

PEREGRINI PRO CHRISTO: THE IRISH CHURCH IN MIEVEAL EUROPE AS REFLECTED IN LITURGICAL SOURCES FOR THE VENERATION OF ITS MISSIONARY SAINTS

ANN BUCKLEY

National University of Ireland, Maynooth

Izveček: *Irski svetniki, med katerimi so bile mnoge pomembne osebnosti evropske cerkvene in kulturne zgodovine, imajo pomembno vlogo v evropskih liturgičnih rokopisih. Kot kaže še potekajoča raziskava, so prisotni v več kot 300 srednjeveških rokopisih iz domala vseh evropskih dežel. V mnogih primerih so se godovi irskih svetnikov praznovali z novimi, določenim svetnikom namenjenimi oficiji; kolikor je znano doslej, vsebujejo ti več kot 150 proprijskih spevov.*

Ključne besede: *irska zgodovina, irski svetniki, srednjeveška liturgija.*

Abstract: *The Irish saints, many of whom were important figures in continental-European ecclesiastical and cultural history, figure prominently in European liturgical manuscripts. According to a research (still in progress), they make their appearance in more than 300 medieval manuscripts from nearly all the European countries. In many cases, the feasts of the Irish saints were celebrated by proper newly composed offices, which include, as far as is known, more than 150 proper chants.*

Keywords: *Irish history, Irish saints, medieval liturgy.*

Introduction

In spite of extensive publication on the medieval cults of Irish saints, the topic of their veneration in the liturgies of Mass and Office has received relatively little attention. A systematic account is timely, on several counts: 1) to provide complementary material for existing work on hagiography; 2) to identify sources with music notation; and 3) to examine the chant and texts for Irish saints within an international framework of reference. Before proceeding to the detail, it may be helpful to provide a brief historical overview.

The Irish church in medieval Europe

An isolationist view of Ireland, and hence of the Irish church, has for too long been a severely limiting factor in medieval Irish studies. Owing to the linguistic distinctiveness of Irish vernacular documents, much has been made of a notional “Celtic Church” which, it has often been assumed, would have had more in common with other Celtic-speaking Christians, e.g., in Wales, Scotland and Brittany, than with those elsewhere. Matters have

been further exacerbated by the twin handicaps of romanticism and nationalist politics in Ireland of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The situation has not been helped either by attitudes from outside of the country. Because of its geographical position on the perimeter of north-west Europe, many local customs and traditions survived for longer in Ireland, and indeed were able to develop in a relatively autonomous way, only because of their greater distance from centralising political/ecclesiastical dynamics. While being unrepresentative of the whole, various foreign commentators nonetheless tended to report on the distinctively local features of Irish Christianity which most struck them, rather than on what was familiar to their eyes and ears. Examples include the form of tonsure worn by monks of the early Irish church; disagreement over the calculation of the date of Easter; certain local liturgical practices; and a range of criticisms reflecting the Irish resistance to full alignment with Roman administration until the 12th century.¹

On the contrary, while having certain of its own distinctive customs, the Irish church was deeply connected with international Christianity from its earliest days. St Patrick (d. c. 491), although not the first Irish Christian missionary, was the first major figure in the period of conversion, hence his sobriquet, “Apostle of Ireland”. He hailed from western Britain, and was educated in Gaul. Gallican influence is one of the chief (though not exclusive) markers of early Irish liturgy, including hymnody.

The missionary activities of the early Irish church are another testimony to its engagement with the wider world, not only in neighbouring Britain but also continental Europe. Beginning in the late sixth and early seventh centuries, just some one hundred years after the death of St Patrick, monastic schools were developing in centres such as Bangor, Derry, Clonmacnois, Clonard, Durrow, Glendalough and Kells. These not only served local Irish people but also drew students from abroad, especially to monastic cities such as Bangor (founded by St Comgall, c. 516–c. 601), Clonard (founded by St Finian, d. 549) and Clonmacnois (founded by St Ciaran, c. 512–c. 545), which were major centres of learning. Indeed, an entire community of Anglo-Saxon monks settled in Co. Mayo among whom, for a time, was Willibrord (658–739), originally from Northumbria and founder of the monastery at Echternach (698). The first generation of Echternach scribes was trained in Ireland,² and its monastery was inhabited by both Anglo-Saxons and Irish.

The large numbers of monks, coupled with a developing missionary zeal, led many of them to leave Ireland to set up new communities in Britain and continental Europe, with the support of local political rulers. Columba (also known as Colum Cille, c. 521–97), founder of monasteries at Derry, Durrow, and possibly Kells, established a monastery on the island of Iona in Western Scotland which, at that time, formed part of the Irish kingdom of Dál Riada. Columbanus (c. 543–615) established monasteries in Francia at Annegray, Luxeuil, Fontaine, and in Lombardy at Bobbio. His *Rule* provided the basis for numerous

¹ The Irish church was the last to be brought fully within the jurisdiction of Rome with the granting of the four *pallia* (Armagh, Cashel, Dublin and Tuam) in 1152.

² Dáibhí Ó Cróinín, Rath Melsigi, Willibrord and the earliest Echternach manuscripts, *Peritia* 3 (1984), pp. 17–49. The Calendar of Willibrord includes several Irish saints, e.g., Brigid, Columba. See Louis Gougaud, *Les saints irlandais*, Louvain and Oxford, 1936, p. 39; *The Calendar of St Willibrord*, ed. H. W. Wilson, Henry Bradshaw Society 55, London, 1918.

other foundations established by his disciples and their successors over the succeeding four centuries in what are now northern and central France, southern Germany, Switzerland and northern Italy.³

Ecclesiastical and cultural relations between Ireland and the Continent were further consolidated by the engagement of Irish teachers, such as John Scottus Eriugena (d. 877?), and Sedulius Scottus (fl. mid-9th century), in Carolingian schools during the ninth century. This was also a time when many Irish, fleeing attacks from the Vikings, sought refuge on the Continent, bringing with them manuscripts and other valuables.

In the years following the death of Charlemagne and the division of his empire among his three sons, the main centres of patronage moved eastwards. Archbishop Bruno (d. 965), youngest brother of German Emperor Otto the Great, had an Irish teacher (Bishop Israel) in his youth, to whom he felt indebted throughout his life. As a result, he was well disposed towards the Irish. Becoming Chancellor in 940, he granted lands at Waulsort, near Dinant (in the area of the Ardennes and Haute-Picardie), to a group of Irish or Scottish monks in 946.⁴ Other communities followed in the Rhineland regions of Metz, Toul, and Cologne in the course of the 10th and early 11th centuries.⁵ After the death of Otto III in 1002, his successor, Henry II, and his wife, Kunigunda, were active in their promotion of the Cluniac reform movement, and gradually Irish abbots in the Rhineland were replaced by Germans.

Another important development which brought new energies to the Irish presence in Bavaria was the establishment of the Benedictine Schottenklöster. In 1075, Muiredach Mac Robartaigh (also known as “Marianus Scottus”) established the first of these at the priory of Weih-St-Peter in Ratisbon (Regensburg). That community subsequently transferred to the new abbey of St Jakob in 1090. Other foundations followed, including Würzburg (1134), Erfurt (1137), Nürnberg (1140), Konstanz (1142), and Vienna (1155). They were united into an independent Irish congregation (known as “Schotten”) in 1215 and remained under Irish control until the 15th century when most of them passed into German hands, with the exception of Regensburg, Erfurt and Würzburg which retained their Irish affiliation until the 16th century when they were taken over by the Scots.⁶

Relations between the German Schotten congregations and Ireland were active in both directions, mainly through close links between Regensburg, Würzburg and Cashel, the Episcopal (and royal) seat of Munster, the southern Irish province. The founder of the

³ For a recent account, and extensive bibliography, see Sara G. Casey, *Songs for the Peregrini: Proper Chants for Irish Saints as found in Continental Manuscripts of the Middle Ages*, Ph.D. diss., University of Pittsburgh, 2003, passim.

⁴ Because the west of Scotland, centred on Iona, was part of the Irish Columban church, the distinction between “Irish” and “Scottish” is not significant at this time. They were all “Scotti”.

⁵ One of the more famous Irish monks associated with Cologne was Marianus Scottus “the Chronicler” (Máel Brigte, d. 1082), a member of the Irish community at the Benedictine Abbey of Groß St Martin from 1056 until 1058. It may have been due to the influence of Bishop Israel that Irish monks were introduced to Groß St Martin, which they controlled from c. 975 until the latter part of the 11th century. See Dagmar Ó Riain-Raedel, *Irish Benedictine Monasteries on the Continent, The Irish Benedictines. A History*, ed. Martin Browne OSB and Colmán Ó Clabaigh OSB, Dublin, The Columba Press, 2005, pp. 25–63, esp. pp. 30–31.

⁶ For a recent overview, see Ó Riain-Raedel, *Irish Benedictine Monasteries on the Continent*, p. 35 ff.; see esp. p. 52 and footnote 72 for an account of the Scottish takeover.

monastery of St Jakob at Würzburg was the third abbot of St Jakob at Ratisbon, Christian McCarthy, a member of the leading royal family of Munster. He was a close relative of Cormac McCarthy, king of Munster at the time, who was responsible for building Cormac's Chapel at Cashel, consecrated in 1134, the same year as the founding of the Würzburg Schottenkloster.

There is insufficient space here to develop the topic any further. However, it has immediate relevance for the discussion which follows that a single folio has lately come to light containing litanies which include saints from both North Munster and Regensburg.⁷ It is dated to the early twelfth century and in all likelihood was written for Weih-St-Peter. It is doubly important since some of the Irish saints included are not otherwise recorded in the severely depleted corpus of Irish liturgical sources to survive from this time. Furthermore, until now the only liturgical manuscripts to have been identified from the period of the Irish Benedictine monks on the Continent are in the Vienna Schottenstift.⁸

In the course of the twelfth century, the Irish church in Ireland came under increasing pressure to adopt Roman norms of administration. In origin monastic, its abbots had from the outset been the ecclesiastical counterpart of local secular rulers, feudal overlords, and were commonly of the same kin. Abbots were sometimes succeeded by their sons or other close relatives, similar to royal dynastic succession; hence there was increasing tension in the control and management of church affairs as the diocesan system developed in urban centres. The Viking settlers in Ireland had been converted to Christianity by Anglo-Saxon missionaries in Scandinavia and so looked to Canterbury as their ecclesiastical authority. Diocesan bishoprics were introduced in the Viking cities of Dublin in 1042, Waterford in 1086, and Limerick in 1107. Several of the first bishops of Dublin swore allegiance to Canterbury.⁹

However, while it is sometimes believed that the Anglo-Normans, who were officially established in Ireland by Henry II in 1172, represented the principal source of pressure to reform the Irish church, the first impulses came earlier in the 12th century from Irish-based churchmen who had closer links with continental Europe.

St Malachy, Archbishop of Armagh (1134–48), became a Cistercian and disciple of Bernard of Clairvaux, and with Bernard's help, introduced the order to Ireland. St Laurence O'Toole, following his appointment as Archbishop of Dublin in 1162, introduced the Augustinian canons regular of the Arrouaisian order to the Cathedral of the Holy Trinity (now Christ Church) and was said to have been actively involved in chant reform.¹⁰ The Arrouaisian Rule was adopted thereafter in several other Irish cathedrals and churches. Other communities followed, such as the Premonstratensians, also in the twelfth century;

⁷ The fragment was identified in 2007 by Dr Timothy Bolton of Sothebys while examining a private collection of books in England. It was bound into the spine of a later volume. I thank Br. Colmán Ó Clabaigh OSB, and Fr Senan Furlong OSB, of Glenstal Abbey, for kindly bringing this discovery to my attention.

⁸ See Martin Czernin, *Fragments of liturgical chant from medieval Irish monasteries in continental Europe*, *Early Music* 28/2 (2000), pp. 217–224.

⁹ For further details, see Aubrey Gwynn, *The first bishops of Dublin*, *Reportorium Novum* 1 (1955–6), pp. 1–26 (repr. in *Medieval Dublin: the living city*, ed. Howard Clarke, Dublin, Irish Academic, 1990, pp. 37–61).

¹⁰ Thomas Messingham, *Florilegium insulae sanctorum*, Paris, 1624, pp. 384–5. Original source not supplied.

Dominicans, Franciscans, and Carmelites in the course of the thirteenth – many of them taking over local communities of Irish monks.

Around this time, pressure on the Irish church to conform to centralising authority in matters of liturgical practice (including singing) and church administration was often expressed in documents of a highly critical and negative nature. Ireland was increasingly portrayed abroad as a barbaric wilderness¹¹ by writers including Bernard of Clairvaux, Hildegard of Bingen, and Gerald of Wales. The extent and effectiveness of such polemics changed its international reputation from one which had been admired and cultivated throughout Europe for some five hundred years as the “island of saints and scholars” to one which suffered prejudice, marginalisation, and the eradication from memory of many of its illustrious men and women. This is seen with particular clarity in the patterns of culting, including liturgical veneration, of Irish saints on the Continent, in the course of the twelfth century.

Cults of the saints

The *Peregrini pro Christo* who left Ireland in the 6th/7th centuries brought their liturgical practices (and attendant devotional culture) with them to their new settlements. Cults of Irish saints were introduced to Francia by Irish, and subsequently also Breton,¹² monks who established scriptoria in Northern France. Similarly, the monasteries of St Gall and Reichenau were centres of transmission of these cults in the German regions.

Patrick, Brigid, Columbanus and Fursa were attested on the Continent already by the 7th century.¹³ The extant liturgical calendars of Frankish Gaul provide evidence for the cults of over forty Irish saints. The feast of St Brigid was celebrated at Rebais, Meaux, Nivelles, Senlis, Corbie, Marchiennes, Saint-Amand, Saint-Vaast.¹⁴ A litany in a 9th-century *libellus precum* from Mondsee, eastern Bavaria (in present-day Austria) includes invocations to Columbanus, Fursa, Patrick, Columba, Comgall, Adomnán, Brigid, Kilian, Ita, and Samthann.¹⁵

¹¹ Jean-Michel Picard, Adomnán's *Vita Columbae* and the Cult of Colum Cille in continental Europe, *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 98 C 1 (1998), pp. 1–23, esp. p. 20.

¹² During the Viking incursions, many Breton monks took refuge in Francia, and established scriptoria in centres such as Fleury, Soissons, Tours, Corbie, Orléans, Laon, Liège, often alongside their Irish *confrères*. See Jean-Michel Picard, *Omnes sancti chori Hiberniae sanctorum orate pro nobis: manuscript evidence for the cult of Irish saints in medieval Europe, Music, Liturgy and Cultural Legacies of the Medieval Irish Church*, ed. Ann Buckley and Liam Tracey (forthcoming).

¹³ Picard, *op. cit.*, pp. 10–15. For fuller treatment of the subject, see *id.*, Early contacts between Ireland and Normandy: the cult of Irish saints in Normandy before the conquest, *Ogma. Essays in Celtic Studies in honour of Próinséas Ni Chatháin*, ed. Michael Richter and Jean-Michel Picard, Dublin, Four Courts, 2002, pp. 85–93; *id.*, Adomnán's *Vita Columbae* and the Cult of Colum Cille in continental Europe, *passim*.

¹⁴ See Lester K. Little, *Benedictine Maledictions*, Ithaca and London, Cornell University Press, 1993, pp. 180–181.

¹⁵ Now in the Bibliothèque municipale, Orléans: F-O 184. See M. Coens, Les litanies bavaroises du *Libellus precum* dit de Fleury, *Analecta Bollandiana* 77 (1959), pp. 373–391; further references

Apart from a small handful of the more famous “international” saints, such as Patrick and Brigid, there is a distinct cleavage between Irishmen and women who served the church or set up foundations in Ireland and Britain, and those who emigrated to the Continent. Most of those who left Ireland under Columbanus, as well as their successors, went into permanent exile. They established reputations abroad, and in time were venerated in their adopted regions, but not usually in Ireland itself. (St Fursa is among the few exceptions.)

In addition to Columbanus, some of the better-known “continental” Irishmen include Gall (d. c. 630) who established a monastery in Switzerland which still bears his name; Fursa (French “Furcy”, d. 650), whose monastery was at Lagny-sur-Marne, and is buried in Péronne; Fiachra (d. c. 670), who became bishop of Meaux; Findan or Fintan (d. 879), who established a hermitage at Rheinau, and was nominated secondary patron of the Benedictine monastery which was founded there in the 11th century;¹⁶ Virgil (Ferghil, d. 784), who became Bishop of Salzburg; Colmán (Coloman or Kolomann, d. 1012) of Melk, martyr, and one of the patron saints of Austria and Hungary; Kilian (d. c. 689), bishop and patron saint of Würzburg.

St Brendan of Clonfert (St Brendan “the Navigator”, c. 486–575) was also widely known internationally in the 12th century, not least through the extensive circulation of the *Navigatio Brendani* which was translated into several languages.

Two Irish-based saints whose cults were taken up in France are St Malachy (1094–1148), who was promoted by Bernard of Clairvaux through the Cistercian order (Bernard wrote his Life, adapted from the Life of St Martin of Tours – who was also much venerated in Ireland);¹⁷ and St Laurence O’Toole (Lorcán Ó Tuathail, or Laurent d’Eu) who died at Eu in Normandy in 1180, where his office was written.¹⁸

While some of these cults became universal – e.g., Patrick, Brigid, Columbanus, Fursa – others remained within the locality of particular foundations and disappeared with the demise of their Irish communities. Those that continued had eventually become part of living tradition outside of the boundaries of the monastery and its own historic identity. For example the cult of Columba was known from Brittany to Austria by the 8th century, and had spread to Brixen in the Italian Tyrol (It. Bressanone), then southern Bavaria,¹⁹ by

in Picard, Adomnán’s *Vita Columbae* and the Cult of Colum Cille in continental Europe, p. 10 and footnotes 46–47.

¹⁶ I wish to thank Bernhard Hangartner for his generous assistance with information about the cult of St Findan.

¹⁷ Cf. Jean Leclercq, Documents on the cult of St Malachy, *Seanchas Ardmhacha* 3 (1959), pp. 318–336, esp. 327–332, and pl. 2; Barbara Hagg and Michel Huglo, Recueil de traités en trois volumes, vol. I, XIIe siècle [Douai, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 372/1], *Cantus 21 : Mémoires du chant : Le livre de musique d’Isidore de Séville à Edmond de Coussemaker*, ed. Bruno Bouckaert, Neerpelt and Lille, 2007, pp. 70–71. This article contains a colour reproduction of part of the office for St Malachy on p. 70.

¹⁸ See David Hiley, Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 249 (A.280) and the early Paris repertory of ordinary of mass chants and sequences, *Music and Letters* 70/4 (1989), pp. 467–482, esp. 471–472, 481–482, for a source of sequences in honour of St Laurence O’Toole from the collegiate church of St Laurent at Eu.

¹⁹ He is commemorated in a Missal from Novacella (formerly Neustift). See Picard, Adomnán’s *Vita Columbae* and the Cult of Colum Cille in continental Europe, p. 11 and fn. 54.

the 12th century. However, it remained confined to Irish circles and had disappeared by the mid-12th century. On the other hand, the cults of Brigid and Fursa developed independently after the 10th century – Brigid because of her association with fertility and lactation; Fursa for his visions. His veneration became even more widespread in the 12th century with the growth of interest in the issue of Purgatory.²⁰ A book containing his Life and notated Office was presented to St Louis (Louis IX) who assisted at the occasion of the translation of his relics to Péronne (Peronna Scottorum, where he is buried) on 17 September 1256.²¹ Similarly, Kilian is still celebrated today not only in Würzburg but also, for example, in south-east Poland.

Summary of liturgical sources and patterns of distribution

With a chronological span of one thousand years, from the 7th to the 17th centuries, medieval liturgical materials for Irish saints are found today in libraries in Ireland, Britain, Belgium, France, Italy, Switzerland, Germany, Austria, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Croatia, and Poland. These comprise a corpus of over 150 separate chants and liturgical prayers in genres such as antiphons, hymns, sequences, tropes, and spoken texts, representing some forty saints in more than 300 manuscripts and printed books. In addition they contain within their calendars and litanies the names of saints not necessarily represented by Proper texts.

To date, Proper liturgical chants, extending from individual antiphons, sequences, or hymns, to full offices, are known to exist for seventeen saints, as follows: Babolenus, Brendan, Brigid, Canice, Columba, Columbanus, Dympna, Findan, Fridolin, Fursa, Gall, Kilian, Laurence O’Toole, Maglorius, Malachy, Patrick, Virgil.

In Austria, materials dating between the twelfth and the fifteenth centuries include Augustinian, Benedictine, Cistercian and Dominican liturgical books from religious houses in Admont, Heiligenkreuz, Innsbruck, Klosterneuburg, Kremsmünster, Lambach, Linz, Salzburg, St Florian, St Lambert, St Pölten, Vienna, Vorau, Wilhering, Zwettl.

Irish saints most frequently encountered in the medieval Austrian liturgical year are Kolomann, Gall, Kilian, Virgil, with occasional occurrences of Brigid, Columbanus, and Patrick. Most significantly, a fully notated office and other items for the feast of the Translation of Virgil of Salzburg have been recovered in a 15th-century Augustinian source from St Florian which contains also readings, and a copy of his *Vita*.²²

For Belgium, materials have been recovered for Columbanus, Dympna, Foillan, Kilian, Rumold in sources from Gheel, Ghent, Liège, Mons, St Truiden. Their date range is 11th–16th centuries.

Sources in the Czech Republic contain liturgies for Brigid, Gall, Kilian, Kolomann,

²⁰ Picard, *Omnes sancti chori Hiberniae sanctorum orate pro nobis*: manuscript evidence for the cult of Irish saints in medieval Europe (see fn. 12, typescript, p. 8).

²¹ F-Pa 944. I thank Michel Huglo for kindly drawing this source and related literature to my attention. See *Le Trésor de la Sainte-Chapelle, Paris, Musée du Louvre, 31 mai – 27 août 2001*, Paris, Réunion des musées nationaux, 2001, p. 148, no. 34.

²² A-Wn 547.

and Malachy. Among them are a 14th-century breviary with offices for Kilian, Columbanus and Gall, and an early 15th-century office for Brigid – all from St George’s Chapel, Prague Castle, without music notation.

In France, liturgical materials exist from Beauvais, Caen, Douai, Eu, Hainault, Metz, Rouen, Paris/St Magloire, Troyes, Vesoul. The saints which predominate are Columbanus, Fiachra, Fursa, Gall, Laurence O’Toole, Maglorius, Malachy, Rumold. Their date range is 11th–16th centuries.

German sources are mainly from the south: Eichstätt, Nürnberg, Regensburg, Trier, Worms, Würzburg. Liturgies for Brigid, Kolomann, Columbanus, Fridolin, Gall and Kilian are predominant, with a date range from the 8th–17th centuries

Italian sources derive from Assisi, Bobbio, Bologna, Florence, Ivrea, Padua, Turin, Udine. They contain texts for Brendan, Brigid, Cataldus, Columbanus, Gall, Maglorius, Patrick, Rumold, with a date range from the 10th–17th centuries.

Polish liturgical manuscripts have been identified which contain Propers for Irish saints, or references to them in Kalendars and litanies. Among them are Brigid, Columbanus, Gall, Kilian, Malachy. The date range is 11th–16th centuries.

In Switzerland, the materials are mostly from Einsiedeln, St Gallen, and Rheinau. They include liturgies for Brigid, Columba, Columbanus, Findan, Fridolin, Gall. Their date range is 9th–15th centuries.

Research on liturgical sources

Until recently, the monumental fifty-five volume *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi*, edited by Guido Dreves and Clemens Blume (Leipzig 1886–1922), has been the most representative large-scale survey containing liturgical material for Irish saints.²³ However, being some one hundred years old, and containing a large number of errors, it is in need of substantial revision. The texts have been subjectively edited. Chants for certain saints are not found in the cited manuscripts. A further difficulty is the incomplete listing of libraries where the manuscripts are housed, while library sigla are frequently incomplete. The presence (or absence) of notation is rarely mentioned, making it particularly inconvenient for musicologists.

Furthermore, the original *Analecta Hymnica* project was limited to rhymed offices and hymns, with the result that much material relating to liturgical Propers was excluded, e.g., prayers and other prose items such as lections, as well as unrhymed antiphons, responsories, verses.

And since the purpose of *Analecta Hymnica* was to list only Proper texts, i.e. where the specific saint is mentioned by name, this overlooked numerous instances where a feast was marked by standard texts. For example, in the case of Brigid, material might be borrowed from the Common of Virgins, or from comparable texts for the office for Our Lady, St Otilia, or St Birgit of Sweden; or texts for St Rupert used for Virgil of Salzburg.

A further problem is geographical. Sources from the German lands represent the greater

²³ Another useful source is Dom Louis Gougoud’s work which contains important information on liturgical traditions. See especially his *Les saints irlandais* (fn. 2 above), *passim*.

part of the survey. France and Italy are not widely represented, hence much more primary work remains to be undertaken, as is also the case for Central and Eastern Europe. Since the opening up of archives and the resurgence of research on medieval holdings, Poland in particular has proved to be of great significance, particularly in the area of Krakow. Virgil of Salzburg instigated a mission not only to the Slavs of Carinthia (now in Austria) but also to the Czech lands. In the eleventh century, a Benedictine monastery was founded at Tyniec, near Krakow, by monks from Brauweiler (near Cologne) under royal patronage. At least one of the abbots of Tyniec is believed to have been Irish.

In order to address these issues, a project was established in 2003,²⁴ the aim of which has been to document and electronically archive the entire corpus of devotional texts for Irish saints, and their melodies where they exist, and where they can be transcribed into modern notation. While the emphasis is on saints born in Ireland, there is sometimes doubt as to their exact provenance. A further complication is caused by the occasional tendency, especially in the Carolingian era, to claim Irish ancestry for a founder saint in order to enhance the reputation of a monastery. However, in those cases where there was a definite association with an Irish community, we opt for inclusivity on the grounds that they represent an Irish cultural presence. (An example is Babolenus (d. c. 670), Abbot of St-Pierre-des-Fossés (later St Maur-des Fossés) near Paris. Claims for his Irish birth may be unfounded, but he was educated at the Columbanian monastery of Luxeuil.²⁵)

All of the materials are being organised in a fully searchable database. Included also will be brief biographies of the saints in question, summary details of the religious houses and the manuscript or printed sources, together with a comprehensive and regularly updated bibliography. An interactive website (with links to other relevant sites) will be managed and maintained in order to enable comments and scholarly contributions to be submitted electronically.

The database will enable exhaustive searches by:

- chant or prayer genre, lection, textual and melodic incipit, textual phrase and melodic formula;
- manuscript type, library, shelf-mark;
- saint, and context of reference (e.g., sanctorale, litany, calendar);
- ecclesiastical institution;
- authors of melodies and texts (where known);
- bibliographic reference (by author and title).

Conclusion

The project seems timely in view of the increasing interest in regional studies in this field. In being an exhaustive exploration of one cultural strand, it complements and extends exist-

²⁴ The research has been made possible through support from the Irish Research Council for Humanities and Social Sciences Project Grants Scheme.

²⁵ I am grateful to Kate Helsen for drawing St Babolenus and his office to my attention, and for her generosity in making her research materials available to me.

ing work such as LMLO,²⁶ and the *Historia* series. The searchable edition of the texts of rhymed offices in LMLO²⁷ includes some Irish saints, but these amount to less than half of the number now identified. Nor does LMLO include hymns or lections. By the same token, many of the materials of this project are not found in the standard literature, such as *Corpus antiphonalium officii*, *Monumenta monodica medii aevi*, Chevalier's *Repertorium hymnologicum* and *Bibliotheca hagiographica latina*.

In engaging with similar projects in other countries, we hope to bring Irish and Irish-related materials more actively within the international sphere of research on chant, liturgical poetry, and hagiography, and at a wider level to contribute to the study of music and liturgy as part of the fuller social dynamic of which they were once an integral part. In conclusion, it needs to be emphasised that such a project can only achieve its long-term aim through extensive and ongoing consultation and collaboration with others. Contributions of materials and other suggestions from colleagues will be welcome at any time.

Appendix

Saints from Ireland or with Irish associations for whom liturgical Propers survive in medieval sources

(Feastdays are included in parentheses. An asterisk denotes a presence outside of Ireland and Britain.)

Aedius Killariensis / Aedh Mac Bricc (November 10)

*Babolenus (June 26)

Bega (October 31)

*Brendanus (May 16)

Brigida (February 1)

Camelacus

Cannicus (October 11)

*Cataldus (May 10)

*C(h)olomannus (October 13)

Columba (June 9)

*Columbanus (November 23)

Comgillus (May 10)

*Disibodus (September 8; 6 July according to Hildegard of Bingen)

*Donatus of Fiesole (October 22)

*Dympna (May 30, formerly May 15)

Fechinus / Vigean (January 20)

*Fiacrius (August 30)

*Findanus (Feast: November 25, Translatio: May 8)

²⁶ Andrew Hughes, *Late Medieval Liturgical Offices: Tools for Electronic Research: Texts, Subsidia Mediaevalia* 23, Toronto, 1994; *Sources and Chant, Subsidia Mediaevalia* 24, Toronto, 1996.

²⁷ Website: www.pims.ca/lmlo.html; it may be consulted also on the CANTUS website, www.let.uu.nl/ogc/cantus/HTML/CANTUS_index.htm.

Fin(n)ianus of Clonard (December 12)
*Foillanus (October 3)
*Fridolinus (March 6)
*Fursaeus (January 16)
*Gallus (October 16)
Kiaranus / Ciaran (September 9)
*Kilianus, Colonatus et Totnanus / Kilianus et socii eius (July 8)
Lasreanus Daminisensis / Molassius (April 18)
*Laurentius Dublinensis / Laurence O'Toole (November 14)
*Maglorius (October 24)
*Malachia (November 3)
Monenna / Darerca / Blinne (July 6)
*Patricius (March 17)
Patricius, Columba, Brigida (Translatio: June 10)
*Rumoldus (June 24)
*Sunniva (July 7)
Tigernacus (April 4)
*Virgilius (Feast: November 27, Translatio: September 24)

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*PEREGRINI PRO CHRISTO: IRSKA CERKEV V SREDNJEVEŠKI EVROPI KOT SE
KAŽE V LITURGIJI NJENIH SVETNIKOV MISIJONARJEV*

Povzetek

V zgodovini srednjeveške Evrope se pogosto omenjajo Irci (imenovani včasih tudi »Scotti«), ki so delovali v različnih predelih kontinentalne Evrope, bodisi kot misijonarji, menihi, nune, škofje ali pa učenjaki in pisci svojega časa. Številne samostanske skupnosti so ustanovili irski menihi; v nemških deželah je od 13. do 15. stol. obstajala kongregacija irskih samostanov (»Schotten«). Ker so bili mnogi v religioznem življenju dejavni Irci in Irke kanonizirani, se je njihov spomin ohranjal tudi v liturgiji. Irski svetniki so prisotni v mnogih kodeksih iz domala vseh evropskih dežel. Oficiji njihovih godov so pogosto sestajali iz spevov in drugih sestavin, katerih besedila se neposredno nanašajo nanje. Po zdajšnjih podatkih obstoji okoli 150 proprijskih spevov iz oficijev irskih svetnikov, ki so prisotni v okoli 300 srednjeveških kodeksih.