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THE IRISH
LIBER HYMNORUM

EDITED FROM THE MSS. WITH TRANSLATIONS, NOTES,
AND GLOSSARY

BY

J. H. BERNARD, D.D.,
Fellow of Trinity College, and Archbishop King's Lecturer in Divinity
in the University of Dublin

AND

R. ATKINSON, LL.D.,
Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Dublin.

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The Metrical Systems of the Liber Hymnorum.

§ 1. The Latin Hymns.

Admitting that a certain importance may be naturally assigned to the question of the origin of the metres in these hymns, I have yet thought it better to set forth simply the facts ascertainable from the investigation of the texts themselves, without entering upon the difficult problem of their possible relations to continental writings of the early period. Whatever theory be held as to the original forms of Irish Metric, it must necessarily take into account the facts thus ascertained.

The hymns that are the subject of this section are numbered in our collection 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9; 14, 15, 16; 27, 28, 31, 32; 44, 45; 48. With one exception, they are the work of Irish poets, according to the undisputed tradition of native writers, but the internal evidence for this belief is not equally strong in the case of the several poems. The one admittedly foreign element is the hymn of St. Hilary of Poitiers, Ymnwm dicat, which, as we shall see, bears the unmistakeable stamp of a totally different system of metrical structure and consequently of treatment of the language. This is a classic poem; the others are vulgar Latin.

The Prefaces do not add much to our knowledge. When, e.g., on Martine te deprecor (No. 9), the scholiast says that it is made in rhythm and that there are six capitula, each of two lines, he states, no doubt, what is sufficiently obvious; but when he adds non aequalm numerum syllabarum singulae lineae servant,
it is equally obvious that he had not rightly conceived the metrical system. That the poet did not construct the hymn in any irregular manner may be taken as certain; he knew well what rules he intended to follow, and these rules were never so elastic as the Preface would lead us to infer. That the metrical laws were duly observed by the writers of our hymns cannot be doubted; but to an ear accustomed to the rhythm of classic verses, the effect must be very unharmonious and disconcerting. We can hardly think that the writers were familiar with Latin classical poetry. But to anyone familiar with their laws of versification, there is no lack of dexterity in the structure of these verses. Interpolations demonstrate themselves as such, by exhibiting the incapacity of the later versifiers to comprehend or imitate the earlier style (as in l. 25 of Hilary's Hymn), or by the thoughtlessness that introduced an incongruous construction into a complex clause (as in l. 33 of the hymn *Celebra Iuda*), or by the use of wrong metres, as will appear in the sequel.

It is not necessary to determine what the poets regarded as a 'line,' in every case; but as the long line always has a cæsura, it may be laid down that the unit is seven- or eight-syllabled. How many times this unit is repeated before the stanza is complete, is left to the poets' choice. Taking this seven- or eight-syllabled structure as the *unit*, and assuming two of these units as the *line*, the following synopsis may be given of all the varieties of metre found in the hymns:—

A. **unrhymed.**
   a, 2 (8 + 7) = Hymn No. 7.
   b, 4 (8 + 7) = " " 1.

B. **line-rhymes.**
   a, 2 (8 + 7) = " " 6, 8.
   b, 2 (7 + 7) = " " 9.
   c, 2 (5 + 7) = " " 3.
   d, 2 (6 + 5) = " " 48.
C. unit-rhymes.

a, 2 (8 + 8) = Hymn No. 15, 16, 31, 32, 45.
b, 4 (8 + 8) = ,, ,, 2, 27, 44.
c, 6 (8 + 8) = ,, ,, 14.
d, n (8 + 8) = ,, ,, 28.

We must now go through these in order.

A. Unrhymed Hymns.

Aa. The unrhymed hymns may be considered first, as being probably the least influenced by native tendencies. Hymn No. 7 (that of St. Hilary) is distinguished from all the rest by the circumstance that it observes both quantity and elision. It is, in short, a regular trochaic tetrameter catalectic (quod a poetis Græcis et Latinis frequentissimé ponitur, according to the F Preface), divided by a cæsura after the eighth syllable:

\[ \text{ynmúm | dícát | túrbá | frátrum}, \]
\[ \text{ynmúm | cántús | pèresñèt.} \]

The rule set forth in the Prefaces that a spondee should not occur in the third place is fairly adhered to; but the Prefaces note its infraction in ll. 9, 24 (see also 29, 34, 38, 60, 67). In other respects the quantity of the Latin vowels is observed (note scandere crucem in 39). Also, elision is regularly carried out, as in 9, 14, 20, 23, 29, 32, 49, and 72, 73, 74.

Now this strict observance of quantity and elision throughout makes it highly probable that ll. 25, 26 are spurious:

\[ \text{uinum | quod dejerat | idris} \]
\[ \text{motari a'quam iu'bet} \]
\[ \text{nuptiis me'ro re'tentis} \]
\[ \text{propin'ando | pocu'lo} \]

Here (a) dejerat is impossible; (β) motari could not have escaped elision; (γ) idris should have been ydriis (trisyll.), like nuptiis in the following line; (δ) prōpinnando could not have begun a trochaic measure; (e) uinum has to be taken as dependent on motari, 'to be changed into wine,' for quod is never used as = ‘because,’ but only as the neuter relative;
and (ζ) no definite meaning can be elicited from either mero propinando or nuptiis retentis. Under these circumstances (to which may be added that it was found necessary to signify in one MS. the ordo ierborum), we cannot doubt that this stanza is an interpolation, although it is found in all the MSS.

Some points are to be noticed in the concurrence of vowels. The semi-vocalic nature of i and u often constituted a difficulty to the transcribers, who have variously modified the text in consequence. Thus 8 ante | sæcula tū fūsti is impossible, for -la in saccula could not be long, tū could not be monosyllabic, and fūsti could not be dissyllabic, for u before a vowel does not coalesce therewith. A gives us the true text, viz., antē | sæcula | tū fūsti. The usage is for non-initial u to be pronounced separately; thus we have 6 ianiā, 13 pūrperam, 18 flūit, 24 mortāōs, 32 instruuntur, 45 affūit, 55 mortīis, 58 ianīis. An exception is found in 30 duodecim, which must be scanned 'without the u,' as the marginal gloss says; i.e., it is pronounced duodecim (cf. Italian due, but dodici).

Similarly with non-initial i. We have 10, 40, omnīum, 11 Gabriēlis nuntīō, 16 nuntiātum, potentiā, 19 nutritēndus, (26 nuptīs), 27 militā, 34 Pontīō, 38 impīs, 39 noctēs, 56 tertīā, 62 filīām, 64 filīōs, 65 glorēām. But initial i has the consonantal value; cf. 4 Iesse, 10 iūbet, 31 Iūdas, 36 Iudaeorum, 45 Ioseph. In l. 58 the metre demands clausis ianuis, although all the MSS. have ianuis clausis.

It seems probable that the hymn originally ended with l. 66. Not only does turba fratum concinemus of l. 65 furnish a fitting ending to a piece beginning ymnum dicat turba fratum; but metrical changes appear in the stanzas which follow. Apart from the repetition 67 galli cantus, galli plausus, we have the rhyme 68 nos cantantes et praecantes, which is out of keeping.

1 In 56 nuntiat is wrong. The meaning is that the women are first warned (53), and then they announce to the Apostles; so that nuntiant which preserves the metre also keeps closer to the narrative (Le. xxiv. 9). CG read nuntians, but that, while restoring the metre, does not remove the awkwardness of construction.
with the unrhymed character of the poem. Stanza 69, 70 is anomalous, because 69 *qui* is unelided and made long before *immensam*. It is also difficult to explain *maiestatem* or to connect it with the previous stanza. Lines 71, 72 are also incorrect, for each has a spondee in the third foot; *qui* is unelided in 72; and we have 71 *dōminum* and 72 *cūm eo*. The last stanza is still worse; it has 73 *glorīā*, *ingēnīō* and *unigēnīō*, 74 *simul* and *spīritu*. These are possible in Irish *cantica*, but inconceivable in this Hilarian poem.

The result of this analysis goes to show that the hymn ended with l. 66; probably the rest was suggested by *ante lucem* of l. 65. It will be remembered that the Preface knows nothing of *ymnum dicat* as a morning hymn; its statement is “sic nobis conuenit canere post prandium.”

Ab. The other unrhymed poem to be considered is the Hymn of St. Sechnall (our No. 1).

Here we are on totally different ground, for *quantity* and *elision* (save in the penult) are completely ignored. Thus while Hilary’s line-endings all have the antepenult (correctly) long, Sechnall’s line-endings exhibit the following: 1 *mērita* 6 *hōmines* 8 *dōminum* 16 *athēriam* 17 *eangēliaca* 19 *prētiūm* &c. And in like manner no account is taken of elision, e.g., 1 *audītē omnēs*, 2 *uiri* | in *Chriṣtō*, 8 *ünde* | ēt in | cēlis, 9 *fidē in|mōbi|lis.

The rhythm of the verses is given by the obviously intended *cretic* ending of each line, where, it will be observed, the natural accent of the voice in pronouncing the word is secured by the short penult, e.g., *mērita, episcopi, āngelis, apostoli*. Hence the

1 This stanza is, indeed, hardly capable of translation. “The song of the cock, the wing-clapping of the cock feels the approaching day, we singing and beseeching (the things) which we believe are about to be.” The gl. explains *futura* as *praemītīa cēlestia*; but if *prācantes* is to be taken as governing *futura*, we have a double awkwardness of structure to be added to the unsatisfactory disconnectedness of the two lines.

2 Todd remarked that 66 *induitus* is the only case where the second syllable of the seventh foot is not short. This is quite correct, if we read in 70 *-uidet* instead of *-uidit.*
line rarely ends with a dissyllable; this only happens indeed in ll. 22, 23, 24, 28, 32, 46, 72, 85, forms of bonus and deus being the dissyllables chiefly found, and nearly all being preceded immediately by a verb. On the other hand, Hilary has no objection to the dissyllabic ending (cf. ll. 5, 9, 10, 18); but save with inbet in ll. 10, 25, and diem in l. 67 (two of which are probably spurious on other grounds), the dissyllable with him is preceded by a monosyllable.

In the case of i before vowels (save before another i), there is always separate enunciation: thus we have 49 annuntiat, 50 gràtiàm. But wherever ii occur together, they are read as one vowel, e.g., 2 Patrict, 19 navigë.

In the case of u there is also separate enunciation; hence siuam tràdit ànimam is the true text of 60 and spiritàli pócùlo of 68, as Todd saw. After q, u is not a vowel; quem, quo, &c., are monosyllables. Todd held that 36 cuius was to be read as a trisyllable; but this is out of the question. It is always dissyllabic, as is also huius in 19, 55.

In the two poems just examined, of Hilary and Sechnall, we have typical examples of the classic and of the mediæval style. The latter is the natural outcome of the old rhythms in the poetry of the people at large, as distinguished from the elaborated structure of the scholars, who obeyed the stern stress of the classic method.

But this unrhymed poetry, even with the adornment of acrostic arrangement, of definite 'numbers,' and recurring beat of accent, did not satisfy the aesthetic longings of poets and people. The poets in Ireland were not content to secure the charms of rhyme at definite intervals, but have superadded a luxury of harmonies of assonance and alliteration, which could hardly fail in the long run to limit the available vocabulary, but which at any rate mark these verses with the stamp of a special class that is not found elsewhere, and should secure to the poets a fitting niche in the world's anthology.

1 In l. 32 in cruce practically counts as a single word.
B. Line-rhymes.

Ba. The first to be considered is St. Colman Mac Murchon's hymn in praise of St. Michael (our No. 8). The metre is, as in St. Sechnall's hymn, $2(8 + 7)$; but the new feature is unmistakeable. The rhyme is thoroughly Irish rhyme, and all the stanzas are perfect in this respect.

Rich trisyllabic rhymes occur throughout as follows: *iname, nomine; doctore, corpore; inergiae, superbiae; archangeli, angeli; species, requies; probabilis, fragilis; uiribus, milibus; aulia, gaudia; filio, consilio.* The full rhyming accent is, of course, on the antepenult; but all the three vowels are in exact correspondence, as are also the consonants which separate them. Thus in *doctore, corpore,* the group of consonants *ct* corresponds to *rp,* just as in ll. 11, 12, *noctibus, sortibus,* *ct* corresponds to *rt.*

In the last stanza but one, the poet seems to have been inspired to a final effort of technical skill, which it will not be easy to parallel for the richness of its rhymes, assonances, alliterations and harmonies:—

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{æterna possint præstare} & \quad \text{regis regni aulia} \\
\text{ut possideam cum Christo} & \quad \text{paradisi gaudia.}
\end{align*}
\]

Here note (1), the rich trisyllabic rhymes; (2), the two *p*-alliterations in each line; (3), the harmonies *regis regni,* and (4), the correspondences *possint, possideam,* as also *prestare* and *Christo.*

The poet was obviously quite conscious of his aim and of its success: he immediately adds his *Gloria Patri,* which in this case is quite in harmony with the metre, and may probably be genuine. The subsequent lines *adiuuet nos,* &c., have nothing to do with the Hymn itself, but are merely a later addition for liturgical purposes.

It is astonishing how little of the technical structure of this poem seems to have been perceived by those who have handled
It is hard to say what was in the mind of the writer of the T preface in setting down his last sentence; but he was writing carelessly, for he has put .xi. before the dec in line 11, and he says that there are sixteen syllables in each line. The F preface is correct in both items, but it does not contribute much to our knowledge of the real nature of the rhythm. It is evident that Todd had no clear conception of the metrical laws when he suggested1 that “adiutorium (l. 7) seems to have been pronounced in four syllables.” This would simply ruin the line, for the suggestion ignores the syllabification of -ium and the necessity of an eight-syllabled unit before the cæsura, thereby producing an eight-syllabled unit after the cæsura. The et of T in the line should of course be omitted with FR, and Michaelis should be written Michaelis, as F gives Michael in 11, 13, 15, where T has simply Michel.

A second hymn of exactly the same metre and style is Cuchuimne’s hymn to the Virgin (our No. 6). Todd again failed to understand the metrical law. He says (l.c. p. 138): “the classical reader will not form a high idea of our author’s skill in Latin prosody.” But Latin prosody has absolutely nothing to do with the matter. These pieces are poems in Latin written in popular metre by Irish poets; the prosody of the classical language is replaced by accent and by rhyme, and the rhymes in this case are rich and perfect:

\[
\text{cántem} \text{mús in} | \text{ôt} \text{ni} | \text{die} | \text{côncin} \text{âtentes} | \text{váríè} \\
\text{côncla} \text{mântes} | \text{dèo} | \text{dîgn} \text{um} | \text{y} \text{n} \text{num} | \text{sànc} \text{tæ} | \text{Màriæ}
\]

Here we note that (1) every line ends in a tri- [or poly-] syllable, rhyming richly: variè, Marie; Mariam, ui-cariam; domini, homini; pàtèrno, màtèrno; uener-abilis, stabilis; similis, or-iginis; pèrit, rèdit; edidit, credidit; somnia, omnia; fecerat, stèrèt; galiæm, Mariam; pu-erperæ, decerpere [T is of course wrong]; testibus, cel-estibus.

1 Liber Hymnorum, p. 168.
(2) In the ‘even’ lines, the assonances are equally perfect:—
Here we have 2 dignum, ymnnum 2;
4 aurem, laudem; 6 oport-unam, curam;
8 con-ceptum, sus-ceptum; 10 re-cèsit, ex-stétit;
12 plane, hum-ane; 14 uirt-utem, sal-utem;
16 lotus, totus; 18 sani, Christi-ani;
20 morte, sorte; 22 per-fecti, sus-cepti;
24 piræ, diræ; 26 fru-amur, scrip-amur.

Nothing can be more certain than the intention in these cases: the poet regarded the assonance in the ‘even’ line as an indispensable condition of the poem.

(3) One alliteration at least occurs in every stanza:—
2 deo, dignum; 7 prius, paterno; 9 virgo, venerabilis;
10 ex-stétit, stabilis; 12 prole, plane; 13 prius, periit;
15 Maria, mater, miranda; 16 late, lotus;
19 tonicam, totum, textam; 20 statim, steterat;
21 lucis, loricam; 24 diræ, decerpere.

Here, also, the deliberate purpose of the poet is undeniable
And probably we shall not be far wrong in holding that, as the hymn was sung varie, i.e., inter duos choros (gl.), or as the text again says, bis per chorum hinc et inde, the last verse was sung in unison by both as a general ‘invocation’ to Christ, after the antiphonal rendering of the hymn to the B.V.M.

Bb. These two masterly specimens of the Latin Hymns under the hands of Irish poets are unfortunately the only ones that are left us of the kind. In the poem now to be considered, Martine te deprecor (our No. 9), we have a very different metre; the formula being 2(7 + 7) with line-rhymes dissyllabic.

Nothing definite is known about the poet Oengus, but the metre deserves close investigation. The principles of its structure are evidently quite different from these with which we are now familiar, because not only is Christum to be elided before ae in l. 2, but we find 2 Mariam, 8 mortuis, 12 voluntarie, where the two vowels are monophthongal. But the important element
is the dissyllabic rhyme, which proves that the rhythm must be iambic.

I should not be hard to persuade that this poem of Oengus was somewhat of an experiment. The preface says: _et ostendit hymnum suum, et laudavit Adamnan hymnum_; perhaps there was an element that struck Adamnan as being unwonted.

Taking the fifth stanza of this hymn, viz.:

> uerbum dei locutus
> uirtutibus impletis

if we read the verses simply, making _ui_ monophthongal (or perhaps = _vi_), it is almost impossible to avoid the conclusion that _locutus_ and _secutus_ were intended to rhyme, and that _mandatis_ and _resuscitatis_ are also dissyllabic rhymes.

If then, on the basis of this verse-ictus, we assume that _dissyllables_ are oxytone, and _trisyllables_ paroxytone, we shall accent the above stanza as follows:

> uerbum dei locutus
> uirtutibus impletis

Examining then each word on this assumption we find the most definite usage of words as to their accent:

(I) Every trisyllable is paroxytone. Thus, 1 _marīne, deprēcor, rogāris_; 2 _spiritum, habēntem_; 3 _martinus, laudāuit_; 4 _cantāuit, amāuit_; 5 _elēctus, salūtis_; 6 _donāuit, uirtūtis_; 7 _locutus, secūtus, mandâtis_; 8 _implētis_; 9 _homines, duplice_; 11 _domīnum_; 12 _Martine._

(II) Words of four syllables have accents on ultimate and antepenult. Thus 8 _virtūtibus_ 12 _voluntariē, deprēcarē._

(III) Words of five syllables are accented paroxytone and on the fourth last syllable. Thus 8 _resūscitātis_ 11 _magnitudine, egrētūdine._

(IV) Dissyllables are dependent for their accent on the
ictus. (a) If they follow an atonic syllable, they are paroxytone; otherwise (b) they are oxytone:—

Thus, (a) 2 Christum 3 orè 4 purò, cordè, atquè 5 signà, sìbì 6 magnè, atquè 7 verbùm, dei 8 mortuis 9 Sanàns, curà 10 màla, dira 11 Deùm, passùm 12 proptèr And (b) 1 pàtre 2 sàuctum, Màriam, màtrem 3 mèrus, mòre, dèum 4 èum 5 dèi, vivì 6 dèus, pàcis 9 lèpra, mìra 11 nòstrum, nòbis, mìre.

In these verses the beat being iambic, and every trisyllabic paroxytone, a trisyllabic word can only stand with its initial syllable in the odd places. The formula is:—

\[ \circ \_ | \circ \_ | \circ \_ | \circ \_ \]

Thus te Martine could not occur with te in either 1st, 3rd, or 5th syllable; the trisyllabic word must begin at one of these points. Obviously also two trisyllables cannot stand together; hence any such combination as propter nos laudàuit at the beginning of a line is impossible, because proptèr nos would not leave the right beat for laudàuit. For this reason Christum ac must undergo elision in 1.2, being followed by spiritum (cf. Fr. esprit); and similarly Mariam could not be a trisyllable; in 8 mortuis must be a dissyllable, and in 12 voluntarie must have only four syllables.

The verses are not all easy to construe; and possibly the limitations of the metric may have contributed to the awkwardness of construction in some of the lines. In the third stanza, what can be the grammatical relation of electus and deus? If electus be taken as agreeing with Martinus in the same way as the words locutus in the fourth, and sanans in the fifth stanza, then the line donauit deus 6, has no place in the sequence at all. Stanzas one and six are addressed to Martin, but the four inner stanzas are apparently one narrative sentence.

Be. The hymn of St. Cummain the Tall (our No. 3) exhibits a variation in the number of syllables preceding the cæsura.
THE METRICAL SYSTEMS OF THE LATIN HYMNS.

This has a thoroughly Irish structure, on the basis of the system, $2(5 + 7)$, with end-rhymes:—

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Cèlebræ Iudæ} & \quad \text{fèsta Christi gaudìa} \\
\text{àpostulorùm} & \quad \text{èxultàns memòrià}
\end{align*}
\]

Here we have genuine Irish rhymes in which not only the rhyming syllable final but the preceding letters are harmonised. Thus gaudìa, memorìa is a rich rhyme of three syllables, in which the intervening consonants are of the same (Irish) class. Note also the rich rhyme of pàstorìs, càptòris, in the second stanza. In the stanzas which follow, the triple rhyme occurs pretty frequently, showing that it was sought for, though it was not absolutely indispensable. We have 5, 6, præceptòris, seminis; 7, 8 egreg-ià, aducam-ìna; 9, 10, domini, sæc-uli; infant-ià, ub-èra; 13, 14 P-ìlìpi, peru-ìgìli; 15, 16, nutìbus, nubìbus; 17, 18, Par-thìæ, scien-tìæ; 19, 20, mu-nerè, pro-pèrè; 21, 22, co-minus, alte-rìns; 23, 24 tell-ura, epist-òla; 25, 26 Cannan-èi, sangu-ìne [here it is not impossible that déi should be the last word of the line]; 27, 28 m-èritis, editìs; 29, 30 justit-ìæ, Alàxandr-ìæ; 31, 32 evangèlist-æ, honor-ë; 33, 34 merit-à, oper-à; 35, 36 mart-ìris, susp-ìris; 37, 38 uàlida, suffr-àgia; 39, 40 I-acula, propugn-acula; 41, 42 pect-òra, sæc-ula; 43, 44 gen-ìto, ag-ìo.

There are no assonances nor alliterations sought for, nor are other harmonies introduced save incidentally. No attention is paid to quantity, for here, too, the short penult of the verse ignores the classical quantity, as in præceptòris, &c., and even suspirìs (36). Elision is not permitted, so that in 11 the reading of F lectì is correct, against the electì of T, which would need its final i to be elided before ab, for the metre. Again, in 27, the reading of F prelectì is correct.

The treatment of initial i before vowels is not quite uniform, for we have 1 iùda, 11 iòhannis, 24 ìesu, but in the two cases of iàcobi, 9 and 21, the two vowels are sounded separately, just as in Madìani (27), and ì:acula (39), invitiìa (41). The case of
The LoricA of Gildas,

Bd. We have now to consider the LoricA of Gildas (No. 48), which is most instructive in respect of the treatment of Latin words by this class of writers. As in the other Latin hymns of this Irish family, no elision is observed, and quantity is often ignored; the whole attention is concentrated on the number of syllables, and on the rhyme correspondences. The metre is trochaic trimeter catalectic, and the formula is 2(6 + 5). In every pair of lines there is a cretic jingle of assonance (trisyllabic).

The last three syllables exhibit these following principles:—

1. The last vowel always rhymes exactly, and a succeeding consonant, if present, is always the same; thus we have as the rhyming finals, a, e, i, o; as, es, is, us; am, em, um; at.

2. This final vowel may be preceded immediately, (a) by another rhyming vowel, or (b) be separated from it by a single consonant, b, c, t; l, m, n, r, or in four cases by the combined consonants 83 ll, 23 mn, 45 rm, 85 nt.

In case of (a) we have the combinations, i-a, i-am, i-as, i-at; i-e, i-es; but i-am rhymes with e-am, i-at with e-at, i-a with e-la and u-a, and i-as with u-mas.

In case of (b), we have the liquids 'rhyming' with each other: m, r; n, r; n, l; but we have l rhyming with c and with t; r with c: in other words, the single consonants that are used as 'interveners,' were appa-
rently allowed as equivalents, except b which is only used with itself.

There are also the four cases of double consonants rhyming with single, in these harmonies: \( mn = r \), \( nt = n \), \( rm = r \), and \( ll = n \), where also the double consonant does not lengthen the preceding vowel.

The vowel remains in general the same, but these varieties are observable: \( ima, era \); \( antes, ines \); \( era, ula \); \( onas, enas \); \( one, ine \); \( ormi, ori \); \( otem, icem \); \( ieci, uri \); \( ulum, icum \); \( ere, ore \); \( ine, ere \); \( itu, ule \); \( i-a, ela \); \( i-as, umas \); \( u-a, ela \); i.e., it is obvious that any short vowel satisfied the conditions of the verse. Thus we find: \( a \), with \( i \); \( e \), with \( i, o, u \); \( i \), with \( e, o, u \); \( o \), with \( e, i \); and \( u \), with \( e, i \), &c.

(3) The antepenult has a long vowel (not always correctly), which is so frequently the same as to show that the writer must have sought identity as far as obtainable; and the separating consonant was no doubt made to harmonise to the utmost extent possible under the conditions.

This ‘lorica’ is of great importance, because it shows the pronunciation with the strong stress of voice producing the effect of a long vowel. For it is plain that only thus could the effect of the poem have been realised. It demands a little effort, no doubt, to accept the possibility of such a rhyming equation, for instance, as \( tutela = po-tentia \) in l. 32, but until this be accepted, there would be little use in presenting \( virgini-es omnes \) as a rhyme for \( conf-es-ores \) in 24, which it assuredly was intended by the poet to be. And the horror to a Latinist will not be diminished by the presentation of \( guturi = cervici \) as a satisfactory specimen of the possibilities of the verse.

In the text of B, are several minor errors; thus 8 should have ‘\textit{militae}’; 18 ‘\textit{ualeam}’; in 19 the last word is of course wrong, but
whether we read \textit{agonthētas} or \textit{agonōthētas} as the rhyme to \textit{prōfētas} will depend on the determination of the number of syllables in \textit{deinde}, which I think is trisyllabic; in \textit{20} quatessa has probably to be read as a dissyllable; in \textit{21} \textit{prōfētas} is an extraordinary transformation of \textit{προφήτης}, to rhyme with \textit{athētas} (\textit{ἄθλητης}); in \textit{42} \textit{ataque} has probably to be deleted; in \textit{46} \textit{facie}, in \textit{47} supercius should be read; in \textit{49} there is a syllable too many, which is probably to be secured by emending the first word into \textit{puplis}; in \textit{52} \textit{uvae} is evidently to be omitted, because it is the same as \textit{linguae} \textit{51}, and even so \textit{gurgulōni} has to be read with synizesis of \textit{iio}, or more probably as \textit{lyo}; in \textit{57} \textit{dom'ne} has to be read, or \textit{deinde} of the other MSS.; in \textit{64} \textit{unguibus} is necessary; in \textit{66} \textit{que} must be added to \textit{nervos} with \textit{ΔΨ}: in \textit{72} \textit{tibîs} \textit{et} \textit{calcibus} are the right readings; in \textit{80} there are two syllables extra in the line, but emendation would be mere guessing here, (perhaps \textit{renes} for \textit{reniculos} or should we omit \textit{fitrem} as a gloss?); in \textit{81} whatever \textit{toliam} may mean, it exemplifies the use of \textit{lyo} in \textit{52}, for it must be \textit{tolyam}, dissyllabic; in \textit{88} read \textit{praeter-ii}, in \textit{91} \textit{uti}; in \textit{95} either \textit{iiam} is to be read, or there is a syllable wanting; in \textit{97} delete \textit{factis} with \textit{CNΔ}.

C. Unit-rhymes.

We now enter upon the consideration of the poems in which the vowel at the cæsura rhymes with the final vowel of the line. The stanzas may include two, four, or six lines; but the principle is the same. In all cases the second hemistich is \textit{octosyllabic}, which at once distinguishes this section from those which have gone before. This, indeed, is the normal measure for hymns, being that in which most of the verses in our collection are written.

\textit{Ca.} The commonest form is the two-line stanza, \textit{2} (\textit{8 + 8}), exemplified in our No. \textit{15}, the hymn ascribed to Columba, beginning:

\textit{In té Christè credentiūm misèreários omniūm.}
The rhyme bears only on the last syllable, though the preceding syllable usually has the same or a kindred vowel. But there is nothing Irish in this stanza, metrically, and most probably the real Irish poets, such as Colman and Cuchuimne, would not have regarded this hymn as deserving a high place for its artistic structure. The rhymes are poor, and largely made up of mere grammatical identities: *credentium, viventium; ascenderat, salvaverat, &c*. These do not merit much applause. The alliterations are mere repetitions: *uiita viventium; virtus virtutum, iudex iudicum; princeps principum, &c*. In fact the hymn has every appearance of being a mere hasty after-thought, as indeed the Preface leads us to infer.

It naturally falls into two divisions, the first (ll. 1–16) addressed to the Trinity, and the second (ll. 16—end) addressed to Christ. In both sections there are irregularities of all sorts. L. 10 is wrong, for

\[
\text{deus rex regni in gloria} \\
\text{deus ipse uiuentium}
\]

does not furnish rhyme at all, and *regni* suffers elision before *in*, which is not permissible. In l. 14, "omnia noua cuncta et uetera" is very poor. The stanza which begins with l. 19 is incomplete. L. 23 is intolerable, for *redemeret* cannot rhyme with *passus est*. In l. 24 *penetrat* is poor rhyme for *ascenderat*, apart from the tense of the latter. In l. 26 *gloria* has its final vowel elided, although *patri* does not suffer elision before *ingenito*.

There is nothing to be said in favour of this hymn; it is quite unworthy of being placed in juxtaposition with Columba's great poem, the *Altus Prosator*.

The next poem, *Noli pater* (our No. 16), is written in the same measure, 2 (8 + 8); but it produces a totally different effect, because the rhymes are rich. Here too we are face to face with a mere fragment of three stanzas. Thus we have:

\[
\text{indulgere, fulgore; formidine, uridine; terribilem, simillem; carmina, agmina; culmina, fulmina; amantissime, rectissime;}
\]
i.e., in the first three stanzas the caesura- and end-rhymes are trisyllabic rich rhymes in absolute correctness, where both vowels and consonants have the requisite harmonies. But the fourth stanza is not quite so good; the fifth has no harmony and is incomplete; and the remaining pair of stanzas have nothing to do with this poem at all.

The first three stanzas have the real Irish rhyme (although it may fairly be doubted whether even line 6 is genuine), which at once brings the poet into line with Colman and Cuchuimne. But saeula and regimina would not have been approved of by these past masters in the art of 'harmony,' while gratia and sicera would have been certainly rejected. They belong to the style of which we have another example in ecce fulget clarissima (our No. 31) which is now to be examined.

Here at the outset we meet a difficulty, for how can clarissima be held to rhyme with sollemnisitas? That it is not an error is clear from l. 13, where the same occurs, gentilitas with monita; so 16 astutia with fuerat, and 17 dilectissimi with presulis. These bad rhymes at once disclose a totally different theory of versification.

The two hymns (31 and 32) to Patrick and Brigid, probably belong to the same period, though the latter does not furnish an example of the bad rhyme referred to, and with the exception of l. 2 (where gaudia would remove the objectionable want of rhyme), has at least its final vowel correct.

The same measure, 2(8+8) is found in the hymn Christi patris in dextera (our No. 45), which was evidently written by a late imitator of the early hymns (see below, p. 241).

So in the alphabetical hymn Abbas probatus omnino (our No. 28), we have the similar system n(8+8). Here there is no further requirement of harmony than the final vowel (and consonant); the vowels ie may be monophthong, as in 15 probatus sapiens peritus, or be sounded separately as in 17 requiescit post obitum. Note also—lasrius in 12, and the monstrosity in 9, ieiunus as a word of four syllables.
The late hymn No. 44, does not even rhyme accurately, and is of no importance here. It comes under the head Cb. This is also the metre of the hymn in praise of St. Ciaran (our No. 27), upon which something must be said. The MSS. YZ preserve the metre better than T, e.g., 1 *ineffabili, cetui* 2 *specule*; 1. 4 is given more accurately in the former MSS. The lines (9-12) *Rogamus deum* have nothing to do with the poem itself, for 1. 9 is not in rhyme and has a syllable too many. The same is true of 1. 10, in which also *Ciàranì* has to be read as four syllables, although in the poem itself we have *Queránus* with three.

It is possible that the lines should be arranged differently, and that we should print one stanza of the pattern Cc, 6(8+8), followed by two supplementary lines. Certainly lines 4 and 5 run together, *Quiaranus* . . . *inaltatus est*; and the phrase *nouissimis temporibus* recalls the words of the antiphon appended to the *Altus Prosator* (vol. i. p. 81), *nouissino in tempore*. *Rogamus deum*, &c., of our hymn in praise of St. Ciaran, would then correspond to the invocation *Deum patrem* . . . *inuoco* which follows the antiphon at the end of the *Altus*. See below, p. 218, where Colgan is quoted as giving a line very like 1. 7 as the beginning of a hymn of Columba in praise of Ciaran.

Cc. We now proceed to consider the *Altus Prosator* of St. Columba (our No. 14). Its metre is 6(8+8), with cæsura- and end-rhymes. No attention is paid to quantity, for even in the penult syllable of the line, which must always be short, we find such cases as 10 *majéstas*; 20 *antiquus*; 74 *infernum*; 103 *cupido*; 108 *erumpémus*; 123 *vexillum*; 135 *venisse*. The stress of the voice on the accented syllable for the beats was quite sufficient for the measure.

But in order to read the verses properly, attention has to be paid to the treatment of concurrent vowels. Here the modern habit of printing *u* and *v* indiscriminately by *u*, and *i* and *j* by *i*, has introduced a needless difficulty. These letters *i* and *u* are always consonants when they are *initial* or come *between two*
vowels, hence 96 jacula; 97 judicem; 103 hujus; 45. 88. 89. 90. 91 cujus; 10 majestas; 44 dejectus. This is carried out so that in compounds the initial preserves its rights even after a consonant; hence 18 per- vicacis; 18 in-vidia; 24 di-versorum. But then, even this does not explain all, because we have 7 salva; 66 ferventibus; 82 re-volvere.

Omitting then the cases of consonant vowel, there remain to be considered the numerous cases of the concurrence of two vowels. These are treated in the following table.

The following combinations are possible:

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They occur as follows:

1Aë: 45 aëris; (97 Israhel;)
Ai: 92 sinaï.

[au is always a monophthong, 18. 33. 35. 54. 111. 133.]

EA: 125 ficulnea.

Ei: 52 ceruleis; [53 vineis F;] 57 dei, 68, 70, 132; 114 eisdem;

Eö: 6 deos; 17 codem; 135 deo.

EU: 6 deum; 71 cundem; 114 obeuntibus; 115 redeuntibus.

1 Of course æ is read as e, and y = i. It is to be observed that in the combination qu, u is always treated as a consonant; hence we have the monosyllabic qua, 27, 64, 67, 84; que, 81 and passim; qui, 12, 21, 58; quo, 28, 40.
THE METRICAL SYSTEMS OF THE LATIN HYMNS.

IA: 5 gloria; 12 celestia, previlegia; 23 tertiam, &c., cf. 26. 29. 30. 50. 51. 56. 67. 68. 85. 88. 93. 95. 96. 109. 111. 112. 136. 136. 139. [It is plain therefore that in 30 bestias is trisyllabic and that et should be omitted as in all MSS. save T; also that etralibus should be read (with EI) in 114, as ethrialibus has five syllables.]

IE[æ]: 1 dierum; 5 dietatis; 16 superbiendo; 18 cenodoxiae, &c., cf. 21. 48. 67. 75. 91. 98. 99. 100. 101. 107. 118, 120. 129. [Hence in 102 mulierum is to be read mulierum, where li merely represents the liquid l.]

II: always = i, cf. 22 bestiis; 63 obicibus; 72 promontoriis [Hence in 53, we have to read vineä, with all MSS. save T.]

IO: 7 gloriosus; 10 otiosa; 14 stationis, &c., cf. 21. 22. 35. 36. 37. 44. 51. 59. 64. 81. 86. 87. 89. 103. 105. 115. 116. 128. 131. 134. 138.

IÜ: 92 sedium, virtutium; 24 infernalium, &c., cf. 34. 40. 45. 46. 49. 65. 74. 76. 77. 100. 102. 120. 126. 127.

[OŒ: 5 co-aeternus.]

[OY: a monophthong: 97 Moysen.]

ÜA: 5 perpetua; 55 evacuant; 93 tonitrua. [In 89 T has et tua, which gives no meaning, though it preserves the measure; but the reading of MEIII etiam which was no doubt intended to mend the sense, unfortunately ruins the measure, because iam is jam, so that etiam is only a dissyllable; and in any case etiam never occurs in these hymns. I have little doubt that the word should be eternæ, etnae.]

ÜE: 16 ruerat: 42 intueri; 46 perduellium.

ÜI: 4 cui; 19 suis; 21 fuit; 39 ruit, suis; 85 sui; 138 perpetuis.

ÜO: 38 duobus, 124; 100 tonitruorum; 88. 130. 131. quatuor.

ÜU: 40 vultuum; 67 influunt.
With respect to the rhymes, the chief rhyming syllable is *us* of the *nom. sg.* or the *dat.-ab. -ibus*; with *us* we have the rhyme *os* twice, 108 and 134, just as the rhyme *is* = *es* occurs 25 and 49; but *as* only rhymes with itself. With other consonants final, of *t* we have only *-erat* 16, 27, 84; *-am* occurs once 26; *-(i)um* is pretty frequent. The remaining rhymes all bear on the vowel final *a*, *e*, *o*, *i*.

No special attempt is made to secure alliteration or assonance, which occur only incidentally and not in obedience to any rule.

Cb. The last hymn to be considered is Ultan's alphabetical quatrains in honour of Brigid. The metre is similar to the last allowing four lines instead of six to the stanza, 4 (8 + 8).

But it is to be observed that the poem consists only of three stanzas, beginning with *X*, *Y* and *Z* respectively, for the last four lines beginning *audite virginis laudes*, do not form a quatrain of either this or any other metre: certainly not this metre, because the 'units' do not rhyme; certainly not any other, because the first three lines are (8 + 7), while the fourth is (7 + 7) measure, with rhymed 'units.' In addition, the second line has nine syllables, for *perfectio nem* has five syllables, so that it is wholly impossible to regard *any one* of these four lines as forming any portion of the original poem of Ultan.

---

1 In 27 rhyme is absent, for *fecerat* does not rhyme with *condidit*; and the reading *considerat* of E involves the omission of *et* before *agus*, which breaks the symmetry of the line.
The three lines at the end, *Brigita sancta sedulo*, are really written in this metre, but they could not have formed portion of the alphabetical hymn, because they do not form a quatrain, and they end with *in saecula saeculorum*, the whole being an invocation which could hardly have stood second [B] in an alphabetical poem.

The only difficulty in the three genuine verses of the hymn is the syllabification of the word *consueuit*, in l. 10; for -sue- must be dissyllabic, and then *u* between vowels must be consonantal, so that we can only have *con-su-e-vit* of four syllables and this does not satisfy the measure. The other MSS., unfortunately, do not enable us to put the matter right, but the insertion of *et* before *diurno* is a reasonable conjecture. In other respects, the rhymes and the numbers are all correct.

But I cannot think it probable that this hymn of Ultan originally contained a whole alphabet of quatrains. In the first place, it is quite certain that the Preface when speaking of 'the *first* capitulum, and the *last three* capitula causa brevitatis,' is thoroughly wrong in its statement about the *first* capitulum, which is not present. Further, I doubt whether it be possible to consider the lines, *Christus in nostra insula quae vocatur Hibernia*, &c., in any other light than as an introductory stanza, for a specification of this kind would be quite out of place in the antepenultimate stanza of a lay poem. The poem referred to in the Preface as beginning with *Audite virginis laudes*, is categorically declared to contain the enumeration of Brigid's miracles, and that could not have been effected in the twenty stanzas remaining of an alphabetical poem. And, in fact, the uncertain manner in which the Preface (T) speaks of the author of this Hymn, shows that little was known about it; the words *dicunt alii*, &c., make it probable that the final clause was itself merely an inference from the presence of *Audite virginis laudes* in sequence to our Hymn.
THE METRICAL SYSTEMS OF THE LIBER HYMNORUM.

§ 2. THE IRISH HYMNS.

In an attempt to investigate the metre of the Irish hymns contained in this book, we are confronted with the problem of the relations of Irish metric to Latin metric. It is possible that Irish verses with a definite number of syllables were unknown in Ireland before the introduction of Latin. In what form the early pagan poets set forth their passions and their dreams we have no knowledge; but in a language of strong word-accent, such as Irish is proved by its morphology to have been from the earliest times, the native speech must have run together the unaccented short syllables, much after the fashion that still prevails,\(^1\) so that it is not improbable that the limitation of a line of verse to a definite number of syllables became a rule in Ireland only through foreign influence. It is not without significance that the names used in reference to metrical matters are borrowed; thus we have *rithim*, *line* &c.

The word 'rhyme' is of unknown origin, the Romance languages have transmitted it to the Germanic, but they did not get it from Celtic, where it does not exist. The Old Irish *röm* refers to 'number' as does the OHG *rim*, but the notion of 'rhyme' as we understand it was not expressed thereby. There are abundant examples in our poems of perfect rhymes, but the essentials of Irish rhyme involved *harmony* rather than *identity* of the consonants. The expression of the native metricists is *comharda*,

\(^1\) Thus, *e.g.*, the disyllabic sound *hyllb* is nearly all that the ear can hear of the word which is spelt *shiuhaileoghaidh*.
which denotes a definite 'correspondence' of a particular kind in the last words of lines; e.g. $oi + r$ is a good *comhrada* with $oi + g$, or *all* with *am*. To this end the later metricists, following without doubt an immemorial tradition, divided the consonants into classes that contained such as were held to be capable of forming 'harmonies' with each other, viz.:

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccc}
p, & k, & t, & o, & h, & y, & l', & n', & r', & u, & u', & u', & ung \\
b, & g, & d, & & & & & & & & & & \\
f, & x, & & & & & & & & & & & & \\
v, & y, & & & & & & & & & & & & \\
\end{array}
\]

The last row embraces the *l* &c. of hard 'timbre', denoted by the vague half-utterance of *u* [ö] before the consonant.

This very excellent classification is amply justified by the results so far as sound is concerned; and it may be noted that it must have been constructed by *native* writers, because some of the sounds were not extant in the classic languages. But whoever first elaborated it, the practice must have been early; and we can have no reason for doubting that the Irish poets of two thousand years ago were experimentally acquainted with its meaning and value as one of the implements of their art. Other names are used, such as *amus*, inner rhyme, or 'assonance,' and *uaim*, 'alliteration,' but it is unnecessary to dwell upon these here. No difficulty can arise from the use of familiar terms such as *rhyme, assonance* &c.; and it is convenient to use the term 'assonance' to denote the Irish rhyme in the case of *non-final* words, leaving 'rhyme' for *final* words. The term 'alliteration' can be held to denote in general the identity of the consonantal initial, or the occurrence of two words with any vowel initial.

Early Irish poetry then must undoubtedly have been characterised by the presence of these two fundamental conditions: (1) strongly-accentuated utterance, and (2) harmonies of words. The number of syllables employed was not an original feature; and it is not unlikely that the *Rhetorics* which we find in the
early stories were typical of the prose-poetry that preceded the syllable-counting of post-Christian days.

The uncertainty which envelops the Irish hymns (for the Prefaces add little of a positive kind to our knowledge), makes it unfortunately necessary to have recourse to inferences, and that on very limited data. All that we know is that about the year 1100, (when a perfectly definite system of metric was understood, as is plain ex. gr. in the Saltair na Rann,) we find in two MSS. these Irish Hymns, written in a manner that showed the respect in which they were held, and accompanied by Prefaces declaring their great antiquity. But the prefaces are quite unhistorical, and the verses contain abundant proofs of middle Irish forms, so that they are assuredly not to be taken as mere copies of Old Irish poems. They no doubt contain fragments or even sections, handed down by long tradition from older times, but they present too many dubious elements to admit of their being regarded as genuine poems by the authors named in the Prefaces, handed down by transcribers liable to err but not desirous of altering.

As there is no ground for inferring the priority in time of one of these poems over the other, so far as the MSS. are concerned, I begin with the analysis of the one perfect poem in our collection, so as to show what the possibilities of the case were, to a poet.

The Hymn Brigit be bithmaith.

This poem, in praise of Brigid (our No. 21), is variously ascribed in the Preface to Colum Cille and to Ultan. Whoever may have been the author, he was an excellent artist, and the existence of this poem shows that (1) metrical laws had been thoroughly elaborated when it was composed, and (2) that the natural accent of the words was preserved in the verse-ictus.

I have transcribed it, marking this natural accent, to show

1 The hymns considered in the following pages are numbered in our collection 5, 12–24, and 29.

Liber Hymn. II.
that Irish poets did as a matter of fact write rhythmical verses with a definite number of syllables:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Irish</th>
<th>Irish</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Brigit be bithmaith</td>
<td>breo òrda òiblech</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>donfè don bith-laith</td>
<td>ingrian tind tàidlech.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ronsòera Brigit</td>
<td>sech drùngu dèhma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ròdèna ròunn</td>
<td>càtha cach thèdma.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>doròdba inunn</td>
<td>ar còlla cisu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in chròeb co mblàthaib</td>
<td>in màthair ìsu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ind fir-oig inmain</td>
<td>co n-òrddain àdbail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biam sòer cech inbaid</td>
<td>la’m nòeb do Làignib</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leth-chòlba flàtha</td>
<td>la Pàtraic primda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in tàcht uas ligaib</td>
<td>ind rigan rigda.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>robbèt iar sinit</td>
<td>ar cúirp hic cilicc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dia ràth ronbròena</td>
<td>ronsòera Brigit.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On examining these verses it is plain that the beat is absolutely iambic, but that the natural accent of the words has its full play; yet every metrical requisite is also present:—

[a] The measure is 2 (5 + 5).
[b] The rhymes are dissyllabic, and perfect.
[c] Alliteration is always observed in the latter half of each first line, o = o ; d = d ; c = c ; o = a ; p = p ; c = c ; (vowels alternating with each other).
[d] Assonances knitting up the half-lines in some form or other, occur in every stanza: bith-maith, bithlaith ; ronsoera, roroena ; blàthaib, màthair ; inmain, inbaid ; ligaib, rigan (or ligdaib, rigda) ; sinit, cilicce ; broena, soera.

This is what the true poets composed: these verses are stamped with the hall-mark of artistic perfection, and they teach us what opinion is to be held on the other verses in our collection. The Latin Hymns of Mac Murchon and Cuchuimne, and this Irish Hymn of Colum Cille or of Ultan prove that the so-called Hymns of Colman and Fiacc and Broccan are merely products of pious zeal, which the poets would not have deigned to acknowledge as poetry.
The Hymn Sén Dé.

We may take the other poems in the order of their occurrence, for, as far as poetry or metric is concerned, they are much on a level. They represent very distinctly the mood of the early Irish church: a general invocation, referring to the Old Testament worthies, two hymns specially referring to Patrick and Brigit, and a hymn of Sanctan which is a kind of 'lorica', followed by the well-known Lorica of Patrick.

Beginning then with the Sén Dé (our No. 5), we feel at once the wide difference between these verses and the poem of Ultan just examined: everywhere there are irregularities of measure, of rhyme, of ictus, and neither assonance nor alliteration is regarded as an essential element in the stanza. But the word don'fe of Ultan is just as old as the same word in Colman; nor is there any reason for maintaining that Ultan's poem is of later date than Colman's, save just this irregularity. Obviously, it would be merely begging the question to assert that Colman's must be older because of the irregularities. Prima facie, the probability is the other way, for we have seen the like careful workmanship in the Latin poems, so that it is more probable that the early Christian poets would, in their native poems, strive after the perfection which they had attained in their Latin poems, than that they would be content with such poor specimens as the kind we have here, after their success in the foreign language.

The truth is that these Irish poems have all the appearance of being a sort of versus memoriales badly put together.

The Sén Dé, for example, cannot be regarded as a popular poem, intended for the instruction of the people, on account of the Latin phrases which are interspersed; but one does not see either how it could have been read with any effect even by students of theology after the fashion of versus memoriales, owing to the marked difference of structure in the beats of the verse. In each of the following lines, e.g., we have only two
THE METRICAL SYSTEMS OF THE IRISH HYMNS.

clearly marked beats: 21, in nostris sermônibus; 22, dilium tempôribus; 23, incérto de sèmeine; 24, ab ómni formídine; whereas in others we have three beats: 32, illí leónum óri; 21, règem rècum rogánum.

Be that as it may, however, an investigation discloses the following facts: First, elision is not practised. Thus: 2, for a oessam, [brought about by the deletion of the initial f]; 3, no utmaille; 5, itge Abeil; Heli, Enoc; 7, Noe ocus; 8, tairle adamna; 9, ailme athair; 12, Iesu Aaron; 16, [a] apstalaib; 17, Maire Joseph; 18, anna Ignati; 19, robai hi; 22, Noe a; 24, a airnigthe; 25, seda habetur; 29, ruri anacht; 35, nostro opere; 36, occa i; 43, la haingliu i.

It will be seen that in the Latin as in the Irish, hiatus is permitted. Thus in 35 whether the pronunciation was nostrò opère digno (for the verse-ictus), or followed the normal pronunciation nòstro opère digno, in neither case is there possibility of elision.

When we ask if the exact number of syllables in each line was always strictly maintained, we come upon our second observation, viz.: Vowels coming together are monophthong, whether the vowels be long or short.1

Thus:—

ai: 1 Maire; 2 cain: 3 utmaille; 5 Adaim, cobair; 6 fogair; 7 tedmaim, 'tairlé; 9 ailme, athair; 10 ernaigthi, ainglech; 11 snaidium, 'snaid, maire [Lat. mare]; 14 fiadat; 15 baptaist; 16 apstalaib, cobair, &c.
en

ci: 5 Abeil; 25 tein; 32 leic; 33 slabreid; 34 reid, amreid.

co: 15 coín [pron. yo-in, or perhaps Ow-en, as now].

ia: 2 cia, tiasam; 6 dian; 11 tria; 16 diar, 20, 31, 34, 45; 20 sciath; 45 liar, ria.

ie: 12 Iesu, 16.

io: 9 Josephh; 17; 37 Ionas; [but 13 Íob].

iu: 11 snaidium: 15 ditiu; 27 snaidiumn, 38; 43 aingliu.

;o: 2 foessam, 51; 6 soerat, 10, 24, 25, &c.; 19 noeb, 46, 51; 33 foedes 52 broena; [but 7 Novi, 22].

1 But in 32 the Latin sum is dissyllabic, and leonum is trisyllabic.
**THE HYMN SEN DE.**

oi: 11 Moisi; 31 roigse; 34 doroiter; 37 mór.
ua: 9 uas(er); 10 uasal; 20 huan; 29 ruadi.
ui: 3 suide; 4 ruire; 11 tuisech; 15 adsluinnem; 39 guidi; 41 huili; 50 huile.

There is one example of the union of three vowels, in the interpolated lines, 40, timchhuairt, but it is also monophthong. Thus, whatever vowels come together they are pronounced together. To this the only exceptions are in the proper names Íob, Noë, and Eoïn, as disyllables.

On examining the poem, it appears that all the half lines contain seven syllables, with these exceptions:

16 Iesu con apstalaib (S.T., but F has cona).
25 qui per saecula habetur (but here secla must be read).

It seems therefore that the writer intended that his poem should follow these laws:

1. Each stanza to consist of two lines rhyming dissyllabically.
2. Each line to have a caesura after the seventh syllable and to end with the fourteenth.
3. All vowels coming together in the same word to be pronounced in one syllable, but not so when coming together in separate words.¹
4. With the exception of the last ictus on the penultimate syllable of the line, the place of the ictus was not fixed, but the number of syllables in the line naturally limited the number of beats, to two or three in each half-line.

The law of the stanza may be exhibited, thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First half-line</th>
<th>Second half-line</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>two or three beats</td>
<td>two or three beats</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7</td>
<td>8 9 10 11 12 13 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7</td>
<td>8 9 10 11 12 13 14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Rhyming.

¹ The compound *diar* 'to our' is one word, as is *45 liur*. 
The following will exemplify the nature of the accentuation and the place of occurrence of the beats, in the body of the hymn:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sen Dè donfè fordonfè</th>
<th>Macc Màire ronfèladar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>For a òessam dun innòcht</td>
<td>Cia tiasam caintèmadar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Itir fòss no ìtmaille</td>
<td>Itir sùide no ëessam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ruire nime fri cech trèss</td>
<td>Issed ìttach adèssam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Itge Òbeil macc Ìdàim</td>
<td>Hèli, Ènoc diar còbair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ronsòerat ar diangàlar</td>
<td>Seciplèth fon mbith fògair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nóè ocus Ìbrahàim</td>
<td>Ísac in màcc àdamra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immuntisat ar tèdmàim</td>
<td>Nachantàirle a dàmna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The irregularity in the number of the beats, cannot be always stated with certainty, for though it may be possible to assert a secondary accent in 15, ropdìitiu diùn, rop snàdud, this is hardly possible in 16, rop diar còbair fri gàbnuì, for none of the words will bear any stress beyond the two marked; I have not therefore enumerated all the individual cases.

The first stanza is remarkable for its ending, as the lines must rhyme on the antepenult, fèladar-tèmadar. But with this exception, and the Latin half-lines 21, 22, 23, 24, the accent is on the penult, until we come to the last line, 38, where we have the stress on the ultimate. It might seem here indeed, that, as it was apparently de rigueur that the writer should finish with the first half-line, which ended fordonfè, he had to introduce the monosyllable. This repetition is just as disconnected from the rest of the stanza as is the similar repetition in Broccan's Hymn, l. 188.

The foregoing observations on metre only relate to ll. 1–38, where the poem was shown to end by the very form, but even this first division is itself composite, and ll. 1–20 may be clearly distinguished from ll. 21–38. There is a double list of saints and martyrs invoked, and some names occur in both lists. Thus in ll. 1–20 we have the historical sequence: Abel, [Elijah], Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, Moses, Joshua,
Aaron, David, Job, the prophets, the Maccabees, John the Baptist, Jesus, the Apostles, Mary, Joseph, Stephen, Ignatius, martyrs, hermits and virgins. Then in ll. 21–38 we begin again, with Noah, Melchisedech, Lot, Abraham, the Three Children, David, Daniel, Peter, Jonah, the italicised names being common to both series.

This repetition plainly denotes the use of an additional document, from which the writer was making excerpts. In this case the addition was characterised by the quite peculiar introduction of Latin rhyming lines or half-lines, as shown here:—

| 21  | regem regum rogamus       | in nostris sermonibus       |
| 22  | ...                       | diluui temporibus.          |
| 23  | Melchisedech rex Salem    | incerto de semine           |
| 24  | ...                       | ab omni formidine.          |
| 25  | ...                       | qui per secla habetur       |
| 26  | ut nos omnes precamur     | liberare dignetur.          |
| 28  | ...                       | limpa fontis in gaba.       |
| 30  | suum profetam             | Dauid de manu Golai.        |
| 32  | ...                       | ulli leonum ori.            |
| 35  | ...                       | nostro opere digno          |
| 36  | ...                       | in paradisi regno.          |

The last stanza of the second section (ll. 37, 38), has plainly been added to round off the piece. Jonah does not come naturally into the series after Peter. When the writer had got as far as l. 36, where the (assumed) Latin original probably ended with in paradisi regno, he too sought to bring his work to an end, and so the repetition of Sen dé doufe fordonte demanding a monosyllable to rhyme with te, the familiar stop-gap monar ngle was suggested, and Jonah and his whale suited this well enough.

In the lines next following, the metre is different, for lines 39, 40 make a stanza with rhyming trisyllables at the end, guide-se, scule-se, while lines 41–43 have a wholly incongruous

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1 The whole Litany may be compared with the litany given in Sallaire na Rann (poem cxxxviii. p. 107, l. 7297 ff.), which follows a similar Biblical list, though Stokes has obscured this by not perceiving that Oeth mentioned in it is not the Odyssean Ótri, but Ehad.
metrical, of rhymes at middle and end; the caesural fir in 41 rhymes with the final rig, and the caesural rissam in 42 with the final rissam, while 43 has a trisyllabic rhyme hil-lethu, bith-bethu. Then ll. 44, 45 return to the metre of the original poem; and this stanza may have been its conclusion as first written. Lines 47-54 are also in the original metre, but they can hardly be regarded in any other light than as a later appendix.¹

These considerations lead to the following analysis of the poem. The Introduction (ll. 1-4); The Litany (ll. 5-20); The Supplementary Litany (ll. 21-36); The Jonah finale (ll. 37, 38); The Supplementary lines, 39, 40; 41, 42; 43; The original conclusion after l. 20 (ll. 44, 45); later invocation to Irish Saints (ll. 47-54).

The Hymn Genair Patraic.

We now come to the hymn of St. Fiacc in praise of St. Patrick (our No. 19); the Preface is quite unhistorical, and it is impossible to regard the hymn as of the age there assigned to it. It will be convenient to begin the metrical investigation by giving an analysis of the piece, accompanied by an indication of the nature of the rhymes in several stanzas:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stanza.</th>
<th>Subject.</th>
<th>Rhyme.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(ll. 1-2)</td>
<td>Patrick’s birthplace, and age in captivity</td>
<td>dissyllabic.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii (ll. 3-4)</td>
<td>His name and parentage</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iii (ll. 5-6, &amp;c.)</td>
<td>His captivity</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iv ...</td>
<td>Victor bids him escape...</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v ...</td>
<td>and sends him to Germanus to Italy</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vi ...</td>
<td>He studies with Germanus</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vii ...</td>
<td>‘Angels were bringing him back’</td>
<td>trisyllabic.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>viii ...</td>
<td>The call from Fochlad’s Wood,</td>
<td>dissyllabic.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ The fact that neither the words ‘around this school’ in l. 40 nor ‘on this monastery’ in l. 47 have any glossarial note perhaps suggest that these later verses were written in the monastery where the notes were added. See p. 117 below.
Of the two rules observed in the case of the *Són Dé*, viz.:
(i) *Elision is not practised.* (ii) *Vowels coming together are monophthong, whether the vowels be long or short,* it is to be noted:—

(i.) This rule is fairly well observed in the piece *Genair Patraic*; but there are six clear instances of elision, viz.: 14 *atchití hi físhíb* [F *itchíthe*]; 20 *co de a iartái*ge [F *co ti an*]; 28 *conséna a ríge*; 33 *morféirta il-léith*; 52 *il-láithiu in messa* (F *om in*); 65 *adélía in Patraic*.

Now the early Latin poems do not tolerate elision;³ nor do

---

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stanza.</th>
<th>Subject.</th>
<th>Rhyme.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ix</td>
<td>for the conversion of the tribes</td>
<td>dissyllabic.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x</td>
<td>The tribes prophesy his coming</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xi</td>
<td>Loegaire's druids do not hide it</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xii</td>
<td>Patrick's crusade against idolatry</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xiii</td>
<td>His devotional and ministerial life</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xiv</td>
<td>His asceticism</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xv</td>
<td>His recitation of the <em>Psalter</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xvi</td>
<td>His couch a stone</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xvii</td>
<td>His miracles</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xviii</td>
<td>His preaching</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xix</td>
<td>The perdition of the Sons of Emer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xx</td>
<td>Patrick's preaching for sixty years</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xxi</td>
<td>Darkness of Paganism over Ireland</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xxii</td>
<td>Armagh a Kingdom; Tara desolate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xxiii</td>
<td>Patrick's wish to go to Armagh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xxiv</td>
<td>Victor and the Burning Bush</td>
<td>polysyllabic.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xxv</td>
<td>His dignity to Armagh; himself to heaven</td>
<td>dissyllabic.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xxvi</td>
<td>Privileges of his hymn, &amp;c.</td>
<td>monosyllabic.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xxvii</td>
<td>Tassach gives him his last Communion</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xxviii</td>
<td>Light for a year after Patrick's death</td>
<td>dissyllabic.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xxix</td>
<td>The sun stood still for Joshua</td>
<td>monosyllabic.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xxx</td>
<td>more fitly for the saints</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xxxi</td>
<td>Patrick's requiem</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>xxxii</td>
<td>Angels take part in it</td>
<td>dissyllabic.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xxxiii</td>
<td>He ascended with 'the other Patrick'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xxxiv</td>
<td>The humility of his service</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

1 The proper name *Odissi* probably accounts for the trisyllable in l. 4.
2 See above p. xi.
the hymns *Brigit be bith-maith* and *Sén Dé*. On the other hand the later poem *Saltair na Rann* supplies several examples of elision.\(^1\) It thus appears that the progress is from non-elision towards elision, and therefore that, other things agreeing, the date of the *Genair Patraic* (or at all events of the lines containing the elisions), is later than *Sén Dé*.

The combinations of monophthong concurrent vowels in the same word in *Genair Patraic*, are as follows:

\[\text{ae} : \text{only one instance, } 2 \text{ dacc, which must be regarded as a dissylable, or the line would be too short; but the symbol is that constantly given as } a, \text{ and not } e.\]

\[\text{ai} : \text{nearly 100 instances, but all monosyllabic.}\]

\[\text{[e] : 42 déacht, dissyll.]}\]

\[\text{et : meicc, leicc, deis-, ceilltis, asbeirtis, lèir, feiss, creitset, adfèit, étsecht, beith, gcèllius.}\]

\[\text{eo : 4 deochain.}\]

\[\text{ia : bliadna &c., dia, Torrian, cian, iarum, cian, briathar grian, ciasu, iar.}\]

*But there are four cases of exception, viz., *lia* 29; *gniad* 7, 30; (frì-a, 62).*

\[\text{iu : 10 -ciurt; 30 fluch; 34 fiuscad; (51 biu).}\]

*\[\text{[oâ : 4 hoâ; and 31 foaid, dissyll.]}\]

\[\text{oe : noeb, cloen, Loegaire, dorroega.}\]

\[\text{oi : dòine, toimled, chois, cóicat, coirthe, croich, Trinòite, soillse, assoith.}\]

\[\text{ua : tuatha, tuargaib, suas, uacht, tuataib, uadib, conhualai, uabar; [but 12 nà, 20 tua].}\]

\[\text{ui : forruib, huile, ymmuin, luim, cuilche, luíd, muine, buide duirt, Núin contuil; [but 21 druïd (?) dissyll.].}\]

*\[\text{[nai : tuaith, 29, 41, 57, but huair 59, dissyll.]}\]

The exceptions to the rule are the dissyllables: 2 *dacc*; 42 *déacht*; 29 *lia*, 7, 30 *gniad*; 62 *fria*; 4 *foaïd*; 19 *nua*, 20 *tua*; 21 *druïd*; 59 *huair*\(^2\).

Now of these words none occurs in the *Sén Dé*, unless perhaps we regard the compound *fria* as on a par with *li-ar*, *di-ar*, in l. 45. Perhaps *biu* in l. 51 might be taken as a dissyl-

\(^{1}\text{E.g. 59 in buidi in derg; 77 grainne a nguir; 105 rigla in bla; 121 tri chut-rumma intsain; 135 ísse in met sain; 156 da huarda im da.}\)

\(^{2}\text{The dissyllable *huair* seems extraordinary, for the }i\text{ cannot be regarded as forming a separate syllable, so that perhaps the writer intended *huaire*.}\)
lable, in which case there would be an additional example of elision.

We have, therefore, no material in this respect on which to base a judgement as to the respective dates of the two poems.

On examining the rhymes, it will be perceived that the verses do not all follow the same metrical system.

The abnormal stanzas are vii, xxiv, xxvi, xxvii, xxix–xxx; and these must now receive special examination as regards their subject matter.

vii (ll. 13, 14). This stanza plainly interrupts the course of the story. Stanza vi tells of Patrick’s education, stanza vii of the call from Fochlad; how then could stanza vii say, “the angels were bringing him”? And this becomes even more unmeaning, when l. 14 is considered; for the visions are apparently seen by Patrick.

xxiv. (ll. 47, 48). Stanza xxiii tells that when Patrick was sick he desired to go to Armagh, but an angel came to meet him and (stanza xxv) said to him, ‘Dignity to Armagh,’ &c. This is quite consecutive, but stanza xxiv drags in the name of Victor and the allusion to the miraculous Bush, and omits all mention of the angel’s orders, “Revertere ad locum unde uenis,” as given in the original source. It almost seems as if this stanza had been substituted for an earlier one, which told what the angel said in forbidding Patrick to go to Armagh. Other difficulties which it presents, are the meaning of dofaith, and of aridralastar, and the subject of adglastar (F adgalastar). Taking these things in connexion with the unusualness of the rhymes, I am led to the conclusion that the stanza has been interpolated.

1 Apparently do’d’setis is to be used in the same sense as do’n’fes, ‘May He bring us.’
2 Cf. Muirchu’s note in Book of Armagh (fol. 2 a 1) ‘eum crebris uissionibus uissitauit dicens ei adesse tempus ut ueniret’ &c.
3 Muirchu’s narrative (Book of Armagh, fol. 8 a 1). But if the writer of the original poem had really had Muirchu’s notes before him, he could not have inserted this item so baldly.
We now get into a fresh metric system with monosyllabic rhymes, and these stanzas (xxvi, xxvii, xxix–xxxii), seem to me to follow a tradition distinct from that of Muirchu. In stanza xxvi the two *privilegia* mentioned are different from the corresponding *petitiones* which were granted by the angel according to Muirchu. In the *Book of Armagh* (fol. 8 a 2), the *secunda petitio* is “ut quicumque ymnum qui de te compositus est in die exitus de corpore cantauerit, tu iudicabis poenitentiam eius de suis peccatis.” *This* would seem to allude to the hymn of St. Sechnall, but the stanza under consideration speaks of “A hymn which thou hast chosen in thy lifetime,’ language quite inappropriate to that hymn. Is it not plain that the Lorica of Patrick is intended by these words? The Preface to the Lorica shows exactly this promise, using indeed the same words; cf. vol. i. 133, 7 *bid ditiu do*, and 8 *bid lürech di-a anmain*, with the expression in the hymn, l. 51 *bid lürech diten do cach,* ‘a lorica of protection.’ Again, according to Muirchu, the *quarta petitio* was that “Hibernenses omnes in die iudicii a te iudicentur”; but how can this be represented by the Irish words *immut... regat... do brath,* ‘Around thee . . . they will go to Doom’? Indeed this *quarta petitio* has already been alluded to in the dissyllabic stanza xviii, which renders doubtful any second allusion such as we have here.

xxvii. Here the introduction of the name of Tassach without explanation, is curious and anomalous; these monosyllabic stanzas must have belonged to a different narrative in which reference had already been made to Tassach.

xxix–xxxii. With stanza xxviii we again take up the Muirchu tradition, for the words in l. 55, “to set a boundary against night,” are exactly Muirchu’s “contra noctem terminum pones.” But the monosyllabic stanzas xxix and xxx do not at all follow out the comparison of Muirchu, which refers to Isaiah’s prayer for a sign to be sent to Hezekiah (2 Kings xx, 11). Then, again, in stanza xxxi we have “Ireland’s clerics went to keep watch over Patrick”; this is the common tradition referred to
by the Four Masters (sub ann. 493), "During the twelve nights that the religious seniors were watching the body with psalms and hymns, it was not night, &c." But the stanza is plainly interpolated, and that wrongly, for "the sound of the singing" which "prostrated" the clerics of Ireland is not mentioned in the previous stanzas, although it is referred to in that which follows. In the dissyllabic stanza xxxii we have "God's angels on the first night kept watch unceasingly," which is Muirchu's order. His words are "In prima nocte exequiarum eius, anguei uigilias . . . fecerunt . . . omnibus quicumque ad uigilias in illa prima nocte ueniebant dormientibus." "The angels sang, and everyone fell asleep thereat," would have been the natural way of placing stanzas xxxi and xxxii.

There is, therefore, something abnormal in everyone of the cases in which the regular dissyllabic rhyme is broken in upon. The impression made on my mind is that of a late compilation, in which the narrative of Muirchu plays, directly or indirectly, a considerable part, though there may have been other accounts current at the time. I think that the five monosyllabic stanzas were borrowed from another poem having a different account from that of Muirchu. To these considerations adduced above may be added the facts that the monosyllabic rhymes give us 58 adfeit contrasted with 12 adfiadat for 3 pl. pres.; that they give 62 fosrolaich (F fosrolaic), compared with fosrolaic in l. 38, where the F glossator evidently felt a difference and probably a difficulty; and that they give 53 anais contrasted with 11 ainis (if the latter be taken to mean "he stayed");—facts, which of themselves might be unimportant, yet when falling in with other differences, are not to be left out of account.

Now if we accept the above argument so far as to admit the possibility of this poem's being a patch-work from two or more poems of different rhyming systems, the destructive criticism will have to be carried farther. For there are not wanting other considerations based on the course of the narrative, which seem
to show that even the dissyllabic rhymes are not wholly free from interpolations.

I. Even in the first line we meet a difficulty, for *is ed atfet hi scelaib*, which the F gl. 'periti' evidently takes to mean, 'this is what the well-informed *tell* in stories,' can hardly bear that meaning. The word is common enough in this kind of *cheville*. If therefore *atfet* were to be accepted as the plural on the strength of *periti* (and in fact even if we accept *adfeit liti* of 58), we should have a strange use in a short poem of an extraordinary form *adfeit* [atfet] along with *adfiadat*. But if *atfet* be singular, (which it certainly is in *S. na Rann*), then it would seem that the only subject it can refer to is Patrick himself. Here however we meet with another difficulty, for *hi scelaib* would be an astonishing expression for 'in his biography.' In FM 594 *atfet* is found with *scela* as its subject, but it is difficult to believe that this can be other than a misunderstanding 3 of the normal *adfeit scel*, 'the story tells.' But the assertion for which this guarantee is given is, that St. Patrick was born in Nemthur, and this name is not found in the Saint's own writings. It certainly seems more reasonable to take *hi scelaib* to mean 'in stories,' and to regard this as proof of other early narratives, which may very well have included poems from which our compiler may have made excerpts, or of which he may have made use without paying much heed to minor incongruities.

It seems natural in the second line to come to the conclusion that *dexc* was taken as a dissyllable. 4 But it is to be noticed

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1 Cf. *Saltair na Rann*, 2249 *adfeit in scriptuir*, 2518 *adfiad in scriptuir*, 2526 *adfeit scribhenn*, 2530 *adfeit in scr.*, 4202 *adfeit scel*, &c., the plural being *adfiadat* 862, as here 12.

2 In the Index to the *Feliire of Oengus*, the Editor gives *atfet = narrabat*, and *atfet = narratus est*, as occurring at Mar. 23 and April 18, but it is pretty certain that neither one nor the other is correct, and that *av roet*, 'he received,' or something of the kind is meant.

3 Cf. Todd's *Nennius*, p. 34, 6, where it should be noted that instead of *adfeit* (translated, 'it was told'), the other MSS. have *inmister*, the normal passive present.

4 As for example in *Saltair na Rann* 6822, though perhaps mainly (or only) to get a rhyme, for it is *déc* monosyllabic in 85, 3076; but no rhyme is wanted here, and *F* has only *déc*. 

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that the clause *maccan sé mbliadan dec* is left without a verb, and
though that is not unusual where the subsequent clause may
be regarded as relative, as in the next line, "Succat his name
(was) what he was called," yet there is something abnormal in
such omission when the following clause is, as here, a temporal
clause introduced by a conjunction, "[he was] a youth of 16.
when he was captured."

ix. This stanza exhibits the children of Fochlad's wood
praying that Patrick would come to convert from impiety the
tribes of Ireland, while stanza x narrates that these very tribes
were prophesying the advent of a new Prince of Peace, and the
desertion of Tara. But if the tribes of Ireland were prophesying
—and it was a curious prophecy for pagan folk to make—where
was the need of saying in stanza xi that Loegaire's druids did
not conceal Patrick's coming? Stanza ix is probably an inter-
polation. L. 17 is wrong measure; the half line *gadatar co
tissad in noeb* has eight syllables, not one of which can be
left out, because *gadatar tissad* would be a monstrosity, while
the omission of the article before *noeb* would be intolerable, and
*gadtar* is out of the region of possibility. Besides what is *lethu*
in the second half line? The same writer could scarcely have
used this rhyme *lethu* with *bethu* here, and then used it again
twice, in two consecutive stanzas xvii and xviii, in such utter
vagueness of meaning; it seems to mean only 'broadly,' which
can hardly he tolerated here. But the use of it as = 'apud cos,'
would be a new feature in the poem, and certainly suggests a
different hand.

There is a manifest break between lines 22 and 23, and this
latter is particularly noticeable for its assonances, *beba, eua, treba,*
on a different system of metric.

xiv, xv. Stanzas xiv and xv have also the cæsural assonance
*sine* (F) = *rlge, Bairche = aidche,* which does not occur any-
where else. In l. 30, if the correct analysis of the final rhyme

1 The word *eua* can hardly be anything else than *feba,* but why so written?
be \textit{fo gnia}, as seems unavoidable, it is curious that the form \textit{fo} \([= ba]\) occurs nowhere else in these hymns. Besides \textit{feiss} of 27 is practically the same as \textit{foaid} at 31, inasmuch as it is the \textit{cold} that is spoken of, so that \textit{nacht sine} 27 of the caesural-assonance stanza, has very much the same reference as \textit{ni leicc a chorp a timmi} 32, where there is no assonance. In this later stanza we have all the appearances of a glossatorial verse, with its \textit{iarum}, and the expressions \textit{cuilche fluich} and \textit{ba coirthe a-adart}.

\textbf{xvii.} In this stanza, we come upon several peculiarities, which seem to argue that it was a late interpolation, for the sake of inserting some notice of the miracles performed by the Saint: namely, (1) the repetition of \textit{pridchad}, which is mentioned in the next stanza, \textit{pridchais}; (2) the use of \textit{soscelad}, not found anywhere else in these hymns; (3) the elision of the final in \textit{ferta}; (4) the curious word \textit{luscu} (a word glossed by both T and F as \textit{bacuchu}, but which seems not really known from any other source with the meaning alleged); (5) the use of \textit{mairb} in this manner, as a \textit{nom. pendens}; (6) the identity of rhyming words \textit{il-lethu} and \textit{do bethu}, and (7) the somewhat similar letters in the words \textit{dosfinscad} 33 and \textit{dosfuc} 35. It seems to me almost impossible to regard this stanza as an original part of the poem.

\textbf{xix.} Here, after Patrick's miracles have been mentioned in xvii, xviii, we suddenly are jerked back again to the pagan Irish! The reference in l. 39 to his \textit{coming} is surely out of place, as is the mention in l. 41 of the pagan Irish worshipping idols.

\textbf{xx.} The abruptness of the change between xxi and xxii makes it almost certain that there is an interpolation in l. 44, with its personal reference in \textit{ni-m} \textit{dil}; this stanza again is suddenly followed by an account of Patrick's illness.

\textbf{xxxiii.} I have only further to point out that stanza xxxiii,

\textit{Cf. LB notes to \textit{Felire}, Mar. 5 (towards end), and see LB 33855.}
with its vague conhualat in l. 65, its elision in the case of adella, its reference to "the other Patrick" (where did the visit take place?), lead me to infer here also interpolation, in spite of the rhyme in this case being the normal dissyllabic. This last stanza is the more probably genuine that it does not attempt to establish itself as such by the repetition of all the half line.

Admitting, as I do without reserve, the uncertainty of subjective criticism, I have not deemed it right to pass by in silence the objections that are to be urged against the genuineness of the poem in the form in which we have it. Many of these objections would be still valid, even though the metrical system was uniform throughout; but the presence of the metrical variations seems to me to suggest strongly the relatively late "compilation" of the poem; the neglect which it exhibits of poetical and metrical considerations can only be attributed to a period of decline and decay.

**Ninine's Prayer.**

The *Oratio Ninini* (our No. 20), shows no appearance of a regularly constructed poem, though there seems to have been an initial effort in that direction, for the first lines present the formula 2 (7 + 5); but all throughout there is a rhythmic tendency that is unmistakeable. It may be mere accident, but it is at all events noteworthy that an alphabetic order is observed in the lines:—airdirc, bres, cathaigestar, dedaig, fonenaig, guidmit; and that all throughout also the alliterative element is strongly marked, as in these words in order:—a p p, a a a b b; c d d c d d; f f f f; g g; p p; b b; d d d; p p. But it adds nothing definite to our knowledge of the metric system.

It is styled in the preface an ortha, 'prayer;' a word used in the *S. na Rann* in connexion with other words that seem to infer for it something of a musical element, viz. l. 4321 co cetlaib, cliaraib, airfitiud, orthonaib, córaib, molbthogaib; but of
course this is too vague to admit of anything but speculative inference.

The Hymn Ni car Brigit.

In the hymn of St. Broccan (our No. 22) the difficulties are far more numerous than in the hymns already discussed. The language, in many of the stanzas, does not admit of grammatical analysis, and in some of them, metre and logic are set at defiance. It is impossible to handle the question of the metric without taking into consideration other questions also.

I begin by giving a table in which are set out the subject matter and the rhyming system of the several stanzas. The order of incidents is nearly the same as in the Vita Brigidæ by Cogitosus, and in the fourth column the numbers of the corresponding chapters in Cogitosus are given.1

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<tr>
<th>Stanza</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Rhyme.</th>
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<td>Brigid a recluse</td>
<td>monosyllabic, 2 = 4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii</td>
<td>Her virtues</td>
<td>dissyllabic, 2 = 4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iii</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iv</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>1 = 3, &amp; 2 = 4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vi</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>2 = 4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vii</td>
<td>Her congregation at Plea</td>
<td>wrong dissyllabic, 3 = 4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>viii</td>
<td>Her veil by Mac Caille</td>
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<tr>
<td>ix</td>
<td>An invocation to God</td>
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<tr>
<td>x</td>
<td>St. Kevin and Glendalough</td>
<td>1 = 3, 2 = 4.</td>
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<tr>
<td>xi</td>
<td>Her virtues (continued)</td>
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<td>xii</td>
<td>Her innumerable miracles</td>
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<td>The multiplication of the butter</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>xiv</td>
<td>The multiplication of the bacon</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

1 Cogitosus has some additional incidents in his Vita which are not reproduced in our hymn; he ends (c. 36) with a chapter on the impossibility of telling all the miracles of Brigid.
| Stanza. | Subject. | Rhyme. | Parallel
| Chapter in Cogitosus' *Vita.* |
|--------|---------|-------|-------------------|
| xv     | Her fair harvest weather | dissyllabic, 1 = 3, 2 = 4 (?) | 5 |
| xvi    | The triple milking of her cows | monosyllabic, 2 = 4 (?) | 6 |
| xvii   | She hangs her cloak on a sunbeam | dissyllabic, 2 = 4 | 7 |
| xviii  | The undiminished flock | monosyllabic, 2 = 4 | 8 |
| xix    | The bath of ale | dissyllabic, 2 = 4 | 9 |
| xx     | The healing of the nun; the stone made salt. | | 10, 11 |
| xxi    | The giving of eyes to the flat-faced man | monosyllabic, 2 = 4 | 12 |
| xxi     | The dumb girl | dissyllabic, 2 = 4 | 13 |
| xxxii   | The bacon untouched by the dog | trisyllabic, 2 = 4 | 14 |
| xxxiv  | The boiled meat did not stain her robe | monosyllabic, 2 = 4 | 15 |
| xxxv   | The leper and the calf... | | 16 |
| xxxvi   | Her ox return home... | | 17 |
| xxxvii  | The run-away horse | | 18 |
| xxxviii | The blessing of the wild bear... | | 19 |
| xxxix   | The wild dogs hunt a pig for her | dissyllabic, 2 = 4 | 20 |
| xlv     | The escape of the wild fox | monosyllabic, 2 = 4 | 21 |
| xli     | The tamed bird... | | 22 |
| xliii   | The nine outlaws and their harmless weapons. | | 23 |
| xxxi   | The champion Lugaid | | 24 |
| xxxv   | The removal of the oak | | 25 |
| xxxvi   | The bangle found in the salmon | dissyllabic, 2 = 4 | 26 |
| xxxvii  | The loom and the cooking of the calf | monosyllabic, 2 = 4 | 27 |
| xxxviii | The breaking of the trinket | | 28 |
| xl      | into three equal parts | dissyllabic, 2 = 4 | 29 |
| xli     | The blessing of Conlaed's garment | | 29 |
| xlii    | The honey in the wall... | dissyllabic, 2 = 4 | 30 |
| xliii   | The miracle of the mead | monosyllabic, 2 = 4 | 31 |
| xlv     | Invocation of Brigid | | 32 |
| xlvi    | | dissyllabic, 2 = 4. |
| xlvii   | | monosyllabic, 1 = 3, 2 = 4. |
| xlviii  | | dissyllabic, 2 = 4. |
| xlix    | | | 3 = 4 ? |
| li      | Privilege of praise | | |
| lii     | | 2 = 4 ? |
The variations of metre are very striking. We must either suppose that all these licences were tolerated by the original composer, or that the irregularities have been imported by subsequent admixture. How the former theory can be upheld with any show of argument, I am unable to imagine, but it will be maintained, I daresay.

The repetition of the opening words *Ni car Brigit* after l. 188 denotes that the poem proper ended at that point, and suggests therefore that the last six stanzas are a later addition. In the body of the piece the general principle is that the quatrain has four heptasyllabic lines, the 2nd and 4th of which rhyme. The laws laid down above (p. xxxvi) are generally obeyed, viz.: *There is no elision, and In the same word concurrent vowels are monophthong, so far as the measure is concerned.* But even the stanzas i-xlvi show many incongruities, which indicate that the piece is made up of elements derived from different sources.

Stanza i forms the Introduction and is in monosyllabic rhyme; we then pass to stanzas ii-vi in dissyllabic rhyme recounting the virtues of the saint. Of these, stanzas iv and v rhyme their first and third lines as well as their second and fourth.1

Stanza vii at once arrests the attention. The rhyme *dana, gaba* of the 3rd and 4th lines is quite anomalous; and further the stanza has no imaginable connexion with the verses between which it is placed. Nobody knows exactly what it means, for the word *plea* in l. 26 resists all analysis; but in any case it has nothing to do with the veiling of Brigid in the next stanza.

Stanza viii contains a story told by Cogitosus, but (as will be seen from the table) the regular Cogitosus series does not begin till Stanza xii, and then it proceeds in order, so that the incident here recorded seems out of its place. The identity of l. 31 with l. 125 *ba menn inn-a himthechtaib* is also a suspicious circumstance.

1 The rhymes are perfect in v; in iv *santach* is probably intended to rhyme with the trisyllabic *cessachtach*, as well as *mathim* with *cathim.*
Stanza ix in monosyllabic rhyme consists of a general invocation to God which would be almost equally relevant anywhere else, although no doubt it is intended to describe the "prayer" of l. 32.

Stanza x is an unintelligible verse, in which St. Kevin and Glendalough are introduced without any justification. No doubt the glossators have explanations to offer, but they are quite inadequate. This and stanza xlvii furnish the only instances of monosyllabic endings with alternate rhymes, 1 = 3 and 2 = 4.

At stanza xi we revert to the virtues of the saint, in sequence of ii–vi; but stanza xii presents us with many problems. Its metre has a strongly marked trochaic beat, as in the line,

\[ \text{càirm i chtla cluas nach bì,} \]

which shows a system of ictus quite different from (say) stanza v. But the metre of it is undefinable, for it is uncertain which of the lines were intended to rhyme. \textit{Brigti} seems to have been written thus, with \textit{ti} instead of \textit{te}, to get a rhyme, but whether with \textit{ri} or \textit{bi} it is impossible to say; and as \textit{dune} is (with just as much or as little reason) written \textit{duni} in F, we have the four lines ending \textit{ri, Brigti, duni (F), and bi} in an undeterminable mixture. It is with this curious stanza that the Cogitosus series begins.

In the next stanza (xiii) we have an absolutely different order of rhyme, viz., dissyllabic in 1st and 3rd lines, trisyllabic in 2nd and 4th. And the excellence of these rhymes \textit{foided, hoeged; fenamain, lenamain}, is noteworthy; the poet who made them could not have been guilty of stanza xii.

In stanza xv we have \textit{crabdig (F) = annmach, and (possibly) mad-bocht = a gort}, the alternate lines rhyming.

Stanza xix. Here (l. 74) as at l. 45 we have the verbal form \textit{dorigenai} used as a quadrisyllable, whereas at ll. 133, 161. we find the trisyllable \textit{dorigne}.  

\[ ^1 \text{This is the normal form in the } \textit{Saltair na Rann} \text{ where the older } \textit{dorigenai} \text{ does not appear.} \]
Stanza xxi. We have here (l. 82) the quadrisyllable *dorigenai* which necessitates elision; and yet elision is the later custom, while the spelling *dorigenai* is the earlier form. (In l. 45 it is not elided). Further in l. 81 there is a difficulty about the scansion. The missing syllable cannot be got out of *ruirmiu* any more than out of *airmin*,¹ from the readings of F *ruirrme* and *airmo*; and indeed we have the subjunctival *dorurme* in l. 134.² And again the last line of the stanza (l. 84) comdar forreil a *di suil*, is identical in construction with the last line (88) of the following stanza (xxiv) comtar forreil a *comlabra*, where the measure is wrong. It will hardly be maintained that two stanzas of this kind could have been written by the same poet in one poem. And even if we emend into *labra* in l. 88, what is the meaning? To translate ‘till her speech was clear’ is impossible with the plural *comtar*; and there would be no meaning in ‘till her *speeches* were clear’ when we are talking of the recovery of speech by a dumb girl. A further anomaly in stanza xxii is the form 86 *Brigta* (so also at l. 71); cf. *Brigte* in l. 139 and the unintelligible *Brigi* of the additional stanzas at ll. 196, 197.

The metre of stanza xliii is hardly determinable.

Stanzas xlv, xlvi, xlvii may possibly have been taken from some poem quite distinct from the main body of the piece, and added here to wind up the Cogitosus narrative. In xlv we have the extraordinary *fordon . . . bet*; the *si* (F *sith*) in l. 178 is unaccountable, and the other two lines of the stanza are nearly

¹ This was evidently a recognised formula as e.g. in the verse FM 919, *ni ruirmiu ni airema*
*fo-bith is-am triamain-si*
*a tainic de ancessaib*
*Ereann is-in mbliadain-se.*

The spelling here is of course the later spelling of the Four Masters, who felt that *airema* would have to be made a trisyllable.

² This also is a line which shows a common formula of the time. Cf. *Saltair na Rann* 788 *ni fail ro-airme* a n-drim, with our line 134 *ni fail dorurme* co cert. Cf. also the subjunctive in l. 162 *ni fail dune dor‘da‘decha*, where F reads *do‘decha*, which is correct so far as the number of syllables is concerned, but does not help to explain the word.
unintelligible. Then in l. 181 the reference to the claidib tined is very curious, and quite inapplicable to Brigid.

Stanza xlvi (as pointed out above) is in a metre of which the anomalous stanza x furnishes the only other example in the poem. It is impossible to trace any connexion between its first three lines and the fourth.

The last six stanzas (xlix–liii) are apparently of the nature of an appendix to the poem; but it will be observed that while five of them exhibit perfect dissyllabic metre \((2 = 4)\), stanza lii is quite irregular. In this we have the third and fourth line rhyming, \(D\dot{e} = i\text{mmalle}\), against all analogy.

In the last stanza we have a line (212):

\[
\text{for a f\text{oessam d\text{un }dib-linaib,}
\]

which recalls a similar line in the Sen De (l. 2), viz.:

\[
\text{for a oessam d\text{\u{u}n }innocht.}
\]

But the number of syllables cannot be made to tally, and Broccan's l. 212 is obviously wrong. All the lines in the stanza are made to end in words with long \(i\) penult; but it is probable that Brigit was meant to rhyme with \(l\text{\text{\`{i}nib} and r\text{iched with d\text{ichill,}}\) and in that case we have again a complete change of metre.

The syncretism and composite character of the piece seem to be established by the foregoing analysis. There is no \(a\text{ priori}\) impossibility in the hypothesis that a school of writers\(^1\) are responsible for the construction of the verses, whether as a set task and as a translation of Cogitosus, or whether as a gradual growth in imitation of other extant poems which followed the lines of Cogitosus' narrative. It is of course impossible to assign either date place or person; and it is alike impossible to divide the verses so as to group together the writers of each, though the table given above will suggest tentative arrangements.

If indeed it were a matter of certainty that these verses had been put together thus as one poem, at a very early date, a fact of the kind would simply have to be accepted and the result

\(^1\) See the gloss on l. 43 of the Sen De.
regarded as a proof of the undeveloped state of Irish poetry and of Irish narrative excellence. The difficulty is to see when these verses could have been put together save at a period of absolute decay,—an epoch of metrical, poetical and intellectual poverty.

It was assuredly not at anything near the period when a Columba, an Adamnan, or a Secundinus flourished; it bears all the marks of the terrible era of the Danish viking scourge, wherein the arts and learning of the Irish came nigh to utter destruction. These relics of Irish poetry are probably the early attempts of the clergy to put into metric form the memories of the past that had escaped destruction, but they exhibit the utter dislocation of studies that followed upon the invasions of the Northmen. The Hymn of Ultan represents the early traditions of excellent workmanship, the Hymn of Broccan has no excellence of any kind either as verse or as poetry.

The Hymn of St. Sanctan.

This poem (No. 23) is ascribed by the Preface to a Welshman styled Bishop Sanctan. The time of its composition is admitted to be uncertain, and the poet is credited with a miraculously conferred knowledge of the Irish tongue which he had not before possessed. There are some unusual phrases common to this and to the Lorica of Patrick, e.g., l. 5 togairm and l. 7 issum are found at l. 2 and l. 62 of the Lorica.

The metre of the original poem (ll. 1-40) is heptasyllabic iambic measure, rhyming in dissyllables at the even lines (2 = 4). There is, however, evidence of another strain of metric throughout, the last three lines of each quatrain tending to rhyme; thus in stanza i we have am, um, am; in ii, sim, sum, sum; in iii, le, me, re; in iv, locht, locht, locht; in v, sta, sat, sta; in vi, lar, mor, lor; in vii, dros, bas, bas; in viii, thaib, tha, thaib; in x, thrach, thach, thach.

There are difficulties, however, in most of the stanzas, In i we have as a dissyllable the word thus, with possibly
a Welsh predilection (cf. tywyys). In ii, the rhyme is not perfect, for guasim is not a good rhyme to uasum, whatever meaning is assigned to nod\textsuperscript{a}guasim. In vi, amor of the third line is a far better rhyme with galor than is celar. Stanza ix seems anomalous; in it alone the harmony of the last syllables in the last three lines of the quatrain is not observed, l. 35 is short by a syllable, and the rhyme finna, thenga (F thinga) in l. 36 is not very satisfactory, and lastly, we do not really know the meaning of the words. In stanza x (l. 49) the rhyme \textsuperscript{a}ethach\textsuperscript{1} is of itself sufficient for the corresponding sethrach (l. 38),\textsuperscript{2} and the particle ro seems to form a syllable too many; probably \textsuperscript{a}roethach is to be read, which would correspond with \textsuperscript{a}sethrach of F in l. 38.

The first two supplemental stanzas (xi and xii) do not belong to the metre of the original poem, but are in setna-metre, the formula of which is 2(8 + 7). In xi we should certainly read sruthib in l. 41 and glan gel in l. 42, with F. The last stanza of all reverts to the heptasyllabic lines with rhyming dissyllables (2 = 4), and may possibly have belonged to the original poem; it also has the final harmonies im, ib, il.

The linguistic difficulties throughout make a reader wish that the ‘donation’ mentioned in the penultimate clause of the Preface had not been tam cito.

The Lorica of St. Patrick.

This piece is not in metre, but it is evidently constructed with an eye to proportion, the phrase Atomring indiu which recurs five times being followed by invocations of much the same structure in each case, concluding with nine rhythmically turned lines in invocation of Christ. Perhaps the piece was originally written in a particular shape, in imitation of some form of material breastplate.

\begin{itemize}
  \item[1] Cf. Saltair na Rann 817 at’ethach.
  \item[2] Or sethach according to the T gloss.
\end{itemize}
It is probably a genuine relic of St. Patrick. Its uncouthness of grammatical forms is in favour of its antiquity. We know that Patrick used very strange Irish, some of which has been preserved; and the historians who handed down mudebroth (see p. 178 below) as an ejaculation of his would probably take care to copy as faithfully as they could the other curious Irish forms which the saint had consecrated by his use.

The Hymn of Mael Isu.

There is nothing to observe on this short poem (No. 29) save that the quatrains consist of four lines of six syllables, ending in dissyllables rhyming on the even lines (2 = 4).

ROBERT ATKINSON.
LIBER HYMNORUM

TRANSLATIONS

OF THE

IRISH PREFACES AND HYMNS.
Preface to the Hymn of St. Sechnall.

F] Audite omnes, &c. Sechnall filius Restituti of the Lombards of Letha, and of Darerca sister of Patrick made hunc hymnum, and Secundinus was Romanum nomen eius; but the Gaels made Sechnall of it. The place (of its composition was) Donnach Sechnaill; the time, that of Aed mac Neill, or of Loegaire; (as to its cause, it was) for the praise of Patrick it was made; ncl causa pacis fecit, quia nocuit quod dixit Secundinus: "a good man (were) Patrick, were it not for one thing, viz., nisi quod minime praedicaret caritatem." Et iratus est ei Patricius et dixit: "propter caritatem non praedico, quia alii sancti post me veniunt in insulam et indigent obtione hominum (etideo) relinquuo caritatem praedici-

B] Audite omnes. Locus huius hymni Donnach Sechnaill: it is that Sechnall who made hunc hymnum for Patrick.

As to Patrick, his origin was of the Britons of Her-cluaide; Calpurn was his father's name, Fotaid his grandfather's, who was a deacon. Conchess further, was his mother; Lupait and Tigris were his two sisters.

Now Patrick had four nomina, viz. Succat, his name with his parents; Cothraige, his name when he was in service to four persons; Magonius, his name from Germanus; Patricius, from Pope Celestine.

But as to the cause of Patrick's coming into Ireland, it happened in this wise, viz., seven sons of Sechtmaide, a king of the Britons, were in exile, and they plundered Armorica of Letha. There chanced upon them at that time in Armorica a body of Britons of Her-cluaide: here Calpurn mac Fotaid, Patrick's father, was slain, and Patrick and his two sisters were there taken prisoners afterwards. The sons of Sechtmaide then went over-sea to Ireland, where Lupait was subsequently sold, viz. in Conalle Muirthemne; Patrick was sold in Dal Araide to Miliuc mac Ua Buain, and to his three brothers; and they sold his two sisters in Conalle Muirthemne, but they knew not each other's lot.

Well, four persons, one of them being Miliuc, bought Patrick, and hence he got the name "Cothraige," from the circumstance that he was servant to a household of four. But when Miliuc saw that he was a faithful slave, he bought him from the other three, so that he served only Miliuc, for seven years after the fashion of the Hebrews; and he suffered great tribulation in the wilds of Slemish in Dal Araide, while herding Miliuc's swine. It chanced now that Miliuc
F] care"; et ideo fecit Secundinus hunc hymnum causa pacis. 
Fecerunt pacem Patricius et Secundinus. It is the first hymn 
that was made in Ireland. Secundum ordinem alphabetic 
factus est; twenty-three capitula in it, four lines to each 
capitulum and fifteen syllables in each line. There 
are further three places in it in which there is found 'in' sine 
sensu causa rhythm. Now when Sechnall had finished 
making this eulogy, he went to show it to Patrick, to whom 

B] saw a vision of the night, viz. he thought he saw Cotraige coming 
to him into the house where he was, having a flame of fire over his 
head and out of his nostrils and ears; and it seemed to him that 
the fire played threateningly over him to burn him, but he drove it 
from him and it did him no harm; but his son and his daughter 
who were in the same bed with him, these the fire burnt to ashes, 
and the wind scattered those ashes all over Ireland. There-
upon Cotraige was summoned before Milieu, who told him his 
vision; and Cotraige gave judgement on it as follows: "The fire 
thou sawest in me is the faith of the Trinity which glows in me; 
it is that faith I shall preach to thee in after time, and thou wilt 
not believe; but thy son and thy daughter will believe, and the 
fire of grace will burn them." Now when St. Patrick was born, 
he was brought to the blind flat-faced youth to baptize him: the 
priest's name was Gorianas. As he had no water with which to 
perform the baptism, he made the sign of the cross over the ground 
with the babe's hand, and water came out, et lauavit Gorianas 
faciam suam, and after that his eyes were opened, and he, a person 
who had not learnt letters before, read out the baptismal office. 

Tempus autem, that of Loegaire mac Neill, king of Ireland; 
causa, in order to praise Patrick. For Sechnall had said to Patrick, 
"when shall I make a eulogy for thee?" Patrick replied, "I wish 
to have no eulogy of me in my lifetime." Dixit Sechnall, "non 
interrogavit utrum faciam, sed quando faciam." Dixit Patricius, "si 
facia, venit tempus," for Patrick knew that the time of his death 
was near at hand. Sechnall, son of Restitutus, made hunc hymnum 
for Patrick, for he was a pupil of Patrick's, and also filius sororis of 
Patrick; he was descended from the Lombards of Letha, ut dixit 
Eochaid Ua Flannucain:

Sechnall mac Ui Bard, of the victory, 
of seed pure-fierce, whiteness of colour, 
Lombards of Letha.

Longobardi dicti sunt et quod habent longam barbam. Secundinus 
'secans delicta' aliorum, uel 'secedens ipse a delictis' interpretatur.

Now when Sechnall was making this hymn, there happened to be a 
fair held near Domnach Sechnall, and a message went from Sechnall 
to forbid it, and went unheeded. Thereafter Sechnall went back,
F] he said, "I have made a eulogy for a certain son of life, and I should like thee to hear it." "My welcome to a eulogy (of any) of the household of God," said Patrick. But Sechnall began his hymn at *Beata Christi*, that Patrick should not hear for whom it was made till the whole should have been recited. However, when Sechnall uttered *Maximus in regno caelorum, dixit Patricius, "How could homo be maximus in caelo?" Dixit Secundinus: "pro positivo positus est hic superlatinus." On the conclusion of the recital, "(Give) me the reward for it," said Sechnall. "Thou shalt have it,"

B] and raised his hands to God, and the earth swallowed thirteen chariots of them *cum suis equitibus, et ceteri in fugam exierunt.*

*Uel haec est causa,* viz. because of the annoyance Sechnall gave Patrick, in saying, "a good man were Patrick were it not for one thing, viz. the small extent to which he preaches charity." When Patrick heard it, he went to Sechnall in great anger. Sechnall had just finished mass except going to Christ's body, when it was told him that Patrick was coming to the place in great anger against Sechnall. The latter thereupon left the oblation on the altar, and bowed down to Patrick, who drove the chariot over him; but God raised the ground around him *hinc et inde* so that it did not harm him. "What has happened to me?" asked Sechnall. Patrick replied, "What is that one thing *dixisti*, that I did not fulfil? For if I do not fulfil charity, I am guilty in respect of God's commandment. God knows that it is for charity that I do not preach it; for there shall come *post me in hanc insulam* 'sons of life' who shall stand in need of being served *ab hominibus*." "I did not know," said Sechnall, "that it was not through remissness thou didst so." Then said the angel to Patrick, "All that shall be thine." So they made peace then, Patrick and Sechnall. And whilst they were going round the cemetery, they heard a choir of angels singing around the oblation in the church; and what they sang was the hymn beginning, "Sancti uentite Christi corpus," etc.; hence this hymn is sung in Ireland when one goes to the body of Christ, from that time onward.

And after that, Patrick sent Sechnall to Rome, for some of the relics of Paul and Peter and other martyrs, (as amends) for the blame he had laid upon him; those are the relics that are in Armagh in the shrine of Paul and Peter.

Now when Sechnall had finished the composition of his eulogy, he went to show it to Patrick, and when he had come to Patrick, he said to him, "A eulogy that I have made for a certain 'son of life'; I want you to hear it." Patrick replied, "I welcome a eulogy of any man of God's household." But Sechnall began his hymn at "*beata Christi custodit,*" that Patrick should not perceive for whom the hymn was made till it had been all recited. But when Sechnall recited "*Maximus namque in regno caelorum, *" Patrick
F] said Patrick, "the number of hairs that are on thy cloak, i.e. on thy hood, the like number of sinners (shall go) to heaven, for the hymn." "I will not take that," said Sechnall. "Thou shalt have," said Patrick, "this boon: everyone who shall recite it at lying down and rising up shall go to heaven." "I accept that," said Sechnall, "but the hymn is long, and not everyone will be able to commit it to memory." "Its grace," said Patrick, "shall be on the last three capitula." "Deo gratias," said Sechnall.

B] shifted about from place to place, et dixit, "How can a human being be 'maximus' in regno caelorum?" Dixit Sechnall, "Pro posituo est hic; cr, it is many of his own race that he excels." "Good is the answer," said Patrick. Now when Sechnall had finished reciting the hymn, there came up a man and a woman having food with them for Patrick, viz. curds and butter: Bera nomen uiri et Brig nomen mulieris. Said Patrick, "A house in which this hymn shall be recited before dinner, shall never have scarcity of food; and further a new house in which it shall be recited prius, shall have around it a watch (consisting) of Patrick with Ireland's saints." As it was made manifest to Colman Ela et alius cum eo; and as it was made manifest to Kevin cum suis, when he came out of the church one Sunday into the refectory. At hymnun hunc cantavit, Patricius cum multis patribus apparuit ei; et ter cantavit, et tunc guidam stultus dixit, "cur canimus hunc hymnum sic?" et dixit Kevin, "that is not good," said he, "quia apparuit nobis Patricius cum suis discipulis quamdiu cantabamus hymnum."

When the recitation of the hymn was complete, Sechnall said, "(Grant) its reward to me." "Thou shalt have it," said Patrick, the number of days that there are in anno, the like number de animabus peccatorum (shall be permitted) to go to heaven for the making of the hymn." "I shall not accept that," said Sechnall, "for I deem it little, and the eulogy is good." "Thou shalt have," said Patrick, "(granted to thee that) as many as are the threads in the cloak of thy cowl, so many sinners shall go to heaven, for the sake of the hymn." "I shall not accept (that either)," said Sechnall, "for what believer is there that will not take with him as many as that to heaven, without his praising a man like thee at all?" "Thou shalt have (this)," said Patrick, "of Ireland's sinners seven every Thursday, and twelve every Saturday (admitted) into heaven." "It is (too) little," said Sechnall. "Heaven for everyone who shall recite it at lying down and at rising up, shall be thy boon," said Patrick. "I shall not accept (even) that," said Sechnall, "for the hymn is long, and not everybody will be able to remember it." "All its grace," said Patrick, "on its last three capitula." "Deo gratias," said Sechnall.
F] Longobardus genere, ut dixit Eochaid ua Flannucáin:
    Sechnall, son of Ua Baird,
    victory of the world,
    of seed pure-fierce, whiteness of colour,
    Lombards of Italy.

    Longbardi dicti sunt eo quod barbarum longam habent.
    As to Succat, (it was) Patrick's name apud parentes eius;
    Cothraige, nomen eius apud Miliue; Magonius, apud Germanum;
    Patricius, a papa Celestino.

B] The angel promised the same thing to Patrick on the Cruach, viz.,
    heaven to the person who shall recite at lying down and at rising up
    its last three capitula, ut est:

    "A hymn thou hast chosen in thy life
    Will be a Lorica of protection for everyone."1

    This is the first hymn that was made in Ireland. It is in alphabetical order more Hebraeorum sed non per omnia. There are in
    it twenty-three capitula, four lines in each, and fifteen syllables in
    each line; et si quis inuerit plus minusue, in eo error est. There
    are two or three places in which there is 'in' sine sensu sed causa
    rhythmii &c. (The opening words are) similitudine Moysis dicentis,
    "Audite caeli quae loquar,"2 et David dicentis, "Audite haec omnes
    gentes."3

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1 Hymn of St. Fiacc, I. 51.  
2 Deut. xxxii. 1.  
3 Ps. lxvii. 1.
Preface to the Hymn Christus in nostra.


Or, it is Fiacc of Sletty that made it.

Dicunt alii that it was Ultan of Ardbreccan that made it, for it is he who collected Brigid's miracles into one book, beginning Audite virginis laudes. It is in alphabetical order, and was made in rhythm. It contains three capitula, each of four lines with sixteen syllables to each line.

Dicunt alii that this was a long hymn, but here there are only four capitula of it, viz. the first and the last three capitula causa breuitatis.


Or Fiacc of Sletty; its beginning is audite virginis laudes.

Or it was Ultan of Ardbreccan that made it, to praise Brigid; for it was he who collected Brigid's miracles into one book. It is in alphabetical order, and was made in a well-known rhythm. It has four capitula, with four lines in each, and sixteen syllables in each line.
Preface to the Hymn of St. Cummain the Tall.

TF] Celebra Iuda. Cummain the Tall mac Fiachna, king of West Munster, ille fecit hunc hymnum. And as to that Cummain, it was by a daughter that Fiachna begot him, in intoxication. Et interrogavit Flann, "of whom hast thou him?" et dixit, "tui"; et dixit pater, "oportet mori"; "ita fiat," said the daughter. Sed quando natus est, to Ita's Cell dicitur est et ibi relictus est on the top of a cross in a little basket [cummnon]; inde dictus est Cummain. Et ibidem nutritus ac doctus est, and it was not known whence he was tanidiu donec venit mater eius ad usitandum cum ad domum abbatis Itae, for she often used to come to him. And she came one day to the house, and Ita's coarb was not at home, et potum postulauit, et mater sua dedit ei sinum abbatis to drink a drink out of it; so he drank a drink out of it, but Ita's coarb rebuked her for giving the vessel to him; and then she said:

"notice not

though I give a drink to my brother;
he is Fiachna's son, he is Fiachna's grandson,
Fiachna's daughter is his mother."

After that he studied in Cork till he became a sage; venit autem postea ad patrem et ad patriam, viz. to the Eoganacht of Loch Lein. Now everybody says that Cummain resembled Fiachna, inde dixit:

"No falsehood to me, though I say
near is our relationship (in) us three,
(for) it is my grandfather (that is) my father,
(and as to) my mother, she is my sister.

if (ever) good sprang out of evil,
it is I that have the great preeminence;
(for as to) my sister, she is my mother,
(and as to) my father, he is my grandfather.

near is the appellation:
I am grandson of thy mother;
even my mother is laid as an accusation upon the brother of thy brother.

i.e. upon thee, O Fiachna, for thou thyself art thy brother's brother.
there comes to me friendly tie doubly
with the seed of Fiachra Gairrine:
inasmuch as he is a grandson and a son to him,
the person Cummain to Fiachna."

_Tunc Fiachna intellexit filium suum Cummaine esse,_ and it is he who made this hymn. The reason of its composition is: Cummain went in reliance on the apostles, that Domnall son of Aed mac Ainmerech should be able to weep, in order to ask forgiveness for his crimes, for he was quite unable to do so before through the hardness of his heart. Now his soul-friend was Cummain, for a message had gone from Domnall to Colum Cille to ask him whom he should accept as soul-friend, or whether he himself should go eastward to him. _Unde dixit_ Colum Cille:

"The sage whom he will choose from the south,
it is with him he shall get his need:
he will bring 'cummain' to his house,
to the fair grandson of Ainmere."

and it is Cummain that was foretold therein. When, however Cummain, after composing the hymn, went to ask about Domnall's state, Domnall was in the house at the time, weeping for his crimes. _Tunc dixit_ Cummain, "Now" &c.; and then he flung from him the purple cloak that was on his back, viz. a cloak his mother [F]lann had made for him. _Tunc dixit_ Cummain:

"O king, a sign (?)
that thou permittest me not according to my will,
Domnall refuses it, so that he takes not (?)
the little cloak of fair [F]lann upon him."

Therefore he went in reliance on the apostles, and Domnall wept for his crimes thereafter, so that Cummain said:

"Now
Domnall recognises a King above him (viz. God over him);
his good is the good in the next world;
this (earthly) good is not his good."

_In tempore autem_ of Domnall son of Aed mac Ainmerech was it made; in rhythm _uro fecit_, two lines in each capitulum, with twelve syllables in each line; it was based on a prophet's rule, _Celebra Iuda festivitates tuas_. This hymn was composed in Daire Calcaig.

1 _Nahum_ i. 15.
Preface to the Hymn of St. Mugint.

TF] Parce domine. Mugint fecit hunc hymnum in Futerna. Causa i.e. Finnian of Moville ctit to learn with Mugint and Rioc and Talmach et ceteri alii secum. Drust rex of Britain tunc et habuit filiam i.e. Drustice nomen eius, et dedit eam legendo with Mugint. Et amavit illa Rioc, et dixit Finniano: tribuam tibi omnes libros quos habet Mugint scribendum si Rioc dedisses mihi in matrimonium. Et misit Finnen Tal-
mach ad se illa noite in formam Rioc; et cognouit eam, et inde conceptus ac natus est Lonan of Treoit. Sed Drustice esti-
muit quod Rioc eam cognouit, et dixit quod Rioc pater esset
fili; sed falsum est, quia Rioc virgo erat. Iratus est Mugint
tunc et misit quendam puerum in templum, et dixit ei: si quis
prius in hac noite ueniit ad te in templum, percute eum securi.
Ideo dixit quia prius Finnianus pergebat ad templum. Sed

tamen illa noite domino instigante ipse Mugint prius ecclesiae
peruenit; et percussit eum puer, propheta dicente "convertis

tur dolor eius in caput eius, et in uesticim ipsius iniquitas eus
desendet." Et tunc dixit Mugint "Parce" quia putauit

or, it might be on this account he made this hymn, that
his crime might not be visited on the people.

Uel Ambrosius fecit, when he was in disease.

Uel David fecit, ut alii dicunt, sed non uerum; but it is
from him are taken [the words], "dic angelu tuo percutienti"
usque "populo tuo."

F adds] And there came great trouble on him at last, for there
appeared to him foes attacking the people, so that he went in
reliance on the Lord to free the people from their foes, and there he
made "Parce domine."

Or perhaps it was for this reason that he made this hymn, ut
diximus, that his crime should not be visited on the people.

Ps. vii. 17.
Preface to the Hymn of St. Colman.

T] 'God's blessing.' Colman mac Uí Cluasaig, a scholar from Cork, made this hymn to save himself from the Yellow Plague that occurred in the time of the sons of Aed Slane. For there were many people in Ireland at that time, and their multitude was such that they got only thrice nine ridges for each man in Ireland, viz. nine of bog, and nine of grass-land and nine of forest, so that the nobles of Ireland's men fasted along with the sons of Aed Slane, and with Fechin of Fore, and with Aileran, and with Manchan of Liath and many others, to get the population reduced, for there had come a scarcity of food owing to their numbers; and therefore the Yellow Plague was inflicted on them, so that there died of it in that year the sons of Aed Slane and the elders we have mentioned et alii multi.

Dicunt alii that it was Colman who composed it all, but others say that he composed only two quatrains of it, and the school the rest of it, viz. each man of them a half-quartain. It was composed in Cork, in the time of the two sons of Aed Slane, viz. Blaithmac and Diarmait. Now the cause of its composition was this. A great pestilence was sent upon Ireland's men, viz. the Buidhe Conaill; it ransacked all Ireland, and left alive only every third man in Ireland; and so it was to protect them and also his school that Colman composed this hymn against that pestilence. And it befol him to be composing it just at the time when he began a journey to a certain island of Ireland's sea outside, in flight from this

F] 'God's blessing.' Colman mac Uí Cluasaig, a Cork scholar, made this hymn, in collaboration with his school, and it was probably a half-quartain each man composed; or else, he made the hymn all by himself. As to the place, it was from the island at Cork up to the island towards which they went in their flight from the pestilence. It was made in the time of the two sons of Aed Slane, viz. Blaithmac and Diarmait. The cause of its composition was that a great pestilence had been sent upon Ireland's men, viz. the Buidhe Conaill, and it attacked all Ireland, so that it left alive in Ireland only every third person; of it died the sons of Aed Slane, and Fechin of Fore, et alii multi cleric et reges in eodem anno perierunt. And it was to save himself and his school that Colman
T] pestilence, so that there might be nine waves between them and land, for pestilence does not come across beyond (that distance), _ut ferunt periti_. And a certain person of Colman's school asked, "What was the blessing, in which going on a journey befell them?" Then spake Colman, "What blessing is that?" said he, "why, what but God's blessing?" For this is what they sought after, to go forth on islands of the sea, on flight before the disease.

F] composed this hymn against that pestilence, and he chanced to be composing it just when he began a journey to a certain island in the sea, that there might be nine waves between them and land, for pestilence does not come over nine waves, _ut ferunt periti_. And a certain person of his school asked Colman, "What was the blessing, in which going on a journey befell them?" Then spake Colman, "What blessing is that?" said he, "why, what but God's blessing?"
THE HYMN OF ST. COLMAN MAC UI CLUASAIGH.

TF] God's blessing bear us, succour us! may Mary's son protect us!
Under His protection may we be to-night! whithersoever we go, may He well protect!
In rest or in activity, seated or standing,
Heaven's King, against every battle; this is the supplication we shall make.

5 A supplication of Abel, Adam's son, of Eli, of Enoch, for our help!
May they save us from swift disease, wherever throughout the world it threatens!
Noah and Abraham, Isaac the wondrous son,
May they come around us against pestilence, neither let famine visit us!

We beseech the father of the twelve, and Joseph their younger [brother],

10 May their prayers save us to a King of many angels, noble!
May Moses, good leader, protect me, who protected through Rubrum Mare;
Joshua, Aaron son of Amra, David the daring youth!
Job with the tribulations, may he protect us past the poisons;
May God's prophets guard us, with Machabæus' seven sons!

15 John Baptist we invoke, may he be a shelter to us, be a protection;
Jesus with His apostles be for our help against danger!
May Mary, Joseph, watch over us, et spiritus Stephani,
From every strait release us remembrance of Ignatius' name!

Every martyr, every hermit, every saint who lived in chastity,

20 Be a shield to us for our defence, be an arrow (sent) from us against demons!

Regem regum regamus in nostris sermonibus,
Who saved Noah [and] his crew diluvii temporibus.
TF] Melchisedec rex Salem incerto de semine,  
May his prayers free us ab omni formidine!

25 The Saviour, who freed Lot from fire qui per sacella habetur,  
Ut nos omnes precamur liberare dignetur.

Abraham of Ur of the Chaldees, may the King protect us,  
may He protect us!
May He free me, He who freed the people lympha fontis in Gaba!

The King, who saved three children from a furnace of fire  
with redness,

30 May He save us, as He saved David de manu Goliath.

May the Ruler of lamp-lit heaven have mercy on us, for  
our wretchedness!
He who left not suum prophetam ulli leonum ori.

As He sent the angel who loosened Peter from his fetter,  
May he be sent to us for our assistance, may every rough  
thing be smooth before us!

35 To our God may we render ourselves pleasing, nostro opere  
digno,  
May we be with Him in eternal life in paradisi regno.

As He freed Jonas Prophet from a whale's belly, bright deed,  
May the good King, threatening, mighty, protect us! God's  
blessing bear us, come upon us!

Truly, O God, in very truth, be granted this prayer:

40 May there be infants of God's Kingdom all around this  
school!

In very truth, O God, be it true! let us all attain the peace  
of the King!
If one might attain, may we attain, into heaven's Kingdom  
may we win!

May we be without age, in (endless) space, with angels in  
eternal life!

Great Kings, prophets without death, angels, apostles—a  
noble sight!

45 May they arrive with our heavenly Father to bless us before  
a devil host (can reach us)!

God's blessing.
Benediction on patron Patrick with Ireland's saints around him,
Benediction on this monastery and on every one therein!
Benediction on patron Brigid, with Ireland's virgins around her,
Give all ye fair testimony, benediction on Brigid's dignity!
Benediction on Colum Cille with Scotland's saints o'er yonder!
On the soul of noble Adamnan who passed a Law upon the clans!
(May we be ever) in the shelter of the King of the elements!
His protection may He take not from us!
May the Holy Spirit sprinkle us! may Christ free us, bless us!
God's blessing.

Orent pro nobis sancti illi in caelis, quorum memoriam facimus in terris, ut deleantur delicta nostra per inuocationem sancti nominis tui Iesu; et miserere qui regnas in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.
Preface to the Hymn of St. Cuchuimne.

TF] Cantemus in omni die: Cuchuimne fecit hunc hymnum to praise the Virgin Mary; and in the time of Loingsech mac Oengusa and of Adamnan factus est; incertum est uero in quo loco cum fecit. The cause of its composition was to free him from the evil life in which he lived, quia coniugem habuit et in mala uita cum illa fuit.

Or maybe it was to get made smooth before him the part of his reading he had not yet attained to, that he made this eulogy for Mary. Ut Adamnanus dixit:

Cuchuimne
read science up to [the] ridge;
the other half that is over
he left for his hags.

Cuchuimne dixit:

Cuchuimne
read science up to [the] ridge;
the other half that is over
he will read, he will leave [his] hags.

or,

the other half of his allotted path (?)
he will read all, till he become a sage.

In rhythm now he made it; and fourteen capitula therein, with two lines in each capitulum and twelve syllables in each line.

Liber Hymn. II.
Preface to the Hymn of St. Hilary.

T] Hymnum dicat. Hilarius episcopus et princeps civitatis que dicitur Pictavius fecit hunc hymnum Christo, in monte Gargani, after eating the dinner illic in the house of the robber. And after giving thanks to God, the sons of life faded post, till they were no bigger quam infantes, as it seemed to a priest who was with them. An angel came and said to them, "nisi penitentiam egeritis, in infernum ibitis." Egerunt ergo penitentiam, et dedit deus indulgentiam eis per istam laudem: sic nobis convenit canere post prandium.

Aliter: locus i.e. specus in pectore montis Iouis inter Alpes in qua philosophi ante fuerunt. Tempus, Valentiniani et Valentis. Persona, Hilarius. Causa, i.e. angelus postuluit quando uenit ad Susannam urbem cum tricentis uiris, i.e. c. de clericis et cc. de laicis. Unus uero de clericis mortuus est pro frigore hiemis et Hilarius oravit pro suo monacho. Illa autem nocte angelus dixit ad eum, "debet te scrutari scripturas et hymnum facere deo." Ille ergo fecit iuxta imperium angeli et mortuum suscitavit per gratiam dei.

Metrum trochaicum tetrametrum est; hic recipit spondeum omnibus locis praeter tertia locum et trochaea omnibus locis; in quo aliquando tertio loco prioris uersiculi spondeum reperies ut "factor caeli et terrae factor," et "uerbis purgat leprae morbum." Currit autem alternis uersibus, ita ut prior uersus habeat pedes quatuor, posterior uero tres et syllabam.1

Hymnus Graece, 'laus' interpretatur Latine; uel hymnus 'memoria' dicitur, sicut in psalterio Graeco 'ymnos testmon,' hoc est 'memor fuit nostri'; and it is for the praise of God especially that hymnus is due; and it is sung to a melody, ut Augustinus dicit in the Decades. Hymnos primum David propheta in laudem dei composuisse manifestum est.2

1 Cf. Baeda de arte metrica c. 23.
Preface to the Hymn of St. Colman Mac Murchion.

T] In trinitate spes mea. Three sons of Murchu of Connaught made this eulogy for Michael; Colman, the eldest of them, was a bishop, while the other two were priests. Causa, viz. on their pilgrimage they went and a great storm befell them on the Ictian sea; so they went to a certain island, and a great famine befell them; so that it was to free themselves from that famine they made this eulogy.

Or, it was to free Rodan's island from demons; for there was a certain transgressing bishop in (it) before that, and it is in France. Et postea ad Hiberniam veneerunt. Incertum est autem in quo tempore factus est. Now it was made in rhythm, and it has eleven capitula with two lines in each, and sixteen syllables in each (line). The rhythm is...according to the presence there of omne.

F] In trinitate spes mea et reliqua. Sons of Murchu of Connaught made this hymn for Michael, to free themselves from a tempest of the Ictian Sea, or to free themselves de fame in insula maris Tyrreni. Maybe also it was Colman alone that made it, for he was the eldest of them, and further he was a bishop, while the other two were priests; uel inter se fecerunt. In quo tempore uero factus est incertum est. Now it was made in rhythm with eleven capitula in it, with two lines and fifteen syllables to each. The rhythm is...according to the presence there of omne.
Preface to the Hymn of St. Oengus mac Tipraite.

TF] Martine. Oengus mac Tipraite, priest of Cluain Fota Baitan Aba, composed hunc hymnum. In Cluain Fota factus est. Causa autem: Adamnan was on circuit of the churches of Colum Cille in Ireland, and he got as far as Uisnech in Meath, where there was summoned to him every man in orders against whom there was an accusation in the land; and the summons reached Oengus on the night of Martin’s feast, et timuit ualde ut fecit hunc hymnum in honorem Martini to free himself. Uenit then Oengus to the tryst on the morrow, with his hymn ready by him, and there was shown to Adamnan, Martin on the right hand of Oengus; so then Adamnan rose up before him, et honorificauit eum cum osculo, et omnes mirabantur causam honoris; et dixit Adamnan ut uidit Martinum secum, so that it is on account of Martin’s being along with him that he paid him honour. Thus then Oengus was freed; et ostendit hymnum suum et laudavit Adamnan hymnum, et dixit, “personal reverence (shall be) for him who recites it on going to meeting or court,” and that it would be a protection against every disease; and heaven for reciting it on lying down and on rising up.

In rhythm also it was made; six capitula in it with two lines in each; correspondences also there are in it, et non æqualem numerum syllabarum singule lineæ servant.
Preface to *Gloria in Excelsis*.

TF] *Gloria in excelsis.* *Angeli dei cecinerunt primum versum huius hymni in nocte dominicae natiuitatis.* They composed it at the Tower of Gabder, *i.e.* a mile east of Jerusalem; and they composed it to show that the person who was born there was the Son of God. In the time of Octavianus Augustus it was composed. *Ambrosius autem fecit hunc hymnum a secundo versu usque ad finem hymni.*

B] *Gloria in excelsis deo.* Angels composed the introductory verse of this hymn, on the night of the Nativity; and at the Tower of Ader they composed it, a mile east of Jerusalem. To show that he who was born there was the Son of God they composed it. Further in the time of Octavianus it was composed. But Ambrose composed the remainder, *viz.*, *a secundo versu usque in finem laudis,* &c. *Ambrosius,* sage and bishop, composed *hunc hymnum* to praise Jesus; and at night it is due to be sung.

It was composed also in rhythm; seven capitula in it, with seven lines to each, and seven syllables in each line.
Preface to Magnificat.

TFB] Magnificat. Maria mater Domini fecit hunc hymnum. In tempore uero Octauiani Augusti fecit in quadragesimo enim secundo anno imperii eius Christus natus est. It was made in a certain mountain-city in the tribe of Judah, near Jerusalem, in Zacharias' own city; ibi Iohannes Baptistae natus est. And it is to that city Mary came to enquire about Elizabeth, when she heard of her being pregnant, viz. in the sixth month. And it is in it that speech was given to Zacharias, and in it Zacharias composed the Benedictus, and in it the Magnificat was made. Now the cause is this, viz. Mary came to enquire about Elizabeth, wife of Zacharias, for she had heard of her being pregnant post longissimam sterilitatem. Omnes enim cognati eius eam visitatant. Intrans ergo Maria ostium dominus suae, Elizabeth dixit cum motatione infantis in utero suo, "En mater domini uenit ad me"; et ob id dicunt Iohannes prophetasse antequam natus esset; et tunc Maria dixit "Magnificat," et in hoc tempore filium suum Maria concepit.

Preface to Te Deum Laudamus.

T] Haec est laus sanctae Trinitatis quam Augustinus sanctus et Ambrosius composuerunt.

F] Niceta, coarb of Peter, made this canticle. And in Rome it was made. Incertum aulem quo tempore et ob quam causam factum, nisi Nicetam deum laudare voluisse diceremus, dicens, "Laudate pueri dominum, Laudate nomen domini, Te deum laudamus etc."
Preface to the Hymn Altus Prosator.

TF] Locus huinis hymni Hi. Tempus of Aedan mac Gabrain, King of Scotland, and of Aed mac Ainmrecch, King of Ireland; Mauritius antem vel Phoeas was King of Romans tune. The person was Colum Cille de nobili genere Scotorum, 'Columba' dicitur ut "estote prudentes sicut serpentes et simplices sicut columbac." Causa, quia noluit Deum laudare. Per septem annos hunc hymnum scrutans in nigra cellula sine lumine, i.e. to beg forgiveness on account of gaining the battle of Cuil Dremne over Diarmait mac Cerbaill, and the other battles that were gained because of him.

Uel ut alii dicunt, it was suddenly made, viz. one day Colum Cille was in Hi, and nobody was with him but Baithin, and they had no food except a sieve of oats. Then said Colum Cille to Baithin, "Nobler guests (than usual) are coming to us to-day, O Baithin"; viz. folk of Gregory, who came with presents to him. And he said to Baithin, "Stay at home in attendance on the guests, that I may go to the mill." He takes upon him his burden from a certain stone that was in the church, i.e. Blathnat its name, and it still exists, and

B] Altus prosator. Colum Cille fecit hunc hymnum Trinitati per septem annos in Cellula Nigra, i.e. in Colum Cille's Black Church in Derry; or it was composed quite on the spur of the moment, ut alii dicunt, viz. when Colum Cille was in Hi alone, save for the presence of Baithin only. Now it was then revealed to Colum Cille that guests were coming to him, viz. seven of Gregory's people came to him from Rome having presents for him, namely, the Great Gem of Colum Cille—and that is a cross extant to-day—and the Hymn of the Week, a hymn for every night in the week, et alia dona. So Colum Cille enquired of Baithin what there was of food in the common stock. Said Baithin, "There is a sieve of oats." "Attend thou on the guests, O Baithin," said Colum Cille, "that I may go to the mill." Thereupon Colum Cille takes on his shoulders the sack from the stone that is in the refectory in Hi; and the name of that stone is Moel-blatha, and luck was left on all food that is put thereon. After that, as he was going to the mill, Colum Cille composed this little hymn Adiutor laborantium; and it is in alphabetical order.
TF] upon it there is made division in the refectory. But his burden felt heavy to him, so he composed this hymn in alphabetical order, from there up to the mill, viz. *Adiutor laborantium*, &c. Now when he put the first handful into the mill, it was then he began upon the first capitulum, and the grinding of the bag (of oats) and the composition of the hymn were completed together; and extemporaneously it was made *sic*.

In the five hundred and sixty-fifth year after Christ's Nativity Colum Cille went to Hi, *ut Beda dicit, “Anno dominice incarnationis dixu. quo tempore gubernaculum Romani imperii post Iustinianum Iustinus minor accepit, venit de Hibernia presbyter et abbas habitu et uita monachi insignis nomine Columba Brittaniam praedicaturus uerum dei provinciis septentrionalium Pictorum.”* Brudi autem filius Melchon regebat Pictos tunc, et ipse immolavit Columbae Hi, ubi Columba cum esset annorum lxvii. sepultus est, post urco xxxiii. ex quo ipse Brittaniam praedicaturus adiit.

Well, this hymn was taken eastward to Gregory as a return for the gifts that had been sent by him, viz. the cross, whose name was the Great Gem, and the Hymns of the Week. But the bearers changed three capitula in it to test Gregory, viz. “*Hic sublatus*,” and “*Orbem*,” and “*Uagatur*.” When however they began upon the reading aloud of the hymn to Gregory, God’s angels came and remained standing, until that capitulum was reached. Gregory (too) stood up in

B] So when Colum Cille put the first feed into the mouth of the mill, he then began upon the *Altus*, and the composition of the hymn and the grinding of the corn were completed together, nor was it as the fruit of meditation but *per gratiam Dei*.

*In tempore* of Aedan mac Gabrain, King of Scotland, and of Aed mac Ainmerech, King of Ireland, and Falcus was King of Romans at that time. *Causa, quia voluit Deum laudare, i.e. to seek forgiveness for the three battles he had caused in Ireland, viz. the battle of Coleraine in Dal-araidhe, between him and Comgall of Bangor, while contending for a church, Ross Torathair; and the battle of Belach Feda, at the weir of Clonard; and the battle of Cuil Dremne in Connaught, and it was against Diarmait mac Cerbaill that both these were fought.*

*Ductus est ad Gregorium et furati sunt ministri tria capitula de se, i.e. *Hic sublatus* et *Orbem infra* et *Christo de calis,* et tria capitula pro eis inseruerunt; et ministris cantantibus hymnum Gregorio, Gregorius autem surrexit donec audiret aliena capitula tria, et iterum sedit donec propria. Surrexit iterum et dixit

1 Bede H. E. iii. 4.
their honour up to that. But when that was reached, the angels sat down; Gregory too sat down and the hymn was concluded after that manner. Then Gregory demanded their confessions of them, for he knew that it was they who had made the changes. So they admit that it was they, and got forgiveness for it. Then he says, that there was no fault (to be found) with the hymn, except the scantiness in it of the praise of the Trinity _per se_, though it was praised through its creatures. And that reproof reached Colum Cille, and was the cause of the composition of _In te Christe._

Alphabetic order there is _hic_, _more Hebræo_. Out of the Catholic Faith was taken the foundation of this (first) capitulum, viz. belief of Unity with confession of Trinity. Further it was made in rhythm; in which there are two kinds, _viz_, _artificialis et vulgaris_. Artificialis _ubi fiunt_ feet co-divided, co-divided, with equal weight as to _arsis_ and _thesis_, and that the _subsequens_ comes in the place of the _precedens_ in its resolution; but the _vulgaris_ is where there is a correspondence of syllables (as well as) quarter-verses and half-verses; and it is this which is _hic_. Now there are six lines in each capitulum, with sixteen syllables in each line; except

_B]_ _illis_, " _Confitemini quod egistis_." _Illi confessi erant et dixit illis, _"Cantate igitur hymnum secundum ordinem a suo auctore dictum._

_Et illi cantauerunt et ille post laudavit laudem, sed dixit, "minus quam debuit deus memorari in eo memoratus est._" _Præsentes angeli semper fiunt quando cantatur, sicut uidit Gregorius angelos. Multæ sunt gratiae hymni huius; quisquis eum cantauerit frequenter, non quam a persecutione inimicorum et demonum eueniet ei quod timet peruenire, et nesciet diabulus mortem eius; et liber erit ab omni morte absque pretiosa, i.e. 'death on pillow,' et non erit in inferno post diem iudicii etiamsi mala multa egerit, et habebit diuittias multas et longitudinem sæculi._

There is alphabetic order in this hymn, _more Hebræorum_. So then the number of letters in the alphabet is the number of capitula in this hymn. The Hebrews, however, do not put their letters on the sides of their capitula, but each letter over its capitulum to the end of the hymn; and this is the reason of it, because the names of their letters have a meaning, and that meaning runs through the capitula. Further, to Hebrews, this is the cause of the sequence in the order _alphabeti sui_, _viz_. _xxii litteræ apud Hebrewos_, for there are twenty-two books in the Old Testament. To Greeks, however, the reason of their having twenty-four letters, is _decem sensus hominis_ and _decem mandata legis_ and _quattuor evangelia_. Whereas to Romans the reason for their having twenty-three letters is that there are _decem sensus hominis_ also and _decem mandata legis_ and _trinitas_. 
in the first capitulum, where there are seven lines, for it is God's praise that is therein. Fitting indeed is that inequality compared with the other capitula, in consideration of the inequality of God compared with His creatures; (fitting is the) number six autem in creaturis quia sex diebus factæ sunt. Oportet titulum et argumentum esse ante unumquodque capitulum.

Let this then be the ordinance for the recitation huius hymni, that Quis potest Deo be recited between every two capitula; and it is thence its grace would be upon it, for thus they sang it prius. There are in sooth many graces upon this hymn, viz. angels present during its recitation; no demon shall know the path of him who shall recite it every day, and foes shall not put him to shame on the day he shall recite it; and there shall be no strife in the house where its recitation shall be customary; aye, and it protects against every death "save death on pillow"; neither shall there be famine nor nakedness in the place where it shall be oft recited; et aliae multæ sunt.

Now this hymn was composed in rhythm, of which there are two species, viz. artificialis et vulgaris: artificialis est ubi fiunt pedes cum temporibus æquis et aqua divisione et cum æquo ponderi, viz. arsis et thesis, et ubi sit subsequens pro precedente in iure resolutionis; whereas the vulgaris is that wherein there is correspondence of syllables and of quarter-verses and of half-verses; and it is this latter that is in this hymn.

Sex lineæ vero in unoquoque capitulo excepto primo capitulo, and sixteen syllables in each line, but seven lines in primo capitulo. Fitting it is to have six lines in the capitula in which mention is made of the creatures that were brought to completion in six days; but fitting for seven lines to be in the first capitulum for this reason, quia narrat de Deo, quia Deus impar est creaturis suis, uel septem gradus ecclesiae signifcat, uel quia septenarius universitatem signifcat, uel septem dona Spiritus Sancti signifcat.

Be this now the ordinance for the recitation of this hymn, that there be recited Quis potest between every two capitula of it; and it is from this that its grace would be on it, for thus it was sung at first, &c.
Preface to the Hymn *In te Christe.*

_T_  *In te Christe.* Colum Cille composed this hymn; in rhythm he composed it, with sixteen syllables in each line. Another group of persons say that it was not Colum Cille at all that composed it, save from *Christus Redemptor* down to *Christus crucem*; and therefore _multi_ say (only) _illam partem._ *Locus,_ Hi; *tempus,* of Aed mac Ainmerech; *causa* because the poet had spoken insufficiently of the Trinity in the *Altus,* and this is what Gregory reproved Colum Cille for.

_F_  *In te Christe.* Colum Cille composed this hymn in a well-known rhythm; and why he made it was because he had too slightly com- memorated _trinitatem_ in the preceding eulogy, for Gregory said it would have been the best of eulogies had it not been for that.
Preface to the Hymn *Noli Pater.*

T] *Noli pater.* Colum Cille *fecit hunc hymnunm eodem modo ut In te Christe.* Locus, the door of the hermitage of Daire Calcaig; *tempus idem,* of Aed mac Ainmerech; *causa,* Colum Cille *aliquando venit ad colloquium regis* to Derry, and there was offered to him the place with its appurtenance. At that time Colum Cille refused the place, *quia prohibuit Mobi in his case accipere mundum* till he should hear of his death. But thereafter, when Colum Cille came to the door of the place, there met him three persons of the folk of Mobi, having with them Mobi's girdle, *et dixerunt, Mortuus est Mobi; et dixit* Colum Cille:

"Mobi's girdle
was never closed around 'lua' (?)
Not only was it never opened to (allow) satiety,
it was never shut around a lie."

Colum Cille went back to the king, *et dixit regi,* "the offering thou gavest me early this morning, give it me *nunc.*" "It shall be given," said the king. Then the place is burnt with all that was in it. "That is wasteful," said the king, "for if it had not been burnt, there would be no want of garment or food therein till Doom." "But (people) shall be there from henceforth," said he, "(and to) the person who shall be staying therein, there shall be no night of fasting." Now the fire from its size threatened to burn the whole oakwood, and to protect it this hymn was composed.

Or it was the Day of Judgement that he had in mind, or the fire of John's Feast, and it is sung against every fire and every thunder from that time to this; and whosoever recites it at lying down and at rising up, it protects him against lightning flash, and it protects the nine persons of his household whom he chooses.

F] Colum Cille made *hunc hymnunm,* in a well-known rhythm; at Daire Calcaig it was made, *ut quidam dicunt.*

Or it is the Day of Judgement that he had in mind. Or the fire of John's Feast. Or it is to preserve the oakwood when a thunderbolt set fire to the place, after it had been given by Aed mac Ainmerech, and the fire sought to consume it, so it was on that account this hymn was composed. And it is sung against every thunder; and whosoever recites it at lying down and at rising up, is freed from all danger by fire or lightning flash, as (also) the nine persons dearest to him of his folk.
Preface to the Prayer of St. John.

T] Deus mens. Iohannes filius Zebedei hanc epistolam fecit. In Ephesus it was made, and further, in the time of Domitian. Hec est causa; a great conflict arose between John and Aristodemus, viz. a priest of Diana’s temple, and John said to Aristodemus, “Let us go, O Aristodemus, to the temple of Christ which is in the city, and beseech (thou) Diana there that the temple may fall; and after that I shall go with thee to Diana’s temple, and I shall pray Christ that it may fall; and if Diana’s temple fall at my instance, then Christ is better than Diana, and it is right for thee to worship Christ thereafter.” “Let it be done then,” said Aristodemus. After that they went to Christ’s temple. Orauit Aristodemus . . . tribis horis Dianam, et nec tamen ecedit templum Christi. Exierunt postea ad templum Dianae, et oravit Iohannes ut caderet, et statim ecedit. Et Aristodemus temptavit occiderc Iohannem, sed non ausus est pro multitudine Christianorum. “Is there anything that would remove doubt from thee yet, Aristodemus?” said John. “There is,” said he, “if thou drink a full cup of ale cum ueneno, et si non eris mortuus statim, credam deo tuo.” Et dixit Iohannes, “duc hic.” “Dabitur,” said he, “provided that it be given to the captives, whom it is proposed by the king to put to death nunc, quia non melius est mori ferro quam ueneno.” Ut timeret Iohannes, dixit Aristodemus hoc. Et primus porrexit cani uenenum, et statim mortuus est; et post canem porrexit simiae, et illa simuliter mortua est; et postea datus est illis potus, et mortui sunt statim. Et sic dedit Iohanni; et dixit Iohannes tunc “Deus mens pater etc.,” et bibit, et non nucuit ei; et haec est causa of making huius hymni. Et suscitati sunt qui mortui fuerunt ueneno, et sic credidit Aristodemus et alii multi cum eo. Et si quis cantauerit hunc hymnum in liquorem aut in aliquid quod possit nocere, in sanitatem redit. In fine uniuscuiusque anni eligitur de populo iuuenis sanctus sine macula peccati ut . . . et . . . circum.

F] Iohannes Apostolus fecit hanc epistolam, when Aristodemus sacerdos put poison for him in calicem, before the king, Domitian, that he might be killed by it (as) is narrated in the Contest of John.
Preface to the Epistle of Christ to Abgar.

T] Beatus es, &c. Christ Himself wrote with His own hand this letter, as Eusebius in his history narrates; further it was written at Jerusalem, in tempore Tiberii Caesaris. Causa uero haec est:

Abgar the Toparch, King of the land of Armenia, of the land north of the river Euphrates, lay in heavy disease in Edessa ciuitate. So there was sent from him an epistle to Christ, that He should come to heal him, for he had heard that He was the Son of God, and that He healed many; and so for the praise of the faith of Abgar Christ wrote this letter. Now this letter is extant in Edessa ciuitate in qua ciuitate nullus haereticus potest uivre, nullus Iudaes, nullus idolorum cultor; sed neque barbari aliquando eam inuadere potuerunt ex eo tempore quo Abgarus rex eiusdem ciuitatis accept epistolam manu saluatoris scriptam. Hanc denique epistolam legit infans baptizatus stans super portam et murum ciuitatis. Si quando gens uenerit contra ciuitatem illam, in eodem die quo lecta fuerit epistola manu saluatoris scripta placantur illi barbari aut fugantur infirmati.

F] Beatus es. Jesus Christus fecit hanc epistolam when there was rex Edessae ciuitatis qui dolorem pedis habuit, and a letter was sent from him to Christ, that He should go and converse with him and heal him; and Thaddaeus gave him this letter after Christ’s Passion, and there still remains extant the letter; and that it should be in God orders that no heretic should (be allowed) to be for the space of an hour in that city.
Preface to the Hymn of St. Fiacc.

TF] 'Patrick was born.' Fiacc of Sletty composed this hymn about Patrick. Now this Fiacc was son of Mac Erca, son of Bregan, son of Daire Barrach,—from whom are the Hy-Barrchi,—son of Cathair Mór; and the said Fiacc was further a pupil of Dubthach mac Ui Lugair, who was high poet of Ireland. In the time of Loegaire mac Neill it was composed. It was this Dubthach who rose up before Patrick at Tara, after Loegaire had decreed that none should rise up before him in the house; and he became a friend of Patrick from thenceforth, and was afterwards baptized by Patrick. Well, he went on one occasion to Dubthach's house in Leinster, and Dubthach gave great welcome to Patrick. Said Patrick to Dubthach, “Seek out for me a man of rank, of good family and morals, who has tantum one wife and one son.” “Why dost thou seek that, i.e. a man of that stamp?” said Dubthach. “For him to enter into orders.” “Fiacc is the man,” said Dubthach, “but he has gone on circuit in Connaught.” While they were engaged over these words, just then came Fiacc on visit with him. Said Dubthach, “Here is the person we spoke of.” “Though he be so,” said Patrick, “possibly quod diximus would not be agreeable to him.” “Let there be made an attempt at tonsuring me,” said Dubthach, “so that Fiacc may see it.” So when Fiacc saw it, he asked, “Why is an attempt being made to tonsure Dubthach?” said (he). “That is wasteful,” said he, “for there is not in Ireland a poet the like of him.” “Thou wouldst be taken in place of him,” said Patrick. “The loss of me from Ireland is less than (would be the loss of) Dubthach,” said Fiacc. So Patrick cut off Fiacc's beard tunec, and there came great grace upon him thereafter, so that he read all the ecclesiastical order in one night, vel quindecim diebus ut alii ferunt, and there was conferred upon him bishop's grade, so that it is he who is the chief bishop of Leinster from thenceforth, and his coarb after him. The place of it is Duma Gobla, north-west of Sletty; tempus, of Lugaid mac Loegaire, for he was King of Ireland tunec; but the causa was, to praise Patrick, and it was composed after his death, ut ferunt quidam.
THE HYMN OF ST. FiacC.

Patrick was born in Nemthur, this is what is narrated in stories;
A youth of sixteen years, when he was brought under tears.
Sucat his name (it) was said; what his father was, were worth knowing:
Son of Calpurn, son of Otide, grandson of deacon Odisse.

He was six years in bondage; man's food he ate not.
Many were they whom he served, Cothraige (servant) of a fourfold household.

Said Victor to Milchu's bondsman, that he should go over the waves;
He struck his foot on the stone, its trace remains, it fades not.

(The angel) sent him across all Britain—great God, it was a marvel of a course!

So that he left him with Germanus in the south, in the southern part of Letha.

In the isles of the Tyrrhene sea, he fasted in them, one estimates,
He read the Canon with Germanus, this is what writings narrate.
Towards Ireland, God's angels were bringing him back;
Often was it seen in visions, that he would come again!

A help to Ireland was Patrick's coming, which was expected;
Far away was heard the sound of the call of the children of Fochlad's Wood.
They prayed that the saint would come, that he would walk about among them,
That he would convert from iniquity the tribes of Ireland unto life.
The tribes of Ireland prophesied that to them would come a new Prince of peace;

His succession will remain till the day of Judgement, empty would be the land of Tara, silent!

His druids from Loegaire hid not Patrick's coming;
The prophecy was fulfilled of the kingdom of which they spoke.

Patrick was illustrious till he died, powerful was his expulsion of idolatry;
This was what raised his goodness upwards from him beyond dwellings of mankind.

Hymns and Apocalypse, the Three Fifties, he used to sing them;
He preached, baptized, prayed; from God's praise he ceased not.

Cold of weather did not keep him from sleeping at night in pools;
In heaven he won his Kingdom,—by day he preached on hills.

In (fountain) Slan, to the north of Benn-Boirche,—neither drought nor flood took it,—

He sings one hundred psalms each night to an angels' King whom he served.

He sleeps on a bare stone thereafter, with a damp mantle around him;
His pillow was a pillar-stone; he left not his body in warmth!

He preached the Gospel to everyone, he wrought mighty miracles widely:
He heals lame and lepers; dead-folk, he raised them to life.

Patrick preached to the Scots, he suffered great labour widely
That around him they may come to Judgement, everyone whom he brought to life.

Sons of Emer, sons of Herimon, went all with the devil;
The Transgressor flung them into the deep vast pit.

Liber Hymn. II. D
Till the Apostle came to them, he sent . . . of a swift wind,

He preached thrice twenty years Christ's Cross to Fenian pagans.

Over Erin's land lay darkness, its tribes worshipped fairies; They believed not the true Godhead of the true Trinity.

In Armagh there is a kingship: it has long ago forsaken Emania!
Dun Lethglasse is a great church: Tara even though waste is not dear to me!

When Patrick was ailing, he longed to go to Armagh:
An angel went to meet him on the road at midday.

He sent him south to Victor: it was he (Victor) that stopped him;
Flamed the bush in which he was; out of the fire he conversed.

He said, "(Leave thy) dignity to Armagh, to Christ give thanks;"

To heaven thou shalt soon go: thy prayers have been granted thee.

A hymn which thou hast chosen in thy lifetime shall be a lorica of protection for all;
Around thee in the Day of the Judgement men of Ireland will go to Doom."

Tassach stayed after him when he had given communion to him;
He said that Patrick would soon go: Tassach's word was not false.

(Patrick) set a boundary against night that no candle might be wasted with him:
Up to the end of a year there was light; that was a long day of peace!

In a battle fought at Beth-horon against Canaan's people by the son of Nun,
The sun stood still towards Gibeon: this is what letters tell us.
Because the sun stood still with Joshua at the death of the wicked,

Light, even were it thrice as bright, would be fitting at the death of the saints.

Ireland's clerics went to keep watch over Patrick from every road:
The sound of the singing prostrated them, each one of them fell asleep on the road.

Patrick's soul from his body after labours was severed;
God's angels on the first night (after his death) for him kept watch unceasingly.

When Patrick departed, he visited the other Patrick:
Together they ascended to Jesus, Mary's son.

Patrick, without sign of pride, much good he thought it
To be in the service of Mary's son: it was a sign of dutifulness to which he was born.

Patrick was born.
NININE'S PRAYER.

TF] Ninine the poet made this collect; or, it was Fiacc of Sletty.

We commemorate Saint Patrick,  
   chief apostle of Ireland;  
Famous is his wonderful name,  
   flame that baptized heathens.

5 He fought against druids  
   hard of heart;  
He cast down haughty men with the help of our Lord  
   of bright heaven;  
He cleansed Ireland's territories, he the Great Birth.

We pray to Patrick, chief apostle,  
   who hath saved us to Doom's day  
From judgement by the malevolence  
   of dark demons.

15 God be with me, with the prayer  
   of Patrick, chief apostle!
Preface to the Hymn *Brigit be Bithmaith.*

TFL] 'Brigid, ever-good woman.' May be it was Colum Cille that composed this hymn, and in the time of Aed mac Ainmerech he composed it, if it was he that made it. This is the cause of its composition: a great storm came upon Colum Cille when he went over sea, and he got into Breccan's Cauldron, so he besought Brigid that a calm might come to him, and said 'Brigit be bith-maith.'

Or, it was Broccan the Squinting that composed it, so that it and 'Ni car Brigit' were composed at the same time.

Or, three persons of Brigid's household made it: they set out for Rome and reached Blasantia, and there met them outside a man of the city, who asked them whether they were in need of hospitality. They replied that they were, so he took them with him to his house; and there met them a scholar who had come *illīc* from Rome, who asked them whence they came and what they came for. They replied that it was 'for hospitality.' "That is an error," said he, "for the custom of this man is to murder his guests"; and they made inquiries about that owing to the hint of the scholar. Well, there was given them poison in ale, but they made a eulogy of Brigid to be freed, and sang 'Brigid ever-good woman!' Then they drank off the ale with the poison, and it did them no harm. So the householder came to look at them, to know whether the poison had killed them, and he saw them alive, and saw a good-looking girl among them. After that he came into the house and began to seek the girl, but he found her not; and he asked them, 'why the girl had gone?' and they replied that 'they had not seen her at all.' So fetters were put on them, and they were to be killed on the morrow if they did not tell about the girl. But the same scholar came to them on the morrow to visit them, *et inuenit eós in uïnculis, et interrogauit eos quonodo euaserunt et cur ligati sunt.* Responderunt eī et narrauerunt eī omnia quae eīs contigerunt secundum ordinem, et dīxīt scholasticus eīs, "Cantate eī laudem quam fecistis." Postquam autem illum cantauerunt inter eōs sancta Brigita omnibus illīs apparuit. Tunæ paenituit ille et demīsit illos ex uïnculis et dedit suam sedem in Blasantia Brigitae, uel Blasantiam totam, ut alīi dicunt.
Or, it was Brendan that composed this hymn; nauigans mare et quaerens terram repromissionis auduit bestiam aliam clamantem et adiurantem uoce humana bestiam aliam conuco-cantem et rogantem Brendinum et ceteros omnes sanctos Hiberniae insulae, excepta Brigita, ne sibi alia bestia nuceret; et nihilominus tamen uin ab alia patientem usque dum rogaret Brigitam, euadentem uero postquam rogaret Brigitam et nihil mali a persequente patientem interrogantem, ut diceret alia quae eam perseveretur, “postquam Brigitam adiurasti, nocere tibi non possum.” Postquam uero Brendinus haec omnia et honorem quem dedit bestia Brigitae prae ceteris, admiratus est et Brigitam laudavit dicens “Brigid, ever-good woman.”

Locus ergo mare; causa ad laudem Brigitae; tempus uero, of Diarmait mac Cerbaill, King of Ireland.

Well, after that, Brendan came to Kildare to Brigid, to learn why the beast in mari gave honour to Brigid more than to all the other saints. So when Brendan reached Brigid, he begged her to make her confession, in what way the love of God was in her. Said Brigid to Brendan, “O cleric, give thou thy confession prius, and I shall give mine thereafter.” Said Brendan, “From the day on which I took religion, I went not over seven furrows without my mind (fixed) in God.” “It is a good confession,” said Brigid. “And now, O nun, give thy confession,” said Brendan. “By the Virgin’s Son,” said she, “from the hour that I set my mind in Him, I never took it out.” “By God, O nun,” said Brendan, “fitting it is for the beasts to give honour to thee more than to us.”

Or else, Ultan of Ardbreccan composed this hymn, and for the praise of Brigid he composed it. For he belonged to the Dal Conchobair, and so also did Brigid’s mother, Broic-sech, daughter of Dall-bronach. Further (the hymn) itself was composed in the time of the two sons of Aed Slane, for it was they that killed Suibne mac Colman Moir by the side of Ultan. In Ardbreccan, also, it was composed.
THE HYMN *BRIGIT BE BITHMAITH*.

TFLX] Brigid, ever-good woman,
flame golden, sparkling,
may she bear us to the eternal kingdom,
(she), the sun fiery, radiant!

5. May Brigid free us
past crowds of demons!
may she win for us
battles over every disease!

May she extirpate in us
the vices of our flesh,
she, the branch with blossoms,
the mother of Jesus!

The true-virgin, dear,
with vast pre-eminence,
may we be free, at all times,
along with my Saint of Leinster-folk!

One (of the two) pillars of the Kingdom,
along with Patrick the pre-eminent (as the other pillar);
the vestment beyond (even) splendid (vestments),
the royal Queen!

May they lie, after old age,
our bodies, in sackcloth;
(but) with her grace may she bedew us,
may she free us, Brigid!

Brigid ever.

*Brigita per laudem Christum precamur*
*ut nos celeste regnum habere mereamur.* Amen.
Preface to St. Broccan's Hymn.

TF] Locus huius hymni Slieve Bloom, or Cluain Mór Moedoc; person, Broccan the Squinting; tempus, of Lugaid mac Loegaire King of Ireland, and Ailell mac Dunlainge King of Leinster; causa, Ultan of Ardbreccan, whose tutor requested of him that he should tell of the miracles of Brigid compendiously in poetic harmony, for it was Ultan who had collected all the miracles of Brigid.

St. Broccan's Hymn.

TF] Victorious Brigid loved not the world;
    she sat the seat of John on a cliff,
    she slept the sleep of a captive,—
    the saint, for the sake of her Son.

5 Not much of evil-speaking was got!
    with lofty faith (in) the Trinity
    Brigid, mother of my high King,
    of the kingdom of heaven best she was born.

She was not absent, she was not malicious,
10    she was not a mighty, quarrelsome, champion (?),
    she was not an adder striking, speckled;
    she sold not the Son of God for gain!

She was not greedy of treasures,
    she gave, without poison, without abatement;
15    she was not hard, penurious,
    she loved not the world's spending.

To guests she was not acrimonious,
    to miserable weaklings she was gentle;
    on a plain she was built (as) a city;
20    may she protect us (in) hosts to the Kingdom.
She was no plunderer (?) of a mountain-slope; she worked in the midst of a plain, a wonderful ladder for pagan-folk to climb to the Kingdom of Mary's Son!

Wonderful was St. Brigid's congregation, wonderful, Plea to which it went; but alone with Christ was maintained her frequent mission to the poor!

Good was the hour that Mac-Caille held a veil over St. Brigid's head; she was clear in all her proceedings; in heaven was heard her prayer;

"God, I pray to Him against every battle, in whatever way my lips can reach, deeper than seas, vaster than count, Three Persons, One Person, a wonder of a story!"

A challenge to the battle, renowned Kevin! through a storm of snow that wind drives, in Glendalough was suffered a cross, till peace visited him after labour.

St. Brigid was not given to sleep, nor was she intermittent about God's love; not merely that she did not buy, she did not strive for the world's wealth here below, the Saint!

That which the King wrought of miracles for St. Brigid, if they have been wrought for (any other) person, in what place hath ear of any living being heard of it?

The first dairying on which she was sent with first butter in a cart, she took nought from the gift to her guests, nor did she lessen her following.

Her portion of bacon, after that, one evening—the victory was high,—not merely was the dog satisfied with it, the company was not grieved.
A day of reaping for her,—it was well reaped,
no fault was found there with my pious one;
it was dry-weather ever in her field,
through the world it poured heavy rain.

Bishops visited her,
not slight was the danger to her,
if there had not been,—the King helped,—
milking of the cows thrice.

On a day of heavy rain she herded (?)
sheep in the midst of a plain;
she spread her upper garment afterwards
in-doors across a sunbeam.

The cunning youth asked alms of her,
Brigid, for the love of her King:
she gave away seven wethers,
but it did not lessen her flock’s number.

It is of my poetic gift if I were to recount
what she did of good:

wonderful for her was the bath
that was blest about her,—it became red ale!

She blessed the pregnant nun,
who thereon became whole, without poison, without disease;
greater than others was the marvel, how
of the stone she made salt.

I record not, I enumerate not
all that the holy creature did:
she blessed the flat-faced one,
and his two eyes became quite apparent.

Some one brought a dumb girl
to Brigid,—the miracle of it was unique,—
whose hand went not out of her hand
till her utterances were clear.

(Another) wonder was bacon that she blessed;
and God’s power kept it safely;
(though) it was a full month with the dog,
the dog did not injure it.
It was a miracle greater than others:
a morsel she requested of the (kitchen-)folk
did not spoil the colour of her scapular
(though) it was flung, boiling, into her bosom

The leper begged a boon of her;
it was a good boon that befel him:
she blessed the choicest of the calves,
and the choicest of the cows loved it.

He directed her chariot afterwards
northward to Bri Cobthaig Coil,
the calf being with the leper in the car,
and the cow (following) behind the calf.

The oxen, (when thieves) visited them,
would have been pleased that anyone should hear them:
against them rose up the river,
at morn they returned home.

Her horse parted head from head-stall
when they ran down the slope;
the yoke was not flung out of balance,
God's Son directed the royal hand.

A wild boar frequented her herd,
to the north he hunted the wild pig;
Brigid blessed him with her staff,
and he took up his stay with her swine.

Mug-art, a fat pig for her was given
beyond Mag Fea; it was wonderful how
wild dogs hunted it for her,
till it was (close to her) in Uachtar Gabra.

She gave the wild fox
on behalf of her peasant, the wretched;
to a wood it escaped
though the hosts hunted it.

She was open in her proceedings,
she was One-Mother of the Great King's Son:
she blessed the fluttering bird
so that she played with it in her hand.
TF] Nine outlaws (whose weapons) she blessed
130 reddened those weapons in a pool of blood;
the man whom they had ill-treated
was wounded, but hurt to him was not found there!

What she wrought of miracles
there is no one who could enumerate aright:
135 wonderful how she took away Lugaid's appetite;
but the champion's strength she did not lessen.

An oak the multitude lifted not,
on another occasion,—excellent and famous (deed)!
her Son brought it to her (on the prayer) of Brigid,
140 to the place where she wished it to be (?)

The trinket of silver, which should not have been hidden
for mischief to the champion's hand-maid,
was flung into the sea the length of a mighty cast,—
but even it was found, in the inner part of a salmon.

145 Another wonder of hers was the widow
who refreshed her in Mag Coil,
for she made fire-wood of the new (weaving)-beam,
and that for cooking the calf;

A miracle greater than any other
150 which the saint effected,—
in the morning the beam was whole,
with its mother was the missing calf.

The trinket of silver, which the smith
broke not,—this was one of her miracles,—
155 Brigid struck it against her hand
afterwards, so that it broke into three (parts)

It was flung into a scale at the smith's;
thereupon was found a wonder:
it was not discovered that by one scruple
160 any third was greater than another.

What she wrought of miracles,
there is no man who can come at them;
she blessed raiment for Condlaid,
when he was taken to Letha.
When she,—it was a danger for her,—
her Son before her failed her not (?):  
he put raiment in the basket  
of Roncend in a chariot of two wheels

The mead-vat that was brought to her;  
whoever brought it was not unrewarded (?);  
for there was found (honey) in a wall of the house:  
it had not been found there up to that!

She gave for behoof of her servant  
when he stood in need;  
not merely was no surplus found there,  
but not a drop was wanting.

Upon us may Brigid's prayers rest!  
and she against danger be our aid!  
may they be on the side of her weaklings  
before going into the presence of the Holy Spirit!

May she aid us with a sword of fire  
in the fight against black swarms!  
may her holy prayers protect us  
past pains, into the kingdom of Heaven!

Before going with angels to the battle  
let us reach the church with a run!  
commemoration of the Lord is better than any poem:  
Victorious Brigid loved not the world.  
    Brigid loved not.

I beseech the patronage of St. Brigid
with the saints of Kildare;  
may they be between me and pain!  
may my soul not be lost!

The nun that drove over the Curragh,  
may she be a shield against edges of sharpness!  
I have not found her like, save Mary:  
we honour my Brigid.
We honour my Brigid;
may she be a protection to our company!
may her patronage assist me!
may we all of us deserve escape!

Praise of Christ, famous (such) speaking!
adoration of the Son of God, guarantee of victory!
may it be without denial of God's Kingdom,
whoever recites it, whoever has heard it!

Whoever has heard, whoever recites it,
may the benediction of Brigid rest on him!
the benediction of Brigid and of God
rest upon us, together!

There are two nuns in the Kingdom,—
I implore their aid (?) with all my effort,—
Mary and St. Brigid;
may we be under the protection of these two

Sancta Brígita virgo sacratissima
in Christo domino fuit fidelissima. Amen.
Preface to St. Sanctan's Hymn.

TF] ‘I beseech a wonderful king.’ Bishop Sanctan composed this hymn, and it was on his going to Clonard westward to Inis Matoc that he composed it; he was brother to Matoc, both of them being of British race, but Matoc came into Ireland earlier quam Bishop Sanctan. *Causa autem haec est,* to free it *ab hostibus,* and that his brother should be allowed (to come) to him *in insulam; Scoticam uero linguam usque ad horam hanc non habuit sed deus ei tam cito eam donavit.* Tempus autem dubitatur.

St. Sanctan’s Hymn.

TF] I beseech a wonderful King of angels,
for it is a name that is mightiest;
to me (be) God for my rear, God on my left,
God for my van, God on my right!

5 God for my help,—holy call—
against each danger, Him I invoke!
a bridge of life let there be below me,
benediction of God the Father above me!

Let the lofty Trinity arouse us,
10 (each one) to whom a good death (?) is not (yet) certain!
Holy Spirit noble, strength of heaven,
God the Father, Mary’s mighty Son!

A great King who knows our offences
Lord over earth, without sin,—
15 to my soul for every black-sin
let never demons’ godlessness (?) visit me!

God with me, may He take away each toil!
may Christ draw up my pleadings,
may apostles come all around me,
20 may the Trinity of witness come to me!
May mercy come to me (on) earth,
from Christ let not (my) songs be hidden!
let not death in its death-wail reach me,
nor sudden death in disease befall me!

May no malignant thrust that stupefies and perplexes
reach me without permission of the Son of God!
May Christ save us from every bloody death,
from fire, from raging sea!

From every death-drink, that is unsafe
for my body, with many terrors!
may the Lord each hour come to me
against wind, against swift waters!

I shall utter the praises of Mary’s Son
who fights for good deeds,
(and) God of the elements will reply,
(for) my tongue (is) a lorica for battle.

In beseeching God from the heavens
may my body be incessantly laborious;
that I may not come to horrible hell

I beseech the King whom I have besought.

I beseech a wonderful King.

Bishop Sanctan . . . a sage
soldier, angel famous pure-white,
may he make free my body on earth,
may he make holy my soul towards heaven!

May there be a prayer with thee for me, O Mary!
May heaven’s King be merciful to us
against wound, danger and peril!
O Christ, on Thy protection (rest) we!

I beseech the King free, everlasting
Only Son of God, to watch over us;
may He protect me against sharp dangers,
He, the Child that was born in Bethlehem.
Preface to St. Patrick's Lorica.

Patrick made this hymn; in the time of Loegaire mac Neill, it was made, and the cause of its composition was for the protection of himself and his monks against the deadly enemies that lay in ambush for the clerics. And it is a lorica of faith for the protection of body and soul against demons and men and vices: when any person shall recite it daily with pious meditation on God, demons shall not dare to face him, it shall be a protection to him against all poison and envy, it shall be a guard to him against sudden death, it shall be a lorica for his soul after his decease.

Patrick sang it when the ambuscades were laid for him by Loegaire, in order that he should not go to Tara to sow the Faith, so that on that occasion they were seen before those who were lying in ambush as if they were wild deer having behind them a fawn, viz. Benen; and 'Deer's Cry' is its name.

The Lorica of St. Patrick.

I arise to-day:

vast might, invocation of the Trinity,—
belief in a Threeness
confession of Oneness
meeting in the Creator (†).

I arise to-day:

the might of Christ's birth and His baptism
the might of His Crucifixion and Burial
the might of His Resurrection and Ascension
the might [of] His Descent to the judgement of Doom.

Liber Hymn. II.
I arise to-day:

might of grades of Cherubim
in obedience of Angels
[in ministration of Archangels]
in hope of resurrection for the sake of reward

in prayers of Patriarchs
in prophecies of Prophets
in preachings of Apostles,
in faiths of Confessors
in innocence of holy Virgins

in deeds of righteous men.

I arise to-day:

might of Heaven
brightness of Sun
whiteness of Snow

splendour of Fire
speed of Light
swiftness of Wind
depth of Sea
stability of Earth

firmness of Rock.

I arise to-day:

Might of God for my piloting
Wisdom of God for my guidance
Eye of God for my foresight

Ear of God for my hearing
Word of God for my utterance
Hand of God for my guardianship
Path of God for my precedence
Shield of God for my protection

Host of God for my salvation
against snares of demons
against allurements of vices
against solicitations of nature
against every person that wishes me ill

far and near
alone and in a crowd.
I invoke therefore all these forces to intervene between me and every fierce merciless force that may come upon my body and my soul:

against incantations of false prophets
against black laws of paganism
against false laws of heresy
against deceit of idolatry
against spells of women and smiths and druids
against all knowledge that is forbidden the human soul.

Christ for my guardianship to-day

against poison, against burning,
against drowning, against wounding,
that there may come to me a multitude of rewards;
Christ with me, Christ before me,
Christ behind me, Christ in me,
Christ under me, Christ over me,
Christ to right of me, Christ to left of me,
Christ in lying down, Christ in sitting, Christ in rising up
Christ in the heart of every person, who may think of me!
Christ in the mouth of every one, who may speak to me!
Christ in every eye, which may look on me!
Christ in every ear, which may hear me!

I arise to-day:

vast might, invocation of the Trinity
belief in a Threeness
confession of Oneness
meeting in the Creator.

Domini est salus, domini est salus, Christi est salus;
Salus tua, domine, sit semper nobiscum.
THE HYMN OF MÆL-ISU.

The Holy Spirit around us,
in us and with us,
the Holy Spirit to us,
may it come, O Christ, suddenly!

The Holy Spirit to inhabit
our body and our soul,
to protect us speedily
against peril, against diseases!

Against demons, against sins,
against hell with many evils,
O Jesus, may it sanctify us,
may Thy Spirit free us!

The Spirit.

[Names of the Apostles.]

Simon, Matthias, and Matthew,
Bartholomew, Thomas, Thaddaeus,
Peter, Andrew, Philip, Paul,
John and two Jameses.
PREFACE TO THE AMRA OF ST. COLUMBA.

T] The place for the Amra *usque in finem*, i.e. the bit of land that is between Fene in Ui Tigerman in Meath up to Dun na n-Airbed in the district of Masraige eastward of Irarus, or of Chechtraige Slechht from Breifne of Connaught; i.e. for Dallan.

[For] Colum Cille son of Feidlimid, son of Fergus, son of Conall, son of Neill, Dallan wrote this. Now this is the third cause for which Colum Cille came, viz. a refusal that Ireland's kings around Aed mac Ainmherech put on Ireland's poets; for it was owing to the multitude of the poets and to their burdensomeness that Ireland's men were not able to find out what to do with them; for the person who was satirised there, if he did not immediately die, there used to grow poisonous ulcers upon him, till he was conspicuous to everybody, and till there was deformity upon him always; but upon the poet himself grew the ulcers, and he used to die immediately, if it was without fault that he satirised. Now the poets were at Ibar of Cinntracht in the territory of Ulster, for Ulster's king gave them 'coigny' three years, or (may be) one whole year there. And it was then they set themselves to invent stories, but they were wholly unable (to do it) as they used to tell them; but to impose them on the wholly rude race among whom they were, ready-tongued poets concocted the lying fables. Well, a message came from Ireland's poets to Colum Cille, to the effect that it was to them he should come before he went to Druim Cetta, the place where the kings were who refused them. And so they invoked God's name upon the head of Colum Cille and of the Christian faith . . . was brought under his protection to Druim Cetta. There came afterwards Colum Cille as he came from his boat, seven twenties his number (of followers), *ut poeta dixit*:

Forty priests his number,

twenty bishops lofty power

at the psalm-singing without dispute,

fifty deacons, thirty students.

So he took the poets with him to Druim Cetta. Now Dallan mac Forgaill was under ban of expulsion among the poets though he was a doctor of wisdom and of poetry. But Colum Cille made reconciliation of the poets with the men of Ireland and with Aed mac Ainmherech, in precedence of every other case that was brought before the assembly, so that this is what is said even now-a-days, i.e. "Case of a privileged person before every case." Then Colum Cille requested the kings who were there assembled to give the headship of Ireland's poets to Dallan for his wisdom and for his
knowledge in poetry (as being) beyond all. And Colum Cille 35 made a black-poem (?) on going to the assembly along with Cormac's poets . . . . . .

(and Dallan asked), "What reward shall be given me for the eulogy?" Said Colum Cille, "Heaven shall be given to thee and to every one else who shall recite it . . . shall not be more numerous than are hornless dun cows in a cow-shed." "What are tokens that that shall be given?" said the blind poet. "There shall be given thee thy sight while composing the eulogy, so that there shall be visible to thee sky and air and earth"; and when it would be the end of the eulogy . . . . . . . .

Colum Cille made the freeing of Scandlan son of Cinnael from his hostageship, and he bowed down to the Gospel . . . . . . and he gave eight score plough-oxen to him . . . and to the soul-friend; and it was the coarbs of Colum Cille that were soul-friends . . . . Osraige, so that it is in Hi, and there are due eight score plough-oxen still to the congregation of Hi from the Osraige . . . between Aed mac Ainmerech and Aedan mac Gabrain about Dal-riata, and the Dal-riata were allowed to serve him . . . of the sea between Ireland and Scotland and Gall-Gaels to the King of Scotland on his behalf. He went . . .
AMRA OF ST. COLUMBA.

Locus huius artis is Druim Cetta, where was the Great Assembly. In the time of Aed mac Ainmerech and Aedan mac Gabrain it was composed. The person was Dallan mac Forgaill of the Masraige of Mag Slecht in Breifne of Connaught. The cause, to attain heaven for himself et aliis per se. Now there are three causes for which Colum Cille came from Scotland into Ireland at that time, viz. [i] to set free Scandlan Mor son of Cinnfaela, King of the men of Ossory, for whom he had gone in suretyship; [ii] to secure residence in Ireland for the poets, for they had been expelled owing to their burdensomeness, viz. thirty persons being the full retinue and fifteen the half retinue of the ollam-poet: twelve hundred their number, ut guidam dixit.

[vv. 50-57] Once to Mael-choba of the companies at Ibar of Cinn-tracht twelve hundred poets resorted to the north-west of the Yew. ‘Coigny’ of three harmonious years gave to them Mael-choba the Chief; there shall remain to the day of white Doom, (descendants) of the shapely race of Deman.

And [iii] to make peace between the men of Ireland and of Scotland about Dal-riata; so that Colum Cille came afterwards into the court, and some in the court rose up to give welcome to him, and the poets came to sing him their musical strains. So then Colum Cille said to Aed:—

Cormac fairly broke battles,—
new his praises, withered his treasures,
it is this I have read (to be) the grace of poetry:
luck where one is praised, woe where one is satirised, Aed

Fair the juice that is sucked from their free faces;
woe worth the land that absent is satirised!
ladder famous—fair the course—living men are pleased praises live long after treasures (are gone).

Thereafter Colum Cille begged Scandlan(’s release) from Aed, who did not grant it to him; so he said to Aed, that ‘he [Scandlan] would take off his shoes about nocturns, wherever he [Colum Cille] might be’; and so it was fulfilled.
It was Colman mac Comgellain of the Dal-riata that gave the judgement, viz., ‘their expedition and their hosting with the men of Ireland,’ for there is hosting always with possessions of land; but ‘their law of tribute and their tax with the men of Scotland.’ And it is that same Colman to whom Colum Cille did the kindness, when he was a little child, _et dixit_,

O fair conscience, O pure soul! here is a kiss for thee, give a kiss to me!
And Colum Cille said that it would be he who should make peace between the men of Ireland and of Scotland.

Dallan afterwards came to converse with Colum Cille, and recited the prologue to him, but Colum Cille did not let him go past that, (and said) that he should finish it at the time of his decease, that ‘it was for a dead person it was fitting.’

Then, Colum Cille promised riches and the fruits of the earth to Dallan for this eulogy, but Dallan accepted nothing but heaven for himself and for every one who should recite it, and should understand it, both sense and sound.

“How shall I know of thy death seeing that thou art in pilgrimage and I am in Ireland?”

So Colum Cille gave him three tokens, as to the time when he should complete his eulogy, viz. that it would be a rider of a speckled horse who should announce to him Colum Cille’s decease; that the first word he would speak would be the beginning of the eulogy; and that (the use of) his eyes would be granted him while he was composing it.

At Ath Feni in Meath was this eulogy sung, _ut Mael-Suthain dixit_; but Fer-domnach (his) coarb states that it was at Slige Assail it was sung, from Dun na nAirbed to the Cross at Tig Lommain.

_Tres filiae Orci quae uocantur diversis nominibus in caelo et in inferno; in caelo quidem Stenna et Euriale et Medusa, in terra Clotho, Lachesis, Atropos; in inferno Electo, Megaera, Tisiphone._

_Hoc est principium laudationis._

‘Anamain’ between two ‘n’s is this, viz.: ‘n’ at the beginning of the eulogy, and ‘n’ at the end; i.e. ‘ni disceoil’ and ‘nembuain.’ Or, it is ‘fork’ of it, viz.: a doubly harmonised ‘raicne’ metre; i.e. two or three word-utterances beginning with one letter, in unbroken sequence, and a word beginning with a different letter following them.

‘Ni disceoil,’ i.e. not folly of a story, i.e. it was not a story about a fool that will be made famous.
hid not 'ceis' music from Craiptine's harp,
that brought a death-sleep on hosts;
it joined harmony between Maen
and marriageable Moriath of Morca.

Labraid was more to her than every prize.

Sweeter than every song was the harp
that was played (to) Labraid Loingsech Lorcc;
though the king was silent and plunged in secrecy,
Craiptine's (harp) hid not 'ceis.'

Three years was he without light,
Colum, in his Black Church;
he went to angels out of his captivity
after seventy-six years.

'fo' is a name for 'good' and for 'honour';
'fi' is a name for 'evil' and for 'disobedience';
'an' is 'true;'—and it is no weak knowledge,—
'ith' is 'diadem' and 'iath' is 'land.'

'nur' means 'multitude' yonder in the law,
'coph,' 'victory,'—it is a full-right word.—
'du,' 'place,' 'du' means 'thy right,'
'cail,' 'protection' and 'cul' 'chariot.'

Ethne pre-eminent in her life-time
the queen of the Carburys
the mother of Colum,—bright perfection,—
daughter of Dimma mac Noe.

Up to the distance of a mile and a half was clear the voice of
Colum Cille in saying his offices, ut dixit poeta:
The sound of Colum Cille's voice,
great its sweetness above every company;
up to fifteen hundred paces,
with wonders of courses, is the distance that it was clear.

Hi with the multitude of its relics
of which Colum was dear fosterchild;
he went out of it at last,
so that Down is his old sanctuary.
'Aidbse,' i.e. a name for music or for a 'cronan,' which a number of the men of Ireland used to make all together whatever it was that called them together. And this is what the men of Ireland did before him in the Great Assembly of Druim Cetta, so that there came pride of mind to him. An example of 'aidbse,' *Colman dixit*, i.e. the son of Lenine:

Blackbirds (compared) with swans, an ounce with masses, kings with Domnall, a mere droning sound with an 'aidbse,' a rushlight with a candle, (is) a sword with my sword.

'Ferb' is employed to express three things, viz. 'ferb' means 'word,' *ut dicitur*, "if it be of the true-wondrous words of the white pure language"; and 'ferb' also means 'blotch,' *ut dicitur*, "blotches will rise on his cheeks after partial judgements," i.e. perverse judgments; and 'ferb' also means 'cow,' *ut dicitur*, "three white cows, Assal drove them away from Mog Nuadat."

*Angelus dixit uel monachus* this following:—

A humble youth, says 'cet,'

deus ei indulget
he testifies no and uet
in eternal life surget.

Labraid Loingsch, sufficient his number, by whom was slain Cobthach in Dinn-rig, with a lance-armed host from over ocean's water; from them Leinster was named. Two hundred and twenty hundred Galls with broad lances with them yonder; from the lances which were borne there, hence is 'Lagin' (the name) for Leinster.

'Tuaim tenma' was its name before there was made the Plunder of Dinn-rig, in which . . . . . was killed.

openly he used to lie in the sand;
in his lair he was much-suffering;
trace of his rib through his garment,
it was clear when the wind blew it.

It is for this reason that he doubles the first word, for the intensity or the great eagerness of the eulogy, *ut est, Deus, Deus meus.*

Now this is its name with the Gael, viz., its 'enunciation' mode; i.e. this is its 'mood of narration':—

I fear, I fear, after long, long
to be in pain, pain, not peace, peace
as each, each, till doom, doom
at each hour, hour, though fatigue, fatigue.
Brigita dixit:

Good I deem my smallness;
to earth descends each race,
though any one were placed somewhat lower,
the love of Jesus he would merit there.

The Amra of Colum—every day
whoever he be that recites it in its entirety,
there will be to him the bright kingdom
which God gave to Dallan.

An assembly I gathered,—it is great folly,
in the house over Druim-lias;
O my Lord, O King of noble mysteries
in which there is . . . . . . .

There is a woman in the country,
her name is not said:
ex ea erumpit peditum
like stone out of sling.

It is a physician’s medicine-chest without an ale-bag,
it is asking of marrow without bone,
it is a strain of music on a harp without a ‘ceis,—
so is our state in the absence of our noble organ.

May thy bed be in swiftness!
after thy fight, sail of long height,
may there be brought in a chariot after a horse
thy wife, O hero, to her fair church!

Fechertne the poet dixit:

Is name of demon shouted to you?
he who announces pain for his household:
may God not leave me, East or West,
in the track of the demon on whom it is shouted.

‘Cul’ is a name for a chariot without fault,
in which I used to go with Conor;
and ‘neit’ was a name for the battle
which I used to fight along with Cathbath’s son.

Woe with my looking to him!
increases on wall glance from below;
it was sweeter they sang a drone-murmur
his two bags towards a glance from below.
Not for that do I wake out of my sleep . . . after pleasant sweet sleep . . . . word of Lent without any inquiry . . . Rath of Rathmacc, victory of king's son . . .

Example of return to the usual sound is this:—
Were I the sweet-voiced smith, smith of fire would I cleave to, weapon that would slay calf of half-tonsured man: I would grind (corn) for Mael-Sechnall.

God, God—whom I beseech before I come into His presence.

i.e. I fear God. Or, I pray before I come into His presence.

Chariot through battle.

i.e. as goes a scythed chariot through battle, may my soul go 'through demons' battle to heaven!

God of heaven, may He not leave me in the track where it is shouted owing to its smoke from its greatness.

i.e. for making truth clear he says "God of heaven," Or, from his knowledge that He is not a god that is an idol; "may He not leave me crying in the track of demons from the greatness of their smoke."

Great God (be) my protection from a fiery abundance of incessant tears.

i.e. 'Great God for my protection against the abundance of the fire, in the place where tears are shed a long time at seeing it'; i.e. quia fit 'mur,' viz. 'abundance'; and as to 'diu-terce,' it is a compositum nomen, of Latin and Irish, viz. 'diu' is 'a long time,' and 'derce' means 'eye,' ut dixit Grainne, Cormac's daughter:

"There is a person from whom a long glance would have my thanks, for whom I should give the whole world, O Son of Mary, though a losing bargain."
God righteous, truly near, who hears my twin-wail from (his) heaven-land of clouds.

i.e. God True-One. Or, God of the righteous; truly near, quia est deus ubique et prope omnibus inueniens eum. My twin-wail, i.e. my two wailings, viz. wail of my body and wail of my soul, after clouds in heaven's land. Or, wail of Old Testament and wail of New Testament. . . . to serve him by men with every object.

Ot unworthy of song for descendants of Neill.

i.e. not without tale. Or, not trifling is the tale of Colum Cille's death, to grandchildren of Neill, or to great-grandchildren of Neill.

They sigh not (as) single plains (but all together); great woe, great noise intolerable.

i.e. not from one plain is it 'alas' or is it 'groaning' sed tois campis: the decease of Colum Cille is a great woe; noise, i.e. great is the trembling and the shaking that hath come into Ireland at the decease of Colum Cille.

At the time when it tells of Colum being without life, without church.

i.e. the story is to us intolerable at the time when it is told us of Colum's decease, of his being no more in the world or in life, of his no longer abiding in a church.

Ubi invenitur 'ris', i.e. 'story'? Not hard; in the Dialogue of the Two Sages, ut dicitur, "delight of a king, smooth stories"; or in the Bretha Nemed, ut dicitur, "not payment of a company (that tell) stories"; i.e. he possesses not the means of delighting a company (for their) stories

How would a fool speak of him?

i.e. 'coi' is 'way,' in what way, and 'india' is 'will he narrate'; what then is the way in which a fool will tell of him? Or, compared with him every person up to India was unlearned.
T] Even Nera, about God’s prophet.

‘sceo’ and ‘ceo’ and ‘neo’ are three Gaelic conjunctive particles. And even Nera son of Morand, or son of Fincholl of the fairy-folk, would not be able to tell of him. Or, even he was unlearned in comparison with Colum Cille.

On land of Zion he hath taken his seat.

i.e. on land of the heavenly Zion he sate down; or the prophet of God used to tell of the sitting that shall be in the land of Zion, i.e. on earth.

No (more) is our sage the profit of (our) soul, for (he hath gone) from us to a fair land.

i.e. we have now none to benefit or to enlighten our soul, for our sage hath gone away from us to a fair land.

Or, from condio, ‘I salt’, i.e. the person who used to salt our stench of sins and transgressions with his teaching.

He who preserves alive has died.

i.e. the person who used to preserve us alive hath died. Or, the person who knows our life well hath died.

For he hath died to us, who was destined to secure our forgiveness.

i.e. he who was destined (to secure) our pardon, has died. Or, he who was destined for pity on our wretchedness, hath died.

For he hath died to us who was a messenger to our Lord.

i.e. the messenger who used to go from us to our Lord, hath died; for his spirit used to go to heaven every Thursday.

For now we have no more a sage who should avert terrors from us.

i.e. for no longer is alive the person who used to bring us knowledge of peace, and who used to stand in opposition so that there should be no fear in us. Or, the sage who used to go from us into the land of . . . .
T] For we have no king, who shall explain word-truth.

i.e. he who ran from us runs not back to us; he would state
to us truth of word or true-word. Or, he does not come to our
reproof, i.e. to our amelioration.

For (we have) no teacher who used to teach tribes of
Toi.

i.e. he who wrought the aid of the tribes in teaching them till
they were silent. Or, the teacher who sang (to) the tribes who
were about Tai, i.e. nomen proprium of a stream in Scotland.

260 Whole world,—it was his.

i.e. woe to the whole world, which he had, for it is in misery.
Or else, he had the whole world.

It is a 'cruit'-harp without a 'ceis'-harp, it is a
church without an abbot.

i.e. 'ceis' is a name for a small harp that accompanies a
great 'cruit'-harp in its playing. Or a name for a pulling
upon which is the cord. Or, it is a name for the small peg.
Or, a name for the tackling. Or, for the heavy cord, quod est
melius, ut dixit the poet.

De ascensione eius in caelum.

H E rose very high, God's time about Colum of
company.

270 i.e. he arose to a great height when God's companies came
to meet Colum Cille.

Bright shrine attendance.

i.e. bright is the shrine for which attendants came. Or
else, bright were the peace-folk who came to attend on Colum
Cille, viz. angels.

275 He kept vigil as long as he lived.

i.e. twelve hundred genuflexions by him every day except
tantum on festival days, so that his ribs were visible through his
dress.
He was of brief age.

i.e. straight, or insignificant or small (his age), viz. seventy-six years, ut dixit the poet.

He was of slight food.

i.e. of trifling amount was his sufficiency.

He was head of science of every hill.

i.e. he was chief in science of every language up to its ridge-pole. Or, a firm chief who used to turn every unlawfulness.

He was a hill, in book law-learned.

i.e. he used to teach the books of the law up to its ridge-pole. Or, quia fuit doctor in libris legis.

Blazed land south; with him district Occidens.

i.e. he blazed in the south land. Or, the south land was his.

Or, he benefited it, and he benefited the land of the setting (sun). Or, it is his, just as was Inis Boffin on the sea.

Equally his was Oriens.

i.e. he blazed... in the East.

From clerics heart-pained.

i.e. for the clergy at Corccan Ochaide; and it is they whom he sent to Gregory. Or, perhaps his heart was silent with respect to clericship towards each.

Good his death.

i.e. good his death, quia fit 'dibad' and 'bath' and 'ba' and 'teme' are used to denote 'death.'

God's angels when he ascended.

i.e. angels of the God of heaven came to meet him when he ascended.
HE came to Axalu, great crowds, archangels.

i.e. he came to a place where is the angel Axal. Or, he came to a place where auxilium is given to each one, i.e. to a multitude of archangels. Or ‘axal’ means ‘conversation’; i.e. he came to the land in which conversation is made, quia dicunt hiruphin et zarahin, sanctus sanctus sanctus dominus deus sabaoth dicentes. Or, ‘axalu’ is ucca (choice) sola (alone), and the word is compositum, viz. of Latin and Irish, sic; i.e. he came to the one place that is an object of choice to all, i.e. caelum.

He reached a land in which it is not night that one has seen.

i.e. he came to a land in which night is not seen.

He reached a land for Moses, we deem.

i.e. in which it is our opinion that Moses is.

He reached plains of customs, that songs are not born (there).

i.e. it is not a custom for any tune to be born in them, for there is never any want of that tune out of them.

That sages heard not.

i.e. sages are not able to tell it. Or, no sage listens to another.

King of priests cast out toils.

i.e. the King of the priests flung all diseases from Him in the time of His death, ut dicitur, Tristis est anima mea usque ad mortem.

HE suffered; in a short time he gained victory.

i.e. finely he subdued his passions in the short time that he lived.
Terror of him was on the devil.

i.e. the devil was a horror to him. Or, he was deemed a horror by the demon, viz. by the gods of perdition.

To whom celebration was a hanging.

i.e. to whom Colum Cille’s celebration was a ‘way of stopping,’ or was a ‘spear of stopping.’ Or, a ‘hanging’ in its own meaning, i.e. so long as there was heard the voice of Colum Cille at celebration, he was not let out till the celebration was finished; and they used to ask news of him thereafter.

From his powerful art.

i.e. by the power of his clericship he used to effect that.

Robust right he keeps.

i.e. he knew the great strength of right quia idem est, ‘robust’ et ‘robustus.’ Or, he preserved his uprightness strongly.

Was known (his) grave, known (his) wisdom

i.e. the place of his burial was known, viz. Hi, or Down, ut dicunt alii. Or, it was known up to Rome, and his wisdom was known.

Sageship to him was granted of deity.

i.e. there was granted to him sageship of the Deity; from the Son of God he got that. Or, he lived in granted Deity of the Son of God.

Sure good in death.

i.e. it is certain that the death he departed is good. Or, good was the person who died there.

He was skilled in Axal the angel.

i.e. he was skilful in the conversation of the angel whose name was Axal.
He used 1 Basil-judgements.

i.e. the judgement of pride that he fell into in the Great Assembly of Drum Cetta, so that it was on that account that Baithin brought a testimony from Basil to subdue the pride. Or, he made use of Basil's Judgements of Doom.

He forbade works of chorus, in crowds, in choruses.

i.e. he forbade, with a view to his mind being (fixed) on God, the eulogy that the hosts made on him. Or, he prohibited the deeds of God owing to the apparition of the black hideous multitudes; and what summoned him therefrom was the testimony from Basil, or the words.

De scientia eius in omni parte.

He ran a race which he runs.

i.e. there overtook him the race which he ran.

For hatred, well-doing.

i.e. he used to do kindly deeds in return for hatred, quia fit 'cais' 'hatred.'

Teacher sewed word.

i.e. he used to sew the word of teaching, viz. the tutor.

He explained glosses clearly.

i.e. he was swift at interpreting the glosses clearly. Or, he wounded the glosses, &c.

He secured correctness of psalms.

i.e. he corrected the psalms by obelus and asterisk.

He commented on law-books, books ut Cassian loved.

i.e. it is thus that he read books of law, as he used to read books of John Cassian for their easiness. Or, he read, just as John Cassian read, books Legis.

1 There are marginal notes in T: 'i.e. he used 'judgements' or 'words' from Basil. Or, Baithin used dooms i.e. judgements or words from Basil, in instructing Colum Cille that he should not assume pride or lofty-mindedness, owing to the applause of the men of Ireland. . . . on high. Or, it might be Colum Cille that applied Basil's words to himself to instruct himself.'
T] He fought battles *gulæ*.

i.e. he fought the battle of gluttony. Or, ‘culai’ is what is good in it, i.e. he fought the battles of the three Culs, viz. battle of Cuil Dremne against Connaughtmen, and battle of Cuil Feda against Colman Mor son of Diarmait, and battle of Cuil Rathen against Ulstermen, in the contest for Ross Torathair between Colum and Comgall.

375 Books of Solomon he followed.

i.e. he followed the books of Solomon. Or, he attained to the books of Solomon. Or, ‘sexus’ i.e. ‘fexsus,’ *ut dicitur* ‘fenchas’ *pro* ‘senchas,’ *ut dixit* the poet:

Poets that are in existence read ‘fenchas’-law eagerly with Fergus.

380 Storms and sea-voyages he perceived.

i.e. ‘sina’ viz. ‘sonenna,’ fair-weather periods; and ‘rima’ ‘doinenna,’ foul-weather periods; and it is from the word *imber* that ‘imrim’ is derived. ‘Raid’ i.e. ‘ro’raidestar,’ he (fore)told them.

He divided a division with figure, among the books of the Law.

i.e. he set the history of the Law on one side; and its allegorical sense on the other side.

385 He read mysteries very-wise.

i.e. ‘ros-ualt,’ a beast that dwells in the ocean; these are its tokens: when it vomits with its face landwards, poverty and want (shall be) in that land to the end of seven years; if it is upwards, poverty and storm in that air; if downwards, loss and mortality on the beasts of the sea. He used afterwards to tell of the mysteries of that animal to people, that they might be on their guard against him. Or, he read runes with great-sages. Or, it was he himself that was a sage.

390 Amid schools of scripture; and he joined mutual-fitness of moon about course.

i.e. he understood how the moon runs in front of the sun *nunc, post nunc.*
T] He perceived a race with branching sun.

i.e. it is for this reason the sun is called ‘branching,’ because from it there is light to stars and to men’s eyes; *vel nonit cursum fluminis Rheni*, a name that is thence applied to every stream.

Rhine course.

He would number the stars of heaven, who could tell of each very noble thing.

i.e. I think he would tell of the stars of heaven, he who could recount every noble thing that Colum Cille did. Or, Colum Cille would recount a very noble thing about his endeavour, or about stars.

Which we from Colum Cille have heard.

i.e. we have heard from Colum Cille.

*De admiracione et caritate eius.*

Who was, who will be alive, that would be more wonderful on lands, very learned, northern?

i.e. what is the place in which he was, and what is the place in which he will be alive, who should be more wonderful and more perfect in the northern land than Colum Cille was?

He used to tell till lately.

i.e. Colum Cille used to narrate up to lately.

Who knew not falsehood.

i.e. I shall not recognize falsehood now, for dead is the man who used to tell us (what it was), viz. Colum Cille. Or, he used to tell us from now to the ninth descendant of the genealogy of each. Or, the (syllable) ‘fet’ which is there as

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1 The marginal note runs:

*ut dixit Finn*

A tale with me for you: ox murmurs,
summer hath gone, winter is snowing,
Wind is high, cold sun is low,
well-running sea forbids race.

very red fern, was hidden (its) form;
the voice of geese has become common;
cold has seized birds’ wing;
icy time,—(so) is my tale.
idem et uetus testamentum, and the (syllable) 'no' is novum testamentum; i.e. he used to tell us both of Old Law and afterwards of New Testimony.

420 A course he made more lucky.
   i.e. luckier than every course was the course that Colum Cille ran.

Towards ladders on city, to world he is borne.
   i.e. towards ladders of the heavenly city he pressed; 'to world' i.e. to him its treasure. Or 'co domun' ad caelum.

425 On account of God humanity.
   i.e. this is why he did that, for the humanity of the Son of God; i.e. that the suffering of the Son of God should take effect for him.

On seats he is crowned.
   i.e. on stations for him in the kingdom.

430 He gave the desire of his eyes.
   i.e. he sold everything that was an object of desire to his eye here below.

A perfect sage, he believed Christ.
   i.e. the perfect sage believed Christ. Or, 'creis' is from the verb creo, he increased afterwards in Christ. Or, Christ put increase upon him.

435 Also not ale, also not gluttony, satiety: he avoided flesh.
   i.e. he avoided ale, he avoided gluttony, he avoided satiety; he avoided flesh; or past his lips.

He lived 'cath.'
   i.e. catholicus.

440 He lived 'cast.'
   i.e. castus.
Loving-full.

i.e. 'doit' is 'toit'; full of charity was he (towards) all. Or, perfect was Colum Cille in charity.

445 Famous stone at victory.

i.e. stone of subduing, quia fit 'ond,' a stone; Colum Cille was as a stone of subduing of every evil; and also he lived so that he was a stone of victory, ut fit a rock on a promontory of land.

He lived a full benefit.

i.e. he lived so that he gave his full benefit to each.

He lived a great benefit of guests.

i.e. he had plenty of good even though he did it to guests.

He lived noble, he lived 'obid,' he lived over death.

i.e. great was his nobleness, and though he was noble, he was humble; and this is why he practised humility, in that he knew death (was) over him. Or, he was mighty over death.

He was gentle, he was a physician, with the heart of every sage.

i.e. he was lenis. Or he was compassionate.
i.e. he was full of blessings. Or, he was a binder. Or, he was a physician, a healer of all.

Our diadem, Axal of conversation, it was abstemiousness of which he died.

i.e. the diadem that we had in conversation of the angel whose name was Axal; it was of the slightness of his drink that he died, for he consumed neither ale nor food in the year he died save on Saturday and on Sunday.

Was sweet, was unique his art of clericship.

i.e. everybody deemed his voice a sweet one; and everybody was satisfied with the unique art of clericship which he had. Or, clericship was (only) one of his arts, for he was a poet, a prophet and a sage.
To (ordinary) persons he was inscrutable.

i.e. he was incomprehensible to everybody (on the score) of his talent.

He was a protection to naked persons, he was a shelter to poor persons.

i.e. in clothing and feeding them.

It was afresh he suffered every weight of storm.

i.e. every heavy storm that he suffered Colum Cille took it as a new one. Or, heavier than every blast to us was this new blast, said the blind man.

From Colum discipline of territories.

i.e. by Colum they used to instruct the territories.

Great dignity we think ‘manna.’

i.e. ‘miad’ reverence. ‘Mar’ abundance. ‘Manna’ the manna. This is what the children [of Israel] said of it: ‘man-hu’ i.e. *quid hoc nisi cibus caelestis*; we expect afterwards, i.e. great reverence will be given to him, of the heavenly food.

Christ will enrol him in His service among righteous.

i.e. then there shall be given him the reward of his service; amongst the righteous, viz. angels and archangels.

Through his long (period) during which he served.

i.e. he was long in reaching that service.

Wise a sage who reached four men’s path.

i.e. wise is the sage who followed the track of the four, viz. the four evangelists; or he himself reached it *quia apud Finnianum evangelium legit.*

Till he went with song.

i.e. it is thus he went, with song to heaven, i.e. the song of the household of heaven and earth, or of the Old and of the New Testament.
To heaven-land after his cross.

i.e. to the land of heaven he went after cross and passion.

495 Hundred churches' guardian of waves; under completeness of offering.

i.e. guardian of waves is he, over seas of a hundred churches; and this is a definite (number put) for an indefinite, ut est, Hi and Derry. Or, guardian of waves under perfection of offering (up to) that number.

Great-deed, not idol-(worship): he brought together no perverse company.

500 i.e. great is the amount that he effected of good, and not idol-worship; he nourished no place in which was a perverse company.

. . . . . . .

i.e. he used to bring them to psalm-singing. Or, he used to milk them, i.e. he used to pacify.

Not long not cold any heresy.

505 i.e. he sent not from him (as messenger) any one who would inflict evils, and he did not himself practise any heresy; viz. he did not enforce heresy on anybody; or, he did not himself adopt heresy.

He did not . . . . anything that was not a king's right.

i.e. he did not regard as distinguished anything, but as according to God's law.

That he may not die world-death.

510 i.e. that there should not be a fixing to him of death forever. Or, death in the world.

Alive his name; alive his 'un-stitched.'

i.e. his soul in the next world.
T] Owing to (a multitude) which he caused (to be) under the law of saints.

i.e. for the multitude that he drove under saints' law, therefore is his name alive in this world, and his soul in the next.

Wasting attacked his side.

i.e. he betrayed the fatness of his side, for the form of his rib was visible through his clothes on the sea-shore.

Desires of his body, he checked them.

i.e. he destroyed the desire of his body.

He checks quarrelsomeness.

i.e. he destroyed stinginess, ut poeta dixit:—

Do you deem it good when truth is spoken to you?

he enjoins love; treasures approach;

he takes not quarrel with one whom he loves.

Is not the child the son of Ua Chinn?

i.e. whose is the child? Not hard, the son in truth of Ua Chinn, viz. Colum Cille. Or, there was not of the son of Ua Chinn either stinginess or quarrelsomeness.

Sin which takes away from jealousy; sin which takes away from envy.

i.e. he practised no whit of jealousy, he did not commit sin. Or, he did nothing of attack or of envy, nought which would take away sin; quia fit 'demo,' viz. I take away.

Good in your judgement the grave (that was) his.

i.e. it is good for you; you deem good his grave.

Against every toil (from) successions of weather.

i.e. against every disease of successions of weather, i.e. each season used to exert its quarterly influence.

Through an idolatrous district, he meditated (on its) guilt.

i.e. on going through a district in which there is idolatry, he meditated on its guilt.
T] For credulous chariots.

540 i.e. for this reason he passed this judgement upon them, for the credulous chariot of his body. Or, for the clericship he sent away from him his chariots.

Long fight; he sought truth; he fought against body.

i.e. perpetual warfare; 'soich fir' i.e. he pursued the truth; 'fiched' i.e. he used to make aggression on his body while here below.

545 That a king's son may not come upon two things of God.

i.e. the son of the king shall not go upon two things of God.

Into a dread voice, into a dread verse.

i.e. Into the dread voice, viz. *It maledicti*; there shall be no other verse to him but *Veni tepidii patris*.

550 He was buried before age, before infirmity.

i.e. he was buried before age came to him; and he was weak i.e. for he had completed seventy-six years.

For hell, in Scotland (was) fear.

i.e. for fear of hell he went into Scotland.

555 Aed celebrated all mighty-men, a lasting poem of battle on a heavenly champion.

i.e. Aed mac Ainmerech gave seven 'cumals' to get his name inserted into this eulogy of Colum Cille; and Aed charged the blind (poet) that this poem to the champion viz. Colum Cille, should be more lasting than any (other) poem.

Not undear.

i.e. to me, but it is dear.

*sen* insignificant.

i.e. and not trifling; or 'ni handil'—he did not 'frame' and he did not stitch together a thing that would be insignif-
T] Not a champion at all new towards a pacification of Conall.

i.e. not a champion at all new is this man towards the confirming of a peace with Conall. Or, towards pacification of body, i.e. at peace-(making) between body and soul.

Blessing subdued rough tongues, that were at Toi,—a king's will!

i.e. he subdued the mouths of the rude persons who were with the high king (of) Toi, though what they would have liked was to utter evil things, but it was blessing that they really uttered, ut fuit Balaam.

From men by journeyings, with God he stayed.

i.e. from men he was taken away and with God he abode.

For ‘adbud’ for splendour, he distributed bright hospitality from his city.

i.e. for his patience and for his fasting the descendant of Conall gave pure hospitality in his city. Or, for his pomp and for his patience he gave hospitality, &c.; for he did not do that ut faciunt hypocrite.

In disease, fair sage and master of household.

i.e. ‘udbud,’ nomen doloris i.e. proprium, viz. toil, or ‘ingiu sechi.’ Afterwards the sage was kindly, so that that disease should not consume nor seize him; and also he was a magister to his household, on that same matter. Or, ‘ingiu sechi’ i.e. now and again his skin encompassed him owing to the abundance of his capacities. Or, ‘adbud’ i.e. in stilling ambition, in solving questions of the Canon. Or, it is ‘dibdud,’ i.e. destroying falsehoods. Or, it is the name of a booth for reading in; or, proprium loci in Cenel Conaill.

With an angel he conversed; he spoke in Greek grammar.

i.e. he made conversation with an angel, and he learnt grammar like Greeks. Or, he conversed grammatically and in Greek.

Free beyond territory; that I tell.

i.e. a freeman whom seven districts followed; here it is a definite (number) for an indefinite. Or, extern territories
were pursued. 'That I relate;' i.e. it is thus that I make its narration.

The son of Feidlimid fought the north; fin(em) nouit.

i.e. the son of Feidlimid for whom twenty districts used to fight; definite number here also for indefinite; for whom the land to the North fought. Finem nouit; i.e. his own death, or finem mundi.

There went not to the world; lasting was his recollection of the cross.

i.e. not well he came into the world (owing to) the shortness of his life; he was however everlasting in the recollection of the cross on his body. Or, there came none hither to the world, who was more constant in his recollection of the cross of the Son of God.

. . . . . . he said prayers, with deed he verified.

i.e. that which he wove with prayers of intention to do, he carried out with deed.

He sprang therefrom an illustrious birth, descendant of Art . . . Neill with might.

i.e. he was born, a noble birth too, of Art; a descendant of Neill with might, i.e. he was mighty. Or, 'nis Neill conert' is: not towards the powers of Neill he lent his aid, but towards the powers of the Holy Spirit.

He did not commit an injury for which one dies.

i.e. he did not commit any injury, for which his death would be fitting, if this were a cause for that in general.

Ond's profession broke grief; going 'druib'; greatness his goodness.

i.e. there was breaking and grief in the city of Conn from the 'do druib' that was on Colum Cille when he went yonder. 'Greatness of his goodness,' i.e. great size is the goodness that was on him from the 'dodruib' that was upon him. Or, there was sighing and sorrow in the profession of Conn.
Son, name of cross.

i.e. a son who gave his name to a cross; or a son with whom the name of Christ's cross was held in remembrance.

Up to this his age; ecce aer; certo 'indias.'

i.e. up to this his age, i.e. I am sure of his age. Ecce aer, i.e. plain to me is the air, for there were allowed to him his eyes whilst he was engaged in praising. Certo 'indias' i.e. great were his deeds of skill, as I relate.

Al-liath'; a melodious lion in snow, a new meeting.

i.e. 'al-liath,' stands for 'al-lith,' stands for 'lith a aille,' i.e. 'festival of his praise.' As roars a melodious lion in snow at a new meeting, for when the lion utters his roar, there come under him all animals, so that he puts a cast of his tail around them, so that they die in that place, except rat and fox. The hunter comes to him thereafter, and he puts a cast around him so that he dies. Sic Colum Cille: the person round whom he puts a cast of his teaching, could not get across it away from him, save unjust persons; the cast of the teaching of God's Son about him. Or, it is 'all-liath' i.e. 'into the land of the rock'; for the lion goes into the land of the cave whilst the frost lasts, so that he utters his roar after coming out into the new rock-cave.

Till death how shall I tell.

i.e. till my death I shall not narrate tales of Colum Cille.

A journey in the body to the upper air; his choice he made joy summer-peace.

i.e. the journey that he went in the body to the upper air, as went Paul; and that was his own choice; he carried out his choice to the good in which there is peace and joy. Or, he caused that there should be given him his choice with summer-peace, with the peace of summer, for in that season he died. Or, he brought about peace for his congregation by the journey that he made to the upper air.

The famous one, wisdom; it is certain for him.

i.e. a sage with good fame opened to them; certain to him.

1 2 Cor. xii. 2.
To him not the groan of one house; to him not the groan of one string.

i.e. 'ong' means 'visitation'; or string (of) timpan harp; or string (is) road. Not visitation of one house thereafter; or not visitation of one string or of one road, to us is the bewailing of Colum Cille. Where is 'ong' found? Not hard: in the Fotha Breth, ut dicitur.

'ongaib, coscaib carat'
i.e. with groans, chastisements of friends.
i.e. for fear of their chastisements, of their visitation with a view to the chastisement of him by his friends. Or, 'ong' is 'ongan,' it was not an 'ongan' of one house to him, but an 'ongan' of many houses. Or, it was not an 'ongan' of one road.

Heavy people, word under wave.

i.e. heavy is his bewailing with the tribes; and this story is a word 'under wave.'

For it was due from him: the lamp of the king which was extinguished, was relit.

i.e. the lamp of the king, of God; it was due to us (to make) this eulogy on him. 'do'radbad' i.e. 'ro'dibad' is 'was extinguished, in this world,' was relit, yonder, in regno caelorum.

Eulogy is this, of the king who made me king, who will redeem us to Zion.

i.e. eulogy; 'wonderful is the saying,' or 'is the grace'; or 'not-smooth'; or 'wonderful is the course that is under it above.' The 'am' that is in it is the same as 'death' quia post mortem pretium laudis datum est caeco. Or, the 'am' is the same as 'nem,' 'heaven,' so that 'am-rath' means 'nem-rath' really, for heaven was given him as the payment for his eulogy. 'Of the king who made me king,' i.e. it was Colum Cille that gave the bardship to me. 'Zion' i.e. perhaps, 'save us unto Mount Zion' or 'to the heavenly city.'

May he carry me past torments.

i.e. may he take me past the demons of the air ad requiem sanctorum. Or, past 'riaga' i.e. past the daughters of Orcus.
May it be smooth abode-darkness from me

i.e. may it be easy for me to go past the black abodes, \textit{ubi sunt demones}. Or, 'mendum' i.e. lie, and 'menna' means lies: may he expel from me the black lies.

May the descendant of the body of Cathair with nobility see me without stain.

i.e. may he look on me without stain, a descendant of Cairpre Nia-fer of Leinster; for Ethne daughter of Dimma mac Noe was his (Colum Cille's) mother, of the Carburys of Leinster; and he (Cairpre) was a descendant of Cathair Mor, son of Feidlimid the All-wise.

Great re-declension; great of the poem, of heaven, heaven-sun.

i.e. great is the re-forming I have put on the above words; great is the 'nath' the poets used to make in the beginning for sun and moon; and not greater is the darkening they used to put on them, as I have put. Or, though great they deemed the excellency of sun and moon, not greater do we deem it than the excellency of the death of Colum Cille. \textit{nid am huan}
PRAYER OF ST. ADAMNAN.

Adamnan made this prayer.

Colum Cille, to God he enjoined me (the time) at which I should go, that I should not go earlier.

i.e. Colum Cille wrought my ordering to God, when I should go; 'that I should not go earlier'; i.e. that it should not be early I should go.

Luck greatly mine, my destiny.

i.e. after great luck I shall go; that is my destiny.

Crowds to angel-place.

i.e. the direction which I say is to the place where there are crowds of angels.

Name of the illustrious descendant of Neill; not small the protection of Zion to archangels of God.

i.e. the name of the illustrious descendant of Neill; not small is the protection to God of the archangels, quia idem est 'Hoc et deus'.

In strongholds of God the Father amid the groups of the twenty-four bright elders righteous, who celebrate in song the kingdom of the mystic king resplendent.

i.e. 'in strongholds,' viz. in the abodes of God the Father amid the assemblies, the gatherings of the twenty-four bright elders, viz. the twelve patriarchs and the twelve apostles; who sing, dicentes ter, Sanctus sanctus sanctus dominus deus sabaoth; of the mystic king i.e. of the resplendent King with whom are mysteries.

LIBER HYMN. II.
A cry never came nor shall come.

i.e. not only there never came but there never will come a cry of dissension into that quarter.

Right, my powerful Christ; impurity of Colum Cille.

i.e. there never came impurity into uprightness wheresoever is my powerful Christ. Or, it is *coló* i.e. 'I worship' in uprightness where God is and Colum Cille.

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**Pedigree of St. Mobi.**

Mobi the Flatfaced, son of Beoan, son of Bresal, son of Ailgel, son of Idnae, son of Athrae, son of Lugnae Trín-og, son of Bregdolb, son of Artchorp, son of Cairpre, son of Cormac, son of...
The Hymn of St. Philip.

Philip apostle, apostle holy;
at a fair, Philip told
(of) the immortal birds, slender,
that dwelt in Inis Eidheand.

In the East of Africa they abide;
it is a pleasant labour they perform;
there never came into the world
any colour that was not on their wings.

Their plumage remains on them
from the lawful beginning of the world,
without deficiency of one bird of them,
without increase to them in their numbers.

Seven fair rivers in all their length
are in the plains where they dwell;
it is this that feeds them for ever,
and they sing songs with fair-custom.

They allotted as share the middle of the night,
being on horses for ever,
to the drone of the angels as they speed
in the air overhead.

The first birds sing pleasantly,
— it is not unfitting their being very melodious—
all the wondrous courses
that God wrought before the world.

A crowd of them sing after rising
at the time of nocturns,
what God will do, excellent matter,
from earth's beginning till Doom.

The birds whose wishes are good sing
in the twilight with its swift-moving locks,
what God will do of wonders beyond
in the Day of the Judgement of the Racings.
Of one and forty on a hundred
and one thousand, 'tis no lie!
was the number to them,—was the grace;
that is its truth in each flock of birds.

If men should hear (these) faultless birds,
this fair equally-balanced concert,
they would all die—great the deed!
on listening to the harmony.

Intercession of Great Mary
after the cutting-off of the Canon
that we may get to dwell yonder quickly
in the land where Philip was.

**Miscellanea.**

(a) Find the Poet; his son was Conchobar Abrat-ruad king of Ireland;
his son was Mog-Corb *qui cecidit* at the destruction of Bruiden Da Choca;
his son was Cu-Corb *qui cecidit* by the hand of Feradach Find Fechtnach.

(b) ... not well we went to him, said Cuchulaind ... we ... the Ulstermen; let some one say to Conchobar, why he should come ... it was not that ... ...

(c) ... it is there with poor men ... upon him, when the five persons went to him under the ... ; he girt himself with a smooth ... ... it was sewed of deer-skin, they put a narrow ... ... garment over it on the outside.

(d) ‘mortlaid’ i.e. *quando plurimi pereunt de uno morbo; mortali* i.e.
mort-luad’ i.e. swift *mors*, and no wonder; and it is a compound expression of Latin and Gaelic, *sic est* in Welsh, *ut dicitur* ‘croe-bechain’ i.e. ‘a crai,’ is from the word ‘cara,’ and ‘bechain’ denotes ‘small.’

(e) Aed wrote it, and on a little leaf found ... between two ... quires ... besides.
The Release of Scandlan Mor.

On one occasion Colum Cille went with Aedan mac Gabrain to the Great Assembly of Druim Cetta, to Aed mac Ainmerech, where were the men of Ireland, both lay and cleric, for the space of one year and three months; to ask respite for the men of Scotland they came, and it was not granted them. "There shall be respite till doom," said Colum Cille, "without attacks eastward from Ireland;" for there were many causes of quarrel between them and Aed mac Ainmerech, viz. the chasing of the Dal-riata over-sea, and the chasing of the sages and the Dal-Osraide after the fall of their hostage, Scandlan. Now when Colum Cille chanced to come to the door of the fort outside to interview Aed, he heard the outcry of Scandlan owing to the greatness of the suffering in which he lay; viz. twelve fetters on him, and flesh burning-hot was given to him with only a drop of water on the finger tip to drink thereafter. Well, Colum Cille came to talk with Scandlan, and Scandlan said to him, "For Christ's sake, go back and beg me of Aed, for I am falling to ruin in my indebtedness." Thereupon the cleric went to Aed, but he did not grant it him. So Colum Cille said, "He shall be free before morning." "Cumine, you crane-cleric there!" said the queen, with her pretty face, as she was washing. "'Tis yourself that will be a crane," said Colum Cille, "(standing) over this ford outside till Doom, and one of thy wings broken, as is half the tail," and it is so, *sicut uidimus*; "and Scandlan shall come to me before morning," said Colum Cille. And after that, Colum Cille went across Ciannachta and over Ui mac Carthaind and over Loch Foyle, and in Corthe Snama and to Ard mac n-Odra in Inishowen. And there came a great earthquake into the camp thereafter with lightning and thunder (in) the evening, and Scandlan was carried off by the power of God past the pickets, and was whirled away then with a bright cloud before him to Corthe Snama to . . . . . When he saw the boat coming towards him to the land, "Who is in the boat?" said Scandlan. "It is Cumine that is here, son of Feraduch, son of Muiredach, son of Eogan. A debtor is he then to Colum Cille . . . . of thy body-side." "A ferrying across to me and a guide," said Scandlan, "and I shall make thy peace with Colum Cille." He returns thence to Ard mac n-Odrain, for there dwelt the cleric. Scandlan arises and took one of his shoes from him. "Who is that?" said Colum Cille. "Scandlan," said he. "Thy news?" said Colum Cille. "A drink!" said Scandlan. The cup comes into Colum Cille's hand, and it is given (to Scandlan, who) drinks of it. "Thy news?" said Colum Cille. "Another drink," said Scandlan. "Go out, Baithin," said Colum
Cille, "and bring him another full drink." This also is given him and he drinks. "Thy news?" said Colum Cille. "A drink!" says Scandlan. There is brought him the third full cup, and he drinks. "Thy news?" says Colum Cille. Well, after that, Scandlan narrated to him his adventures till he reached the ferry, and that he did not get his ferrying across from Cumine, till (he promised he) would make his peace with Colum Cille. So peace was then made, and Colum Cille said, "Though great evil is to both Conall and Eogan, the over-plus shall not be with Eogan, except a head and a half, and one cow of Conall's against him in the Day of Judgement."

Three boons accrued to Colum Cille from this expedition viz., (i) the peace of Dal-riata, i.e. their fighting and their hosting to the men of Ireland, and their tax and their tribute to the men of Scotland; (ii) the allowing the poets to remain in Ireland; and (iii) the deliverance of Scandlan.

And after he had made Cumine's peace with Colum Cille the latter said, "Bow down to my will, O Scandlan!" ut dixit at giving his gospel to Colum Cille about Scandlan. Then Colum Cille made prosperous the ways that lay before him, and said to him after that to take with him his staff to protect him, and lucky would be the treasure, and bade him bring it thereafter to Laisren mac Feradaich to Ross Grencha. And neither gold nor silver wrought it, for the greatness of the miracle, ut dixit. "Take my staff with thee in thy hand," &c.

Dundelga, good the gold place.
THE DEATH OF ST. COLUMBA.

A rider chanced upon the blind man, and the blind man said to him, "Whence (comest thou?)" "(from the) side on which is my rear," said the rider. "Thy news?" said the blind man. "The person to whom there is . . .," said the rider (the descendant) of Ua Neill, "viz. Colum Cille is dead." This then is what the rider did, on the south of . . . . . . at that time the poets were at Ibar of Cinntracht in the territory of Ulster; for the king of Ulster gave all of them guest-rights there for a year, so that it was there they made the concoction of their own tales of themselves, and these did not happen as they were narrated, but it was to impose them on the stupid race, viz. the Ulstermen, amongst whom they were, that the eloquent poets concocted these lying fables . . . .

I am Aed.
The Five Divisions of Munster.

1) Five Munsters in Great Munster, they are not unknown to the learned; I know (the names) of them... the stony fertile land.

(The first is Thomond) from Cuchulaind's Leap to Slige Dala of the Horses that was on its side.

The portion of Thomond northward I will name... to you, from Slieve Aughy to pleasant Slieve Phelim... to virgin Ireland.

From two other islands a place, Ormond to the island of O'Bric... to fair Cnawhill there is the usual division, pure wise.

From Cnawhill to full Luachair, Mid-Munster will last permanently; from Slieve Phelim with beauty to Slieve Cain of the steps.

Desmond from Slieve Cain to the ocean beside the waves. West Munster from Luachair a bit west; up to Glenn Dian there is a throng.

... of whom they are, O Tasaig, art... simple betook himself over the vast sea, he left it after dividing them into five.
IN PRAISE OF HYMNODY.

F] A holy pope, exalted and excellent, there was in Rome, whose name was Pope Clement. From him Jerome asked a description of the Psalms and Hymnody; and he took to beseeching the Creator aright, that night up till morning, when an angel of God came to him from heaven, with the description of Hymnody. And this is what he told him, “Whoever should recite the hymnody, would be making a song of praise dear to God, for it wipes out all sins, and cleanses the powers of the body and subdues involuntarily the lusts of the flesh; it lessens melancholy, and (banishes) all madness; it breaks down anger, it expels hell’s angels, and gets rid of the devils; it dispels the darkness of the understanding, and increases holiness; it preserves the health, and completes good works, and it lights up a spiritual fire in the heart, i.e. the love of God (in place of) the love of man, and it (promotes) peace between the body and the soul.

As Jerome said in the seventh chapter of the Medicine of the Soul, “O homo . . . there is not anything that is useful to thee in thy mortal state more than praising God, for, if thou praise God, He heals thy soul and thy body together. In truth, O man, inasmuch as this is thy healing, give honour to the Psalms and to the Hymn book”, as saith Jerome, that none can . . . more fitly . . . virtues and the description of the psalms . . . . . in showing often . . prayers. Haec Hieronymus ut . . .
Three Kings came to the house of God,
three faces like the bright moon,
from the Eastern learned world,
heavy . . . smooth, of slow streams.

Three came for the lovely child
to white flowered Bethel;
three, to whom was granted all knowledge;
three prophets of the vision.

Judgement of the great and glorious Lord
appeared to the . . . three;
in the vision to every crowd,
the Form of the King in the star.

A lofty star; it was beautiful
. . . the wealthy world
he sees; it was a definite help
during the night of the firmament,

The three lucky Kings
followed it full readily;
the star went before them
as an arch of blessing and might.

It stopped not till it came to the house
before the three right eagerly,
The star, brilliant, round, soft,
over every star swift walking.

It is he . . . there
. . . . . unsmooth
. . . . . was on gallows
the king of the fourfold world.
They bent their white knees,  
they gave their three gifts;  
He with whom all knowledge remains  
is a soul to every single triad.  

They recognised His dear face;  
Mary the Mother of the Creator,  
the holy Virgin, she is our sister  
and is akin to every single triad.

On the smooth guidance (?) of the star  
reaching the king of the world’s coming  
the three, sweet-sounding, soft, found  
wondeful knowledge of the  

Preface to Benedicite.

It was made in the time of Nebuchadnezzar, and they made it to  
save themselves against fire. For they did not worship the golden image that Nebuchadnezzar had made, and so they were cast in fornacem. Deus tamen illos cantando hoc canticum de fornace liberavit. Ananias, Azarias, Misael are their names in Hebrew; Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego, are their names in Chaldee.
Preface to *Christe qui lux es.*

F] Ambrose, sage and bishop, made *hunc hymnum* to praise the Saviour, and in the night it is due to be sung. It was made in rhythm; seven capitula in it, with two lines in each, and sixteen syllables in each line.

Preface to *Quicunque Uult.*

F] The synod of Nicaea made this Catholic Faith; three bishops of them alone made it, viz. Eusebius and Dionysius *et nomen tertii nescimus.* But it is said that it was the whole synod that made it because they gave it celebrity. Now it was made *in Nicaea urbe,* and that town is in Bithynia, which is a country in Asia Minor. Further, it was made in order to expel the heresy of Arius who held that the Father is greater than the Son, and that the Son is greater than the Holy Spirit. So the synod was assembled, viz. three hundred and eighteen bishops with Constantine to Nicaea; but they could not vanquish him owing to his eloquence, till God vanquished him. *Exiens enim de coitu ut purgaret ventrem suum ei contigit ut omnia uscera cum stercore foras exirent, ut Iudae atque Agitofel contigit.*
THE IRISH PREFACES.

The Prefaces which are found to nearly all the pieces in the Liber Hymnorum, in its original form, are a noteworthy feature of the book. They are evidently of a later date than the pieces to which they are prefixed, and were probably composed by scribes who were desirous to place on record the legendary beliefs current in their day as to the composition of the hymns. In the earliest of our manuscript authorities, the Antiphonary of Bangor (A), there are no prefaces; and we might therefore suppose that the practice of compiling them did not arise until after the close of the seventh century at earliest. On the other hand the same recension of several of our Prefaces is found in more than one of our MSS. There are only minute variations between the Prefaces in T and F to the pieces numbered 3, 6, 9, 12, 14, 19, 20, 22, and 23; and the same is true of the Prefaces in FB to No. 10, in TFB to No. 11, and in TFL to No. 21. This shows that these prefaces assumed their present form prior to the transcription of any of these manuscripts, that is, before the eleventh century. On the whole we shall not be far wrong if we conclude that the prefaces in T represent the stories current in the tenth century as to the authors of the various hymns.

They are all composed on the same plan, in a rude mixture of Irish and Latin,—and set forth the time, place, author, and occasion of the composition of the pieces which they precede. More than one legend is often recorded, from which it would appear that the scribes did not consider themselves possessed of any certain knowledge on these historical points; and in some instances the subject matter is trivial enough, although in others the information they offer cannot be lightly set aside.

Dr. Todd has remarked that the care taken to record the name of the author of each piece is in accordance with the 23rd Canon of the Second Council of Tours (A.D. 567), which runs thus: "Licet hymnos Ambrosianos habeamus in canone, tamen quoniam reliquorum sunt aliqui, qui digni sunt forma cantari, volumus libenter amplecti eos praeterea, quorum auctorum nomina fuerint in limine praeotata: quoniam quae fide constiterint dicendi ratione non obstant."

In our translations of these Prefaces we have taken care to reprint (in italics) the Latin words and phrases, only turning the Irish passages into English. The scribes possibly had some Latin original to work on, from which they borrowed here and there verbatim; it seems desirable, in any case, to reproduce as closely as possible the curious blending of two languages which appears in these Prefationes. In our notes the translations of the Irish glosses are in all cases printed in italics.

1 Liber Hymnorum, p. 96.  
Concil. Labb. et Cossart. v. 865.
NOTES.

Preface to the Hymn of St. Sechnall.

It has been said in our Introduction (vol. i. p. xi) that the Preface to the hymn Audite omnes is wanting in the Trinity College manuscript (T), owing to the loss of a page; but it probably did not differ substantially from that in F. We do not propose to enter into all the obscure details of the legends about St. Patrick and St. Sechnall reported in the two extant Prefaces (F and B). Many of them are also found in the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick, an eleventh century compilation, as well as in other places. It seems to us that the F preface is older, as it is shorter, than the story as given in the Tripartite Life, and that this again is older than the B preface, which is very diffuse.

A few points in the Prefaces call for special comment.

F. 1. 1. The statement that Secundinus was called Sechnall by the Gaels, coupled with the fact that no Gaelic name is given for his father Restitutus, suggests that Restitutus was the first of his family who migrated to Ireland. Who 'the Lombards of Letha' were is not certain, but Letha is here probably equivalent to Armorica in Brittany (see p. 179 infra).

F. 1. 2. Darerca.]—According to the Four Masters, Sechnall, Bishop of Armagh, son of St. Patrick's sister Darerca, died Nov. 27 A.D. 447 in the seventy-first year of his age. In the Felire of Oengus (Nov. 27; pp. lxxxiii, clxxiii) and elsewhere his mother's name is given as Liamain, who was another of Patrick's sisters. It is possible that these pedigrees are not to be relied upon; but nevertheless there does not seem to be any compelling reason for rejecting the tradition that Sechnall, the reputed kinsman of Patrick, and his successor in the See of Armagh, composed this hymn, and that therefore it may be counted as of the fifth century. The miracles that are so abundantly ascribed to Patrick in the later documents, e.g. in the vernacular Hymn of St. Fiacc, are conspicuously absent from this; and it is throughout marked by that simplicity and sobriety of tone which characterise the work of a contemporary. It is noticeable that the saint is spoken of throughout in the present tense, except in one or two stanzas when it is said that he shall hereafter receive the reward of his labour, thus suggesting that he was alive when the hymn was written. (See lines 20, 25, 91.) It may therefore take rank with the Confession and the Letter to the subjects of Coroticus as a document of the first importance for the life of St. Patrick. It will be observed that it makes no mention of his Roman mission.

F. 1. 4. Domnach Sechnall.]—That is Dominica Secundini, or the Church of St. Sechnall, now Dunshaughlin in the co. Meath.

F. 1. 8. nisi quod minime praedicaret caritatem.]—The reason assigned by Patrick, according to the Tripartite Life, for not dwelling on the duty of alms-giving, explains this more clearly:

1 Ed. Whitley Stokes, pp. 243-249. This is the edition of the Tripartite Life to which our references are made throughout.
3 p. 245.
"If I preached it, I should not leave a yoke of two chariot horses for any one of the saints in this island, present or future; but unto me would be given all that is mine and theirs."

B. ll. 16, 17. Conall Muirthenne was so called from Conall Cernach of the Red Branch; it corresponded to the modern Co. Louth. Dal Araide was in the East of Ulster, extending from Newry in Co. Down to Slembish in Co. Antrim.

F. l. 13. secundum ordinem alphabeti. — That is, more Hebraeorum, as the B preface explains. The instances of the alphabetical Psalms and of the Lamentations will at once occur to the reader. The Celtic hymn writers were much inclined to this device: no less than five pieces in the Liber Hymnorum, viz. Nos. 1, 2, 14, 25, and 28 are alphabetical, and there are other instances in the Antiphonary of Bangor. Two fragmentary alphabetical hymns attributed to St. Hilary of Poitiers are found in an eleventh century MS. of Hilary De Mysteriis. A hymn of this sort (in nearly the same metre, see p. xiii above), on the Day of Judgement, "Apparabit repentina dies magna domini," is given by Trench in his Sacred Latin Poetry (p. 290); another is printed by Dümmler (in Mon. Germ. Hist. i. 79) beginning "Ad perennis uitae fontem et amoena pascua." And Bede has one in his Eccl. Hist. (iv. 18). See also the examples cited by Mr. Warren (Antiphonary of Bangor, ii. 51, 52.)

F. l. 16. three places in which there is found 'in' sine sensu, causa rhythmii. — These instances of redundant 'in' are probably at ll. 12, 32, 36, the last of which is noted as superfluous by the glossator in B.

F. l. 29. Everyone who shall recite it at lying down and rising up shall go to heaven.]—Dr. Lawlor thinks (Book of Mulling, p. 157) that this points to a daily use of the hymn in the monastic offices; it does not seem to us that there is sufficient evidence for this. That special indulgences were attached to its recitation was, however, an old belief. In the seventh century part of the Book of Armagh (a composite book written in the year 807 by one Ferdomnach 2), the second of the four petitions granted to Patrick by the angel Victor was "ut quicunque ynnmen qui de te compossitus est, in die exitus de corpore cantauerit, tu iudicabis poenitentiam eius de suis peccatis." 3 Again in the same book (fol. 16) there is another passage referring to the use of the hymn which is sufficiently important to be cited in full. "Patricius sanctus episcopus honorem quaternum omnibus monasteriis et æecessissi per totam Hiberniam debet habere, id est,

i. Solemnitate dormitionis eius honorari in medio ueris per tres dies et tres noctes omni bono cibo praeter carnem, quasi Patricius unisset in uita in hostium.

ii. Offertorium eius proprium in eodem die immolari.

iii. Ynnnum eius per totum tempus cantare.

iv. Canticum eius scoticum semper canere."

1 See S. Hilarii Tractatus de mysteriis et Hymni, &c. ed. Gamurrini (Roma, 1857).
2 See Graves in Proc. R. I. A. iii. p. 316.
3 See Tripartite Life, p. 296. This is alluded to also in the Book of Lismore, p. 166. ed. Stokes.
4 See Tripartite Life, p. 333.

LIBER HYMN. II.
Opposite iii. is written in the margin "yinnus Colmán alo," with evident reference to the story given in the B preface and also in the Tripartite Life (p. 247) that St. Colmán Ela recited the hymn Audite omnes in his refectory thrice. The canticum scoticum is probably the Lorica of St. Patrick (our No. 24).

For another reminiscence of the hymn Audite omnes in the Book of Armagh, see p. 101 infra. It is probable that the words placed in Patrick's mouth in the Book of Fenagh (p. 273, ed. Kelly) also allude to it, viz: "Heaven to him who my lay shall have."

F. l. 32. Its grace shall be on the last three capitula.—This indulgence is mentioned not only in the F and B prefaces, but twice in the Tripartite Life (pp. 117 and 247), the words in the former of these two passages being: "Every one who shall sing it from Christus illum to the end [co dead] . . . his soul shall not go to hell." In the life of St. Canice, as quoted by Colgan (Trias, p. 210) there is a story of a man who was saved from demons by reciting the last three stanzas in this way: "nam uir illa tria capitula de hymno S. Patricii ante mortem cantavit . . . et per hoc liberatus est de manibus nostris." Dr. Lawlor, in the valuable essay already mentioned (vol. i. p. xxii) on the office sketched at the end of the Book of Mulling; has pointed out that instead of the whole hymn of St. Sechnall, the last three stanzas alone are there directed to be sung, "Christus illum conrici dead" being the very phrase employed. And he has further observed that this usage is also adopted in the same office in the case of the hymn Celebra Iuda (our No. 3). Another obvious instance of the same practice is supplied by the hymn Christus in nostra (our No. 2), which in the Liber Hymnorum is represented only by the last three stanzas. Indeed in this case these are the only verses of the hymn that are extant; and it is described simply as Xpā in nostra in the office noted in the Basel Psalter (P) of which some account has been given in our Introduction (vol. i. p. xxvii).2

F. l. 34. Eochaid Ua Flannucain was a famous Irish poet who died about the year 1003.

For St. Patrick's four names see below p. 177.

B. l. 71. sons of life] i.e. holy men; the same phrase is used in the Preface to the hymn of St. Hilary (see vol. i. p. 35, and vol. ii. p. 18). A few lines further down in this Preface Sechnall speaks of Patrick as a 'son of life,' i.e. a righteous man.' Mac bāis 'a son of death' in like manner means 'a wicked man.' See Kelly's Book of Fenagh, p. 300.

B. l. 78. The hymn Sancti uenite:] This is the well-known hymn preserved in the Antiphonary of Bangor (fol. 10v)3, and familiar in its English version by Dr. Neale, "Draw nigh and take the body of the Lord" (Hymns A. and M. 313). Its author is unknown, and it does

1 Compare Tripartite Life, p. 247.
2 See the Preface to the hymn In te Christe (Vol. i. p. 84), where it is said that some persons only recited part of that hymn. The reason in this case, however, is peculiar to the In te Christe.
3 The statement in the Dictionary of Christian Antiquities (vol. i. p. 896), that the hymn Sancti uenite is attributed by Daniel to Eugenius of Toledo is wrong. Daniel knew nothing about the hymn save that he found it in Muratori's edition of the Bangor Antiphonary.
not seem to be extant elsewhere; but it is a distinctively Celtic hymn. It is possible that the gloss in B on 7. 32 of the hymn Audite omnes (p. 10), "ut dicitur Christus, hostia et sacerdos" may refer to a phrase in it; but this is quite uncertain. Another English version is that of D. F. MacCarthy printed in Gaffney's Ancient Irish Church. B.l. 120. The Cruach, i.e. the mountain now called Croagh Patrick, in Co. Mayo.

**HYMN OF ST. SECHNALL.**

This famous and ancient hymn in praise of St. Patrick has been printed many times.

(a) Colgan printed it in his Trias Thaumaturga (1647), p. 211 from F, with tolerable accuracy. He contented himself with giving only the substance of the preface in a Latin translation.

(b) Ware printed it at p. 146 of his Opuscula S. Patricii (1656) from two MSS. one of which seems to have been a copy of F, if not F itself (see his words, vol. i. p. xiv): the readings of the other do not agree with any MS. known to us. He says of it: "Est et aliud huius hymni exemplar e quo licet manu recentiori exarato variantes aliquas lectiones ad marginem apponere usum fuit" (loc. p. 150). According to his printed text, a collation of his principal MS. with T would give: 10 Petrum; 12 porta; 18 usura; 23 om. et and dominum for dei; 31 sua for insta; 34 ridentur for uidentur (the reading of his second MS.); 54 qui and quisquilia; 55 fulmine for fulmine (the reading of his second MS.); 66 nuptiali; 67 haurit; 70 deitatem; 75 putreant and escaque; 76 celesti sallientur; 81 egridit; 84 stabuli absoluti; 89 ac; 92 sanctis; om. 1–6 at end. And his secondary MS. had in addition to the above: 12 et interni portae adversus cum non prevalebunt; 76 satiatur; 84 stabuli absoluti. This MS. seems to be quoted by Ussher in his Religion of the Ancient Irish; at any rate the readings of verses 12 and 81 agree with his citations.2

(c) Muratori printed the hymn from A in his Anecdota Ambrosiana (1713) vol. iv. p. 136; this edition has now been superseded by Warren's Antiphonary of Bangor.

(d) Todd printed it from T and B in his edition of the Liber Hymnorum (1855), with notes and dissertations.

Secondary editions are numerous and need not be here mentioned; but it may be noted that the Irish Preface to the hymn in F was first printed in full in Whitley Stokes' Tripartite Life of St. Patrick (1887), pp. 242–6.

We have not been able to discover any independent MS. authority for the piece other than that of the four manuscripts TFAB. There is

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an eighteenth century paper MS. in the Royal Irish Academy collection (N. 13), but it is a mere transcript from Colgan, and of no value. Dr. Reeves stated, indeed, in his article on the Antiphonary of Bangor,¹ that there was a copy of the hymn in the "Consuetudinary of St. Patrick's Cathedral," a manuscript then in the possession of Dr. Todd and now in the Cambridge University Library (Add. 710). But this was a mistake, as the hymn is absent from that manuscript, as it is from all the service books of the Anglo-Irish, as distinct from the Celtic, Church which have come under our notice.

An English translation by Bishop Graves with references to the scriptural allusions in the hymn, was published in the Catholic Layman ii. No. 54 (Decr. 1853); this has been reproduced by Mr. Olden in his Epistles and Hymn of St. Patrick. Another English version is given in O'Laverty's Diocese of Down and Connor, vol. i. p. 120.

2 Patricii] i.e. patris cunium T i.e. qui sedet ad latus regis, seu pater cunium; Patricius the name of a grade amongst Romans, qui Patricium regit B.

The explanation pater cunium, as Dr. Wh. Stokes points out,² is probably suggested by the passage from Isidore (Etym. ix. 3): "Patricii inde vocati sunt, pro eo quod sicut patres filiis, ita prouidente reipublicae." Both this and the alternative qui sedet ad latus regis are found in Cormac's Glossary (p. 35).

3 simulatur] similio i.e. I compare B.

6 clara] i.e. wonderful B.

inter] i.e. before men B.

8 magnificent] There is an obvious reference to Mt. v. 16; and it is noteworthy that the text familiar to the writer must have had "magnificent patrem uestrum qui in caelis est," the Hieronymian text being glorificent. Magnificent is read by two Vulgate manuscripts, E and R (in Bp. Wordsworth's notation), which retain traces of Old Latin influence; it is also the reading of the Old Latin texts cited in critical editions as abf'y. It is natural enough, if we adopt the view that our hymn is a fifth century composition, that its Scriptural allusions should indicate the use of a praee-Hieronymian version of the Bible. In any case, however, the Latin version of the New Testament current in Ireland all through the Middle Ages, though in the main Vulgate, retains traces of Old Latin "mixture"; and we shall find many instances of this phenomenon in the texts cited in the Liber Hymnorum.

10] Petrus. The manuscript evidence compels us to read Petrus, not Petrum, which seems more natural. The Latinity of this stanza is peculiar, and the meaning is not quite clear. Dr. Todd takes eius in l. 11 to refer to ecclesia, and adversus as equivalent to adversitatis; but this does not commend itself to us. The writers of the Preface probably had in their minds l. 12 as one of the three passages where there is a redundant 'in' (see p. 4); but in is required by the metre. Taking adversus adverbially, we may translate: "Like Peter on whom the church is built; and his apostleship he received from God, and against

¹ Ulster Journal of Archeology, 1853.
² Tripl. Life, p. 570.
his [Church] the gates of hell do not prevail." The B glossator seems to take ut Petrus with fide immobilitatis, in this way.

The gloss in B, "Petrus agnosceps", agrees as do many like glosses in the text, with the explanation furnished in Jerome's De nominibus Hebraicis. St. Jerome was widely read in Ireland; his works were consulted, for instance, by Oengus the Culdee, and he is quoted frequently and with respect in Irish books and by Irish writers. Columbanus in his letter to Gregory the Great goes so far as to say that the man who contradicts the authority of Jerome will be looked on as a heretic, and rejected with scorn by the Churches of the West. His Irish name was Cirine.

The interpretation of Mt. xvi. 18 suggested in the gloss is the usual interpretation with Irish writers. A remarkable paraphrase of the verse occurs in a vernacular Tract on the Liturgy in the Leabhar Breac: "that is, upon the firmness of the faith of the first martyrs who were laid in the foundation of the building and of the last martyrs up to Elijah and Enoch."

13 barbaras nationes ut piscaret, &c. This verse was evidently familiar to Muirchu Maccu Mactheni, the seventh century author of the notes in the Book of Armagh (fol. 2): "dicens ei adesse tempus ut ueniret et auangelico rete nationes feras et barbaras ad quas docendas misserat illum deus ut piscaret." The metaphor ultimately rests, of course, on Mt. iv. 19. In St. Patrick's Confessio this last verse is quoted, with the comment: "Unde autem ualde oportebat retia nostra tendere, ita ut multitudo copiosa et turba Deo caperetur," &c.

19 nauigi] i.e. of this voyage of the Church B. The sea is the present life, the ship is the Church, the pilot is a teacher who brings it to a harbour of life, the harbour of life is uita perpetua Bmqs.

22 praeher] i.e. preaching and teaching B.

24 diexit] i.e. by preaching B.

28 ducatum] i.e. a verb ducos -dux, ducis,-and hence it makes ducos, duces,-ducatus its passive participle: ducatus further is a noun substantive in form of a participle, of the fourth declension, and it is that which is here B.

The word is used in the sense of 'guidance,' 'safe conduct.'

31 stigmata] i.e. the relics, &c. B.

32 sustentans] i.e. he supports T.

in cruce] i.e. on the Cross of the Passion B.

33 impiger] i.e. active B.

34 uidentur] i.e. in fellowship with Christ B.

36 The gloss in B notes that the 'in' is superfluous here; but the metre requires it, for cuius is a disyllable.

36 manna] i.e. on increase T.

37 ob] i.e. for B.

38 The B gloss notes thatque is redundant here. It is worth observing

1 See Olden, Church of Ireland, p. 85.
that the enclitic que is very commonly used in this hymn and in the
Altus Prosator, but rarely in the other pieces.

41, 42 The Etymoligion of S. Isidore of Seville, from which the glosses
here are taken, was one of the ordinary text books of the middle ages.
Isidore, the "doctor egregius Hispaniae" was perhaps the most learned
ecclesiastic of the seventh century, and enjoyed a wide reputation in
the schools of Europe. He is counted by Dante as one of the first set
of twelve 'blessed saints' in the Tenth Canto of the Paradiso.

lumen] The gloss seems to suggest that Patrick shone with a light
not his own (lumen), but derived from Christ, who is the true lux
mundi.

42 Observe that the gloss recognises the reading toto, now only
found in A, as the form adopted secundum ueteres.

46 adimple[er] i.e. that person; ut de Gregorio dictum est, "Implebat actu
quiequid sermone docebat," sic Patricio contigit B.

The verse quoted is from the epitaph on the tomb of St. Gregory.
See Bede's Eccl. Hist. ii. 1.

48 mundoque] i.e. in the pure heart B. The reading of A, praecedit,
'excels' is probably the right one.

49 audenter] i.e. boldly B.

52 hostia et sacerdos. See note p. 99 above.

54 mensam] i.e. by measure T. 'That is, the glossator understands
mensam as if it were mensuram. But mensam is probably used for the
Lord's Table. Reading qui at the beginning of the line, we may
translate: "He despises all the glory of the world for the sake of
the divine law, and in comparison with His Table he counts all things
as chaff.'

ciscilia] . . . ciscilia sunt purgamenta frumenti, i.e. chaff T in
the left margin. In the right margin of T we have the obscure gloss:
"ciscimum i.e. broth or brothscoc ia i.e. the . . . which the sea [drives]
to the land. Or cis cannain, i.e. . . . of Cormac Ua Cuinn.
Cannan nomen eius, and it is of this that it was formed, viz. of the
cil-cais which was on the belly of the animal that was killed there.
Or cisculum, i.e. eyelid, i.e. cillum is the fringe of the eyelid; cis-cillum
the hair that sticks on it [and brings it] down, ut quod uerius est. But
whichever of these it be, it is all the same to Patrick in comparisonne
diuinae legis.'

Ambrosius dicit supercilium i.e. super abundantia; cilon uerbum
Greccum quod interpretatur abundantia is the gloss in B. We cannot
find the passage in Ambrose to which the glossator refers. Cilon is
apparently meant for χιλιαω, a thousand.

55 ingruitent] i.e. from the resounding or very heavy thunderbolt B.

59 pascer] i.e. he used to satisfy B.

60 The reading tradit of A is certainly right, as agreeing better with
the metre, and also with the usage of the author, who consistently uses
the present tense of the deeds of Patrick.

63 annonam] i.e. provision, i.e. ab hora nona dicta T.

65 The glossator in B has misunderstood the allusion in this stanza,
which is evidently to the parable of the Marriage Feast in Mt. xxii.
67 uinum] The glossator in B again seems to mistake the meaning. The ‘uinum’ is plainly the wine of the eucharist, as the spirituale polum of the next line is the Chalice.

The phraseology is interesting as pointing to Communion in both kinds as the practice of the early Celtic Church. Ussher in his Religion of the Ancient Irish (p. 279) is at pains to defend this from objectors by an appeal to the Fathers, and he has collected a host of references bearing on the point. The general question, however, need not now be argued. Bellarmine (de Euch. iv, 4) admits that the giving of the cup to the laity was the primitive custom, and the Council of Trent (Sess. 21, ch. 2), laid down practically the same doctrine. It was not indeed until the Council of Constance in 1415 that communion in one kind was declared to be the law of the Latin Church. However a few references illustrating the usage of Celtic Christendom may be adduced. There is a postcommon in the Corpus Missal (fol. 57v°) and in the Rosslyn Missal (fol. 4v°) with the opening words: "Relecti cibo potuque celesti, &c., Deus, ut ab hostium defandas formidine quos redemisti pretioso sanguine tui Filii Domini nostri." Again in the vernacular Homilies in the Leabhar Breac we have frequent reference to the giving of the cup to the laity, e.g. “those who are most faithful among the people, after receiving the Body and Blood of Christ, &c.”; and also “that the partaking thereof might not be deemed terror-causing by the faithful, and lest infidels should charge them with partaking of the blood and flesh of a man.” Dr. Wh. Stokes has collected a number of instances from the Book of Lismore, and Mr. Warren has given many others. It may be observed, however, that the hymn Sancti uenite, the language of which is often cited in this connexion, is not altogether relevant; for according to its title it was to be sung “quando communicarent sacerdotes,” and so it gives no evidence as to the communion of the laity, although it shows that the practice of the celebrant alone communicating in both kinds was not customary.

68 propinnansque i.e. that which he used to distribute T.

The reference in the B gloss is to the grammatical works of Eutychius (saec. vi); there is a fragment of his work in Irish handwriting with Irish glosses in the Paris MS. Bibl. Nat. Lat. 11411.

72 Israel] Israel at one time is disyllabic et ‘uir pugnans cum deo’ interpretatur; at another time it is trisyllabic and means “uir uidens deum” B.

The latter interpretation comes from Jerome and, as Dr. Todd points out, rests on the erroneous derivation of Israel from בִּיר. It is found also among the Irish notes on the Pauline Epistles known as the Würzburg Glosses, which have been edited by Dr. Wh. Stokes for the Philological Society. Thus on the words et super Israhel dei in Gal. vi. 16 the gloss is i. sanctos uidentes deum, &c.

1 Atkinson, Passions and Homilies, p. 456, cf. also p. 492.
3 p. c\itii.
4 Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church, p. 134. Compare also Dowden's Celtic Church of Scotland, p. 239.
5 From the De interpr. nominum; and the same explanation is found in Jerome's translation of Didymus de Spiritu Santo, p. 151.
73 fidelis] i.e. faithful B.
74 condita] i.e. salted, a verbo condiio, condis, of the fourth conjugation TB.
75 putref] i.e. a verbo putro, of the first conjugation B.
essaque] i.e. chewed T i.e. essus a verbo ‘edo’ et ‘edor’ its passive; essum et essus its passive participle, and distinction of gender in it, i.e. essus essa essum B.
76 The allusion seems to be to Mc. ix. 49 and Col. iv. 6.
80 arat] i.e. he ploughs T.
81 uicarius] i.e. steward or tax-collector or ‘coarb,’ for this is what Jerome says in Epistola de gradibus Romanorum; that the ‘uicarius’ is a man who is next to a ‘comes’ over the city, though he does not come in comitatu cum rege; ‘uicarius’ of God is he T.
i.e. ‘coarb,’ quia Hieronymus dicit in Epistola de gradibus Romanorum, that the ‘uicarius’ is the man who is next to the ‘comes’ over the city while the ‘comes’ goes (?) to the king. The ‘rex’ is God, the ‘comes’ is Christ, the ‘uicarius’ is Patrick. ‘Uicis’ is fisch i.e. place, so that ‘uicis’ makes ‘uicarius’ B.

We have not been able to identify the passage from Jerome here cited by the scholiasts. It is possible that the letter referred to is the spurious Epistola de septem ordinibus ecclesiae (Migne P.L., xxx. 148); but it does not seem to mention the titles uicarius and comes.
84 The spelling sabnus for diabolus is not uncommon, and many instances might be given from Irish manuscripts. The interchange of s and st, of which we have an instance here in F which reads stabnul, is worth observing. We have it again in the hymn Celebra Iuda at l. 31, where our MSS. read evangeliza for evangeliste and at l. 35 Zefani for Stephani, and in the Preface to the Benedictus (vol. i. p. 57) where we have Stacharias for Zacharias and Elistabeth for Elizabeth.
86 tractat] i.e. he sets in motion psalms and hymns and apocalypse, to build up God’s people B.

Todd read the last words of this gloss as popihil trine or ‘the people of the Trinity’; but we think that the true reading is simply popihil de.

The line is almost identical with l. 25 of Fiacc’s hymn; and although, the glossator at that place explains the “hymns” differently, it is tolerably certain that the canticles must be meant. So the notes in the Book of Armagh by Muirchu Maccu Mactheni have1: “omens psalmos et apocalipsin Iohannis et omnia cantica spiritalia scripturarum cotidie decantans.”

Mr. Macgregor (Early Scottish Worship, p. 25) suggests that by “the Apocalypse” is here meant the Ter Sanutus, and the suggestion seems reasonable. See l. 133 of the Altus of St. Columba and l. 25 of Fiacc’s hymn in praise of St. Patrick.

1 At fol. 7.
2 See also the Leabhar Breac Hymn on St. Patrick, in Tripl. Life, p. 48s.
THE HYMN OF ST. SECHNALL.

87 quam] viz. a great thing, who believes legem sacri nominis quod est Trinitas TB.
88, 89 There is a precision of doctrinal statement here, which indicates at least that the Christological controversies of the fourth and fifth centuries left their mark on the language of Celtic Christendom.
89 praecinctus] i.e. girt round B.
90 sine intermissione] Augustinus dicit, Si quis in unaquaque hora certa tempora orandi observat, sine intermissione orat: i.e. celebration of each canonical hour T.

A similar interpretation of St. Paul’s precept is found in the Irish writer Sedulius (in Ep. ad Romanos ed. Migne col. 16). “Aut ergo dicendum est eum semper orare et non deficere, qui canoniciis orationibus quotidianis iuxta ritum ecclesiasticum traditionis, psalmodiis precibusque consuetuis, Dominum laudare et rogare non desistit. Et hoc est quod Psalmista dicebat, Benedictam Dominum in omni tempore, semper laus eius in ore meo (Ps. xxxiii. 2).”

This is rejected, however, by the writer of the Würzburg Glosses, already referred to. He notes (ed. Stokes, p. 315) “What may be the prayer without ceasing? Not hard. Dicunt alii that it is celebration of the canonical hour quod non est uestum &c.” It is also rejected in the Benedictine Rule,¹ which observes: “nobois uero non expedit caeteris horis abs oratione uacare.”

92 cum apostolis regnabit sanctus super Israel. The gloss in B gives the legend which grew out of this verse in later years, viz. regnabit Patricius super Scolos in die iudicii. We also find it in Fiacc’s hymn v. 52. “Around thee in the day of the Judgement, the men of Ireland will go to Doom.” In Muirchu Maccu Mactheini’s notes in the Book of Armagh, the quarta petilia which the Angel granted to Patrick is “ut Hibernenses omnes in die iudicium a te iudicentur.” The legend indeed became very widespread, and reappears in many places; e.g. in the Second Vision of Adamnan² at § 6 we have: “It is Patrick who will be their judge and their advocate on Doomsday.” So in the Secreta in the Corpus and Rosslyn Missals³ we find an allusion to the same belief: “Hostias tibi quas in honore sancti Patricii offerimus deutos accipias, ut nos a timore iudicii liberemur.”

93 Audite omnes, the opening words of the hymn, are added at the close according to the regular Irish practice of which many examples will meet us as we proceed. Mone (Hymni Latini mediæ ævi iii. 242) remarks that this custom is sometimes adopted by German hymn writers. It was probably invented for the purpose of clearly marking the point at which one piece ended and another began, not always obvious of itself in manuscripts written closely and continuously with a view to the economising of parchment. Mone adds that there seems to have been a special tendency among Irish hymn writers to begin their hymns with the word ‘Audite.’

The apparatus criticus shows that the three antiphons appended to

¹ Migne, P.L. ciii. 621.
² See Trip. Life, pp. 246, 477.
³ Recue Celtique, vol. xii. 420.
the hymn vary in our manuscripts. The first antiphon in TB is Ps. cxi. 7. The second calls for no comment. The third, which is not found in AB, has reference to the story told by St. Patrick himself in his Confessio,1 of a vision he had in the night when in Britain and of voices which seemed to say to him "Rogamus te, sancte puer, ut uenias et adhuc ambules inter nos." The story is told, with embellishments, by all his biographers; a strange and extravagant form of it is given in the notes to Fiacc's hymn at l. 16. See infra p. 180.2

It will be observed that the regular practice of the Liber Hymnorum is that antiphons, written by the scribes in pointed handwriting of a different character from that employed for the text, are appended to each of the Latin hymns, and also to some of the vernacular pieces.

vol. i. p. 13.] We have not been able to identify with any known document the half illegible notes written in the margins of fol. 2 of the Trinity College MS. It will be seen that the majority of these notes, which occur on every page up to fol. 22, do not seem to have any bearing on the text; they are memoranda entered in the margins either by the original scribes, or—as seems more probable—by some early owner of the book. For the most part they are extracted from well-known authors, such as Augustine, Gregory the Great, Isidore of Seville, or Hraban Maur. When no reference is given in the text, it may be assumed that we have not been able to identify the piece.

THE HYMN CHRISTUS IN NOSTRA.

This is possibly a fragment of an alphabetical hymn, of which all save the last three stanzas has been lost, these last three being preserved owing to the belief (see p. 98 supra) that the recitation of these was equal in efficacy to the recitation of the whole. It is evident that the lines beginning Audite virginis laudes, despite the statement of the compiler of the preface, are from a different composition, inasmuch as the metre is quite dissimilar; indeed Ware3 distinguishes expressly the hymn Christus in nostras from the hymn Audite virginis laudes.

We have noted already (vol. i, p. xxvii) the mention of the hymn Christus in nostras in the early office sketched on one of the leaves of the Basel Psalter (P). See above p. xxx.

This hymn was printed from F by Colgan (Trias, p. 542), who pointed out that it was found at the end of St. Ultan's Life of St. Brigid. He mentions several manuscripts of this Life to which he had access, among them (1) at the monastery of St. Magnus at Ratisbon, in Irish handwriting; this, he notes, though it gave the hymn, had no antiphon at the end; (2) a manuscript belonging to the monastery of St. Authbert at Cambray; (3) one belonging to a monastery in the co. Longford. We have failed to trace any of these; and in addition to T and F can only produce one other manuscript (V) as authority for our text, a

1 See Trip. Life, p. 264.
2 Compare the legend in the Book of Lismore, p. 155, 6.
manuscript which though now at the Vatican was originally at Heidelberg.

Of the three persons named in the Preface as possible authors of the piece, a word or two only can be said here.

Ninnid, when a young scholar, so say the later lives of Brigid, came under the favourable notice of the saint, who predicted that she herself, on the day of her death, should receive the viaticum at his hands. On hearing this the youth enclosed his right hand in a locked case, lest it should ever be defiled by the touch of any unclean thing; and so he was known as Ninnid 'Purehand.'

Fiac of Sletty we shall meet with again as the reputed author of a famous hymn (our No. 15). He died before Brigid.

Ulan of Ardcrecan in the co. Meath, the author whose claims Colgan favours, is also named as the composer of the Irish hymn No. 21 in praise of St. Brigid. All that it seems possible to say with confidence is that the statement in the Preface, that he was one of St. Brigid's biographers, rests on early tradition. He is reputed to have died A.D. 656, and his name lingers in Irish topography, in the form "Cahir Ulan." There is a Latin poem in praise of him, beginning Fama citat, &c., printed in Dümmler. Poet. lat. mediæ ævii, i. p. 589.

The words tria rithim noscarde in l. 5 of the F Preface are rendered by Colgan ad imitationem rithmi Noscarit; but oscarda means 'renowned' or 'well-known.' See Silva Gad. 124, 21; M.R. 216, 18; Oss. Sor. iv. 152.

8 simile] i.e. for Brigid is the Mary of the Gaels T. This curious statement is frequently met with in panegyrics of St. Brigid. The mediaeval Irish were fond of tracing parallels between their own saints and those of the N.T. and the early Christian centuries; but in no case is this parallelism pushed to such extravagant lengths as in the case of St. Brigid. Thus (see p. 39 above) in hymn No. 21, l. 12, she is addressed as "Mother of Jesus"; and again at the beginning of hymn No. 22 (p. 40), she is invoked as "Brigid, mother of my high King."

Dr. Todd quotes a remarkable office of St. Brigid, printed as late as 1622, in which a modified form of the legend, that she had a strong personal resemblance to the BVM, is reproduced. This legend is given by several of the mediaeval authorities.

It will be observed that the two strongest expressions in the text of the piece, viz., in l. 8 Marie sancte similem and in l. 15 Christi matrem se spondevit are erased in the Vatican manuscript.

13 laudes] uel iura, that is the right reading, in order that it should correspond to 'merita' below T.

santa] i.e. Brigid T.

14 perfectionem] this should be the proper [order] in the line, viz. perfectionem promisit quam uiriliter implebit T.

15 dictis] this also should be 'dictis atque factis fecit' T.

1 Colgan, Trias, p. 559.
2 Liber Hymnorum, p. 68.
3 See Book of Lismore, pp. 186, 320.
This is the reading of F.

16 This line is no true part of the verse; it is probably an explanatory gloss on sancta of the following line which has crept into the text. Lines 13–16 do not, in short, constitute a stanza at all. The T glossator was evidently conscious that there are metrical impossibilities in the lines as they stand.

Preface to the Hymn of St. Cummain the Tall.

We do not know of any manuscripts which contain this hymn, save T and F. It is alluded to (see vol. i. p. xxv) in the office sketched in the Second Vision of Adamnan and the Book of Mulling; which proves that it was well-known before the ninth century at least. It has been printed with its preface by Todd (Liber Hymnorum, p. 72), and also by Malone in his Church History of Ireland (vol. ii. p. 273), and in Moran’s Irish Church (p. 87).

St. Cummain the Tall,¹ to whom the authorship is ascribed in the Preface, was born, according to the chronologies, in 590 and died in 661 or 662. He is commemorated on Nov. 12, in the Martyrologies of Gorman and of Donegal; in the latter book being described as “the blessed preacher of the word of God,” and being compared for his way of life to Gregory the Great. He was bishop of Clonfert, and the name survives in local tradition, Kilcummin or the Church of Cummain being the name of a townland in the parish of Tirawley, co. Mayo. The author of a letter to Séghine, fifth Abbot of Iona, on the Paschal question (see Migne P.L. lxxxvii. 969) is a different person.

The shocking story recorded in the Preface as to the manner of his birth is not without parallel in the Vitae Sanctorum; and it is far from improbable, as Todd remarks, that a child so born should be dedicated from his infancy to a religious life.² For the genealogies of the various persons mentioned in the Preface we must refer the curious reader to Dr. Todd’s learned notes.

1. 5. Ita’s Cell] now Killeedy in the co. Limerick. The reputed date of St. Ita’s death is 569; there is nothing in the narrative which implies that she was alive in Cummain’s lifetime.

1. 11. Ita’s coarb] The ‘coarb’ (comarba) of a monastery was its hereditary head; each religious house was like a spiritual clan, the abbot being the heir of the original founder. He might be either a bishop or a presbyter, according to circumstances; in the Columban houses he was always a presbyter, in memory of the fact that St. Columba himself never became a bishop. But a monastery often had attached to it a resident bishop, for the purpose of conferring orders and consecrating churches, &c.

1. 12. sinum abbatissae] sinum is a churn, or wooden drinking-vessel.

1. 15. Notice not] na rathaig. According to Todd the repetition

¹ So called to distinguish him from St. Cummain the Fair, seventh Abbot of Iona. See Olden, Church of Ireland, p. 125.
of these words is necessary for the metre. But this is not accurate, and there is no good reason for such repetition here.

1. 30. Eoganacth of Loch Lein] So the Martyrology of Gorman at Nov. 12. Loch Lein is the principal Lake of Killarney. Eoganacth was the tribe name of the descendants of Eogan Mor, king of Munster in the second century.

1. 35. upon thee, O Fiachna, &c.] These words are a gloss, although the copyist of the Preface does not seem to have understood them so. The omission in T of the initial F in Fiachna, as, a little lower down, of the initial letter of Flann, is very common with Irish scribes.

1. 47. soul friendi amnchara, the ordinary Irish word for a confessor, or spiritual director.

1. 48. Columcille] St. Columba died in 597, so that the chronology seems confused. It is possible, however, that when Columcille is mentioned, it is his coarb or successor that is meant, who inherited his privileges and was regarded as speaking in his name.

1. 47. eastward] i.e. to Iona, the seat of St. Columba's famous monastery. In the quatrains ascribed to Columba, there is a play on the word cummain, which means 'communion.'

1. 61. Domnall refuses it, &c.] These verses, Todd says, "seem to allude to the ancient custom of putting on the raiment of the saint who acted as your penitentiary, in token of submission and humiliation. This, it seems, Domnall refused to do." (I.e. p. 83.) But, in truth, the lines are not grammatically explicable; na gab ought to mean 'do not take.' Perhaps ll. 57-64 are an interpolation; at any rate the story is more intelligible in their absence.

1. 72. Daire Calcaig] i.e. 'the oak wood of Calgagh' = roboretum Calgachi (Adamnan Vita Columbæ i. 2, where see Fowler's note.) This was the old name of Derry, and was superseded by the name Daire Coluimcille in the tenth or eleventh century.

THE HYMN OF ST. CUMMAIN THE TALL.

1 The opening words of this hymn are, as the Preface observes, borrowed from Nahum i. 15. The glossator in T who says necessitas metri put here Iuda instead of Iudea was, seemingly, ignorant of this reference. F has no glosses on this hymn.

2 The repetition of alleluia after each stanza (it is apparently only through inadvertence that it is omitted after the first stanza in T) is a device which is found in two hymns in the Bangor Antiphonary; the first, "Pecamur patrem," being, like that now under consideration, a hymn in praise of the Apostles, the other a hymn for Feasts of Martyrs beginning "Sacratissimi martyres."

3 clauiculari] unde derivatur hoc nomen? Not hard: from the word 'clavis': from it (is made) clavicula; 'ris' (is added) to it, so that it makes clauicularis; from this 's' (is dropped) and 'us' (appended) to it, so that it makes of it 'clauicularius,' and its presence here is fitting, quod dixit Christus, &c.
5 Petri] The order in which the Apostles are mentioned follows that of St. Matth. x, the place of Judas Iscariot being supplied by St. Paul, whose name is put immediately after that of St. Peter. This is the regular Gregorian order; it is also found on the Ardagh Chalice. The names which follow Simon Zelotes, viz. Matthias, Mark, Luke, Patrick, Stephen, also (with the exception of Patrick) follow in this order the names of the Apostles in the invocation in the Royal MS. 2. A. xx in the British Museum, printed by Mr. Warren in the Appendix to his Antiphonary of Bangor. The list given in Harl. MS. 7653 should also be compared with that in this hymn. For the number of names commemorated see note on l. 37.

6 alleluia] at the end of each (verse is Alleluia, which) interpretatur, &c. We have not been able to trace the Latin words of this marginal note to any author.

8 aduocamina] i.e. the invocations or the assistances.

10 scammate] i.e. in the battlefield, or in the combat. The word is used by Tertullian ad Mart. 3.

11 ff. The glossator’s interpretations of the Apostles’ names, derived for the most part from Jerome, are also given, though with much confusion, in the invocation in the MS. Reg. 2. A. xx already mentioned.

12 accumbebat] in Canan Galilee. The glossator seems to allude to the tradition that St. John was the bridegroom at the marriage of Cana of Galilee. It is not certain that this is implied in the words of the hymn itself.

13 oris] i.e. os lampadis interpretatur i.e. for his knowledge and for the excellence of his utterance.

Pilippi] i.e. of deacon Philip that, and Cummaïn enumerates him inter apostolos; qui in Hierapolis cuitate sepultus est; &c.

The glossator here confounds Philip the Apostle with Philip the Evangelist, as does also Eusebius in his Eccl. Hist. iii. 31. By Eusebius as in the gloss on prole, only three daughters of Philip are mentioned, although four are spoken of in Acts xxii. 9. There is an Irish “Passion of the Apostle Philip,” in the Leabhar Breac, which tells of his stoning and crucifixion at Hierapolis.

15 impendamni] i.e. let us give presents.

16 nati] i.e. it is the Son of God in truth who stays the waters in the clouds; according to the (mystical) sense the waters are the teachings, and the clouds are the teachers. Nnul cannot be right, for it e absolutely demands the nom. pl.; and we have translated accordingly.

19 fiscali] i.e. the treasure chest (?), quia fiscus inuenitur; i.e. . . . . . fiscalis uel fiscalis cista. . . . . . a chest, viz. he collected taxes for the King of the world.

We have printed in vol. i. the reading (no) feda(d) cista, ‘he used to bear a chest,’ given by Stokes in emendation of Todd’s no feda cista ‘a wooden chest’; but we are not satisfied with it. Further the word main is not fully legible.

1 Vol. ii. p. 91.

2 See Atkinson, Passions and Homilies, p. 356.
By "the king of the world" the Roman Emperor is, of course, meant.

21 *Iacobis quinquines* i.e. a mark of definition on him (as compared) with the first James. Another explanation of quinquines is suggested in the next gloss, viz., *Christo*. The construction is obscure; probably we should understand *prece* before *alterius* and translate: "let us ask the prayer of James to be near to us aided by the prayer of the other James."

22 *subnixi* i.e. later he came to Christ quam predictus, and they were clubbed in Jerusalem.

It is not clear whether we should read *sund* (Todd) or *suind* (Stokes). Possibly o *sund* should be read for the pl. *tuarcaín o *sund* is common enough; and *ra'gabsat i n-a chend di* means 'they struck him on the head with it' (Hom-Pass. 3299).

23 The gloss on Tathet confuses (cf. Jerome in Matth. x. 4) the Thaddaeus of the Abgar legend, whom Eusebius (H. E. i. 13) describes as 'one of the Seventy' with Thaddaeus the apostle; a blunder which we shall meet with again in a gloss on the letter of Christ to Abgar. See, on the whole subject, p. 173 *infra*, and the references there given.

tellura] i.e. over the corners of the earth, for that indeed is the way in which he writes, et sic scribitur recte per tellura i.e. rura. *Talmannab* is from the adj. *talmanda* 'terrestrial' (Hom-Pass. 5857, 5878, 5895); and *uillib* means 'angles, corners,' as in Hom-Pass. 3728. Cf. Apoc. vii. 1, 'super quatuor angulos terrae.'

24 *epistola*] The words 'Beatus es' in the gloss are the opening words of the reputed letter of our Saviour to Abgar, King of Edessa, which is found in our collection (No. 18); see the notes upon it below. The legend that its bearer was one 'Ananias cursor' is as old as Eusebius (H. E. i. 13), to the Latin translation of whose history by Rufinus there is no doubt a reference at the end of the gloss: "ut historia ecclesiastica narrat."

25 *swapte* in sua regione vel sua ciuitate, and a syllable is extra here, viz. -pte. This gloss, like that on *Abgoro* in the preceding line, has been curiously misread by former editors.

27 *Madianus* that is Matthias; his name often appears thus in the Irish texts.

28 *locemur* i.e. let us be assembled.

31 *evangelize* i.e. euangelistae. For this interchange of z and st, see above p. 104.

37 *bina septim* i.e. fourteen, viz. the twelve apostles with Paul and Stephen, quainus non est apostolus. It may not have been Cummain who put Mark and Luke here. Or, if it be he that put them, it is 'octo ulida' that is right in the line.

The end of the gloss shows that the F variant, *octo* for *septem*, was current in the time of the glossator, and that there was some doubt as to which was the true reading. It is plain that the difference between .uui. and .uiii. is very slight, and that a confusion might easily arise. There is difficulty whichever we adopt, for seventeen names are mentioned in all. Todd suggests that *septem* is the true reading, and
that the ‘twice seven’ are the fourteen Apostles, viz. the Twelve, St. Paul and St. Patrick.

It seems to us, however, that octo is certainly the reading of the original text. Without Patrick there are 16 names invoked, and an inspection of the hymn will disclose the fact that there is nothing specifically Celtic about the subject matter, save the invocation of St. Patrick. Further ll. 33, 34 break the sequence of construction; Marci annuntiantis, Lucae sequentis, Stephani regantis, are all dependent on suffragia of I. 37. It is therefore certain that the stanza which brings Patrick in is an after-thought, or a supplement introduced when the hymn became popular in Ireland.

The glossator, as usual, is only guessing.

40 propugnacula] i.e. as if it were through ramparts or battlements.

It will be remembered that the antiphon “exaudi nos” which follows this hymn in the manuscripts, is prescribed for recitation after it in the directory for a monastic service in the Book of Mulling, of which we have given an account in our Introduction (vol. i, p. xxii).

The note in the upper margin of fol. 4 is, for the most part, as will be seen from the references given at foot of page 21 (vol. i), a catena of passages from Latin authors dealing with the primacy of Peter. Hraban Maur (786-856), who is cited here and in other marginal notes in the Liber Hymnorum, seems to have been well known in Ireland, as indeed he was all over Europe. In the library at St. Gall there are several MSS. of his works. The “four points of observance at celebrating Easter,” given in the Passion of Christ in the Leabhar Breac, seem to be derived from Hraban. See Migne P. L., cviii. col. 641.

THE HYMN OF ST. MUGINT.

The Preface need not detain us long, although the full discussion of all the genealogical problems which it suggests would extend over many pages. We must refer our readers to the investigation of these obscure points printed by Dr. Todd. It is plain at the outset that whatever may be the historical worth of the legend given in the Preface, it has little to say to the hymn. The writer of the Preface, as would appear from the alternative explanations which he gives of the authorship, had not even a consistent tradition to guide him. It is likely that the authorship of St. Mugint was neither better nor worse authenticated than the authorship of Ambrose or of David.

St. Mugint himself is a saint of whom little is known. There is a Welsh St. Meugan who may be the same person; or again Todd may be right in identifying him with one Nennio or Moinee or Mancend, whose name appears under various forms. At any rate he is described as a tutor of St. Finnian of Moville in the co. Down, which would fix

1 Atkinson, Passions and Homilies, p. 357. 2 Liber Hymnorum, p. 97 ff.
the date of the story in the Preface at the beginning of the sixth century. Futerna, the scene of the transaction, is almost certainly Whitherne in Galloway, where there was a large monastic establishment, the celebrated Candida Casa, founded by St. Ninian. 1 Rioc, whom legend counts a daughter of Darerca, Patrick’s sister (see p. 96 above) is celebrated in the Martyrology of Gorman on August 1.

In the life of St. Frigidanus of Lucca, 2 who is often identified with St. Finnian of Moville, there is a somewhat similar story told of Mugint. No mention is made of Drusticc or Rioc or Talmach; but it is said that Mugint becoming jealous of Finnian’s popularity as a teacher, laid a snare for him, which ended in his receiving himself the wound intended for his pupil. And so he said Parce domine, parce populo tuo, et ne des hereditatem tuam in opprobrium. This story is evidently to be traced back to the same source as our Preface.

This hymn, or more properly prayer, seems from internal evidence to have been put together on the occasion of some plague or other visitation of evil by which some monastery or city was afflicted. There is nothing in it which in any way bears out the legend connecting its composition with St. Mugint given in the Preface; nor is there any trace of distinctively Celtic belief. The piece, however, does not seem to exist in this form in any other MSS. save the two copies of the Irish Liber Hymnorum from which we have printed it. But the various clauses down to l. 20 are found scattered up and down in a Rogation Litany “ex MS. ordinario insignis ecclesiae Lugudunensis” printed by Martene. 3 The first clause Parce domine, &c., occurs frequently in liturgical books, e.g. in the Sarum Breviary (preceded by the Antiphon Ne reminiscaris), in the Breviary of Aberdeen (after the seven Penitential Psalms), and in the Corpus Missal (p. 211). The second clause Deprecamur te, &c. is mentioned by Bede (H.E. i. 26) as having been sung by Augustine and his companions as they entered Canterbury.

Line 20. The true reading is, of course, uniusera terra with F, not uniusera tua with the principal manuscript (T).

Lines 1–3 of the antiphon at the end Parce domine peccantibus, &c. occur in almost the same words in a Deprecatio Sancti Martini pro populo found on fol. 18 of the Stowe Missal.

**Preface to the Hymn Sen Dé.**

Before discussing the structure of the hymn, a few notes explanatory of the Irish Preface must be given.

The pestilence which is said to have been the occasion of the composition of this lorica was the terrible “Yellow Plague,” which ravaged Europe in the sixth and seventh centuries. The Four Masters put it down to the year 664, 4 and name among the victims, Fechin abbot of

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1 Colgan, A.A. SS. Mar. 18.
3 De ant. eccl. rit. iii. 537-533 (ed. 1737). Mr. H. A. Wilson has suggested to us that the relation of the piece to these Gallican Rogation Litanies may be a key to the ascription of it to St. Ambrose as author.
4 See also for an account of it, Bede, H.E. iii. 27, and Adamnan, *Vita Columbae*, ii. xvi. (with Reeves’ note). Compare Plummer’s *Bede*, vol. ii. p. 196, O’Curry’s *MS. Materials*, p. 631, and Olden’s *Church of Ireland*, p. 68.

Liber Hymn. 11.
Fore, Aileran ‘of the wisdom,’ Manchan of Liath, and Dermot and Blaithmac, the two sons of Aed Slane, all of whom are mentioned in our Preface. There were, however, several outbreaks of it in Ireland, the most deadly being in the years 543, 550, 664 and 1094; and the country was hardly free from it at any time during the seventh century.

Of St. Colman mac Ui Cluasaig, to whom the authorship of the *lorica* is ascribed, we know nothing save that the Four Masters speak of him as the tutor of St. Cummain the Tall, and record his death along with that of his pupil in 661. There is here an obvious difficulty as to the date; but it might well be that the *lorica* was composed at the beginning of the Plague, before 661, but that its use did not become common until the Plague, which reached its severest point in 664, became very deadly. Indeed the writer of the Preface observes that some held that only two quatrains were written by St. Colman, and that his disciples added the rest. It may be observed that Colman is by far the commonest name in the Irish hagiologies, being chosen by no less than 226 saints according to the tables in the Book of Leinster.

The sin for which the Plague was sent upon the Irish people is described as in our Preface, but more fully, in the Life of St. Gerald of Mayo. With the growth of population, the arable land began to be insufficient for the needs of the country, and so an assembly of clergy and laity was summoned in 657 by Dermot and Blaithmac, kings of Ireland, to take counsel. It was decided, as the Preface tells, that the amount of land held by any one person should be restricted; and, further, the “seniors” directed that prayers should be offered for a pestilence, “to reduce the number of the lower class, that the rest might live in comfort”: St. Fechin of Fore, on being consulted, approved of this extraordinary petition. And so the prayer was answered from heaven, but the vengeance of the Almighty caused the force of the plague to be felt by the nobles and clergy, of whom multitudes, including the kings and Fechin of Fore, were carried off.

It appears from the end of the Preface that an island was a favourite place of refuge during these visitations, as the pestilence did not travel across the sea. As St. Colman is said to have taught in the school of Cork, it is possible that the island spoken of may be that of Inis-Cleire, where a well-known monastery was situated.

The idea that the distance of “nine waves” from the mainland had a special virtue is found elsewhere in Irish literature. For instance, according to the Brehon Laws, a borrowed article carried over “nine waves” by the borrower was forfeit to him. (See *Senchus Mor* iii. 423.) And in the tale of the invasion of Ireland by the sons of Milesius we read that the compact between them and the natives was that the strangers were to go “nine waves” from the shore, and then try to land. If they succeeded in baffling the magical arts of the Druids for

1 See Life of St. Gerald in the *Dict. of National Biography.*
that distance, the country was to be theirs. (Keating, *Hist. of Ireland*, p. 199, ed. O'Mahony.)

**The Hymn Sen Dé**

A critical examination of this poem will show that, whatever truth there may be in the account of its composition given in the Preface, it is not the whole truth. An important article by M. Gaidoz on this hymn appeared in vol. v of the *Revue Celtique* (p. 94), in which it was pointed out that it falls into three natural divisions.

1. The first division (verses 1–38) is plainly the original poem, and it ends, as is the practice of Irish hymnologists, with the words *Sen Dé don'fē for don'fē* with which it began. This part of the piece consists of a number of invocations of saints, chiefly Old Testament personages; and from the fragments of Latin phrases which occur here and there at the end of lines, it is natural to suspect that it may be based on a Latin original. This suspicion becomes almost a certainty when we find many of the same saints described in the same way, invoked in the familiar *Commendatio animae quando infirmus est in extremis*, of the Breviary. A few lines of this may be transcribed.


Danielem de lacu leonum . . . tres pueros de camino ignis ardentis et de manu regis iniqui . . . Susannam de falso crimine . . . David de manu regis Saul et de manu Goliae . . . . Petrum et Paulum de carceribus . . . . Theclam virginem et martyrem tuam de atrociissimis tormentis . . . .

sic liberare digneris animam huius serui tui et tecum facias in bonis congadere caelestibus."

An Irish Litany presenting striking resemblances to this first division of our hymn is also found at the end of the Felire of Oengus, from which we quote some stanzas:¹

"Deliver me, O Jesu, O Lord of fair assemblies, as Thou deliveredst Elijah, with Enoch, from the world.

Deliver me, O Jesu, from every ill on earth, as Thou deliveredst Noah, son of Lanec, from the flood.

Deliver me, O Jesu, O King of pure brightness, as Thou deliveredst Abraham from the hand of the Chaldeans.

Deliver me, O Jesu, O King mysterious, gracious, as Thou deliveredst Lot from the sin of the cities.

Deliver me, O Jesu, O King high, wonderful, as Thou deliveredst Jonah from the belly *ceti magni*.

Deliver me, O Jesu, in Thy many-graced kingdom, as Thou deliveredst Isaac from his father's hands.

¹ Wh. Stokes, *Calendar of Oengus*, p. cciii.
Deliver me, O Jesu, when Thou shalt come with Thy saints, as Thou deliveredst Thecla from the beast’s maw.

Deliver me, O Jesu, for Thy Mother’s intercession, as Thou deliveredst Jacob from his brother’s hands.

Deliver me, O Jesu, from every evil that is not . . . as Thou deliveredst John from the serpent’s venom.

Deliver me, O Jesu, from hell with its misery, as Thou deliveredst David from the valour of Goliath’s sword.

Deliver me, O Jesu, who hast freed all—as Thou deliveredst Susanna with sovraity after the lie concerning her.

Deliver me, O Jesu, because of Thy conflict’s intercession, as Thou deliveredst Nineveh in the time of the plague.

Deliver me, O Jesu, I desire that Thou wilt acknowledge me, as Thou deliveredst the people of Israel de monte Gilboa.

Deliver me, O Jesu, O Lord who art divinest, as Thou deliveredst Daniel out of the lions’ den.

Deliver me, O Jesu, O King famous, gentle, as Thou deliveredst Moses de manu Pharaonis.

Deliver me, O Jesu, who hast wrought great marvels, as Thou deliveredst the Three Children de camino ignis.

Deliver me, O Jesu, O King of every clan, as Thou deliveredst Tobit from the misery of blindness.

Deliver me, O Jesu, for sake of Thy martyrdom’s intercession, as Thou deliveredst Paul and Peter before kings from the vengeance of the prison.

Deliver me, O Jesu, from the anguish of every disease, as Thou deliveredst Job from the devil’s tribulations.

Deliver me, O Jesu, O Christ let there not be neglect, as Thou deliveredst David from Saul, from his spoiling.

Deliver me, O Jesu, for Thy Mother’s intercession, as Thou deliveredst Joseph from the hands of his brethren.

Deliver me, O Jesu, O King benedicte, as Thou deliveredst Israel with holiness from the slavery of Egypt.

Deliver me, O Jesu, for with Thee is my covenant, as Thou deliveredst Peter from the waves of the sea, &c.”

There can be little doubt that this Litany and the first section of the hymn Sén Dé, both of which are “farced” in the same way with Latin phrases, are based on the Latin text of some prayer like the Commendatio Animae. The Commendatio is itself ancient; and as M. le Blant has pointed out,¹ its phraseology is remarkably illustrated by the figures carved on early Christian sepulchral monuments,² favourite subjects being, The passage of the Red Sea, Noah, The Sacrifice of Isaac, The Ascension of Elijah, Job, David and Goliath, The Deliverance of St. Peter, Daniel in the lions’ den, The Three Hebrew Children, Jonah and the whale, and Susannah and the elders.

M. Gaidoz cites a prayer of St. Martin³ which brings together some

¹ Revue Archéologique, Oct. and Nov. 1879.
³ Migne, P. L. cl. 604.
of the same topics: "Deus gloriae, Deus qui unus et uerus Deus, qui solus et iustus es, Deus in quo omnia, sub quo omnia, per quem omnia facta sunt, exaudi me orantem sicut exaudisti tres pueros de camino ignis ardentis; exaudi me orantem sicut exaudisti Ionam de uentre ceti; exaudi me orantem sicut exaudisti Susannam et liberasti cam de manu iniquorum testium: exaudi me orantem sicut exaudisti Petrum in mari et Paulum in uinculis. Parce animae meae, &c." 7

We entirely acquiesce in the conclusion reached by M. Gaidoz viz. "On voit par ces exemples que l'hymne de Colman n'est qu'une paraphrase irlandaise d'une ancienne prière commune à toute l'Eglise, et que les mots latins dont il est facile appartiennent sans doute à l'original latin qui a servi de modèle au poète irlandais." See also p. xxxix above.

It is only necessary to add that in the subject matter of this first division of our hymn there is nothing distinctively Celtic.

II. The next division of the poem (lines 39-47) is an appendix to the first division of the nature of an antiphon, whether by the original hand or not is hardly now to be determined. Its close is also marked by the words Sén Dé. It will be observed that ll. 41-43 are in a different metre from the others, and it may be that, as Gaidoz suggests, the whole of the second section of the poem is itself made up of three groups of verses (viz. 39, 40; 41-43; 44, 45), added at different times. See note on l. 43 and above p. xxxv ff.

III. Yet another set of verses is added (ll. 47-54) which invoke the benediction of St. Patrick, St. Brigid, St. Columba, the three patron Saints of Ireland, along with that of St. Adamnan. The last named saint was not born until 624 (d. 704), and did not rise to eminence until after the reputed date of St. Colman mac Úi Chusaig's death. The glossator in T shows himself conscious that this last section of the hymn is a later addition, for he observes on l. 46 Huc usque cecinit Colman. And the F glossator adds a note which ascribes the authorship of ll. 47-50 to one Dermot, and ll. 51-end to Mugron, the coarb of Columba, who died in 980. See note on l. 47.

Of this hymn we know of no manuscripts save T and F. It was first printed by Todd 1 from T, and afterwards with notes in the Irish Eccl. Record, vol. iv. p. 402. A French translation of the hymn and its preface were printed by M. Gaidoz in the article from which we have already quoted. The glosses and marginal notes from F have not been printed before.

1 dornfe] i.e. may He bring us with Him T:
may He take us with Him, in whichever direction we go F
for don'te] i.e. upon us from Him, i.e. may it come upon us TF.
ro'nfeladar] i.e. may He guard us F; + may He put His veil over us for our shelter TF.
2 oesam] i.e. under His protection TF.
innoch] The end of the F gloss is illegible; the words and . . . used to . . . upon it are all that can be read.
cia] i.e. in whatever direction we go T: i.e. whatever direction F.

1 Compare the language of the second Oratio printed in the Appendix to Hartel's Cyprian III., 147.
2 Liber Hymnorum, p. 121.
NOTES.

cain] i.e. beautiful T.
temadar] i.e. may He receive us for our shelter, i.e. may He make our shelter T.
i.e. may He protect us against i.e. who protects F.
3 foss] i.e. whether stationariness TF.
uitfaille] or on journey TF.
4 ruire] i.e. great king TF.
adessam] i.e. we beseech TF.
5 itge] i.e. we pray TFmg.
6 dian-galar] i.e. against the swift disease TF; i.e. against the Yellow Plague T. The end of the F gloss is illegible.
fogair] i.e. which threatens, i.e. may make threatening T. The F gloss is illegible.
8 immunitisal] i.e. may they come about us T.
adamma] i.e. famine, quia per Adam uenit dolor TFmg; an astonishing piece of philology, connecting the Irish word for famine with the Hebrew Adam. But in reality, nothing is known of the alleged word adamnna =hunger, and we cannot follow the glossator with any confidence. Perhaps we should analyse adamma into a damna, and translate “... against pestilence, lest any cause [of pestilence] visit us.” Cf. damna dogra do’t chairdib, “it is a cause of anguish to thy friends” (MR. 294, 8). Cf. also SM. III. 94, 5.
9 “The father of the twelve” is, of course, Jacob; although Dr. Wh. Stokes and M. Gaidoz both interpret it of Isaac.
anuas...] very noble, i.e. man TF. The end of the word is illegible in T, but F has plainly anóser, which does not seem to fit the glossators’ explanation; it means ‘their younger [brother], a n-óser.
11 snaidstium] i.e. may he protect us (here F) TF.
12 Jesu] i.e. son of Nun TFmg.
13 “Job with the tribulations,” goes back to Iob de passionibus eius of the Commendatio Animae.
14 fiadat] i.e. ‘fiada’ i.e. ‘fo dia’ i.e. good God TF, an etymological gloss attempting the analysis of the ancient word fiada.
15 adsluennen] i.e. we appeal to our friendship with him in haec laude T.
16 rop] i.e. may He come to our help TF.
17 Maire] i.e. stilla uel Stella maris interpretatur TF. Of these two interpretations stilla maris, from יָם a ‘drop,’ and יָם 'the sea,' is probably the original from which Stella maris was derived, in the first instance no doubt by false orthography on the part of some transcriber. The mistake has however prevailed; the hymn Aue maris Stella is a sufficiently familiar instance.
17 Joseph] i.e. fosterfather of Jesus TF.
The name of Joseph does not appear in Western Martyrologies until the ninth century; and the insertion of it in the Litany for the Commendation of the departing soul was not actually authorised until 1726, by Benedict XIII. Its occurrence here at least indicates for the piece in its present form a date not earlier than 850.
do’n’ringrat] i.e. may they summon us for our salvation T; i.e. may they summon us; or, may they name us F.
THE HYMN SEN DÈ.

18 downforslaice] i.e. may he release us TF.

The notes on the name of Ignatius in T and F are much defaced; enough remains to show that they recorded the story of his martyrdom. The note in T seems to have been substantially the same as a note at Dec. 20 in a copy of the Felire of Oengus now in the Franciscan Library, Dublin, written by one Ruaidhri O’Liunin, viz. “Episcopus sed post Petrum episcopatum tenuit, sed sub Traiano imperatore passus est Ignatius et leonibus datus est et aliis bestiis.” No doubt it comes from some martyrology.

19 dithrubach] i.e. pro deo also F;
22 anacht] i.e. the king who protected TF.

luchtlach] i.e. his people of lake; or, his black people; i.e. Noy cum suis tribus filii et quatuor uxores eorum T. The gloss is hardly intelligible; it seems to employ an alternative meaning of loch, viz. lake or black, as an etym. explanation of luchtlach, ‘crew’ (?). Perhaps luchtlach is not the right word, for as the line stands it cannot be construed. Something like ‘the King who saved Noah from destruction’ is what we should expect. The gloss in F is illegible for the most part; but it was probably the same as in T.

23 rex Salem] The note in the margin of F is almost illegible; what is left yields it is the opinion of the Hebrews that he was (sine) genealogia (siciv) angelus.

Salem] . . . . it is however the opinion of the Hebrews that this is the same as Jerusalem; and further it is the opinion (of others that it was on the banks) of the river Jordan, and in it dwelt Melchizedek Fug.

References for the Jewish tradition, alluded to in the passage from Jerome cited in the T gloss, that Melchizedek was identical with Shem, are given in Baring Gould’s Legends of O.T. Characters (vol. i. p. 139, and vol. ii. p. 1.)

incerto de semine] Compare Hebr. vii. 3.
25 Soter] i.e. σωτήρ. The occasional introduction of some familiar Greek word is a well-known practice of Irish writers. The glossator in T apparently thought that it was a Hebrew word!

soeras] i.e. He freed TF.

Loth] i.e. declinans interpretatur, i.e. Lot, son of Haran, son of Terah, frater Sarra TF.

27 Ur] The legend given in the passage from Jerome cited in the margin of T was very popular in the East. It is incorporated into the Koran (xxi. 52-75); and Abraham’s escape from the furnace of Nimrod was celebrated in the Syrian Church on Jan. 25. There is a trace of it even in the Vulgate; in Neh. [2 Esdr.] ix. 7 we read Tu ipse domine deus qui elegisti Abram et eduxisti cum de igne Chaldaeorum. ‘The legend is probably based on the fact that υπό = ‘light’ or ‘fire.’

Galdai] the Caldees i.e. Caldei dicti quasi Casdi, i.e. from Cased son of Nahor son of Terah &c. Fug. See Gen. xxii. 22. The etymology is, perhaps, possible.

snaidsi’um] may He protect us F.

1 See Wh. Stokes, Felire of Oengus, p. clxxxiii.
2 Several forms of it are given in Baring Gould’s Legends of O.T. Characters, vol. i. p. 151 ff.
28 soers'um] may He free us TF.
limpa] that is, ablativeus TF. Possibly othoin is equivalent to othoind, 'from the wave.'
Gabai] i.e. in the peril in which they were sine aqua, quando venit ex Egypto T. This gloss takes the word gaba as equivalent to gabud = 'peril', and refers to the episode recorded in Num. xx. 2 ff.
The note in F gives various explanations: i.e. in the peril in which they were in the wilderness super aqua, when the people came out of Egypt. Or, perhaps Gabai was the name of the place in which they were then sine aqua. Or, when Samuel son of Elkanah was in the leadership of the people, this is said: Philistines came to them on a hosting, so that the children of Israel came into the places Gibeah and Mizpah, et unde hic i nGabai; and the children of Israel fasted there, and Samuel put water illustrationis over them, et unde dicitur lympha, and Samuel with the children of Israel gained the victory over the Philistines.
The first and second of these explanations refer to Num. xx. 2. The third refers to 1 Sam. vii. 1-11, 'Gabaa' being the reading of the Vulgate in the first verse. The actual phrase aqua lustrationis, occurs Num. viii. 7; but the pouring out of water for purification is recorded 1 Sam. vii. 6.
29 ruri] i.e. great king T.
anach] i.e. He protected T.
31 flaithem] i.e. a ruler in truth TF.
locharnaig] i.e. resplendent TF.
aronroigse] i.e. may He be merciful TF.
33 foedes] i.e. praeteriti temporis. Herod Tetrarch, son of Herod, son of Antipater, son of Herod of Ascalon; by him was killed John Baptist and Christ was crucified, and Peter was flung into prison, and it is that is called to mind here Fxxx.
tarslaic] i.e. He let out F.
35 fiadat] i.e. to our good God T; 'fia' = God, and 'dia' from the word 'deus' T.
ron'tolomar] i.e. may we please TF
38 snaidsium] may He protect us F.
tomtach] i.e. threatening TF.
39 a Fiada] i.e. O good God! TF.
roerthar] i.e. may there be given TF.
40 maccan] i.e. angeli Fxxx. Or, little children who die immediately in sanctitate post baptismum TFxxx.
With the first interpretation may be compared the promise given to Sechnall by Patrick (see p. 6 above), that a house whose building was begun with the recitation of the hymn Audite omnes should have 'about it a watch, consisting of Patrick with Ireland's saints.' The idea of guardian saints and angels is, indeed, common enough. The alternative interpretation possibly contains an allusion to St. Matth. xviii. 10.
43 The marginal note here is unfortunately not completely legible either in T or in F; but the meaning is substantially as follows: This is a half quatrains, and its other half quatrains is not extant; and as to the other half quatrains, the man to whom it befel to make it, died of the
plague: i.e. if it was by a half quatrain to each man that they made it, in the previous lines. But if it was Colum by himself that made this hymn, it was for this reason that he left this half quatrain without the other halfquatrain, viz. ‘because my household left the hymn incomplete, I will leave it incomplete.’ It would seem that the annotator did not observe that the metre of ll. 41–3 is different from that of the verses which precede and follow, and that, in fact, these lines form no part of the hymn. See p. 114 above.

hil-létheu] i.e. in breadth T;
               i.e. with them, ut quidam dixit:

   My father and my mother
while they were in life,
benediction on the space that took them (?);
was small my . . . with them Fmns.

This quatrain in the margin of F is much defaced.

43 The aspiration contained in this verse is much like those with which several of the vernacular homilies end1; ‘without age’ is equivalent to perpetual youth. E.g., in the Leabhar na hUidre it is said of the saints that they “will abide continually in the life eternal, without age, without decay.”

44 reraig] i.e. great-kings, or time-kings TF: + i.e. long life their life F; + qui fuerunt ante diluuum F. In fact the antediluvian saints are meant.

fegad] i.e. lofty is the sight angelorum et apostolorum TF.

47 bendacht] Diarmait son of German, coarb of Patrick,2 it is he that added these four verses; the names of Patrick and Brigid tantum fuerunt; and Mugron, coarb of Colum Cille made this hymn below, viz. the last two verses Fmns. This shows that the glossator of F, equally with the glossator of T, was conscious that ll. 47–54 were a later addition to the hymn. He asserts that ll. 46–50 were added by Diarmait, ll. 51, 52, by Mugron; but the use of both rann and immun is perplexing.

Mugron, the thirtieth successor of St. Columba, was abbot of Hy from 964 to 980. The Four Masters describe him as “scribe and bishop, skilled in the three verses.” Some verses ascribed to him are found at fol. 42 of the MS. we call Θ.3

érlam] i.e. a ready champion, quite ready to perform wonders and miracles TF.

Patraic] i.e. on the patron who is Patrick TF.

48 indi] i.e. in it T.

51 Colum] i.e. ‘dove’ dictus est from his simplicity T.

Cille] The notes here in T and F are too much defaced to be read in their entirety, but they were evidently the same in substance as a note found in the Leabhar Breac copy of the Felire of Oengus at June 9, viz.: “Colum pro simplicitate eius dictus est. Cille i.e. ar thiachtain co-menicc on cill in roleg a salmu hi condail na lenab comocus. ba head adbertis sen etarru, in tanic ar Colum bec-ni on chill i. o Thelaig Dub-glaissi hi Tir Lugdach i Cinel Conaill. Crinthan tra

1 See Atkinson, Passions and Homilies, passim.
2 Bp. of Armagh, 848.
ainn bunaid Coluim Cille;" or (adopting our glossator's version for one clause): "Colum 'dove' he was called for his simplicity. Cille 'of the church,' because of his coming often from the church wherein he read his psalms to a priest of the church. And this is what they used to say amongst them, 'Has our little Colum come from the church?' i.e. from Tulach Dubglaisse in Tir Lugdach in Conel Conail. Now Crimthan was Colum Cille's original name." Tulach Dubglaisse, or Temple Douglas near Kilmacrenan, was, as Todd observes, the name of the church in which St. Columba was baptized. Crimthan means 'fox.'

Alban] i.e. east of the sea T.

52 Adamnan i.e. Adamnan son of Loran son of Linne; Ronnat his mother's name F\m”. This is the famous Adamnan, the ninth abbot of Iona (624–704), who was the author of the Vita S. Columbae. His father, Ronan, the son of Tinne (there is some confusion about the initial letters in F), belonged to the same royal race as Columba. For further account of Ronan and Ronnat, see Reeves' Adamnan, p. xli. Adamnan's day is Sept. 23.

cain] the four chief Laws of Ireland, viz. Law of Patrick, and of Dari, and of Adamnan, and of Sunday. As to the Law of Patrick, (it forbid) to slay clerics; the Law of Dari, to steal cattle; the Law of Adamnan to slay (women); the Law of Sunday, to go on a journey F\’\m”. Substantially the same note is found in the Felire of Óengus (Leabhar Breac copy) at March 17th.1

The Law of Adamnan was the renewal of a measure passed at the Assembly of Drum Cetta by Columba's influence which prohibited women from taking part in the fierce conflicts which the various clans waged with each other. This important social reform was brought about by Adamnan in the course of a visitation by him of Ireland in the year 697, and was solemnly sanctioned by a convention which met at Tara. See Reeves' Adamnan, pp. 1, 179. It is not to be confounded with the so-called Canones Adamnani, which were in reference to ecclesiastical matters. They have been printed by Martene and others.

52 clanna] i.e. on the women; or, super gentes F.

53 This line is impossible to construe, though the meaning is clear. The terms foessam and comairche are of frequent occurrence in the Irish Tales and in the Laws, and have a technical sense; comairche was the protection afforded by a chief to a man when in his company, foessam, the protection extended to one at a distance.

In the margin of F there are some scribblings in a hand of the 16th century, e.g. "Amen dico ubois, omnis homo mendax"; "Pater noster qui es in celis," &c.

The quotation in the margin of fol. 5b from St. Gregory the Great is also found in one of the Irish-Latin Homilies in the Leabhar Breac.2 Gregory, as a writer, was so popular in Ireland, that he was called Bél-óir, "the golden-mouthed."

The marginal note on the upper margin of fol. 6 of T has been cut away by the binder of the MS.

1 Ed. Stokes, p. lxiv.
2 Atkinson, Passions and Homilies, p. 444.
THE HYMN OF ST. CUCHUIMNE.

Preface to the Hymn of St. Cuchuimne.

Of Cuchuimne, to whom the authorship of the hymn is ascribed in the Prefaces in T and F, we know but little. According to the Annals of Ulster he died in the year 746; and he is commemorated on Oct. 7 in the Martyrology of Gorman. The name means "hound of memory"; it is perhaps not unnecessary to observe that hound was a title of respect among the Irish.¹

An ingenious identification of Cuchuimne with Cummean, to whom the Irish penitential literature of the middle ages is so much indebted, was suggested jointly by Dr. Wh. Stokes and Mr. Henry Bradshaw in the year 1885. At the end of one of the Paris MSS. of the Irish collection of canons known as the Hibernesis, Mr. Bradshaw read the rubric: Hucusque nubem & cuchuminic & du rinit. It seems not impossible that Cuchuimne abbas ex Darinis may be concealed under the last words of this; and it is curious that the entry in the Annals of the Four Masters preceding that which relates to Cuchuimne records the obit of an abbot of Darinis, an island near Youghal upon which there was a monastic establishment. This identification, however, though not improbable in itself, must not be considered as established. It has been usual, though in like manner without sufficient proof, to equate Cummean the author of the Penitentiale to St. Cumnain the Fair, the seventh abbot of Iona, large portions of whose life of St. Columba were incorporated by Adamnan into his more elaborate work.

King Loingsech, in whose time the hymn is said to have been written, reigned (according to O'Flaherty's Chronology) from 695 to 704.

The legend in the Preface would seem to indicate that the first half of Cuchuimne's life having been devoted to the study of literature, the second half was spent in profligacy. The obscure verses which tell of this are also found in the margin of the Dublin copy of the Annals of Ulster at the year 746, where they are attributed, not to Adamnan, but to the Nurse of Cuchuimne. They are quoted, probably from the Annals of Ulster, by the Four Masters, and are also found in the margin of the Book of Fenagh (fol. 8).

Several points call for comment in these verses. Todd observes that in such a record of the weakness of Cuchuimne there is great internal evidence of truth. Co druimne, 'to the ridge' plainly means 'half-way'; [compare the Amra II. 283, 286], but the phrase is a curious one. The play upon words, ro legisl 'he read' in l. 10 and ro leic 'he left' in l. 12 will be observed.

Again, it is impossible to determine the exact meaning in l. 12 of the word chaillecha, which means either 'nuns' or 'old women.' Neither term is in keeping with the plain drift of the lines, as referred to in l. 5; so that probably O'Donovan's translation 'hags' is the least offensive.

In l. 18 it is not at all easy to say what araid cii means: cii rhymes

¹ See Reeves' Adamnan, p. 82.
with súi; and so possibly súi mod. saoi demands here cúi mod. caoi = "way, road." Raid might = "path," as given doubtfully in the translation. But raid might also be for raith 'grace,' which would suggest a different interpretation.

The last two lines of the Preface in T plainly do not belong to the Preface at all; they are a gloss on Marie in l. 2 which has been displaced. This fact is, however, of some significance; for it shows that the glosses (or at least some of them) were copied from an older exemplar by the scribe of T, who here mistook the bearing of one of them. F has here no glosses, and the words in question are absent from the F Preface. See p. 118 above, and vol. i. p. 32.

**THE HYMN OF ST. CUCHUMNE.**

For this hymn we have the textual evidence of five manuscripts TFP KR (see Introd. to vol. i. p. xix). It has been printed by Daniel in his *Thesaurus* (iv. 86) from P, and by Mone (ii. 383) from PKR, as well as by Todd from T and P with the aid of Mone's edition. It was also published from P by Bp. Forbes in his Preface to the Arbuthnot Missal, and by Moran in his *Essays on the Irish Church* (p. 225); a translation into English is given in the *Irish Ecc. Record* (i. 204). Our-collation of P was made for this edition by Dr. Wickham Legg, and of K and R by Dr. A Holder. It is possible (see vol. i. p. xxvii) that it forms in P an item of a monastic office, there sketched; but this cannot be regarded as certain.

The metre is characteristically Irish, as explained above (p. xvi).

3 This line points to the practice of antiphonal singing.

4 uicariam seems to be used here in the sense of alternate; but uicarius is found in its usual meaning at l. 81 of the hymn of St. Sechnall.

7 Todd has incorrectly given the various readings of this verse in the several MSS. which he used.

19 tonicam] arrangement of a very long tunic; and textam] i.e. without a seam in it at all are the glosses in T.

The legend that the seamless robe was "a purple tunic that Mary made" is also found in the vernacular account of the Passion in the *Leabhar Breac* based on some form of the apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus.

21 Compare Rom. xiii. 14.

23 puerperae] i.e. puerum parientes in actate pueri, id est in decimo uel in undecimo. This apparently contains an allusion to the accounts of the age of the Blessed Virgin contained in the apocryphal Gospels of the Infancy.

24 pira] i.e. of the horrible . . . . If we are to read inna briad, then probably the Latin pyra was expressed in early Irish by some (now unknown) fem. word like bré, gen. bribad.

1 Atkinsen, *Passions and Homilies*, p. 367.
The jingling lines at the end of the hymn are not found, as the apparatus criticus shows, in either of the Karlsruhe manuscripts. For the collect which follows them in P see vol. i. p. xxvii.

**Preface to the Hymn of St. Hilary.**

These legends about Hilary are not found elsewhere. We know nothing from other sources which would teach us that he was ever at Monte Gargano in Apulia, nor is the point of the story in the first paragraph in the Preface by any means clear.

The alternative account of the origin of the hymn given in the second paragraph names Mons Louis, now Mount St. Bernard, as the place of its composition. Todd notes that the famous Hospice was founded there at the close of the tenth century, its site having been previously occupied by a miracle-working image of Jupiter. By the philosophers may be meant the attendant priests. The destruction of this relic of paganism must have made a great stir, and the knowledge of it may have caused so well-known a spot to be fixed on for the scene of the story. However that may be, the T scholiast gives the date of Hilary of Poitiers with tolerable accuracy when he says that he wrote in the reign of Valentinian and Valens; as Hilary died in the year 368, the F scholiast goes hopelessly astray about the date.

The city Susanna or Sanna (for the texts vary) may perhaps be Soissons (as Todd suggests) or Sens. But there is no record of any such journey as that here described in the lives of St. Hilary of Poitiers; and it seems not improbable that the legend of the Prefaces is due to a confusion of him with St. Hilary of Arles (401–449), who made a famous journey on foot across the Alps in midwinter to seek an audience of Pope Leo the Great.

1. 15. Hilarii oravit pro monacho suo] In Irish writers the monachus of a bishop often means his attendant or chaplain, as we would say now.

The third paragraph in the T Preface, i.e. the last paragraph in F, is taken substantially, as our reference shows, from the De arte metrica of Bede, a very popular text book in the middle ages.

1. 26. in psalterio graeco ymnos testomon, hoc est memor fuit nostris] The reference is to Ps. cxiii. 20 υμνον μεμορων υμων = memor fuit nostris in the Latin Psalters; the scribe had evidently but an imperfect knowledge of Greek.

1. 29. The Decades] The commentary of Augustine on the Psalter (the Enarrationes) was anciently divided into fifteen Decades, which gave the title Decades to the work. It is so called in the Würzburg Glosses,1 as well as in other non-Celtic books.

**The Hymn of St. Hilary.**

We have given in our text and apparatus criticus the readings of six manuscripts which contain this hymn, of which four are now used for the first time, viz. FCGH.

1 Ed. Stokes, p. 347.
Printed editions of it are numerous. George Cassander published in 1616 the editio princeps in his Hymni Ecclesiastici (p. 186) from a manuscript which he says contained the Rule of St. Benedict and some other hymns. We have failed to trace this manuscript.

It was published by Muratori in the fourth volume of his Anecdota Ambrosiana in 1713 from A, the text of which has lately been made accessible in a more accurate form by Mr. Warren. Todd, in 1869, printed it from T, and registered the variants of Cassander's text and of A in his notes. Secondary editions, such as those of Daniel and Thomasius, need not be described here.

Cassander notes that the hymn is incerto auctore; but there is a good deal of evidence for ascribing it to St. Hilary of Poitiers. H and the Prefaces of T and F explicitly name him as the author, and A entitles it Ymnum sancti Hilarii de Christo. In this last reference Hilary of Poitiers rather than Hilary of Arles is probably meant, although in the Irish Prefaces, as has been said, there seems to be some confusion between these two saints. Hilary of Poitiers was early known as a hymn writer. Jerome speaks of a Liber Hymnorum by him,\(^1\) and the Fourth Council of Toledo (A.D. 633) mentions hymns in Church use "quos beati doctores Hilarius et Ambrosius ediderunt." Isidore of Seville (d. 636) in a passage of which a sentence is quoted at the end of the T Preface, says that Hilary was the first Christian author of hymns. Several hymns ascribed to him are extant. One for morning and one for evening use are appended to a letter to his daughter Abra, which is however of doubtful authenticity; and in a manuscript recently discovered at Arezzo, are found three hymns which bear his name.\(^2\)

There is then no difficulty in the way of accepting any good evidence which ascribes a given hymn to St. Hilary. And, as we have seen, four of our manuscripts, one as old as the seventh century, concur in assigning the Hymnum dicat to his pen. Another MS. of the eighth century at St. Gall (No. 567 in the Library Catalogue) has at p. 133 at the end of a Vita S. Hilarii the words: "Incipit ymnus eiusdem omni tempore, Ymnum dicat turba, ymnnum cantum personnet."\(^3\) Again Hincmar of Rheims in the middle of the ninth century explicitly names Hilary as the author, and quotes two lines (28 and 60). "Et Hilarius in hymno 'et refert fragmenta coenae ter quaternis coribus,'" are his words. And again: "Et in hymno euangelico pulcherrime a se composito dicit [sc. Hilarius] 'Spiritum dei perfectum Trinitatus uinculum.'"\(^4\) Against all this is to be set the fact that Bede does not name Hilary as the author, when he is describing the metre of the hymn; but the argument from silence is always a precarious one. The testimony of the Antiphonary of Bangor shows at least that the Hilarian authorship was held before Bede wrote, whether he knew of it or not. On the whole, therefore, we are inclined to accept the Hilarian authorship; although Dr. Julian did not consider the evidence before him.

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1 De Script. excl in Hilair.
2 See Gamurrini. S. Hilarii Tractatus de Mysteriis et Hymni (Roma, 1887).
3 Dr. Ad. Fäh has kindly supplied this information in answer to a letter of inquiry.
4 De una et non trina dietate (Migne, P. L. cxxv. 566, 486).
sufficient to decide in its favour. See the words quoted from Hilary in our note on l. 2.

The last words of the title in C seem to refer to the piece which follows the Hymnum dicat in that manuscript, and to have no bearing on the question of its authorship.

Hilary was well-known and respected in the British Islands in the middle ages. In the year 358 he dedicated his book de Synodis "Provinciarum Britannicarum episcopis." He is the patron saint of Drumblade in Aberdeenshire; and there is a "St. Hillary's kirk" in the parish of Fettar and North Yell in Shetland. In Ireland, too, he was known. No work of his is, however, quoted in the margins of our principal manuscript, which contain so many extracts from other famous Latin writers.

Some further references in Celtic ecclesiastical literature to the hymn now under discussion may be given here. We have already (vol. i. p. xxii) quoted the scheme of a monastic or occasional office found in the Book of Mulling and in the Second Vision of Adamnan, in which Hymnum dicat is prescribed for recitation. It seems, indeed, to have been counted of peculiar efficacy. In the tract De Arreis printed from Rawl. B. 512 by Prof. Kuno Meyer, the arreum or commutation for "a week of hard penance on water and bread is, seven Biait, in honest cross vigil, and a Credo and Paternoster and Hymnum dicat with every Biait." Again in the Story of the Three Clerics as found in the Book of Leinster (p. 283), and also in the Book of Lismore, the opus dei undertaken by the third cleric is to sing "a hundred and fifty Hymnum dicat every day, with celebrating my hours and my mass." And this was declared by the angel to be the best choice of all, and to him who chose it was promised "long life and the kingdom of heaven."

In the Book of Cerne this hymn is one of two pieces which follow a collection of fourteen prayers and hymns expressly stated to be for morning use. With this would agree stanza xxiv of the metrical Rule of St. Ailbe of Emly, viz.:

The Hymnum dicat should be sung
At striking the bell for canonical hours;
All wash their hands carefully,
The brethren assume their habit.

And to this use in the early morning there may perhaps be a reference in l. 70 "Ante lucem nuntiemus Christum regem saeculo." See also ll. 65–68. It seems probable however (see p. xii. above) that the last four stanzas of the piece are a later addition; and therefore their witness must be received with caution. The custom spoken of in the T Preface, though based on an obscure legend, seems different: sic nobis convenit canere post prandium says the Scholiast. Whether he refers to a regular monastic custom or only to a special usage that might be supposed to have a peculiar indulgence attached to it, can hardly

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1 Dict. of Hymnology, p. 642.
3 Rene Celtique, xv. 485ff. Prof. Meyer believes it to be of the eighth century. See vol. i. p. xx.
now be determined with certainty.¹ The note in the St. Gall MS. No. 567, to which reference has been made above, seems to direct the recitation of the hymn *omni tempore*, that is (apparently) in a daily, and not only an occasional, office.

Internal evidence, at all events, supports the tradition that the hymn was intended for monastic, rather than for private, recitation. The “turba fratrum” of the first verse (see also l. 65) can only mean the members of a monastic society, and the words of praise are in the plural number all through. It is interesting to find that among the *reliquiae* of the great monastery at St. Gall (No. 381, p. 155), there is a hymn which seems to be modelled on this which is before us, thus testifying to the wide popularity of the *Hymnus S. Hilarii in laudem Christi*. It begins:

*Iam fidelis turba fratrum uoce dulci [con]sonet
Hymnum dicat et serena partitam dragmata, &c.*²

2 *concinentes* i.e. *a verbo concino, i.e. while we sing together.*

*laudes . . . debitas* is Cassander’s reading, and is given as an alternative in the gloss. With this line may be compared Hilary’s words in his Prologue to the Psalms³: “. . . in quo debitas Deo laudes universitas spirituum praedicabit.” Compare the words of the antiphon after the *Te Deum* (vol. i. p. 61). In the passage of Bede’s *de Arte Metrica* incorporated in the Preface, the second line as quoted reads *laudes . . . debitas.*

5 *angularis tu lapis*] Compare i Pet. ii. 6.

6 Cassander reads *uel* with ACGH; but the gloss rightly explains the *el* of TF as *ius* i.e. *deus*. Compare the Prayer of St. Adamnan l. 11 (p. 81).

7 Cassander prints *prophetis*, and in l. 9 omits *et* with ACH.

8 *ante saeula tu fuisti* is the text demanded by the metre. See above.

11 Cassander prints *Gabriele*.

12 *alius* is, of course, the true reading. Cassander has it with all the MSS. except T. The interchange of *b* and *u* is common.

14 *prim[.] i.e. the chiefs: uel primi ex gentibus hi fuerunt, quia prius ante eos adorauerunt eum pastores ante xiii . . . iuxta turrim Gadder.* Molcho corum senior qui aurum deo regi obtulit; secundus, Caspar iuuenis qui thus deo obtulit; tertius, Patifarsat qui myrrham homini obtulit; unde quidam dixit:—

*Melchar, the giver of the gold,
Caspar gave the abundant frankincense,
Patifarsat gave the good myrrh,
so that he gave them to the royal Lord, &c.*

For the Tower Gadder as the scene of the vision of the angels by the shepherds see below, p. 135.

The magi appear under different names, but those by which they are best known are Melchior, Jaspar and Balthasar, of which the forms given in the marginal note are those usually found in Irish books. See

¹ See for a discussion of this, Lawlor, *Book of Mulling*, p. 159.
² Migne, P. L. lxxxvii. col. 46.
³ Migne, P. L. ix. 239.
e.g. a homily on p. 199 of the Leabhar Breac. In a legendary account of the Adoration of the Magi found on p. 137 of the same voluminous manuscript, they are called Melchisar, Hiespar and Balcisar. In the MS. Harl. 1802 of the British Museum collection written in 1139 by one Mael Brigte ua Mael Uanaig, usually called "The Gospels of Mael Brigid," from its chief contents, there is an Irish poem on the Magi and a note at one place which may be here transcribed: "Haec sunt nomina eorum in Ebreo, Arelius, Arenus, Damascus, i. humilis, fidelis, misericors. In Graeco autem, Malgalath, Galgalad, Sanicis uel Sincerna; nuntius, devotus, gotia interpretantur. Secundum Ug. [sc. Hugh of St. Victor] nomina eorum apud Caldeos, Melcho, Caspar, Patifar sat."

For the mystical significance of their offerings see a Homily in the Leabhar Breac printed by Atkinson. The lines from Juvenicus quoted by the glossator give the usual mediæval interpretation; they are quoted e.g. by St. Jerome (Comm. in Matth. II) in a passage read in the Breviary as a lection at nocturns for the Octave of the Epiphany.

15 offerentes] i.e. to shorten it, he did not put 'mirram'; or, it does not fit therein, in uersu; uel, quia postea dicitur. These are all attempted explanations of the omission of any explicit mention of myrrh in l. 15.

Cassander has thus in l. 15, and Herodi in l. 16.

16 Apparently the construction of the lines requires invidens to be taken as 'a thing envious (or distasteful), to the power of Herod.

17 parvos] query, what is the number of the children that suffered here by Herod? Not hard; MMCXL, ut Gregorius manifestat in Sacramentario.

What seems to be the same belief as to the number of the Innocents is alluded to in a legend in the Leabhar Breac (p. 140). "Two thousand two hundred were slain by them between the city and the plains . . . One hundred and forty children, that is what were slain of them in Bethlehem." Some verses quoted in the Félire of Oengus (ed. Stokes, p. clxxiv) give the number as 2140, with variants 2240 and 2120. An Armeno-Gregorian Calendar (quoted by Neale, Eastern Church, Introd. p. 179), gives the number as 14,000; this and the Irish legend probably come from the same source.

18 The allusions in the next two or three lines and in the gloss are all based on the legends in the Apocryphal Gospels, in particular the Gospel of the Pseudo-Matthew, which was known in Ireland and is expressly quoted in the account of the Adoration of the Magi in the Leabhar Breac, to which reference has already been made. That the sojourn of the Holy Family in Egypt lasted for four years, that the idols fell down in the presence of the Christ (a story ultimately derived from Isa. xix. 1), that the name of the governor of the city was Affrodosius, all these were early and widely spread legends known e.g. to Athanasius and to Cyril of Jerusalem. The Miracles of the Infancy, alluded to in l. 21, are also narrated in the Evangelium Pseudo-Matthæi.

1 Atkinson, Passions, p. 237.
2 Hogan, Todd Lectures, R.I.A vi. 60.
4 Hodson, Todd Lectures, vi. 81.
5 Hogan, Todd Lectures, vi. 60.
6 Hogan, Todd Lectures, vi. 73.
NOTES.

18 Cassander prints occidendus.
19 referetur] i.e. is brought. Cassander prints Herodem.
20 quaeus] i.e. when He grew up.
21 quae latent] i.e. the things that were not known. Cf. Jn. xxi. 25.
23 Cassander reads feuclt.
24 This is one of the lines quoted by Bede in the passage from the De arte metrica embodied in the Prefaces, the other being l. 9.
25 idris] i.e. on the water-pots. Cf. Jn. iii. 1.
25 Attention should be paid to the small letters placed over and under the words in this and the next line. They are evidently intended to mark the order for purposes of translation by those who were not good Latinists. Several instances of marks of this kind are found throughout the Liber Hymnorum. The stanza is, however, probably spurious. See above, p. xi.
26 Cassander reads marorae tenps propina to.
propinnando] i.e. . . . was distributed at that hour. The MS. is so much blurred, that the text is quite uncertain.
27 pane] It used to be bimus et quinu secundum uterces; nunc autem bini et quini ut Priscianus dicit. This is a grammatical note in the margin of T. Priscian was well known in Ireland; there is a glossed copy of his works at Leyden written by one Dubthach in 838, and others at St. Gall and Karlsruhe also written by Irish monks.

In the third explanation the glossator has hit on the truth.
Cassander gives this line thus: et referitis fragmenta corne ter quaternis corribus. Fefert, which T has, is of course a blunder of the scribe for referpt.
29 discumbente] i.e. service by which the whole company was served at table; unde ‘discus’ derivatur i.e. ‘dish.’
We read amus, which occurs in the phrase amus mesi, ‘servant of table’, i.e. ‘butler’, in Senchus Mor, ii. 24, 18; Stokes reads anius = splendour. Todd’s ani o is certainly wrong.
30 The marginal note in T calls attention to the fact that duodecim must be read as a trisyllable.
31 Cassander reads queis. The form quis for quibus does not occur again in these hymns.
32 The marginal note is quaint:—misi ab Anna i.e. by Caiphas in truth He was sent, quia ille sacerdos fuit illius anni; sed causa metri dictit ‘ab Anna’; et in libris historiarum referitur quod quatuor fuisse principes inter Annam et Caipham, sed filia Anna coniux fuit Caiphe. See gloss on l. 47. The succession of high priests was probably as follows: Annas, Ishmael son of Phabi, Eleazar son of Annas, Simeon son of Kanith, and Joseph Caiphas. It is possible, as Todd suggests,
that the Libri Historiarum quoted is the abridgement of Josephus ascribed to Hegesippus and translated by Rufinus; but the manuscript seems to us to read iii. not iiii. as Todd states.

33 tenetur] i.e. He is seized.

34 Cassander has grassatur, but puts gravatur in his margin. The active form grassare 'to attack' is used here and in l. 38 of the Althus Prosator, these being the only places where the word occurs in these hymns.

35 obiecta] i.e. the charges that were laid against Christ. Cassander prints crimen.

36 Cesaris] For an insult to him was nomen regis upon anyone else than upon him alone . . . regem esse dicebat.

37 Cassander has negandum and in 38 gravatur.

38 spita] i.e. the spittle.

39 Todd notes that an interpretation of the four points of the cross similar to that written in the left margin of T is given by Augustine.1 Among the Irish glosses at Turin on a fragmentary Commentary on St. Mark's Gospel, we have in like manner: "Ipsa species crucis quid est nisi forma quadrati mondi." The note in the right margin of T is: Quatuor ligna fuerunt in cruce Christi; cedar its foot, and cypress its tongue, and pine the wedge that was driven through it, and birch the board on which was written the title. Stokes quotes a similar observation in Irish verse from the MS. H. 3.18 in Trinity College, Dublin.

42 We should apparently read uincola.

Cassander has the following variants: 43 scissa pendent; 45 adfuit . . . myrra; 47 precipit; 48 qua spoponderat.

50 uellus] uellus sericum i.e. the woollen fleece; that was a good kind of raiment. Sunt apud Ethiopianam et Indos quidam in arboribus nermes qui bombyces appellantur, qui aranea more tenuissima fila nent, et unde sericum uestimentum effictur. The latter part of the note is, in substance, found in Isidore (l.c.)

Cassander has: 51 demouet . . . surgit . . . integer; 52 Iudaea mendax . . uideret; 54 moestas . . tristeis; 58 intrat.

56 nuntiant is probably the true reading. See p. xii above.

58 intrat is undoubtedly the true reading, but the construction seems confused. The sense is "He enters, the doors being shut, [to them] doubting that He had returned," ambigentes being a nom. abs.

59 daf] i.e. He sent the grace of the Holy Spirit on them on the day of Little Easter, quamuis plenus dedit in Pentecostem. 'Little Easter', i.e. Low Sunday; cf. Jn. xx. 22.

60 uinculum] i.e. that it should not be supposed that it was (a group of two things or of four things, but of three semper, eo quod patrem et filium coniungit; uel uinculum, quod homines ad deum coniungit.

Cassander has 61 precipit . . . baptizare; 63 mystica; 65 concinminus.

66 docemur] it is a construction of active for passive that is hic, ut Priscianus dicit.

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1 Sermo de Symbolo (Migne, P. L. xl. 693).
2 Stokes' Goidelica, p. 13.
3 Goidelica, p. 66. See also in Bede (Migne, P. L. xcv. 555).
NOTES.

67 The note in margin of T has . . gallus i.e. cock . .

68 precantes. The active preco is an unusual form; precor occurs twice in our hymns (vol. i. p. 19, l. 7, and p. 197, l. 5).

Cassander has: 68 cantemus; 69 concinimus uniter; 71 ante lucem nunciemus Christum regem domini; and gives the Glória &c., without any antiphons.

The first antiphon at the end of the hymn, Te deecet hymnus &c. (Ps. lxiv. 2) is found, as Mr. Warren has pointed out, in a fragment of an Irish officium defunctorum bound up in the St. Gall MS. 1395. It is perhaps worth adding that in a curious legend about a visit of St. Columba to heaven found in the Book of Lecan, the 'service of heaven' in which the heavenly choir were engaged began with "Te deecet hymnus and Benedic anima mea and Laudate pueri dominum."2

The gloss on Sion in this antiphon is probably a mistake for et non in ethrialibus. See line 114 of the hymn Altus prosator (vol. i. p. 79), where this latter word occurs.

The second antiphon, though not following the hymn in the Antiphonary of Bangor, is found on another page (fol. 26r) in that manuscript, where it is headed "post euangelium."

The third antiphon does not occur in any of our manuscripts save T. Dr. Lawlor thought that he had found it prescribed for recitation after the Hymnum dicat in the directory for a monastic office in the Book of Mulling, of which a full account has been given in our Introduction (vol. i. p. xxii); but we have given reason for believing that he has misinterpreted the few letters that are legible.

Preface to the Hymn of St. Colman

Mac Murchon.

A Colman Mac Murchon's obit is recorded by the Four Masters at the year 731, and it is possible that this may be the person to whom the scholiast ascribes the authorship of this hymn. He was Abbot of Moville, but is not said to have been a bishop. It would seem from the Preface that he and his brothers went on missionary pilgrimages abroad, but afterwards returned to Ireland.

The Ictian Sea of the Preface is the British Channel; it is said to have taken its name from the Portus Ictus of Caesar, near Boulogne. "Rodan's Island" we cannot identify. Todd suggests that the isle of St. Rovi, off the coast of Brittany, may be intended; St. Rodincus or Rovin was an Irishman, the founder of the Abbey of Beaulieu, who died Sept. 17, 680. The 'Tyrrenhe Sea' of the F Preface is mentioned in the Tripartite Life as having been the scene of some of St. Patrick's wanderings.3 See also Fiacc's hymn l. 11. The scholiast of T is wrong in the statement that there are 16 syllables in each line, as there are only

1 Liturgy and Ritual, &c., p. 180.
2 See Reeves' Adamnan, p. 205. Mr. Macgregor (Early Scottish Worship, p. 13) observes that these are also the vesper psalms in the office described in the Voyage of St. Brendan.
the usual 15. In line 7, which would seem to be an exception, et is an interpolation in T and is not found in the other manuscripts.

The T scholiast seems to say at the end of the Preface that “the rhythm is on i”: but this is so incorrect a statement of the metrical laws which are observed in the hymn, that we hesitate to translate the Preface thus. The rhythm all through consists in the vowel-harmony of the last three syllables.

THE HYMN OF ST. COLMAN MAC MURCHON.

This hymn in praise of St. Michael was first printed by Mone in his Hymni Latini mediæ ævi (vol. i. p. 450) from the Karlsruhe MS. which we have called R, collated afresh for us through the kindness of Dr. A. Holder. This manuscript prefixes the word unitas, and thus begins the hymn Unitas in trinitate, which neither gives good sense nor suits the metre. It was probably this disguise of the hymn in Mone’s collection which led Todd to overlook it and to claim for his edition (from T) that it was an editio princeps. An English metrical version of merit by D. F. MacCarthy is printed in O’Laverty’s Diocese of Down and Connor, vol. ii. p. 18. See on the metre, p. xv above.

The hymn, as has been observed in our Introduction (vol. i. p. xxv), is prescribed for recitation in the office sketched out in the Second Vision of Adamnan, where it is called (as in K) “Michael’s hymn,” and (probably) in the Book of Mulling. It is, we think, undoubtedly an Irish composition, as Mone, who knew of no manuscripts of it by Irish scribes, adjudged it to be from its linguistic peculiarities.

St. Michael was very popular in Ireland. In the Second Vision of Adamnan we read in section 19: “the three hostages that were taken on behalf of the Lord for warding off every disease from the Irish—are Peter the Apostle, and Mary the Virgin, and Michael the Archangel.” There are a large number of fragmentary Irish poems in praise of St. Michael in the manuscript collection of the Royal Irish Academy. There were churches dedicated to him in many localities: the place-name Temple-Michael still exists in 6 or 7 counties. Mr. Willis Bund (Celtic Church in Wales, p. 330) accounts for the popularity of St. Michael in Wales by the prevalence among the Celts of belief in evil spirits, against which Michael protected the faithful.

1 The Latin gloss on in omine plainly has reference to some legend in connexion with the story in the Preface.

2 omne] omen i.e. augury: abominor i.e. I separate from the augury for its abomination.

3 doctore] i.e. God. Cf. deus doctor docibilis in l. 13 of the hymn In te Christe.

4 inergiae is for energiae, used of demoniac possession.

5 For pes superbiae, cf. Ps. xxxv. 12.

6 Compare Dan. x. 13: “Ecce Michael unus de principibus primis uenit in adiutorium meum.”

7 truces] i.e. horrid.

1 Stokes, in Revue Celt. xii. 429.
NOTES.

17 For the gloss on Raphael cf. Tobit vi. 6, 7, & xii. 15.
Over mittat in the fourth line of the antiphon or supplementary prayer at the end, there is in T a small i, indicating a variant mittit.

In connexion with l. 7 and with this supplementary verse, it will be remembered that it was the task of Michael to weigh the souls in a balance at the Last Judgement, and therefore in the hour of death there were recommended prayers asking his aid e.g. "O Michael, militiae caelestis signifer, in adiutorium nostrum ueni, princeps et pro-pugnator."

It may be observed that the extract from the Sermons which go under the name of St. Augustine, in the margin of fol. 8b. of T, is a passage which is read in the Roman Breviary.

Preface to the Hymn of St. Oengus Mac Tipraite.

A visitation of the Columban monasteries in Ireland by Adamnan (see above p. 122) was made in 692, and again in 697; it is probably the latter of these that the scholiast has in his mind. Of Oengus Mac Tipraite, we know nothing but this story, save that the Annals of Ulster record his death in 745. Cluain Fota is now called Clonfad, and is in the county of Westmeath. Uisnech "is in the parish of Conry in the diocese of Meath, a little south of which in the parish of Armurcher, is Suidhe Adamnain (now Syonan), ' sessio Adamnani,' which was probably the spot where the visitation or synod alluded to in the text was held."

The Hymn of St. Oengus Mac Tipraite.

Of this hymn we have no other manuscripts save T and F. St. Martin of Tours was held in great esteem in Ireland, and the legend that St. Patrick was his nephew doubtless grew out of the desire to associate the great Apostle of Ireland with the great saint of Gaul. His life by Sulpicius Severus forms part of the Book of Armagh, and there is an Irish homily on his career in the Leabhar Breac. He is one of the three non-biblical saints who have an octave in the Martyrology of Gorman. In Ireland, churches were not as a rule called after departed saints, but after living founders, so that the number of churches dedicated to St. Martin is small in comparison with the large number that bear his name in England. His name, however, lingers in many localities, in Ballymartin near Belfast; Templemartin, (a) near Bandon, (b) near Kilkenny; and in Desertmartin in the Diocese of Derry. There are five townlands of the name of Kilmartin; and there was an old church of St. Martin in the barony of Forth in the co.

1 See Atkinson, Passions and Homilies, p. 453; for an account from the Leabhar Breac of the privileges of St. Michael.

2 Todd, Liber Hymnorum, p. 174.

3 Printed by Stokes, Rev. Celt. ii. 381.


5 For the connexion of St. Martin with the British Isles see Plummer's Bodle, ii. 43.
Wexford, in the 13th century. There was also a church in Dublin with this dedication in the 12th century; and before the Reformation one of the 14 altars in St. Nicholas' Church, Galway, bore his name. It is possible that in some instances these place-names may preserve the memory of another Martin, who was a disciple of St. Patrick, but in the majority of cases it is probable that St. Martin of Tours is alluded to.

Mention is made in Adamnan's Life of Columba (iii. 12) of a *deprecation, in qua sancti Martini commemoratur nomen*, which was used in the Liturgy at Iona.

In l. 15 of the Preface, the compound word *gnuis-airmitiu* (cf. Hom-Pass. 4293) should be observed. It is based on *gnuis-airitiu*, an imitation of the word προσωπολυψία = acceptio personarum.

The antiphon at the close of the hymn or prayer of St. Oengus Mac Tipraite is taken from the life of Martin by Sulpicius Severus, and is given in the Breviary as the antiphon *in primo nocturno* for the vigils of St. Martin's Day. The allusions in the hymn itself are all to well known incidents in the life of the saint.

The marginal note on *dira* in l. 10 is much defaced. All that can be read is: *dialiton there is here i.e. Sechmall*.  

The indulgence mentioned at the end of the Preface: “that it would be a protection against every disease, and heaven for reciting it on lying down and rising up,” would seem to point to the use of the hymn as a sort of *lorica* or charm. If used in monastic offices, it would be at the night or early morning hours.

**GLORIA IN EXCELSIS.**

The 'tower Eder' ידוי is mentioned twice in the Hebrew Bible; in Gen. xxxv. 16 where the LXX has *ὁ πύργος Γαίσερ*, and in Micah iv. 8, where it has *πύργος ποιμνιον*; the Vulgate in both cases being *turris gregis*. The place meant in the former passage was near Bethlehem, and St. Jerome identifies it with the scene of the angelic vision to the shepherds; but the *turris gregis nebulosa filiae Sion* of Micah was near Jerusalem. Bede (in *Lc*. ii. 8) is able to explain the latter passage as prophetic of the scenes at the Nativity by a slight change of reading (*uenient* for *ueniel*); and it is to some such explanation as this that we owe the statement of the Irish scholiasts that the tower was “a mile east of Jerusalem.” It is worth adding that the writer of the Irish Homily on the Nativity in the *Leabhar Breac* follows the more correct geography and speaks of the tower being a thousand paces east of Bethlehem.

The reading *Gabdel* of the T Preface is a corruption of *gadder* (which, it will be remembered, is the name given to the tower by the glossator on l. 14 of the *Hymnus S. Hilarii*); and this is a transliteration of the LXX Γαίσερ, the representative of the Hebrew ידוי.

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The authorship of Ambrose suggested in the Preface has nothing to recommend it, and is a mere guess. The Latin version of the *Gloria in excelsis* is ascribed to Hilary with similar improbability in the treatise *De divinis officiis* which goes under the name of Alcuin, and Hilary is given as the author in the Vatican MS. 5729. The statement in the B Preface about the number of capitula &c. is incorrect. In the B or ordinary version of the hymn it is true that there are seven clauses, but they are not in rhythm, nor are there "seven lines in each capitulum and seven syllables in each line."

It is possible that the last sentence of the B Preface is a piece of irrelevant information added by the glossator, who had in his mind an Ambrosian hymn of the type of *Veni Redemptor gentium*.

Mr. Warren has printed in his edition of the *Antiphonary of Bangor* the various Irish texts of the *Gloria in excelsis*, and also the Greek text from the *Codex Alexandrinus*, thus bringing out the remarkable affinity between them. We have also given in our *apparatus criticus* the variants from FABS. Of the B text it is right to say that it has little to justify its reproduction save that it is found in an Irish manuscript. It must be borne in mind that the *Leabhar Breaic* is a composite book, made up of an enormous collection of pieces of different dates; and whereas the B Preface, which is found at fol. 49 as a marginal note on the Feliire of Oengus, is distinctively Celtic, the text of the hymn (at fol. 136) occurs in a late Irish homily, which was probably not put together in its present form until a time when the Anglo-Norman domination had sensibly modified the characteristic features of Celtic worship. The *Gloria in excelsis* is also found in the MS. we have called J, but the text (like that of B) is not characteristic, and has none of the additional clauses which are so interesting in our other MSS.

Not only does the Latin version of the *Gloria in excelsis* in Irish MSS. agree in many particulars with the Greek text; but, as has been pointed out by Dr. Gibson and by Mr. Warren, its use in the Celtic Church seems to have been similar to that of the East. In the Codex Alexandrinus the hymn is entitled *iunos ecdelios*, and to the present day it is sung at night and in the early morning in the Greek Church. So in the *Antiphonary of Bangor*, the title is *ad vesperum et ad matutinam*, and the B Preface notes "at night it is due to be sung." One of the supplementary clauses in F is *ut habe noctem sine peccato nos transire possimus*. In l. 22 of the piece in T and F (though not in A), we have "nocte ista sine peccato nos custodiere," which points in the same direction. Nevertheless it ought to be observed that the T glossator did not understand these words as indicating the hour at which the hymn was sung; he glosses them *huius sæculi*. And again at l. 27 he is careful to explain *in die et nocte* as equivalent to *in prosperis* and *in tembris sæculi huæ*. It would thus appear probable that the old use of singing the hymn at the night offices had fallen into desuetude at the time when the glosses were added; for the glossator goes out of his way to give a mystical interpretation to words which are sufficiently plain in themselves.

1 Vol. ii. p. 76 ff.
2 Church Quarterly Review, Oct. 1885.
3 In the MS. Galba A. xviii. it is headed: Hymnus in die dominica ad matutinas.
In l. 9 the words *et omnes dicimus amen* may have come from a marginal rubric which found its way into the text at an early date. Another illustration is afforded by the last words of Ps. cvi. "Let all the people say, Amen," which is probably in like manner a rubrical direction that has got into the text of the Hebrew Psalter. But Mr. Warren makes the interesting observation that a similar clause is also inserted in the Armenian office for Vespers in the text of the hymn *φῶς ἐνόπτων ἰσίων ἀγίαστα*. And Mr. Macgregor has suggested that *et omnes dicimus, Amen* is an importation of the phrase "And say we, Amen," which is found in parts of the Jewish Morning Service.

It will be observed that neither in the text of B, which (as we have said) is not distinctively Celtic, nor in that of S, where the *Gloria in excelsis* is found in its place in the Eucharistic service, are there any supplementary anthems like those found in T, F, and A. The variation in these is a phenomenon which presents itself again in connexion with the texts of the *Te Deum*; and it will be seen that some of those with which we are familiar in the *Te Deum* are found in these Irish manuscripts as addenda to the *Gloria in excelsis*. For instance *Dignare domine nocte ista [die isto] sine peccato nos custodire* (l. 21, 22) is in the ordinary texts of the *Te Deum*; it was among the *Preces* used at Prime and was there followed by Pss. cxxi., 3, and cxxi. 22. Dr. Gibson, in the article to which we have already referred, suggests that these antiphons, which were originally attached to the *Gloria in excelsis*, became linked with the *Te Deum* when this began to take the place of the older hymn in the daily offices of the Church. 2

**Magnificat and Benedictus.**

Neither the Irish Prefaces to the *Magnificat* and *Benedictus* nor the glosses seem to call for any special remark. The majority of the glosses in T to both of these canticles are taken, as the references we have added show, from Bede’s Commentary on St. Luke. They constituted the stock in trade of most commentators of the period, and are found e.g. also in Hraban Maur’s *Commentaria in Cantica quae ad laudes dicuntur*. Whether or not they were original with Bede is another question into which we do not here inquire. Bede is often explicitly quoted by Irish writers; the index to our first volume shows how well he was known to our scholiasts.

The text of these Canticles, especially of the *Benedictus*, is interesting in connexion with the question as to the version of the Latin New Testament current in the Celtic Church, which was—speaking generally—Vulgate with considerable traces of the ‘European’ Old Latin out of which it grew. ‘Ab aequo’ in l. 6 is, for instance, quite characteristic. See Wordsworth and White’s Vulgate N. T. *in loc.*

The marginal note on fol. 10 of T is made up, for the most part, of extracts from the *Pastoral Rule* of Gregory the Great. This was—

2. See *Neue Kirchl. Zeitschr.*, 1896, pp. 115 foll. for a discussion by Zahn of these supplementary verses.
one of the most popular books in the middle ages. In the time of
Charlemagne there were laws obliging the clergy to read it. It is one
of the books which Bede urged Archbishop Egbert to study; and
there was a Saxon paraphrase of it attributed to Alfred the Great.
In Ireland it was as well known as it was on the Continent. Colum-
banus in his letter to Gregory (Ep. i.) tells him that he had read it
with delight. The first extract from it in this note is also embodied
in the Irish collection of Canons known as the Hibernensis (xxi. 7).

TE DEUM.

This is not the place in which to write a treatise on the authorship
and structure of the Te Deum; and we therefore confine ourselves to a
few explanatory notes. The tradition of the T Preface that it was com-
posed by Augustine and Ambrose is the best known of all the traditions
as to its origin, as it has found its way into the Breviary. The title
"hymnus quem S. Ambrosius et S. Augustinus inuicem condiderunt "
is found in two St. Gall MSS. (23 and 27); and the story is at least
older than the middle of the ninth century, for it is alluded to by
Hincmar: "ut a maioribus nostris audiuimus tempore baptismatis
sancti Augustini hunc hymnum beatus Ambrosius fecit, et idem Augus-
tinus cum eo confecit." This, however, is unhistorical, and the author-
ship of Ambrose may be ruled out of court.

The tradition of the F Preface is peculiarly interesting, and it is
probable that it is based on the real fact. Ten or eleven MSS. of the Te
Deum give the name of the author as Nicetas or Nicetius. It used to be
supposed that Nicetius, bishop of Treves (527-566), was meant; but this
is impossible, for a letter of St. Cyprian, bishop of Toulon, which was
written before 542, quotes from the hymn and describes it as one "quem
omnis ecclesia toto orbe receptum canit." But Dom Morin, and, quite
recently, Zahn [supra] have identified this 'Nicetius' with Niceta who was
bishop of Remesiana in Dacia (392-414), a friend and correspondent of
Paulinus of Nola. This person is described by Gennadius (Catal. uir.
illust. c. 22) as Remesianae ciuitatis episcopus. The MSS. of Gen-
nadius have variants Romatiana, Romaniciæ, Romanæ; and it is
in this last corruption that we find the origin of our scholiast's story
that the hymn was made in Rome, and that Niceta, its author, was a
coarb or successor of St. Peter. Niceta, the bishop of Remesiana, did
indeed visit Rome, when he was on his way to visit Paulinus; but it is
most likely that the legend with which we are concerned arose from the
confusion in the MSS. between Remesianæ and the more familiar
Romanae. And it is but a step from ' Romанаe ciuitatis episcopus' to

1 See for many references Plummer's Bede, ii. 70.
2 See Batifol, Hist. du Breviare roman, p. 98.
3 Migne, P. L. cxxv. 290.
4 See Introduction to vol. i. p. xiv, for a quotation of this F Preface by Ussher. Ussher also states
that Nicetius was named as the author of the Te Deum in a Psalter in the Cotton Library (Works,
vol. viii. 300). This has not been identified, but Rev. A. E. Burn suggests that it may be H. M. Harl.
869 (acc. x-xi), which entitles the Te Deum Ymnus sti Nicetii Aepiscopi.
5 Mommsen, Germ. Epist. iii. 436.
6 Revue Benedictine, Feb. 1894.
'coarb of St. Peter.' It appears, then, that the legend of the F Preface furnishes additional strength to the arguments of Morin and Zahn: for here we have distinct witness to the early identification of Nicetius, the author of the *Te Deum*, with Niceta, the bishop of Remesiana.

Bishop John Wordsworth, of Salisbury, in his article on the *Te Deum* in the *Dict. of Christian Hymnology* (p. 1120) has given a collation of the MSS. TFA, and Mr. Warren has added the collation of D in the appendix to his *Antiphonary of Bangor* (vol. ii. p. 93). It has been necessary in accordance with the plan of our edition to give these variants in our *apparatus criticus*, but they have been taken direct from the MSS. The *Te Deum* is found in C, but we have not registered its readings inasmuch as the text is of the ordinary type, and does not show any of the characteristics of the Irish texts.

We do not enter here into the usage as to the recitation of the *Te Deum*. The title in the ninth century St. Gall MS. No. 20 is comparable with that in A: "Ymnus dominicalis pro nocturnis, hoc est ante lectionem euangeli."  

1 The verse (Ps. cxii. 1) with which the *Te Deum* opens in the Irish texts is worthy of note. It is prescribed as the antiphon to the Greek evening hymn in the Apostolical Constitutions (Book vii. c. 47). In the account already cited (p. 132) of the "service of heaven" from the Book of Lecan, *Laudate pueri dominum*, which doubtless represents the *Te Deum*, is fabled to have been sung. Morin (l.c.) deems it not improbable that Niceta began the *Te Deum* with these words.

9, 10 Compare the citation of this in the *Amra* (vol. i. p. 171, l. 306): "quia dicunt hiruphum et zaraphin, sanctus sanctus sanctus dominus Deus Sabaoth dicentes," which perhaps witnesses to the insertion of *dicentes* (as in TF) in l. 10 in the *Te Deum* as known to the commentator. The line is also quoted in Adamnan's prayer (vol. i. p. 184, l. 16).

12 The insertion of *universa* is characteristic of the Irish texts. At vol. 22b of S it is inserted in the *Ter Sanctus* in like manner: *pleni sunt caeli et universa terra gloria tua*.

23 This is the reading which had most currency in the British Isles, and very possibly is the original form. But Dom Morin (l.c.) has produced evidence to show the prevalence in Southern Gaul of the now common reading *Tu ad liberandum suscepturus hominem* in the sixth century.

31 The *Te Deum* in its earliest form very probably ended here at the word *munerari* (which, it should be observed, and not *munerari* is the reading of all manuscripts). D stops short at this point; and this is an indication of the extreme antiquity of the text found in that MS. The agreements of D with TFA are remarkable, but it is rather to be considered as giving an ancient form of the *Te Deum*, than as supplying the especially Irish recension.

37, 38 This versicle (Ps. xxxii. 22) is prescribed twice for recitation in S (fol. 33) during the Fraction.

This antiphon, which follows the hymn in T and F, is placed at the end of the volume in A. In that MS. the *Te Deum* is on fol. 10; but
the antiphon is given at fol. 35 v°, where it is headed Post Laudate pueri dominum in dominicorum die. It is given again in a slightly different form on fol. 35 v°, and another fragment of it is on fol. 36. It is not unlike the antiphon prescribed “super Quicunque” at Prime on Sundays in the Sarum Office, or at Lauds on Trinity Sunday after Magnificat in the modern Roman Breviary: “Te Deum patrem ingenitum, filium unigenitum, te spiritum sanctum paraclitum, sanctum et individuam Trinitatem toto corde et ore confitemur, laudamus atque benedicitimus; tibi gloria in saecula.”

We have not been able to identify the note found in the margin of fol. 10b of T. Passages very like it occur in St. Augustine’s sermons (see Migne, P. L. v. 783, vi. 783, xi. 798); but we have not found the exact words.

The passage on fol. 11 beginning “Orationibus mundamur, lectionibus instruimur” occurs, as our reference indicates, not only in Isidore but in the Collection of Canons known as the Hibernensis. These opening words are quoted in the Benedictine rule (Migne, P. L. ciii. 621).

**Preface to the Hymn Altus Prosator.**

The B Preface tells us that one tradition as to the place of composition of this famous hymn was that it was composed at Duibh Regles, St. Columba’s ‘Black Church’ at Derry. But the TF Preface, although speaking of the saint’s meditation for seven years ‘in nigra cellula,’ says distinctly that “the place of the hymn” was the Island of Hi (now called Iona) through a misreading of the Iona insula of manuscripts.

The indications of date given in the Prefaces are fairly consistent. According to the chronologies Aedan mac Gabrain was king of Scotland from 574 to 606, and Aed mac Ainnerech was king of Ireland from 572 to 599; while the Emperor Maurice reigned from 582 to 602 and was succeeded by Phocas. Columba was born in 521 and died on June 9, 597, and Gregory the Great, with whom one of the legends here recorded connects him, died in 590.

Columba might well be described as “de nobile genere Scotorum,” inasmuch as he belonged to the clan O’Donnell and was great-grandson of Neill of the Nine Hostages.

The most plausible of the traditions given in the Prefaces as to the origin of the hymn describes it as a penitential exercise composed by the saint, who was troubled by the memory of three battles in which he had played an active part. The first of these, the battle of Cuil Dremne (now Cooladrummon near Sligo), is recorded to have been fought in 561, the Neill clan under Columba himself gaining a decisive victory over Diarmait, king of Ireland. It was after this battle that he went to Iona, exiling himself from his country, according to one legend, by the advice of St. Molaise of Inismurray, as a penance for the blood which he had caused to be shed. The other battles were that of Cole raine in 579, which arose out of some dispute as to a church between
St. Columba and St. Comgall of Bangor; and that of Cúil Feda near Clonard in 587.1

The other story describes the hymn as an extemporaneous utterance, miraculously composed during the grinding of a sack of oats.2 The hymn Adiutor laborantium which he is said to have composed on the way to the mill does not seem to be extant; it is just possible that there may be here an allusion to the hymn In te Christe (vol. i. p. 84), the third line of which is Deus in adiutorium intende laborantium.

The mention of the stone, variously called Blathnat or Moel-blatha, on which "there is made division in the refectory," and of which it is further said that "luck was left on all food that is put thereon," is interesting. It is probable that the allusion is to the practice of cutting up the eulogiae or pain benit at a table in the refectory, which we know to have obtained at Iona and also at St. Kenneth's monastery at Aghaboe in the diocese of Ossory.3 Dr. Skene considered that he had identified this very stone among the ruins at Iona.4

It will be observed that the statement of the TF scholiast as to the donation of Iona to Columba confirms that of Bede, in the assertion that Bruide mac Maelcon, king of the Picts, immolavit Columbo Hi; i.e. obtulit in perpetuum Columbae Ionom.5 Tighernach, and also the Annals of Ulster, represent the island as given by Conall, the king of British Dalriata. Reeves sums up the history thus: "Columba probably found Hy unoccupied and unclaimed, Conall kindly promised not to disturb him, and when the Picts were converted, Brudeus, the supreme lord, of course gave to the infant institution all the right and title which the weight of his sanction could confer."

The legend goes on to the effect that the hymn was sent to Gregory as a return for gifts sent by him viz. a Cross and a Hymnary. The Cross was reputed to be preserved at Tory Island in 1532, as O'Donnell tells in his Life of Columba. Of the Hymnary we know nothing; Todd suggests that it may have been a copy of the Liber Antiphonarius of Gregory. The messengers sent to Gregory tested him by substituting spurious stanzas for the H, O, and U6 stanzas of the hymn7; but Gregory miraculously discovered their deceit. Gregory's criticism that there was more praise of the creature than of the Creator in the hymn set Columba on the composition of the piece In te Christe. See below p. 169.

The TF scholiast observes that the opening stanza is based on the Quicunque Vult; see p. 155 infra.

The remarks on the rhythm made in the Preface do not call for much comment. A 'verse' includes two lines, according to our way of

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1 See Reeves' Adamnan, p. 253.
2 That Columba "often used to carry his portion of corn on his back to the mill, and grind it," is mentioned in the old Irish Life (Lismore, p. 180) as a proof of his humility. Cf. also Lismore, p. 259, where the same thing is told of St. Ciaran.
3 See Warren's Celtic Liturgy, p. 140, and Fowler's Adamnan, p. 82. Compare Dowden's Celtic Church in Scotland, p. 165.
4 Celtic Scotland, ii. 100.
5 See for this use of immolare in Celtic Latin, and for a general discussion of the whole matter Reeves' Adamnan, p. 435. There is also a note in Plummer's Bede, ii. 131.
6 or X, according to the B Preface.
7 In ll. 38, 42, of the TF Preface, confusion has been introduced into previous editions by a misreading of the text.
printing the hymn; and the rules laid down are (1) that each quarter
verse shall have 8 syllables and (2) that the quarter verse and the half
verse shall rhyme, e.g. *velustus, ingenitus*, &c. See above p. xxvi.

The direction given for the recitation of the hymn is interesting, viz.
that *'Quis potest Deo,*' which perhaps includes only the first two lines
of the supplementary antiphons (vol. i. p. 81), was to be sung at the
close of each stanza. These lines are found in all our MSS. of the
*Altus.* The second antiphon (II. 4-9) seems to be quite distinct.

The 'graces' of the hymn which are enumerated seem to show that
it was recited as a kind of *lorica,* in time of danger or of sickness. It
was said to ward off all death save 'death on the pillow' i.e. from natural
causes, or, as the B scholiast puts, *mors pretiosa,* which Todd explains
by a reference to Ps. cxv. 15 "pretiosa in conspectu domini mors sanct-
orum eius." The verse found at foot of fol. 237 of B (vol. i. p. 83 and
below p. 169), prescribes its sevenfold recitation; and a curious legend
printed by O'Curry\(^1\) tells of a boy seized with mortal sickness around
whom "the *Altus* was sung seven times," though without effect.

**THE HYMN *ALTUS PROSATOR.***

The manuscripts of the *Altus* known to us are seven in number, and
they fall into two groups.

T, our principal manuscript, is deficient from l. 80 to l. 127, as a leaf
has been lost; for the intervening stanzas, we have taken as our standard
the Franciscan copy (F). T is glossed throughout.

F is complete for this hymn; the glosses are few in number and are
unimportant; they are written in a hand of the sixteenth century.

B only contains stanzas A–H inclusive; it is copiously glossed, and
in many cases the glosses resemble those of T.

TFB all have titles, several lines in length, at the head of each stanza,
giving the substance of the argument in the verses which follow; and,
as we have seen, they have vernacular Prefaces introducing the hymn,
all embodying the same traditions, those in T and F being almost
verbally identical. This group of three MSS. we call the "Irish"
group.

Our four remaining manuscripts, MEIII (for a description of which
see vol. i. pp. xvii ff.), have neither Preface, titles to the stanzas, nor (with
a few exceptions) glosses; and the types of text which they present are
markedly similar. There is nothing specifically Irish about these MSS.
They all contain the *Altus* among works ascribed to St. Prosper of
Aquitaine (403-465), and in three cases at least the hymn follows
directly on the *De uita contemplativa.* This work is well known not
to be a genuine work of Prosper's, and is usually attributed to Julianus
Pomerius, a Mauretanian priest, who lived *circa* 500.\(^2\) To go a little
more into detail as to these manuscripts, which we call the "Prosper
group":—

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\(^1\) *MS. materials,* p. 78. See also Todd, *Liber Hymnorum,* p. 296.

\(^2\) See Migne, P. L. lxx. col. 415 ff. for the *De uita contemplativa*; no mention is made of the
hymn in any printed edition of Prosper or of Julianus Pomerius, so far as we know.
On f. 83 of M we have the end of the third book of the *De vita contemplativa*, thus: “Quando non res pro uerbis sed pro rebus enuntiandis uerba sunt instituta. Explicit liber tertius. Altus prosator, &c.” the hymn then following without any verse divisions, and written as if it were prose. At the end, after *ordinibus*, the next line begins “hic insunt sub hoc corpore epigrammata beati Prosperi, &c.”

In E the hymn is found in the same place as in M between the *De vita contemplat.*, and the *epigrammata*, and is written by the same hand that has written the other pieces. In the margin there was an eleventh century note, which has been cut away by the binder so that only a few letters remain. There were four lines of which the ends were: *nus per al—; i dige—; pul—; edit.*

There is nothing to say about I, save that it is reported to be a splendidly executed MS. and that the hymn is found in it among works ascribed to St. Prosper. It is followed by a collect of considerable interest, on which we comment below (p. 168).

H is a MS. of the eleventh century, the hymn following immediately the *De vita contemplat.*. The verses from l. 79 onward are written in a hand of the fourteenth or fifteenth century, the old leaf having probably become illegible through constant use.

Despite the witness of these manuscripts, however, we believe that the hymn is a distinctively Celtic composition, and is not the work either of St. Prosper of Aquitaine or of Julianus Pomerius. The genuine works of Prosper are quite different in character, both as regards form and matter. The style of that writer has no resemblance to the rude and barbarous, though vigorous, Latin of this hymn; and the speculations as to the creation and the fall of the ‘giants’ are foreign to his ways of thinking. And, although in the *De vita contemplativa* (iii. 1) there is a discussion of the fall of the angels, we cannot find any good reason for connecting the hymn with the name of Julianus Pomerius.

The Irish were fond of cosmogonic speculations; the first poem, *e.g.* in the *Saltair na Rann*, is devoted to them. And it is worth observing how akin are the topics treated in the hymn *Altus Prosator* to those discussed in the Book of Enoch, which widely affected mediaeval ways of thinking.1 Chapters lxxi–lxxii of *Enoch* which deal with Celestial Physics are not unlike the early stanzas of our hymn; the conceptions of ‘the devil’s satellites,’ of the lightning and the winds issuing from their secret chambers, of the beneficent influence of the rain, of the stately and regular orbits of the sun and moon, have close parallels in the *Altus*; while the Vision of Judgement at the end of *Enoch* reminds us of our stanzas RSTZ.

The Latinity of the hymn, as we have said, is barbarous. It presents some resemblances to two other pieces which have Celtic connexions, viz. the *Lorica* of Gildas (our No. 48), and the curious tract entitled *Hysterica famina*,2 which is written in a kind of assonant rhythm. Zimmerman has given an elaborate discussion3 of the date of these, and has

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2 See Migne, P. L. xc. 1187.
3 *Nennius vindicatus*, p. 251 ff. See also H. Bradshaw, *Collected Papers*, p. 465 foll.
come to the conclusion that they belong to the first half of the sixth century, and were most probably produced in monasteries in the southwest of Britain, being certainly Celtic though not Irish. Mai, however, who first printed Hisperica famina, considered it to be the work of an Irish monk. But, at any rate, Zimmer's arguments as to the date seem convincing, and they corroborate, so far, the tradition that Columba wrote the Altus. Among strange words common to these pieces, we have iduma for 'hand' which occurs in all three (see below, p. 163). In the Hisp. fam. and the Altus we have dodrans (see below, p. 160), in the sense of 'the flood of the ocean,' and tithis for 'the sea'; 'barathrum,' 'ergastulum,' 'crepido,' are other unusual words in both works; and there is common to both a tendency to form substantives ending in -men, such as 'præsagmen,' 'fatimen,' &c.

But for a full discussion of this curious Latinity the reader must be referred to Zimmer's Nennius uindicatus; and the special works there quoted3; as the author of the Hisperica famina says, 'caetera non explico famine stemata, ne doctoreis suscitauero fastidium castris.' It is enough to say that the Latin of the Altus is quite what we might expect from a writer of Columba's date and antecedents, and has no resemblance to the style of Prosper, or the author of the De uita contemplativa.

In the next place, when we examine the text of Scripture underlying the phraseology of our hymn, we find that the author did not use the vulgar Latin, but the older text which was current before Jerome's revision came into use. The following instances will, we think, establish this interesting point.

(a) l. 1. 'uextustus dierum.' This is the O.L. of Dan. vii. 9, witnessed to by Augustine and the author of the treatise ad Nouatianum, printed with Cyprian's works. The Vulgate has 'antiquus dierum.'

(b) l. 21. 'serpens . . . sapientior omnibus bestisi &c.' Gen. iii. 1, is quoted thus by Augustine, Lucifer of Cagliari and Ambrose; the Vulgate has callidior.

(c) l. 25. 'refugas . . . parasito præcipites.' In the Fleury Palimpsest of the Apocalypse, and in the Liber de promiss et predict. dei, c. iii, which contains Old Latin readings, Apoc. xii. 9, is quoted thus: 'et præcipitatus est in terram &c.,' the Vulgate having proiectus. Again refuga was the O.L. rendering of ἀποστασίας, as Rönsch (Ulaa und Vulgata, p. 83) has shown by many examples; e.g. Lucifer of Cagliari applies it both to the devil and to his angels (Athan. i. p. 2, and de non parc. 228). In 2 Thess. ii. 3; Codex Clar. has refuga for discension of the Vulgate as the equivalent of ἀποστασία.

(d) l. 33. 'collaudauerunt angeli factura pro mirabili.' The Vulgate of Iob xxxviii. 7, which is the passage here in view, is 'cum me laudarent simul astra matutina et uibiarent omnes filii dei.' But the O.L. manuscript from Marmoutier (Tours 18) has a text much more like the words of our hymn, viz.: 'quando facta sunt simul sidera, laudauerunt me uoce magna omnes angeli mei.'

1 See also p. 243, infra.
(e) I. 113. 'undique conglobantibus ad compagines ossibus.' The Vulgate of Ezek. xxxvii. 7, is 'acesserunt ossa ad ossa, unumquodque ad iuncturam suam'; but Ambrose and the O.L. translator of Irenaeus have 'unumquodque ad suam compaginem.'

(f) I. 117. The description of the Pleiades as Virgiliae in this stanza reproduces the O.L. of Job ix. 9: 'qui facit virgilius et uesperum, &c.' which is witnessed to by Ambrose, and is found in the margin of the Codex Gothicus legionensis.¹ The Vulgate has 'qui facit Arcturum et Oriona et Hyadas.' See, however, p. 166.

(g) I. 125. 'cadent in terra sidera, ut fructus de ficulnea.' The Vulgate of Apoc. vi. 13, has 'sicut ficus emittit grossos suos.' Now the Gigas text of the O.L. Apocalypse has 'sicut ficulnea deicit grossos suos'; and Primasius and the Liber de promiss. et predict. dei. c. xvii. read 'ficus' and 'fructus.' Thus both fructus and ficulnea of the hymn rest on good O.L. authority. In the adaptation of the Altus by Hraban Maur, to be presently spoken of, it will be observed that Hraban has replaced fructus by the more familiar grossos.

The writer of the hymn, then, used a praehieronymian text of both Old and New Testaments. This fact, of itself, would indicate that he was not Prosper of Aquitaine or Julianus Pomerius; and it falls in well with the tradition which names Columba as the author, for the scanty evidence on the subject which is forthcoming teaches us that it was the Old Latin rather than the Vulgate which was current in the Irish Church in the fifth and sixth centuries. This is certainly true of the Scripture quotations in the genuine remains of St. Patrick, which are Old Latin of the so-called "European" type. It is possible that legend has preserved for us the truth as to the introduction of the Vulgate into Ireland. It is said in the Life of St. Finnian of Moville (who died, according to the Annals of Innisfallen, in 576) that he was "the first to bring the Gospel to Ireland," a statement which is repeated in a gloss in the Leabhar Breac copy of the Feliur of Oengus.² This has reference to a highly valued manuscript brought over by Finnian, which is said to have been copied clandestinely by Columba; and the most plausible explanation is that it was a manuscript of Jerome's version, which hitherto had been unknown in Ireland. But, however that may be, it is probable that the Irish Church in the days of Columba used the Old Latin version of Scripture; and it is certain that traces of it lingered for centuries even when the Vulgate text had come into use.

In this connexion attention may be drawn to the 'titles' prefixed to the stanzas of the Altus in the 'Irish' group of MSS. These are evidently the additions of some scholiast, though at what date they were composed it is impossible to say. The title of the first stanza which alludes to Columba as 'the latest and noblest of Ireland's prophets' perhaps points to a date not very far removed from the times of Columba himself. And the fact, which will be noticed further on, that in some instances alternative titles are suggested, shows that they

² See Olden, Church of Ireland, p. 61, and Stokes, Feliur of Oengus, p. cxlv.
must have been in existence for a considerable period before the date of the earliest of our Irish MSS. of the Altus. But whatever their date (and they were most probably put together about the eighth century), they retain conspicuous traces of an Old Latin Version of Holy Scripture.

Against the tradition that Columba wrote the Altus, there is only one argument of any importance, and that rests on the fact that allusions to the hymn are extremely scanty in Irish literature. One of these we have mentioned above (p. 142); another is found in an ancient poem entitled Mesca Columcille found in the Bodleian MS. Laud 615, which professes to record a prophecy delivered by Columba shortly before his death. One stanza runs thus:

'My Altus angelic and holy:
'My Easparia for Thursday;
'My Amra with the King of the pure bright moon;
'Here I leave after me.'  

But the absence of many references to the hymn, save in the formal Lives of the saint, may perhaps be accounted for by the prevalence of the legend given in the Prefaces, which suggested it was not quite orthodox. In any case the argument from silence is a very unsafe one to use, and not sufficient in this case to set aside the evidence of tradition, corroborated as it is by the internal characteristics of the poem, that Columba was the author.

The Prosper MSS. may then be taken as witnessing merely to the knowledge of the Altus in the Gallican Church. And in this connexion it is interesting to find that a large part of the hymn is embodied in a long poem by Hraban Maur (786–856), beginning Aeterne rerum conditor. This furnishes not only a valuable piece of evidence as to the popularity of the piece, but gives us what amounts to an additional early authority for its text. We have thought it worth while to print here so much of the poem as bears upon the textual criticism of the Altus. The omitted lines 24–60 deal with the Trinity, ll. 69–100 with the Fall, ll. 106–220 with the Incarnation and Life of Christ, and ll. 274–295 contain prayers. It will be observed that the following portions of the Altus are reproduced, though not always in regular order, and sometimes with slight modifications of reading: ll. 1–31, 38, 60, 75–79, 95, 99, 101–114, 122–135. The stanzas which Hraban has not taken up into his poem have little religious reference, and are concerned with the operations of nature rather than specially Christian themes. We have printed the text given by A. Dümmler in his Poetae Latini aevi medi, vol. ii. p. 197 (1884); the poem will also be found among Hraban’s works in Migne, P.L. cxii. 1610.

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1 See Reeves’ Adamnan, p. lxix.
2 Dümmler observes that some writers, e.g. W. Grimm (Gesch. des Reims, p. 684), have argued that Hraban is the original author of the Altus; this is, however, quite impossible. It was Hraban’s constant practice to borrow the verses of other writers. See Dümmler, l.c. p. 157 n.
THE HYMN ALTUS PROSATOR.

De Fide Catholica rythmo carmen compositum.

Aeterne rerum conditor et clarus mundi formator, deus in adiutorium intende tu humilium; cordeque tibi dequitum festina in auxilium.

Da mentis fida regina ac uerbi clara munera da uotis cordis optima et facti dona plurima; sensum corde purissimum famen ore pacificum

Ut tuam laudem famine in primis possim dicere, magnam, miram ac proelaram, digna uoce justissimam meaeque sim miseriae compunctus memor ultimae.

Deus salus credentium deus uitae uieentium, deus deorum omnium deus et princeps principum deus summus amabilis deus inaestimabilis.

Altus prosator uctustus dierum et ingenitus eras absque origine primordii et crepidine qui es eris in saecula saeculorum infinita. Cui est unigenitus Christus proles carissimus dicentis de corde uerbum satum ante Luciferum coaeeternus in gloria deitatis perpetua.

Cum quo simul et filio in sempiterno saeculo spiritus sanctus aequalis regnat et honorabilis in eadem substantia deus manens per saecula. non tres deos nec profero sed unum deum praedico salua fide in personis tribus gloriosissimum sumnum iustum rectissimum super omnes mitissimum.

Bonos creauit angelos ordines et archangelos principatus et uirtutes thronos dominationes potestates et cherubin gloriae et seraphin uti non esset bonitas otiosa ac maestas trinitatis in omnibus largitatis muneribus sed habet caelestia quibus det priuilegia.

Sed caeli regni apice stationis angelicae claritate pro fulgoris uenustate speciminis superbiendo ruerat Lucifer quem plasmauerat Apostateque angeli eodem lapsu lugubri auctores cenodoxiae perucacis inuidiae caeteris remanentibus in suis principatibus.

Draco magnus tetterimus terribilis et antiquus qui fuit serpens lubricus sapientior omnibus bestiis et animantibus terrae ferocioribus, tertiam partem siderum traxit secum in baratrum locorum infernalium diversorumque carcerum refugus ueri luminis parasitus praecipitans.
Dum pius mundi machinam praecedens et armoniam polum et siccum fecerat atque aquas diuiserat herbarum format germina uirgultum ac arbuscula solem lunam ac sidera ignem ac necessaria aues pisces et pecora bestias animalia tum demum honorabilem ipse condidit hominem

Huic praecipit firmiter manere immortaler suam sacram imaginem seruare uenerabilem sequique iussa domini uicarius cum sit dei ‘esto’ dixit humillimus rector mundi et dominus nam cuncta tibi tradidi ac dominatu subdidi quae sunt modo uiuentia ac terra germinantia

Grassatis sicque duobus protoplastis parentibus post tota ruit propago et absque adminiculo auctor peccatum auxerat ad inferna detraxerat creuerunt homicidia dum creuit philargyria habundabat luxuria, dum anxit gastrimarchia tota nefanda crimina iam possidebat glarea

Ipso de caelis domino descendente altissimo praefulgebit clarissimum signum crucis et uexillum plangor super se nimius erit tum cunctis gentibus. tectisque luminaribus duobus principalibus cadent in terram sidera ut grossus de ficulnea eritque mundi terminum ut fornacis incendium

Clangor buccinae quaternas sonabit terrae per plagas discurrunt coruscantia fulgura et tonitra tunc in montium specubus abscondent se exercitus. ergo erit dies ille dies planctus et lacrimae dies irae et uindictae tenebrarum et nebulae dies magnae angustiae laboris ac tristitiae

In quo cessat mulierum amor ac desiderium hominumque contentio mundi huius et cupido cum caelo terra ardore conflagrant atque lumine, Tuba primi archangeli strepente admirabili erumpent munitissima claustra ac poliandria surget homo a tellure restauratus a puluere.

Undique conglobantibus membrorum conpaginibus animabus aetralibus eisdem obuianibus certant sancti cum munere Christo regi occurrere. Altithronus glorioso rex sedebit in solio angelorum treme bunda circumstabant et agmina cunctis iudex cum propria secundum reddet merita.
THE HYMN ALTUS PROSATOR.

245 Stabimus et nos pauidi ante tribunal domini reddemusque de omnibus rationem affectibus nostra uidentes posita ante obtutus crimina, librosque conscientiae patefactos in facie: in singultus erumpemus et fletu diro gememus subtracta necessaria operandi materia.

250 Tunc fideles nam caelestem urbis summae Hierusalem sustollentur ad patriam introibunt ad gloriam ubi fulget uera pacis lux Christus sol mirabilis. Ymnorum cantionibus sedulo tinnientibus Sanctis trituiantibus angelorum et millibus in paterna claritate se gaudent Christum cernere.

255 Sic uiginti felicibus quatuor senioribus coronas iam mittentibus agni sub pedibus laudatur tribus uicibus trinitas, aeternalibus bis binis coram stantibus animabibis terra laude sonantibus Sanctus sabaoth dominus’ hac sancti manent gloria a saeculis in saecula.

260 Zelus ignis furibundus consumet adeuerarios nolentes Christum credere deo a patre uenisse retro ruunt perpetui in ignis flammis impii. ubi habentur tenebrae uermes et dirae bestiae ubi ignis sulphureus ardet flammis edacibus ubi rugitus hominum fletus et stridor dentium. Ubi gehennae gemitus tonituus et horridus ubi ardo flammaticus sitis flammisque maximus ubi tortor durissimus auget poenam cum laribus. Sathan atro cum agmine quo tenetur in care re religatus in Tartara in aeterna incendia Cocytique Charybdibus submergetur in gentibus.

265 * * * *

270 Nuncque rogo ut iubeas et in me hoc perficias quandiu in ergastulo sum clausus carnis sedulo ore corde et opere te canam laudem, kyrie, Doxa tibi altithrone rex caelorum sanctissime qui me tuo iuuamine consolatus optime laus et honor cum gloria in saeculorum saecula.

The printed editions of the Altus are as follows:—

Colgan printed it from F in his Trias (1647) p. 473; this was the editio princeps.

The next edition was that of Todd in 1869, who gave it from T and B, using Colgan’s text where these manuscripts are deficient.

In 1871 Reifferscheid printed the hymn from M in his Catalogue of the MSS. of the Ambrosian Library.1 He was unaware that it had ever been published before, and he knew nothing of its author.

In 1875 A. Boucherie published the text from E in the Revue des langues romanes (vol. vii. p. 12). He, too, was in ignorance that it had previously been made accessible.

In 1881 Ch. Cuissard printed the hymn from I in the Revue Celtique (vol. v. p. 205). He was aware of the editions of Colgan and Todd, but not of those of Reifferscheid and Boucherie. Boucherie then printed in the Revue des langues romanes for 1882 (p. 293) a letter comparing the text of E with I and T.

The next printed edition was that of the Marquess of Bute (1882); but this is popular rather than critical. It is based on Todd's text, and is chiefly valuable for its apposite citations from the Vulgate.

In 1884 Sir J. Gilbert published from F a transcript of the text, which is much more accurate than Colgan's, in the Facsimiles of National Manuscripts of Ireland, Part iv. App. xxi.; reproducing in facsimile the first stanza and all the initial letters of the hymn.

In 1885 Dümmler called attention in the Revue Celtique (vol. vii. p. 237) to the existence of the Munich MS. which we have called II. The collation of this has been kindly made for us by Dr. L. Traube. For E and I we have used the texts printed (apparently with minute accuracy) by Boucherie and Cuissard.

Several translations of this difficult hymn are in print. The first, a metrical version, was made by Dr. J. Smith in his Life of St. Columba (1798), but it is of little value. Todd gives a literal rendering in his Liber Hymnorum; Boucherie (l.c.) gives a French version; the Marquess of Bute added a prose paraphrase to his edition; and a free metrical rendering by Rev. Anthony Mitchell is printed at the end of Dowden's Celtic Church of Scotland. A good version is given by Mr. Macgregor in his St. Columba (1897), and a metrical paraphrase by Mr. Stone in his Lays of Iona. We have thought it necessary to include a literal translation in this edition, as many passages of the hymn are obscure.

The High Creator, Ancient of Days, and Unbegotten was without origin of beginning and without end;
He is and shall be to infinite ages of ages
with Whom is Christ the only begotten and the Holy Spirit,
5 coeternal in the everlasting glory of the Godhead.
We set forth not three gods, but we say there is One God,
saving our faith in three most glorious Persons.

He created good Angels, and Archangels, the orders
of Principalities and Thrones, of Authorities and Powers,
10 that the Goodness and Majesty of the Trinity might not be inactive
in all offices of bounty,
but might have creatures in which
it might richly display heavenly privileges by a word of power.
From the summit of heaven's kingdom, from the brightness of angelic station,

15 from the beauty of the splendour of his form, through pride Lucifer, whom He had made, had fallen; and the apostate angels too by the same sad fall of the author of vainglory and stubborn envy, the rest remaining in their principalities.

20 The Dragon, great, most foul, terrible, and old, which was the slimy serpent, more subtle than all the beasts and fiercer living things of earth, drew with him the third part of the stars into the abyss of the infernal regions and of divers prisons, apostate from the True Light, headlong cast by the parasite.

The Most High, foreseeing the frame and order of the world had made the heaven and earth. The sea and waters He established; likewise the blades of glass, the twigs of shrubs; sun, moon, and stars; fire and necessary things; birds, fish, and cattle; beasts and living things: and lastly man first-formed to rule with prophecy.

So soon as the stars, the lights of the firmament, were made, the angels praised for His wondrous handywork the Lord of the vast mass, the Builder of the heavens, with praise giving proclamation, meet and unceasing; and in noble concert gave thanks to the Lord, of love and choice, not from endowment of nature.

Our first two parents having been assailed and seduced, the Devil falls a second time, with his satellites; by the horror of whose faces and the sound of whose flight frail men, stricken with fear, should be affrighted, being unable with carnal eyes to look upon them; who now are bound in bundles with the bonds of their prison-houses.

He, removed from the midst, was cast down by the Lord.

45 The space of the air is closely crowded with a disordered crew of his rebel satellites; invisible, lest men infected by their evil examples and their crimes, no screens or walls ever hiding them, should openly defile themselves before the eyes of all.

50 The clouds carry the wintry floods from the fountains of the sea—the three deeper floods of Ocean—to the regions of heaven in azure whirlwinds, to bless the crops, the vineyards and the buds; driven by the winds issuing from their treasure houses, which drain the corresponding shallows of the sea.
The tottering and despotic and momentary glory
of the kings of this present world is set aside by the will of God!
Lo! the giants are recorded to groan beneath the waters
with great torment, to be burned with fire and punishment;
and, choked with the swelling whirlpools of Cocytus,
overwhelmed with Scillas, they are dashed to pieces with waves and
rocks.

The waters that are bound up in the clouds the Lord offtime
droppeth,
lest they should burst forth all at once, their barriers being broken
from whose fertilising streams as from breasts,
gradually flowing through the regions of this earth,
cold and warm at divers seasons,
the never failing rivers ever run.

By the divine powers of the great God is suspended
the globe of earth, and thereto is set the circle of the great deep,
supported by the strong hand of God Almighty;
promontories and rocks sustaining the same,
with columns like to bars on solid foundations,
immovable like so many strengthened bases.

To no man seemeth it doubtful that hell is in the lowest regions,
where are darkness, worms, and dread beasts,
where is fire of brimstone blazing with devouring flames,
where is the crying of men, the weeping and gnashing of teeth,
where is the groaning of Gehenna, terrible and from of old,
where is the horrid, fiery, burning of thirst and hunger.

Under the earth, as we read, there are dwellers, we know,
whose knee ofttimes bendeth in prayer to the Lord;
for whom it is impossible to unroll the written book—
sealed with seven seals, according to the warnings of Christ—
which He Himself had opened, after He had risen victorious,
fulfilling the prophetic presages of His Advent.

That Paradise was planted by the Lord from the beginning
we read in the noble opening of Genesis;
from its fountain four rivers are flowing,
and in its flowery midst is the Tree of Life,
whose leaves for the healing of the nations fall not;
its delights are unspeakable and abounding.

Who hath ascended to Sinai, the appointed mountain of the Lord,
Who hath heard the thunders beyond measure pealing,
Who the clang of the mighty trumpet resound,
Who hath seen the lightnings gleaming round about,
Who the flashes and the thunderbolts and the crashing rocks,
Save Moses the judge of Israel's people?
The day of the Lord, the King of Kings most righteous, is at hand:
a day of wrath and vengeance, of darkness and cloud;
a day of wondrous mighty thunderings,
a day of trouble also, of grief and sadness,
in which shall cease the love and desire of women
and the strife of men and the lust of this world.
Trembling we shall be standing before the judgement seat of the Lord,
and shall give account of all our deeds;
seeing also our crimes set before our eyes,
and the books of conscience open before us,
we shall break forth into most bitter cries and sobs,
the necessary opportunities of action being withdrawn.

As the wondrous trumpet of the First Archangel soundeth,
the strongest vaults and sepulchres shall burst open,
thawing the (death) chill of the men of the present world;
the bones from every quarter gathering together to their joints,
the ethereal souls meeting them
and again returning to their proper dwellings.
Orion wanders from his culmination the meridian of heaven,
the Pleiades, brightest of constellations, being left behind,
through the bounds of Ocean, of its unknown eastern circuit;
Vesper circling in fixed orbits returns by her ancient paths,
rising after two years at eventide;
(these), with figurative meanings, (are) regarded as types.
When Christ, the most High Lord, descendeth from heaven,
before Him shall shine the most brilliant sign and standard of the Cross;
and the two chief luminaries being darkened,
the stars shall fall to the earth, as the fruit from a figtree,
and the surface of the world shall be like a fiery furnace.
Then shall the hosts hide themselves in the caves of the mountains.
By chanting of hymns continually ringing out,
by thousands of angels rejoicing in holy dances,
and by the four living creatures full of eyes,
with the four and twenty happy elders,
casting down their crowns beneath the feet of the Lamb of God,
the Trinity is praised with eternal threefold repetition.
The raging fury of fire shall consume the adversaries,
unwilling to believe that Christ came from God the Father;
but we shall forthwith fly up to meet Him,
and so shall we be with Him in divers orders of dignities
according to the everlasting merits of our rewards,
to abide in glory, for ever and ever.

Who can please God in the last time,
when the glorious ordinances of truth are changed?
Who but the despisers of this present world?
A.

[The Holy Trinity.]

The title is De unitate et trinitate trium personarum; the argument is the text upon which the capitulum is founded, ut in Daniele uel in Esaia legitur; et uetustus dierum sedebat super sedem suam. Uetustus dierum aeternus temporum erat. Uetustus dierum deus dicitur, pro multitudine dierum ante quos deus erat, uel quia fuit ante omnia tempora. It is indeed a prophet's text that he gives, quia ipse prophetam fuit, and he took it from Daniel in particular, because it is he who was later and nobler [than the other prophets]; so too Colum Cille was latest and noblest of Ireland's prophets. T:

"De unitate et trinitate deitatis trium personarum is the title; but the argument is ut dicitur in Daniele, ecce uidebam sedes positas, et uetustus dierum sedebat super sedem suam." Now, altus and almus are used to denote 'nobility', et ideo ponitur hic, because it denotes 'height' and 'depth,' ut Cicero dicit 'altum mare' et 'altum caelum,' whereas almus denotes 'nobility' tantum." B.

As to the reference to Cicero, we may note De off. i. 151, and De nat. deorum, ii. 104.

prositor] i.e. genitor i.e. the great sower T.

Seminator uitis; sertor agri; sator horti; sero, seui, satum; seminor, idem; sator; prosero, ui, situm; with the ending -or, so that it makes prositor Bm.

The word is only known in the feminine to the lexicons; the Isidorian Glossaries have 'prosatrix, genetrix.'

uetustus] i.e. aeternus i.e. senior of the times i.e. elder and chief of our tempora T. For the reading here adopted of Dan. vii. 9, see above p. 144.

1 absque origine] i.e. without matter, or without origin T.

primordii must be pronounced as a trisyllable. See p. xxviii above.

crepidine] i.e. without end, for crepidum is found in the signification of 'boundary' or 'foundation,' ut in lege dicitur, sacerdos decurrere faciet sanguinem ad crepidinem altaris, id est, ad fundamentum B. Other instances of 'crepidum' being used in the sense of 'end' or 'boundary' will be found at Exod. ii. 5, Judges vii. 23.

4 We have had the gloss on Christus before (vol. i. p. 12); it comes from Isid. Etym. xvii. 2.

5 perpetua is necessary for the rhyme, and so we have translated; perpetuæ is either a mere blunder of the scribe of T, or else an orthographical peculiarity. The substitution of ae for a in Irish MSS. is not uncommon.

6 We have not been able to identify the reference to Jerome in the T gloss; but the comparison given there is common enough. See e.g. [Aug.] Serm. ad fratres in eremo (Migne, P.L. xl. 1321), and Ambrose (Migne, P. L. xvi. 737).

7 salua] i.e. the Catholic Faith . . . . and under its protection T.
This gloss is in part illegible, but it is sufficiently plain that it refers to the parallelism between this first stanza and the *Quicunque Vult*, which has been already pointed out in the Preface, and is indeed obvious.

This first stanza, unlike all the others, has seven lines. It is just possible that l. 7 may not have been in the hymn as originally written, but added in the interests of orthodoxy. It was, however, known to Hraban Maur, and is reproduced by him as l. 23 of his hymn *Aeterne rerum conditior*.

**B.**

[The Creation of the Angels.]

The title is: *De formatione novem graduum; tribus protermissis non per ignorantiam, sed pro angustia capituli protermissi*. The argument is

"Fiat lux et facta est lux" TFB.

8 angelos] For this reason he omitted to place Cherubim and Seraphim along with the others, because they are further from human beings in respect of knowledge and abode. The nine grades are these, viz. angeli, archangeli, uirtutes, potestates, principatus, dominationes, throni, cherubim et seraphim *Tmn*.

This is the usual list of the nine orders of heavenly beings, derived ultimately from the Celestial Hierarchy of Dionysius the Areopagite, and based on such passages as Eph. i. 21 and Col. i. 16. It was familiar to Irish writers,¹ as it was to all Western Christendom in the middle ages.

The Latin gloss on *angelos* comes from the treatise *De ecclesiasticiis dogmatibus* of Gennadius of Marseilles, which was often ascribed (as here by the glossator) to Isidore.

10 *otiosa*] i.e. sine operatione i.e. inactive or idle in not bestowing treasures T.

So also B. The phrase ut non esset bonitas dei otiosa occurs in the treatise *De eccles. dogmatibus* (c. x) just mentioned. Compare also Hrab. Maur. *de Universo* iv. 10.

11 *largitatis*] i.e. for God was bountiful towards His creatures B.

12 *privilegia*] i.e. the privileges and the honours viz. every grade above another; i.e. quasi privata lex T:

i.e. great honour or preeminence of angel over the rest of the creatures B.

The reading *preuigilia* of T is a mere blunder of the scribe.

13 *magnopere*] i.e. with the great deed; or, mightily, i.e. greatly T:

i.e. mightily B.

*possibili*] i.e. by the powerful utterance, i.e. by the powerful praise that angels put upon Him dicentes, Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus, dominus T.

That *possibili* shall be taken, as the glossator takes it, in the sense of 'powerful' seems demanded by the context. But the glossator has not understood that *fatimine* refers to the Divine Voice of Power, not to the praises of the angelic host.

*fatimine*] i.e. from the word 'fateor' B. The F glossator evidently did not understand the word.

C.

[The Fall of the Angels.]

The title is, De transmigratione novem gradum principis. The argument is taken from the Apocalypse, Vidi stellam de caelo cecidisse in terram; et in Esaia, Quomodo cecidisti Lucifer qui mane oriebaris TFB.

For principis the B scholiast has angelorum, uel de peccato Adae. With the reading principis, the allusion is, no doubt, to those passages of Scripture where Satan is called princeps e.g. Jn. xii. 31, Eph. ii. 2, &c. The alternative title de peccato Adae found in B, though certainly wrong, is interesting as indicating that at the time of the production of that manuscript the titles to the several stanzas of the Altus were not stereotyped. Two alternative titles to the Q stanza are found, in like manner, in the Franciscan manuscript (F).

specimenis] i.e. of the form T:
- i.e. of the shape or of the form B.
- Compare 1 Tim. iii. 6.
- 17 apostatae] i.e. ruerant i.e. the off-starting angels T, &c.
- eodem] i.e. by the same fall T.
- lugubri] i.e. lamentable, viz. by themselves et aliis, quia demones suum lapsum lugent T;
- i.e. lugubri i.e. flebili viz. about great grief to themselves and to all other of created beings, for the transgression angelorum deceived them B.

The additional glosses on this word in Tmeg and in B are due to a confusion of lugubri with lubricus of l. 21. That in Tmeg is: uel lugubrium lignum est super quod etiam aues stare non possunt for its slipperiness; (a name) which from this was applied to everything slippery. This is given over again in Bmeg on lubricus in l. 21, which see. This confusion, like the alternative titles to which we have called attention above, shows that the original source of the glosses in T and B must be sought at a date considerably prior to the production of these manuscripts.

18 cenodoxiae] i.e. inanis gloriae uel superbiae; uel, of the common glory, nam ' ceno' Graece commune Latine dicitur, i.e. common; 'doxia,' uero gloria T:
- i.e. ' ceno,' uanae, 'doxia' Graece gloria interpretatur, viz. 'of the long envy' a diabolo contra hominem B.

In the B gloss in dermait str of the MS. should probably be ind formait str = peruciacis inuidiae.

19 Compare Jude 6, 'angelos uero qui non seruauerunt suum principatum,' &c.

D.

[The Fall of the Angels.]

The end of the title seems to witness to a various reading siderum for stellarum in Apoc. xii. 4, but we do not know of any authority for this.
There are, it will be observed, in this stanza, and occasionally afterwards, a few Latin glosses in M which Dr. Ratti holds to be of the twelfth century. They have been omitted by Reifferscheid.

20 Compare Apoc. xii. 9, 'draco ille magnus, serpens antiquus.'

21 serpens] i.e. in the tempting of Adam B.

lubricus] i.e. slippery T:
lubricus a lubro quod est nomen leuissimi cui oblenita scinipes adhaerere non possunt summalatem; omnis levis de quo quis labitur lubricus; dicitur of that tree on the top of which birds live; and of their dung is made silk Tms.
i.e. lubricus, eo quod ibi labitur, lubrum, viz. a tree in Oriente, on which flies do not stick because of its slipperiness sed cadent, and from it the name is given to everything slippery; and birds are in its top, and it is from their dung that silk is made B:.
sapiens] i.e. he is cleverer T:
The end of the B gloss is: uel sapientia 'more foolish,' ut dicit, sapientia huic mundi; cf. Gen. iii. 1, 'serpens erat callidior cunctis animantibus terrae,' and p. 144, above.

22 feracioribus] The reading of T is to be discarded for feracioribus of the other MSS. and of Hraban.

23 tertium there are three modes of explaining it, one third in aere and one third maris . . . et terrae and one third in barathro, viz. in inferno T:
in barathrum] i.e. in infernum TF:
i.e. into a place of gore T:
i.e. in puteum i.e. quasi noratrum i.e. norago ut Circirius dicit, Barathrum i.e. hiatus terrae viz. putereus in profundo maris et terrae. Barathrum i.e. a place in which old people are put, and they are not drawn out of it till death; and from it the name is applied to every other horrible thing B.

We have not been able to identify 'Circirius,' if indeed that be the name in the manuscript. And the gloss 'dico' in M we do not understand.

25 refugus] i.e. deserters B.

This seems to be the best reading; but refugio may be right. Hraban has refugus . . . praecipitans. See above p. 144. Refugio always means apostate in the Old Latin versions of Scripture. Cf. ut refugia legem et exsecrabilis 2 Macc. v. 8, the only place where it is preserved in the Vulgate.

parasito] i.e. by the juggler, i.e. by himself, who is a juggler T:
i.e. parasita, juggler, or liar, or stinking pit B. Parasitus is used by Martial (ix. 29) in the sense of 'actor,' 'player,' &c.

It is tempting to read paradiso and to translate 'headlong thrust from paradise,' but the testimony of the MSS. for parasito which is confirmed by Hraban, is too strong.

praecipites] i.e. headlong flung; i.e. (into) hell T; i.e. flung down a diabolo B.

The gloss has rind-(t)raigthechu, where rind, 'point,' corresponds to Lat. prae, and traigthechu is an adj. (from traig, 'foot') corresponding to -pites of praecipites, whose true analysis the glossator did not understand.
The Old Latin text (h) of Apoc. xii. 9, has "et praecipitatus est in terram," which gives us the clue to the use of the word *praecipites* here.

E.

[The Creation of the Earth and of Man.]

26 *machinam* i.e. the mass; or, the trap. B. The word *chuithech* is frequently used in Senchus Mor for 'trap,' 'pitfall'; cf. I. 272,2: III. 260,2; 456, 17.

31 *demum* i.e. at last. B.

32 *protoplastum* i.e. first-formed. B.

33 *praesagmine* i.e. by host-leadership. T:

Praesagmine i.e. by prophecy, i.e. Christi *T*; or, by host-leadership *T* B:

i.e. leadership agminis hominum. Praesagmen enim a presule et agmen componitur. Agmen dei 'host-leadership,' so that it was for Adam, ut Cic. dicit, Deus cuncta creavit, Adam uero ea cum nominibus nominavit *T*.

The gloss in B is only verbally different.

The first explanation of *praesagmen* as 'prophecy' is undoubtedly right (see *praesagmina* in I. 85), and the allusion is to the idea that Adam named all the beasts in the spirit of prophecy.

F.

[The Praises of the Heavenly Host.]

The title refers to the ancient opinion that the stars created on the fourth day were angels; see e.g. Greg. Moral. xxviii. 14.

The quotation from the Book of Job is introduced as from the 'Wisdom of Solomon' in the Irish group of MSS., and is taken from a praehieronymian version of the Latin Bible. See above, p. 144.

34 *opificem* i.e. deed-doer i.e. opus et faciens. B.

35 *praeconio* i.e. from the praiseful resounding word (?) viz. Sanctus sanctus sanctus dominus deus Sabaoth B. The word *ondurdonail* is unknown to us; it is possible that *dordan* may be involved in it.

37 *naturae* i.e. not in their (om. T) nature was planted God's praise;
sed in voluntate et potestate sua, sicut ostendit ante ubi dicit 'amore et arbitrio' TB:
T adds: ut dicunt, for they would be able facere malum if they had not the love of God. The glossator apparently takes 'amore et arbitrio' to refer to God's love and will.
The quotation from Augustine added in B we have not succeeded in identifying.

G.

[The Fall of Man.]

39 The gloss on secundo explains that Satan's first fall was from heaven to earth, the second from earth to hell. This is worked out more fully in the curious marginal gloss in T (which has been overlooked by previous editors), viz.:

ruit] i.e. diabolus fell first de caelo through his first crime; secundo de aere through his second crime. Or, 'ruit' pro 'irruit' hic causa rhythmni ponitur quasi diceret, that he threatened an attack on God tantum, secundo on Adam. Aliter: ruit, i.e. he fell at first through tempting God; he fell secundo through tempting Adam. Causa secundae perditionis diaboli is told; the name 'fall' is given hic to the pain that was inflicted on the devil for the temptation of his parent, after the pain that was inflicted on him prius for tempting God T

zabulus] i.e. a Greek word, 'de-consiliarius' interpretatur; uel infirmus after . . . . . . . . Or, perhaps, from the word 'diabulus' was made 'zabulus' through z out of d by cutting B.
That is, the glossator first equates diabolus to ξα + βουλος = de-consiliarius. The second explanation is that it is = 'infirmus iar gennaith,' where the last word (plainly written in the MS.) is unintelligible; perhaps it is meant for a proper name, secundum Gennadium (?).

41 consternarentur] i.e. they would be terrified T:
that they might not terrify, quia invisibles sunt demones B.
42 non valentes] i.e. that they might not show B.
fascibus] i.e. in their bundles and in their bandages like bundles, as if every bandage of them were bound in its special place like bundles T

Thus the allusion in l. 43 is to the words of St. Matth. xiii. 30: 'Alligate ea fasciculos ad comburendum,' where fasciculis is the reading of at least one MS. of the Irish family (see Wordsworth in loc.).

ergastolorum] i.e. of the torture-prisons; or, of the work-prisons; ergastulum enim opus ex . . . . longum interpretatur T.

In the Book of Enoch we have a similar idea; "the fallen angels, whose spirits continue to tempt man, are bound fast under the hills of the earth"; and the stars are "bound until the time when their guilt should be consummated" (x. 12, xv. 11, xviii. 16).
NOTES.

H.

[The Second Fall of the Angels.]

44 e medio is sufficiently explained by the glosses in TB. The similar gloss in M shows that the reading remedio of that MS. is a mere blunder of the scribe.

deiectus] i.e. he was cast down T.

45 It is possible that cuius should be taken with aeris, rather than, as we have done, with satilitum. If so the allusion would be to Eph. ii. 2

"princeps potestatis aeris huius."

constipatur] i.e. is condensed; or, is filled B.

satilitum] i.e. of the officers TB.

46 globo] i.e. by a circle; or, by a company B.

perduellium] conduellium i.e. of the two-battled ones viz. inter se invicem semper; or, battle contra deum et homines, i.e. quasi duobus bellis bellatorum. Aliter perduellium i.e. ennity quia fit perduellis inimicus T.

The B gloss is not substantially different, but it gives a reference to Cicero which we have not been able to verify.

The gloss in the margin of E, which is only partially legible, we take from Boucherie’s article on the hymn.

exemplaribus] i.e. from the examples demonum B.

imbuti] i.e. instructed B.

We take forthi as for forthi, ‘learned’ or ‘instructed’; or perhaps it is (f)oirthi = ‘damaged.’

49 oculis] We can make nothing of the illegible gloss on this word.

I.

[The Clouds and the Sea.]

50 inuehun] i.e. they raise or carry T.

pontias] i.e. the seas T: see p.

brumalitas] i.e. bruma a breui motu solis in eo; it is for this reason . . .

. . . rather than . . . on account of the quantity of water; bruma edax uel edacitas interpretatur T.

With this last etymology cf. Isid. Etym. v. 35.

51 tribus] i.e. . . . the three dodrans of retardation, i.e. the three full . . . of the equinox; . . . and the sun also; it is a dodrant of an hour with respect to retardation and half an uncia, ut Baeda dicit; but he left out the half-uncia causa rhythm; or it is following Philip that caused him to leave it out. Profundiores autem are they, because they fill more the river mouths and the lands, and the clouds bring water to them the more . . . on each depth maris. And ‘mare’ i.e. on every arm of the sea they come over upon the land. Quique paludes i.e. . . . sea, so that they fling them at the time of their ebb (?) Quique i.e. thesauri, that is, the winds that bring . . . the pools Tm.

This obscure and half obliterated gloss seems based on a misunderstanding. Dodrans in l. 51 means, as often, ‘the flood of the ocean.’
But the glossator has gone back to the original meaning ‘three-quarters of an hour.’ It is thus used by Pliny (Nat. Hist. ii. 14 De lunae motu), and thence by Bede, of the moon’s retardation, the period of which is described as a ‘dodrans’ plus a ‘semi-uncia,’ i.e. 45 minutes plus 2½ minutes. And the glossator remarks that the odd 2½ minutes or ‘semi-uncia’ was omitted by the poet causa rhythmi. The ‘Philip’ whom Bede followed was a disciple of Jerome who died in 455. He wrote a Commentary on Job which Bede largely used; and, as the glossator notes, Philip omits mention of the semiuncia when speaking of the moon’s retardation.

The idea of three dodrans is probably due to a further confusion, arising from a reminiscence of the fact that a dodrans was equivalent to three-quarters of an hour.

It is hardly worth while to expend more space on an analysis of this curious theory of the tides. It is, however, interesting in connexion with the statements of the *Aura* (ll. 390–400) that Columba was skilled in astronomical science, and in ‘the course of the sea.’

52 *climatisbus* i.e. from heights T.

The construction of this stanza is very obscure; we have taken l. 51 as parenthetical, and *maris* in l. 52 with *fontibus* in l. 50. This is awkward; but we cannot make sense of the words in any other way.

*ceruleis* i.e. from the dark blue waves, or the dark blue blasts T. Previous editors have equated *athchaib* to *achthaib,* ‘fields’ from *achad*; but *turbines* could not be ‘fields.’ For *athach* ‘blast,’ cf. FM. 1121, 1146, ‘*athach* gaoithe moire.’

53 *profuturas* i.e. the things that will benefit T.

55 The explanation of *quique* by *uenti* or *flamina* in the T gloss seems to be the only possible way of making sense. E by reading *quaecue* supports this view.

The writer of the hymn seems to have thought, with some mentioned by Isidore, that the tides are caused by the winds.

*reciprocas* The gloss on this is quite illegible.

K.

[The Punishment of Sinners.]

56 The reference to the ‘giants’ is explained by the scholiast in the *Titulus* by Job xxvi. 5; but the marginal note in M brings out that it is the giants who perished at the flood that are in the mind of the poet. So in Wisd. xiv. 6 we have: “ab initio cum perirent, superbi gigantes.” The ‘giants’ were held in the early cosmogonies to be the descendants of the fallen angels; so that we have here another reminiscence of speculations like those found in the Book of Enoch.

58 The gloss in the margin of T (by a later hand) is only partly legible; it evidently alludes to the giants under *Mount Etna.*

59 The gloss *in scriptura* in T shows that *comprobantur* is to be taken in the meaning of ‘recorded,’ ‘attested,’ which it might very well have.

*aduri* i.e. that they be burnt T.

LIBER HYMN. II.
60] i.e. morasses of hell T. The four rivers of Tartarus are also mentioned, though not named, in the Second Vision of Adamnan and in other Irish compositions. Mone observes in reference to another poem (Hymni medii aevi i. 409) that the mention of these ‘heathen names’ in a hymn may be taken as pointing to an early date; for in the later middle ages they would not have been understood by the people.

Carubdibus i.e. from the whirlpools . . . . for the greatness of the tempest of the whirlpool it is likened to whirlpools of Cocytus and . . . . leading to hell T.

Carubdibus turgentibus i.e. from the rocks that are heaped or rough or glowing with heat; or, from the whirlpools that are raging T

strangulati] i.e. retenti i.e. held de scillis i.e. this is a story that is recorded here . . . . Scilla filia Porci &c. T

61 fluctibus] i.e. from the Scillean waves, i.e. from the waves of the whirlpool whose name is Scilla, et in Sicilia est, and for the greatness of its storm besides T.

scrupibus seems to point to a form scrupis, meaning ‘rock’; but scrupus is the only known form. There may be a confusion with rupis, ‘rock,’ or scrobis, ‘dyke.’

L.

[The Rain and the Rivers.]

62 crebra] i.e. filters T.

cribrare is to drop as through a sieve. Compare 2 Reg. xxii. 12 “cribrans aquas de nubibus caelorum.”

63 simul] i.e. when the barriers are burst; or, when the barriers are manifested; i.e. rupis ligationibus quibus quodam modo nubibus aqua T. Frilecoirse no doubt means ‘barriers,’ but its analysis is obscure. It seems = frith-tecor, as the equivalent of ob-iex. Tecur, with the idea of ‘keeping back’ is well known (MR 216, 12 and 162, 15); but if this be the word, then the final se must be the demonstrative particle which seems here uncalled for. Again the analysis of anata n-is uncertain; for even on the basis of the dictum “forma simplex an temporalis magis significatone...poscit sequentem notam relationem” (Zeuss3 709), we should hardly get anatambristi and anatafaisigthe.

65 pedetemtim] i.e. paulatin; i.e. foot-goings T. This is an etymological gloss on pede-emptim.

tell[i] The gloss corroborates the reading, and notes that tellus is sometimes counted a noun of the second declension.

per tractus] i.e. through circuits T.

istius] good here, from the word . . . . in rod or cast . . . . est quicquid . . . T. It is a pity that the note is illegible, for an explanation of istius, which has little meaning here, would have been welcome. sithbe means ‘chief,’ ‘leader’ as well as ‘rod.’ See O’Dav 116.

67 influent] i.e. they flow forth T.
M.

[The Foundations of the Earth.]

The version of Job xxvi. 7, 8, quoted in this and the preceding title is nearer to the O. L. text already cited (p. 144), than to the Vulgate. The words 'molis mundi uirtute dei continentur' are probably a reminiscence of Isa. xl. 12, 'Quis appendit tribus digitis molem terrae.'

68 appenditur] suspended T.

dialibus] i.e. diuinis, . . . diuinus secundum ueteres; or may be . . .

... would be right here T.

The word dialis is frequent in Adamnan's Vita Columbae.

69 circulus] i.e. the great abyss in which was implanted the law of a circle T.

70 The true reading must be suffultus, but there is no MS. authority for it.

iduma] The gloss explains that this is a Hebrew word for 'hand' i.e. connected with ??.

In the curious piece known as the Hisperica Famina (see p. 143) the word occurs and is again accompanied by the gloss; i.e. manu.1 So also the B copy of the Lorica of Gildas (vol. i. p. 208) glosses idumas in l. 36 by manus.

The dots underneath iduma and ualida in T show that these words are to be taken together.

72 promontorius] i.e. from promontories T. The gl. however, seems to be o arusaib, whereas 'promontories' would require o rosaib.

solis is, of course, a mere blunder of the scribe of T for solidis.

N.

[Hell.]

The punctuation of Lc. xvi. 22 adopted in the title 'Et sepultus est in inferno' follows the true Vulgate text. Wordsworth in loc. should be consulted for a discussion of the point.

75 Compare Ecclus. x. 13, "cum enim morietur homo, hereditabit serpentes et bestias et uermes."

After line 79 a page is lost in T. Consequently we have adopted F as our standard from l. 80 to l. 127.

O.

[The Worship of the Under World.]

In the title the words of Phil. ii. 9, 10, on which ll. 80, 81 are based, are quoted as 'in Apocalipsi,' through a confusion between Apocalypsis and Apostolus, which is not infrequent; e.g. it is found again in the titles to the T and Z stanzas.

81 precario seems to be used adverbially, 'in prayer.'

82 revoluere is probably a reminiscence of an Old Latin text of Apoc. v. 3, where the Vulgate has aperire.

1 Migne, P.L., xc. 1187.
NOTES.

83 Colgan could not read the latter part of this line in F; and it was emended by Todd into "septem licet praemonitis." This, however, was only a guess.
85 For praesagmina see note on l. 31 above.

P.

[THE GARDEN OF EDEN.]

The quotation of Apoc. ii. 7 and xxii. 2 in the title preserves Old Latin readings, manducare for edere (Vulg.), and curationem (Primasius has curatione) for sanitatem (Vulg.). Quinto in the former quotation is a mere blunder of the scribe for uitae.
86 a prohemio. The Vulgate of Gen. ii. 8 is "plantauerat autem dominus deus paradisum uluptatis a principio"; it is possible that here an Old Latin rendering is preserved.
89 et tua of F is probably a mere blunder for etiam of the other MSS.
91 With inenarrabiles compare 1 Cor. ii. 9, and with deliciae, Ezech. xxviii. 13.

Q.

[THE THUNDERS OF SINAI.]

We have already (p. 156) called attention to the alternative title registered for this stanza. The verse Apoc. xvi. 18, is introduced by the words in chanoîn i.e. 'the text.' See title to cap. A.
92 condictum] This is a not uncommon word in ecclesiastical Latin, e.g. in Adamnan and in Bede. Cf. Gen. xviii. 14 "iuxta condictum reuerter ad te."
94-96. Compare Exod. xix. 16 "ecce coeperunt audiri tonitrúa, ac micare fulgura, et nubes densissima opereire montem, clangorque buccinae uehementiu perstrepebat." The lampades are mentioned in Exod. xx. 18.
For iacula as applied to the lightning flashes, compare the account of the theophany in Ps. xvii. 15: "Et misit sagittas suas, et dissipauit eos; fulgura multiplicauit et conturbauit eos."

R.

[THE DAY OF JUDGEMENT.]

The splendid treatment of this theme by Thomas of Celano (flor 1225) in the hymn Dies Irae is too familiar to need further mention.
99 dies . . uindictae: Compare Isa. xxxiv. 8 "dies ultionis domini."
104 Compare 1 Jn. ii. 17.

S.

[THE DAY OF JUDGEMENT.]

107 Compare Dan. vii. 10; Apoc. xx. 12. The interpretation of the 'books' of the latter passage as 'libri conscientiae' is also found in th
THE HYMN ALTUS PROSATOR.

Liber de promiss. et prae dict, dei iv, to which reference has already been made: "Libri aperti, conscientiae singulorum" are the words.

109 The sense is: "for the night cometh when no man can work."

T.

[The General Resurrection.]

For the quotation in the title of 1 Thess. iv. 6 as in "Apocalipsi" see above on the title to the O stanza. Cf. Apoc. viii. 7ff.

110 With this stanza the stately verses of the Dies Irae may be compared:

Tuba mirum spargens sonum
per se pulptra regionum
coget omnes ante thronum

Mors stupaebit et natura
quum resurget creatura
iudicanti responsura.

111 In our translation we have taken claustra ac poliandria as the nominative to erumpent.

Boucherie emends frigola of his MS. into friuola and translates "voleront en éclats les clôtures les plus solides et les enceintes des cimitères, objets d'un vain luxe pour les hommes de la génération présente." Although we are not certain that we have translated the lines correctly, this must be wrong. Hraban seems to have felt the difficulty for he replaces l. 111 by one of his own: "surget homo a tellure restauratus a puluere."

The whole stanza recalls the Vision of Ezekiel (xxxviii. 7-12); see p. 145 above.

114 The metre demands ethralibus with EI; obuantibus, the reading of the Prosper MSS. and of Hraban, is better than obeuntibus.

V.

[Types of Christ.]

The title of this stanza is given incorrectly by Colgan, thus: "De tribus syderibus thronos septem significantibus &c."); and his mistake has been reproduced by Todd and the Marquess of Bute. But there is no doubt about the true reading of the MS. which we have printed. The three stars meant are, probably, the three conspicuous stars in Orion. In the tract De signis caeli printed among Bede's works,1 we have: "Orion obliquus quidem Tauro habet in capite stellas splendidas tres." And a little further down in the same work we read: "Hae autem stellae Pleiades et uirgiliae necnon et subuculae dicuntur"; the designation uergiliae for the Pleiades, of which Virgilio in l. 117 is a corruption, was quite usual. Isidore (De nat. rerum 26 de

1 Migne, P.L xc. 947.
notes. astr.) gives them the same name, and it is also found in the Old Latin version of Job ix. 9 as we have noted above (p. 145). The words “astrorum splendidissimo” in l. 117 are possibly in like manner a reminiscence of the Old Latin, the Vulgate having “micantes stellas.”

The ‘tria sidera’ of the title may, however, be Orion, Lucifer, and Vesper; this would fall in well with Philip's Commentary on Job xxxiii. 32, as given by Bede, which makes both Lucifer and Vesper types of Christ, the former of His Divine, the latter of His human nature.

In any case, the meaning seems to be somewhat as follows. In the preceding stanzas the Day of Judgement and the general Resurrection have been treated; we now go on to consider the second Advent of Christ, which is described in detail in the X stanza. And the idea here is that His coming is certain and will be at the appointed time, although He be now removed from the sight of men. Even so is Orion invisible through half of his diurnal course; and Venus in the course of her motion through the heavens returns surely to the same place after a period of nearly two years. That is to say, we understand the first half of the stanza to refer to the diurnal movement of Orion, which, as a matter of fact, sets a little before the Pleiades (and did so in Columba's day and country); and in the second half there is reference to the less obvious annual movement of the heavenly bodies, Venus being selected as a well-known and conspicuous example.

Line 121 points out that the preceding lines are meant to illustrate a spiritual truth, viz. the certainty of the Second Advent, though it be long delayed.

118 The word tithis for the Ocean is frequent in Latin of this period. Compare Reeves' Adamnan p. 184 n.

120 In illustration of the old word uesperugo (and indeed of the whole stanza) we may quote Plautus Amphitruo ii. 118: “Nam neque se septentrones quoquam in caelo commouent, neque se luna quoquam mutat atque uti exortast semel, nec lugulae neque Uesperugo neque Uergiliae occidunt. ita statim stant signa.” The word also occurs in a text-book much read in Ireland in the middle ages, the tract De nupt. Phil. et Merc. (cap. de stella Veneris) of Marcianus Capella: “Nunc faciens ortum, ut in Luciferum, nunc post occasum solis effulgens, uesper, uel uesperugo nominatur.” This book was generally condemned by the Westerns on account of the ‘pagan’ ideas which it set forth; but it was popular among the Celts. See Dict. Christian Antiquities, pp. 1851, 1858.

X.

[The Second Coming of Christ.]

123 It was a common opinion that the ‘sign of the Son of Man’ would be a luminous cross in the heavens. See e.g. Chrysostom and

1 The synodic time of Venus is 584 days, which is roughly described by our author as “biennium,” This seems to be borrowed from Philip on Job xxxviii. 32, as copied by Bede: ‘‘hunc igitur Luciferum appariturum terris post biennium autumant in oriente nasce.’’ For this and some other observations on this stanza we are indebted to Rev. M. H. Close.
Jerome on Mt. xxiv. 30, and Cyril Hieros. Cat. xv. 22. The idea, indeed, is as old as the Didache (xvi. 6): καὶ τότε φανήσεται τὰ σημεῖα τῆς ἀληθείας πρῶτον σημεῖον ἐκπετάσως ἐν φίλῳ, εἶτα σημεῖον φώνης σαλπίγγος, καὶ τὸ τρίτον ἀνώτατος νεκρῶν. The third line of the Dies Irae, according to the later Gallican version, is "crucis expandens uexilla." And the hymn Vexilla regis is followed in the Roman Breviary, on Sept. 14, by the versicle and response: "Hoc signum crucis erit in caelo: cum dominus ad iudicandum uenerit."

125 A paraphrase of Apoc. vi. 13. See above p. 145.
126 Cf. 2 Pet. iii. 10.

Y.

[The Worship of Heaven.]

Here we resume again the text of T.
128 [tinnientibus] i.e. when they sing the songs T.
129 The word tripodium 'a dance,' occurs once in the Vulgate, viz. at Esther viii. 16.
130 uernantibus] i.e. they were frequent T.

The word properly means 'to be spring-like;' but is used in Ovid (Tr. 3, 12, 8) of the singing of birds.
131 The interpretations of the glossator are all common; the last one is found in Jerome's Prologus galeatus.
132 tribus uicibus, i.e. of course, the Ter Sanctus of Apoc. iv. 8.

Z.

[The Destruction of the Ungodly and the Rewards of the Righteous.]

134 Zelus ignis furibundus. This phrase may possibly point to a version of Hebr. x. 27 different from that of Jerome, which is quoted in the title.
135 This line would seem to point to a period and locality where the Divinity of our Lord had been questioned; this would hardly be Gaul in the seventh or eighth century, but it might very well be Scotland or Ireland in the sixth, where Christian preachers had frequently to address themselves to their pagan fellow-countrymen. And this falls in with the authorship of Columba.
137 Cf. 1 Cor. xv. 41, 42.
139 The reading of T, gloria for secula at the end of the line is a mere blunder of the scribe.

The second antiphon may have been added, as Todd suggests, in consequence of the tradition about Gregory's censure of the hymn for containing too scanty praise of the Trinity. See above p. 25.

The last line may contain an allusion to Mc. xii. 35.

The words of the antiphon Quis placet deo seem intended to point the same moral as that suggested by the seer in the Book of Enoch. In the last days, the order in their courses of the heavenly bodies will be
disturbed; the world will be convulsed; the 'ordinances of truth,' the
undeviating laws of nature, will be 'changed.' In such a time of
physical upheaval and confusion, only those who have set their heart on
heavenly things will be safe.

The collect *Deum patrem ingenium* is only found in the "Irish" group
of manuscripts.

After the words *veritatis ordinibus*, i.e. at the end of the second
line of the antiphon *Quis placet deo*, the following collect is found in I:

"Adesto domine officio seruitutis nostrae, ut quia tu dignatus es
laure pedes discipulorum tuorum opera manuum tuarum ne despicias,
quae nobis retinenda mandasti, sed sicut his abluntur exteriora
inquinamenta corporum, ita per te omnium nostrorum interiora
laurentur peccata. Per dominum nostrum, &c."

This collect is well known as prescribed for the ceremony of *pedi-
lauium* on Maundy Thursday. It is found e.g. in the Leofric Missal
(ed. Warren, p. 226), where it is called *oratio post mandatum,* and
in the Missal of Robert of Jumièges (p. 275), and in the Book of
Evesham (p. 84). Again in the Book of Lismore¹ it is told of St. Brigid
that on a certain Maundy Thursday the saint washed the feet of four
sick persons "who were biding in the church." Older documentary
evidence for the same practice in the Celtic Church is afforded by the
prose Rule of the Culdees in the *Leabhar Breac* (B). The passage will
be found at p. 206 of Dr. Reeves' memoir on the Culdees² (it should be
observed that Dr. O'Donovan's rendering there given is not free from
inaccuracies): "The selans are not made on Maundy Thursday, but
skimmed milk, or a goblet of beer, and if there happen to be any honey-
combs, for this is usual on solemnities and high festivals without vigils or
debt for it. Whey and bread, and dinner is taken after none. Now at
the *pedilauium* the *Biait* is to be sung, while the *pedilauium* is going on.
The preaching of the *pedilauium* afterwards." *Biait* here obviously
stands for the Beatitudes, beginning *Beati pauperes spiritu* &c. (see
vol. i. p. xxy).³

These instances sufficiently illustrate the prevalence of the practice of
*pedilauium* in the Celtic Church; but we know of no evidence which
directly connects with it the recitation of the *Altus.* It is possible that
the antiphon *Quis placet deo* may have been used at that service, which
would account for the juxtaposition in I of the collect *Adesto domine.*

T fol. 12 marg.] This note, copied at vol. i. p. 82, occurs in a
homily in the *Leabhar Breac*, transcribed in Atkinson's *Passions and
Homilies*, p. 445.

F fol. 3 marg.] This note, copied at vol. i. p. 83, is in a late Irish
hand. Its translation is: "Benediction from O'Domnal mac Dabog
son of Mael-tuile with this book; and it is Colum Cille who sent them
themselves for cure, from the battle of Cuil Dreme. And from Mael-
tuile son of Mael-fith... are the race of Mac Mael-tuile, *i.e.* of the
descendants of Neill of the Nine Hostages. *Finit.*" See above p. 140.

¹ p. 191, ed. Stokes. Cf. also p. 326.
² *Trans. R.I.A.*, vol. xxiv (1884).
B fol. 237a marg.] This note gives a direction for the recitation of the hymn:

"Recite to seven times the Altus
which gives no 'law' to hard demon;
there is no disease in the world,
nor shower that it will not drive back."

B fol. 238b marg.] The connexion of this note with the hymn is not very plain; possibly it has reference to the fall of Satan through pride, sung of in stanzas C H &c.:

"There is a triad
that is not allowed to the poor of the living God:
thanklessness with his life, whatever it be,
grumbling, and pride."

'The poor of the living God' suggests St. Matth. v. 1; Dr. Lawlor observes that this may perhaps indicate a connexion of this metrical note with the Altus through the pedilauum (see p. 168 supra).

With the form of the verse we may compare another marginal note in B (fol. 71): "Three things there are through which God's pleasure is attained, viz.: chastity in youth, austerity in middle life, sadness in old age."

On fol. 6 of F there are written in the margins in a sixteenth century hand a few lines of a metrical martyrlogy for February and March, together with one or two other Latin scraps. They are hard to read, and do not seem worth reproducing here.

**THE HYMN IN TE CHRISTE.**

The Irish Prefaces need no comment; they refer to the tradition found in the Prefaces to the Altus (see above, p. 25), that Columba composed the hymn In te Christe in consequence of the criticism made by Gregory upon the scanty praise of the Creator in the former hymn. As was observed above (p. 141) the hymn entitled Aautor laborantium in the T Preface to the Altus may possibly be the one now before us.

We know of no copies of the In te Christe save those contained in the two manuscripts (T and F) of the Liber Hymnorum. It was first printed by Colgan (Trias, p. 475) from F. A metrical translation by Rev. A. Mitchell appeared in the Scottish Standard Bearer for June, 1897. Mr. Macgregor has printed another in his St. Columba.

The hymn naturally falls into two parts, the verse 'Christus Redemptor' (l. 17) beginning the second division. And the statement of the T scholiast that some held that Columba only composed the five lines 17–21 is very interesting. The fact is that the hymn is made up of a large number of liturgical phrases, many of which appear elsewhere; and there is nothing in either matter or Latinity in the least like the poem Altus prosator in the case of which we have found good reason for accepting the Columban authorship.
NOTES.

Thus Mone has printed 1 a hymn on the Day of Judgement from a thirteenth century Reichenau MS, in which we have the stanza:

“Deus uita uiuentium, spes morientium
salusque omnium in te sperantium,
miserere omnium ex hac luce migrantium.”

Again lines 10–12 of the poem of Hraban Maur, printed above (p. 147), in which so much of the Altus is embodied, reproduce several phrases in the In te Christe:

“Deus salus credentium, deus uita uiuentium
deus deorum omnium deus et princeps principum
deus summus amabilis deus inaestimabilis.”

This is plainly a case of borrowing on the part of Hraban Maur.
A hymn of St. Anselm 2 begins in like manner with the words:

“Deus pater credentium, salus in te sperantium.”

And in a long prayer in the Basel Psalter (see vol. i. p. xxvii) we have:


How far back phrases of this sort go it would be hard to tell. In the Sarum Ordo ad faciendum catechismum there is a collect which opens with the similar words: “Deus immortale prae sidium omnium postulantium, liberatio supplicum, pax ro gantium, uita credentium, resurrectio mortuorum.” It is, therefore, difficult to speak with confidence as to the origin of a piece which is made up for the most part of familiar and obvious expressions of devotion. Tradition, no doubt, must be reckoned with; but there is little, if anything, that can be described as Celtic in the language of the hymn. The uirtutes spoken of in l. 6 are perhaps the powers believed by the pagan Celts to be resident in the forces of nature. The Deus in adiutorium of which l. 3 is a paraphrase was a favourite ejaculatory prayer with the Irish. And Todd has pointed out 4 that the use of the pluperfect for the perfect, which occurs in lines 22–25 is a peculiarity that is also found in the writings of Adamnan; perhaps, too, the expression ‘lorica militum’ in l. 19 betrays Celtic ways of thinking. Again, the structure of the piece is comparable with that of the Lorica Patricii (No. 24): see especially ll. 32–40 and 59–67 of that remarkable invocation. But such indications afford an insecure basis for theory.

The antiphon at the end shows that it was the custom to sing this hymn at the services of the Canonical Hours, the gloss upon which is interesting:

\[\text{decim} \] Ten canonical hours Colum Cille used to celebrate, ut ferunt; and it is from the history of John Cassian that he got that.

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1 Hymni medii aevi, i. 407.
2 Ibid. iii. 1.
3 Warren, Celtic Liturgy, p. 185; printed also by Forbes in his Preface to the Arbuthnott Missal.
4 Cf. also Muratori, Llit. Rom. uct. ii. 155.
5 Liber Hymnorum, p. 255; see Reeves’ Adamnan, p. lxi.
In the commentary on the *Amra* (l. 367) it is said of Columba that he
was a student of the writings of Cassian. But although this may well
be believed, there is no notice of the observance of *ten* Canonical
Hours in Cassian's *Institutes*; our reference is to a passage in which
he speaks of the use of services at seven fixed hours and refers to
Ps. cxviii. 164. Mr. Macgregor (*Early Scottish Worship*, p. 12)
thinks that "the discrepancy may be reconciled by adding Compline
and counting the two parts of Matins and Vespers as respectively two
distinct offices."

**Preface to the Hymn Noli Pater.**

We have here the story of the founding of the Church of Derry by
Columba. It may be read elsewhere e.g. in O'Donnell's Life of Columba
(see vol. i. p. xix), or in the *Leabhar Breac* (fol. 32a), or in the Book
of Lismore (ed. Stokes, cf. 174; cf. also p. 305), but our Prefaces furnish
the oldest extant authorities for the legend. Aed mac Ainmerech,
according to the Irish Annals, died in 598 or 599; but it appears that
the grant of territory to Columba must have been made in his name
when he was quite a lad, as the foundation of Derry is set down at the
year 545. Of Mobi the Flat-faced, who was the instructor of Columba
at the monastery of Glasnevin, we shall hear again, as his genealogy is
registered in the T copy of the *Liber Hymnorum*. The obscure quatrain
about Mobi's girdle is found in the Book of Lismore (ed. Stokes, p. 26),
and it is quoted in the Martyrology of Donegal at Octr. 12.

**The Hymn Noli Pater.**

The tradition that connects the hymn with St. Columba is pretty
constant, and the style of the piece is not altogether dissimilar to that
of his more famous *Altus*. The abrupt way in which one subject after
another is introduced will be observed, and the harshness of the Latin
is also remarkable. We have found it in two MSS. (O and Q) of
O'Donnell's Life of Columba, from the latter of which a portion of it
was printed by Colgan, who also printed the F text (*Trias*, pp. 397;
476). An English translation is given by Mr. Macgregor in his
*St. Columba*.

There are two Irish glosses in T of which we give the translation at
this point:

2 uridine] i.e. by Fire; or by Yellow Plague.
5 exultent] i.e. they rejoice; the right reading is probably exaltent.

uagi also seems to be wrong; uaga would give good sense, and we
have uaga fulmina in Ovid, *Met*. i. 596.

The story that the hymn was miraculously composed by Columba to
check the progress of a fire may be dismissed without comment; and there
is nothing to commend the scholiast's second theory that it was written
in view of the Day of Judgement. But his third explanation that it was
'the Fire of St. John's Feast' that the writer had in his mind is very
interesting, and has some evidence in its favour. A glance at the hymn shows that it is likely to have been composed with reference to some feast of St. John the Baptist, as he is introduced in a seemingly unnecessary way in a prayer for deliverance from disaster.¹ What feast was this?

Todd found here an allusion to the widespread custom of kindling fires on Midsummer Eve, a custom which has prevailed in many countries from distant ages, and is probably derived from praese-Christian folk-lore. In the first place it will be observed that there is no mention of the Eve of St. John (though Stokes so translates),² but of his Feast; and there is no tradition of fire on St. John’s Day (June 24). In the next place, although in modern Ireland these Midsummer fires are not unknown, it is curious that there is an Irish tradition that they are of Danish origin³; there is no evidence that this custom prevailed during the period of Celtic Christianity. We must look out then for some other explanation of the scholiast’s phrase. We find our explanation in the legendary belief (described at p. xxiv. vol. i.) in a dreadful visitation of fire and plague which was to come upon Ireland on the Feast of the Decollation of St. John the Baptist (Aug. 29) in a certain year. It was this which the writer of the Noli pater had in view. And so we find the glossator on uridine (l. 2) explaining this word: ‘by Fire; or, by Yellow Plague.’ Thus we have a remarkable confirmation of Dr. Lawlor’s most ingenious identification⁴ of the rubric in the Book of Mulling: ‘Benedictus usque ad Ioh . . .’ with lines 6–11 of the hymn before us. The Noli pater is one of the pieces prescribed for recitation in the penitential office that was used with special reference to the dreaded pestilence; though no doubt it was used on other occasions too, and the note at the end of the Preface shows that it served as a lorica to be said night and morning.

THE PRAYER OF ST. JOHN.

The legend of St. John and the poisoned cup has had wide circulation, and is familiar from the artistic representations of the Apostle, in which he appears holding in his hand a chalice from which a serpent is emerging. It probably grew out of such passages as St. Matth. xx. 23 and [St. Mark] xvi. 18; and is quoted by many writers, e.g. by Isidore (De ortu et obitu patrum. c. 72).

The fully developed form of the legend which we have in the T Preface is found in the Passio S. Johannis which goes under the name of Mellitus, and in the Historia Apostolorum of one Abdias, the date of which is about 540. These books have a common source, so that the

¹ It has, however, been pointed out above (p. xxv) that ll. 1–6 (which form an invocation and a prayer) are metrically distinct from the lines which follow, in which St. John the Baptist is lauded. The rubric in the Mulling office to which attention is drawn in the text has explicit reference only to the latter portion of the piece; but the glossator’s note on l. i. seems to connect the early portion as well with the prediction of the Yellow Plague on the ‘Feast of St. John.’
² Coidehiea, p. 104.
³ O’Curry makes this statement in his index to the R I.A. MSS. (B. Cat. 440).
⁴ See vol. i. p. xxiii.
story goes back earlier, but we need not pursue its intricate history here.\(^1\) It is printed in Fabricius' *Cod. Apocr. N.T.* iii. 604.

It would appear that the prayer *Deus meus* was used as a *lorica* or charm. In the *Book of Cerne* (C), where it follows another more familiar prayer attributed to St. John, beginning *Aperi mihi pulsanti ianuum uitae &c.*, a few words from the *Passio S. Iohannis* of Pseudo-Mellitus introduce it: but in the Book of Nunnaminster (N) it is simply headed 'Contra uenenum,' and is followed by the Lorica of Gildas (our No. 48). But the source from which it is taken in N is evidently the same as that of C, as the words which follow 'Et cum hoc dixisset &c.' (see vol. i. p. 91) are from the *Passio*. Its use as a charm in Ireland is indicated by what seems to be an invocation of the four evangelists at the end in the manuscripts TF; an ancient custom which has lingered down to our own day in the form: "Matthew, Mark, Luke and John; Bless the bed that I lie on." See p. 244, below.

In the Senchas Mor (*Ancient Laws of Ireland*, i. 2), there is a couplet of magical words said to have been used by Patrick as a charm against poison. "And whoever pronounces these words over poison or liquor shall receive no injury from it. Or, it was the *In nomine dei patris* he then composed and pronounced over the liquor."

The piece is not distinctively Celtic; but it has been shown above (vol. i. p. xxvii) that it seems to have been well known in the Celtic Church, inasmuch as it forms part of an ancient monastic office found in the Basel Psalter. In the Epilogue to the Felire of Oengus (l. 477) we have an allusion to St. John's deliverance from the poisoned cup, which has been incidentally quoted above (p. 116). The end of the T Preface is unhappily illegible, and we have not ventured upon any conjecture as to it.

\(^1\) The gloss on *Deus* indicates that it is to be taken with the *extinge* in l. 9.

\(^2\) *cui* | i.e. *it is to thee."

\(^4\) The etymological gloss on *uīpera*, as well as the subsequent gloss on *regulus*, is taken from Isidore (l.c.)

\(^5\) *quieta* | i.e. inactive, i.e. sea-monster.

The gloss seems to confuse *kīrōs* with *quietus*! We had the word *antach* before in a gloss on *otiosa* at l. 10 of the *Alūs*. The *rubeta* here mentioned is a kind of toad which lives in bushes.

\(^6\) *regulus* = *βασιλισκος*, a common word in the Vulgate for a serpent.

*spalagius* = *φιλάγγου*, a kind of venomous fly.

**THE LETTER OF CHRIST TO ABGAR.**

The famous "Letter of Christ to Abgar, the King of Edessa," has been the subject of much learned discussion, which we do not here reproduce. Many references will be found in Lipsius' articles in the *Dictionary of Christian Biography* on Abgar and Thaddaeus. Lipsius

traces the original form of the legend to a date as early as 200 A.D., but the earliest text of this curious apocryphal correspondence is found in Eusebius (H.E. i. 13), who says that he saw the 'original' Syriac documents at Edessa. Our version follows very closely the Latin translation of Eusebius by Rufinus; but the T preface introduces the legend of the privileges which the city of Edessa enjoyed in consequence of the favour shown it by Christ, which seems to be a later addition to the story.  

We are here concerned not with the literary but with the liturgical history of the piece, and especially with the acquaintance with it which appears in the remains of the early Irish and British Churches.

In our Introduction (vol. i. p. xxvii) we pointed out that this Epistola is prescribed as a lection in the monastic office found in the Basel Psalter (P); and it would seem that its presence in the Liber Hymnorum is to be accounted for in like manner. The prayer Domine deus &c., by which it is followed in both T and F suggests that here too it is a lection for use in a monastic service. That it was well known in Ireland appears from the fact that there is an Irish translation of it, preceded by a legend as to its origin similar to that of our scholiasts, in the Leabhar Breac (fol. 146). In this last mentioned passage there is no mention of the privileges of the city of Edessa. And it will be remembered that the hymn Celebra Iuda alludes to it in the lines (23, 24):

"Tathei tota famosa per tellura
Abgoro misi Iesu cum epistola,"

upon which the glossator has remarked that the real bearer of the letter was not Thaddeus but 'Ananias cursor;' as Eusebius records.

The piece is also preserved, as our apparatus criticus shows, in the interesting manuscript which we call J (see vol. i. p. xvii). Here the words which follow the letter, and the prayer which is added at the end, show that it was used as a kind of charm. 'Si quis hanc epistolam secum habuerit securus ambulet in pace' are words which do not point to the reading of the letter in the public worship of the Church, but to a superstition connected with the possession of its text. This superstition was by no means confined to the Middle Ages.

An author of the year 1726 makes the following curious statement in the course of a critical discussion of the letter to Abgar: "The common people in England have it in their houses in many places fixed in a frame with our Saviour's picture before it; and they generally with much honesty and devotion regard it as the Word of God, and the genuine Epistle of Christ." And in the year 1895 the present writer was shown a roughly printed sheet, containing the letter to Abgar in English and one or two other apocryphal pieces, which he was informed has a wide circulation at the present day among certain classes of the Eurasians in our Indian Empire as a sovereign preservative against fever, when worn about the person.

1 It is, however, found in the Peregrinatio Silvinae, a piece written at the end of the fourth century, and is also (probably) alluded to by Ephearem Syrus; although Eusebius says nothing about it.
2 J. Jones, New method of settling the authority of the N.T., ii. 3.
The gloss on discipulis in l. 8, i.e. apostolis, seems to confuse the Thaddeus of the legend, who is said in Eusebius' account to have been 'one of the Seventy,' with Thaddeus the Apostle (see above, p. 111).

It may be observed that the extract from St. Augustine at the top of fol. 15 (see vol. i. p. 95) is read in the Roman Breviary among the lessons for the Octave of All Saints. The connexion with the text is, as usual, difficult to trace; it is possible that the word 'custodis' with which it opens may have some reference to the prayer, "Custodi nos in bonis . . ." with which the epistle is closed, but we cannot say that we have any evidence by which to support this conjecture.

THE HYMN OF ST. FIACC.

This important piece was first printed (from F) by Colgan in his Trias (p. 1), with Latin translation and notes. Passing by many reprints of Colgan's text, the next edition of critical value was that of Dr. Whitley Stokes in Goidelica (1866), which was based on T. The second edition of Goidelica, to which our references are made throughout, appeared in 1872. In 1874 a complete photographic reproduction of the piece from T was given in Gilbert's National manuscripts of Ireland, Part i (Plates xxxii-xxxv). And finally Dr. Stokes printed the text of F afresh in 1887, adding for the first time the marginalia which are so numerous in that manuscript, and giving an English translation of the whole.¹

Other editions of value are those of Windisch,² and Zimmer;³ and articles in the Revue Celtique (vol. vi) by Stokes and Thurneyssen are important. Dr. Todd's edition of the Liber Hymnorum was interrupted by his death before the text of Fiacc's hymn was ready for press.⁴

We know of no manuscripts of the hymn worth collating save T and F. There is a paper copy (saec. xix) in Egerton 154, and there are at least two others in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy \(\frac{23}{E. 16}\) and \(\frac{23}{L. 16}\); but they are of no independent value. Translations are numerous, but the only one, besides those of Stokes and Colgan, to which reference need here be made is the metrical rendering of Sir Samuel Ferguson.⁵

A few words must be said as to the date and reputed author of the hymn. The Irish Preface states that it was written by Fiacc, Bishop of Sletty, who was a contemporary of St. Patrick. This Fiacc is mentioned in the Martyrologies of Oengus and Donegal at Oct. 12, and his pedigree is traced in the Preface from Cathair Móir, who was King

¹ Tripl. Life, pp. 402-426.
² Irische Texte, p. 10. In this edition illustrative passages from the Vita by Jocelin and from other sources, as well as copious linguistic notes, are given.
³ Kelitsche Studien, ii. 160 ff.
⁴ The hymn is also printed in O'Connor's Rev. Hibern. Script. i. lxxxviii., in the Irish Ecclesiastical Record for 1868 (vol. iv. p. 269), and in Haddan and Stubbs' Councils, vol. ii. pt. ii. as well as in many other books.
of Ireland, according to the recognised authorities, in 174. But it is certain that the number of descents recorded in the Preface is quite too small to bring Fiacc down to the time of Patrick; and we may dismiss the pedigree as untrustworthy. It is tolerably plain, when we proceed to examine the hymn, that it is not the work of a contemporary of Patrick. The references in its first line to existing ‘histories’ of the saint, and in l. 12 to ‘writings’ about him suggest a date subsequent to his time. Again in ll. 20, 44 the desolation of Tara is mentioned; but this brings the date down to a period later than 561. At the time of its composition St. Sechnall’s hymn was known as a lorica (ll. 51, 52), and the words “Around thee in the Day of Judgement the men of Ireland will go to judgement” are apparently a development of some such statement as that in l. 92 of the hymn of St. Sechnall. See above p. 105. And, further, the seat of the Primacy seems already to have been a matter of dispute when the piece Genair Patraic was composed. For all these reasons, coupled with the fabulous and extravagant character of the Acta Patricii which it records, in marked contrast with the sobriety of St. Sechnall’s hymn, it is necessary to bring down its date to a period long subsequent to the days of St. Patrick.

It is possible that the date can be more exactly determined. There is a considerable resemblance between the latter half of the hymn and some of the notes written by Muirchu Maccu Mactheni in the seventh century and preserved in the Book of Armagh. Muirchu states that he wrote these notes “dictante Aidu Sleibiensis ciuitatis episcopo,” and so it seems that the source of this information was the see of Sletty, where Fiacc had been bishop. Dr. Loofs has argued from these facts that the hymn is based in part on Muirchu’s notes. In any case it is probable that it is not earlier than the eighth century, a date which is corroborated by linguistic considerations. But see above p. xlf.

1 Nemthur] i.e. that is a city which is among Britons of the North, viz. Ail Cluade TF ng.

Ail Cluade is another name for Dumbarton on the Firth of Clyde, which has been generally held to be Patrick’s birthplace. The matter is fully discussed in Todd’s St. Patrick, p. 354 ff. An ingenious account of the hitherto unexplained Nemthur has been offered lately by Mr. E. B. Nicholson. In St. Patrick’s confession, as given in the Book of Armagh, Patrick’s home is said to have been “uico Bannauem Taberniae.” Here Mr. Nicholson finds a corruption of Bannauentia Britanniae; and he points out that Bannauenta was the lofty Borough Hill near Daventry, thirteen miles from Northampton. In other words Patrick lived in his youth at Daventry. Again in Muirchu’s Life of St. Patrick we read that Patrick was Brito natione, in Brittannis natus, and that his father or grandfather was [de] “uico Bannaeum thabur indecha ut procul a mari nostro quem uicem constanter indubitantcrque comperimus esse uentre.” The Brussels MS. is here corrupt, but it

1 See Petrie, History and Antiquities of Tara Hill (Trans. R.I.A., xviii.), p. 125.
4 Stokes, Triph. Life, p. 494.
certainly seems to identify the mysterious *Bannauem* with some place called *Ventre*. And this place-name, curiously enough, has got into the life by Probus under the form *Neutriae* or *Nentriae*, which is something like the *Nemthur* of our hymn. If this interpretation of *Nemthur* be accurate, Fiac's hymn is a witness to Daventry as St. Patrick's birthplace. We are not, however, inclined to accept Mr. Nicholson's conjecture.

2 *dobraeth* i.e. was given TF.
3 *suaet* i.e. under captivity, viz. under the sorrow of captivity T.

*Succat son of Calpurn. This is the genealogy of Patrick: son of Calpurn, son of Potid, son of Odisse, son of Gorniad, son of Mercud, son of Ota, son of Mucir, son of Oric, son of Leo, son of Maxim, son of Hencret, son of Ferin, son of Britius, a quo sunt Britanni nominati.*

*Mulit Patricius habuit nominia ad similitudinem Romanorum nobilium, i.e. Succat first, suum nomen of baptism, a parentibus suis; Cothraige, his name in his captivity in Ireland; Magonius, i.e. 'magis agens' quam ceteri monachi, his name when studying with Germanus; Patricius, his name when in orders, and it was Celestinus, coarb of Peter, that conferred it on him F."*

This pedigree of St. Patrick is found, with slight variations, in the Leabhar Breac Homily, in another passage in the Leabhar Breac, and in the Book of Leinster.

The earliest mention of the four names of Patrick is found in Tirechan's collections in the Book of Armagh: "sanctus Magonus qui est clarus, Succetus qui est . . . , Patricius . . . , Cothirthacus quia seruiuit quatuor domibus magorum." They are also given in the Leabhar Breac Homily, in another passage in the Leabhar Breac, and in the lives of Patrick generally.

5 *se bliadna* i.e. he was in his captivity (six years) after the fashion of the Little Jubilee Hebraeorum. The cause of his captivity was this. Patrick and his father Calpurn, his mother Conchess, daughter of Ocmus, etquire sorores eius, viz. Lupait and Tigris and Liatmaim and Darerca et nomen quintae Cinnenum, [et] frater eius, viz. deacon Sannan, all went from the Britons of Ail-Claude over the Ictian Sea southwards on a journey to the Britons of Armorica, that is to the Britons of Letha; for relatives of theirs were there at that time; and besides, the children's mother Conchess was of the Franks and a near relative of Martin. It was the time when seven sons of Sechtmaide, king of Britain, were in exile from Britain. Now they made a great foray among the Britons of Armorica, ubi Patricius cum familia fuuit, and they killed Calpurn

2 *Trip. Life*, p. 433.
3 The lists are transcribed in Stokes' *Lismore*, p. 293.
4 *Trip. Life*, p. 302.

Liber Hymn. II.
NOTES.

there and carried off Patrick and Lupait to Ireland with them: Lupait they sold in Conalle Muirtheime, and Patrick in the northern part of Dal-Araide F

maiissi i.e. good food and clothing T.
nis'towned] i.e. he did not consume it TF.

6 Cothraige i.e. the name Cothraige clave to him; i.e. 'cethair aige,' because he served four tribes T:

cethair aige was probably intended to mean 'four chiefs'; for aige is constantly used in the Brehon Laws, aige fine, 'head of the tribe,' 'chieftain.' The F gloss has 'cethair aige' i.e. . . . quatuor domibus servitium ; this seems to correspond to the explanation of Cothirthiacus (cethar-thige) in the Book of Armagh (p. 177 supra). Quite possibly Cothraige is an older name, connected with catu, 'battle'; but this is only conjecture.

7 asbert] i.e. he said T:
said Victor to the slave, i.e. said Victor—the angel communis Scottiae gentis—quia Michael angelus Hebraeorum gentis, ita Victor Scottorum ; ideo curavit eos per Patricium F

gniad] i.e. to the serf, to a servant, or to a slave TF.
Mil] i.e. a soldier T:

Milcon] genetius est hic ; Michul son of Ua Buain, king of the north district of Dal-Araide F. See p. 3.
tessad] i.e. that he should go TF.
tonna] i.e. over sea; eastward to study T.

forruib a chois] 'he set his foot,' i.e. in the shape of a bird, angel Victor used to come to Patrick when he was herding the swine of Milchu son of Ua Buain in Arcal, that is the nomen uallis magnae in the north of Dal-Araide by Slemish ; and in Scirit especially he was wont to come to him. That is an ecclesia hodie in valle illa, and there remains the trace of his feet still on the stone. And Victor said to him, "It is time for thee to go over sea to learn, for it is to thee that God has assigned the duty of being teacher to the inhabitants of this island in after time." "I will not go," said Patrick, ac si diceret . . . et stetit . . . nec perueniret ad Germanum . . . domino meo. "Go," said the angel, "and ask him." So Patrick went and asked him, but he got not consent, unless he should give him a mass of gold the weight of his own head. Said Patrick to him, "By my debroth, God is able for that, if it be His will"; (that was a genus iuramenti with Patrick, ac si diceret "by my God of judgement.") Patrick went back again to his swine in the wilds and narrated to Victor omnia nerba domini sui. The angel said to him, "Follow yonder boar and he will root up a mass of gold out of the ground, and take it with thee to thy master." Ét sic factum est. And the angel carried Patrick in one day sixty miles (or a hundred, ut alii dicunt), viz. from Slemish in Dal-Araide to Cell Ciannain . . . on the banks of the Boyne to the north, eastward of Monasterboice. And Ciannan sold him to the shippers who were at Inber Boinne for two copper cauldrons; these he carried

1 Reeves identified this with the valley of the Braid in Co. Antrim; Scirit is now the parish of Skerry.
2 i.e. the mouth of the Boyne, also called Inber Clotha (l. 37 below).
away with him (to hang them) against the wall of his house, but his hands clave to them and the hands of his household. Et illa penititit et absolutus est Patricio, duxit et a nautis cum in libertatem; et baptizatus est Ciannan a Patricio postea F."a.

This story is also found in the Life of Patrick in the Book of Lismore (p. 154): it is inconsistent with the account of Patrick's escape found in the Confessio, according to which it was suggested to him by a voice in his sleep.

The oath dar no De broth is mere jargon; De broth ought to mean something like 'God's doom-day'; but even then there would be a difficulty, because the genitive De could not precede its governing noun.

8 es i.e. his footstep TF. bronna} i.e. it does not fail therein F.

9 dofaid} 'he sent' i.e. Victor sent Patrick over mount Elpa T:

i.e. God or the angel sent or brought. How does he come to say 'over Alpa'? Not hard. From Britain the angel brought him, so that 'over Alpain' would be rightly used, viz. over the mount of Elpa, for this Alba was olim a name for the whole island of Britain, ut Beda dicit in principio sue historiae, 'Britannia insula est, cui quondam nomen erat Albanius quod pars quam illi tenuerunt suo vocabulo nominauerunt et uetus nomen Alban quod inuenerunt mansit F"a.

The 'mount of Elpa' or Drumalban is the mountain chain dividing Argyleshire from Perthshire; Alba was the ancient name of Scotland.

retha} i.e. this course TF.

10 German] Germanus, abbot of the city cui nomen est Altissiodorum; it is with him that Patrick studied, and Burgundy is the name of the province in which is illa [ciuitas]. Perhaps illa provincia was in the south of Italy, sed uerius that it is in Gaul.

Now Germanus came into Britain to drive out of it the heresy of Pelagius, quia creuit multum in se, et sic uenit cum Patricio et aliis multis with him. Now while he was mightily expelling it on this side, he heard that the same heresy was growing up in his own city after his departure. So they went eastward, he and Patrick with him, but they were unable to expel it from their midst. Then Germanus said to Patrick, "What shall we do about them?" Said Patrick, "let us fast upon them," said he, "in the gate of the city for three days and three nights, and if they do not turn, iudicet deus super se." Well then, about noxturns of the third night the earth swallowed up ciuitatem cum suis habitatoribus; and the city stands nunc ubi clerici ieiuinauerint, i.e. Germanus et Patricius cum suis F"a.

Letha] The Latin glosses give the usual explanations. Letha is used by Irish writers as the equivalent of both Latium or Italy, and Letavia or Armorica, i.e. Brittany. There can be little doubt that the latter is its meaning here. The supposition that we have at this point of the hymn an account of St. Patrick's journeying to Italy arose out of understanding Elpa in l. 9 of the Alps.

11 aenis] i.e. he remained behind F.

1 Auxerre.
12 legais] i.e. Patrick read F.
linu] i.e. writings . . . F.
13] dor'd'fetis] i.e. they brought him T.
15 fo'ro'chlad] i.e. was heard or was expected F.
16 ro'clos] i.e. throughout Ireland TF.
macraide] i.e. Crebriu and Lesru, the two daughters of Glerand mac Uí Enna, dicentes "Hibernenses ad te clamant 'ueni sancie Patrici saluos nos facere'" T:
  i.e. son of . . . i.e. 'riad' his son F. The word macrad is a collective noun; but this gl. seems to analyse it as if it contained a word riad, whose meaning cannot be assigned with any certainty.

Now Patrick had studied with Germanus the canon and the ecclesiastical ordo; and he said to Germanus that oftentimes it befel him in heavenly visions to be invited, and that he heard the voice of the children (from the wood of Fochlad. Therefore Germanus bade him, "Rise and go") ad Celestimum that he may confer orders upon thee, for it is he who should confer them." Uenit ergo Patricius ad eum et nec ei (Celestinus) honors" dedit, because he had sent Palladium ante ad Hiberniam ut doceret eam. Uenit ergo Palladius in Hiberniam, and landed in Uí Garchon in the Fortuatha of Leinster, and therein he founded churches, viz. Tech na Romanach° and Cell Finc and . . . But no good welcome was given to him illic, so he departed thence to go round Ireland . . . to the north, and a great storm overtook him so that he got to the south-east head of . . . and he founded a church there called Fordun, and Pledi° nomen eius ibi. Now Patrick went ad insulas Tyrrenhi maris, after he had been refused ordination a papa Celestino, et tunc inuenit the Staff of Jesus in insula quae dicitur Alanensis . . . mount Arnon. So Patrick came iterum ad Germanum, et narravit ei omnia quae in noctibus uidebat. Misit ergo Germanus Patricium ad Celestimum, et Segetium cum eo, ut perhiberet testimonium propter se: sixty years was fully completed by Patrick tunc. Now after that Celestinus heard Palladium decessisse, et tunc dixit "non potest homo quidquam accipere in terra nisi datum ei fuerit desuper." Then Patrick was ordained in conspectu Celestini et Theodosii iunioris, regis mundi. Amatorex, Autissiodorensis episcopus, conferred orders on him—on Patrick—and Celestine lived only one week after Patrick's ordination . . . Sixtus uero ei successit, in cutus primo anno uenit Patricius in Hiberniam. He (showed) great (welcome) to Patrick, and gave him a quantity of relics and many books.

Now when orders were conferred on Patrick, Celestinus heard the voice of the children calling him. The children that are spoken of his were named Crebriu and Lesru, viz. two daughters of Glerand son of . . . son of Nene, and to-day they are saints. Patrick baptized them, and they rest in Cell Forland to the west of the Moy. This is what they said, out of their mother's womb, "Hibernenses omnes clamant ad te"; and they were often heard singing this throughout all Ireland, uel usque ad Romanos F™.

A full discussion of the account given here by the scholiast of the mission of Palladius will be found in Todd's *St. Patrick*, pp. 286, 290.

1 Now Tigroney in the Co. Wicklow.
2 This has been identified with Killeen Cormaic near Dunlavin
3 i.e. Palladius (?)
The country of the "Fortuatha" or "stranger tribes" of Leinster, where he is said to have landed, was the district round Glendalough in the co. Wicklow. Here, according to the story, he found two or three churches, but produced no lasting impression; and, leaving, he was driven by storm round the north coast of Scotland until he found himself at For- dun in Kincardineshire.

We then have an account of the mission of Patrick by Pope Celestine, about which controversy has run so high. This is not the place to discuss it fully. A good account of the materials will be found in Todd's St. Patrick, p. 321 ff.

The "Staff of Jesus" was long counted one of the most precious possessions of the See of Armagh; it was removed in Anglo-Norman times to Christ Church Cathedral at Dublin, where it was destroyed by Archbishop Browne with other relics of antiquity at the Reformation.  

Caille Fochlad] i.e. name of a district which is in Amalgada, in the north-east of Connaught, and it is a church to-day F¹mg.²  
17 imthised] i.e. that he might go about F.  
lethu] i.e. of 'Italy'; or, 'latitude' terrarum F.  
18 tintarrad] i.e. that he might convert TF.  
chlen] i.e. from iniquity, i.e. from worshipping idols F.  
20 code] i.e. to Judgement (Day) T.  
Temrach] i.e. Tea-nur, viz. an old rampart in which was buried Tea wife of Erimon son of Miled F⁰mg.  
tua] i.e. without glory T.  
21 druid] these are the druids, viz. Lucru and Lucat-Mael, and what they said was this:

' Adze-head will come  
over mad-head sea,  
his cloak hole-head,  
his staff crook-head,  
his table in the west of his house;  
all his household will answer, Amen, Amen' TF⁰mg.

These celebrated verses were held to have been the composition of the pagan Druids, and to have been a prophecy of the introduction of Christianity into Ireland. We first meet with a mention of them in the seventh century notes by Muirchu Maccu Mactheni preserved in the Book of Armagh. "Haec autem sunt uersiculi uerba, pro linguae idiomo non iam manifesta:

' Adueniet ascipicput³  
cum suo ligno curuicipite  
et sua domu capite perforato.  
Incantabit nefas a sua mensa  
ex anteriore parte domus suae:  
respondebit ei sua familia tota, fiat, fiat.'³

¹ See Todd's Book of Obits and Martyrology of Christ Church, Dublin, vi-xx.  
² Caille Fochlad has been identified with a place near Killala in the Co. Mayo.  
³ 'Ascipicput' is a compound of ascia, 'adze,' and caput; it is the Latin equivalent of tailcend, which is thus a nickname for a tonsured missionary.
NOTES.

This is a Latin translation of an Irish original now only preserved in a corrupted form in our F gloss, in the Egerton copy of the *Tripartite Life* (p. 34) and in the Leabhar Breac Homily on St. Patrick. "It is clear," writes Todd, "that no pagan Druids ever wrote these verses, and it is evident also that they were written when the orientation of Churches was the rule and the altar always in the eastern end of the building. The allusion to the shaven tonsure, the clerical habit, and the episcopal staff proves beyond question that this stanza cannot be older than the beginning of the seventh century." \(^2\)

These inferences, however, cannot be sustained. If we compare the Latin with our F gloss, we see that lines 1, 4, 6, of F agree with Muirchu (although l. 4 is Muirchu's l. 2); but lines 2, 3, and 5 are different. \(^{(a)}\) L. 2 is absent, and in its place is found *Incantabit nefas a sua mensa*. This line must have been the work of a pagan; no Christian could thus have described the Christian Eucharist. \(^{(b)}\) In l. No. 3, Muirchu has *sua domu* for "his cloak" or "cowl" of the Irish text. It is impossible that Muirchu should have thought *domus* to be the Latin for the Irish name of a "cloak," and therefore it is plain that he was working on a different text. \(^{(c)}\) The words "his table" go with l. 2 in Muirchu, and lines 5 and 6 go together. The sense, in his version, is that while the priest performs his part of the service *a sua mensa*, the choir answer *ex anteriore parte domus suae*. This is hardly definite enough to justify Todd's inference that the altar was at the east end. Indeed the F gloss expressly places it in the west, although the later texts (mentioned above) have altered 'west' to 'east.' The age of the verses is impossible to determine; all we know is that they were prior to Muirchu's time.

\(^{22}\) *ni cheillitis* i.e. they did not hide F.
\(^{22}\) *ro'firad* i.e. was fulfilled F.
\(^{23}\) *leir* i.e. in piety T:
  i.e. was excellent for piety F.
\(^{23}\) *co mbeba* i.e. up to his death TF:
  i.e. till he (departed) from the world F.
\(^{25}\) *sab* i.e. was strong TF.
\(^{25}\) *cloeni* i.e. falsity F.
\(^{24}\) *a feua* i.e. his goodness TF.

25 The glossator seems to have misunderstood this line. There is no reference to any special hymn, whether the *Te Deum* or the Hymn of St. Sechnall, both of which he mentions; but to Patrick's general habit of singing canticles. See above, p. 104.

\(^{26}\) *pridchad* i.e. he performed preaching F.
\(^{26}\) *battised* i.e. he performed baptizing F.
\(^{26}\) *arniged* i.e. he practised prayer and repentance T:
  i.e. he practised prayer or cleansing F.
\(^{27}\) *gebed* i.e. it did not take from him (the practice of) going in F.
\(^{27}\) *linnib* i.e. to the waters F.
\(^{28}\) *consena* i.e. he strove after TF. Consena is here treated as a

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2 *St. Patrick, p. 411.*
preterite, but cf. MR 262, 5, "ni tuit rig . . nach coisenad Cellach a coscar, &c.,” where it is possibly sec. fut. See also LU 19b4.

\textit{fri de} i.e. in the daytime TF.
\textit{i mìninn} i.e. on hills TF.

29 \textit{slan} i.e. nomen fontis of \textit{Slan} (was given) because every sick person was cured, over whom the water passed, and it is at Saul; repleuerunt Ulstermen illam propter molestiam turbarum exeuntium ad illam \textit{T}:
i.e. proprium . . . of a well in se, et ob id \textit{Slan} dicta est eo quod omnes sani reuerentabantur ab ea propter gratiam Patricii. Alii dicitur that it was in Saul or in Dal-Araide; but Ulstermen repleuerunt illam propter molestiam turbarum exeuntium ad illam sicubi fuit F\textsuperscript{m\textsuperscript{m}}.

For a full note upon Saul and the fountain there, see Reeves' Antiquities of Down and Connor, p. 220.

\textit{benna} i.e. to the north of \textit{Benn Boirche}; i.e. \textit{Bairche} was a cowherd [\textit{boaire}] of Rossa Rig-bude king of Ulster, from whom are named the peaks [\textit{benna}], quia ibi habitabat frequentem cum pecoribus suis F\textsuperscript{m\textsuperscript{m}}.

\textit{ni's galbed} i.e. Patrick; or, the well F.

30 \textit{céf} i.e. two fifties TF. That is, two-thirds of the Psalter.

This record of Patrick's devotion and asceticism is borne out by his \textit{Confessio} : "fides augebatur et spiritus agebatur ut in die una usque ad centum orationes, et in nocte prope similiter; ut etiam in siluis et in monte manebam et ante lucem excitabar ad orationem per niuem, per gelu, per pluuiam; et nihil mali sentiebam, neque ulla pigritia erat in me."

31 \textit{foaid} i.e. he used to sleep TF.
\textit{iarum} i.e. after that TF.

32 \textit{timnai} i.e. in warmth, i.e. in heat F.

33 \textit{pridchad} i.e. he practised preaching F.
\textit{lethu} i.e. in 'Italy,' or in 'latitudine' saeculi F.

34 \textit{hescu} i.e. lame TF.
\textit{truscu} i.e. with lepers TF.

35 \textit{Scotaib} From Scotta daughter of Pharaoh king of Egypt nominantur. And this is what it arose from, viz. Etarnel son of Gbedei Glas son of Fenius Farsa, a man of service, vobuit seire linguas. \textit{Uenit a Scythis ad campum Sennaar, ubi sunt diviae linguae; et ita uenit, i.e. cum septuaginta duobus uiris, et misit eos sub regiones mundi ut discerent linguas, unum ad unam misit et postea uenerunt ad eum cum peritia omnium linguarum. Et habituit in campo Sennaar et docuit ibi linguas. Et auduuit Pharaoh rex Egypti illum studiosum esse, et uocavit eum ad se ut doceret Egyptios circa linguas et dedit ei filiam suam et honorem maximum, et ab illa Scoti nominati sunt. The Gaels were so called from Gbedel Glas, son of Fenius Farsa, father of Nel F\textsuperscript{m\textsuperscript{m}}.

\textit{seth} i.e. toil or disease F.

36 \textit{tissat} i.e. they will go TF.
\textit{cach} i.e. everyone TF.

37 \textit{Meic Emir} Six sons of Miled and six sons of Bile, son of Bregon simul uenerunt ad Hiberniam, sed clariores sunt filii Miled quam filii of Bregon. Haec sunt nomina filiorum Miled: Eber, Erimon, Ir, Donn,

\textsuperscript{1} The \textit{Benna Boirche} are the Mourne mountains in Co. Down.
Amargen, Colptha. From Eber are the men of Munster, et ab eo Momonia dicitur; but from Erimon is the whole of Conn's Half; and Leinster with Ulster are from Ir. Fewer now are the descendants of the other (sons), et nescio ubi sunt. But from Donn nominatur Tech-Duinn to the west of Ireland; from Colptha, further, is Inber Colptha ubi the Boyne in mare exit F\textsuperscript{mg}.

lotar] i.e. they went F.

cisal] i.e. with a rock of trouble, i.e. with the devil who is a rock for his hardness T.

i.e., and for its permanence, with which tribute is exacted from everyone for sin F\textsuperscript{mg}.

38 fos'rolaic] i.e. the devil flung them down(?), i.e. carried them off with him F\textsuperscript{mg}.

in tarmchosal] i.e. the place . . . in which are places for wounding with charge against each. Or, the low after-road, for the devil is low on the road. Or the transgressor, i.e. he to whom there is a very low place. Or, the cause of seizing each one to himself, i.e. sins F\textsuperscript{mg}.

isel] i.e. to hell TF.

39 cond'manic] i.e. that is the time he was busy seizing them F.

40 Fene] i.e. they were so called from Fenius Farsa, unde apud nos 'Oic Fene' pleni dicuntur ab illo. Gaels autem, ut dixi, from Gòedel Glas, son of Nel son of Fenius Farsa, ut alii dicunt F\textsuperscript{mg}.

41 temel] i.e. there was darkness, viz. of idol worshipping F.

side] i.e. folk of the Sid they worshipped F\textsuperscript{mg}.

That is to say, they worshipped the mysterious inhabitants of the fairy mounds. See Skene, Celtic Scotland, ii. 108.

44 nim'dil] i.e. not dear to me is Tara, though desert TF\textsuperscript{mg}.

Or, he does not forgive me, ac si diceret he would not make my sleeping with thee, though it is desert. Or, not from it there is a fault, i.e. not sorrow though Tara is desert. Or, it is not pleasing to me, to Patrick or to God F\textsuperscript{mg}.

Dunlethglasce is the modern Downpatrick.

45 lobra] in disease, i.e. at Saul, in order that his resurrection should be at that spot T:

i.e. at Saul was Patrick when disease came to him, so that he came on the road to Armagh, in order that his resurrection should be at that spot F\textsuperscript{mg}.

The F glossator seems to hold the belief that Patrick was buried at Armagh; the T glossator that he was buried at Saul. For a discussion of St. Patrick's burial place, see Olden, Proc. R.I.A. (1893), p. 655; and Reeves' Antiquities of Down and Connor, p. 224.

46 ar a chend] i.e. to meet him, to summon him to go to Victor. He was his soul-friend, and he is the common angel of the Gaels; sicut est Michael Iudaeorum, ita Victor Scotorum F\textsuperscript{mg}. Compare the gloss on l. 7.

47 defaith] i.e. he took him on the road southward when he was going from the east F.

ar'id'ralastar] i.e. he addressed (?) him; quia misit Victor angelum ad Patricium inuitandum ad se, that he should not go to Armagh F\textsuperscript{mg}. Compare Trip. Life, p. 253.
lssais] i.e. it flamed F.
ten] i.e. out of the fire TF.
adgladasfar] i.e. he conversed TF.
49 orddan] i.e. thy voice and thy preeminence to Armagh, as if thou
 thyself wert present there T:
i.e. thy dignity and thy preeminence to Armagh; thy faith and thy
 charity to Down F.
49 Cris[ i.e. for His divinity F.
50 mos'rega] i.e. soon thou wilt go to heaven T.
ro'ratha] i.e. there has been given to thee, O Patrick, thy prayer Fwg.
du gude] i.e. all thou hast asked of God has been given to thee TFwg.
51 doroega] i.e. thou hast chosen F. The hymn in question is probably
the *Audite omnes* or hymn of St. Sechnall in praise of St. Patrick. But
see above p. xlv.
i't bui] i.e. in thy lifetime F.
53 Tassach] i.e. Patrick's artificer; he it is who first put a cover
on the Staff of Jesus; and Raholp to the east of Down is his church Fwg.

This Tassach or Assicus was one of Patrick's three artificers or
silversmiths,¹ the others being named Bite and Essu. Tassach is often
mentioned in the *Tripartite Life*. The words of l. 54, "Tassach's word
was not false," were possibly introduced in allusion to a story that he
once, to his lasting shame, had told a lie; but the phrase is common.²

His name is thus commemorated in the Felire of Oengus at April 14:

"The royal bishop Tassach
gave, when he came, the Body of Christ,
the truly strong King,
at the communion to Patrick."

This story of his having given Patrick his last communion is also in
Muirchu's Memoir.³

Raholp is near Ballyculter to the north-east of Downpatrick.
54 mos'riefed] i.e. to Saul iterum T:
i.e. to Saul, when it was said to Tassach, 'cur non
pergis cum Patricio?' F.
ille ait, ueniat Patricius iterum hue Fwg.

55 les] i.e. candles TF.
occai] i.e. with Patrick F.
56 sith-laithe] i.e. the day of peace; in Mag Soile this was F.

The 'long day' spoken of in this line comes from Jos. x. 14: 'non
fuit antea nec postea tam longa dies.' The verses which follow refer
directly to the battle of Beth-horon, where the sun stood still 'contra
Gabaonem.' The legend alluded to here is given more intelligibly in
the *Tripartite Life* (p. 255; see also p. 487), where it is said that
'an angelic radiance abode in Mag Inis till the end of a year after
Patrick's death,' even as the sun went back ten degrees on the sun-dial
of Ahaz, and as the sun stood still in the days of Joshua. An earlier
account 'de uiligis primae noctis iuxta corpus Patricii quas angeli
fecerunt' is found in Muirchu's notes in the Book of Armagh.⁴

¹ Brigid also had a bishop, one Condlaed, as her 'principal artist.' Cf. Todd's *St. Patrick*, p. 26.
² *Tripl. Life*, p. 97.
³ Ibid., p. 397.
⁴ Ibid. p. 257.
58 assoith] i.e. he stayed, namely deus F.
adfeit] i.e. which tells T.
littri] i.e. story of the book of Joshua TF.
60 ciasu] i.e. though it was 'trefairech,' i.e. though there were therein three times the light, it would not be unjust. Or, though it was 'trefairech,' i.e. though the tribe was chief, i.e. princeps. Or, though his tribes were great F\textsuperscript{mg}. Evidently the word was unknown.
ba huisseth were fitter TF.
etsecht] i.e. at death TF.
61 Herenn] Haec insula quinque vocabula tenet, viz. Ériu and Banba and Fotla and Fail and Elca; and this is why each of these names was applied to it. When the sons of Miled came hither from Spain to Ireland, and when they reached Slemish in Ciarraige Luachra,\textsuperscript{1} they saw the mountain full of birds under shields . . . so that great fear seized them . . . . a woman coming towards them, and that she was . . . . F\textsuperscript{ms}.
dolotlar] i.e. they went F.
62 cetal] i.e. of the music angelorum F.
fo's rolaich] i.e. terrified them i.e. put them into a prostrate position F.
set] i.e. on the road outside F.
63 sethaib] i.e. after much suffering F.
ros'carad] i.e. his body F.
64 céit'aidche] i.e. after his death F.
ar'id fetis] i.e. they played music; or, they sang (? cum eo F.
65 conhualai] i.e. he departed; or, slept F.
adella] i.e. he visits TF.
n-aile] i.e. Sen Patrick TF.
66 malle] i.e. this is what Patrick son of Calpurn promised to Sen Patrick, that they should go together to heaven. And what they tell is that Patrick was there from March 19 to August 24, to the end of the first month of autumn, in Rath . . . outside . . . , and angels with him awaiting Sen Patrick TF\textsuperscript{mg}:

Dicunt aili that it was in Ross Dela in Mag Locha there used to be relics of Sen Patrick; sed uerius est in Glastonbury of the Gaels, viz. a city in the south of England F\textsuperscript{mg}.

These lines (65, 66) are thus interpreted by Todd (St. Patrick, p. 306): "In other words, Patrick after his death went in the Calendar to the day next after the festival of the other Patrick; the other Patrick met him on the day after his own festival, and both ascended together to heaven." The relations between the Patrician and Palladian legends have been reconsidered of late years by Mr. Olden (Church of Ireland, p. 405 ff.); he holds that the Apostle of Ireland was the Sen Patrick or Patrick senior of the native records, who never left the country, and that in the ninth century by the blending of the acts of Palladius with his, "the St. Patrick of popular belief, the missionary of Celestine," came into existence. These conclusions have, however, by no means met with general acceptance.

\textsuperscript{1} This Slemish is not the mountain of that name in Antrim, but is near Tralee in Kerry.
THE PRAYER OF NININE.

For the legend connecting the name of Patrick with Glastonbury, see Ussher, *Works*, vi. p. 454. Rossdala is in the co. Westmeath.

67 *airde*] i.e. without a sign F.

68 *geillius*] i.e. service, in friendship F.

The Prayer of Ninine.

Of Ninine, the reputed author of the following piece, little is known. In a note in the B copy of the Felire of Oengus at July 6, he is mentioned in connexion with the nun Moninna: “Moninna of Slieve Gullion and Sáruble was her name previously. Or Darerca was her name at first. But a certain dumb poet fasted with her, and the first thing he said was *ninnin*. Hence the nun was called Mo-ninde, and the poet himself Nine Eics.” He is mentioned again at Dec. 11.

We know of no MSS. of this hymn save T and F. It seems to us to have merit, and, short as it is, to be equal in poetic feeling to most of the other Irish pieces in the *Liber Hymnorum*. See p. xlix above.

1 *adminemnair*] i.e. we go in reliance on him TF.

7 *dedair*] i.e. beautifully hath repressed T.

9 *fonenaig*] i.e. hath purified, hath made its purification, its cleansing T.

10 *iath-naige*] i.e. land T.

*mor-gein*] i.e. great is the birth; Patrick or great birth (i.e. many of births F); we are praying him, i.e. births of the men of Ireland all TF.

12 *do'nnesmart*] i.e. who will save us, i.e. who will effect our deliverance TF.

13 *a brithemnacht*] i.e. from the judgement of Doom TF.

The Hymn *Brigit Bé Bithmaith*.

This hymn has been printed from T by Stokes in *Goidelica*, and also by Windisch in his *Irische Texte*. We have used four MSS. in our *apparatus*, TFLX. It is also found in the Royal Irish Academy MSS., but these later authorities are not worth collating. On its metre, see above p. xxxii.

The preface in L (see Stokes, *Lismore*, pp. 52, 198) is substantially the same as that in TF, and was possibly, as Stokes observes, derived from some copy of the *Liber Hymnorum*. We have departed in the case of this MS. from our usual practice in giving a full collation; for there is nothing to be gained by registering minute differences of orthography in a late manuscript like L.

A partial (Latin) translation of the F preface is found in the Trinity College MS. classed E. 3; 28.

There are five different legends as to the author given in the Preface:

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23 and 23
N. 3 N. 4

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(a) Columba is said to have written the hymn as he was sailing in a storm through the wild channel of Corryvreckan between Rathlin and the mainland. The hymn is ascribed to Columba in the title in X; and Colgan (Trias, pp. 472, 609) adopts this view.

(b) It is attributed to Broccan the Squinting, who is the reputed author of the next hymn Ni car Brigit. See p. 40.

(c) There is a story about its composition by three students of Brigid during an adventure in the city of Placentia.

(d) The claims of St. Brendan the Navigator are mentioned. This was the famous St. Brendan of Clonfert (d. May 16, 577), whose voyage in search of the Fortunate Islands is the subject of a well-known legend. The story given here is found again in one of the F notes on the hymn Ni car Brigit. See p. 196 below.

(e) St. Ultan of Ardbreccan, the uncle of St. Brigid, is also given as a possible author; it will be remembered that the hymn Christus in nostr, No. 2 in our collection, is also put down to him. We have called it in accordance with usage "Hymnus S. Ultani"; but it can hardly be as early as this title would indicate.

1 Brigit] i.e. power . . atque her powers . . T
i.e. flame-arrow T F:
i.e. flame that the men of Ireland fear F:
i.e. men they terrify F:
i.e. Brigid, or power . . . exhibited in wonders and miracles T. Similar glosses are found in the margin of the B copy of the Felire at Feb. 1.

be] i.e. 'woman,' ut dicitur 'fair woman' TF.

bithmaith] ever-good woman is Brigid, i.e. woman good through the ages, viz. for ever T.

3 don'fe] i.e. may she take us TF:

4 tind] i.e. fiery, or resplendent T.
taidlech] i.e. shining F.

6 drungu] i.e. post companies T.

7 ro'reona] i.e. may she overthrow; i.e. may she break F.

8 tedma] i.e. of every vice F.

9 do'rodba] i.e. may she destroy TF.

10 colla] i.e. vices of our flesh TF. This gloss indicates merely the order of the words in l. 10. For the extravagance of the language used cf. pp. 107, 190.

11 blathaib] i.e. with virtues TF.

13 inmain] i.e. dear to us, or to everybody T.

14 orrdain] i.e. with splendid dignity TF.

adbail] i.e. 'ada' = right, 'bil' = safe; i.e. it is right that the dignity and the supremacy of St. Brigid should be safe for ever T:

with vast dignity is Brigid, viz. with dignity which it is fitting should be safe, i.e. enduring F.

1 See Reeves' Adamnan, p. 29. The channel was called "Breccan's Cauldron," from the tradition that Breccan, grandson of Neill of the Nine Hostages, was swallowed up in it. The name is now appropriated to the strait between Scarba and Jura.
THE HYMN BRIGIT BE BITHMAITH.

17 leth-cholba] i.e. as there are two pillars in the world, sic Brigid and Patrick in Ireland:

famous . . . i.e. just as would be a pillar in dividing a house, sic Brigid and Patrick divided out the kingship of Ireland inter se, so that it is she who is head of the women of Ireland, and Patrick who is head of the men F.

flatha] i.e. kingship of Ireland TF.

18 Patraic] i.e. head of the men of Ireland is Patrick; head of the women of Ireland is Brigid T.

19 ligaid] i.e. over beautiful ones T:

i.e. Brigid i.e. she is a garment that surpasses every beautiful garment F.

21 sinit] i.e. that is a treasure (?) TF:

i.e. after old age F.

22 cilici] i.e. in penitence; quia cilicium nomen uestis which is made out of goat's or camel's hair TF.

26 The versicle at the end which is found in X, is found in T and F at the close of the next hymn Ni car Brigit.

THE HYMN OF ST. BROCCAN.

St. Broccan, who, according to the Preface, composed this panegyrical upon St. Brigid in the monastery of Slieve Bloom or of Clonmore, is said to have died on Sept. 17, 650. The date of Lugaid's death, however, is put down to 507; so that there is nothing of historical value to be got out of this Preface. St. Broccan was a disciple of St. Ultan, and the statements in the Preface are reproduced in the Martyrology of Donegal at Feb. 1 and Sept. 4. See above, p. 107.

The hymn was first published by Colgan (Trias, p. 515); and it has since been printed with greater accuracy from T by Stokes in Goidelica, and by Windisch in his Irische Texte. The collation of F and the glosses therein contained are here given for the first time; some of the legendary marginalia in F, but not all, have been printed in Stokes' Lismore. The hymn is also contained in the R.I.A. MSS. \( \frac{23}{N. 4} \) and \( \frac{23}{N. 15} \); but these are late copies and of no independent value.

This hymn is very difficult; many of its grammatical puzzles have been already discussed in the glossary. The writer alludes in brief and obscure phrases to legends which may have been well known to his contemporaries; but which are far from well known to us. And hence, too, it has come about that the marginal notes that have been added in F are of such portentous length. Windisch has remarked that the order of the incidents in the Life of Brigid by Cogitosus is almost exactly their order in the hymn; and it is hardly possible to doubt that this points to some literary connexion between the prose Vita and the rhythmical panegyrical. Windisch has printed extracts from Cogitosus as an Appendix to his edition of the Ni car Brigit; and they are worth consulting. See, on the whole piece, p. l.ff. above.
1 car] i.e. she did not love TF.
Brigid] i.e. flame-arrow TF.
2 siasair] i.e. she sat TF.
3 ait] a maiden; or, in altitudine F.
5 mor] i.e. it was not easy TF.
ecnaig] i.e. to speak evil of her TF.
The meaning of this line is plainly that Brigid afforded little occasion
for speaking ill of her.
6 hiris] i.e. it is she who had the holy faith of the Trinity in her
TF.
7 rurech] i.e. of my high King T.
The extravagance of this language will be observed; nevertheless it
is plain that Brigid is not identified in the mind of the writer with the
B.V.M., for 'Mary and Brigid' are both mentioned in the last line of
the hymn. See above, p. 107. Cf. Matth. xii. 50.
8 cinis] i.e. she is the best who was born T.
9 ecnaicr] i.e. she was not a detractor; i.e. she made no detraction of
any one TF.
elc] i.e. she was not wicked TF:
or, she was not troublesome F. The meaning of elc (elenide) is
quite uncertain.
10 chair] i.e. she loved not the battle of the sorrowful (women) T.
The line is full of difficulties; all that is certain is that the glossator's
explanation is wrong. (a) cair, after pu or bu, must be a predicative
substantive; it cannot mean 'she loved.' F has car 'brittle,' but an
attributive adjective is just as impossible here, as a verb. The only
alternative seems caur, cur 'champion.' (b) ban-chath might mean
'white battle,' if the texts read ban. But, even if it is intended as a
compound of ban 'female,' it ought not to mean 'battle of women' as
the glossator says; unless it can be proved that prefixed ban is used to
express the subjective genitive. The nearest analogy is ban-rád given
in the Würzburg Glosses as explanatory of uerbosae (1 Tim. v. 13), where
rád is not the collective affix, but the infinitival subst. Thus, as ban-rád
is uerbosus, ban-chath may be bellicosus. (c) brigach must mean 'mighty,
'forceful'; it cannot be 'sorrowful' as the gl. has it. But it is to be
observed that the words na mban are not legible in the gl., and it is
just possible that bronach there may have a totally different reference,
viz., to Brigid's grandfather Dall-bronach, and that we have here an
allusion to some incident now unknown.
12 rib] i.e. she sold not TF.
dibad] i.e. for perishable (?) treasure TF; but the gl. is not fully
legible. Cf. gl. 43.
13 seotu] i.e. she was not greedy for treasures TF.
ernts] i.e. she gave TF.
neim] i.e. without rebuke TF.
15 calad] i.e. she was not stingy TF.
16 cair] i.e. she loved not the world T.
The position of the governed genitive in this line is noteworthy.
cathim] i.e. consumption of the world by herself TF.
THE HYMN NI CAR BRIGIT.

17 acher] i.e. angry or fierce TF:
or, ‘acer’ = ac hir, i.e. in ira F.
18 bai] i.e. kind she was T.
truag} i.e. mercy for the wretched sick T.
19 maig] i.e. Leinster T.
aruch] i.e. she built TF.
cathir] i.e. Kildare T.
20 dolaid] i.e. of God TF.
ro{n}snaede] i.e. Brigid; or, civitas TF.
22 genais] i.e. she did bonum T. An impossible translation.
23 amra] i.e. the city; or Brigid TF.
24 ascenam] i.e. to visit TF.
26 Plea] i.e. Placentia (?), viz. a city which belongs to Brigid in Italia.
Or, Plea is a city which belongs to Brigid on the Ictian Sea: and it is its Rule that the folk of Brigid observe. Et sic factum est id, i.e. Brigid sent seven persons from her to Rome to learn the Rule of Peter and Paul, for it was not permitted to herself by God to go. When they got back to Brigid, there did not remain with them one word of the Rule. "The Virgin's son knoweth," said Brigid, "small is your profit, though great your labour." Misit iterum alios septem uiros; similiter contigit eis quam primis et tunc misit alios septem uiros and her blind youth with them, for whatever he heard, he stored up in memory on the spot. Well, when they got as far as the Ictian Sea, a great storm came upon them, so that they let down anchoram; it caught on the dome of the oratory, so that they cast lots inter se about going down, and it was on the blind youth that it fell to go down. Et exiit et absolut ille anchoram et stetit there, to the end of a year, learning the Rule, until the rest of the party got back to him from the East. And there overtook them a great storm again in the same place, so that they let down anchoram adhuc, till the blind youth came to them from below with the Rule of celebration illius ecclesiae secum ad se; and he brought up along with himself a bell for them; and the bell belonging to the folk of Brigid to-day is that same bell of the blind youth; and the Rule they have is the Rule the blind youth brought with him from Plea Fno.

This story, as Stokes observes,1 is also found in the notes to the Leabhar Brec copy (p. 82) of the Felire of Oengus. This copy has for Muir Icht = 'the Ictian Sea,' Inber Mara, i.e. the Straits of Gibraltar (?). The legend is interesting in its assertion that the Rule of Kildare was not the Roman Rule, but the Rule of the submarine city Plea.

There are two curious Irish stanzas on p. 23 of the Codex Boernerianus (G) of the Pauline Epistles,2 the first of which seems to have reference to a phrase in this story. It begins 'Téicht do Roim · mór saidó · beic torbai · in ri chondaigh hifoss &c.' ; i.e. 'To go to Rome is much trouble, little profit. The king whom thou seekest here, unless thou bring him with thee, thou findest not &c.' Scrivener's account3 of these verses is that they were probably written at Rome by some disappointed pilgrim. But from the similarity of phrases in our

1 Book of Lismore, p. 334.
2 Published by Matthaei in 1791.
3 Introd. to Criticism of N.T. (4th ed.), i. 180
legend, it is not out of the reach of possibility that the verses have grown out of it.

**conhualai**] i.e. it went away; i.e. from her Rule; she was gentle with power T:

i.e. with her cry F.

The latter part of this gloss seems to refer to cain-bai of 1. 18. The F gl. analyses conhualai as = co-nual !

27 gaba] i.e. it was alone with Christ she was when in peril TF:
or, till she took [went?] T: till she died F.

28 dana] i.e. which is usual towards guests TF:
or, frequent was her visit to sufferers T.

29 fo] i.e. good was that TF.

**fo-huair**] i.e. when Brigid wished to have the Order of penitence conferred on her, she went to Cruachan Bri Ele in Offaly;1 when she heard of Bishop Mel being there, and there were seven nuns along with her; but when they arrived, the bishop was not there to meet her, but had gone northward to the territory of the Úi Neill. So she went on the morrow with Mac Caille as guide, northward over the Bog of Faichnech,2 and God caused the bog to become a smooth flowering plain. But when they got near to the place where Bishop Mel was staying, Brigid said to Mac Caille, that he should place a veil over her head, that she might not go without a veil over her head to the clerics, and that is probably the veil that is alluded to. Well, after she had entered into the house where Bishop Mel was staying, there blazed up a fiery column out of her head up to the ridge-pole of the church. So Bishop Mel saw that, and asked, "Whose are the nuns?" Mac Caille said to him, "That is the renowned nun from Leinster, even Brigid." "My welcome to her," said Bishop Mel; "it was I that foretold her when she was yet in her mother's womb," said he.

Once on a time Bishop Mel had gone to Dubthach's house; he saw (his) wife in trouble, and asked, "What is the matter with the good woman?" said he. "I have cause enough," said she, "for the bondmaid who is washing your feet is more liked by Dubthach than I am." "That is a natural feeling on thy part," said Bishop Mel, "for thy seed shall serve the seed of the bondmaid."

"What have the nuns come here for?" said the bishop. "To have orders of penitence conferred," said Mac Caille. "I shall grant it," said the bishop. So that after that, orders were read over her, and it was the order of a bishop that it befel Bishop Mel to confer on Brigid, though it was only the order of penitence that she herself wanted; and it was then that Mac Caille held up a veil over Brigid's head, ut ferunt periti; and from this the coarb of Brigid has always a right to have bishop's orders and a bishop's honour upon her. While the ordination was being read over her, she held the foot of the altar in her hand, and over that foot seven churches were burnt (in after times), but it was not burnt there. **Dicunt alii, that the church in which ordination was conferred upon Brigid was in Fir Telech.**3 Or, it is in Ardagh of Bishop Mel, ut ali dicunt. Well,

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1 This mountain is now Croghan in King's Co. The ruins of the church of Bishop Mac Caille are said to be still visible (Todd, *Obits and Martyrology of Christ Church, Dublin*, p. 321.)

2 Now Boughna Bog.

3 Now Fartullagh in Co. Westmeath.
after that, Bishop Mel preached eight Beatitudes Evangelii to them, eight nuns as they were, after all had gone under orders, and each of them chose her Beatitude. Brigid indeed chose the Beatitude of mercy. On that occasion she said that she would never eat food (a preaching) to her beforehand; and Natfraich was lector to her always from that time forward, and he was of the men of Turbi Fₚₚₚ.

The story of Brigid's 'ordination' is also found in the Book of Lismore (p. 188), and in the notes to the B copy of the Felire at Feb. 1. See also Quinta Vita, c. xxxi.

congab] i.e. he raised T.

Mac Caille] i.e. he was brother to Bishop Mel, and it was he that blessed the veil over Brigid's head; Mac Caille held the veil over her head, while Mel was blessing the veil T.

Both were sons of Darerca, Patrick's sister; hence we read brathair.

31 menn] i.e. was manifest TF.
32 mod'guidiu] i.e. I beseech him TF.
34 mod] i.e. in every way T; in whatever way F.
35 ro'sasad] i.e. they would reach TF.
36 donnui] i.e. deeper quam mare TF.
37 amru scele] i.e. more wonderful than stories . . . from him
seven years Kevin remained standing in Glendalough, with a board under him merely, and he without sleeping during that time, ut ferunt, in 'cross-vigil,' so that the birds made their nests in his hands, ut ferunt Fₚₚₚ.

Stokes (Lismore, p. 344) compares a story told by Giraldus Cambrensis of a blackbird that laid and hatched her eggs in the hand of the same St. Kevin.

38 cait] i.e. to the sage T:
i.e. to the sage ... dictus est 'cadus,' and 'cad' is from that Fₚₚₚₚₚ.
i.e. Kevin, a virgin. Or, his mouth, i.e. his face; or, good was his speech F.
The glossator is attempting to justify cait in the sense of 'sage,' by equating it with Latin 'catus.'

Coemgen or Kevin is styled 'caith-fer' = 'man of battle' in the Felire of Oengus at June 3; ob. 618.

Coemgen] Brigid used to prophesy to Kevin, sage, illustrious, that there would rush upon him a wind through snow and storm, under his hair in Glendalough; for this is what is told, that Kevin remained in a standing position to the end of seven years without sleep, and the joint of his elbows around him on high. Or, it might be 'athrec' (?) tantum. Or, as Kevin remained under his hair without sleep, sic Saint Brigid was not sleepy Tₚₚₚₚₚ.
cloth] i.e. renowned, viz. illustrious Tₚₚₚₚ.

Line 37 is impossible to explain; there is nothing to show that Brigid has any relation whatever to the details of this stanza.

38 luades] i.e. the wind drove snow through storm; towards the effectuation of a trisyllable is that, for it is in the midst of the two halves
there should be put ante quod non additur in fine Fns. This obscure gl. seems to refer to the position of snechta in the line.

da loch] i.e. of the two lakes F.
40 conidw‘arlaid] i.e. till it advised (?) T:
   i.e. till it . . . . F.

saith] i.e. after disease, or after labour T.
41 suanach] sic sancta Brígida fuit sicut Kevin, i.e. sleepy F.
42 huarach] i.e. it was not for hours there used to be (and at another time there used not to be Fns) the love of God with her, sed semper habebat TF™.

A later hand has added in F: i.e. not during (certain) hours (merely) was the love of God with her, but always.
43 chiuir] i.e. she sold not TF.
44 cossena] i.e. she strove not for T.
45 dibad] i.e. wealth T.

46 fartaib] i.e. head-pillow under the miracles is the following TF.

In other words, this is the beginning of her miracles; cennadair is used of the place of the bed where the sword was hung up in SG 120, 39:

48 cairm] i.e. what place, i.e. ubi F.
50 fenamain] i.e. swain, which her mistress sent to her to the summer herding-place to get butter T.

Once on a time the angel came to Brígid, and sent her to release her mother who was with the druid, named Mac Midrui. Her mother was a Connaught woman, and her father a Munster man, and she was at that time in Mag Fenamain in (Arad) Cliach.¹ Now when Brigid got as far as that, there was her mother with an eye-disorder in the milking-yard; so she went along with the druid’s charioteer to her mother, and took the cooking in her absence, and used to practise great charity with the provisions; and the druid heard of it. The charioteer went home. Said the druid, “How are things going on at the milking-yard?” “I am thankful indeed,” said the charioteer, “and the calves are fat, and the guests are thankful.” But the practice of charity by Brigid was evil in the eyes of the druid and his wife; so they came with a big basket, to take advantage of Brigid, and to reduce her to slavery hereafter, i, plenty of butter were not found with her. And indeed she had nothing but a churning and a half, so she recited this verse:

My kitchen
a kitchen of a fair Lord,
a kitchen that my King hath blest,
a kitchen with something in it!

¹ Now Kilteely in Co. Limerick.

² The word eitim is used to express “to take unawares, at a disadvantage;” cf. FM III, 1574 tarraid eitim ngabál ar [place]; fuair baighal gabála; 1600 fuaratar eitim ar [men]; 2224 fuair eit 7 elang; 2226 fuair uain 7 edarábogál ar; 1896 ar nach flaghars failt.
Et dixit iterum:

May Mary's Son, my friend, come
to bless my kitchen;
Ruler of the world to its extremity,
may there be plenty with Him!

Et dixit tertio:

O my great King,
who art able for all these things,
bless, O God—a cry without prohibition—
with Thy right hand this kitchen!

She divided the churning (into three) sub numero trinitatis; but a half-churning she brought out of the kitchen. "It is good," said the druid's wife, "for the filling of a big basket is that." "Fill ye your basket," said Brigid, "and God will put something into it . . . . the druid and his wife." F"mag.

This story is also found in B, L, and G. See the references in Stokes' Lismore, p. 320, and Cogitosus, Vita, c. 4.

The verses are given in Egerton 161 as a charm, the recitation of which will replenish an empty larder.

51 rath] i.e. for feeding poor people T.
52 lenamain] i.e. the following which guests put upon her T.
In other words, the crowd of beggars who were always about her.
53 hard] i.e. was great T.
coscur] i.e. the marvel T.
56 toscuir[i.e. the guest, i.e. the good company. Or, the country-fellow: or, the . . . . . or, the deed that Brigid wrought in giving food to the dog TF"mag.

Compare Cogitosus c. 6.

57 lathe] one day in the 'Land of the Benediction' in Airiud Boinne beside Clonard, this miracle was performed; or at Domnach Mor beside Kildare, i.e. wetness in every place but dryness in Brigid's field F"mag.

This story is in Cogitosus c. 7.

mad-bocht] i.e. well was it reaped, ut quidam poeta dixit:

' Thy cake   . . . .
if thou give it to guests
well reaped was it for her pipers (?)'

And another:

' He used not to give to a human being
anything that was well   . . . . (?)
of his reaping, the good   . . . of his cooking.' F"mag.

58 chraibdi[g] i.e. with Brigid TF"mag.
59 tair] i.e. it was dry weather T:
   i.e. it was dry the whole time F"mag.
60 anmich] i.e. splendid raining T:
   i.e. great wetting F"mag.
61 epseicp] i.e. seven bishops came to Brigid out of Ui Briuin Chualand, from Bishops' Hill particularly to Kildare. And Brigid

1 This district was partly in Co. Dublin and partly in Co. Wicklow.
asked of her cook i.e. of Blathnait, if she had food. *Illa dixit, Non.* And there was great tribulation in Brigid on that account, viz. that she had no food illis. And the angel told Blathnait to take the cows to Loch Lemnachta north of Kildare, and milk them, though they had been twice milked before. Well, the cows were taken, and were milked; and the milk ran over the vessels, and would have overflowed even the vessels of all Leinster if they had been brought to them, et inde stagnum nomen accept F\[sup]1\[sub]0\[sup].

See *Book of Lismore*, p. 197. A short form of the story is in Cogitosus c. 8. It is also found in the margin of the B copy of the Felire at Feb. 1.

*do'da'ascansat* i.e. they visited TF.

*62 diuir* i.e. was not little, or, was not insignificant F.

*63 fororaid* i.e. unless he had helped T:

\[i.e. unless he had succoured F.\]

*65 argairf* i.e. she herded TF:

Brendan was four years at sea, seeking the Land of Promise. During that time there was a monster following him in the wake of the boat. At one time another monster came up to it to kill it, and the monster supplicated Brendan and all the other saints of Ireland against the other monster, but that did not protect it till it supplicated Brigid. So after that Brendan said that he would not remain any longer at sea, until he knew why this miracle was wrought for Brigid beyond everybody. Brendan came thereafter on a journey towards Brigid, and that was revealed to Brigid. At that time Brigid was herding sheep in the Curragh of the Liffey, so she went to meet Brendan to Domnach Mor to the west of Kildare; so they saluted each other.

At Lic Brendan one day after that, Brigid during the heat flung her wet cloak over the sunbeams and it stetit thereon. Brendan told his gillie to put his cloak on them, but it fell off them twice; the third time Brendan himself flung it angrily, and it remained on them tunc. Brigid enquired of her cook, what quantity of food she had. She replied that she had nothing but one-eighth of barley grain. That was taken to the mill of Rath Cathair west of Kildare, twice, and they refused to grind it there, for Ailell mac Dunlainge king of Leinster chanced to be there at that time, viz. at Rath Cathair. Well, Brigid's servant went the third time, when it was flung into the mill-race along with its sack. So after that Brigid passed the word on Rath Cathair, that there should neither be smoke nor fires nor human beings in it till Doomsday, and so the whole mill disappeared underground. But Brigid's attendant took his sack out of the mill-race, and its other half of meal of malt, and made a feast out of that for Brendan and Brigid and her folk, so that they were thirty days simul consuming that feast; and each of them made his confession to his fellow. Said Brendan first, that from the time he took piety he had never gone over seven furrows without his mind on God. "It is good," said Brigid, "Deo gratias ago." Said Brigid further, that (from the time she had fixed) her mind in God, she had never withdrawn it at all. Brendan admires that, "It would be true,

1 Reading *ele* for *ole*; perhaps we should read *oic*, 'evil.'
said Brendan, "though [see said that] thou surpassest us in every point." Sic narravit ei omnia quae in maris a bestis auduit, and they did so thereafter F\textsuperscript{mg}.

With the earlier part of this note the story in the Preface to Ultan's hymn (p. 38 above) may be compared. It seems also to be found in substance in the Irish MS. at Rennes.\textsuperscript{1}

This story is in Cogitosus c. 9.

69 macc] i.e. the robber who came to Brigid TF.

This story is in L and in a slightly different form in \textsuperscript{0} as well as in Cogitosus c. 10. See Book of Lismore, p. 331.

70 rig] i.e. 'For the sake of the King in whose absence [away from whom] thou art, give some of the sheep to me,' said he TF.

71 dober] i.e. she gave TF.

72 sonn] i.e. it is of my art, i.e. of my poetry F.

73 atchous] i.e. if I should relate TF.

75 amra] i.e. good. In Kildare was wrought this miracle, viz. there was a poor man on whom the king of Leinster had a claim for ale, and he had nothing to make it with, so he came to Brigid. Brigid was just then in a bath when the poor fellow entreated her that she would assist him. So after that Brigid blessed the bath-water in which she lay, and made of it new ale, which was given to the man, and by him to the king F\textsuperscript{mg}.

Compare Cogitosus c. 11.

76 sena] i.e. she blest TF.

77 senais] i.e. she blest F\textsuperscript{mg}.

78 galad] a nun who was with child came to Brigid, and she healed her T:

A nun there was in Cluain Moisena,\textsuperscript{2} and she was with child, and Brigid chanced upon her [when going] to the church; so she came after that to Brigid, and was pure thereafter F.

This is in Cogitosus c. 12.

\textsuperscript{1} Rev. Celt. xv. 88, 89.

\textsuperscript{2} Near Fartullagh, in Co. Westmeath.
NOTES.

79 mo] i.e. the greater was the wonder for another miracle's being wrought F.

80 saland] In the Curragh of Liffey was wrought this miracle, viz. a man came past Brigid with salt on his back, and Brigid said to him, "What is there on thee?" "Stones," said he. "Be it so," said Brigid, and it was fulfilled just so. Once more he comes in this direction, and so came iterum past Brigid, et illa dixit ei, "What is there on thy back?" "Salt," said he. "Be it so," said Brigid; and so it was verified Fm9.

This story is in L. See Stokes' Book of Lismore, pp. 195, 329.

Compare also Cogitosus, Vita, c. 13.

81 ruirmiu] i.e. I have not counted T:
   i.e. I am not able to number it F.

cirmiu] i.e. I am not able to number it TF:
   Or, I do not enumerate everything she did in miracles F.

82 noeb-duil] i.e. Brigid T:
   i.e. the holy creature F.

83 bennachais] i.e. she blessed; i.e. the flat-faced; in Cluain Corcaige in Offaly was wrought this miracle, viz. a leper was brought to Brigid, who bade him take out the clump of rushes that was in his neighbourhood from the place where it was; so he took it out, and there sprang a well of water from that place; so he sprinkled the water over his face and became whole Fm9.

This is told briefly in L and in Cogitosus c. 14. See Stokes' Book of Lismore, pp. 197, 330.

85 ingen amlabar] i.e. in Cluain . . . . was wrought this miracle. a dumb girl was brought to Brigid, and Brigid took the girl's hand into her hand, and did not let go the girl's hand out of her hand till her speech was plain Fm9.

This is fully told by Cogitosus c. 15.

86 hoen] i.e. of Brigid's miracles T.

89 tinne] i.e. bacon T.

amra] i.e. a flitch of bacon was given to her as an offering in Cell Finnend . . . . this was wrought; and it was forgotten by her household . . . . in Kildare, and it was there up to the end of a month, with a dog guarding it, which not merely did not let other animals defile it, but also did not (itself eat it); . . . . (and it remained good)
   as if people had eaten it the same (night?) F.

This is told by Cogitosus c. 16.

90 ro'd'glinnestar] i.e. guarded it, and preserved the joint T:
   i.e. kept it safely F.

93 mo] i.e. greater was the other miracle in comparison with it F.

94 do'tlucestar] i.e. she requested TF.

mir] i.e. it was in the kettle T:
   i.e. a poor fellow begged from Brigid a bit that was in the kettle. And the food therein was not at all cooked yet, so she requested of the (kitchen)-folk (to give a piece) of food (and they) threw the bit towards the man; it fell on Brigid's breast, but it did not spoil her dress Fm9.

1 The text seems to be tic itil guiden, but there is a difficulty in the transcription of the last word which makes the passage obscure.
This is in Cogitosus c. 17.

95 maforta] i.e. in the singular; viz. her vestment that, from the word 'mafortis' i.e. 'coif-veil' TF^m.
i.e. kerchief, that is over . . . ; in Kil(dare) was wrought this little miracle sic F^m.

96 brothach] i.e. hot TF.
focres] i.e. was flung, viz. into Brigid's breast P.

97 in clam] may-be it was a leper of Patrick's who came to ask for a cow, and he did not take any but the best cow in Brigid's milking yard; (and then he asked for) the calf (that was best), so Brigid blessed the calf that was best in the booley, and the cow loved (that calf as if it had been her own) after that F^m.

This is in Cogitosus c. 18.

rógaid] i.e. he begged F.
ailgais] i.e. his prayer F.
con'd'rualaí] i.e. so that she gave TF.

99 senais] i.e. she bles F.
forglu] i.e. the choice T.

100 carais] i.e. it loved the chosen calf of the cows TF.

101 reraig] i.e. she drove, viz. permitted him to drive it to Bri T:
i.e. Natfraich Brigid's lector . . . she used to give, that not . . . at any time that the land was not . . . at present, till there should be given her town as far as . . . from the time that he begged . . . Brigid about letting . . . out, and he was let into it after that; he begged of Brigid . . . it was given to him; but . . . with the calf; he begged (of) Brigid a calf . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . would not take . . . . . . even though over Ireland he should go F^m.

This note is very difficult to read, as the surface of the MS. is much rubbed.

102 B. C. Coi] proprium nomen loci in Bregia T:
was king of Breg Cóithach Coi; and as to Natfraich, he was the driver of the car tun F^m.

105 in daim] i.e. a friend came to Brigid . . . . Mor in the Curragh of the Liffey, and a request with him to her, that Brigid would abide with him that night; and then was stolen (her herd of oxen) in her absence. It was brought to the river Liffey, and the river rose up against them, so that the robbers put their clothes on the horns of the oxen as they were going across it. The oxen go away back from them to their home, and they went their way to Kildare to Brigid, with the robbers' clothes on them F^m.

The story is given in Cogitosus c. 19 thus: "Et quodam interuallo temporis allii nequissimi fures . . . boues ipsius furati sunt. Sed eos eadem reuerentibus via impetus ingentis fluminis inundatione aquarum subito facto conturbauit. Non enim flumen instar muri erectum scelestissimam boum fraudem B. Brigidae per se transire permisit, sed eos fures demergens et secum trahens boues de eorum manibus liberati loris in cornibus pendentibus ad proprium armentum ad bubulum reuersi sunt."

do'd'ascansat] i.e. they re-visited TF.
NOTES.

106 fo] i.e. good TF.
ro'dascloud] i.e. he would hear them F.
107 conucaib] i.e. it rose TF.
doub] i.e. the river TF.
108 a tech] i.e. Kildare T.
109 breif] i.e. under-cloth (?) that is put under the horse’s neck TF.
scarais] i.e. at Ri Cuind this was wrought; between Forraigh Rath and Cell Culind’; was Brigid . . . Natfraich in one chariot . . . to them there . . . Kildare . . . ; Natfraich at that time preached to them the word of God, and he lets slip from him (the reins . . . one of) the two big horses got his head out of the yoke so that it was eating grass . . . . so that Ailell mac Dunlainge, the king of Leinster, saw that, and he was going to Maisten and he gave . . . from his neck that he might help . . .; and Brigid said for this act of humility, There shall be to thee the kingdom of Leinster till Doom and to thy progeny after thee Fm. The sense will be gathered from the corresponding passage in Cogitosus (c. 20) “cum quadem die ipsa sanctissima Brigida cogente aliaqua necessitate utilitatis conuenientem plebis usitaret in currui sedens binis uhebatur equis. Et cum in suo uehiculo meditatione theorica caelestem agens in terris uitam suum ut solebat dominatorem oraret, de alto procidens loco alter bruto animo equus saliens sub currui et irrefrenatus habens fortiter se extorquens et de iugo semetipsum absoluens, equo altero solo sub suo remanente iugo, exterritus per campestria cucurrit; et sic manus diuina iugum pendens sine praeclitio sustentans, et uidenti turba ob testimonium uirtutis diuinae securu in suo orans uehiculo, cum uno equo sub currui posito ad plebis conuenientem discursu placabili illaesu peruenit.”

Observe that ‘He’ in l. 101 is Natfraich, Brigid’s charioteer.
110 do’rertatar] i.e. they ran TF.
112 ro’reraig] i.e. he helped T:
uell] i.e. they helped, or assisted F.
113 tathig] i.e. a wild boar that was in a certain wood to the north of Kildare, and he did not allow other pigs near him; and Brigid blessed with her staff the wood at Ross na Ferta in Kildare to the north of Clocteche, so that after that the boar was at peace with them; it was he that became leader to them always Fm.

This is in Cogitosus c. 21.
114 do’sefhain] i.e. he chased TFm.
115 i.e. the wild pig TFm.
117 mug-art] i.e. ‘pig high,’ or ‘pig fat’ TFm.
118 i.e. to Brigid TFm.
A fat pig the king of Fotharta Tire gave—that land is in the South of O’Kinsela—every year to Brigid; as an offering . . . . the king of the Kinsela to Brigid; and the king of Fotharta further said that he would not give it to him, nor could he give it to Brigid in violation of his protection, but he would let it away outside, and wherever God would send

1 i.e. Old Kilcullen in Co. Kildare.
it . . . And it went to Mag Fea to Uachtar Gabra i.e. to the place where Brigid was F\footnote{Mag Fea is a level plain in the barony of Forth, Co. Carlow.}.

This is in Cogitosus c. 22. 'The O'Kinsela country was in co. Wexford.
dobret\textsuperscript{\textregistered} i.e. was taken \textit{TF}\textsuperscript{\textregistered}.
118 amra] i.e. it was good \textit{TF}\textsuperscript{\textregistered}.
120 Uachtur-Gabra] i.e. a big hill in the plain of Leinster \textit{TF}.
121 ashir] i.e. she gave \textit{TF}.
sinnach] i.e. [a man had killed a tame] fox of the queen at Maisten in \textit{U}i \textit{M}uredaig, and a movement was made to kill him for it. At that time Brigid chanced to be at Maisten, and she said . . . the son of the . . . [the king said]. Thou shalt get him under thy protection, provided that it would perform the trick that the other fox used to perform. Brigid afterwards blessed the wood and struck a hand-tree, so that a fox of the same tricks came to her. And Brigid gave it for the sake of the vereth. So the man was let off. The fox went into the wood, and nothing could be done to him, though all the dogs of Leinster were after him \textit{TF}.

There is a shorter form of this story in the Book of Lismore (p. 196).

It is also given by Cogitosus c. 23.
123 conselat] i.e. he ran away; or, it stretched \textit{T}.
124 do\textsuperscript{\textregistered}esefnatar] i.e. though they chased \textit{TF}.
125 menn] i.e. was plain \textit{TF}\textsuperscript{\textregistered}:
in \textit{Cell} Brigit i.e. in Kildare itself that was done \textit{F}\textsuperscript{\textregistered}.
126 mathair] . i. Brigid was unique de matrivos Christi \textit{T}.
127 senais] i.e. she blessed \textit{T}.

\textit{en}] i.e. a bird, i.e. a silver chain that a certain man brought as an offering to Brigid, and she gives it to the little girls that were along with her; for they were not pleased at nothing being given to them; and there came a certain leper to her, to beg something of her, so she gave him the chain without the knowledge of the girls; and they wept when they learnt it, so she asked them, "What equivalent would you ask to be given you for it?" In lieu thereof it pleased them, "that we should have your little bird, for it is pretty." Brigid blessed the bird, so that it was tame from one hand to another. What was the land of the bird from that time forth? Not hard . . . regionis, in which was found the true gold \textit{F}\textsuperscript{\textregistered}.

This explains line 128; the bird was so tame that it could be passed from one hand to another, without its trying to fly away. Cf. p. 43. above, and Cogitosus c. 24.

129 nonbur] i. of the \textit{UI Loscain} were they, ut ferunt \textit{F}.
senais] i.e. Brigid blessed \textit{F}:
Nine brothers of Leinster, who wanted to go to . . . in Conn's Half, for it is they who killed him . . . they came to Brigid to bless their arms . . . tune . . . miracles in Kildare. So Brigid blessed their arms for them. After the blessing of their arms, the men went southward, and the man chanced upon them, and they killed him. On the morrow after they had killed him as they thought . . . . . . . they did not get a drop of blood out of him, so that they were thankful for that; and the man escaped per gratiam Brigitae \textit{F}\textsuperscript{\textregistered}. 
This is in Cogitosus c. 25.

130 minna] i.e. their arms T. The reading of F, amesat, and its gl. aggan] [their spears?] are alike unknown.

131 for dacorsatar] i.e. whom they set upon T.

132 greta] i.e. wounds; or, was wounded T.

133 collann] i.e. for it was not upon a real person they inflicted their wounds but it was upon a pillar-stone T.

134 dorurme] i.e. would make its enumeration TF.

135 amra] i.e. good F:

ro'gab] i.e. he took F.

136 tren-fer] i.e. three strong men there were building the ditch of a man of Alene, where there is a small fort of the king of Leinster. These are their names, Mureth and Fiad and Lugaid. A dinner of a hundred men, each man of them ate. Now Lugaid was entrusted to the Churches for his feeding, but the other two men to the laity. Well, Lugaid begged of Brigid that she would diminish his appetite and would not take away his strength, and Brigid wrought that for him, and she blessed his mouth, so that his appetite was not greater than that of an ordinary man; and after that he went, and lifted up the stone, which the others, a hundred men of them, could not do before, from the ditch on to the top . . . F⁷⁹. Compare Cogitosus c. 26.

digais] i.e. she diminished his allowance, but none the less was the strength of Lugaid; i.e. Lugaid was a mighty man that lived in Leinster, and he was . . . i.e. food of a hundred he consumed as his food . . .

... (she took away his voracity) but did not diminish his strength T.

137 omna] i.e. it fell on the road, so that it took . . . but the (men of) Offaly were unable to raise it. And one time Brigid chanced to be on that road, and the (men of) Offaly implored of her to lift up the oak from the place where it lay; and she lifted it up after that through the might of the Son of God, so that it is still in the same place from that time to this F⁷⁹.

This is in Cogitosus c. 27.

138 digrais] i.e. wise F.

dothe] i.e. famous the deed F.

139 dobert] i.e. he gave, viz. Christ F.

140 arm] i.e. to a place F.

ro'cloth] i.e. in which it was . . . in which it was good F.

both] i.e. her (it?) to be (there) T.

141 sef] i.e. a pin T.

chleth] i.e. not to be hidden T:

i.e. that it was not right to hide or to conceal F.

142 fraic] i.e. towards a bondmaid TF.

Niaid] i.e. Nia, proprium nomen alicuius poetae T:

i.e. the champion F.

143 focrress] i.e. was flung TF.

vo'it] i.e. the length of a cast TF.

144 iack] i.e. the salmon TF:

i.e. a silver pin the king of Leinster gave her as a reward for her complaisance, he took her with him home to . . . he took it from the hand
of the bondmaid and he flung it from him into the sea to her detriment the poet asked the pin with the bondmaid of a salmon the pin was found.

At that time Brigid chanced to be in the house of (prayer) of Brigid towards God that there might be shown her the pin for which and an angel came, and ordered her to cast nets into the water i.e. into the sea, and a salmon would be caught in them, and the pin would be found in the middle; et sic factum est et liberata est ancilla de necessitate illa

The story is in Cogitosus c. 28; and is to the effect that a man deposited a silver pin with a woman ‘quam dolose retraxit illa ignorante et ictic in mare.’ Brigid saved the girl from evil consequences by predicting that the pin would be found in a salmon, which accordingly came to pass. There is a somewhat similar story told in the romance of Froech and Find-abair, printed by O’Beirne Crowe from the Book of Lernster.

145 amra] i.e. good TF.
di] i.e. for Brigid TF.
amra di] i.e. Once Brigid chanced to be at the fort of the king of Breg in Mag Coil in Fingal hodie, and the queen refused her (hospitality). A certain widow woman that dwelt beside the fort outside gave her a welcome, and (killed her calf) for her and set fire to her new weaving-beam under it. On the morrow through the favour of Brigid both calf and beam were quite whole. But now when the king heard of that, viz. that Brigid had come, (he went) to interview her, and that widow woman met him; as soon as the king saw her, he fell in love with her through the favour of Brigid, and took her to wife, and from her is the origin of the

Carrolls ut ferunt F

The first part of this story is in Cogitosus c. 29.

146 ard dou'tacht] i.e. feasted (?) her TF.
149 arailiv] i.e. this miracle was the greater for being wrought there also TF.

150 ar'id'ralastar] i.e. she effected TF.
152 dith] i.e. it sucked TF.
153 set] i.e. the valuable; or, the trinket gift F.

i.e. the trinket of silver, viz. three brothers to whom their father left a bar of silver, and the smiths of Ireland were unable to divide it exactly into three parts for them; so Brigid broke it, divided it TF: with her fist in Kildare T: was the miracle wrought F

This is in Cogitosus c. 30.

combag] i.e. he did not break TF.
154 di] i.e. it was a great miracle by Brigid.
155 ros'm'hri] i.e. she broke it; or she smote T.
157 foress] i.e. it was put TF.

eird] i.e. with the smith (in the smithy?) TF.
159 fuirecht] i.e. was not found T.
162 fail] i.e. was not found T.
dune] i.e. persons coming (?) F.

1 R.I.A. Irish MSS. Series, I., i, 147.
do' da' decha] i.e. who narrates T.

163 senais] i.e. she blessed F.

... Brigid blessed Condaead the Pious (and he) tried twice to go

to Rome. Brigid again blessed him, so he tried the third time ... ... ...

Brigid gave her cowl to another man, a leper, once

when she was guarding ... ... to Brigid upon him, quia non fuit

intus cere ... ... garment to Brigid, and it was brought, and she

had only one garment that she could give him, so he enquired of Ron-cend,

i.e. the sub-deacon, on account of the size of her garment ... ... to see

if he had not a garment. “There will be,” replied he, “provided thou put

prayer up to God.” Thereafter there was found a garment in a basket

that was with Ron-cend in a chariot of two wheels; they were under the

chariot. Or, not the name of a person at all was Ron-cend, but a garment

that had a resemblance to the skin of a seal’s head; it was found there, and it

was afterwards given to Condaead. Thereafter he, Condaead, set out on a

journey to go to Rome. Brigid said to him, “Though thou set out thou

shalt not arrive.” So it was fulfilled, for wolves ate him at Sceha Fmg.

In a note at May 3 in the Feliire of Oengus, the story is briefly told

that Ron-cend, otherwise Condaead, Bishop of Kildare and Brigid’s

chief artificer, tried to go to Rome in disobedience to Brigid’s orders,

but was devoured by wolves on the way. See p. 191 above, and Todd’s

St. Patrick, p. 23 ; compare Cogitosus c. 31.

dillaf] i.e. garment TF.

164 dobreth] i.e. he used to go; i.e. a semetispo it was brought Fmg.

Letha] i.e. to Rome TFmg.

165 mac] i.e. Christ; preceding her T.

ni’s derbrad] i.e. he defrauded her not TFmg.

167 dobert] i.e. he gave TFmg.

cril] i.e. in a basket of seal’s skin was the garment T.

169 of] i.e. the vat F; i.e. ale which the king of Leinster claimed from

the king of Uí Culdub, and it was owed to the latter by a man of his

people; and he came to Brigid to ask her to help him, for he had nothing
to give as he had given the ale to Brigid; but the king of Uí Culdub did
not accept that [excuse] from him, et proinde venit ad Brigitan, et necessi-
tatem habuit, so that after that there was put water into the vats that
were at hand in the neighbourhood of Brigid’s house, and Brigid

blessed that water, so that it became mead. And the poor man took

it home with him then, and there was no mead that was better than
it, and there was neither plus uel minus of it than was due de misero

Fmg.

This story is in O and in a shorter form in L. See Stokes’ Lismore,
P. 331.

di] i.e. to Brigid F.

dobreth] i.e. was given TF.

170 ances] i.e. it was not deep TF.

thucaal] to the person who gave the vat to Brigid T.

171 frith] i.e. ... . after drinking what there was in it, by

Brigid and her household T.

173 asrir] i.e. she gave T.
a hathaig] i.e. to a man of her folk TF.
175 furcyth] i.e. was not found TF.
177 tige] i.e. may they be upon us, her prayers T:
    i.e. may her prayer be of assistance to us F.
178 con'don'fair] i.e. may she succour us T:
    i.e. may she effect our help F.
179 leith] i.e. may the weaklings and the wretched be on our side
    praying for us T.
181 don'fair] i.e. may she effect our assistance T.
182 ialla] i.e. against demons T.
183 ciara] i.e. black; i.e. black flocks demoniorum F.
184 row'n'sradal] i.e. may they effect our deliverance TF.
186 eclais] On a vellum fragment bound up with T we have an etymological gloss, whose reference is probably to this verse: "eclais
    i.e. uaid and clais, 'trench of the cave'; or, clais 'stripe,' 'that is sewed
    (uaiig-) upon each one'; or, eclais from ecclesia, 'collectio iustorum,'
    the congregation of the righteous being therein." See vol. i. p. 190.
187 taithmet] i.e. recollection, i.e. correspondence TF:
    i.e. meeting T.
fiadat] i.e. of the good God F.
nath] i.e. better than any poetry T:
    is the poetry that is made for God T"ov:
    than any poem F.
189 aethch] i.e. I beseech T.
erlam] i.e. 'high her hand'; vast her hand [readiness], towards working miracles and marvels TF.
193 reied] i.e. she drove; i.e. she proceeded TF.
Currech] i.e. 'racing of horses'; a cursu equorum dictus est TF"ov.
194 fegi] i.e. against (sharpness) of the edges T.
195 fuar] i.e. I found not T.
set] i.e. her like T.
196 admunemar] i.e. we bless, or we beseech T.
Brigs] i.e. my Brigid T.
conada] i.e. may she help TF.
200 ternam] i.e. may we escape TF.
201 clothach] i.e. illustrious TF.
209 riched] i.e. 'rig-iath' or 'king-land,' in the land of the heavenly
    King TF.
210 dichill] i.e. violation of her protection (?) . . . . F.

The note in the lower margin of fol. 17 of T is, as Mr. Warren has observed (Antiphonary of Bangor, ii. 35), a favourite one with Irish scribes. To the instances of its occurrence which he has collected might be added the following. It occurs in the Preface to the Yellow Book of Lecan; and in the Stowe MS. C. 3. 2 (R.I.A. Collection). At fol. 1 of Egerton 89 the scribe has written: "In nomine patris et
    filii et spiritus sancti Amen." In nomine dei was a common dedicatory
    form on inscriptions in Rome and Gaul. See Petrie, Christian Inscrip-
    tions in the Irish language, ii. 150.
THE HYMN OF ST. SANCTAN.

This hymn exists only in the manuscripts T and F, so far as we know. The text of T has been printed by Stokes in Goidelica, as well as by Windisch; and the Preface from F has been reproduced by Nigra (Il manoscritto irlandese di S. Gallo, p. 29). An English translation of this F Preface is found in the Trinity College MS. classified E. 3. 28.

The date of Sanctan, who according to the Martyrology of Gorman, presided over the church of Killdaelas in Leinster, is quite unknown; and it was unknown in the days of the scholiast who wrote the Preface. “Famous Bishop Sanctan” is named in the Felire of Oengus at May 9, as well as by Gorman.

Inis Matoc mentioned in the preface has been identified with an island in the lake of Temple Port, Co. Leitrim, but there is no certain knowledge of the place.

1 ateoch] i.e. I beseech T.
amra] i.e. good, or, mirabilis T:
     i.e. good, or, wonderful, viz. at saving and protecting anyone against dangers F.
2 tressam] i.e. for there is not a nomen fortius quam nomen illius quod liberet hominem T. Cf. Phil. ii. 9.
3 long] i.e. after me TF.
     tuathum] i.e. northward of me TF.
The invocations in the Lorica of Patrick may be compared with these.
5 togairm] i.e. dei T:
     i.e. it is a holy invocation of God F.
6 guasach] i.e. in which I am, in danger T:
     that I may not be in danger F.
7 drochef] i.e. may each one come to it; or, ‘droch-set’ = ‘bad road,’ for the badness of the road across which it is made; or, ‘set diriuch = ‘direct road;’ for ‘droch’ is ‘diriuch,’ T:
     i.e. ‘set diriuch’ = ‘straight road,’ for ‘droch’ is ‘stretched out’ in Gaelic F.
8 issu] i.e. under me (my) face viz. countenance F.
9 don’foscail] i.e. may he awake us from the death of sin, or at Doomsday T:
     i.e. may he effect our awaking at Doomsday; or may he overshadow us, viz. he made that so that it is figurative, so that it is . . . . to him, quia ad similitudinem det facti sumus F\sup{aug}.
10 ba] i.e. it is to him alone to whom there is not certain the death of piety, for if it were we . . . . and death T:
     the Holy Spirit, ac si diceret, the spirit of Heaven, the household of heaven . . . . God from His Countenance . . . . certain death of piety . . . . the Father, i.e. in this fashion, i.e. may the lofty law of God overshadow us; aliter, lofty Trinity may it awake us F\sup{aug}.

The phrase ‘death of piety’ seems to mean ‘death in a state of grace.’
THE HYMN OF ST. SANCTAN.

11 *dun* i.e. in miracles and marvels T.
13 *fine* i.e. our deeds; *viz.* our sins F.
14 *fiaduit* i.e. ‘good God’ TF.
15 *dilbheich* i.e. uninvited, i.e. without fault God exists T:
   i.e. its faultiness is increased abundantly faulty F.
17 *siethe* i.e. every sorrow or disease T.
18 *frisinnle* i.e. may he minister T:
   i.e. may Christ effect the settlement of my questions; i.e. may Christ come towards the suffering F.
19 *testa* i.e. may the testifying Trinity (?) come to my assistance; or
   ‘triple’ i.e. three T:
   till the testifying Trinity come to overtake me, to protect me before
   crime or error befal F.
21 *tolam* i.e. ‘toil-ellam’ = silence-prepared; i.e. may it come in
   silence and in readiness T.
22 *celar* i.e. that is not hidden in songs TF:
   or, the battle-songs . . . or spear-shaft F:
   i.e. his songs are not hidden TF.

On the word *celar* see the Glossary (which must be referred to for
most of the difficulties of this poem).

23 *nim-thairle* i.e. of death the pang (be it not) to me in slaughter;
   i.e. may he not put colour of corpse on me; or, may he not put stumbling
   on me F. There were two readings: F* has ‘thasle, and apparently
   taisi li is intended as a sort of ety. gl.
   *amar* i.e. the cry of death is ‘uch ach!’ T:
   of death the cry; i.e. song of death; or ‘ach’ and ‘uch’, for this is the
   cry of death F.
24 *mortlaid* i.e. communis morbus F.
   i.e. quando plurimi percunt uno morbo i.e. swift death T:
   i.e. death swift, sudden death F*:
   i.e. unnatural TF.

See note on this word printed at p. 84.
25 *nim-thairle* or, ‘*nim-thuisle*’ i.e. let him not put stumbling
   on me T.
   *erchor* i.e. temptatio diabolica F.
26 *amnas* i.e. ‘am-inas’ i.e. bad condition T.
   *medras* i.e. omen-knowledge TF:
   i.e. which prognosticates the knowledge T.
   *bodras* i.e. troublesome knowledge i.e. which troubles the knowledge;
   disponitur i.e. a cast . . . which perturbs beyond the Son [of
   God] T.
27 *ainsi-unn* i.e. may he protect us F.
NOTES.

ern-bas] i.e. against every iron death TF. This is a common word in the Irish Tales. Cf. LL 132β40; 133β13; 150β35; 194β31, &c.

28 thein] i.e. against death TF.

threthan] i.e. against three-wave TF mag:
quia ferunt periti nautae that it is the third wave that most frequently sinks naues TF arg, F mag.
torbas] i.e. which humbles death (?) . . . ; dry death (?) ; or, weariness (?) death TF mag.

29 eic-lind] i.e. against every water of death; which produces death; or against every . . . F:
or, against everything which water drowns (?) T:
against everything that . . . F.
eslinn] i.e. that is unsafe T.

30 ainbthib] i.e. which is with storms and with horrors T.

31 dom'main'air] i.e. may it come to my assistance T.

thratha] i.e. either day or night T.

32 gaeth] i.e. against hurt, of wind TF. Yet the text seems to refer to 'perils of waters'; perhaps gaeth in both text and gl. is used in the sense of "a shallow stream into which the tide flows and which is formidable at low water" (MR 288, 5). Cf. the end of the gl. on l. 51 of the Altus Prosator.

33 luathfe] i.e. I shall set going T:
I shall utter F.

molthu] i.e. praises TF.

34 bages] i.e. it contended T:
which engages [to do] F.

Both words are, however, used to gloss glorior, 'I boast.'
baga] i.e. for deeds F.
finna] i.e. good TF.

35 friscera] i.e. He will reply TF.

36 lureck] i.e. God TF.

arbaig] i.e. which boasts TF.

mo thenga] i.e. out of which it may make battle TF.

37 digde] i.e. at praying God TF.

38 sigth] i.e. may it be lasting F.
sethrach] or, sethach, 'laborious' T.

39 ris] i.e. that I may not go to TF.

40 atech] i.e. I beseech TF.
ad'retach] i.e. I besought TF.

THE LORICA OF ST. PATRICK.

The legendary story of the composition of this famous hymn is given in the Tripartite Life (p. 45 ff.). The tale runs that Patrick and King Loegaire met at Tara Hill, when the latter was presiding at a heathen festival, which was to begin with the extinction of all fires throughout the country. But Patrick disregarded this regulation and defiantly lighted his paschal fire on the Hill of Slane in full view of the king and
his druids. Then followed a contest between the saint and the druids, in which Patrick triumphed, as Moses of old triumphed over the magicians of Egypt. The king thereupon purposed to kill Patrick by a treacherous assault; but he and his companions escaped, being miraculously transformed into deer. And the hymn or charm which he recited in his flight was the Lorica S. Patricii, commonly called, as the Preface informs us, Faeth Fiada, or "The Deer’s Cry." The end of the story tells of the conversion of the king to the Christian Faith. Save for the mention of the hymn, this legend is, in substance, contained in Muirchu Maccu Mactheni’s memoir in the Book of Armagh. That Muirchu does not say anything of the hymn is undoubtedly unfavourable to the truth of the legend that it was composed by Patrick.

The title Faeth Fiada is perplexing. Faed certainly means 'scream' or 'cry,' cf. MR 72, 23, 230, 19. But the MSS. have not faed, but feth, which Colgan prints feth; and feth means 'peace,' 'calm.' On this hypothesis, the title should mean, "The Deer’s Repose." It is possible, however, that a quite different explanation may be the true one. Feth fia is found in the Book of Ballymote, 345β in a gloss on the word druid; it there is equated with aisdinecht and seems to mean 'the divination.' O’Donovan, similarly, in his Supplement to O’Reilly’s Dictionary, translates feth fia ‘magical darkness.’ O’Curry observes that feth fiadha was a spell, peculiar to druids and poets, who by pronouncing certain verses made themselves invisible.1 And thus our Lorica may have gained its title not from any tradition about St. Patrick and the deer at Tara, but from its use as a charm or incantation to ensure invisibility.

The piece was first printed by Petrie in his essay on the Antiquities of Tara Hill (1839), with a translation by O’Donovan. A much better translation was given by Dr. Whitley Stokes in the Saturday Review for Sept. 5, 1857; and the same editor has printed the hymn in Goidelica from the manuscripts T and Θ, as well as in the Rolls’ Tripartite. Another valuable edition is that by Windisch in his Irische Texte.

The only MSS., save T and Θ, which we know to contain the piece are Egerton 93 and Egerton 190. The latter is quite modern, and of no value; the collation of the former which we have made does not seem worth printing, but we have had it before us while preparing the translation given above. Our register of the variants of Θ has been derived from Dr. Stokes’ transcript of that MS. in Goidelica.2

Metrical translations by J. C. Mangan, J. J. Murphy, and Mrs. C. F. Alexander will be found in Dr. Wright’s little volume on The Writings of Patrick the Apostle of Ireland (p. 109). Dr. Sigerson has printed in his Bards of the Gael and Gall (p. 137), a translation in which the irregular rhythm of the original is imitated.

That the hymn is of early date can be little doubt. As we have said, it is not mentioned in Muirchu’s memoir, but in a passage already cited (p. 97) from Tirechan’s collections in the Book of Armagh there occurs the injunction "Canticum eius scoticum semper canere," as one

1 Atlantis III., 386.
2 See Vol. i p xx.
NOTES.

of the four special honours to be paid to Patrick in all Irish monasteries. And there seems no good reason for hesitating to identify this "Canticum Scotticum" with the piece before us. The language of the hymn is so uncouth in its grammatical forms that it affords no sure basis for argument. But, at least, it is more likely that these grammatical anomalies should be survivals of perversions of some older form of speech than that they should have been deliberately constructed in times subsequent to St. Patrick to give the piece an archaic flavour. Again, internal evidence would suggest that the hymn was written at a time when paganism had still considerable influence. True, the druids lived on in Ireland long after it became a Christian country; and some of the old superstitions have survived to our own time. But nevertheless lines 47-54 appear prima facie to have reference to existing and recognised pagan belief.

In his Essay on Tara Hill, published in 1839, Petrie stated that some portions of this hymn were then in use among the peasantry, and repeated at bedtime as a protection against evil. We do not know whether this is still true; but it is worth while to observe that the structure of the piece seems to have been followed more or less closely in the composition of later charms of a similar character. For example, in the manuscript belonging to the Royal Irish Academy classed 23 E. 16 there is at p. 237 a lorica, a portion of which is worth printing here for comparison in the translation kindly made for us by Mr. E. J. Gwynn:—

"God be with me against every sorrow, even the One noble Three, The Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit!

The Trinity be my protection against swarms of plagues,
Against sudden death, against terror, against treacheries of marauders!
May high Jesus keep me against the Red Plague!
Against demons at all times, the Son of God is my shield,
Against disease, against hurts, against thunder, against fire.

Against weapons, against terror, against venom of darts,
Against danger, against treachery, against hidden poisons,
Against every form of sickness he pours on the world.
Every (blessing) without pain, every pure prayer,
Every ladder that reaches heaven shall be an aid to me,
Every good saint who suffered on the surface of the earth,
Every chaste disciple who was tortured for Christ,
Every meek, every gentle, every candid, every pure person,
Every confessor, every soldier, who happens to live under the sun,
Every venerable patron saint who should reach me for luck,
Every one, gentle or simple, every saint who has suffered the Cross.

Every righteous modest son under the roof of the glassy heaven,
From the sunset in the west to Mount Zion eastward,
May they protect me henceforth against the demons of the mist, 
They, the comrades of the King's Son in the lands of the living.

36 May I be under the hand of God against every danger!"

This last lorica naturally falls into three divisions. In lines 1-6 the 
might of the Trinity is invoked; then from line 7-16 the dangers are 
enumerated against which protection is desired; and finally the aid of 
saints and angels is asked in the warfare against evil. The Lorica of 
Gildas (vol. i. p. 206), in like manner, begins with an invocation of the 
Trinity, goes on to invoke saints and angels, and then proceeds to a 
detailed enumeration of the parts of the human body which might be 
subject to injury.1 The structure of Patrick's Hymn is more complex 
than either of these, and it presents features, such as the special 
invocations of Christ in His Incarnate Life, which they do not contain; 
but the likeness is obvious. It will be observed that the fine idea of 
lines 11-20 in Patrick's Hymn has been developed in the later pieces 
into a formal invocation of saints and heavenly powers. The opening 
invocation of the Trinity, which is found in all three loricas, is un-
doubtedly a very ancient Celtic form. It will be remembered that the 
hymn of St. Colman Mac Murchon (vol. i. p. 44) begins in like 
fashion: "In Trinitate spes mea fixa, non in omnine."

The grammatical peculiarities of the poem, first of which is niurt 
(which is dat in l. 2, acc in l. 9, and nom in l. 32), have been pointed 
out for the most part in the Glossary.

The opening word atomriug has been variously translated; but 'I 
arise' is the rendering we have finally adopted. It is thus not in any 
special grammatical connexion with the following lines, all of which 
have reference to tocuirir (l. 48) 'I invoke,' the one principal verb in 
the piece. The general meaning of the clauses is "each day, when I 
arise, I invoke, &c."

1. 8. There is an etymological gloss on adnocul 'burial' on the last 
of the vellum fragments bound up with T. See vol. i. p. 190. It is as 
follows; "adnocul i.e. ead + nae + ccul, ed meaning 'law,' and nae 
'man,' and ccul 'observance'; i.e. 'observance of the law of man.'"

1. 9. Stokes compares the words of the Milan Gloss (24 a. 18), 
cuasa de diar n-eileacht intan mbimmi isnaib fochaidib, "God's ears 
to hear us when we are in the sufferings." The likeness is undoubted, 
but we should hesitate to conclude therefrom that the glossator 
borrowed from the lorica, although we are disposed, as we have said, to 
acquiesce in the traditional authorship of St. Patrick.

1. 13. With lines 13-20 may be compared the very similar language 
of a Latin prayer found in the manuscript Reg. 2. A. xx (J). It is 
headed Oratio matutina, and is as follows:—

Ambulemus in prosperis huius diei luminis
In uirtute altissimi dei deorum maximae
In beneplacito Christi in luce spiritus sancti
In fide patriarcharum.

1 See below, p. 244.
NOTES.

5 In gaudio angelorum in uia archangelorum
In sanctitate sanctorum in operibus manachorum
In martyrio martyrum in castitate virginum
In Dei sapientia
In multa patientia in doctorum prudentia
In carnis abstinencia in linguae continentia
In trinitatis laudibus
In acutis sensibus in bonis actibus

SEMPER CONSTITUTI.

In formis spiritualibus
In diuinis sermonibus in benedictionibus

10 In his est iter omnium pro Christo laborantium
Quod ducit nos post obitum in gaudium sempiternum.¹

l. 60. In the Lorica of Mugron, preserved in two manuscripts of the
Royal Irish Academy (\(\frac{23}{G_4}\) and \(\frac{23}{G_5}\)) we have some invocations which
seem to be modelled on ll. 61–65 of the Lorica of Patrick, viz.:

“The Cross of Christ with me in my good luck, in my bad luck;
The Cross of Christ against every strife, abroad or at home;
The Cross of Christ in the East with courage (?), the Cross of Christ
in the West at sunset;
South, North without any stay, the Cross of Christ without any delay;
The Cross of Christ above towards the clear sky, the Cross of Christ
below towards earth.
There shall come no evil nor suffering to my body or to my soul,
The Cross of Christ at my sitting, the Cross of Christ at my lying;
The Cross of Christ all my strength, till we reach the King of
Heaven!”

This Lorica of Mugron,² according to a colophon at the end, was
copied by Michael O’Clery from the “Book of Armagh,” i.e. not the
famous manuscript which now goes by that name, but another volume
used by the Four Masters in their work.

THE LAMENTATION OF ST. AMBROSE.

This curious piece has not been printed before, and we have not
found it elsewhere. It is alphabetical, and not only so, but the lines in
each stanza begin for the most part with the same letter, as will be
observed on inspection. A somewhat similar piece is ascribed to
Isidore (Migne P.L. lxxxiii. 1251); and Mr. Warren has printed
(Antiph. of Bangor II. 101) an alphabetical set of prayers from the
manuscript we have called J, which will bear comparison with it.

The notes written at this point in the margins of T (see vol. i. pp.
142, 3) are interesting. That at the top of fol. 20b we have not

¹ The phraseology of the collect in the Stowe Missal (fol. 27), printed in Warren’s Celtic Liturgy,
p. 244, may also be compared with these lines.
² The translation given above is due to Mr. E. J Gwynn.
succeeded in identifying. It seems to be a fragment of bad hexameter verse.

The extract at the top of fol. 21 from Augustine is from a passage now prescribed in the Roman Breviary as a lection at the third nocturn in the Commune Doctorum.

Then comes the verse Apoc. vii. 12, which is also found in the Breviary more than once; e.g., it is the Capitulum at Nones on All Saints’ Day. We do not quite know what to make of the rubric (?) which follows: “Uesperæ psalmus cotidie cantatur post prandium vel ballenium.” The word we read psalmus is almost illegible, and we are not sure about it. In any case it is not probable that the so-called Lamentatio Ambrosii is the piece referred to; so gloomy a penitential would hardly have been counted suitable “post prandium,” as a kind of grace after meat. But as we have remarked before, (vol. i. p. xxix) the presence of this rubric suggests the use of the Book of Hymns at daily choir services, and so is interesting as being one of the very few direct pieces of evidence we have got for the fact.¹

The ethnological and etymological notes at the top of fol. 21b seem to be merely memoranda. The Irish words in the fragment may be translated: scenopodi i.e. the one-legged men; i.e. the broadfooted men. labrosi; their lower lip they thrust out beyond their (chin).

M. Berger has printed² a remarkable penitential piece ascribed to St. Patrick in a tenth-century MS. now at Angers, but which he supposes to have been written at Tours. It presents some points of interest in connexion with the Lamentatio Ambrosii, and we reproduce it here.

**Incipit Confessio Sancti Patricii Episcopi.**


Ego peto remissionem peccatorum meorum, Deus meus Iesu Christe. Tu es qui neminem uis perire sed omnes uis saluos fieri et ad agnitionem ueritatis unire. Tu, Deus, ore tuo sancto et casto dixisti: In quacunque die conversus fuerit peccator, uita uiuet et non morietur. Ego reuertar ad te, Deus, et in omni corde clamabo ad te, Deus meus, et tibi nunc uolo confiteri peccata mea. Multiplicata sunt delicta mea.

¹ The note on fol. 22 is an extract from a Canon of the Hibernensis collection dealing with the duties of principes, which apparently means kings. It may possibly, however, refer to the duties of an abbot. The general tenor is not unlike that of Sedulius’ treatise De rectoribus Christianis.

² Recueil Celtique, xvi. 155.
super me, quia peccata mea numerum non habent ante oculos tuos, Domine, reus conscientia testis adisisto. Rogare non audeo quod inpetrare non mereor. Tu enim scis, Domine, omnia quae aguntur in nobis, et erubescimus confiteri quod per nos non timemus admittere. Uerbis tibi tantum obsequimur, corde mentimur. Et quod uelle nos [non] discimus, nostris actibus adprobamus. Parce, Domine, contentibus, ignosc peccantibus. Miserere tu rogantibus,quia in sacramentis tuis measens sus infirmus est. Praesta, Domine, ut, qui ex nobis duro corde uerba non suscipis, per te nobis ueniam largiaris, Jesus Christus Dominus noster.

Confitebor tibi, Deus meus, quia ego peccau in caelo et in terra et coram te et coram angelis tuis et coram facie omnium sanctorum tuorum.

Peccau per neglegentiam mandatorum tuorum et factorum meorum.
Peccau per superbiam et per inuidiam.
Peccau per detractionem et per avaritiam.
Peccau per luxoriem et per malitiam.
Peccau per fornicationem et per gulam.
Peccau per falsum testimonium et per odium hominum.
Peccau per furtum et per rapinam.
Peccau per blasphemiam et per desiderium carnis.
Peccau per ebrietatem et per odioas fabulas.
Peccau per contentiones et per rixam.
Peccau per iuramentum et iracundiam.
Peccau per laetitiam terrenam et transitoriam.
Peccau per terorem et per suauitatem mentis meae.
Peccau per dolum et per murmurationem.
Peccau per instabilitatem mentis fidei et per dubietatis impietatem.
Peccau per inmisericordiam et per spernationem hominum.
Peccau per praua et per iniqua opera [et] iudicia.
Peccau per neglegentiam et per obliuionem operum Dei.
Peccau per uagationem et per discretionem mentis meae.
Peccau per inpacientiam et per spei imperfectionem.
Peccau per duritiam et per cecitatem cordis uel mentis.
Peccau per [in]observationem amoris Dei et proximi.
Peccau per inobodientiam et per amissionem bonorum constitutorum.
Peccau per amissionem caelestium desideriorum et per amorem terrenarum rerum.
Peccau per studia iniquitatis et per dolosa argumenta.
Peccau per exempla iniqua et per humanitatis obsordes.
Peccau per accidiam uanam et per stuporem mentis.
Peccau per fuctam humilitatem et amissionem amoris Dei.
Peccau per maledictionem et per diuinationes.
Peccau per imperfectionem uotorum meorum et per machinamenta iniqua.
Peccau per scrutinyonem maiestatis Dei et caelestis uitae.
Peccau per pompas corporis et per ambitiones fauorum hominum.
Peccau per intemperantiam hilaritatis et furoris.
Peccavi per tedia et per desidiam mentis.
Peccavi per consilia iniquitatis et per redditionem mali.
Peccavi per concupiscientiam et perpetrationem libidinis.
Peccavi per consentiorem et per conscientiam actuum iniquorum
atque verborum.

Peccavi per dominici diei operationes et per inlecebr[os]as cogitationes.

Peccavi per tedia et per desidiam mentis.
Peccavi per consilia iniqiiitatis et per redditionem mali.
Peccavi per concupiscientiam et perpetrationem libidinis.
Peccavi per consentiorem et per conscientiam actuum iniquorum
atque verborum.

Peccavi in oculis meis et in auribus meis.
Peccavi in manibus meis et in labis meis et in omnibus
factis meis.

Peccavi in lingua et in gutture.
Peccavi in collo et in pectore.
Peccavi in corde et in cogitationibus.
Peccavi in mente et in operationibus.
Peccavi in manibus et in pedibus.
Peccavi in ossibus et in carne.
Peccavi in medullis et in renibus.
Peccavi in anima mea et in omni corpore meo.

Si nunc erit uindicta tua super me tanta quanta in me ipso fuerunt
peccata mea multiplicata, iudicium tuum quomodo sustineo? Sed
habes te sacerdotem summum ad quem confiteor omnia peccata mea.
Id tibi soli, Deus meus, quia tibi soli peccavi et malum coram te feci.
Et quia tu es, Deus, solus sine peccato, obserco te, Domine Deus
meus, per passionem atque per signum salutiferae crucis tuæ atque per
effusionem sanguinis tui, quo tu concedas mihi remissionem omnium
peccatorum meorum. Peto te, Domine meus Iesu Christe, quod mihi
non reddas secundum meritum meum, sed secundum magnum miserici-
dordiam tuam. Iudica me, Domine, secundum iudicium indulgentiae
tuae. Ego te peto et adiuvo, Deus meus omnipotens, ut tu in me
colloces amorem et timorem tuum. Suscita in me paenitentiam
peccatorum meorum et fletum pro nomine tuo. Da mihi memoriam
mandatorum tuorum et adiuua me, Deus meus, dele iniquitatem meam
a conspectu tuo et ne auertas faciem tuam ab oratione mea. Ne
proicias me a facie tua. Ne derelinquas me, Deus meus, ne disces-
NOTES.

seris a me, sed confirma me in tua uoluntate. Doce me quid debeam
non agere, quid facere aut loqui, quid tacere. Defende me, Domine
Deus meus, contra iacula diaboli et contra angelum tartari suuggerentem
et docentem multa mala. Ne deseras me, Domine Deus meus, neque
derelinquas unum et miserum famulum tuum, sed adiuva me, Deus
meus, et perfice in me doctrinam tuam. Doce me facere uoluntatem
tuam, quia tu es doctor meus, et Deus meus qui regnas in secula secu-
lorum. Amen.

AN ABRIDGEMENT OF THE PSALTER.

The preparatory note to this collection of 365 verses gathered from
the Book of Psalms in regular order, states (a) that it was made by
Pope Gregory, and (b) that the recitation of these 365 verses is not only
equivalent to a recitation of the whole Psalter, but that it has the
virtue as well, "sacrificii et fidelis animarum commendationis." This
highly convenient arrangement for getting rapidly over one's devotions
recalls the Celtic doctrine explained (p. 98), that the recitation of the
last three verses of a hymn was as efficacious as if the whole hymn were
said.

We have other instances of these collections of verses from the
Psalter. There is one printed among Bede's works, entitled Libellus
Precum (Migne P.L. xciv. 515). A Psalterium abbreuiatum attributed
to St. Jerome is frequently met with in service books. And the idea
that the recitation of certain verses had peculiar efficacy occurs in a
curious form in a legend of St. Bernard of Clairvaux. A demon once
mocked him by the assurance that he knew of eight verses, the recitation
of which was equivalent to the recitation of the whole Psalter. The
saint begged to be told what these verses were; and, the demon refusing
the information, he declared that he would henceforth daily recite the
entire Psalter, so that the precious verses might always be included.
The demon then disclosed the situation of the verses; they were
Ps. xii. 4, xxx. 6, xxxviii. 5, lxxxv. 17, cxv. 16, cxli. 5, cxli. 6.1

In the Book of Cerne (C), eleven folios (from fol. 87b to fol. 98b),
are taken up with an exactly similar collection to that before us. The
versicles selected in C are not always the same as those in T, and the
collection is not quite as long, but the general plan is the same. At
the beginning there is an almost defaced title, of which the last letters
seem to be: "...entia forsorum eal* said eps decerpit." The
name of Ethelwald appears on fol. 21a, so it is possible that this may
be the name of the bishop who made the C collection. In C the
number of separate orationes is not easy to determine; but we counted
over 260 coloured initial letters.

If the number of verses in T be counted, it will be found that
there are only about 240 instead of 365 as promised in the title; but
on examination it will be seen that there is an obvious gap between
fol. 24b. and fol. 25, for we make a sudden advance from Ps. xlii. 3

1 Wordsworth's Ecclesiastical Biography, II. 66, note.
to Ps. lxix. 6, whereas both before and after the text has been fairly continuous. This indicates that a page, or more probably two pages, has been lost from T at this point. If the MS. were not thus mutilated, we should no doubt find our full number of 365 verses.

The number 365 seems, for whatever reason, to have been a favourite one with Irish writers. Nennius says, e.g. that St. Patrick founded in Ireland 365 churches, and consecrated 365 bishops. We may be quite as sceptical as Todd was as to the accuracy of these figures; but the choice of the number 365 is here significant. Again the Irish tract de Arreis, on the penitential commutations, begins with the words: "The arreum for saving a soul out of hell, viz.: 365 paternosters and 365 genuflexions and 365 blows with a scourge on every day to the end of a year, and fasting every month saves a soul out of hell." And it is by no means unlikely that the old tradition that there were 360 crosses on the island of Iona may have a great deal more truth in it than Reeves was willing to allow.

Both the plan of this collection of verses from the Psalms and their number, are, then, distinctly Celtic. The triple division of the Psalter, usual in Irish books, next claims attention. It will have been observed that several times in the Book of Hymns, the Psalter has been described as "the Three Fifties." This is indeed the regular Celtic designation for the Psalter; and it is worth observing that the phrase first occurs, so far as we know, in the Prologus in librum Psalmorum of Hilary of Poictiers, whose relations to Celtic Christianity have been touched on above (p. 127). His words are: "Tribus uero quinquagesimis psalmorum liber continetur: et hoc ex ratione ac numero beatae illius nostrae expectationis exsistit." (Migne P. L. ix. 239). In Irish Psalters these divisions are nearly always clearly marked by large initial letters, sometimes elaborately illuminated; i.e. the initials of the Psalms Beatus uir (i), Quid gloriaris (li) and Domine exaudi (ci), are treated with special care. A good instance is the Southampton Psalter (2); another is the Psalter of Ricemarch at Trinity College, Dublin. In the collection of versicles in the Book of Cerne (C), of which we have spoken, the triple division is thus indicated by large letters at the points Psalm i. 1–3, and ci. 2. In the collection before us it seems to have been made even more conspicuous. The first point of division occurred on one of the lost folios; but the first and third divisions are preceded by the introductory versicle Deus in adjutorium, the initial D being specially large, and the second and third are concluded by the Pater noster.

The short office at the end will be observed. The Credo and the Pater noster are followed by the prayer: "Ascendat oratio nostra usque ad thronum claritatis tuae domine, et ne uacua reuertatur ad nos postulatio nostra. Amen. Amen. Amen. Alleluia." This prayer is found in the Stowe Missal (S) with the rubric Haec oratio in omni

1 See Ussher, Works, iv., 322
2 St. Patrick, p. 28.
3 It has been printed from the manuscript 9 by Kuno Meyer in the Revue Celtique xv. 423ff.
4 See his Adamnan, p. 419, for the tradition, which Reeves scouts without serious examination.
The Hymn Alto et ineffabili.

In the Life of St. Ciaran of Clonmacnoise (c. 26), as quoted by Colgan, we read: “Unus ex praeclipuis Hiberniae est et merito numeratur Apostolis iuxta quod de ipso ceceit eius condiscipulus et coapostolus sanctissimus Columba in hymno quodam quem in eius composuit laudem dicens:

Quantum Christe O apostolum mundo misisti hominem
Lucerna huius insulae lucens lucerna mirabilis, etc.”¹

The first line of this couplet is almost identical with line 8 of the piece Alto et ineffabili, which suggests that this may be the hymn in question. It is mentioned again in the manuscript (wrongly) called the Book of Kilkenny in Marsh’s Library at Dublin, where at fol. 148aa we read: “Et fecit sanctus Columba ympnum sancto Kiarano,” a hymn which Ciaran’s successor at Clonmacnoise called clarus et laudabilis. Columba, the story goes, asked in return for some earth from St. Ciaran’s grave, with which he calmed the stormy water on his way back to Iona.²

This St. Ciaran, who is to be carefully distinguished from St. Ciaran of Saighir, was the founder of the great monastery of Clonmacnoise, and in its Annals the year of his death is given as 547. He is counted one of “the twelve Apostles of Ireland,” and in the Martyrology of Donegal (at Septr. 9) he is compared to the Apostle St. John. He was known in his life time as Ciaran mac an t-saor, or “Son of the Carpenter”; and was a friend of St. Kevin, as of St. Columba. His memory still survives in the place called “Temple Kieran,” about four miles from Navan. In Cornwall the name of Ciaran (of Saighir) has become corrupted to Piran, to whom there were many churches dedicated.

At the end of the Vita S. Kiarani contained in the two manuscripts which we call Y and Z, a composite Latin hymn is found which we reproduce here³:

¹ Compare the same story in the life of St. Ciaran in the Book of Lismore, ed. Stokes, p. 263 ff.
² See Reeves’ Adamnan, p. 263.
³ The piece will be found at fol. 130 of Y, and at fol. 94 of Z. Their texts are almost identical.
Matre Quiarani sedente in curru uolubili
sonitum magus audiuit perdivitque seruulis
uidete quis sit in curru nam sub rege resonat
coniunct iniquiunt Beodi sedet hic artificis

5 Magus inquit gratum cunctis ipsa regem pariet
cuius opera fulgebunt ut Phesus in ethere
miles Christi Keranus sancti sedes spiritus
spiritali piétatis uirtute fluerat

Uitulum uacce lactentem iam cani concenserat
Keranum inde grauiter mater reprehenderat
uitulum cane uoratum ab ipso exegerat
cuius ossa max apportans ipsum restarauerat

10 Mulieris regie caput decaluatrum
seue zelo pelicus fuerat nudatum

In Querani nomine cum esset signatum
aurea cessarie fulserat ornatum
Cum Queranus studii sacris teneretur
atque tempus posceret ut operaretur
pro ipso ab angelis tunc mola mouetur
textus euangelicus in stagnum ecciderat
Sic uoluto tempore per Querani merita
integrum de gurgite uacca reportauerat

cum puer oraret dominum precibusque uacaret
ignis ab excelsis uenerat arce poli

Defunctusque puer conspexit brauia uite
et sancti magnum glorificant dominum
de celis lapsus rutilans accenditur ignis
et peragit proprium protinus officium

Alto et ineffabili apostolorum cetui
celéstis Ierosolime sublimioris specule
sedenti tribunalibus solis modo micantibus
Queranus sacerdos sanctus insignis Christi nuntius

Inaltatus est manibus angelorum celestibus
consumatis felicibus sanctitatum generibus
quem tu Christe apostolum mundo misisti hominem
gloriosum in omnibus nouissimis temporibus.

This hymn is plainly made up from different sources. Ll. 1-12, ll. 13-19, and ll. 20-22, are all distinct from each other and from ll. 23-28, which are in elegiac metre, as well as from ll. 29-36 (the first two stanzas in T) which form, perhaps, the only specifically Celtic fragment in the whole. Mr. H. A. Wilson has suggested that ll. 13-19 may possibly be responds, like some of those in the Aberdeen Breviary. But without entering upon any investigation of the sources of its various parts, this composite piece is sufficiently interesting to justify printing
it in its integrity. YZ preserve the true readings ineffabili, cetui (l. 1), speculae from specula, a watchtower (l. 2), and sedenti (l. 3).

The vocabulary is remarkable. The words ineffabilitis, coetus, sublimis, specula, micare, saerados, inaltare, sanctitas, genus do not occur elsewhere in the Liber Hymnorum.

Dreves (Analecta hymnici mediæ ævi xix. 172) has printed the stanzas found in T; but without reference to the manuscripts YZ.

The legends about St. Ciaran which are obscurely alluded to in this hymn will be found in Irish in the life of the saint in the Book of Lismore (p. 265ff), and in Latin in Acta Sanctorum ex codice Salmanticensi (p. 155ff).

With l. 3. cf. the observation of Stokes (Lismore, p. 356) that 'currus sub rege resonat' was a common proverbial expression, and occurs again in the Vita Sancti Aidui (Cambro-British Saints, p. 233). Cf. also Colgan’s Vita tertia of St. Brigid c. 1.

l. 9. The story in this stanza is in Lismore, p. 267.

l. 15. The spelling Quiaranus, of which Queranus is a further corruption, illustrates the not uncommon interchange in Irish MSS. of C and Q.

l. 17. The story of the manuscript, which was uninjured by water, is in Lismore, p. 275.

l. 23. The allusions in this and the following lines are explained by the story in Lismore, p. 277.

l. 32. Dreves prints urgo for insignis; but the latter is the reading of T.

THE HYMN OF ST. MOLACE.

This alphabetical hymn was first published in the Irish Eccl. Record, v. 224 (1869), and has been also printed in Dreves’ Analecta, xix. 222, but with some inaccuracies. It was known to Ussher, who doubtless had read it in T. In his Antiquitates, he says: “Ad Laisreanum pergo, Hibernice Molaisse dictum ... quem antiquissimus hymnus iuxta alphabeta ordinem in laudem ipsius compositus Macculasrium nominat:

Lucerna erat in tota
Macculasrius Hibernia
Nadfraich et sanctus filius.”

St. Molaise of Devenish, who is to be distinguished from St. Molaise of Leighlin (Aug. 12), was the son of one Natfraich; he is celebrated in the Martyrologies on Sept. 12, and the Annals of Ulster give 563 as the year of his death. His Acta may be conveniently read in Acta Sanctorum ex codice Salmanticensi, p. 791; and there is an interesting

1 Works, vi., 531.
2 It is from St. Molaise of Leighlin that the village of Lamlash, in the island of Arran and St. Molio’s Cave in Holy Island, derive their names.
THE HYMN OF MAEL-ISU.

Life of him in the R.I.A. manuscript collection \( \frac{23}{A. 43} \). An English translation of his Life from the MS. Add. 18205 in the British Museum is printed by Mr. S. H. O'Grady in *Silua Guadélíca*.

He was the founder of the monastery at Devenish, an island in Lough Erne, and for many centuries his memory lingered there. A stone coffin, called the Bed of St. Molaise, used to be shown to pilgrims, and was supposed to have healing virtues. For a description of his so-called 'Shrine' see Todd, *Proc. R.I.A.* vii. 331.

It has been suggested with some plausibility that this hymn is derived from an office for the Feast of St. Molaise, of which a fragment is extant as a marginal note in the Martyrology of Donegal at Sept. 12, viz.: 

"Antiphona communis: Uir dei dum uerbum uita populo predicaret, uisus est a terra paululum sublimari et in aere pendere et mirati sunt uniuersi. Adesto nobis, quaesumus domine, ut beati Lasreani confessoris tui atque abbatis interuentu ab omni inquisitione mundemur corporis et mentis per Christum dominum nostrum."

The vocabulary of this piece is unlike anything else in the *Liber Hymnorum*, and indicates a later date than the majority of the hymns. The words *abbas, omnino, ecclesiasticus, anthleta, macula, subagrínus* (a curious word, apparently meaning *rustic*), *supplex, subnissus, iëiunus, lucerna, peritus, obitus, securus, particeps*, and *praer* (in the last line in the sense of beyond, as compared with) do not occur elsewhere in the collection.

**THE HYMN OF MAEL-ISU.**

This hymn is printed in *Goidelica* by Stokes. A metrical translation is given in Dr. Sigerson's *Bards of the Gael and Gall* (p. 192). Possibly the Mael Isu, named as the author, is Mael Isu, the grandson of Brolchan, who died in 1086, according to the Annals of Tighernach. Other poems by him are found in the Book of Lismore (at fol. 52), in the Yellow Book of Lecan, and in the margin of the B copy of the *Felire* of Oengus at Dec. 31. This last is a curious devotional piece in Latin and Irish, and has been translated in Olden's *Church of Ireland*, p. 426.

It will be observed that the date of Mael Isu of necessity brings down the date of this part of our principal MS. (T) to the end of the eleventh century at the earliest. But we have already remarked (p. 218) that the handwriting of the MS. changes in character at fol. 23b, and that the later pieces have certainly been added at a time long subsequent to the transcription of the more important part of the book. On the metre see p. lviii above.

A writer in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* (v. 224) has identified Mael-Isu with Molaise, a hymn in praise of whom immediately precedes the one before us; but there is no ground for this identification. Mael-Isu means "the tonsured servant of Jesus."
THE NAMES OF THE APOSTLES.

This quatrain calls for no comment. As usual Madian is the form assumed by the name Matthias; and Partholon is the equivalent of Bartholomew. It occurs in the Felire of Oengus as a note at July 31, where there is special mention of "the twelve apostles who excel every number." See p. 110 above.

THE HYMN ECCE FULGET CLARISSIMA.

This hymn in praise of St. Patrick is found in T, and also in the manuscript we designate W. at fol. 122. In the latter it forms part of an office for St. Patrick's Day, and is divided into two parts, collects, &c., being inserted between ll. 12 and 13. From these two manuscripts it has been printed, though not very correctly, by Dreves' Analecta, xix. 233.

Colgan printed the hymn in his Trias (p. 189). He says that he took it from a book entitled "Officium sancti Patricii impressum Parisiis anno MDCXXII." This book we have not seen, but Colgan's text is almost the same as that contained in a volume edited by Thos. Messingham: "Officia SS. Patricii, Columbae, Brigidae, et aliorum quorundam Hiberniae sanctorum ex ueteribus membranis et manuscriptis breuiariis desumpta. Parisiis MDCXX." In this the hymn appears in the office for the translation of the relics of the patron saints of Ireland to Downpatrick, which took place in the year 1186. As the old distich says:

"Hi tres in Duno, tumulo cumulantur in uno,
Brigida, Patricius, atque Columba pius."

The text of the hymn in this book and in Colgan differs considerably from both T and W, and must have been derived from some MS. now lost, or at least unknown to us. For instance Colgan's text exhibits the following variants amongst others: 2 om qua; 4 puritatis pro dignitatis; 5 felici hic ortus; 7 rectus; 8 duxerat; 13 sacra; 14 dominum pro omnium; om 15 and 16; 22 dono suae.

It may be remarked of this, as of the last two hymns, that its vocabulary shows it to be of a different period from the hymns in the Liber Hymnorum proper. The following words found in it do not occur in the rest of the book: solemnitias, transscendo, pueritia, prosapia, baptisma, studeo, prescius, elemens, dirigo, fructiferus, idolatra (apparently for idololatra in the sense of idolatrous), mergo, aduenio, gentilis, gentilitas, confllu, respuo, colo, liber, remeo, patria, astutia, expello, quapropter, dilectissimus, presul, psallo, alterno, uitium, perfruor, uisio, paraditus.

The hymn has been recently printed from T, with an English translation, by Dr. C. H. H. Wright.¹

¹ See Reeves, Eccl. Ant. of Down and Connor, p. 227.
² The Writings of St. Patrick, p. 39.
THE HYMN PHOEBI DIEM.

This hymn has been recently printed by Dreves (Analecta, xix. p. 98) from T; we do not know any other text of it, nor have we been able to trace its history. It was probably an office hymn of a late period; the vocabulary is strangely different from any other piece in our collection. No less than 40 words (exclusive of proper names) do not occur elsewhere in the Liber Hymnorum, viz.: orbita (the orbit), deus, laurea, ministro, spina, tanquam, lilium, stirps, profero, mortalis, celebs, fuga, blanditia, eger, leuamen, egens, cibarium, hostilis, monstr, arsus, caelus (his, a rare word), relinquio, oliua, regalis, sumo, ferclum, fulgidus, kalendae, sarcina, solutus, palatium, computus, flos, lacteus, adhaereo, pudor, speculum (a mirror), precamen, substantialiter, personalité. Further, the use of flamem for the Holy Spirit in l. 17; and the position of ut after its verb in l. 16, are noteworthy features. The metre is Celtic, with internal rhythms.

1. 2. gaudium must be a scribe's blunder, as gaudia is required by the metre.

1. 5. The construction seems to be: 'She avoided yielding to the allurement of the flesh.' Dreves reads ceteras for cedere, but this would destroy the metre.

1. 7. Dreves conjectures that the two last words should be necit praecium; and we are inclined to adopt the conjecture; the MS. reading is untranslatable.

1. 9, 10. It must be remembered that Brigid is called in the Hymn of St. Ulan ueri dei regina. This stanza takes up the language of the Canticles (see esp. iii. 9, ferclum fecit sibi rex Salomon), and applies it to Brigid as the Spouse of Christ, with a side reference to the Queen of Sheba and her visit to Solomon. The words ornant oliuae vasculum we do not clearly understand.

1. 11. February was Numae mensis, and St. Brigid's Day is Feb. 1.

1. 14. The text prefixed to the Irish Lives of St. Brigid was: Hi sunt qui sequuntur Agnum quocumque ierit (Apoc. xiv. 4).

THE PREFACE TO THE AMRA.

The 'Amra' or 'Eulogy' composed by the poet Dallan mac Forgaill in honour of St. Columba, is not extant in its integrity; and consequently it is impossible that a satisfactory edition of it should be produced. The piece was early remarked as obscure, and commentators in the middle ages spent much ingenuity in the endeavour to explain its strange phrases. The unfortunate fact is that of the Amra itself, but little has been preserved, while we have many texts containing prefaces to the poem, and glosses on the more difficult portions. Very few complete lines are now extant; and for the most part the glossators seem to have had little basis, in grammar, in tra-
dition, or in common sense, for the superstructure of so called explanation which they produced. Thus it has come about that the Amra as we have it, is only a strange medley of isolated phrases and unintelligent comment, which presents little attractiveness to an editor. But as the plan of these volumes is to present to the reader every piece contained in the two manuscripts of the Irish Liber Hymnorum, we have found it necessary to print the Amra as it stands in T. Such translation as we could furnish has been supplied, and a few explanatory notes are added; but we have not attempted to collate all the manuscripts. There is no ground for hoping for any reconstruction of the original work from the fragments that remain.

The main texts are the following: (1) Our principal manuscript, T, which we have reproduced verbatim. Dr. Whitley Stokes has already printed this in Goidelica, but he has altered the order of the verses or sections, so as to bring them into conformity with the more rational order of the L. na hUidhe text, and thus his reprint does not readily convey to the reader an exact picture of his exemplar. (2) The manuscript Rawl. B. 502. We have had a photograph of this in our hands, while writing our translation. (3) The Leabhar na hUidhe (LU) in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy. This has been reproduced, with a translation, by Mr. O'Beirne Crowe. (4) The Yellow Book of Lecan (YBL), classed H. 2. 16 in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. This has been published in photographic facsimile by the Royal Irish Academy. (5) The Leabhar Breac (B), of which a facsimile from a hand transcript has also been published. This is a fragmentary copy. (6) The Saltair na Rann at the Bodleian Library. (7) The vellum manuscript classed Stowe C. 3. 2 (Saec. xv?) in the Royal Irish Academy's Collection, a fine copy with a very full gloss, the longest that we have seen. (8) The manuscript we call X also contains fragments of the poem. There are fragments of the Amra in most manuscripts which deal with the works of Columba, e.g., in the copy of the Old Irish Life at the Advocates' Library in Edinburgh; but we do not attempt a complete classification.

The legend of the composition of the Amra is briefly as follows. In the year 575, Aed, son of Ainmereg, King of Ireland, summoned the petty princes, heads of tribes, and principal clergy to a great convention at Druim Cetta, mainly with the purpose of banishing the bardic poets, whose exactions on behalf of themselves and their retinue were becoming intolerable. Aedan mac Gabrain, King of Argyle, was also present with the view of determining the question as to the independence of his kingdom of Dalriata, which had heretofore paid tribute to Aed. And St. Columba revisited Ireland on this occasion with the threefold motive of defending the cause of the bards, of keeping the peace between his native and his adopted country, and of bringing about the release of Scandlan, Prince of

1 Mr. Strachan has given linguistic reasons in the Rev. Celt. xvii. (1896) p. 41 ff., for holding the date of the Amra in its present form to be much later than that of Dallan mac Forgail. He assigns the text preserved in T to the early part of the ninth century.
2 The Amra Choluain Chilill of Dallan Forgail (1871).
3 Stokes has printed translations of these portions in Lismore, pp. 316, 17.
Ossory, who was kept in ward by Aed. His intervention was successful, and in gratitude for his efforts on behalf of the bards, Dallan mac Forgaill, otherwise called Eochaid Righ Eigheas, the principal ollamh of Ireland at that time, composed the Eulogy in his honour, which goes by the name of the Amra Coluin Cille.

The introductory piece [pp. 53, 54 above] which we call the Preface, is followed by the Prologue proper on pp. 55-60, the poem itself not appearing until p. 60. We have numbered the lines so as to facilitate reference between the original and the translation; and it will be observed that (following the practice of the scribes) we have printed what is left of the Amra proper in large letters, the explanations of the glossators being in smaller type. The lines of the introductory piece on pp. 53, 54 we have numbered separately. It is evident that many of the explanatory notes of the scribes have, in our copy, been disturbed from their appropriate places.

p. 53. 1. 2. Fene is glossed in T: i.e. a hill.

1. 3. The Masraige were a Firbolg tribe, inhabiting the district of Mag Slecht, a plain lying round Ballymagauran in Co. Cavan. Dallan mac Forgaill was of their race.

Irarus is now Oris in Westmeath.

Breifne of Connaught practically included the modern counties of Leitrim and Cavan.

1. 5. Dallan mac Forgaill is reputed to have also composed the Amra Sionain, or eulogy in praise of St. Senan. He is commemorated in the Irish Martyrologies on Jan. 29. His name still survives in Kildallan in the diocese of Kilmore, and Desert Dallan in Raphoe.

1. 7. For the dead effect which the satires of the bards were supposed to have, see O'Curry, Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish, ii. p. 217.

1. 13. Ibar of Cinnracht, i.e. 'the Yew Tree at the Head of the strand,' is now Newry in the Co. Down.

We have retained the old word coigych, which signifies the right of entertainment, billeting, food, &c., claimed by the bards for their retinue. It was reduced, as a result of this convention, to provision for 24 attendants in the case of each ollamh or principal bard, and 12 in the case of each anrad or minor poet.

1. 18. Druim Cetta, the scene of the Great Assembly, is identified with the mound called the Mullagh, in Roe Park near Newtownlimavady in the Co. Derry: Adamnan (i. 10) Latinises it Dorsum Cete.

Il. 24-27. A similar retinue is mentioned in the old Irish Life (Lismore, p. 178) as having accompanied Columba to Iona. Here they are particularly interesting, as they "not only illustrate the ancient frequency of bishops, but confirm what Bede said of the subjection of the bishops of the neighbouring provinces to the Abbot of Hy."1


Liber Hymn. II.
have already (p. 146) quoted a quatrain which speaks of the Amra as well known in connexion with the name of Columba.

The release of Scandlan Mor, son of Cinnfaela (or son of Colman, according to Adamnan)\(^1\) is described more fully in the piece of which a translation is given at p. 85 above. Here it is sufficient to note the record of the tribute paid in return from the men of Ossory (Osraige) to the monastery of Iona.

**The Amra of St. Columba.**

**II. 50-57.** We have already observed that many notes and illustrations of the scribes and commentators upon the Amra are found in T out of their context. No doubt in most cases they were marked by the scribes in such a manner that their true bearing would be readily perceived. The proper place of these verses, for instance, is marked with an asterisk which is still plainly visible. They are introduced from some now lost poem to illustrate the number of the retainers of the bards. Their burdensomeness had been often a subject of complaint, and the matter had been brought before several kings in succession, the third of whom was Mael Choba, son of Deman, son of Carell, king of Ulster. He granted them a respite from exile for three years, and these verses were, accordingly, composed in his honour.

**II. 15-22.** The relevance of these verses is explained in the Edinburgh Vita. The king had refused to retain the poets. "'Say not so,' saith the cleric; 'for the praise which they will make shall be enduring for thee, even as the praise which the poets made for Cormac, descendant of Conn, is enduring for him, and the treasures which were given for it were perishable, but the praise abides after them.' And the cleric composed this little 'rhetoric,' i.e. Cormac canin, &c."\(^2\)

**I. 17.** The words grace of poetry are glossed in T grace of knowledge.

**I. 23.** The story of Scandlan’s release is more fully told in the fragment De liberatione Scandlani, of which a translation is given at p. 85 above. See the notes in loc.

**II. 25-34.** Colman mac Comgellain. The tale runs that Columba had observed 'the beautiful spirit of Colman, when a child; that he had thereupon addressed him in the verses II. 30, 31; and had prophesied that he should be a peacemaker between Ireland and Scotland. And so it happened, for at the Assembly of Druim Cetta, Columba asked him to settle the dispute between the Irish and the Scotch Dalriads. His sentence amounted to this, that the Scotch were to be free from tribute to Aed, King of Ireland, but that they were to join in hostings and in expeditions (save those by sea) when required by the Irish. This practically made Aedan mac Gabrain an independent sovereign, and secured the freedom of the Scotch Dalriata.

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1 Vita Columbae, i. 11. See Reeves' note on the passage.
2 Translated in Stokes' Lismore, p. 312.
THE AMRA OF ST. COLUMBA.

ll. 35-45. This account of the composition of the Amra by the blind poet Dallan mac Forgaill explains itself. In the LU text, which preserves the order of the sections much better than T, l. 41 is followed by the verses which appear in our edition as ll. 144-148, an evident displacement.

I. 48. Mael Suthain. This is probably Maelsuthain O'Carroll, the author of the Annals of Innisfallen, who was annchara or confessor to Brian Boruma, and whose handwriting is to this day preserved on a page in the Book of Armagh. He died in 1009. Ferdomnach, whose name is mentioned in support of a different tradition concerning the place where the Amra was first sung in its entirety, was elected coarb or successor of St. Columba in the year 1007, and died the following year. These names fix a limit in one direction as to the date of this Prologue; in its present form it cannot be earlier than the eleventh century.

I. 49. Slige Assail was one of the five great roads of Ireland; it divided Meath into two parts.

Tig Lommain was on the shore of Loch Owel in the county of Westmeath. It was here (according to the most popular tradition) that the eulogy was finished, after the tidings of Columba's death had been brought to Dallan by the rider on the "speckled horse." See p. 87 above.

I. 60. This note in explanation of who are meant by the "daughters of Orcus" should be placed after l. 670, where it is found in LU.

I. 62. Hoc est principium laudationis. What follows is a commentator's note on the structure of the poem, which began and ended with n, viz. 'Ni disceoil' (l. 211) and 'amhuain' (l. 681).

I. 65. This note on the meaning of ni-disceoil should come, as in LU, after l. 213.

I. 66. Ni chelt ceis, &c. These nine lines of verse are quoted by the commentator from some old poem on the Plunder of Dinn-rig, to illustrate the usage of the obscure word ceis which occurs at l. 262. They should follow after the words "ut dixit the poet" (l. 267) as they do in LU, in YBL, and in the Stowe MS. A gloss on ni chelt in T has Ross mac Finn or Ferchertne poet cecinit. The verses themselves occur three times in the Book of Leinster (pp. 269β, 311β, and 371β). They are concerned with the tale of the charm of Craiptine's harping, which at a feast so bewitched the revellers that the lovers Maen, otherwise called Labraid the Mariner, and Moriath of Morca were able to slip away unobserved. Labraid the Mariner lived, according to the annals, in the sixth century B.C. The famous poet Ferchertne, and Craiptine, the first harper who is named in Irish legend, had charge of him in his boyhood when he was dumb, and it was under their care that the youth Maen recovered his powers of speech. Henceforward he was known as labraid (i.e. he speaks).

1 Lines 66-68 are printed as prose in vol. i. p. 164; for the passage is only partly legible, and it is possible that only a paraphrase was there given. But we have printed it as poetry in the translation (p. 57 supra).
NOTES.

ll. 73–76. This quatrain should follow l. 279, as it does in LU and YBL. The ‘Dub-recles’ or Black Church was the ancient Church of Derry. In the fourteenth century it was called the Cella Nigra de Deria.1 The quatrain is quoted in the Annals of Tighernach, and of the Four Masters, in the latter case under the year 592. But it may be taken as established that St. Columba died June 9, 597, at the age of 76 years. See l. 550 infra.

ll. 77–80. This quatrain should follow l. 210, as in LU. It is quoted to illustrate the use of the word iath.

ll. 81–84. This quatrain in like manner should follow l. 197, as in LU. It is quoted to illustrate the use of mur. These verses are like the jingling rhymes of Latin grammar, which boys are set to learn.

l. 82. coh is glossed in T: or, cu, i.e. ‘dog.’ Possibly the idea of the glossator is that cu = q = p = coh.

ll. 85–88. This quatrain giving the maternal descent of St. Columba, should follow l. 679, as in LU and the Stowe MS. See p. 235 infra.

ll. 89–94. This note and the quatrain belong to l. 339, where they are found appended in LU. They are quoted in a note in the Féilire of Oengus (ed. Stokes, p. ci); and occur in a poem headed “Mongan cecinit do Colum Cille” in the MS. we call X. The sweetness and power of Columba’s voice are reckoned by Adamnan2 among his miraculous gifts. See l. 465. St. Brendan of Clonfert was said to have a voice of like power (Lismore, p. 250).

ll. 95–99. This quatrain should follow l. 338 (as in LU, YBL, and the Stowe MS.) It alludes, of course, to the translation of Columba’s relics to Downpatrick. See p. 222 infra.

ll. 100–107. This note should come after l. 354, as in LU. It is explanatory of the word aidbse or ‘chorus.’ The quatrain is ascribed to Colman mac Lenine, the founder of the Church of Cloyne, who died in the year 600. They are also quoted in the Book of Leinster, fol. 8, and in Cormac’s Glossary, s.v. adann.

The old word coilg-se in l. 107 is glossed in T: i.e. a sword.

The word aidbse signifies a kind of low, murmuring chorus at the end of each verse; from its name of cronan it seems to have been produced in the throat, like the purring of a cat. Dord was used for a humming or droning noise, without melody.3

ll. 108–112 supply a linguistic note (displaced as usual) on ferb, which occurs in l. 360. Substantially the same explanations of the word are given in Cormac’s Glossary.

In l. 109, T has a gloss on bain, viz. true, and in l. 111 has a gloss on o’sn’acht, viz., he drove them.

l. 112. Mog Nuadat is now Maynooth in the Co. Dublin.

ll. 113–117. This note should follow l. 419 as it does in LU.

ll. 118–127. These lines consist of two quatrains, and a paraphrase of a third, from the Dinnsenchus on ‘Laigin’ or Leinster, in the Book of Leinster (159a and 377a). They are not found in LU. But as in

1 Reeves, Adamnan, p. 277. See also p. 140, supra.
2 Vita Columbae, i. 37. See Reeves’ note in loc.
3 See O’Curry, Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish, iii. 246, 371 f.
the Stowe MS. they form part of the gloss on l. 263, they seem to be added to explain who was Labraid Loingsech, already mentioned in ll. 70, 72. He defeated and slew Cobhach at the battle of Dinnrig, formerly called 'Tuain tenma,' in the year A.M. 4658, according to the Four Masters. Dinnrig is on the Barrow near Leighlin Bridge. The story is that Labraid introduced into Ireland the broad lances called laighni, from their use of which the people of the principality of Gaillian received the name of Lagenians or Leinstermen.

II. 128–131 should follow l. 277, as in LU and in the Stowe MS. They are added by the commentator to illustrate Columba's ascetic habits of self-discipline. See Lismore, p. 180, and also p. 228, where a similar thing is told of St. Finnian of Clonard.

I. 128 isin ganium. The gloss in T is: Or in the winter.

II. 132–8. This is a note explanatory of the repetition "God, God." at the beginning of the Amra in l. 186. It follows the note ll. 61–64 in LU. The LU text explains that there are three standard devices in Irish poetry; the return to the usual sound (of which we have an example in ll. 181–183), the enunciation mode of which it gives an illustration not in T, and reduplication, as an example of which it cites ll. 135–8. Such devices are common in modern poetry; cf. e.g. "Pibroch of Donuil Dhu, Pibroch of Donuil, &c."

II. 139–143. This stanza is not found in LU; but occurs twice in the Stowe MS., first as part of the gloss on l. 297, and again on l. 565. It is introduced, as usual, to illustrate linguistic usage.

II. 144–147. This quatrain in LU follows the statement at l. 41, about the indulgence attached to the recitation of the Amra.

II. 148–151. This obscure quatrain is apparently added to illustrate the formation of certain words by 'beheading' or cutting off the last letter, ru ra instead of run ran being the example here. So at least the stanza is introduced in LU after a note on culu (l. 187).

II. 152–155. These verses furnish an unedifying illustration of the use of the word deilm, and should follow l. 217, as in LU.

II. 156–160. This quatrain does not occur in LU, but, in the Stowe MS. and in YBL, it is part of the gloss on ll. 262, 3; it is cited in like manner by the Four Masters sub ann. 592 to express the bereavement caused by Columba's death.

II. 160–163. This quatrain should follow l. 189, as in LU. It is quoted to illustrate the use of the word neit, i.e. 'battle.'

II. 164–168. This is the quatrain from which the quotation is made in l. 193. It is not given in LU, but is found in the Stowe MS.

There were three famous poets of the name of Ferchertne, the earliest of whom was contemporary with Labraid Loingsech (see on l. 66).

II. 169–173. This quatrain, which is not found in LU, is in illustration of the words cul and neit in l. 187. It is also given in Cormac's Glossary, s.v. cul, where it is ascribed to Cuchulaind.

II. 173–176. This difficult quatrain, which is not in LU, is in illustration of the word derc in l. 199.

1 See Sigerson's Bards of the Gael and Gall, p. 47 ff.
NOTES.

ll. 177-179. These words are not intelligible to us.
ll. 180-184. The stanza is not found in LU, but is an illustration of one of the standard methods of expression in Irish verse. See note on ll. 132-8 above.

1. 185. We now come to the disiecta membra of Dallan mac Forgaill’s eulogy; hitherto we have only been dealing with the work of the commentators. It seems to have been anciently divided into sections, which are marked in the MSS. by large capitals, and in most cases by Latin titles. The explanatory matter printed in small type contains the various (and often absurd) explanations of the scholiasts.

Lines 185-210 contain fragments of the exordium of Dallan’s poem, which apparently began with an invocation of God.

1. 199. This Grainne was the daughter of Cormac Mac Art; her story is told in the “Pursuit of Diarmaid and Grainne,” edited by Mr. S. H. O’Grady for the Ossianic Society in 1857.

ll. 211-268 are headed in LU “de moestitia omnium rerum in morte Columbae, uel de exitu Columbae,” and in YBL, “De tristitia omnium rerum in morte Columbae.” There is no Latin title to this section in the Stowe MS., but it is marked by the usual large initial letter. l. 211 was always counted the principium laudationis (see l. 62); the preceding section being only an exordium.

1. 211. For Columba’s descent from Neill of the Nine Hostages, who was King of Ireland from 379 to 405, see on l. 526.

1. 223. The Dialogue of the Two Sages is found in the Book of Leinster; an account of it is given in O’Curry’s Manuscript materials, p. 383. The Two Sages were Ferchertne the royal poet of Emania, and Neidhe, son of Adhna.

The Bretha Nemed is one of the many tracts dealing with some of the questions discussed in the Brehon Laws.

1. 230. The words in faith De, ‘about God’s prophet,’ go with the next section (In faith De de Sion suidioth) in LU and the Stowe MS.; they seem to be misplaced in T.

In the list of historians and poets given in the Book of Ballymote, quoted by O’Curry,1 two persons of the name of Nera are mentioned: 1. Nera, druid and lawgiver, son of Morand, a celebrated judge (fl. cir. 14 A.D.) ; and 2. Nera, son of Fincholl, of Sidh Femin, in the Co. Tipperary, of unknown date.

1. 247. This legend is mentioned twice again in the LU copy (under ll. 339, 637); it is given in the Edinburgh copy of the Old Irish Life,2 and is also preserved in a quatrain in the Book of Fenagh.3

1. 251. The missing word is perhaps Hi; or heaven (see l. 310).

1. 256. This is of some importance historically. King Bruide, who died in 584, was succeeded by Gartnaid son of Domlech, who belonged to the Southern Picts and had his royal seat at Abernethy to the south of the Tay. His people had been converted to Christianity in the previous century by Ninian, but they had fallen away. Gartnaid is said

1 O’Curry, Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish, ii. p. 51.
2 See Stokes’ Lismore, p. 315.
to have dedicated a new church to St. Brigid at Abernethy, and this revival of Christianity among the Picts is here ascribed to the teaching of Columba. See l. 570, and the legend from the Edinburgh copy of the Old Irish Life quoted in Stokes' Lismore, p. 315.

l. 267. See the verses at l. 67, and also at l. 156, in continuation of this theme.

The two kinds of harps in use in Ireland were called the cruit and the timpan harp respectively; on the distinction see O'Curry, Manners and Customs, &c., iii. 236, 252f.

l. 275. Figill has not the special meaning in Celtic phraseology, which vigil has with us. Cros-figill, for instance, is the recognised term for an exercise of devotion (which may be by day or night) in which the hands are extended so as to form a cross.

l. 279. See ll. 73-76 for the verses referred to by the commentator.

ll. 282, 285. The subject of Columba's learning is treated of again in the section entitled De scientia eius in omni parte (ll. 356 ff.).

l. 291. Inis Boffin on the sea, i.e. the island of that name off the coast of Donegal.

l. 295. There is no mention in the LU copy of any visit of Columba to Gregory; but there is a miraculous tale about it in the Book of Lecan, quoted in Reeves' Adamnan, p. 295. The story apparently grew out of some legend like that in the preface to the Altius (p. 24 supra).

ll. 303-320. This section is headed in LU and in the Stowe MS. "De regione ad quam peruenit Colum Cille et de pluribus gradibus eius." It is not marked by any title or large initial letter in YBL.

l. 303. The word Axal remains a puzzle, despite the desperate efforts of the glossators to explain it. The usual explanation is that Axal was the name of Columba's guardian angel, Demal being the demon that tempted him; and this agrees with ll. 345, 460, where the angel Axal is again mentioned. It is probable that Axal is a corruption of auxiliarius.1 The third book of Adamnan's Vita is filled with accounts of the angelic visitations and counsels which Columba was privileged to enjoy.

l. 310. Cf. Apoc. xxi. 25. What followed in the original poem was evidently a description of the heavenly city.

l. 320. Apparently this refers not to Columba but to his Master.

ll. 321-354. This section is headed in LU and in the Stowe MS. "De martyrio eius."

l. 326. Celebrad means here, as always in Irish ecclesiastical literature, the service of the choir or recitation of the daily offices, as distinct from oifrenn, which is the word of the celebration of the Eucharist. The meaning of the passage is that the recitation of the offices by Columba rendered powerless the assaults of the devil. See ll. 89-94, which come in at this point.

l. 337. See ll. 95-98 and the note there.

l. 347. One explanation of these words is that when he was received at the Assembly of Druim Cetta with the performance of an elaborate piece of music (aidse) and the applause of the multitude, Columba

1 So the Vita Columbae in the Leabhar Breac, p. 236.
became much elated; whereupon Baithin found it necessary to quote from Basil to abate his pride. The other explanation is that Columba was a student of the works of Basil.

1. 350. Baithin having rebuked Columba, the saint came to himself, and, stopping the music, forbade Dallan to proceed with the eulogy. See l. 35 supra.

1. 360. The rest of the gloss on this is found at l. 108.

1. 365. This is an interesting observation, establishing an acquaintance, if not on the part of Columba (which is the tradition), at least on the part of the scholiast, with Jerome’s *apparatus criticus*, which is ultimately based on Origen’s work. In the Commentary on the Psalter (8th century?) edited by Kuno Meyer1 from Rawl. B. 512 (our 0), there are references to the various Greek versions as well as to Jerome’s critical labours.

1. 367. It will be noticed that the scholiasts are doubtful whether this implies that Columba read the works of Cassian, or whether it only means that he was a student of Scripture, as Cassian was. But see p. 171 supra. The ‘Libri legis’ probably refer to the N.T. rather than to the O.T., the Gospel being counted the ‘new law.’2 Mr. Macgregor3 interprets this gloss as suggesting that Columba and his community followed the arrangement of scripture lections drawn out by Cassian.

1. 372. The three battles with which the name of Columba was associated have already been mentioned (p. 140 supra).

1. 380. Columba’s skill in the interpretation of weather signs is ascribed by Adamnan to his prophetic power (*Vita*, ii, 15).

1. 383. His four ways of interpreting scripture, according to the gloss in LU, were the historical, spiritual, moral, and anagogical. This well-known division is explained in a homily in the *Leabhar Breac* on the Epiphany.4

1. 385. The *rosualt* is perhaps the *walrus*, but more probably a *whale*. If the sea cast one up on the shore, it was counted an omen. A similar explanation of its significance is given in the *Dinnsenchas* on Mag Murisce (*Book of Leinster*, p. 167β and elsewhere), and ascribed, as here, to Columba.5 In Adamnan’s *Vita* (i. xix) there is a story of how the saint foretold the appearance of Tiree of a “cetus mirae et immensae magnitudinis.”

1. 392. It is tolerably plain that the words ‘among schools of scripture’ belong to the preceding fragment, to which they are attached in LU. This record of Columba’s skill in astronomical calculations harmonises curiously with the semi-scientific language of part of the *Altus Prosator*.

1. 397. It is evident that the last two lines of the gloss belong to the next fragment, and should come after l. 400.

1. 400. The LU copy explains the relevance of the verses in the marginal note: “it may be rian [not Rhine] that it ought to be, ut

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3 *Early Scottish Worship*, p. 23.
5 See Rev. Celt., i. 238.
dixit Find U Baiscne &c." The verses on "Winter's Approach" are introduced to illustrate the use of rian, but are difficult to translate. Dr. Sigerson¹ has given a free rendering which is worth citing, as he has tried to keep the metre of the original:

"List my lay: oxen roar;
   Winter chides, Summer's o'er,
Sinks the sun, cold winds rise,
   Moans assail, ocean cries.
Ferns flush red, change hides all,
   Changing now, grey geese call,
Wild wings cringe, cold with rime,
   Drear, most drear, ice-frost time."

Find, the descendant of Baiscne, is no less a personage than the giant Finn Mac Cumhaill, who seems to have added the art of poetry to his other accomplishments. According to the Four Masters he was slain in 283 A.D. But see below p. 236.

l. 419. Here verses 114–117 come in, as in LU and in YBL.

l. 451. The hospitality of the monastery of Iona is frequently mentioned by Adamnan. See Reeves' Adamnan, p. 345 and ll. 468, 574, infra.

l. 463. We have here a tradition, that Saturday, as well as Sunday, was observed at Iona as a festival. This is not hinted at by Adamnan (see Vita Columbae iii. 12); but, as Mr. Warren has observed,² the ranking of Saturday with Feasts of Martyrs in a rubric in the Bangor Antiphonary, would suggest a similar practice. This would be inconsistent with the practice of the Roman Church, but not with that of the East and the majority of Western Churches in the time of Columba.³

l. 463. The first words of this line seem to relate to St. Columba's voice; and they constitute a distinct fragment of the Amra in LU. See ll. 89–94.

l. 473. "The blind man" is, of course, Dallan mac Forgaill, the author of the Amra.

l. 474. The piece of the Amra contained in the Leabhar Breac (B) begins at this point.

l. 476. This fragment is not intelligible to us.

l. 486. In B and LU a new section begins here. "De prudentia eius et lectione et sapientia"; or, more correctly in YBL: "De sapientia et prudentia illius," for there is no mention of the saints reading in what follows.

l. 489. Quia apud Finnianum evangeliun legit. It is probable that this Finnian was St. Finnian of Moville (d. 576); the statement of the text is confirmed by the opening words of Adamnan's second book, viz.: "Alio in tempore, cum uir uenerandus in Scotia apud sanctum Findbarrum episcopum, adhuc iuuenis sapientiam Sacrae Scripturae addiscens commaneret, &c." See p. 145 supra.

l. 495. Reeves has drawn up in his Adamnan (pp. 276–298) a long

¹ Barits of the Gael and Gall, p. 116.
² Antiphonary of Bangor, ii. p. xxiv
³ See Dict. of Chr. Ant. ii. 1825.
list of churches in Ireland and Scotland associated with the name of Columba.

1. 496. The word *cometaid* or 'guardian' apparently glossed in T: or, to whom he counts.

1. 526. The pedigree is this (as given in the *Book of Leinster*, 3478): Columba was the son of Feidlimid, son of Fergus, son of Conall Gulban, son of Neill of the Nine Hostages, son of Eochaid Muighmedan, son of Muiredach Tirech, son of Fiacaid Srabtini, son of Cairpre Lifehair, son of Cormac, son of Art the Solitary, son of Conn of the Hundred Battles, son of Feidlimid Rechtmaire. He is here called "the son of the descendant of Conn." See ll. 604, 675.

1. 539. 'Credulous chariot' does not convey any meaning; but we must leave it so. The gloss on *fri conuail* in T, viz. *fri coluain* we cannot translate.

1. 545. This is again unintelligible to us; the 'king's son' is, of course, Columba.

1. 554. The allusion is to the saint's penitence for his share in the battle of Cuil Dremne. See above p. 140.

1. 555. A new section begins here in LU, YBL, and the Stowe MS. with the heading "De commendatione laudis eius a regi nepotum Neill." There is no Latin title in B, but a capital letter marks the beginning of the section.

The glossator's explanation of the appearance of Aed's name in the eulogy is instructive. A 'cumal' was a standard of value frequently mentioned in the Brehon Laws as the equivalent of three cows.

1. 566. Conall was the king of British Dalriata. See p. 141 above.

1. 568. See the note on l. 256. The 'High King of Toi' is Gartnaid.

1. 579. It is not an unfair inference from this gloss, that the glossator knew nothing precise about the meaning of *udbud*.

*Cenel Conaill* is Tirconnell, or Donegal, of which territory the O'Donnells afterwards were over-lords. This great clan were the descendants of Conall Gulban (d. 464), who was Columba's great-grandfather.

1. 588. The tradition amounts to this, that Columba had some knowledge of Greek. See G. T. Stokes' essay on "the knowledge of Greek in Ireland between A.D. 500 and 900." (*Proc. R.I.A.* 3rd ser. ii. 2 p. 187), for the evidence as to the extent to which that language was known to the Celtic monks.

The LU copy of the Amra is deficient after this point.

1. 603. See on l. 526.

1. 608. That is, according to the glossator, he did not commit any injury which would render him liable to the penalty of death; not very high praise, according to modern ways of thinking. But it is quite possible that the glossator did not understand his text.

1. 611. In the Stowe MS., as well as in T, what follows is marked off by a large initial letter; but there is no indication that it forms a separate section in the other MSS.

1. 611. *Cond, i.e.*, Conn of the Hundred Battles. See l. 603. From
his prowess the northern half of Ireland was sometimes called ‘Conn’s Half’; whence it would seem that the glossator understands l. 611 to refer to the grief that was felt in the North of Ireland when Columba went away to Iona.

l. 620. All that the glossator is sure of is that the words *ecco aer* have reference to the restoration of sight to Dallan mac Forgaill (see l. 45), which is probably accurate.

l. 625. The piece *Pilip apstail* printed in vol. i. p. 185, of which a translation is given above at p. 83, is found in the Stowe MS. as part of the glossator’s note on this fragment; the first stanza of it is also cited in YBL. It is introduced in connexion with the word *allith*; the melodiousness of Columba’s voice is compared to the sweet singing of the birds in the Enchanted Island.

l. 633. The word *incisini* is glossed in T: *i.e. thing (?)*

l. 660. In the Stowe MS., a new section begins here, entitled “De consummatione laudis eius poeta.” The words “quia post mortem pretium laudis datum est caeco” have reference to the restoration of sight to Dallan mac Forgaill after Columba’s death. See l. 45.

l. 670. Here the note ll. 58–60 comes in.

l. 675. The descent of Columba on his mother’s side was as follows. Her name was Ethne, and she was the daughter of Dimma, son of Noe, son of Echin, son of Caipre, who was descended from Cathair Mor, king of Ireland, who was son of Feidlimid the All Wise. See on l. 526.

ll. 85–88 come in here in the other MSS.

**THE PRAYER OF ST. ADAMNAN.**

This piece, in the form in which it has come down to us, is very similar to the *Amra* as regards its fragmentary character and its consequent obscurity. It follows the *Amra* in T, in the Stowe MS. C 3, 2, in the Yellow Book of Lecan (YBL), and in Rawl. B. 502. It is plainly a very ancient devotional piece, but there is not large scope for intelligent comment; the glossators do not seem to have made much of it.

At the top of fol. 28b, col. 2 (the last page of T in its original form), a late hand has written the letters of the alphabet. Then follows a λ, and then a piece seemingly of prose, but so much rubbed that it is impossible to decipher. It is difficult even to determine the language in which it was written: we have only succeeded in reading two or three words, viz. *retia . . . in pollicem . . . sed.* It was probably written at a later date than the preceding matter; and the ink is of a different colour.

**THE PEDIGREE OF ST. MOBI.**

This pedigree is written at the foot of fol. 28b, col. 2. Mobi, of whom a legend is told above (p. 28) in the Preface to the *Noli Pater,*
was abbot of Glasnevin and died of the *prima mortalitas* in the year 544, according to the Annals of Ulster. His pedigree is also given in the *Book of Leinster* (fol. 352, col. 7), in the *Leabhar Breac* (fol. 21, col. 2, and p. 97), and in the *Book of Lecan* (fol. 45 a b).

Cairpre, who appears in it, is Cairpre Lifechair, son of Cormac mac Art.

We have met with the epithet *clarinech* or 'flat-faced' above in Broccan's hymn, l. 84. It is applied in the *Book of Ballymote* to a poet called Gilla Modubhda; and in the *Book of Fenagh* to Congall, one of the legendary kings. It is used in the Irish Tales to express the dead level of uniformity produced by snow covering the face of a country.

**THE HYMN OF ST. PHILIP.**

This hymn is written in T on one of three fragments of vellum inserted at the end of the book. It is evidently intended as an additional note on l. 624 of the *Amra*, for in the Stowe MS. (C. 3. 2) it forms part of the gloss on that passage. The first verse is also cited at the same point in YBL.

Lines 49 to end are not found in the Stowe copy, and have been added by a later hand in T.

**MISCELLANEA.**

p. 84. (a) This note is apparently set down in connexion with the verses quoted at l. 400 of the *Amra*, and ascribed to one Finn. The LU text explains that this was Finn mac Cumhaill; but our commentator gives him another pedigree. He is Finn, the father of Conchobar of the Red Eyebrows (who was king of Ireland about the beginning of our era), father of MogCorb (who was slain at Breenmore, in Westmeath), father of Cu-Corb.

(b) and (c) are too fragmentary to identify; but they may both be from some account of the battle of Rosnaree. The details of the arming of Conchobhar fit in with the legible words in (c).³

(d) This is an additional note on the word *mortlaid*, which occurs at l. 24 of St. Sanctan’s hymn.

(e) Of this scrap we can make nothing.

**THE RELEASE OF SCANDLAN MOR.**

This account of the Release of Scandlan Mor has been added by a scribe to explain the somewhat obscure references to that episode found in the T copy of the *Amra* (see pp. 54, 55, above). The story is also told in the Edinburgh copy of the old Irish Life,¹ as also in the

² Ed. Kelly, p. 33.
⁴ It is printed in Stokes’ *Book of Lismore*, p. 309 f.
Leabhar Breac (p. 238), and (in a brief form) in L.U. According to the tale, Aed refused Columba's petition, whereupon the saint declared that Scandlan would be free before morning, and would assist him to remove his shoes on entering the chancel for the night offices of prayer. Columba was treated with insolence by Aed's elder son Conall, who was urged on by the queen-mother, but with courtesy by the younger son Domnall, who was blessed accordingly. The queen then mocked the saint, addressing him as a 'crane-cleric.' This has been explained as said in allusion to Columba's tall stature (alla proceritas in Adamnan's phrase); but it would appear that coir-cleric was a term of contempt applied to degraded ecclesiastics, and so it seems more probable that the use of it by the queen conveyed a taunting reference to the circumstances under which Columba left Ireland in his penitence for the battle of Cuil Dremne. Coir, however, also means a crane or heron; and so the saint retorts it, declaring that the queen and her handmaid who accompanied her should for ever hover in the form of cranes by the banks of the river Roe, a threat which was firmly believed to have been fulfilled. Columba then withdrew across Ciannachta, and Ui mac Carthaind, over Loch Foyle to his Black Church in Derry (according to the usual account). That night a storm came upon the place of Scandlan's imprisonment, and he was miraculously carried in the air to the Ferry over Loch Foyle. He was conveyed across by Cumine, a relative of Columba, who appears to have been present when the saint was reviled by the queen, but who was on bad terms with him for some reason. Scandlan arrived, as Columba had foretold, just in time to remove Columba's shoes for noontuns; but was so distracted with thirst after the tortures of his imprisonment that he could say nothing at first but 'Drink, drink.' Baithin having satisfied his needs, Scandlan interceded for Cumine and made his peace with Columba.

Scandlan was then dismissed by Columba to his kingdom of Ossory; and inasmuch as he feared the journey, he was given the saint's pastoral staff for protection. This he brought to the monastery of Durrow (one of Columba's foundations in the King's County), where he handed it to the abbot Laisren mac Feradach, afterwards the third abbot of Iona.

The words with which Columba entrusted the staff to Scandlan, "Take my staff with thee in thy hand, &c.," are the opening words of a poem on the subject in Laud. 615.

The words at the end of the piece "Dundelga, good the gold place," are also a fragment of some poem.

1 Compare the reference to Domnall's connection with Columba in the Preface to the hymn of St. Cummam the Tall (p. 10, supra).
2 The region between Coleraine and Derry.
3 The barony of Tirkeeran in co. Derry.
4 This is an interesting allusion to the practice of removing the shoes before entering the chancel of a church. Cf. Warren, Liturgy of Ante Nicene Church, p. 224.
5 The gloss on fo dimraidh in l. 9 means under the shelter of the door it ought to be.
THE DEATH OF ST. COLUMBA.

This memorandum records the announcement of Columba’s death to Dallan, the blind bard. In the Prologue to the Amra (p. 56 above), it is told that the eulogy was not to be finished until the tidings of the saint’s death had been brought by a rider on a piebald horse.

The end of the note is taken up with the circumstances of the Assembly of Drum Cetta, which have already been explained. Like the preceding fragment, this was intended as a note on the Amra, probably on l. 211.

THE FIVE DIVISIONS OF MUNSTER.

There is a late paper copy of this poem in the O’Longan manuscript of the Royal Irish Academy \( \frac{23}{E. 16} \) p. 319; but the text differs considerably from that of T, and we have not ventured to fill up the lacunae by its means. The piece is headed in that MS. “It is not known who wrote this lay”; but the last quatrain ascribes the composition to Breasal O’Tracy. However, in l. 26 of T we have plainly Thasaig not Trasaig.

The Five Divisions of Munster in early times were the following, as given by Keating and other authorities:

1. **Thomond**, or North Munster, extending from Cuchulaind’s Leap to Slige Dala of the Horses. Cuchulaind’s Leap is now Loop Head, at the mouth of the Shannon; Cuchulaind was fabled to have leaped across at this point. Slige Dala of the Horses is the great road of Ossory leading to Tara. The northern boundary of Thomond was Slieve Aughty, a range of hills on the confines of Galway and Clare; and the southern was Slieve Phelim (properly, Elim) in the co. Limerick.

2. **Ormond**, or East Munster, extending as far as O’Bric’s Island, near Bonmahon on the Waterford coast; Cnawhill (now Cleghile), near the town of Tipperary, being another boundary.

3. **Mid Munster**, from Cleghile to Luachair (now Slieve Lougher in Kerry) in one direction; and from Slieve Phelim to Slieve Cain or Slieve Reagh in the co. Limerick in another.

4. **Desmond**, or South Munster, from Slieve Cain to the sea; and

5. **West Munster**, from Slieve Lougher in Kerry to the sea, and from Glenn-na-Ruachta (Glenarought) to the Shannon.

The etymological glosses written on the fragment which contains this poem (see vol. i, p. 190), on adnacul and eclais, respectively refer to the use of these words in l. 8 of the Lorica S. Patricii, and in l. 186 of Broccan’s hymn. See notes in loc.
IN PRAISE OF HYMNODY.

This and the following hymn on the Magi are written on the blank initial page (fol. 1 r°.) of F in a late hand, quite distinct from the writing of the body of the book.

Neither piece has been printed before as the writing is hard to read; but they do not seem to be of much importance.

We have not succeeded in identifying the work ascribed to S. Jerome, on the "Medicine of the Soul"; but, indeed, the whole piece seems to be imaginative. There was no Pope of the name of Clement in Jerome's lifetime. The tone of the fragment is very like that of the piece by Niceta, Bishop of Remesiana, entitled De bono Psalmodieæ.¹

HYMN ON THE THREE KINGS.

There is a late paper copy of this hymn on the Magi and the Star in the Royal Irish Academy paper MS. classed \( \frac{23}{G. 23} \) p. 307; we have not thought it worth while to append a collation.

The hymn does not seem to have been printed before; it is, in some places, difficult to read, and we have been obliged to leave blank spaces, as the text of the R.I.A. MS. does not always agree with that of F.

Lines 33–40 do not appear in the paper MS.; they are evidently of the nature of an appendix and did not belong to the original hymn which ended at l. 32.

BENEDICITE.

For this piece we have collated the manuscripts, A and Σ with F, as they exhibit the same peculiar type of text. The Latin texts of Benedicite fall into two groups, viz.: (i) that of Western Breviaries generally, the text of the Vulgate (which corresponds with the true LXX version). The refrain is laudate et superexaltate, &c. This is the text followed by our English Book of Common Prayer. (ii) The text of the O.L. version of Theodotion's Greek. If the verses in (i) be numbered consecutively 1 to 32, the text of (ii) may be thus represented: 1, 3, 2, 4–10, 15, 16, 11, the verse Benedicite pruina et nives, &c., 17–20, 22, 21, 23–32. The refrain after each verse here is hymnum dicite et superexaltate, &c. This is the text found in the Westminster Missal,² and, with an interchange of place between verses 27 and 26, in our Irish MSS. FAΣ. The repetition of the refrain hymnum dicite et superexaltate eum in secula suggests affinity (as Mr. Warren has pointed out³) with Eastern usage; and the addition of domini in ll. 7, 9–29, in F and Σ (not in A) is also a curious feature.

¹ Printed by Dom Morin in the Revue Benedictine for September, 1897.
² Ed. Dr. Wickham Legg. (i, 127).
³ Antiphonary of Bangor, II. xxiii.
NOTES.

It will be observed that in the case of this canticle the place of the *Gloria* is taken by the words (ll. 36, 37): *Benedicamus patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum dominum; ymnnum dicamus et superexaltemus eum in secula*. The usual additional clause or antiphon in Western Breviaries, viz.: *Benedictus es domine in firmamento caeli, et laudabilis et gloriosus et superexaltatus in secula* is wanting in our Irish MSS. F seems to be singular in adding l. 38. The appended prayer *Te enim omnipotens, &c.*, is given in A as one of a number of collects which may be used after *Benedicite*. There is nothing similar in Σ.

In both East and West this canticle was used at Lauds; but it is not easy to determine its special position in the monastic offices of the Catholic Church. Mr. Warren concludes (l.c.) that it was said at Mattins on Saturdays and Sundays. The F Preface gives no direct information, but the context in which it is found in B is noteworthy. At p. 97 of that MS., i.e., on the lower margin of the page of the *Féliire of Oengus* which deals with the Saints of October, we find in order (a) the Preface to *Benedicite*; (b) the words *Christe lux eis*; (c) the Preface to *Magnificat* (see vol. i. p. 53); (d) the Preface to *Gloria in Excelsis* (vol. i. p. 49). Now (b) plainly represents the Compline hymn *Christe qui lux es et dies* which is our No. 44, and follows *Benedicite* in F, being itself in that MS. followed by the *Gloria in Excelsis*. The juxtaposition of *Benedicite, Christe qui lux es, and Gloria in Excelsis*, in both B and F is remarkable, and perhaps indicates that they were used at the same office. Now of both the latter pieces the Irish Prefaces note “at night it is due to be sung”; and this would lead us to conclude that *Benedicite* was also in use at one of the offices corresponding in the Celtic Church to Compline. There is a rhyming *oratio* prefixed to *Benedicite* in Σ which affords some confirmation of this view:—

Deus altissime rex angelorum
deus laus omnium elmentorum
deus gloria et exultatio sanctorum
custodi animas seruorum tuorum
qui regnas in saecula saeculorum. amen.

The fourth line of this would be especially suitable for a prayer on retiring to rest.

1 This has been printed by Stokes in Rev. Celtique, vi. 264.
2 It is worth while to note here the contents of Σ. Fol. 5r<—35v> are taken up with Ps. l-1; then follow the lines quoted above; then come *Benedicite, Canticum Issaiæ*, and *Canticum Eschiae*. We next have Ps. ii-c (fol. 39r<—69r>), followed by the lines:

. . . deo gratias ago . . .
deus quem exercitus canet angelorum
 quemque ecclesiae laudat sanctorum
 quem spiritus yninimizat uniuersorum
 miserere obresco omnium seruorum tuorum
 qui regnas in saecula seculorum. amen.

*Canticum Anne, Canticum Marie sororis Mysi*, and *Canticum Ambacne* follow, and then Ps. ci-cl (fol. 72v<—99r>), with the words added *finit. amen. finit*. Then we have:

Te dominium de caelis laudamus
Teque omnium regem regum regamus
Tibi uni et trino in quem speramus
cum exelcis angelis imnum cantamus.

per dominum nostrum et reliqua.

After these lines comes, without title, the *Canticum Mysi* (Deut. xxxii). Fol. 4v<—38v> and 71v<—>, are occupied with full page illustrations; and fol. 4r<—>, 38r<—> and 101v<—> are blank.
It needs not to be added that *Magnificat*, associated in the notes cited from B with *Benedictae, Christe qui lux es*, and *Gloria in Excelsis*, was used at Vespers in the West, and was appointed for Lauds in the Greek Church.

**THE HYMN CHRISTE QUI LUX ES.**

The tradition of the Irish Preface that this well-known hymn was composed by Ambrose is a venerable one, as Hincmar in the year 857 distinctly names him as the author. But his Benedictine editors refuse to allow the hymn to be by Ambrose, and Mone (*Hymni mediæ ævi, i.* p. 92) holds that it cannot be older than the seventh century. It exists in countless manuscripts, and was in use in many parts of Europe as a Compline hymn so early as the ninth century. There is nothing specifically Celtic about it, and it is not worth while to collate the texts.

Mone prints ll. 3, 4, thus:—

Lucifer lucem proferens
uitam beatam tribue.

He points out that the application of the title *Lucifer* to Christ is a mark of antiquity; He is παραφόρος.

The hymn has been translated into English a dozen times (see Julian's *Dict. of Hymnology*, p. 227), and is one of the most familiar hymns in use at Evensong in our churches.

**THE HYMN CHRISTI PATRIS IN DEXTERA.**

We have found this hymn nowhere save in F, where it follows the *Gloria in excelsis*. It has been recently printed by Dreves in his *Analecta Hymnæ mediæ ævi*, xix. 236; following him, we have entitled it "De SS. Petro et Paulo." The rhyming system on which it is constructed is Celtic (see p. xxiii), and it is very probably a native hymn of the Irish Church. The monastery in which the manuscript F was written may have been dedicated to St. Peter and St. Paul, such a dedication being common in Ireland as in England. Thus the great abbey church of Glendalough was "SS. Petri et Pauli"; there was a monastery with the same dedication at Armagh; and on Saint's Island in Lough Derg the Augustinian priory of St. Peter and St. Paul was on the site of an old foundation. Another abbey of the same name was founded by St. Tighernach, afterwards Bishop of Clones, in the sixth century.

Il. 21, 22. "talenta euangelica sancta non sine ussura" recall the words used of St. Patrick in the hymn of St. Sechnall (ll. 17, 18): "Electa Christi talenta uendit euangelica quæ Hibernas inter gentes cum usuris exigit."

In l. 30 bradium is evidently a blunder for *bradion = βραδίον*. See Phil. iii. 14 "ad bradion supernae uocationis Dei."

1 Migne, P.L. cxv. 591. 2 See Baeumer, *Gesch. des Breviers*, p. 323. 3 See p. 5 above.

LIBER HYMN. II.
1. 43) "per sanctorum suffragia apostolorum fortia" seems to be an imitation of l. 37 of the hymn of St. Cummain the Tall, "sanctorum ... ualida ... suffragia.

**CANTEMUS DOMINO GLORIOSE.**

As in the case of Benedicite we have collated A and Σ with F for this canticle. Its position in Σ is described on p. 240 n. above. The text exhibited is noteworthy; Mr. Warren has compared it with the Vulgate and with certain O. L. authorities in Antiph. of Bangor, II. xxxi.

It seems probable that in the Celtic Church it was used in the Mattin offices; for the evidence as to usage see Warren, l.c., p. 42.

The collectio at the end in F appears in A as one of a number of prayers which are prescribed super Canticum.

In the last line of the Preface, mulieribus is, doubtless, a scribe's blunder for muliebris.

**QUICUNQUE VULT.**

The Irish Preface to the Quicunque has been printed with a translation by Stokes in Rev. Celtique, vi. 265; it is evident that the author of it confused the Athanasian with the Nicene Creed. As we have pointed out in our Introduction (vol. i. p. xiv), it had been read by Ussher, who quotes part of it.¹

The Quicunque was well-known in Ireland, and several early manuscripts of it, written by Irish scribes, are extant; in particular there is one of the eighth century in the Ambrosian Library at Milan (O. 212 sup.), and there are ninth century copies at St. Gall. We have remarked above (p. 155) that the first stanza of the Altus Prosator seems to be based upon it, as the writer of the B Preface to that hymn observed. There is an Irish version of the Quicunque preserved in a paper manuscript belonging to the Royal Irish Academy classed M. 45; and one of the Homilies in the Leabhar Breac (fol. 257a) plainly implies a knowledge of its teaching.²

The antiphon Te iure after the Gloria in F (ll. 73, 74) is interesting; we may compare the rubrical direction found in the Crede Michi³: "Ad primam et ad alias horas omnia fiat sicut in ceteris diebus preter antiphonam super psalmum (Quicunque uult salus esse) que erit (Te iure)."

**THE LORICA OF GILDAS.**

This curious piece has been often printed; but we have thought it desirable to add it to the hymns contained in these volumes, although

¹ Works, vii. 200.
³ See Wordsworth, Tracts of Clement Maydestone, p. 63.
it is not found in either of our two principal manuscripts, as it illustrates many points which have been discussed in the preceding pages.

In 1853, Mone printed the hymn from the MS. which we have called Δ; our record of its readings is derived from a transcript by Zimmer.¹

In 1855, Daniel printed it² from a Vienna MS. (No. 11,857) of the sixteenth century, the text of which so closely resembles that of Δ, that we have not thought it necessary to record its readings.

In 1860, Stokes printed it³ from B, with the Irish glosses which that MS. contains.

In 1864, Cockayne printed it⁴ from C, adding the Anglo-Saxon glosses there found, and also recording some variants of the MS. which we call ψ.

The next step was the publication in 1889 of the hymn by Birch from N, in which manuscript it immediately follows the Oratio S. Johannis Evangelistae (our No. 17). The variants of ψ are given in this edition.⁵

We have presented above (vol. i. p. 206) the text of B, with the variants of CNΔψ, having collated afresh BCN. We do not give either the Irish glosses of B or the Anglo-Saxon glosses of Cψ; they can be read in the pages of Stokes and Cockayne.

The Latinity of the Lorica Gildæ has been much studied of late years in connection with the Hisperica Famina, which it strikingly resembles. This has already been incidentally mentioned in our discussion of the Allus Prosator (p. 143 above); and we need only repeat that the date of both the Lorica and the Hisperica Famina is generally assigned to the latter half of the sixth century. With this well agrees the tradition of the B Preface which states that the author of the Lorica was one Gildas, and that the hymn was introduced into Ireland by Laidcenn, son of Baeth the Victorious. Now Laidcenn died, according to the Irish Annals, in the year 661; and thus Gildas may well be the famous Gildas who died cir. 570. It is not improbable, indeed, that mortalitas huius anni of ll. 5, 6, may enable us to fix the year of the composition of the piece; for this seems to have been the Yellow Plague (see p. 114 above), which first ravaged Britain in 547. It will be observed that the titles in CN and the colophon in Δ speak of Laidcenn as the author; but if he first made the hymn popular, it is easy to understand why his name became associated with it. The strange vocabulary of the piece requires larger treatment than we have space for here; many references to treatises on the subject, in addition to the works we have already mentioned, will be found in an article by Zimmer published in 1895.⁶ On the metre see p. xxi above.

It will be seen that the Lorica is naturally divided into three parts, the introductory invocation of the Trinity⁷ being followed by an

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¹ See vol. i. p. xx.
² Thesaurus, iv. 364.
³ Irish Glosses, p. 133.
⁴ Leechdoms, Wortcunning, and Starcraft of Early England, i. lviii.
⁵ Book of Nunnaminster, p. 91.
⁶ Nachrichten des K. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen (1895), Heft 2. Mr. F. Jenkinson has kindly supplied us with this reference.
⁷ See above, p. 211.
invocation of heavenly powers, and the rest of the piece being taken up with an enumeration, in the most minute detail, of the various members of the human body.¹ A similar, though less elaborate, enumeration is found in a collect in the Basle Psalter (P), and another in the *Ordo Baptismi* in the Stowe Missal (S).² And the unpublished Lorica of Mugron cited above (p. 212) begins thus:

"The Cross of Christ upon this cheek, upon this ear, . . .
The Cross of Christ upon this eye, upon this nose,
The Cross of Christ upon this mouth, upon this tongue, upon this throat,
The Cross of Christ upon this back, the Cross of Christ upon this side,
The Cross of Christ upon my hands, from my shoulders to my palms,
The Cross of Christ upon my hips, the cross of Christ upon my hair."

A still closer parallel to the text before us is afforded by the *Lorica of Leyden*, lately published (with a facsimile of the MS.) by V. H. Friedel.³ This begins with the invocation *Domine exaudi*, &c., and then proceeds to enumerate the various parts of the body, exactly in the style of the *Lorica Gildae*, the Latinity being of the same curious kind. Angels and archangels and the powers of heaven and earth are then invoked, each clause ending with the words *ut euacuatis cor. N. pro amore meo*. The final invocation is *adiuro vos matheus. marcus. lucas. et iohannes.*⁴

Mr. Birch in his *Book of Nunnaminster* has given other illustrations of this practice of praying for protection for the several parts of the body.⁵ At p. 29 he cites a collect from the MS. we call D; and at p. 128 he gives an interesting parallel from the *Canones editi sub Edgaro rege* (printed in Wilkins' *Concilia*, i. 230), viz., "*Confiteor omnia corporis mei peccata cutis et carnis et ossis et nerorum et renum et cartilaginum et linguae et labiorum et fauces et dentium et corae et mediullae et rei cuiusque mollis uel durae, humidae uel siccae,* &c. Yet another example is found in the *Lorica Columbae*, beginning "*Sciat DÉ,*" which is contained in the *Leabhar na hUidhre* and in other manuscripts. And, finally, in the *Book of the Dean of Lismore* (ed. W. F. Skene), at p. 159, is printed an ancient Gaelic poem, which, beginning with an invocation of the Trinity, proceeds to ask protection for the several parts of the human frame.⁶

¹ Compare the glosses printed among the works of Hraban Maur in Migne. P.L. cxii. 1575.
³ *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie*, II. i. p. 64 (1898).
⁴ See above, p. 173.
⁵ None finds this Celtic love of detail illustrated in the delicacy and minuteness of the illuminated scrolls and borders in the more elaborately executed Irish manuscripts, such as the Book of Kells; "dieses specialisiren ist demnach ein nationaler Zug," he says in his notes on the *Lorica Gildae* (*Hymni Latinii*, i. 369).
⁶ There is a word in i. 50 of the B Preface which we cannot read; it looks like *œæ*. The similarity of the phraseology here, in which the benefits of recitation of the *Lorica* are described, to the words of the B Preface to the *Altus* (vol. i. p. 64, i. 39) should be observed.
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Vol. ii. p. xxxiii. for 'thes Irishe' read 'these Irish.'

Vol. ii. p. 50. After l. 32 of the Lorica of St. Patrick, insert l. 33 "Power of God to uphold me," and alter accordingly the numbering of all the lines which follow.
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