



Bodleian Libraries

UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

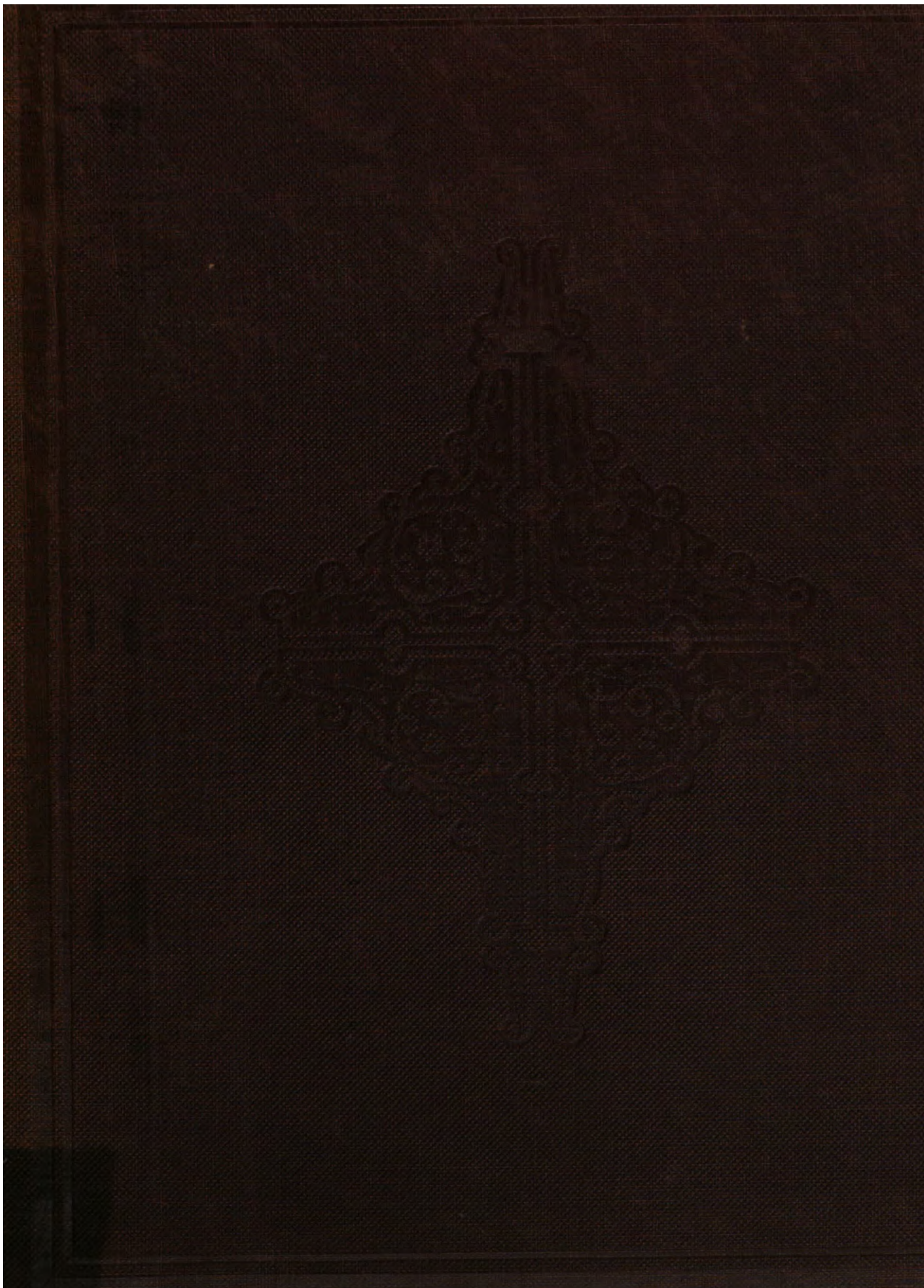
This book is part of the collection held by the Bodleian Libraries and scanned by Google, Inc. for the Google Books Library Project.

For more information see:

<http://www.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/dbooks>



This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike 2.0 UK: England & Wales (CC BY-NC-SA 2.0) licence.




~~152. g. 18.~~

~~152. h. 19.~~



~~152. i. 20.~~

VET. CELT. III B. 45(2)

 **Eabhar Imuinn.** *The Book
of Hymns of the Ancient Church
of Ireland.*

FASCICULUS II.

Containing

- | | |
|--|---|
| V. The Hymn of St. Colman Mac Ui Cluasaigh. | XIII. Te Deum Laudamus. |
| VI. The Hymn of St. Cuchuimne. | XIV. The Hymn of St. Columba, "Altus Pro-
sator." |
| VII. The Hymn of St. Hilary in Praise of Christ. | XV. The Hymn of St. Columba, "In te,
Christe." |
| VIII. The Hymn of St. Colman Mac Murchon,
in Praise of Michael the Archangel. | XVI. The Hymn of St. Columba, "Noli Pater." |
| IX. The Hymn of St. Oengus Mac Tipraite in
Praise of St. Martin. | XVII. The Prayer of St. John the Evangelist. |
| X. Gloria in Excelsis Deo. | XVIII. The Epistle of Christ to Abgarus, King
of Edessa. |
| XI. The Magnificat, or Hymn of the Blessed
Virgin. | XIX. Prefatory Remarks on the Hymn of
St. Fiacc, in Praise of St. Patrick. |
| XII. The Benedictus, or Hymn of Zacharias. | |

EDITED,

FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT IN THE LIBRARY OF TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN,

With Translation and Notes,

BY JAMES HENTHORN TODD, D. D., M. R. I. A., F. S. A.,

Senior Fellow of Trinity College, and Præcentor of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin.

DUBLIN:

Printed at the University Press,

FOR THE IRISH ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND CELTIC SOCIETY.

1869.



DUBLIN:
Printed at the University Press,
BY M. H. GILL.

THE
IRISH ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND CELTIC SOCIETY.

MDCCCLXIX.

President :

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF LEINSTER.

Vice-Presidents :

THE MOST NOBLE THE MARQUIS OF KILDARE, M. R. I. A.
THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF DUNRAVEN, M. R. I. A.
THE RIGHT HON. LORD TALBOT DE MALAHIDE, M. R. I. A.
VERY REV. C. W. RUSSELL, D. D., President of Maynooth College.

Council :

RIGHT REV. CHARLES GRAVES, D. D., Bishop of Limerick.	MAJOR-GENERAL SIR THOMAS A. LARCOM, K. C. B., M. R. I. A.
REV. JAMES GRAVES, A. B., M. R. I. A.	REV. WILLIAM REEVES, D. D., M. R. I. A.
W. H. HARDINGE, ESQ., M. R. I. A.	AQUILLA SMITH, M. D., M. R. I. A.
D. H. KELLY, ESQ., M. R. I. A.	SIR W. R. WILDE, M. D., Vice-President of the Royal Irish Academy.
JOHN C. O'CALLAGHAN, ESQ., M. R. I. A.	

Secretary :

J. T. GILBERT, M. R. I. A., F. S. A.

Treasurer :

THE BANK OF IRELAND.

19, DAWSON-STREET, DUBLIN,
November, 1869.

V. THE HYMN OF ST. COLMAN MAC UI CLUASAIGH.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THIS Fasciculus contains all the sheets which the late lamented Editor signed for the Press, before ill health and other obstacles interrupted the progress of the work. It is issued by direction of the Council in its present state, as a second instalment of the publication from the Editor's pen; with the reasonable hope that, as Doctor TODD has left some materials for the continuation, and as there are two Members of the Society prepared to take up the work where he left off, another Fasciculus, carrying on the pagination and matter as originally proposed, will be ready for delivery at no distant period.

J. T. GILBERT, *Hon. Secretary.*

19, DAWSON-STREET, DUBLIN,
November, 1869.

¹ *Lathacan*.—This is probably the name which in Irish authorities is written Laidhgeann. Saints of this name are celebrated in the Irish Calendars, at Jan. 12, May 20, Oct. 23, and Nov. 28; but it is not easy to

identify any of them with this "Lathacan." The Four Masters record the death of a Laidhgenn, son of Baeth, of Clonfert Molua, A. D. 600; the Annals of Ulster call him "Laidggenn *sapiens* mac Baith Bannaigh."

R



V. THE HYMN OF ST. COLMAN MAC UI CLUASAIGH.

THE following composition is of the nature of what the ancient Irish ecclesiastics called a *Luirech*, or *Lorica*, i. e., a Hymn to be recited as a protection against pestilence, assaults of demons, or other apprehended evils. The recitation of such hymns, or prayers, was regarded as the buckling on of spiritual armour, and hence they received the name of *Lorica*, in allusion probably to Eph. vi. 14, *seq.*, or rather perhaps to Ps. xci. (Vulg. xc.) 4, 5, 6. An example of a hymn of this kind, which is evidently Irish, and is attributed to one "Lathacan¹ Scotigena," will be found in Mone's collection, *Hymn. Lat. Mediæ Ævi*, vol. i. p. 367.

Of the Colman who is said to have been the author of the following Hymn, we know little except what we learn from the Preface of the Scholiast. He is there said to have been the son of the grandson of Cluasach; but who this Cluasach was, or what family bore his name, the Editor is unable to say. It appears, however, that Colman was a *Fer-Leghinn*, i. e., Lecturer or Professor, in the theological school or seminary of Cork, and that the Hymn was composed as a protection against the great pestilence which devastated Ireland in the seventh century. This seems to fix the date of its composition to shortly before A. D. 664, in which year (according to the chronology of the Four Masters) the two sons of Aedh Slaine, Diarmaid and Blathmac, joint kings of Ireland, with a great number of eminent saints and ecclesiastics, perished in the plague. There can be little doubt that the Colman to whom

¹ *Lathacan*.—This is probably the name which in Irish authorities is written *Laidhgeann*. Saints of this name are celebrated in the Irish Calendars, at Jan. 12, May 20, Oct. 23, and Nov. 28; but it is not easy to

identify any of them with this "Lathacan." The Four Masters record the death of a *Laidhgenn*, son of Baeth, of Clonfert Molua, A. D. 600; the Annals of Ulster call him "Laidggenn *sapiens* mac Baith Bannaigh."

this hymn is attributed by the Scholiast must be regarded as the same who, under the name of "Colman Ua Cluasaigh," is mentioned by the Four Masters as the tutor of St. Cummain, or Cummine Fota, Bishop of Clonfert, and author of an elegy on the death of that prelate, A. D. 661, which has been already quoted.²

It is believed that this Hymn has never before been published, nor has the Editor been able to find any other MS. copy of it than that from which it is now printed. It is written in a dialect of Irish, which fully confirms the early date assigned to it. The Editor has endeavoured, in the Notes appended to the text, to point out the more important grammatical and philological peculiarities of its idiom, and he takes this opportunity of acknowledging his obligations to Dr. O'Donovan and Mr. Curry. To the former gentleman he is particularly indebted for much valuable philological and grammatical matter which is embodied in the notes; and Mr. Curry has given essential aid in the translation, as well as in deciphering and interpreting the obscurities of the MS. from which the text and its gloss have been printed. He has also to return thanks to Dr. Reeves for many valuable suggestions.

² See page 86, *supra*. The Four Masters fix the death of Colman Ua Cluasaigh at the same year as that of his pupil Cummine Fota (viz. A. D. 661); whereas the Scholiast's Preface states that the present hymn was composed on the occasion of the pestilence in which the kings Diarmaid and Blathmac died, viz. A. D. 664. But it is well known that the exact date of this celebrated plague is not very accurately

fixed, and that it continued with more or less intensity for some years. It may, therefore, be true, that our author composed the hymn on the occasion of the plague in which the kings of Ireland perished in 664, although he himself died of the same plague in 661. See Dr. Wilde's *Report on the Tables of Deaths*, (Census of Ireland for 1851, vol. v. p. 49 *sq.*



SEN DE. Colman mac hui Chluarais fer legind Corcaige ipe do rigne in immanra dia foerab ar in mbuidechais po boe ipremir mac nOeda Sláne. Ar porpar imda doine in hEriinn in tan fein, 7 robe a nimmac conna róichtir adt eri nó immaipe do cech fer in hEriinn .i. a noi do móin, 7 a noi do min, 7 a nof do chaill. co no thrioireret maiche fer nErienn, im meic nOida Sláne, im Fechine Fabaip, 7 im Ailepan, 7 im Manchan Leith, 7 im rochaibe archena, im huasrigud na ndoine ar do dechaib terca bid ann ar a nimmed. Conid aipe fein tuccad in buidechais forru. conid de at baatar meic Aeda Sláne ipin bliadain rin. 7 na rruiche po ráidrem 7 alu multa. Dicunt alu combad Cholman do gnech uile. Acberat fairenn aile na bernaí acht da rann de namma 7 in feol dia dñaim o rin immach .i. leth rann cech fer dib. I Corcaig do rigneb in-amfúir da mac Aeda Sláne .i. blathmac 7 Diarmaic. ipe .h. tuccait a denma. Tídm mór do ratad for feru hEriinn .i. in buide conaill, co no riperpar hErienn hule, 7 co na farcaib acht cech erer dune in hEriinn i mbechaib. 7 conid dia n-anacul co na feoil do rone ar in teidm rin do rine Colman in nimmunnra, 7 ip ann do pola dorom a denam in tan po thirpcanarpar arenam co araile ipre mara hEriinn amaig for teched in tedmara co mbear .ix. [tonna] eturru rir, ar ni tic teidm tapair innunn, ut ferunt periri, co no iarpais araile den feol Cholman, ciaren i tapla doib dul for fer comad ann fein. atpubairt Colman, cia fen on tra, ol feirrom, acht SEN DE; ar ipre po thriallparrom dul for iprib mara immach for teched fer in ngalur.



SEN DE DONFE FORDONTE MAC MAIRE RON FELADAR
 FAOESSAM DUN INNOCHT CIA TIASAM CAIN TIMADAR
 I TER FOSS NO UTMAILLE ITER SUIDE NO SÉSSAM
 RUIRE NIME PRI CECH TRESS ISSÉD ATTACH ADESSAM

Gloss.—1. *Donfe*.—1. non pucca leir [may it be given by him]. *Fordonte*.—1. forpund de .i. ti forri [on us come, i. e. come upon us]. *Ron feladar*.—1. do rata arial torund diarduit [may He put his veil over us for our protection]. 2. *Faoessam*.—1. faoerruit [may protect]. *Innocht*.—1. in nocte tribulationis. *Cia tiasam*.—1. cepe leath tiamam [wheresoever we go]. *Cain*.—1. alaind [beautiful]. *Timadar*.—1. cib imda rin diarduit .i. doné ar nduib [although numerous, we are to be protected, i. e. he does protect us]. 3. *Foss*.—1. cib forribecht [whether at rest]. *Utmaille*.—1. cib for imtecht [whether a going]. 4. *Ruire*.—1. riuri [great King]. *Fri*.—1. contra. *Adessam*.—1. atchimic [we beseech].

1. *Sen de*.—For a translation of the Preface and of the Hymn, see the Addi- tional Note (p. 132). The reader will observe that each line contains fourteen

IT⁵ e abeíl meic adaim heíl enoc diarcobair
RON SOERAT AR DIA NĠALAR SECIP LETH FONIIBITH FOĠAIR 5

N^{oe} ocus abraham isac in mac adamra
IMMUN TISAT AR TEDMANN NACH AN TAIRLE ADAMNA

Alme athair tri cethrur ocus ioseph an uasal
RON SOERAT A NERNAIĠTHI CO RIĠ NIL AINĠLECH NUASAL 10

Gloss.—5. *Itge.*—i. ġuĩdmĩc [we beseech]. *Abeil.*—i. luctus. *Adaim.*—i. terrenus, vel terrigena, vel terra rubra interpretatur. 6. *Dia ngalar.*—i. ap in ġalup nġian .i. ap in buĩde connail [from the sudden pestilence, i. e. from the *buidhe connail*]. *Fogair.*—i. foġraĩġep .i. bone comatium [that gives warning, i. e. that makes threatening]. 7. *Noe.*—Noe consolatio interpretatur, quia per ipsum mundus consolatus est, in reparatione hominum. *Abraham.*—i. pater excelsus interpretatur. *Isac.*—i. risus interpretatur, quia per miraculum datus est. 8. *Immun tisat.*—i. tĩpat immunġ [may they come about us]. *Adamna.*—i. adamnĩ, .i. ġorĩca [i. e. the spelling ought to be adamnĩ, i. e. famine], .i. quia per Adam venit dolor. 9. *Athair.*—i. Jacob. *Tri cethrur.*—i. xii. patriarchae. *Joseph.*—i. augmentum interpretatur. *An uasal.*—i. an uapal fep [the noble man]. 10. *Nil ainglech.*—[of many angels] .i. quia [multos] angelos tenet.

syllables; and that there is rhyme or assonance between the final syllables of each line. The word Sen in modern Irish signifies luck or prosperity, but in the ancient language it is of frequent occurrence in the sense of *benediction*, as in the Feilire of Aengus, Sen a Chĩpĩc mo labra, "Bless, O Christ, my lips." Sen Oe is the blessing of God, Oe being the genitive case of Oĩa, God. *Donfe.*—This seems like a future, or optative of some old verb, ġunaim, or ġonaim. In the Gloss on foĩbonĩce, we are told that oe or te is for tĩ, *come*; and, therefore, the passage is paraphrased thus: "May the blessing of God be given by Him, may it come upon us." In more modern Irish, Sen Oe ġo ġ-tĩġĩb, opĩamĩn ġo ġ-tĩġĩb. *Ron feladar.*—The word ron is a synthetic union of the verbal prefix ro, with inn the accusative form of ġĩnn, *us*. The termination abap represents, in the modern lan-

guage, the 3rd person plural of the preterite; whereas, in pelabap, it is the 3rd singular present indicative active, with an optative signification. Dr. O'Donovan mentions epĩap, or apĩap, as a termination of the 3rd person singular preterite (*Gramm.* p. 157). But abap as a termination of the 3rd person singular present is the ancient form of the verb deponent; (see Zeuss, *Grammat. Celt.*, p. 444-5). The verb pelaim, or ġĩalaim, is evidently the Latin *velare*. See the Gloss. Mac Mĩĩpe, now usually written Mac Muĩpe, is the ordinary Irish designation of our Lord.

2. *Faoessam.*—See line 52. This word is a substantive, and we must understand some word signifying *give*, or *grant*, to obtain the interpretation of "May he protect." The termination ġam, or ġĩm, *ille, ipse*, is the emphatic termination. Zeuss, p. 334. ġĩoĩpeam is still used to signify *help, succour*. Oun is the ancient

SNAIDSÍUM MOISI DEḡTUISECH RONSNAID TRIA RUBRUM MAIRE
IESU AARON MACC AMRA DAUID IN ḡILLA DANA

TOB COSNAFOCHAIDIB SECH NA NEMI RONSNAIDA
PÁTHI FÍADAT RONANSET LA SECHT MACCU MOCABA

EOIN BAPTAIST ADSLUINNEM ROP DICTIU DUN ROP SNAIDUB 15
IESU CON APSTALAIB ROP DIAR COBAIR FRI ḡABUD

GLOSS.—11. *Snaisium*.—1. ḡon fḡade fḡud [may he protect us]. *Moisi*.—i. aquaticus, interpretatur, quia de Nilo flumine sumptus est. *Ronsnaid*.—i. populum Israel. 12. *Jesu*.—1. mac Nún [son of Nun]. *Aaron*.—i. mons fortitudinis interpretatur. *David*.—i. fortis manus interpretatur. 13. *Job*.—i. dolens interpretatur. 14. *Fiadat*.—1. fíada 1. fí da, 1. da maith [fíada, i.e. fí, good, and da, God, the good God]. 15. *Eoin*.—i. in quo gratia interpretatur. *Baptist*.—i. qui Christum baptizavit. *Adsluinnem*.—1. aḡlumbmeic aḡ capbeḡ fḡur in hac laube [we declare our love (or reverence) for him in this song of praise]. 16. *Apstalaib*.—Apostolus Grece, missus interpretatur Latine. *Diar cobair*.—1. cīpat dīar cobair [may they come to our relief].

form of *duinn*, i. e., *do inn*, to us. *Innocht* would now be written *anocht*, *hac nocte*. Zeuss, p. 1130. *Tiasam*.—Here we have the ancient termination of the 1st person plural, *am*, instead of the modern *mí*, or *maois*. The *am* is clearly the Latin *amus*. The modern Irish to express “wheresoever we go” would be, *cibe áit a d-téigimí*.

4. *Issed*.—For *ip eḡ*, est id: *eḡ* is the ancient neuter form of the pronoun. Zeuss, p. 333. *Attach*.—Or *atách*, a request or supplication, 1. *ḡuibe*. O’Clery. *Adessam*.—This is a 1st person plural, according to the Gloss.

5. *Itge*.—Or *ice*, a form of *attach*, v. 4. The interpretations given in the Gloss of the proper names Abel and Adam, are taken from St. Jerome.

6. *Ron soerat*.—*ron*, for *po inn*, see note, v. 1. The termination *poep-at* would now be *poep-aí*, 3rd person plural. *Secip*.—Sometimes written *cécip*, the same as the modern *ḡibe*, for *ḡíbe*, or *cí* b’e, whatsoever. *Fon mbith*.—It will

be observed that here, and in several other places in this MS., as *nḡle*, ver. 37, *haíḡlu*, ver. 43, the eclipsing *m* or *n* is marked with a dot; and in the Gloss on ver. 5, *m ḡalup nḡian*.

7. *Noe*.—The interpretations given in the Gloss of the proper names, *Noe*, *Abraham*, *Isaac*, are from St. Jerome.

8. *Tisat*.—See above, v. 2, note. Here we have the old termination of the 3rd person plural, which is now *aí*. This word would now be written *cīḡí*, or *cīaḡ-aí*. *Damna*.—*Damnatio*. The gloss on this word seems to consider the prep. *a* an essential part of it; and tells us that *abamna*, or *abamni*, signifying famine, or hunger, is derived from Adam, because by Adam came all suffering.

9. *Ailme*.—For *aílm*, or *aílem*.—The transposition of the *e* may possibly be an error of the transcriber.

11. *Snaisium*.—*May he protect*. On the termination *pium*, see note, v. 2. *Moisi*.—The gloss interprets the name of *Moses* “aquaticus.” St. Jerome, more correctly,

Maire ioseph don ringrat et spiritus stefani
as cach inġ don forslaiċe taithmet anma iġnati

Cech martir cech dithrubach cech noeb ro bai hinġenmnaġ
rop sciath dun diar nimdeġail rop saġet huan friġemnaġ 20

Reġem reġum roġamus in nostris sermonibus
anacht noe a luchtlach diluui temporibus

Gloss.—17. *Maire*.—i. stilla vel stella maris, interpretatur. *Joseph*.—i. aite ipu [the tutor (or foster-father) of Jesus]. *Don ringrat*.—i. pon cograt diapnanaċul [may they come to our protection]. *Spiritus*.—i. anima vel gratia ejus. *Stefani*.—i. coronatus interpretatur. 18. *Forslaiċe*.—i. pon fuarlaiċe [may it deliver us]. *Taithmet*.—i. pon aithmet [commemorate]. 19. *Martir*.—i. pro Deo. *Dithrubach*.—[a hermit] i. pro Deo. *Noeb*.—[saint] i. pro Deo. *Hi ngenmnaġ*.—i. virginitate]. 21. *In nostris*.—i. in Scotica lingua, vel huius ymni. 22. *Anacht*.—i. in nġ roanacht [the King who saved]. *A luchtlach*.—i. lucht locha, no a lucht duġ .i. [his company on the water, or his black company] Noe cum suis tribus filiis et .iiii. uxores eorum.

“sumptus ex aqua, sive assumptio.” The interpretations of *Aaron* and of *David*, gloss, v. 12, although not very correct, are from St. Jerome. The interpretation of *David*, “manus fortis,” occurs in Origen and other ancient writers, and seems to have been taken from יד, *sufficiens*, and מן, *manus*—an etymology which exhibits a curious ignorance of Hebrew. *Ronsnaid*.—i. e., po inn rnaib, or po rnaib inn, *who protected us*.

13. *Sech*.—*Over, beyond*,—præter, ultra, supra. Zeuss, *Gramm. Celt.* p. 612.

14. *Fiadat*.—This is a very ancient word, signifying the true or good God. The gloss, as above, is an attempt to give its etymology. The scholiast there tells us that fiodat is the same as fioda, which is derived from po dia, which he explains Dia maith, *good God*—po, *good*; Dia, *God*.—See above, p. 84, note 9.

15. *Rop*.—For po ba, which in modern Irish is ġo mba, *may he be*; where it is

to be observed that the ancient po is the equivalent of ġo, giving the optative sense, and not a mere sign of the preterite indicative. *Ditiu*.—This word is now dġom, or dġean.

17. *Maire*.—The interpretation of the name of Mary, “stilla maris,” is evidently founded on the Hebrew form of the name *Miriam*, as if from מר, *a drop*, and ים, *the sea*. *Stella* seems a misspelling of *stilla*, having, so far as I know, no foundation in any Hebrew etymology. But it occurs in all the editions of St. Jerome’s *Interpretatio Nominum Hebraicorum*, where we have the following:—“*Mariam plerique æstimant interpretari illuminant me isti, vel illuminatrix* [from the root ראה], *vel smyrna maris* [מרים], sed mihi nequaquam videtur. Melius autem est, ut dicamus sonare eam *stellam* [read *stillam*] *maris, sive amarum mare* [root מרר]. Sciendumque quod Maria, sermone Syro, *domina* nuncupetur.” *Don ringrat*.—This is glossed pon cograt, the

Melchisedech rex salem incerto de semine
RON SOERAT A AIRNIGHE AB OMNI FORMIDINE

Soter soerus loth di thein qui per secula habetur 25
UT NOS OMNES PRECAMUR LIBERARE DIGNETUR

Abram de ur na galbda snaisium ruri ronsnada
SOERSUM SOERUS IN POPUL LIMPA PONTIS INGABA

GLOSS.—23. *Melchisedech*.—i. rex justitiæ interpretatur. 25. *Soerus*.—i. po roeparcar [who delivered]. *Loth*.—i. declinans, interpretatur. Loth mac Aran, mic Thara, frater Sarra [Lot the son of Haran, son of Tara, brother of Sara]. 28. *Soersum*.—i. po roera rinn [may he rescue us]. *Limpa*.—i. cohoin abamn [that is a river]. *Ingaba*.—i. ip in gabud ipabatcar sine aqua quando venit ex Egypto [i. the need in which they were without water, when they came out of Egypt].

don, or pon, being *quod nos* (see note on v. 6). The verbs *ringrat* and *to-grat* are the 3rd person plural present, of which the modern form would be *ringraib* and *to-graib*. The meaning seems to be, "May they be pleased to come to our protection." *To-graim* is *to choose, to will, to desire*.

18. *Ignati*.—Over this word is a note taken from some ancient martyrology: a portion of it has been cut away by the binder. What remains is as follows:—"i. Ignatius episcopus secundus post Petrum in Antiochia primus, et passus sub Trajano imperatore. Ignatius a leonibus et aliis bestiis . ." It will be observed that Ignatius is here styled "secundus post Petrum," instead of "tertius," as in the Roman Martyrology, Feb. 1.

22. *A luchtlach*.—The gloss on this word gives two meanings of it, derived from the double signification of *loch*, which may mean either *water*, or *black*.

23. *Rex Salem*.—Here in the MS. we have the following note as a gloss:

"Hieronymus. Aiunt Ebrei hunc esse Sem filium Noe; et supputantes annos vitæ ipsius .cccc. ostendunt eum usque ad Isac vixisse. Alii hunc esse quendam Cannaneum et ignotum cujus Ebrei genealogiam ignorant. Secundum autem Augustinum et Origenem, non homo fuit, sed angelus Domini. Homo sine patre et sine matre et sine genealogia esse non potest." And in the margin: "Hieronymus. Salem, non ut Josephus et nostrorum omnes arbitrantur, idem est et Hierusalem, sed oppidum iuxta Scithopolim, quod appellatur Salem, et dicitur venisse Jacob in Salem civitatem regionis Sichem, quæ est in terra Chanaan."—See St. Jerome's *Quæst. Hebr. in Gen.* [in c. xiv. 18], and *Epist. 73 ad Evangelum*, de Melchisedec, n. 2 and 7 (ed. Vallars.), in which last place the above extract about Salem occurs nearly verbatim. Cf. August. *Quæst. in Heptat.* lib. i. 74 [in Gen. xxv. 22].

24. *Ron soerat*.—For po innroerat a airnighe; in modern Irish, go po roeraib a upnaighe inn, *May his prayers deliver us*.

RURI ANACHT TRI MACCU AS URNN TENED CO RUADI
RON NAIN AMAL RO ANACHT DAUID DE MANU ȝOLAI

30

FLAITHEM NIME LOCHARNAIG ARDONROIGSE DIAR TROGI
NAD LEIC SUUM PROPETAM ULLI LEONUM ORI

AMAL FOEDES IN AINȝEL TARSLAIC PETRUM A SLABREID
DO ROITER DUN DIAR PORTACHT ROP REID REMUNN CECH NAMREID

GLOSS.—29. *Ruri*.—i. ροϋ [i. Great King]. *Anacht*.—i. ρο ανȝερταρ [i. saved or protected].
31. *Flaithem*.—i. flath em [i. noble sovereign]. *Locharnaig*.—i. ρολυρτα [luminous]. *Ardon-
roigse*.—i. αρ ρο απχθρε [i. may he have mercy]. 34. *Do roiter*.—i. a Deo.

25. *Soter*.—Here our author employs a Greek word, upon which the scholiast has written the following note in the margin of the MS.: “Soter, .i. Ebreice, ih̄s, Grece; Salvator, Latine;” where the words “Ebreice” and “Grece” ought to be transposed. *Soerus*.—The relative form of the present indicative active, *who delivers*. The gloss says it is put for the preterite *ro soerastar*, who delivered. *Loth*.—Interpreted in the gloss *declinans*, from St. Jerome, but it really means *velamen*, a veil, or covering. *Qui per secula*.—i. e., the Saviour who lives throughout all ages, and is as able to deliver us now as he was to deliver Lot (cf. 2 Pet. ii. 7), we pray him that he vouchsafe to deliver us all.

27. *Abram*.—Here we have the gloss: “.i. Pater excelsus interpretatur, *Abba* enim pater, *ram*, excelsus. Abraham pater multarum interpretatur, et subintellige gentium.”

27. *De Ur*.—In the margin is the following note on this word: “In Ebreo habetur in Ur Chethisim, i. in igne Caldeorum. Tradunt autem Ebrei ex hac occasione istiusmodi fabulam; quod Abraham in ignem

misus est, quia ignem adorare noluerit, quem Caldei colunt, et Dei auxilio liberatus de idololatriæ igne profugerit: quod in sequentibus scribitur, egressum esse Tharam cum sobole sua de regione Caldeorum; pro quo in ebreo habetur de incendio Caldeorum, et missus est Aram adhuc ante conspectum patris sui Thara in igne Caldeorum, quod videlicet ignem nollens adorare igne consumptus est. Loquitur autem Dominus postea ad Abram dicens, Ego sum qui eduxi te de igne Caldeorum.” These words occur in St. Jerome’s *Quæst. Hebraic. in Gen. xi. 28.*

27. *Ronsnada*.—For ρο ε ρναβαιδ, *he who protected him*.

28. *Soersum*.—The gloss on this word is worthy of notice, as it tells us that the ancient termination *pum* in verbs, instances of which frequently occur in this Hymn, is the pronoun *ρinn*, *we*, or *us*. Thus *ρaoεppam*, may he protect *us*, ver. 2; *ciactaram*, wherever *we* go, ver. 2; *ρναοριυμ*, protect *us*, ver. 11, 27.

29. *Tri maccu*.—Here we find the following note: “.i. Sedrac, Misac, Abdinago, nomina eorum apud Caldeos; Annanias,

DIAR FIADAT RONTOLOMAR NOSTRO OPERE DIGNO 35
 ROBEM OCCA IM BITH BETHAID IN PARADISI REGNO

AMAL SOERAS IONAS FAITH A BRU MIL MOIR MONAR NIGLE
 SNAIDSIUNN DEG RI TOMTACH TREN SEN DE DONPE FORDONTE

RO FIR A FIADA RO FIR ROERTHAR IN GUIDISE
 RO BET MACCAN FLATHA DE HI TIMCUAIRT NA SCULESE 40

RO FIR A FIADA ROP FIR RISAM HUILE SITH IND RIG
 SECHROISED ROISSAM HI FLAITH NIME COTRISSAM

Robbem cen es hillethu la haiñgliu im bith bethu
 * * * * *

GLOSS.—35. *Diarfiadat*.—i. dap dia maith [to our good God]. *Rontolomar*.—i. rotholc-naðem [we desire]. 38. *Tomtach*.—i. tomaitchmech [forgiving]. 39. *A fiadu*.—i. a de maith [O good God]. *Roerthar*.—i. roepnithur [let it be granted, or performed]. 40. *Maccan*.—i. meicbecca atbalat pochetop in sanctitate post baptismum [little children who die immediately in holiness after baptism]. 41. *Sith*.—i. celum. 43. *Hillethu*.—i. hi farrinðe [in expansion, or space].

Azarias, Misael, nomina eorum apud Ebreos. Et in igne misi sunt; quia noluerunt adorare formam Nabcodonostor.”

30. *Ron nain*.—Quòd nos protegat.

32. *Nadleic*.—For na do léic: na, the negative relative, “who not;” do léic, now do leig (from leigim, “I leave, or permit”). *Suum profetam*.—Here we have the following note: “.i. Danielelem, qui bis in Babilonia traditus est leonibus, et fuit cum eis in lacu leonum per ebdomad plenam sine cibo.”

33. *Foedes*.—Over this word is the following note: “Herodes Agrippa occidit Jacobum filium Zebedei, et tradidit Petrum iiii. quaternionibus in carcerem ad custodiendum, et liberavit eum Dominus per angelum suum.”—Fœder, now faoider, is the historical present of faoidim, *I send*.

36. *Robem*, and in l. 43, *robbem*, for co po be inn, i. e., ðo po be rinn, that we may be: in modern Irish, ðo raðamar, ðo raðamuib, or ðo raib rinn.

37. *Jonas*.—We have here this note: “.i. Dolens, sive Columba, interpretatur; filius Amathi et viduæ quam suscitavit Helias quando hospitavit apud eam, fugiens Achab regem in tempore famis.”—See St. Jerome’s *Præfat. in Jonam*.

43. *Bethu*.—Here an entire line is omitted in the MS., without any mark of omission. In the margin there is a note which has been so injured by the plough of the binder, that it is very obscure. What remains is as follows:—“Lethrand po, 7 iprad arail in lethrand ail occameo diatopacht atip den-galur maru lethrand cech ai dib do ponpat anuar. No iprad Cholman im-

RERAIG FAITHI CEN DIBAD AINZIL APSTAIL ARD FEZAD
 TAIRSET LI AR NATHAR NEMDA RIA SLUAZ NDEMNA DIARSENAD 45
 SEN DE

bENDACHT FOR ERLAM PATRAIC CONNOEBAIB HERENN IMME
 BENNACHT FORSIN CATHRIGSE OCUIS FOR CACH FUL INDI

bENNACHT FOR ERLAM BRIGID CON OGAIB HERENN IMPE
 TABRAID HUILE CAIN FORGALL BENDACHT FOR ORDAN BRIGTE

GLOSS.—44. *Reraig*.—i. ropfz, no pefzf [great kings, or noble kings], .i. qui fuerunt ante diluuium. *Cendibad*.—i. in poena. *Ard fegad*.—i. ir apd fezad [it is a noble sight] angelorum et apostolorum. 45. *Tairset*.—i. huc usque cecinit Colman. 46. *For erlam*.—erlam, .i. ep ellam, .i. abbul ellam fpi beanam pefca 7 mfbairle [Erlam, i. e. a ready champion, i. e. very ready to perform wonders and miracles]. *Patraic*.—i. for in erlam ap Dapraic [on the patron who is Patrick]. 47. *Indi*.—i. mte [in it].

oppo aonur do rigne in immund co huile 7 ropacaib in lethpann po ap po eccomlanfaigbia mo checepnem ecomlanairpe re amolab rom; which may be translated: "This is a half stanza, and there is another, viz., the remaining half stanza, lamenting their coming . . . out of the land on account of the plague, if it was half a stanza each of them made all along down. Or it was Colman alone who composed the whole hymn, and he left this half stanza, so that if God should leave him with the loss of his company, His praise should be left deficient by him." The meaning of this last clause seems to be, that if we suppose Colman alone to have composed the hymn, he may have left the stanza deficient designedly, intending to complete it by an expression of thankfulness or praise, if he and his company should escape the pestilence. But if God did not think fit to preserve them, then the intended praises of God must remain unsung. The for-

mer clause is very obscure, because defective. Perhaps the meaning may be, that as each of the scholars made half a stanza, one half stanza would necessarily be left deficient, if the number of scholars should be diminished [by the plague]. At all events it is evident that the defect is an original one, and was so regarded by the ancient scholiast, who has in this note given us his explanation of it.

45. *Sen De*.—These are the words with which the hymn begins, placed here as a sort of colophon, according to a custom already noticed at p. 23 above. The gloss here shows that this was understood by the scholiast to have been the end of the original Hymn, as it says "Huc usque cecinit Colman;" and indeed the remainder bears evident marks of having been added at a later age. See note on line 51, p. 136, *infra*.

50. *Columcille*.—The gloss on this line is an explanation of the reason why Colum received the appellation of Colum-

BENDACHT FOR COLUMCILLE CONNOEBAIB ALBAN ALLA
FOR ANMAIN ADAMNAN AIN ROLA CAIN FORS NA CLANNA

50

FOR FOESAM RIȜ NA NDULA COMAIRCHE NACHAN BERA
IN SPIRUT NOEB RONBROENA CRIOST RONSOERA RONSENA
SEN DE

Opent ppo nobir p̄ancti illi in celis, quorum memoriam facimur in terris, ut deleantur delicta nostra per inuocationem p̄ancti nominis tui ih̄u, ꝛ m̄reperere qui p̄egnar in pecula peculorum. Amen.

GLOSS.—50. *Colum.*—i. collum ap a diuteót dictus est [he is called Collum (Columba), from his harmless-ness]. *Cille.*—i. quia frequenter veniebat ad Oaru nchill, .i. acelaig dubh glaire quia a ad campum ppo ciuitate ueniet l epe et uicebant expectem [cill]le inde dicitur [ep̄t]. *Alban.*—i. p̄ri muir anair [by the sea on the east].

cille, or Colum of the Church. It is so obliterated, that nothing can be read with certainty, except the words above given, which suffice to show that the substance of the note was the same with that given in Irish by the annotator of the Feilire of Aengus (in the *Leabhar Breac*) at the 9th June, in these words:—Colum ppo simplicitate eius dicitur ep̄t. Cille .i. ap thiachtain comenicc on cill in po leg a palmu h̄i comdail na lenab comocur. bahead adbertippen etarru, in t̄anic ap Colum becn̄i on chill .i. o Thelaig Dubhglairri h̄i Tir Lugach i Cinel Conaill. “He was called *Colum* (a dove), for his simplicity, and *Cille* (of

the Church), from his coming frequently from the church in which he read his Psalms, into the company of the neighbouring children; and they used to say then amongst themselves, ‘Has our little Colum come from the church’ (cill), i. e., from Tulach Dubhglaisse in Lugaidh’s territory in Cinel Conail.” TulachDubhglaisse [now Temple Douglas, near Kilmacrenan] was the name of the church in which St. Columcille was baptized.—O’Donnell, *Vit. S. Columbæ*, lib. i. c. 25 (apud Colgan, *Triad. Thaum.* p. 393).—See Adamnan’s Life of St. Columba, edited by Dr. Reeves, Append. to Preface, p. lxx., lxxi., notes ^t and ^u.



ADDITIONAL NOTE.

Translation of the Scholiast's Preface and of the Hymn.

THE following is a literal translation of the Preface, and of the foregoing Hymn :

Sen de. Colman, Mac Ui Cluasaigh, Reader of Cork, composed this Hymn, to protect himself from the *buidhechair* [yellow pestilence], which was [prevalent] in the reign of the sons of Aedh Slane^a. For the people were very numerous in Erin at that time; and so great were their numbers, that the land could afford but thrice nine ridges to each man in Erin, viz., nine of bog, nine of field, and nine of wood; therefore the noblemen of Erin fasted along with the sons of Aedh Slane, with Fechin^b of Fabhar, and with Aileran^c, and with Manchan of Liath^d, and with very many besides, for the reduction of the population, because of

^a *The sons of Aedh Slaine.*—Diarmaid and Blathmac, the sons of Aedh Slane, reigned conjointly from A. D. 658 to 664, in which last year they died of the great pestilence (*Four Masters. Keating. O'Flaherty*). On the history of this pestilence see Dr. O'Connor's note on the *Annals of Tighernach, Rev. Hib. Script.* vol. ii. p. 204.

^b *Fechin.*—Of Fabhar, or Fore, in the county of Westmeath. See his Life in Colgan, at 20th of Jan., *Actt. SS.*, p. 130.

^c *Aileran.*—This word is somewhat obscure in the MS.; but I think I have correctly deciphered it. Aileran was of the celebrated school or University of Cluain-iraird, now Clonard, in the county of Meath, and was surnamed *Eaghnaiðe*, or The Wise. Fleming, or his Editor, Sirinus, has published Aileran's "Interpretatio mystica progenitorum D. Jesu Christi," from a MS. in the Monastery of St. Gall: *Collectan. Sacr.* p. 182, sq.; and Colgan attributes to him the Life of Patrick, which stands fourth in his collection; *Trias Thaum.*, p. 35.

^d *Manchan of Liath.*—The Annals of Tighernach call him Bishop of Liath, now Liath-Manchain, or Lemanaghan, in the King's County; a place which was originally called Tuaim nEirc, or Erc's Tumulus (*Four Masters, A. D. 645*). The word Liath, (or Leigh, which is the genitive form of Liath), signifies gray, or boggy land. The following interesting mention of St. Manchan occurs in the Martyrology of Donegal at January 24:—*Manchán Lech, mac Indaigh.* Mella ann a mhaðair 7 a ðeiri ðeiriðfeðar .i. ðnella 7 ðneillfech. *Atá a eaglaip ðarab ann Liað Manchán, no leit Manchán, a nDealbna ðec Coélam.* *Atá a ðairi ipin mbaile cebna i pèrín atá ar na cumbað ðo ðeiriðgairðe le cláraið ðon leð arcið 7 ó úna ðon leit amuið ðfðreim ar na pionnað ðo no ðeiriðgairðe.* "Manchan of Liath, the son of Indaigh [*filius Indaigh, Colgan, Actt. SS.*, p. 330, n. 6]. Mella was the name of his mother. His two sisters were Grella and Grell-seach. His church, which is named Liath Man-

the scarcity of food, which was the consequence of their great numbers. And it was on that account that the *buidhechair* was sent upon them: so that the sons of Aedh Slane died of it in that year, also the learned men above mentioned, et alii multi.

Some say that it was Colman composed the whole of it. Other people say that he composed but two stanzas of it only, and that the school^e made the rest, i. e., each man of them made each a half stanza.

It was composed in Cork, in the time of the two sons of Aedh Slane, viz., Blaithmac and Diarmaid. And this was the occasion on which it was composed: a great plague that was sent upon the men of Erin, viz., the *buidhe connail* [or yellow plague], which pervaded all Erin, and left only one out of every three persons alive in Erin; and it was to save them [i. e., the survivors], with his own school, from that pestilence, that Colman composed this Hymn. And the place where he happened to compose it was in the course of his voyage to a certain island of the sea of Erin, flying abroad from this pestilence, until there were nine waves between him and the land, for the plague did not extend further, as the learned relate. And a certain man of the school of Colman asked what blessing there was for them, in search of which they had set out on that journey. Then Colman said, "What blessing dost thou need," said he, "but The blessing of God?" For what they desired was to go out upon the islands of the sea, to escape from the distemper.

THE blessing of God come upon us; may the Son of Mary cover us;
 May He protect us this night, wherever we go though great our numbers.

WHETHER at rest or in motion; whether sitting or standing;
 The King of Heaven be against every assault; this is the supplication that we offer up.

THE Prayer of Abel, son of Adam, of Heli and Enoch, be our help; 5
 May they free us from the sudden pestilence, whatsoever part of the world it threatens.

NOE, and Abraham; Isaac, the admirable son;
 May they come around us against the pestilence, that we come not to trouble.

chain, or Leith Manchain, is in Delbhna Mec Cochlain. His relics are in the same place, in a shrine that is beautifully ornamented, with boards in the inside, and bronze on the outside of them, and splendidly carved." This remarkable shrine still exists. It is preserved in the Roman Catholic chapel at Lemanachain, although the relics of the saint have long since disappeared from it. It is greatly mutilated; but enough remained to enable

Dr. Carte, of the Royal Dublin Society, to make a model of it in electrotype, which was exhibited in the Antiquarian Department of the Dublin Exhibition in 1853. This beautiful model is now in the possession of John Lentaigne, Esq., of Dublin.

^e *The school*—i. e. the school over which he presided, or his scholars. See note on line 43, *supra*.

^f *The blessing of God*.—Alluding to the words with which the Hymn begins.

I BESEECH the father of thrice four persons, and Joseph the illustrious ;
 May their prayers to the noble King of many angels deliver us. 10

MAY Moses the good leader protect us, who protected in crossing the Red Sea ;
 Jesus ; Aaron son of Amra ; David the bold youth.

JOB, with his diseases, protect us against the poison :
 The prophets of the Lord guard us, with the seven sons of Maccabæus.

JOHN the Baptist we name ; be he our covering, be he our protection : 15
 Jesus, with His Apostles, be our help against danger.

MARY, Joseph, guard us, and the spirit of Stephen ;
 Out of every difficulty may it deliver us, to invoke the name of Ignatius.

EVERY Martyr, every Hermit, every Saint who was in chastity,
 Be a shield to us, for our defence ; be an arrow from us against demons. 20

REGEM regum rogamus, in nostris sermonibus,
 Who saved Noe and his company, diluvii temporibus.

MELCHISEDECH, rex Salem, incerto de semine,
 May his prayers deliver us ab omni formidine.

THE Saviour who delivered Lot from the fire, qui per secula habetur, 25
 Ut nos omnes, precamur, liberare dignetur.

ABRAM from Ur of the Chaldees ; may the Lord who protected him protect us ;
 May He save us, who saved the people, when in want of lympha fontis.

THE Lord, who delivered the three youths from the oven of red fire,
 Deliver us, as he delivered David de manu Goliæ. 30

9. *The father*.—"The father of thrice four," viz., Israel, the father of the twelve patriarchs.

10. *To the noble King*, i. e. their prayers addressed to the noble King.

18. *May it deliver us*, i. e. may the invocation of the name of Ignatius deliver us.

21. *In nostris*.—The Gloss on the original of this passage gives two interpretations of it—either "in our vernacular Scottish or Irish language," in Scot-

ica lingua ; or "in this our hymn," in *sermonibus hujus hymni*. As the original is here partly Irish and partly Latin, I have translated the Irish only, leaving the Latin lines as they stand in the text.

23. *Incerto*.—Alluding to Heb. vii. 3.

28. *Lympha fontis*.—Num. xx. 2, sq.

29. *Red fire*.—Literally, "from a furnace, or oven, of fire with redness: "Ceciderunt in medio camino ignis ardentis colligati."—Dan. iii. 23.

THE noble Sovereign of the brilliant heaven, may He have mercy on our misery :
Who did not leave suum prophetam ulli leonum ori.

LIKE as He sent the Angel to deliver Peter from his chains ;
So may He send to us for our relief : may He make smooth for us, whatsoever
is not smooth.

TO our Lord we submit our will, nostro opere digno, 35
That we may be with Him in eternal life, in Paradisi regno.

AS He delivered Jonas the prophet from the whale's belly—great deed,
The good King grant us powerful protection; the blessing of God come upon us.

MAY it be true, O Lord, may it be true, that this prayer be granted ;
That the children of God's kingdom may be around this School. 40

MAY it be true, O Lord, that it become true, that we all reach the peace of the King,
That wherever we go, or arrive, we may reach the Kingdom of Heaven.

THAT we be without age, in endless space, with angels, in life eternal.
* * * * *

PATRIARCHS, Prophets, without fail, Angels, Apostles, glorious vision !
Come they with our Heavenly Father ; against hosts of demons to bless us. 45
SEN ԾԵ.

A BLESSING upon the Patron Patrick, with the saints of Erin around him :
A blessing upon this city, and upon every one that is therein.

34. *Not smooth.*—Literally, "May every roughness [everything that is not smooth, cech n-am-րեւծ] be made smooth before us."

37. *Whale's belly.*—Literally, "From the belly of the great animal," mfl, or mfol, mór, is the name still given to a whale both in Ireland and in Scotland.

40. *Children of God's kingdom,* i. e. the angels. A different interpretation is given in the Gloss, viz. the spirits of children who die after baptism, before the commission of actual sin.

43. *Without age,* i. e. without growing old.—

Endless space: literally, in broadness, or expansion. Իւ [for ւ. in] lécnu, breadth, extent, glossed by բարրոցե, *space, expansion, room.*

44. *Glorious vision.*—Literally, "high-seeing," արծ-բեճած : which perhaps may mean that angels and apostles behold us from on high.

45. *Come,* i. e. may they come : բարբբ is the 3rd person plural. *Protect us.*—Literally, "be for our blessing," or "protection," ԾԻԱՐ, now Ծ'ԱՐ, i. e. ԾՕ ԱՐ, for our, բենած, blessing.

46. *The Patron.*—The word translated *patron*

A BLESSING upon the Patron Brigid, with the virgins of Erin around her,
Give ye all, without guile, a blessing upon the dignity of Brigid.

A BLESSING on Colum-cille, with the saints of Alba along with him, 50
On the soul of the pure Adamnan, who put a law on the clans.

UPON the protection of the King of the Elements, a guardianship from which we
cannot be taken,
May the Holy Ghost inspire us ; may Christ deliver us ; may He bless us.
SEN DE.

ORENT pro nobis sancti illi in cœlis, quorum memoriam facimus in terris, ut deleantur delicta nostra per invocationem sancti nominis tui Jesu, et miserere, qui regnas in secula seculorum. Amen.

's eplam, which originally, perhaps, signified noble, but is now applied to the saint who is regarded as a patron. The verses which follow from line 46 to the end formed no part of the original Hymn, which ended at line 45, as is evident from the repetition of the first words, Sen de, according to a practice that has been already noticed. See p. 23.

47. *This city*, i. e. this monastery: the place in which these additional verses were added. Thus the Annals of Ulster (A. D. 806) record the foundation of the Columbian monastery of Kells in these words: "Constructio novæ civitatis Columbæcille in Ceninnus." It is in this sense the word is used in the Hymn of St. Mugint, vv. 2 and 5 (pp 95, 96 *supra*), a fact which was overlooked when the note, p. 95, was written.

49. *Dignity*.—So the word orðan is explained

in several ancient Glossaries. Orðan .i. uaral ðrað, "a noble degree, or dignity" (MS. H. 3, 8, p. 550, Trin. Coll. Dubl.) Orðan .i. uaral ut ept rapuðað orðan .i. rapuðað in uaral—"a noble person, as, to violate an *ordan*, is to violate (or insult) a noble person."—*O'Davoren, Gloss.*

50. *Along with him*.—Cille, now imaille.

51. *A law*.—Cain, a rule, precept, commandment, from *canon*. This is a remarkable allusion to the Cain Adamnain (canon, or code of laws drawn up by Adamnan), so frequently mentioned in the Annals and Brehon Laws; and proves that these last four stanzas must have been added in or after the eighth century. For the *Cain Adamnani* was compiled A. D. 697, and Adamnan died A. D. 704. See Adamnan's *Life of St. Columba*, edited by Dr. Reeves, p. 178, and note ^b.

VI. THE HYMN OF ST. CUCHUIMNE.

THE following Hymn has been published by Mone, in his *Hymni Latini Medii Ævi* (vol. ii. p. 383), from a collation of three MSS. The first is that preserved at Bâle, of which some account has already been given, p. 55, *supra*. The second is a MS. of the ninth century, in an Irish hand, now at Karlsruhe. The third is a MS. of the eighth century, according to Mone's judgment, also preserved at Karlsruhe, and written in a French hand. Both these Karlsruhe MSS. belonged formerly to the monastery of Reichenau.

The readings of these MSS. are given in the notes: those of the Bâle MS. are denoted by the letter B.; and those of the two Karlsruhe MSS. in the order in which they are spoken of above, by the letters K. and R. The MS. B. has been collated by the Editor himself; but the readings of K. and R. are given on the authority of Mone.

None of these MSS. have the introductory Scholium or Preface, which is now for the first time printed, from the Dublin *Liber Hymnorum*; but in the Codex R. we find the title "*Himnus Sanctæ Mariæ*."

How far we can depend upon Mone's judgment in the opinion he has given of the age of these MSS. seems doubtful; for he assigns the Bâle MS. to the eighth century, which is at least a century, if not two centuries, older than the true date, so far as the Greek Psalter is concerned: and he does not seem to have observed that the Hymn *Cantemus* has been written in a hand of about two centuries' later date. Those who are not accustomed to Irish MSS. are very naturally disposed to make them older than they really are, because the Irish scribes retained the old forms of handwriting much longer than Continental transcribers.

The Scholium prefixed to the Hymn identifies the author of it with the "Cuchuimne sapiens," who is said by our Annalists to have died early in the

eighth century ; and the age of the MSS. in which the Hymn has been found confirms the high antiquity thus ascribed to it. In the Additional Note B the Editor has collected all that he has been able to discover of the history of Cuchuimne.

The classical reader will not form a high idea of our author's skill in Latin prosody. The following anomalies may be taken as specimens:—*Cantēmus*, line 1 ; *Utēro*, line 8 ; *Extētīt*, line 10 ; *Humāne*, line 12 ; *Mūlī-
erem*, lines 13, 14 ; *Loricam*, line 21 ; *Pīræ, dīræ*, line 24.



CANTEMUS in omni die. Cuchumne fecit hunc S̄mnum do molad Maire oge. In amrur imorpo loingriḡ meice Oengura 7 Adamnam factur epc. Inceptum epc uero in quo loco eum fecit. Ire po chunn adenma dia roerab ap in dnoch beathaid ip rabai. quia coniugem habuit, 7 in mala uita cum illa fuit. no commad do pethigud nemi an eich na droacht leip dia legund do dhrech immolabpa do Maire.

Ue Adamnan dicit :

Cuchumne [Cuchumne], Ro leg fuche co dpuimne,
Alleth aile apata, Ro leic ap a challecha.

Cuchumne dicit :

Cuchumne [Cuchumne], Ro leg fuche co dpuimne,
Alleth aile apata, Legpaib leicrib caillecha.

Uel,

Alleth naile apabcu, Legpaib huile conop fui.

Ure nithim dan fecit. 7 xiii. coibcil ann, 7 da line in cech coibcil, 7 xii. fillaba cech line.



CANTEMUS IN OMNI DIE CONCINENTES UARIE
CONCLAMANTES DEO DIGNUM S̄MNUM SANCTAE MARIAE
BIS PER CHORUM HINC ET INDE COLLAUDEMUS MARIAM
UT UOX PULSET OMNEM AUREM PER LAUDEM VICARIAM
MARIA DE TRIBU IUDAE SUMMI MATER DOMINI 5
OPORTUNAM DEDIT CURAM EGROTANTI HOMINI

GLOSS.—1. *Varie*.—i. inter duos choros. 2. *Mariæ*.—Maria stilla maris interpretatur; et significat æclesiam inventam in amaritudine seculi.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. <i>Concinentes</i> .—Concinantes, B. Concinnantes variæ, B. R. | to. 4. <i>Collaudemus</i> .—Collaudamus, B. Conlaudamus, K. Conlaudemus, R. |
| 2. <i>Mariæ</i> .—See the note, p. 126, <i>supra</i> . | 5. <i>Judæ</i> .—Juda, B. <i>Summi</i> .—Summa, B. R. |
| 3. <i>Chorum</i> .—Corum, B. The ancient custom of alternate singing is here alluded | 6. <i>Egrotanti</i> .—This seems an allusion |

Γabriel aduexit uerbum sinu patris paterno
δ quod conceptum et susceptum in utero materno

haec est summa haec est sancta uirgo uenerabilis
 quae ex fide non recessit sed exstetit stabilis

10

huic matri nec inuenta ante nec post similis
 nec de prole fuit plane humanae originis

per mulierem et lignum mundus prius perit
 per mulieris uirtutem ad salutem rediit

maria mater miranda patrem suum edidit
 per quem aqua late lotus totus mundus credidit

15

haec concepit margaretam non sunt uana somnia
 pro qua sani cristiani uendunt sua omnia

Gloss.—7. *Verbum*.—i. annuntiationem uerbi, .i. ave maria plena gratia. 8. *Conceptum*.—i. diuina operante potentia credentis viscera fecundantur. 13. *Lignum*.—i. prevaricationis. 15. *Patrem*.—i. omnium creator de creatura sua procreatur. Fons uitae de riuulo suo oritur. Uitis uera de uirgultu suo nascitur, et in ligno mortali arbor uitae inseritur, et porta in se uirtus ab infirmis portatur. 17. *Margaretam*.—i. Christum.

to some legend, unless we take *homini* to signify mankind in general.

7. *Patris*.—Prius, B. R. An obvious error. *Paterno*.—Paternæ, R.

8. *Utero*.—The second syllable is here long.

9. *Quæ*.—Hæc fide, R.

10. *Exstetit*.—The second syllable is long.

11. *Huic*.—This word is here a dissyllable. *Matri*.—Matre, R. *Inuenta*.—Inuentam, R.

12. *Prole*.—Flore, R. *Plane*.—Plana, R. *Humane originis*.—This appears strange language, not very consistent with the doctrine of the Incarnation, if we are to take the words in their literal meaning—that the Blessed Virgin was not of mere

human nature (*plane*). The preceding line is not unlike the words of St. Anselm, quoted by Mone: “Nihil est æquale Mariæ, nihil nisi Deus majus Maria.”—*Opp. S. Anselmi, Orat.* 51. [*Ed. Bened. Paris.* 1721, p. 281, col. 1. E.]

15. *Maria*.—This stanza, vv. 15, 16, is omitted by B. *Patrem suum*.—So in the Hymn beginning *Dies læta celebratur* (Daniel. *Thesaur. Hymnol.*, vol. ii. p. 212) there is the same idea:—

“Nova prorsus genitura
 Creatorem creatura
 Patrem parit filia.”

16. *Lotus*.—Lota, R.

17. *Margaretam*.—Margaritam, B. *Hæc*.—*Quæ*, R. Mone erroneously gives *Quæ* as the reading of B.

TONICAM PER TOTUM TEXTAM CRISTI MATER FECERAT
 quae peracta CRISTI MORTE SORTE STATIM STETERAT

20

INDUAMUS ARMA LUCIS LORICAM ET GALEAM
 ut simus deo PREFERRED SUSCEPTI PER MARIAM

AMEN AMEN ADIURAMUS MERITA PUERPERAE
 ut NON POSSIT PLAMMA PIRAE NOS DIRAE DECEPERE

Gloss.—19. *Tonicam*.—*Coιπeιou hιnαιp ιmlιβαιp* [a suitable, long tunic]. *Totum*.—i. corpus. *Textam*.—i. cen uaim and eciπ [without any seam in it at all]. 20. *Sorte*.—i. sine partitione. 21. *Loricam*.—Lorica dicta eo quod loris caret. 23. *Amen*.—i. vere, vel fideliter. *Puerperae*.—i. puerum pariens in ætate pueri, id est in decimo vel in xi. 24. *Piræ*.—i. e. ιn nabpιδo γpαnna [the ugly torch].

19. *Tonicam*.—Tunicam, K. Matt. Paris. *Hist. Angl.* p. 80, mentions this tradition: "A. D. m.c.lvi. in pago Parisiacensi, monasterio Argentoilo, revelatione divina, tunica Salvatoris inconsutilis et subconfusci coloris reperta est, quam sicut literæ cum ea repertæ indicabant, gloriosa Mater ejus fecerat ei dum adhuc puer esset." Other authorities tell us that it was found in a village called Zaphah, not far from Jerusalem, A. D. 593, in the time of Pope Gregory I. See Jo. Iperii *Chron. S. Bertini*, part iii. (ap. Martene et Durand. *Thes. Anecd.* tom. iii. 451 E.), and *Brevia aliquot Chronica* (*ibid.* 1391. C.). But these Chronicles make no mention of any letters found with it, or of its having been wrought by the hands of the B. Virgin. Neither is that tradition mentioned by Adamnan in his Tract *De locis sanctis*; but it is adopted by Baronius (*Annal.* A. D. 34, n. cxii.), Benedict XIV. (*De Festis Domini*, I. vii. 91. *Opp. tom.* ix. p. 82), and many other theologians. The earliest writer quoted for this tradition is Euthymius Zygabenus, who says: "Hanc

vero tunicam e traditione patrum accepimus opus fuisse Dei Matris a superioribus partibus contextam, veluti sunt apud nos capitis aut pedum hyemalia operimenta."—*Comment. in Quat. Evang.* in Matt. xxvii. 35 (*Bibl. Patr. Lugdun.*, tom. xix. p. 588, E.). This author flourished at the beginning of the twelfth century; so that the present Hymn is a much older authority. *Totum*.—Totam, B. *Christi*.—Christo, K.

21. *Loricam*.—Luricam, B. Lurica, R. *Et galeam*.—Vicariæ, R.

22. *Prefecti*.—Perfecti, B.

23. *Adjuramus*.—Adoramus, K. Adoremus, R. In R. the last two stanzas are reduced to one; thus:

"Amen, amen, adoremus, angelis sub testibus,
 Ut fruamur et scribamur litteris cœlestibus;"

the intervening clauses being omitted. *Puerperae*.—The gloss on this word seems to allude to the legend in the *Evangelium de Nativ. Mariæ*, the *Protevangeliium Jacobi*, &c., that Mary was dedicated to God at three years of age, and lived in the temple until ten or eleven years old.

Χ̄ΡΙ NOMEN INUOCEMUS AN̄GELIS SUB TESTIBUS
UT FRUAMUR ET SCRIPAMUR LITERIS CELESTIBUS.

25

CANTEMUS.

SANCTÆ MARIÆ MERITUM IMPLORAMUR DIGNISSIMUM
UT MERIAMUR SOLIUM HABITARE ALTISSIMUM.

GLOSS.—26. *Literis*.—i. in memoria Dei.

24. *Decepere*.—Decerpere, B.

26. *Scripamur*.—Scribamur, B. The gloss on this verse intimates, that to be written “literis celestibus” signifies that we are written in the memory of God.

27. *Sanctæ Mariæ*.—It is evident that in these lines (omitted in R. and K.) there is a rude rhythm, or assonance, and each line consists of eight syllables :—

“ Sanctæ Mariæ meritum
Imploramus dignissimum,
Ut mereamur solium,
Habitare [Habere, B.] altissimum.”

In the Bâle MS. we find here the fol-

lowing Collect, in the later handwriting :—

“ Singularis meriti, sola sine exemplo, Mater et Virgo Maria, quam Deus ita mente et corpore custodivit, ut digna existes ex qua sibi nostræ redemptionis pretium Dei Filius corpus adaptaret ; obsecro te misericordissima per quam totus salvatur mundus, intercede pro me spurcissimo, et cunctis iniquitatibus foedo, ut qui ex meis iniquitatibus nil aliud dignus sum quam aeternum subire supplicium, tuis Virgo spendidissima salvatus meritis perenne consequar regnum.”

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

NOTE A.

The Scholiast's Preface.

THE following is a translation of the Scholium or Preface to this Hymn, which is in the usual mixture of Irish and Latin :—

Cantemus in omni die.—Cuchaimne composed this Hymn in praise of the Virgin Mary. Now it was in the time of Loingsech, son of Oengus^a, and of Adamnan, it was composed. It is uncertain, however, in what place he composed it. This was the reason why he composed it, to deliver himself from the evil life he was leading, quia conjugem^b habuit, et in mala vita cum illa fuit. Or it was to facilitate his progress in what he had not yet completed of his studies, that he made this praise of Mary. As Adamnan said :—

Cuchaimne, [Cuchaimne^c],
Read learned writings half way^d.
The other half of his career
He abandoned for his women.

^a *Loingsech, son of Oengus.*—He was king of Ireland, according to O'Flaherty's Chronology, from A. D. 695 to 704, and was killed in the battle of Corann, county of Sligo, in this latter year. Dr. O'Connor's Tighernach gives 703 as the date of this battle, which, however, ought to be 704, for he adds :—"iv. id. Julii, vi. hora diei Sabbati hoc bellum confectum est." In 704, the 4th of the Ides of July fell on Saturday; in 703 on Thursday: therefore it is evident that Tighernach intended the year 704. The Four Masters give the date 701, which is irreconcilable with the day of the week on which Tighernach (doubtless from some ancient authority) tells us the battle was fought. Adamnan died the same year, 704. Ussher, *Index Chron.*

^b *Conjugem.*—Meaning, it is to be presumed, *Concubinam*. *Vid.* Adamnan, *Vit. S. Col.* (ed. Reeves), pp. 75-77.

^c *Cuchaimne.*—In the original this word occurs but once; but it was evidently intended to be repeated, as the metre requires; see page 82, *supra*, note ^o. Dr. O'Donovan overlooked this when he printed these verses in his edition of the Four Masters, A. D. 742.

^d *Half way.*—Co dhruimne is literally "to the ridge," i. e. to the top or ridge of a hill, which is half way across. The meaning is, that Cuchaimne spent one-half of his time in the study of learned authors, or that he had perused one-half of the learned writers, when he abandoned himself to an irregular life.

Cuchimne said [in reply]—

Cuchimne [Cuchimne],
Read learned writings half way.
The other half of his career*
He will read,—he will abandon^f women.

Or,

The other half of his career—
He will read them all until he becomes a sage.

He composed it in rhythm ; and there are thirteen chapters in it ; and two lines in each chapter ; and twelve syllables in each line.

The verses, here attributed to Adamnan, are transcribed in a hand of the fourteenth century, in the margin of the Dublin MS. of the *Annals of Ulster*, at A. D. 746 ; but are there attributed, not to Adamnan, but to the *Nurse* of Cuchimne : they are given thus :—

Muime Con-cuimne cecimne :—

Cucumne [Cucumne],
Ro leḡ fuiti co dpuimne,
Gillech naill hiarata
Ro leici ar cailleca.

An do Concuimne nomboi,
Impualaid be comd poi,
Ro leic caillecha ha fail
Ro leig aluill arich mboi.

The Nurse of Cuchimne sang :—

Cuchimne ! [Cuchimne !]
He read learned writings half way ;
The other half of his career
He abandoned for women.

Happy is it for Cuchimne,
He has gone forward until he has become a sage ;
He has abandoned women to neglect ;
He has read the other half of his victorious life.

This seems to be a more ancient form of this curious distich than either of the two texts of it which are given above, or than that of the *Four Masters*, at A. D. 742, which is as follows, with Dr. O'Donovan's translation (the metrical arrangement being corrected to correspond with the above) :—

* *Career*.—The word *rata* may be the genitive case of *rat*, prosperity, increase, progress, advancement ; but Dr. O'Donovan has rendered it "career" (*Four Mast.* A. D. 742), taking it to be *rata* running, racing ;—course, career.

^f *He will abandon*.—The play upon the words *ro leḡ* "he read," and *ro leic*, "he abandoned," is evidently the point of the first stanza ; and so in

Cuchimne's answer there is a play upon *ro leḡ*, "he read," *leḡfuid*, "he will read," and *leigfuid*, "he will leave, dismiss, or abandon." It is not to be supposed that these verses can be really the composition of Adamnan ; and accordingly the Dublin MS. of the *Annals of Ulster* attributes them, not to Adamnan, but to Cuchimne's nurse ; showing that he was not known with certainty to be the author.

Cucumne, [Cucumne],
 Ro léḡ fúithe co ḡruimne,
 Allech aile arpatha,
 Ro lecc ar a chaillecha.

Cuchuimne, [Cuchuimne],
 Read the authors half through;
 The other half of his career
 He abandoned for his hags.

Ḥriḡccar Cucumne:—

Cucumne, [Cucumne],
 Ro léḡ fúithe co ḡruimne,
 Allech aile arath cuí,
 Leḡrath huile corop fúí.

Cuchuimne replied:—

Cuchuimne, [Cuchuimne],
 Read the authors half through;
 During the other half of his career
 He will read till he become an adept.

The meaning, however, in all these readings of the couplet is the same: that Cuchuimne, after spending some years in scholar-like study, was seduced into a life of profligacy; but that he at length, on the remonstrance of his friends, abandoned his vices, and resumed with zeal, for the remainder of his life, the studies becoming an ecclesiastic.

The reader will not fail to remark, that there is great internal evidence of truth in this record of the weakness of Cuchuimne. No mere inventor of legends would have narrated such an event in the life of a writer whom he was quoting as the author of a religious Hymn. See the remarks already made on this subject, p. 92, *supra*.

NOTE B.

History of Cuchuimne.

THE information given us in the Preface, or Scholium, prefixed to the Hymn, and translated in the foregoing note, contains nearly all the information we possess respecting Cuchuimne. He is there said to have lived in the reign of Loingseach Mac Aengusa (who was King of Ireland, A. D. 695 to 703), and appears to have survived that monarch some years. The *Annals of Ulster* record his death at the year 746, in these words: "Cu-cumine" [read *Cucumne*, as in the Dublin MS.] "sapiens obiit." Tighernach [Dublin MS.] seems to have made the year 747, and gives the obit thus: "Cuimine sapiens obiit." The Four Masters give the date 742, and translate, apparently from the Ulster Annals, thus:—

Cucumne^a eccnair̄ coḡair̄de eir̄de do ecc. "Cucumne, he was a choice sage, died."

They then quote the same verses which are given by the Scholiast of the Book of Hymns, attributing them, as that Book does, to Adamnan.

^a *Cucumne*.—*Cucummne* is the reading in Dr. O'Donovan's text, but it seems to be an error of the press; for the MS. in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, reads *Cucumne*.

From these verses (see Note A), it appears that Cuchuimne for a time had led an irregular life, "quia conjugem habuit, et in mala vita cum illa fuit." But during the latter part of his life he repented, and the present Hymn may be received as an evidence that his thoughts were sincerely occupied in holy things. His name does not occur in any of the Irish Calendars or Martyrologies, notwithstanding which, Colgan does not hesitate to give him the title of *saint*.

The name Cu-chuimne [signifying *Hound of Memory*^b] is not of frequent occurrence in Irish Church history, although Cummine, Cummeni, Cummain, which are, perhaps, forms of the same name, are more frequent. Colgan^c has given the following account of the author of this Hymn:—"Sanctus Cuchumneus (qui, addito *Mo* more Hibernis familiari, potuit *Mochumneus* appellari), floruit juste tempore Sancti Aidi Sleptensis, anno 698 mortui. Hic enim in laudem Deiparæ Virginis composuit Hymnum, penes me extantem, qui incipit;

' *Cantemus in omni die, concinnantes variâ,
Conclamantes Deo dignum hymnum S. Mariæ.*'

Et ut colligitur ex argumento eidem Hymno præfixo, author floruit tempore Adamnani Abbatis, et Longseai Hiberniæ Regis, qui cœpit regnare anno 694. Vixit tamen postea usque ad annum 746, quo Annales Ultonienses referunt *Cucumneum Sapientem* obiisse; vel saltem usque ad annum 724 [read 742], in quem ejus mortem referunt Quatuor Magistri in Annalibus."—*Tr. Thaum.*, p. 218, *b*. This, however, the reader will perceive, gives us no information beyond what we have already gleaned from the authorities cited above: and Colgan has suppressed all mention of Cuchuimne's irregular life, although he declares him to have been contemporary with Adamnan, to whom the verses rebuking that irregularity are, in the Book of Hymns, ascribed. He must, therefore, have seen those verses.

NOTE C.

Maria Stilla Maris.

THE Gloss on the name *Maria* (ver. 2, p. 139, *supra*, and also in the preceding Hymn, ver. 17, p. 126), interprets the name as signifying in Hebrew "*Stilla maris*," from מַר, *a drop*, and ים, *the sea*. See above, p. 126, note.

^b *Hound of Memory*.—"Hound" was an honourable title amongst the ancient Irish. The name may perhaps be equivalent to the mediæval name *Memorius*, or *Memorianus*.

^c *Colgan*.—Harris (Ware's *Writers of Ireland*, p. 46) has mistaken this passage of Colgan. Colgan does not identify *Mocuthenius* with the author of this Hymn, nor does he say "that Ussher had

mistaken the name." He was speaking of the *Maccuthenius*, or *Mochucumneus*, who is said to have written *Acts of St. Patrick*; and he says that, allowing for the Irish custom of prefixing *Mo*, my, to the names of saints, there are two or three saints whose names are mentioned in Irish history (of whom our author is one), any one of whom may have been the biographer of St. Patrick.

Nothing is more common in the orthography of Irish MSS. of the eighth and following centuries, than to find *e* for *i*, as *ancella*, for *ancilla*; *antestes*, for *antistes*, &c.; and also *i* for *e*, as *adoliscens*, *bibliothica*, &c. (see Reeves' *Pref. to Adamnan's Life of Columba*, pp. xvi. xvii.) And in the present case it seems almost certain that the ancient authors who devised this etymology for the Hebrew proper name *Miriam*, (which was Latinized *Maria*), intended *Stilla maris*, "a drop of the sea," and not *stella*, "a star of the sea;" the former having some foundation in Hebrew, the latter none. And the common confusion in the orthography of the period, together with the general ignorance of Hebrew, has led to the popular adoption of the more poetical designation of "star," instead of "drop," of the sea. Modern writers, although they very generally explain this allusion to *the sea*, as if *Maria* was derived from the Latin *Mare*, by a further confusion, leave *stella* unexplained. See Daniel, *Thesaur. Hymnol.*, tom. i. p. 205. There can be little doubt, therefore, that St. Jerome, when he interprets *Miriam*, "Stella maris" (see the passage quoted above, p. 126), wrote and meant *stilla*, "a drop of the sea," and that *stella* is a mistake of his transcribers or editors. Nevertheless, this error has prevailed, and is adopted in many ecclesiastical hymns in use at the present day; e. g. in the celebrated one—"Ave maris stella, Dei Mater alma," which is still retained in the Roman Breviary. And so also in the Hymn beginning—"Salve Mater Salvatoris" (Daniel, *Thesaur. Hymnol.*, tom. ii. p. 83) we have the lines—

"O Maria, stella maris, Dignitate singularis,
Super omnes ordinis, Ordines celestium."

And the same interpretation is given to the name by almost all mediæval writers, of whom it may suffice to quote St. Bernard (in Homil. ii. super *Missus est*, n. 17)—"Loquamur pauca" (he says) "super hoc nomine, quod interpretatum *Maris stella* dicitur, et Matri Virgini valde convenienter aptatur. Ipsa namque aptissime sideri comparatur," &c.—*Opp. Ed. Bened.*, iii. p. 742.

Nevertheless, the word *stilla* was known to these writers as signifying "a drop," which is evident from the Hymn beginning "O felicem genitricem" (Daniel, *Thesaur. Hymnol.*, ii. p. 205), in which these lines occur:—

"O mamilla cujus stilla fuit ejus pabulum,
Qui dat terræ fructum ferre, pascit omne sæculum."

It may be observed, that in the interpretations of proper names given in the ancient Irish Gospels called the Book of Kells and the Book of Durrow, preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, *Maria* is explained *stilla* (not *stella*) maris. We have, likewise, "*Maria stilla maris*," *Book of Armagh*, fol. 32, aa. See also line 14 of the following Hymn, where we read, "Tunc magi *stellam* secuti," showing that the scribe of the Book of Hymns did not confound *stilla* and *stella*.

VII. THE HYMN OF ST. HILARY IN PRAISE OF CHRIST.

THIS Hymn was first published by George Cassander, who says that he found it in an ancient volume which contained the rule of St. Benedict, and several Hymns¹. He notes it "incerto auctore."

It occurs also in the *Antiphonarium Benchorense*, and has been printed by Muratori² from that MS.

It has also been reprinted recently, from the text of Cassander, by Daniel, in his *Thesaurus Hymnologicus*, vol. i. p. 191.

In the Bangor Antiphonary this Hymn stands first, with the title "*Hymnum*³ *S. Hilarii de Christo*."

The Preface in the Book of Hymns, now for the first time published, expressly names St. Hilary of *Poitiers*, and the authority of these two ancient MSS. is sufficient to prove that the tradition of the Irish Church attributed the authorship of the Hymn to that prelate.

Bede⁴ quotes this Hymn in his Tract *De arte metrica* (cap. 23), and gives the first two lines as an example of the "Metrum Trochaicum tetrametrum;" he ascribes it to no author, but simply styles it "Hymnus ille pulcherrimus," as if it was then well known.

If the Hymn had been the composition of so celebrated a personage as

¹ "*Hymns*.—Repertum in vetustissimo libro Benedicti regulam cum hymnis continente, unde et plerosque alios desumpsimus."—*Hymni Ecclesiast.* (*Opp.*, Paris, 1616 fol.) p. 186.

² *Muratori*.—See above, p. 7.

³ *Hymnum*.—Muratori, in his transcript of the Bangor MS., gives *Hymnum* throughout as a neuter nominative. This, no doubt, is a

mistake, arising from his not understanding the contraction "Hymn3," which is *Hymnus*. His want of familiarity with Irish MSS. has led him into several similar errors, and there is reason to think that he has altered the ancient original spelling of the MS. to bring it into conformity with the received orthography.

⁴ *Bede*.—See Additional Note at the end of this Hymn.

Hilary of Poitiers, it is not likely that Bede could have been ignorant of the fact, or, knowing it, that he would have omitted to name the author, inasmuch as he gives frequently the names of the authors of the hymns he quotes, such as Sedulius, Prudentius, St. Ambrose, Paulinus, &c., many of them obscure, when compared with St. Hilary of Poitiers.

It is to be observed, also, that the Hymn seems to contain allusions to a monastic society, and if so, cannot have been the composition of an author who lived before the institution of the cœnobitic life in the Western Church. For instance, the first line, "Hymnum dicat *turba fratrum*;" line 65, "Ante lucem *turba fratrum* concinemus gloriam;" and line 71, "Ante lucem decantantes."

It may be said that "*turba fratrum*" does not necessarily imply a society of "friars," in the modern sense of the word. For in the Hymn¹ "*Lauda Syon Salvatorem*," attributed to St. Thomas Aquinas, we have the lines:—

" Quem in sacræ mensa cœnæ
Turbæ fratrum duodenæ
Datum non ambigitur."

where *Turbæ fratrum* evidently signify the twelve Apostles; but St. Thomas may have adopted the phraseology of a later age, wherein the Apostles were not unfrequently spoken of as a sort of monastic confraternity; and the passages of the present Hymn, above referred to, plainly speak of a *Turba fratrum* living together, and rising before the dawn, to sing together the praises of God, in evident allusion to a monastic society.

On the other hand, the fourth Council of Toledo² (A. D. 633) speaks of hymns at that time in use in the Church, "quos beati Doctores Hilarius et Ambrosius ediderunt;" so that there were hymns³ then attributed to, or

¹ *Hymn*.—Daniel, *Thesaur. Hymnologic.*, vol. ii. p. 97.

² *Toledo*.—Can. 13 (Hardouin, *Concil.*, tom. iii. 583 D).

³ *Hymns*.—It would seem that there was then a feeling in the Spanish Church not unlike that of the modern English Puritans; for the canon of the Council of Toledo here referred to is directed against some who objected to use in the Church service hymns

which were not to be found in the Scriptures, nor of apostolic tradition: "quos [hymnos] tamen quidem specialiter reprobant, pro eo quod de Scripturis sanctorum canonum, vel apostolica traditione non existunt." The Council answers, that the same objection would apply to the prayers, collects, and the whole liturgy of the Church, and therefore concludes, "excommunicatione plectendi qui hymnos rejicere fuerint ausi."—*ubi supra*.

known to be the composition of St. Hilary,¹ which are no longer known as such; and St. Jerome expressly mentions a *Liber Hymnorum*, by St. Hilary, as extant in his time². This, however, would only render it more probable that a hymn, whose author was unknown, should be attributed to an author who was known to have composed hymns, and whose name stood high in the Church. There is, therefore, in the fact that St. Hilary wrote hymns, nothing to weaken the force of the arguments above alluded to; especially when we observe that the style of the present Hymn is rude and unpolished, and in no way similar to that of St. Hilary's acknowledged writings³.

The Legend recorded in the Scholiast's Preface⁴ seems to connect the Hymn with Hilary of Arles, who flourished in the middle of the fifth century, rather than with Hilary of Poitiers. For in his time the monastic life had begun in the West, and he is said to have crossed the Alps on foot, in order to plead his cause before Pope Leo⁵.

Be this, however, as it may, it is not to be doubted that the present Hymn is a composition of great antiquity. Its doctrine is throughout in accordance with that of the primitive Church, and its language and diction are consistent with an early date. It may probably be assigned to the fifth or sixth century.

¹ *S. Hilary*.—Isidore, Bishop of Seville, tells us that St. Hilary, of Poitiers, was the first Christian author of hymns: "Sunt autem Divini Hymni, sunt et ingenio humano compositi. Hilarius, autem, Gallus, Episcopus Pictaviensis, eloquentia conspicuus, carmine floruit primus. Post quem Ambrosius Episcopus, vir magnæ gloriæ in Christo, et in ecclesia clarissimus doctor," &c.—Isidor. Hispal., *De Officiis*, l. c. 6, n. 2 (*Opp.* ed. Arevalo, tom. vi. p. 369. Romæ, 1802).

² *In his time*.—*De viris illustr.*, c. 100 (*Opp.*

tom. ii. ed. Vallarsii).

³ *Writings*.—This seems to have been Muratori's opinion, for in his preface to the *Antiphonarium Benchorense* he says: "At in Hymno nunc a nobis producto majorem fortasse elegantiam desiderabunt nonnulli, ut eum S. Hilario adscribant."—*Opere* (Arezzo, 1770), tom. xi. part 3, p. 222.

⁴ *Preface*.—See p. 162, *infra*.

⁵ *Pope Leo*.—See Tillemont, *Mémoires*, tom. xv. p. 72 (*Vie de S. Hilaire*, art. 15), and the authorities there quoted.



HMNUM DICAT. hilariur Epiricopur 7 pncepŕ civitatir que dicitur Pictauŕ
fecit hunc Hmnum Chriŕto in monte Dargani, iar comait na pŕanne illie
itegdair ind Latrand. Ocur iar na clugud buide do Dia no chinŕat in meic
blŕhaib porŕ conarbat mo quam infantep. amal carŕarŕein do ŕacurŕe boi occo.
Tamie angel 7 arberŕ pŕiu. nŕi penitenciam egeritir in infernum ibitir.
egerunt ergo penitenciam 7 debet Deur indulgentiam eir per ipŕtam laudem.
ŕic nobir conuenit canere porŕ pŕandium.

Alter, locur .i. pŕecur in pectore montir iouir inter Alper in qua philophi [sic] antea
fuerunt. Tempur, Valentiani 7 Valentir. Peŕŕona hilariur. Cauŕa .i. Angelur
porŕulauit quando uenit ad Surannam urbem cum epicoŕitir uirur .i. .c. de
clericir, 7 .cc. de laicir. Unur uero de clericir mortuur eŕt pŕo pŕioŕe hiemur,
7 hilariur opauit pŕo ŕuo monacho. illa autem nocte angelur dixit ad eum,
debet te ŕeputari ŕepurŕur 7 hmnum facere Deo. Ille autem fecit iuxta
imperium angeli, 7 mortuum ŕurŕitauit per ŕŕatiam Dei.

Metrum troiachum tetrametrum eŕt. hic ŕecipit ŕpondeum omnibur locir, pŕaeter
tertium locum, 7 trochia omnibur locir. in quo aliquando tertio loco pŕiorir
uerŕiculi ŕpondeum ŕeperier. ut factur celi 7 terrae factur. 7 uerŕir
purŕat leŕŕae morbum. Curŕit autem alterur uerŕibur ita ut pŕior uerŕur
habeat pedes .iiii. porŕterior uero .iii. 7 ŕillabam.

Hmnum Dŕece, laur interpretatur Latine, uel hmnum memoria dicitur, ŕicut in
pŕaeterio Dŕeco hmnum tertmon. hoc eŕt memor ŕuit noŕŕri. 7 ip do molab De
in canriud ar ŕir hmnum 7 ip ŕorŕinnur canair ut Agurŕinur dicit ip na deccatib.
hmnum pŕimum Dauid pŕopeta in laudem Dei compoŕuŕŕe manifeŕtum
eŕt.

**HMNUM DICAT TURBA FRATRUM HMNUM CANTUS PERSONET
CHRISTO REGI CONCINENTES LAUDEM DEMUS DEBITAM**

GLOSS.—1. *Hymnum.*—i. laudem. *Fratrur.*—i. in Christo. *Cantus.*—i. nominati-
uus. 2. *Concinentes.*—i. a verbo concino .i. a comchanam [we sing together]. *Demus.*—
i. laudes demus debitas.

1. *Hymnum dicat.*—For a trans-
lation of the Preface, see Addi-
tional Note, p. 162. The various readings
of the Antiphonarium Benchorensis have
been marked B. in the following notes :

those of Cassander, C. *Fratrur.*—Fide-
lium, B., which does not suit the metre.
Bede reads *Fratrur.* See Addit. Note.

2. *Concinentes.*—Concinnentur, B., an
evident mistake. *Laudem.*—Laudes, B. C.



TU DEI DE CORDE UERBUM TU UIA TU UERITAS
 IESSE UIRGA TU UOCARIS TE LEONEM LEGIMUS.

DEXTRA PATRIS MONS ET AGNUS ANGULARIS TU LAPIS,
 SPONSUS IDEM EL COLUMBA FLAMMA PASTOR IANUA.

IN PROFETIS INUENIRIS NOSTRO NATUS SAECULO
 ANTE SAECULA TU FUISTI FACTOR PRIMI SAECULI

FACTOR CAELI ET TERRAE FACTOR CONGREGATOR TU MARIS
 OMNIUMQUE TU CREATOR QUAE PATER NASCI IUBET

UIRGINIS RECEPTUS MEMBRIS GABRIELIS NUNTIO
 CRESCIT ALBUS PROLE SANCTA NOS MONEMUR CREDERE

REM NOUAM NEC ANTE UISAM UIRGINE PUERPERA
 TUNC MAGI STELLAM SECUTI PRIMI ADORANT PARUULUM

GLOSS.—3. *De corde*—i. de secreto Divinitatis. *Verbum*—i. filius. *Via*—Ut dicitur Ego sum via et veritas et vita; et iterum Nemo venit ad patrem nisi per me. 4. *Jesse*—i. genitus. *Virga*—Ut dicitur Exeat virga de radice iesse. *Leonem*—Ut dicitur Vicit leo de tribu iuda. 5. *Dextra*—i. vita eterna. *Mons*—Ut dicitur Erit in novissimis diebus preparatus mons. *Agnus*—i. Ecce agnus Dei qui tollit peccatum mundi. *Lapis*—i. Lapidem quem reproba[verunt] 6. *Sponsus*—i. sicut sponsus procedens de thalamo suo *El*—i. Deus. *Columba*—Ut dicitur, Sponsa mea, columba mea. *Pastor*—i. Ego sum pastor bonus, et iterum, Ego sum ianua per me si quis intraverit salvabitur. 7. *Nostro*—i. in novo testamento. *Secla*—i. ante omnia saecula. 8. *Fuisti*—i. per temetipsum qui es sine initio et sine fine. *Primi saeculi*—i. mundi creatio in principio, secundum saeculum quando reformabitur in fine saeculi, aliter primum saeculum creatio Adae in principio mundi, secundum saeculum formatio hominis per Christum. 10. *Omniumque*—i. elementorum; ut dicit Johannes Omnia per ipsum facta sunt. *Jubet*—i. fiat lux et facta est lux. 11. *Gabrielis*—i. ave Maria gratia plena, ecce concipies et paries filium et vocabis nomen eius Jesum. 12. *Albus*—i. Mariae. 13. *Puerpera*—i. puerum prius parens, vel in aetate pueri parens Christum, .i. in x^o. vel in xii^o. anno. 14. *Magi*—i. quasi magis gnari, qui philosophantur in omni re; ut est, Ecce magi ab oriente venerunt Hier

The remainder of this line, the last six words of line 3, and the whole of line 4, are wanting in B., from a defect in the MS. *Debitam*—Debitas, B. C.

5. *Dextra*—In the margin is the following note:—"Dextra Dei dicitur quia sicut facit aliquis omnia quae vult per dexteram, sic Deus Pater omnia fecit per Christum. Ideo Columba dicitur propter simplicitatem suam. Flamma, ut dicitur, Deus meus flamma devorans et ignis consumens."

6. *Idem el*—Idem vel, B. C. But the reading "idem El" is undoubtedly correct. *El* is the Hebrew אל , *God*, as the Gloss explains it. (See Isidor. Hispal., *Etymolog.*, VII. i. n. 3.)

7. *Profetis*—Prophetis, B. C.

9. *Et terrae*—Terrae, B. C.

11. *Gabrielis*—Gabriele, C.

12. *Albus*—Evidently meaning *Alvus*, as the Gloss proves. *Alvus* is the reading of B. C. The remainder of this, and the next four lines, are effaced in B.

OFFERENTES TUS ET AURUM DIGNA REGI MUNERA
 MOX ERODII NUNTIATUM INUIDENS POTENTIAE 15

TUM IUBET PARUOS NECARI TURBAM FECIT MARTIRUM
 PERTUR INFANS OCULENDUS NILI PLUMEN QUO PLUIT

QUI REPERTUR POST ERODEM NUTRIENDUS NAZARETH
 MULTA PARUUS MULTA ADULTUS SIGNA FECIT CELITUS 20

QUAE LATENT ET QUAE LEGUNTUR CORAM MULTIS TESTIBUS
 PRAEDICANS CELESTE REGNUM DICTA FACTIS APPROBAT

Gloss.—15. *Offerentes*.—i. an a chumbri na tucc mirram. no ni thalla and in ueppu [it was for brevity he did not introduce myrrh; or it would not fit in the verse], vel quia postea dicitur. 16. *Nuntiatum*.—i. opus nascendi. *Inuidens*.—i. Herodes. *Potentia*.—i. Christi. 17. *Jubet*.—i. Herodes. *Paruos*.—Cepc. cia lin na mac raibe pochep pund la hepoib [ni-handpa, Question; what is the number of the children here put to death by Herod? The answer is not difficult] duo milia .c. xl. ut Gregorius manifestat in sacramentario. 18. *Fertur*.—i. ducitur. Quatuor annis fuit Christus in Egipto fugiens Herodem. Eliopolis .i. solis civitas, nomen civitatis in qua Christus in Egipto habitavit. Eleos, sol, polis, civitas, interpretatur. Ubi ut aiunt in die adventus illius in urbem omnia idula ejus comminuta sunt. Affrodus vero nomen principis illius qui Christum et parentes ejus benigne suscepit. 19. *Refertur*.—i. bepar [is related]. *Post Erodem*.—i. post mortem Herodis. 20. *Parvus*.—i. parvulus. *Adultus*.—i. an po popbar [as he grew]. *Celitus*.—i. per virtutem celestem. 21. *Quae latent*.—i. in na hi nae peppa [the things that are not known]. *Leguntur*.—i. na hi po peppa [the things that are known]. *Testibus*.—i. apostolorum et discipulorum.

13. *Virgine puerpera*.—Virginem puerperam. C.

14. *Primi*.—In the upper margin of the page (p. 13 of the MS.) is a note on this word, which is in some places illegible. The following is all that can now be deciphered:—“. . . . Primi .i. na hirgbe [the shepherds]; vel Primi ex gentibus hi fuerunt, quia prius ante eos adoraverant eum pastores, ante xiii. . . . iuxta turrim Gadder. Moleho eorum senior qui aurum Deo regi obtulit. Secundus Caspar iuvenis qui tus Deo obtulit. Tertius Pati[farsat qui] mirram homini obtulit. Unde quidam dixit:—

Melchar cibnachtaw ind oip;
 Carrap tucc in tur dimoip;
 Patifarrat tue in mir maich;
 Conarrarat donb pizlaich.

[Melchar was the presenter of the gold;
 Caspar brought the costly frankincense;
 Patifarsat brought the goodly myrrh;
 And they offered them to the royal Lord.]

Gregorius. Auro sapientia designatur. Ture autem quod Deo incenditur virtus orationis exprimitur. Per mirram carnis nostrae mortificatio figuratur. Nos itaque nato Domino offeramus aurum, ut hunc ubique regnare fateamur. Offeramus tus ut credamus quod is qui in tempore apparuit Deus ante tempora extitit. Offeramus mirram ut eum quem credimus in sua divinitate impassibilem, credamus etiam in nostra fuisse mortali carne.” This citation, with some unimportant variations, will be found in the treatise of St. Gregory the Great, *In Evang.*, Lib. i. Hom. x. (Ed. Bened., tom. i. 1470. C.) See a curi-

Debiles facit uigere cecos luce illuminat
uerbis purgat leprae morbum mortuos resuscitat

Uinum quod deerat idris motari aquam iubet
nuptis mero retentis propinando poculo

25

Pane quino pisce bino quinque pascit milia
et peperit fragmenta cenae ter caternis coruibus

Gloss.—25. *Idris*.—i. an na uirai lepraiab [in the water vessels]. *Motari*.—i. a sua natura in vinum. 26. *Retentis*.—i. hominibus. *Propinando*.—i. anbab pobaitce in uair rin [what had been distributed at that time]. *Poculo*.—i. fit poculum culum lepran [a vessel]. 27. *Pascit*.—i. Christus. *Milia*.—i. virorum, exceptis mulieribus et parvulis.

ous Irish poem on the Three Magi, published by Dr. Reeves from the Gospels of Maelbrihte, *Proceedings, R. I. Academy*, vol. v. p. 47. The custom of offering gold, frankincense, and myrrh, on the altar, on the feast of Epiphany, is still kept up at the royal chapel of St. James's Palace. *Parvulum*.—In the left-hand margin is this note:—"Pulcherrime munerum sacramenta Juvencus prespiter uno versiculo comprehendit:—

'Tus, aurum, mirram, regique, hominique, deoque,
Dona ferunt.'

See Juvenci *Historia Evangelica*, lib. i. *Biblioth. Patrum* (Lugd. 1667), tom. iv. p. 57. F.

15. *Tus*.—Thus, C.

16. *Erodi*.—Herodi, C.

17. *Tum*.—Cum, B. The Gloss gives 2140 as the number of the martyred Innocents, on the authority of the Sacramentary of St. Gregory. But nothing of the kind is to be found in that work, as we now have it.

18. *Oculendus*.—Occulendus, B. Occidendus, C.

19. *Erodem*.—Herodem, B. C.

20. *Celitus*.—Coelitus, B. C. *Multa parvus*.—Alluding, probably, to the miracles said to have been wrought by our Lord during His infancy. See Thilo, *Codex Apocr. N. T.* (Lips. 1832). I. A. Fabricii, *Codex Apocr. N. T.* (Hamburgi, 1703), especially the *Evangelium Infantiae*.

21. *Quæ latent*.—Alluding to St. John xxi. 25.

22. *Approbat*.—Adprobat, B. *Dicta factis*.—In the margin is the following note:—"Dicta factis .i. vivificat mortuos, illuminat cecos."

23. *Facit*.—Fecit, B. C. *Cecos*.—Cæcos, B. *Illuminat*.—Inluminat, B.

24. *Morbum*.—Bede reads (*De arte metrica*, c. 23), "Verbis purgas lepræ morbos," where *purgas* is an evident mistake. *Mortuos resuscitat*.—In the margin is the following note:—"Tres tantum homines Christus suscitavit, .i. Lazarus, et filia Jari principis sinagoge, atque filius viduæ. Hi tres homines significant peccata hominum. Filia principis, suscitata in cubiculo, significat peccatum cordis. Filius viduæ,

TURBA EX OMNI DISCUMBENTE IUgem LAudem PERTULIT
DUODECIM UIROS PROBAVIT PER QUOS VITA DISCITUR

30

EX QUIS UNUS INUENITUR CHRISTI IUDAS TRADITOR
INSTRUUNTUR MISI AB ANNA PRODITORIS OSCULO

INNOCENS CAPTUS TENETUR NEC REPUgnANS DUCITUR
SISTITUR FALSIS gRASSATUR OFFERENDUS PONTIO

Gloss.—29. *Discumbente*.—i. am o mrapargeb mb ule buben [the thing from which the whole company was served]. Unde discus dirivatur, .i. mrap [a dish]. *Pertulit*.—i. Christus. 30. *Viros*.—i. apostolos. *Probavit*.—i. elegit. *Vita*.—i. futura. 31. *Quis*.—i. apostolis. *Judas*.—i. ut Christus dixit Unus vestrum me traditurus est vel osculum pacis et amoris et mortis est, ut iudas dixit Quemcunque osculatus fuero ipse est. 32. *Instruuntur*.—i. ab iudeis et sacerdotibus. *Misi*.—i. latrones. 33. *Innocens*.—i. Christus. *Tenetur*.—i. arḡaibcthap [is seized]. 34. *Sistitur*.—i. ducitur. *Falsis*.—i. verbis vel conviciis. *Pontio*.—i. praesidi regis mundi.

suscitatus in ostio civitatis, significat peccatum verbi prolatum foris. Lazarus, suscitatus de sepulcro, significat peccatum actionis cum m[orte].” This interpretation was common in the middle ages; and may be found for substance in St. Gregory, *Moral.*, Lib. iv. 52 (*Opp. Ed. Bened.*, tom. i. 125, C.)

25. *Idris*.—Hidriis, B. Hydriis, C. *Motari*.—Mutari, B. C. Under each word in this line is a very small letter, thus:—

unum quod beerat iohir
e d d e
motari aquam iubet
c b a

and similar letters occur in the next line, and elsewhere in several parts of the MS. They are evidently intended to mark the grammatical order of the words, for the sake of persons not familiarly acquainted with Latin. Taking the words in the order of the letters as above, the line reads thus: “Jubet aquam mutari quod deerat vinum hydriis.” This was pro-

bably deemed the more necessary in this line, because the construction leaves it doubtful whether “vinum mutari aquam” means “wine to be changed into water,” or “water to be changed into wine.”

26. *Mero retentis*.—Mærore tentis, C. An erroneous reading, which Daniel has inadvertently copied. *Propinnando*.—Propinato, C. *Poculo*.—Populo, B., probably a mistake of Muratori’s transcript. This is the only word which he could read of the line; and the next two lines were also illegible to him in the MS.

27. *Pane quino*.—In the margin is the following note: “No bich [or it is] binus et quinus secundum veteres. Nunc autem bini et quini, ut Priscianus dicit.”—See Priscian, *De Figuris numerorum*, c. vi. (*Opp. ed. Aug. Kriegl. Lips. 1820*, vol. ii. p. 398).

28. *Et fefert*.—C. gives this line thus: “Et refectis fragmenta cœnæ ter quaternis corbibus.” *Caternis coruibus* in the

DISCUIT obiecta praeses nullum cremen inuenit
sed cum turba iudeorum pro salute cesaris 35

DICERENT christum necandum turbis sanctus traditur
impis uerbis grassatur sputa plagra sustinet

SCANDERE crucem iubetur innocens pro noxiis
morte carnis quam gerebat mortem uicit omnium 40

TUM deum clamore magno patrem pendens inuocat
mors secuta membra christi laxat stricta uincula

Gloss.—35. *Objecta*.—i. na ταραί δοπατα πορ Χριστο [the charges that were made against Christ]. *Inuenit*.—i. in Christo, ut dicitur Innocens ego sum a sa[ngui]ne iusti huius. 36. *Cesaris*.—Απ βα τοςραδ δορθε nomen regis [for the name of king was an insult to him] regem esse dicebat. Cessar dictus a cesso [i. e. caeso] m[atris] utero. 37. *Turbis*.—i. iudeorum. *Traditur*.—i. Christus. 38. *Sputa*.—i. na παυλε [spittle]. *Flagra*.—i. na ρραγλε [scourges]. 39. *Iubetur*.—i. a iudeis ut dicitur crucifigate crucifigate. *Noxiis*.—i. pro hominibus. 40. *Gerebat*.—i. portabat. *Omnium*.—i. hominum. 41. *Clamore*.—i. quando dixit Heli Heli et in manus tuas domine commendo. 42. *Stricta*.—i. nervi corporis Christi.

text is evidently an antiquated spelling of “quaternis corribus;” and *sefert* is an error of transcription for “refert.” *Corribus*.—Over this word is the following note: “Curvus, ερσν [crooked, bent]; Corvus, ραχ [a raven]. Cophinus . . . quod est hic.”

30. *Duodecim*.—To be read as a trisyllable, which is remarked by the scholiast in the following marginal annotation: “Lege dodecim sine .u. in scandendo.”

31. *Quis*.—*Quis* [i. e. quibus], B. C., which would spoil the metre.

32. *Misi*.—*Missi*, B. C. On this word there is the following curious note in the margin: “Misi.—i. ο Χαυφαρ ιρ εθ πο παυθερσν [i. e. it was by Caiaphas he was sent], quia ille sacerdos fuit illius anni, sed causa metri dicit ab Anna, et in libris historiarum refertur quod .vii. fuissent principes inter Annam et Caifam,

sed filia Annas coniux fuit Caifas.” Conf. S. John, xviii. 13. It is probable that the *Libri Historiarum* here quoted are a general reference to the Histories of Josephus, which were known in the middle ages from the abridgment under the name of Hegeſippus, and the Latin version ascribed to Ruffinus. It appears that there were exactly seven High Priests (inclusive) between the first priesthood of Annas and that of Caiaphas, in which our Lord was crucified. They are thus enumerated by Aug. Tornielli, *Annal. Sacr.*, tom. i. p. 384 (fol. Lucæ, 1757):—

70. Ananus, qui et Annas, socer Caiaphæ.

71. Ismael, Fabi f.

72. Eleazar, Anani f.

73. Simon, Camithi f.

74. Josephus, qui et Caiaphas.

75. Iterum Annas.

76. Iterum Caiaphas, sub quo Christus passus est.

The numbers signify that Annas was the

Uela templi scisa pandunt nox obscurat saeculum
excitantur de sepulcris dudum clausa corpora

Affuit ioseph beatus corpus mirra perlitum
lintheo rudi ligatum cum dolore condidit 45

Milites seruire corpus annas princeps praecepit
ut uideret si probaret christus quod sponderet

Angelum dei trementes ueste amictum candida
quo candore claritatis uellus uicit sericum 50

Gloss.—43. *Vela*.—i. ut dicitur Ecce velum templi scisum est in duas partes. *Nox*.—i. tenebrae sanctae sunt super universam terram a sexta hora usque ad nonam horam. 44. *Excitantur*.—ut dicitur Multa corpora sanctorum resurrexerunt post resurrectionem suam, et apparuerunt multis in hierusalem. 45. *Affuit*.—i. venit dives ab arimathea nomine ioseph. 46. *Rudi*.—i. novo. *Condidit*.—i. sepelivit. 47. *Milites*.—i. romanorum. *Annas*. i. pro caifa hic iterum annas dicitur. 48. *Sponderet*.—i. tertia die resurgere, et dicit iterum Solvite templum hoc et in triduo resuscitabo illud. 50. *Sericum*.—i. Seres i. nomen gentis a quo et sericum vestimentum

70th from Aaron, inclusive; Ismael the 71st, &c.

34. *Grassatur*.—Grassantur, B. Grassatur, C., who suggests *gravatur* in the margin. *Offerendus*.—Offerentes, B.

35. *Discutit*.—This line and the next are omitted in B. *Cremen*.—Crimen, C.

36. *Cæsaris*.—The Gloss, in a mixture of Irish and Latin, tells us that “the name of *King* was regarded as an insult by the Romans.” Some words are illegible; but the meaning seems to be, that the name of “Cæsar” came to be substituted for “King.”

37. *Necandum*.—Negandum, B. C.

38. *Grassatur*.—Grassantur, B. Grassatur, C.

39. *Crucem*.—In the left-hand margin there is the following note: “Quare noluit Dominus alia morte mori nisi morte crucis, quia crux magnum miste-

rium habet. Si enim crux in terra proicitur per .iiii. ejus partes, .iiii. partes mundi demonstrat. In hoc voluit Dominus demonstrare quod non venit unam partem mundi redimere sed totum humanum genus.” A similar interpretation of the four points of the cross is given in the *Sermo de Symbolo*, published with the works of St. Augustine (Ed. Bened., tom. vi. Append. 279 B.) Another note in the right-hand margin is as follows: “Quatuor ligna fuerunt in cruce Christi, cedur a cor ꝛ cuppur atenga ꝛ gur in geino do patad tpeche ꝛ beche in clap in po pcribad in ticut [cedar was its foot (or shaft), and cypress was its tongue, and deal was the piece that went across, and birch was the board on which the title was written]

42. *Membra Christi*.—These are the only words here legible in B.

Demouit saxum sepulcro surgens christus intiger
haec uidit iudea mentax haec negat cum uiderit

Feminae primum monentur saluatorem uiuere
quas salutat ipse mestas complet tristes gaudio

Sequae a mortuis paterna suscitatum dextera
tertia die redisse nuntiat apostolis 55

Mox uidetur a beatis quos probauit fratribus
quod redisset ambigentes intret ianuis clausis

Dat docens praecepta legis dat diuinum spiritum
spiritum dei perfectum trinitatis uinculum 60

GLOSS.—51. *Demouit.*—i. angelus remouit. *Intiger.*—i. corpore et anima. 52. *Haec uidit.*—i. mira opera resurrectionis. *Haec.*—Eadem opera. 53. *Feminae.*—i. Maria Magdalena et Maria Jacobi, et Josetis et Salomona monitae sunt circa resurrectionem Christi manifestam. 54. *Salutat.*—i. benedicit angelus vel christus. *Mestas.*—i. tristes mulieres. *Gaudio.*—i. resurrectionis christi. 55. *Paterna.*—i. virtute patris. 56. *Redisse.*—i. ad vitam. *Nuntiat.*—i. christus per mulieres. 57. *Probat.*—i. elegit, vel bonis operibus, id est spe et fide et caritate. *Fratribus.*—i. apostolis. 58. *Redisset.*—i. resurrexisset. *Ambigentes.*—i. dubitantes, .i. Tomas et ceteri de resurrectione Christi. 59. *Docens.*—i. christus. *Dat.*—i. do pat pax in pppta noeb ppaib dia minchape [He sent the gift of the Holy Spirit upon them after Low Sunday] quamvis plenius dedit in pentecostem. 60. *Vinculum.*—i. na po thoinnibe combad deba no cecharpa. achd tpeaba [that it may not be supposed that they are two or four, but three] semper eo quod patrem et filium coniungit, vel vinculum quod homines ad deum coniungit.

43. *Scisa.*—*Scissa*, B. C. *Pandunt.*—tenuissima fila neunt, et unde sericum pendent, B. C. vestimentum efficitur.”—See Isid. Hispal.

44. *Excitantur.*—Excitantur, B. C. *Etymol.*, lib. xix. c. 27.

45. *Affuit.*—Adfuit, B. C. *Mirra.*—Myrra, B. C. 51. *Demouit.*—Demouet, C. *Sepulcro.*

46. *Lintheo.*—Linteo, B. C. —There is an erasure before the word

47. *Praecipit.*—Præcipit, B. C. *sepulcro.* Perhaps the scribe had originally written “e sepulcro;” but per-

48. *Quod.*—Quæ, C. *Spoponderet.*—Spoponderat, B. C. ceiving that the metre would not bear

50. *Vellus.*—In the margin there is the following note: “Vellus sericum .i. in cnaí pepicba [i. e. the silk-worm cocoon] .i. cenele etaiḡ maich pem [i. e. a kind of costly cloth] sunt apud ethiopiā et indos quidam in arboribus vermes, et pompices appellantur, qui araneae more

this addition, he erased the “e.” *Surgens.*

—Surgit, C. *Intiger.*—Integer, B. C. 52. *Judea mentax.*—Judaea mendax, B. C. *Viderit.*—Videret, B. C. The next two lines are illegible in B.

54. *Mestas.*—Moestas, C. *Tristes.*—Tristeis, C.

56. *Redisse.*—Rediise, B. But the metre

Praecipit totum per orbem baptizari credulos
nomen patris inuocantes confitentes filium

Mistica fide reuelat tinctos sancto spiritu
fonte tinctos innouatos filios factos dei

An te lucem turba fratrum concinnemus gloriam
qua docemur nos futuri sempiterna secula 65

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

Maiestatemque immensam concinemus iugiter
ante lucem nuntiemus christum regem saeculo 70

Gloss.—61. *Praecipit*.—i. Ite docete omnes gentes baptizantes eos in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti. 63. *Reuelat*.—i. innovat. *Tinctos*.—i. baptizatos. 64. *Fonte*.—i. bapismi. *Innovatos*.—i. gratia spiritus sancti. 65. *Lucem*.—i. diei. *Turba*.—i. vocata. *Fratrum*.—i. in christo. 66. *Docemur*.—Cumbach ḡnechiḡi bocheptaig fil hic [It is a verb in a passive form here] ut Priscianus dicit. *Futuri*.—Vel os [i. e. vel futuros]. *Sempiterna*.—i. apud deum. 67. *Galli cantus*.—Sicut canit gallus ante lucem sic decet nos cantare ante lucem matutini temporis, vel ante diem iudicii. 68. *Futura*.—i. praemia caelestia. 69. *Majestatemque*.—i. Dei.

requires a trisyllable; so that *redisse* must have been pronounced “redisse,” or “redyisse,” whether so written or not.

58. *Intrat*.—Intrat, B. C. Cassander puts a comma after *redisset*, instead of after *ambigentes*: the meaning is, “they doubted whether he would return.”

61. *Praecipit*—Precipit, B. C. *Baptizari*.—Baptizare, C.

63. *Mistica*.—Mystica, B. C.

65. *Ante lucem*.—Part of this line and the whole of the next are illegible in B. *Concinnemus*.—Concinimus, C. Muratori’s transcript of B. gives “Concinit,” which is probably wrong.

67. *Galli cantus*.—In the margin is the following note: “Galli plausus, galli cantus. Gallus .i. Gall a candore. Gal-

lus .i. callech [a cock] .i. a galea capitis dictus est. Job dicit Quis dedit gallo scientiam [Job, xxxviii. 36.]” In the upper margin there is a note which has no connexion with the text, except that the mention of the cock’s crow appears to have suggested St. Peter. It is taken from the *Quaestiones ex Vet. et Novo Testamento*, printed with the works of St. Augustine (Ed. Bened., tom. iii. Append.), but now acknowledged to be spurious. This note is as follows: “Tunc Salvator cum pro se et Petro dari iubet, pro omnibus solvisse videtur; quia vero omnes in Salvatore erant causa magisterii, ita et post Salvatorem in Petro omnes continentur. Ipsum enim post se reliquit pastorem. Denique dicit illi, Ecce Sata-

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 SEMPERNA SECUŁA

GLOSS.—71. *Decantantes.*—i. laudem. 72. *Regnaturi.*—i. sunt. *Cum eo.*—i. cum christo. 73. *Gloria.*—i. sit. *Gloria.*—i. sit. *Unigenito.*—i. filio.

nas expostulavit ut vos ventilet velut triticum, ego autem rogavi pro te, ne deficiat fides tua, et tu conversus confirma fratres tuos. Manifestum est in Petro omnes contineri, rogans enim pro Petro pro omnibus rogasse cognoscitur. Semper enim in præposito populus aut corripitur aut laudatur.”—*Quæst. ex N. Test.* lxxv. (*Opp. S. Aug.*, tom. iii., Append. p. 73, B.) St. Augustine, in one of his acknowledged writings (lib. iv. *ad Bonifacium*, c. 4) quotes a passage under the name of Hilary (but without saying what Hilary), which is found verbatim in these *Questiones*. This gave rise to the opinion that they were by Hilary of Poitiers, which is, however, not likely. Cave and others, who think Hilary, the Roman deacon, under Pope Damasus, to have been intended, are more probably right. On the whole, the decision of the Benedictine editors of St. Augustine seems well founded—viz., that the *Questiones* were compiled at different times, and from the works of various authors, and so may have included an extract from some writer named Hilary. The editors say: “Hic nos, ut de commentariorum auctore nihil pronuntiemus, juvat in subjectas *Quæstiones* observare, MStorum codicum eam a nobis deprehensam esse varietatem, quæ efficere

possit, ut jam demum revocetur, atque invalescat opinio Erasmi et aliorum qui primum suspicabantur non unius hominis esse illud *Quæstionum* opus, in quo eadem quæ dicta sunt iterari, et propositis titulis rursus tractari eandem quæstionem; tum dissimile dicendi genus adhiberi; nec ipsa constanter eadem, sed plane contraria dogmata propugnari cernebant.”—*Ibid.*, p. 34. Ceillier (*Hist. des Auteurs Eccles.*, tom. xi. p. 415) is of the same opinion. He says: “Quelques uns ont cru que c'étoit l'ouvrage d'Hilaire, Diacre de l'Eglise Romaine, sous le Pontificat du Pape Damase. On y trouve en effet plusieurs opinions et plusieurs maximes exprimées dans les mêmes termes, que dans le Commentaire sur S. Paul, qui porte le nom de cet Auteur. Mais il a apparence que toutes ces questions ne sont pas d'une même personne,” &c.

68. *Cantantes.*—Canentes, B. Cantemus, C.

69. *Concinemus.*—Concinemus, B. Concinimus, C. *Iugiter.*—Uniter, B. C.

71. *Decantantes.*—B. reads: “Ante lucem nuntiemus Christum regem saeculo.” C. reads: “Ante lucem nuntiemus Christum regem Domini.”

72. *Et.*—Om., B.

73. *Gloria.*—C. has only “Gloria, &c.”

Τε δεκετ ζμνου̅ Θεου̅ εν̅ Σιον̅ γ̅ τibi̅ πεδδετυ̅ υοτυ̅ εν̅
hierusalem.

Καντιου̅ ρρη̅τιου̅λιβυ̅ δι̅λεκτα̅ι̅ ζμνου̅ Χη̅ρι̅τε̅ κο̅νοναν̅τερ̅
κανιμυ̅ τibi̅ quibυ̅ τ̅ua̅ Domine̅ μα̅ιε̅ρτα̅ρ̅ πο̅ρ̅ρι̅ε̅ πλα̅κα̅ρι̅ ο̅βλα̅τα̅
Deo̅ λα̅ου̅ι̅ρ̅ η̅ο̅ρ̅τια̅ ρρη̅τι̅α̅λι̅ πε̅ρ̅ τε̅ Χη̅ρι̅τε̅ Ι̅ε̅ρ̅υ̅ σα̅λυ̅ατο̅ρ̅.

Υ̅νι̅τα̅ρ̅ εν̅ τ̅ρι̅νι̅τα̅τε̅ τε̅ δε̅π̅ρε̅κο̅ρ̅ Domine̅ υ̅τ̅ με̅ ρ̅ε̅μ̅πε̅ρ̅
τρα̅χα̅ρ̅ το̅τυ̅ τibi̅ υο̅τυ̅ υ̅ο̅υ̅ε̅ρ̅ε̅.

Te decet.—This antiphon (which is from Ps. lxiv. *Vulg.*) and the following collects are omitted in B. Over the word *Sion* is the gloss, “et non in thethralibus;” and over the word *Hierusalem*, “quia ibi habitas.” The word *thethralibus* seems to be some corrupt reading or error of the scribe.

The antiphon and collects at the end of this Hymn are in the angular characters already noticed (see pp. 23, 80), but

in the handwriting of the original scribe. The last of these seems to admit of a metrical arrangement:—

“Unitas in Trinitate
Te deprecor Domine,
Ut me semper trahas totum,
Tibi votum vovere.”

In which lines, however, we must not look for any very strict observance of the rules of Prosody. *Vovere* seems to have the penultimate short.

ADDITIONAL NOTE.

Translation of the Preface.

THE following is a literal translation of the Scholiast's Preface, which is in the usual rude mixture of Irish and Latin:—

HVMNUM DICAT. Hilary^a, bishop and prince^b of the city which is called Pictavis [Poitiers], made this hymn to Christ, in Mount Garganum, after eating his dinner there in the house of the robber. And after giving thanks to God, there came the sons of life^c afterwards, so that they were not larger than infants, as it seemed to a priest who was with them. An angel came and said to them, "Unless you do penance, you shall go to hell." Therefore they did penance, and God gave them pardon (*indulgentiam*), by means of this Hymn (*per istam laudem*). Thus it is our duty to sing after dinner (*sic nobis convenit canere post prandium*).

Another account:—The place [where this Hymn was written] was a cave on the breast of the Mount of Jove^d, in the Alps, in which philosophers^e were before. The time was the reign of Valentin [sic] and

^a *Hilary*.—A large proportion of this Preface is in rude Latin, mixed with sentences of Irish. The Editor has thought it advisable to translate the whole into English, adding some few explanatory notes.

^b *Prince*.—"Hilarius episcopus et princeps civitatis que dicitur Pictavis." St. Hilary was of a noble family of Poitiers, which is, perhaps, the reason why he is here called "princeps."

^c *The sons of life*.—That is Christians; see above p. 30, note ^a. The Editor has not been able to find any life of St. Hilary which mentions this strange legend. During the Arian persecution he was banished (A. D. 356), and took refuge in Phrygia. After his recall he visited Milan and other parts of

Italy; but we find no mention of his having been at Mount Garganum, in Apulia, a place which was not known in Church history for at least a century later, when it became sacred as the scene of a reputed apparition of St. Michael the Archangel (Baron. *ad an. 492, et Martyrol. Rom. ad 8 Maii. Actt. SS. Bolland.*, tom. viii. *Sept.*, p. 58). It is not easy to see the point of the story told above of the "sons of life" seeming not larger than infants to the priest who was with them (or *with him*, i. e. with Hilary, as it might be rendered). It does not at first sight appear to have much connexion with the duty of saying grace after dinner, which, nevertheless, seems to be intended as its moral, from the words "sic nobis convenit canere post prandium."

Valens. The person [i. e. the author of the Hymn] was Hilarius. The cause [i. e. the occasion of writing the Hymn] was this: an angel demanded it (*postulavit*), when he came to the city Susanna^f, with three hundred men, viz., one hundred clerics, and two hundred laymen. But one of the clerics died from the cold of the winter, and Hilary prayed for his monk^g; and that very night an angel said unto him, "It behoves thee to search the Scriptures, and compose a hymn to God." And he did as the angel commanded, and raised the dead by the grace of God.

The metre^h is trochaic tetrameter. It receives a spondee in all places (except in the third place), and

^d *Mount of Jove*.—This is also a place which was not celebrated in ecclesiastical history until long after the time of St. Hilary. It is now well known to all European tourists under the name of Mount St. Bernard, so called from the celebrated monastic *Hospice* founded there in the tenth century by St. Bernard of Menthon, Archdeacon of Aoust, who died A. D. 1008. Up to his time the site of the present Hospice was occupied by a pillar stone, and some say an image of Jupiter, with an eye of carbuncle, which cured diseases, and uttered oracles. This was overthrown by St. Bernard, who founded in its place the present monastery. See *Actt. SS. Bollandi, ad 15 Junii*. It is not improbable that the fame of this event may have influenced the Scholiast, who was probably a contemporary of St. Bernard of Menthon, in fixing upon the *Mons Jovis* as the scene of his legend. He gives the date of St. Hilary with tolerable correctness, when he says that the Hymn was composed in the reign of Valentinian and Valens (A. D. 364-375). The year 368 is usually given as that of St. Hilary's death.

^e *Philosophers*.—The original has "philophi," which seems a mistake for "philosophi."

^f *Susanna*.—This is some corruption: possibly *Soissons*. The Editor has not been able to find this story of the hundred clerics and two hundred laymen in any of the Lives of St. Hilary.

^g *His monk*.—In Irish writers the *monk* of a bishop signifies his attendant, or vassal. The word does not necessarily imply that the person so designated was a *monk*, properly so called. Mr. Curry has referred the Editor to the following passage in the *Leabhar Gabhala* of the O'Clerys, p. 176, where Aedh Ollan, King of Ireland, is styled the "Gospel monk" of Congus, abbot or bishop of Armagh: *Con-ḡur comarba Dactraioḡ do riuḡu in rannro do*

ḡreiaḡt Oeba Ollan a rianaiḡ roircela in doḡaib rāraioḡte a ḡille, "Congus, successor of Patrick, composed the following verse to induce Aedh Ollan, *his Gospel monk*, to avenge the violation of his church." This the Four Masters (at A. D. 732) understand as implying that Congus was the *anmchara* or spiritual adviser of Aedh, i. e. his Gospel master, so that Aedh would therefore be the spiritual *monk*, i. e. servant or disciple in Christ of Congus. The word occurs again, in the same sense, p. 200 of the same MS.; and so, in the Brehon Laws, *manach* [a monk] means a servant or slave, as *Manach-gobla*, a gallows' slave, i. e. a person redeemed by purchase or entreaty from the gallows, and who became servant or slave for life to the person by whom he was redeemed.

^h *The metre*.—This paragraph, as already remarked, is from Bede's tract, *De Arte metrica*, c. 23, with some slight variations. Bede's words are as follows:—"Metrum trochaicum tetrametrum, quod a poetis Græcis et Latinis frequentissime ponitur, recipit locis omnibus trocheum, spondeum omnibus præter tertium. Currit autem alternis versiculis, ita ut prior habeat pedes quatuor, posterior pedes tres et syllabam. Hujus exemplum totus hymnus ille pulcherrimus:—

Hymnum dicat turba fratrum,
Hymnum cantus personet.
Christo regi concinentes,
Laudes demus debitas.

"In quo aliquando et tertio loco prioris versiculi spondeum reperies: ut

Factor cœli terræ factor,
Congregator tu maris.

"Et

Verbis purgas lepræ morbos."

a trochee in all places. In which thou mayest sometimes find a spondee in the third place of a prior verse :

Factor cœli et terrae factor

and—

Verbis purgat leprae morbum.

Moreover, it runs in alternate verses, so that the prior verse has four feet, the posterior three, and a syllable.

Ymnus, in Greek, signifies *Laus* (praise) in Latin ; or Ymnus means *Memory*ⁱ, as in the Greek Psalter, *Ymnostestmon*, that is, He was mindful of us. And it is of the praise of God especially that a Hymn is lawful ; and it is to music it is sung, as Augustin^k says, in the *Decades*^l. Hymnos primum David^m propheta [*sic*] in laudem Dei composuisse manifestum est.

ⁱ *Prior*.—This Hymn has been written in the MS. from which it is now printed, *in lines*, not in the *versiculi* of which Bede speaks. Each line consists of two *versiculi*, which Bede calls *prior* and *posterior*,—the *prior* consisting of four feet, the *posterior* of three and an half. The third foot of the *prior* versiculus may be a spondee, instead of a trochee, of which he gives two examples ; but the third foot of the posterior versicle must always be a trochee.

^j *Memory*.—There seems some strange confusion here between the words *hymnus* and *μνήμη*. The passage quoted from “the Greek Psalter” is apparently from Ps. cxiii. 20, *Sept.*, Κύριος μνησθεὶς ἡμῶν. The scribe having seen the last two words written, “mnestesemon,” or “mnistesimon,” transformed them into “ymnos testmon,” retaining the correct translation “*memor fuit nostri*.”

^k *Augustin*.—The sentiment here quoted from St. Augustin is that given in Irish which precedes, not the Latin words which follow, this reference ; and

the passage intended is probably from the *Enarr. in Ps.* lxxii. 1. “Hymni laudes sunt Dei cum cantico ; hymni cantus sunt continentes laudem Dei. Si sit laus, et non sit Dei, non est hymnus : si sit laus, et Dei laus, et non cantetur, non est hymnus.”—*Opp.* tom. iv. (*Ed. Bened.*) p. 753. A similar passage occurs, *Enarr. in Ps.* cxlviii. 17 ; *Ibid.* p. 1682 ; see also Isidorus Hispal., *Etymol.* vi. c. 19, n. 17.

^l *The Decades*.—The Commentaries (or “*Enarrationes*”) of St. Augustin on the Psalms were anciently divided into fifteen *decades*. See Cassiodorus (*Prolog. in Psalm.*), quoted by the Benedictine editors (*Opp. S. Aug.*, tom. iv. *Præfat.*) See also Isid. Hispal., *Epist.* iii. *Braulioni Archidiacono*, “Dum pariter essemus, postulavi te, ut mihi *decadem sextam sancti Augustini transmitteres*.”

^m *David*.—“Psallere usum esse primum post Moysem David prophetam in magno mysterio prodit ecclesia.”—Isidor. Hispal., *De Officiis*, i. c. 5, n. 1. “Hymnos primum eundem David prophetam condidisse ac cecinisse manifestum est, deinde et alios prophetas.”—*Ibid.*, c. 6, n. 1.

VIII. THE HYMN OF ST. COLMAN MAC MURCHON, IN PRAISE OF
MICHAEL THE ARCHANGEL.

THE following Hymn, so far as the Editor knows, has never before been printed. It is ascribed in the Preface to the three sons of "Murchu of the Connacians," or of Connaught (see Addit. Note), the eldest of whom was Colman a bishop, and the other two were priests.

Two saints called Murchu occur in the Calendars of the Irish Church. One of these, whose day was the 8th of June, is mentioned in the *Feilire*, or Festilogium, of Aengus the Culdee, and in that of Marianus Gorman, but without any particulars to indicate his date or history. In the Martyrology of Tallaght, and in that of Donegal (as also in the gloss on Marianus Gorman), he is called "the son of Hua Mactein," which gives us but little information.

The other (June 12) is merely named in the Martyrologies of Tallaght and Mar. Gorman; but his name does not occur in the *Feilire* of Aengus, so that he is probably of later date than the former. The Martyrology of Donegal has the following note on his name:—

Murchu.—Ατά Μυρέύ δο ρλοότ Conall
Cremthainne mic Neill Naoi-ḡfallaig, ἡ ατα
Cill Murchon ιρ ιη cCorainn, αναice Céipe
Corainn, α cConnaéταιβ; ἡ ρεḡ an ιρο α
peil.

Murchu.—There is a Murchu of the race
of Conall Cremthainn, son of Niall of the
Nine Hostages. And there is a Cill Mur-
chon [or Church of Murchu, now *Kilmorgan*],
in Corann, near Ceis Corainn, in Connaught.
And see if this is his festival.

This proves that the eminent Irish scholar, Michael O'Clery, the compiler of the Martyrology of Donegal, was not able to say who the Murchu was whose festival was celebrated on the 12th of June. He suggests that there was a Murchu, a descendant of Niall of the Nine Hostages: and that there

was also a Murchu (who may, perhaps, have been the same), to whom a church was dedicated in the barony of Corran, near Ceis-Corainn (now Keshcorran, or Keshcorrin), a remarkable hill in the county of Sligo. The father of Colman and his brothers, the reputed authors of this Hymn, is said to have been *do Chonachthaib*, “of the Connaughtmen,” and, therefore, may possibly have been the Murchu of Cill Murchon, situated¹ as just described. But this is uncertain; and, indeed, has little evidence to support it except the identity of the name.

The Four Masters, at A. D. 731, record the death of “Colman Mac Murchon (or son of Murchu), abbot of Maghbile,” i. e. Movilla, the church founded by St. Finian², at the head of Strangford Lough, which was occasionally a bishop’s see in the seventh century; but Dr. Reeves has remarked, that from the year 731 forward (the year at which the Four Masters place Colman’s death) Movilla is noticed in the Annals as governed by abbots only.

The Four Masters do not call this Colman, who died 731, a bishop, but only abbot; it does not follow, however, that he was not a bishop; and it is most probable that he was the Colman Mac Murchon to whom the Scholiast has ascribed the authorship of the following Hymn.

The Editor has not found any other copy of it than that in the *Liber Hymnorum*, from which it is now printed. From the anecdotes preserved in the Scholiast’s Preface, it is probable that the author and his brothers were of the number of the Irish ecclesiastics who, in the eighth and following centuries, devoted themselves to missionary labour, or monastic retirement, on the Continent of Europe; and this may account for the scanty notice of this Colman Mac Murchon which remains in the native records of his country; although the Scholiast tells us that he afterwards returned to Ireland with his brothers—“*et postea ad Hiberniam venerunt*”—where he appears to have died Abbot of Movilla.

¹ *Situated*.—It is about two miles E. by N. from Ballymote.—*Ord. Surv.*, sheet 33. See Colgan, *Actt. SS.*, p. 465, col. 1, N^o. 31.

² *S. Finian*.—See above, p. 98, and Reeves’ *Eccles. Antiquit. of Down and Connor*, pp. 151, 152.



IN TRINITATE SPES MEA. Tri meice Murchon do Chonnachtaib do nonrad in moladra do Michel. Colman a rinper 7 eppcob ríbe 7 pacairt in diar aile. Caupa .i. Dia naithepe do choctar co tainic aibcthine mor for muir Icht. Co ndeochoctar inn alaile inri, 7 co tainic zorta mor doib. Conid dia roerab ar in zorta reim do nonrat in moladra. No ip do roerab inre Ródam ar demnaib. Ar no boe araile eppcob tarntechtach inri neme sein, 7 in Fhrancaib ata, 7 portea ad hiberniam uenerunt. Inceptum est autem in quo tempore factus est. Tre ríctim dan doronab 7 .xi. caircell deac ann, 7 da lín in cech caibdaib, 7 re pillaba dez cechar. Ip fo i ríctim do reip in omine do bit ann.



TRINITATE SPES MEA FÍXA NON IN OMINE
ET ARCHANGELUM DEPRECOR MICHAELI NOMINE

UT SIT OBIUS AC MISUS MIHI DEO DOCTORE
HORA EXITUS DE VITA ISTA ATQUE CORPORE

NE ME DUCAT IN AMARUM MINISTER INERGIÆ
IPSE PRINCEPS TENEBRARUM ATQUE PES SUPERBIAE

5

ADIUTORIUM SUCCURRAT MICHAELIS ET ARCHANGELI
AD ME HORA QUAE GAUDEBUNT IUSTI ATQUE ANGEI.

GLOSS.—1. *In Trinitate.*—i. trinitas .i. quasi trina unitas. *Fixa.*—Est vel erit. *In omine.*—Ideo dixit non in omine quia aliquis monachus audiuit vocem avis surg[entis super] pectus maris, et dixit bonum omen, et tunc Colman dixit In trinitate. Omen, .i. cel [an omen] ab ominor. *Non in omine.*—1. *reapam ppur in cel ar a abetchi* [I reject augury, because of its abomination]. 2. *Archangelum.*—Angeli .i. nuntii, archangeli, .i. summi nuntii, interpretantur. Hir. [Hieronymus]. *Michaeli.*—Qui praest Judeis; vel qui sicut deus interpretatur, eoque in fine seculi aduersus eum qui se aduersus Deum erexerit mittendus. 3. *Doctore.*—i. de. 5. *Amarum.*—i. locum, vel in infernum. *Inergiæ.*—i. iniquæ operationis sed melius transfigurationis ut iesus dicit quod transfigurat se in angelum lucis. 6. *Ipse princeps*—i. diabolus ut apostolus dicit. 7. *Adiutorium.*—i. deprecor. *Succurrat.*—i. veniat cito. 8. *Iusti.*—i. animæ sanctorum.

1. *In Trinitate.*—For a translation of the Preface, see Addit. Note. *Non in omine.*—The Gloss appears to allude to some legend of a bird which appeared on

the sea, which a monk exclaimed was a good omen—"Bonum omen:" whereupon Colman repeated the words, "My sure hope is in the Trinity, not in an omen."

ILLUM ROGO NE DEMITTAT MIHI TRUCES SPECIES
INIMICI SED DEDUCAT UBI REGNI REQUIES

10

ADIUVET ME SANCTUS MICHEL DIEBUS AC NOCTIBUS
UT ME PONAT IN BONORUM SANCTORUM CONSORTIBUS.

SANCTUS MICHEL INTERCEDAT ADIUTOR PROBABILIS
PRO ME QUIA SUM PECCATOR ACTU ATQUE FRAGILIS

SANCTUS MICHEL ME DEPENDAT SEMPER SUIS UIRIBUS
ANIMA EGREDIENTE CUM SANCTORUM MILIBUS.

15

GLOSS.—9. *Illum*.—i. Michaelem. *Truces*.—i. grandai. 10. *Ubi*.—Est. *Requies*.—i. sive in caelo sive in terra.

3. *Doctore*.—The second syllable is here made short. It is intended, no doubt, for *Ductore*.

5. *Inergia*.—For *energia*. Here used for diabolical influence. Persons possessed with devils were called *Energumeni*.—Comp. 2 Thes. ii. 9, 11.

6. *Pes Superbiae*.—Ps. xxxv. 12, *Vulg.*

7. *Et archangeli*.—The metre, as well as the sense, of this line would be improved if *et* were omitted. *Adjutorium* seems to have been pronounced in four syllables, and *Michaelis* in three.

9. *Species*.—In the “Fragmentum Synodi Ibernensis” (Martene, *Thes. Nov. Anecd.*, tom. iv. p. 1, sq. Villanueva, *Opusc. S. Patricii*, p. 169) this word is used to signify *the face*. “Sanguis Episcopi, vel excelsi principis, vel scribae, qui ad terram effunditur, si collirio indiguerit, eum qui effuderit *sapientes* crucifigi judicant, vel vii. ancillas reddat. Si in specie [i. e. if the wound be in the face] tertiam partem de argento.” And again, “Sanguis presbyteri qui ad terram effunditur donec col-

lyrium suffert, manus interfectoris abscindatur, vel dimidium vii. ancillarum reddat, si de industria: si autem non de industria, ancillae pretio sanetur. Si ad terram non perveniat, percussor ancillam reddat; si in specie ejus, tertiam partem de argento retribuatur,” &c. If the word *species* be taken in the same sense here, the text may, perhaps, be thus translated: “I beseech him not to cast down upon me the horrible faces of the enemy, but to lead me where there is the rest of [God’s] kingdom.” The Gloss renders *truces* by *grandai*, or *grandæ*, i. e. great, large, from *grandus* for *grandis*.

11. *Adjuet me*.—On the upper margin of the page (fol. 16 a) of the MS. there is a note, or extract, of no interest, from some medieval author. It has no reference whatsoever to the text, and is in some places illegible.

13. *Probabilis*.—Meaning *approved*, to be highly lauded, or approved.

16. *Anima egrediente*.—“May St. Michael, with myriads of the saints, conti-

SANCTUS GABRIEL SANCTUS RAPHAEL ATQUE OMNES ANGELO
INTERCEDANT PRO ME SEMPER SIMUL ET ARCHANGELO

ETERNA POSSINT PRESTARE REGIS REGNI AULIA
UT POSSEDEAM CUM CHRISTO PARADISI GAUDIA

20

GLORIA SIT SEMPER DEO PATRI ATQUE FILIO
SIMUL CUM SPIRITU SANCTO IN UNO CONSILIO.

ADIUUET NOS ARCHANGELUS SANCTUS MICHAEL DIGNISSIMUS QUEM
RECIPERE ANIMAS MITTAT DEUS ALTISSIMUS.

GLOSS.—17. *Gabriel*.—i. fortitudo Dei interpretatur. *Raphael*.—i. medicina Dei interpretatur, eo quod medicinavit tobiam de cecitate. 19. *Possint*.—i. angeli et archangeli. *Aulia*.—i. regia domus. *Archangelus*.—i. summus nuntius interpretatur. *Michel*.—i. qui sicut Deus interpretatur.

nally defend me by his power [especially] when my soul is departing [from the body].”

Adiuuet nos.—These lines are in a different character, but by the original scribe, like the similar lines after the other Hymns, of which we have already frequently spoken. Over the *a* in *mittat a*

small *i* is written, indicating a correction of the reading, from *mittat* to *mittit*. There is evidently a distich with a rude rhyme. The verses may be read thus :—

“Adjuvet nos archangelus,
Sanctus Michael dignissimus,
Quem recipere animas
Mittat Deus altissimus.”

ADDITIONAL NOTE.

The Scholiast's Preface.

THE Preface of the Scholiast is for the most part in Irish, but, as in former instances, mixed with Latin words. The whole has been here translated, without distinguishing the phrases that are in Latin :—

In Trinitate spes mea. The three sons of Murchu of the Connacians made this Hymn to Michael. Colman^a, the eldest of them, was a bishop; the other two were priests. The Cause^b was this: they went on a pilgrimage, and a great tempest arose on the Iccian^c sea, and they came to a certain island, and a great hunger came on them, and it was to deliver them from this hunger they composed this Hymn. Or, it was to free the island of Rodan^d from Demons. For there had been a certain transgressing bishop in it before that; and it is in France. And afterwards they went to Ireland. It is uncertain, however, at what time this Hymn was composed. It is made in rhyme, and there are eleven^e chapters in it, and two lines in each chapter, and sixteen^f syllables in each line. It is on *i*^g the rhyme is, on account of the *omine* being in it.

^a *Colman.*—See what has been already said of him in the introductory remarks, p. 165.

^b *The Cause.*—That is, the occasion on which the Hymn was composed.

^c *Iccian Sea.*—i. e. the British Channel, *Irish Nennius*, p. 31, n. p. 272; *Genealogies of Hy Fiachrach*, p. 18, n.

^d *Rodan.*—The Editor has not been able to identify this island, unless it be the *Isle St. Roui*, off the coast of Brittany. There is a St. Rodineus, or St. Rouin, an Irishman, whose original name was probably Rodan. He founded the Abbey of Beaulieu in Argonne, and died A. D. 680, on the 17th Sept., at which day his name occurs in the Calendar of the Church of France. See Menard, l. ii., *Observatt. in Martyrol. Bened.*, and Mabillon,

Act. SS. Bened., where his life is given: Sec. iv. part ii., App., p. 543. *Venet.*, 1738.

^e *Eleven.*—The MS. has .xi. capteall dec, a mistake for .i. capteall dec, or .xi. capteall, “eleven chapters.”

^f *Sixteen.*—This is also a mistake, for the lines have only fifteen syllables. But line 7 seems to have seventeen syllables, or sixteen if we read *Michaelis* as a trisyllable. But in line 2 *Michaelen* is read in four syllables, and in lines 11, 13, and 15, where the name Michael is a dissyllable, it is written *Michel*.

^g *It is on i.*—i. e. the rhyme is on the vowel *i*, as *omine*, and *nomine*, ver. 1 and 2. Every line has *i* either in the last or penultimate syllable, except lines 3, 4, where the last syllable is *e*.

IX. THE HYMN OF ST. OENGUS MAC TIPRAITE IN PRAISE OF
ST. MARTIN.

THIS Hymn has never before been printed. It is ascribed in the Preface to Oengus Mac Tipraite, priest, or abbot, of Cluain Fota Baitain-abha¹, a contemporary of St. Adamnan; and is said to have been written on the occasion of Adamnan's visitation of the Columban foundations in Ireland, A. D. 692 or 697. Oengus, however, lived to A. D. 745, at which year the Annals of Ulster record his death in these words: "Mors Oengusa filii Tipraitis abbatis Cluana Fota;" as also the Annals of Tighernach, in the words, *barr Oengusa meic Tipraide ab Cluana Fota baitain abha*, "Death of Aengus son of Tipraide, abbot of Cluain Fota Baitain-abha." The Four Masters alter the date given by the earlier annalists to 741. But all these authorities agree in styling Oengus *Abbot* of Cluain Fota Baitain-abha: they probably understood our Scholiast to have meant *abbot*, when he calls him *priest* of that monastery.

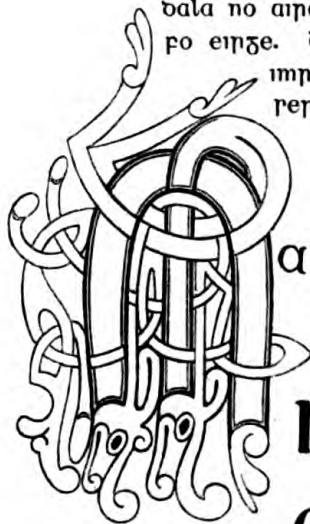
The Hymn is in extremely rude Latinity, and irregular metre, with rhyme or assonances at the end of the lines. Nothing is known of the author except what is recorded in the Preface, and in the Annals above quoted. His name does not occur in the Calendars or Martyrologies of the ancient Church of Ireland.

¹ *Cluain Fota Baitain-abha*.—This name signifies "the long lawn or meadow of Baitan of the river," now Clonfad, barony of Farbill, county of Westmeath. *Baitan of the river* may have been the founder of the monastery, or else, perhaps, a chieftain who was the original owner of the soil; but no other notice of him appears to have been

preserved. One of the earliest bishops of Clonfad was Etchein, who ordained St. Columba.—See the Legend, *Obits of Christ Church*, Introd., p. liv., and comp. Reeves' *Adamnan. Vit. S. Columbæ*, App. to Pref., p. lxxii. He died A. D. 577 or 578. Four Masters in anno; Colgan, *Act. SS.*, 11th of Feb.; Lanigan, *Eccles. Hist.*, vol. ii. p. 125.



MARTINE. Oengur macc tippaite pacare cluana fota baitan aba ipe do ronai hunc
 fnum. i cluam fota factur ept. Caura autem adamnan boi fop cuaric cell
 colum cille in herem co roacht co uirneach mibe co no gared do cech fip gpatb
 fopit a raba luid ipin tip; co ruacht in tepuacra oengur in atbche pele martan.
 et timuit ualde ut fecit hunc fnum in honorem martini dia roerab. uenit tra
 oengur do chum [na] dala arbabarach 7 a immun erlam leip. 7 carpar do
 adamnan martan fop a laim deip Oengura 7 atpacht tra adamnan neme, et
 honorificauit eum cum orculo et omnes mirabantur cauram honorip et dixit
 Adamnan ut uidit martinum pecum, conit ap martan do bich immaille fip do
 pat honor do. no roerab tra amlaid fein oengur. et optendit fnum suum et
 laudauit adamnan fnum et dixit gnur arpmoio fop in ti zebap icdul do chum
 dala no arpehta ocur comab dicitu ap cech hgalap. ocur nem ara gabail fo lige
 fo eirge. Tre pichum dan do ronab, fe caibbill ann 7 da line cech caibbill.
 impecta dan ann et non aequalem numerum pillabarum fingulae liniae
 repuant.



MARTINE te deprecor pro me rogaris patrem
 christum ac spiritum sanctum habentem mariam
 matrem

MARTINUS MIRUS MORE ORE LAUDAUIT DEUM
 PURO CORDE CANTAUIT ATQUE AMAUIT EUM

ELECTUS DEI UIUI SIGNA SIBI SALUTIS
 DONAUIT DEUS PACIS MAGNE ATQUE UIRTUTIS

Uerbum dei locutus secutus IN MANDATIS
 uirtutibus impletis MORTUIS RESUSCITATIS

Gloss.—3. *More.*—i. caritatis atque religionis. 7. *Locutus.*—est. *Secutus.*—i. Deum. 8. *Impletis.*—amen.

1. *Martine.*—For a translation of the Preface see Addit. Note.

2. *Habentem.*—This seems heterodox, or at least very badly expressed, and

rude; for *habentem* agrees grammatically with *Spiritus Sanctum*, although, of course, intended to agree with *Christum*.

8. *Impletis.*—The Gloss “Amen” on

SANANS HOMINES LEpra CURA DUPlice MIRA
 MAGNITUDE MALA EGRETUDINE DIRA

10

Deum DOMINUM NOSTRUM PASSUM PRO NOBIS MIRE
 VOLUNTARIE PROPTER NOS DEPRECARE MARTINE

MARTINE.

Sanctur martinur adhuc catacominur hac me uerpe contexit
 dicit dominur omnipotentur.

Per merita martini sancti atque dignitimi nor pprecamur ut
 mereamur regnum dei uui altitimi. Amen.

GLOSS.—9. *Duplicē*.—i. anima et corpore. 10. *Magnitudine*.—i. peccati. *Egretudine*.—i. corporis.

Catacominus.—i. adiutor fidei interpretatur.

this word is in a more recent hand, and is written under, not over, the word. *Mortuis resuscitatis*.—Sulp. Severi *De Vit. B. Martini*, c. 5, 6 (*Bibl. Patr.*, tom. vi., 350 H., 351 A. Lugd. 1677).

9. *Lepra*.—*Ibid.*, c. 19 (*ubi supr.*, 353 A.) *Cura duplicē*.—With a twofold cure, of mind as well as body: converting them to the faith, as well as healing them of bodily disease. *Cura* is here used in the sense of *curatio morbi*.

12. *Martine*.—The Hymn ends here, as we infer from the repetition of the last word, *Martine*, which is also the first word of the Hymn. It is one of the artifices of Irish poetry to make a poem begin and end with the same word (see above, p. 23). What follows is in a different character, although by the original scribe (see above, pages 23, 80, 161).

Catacominus.—i. e. *Catechumenus*, a Catechumen. In the Gloss this word is ex-

plained *adiutor fidei*, which is, perhaps, a mistake for “auditor fidei.”—Isidor. Hispal., *Etymolog.*, vii. c. 14. The allusion is to the following legend, told by Sulpitius Severus in his Life of St. Martin:—During his military career, St. Martin found one day at the gate of the city of Amiens a poor man, naked, and shivering with the intense cold of a more than usually severe winter. None of the by-passers took any notice of the wretched suppliant’s appeals to their charity; but St. Martin, moved by compassion, took off his own cloak (chlamydem), and drawing his sword, divided it into two equal parts, one of which he gave to the poor man. At this time St. Martin was only a Catechumen, and had not as yet been baptized, although he was eighteen years of age. He entered the city amid the jeers of many, who ridiculed his appearance in his cloak cut short; but that same

night he saw in a dream Christ Himself, clothed in that very half of the cloak which had been given to the poor man, and being called upon to recognise the garment, he heard JESUS say to the surrounding angels, "Martin, although only a Catechumen, hath covered Me with this robe"—"Nocte igitur insecutâ, cum se sopori dedisset, vidit Christum clamydis suæ, quâ texerat pauperem parte vestitum. Intueri diligentissime Dominum, vestemque quam dederat jubetur agnoscere. Mox ad angelorum circumstantium multitudinem, audit JESUM clara voce dicentem: *Martinus, adhuc Catechumenus, hac Me veste contexit. Vere memor Dominus dictorum suorum (qui ante prædixe-*

rat: *Quamdiu fecistis hæc uni ex minimis istis, mihi fecistis)*, se in paupere professus est fuisse vestitum," &c. Upon this, St. Martin was immediately baptized, but continued almost two years longer in the army, to complete the term of his military service.—Sulp. Severi, *De Vita S. Martini*, c. 2 (*Biblioth. Patr.*, tom. vi., 350 A.) *Lib. Armac.* in Vit. S. Martini, fol. 192, where the form *Catacominus*, for *Catechumenus*, occurs.

Per merita.—There is here a rhyme or jingle:—

"Per merita Martini
Sancti atque dignissimi
Nos precamur
Ut mereamur
Regnum Dei vivi altissimi."

ADDITIONAL NOTE.

The Scholiast's Preface.

THE Preface, or Argument, details a curious legend, which is quite consistent with the date already assigned to the author of this Hymn. It is in the usual mixture of Latin and Irish, and may be translated as follows:—

Martine. Oengus Mac Tipraite^a, priest of Cluain Fota Baitain-abha, was the person who composed this Hymn. It was composed in Cluain Fota. The Cause^b was this: Adamnan was making his visitation^c of the churches of Colum-cille in Erin, when he arrived at Uisneach of Meath; and every man of grade^d, against whom there was any accusation in that country, was summoned to him; and the proclamation reached Oengus on the eve of the festival of Martin; and he feared greatly^e, so that he made this Hymn in honour of Martin, to deliver himself. Then Oengus came to the assembly on the morrow^f, and his Hymn ready with him; and Martin appeared to Adamnan on the right hand of Oengus, and Adamnan rose up before him [i. e. before Oengus], and did him honour with a kiss, and all wondered at the cause of the honour; and Adamnan said when he saw Martin with him, [i. e. with Oengus], that it was because Martin was with him that he gave him this honour. Thus did Oengus deliver himself; and he showed his Hymn, and Adamnan praised the Hymn, and said, An honourable aspect^g shall be upon every one that

^a *Oengus Mac Tipraite.*—See what has been said of him, p. 171, *supra*.

^b *The Cause.*—That is, the cause or occasion on which it was composed.

^c *His Visitation.*—This fixes the date to A. D. 692 or 697.—See Reeves' *Adamn.*, p. xlix. *Uisneach* is in the parish of Conry, diocese of Meath, a little south of which, in the parish of Ardmurcher, is *Suíde Adamnan* (now *Syonan*), "sessio Adamnani," which was probably the spot where the visitation or synod alluded to in the text was held.—Reeves' *Adamnan.*, *App. to Pref.*, p. lxxv.

^d *Of grade.*—That is, every man who was in holy orders.

^e *He feared greatly.*—Are we to infer from this that Oengus was one of those against whom some accusation had been brought? If so, his fears may have arisen from the apprehension that justice was not always to be expected from the ecclesiastical tribunals of that period.—See Reeves' *Adamnan.*, lib. iii. c. 3, p. 192, and note ^a.

^f *On the morrow.*—The Irish word is *arhaba-pach*, which would be now written *a márach*; a curious instance of the interchange of *b* and *m*.

^g *An honourable aspect.*—That is, his very outward appearance shall be such as to command respect from all who see him.

sings it in going to an assembly, or court^h, and it shall be a protection against every disease, and against poison, to him who sings it lying down and rising up.

It is composed in rhyme; there are six chapters in it, and two lines in each chapter; it is in assonancesⁱ; and the lines do not each preserve the same number^j of syllables.

^h *An assembly or court.*—*Óala no aipechta.* *Óala* (the same word used above, where it is said that Oengus went to the assembly, at which he was to receive the judgment of Adamnan) is a general term for any meeting; *aipeacht* is properly a court or diet of princes, or officials, for making laws, or hearing civil causes; from *aipéac*, a chieftain, or noble.

ⁱ *In assonances.*—*Recna*, repetition of the same sound at the end of each line.

^j *The same number.*—The lines have generally

fourteen syllables. Verse 2 has sixteen syllables, but may be reduced to fourteen, if we elide the final syllable of *Christum* before *ac*, and pronounce *Mariam* as a dissyllable, *Marjam*. Verses 8 and 12 have fifteen syllables; in verse 8, *mortuis* is pronounced as a dissyllable; and in verse 12, *voluntarie* is pronounced *voluntarje*, four syllables only. But in verse 4, the final syllable of *atque* is not elided before *amavit*. *Martinus* is apparently pronounced *Martīnus*, with the penultimate short; and there are several other irregularities.

X. GLORIA IN EXCELSIS DEO.

IT may be convenient to give here a translation of the Scholiast's Preface¹, or Introduction, to this well-known Hymn :—

“ *Gloria in excelsis*. The angels of God sang the first verse of this Hymn on the night of the Lord's Nativity. They made it at the Tower of Gabder,² a mile from Jerusalem eastward. To make known that He who was then born was the Son of God they made it. In the time of Octavin Augustus it was composed. But Ambrose made this Hymn, from the second verse to the end of the Hymn.”

From the notice of this Hymn in the fourth Council of Toledo (A. D. 633), it would seem that the author or authors of it were then unknown : the Council (can. 13), speaking of those who at that time objected to the use of all hymns of human composition, say : “ Respuant ergo et illum hymnum ab hominibus compositum, quem quotidie publico privatoque officio in fine omnium psalmodum dicimus, *Gloria et honor Patri, et Filio, et Spiritui Sancto, in secula seculorum, Amen*. Nam et ille hymnus quem nato in carne Christo Angeli cecinerunt, *Gloria in excelsis Deo, et in terra pax hominibus bonæ voluntatis* ; et reliqua quæ ibi sequuntur ecclesiastici Doctores composuerunt.” As Hilary and Ambrose had been mentioned just before as the authors of hymns (see above, p. 149), it is not likely that the Council would have spoken thus, if either of those Fathers had been then reputed the author of this Hymn.

It is most commonly attributed to St. Hilary³, of Poitiers, and is entitled, “ Hymnus S. Hilarii ad Missam ” in the *Cod. Vatic.* 5729 (an ancient MS. of

¹ *Preface*.—Another version of this Preface will be found in Addit. Note A at the end of this Hymn.

² *The Tower of Gabder*.—See Additional Note B.

³ *To St. Hilary*.—Some have made Pope Telesphorus (A. D. 150) the author (as Rhabanus, Amalarius, Walafrius Strabo, &c.), misunderstanding, as it would seem, the words of the *Liber Pontificalis*, where Telesphorus is

the Hieronymian Bible). But as this Hymn was in use as a morning hymn (*προσευχὴ ἑωθινή*) in the Greek Church⁴, and is found in a Greek dress in the Apostolical Constitutions (lib. vii. c. 47), Cardinal Thomasius⁵ suggests, with great probability, that St. Hilary was only the translator, and that he had been instrumental in bringing it into use in the Western Church: “Forte hic primus hymnum hunc Latinum fecit, primusque ex Oriente in Occidentem invexit.”

The Editor has found no authority except that of the Scholiast of the Book of Hymns, now before us, for attributing this Hymn to St. Ambrose. The reasons already given for supposing it more ancient than St. Hilary are of equal force against the opinion that St. Ambrose was the author⁶.

said to have appointed this Hymn, or rather, perhaps, only the first verse of it, to be sung on the night of Christmas: “Ut Hymnus Angelicus in nocte Nativitatis Domini diceretur.” It is remarkable that in the Liturgy of St. James only the words of the angels, and not the remainder of the Hymn, are to be found.—J. A. Fabricii, *Cod. Apocr. N. T.*, pt. iii. tom. ii. p. 64; and so also in the *Ordo Missæ* for Christmas Day, in the *Missale Gothicum*, published by Mabillon, *De Liturg. Gallicana*, pt. iii. p. 192. But Alcuin, Honorius Augustodunensis, Hugo de St. Victore, and many others, maintain that Hilary was the author.

⁴ *Greek Church*.—See Ussher, *De Symbolis* (Works by Elrington, vol. vii. p. 335). It is called in the Greek Church ἡ μεγάλη δοξολογία, “the great Doxology” (Goar. *Rituale Græcor.*, p. 54-58). In the Codex Alexandrinus (Edit. Baber, vol. iii. 569) this Hymn is entitled ὕμνος ἑωθινός; and in the Vatican MS., 5729, “Hymnus Angelorum” (Card. Thomasii, *Psalter. Opp.* ed. A. F. Vezzosi, Rom., 1748, tom. iii. p. 616). See also Cave, *Hist. Liter.*, vol. ii., Dissert. ii. p. 28, voc. ἑωθινός, Oxon., fol. 1473.

⁵ *Thomasius*.—*Psalter., Opp., loc. cit.*; and so Alcuin speaks of the *Gloria in excelsis* as having been “auctus et consummatus” by St. Hilary. Quoted by Mabillon, *De Liturg. Gallic.*, p. 29.

⁶ *The author*.—Mention is made of this Hymn in the Treatise *De Virginitate*, published among the works of St. Athanasius (tom. ii., Ed. Bened.); and if that tract were genuine, this would be a strong argument against the opinion that the Hymn was of Latin origin, or that it had either St. Hilary or St. Ambrose for its author. For the Tract *De Virginitate* speaks of the Hymn as used in the morning, or near morning (*πρὸς ὄρθρον*), by an established custom; which it could scarcely have been in the time of Athanasius, if Hilary or Ambrose had been the author. However, although Bellarmine, Nat. Alexander, and other learned men, have upheld the genuineness of the treatise *De Virginitate*, there is now scarcely any one who does not acquiesce in the judgment of the Benedictine editors, that it cannot be an authentic work of St. Athanasius.—See Oudin., *De Scripturis*, tom. i. p. 340.



GLORIA IN EXCELSIS. Ἀγγελοι θεοι κεινησαν τον ονομα του υιου του θεου εν τη νυκτι της κυριακης γεννησεως. Ιεσου χριστου υιο του πατρος .i. εν τη ιερουσαλημ παρι. το παλιγγυον τον ονομα του πατρος δε εν τη νυκτι γεννησεως του υιου του πατρος. In amplexu octauis augetur deo pater. Ambrosius autem fecit hunc hymnum a secundo uerbo usque ad finem hymni.



**GLORIA IN EXCELSIS DEO ET IN TERRA PAX
HOMINIBUS BONAE VOLUNTATIS**

Laudamus te benedicimus te adoramus te
glorificamus te magnificamus te

Donamus tibi propter magnam misericordiam tuam
DOMINE REX CELESTIS DEUS PATER OMNIPOTENS

Domine fili unigenite iesu christe
sancte spiritus dei et omnes dicimus amen

GLOSS.—1. *In excelsis.*—i. in celis. *In terra.*—i. in ecclesia sancta. 2. *Bonae voluntatis.*—i. eis qui nullunt [nolunt] deum offendere sed placere cogitatione et uerbo et opere. 3. *Laudamus.*—i. [in uita] hac nostra vel in teorica uita. *Benedicimus.*—i. actuali uita. *Adoramus.*—i. subiectione corporis et animae, .i. totis uiribus. 4. *Glorificamus.*—i. coram Deo Patre. *Magnificamus.*—i. coram hominibus bono opere.

- 1. *Gloria.*—For a translation of the Preface, see above, p. 177.
- 4. *Magnificamus te.*—Omitted in the text of this Hymn as now used.
- 5.—*Misericordiam.*—An ancient hand has written in the margin *Gloriam*.
- 6.—*Domine rex.*—“Domine Deus rex” is the reading now.
- 7.—*Domine fili.*—The present text is “Domine Fili unigenite Iesu Christe, Domine Deus, Agnus Dei, Filius Patris. Qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis. Qui tollis peccata mundi suscipe deprecationem nostram. Qui sedes ad dexteram Patris, miserere nobis. Quoniam tu solus sanctus, tu solus Dominus, tu solus altissimus, Iesu Christe, cum sancto Spiritu in gloria Dei Patris. Amen.”

DOMINE fili dei patris agne dei qui tollis peccata mundi
miserere nobis. 10

SUSCIPE ORATIONEM NOSTRAM qui sedes ad dexteram patris
miserere nobis domine.

QUONIAM tu solus sanctus tu solus dominus tu solus
gloriosus cum spiritu sancto in gloria dei patris amen

IN omni tempore benedicimus te et laudamus 15
nomen tuum in aeternum et in seculum seculi amen

DIGNARE DOMINE NOCTE ISTA
sine peccato nos custodire

BENEDICTUS ES DOMINE DEUS PATRUM NOSTRORUM et laudabile
et gloriosum nomen tuum in aeternum et in seculum se-
culi amen. 20

DOMINE DEUS SALUTIS MEAE
in die clamaui et nocte coram te

GLOSS.—13. *Tu solus.*—i. per temetipsum. 15. *In omni tempore.*—i. in prosperis et in adversis.
16. *Nomen.*—i. filium tuum. 17. *Nocte.*—i. hujus seculi. 18. *Peccato.*—i. sine mortali crimine.
19. *Patrum.*—i. patriarcharum et apostolorum. 20. *In seculum.*—i. hic et in futuro. 22. *In die.*—
i. in prosperis. *Nocte.*—i. in tenebris seculi hujus.

15. *In omni tempore.*—What follows is an addition, of the nature of an antiphon, like the similar additions at the end of the foregoing Hymns; but in this case it is written in the same characters as the text. The verse *In omni tempore* is added to this Hymn in the copy of it printed by Cardinal Thomasius from the Ambrosian Breviary (Psalter. *Opp.*, ubi *supr.*, p. 613), but with the variation, “per singulos dies [instead of “in omni tempore”] benedicimus te,” which is the reading of the modern Vulgate, Ps. cxliv. 2.

17. *Dignare.*—This verse is found also

in the Ambrosian copy of this Hymn (Thomas., *loc. cit.*), and is also usually incorporated in the *Te Deum*, but with the reading *die isto*, instead of *nocte ista*, as above. This peculiarity of the Irish copy seems to show that in the ancient Church of Ireland the Hymn was used at night; a fact which is expressly stated to have been the case, in another copy of the preface, which will be given in Note A, from the *Leabhar Breac*.

18. *Sine peccato.*—Sine peccatis. Thomas., *loc. cit.*

19. *Benedictus.*—Dan. iii. 26, *Vulg.*

INTER ORATIO MEA IN CONSPECTU TUO
INCLINA AUREM TUAM AD PRECEM MEAM DOMINE

SCUTO CIRCUMDABIT TE UERITAS EIUS
NON TIMEBIS A TIMORE NOCTURNO

25

GLOSS.—24. *Prece[m]*.—i. quia in hoc corpore possitus fundo 25. *Scuto*.—i. licet in errore fuimus quando nox est, non timebis quia habes scutum ueritatis. 26. *Timebis*.—i. a tenebrosa satione inimicorum.

21. *Domine Deus*.—This and the next clause are from Ps. lxxxvii. 2, 3, *Vulg.*

25. *Scuto*.—This clause is from Ps. xc. 4, 5, *Vulg.*

26. *Timebis*.—The gloss over this word seems to use *sasio* for *saisio*, in the sense

of *invasion, attack*, unless we suppose a mistake of transcription for “tenebrosa *invasione*.” The verb *Saisire* was used by Ivo Carnotensis in the eleventh century, which was, probably, about our scholiast’s time.—See Du Cange.

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

NOTE A.

The Scholiast's Preface.

A TRANSLATION of the Scholiast's Preface has already been given (p. 177, *supra*). There is, however, another copy of this Preface in the marginal notes to the Felire of Aengus in the Leabhar Breac (fol. 49 b, *in marg. inf.*) a MS. belonging to the Royal Irish Academy. This has been probably taken from another copy of the Book of Hymns, and is worth preserving here:—

Ḃloria in excelḂis Deo. AnḂil do pon-
pat in ferr corpech don imanḂo, oibce na
geine. hic tor ader imorro do ponpat .i.
mile o hierusalem rair. Dia foillriugub
conib mac De mḂn rogenair and do ponpat
he. In amḂir hoccaim imorro do ponab
he. Ambrosiur bin do nome in cuilleb .i.
a recundo uerpu urque in finem laubir,
Ḃc.

Ambrosiur rui erpucc ipe do nome hunc
imnum do molab lepu. ocup in oibche ar
bir a cantan. Tria rithim bin do ponab.
iii. capḂl mb, ocup .iii. line in cech capḂl
ocup .iii. pillaeba cecha line.

Gloria in excelsis Deo. The angels made the
first verse of this Hymn, on the night of the Nati-
vity: and in the tower of Ader they made it, which
is a mile from Jerusalem, eastwards. To make
known that He who was then born was the Son of
God they made it. And in the time of Octavin
they made it. But Ambrosius made the remain-
der, from the second verse to the end of the hymn,
etc.

Ambrose the learned bishop, it was he who made
this Hymn in praise of Jesus; and at night it is
right to sing it. And it is made in rhythm.
There are seven chapters in it, and seven lines in
each chapter, and seven syllables in each line.

It will be observed, that in this version of the Preface St. Ambrose is stated to have been the author of the Hymn; and it is also expressly said that it was the usage to sing it at night, which accounts for the alteration *nocte ista* instead of *die isto*, already noticed, p. 180, note. The concluding paragraph, which tells us that the Hymn is in rhythm, consisting of seven chapters, with seven lines in each chapter, and seven syllables in each line, is an evident mistake.

NOTE B.

The Tower Gabder, or Gadder.

MENTION of the Tower *Gadder*^a has already been made, as the scene of the angelical vision, which appeared to the shepherds on the night of our Lord's Nativity.

This Tower is stated in the Scholium, or Preface to the present Hymn, to have been a mile from Jerusalem; but St. Jerome and Ven. Bede speak of it as a mile from Bethlehem, which accords better with the Gospel narrative. The latter says (*Comment. in Luc. ii. 8*): "Meminit et Micha propheta loci hujus et temporis, dicens, '*Et tu turris gregis nebulosa, filiæ Sion usque ad te venient, et veniet potestas prima, regnum filiæ Sion.*' Turris quippe gregis, quæ Hebraice *Ader* vocatur, mille circiter passibus a civitate Bethlehem ad orientem distat, vaticinio sui nominis pastores hos multo ante demonstrans ad quam usque filiæ Sion, angelicæ videlicet potestates, pastoribus apparendo, venerunt."

St. Jerome, on Gen. xxxv. 21, says: "*Et profectus est Israel, et extendit tabernaculum suum trans turrim Ader.* Hunc locum Hebræi esse volunt ubi postea templum ædificatum est; *et turrim Ader, turrim gregis* significare, hoc est, *congregationis et cætus*; quod et Michæas propheta testatur, dicens, *Et tu turris gregis nebulosa, filia Sion*, &c.: illoque tempore Jacob trans locum, ubi postea templum ædificatum est, habuisse tentoria. Sed si sequamur ordinem viæ" [i. e. the order of Jacob's journey] "pastorum juxta Bethlehem locus est, ubi vel angelorum grex in ortu Domini cecinit; vel Jacob pecora sua pavit, loco nomen imponens: vel quod verius est, quodam vaticinio futurum jam tunc mysterium monstrabatur." Here it will be seen that St. Jerome decides rightly that the Tower *Ader*, in Genesis, must, from the tenor of the narrative, have been near Bethlehem, and that the *turris gregis nebulosa*, mentioned in Micah (iv. 8), which the tradition of the Jews supposed to have been the site of the temple, was a different tower, near or in Jerusalem. *Quæst. in Genes. (Opp., tom. iii., Edit. Vallarsii, Venet., 1767, col. 361, B. C.)*. In another place, describing the travels or pilgrimage of St. Paula, St. Jerome says: "Haud procul inde" [scil. a Bethlehem] "descendit" [Paula] "ad turrim *Ader*, id est gregis; juxta quam Jacob pavit greges suos, et pastores nocte vigilantes audire meruerunt, *Gloria in excelsis Deo*," etc. *Epitaph. Paulæ, Epist. cviii. ad Eustochium (Opp., ubi supr., tom. i. col. 699 D.)*

^a *Gadder*.—In a marginal note on the Hymn attributed to St. Hilary in praise of Christ (No. vii. *supra*), the angels are said to have first worshipped

Christ "juxta turrim *Gadder*."—See p. 153 (note on line 14). *Gadder* is an erroneous form of the name.

The tradition of the Hebrews, alluded to by St. Jerome, is probably the same as that preserved in the Targum of Jonathan on Gen. xxxv. 21, whose words are:—

<p>ויסע ונטל יעקב ופרס למשכניה מן להלא למגדלא דעדר אתרא דמתמן עתיד דאתגלי מלכא משיחא בסוף :יומיא</p>	<p>“ And Jacob journeyed, and arose, and spread his tents beyond the tower of Eder, the place where the King Messiah shall reveal Himself, in the end of days.”</p>
--	---

Here it is evident that the *Migdal Eder*, or Tower of Eder, near Bethlehem, is alluded to; for Bethlehem was known to the Jews, even before our Lord's Nativity, as the predicted birthplace of Messiah (Matt. ii. 4-6). But “the place where Messiah shall reveal Himself” was probably taken to signify the Temple, by the Jews who communicated or interpreted this tradition to S. Jerome.

The name מגדל-עדר, Tower of Eder (Gen. xxxv. 21, Mic. iv. 8), signifies *turris gregis*, as it is rendered in the Vulgate Version, and this may, perhaps, have given occasion to the tradition that the place so called near Bethlehem (a watch-tower probably for shepherds) was the place from which the shepherds (Luke ii.) saw the vision of angels, that announced the Nativity. Still it cannot be doubted, from the testimony of St. Jerome, and the words of the Targumist above quoted, that some ancient traditions of the Jews were connected with the place.

But there were certainly two places so called, one near Bethlehem, which, as we have seen, is that mentioned Gen. xxxv. 21; the other in or near Jerusalem, which is evidently the place intended, Mic. iv. 8^b.

It appears, from the passage above quoted, that Bede had a different reading of this latter text from that of the present Vulgate Version: “Et tu turris gregis nebulosa, filiae Sion usque ad te venient” [instead of “Et tu turris gregis nebulosa filiae Sion, ad te veniet”], which he interprets, “And as for thee, O dark tower of the flock, the daughters of Sion” [i. e. the angels who appeared to the shepherds] “shall come to thee.” Whereas, the Vulgate is, “And thou, O dark tower of the flock of the daughter of Zion, it” [i. e. the kingdom] “shall come to thee.” The English version, following the Masoretic punctuation, which separates עפל (rendered *nebulosa* by the *Vulg.*) from מגדל-עדר, the tower of Edar, is as follows:—“And thou, O tower of the flock” [*Margin*, “O tower of Edar”], “the strong hold of the daughter of Zion, unto thee shall it come, even the first dominion.”

But the accentuation followed by the Septuagint and Vulgate seems more probable, except that we ought, perhaps, to take מגדל-עדר-עפל, *Migdal-Edar-Ophel*, as a proper name, signifying, “the tower of Edar Ophel;” the epithet *Ophel* (*Caliginosa*, *Vulg.*, ἀνχυώδης, LXX., or, as it may be also rendered, “of the hill”),

^b See Lightfoot, *Chorographical Decad.*, sect. 4, 5 (Works by Pitman, vol. x. p. 221, sq.)

having been, perhaps, added to distinguish it from the Tower of Edar near Bethlehem; so that the meaning will then be: "And thou, O Tower of Edar, of the hill, of the daughter of Zion" [i. e. of Jerusalem], "unto thee shall it come, even the first dominion."

That there was a place, and apparently a fortification, on, or near to, the walls of Jerusalem, which was called *Ophel*, is evident from 2 Chron. xxvii. 3 (where the Hebrew is, "on the wall of *the Ophel*," בְּחוֹמַת הָעֶפְלָה). Comp. 2 Chron. xxxiii. 14, Neh. iii. 27, and xi. 21, where in every case the Masoretic punctuation understands the article, even when it is not expressed in the letters. And so Josephus, *De Bello Jud.*, lib. vi. c. 6, § 3, speaks of this place, τὸν Ὀφλᾶν καλούμενον ὑψηλῶς; so that it seems to have retained its name down to the latest period of Jewish history.—See Reland. *Palæst.*, p. 855, who infers that *Ophel* was not a hill, from its not having been so called by Josephus. On the other hand, one of the most recent authorities on the geography of the Holy Land interprets the word "a swelling mound," from עָפַל, to *swell*. Stanley, *Sinai and Palestine*, App., § 26, p. 490.

It should be observed, in conclusion, that the Septuagint translators, in Gen. xxxv., transpose the mention of Migdal Edar, and make Jacob to have encamped there before, not after, he came to the place where Rachel died: they have, in fact (if the present text be correct) inserted ver. 21 after the word *Bethel* in ver. 16; and they render it ἔπηξε τὴν σκητὴν αὐτοῦ ἐπέκεινα τοῦ πύργου Γαδέρ.

It was, probably, from the Septuagint, or from some Ante-Hieronymian Latin version founded on the Septuagint, that our Scholiast copied his spelling of the name *Turris Gadder* (p. 153, note); for "the Tower of *Gabder*," in the Preface to the present Hymn, is evidently a corruption of *Gadder*. But in the Preface, as given in the *Leabhar Breac* (see Note A, p. 182, *supra*) it is called "the tower *Ader*," as in the modern Latin Vulgate.

XI. THE MAGNIFICAT, OR HYMN OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN.

THERE is no need of any prefatory remarks to introduce to the reader the following well-known Hymn, which is taken from St. Luke, i. 46-55, and has formed a part of the service of the Church for at least a thousand years.

The following is a literal translation of the Scholiast's Preface, which is, as usual, in a mixture of Latin and Irish :—

Magnificat. Mary, the Mother of the Lord, made this Hymn ; and it was in the time of Octavianus Augustus she made it ; for in the forty-second year of his empire Christ was born ; and it was in a certain mountain city of the mountains¹ of the tribe of Judah in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem ; and this was the peculiar city of Zacharias. There John Baptist was born ; and it was to that city that Mary came to visit Elizabeth, when she heard that she was pregnant, i. e. in the sixth month². And it was there that speech was restored to Zacharias, and that he composed the *Benedictus* ; and it was then that she composed the *Magnificat*. And this was the cause³, viz., Mary came to visit Elizabeth the wife of Zacharias, because she heard that she was pregnant after a very long barrenness ; for all her relations were visiting her. Therefore Mary entering the door of her house, Elizabeth said, whilst the babe moved in her womb, Behold the mother of my Lord hath come to me. And for this reason they say that John prophesied before he was born ; and then Mary said, *Magnificat* ; and at that time Mary conceived her Son.

There is a copy of this Preface in the marginal notes to the Felire of Aengus in the Leabhar Breac (fol. 49, b, in marg. *inf.*), but it is so nearly identical with that here given, that it has not been thought worth while to transcribe it. The variations are little more than differences of spelling, or the use of Irish for Latin, and *vice versâ*.

¹*Of the mountains.*—See St. Luke, i. 39.

²*Sixth month.*—St. Luke, i. 36.

³*The cause.*—i. e. the occasion on which the Hymn was composed.



MAGNIFICAT. Maria mater domini fecit hunc cōmnum. In tempore uero octauiani auzurci fecit. in .xl. mo enim recundo anno imperii eius christus natus est. oculus ipse in arabe cathraiz rhabda hi tpeib iuda hi paul hierusalem, oculus ipse i pede cathraiz dilex zachar. ibi iohannes baptista natus est, et ipse don cathraizreim tanc maire do p̄ir elizabeth in tan atchuala a bich alaōta .i. ip̄m t-peped m̄sr. Oculi ipse in do patader labra do zachar et ipse in do pone zachar benedictus, et ipse in do ponat Magnificat. **IS** E imorro in fochund .i. maire tanc do p̄ir elizabeth petche zachar, ap̄ it chuala a bich corrach por̄t longirrimam p̄terilitatem. Omnes enim cognati eius uirabant. Intran̄t ergo maria horcium domus puæ elizabeth dixit cum motatione infantis in utero suo, En mater domini uenit ad me et ob id dicunt iohannem prophetare antequam natus esset. et tunc maria dixit magnificat, et in hoc tempore filium suum maria concepit.



MAGNIFICAT ANIMA MEA DOMINUM
ET EXULTAUIT SPIRITUS MEUS IN DEO SALU-
TARI MEO

QUIA RESPEXIT HUMILITATEM ANCILLÆ SUÆ
ECCE ENIM EX HOC BEATAM ME DICENT
OMNES GENERATIONES

GLOSS.—1. *Anima.*—Ejus anima dominum magnificat qui omnes interioris hominis affectus divinis laudibus ac seruitiis mancipat. 2. *Salutari.*—i. ut dicit psalmista Anima mea exultabit Deo et dilectabitur super salutari suo. 3. *Humilitatem.*—i. virginitatem.

1. *Magnificat.*—A translation of the Preface has already been given, p. 186.

3. *Humilitatem.*—Under and over this line, in the form of a gloss, is the following note from Bede: “.i. Cujus humilitas respicitur recte ab omnibus beata cognominanda gratulatur, sicut e contrario superbia dispecta condemnatur Evæ. Ita sicut

intravit mors in mundum per superbiam Evæ, per humilitatem Mariæ vitæ panditur introitus humano generi.” It is remarkable that the erroneous interpretation of the name of Eve, which occurs in this passage, as now printed by the editors of Bede, is here omitted. The words following “condemnatur Evæ” in the printed

Quia fecit mihi magna qui potens est 5
 et sanctum nomen eius
Et misericordia eius in progenies et progenies
 timentibus eum
Fecit potentiam in brachio suo 10
 dispexit superbos mente cordis sui
Deposuit potentes de sede
 et exaltauit humiles
Esurientes impleuit bonis
 et diuites demisit inanes
Suscepit israel puerum suum 15
 memorare misericordiae suae

GLOSS.—7. *Progenies*.—i. in omni gente qui timet eum et operatur iusticiam. 9. *Potentiam*.—i. quia omnia per filium Dei patris facta sunt, ideo eum brachium domini dicitur [sic]. 10. *Superbos*.—i. filios diabuli quia initium est omnis peccati superbia. 11. *Potentes*.—i. confidentes in uirtute sua. *De sede*.—i. superbia. 12. *Humiles*.—i. qui dicunt cum apostolo omnia possumus in Christo. 13.—*Esurientes*.—i. satiabuntur perfecti quia eterna bona esuriunt. *Bonis*.—i. celestibus. 14. *Diuites*.—i. qui de terrenis diuitiis superbiunt inanes totius beatitudinis demittentur a domino in die iudicii. 15. *Suscepit*.—i. Deus.

editions are, "id est vae, sive calamitatis nomine mulctata tabescit." But the reading of our MS. is, probably, correct, and these words are the addition of some ignorant transcriber, not of Bede.—*Comment. in Luc. i.* (Opp. ed. Giles, x. p. 295).

6. *Sanctum nomen*.—Over this line is the following note from Bede: "Sanctum nomen ejus vocatur quia singularis culmine potentiae transcendit omnem creaturam." The printed editions of Bede read *potenti*, but "potentiae" is certainly better. The Gloss as given above on lines 7 and 8 is also from Bede.

7. *In progenies*.—"A progenie in progenies" (*Vulg.*); but "in progenies et pro-

genies," was the reading of Bede.

10. *Superbos*.—In the margin there is this note: "Commemorat hic beata Maria quomodo per omne labentis seculi tempus Creator justus ac misericors et superbis resistere et humilibus dare gratiam consuevit." This is, no doubt, from some ancient author. *Dispexit*.—*Dispersit*.—*Vulg.*

15. *Suscepit*.—In the margin is the following note from Bede: "Bene autem Domini et Johannis exortum matres profetando praeveniunt, ut sicut peccatum a mulieribus coepit, ita etiam bona a mulieribus incipiant, et quae per unius deceptionem periit, duabus certatim praekonan-

SICUT LOCUTUS EST AD PATRES NOSTROS
ABRAHAM ET SEMINI EIUS USQUE IN SECULUM

Que maria plena gratia dominus tecum, benedicta tu inter
mulieres ⁊ benedictus fructus uentris tui. Spiritus sanctus
superueniet in te ⁊ uirtus altissimi obumbrabit tibi

GLOSS.—17. *Ad patres.*—i. ad patriarchas. 18. *Semini.*—i. non carnale sed spiritale semen significat .i. filiis promissionis in Christo.

tibus mundo vita reddatur.”—*Comm. in Luc. i. 55.*

16. *Memorare.*—Recordatus, *Vulg.* Bede reads *Memorari*, and the Ante-Hieron. version (ap. Sabatier) has *memoria*.

18. *Semini.*—The gloss on this word is

from Bede. *Usque.*—Omitted in *Vulg.*, and in the Ante-Hieron. version edited by Sabatier from the MS. Colbert.

Ave Maria.—This is in the more angular character, already frequently spoken of, but by the original scribe.

XII. THE BENEDICTUS, OR HYMN OF ZACHARIAS.

THIS celebrated Hymn is taken from St. Luke i. 67-79; but the text differs both from the Ante-Hieronymian version and the modern Vulgate. Some of the more remarkable variations are given in the Notes. The Scholiast's Preface is in Latin, without any admixture of Irish. It may be thus translated:—

Benedictus Dominus. Zacharias, the father of John Baptist, made this Hymn (*hanc laudem*) to the Lord. And he made it in the time of Octavianus Augustus. The cause was this: Zacharias once on a time entered the temple to sacrifice for the people, after the manner of a priest, because he was born of the seed of Aaron, and of the course¹ of Abia in particular. It was the lot of his week; for from the time of David the priests were divided into twenty-four different courses², and each one exercised his ministry from Sabbath to Sabbath. For from the time of Aaron to David one succeeded the other³. Zacharias⁴ then, entering the temple, to make an offering for himself and for the people, looking to the right, saw the angel Gabriel sitting at the horn of the altar, who said to him, Fear not, for I have come not to bring thee fear, but joy. For Elizabeth shall bring forth unto thee a son, and he shall be called John, and he shall be great before God and men. And Zacharias said, How shall this be, seeing we have passed the time for having children? The angel answered, If a man were to promise thee this, thou mightest doubt his word; but I am an angel of God, and I stand in His presence, and I bring unto thee His words; and thou oughtest not to doubt what I have said; and, therefore, from this day until the boy is born, thou shalt not speak. And so it was, until that which was promised had been fulfilled. For Elizabeth conceived and bare a son, and the kinsmen inquired of his mother concerning the name of the boy, and his mother answered, He shall be called John; but others, contradicting, said that he should be called after the name of his father. But Elizabeth bade them ask his father to write the name of his son. Zacharias, therefore, being so called upon, spoke and said⁵, The boy shall be called John: and immediately he praised the Lord, saying, *Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel.*

¹ *Course.*—“De vice [i. e. de vice] Abia.” Luc. i. 5.

² *Courses.*—“Intercognitiones.” The Vulg. uses the word *vices*. 1 Paral. xxiv. 19.

³ *The other.*—“Unus post unum tenebat.”

⁴ *Zacharias.*—In the original “Stacharias.”

—See p. 78, note on line 31, *supra*.

⁵ *Spoke and said.*—This varies from the Gospel narrative. It is curious that in the Book of Armagh the scribe had originally written *dixit*, but erased that word, and substituted “*scripsit dicens*.”



BENEDICTUS DOMINUS. Zachariar pater iohannis baptista fecit hanc laudem domino. In tempore uero octauiani augurati fecit. Causa autem aliquando zachariar in templum ut immolaret populo more sacerdotali intrauit. quia de femine aaron et de uice abia specialiter natus est. post eius perceptam fuit. A tempore enim dauid sacerdotium in xiiii intercoognitiones diuersas diuisum est. et a sabbato usque ad sabbatum unusquisque ministerio suo utebatur. A tempore enim aaron usque ad dauid unus post unum tenebat. Interam ergo zachariar in templum ut pro se et populo offerret accipiens in dexteram angelum gabrielem pedentem in cornu altaris uidit et dicentem tibi Noli timere quia non ad timorem tibi apprehendum sed ad gaudium ueni. Elisabeth enim pariet tibi filium et uocabitur iohannes et magnus erit coram deo et hominibus. et zachariar dixit quomodo fiet hoc quoniam praetermiserit nos tempus parienti. Angelus respondit, Si homo tibi hoc promitteret deber uerba eius dubitare, ego uero angelus dei sum, et confiteto in praesentia eius, et uerba eius tibi porto, et non deber dubitare que dixi. et ob id ab hac die usque puer natus non loquetur. et ita factum est, donec impletum est quod promissum est. Concepit enim elizabeth et peperit filium, et cognati de nomine pueri matrem eius interrogabant, et respondit mater eius iohannes uocetur. alii uero contrarietate dicebant nomine patris uocetur. Elisabeth autem dixit ut rogarent patrem ut scribat nomen filii sui. Zachariar uero ita rogatur locutus est et dixit, uocetur puer iohannes. et continuo laudauit dominum dicendo benedictus dominus deus israel.



BENEDICTUS dominus deus israel
quia uisitauit et fecit redemptionem plebis
suae

et erexit cornu salutis nobis
in domu dauid pueri sui

Gloss.—2. *Uisitauit.*—i. plebem hanc uisitando suam esse fecit; quia sua fidei sublimitate eam perfecit. 3. *Cornu.*—i. cornu salutis, firmam celsitudinem salutis dicit, cornu excedit carnem, et ideo cornu salutis regnum saluatoris christi uocatur.

1. *Benedictus.*—For a translation of the Preface, see last page. The Gloss has been taken altogether from Bede's Commentary on St. Luke, cap. i., although the text of the Hymn does not agree with that given in the printed works

SICUT LOCUTUS EST PER OS SANCTORUM
PROPHETARUM SUORUM QUI AB AEUO SUNT

5

UT LIBERAVIT NOS AB INIMICIS NOSTRIS
ET DE MANU OMNIUM QUI NOS ODERUNT

QUOD FACIENDAM MISERICORDIAM CUM PATRIBUS NOSTRIS
ET MEMORARE TESTAMENTI SUI SANCTI

10

IURANDUM QUOD IURAVIT AD ABRAHAM
PATREM NOSTRUM DATURUM SE NOBIS

UT SINE TIMORE DE MANIBUS INIMICORUM NOSTRORUM
LIBERATI SERVIAMUS ILLI

IN SANCTITATE ET IUSTITIA CORAM IPSO
OMNIBUS DIEBUS NOSTRIS

15

ET TU PUER PROPHETA ALTISSIMI UOCABERIS
PRAEIBIS ENIM ANTE FACIEM DOMINI PARARE VIAS EIUS

GLOSS.—6. *Profetarum*.—Profetae specialiter appellati sunt, qui de adventu Christi manifeste sunt locuti. *Ab aevo*.—i. ab initio. 7. *Liberavit*.—i. filius Dei. 8. *De manu*.—i. de potestate. *Omnium*.—i. inimicorum. *Qui nos oderunt*.—i. homines perversos et immundos spiritus significat. De manu quorum et interim spe salvi facti sumus et in futuro reipsa salvandi. 10. *Testamenti*.—i. disposuit Deus testamentum nos esse liberaturum de semine patriarcharum. 11. *Ad Abraham*.—i. fides gentium et sacrosanctus ecclesiae cultus est promissus Abraham, Domino ad eum dicente, In te benedicentur omnes gentes terrae. Dixit Dominus ad David, Cum impleveris dies tuos, ut vadas ad patres tuos, suscitabo semen tuum, et ego ero ei in patrem, et ipse erit mihi in filium, ipse aedificabit mihi domum. 15. *In sanctitate*.—i. ostendit hic profeta quomodo Domino serviendum est, in sanctitate videlicet et iustitia. 17. *Altissimi*.—i. audiant mansueti quod Christum Dominum quem Johannes profetando praebit altissimum vocat. 18. *Praeibis*.—i. in vitam et mortem. *Parare*.—i. ut dixit parate viam Domini rectas facite semitas Domini nostri. *Vias eius*.—i. Christi.

of that writer. It seems unnecessary to occupy space by pointing out these variations, or the abridgments and omissions in Bede's Commentary, necessary to reduce it to an interlinear gloss: any reader who has access to Bede can make this comparison for himself.

6. *Ab aevo*.—"Qui a seculo sunt prophetarum ejus."—*Vulg.*

7. *Et liberavit*.—This is the reading of the Ante-Hieronymian version, instead of "salutem ex inimicis nostris," as in the modern Vulgate.—See Sabatier, *in loc.*

10. *Memorare*.—For "memorari." Here our MS. has the reading of the modern Vulg. The old version was "et memoratus est."

13. *De manibus*.—"De manu."—*Vulg.*

AD DANDAM SCIENTIAM SALUTIS PLEBI EIUS
IN REMISIONEM PECCATORUM EORUM

20

PER UISCERA MISERICORDIÆ DEI NOSTRI
IN QUIBUS UISITAUIT NOS ORIENS EX ALTO

ILLUMINARE HIS QUI IN TENEBRIS ET UMBRA MORTIS SEDENT
AD DIRIGENDOS PEDES NOSTROS IN UIA PACIS

Puer autem creperabat et conportabatur in spiritu et erat in desertis locis usque ad diem ostensionis sue ad Israel.

GLOSS.—19. *Scientiam*.—i. futuram. 22. *Oriens*.—i. Ecce vir, inquit profeta, oriens nomen eius, qui ideo recte oriens vocatur, qui nobis ortum ueræ lucis aperiens, filios noctis et tenebrarum lucis effecit filios. 23. *Illuminare his*.—i. his qui in peccatis et ignorantiae cecitate vixerunt, agnitionis amorisque sui radios infundere. 24. *Pedes nostros*.—Pedes nostri in viam pacis diriguntur cum actionum nostrarum iter per omnia redemptoris nostri gratiæ concordat.

Puer autem.—i. predicator penitentiæ futurus, optimum est ut solitudinis aspera sequatur.

17. *Altissimi*.—In the gloss on this word the allusion to the Arians in Bede is omitted. Bede's words are: "Audiant sane Arriani, et erubescant; audiant mansueti, et lætentur, quod Christum Dominum quem Johannes prophetando præibat, Altissimum vocat." The allusion is to Ps. xxxiii. 3, *Vulg.*

22. *Oriens*.—The Gloss refers to Zech. vi. 12; and is taken from Bede on Luc. i. 78.

23. *Sedent*.—Here our MS. follows the

modern *Vulg.* The old version was, "qui in tenebris sunt, et in umbra mortis sedentibus."

24. *In via*.—In viam. *Vulg.*

Puer autem.—This verse, which is from St. Luke, i. 80, is in the smaller character. It differs from the modern *Vulg.* in reading "in spiritu" for *spiritu*; and "desertis locis" for *desertis*: but agrees with it in reading "ostensionis" instead of "progressionis," as in the older version. See Sabatier, *in loc.*

XIII. TE DEUM LAUDAMUS.

THIS celebrated Hymn has no Preface, like the other Hymns in this volume, if we except the short title, “Hæc est Laus Sanctæ Trinitatis quam Augustinus sanctus, et Ambrosius composuit.”

This is an evident allusion to the legend, that the hymn was composed at the baptism of St. Augustine, one verse being uttered by him, and the next, alternately, by St. Ambrose, who baptized him. The earliest authority for this story is believed to be the Chronicle once attributed to Dacius, Bishop of Milan, A. D. 527, but now known to be of a much later date, inasmuch as it carries on the history to A. D. 1067 (*vid. Cave, Hist. Liter., sub Dacio, tom. i. p. 511, Oxon. 1740*). But from the allusion to it here, it appears that the story was more widely known at that period, and had found its way to Ireland.

Abbo of Fleuri¹ attributes the authorship of the *Te Deum* without hesitation to St. Hilary of Poitiers. He calls it “*Dei palinodia, quam composuit Hilarius Pictaviensis episcopus,*” and suggests that the reading *suscepisti* (which must, therefore, have been ancient, and which, it will be observed, is the reading of our MS.) is erroneous; for he says it ought to be, “*Tu ad liberandum suscepturus hominem,*” &c. Accordingly, this has ever since been, or at least is now, the received reading, although it is very doubtful whether the old *suscepisti* was not better. See note on the passage, p. 197, line 23, *infra*.

Archbishop Ussher appears to have had in his possession a copy of the Irish Book of Hymns, in which the *Te Deum* was ascribed to one Nicetas²;

¹ *Abbo of Fleuri*.—Quoted by the Bened. editors of St. Hilary’s works, *Pref.*, p. vii. n. 22. The passage occurs in the “Prologus in Abbonis libellum de Grammatica,” written by Abbo in the form of a letter on the occasion of his mission to England, A. D. 985,

and addressed to the English monks of his order. It is published by Mabillon, *Annal.*, lib. xlix. n. 69, tom. iv. p. 29, and *Append.*, p. 687.

² *Nicetas*.—See above, p. 9; and Ussher’s Works, by Elrington, vii. 300.

and he adds that, in a Gallican Psalter³, then in the Cotton Library, written about the time of Henry I. (A.D. 1100), it is attributed to St. Nicetius, who may, perhaps, be the Bishop of Treves (A.D. 541), or the Bishop of Lyons of the same name (A.D. 570), or some other, but probably the same to whom the Irish authority attributed it under the name of Nicetas.

An excellent summary of what has been written on the question of the authorship of this Hymn will be found in the notes of Meratus to the *Thesaur. Sacror. Rituum* of Barth. Gavantus, *Aug. Vind.*, 1763, fol., tom. ii. p. 162, sq. See also Daniel, *Thesaur. Hymnol.*, vol. ii. p. 279, sq.

In the Antiphony of Bangor the *Te Deum* is entitled, "Hymnus in die Dominico." The readings of this MS., as edited by Muratori, are marked B. in the following Notes.

³ *Psalter*.—"In Latino-Gallico quoque psalterio, circa tempore Henrici I. exarato inscribitur iste hymnus Sancti Niceti (Hibernicæ nostræ traditioni satis consentaneæ) sive Treverensis hic intelligendus fuerit Nicetius sive Lugdunensis, sive quis alius."—*Ibid.* This Psalter no longer exists in the remains of the Cotton Library in the British Museum.



hec est laus sanctae Trinitatis quam Augustinus sanctus et Ambrosius composuit.



LAUDATE pueri DOMINUM
 LAUDATE NOMEN DOMINI

Te deum laudamus
 te DOMINUM CONFITEMUR

Te aeternum patrem
 OMNIS TERRA UENERATUR

5

Tibi omnes angeli
 tibi caeli et uniuersae potestates

Tibi hiruphin et seraphin
 incessabili uoce proclamant dicentes
 sanctus sanctus sanctus dominus deus sabaoth

10

Pleni sunt caeli et uniuersa terra
 honore gloriae tuae

GLOSS.—3. *Laudamus*.—i. ore, vel opere. 4. *Confitemur*.—i. corde. 11. *Sanctus*.—i. sanctus ter dicitur, quia unus et trinus est deus. 12. *Uniuersa terra*.—i. aeclesia per quadratum orbem defusa non desinit laudare et orare deum.

1. *Laudate*.—This verse prefixed to the *Te Deum* is from Ps. cxii. 1., *Vulg.* It occurs also in B.

7. *Hiruphin*.—In the margin there is the following note: “Sciendum est quod hiruphim et saraphim per .m. litteram prolata iuxta proprietatem linguae ebraeae masculini sunt et pluralis numeri tantum.

Si autem per .n. litteram dicantur graeca sunt et neutri generis, et pluralis numeri.” In B. we have “Cherubim et Seraphim;” but Muratori has everywhere altered the orthography of the MS.

10. *Dicentes*.—*Om.* B. and *Vulg.* But it is found in the Vat. MS. 82, cited by Daniel, *Thesaur. Hymnol.*, ii. p. 298.

Te gloriosus apostolorum chorus
te profetarum laudabilis numerus 15

Te martirum candidatus laudat exercitus
te per orbem terrarum sancta conpitetur aeclesia

Patrem immensae maiestatis tuae
uenerandum tuum uerum et unigenitum filium

Sanctum quoque paraclitum spiritum 20
tu rex gloriae christe

Tu patris sempiternus es filius
tu ad liberandum mundum suscepisti hominem

Non horruisti uirginis uterum 25
tu deuicto mortis aculeo
aperuisti credentibus regna caelorum

GLOSS.—14. *Apostolorum*.—i. misorum. 15. *Profetarum*.—i. providentium. 16. *Martirum*.—i. fidelium.

12. *Universa terra*.—B. also reads *universa*; but the word is omitted in the Vulgate text of this Hymn.

13. *Honore*.—So also B. The common text has *Majestatis*.

18. *Tuae*.—*Om.* B. *Tuae* is omitted also in the Vulgate text of this Hymn.

19. *Unigenitum*.—The Vulgate text is *unicum*. But B., as also the *Cod. Thomasi Alex.*, cited by Daniel, *ubi supr.*, read *unigenitum*. B. omits *et*.

23. *Tu ad liberandum*.—The common reading is, “Tu, ad liberandum suscepturus hominem,” which is rendered in the Prayer-Book of the Anglican Church, “When Thou tookest upon Thee to deliver man.” But “ad liberandum suscepturus hominem” would seem rather to

mean, “when Thou wast about to take upon Thee man [i. e. human nature], for the purpose of deliverance, Thou didst not abhor,” &c. Perhaps the translators of the English Prayer-Book may have intended the insertion of a parenthesis, “when Thou tookest upon Thee (to deliver) man, Thou didst not abhor,” &c. But it would be very difficult to make this intelligible in reading. Some of the old English versions which we find in the Primers of the fifteenth century appear to have omitted *suscepturus*, for they read, “Thou wert not skoymous [squeamish] of the maydens womb to delyuer mankind.”—Maskell, *Mon. Rit. Eccl. Anglic.*, vol. ii. p. 14. Others seem to have connected *suscepturus* and *virginis uterum*, “Thou

TU AD DEXTERAM DEI SEDES IN GLORIA PATRIS
IUDEX CREDERIS ESSE UENTURUS

TU ERGO QUÆSSIMUS NOBIS TUIS FAMULIS SUBUENI
QUOS PRECIOSO SANGUINE REDEMISTI

30

ÆTERNAM PAC CUM SANCTIS TUIS GLORIAM MUNERARI
SALUUM PAC POPULUM TUUM DOMINE
ET BENEDIC HEREDITATI TUÆ
ET REGE EOS ET EXTOLLE ILLOS USQUE IN SECULUM

GLOSS.—32. *Populum*.—i. christianum. 33. *Hereditati*.—i. aeclesiae. 34. *Rege*.—i. in bonis operibus. *Extolle*.—i. defende. *In seculum*.—i. in uita aeterna.

wert noȝt skoymes to take the maiden es wombe, for to deliver mankynde.”—*Ibid.*, p. 231. In the Primer of 1535, as edited by Dr. Burton (*Three Primers put forth in the Reign of Henry VIII.*, Oxford, 1834, p. 82), this verse is thus rendered: “Thou (when Thou shouldest take upon Thee our nature to deliver man) didst not abhor the virgin’s womb.” It appears from these discrepancies that there was anciently a difficulty in the interpretation of this passage.—Comp. Daniel, *Thesaur. Hymnol.*, ii. 299. But our MS. agrees with B., inserting the word *mundum*, and giving *suscepisti* for *suscepturus*. These readings remove all difficulty, and are very probably the true text: “Thou tookest upon Thee man to deliver the world; Thou didst not abhor the Virgin’s womb: Having overcome the sting of death, Thou didst open the kingdom of heaven to believers.”

27. *Sedes*.—This is the modern reading. But B. has *sedens*, which is better. *In gloria patris*.—It is doubtful whether

the construction should be *sedes* [*sedens*] *in gloria Patris*—“Thou sittest at the right hand of God in the glory of the Father,” or, *in gloria Patris iudex venturus*, “We believe that Thou shalt come, in the glory of the Father, to be our Judge.”

29. *Tu*.—Te, B., which is also the modern text. *Nobis*.—Omitted in Vulg. text. But B. reads *nobis*. *Quæssimus*.—For Quæsumus.

31. *Æternam fac*.—The common text, as given in the Roman Breviary, and translated in the English Prayer-Book, is, “Æterna fac cum sanctis tuis in gloria numerari,” “Make them to be *numbered* with thy saints, in glory everlasting.” But B. and all copies of the *Te Deum* which I have seen in any MS. older than the sixteenth century, have, “Æterna fac cum sanctis tuis [B. omits *tuis*] gloria *munerari*,” or “in [or cum] gloria *munerari*,” which the old English versions published by Mr. Maskell render, “Make hem to be rewardid with thi seyntis: in blisse, with everlastinge glorie (*Mo-*

PER SINGULOS DIES BENEDICIMUS TE
 ET LAUDAMUS NOMEN TUUM IN ÆTERNUM
 ET IN SECULUM SECLĪ.

35

FIAT DOMINE MISERICORDIA TUA SUPER NOS
 QUOMODUM SPERAUIMUS IN TE.

Gloss.—35. *Per singulos dies.*—i. in prosperis et in adversis sine ullo intervallo te benedicimus.
 38. *Fiat.*—i. oratio aeclesiae.

num. Rit. ii. 14), or “Make hem to be rewarded with thi seyntis in endeles blisse” (*ibid.*, 230, 232); and every one acquainted with the black letter writing of the fifteenth century will at once see how easily *munerari* may be mistaken for *numerari*. That *munerari* is the true reading, can scarcely, I think, admit of a doubt; but *æternam* and *gloriam* are certainly corrupt, and scarcely make sense. We ought, evidently, to read *eterna* and *gloria*, as in B. It is also clear that the English Prayer-Book and older versions have misinterpreted this passage by the insertion of the word *them*: “Make them,” &c.; for the construction plainly is, “Quos redemisti fac munerari,” and the verse, “whom thou hast redeemed,” ought therefore to be connected with that which follows, not with that which precedes: “We therefore pray Thee help Thy servants: make Thou to be rewarded with Thy saints, in glory everlasting, those whom Thou hast redeemed with Thy precious blood.” Daniel says: “Procul dubio in hac voce” [*munerari*] “tenes scripturam antiquissimam et genuinam. *Numerari* primum occurrit in Brev. Italis v. c. in Franc. anni 1495” [i. e. a Franciscan Breviary, printed at Venice in that

year] “et Lg.” [by these letters he refers to the *Heures a l'usage de Lengres*, printed at Troyes, without a date]. “Seculo decimo sexto ecclesia Romana in ejusmodi litibus interdum *ιταλιζουσα* recentiore scripturam in textum recepit.”—*Loc. cit.*

32. *Salvum fac.*—This is Ps. xxvii. 9. *Vulg.* The *Te Deum*, properly so called, ends at line 31: all that follows is from the Psalms, and, as will be seen (see note on line 38), was varied at different times, and in different MSS.

34. *In seculum.*—Ad seculum, B. The common text reads, “in æternum.”

35. *Per singulos.*—This is Ps. cxliv. 2, *Vulg.*, with the change of *benedicimus* and *laudamus* for *benedicam* and *laudabo*.

36. *In æternum.*—The common text reads *in seculum*. B. reads *in æternum*.

37. *Seculi.* B. adds *Amen*.

38. *Fiat Domine.*—Ps. xxxii. 22, *Vulg.* The common text reads, “Fiat misericordia tua, Domine,” but B. agrees with our MS. Between lines 37 and 38 our MS. omits the two verses of the common text, “Dignare Domine, die isto, sine peccato nos custodire: miserere nostri Domine, miserere nostri;” and after v. 38 it also omits the verse, “In te Domine speravi: non confundar in æternum.” And the

Τε πατρὸς ἀδοξαμὺς ἑτέρη. τε sempiternum filium inuocamus. τεque ppriūm sanctū in una diuinitatis substantia manentem confitemur.

Τίβι ὀνὶ θεῷ ἰν τριῖνιτᾶτε δεβίταρ λαυδερ ἡ ἡρατῖαρ πεφερίμυρ ὕτ τε ἰνεφραβίλῖ ὕοε λαυδαρε μερεαμυρ περ ἑτερνα πεcula.

same verses are omitted in B. These are, therefore, in all probability, interpolations of a later date. The last is obviously taken from Ps. xxxi. 1, or Ps. lxxi. 1, and *Miserere nostri* is from Tob. viii. 10 (*Vulg.*) The other verse, *Dignare Domine*, occurs, as Ussher has remarked, in the Greek *Hymnus Vespertinus*, which he has published in his *Tract. de Symbolo Romanæ Ecclesiæ*, p. 43 (*Works*, Elrington's edit., vol. vii. p. 337); and he might have added, that there also it is preceded by

the verse, *Per singulos dies*, from Ps. cxliv. 2.

Te patrem.—What follows, although by the same scribe, is in a somewhat different and more angular character, and was not, therefore, intended as a part of the *Te Deum*. It does not occur in B.; but Ussher found it in his copy of the *Liber Hymnorum*, and quotes it without any variation, as above, except that the concluding words were in his copy, “per eterna secula seculorum. Amen.”

XIV. THE HYMN OF ST. COLUMBA, "ALTUS PROSATOR."

THE following Hymn was first printed by Colgan from an ancient copy of the Book of Hymns, supposed to be that which is now at St. Isidore's in Rome. He tells us that in that MS. it had two Prefaces, partly in Latin and partly in Irish, of which he has given only the substance; and that there were Arguments prefixed to each stanza, of which he has translated the Irish words¹ that occurred intermixed with Latin in the original, his object in the publication having been historical or religious, not philological. It is evident, however, that the text of the Hymn, as Colgan has printed it, is in many places corrupt, arising from errors of the press, or of transcription, so that there is great need of a more correct and careful edition of it. But it unfortunately happens that a leaf of the Dublin MS. is lost, which renders the present text imperfect from stanza O to X, inclusive: and the only other copy of the Hymn to which the Editor has access,—that preserved in the *Leabhar Breac*, a MS. of the fifteenth century, in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy,—is even still more defective, all being lost after stanza H. We must, therefore, still depend upon Colgan's copy for the missing stanzas.

The *Altus* of St. Columba, in one account of it, is said to have been composed as a penitential exercise for the three battles², of which he had been the occasion in Ireland;—but a second tradition, recorded also in the Preface, tells us that it was an extemporaneous effusion. The former account represents it to have been composed, after seven years of study, in the Black Church of Derry,

¹ *Irish words*.—"Hymnus primus habuit duas præfationes, partim Latino, partim Hibernico idiomate præfixas, quarum summam tantum hic exhibemus. Singulæ etiam strophæ, seu capitula, habent præfixa sua argumenta, quæ ab aliquo veteri Scholiasta videntur adjectæ, in quibus nihil immutavimus,

nisi quod quædam hinc inde interjecta verba Hibernica, reddamus Latina."—Colgan, *Triad. Thaum.*, p. 473.

² *Battles*.—See Reeves's *Adamnan*, p. 253, who quotes the preface as given in the *Leabhar Breac*; which will be found, with a translation, in Addit. Note A.

in Ireland: the latter states that it was uttered extemporaneously in Hy. Few can doubt that, if we are to treat such legends as deserving of criticism, the former is in every point of view the more probable tradition. O'Donnell¹ (if we may trust Colgan's version) omits all mention of the occasion on which the Hymn was composed.

It is remarkable that the *Altus* has not been mentioned by Adamnan; but this circumstance cannot, perhaps, be urged as an argument against the authenticity of the Hymn, because the plan of Adamnan's work did not necessarily require him to notice the writings of St. Columba. If, however, a mission from St. Gregory the Great to the distant Abbot of Hy had been the occasion of a miraculous composition of this Hymn,—and miraculous it must have been, if so elaborate a production had been extemporaneous,—it would very naturally have fallen within the scope of St. Adamnan's memoir; and the circumstance could scarcely have been omitted by him, if he had known of it. We may, therefore, fairly conclude, that this legend, at least, if not the Hymn itself, was unknown to Adamnan.

But there is no reason why we should reject the former and less marvellous tradition—that the Hymn, if genuine, was composed in Ireland, before St. Columba's removal to Hy; and it is probable that the story of a mission from Rome to that *Ultima Thule* of Christendom, with gifts and relics presented by Pope Gregory the Great to Columba, was a legend invented after the time of Adamnan.

The Hymn is written in a rude Latinity, each strophe of six (or, as in the first stanza, seven) double lines, beginning with a letter of the alphabet in order; the metre a species of Trochaic dimeter, or tetrameter, as Bede calls it (see p. 163, note ^b), to be scanned without synalephe, with a rhyme or assonance at the end of the lines. Thus the first strophe, divided into its lines, will be as follows:—

Altus prositor vetustus,	Christus et Sanctus Spiritus.
Dierum et ingenitus,	Coeternus in gloria
Erat absque origine,	Deitatis perpetua.
Primordi et crepidine,	Non tres Deos depromimus,
Est et erit in secula,	Sed unum Deum dicimus,
Seculorum infinita.	Salva fide in personis
Cui est unigenitus	Tribus gloriosissimis.

¹ O'Donnell.—*Vit. quinta S. Columbæ*, lib. ii. See Addit. Note A, where the passage from c. 20, 21, *ap. Colgan, Triad. Thaum.*, p. 412. O'Donnell is given.

There cannot be a doubt that the Hymn is of considerable antiquity, and that it is Irish. It quotes in many places a Latin version of the Scriptures older than the recension of St. Jerome; it is written in a barbaric style, with many words of rare occurrence—some of them unknown even to the researches of Du Cange. Dr. Reeves has noticed the word *Dialis*, which seems peculiar to this Hymn and to Adamnan, in the sense of *divine, sacred*¹. Some other examples will be pointed out in the Notes.

In the following pages the Hymn has been printed as in the MS., with two lines in one—the double line consisting of sixteen syllables, as stated in the ancient Preface.

To each strophe, or stanza, is prefixed a Scholium, containing what the *Vetus Scholiasta*, as Colgan terms him, calls "The Title" and "The Argument." The *Title* is a short summary, in Latin, of the subject treated of in the stanza to which it is prefixed. The *Argument* is a text—sometimes two or more texts—of Scripture, on which the principal thought or subject-matter of the stanza is founded. Thus *The Title* of stanza A is, "*De Unitate et Trinitate trium Personarum.*" The *Argument* (Dan. vii. 9), "*Vetustus dierum sedebat super sedem suam.*" See these Scholia translated in Addit. Note C.

In the Additional Notes will be found the Preface as given in the *Leabhar Breac*, with the Gloss and Scholia of the same MS.; the Preface, as abridged and translated into Latin by Colgan from the MS. supposed to be now in Rome; and an attempt to give an English translation of the entire Hymn.

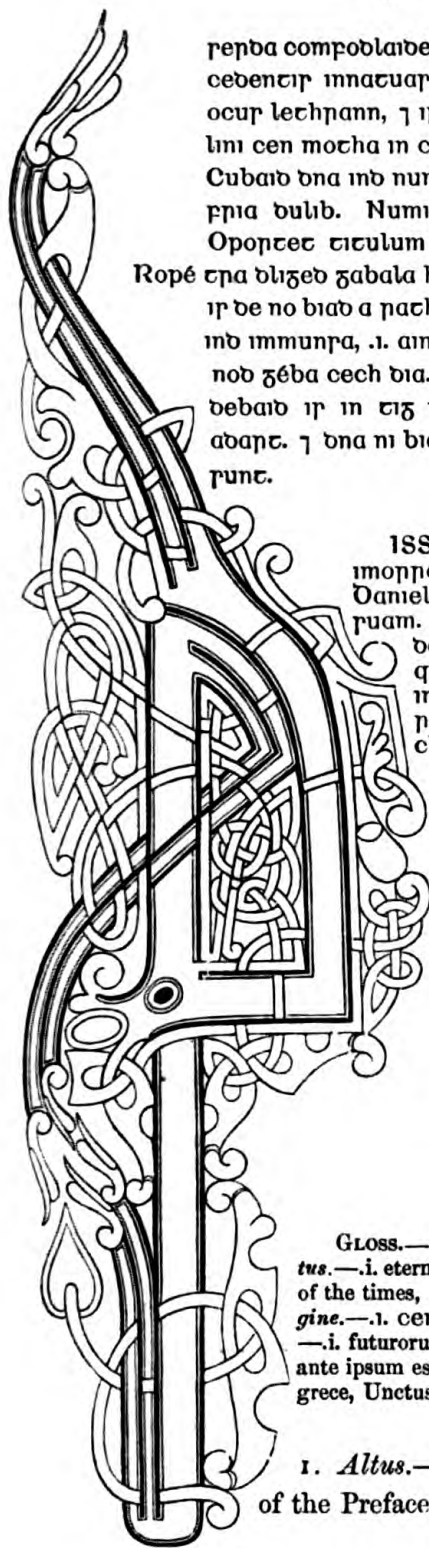
In the notes at the bottom of the pages the various readings of Colgan's printed copy are marked C.; and those of the MS. fragment in the *Leabhar Breac* are marked B.

¹ See Reeves, *Adamnan. Glossar. in voce.*



LOCUS huius summi h. Tempus Aedán meicc Dabráin rí Alban, ocus Aeda meicc Ainmelech rí hibern. Murius autem uel poccus ipse ba rí roman tunc. Peppo Collumcille de nobile genere pictorum. Columba dicitur ut est estote prudenter sicut peppentes et simpliciter sicut columbae. Causa quia uoluit deum laudare. Per septim annos hunc sumnum reputant in nigra cellula sine lumine .i. ap chuinichid dilguda in mad cacha cule dremne do bhuibud for Diarmait mac Cerbaill. 7 na cacha aile no bhuite epe na foóun. Uel ut alii dicunt, ip co hopunn do ponad .i. araile lache no bói columcille in h, 7 ní báí nech oca aóe bofchín, 7 ní bof biad occu aóe epiachar corca. Arberc iarum Columcille fúí dáichin, Do foilet oigib huarliu cucunn indiu a dáichin .i. muinuir Driuguir tancatar conarcedaib dorom; 7 arberctrom fúí dáichín, bí i forp icpúichalaim na nóezed conuigurra don muilunn. Dáibidrom fúí a epe diaraile chloich bof ip ind pecler .i. blathnac a haimm, 7 maraid beor, 7 ip fúí do dhícheoí roinn iph phoinciz. ba epom épa lepeom a epe, conderna in immunra epia opib aigitech, o éa pen condice in mulenn .i. aduitor laborantium 7c. In tan imorpo do pat in céet fóta ip in mulenn ip ann do chuaib icenn in chetna caircill, ocus ip imaille porcaich in bolc do blich 7 in timmun do denam. Ocus ip co hoponn do ponad pic. Ip in choicuid bliadain peccat ap .cccc. iar fígein epite do chuaib colum cille do hi, ut deba dicit, anno dominicae incarnationis .ccccxii. quo tempore gubernaculum romani imperii porc iuritanorum iuritur minor accepit. Uenit de hibernia pperiter et abbat habitu et uita monachi inuiguir nomine Columbi britoniam ppedicaturus uerbum Dei prouinciar septemtrionalium pictorum. Druib autem filius Melchon pegabat pictor tunc, et ipse immolauit columbo h, ubi columbur cum efferet annorum .lxxii. repulctur est. Porc uero .xxxiiii. ex quo ipse britoniam ppedicaturus adit.

Rucad epa in timmonra do driuguir fúí, icomman na nairceda tuccha huad .i. in ópoir, .i. in mórgem a haimmíde, 7 imman na pechmane. Ro cloimcloiret imorpo na imman. chuirehíde epí caircíl ann do ponad Driuguir .i. hic publatur, ocus orbem, 7 uagatur. O dochoepa imorpo i cenn cairpenta ind immun do driuguir, do deochatar aingil de combicir innarpprom corpoicheb lepeom in cairtel pen, atepaiged driuguir ap a roinn peom connice pen. O porchede imorpo pen no raibicir inna hangil, no raibed dna Driuguir, co eapnic inimmun foninnar fín. Ro chochlaiz epa Driuguir a coibrena cucuprom arpo púirpeom ite no chómchlóiret. atberactrom dna ba hiac. 7 porboe dilgud de. Ocus atberidrom nobbaí locht for fín timmun aóe a laiget do molad in epfnoit ann per pe, cia no molad epia na dulib. Ocus do roacht in tinchpechadpín co columcille, 7 ípe feim pochun denma in te chpíte. Opib aigitech fil híc more ebpeo, arinduir cathaleda tucad fotha in éaircílre .i. epetem oenatad co foiricín epedatad. Epe roichim dna do ponad, 7 bí epnaíl fúíroiríde .i. arcipicalir 7 uulgarir. Arcipicalir ubi fiunt epaigib comam-



perba compoblaide cocurpumar po aippe 7 ceip. 7 corop pubrequep cī illoc ppe-
cedentip innatuarlucab. uulgarip imorpo du imbi impecra pillab 7 cethraimethin
ocur lethrann, 7 iped ón pil hfc. Sé líne dña in cech cairtiu. 7 .xvi. pillaba cech
lmi cen mocha in cet caircell. uu. líne imorpo androm ar ip molab de pil annrde.
Cubaid dña ind numuir ecutrummarin ppiu na caircil archena ar ecutrumma dia
ppia bulib. Numip peda autem in cpeaturip quia rex diebur factae sunt.
Oporret titulum et argumentum eppre ante unumquemque capitulum.

Ropé tpa dligeð gabala huiur çmmi co na gabcha quip potep Deo etip cech da caircil, 7
ip de no biad a pach fair arip amlaid po chanat ppiu. Actaat tpa pacha imda for
ind immunra, .i. auzil ippecnarcur ceimbethip ic o gabail. Ni pinnra demun péc inel
nob zéba cech dia. 7 ni imbercat dña namait he ipind lo in zeba. ocur dña ni bia
debaid ip in tiz inhethar cognatath. Anzib dña ar cech inbar aét ec ppi
adart. 7 dña ni bia çorpa na noéta ip in þurp in zebéar commence 7 aliae multae
punt.

ISSE in titul de unitate 7 trinitate trium personarum. Ip pi
imorpo ind arçamant in chanoim forpa pochaçter in cairtel ut in
Danielo uel in Epaia legitur, Ueturpur diepum rebebat puper pedem
puam. Ueturpur diepum aeternur temporum erat. Ueturpur diepum
deur dicatur, ppo multitudine diepum ante quor deur erat, uel
quia fuit [ante] omnia tempora. Canoim dña pacha do berpreom
inte quia ipre pprofa fuit. Ocur ó Daniul rainriud tuc ar ipre
po po debenchu 7 po po roeriu. Ipe dña Columille po po deben-
chu 7 po po roeriu do páchib hEppenn.

ALTUS PROSOR UETUSTUS DIERUM ET INGENITUS
ERAT ABSQUE ORIGINE PRIMORDII ET CREPIDINE
EST ET ERIT IN SECLA SECLORUM INFINITA
CUI EST UNIGENITUS CHRISTUS ET SANCTUS SPI-
RITUS
COAETERNUS IN GLORIA DIETATIS PERPETUAE
NON TRIS DEOS DEPROMIMUS SED UNUM DEUM
DICIMUS
SALUA FIDE IN PERSONIS TRIBUS GLORIOSISSIMIS

Gloss.—1. *Prositor*.—i. genitor, .i. mcabbul . . . [the awful . . .]. *Uetus-*
tus.—i. eternus, .i. piniuhon na namper, .i. piniu 7 coipech diap tempona [i. senior
of the times, .i. elder and first of our times]. *Dierum*.—i. temporum. 2. *Absque ori-*
gine.—i. cen athar no cen bunad [without father, or without origin]. 3. *Secula*.
—i. futurorum. *Seculorum*.—i. presentium. 4. *Unigenitus*.—Primogenitus, quia nemo
ante ipsum est, unigenitus quia nemo post ipsum est. *Christus*.—Misias ebraice, Christus
grece, Unctus latine. 7. *Salua*.—i. intigra.

1. *Altus*.—For a translation of the Preface, and of the Scho- lia or arguments prefixed to each stanza, see Add. Notes A and C. It will be ob-

Isē in titul. De formatione. ιχ. graduum. τριβυρ πραετερμυριυρ non per ignoꝛantiam sed pꝛo angustia capituli πραετερμυριυρ. ΙΣΙ ιμορρο ινδ αρδαμιντ. Fiat lux γ facta est.

BONOS CREAVIT ANGELOS ORDINES ET ARCHANGELOS
PRINCIPATUUM AC SEDIUM POTESTATUM VIRTUTIUM.
UTI NON ESSET BONITAS OTIOSA AC MAIESTAS
TRINITATIS IN OMNIBUS ΛΑΓΧΙΤΑΤΙΣ ΜΥΝΕΡΙΒΥΣ
SED HABERET CELESTIA IN QUIBUS ΠΡΕΥΙΞΙΛΙΑ
OSTENDERET ΜΑΓΝΟΠΕΡΕ ΠΟΙΣΙΒΙ ΠΑΤΙΜΙΝΕ.

10

GLOSS.—8. *Archangelos*.—i. bonos. 9. *Sedium*.—i. troni. *Virtutum*.—i. causa rithmi. 10. *Uti*.—i. ut. *Bonitas*.—i. benevolentia. *Otiosa*.—i. sine operatione. .i. antach no dsmam cenmaine doēpnuδ [dilatatory or lazy, without giving away goods]. 12. *Haberet*.—i. ut. *Celestia*.—i. elimenta vel ministeria. *Previgilia*.—i. ναρημιαδα γ na honore, .i. cech grad opailu [i. e. the pre-eminences and honors, i. e. of each more beautiful grade], .i. quasi privata lex. 13. *Magnopere*.—i. on mōpꝛnum. no in moꝛꝛnechet, .i. commōp, .i. dñb aipner pochmai, .i. on molab pochmai do bepat amꝛil dicenter panctur panctur panctur dommur [i. e. from the great deed, or the great agent, .i. very great, .i. from the glorious testimony, .i. from the glorious praise which the angels give, saying, Holy, Holy, Holy Lord].

served that in the Scholium prefixed to this stanza, Dan. vii. 9, is quoted from an Ante-Hieronymian version: *vetustus*, not *antiquus*, dierum. It is curious that the scholiast seems uncertain whether this passage was in Daniel or Isaiah: but the words "vel in Esaia" were probably the insertion of some transcriber. They occur in C, but not in B. *Prositor*.—Prosator, C. Prosetor, B. *Prosator* is Father, Creator, from *prosero*, to bring forth, beget. The Gloss explains the word *genitor*. The Isidorian Glossaries have "*Prosatrix*, genetrix." *Opp. Isidori Hisp.*, tom. vii. (*Append.*, xxiv. p. 483) 4°, Romæ, 1803. *Dierum*.—To be read as a trisyllable.

2. *Primordii*.—Primordio, C. Primordi, B. It must be pronounced *Primordi* to suit the metre. *Crepidine*.—Κρηπῖς, *border, edge, foundation*. *Crepido* is used frequently in the Vulgate, Ex. ii. 5; Lev. i. 15; Judic. vii. 22, *et alibi*. The Greek

Κρηπῖς is explained, *gradus, basis, ripa, fundamentum*, *Glossar. in Octateuch: κρηπῖδωμα, fundamentum, basis*. Ezek. xliii. 14. *Aquil.* and *Vulg.*

4. *Christus*.—The Gloss on this word is from Isidor. *Etymolog.*, lib. xvii. c. 2, n. 6.

5. *Dietatis*.—Deitatis, C. *Perpetuae*.—Perpetua, C. A more recent hand has written "vel a" over the final ae in the MS. Perpetua is necessary to rhyme with *gloria*.

6. *Tris*.—Tres, C. *Dicimus*.—"Dñm," C., an evident mistake; for *Domnum* would be inconsistent with the rhyme.

7. *Salva*.—Under this line are the words Ιn ιπυρ chathalacba [the Catholic faith], with some other words very obscure, but which may be read γ πορ a mchaib dompa [may I be on its protection].

DE εραντισμῳ .i. x. ζῆλον πρῖνσι, ἵπε ἰν τιτῶν. Αἱ ἰνδ ἀποκα-
 λυψῆ ἰμορροῦ δὸ βεραρ ἰνδ ἀρῆαμαῖε ἰδ ερε ὑβὶ·ρcellam de celo cecidit in
 terram. ἡ ἰν εραῖα, quomodo cecidit Lucifer qui mane oriebatur.

Celi de regni apice stationis angelicæ
 claritate præfulgoris uenustate speciminis 15
 superbiendo ruerat lucifer quem formauerat
 apostataeque angeli eodem lapsu lugubri
 auctoris cenodoxiae peruicacis inuidiae
 ceteris remanentibus in suis principatibus.

Gloss.—15. *Speciminis*.—i. ἰνζῆε [form, beauty]. 16. *Lucifer*.—i. lucem ferens. *Formauerat*.—
 .i. Deus. 17. *Apostata*.—i. ruerant, .i. na ἡαῖγῖλ δὶρceimmnecha, .i. οὐδὶρῦνδ τιτῳῖμ [.i. the
 lapsed angels, .i. from their lamentable fall]. *Lugubri*.—i. choimtech [lamentable], .i. ὑδὸνδ
 ρεῖμ ἡ ἄλῳρ [from themselves and others] quia demones suum lapsum lugent. 18. *Cenodoxiae*. .i.
 inanis gloriæ vel superbiæ, vel na ζῳρε ερcone [the common glory] nam cenon grece comune latine
 dicitur, .i. ερcon [common] doxia vero gloria. *Pervicacis*. Pervicax dicitur qui in proposito suo perse-
 verat usque in victoriam. 19. *Ceteris*.—i. angelis.

8. *Bonos*.—In the Scholium prefixed to this stanza, or *capitulum*, the text *Fiat lux* is quoted as the record of the creation of angels, who are generally assumed by divines to have been included in the word *Light*.—See Isidor. Hispal., *Sentent.*, lib. i. c. 10, n. 3, who says, "ante omnem creaturam angeli facti sunt, dum dictum est, *Fiat lux*." The nine orders or degrees of angels are usually enumerated thus: Angeli, Archangeli, Throni, Dominationes, Virtutes, Principatus, Potestates, Cherubim, Seraphim. See Isidor. Hispal., *Etymolog.*, lib. vii. c. 5. Of these our author mentions only six, omitting three (viz., Dominationes, Cherubim, and Seraphim), which the Scholiast tells us were omitted, not because he was ignorant of them, but because he found it impossible to bring them into the limits of his verse. The Gloss informs us that the author gave the name of *sedes* to one of these orders, instead of

throni, and that he wrote *virtutum*, instead of *virtutum*, for the sake of the metre. In the margin there are the following notes: one in Latin (which the Editor has not found in the works of Isidore)—"Ante omnem diem et ante omne tempus condidit Deus angelicam creaturam et informem materiam, Isidorus dicit." The other in Irish:—ἵρ αἵρε ρὸ ῥεχmall ἡῖρῦφῖν ἡ ῥαῖαῖρῖν ρεχ na hῖ αἵε αἵρε αῖα ρῖα ο δὸῖνδ ἡρ νεταρῆνῦ ἡ αῖρεβ. ἵρεατ ρὸ .i. na .i. x. ἡζῖραδῖα .i. ἀγγεῖ ἀρχαγγεῖ ὑῖρτυ-
 τεῖρ ποτεῖτατεῖρ πρῖνσιπατυῖρ δὸμῖνα-
 τῖονεῖρ εῖρονῖ ἡῖρῦφῖμ ἡ ῥαῖαῖρῖμ. ["The reason he has passed over the Hiruphin and Saraphin beyond the others is, because they are farther from men in their distance and residence. And these are the nine orders, viz., angels, archangels, virtues, powers, principalities, dominions, thrones, Hiruphim, and Saraphim"]. *Ordines*.—Archangelos et ordines, C.

De puma diabuli in titul .i. de motatione nominis Luciferi in draco-
nem. וְיִמּוֹרְרוּ מִבְּאֲרָמַיִם, ut est in apocalypsi Ecce draco ruber
habens capita .xii. et cornua .x. et cauda eius traxit secum tertiam par-
tem fiderum vel stellatum.

DRACO MAGNUS DETERRIMUS TERRIBILIS ET ANTIQVVS 20
QUI FUIT SERPENS LUBRICVS SAPIENTIOR OMNIBVS
BESTIIS ET ANIMANTIBVS TERRAE PERACIORIBVS
TERTIAM PARTEM SIDERVM TRAXIT SECVM IN BARATHRVM
LOCORVM INFERNALIVM DIVERSORVMQVE CARCERVM
REFVGA VERI LVMINIS PARASITO PRAECIPITES 25

GLOSS.—20. *Draco*.—i. diabolus. *Deterrimus*.—i. pessimus, vel teterrimus, i. horribilissimus. 21. *Lubricus*.—i. plemon [slippery]. *Sapientior*.—i. τυαχλιυ [more subtle, cunning] βιβ [est] sapientia in bono et in malo, in bono, ut dauid dicit Initium sapientiae etc. [Ps. cx. 10]. in malo, ut christus Perdam sapientiam sapientium hujus mundi [1 Cor. i. 15]. 22. *Animantibus*.—i. animalibus. 23. *Tertiam partem*.—i. de omnibus angelis vel de consentientibus. *Siderum*.—i. graduum celestium i. angelorum. *Barathrum*.—i. in infernum .i. imbaile chpo [i. e. into the city of death]. 25. *Parasito*.—i. ονδ βυρρεοιρ .i. uad pem ap βυρρεορ . . . [from a mountebank, i. e. of his own accord he is a mountebank]. *Praecipites*.—i. ινα ριμβραιγεχαδ .i. ιπερν [i. e. the precipitous places, viz. hell].

9. *Principatum*.—Principatum, B. *Virtutum*.—Virtutum, C. Virtutum, B.

11. *Largitatis*.—Largitatis, B.

12. *Privilegia*.—Privilegia, C. Privilegia, B. The Gloss assumes the reading *Privilegia*, which is necessary to agree with *Celestia*.

13. *Fatimine*.—Fatimini, B. This word does not occur in the dictionaries, nor in Du Cange. It seems to signify *expression, manifestation*, from *fator, for*, to speak; or *fateor*, to manifest. See Reeves, *Adamnan, Glossar. in voc. Famen*, p. 444.

14. *Celi*.—For *Transmigratione* in the Scholium, C. has *translatione*. The word seems to be applied here to the fall of the angels, who are called "the nine orders or degrees of *Prince*," in reference, apparently, to the passages of Scripture in which Satan is called *Prince* (John, xii. 31, xiv. 30, xvi. 11; Eph., ii. 2).

15. *Speciminis*.—Here used to denote honour, glory, ornament, a sense in which the word occurs in Seneca and Apuleius.

17. *Apostatae*.—In the margin is this note: "Apostata grece, recessor a fidelibus interpretatur latine; vel lugubrium lignum est super quod etiam aves stare non possunt, ap alemni tucab uadribe por cech plemon [from its slipperiness; the name was given from this to everything slippery]." Does this note confound *lugubris* and *lubricus*?

18. *Cenodoxia*.—Interpreted in the Gloss *inanis gloria, κενή δόξη*. Isidor. Hisp. uses the word: "Multos autem ex eis [monachis] cenodoxiae morbus commaculat." *De eccl. Officiis*, lib. ii. 16, n. 18. See Du Cange, *Glossar. in voc.* The second etymology, *κοινή δόξη*, is a mistake. The construction is, "And the apostate angels" [ruerunt, fell], "by the same lamentable fall of the author of vain glory, of obstinate hate, the others remaining in their principalities." *Pervicacis*.—The Gloss is from Isidor. Hispal., *Etymol.*, lib. x. 211.

20. *Deterrimus*.—Teterrimus, C. *Antiquus*.—Apoc. xii. 9, xx. 2.

De creatione elementorum mundi ꝛ hominum regentium ea portea more in titul. In imorro ind argamaint. In principio fecit deus celum ꝛ terram ut in genesi dicitur.

Excelsum mundi machinam preuidens et armoniam
caelum et terram pecerat mare et aquas condidit
herbarum quoque gergmina uirgultorum arbuscula
solem lunam ac sidera ignem ac necessaria
aues pisces et peccora bestias et animalia
hominem demum regere protoplastum praesagmine.

30

GLOSS.—26. *Machinam*.—i. materiam, .i. massam. *Armoniam*.—i. in imchubbiur fil eter na dule [i. the harmony that is between things created]. 27. *Caelum*.—i. invisibilis omnis creatura. *Terram*.—i. omnis creatura visibilis terra vocatur. *Mare*.—i. a maritudine dictum, vel a meando. 28. *Herbarum*.—i. christus. 30. *Bestias*.—i. quicquid ore et ungene [read unguine] sevit, bestia dicitur. 31. *Hominem*.—i. Adam, .i. omnia elementa terrena. *Protoplastum*.—i. protos, graece: primus, latine: plastus, .i. formatus, .i. in cetchputa [the first created] .i. corpus. *Prasagmine*.—i. o plozarichin-necht [i. host = leadership].

21. *Lubricus*.—In the margin there is the following note: "Lubricus a libro, quod est nomen cui oblenita scilipes adherere non possunt, finitatem omnis levis de quo quis labitur lubricus dicitur, don chpunn reinbice eom in a barr, ꝛ dia cacc do gnicer in tþuric [from that tree, on whose top there are usually birds, and from whose dung silk is made]. The remainder of this note is very obscure, and the Editor has not succeeded in reading it: it concludes with the words "in barathro, .i. in inferno." *Lubrum*, in the Glossary of Papias, is explained "rasile lignum." The object of the first part of this note is evidently to derive the word *Lubricus* from the name of a tree, so slippery that even flies cannot walk on its branches.—See the Gloss on this passage in the *Leabhar Breac*, Addit. Note B.

22. *Feracioribus*.—Ferocioribus, B.

25. *Refuga*.—Over the last syllable of

this word is written .l. x. [vel x], and a more recent hand has written x on the line below. *Refugax* is the reading of C. *Refugas*, B. *Parasito*.—The Gloss takes this word to signify a buffoon, or mountebank. Du Cange has shown that *parasitus* was used to signify a domestic servant, who lives at his master's table. But it is not easy to make sense from either of these significations in the passage before us. Perhaps we should read *paradiso*. The gloss over *Præcipites* seems to understand *locos*. There is evidently corruption in the text.

26. *Excelsus*.—In the margin is this note: ". dicit. Oportuit ut terre celestis creatura prece . . ." Nothing more is legible. It was evidently a passage quoted from some ecclesiastical writer, perhaps Bede; but the editor has not been able to find it. *Armoniam*.—Ermoniam, C.

27. *Et terram*.—Terram, C.

Ipe in titul. de laude dei ab angelis in quarta feria dicentes sanctus, sanctus, sanctus, dominus deus sabaoth. Ipi in ob argamant. Quando feci celum et terram collaudaverunt me angeli, ut in sapientia salomonis dicitur.

Factis simul sideribus etheris luminaribus
collaudaverunt angeli factura prae mirabili
immensae molis dominum opificem celestium
preconio laudabile debito et immobile
concentuque egregio gratas egerunt domino
amore et arbitrio non naturae donario.

35

GLOSS.—32. *Etheris*.—i. in ethuor [the ether, or air]. 33. *Collaudaverunt*.—i. me, .i. postquam creati sunt angeli dixerunt, sanctus, sanctus, sanctus, dominus deus sabaoth. 34. *Molis*.—i. non corporalis molis. *Opificem*.—i. in imbenmaor [a work doer], .i. opus et faciens. 36. *Concentuque*.—i. in chocecul eperena [with magnificent singing together]. *Grates*.—i. pro gratias, causa rituum. 37. *Amore*.—i. pra. *Arbitrio*.—Arbitrium est proprium conatus animi. *Natura*.—i. ni in dicitur po chlannaor molaor de [not in their nature was implanted the praise of God], sed in voluntate et potestate sua, sicut intendit ante ubi dicit amore et arbitrio, ut dicunt, an conicraur facere malum ma ni bech innaor de occa [as they say that they would have been able to do evil if they had not had the love of God].

29. *Ac sidera*.—Ac sydera, C., B. *Et necessaria*.—Et om., B. Ac necessaria, C.

30. *Pecora*.—Pecora, C. *Et animalia*.—Et om., C.

31. *Præsagmine*.—On this word is the following note in the margin: "Præsagmine .i. o pemtharchetul .i. chirici no o plozarchinnecht .i. o archin agminis hominum. Præsagmen enim a præsule et agmen componitur. Agmen Dei plozarchinnecht. co po bai bo doam ut dicit creavit. Adam uero non fuit." Here some words are illegible; but what remains may be thus rendered: "Præsagmine, i. e. prophecy," [from *præsagire*, or *præsagare*], "i. e. of Christ, or host=leadership, i. e. the beginning of the host of mankind" [Adam being, as it were, the leader or chieftain of the human race]. "Præsagmen is compounded of *præsul* and *agmen*." The remaining words relating to Adam

are unintelligible, but may, perhaps, receive some light from the Gloss in the *Leabhar Breac*, where we read that God gave all things to Adam: "Adam vero nominibus ea nominavit." This, therefore, is the *præsagmen*, by which man bore rule over the inferior animals, whether we take that word to signify *prophecy* (exercised in Adam's naming all beasts), or to denote *superiority*, *power*, or *pre-eminence*, according to the second etymology given of it. See Addit. Note B.

32. *Factis*.—The Scholium prefixed to this stanza is thus translated:—"This is the Title, *De laude Dei ab angelis in quarta feria, dicentes* [dicentibus, C.] *Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus, Dominus Deus Sabaoth*. This is the Argument, *Quando feci celum et terram, collaudaverunt me angeli, ut in sapientia Salomonis dicitur*." We have here the ancient opinion that the

De peccato abae ἡ de pecunda prima diabuli in reductione abae in
 cicut. Ἰπὶ τοῦ ἀρχαίου, Maledictus erit peccator terram comedentem
 omnibus diebus vitæ, ut in generi dicitur.

DRASSATIS PRIMIS DUOBUS SEDUCTISQUE PARENTIBUS
 SECUNDO RUIT ZABULUS CUM SUIS SATILITIBUS
 QUORUM HORRORE UULTUUM SONOQUE UOLITANTIUM 40
 CONSTERNARENTUR HOMINES METU TERRITI FRAGILES
 NON VALENTE CARNALIBUS HAEC INTUERI UISIBUS
 QUI NUNC LIḠANTUR PASCIBUS ERḠASTOLORUM NEXIBUS.

GLOSS.—38. *Grassatis*.—i. a diabulo. *Seductisque*.—i. ab hora conditionis. *Parentibus*.—i. Adam et Eva. 39. *Secundo*.—i. primo de celo ad terram; secundo ad infernum. *Zabulus*.—i. diabolus. *Cum suis*.—i. cum malis suis factoribus. *Satilitibus*.—Satilis a satis uilis. 40. *Quorum*.—i. demoniorum. *Volitantium*.—Vel demonum, vel ferarum. 41. *Consternarentur*.—i. ἡο παλθῖναι [they would have hidden themselves]. *Fragiles*.—i. fragilis dicitur eo quod facile frangi potest. 42. *Hæc intueri*.—i. agmina diabolica uolitantia. 43. *Qui*.—i. satiles. *Ergastolorum*.—i. ἡα πιασκαρκαρ ἡο ἡνα ἡγυκαρκαρ [i. e. the penal dungeons, or the wounding dungeons] ergastulum enim opus ex longum in tempus.

stars, created on the fourth day (Gen. i. 14-19), were the angels. This opinion is founded on Job, xxxviii. 7, which is probably the passage intended by our Scholiast, for nothing of the sort occurs in the Wisdom of Solomon. St. Gregory the Great, in his commentary on the passage, says: "Quia enim prima in tempore condita natura rationabilium spirituum creditur non immerito matutina astra angeli vocantur."—*Moral.*, lib. xxviii. c. 14. The Ante-Hieronymian version of Job, xxxviii. 7, as given by Sabatier, from the MS. Majoris Monast., is as follows:—"Quando facta sunt simul sidera, laudaverunt me voce magna omnes angeli mei" (which is a literal translation of the Septuagint). It will be observed that this older version, and not the present Vulgate, has been quoted by our Scholiast.

35. *Laudabile*.—Laudabili, C. *Immobile*.—Immobili, C.

38. *Grassatis*.—*Grassare* is to torment,

to assault. See p. 156, line 38, where we have, "impiis verbis grassatur." "He [Christ] is assailed with impious words."

39. *Secundo*.—The Gloss explains that the first fall of the Devil was from heaven to earth (see lines 20, *sq.*); the second (after the fall of Adam) from earth to hell. The common opinion of divines is that the first fall of Satan took place before the creation of man, and immediately after his own creation: an inference which some deduce from the text, "Ab initio mendax fuit." Jo. viii. 44. See Isidor. Hispal. *Sententiar.* i. x. 7. *Zabulus*, for diabolus, as the Gloss explains; from which we may infer that when this MS. was transcribed, the orthography *z* for *di* was becoming obscure. *Satilitibus*.—Satellitibus, C.

41. *Consternarentur*.—Consternerentur, C., an error probably of the press. The Gloss intimates that the consternation is increased by the demons being usually invisible.

De electione diabuli ex unitate angelorum in titul. Ἰνι ἰμορρο ἰμο ἀρῆαμαῖντ quod dicitur in ḡeneri Maleuicte peppenr. Et in euangelio dicitur Ἐὰν πέτρο πασαναῖ γ̄ non temptabit dominum deum tuum γ̄ ἰλλi poli pepuier.

Hic sublatus e medio deiectus est a domino
cuius aeris spatium constipatur satilitum
globo inuisibilium turbido perduellium
ne malis exemplaribus imbuti ac sceleribus
nullis unquam tegentibus septis ac parietibus
fornicarentur homines palam omnium oculis

45

GLOSS.—44. *Hic*.—i. diabolus. *Sublatus*.—i. a præsencia dei, vel ex unitate fratrum. *Deiectus*. .i. ποταπεραδ̄ [i. is cast down]. 45. *Constipatur*.—i. ἰνιταῖ [is filled, crowded]. *Satilitum*.—i. nanamur [i. the mercenary attendants]. 46. *Perduellium*.—i. ἰνναν δεῶαῖαῖαῖ [of the two battling ones], .i. inter se inuicem semper, no cāth [or battle] contra deum et homines, .i. quasi duobus bellis bellatorum quia duellis bellum . . . hostes duellium, .i. ἰνἰνἰαῖ [enmity] perduellis inimicus. 47. *Malis*.—i. demonum. *Exemplaribus*.—i. ἰνα ἐḡραῖβ [by their examples]. *Imbuti*.—i. homines. 48. *Septis*.—i. sepes lignorum dicitur, paries autem lapidum. 49. *Fornicarentur*.—i. perdirentur, vel peccarent, pro omni peccato fornicatio ponitur.

43. *Ligantur*.—Ligatur, C. This reading agrees better with the Gloss over *qui*, which seems to take *qui* as singular; but *ligantur* is evidently the true reading, and is the reading also of B. *Fascibus*.—Faucibus, C. *Ergastolorum*.—Ἐργαστήριον, a prison where the convicts are compelled to labour. "Carcer, vel locus ubi damnati marmora secant."—*Isidori Gloss*. Or the fetters with which prisoners are secured.—*Du Cange*, in voc.

44. *Hic*.—There is a mark like this, :—, over this word, and a similar mark under the word "zabulus" in ver. 39, which seem intended to show that *hic* refers to *zabulus*. Hence the Gloss ".i. diabolus" is written under *Hic*, not over it, to avoid interfering with the grammatical mark. *Deiectus*.—Diectus, B.

45. *Cujus*.—Alluding, probably, to the Apostle's saying, Eph. ii. 2, "Princeps potestatis aeris hujus;" the meaning will

then be, "the space of *his* air [i. e. the Devil's air] is filled by a crowd of satellites." Or perhaps the construction is "cujus satellitum;"—"by the crowd of whose [i. e. the devil's] satellites the air is filled or choked up." *Satilitum*.—Satellitum, C.

46. *Perduellium*.—The construction seems to be "Globo turbido satellitum inuisibilium perduellium." The Gloss derives *duellum* from *duo* and *bellum*; but Isidore of Seville, on the contrary, derives *bellum* from *duellum*: "postea" (he says) "detracta et mutata litera" [i. e. detracta litera *d*, et mutata *u* in *b*] "dictum est bellum."—*Etymolog.*, lib. xviii. c. 1, n. 9.

47. *Ne malis*.—This seems to be given as the reason why the devils are invisible, lest, if their wickedness were visible, men should imitate them, in open shamelessness. *Imbuti*.—C. omits this word, pro-

De eo quod uehunt nubes aquas ad celum. Ipse in titulo. Ispri ind-arhamant, ut dauis dicit, Educenr nubes ab extremo terrae. 7 alibi dicit. qui producit uentor de terrauri rui.

INuehunt nubes pontias ex pontibus brumalias 50
 tribus profundioribus occiani dodrantibus
 maris celi climatibus ceruleis turbinibus
 profuturas segitibus uiniis et germinibus
 agitatae flaminibus tesaris emergentibus
 quique paludes marinas euacuant reciprocas. 55

Gloss.—50. *Inuehunt*.—i. conocbat no imarchuric [they raise or carry]. *Pontias*.—i. inna lipu [the seas]. *Brumalias*.—i. bruma, a brevi motu solis in eo, ipse aipe mam pech arimmud upce bruma edax, vel edacitas interpretatur. 52. *Climatibus*.—i. o arbaib [from high places]. *Turbinibus*.—i. o na tonnaib dubglappaib no o na hachchaib dubglappaib [from the dark-green waves, or from the dark-green fields]. 53. *Profuturas*.—i. inna hi tarriuric [those over which they will pass]. *Segitibus*.—i. bonis hominibus. *Viniis*.—i. justis. *Germinibus*.—i. vilibus hominibus. 54. *Flaminibus*.—i. ventis. *Emergentibus*.—i. exaltantibus. 55. *Quique*.—i. venti. *Paludes*.—i. profundiores fontes vel tesauri, .i. ad falles [? folles] uentorum qui sunt in tesaris. *Reciprocas*.—i. nahab [the causes?].

bably by an error of the press, for the omission would be a violation both of the metre and sense.

50. *Pontias*—The Gloss explains this word as if it signified *seas*, from *pontus*; but it is not found in any of the printed Glossaries of mediæval Latinity. *Brumalias*.—*Brumalibus*, C. Under this word, and also under *pontias*, are two dots, showing the opinion of the Scholiast that they are to be construed together. The Gloss on this word is in some places illegible; it gives the usual etymologies of *Bruma*, viz. *quasi brevissima dies*; or from the Greek *βρῦμα*, "edacitas," because in winter animals eat most.—Isid. Hispal., *Etymol.* v. xxxv. 6. The Irish words in the Gloss, so far as they are legible, seem to indicate another derivation, probably that of *Hiems*, ar immud upce, "from abundance of water." Isid. Hispal., in his Glossary,

gives the word *Brumalia*, which he explains "resinosa pluvia," i. e. fetid rain. See also Du Cange, in v. *Bromosus*. The adjective *Brumalius* is of unusual occurrence, and was unknown to Du Cange.

51. *Occiani*.—*Oceani*, C. *Dodrantibus*.—In this line there are dots under *tribus*, *profundioribus*, and *dodrantibus*, showing that they are grammatically connected. *Dodrans* is explained by Du Cange, from Papias, "tres quælibet partes, quarta remota," which is the sense in which the word is used in classical Latin; but it is not easy to see how it can have that signification here: "the three deeper three-fourths of the ocean" is a strange expression. In the margin there is a note which is almost wholly illegible, and has been partly cut off by the plough of the modern binder; it appears to be intended chiefly to explain *dodrans*.

De intolerabile pena peccatorum in inferno in titul. Iri mbarḡa-
maine quob iob dicit Ecce gigantes gemunt sub aquis.

RADUCA AC TIRANNICA MUNDIQUE MOMENTANIA
REḠUM PRESENTI ḠLORIA NUTU DEI DEPOSITA
ECCE ḠIGANTES ḠEMERE SUB AQUIS MAḠNO ULCERE
COMPROBANTUR INCENDIO ADURI AC SUPPLICIO
COCITIQUE CARUBDIBUS STRANGULATI TURḠENTIBUS 60
SCILLIS OBTECTI FLUCTIBUS ELIDUNTUR ET SCROPIS.

GLOSS.—56. *Momentania*.—i. in momentum temporis. 58. *Gigantes*.—i. potentes in inferno. *Sub aquis*.—i. sub unda penarum, .i. poena intolerabili. 59. *Comprobantur*.—i. in scriptura. *Aduri*.—i. coloriciter [to be burned]. 60. *Cocitique*.—i. lechi ipfirn [instead of hell]. *Carubdibus*.—i. o na raebchorib [ḡna?] no marbab, ar met a anpaib mtræbchore mcamlaḡter do raebchorib cociti ḡ ip tharcaib do for ipfernb [.i. it is by the whirlpools they are killed: because of the greatness of the storm of the whirlpool, that are compared to the whirlpools of Cocitus; and it leads to hell]. *Strangulati*.—i. retenti. 61. *Fluctibus*.—i. ḡ na tonnaib peillecraib, .i. o thonnaib in tpaebchore dianb anm peilla, et in Sicilia est, ḡ armet ḡna a anpaib beor [.i. from the waves of Scilla, .i. from the waves of the whirlpool whose name is Scilla, and is in Sicily, and in consequence of the greatness of its swelling likewise].

54. *Flaminibus*.—Over this word, and also over *emergentibus*, are two vertically placed dots (:), showing that these words were to be construed together. The existence of dots and marks, to show the grammatical connexion of the words, is a remarkable proof that in the age when the *Book of Hymns* was transcribed, the Latin text of such hymns as that now before us was beginning to be obscure.

56. *Tirannica*.—Tyrannica, C. *Momentania*.—Momentanea, C.

57. *Deposita*.—Deposita, C.

58. *Gigantes*.—Job, xxvi. 5.

59. *Aduri*.—Adusti, C. *Supplicio*.—Supplicio, C.

60. *Cocitique*.—Quotidieque, C. This is a manifest mistake of transcription. *Carubdibus*.—Charydibus, C., an error of the press for *Charybdibus*. *Turḡentibus*.—Gurgitibus, C. In the margin of the MS. there is the following note:—"Cocitus .i.

nomen quarti fluminis in inferno. [Quatuor] flumina infernus tenet, id est, Cocitus, absque gaudio interpretatur. Strix" [leg. Styx] "[tris]titia interpretatur. Flegiton [Flegethon] flammeus interpretatur; et Achiron. Vel .iiii. nomina unius fluminis. Carubdibus turgentibus.—i. o na carcib epuachraib, no ḡarbaib no bpuachraib no o na raebchorib boḡrpaḡaḡic" [.i. from the mountainous, or rough or boiling rocks, or from the swelling whirlpools]. "Strangulati—i. retenti, .i. teḡtai de peillir" [held by the rocks]. "i pe pecl pōraichmentar hic [this is the story that is commemorated here]. Scilla filia Porci" [Phorcys] "adamaata est a Glauco Deo maris, quod displicuit Circe filie solis. Sciens autem Circe fontem ad quem Scilla quotidie veniebat venificia fecit. Postquam venit Scilla ad illum ut lauaret manus fontem, conuersa est statim in beluam marinam et noluit

In titul. De moderatione pluuiæ uementis ex ligatis aquis nubibus ne pariter pluant. In motto in argumentis. quod iob dicit. qui ruptis aquis in nubibus, ne pariter pluant deorsum.

Ligatas aquas nubibus frequenter crebrat dominus
 ut ne erumpant protinus simul ruptis obicibus
 quarum uberioribus uenis uelut uberibus
 pedetentim natantibus telli pertractus istius 65
 tellidis ac peruentibus diuersis in temporibus
 usquam influunt flumina nunquam deficientia.

Gloss.—62. *Crebrat*.—i. ριχλαῖθ [drops, filters]. 63. *Simul ruptis*.—i. ἀναταβριπτὶ να ρριτεκοιρρε, no ἀνατα ραλιρῖθε na ρριτεκοιρρε [the barriers are broken, or the barriers are made manifest] .i. ruptis ligationibus quibus quodammodo nubibus aqua. 64. *Quarum*.—i. imbrium. *Uberioribus*.—i. pro uberibus hic causa rithmi. 65. *Pedetentim*.—i. paulatim, .i. *Natantibus*.—i. aquis. *Telli*.—Tellus telli, secundæ declinationis, ut Augustinus dicit et masculini generis, et potest dici tellus et feminini generis, hic et hæc tellus telluris. *Pertractus*.—i. τρι ριχῖρι. 66. *Gellidis*.—i. hiems et ver. *Feruentibus*.—i. æstas et autumnus. 67. *Usquam*.—i. ubique. *Influunt*.—i. τοιρρημιτ [they well, i. e. burst up as from a well]. *Deficientia*.—eoque ex ea tolluntur.

ad homines uenire propter formam suam, proiecit se in mare. Uidens mater Carubdis filiam suam Scillam in mare nantem, exiit in mare ut teneret eam, sed non potuit, et frequenter [ven]tis affligebant, ut ferunt fabulæ, uidens Neptunus quod in mare . . . mittit tridentem in mare et statuit eas in scopolos et fixit Scillam in Sicilia et Carubdim in Italia cominus et uix nautæ nauigare possunt inter eas sine periculo."

62. *Crebrat*.—*Crebrare*, or *Cribrare*, is to sift; to drop through a chink or fissure. Hence it is explained in the Gloss, ριχλαῖθ, he drops, filters. The word is also written *cribare*, and *crevare*. French, *crever*. See Du Cange, v. *Crevare*.

63. *Obicibus*.—Obicibus, C.

65. *Pedetentim*.—Pedetentim, C. *Telli*.—Terræ, C. The Gloss proves that *telli* was the ancient reading; for it quotes Augustine to show that *tellus*, *telli*, of the

second declension, was masculine; *tellus*, *telluris*, of the third declension, feminine. The Editor has not found anything of this kind in the works of St. Augustine, nor in the spurious work *De Grammatica*, attributed to him, and printed in the Appendix to the Benedictine edition of his writings. It is true that Augustine has a remark on the male and female power of the earth, *De Civit. Dei*, vii. 23, which may perhaps be what our Scholiast alludes to; but he says nothing about a masculine *tellus*, having its genitive *telli*. Speaking of Varro, who made *Tellus* a goddess, and *Telumon* a god. He says (*loc. cit.*): "Adhuc respondeatur, quam partem terræ permeet pars mundani animi, ut deum faciat Tellumonem. Non, inquit, sed una eademque terra habet geminam vim, et masculinam, quod semina producat; et femininam, quod recipiat atque enutriet: inde a vi feminina dictam esse *Tellurem*,

De fundamento terre ꝛ de abisso ipe in titul. ꝛꝛi autem inð arꝓamante quod iob dicit qui ruppēdit terram [ruper nihilum]. Et alibi dicit Molip mundi uirtute Dei continetur. ꝛ in psalmo qui fundarcti terram ruper stabilitatem suam.

MAGNI DEI UIRTUTIBUS APPENDITUR DIABUS
 GLOBUS TERRAE ET CIRCULUS ABSSEI MAGNAE INDITUS
 SUPPULTA DEI IDUMA OMNIPOTENTIS UALIDA
 COLUMNIS UELUT UECTIBUS EUNDEM SUSTENTANTIBUS
 PROMONTORIIS ET RUPIBUS SOLI[DI]S FUNDAMINIBUS
 UELUT QUIBUSDAM BASSIBUS FIRMATIS IMMOBILIBUS.

70

Gloss.—68. *Appenditur*.—ΑΡΤΑΙΤΗ [kept up, sustained]. *Diabus*.—i. diuinis. Dius secundum veteres no combad choip ann [or that which ought to be in it] 69. *Circulus*.—i. inð abip mop in ꝛo in clannad ðligeð cipcuil [the great abyss, in which was implanted the law of a circle]. *Iduma*.—i. manu, iduma ebraice, cirus grece, manus, latine. *Valida*.—i. forte. 72. *Promontoriis*.—i. o raib.

a masculina *Telumonem*." *Pertractus*.—Per tractus, C. *Istius*.—There is a gloss under this word which is now illegible; it may possibly belong to *temporibus*, the last word of the next line.

70. *Iduma*.—The Gloss tells us that this is a Hebrew word, signifying the hand, and identical with the Greek *ciros*, i. e. χείρ, and the Latin *manus*. It is evidently from ט, a hand, and seems like a corruption of the dual טיט, as *ciros* seems taken from the genitive χείρὸς, or perhaps also from the plural χεῖρες. The remarkable word *Iduma* is not found in Du Cange, or in any of the Glossaries of mediæval Latin to which the Editor has access; and this passage seems to be the only instance of its use as a Latin word, in the sense of *power, might, authority*. It would have been wholly unintelligible but for the gloss.

71. *Eundem*.—Over this word there is

the following curious grammatical note: ". . . vel :" the first of these marks (. . .) occurs under the word "globus," and the second (:) under the word "circulus," in line 69: the meaning therefore is, that *eundem* signifies either "eundem globum" or "eundem circulum." In like manner the mark (. .) occurs under *iduma*, and also under *valida*, in line 70; showing that *valida* is to be construed as agreeing with *iduma*.

72. *Promontoriis*.—The Gloss upon this word is not legible, with the exception of the letters which have been above given; the meaning is, therefore, obscure. Perhaps the hiatus may be supplied by reading, o [na por]raib, the Irish translation of *promontoriis*. *Solidis*.—The text in the MS. has *solis*; but a coeval hand has written *solidis* in the margin, which is necessary both for the sense and the metre. The letters OI have therefore been added, within brackets, in the text.

De inferno in imis populo in corde terræ et penit eury et loco. ipe in titul. Ipi indargamant, Eruiet animam meam ex inferno [inferiori. ut in euange]lio dicitur Sepulcrum est dixer in inferno. et alibi Ite maledicet in aeternum ignem. et alibi Uerum eorum non moritur et ignis eury non exstinguitur].

NULLI uidetur dubium in imis esse infernum
 ubi habentur tenebrae uermes ac dirae bestiae 75
 ubi ignis solphorius ardens flammis edacibus
 ubi rugitus hominum pletus ac stridor dentium
 ubi gehennae gemitus terribilis et antiquus
 ubi ardor flammaticus sitis famisque horribus

* * * * *

De laude dei ab angelis in titul. Ipi inoprio mo argamant, atberan in Apocalipii,—In circulo troni ubi pedes .xxiii. peniones pedentes in uerte alba et capitebur eorum corona aurea ubi.

SMNORUM cantionibus sedulo tinnientibus
 tropodis sanctis milibus angelorum uernantibus 130
 quatuorque plenissimis animalibus oculis
 cum uiginti pelicibus quatuor senioribus
 coronas admittentibus agni dei sub pedibus
 laudatur tribus uicibus trinitas eternalibus.

Gloss.—74. *In imis*.—i. in profundis terræ. *Infernum*.—Infernus dicitur quia infra sit. Sicut in medio animalis cor, ita infernus in medio terræ est. 75. *Tenebrae*.—i. tenebræ dictæ sunt quia tenent umbras. 129. *Tinnientibus*.—i. ambinniget na cantana [i. they harmonize the songs]. 130. *Vernantibus*.—i. immemorigetir uile [which they all used to practise (?) often]. 131. *Animalibus*.—i. i. evangelistis. 132. *Viginti*.—i. cum .xii. patriarchis et xii. profetis, vel cum .xii. profetis et .xii. apostolis, vel figura .iiii. evangelistarum cum .xxiii. libris veteris legis.

74. *Dubium*.—In the margin there is this note: "Dubium quasi duvium, incertus duarum viarum." And so Isid. Hisp., "*Dubius*, incertus, quasi *duarum viarum*."—*Etymol.*, x. 77. *Infernum*.—The Gloss is from Isid. Hisp. *Etymol.*, l. xiv. c. 9: "Inferus appellatur eo quod *infra sit*," and, "Quomodo autem cor animalis in medio est, ita et infernus in medio terræ esse perhibetur." These words occur also in St. Jerome's *Comm. on Jon.*, i. 4.

76. *Solphorius*.—Sulphureus, C.

79. *Famisque*.—In the Irish orthography of *i* for *e*, *famisque* stands for *famesque*, "and hunger." C. reads *sitis fumusque*, a manifest mistake. A leaf of the Dublin copy of the *Liber Hymnorum* is lost after this line. It contained the stanzas O to X, inclusive, which will be found (taken from Colgan's copy of this Hymn) in the Additional Note D. It is greatly to be regretted that the MS. of the *Liber*

De urtione impiorum nolenter christum credere. ⁊ de gaudio iustorum in titul. Ir ꝑi moꝛꝑꝑo inð arðamaint quod dicitur in apocalippi Ir igniꝑ conꝑumet aduerrariop. ⁊ alibi dicit apocꝑtolur Mansioner multae sunt apud patrem, ⁊ christur dicit, In domu patꝑꝑ mei multae mansioner sunt.

ZELUS IGNIS PURIBUNDUS CONSUMET ADVERSARIOS 135
 NOLENTE CHRISTUM CREDERE DEO A PATRE UENISSE
 NOS UERO EUOLABIMUS OBUIAM EI PROTINUS
 ET SIC CUM IPSO ERIMUS IN DIUERSIS ORDINIBUS
 DIGNITATUM PRO MERITIS PREMIORUM PERPETUIS
 PERMANSURI IN GLORIA A SECLIS IN GLORIA. 140

Gloss.—135. *Consumet*.—i. vindicta a deo patre. *Adversarios*.—i. veriti dei. 137. *Nos*.—i. genus humanum. *Ecolabimus*.—i. in die iudicii. *Obuiam*.—i. ma. *Protinus*.—i. in ictu oculi. 138. *Cum ipso*.—i. erunt sancti cum Christo post mortem. *In diuersis*.—i. ut dicitur redd[ere unicuique] secundum opus suum. 140. *Gloria*.—i. in regno. *A seclis*. i. presentibus. *In gloria*.—i. infinita.

Hymnorum now preserved at the College of St. Isidore at Rome is wholly inaccessible to the Editor, as it would have doubtless supplied defects of this kind, and probably cleared up many obscurities, especially as Colgan has printed the hymn with several inaccuracies, and with an entire disregard of the Irish peculiarities of spelling.

130. *Tropodis*.—Tripodiis, C. *Vernantibus*.—*Vernare* is sometimes used in the sense of *canere*, to sing. See Du Cange, *Glossar.* in v. Perhaps this may be its signification here. The Irish gloss is obscure.

133. *Admittentibus*.—For *mittentibus*, evidently for the sake of the metre.—Apoc., iv. 10.

134. *Tribus vicibus*.—Alluding to the triple *Sanctus*.—Apoc., iv. 8.

135. *Zelus*.—The Scholium is as follows:—"De ustione [vastatione, C.] impiorum nolentes [nolentium, C.] Christum credere, et de gaudio iustorum, is the Title.

But this is the Argument: quod dicitur in Apocalipsi, *lis ignis consumet adversarios*, et alibi dicit apostolus, *Mansiones multae sunt apud Patrem*, et Christus dicit, *In domu Patris mei multae mansiones sunt.*" The passage here quoted from the Apocalypse really occurs Hebr. x. 27, the scribe having apparently mistaken *Apostolus* for *Apocalypsis*. A part of the first word is illegible; it is probably *terribilis*, from the first clause of the verse. Colgan gives it thus:—"Argum. ut in Apocal. *Tribus ignibus consumet adversarios.*" But no such words occur in the Apoc. The first line of this stanza evidently contains an ancient reading: "*Zelus ignis consumet adversarios,*" which seems more immediately taken from the Greek (*πυρὸς ζῆλος*) than "*ignis æmulatio,*" which is the reading of the modern Vulgate, as well as of the Ante-Hieronymian version, as printed by Sabatier. The second passage quoted, *Mansiones multae sunt apud Patrem*, does not occur in any

Quis potest deo placere nouissimo in tempore
 Uariatur inrigibus ueritatibus ordinibus
 Exceptis contemptoribus mundi preteritis ipsis.

Deum patrem ingenitum celi ac terræ dominum
 Ab eodemque filium pæcula ante primogenitum
 Deumque primum sanctum uerum unum altissimum
 Inuoco ut auxilium mihi oportunitimum
 Minimo preterit omnium tibi deferuentium
 Quem angelorum milibus conlocabit dominus.

of the Apostolical Epistles, and is probably only a repetition of the verse quoted immediately after from St. John, xiv. 3: "*In domu Patris mei multe mansiones sunt.*"

138. *Cum ipso.*—The allusion is to 1 Thess. iv. 17.

140. *A seculis in gloria.*—A seculis in secula, C., which reading seems more probable; the repetition of "in gloria" being a manifest blunder of transcription.

Quis potest.—The two following stanzas are in the smaller and more angular character, which has already been several times noticed. C. omits *Deo*. The Pre-

face tells us that this triplet is to be sung between each "Capitulum" of the Hymn. See p. 223.

Nouissimo.—Over this word there is the gloss, ".i. in fine mundi," with some other words now illegible.

Primogenitum.—A gloss over this word is "vel progenitum;" but this, as well as the reading of the text, is inconsistent with the metre. C. reads *genitum*.

Angelorum.—There is a gloss over this word which is almost illegible. All that can be read with any certainty is as follows:—".i. is angeli in celo."

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

NOTE A.

The Preface to the Hymn.

THE following is a literal translation of the Preface, which, as usual, is in a mixture of Latin and Irish:—

The Place^a of this Hymn was Hí^b. The Time^c was that of Aedán son of Gabran, King of Alba, and of Aed son of Ainmire, King of Erin. But Mauritius or Focas was then King of the Romans. The Person^d was Columcille of the noble race of the Scots. He is called Columba, from the text *Estote prudentes sicut serpentes, et simplices sicut Columbæ*. The Cause^e was because he was desirous of praising God. For seven years he was searching out this Hymn in the Black Cell^f without light, i. e. beseeching forgiveness for the battle of Cuil Dremne which he had gained^g over Diarmait son of Cerball^h, and the other battles that were gained on his account. *Vel ut alii dicunt*, it was composed extemporaneously; viz.—On a certain day Columcille was in Hí, and no one was with him except Boithin, and they had no food except a sieve full of oats. Then said Columcille to Boithin, “Illustrious guests are coming to us to-day,

^a *The Place*.—i. e. where it was composed.

^b *Hí*.—Now called Iona: a curious mistake, as Dr. Reeves has shown, for *Ioua* (the adjective formed from Hí, or I, its ancient name), properly *Insula Ioua*: Reeves’ *Adamnan*, Add. Note D, p. 258.

^c *The Time*.—Our author fixes the date by the reigns of the king of Scotland, Aedan, son of Gabran (A. D. 574–606; O’Flaherty, *Ogyg.* p. 473); the king of Ireland, Aed, son of Ainmire (A. D. 572–599; *ibid.* p. 431); and the Roman emperors, Maurice (A. D. 582–601) and Phocas (A. D. 602 *sq.*). On the chronology of these last the Scholiast speaks doubtingly: “Mauritius or Focas.” St. Columbkille died A. D. 597, before Phocas came to the throne.

^d *Person*.—i. e. the author of the Hymn. See the genealogy of St. Columba, Reeves’ *Adamnan*, p. 342 (Geneal. Table).

^e *Cause*.—i. e. the occasion on which he composed the Hymn.

^f *Black Cell*.—In *Nigra Cellula*, called in Irish *Duibh-regles*. This was a name of St. Columba’s church in Derry in Ireland, Reeves, *ib.* p. 277, *Ord. Mem. of Templemore*, p. 241, and the Preface to this Hymn in the *Leabhar Breacc* has so interpreted it. See p. 223.

^g *Gained*.—Lit. “broken.” For an account of the battle of Cuil-Dreimne, see Reeves, *ib.* p. 247 *sq.*

^h *Diarmait son of Cerball*.—King of Ireland, A. D. 544–565. See Reeves, *ibid.* pp. 67, 68, notes.

O Boithin" (namely, the people of Gregoryⁱ, who came with presents to him), and he said to Boithin, "Remain thou here ministering to the guests, whilst I go to the mill." He took upon him his burden from off a certain stone that was in the Recles^k, Blathnat^l was its name, and it exists still; and it is upon it that division is made in the refectory^m. However his burden was heavy to him, so that he made this Hymn in alphabetical order, from that place until he arrived at the mill, i. e. *Adjutor laborantium*ⁿ, etc., and when he cast the first charge^o into the mill, it was then he began the first chapter; and it was at the same time that the grinding of the sack and the composition of the Hymn were finished. And it was extemporaneously it was made thus. In the year five hundred and sixty-five after the birth of Christ, Columcille came to Hí, as Beda^p says: "In the year of our Lord's Incarnation, 565, at which time Justinus minor, after Justinian, received the government of the Roman Empire, there came to Britain, from Ireland, a presbyter and abbot, illustrious by the habit and life of a monk, by name Columbus^q, to preach the word of God to the provinces of the northern Picts^r". Now Brudi, son of Melcho, was then king of the Picts, and he it was that granted^s Hí to Columbus, where Columbus was buried, after he had been there seventy-six years, and thirty-three after he had gone to Britain to preach.

Now this Hymn was brought to Gregory to the East, in return for the gifts which were brought from him, viz., the Cross^t, i. e. the Mórge^u [great gem] was its name; and the Hymns of the Week^v. But they interchanged^w the Hymns. Three chapters were put into it, which Gregory made^x, viz., *Hic sublatus*, and

ⁱ *Gregory*.—Meaning Gregory I., who became Pope A. D. 590. See Reeves, *ibid.* pp. 319, 323.

^k *The Recles*.—The abbey church of Hí: Reeves, *ib.* p. 276.

^l *Blathnat*.—The Preface to this Hymn in the Leabhar Breacc (see p. 223) calls this stone *Moel-blatha*. Reeves, *ib.* p. 330.

^m *Refectory*.—ΠΡΟΙΜΤΙΣ, Dinner house: *Domus prandii*.

ⁿ *Adjutor laborantium*.—This seems to imply that St. Columba on this occasion, whilst carrying his burden to the mill, composed a hymn beginning *Adjutor laborantium* (which does not appear to be now extant); and that the hymn *Altus prosator* was composed during the grinding of the corn. Or are we to understand that the *Altus* was called *Adjutor laborantium*?

^o *Charge*.—ΠΟΤΑ. A living word to this day in Munster, to denote the feed or handful given from time to time to a hand-mill.

^p *Beda*.—*Hist. Eccl.* lib. iii. c. 4.

^q *Columbus*.—By this form of the name he is frequently called in Scotland to this day. And it is the correct Latinization of the old Irish Colúmb gen. Colúmb (Lib. Ardmach.), a masc. *a*-stem.

^r *Picts*.—Here the extract from Bede ends; but

the remainder of the passage quoted in the Preface, and which is in Latin, is abridged from Bede, although not in his exact words.

^s *Granted*.—"Immolavit." See Reeves' *Adamnan*, p. 435.

^t *The Cross*.—See O'Donnell, *Vit. S. Columb.* lib. ii. c. 20 (Colg., *Triad. Thaum.* p. 412). It would seem that this was an altar cross, decorated with gems, &c. It seems to have been preserved in O'Donnell's time (1532) in Tory Island, but is not now known to exist.—Reeves, *ibid.* p. 319.

^u *Mórge*.—See Reeves, *ibid.* pp. 318, 319.

^v *Hymns of the Week*.—i. e. a book containing hymns for every day of the week.—Reeves, *ibid.* Could this have been a copy of the celebrated *Antiphonary* of St. Gregory, still known by his name? See the Preface to this Hymn in the Leabhar Breacc, p. 223, *infra*.

^w *They interchanged*.—i. e. the messengers who brought the Hymn to Pope Gregory substituted stanzas of Gregory's composition instead of the original stanzas of the Hymn. The Preface in the *Leabhar Breacc*, and that given by Colgan, represent this as having been done to test the miraculous powers of St. Gregory. The story, as given in the text, is not so intelligible, and there has probably

Orbem, and *Vagatur*. Now when they began reading⁷ the Hymn to Gregory, the Angels of God came, and they stood until that chapter was come to; Gregory also stood at that part until that time. But when that was passed, the angels sat down; then Gregory sat down, and so the Hymn was finished in that manner². Gregory then demanded from them^a their confession, for he knew that it was they who had interchanged [the hymns]. And they acknowledged that it was they, and they were forgiven for it. And they said^b that there was no fault in the Hymn except the scanty praise of the Trinity which it contained *per se*; although He [the Trinity] was praised in His creatures. And this criticism reached Columcille, and that was the cause of his composing [the Hymn] *In Te Christe*.

It is in alphabetical order, after the manner of the Hebrews^c. It is out of the Catholic Faith the foundation of this chapter^d was taken, i. e. belief in Unity, with confession of Trinity. And it was made in rhythm; and there are two varieties^e of that, viz., *Artificialis* and *vulgaris*. "Artificialis," where there are feet of equal time and equal division, with an equality in *arsis* and *thesis*^f, and so that the subsequent comes into the place of the preceding in the resolution. "Vulgaris," where there is a correspondence in syllables, and in every verse and half verse^g, and it is that which is here.

Now there are six lines in each chapter, and sixteen syllables in each line, except that in the first chapter there are seven lines, because in it is the Praise of God; for that odd number is suitable compared with the other chapters, because of the inequality of His creatures^h; but the number six is in the creatures, because they were made in six days. There ought to be a Title and an Argument before every chapter.

been some error of transcription. See O'Donnell, *loc. cit.* c. 21.

^x *Gregory made*.—The other account (see Colgan, *Tr. Thaum.* p. 473, and the Preface in the *Leabhar Breacc*, p. 224) states that the messengers omitted three chapters of St. Columba's hymn, and substituted three of *their own* composition.

^y *Reading*.—Literally of *shewing*; i. e. submitting the hymn to him for his approval; ταιρpenτα, gen. sing. of ταιρpenαβ.

^z *In that manner*.—The meaning is explained by other versions of this Preface. So long as the messengers read the genuine composition of St. Columba, the Angels and the Pope remained *standing*, the posture of reverence; when the readers came to the spurious stanzas, the Angels sat down, and the Pope also sat. In Colgan's version of the story, the Angels are represented as being visible to Gregory during the recitation of the genuine parts of the hymn only, and the Pope *stood* in reverence to them. But when they vanished at the repetition of the spurious stanzas, the Pope sat down. The Angels of course were visible to Gregory alone. "In this manner" the hymn was finished; the Pope standing during the portions of it that were really

written by Columba, and sitting down when the substituted stanzas were recited.

^a *From them*.—i. e. from the messengers.

^b *They said*.—Colgan's version and the Preface in the *Leabhar Breacc* represent this as having been said by Gregory, as his judgment upon the Hymn. But O'Donnell omits the circumstance altogether.

^c *Of the Hebrews*.—i. e. after the manner of the alphabetical Psalms of the Hebrew Bible.

^d *This chapter*.—i. e. of the first chapter of the Hymn.

^e *Two varieties*.—Ἐρμαῖν, a division, or variety.

^f *Arsis and thesis*.—Ἄρσις and Θέσις. "Arsis est vocis elevatio, id est, initium; Thesis, vocis positio, hoc est, finis."—Isidor. Hispal., *Etymolog.* lib. iii. c. 20.

^g *Half verse*.—This seems to mean that there is assonance or rhyme in the middle of every line: as, *vetustus, ingenitus; origine, crepidine; secula, infinita, &c.* See the corresponding passage in the Preface in the *Leabhar Breacc*, p. 225, *infra*.

^h *Of His creatures*.—i. e. as compared with Him. The first stanza relating to God, and the remainder to His creatures, it was fit that the first should consist of a greater number of lines.

Now the proper manner of singing this Hymn is, that *Quis potest Deo*¹ be sung between every two chapters: and it is thus that its grace shall be [upon him that sings it], because it was so it was sung at first. Now there are many graces upon this Hymn, viz., Angels present whilst it is sung; the Devil shall not know the path of him who sings it every day; and neither shall his enemies perceive him in the day on which he sings it; and, moreover, there shall be no strife in the house in which it is frequently sung. It protects against every kind of death, except death on the pillow²; and there shall be neither hunger nor nakedness in the place where it is frequently sung: *et aliæ multæ*^k sunt.

The Preface in the *Leabhar Breacc*, fol. 109 a, differs in some particulars from the foregoing. It is as follows, with a literal translation:

Աւար քրօթօր. Columcille fecit hunc
 օրնոս Երուտատի քեր քերթեմ անոթ ւն
 cellula ուրա .i. րոն ծնիքեւեր մՕօրե
 Cholumcille. ու ր քսոհոսնոն քեռա ծօրճ-
 ոսն սէ ալիք ծիւնտ .i. Ինքան քօքօլ Կօլ-
 ւմիլլե մ հիք ա օքսր աճ ծօեթին նա քարրոն
 նամա. ԻՏ ան քրա քօքալլիքեծ ծօ Կօլ-
 ւմիլլե օքիքն ծօ քիքեքտ քիւք .i. Մօրքք-
 քրքր քե մսնքր քրիքր քանքքր քիւք-
 քրքր օ Կօլմ քօնքքքքքք քե ծօ .i. մ
 Մօրքքքք Կօլմիլլե, .i. քրօր քրիքե
 մոնս, ք քմմսն նա քեքքքքք, ք քմմսն
 քեճ ոնիքք քրքքքքքքք ք ալիք ծօնա.
 Կօլարքքք քրա Կօլմիլլե ծօ ծօեթին քի
 ծօ քիւք քօլ րոն քիօքքքն. Աքա, օլ ծօ-
 եթին, քրիքքք քօքր քն. քրիքքքքքր նա
 հարքքք ա ծօեթին, օլ Կօլմիլլե, քօնք-
 քքքքքք ծօն մսնքն. Իարրոն քեքն քրա
 Կօլմիլլե քարր մ քօքիք ծօն քօլիք քիլ ր-
 մ քրօնքքքք մ հիք, ք րքե ա հալմ նա քօլի
 քր, Մօելքքքք, ք քօնք քօնքքքք քօ
 քաճ մքիւք ծօքքքք քօքր. Իր քարրոն օ
 քսն ծօ Կօլմիլլե ծօն մսնքն ր ան ծօ-
 քրքքք մ մսնքն քեքր .i. Աքսքքր քօքքք-
 քքք. ք ր քարրոնքն քքքքքքքք աքա.

Ինքան քրա ծօրք Կօլմիլլե մ քեքքքք

Altus prosetor. Columcille fecit hunc hymnum
 Trinitati per septem annos in cellula nigra, i. in the
 Black Recles in Derry of Columcille, or as others
 say, it was composed extemporaneously¹, viz.,
 at the time when Columcille was at Hy alone,
 Boethin only excepted. And it was then revealed
 to Columcille that guests were coming to him, viz.,
 seven of the people of Gregory who came to him
 from Rome with gifts for him, viz., the *Mórgemm*^m
 [great gem] of Columcille, that is, a cross, extant
 this day; and the Hymn of the week, and a
 hymn for every night of the week, and other gifts.
 Then Columcille asked Boethin how much food
 there was in the kitchen: "There is," said Boethin,
 "a sieve of oats there." "Attend thou to the
 strangers, O Boethin," said Columcille, "whilst I
 go to the mill." After this Columcille took upon
 him the sack from the stone that is in the refec-
 tory in Hy, and the name of that stone is *Moel-
 blatha*, and luck was left upon all food that is laid
 upon it. It was after that, when Columcille was
 going to the mill, that he composed this little hymn,
 i. e. *Adjutor laborantium*ⁿ; and it is in alphabetical
 order it is.

When Columcille had put the first feed into the

¹ *Quis potest Deo*.—This antiphon occurs at the end of the Hymn. See p. 219, *supra*.

² *On the pillow*.—i. e. it protects from all kinds of violent death, but not from ordinary or natural death. Cf. Reeves' *Adamnan*, pp. 37, 44.

^k *Aliæ multæ*.—i. e. there are many other privileges, *aliæ multæ gratiæ*, attached to the singing of

this Hymn.

¹ *Extemporaneously*.—There are here two accounts: one, that this Hymn occupied its author seven years of study; the other, that it was composed extemporaneously. See above, p. 220.

^m *Mórgemm*.—See above, p. 221.

ⁿ *Laborantium*.—See above, p. 221, note ⁿ.

im bel in mulind ip and dochuaib hi cend ind Altur, 7 ip imalle porcaig intimon do denum ocur intarbur do bleich; 7 n̄ t̄ria t̄orað p̄putam doronað, p̄d p̄p̄ ð̄ratiam Domini.

In tempore Aedán mic Gabhran r̄ig Alban, 7 Aeda mic Ammirech r̄ig Erenn, 7 Falcup ðim ba r̄i Rómam intarpin.

Caura, quia uoluit deum laudare .i. do éiméid d̄ilguda dona t̄ri cathaib dorome m̄Eirinn .i. Cath Cúile Rathin in Dal Araide etarru 7 Comgall [benmhuir] 1 cornam chille .i. Ropp torathair, 7 cath belach feda arpað Chluana h̄lraib' 7 cath Cuile ðremne 1 connac̄ta, 7 ba do Diarmait mac Cerbaill dorata āndip. Ductur ept ad ð̄rigorium, et pupati p̄nt minirep̄i t̄ria capitula de re, .i. hic rublatur 7 Orbem infra, 7 Christo de coelis, 7 t̄ria capitula p̄ro eip inreuerunt, 7 minirep̄i cantantibus s̄mnum ð̄rigorio, ð̄rigoriur hic pupex̄it, donec audiret aliena capitula t̄ria. Et iterum pedic donec p̄prop̄ia. Suppex̄it iterum 7 dixit illis confitemini quod eḡit̄ip. Illi confesserunt, 7 dixit illis cantate igitur s̄mnum secundum ordinem a suo auctore dictum, 7 illi cantauerunt, 7 ille post laudauit lauder. Sed dixit, minur quam debuit Deur memorari in eo memoratur ept. P̄p̄er̄ter̄ angeli p̄mper p̄uerunt quando cantatur, p̄ic uidit ð̄rigoriur angelor. Multe p̄nt ð̄ratie s̄mni huiur. Quiquur eum cantauerit p̄p̄er̄ter̄ nunquam ad p̄p̄er̄tionem inimicor̄um 7

mouth of the mill, it was then that he began the *Altus*; and it was at one and the same time that the hymn was composed, and the grinding of the corn completed; and it was not as the result of study it was composed, *sed per gratiam Domini*.

[It was composed] in the time of Aedan son of Gabhran, King of Alba, and of Aed son of Aimmire, King of Erinn, and Falcus [Phocas] was the King of the Romans at that time.

The Cause was because he was desirous of praising God, i. e. to ask forgiveness for the three battles which he had caused in Erinn, viz., the battle of Cuil Rathain [Coleraine] in Dal Araide, between him and Comgall [of Bennchor] contending for a church, viz., Ross Torathair; and the battle of Belach-feda, of the weir of Clonard; and the battle of Cul Dremne in Connacht; and it was against Diarmait Mac Cerbaill he fought them both^o. Ductus^p est ad Gregorium, et furati sunt ministri^q tria capitula de se, viz., *Hic sublatus, et Orbem infra, et Christo de caelis*. Et tria capitula pro eis inseruerunt, et ministris cantantibus ymnum Grigorio, Grigorius hic surrexit, donec audiret aliena capitula tria; et iterum sedit donec propria. Surrexit iterum, et dixit illis Confitemini quod egistis; illi confesserunt, et dixit illis Cantate igitur ymnum secundum ordinem a suo auctore dictum; et illi cantauerunt, et ille post laudauit laudes. Sed dixit, Minus^r quam debuit Deus memorari in eo memoratus est. Presentes Angeli semper fuerunt quando cantatur; sic vidit Gregorius angelos. Multae sunt gratiae hymni huius. Quisquis eum cantaverit frequenter nunquam ad persecutionem inimicorum et demonum eveniet ei quod timet pervenire; et nesciet diabolus mortem ejus. Et liberet ab omni morte absque pretiosa^t, et

^o *Both*.—See Reeves' *Adamnan*, pp. 253-4.

^p *Ductus*.—i. e. Hymnus ductus est. See above, p. 221.

^q *Ministri*.—i. e. those who brought the Hymn to Gregory.

^r *Christo*.—In the Preface (Book of Hymns, see p. 221, *supra*), and also in Colgan's Preface, the third stanza, said to have been omitted by St. Columba's messengers, was *Vagatur ex climatico*.

^s *Minus*.—This is the same objection which is stated above (p. 222), and in Colgan's Preface (see p. 227, *infra*), that the author had not been sufficiently earnest in the praise of the Trinity.

^t *Pretiosa*.—Over this word is the gloss, .i. bar p̄e hadap̄t, "i. e. death on the pillow" (see above, p. 223). Is there an allusion here to the text, "Pretiosa in conspectu Domini mors sanctorum ejus," the meaning of "absque pretiosa" being "ex-

demonum eueniet ei quod timent pepue-
nipe, 7 nepciat diabulur moritem eiu. Et
liberet ab omni morte abique ppetiora,
7 non erit in inferno porc diem iudicii,
etiampi mala multa egerit, 7 habebit di-
uitiar multar 7 longiuitudinem peculi. Orð
abgitech ðna fil for innumunro, .i.
more ebneorum. In lñ lter ðm fil in
arbitur, ipe lñ capitel fil in mun. Ni
icneppaib ðna a capitel doberat ebraði
allitpe, aðt cað ltor of a capitel cu
forba in immun. 7 iped fobera in ar
ata ciall acaibpeom in omnibur lterarum,
7 in in ciall doreich triarna capitelaið.
Ipe imorro fobera do ebraðaib pechimm
uipð alphabeti sui. .i. .xxii. lterae apud
ebneor, ar in ða lebor for .xx. fil 7 pe-
taplaicc. Ipe ðna fobera ðagregaið .iiii.
litpe .xx. accu, .x. renpur hominor 7 .x.
mandata legir 7 .iiii. euangelia. Ipe ðna
fobera do Rómanðaib .iii. litpe .xx. accu,
.i. .x. renpur hominum beor, 7 .x. mandata
legir, 7 tpmicar.

Tría pichimm ðna ðoronad incimmonra,
7 atar ði epnal forpuidbe .i. arci-
picalur 7 uulgarur. arcpicalur ep ubi
punte peber cum tempuibur aequir 7
aqua ðuipione 7 cum aequo pondere, .i.
arpir 7 tepir, 7 ubi ror pubrequeor ppo
pprecedente in iupe ppolutionor. Ip hñ
imorro in uulgarur ðu immbf in ppepra

non erit in inferno post diem iudicii, etiamsi mala
multa egerit, et habebit divitias multas, et longi-
tudinem seculi. There is alphabetical order in
this hymn after the manner of the Hebrews^u. The
number of letters in the alphabet is the number
of chapters that is in this hymn. It is not, how-
ever, at the sides of their chapters that the Hebrews
place their letters, but each letter is over its chapter^v
to the end of the hymn. And the reason of that
is, that they have a meaning^w in all their letters
[*leg. in omnibus literis eorum*], and this is the
meaning that runs through the chapters. And this
is the reason why the Hebrews have followed the
order of their own alphabet (.i. xxii. litteræ apud
Hebræos), because there are twenty-two books in the
Old Testament^x. But the reason why the Greeks
have twenty-four letters is, because there are ten
senses of man, and ten Commandments of the Law,
and four Gospels. And the reason why the Romans
have three-and-twenty letters is, that there are ten
senses of man, and ten Commandments of the Law,
and the Trinity.

Now this Hymn is composed in Rhythm, of which
there are two kinds, *Artificialis* and *Vulgaris*. The
Artificialis is where the feet are made with equal
times, and equal division, and with equal weight,
viz., *arsis* and *thesis*; and where the subsequent is
for the precedent in the right of resolution. And
this is the *Vulgaris*, where there is correspondence
of syllables, in quatrains and half quatrains; and

cept that death, which is precious in the sight of the
Lord" (Ps. cxvi. 15), viz., Martyrdom.

^u *Hebrews*.—See above, p. 222, note c.

^v *Over its chapter*.—The allusion is evidently to
Ps. cxviii. (*Heb. cxix.*), where the acrostical or
alphabetical order is not in the verses, but in stanzas
of eight verses; and the Latin MSS. of the Bible
usually write the name of the Hebrew letter, ALEPH,
BETH, &c., over each stanza. In like manner, the
acrostical letter in the present Hymn belongs to the
stanza of six verses, but, as our scholiast remarks,
is written, not *over*, but *at the side* of each stanza.

^w *A meaning*.—i. e. the Hebrew letters have each
a particular signification: *Aleph* is an ox; *Beth*, a
house; *Gimel*, a camel, &c.; and the stanzas com-
mencing with these letters have a meaning corre-
sponding to the signification of the letters. It
would be very difficult to justify this theory by ac-
tual analysis of the Psalm.

^x *Old Testament*.—The Irish is *petaplaicc*,
sometimes written *beteplic* and *petaplaicc*,
which is not a Celtic word, but probably a corrup-
tion of the Latin *vetus lex*; or rather, perhaps, of
the older *base* of those words.

pillab, .i. cethrumchan, 7 lechpanb; ocup
ireb rin pil irin immun. Sex linæ imorpo
in unoquoque capitulo, excepto primo ca-
pitulo; ocup pe pillab .x. in cad line. 7
.iii. linæ in primo capitulo. Cubab epa
pénarbachc do beith irna capitelab hi
pail moiriu donbulib noforbaichea epia
penair. Cubab imorpo pectinabachc
do beith irin chairciul ap in fáthra. .i.
quod narrat de deo, quod deus impar erc
creaturu rui. uel .vii. gnabur eccleriae
riugnificat, uel quod pectenairur unuer-
pitate riugnificat. uel .iii. dona rriurur
pancti riugnificat,

Robe epa bligeb gabala inb mumpo co
nogabcha quip potert, epia cad dá chair-
ciul de. Ocup ir de rin nobiab a pach paur,
ap ir amlab nocet arcup. 7rl.

this is what is in this Hymn. Now there are six
lines in every *Capitulum*, except the first *Capitu-
lum*, and sixteen syllables in every line; and seven
lines in the first *capitulum*. It is fit that there
should be six lines in which is narrated all that was
finished in six days. And it is fit that there should
be seven lines in that [first] chapter, for this reason,
because it tells of God, for God is not comparable to
His creatures; or it signifies the seven grades of the
Church; or that the number seven denotes univer-
sality; or it signifies the seven gifts of the Holy
Ghost.

And the rule for singing this hymn is, that *Quis
potest* be sung between every two chapters of it.
And it is thus that one may have the benefit of it,
for it was thus it was first sung, etc.

On the lower margin of the page of the *Leabhar Breacc*, in which the foregoing
Preface occurs, there is the following quatrain, in a hand coeval with the MS. :—

Seib in altur cobapecht.
Na dam cept do deman bur.
Nirpil galap irin bith.
Na cith na cuppe pop cul.,
Sing the Altus seven times,
Yield not thy right to the hard^v demon.
There is no disease in the world,
No difficulty that it will not banish^v.

The following is Colgan's abridged translation of the Preface given in his MS.,
which is supposed to be the same that is now preserved in the College of S. Isidore at
Rome :—

Locus, in quo hic Hymnus compositus erat, est Insula Hiensis. Author S. Columba Kille de nobili genere
Scotorum. Tempore Aidi filij Anmirij, Hiberniæ Regis, et Aidani filij Gaurani, Regis Albanæ, seu Scotiæ
Albiensis; fuit compositus. Causa motiva fuit, tùm vt Deus in suis operibus laudetur, tùm ad deprecandam
veniam propter tria prælia inter Hiberniæ Principes conserta, quibus adoriundis S. Columba causam
præbuit. Erant hæc, prælium de *Cuilrathen*, prælium de *Cuilfeadha*, et prælium de *Cuile-dreimne*. Ferunt
nonnulli S. Columbam septem annis materiam hujus Hymni meditatam, antequàm ipsum Opusculum com-
posuerit. Alii verò tradunt ipsum ex tempore illud composuisse tali occasione. Cùm S. Columba et
S. Baitheneus die quadam in Insula Hiensi ab alijs sequestrati agerent; S. Columba ad Baithenum ait;

^v *Hard*.—Obdurate, tyrannical, hard-hearted.

^v *Banish*.—Literally, put behind.

Fili supervenient hodie nobiles et peregrini hospites à Gregorio Pontifice Summo cum gratis donarijs ad nos missi. Æquum ergò est tantis hospitibus de decente refectione provideatur. Et cum postea vir Sanctus intelligeret nihil domi reperiri, quo villo modo etiam minùs decenter, quàm par erat, possent refici, præter vnam frumenti mensuram; tunc ipse ecurrit festinus ad vicinum molendinum: et antequàm molendinum injecta grana contriverat, vel in farinam resolverat, ipse Hymnum absolvit. Ordine Alphabetico Hymnus hic compositus est. Quælibet ejus strophæ (excepta prima, quæ septem constat) sex versiculis, seu lineis constat; et singulæ lineæ sedecim syllabis. Opusculum hoc iam absolutum, fuit ab authore per quosdam discipulos præsentatum et oblatum Gregorio Magno Pontifici in recognitionem pretiosissimi donarii (nempè Sanctissimæ Crucis, quæ *Mor-gheam*, id est Magna, seu Pretiosa gemma, vocatur) quod idem Sanctissimus Pontifex ante S. Columbæ per suos legatos miserat. Pro tribus autem capitulis, seu strophis ejusdem Opusculi, à S. Columba compositis; qui incipiunt; *Hic sublatus è medio*, &c. *Orbem infra vt legimus*, &c. *Vagatur ex climatico*, &c. discipuli eius legati sustituerunt tres alios à se compositos, vel animo expiscandi summè tunc prædicatam S. Pontificis virtutem et sanctimoniam; vel reverà dispositione occulta Divini Numinis volentis vtriusque Sancti eximiam virtutem reddere orbi notiozem. Cùm enim Hymnus ille coràm Gregorio recitaretur, Angeli Dei recitantes stipabant: quibus visis Pontifex Sanctus è sede assurgens, in pedes se erexit; et sic stans venerabundus perstitit, donec ad supposititias strophas perventum esset: quibus legi cœptis Angeli recedebant, ac illis recedentibus Pontifex illicò in sede subsedit. Ac postquàm jam tertio alternatis vicibus Pontifex ad lectionem supposititorum capitulorum resedisset, ac ad genuinorum resumptionem assurrexisset; tandem finitâ Hymni lectione Gregorius Hymnum depravatum esse in spiritu recognoscens, missos nuncios adiurat, quatenus fateantur, an ipsi vel alij aliqua in Hymno immutaverint. Illi religione percussi, suam culpam, miraculo proditam, fatentur, veniamque supplices deprecantur, ac obtinent à Clementi Pontifice, qui et Opusculum magnopere laudavit, solumque illud sibi in eo displicere dixit, quod author parciùs in eo de Trinitate disseverit, quàm optaret. Et hæc fuit occasio, ob quam S. Columba composuerit alium subsequentem Hymnum, qui incipit; *In te Christe credentium* &c. Plures piè creduntur gratiæ et virtutes huic Hymno divinitùs concessæ. Prima, quod piè eum recitantes, nec à dæmone sint infestandi, nec ab hoste vulnerandi, eo die quo eum recitaverint. Secunda, quod à litibus et discordijs domus illa sit immunis in qua consueverit recitari. Tertia, quod locus in quo consueverit recitari, à fame et inopia sit præservandus. Quarta, quod quotidie eum recitans, non aliâ quàm naturali et placida morte sit interiturus, &c.—*Triad. Thaum.*, p. 473.

O'Donnell, in his *Life of St. Columba*, as published in a Latin abridgment by Colgan, has also given the Legend relating to the occasion of composing the Altus, in a form evidently taken from some copy of the Book of Hymns. As Colgan's work is very scarce, and as this narrative shows how O'Donnell understood some passages of the Prefaces, it may be well to insert his version of the story here:—

Sanctus Gregorius Papa cùm die quadam Romæ in sua Ecclesia sacrosancto interesset Missæ sacrificio, vidit crucem ligneam Angelorum manibus super altare collocari: quam quidam ex adstantibus Clericis dùm inde levare aut aliò transferre niterentur, nequaquam loco dimovere potuerunt. Cunctis eam ob rem admiratione attonitis, summus ipse Pontifex accessit, crucemque continuò levans; Hæc, inquit, palàm ad adstantes, nec mihi, nec cuiquam vestrum; sed cuidam Dei servo, cui nomen Columba, extremum orbem incolenti, à Deo est destinata! Quare accersitos quosdam Clericos jubet ut se itineri accingant, et demissum cælitùs donum præmemorato Christo famulo in Hy insulam perferant. Ijs profectis, et jam Hiensi cœnobio vicinis S. Columba de eorum adventu et suscepti itineris causa ab Angelo admonitus; hac nocte, inquit ad suos, venerabiles ad nos hospites Gregorij Papæ nuntij divertent: curate igitur ut ijs bene sit de cœna provisum.

Paulò post cùm illi advenissent, nihilque in Monasterio repertum, quod tantis hospitibus dignum erat apponi, præter unum subcineritium panem, et poculum unum vini in usum sacrificij reservatum; vir Sanctus eam ob rem verecundatus, illa ipsa adferri jussa in Christi nomine benedixit, et iam hospitibus apposita, Christo annuente sic multiplicavit, ut hospitibus totique familiæ reficiendis abundè suffecerint. Porrò nuntii Pontificis commissum donum viro Sancto consignarunt; estque illud celebre monumentum quod in Torachia occidua Hiberniæ insula (cujus supra mentio sæpiùs facta est) in memoriam Columbæ asseruatam Crux magna vulgò appellatur.

Post hæc S. Columba tres è suis discipulis Romam ablegavit, qui rythmum quem in Sanctissimæ Trinitatis laudem ipse composuerat paucis verbis multa obstrusiora sacræ scripturæ mysteria complexus, Sancto Gregorio Magno præsentarent. Nuntii ergò Romam perlati priusquam creditam opellam Pontifici porrexerant, tria ex eius medio capitula, substitutis totidem, quæ ipsi fuerant commenti, temerè expunxerunt, experimentum scilicet ea re facturi an Gregorius cujus tùm fama sanctitatis increbuerat, supposititia metra à reliquis discerneret; vel an pari laudi utraque commendaret. Rythmum itaque sic interpolatum cum Sancto Antistiti præsentassent, et coràm eo, eique assistente purpuratorum corona iussi legere cœpissent. Magnus Pontifex se in pedes erexit, sicque venerabundus perstitit, donec ad apochripha illa capitula perventum erat: quibus legi cœptis, continuò resedit; sed iam perlectis iterato surgens, reliqua stans excepit. Ad hæc admirati quidam præsentium optimatum, cùm insuetæ et aliquantisper interruptæ venerationis causam sciscitarentur; respondit Pontifex se ideò, dùm Rythmi initium perlegeretur, stetisse, quod intereà Angelos Sanctos stipasse legentium latera conspexisset; postea verò subsedis, quòd boni Genii aliquantisper disparuissent; iisque iterum se venerabundum surrexisse, et in eo situ in finem perseverasse. Ad hæc audita nuntii simul admiratione attoniti, simul etiam religione perculsi, suam imposturam, certam scilicet interruptæ Angelorum præsentiae causam humiliter fassi, temeritatis veniam obtinuerunt à Clementi Pontifice; qui et oblatum rythmum magnopere laudavit, et authorem Apostolicæ sedis indultis auctum, suo nomine salutari mandavit.—*Triad. Thaum.*, p. 412.

NOTE B.

The Gloss in the Leabhar Breacc.

As the various readings of the text, or rather fragment of the text, of this Hymn, preserved in the *Leabhar Breacc*^a, have been already fully given in the notes, it will only be necessary to publish here the interlinear Gloss which occurs in that MS. It is quite different from the Gloss in the *Liber Hymnorum*, although in some places they coincide, as if taken from some common source. It is necessary to state that this fragment contains only the stanzas or "Capitula" A to H, inclusive. The numbers refer to the lines of the Hymn.

1. *Altus*^b. 610 ðna ałtur 7 ałmur hic pluind huairle, et ideo ponitur hic, ap pluind
huairle acur iple do ut cicepo dicat altum mare et altum celum. Ałmur imorpo

^a *Leabhar Breacc*.—"Speckled Book," in Old Irish lebar brecc. The adjective *Breacc* has generally hitherto been spelt *Breac*, incorrectly, however; the ancient orthography was *brecc*, as is

shown by the corresponding word in Welsh, viz., *brych*, where the *ch* has certainly arisen from the combination *cc*, as in *iechuit* (sanitas), Old Irish *icc*; *bichan* (parvus), O. Ir. *becc*; *pechawt*

huairle tantum torneir. ["Now altus and almus both denote nobility: and therefore it (viz. *altus*) is put here, for it denotes high and low, as Cicero says, *Altum mare, et altum cœlum. Almus significat nobleness only.*"]

Prosetor^c. In the margin is this note, "Seminator, vitis; sertor, agri; sator, horti; sero, sevi, statum [*leg. satum*]; uminor, idem; sator; prosero, vi, prositatum; ιητορ conδενι [the *tor* makes] prosetor."

Vetustus^d. .i. qui sperit [*qu. fuerat*] ante tempore.

Dierum. dies .i. a dividendo lucem a tenebris.

2. *Absque origine*. .i. Deus Pater origine erat prius in tempore.

Primordi. .i. quando in forma venit, vel materia uniuscuiusque rei in masa [*leg. massa*].

Crepidine^e. .i. cen πορκενδ [without end], αρ ποζαβαρ crepido hic ιη δορε ερηχ no cen ποχα [for crepido is sometimes found to signify end or termination], ut in lege dicitur s[acerdos decurrere faciet] sanguinem ad crepidinem altaris, id est, ad fundamentum [Lev. i. 15].

3. *Est et erit*^f. .i. non proprie dicitur de deo erat, vel erit, sed tantum est, quia presens est; sed elimenta erant ante, quia ut augustinus ait erant in notitia dei et non erant sua natura.

4. *Cui est*^g. .i. nemo potest esse est.

Christus. .i. misias in ebreo, christus in greco, unctus in latino.

5. *Coeternus*^h. .i. ut dicitur genuit verbum omni modo simile sibi qua locutio patris est filius ut dicit dauid semel locutus est [Ps. lxi. 12] id est filium unum genuit.

6. *Non tris*. .i. si dicamus tris personas unum esse deum confitemur, si unum deum confitemur tris personas credimus, .i. ut dicit hironimusⁱ si unus sol est in intigra cum luce et calore, ita est sol deus pater, lux est filius, calor est spiritus sanctus.

8. *Creavit*. Deus .i. altus prosetor.

Angelos. .i. angelus grece. maloch, ebreice. nuntius, latine.

9. *Sedium*. .i. tronum [*read thronorum*].

10. *Uti*. .i. prout.

Bonitas. .i. Dei benevolentia. *Otiosa*. .i. δεαρη no διμαδιν. .i. cen mame δερηουδ [lazy or idle, i. e. not to bestow wealth].

11. *Trinitatis*. .i. trinitas quasi trina unitas.

(peccat-um), O. Ir. peccad; *mynych* (frequens), O. Ir. menicc; and the other examples given by Zeuss, *Gramm. Celtica*, i. 173.

^b *Altus*.—This is an attempt to explain why *altus*, not *almus*, is used in the Hymn: *altus* having a more extensive signification.

^c *Prosetor*.—This note is intended to give the etymology of *Prosator*. It explains that we use *seminator*, of a vine; *sertor*, of land; and *sator*, of a garden. *Uminor* ought probably to be *seminor*. There is evidently some corruption; but the meaning seems to be that, as from *sero*, *sevi*, *satum*, comes *sator*, so also from *prosero*, *prosevi*, *prosa-tum*, we have the noun in *tor*, "*prosator*."

^d *Vetustus*.—The word *sperit* in this Gloss seems a mistake. Perhaps we should read *fuit*, or *fuerat*.

^e *Crepidine*.—See the note on this word, p. 206, *supra*.

^f *Est et erit*.—The Editor has been unable to find the words here quoted from St. Augustine.

^g *Cui est*.—The reference is probably to Exod. iii. 14, "Nemo potest esse est."

^h *Coeternus*.—The interpretation here given to the words, "semel locutus est," will be found in St. Augustine; *Enarr.* in Ps. lxi. 12, "Apud se semel Deus locutus est, quia unum Verbum genuit Deus."

ⁱ *Hironimus*.—The Editor has not found this passage in St. Jerome's works.

- Largiatatis*. .i. արլր րլաբար ոբոի ծա բրա սծնլ [because God was munificent to his creatures].
12. *Haberet*. Ut.
Celestia. .i. misterio, vel elimenta.
Privelegia. [*sic*] .i. ոմաթո նո ծրրբսցսծ անլլ բեչո նա ծնլ արչեոա [the great dignity or illustriousness of angels above all the other creatures].
13. *Magnopere*. .i. անորճոեչիե [leg. անորճոեչիոծ, which is an exact translation of *magnopere*].
Fatimini. .i. օոնլ ար բեբեօր [from the word *feteor* (i. e. *fateor* or *fator*)].
14. *Celi*. .i. Celum a celsitudine sua nomen rectissime accepit.
Apice. Apicem dicit. .i. culmen regni aut summitatem.
15. *Venustate*. i. quasi honorabilitate. *Speciminis*, .i. ոա ծելո, ոո ոո ճոեե [of the countenance, or outward appearance].
Lucifer. i. lucem ferens.
Formaverat. i. deus.
16. *Apostataque*. .i. ոանոբբեոմեոեչ [the fallen ones] apostata grece: recessor a fide vel viles [*read viles*] interpretatur.
Lugubri. .i. lugubri. i. fiebili. i. անործսծա ծոյբլոյո սօբբրլոյո յ ծոնա ծսլոն արչեոա սար ոոմեղ շարոմեչեչ անջեղօրսոյ ոս [i. in great melancholy to themselves, and to other creatures also, because the transgression of the angels deceived them].
18. *Cenodoxia*. .i. ceno, uanae, doxia grece gloria interpretatur. .i. ոո ծրրոմալ բլր [of the perpetual oblivion], a diabulo contra hominem.
19. *Ceteris*. .i. angeli perfecti.
In suis principatibus. .i. in proposito suo perseverant in celo.
20. *Draco*. .i. diabolus, duplex consiliator interpretatur; dia, Grece, duo, latine; bulus, Grece, consiliator, latine.
21. *Serpens*. .i. ոո արլաչ բօրծօոա [the tempting of Adam].
21. *Lubricus*. .i. lubricus, eoque ibi labitur, lubricum .i. րոնո ոո օրլոե բօր ոա լեոոա ոսլե ար ո (բ)լեոոո բեծ րոնեչ, յ ծօբեոար սած ար րոն րլեոոո յ րոն ոսլե ոո արար յ ր ծա րոնոնոն ծօճոնոնոն ոո րլոն [i. e. a tree in the East on which flies stick because of its lubricity, *sed cadent*, and from it the name is given to everything slippery; and it is from the dung of birds that live in its top that the silk was manufactured].
Sapientior. .i. sapientia fit in bono et in malo, in bono ut dicitur, initium sapientie timor domini, ut dicit christus, perdam sapientiam sapientium huius mundi, vel sapientia սարոնոնո [folly], ut dicit sapientia huius mundi.
22. *Bestiis*. .i. bestia ab essu [from eating] more feriatatis [*sic*] dicta est.
Terrae. .i. terra dicta est a torrento, eoque commouentium gressibus atteritur.
Ferocioribus. .i. ferox eoque feriatatem exercent.
23. *Tertiam partem*. .i. graduum celestium.
Siderum. .i. angelorum.
Traxit. .i. draco.
Barathrum. .i. in puteum .i. quasi voratrum .i. uorago ut circirius [?] dicit, Baratrum .i. hiatus terre .i. putereus in profundo maris et terre. Baratrum .i. լոո անոնոն բեոոոո յ ոո շեղոնոնոն ար րոն ոնոնոն յ ծօբեոար սած ար րոն ճրոնոն արչեոա [i. e. a place into which old people are cast, they are not let out of it till death, and the name is given from it to every kind of incarceration besides].

24. *Infernalium*. .i. in puteum.
Carcerum. .i. isidorus dicit eo quod homines coercentur. [*Etymol.* lib. v. c. 27, xv. c. 2.]
25. *Refugas*. .i. elathcha [i. deserters].
Veri luminis. .i. christi.
Parasito. .i. parasita, բարբառի no Բրեպարե no Բրեպուտի [i. parasita, a buffoon or deluder, or a stinking pond, den, or dungeon].
Precipites. .i. մոռա[ր]արարի a Ծիաբո [i. e. cast down by the devil].
26. *Excelsus*. .i. deus .i. quasi valde excelsus.
Machinam. i. մոռար no մ շուտեհ [the mass, or the machine].
Armoniam. .i. մոտմշուծուր բլ ետր նա Ծուե [the harmony which is between the creatures], ut dicit boetius, .i. Ծուե o Ծուե [between man and man] et cetera.
27. *Celum et terram*. .i. pro omni creatura uisibile, vel corpus.
Mare. .i. seculum vel scribtura.
Aquas. մարաւ, ebraice; maron, grece; mare, latine dicitur; aquas dicuntur tribulationes seculi, vel doctrina scribturæ.
28. *Herbarum*. .i. herba quasi serpa, eo quod serpit.
Virgultorum. .i. մոռալլե no մոռաբա [i. e. of the wood, or of the forest].
Arbuscula. .i. նա բալարաչա.
29. *Solem*. .i. christum.
Lunam. .i. ecclesiam.
Sidera. .i. iusti.
Ignem. .i. uindictæ vel gratiæ, et preces sancti.
Bestias. .i. ferociorese seculi, ut dicitur, quicquid ore bibit bestia nominatur.
31. *Hominem*. .i. adam vel christum. *Demum*. .i. բաբուծ.
Regere. .i. omnia elimenta.
Protoplastum. .i. սեւիւտա [first-formed], protos, grece; primus, latine; plastum, grece; formatum latine dicitur; vel protoplastum grece, corpus latine dicitur.
32. *Etheris*. .i. մեթեւր [of the ether, or air].
33. *Conlaudaverunt*. Postquam creati sunt dicentes, sanctus, sanctus, sanctus dominus deus sabaoth.
Præmirabili. .i. արմոռեծ ոբերմար [i. e. on the great operator].
34. *Molis*. Non corporalis molis.
Presagmine^k. Presagmine .i. o ժարսեւոլ no o իւղարմեւեհ [leg. իւղարմեւեհ] ար բրբալ յ աշմեն բլ ան յ իրեծ բեմ բոբոյ Ծո աԾամ [i. e. from instruction, or from host-leadership: for *presul* and *agmen* are in it; and that is what was Adam's] սԵ Ծուրս ԾԻ, donavit deus cuncta. Adam vero nominibus ea nominavit.
Opificem. .i. ճոմծեմաւծ .i. opus et faciens.
35. *Preconio*. .i. ճոբարծոնալ մոլեւաւջե .i. [from the praiseful exclamation] sanctus, sanctus, sanctus dominus deus sabaoth.
36. *Concentuque*. .i. ոն ժարսեւոլ էրբրճո [i. e. from the illustrious instruction].
Grates. pro gratias, sed causa rithmi.

Boetius.—The Editor has not succeeded in verifying this reference.

^k *Presagmine*.—In the Gloss on this word, ԾԻ seems as if intended for *Cicero*, but is possibly a

blunder for ԾԻ, i. e. Ծիրոն, or Hieronymus, for so the Irish call St. Jerome; but the Editor has not found the words quoted in any of St. Jerome's writings.

37. *Amore*. .i. pro.
Arbitrio. .i. arbitrium est proprium [sic] conatus anime.
Naturæ. .i. [nī] ἰνναναιεμυδ̄ ποχλῃανῃδ̄ μολαδ̄ δέ [(not) in their nature was the praise of God planted], sed in voluntate et postetate [potestate] sua, sicut ostendit ante, ubi dixit, amore et arbitrio, quod dicit augustinus natura quæ nec recipit minus nec plus quam quod ab origine trahit, non invitus ergo laudante dominum sed ex voluntate.
38. *Grasatis*. .i. a diabulo.
Primis duobus. i. adam et eua.
39. *Zabulus*. .i. բօսւլ ճրեւծա [a Greek word], de consiliariis interpretatur, vel infirmus ԻԱՐ ՃԵՆՆԱԻԿԻ նօ Կօմաձ Ծօն բօսւլ ար ԾԻԱԲՍՄԻ Ծօճնեւեա շօսւսւր ԵՐԻԱ. .ճ. ա .Ծ. ԵՐԻԱ ԵԻԵՐԿԱԾ, or *zabulus*, was made from the word *diabulus*, through *z* from *d* [i. e. by changing *d* to *z*], through contraction [lit. cutting-down].
40. *Quorum*. .i. demoniorum.
41. *Consternarentur*. .i. նա բալճԻՄԻ [what they concealed] quia invisibiles sunt demones.
Fragiles. .i. fragilis dicit eo quod facile frangi potest.
42. *Non valentes*. .i. նա բալլրիճԻՄԻ [i. e. what they revealed].
Hec intueri. .i. agmina diabulitica, vel carectera et volitantia.
43. *Fascibus*. Fascibus .i. ἰռῃսճրոսնոս .i. ἰռῃ Կօմոնոս ամալ ճրոմնե .i. ԿԱԸ Կօմոնձ ԾԻԲ ἰմալու բառճոսրԵԱ ամալ ճրոմնե [i. e. in the bundles, i. e. in their *comonds* [assemblies?] like bundles, i. e. each *comond* of them in its proper place like a bundle.
44. *Sublatus*. .i. diabulus, .i. a conspectu dei vel ex unitate.
45. *Cujus*. .i. diabuli.
Constipatur. .i. ԾԼՄԵԱՐ նօ ԼնԵԱՐ [i. e. is closed, or is filled].
Satilitum. .i. նանամսր [i. e. of the soldiers].
46. *Globo*. .i. օ ԿԽԱՐԵ նօ օ ԲՍԻԾԻՄ [i. e. by a circle, or by a crowd].
Perduellium. .i. ἰռնանԵւեաԿԻԿԻ, inter seipsos invicem semper, նօ ԿԱԿԻ ԿօնԿրա ԵՄ ԵՒ Խօմինե. Duellum .i. quasi duobus bellis bellatorum .i. qui bellis bellum interpretatur vel hostis ut ԿԻԸ dixit. Aliter perduellium. .i. նամԵԻԾԵ, quia fit perduellis inimicus.
47. *Exemplaribus*. .i. օ Ենճրաբիս Ծեմօնոս [i. e. from the examples (?) of demons].
Imbuti. .i. բօրԵԿԻ.
48. *Septis*. .i. septus a quo septis est, semper labidum [read lapidum] est. Septus autem lignorum. .i. custodias angelicas et uirtutes christi significat.
49. *Fornicarentur*. .i. perdirentur, pro omni peccato fornicatio ponitur hic, .i. quia non delarent [sic] homines peccata sua si uide[rentur].

On the lower margin of this page (109 b) occurs the following quatrain:—

Բսլ երոմ, բսլ երոմ
 նաեղար ծօբօճԵ ԾԵ ԲԻ:
 ԾԻմմԾԱ ԾԱԵԿԻԱԾ ԿԻԵ,
 ԿԵՐԱԿԵ օԿՍ ԳԻԵԼԵ.

There are three things, there are three things
 That are unlawful to the poor of the living God:
 Thanklessness for their life, whatsoever it be,
 Dissatisfaction and *dibele* (precipitancy?)

NOTE C.

Translation of the Hymn, and of the Scholia prefixed to its several Stanzas.

IN the following attempt to translate this Hymn, the Editor is not at all sure that he has always succeeded in expressing the author's meaning¹. The Latinity is extremely rude, and the readings in some places corrupt; nevertheless, the translation, and notes appended to it, may possibly be an assistance to some readers:—

CAPITULUM A.

The Title^k is, *De unitate et Trinitate trium personarum*, and the Argument is the *Canon* [i. e. the text of Scripture] upon which the Capitulum is founded, as is read in Daniel [vii. 9] or in Isaias [vi. 1?], *Vetustus dierum sedebat super sedem suam*. *Vetustus dierum æternus temporum erat*. *Vetustus dierum Deus dicitur*, pro multitudine dierum ante quos Deus erat; vel quia fuit [per] omnia tempora. It is the canon of a prophet he gives in it, quia ipse propheta erat; and it is from Daniel in particular he takes it, because he was the latest and noblest: but Colum-cille was the latest and noblest of the prophets of Erin.

The High Father, the Ancient of Days, and unbegotten,
Was without origin of beginning, and foundation¹;
Is and shall be to infinite ages of ages;
With whom is Christ the Only-begotten, and the Holy Ghost
Coeternal in the glory of the everlasting Godhead: 5
We preach^m not three Gods, but we say there is one God,
Saving our faith in three most glorious Persons.

CAPITULUM B.

This is the Titleⁿ, *De formatione novem graduum*, tribus prætermittis, non per ignorantiam, sed pro angustia capituli prætermisit. But the Argument is, *Fiat lux et facta est*:—

He created the good Angels, Archangels, and the Orders
Of Principalities^o, and Thrones, Powers and Virtues

¹ *Meaning*.—Dr. John Smith, Minister of Campbellton, in his *Life of St. Columba* (Edinb. 1798), has given in his Appendix (p. 137) a very loose poetical paraphrase of this Hymn, which, however, throws no light on its philological difficulties, and can scarcely be called a translation.

^k *The Title*.—Colgan has abridged the Scholium thus: "Titulus est; De Unitate et Trinitate personarum. Argumentum verò ex illo Danielis vel Isaie: *Vetustus dierum sedebat super sedem suam*." See note, p. 206, *supra*. The *Leabhar Breacc* has, "De unitate et Trinitate Dietatis [sic] trium perso-

narum in he in titulus [this is the Title]. In imorpio in argamant [this, however, is the Argument], ut dicitur in Danielio [sic], *Ecce videbam sedes possita et vetustus dierum sedebat super sedem suam*."

¹ *Foundation*.—*Crepido* may signify 'foundation'; and therefore *absque crepidine*, 'without anything to stand on,' 'self-dependent.' See note, p. 206. But perhaps it may also signify 'breach,' 'interval,' 'fissure.' See Du Cange, *in voc.*, and compare the use of the word *crebrare*, line 62 (p. 215, *supra*, and note).

That the Goodness and Majesty of the Trinity might not be inactive^p 10
 In all functions of bountifulness,
 But might have something whereby to show forth
 Celestial privileges^q largely in all possible expression.

CAPITULUM C.

De transmigratiōe^r novem graduum principis, this is the Title. But it is from the Apocalypse the Argument is taken, i. e. *Vidi Stellam de celo cecidisse in terram*: et in Esaia, *Quomodo cecidisti Lucifer, qui mane oriebaris*.

From the summit of the kingdom of heaven, of angelic rank,
 From the brightness of effulgence, from the loveliness of beauty, 15
 Lucifer, whom God had made, fell by being proud,
 And the apostate angels, with the same mournful fall
 Of the author of vain-glory, and of obstinate envy;
 The rest remaining in their Principalities.

^m *We preach*.—"Depromimus," we put forward, 'we propound,' or 'teach.'

ⁿ *This is the Title*.—Colgan gives the Scholium thus: "Tit. De formatione novem graduum Angelorum, tribus prætermisissis: non per ignorantiam, sed per augustiam capituli prætermisissis. Argumentum ex illo, *Fiat lux et facta est*." The Scholium in the *Leabhar Breacc* is as follows: "De formatione .ix. graduum, tribus prætermisissis, ἵπε ἰν τίτῶν [this is the Title]. ἵπε ἰν ὀργῶν ἰν ἀργῶν [this, however, is the Argument], Quod in Genesi dicitur, *Fiat lux et facta est lux*."

^o *Principalities*.—The reading of C., "Archangelos et ordines," has been adopted in the translation. See p. 207, note. See Col. i. 16: "Sive throni, sive dominationes, sive principatus, sive potestates."—*Vulg.* Our author uses *sedes* for *throni*, for the sake of his metre. See note, p. 207, *supra*.

^p *Inactive*.—"Uti non esset bonitas otiosa." These words occur in the Treatise, *De Ecclesiasticis Dogmatibus*, which is attributed to Gennadius of Marseilles (Ceillier, *Hist. des Auteurs Eccl.* xv. 475), and which has also been published in the works of St. Augustine (*Ed. Bened.* viii. *App.* p. 75), and of Isidore of Seville (*Ed. Romæ*, 1803, tom. vii. *App.* No. 13). The words of this Treatise, which our author evidently borrowed, are as follows:—"In principio creavit Deus cælum et terram, et aquam

ex nihilo. Et quum adhuc tenebræ ipsam aquam occultarent, et aqua terram absconderet, facti sunt angeli, et omnes cælestes virtutes, *ut non esset otiosa Dei bonitas*, sed haberet, in quibus ante spatia bonitatem suam ostenderet," &c.—c. 10. On the author and antiquity of the book, *De Eccl. Dogmatibus*, see the *Isidoriana*, tom. ii. of the Works of S. Isidore (*supr. cit.*), p. 31, cap. 83, n. 10, *sq.*

^q *Privileges*.—The reading *Privilegia* is here adopted, for the reason assigned in the note on line 12, p. 208. It has been found impossible to make the lines of the translation coincide with those of the original, and there seemed no object in attempting to be so rigidly literal.

^r *De transmigratiōe*.—Colgan reads: "Tit. De translatione novem graduum principis. Argumentum ex illo Apocalipsis, *Vidi stellam de celo cecidisse*. Et ex Esaia. *Quomodo cecidisti Lucifer, qui mane oriebaris*." The Scholium in the *Leabhar Breacc* is, "De transmigratiōe .ix. graduum angelorum, vel de peccato Adæ, ἵπε ἰν τίτῶν [this is the Title]. ἵπε ἰν ὀργῶν ἰν ἀργῶν [this, however, is the Argument], quod dicitur in Apocalipsi, *Vidi Stellam cecidisse in terram*. Et in Essia dicitur, *Quomodo Lucifer cecidisti mane oriebaris*." The passages of Scripture quoted are Apoc. ix. 1, and Is. xiv. 12. See the notes on this Capitulum, p. 208.

CAPITULUM D.

De ruina^s Diaboli, is the Title: i. e. De mutatione nominis Luciferi in Draconem. And this is the Argument, ut est in Apocalypsi, *Ecce Draco Rufus habens capita septem, et cornua decem, et cauda ejus traxit secum tertiam partem siderum vel stellarum* [Apoc. xii. 3].

The Dragon, great, most foul, terrible and old, 20
 Who was the slippery serpent, more wise
 Than all the beasts and fiercer^t animals of the earth,
 Drew with him the third part of the stars,
 Into the pit of infernal places, and of diverse prisons,
 Deserters^u of the true Light, cast headlong^v by the parasite. 25

CAPITULUM E.

De creatione elementorum mundi et hominis regentis ea postea more, is the Title^w. And this is the Argument: *In principio fecit Deus celum et terram*, ut in Genesi dicitur [Gen. i. 1].

The Most High^x in His foresight had made the structure and harmony of the world,
 The Heavens and the Earth, founded the sea and waters,
 The buds also of grasses, the twigs of shrubs,
 The sun, moon, and stars, the fire and necessary things,
 Birds, fishes, and cattle, beasts, and animals. 30
 Lastly, the first-created^y man, to rule with pre-eminence.

^s *De ruina*.—Colgan gives the Scholium thus: "Tit. *De ruina Diaboli*. Argumen. vt est in Apocalypsi, *Ecce Draco magnus, rufus, habens capita septem et cornua decem: et cauda ejus traxit tertiam partem syderum seu stellarum*." The Scholium in B. is, "De ruina diabuli vel de motatione [*sic*] nominis Luciferi in Draconem, Ece [*sic*] Draco rufus habens .vii. capita et .x. cornua, et cauda ejus traxit tertiam partem."

^t *Fiercer*.—B. and C. read *ferocioribus*, which is followed in the translation.

^u *Deserters*.—The reading of B. is here adopted, *refugas*, the acc. pl. of *refuga*, in apposition with *tertiam partem* (line 23):—"He drew with him the third part, &c., who were deserters, &c."

^v *Cast headlong*.—The Editor is by no means sure that he has translated this passage rightly: he has left the word *parasite* untranslated, because he knows not how to render it consistently with the Gloss (see p. 209, *supra*, note on l. 25). He is very much dis-

posed to adopt the conjectural reading *paradiso*, and to translate, "cast down from paradise." Or perhaps the meaning may be, "cast down from being (in a good sense) a parasite," i. e. a servant entitled to sit at his master's table.

^w *The Title*.—C. omits *mundi*. For "postea more," C. reads "postea more regis;" and B., "ea more regis," omitting "postea." The insertion of *regis* is necessary to the sense. In C. and B. the words, "ut in Genesi dicitur," are before, not after, the quotation.

^x *Most High*.—The Latin is *Excelsus*, but the Gloss in the *Leabhar Breacc* is, ".i. Deus .i. quasi valde excelsus." The construction evidently is, "Excelsus [Deus] praevidens fecerat"—the Most High in His Providence, &c.

^y *First created*.—So *protoplastum* is evidently to be understood. The animals were brought to Adam to be named, as a symbol of his pre-eminence and superiority. See the note on *Prasagmine*, p. 210, *supra*.

CAPITULUM F.

This is the Title^z, *De Laude Dei ab angelis in quarta feria dicentes*^a, *Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus, Dominus, Deus Sabaoth*. This is the Argument, *Quando feci celum et terram, collaudaverunt me angeli, ut in Sapientia Salomonis*^b dicitur.

The stars, the luminaries of the ether, being made together
With wondrous structure^c; the angels joined in praising
The Lord of the immense mass, the Architect of the heavenly bodies,
With glorious, meet, and unceasing^d praise, 35
And with noble concert gave thanks to the Lord,
In love and free will, not from endowment of nature^e.

CAPITULUM G.

De peccato Adæ, et de secunda ruina Diabuli in seductione Adæ, is the Title^f. This is the Argument, *Maledictus eris serpens, terram comederis omnibus diebus vitæ*, ut in Genesi dicitur [Gen. iii. 14].

Our first two parents having been assailed and seduced,
The Devil falls a second time^g, with his satellites,
(That, by the horror of whose countenances, and their noise as they fly, 40
Frail men terrified by fear might be affrighted,
Unable with bodily sight to look on these things),
Who^h are now bound with the tiesⁱ and bonds of their prison-houses.

^z Title.—See the note, pp. 210, 211.

^a *Dicentes*.—It is so also in B.; Colgan has corrected it into *dicentibus*.

^b *Sapientia Salomonis*.—See the note, p. 211, *supra*. Both B. and C. put the clause "ut in Sapientia Solomonis dicitur" before, not after, the quotation, "Quando feci celum," &c. It is remarkable that S. Gregory Nazianzen (*Orat. xix. tom. i. p. 373, Ed. Bened.*) quotes a passage from Job as the words of Solomon (τὸ Σολομῶντος), which the Benedictine editors suppose to be a mistake: "Lapsus memoriâ hic videtur Gregorius" (they say) "dum Salomoni tribuit verba quæ in libro Job occurrunt;" but others see in this a confirmation of the opinion that Solomon was the author or translator of the Book of Job.—Hardouin, *Chronol. Vet. Test. (Opp. Select., fol. Amstel. 1709, p. 533)*. The editor is not aware of any other instance of the Book of Job being cited under the name of *Sapientia Salomonis*.

^c *Wondrous structure*.—"Factis factura præmirabili," seems to be the connexion.

^d *Unceasing*.—This seems to be the meaning of *immobile*: immovable praise is unceasing, everlasting praise.

^e *Necessity of nature*.—"Donario," gift or endowment of nature. Their praise was the result of love and free will, not arising from any natural organization or necessity. See the Gloss, p. 210.

^f *The Title*.—C. has only, "Tit. De peccato Adæ, Argum., ut in Genesi dicitur, *Maledicta serpens comedes, terram omnibus diebus vitæ tuæ*." B. gives the Scholium thus: "Ἦρε ἐν τίτῳ [this is the Title], De peccato Adæ. Ἦρ ἡ ἐν ἀργαμέντῳ [this is the Argument], quod in Genesi dicitur *Maledictus esse [sic] serpens*." See Gen. iii. 14.

^g *A second time*.—See note, p. 211.

^h *Who*.—i. e. the Devil and his satellites.

ⁱ *Ties*.—"Fascis" seems here used in the sense of *fascia*, a tie or ligature.

CAPITULUM H.

De ejectione Diabuli ex unitate angelorum, is the Title^j. But this is the Argument, what is said in Genesis, *Maledicte serpens*. And in the Gospel is said, *Vade retro Satanas* [Mat. iii. 10], et *non temptabis Dominum Deum tuum et illi soli servies* [Mat. iii. 7].

He, taken from the midst^k, is cast down by the Lord,
 And the space^l of the air is thickly filled 45
 With the turbid crowd of his rebellious satellites
 Invisible,—lest men infected by their evil examples and crimes,
 No screens or walls ever hiding them,
 Should openly commit fornication^m before the eyes of all.

CAPITULUM I.

De eo quod vehunt nubes aquas ad celum, this is the Titleⁿ. And this is the Argument, as David says, *Educens nubes ab extremo terræ*; and elsewhere he says, *Qui producit ventos de thesauris suis*.

The clouds carry the wintry floods from the springs, 50
 From the three^o deeper regions of the ocean sea,
 To the climates of heaven, in azure whirlwinds;
 [Floods^p] which are to become profitable to the crops, vineyards, and buds,
 [The clouds] being driven by the winds issuing from their treasure-houses,
 And which^q empty in turns the pools of the sea. 55

^j *Title.*—C. gives "the Argument" thus: "Argumentum. vt in Genesi dicitur; *Maledicta* [sic] *serpens comedes terram omnibus diebus, &c.* Et vt in Evangelio; *Vade retrò sathana, &c.*"

^k *The midst.*—i. e. from the midst of the angels, or of heaven. The Gloss in B. explains it, ".i. a conspectu Dei, vel unitate."

^l *And the space.*—"Cujus" is paraphrased, *and his*, as best expressing the meaning. See the note, p. 212.

^m *Fornication.*—The Gloss explains that *fornicarentur* here signifies "perdirentur"—lest men should destroy themselves after the example of the devils; or that fornication is put for all sin—"pro omni peccato fornicatio ponitur."

ⁿ *Title.*—C. reads, "De eis qui vehunt aquas ad celum;" and for "et alibi dicit" C. has "et vt idem alibi dicit." The words quoted, however, occur in the same passage, Ps. cxxxiv. 7, *Vulg.*

^o *The three.*—It does not appear why our author speaks of "three" *podrantes* of the sea; even

though that word be used in the general sense of a region or division of the ocean, which the Editor has assumed to be its meaning here; in order to escape the difficulty of a literal translation. See the note, p. 213. He has also taken "occiani" as in apposition with "maris;" or perhaps we might translate, "the sea of ocean."

^p [*Floods.*]—The word "profuturas" must agree with "pontias," and "agitatae" with "nubes." To express this in English it was necessary to repeat the words *floods* and *clouds* here given within brackets.

^q *And which.*—The Gloss tells us that "quique" refers to "venti." If so, the antecedent "flaminibus" would have required "quæque;" and as this would be as consistent with the metre as "quique," it is strange that our author should have adopted the latter, if he had meant *flaminibus* to be the antecedent. It seems to the Editor more probable that the reference is to the word "fontibus" (line 50), as "nubes" and "pontias" in the same line were just

CAPITULUM K.

De intolerabili pœna peccatorum, is the Title. This is the Argument, quod Job dicit, *Ecce Gigantes gemunt sub aquis* [Job, xxvi. 5].

The tottering and tyrannical and temporary present glory
Of the world and of kings, set aside^a by the will of God,
Lo! the giants are justly doomed^t to groan under waters
With great torment; to be burnt up with fire and punishment,
And smothered with the swelling Charybdis's^u of Cocytus,
Overwhelmed with Scylla's, are dashed to pieces with waves and rocks^v.

60

CAPITULUM L.

The Title^w is, *De moderatione pluviae venientis ex ligatis aquis nubibus ne pariter fluant*. And this is the Argument, quod Job dicit, *Qui suspendit aquas in nubibus ne pariter fluant deorsum* [Job, xxvi. 8].

The Lord drops down continually the waters bound up in the clouds,
Lest they should break forth all at once, bursting their barriers,
From whose^x very fertilizing streams, gradually flowing,
As from udders, through the regions of this earth,
Cold and warm^y at different seasons,
The never-failing rivers are constantly flowing in.

65

before disposed of. Thus the first three lines of this stanza are a statement of the author's notion of the natural phenomenon of rain. The clouds carry up to heaven, from the fountains of the great deep, the waters—whose uses he then proceeds in the next three lines to explain: they are carried up, in order that they may become profitable to the crops and vegetation of the earth; the clouds are driven and carried about by the winds; and the springs or fountains of the ocean, being thus alternately exhausted and replenished, produce the reciprocal flux and reflux of the tides. If this interpretation be correct, we have here a curious ancient philosophical theory of the cause of the tides.

^r *Title*.—Colgan gives the Scholium thus: "TIT. De intolerabili pœna peccatorum infinita. Argumentum vt in Libro Job dicitur, *Ecce Gigantes gemunt sub aquis*."

^s *Set aside*.—i. e. their glory being set aside, "Gloria nutu Dei deposita."

^t *Justly doomed*.—"Comprobantur," lit. are approved: that is, it is evident to all that their

doom is just. The meaning seems to be, that the antediluvian giants, who were supposed to be kings, having had their temporal worldly glory put an end to by the just judgment of God, were cast into hell.

^u *Charybdis's*.—It is necessary to retain the words, Charybdis, Cocytus, and Scylla, because they seem to have been intentionally used by our author as mythologically connected with the punishment of the giants in hell.

^v *Rocks*.—"Scropibus," apparently for *scrupis*, rough or sharp stones.

^w *The Title*.—Colgan gives the Scholium thus: "De moderatione pluviae vehementis. Argumentum, vt in libro Iob dicitur, *Qui suspendit aquas in nubibus, ne pariter fluant*."

^x *From whose*.—i. e. of the waters, for *quarum* can only refer to *aquas*. The waters bound up in the clouds are, as it were, the breasts, or udders, from which the rivers of the earth are supplied.

^y *Cold and warm*.—i. e. from whose fertilizing streams, which are cold and warm at different seasons.

CAPITULUM M.

De fundamento terræ et de abisso, this is the Title^a. And this is the Argument, quod Job dicit, *Qui suspendit terram [super nihilum]*. Et alibi dicit, *Moles mundi virtute Dei continetur*. Et in Psalmo, *Qui fundasti terram super stabilitatem suam*.

By the Divine powers of the great God are sustained
The globe of Earth, and the established^a circle of the great abyss.
The strong hand^b of the omnipotent God
Supporting on columns, as on beams sustaining the same^c ;
The promontories and rocks, on solid foundations^d,
Immovable as on certain strengthened bases.

70

CAPITULUM N.

De inferno in imis posito in corde terræ et penis ejus et loco, this is the Title^e. And this is the Argument, *Eruisti animam meam ex inferno [inferiori]*. Ut in Evang[el]io dicitur. *Sepultus est dives in inferno*. Et alibi *Ite Maledicti in eternum ignem*. Et alibi *Vermis eorum non moritur, et ignis eius non exting[uitur]*.

To no man seemeth it doubtful that Hell is in the lowest places,
Where are darkness, worms, and dreadful beasts,
Where is sulphureous fire blazing with consuming flames,
Where are the groans of men, weeping, and gnashing of teeth.
Where is the terrible and ancient^f wail of Gehenna.
Where is the fiery horrid burning of thirst and hunger.

75

CAPITULUM O.

The Title^g is, *Of the inhabitants of Hell, who from very shame bow down in the name of the Lord*. The

^a *The Title*.—The Scholium, as given by Colgan, is as follows: "TIT. De fundamento terræ, et de abyssu. Argumen. vt in Libro Job: *Qui suspendit terram suprâ nihilum*. Et vt in eodem alibi, *Moles mundi virtute Dei continentur*. Et vt in Psalmo, *Fundasti terram super stabilitatem suam*." The passages quoted are Job, xxvi. 7, and Ps. ciii. 5. The second passage is quoted as from the Book of Job. The reader will observe the Irish orthography "abiso" for *abyssu*, and "molis" for *moles*.

^b *Established*.—"Inditus," appointed, fixed, settled.

^c *Strong hand*.—See notes, p. 216, above. *Suffulta* seems to be used here in an active sense—"supporting."

^d *The same*.—Scil. the globe of earth.

^e *On solid foundations*.—i. e. resting on solid foundations; an ablative absolute.

^f *Title*.—The words and parts of words supplied in brackets are obscure in the MS. Colgan gives the Scholium thus: "TIT. De inferno in imis posito in corde terræ, et penis ejus, ac loco. Argumentum vt in Psalmo: *Et eruisti animam meam ex inferno inferiori*. Et in Evangelio: *Sepultus est in Inferno*. Et alibi; *Ite Maledicti in ignem æternum*." The passages of Scripture referred to are, Ps. lxxxv. 13; Luc. xvi. 22; Matt. xxv. 41; Marc. ix. 48.

^g *Ancient*.—Or perhaps *antiquus* may be used in the sense of perpetual, usual, constant.

^h *Title*.—This and the seven following stanzas are supplied from Colgan, a leaf being lost in the Dublin MS. See above, p. 217, and Note D.

Argument, as in the Apocalypse [read in the Apostle (Phil. ii. 9)], *Donavit illi nomen, quod est super omne nomen, &c.* And as in the same [Apoc. v. 1], *Vidi librum in dextra sedentis super thronum, &c.*

Below the earth^b, as we read, we know there are dwellers 80
 Whose knee in prayer^l oft bendeth to the Lord,
 To whom it is impossible to unroll the book written,
 And sealed^j with [seven] seals,
 Which He^k had opened, and so became victorious,
 Fulfilling the prophesied pre-eminenceⁱ of His advent. 85

CAPITULUM P.

The Title is, *De Paradiso Adæ, id est, loco deliciarum.* The Argument, as is said in Genesis, *Plantaverat Paradisum volupta[tis] a principio* [Gen. ii. 8]. And in the Apocalypse [ii. 7], *Dabo ei manducare de ligno quinto* [leg. vitæ], *quod est in Paradiso Dei mei.* And again [xxii. 2], *Ex utraque parte fluminis lignum vitæ, afferens duodecim fructus per singulos menses, et folia ligni in curationem gentium.*

That Paradise was planted by the Lord from the beginning,
 We read in the most noble beginning of Genesis,
 From whose fountain four rivers are flowing,
 And in whose flowery midst is placed^m the tree of life,
 Whose leaves bringing health to the Gentiles do not fall, 90
 Whose joysⁿ are unspeakable and abundant.

CAPITULUM Q.

The Title^o is, *De ascensione Moysis ad Dominum in monte Sinai*; as is said in the Law, *Moyses ascendit, et descendit gloria ejus super montem Sinai* [Exod. xxiv. 15, 16]. Or the more correct Title is, *De*

^b *Below the earth.*—This seems founded on Apoc. v. 3: "No man in heaven, or in earth, or under the earth, could open the book;" and cf. v. 13; also Phil. ii. 10. In the title they are spoken of as the "incolæ inferni qui vel rubore flectunt in nomine Domini."

^l *In prayer.*—This word seems here to be an adverb; "precario flectit," bends prayerwise, or in prayer.

^j *Sealed.*—Colgan gives this line imperfectly thus:—

"Ob signatum signaculis . . . monitis;"

the intermediate words having doubtless been illegible in the MS. Perhaps the hiatus may be thus supplied:

"Obsignatum signaculis septem licet præmonitis."

"Although having been forewarned and called upon to do so."—Apoc. v. 2.

^k *Which He.*—"Idem" seems to refer to *Do-*

mino, ver. 81. But the construction is obscure, and the text probably corrupt—"Which [book] He the same Lord had opened, by which [book] He had become Conqueror"—*Victor*, alluding to Apoc. v. 5: "Ecce vicit Leo de tribu Juda," &c.

ⁱ *Pre-eminence.*—"Præsignamina." See p. 209, *supra*, and note, p. 210; also Add. Note B, p. 23. But it is probable that "præsignamen" is here used in the sense of prophecy: "fulfilling the prophetic predictions of His coming."

^m *Is placed.*—"Cujus et tua" in Colgan's text, which makes no sense, is corrected in his errata to "cujus et situm," and the line has been translated accordingly.

ⁿ *Whose joys.*—For "cujus inenarrabiles" in the original of this line, as given by Colgan, perhaps we should read "cujus sunt innarrabiles."

^o *Title.*—The second version of the Title and Argument here given is a proof of the antiquity of the

mirabilibus gloriae adventus Domini in montem. But the Argument is, *Facta sunt tonitrua, et voces, et fulgura, et terræ motus* [Apoc. xvi. 18].

Who hath ascended to Sinai, the appointed^p mountain of the Lord?
 Who hath heard the thunders beyond measure resounding?
 Who the clang of the enormous trumpet^q roaring?
 Who hath seen also the lightnings flashing around? 95
 Who the lamps^r and darts and falling rocks?
 Who but Moses the judge of the people of Israel?

CAPITULUM R.

The Title is, *De Die judicii, et nominibus ejus.* The Argument, what Zephaniah says, *Juxta est dies Domini magnus et velox nimis, &c.* [Zeph. i. 14-16].

The day of the Lord, of the King of Kings most righteous, is at hand:
 A day of wrath and vengeance, of darkness and cloud;
 And a day of wonderful strong thunders; 100
 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.

CAPITULUM S.

The Title is, *De tremebunda presentia Dei, in die judicii.* The Argument, as in the second Epistle to the Corinthians [v. 10], *Oportet nos omnes stare ante Tribunal Christi, &c.* And as is said in the Gospel, *Filius hominis venturus est in gloria sua, tunc reddet unicuique secundum opera sua* [Matt. xvi. 27].

We shall be standing trembling before the judgment-seat of the Lord;
 And we shall give an account of all our deeds; 105
 Beholding also our crimes laid open before our sight,
 And the books of conscience opened before us,
 We shall break forth into most bitter weeping and sobs,
 The necessary matter^s of working being withdrawn.

CAPITULUM T.

The Title is, *De resurrectione prolis Adæ.* The Argument, as in the Apocalypse [read in the Apostle (1 Thes. iv. 16)], *Ipse Dominus ut in jussu, et in voce Archangeli in tuba descendet de cælo.* And again [Apoc. x. 7], *In diebus vocis septimi angeli, cum cæperit tuba canere, consummabitur mysterium Dei.*

Hymn, showing that several ancient copies of it were in circulation before the MS. from which Colgan edited it was written.

^p *Appointed.*—"Condictum." So Gen. xvii. 14, "Juxta condictum revertar ad te."

^q *Trumpet.*—Lit. "the clang of the trumpet," or "the clang of the enormity of the trumpet." *Perstreperæ*, not *perstreperæ*, is probably the true read-

ing. See p. 245, *infra*.

^r *The lamps.*—Alluding to Exod. xx. 18.

^s *The necessary matter.*—The meaning is obscure; the author probably intended to say that there shall then no longer be any power of doing good or evil: and so no place for repentance; there being no longer any "materia operandi"—no means of making amends.

The trumpet of the first Archangel sounding wondrous things, 110
 The strongest cloisters, and cemeteries¹, shall burst,
 The melting cold² of the men of this present world,
 The bones gathering together from all sides to their joints,
 The ethereal souls meeting the same,
 And returning again to their due mansions. 115

CAPITULUM U.

The Title is, *De tribus sideribus, thronos septem significantibus*. The Argument, as in the Book of Job, *Qui fecit Oriona, et interiora Austri* [Job, ix. 9]. *Numquid Luciferum et Vesperum in tempora certa constituisti* [Job, xxxviii. 32].

[This Capitulum is so corrupt in Colgan's Edition of the Hymn, that the Editor does not venture to attempt a translation. See Note D.]

CAPITULUM X.

The Title is, *De die iudicii et præfulgente ligno crucis*. The Argument, as in the Apocalypse [vi. 15, 16], *Abscendent se in speluncis et petris montium; et tunc dicent montibus, super nos cadite*. And in the Gospel [Matt. xxiv. 29], *Statim post turbationem dierum illorum sol obscurabitur, et luna non dabit lumen suum, et stellæ cadent de celo*.

Christ the Most High Lord coming down from Heaven,
 The most glorious sign and banner of the Cross shall shine,
 And the two principal luminaries being struck,
 The stars shall fall to the earth, as fruit from the fig-tree, 125
 And the compass of the world shall be as the burning of a furnace,
 Then shall the hosts hide themselves in the caves of the mountains.

CAPITULUM Y.

De Laude Dei [Domini. C.] ab angelis, is the Title. But this is the Argument, what is said in the Apocalypse [iv. 4], *In circuitu throni vidi sedes, xxiv. seniores, sedentes in veste alba et capitibus eorum corona aurea vidi*.

By the chaunting of hymns continually resounding
 Thousands of Angels singing in holy dances³; 130

¹ *Cemeteries*.—See Du Cange, in v., *Polyandrum, Polyandrium*.

² *The cold*.—This line is very obscure, and the readings probably corrupt. Is the word *frigora* the subject or object of *erumpent*? And is *liquescentia* a participle?—if so, what is the construction? "*Liquescentia*" occurs in Du Cange as a substantive, in the sense of "apparentia, vel defectus, vel liquiditas." But this gives no very good sense.

Perhaps we should read "hominem;" and translate, "The cold of this present world, melting [i. e. dissolving or destroying] man, shall burst the cloisters and cemeteries." The translation given above is an attempt to render literally the existing text; it assumes *frigora* to be the object of *erumpent*.

³ *Dances*.—"Tropodiis," perhaps for *tripudiis*, as in C.,—a word which is used in the Vulg., Esth. viii. 16, to denote "dances" as a manifestation of joy,

And the four Animals full of eyes,
 With the four-and-twenty blessed elders,
 Casting their crowns under the feet of the Lamb of God,
 The Trinity is praised, with three eternal repetitions^w.

CAPITULUM Z.

De ustione impiorum nolentes [sic] *Christum credere, et de gaudio justorum*, is the Title. But this is the Argument, what is said in the Apocalypse [read "in the Apostle"], *Terribilis ignis consumet adversarios* [Hebr. x. 27]. And elsewhere the Apostle^x says *Mansiones multe sunt apud Patrem*; and Christ says, *In domu Patris mei multe mansiones sunt* [John, xiv. 3].

The furious indignation of fire shall devour the adversaries, 135
 Who refuse to believe that Christ is come from God the Father,
 But we shall fly forthwith to meet Him,
 And so shall we be with Him in various orders of dignities
 According to the perpetual merits of our rewards,
 To remain in glory, for ever and ever^z. 140

At the end of the Hymn are two *Antiphons*, in the same metre as the Hymn itself, and probably coeval with it, or nearly so. The former of these, as the Preface tells us, is to be sung, in reciting the Hymn, after each Stanza or Capitulum; but no mention is made of the second. The former is therefore certainly older than this Preface; the latter probably more modern, although it is also evidently very ancient.

The former may be translated thus:—

Who can please God, in this last time?
 When the noted marks of truth are changed,
 Except the despisers of this present world.

The second Antiphon is an express invocation of the Trinity, and was probably intended to be used instead of the former, in order to meet the objection which had been made^a, that the author, in this Hymn, had not dwelt sufficiently on the praises of the Trinity. See the next Hymn.

"gaudium, honor, et tripudium." *Vernantibus* is rendered "singing." See Du Cange, *in voc.*, who cites, in proof of this signification, a passage from the Life of St. Peter, afterwards Pope Celestine V. (*Acta SS. tom. iv. Maii, p. 423*); where the word is applied to the singing of angels, a great company of whom was seen by the Saint in vision: "et in ore cujusque illorum erant rosæ rubeæ, et cum illis rosis vernabant dilectabiliter nimis; ita quod postquam excitatus fuisset a somno, cantum illum

audierit per tantum spatium, quo posset dici *Pater noster*."

^w *Repetitions*.—"Vices," *changes*, alluding to the "Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus."—Apoc. iv. 8.

^x *The Apostle*.—See above, note, p. 218.

^y *We shall fly*.—This seems founded on 1 Thess. iv. 13-17.

^z *For ever and ever*.—The reading of C. is here adopted. See p. 219, note.

^a *Made*.—This objection is stated in the Preface

This second Antiphon may be thus translated:—

God the Father, unbegotten, Lord of heaven and earth,
 And the Son, begotten of Him, before all worlds,
 And the Holy Ghost, one, true, most High God,
 I invoke; that He may give most ready help,
 To me the least of all His servants,
 Whom the Lord hath made one with the myriads of Angels^b.

NOTE D.

The Stanzas missing in the Dublin Copy of the Liber Hymnorum.

THE following are the Stanzas wanting in the Dublin MS. in consequence of the loss of one leaf, as already mentioned, p. 217, note on line 79. As the Editor has no access to any other copy of this Hymn except that printed by Colgan in the *Trias Thaumaturga*, and as that work is now very scarce, he has thought fit to preserve the missing stanzas here, although Colgan's text is full of inaccuracies and errors of the press, some of which will be corrected, wherever the correction is obvious and certain; and some other conjectural emendations will be suggested in the notes:—

TRT. De incolis infirmi, qui vel rubore flectunt in nomine Domini. ARGUMENTUM^c: ut in Apocalipsi; *Donavit illi nomen, quod est super omne nomen, &c.* Et ut in eadem, *Vidi librum in dextra sedentis super thronum, &c.*

Orbem infra, ut legimus^d, incolas esse novimus, 80
 Quorum genu præcario^e frequenter flectit Domino,
 Quibusque impossibile librum scriptum revolvere^f,
 Obsignatum^g signaculis monitis,
 Quem idem resignaverat, per quem victor extiterat,
 Explens sui præsignamina adventus prophætalia. 85

TRT. De Paradiso Adæ, id est, loco deliciarum. ARGUM.^h Ut in Genesi dicitur; *Plantaverat Paradi-*

(see p. 222), "And they said that there was no fault in the Hymn, except the scanty praise of the Trinity which it contained *per se*," &c.

^b *Angels*.—Perhaps alluding to Mark, xii. 25.

^c *Argumentum*.—The first passage here quoted as from the Apocalypse, is really from Phil. ii. 9, by a mistake that often occurs of "Apoc." for "Apostle." The second is from Apoc. v. 1.

^d *Ut legimus*.—Alluding to Phil. ii. 10; Apoc. v. 3, 13.

^e *Præcario*.—See above, p. 240, note.

^f *Revolvere*.—The Vulgate has "aperire librum." Sabatier does not mention the reading *revolvere*, which seems to be ancient, from its agreement with the original roll form of books.

^g *Obsignatum*.—See the conjectural emendation of this line already proposed, note, p. 240, *supra*.

^h *Argumentum*.—Colgan gives the first quotation from the Apocalypse thus: "Dabo ei manducare de ligno quinto," which is an obvious error of tran-

sum voluptatis a principio. Et in Apocalipsi: Dabo ei manducare de ligno quinto [leg. vitæ] quod est in paradiso Dei mei. Et alibi, Ex utraque parte fluminis lignum vitæ afferens duodecim fructus per singulos menses, et folia ligni in curationem gentium.

Plantatum a prohemio Paradisum a Domino
Legimus in Primordio Genesis nobilissimo.
Cujus ex fonte flumina quatuor sunt manantia,
Cujus et¹ situm florido lignum vitæ est medio
Cujus non cadunt folia^k gentibus salutifera
Cujus inenarrabiles^l deliciae ac fertiles.

90

TIT. *De ascensione Moysis^m ad Dominum in monte Sinai.* **ARGUM.** Quod in Lege dicitur, *Moyses ascendit, et descenditⁿ gloria ejus super montem Sinai.* Vel verior titulus est, *De mirabilibus gloriae adventus Domini in montem.* **ARGUMENTUM** vero, *Facta sunt tonitrua et voces, et fulgura, et terræ motus.*

Quis ad conductum Domini montem conscendit Sinai,
Quis audivit tonitrua supra modum sonantia?
Quis clangorem^o perstreperæ enormitatis buccinæ?
Quis quoque vidit fulgura in gyro coruscantia?
Quis lampades et jacula, saxaque collidentia?
Præter Israelitici Moysen judicem populi?

95

TIT. *De die Judicii et nominibus ejus.* **ARGUM.** Quod Sophonias dixit, *Juxta est dies Domini magnus, et velox nimis; dies illa, dies iræ, et furoris, et angustia; die calamitatis et miseria; dies tenebrarum et caliginis; dies nebulae et turbinis; dies tubæ et clangoris.*

Regis regum rectissimi, prope est dies Domini;
Dies iræ et vindictæ, tenebrarum et nebulae;
Diesque mirabilium tonitruorum fortium;
Dies quoque angustiae, mœroris ac tristitiæ;
In quo cessabit mulierum amor et desiderium,
Hominumque contentio, mundi hujus et cupidop.

100

scription for "de ligno vitæ," vitæ having been probably mistaken for *cto*. *Manducare* is an ancient reading, for which the modern Vulgate has *edere*, Apoc. ii. 7. The "Commentary on the Apocalypse," printed with the works of St. Augustine, reads *manducare*. In the other passage of the Apocalypse referred to (xxii. 2), the modern Vulgate reads *sanitatem* for *curationem*, which last is the reading of the ante-Hieronymian version, and is so quoted by St. Hilary and St. Ambrose. See Sibatier, *in loco*.

ⁱ *Cujus et.*—Colgan has printed this line thus: "Cujus et tua florido lignum vitæ est medio," but he corrects it as above in his *Errata*.

^k *Folia.*—Colgan has *falia*, an obvious error of

the press, which he has corrected as above in his *Errata*.

^l *Inenarrabiles.*—See note, p. 240.

^m *Moysis.*—Colgan prints *Maysis*, which is evidently an error of the press.

ⁿ *Descendit.*—Colgan puts a full stop after this word, which of course is also an error of the press.

^o *Quis clangorem.*—Colgan prints this line thus: "Quis clangorem derstremere ormitatis buccinæ," but he corrects it in his *Errata* as above: where *perstreperæ* seems to be an adjective agreeing with *buccinæ*, unless we should read *perstrepere*. See above, p. 241, note.

^p *Cupido.*—The penultimate syllable is here short.

TIT. *De tremebunda presentia Dei in die iudicii.* ARGUM. ut in secunda Epistola ad Corinthios, *Oportet nos omnes stare ante Tribunal Christi, ut referat unusquisque propria sui corporis prout gessit, sive bonum, sive malum.* Et ut in Evangelio dicitur, *Filius hominis venturus est in gloria sua, tunc reddet unicuique secundum opera sua.*

S tantes erimus^q pavidus ante tribunal Domini;
Reddemusque de omnibus rationem effectibus^r;
Videntes quoque posita ante obtutus crimina,
Librosque conscientiae patefactos in facie,
In fletus amarissimos ac singultus erumpemus^s,
Subtracta necessaria operandi materia.

105

TIT. *De resurrectione prolis Adæ.* ARGUM. Ut in Apocalypsi, *Ipse Dominus ut in jussu et voce Archangeli in tuba descendet de caelo.* Et iterum; *in diebus vocis septimi Angeli, cum caeperit tuba canere, consummabitur mysterium Dei.*

T uba^t primi Archangeli strepente admirabilia,
Erumpent munitissima claustra ac poliandria,
Mundi presentis frigora hominum liquescentia,
Undique conglobantibus ad compagine ossibus,
Animabus aetherialibus eisdem obeuntibus,
Rursumque redeuntibus debitis in mansionibus.

110

TIT. *De tribus syderibus^u thronos septem^v significantibus.* ARGUM. Ut in libro Job, *Qui fecit Orionem et interiora Austri. Nunquid luciferum et vesperum in tempora certa constituisti.*

V agatur ex climatico^w Orion caeli cardine,
Derelicto Virgilio^x astrorum splendissimo,

^q *Erimus.*—The penultimate is here apparently long.

^r *Effectibus.*—Acts or deeds, as contradistinguished from thoughts or intentions.

^s *Erumpemus.*—The penultimate is here made short.

^t *Tuba.*—Alluding to 1 Thess. iv. 16, a passage which is quoted in the Scholium as if it was in the Apocalypse, by an error that repeatedly occurs. But Apoc. viii. 7, seems also to be referred to.

^u *De tribus syderibus.*—Sidus is properly a constellation consisting of several stars, "Sidera vero sunt stellis plurimis facta, ut Hyades, Pleiades" (Isidor. Hispal. *Etymol.* lib. iii. 60).

^v *Thronos septem.*—This is probably an allusion to St. Gregor. *Moral.* lib. ix. (in Job, ix. 9), "Quid namque Arcturi nomine, qui in caeli axe constitutus, septem stellarum radiis fulget, nisi Ecclesia univer-

salis exprimitur, quæ in Johannis Apocalypsi per septem Ecclesias, septemque candelabras figuratur?" Compare also the *Glossa Ordinaria*, in loc., which is founded on this passage of St. Gregory.

^w *Climatico.*—*Clima* is *inclinatio* (see Du Cange *in voc.*); and this line may possibly be rendered "Orion wanders from the inclined pole of heaven," meaning the North Pole, which appears in these latitudes above the horizon—"Cardines extremæ axis partes sunt."—Isid. Hispal. *De Natura rerum*, C. xii. n. 3 (Opp. *Romæ*, 1803, tom. vii. p. 21).

^x *Virgilio.*—Usually written *Vergilia*, sometimes *Virgiliæ*, the constellation called the *Pleiades*; so called according to some (e. g. Voss. *in Etymol.*), "a virgula, quod virgulæ more porrigantur." But others derive the name from *ver*, as Festus, who says "Vergiliæ dictæ, quia earum ortu ver finitur, et æstas incipit." And so also Isid. Hispal. *De*

Per methas Tithis¹ ignoti Orientalis circuli
 Girans certis ambagibus redit priscis reditibus,
 Oriens post biennium, vesperugo² in vesperum,
 Sumpta in proplasmatis³ tropicis intellectibus.

120

TIT. *De die iudicii et præfulgente ligno crucis.* ARG. ut in Apocalipsi, *Abscendent se in speluncis et petris montium; et tunc dicent montibus, super nos cadite.* Et in Evangelio; *Statim post turbationem dierum illorum, sol obscurabitur, et luna non dabit lumen suum, et stellæ cadent de celo.*

X to de cælis Domino descendente altissimo,
 Præfulgebit clarissimum signum crucis et vexillum
 Tactisque luminaribus duobus principalibus
 Cadent in terram sydera, ut fructus de ficulnea,
 Eritque mundi spatium, ut fornacis incendium,
 Tunc in montium specubus abscondent se exercitus.

125

NOTE E.

The Religious use of the "Altus"—Legend of Maelsuthain O' Cearbhaill.

THE Editor is indebted to his friend Professor Curry for permission to extract the following curious Legend from the interesting and valuable volume of Lectures on Irish History and Literature, which that gentleman is about to publish. There are very few allusions to the "Altus" in Irish history, and of these the greater part occur in the biographies of its author; the following singular Legend is the only allusion to

Naturâ rerum, c. xxvi. n. 6 (tom. vii. p. 39, edit. Areval. Romæ, 1803):—"Has [Pleiades] Latini vergilias appellaverunt, eo quod vere oriantur," &c. (Conf. Ejust. *Etymol.* lib. iii. cap. lxxi. n. 13). St. Ambrose (*De interpellatione Job*, lib. i. c. iv. n. 11) quotes Job. ix. 9 from an ancient Latin version, thus: "Qui facit vergilias, et hesperum, et septemtrionem, et austri ministerium." The text of this Capitulum is so evidently corrupt, that until access can be had to the copy preserved at Rome, which is the only other MS. of the Hymn known to exist, it would be waste of time to attempt a translation.

¹ *Tithis*.—Perhaps we should read *Hyadis*, or *Hiadis*; *Hia* being pronounced as a monosyllable; unless "metas Tithis" be a corruption of the Greek

word *metastasis*, or *metathesis*, in the acc. plur.; the "metastases of the unknown eastern circle,"—which may signify the inverted or unseen portions of the eastern circle, viz., that part of it which was below the horizon. See Bede, *de Temporum ratione*, cap. 34, where the ancient theory which our author seems to have had in view is explained (ed. Giles, tom. vi. p. 214, seq.).

² *Vesperugo*.—An evening star.

³ *Proplasmatis*.—The Greek word, *πρόπλασμα*, signifies a clay model for the use of an artist; but this can scarcely be its meaning here. This last line, which seems quite unintelligible, is evidently corrupt; but, without the aid of another MS., correction is impossible.

the religious use of the Hymn which has come to the knowledge of the Editor. From this story it appears that the recitation of the Hymn was practised as a religious exercise, and that it was supposed to be efficacious in obtaining from the Almighty the recovery of the sick.

The Legend was extracted by Mr. Curry from the "Liber Flavus Fergusorum," a MS. in vellum, of the fifteenth century, in two volumes, quarto, now in the possession of James Marinus Kennedy, Esq., of 47, Gloucester-street, Dublin, by whom it was inherited from his ancestor, Dr. John Fergus, an eminent Irish scholar and antiquary, who was well known as a physician in Dublin at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

It will be necessary to give the reader some short account of Maelsuthain Ua Cearbhaill, or O'Carroll, to whom the following Legend relates. He was chieftain of the Eoghanacht Locha Léin, that is, of the descendants of Eoghan Mor, son of Oillioll Olum, who inhabited a district including Loch Léin, the present Lake of Killarney, in the barony of Magunihy, county of Kerry. He was a man of eminent learning, and is supposed to have collected the materials from which the Annals of Inisfallen (an island in the lower Lake of Killarney) were compiled^b. In the story which follows he is called *Ánmhána*, or *Counsellor* of the celebrated Brian Boroimhe, King of Ireland, and, as Mr. Curry thinks, was probably the tutor or teacher of that monarch. The Book of Armagh^c, a MS. now in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, contains a curious note in the handwriting of Maelsuthain Ua Cearbhaill, written about A. D. 1002, in the presence of King Brian Boroimhe, which the Editor of this work had the honour of exhibiting to her Majesty Queen Victoria, at her visit to the Great Dublin Exhibition of 1853.

At the close of his life Maelsuthain, as the Legend relates, devoted himself to penitential exercises, and appears to have become a monk in the religious establishment of this island of Inisfallen. His death is thus recorded by the Four Masters at the year 1009, the true date being 1010:—

Maolrútham Ua Cearbhaill do múntar
Inni Fáiltenb, prímhraoi iarbair dothan
na ampri, 7 tígerna Eoḡanaḡta Uḡa Léin,
dḡcc.

Maelsuthain Ua Cearbhaill, of the family [i. e. religious community] of Inis Faithlenn, chief doctor of the western world in his time, and Lord of the Eoghanacht of Loch Léin, died.

^b *Compiled*.—See O'Reilly's Irish Writers (Transact. Ibero-Celtic Society), at the year 1009.

^c *Book of Armagh*.—This most remarkable MS. was purchased by His Grace the Lord Primate of Ireland, and presented to the Library of Trinity College in the year 1854. His Grace has subsequently

placed in the hands of the Rev. Dr. Reeves a sum of money sufficient to defray the expenses of the publication of the MS., and we may shortly expect to see it in print, with introductory matter and notes, under the able editorial skill of that accomplished scholar.

We may now give the Legend itself, with Mr. Curry's translation:—

Ṫριαρ φογλαινντιζ ταινιυδαρ ο ουννιρι
 δο δεανυμ λειζινν δινηραιοι ανηαπαδ
 βηριαν μιε Ceinneidigh .i. mulpuatam huac
 Cearbhaill, δεοζαναδτ λοδα λειν, αιρ βα ηε
 εεναιδι βα φεαρρ ινα αιμριρ ηε. Ιρ αιμλαιν
 πο βαδαρ ιν τριαρ φογλαινντιζιρι, γ κομ-
 ριυτ, γ κομδεαλβα, γ αεανιημ φορρη ο. δομ-
 nall αν ταιημ. Ρο βαδαρ ιμορρηο τρι βλ-
 αδνα αε φογλαινν οσσο. Α ειην τρι βλιαδαν α
 δυβραδαρ φρι νοιδι: ιρρ αιλ ιηη, αρ ριαδ,
 δυλ κοραιοι Ιερυαλεμ ιριη τρη Ιυδα, ζυ πο
 ιμειρριδ αρ κορα εεη κοναιρ πο ιμοζ αν
 τσλαιννιυδ α εαλαη. Α δυβαιρτ ιν ταιδι: Νι
 παθαυδ νο ζυ φαζβαθαη ιυαη μο ραιρ
 [ραετιρ] αευμρα. Α δυβραδαρ να δαλταυδ:
 Νι φυλ αευηη, αρ ριαδ; ηι δο βερμυιρ δυιττ,
 αετ βευμυδ τρι βλιαδνα αιλε αζ οηυλουδ δυ-
 ιττ, μαδ αιλ λεαττ. Νι η-αιλ, αρρε, αετ βεδ
 εοβρηαυδ μο βρηετ φειη δαη, νο δην βαρ ηε-
 αρζαηε. Δο βερυμ, ορρηαδ, δια ρουδ αευηη.
 Ρο ηαιρ φορρηο φο ροιρεελα ιη κομδεαδ,
 ηαχαυδ, αρρε, ιη κοναιρ ιρ αιλ ιηβ, γ βυδ μαρηβ
 ρυβ α ηαιμφεαδτ αρ αν ευρρυρ, γ ιρι βρηεαη
 κονειμ ορυυβρι, εαν δυλ αρ ηεαιη ιαρ ηεζαιβ
 δυυβ, νο εο ειρδαιυδ ευευμρα αρ δυρ δια ιηη-
 ριη δαη εε φαδ μο ραεζαιλ, γ εο πο ιηηριδι
 αν φαζαιμ εειηρα ιη κομδου. Ξεαλλμυυδνη
 δυιτρι αν ηι ριη α ηυετ αν κομδου, αρρηαδ; πο
 ιηηριδ [ανδ] ριη, γ ηυεραδ βεανηαεταη λεο ο
 να νοιδι, γ ηο φαζραε βεανηαεταη αιζι δνα.
 Ρο ριηριεε εεη κοναιρ πο ευαλαδαρ ιη
 τσλαιννιυδ δο ιμειετ. Ραινιυδαρ δνα φο-
 δεοιδ κοραιοι Ιερυαλεμ, γ ρυαρηυδαρ βαρ
 ανειμφεαδτ ανη, γ ηο ηαδναηεαδ εο ηονοιρ
 μοιρ ιαδ ιη Ιερυαλεμ. Ταηιε Μιυελ αρ-
 ανζεαλ ο Δια αρα εειηη. Ι δυβραδαρ ρυμ:
 ηι ραζυμ νο ζο ρλαναιδου ιη βρηεαη ευζραη
 φρηα αρ νοιδι φο ροιρεελα ερηρτ. Ιαηηιζυδ
 [read ιηηηιζυδ], αρ ιηε ανζηλ, γ ιηηριδ δο τρι
 βλιαδνα εο λειη αιζι δο ραεζαη, γ α δυλ ιη

There came three students at one time from *Cuin-
 nire*^d to receive education from the *Anmchara* [soul-
 friend] of Brian MacCeinneidigh^e that is, Maelsuthain
 Ua Cearbhaill, of the Eoganacht of Loch Lein, because
 he was the best sage of his time. These three stu-
 dents resembled each other in figure, in features, and
 in their name, which was Domnall. They remained
 three years learning with him. At the end of three
 years they said to their preceptor: "It is our de-
 sire," said they, "to go to Jerusalem, in the land of
 Judea, in order that our feet may tread every path
 which the Saviour trod on earth." The tutor an-
 swered: "You shall not go until you have left with
 me the reward of my labour." The pupils said:
 "We have not," said they, "anything that we
 could give thee, but we will remain three years more,
 to serve thee humbly, if thou desire it." "I do
 not wish that," said he, "but you shall grant me my
 own demand, or I will lay my curse upon you." "We
 will grant thee that," said they, "if we can." He
 then bound them by an oath on the Gospel of the
 Lord. "You shall go in the path that you desire,"
 said he, "and you shall die all at the same time to-
 gether, on the pilgrimage. And the demand I
 require from you is, that you go not to heaven after
 your deaths, until you have first visited me, to tell
 me the length of my life, and until you tell me
 whether I shall obtain the peace of the Lord." "We
 promise thee this," said they, "for the sake of the
 Lord;" and then they departed, and they took a
 blessing with them from their tutor, and they left
 him their blessing also. They walked in every path
 in which they had heard the Saviour had walked.
 They came at last to Jerusalem, and there they found
 their joint death, and were buried with great honour
 in Jerusalem. Then Michael the Archangel came
 from God for them. But they said: "We will not go,
 until we fulfil the promise we made to our preceptor,
 on the Gospel of Christ." "Go," said the angel, "and
 tell him that he has still three years and a half to

^d *Cuinnire*.—The ancient church from which the diocese of Connor, in Ulster, is now named.

^e *Brian Mac Ceinneidigh*.—Brian, son of Ceinneidigh, or Kennedy: the celebrated Brian Boromhe.

ipponn co bñath, iarpin berup an bñeath
allo bñatha fair.

Inoir ðuinn, ar riab, cið.ma cupēar in ip-
ponn é. Ar eri pachtuib, ar in tamzil, .i. ara
með torpcer an canoin, ađur a með ðo
innaíñ pñuioð coimpuceann, ađur ar tpeğab
an altura.

Ire imorpo faē ar ar tpeigñum an talcur
.i. mac maie pobaeib acom [*read occo*] .i.
maelpadraic a ainm. Ropğob ðalur baiñ in
mac. Ro ġob an talcur fo feaōt ma timcill
ar ðaib conabbað mañb in mac. Nip tar-
baib ðoibñuín ñin, uair ba mañb in mac fa
ceðoir. Ibubairc Maelpuēam nach ġebað
altur tpe biēuín o naē facaib anoir ac
Dia fair. ġ ni ðearanoir tuc Dia ðon Al-
tur ġan ñlainci ðiað mac ñan, aēc fearñ
leir in mac ðo beicē ebir muinnctir neime na
ebir muinnctir talman. ño baēð Maelpu-
ēam feaōt mbliaðna cen Altur ðo ġobail.
Iarpin tanğabar a tñuip ðaltað ðo ađal-
uib Maelpuēam ipeētaib tñi colum nğeal,
ġ fearñam failci ññu. Inuioð ðaíñ ce fað
mo faeğail, ġ an faðuim foēñuio. Aēc, ar
riabñom, tñi bliaðna ðo ñaegul acub, ġ ðo
bul a nuñponn cobñath iarpin. Cið ima mbe-
inn a nuñponn, ar eirñ. ar tñi pachtuib, ar
riabñum, ġ ño inuioðar na tñi faēa a ðu-
bñumar ñomuinn. Ni ba ñip mo ðulñ a
ipponn, ar ñe, uair na tñi huile ñin, arñe,
aēaēc ocompa aniu, ni biab ocompa aniu, ni
biab ocumpa opunn amach, ġ tpeigñeabñra na
huile ñin, ġ loğfaib Dia ðam iab, amail ño
ğeall ñein an tan a ðubairc: "impietar im-
pñ in quacumque hora conuerñur ñuerit
non nocebit ei." Ni ðēñ ðna, ciáll uaim ñēim
ñin canóim [aēc] amail no ġeib ññna leo-
bñuib ðiaðuib. ġebað ðna cēð ñleētam

live, and that he goes to hell for ever, after the sen-
tence is passed upon him on the day of judgment."

"Tell us," said they, "why he is sent to hell."
"For three causes," said the angel, "viz., because
of how much he interpolates the canon¹; and be-
cause of the number of women with whom he has
lain; and for having abandoned the *Altus*."

The reason why he abandoned the *Altus* was this:
He had a good son, whose name was Maelpa-
trick. This son was seized with a mortal sickness,
and the *Altus* was sung seven times around him, that
the son should not die. This was, however, of no avail
for them, as the son died forthwith. Maelsuthain
then said that he would never again sing the *Altus*,
as he did not see that God honoured it. But it was
not in dishonour of the *Altus* that God did not re-
store his son to health, but because He chose that the
youth should be among the family of heaven, rather
than among the people of earth. Maelsuthain had
then been seven years without singing the *Altus*.
After this his three pupils came to talk to Maelpa-
trick, in the forms of three white doves, and
he bade them welcome. "Tell me" [said he]
"what shall be the length of my life, and if I shall
receive the heavenly reward." "Thou hast," said
they, "three years to live, and thou goest to hell for
ever then." "What should I go to hell for?" said
he. "For three causes," said they; and they re-
lated to him the three causes that we have already
mentioned. "It is not true that I shall go to hell,"
said he, "for those three vices that are mine this day,
shall not be mine even this day, nor shall they be
mine from this time forth, and I will abandon these
vices, and God will forgive me for them, as He Him-
self hath promised, when He said: 'Impietas impi-
in quacumque hora conversus fuerit non nocebit
ei' [Ezek. xxxiii., 12]. I will put no sense of my
own into the canon, but such as I shall find in the

¹ *The Canon*.—This apparently signifies the code
of ecclesiastical laws, which Maelsuthain was called
upon to administer as chieftain of his tribe, and which
he had probably often interpreted so as to suit his
own secular interests or inclinations: for he after-

wards in this narrative is made to promise, "I will
put no sense of my own into the Canon, but such as
I shall find in the divine books." But the word *Ca-
non* is used also to signify the Old or New Testament.
See Reeves, *Adamnan*, p. 359, note °.

cech laí. Seacht mbliadhna atsurá gen Altur do gabail, 7 zebad in tAltur fo reacht ceó noicid cen beo beo, 7 do den tpeginur ceó reachtmume. Denaid ri dno coct docum neithe, ar fe, 7 tigi allo meirbeacta dinnurin rcel dain. Tuscramuis, ar riab, 7 do cuadar a tpiur fon tuarcebaíl ceóna, 7 no bean-naçtírao do, 7 no beannaç ruih daib ruih. Ill an eirbeacta tançubar a tpiur fon tuarcebaíl ceóna, 7 no beannachachu [7 beannacha] cach da ceile dñ, 7 no riarraid dñ: in inann mo beactara mdu ac Dia 7 an la eile tançabuir dom açalluib. Ni hinann umorpo, arriab, uair do tcarbenad dunnne çnaðra ar neith, 7 ip leop linnod a feabur. Tançamarne anu, amail no zeallamarne, ar do ceannra, 7 tap linn ar amur an inaid rin, co nobuir i fparacur De 7 an aentaid na Tpinoido, 7 muinntur neithe, co bñac na mbreath.

Ip annur no tinoilid pacair [pacairc] 7 cleirid imda cuigi, 7 no honçad he, 7 ni no rçarrad a dalcaid fpiur no zu nbeçadur do cum neithe. 7 ipre rçerçtua [rçerçtira] in fpiur maich rin ata in innur faiçlenn ipin eclair for. Fmrc.

Another brief allusion to the *Altus* occurs in the *Mesca*, or "Intoxication," of St. Columcille, a pretended prophecy attributed to that saint, and said to have been written a week before his death. At the conclusion of this forgery (which was probably composed in the seventeenth century), St. Columcille is made to say that he leaves the *Altus*, with some other of his compositions, as a legacy to the men of Ireland^b.

^a *Screptra*.—This word appears to be a corruption of *Scriptura*; but whether it signifies here a single work, or a collection of MSS., Mr. Curry professes himself unable to determine. The Four Masters mention the burning of Armagh, A. D. 1020, in which the only house that escaped was the Teach rçerçtira, "Domus Scripturarum," the Bibliotheca or Library (as Colgan, and O'Donovan, translate it), but which was more probably the *Scriptorium*, i. e. the house or apartment in which books were written. See Maitland, *Dark Ages*, p. 405, sq. But at the date 1417 (p. 829), the Four

divine books. I will perform an hundred genuflections every day. Seven years have I been without singing the *Altus*, and now I will sing the *Altus* seven times every night while I live; and I will keep a three days' fast every week. Go you now to heaven," said he, "and come on the day of my death to tell me the result." "We will come," said they; and the three of them departed as they came, first leaving a blessing with him, and receiving a blessing from him. On the day of his death the three came in the same forms, and they saluted him, and he returned their salutation, and said to them: "Is my life the same before God that it was on the former day that ye came to talk to me?" "It is not, indeed, the same," said they, "for we were shown thy place in heaven, and we are satisfied with its goodness. We have come, as we promised, for thee, and come now with us to the place which is prepared for thee in the presence of God, and in the unity of the Trinity, and of the hosts of heaven, until the judgment of judgments."

There then assembled about him many priests and ecclesiastics, and he was anointed, and his pupils parted not from him until they all went to heaven together. And it is this good man's writings ["screptra"] that are in Inisfallen, in the church, still.

Masters record the burning of the Church of Inis Mor [now Church Island] in Loch Gill, near Sligo, in which the "Screaptra Ui Chuirnín," or MSS. of O'Cuirnín, and the "Leabhar Gearr" [short book] of the same family, were burned. See Dr. O'Donovan's notes on this passage.

^b *Ireland*.—See this passage quoted by Dr. Reeves, *Adannan*, p. lxxx., where, however, in the third line, for aç rið an epca, read mo mhearçga, and translate "My *Amhra*, my *Mesca*, pure, bright." For a further account of the *Mesca*, see Prof. Curry's *Lectures*, p. 406, sq.

XV. THE HYMN OF ST. COLUMBA, "IN TE CHRISTE."

THE following Hymn was first printed by Colgan, probably from the MS. now preserved at St. Isidore's College in Rome. Colgan's text is the only copy of the Hymn to which the Editor has access for collation with the Dublin MS.; and is referred to in the notes by the letter C. It is the more to be regretted that we have not access to the Isidorian MS., because the Irish Preface is in many places illegible, and the preface, as published by Colgan, is either a mere abridgment of his original, or must have been translated from a different text.

Colgan's version of the Preface¹ is as follows:—

"*In te Christe, &c.* S. Columba composuit hunc hymnum cursivo rythmo. Et causa fuit, quod parce disseruerit de sacro-sancta Trinitate in Hymno præcedenti, quem alioquin optimum pronunciauit S. Gregorius Papa."

The following is a translation of all that is now legible of the Irish Preface in the Dublin MS. of the *Liber Hymnorum*:—

"*In te Christe.* Columcille made this Hymn. He made it in rhythm: sixteen syllables in each line: but some say that it was not Columcille at all that composed it, [except] from the words "Christus Redemptor," to [the words] "Christus crucem," and that is the reason why many repeat that part *only*. The place² was Hy; the time, that of Aedh son of Ainmire; the cause was, when he sent [messengers to Rome] with the Altus, Gregory found fault with Columcille, because he had put into it [too scanty praise of the Trinity]."

In this translation the Editor has supplied within brackets, by conjecture, what appears to have been the sense of the matter contained in the passages now illegible; guided by the account of the occasion upon which this Hymn

¹ *Preface.*—Trias Thaum., p. 475.

Hymn was composed. See above, p. 220,

² *The place.*—That is, the place where the and notes.

was composed, as told in the Preface to the *Altus*. It will be observed, however, that the censure said to have been passed by Pope Gregory upon the *Altus* is differently expressed in the three versions of its Preface, which have been already given at length¹. In the version given in our Dublin MS., the censure is put into the mouth of St. Columba's messenger (which is most probably a mistake of transcription in the MS.), but the censure itself is thus expressed,—“that there was no fault in the Hymn except the scanty praise of the Trinity which it contained *per se*; although He [the Trinity] was praised in His creatures”². In the *Leabhar Breacc* Pope Gregory is represented as stating his objection thus³, “minus quam debuit Deus memorari in eo memoratus est.” But the Preface in Colgan's MS., or at least Colgan's translation of it, suggests a somewhat different sense; for Gregory, he says, “opusculum magnopere laudavit, solumque illud sibi in eo displicere dixit, quod autor parcius in eo de Trinitate *disseruerit*, quam optaret”⁴. And again, in his version of the Preface to the Hymn now before us, he uses the same word, “quod parce *disseruerit* de sacrosancta Trinitate;” as if the objection was that the Hymn did not contain a sufficiently explicit declaration or exposition of the *doctrine* of the Trinity. But the meaning evidently is, that the author of the *Altus* did not celebrate *directly* the praises of the Almighty as such, but only His praises “in His creatures;” and the word *Trinity* is evidently used as equivalent to *Deus*, or the Deity, without any reference to the author's orthodoxy, or to his opinions on the Catholic doctrine of the Trinity, which were not disputed.

It is remarkable that Colgan's version of the Preface to the following Hymn omits all notice of the curious statement made in the Irish Preface, now for the first time printed, that some doubted⁵ its genuineness, and that *many* were in the habit of reciting only lines 17-22 (or perhaps the meaning may be lines 17-25), as believing that portion of the Hymn only to be the genuine composition of St. Columcille.

In connexion with this doubt, it is remarkable that the Hymn plainly divides itself into two parts, the first of which ends (at line 16) with a doxology, exactly at the place where the genuine composition of St. Columba is said to begin,

¹ *At length*.—See Note A to the *Altus*, p. 220, *sq.*

² *Creatures*.—See p. 222.

³ *Thus*.—*Supra*, p. 224. The construction is “In eo memoratus est Deus, minus quam

debuit memorari.”

⁴ *Optaret*.—See p. 227.

⁵ *Doubted*.—The early record of such a doubt is a curious evidence of the antiquity of the Hymn.

and thus may seem to have been a distinct composition in itself. There is also this peculiarity, tending to the same conclusion, that in this first part the lines (with three exceptions) begin with the word *Deus*; whilst in the remainder of the Hymn every line (one excepted) begins with the word *Christus*.

Be this, however, as it may, it does not at first sight seem very clear how the Hymn can have been understood to have supplied the defect of the *Altus*, "quod parcius de Trinitate disseruerit;" for, with the exception of the Doxologies (lines 15, 16, and 26-29), there is no allusion in it to the Trinity as such, neither is there in it anything more express or distinct, considered as a confession of faith in the *doctrine* of the Trinity, than that contained in the first "Capitulum" of the *Altus*.

But we have seen that the objection to the *Altus* was, not that the author of the Hymn was unsound in faith, or in any way heterodox on the *doctrine* of the Trinity, but that in his Hymn he had not made the praise of the Trinity, i. e. of God Almighty, sufficiently prominent or direct; in other words, the real fault was, not that the *doctrine* of the Trinity was insufficiently acknowledged, but that the Hymn was mainly occupied in the praise of created things, or of God as Creator, and not so much in the direct praise of God in His essence and attributes.

In this point of view, the Hymn *In Te Christe* fully supplies the defect. It commences by a prayer to Christ as God, to have mercy on all the faithful. It prays to God to make haste to help all those who are in labour or distress. And then it proceeds to praise God, as the Father of the faithful; the Life of the living; the God of all gods; the Virtue of all virtues; the Creator of all things; the Judge of judges; the Prince of princes; the God of the elements; the God of good help; the God of the heavenly Jerusalem; the King of glory; the God of the quick; the God of eternal light; the ineffable God; the High God, worthy of all love, inestimable, bountiful, long suffering, teacher of the teachable; the God who maketh all things, whether new or old.

With this supplement to the *Altus*, it could not possibly have been objected that there was in it "a scanty praise of the Trinity *per se*," that is, of God Almighty as such.

The Hymn then takes up the praise of Christ:—He is the Redeemer of the Gentiles; the Lover of virgins; the Fountain of the wise; the Faith of believers; the Breastplate of soldiers; the Creator of all things; the Health of the living; the Life of the dying: He hath crowned our army with a crowd

of Martyrs; He hath ascended the cross; He hath saved the world; He hath redeemed us, and suffered for us; He hath descended into hell; He hath ascended into heaven; He hath sat down with God (*ubi nunquam defuerat*) on that throne which, as God, He had never left.

This summary of the Hymn strongly confirms the opinion already expressed, that the defect which it was supposed to supply in the *Altus* was not a theological defect in the confession of Trinitarian doctrine, but a deficiency in the *direct* praise of God and of Christ.

The language of the Hymn is evidently ancient. Among its peculiarities may be noted the use of the pluperfect for the perfect; "Christus crucem ascenderat;" "mundum salvaverat;" "nos redemerat;" "cælum ascenderat." "Cum Deo sederat, ubi nunquam defuerat." This peculiarity will be observed also in the writings of Adamnan.



IN TE CHRISTE. Columcille doponai inuimmonra. Tre ríchim doponnai, re fillaba
 dec in cech line. Achebat u^o fairén conach e Columcille eoir doponnai [f] oca
 Chriurur redemptor 7 chriurur cruceam, 7 ir aise nna achebat multo illam
 partem. Uocur hi, tempur Aeda meic ainmirech. Caupa apala at ro
 nab con alcur, 7 iréd on roimchrech Dnegoir in Columcille oio
 chur



te christe credentium miseraris omnium
 tu es deus in secula seculorum in gloria

Deus in adiutorium intende laborantium
 ad dolorum remedium festina in auxilium

Deus pater credentium deus uita uiuentium 5
 deus deorum omnium deus uirtus uirtutum

Deus formator omnium deus et iudex iudicum
 deus et princeps principum elementorum omnium

Deus opis eximiae celestis hierusolimae 10
 deus rex regni in gloria deus ipse uiuentium

Deus aeterni luminis deus inenarrabilis
 deus altus amabilis deus inestimabilis

1. *In te Christe*.—This Hymn has no gloss, except over the word *eximiae* (ver. 9), where the gloss, although nearly illegible, appears to be .i. *excelra*.

3. *Laborantium*.—Are these words alluded to in the preface to the *Altus*? see above, p. 221, note ².

6. *Virtutum*.—This anomaly is neces-

sary for the metre. C. reads, “Deus uirtutis uirtutum.”

7. *Et iudex*.—C. omits *et* here and in the next line. But in both, *et* is necessary to the metre.

8. *Hierusolimae*.—Ierosolymæ, C.

11. *Inenarrabilis*.—This word is also used, line 91 of the preceding hymn.

Deus largus longanimis deus doctor docibilis
deus qui facit omnia noua cuncta et uetera

Dei patris in nomine filique sui prospere
sancti spiritus utique recto uado itenere 15

Christus redemptor gentium christus amator uirginum
christus pons sapientium christus fides credentium

Christus lorica militum christus creator omnium
christus salus uiuentium et uita morientium 20

Coronauit exercitum nostrum cum turba martirum
christus crucem ascenderat christus mundum saluaue-
rat

Christus et nos redemeret christus pro nobis passus est
christus infernum penetrat christus caelum ascenderat

Christus cum deo sederat ubi nunquam defuerat 25

Gloria haec est altissimo deo patri ingenito
honor ac summo filio unico unigenito

Spirituique optimo sancto perfecto sedulo
amen fiat perpetua in sempiterna secula.

IN TE X̄PE CRE.

13. *Doctor docibilis.*—Teacher of the teachable man.

15. *Filique.*—Filiique, C.

16. *Itenere.*—Itinere, C. "I walk in the right way of God the Father, &c."

23. *Redemeret.*—Redemerat, C.

24. *Christus infernum.*—C. omits this line.

28. *Optimo.*—Optimo, C. *Sedulo.*—Amen, C.

29. *Perpetua.*—C. reads, "fiat et haec perpetua, in sempiterna secula." At the end are added the words with which the hymn begins, according to the usual custom of Irish scribes, to show that the hymn ends here, and that the words that follow are no part of it. See above, p. 23, n., and see also p. 80, where the entire of the first verse of a Hymn is repeated at the end.

Προτεζατ νορ αλτιρριμουρ δε ρυρ ρανκτιρ ρεοιβυρ 30
 Oum ριβι ζμνορ κανιμουρ δεκιμ ρτατυτιρ υιοιβυρ
 Sitque nobir ρροπιτιυρ διοεβυρ ατque noctiβυρ.

31. *Ymnos.*—Hymnos, C. *Decim.*—
Decem, C.

The last stanza, *Protegat nos*, is in the angular character already frequently mentioned. In the margin is the following note:—*deich tpaθa bo chelebrad colum cille ut pepunt. 7 ipa ptauρ eoin cappaion puc pom pemin*, "Columcille used to celebrate ten canonical hours, as they say; and it was from John Cassian's history he took this." No mention is made of this custom of observing ten canonical hours, in the lives of St. Columba; but the "John Cassian" here quoted is evidently the celebrated John Cassian, who was ordained deacon by St. Chrysostom (c. A. D. 404), and whose works on the monastic life and institutes were so widely read during the

middle ages. He was one of the first to propagate in the west, the eastern custom of fixed hours of prayer, afterwards called the canonical hours: *Instit.* lib. iii. c. 3. But it does not appear that *ten* such hours were enjoined by him. In the ancient church of Ireland, he was honoured as a saint on the 25th of November, at which day his name occurs in the *Felire*, or metrical calendar of Ængus the Culdee; but the more modern calendars of Marianus Gorman, of Tallaght, and of Donegal, make no mention of him; no doubt, in consequence of his having given currency to semipelagian opinions. On the Continent several churches were dedicated to him, and he was honoured as a saint in many places on the 23rd July. Tillemont, *Mémoires*, tom. xiv. p. 187.

XVI. THE HYMN OF ST. COLUMBA, "NOLI PATER."

COLGAN has printed two copies of this Hymn: the one in his Abridgment of O'Donnell's Life of Columba¹, the other from his copy of the Book of Hymns². The former of these seems to be an extract only, as it ends with "&c.," and omits the last two quatrains, besides other variations which will be pointed out in the notes. The latter copy Colgan himself describes as "paulo correctiorem, tametsi non plene correctum"³, which implies he did not consider his copy of the Book of Hymns as perfectly accurate, although "antiqua manu descriptus." How far the present edition is an improvement on the two former, will appear from the following pages.

The account given by O'Donnell of the occasion upon which this Hymn was composed is evidently taken from the Preface to it in the Book of Hymns; both accounts are substantially the same. The Editor will not enter into any discussion of the difficulty, which this narrative has suggested, as to the date of the donation of Daire Calcaigh (now Londonderry) to St. Columba by Aedh, son of Ainmire. This subject has been examined by Dr. Reeves, and the supposed difficulty completely removed⁴; it will, therefore, only be necessary to give here a translation of the Preface, with some illustrative notes:—

Noli Pater. Columcille composed this Hymn, as he did the *In Te Christe*. The place was the door of Disert Daire Chalcaigh⁵. The time was the same⁶, viz., that of Aedh, son of Ainmire. The cause was this:—Once upon a time Columcille came to Daire to a conference⁷

¹ *Columba.*—Trias. Thaum., p. 397.

² *Hymns.*—Ibid., p. 476.

³ *Correctum.*—Ibid., p. 450, note 47.

⁴ *Removed.*—Reeves, Adamnan, pp. 160, 161, note.

⁵ *Disert Daire Chalcaigh.*—For the nature

of the monastic establishments, called *Deserts*, see Reeves, Adamnan, p. 366.

⁶ *The same.*—i. e. the same as that in which the Hymn *In te Christe* was composed.

⁷ *Conference.*—"Aliquando venit ad colloquium [i. e. colloquium] regis."

with the king, so that he [the king] granted him the fort, with its appurtenances. But Columcille refused the fort, because Mobí¹ had prohibited him to receive anything of the world, until he had heard of his [Mobí's] death. But when Columcille afterwards came to the gate of the town², three³ of the people of Mobí met him there, and they had Mobí's girdle with them, and they said, "Mobí is dead." And Columcille said:

Mobí's girdle! [Mobí's girdle]!
It closed not upon emptiness,
Moreover, it opened not upon satiety,
Nor did it shut upon falsehood.

Columcille went back to the king, and he said to the king, "The offering which thou gavest to me yesterday, give to me now." "I will give it," said the king. The town was then burned,

¹ *Mobí*.—i. e. St. Mobí Clairenech, or the flat-faced, otherwise called Berchan, abbot of Glas-naoidhen (now Glasnevin, near Dublin), who was for a time the tutor of St. Columba (*O'Donnell*, lib. i., c. 43, *Trias Thaum.*, p. 396). Mobí having been compelled to close his school in consequence of the breaking out of a pestilence, S. Columba, with the other scholars, was sent away, and took his journey towards Tirconnell, having first received from Mobí this injunction, "Ne quam terram aut fundum pro exædificando monasterio aut aliis usibus acceptaret, nisi de ipsius scitu et venia."—*O'Donnell*, ib., c. 46. Reeves, *Adamnan*, p. 160. The ancient quatrain quoted above, in praise of Mobí's girdle, occurs in a poem entitled, *Itinerarium na fáirrege o' columcille in onoir cnepa Mobí*. "Itinerarium of the sea [i. e. verses to be recited on a journey on the sea], from Columkille, in honour of Mobí's girdle." An imperfect copy of this poem is preserved in the O'Clery MS. of Martyrologies, in the Burgundian Library, Brussels. The stanza with which we are concerned is given thus:—

Աջրօ շրօր Մօբի,
նր Բօ բեմնու Իմլօ
նր յորճլած բրի բաւե
'րնր մաճած բրի ճօ.

"This is Mobí's girdle; it was not a bulrush round emptiness; it was not opened upon satiety, and it was not shut upon falsehood. In the Martyrology of Donegal, at Oct. 12, the stanza is given thus:—

Շրօր Մօբի [շրօր Մօբի]
նիճօր բիճե Իմլօ
նր յորճլած բրի բաւե
նր հաճած Իմճօ.

which differs from the former chiefly in spelling. The great difficulty is in the word *լա* or *լօ*; in addition to the meaning given to it above, which seems to correspond best with the next line, it is interpreted in ancient glossaries .i. *սիրբե*, *water*; and .i. *Բրատ Երբ*, *a red cloak*. In the same glossaries, *ճօ* or *ճա* is explained *Բրեճ*, *a lie, falsehood*.

² *Town*.—*bale*, "of the bally." The word does not mean what we would now call *a town*. "Town" is commonly used to this day in every part of Ireland, even by those who only speak English, to denote a place, a farm, a gentleman's demesne or property. There was no *town* (properly so called) at Derry, in St. Columba's time, but only a *dún*, or fort, the residence of a chieftain.

³ *Three*.—O'Donnell (*loc. cit.*, c. 48) says two. And so also the ancient Irish Life, quoted by Dr. Reeves, *Adamnan*, p. 160, note.

with everything that was in it. "This is foolish," said the king, "for if it were not burnt, there would never have been any lack of raiment or food therein." "There never shall be," said he [Columcille]; "from henceforth, whoever shall be in it, shall never be a night fasting." The fire, however, in consequence of its greatness, threatened to burn the whole Daire⁴, 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 John⁵. And it is sung [*as a protection*] against every fire, and every thunder-storm, from that time forth; and whosoever sings it at bed time, and at rising, it protects him against lightning, and it protects the nine⁶ persons whom he desires [to protect]."

Colgan's version of the Preface is as follows:—

Noli pater indulgere. S. Columba Kille composuit hunc Hymnum stylo rythmico ex tempore. In Daire Chalgaich, seu Monasterio Dorensi, compositus fuit. Quidam dicunt, quod præ tremendi et extremi Judicii timore illum composuerit. Alii vero dicunt quod quando locum fundandi Monasterii, ab Aido Ainmirii filio, Hiberniæ Rege donatum, receperat, tanquam prophanum curaverat flammis absumi, ut sic Deo consecraretur; et cum incendii flamma per amœnum vicinum lucum, seu arboretum, depascendum vento et tonitruis perlata pertingeret, hinc Hymnum hunc composuerit, ad lucum illum ab incendii flammis præservandum. Duo privilegia recitantibus illum, pie creduntur a Domino concessa. Primum, quod præservet recitantes a fulminibus et tonitruis. Secundum, quod eos, qui consuescunt illum recitare vesperi, dum decumbunt, et mane quando surgunt, ab omni adversu casu protegat.

In the notes to the following Hymn, the various readings of the copy of it published in Colgan's version of O'Donnell's Life of St. Columba will be marked O'D.; and those of the copy printed by Colgan from his MS. of the Liber Hymnorum will be distinguished by the letter C.

⁴ *Daire*.—i. e. the whole wood; *Daire* is an oak wood. See Reeves' Adamnan, p. 19, note ^c, and p. 160, note.

⁵ *John*.—This is an allusion to the ancient custom of lighting fires on St. John's Eve. Paciaudius, in his learned work, *De cultu S. Johannis Baptistæ*, Romæ, 1755, 4^o, labours to defend this custom from the charge of a pagan origin, and derives it from our Lord's words (John, v. 35): "Ille erat lucerna ardens et lucens: vos autem voluistis ad horam exultare in luce ejus." But the Capitula of Charlemagne (lib. v., tit. 2) condemn the St. John's Eve fires as remnants of paganism, under the old German term of *nodfeuers*.

Pertz, iii. 17, and compare Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, vol. i., p. 570, *sq.* (2^d edit.: Göttingen, 1844).

⁶ *The nine*.—This is obscure; a word at the end having been cut off by the binder. The meaning seems to be that the recitation of the Hymn will protect not only him who sings it, but any other nine persons whom he may desire so to serve. Colgan loosely renders the clause, "ab omni adverso casu protegat;" he probably took אַנְיָוֵב to signify "persecution," but it seems to be a verb, and occurs *supra* p. 205, line 12. אַנְיָוֵב occurs also as an adjective, meaning *nequam*.—*Zeuss*, p. 247, line 17.



NOLI PATER. Columcille fecit hunc cinnum; eodem modo ut In te Xpe. Locur do-
 nur díríre daíri chalcáig. Tempur autem .i. Aeba meic ammerrech. Cauíra, co-
 lumcille aliquando uenit ad collocium reáíur co daíre co roebírrad in porre do
 conairíud. Opaíur íarum columcille in porre, quia pphobíuít mobí imme accípere
 mundum co clorad a éc.

Incan íarum canic columcille co doíur in bale, ír ann íín doíala epíar do muínepí
 mobí dó, í epíur mobí occu, í díxerunt, moíreup epí mobí; í díxít columcille:

Epíur mobí [epíur mobí]
 ní ro íadad ímlua
 rech ní ro opláiceb nía íáíth
 ní roíunad ímáua.

Íud columcille íorcuíu corín ííí, í díxít reáí: Ínn eípaíre eucáíru dámpa ímbuaíre[h]
 euc dam nunc. Doberchar, ar in íí. Íoíretheí epí in baile coroneoch baí and
 uile. Eppach íín, ol in ní, ar maní loírethe, ní baíó eacha bíoít ná bíd ann co
 bpaíth. díad ímoíro ann o íeín ímmach, ar íe, íeí bíaí ann ní bía áídeh [leg. afdeh]
 epírethe. Tapmaíre epí in tene ara meí loíreth in daíre uile, coníd ara an-
 cul in can íín doíónad íncímmónra; no ír lache bpaítha doíat día aíre; no tene
 íeíle eom, í canaíur írí cech teníd í írí cech íorann o íeín ílle, eíre íabar ío
 líge í íoeíge, no nánaíge ar eíeníd íígelan í anáíó in nonbup ír aíl [doanacal]. . . .



**NOLI PATER INDULGERE TONITRUA CUM FULGURE
 AC FRANGAMUR FORMIDINE HUIUS ATQUE URIDINE**

Te timemus terribilem nullum credentes similem
 te cuncta canunt carmina angelorum per a-
 mina

Gloss.—1. *Indulgere*.—i. nos. 2. *Hujus*.—i. tonitruí. *Uridine*.—i. o epíreth in baíle coroneoch baí and uile. 3. *Similem*.—i. Deo. 4. *Canunt*.—i. laudan-

1. *Indulgere*.—Here used in the sense of *permit* or *suffer*. It is doubtful whether the gloss over this word is not “in nos,” or “super nos,” which would make better sense than *nos*. “Suffer not the thunder and lightning to fall upon us.”
 2. *Ac*.—Ne, O’D. and C. *Uridine*.—Uredine, C.; O’D. reads *Viredine*, which only can be the Irish spelling of *Uredine*,

Teque exultent culmina caeli uaq̄i per fulmina
o ihesu amantissime o rex regum rectissime 5

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 10

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

Gloss.—5. *Exultent*.—i. παλιουσιτ [welcome]. 7. *Benedictus*.—i. es. 8. *Johannes*.—i. gratia Dei interpretatur. 9. *Repletus*.—i. est. *Siccera*.—i. sine cera. .i. non omni liquori ebrio excep omnis liquor dulcis sic.

viz., uirpebime; the u suffering what German philologists call *umlaut*, from the e of the following syllable.—*Zeuss. Gram. Celt.*, p. 18; *Ebel, Beiträge*, I. 164. There is no such word as *Viredo*.

4. *Cuncta*.—Juxta, O'D.

5. *Exultent*.—Exaltent, O'D. C. *Fulmina*.—Fulmina, C.

8. *Matris in*.—In Matris, O'D.

9. *Siccera*.—Sicera, O'D. C. O'Donnell's extract ends here. See Colgan,

Trias Thaum., p. 397. The gloss upon this word runs out into the margin of the page, and is partly illegible.

10. *Zacharias*.—Elizabeth Zachariæ, C.

11. *Babtizam*.—Babtistam, C. The use of z for st in our MS. has already been noticed. See above, p. 78, n. 31.

13. *Argenti*.—Argenteo, C. *Auri*.—Aurea, C. These readings are inconsistent with the metre.

XVII. THE PRAYER OF ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST.

THE following document is called “epistola” in one place, and “ymnus” in another, by the author of the Scholium or Preface ; but it is really a prayer ; and is said to have been uttered by St. John the Evangelist over the poisoned cup, offered to him by the heathen priest of Ephesus.

The Legend in which this prayer occurs, and which is given at length in the Preface, has appeared in two several works, both putting forth pretensions to great antiquity, although now universally admitted to be spurious, viz. : the *Acta Apostolorum, sive Historia certaminis Apostolici*, attributed to Abdias, first Bishop of Babylon ; and the *Passio S. Johannis Evangelistæ*, ascribed to Mellitus, Bishop of Laodicea, or rather of Sardes.

The impostor who was the author of the former of these works calls himself a disciple of the Apostles, and professes to have been ordained first Bishop of Babylon by the Apostles themselves. He tells us also that he composed the work in the Hebrew language : that it was afterwards translated into Greek by his own disciple, Eutropius, and into Latin by Julius Africanus : “quæ Africanus Historiographus in Latinam transtulit linguam”¹. These are the words of the author himself, who, whilst he pretends to have been a contemporary of the apostles, has made the singular blunder of attributing the translation of his work into Latin, to Africanus, a writer of the *third century*² !

¹ *Linguam*.—Apost. Hist., lib. 6, fol. 83 (ed. by John Faber). Paris, 1571; 8°. And see the note of Fabricius on this passage.—*Cod. Apocr. N. Test.* II., p. 389, 629.

² *Third century*.—There are internal evidences that Latin was the original language of the book, and that the assertion of its having

been first written in Hebrew was a deliberate falsehood : for example, such plays upon words as “In nomine Domini mei JESU impetrabam non imperabam” (lib. ix. c. 21) ; “non everti, sed converti eam” (lib. viii. c. 8), could scarcely have been the language of a translator.

But it is unnecessary for the object of the Editor to discuss the question of the genuineness of a work, whose pretensions have now no defenders¹. Its author cannot have lived before the fifth century; he has uniformly quoted the modern Vulgate, and appears to have also used the Latin version of the writings of Eusebius². There is good reason to believe, however, that the Venerable Bede had seen these "Acts of the Apostles," for he seems to refer to them under the title of "Histories of the Passions of the Apostles." If so, it will follow that the Pseudo-Abdias cannot have lived *later* than the beginning of the eighth century. The passage in the writings of Bede referred to is the following:— "Hos [Simonem scil. Zelotem, et Judam Jacobi] referunt Historiæ in quibus apostolorum passiones continentur, et a plurimis deputantur apocryphæ, prædicasse in Perside, ibique a templorum pontificibus in civitate Suanir occisos, gloriosum subiisse martyrium"³. The Pseudo-Abdias relates the story of the martyrdom of SS. Simon and Jude, in the city of Suanir in Persia, in exact accordance with Bede's citation, which renders it probable that the "Historiæ in quibus Apostolorum passiones continentur," referred to by him, was no other than the "Historia certaminis Apostolici" now extant, especially as we do not find elsewhere any mention of the city of Suanir⁴. If so, we see that, even at that time, the work was generally rejected as spurious, "a plurimis deputantur apocryphæ"⁵.

The "Passio S. Johannis Evangelistæ" attributed to Mellitus, has still

¹ *Defenders*.—The authorities are collected in the *Testimonia et Censuræ* prefixed to the *Historia* of Abdias, by Joh. Alb. Fabricius, *Codex Apocr. N. Test.*, Hamburg, 1703, tom. ii. p. 388, *sq.*; see also Ceillier, *Hist. des Auteurs Eccles.*, tom. i. p. 488; Coci, *Censura*, p. 82, *sq.*; Baronii *Annal.*, A. D. 51, N^o. 51.

² *Eusebius*.—See Abdias, lib. vi. c. 4, and Fabricius, *ubi supr.*, p. 597, not. ^a. Fabricius has given the following negative opinion as to the age of this author: "Neque tantæ mihi videtur hoc scriptum antiquitatis, ut Hieronymis et Augustinis possit de ætate contendere. Nam ex veteribus nemo ejus meminit, et scribendi genus ipsum, et usus familiarior Vulgatæ ac versionum Rufini sequiorem ætatem arguunt."

³ *Martyrium*.—Beda, *Retract. in Act. Apost.* i. 13 (Opp. tom. xii., p. 90, ed. Giles.)

⁴ *Suanir*.—Abdiæ, *Hist. Apostol.*, lib. v. c. 20, *sq.* Fabricius says: "De civitate Persidis cui nomen *Suanir*, altum apud veteres silentium."—*Ubi supr.*, p. 744. Tillemont suggests that Suanir may be a city of the Suani or Surani, mentioned by Pliny. *Mém.*, t. i., p. 400.

⁵ *Apocryphæ*.—See Oudin. *De Scriptoribus Eccles.*, tom. ii. 418, *sq.*, where the arguments against the genuineness of the work are stated. Oudin, however, fixes A. D. 910, as the date of the Pseudo-Abdias, not being aware that the book was known to Bede, and that, therefore, it must have been extant before A. D. 735, when Bede died.

less pretensions to antiquity. Eusebius¹ mentions an eminent saint and writer, Mellitus, or Melito, Bishop of Sardes in Lydia (A.D. 170), and gives an account of his numerous writings, none of which are now extant. It is probable, therefore, that the author of the Passion of St. John, under the name of Mellitus, intended to personate this Melito of Sardes, although he has styled himself² "Mellitus servus Christi Episcopus Laudociaë" (i. e. Laodiceæ); but in another Apocryphal book³, "*De transitu Mariæ*," which is generally supposed to be by the same author, he has called himself "Melito servus Christi et episcopus ecclesiæ Sardensis," intending, no doubt, the Melito of Sardes, mentioned by Eusebius, and from Eusebius, by S. Jerome⁴.

It is not easy to fix the precise date of this Pseudo-Melito, or Mellitus. The book, *De obitu* [or *transitu*] *beatæ Mariæ*, is twice referred to by the Ven. Bede (*Retract. in Actt.*, c. viii., xiii.), and in both cases with strong censure. That book, therefore, must be older than the eighth century; and so will fix the date of the "*Passio S. Johannis Evang.*," if we assume that both works, as both bearing the name of Mellitus, or Melito, are by the same author⁵.

The Legend of St. John and the poisoned cup occurs in the *Apostolica Historia* of Abdias, and also in the *Passio S. Johannis* of Mellitus, in nearly the same words, and it is evident that one of these writers (if they be different) must have copied from the other, or both from some common source. This Legend is given in the Irish Preface to the following Prayer, with some variations from the narratives of Abdias and Mellitus, which will be pointed out in the Additional Notes, so far as they are of any importance.

There is a valuable (although not perfect) MS. of the Pseudo-Abdias in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin (G. 4. 16) which is probably of the tenth or early part of the eleventh century. The story of St. John and the poisoned cup from the text of this MS. will be found in Note B, p. 272, *infra*.

In the artistic representations of St. John in the pictures and stained glass of the middle ages, he is frequently represented holding in his hand a cup, or

¹ *Eusebius*.—Euseb. Hist. Eccl., lib. iv. c. 26, who calls him *Μελίτων τῆς ἐν Σάρδεσι παροικίας ἐπίσκοπος*.

² *Styled himself*.—J. A. Fabricii, *ubi supra*, part iii., p. 604.

³ *Book*.—Fabricius. *Ibid.*, p. 623.

⁴ *S. Jerome*.—De Viris Illustribus, cap. 24.

⁵ *Author*.—Ceillier says (*Hist. des Auteurs Eccles.*, tom. ii., p. 79), speaking of the tract, *De obitu B Mariæ*, "L'Auteur paroît être le même que celui du livre qui a pour titre : *La Passion de S. Jean l'Evangeliste* sous le nom de Mellitus, Evêque de Laodicée." See also Fabricius, *loc. cit.*

chalice, sometimes a serpent, sometimes a demon, is seen issuing from the chalice. These representations are evidently founded on the Legend with which we are concerned; the serpent, or demon, representing the flight of the deadly influence from the poisoned cup.

A translation of the Scholiast's preface will be found in Note A, p. 271, *infra*. It is to be regretted that some words in this preface, and particularly the passage with which it concludes, are now illegible in our MS.



DEUS MEUS. Iohannes filius ζ ebedei hanc epistolam fecit. In eperis dana doronad, mairis imorrio domitiani doronad; haec est causa .i. con[tr]om] mdr dorala etis eoin η aritodim .i. facare tempul deanae. Conerbaire eoin fri aritodim, Tiazam a aritodim ol re, co tempul erit pil ipin cathraiz η atcaiz deam ann co taich in tempul, η nega letu iarin co tempul deanae, η gudpeta erit copo tuite, η dia tech tempul deane erumpu ip ferri erit ar deam, η ipred ar chdr duitiu adrad erit iarin. Dentar iarin ar aritodim. Lotar port co tempul erit, orauit aritodimur tribur horit deanam, et nec tamen cecidit templum chrirti. Exierunt porrea ad templum deanae, et orauit iohannes ut caderet et ptatim cecidit. Et aritodimur temptauit occidere iohannem ped non aurur est pro multitudine Christianorum. IN pail ni polaad cumtabairt uait beor aritodim, ar eoin. Ata, ar re, dianebaru lan caliz de linn ueneno et pi non erit mortuur ptatim epedam deo tuo: η dixit iohannes, dnc huc, dabitur, ar re, act co tarpar donacimmedaib ar trialtair do marbad icond rfg nunc, quia non meliur est mori ferri quam ueneno, ut timeper iohannes dixit aritodimur hoc. et pumur porrexit cani uenenum et ptatim mortuur est, η port canem porrexit remiae, η illa pimiter mortua est, η porrea datur est illi potur, η mortui pnt ptatim. η pic debet iohanni, η dixit iohannes tunc, deur meur pater, .rl. η bibit η non nocuit ei. η haec est causa denma huiur fmi. η rureitaci pnt qui mortui fuerunt ueneno. η pic epedit aritodimur, η alii multi cum eo. η pi qui cantauerit hunc fmmum in liquorem aut in aliquid quod porit nocere in panitatem [pedit]. IN fine uniuersurque anni elegitur de populo iuuenir panctur sine macula peccati, ut con . . . ioh . . . η unger eiu ericum . . .



DEUS meus et pater et filius et spiritus sanctus
cui omnia subiecta sunt et cui omnis crea-
tura deseruit et omnis potestas subiecta est
et metuit et expauescit et draco fugit et silit

Gloss.—1. *Deus meus.*—Adit tu extinge. 2. *Cui.*—1. ip duitiu [it is to thee]. *Omnia.*—
.i. elementa. 4. *Draco.*—Multa genera sunt draconum .i. terrestres. . . . sed omnes igne nocent.

1. *Deus meus.*—The gloss over these words signifies that the word *Deus* “goes to” *tu extingue*; i.e. that *Deus* is in apposition with *tu* (line 11), all between being a parenthesis.

4. *Draco.*—The gloss over this word, which is in Latin, runs out into the margin, and is partly obliterated. All that is legible of it is given above.

VIPERA ET RUBETA ILLA QUAE DICITUR RANA QUIETA TORPES- 5
CIT SCORPIUS EXTINGUITUR REGULUS VINCIATUR ET SPELAGIUS NIL

GLOSS.—5. *Vipera*.—i. e. vi parens, .i. dente nocet. *Quieta*.—i. antach .i. bleðmíl. 6. *Regulus*.
—i. anela nocet. *Spelagius*.—i. uestigio nocet.

5. *Vipera*.—The etymology in the gloss, “vi parens,” is an allusion to the ancient popular opinion as to the parturition of the viper, which is thus described by Isidorus Hispalensis:—“*Vipera dicta, quod vi pariat. Nam, quum venter ejus ad partum ingemuerit, catuli non expectantes naturæ maturam solutionem corrosis eius lateribus vi erumpunt cum matris interitu.*”—*Etymol. lib. xii. cap. iv. n. 10. (Opp. tom. iv., p. 65. Romæ. 1801.) Rana*.—“*Ex iis [ranis, sc.] quædam aquaticæ dicuntur, quædam palustres, quædam rubetæ, ob id quia in vepribus vivunt grandiores cunctarum.*”—*Isid. Hispal., ibid., cap. vi. n. 58 (Opp. ib. p. 85.) Quieta*.—Over this word occurs the gloss in Irish, which is given above, and which, probably, may have been intended to explain *Draco*, although, for want of room, written under instead of over that word. But it may have been intended to explain *rana*, an animal then, perhaps, unknown in Ireland. The word *antach* occurs, p. 206, *supra* (line 10), as a gloss on the word “otiosa.” Mr. Curry thinks that it signifies here the *remora*, or *echineis*. *bleðmíl* is a *whale*; *bleo*, a whale; “gl. pistrix; gl. bellua marina” (*Zeuss*, p. 100); *míl*, a beast; Welsh, *míl*. So that the author of the gloss, having no idea of a frog or toad, imagined it to be a sea monster, a whale, or *remora*: an animal able to stop the progress of a ship at sea, by ad-

hering to the keel. In O'Davoren's glossary we have “*bleth*.i. *mil mór* [a whale]; *blaid*, i. e. *muir* [the sea], ut est *blaidhmíl*” [a sea-beast]. Stokes, *Three Old-Irish Glossaries*, pp. 59, 61. *Torpescit*.—In the margin are these words: “*Coluber cinere, scorpius cauda silius* [? *basiliscus*, or *sibilus*] *ossibus post mortem nocet, serpens lingua [i. e. lingua] nocet.*” These descriptions are not from Isidore, who says, however, “*Sibilus idem est qui regulus. Sibilo enim occidit, antequam mordeat vel exurat.*”—*Etym. xii., c. iv., n. 9.*

6. *Regulus*.—Is the Latin equivalent for the Greek *Basiliscus*, and denotes the same serpent:—“*Basiliscus græce, latine interpretatur regulus, eo quod rex serpentum est, adeo ut eum videntes fugiant, quia olfactu suo eos necat; nam et hominem vel si aspiciat interimit. Siquidem ad ejus aspectum nulla avis volans illæsa transit, sed quamvis procul sit, ejus ore combusta devoratur.*”—*Isid. Etym., xii., cap. iv. n. 6 (Opp. ut supr., p. 64).* This explains the gloss, “.i. anela [for *anhela*] nocet;” (*anhela* taken as a subst.), “by breathing hurts.” In the margin there is the following note:—“*Regulus, .i. rex omnium serpentium, nulla avis uolans uiso eo potest euadere i. peste. et tamen mustella eum occidit.*” This seems from Isidore, who adds, after the words above quoted, “*A mustelis tamen vincitur:*

NOXIIUM OPERATUR ET OMNIA UENENATA ET ADHUC FEROCIORA
 REPENTIA ET ANIMALIA NOXIA TENEBRANTUR ET OMNES ADUER-
 SAE SALUTIS HUMANAЕ RADICES ARESUNT. TU EXTINGE HOC UE-
 NENATUM VIRUS. ET EXTINGE OPERATIONES EIUS MORTIFERAS ET 10
 VIRES QUAS IN SE HABET EUACUA ET DA IN CONSPECTU TUO OM-
 NIBUS HIS QUOS TU CREATI OCULOS UT UIDEANT, AURES UT AU-
 DEANT, COR UT MAGNITUDINEM TUAM INTELLIGANT, AMEN. MA-
 THEUS MARCUS LUCAS IOHANNES.

GLOSS.—10. *Operationes*.—1. *ueneni*.

quas illi homines inferunt cavernis, in quibus delitescit."—*Ibid.*, n. 7, p. 65.

6. *Spelagius*.—Pseudo-Melito and Pseudo-Abdias, as printed by Fabricius, both read *phalangius*; but the Dublin MS. of the latter has *sphalangius*: this is the *phalangium* (φαλάγγιον) or venomous spider of Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* viii. 27, *et alibi*; Vegetius, *De Re Vet.*, iii. 80 (al. 81), where some edd. have *sphalangiis*. The gloss, "vestigio nocet," seems to intimate that

this spider insinuates his poison by merely crawling over the flesh.

12. *Audeant*.—This is only the Irish orthography of *e* for *i*; for *audiant*. See Reeves' *Adamnan*, *Pref.*, p. xvi., xvii.

13. *Matheus*.—This is a curious example of the ancient custom of invoking the names of the Evangelists, as a protection against evil: "Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, Bless the bed that we lye on."

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

NOTE A.

The Scholiast's Preface.

THIS Preface is written in the same mixture of Latin and Irish which we have already had occasion to notice in the other Prefaces. The following is a literal translation :—

Deus meus. John, son of Zebedee, composed this Epistle. In Ephesus it was composed. In the time of Domitian it was composed. This was the cause :—There was a great contest between John and Aristodemus, the priest of the Temple of Diana, so that John said to Aristodemus, "Let us go, O Aristodemus," said he, "to the Temple of Christ, which is in the city, and pray thou there to Diana that the Temple may fall, and I will go with thee afterwards to the Temple of Diana, and I will pray to Christ that it may fall; and if the Temple of Diana shall fall for me, then Christ is better than Diana, and it will be right for thee to worship Christ henceforth." "Let this be done," said Aristodemus. They went then to the Temple of Christ. Aristodemus^a prayed for three hours to Diana; and, nevertheless, the Temple of Christ fell not. They went afterwards to the Temple of Diana, and John prayed that it might fall, and it fell immediately. And Aristodemus sought to kill John; but durst not, owing to the number of the Christians.

"Is there^b anything that would banish doubt from thee, O Aristodemus?" said John. "There is," said he; "if thou drink a full cup of ale [mixed] with poison, and if thou shalt not be dead, I will at once believe in thy God;" and John said, "Bring it hither, it shall be given," said he. "But let it be given to the prisoners, who are about to be put to death by the king now, for it is not better to die by the sword than by poison." Aristodemus said this that John might fear; and first he gave the poison to a dog^c, and it died immediately; and after the dog he gave to an ape, and it died likewise; and afterwards the draught was given to them [i. e. to the prisoners], and they died immediately. And so he gave it to

^a *Aristodemus.*—From this word to the end of the paragraph is in Latin.

^b *Is there.*—The next words are Irish, to the word "*ale*;" then Latin, to "it shall be given;" then Irish, to the words "to be put to death by the

king now;" the remainder is Latin.

^c *To a dog.*—There is nothing about these experiments upon the dog and the ape in the original Legend, as given by the Pseudo-Abdias and Mellitus. See Add. Note B.

John; and John said then, *Deus meus, Pater, &c.*, and he drank, and it did him no hurt. And this is the cause of the composition^d of this hymn; and they who had died of the poison were raised, and so Aristodemus believed, and many others with him. And if any one shall sing this Hymn over drink, or anything that might prove injurious, it will restore him to health [or render it harmless.]

“At the end of every year there is elected out of the people a holy youth, without stain of sin, that”

The remaining words are illegible; a few letters here and there are visible, but the deficiency can only be supplied by conjecture. Dr. O’Donovan suggests, “ut tondeatur in f [i. e. in feria] Johannis, et ungetur eius circum” or “ut tondeat eum episcopus Johanni et unges[?] eius circum” The name Mael-eoin, which signifies “tonsured to John,” or in honour of John (now anglicized *Malone*), is common in Ireland, and bears testimony to the ancient custom of tonsuring in honour of St. John.

NOTE B.

The Legend of St. John and the poisoned cup.

The following is the Legend of St. John and the poisoned cup, as it is given in the “*Historia certaminis Apostolici*” of the Pseudo-Abdias. The text is taken from the ancient MS. of this work, preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin^e, collated with the printed text of Abdias, as given by Fabricius, and also with that of the “*Passio S. Johannis Evangelistæ*” by the Pseudo-Mellitus^f, as published by the same author: the readings of Abdias, in the edition of Fabricius, will be denoted by the letter A, those of Mellitus, by M.

The history of St. John is the fifth book of the work of Abdias, and the following story is the eighth section or chapter in the MS., the nineteenth in the edition of Fabricius (*Cod. Apoc. N. Test.* ii., p. 573). The “*Passio S. Joannis Evangelistæ*,” by Mellitus, was printed by Franciscus Maria Florentinius, *Martyrol. S. Hieronymi*, p. 130, and reprinted by Fabricius (*Op. cit.* iii., p. 604).

.viii. Cum autem^g omnis ciuitas ephesiorum, immo omnis prouincia asiæ iohannem excoleret^h et predicaret, accidit ut cultores idolorum, exitarent seditionem. Unde factum est ut iohannem traherent ad tem-

^d *Composition.*—Here the one word, *ḃénma*, “of making, or composition” [*nom. ḃénum*], is Irish, all the rest being Latin.

^e *Dublin.*—See above, p. 266.

^f *Mellitus.*—See p. 265–6, *supra*.

^g *Cum autem.*—A. reads “Dum hæc fierent apud Ephesum et omnes indies magis magisque Asiæ prouinciæ Joannem et excolerent et prædicarent, accidit,” &c.

^h *Excoleret.*—Excolerent et prædicarent, A. M.

plum dianæ, et urgerent eum ut ei foeditatem sacrificiorum offeret. Tuncⁱ beatus iohannes ait; ducam^j uos omnes ad^k ecclesiam domini ihū xp̄i: et inuocantes^l nomen eius, faciam cadere templum hoc, et comminui idolum uestrum. Quod cum^m factum fuerit, iustum uobisⁿ uideri debet: ut relicta superstitione eius rei, quæ a deo meo uicta est, et confrica: ad ipsum^o conuertamini; Ad hanc uocem conticuit populus^p: et licet essent pauci qui contradicerent huic diffinitioni: pars tamen maxima adsensum^q adtribuit. Tunc beatus iohannes blandis alloquijs exhortabatur populum: ut a templo longe se facerent. Cumque uniuersi exteriore^r parte foris exissent, uoce clara omnibus^s dixit. Ut sciat omnis hæc turba quia idolum hoc dianæ uestræ^t demonium est et non deus, corruat cum omnibus manu factis idolis, quæ coluntur in eo: ita ut^u nullam in hominibus læsionem faciat. Continuo ad hanc uocem apostoli omnia simul cum templo suo idola ita corruerunt ut efficerentur sicut puluis quem proicit^v uentus a facie terræ. Conuersi sunt^w eadem die duodecim milia gentilium exceptis paruulis et mulieribus et baptismatis^x sunt consecrati uirtute. Tunc aristodimus qui erat pontifex omnium^y idolorum repletus spiritu nequissimo excitauit seditionem in populo ita ut populus contra populum pararetur in bellum. Sed beatus^z iohannes ait; Dic mihi aristodime quid faciam ut tollam indignationem de animo tuo. Cui^a aristodimus dixit^b. Si uis ut credam deo tuo dabo tibi uenenum bibere; quod cum biberis si non fueris mortuus apparebit uerum esse deum tuum. Cui sanctus apostolus ait^c. Venenum si dederis mihi bibere inuocato nomine domini mei non poterit nocere me^d; Cui aristodimus^e ait; Prius est ut uideas^f bibentes et statim morientes ut uel sic possit cor tuum ab hoc poculo^g formidare^h. Cuiⁱ beatus iohannes respondit. Iam dixi tibi tu paratus esto credere in dominum^j ih̄m xp̄m cum^k me uideris post ueneni poculum sanum. Perrexit itaque aristodimus ad proconsulem: et petiit ab eo duos uiros, qui pro suis erant sceleribus decollandi^l; et statuens^m eos in medio foro, coram omniⁿ populo in

ⁱ Tunc.—Inter hæc, A.

^j Ducam.—Ducamus omnes eos, A.

^k Ad.—In ecclesia Domini mei, M.

^l Et inuocantes.—Et inuocantes nomen Dianæ uestræ facite cadere ecclesiam ejus, et consentiam uobis. Si autem hoc facere non potestis, ego inuoco nomen Domini mei Jesu Christi, et faciam, &c., M. Et cum invocaveritis, A.

^m Cum.—Ubi, A. Cum fuerit (omitting factum), M.

ⁿ Vobis.—Nobis, A.

^o Ad ipsum.—Ad id ipsum, A.

^p Populus.—Omnis populus, M.

^q Adsensum.—Consensum, A. M.

^r Exteriore.—Et interiore, M.

^s Omnibus.—Voce clara clamavit, A. Voce clara coram omnibus dixit, M.

^t Uestræ.—Omit, M.

^u Ita ut.—Ita tamen ut, A.

^v Projicit.—Projecit, A.

^w Conuersi sunt.—Conuersi sunt autem eo die, M. Itaque conuersa sunt eadem die, A.

^x Baptismatis.—Et baptizati sunt consecrati vir-

tute, M. Et baptizati sunt a beato Joanne et uirtute consecrati, A.

^y Omnium.—Omit, M. Quæ cum animadverte- ret Aristodemus, qui erat Pontifex omnium illorum idolorum, A.

^z Sed beatus . . . ait.—Ad quem conuersus Jo- annes, Dic mihi Aristodeme (inquit), A.

^a Cui.—Omit, M.

^b Dixit.—Omit, A.

^c Ait.—Cui apostolus ait, M. Respondit Apo- stolus, A.

^d Nocere me.—Nocere non poterit, A. Non po- terit nocere mihi, M.

^e Aristodimus.—Cui rursus Aristodemus, A.

^f Ut uideas.—Volo ut prius uideas, A.

^g Poculo.—Periculo, M.

^h Formidare.—Abhorrere, A.

ⁱ Cui.—Ad quem beatus Joannes, jam antea dixi tibi, quia paratus sum bibere ut credas, A.

^j In dominum.—In Dominum meum, M.

^k Cum.—Dum, M.

^l Decollandi.—De quibus debebat ultimum sup- plicium sumi, A.

conspectu apostoli^o fecit eos bibere uenenum: qui mox ut biberent^p spiritum exalauerunt^q. Tunc dicit^r aristodimus Audi me^s iohannes: et^t aut recede ab ista doctrina qua deorum^u cultura reuocasti^v populum, aut accipe et bibe: ut ostendes^w omnipotentem esse deum tuum si postea quam biberis, potueris incolumis permanere. Tunc beatus iohannes iacentibus mortuis his qui uenenum biberant intrepidus^x et constans accepit calicem et signaculum crucis faciens in eo^y dixit. Deus meus^z et pater domini mei^a ihū xpē cuius uerbo caeli firmati sunt, cui omnia subiecta sunt, cui omnis creatura deseruit et omnis potestas subiecta est et metuit^b et expauescit. Cum^c nos te ad auxilium inuocamus, cuius audito nomine serpens conquiescit. Draco fugit, silet uipera, et rubeta illa quæ dicitur rana inquietæ^d [*sic*] torpescit, scorpius^e extinguitur, regulus uincitur, et sphalangius^f nihil noxium operatur, et^g omnia uenenata^h et adhuc ferociora repentia et animalia noxia te reuerenturⁱ et omnes^j aduersæ salutis humanæ radices arescunt. Tu^k extingue hoc uenenosum^l uirus, extingue operationes eius^m mortiferas et uires quas in se habet euacua, et daⁿ in conspectu tuo^o omnibus his quos tu creasti oculos ut uideant, aures ut audiant^p et cor ut magnitudinem tuam intelligant, et cum hoc dixisset, os suum et totum semetipsum armavit^q signo crucis et bibit totum quod erat in calice et postea quam bibit dixit. Peto ut propter quos bibi conuertantur ad te domine et salutem quam^r [*sic*] te est te inluminante mereantur. Attendente autem^s populo iohannem per tres horas uultum habere hilarem et nulla penitus signa palloris aut trepidationis habentem clamare coeperunt^t. Unus deus uerus est quem colit iohannes. Aristodimus autem^u nec sic credebat sed populos objurgabat eum; Ille autem conuersus

^m *Et statuens.*—Quos cum statuisset, A.

ⁿ *Omni.*—Omit, M.

^o *In conspectu Apostoli.*—Omit, M. Aspiciente Apostolo, A.

^p *Biberent.*—Qui mox biberunt, M. Qui mox ut biberunt, A.

^q *Exalauerunt.*—Exhalarunt, M.

^r *Tunc dicit.*—Tunc dixit, M. Tunc conuersus ad Joannem Aristodemus: Audi me (inquit) et recede, A.

^s *Me.*—Omit, M.

^t *Et.*—Omit, M.

^u *Qua deorum.*—The MS. at first had *qua eorum*, but a later hand has inserted *d*. Qua a deorum, A. M.

^v *Reuocasti.*—Revocas, A.

^w *Ostendes.*—Ostendas, A. M.

^x *Intrepidus.*—Ut intrepidus, A.

^y *In eo.*—Omit, A.

^z *Deus meus.*—Deus meus Pater et Filius et Spiritus sanctus cui omnia subiecta sunt, M.

^a *Mei.*—Nostri, A.

^b *Et metuit.*—Quem et metuit, A.

^c *Cum.*—Itaque, A.

^d *Inquietæ.*—Inquieta, A. Quieta, M.

^e *Scorpius.*—Et scorpius, M.

^f *Sphalangius.*—Phalangius, A. M.

^g *Et.*—Denique, M.

^h *Venenata.*—Venena, A.

ⁱ *Reuerentur.*—This word is inserted over an erasure, by a hand of the thirteenth or fourteenth century. The original reading of this MS. was probably *tenebrantur*, as in the *Liber Hymnorum* and M., or *terabrantur*, as in A.

^j *Et omnes.*—This clause to "arescunt" is omitted in A.

^k *Tu.*—Tu inquam ille, A.

^l *Venenosum.*—Venenum; M.

^m *Ejus.*—Omit, M.

ⁿ *Et da.*—Omit, M.

^o *Tuo.*—Omit, M.

^p *Audiant.*—M. omits "aures ut audiant."

^q *Armauit.*—Et cum hæc dixisset, os suum et totum semetipsum armauit, &c., A. Et cum dixisset totum semetipsum ornauit signo crucis, et bibit omne quod eat in calice, M.

^r *Quam.*—Quæ, A. M.

^s *Autem.*—Omit, A. Attendentes autem populi, M.

^t *Coeperunt.*—Voce magna coepit, A.

^u *Autem.*—Tamen ne sic quidem credebat populo objurgante hunc, A.

ad iohannem dixit, inest^v mihi adhuc dubietas^w, sed si istos qui hoc ueneno^x mortui sunt in nomine dei tui excitaueris emundabitur ab omni dubietate^y meus mea; Populi^z autem insurgebant in aristodimum dicentes; incedimus et te et domum tuam si ausus fueris ultra apostolum^a tuo sermone fatigare; Videns autem iohannes acerrime seditionem fieri petiit silentium et^b omnibus audientibus ait; Prima est quam de virtutibus diuinis imitari^c debemus patientia, per quam ferre possumus incredulorum insipientiam; unde si adhuc aristodimus ab infidelitate tenetur, soluamus nodos infidelitatis eius et licet tarde faciamus^d eum agnoscere creatorem suum; Non enim cessabo ab hoc opere quo medella^e citius possit eius uulneribus prouenire^f; et sicut medici habentes inter manus aegrum medella^g indigentem, ita etiam nos si adhuc curatus non est^h de eo quod factum est; Et conuocans ad se aristodimum dedit ei tunicam suam, ipse uero pallio amictus coepit stare; Cui ait aristodimus ut quid dedisti mihi tunicam tuam; Dicit ei iohannes; ut uel sic confusus a tua infidelitate credasⁱ; Cui aristodimus ait, et quomodo me tunica tua faciet^j ab infidelitate recedere. Cui respondit apostolus. Uade et mitte eam super corpora defunctorum et dices ita; Apostolus domini mei^k ihu xpi misit me ut in eius nomine exsurgatis ut cognoscant omnes^l quia uita et mors famulantur domino meo ihu xpo. Quod cum fecisset aristodimus et uidisset eos exsurgere adorans iohannem festinus perrexit ad proconsulem, &c.

It is unnecessary to transcribe more of this story, as we have here all of it that is required for the illustration of our Irish Scholiast, proving that the Abbian or Mellitan Legends must have been the authority from which he derived his materials. It will be seen that the text of Mellitus agrees more nearly with that of the ancient Dublin MS. of Abdias than with the text printed by Fabricius; but it is certain that they are in reality, so far as this Legend is concerned, the same, and not two different works.

^v *Inest*.—Deest mihi adhuc hoc unum, quod si istos, A.

^w *Dubietas*.—Dubitatio, M.

^x *Hoc ueneno*.—Per hoc uenenum, M.

^y *Dubietate*.—Incredulitate, M. Dubio, A.

^z *Populi*.—Quæ cum dixisset, plebs insurgebat in Aristodemum dicens, A.

^a *Apostolorum*.—Incendimus te et domum tuam si ausus fueris ultra Apostolum Dei in tuo sermone facere laborare, M. Incendemus te et domum tuam si pergas ulterius apostolum sermonibus tuis fatigare, A.

^b *Et*.—M. omits "petiit silentium et."

^c *Imitari*.—Prima est de virtutibus Diuinis quam videmur imitari patientiam, M.

^d *Faciamus*.—Faciamus tamen eum, M. Soluamus nodos infidelitatis eius. Cogetur, quantumvis sero, agnoscere, A.

^e *Medella*.—Sic a prima manu: but the first *l* has been erased by a later hand. The same is the case wherever this word occurs.

^f *Prouenire*.—Non enim cessabo hoc opere, quomodo ejus possit uulneribus prouenire, M. Non enim cessabo ab hoc opere donec medela ejus possit uulneribus opitulari, A.

^g *Medella*.—Varia medela, M.

^h *Non est*.—Non est Aristodemus his quæ facta modo sunt, curabitur illis quæ jam faciam, A. Non est, ideoque quod factum non est aliud faciamus, M.

ⁱ *Credas*.—This word has been altered by a more recent hand to *recedas* (as in A): the *c* being erased and *ce* inserted. Discedas, M.

^j *Faciet*.—Facit, M.

^k *Mei*.—Nostri, A. M.

^l *Omnes*.—Ut in nomine Dei ejus surgatis et cognoscant homines, &c., M.

There is nothing, however, either in Mellitus or in Abdias to correspond with the concluding paragraph of the Irish preface, where we read of a holy youth elected annually from the people of Ephesus, who (if our conjectural reading of the concluding very obscure words be correct) was to be tonsured in honour of St. John. The Editor has been unable to find anything like this in any other authority.

XVIII. THE EPISTLE OF CHRIST TO ABGARUS, KING OF EDESSA.

THIS celebrated Epistle, together with the Letter of Abgarus to Christ, to which it professes to be a reply, was first made known to the Church by Eusebius, the great ecclesiastical historian of the fourth century. He tells us expressly that he had them from the records of Edessa, the city of which Abgarus¹ was the "toparch" or governor; and that down to his own time the documents were preserved amongst the antiquarian muniments of Edessa. He states also that the original letters were written in Syriac, and that he had introduced them into his History, translated from the originals into Greek².

¹ *Abgarus*.—Written *Abagarus* by Rufinus, and in the supposed Decree of Gelasius. Eusebius and others spell the name *Agbarus*; and it is remarkable that (at least in Valesius's edition of Eusebius) the name is spelled *Agbarus*, everywhere except in the Epistles themselves, where we have *Abgarus*. Valesius prefers the former spelling, because the word *Akbar* in Arabic signifies *powerful, great* (Heb. אַבְרָהָם), and the name is said to have been common to all the reguli of Edessa, as Pharaoh to the Kings of Egypt. But in the Syriac Chronicle of Bar Hebræus, the name is always *Abgar*, which Bernstein, in his Syriac Lexicon, derives from the Armenian *Avag-air* (*primarius, insignis*), an etymology much more probable, considering the geographical position of Edessa, than the derivation from Arabic. The idea of a correspondence between our Lord and Ab-

garus, may have been suggested by Matt. iv. 24,—“And his fame went through all Syria.”

But on the whole of this history, and on the name, see Theoph. Siegf. Bayer, *Historia Osrhoena et Edessena, ex numis illustrata*, lib. ii. p. 73, sq., lib. iii. p. 95.

² *Greek*.—The following are the words of Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.*, lib. i. c. 13:—“Ἐχεις καὶ τούτων ἀνάγραφτον τὴν μαρτυρίαν, ἐκ τῶν κατὰ Ἐδέσσαν το τηνικαῦτα βασιλευόμενον πόλιν γραμματοφυλακείων ληφθείσαν. ἐν γοῦν τοῖς αὐτόθι δημοσίοις χάρταις, τοῖς τὰ παλαιὰ καὶ τὰ ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀγβαρον πραχθέντα περιέχουσι, καὶ ταῦτα εἰσετι καὶ νῦν ἐξ ἐκείνου πεφυλαγμένα εὔρηται. οὐδὲν δὲ οἶον καὶ αὐτῶν ἐπακοῦσαι τῶν ἐπιστολῶν, ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχαίων ἡμῖν ἀναληφθεισῶν, καὶ τὸνδε αὐτοῖς ῥημασιν ἐκ τῆς Σύρων φωνῆς μεταβληθεισῶν τὸν τρόπον. Then follows the Epistle itself.

It is unnecessary for the purposes of the present work to enter at length into the question of the authenticity or genuineness of the Epistles. That Eusebius believed¹ in them, and that they were received as genuine in the East for some time, are facts not to be doubted. But it is evident that neither St. Jerome nor St. Augustine had any faith in their authenticity. On the contrary, both those Fathers declare expressly that our blessed Lord left nothing of His own writing². They are not mentioned by St. Chrysostom, St. Basil, St. Gregory Nazianzen, or any of the Fathers of the two centuries after Eusebius.

In modern times, however, eminent names are to be found on both sides of the controversy. Amongst the divines of the Church of England—Bishop Montague, Grabe, and Cave; amongst those of the Church of Rome—Baronius, Schelstraet, Tillemont, Asseman, and others, have advocated the genuineness, or probable genuineness, of the Epistles. On the other side are Bellarmin, Natalis Alexander, Erasmus, Melchior Canus, Simon, J. A. Fabricius, Ceillier, and many others³.

The Epistles are condemned in the celebrated Decree usually attributed to Pope Gelasius, and published in the collections of Councils as part of the Acts

¹ *Believed*.—See his *Eccles. Hist.*, ii. c. 1.

² *Of His own writing*.—So St. Jerome in *Ezek.* xlv. 29, 30. “*Salvator nullam volumen doctrinæ suæ proprium dereliquit, quod in plerisque apocryphorum deliramenta confingunt, sed Patris et suo Spiritu quotidie loquitur in corde credentium.*” This testimony is the stronger, because it shows that he was aware of the existence of apocryphal writings attributed to our Lord. And so also St. Augustine, in a passage where he seems almost to allude to this very Epistle to Abgarus:—“*Si enim prolata fuerint aliquæ literæ, quæ nullo alio narrante ipsius Christi esse dicantur; unde fieri poterat ut si vere ipsius essent, non legerentur, non acciperentur, non præcipuo culmine auctoritatis eminent in ejus ecclesia, quæ ab ipso per apostolos, succedentibus sibi met episcopis, usque ad hæc tempora propagata dilatatur; etc.*”—*Contra Faustum*, lib.

xxviii. c. 4 (*Ed. Bened.*, tom. viii., 439); and this is indeed an argument against the genuineness of the Epistle which seems very difficult to answer.

³ *Many others*.—An excellent summary of the literature of the Epistles, with references to the authorities on both sides, will be found in the learned work of the Rev. Richard Gibbins, entitled “*Roman Forgeries and Falsifications*,” although, how these Epistles came to be *Roman* forgeries, he does not explain. The reader will find almost everything in Fabricius, *Cod. Apocr. Novi Test.*, tom. i., p. 316*, and in Ceillier, *Hist. des Auteurs Eccl.*, tom. i., p. 474, sq.; add also Carpzov. *Comment. Critica in libros N. Test.*, § xix. *Lips.* 1730; Cave, *Hist. Liter.* tom. i., p. 2, sq. (*Oxon.* 1740); and Lardner, *Heathen Testimonies*, ch. i. (Works by Dr. Kippis, vol. vi. p. 596.)

of a Synod¹ of seventy Bishops held at Rome, A. D. 494 or 496. Here we read, "Epistola Jesu ad Abagarum regem apocrypha. Epistola Abagari² ad Jesum apocrypha."

From this it appears that if the Decree of Gelasius be a genuine Decree of that Pope, it was probably unknown, or at least not received³, in the Church of Ireland, when the MS. of the *Liber Hymnorum* was written. For the *Epistola Jesu* is manifestly assumed to be genuine, and was apparently read, as a Lesson, in the Irish Church in some office of public or private devotion. This, it need scarcely be observed, did not imply the reception of the Epistle as *Canonical* Scripture, but such use of it was clearly inconsistent with the Gelasian decree, where the condemnation of the document as *Apocryphal* must have signified a prohibition. When such eminent modern scholars, however,

¹ *Synod.*—Pagi gives 496 as the date of this Synod, *Crit. in Ann. Baronii*. There is, however, much doubt as to the antiquity of the Acts of this Council, and even as to the name of the Pope by whose Decree the Apocryphal books were condemned: some copies attributing it to Pope Damasus, others to Hormisdas, but the majority to Gelasius. Even the text of the Decree is unsettled, and has been largely interpolated.

² *Abagari.*—Some copies omit the words "Epistola Abgari ad Jesum apocrypha." This omission occurs in the *Decretum Gratiani*, Dist. xv c.; *Sancta Romana Ecclesia*; and in Ivo, *Liber Decret.*: but in the Collections of the Councils both clauses will be found.

³ *Received.*—On the date and genuineness of the supposed Decree of Gelasius, see Bp. Pearson's *Vindiciæ Epist. S. Ignatii*, Part I., c. iv. p. 44 (4^o, Cantabr. 1672), where the whole question is discussed. A good summary of the arguments against the Decree is given by Cave, *Hist. Liter.*, tom. i. p. 463 (*Oxon.* 1740), who says that it is not alluded to by any author before the year 840. Mr. Gibbings, however, has found a reference to

it in the *Opus Caroli Magni contra Synodum pro adorandis imaginibus*, written about 790. (*Roman Forg.*, p. 4.) Ceiller (*Hist. des Auteurs Eccl.*, tom. xv., p. 630, sq.) admits that the Gelasian Decree must have been interpolated, although he inclines to believe it on the whole genuine, and says that it is cited under the title of *Gelasii Papæ de Libris recipiendis et non recipiendis*, "dans une acte de l'Abbaye de saint Riquier en 432." This date, however, is a mistake, and ought to be 831. For the document referred to (which occurs in the *Chron. Centulense, sive S. Richarii*, lib. iii. cap. 3), is an inventory of the goods and chattels of the monastery, including its books, drawn up, as the author tells us, "Anno Incarnationis Domini DCCCXXXI. Indictione ix.," by order of the Emperor "Hludovicus" (i. e. Louis le Débonnaire), and in the eighteenth year of his reign: *Dacherii Spicil.* ii., p. 310 (fol. edit.). In this catalogue of the books of the monastery there occurs, under the heading *De Canonibus*, a copy of "Gelasii Papæ de libris recipiendis et non recipiendis." So that there is really no evidence that this celebrated Decree had any existence before the latter part of the eighth century. And it is

as Tillemont and Asseman, Cave and Grabe, have judged favourably, or hesitated, at least, to pronounce the Epistle a forgery, we may well excuse the Irish Churchmen, of an age eminently uncritical, for having adopted the *Epistola Jesu* without questioning the authority of Eusebius.

The following is a translation of the Preface or Scholium prefixed to the Hymn, which, as usual in this collection, is written partly in Irish, partly in Latin:—

Beatus es et reliqua. Christ himself wrote with His own hand this Epistle, as Eusebius relates in his History. And it was at Jerusalem it was written; in the time of Tiberius Cæsar it was written. And this was the cause [of writing it]; Abgarus, the Toparch, King of the land of Armenia, and of the land to the north of the River Euphrates, was in severe sickness in the city of Edessa, so that an epistle was brought from him to Christ, *requesting* that He would

remarkable that Pope Adrian I., in his letter to Charlemagne, in defence of the second Council of Nice against the objections of the Gallican bishops, assumes the truth of the story (which was assumed also in the Council), that our Lord had written to Abgarus, and quotes the authority of his predecessor, Pope Stephen, who (in answer to the objection, “Quod nulla evangelii lectio tradat Jesum ad Abagarum imaginem misisse”) had said “Sed, nec illud est prætereundum, quod relatione fidelium de partibus orientis advenientium, sæpe cognovimus. In quibus licet evangelium sileat, tamen nequaquam in omnibus incredibile fidei meritum: et hoc affirmante de ipso evangelista: *Multa quidem et alia signa fecit Jesus, quæ non sunt scripta in libro hoc.* Denique fertur ab asserentibus quod Redemptor humani generis, appropinquante die passionis, cuidam regi Edessenæ civitatis, desideranti corporaliter illam cernere, et ut persecutiones Judæorum fugeret ad illum convocare, ut auditas miraculorum opiniones, et sanitatum curationes illi et populo suo impertiret, respondisset: Quod si faciem meam corporaliter cernere cupis, en tibi vultus mei speciem transformatam in linteo dirigo: per quam et

desiderii tui fervorem refrigeres, et quod de me audisti impossibile nequaquam fieri existimes. Postquam tamen complevero ea quæ de me scripta sunt, dirigam tibi unum de discipulis meis, qui tibi et populo tuo sanitates impertiat et ad sublimitatem fidei vos perducatur, &c.” —Hardouin, *Concil.* tom. iv., p. 782. Here we have the authority of two Popes, sanctioning the Epistle with an interpolation which is not in the copy given by Eusebius, and which, we may observe, does not occur in the Irish Book of Hymns. But it is remarkable that this letter of Adrian to Charlemagne, which assumes the genuineness of our Lord's Epistle to Abgarus, was written (A. D. 792) in reply to that very *Opus Caroli magni*, of 790, in which the Decree of Gelasius, condemning the Epistles, was referred to. See Richard, *Analyse des Conciles*, tom. i., p. 739 (Paris, 1772. 4°). Ceillier, *Hist. des Auteurs Eccles.* xviii. p. 230, 231. It is clear, therefore, that Pope Adrian I. cannot have regarded the Gelasian “Libellus” as genuine, for he passes it over in entire silence; and the same remark will apply to the second Council of Nice. There is, therefore, some confusion about this matter, which needs further research.

come to cure him: for he had heard that He was the Son of God, and that He had cured many. So that it was in praise of the faith of Abgarus, that Christ composed this Epistle. And this Epistle is in the city of Edessa.

In which city no heretic can live, no Jew, no worshipper of idols. Nor have barbarians ever been able to assail it, from the time when Evagarus, King of the said city, received the Epistle written by the Saviour's hand. In fine, a baptized infant, standing upon the gate and wall of the city, reads this Epistle. If ever a people should come against that city, on the day in which that Epistle, written by the hand of the Saviour, is read, those barbarians are brought to make peace, or are put to flight, routed.

The latter half of this Preface, from the words "In which city no heretic can live," &c., to the end, is in Latin; and is probably an extract from some ancient legend; in it the name of the king is written *Evagarus*, instead of *Abgarus*, which may indicate a different source. It is remarkable that no allusion is made to the miraculous image or picture of our Lord, so celebrated in the history of Edessa, although it is mentioned by Evagrius¹, whose Ecclesiastical History was compiled in the latter part of the sixth century.

This may be regarded as evidence that the Irish Preface was compiled from traditions of some antiquity. But, on the other hand, the privileges of Edessa, stated by our Scholiast as resulting from the possession of the autograph letter of our Lord, exhibit marks of more modern interpolation. Evagrius, indeed, mentions the general belief (*τὰ παρὰ τοῖς πιστοῖς θρυλούμενα*) that Edessa could never be taken by an enemy,—although he acknowledges that this was not said in the Epistle of Christ to Abgarus; but he seems to have known nothing of the belief that no Jew, or heretic, or infidel, could live in the city, or that a baptized child², standing on the walls of the city, was wont to read the Epistle, although

¹ *Evagrius*.—Hist. Eccles., lib. iv., c. 27. Φέρουσι τὴν θεότυκτον εἰκόνα ἢν ἀνθρώπων μὲν χεῖρες οὐκ εἰργάσαντο. Ἀγβάρω δὲ Χριστὸς ὁ Θεός, ἐπεὶ αὐτὸν ἰδεῖν ἐπόθει, πέπομφε.

² *Child*.—John of Ypra, in his Chronicle of the Monastery of St. Bertin, gives the correspondence of our Lord with Abgarus (cap. 43, part. iii.), and adds: "Post ascensionem vero Domini Thaddæus apostolus ad Abagarum missus, ipsum cum toto populo suo baptizavit, et eum a languore solo verbo curavit, juxta Christi promissum, civitatemque sic assecura-

vit, quod si quis adversarius ad illam lædendam venisset, cives infantem super portam civitatis afferebant, et Salvatoris epistolam sibi porrigebant, qui licet alias fari nescius, epistolam prompte legit, et mox inimici recesserunt: quod quidem miraculum toto Abagari et longo post hoc tempore duravit."—*Joh. Iperü, Chron. S. Bertini* (apud Martene et Durand. *Thesaur. Novus Anecd.*, tom. iii., p. 642, A). John of Ypra died A. D. 1383. See also Gilo Parisiensis, *De expeditione Hierosol.*, lib. iii. (ibid. p. 231, A), who, speak-

otherwise unable to read, or even to speak, (for that seems to be the meaning,) or that a special blessing was attached to the reading or recitation of the Epistle.

The testimony of Evagrius, that no promise of perpetual security from hostile aggression was contained in the Epistle of Christ, did not prevent the interpolation of such a promise in subsequent editions of the Epistle: for example, in that given by Constantine Porphyrogenneta, in the *Narratio de Edessena Christi Imagine*, a promise is added at the end of the Epistle, that Edessa shall never be taken by its enemies; *καὶ τῇ πόλει σου γενήσεται τὸ ἱκανὸν πρὸς τὸ μηδένα τῶν ἐχθρῶν κατασχύσαι αὐτῆς*. And yet the Epistle seems to have contained this clause, or some equivalent clause, in the age of St. Augustine: for the Count Darius, in a letter² in which (if its text be not interpolated) he asks Augustine for a copy of the *Confessions*, enforces his request by the example of Christ, who condescended to give a favourable reply to the petition of Abgarus, “preces supplicis non dedignaretur,”—and even granted more than He

ing of Edessa, and of the Epistle of Christ, says:

“Hæc ibi temporibus permansit epistola multis,
Atque ea ab adversis tutavit mœnia cunctis,
Nam si barbaricus furor illuc perveniebat,
Baptizatus eam puer alta ex arce legebat,” etc.

¹ *Narratio*.—Published by Combefis, *Manipul. originum rerumq. C. politanarum*, p. 81, quoted by Fabricius, *ubi supr.*, p. 319.

² *Letter*.—Epist. 230 (Ed. Bened.), 263 (Ed. Lovan.). “Fertur satrapæ, seu regis potius cujusdam epistola,” &c. This Epistle was unknown to Possidius, and appeared first in the Louvain edit. of St. Augustine’s works. How far the allusion to the promise, which it distinctly states was made by our Lord to Edessa, “per epistolam,” should militate against the genuineness of the letter attributed to Darius, cannot be discussed here. It is certain, from the testimony of Evagrius, that at the end of the sixth century the “Epistola Jesu” contained no such promise; and the answer (Ep. 231), which seems not unworthy of St. Augustine, contains no allu-

sion to the use which Darius made of our Lord’s supposed Letter to Abgarus; but simply says, “Misi et alios libros quos non petisti, ne hoc tantummodo facerem quod petisti.” This suggests the suspicion that the argument from our Lord’s condescension to Abgarus may have been introduced into the letter of Darius, by some later copyist. It occupies a section by itself, and its omission would make no perceptible *hiatus* in the Epistle.—Ceillier (*Hist. des Auteurs Eccles.*, tom. xi., p. 332) says that Darius spoke of the Letter of Abgarus, and of our Lord’s reply, in such a manner as to show that he doubted the authenticity of both: “d’une maniere qui fait voir qu’il doutoit de l’authenticité de l’une et de l’autre.” This opinion seems to be founded upon the words *fertur*, and “Laudasse insuper suam *dicitur* civitatem.” Baronius draws the opposite inference, that the Epistles were received as genuine: “Eas vero *absque aliquâ dubitatione* ab antiquioribus fuisse receptas, testatur epistola Darii comitis ad S. Augustinum scripta.”—*Annal.*, A. D. 31, n. 60.

was asked,—by promising that the city of Abgarus should have perpetual security from its enemies—“*et amplificato petitionis munere, per epistolam non modo salutem ut supplici, sed etiam securitatem ut regi, transmisit; jussit insuper ejus urbem ab hostibus in perpetuum esse ac semper immunem.*”

All this tends to show that a belief in the authenticity of our Lord's correspondence with Abgarus was of great antiquity, and that legends founded upon that belief had begun to be invented at an early period. And the omission of all allusion to the Edessan image, or picture, in the Scholiast's preface, may be taken as evidence that the Irish Church had probably received the *Epistola Jesu* from a very ancient source; for this connexion of it with the picture of our Lord was one of the circumstances that gave celebrity to the Epistle, and caused it to be quoted against the iconoclasts in the second Council of Nicæa.

The Latin Version of the Epistle contained in the Irish Liber Hymnorum, and now published, appears to have been derived from the translation of Eusebius¹ by Ruffinus; it has been collated with a printed copy of Ruffinus without date, but published early in the sixteenth century under the title of “*Hystoria Ecclesiastica,*” with the following colophon, “*Venundantur Parisiis a Francisco Regnault, in vico Sancti Jacobi sub signo divi Claudii.*” The readings of this copy are distinguished in the Notes by the letter R.

¹ *Eusebius.*—Since the foregoing remarks were written, the posthumous work of the late Rev. Dr. W. Cureton has appeared, entitled “*Ancient Syriac Documents relative to the earliest establishment of Christianity in Edessa and the neighbouring countries.*” Amongst these “*Documents*” the Epistle to Abgarus is given from a very antient Syriac version of

the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius. The editor, Dr. William Wright, of the British Museum, states in his Preface, that Dr. Cureton was a believer in the authenticity of the Abgaran Epistles; and his name must therefore be added to the list of those divines of the Church of England who have held that opinion.



ΘΕΑΤΟΣ ΕΣ 714. C714TE PEM PÓP0E714S CONA LAIM INNEP714TEI[R]E, amal aDpÉTE EupEbiur inna714TEP. In hierupalem u° PÓP0E714BÁD. in tempore Tiberii ce714P714TEP P0E714P714TA EP714. CAUPA u° hec EP714, Ab714P714TEP TOPAPCA PÍ É714PE ARMENIAE 7 na É714PE PPI P714P714TH NEOP714TE AT714UAITH, PÓBÁI M714GALUP EP714M in E714P714TA CIUITATE CO714TUCEAD EP714TEI714L UAD CO C714P714TE CO É714PAD DIA714FC, AP ATCHUALA CO714P BO MACC DÉ HÉ. 7 CONF714CAD P0CHA714DE. Con714D AP MOLAD IP714PE AB714P714TE DOPONA C714P714TE INNEP714TEI714PE. Á714TA EPA INNEP714TEI714L PE INE714P714TA CIUITATE. IN qua ciuitate nullur he714P0714TECUP P0714TEP714TE UIUEPE, nullur IUDEUP, nullur IDULOPUM CULTOP. Sed neque bar714PÁRI aliquando eam inuadere P0714TEP714TE, EX EO tempore quo EUAGAP714TEP PEX EIUPDEM CIUITATEP ACEP714TE EP714TEOLAM MANU PALUATOP714TEP P0E714P714TEP714M. hanc denique ep714TEOLAM LEGIT IN714PÁP714TEP BAPTIZÁTEP P714TEP714TE PUPEP P0P714TEP714M ET MURUM CIUITATEP. PÍ QUANDO GEN714TEP UENEP714TE CON714TRA CIUITATEM ILLAM, in eodem die quo lecta fUEP714TE EP714TEOLA MANU PALUATOP714TEP P0E714P714TEP714M PLACANTUP ILLI BAR714PÁRI AUT PUGANTUP INP714P714MÁTEI.



ΘΕΑΤΟΣ es qui me NON UIDISTI ET CREDIDISTI IN ME. SCRIPTUM EST ENIM DE ME, quia hi qui uident me NON CREDENT. et qui me NON uident ipsi IN ME CREDENT ET UIUENT. DE EO HAUTEM QUOD SCRIP- SISTI MIHI UT UENIREM AD TE. OPORTE714T ME OMNIA 5

GLOSS.—1. *Qui*.—i. abgare. 2. *Scriptum est*.—i. in essaia profeta. *De me*.—i. de christo. *Hi*.—i. iudei. *Uident*.—i. corpore. 3. *Credent*.—i. spiritu. *Et qui*.—i. gentes. *Non uident*.—i. corporaliter. 4. *Credent*.—i. spiritualiter. *Uuent*.—i. in perpetuum. *De eo*.—i. subintellige respondeo, vel dico. 5. *Scripsisti*.—i. in tua epistola. *Ad te*.—i. ad edissam. *Oportet*.—i. hec est responsio .i. oportet me facere omnia [quæ] promissa sunt de me a profetis.

1. *In me*.—Qui credidisti in me cum me ipse non videris, R.

2. *Scriptum est*.—Is. vi. 9, Matt. xiii. 13.

3. *Credent*.—Quia hi qui me vident non credent in me, R. This is generally supposed to be an allusion to S. John, xx. 29; but Fabricius thinks Is. vi. 9, and lii. 15, much more probably the passages referred to. *Cod. Apocr. N. T.*, p. 318. This is confirmed by the gloss. i. *in essaia profeta*. *Ipsi in me*.—Et qui non vident me ipsi credent et vivent, R.

4. *Scripsisti*.—The Epistle of Abgarus, as given by Eusebius, contained an invitation to our Lord to take refuge in Edessa from the persecution of the Jews; adding that the city, although small, was beautiful, and would be sufficient for both:— καὶ γὰρ ἤκουσα ὅτι καὶ Ἰουδαῖοι καταγογγύζουσί σου καὶ βούλονται κακῶσαι σε. πόλις ἐὲ μικροτάτη μοι ἐστὶ καὶ σεμνή, ἣτις ἐξαρκεῖ ἀμφοτέροις.—Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.*, lib. i. c. 13.

5. *Venirem*.—Veniam, R.

PROPTER QUAE MISUS SUM HIC EXPLERE. POSTEAQUAM COMPLEU-
ERO RECIPERE ME AD EUM A QUO MISUS SUM. CUM ERGO FUERO
ASUMPTUS MITTAM TIBI ALIQUEM EX DISCIPULIS MEIS QUI CURET
EGRITUDINEM TUAM ET VITAM TIBI ATQUE HIS QUI TECUM SUNT
PRESTET.

10

DOMINE DOMINE DEPENDE NOR A MALIP ET CURTODI NOR IN BONIP UT
RIMUR FILII TUI HIC ET IN FUTURO, Amen. SALVATORI omnium
CHRISTE PERPICE IN NOR IHERU ET MIREREPE NOBIP.

GLOSS.—6. *Hic*.—i. in iudea vel in hierusalem, vel in hoc mundo. 7. *Compleuero*.—i. leges et profes-
tias. 7. *Recipi me*.—i. in ascensionem. *Ad eum*.—i. ad patrem. *Misus*.—i. in humanitate, i. ad sal-
uandum mundum. 8. *Asumptus*.—i. a patre in celum. *Mittam*.—i. ad te. *Tibi*.—i. abgare. *Ali-
quem*.—i. tatheum. *Discipulis*.—i. ex apostolis. 9. *Tuam*.—i. abgare. *Vitam*.—i. perennem et doc-
trinam et sanitatem. *Tecum sunt*.—i. in fide christiana.

6. *Posteaquam*.—Et posteaquam imple-
vero, R.

7. *Ad eum*.—Ab eo, R. *Misus*—The
S. Isidore MS. reads *Missus*.

8. *Aliquem*.—The gloss says .i. *tatheum*.
So the name Thaddæus is given in Ruffin's
translation of Eusebius: in the original
(*loc. cit.*) he is called Θαδδαῖον τὸν ἀπό-
στολον ἕνα τῶν ἐβδομήκοντα. This cannot
mean that Thaddæus, one of the 70, was
also one of the Twelve Apostles, and Eu-
sebius, therefore, must have called him an
apostle in a secondary sense, as having been
the Apostle of Edessa. He expressly dis-
tinguishes him from the Twelve Apostles,
but says that others were called Apostles,
lib. i. c. 12. See Tillemont, *Mémoires*,
tom. i., p. 360, and note 5, p. 613. St.
Jerome (*in S. Matth. c. x. 4*) fell into
the mistake of confounding this Thaddæus
with the Apostle of the same name; and
others have been led into the same error.
Bede corrects it, *Retract. in Acta Apost.*,
c. x. It is probable that the author of the
gloss followed Jerome, when he interprets
“ex discipulis” by “ex apostolis.” The

Hymn of St. Cummán Fota, line 23 (see
above, p. 77), also follows Jerome. The
Menology of the Greek Church identi-
fies Thaddæus of Edessa with the Apostle
Jude, or Thaddæus, the brother of our
Lord: καὶ πρὸς Ἀβγαρον τοπάρχην πορευ-
θεὶς ἐθεράπευσεν αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς νόσου.—
Men. Græc. ad 19 Jun. *Qui curet*.—Ut
curet, R. Ut qui curat, *S. Isidore MS.*

9. *Egritudinem*.—Abgarus in his Epistle
had asked our Lord to come and heal him:
“et ægritudinem meam, qua jamdiu la-
boro, curare.”

10. *Prestet*.—The S. Isidore MS. adds
here, “Salvus erit sicut scriptum est qui
credit in me salvus erit.”

Domine, Domine.—The prayers which
follow are in the angular character already
frequently spoken of. They seem to show
that this Letter to Abgarus was read in the
ancient Irish Church as a Lesson in some
office. In the upper margin of the MS.
there are some sentences, which do not ap-
pear to have had any connexion with the
text. They have been greatly mutilated

Euangelium domini nostri ihesu christi liberet nos, protegat nos, custodiat nos, defendat nos, ab omni malo, ab omni periculo, ab omni langore, ab omni dolore, ab omni plaga, ab omni iniuria, ab omnibus iniuriis diabuli et malorum hominum hic et in futuro. Amen.

by the plough of the binder. The following words are all that are now legible:—
 “custodis nostram sicut de anima christiana dicitur. Omnis caro fenum est, et reliqua” [Is. xl. 6]. “Sed gloria eius filiae regis ab intus, nam extrinsecus maledicta et per ntionones et detractioes permittuntur de quibus tamen in celis merces aeterna est quæ sentitur in corde patientium eorum qui iam possunt ut dicitur . . glori in tribulationibus. Hiñ. illa maledictio beatitudinem creat.”
 The word *Hiñ.* is a contraction for *Hieronymus*; the passage alluded to occurs in S. Jerome’s Comment. on S. Matt. v. 11, “Illud maledictum contemnendum est quod beatitudinem creat, quod falso maledicentis ore profertur.”

After the foregoing sheets had been worked off, the writer had the privilege of visiting Rome, and was kindly permitted to collate the Donegal copy of the *Liber Hymnorum* in the Convent of S. Isidore, which is undoubtedly the MS. quoted by Colgan, and of which a full account will be found in the Appendix to this Fasciculus.

This MS. gives the concluding prayers or collects, after the Epistle, thus:—

“Domine, Domine, defende nos a malis et custodi nos in bonis, ut simus filii tui hic et in futuro, qui regnas in secula seculorum.

“Evangelium Domini nostri Jesu Christi liberet nos, protegat nos, custodiat nos, visitet nos, defendat nos, ab omni malo, ab omni plaga, ab omni langore, ab omni dolore, ab omni perturbatione, ab omni periculo, ab omni invidia, ab omnibus insidiis diaboli et malorum hominum hic et in futuro.”

The Irish Preface to the Epistle of Christ in the S. Isidore MS. is as follows: it is in some places illegible. The Editor has marked by dots the passages which he has been unable to decipher:—

beatuſ ep. ih̄ſu xp̄i fecit hanc epistolam. Dia naba rex edirae ciuitatis qui dolorem pedis habuit. Cotucad episcopus uad eo episcopus conuiscrat dia acallam ocur diac. Ocur ue tacheur ipm episcopus dorum iapceppad episcopus. Ocur ipre me. Ocur ataat in edira in episcopus ꝓ corop cap mbia co dab opdaib. Ocur ꝓ nachnepe tecda bih rube [vel rube] nuape ipm epim.

Which may be thus translated:

Beatus es. JESUS CHRIST made this epistle: for there was a king of the city of Edessa, who had a malady in the foot: and a letter was brought from him to Christ, requesting that He would come to converse with and heal him. And Thaddæus . . . the epistle unto him after the crucifixion of Christ. And it was he . . . and they are in Edessa . . . the epistle was, and . . . and . . .

XIX. THE HYMN OF ST. FIACC, IN PRAISE OF ST. PATRICK.

THIS Hymn was first printed by Colgan. He gives it in his *Trias Thaumaturga* under the title of “Hymnus, seu Vita Prima S. Patricii Hiberniæ Apostoli, S. Fieco Episcopo Sleptensi Authore,”—it having been regarded by him as the earliest of the seven Lives of St. Patrick which he had collected; although it was evidently never intended by its author as a “Life” properly so called, but only a Poetical Panegyric upon the Saint.

Colgan has published it in the original Irish, with a Latin translation in parallel columns; and, although subsequent editors have not scrupled to criticise and alter his translation, none of them has pretended to correct his text from any MS. authority, or suggested anything better than conjectural, and sometimes ignorant, emendations.

There is, therefore, in reality no existing printed text of this Hymn of any authority, except that published by Colgan, which was taken from his copy of the Book of Hymns¹ now preserved at the Franciscan College of S. Isidore, in Rome. Dr. O’Conor’s edition² does not profess to have been collated with any other MS. of the original, and is, in fact, only a reprint of Colgan’s text. The same remark will apply to the only other printed copy which has appeared with any pretensions to editorial scholarship, viz., that published by Henry Leo (*Halis Saxonum*, 1845), on the occasion of a declaration of successful competitors for Prizes “in certamine literario,” proposed in honour of the birth day of Frederick William IV., King of Prussia. This work (which does not appear to have obtained a prize) is

¹ *Hymns*.—“Extat in pervetusto codice opusculorum aliquot sanctorum Hiberniæ (qui *Liber Hymnorum* inscribitur) ex quo ipsum desumpsimus.”—*Tr. Thaum.*, p. 6.

² *Edition*.—*Rer. Hib. Scriptt. Prolegom.*,

part i., p. 88, sq. O’Conor entitles this Hymn “Carmen vetus Hibernicum, quod Fieco, &c., tribuitur, . . . *ex Codice vetustissimo Dunggallense*.” The MS. at S. Isidore’s is entitled in a hand of the seventeenth century, “Ex li-

entitled "Commentatio de Carmine vetusto Hibernico in S. Patricii laudem." It consists of a minute analysis of the original text, with a translation, in which the author does not display any exact acquaintance either with Irish grammar or with Irish history.

The other editions and attempted translations of the Hymn, which have appeared in this country, add nothing to the illustration of it, philologically or historically, and do not require any detailed notice'. They are all taken

bris de conventus [*sic*] de Dunnagall." This is on the lower margin of p. 3.

¹ *Notice*.—The following is a list of all these editions with which the editor is acquainted:—

1. Vallancey, in the first edition of his Irish Grammar (*Dublin*, 4^o, 1773), has printed this Hymn (p. 166 sq.) with Colgan's Latin Translation. O'Reilly, in his account of Irish writers (*Trans. Ibero-Celtic Soc.*, p. xxxiii), says that this Hymn was printed "in the first edition of Vallancey's Irish Grammar, with a faulty English translation." But this English translation is not to be found in the copies of the first edition of Vallancey's Grammar which are now preserved in the public libraries of Dublin, nor has the Editor ever seen it; and there is reason to suspect that the sheets which contained it were cancelled by the author (after its errors were discovered), to make room for Colgan's Latin version. In the second edition of the Grammar, printed in 8vo, Vallancey has omitted Fiacc's Hymn altogether.

2. Mr. Patrick Lynch, in the Appendix to his Life of St. Patrick (*Dublin*, 1810, 8^o), p. 328, has printed this Hymn in the original Irish, with an English translation of his own, and Colgan's Latin Version. Mr. O'Reilly (*loc. cit.*) calls this "a correct English translation;" but it is very far from being so.

3. The Rt. Rev. Dr. Coyle, a Roman Catholic bishop in Ireland, in a work called "The Pious Miscellany" (*Dublin*, 1831, 12^o), of which the first vol. only was published, has printed St.

Fiacc's Hymn, in the original Irish, with a loose metrical English version (p. 46, sq.).

4. Mr. Martin A. O'Brennan, "LL. D., Member of the Honorable Society of Queen's Inns," has published this Hymn in the original Irish, with an English translation and copious notes, in vol. 1., p. 484, of a work, the first volume of which is entitled, "O'Brennan's Antiquities," and the second, "A School History of Ireland, from the Days of Partholan to the Present Day." *Dublin*, 8^o (*sine anno*). The dedication of the second edition of vol. 1., "To his Grace the Most Rev. John Mac Hale," is dated "April, 1848."

5. O'Reilly (*ubi supra*) states that in 1792 [1791] this Hymn was published by Richard Plunket, "a neglected genius of the county Meath, who, in pages opposite to the original text, gave a version into modern Irish." This is an exceedingly rare tract, 8vo. pp. 32. The first page is blank; then follow two titles, one in English and the other Irish, on opposite pages. The English title is this: "An Hymn on the Life of St. Patrick: extracted, from the antient Scytho-Celtic dialect, into Modern Irish, by Richard Plunket, late Translator of the New Testament into Irish, who has now the Manuscript in his possession. Dublin. Printed in the year M,DCC,XCI." The Irish title is: "Himhin Phadruig Absdal. Do cumadh re Feiche Easbug Shleibhte, a gcondae na Banrioghna, disciobal agas fear comhaimsire do Padraig fein. Air na mhineadh go deighneach san nuaghghaoi-

from Colgan's Text and Version; some with arbitrary alterations of the original, and translations which, so far as they differ from Colgan's, may be described as the offspring, for the most part, of presumptuous ignorance.

In the ancient Scholium, or Preface, prefixed to this Hymn, Fiacc¹ of Slebte, or Slebhte, is unhesitatingly pronounced to be its author. This ecclesiastic, who was honoured as a saint in the Irish Church on the 12th of October², was descended from Cathair Mór (*Cathirius Magnus*, as O'Flaherty³ Latinizes the name), who became monarch of Ireland, A. D. 174, and was killed in the battle of Tailte⁴ (now Teltown, in Meath), A. D. 177. Fiacc's descent from this king of Ireland may be gathered from the Scholium or Preface to the Hymn as printed by Colgan, thus :

Cathair Mór,
|
Daire Barrach,
|
Bregan.
|
Erc.
|
Fiacc, of Slebhte.

dhilig, *Re RIOSTARD PLUNCEAD*. A mbeulatheliath an na chur a gclo san mbliadhan M.DCC.XCI." Then follows the Hymn in the ancient Irish, as given by Colgan, with a translation on the opposite page into the modern Irish of the peasantry, ending on p. 11. On pp. 12 and 13 are an English and Irish title to S. Brogan's Life of S. Bridget, with the Hymn in Colgan's text, and a translation into vulgar Irish as before, to p. 25. Page 26 is blank; and p. 27 is a title-page: "Short Directions for reading Irish, intended for those who can speak and understand the language. By Richard Plunket, late translator of the New Testament into Irish, who has now that manuscript in his possession. Dublin: Printed in the year M.DCC.XCI." This ends on p. 31, and p. 32 contains a list of Richard Plunket's works, in nine articles.

¹ *Fiacc*.—His name is written by Colgan *Fiecus*, and by Lanigan, Petrie, and others, *Fiech*. It has been so written in the early

pages of this work. In the Book of Armagh the name is written *Feec*, *Fiacc*, and *Feccus*. The final c is never aspirated. Colgan has made this remark (*Tr. Thaum.*, p. 7, col. 2, not. 2). In the Life of St. Patrick by Probus (*lib. i. c. 41*; Colgan, p. 51), St. Fiacc is called *Phiehg*, or *Pheg*, as Ussher more correctly gives the name in quoting this passage, *Works*, vol. vi. p. 410, *Elrington's edit.* Although the name is written *Fiac* in the Book of Lecan and some other ancient authorities, the true spelling is *Fiacc*, which is the same as *Fiug*. The Welsh equivalent is *Gwyeh*.

² *October*.—His name occurs at this date (together with those of his son Fiachra, and Mobi Clairenech of Glasnevin) in the ancient *Felire*, or Festilogium, of Aengus the Culdee, a composition of the ninth century. See also *Mart. of Donegal*, p. 273.

³ *O'Flaherty*.—Ogyg., Part iii. c. 59, p. 310. Conf. Reeves, *Adamnan*, p. 22, note.

⁴ *Tailte*.—See *Leabhar na gCeart*, or Book

Daire Barrach was the ancestor of the tribe of Ui Bairrche¹ (or "Descendants of Barrach"), the chieftain of which clan assumed the name of Mac Gorman in later times, after the introduction of surnames: and the church of Slébte now Slatey, or Sletty, is situated in the Queen's County, about two miles N. N. W. of the town of Carlow, in the midst of the country then inhabited by the tribe² just mentioned.

The Dublin Book of Hymns adds another generation, if we have rightly interpreted the words "*In Fiac sin mc éside mc Ercha, mc Bregain,*" to signify that this Fiacc was the son of the son of Erc, son of Bregan, or Brecan. But even with this addition, the foregoing genealogy is manifestly inconsistent with the age usually assigned to St. Fiacc. The narrative which makes him to have been consecrated a bishop by St. Patrick, assumes that he must have been of mature age, about A.D. 448³, or upwards of 270 years after the death of Cathair Mór, if we adopt the chronology of O'Flaherty, and 326 years, if we are guided by the Four Masters. This is altogether too long a period for the number of generations which the above genealogy has placed between Fiacc and his royal ancestor; and necessarily leads to the conclusion, either that some intermediate generations have been omitted, or that the reign of Cathair Mór is antedated in our annals: for the only remaining alternative, that St. Fiacc lived before the age of St. Patrick, is manifestly untenable.

The supposition of an error in the number of the generations is rendered probable by the discrepancy in at least one of the names in the genealogy as it is given in the Preface to this Poem in the Dublin Book of Hymns, and as it is found in the *Genealogia Sanctorum*, or *Sauctilogium Genealogicum* (as Colgan calls it), in the Book of Lecan. In the Dublin Book of Hymns, the son of Daire Barrach is named Bregan; in the *Genealogia Sanctorum*, he is named Fiac, or Fiacc; and that these were in reality two, and not the same individual⁴,

of Rights, p. 205. The Four Masters give as the site of this battle Magh hAgha, which is probably a place near Tailte. They have the reign of Cathair Mór A.D. 120-122. The dates A.D. 174-177 are O'Flaherty's.

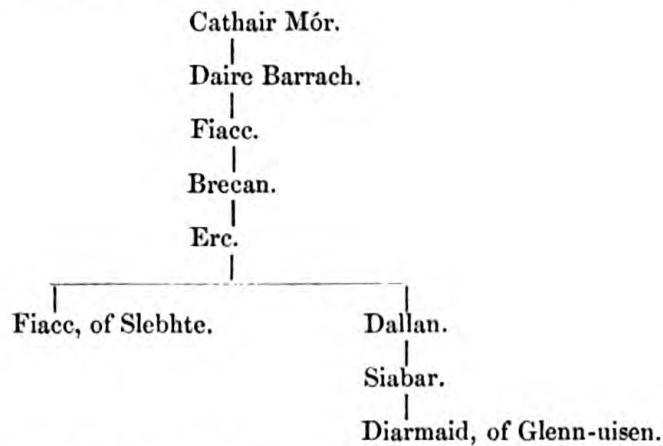
¹ *Ui Bairrche*.—See *Leabhar na gCeart*, or *Book of Rights*, and Dr. O'Donovan's notes, p. 192, sq. Eithnea, the mother of St. Columba, was also of the Ui Bairrche.—Reeves, *Adamnan*, pp. 8, 163, notes.

² *Tribe*.—This district was called *Omargy*, the Anglicized pronunciation of *Ui mBairrche*, signifying the country of the Ui Bairrche, or Descendants of Barrach. *Slébte* signifies "mountainous."

³ *About A.D. 448*.—This is the date assigned by Ussher to the ordination of St. Fiacc, *Index Chron.* (Works, tom. vi., p. 571, Elrington's ed.).

⁴ *Individual*.—Colgan, *Tr. Th.*, p. 8, n. 4.

is evident from the genealogy of St. Diarmaid (or Modimog, as he was sometimes called), of Glenn-uisen¹, who was of the same family, and whose descent from Cathair Mór is given² in eight generations inclusive, in which we have Fiacc, son of Daire Barrach, and Brecan, or Bregan, the son of Fiacc, so that we have thus an approximation to a more correct genealogy, showing the relationship of both saints, as follows:—



It may be observed also that the same authority gives two distinct genealogies of St. Fiacc, in one of which his father is called *Erc*³—gen. *Erca* (as in the *Book of Hymns*), and in the other his father is *Erchad*⁴—gen. *Erchada*, son of Erc. Assuming that a generation was here again omitted (an error that would be facilitated by the similarity of the names), Fiacc will appear in the seventh generation from Cathair Mór, inclusive: thus,—

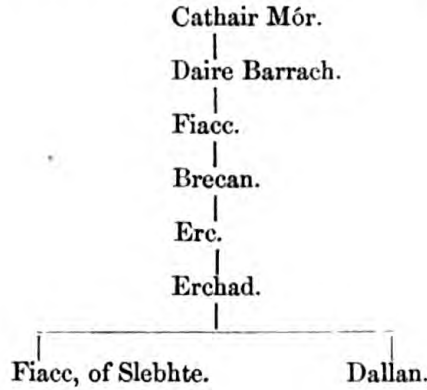
¹ *Glenn-uisen*.—Now Killeslin, in the Queen's County, near Carlow: not Glen or Glin in the King's County, as Archdall conjectures.—See *Four Mast.* at A.D. 842, and Dr. O'Donovan's note.

² *Given*.—Sanctilog. Geneal. Book of Lecan, fol. 49 b., col. 1. It is remarkable that in another copy of the genealogy of St. Diarmaid, given in the same tract (fol. 53 b., col. 4) the names of Erc and Brecan or Bregan are omitted: thus, "Diarmaid, i. e. Modimog of Glenn-uisen, s. of Siabar; s. of Dallan; s. of Fiacc; s. of Daire Barrach; s. of Cathair Mór." Here two generations of the for-

mer line are wanting. This proves that errors existed in the pedigrees of this race; and we know that omissions of this kind are frequent in all genealogies.

³ *Erc*.—B. of Lecan, fol. 54, b. col. 2, thus: "Fiacc of Slebte, s. of Erc; s. of Fiacc; s. of Daire Barrach; s. of Cathair Mór."

⁴ *Erchad*.—Ibid., fol. 48, a. col. 4, thus: "Fiacc of Sleibhte, s. of Erchad; s. of Fiacc; s. of Daire; s. of Cathair." It will be observed, however, that in both these genealogies Brecan is omitted, as if he was considered to be the same as Fiacc, s. of Daire Barrach.



This confirms our interpretation of the genealogy as given in the Dublin Book of Hymns, which makes Fiacc the grandson of Erc, or son of Mac Erca. There is reason, however, to suspect a further error. For in the genealogies of the families descended from Daire Barrach, as given in the Book of Lecan¹, there is the following statement:—

17 o mac Erca .i. Fiacc mac Dara Erroc | It is from Mac Erca that Fiacc, son of Dara,
 plebte. | bishop of Slebhete, [descends].

This seems to say that Fiacc was the son of Dara, and descended from Mac Erca, or Erc's son. Here we have one additional generation, supposing Dara to have been the son of Erchad Mac Erca; but it is quite as probable that two or more generations may have intervened; for in the Book of Leinster² where there is an entry corresponding to the above, Fiacc is said to have been the son of the son of Dara:—

17 ó mac meic Erca .i. Fiacc erroc Slebte | It is from the son of the son of Erc, i. e. Fiacc,
 .i. mac meic Dara. | bishop of Slebte, i. e. son of the son of Dara.

Discrepancies of this kind, which manifestly exist in these records, prove that the chronological difficulty of the genealogy may be altogether the result of errors in the transcription³. We may therefore assume that St. Fiacc, of

¹ *Book of Lecan.*—Fol. 97 a., col. 1.

² *Book of Leinster.*—Fol. 219 a. See also Book of Ballymote, fol. 73 b.

³ *Transcription.*—The same considerations will enable us to correct the genealogy of St. Ethnea, mother of St. Columba (see Reeves'

Adamnan, p. 8), which is also too short for the chronology, she being sixth in descent from the same Mac Erca, who was the grandfather or great-grandfather of St. Fiacc. But her genealogy, as given in the *Sanct. Geneal.* and also in the Felire of Aengus (at June 9),

Slebhte, according to the legend recorded in the preface to the following Hymn, may have been descended from Cathair Mór perhaps in the ninth or tenth generation, and therefore a contemporary of St. Patrick. The date assigned by Ussher to St. Fiacc's ordination is, as we have already said, 448. At that time he must have been about thirty years of age; for although we cannot, perhaps, argue that he could not in Ireland have been canonically consecrated a bishop if under that age, it is most probable that his son Fiachra had been born before Fiacc was admitted to holy orders: and he himself must therefore have been of mature age at that time. Assuming these premises, the year 418 will be about the year of his birth; and if he survived St. Patrick, whose death is generally dated 493, he may have lived to be about the age of 80 or 90. In this there is nothing improbable or actually incredible; and there remain no grounds for disturbing the Chronological place assigned to Fiacc of Slebhthe, in the traditions of the Irish Church, as a contemporary and disciple of St. Patrick.

We must now examine the question of the authenticity of the Hymn. Can it be regarded as a composition of this remote antiquity? Is it possible to receive it as the work of the St. Fiacc who was consecrated a bishop by St. Patrick?

The celebrated Jesuit, Father Daniel Papebroch¹, one of the Bollandist collectors of the great *Acta Sanctorum*, has refused it a place in his collection of the Lives of St. Patrick, because he considered it impossible², from internal

omits all mention of Mac Erca, owing, no doubt, to the same similarity of names which has occasioned the confusion in the case of St. Fiacc. If St. Columba was born A.D. 521 (Reeves, *ibid.*, p. lxix), the birth of his mother cannot have been much before A.D. 500, or 323 years after the death of Cathair Mór. It is curious that Dr. Reeves (*ibid.*, p. 164, n.), when he adopted the common genealogy, which makes St. Fiacc *fourth* in descent from Daire Barrach, did not perceive the chronological difficulty; and yet he assumes the early date A.D. 120 of the reign of Cathair Mór (p. 8, note), by which that difficulty is increased.

¹ Papebroch.—The *Comment. Præv.* on the Life of St. Patrick in the *Acta SS.* of the Bollandists is anonymous; but Father Byeus, in his Life of St. Fiacc, says expressly that Daniel Papebroch was the author—a name of high authority.—*Act. SS.* Oct., tom. vi. *De S. Fieco. Comm. præv.* num. 3 (p. 97, C).

² Impossible.—His words are: “Hymnum autem jam dictum libenter nos quoque hic daremus: sed fatemur ingenue vereri nos ne non ipsius Fieci sit, ejus saltem qui primus Sleptiis a S. Patricio est constitutus episcopus.”—*Act. SS. Martii*, tom. ii. p. 520 A. But the Hymn is ancient, and ought to have been given.

evidence, that the Hymn could really have been written by a contemporary of St. Patrick; and this decision has been endorsed by a later Bollandist, Cornelius Byeus, the learned compiler of the Life of St. Fiacc, at the 12th of October¹.

The arguments adduced by these authors, against the great antiquity attributed to this Hymn, are as follows:—

First,—It can scarcely be supposed that a contemporary of St. Patrick could have written the first line of the Hymn, “Patrick was born at Nemthur, as has been related *in histories*.” This reference to *histories* implies such an interval in time between the author of the Hymn and the age of St. Patrick, as would make the name of his birth-place, and the actions of his life, matter of history: “vix inducimur” (says Papebroch) “ut Patricianas vitas statim a morte scriptas intelligamus, eo nomine”².

Colgan appears to have felt this difficulty, although he does not state it in express terms; but he anticipates it by his note on the passage, where he admits that the words, “as is recorded in histories,” imply the existence of “Acts” of St. Patrick before the composition of the Hymn; he argues, however, that this creates no difficulty, because Jocelin (writing about 1185) mentions four lives of the saint written during his lifetime by his contemporaries and disciples³, St. Loman, St. Mel, St. Benean, or Benignus, and St. Patrick, junior.

Another passage in which “histories” are alluded to, is ver. 12, where the author says that St. Patrick read the Canons with St. German, “as histories relate,” ‘*sicut testantur historiae*’ (for so Colgan correctly⁴ translates the words).

In reply to these objections, Mr. Patrick Lynch⁵, in his Life of St. Patrick, suggests that our author never quotes *histories*, except when he has occasion to record those events of St. Patrick’s life which had taken place in foreign

¹ *October*.—Actt. SS. Oct., tom. vi. p. 103.

² *Nomine*.—Actt. SS. Martii, tom. ii. p. 520.

³ *Disciples*.—Colgan, Trias Thaum., p. 6, not. 3. “*Ut in historiis refertur*, c. 1. Indicat acta Patricii esse ante se scripta, et recte: quia quatuor alii discipuli ipsius S. Patricii, nempe S. Lomanus, S. Mel, S. Benignus, et S. Patricius junior scripserunt acta Patricii ante, ut testatur Jocelin, c. 186, vivente etiam adhuc ipso Patricio.”

⁴ *Correctly*.—The old word *lme*, or *lmi* is rightly translated “*historiae*” by Colgan. Lynch, without any authority, reads *lmne*, the plural of *lan* [which ought to be *lann*], *with us*; and Dr. O’Conor tells us that *lme* is *ecclesia*. He translates, “*Est ita testantur ecclesiae*.” *Rer. Hib. Scriptt.*, tom. i.; *Proleg.*, part. i. p. xci. But the plural of *lann*, a church, would be *lanna*, not *lme*.

⁵ *Lynch*.—Life of St. Patrick, p. 327.

countries, before Fiacc became known to his master. In the first line he refers to *histories* (ꝥcēla), to establish St. Patrick's birth-place; in the twelfth line, as translated by Colgan, he cites *histories* (lím) to prove St. Patrick's residence in the islands of the Tyrrhene, or Mediterranean Sea, and his ecclesiastical education under St. German.

It should be observed that the word ꝥcēl (ver. 1), translated by Colgan history, denotes any story, tale, or narrative, handed down by tradition, written or unwritten, true or false. But the other word *linea* (ver. 12) seems to imply writing; and the fact remains that the author of this Hymn has referred to extant tales, or stories, traditions, and writings, as authority for certain facts in the Life and Acts of St. Patrick; the improbability therefore continues in all its force that such narratives (whether they recorded the acts of the saint abroad or at home) could have been circulated, so as to have been well known and quoted by a contemporary of the saint, in the manner in which our author cites them. It might be thought that Fiacc's own testimony, if he had been personally acquainted with St. Patrick, would have been better than the testimony of any tales and stories, acts or lives, for such facts as the place of the Saint's birth, or his early travels and education. It is impossible to believe that a contemporary, who had been himself acquainted with his hero, could have referred to any tales, stories, traditions, or histories, written or unwritten, in confirmation of his statements.

Secondly,—Father Papebroch objects that it is difficult to believe how an author, who had been personally acquainted with St. Patrick, could have introduced into his poem so many legends manifestly fabulous¹.

It is curious that Dr. Lanigan gives an opposite judgment. He says, "In the former," meaning Fiacc's Hymn, "which, as already observed, has a claim to very high antiquity, the narrative runs smooth and regular; nor do we find in it any of those ridiculous miracles that disgrace some of the later Lives"².

¹ *Fabulous*.—"Vix inducimur ut . . . intelligamus . . . tam familiarem ipsi sancto poetam tam multa fabulam redolentia huic suo carmini inseruisse."—*Actt. SS. Mart.*, tom. ii., 520 B.

² *Lives*.—*Eccl. Hist.*, vol. i., p. 80 (2nd edit.). Lanigan, however, does not maintain that this hymn was written by the Fiacc

who was a contemporary of St. Patrick; for in another place (to which he refers in the words above quoted) he says: "The Bollandists and some other judicious critics doubt of his (Fiacc's) being the author of it. But it does not follow that it is not very antient, and most probably not later than the seventh, or perhaps the sixth century."—*Ibid.*, p. 57, 8.

Nevertheless, the following miracles are mentioned in the Hymn:—The permanent impression of the angel's feet on a rock (ver. 8); apparitions of angels summoning St. Patrick to return to Ireland (ver. 14); the voices of the children in Connaught, heard by him in a distant country, calling upon him to come to their aid (ver. 16); the prophecies of his coming by the druids of Ireland (ver. 19-22); his extraordinary austerities, singing 100 psalms every night, standing in a well, and sleeping upon the hard stone, covered only with his wet garments (ver. 26-32); healing the blind and lepers, and bringing the dead to life (ver. 34); the burning bush in which the angel appeared to him, and foretold the supremacy of Armagh, and the privileges granted to the recitation of St. Sechnall's hymn (ver. 48-52); the sun standing still, in imitation of the miracle of Joshua (ver. 55-60); &c. These miracles, however, it may be said, are many of them imitations of miracles recorded in Scripture; they are such miracles as were, in that age, naturally attributed to the saint, and easily believed to have been performed by him, even among his immediate disciples; and, as Dr. Lanigan justly observes, they are not of the same "ridiculous" character¹, as some of the miracles which "disgrace the later lives."

We may, therefore, reasonably doubt whether this argument of the learned Bollandist is conclusive; for it is certain that miracles, quite as incredible as these, have at all times, down to our own "enlightened" age, been attributed to individuals eminent for sanctity, even by those who were their companions and personal acquaintances: so that the insertion of such marvels in the biography of a saint is not of itself an absolute proof that the author lived at a period long subsequent to the age of his hero. Dr. Lanigan's argument is more sound—that the comparatively moderate character of these miracles, as contrasted with the extravagant marvels of the later lives, must be regarded as an evidence of the higher antiquity of this Hymn, even though we may hesitate to admit that it was written by a contemporary of St. Patrick.

¹ *Ridiculous character.*—For example, his lighting a fire with icicles instead of sticks; *Jocel.*, c. 5; the water congealing in a kettle, notwithstanding the fire heaped around it, *ib.*, c. 20; his stone super-altar floating on the sea, and carrying a leper after the ship, c. 27; the same altar following him through the air, c. 55; the kid bleating from the stomach of the man who had stolen and eaten it, and

afterwards restored to its owner uninjured, &c. &c. Papebroch has rejected a great many of these miracles, and thrown them into his Appendix to the *Acta S. Patricii* (tom. ii. Martii, § III., p. 584). "In qua" (as *Byeus* says) "una cum æquâ juxta ac acri, qua ibidem, § III., perstringuntur, censurâ, innoxie legi possent." *Act. SS. Oct.*, tom. vi. (ad 12 Oct., p. 98, E.).

Thirdly. The apparent allusions to the desolation of Tara (ver. 20 and 44), an event¹ which did not take place until after the year 560, is evidence that the Hymn could not have been written before the latter half of the sixth century.

If, therefore, St. Fiacc, of Slebhite, was the author, he must have lived to an age considerably beyond the ordinary term of human life. We are reduced to the necessity of attributing this Hymn to a writer, who must have flourished at the latter end of the sixth or the beginning of the seventh century, unless we are prepared to admit that St. Fiacc died at the advanced age of nearly a century and a half; or else to adopt the alternative, which Colgan prefers, of believing the allusion to the desolation of Tara to be a really inspired prediction² of that event.

Fourthly,—To these arguments it may be added that the author lived after the Hymn of St. Sechnall had become popular, and its use, as a *Lorica*, or protection against spiritual dangers to those who recited it, had been recognised; and also after the story of Patrick having obtained the privilege of being himself the Judge of the Irish at the Day of Judgment was invented³. This is evident from lines 51, 52, where the angel, who appeared to him in the bush, is introduced as announcing that his petitions were granted :

He [the angel] said, Primacy shall be at Armagh; give thanks to Christ.

To heaven shalt thou come, thy prayers are granted to thee :

The Hymn thou hast chosen in thy lifetime shall be a corslet of protection to every one :

Around thee, in the day of judgment, the men of Erinn shall come to judgment.

¹ *Event.*—See the authorities for the cursing of Tara by St. Ruadan, or Rodan, of Lorrha, collected by Dr. Petrie, *Hist. and Antiq. of Tara Hill*, p. 125 (*Transact. Royal Irish Acad.*, vol. xviii., part 2).

² *Prediction.*—Papebroch says: “Qui [sc. Colganus] ne amittat auctorem, aut ipsum plus æquo annosum faciat, ista hymni verba in quibus de Temoriæ desolatione, post annum DLX factâ, agitur, prophetico spiritu dicta tanquam de re futurâ mavult credere; nobis autem explicatione tam violentâ auget formidinem prædictam” [formidinem, sc. ne non ipsius Fieci sit]. Colgan’s words are as

follows:—“Observandum quod hic dicit S. Fiecus de desertâ vel deserendâ Temoriâ, certum propheticumque fuisse oraculum; vel si suo tempore vidit Temoriam desertam ipsum produxisse vitam usque ad annum 540” [*leg.* 560]; “quod mihi non probatur, cum fuerit florentis ætatis sub adventu Patricii anno 432, &c.” *Triad. Thaum.*, p. 6, not. 16. But the allusions to the desolation of Tara are evidently references to an event past, and do not pretend to be predictions of the future.

³ *Invented.*—See above, p. 22, note. It will be observed that nothing of this sort is to be found in the Hymn of St. Sechnall.

We have here manifestly the germ of the legend given more fully by Probus¹, or the author of the fifth life in Colgan's Collection; and there exists what is, perhaps, a still more ancient summary of the privileges of St. Patrick, in Tirechan's Annotations on the saint's life, compiled in the seventh century, and preserved in the Book of Armagh.²

It is scarcely credible that legends of this character could have been current so soon after the death of St. Patrick as to be adopted by a contemporary and disciple; and it is probable that the enumeration of these privileges by Tirechan is an earlier form of the legend than that given in the Hymn by our author. For Tirechan makes no mention of the apparition of the angel in the bush, nor of St. Patrick's being appointed the Judge of the Irish. It is evident also, from the above-cited stanzas, that the Hymn before us must have been written after the question of the Primacy of Armagh had become a subject of debate; and it is not likely that this could have been the case in the lifetime of a contemporary of St. Patrick.

It is remarkable that some of the collections in the Book of Armagh, relating to the Life of Patrick (which are probably the originals from which the biography, attributed to Probus, and other similar works, were compiled) are attributed in that MS. to "Muirchu Maccumachtheni;" who, it is expressly said, wrote them at the dictation of a bishop of Slebhthe, "dictante Aiduo Slebtiensis civitatis episcopo"³. From this it may perhaps be inferred that

¹ *Probus*.—Lib. ii., c. 33.—*Triad. Thaum.*, p. 60.

² *Armagh*.—See above, p. 50 (where Tirechan's words are quoted); and Petrie, *Antiq. of Tara Hill*, p. 68.

Episcopo.—Lib. Ardmach., fol. 20, b., a. See Petrie, *Antiq. of Tara Hill*, p. 110 (Trans. Royal Irish Acad., vol. xviii., part ii.) Colgan, *Triad. Thaum.*, p. 218, col. 1. The Aidus, Bishop of Slebhthe, here mentioned was, in all probability, the same whose death, under the name of "Aodh, anchorite of Sleibhte," is recorded by the Four Mast. A. D. 698: where see O'Donovan's notes. If so, Muirchu Maccumachtheni must be regarded as an author of the seventh century. The Annals of

Ulster record the death of Aedh, at 699, in these words: *Quies Aedo anachorite o Sleibtiu*. Tighernach has the same words at A. D. 700. Dr. Reeves has given a curious extract from the Book of Armagh, showing the zeal of this Aedh bishop of Sletty for the church of Armagh; *Adamnan*, Additional Notes, p. 323, n. ^d. This, taken in connexion with the passages of the hymn above cited, advocating the primacy of Armagh, is an additional evidence that the Hymn belongs to the times of Bp. Aedh (A. D. 700), rather than to those of Fiacc, the disciple of St. Patrick. The genealogy of Aedh has been preserved. He was of the same family as St. Fiacc; and it is remarkable that his pedigree is defective

St. Fiacc had left to the safe keeping of his successors in that see some valuable historical collections, or traditions relating to St. Patrick; these are, very probably, the "*histories*" referred to by the author of the Hymn now before us, and it is not unlikely that the Hymn itself (having been compiled from the traditions of the church of Slebhte, derived from Fiacc, the disciple of St. Patrick), came to be attributed to Fiacc himself as its author.

Fifthly,—One of the most plausible arguments for the antiquity of the Hymn is derived from the antiquity of the Scholiast, or author of the Preface and notes, who, Colgan maintains, must have flourished before the close of the sixth century. The testimony, therefore, of so early an author, who asserts, without hesitation, that the hymn was composed by St. Fiacc, of Slebhte, must necessarily be received with respect.

Colgan's reason for assigning so early a date to the Scholiast is this: The Preface states expressly that St. Fiacc, having been consecrated a bishop by St. Patrick, was soon afterwards made "Archbishop of Leinster"—*arþeppog laigen*—and that his successors continued to enjoy that dignity ever since.

These words imply, says Colgan¹, that the successors of St. Fiacc continued to hold the archiepiscopal dignity in the time of our Scholiast; but we learn from

in the same way, and probably owing to the same cause—the accidental omission of names of similar sound. The genealogy is as follows (Book of Leinster, fol. 238 a):—"Bishop Aedh, s. of Brocan, s. of Cormac, s. of Diarmait, s. of Eochaidh Guineach, s. of Aongus, s. of Erc, s. of Breacan, s. of Fiacc, s. of Daire Barrach, s. of Cathair mór." On comparing this pedigree with that of St. Fiacc, it will be seen that the defect occurs in the same place as before, viz., between Erc and Aongus. For Eochaidh Guineach slew his maternal grandfather, Crimthan King of Leinster, A. D. 484, according to the Chron. Scotorum, dated by O'Flaherty; it is impossible, therefore, that he can have been only seventh in descent from Cathair mór. But the genealogy between bishop Aedh and Eochaidh Guineach, seems to be correct, and is quite consistent with the date assigned to the death

of Aedh, by the Annals of Ulster and Tigernach. Murchu Maccumachtheni was one of the ecclesiastics present at the synod of Adamnan, which exempted women from service in war; *circ.* A. D. 690. Reeves, *Adamnan, App. to Pref.*, p. l. and li., note c. See also Colgan, *Tr. Thaum.*, p. 218, col. 1. Actt. SS. p. 465 a., n. 31.

¹ *Colgan.*—"Hic autem obiter observa hujus Scholiastæ vetustatem, qui videtur floruisse ante sæculi sexti finem: nam verbis citatis indicat Successores S. Fieci fuisse Archiepiscopos Lageniæ usque ad sua tempora. Cogitatus autem Nepos S. Brigidæ, et qui floruit ante finem sæculi sexti, in Præfatione ad vitam ejusdem sanctæ Virginis, indicat Sedem Archiepiscopalem Lageniensium fuisse Killdaria suo tempore: et autor vitæ S. Maidoci (quam damus ad 31 Januarii) capite 28 ejusdem vitæ, scribit eandem Sedem fuisse per

Cogitosus, author of the Life of St. Bridget, that in his time (the latter half of the sixth century, as Colgan thought) Kildare was the archiepiscopal see of Leinster; and the author of the Life of St. Aedan, or Moedóg, states that Brandubh, King of Leinster, together with a synod of the province, had made Ferns the archiepiscopal see: a change which must have taken place before the end of the sixth century, because King Brandubh was slain in 601, according to the Annals of the Four Masters. The successors of St. Fiacc of Slebhte, therefore, cannot have continued archbishops much longer than about the middle of the sixth century, which, accordingly, fixes the date of the Scholiast.

To this Father Byeus¹, in his life of St. Fiacc, replies that the title of archbishop was not given to any bishops in Ireland, until the twelfth century; and, therefore, he concludes that the Scholiast, by giving that title to St. Fiacc, betrays the fact that he himself cannot have flourished before that period. Byeus appears to draw a similar inference from the title of *Archpoet*, given by the Scholiast to Dubhthach, the tutor of St. Fiacc, which, he says, "savours of the eleventh or twelfth century." But this very title ought to have led him to recognize his mistake; for by calling Dubhthach "*Archpoet* of Ireland," the Scholiast did not intend to say that Dubhthach held any office, or exercised any jurisdiction over the other poets of Ireland, but simply that he was the most eminent poet, or the chief poet of Ireland; and so, in like manner, when the Scholiast calls Fiacc *Archbishop*, the meaning is that he was the most eminent, or remarkable bishop of Leinster.

Brandubium Regem (qui occubuit anno 601), et synodum Lageniensium constitutam Fernæ. Idemque scribit Author vitæ S. Molingi, quam damus ad 17 Junii." *Triad. Thaum.*, p. 8, not. 8. The date of King Brandubh's death is given by the Four Mast. 601; by the Ann. Ult., 604; and by Tigernach (or rather by O'Flaherty, who has dated the Annals of Tigernach), 605. This last is no doubt the correct year.

¹ *Byeus*,—Actt. SS. ad 12 Oct., p. 98, num. 7. "At vero, etsi quidem inter Hiberniæ episcopos, semper aliqui, qui præ aliis quid amplioris dignitatis aut jurisdictionis ecclesias-

ticæ haberent, hincque recte dici possent *primates*, extiterint, ii tamen non prius quam sec. circiter xii, uti ad xvii Junii diem in Commentario actis S. Molingi Fernensis episcopi prævio, num. 8, jam docuimus, appellari cœperunt *archiepiscopi*; quare cum nihilominus S. Fieco *archiepiscopi* titulum, ac præterea Dubtacho, cujus ille discipulus extitisse perhibetur, honorificam *archipoetæ*, appellationem, quæ seculum xi. aut xii. sapit, attribuat S. Fiechi scholiastes, scriptorem hunc, ut jam statui, ante sec. vi. finem vel paulo duntaxat post floruisse, quis credat"? See *St. Patrick, Apostle of Ireland*, p. 14, sq.

The mistake is one into which Colgan himself has fallen, and which impairs the validity of his argument on the other side; for the Scholiast does not use the ecclesiastical Greek title *Arch*-bishop, (which in its strict sense, as implying canonical jurisdiction over other bishops, was unknown in Ireland until the twelfth century), but *Ard-episcop*, high bishop; *Ard-file*, high poet—that is to say, chief or principal bishop, or poet, not in reference to jurisdiction, but in reference to respect or precedency. In this sense, there is nothing inconsistent in the supposition that there might be more than one *ard*-, or *chief*-bishop in a district; and, consequently, when our Scholiast calls the successors of St. Fiacc in Slebhthe, *ard*, or *chief*-bishops, and says that they were so regarded down to his own day, it does not at all follow that the bishops of Kildare and Ferns may not have also been considered *ard*, or *chief* bishops, at the same time.

The passage in the Preface to the Life of St. Bridget, by Cogitosus, to which Colgan refers, is a remarkable evidence of this loose or rather ancient use of the term, even as it stands in Colgan's Latin Version. For the author tells us, not as Colgan represents his testimony, that Kildare was recently made the archiepiscopal see of Leinster, but that it had *always* been an archbishopric of Ireland, that is to say, a chief or principal bishopric of Ireland: his words¹ are,—“Quam [*sc.* cathedram] *semper* Archiepiscopus Hiberniensium Episcoporum, et Abbatissa, quam omnes Abbatissæ Scotorum venerantur, *foelici* successionem, et ritu perpetuo dominantur.” It is evident that Cogitosus must have here used the Irish word *ard-episcop*, chief bishop, not the modern ecclesiastical title *archbishop*, of which he could have known nothing: and the meaning of the foregoing passage was simply this, that the see, or *cathedra*, of Kildare was always governed by a bishop who was recognized as an *ard*, or *high* bishop [that is, as holding an eminent place among the Irish bishops], and by an abbess, who was regarded with veneration by all other abbesses of the Scots or Irish.

The Bishop of Kildare was *chief* amongst the bishops, in the same sense in which the Abbess of Kildare was *chief* amongst the abbesses of the Scotie nation; and it should be particularly noticed that this, he says expressly, had been *always* the case,—*semper*², i. e. from the very foundation of the monastery. It

¹ His words.—Colgan, *Triad. Thaum.*, p. 518.

² *Semper*.—It is curious to read Colgan's note on the words, “Quam *semper* Archiepis-

copus Hiberniensium Episcoporum,” &c. He says, “Non intelligit quod fuerit omnium Hibernorum” [although Cogitosus expressly says so], “sed solum *Lageniensium* Archie-

is evident, therefore, that Cogitosus spoke only of a pre-eminence of dignity or respect, not of metropolitanical or archiepiscopal jurisdiction; and such pre-eminence did not interfere with the same title of *ard-epsco*p, or archbishop (if we choose to translate it so) being given to other bishops at the same time, and even within the same district, such as Leinster.

This fallacy runs through all that Colgan has written on the subject; and has, in all probability, also unconsciously interfered with the exact fidelity of his translations from the Irish. For example, in translating the words of the Scholiast, in the Preface to the Hymn before us, he makes his author say,—“Et postea ab eodem [*sc.* Patricio] consecratus est [Fiecus] Episcopus, et tandem Lageniæ Archiepiscopus institutus: quo etiam munere ejus Comorbani, sive Successores abinde funguntur”¹. Here there is nothing in the original to represent the words *tandem institutus*, or *munere funguntur*, although honest Colgan, thinking only of the modern archiepiscopal function, doubtless believed that by this paraphrase he was only more fully expressing the meaning of his author. But the original says merely that Fiacc was ordained a bishop by St. Patrick, and from that time was regarded as a chief or eminent bishop, as were his successors after him.

The passage quoted by Colgan, from the Life of St. Moedóc of Ferns, has doubtless suffered in the same way from the prepossession of its translator, who probably lived at a period when the modern idea of an archbishop was better known. He tells us that a great synod held in Leinster by King Brandubh, in which the laity, as well as clergy, had seats, decreed, in honour of St. Moedóc, and, in reward for his services to the King, that the see of Ferns, then recently founded, should be thenceforth the Archbishopric of Leinster: “ut archiepiscopatus omnium Lagenensium semper esset in sede et cathedra S. Moedóc;” and, accordingly, the saint was then consecrated archbishop “by many Catholics”². But all this, most probably, means no more than that St.

piscopus. Nec hæc dignitas metropolitanica semper Kildariæ fuit” [although Cogitosus says expressly that it was; using this very word *semper*]. Colgan then goes on to say that St. Fiacc, as bishop of Slebhthe, was the first archbishop of Leinster; that then the metropolitanical jurisdiction was transferred to Kildare; then to Ferns, and finally to Dublin,

where it still remains. But nothing can be more clear than that Cogitosus was not thinking of archiepiscopal or metropolitanical jurisdiction, in the modern sense, in which the see of Dublin now possesses it. *St. Patrick, Apostle of Ireland*, p. 17.

¹ *Funguntur*.—Triad. Thaum., p. 4, n. 1 a.

² *Catholics*.—Colgan, Actt. SS. ad 31 Jan.,

Moedóc and his successors should always be regarded as chief or eminent bishops¹.

It follows that Colgan's argument to prove that his Scholiast flourished in the sixth century, and the argument of Byeus, bringing him down to the twelfth, are both fallacious; both being founded on the same assumption that the title *ard-episcop*, as used in Irish authorities, was equivalent to the later ecclesiastical term *Archbishop*, and implied canonical or metropolitical jurisdiction.

The opinion expressed by Papebroch², although rejected by Byeus, is, therefore, in the Editor's judgment, more near the truth, viz., that the Scholiast is to be regarded as an author of the eighth (or, perhaps he ought rather to have said, as he spoke only of Colgan's Scholiast, the tenth or eleventh) century.

By Colgan's Scholiast is here meant the author of the Preface, or biographical account of St. Fiacc, prefixed to the Hymn: for the gloss or notes may perhaps be from a still later hand. These, now for the first time printed, from the Dublin MS. of the *Liber Hymnorum*, are manifestly older than the notes published by Colgan. And, nevertheless, from the explanations given in them of obscure and obsolete words, it is evident that some time must have elapsed between their composition and the composition of the original hymn. The prevailing character of these notes is etymological and philological. The notes printed by Colgan are, for the most part, historical and legendary; and they contain

p. 211, cap. 28. "Et magna civitas in honore S. Moedoc ibi crevit, quæ eodem nomine vocatur .i. Fearna. Deinde facta synodo magna in terra Lagenensium decrevit Rex Brandub et tam laici, quam clerici ut archiepiscopus omnium Lageniensium semper esset in sede et cathedra S. Moedoc. Et tunc sanctus Moedoc a multis Catholicis consecratus est archiepiscopus." The words "a multis Catholicis consecratus" are obscure. Was this passage written at a time when a bishop might have been consecrated in Ireland by any who were not Catholics? What non-Catholic bishops were then in Ireland?

¹ *Bishops*.—Colgan's elaborate note on this passage (*Actt. SS.*, p. 217, n. 29), with the

authorities which he there quotes to prove that there were always Archbishops in Ireland, is full of the same fallacy.

² *Papebroch*.—See his *Comm. prævius in Actt. S. Patricii* (ad xvii. Mart., num. 15 (p. 520 B), where he says, "Sed et scholia in hymnum illum scripta non videntur nobis tam esse antiqua quam existimant aliqui: cum in iis non pauca occurrunt, quæ seculo septimo posteriorem auctorem sapiunt." And again, num. 33 (p. 523 D.), he says: "In quem [hymnum S. Fieci] antiqui Scholiastæ notæ pertinent ad seculum non vi., sed viii, ut illis antiquior sit Vita tum illa quam Evinus scripsit, tum alia quam Tirechanus fecit, qui ambo seculo vii. floruerunt."

also such legends as prove them to be, beyond all doubt, much later than the Hymn.

For example, the Hymn contains no allusion to the celebrated *Baculus JESU*, or "staff of JESUS," which St. Patrick was said to have received from a hermit of the Tyrrhene sea¹, and which, according to the Tripartite Life, was also delivered to him by Christ Himself². But the story is alluded to in Colgan's edition of the Scholia, where it is said that Patrick "found" the *Baculus* in an island of the Tyrrhene sea, called *Alanensis*, near Mount Armon³.

This story can scarcely be older than the eighth or ninth century. It is not found in the Book of Armagh, nor in the *Second Life*, published by Colgan, the author of which must have lived some time after the death of St. Fiacc, for he tells us expressly that the relics of Fiacc were in his time preserved in the church of *Slebhte*⁴. It is not mentioned in the Life by Probus, who, nevertheless, notices the "baculus"⁵ of Patrick, and attributes to it miraculous virtues, but without any intimation that it was "the Staff of Jesus;" and no allusion to it occurs in the Gloss or Scholia of the Dublin MS., which are now for the first time published.

Again, the notes of Colgan's MS. are the only authority for the statement that the voices of the children of Caille Fochlad, calling upon St. Patrick to come and save them, were heard in Rome, not by Patrick only, but also by Pope Celestine⁶. This is an improvement upon the story told in the Hymn

¹ *Tyrrhene Sea*.—Vit. 3^{ua}, cap. 23; Vit. 4^{ta}, cap. 29; Vit. 6^{ta} (Jocelin.) cap. 24.

² *Himself*.—"Venit ad vicinum Montem Hermon, in quo placuerit Christo ei apparere; ibique tanquam alteri Moysi tradidit jam laudatum baculum, qui passim Baculus JESU nuncupatur."—*Vit. Trip.* i., c. 37.

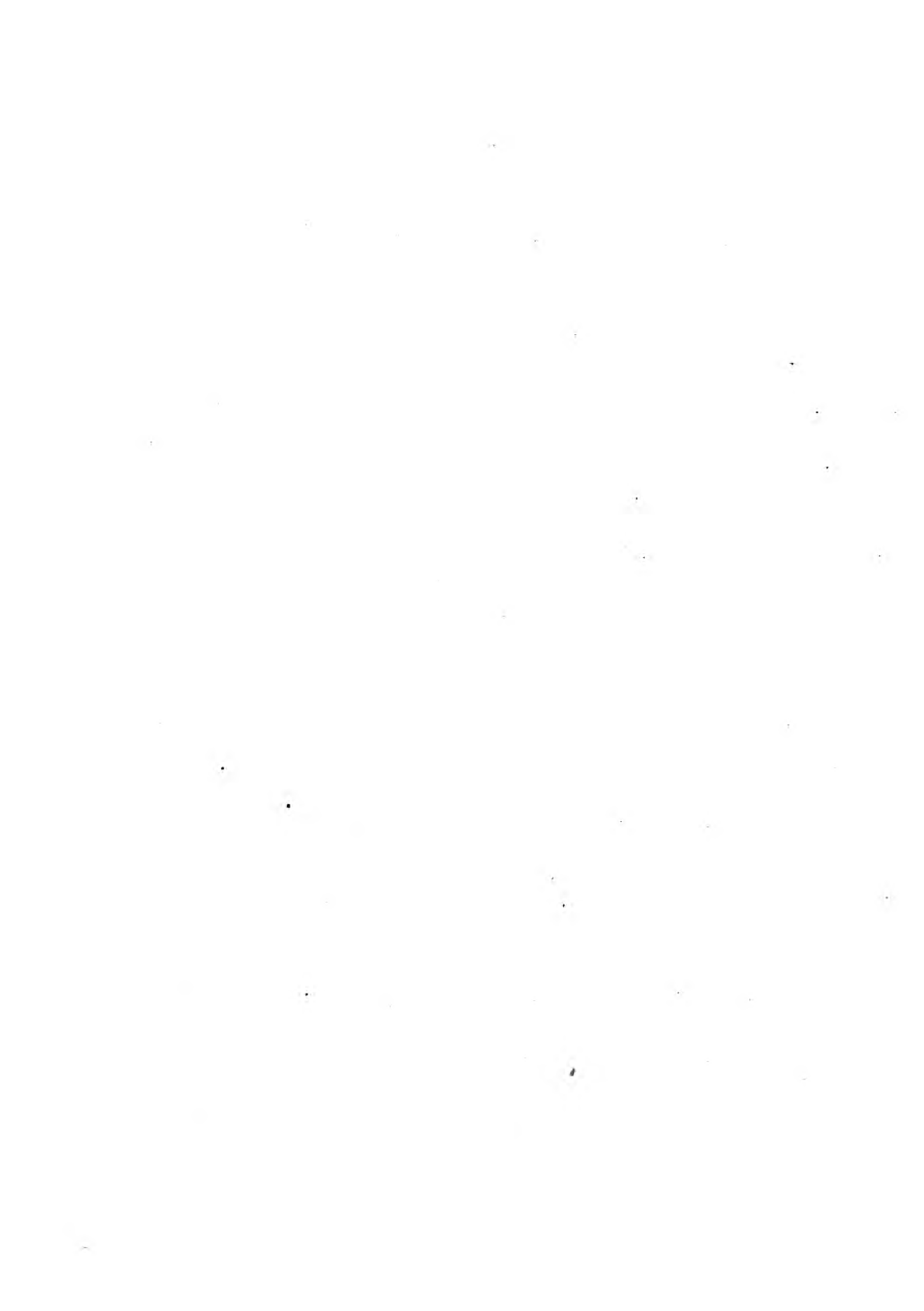
³ *Armon*.—"Et tunc invenit baculum JESU, in insula Alanensi, prope Montem Armon."

⁴ *Slebhte*.—"Quidam adolescens nomine Fiec, qui postea fuit episcopus, et reliquiæ eius hi Sleibhte [venerantur]." Vit. 2^{da}, c. 38 (*Triad. Thaum.*, p. 15). But these words are closely connected with a passage in the Book of Armagh, where we read (fol. 4, b 2)—"Quidam adolescens poeta nomine Feec, qui postea mirabilis episcopus fuit, cujus re-

liquiæ adorantur hi Sleibti." The *Vita secunda* calls Fiec "adolescens," not "adolescens poeta;" and "episcopus," not "mirabilis episcopus." Is this evidence that the *Vita secunda* is older than the Book of Armagh?

⁵ *Baculus*.—Vit. 5, (Probus) lib. ii., c. 21. For the more recent history of this celebrated *Baculus*, see *Obits and Martyrol. of Christ's Church*, Introd., p. xi., sq., where the Editor must confess to an oversight, when he said that the Lives of St. Patrick all speak of this baculus. *Comp. St. Patrick, Apostle of Ireland*, pp. 323, 328, 331.

⁶ *Celestine*.—"Ipse Cælestinus quando ordinabatur Patricius, audiebat vocem infantium eum advocantium."



Rebid 5/1

5/1



