

I.

NOTES ON SOME NON-BIBLICAL MATTER IN THE MS. OF THE FOUR GOSPELS KNOWN AS THE BOOK OF MULLING. BY REV. H. J. LAWLOR, B.D., F.S.A. Scot.

The Book of Mulling is a Latin manuscript of the Four Gospels, written in the Irish character, and preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. The name by which it is usually known is justified by the colophon found at the end of the Gospel according to St John, which contains the statement:—"nomen autem scriptoris mulling dicitur."¹ There can be little question who this Mulling was. The most distinguished—so far as I know, the only—ecclesiastic mentioned in the ancient Irish Annals bearing the name is Dairchell or Molling, who, after having presided for some time over a monastery in the place still known as St Mullins in the Co. Carlow, Ireland, died in the last decade

¹ I venture to give this colophon in full, so far as I have succeeded in reading it, as mistakes have crept into the only published transcriptions of it which I have seen.

col. a. Φ INIT amen Φ INIT
o tv quicūq : Scripseris
† scrutatus fueris † etiā
uideris h̄ uolumin d̄m orā
a

col. b. - - - - - s - - - - -
- - - - - [m̄]ssericordiā suā
- - - - - s p̄ cliuosū mundi in - -
- - - - - dusq : altissimum :—
[u]omen h̄ scriptoris mulling
dicitur finiunt quatuor euan
gelia

Of special importance are the words "h̄ (=haec) uolumina" in l. 4, printed "h̄ uolumen" by Westwood, and more grammatically, but less correctly, "hoc uolumen" by others. The expression accords with the fact that the Book consists (besides introductory matter) of four distinct uolumina or gatherings, one for each Gospel. We see, therefore, that the scribe (if he was not St Mulling himself) not only made a transcript of Mulling's text, but further imitated the *form* of his manuscript as regards the division into quires. "Cliuosū" in l. 7 should perhaps be "clinosū."

of the 7th century. The extreme rarity of the name makes it highly probable that this is the Mulling referred to in the colophon. On the other hand, palæographers tell us¹ that the date of the manuscript is at least a century later than Dairchell. The true reconciliation of this apparent conflict of evidence seems to be given by the supposition that Mulling wrote a copy of the Gospels; that a century after his death an anonymous scribe made a transcript of this book, including the colophon; and that this transcript is the "Book of Mulling," which has survived to the present day.² Thus much, at least, appears to be certain, that, by whomsoever penned, every part of our manuscript must have been written in the monastery of St Molling at St Mullins; for until near the end of the 18th century it was in the custody of the family of Kavanagh, to which St Molling belonged, and whose family seat at Borris-in-Ossory is within a few miles of the site of the monastery.³

The peculiar way in which the manuscript is written has brought about the result that several pages have been left blank. These have been in some cases used for the transcription of ecclesiastical documents. Thus at the end of St Matthew we find a single blank leaf. The recto of this and part of the second column of the preceding page⁴ contains—not in the same hand as the body of the manuscript, if I judge correctly⁵—the Office of the Visitation of the Sick, published by Warren, *Liturgy and*

¹ Berger, *La Vulgate*, pp. 34, 380: Scrivener, *Introduction*, Ed. 4, ii. p. 78.

² Cf. Professor Abbott "On the colophon of the Book of Durrow" (*Hermathena*, vol. viii, p. 199), where reasons are given, almost amounting to demonstration, for believing that the Book of Durrow (including the colophon) is a transcript from a copy hastily written, possibly in a cursive hand, by St Columba. On the other hand, Bishop Reeves (*Life of St Columba*, p. xiv.) asserts that "the colophon in Irish manuscripts is always peculiar to the actual scribe, and likely to be omitted in transcription."

³ Mr Warren appears to overlook the importance of this fact when he writes in the *Academy*, Jan. 26th, 1893, p. 83, "But who is the "Mulling Scriptor" of this volume? and where was his *civitas*? The proposal to identify him with St Mulling of Ferns (who died 697) . . . must now be finally abandoned."

⁴ Not as Westwood says, in his very inexact account of this MS., "the last and part of the preceding pages" (*Pal. Sac. Irish Biblical MSS.*, Pl. II. p. 4).

⁵ But Westwood emphatically says: "the *original scribe* had" written this Office (the italics are his own).

Ritual of the Celtic Church, p. 171 *sqq.*¹ Again, the concluding verses of St John, with the colophon, are written on the recto of the last leaf of the quire assigned to that Gospel, and the verso thus left idle has been made the receptacle of matter to which I now ask your attention.

I may here remark that when I undertook to write a paper on the non-biblical matter of the Book of Mulling, I entertained the hope that I might be able to present you with a full transcript of several pages, including that which I am now about to describe, which have hitherto been only partially deciphered. At the last moment, however, an unexpected difficulty has arisen: I have been unable to apply chemicals to the manuscript—as I had hoped to do—and have been obliged to content myself with what my eyesight could reveal to me, assisted only by good light and some little patience. It is possible that at some future time I may be able to supply the deficiencies of my paper necessarily resulting from this circumstance.

Two facts at once strike us when we proceed to examine this page of the manuscript,—*first*, that the writing is in the same hand as the main portion of the book; and *secondly*, that it follows the colophon. Combining these two facts, and assuming the correctness of the hypothesis which I have advanced as to the origin of the manuscript, we are entitled to infer that, unlike the biblical text, this page has no claim to represent an exemplar coeval with St Molling of Ferns, but that it was written *by an inmate of his monastery*, about the close of the eighth or beginning of the ninth century.

Of the contents of the page Mr Westwood writes, “There is (1) an inscription on the verso of the last page (*sic*), in the same hand as the text, containing the Magnificat, part of the Sermon on the Mount Apostles’ Creed, ‘Patricius Epis’, and (2) a circular table, with inscriptions.” We will examine these two in order.

¹ One or two misprints may be noted: In the first prayer read “*relevatio*”; p. 172, l. 3, the number of illegible letters is not more than 10 or 12: l. 4, delete *et*, and note that 8 or 9 illegible letters follow *omnipotens*; in l. 5, the MS. has an illegible word before *tui*; l. 25 read *caelorum* for *celo*; p. 173, ll. 6, 8, read *eucharitiam*, *eucharitię*: here, as elsewhere, peculiarities of spelling are not very carefully preserved.

I. *The Liturgical Fragment*.—Of this Mr Westwood's words are an approximation to a correct description, but they are no more. The document *contains* neither Magnificat nor Apostles' Creed, though both are referred to; it *does* contain "Patricius Episcopus", though a word of explanation was needed in the case of this somewhat mysterious title; and finally, it refers to several other pieces of interest which Mr Westwood has not mentioned. All this will be evident from the transcript which I now give. The document is written in one column of about thirteen or fourteen lines, each containing some thirty-five letters, towards the left of the page, as if room were left for a second narrower column to the right, which has not been added.¹ The exterior margin is very narrow. In the transcript, I have underlined letters which are not distinct enough to be read with entire confidence. Those which have been conjecturally supplied are enclosed in square brackets. The title (if any existed) is illegible, with probably a line or so of text.

----- al
 -----Magnificat.
 INo --- rem. Benedictus usq; ioh[annem baptis]tã
 p[re]cursore d[omi]ni] Uidens ñ ihs turbas ascendit t
 5. ----- m b - - e - - o XPS illum conrici
 [dead I] memoria æt[er]na Patricius ep[iscop]i orat
 [pro nobis omnibus] ut deleantur protinus peccata
 [quæ commisimus] INuitiata q[ui] feramus pec
 [tora Exaudi donec d[omi]nicis peccata plurima.—
 10. [Maiesta]t[em]q; imensam corici dead et conglu
 [ria Uni]tas [u]sq; i finem.Credo i d[omi]n[um] pat
 [noster - - - - -] . .—

1. 1. "al" perhaps = "alleluia": but possibly the letters are "ad" (? = "[de]ad," as below).

1. 3. "I" is very uncertain: the mark so read may be merely an accidental stain and not an ink-mark: "r" may be "n". The letter "t" at the end of the line is in the margin, and does not appear to be part of the text.

¹ The length of a line of writing is 5·8 cent., the breadth of the page being about 10·5 cent.

1. 4. The line over "dni" and perhaps the "so" of "precursorem" are legible.
 1. 5. "b" should perhaps be read as "o", the downward stroke of "U" just above making it look like "b".
 1. 10. The last letters are very difficult to read: see below.
 1. 11. There is possibly one letter between "[Uni]tas" and "[u]sque" (?="i": see below).

For the benefit of those who, like myself, are ignorant of the Irish tongue, I may note that Rev. T. Olden tells me that "conrici dead" = usque in finem. For this information, and for much valuable help, I desire to make grateful acknowledgment.

A glance through this document will suffice to show that it is liturgical in character, and that the ecclesiastical office which it represents contained at least the following parts: (1) "Magnificat"; (2) *INo . . . rem*; (3) "Benedictus", &c.; (4) "Uidens autem", &c.; (5) "Christus illum", &c.; (6) "[In]memoria", &c.; (7) "Patricius Episcopus", &c.; (8) "Inuitiata quod", &c.; (9) [. . .] *cis peccata plurima*; (10) "[. . .] q; immensam", &c.; (11) "[Uni]tas," &c.; (12) "Credo", &c.

Can any of the parts thus described be identified? Some with the greatest ease. For example, that which is called "Magnificat" (1) is beyond doubt the hymn of the Blessed Virgin, as used at Vespers in the mediæval Church of England, and at Evensong according to the Reformed Anglican usage. That this Canticle was used in the early Irish Church we need no further assurance than that which its presence in the *Liber Hymnorum*¹ affords. Again, "Uidens autem", &c., (4) is obviously a lection from St Matt. v., "Jesus" being inserted after "autem" in agreement with the majority of MSS. of the Irish recension, including the Book of Mulling itself. Once more, "Credo", &c., (12) is the Apostles' Creed, which we know to have been commonly employed in Celtic worship.

¹ *The Book of Hymns of the Ancient Church of Ireland, edited from the original manuscript in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, with translation and notes, by James Henthorn Todd; Dublin, Fasc. i. 1855, Fasc. ii. 1869.* Dr Todd (Advert. p. 2) was aware of the existence of a second copy of the Book of Hymns, then in the Library of St Isidore's at Rome. It is now preserved in the Franciscan House, Merchants' Quay, Dublin, and I have occasionally referred to it as the "Franciscan Copy." A new and complete edition of the *Liber Hymnorum* is now being prepared by Professors Bernard and Atkinson.

One word more before we leave l. 11 as to its last word. It is natural to read "pat" as the fourth word of the Creed, "patrem." And this is not impossible, for the abbreviations in our MS. are sometimes quite arbitrary. Thus "patrem" is represented by "pā" at Matt. xv. 4, 6, while the same letters stand for "patri" in the intervening verse, not to mention other instances. But, on the other hand, t̄ is almost always used for *ter*. I have therefore ventured to regard "pat" as the first word of the Lord's Prayer (13), and to conjecture "noster" as the first of the illegible words in l. 12. That the Credo should be followed by the Pater Noster is just what we might expect. The same sequence occurs in the Book of Dimma, the Visitation of the Sick in the Book of Mulling, the Antiphony of Bangor, and the Book of Hymns fo. 30v°, *i.e.*, apparently in all the Celtic offices, not strictly Eucharistic in character, in which the Creed is found;¹ the Book of Deer (Warren, p. 166) being, of course, no exception. The word "noster", especially if written nr, would fill only a small part of the vacant space in l. 12, which appears to have contained twelve or fourteen letters. The remainder was possibly taken up with the first words of the embolismus (14) "Libera" or "Libera nos" (*cf.* Warren, pp. 164, 170, 172, 177, 223, 242; but see also Mr Warren's letter in the *Academy*, Jan. 26th, 1895, p. 83, and below p. 45).

After these, perhaps the piece most easily recognised is that commencing "Patricius episcopus orat" (*l.oret*)—(7). This was written in full, and enough remains legible to place beyond question its identity with one of the couplets added in the Antiphony of Bangor (fo. 15v°), and in the copy of the Book of Hymns preserved in the Franciscan Monastery, Merchants' Quay, Dublin, to the Hymn of Secundinus in honour of St Patrick. The couplet runs as follows²:—

¹ Compare the Old-Irish Tract *De Arreis*, edited by Mr Kuno Meyer (*Rev. Celtique*, Oct. 1894), in which the recitation of Paters is frequently enjoined without the Credo (capp. 1, 3, 10, 13, 20, 31, 33), while the Credo never stands alone, being always either followed (14 [*cet credo* is here left untranslated], 26) or preceded (21) by a Pater.

² I quote from the Antiphony, with which our MS. agrees. In the Franciscan Book of Hymns there are some variations:

Patricius sanctus episcopus oret pro nobis omnibus
et miseriatu protinus peccata quæ commisimus.

“Patricius æpiscopus oret pro nobis omnibus
ut deleantur protinus peccata quæ commisimus.”

The identification of these lines leads to the anticipation that the Hymn of St Secundinus itself, to which they are subjoined as an appendix in the only other MSS. which are known to contain them, may form one of the earlier parts of the office. And this anticipation will be strengthened when we remember that we are dealing, probably, with a *monastic service* and recall the contemporary words of the Book of Armagh, “Patricius scs Eps honorem quaternum *omnibus monasteriis et æclesiis* per totam hiberniam debet habere . . . III. Ymnum eius per totum tempus cantare . . .” If this “Hymn of St Patrick” forms part of our office, it will most probably be “Christus illum,” &c. (5), or the following number. Now at first view it may appear impossible that it should be (5); for on a reference to the *Liber Hymnorum* we discover that neither the Hymn of Secundinus, nor, indeed, any other poem in the whole collection commences with these words. The supposition, however, must not be at once set aside, for we find that the *third last stanza* of the hymn, which is alphabetical, begins with the very words of which we are in search. No other liturgical form which I have come across commences with the words “Christus illum”; these words occur in our office just at the very place where we might expect to have the Hymn of Secundinus, or possibly an extract therefrom; we may feel fairly confident therefore that in the concluding stanzas of this hymn (*Liber Hymnorum*, i. p. 21), which I now transcribe, we have hit upon (5) of the office.

Xps̄ illum sibi legit in terris uicarium
qui de gemino captiuos liberat seruitio
plerosque de seruitute quos redemit hominum
innumeros de zabuli obsoluet dominio.

Ymnos cum apocalipsi psalmosque cantat dei
quosque ad edificandum dei tractat populum¹
quam legem in trinitate sacri credit nominis
tribusque personis unam docetque substantiam.

¹ On the words “dei populum” the Leabbar Breac has the gloss “popuitrine,” which Dr Todd, (*Lib. Hymn.* i. 22) “takes to mean “popuil trine, the people of the

Zona domini precinctus diebus et noctibus
sine intermissione deum orat dominum
cuius ingentis laboris percepturus premium
cum apostolis regnabit sanctus super israel.

We must now pause for a moment to consider a possible objection of a sceptical critic. Is it possible, at least is it likely, it may be asked, that the last three stanzas of a popular hymn should be chanted in an office such as that which we are considering, apart from the preceding portion? The likelihood does not appear to be increased by the circumstance that the verses when separated from their context do not make very obvious or very good sense.

A complete answer to this difficulty is found in a story given by Dr Todd, in his notes to the *Liber Hymnorum* (i. p. 33), from the Leabhar Breac. The story is interesting, albeit somewhat frivolous; moreover, it not merely serves our immediate purpose of annihilating the sceptic, but throws out a hint which we shall find valuable by and by. I need scarcely apologise therefore for quoting it almost at full length.

St Secundinus (or as the narrator calls him, Sechnall) had read his adulatory hymn to St Patrick, in whose honour it had been written. "When the recitation of the hymn was concluded, Sechnall said, 'I must have reward for it,' said he. 'Thou shalt have it,' said Patrick, 'the number of days that are in a year, the same number of souls of sinners shall go to heaven, for the making of this hymn.' 'I will not accept that,' said Sechnall, 'for I think that too little, and the praise is good.' 'Thou shalt have then,' said Patrick, 'the number of the hairs that are on the casula of thy cowl, the same number of sinners to

Trinity, or the people of God, as in the Latin." This note receives confirmation from, while at the same time it illustrates, a phrase in the collect, "creator naturarum," preserved in the Book of Mulling (Warren, p. 172), viz.: "has *trinitatis populi tui* . . . preces." In the Book of Deer (fol. 28b, Warren, p. 164) this runs "*tremētis populi tui*." Probably the Book of Mulling gives us the earlier form of the Collect, composed by one who thought, if he did not write the rough draft, in Irish, and translated into too literal Latin an idiom of the vernacular speech which has been removed in the recension given in the Book of Deer. The change would be facilitated by the close resemblance of the two words "tremētis" and "trinitatis" in the minuscule Irish character.

go to heaven, for the hymn.' 'I will not accept it,' said Sechnall, 'for who is the believer who would not take that number to heaven, although he were not praised by myself, nor by anyone; as thou art.' 'Thou shalt have,' said Patrick, 'seven every Thursday, and twelve every Saturday, to go to heaven, of the sinners of Erinn.' 'It is too little,' said Sechnall. 'Thou shalt have,' said Patrick, 'every one to go to heaven *who sings it lying down and rising up.*' 'I will not accept that,' said Sechnall, 'for the hymn is too long, and it is not every one that can commit it to memory.' '*Its whole grace then,*' said Patrick, '*shall be upon the last three stanzas of it.*' 'Deo gratias,' said Sechnall.¹

"The Angel promised the same thing to Patrick upon the Cruach, viz., heaven to every one who shall sing *the last three stanzas of it at lying down, and at rising up*, as is [said by the poet],

"A Hymn, which, if sung when alive,
Will be a protecting Lorica unto all."

I do not guarantee the historical character of this tale. It demonstrates, however, two facts to which I ask special attention:—1. That it was customary to substitute for the hymn of Secundinus its last three stanzas, exactly as appears to have been done in our office. 2. That the usual time for reciting the hymn, in whole or in part, was before retiring to rest at night, and after rising in the morning.

We have now advanced so far as to have identified (5) and (7) with the hymn of Secundinus, and a supplementary stanza or antiphon added thereto in two manuscripts. It is natural to guess that the intervening number is another similar addendum to the hymn. Four such supplementary couplets are known,² and one of them, found both in the *Leabhar*

¹ The introduction to the Hymn of Secundinus is wanting in the Trinity College Book of Hymns, a leaf having probably been lost at the beginning of the MS. The Franciscan copy, however, has an introduction, in which this story is told in a somewhat abbreviated form—the latter portion, on which our argument is built, being identical with what we find in the *Leabhar Breac* (see Whitley Stokes, *Tripartite Life*, p. 382 *sqq.*)

² The variety which exists among the five authorities for these four stanzas is remarkable. Numbering those in the Trinity College Book of Hymns 1, 2, 3 respectively, and "Patricius Episcopus" 4, they are given in the following various relative positions in the authorities. *T. C. D. Book of Hymns*, 1, 2, 3; *Antiphonary*

concluding stanzas of the hymn of Cummain Fota, renders it probable, if any other indication is found pointing the same way, that it is one of the collects written at the end of this poem in the MSS. And such an indication we have in the words "peccata plurima," which stand as the concluding words in the antiphon—

"Exaudi nos deus per merita apostolorum optima
ut deleantur pessima nostra peccata plurima."

Liber Hym., i. p. 80.

Our only difficulty is to explain "icis." If my conjecture is correct, these must be the concluding letters of a phrase equivalent to "as far as." We may guess either "donec dicis" (a construction quite common in Mediæval Latin prose), or "conricis" = "until thou reachest," as Mr Olden suggests. I have supplied the illegible letters in my transcript in accordance with the former conjecture. The latter indeed appears to me, in itself, more likely, and perhaps fits the space better; but the traces of the letter preceding "icis," which still remain, suit "d" better than "r." However the letters "icis" be explained, it is interesting to observe that our MS. here agrees with the Franciscan Codex in omitting the collect "Per merita," &c., which follows "Exaudi nos" in the T. C. D. Book, though the form of expression—" [. .]icis peccata plurima," for "conrici dead," or "usque in finem"—seems to indicate a consciousness on the part of the scribe that in some copies a second collect, or some other subsidiary matter, was found in addition to "Exaudi nos."

Why St Cummain's hymn should have been recited in St Molling's monastery is not very clear, as there appears to be no notice in historical documents connecting him either with Molling or with the district in which he lived. He was, however, famous throughout Ireland, and an elder contemporary of our saint (ob. 662. *Annal. Ulton.*).¹

¹ We have here, it will be seen, a confirmation of the hypothesis that the page under review, and therefore also the Biblical portion of the MS. as we have it, was written, not by St Molling, but by a scribe who lived a century after Molling's death. It is unlikely that the fame of Cummain should have led to the recitation of his

Number (10)—“[. . .] que immensam,” &c.—has next to be considered. We have to look for a stanza whose second word is “immensam,” and we at once perceive that the stanza of which we are in quest cannot be the first of a poem. No hymn could have for its first word a substantive followed by the conjunction “que,” and in this place q; can scarcely stand for the relative “quae.” Thus we have one further proof, if such were needed, of the custom of reciting the last stanzas of a canticle in place of the whole. A search through the Book of Hymns will quickly convince us that number (10) is an extract from the poem “Ymnum dicat,”¹ ascribed to Hilary of Poitiers (Todd, *Book of Hymns*, ii. p. 151). Here are its *last three stanzas* :—

Maiestatemque immensam concinemus iugiter
ante lucem nuntiemus christum regem saeculo.

Ante lucem decantantes christo regi domino
et qui in illum recte credunt regnaturi cum eo.

Gloria patri ingenito gloria unigenito
simul cum sancto spiritu in sempiterna secula.

lorica within thirty years of his death, in a monastery with which he had no direct connection; still less likely that the principle of three stanzas for the whole should have been applied to his poem so soon.

¹ This poem appears to have been used as a lorica. See Whitley Stokes, *Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore* (*Anecdota Oxoniensia*, 1890), p. viii. sqq., a reference which I owe to Professor Bernard. Compare also the Book of Leinster, fol. 282a (quoted by Dr MacCarthy, *Trans. R.I.A.*, xxvii. 183), and the ancient tract *De Arreis* published in the *Revue Celtique* for Oct. 1894, capp. 26, 32. In both these passages from the Treatise *De Arreis*, the Hymn of St Hilary is enjoined for recitation with the “biait,” which Mr Kuno Meyer (p. 492) takes to mean Ps. cxviii. (A. V. cxix.). In this he follows Mr Whitley Stokes (*Book of Lismore*, p. 406). But throughout this treatise the Psalms are regularly cited by their first words in *Latin* (capp. 10, 18 [Ps. l., A. V. li.], 33, &c.); and to understand “biait” of this Psalm seems very unhappy in cap. 3—“lauda]biait]pater after each psalm.” Here we should have Ps. cxviii referred to by an *Irish* title in the same sentence with “lauda” and “pater,” with the direction, in itself improbable, that Ps. cxviii. should be recited after every psalm. If “biait” in capp. 26, 32 were equivalent to the Beatitudes of St Matt. v. (cf. *Book of Lismore*, p. 323), we should have “Ymnum dicat” in juxtaposition with this passage (with Credo and Pater in cap. 26) as in our fragment. The “chapters” of the “biait” *De Arreis* 32, *Book of Lismore*, p. 180, may seem to favour

It will be observed that what we reckon—in this following both MSS. of the Book of Hymns and the majority of copies of the *Ymnium Dicat*—as the last stanza is a doxology. This doxology is in reality not part of the hymn, as the scribe of the Bangor Antiphonary seems anxious to hint to us by his punctuation (fo. 4v°). And indeed the same thing is evident from the fact that two other hymns in the Antiphonary close with the same words, namely, “Ignis Creator,” fo. 11r°, and “Mediæ noctis,” fo. 11v°. A St Gall manuscript of the Hymn, in fact, omits the doxology, as Professor Bernard, to whom I am indebted for much of my knowledge of this poem, has been good enough to inform me.

To make up the customary three stanzas, however, it is necessary to include it: and this appears to be the explanation of the words which I have read “et conglu[ria].” The letters are difficult to decipher, partly because of imperfect formation in the case of the first two or three, and partly because of a rent in the vellum which crosses the last three letters of l. 10. It is thus *possible* that for *c* we should read *a* or *o*, for *o*, *a*; *n* may just as well be *r*; *g* I had for some time read as *t*, and *u* may be *h*. Nevertheless, I am pretty confident that the reading in my transcript is correct. By way of explanation it is only necessary to say that “con” = “with” (see Whitley Stokes, *Calendar of Oengus*, in Transactions of R.I. Academy, Irish Manuscript Series, vol. i., p. ccxxxviii.), and that “gluria” = “gloria,” by a common substitution of *u* for *o*.¹

We have already seen that the Hymn of Secundinus is followed by two antiphons. In like manner the antiphon “Exaudi,” &c., follows the Hymn of Cummain Fota. It may therefore be regarded as not improbable that number (11) is one of the antiphons belonging to the Hymn of Hilary (10). Now three such antiphons are known to exist, and all

the application of the word to the psalm: but the “chapters” may mean either a verse of a psalm or a single beatitude: see the Preface to Ultan’s Hymn (*Lib. H. i.* 60), where the word “chapters” is applied to the stanzas of the poem—“There are three chapters in it, and four lines in each chapter.”

¹ Cf. for this substitution Gilbert, *National Manuscripts of Ireland*, part i. p. vi. Many examples might be cited from the Book of Mulling, the most noticeable being the name of the scribe, the first syllable of which is elsewhere commonly written Mol. “Gloria” seems not to occur elsewhere in the MS.

of them are preserved in the Trinity College Book of Hymns. They begin respectively, "Te decet ymnus," "Canticis spiritualibus," "Unitas in." The Franciscan copy has the first two of these, while, as Professor Bernard tells me, no other known MS. of the Hymn gives any antiphons. We may fairly expect—though, of course, it must not be assumed as certain—that number (11) is one of the three just mentioned. In deciding among them we have not much to guide us. The space before "usque" is occupied with letters for the most part illegible. However, the letter "t" is fairly distinct, and is followed by (apparently) two letters, *forming part of the same word*. This last consideration disposes of the claim of "Te decet." Both the remaining antiphons have the letter "t" in a suitable position, but the preference must be given to the latter, as the marks following "t" may well represent "as," but can scarcely be "icis." If, as is possible, another letter is obliterated between "[Uni]tas" and "usque," it was probably "i" = in. I am inclined, therefore, to believe that number (11) is the antiphon which I now transcribe :—

Unitas in trinitate te deprecor Domine ut me semper trahas totum tibi notum uouere (*Todd*, ii. p. 161).

Number (2) has up to the present baffled all my efforts to identify it.

I have left for the last number (3) "Benedictus," &c., because I cannot be quite confident that my identification of it is correct. At first, one might feel inclined to assume that it is the canticle still usually designated by this name, and used in the Ancient Irish Church (*Liber Hymnorum*, ii. 190). This supposition, however, is rendered untenable by the words "usque ioh . . .," *i.e.*, as far as the word "iohannes," or some case of this word, or the line beginning therewith. For, though the Benedictus has St John the Baptist for its subject, he is not mentioned in it by name. I would suggest that what is meant by the words which I have noted is an extract from the Hymn, attributed to St Columba, beginning "Noli Pater." (*Lib. Hym.*, ii. p. 262.) It consists of seven stanzas, the fourth, fifth, and sixth of which I transcribe.

¹ But see below p. 45.

Benedictus in secula recta regens regimina
 iohannes coram domino adhuc matris in utero
 Repletus dei gratia pro uino atque siccera
 Elizabeth et Zacharias uirum magnum genuit
 iohannem baptizam precursorem domini.

The words of the last line, allowing for customary abbreviations, would about suit the spaces of lines 3 and 4 of my transcript, and, if they are inserted there, we have an exact description of these stanzas. Again, as before, three stanzas for the whole is the principle of selection. All this points to the correctness of our hypothesis that we have in these stanzas the passage referred to in number (3).¹ One difficulty only has to be met. In all the other cases in which three stanzas were chanted as a substitute for the entire hymn the three last were chosen; and in the case of the hymn of St Secundinus, the legend to which I have already appealed implies that this was the regular and customary practice. Is it likely that the usage was different with the "Noli Pater"?

I answer that, whether *a priori* likely or not, a departure from this usage does appear to have taken place in the present instance. For the words "Benedictus usque ioh . . ." imply that only a portion of a canticle was to be sung, and that this portion did not conclude with the last verse of the hymn. Had it been so, the ordinary formula which occurs elsewhere in the office *conrivi dead*, or its equivalent *usque i. finem*, would have been used.² And, moreover, good reason can be given why precisely the portion of the hymn "Noli Pater" above quoted should be sung in preference to the last three stanzas. It is possible that for once the compiler of our office may have paid attention rather to the meaning of the words which he put into the mouths of those who used it than to traditional custom. At least this much is clear: the three stanzas just cited make good sense, and are in themselves a complete poem on St John

¹ It ought to be added that the combination of letters which I have read as "tā" is not exactly similar to anything which I have observed elsewhere in the manuscript. For this reason no argument can be based upon it. I have not noticed any other place in which "tam" occurs at the end of a line: but *cf.* the combinations used for "tio," Mar. vii. 8, xv. 41; "triam," Mar. vi. 1; "tia," Mar. ix. 20; "tiam," Matt. xii. 42, Joh. i. 16; "sti," Matt. xxv. 24, xxvi. 25, &c.

² Yet see p. 21.

the Baptist. They are, moreover, the only stanzas in which he is mentioned. Had the last three stanzas been chosen, the extract would have begun in the middle of a sentence, and have been absolutely unmeaning as regards its first three lines, while the last stanza would have introduced an entirely new thought, apparently altogether unconnected with what immediately precedes it, and in the hymn itself (supposing that we have it in its original form) more closely associated in its idea with the opening verses. This last stanza runs thus :—

Manet in meo corde dei amoris flamma
ut in argenti uase auri ponitur gemma.

I think, then, that the probability is that the hymn described as “Benedictus usque ioh . . .” is stanzas 4, 5, and 6 of St Columba’s “Noli Pater.” The probability will be either destroyed or transformed into certainty when a few more letters of the MS. can be read. Meanwhile we must be content to guess.

Assuming then, for the present, the correctness of our guess, we turn now to the introduction to “Noli Pater”¹ in the *Liber Hymnorum* (ii. 259), in order to discover what the compiler of the collection has to tell us of its origin and use. He ascribes it to the time when King Aedh granted to St Columba the site of a church at Derry. No sooner had the gift been presented than “the town was burned, with everything that was in it . . . The fire, however, in consequence of its greatness, threatened to burn the whole Daire, so that it was to save it, at that time, that this hymn was composed. Or it was the day of Judgment he had in view, or the fire of the festival of John.” Rather a liberal choice ! and none the less so because the only allusions to fire in the entire hymn are the word “fulgure” in the first, and “amoris flamma” in the last stanza. It is obvious that all this is mere criticism and guess-work. Clearly the only thing in it all which rests on tradition is the ascription of the poem to St Columba. But we stand on firmer ground in the

¹ The introduction in the Franciscan copy is in some respects different. But it has the important words, “Whosoever repeats it on lying down and rising up it saveth him from every fire” (Stokes, *Tripartite Life*, p. civ.). The story is preserved, with the mention of lying down and rising up as the special times of recitation, in the Edinburgh MS. of St Columba’s Life. Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, ii. p. 482 sq.

next sentence, in which the writer tells us of the customs of his own day, and which quite accounts for his anxiety to discover or manufacture allusions to fire in the hymn. "And it is sung," he adds, "[as a protection] against every fire, and every thunderstorm, from that time forth; and whosoever sings it *at bed-time and at rising*, it protects him against lightning, and it protects the nine persons whom he desires [to protect]." It was, then, a lorica, and it was used night and morning.

We have now acquired some general information as to the character of the office which forms the subject of our consideration—not such information as we might have desired, or as we may hope for in the near future, but still sufficient to make a further question worth asking: What was the purpose of the office? when was it used?

If we could restore the first line or two of the page, speculation would probably be needless. The title would supply us at once with the knowledge which we seek. Meanwhile, it will have been noticed that the story from the *Leabhar Breac*, which I have cited in connection with the hymn of St Secundinus (5), as well as the note with which it concludes, with regard to the angel at the Cruach, conveys definitely the information that the hymn was to be said, as a lorica, *at bed-time and rising*. A similar statement, as we have just seen, is made in the *Liber Hymnorum* about the "Noli Pater" (3). These two hints are sufficient to lead to the conclusion that the office was said daily, either at bed-time, as was Compline in the mediæval Church, or in the early morning, like Matins, or rather, perhaps, at both these times.¹

¹ Possibly, however, in private. [Mr Warren regards this as the more probable view. "I am inclined to think," he writes in the *Academy*, Jan. 26th, 1895, p. 83, "that we have here a collection of formulæ . . . intended for private use by a sick person as a sort of compound *lorica* or charm." He thus connects our fragment with the Office of the Visitation of the Sick. Against this view I have given what appear to me decisive reasons in the *Academy* of Feb. 2nd, p. 106, viz.: that it is written at the end of St John's Gospel, the *Visitatio* following St Matthew, and being written by a different scribe. I may now add one or two words. It seems probable, as has just been pointed out, that the Office was intended for *daily* use. This is scarcely consistent with its being said only by the sick. And we find in its various parts nothing specially appropriate to sickness. The hymn "Noli Pater" was a lorica against fire and lightning. Why was protection against these more needed by a sick man than by one who was in good health?]

For this conclusion we find some confirmation from the "Ymnum Dicat" of St. Hilary (10). This hymn is marked off by its concluding stanzas as one eminently likely to have been used at an early morning service. The two immediately preceding the doxology, with their twice-repeated "ante lucem," have been quoted above. Before them come the following, not less appropriate for morning use:—

Ante lucem turba fratrum concinnemus gloriam
qua docemur nos futuri sempiterna secula

Galli cantus galli plausus proximum sentit diem
nos cantantes et precantes quae futura credimus.

It is therefore no more than one might expect that, in one of the manuscripts containing the *Ymnum Dicat*, it is one of two poems which follow a collection of fourteen prayers and hymns, expressly stated to be intended for use in the morning.

Evidence, however, which seems at first view to indicate that this poem was used at another time of the day, must not be overlooked. In the Trinity College Manuscript (W. Stokes, *Goidelica* p. 98, Todd, *Lib. Hym.* ii., pp. 151, 162), two accounts of the composition of the poem are given. The first, which is somewhat obscure, is as follows:—"Hilarius . . . fecit hunc ymnum xpo in monte gargani, after eating the dinner (naprainne = prandium) illic in the robber's house. And after giving thanks to God, the sons of life dwindled post till they were not bigger than infants, as that seemed unto the 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." The last words may seem to indicate that it was customary to sing this hymn, after the supposed example of Hilary of Poitiers, at the conclusion of a meal, rather than at bed-time or in the early morning. This, however, must not be too readily assumed, for several reasons. *First*, there can be no doubt that the passages already cited in connection with numbers (5) and (3) bear witness to an established usage. To me it seems that the sentence just quoted does not go so far as this. It does not so much justify what is done, as state what, in the writer's

opinion, *ought* to be done (conuenit). It has rather the sound of an apology for the practice of a few persons of special piety, than of a defence of a settled monastic rule. *Secondly*, it is a little doubtful how we are to understand the word "canere." It may seem natural to take it transitively and supply "istam laudem" (*i.e.*, the hymn of St Hilary) from the preceding clause. It is, however, equally possible that it is used intransitively, in which case no reference whatever is made to the recitation of our hymn. And so Dr Todd appears to render it.¹ *Thirdly*, it is to be noted that the Trinity College copy here lacks the support of the Franciscan manuscript. And *lastly*, admitting that we have here proof of the recitation of the hymn of St Hilary, "post prandium," as a regular practice, this does not in any way conflict with the supposition that it was chanted at other times as well.

And, in fact, we have definite proof that this was the case. The poem is mentioned in stanza xxiv of the metrical rule of Ailbhe of Emly as follows:—

"The *Hymnum Dicat* should be sung
At striking the bell for Canonical Hours,
All wash their hands carefully,
The brethren assume their habit."

Irish Ecclesiastical Record, vol. viii. p. 183.

Thus the regular use of the hymn was not restricted to the conclusion of meals. It does not, indeed, seem very likely that it was recited before every hour, as the first two lines here quoted seem to imply. The mention in the third and fourth lines of the monks performing their ablutions and donning their habit points rather to the first office of the day. And with this the context agrees. The stanza (xxii) next but one before that just quoted runs:—

The perfect observance of the Canonical hours
Is reckoned the chief rule ;
Correct *Matins*, according to the Divines,
Is at the close and the beginning of day.

¹ "Thus it is our duty to sing after dinner:" to which he appends the note, "It (*i.e.* the story) does not appear to have much connection with the duty of *saying grace* after dinner, which, nevertheless, seems to be intended as its moral, from the words 'sic' &c." *Book of Hymns*, ii. p. 162.

Then, in stanza xxiii, the direction is given that no one is to speak "till the hour of one." This leads us to interpret stanza xxiv as referring to the "striking of the bell" for the first Canonical hour, viz., Matins. And, in accordance with this, we have in stanza xxix,—

It is not permitted to the brethren to depart
Until the hour of Tierce, &c.

What seems to be meant is that, at the sound of the bell, the monks recited the *Ymnus Dicat*, and then assembled in the Oratory for Matins, and that they remained there till Tierce had concluded. Thus we have here further reason for believing that the hymn of St Hilary was used after rising from bed in the morning. Would it be too much to draw the additional conclusion that our office was meant to be used by the monks in private, in their several cells, before they met in the Oratory for united worship at the first Canonical hour? However this may be, our conviction as to the time of recitation of our office, in spite of the statement in the T.C.D. manuscript, may remain unshaken.

Setting aside the question of the time, there is one particular in which all the passages which have been cited agree. They all go to show that the office, whether used in the morning, after meals, or in the evening, was said *daily*. And this appears to receive some confirmation from two considerations which I shall now mention.

1. Allusion is made by Adamnan (*Vit. S. Col.*, ii. 9.) to a certain "hymnorum liber septimaniorum sancti Columbae manu descriptus." This, according to Reeves (*ad loc.*), was "a volume containing hymns for the various services of each day in the week."¹ If this be so, we may infer that the daily services consisted in large part of hymns or canticles. And the inference is borne out by another passage in the same work. St Columba, as is well known, died just after the bell for matins had rung. The service proceeded as usual. And then we are told (iii. 23; Reeves, p. 239),—*hymnis matutinalibus terminatis*—the body of the saint was borne to the hospice. Again it is implied that a daily service

¹ According to the Preface to the *Altus*, St Columba received from Pope Gregory the Great "the Hymns of the Week, that is [a book with] hymns for each *night* of the week" (Reeves' *Vit. Col.*, p. 318 *sq.*), which is not without its bearing on the question of the time of day at which our office was used.

consisted mainly of hymns. Such is the character of the office which we are considering, and so far our supposition is confirmed that it was intended for daily use in the monastery.

2. In the Life of St Molling, preserved in Marsh's Library, Dublin, and dating, according to Reeves, from the 14th century, the following narrative occurs.¹ "The King [Fianachta, from whom St Molling had procured the remission of the Borromeian tribute by a trick] sent the army with anger after St Molyng to kill him together with his people. The holy senior Molyng, knowing this, bade his own people to proceed more speedily on their way, praying to the Lord; and he himself began a sacred poem in the Scotie (Irish) language, in which he named many saints, praying to them and singing their praises, commencing with a virgin and finishing with the same—that is, first making mention of the most Blessed Virgin Brigid, and at the end using the name of Mary the Mother." A little further on the writer adds, "That sacred canticle of St Molyng is always kept with honour in Ireland, and men of good will, undertaking a journey, sing it; and through the favour of St Molyng, and the rest of the saints whose memory is sung in it, the Omnipotent God sets them free from divers dangers."²

If the hymn (of which there is no trace in the *Liber Hymnorum*) was, as the writer of this Life asserts, kept in honour throughout the whole country, it must have been above all sung in St Molling's own monastery at St Mullins. Why, then, is no mention made of it, so far as can now be discovered, in our office? Perhaps because it was in the Irish tongue, which may have been sufficient to exclude it from the service

¹ I quote from "The Ancient Life of St Molyng, being translation of an old Manuscript preserved at Marsh's Library, Dublin, with Notes and Traditions by P. O'L." Dublin, James Duffy and Sons, p. 19 sq. A description of the so-called "Book of Kilkenny," of which this Life forms a part, may be found in a paper by the late Bishop Reeves, in the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, second series, vol. i.—Polite Literature and Antiquities, p. 339, "On a MS. volume of Saints—chiefly Irish—now in Primate Marsh's Library, Dublin, commonly called the Codex Kilkenniensis." See also his *Life of St Columba*, p. xxv. sq., where it is dated "thirteenth century."

² It ought, however, to be stated that no mention appears to be made of this poem in the story as given in the Book of Leinster, 295 b sqq. (Gilbert, *National Manuscripts of Ireland*, part ii. p. xxxviii).

of the Church (*cf.* Warren, *ubi sup.*, pp. 155, *sqq.*). A more probable reason, however, may be assigned. It was a lorica intended, not for daily, but for occasional use, namely, at the commencement of a journey. It would therefore be excluded from a daily office. Such then, we again infer, was the nature of the service which we have been considering.

To sum up. We have recovered in these obscure, scarcely legible lines of the Book of Mulling a sketch of—or, to use a more technical word, a kind of directory for—what appears to have been a daily office used night or morning in the monastery of St Molling of Ferns, in the early part of the 9th century. It is, I believe, the only sample of a daily service of the Ancient Irish or Scottish Church known to exist. It is, undoubtedly, unlike the Irish Missal, of home manufacture. It certainly does not inspire us with much respect for the liturgical instinct of our fathers in the Faith, but it has its interest as one of the not numerous examples of their work in this department.

It may be well to add a scheme of this service, so far as I have succeeded in restoring it. It consists of the following parts (following an illegible portion at the beginning):—

1. The Song of the B.V.M. (*Magnificat*).
2. ? Ps. lxx. (lxxi.) i-3 : see p. 45.
3. Stanzas 4, 5, and 6 of the Hymn of St Columba (*Noli Pater*).
4. A lection from the beginning of St Matthew v., followed possibly by a formula not yet identified.
5. The last three stanzas of the Hymn of St Secundinus (*Audite Omnes*).
- 6 and 7. Two stanzas supplementary to this hymn (*In memoria and Patricius Episcopus*).
8. The last three stanzas of the Hymn of Cummain Fota (*Celebra Juda*).
9. The Antiphon "Exaudi," &c., appended to this hymn.
10. The last three stanzas of the Hymn of St Hilary of Poitiers (*Hymnum dicat*).
11. The Antiphon "Unitas in Trinitate," &c.
12. The Apostles' Creed.
13. The Lord's Prayer, followed possibly by
14. The Embolismus, or "Ascendat oratio," &c. : see p. 45.

All the parts of this office, so far as they have been identified (with the exception, of course, of 4), are found in the *Liber Hymnorum*, while, of 14 Latin Hymns in the two fasciculi of this book published by Todd, at least five are recited: a valuable proof of the use of the collection in Ireland a century or two before either of the MSS. of it now extant was written. At the same time, the copies used at St Mullins in the 9th century must have differed considerably from both of those which we now possess. Thus, our manuscript agrees with the Franciscan copy against its rival in the insertion of "Patricius episcopus" (though with a different text) after the Hymn of Secundinus, while it sides with the T. C. D., and against the Franciscan copy, in adding "In memoria." Again, with the Franciscan copy it omits "Per merita," &c., after the Hymn of Cummain Fota, while it differs from both, but most widely from the Franciscan, in giving "Unitas in Trinitate" as the *only* Antiphon after the Hymn of St Hilary.

One or two words may be added before leaving our Liturgical Fragment. It will be observed that I argue for the existence of a practice in the ancient Celtic Church of singing three, usually the last three, stanzas of certain hymns in place of the whole. And I imagine the proof already given is sufficient; but I am tempted to quote one further passage, which not merely corroborates my reasoning, but itself receives a fresh meaning when the prevalence of the practice referred to is borne in mind. It is from the Preface to the Hymn of Ultan in praise of Brigid (Todd, *Book of Hymns*, i. 60). "Audite virgines laudes," says the writer, "is its beginning. The alphabetical order is in it. . . . Dicunt alii, that this hymn was originally long, but (that) there remain here only four chapters of it, viz., the first chapter *and the last three chapters*, causa brevitatis."¹ This is exactly as it should be. The first "chapter" would be cited, no doubt, as giving the title; the last three as being, in some sort, equivalent to the whole.

That this was actually the case we are further assured when we glance at the hymn as printed by Dr Todd.² First come three stanzas beginning

¹ In the Franciscan copy the first two sentences are found as here quoted, but the last sentence is omitted. Whitley Stokes, *Tripartite Life*, p. civ. sq.

² P. 57.

respectively with the letters X—(“ \overline{Xps} in nostra insola”)—Y Z, and then the stanza—

Audite uirginis laudes sancta quoque merita
&c. &c.

This stanza Dr Todd gives excellent reason for believing not to have belonged to the original poem, in spite of the assertion of the scholiast that some reported it to be the original first verse. How, then, are we to account for its presence here? Most readily. The end of a poem in the Book of Hymns is regularly indicated by repeating under its last line the first word or two of its first stanza. Thus, after the stanza “Zona,” &c., of the Hymn of Secundinus are written the words “Audite Omnes,”¹ separating the poem itself from the supplementary verses which follow. In like manner, the close of Ultan’s Hymn would be marked in the MSS. by writing “Audite,” with or without some of the following words of the first stanza, under the last line. When the custom of reciting only the last three stanzas produced its natural result, and the scribes only wrote, and finally only knew, these stanzas, in all likelihood the words “Audite” or “Audite uirginis” would still be preserved as indicating the title of the hymn. Some scribe, seeing the words in his exemplar, and knowing another poem beginning with the same words² (though not written with the same metre or assonances), supplied, as he supposed, the missing portion of the stanza by tacking on to the phrase which remained words from the other hymn.

Dr Todd, it is true, will not admit this explanation. “The suggestion,” he says (p. 58), “of the scholiast’s preface, that the hymn originally consisted of a capitulum for every letter of the alphabet, is unnecessary.” He forgets that the scholiast, by his “dicunt alii,” informs us that he is not making a suggestion, but handing on a tradition. And the tradition, especially when supported by the considerations which I

¹ The Franciscan copy has the one word “Audite.”

² Hymns beginning with “Audite” were not uncommon. Out of twelve poems in the Antiphonary of Bangor, two begin with this word, and another has it for the first word of its second verse, the first verse being prefatory (ff. 13 v^o, 15 v^o, 17 v^o). These three hymns are the only strictly alphabetical compositions in the book. Cf. Mone, *Latcínische Hymnen*, iii. 242, “Mehrere irische Hymnen fangen mit Audite an. S. *Muratori* anecdota 4, 136 fig., vielleicht nach Deuteron. 32, No. 671, 1.”

have already adduced, is excellent evidence for the fact. At the very least, the passage cited shows this, that to the writer of the Preface there was nothing strange in a poem being abbreviated by the very peculiar method which we know was applied to St Secundinus' Hymn.¹ The statement² that "Alphabetical poems containing stanzas for the last three letters of the alphabet only were common" does not in the least invalidate this testimony, unless we have direct evidence that these are complete, and not merely "abbreviated" hymns. It is, indeed, very likely that many of them are in their original form; but this is exactly what one might expect, for when it became fashionable in repeating the hymns to neglect all the stanzas but three, the fashion would very quickly follow among hymn writers of economising labour by writing no more than the three stanzas which were all they could expect to be sung. The very existence, in fact, of a large number of hymns, such as Dr Todd refers to, is a signal confirmation of the thesis which I have endeavoured to establish, rather than an argument on the other side.

But Dr Todd's main proof, that the writer of the preface was incorrect in his account of Ultan's Hymn, is of much interest—none the less so because it completely breaks down in view of the results at which we have arrived. He appeals (p. 55) to the Basle MS. A. vii. 3 (described also by Warren, *Liturgy and Ritual*, p. 185), in which occurs what "is probably a part of an ancient office" in which St Ultan's Hymn was recited. After two hymns recited in the office have been given at full length, the words follow:—

"item x̄ps in nostra insola que uocatur."

¹ Todd seems to have been nearer the true explanation of the phenomena of Ultan's Hymn and others of the same class than he was himself aware. He remarks (p. 55, note 2), "The indulgence granted to the repetition of the Hymn of St Patrick was ultimately conceded to the last three verses of it," and then he asks, "Was it on this principle that the Hymn to St Brigid contained only the verses beginning with the last three letters of the alphabet?" If for "contained" he had written "was represented by" the question might have been answered in the affirmative.

² For the correctness of which some evidence would have been welcome. The only instance given by Dr Todd is a hymn which contains five stanzas. No instance, so far as I have observed, is met with in the Bangor Antiphonary or (with the exception of that now before us) in the Book of Hymns.

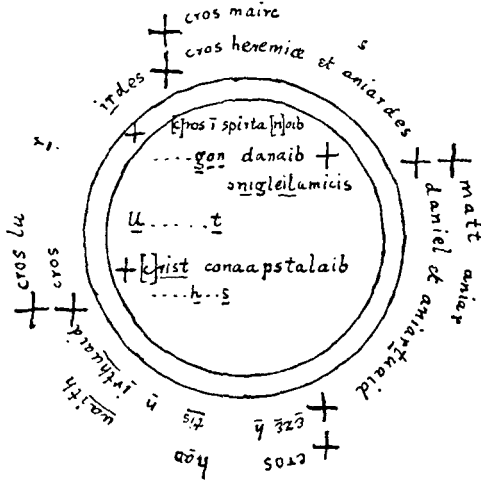
This is proof, according to Todd, that by the compiler of the office the line "Christus in nostra insula" was regarded as the beginning of the hymn. Those who have assented to my reasoning with reference to the use of the hymns of SS. Secundinus, Columba, Cummain, and Hilary, in our office, will at once perceive that this argument is absolutely worthless. All our experience tends to show that it is quite unsafe to assume that hymns, when used in the Offices, were recited in their entirety.¹ And in fact we have here a fresh and most unexpected instance of the principle for which I have been contending. The hymn of Ultan is represented in the Office preserved in the Basle MS. by its *last three stanzas only*.

Having gone so far, it is worth while to notice how closely our Office and that of the Basle MS. agree in character. Both consist principally of hymns; in both we find three stanzas of a hymn used instead of the whole; in both the hymns are followed (in some cases at least) by appropriate collects; and in both there are lections, in ours from Holy Scripture, in the other from the apocryphal Epistle of Christ to Abgarus. Our Office, however, is clearly the fuller and more elaborate of the two.

II. *The Circular Device*.—Of this I have little to say beyond describing it as accurately as possible, and suggesting one or two questions, which I shall be obliged to confess my inability to answer satisfactorily. Unlike the Liturgical piece which we have been considering, this device was clearly intended to occupy the whole width of the page, the common centre of the two circles, which are its most prominent feature, being only about $\frac{1}{2}$ centimetre to the left of the middle of the page. In the diagram which I now give, the dimensions of the original are preserved. It must be understood, however, that it is only a diagram and not a facsimile, though no doubt it will be found sufficiently accurate for practical purposes. I have replaced the Irish characters by letters of a more familiar form, and in the writing outside the circles have inserted no letters or marks which I have not actually read, with more or less certainty.

¹ This applies also to Psalms. See the tract *De Arreis* (Rev. Celt. Oct. 1894), cap. 13, where the words "In manus usque veritatis" are doubtless a description of the single verse Ps. xxx. 6 (A.V. xxxi. 5).

In the manuscript the diameter of the inner circle is 3·6 centimetres, of the outer, 4·2 centimetres.



I now transcribe the various lines of writing, numbering them for convenience of reference, and conjecturally supplying illegible letters where it seems certain that such letters existed.

1. (Outer circle of writing). +cros maire [ande]s +matt aniar
+cros [io]han [h]uaith +cros lu[c --]
[anoi]r
2. (Inner circle of writing). [ano]irdes +cros heremiae et aniarde +daniel
et aniarde +cros [c]h[iel -]tis[- - a]n[o]irthu-
aid +cros [esaiæ]

Taking next the lines within the circles in their order we have—

3. +[c]ros i spirta [n]oib
4. ----- gon danaib +
5. ----- onigleilamicis
6. U ----- t.
7. +[c]rist conaapstalaib
8. ----- h --- s

1. 1. At the word [ande]s is a tear in the vellum, which the binders have remedied (?) by pasting a piece of paper over the word. It consists of about five

letters and the tail of *f* (*s*) is distinct. In very good light the last five letters of [h]uaith are almost certain.

1. 2. There are five or six letters after "ezechieł,"⁵ but "tis" is most uncertain, especially the two last letters; *t* may be *c*. See further below.

1. 5. *ni* may be *m* or *ri*; *ei* is possibly *u*; *l sec.* may be *b*; *ci* may be *a*.

The following is a translation:—

- | | | | |
|-------------------|-------|----------------|------|
| 1. †Cross of Mark | South | †Matthew | West |
| †cross of John | North | †cross of Luke | East |
2. On the south-east †cross of Jeremiah, and on the south-west †Daniel, and on the north-west †Ezekiel [— —], on the north-east †cross of [Isaiah].
3. †Cross of the Holy Spirit.
4. ----- with gifts †
5. ?
6. ?
7. †Christ with his apostles.
8. ?

The most obvious thing to remark about this device is that it is a map or plan of some kind. This is made quite clear by the writing outside the circles, in the inner line of which the positions of the pairs of crosses are marked as south-east, &c., while in the outer the cardinal points are noted. That our figure, then, is a map or plan appears to be certain, and this is almost the only fact which one can hold to have been established with any strong probability as to its purpose and character. I mention it here for the sake of its bearing on a problem which at once suggests itself. At what point ought we to begin to read the two outer circles of writing (ll. 1, 2)?

In answer to this question, we observe, first of all, that two starting-points are excluded: those, namely, which are marked as S.W. and N.W. respectively. The word "and," which in each of these cases precedes the designation of the position of the cross, at once disposes of their claim. Our choice, therefore, is limited to the S.E. and N.E. points. Taking the former, in reading line 1, we begin with the cross of Mark, and find the evangelists named in the order, Mark, Matthew, John, Luke. In the other case the order will be Luke, Mark, Matthew, John. Now in the Book of Mulling itself

the Gospel of St John was certainly intended to be placed last, as we know from the fact that it is followed by the colophon. This may seem to decide in favour of beginning the reading with the cross of Luke, and it may appear, moreover, to yield evidence on the question of the order of the Synoptic Gospels in the Book of Mulling —of which, apart from this, we know nothing.

On the other hand, it must be observed that if this conclusion be correct, the order of the Gospels in our manuscript is most unusual —absolutely unique, I believe, among Irish codices, which, with the exception of the Codex Usserianus,¹ agree in this particular with the A.V. Again, we must bear in mind that the device under consideration is a plan, and that the crosses marked on it, no doubt, represent actual stone or wooden crosses erected on the ground. Now it is probable that these crosses were planted in the order which the person who erected them was accustomed to regard as the correct order of the evangelists after whom they were named. But it is quite possible that, in setting up his crosses, he proceeded from right to left, while the scribe who indicated their places on his map could only write from left to right. If we reckon from right to left we get the conventional order, Matthew, Mark, Luke, John, which appears much more likely than the other to have been that adopted by the scribe of our manuscript. The result of our argument, then, is this: The question to which we addressed ourselves is left unanswered; it is impossible to decide whether the scribe began ll. 1, 2 at the S.E. or N.E. point; but on the more important problem of the order of the Gospels in the Book of Mulling we have shed some little light; it must either have been Luke, Mark, Matthew, John, or Matthew, Mark, Luke, John, and more probably the latter. I shall presently adduce evidence which will, as I think, convert this probability into something very nearly approaching to certainty.

¹ See Abbott's *Evangeliorum Versio Antehieronymiana ex Codice Usseriano (Dublinensi)*, &c. (Dublin, 1884), p. iv. In this MS. the order is that usual in "Western" authorities: Matthew, John, Luke, Mark. The order, Luke, Mark, Matthew, John, is not mentioned by Gregory, *Prolegomena to Tischendorf's N.T.*, p. 137 sq.

One other fact may be noted with reference to ll. 1, 2. It is obvious that some sort of parallelism is suggested between the four evangelists and certain Old Testament worthies—probably the four greater prophets. It is not very easy to guess what may have been the special features which suggested a comparison between St Mark and Jeremiah, between St Matthew and Daniel; but that the fashion of pairing together saints of different eras, “who were of one manner of life,” was congenial to the Celtic mind is manifest from the lists preserved in the Book of Leinster and elsewhere (see Olden, *The Church of Ireland*, in “The National Churches” series, p. 425). In these lists prominent Irish saints are compared with saints of the Universal Church, especially those mentioned in the New Testament.¹ It is quite possible that similar comparisons may have been instituted between saints of the Old and New Covenants, and that of these comparisons the device before us supplies one example. Possibly those who are versed in the literature of the early Celtic Churches may be able to cite other similar instances.

I must content myself with a reference to one passage for a due appreciation of the importance of which the preceding paragraphs will have prepared us. It is the prayer of Colga Ua Duinechda given in the Yellow Book of Lecan (T.C.D. H. 2. 16), col. 336. This manuscript belongs to the fourteenth century, but the prayer is much older—probably contemporary with its reputed author, not long after whose death the Book of Mulling was written. This at least appears to be the view of Dr MacCarthy (*Trans. R.I.A.*, xxvii. 156, 178), who gives the following translation of its first two clauses:—

I beseech with Thee, O Jesus holy, thy four Evangelists who wrote thy Gospel divine, to wit, Matthew, Mark, Luke, John.

I beseech with Thee thy four chief prophets who foretold thy Incarnation, Daniel, and Jeremias, and Isaias and Ezechiel.

The whole structure of the prayer makes it clear that, by naming in succession the evangelists and the major prophets, the writer

¹ It is worthy of remark that one Old Testament saint—“Job of the Patience”—is mentioned.

intended to suggest a parallel between them. The prayer is, in fact, made up of a long series of pairings of the same kind. Thus, in the three following clauses we have the nine grades of the heavenly and earthly churches set over against each other, and immediately afterwards the twelve patriarchs, the twelve minor prophets, and the twelve apostles, &c.

Next let us observe that the evangelists are named in the usual order, which we have already concluded to be probably that of the Book of Mulling, viz. : Matthew, Mark, Luke, John. Moreover, the prophets are named in the order, Daniel, Jeremiah, Isaiah, Ezekiel. This can only be because, the evangelists being compared individually with the prophets, Matthew corresponded to Daniel, Mark to Jeremiah, Luke to Isaiah, and John to Ezekiel ; or because, the two groups being compared together as groups, Daniel, Jeremiah, &c., was the customary order of the greater prophets in Bibles of the period. In either case, Daniel standing under Matthew in our figure and Jeremiah under Mark, we may safely infer that Isaiah stood under Luke and Ezekiel under John. When we turn back to the MS. we find this conjecture verified in the case of Ezekiel (as shown above l. 2), though none of the letters of this name could have been read without the assistance of the hint derived from Colga's Prayer.

But further, this prayer helps us a good deal towards understanding the purpose of the exterior pairs of crosses. They must be equivalent to an invocation of prophets and evangelists. On the hypothesis that the device is a plan, we may well believe that the erection represented by the circles and the interior crosses was, as it were, placed under their protection by planting round it crosses in their honour.

Yet again, there can now remain no doubt as to the order in which the crosses were erected : whoever planted them proceeded " left-wise"—*i.e.*, in a direction contrary to the diurnal course of the sun.¹ We should certainly not have expected this. The Cathach of the O'Donnells was to be " sent thrice *right-wise* round the army of the Cinell Conaill " in order that they might be assured of victory in battle (O'Donnell, quoted

¹ A fact which was pointed out to me by the Hon. John Abercromby.

by Reeves, *Vit. Col.*, p. 250). And this is only one instance of a superstition widely prevalent. Other examples may be found in Reeves, *Vit. Col.*, p. 250, note c, and in the first passage quoted on p. 308 from Martin's *Western Islands*.

A slight difficulty remains to be noticed. The extract from Colga has enabled us to read the name of Ezekiel under that of St John; but we might have expected to find the word Ezekiel without any addition, just as we have Daniel and Jeremiah. On the contrary, between "ezechiel" and "anoir" there are about six letters, namely, 't' (or 'c') and (but these are very doubtful) 'is'—this group of three being preceded and followed by one or two which are illegible. This may be the name of a second person coupled with Ezekiel, or more probably a descriptive epithet of the latter. What the epithet may be I am unable to guess.

But to proceed. We have seen that the device under consideration is a map or plan. But a map, we at once ask, of what? To this question I can give no answer which commends itself to me as altogether satisfactory. A suggestion, however, which has been made to me by Mr Olden is plausible, and at least deserves mention. He is inclined to think that the circles represent the Rath of St Molling, within which were his ecclesiastical buildings; the concentric circles perhaps indicating a double or even triple rampart, as in many royal residences. The settlement of an ecclesiastic, he says, his "city" (*cahair, civitas*), was exactly like that of a native chieftain, except that it would be furnished with crosses as an indication of its purpose. In support of this statement he kindly refers me to the *Life of St Fintan or Munnu*, in which we read that, when the Saint was in the woods (in the Barony of Forth, Co. Wexford), he saw three men, clothed in white garments, who told him, "Here will be your city," and they marked out in his presence seven places, in which afterwards the chief buildings of his city should be erected, and Fintan placed crosses there. (*Dict. of National Biography*, xix. p. 43 *cf.* Olden, *Church of Ireland*, p. 57).

All this is very interesting. It suggests that the crosses in our diagram mark the sites of monastic buildings at St Mullins; and if this can be established, the diagram itself will, it would almost seem, lead to the further inference that the buildings within the rampart were

dedicated, like modern churches, to the Persons of the Blessed Trinity, or to the Saints. True, on this theory we should expect to find at least four crosses within the circles, this being the inferior limit to the number of buildings within the enclosure (Olden *ubi sup.*), and I have only perceived three. But I have little doubt that one, two, or perhaps three crosses will come to light when ll. 5, 6, and 8 are fully deciphered.

One *primâ facie* objection to Mr Olden's suggestion may be briefly referred to. Is it probable, it may be asked, that the monastery would be circular, or nearly so, as, on the supposition that our diagram is its ground-plan, it must have been? Reeves indeed asserts generally (*Vit. Col.*, p. 361) that the vallum in Irish monasteries "was of a circular figure." But he gives no proof. Possibly the statement is founded on Dr Petrie's definition of "Cathair," as, in its primary signification, "a *circular*, un-cemented stone fort,"¹ which appears to rest on the somewhat precarious foundation of philology, but which has been accepted by Dr Stuart (*Book of Deer*, p. cxlv). But whatever view may be held as to the normal shape of the vallum, I believe that at least two instances of monasteries, expressly stated to be circular, may be cited.

The first is the *civitas* of St Cuthbert, in Farne Island, which is described for us by Bede (*Vit. Cuth.*, xvii.) in these words,—“*Condidit civitatem suo aptam imperio, et domos in hac aequè civitati congruas erexit. Est autem aedificium situ pene rotundum,*” &c. The second is perhaps open to greater doubt. Adamnan, in the title of the fifteenth chapter of the third book of his *Vita Columbæ*, mentions a certain brother who fell “*de monasterii culmine rotundi*”² in Roboreti Campo,—from the roof of the *round monastery* at Durrow. In the account of the incident in the text (which is taken from Cummian), the brother is said to have fallen “*de summo culmine magnæ domus . . . quæ his in diebus in Roboreti Campo fabricatur.*” The two phrases evidently

¹ Ordnance Survey of the County of Londonderry, i. 213.

² With most unusual inaccuracy Reeves has in his glossary “*monasterii culmen rotundum.*” He was probably misled by Petrie's argument: “Not certainly that the monastery itself had a rotund roof,” &c. Certainly not, but there is no mention of a “rotund roof” in the Latin.

describe the same building. What was it? Petrie (*Round Towers*, p. 382 *sqq.*), followed by Reeves and Fowler¹, has little doubt that it was the Round Tower of the Monastery. Nor does there seem to be good reason to dispute the interpretation. The two later writers, however, in this advancing a step beyond Petrie, identify the "magna domus" with the "monasterium rotundum." This is, I venture to think, unnecessary and unwarranted. Nowhere else in Adamnan is the word "monasterium" applied to a single building of the *civitas*, and du Cange gives no instance of the word used in this sense. Even at iii. 8 the "fratrum monasteria," which at first view might appear to mean the cells of the monks, are shown by the context to be several monasteries in the island of Tiree, in one of which lived the "congregatio" of Baithene. "Monasterium," therefore, in the present passage must have the same meaning, unless it is impossible so to take it. I conclude that in "monasterii culmen rotundi," occurring, as it does, in the heading of a chapter, where we might expect to meet compendious phrases, we have a short way of expressing "culmen domus quæ in monasterio rotundo est." The building so described was certainly high ("magna," "major," "altissima," "enormis," so high that a fall from it meant almost certain death; see Reeves, *ad loc.*); it was probably or possibly round; but the thing which concerns us is, that the monastery at Durrow, with which it was connected, was round, like the *civitas* of Cuthbert in Farne Island, and the monastery, if such it was, depicted in our manuscript.

One test only occurs to me as applicable to the hypothesis. Does our supposed plan suit the topography of St Mullins? Can we point to probable sites of ancient buildings or sacred spots marked by the crosses of our scribe? In seeking an answer to these inquiries much help will, no doubt, be derived from an excellent description of the site of the Monastery of St Molling, with plans of the present ruins, published by Rev. J. F. M. French in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, part iv. vol. ii., *fifth series*, p. 377. But actual trial has convinced me that this paper, by itself, does not supply sufficient material for our purpose. The hypothesis that the scribe of the Book of Mulling gives us a plan of his monastery can only be proved or dis-

¹ *Adamnani Vita S. Columbae*, Oxford 1894, p. 144.

proved—if even then—when the ground has been surveyed afresh, with this object in view.

Meanwhile, some help may be given by comparison of devices in manuscripts—especially, of course, Irish manuscripts—which have some appearance of being similar in character to that which is now before us. I am not aware that anything exactly analogous to it has been observed in other codices ; but some of which representations have been given in Gilbert's *National Manuscripts of Ireland* are worthy of mention. The curious circular diagram from an *Astronomical Treatise* (part iii., pl. xxiii.), which is used to prove that the sun is greater than the earth, will not help us much. But the plans of the banqueting-hall at Tara, found in the *Book of Leinster* (part ii., pl. liii.), and the *Yellow Book of Lecan*, fol. 243 (part iii., pl. xxiv.), will perhaps prove to be of some service. And the device from the *Corpus Christi Gospels*, fol. 5 v° (part ii. pl. xlvi.), may throw some light on the subject in hand. The "wheel-like figure" in the *Saint Germain Manuscript* (*Wordsworth, Old-Latin Biblical Texts*, i. p. ix) appears to be of quite a different character from that in our codex. See Rendel Harris, *A Study of Codex Bezae*, p. 8 sq.

[Since writing this paper I have received a letter from Professor Bernard in which two valuable suggestions are made. They appear to me to be highly probable, and I very much regret that it is not at present in my power to test them by inspection of the manuscript. They relate to the liturgical fragment, and are as follows—

1. Number (2), which I had read "*INo...rem*," he takes to be Ps. lxx. (A.V. lxxi.) 1-3a, a common versicle in Irish collections of verses from the Psalter. This might be written "*IN te usq ; ꝥtectoem*," or "*IN te speraui*," the former of which agrees almost exactly with my reading, while the latter (so far as I can judge without seeing the MS.) is sufficiently near it, and suits the space rather better. *ui*, it should be remarked, is very readily confused with *m* in Irish minuscule writing.

2. He directs my attention to an in-edited page of the *Liber Hymnorum* (fo. 30 v°) where we find "*Credo in deum patrem omnipotentem usque in finem et pater noster. ascendat oratio*" &c. Hence he concludes that number (14) = "*Ascendat oratio nostra*" &c. (Warren p. 227). If the traces of l. 12 in the MS. do not *disprove* the correctness of this suggestion, I deem it preferable to that which I have offered above, p. 16.]