of the Father
Is thy throne, Most Holy One,
Thou, our Lamb, our Mount of Refuge,
Rock of hope and Corner Stone. |
| 4. | In profetis inveniris
Nostro natus saeculo,
Ante saecula tu fuisti
Factor primi saeculi. | Lord, we hail thee as the Bride-groom,
As our Light, our Heavenly Door;
Dove of peace and tender Shepherd,
Be our guide forevermore. |
| 5. | Factor caeli, terrae factor,
Congregator tu maris,
Omniumque tu creator
Quae pater nasci jubet. | By the voice of bard and prophet,
Was thy holy birth foretold,
Ere the star of morn begotten;
Maker of the world of old. |

¹¹⁴³ The English translation is taken from Daniel Joseph Donahoe, "Morning Hymn," in *Early Christian Hymns, Series II: Translations of the Verses of the Most Noted Latin Writers of the Early and Middle Ages* (Middletown, CT: The Donahoe Publishing Company, 1911), 5-9. The translation consists of only 28 verses, as compared with the 37 Latin verses from the Antiphony. Apart from the discrepancy between both texts, the purpose is to present the available English sources and to show the variegated filed of translated texts from the AB.

¹¹⁴⁴ The spelling of "Juda" is as it appears in Donahoe's translation.

6. Virginis receptus membris,
Gabriele nuntio,
[Cr]escit alvus prole sancta,
[Nos mon]emur credere
Maker of the earth and heaven,
Thou of all art Lord and King
Who didst gather up the waters
And the stars from darkness bring.
7. [Rem novam nec ante] visam
[Virginem puerper]am.
[Tunc Magi stellam secu]ti
[Primi adorant parvulum,
Through the womb of spotless Virgin
Thou as Saviour of the earth
Camest when the angel's "Ave"
Heralded thy wondrous birth.
8. Offerentes thus et aurum,
Digna regi munera;
Mox Herodi nuntiatum;
Invidens potentiae]
Lo, thy star the Magi follow,
And their Orient offerings bring,
Bowing down in adoration
To the Child as Lord and King.
9. Tum jubet parvos necari,
Turbam fecit martyrum,
Fertur infans occulendus
Nili lumen quo fluit;
Envious Herod hears and trembles
And he seeks the Babe to slay,
Sheds the blood of infant martyrs,
But the Christ is borne away.
10. Qui refertur post Herodem
Nutriendus Nazareth,
Multa parvus, multa adultus
Signa fecit coelitus,
By an angel warned, the mother,
To the country of the Nile
Bears the blessed Child in safety,
And escapes the tyrant's guile.
11. Quae latent et quae leguntur,
Coram multis testibus,
Praedicans coeleste regnum
Dicta factis approbat.
Here as wanderers they tarry
Till the cruel monarch's death;
Then to Galilee returning
Seek their home at Nazareth.
12. Debiles fecit vigere,
Caecos luce illuminat,
Verbis purgat leprae morbum,
Mortuos resuscitat.
Here in youth and early manhood
Many wondrous works were done;
Heavenly blessings for his people
Wrought the Christ, our Holy One.
13. Vinum quod deerat hydriis
Mutari aqua jubet,
Nuptiis mero retentis
[Propinat]o populo.
And he preached the heavenly Kingdom,
Proving by his work the word;
Healed the sick, the blind illumined,
And the dead to life restored.
14. [Pane quino pisc]e bino
[Quinque pascit mil]lia,
[Refectis fragmenta coenae
Ter quaternis corbibus.]
At the wedding feast of Cana
Was the water changed to wine;
With the loaves and fish, he furnished,
For the throngs, a feast divine.

- [f 4r]
15. Turba ex omni discumbente
Jugem laudem pertulit,
Duodecim viros probavit
Per quos vita discitur.
16. Ex quibus unus invenitur
Christi Judas traditor.
Instruuntur missi ab Anna
Proditoris osculo.
17. Innocens captus tenetur,
Nec repugnans ducitur,
Sistitur falsis, grassantur
Offerentes Pontio.
18. [Discutit objecta Praeses,

Nullum crimen invenit,
Sed cum turba Judeorum
Pró salute Caesaris]
19. Discerent Christum negandum,
Turbis Sanctus traditur,
Impiis verbis grassantur,
Sputa, flagra sustinet.
20. Scandere crucem jubetur
Innocens pro noxiis,
Morte carnis quam gerebat
Mortem vicit omnium.
21. Tum Deum clamore magno
[Patr]em pendens invocat,
[Mors secuta] membra Christi
[Laxat stricta vincu]la.
22. Vela templi scissa pendent,
Nox obscurat saeculum;
Excitantur de sepulchris
Dudum clausa corpora.
23. Affuit Joseph beatus;
Corpus myrrha perlitum
Linteo rudi ligatum
Cum dolore condidit.
- From his followers were chosen
Twelve to preach the living word;
One of these, the traitor Judas,
By a kiss betrayed the Lord.
- Then came messengers from Annas,
Seized the Christ and led Him bound
Unto Pilate's hall for judgment,
Who in him no evil found.
- But his life the mob demanded
As a foe of Caesar's throne;
So the governor delivered
To their hands the Holy One.
- Then they scorned and scourged the
Saviour,
Crowned with thorns and crucified;
Led him as a lamb to slaughter,
And to conquer death he died.
- When he yielded up the spirit
Daylight fled and quaked the earth;
Then the temple veil was rended,
And from grave the dead came forth.
- Now at eve the blessed Joseph
Lays the body in the tomb,
Where a guard of Roman Soldiers
At the priests' request is come.
- While they watch the tomb, an angel,
Robed in white like morning's ray,
They behold with trembling terror,
As he rolls the stone away.
- And they see the Christ triumphant
From the broken tomb arise, –
This the impious Jew beholdeth,
This the impious Jew denies.
- First unto the weeping women
Doeth the risen Lord appear,
Changing unto joy their sorrows,
While his gentle voice they hear.

24. Milites servare corpus
Annas princeps praecipit,
Ut videret si probaret
Christus quod sponderat. Then unto the twelve he cometh,
Greeteth them with grace benign,
Fills them with the Holy Spirit,
Teaching them the law divine;
25. Angelum Dei trementes
Veste amictum candida
Qui candore claritatis
Vellus vicit sericum. Sends them forth to preach his gospel,
And his witnesses to be;
Bids them to baptize the nations
In the Blessed Trinity.
26. Demovit saxum sepulchro
Surgens Christus integer.
Haec vidit Judaea mendax,
Haec negat cum viderit. Ere the ray of morning riseth,
Band of brothers, raise the song,
Send the truth to future ages;
Honor, praise and love prolong.
27. F[eminae p]rimum monent[ur]
Salvatorem vivere,
Quas salutat ipse moestas,
Complet tristes gaudio. While the bird of morn, awaking,
Sings aloud and beats his wing,
And the light of day appeareth,
Let our hearts with glanness ring.
- [f 4v]
28. Seque a mortuis paterna
Suscitatum dextera
Tertia die redisse
Nuntiat apostolis. Sing the glory of the Saviour,
Sing his mighty Majesty; –
Gentle Christ, our Lord and ruler,
Keep our hearts on high with thee.¹¹⁴⁵
29. Mox videtur a beatis
Quos probavit fratribus,
Quod redisset ambigentes,
Intrat clausis januis.
30. Dat docens praecepta legis,
Dat divinum Spiritum,
Spiritum Dei perfectum,
Trinitatis vinculum.
31. Praecipit totum per orbem
Baptiazari credulos,
Nomen Patris invocantes,
Confitentes Filium.

¹¹⁴⁵ This is the last verse in Donahoe, *Early Christian Hymns*, 9. I have left the final verses stand as the spirit of the hymns is captured in Donahoe's translation of verses 1-28.

32. Mystica fide revelat
Tinctos Sancto Spiritu
Fonte tinctos innovatos
Filios factos Dei.
33. Ante lucem turba [fratrum]
Concin[amus gloriam,
Qua docemur nos futuros
Sempiterna saecula.]
34. Galli cantus, galli plausus,
Proximum sentit diem,
Nos canentes et precantes
Quae futura credimus.
35. Majestatemque immensam
Concinemus uniter,
Ante lucem nuntiemus
Christum Regem saeculo.
36. Ante lucem nuntiemus
Christum Regem saeculo,
Qui in illum recte credunt
Regnaturi cum eo.
37. Gloria Patri ingenito,
Gloria Unigenito,
Simul cum Sancto Spiritu,
In sempiterna saecul.¹¹⁴⁶

¹¹⁴⁶ See commentary and critical notes on “Hymnum Dicat turba Fratrum” in Arthur S. Walpole, *Early Latin Hymns: with introduction and notes* (Cambridge: Cambridge at University Press, 1922), 1-15.

Hymn 2

*Hymnum apostolorum ut alii dicunt: Praecamur Patrem*¹¹⁴⁷

(We pray to the Father)

(AB 3, ff. 4v-6v)

- | | | |
|----|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. | Praecamur patrem
regem omnipotentem
Et Jesum Christum
Sanctum quoque Spiritum.
Alleluia. | We pray to the Father,
omnipotent King,
and Jesus Christ,
also the Holy spirit, |
| 2. | Deum in una
Perfectum s[ubstantia,]
Trinum [in tribus
Adorandum personis.] | God, perfect
in one substance,
Triune in person,
One in essence, |
| 3. | [f 5r]
Universorum
Fontis jubar luminum
Æthereorum
Et orbi lucentium. | bright source of the
fount of all illuminations
of the upper regions and
of those lighting the orb of earth. |
| 4. | Hic enim dies
Velut primogenitus
Coeli ab arce
Mundi moli micuit. | For this day,
as Firstborn
He glamed from the arc of heaven
to the mass of the world, |
| 5. | Sic verbum caro
Factum a principio
Lumen aeternum
Missum Patre saeculo. | the Word made flesh,
from the origin,
eternal illumination sent from
the Father to the age, |
| 6. | Illeque proto
Vires adimens chao
Tum improviso
Noctem pepulit mundo. | and He, removing powers
from the primal chaos,
then repulsed night suddenly
from the world. |
| 7. | Ita veterno
Iste hoste subacto
Polum nodoso
Solvit mortis vinculo. | Thus He, with the old
adversary subdued,
loosed the pole from
the knotty chain of death. |

¹¹⁴⁷ The English translation is taken from David Howlett, *The Celtic Latin Tradition of Biblical Style* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1995), 172-174.

8. Tenebrae super
Ante erant abyssum
[Qu]am radiaret
[Prim]us dies dierum. There were shadows
above the abyss
before the first day
of days radiated this;
9. Hic quum prodiret
Vera lux mortalia
Contexit alta
Corda ignorantia. before the true light
went forth
deep ignorance covered over
mortal hearts.
10. Eodem die
Rubrum, ut aiunt, mare
Post tergum liquit
Liberatus Israel. On the same day,
as they relate,
liberated Israel left behind
its back the Red Sea.
11. Per hoc docemur
Mundi acta spernere
Et in deserto
Virtutum consistere. Through this we are taught
to spurn the acts of the world
and to dwell together
in the desert of virtues.
12. Summerso saevo
Cinciri canunt aemulo
Certatim Deo
Laudes duci igneo. With the savage rival submerged¹¹⁴⁸
the unblemished sing
in competition praises to God,
the fiery leader.
13. Sicque erepti
Nequam jubemur fretis
Laudare Deum
Explosis inimicis. And so, snatched up from
the evil waters we are ordered
to praise God,
with our enemies cast out.
14. Et sicut ille
Lucis fit initium
Ita et iste
Salutis exordium. And just as He is made
the beginning of light
thus also is He the starting point
of salvation.
- [f 5v]
15. Locatur primis
In tenore diei,
Secundus vero
In calore fidei. He is placed first in the course
of the day,
giving support
in the true zeal of faith.

¹¹⁴⁸ See Howlett, *The Celtic Latin Tradition*, 172 where “the savage rival submerged” refers to “Pharaoh drowned”.

16. In fine mundi
Post tanta mysteria
Adest Salvator
Cum grandi clementia.
In the end of the world
after so many mysteries
the Saviour is present
with great clemency.
17. Tamque aperte
Elementa praetendunt
Quam vatum ora
Lucide concelebrant.
And the elements show
forth as openly
as the mouths of seers
lucidly make known
18. Natus ut homo
Mortali in tegmine
Non deest coelo
Manens in Trinitate.
that a man is born
in mortal covering.
He is not absent from heaven,
remaining in the Trinity.
19. Vagit in pannis,
Veneratur a magis,
Fulget in stellis,
Adoratur in coelis.
He cries in swaddling cloths;
He is venerated by Magi;
He shines among the stars;
He is adored in the heavens.
20. Statura vili
Continetur praesepi,
Cujus pupillo
Potest orbis concludi.
Bound to stand forever,
He is held in a vile stall,
in Whose fist the orb of earth
can be enclosed,
21. Primumque signum
Portendit discipulis
Aquaе conversae
In sapore nectaris.
and He portends to disciples
the first sign,
of water converted into
the savour of nectar.
22. Tum per prophetam
Completur ut dictum,
Salite claudus
Ut cervus perniciter.
Then it is fulfilled
as it was told
through the prophet, 'The lame will leap
as a stag nimbly
23. Planaque fatur,
Absoluto vinculo,
Lingua mutorum
Imperante Domino.
and with the chain
loosed the tongue
of mute men speaks straightforward
things with the Lord commanding.
24. Surdi sanantur,
Caeci atque leprosi,
Funere truso
Suscitantur mortui.
Deaf, blind, and
leprous men are healed;
with the funeral rite thrust away
dead men are raise up.

25. Totidem panes
Quinque dividit virum
Saturaturus
Procul dubio millibus. He divides five loaves of bread
for the same number of thousands
of men to be sated
without doubt.'
26. Post tantas moles
Divinae clementiae
Exosus ille
Stimulo invidiae. After so many masses
of divine clemency
He, hated because of the goad of envy,
gives a sacrificial victim
27. Qui invidere
Et odere animam
Pro inimicis
Prorogans [precatus est.] carrying over
His soul
for enemies
who envy and hate.
- [f 6r]
28. Adversus eum
Initur conisilum
Qui magni dictus
Consilii est nuntius. Counsel is plotted
against Him
Who is called
the Messenger of great counsel.
29. Accedunt ei
Ut latroni cum gladiis
Furem aeternis
Tradituro aestibus. They approach as thieves
with swords Him
Who is to be handed over
as a robber to eternal blazes.
30. Tandem humano
Traditur iudicio,
Mortali rege
Damnatur perpetuus. Finally He is handed over
to human judgement,
the Perpetual [King] is
condemned by a mortal king.
31. Cruci confixus
Polum mire concutit,
Lumenque solis
Tribus obtendit horis. Fixed on a cross
He shakes the pole wondrously,
and He veils the illumination
of the sun for three hours.
32. Saxa rumpuntur,
Velum scinditur templi,
Vivi consurgunt
De sepulchris mortui. Stones are broken;
the veil of the Temple is split;
dead men rise together
live from the tombs.
33. Corrosum nodis
Annis fere millibus
Extricat senis
Inferi feralibus. The man gnawed fiercely by knots
for thousands of years [i.e. Adam]
He extricates from the savage
fierce beasts of hell.

34. [Et] protoplastum
[Probr]osa soboli
Abjecta mali morte
Saeva ultrice. Then the primally fashioned
man from the lacrimose race
degraded by savage death,
the avenger of evil,
35. Quemque antiquum
Paradiso incolam
Recurso suo
Clementer restituit. and the ancient dweller
in paradise,
whom He restored clemently
by His own return,
36. Exaltans caput
Universi corporis
In Trinitate
Locavit ecclesiam. raising the head
of every body
He placed
the Church in the Trinity.
37. In hoc coelitus
Jubet portas principes
Regi cum sociis
Aeternales pandere. On this [day]
from heaven He orders princes
to open eternal gates
for the King with His commrades,
38. Errantem propriis
Evehens centesimam
Supernis ovem
Humeris ovilibus. carrying the hundredth
wandering sheep on His own shoulders
on His own shoulders
so the supernal sheepfolds,
39. Quem expectamus
Affuturum judicem
Justum cuique
Opus suum reddere. Whom we hope for
as the Judge to come
to give to each man
a just reward for his own work.
40. Rogo, quam tantis
Talibusque donariis
Vicem condigne
Possumus rependere? What exchange,
I ask, for so many
and such gifts
can we repay worththily?
- [f 6v]
41. Quid tam mortales
Tentamus micrologi
Narrare quivit
Quae nullus edicere? Why do we mortals,
obsessed with trifles¹¹⁴⁹
try to relate things which no man
can know how to proclaim?

¹¹⁴⁹ Howlett also notes: or “with little understanding of the Word,” see 174.

42. Solum oramus
Hoc, idemque maximum;
Nostri aeterne
Miserere, Domine.
Alleluia.

Him alone and the Same,
the Greatest, we pray for this,
'Have mercy
on us, eternal Lord'.
Alleluia.

Second Translation of Hymn 2: *Precamur Patrem*¹¹⁵⁰

- i. We beseech the Father, the almighty King, and Jesus Christ and the Holy spirit too.
Alleluia.
- ii. Adore God who is perfect in a single substance and threefold in three persons.
- iii. (God), the radiance of the source of all lights (those in) the heavens, and those shining in the world.
- iv. For just as this first-begotten day flashed to the foundation of the world from the citadel of heaven,
- v. So (did) the Word made flesh, the eternal light made in the beginning, sent from the Father to the world.
- vi. And (just as) that day first removed the powers of chaos, then, without warning, cast off night from the world,
- vii. So he, subduing the ancient enemy, released the world from the knotted bond of death.
- viii. (An just as) darkness was over the abyss before that first day of days shone,
- ix. Here, when the true light went forth, deep ignorance covered mortal hearts.
- x. On the same day, as they say, liberated Israel left the Red Sea behind.
- xi. By this we are taught to spurn the deeds of this world and stand firm in the desert of virtues.
- xii. (And just as) when Cincres, the cruel enemy, was drowned, they (i.e. the Israelites) eagerly sing praises to God the fiery leader,
- xiii. So we, rescued from the straits of evil, are bidden to praise God when our enemies have been destroyed.
- xiv. And just as that day was the beginning of light, so he is the start of our salvation.
- xv. And just as the first is located in the sense of daylight, the second (is seated) in the heat of faith.
- xvi. At the end of the world, after so many wonders, the Saviour will come with great clemency.

¹¹⁵⁰ Michael W. Herren, “*Precamur Patrem* A Hymn from the Seventh-Century Antiphonary of Bangor,” in *Christ in Celtic Christianity: Britain and Ireland from the Fifth to the Tenth Century*, by Michael W. Herren and Shirley Ann Brown (Woodbridge, Suffolk, England: The Boydell Press, 2005), 286-288.

- xvii. And the elements show these things as clearly as the mouths of priests celebrate them lucidly.
- xviii. Born as man in mortal covering, he is not absent from heaven, remaining in the Trinity.
- xix. He cries in swaddling clothes, is venerated by the Magi; he flashes among the stars, he is adored in the heavens.
- xx. Tiny of stature, he is contained by manger, (but) in his fist the world can be enclosed.
- xxi. He gives a first sign to his disciples: water is changed into the flavour of nectar.
- xxii. Then it is fulfilled as spoken through the prophet: 'The lame shall leap' swiftly 'like a deer'.
- xxiii. At God's command, the tongues of the mute speak plainly, once the bond is broken.
- xxiv. The deaf are healed, the blind and the lepers; the dead are revived when death is crushed.
- xxv. He divides five loaves of bread to satisfy (without any doubt!) the same number of thousands of men.
- xxvi. After so many examples of divine clemency he was much despised on account of envy's goad.
- xxvii. Beseeching (God) he prayed for his enemies, who envied him and hated his life.
- xxviii. They took counsel against him who is called the messenger of great counsel.
- xxix. With swords they approach him as though he were a thief – (he) who will consign a thief to hell.
- xxx. At length he is handed over to human judgement; the immortal one is condemned by a mortal king.
- xxxi. Fastened to a cross, he strikes the world in wondrous fashion, and the light of the sun is obscured for three hours.
- xxxii. Rocks burst open, the veil of the temple is rent; the dead rise living from their tombs.
- xxxiii. He removes the first creation (i.e. Adam), gnawed by the deathly knots of hell for nearly six thousand years,
- xxxiv. Together with (his) righteous offspring, cast down by cruel death as punishment for the (crime of) the apple (or: 'sin').
- xxxv. On his return he mercifully restores each ancient inhabitant to paradise.
- xxxvi. Raising his head, he located the church of his whole body in the Trinity.

- xxxvii. Then he commands the princes (i.e. the angels) from heaven to open the eternal gates to the King and his companions,
- xxxviii. Bearing the hundredth erring sheep on his own exalted shoulders to the sheepfolds,
- xxxix. Whom we expect will come again as our judge to render to each his just due.
- xl. I ask, how can we worthily repay (him) for so many and such great gifts?
- xli. Why do we, such inarticulate mortals, struggle to enunciate the things which no one can express?
- xlii. This one and only greatest thing we pray: have mercy on us, eternal Lord. Alleluia.

Hymn 3 *Hymnus quando communicarent sacerdotes: Sancti venite Christi corpus*¹¹⁵¹
(Draw nigh, and take the Body of the Lord)
(AB 8, ff. 10v-11r)

- | | | |
|----|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. | Sancti venite,
Christi corpus sumite,
Sanctum bibentes
Quo redempti sanguinem. | Draw nigh,
and take the Body of the Lord,
And drink the holy Blood
for you outpoured. |
| 2. | Salvati Christi
Corpore et sanguine,
A quo refecti
Laudes dicamus deo. | Saved by that Body,
hallowed by that Blood,
Whereby refreshed,
We render thanks to God. |
| 3. | Hoc sacramento
Corporis et sanguinis
Omnes exuti
Ab inferni faucibus. | Against that sacred Bread
and holy Grail,
The gates of hell
itself cannot prevail. |
| 4. | Dator salutis
Christus, Filius Dei,
Mundum salvavit
Per crucem et sanguinem. | Salvation's giver,
Christ the only Son,
By that his cross
and blood the victory won. |
| 5. | Pro universis
Immolatus Dominus
Ipse sacerdos
Existit et hostia. | Offered was he
for greatest and for least:
Himself the victim
and himself the priest. |
| 6. | Lege praeceptum
Immolari hostias,
Qua adumbrantur
Divina mysteria. | Victims were offered
by the law of old.
That in a type celestial
Mysteries told. |

¹¹⁵¹ John Mason Neale, "Draw nigh, and take the Body of the Lord," *'hortus conclusus': A Series of Mediaeval Latin Hymns with Selected English Renderings*, Part Four: Anonymous Hymns of the Seventh to Ninth Century (Washington, D. C.: Printed by Stephen A. Hurlbut at the Saint Albans Press, 1931), 10-11, in *'hortus conclusus': A Series of Mediaeval Latin Hymns with Selected English Renderings*, compiled by Stephen A. Hurlbut (Washington, D. C.: Stephen A. Hurlbut at the Saint Albans Press, 1936). The book has been compiled according to the date the chapter was written; hence the 1931 date for Part Four. Hurlbut added the third verse that was omitted from Neale's translation. The rendering of the Latin to English for verse three only, is by Hurlbut.

- | | | |
|-----|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 7. | Lucis indultor
Et salvator omnium
Praelaram sanctis
Largitus est gratiam. | He, ransomer from death,
and life from shade,
Giveth his holy grace
His saints to aid. |
| 8. | Accedant omnes
Pura mente creduli,
Sumant aeternam
Salutis custodiam. | Approach ye then
with faithful hearts sincere,
And take the safeguard
Of salvation here. |
| 9. | Sanctorum custos,
Rector quoque Dominus,
Vitae perennis
Largitor credentibus. | He that in this world rules
his saints and shields,
To all believers
Life eternal yields. |
| 10. | Coelestem panem
Dat esurientibus,
De fonte vivo
Praebet sitientibus. | With heavenly bread
makes them that hunger whole,
Gives living waters
To the thirsty soul. |
| 11. | Alpha et Omega,
Ipse Christus Dominus,
Venit, venturus
Judicare homines. | Alpha and Omega,
to whom shall bow
All nations at the doom,
Is with us now. |

Second Translation of Hymn 3: *Sancti venite*

Hymn Sung During Communion of the Priests¹¹⁵²

1. Come forward you who are holy. Receive the body of Christ and drink the sacred blood by which you will be redeemed.
2. Saved and sustained by the body and blood of Christ, let us sing praises to the Lord.
3. By this sacrament of the flesh and blood all have been rescued from the jaws of Hell.
4. Christ, giver of salvation, Son of God, has saved the world by shedding His blood on the Cross.
5. For all mankind our Lord was sacrificed, himself both priest and victim.
6. It is laid down by law that victims be sacrificed and, because of this, divine mysteries are shadowed forth in expectation.
7. The Giver of Light and Saviour of all has bestowed on His saints a lustrous grace.
8. Let all who believe in Him come forward with pure minds and receive the eternal guardian of salvation.
9. The Lord, protector of saints, the ruler of the world, bestows eternal life on all believers.
10. To the hungry He gives the bread of life and to the thirsty a draught from the fountain of life.
11. Christ Himself, the Lord, Alpha and Omega, has come and will come again to judge mankind.

¹¹⁵² Ian Adamson, *Bangor, Light of the World* (Belfast: Pretani Press, 1978), 201. In the opening “Acknowledgements” Adamson gives credit to Jim Driscoll of Bangor Grammar School for the Latin to English translations which appear in the book.

Third Translation of Hymn 3: *Sancti venite*¹¹⁵³

1. Draw nigh, and take the Body of the Lord,
And drink the Holy Blood for you outpoured.
2. Saved by that Body, hallowed by that Blood,
Whereby refreshed, we render thanks to God.
3. Salvation's Giver, Christ the Only Son;
By that His Cross and Blood the victory won.
4. Offered was He for greatest and for least:
Himself the Victim, and Himself the Priest.
5. Victims were offered by the Law of old,
That, in a type, celestial mysteries told.
6. He, Ransomer from death and Light from shade,
Giveth His holy grace His Saints to aid.
7. Approach ye then with faithful hearts sincere,
And take the safeguard of salvation here.
8. He that in this world rules His Saints, and Shields,
To all believers Life Eternal yields:
9. With Heavenly Bread makes them that hunger whole;
Gives Living waters to the thirsty soul.
10. Alpha and Omega, to whom shall how
All nations at the Doom, is with now.

¹¹⁵³ Translated by John Mason Neale, *Mediaeval Hymns and Sequences* (London: Masters, 1867), 13 and taken from Ruth Ellis Messenger, *The Medieval Latin Hymn* (Washington, D.C.: Capital Press, 1953), 89-91. Neale's translation is found in *The Book of Common Praise, Being the Hymn Book of the Church of England in Canada* (Oxford: The University Press Toronto; Anglican Book Centre, revised edition 1938, no. 230, 236. Two hymn tunes are presented with the text. The first entitled "Song 46" attributed to Orland Gibbons (1583-1625) and the second entitled "Garden" adapted from an English Traditional Melody by Martin Shaw, 1929. No acknowledgment is made of the Antiphonary of Bangor. The translation is also found in *Hymns Ancient and Modern* where the hymn is not only attributed to the Bangor Antiphoner complete but the Latin heading "Ymnum Quando Communicaent Sacerdotes" is included with the reference. See *Hymns Ancient and Modern: for use in the services of the Church with accompanying tune* (London: Printed for the Proprietor William Clowes & Sons, 1909), no. 269, 382-383.

Fourth Translation of Hymn 3: *Sancti venite*¹¹⁵⁴

Approach, you who are holy,
 Receive the body of Christ,
 Drinking the sacred blood
 By which you were redeemed.

Saved by the body
 And blood of Christ,
 Now nourished by it
 Let us sing praises unto God.

By this sacrament
 Of the body and blood,
 All are rescued
 From the power of hell.

The giver of salvation,
 Christ, the Son of God,
 Redeemed the world
 By his cross and blood.

For the whole world
 The Lord is offered up;
 He is at the same time
 High-priest and victim.

In the law it is commanded
 To immolate victims:
 By it were foreshadowed
 These sacred mysteries.

The giver of all light,
 And the Saviour of all,
 Now bestows upon the holy
 An exceeding great grace.

Let all approach,
 In the pure simplicity of faith;
 Let them receive the eternal
 Preserver of their souls:

¹¹⁵⁴ Patrick Frances Moran, *Essays on the Origin, Doctrines, and Discipline of the Early Irish Church* (Dublin: J. Duffy, 1864), 166-167.

The guardian of the saints,
The supreme Ruler and Lord,
The Bestower of eternal life,
On those who believe in Him.

To the hungry he gives to eat
Of the heavenly food;
To the thirsty he gives to drink
From the living fountain.

The alpha and omega,
Our Lord Christ Himself
Now comes: He who shall one day come
To judge all mankind.

Fifth Translation of Hymn 3: *Sancti venite*¹¹⁵⁵

Come, you that holy be, and eat Christ's Body true
And drink the Blood, with reverence meet, that purchase you.

Saved by the Body and the Blood of Christ the Word
Sustained by the same sacred food let's praise the Lord.

By this efficient Sacrament of Flesh and Blood
From jaws of hell have been exempt all Adam's brood.

Winner of our Redemption, Christ, God's Son on Cross
Hath saved the world; by Blood sufficed to mend our loss.

The Lord for all man's sinful race hath died on tree,
High priest Himself and sacrifice He willed to be.

The sacrifices erst ordained in Moses' law,
Of mysteries divine contained the clouded show.

Bestowing His true light, He leads all men to heaven,
A grace to saints that praise exceeds he here hath given.

Let all approach whose hearts are pure, let faith prevail,
Receive salvation's guardian sure that ne'er shall fail.

The Lord Who ever keeps His saints and rules their day,
Unto His faithful servants grants blest life for aye.

To those that hungry be, He gives Bread from above,
To those that thirst, from fount that lives, the Cup of love.

Alpha and Omega, Christ the Lord, now cometh here,
Who shall as judge of all mankind one day appear.

¹¹⁵⁵ Cornelius Mulcahy, "The Irish Latin Hymns: 'Sancti venite' of Sechnall (d. cir. 447) and 'Altus Prosator' of St. Columba (521-597)," *The Irish Ecclesiastical Record* 57 (1941): 387-388.

Sixth Translation of Hymn 3: *Sancti venite*¹¹⁵⁶

Christian, come eat, for His
Flesh is your food,
Think of that ransoming
Drinking His Blood.

Christ's Blood and Body were
Offered for you;
Banqueting, let us praise
God, as is due.

Under this Sacrament
Flesh and Blood hide,
Might to rescue though
Hell open wide.

Jesus, the Son of God,
Purpling the tree,
Brings us delevernece,
Set the world free.

Christ had each one of us
Saved and released,
He is our Sacrifice,
He is the Priest.

Victims of olden time –
So the law willed –
Shadowed God's mysteries,
Now are fulfilled.

All have His gracious gift,
Soul's light and health,
He hath His holy ones
Dowered with wealth.

Come ye with faith in Him,
Come with pure mind;
Safety and endless life
Here shall ye find.

¹¹⁵⁶ Rev. Father Atkinson, "The First Celtic Eucharistic Hymn," *The Celtic Review* 5/18 (Oct. 1908), 109-112. In this article the author states that there have been several attempts "to put the rude verses into English," 111. The translation is by Atkinson, with a short introductory note by Rev. Father Power. As is evident, no two translations are the same and they are collected here from several disparate publications.

He doth His holy ones
Govern and tend,
Granting to faithful hearts
Life without end.

He to man's hunger gives
Bread from on high,
Here are for all athirst
Wells never dry.

Alpha and Omega,
Jesus, the Lord,
Lo! He comes who shall come
Doom to award.

Hymn 4

*Hymnus quando cereus benedictur: Ignis creator igneus*¹¹⁵⁷
(Fiery Creator of the fire)
(AB 9, ff. 11r-11v)

- | | |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>1. Ignis creator igneus
Lumen donator luminis
Vitaque vitae conditor,
Dator salutis et salus.</p> | <p>1. Fiery Creator of the fire
Light Presentor of the light
Life and Author of life,
Giver of salvation and health.</p> |
| <p>2. Ne noctis hujus gaudia
Vigil lucerna deserat,
Qui hominem non vis mori
Da nostro lumen pectori.</p> | <p>2. Let not the lamp
Desert the joys of this night
You who does not want man to die
Give light to our heart</p> |
| <p>3. Ex Aegypto migrantibus
Indulges geminam gratiam,
Nubis velamen exhibes,
Nocturnum lumen porrigis.</p> | <p>3. You provided a double grace
Out of the land of bondage came,
Her fathers' God before her moved
An awful Guide in smoke and flame.¹¹⁵⁸</p> |
| <p>4. Nubis columna per diem
Venientem plebem protegis,
Ignis columna ad vesperum
Noctem depellis lumine.</p> | <p>4. By day along the astonished lands
The cloudy pillar glided slow;
By night Arabia's crimsoned sands
Returned the fiery column's glow.</p> |
| <p>5. E flamma famulum provocas,
Rubum non spernis spineum,
Et cum sis ignis concremans
Non uris quod illuminas.</p> | <p>5. From a flame you called out to your family
You did not reject the fiery thorn
You do not spurn the red bush
And when you are a devouring fire
You do not burn but what you enlighten.</p> |
| <p>6. Fuco depasto nubilo
Tempus decoctis sordibus
Fervente Sancto Spiritu
Carnem lucere ceream.</p> | <p>6. Having into the cloudy red stuff
Having the things having
Through the fervour of the the Holy spirit
The fleshy wax shines, to shine with the flesh
of wax.</p> |

¹¹⁵⁷ No Author Given, "Ancient Celtic Latin Hymns," *Scottish Review* 1/2 (February, 1883), 270. I am grateful to Ann Dooley for a translation and a discussion about the hymn.

¹¹⁵⁸ Verses 3 and 4 only were translated into English in the article in the *Scottish Review* (February, 1883), 271.

7. Secretos jam condens favi
 Divini mellis halitus
 Crodis repurgans intimas
 Verbo replesti cellulas.

8. Examen ut foetus novi

 Ore praelectum spiritu

 Relictis caelum sarcinis
 Quaerit securis pinnulis.

9. Gloria Patri ingenito,
 Gloria Unigenito,
 Simul cum Sancto Spiritu,
 In sempiterna saecula.

7. Nourished by the divine honey
 Cleansing the inner parts
 Through refills the little cells
 with your word.

8. Paternal mouth the elect from the mouth of
 the spirits
 Having left the burdens the new birth seeks
 heaven
 In the firm little wings
 Just as the bees generate in a holy way they
 nourish by the new honey ready for the
 Easter vigil.

Second Translation of Hymn 4: *Ignis creator igneus*

A Celtic Hymn for the Lighting of the Vesper Light¹¹⁵⁹

1. Fiery Creator of fire,
Light Giver of Light,
Life and Author of life,
Salvation and Bestower of salvation,
2. In case the lamps should abandon
The joys of this night,
You who do not desire our death,
Give light to our breast.
3. To those wandering from Egypt,
You bestow the double grace,
You show the veil of cloud,
And give the nocturnal light.
4. With a pillar of cloud in the day,
You protect the people as they go,
With a pillar of fire at evening,
You dispel the night with light.
5. You call out to your servant from the flame,
You do not spurn the bush of thorns,
And though you are consuming fire,
You do not burn what you illumine.
6. Now it is time that the cloudy bee-bread
Should be consumed, all impurity boiled away
And the waxen flesh should shine
With the glow of the Holy Spirit.
7. You store now in the recesses of the comb
The sweet food of the divine honey,
And purify the inmost cells of the heart,
You have filled them with your word;
8. That the swarm of the new brood,
Chosen by your mouth and spirit,
May leave their burdens and win heaven
On wings now free from care.

¹¹⁵⁹ From Brendan O'Malley, ed. and compiler, *A Celtic Eucharist* (Harrisburg, PA: Morehouse, 2002), 14-15 and translated by Oliver Davies.

Hymn 5

*Hymnum mediae noctis: Mediae noctis tempus est*¹¹⁶⁰
(A Hymn for Midnight)
(AB 10, ff. 11v-12v)

- | | | |
|----|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. | Mediae noctis tempus est,
Prophetica vox admonet,
Dicamus laudes ut Deo
Patri semper ac Filio, | The solemn midnight warns us
To heed the prophet's word,
And lift our voice in prayer and praise
To greet our living Lord. |
| 2. | Sancto quoque Spiritui;
Perfecta enim Trinitas
Uniusque substantiae
Laudanda nobis semper est. | Sing praises to the Father,
Sing praises to the Son,
Sing praises to the Holy Ghost,
The blessed Three in One. |
| 3. | Terrorem tempus hoc habet,
Quo cum vastator angelus
Aegypto moretem intulit,
Delevit primogenita. | This midnight hour brought terror
To Egypt's land forlorn;
To man and beast death's angel came
And slew the eldest born. |
| 4. | Haec justis hora salus est,
Quod ibidem tunc angelus
[MS. Et quos idem tunc angelus]
Ausus punire non erat,
Signum formidans sanguinis. | But where the blood was sprinkled
Upon the just man's door,

The angel knew the sacred sign,
And passed that dwelling o'er. |
| 5. | Aegyptus flebat fortiter
Tantum diro funere;
Solus gaudebat Israel
Agni protectus sanguine. | Loud, loud was Egypt's wailing
Beneath the wrath divine;
But Israel sang in psalms of joy,
Protected by the sign. |
| 6. | Nos verus Israel sumus,
Laetamur in te, Domine,
Hostem spernentes et malum
Christi defensi sanguine. | So we, thy people Israel,
Rejoice, O Lord, in thee;
Saved by the blood of Christ the Lamb,
We spurn the enemy. |
| 7. | Ipsum profecto tempus est
Quo voce evangelica
Venturus sponsus creditur,
Regni coelestis conditor. | And at the hour of midnight,
As by the Gospel shown,
The Bride-groom will in glory come
From Heaven's eternal throne. |

¹¹⁶⁰ The English translation is from Daniel Joseph Donahoe, "A Hymn for Midnight" (*Mediae Noctis Tempus Est*), in *Early Christian Hymns, Series II: Translations of the Verses of the Most Noted Latin Writers of the Early and Middle Ages* (Middletown, CT: The Donahoe Publishing Company, 1911), 25-27.

8. Occurrunt sanctae virgines
Obviam tunc adventui,
Gestantes claras lampades,
Magno laetantes gaudio.
And rising up to meet him,
Will the wise Virgins sing,
And lighted by their shining lamps,
Go forth to meet their King.
9. Stultae vero ramanent, quae
Extinctas habent lampades,
Frustra pulsantes januas,
Clausa jam regni regia.
But they that have been sleeping
Will find, alas, too late,
Their lamps untrimmed, and vainly knock
Against the closed gate.
10. Quare vigilemus sobrii,
Gestantes mentes splendidas,
Adventui ut Jesu
Digne curramus obviam.
Let us in sober vigils
Rise up to praise and pray,
And ready be when Jesus comes
To meet him on the way.
11. Noctisque medio tempore
Paulus quoque et Sileas
Christum vincti in carcere
Collaudantes soluti sunt.
At midnight in the prison
Did Paul and Silas see
The shackles burst, while praising Christ,
Who came to set them free.
12. Nobis mundus hic carcer est;
Te laudamus, Christe Deus,
Solve vincla peccatorum
In te, Sancte, credentium.
Out of our worldly prison
We praise thee, Christ our Lord;
O break the bonds of sin for us
Who lean upon thy word,
13. Dignos nos fac, rex hague,
Futuri regni gloriae,
Aeternis ut mereamur
[f 12v]
Te laudibus concinere.
And grant us, King All-holy,
That we may worthy be
To join with thy celestial choirs
In praise eternally,
14. Gloria Patri ingenito,
Gloria Unigenito,
Simul cum Sancto Spiritu
In sempiterna saecula.
Glory to the Father
Glory to the only begotten
Together with the Holy Spirit
In everlasting forever.

Hymn 6

Hymnum in natale martyrum vel sabbato ad matutinam:
*Sacratissimi martyres*¹¹⁶¹
 (Most sacred martyrs)
 (AB 11. ff. 12v-13r)

- | | |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>1. Sacratissimi martyres summi Dei,
 Bellatores fortissimi Christi regis,
 Potentissimi duces exercitus Dei,
 Victores in coelis Deo canentes
 Alleluia.</p> | <p>Most sacred martyrs of highest God
 Most strong soldiers of Christ the King,
 Most able leaders of the army of God,
 Conquerors in heaven singing alleluia
 to God.</p> |
| <p>2. Excelsissime Christe coelorum Deus,
 Cherubin cui sedes cum patre sacra,

 Angelorum ibi et martyrum fulgiens
 chorus,
 Tibi sancti proclamant
 Alleluia.</p> | <p>Most high Jesus Christ God of heaven,
 Cherubin, to whom there is a holy seat with
 the father,
 There the shining chorus of angels and
 martyrs,
 To you the saints proclaim
 Alleluia.</p> |
| <p>3. Magnifice tu prior omnium passus crucem,

 Qui devicta morte refulsisti mundo,

 Ascendisti ad coelos ad dexteram Dei,

 Tibi sancti proclamant
 Alleluia.</p> | <p>Prior to all you suffered magnificently on
 the cross,
 Who with death conquered shown again to
 the world,
 You ascended to heaven to the right hand of
 God,
 To you the saints proclaim
 Alleluia.</p> |
| <p>4. Armis spiritalibus munita mente

 Apostoli sancti te sunt secuti,
 Qui cum ipsa crucis paterentur morte

 Tibi sancti canebant
 Alleluia.</p> | <p>Their mind having been fortified with
 spiritual weapons
 The holy apostles followed you,
 Who when they suffered by the very death
 of the cross
 To you the holy sang
 Alleluia.</p> |
| <p>5. Christe, martyrum tu es adiutor potens

 Proeliantium sancta pro tua gloria,
 Qui cum victores exirent de hoc saeculo

 Tibi sancti canebant
 Alleluia.</p> | <p>Christ you are the strong helper of the
 martyrs
 Joining in battle for your sacred glory,
 Who when they went out as victors from
 this age,
 To you the saints sang
 Alleluia.</p> |

¹¹⁶¹ In my research I have been unable to find a translation of this hymn. I would like to thank Susannah Brower for her help and correction of the Latin translation.

- | | |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>6. Inlustris tua, Domine laudanda virtus
 Quae per Spiritum Sanctum firmavit
 martyres,
 Qui consternerent zabulum et mortem
 vincerent,
 Tibi sancti canebant</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Alleluia.</p> | <p>Lord, your bright courage must be praised
 Who through the holy spirit encouraged the
 martyrs,
 Who covered Zabulum and conquered death</p> <p>To you the saints sang</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Alleluia.</p> |
| <p>7. Manu Domini excelsa protecti
 Contra dibolum steterunt firmati,
 Semper trinitati fidem toto corde
 servantes,
 Tibi sancti canebant</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Alleluia.</p> | <p>Protected by the lofty hand of the Lord
 Against the devil they remained steadfast
 Always keeping faith to the Trinity with
 their whole heart,
 To you the saints sang</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Alleluia.</p> |
| <p>8. Vere regnantes erunt tecum,
 Christe Deus,
 Qui passionis merito coronas habent,

 Et centenario fructu repleti gaudent,

 Tibi sancti proclamant</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Alleluia.</p> | <p>Truly they will be ruling with you Christ the
 Lord,
 Who deservedly have the crowns of passion
 by merit
 And filled with the fruit of the ages they
 rejoice
 To you the saints proclaim</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Alleluia.</p> |
| <p>9. Christi Dei gratiam supplices
 obsecremus,
 Ut in ipsius gloriam consummemur,
 Et in sanctam Jerusalem civitatem Dei
 Trinitati cum sanctis dicamus</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Alleluia.</p> | <p>We the suppliants beseech for the grace of
 Christ Lord
 So that we may be perfected in his glory
 And in the holy Jerusalem the city of God
 We may sing with the saints to the holy
 trinity</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Alleluia.</p> |

Second Translation of Hymn 6: *Sacratissimi martyres summi Dei*¹¹⁶²

Hymn in Honour of the Martyrs

The very holy martyrs of God most high,
Valiant soldiers of Christ the King,
Very powerful generals in the army of God,
Victorious in Heaven, sing to God: Alleluia!

Christ on high, God of Heaven,
You who sit with the Father above the Cherubim,
The choir of angels and the radiant choir of martyrs,
Along with all the saints proclaim you: Alleluia!

It was you who, first of all, magnificently submitted to crucifixion,
It was you who conquered death and showed yourself to the world,
You ascended to Heaven to the right hand of the Father,
And all the saints proclaim you: Alleluia!

The soul that is armed with spiritual weapons,
The holy apostles have followed you,
They also suffered the death of the cross,
And they, the saints, sing to you: Alleluia!

Your strength is sublime, oh Lord, we praise it.
It was this which inspired the martyrs, with the help of the Holy Spirit.
They also despised the devil, and conquered death.
And they, the saints, sang to you: Alleluia!

Protected by the Lord's powerful hand,
They stood firm in the face of the devil,
In their hearts they always maintained their faith in the Trinity;
And they, the saints, sang to you Alleluia!

They truly reign with you, who are Christ and God,
They who have earned their crowns by their sufferings,
Rewarded a hundredfold, they are happy;
All the saints proclaim you: Alleluia!

¹¹⁶² I have only recently discovered this translation of the hymn after completing my rendition of the text; see Georges and Bernadette Cerbelaud Salagnac, Ireland, *Isle of Saints*, translated from the French by The Earl of Wicklow (Dublin: Clonmore & Reynolds; London: Burns & Oates, 1966), 154-155. This is an unusual history of early Christian Ireland in that there are few reference notes that accompany the texts. The authors do not provide any biographical information about the Antiphony of Bangor, nor a folio, or a shelf number for the manuscript. It was on happenstance that I consulted this book and made this serendipitous discovery of the translation of the hymn *Sacratissimi martyres*.

Let us implore with supplication for the grace of Christ who is God,
So that he may consume us in this same glory,
And so that, in the holy Jerusalem, the city of God,
We may repeat to the Trinity: Alleluia!

Hymn 7: *Hymnum ad matutinam in dominica: Spiritus divinae lucis*¹¹⁶³
(A Hymn for Martins on Sunday)
(AB 12, ff. 13r-13v)

- | | | |
|----|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. | Spiritus divinae lucis gloriae:
Respice in me, Domine. | Spirit of the light of divine glory,
look round on me, Lord. |
| 2. | Deus veritatis,
Domine Deus Sabaoth,
Deus Israel,
Respice in me, Domine. | God of truth,
Lord God of hosts,
God of Israel,
look round on me, Lord. |
| 3. | Lumen de lumine,
Referimus Filium Patris,
Sanctumque Spiritum in una substantia.
Respice in me, Domine. | Radiance from radiance,
we shall bring to mind the son of the Father
And Holy Spirit in one substance,
look round on me, Lord. |
| 4. | Unigenitus et primogenitus
A te obtinemus
Redemptionem nostram.
Respice in me, Domine. | Only-begotten and first-begotten,
from You we obtain
our redemption,
look round on me, Lord. |
| 5. | Natus es Sancto Spiritu
Ex Maria Virgine
In id ipsum in adoptionem
Filiorum, qui tibi
Procreati ex fonte vivunt.

Respice in me, Domine. | You were born of the Holy Spirit
from the Virgin Mary
for the adoption for His very Self
of sons who for You
brought into being live from the font
[of baptism],
look round on me, Lord. |
| 6. | Heredes et coheredes
Christi tui, in quo
Et per quem cuncta creasti,
[f 13v]
Quia in praedestinatione
A saeculis nobis est
Deus Jesu, qui nunc coepit,
Respice in me, Domine. | Heirs and fellow heirs
of Your Christ, in Whom
and through Whom You created all things,

as in a predestination
from the ages He is for us
the God Jesus, Who has now begun,
look round on me, Lord. |

¹¹⁶³ English translation from David R. Howlett, *The Celtic Latin Tradition of Biblical Style* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1995), 154-155.

7. Unigenito ex mortuis
Deo obtinens corpus.
Claritatem Dei, manens
In saecula saeculorum
Rex aeternorum,
 Respice in me, Domine.
- obtaining a body for God
the Only-begotten from among the dead,
remaining the brightness of God,
for ages of eternal ages
King,
 look round on me, Lord,
8. Quia nunc coepit qui semper fuit,
Naturae tuae Filius,
Divinae lucis gloriae tuae,
Qui est forma et plenitudo
Divinitatis tuae frequens,
 Respice in me, Domine.
- as He has now begun Who always was
the Son of Your nature
of the light of Your divine glory,
Who is the form and constant fullness
of Your divinity,
 look round on me, Lord.
9. Persona unigeniti
Et primogeniti
Qui est totus a toto
Diximus lux de lumine,
 Respice in me, Domine.
- the person of the Unbegotten
and First-begotten,
Who is whole from the whole,
Light, we say, from Radiance,
 look round on me, Lord.
10. Et deum verum a Deo
Vero sese confitemur
Tribus personis
In una substantia,
 Respice in me, Domine.
- and true God from true God
we confess Himself
in three persons
in one substance,
 look round on me, Lord.

Hymn 8: *Hymnus Sancti Patrici Magister Scotorum: Audite omnes amantes*¹¹⁶⁴
(Listen, all who love God)
(AB 13, ff. 13v-15v)

- | | | |
|----|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. | <p>Audite omnes amantes
 Deum sancta merita
 Viri in Christo beati,
 Patricii episcopi,
 Quomodo bonum ob actum
 Similatur angelis,
 Perfectamque propter vitam
 Æquantur apostolis.</p> | <p>Listen, all who love
 God, to the holy qualities
 of Bishop Patrick,
 a sainted man in Christ
 how through good action
 he is likened to angels
 and by his perfect life
 He is matched with apostles.</p> |
| 2. | <p>Beata Christi custodit
 Mandata in omnibus,
 Cujus opera refulgent
 Clara inter homines,
 Sanctumque cuius sequuntur
 Exemplum mirificum,
 Unde et in cœlis Patrem
 Magnificant Dominum.</p> | <p>He keeps Christ's blessed
 commands in all things,
 and his deeds shine
 bright amongst men;
 whose marvellous and holy
 example they follow
 by which they magnify
 the Lord their Father in heaven.</p> |
| 3. | <p>Constans in Dei timore
 Et fide immobilis,
 Super quem ædificatur
 Ut Petrum ecclesia,
 Cujusque apostolatam
 [f 14r]
 A Deo sortitus est,
 In cuius portæ adversum
 Inferni non prævalent.</p> | <p>He is constant in the fear of God
 and firm in faith
 on whom, like Peter,
 the church is built,
 and whose apostolate

 he has from God,
 and against whom the gates
 of hell do not prevail.</p> |
| 4. | <p>Dominus illum elegit
 Ut doceret barbaras
 Nationes, et piscaret
 Per doctrinæ retia,
 Et de sæculo credentes
 Traheret ad gratiam,
 Dominum qui sequerentur
 Sedem ad ætheream.</p> | <p>The Lord chose him
 to teach the heathen
 nations, that he might fish
 with doctrine's nets
 that he might bring believers
 from worldly thing to grace
 and they might follow the Lord
 To the seat of heaven.</p> |

¹¹⁶⁴ English translation from Howlett, *The Celtic Latin Tradition of Biblical Style*, 142-144.

5. Electa Christi talenta
Vendit evangelica,
Quæ Hibernas inter gentes
Cum usuris exigit,
Navigii hujus laboris
Tum operæ pretium
Cum Christo regni cœlestis
Possessurus gaudium.
He sells the choice talents
of Christ's gospel
and claims payment with interest
from the heathen Irish;
as his price for the toil of the labour
of this voyage
he will gain the joy of the heavenly
kingdom with Christ.
6. Fidelis Dei minister,
Insignisque nuntius,
Apostolicum exemplum
Formamque præbet bonis.
Qui tam verbis quam et factis
Plebi prædicat Dei,
Ut quem dictis non convertit
Factu provocet bono.
He is a faithful servant of God,
a splendid messenger
who provides an apostolic example
and model for the good,
who preaches to God's people
as much in words as deeds,
that him whom he does not convert
with words he incites by good action.
7. Gloriam habet cum Christo
Honorem in sæculo,
Qui ab omnibus ut Dei
Veneratur angelus,
Quem Deus misit ut Paulum
Ad gentes apostolum,
Ut hominibus ducatum
Præberet regno Dei.
He has glory with Christ
and honour in the world,
and is adored by all as an angel of God,
as an angel of God,
whom God sent, like Paul,
as an apostle to the gentiles,
to offer men guidance
To the kingdom of God.
8. Humilis Dei ob metum
Spiritu et corpore,
Super quem bonum ob actum
Requiescit Dominus,
Cujusque justa in carne
Christi portat stigmata,
Et cujus sola sustentans
Gloriatur in cruce.
He is humble in mind and body
through fear of God,
on whom because of his good deeds
the Lord rests,
and he carries the stigmata
of Christ on his just flesh,
he glories in the Cross,
Which alone sustains him.
9. Impiger credentes pascit
Dapibus cœlestibus,
Ne qui videntur cum Christo
In via deficiant,
Quibus erogat ut panes
Verba evangelica,
Et cujus multiplicantur
Ut manna in manibus.
Briskly he feeds the faithful
with heaven's feast,
lest those who are seen with Christ
should falter on the way;
he offers the words of the gospel
like loaves of bread,
which are multiplied
like manna in his hands.

10. Kastam qui custodit carnem
 Ob amorem Domini,
 Quam carnem templum paravit
 Santoque Spiritui,
 [f 14v]
 A quo constanter cum mundis
 Possidetur actibus,
 Quam et hostiam placentem
 Vivam offert Domino.
- He keeps his body chaste
 for love of the Lord,
 the flesh which he has prepared
 as a temple for the Holy Spirit,
 by which it is always possessed
 in pure actions,
 the flesh which he offers as a living
 sacrifice, pleasing to the Lord.
11. Lumenque mundi accensum
 Ingens evangelicum,
 In candelabro levatum,
 Toto fulgens saeculo,
 Civitas regis munita
 Supra montem posita,
 Copia in qua est multa,
 Quam Dominus possidet.
- Like a great evangelical light
 burning on the earth,
 raise high on a candelabrum,
 shining for the whole world;
 the fortified citadel of the King
 placed on a mountain-top,
 in which there is the great abundance
 which the Lord possesses.
12. Maximus namque in regno
 Coelorum vocabitur
 Qui quod verbis docet sacris
 Factis adimplet bonis;
 Bono praecedit exemplo
 Formamque fidelium,
 Mundoque in corde habet
 Ad Deum fiduciam.
- For he will be called the greatest
 in the kingdom of heaven,
 who fulfils in good deeds what
 he teaches in sacred words,
 who provides a model
 in good example for the faithful
 and has confidence towards
 God in his pure heart.
13. Nomen Domini audenter
 Annunciat gentibus,
 Quibus lavacri salutis
 Aeternam dat gratiam,
 Pro quorum orat delictis
 Ad Deum quotidie,
 Pro quibus ut Deo dignas
 Immolatque hostias.
- Boldly he announces the Lord's name
 to the heathens,
 to whom he grants eternal grace
 in the baths of salvation,
 for whose sins he prays
 daily to God,
 for whom he offers sacrifices
 worthy of God.
14. Omnem pro divina lege
 Mundi spernit gloriam,
 Qui cuncta ad cuius mensam
 Aestimat quisquilia,
 Nec ingruenti movetur
 Mundi hujus fulmine,
 Sed in adversis laetatur
 Cum pro Christo patitur.
- For God's law he despises
 all the glory of the world,
 at whose table he reckons
 all else worthless,
 nor is he moved by the violent
 lightning of the world,
 but rejoices in adversity,
 since he suffers for Christ.

15. Pastor bonus et fidelis
Gregis evangelici,
Quem Deus Dei elegit
Custodire populum,
Suamque pascere plebem
Divinis dogmatibus,
Pro qua ad Christi exemplum
Suam tradit animam.
- He is a good shepherd,
faithful to the gospel flock,
whom God has chosen
to guard God's people,
and to feed His people
with sacred teaching,
for whom, after Christ's example,
he lays down his life.
16. Quem pro meritis Salvator
Provesxit pontificem,
Ut in coelesti moneret
Clericos militia,
Coelestem quibus annonam
Erogat cum vestibus,
Quod in divinis impletur
Sacrisque affatibus.
- For his qualities the Saviour
has made him a bishop,
to advise the clerics
in their heavenly service,
to whom he dispenses
food and clothing,
which he supplements with holy
and sacred sayings.
17. Regis nuntius invitans
Credentes ad nuptias,
[f 15r]
Qui ornatur vestimento
Nuptiali indutus,
Qui coeleste haurit vinum
In vasis coelestibus,
Propinatque Dei plebem
Spiritale poculum.
- He is the King's messenger inviting
the faithful to the wedding-feast,

who is adorned and clothed
in wedding garb,
who drinks heavenly wine
in heavenly vessels,
and gives God's people
a drink from the spiritual cup.
18. Sacrum invenit thesaurum
Sacro in volumine,
Salvatorisque in carne
Deitatem pervidet,
Quem thesaurum emit sanctis
Perfectisque meritis,
Israel vocatur hujus
Anima videns Deum.
- He finds a sacred treasure-store
in the sacred volume,
he sees the divinity of the Saviour
in the flesh,
a treasure-store he purchases
with holy and perfect qualities.
His soul is called Israel:
'seeing God'.
19. Testis domini fidelis
In lege catholica,
Cujus verba sunt divinis
Condita oraculis,
Ne humanae putreant carnes
Esaecque a vermibus,
Sed coelesti saliantur
Saporem ad victimam.
- He is a faithful witness of the Lord
in the catholic law,
whose words are seasoned with
the prophecies of heaven,
that human flesh may not rot,
eaten by worms,
but he salted for sacrifice
With the savour of heaven.

20. Versus cultor et insignis
 Agri evangelici,
 Cujus semina videntur
 Christi evangelia,
 Quae divino serit ore
 In aures prudentium,
 Quorumque corda ac mentes
 Sancto arat spiritu.
 He is a true and splendid tiller
 of the gospel field,
 whose seeds seem to be
 Christ's gospels,
 which he sows with heavenly mouth
 in the ears of the wise,
 and ploughs their hearts and minds
 with the Holy Spirit.
21. Xps [i.e. Christus] illum sibi elegit
 In terris vicarium,
 Qui de gemino captivos
 Liberat servitio,
 Plerosque de servitute
 Quos redemit hominum
 Innumeros de zaboli
 Absolvit dominio.
 Christ chose him to be
 His vicar on earth,
 who frees captives from
 a twin servitude:
 many he frees from
 bondage to men,
 and countless sets free
 from the Devil's domain.
22. Ymnos cum Apocalypsi
 Psalmosque cantat Dei,
 Quosque ad aedificandum
 Dei tractat populum,
 Quam Legem in Trinitate
 Sacri credit nominis,
 Tribusque personis unam
 Docetque substantiam.
 He sings hymns and the psalms of God,
 together with the Apocalypse,
 which he recites to edify
 the people of god.
 He believes as a law
 in the name of the Trinity,
 and teaches one substance
 In three person.
23. Zona Domini praecinctus
 Diebus ac noctibus
 Sine intermissione
 Deum orat Dominum,
 [f 15v]
 Cujus ingentis laboris
 Percepturus praemium
 Cum apostolis regnabit
 Sanctus super Israel.
 Girt with the girdle of the Lord,
 night and day,
 he prays to the Lord God
 without ceasing;
 he will receive his reward
 for that huge labour:
 holy, he will reign
 with the apostles over Israel.

Patricius episcopus
 Oret pro nobis omnibus,
 Ut deleantur protinus
 Peccata quae commisimus.

Patricii laudes semper dicamus,
 Ut nos comu illo semper vivamus.

Second Translation for Hymn 8: *Audite omnes amantes*¹¹⁶⁵

Hymn to St. Patrick, Teacher of the Irish

1. Listen, all those who love God, to the exemplary deeds of a man blessed in Christ, Bishop Patrick, how on account of his good deeds he is likened to the angels, how on account of his perfect life he is compared with the Apostles.
2. He kept the sacred commandment of Christ in all things. His actions shine forth radiantly among mankind, who follow his illustrious and sublime example and glorify the Lord who is their Father
3. He is steadfast in his respect for God and never to be shaken in his faith. On him, like a rock, is built the Church and his mission he received from God. Before his gates the powers of darkness will be repulsed.
4. The Lord chose him to teach the barbarians to cast before them the net of his teaching and to bring all believers from worldliness to a state of Grace, so that they might follow the Lord to His Heavenly Dwelling.
5. In his mission among the tribes of Ireland he sells Christ's elected talents and demands them back with interest. As a reward for this voyage and this work he will be with Christ and will gain the joys of the heavenly kingdom.
6. This faithful minister of God and this illustrious bearer of good news sets an apostolic example and pattern of life for the righteous. He teaches the people of God as much by word as by deed. The one he does not convert by word he inspires by deed.
7. He has glory and honour with Christ in this world. He is respected by all, like the angel of God. Like Paul, God sent him as a missionary to the nations of the earth to provide a way for mankind to the kingdom of God.

¹¹⁶⁵ From Adamson, *Bangor: Light of the World*, 201-204. Adamson acknowledges Jim Driscoll of Bangor Grammar School for his translations from Latin into English on page 7 under "Acknowledgements," 7.

8. A humble man in body and spirit because of his fear of God, God relies on him because of his good deeds. On his devout flesh he bears the marks of Christ, enduring these, he glories in the Cross alone.

9. Unresting in his efforts he nourishes believers with the celestial bread of life so that those who are seen with Christ do not falter and weaken on the way. His words of inspiration are like the staff of life and they gain strength like manna in his hands.

10. His flesh he has kept chaste on account of his love of God and he has offered it up as a temple to the Holy Spirit, by which he is constantly possessed with his good deeds. This flesh he presents as a living and pleasing sacrifice to God.

11. A great light illuminating the world has been kindled, raised on a candlestick, shining over the whole earth, a royal city well-fortified and set on a hill, in which there is a great population who belong to God.

12. For he will be called the greatest in the kingdom of the heavenly ones, he who performs by deed what he preaches by devout work; by his example he sets a pattern of life for the faithful and in his pure heart he keeps faith with God.

13. Fearlessly he preaches the name of God to all nations, to whom he gives the eternal grace of salvation and the cleansing of sins. For their sins he prays to God every day and for them he makes worthy sacrifice to God.

14. Because of the Law of God he rejects all worldly glory which he regards as worthless frippery before his table, nor is he alarmed by the rushing thunderbolt of this world, but rejoices in adversity and suffers pain for Christ.

15. A good and faithful shepherd of his flock, God chose him to watch over His people and to nourish His people with inspired teaching. For them he follows the example of Christ and devotes his life to them.

16. For his good deeds our Saviour has appointed him as Pontiff to instruct the clergy in the service of the Heavenly one. To them he gives celestial food and vestments, because he is filled with the sacred words of God.

17. As minister of the King of Kings he invites believers to a marriage ceremony. He dresses and invests himself in marriage garments and drinks heavenly wine in ceremonial goblets and with spiritual libation pledges himself to the people of God.

18. He has found pure treasure in the sacred volume and he perceives the divinity in the flesh of our Saviour. His treasure he has gained by his devout and saintly deeds. And his soul, seeing God, is named Israel.

19. He is a devoted witness to our Lord in the universal law, whose words are expressed in holy places, so that human flesh may not decay and be eaten by worms, but may bound forward in pure exultation in sacrifice to the Lord.

20. He is a true and illustrious cultivator of the missionary field. The seeds, which he sows inspired utterance into the ears of the wise, whose hearts and minds he nurtures with the Holy Spirit, burst forth to proclaim the gospel of Christ.

21. Christ chose him to be his minister on earth. From a two-fold subjection he rescues mankind. Many he has freed from the bondage of man; countless others he has set at liberty from enslavement to the devil.

22. He chants the hymns of the Revelation and the psalms of God and uses them to regenerate the people of God. He believes in the sacred name of the Trinity and its doctrine and teaches that in three persons there is one substance.

23. Invested with the girdle of Christ, day and night without pause he prays to the Lord God and will gain the reward for this great labour when in purity he will rule with the Apostles over Israel.

Bishop Patrick, pray for us all, so that the sins which we have committed may forthwith be forgiven.

Let us always sing the praises of Patrick so that we may live with him for evermore.

Third Translation of Hymn 8: *Audite omnes amantes*

The Hymn of Saint Patrick, Teacher of the Irish¹¹⁶⁶

Listen, all who love God, to the holy qualities
of Bishop Patrick, a sainted man in Christ,
how through good action he is likened to angels
and by his perfect life he is matched with apostles.

He keeps Christ's blessed commands in all things,
and his deeds shine bright among men;
whose marvellous and holy example they follow
by which they magnify the Lord their Father even in heaven.

He is constant in the fear of God ad firm in faith
on whom, like Peter, the church is built,
and whose apostolate he has from God,
and against whom the gates of Hell do not prevail.

The Lord chose him to teach the heathen nations,
that he might fish with doctrine's nets,
that he might bring believers from worldly things to grace
and they might follow the Lord to the seat of heaven.

He sells the choice talents of Christ's gospel
and claims payment with interest from the heathen Irish;
as his price for the toil of the labour of this voyage
he will gain the joy of the heavenly kingdom with Christ.

He is a faithful servant of God, a splendid messenger
who provides an apostolic example and model for the good,
who preaches to God's people as much in words as deeds,
that him whom he does not convert with words he incites by good action.

He has glory with Christ and honour in the world,
and is adored by all as an angel of God,
whom God sent, like Paul, as an apostle to the Gentiles
to offer men guidance to the kingdom of God.

¹¹⁶⁶ Translation from Andy Orchard, "'Audite Omnes Amantes': A Hymn in Patrick's Praise," in *Saint Patrick*, edited by David N. Dumville (Woodbridge, Suffolk, UK: Boydell Press, (1993), 1996, 166-173. Orchard refers to Bieler's notes and commentary; see Ludwig Bieler, "The Hymn of St. Secundinus," *PRIA* 55C (1952/3): 117-27.

He is humble in mind and body through fear of God,
 on whom because of his good deeds the Lord rests,
 and he carries the stigmata of Christ on his just flesh,
 he glories in the Cross, which alone sustains him.

Briskly he feeds the faithful with heaven's feast,
 lest those who are seen with Christ should falter on the way;
 he offers the words of the gospel like loaves of bread,
 which are multiplied like manna in his hands.

He keeps his body chaste for love of the Lord,
 the flesh which he has prepared as a temple for the Holy Spirit,
 by which it is always possessed in pure actions,
 the flesh which he offers as a living sacrifice, pleasing to the Lord.

Like a great evangelical light burning on the earth,
 raised high on a candelabrum, shining for the whole world,
 the fortified citadel of the King placed on a mountain-top,
 in which there is the great abundance which the Lord possesses.

For he will be called the greatest in the kingdom of heaven,
 who fulfils in good deeds what he teaches in sacred words,
 who provides a model in good example for the faithful
 and has confidence towards God in his pure heart.

Boldly he announces the Lord's name to the heathens,
 to whom he grants eternal grace at the bath of salvation,
 for whose sins he prays daily to God,
 for whom he offers sacrifices worthy of God.

For God's law he despises all the glory of the world,
 at whose table he reckons all else worthless,
 nor is he moved by the violent lightning of the world,
 but rejoices in adversity, since he suffers for Christ.

He is a good shepherd, faithful to the gospel flock,
 whom God has chosen to guard God's people,
 and to feed His people with sacred teaching,
 for whom, after Christ's example, he lays down his life.

For his qualities the Saviour has made him a bishop,
 to advise the clerics in their heavenly service,
 to whom he dispenses food and clothing,
 which he supplements with holy and sacred sayings.

He is the King's messenger inviting the faithful to the wedding-feast,
 who is adorned and clothed in wedding garb,
 who drinks heavenly wine in heavenly vessels
 and gives God's people a drink from the spiritual cup.

He finds a sacred treasure-store in the sacred volume,
 he sees the divinity of the Saviour in the flesh,
 a treasure-store he purchases with holy and perfect qualities;
 his soul is called Israel – 'seeing God'.

He is a faithful witness of the Lord in the catholic law,
 whose words are seasoned with the prophecies of heaven,
 that human flesh may not rot, eaten by worms,
 but be salted for sacrifice with the savour of heaven.

He is a true and splendid tiller of the gospel-field,
 whose sees seem to be Christ's gospels,
 which he sows with heavenly mouth in the ears of the wise,
 and he ploughs their hears and minds with the Holy Spirit.

Christ chose him to be His vicar on earth,
 who frees captives from a twin servitude:
 many he frees from bondage to men,
 and countless sets free from the Devil's domain.

He sings hymns and the psalms of God, together with the Apocalypse,
 which he recites to edify the people of God.
 he believes as a law in the Trinity of sacred name
 and teaches one substance in three persons.

Girt with the girdle of the Lord, night and day,
 he prays to the Lord God without ceasing;
 he will receive his reward for that huge labour:
 holy, he will reign with the apostles over Israel.

Hymn 9: *Hymnus Sancti Comgilli abbatis nostri: Recordemur justitiae*¹¹⁶⁷
 (Let us remember the shining justice)
 (AB, 14, ff. 15v-17v)

<p>Recordemur justitiae Nostri patroni fulgidae Comgilli sancti nomine, Refulgentis in opere, Adjut Dei flamine, Sancto claroque lumine Trinitatis celsissimae, Cuncta tenentis regmine.</p>	<p>Let us remember the shining justice of our patron, St. Comgall, glorious in deed, aided by the spirit of God and, by the holy and radiant light of the sublime Trinity, directing all things under his rule.</p>
<p>Quem Deus ad aetherea Conduxit habitacula Ab angelis custodita Permansura in saecula.</p>	<p>God has raised him to a dwelling in the heavens, a dwelling guarded by angels and destined to last for ever.</p>
<p>1. Audite pantes ta erga Allati ad angelica Athletae Dei abdita, A juventute florida Aucta in legis pagina, Alta Sancti per viscera, Apta fide justitia, Ad Dei ducta gaudia, Alti allata merita Affatim concordantia, Ab angelis etc.</p>	<p>Listen, everyone, to the deeds of this champion of God, who has been introduced to the secrets of the angels. From the first flowering of his youth his uprightness strengthened by his faith, was nourished on the pages of the Law and was introduced to the joys of God. The virtues which he showed in his great life were abundantly in keeping with his faith.</p>
<p>2. Bonam vitam, justitiam, Benignitatem floridam, Caritatem firmissimam, Deo primo adhibitam, Juxta mandatum solidam, In regno praestantissimam, Proximis saepe debitam, Corde sereno placitam, Efficiebat cognitam In future fructiferam, Quem Deus etc.</p>	<p>He lived a good life, saw justice done, displayed delightful kindness and a most resolute love devoted to God first and foremost, a love that was unflinching according to God's ordinances, a love that was outstanding in thee, a love often unrequited from his neighbours, a love that was pleasing in a tranquil heart and acknowledged to be fruitful for the future.</p>

¹¹⁶⁷ Adamson, *Bangor: Light of the World*, 204-207. Adamson acknowledges Jim Driscoll of Bangor Grammar School for his translations from Latin into English on page 7.

3. Contemptum mundialium
Voluntatum praesentium
Vitiolorum firmissimum
Infirimos devastantium
Verborum cogitaminum
Parte laeva versantium
Continebat per viscerum
Secreta vigilantium.
Ab angelis etc.
- There was his unyielding contempt
for those fleeting desires of this world,
for those vices which destroy the weak
and for these words and thoughts
which turn on evil.
This contempt he felt
in the innermost part
of his watchful flesh.
4. Doctus in Dei legibus
Divinis dictionibus,
Dilatus sanctis opibus
Deo semper placentibus,
Dedicatus in moribus,
Dei Stephanus hagiis
Docebat sic et caeteros
Dicta docta operibus.
Quem Deus etc.
- He was schooled in the ordinances of God
and in His words. He was strengthened
by his resources that were
devout and always pleasing to God.
He was dedicated in his
character and, like Stephen, Saint of God,
he taught the others and his words
were shaped by his deeds.
5. Elegit a primordio
Quod erat in principio
Aeternum verbum paterno
Eructatum sanctissimo
Corde verum altissimo
Carum eidem lucido
Pignus praeclaro animo
Constans opere placido.
Ab angelis etc.
- He chose from the start of his life the One,
who was from the beginning of the world
the Eternal and True Word,
uttered from the Sacred Heart of the Father
Almighty and dear to that same Shining One,
who was the Pledge constant in the
excellence of His Soul
and in His work of peace.
6. Fulgebat alti fulgore
Solis vice in vertice
Rutilantis meridie
Fidei claritudine,
Confirmatus ex viscere
In Dei semper fidere,
Confidens sanctimoniae
Praecipuo munimine.
Quem Deus etc.
- He shone with splendour
in the glory of his faith,
like the lofty sun blazing
at mid-day in the heights.
He was determined
in his heart always
to trust in God,
confident in the mighty bulwark of his piety.

7. Gaudium Sancti Spiritus
 Habebat in visceribus,
 Regnum quod est sublimibus
 Deo dignum et fortius,
 Gladium quoque Spiritus,
 Levatum ad nequissimos,
 Quo prosterneret superbos,
 Tenens sanctis in manibus
 Ab angelis etc.
- In his heart he felt the joy of the Holy Spirit,
 inhabiting a kingdom for the exalted,
 worthy of God and in his devout
 hands he bravely held
 the sword of the Spirit upraised
 against the wicked
 and ready to lay
 low the proud.
8. Humilis, sanctus, benignus,
 Probus in Dei legibus,
 Humanus, justus, commodus,
 Laudabilis in moribus,
 Hilaris vultu, sobrius,
 Caritatis in floribus
 Decoratus, ordinibus
 Factus palam mortalibus.
 Quem Deus etc.
- Humble, holy, kind, upright
 in the commandments of God,
 civilized, just, obliging,
 praiseworthy in character,
 cheerful in appearance, temperate,
 radiant with the blossoms
 of love, accessible to men
 of every class.
9. In Scripturis eruditus,
 Inspiratus divinitus,
 In Sacramentis providus,
 Canonicis affatibus
 Veteris, Novi actibus
 Testamenti praevalidus,
 Fervens spiritu, placidus,
 Deo carus, et piissimus.
 Ab angelis etc.
- Learned in the Scriptures,
 divinely inspired, far-seeing
 in his prayers, a distinguished scholar
 in canonical writings
 of the Old Testament and in the Acts
 of the New,
 he was fiery in Spirit, yet gentle,
 dear to God and most devout.
10. Kalcavit mundum subdolum
 Karitatis per studium
 Kastitatis firmissimum,
 Contemnens omne vitium,
 Inserens agrum floridum,
 Pectus adornans lucidum,
 Divinum habitaculum
 Trino nomine sancitum.
 Quem Deus etc.
- In his unshaken desire for love
 and chastity he has trampled
 underfoot the deceitful world,
 despising every vice,
 planting a field of flowers and
 adorning his radiant breast,
 a holy dwelling consecrated
 in the name of the Trinity.

11. Lampadem sapientiae
Constituit in pectore,
In thesauro scientiae
Condito Dei munere;
Inflammat magnopere
Luce verae justitiae,
Exaltatus munimine
Legis, spiritus, litterae,
Ab angelis etc.
- He has place in his heart a lamp
of wisdom in a treasury of knowledge
built by gift of God.
Greatly illumined by the light
of true justice he has been
raised to the heights
by the might of Law,
the Spirit and the Word.
12. Magnum apprehendit bradium
Æterna vita condignum,
Adeptus sanctum proemium
Post laborem firmissimum,
Cujus perfectum meritum
Vocamus in auxilium,
Ut mereamur omnium
Vitorum excidium.
Quem Deus etc.
- He has obtained the great prize,
wholly deserving of eternal life,
and, after his most steadfast striving,
has gained his reward in heaven.
We call upon his perfect merit
to help us
so that we may earn
the destruction of all the vices.
13. Notus sanctorum coetibus.
Abbatum in orinibus,
Monachorum militibus,
Anchoretarum sensibus,
Synodum sanctis plebibus,
Immo vir apostolicus,
Clarus cunctis in sortibus,
Adauctus in sublimibus.
Ab angelis etc.
- Renowned in the companies of Saints,
in the ranks of Abbots,
in the legions of monks,
in the lonely thoughts of anchorites
and in the devout members of synods,
he was indeed a man worthy of the Apostles,
distinguished in all his doings
and raised on high among the exalted.
14. O petram solidissimam
In fundamento positam!
O contemptorem omnium
Rerum nequam praesentium!
O ducem sanctum militum
Domino militantium!
O tironem fortissimum
Domino totum deditum!
Quem Deus etc.
- O, most solid rock set in the foundation,
O, despiser of all
the sickness of this world,
O, devout leader of soldiers
fighting for the Lord,
O, most valiant disciple
totally dedicated
to the Lord.

15. Positus muri ferrei
Vic in luce populi,
Dissipare, disperdere,
Cuncta mala destruere,
Ædificare, plantare
Bona tota in commune,
More sancti Hieremie
Constituti in culmine.
Ab angelis etc.
- He set himself like a barrier
of iron in front of the people
to rout, to uproot and to destroy all
evil and to build
and implant good
for the benefit of all,
like St. Hieremia
set on high.
16. Quis contempsit praesentia
Hujus aevi decidua,
Quis ascendit ad superna
Toto animo gaudia,
Quis volebat in aethera
Carne volare posita,
Qualiter iste talia
Adeptus sancta merita?
Quem Deus etc.
- Who else despised
the decadence of this age?
Who else aspired with all
his heart to the joys of heaven?
Who else wanted to reject
the flesh and rise to heaven,
gaining such holy
rewards as he deserved?
17. Rexit sanctam ecclesiam
Catholicam per regulam,
Retinens fidem solidam
Malam contra nequitiam,
Suam exercens animam
Sanctae legis per paginam,
Cujus, exopto, gratia
Mihi adornet animam!
Ab angelis etc.
- He governed the holy
catholic church by his ordinance.
He kept his faith
unshaken against evil and wickedness.
He guided his soul
according to the pages of Holy Law.
May his love, I pray,
Adorn my soul.
18. Sapians suos internos
Sanctos elevans oculos
Deducebat ad superos
Capite sancto intentos,
Parte sancta in dextera
Collocans sua viscera,
Centurionis opera
Habens sancta per studia.
Quem Deus etc.
- In his wisdom lifting up his devout
inner eyes in his holy head
he used to direct them eagerly
to the heavens above.
He would show his compassion by giving
with his right hand and throughout
all his saintly works he bore in mind
the good deeds of the centurion.

19. Tulit suam memoriam
Ad mansionem supernam,
Caram Deo et floridam
Suam exercens animam,
Contemnens terram subdolan,
Vanam omnem insaniam
Domans, [pergens] cum Abraham
Ad terram illam optimam.
Ab angelis etc.
- Possessed of a soul dear to God
and radiant, he has borne his memorial
to the mansion up above,
despising the deceitful world,
conquering all vain folly
and proceeding with
Abraham to that other
world of excellence.
20. Vitam aeternam fulgida
Adeptus est sub corona,
Ubi assumet praemia
Permansura in saecula,
Comitaturus agmina
Angelorum praecipua,
Inquirens semper talia,
Vigilans in ecclesia.
Quem Deus etc.
- Under a crown of flowers
he has gained eternal life
and there he will receive rewards
destined to last for ever.
He will join the illustrious companies
of angels, always seeking after
what is good and ever vigilant
in the service of the Church.
21. Xpm [i.e. Christum] orabat
magistrum,
Summum orans obsequium,
Xpi [i.e. Christi] gerens officium
Actum per apostolicum.
Hujus sequens vestigium,
Ducens Deo exercitum
In sanctum habitaculum
Trinitatis lectissimum.
Ab angelis etc.
- He would pray to Christ our
Master,
carrying out his obligations honourably
and performing his duty to Christ
by acts of devotion. Now, following
in His footsteps, he leads
God's army into that blessed
and most excellent dwelling
of the Three in One.
22. Ymnum Deo cum cantico
Immolabat altissimo,
Diei noctis circulo
Orans saepe cum triumpho.
Nunc cantavit sub numero
Canticum novum Domino
Junctus choro angelico
Summo sanctus in jubilo.
Quem Deus etc.
- He used to offer to Almighty God
a hymn of praise, often
praying in exultation both day and night.
Now joining with a choir of angels
he has sung in harmony
a new hymn of praise
to God, blessed in
a mighty cry of joy.

23. Zona cinctus justitiae,
 Castitatis eximiae,
 Mundo opertus sindone
 In signo castimoniae
 Feminalia lucidae
 Habens toto ex viscere,
 Cujus sancto pro opere
 Reddetur merces condigne.
- Quem Deus ad aetherea
 Conduxit habitacula
 Ab angelis custodita
 Permansura in saecula.
- Per merita et orationes sancti
 Comgilli Abbatis nostri omnes nos,
 Domine, in tua pace custodi.
- He is girt with the girdle
 of righteousness and covered
 in a pure mantle of glorious chastity.
 Thigh bandages completely
 cover his loins as a sign of his radiant purity.
 To him deservedly
 for his saintly work
 a worthy reward will be given.¹¹⁶⁸
- God has raised him
 to a dwelling in the heavens
 A dwelling guarded by angels and
 destined to last for ever.
- For the sake of the good works and prayers
 of St. Comgall our Abbot, watch over us all,
 O Lord, in the paths of Thy peace.

¹¹⁶⁸ Adamson's translation omits the next four lines and skips to the final three-line refrain.

Hymn 10: Hymnum sancti Camelaci: Audite bonum exemplum¹¹⁶⁹
(Hymn for St. Camelacus: Hear the good example)
(AB 15, f 17v)

- | | | |
|----|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. | Audite bonum exemplum
Benedicti pauperis
Camelaci Cumiensis
Dei iusti famuli. | Hear the good example
of the blessed pauper
Camelacus of Cumiensis
The just servant of God |
| 2. | Exemplum praebet in toto,
Fidelis in opere,
Gratias Deo agens,
Hilaris in omnibus, | He represents an example in everything,
Faithful in his work,
Giving thanks to God
Cheerful in all things. |
| 3. | Jejunus, et mansuetus
Kastus hic servit Deo,
Laetatur in paupertate,
Mitis est in omnibus, | Fasting, and gentle
This chaste one serves God,
he rejoices in poverty,
he is mild in all things. |
| 4. | Noctibus, atque diebus
Orat Dominum suum;
Prudens, justus, ac fidelis,
Quem cognati diligunt. | By night and by day
He prays to his Lord;
Wise, just, and faithful,
Whom his kinsmen esteem. |
| 5. | Regem Dominum aspexit
Salvatoremque suum:
Tribuit huic aeternam
Vitam cum fidelibus. | He looked to the Lord the King
and his Saviour
to this man God granted
Everlasting life with his faithful. |
| 6. | Xps [i.e. Christus] illum insinuavit
Patriarchae Abrahae.
In paradiso regnabit
Cum sancto Lazaro. | Christ put him among
the patriarch Abraham.
He will reign in paradise
With the holy Lazarus. |

¹¹⁶⁹ I have been unable to find an English translation of this hymn. I would like to thank Susannah Brower for her help and correction of the Latin translation.

Hymn 11: Versiculi familiae Benchuir: Benchuir bona regula¹¹⁷⁰
(Versicles of the family of Bangor: Bangor, good in its rule)
(AB 95, ff. 30r-30v)

- | | | |
|----|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. | Benchuir bona regula,
Recta, atque divina,
Stricta, sancta, sedula,
Summa, justa, ac mira. | Bangor, good in its rule,
straight and divine,
strict, holy, sedulous,
highest, just, and wondrous. |
| 2. | Munther Benchuir beata,
Fide fundata certa,
Spe salutis ornata,
Caritate perfecta. | Monastery of Bangor, blessed,
founded on a certain faith,
adorned with the hope of salvation,
perfect in charity. |
| 3. | Navis numquam turbata,
Quamvis fluctibus tona,
Nuptiis quoque parata
Regi Domino sponsa. | Ship never turbulent,
though skimmed by waves,
also prepared for wedding festivities
as spouse for the Lord King. |
| 4. | Domus deliciis plena,
Super petram constructa,
Necnon vinea vera
Ex Ægypto transducta. | House filled with delights,
constructed upon a rock,
also true vine,
led over out of Egypt. |
| 5. | Certe civitas firma,
Fortis, atque unita,
Gloriosa, ac digna,
Supra montem posita. | City surely firm,
strong and fortified,
glorious and worthy,
placed atop the mount. |
| 6. | Arca Cherubin tecta,
Omni parte aurata,
Sacro-sanctis reperta,
Viris quatuor portata. | Arc covered by Cherubim,
gilded in every part,
devised for sacrosanct things,
borne by four men. |
| 7. | Christo regina apta,
Solis luce amicta,
Simplex, simulque docta,
Undecumque invicta. | Queen fit for Christ,
clothed with the light of the sun,
simple and simultaneously learned,
everywhere unconquered. |
| 8. | Vere regalis aula,
Variis gemmis ornata,
Gregisque Christi caula
Patre summo servata. | Truly royal hall,
adorned with varied gems,
and fold of the flock of Christ,
protected by the Highest Father. |

¹¹⁷⁰ The English translation is from Howlett, *The Celtic Latin Tradition of Biblical Style*, 191-192.

9. Virgo valde fecunda
Haec, et mater intacta,
Laeta ac tremebunda,
Verbo Dei subacta.
- Virgin especially fecund,
this, and intact mother,
happy and trembling,
subdued by the Word of God,
- [f 30v]
10. Cui vita beata
Cui perfectis futura,
Deo Patre parata
Sine fide mansura.
- To whom blessed life
to come, with the perfect,
prepared by God the Father,
bound to remain without end.
- Benchuir bona regula.
- Bangor, good in its rule.

Second Translation of Hymn 11: *Benchuir bona regula*¹¹⁷¹

Versicles of the Family of Bangor (Benchor)

1. Excellent the Rule of Benchor,
 Correct, and divine,
 Exact, holy, constant.
 Exalted, just, and admirable.

2. Blessed the family of Benchor,
 Founded on unerring faith,
 Brace with the hope of salvation,
 Perfect in charity.

3. A ship that is never distressed,
 Though beaten by the waves.
 Fully prepared for nuptials,
 A spouse for the Sovereign Lord.

4. A house full of dainties,
 Founded on a rock:
 Also the true vine
 Brought out of Egypt.

5. Surely an enduring city,
 Strong and fortified
 Glorious and deserving,
 Built upon a hill.

6. The ark shaded by the Cherubim
 On all sides overlaid with gold,
 Filled with sacred objects,
 Borne by four men.

7. A princess meet for Christ,
 Clad in the sun's light.
 Innocent yet wise,
 On every side invulnerable.

8. A truly regal hall,
 Adorned with various gems;
 The gold also of Christ's flock;
 Kept by the supreme Father.

¹¹⁷¹ The English translation is from W. Reeves, "The Antiphony of Bangor," *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, first series, vol. 1 (1853), 175-176.

9. A virgin very faithful,
A mother also chaste,
Joyful, and reverntial,
Submissive to the word of God.

10. For whom a happy life
Is laid up with the perfect,
Prepared by God the Father,
Ordained to the last forever.

Excellent the rule of Benchor. (p. 176)
(Repeat of the first line – Irish form)

familia = community (Reeves equates with *munther* or *muintir*)

Hymn 12: **In memoriam abbatum nostrorum: *Sancta sanctorum opera***¹¹⁷²
(Commemoration of our Abbots)
(AB 129, f 36v)

- | | |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>Sancta sanctorum opera
 Patrum, fratres, fortissima
 Benchorensi in optima
 Fundatorum ecclesia,
 Abbatum eminentia
 Numerum, tempora, nomina.
 Sine fine fulgentia,
 Audite magna merita,</p> | <p>Hear, brothers,
 the great merits,
 the most powerful holy
 works of holy fathers,
 founders in the best church of Bangor,
 the outstanding number,
 times, names of abbots,
 shining without end,</p> |
| <p>Quos convocavit Dominus
 Coelorum regni sedibus.</p> | <p>whom the Lord has called together
 in the seats of the realm of the heavens.</p> |
| <p>1. Amavit Christus Comgillum,
 Bene et ipse Dominum,
 Carum habuit Beognoum,
 Domnum ornavit Ædeum.
 Elegit sanctum Sinlanum,
 Famosum mundi magistrum,</p> | <p>Christ loved Comgillus
 well, and He held
 Beognous dear;
 He adorned the lord Aedeus;
 He chose holy Sinlanus,
 famous master of the world,</p> |
| <p>Quos convocavit Dominus
 Coelorum regni sedibus.</p> | <p>whom the Lord has called together
 in the seats of the realm of the heavens.</p> |
| <p>2. Gratum fecit Fintenanum,
 Heredem, alnum, inclitum,
 Illustravit Maclaisreum,
 Kaput abbatum omnium,
 Lampade sacrae Seganum
 Magnum scripturæ medicum.</p> | <p>He made Fintenanus gracious,
 celebrated nurturer of heirs;
 He illuminated Maclaisreus,
 head of all abbots,
 with the lamp of sacred scripture,
 Seganus the great doctor,</p> |
| <p>Quos [convocavit Dominus
 Coelorum regni sedibus.]</p> | <p>whom the Lord has called together
 in the seats of the realm of the heavens.</p> |
| <p>3. Notus vir erat Berachus,
 Ornatus et Cumenus,
 Pastor Columba congruus,
 Querela absque Aidanus,
 Rector bonus Baithenus,
 Summus antistes Critanus,</p> | <p>Berachus was a noted man
 and Cumenus an adorned one,
 Columba a fit pastor,
 Aidanus without quarrel,
 Baithenus a good rector,
 Critanus the highest priest [or ‘bishop’,
 literally, ‘he who stands before’]</p> |

¹¹⁷² The English translation is from Howlett, *The Celtic Latin Tradition of Biblical Style*, 188-189.

Quos [convocavit Dominus
Coelorum regni sedibus.]

whom the Lord has called together
in the seats of the realm of the heavens.

4. Tantis successit C[o]lmanus,
Vir amabilis omnibus,
Xpo [i.e. Christo] nunc sedet supremus
Ymnos canens. Quindecimus
Zoen ut carpat Cronanus,
Conservet eum Dominus.

To such men Colmanus succeeded,
a man loveable by all.
Now he sits supreme singing
hymns to Christ. Fifteenth,
that Cronanus may seize life may the Lord
conserve him,

Quos convocabit Dominus
Coelorum regni sedibus.

whom the Lord will call together
on seats of the realm of the heavens.

5. Horum sanctorum merita
Abbatum fidelissima
Erga Comgillum congrua
Invocamus altissima,
Uti possimus omnia
Nostra delere crimina,
Per Jesum Christum aeterna
Regnantem in saecula.

We invoke the loftiest most faithful
merits of these holy abbots,
fit [and interceding] with Comgillus,
so that we can
wipe out
all our sins,
through Jesus Christ,
bound to reign for eternal ages.

[*Finis*]

Second Translation of Hymn 12: *Sancta sanctorum opera*

Commemoration of our Abbots 129¹¹⁷³

The Holy, valiant deeds
 Of sacred Fathers,
 Based on the matchless
 Church of Bangor;
 The noble deeds of abbots,
 Their number, times and names,
 Of never-ending lustre,
 Hear, brothers; great their deserts,

Whom the Lord hath gathered
 To the mansions of his heavenly kingdom.

Christ loved Comgal,
 Well, too, did he the Lord;
 He held Beogna dear;
 He graced the noble Aedh;
 He chose the holy Sinlan,
 Far-famed teacher of the world.

Whom the Lord hath gathered
 To the mansions of his heavenly kingdom.

He made Finten accepted,
 An heir generous, renowned;
 He rendered Maclaisre illustrious,
 The chief of all abbots;
 With a sacred torch (he enlightened) Segan
 A great physician of scripture.

Whom the Lord hath gathered
 To the mansions of his heavenly kindom.

Beracnus was a distinguished man;
 Cummian pre-eminent in glory;
 Columba a congenial shepherd;
 Aidan without complaint;
 Baithene a worthy ruler;
 Crotan a chief president.

¹¹⁷³ Adamson, "Commemoration of our Abbots," in *Bangor: the Light of the World*, 80-81. The translation is credited to Jim Driscoll of Bangor Grammar School.

Whom the Lord hath gathered
To the mansions of his heavenly kingdom.

To these so excellent succeeded Colman.
A man to be beloved by all;
Singing praises to Christ
He now sits on high. That Cronan,
The fifteenth, may lay hold on life,
The Lord preserve him.

Whom the Lord hath gathered
To the mansions of his heavenly kingdom.

The truest merits,
Of these holy abbots,
Meet for Comgal,
Most exalted we invoke;
That we may blot out
All our offences
Through Jesus Christ Who reigns for ages everlasting.

Third Translation of Hymn 12: *Sancta sanctorum opera*

Commemoration of Our Abbots [129]¹¹⁷⁴

1. Brothers, listen to the devout and indomitable deeds of our holy fathers who served in the illustrious church of Bangor. Listen to the outstanding and majestic works of our abbots. Listen to their number, their times and their names which shall shine brightly and never fade. These men God has called to His Kingdom in the heavens.

2. Christ loved Comgall; well, too, did he love the Lord; He held Beogna dear and shed luster on noble Aedh. He chose the saintly Sinlan, far-famed teacher of the world.

3. He made Finten accepted, a gentle and illustrious heir. He enlightened Maclaisre, foremost amongst all the abbots and with His torch he kindled the fire in Segan, Great physician of the Holy Scripture.

4. Berachus was a distinguished man, and Cummian also pre-eminent in glory. Columba was a shepherd who worked for concord, and Aidan was without complaint. Baithene was a virtuous ruler and Crotan was a divine of great authority.

5. These great men were succeeded by Colman, a man beloved by all. Now he sits on high singing hymns of praise to Christ. May the Lord preserve Cronan, fifteenth in line, so That life for him may be a joy.

6. We call upon the good services of these holy abbots, loyal, time-honoured and in accord with Comgall, so that we may wipe out all our transgressions, through Jesus Christ, who reigneth for ever and ever.

¹¹⁷⁴ This is a second translation found in Adamson, *Bangor: Light of the World*, 210-211. As noted earlier, Adamson acknowledges Jim Driscoll's Latin to English translations. Given that all acknowledgements appear on page 7 at the beginning of the book and that there is no further statement of the translator of the texts from the Antiphonary of Bangor, it would appear by Adamson's statement that Driscoll is the translator throughout the book even though there are two versions of the same text.

Appendix IV

Chronology¹¹⁷⁵

- | | |
|--------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 432 | St. Patrick's mission to Ireland |
| 493 | Death of St. Patrick |
| <i>ca.</i> 555-559 | Monastery of Bangor, Northern Ireland founded by Comgall |
| 597 | Death of St. Colum Cille (Columba of Iona) |
| 613 | The monastery of Bobbio, Italy founded by Columbanus |
| 615 | Death of St. Columbanus at Bobbio |
| 680-691 | The Antiphonary of Bangor compiled |
| <i>ca.</i> 792 | Stowe Missal, probably at Tallaght |
| 795 | First Viking raid in Ireland |
| 1101 | Synod of Cashel |
| 1111 | Ráth Breasail |
| 1155 | Schottenstift founded in Vienna |
| 1172 | Second Council of Cashel |
| 1536-1547 | Irish monasteries suppressed by Henry VIII |
| 1605-6 | The Antiphonary of Bangor is taken to Milan by Cardinal Federico Borromeo as part of the manuscript collection of the newly founded Ambrosiana Library |
| 1609 | Official opening of the Ambrosian Library |
| 1713 | Ludovico Muratori publishes <i>Anecdota Ambrosiana</i> IV (Padua 1713); supplies the indelible title <i>Antiphonarium Benchorense</i> , the Antiphonary of Bangor |
| 1880 | James O'Laverty, <i>An Historical Account of the Diocese of Down and Connor, Ancient and Modern</i> , volume II of a five-volume series |

¹¹⁷⁵ The timeline is compiled from significant dates and publications referenced in the dissertation and from Séamas Mac Annaidh, *Illustrated Dictionary of Irish History* (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 2001), 208-209. It is not meant to reflect a comprehensive history.

- 1881 Frederick E. Warren, *The Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church*
- 1893-95 *The Antiphonary of Bangor, an Early Irish Manuscript in the Ambrosian Library at Milan*, Volumes 4 and 10: Part I – facsimile; Part II – Liturgical Introduction and Amended Text Notes, published by the Henry Bradshaw Society, Frederick E. Warren editor
- 1910 Fernand Cabrol, “Bangor (Antiphonaire de)” for the first edition of *Dictionnaire d’archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*.
- 1925 Louis Gougaud, “Celtiques (Liturgies)” for *Dictionnaire d’archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, second Edition
- 1929 James F. Kenney, *The Sources for the Early History of Ireland: Ecclesiastical, an Introduction and Guide*
- 1941 E. Franceschini, *L’Antifonario di Bangor: Testi e documenti di storia e di letteratura latina medioevale IV* (Padova 1941).
- 1979 James F. Kenney, *The Sources for the Early History of Ireland: Ecclesiastical, an Introduction and Guide* reprinted in Dublin by Pádraic Ó Táilliúir, with a forward by Ludwig Bieler
- 1984 Michael Curran, *The Antiphonary of Bangor and the Early Irish Monastic Liturgy*
- 1985 Michael Lapidge, “Columbanus and the ‘Antiphonary of Bangor’,” *Peritia* 4 (1985): 104-116.
- 1987 Frederick E. Warren, *The Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church* reprinted and edited by Jane Stevenson with a comprehensive introduction
- 2000 Special edition in *Early Music* on medieval Ireland, edited by Ann Buckley: Martin Czernin, “Fragments of liturgical chant from medieval Irish monasteries in continental Europe”
- Peter Jeffery, “Eastern and Western Elements in the Irish Monastic Prayer of the Hours,” in *The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages*, 99-143.
- 2012 The Antiphonary of Bangor on display at St. Gall, Switzerland to mark the 1400th Anniversary of the founding of the monastery - *Gallus Jubilee St Gallen 612-2012*

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