

CHAPTER XXI

Music in Ireland to c.1500

ANN BUCKLEY

BEFORE proceeding to discuss the question of music in prehistoric Ireland, it may be helpful to consider how the evidence is identified and assessed. Two requirements for the investigation of prehistoric music cultures are archaeological excavation and a broad range of comparative data. The former is essential, since the only evidence we can hope for is that of material survivals. We have no written records; thus objects which would have been used for producing sound, and depictions of these objects, or of music-making situations (e.g., dance), are our only sources. Comparative data are usually a *sine qua non*, for the range of sound-producing objects is, in theory, unlimited. If little is known about the musical behaviour of a particular society, how are we to recognise the tools that may have been used for intentional sound-production? By building up evidence for the kinds of occasions and purposes for which organised sound may have been used, according to particular types of social requirements and patterns of behaviour, we begin to build more realistic theories and hence assist in the identification of relevant artefacts.

At the most general level, any hard object is a potential sound-producing tool, since rhythm can be produced by beating it. A tube can be blown to produce a pitch; a stretched membrane can be struck (as in a drum), and gut may be plucked (using as a resonator the mouth, a hollowed-out gourd, or a soundboard). Objects retrieved from prehistoric sites are made of stone, bone, clay, and metal. Wood and other organic materials, such as membrane, are not robust enough to survive the ravages of time, therefore the nature of the substance has limited our prospects of recovering information. Paleolithic and neolithic sound tools that survive in various parts of Europe include rocks which, when struck, sound like bells (instances are documented in western Scotland, Scandinavia, and the Canary Islands); bone flutes, bullroarers, and scrapers in Scandinavia, Germany, France, and central Europe. From the central and west European bronze and iron ages we have metal rattles, jingles, and bells, and a range of bone objects. Ceramic pots have been recovered from Roman sites in Germany and from iron-age Scandinavia, with holes pierced around the neck, sometimes with traces of organic

deposit. This is suggestive of a stretched skin which, when tied down under tension, could be struck like a drum.

The critical factor in building a theoretical construct is a plausible social model: to consider likely uses of organised sound, it is necessary to have some idea of the type of society being investigated, and from there to suggest a possible soundscape. For example, in a hunter-gatherer society, animal calls would be likely on a range of whistles, serving several functions, including that of decoys in trapping birds and animals, and calling to other hunters. The need to signal over long distances might be served by wood, bone, or metal wind instruments in addition to vocal cries.

While it is thought that the first Celtic immigrants arrived in these islands during the fifth century B.C., we have not inherited contemporary accounts concerning the way of life of British and Irish settlers. Writing is found very late in the Celtic period and is limited to memorial and boundary stones in a form known as Ogam, consisting of straight lines in various combinations of vertical and diagonal, which, despite its esoteric appearance, is based on the Roman alphabet.¹

The observations of classical writers on the music of continental Celts merit our attention as we attempt to assemble an admittedly diffuse picture. Diodorus Siculus (born during the reign of Caesar Augustus, 27 B.C.—A.D. 14), writing in Greek, derived his information from the Greek writer Poseidonios who, c.80 B.C., referred to the 'barbaric' nature and 'harsh' sounds of the Celtic war-trumpets, which he termed *salpinges*.² The Greek historian Polybius (b. Arcadia c.200 B.C., d. after 118 B.C.), in his account of the battle of Telamon (225 B.C.), described the terrifying effect on the Roman army of the din and clamour created by large numbers of Celtic trumpeters and horn-blowers, and by the war-cries of the entire Celtic army. He also referred to the fear inspired by the appearance and gestures of the finely built naked warriors in the front lines and by their leaders, who were richly adorned with gold torcs and armlets.³ Diodorus Siculus wrote also of the lyric poets of the Celts who sang of heroic deeds 'to the accompaniment of instruments resembling lyres, sometimes a eulogy and sometimes a satire' (V.§31.2). Lyre-players are depicted on seventh-century B.C. Hallstatt urns

¹ Modern Celtic scholars have painstakingly addressed the problems of deciphering this script (also found in Wales, in those parts of Pembrokeshire settled by immigrants from Munster, the Déisi), in contrast to a number of romantics who have insisted that a cryptic system of musical notation was intended; some have even postulated that Celtic interlace patterns comprise musical notation when a five-line stave is superimposed, with pitches designated at points of intersection. Apart from this being a wholly unfounded hypothesis, staff notation had not even been invented at this time.

² J. J. Tierney, 'The Celtic ethnography of Posidonius' in *R.I.A. Proc.*, lx (1960), sect. C, pp 189–275, 228, V. § 30.3, and 251.

³ Polybius, *The histories*, trans. W. R. Paton (6 vols, London and Cambridge, Mass., 1967), i, 313–15.

from Sopron (in present-day Hungary) as well as on Gaulish and British coins of some six centuries later. The *carnyx* or animal-headed horn associated with the Celts is featured on coins also, as well as on the Gundestrup silver cauldron found in Denmark (but probably of Danubian origin), which dates to 100 B.C.⁴

Bronze-age Ireland has bequeathed an impressive quantity of horns. A total of ninety complete examples survive, as well as some fragments (plate 1a). It is difficult to date them precisely, but they are generally assigned to a period stretching from the late eighth to perhaps the second century B.C. They involved skilled craftsmanship and sophisticated engineering, and were evidently instruments of high status. Distinctive variations in construction detail and decoration point to the existence of several foundries across the country, and their quantity and distribution permit the study of significant technical developments over a long period of time. There is evidence for two types, in the north-east and south-west of Ireland, respectively, with both types occurring in the midlands.⁵ Many of the horns were found in pairs, one side-blown, the other end-blown; the former are otherwise extremely rare in prehistoric Europe, and may represent an indigenous Irish development. Several theories have been advanced for the likely social function and musical possibilities of these impressive finds. An experiment was carried out in March 1857 by Robert Ball of Dublin (1802–57) on an instrument in the National Museum of Ireland, during which he attempted to produce high pitches of trumpet-like quality—assuming the instrument to have been used in this manner.⁶ The repeated efforts resulted in a burst blood-vessel, which caused his premature death.

Holmes⁷ provides a detailed account of construction techniques and performance capabilities.⁸ His analysis of the mouthpieces indicates that the horns are not suited to calls at high pitches, yet they respond controllably when a player employs gentler wind pressure with flaccid embouchure, produ-

⁴ A photograph of this depiction may be seen in Ian Finlay, *Celtic art: an introduction* (London, 1973), p. 59, pl. 21. It affords a rare glimpse of instruments in use: the scene depicts a figure, possibly a king, being sacrificed by drowning in a cauldron, attended by warriors bearing shields and holding a tree aloft on the points of their spears; behind this are three figures blowing horns.

⁵ See distribution map in John Coles, 'Irish bronze age horns and their relations with northern Europe' in *Prehist. Soc. Proc.*, xxix (1963), pp 326–56: 331; also *ibid.*, pp 349–56, for a catalogue of Irish wind instrument materials from the bronze age. Similar instruments have been identified from late bronze-age Denmark and southern Sweden.

⁶ Ball had distinguished himself in geological and zoological science and had supervised the restoration of the historic harp in the museum of T.C.D., where he was curator.

⁷ Peter Holmes, 'The manufacturing technology of the Irish bronze age horns' in Michael Ryan (ed.), *The origins of metallurgy in Atlantic Europe* (Dublin, 1979), pp 165–81.

⁸ Experimental sound recordings have been made of some of the Irish horns; see Simon O'Dwyer, *Coirn na hÉireann. Horns of ancient Ireland* (cassette), CNE 001 (Blackrock [Dublin], 1994).

cing a low, penetrating drone rather like that of the Australian didjeridu. If they were used thus, we can only speculate as to the nature of any interaction between pairs or larger groups. Holmes's research suggests that pitch and precision of timbre were not critical factors—the bore of the instruments being left in a rough state. This cannot be interpreted as carelessness or incompetence on the part of the manufacturers, since in all other respects a high standard of engineering and casting technique is manifest. The horns may have functioned as signalling instruments. We should also be mindful of their possible use before and during battle to terrify the enemy by contributing to the clamour and tumult. Their combined sound, some perhaps used as voice enhancers, might have presented a daunting challenge to the fiercest of warriors, particularly when—as the evidence suggests—they symbolised power, status, and wealth. It is possible that they also had a role in corporate music-making, perhaps with a religious or other ritual function. The late bronze-age Dowris hoard from County Offaly consists of twenty-seven horns, forty-eight crotals (metal rattles), and seven metal vessels (plate 118). Coles has suggested that they may have been used in rituals connected with a bull cult.⁹

While detailed description is not afforded by early medieval Irish literary sources, two terms are encountered for wind instruments: *corn*, meaning a horn, and *stoc*, a wind instrument (horn or trumpet) of war. The practice of inspiring fear in the enemy by producing a war-cry with a deep rasping drone is well attested in the tales of Fionn Mac Cumhail and his Fianna warriors (and documented as an Irish practice as late as 1581 in John Derricke's *Image of Irelande*).¹⁰ The entire army is said to have made a loud noise called *dord-fhian* or 'Fianna drone', which had the reputation of overwhelming opponents.

In spite of the impressive nature and size of the horn deposits, the range of finds of Irish prehistoric sound-tools as a whole is meagre. This is no doubt due as much to the difficulties of identification as to the extent of materials requiring examination. A reassessment of museum holdings is timely in the light of continuing revision of interpretation and new work in the expanding field of music archaeology.

MOVING to the historic period, before the arrival of the Normans in large numbers Gaelic Irish society was led by lordly landowners on whom entire

⁹ John M. Coles, 'The archaeological evidence for a "bull cult" in late bronze age Europe' in *Antiquity*, xxxix (1965), pp 217–19.

¹⁰ John Derricke, *The image of Irelande; with a discoverie of woodkerne (1581)*, repr. with introduction, transliteration and glossary by David B. Quinn (Belfast, 1985). See Ann Buckley, 'Representations of musicians in John Derricke's *The image of Irelande*' in Vjera Katalinić and Zdravko Blažeković (ed.), *Festschrift Koraljka Kos* (Croatian Musicological Society; Zagreb, 1999), pp 77–91: 88.

communities depended. The country was divided into about 150 units of government called *tuatha*, each ruled by its *ri* ('king'). Larger units, comprising several of these *tuatha*, were built up by stronger chieftains whose families maintained ascendancy, so that only some thirty existed by the early twelfth century.

It was the custom to employ an official court poet or *fili*, whose duty it was to compose poetry in praise of his patron and to be the oral repository of historical events, presented in a way that would uphold the excellence of the king's line of descent. A *fili* often combined these duties with the office of *brithem*, or judge. He held the highest position at court next to the king and was also an *ollam*, one who had pursued an approved course of training in a particular discipline such as law or poetry. In the performance of court poetry the poem made by the *fili* was recited, probably in a declamatory fashion, by a functionary known as *reacaire*, accompanied by a musician, or *oirfidech*, who was usually a *cruit*(*t*), a player of a stringed instrument. This musician enjoyed professional standing which was sometimes recognised in law as equivalent to the highest grade of independent commoner or freeman, that of a superior *bó-aire* (i.e. entitled to an 'honour-price'—the fine levied on anyone who insulted or injured him—of four cows). In some tracts it is allowed that he enjoyed this status whether or not in the employ of a court, and that he was free to travel about as he wished. Other craftsmen and entertainers, while having the status of freemen, had an honour-price only when officially attached to a patron. Within the feudal social system an individual with unfree status might acquire franchise by practising a skilled trade. Therefore, not only *cruit*-players but also smiths and physicians were classified as freemen according to the maxim of law, *is ferr fer a chiniud*—'a man is better than his birth'.¹¹ Chieftains' courts provided open house to travelling musicians and poets who received hospitality and gifts in return for their services of entertainment. The subject of a poem was often, not surprisingly, that of praise for the host. Where a collection of such praise-poetry was committed to writing it was called a *duanaire*, or 'poem-book'.¹²

The narrative literature of early Ireland is ostensibly mythological. Tales were recited for leisure and entertainment, and their content and style inform us greatly about the mentalities of their reciters and patrons. Exaggeration in accounts of personal valour or misfortune was an important convention. Detailed descriptions of superhuman deeds and heroic attitudes indicate the social codes of the time. And there are numerous references to music. The most common characteristics alluded to are the triad of weeping music (*goltraige*), laughing music (*geantraige*), and sleeping music (*suantraige*), classifi-

¹¹ Byrne, *Ir. kings*, p. 175, taken from the 'Uraiccecht Bec' ('Small primer'), an eighth-century legal text from Munster, dealing with rank and status.

¹² See Brian Ó Cuív, *The Irish bardic duanaire or poem-book* (Dublin, 1983).

cations of great antiquity which have been observed in disparate cultures and civilisations. The functions of music include assisting in the casting of spells, tricking enemies, praising gods. There are numerous references to stringed instruments with golden tuning-pegs and silver strings. Whether these details can be relied on as accurate accounts of general practice is doubtful, but they contain significant information as to meaningful concepts among those for whom the tales were recited.

Similarly, when examining praise-poetry and genealogies, it should be borne in mind that the first task of the *reacaire* and of the *oirfidech* was to please the king, the chief patron, on whom board and lodging as well as future employment depended. Thus an impressive lineage, traced through a noble series of heroes as far back as Moses and Adam, is clearly not historically reliable, to say the least, but it demonstrates what was important to the distinguished personage being praised, as well as the nature of the tasks confronting the poets and reciters. Furthermore, the references to music underline, as in other areas, the importance of the tales as model-setting or exemplary exercises.¹³

From the numerous descriptions in Irish literature of lavishly decorated instruments and sweet-sounding music, we may form some idea as to the importance attached to this art at the courts, but the kind of music it was, stylistically or structurally, and the precise nature of the instruments, elude us, for no accounts are sufficiently detailed. We are thus heavily dependent on comparative information from British and continental sources for suggestions and implications as to possible instrumental types. Although likely, it is impossible conclusively to establish whether there were characteristically Irish instruments in existence during the early middle ages. However, examination of iconographic sources does suggest some possibilities; these are discussed below.

Irish sources provide many names for musical instruments. Primary among them are *cruit* or *crot*, and *timpán*, both stringed instruments. Others are *cuisle chiúil*, *feadán*, *piopaí*, different kinds of pipes and whistles, *crotal* (rattles), *corn* (a horn), *stoc* (a war-trumpet), *orgán*, a general term for a musical instrument, and *cramn chiúil*. The last term has been used to denote both *cruit* and *timpán*. Literally, it means 'tree of music', probably because of the association of the wood from which they were fashioned; and with their sound often compared to birdsong, they were poetically considered as 'musical trees'. A similar term, but with other association, is *craeb chiúil* or 'musical branch'—a wooden staff with bells, carried about by poets, which

¹³ See Ann Buckley, "'And his voice swelled like a terrible thunderstorm ...': music as symbolic sound in medieval Irish society" in Gerard Gillen and Harry White (ed.), *Irish Musical Studies*, iii (1995), p. 34 ff., and eadem, 'Music and manners: readings of medieval Irish literature' in *Bullán*, iii, pt 1 (1997), pp 33–43.

functioned both as a symbol of office and as a means of summoning an audience to attention.

A *cruit* was probably a lyre, the earliest dating for which in Irish practice is difficult to assess. The most we can observe at present is that a player's legal status was incorporated in the earliest surviving version of the brehon law tracts, the oldest example of which dates from the sixth/seventh century A.D., though preserved in a twelfth-century manuscript. The laws determined a *cruit*-player's 'honour-price' as four cows, in addition to other payment. The tracts are silent on details of the instrument, as the only matters in need of definition were duties and compensations, reflecting feudal hierarchies and obligations. Older forms of *cruit*, in its meaning of lyre, were superseded some time during the late tenth or eleventh century by the triliteral harp, to which the name was then transferred.

A *timpán* (*tiompán* in modern Irish) appears to have been a plucked lyre, which came to be bowed around the eleventh or twelfth century, when it is thought the bow was adopted in western Europe. The plucked *timpán* was sounded with the fingernails, as was the *cruit*. But we observe a twelfth-century comment on the brehon law tracts where it is stated that a *timpán* player who suffered a blow and lost his nail 'from the black upwards' was entitled to a compensatory 'wing nail' (presumably a quill plectrum, or perhaps a false nail fashioned from quill), while his assailant was fined.

The earliest reference to a *timpán* is found in a source dating from the ninth or tenth century, whence a trail of comments leads through to the seventeenth; presumably this indicates that the instrument was obsolete by that time.¹⁴ Lyres were long established in the Germanic lands, as well as in England and Wales, where they were termed *crowd* and *crwth* respectively. The Irish *timpán* was generally described as a three-stringed instrument in the earlier literature, but the bowed *crwth* that survived in Wales until the early nineteenth century was a six-stringed double-coursed instrument, i.e., with two strings to each pitch. The *crowd* seems to have been obsolete in England by the early sixteenth century; *crowder* became a term of abuse for an incompetent or unworthy fiddler.

Scant references to other instruments in the early sources should most probably be understood as an indication that they did not feature prominently in court life. There is, however, evidence of travelling musicians and poets, players of *cruit* and *timpán* as well as jesters and buffoons (*croisáin*). *Cruit*-players were more often attached to a chieftain's household than were *timpán*-players, the latter being employed usually in the absence of

¹⁴ For a full discussion, see Ann Buckley, 'What was the *tiompán*? A problem in ethnohistorical organology: evidence in Irish literature' in *Jahrbuch für musikalische Volks- und Völkerkunde*, ix (1978), pp 53–88.

a more prestigious *cruit*-player, perhaps a comment on the status of the household.

THE question of ranking and social function of musical instruments is central to any investigation into medieval European music history. At the English and French courts, as well as within the German-speaking principalities, trumpeters commanded the highest status, probably because the performance of their office affirmed the authority and presence of the ruler (whether indoors at ceremonial occasions or outdoors). Players of stringed instruments, such as various forms of lute and harp, were often accorded the status of second rank, being members of the courtly retinue who were required to provide music for indoor convivial gatherings, such as banquets, or for more private occasions, such as the diversion or consolation of an individual in chambers. At a lower level were various other unattached minstrels, some of whom occasionally gained access to courtly audiences but otherwise entertained at fairs, at weddings for the lower orders, and at outdoor spectacles or tournaments. Consistently, the most reviled group were beggars, who often performed on hurdy-gurdies, accompanied dancing bears, and otherwise performed feats of acrobatics and juggling wherever they were tolerated.

The scribes of both the twelfth-century Book of Leinster and the late fourteenth-century Yellow Book of Lecan drew an imaginary sketch of the great banqueting hall at Tara as it might have been in the days of the mythological king Cormac mac Airt. Although the later manuscript provides greater detail, both contain depictions of seating arrangements and portions of meat due to all those present at the king's table, according to rank.

In the centre aisle are three hearths, a cauldron, a candlestick, and a lantern; the long tables are arranged two deep on either side of this group; a number of musicians are included. In the older manuscript¹⁵ we observe *cruit*-players seated between horsemen and judges; all are served pigs' shoulders, as are deer-stalkers, fifth-grade poets, champions, master wrights, and their successors. Horn- and trumpet-players (*cornairí* and *buinnirí*) are at the same table, nearer to the door, between builders and wrights on one side and engravers on the other. These musicians are due the 'middle portion', apparently on a par with the cooks. Pipers (*cuislinnaigh*) are seated at the left-hand inner table at the end, next to the schoolteachers; this group eat the shin portions, as do *airí désa* (fourth-grade nobility), chess-players, soothsayers, and druids. Of the musicians only *cruit*-players were freemen, yet all are placed in positions superior to jesters and conjurors (who are entitled to

¹⁵ Seating plan of Tech Midchúarda (the Hall of Tara) from the Book of Leinster in *Bk Leinster*, i, 116.

shinbones), king's fools (who are due backbones), and satirists and cordwainers (who receive mere shoulder fat).

The version in the Yellow Book of Lecan (plate 128)¹⁶ is almost identical except that *timpánaich*, *timpán*-players, are seated with the *crúit*-players. Is this inclusion perhaps an indication that the instrument was more commonly known at court in the fourteenth century? While the sketch is, of course, an imaginary reconstruction of a prehistoric past, it is likely to be realistic as an account of social hierarchy, since an eighth-century law tract, the *Críth Gablach*, similarly describes seating arrangements appropriate to the hall of a petty chief.¹⁷ This is the earliest surviving source of the seating protocol.

We may also draw useful observations from an eleventh-century poem on the Fair of Carman, a large-scale event of commercial, political, and festive importance, which took in the period down to the seventh century. Written between 1033 and 1079, the text provides references to trumpets, harpers, *tiompán*-players, fiddlers, horns, pipes, shriekers, shouters, pipers, story-telling, riddles, proverbs, and 'bonemen' (possibly playing the bones in the same way as spoons are used nowadays). The poem is thus highly informative regarding codes of reference, as well as providing substantial accounts of travelling performers and reciters. In particular, we find the first known mention of fiddles in an Irish manuscript, a discovery that should not lead anyone to claim that this type of instrument (even less its post-sixteenth-century version) was well established in Ireland by the time of writing. As the fair was an occasion of commerce, it is feasible that the instrument was newly in circulation and noteworthy for that. Or, together with the reference to 'foreign Greeks', this may be an instance of inclusion topical to the eleventh century, consequent upon the settling and integration of the vikings. Doubtless, this latter sequence of events generated fresh patterns of trade, with exotic goods on offer, or otherwise in evidence.

References in both the narrative literature and iconographic sources attest also to the realistic nature of these craftsmen and performers. Players of flutes and whistles are frequently referred to as providers of entertainment, often in the company of string-players. For example, in what is probably a late twelfth-century version of the battle of Mag Roth (637), which also provides an exceptionally detailed account of the technique of *tiompán*-playing,¹⁸ there occurs a passage describing the music played on the eve of battle to put Congal Cláen, prince of Ulster, to sleep:

¹⁶ The texts and drawings from both MSS are discussed in George Petrie, 'On the history and antiquities of Tara Hill' in *R.I.A. Trans.*, xviii (1839), pp 196–212. Included are line drawings of the schemes from both MSS (the Book of Leinster version opposite p. 205, that of the Yellow Book of Lecan opposite p. 207).

¹⁷ Cf. Byrne, *Ir. kings*, p. 33, and D. A. Binchy (ed.), *Críth Gablach* (Dublin, 1941).

¹⁸ See Buckley, 'What was the *tiompán*?', p. 62 ff, for fuller discussion of this topic.

Ocus ro chodail Congal iar sin re ciuin-fhogar na cuisleann ciuil, ocus re foscad faídemhail, fuasaídech, fir-truag na téd ocus na timpán ga tadall d'aighthib ocus d'form-nadaib eand ocus ingen na duas 'gá sar-sheinn.

(And after that Congal slept to the quiet sound of the musical pipes and the prophetic ominous truly sad shadows of the strings and tiompáns being touched by the fronts [i.e. front surface of the fingers], sides [of the knuckles], [finger-] tips and nails of the performers who played so well on them.)

Thus wind instruments were not only instruments of war and court ceremonial. In 'Táin Bó Froích' there is an account of magical horns. Froích, the human son of an Otherworld woman, went on a mission to woo Findabair, daughter of Ailill and Medb, monarchs of Connacht. His hosts caused him a severe illness by inducing him to enter a pool where he was attacked by a water-monster. His horn-players (*a chornairi*) went ahead to the fort, whereupon the melting plaintiveness of their music caused thirty of Ailill's dearest friends to die of rapture. It may reasonably be assumed that here something more elaborate than signalling instruments was in question. We shall see subsequently how their symbolic importance was also transferred to a Christian religious context.¹⁹

In Froích's retinue were also other professional entertainers whose duty it presumably was to provide services while camped for the night. They included three buffoons (*druith*) wearing coronets; seven horn-players (*cornaire*) with instruments of gold and silver, wearing many-coloured clothes and white shirts; and three *cruid*-players, each with the appearance of a king from the style of his dress, his arms, and his steed.

This description is one of the most elaborate in terms of detail. The instruments referred to as *cruid* were carried in bags of otterskin, ornamented with coral over which was more ornamentation of gold and silver. The bags were lined on the inside with white roebuck skins, these in turn overlaid with black-grey strips of skin.²⁰ White linen cloths were wrapped around the strings. The frames of the instruments were decorated in gold, silver, and *findruine* ('white bronze'), with figures of serpents, birds, and greyhounds. As the strings vibrated, these figures 'went around the men', in other words, appeared to move and dance with the movement of the instruments and of the strings. The musicians played the three strains of weeping, laughing, and sleeping music, just as they had done when Froích's mother was in labour, reflecting the sequence of her emotions of pain, joy, and rest, supporting and comforting her in the process.

¹⁹ See Buckley, '“And his voice swelled”', pp 40–41, for details of sources.

²⁰ For a recent study of harp bags, see Martin van Schaik, 'The harp bag in the middle ages: an iconographical study' in *The historical harp: proceedings of the International Harp Symposium, Utrecht 1992* (Utrecht, 1994), pp 3–11.

There is a dearth of information to hand on most matters of existence outside of the Irish courts. Nor is there any clear evidence that non-professionals were engaged in singing and dancing for their own entertainment. None the less, we may assume only that such concerns were beneath the notice of learned officials and monkish scribes, the chroniclers of events and duties. And it is also likely that they disapproved (at least officially) of such behaviour, as it was contrary to Christian ideology. Dancing was suppressed by the early Christian church, which regarded it as devilish and immoral. As a result, there is no evidence for its existence as a professional and court activity between the late Roman empire and the early fourteenth century. However, it was hardly the case that Celts, vikings, and Anglo-Saxons never moved to music, but that more modern concepts and fashions of courtly step and formalised gesture would not have applied till later with the development of more elaborate court societies.²¹ No specific word for dancing can be found in Old or Middle Irish. In modern Irish the words *damhsa* and *rince* are used, derived respectively from Old French and Scandinavian. The English word *dance* is derived from French, like its modern Irish counterpart. Examining an early Irish treatment of the dance of Salome before Herod, a tenth-century poem includes the words *clessaigecht*, acrobatics, *lémenda*, leaping about, and *opairecht*, dexterity, or perhaps 'skill in activity'. Old and Middle English (and Latin) sources reveal similar concepts; leaping and acrobatics seem to include dancing.

There is insufficient space to deal more fully with many related practices: some of them have been merely outlined above; others must await another occasion. Certain well-known topics are widely attested and need to be developed, ideally, within a more comprehensive sociological framework. A survey along those lines would include all uses of organised sound as a marker of circular and linear time. Circular time, the repetitive acts of day, week, month, season, and year, was ordered, for example, by the use of bells to signal moments in the daily cycle of work, prayer, eating, and relaxation; the chanting of the office symbolically marked the course of the twenty-four-hour day; day- and night-time activities, seasonal labour, etc., were symbolised by animal bells, calls, songs, cries, and other rituals associated with craftsmen such as smiths, builders, masons, agricultural labourers, hunters, fishermen; traders; travelling clerics and pilgrims; seasonal festivities for spring and harvest, and for the summer and winter solstices (later subsumed within the Christian calendar, though retaining pre-Christian elements); saints' and other liturgical feasts; processions; pilgrimages. Fairs, including kings' royal assemblies (political meetings) as well as days of public festivity, were

²¹ See Walter Salmen, *Der Tanzmeister: Geschichte und Profile eines Berufes vom 14. bis 19. Jahrhundert. Mit einem Anhang, 'Der Tanzmeister in der Literatur'* (Hildesheim, Zürich, and New York, 1997), pp 5–7.

attended by stringed and wind instruments to mark certain occasions and their associated rituals of hospitality and entertainment. Linear time includes life-cycle rituals: birth (as in the tale of the three kinds of music performed for Fraích's mother while she was giving birth), initiation, betrothal, death; age-group rituals such as the activities of members of the Fian; initiation rites for kings accompanied by music on *corn* and *stoc*, followed by court entertainment; elaborate lamentations for the dead, particularly that of warriors and kings, and on occasion of loss in battle.

A Latin song from c.600 attributed to Columbanus is very suggestive of actual singing of worksongs. Although Carney may be correct in proposing that it represents a metaphoric exhortation to his monks to persevere in their Christian faith, like men steering a boat in rough weather,²² it would seem unreasonable not to regard it as modelled on such a song from real life, given its use of the refrain, *Heia viri! nostrum reboans echo sonet heia!* ('Heave, men! And let resounding echo sound our "heave"!') in the first four stanzas, changing to *Vestra, viri, Christum memorans mens personet heia!* ('You men! remember Christ with mind still sounding "heave"!') for stanzas five to eight.²³

The lament tradition is well attested in the vernacular mythological literature, and reflected *inter alia* in the (?late sixth-century) 'Amra Cholúim Chille' ('Lament for Colum Cille') and in the eleventh-century 'Eve's lament', 'Mé Éba'.²⁴ And it rightly forms part of the study of the history of Latin and vernacular *planctus* in the wider European tradition. The following lines from the probably seventh-century elegy (*marbnad*) on the death of Cumman, attributed to Colmán moccu Cluasaig, may well be suggestive of oral-tradition *caoine* which would certainly have existed side by side with the ritual compositions of official poets: 'A heart does not break, even if it painfully laments a dead man, no matter whom its lamentation concerns, if the ears of the living westwards from Cliu are not shattered by the lamentations for Cummine'.²⁵ There are many other references to weeping and lamentations on the occasion of death and burial. Not all of them may be assumed to have taken the form of a *caoine*, but they would probably have included this aspect. Examples may be seen in the Life of St Molua,

²² James Carney, *Medieval Irish lyrics* (Portlaoise, 1967), p. xvi.

²³ See *ibid.*, pp 8–10. The authorship of this song has been disputed by some scholars. Lapidge & Sharpe (*Bibliography*, p. 172, no. 654) locate it in the Carolingian period, attributing it to another Columbanus, abbot of Saint-Trond (*fl.* c.780 × c.815). This publication also contains further bibliographic references for the use of *celeuma* (organised rhythmic activity in groups) in Christian Latin poetry.

²⁴ Carney, *Medieval Irish lyrics*, pp 72–5.

²⁵ Fleischmann & Gleeson, 'Music in ancient Munster', p. 86. Cf. R. Thurneysen, *Die Irischen Helden- und Königsagen* (1921), p. 84.

who brought Croin back to life. Croin's sisters were described as weeping in a circle round her (*flentes circa eam*).²⁶ And in 'Betha Shenáin', in an account of the saint's having restored a chieftain's only son to life, when Senán arrived with his tutor, Notál, at Cell Mór Arad Tíre, he saw a great multitude wailing and sorrowing (*oc cáine agus oc toinsi*).²⁷

The existence of formal laments may also provide valuable insights into questions of identity and patronage of musicians, as in the case of the lament for Conchubhar Mac Conghalaigh, harper to Domhnall Ó Donnabháin, who was chief of Clann Chathail from 1584 to 1630.²⁸

THERE has been little attention accorded the subject of women's music in medieval Ireland, that is, music performed by women for the purpose of entertainment and leisure. Clearly women were associated with lamenting the dead. What other evidence there is is not extensive, because the usual context for it is the sphere of private life and informal household activities. It is worth mentioning the *grianán* where women sat and did handiwork, such as embroidery, to the accompaniment of a sweet-stringed *tiompán*. There are also occasional references to individual women musicians, whether professional or amateur, for example, the fairy musician in 'Aislinge Óengusso' who played a *tiompán* to which Oengus slept.²⁹ Interestingly, I have not come across references to women performing on other instruments, not even a *cruit*. However, the paucity of information makes any speculation unwise. The 'Fragmentary annals' contain an entry for the year 689 concerning the slaying of Diarmait of Mide about which a woman satirist (*bancháinte*) is said to have sung at the Fair of Taitiu—clearly a reference to a professional performer.³⁰ It is likely that more information will be brought to light in future research.³¹

²⁶ Plummer, *Vitae SS Hib.*, ii, 220, § 19.

²⁷ See Whitley Stokes (ed.), *Lives of the saints from the Book of Lismore* (Oxford, 1890), p. 61, l. 2105. Cf. the reference below (p. 763) to Gerald of Wales's comment on the practice of wailing at funerals among the Irish and the Spanish.

²⁸ See the study by Seán Ua Súilleabháin and Seán Donnelly, "'Music has ended": the death of a harper' in *Celtica*, xxii (1991), pp 165–75. See also Rachel Bromwich, 'The keen for Art O'Leary, its background and its place in the tradition of Gaelic keening' in *Éigse*, v (1945–7), pp 236–52; Breandán Ó Madagáin, 'Irish vocal music and syllabic verse' in Robert O'Driscoll (ed.), *The Celtic consciousness* (Toronto, 1981), pp 311–32; Angela Partridge, 'Wild men and wailing women' in *Éigse*, xviii (1980–81), pp 25–37.

²⁹ Francis Shaw (ed.), *Aislinge Óengusso: the dream of Oengus* (Dublin, 1934); see Buckley, 'What was the tiompán?', p. 56 ff., for further discussion.

³⁰ Buckley, "'And his voice swelled'", p. 52.

³¹ See, for example, the useful survey by Ruth P. M. Lehmann, 'Women's songs in Irish, 800–1500' in John F. Plummer (ed.), *Vox feminae: studies in medieval women's songs* (Kalamazoo, 1981), pp 111–34, who discusses woman's voice in medieval Irish lyric. Her focus is not on authorship or professional performers, however, but rather on how the female voice or persona is presented and given expression.

IMPORTANT sources of historical information concerning the identities of musicians are the extensive collections of annals dating from the late medieval to the early modern periods, e.g., the Annals of Ulster (fifteenth century), the Annals of Connacht (fifteenth century), Dowling's Annals of Ireland (sixteenth century), the Annals of Clonmacnoise (English translation 1627, the original is lost), and the Annals of the Four Masters (seventeenth century).³² They contain accounts of local events, genealogies of well-known personages, and obituaries. Identical information sometimes appears in two or more collections, indicating that scribes copied from a common earlier source. There are several references to musicians who were attached to particular chieftains. Usually in the form of obituaries, these musicians are referred to as *ollamh* or *sáí* (modern Irish *saoi*, a wise or learned person), and both *cruit* and *tiompán* players are included. In all, fourteen professional musicians are recorded in the annals. The following example is taken from the Annals of Connacht: '1361 Gilla-na-Naem h. Conmaig ollam Tuadmuman re seinm mortuus est' ('In the year 1361 Gilla-na-Náem ua Conmaig, *ollamh* of Thomond in instrumental music, died'). This indicates that he was chief musician to the leading family of Thomond, the O'Briens.

Similarly, the next reference from the Annals of the Four Masters: '1361 Mac Raith ua Find ollamh Sil Muireadaigh i seinm agus i tiompánacht decc' ('In the year 1361 Mac Rath ua Find, *ollamh* to the Síil Muireadaigh in instrumental music and *tiompán*-playing, died'). The reference to the *tiompán* may simply qualify the kind of instrumental music which he played, although the distinction, *seinm*/*tiompánacht*, may indicate that he also performed on other instruments. An example of how accounts may vary is the following quotation from the Annals of Ulster: '1361 Gilla-na-Naem Ó Conmaid, ollam Tuad-Muman, idon re timpánacht, d'ég' ('In the year 1361 Gilla-na-Náem Ó Conmaid, *ollamh* of Thomond, that is, in *tiompán*-playing, died'). This is the same musician as mentioned above in the Annals of Connacht, but without the distinction between instrumental music in general and the more particular *tiompán* reference. Sometimes too there are discrepancies in the dates given for events, and differences of opinion as to whether a particular instrumentalist was a player of *cruit* or *tiompán*. These are small points which do not obscure our view of the social status of the musicians in question or of their attachment to specific households, and probably indicate only that those who recorded the information were not concerned with such technicalities.

³² Full bibliographic details for these and the quotations that follow may be found in Buckley, 'What was the *tiompán*?', p. 78 ff.

There are two references to *tiompán*-players whose patrons are mentioned. Although only one of these players is specifically stated to have been an *ollamh*, it goes without saying that the other, Maelruanaid Ó Cerbaill, also had this status. The latter was one of the victims in an assault on Sir Seán Mac Feorais (Sir John Bermingham, Anglo-Norman earl of Louth), described in the Annals of Connacht as ‘the most energetic and last baron in the country’. An account of the slaughter is provided in Clyn’s Annals of Ireland, dated to 1329:

In ista strage et eodem die Cam O’Kayrwill, famosus ille tympanista et cytharista, in arte sua fenix, ea pollens prerogativa et virtute, cum aliis tympanistis discipulis ejus circiter 20 ibidem occubuit. Iste... vocatus Cam O’Kayrwill, quia luscus erat nec habebat oculus rectos, sed oblique respiciens, et si non fuerat artis musice cordalis primus inventor, omnium tamen predecessorum et precedentium ipsum ac contemporaneorum, corrector, doctor et director extitit.

(In that slaughter and on the same day, Cam O’Kayrwill, that famous *tiompán*-player and harper, a phoenix in his art, excelling in this beyond all others, and in merit, died along with twenty other *tiompán*-players who were students of his. He... was called Cam O’Kayrwill, because he was blind in one eye, nor did he have straight eyes but looked sideways [i.e. he was squint-eyed]. And if he was not the original inventor of string music, of all his predecessors and contemporaries he was the corrector, teacher, and director.)

This is of special importance, as it contains the only known reference to a school of *tiompán*-players, and to a particular teacher. However, it is undoubtedly suggestive of more widespread practice.

An unusual account is found in Dowling’s Annals of Ireland (late sixteenth century) for the year 1137. Often cited as evidence for antiquity and continuity of a noble tradition, as also for the presumed superiority of Irish string-players, the text was officially invoked in sixteenth-century Wales during a meeting of Welsh bards concerned to protect their profession by establishing a musicians’ guild:

Griffith ap Conan, princeps Northwallie, natus in Hibernia, ex muliere Hibernica, filia regis Eblane, aliter Dublin, duxit secum ex Hibernia lyras, tympanas, cruttas, cytharas, cytharizantes.

(Gruffydd ap Cynan, prince of North Wales, born in Ireland of an Irishwoman, daughter of the king of Eblana, otherwise Dublin, brought with him from Ireland *lyrae, tympanae, cruttae, cytharae*, and players of *cytharae*.)

THAT Ireland had an established reputation for instrumental music during the middle ages is indicated by several writers, including Gerald of Wales. And so it has sometimes been claimed that these musicians were brought to Wales specifically for the purpose of training Welsh players, in order that authority and pedigree might subsequently be claimed for the guild in the fifteenth century. Corroborative evidence from Welsh sources

indicates the likely truth of this, and of close intercourse in general between Wales and Ireland in political, ecclesiastical, and artistic matters during the twelfth century.³³ Only the issue of precise dating seems in doubt here, since 1137 is in fact the year of Gruffydd's death. It seems likely therefore that the reference is an incomplete copy of an obit taken from an earlier source (or from oral tradition), in which some of Gruffydd's accomplishments were recorded.

A more substantial source of information is the account by Giraldus Cambrensis (Gerald of Wales), a Norman-Welsh cleric who first visited Ireland in 1183. Through his maternal grandmother, Gerald was related to all of the influential Norman families of Ireland. He made his journey with his brother Philip, in order to reclaim title to lands lost over the years. Two much-debated works flowed from Gerald's pen on matters Irish (he also wrote accounts of travels in Wales and numerous discourses on religious and ethical topics): 'Topographia Hibernica' ('The Irish topography'),³⁴ and 'Expugnatio Hibernica' ('The conquest of Ireland').³⁵ It is the former that concerns us here, as it presents much provocative information on music-making, as well as on people and manners. It is true that both works contain remarks that are unsympathetic to Irish inhabitants: Gerald failed to make allowances for the fact that his own view of the world reflected very different cultural norms. He was accustomed to life among the wealthy and influential in the cities of continental Europe, and had a fine regard for social degree and etiquette. An exception to his displeasure was Irish music, particularly harping, which he praised repeatedly.

Gerald's travels were confined to the south-east of Ireland, while his observations imply knowledge of a much wider area and draw on material that is clearly secondary. Perhaps his Irish relatives provided him with further accounts; it is clear that he was an avid collector of didactic tales. Much of his writing was done during his second trip to the country in 1185; he accompanied Prince John, newly appointed 'lord of Ireland'. It is possible that impressions gathered during his first trip were enhanced by several other writers' accounts and included in his presentation. And he may have (silently) incorporated fables and opinions derived from people he met.

³³ See Sally Harper, 'So how many Irishmen went to Glyn Achlach? Early accounts of the formation of *Cerdd Dant*' (paper presented at the Fifth Conference of the Centre for Advanced Welsh Music Studies, University of Wales, Bangor, July 1999).

³⁴ J. F. Dimock (ed.), *Topographia Hibernica et Expugnatio Hibernica* (8 vols, London, 1861-91), v. See also J. J. O'Meara (ed.), 'Giraldus Cambrensis in *Topographia Hibernicae*. Text of the first recension' in *R.I.A. Proc.*, lii (1948-50), sect. C, pp 113-78; idem (trans.), *The first version of the Topography of Ireland* (Dundalk, 1951).

³⁵ See A. B. Scott and F. X. Martin (ed. and trans.), *Expugnatio Hibernica: the conquest of Ireland, by Giraldus Cambrensis* (Dublin, 1978).

The many copies of 'Topographia' attest to its wide popularity during Gerald's time and after. Those currently available emanate from a period spanning 400 years (from the twelfth to the sixteenth century) and are now found in the holdings of the National Library of Ireland, Westminster abbey, the British Library, Cambridge University Library, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Despite elaborate disputes on what Gerald saw and wrote about, there is as yet no scholarly account in which a detailed comparative survey is presented of various versions of the text. It would be invaluable to review the points of concordance and disparity in accretion, omission, and the use of illustrations. These latter, not found in all surviving copies, depict people (including musicians), animals, and plants.

Three manuscripts contain a rich variety of illustrations which include instruments: MS 700 (f. 42^r) in the National Library of Ireland (possibly a late twelfth- or early thirteenth-century source), MS Royal 13 B VIII in the British Library (late twelfth- or early thirteenth-century), and MS Ff.1.27 in Cambridge University Library (late thirteenth- or early fourteenth-century) include depictions of monks blowing animal horns. The Dublin manuscript depicts a harper tuning his instrument with a tuning key (f. 36^r); the British Library version illustrates a female figure playing a psaltery with two beaters (f. 26^r). The Cambridge source includes both harper (f. 39^v) and psaltery player (f. 40^r—the latter also tuning her instrument (with a tuning key), while plucking a string with a plectrum in her left hand. Both harp representations are of low-headed instruments, typical medieval harps. In all of the above instances of decoration the text is as follows:³⁶

In musicis solum instrumentis commendabilem inuenio genti istius diligentiam. In quibus, prae omni natione quam vidimus, incomparabiliter instructa est. Non enim in his, sicut in Britannicis quibus assueti sumus instrumentis, tarda et morosa est modulatio verum velox et praeceps, suavis tamen et jocunda sonoritas. Mirum quod, in tanta tam praecepti digitorum rapacitate, musica servatur proportio; et arte per omnia indemni, inter crispatos modulos, organaque multipliciter intricata, tam suavi velocitate, tam dispari paritate, tam discordi concordia, consona redditur et completur melodia.

(It is only in the case of musical instruments that I find any commendable diligence among these people; on them they are incomparably more skilled than any people we have seen. The manner of playing is not as on British instruments to which we are accustomed, slow and solemn, but truly quick and joyous, while the sound is sweet and pleasant. It is remarkable how, with such rapid fingerwork, the rhythm of the music is maintained; and with unimpaired art throughout, against the ornate measures [divisions? extemporisations?] and the extremely intricate organa [imitative tex-

³⁶ *Distinctio*, III, cap. 11. Cf. Dimock, pp 153-4.

tures? suggestions of polyphony?], with such smooth rapidity, such sharing of the material between the parts, such concord achieved through [rapidly shifting?] discord, the melodic line is preserved and complete.)

Seu diatesseron, seu diapente chordae concrepent, semper tamen a B molli incipiunt, et in idem redunt, ut cuncta sub jocundae sonoritatis dulcedine compleantur.

(Whether the strings strike together the intervals of a fourth or a fifth [the players] always begin on a B flat and return to the same, so that everything is concluded with the sweetness of joyous sounds.)

Tam subtiliter modulos inrant et exeunt; sicque, sub obtuso grossioris chordae sonitu, gracilium tinnitus licentius ludunt, latentius delectant, lasciviusque demulcent, ut pars artis maxima videatur artem velare, tanquam. 'Si lateat, prosit ars deprensa pudorem.' Hinc accidit ut ea, quae subtilius intuentibus, et artis arcana acute discernentibus, internas et ineffabiles comparant animi delicias, ea non attendentibus, sed quasi videndo non videntibus, et audiendo non intelligentibus, aures potius onerent quam delectent; et tanquam confuso inordinatoque strepitu, invitis auditoribus fastidia pariant taediosa.

(So subtly do they approach and leave their rhythmic patterns; they freely play the tinkling sounds [on the thinner strings] above the more sustained tone of the thicker strings, they take such secret delight and caress [the strings] so sensuously that the most important element in their art appears to be in veiling it, as if 'it were the better for being hidden; art revealed brings shame'.³⁷ Hence it happens that those things which afford personal delight to people of subtle perception and acute discernment of the secrets of the art, burden rather than delight the ears of those who have no such appreciation; looking, they see not; hearing, they understand not; to unwilling hearers fastidious things appear tedious and have a confused and disordered sound.)

Notandum vero quod Scotia et Wallia, haec propagationis, illa commeationis et affinitatis gratia, Hiberniam in modulis aemula imitari nituntur disciplina. Hibernia quidem tantum duobus utitur et delectatur instrumentis; cithara scilicet, et tympano. Scotia tribus; cithara, tympano, et choro. Wallia vero cithara, tibiis, et choro.

(It is truly to be noted that both Scotland and Wales, the former by virtue of affinity and intercourse, the latter by virtue of propagation, use teaching to imitate and rival Ireland in musical style. Ireland uses and delights in two instruments only, the *cithara*, namely, and the *timpanum*. Scotland uses three, the *cithara*, the *timpanum*, and the *chorus*. Wales, in truth, uses the *cithara*, the *tibiae* and the *chorus*.)

Aeneis quoque utuntur chordis, non de corio factis. Multorum autem opinione hodie Scotia non tantum magistram aequiparavit Hiberniam, verum etiam in musica peritia longe praevallet et praecellit. Unde et ibi quasi fontem artis requierunt.

(They also use strings made of brass, not of leather [i.e., animal gut]. In the opinion of many, however, Scotland today not only equals her Irish mistress but truly even

³⁷ A paraphrase from Ovid, 'Ars amatoria', II. 313.

far outdoes and surpasses her in musical skill. Hence people look there now as though to the source of the art.)

While Gerald did not comment in sufficient detail for us to be certain as to the forms of the instrumental types enumerated, it is probable that *cithara* referred to harp, *timpanum* to *timpán* or lyre, *tibiae* to pipes of some kind, and *chorus* to either bagpipes or double pipes. A particular aspect of this passage has given rise to extensive speculation in musicological and historical writing. It hinges upon the references to B flat and the implications of polyphony.

The above passage is found in the earliest and all later copies of the 'Topographia'. Further discourse on music appears only in extended versions. The following extract concerns the ascribed benefits of music to mankind:

Unde et animosis animositates, et religiosis pias fovet et promovet intentiones. Hinc accidit ut episcopi et abbates, et sancti in Hibernia viri, citharas circumferre et in eis modulando pie delectari consueverint. Quapropter et Sancti Keivini cithara ab indigenis in reverentia non modica, et pro reliquiis virtuosis et magnis, usque in hodiernum habetur.

(Hence it inspires courage in brave men and it promotes good intentions in the religious. Thus it was that bishops and abbots and holy men in Ireland carried their citharae [lyres? harps?] about and delighted in playing pious music upon them. Because of this, Saint Kevin's *cithara* is held in no mean reverence by the natives and until this day is regarded as a great and sacred relic.)

Praeterea bellica tuba cum strepitu clangoris musicam effert, consonantiam; quatinus et clangor altisonus congregandi signum cunctis indicat, et consona sonoritas animosis audaciam altius infigat.³⁸

(Furthermore, the war trumpet with its strong sound shows the corresponding effect of music; when its loud alarm gives the battle signal, its strong sound raises the spirit of the brave to the highest.)

There is likely to be an essence of truth in the account of St Kevin's instrument, the reverence accorded it, and the recognition of the aesthetic and ceremonial function of such portable instruments when used in worship.

Two versions of what is evidently the same tale in a Welsh setting concern a horn associated with a saint. In the 'Topographia' a poor Irish mendicant is described as carrying St Patrick's bronze horn around his neck as a relic. He held it out to the crowd to be kissed (an Irish custom, according to Gerald). A priest named Bernard snatched and blew it, only to be struck with a double sickness within the hour: he became tongue-tied and lost his memory.

³⁸ *Distinctio*, III, cap. 12. Cf. Dimock, p. 155.

Gerald claims to have met the priest some days later, and testifies that he no longer knew the psalms and required assistance with elementary literacy, in contrast to his previous skills.

The version in 'Itinerarium Cambriae' begins with a statement that St Patrick's horn was a source of wonder. It was brought to Wales 'recently from Spain' and was made of bronze, not gold. Gerald then refers to his Irish account but relates the event to a funeral at which one of the bearers has about his neck a horn, supposedly owned by St Patrick. Out of respect for the saint no one dared blow it. As above, the relic was held out to be kissed and Bernard blew it, suffering the same fate immediately. The afflicted priest then travelled to Ireland to visit St Patrick. His health mended. Clearly we are in the realms of folklore, to which Gerald evidently was a willing contributor (St Patrick died some 700 years earlier!). There are points, however, which need to be noted. The importance of relics in medieval society is widely attested, and while we know of no other source which associates horns with saints, there are many reports of saints' bells' being invested with powers to bless and curse. Gerald himself comments on the reverence and fear accorded bells and staffs, noting St Kevin's *cithara* also in this context.

A further comment concerning Irish musical practice should be noted here, although it is not found within the earliest version and, like the above, was probably derived from secondary sources:³⁹

Est itaque tanquam convertibilis musica naturae. Hujus enim opera, animum si intendis; si remittis, amittis. Unde et gens Hibernica et Hispanica, aliaeque nationes nonnullae, inter lugubres funebrum planctus musicas efferunt lamentationes: quatinus vel dolorem instantem augeant et recentem, vel forte ut minuant jam remissum.

(Thus it is that music has many aspects; when used to intensify feelings, it inflames; when to calm them, it soothes. Hence both the Irish and Spanish people, and other nations, mix plaintive music with their funereal wailings: giving sympathetic expression to their present grief so that they may alleviate what has passed.)

It is reasonable to regard the accounts of funeral practices as valid, to judge from other literary sources (such as are indicated above). However, from so late a copy, was the inclusion approved by Gerald? Interestingly he announced his intention to discuss the benefits of music to mankind, as in the passages just cited, in the preamble to his earliest versions (he listed the topic immediately prior to the passage on harpers and their music), but no such discussion was included till the much later versions were penned. To what extent the additional entry reflected Gerald's intentions is impossible to say.

³⁹ *Distinctio*, III, cap. 12. Cf. Dimock, p. 157.

The final puzzle for this tentative appraisal of Gerald's information lies within 'Descriptio Cambriae', where he praises Welsh harping and remarks on its prevalence within every household and the readiness with which visitors were entertained by young girls. He cannot find words enough to convey his appreciation of such excellence, and thus leads himself to repeat the account of Irish harping given in 'Topographia', incorporating the long passage concerning combined melodies, the prominence of B flat, and the desirability of restraint, and subtle concealment of art. Gerald concludes by listing again the three instruments, *cithara*, *tibia*, *chorus*, as pertaining to the Welsh. Are we justified in assuming similarity in style and idiom between the two societies? Gerald obviously has no doubts that his Irish account suited his new purpose as he repeats it '... to save time'.⁴⁰

FOLLOWING the formal establishment of English administration in Ireland under Henry II, rather than Ireland becoming anglicised in any uniform or totalising way, the new French- and English-speaking settlers engaged in patronage of Gaelic harpers and poets, just like the longer-established chieftains. However, they also introduced other types of artistic expression, particularly in the form of English rites, to the new ecclesiastical centres that they established (such as the cathedrals in Dublin). And so alongside the use of Sarum, establishment of cathedral choir schools, and Corpus Christi processions in urban centres, the culture of the old Gaelic courts continued to flourish, among the existing Gaelic lords as well as under the patronage of the new settlers.

Whether our concern is with liturgical or secular practices, it seems wise to redirect attention to processes of social behaviour rather than seeking isolates and treating them out of context. The range of this topic is extremely far-reaching and all aspects must be taken into account. Two major processes of (internal) acculturation have been overlooked; they merit separate treatment, and work has barely commenced.

First of all, the Scandinavian influence in the towns and cities of Ireland needs to be addressed. Entertainers from Iceland were said to have visited the court of the Hiberno-Norse kings in Dublin in the tenth century. Similarly, Irish poets and storytellers were said to have been welcomed by the Scandinavian settlers.⁴¹ There are also finds of musical instruments and

⁴⁰ An analysis of the reception history of Gerald's commentary on music may be found in Paul Nixon, 'Giraldus Cambrensis on music: how reliable are his historiographers?' in Ann Buckley (ed.), *Proceedings of the First British-Swedish Conference on Musicology: Medieval Studies (11-15 May 1988)* (Stockholm, 1992), pp 264-89. It serves as the basis for the above account. See also Shai Burstyn, 'Is Gerald of Wales a credible musical witness?' in *Musical Quarterly*, no. 72 (1986), pp 155-69.

⁴¹ Fleischmann & Gleeson, 'Music in ancient Munster', p. 93.

associated fragments from Scandinavian and Hiberno-Norman Irish urban centres (presented in further detail below).

Secondly, the Anglo-Normans introduced French- and eventually English-speakers into Ireland in large numbers. All of these demographic movements will undoubtedly have included the importation and assimilation of new repertoires of singing and dancing. As we shall see, liturgical manuscripts representing the new accommodation are relatively late, while Irish music-related manuscripts of secular association are very few in number. None contains notation, though their poems would have been sung, as is suggested from their forms and styles.

Two Anglo-Norman romances survive in Irish sources. One, 'The song of Dermot and the earl' (now in the Carew collection of Lambeth Palace library, London, MS 596), concerns events surrounding the arrival of the Normans in Ireland. Long suggests that the author received the account at first hand from Morice Regan, secretary to Diarmait Mac Murchada (King Dermot), which would date it to the late twelfth century.⁴² The other is a thirteenth-century poem on the walling of New Ross (County Wexford) in 1265, included in a collection of poems in English, French, and Latin usually referred to as 'the Kildare poems'.⁴³ They belonged to a Franciscan House in the Waterford or Wexford region and are now preserved in B.L. MS Harley 913. Another important collection is contained in the Red Book of Ossory, now MS D 11/1/1 in the Representative Church Body Library, Dublin. This is a set of Latin songs (*cantilenaes*) by Richard Ledrede, bishop of Ossory from 1317 to c.1360.⁴⁴ With the aim of diverting his clergy's attention away from profane delights and frivolities, these devotional texts were intended to replace the singing of popular songs, the first lines of which are given in the rubrics to indicate the appropriate melodies.⁴⁵ Unfortunately these are no longer recoverable, since no other sources are known.

⁴² See Joseph Long, 'Dermot and the earl: who wrote "the Song"?' in *R.I.A. Proc.*, lxxv (1975), sect. C, pp 263-72; Alan J. Bliss and Joseph Long, 'Literature in Norman French and English' in *N.H.I.*, ii, 715-36.

⁴³ See W. Heuser, *Die Kildare-Gedichte* (Bonn, 1904), for an edition of the English poems; also Hugh Shields, 'Carolling at New Ross, 1265' in *Ceol*, iv, pt 2 (1973), pp 34-6; idem, 'The walling of New Ross: a thirteenth-century poem in French' in *Long Room*, xii-xiii (1975-6), pp 24-33.

⁴⁴ See Edmund Colledge (ed.), *The Latin poems of Richard Ledrede, O.F.M., bishop of Ossory, 1317-1360* (Toronto, 1974).

⁴⁵ A fuller discussion of all of these is found in Bliss & Long, 'Literature in Norman French and English', together with bibliographies; see also Long, 'Dermot and the earl'. The Kildare poems and those in the Red Book of Ossory are also referred to by Scott in the present volume (below, pp 976-80). Shields considers the attribution of this poem to 'Brother Michael' to be unfounded ('The walling', p. 27, n. 12), and believes that it was in fact written in England (p. 26). For a discussion on references to music in the poem, see idem, 'Carolling at New Ross'.

The likelihood of residence in Ireland of English harpers, i.e. harpers in an Anglo-Norman tradition, should not be overlooked either, as witness some seven entries in the Dublin Guild Merchant roll (c.1190–1265)⁴⁶. Their profession is further underlined by the addition of an outline sketch of a harp in the case of one of them, Thomas le Harpur, in an entry for c.1200 (pl. 129).⁴⁷ Other Irish walled towns are likely also to have housed instrumentalists—the practice of composing *chansons de geste* in Hiberno-Norman settlements further attests to the likelihood of the presence of professional performers, although we have so far uncovered no specific information or surviving instruments. And the cross-over of musicians between native Irish and Anglo-Norman (later Hiberno-Norman) settlers has yet to be examined in detail.⁴⁸

The account roll of Holy Trinity includes two references to the engagement of musicians on the occasion of a visit of the justices to dinner at the priory in 1338 when payments were made to the justices' trumpeters, and to 'a certain little harper' (*quidam parvo ciththeratori*).⁴⁹ We cannot know from this whether they may have been of Irish, Anglo-Norman, or (for that matter) Norman-Welsh extraction. However, there are references in the Red Book of Ormond to Anglo-Norman harpers (e.g., Roberto Fil David Cithheratore), and the 'Calendar of Ormond deeds' lists a number of individuals with the name 'Le Harpur' c.1300, at which time (as in the case of Thomas in the Dublin source) such a reference can still be assumed to be linked to a profession.⁵⁰

The equally sparse documentation on liturgical and secular dramatic performance should not blind us to the likelihood of a wide range of activities. A hint occurs in the statutes of Kilkenny (1366), of which the seventh decree declares a prohibition on the holding of games and spectacles in cemeteries.⁵¹ And a medieval English morality play is recorded uniquely on some pages left blank in the account roll of Holy Trinity cathedral priory for 1337–46. It is not clear whether it was written during this period, but is probably not of

⁴⁶ Now Dublin City Archives MS G-1/1. m.11d/A.

⁴⁷ See Philomena Connolly and Geoffrey Martin (ed.), *The Dublin Guild Merchant Roll, c.1190–1265* (Dublin, 1992), p. 41, and frontispiece, where the sketch is reproduced.

⁴⁸ Keith Sanger has identified what may well be the grave slab of an Irish harper at Heysham, near Lancaster; see idem, 'An Irish harper in an English graveyard?' in *Harpa*, xxi (spring 1996), p. 17. It may be that of William Dodmore, who was in the service of Thomas of Lancaster (later duke of Clarence, d. 1421); Thomas became king's lieutenant in Ireland in 1400.

⁴⁹ See James Mills (ed.), *Account roll of the priory of Holy Trinity, Dublin* (Dublin, 1890–91); reprint, with introductions by James Lydon and Alan J. Fletcher (Dublin, 1996), p. 19.

⁵⁰ For further discussion, see Sanger, 'An Irish harper . . . ?'

⁵¹ This is, of course, in keeping with similar injunctions elsewhere, e.g., Scotland (1225), Exeter (1287), Winton (1308), York (1367), London (1603). For further discussion on Ireland, see Aubrey Gwynn, 'Anglo-Irish church life, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries' in *Corish, Ir. catholicism*, ii (1968), p. 51.

much later date. Mills, who edited the text (entitling it 'The pride of life'), was of the opinion that it was English in origin. Since this version was obviously written down by one of the community, it is likely to have been performed for the entertainment and instruction of members of the priory. Its clerical context is underlined by the fact that, although the play itself is in the vernacular, both rubrics (in the form of 'stage instructions') and *dramatis personae* are given in Latin.⁵² We have no information on the role of music in performances of this play, though the presence of musicians is likely. However, there are references from 1542 to payments having been made for 'singing the Passion' and 'playing the Resurrection' at Holy Trinity,⁵³ while in 1528 the prior cooperated with the priors of two other Dublin monasteries (St John of Jerusalem, and All Hallows) to produce a play on the Passion and one on the deaths of the Apostles.⁵⁴ These performances took place in Hoggen Green, a common in the area of present-day College Green.

Detailed documentation survives of the protocol for the elaborate annual pageants in celebration of the feast of Corpus Christi and St George's day, from the late fifteenth and mid sixteenth centuries, respectively. Both were celebrated as important civic and religious occasions in Dublin.⁵⁵ For the Corpus Christi pageants, the city guilds each had an assigned function: the bakers, the cordwainers, the butchers, etc. Sometimes there are references to the hiring of musicians: for example, four trumpeters were required for the St George's day pageant. The first city waits were appointed in 1465, though it is likely that the office is at least a century older.⁵⁶

DEPICTIONS of musical instruments are found on Irish high crosses of the eighth to tenth centuries which mark the sites of early monastic settlements. The representations are mainly of stringed instruments in a variety of shapes and (implied) sizes. Images in stone cannot be relied upon for accuracy of detail owing to the intrinsic difficulties of the medium—translating

⁵² The same manuscript also contains eight lines of Old French verse, immediately preceding the Old English morality. Mills gave an account of the play to the R.I.A. at its meeting on Monday, 13 Apr. 1891, on the occasion of his election as a member. The notice appears in the minutes of the meeting included in *R.I.A. Proc.*, ii (1891–3), sect: C; the paper, however, appears to have remained unpublished. See the reprinted edition in Mills, *Account roll of Holy Trinity*, pp 126–42, and introduction, p. xxxiii.

⁵³ See Barra Boydell, *Music at Christ Church*, pp 26, 40–41 (an illustration of the 1542 document is reproduced on p. 40).

⁵⁴ See the new introduction by Alan Fletcher in Mills, *Account roll of Holy Trinity*, p. xxxiii.

⁵⁵ Details may be found in J. Warburton, J. Whitelaw, and Robert Walsh, *History of the city of Dublin from the earliest accounts to the present time* (2 vols, London, 1818), pp 108–9, and in Charles Davidson, *Studies in the English mystery plays* (Yale, 1892), pp 90, 98. For the most recent account, see Alan J. Fletcher, *Drama, performance, and polity in pre-Cromwellian Ireland* (Cork, 2000), pp 82 ff, 90 ff, 138 ff.

⁵⁶ Fletcher, *Drama*, pp 148 ff. Fletcher's book represents the most comprehensive survey of this and related topics, which, both chronologically and in terms of content, exceed the remit of the present account, whence the abbreviated summary above.

three-dimensional objects and figures into two-dimensional representations—and the problems of weathering.⁵⁷

As a rule, realistically portrayed instruments tend to be lyres rather than harps on Irish monuments. Such instruments occur in three forms: (i) with one curved and one straight arm; (ii) round-topped; and (iii) oblique. Their strings are fitted in both parallel and fan formation except for type (iii), which has only fan formation. Type (i) occurs on the crosses at Ullard and Graiguenamanagh (ninth/tenth century). Examples of the second are found on the Cross of the Scriptures, Clonmacnoise, County Offaly (early tenth century; pl. 130), on the West Cross at Kells, County Meath, and on the Cross at Castletown and Glinsk, County Offaly. Oblique lyres may be seen on the Cross of Muireadach, Monasterboice (also early tenth century, pl. 126), and on the South Cross at Kells (pl. 131). Parallel strings occur on Ullard; a fan disposition is evident on Clonmacnoise (pl. 130) and Durrow (pl. 127). The latter shows a six-stringed example particularly clearly: the strings are attached at the top of the curved arm, pass over a bridge, and converge at the base. A bridge is also visible on the Clonmacnoise lyre.

A unique manuscript depiction of a plucked lyre exists in the Irish psalter, B.L. MS Cott. Vitellius F. XI, f. 52^r.⁵⁸ Both the instrument and the seating position of the player are close in style to that on the shaft of the Clonmacnoise cross—an observation made long ago by Françoise Henry.⁵⁹ On the basis of this and other details she suggested that the manuscript is more or less contemporary with the (early tenth-century) crosses at Clonmacnoise and Monasterboice.

Other sources of iconographic information are reliquaries and metal shrines. A panel on the shrine of the Stowe Missal (also known as the shrine of St Maclruain's Gospel, pl. 124) depicts a small figure crouched between two clerics, plucking a lyre similar in shape to that on the Durrow cross, though with only three strings where Durrow has six. Of the two clerics on the shrine, one holds a bell, the other a crosier, suggestive of episcopal authority. The shrine was manufactured between 1026 and 1033 and refurbished in 1381; the panel in question is believed to date to the earlier period.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ The discussion that follows is a summary only. For a complete survey of Irish music iconographic sources, see Buckley, 'Music-related imagery on early Christian insular sculpture: identification, context, function' in *Imago Musicae: International Yearbook of Musical Iconography*, viii (1991) [1995], pp 135–99; and for some questions of interpretation, eadem, "A lesson for the people": reflections on image and habitus in medieval insular iconography' in *RIDIM/RCMI Newsletter*, xx, pt 1 (spring 1995), pp 3–9.

⁵⁸ The Cotton manuscripts were badly damaged in a fire, but the detail of this image may still be observed in the original source.

⁵⁹ Françoise Henry, 'Remarks on the decoration of three Irish psalters' in *R.I.A. Proc.*, lxi (1960), pp 23–40, p. 32. A facsimile of the MS figure may be found in plates IV and VI, with a photograph of the figure on the Clonmacnoise cross shaft on plate V. See also Buckley, 'Music-related imagery', fig. 34, for a particularly clear reproduction.

⁶⁰ Pádraig Ó Riain, 'Dating the Stowe Missal shrine' in *Archaeology Ireland*, v, no. 1 (spring 1991), pp 14–15.

The round-topped, six-stringed lyre was the commonest court instrument of north-west Europe from at least the fifth to the tenth century (the early seventh-century Anglo-Saxon instrument from Sutton Hoo being perhaps the best-known example). Hence we can be reasonably confident that these Irish carvings are based on local knowledge. And whereas no west-European material evidence is known to exist for oblique lyres, the consistency of this form in Irish iconography is significant, and perhaps realistic in local terms.

Lyres appear to have predominated in north-west Europe till *c.*1000, when harps began to replace them, eventually becoming the leading aristocratic instrument of the central middle ages. Lyres did not become extinct, however. Though of lower status than harps, they continued in use up to at least the fourteenth or fifteenth century in England, possibly the sixteenth in Ireland, and as late as the nineteenth century in Wales and Scandinavia.

Little is known about harps in this greater region prior to *c.*1000. They are found in ninth-century continental sources such as the Utrecht Psalter, and on Pictish stone carvings of the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries. The earliest Irish image is found on the eleventh-century Breac Máedóic (pl. 125). It has about eight strings but twelve tuning pins, and is thus somewhat inaccurate. The instrument is large in proportion to the player; a bird hovering nearby probably represents the Holy Spirit inspiring the singing of the chant. Another harp occurs on the shrine of St Patrick's tooth (*Fiacail Phádraig*), *c.*1100, dating to the time of its refurbishment *c.*1376; the harp dates from the latter period).⁶¹ Both instruments have a distinctly lighter frame than the 'Brian Boru' harp now preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, which dates from the fourteenth or fifteenth century.⁶² This latter type is nowadays generally regarded as the 'Irish harp', and is distinguished by a heavy, monoxylous soundbox, deep-curved neck, and sturdy rounded forepillar (often with zoomorphic carving). But there may well have been a variety of lighter-framed instruments in use before, and indeed during, this time.

The regional history of bowed instruments is similarly obscure. A unique carving of a bowed lyre survives among the ruins of St Finan's church, Lough Currane, Waterville (County Kerry) on a loose stone which was set into the church wall probably in recent times (pl. 132). The church is thought to have been built *c.*1127 by St Malachy, and the carving appears to be contemporaneous. Six strings are discernible. A ridge over the soundbox

⁶¹ See the illustration in Ann Buckley, 'Musical instruments in Ireland 9th–14th centuries: a review of the organological evidence' in Gerard Gillen and Harry White (ed.), *Irish Musical Studies*, i (1990), pp 13–57, fig. XVII.

⁶² This is the approximate date suggested by organologists, but it has been questioned by Ragnall Ó Floinn, who suggests the fifteenth or sixteenth century as the period of its manufacture, and also expresses the view that it is not possible conclusively to establish whether it was produced in Ireland or Scotland. See *Treasures of Ireland: Irish art 3000 B.C.–1500 A.D.* (Dublin, 1983), p. 180.

represents the stringholder or tailpiece, and the player's left hand can be seen stopping the strings on the fingerboard through a hole in the lower frame of the instrument. The unmistakable curved bow held in the player's right hand is typical of many fiddle bows of the period.

Depictions of wind instruments are few when compared with the relatively rich variety of stringed examples. This is most likely a reflection of their social function rather than of the extent of their use in medieval Irish society. Stringed instruments were superior, belonging to the highest-ranking musicians, who played at court and for religious rituals. It is undoubtedly because of their latter association that they appear so often on crosses, reliquaries, and shrines. Wind instruments were in all probability very common in secular life, and not necessarily confined to professional use. But we should not ignore the repeated pattern of chordophone and aerophone players together on the same scene, as in our examples from Monasterboice, as also on the Last Judgement scenes of Durrow, though there association might be with the Last Trump, whereas in Monasterboice the player seems very much part of the choral performance.

Players of triple pipes are seen on Muiredach's Cross, to the left of Christ in Judgement (pl. 126), and on the shaft of the Cross of the Scriptures, Clonmacnoise (pl. 130) without specific association. Both carvings suggest the performance of multi-part music: the instruments have three conical pipes of unequal length, that to the player's left being considerably longer than the other two, and with a bell-shaped terminal; it probably served as a drone while the melody was played on the two shorter pipes—perhaps at an interval of a third or a fifth, in view of the difference in length.⁶³

INTERPRETING images of musicians on stone monuments is not always straightforward. Musician figures are placed either in panels alone or in group scenes. Crucifixion scenes with a string-player in a neighbouring panel are found on several Irish crosses. For example, the high cross at Ullard, County Kilkenny, has a lyre-player to the left of the head of the cross. At the centre is Christ crucified, on the right the sacrifice of Isaac, and underneath is a scene of the fall of Adam and Eve. The same four scenes occur on other crosses of the so-called Barrow valley group: the Castledermot North and South Crosses, and the Graiguenamanagh cross. In the case of Castledermot North Cross, the Adam and Eve scene is at the centre on the west face—the same side as the string-player and the sacrifice of Isaac—while the crucifixion is placed on the opposite side. What have these portraits of musicians to do with the neighbouring scenes? Perhaps nothing. But on the other hand, a lone musician is not a narrative in itself, unless set in some kind of context.

⁶³ Such an instrument is played in Sicily (called *launeddas*)—the only part of Europe where it is now to be found. Perhaps it enjoyed wider use in the early middle ages, but adequate evidence is lacking today.

Perhaps it is a comment on David as the prefigurer of Christ; possibly it represents a court musician performing a lament, another way of pointing to the scene at the centre of the cross.

Illustrations of the Last Judgement/Christ in Glory usually have musicians on the left arm, to the right of Christ, the side of the just. Here we might expect angels blowing trumpets or singing in choirs, according to conventional description. However, apart from one angelic figure on the Durrow Cross (pl. 127; the feathered wing is visible) the musicians are cloaked in monastic habits, play lyres or wind instruments, and usually form part of a group. The musicians' group *par excellence* is undoubtedly that on the Cross of Muiredach (pl. 126), where a choir of monks is accompanied by a lyre- and a horn-player, behind whom one of their number holds a book—perhaps a psalter or a hymnal.

And withal, it has commonly been assumed that representations of music-making were based solely on biblical scenes. Yet it would be difficult to see all of these as first-level David iconography, even if David is implicitly the typological model for pious music-making, and even if, in strict terms, some of these musicians were copied in whole or in part as Davidic iconography: they have been deployed on the crosses in a very different and striking way, and it would be impossible not to view them as having a local application. Indeed, on closer examination, one can discern a number of instances where there is no obvious connection with any biblical text.

The first example has been interpreted as an account of the miracle of the loaves and fishes, on the ninth-century Cross of Patrick and Columba at Kells (pl. 131). Two figures are seated face to face: to the left, a musician plays a lyre; the figure on the right appears to be holding a round object which resembles a loaf of bread; several more loaves are placed between them. Below the two figures, a pair of fish overlap in the familiar shape of an 'X' (the Greek letter 'chi'). In the background above, human heads seem to represent a crowd of onlookers.

The second example occurs on the twelfth-century tympanum of Ardmore cathedral, though the carvings may be older, as they are thought to have been taken from another monument on the site. In the upper panel of the right-hand arch is a scene representing the judgement of Solomon (pl. 133). Solomon is seated at the left; before him, to the right, are the two women who claim to be mother of the same child. This child is held up to view by the woman nearest Solomon, who gestures towards them with his hand. At the far right of this group is a seated harper. Is this David? If so, does he belong apart, representing a totally other scene, as it were?⁶⁴

⁶⁴ For discussion of Kells, see Peter Harbison, *The high crosses of Ireland: an iconographical and photographic survey* (3 vols, Bonn, 1992), i, 212; and for Ardmore, idem, 'Architectural sculpture from the twelfth century at Ardmore' in *Irish Arts Review*, xi (1995), pp 96–103, pp 97–8. Harbison regards this Kells image as representing David before Saul; and interprets the representations of Solomon and the harper as belonging to two separate scenes.

David was no longer living when Solomon made his judgement; and he certainly was not around in New Testament times to assist at the miracle of the loaves and fishes. However, the role of the musician could be a way of representing a performance of the narrative. And it hardly needs pointing out that, based on local norms, an Irish onlooker would have expected to see a musician in attendance at a royal court. By the same token, no feast would have been complete without the presence of musicians to entertain and to recite genealogies and praise-poetry in honour of the host. To that extent Solomon, and Christ, are here identified as would be a local king or high dignitary, always attended by a bard. But before we continue along this vein, let us look at a few other examples of insular representation, this time not for biblical narrative as such, but to examine the way in which certain aspects of the musicians are pointed up.

Details of representation can also reveal important information of a purely local character. The performers we have examined up to now are invariably seated on chairs or thrones, which accords with representations elsewhere in European (and Byzantine) Christian art. Some of the furniture is decorated with animal-like carvings, but in many cases the details are now badly weathered and can no longer be seen. Unlike the throne of more formal Davids, the king in Carolingian iconography, some insular monuments show the musician figure seated on the ground with legs outstretched, or knees drawn up. The lack of contemporary models elsewhere suggests that this too may represent actual practice at local level.

The oldest such image is from the eighth-century Book of Kells (pl. 134), where the figure, facing to the left, plays a stylised chordophone in the shape of the letter 'C'; he is seated on the ground with his left knee drawn up along the side of the instrument. Four carvings, with wider geographical distribution, show a string-player seated on the ground with outstretched legs. These occur on the North Pillar at Carndonagh (ninth/tenth century), on the late eighth-century St Martin's Cross and St Oran's Cross fragment, both from Iona, and on a tenth-century carving at Kirk Michael, Isle of Man.⁶⁵

Most interestingly, a relatively late source, Derricke's *Image of Irelande* (1581), shows a harper sitting on the ground next to a *reacaire* (reciter) who is performing in an animated way, with his arms outstretched. Derricke himself mentioned that performers (and other members of Irish chieftains' courts) did not use furniture but rather sat on the ground on a tuft of grass, which does lend considerable weight to the hypothesis that the older carvings are in this respect credible scenes of the time (see pl. 135).⁶⁶

⁶⁵ See Buckley, 'Music-related imagery', figs 1, 16, 17, 20. For further discussion of the issues, see eadem, "'A lesson for the people'".

⁶⁶ See Buckley, "'A lesson for the people'" and eadem, 'Representations of musicians in John Derricke's' *The image of Irelande* (above, n. 10), and 'Representations of musicians

Apart from Derricke, there is little iconographic account of secular contexts for music-making from the Irish middle ages. A bone book-cover discovered in a private house in Donabate (County Dublin) in 1850⁶⁷ bears a unique carving of a sword-dancing scene (pl. 136). It has been dated to the fifteenth/sixteenth centuries and is believed to come from Munster.⁶⁸ At the centre of the scene, a group of four men face each other with raised swords; to the left a fifth figure beats an object resembling a small frame-drum (or *bodhrán*, as it would be termed nowadays). Above the central scene a boar is depicted on its side, and at the top, a knight on a charger lances a dragon. The upper portion of the cover bears the arms of one of the Desmond Fitzgeralds. Nothing is known of the source of this object, but such dances were widely known throughout western Europe—the last vestiges still surviving in mummings' performances. The significance of the boar is not clear. In manuscript illustrations the animal is sometimes portrayed playing a set of bagpipes—which may be intended as humorous, or as a fanciful comment on the structure of the instrument. However, in this particular context of sword-dancing, it may refer to characters assumed by the performers, who dressed up as animals for their plays and pageants, and for seasonal rituals.

A hunting scene on the top west-face panel of the high cross at Old Kilcullen (County Kildare) includes a figure blowing a horn. Here too the context explains the musical reference.⁶⁹ A much later example of a hunting scene with a horn-blower is barely to be discerned on a fifteenth-century wall painting at Holy Cross abbey (County Tipperary). Horn-players are depicted on the thirteenth-century matrices of the seal of the lord mayor of Dublin, where their function as another kind of signal is clearly intended: that of warning the citizens of oncoming danger in the harbour.⁷⁰

THE contribution of excavation to research in Irish music archaeology has been especially significant in recent years. Urban archaeology, most notably in Dublin, Cork, and Waterford, has yielded objects for which no other evidence exists.⁷¹ And needless to say, the nature of the societies represented by these excavations is reflected in the kinds of objects recovered, being

in medieval Christian iconography of Ireland and Scotland as local cultural expression' in Katherine McIver (ed.), *Art and music in the early modern period: essays in honor of Franca Trinchieri Camiz* (Aldershot, 2003), pp 217–31.

⁶⁷ Now in the collection of the National Museum of Ireland, Dublin.

⁶⁸ This is the assessment of Helen Roe, recorded on the information card accompanying the book-cover at the National Museum.

⁶⁹ See Buckley, 'Musical instruments in Ireland', fig. XIX; eadem, 'Music-related imagery', fig. 43.

⁷⁰ See E. C. R. Armstrong, *Irish seal matrices and seals* (Dublin, 1913), p. 125. An engraving of both matrices is published in *Rental of the estates of the right honorable the lord mayor, aldermen, and burgesses of Dublin* (Dublin, 1884), pl. XVIII.

⁷¹ Full details may be consulted in Buckley, 'Musical instruments from medieval Dublin—a preliminary survey' in E. Hickmann and D. Hughes (ed.), *The archaeology of early music*

different from the materials in ecclesiastical iconography. On the other hand, these urban excavations, while they have produced a valuable array of artefacts, give us little or no contextual information on musical activity as human behaviour. All of the objects recovered were discarded in their own time and have survived in rubbish dumps, hearths, and underneath the foundations of houses—the empty shells of long-dead cultures. One disadvantage, therefore, is the impossibility of making any kind of comparative assessment on an institutional (e.g. monastic, court, peasant, artisan) or regional basis, since the various categories of evidence rarely belong to the same chronological period, nor have they survived in sufficient quantity or detail.

None of the instruments found in archaeological excavations can be said to be peculiar to Ireland: on the contrary, they underline the cultural kinship that existed among the populations of north-west Europe. However, one artefact from the excavation of medieval Dublin has been the cause of some considerable excitement. Out of the rubble behind the hearth of a house in Christchurch Place has emerged a bow made of dogwood, dating to the early or mid eleventh century (pl. 137a). It is not possible to ascertain whether such a bow was used to play a lyre, a psaltery, or a fiddle, though it is tempting to link it with a lyre. It is broken off at the end where it would have been held by the player, but is complete at its tip (where the other end of the hair was attached), which features an animal-head carving in Ringerike style, typical of this period when Dublin was a Hiberno-Scandinavian city and Irish art had become a fusion of the older Celtic and Hiberno-Saxon styles with those of the new settlers. This object is unique not only for Irish music archaeology, it is also unprecedented in European terms: no bow has been found anywhere else from so early a date.

Unlike the excavations at York (a viking city rivalled in importance only by Dublin) and at other medieval sites in England, Germany, and Scandinavia, Dublin has not produced any lyre bridges or bodies of instruments. But other chordophone-related materials were found in the form of tuning pegs from eleventh- and thirteenth-century sites in Dublin (pl. 138), thirteenth-century levels in Cork, and both eleventh-/twelfth- and thirteenth-century levels in Waterford. The majority are made of yew wood and average *c.*6 cm in length, hence would have been used in fiddles, lyres, or psalteries. Some longer examples, including one from Cork made of bone, and two from Waterford (10.7 cm and 11.4 cm respectively), probably came from thicker-framed harps. The Irish pegs include some with a recessed terminal, to facilitate a thumb-and-forefinger grip for tuning purposes, and also some with a square head, which would have required the use of a tuning key.

cultures (Bonn, 1988), and eadem, 'Musical instruments in Ireland', and 'Sound tools from the Waterford excavations' (unpublished, 1991).

For both quantity and variety, aerophones (wind instruments) represent the richest category. There are flutes and flute-fragments made of birdbone and elderwood. There are flutes both with and without fingerholes, although in some cases it is not possible to assess this feature because of damage. A total of six flutes and flute-fragments have emerged from the sites at Christchurch Place (c.1200), High Street (thirteenth century; see pl. 139), Wine-tavern Street (thirteenth century), and John's Lane, off Fishamble Street (thirteenth century). A three-holed bird-bone flute and a whistle were found in Waterford, both at twelfth-/thirteenth-century levels. There is no certain indication of how they may have been sounded, but the likelihood is that they were block-and-duct or fipple flutes, with a piece of cork or wood inserted in the mouthpiece to direct the channel of air through the window or blowhole. Blocks do not easily survive, being made of soft organic materials. Other simpler aerophones include perforated bones of various kinds such as may have been used as 'buzzbones' and as whistles for amusement, or as animal decoys.

Fragments of ceramic horns of Saintonge ware were recovered from a thirteenth-century rubbish dump by the River Liffey, Dublin, and from Waterford. They are identifiable by their narrowing mouthpieces, and by the presence of perforations for the insertion of carrying straps (pl. 140a). Such objects were well known all over western Europe, serving both as signalling instruments (for hunting, keeping watch, etc.) and pilgrim's horns, purchased as souvenirs at pilgrimage centres. Other horns or trumpets now preserved in the National Museum of Ireland include a straight horn made from two pieces of hollowed-out willow bound together by a ribbon of copper alloy. It was found in a bog in the west of Ireland in 1791 and is thought to date from the early ninth century. Another horn, dating to the eighth/ninth century, was recovered from the bed of the River Erne close to two ancient monastic sites. It is made of two pieces of yew (a sacred wood) lapped together with bronze fittings (pl. 140b), and bears decoration similar to that found on bells and (liturgical) buckets of the period.⁷² The horns depicted on the crosses at Monasterboice, Durrow, and Clonmacnoise may be examples of this type.⁷³

Over seventy medieval ecclesiastical bells have been recovered. More than half of them are of sheet iron, the remainder of cast bronze.⁷⁴ Their survival rate is high because of the importance attached to them as sacred relics and as symbols of office. They were the essential prerequisites of a church: a large bell in the tower, handbells for summoning the monks to prayer, etc. Bells are depicted on stone-carvings and metalwork, usually in the hand of an

⁷² For further discussion, see Buckley, 'Musical instruments in Ireland', p. 177 ff.

⁷³ Cf. the discussion about the possible liturgical associations of horns, below, p. 805.

⁷⁴ Cf. Cormac Bourke, 'Early Irish hand bells'.

ecclesiastic, and accompanied by other religious accoutrements, such as a book and a crosier on the north pillar at Carndonagh,⁷⁵ and a crosier and lyre on the Stowe Missal Shrine (pl. 124). It is often stated that bells were introduced to Ireland by Christian missionaries, and this may well hold true for religious bells. But there is every reason to suppose that bells were used in Ireland, also before the arrival of Christianity, in association with farming and herding. There are two harness bells in the National Museum of Ireland which probably belonged to this sphere of activity. Such objects do not easily withstand the ravages of time, eventually disintegrating from rust, or perhaps smelted down and reused for other purposes.

Hiberno-Scandinavian sites have not yielded any jew's harps. These instruments emerged elsewhere in Ireland from the thirteenth/fourteenth centuries, as in other parts of western Europe. A total of thirty-three have been recovered, dating between this period and the late nineteenth century, the majority from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. They are usually made of iron, and appear to have been as popular in Ireland as they were in England. They were listed for sales taxation in the first *Boke of Rates* published for Ireland (Dublin, 1608), indicating that they were probably originally imported.⁷⁶

Our investigation is limited by the nature of the artefacts recovered. We nevertheless glean some information of a cultural nature from examining the styles and the typology. We do not recover the sounds, however, and we have few written records to help explain the uses to which such materials were put. Insight into deeper-structure musical mentality is thus rare, though we should not underrate the significance of any of the objects. Together, they form an important corpus of evidence for culture contact, methods of sound production, and the types and contexts of at least some of the materials once in use. It is only in collaborative international (and interdisciplinary) teamwork that we can most usefully assess them, coordinating local information in the service of the greater, longer-term aim of assembling a historical map of European orally transmitted musical practices.

THE liturgical practices of the Celtic churches have been referred to as the 'Celtic rite' since the late nineteenth century. The term is to some extent a misconception, fostered at a time of antiquarianism. Churches in Celtic-language areas were not as unified in administration or as uniform in practice

⁷⁵ See Buckley, 'Musical instruments in Ireland', fig. V; eadem, 'Music-related imagery', fig. 1. And for material finds see Cormac Bourke, 'A crozier and bell from Inishmurray and their place in ninth-century Irish archaeology' in *R.I.A. Proc.*, lxxxv (1985), sect. C, pp 145-68.

⁷⁶ See Ann Buckley, 'A note on the history and archaeology of jew's harps in Ireland' in *N. Munster Antiq. Jn.*, xxv (1983), pp 30-36: 32-3; eadem, 'Jew's harps in Irish archaeology' in Cajsa S. Lund (ed.), *Second Conference of the ICTM Study Group on Music Archaeology* (Stockholm, 1986), pp 145-62: 151.

as the church of Rome aspired to be. Nor were they separate and free of interaction with their continental neighbours.

The term 'Celtic rite' is best understood as a complex of regionally distinct, and locally varied, liturgical practices which admitted fusions of Egyptian, Gallican, Spanish, Roman, Irish, Scottish, Welsh, and Breton elements, as opposed to concepts of unvarying and separate worship, putatively brought to an untimely end by secular politics and hostility to indigenous expression. Ireland was the last of the Celtic-speaking regions to have been brought into line with the Roman church, through the synod of Cashel in 1172, preceded by Wales (which submitted to Canterbury with the election of Bernard, a Norman, to the see of St David's in 1115); Scotland, with the reforms of Queen Margaret (d. 1093), and Brittany, with the imposition of central authority on the monks of Landévennec in 818 by Charlemagne's son, Louis the Pious. However, these were not the first of the romanising reforms, and at no time could it be said that any of the Celtic churches were set completely apart from international clerical networks. The Roman canon of the mass was introduced shortly after 800 (as indicated by additions to the Stowe Missal). But already in the seventh century, Gertrude, daughter of Pepin, mayor of the imperial palace, and abbess (626–?659) of Nivelles in Brabant, is said to have invited St Foillán and St Ultán, brothers of St Fursa, to instruct her nuns in the liturgy.⁷⁷ She sent to Rome for the books, as she was known to be an admirer of Roman customs. Irish monks could not have been employed for this purpose if they were not competent in Roman practices. A particularly explicit reference is found in a seventh-century Life of St Brigid, by Ailerán the Wise of Clonard, to the replacement of the old Roman mass by the Gregorian.⁷⁸ From the late eighth century onwards, there was considerable contact with the Roman church through monks, scholars, and pilgrims who journeyed frequently between Ireland, Britain, and the Continent.

It is sometimes also overlooked that the second wave of viking immigrants was in the process of being christianised during the tenth century. As the vikings had been christianised by Anglo-Saxon missionaries to Scandinavia, they had long looked to Canterbury (which see had observed the Roman rite since St Augustine's mission and the synod of Whitby, 664) as their centre of ecclesiastical authority. Hence, Anglo-Roman rites of liturgy would have been known to some people for over a hundred years prior to the establishment of the Normans in Ireland in 1172.

⁷⁷ Lester K. Little, *Benedictine maledictions: liturgical cursing in Romanesque France* (Ithaca, N.Y., and London, 1993), p. 178.

⁷⁸ Bruno Stäblein, 'Zwei Melodien der altirischen Liturgie' in Heinrich Hüsch (ed.), *Musicae Scientiae Collectanea: Festschrift für Karl Gustav Fellerer zum 70. Geburtstag* (Cologne, 1973), pp 590–97: 594, n. 22.

The diocesan system was introduced in Dublin as early as 1042, Waterford in 1086, and Limerick in 1107. Several of Dublin's first bishops swore allegiance to Canterbury.⁷⁹ Furthermore, Malachy was introducing reforms with papal approval during his period as archbishop of Armagh (1134–48), and Laurence O'Toole, after his appointment as archbishop of Dublin in 1162, introduced the Augustinian canons regular to the Cathedral of the Holy Trinity (Christ Church) and was said to have been actively involved in chant reform.⁸⁰ The Arroasian rule, which he encouraged, was adopted thereafter in many other Irish cathedrals and churches.⁸¹

The customs that the Anglo-Normans brought with them to Dublin and beyond reflect a number of regional entities and have connections with Wales, with western England (in particular Gloucester, Chester, and Bristol), and indirectly with Normandy. This can be seen not only from rituals and manuscript stemma, but also from the devotion to saints as exemplified in Irish sources, for instance, Saints Cadoc and David (Wales), Ouen (from Rouen, Normandy—anglicised 'Audoen'), to whom churches were dedicated in Bristol and Dublin, Werburgh (Chester and Bristol), and Osyth (Bristol), as well as several Anglo-Saxon saints not included in the Salisbury (or Sarum) rite. Similarly elsewhere, late evidence for the tenacity of local practices is afforded by various Scottish manuscripts (up to and including items in the Aberdeen Breviary published in 1529) which reveal the honouring of regional saints. Interestingly, Gerald of Wales (c.1146–c.1223), in his 'Topographia Hibernica', commented on meeting a monk of the Roman rite in Ireland, as if the incident were noteworthy, even after the synod of Cashel.

The existence of post-twelfth-century Irish notated manuscripts has been well known since the late nineteenth century, but their study has been seriously neglected. For example, Frank Harrison stated: 'As far as is at present known, the music of the Celtic rite has sunk without leaving any trace',⁸² and in this he has been followed by Bruno Stäblein: 'With the loss of political independence, the Old Irish liturgy also came to an end. The later liturgical books from Ireland which contain melodies can be passed over; they do not differ in any respect from the generality of manuscripts written in the West' (my translation).⁸³ Aloys Fleischmann's article on 'Music of the Celtic rite' for the 1980 edition of the *New Grove dictionary* draws a veil over any

⁷⁹ For further details, see Aubrey Gwynn, 'The first bishops of Dublin' in *Reportorium Novum*, i (1955–6), pp 1–26; reprinted in Howard Clarke (ed.), *Medieval Dublin: the living city* (Dublin, 1990), pp 37–61.

⁸⁰ Thomas Messingham, *Florilegium insulae sanctorum* (Paris, 1624), pp 384–5.

⁸¹ Aloys Fleischmann and Ryta Gleeson, 'Music in ancient Munster and monastic Cork' in *Cork Hist. Soc. Jn.*, lxx (1965), pp 79–98: 95.

⁸² Frank Harrison, 'Polyphony in medieval Ireland' in E. M. Ruhnke (ed.), *Festschrift Bruno Stäblein* (Kassel, 1967), pp 74–9: 75.

⁸³ Stäblein, 'Zwei Melodien der altirischen Liturgie', p. 591, n. 12.

consideration of Irish sources after the establishment of Anglo-Norman rule in 1172, which, he states, 'effectively put an end to insular practices'.⁸⁴

In an attempt to establish whether there are some features by which Irish Sarum manuscripts may be identified as regionally distinctive, Patrick Brannon has observed that while, for example, Saints Patrick and Brigid are listed in English Sarum Kalendars, proper texts and music notation for these saints are not normally included in English Sarum sources.⁸⁵ The Sarum printed breviary usually contains some short readings and prayers for Brigid, but no text or melodies for Patrick. However, in the Irish manuscripts proper materials are included for saints such as Patrick, Brigid, Canice, and Brendan, suggesting established local practice. There are some thirty pre-eleventh-century Irish liturgical manuscripts known to exist, of which only one, the late eighth-century Stowe Missal,⁸⁶ is found in Irish holdings. This figure excludes psalters, gospel-books, manuscripts containing hymns and non-liturgical prayers,⁸⁷ while there are also numerous fragments in flyleaves, bindings, and palimpsests in thirteen different libraries over five different countries, on which much primary work remains to be done.⁸⁸ Apart from occasionally informing us on local practices, Irish manuscripts can also provide a missing link for liturgical rituals elsewhere, especially Gaul, since so little survives from there because of the imposition of the Roman rite through the Carolingian reform movement already in the ninth century. Equally, manuscripts such as the late seventh-century 'Antiphony' of Bangor⁸⁹ provide evidence of oriental influence (in particular from Palestinian and Egyptian Christian observance), most of which would have reached Ireland also via Gaul. Thus we are conscious, in the case of these older manuscripts, of the potential of such sources not only for uncovering information about Irish use, but also as a contribution towards international scholarly endeavours to reconstitute other parts of the west European liturgical map of the early middle ages.

⁸⁴ Aloys Fleischmann, 'Music of the Celtic rite' in Stanley Sadie (ed.), *The new Grove dictionary of music and musicians*, iv (London, 1980), p. 53.

⁸⁵ Patrick Brannon, 'The search for the Celtic rite: the T.C.D. Sarum Divine Office manuscripts reassessed' in Gerard Gillen and Harry White (ed.), *Irish musical studies*, ii (Blackrock [Dublin], 1993), pp 13-40: 16.

⁸⁶ Dublin, R.I.A. MS D.II.3. See George F. Warner (ed.), *The Stowe Missal, MS D.II.3 in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin* (2 vols, London, 1906, 1916); cf. also Bartholomew MacCarthy, 'On the Stowe Missal' in *R.I.A. Trans.*, xxvii (1886), pp 135-268.

⁸⁷ These are listed in Michael Lapidge and Richard Sharpe (ed.), *A bibliography of Celtic Latin literature 400-1200* (Dublin, 1985), under 'Liturgy'.

⁸⁸ See Marc Schneiders, 'The origins of the early Irish liturgy' in Próinséas Ní Chatháin and Michael Richter (ed.), *Ireland and Europe in the early middle ages: learning and literature* (Stuttgart, 1996) pp 76-98: 76, n. 1, for further bibliographical details.

⁸⁹ Milan, Bibl. Ambrosiana, MS C.5 inf. See F. E. Warren (ed.), *The Antiphony of Bangor* (2 vols, London 1893, 1899); Michael Curran, *The Antiphony of Bangor* (Blackrock [Dublin], 1984).

Where actual repertoires are concerned, Hiberno-Latin hymns represent the largest body of material from any of the Celtic-speaking regions. They attest to a new fusion between Latin poetry and indigenous Irish verse forms, of which the chief characteristics are short lines with extensive use of alliteration, internal rhyme, and assonance. By contrast, no examples survive from neighbouring regions, apart from two late Breton hymns.⁹⁰ The use of hymns in liturgical services seems to have been particularly cultivated in Ireland. Gallican practice also reveals a strong interest in hymnody, whereas it was not permitted in the Roman rite until the twelfth century.⁹¹

The Hiberno-Latin hymn repertory is evidently influenced by, but nonetheless quite distinct from, other collections of western hymns. It includes, in particular, hymns from Gaulish sources as well as registering the influence of early Christian Roman authors. But it also displays a great deal of creativity in the composition of new hymns. Colum Cille (Columba) was said by his biographer Adomnán to have written a book of hymns for the week (*hymnorum liber septimaniorum*), which suggests a weekly *cursus* of hymns on Iona, paralleling Caesarius of Arles's *cursus hymnorum*. This idea is supported also by the preface to the hymn 'Altus prosator' in the T.C.D. copy of the Irish 'Liber hymnorum', where it is related that Gregory the Great (d. 604) sent Colum Cille a cross and *immain na sechtmaine*, 'hymns of the week'.⁹²

There are two main sources for Irish hymns: the late seventh-century Antiphonary of Bangor, which also contains canticles and collects, and the Irish 'Liber hymnorum', which survives in two late eleventh-/early twelfth-century manuscripts, T.C.D. MS 1441 (*olim* E.4.2) and O.F.M.-U.C.D., MS A (formerly Franciscan Library, Killiney, MS A.2).⁹³ The Bangor Antiphonary is supported by the Turin fragment, which includes two of its hymns, 'Hymnum dicat' and 'Spiritus divinae lucis'.⁹⁴ Very few of these hymns are rubricated, hence their liturgical function is unclear; nor is it always certain whether they were intended for liturgical use or for private devotion.

In addition to the Antiphonary of Bangor and the Irish 'Liber hymnorum', texts of Irish hymns may be found also in English and continental manuscripts, where numerous Irish saints' cults grew up in the religious houses of Francia. The extant liturgical calendars of Frankish Gaul provide evidence

⁹⁰ Lapidge & Sharpe, *Bibliography*, nos 983 and 984 (twelfth and eleventh centuries, respectively).

⁹¹ Jane Stevenson, 'Hiberno-Latin hymns: learning and literature' in Ní Chatháin & Richter, *Ire. & Europe* (1996), pp 99–135: 103, and n. 22 (quoting Louis Duchesne).

⁹² See Thomas Owen Clancy and Gilbert Márkus, *Iona: the earliest poetry of a Celtic monastery* (Edinburgh, 1997), pp 93, 238, n. 40.

⁹³ See J. H. Bernard and Robert Atkinson (ed. and trans.), *The Irish Liber Hymnorum* (2 vols, London, 1898).

⁹⁴ See Kuno Meyer, 'Das turiner Bruchstück der ältesten irischen Liturgie' in *Nachrichten v.d. königl. Gesellsch. d. Wissensch. zu Göttingen, phil.-hist. Kl.* (Göttingen, 1903), pp 163–214.

for the cults of over forty Irish saints. For example, the feast of St Brigid was celebrated at Rebais, Meaux, Nivelles, Senlis, Corbie, Marchiennes, Saint-Amand, and Saint-Vaast.⁹⁵ Both Brigid and Patrick were widely venerated; while a ninth-century Bavarian litany includes invocations to Columbanus, Fursey, Patrick, Colum Cille, Comgall, Adomnán, Brigid, Kilian, Íte, and Samthann.⁹⁶

The oldest recorded hymns are the 'Gloria', 'Te Deum' (of which the Bangor Antiphony represents the earliest manuscript tradition), and 'Precamur patrem', which was probably written by Columbanus at Bangor c.580. Among the sources, there are not only prose hymns but also rhythmical hymns and even rhythmical collects (a feature that occurred only in Ireland, apparently, and not in Gaul). Metrical forms and poetry abound, though the question of performance and performance-contexts is not always clear. Curran has suggested that hymns and rhythmical collects reflect an Irish tendency to use verse for every occasion which merited a special composition.⁹⁷

FIVE of the hymns in the Bangor Antiphony bear rubrics indicating their liturgical function (AB items 8, 9, 10, 11, and 12). Of these, the hymn 'Sancti venite' (AB 8) is the oldest recorded communion hymn. Bangor contains eight *unica*, and ten that were certainly intended for liturgical use. Some of them are related to saints' cults, e.g., Irish saints such as Patrick, Comgall, and Camelac, as well as 'international' figures who were particularly venerated in Ireland, such as Martin and the Virgin Mary. For example, 'Cantemus in omni die', attributed to the Ionan monk Cú Chuimne (d. 747), is the oldest known Latin hymn to the Virgin, while the eighth-/ninth-century Book of Kells contains one of the oldest images of the Madonna and Child in these islands of which we are aware.⁹⁸ While it is important to remember that this is not an especially Celtic devotion, but rather a reflection of the international Christian world of the time, following the formal establishment of Mary's four great feasts in the church calendar by Pope Sergius (d. 701), it is notable that her veneration was observed early in the insular churches.⁹⁹

⁹⁵ See Little, *Benedictine maledictions*, pp 180–81.

⁹⁶ Maurice Coens, 'Les litanies bavaoises du *Libellus precum* dit de Fleury (Orléans MS 184)' in *Analecta Bollandiana*, lxxvii (1959), pp 373–91: 379–80, 383.

⁹⁷ Curran, *Antiphony of Bangor*, p. 85.

⁹⁸ T.C.D. MS 58, f. 7^v; along with two eighth-century crosses from Iona (Clancy & Márkus, *Iona*, pp 33–4).

⁹⁹ Compare also the vernacular Marian poetry of Blathmac (c.750–70), ed. James Carney, *The poems of Blathmac son of Cú Brettan* (London, 1964). From the music-historical point of view also, there is undoubtedly common ground to be explored between Hiberno-Latin and vernacular hymnody. However, this topic exceeds the scope of the present discussion. For a more thoroughgoing discussion of Latin hymns in Ireland, see Jane Stevenson, 'Irish hymns, Venantius Fortunatus and Poitiers' in Jean-Michel Picard (ed.), *Aquitaine and Ireland in the middle ages* (Blackrock [Dublin], 1995), pp 81–110, and eadem, 'Hiberno-Latin hymns', *passim*.

The importance attached to hymns is made clear in a number of Irish literary tales, and in references contained in liturgical books. They were a source of indulgence and grace, and in this connection, the singing of the last three stanzas was considered sufficient to earn a spiritual reward. Hymns also served the function of a protective charm, as did certain prayers, indicating an absorption of Christian doctrine within local beliefs of longer standing. In his discussion of the poetry of Blathmac, James Carney noted that this poet 'has a reverent perception of the mystery, the awesomeness, and the power of the chanted word', and that these and other religious texts 'are conceived of as a breastplate and helmet against evil powers'.¹⁰⁰

While some of the hymns in Irish manuscripts are unique, others belong to the realm of international Christian worship and are widely attested elsewhere. However, without corroborating evidence, this does not mean that the one group were 'Irish' and the other 'foreign' compositions. Irish Latin hymnody bears the characteristics of both Latin and Gaelic verse, sometimes separate, sometimes resulting in a fusion of the two. It is thus not always useful to speak in terms of 'Irish' composition as though it were something wholly separate, since Irish monks also composed verse according to classical and other metres. A more realistic appraisal of hymns, or of any other aspect of Irish cultural production, would thus be to take account of everything that was part of the repertory at a particular time and place, and on that basis to attempt to account for its existence. For example, 'Hymnum dicat' (attributed to Hilary of Poitiers) is found only in insular manuscripts and so had been assumed by several scholars to be Irish. Irish 'origin' is perhaps less useful a criterion than the question of Irish use and practice. None the less, this does not, and should not, preclude the search for an explanation of particular forms and styles as resulting from either local or international influences. As anyone who studies oral tradition will know, things may be absorbed from over a wide area, but may yet be given specific characteristics according to who uses them and in what context(s).

ALL surviving Irish liturgical manuscripts with music notation are late in date when compared with English and continental materials,¹⁰¹ but are greater in both quantity and chronological span than the sum total of surviving pre-reformation sources for both Scotland and Wales. They range from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries and include six missals; one gradual; one breviary; two psalters; five antiphonals; one troper; two processional; and two sources with fragments of polyphonic singing lessons.

¹⁰⁰ For references and further discussion, see Ann Buckley, "'And his voice swelled like a terrible thunderstorm...': music as symbolic sound in medieval Irish society" in Gerard Gillen and Harry White (ed.), *Irish Musical Studies*, iii (1995), pp 11-74: 42 ff.

¹⁰¹ Full details are given in abbreviated form in appendices I (type) and II (libraries).

Of these, eight are Sarum-rite sources, including a missal, a troper and consuetudinary, four divine office manuscripts, and two processionals. In addition there are sources connected with particular religious orders: a missal of the Victorine canons regular, an Augustinian psalter, a Carmelite missal, a Franciscan antiphonal, and a gradual from a cathedral to which a Benedictine house was attached. Systematic studies of the provenances, contents, and history of these sources are in progress. The discussion that follows is therefore necessarily of a preliminary nature, and deals in the main with specifically Irish aspects such as the veneration of local saints.

THE oldest is the Drummond Missal (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 627),¹⁰² from the early twelfth century, one of a group of three Irish missals which register various stages in the reform movement. It shares features with the eighth-/ninth-century Stowe Missal, as well as incorporating later developments.¹⁰³ It is thought that this missal was compiled during the period of reforms set in train by Malachy, and that some of the material, including the chants, may have been copied in part from an older exemplar, perhaps from as early as the tenth century, thus linking directly to a period when 'Celtic' chant was flourishing. The Corpus (or Clones) Missal (Oxford, Corpus Christi College MS 282),¹⁰⁴ also from the twelfth century, and the thirteenth- or fourteenth-century Rosslyn Missal (Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Advocates MS 18.5.19),¹⁰⁵ show even greater evidence of the growing influence of continental or English forms of the liturgy, but with particular elements that belong to their Irish context. The Corpus Missal may pre-date the arrival of the Normans in Ireland. It is thought also to reflect the reforms being instituted by Malachy and his followers, although it may be a copy of an early eleventh-century exemplar.¹⁰⁶ The Rosslyn Missal is based on an older English exemplar.

Both the Corpus and Rosslyn Missals contain inflection marks to serve as a guide in the declamation of the orations and lections, but are without

¹⁰² See G. H. Forbes (ed.), *Missale Drummondense: the ancient Irish missal in the possession of the Baroness Willoughby de Eresby* (Burntisland, 1882). See also H. P. A. Oskamp, 'The Irish quatrains and salutations in the Drummond Missal' in *Ériu*, lxxvii (1977), pp 82–91.

¹⁰³ For a recent account, see Sara G. Casey, 'The Drummond Missal: a preliminary investigation into its historical, liturgical, and musicological significance in pre-Norman Ireland' (M.A. thesis, University of Pittsburgh, 1995).

¹⁰⁴ F. E. Warren (ed.), *The manuscript Irish missal belonging to the president and fellows of Corpus Christi College, Oxford* (London, 1879).

¹⁰⁵ H. J. Lawlor (ed.), *The Rosslyn Missal: an Irish manuscript in the Advocates' Library* (Edinburgh and London, 1899).

¹⁰⁶ See the full discussion of the MS in Aubrey Gwynn, 'The Irish Missal of Corpus Christi College, Oxford' in *Studies in Church History*, i (1964), pp 47–68; repr. in Gwynn, *The Irish church in the eleventh and twelfth centuries* (Blackrock [Dublin], 1992), pp 17–33. See also William O'Sullivan, above, ch. XIV.

notation.¹⁰⁷ However, sections of the Drummond Missal (mainly preface and Sanctus chants) are provided with unheighted (or non-diastematic) neumes, i.e., they are on one horizontal plane and thus do not show the rise and fall of the melodic line (pl. 121). Most closely resembling the St Gall type of notation, they have until lately been considered indecipherable.¹⁰⁸ However, a new study indicates that the Drummond neumes are indeed readable, making possible hypothetical reconstructions of intervallic relationships, melodic patterns—including distinctive melismas (i.e., ornamental passages)—and text–melody relationships.¹⁰⁹

A notated fragment, bound in with T.C.D. MS 1305 (ff 19^r–20^v), is the only surviving part of the earliest example of an Irish Sarum missal. The use of green and yellow initials, in addition to the usual red, is striking, as is the use of ‘b *quadratum*’ (nowadays referred to as ‘b natural’) as a clef—a feature of other Irish sources also (see below). Its relatively early date (twelfth-/thirteenth-century) makes it also one of the very earliest texts of the Sarum Missal.

The other missals are somewhat later, and their notation is standard square (or ‘plainsong’) notation on four lines, hence it may still be easily read nowadays. The oldest of these (now B.L. Add. MS 24198) dates from the early fourteenth century, and comes from the Victorine abbey of St Thomas the Martyr, Dublin. It has also received scholarly attention because of the inclusion of six polyphonic motets on its flyleaves, of which four represent items not found in any other source. All are considered to be of English provenance, but only three of the six are complete.¹¹⁰

A partially noted missal in London, Lambeth Palace Archiepiscopal Library MS 213, dates from the early fifteenth century. It contains proper materials for Brigid (f. 180^vb), Patrick (ff 185^rb–186^ra) and Finian (ff 230^ra–b), indicating use in Ireland.¹¹¹ However, none of these is provided with music notation (which is confined mainly to preface chants).

Two missals date from the fifteenth century. The Kilcormac Missal (T.C.D. MS 82, ff 1^r–154^v) originally belonged to the Carmelite monastery

¹⁰⁷ See further Aloys Fleischmann, ‘The neumes in Irish liturgical manuscripts’ (M.A. dissertation, N.U.I. (U.C.C.), 1932), pp 38–42.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. Fleischmann, ‘Celtic rite’, p. 53.

¹⁰⁹ See Casey, ‘The Drummond Missal’; eadem, ‘The Sanctus chant of the Drummond Missal: a semiotic study’ (unpublished TS, 1996); eadem, ‘“Through a glass, darkly”: steps towards reconstructing Irish chant from the neumes of the Drummond Missal’ in *Early Music*, xxviii, no. 2 (May 2000), pp 205–15.

¹¹⁰ Frank Harrison (ed.), *Motets of English provenance* (Monaco, 1980), nos 15, 16, and 17, and *ibid.*, fragments 23, 26, and 29 respectively. Cf. RISM [*Répertoire international des sources musicales*] B IV¹, 513–15.

¹¹¹ Frere does not refer to any of these Irish saints in his list of Lambeth Palace sources; see Walter H. Frere, *Bibliotheca musico-liturgica*, I.1.2 (London, 1894; reprint, Hildesheim, 1967), while the library catalogue records Finian only: see M. R. James and C. Jenkins, *A descriptive catalogue of the manuscripts in the library of Lambeth Palace* (Cambridge, 1932), pp 341–2.

at Kilcormac (now Frankford, County Offaly).¹¹² Obits of important personages from the region are included in the Kalendar, and the manuscript is distinguished by being the only Carmelite missal to survive from any house in Britain or Ireland. It contains very little notation, and none for the Sanctoriale, which includes Brigid (f. 105^vb), Patrick (ff 105^va–106^ra) and Brendan (f. 109^v). It is now bound with a fragment of sixteen folios from a Sarum antiphonal (see *infra*). The other missal is B.L. Egerton MS 2677, which is also a Sarum manuscript adapted to Irish use, as indicated by materials for Irish saints (only a few sections of the proper are provided with music notation—but not those for Irish saints).¹¹³

A fragment of another missal was included in the Red Book of the Exchequer. The Red Book, unfortunately destroyed in the Dublin Public Record Office fire of 1922, belonged to the court of the exchequer in Dublin.¹¹⁴ It dates from the thirteenth century, with additions continuing up to the seventeenth. According to Flood, the missal, which was richly illuminated, largely followed the Use of Sarum. He reported that the book also contained a ‘transcript of the Gregorian modes’, a hymn for the feast of the Ascension, another to St Nicholas, a copy of the hymn ‘Ut queant laxis’, and a church calendar with various notices (for the period 1264–1524). ‘Ut queant laxis’ is a hymn from the Second Vespers for the feast of John the Baptist.¹¹⁵

Frere’s account largely agrees with Flood’s. He lists a Sarum Kalendar (May–April) adapted to Irish Dominican use (p. 37), votive masses with Ordinary and Canon (p. 48), the four gospels (p. 62), and sections with notation for parts of the services for the Ascension, and the feastdays of St John the Baptist and St Nicholas. He dated all of these materials to the

¹¹² According to the colophon on f. 154 it was written in 1458 by Dermot O’Flanagan, a brother of the Carmelite Priory at Loughrea, for Edward Higgins, prior of Kilcormac. The only study remains that of H. J. Lawlor, ‘The Kilcormick Missal—a manuscript in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin’ in *R.I.A. Trans.*, xxxi (1896–1901), pp 393–430, though Fleischmann (‘The neumes’, pp 65–8 and plates IX–XI) discusses certain aspects, particularly the music palaeography.

¹¹³ An anonymous handwritten note entered in the B.L. copy of the *Catalogue of additions* (1968) describes this source as: ‘Dublin use (many modifications from Sarum use)’.

¹¹⁴ Frere, *Bibliotheca musico-liturgica*, II.1.2 (1932; reprint, Hildesheim, 1967), p. 75. Cf. William H. Grattan Flood, *A history of Irish music* (Dublin, 1905), pp 135–6. A fuller account of the contents of the entire book may be found in James Frederick Ferguson, ‘Calendar of the contents of the Red Book of the Irish exchequer’ in *R.S.A.I. Jn.*, iii (1854–5), pp 35–52. I am obliged to Dr Harold Clarke for this reference.

¹¹⁵ This hymn is famous for having been used throughout the middle ages as a method for teaching the hexachord, the first six degrees of the diatonic scale, and for learning to sing at sight. Each phrase begins on a successively higher note, with the first syllable of every line (UT queant laxis, REsonare fibris, etc.) providing the name of the so-called ‘solmisation’ syllables (ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la). This system was devised by Guido of Arezzo (c.991/2–p. 1033), who may have composed the melody (or adapted an existing one). The text is much older and is commonly attributed to Paul Warnefrid (d. 799), also known as ‘Paul the Deacon’.

thirteenth century. Frere also itemised the hymn 'Eterne rex', which is undoubtedly the Ascension hymn to which Grattan Flood referred.

The notated materials, interspersed with Latin prayers, appear to represent ceremonies held regularly at the court of the exchequer. According to the rubrics, the second remembrancer (one of the principal officers of the court) should commence the singing of 'Eterne rex' (Ferguson (1856), p. 51). The ceremonies may have been linked to those in which the choir of Christ Church cathedral participated. From some time after 1547 the choir used to sing there four times a year at the end of each term. This custom arose following the suppression of the choral foundation at St Patrick's cathedral in 1547, when six of its priests and two boys were redeployed to Christ Church, funded by a royal grant from the exchequer. The first documented record may be one dated 9 August 1589.¹¹⁶ According to Ferguson (1854–5, p. 51), whenever this ceremony was performed, an entry was made in one of the rule-books of the court to the effect that 'the chantour of Christ Church brought into court the vicars choralls and performed their accustomed service and homage due to his majestie, by singing an antheme and saying certain collects and prayers, which being done they had warrant under the barons hands directed to the vice treasurer for receiveing their wonted fee of ten shillings sterling.' Unfortunately Ferguson supplies no dates for these entries, but in his account (pp 50–51) he suggests that the ceremonies may have been entered into the book during the reign of Henry VI (1422–61, 1470–71), thus around a century before the presumed involvement of Christ Church. However, in the absence of the original documents, the question must remain open, including the possibility that they may be even as old as the thirteenth century, the date supplied by Frere.

Finally, another missal was described by Grattan Flood as having been written in the fifteenth century by a member of the Franciscan friary at Enniscorthy and to be 'still in existence' (i.e. at the time of writing—Flood's book was published in 1898). Around the same time, Lawlor, in a brief discussion of medieval Irish missals, understood that it was '... some time ago in the hands of Cardinal Moran'. No trace of it can now be found, nor is there any surviving record (such as Frere) to indicate whether it contained notation; this therefore seems unlikely.¹¹⁷

The gradual, Oxford, Bodl. MS Rawl. C 892, dates from the second half of the twelfth century and hails from an Irish cathedral to which a Benedictine monastery was attached (Downpatrick is thought the most likely). Prayers for both Brigid (f. 102^v) and Patrick (f. 106^f) are included in the

¹¹⁶ Alan J. Fletcher, *Drama, performance, and polity in pre-Cromwellian Ireland* (Cork, 2000), p. 388, n. 115; also pp 256–7 and 436–7, n. 228.

¹¹⁷ See Grattan Flood, *History of Enniscorthy* (Enniscorthy, 1898), p. 195; Lawlor, 'Kilcormick Missal', p. 393, n. 1.

Di-cant nunc Ju-de-i quo-mo-do mi-li-tes
 cu-sto-di-en-tes se-pul-crum per-di-de-runt re-gem, ad la-pi-dis
 po-si-ti-o-nem, qua-re non ser-va-bant pe-tram
 ju-sti-ti-e. Aut se-pul-tum red-dant aut re-sur-gen-tem
 a-do-rant no-bis-cum di-cen-tes:
 MS cut off here
 Al-le-lu-ia, Al-le-lu-ia.

Fig. 44 Two-part setting 'Dicant nunc of the Easter antiphon 'Christus resurgens' (Bodl., Rawl. MS C 892, ff 67^v-68^r).

(a)

Be - ne - di - ca - mus Do - mi - no

Detailed description: A single staff of music in G-clef and 8/8 time. The melody consists of a series of eighth notes with some beamed pairs and longer note values. The lyrics are written below the staff.

(b)

Cor - ma - cus scrip - sit hoc psal-te-ri-um; o - ra pro e - o.

Cor - ma - cus scrip - sit hoc psal-te-ri-um; o - ra pro e - o.

Cor - ma - cus scrip - sit hoc psal-te-ri-um; o - ra pro e - o.

Detailed description: Three staves of music in G-clef and 8/8 time, representing a three-part polyphony. The top two staves have lyrics, and the bottom staff has a reconstructed tenor line. The lyrics are: 'Cor - ma - cus scrip - sit hoc psal-te-ri-um; o - ra pro e - o.' The music is divided into measures by vertical bar lines.

Qui le - gis hec, o - ra pro se - se qua-li-bet ho - ra.

Qui le - gis hec, o - ra pro se - se qua-li-bet ho - ra.

Qui le - gis hec, o - ra pro se - se qua-li-bet ho - ra.

Detailed description: Three staves of music in G-clef and 8/8 time, continuing the polyphony. The lyrics are: 'Qui le - gis hec, o - ra pro se - se qua-li-bet ho - ra.' The music is divided into measures by vertical bar lines.

Fig. 45 (a) Sarum 'Benedicamus Domino', after Salisbury Cathedral Library MS 175,

f. 135^v. (b) Colophon in three-part polyphony in an Irish psalter, second half of the twelfth century (B.L., Add. MS 36929, f. 59^r). The reconstruction is conjectural: the voices are not precisely aligned in the manuscript, and text is supplied only for the tenor.

Sanctorale, and Brigid is mentioned in the introit 'Gaudeamus' for the Common of Virgins (f. 143^v). A few words in Irish are recorded in the lower margin of f. 144^r, and some Latin in Irish lettering on f. 131^v. It has received particular attention because it contains a two-part polyphonic arrangement of

the verse 'Dicant nunc Iudei' (ff 67^v–68^r) from the Sarum processional antiphon 'Christus resurgens', which was sung at the beginning of the Easter morning service (pl. 120 and figure 44). Although 'Dicant nunc' itself—and other aspects of this manuscript—reveal close connections with Winchester, the only concordance for a polyphonic setting is found in a manuscript from Chartres (Cathedral Library, MS 109, f. 75, c. 1100), a centre important in the pre-Notre Dame history of polyphony. Indeed, it remains the only polyphonic item from before the Notre Dame epoch (twelfth century) for which a musical concordance has been identified.¹¹⁸ This raises questions as to the possible wider existence of multi-part liturgical singing in Ireland (as do the few surviving examples from Chartres for French practices outside of Paris).

There are particular music-palaeographical features in this manuscript that are unusual. For example, the presence of green staff lines on f. 37^r, and purple and brown on f. 26^v (in place of the more usual red or black); the use of double clefs, and of *b-quadratum* ('B natural')—both of which appear to be common features of Irish scribal practice.¹¹⁹ We shall return below to the question of clefs and the related question of Irish music palaeography.

T.C.D. MS 80 is an early fifteenth-century noted breviary which was used at Kilmoone, County Meath. In addition to the regular Sarum materials, it contains offices for both Patrick (ff 122^r–124^v)¹²⁰ and Brigid (ff 114^v–117^r) in its Sanctoriale.

THE Christ Church psalter is a fourteenth-century codex from the Cathedral of the Holy Trinity, Dublin (called Christ Church after the reformation), now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford (MS Rawl. G 185). Written between 1350 and 1380, perhaps in East Anglia, it contains richly illuminated capitals and miniatures, with some particularly striking representations of instruments and singing monks. Many of the psalms are provided with reciting tones, and the antiphons are notated also. Stephen of Derby, who was prior of Christ Church 1347–?1382, is acknowledged as the commissioner of the collection; later additions on the front flyleaves and end folios comprise memoranda relating to the priory from 1374 to 1409, together with some prayers and a form of absolution. No Irish saints are

¹¹⁸ See Marion S. Gushee, 'The polyphonic music of the medieval monastery, cathedral and university' in James McKinnon (ed.), *Antiquity and the middle ages: from ancient Greece to the fifteenth century* (Man and Music; Basingstoke and London, 1990), pp 143–69: 151.

¹¹⁹ Cf. Stäblein, *Schriftbild*, n. 14, who points to these features, as does E. Nicholson, *Early Bodleian music*, iii (Oxford, 1913), pp lxxxiv–lxxxv and plate LXIV. Nicholson suggested a Waterford provenance for the MS. The MS has not been published in facsimile but a photograph of f. 69^r is given in Bruno Stäblein, *Schriftbild der einstimmigen Musik* (Leipzig, 1975), pl. 12, accompanied by a brief discussion of the source on p. 120. See also RISM BIV¹, p. 573

¹²⁰ The beginning of the Patrick Office is wanting in this source.

celebrated in liturgical services, but the Kalendar is particularly rich in such references.¹²¹

Another Irish psalter, B.L. Add. MS 36929, dating to the middle or second half of the twelfth century, is remarkable for its inclusion of a fragment of polyphony (on f. 59^r) in the form of a colophon written by its Irish scribe, Cormac, but is otherwise without notation (pl. 121, fig. 45b). This will be discussed below.

THE antiphonals include three Sarum Divine Office manuscripts, T.C.D. MSS 77, 78, 79, as also MS 82,¹²² a Sarum antiphonal (c.1300) which is bound together with the Kilcormac Missal, and T.C.D. MS 109, a late fifteenth-century antiphonal of Irish Franciscan Roman use. MS 77 (dating probably to between 1416 and c.1450) contains numerous references to Armagh, and was used by the *céli Dé* of Armagh cathedral. Its psalter has a number of unusual characteristics, among them three antiphons with music notation for the feast of St Patrick, found in the section for the Little Hours, following Psalm 118 on f. 74^r. These items, 'Iubilemus puro cor de Christo' (f. 75^r), 'Ut nos Deus in tuo adventum' (f. 78^r), and 'Laus et honor resonet' (f. 80^r) are concordant with the same items in MSS 79 and 80. MS 78 (late fifteenth century) reveals a particularly strong Irish element, including some saints not found elsewhere. They represent a wide range of Irish localities, in particular Ossory, as well as including several English saints not found in the Sarum rite.¹²³ In the Sanctorale of this source there occur notated offices for Brigid (ff 139^v–141^v; cf. pl. 122), Patrick (ff 150^r–151^v), and Canice (ff 168^r–170^v), as well as prayers and references to Mokyn and Kieran in the rubrics of the Sanctorale. The Canice material is unique to this source, and includes antiphons, verses, responses, an invitatory, and a hymn.

MS 79 (dating to probably between 1431 and 1435) was associated with the parish church of St John the Evangelist in Dublin. It was begun in the fifteenth century, when feasts of seven Irish saints were listed; later additions during the course of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries include

¹²¹ See Geoffrey Hand, 'The psalter of Christ Church, Dublin (Bodleian MS Rawlinson G 185)' in *Reportorium Novum*, i, pt 2 (1956), pp 311–22.

¹²² For detailed discussion of the Irish Sarum Divine Office sources (T.C.D., MSS 77–80), and their inclusion of liturgical celebration of Irish saints, see Brannon, 'Four notated Sarum Divine Office MSS', pp 160–98, and with respect to chants in particular, pp 262–302. Brannon, 'The search for the Celtic rite', contains a summary of these findings. Cf. also idem, 'Medieval Ireland: music in cathedral, church and cloister' in *Early Music*, xxviii, no. 2 (May 2000), pp 193–202. See also Andrew Hughes, 'British rhymed offices' in Susan Rankin and David Hiley (ed.), *Music in the medieval English liturgy* (Plainsong and Medieval Music Society Centennial Essays; Oxford, 1993), pp 239–84.

¹²³ Discussed in W. Hawkes, 'The liturgy in Dublin 1200–1500: manuscript sources' in *Reportorium Novum*, ii, pt 1 (1958), pp 33–67: 44–6 and 46–9, respectively.

twenty more. It contains a notated office for Patrick in the Sanctorale (ff 160^r–162^v). MS 82 (c.1300) is a fragment only, and probably representative of Irish Sarum use. It is now bound with the Kilcormac Missal (on ff 156^r–168^v, 170^r–171^v, 169^{r-v})¹²⁴ but once formed part of a separate codex. MS 109 (late fifteenth century) contains texts and chant for Lauds for the office of St Patrick (ff 95^r–99^r), as well as unnotated text for matins.

THE so-called ‘Dublin Troper’ (in fact a troper-proser) has been widely studied, and reproduced in facsimile, with an edition of some of its contents.¹²⁵ It was in use at St Patrick’s cathedral, Dublin, c.1360. An important source on several counts, it is unique in containing a separate proser devoted exclusively to the Virgin; almost half of the proses (or sequences) contained therein appear to have been composed in Dublin—at least this manuscript is the only known source. A number of items from the liturgical proser may also be original compositions, including the texts of two St Patrick sequences (and the melody of one of them).

The melody of ‘Laeta lux’ is an *unicum*, but another copy of the text exists in T.C.D. MS 83 (*olim* B.3.4.), a fifteenth-century missal of the Use of York.¹²⁶ The other sequence, ‘Laetabundus decantet’, is found also in B.L. Egerton MS 2677 on f. 254^r. With its most usual text (generally referred to as ‘Laetabundus’), this melody is used in a Christmas sequence, the oldest sources of which date to eleventh-century France (where it is thought to have originated) and Germany, spreading to England in the twelfth century.¹²⁷ Numerous texts have been set to this melody, including sequences in honour of other Irish saints, e.g., for the Translation of Patrick, Brigid, and Columba;¹²⁸ the feast of Colman,¹²⁹ and the Anglo-Norman drinking song ‘Or hi parra’. The codex also contains three copies of the famous song, ‘Angelus ad Virginem’, one monophonic, one in three parts (incomplete), and a complete version in three parts (this time without words),¹³⁰ as also

¹²⁴ The current sequence of folio numbers is a result of misbinding (see Colker, *T.C.D. catalogue*, i, 148).

¹²⁵ René-Jean Hesbert (ed.), *Le Trotaire-Prosaire de Dublin: MS Add. 710 de l’Université de Cambridge (vers 1360)* (Rouen, 1966). See RISM B V¹, pp 151–2.

¹²⁶ G. M. Dreves, Clemens Blume, and H. M. Bannister (ed.), *Analecta hymnica medii aevi* (58 vols, Leipzig 1886–1922), xl, no. 303, pp 261–2.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp 302, 260–61. Cf. Geoffrey Hand, ‘Cambridge University [*sic*] Additional Manuscript 710’ in *Repertorium Novum*, ii, no. 1 (1958), pp 17–32: 28.

¹²⁸ Cf. *Analecta hymnica*, xl, no. 304, p. 262.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, xli, no. 6, pp 94–5.

¹³⁰ The three-part version is unique to the Dublin MS. For further details, see E. J. Dobson and Frank L. Harrison, *Medieval English songs* (London, 1979), p. 303 ff; also John Stevens, ‘Angelus ad Virginem: the history of a medieval song’ in P. L. Heyworth (ed.), *Medieval studies for J. A. W. Bennett aetatis suae lxx* (Oxford, 1981), pp 297–328: 299.

the Latin *lai*, 'The song of the Flood', 'Omnis caro'—one of only three notated sources for this extended narrative piece.¹³¹

THE two Sarum processions, dating to c.1400, belonged to the parish church of St John the Evangelist, Dublin, at least by the second half of the fifteenth century. This church, originally dedicated to St John the Baptist and built in the shadow of Christ Church cathedral, was served by the members of the cathedral from c.1230, following a directive from the archbishop. The manuscripts, now Oxford, Bodl. MS Rawl. Liturg.d.4, and Dublin, Marsh's Library, MS Z.4.2.20,¹³² contain dramatic ceremonies for Easter, including the ceremony of the Burial of the Cross and the Host on Good Friday and their retrieval on Easter morning ('Depositio crucis et hostiae', 'Elevatio crucis et hostiae'), and the 'Visitatio Sepulchri' play, representing the three Marys arriving at the empty tomb on Easter morning. While it remains unclear where these manuscripts were written, it is likely that the Marsh's manuscript, and perhaps both, were executed in Dublin,¹³³ perhaps at Christ Church itself, given other evidence for the performance of liturgical drama by the Augustinian canons at that cathedral. The Marsh's manuscript has additional proper chants for Patrick (ff 104^v–105^v) and Columba (ff 107^v–108^v), while one of its three litanies (ff 130^v–133^r) includes the names of four Irish saints: Patrick, Columbanus, Columba, and Brigid. The Bodley codex contains chants for the feasts of Patrick (ff 188^f–190^r) and Audoen (f. 190^{r-v}, incomplete), and includes the same four Irish saints in the litanies.

There is other extant evidence for the enactment of liturgical drama in Dublin, as we have indicated above (p. 768). Meantime, it is of relevance to mention a much older source which suggests the use of drama in the early medieval Irish church and centres that came under its influence. It occurs in the Northumbrian Book of Cerne (Cambridge University Library, MS Ll.1.10, written in Mercia at the beginning of the ninth century) which,

¹³¹ For further details see John Stevens, *Words and music in the middle ages: song, narrative, dance and drama, 1050–1350* (Cambridge, 1986) 144ff. Cf. also Hesbert, *Le Tropaire-Prosaire de Dublin*, pp 97–105 (edition) and 184–6 (facsimile).

¹³² The Oxford MS contains the 'Depositio', ff 68^v–70^f, two versions of the 'Elevatio', ff 85^v–86^f (short), and 127^v–130^f (long), and the 'Visitatio sepulchri' play on ff 130^f–132^f; the Marsh's Library MS has two versions of the 'Elevatio crucis et hostie', on ff 58^v–59^f (short) followed by the 'Visitatio sepulchri' play on ff 59^f–61^f, with the long version of the 'Elevatio' on ff 138^v–140^f.

¹³³ Notices appeared in Hawkes (1958, 38ff), and Dolan (1975, 148ff) who discusses the historical problems in detail and includes photographs of ff 59^f–61^f of the Marsh's Library source. Lipphardt gives a summary in vi, 256, 358–9, based on both previous studies. For the most recent study of dating, provenance, and contents of these sources, see Máire Egan-Buffet and Alan V. Fletcher, 'The Dublin *Visitatio Sepulchri* play' in *R.I.A. Proc.*, xc (1990), sect. c, pp 159–241. This publication also contains an edition of the plays, with photographs from both manuscripts.

along with a breviary psalter, prayers, and hymns, contains the text of the play on the 'Harrowing of Hell'. David Dumville, noting the Irish metrical structure of the hymns, the Irish nature of the breviary psalter, and evidence in the prayers of Spanish-Irish as well as Roman-Gallican influence, has put forward the hypothesis that the manuscript is a copy of an older exemplar which, if not of direct Irish provenance, was in all probability introduced to Northumbria by Irish missionary monks in the eighth century during the episcopate of *Æðiluald* of Lindisfarne (721/4–740).¹³⁴ Thus the text itself may be older, perhaps dating to eighth-century Lindisfarne, which would render it likely to have come originally from an Irish milieu. Such evidence for the existence of dramatic representation would thus pre-date by a full century the earliest continental source for liturgical drama, from St Martial de Limoges. Dumville goes so far as to suggest that Ireland may have thereby been the 'original home' for this genre,¹³⁵ but this is somewhat rash in view of the variety of possible ways in which such lessons may have been performed, represented, or 'dramatised' throughout western Europe in order to illustrate forms of sermons or other instruction, or to enhance important church feasts. Such a 'play', and others like it, may well have existed over a wider area and a much longer period of time, but our knowledge is limited by lack of further written evidence.

Another important topic currently under investigation concerns liturgical materials from continental Irish houses, and those subject to Irish influence.¹³⁶ In addition to sources for Patrick, Brigid, and Colum Cille, we have identified proper chants for Brendan, Columbanus, Findan, Fridolin, Furse, Gall, Kilian, Laurence O'Toole, Maglorius, and Malachy, and non-notated materials for many more.¹³⁷

¹³⁴ David Dumville, 'Liturgical drama and panegyric responsory from the eighth century? A re-examination of the origin and contents of the ninth-century section of the Book of Cerne' in *Journal of Theological Studies*, new ser., xxiii (1972), pp 374–406: 384–5, 393–4, 396. For a more recent detailed study of the manuscript, see Michelle P. Brown, *The Book of Cerne* (London, 1997), especially pp 145–6, 150–51, where she takes up some of Dumville's observations.

¹³⁵ Dumville, 'Liturgical drama', p. 381.

¹³⁶ This forms part of the long-term research programme of the International Research Group for Music of Medieval Celtic Regions, and includes an in-progress publication by Ann Buckley and Sara Casey, *Liturgical sources for the veneration of Irish saints: an annotated checklist* (2 vols). This work, which will cover all of the source materials, both insular and continental, involves a complete revision and extension of Dreves, Blume & Bannister, *Analecta hymnica* [AH], now long out of date, but which contains material for almost forty Irish saints in a survey of some 300 manuscripts.

¹³⁷ See, for example, Jean Leclercq, 'Documents on the cult of St Malachy' in *Seanchas Ardnhacha*, iii (1959), pp 318–36: 327–32, and plate II; also David Hiley, 'Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 249 (A.280) and the early Paris repertory of ordinary of mass chants and sequences' in *Music & Letters*, lxx, pt 4 (1989), pp 463–82: 471–2, 481–2, for a source of sequences in honour of St Laurence O'Toole from the collegiate church of St Laurent at Eu, where the saint died in 1180; Theodore Karp, 'A serendipitous encounter with St Kilian' in *Early Music*, xxviii, no. 2 (May 2000), pp 226–37.

A large collection of fragments dating to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, most of them with music notation, was recently discovered at the Irish foundation in Vienna, the Schottenstift.¹³⁸ The Schottenabtei, or 'Irish monastery', was the first such foundation to be established in Vienna when, in 1155, Irish monks arrived from the Irish community of St Jakob in Regensburg. Hence, items dating from the earlier part of the twelfth century are likely to have been brought from Regensburg by the founding monks. Among their contents are materials for the veneration of Irish saints (Patrick, Brigid, Columba, Kilian, Bæthgen), including a copy of the vespers hymn for the office of St Patrick, 'Ecce fulget clarissima' (without notation; see below). The fragments represent five or six antiphonals, one troper, two graduals, one breviary, one sacramentary, and one manuscript containing chants for both daily mass and the divine office. They are mostly in plain-song notation, and were written by Irish or Irish-trained scribes. Characteristic is the use of clef letters 'b' (i.e. B flat), 'D', and 'h' (i.e., 'b quadratum' or B natural), as well as double clefs (i.e., combining two letter-clefs on different lines or spaces). They bear a resemblance to some of the palaeographic features of the Downpatrick Gradual already discussed (above, pp 788–90). In addition, they display a striking use of the colours blue and green, associated also with other Irish manuscripts.

ALTHOUGH there are no Irish manuscripts with music notation dating prior to the twelfth century, this may not preclude the possibility of recovering the melodies of pre-twelfth-century Irish liturgical repertoires from later sources, among them two antiphons preserved in a thirteenth-century breviary (of the use of Bayeux) from the collegiate church of Saint-Sépulcre, Caen.¹³⁹ The first is a setting of 'Ibunt sancti', which was said to have been sung on his deathbed by Theudoaldus, a monk of Columbanus's community in Bobbio, after he had received the last rites. The account is by Jonas, Columbanus's biographer, writing between 639 and 642.¹⁴⁰ Another reference to 'Ibunt

¹³⁸ See László Mezey, 'Fragmentforschung im Schottenstift 1982–1983' in *Codices manuscripti: Zeitschrift für Handschriftenkunde*, 2/10 (1984), pp 60–71. For commentary (by Walter Pass) and selected illustrations, see *Musik im mittelalterlichen Wien* (Historisches Museum der Stadt Wien, 103. Sonderausstellung, 18 Dezember 1986 bis 8. März 1987), pp 39, 54 ff. Since these publications appeared, more fragments have been identified, and the shelf numbers of the entire collection have been revised. See Martin Czernin, 'Fragments of liturgical chant from medieval Irish monasteries in continental Europe' in *Early Music*, xxviii, no. 2 (May 2000), pp 217–24. A complete facsimile edition is shortly due for publication, with contributions from an interdisciplinary team of specialists. See Martin Czernin (ed.), *Die Musik der irischen Benediktiner in Wien* (Graz, forthcoming 2003).

¹³⁹ Now Paris, Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal, MS 279, f. 214^v. See Stäblein, 'Zwei Melodien', *passim*.

¹⁴⁰ Bruno Krusch (ed.), *Ionae vitae sanctorum Columbani, Vedastis, Iohannis* (Hanover and Leipzig, 1905), p. 292; see Stäblein, 'Zwei melodien', pp 593–4.



Fig. 46 The antiphon 'Ibunt sancti', adapted from the thirteenth-century Caen Breviary, Paris, Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal, MS 279, f. 241^v, after Stäblein, 'Zwei Melodien' (1973), p. 593.

sancti' occurs in the 'Navigatio Brendani',¹⁴¹ where it is described as being sung continuously by three choirs in turn on the island where Brendan and his companions landed.

The Caen manuscript is the unique source of this text with its melody which, however, departs from Jonas's version of the words in the second line by substituting a series of *alleluias*. Stäblein reconstructed the original which conforms exactly to the surviving melody (reproduced here as fig. 46). The text features the common Irish characteristics of assonance and alliteration; its melody is formed from two simple motifs in ABA form for the first line, repeated exactly in the second. This parallel structure is not a characteristic of Roman chant and is found elsewhere only in the more elaborate structure of the liturgical sequence. Similarly the repetition of the cell within the melodic line is un-Roman.

The other antiphon, 'Crucem sanctam', follows on the same folio in this manuscript but, unlike 'Ibunt sancti', it is widely attested in sources from England, northern France, Italy, Spain, and Switzerland. The four phrases are grouped in pairs, each with a different incipit (A, B, C, D) followed alternately by 'x' (with a half close) and 'x¹' (with a full close; see fig. 47).¹⁴² The upper and middle voices of the polyphonic piece 'Cormacus scripsit' consist of two phrases repeated exactly in sequence, in which respect it too resembles the form of 'Ibunt sancti' (pl. 121 and fig. 45b). And the hymn 'Mediae noctis tempus est', found with its melody in a central- or south-Italian hymnar from the first half of the thirteenth century,¹⁴³ reveals textual and melodic characteristics similar to those of the antiphons from Caen (see fig. 48). It is in origin a continental hymn, perhaps from Poitiers, with a text dating to at least the sixth century; its use in Ireland is attested as far back as the Antiphony of Bangor.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴¹ Carl Selmer (ed.), *Navigatio Sancti Brendani abbatis* (Notre Dame, Ind., 1956), p. 50; see also Curran, *Antiphony of Bangor*, pp 170–71.

¹⁴² For details cf. Stäblein, 'Zwei Melodien', pp 592, 595 ff.

¹⁴³ Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, MS Hamilton 688; the hymn is found on ff 33–4 with the slightly different incipit, 'Mediae noctis tempore'.

¹⁴⁴ See Stevenson, 'Irish hymns', pp 105–6.

A \overline{x} | B $\overline{x^1}$

Cru - cem sanc - tam sub - i - it qui in - fer - num con - fre - git,

C \overline{x} | D $\overline{x^1}$

ac - cin - tus est po - ten - ti - a, sur - re - xit di - e ter - ti - a.

\overline{x}

Al - le - lu - ia.

Fig. 47 The antiphon 'Crucem sanctam', Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 279, f. 214^v, after Stäblein, 'Zwei Melodien' (1973), p. 596.

A \overline{x} \overline{y} | B \overline{x} $\overline{y^1}$

Me - di - ae noc - tis tem - po - re pro - phe - ti - ca vox ad - mo - net,

C $\overline{y^2}$ | A \overline{x} \overline{y}

di - ca - mus lau - des ut De - o Pa - tri sem - per ac Fi - li - o.

Fig. 48 First strophe of the hymn 'Mediae noctis tempore', adapted from a central or south Italian hymnal of the first half of the thirteenth century, Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, MS Hamilton 688, ff 33-4, after Fleischmann, 'Celtic rite' (1980), p. 53.

Another item of relevance to this discussion is 'Ductu angelico', a matins responsory for the feast of St Patrick which occurs in T.C.D. MSS 79 (ff 161^v-162^r) and 80 (f. 124^r). It is distinguished by a particularly melismatic style formed from a small group of melodic cells which recur throughout the piece (fig. 49). The same cellular construction occurs in a number of chants for the office of Columba (Colum Cille) which survive in fragmentary form in a fourteenth-century antiphonal (Edinburgh University Library, MS 211.iv) believed to have come from Inchcolm abbey, an Augustinian foundation dedicated to Colum Cille, and situated on Inchcolm Island in the Firth

Duc - tu an - ge - li - co ma - re tran - si - ens
Gal - li - am pe - ti - it; i - bi ve - ne - ran - di Ger -
ma - ni ma - gi - ste - ri - o tra - di - tus. Doc - tri - ne
sa - lu - ta - ris nor - ma in - for - ma - ri - pro -
- - - - - me - ru - it.

Fig. 49 Transcription of 'Ductu angelico', in honour of St Patrick T.C.D., MS 79, ff 161^v-162^r.

of Forth, Scotland.¹⁴⁵ In 849 the relics of Colum Cille were brought by King Kenneth I from Iona to Dunkeld, and there is an indirect link between Inchcolm and Iona, since the bishops of Dunkeld were protectors of Inchcolm priory (later abbey) from the time of its foundation, *c.* 1123, until at least the thirteenth century. Thus the Inchcolm material may well represent long-term continuity of practice—in this case, from the mid ninth century (perhaps even back to the Columban church itself)—and it certainly indicates that similar practices obtained in both Ireland and Scotland. In addition to those melodies, other chants included in the Inchcolm fragments represent continental (Gregorian) and Sarum repertoires, providing evidence that all three styles were used in tandem. This distinction therefore suggests that the cellular, repetitive structure may have been a more widespread feature of older practice, and one which continued as an element of Scottish liturgy, as in Irish, for several centuries after the English reforms.

A more direct link with pre-Norman Ireland is found in the vespers hymn 'Ecce fulget clarissima' (fig. 50), in honour of St Patrick. It survives with notation in T.C.D. MS 80 (f. 122), but most significantly, a concordance is found also with the text contained in the T.C.D. copy of the Irish 'Liber Hymnorum' (MS 144I, f. 29), dating from the late eleventh century. Al-

¹⁴⁵ See Isobel Woods, "'Our awin Scottis Use': chant usage in medieval Scotland' in *Journal of the Royal Music Association*, cxii, pt 1 (1987), pp 21-37.

Ec - ce — ful - get — cla - ris - si - ma Pa - tri - ci - i sol - lemp - ni - tas
 in qua car - ne de - po - si - ta fe - lix tran - scen - dit si - de - ra.

Fig. 50 Transcription of the hymn 'Ecce fulget', in honour of St Patrick, T.C.D., MS 80, f. 122^f.

though attested in several modern compilations, there are no earlier sources for the melody, according to the present state of knowledge. It is therefore impossible to ascertain whether it too dates from an earlier period, whether it was newly composed, or whether indeed it was imported from elsewhere. It shares characteristics with hymns in honour of other Irish saints which are not found in the Sarum repertoire. On the basis of his study of the T.C.D. Sarum Divine Office manuscripts, Patrick Brannon has suggested a link with the Germanic sphere of influence.¹⁴⁶ Given the concentration of Irish *peregrini* in that part of continental Europe, this is perhaps no surprise. And while it may not be possible to establish in which direction the influence was moving, further work of a comparative and systematic nature can only help to shed light on such questions.

While research on insular manuscripts is as yet at an early stage, there are some signs of a stylistically distinctive kind of melodic structure in both Irish and Scottish sources, which suggests that some older elements may have survived the eleventh- and twelfth-century reforms. However, whether we can classify them specifically as Celtic chant—i.e. regionally distinctive—must remain open until more information emerges.¹⁴⁷

HYMN texts and religious poetry, together with literary references to chant and hymn-singing in saints' Lives and in secular tales, attest to an enormous

¹⁴⁶ Patrick Brannon, 'A contextual study of the four notated Sarum Divine Office manuscripts from Anglo-Norman Ireland' (Ph.D. diss., Washington University, Seattle, 1990; University Microfilms International, no. 9103125 (Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1994)), p. 283, and *idem*, 'The search for the Celtic rite', p. 35, also p. 19 and n. 24 for a list of concordant melodies.

¹⁴⁷ For further discussion of these issues, see Ann Buckley, 'Celtic chant' in *The new Grove dictionary of music and musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie, v (London, 2001), pp 341–9. For sound recordings, cf. *The Schola Cantorum of St Peter's in the Loop* (director J. Michael Thompson), *In honor of St Patrick: chant for his feast* (The Order of St Benedict, Collegeville, Minnesota, 1998). Selected items from the offices of Patrick, Brigid, Colum Cille, Gall, and Kilian have been reconstructed from Irish, Scottish, Swiss, and Austrian sources by the Ultramar Medieval Music Ensemble and recorded on two CDs entitled *Crossroads of the Celts: medieval music of Ireland, Brittany, Scotland and Wales* (Dorian, New York, 1999), DOR-93177; and *Celtic wanderers: the pilgrim's road* (Dorian, New York, 2000), DOR-93213. These programmes are not confined to liturgical music but also include musical settings of religious and secular poetry and narrative.

body of devotional material. It is clear from literary sources that chant was preeminent in the Irish church. The psalter was the single most studied book, in the Gallican version, in which the 150 psalms were grouped into 'three fifties'. According to the Rule of Columbanus, psalms formed the main component of the divine office and were sung in threes: the first two straight through, the third antiphonally, i.e., with the singers divided into two groups, one intoning the psalm, the other the response. In a tantalising reference by Jonas, Columbanus's biographer, the saint was reported to have set out instructions for the performance of chant.¹⁴⁸ Unfortunately, no record of this has survived. The Luxeuil legislator commented on singing of the psalms responsorially with the insertion of a refrain after each individual or group of psalms.¹⁴⁹ Unison singing seems to have been the practice on Iona, whence it reached Northumbria. Stephanus's 'Vita Wilfridi' contains a reference to the introduction of (previously unknown) antiphonal singing into Northumbria.¹⁵⁰

Apart from the obvious relevance here of hymns as sung poetry, some of their texts contain information on ways in which they may have been performed. In the opening lines of 'Cantemus in omni die', attributed to Cú Chuimne of Iona (d. 747), the word *varie* in the first line is glossed as *inter duos choros*, while the third line refers explicitly to antiphonal singing:

Cantemus in omni die	concinentes varie
conclamantes deo dignum	ymnum sanctae Mariae
bis per chordum hic et inde	collaudemus Mariam

and the following from stanza 9 of 'Ecce fulget clarissima' (discussed above in another context), in which reference is made to alternating voices and to stringed instruments:

Psallemus Christo cordibus alternantes et vocibus

Similarly, the structure of Comgall's hymn 'Recordemur iustitiae' (preserved in the Antiphony of Bangor) implies the use of two choirs and a subdivision of the congregation into two, providing a refrain for each of the choirs. Each alphabetic stanza is followed, respectively, by the first and second two lines of the refrain.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁸ Krusch, *Columbae, Ioniae et Vedastis vitae*, p. 158.

¹⁴⁹ Louis Gougaud, 'Celtic (Liturgies)' in *The catholic encyclopaedia*, iii (New York, 1908), cols 2969–3032: col. 3018.

¹⁵⁰ Stevenson in F. E. Warren, *Liturgy and ritual of the Celtic church* (Oxford, 1881; reprint, Woodbridge, 1987), pp lxxvii–lxxviii.

¹⁵¹ Much more research is needed on this topic. For earlier discussion of some of these questions, see Gougaud, 'Celtic (liturgies)', col. 3018; Fleischmann & Gleeson, 'Music in ancient Munster', p. 87 and *passim*, and Stevenson, 'Hiberno-Latin hymns', pp 113–15.

'Precamur patrem' (composed probably by Columbanus, and also preserved in the Antiphony of Bangor) has an *alleluia* after the first and last stanzas, perhaps indicating reponsorial singing by the congregation after each one. The matins hymn 'Spiritus divinae lucis' (in the same collection) has a one-line refrain following each stanza, as does the (?) seventh-century 'Celebra Iuda', with an *alleluia* following each pair of lines. Similarly, the canticle from Exodus, 'Audite caeli quae loquor', in the Antiphony contains repetitions of the first verse at intervals, suggesting that it was used as a response, or possibly a refrain, sung by the congregation.

All of these features imply the presence of a trained choir or a soloist who took responsibility for the longer and more complex parts. Hymns without refrain are either short or confined to their last three stanzas, probably implying *cantus directaneus*, i.e., with the congregation singing straight through without subdivision of the choir or addition of refrains.

EVIDENCE for the liturgical use of polphony in Ireland, though not extensive, is nonetheless suggestive of wider practice from at least the twelfth century. In 1228, Stephen of Lexington was sent by the abbot of Clairvaux to undertake a visitation of Irish Cistercian houses. A large collection of letters has survived from this visit, of which some provide insights into the performance of church music. Among the injunctions forwarded to each monastery following the conclusion of his tour was the requirement that nobody should attempt to sing 'with duplicated tones against the simplicity of the Order', under pain of flogging and a diet of bread and water.¹⁵² This term is given as *vocibus duplicatis*, which is likely to mean 'doubling' at another pitch; in other words, probably *organum*.

The polyphonic fragment in Cormac's Psalter (pl. 121 and fig. 45b) holds especial interest for musicologists. While the actual psalms and canticles are without any trace of notation, a personal fingerprint so beloved of medieval scribes is found in the form of a colophon which follows the concluding canticles to the first group of fifty psalms. It is set for three voices—remarkable for so early a date—using as tenor (or lowest voice) an adaptation of a Sarum 'Benedicamus Domino',¹⁵³ and the text in the scribe's own name. This item has no known concordance.

¹⁵² See Barry O'Dwyer (trans.), *Stephen of Lexington: Letters from Ireland, 1228–1229* (Kalamazoo, 1982), p. 167, and discussion in Brannon, 'Four notated... manuscripts from Anglo-Norman Ireland', p. 30.

¹⁵³ See Françoise Henry and Geneviève Marsh-Micheli, 'A century of Irish illumination' in *R.I.A. Proc.*, lxi (1962), sect. C, pp 101–66, who first referred to this in print; a facsimile is included in plate XLII. The fragment is edited in Harrison, 'Polyphony in medieval Ireland', pp 76–7, and in David Howlett, 'The polyphonic colophon to Cormac's Psalter' in *Peritia*, ix (1995), pp 81–91. Both contain slight errors. An emended version is included here as fig. 45b.

Another example of polyphony in an Irish manuscript is the verse 'Dicant nunc', set for two voices in a gradual, thought to come from the Benedictine community at Downpatrick cathedral (Oxford, Bodl. MS Rawl. C 892; see pl. 120 and fig. 44). The Irish gradual, reveals links with Winchester, which may be especially significant here since materials from this centre are among the most important for the early history of *organum*—i.e. largely 'note against note', rather than with independent voices.¹⁵⁴ Both of these instances raise questions about the possible wider use of polyphony in medieval Ireland, which as in England was probably well established in practice but not usually committed to writing.¹⁵⁵ The use of thirds and sixths (regarded as discords in continental polyphonic practice) was typical of English polyphony of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. They represent the continuity of an older custom of embellishing plainchant with improvised polyphony or 'descant'. For example, thirds may be seen in the series of three notes for the setting of '-cant nunc' (fig. 44, opening); on the first and third syllables of 'sepulcrum' (fig. 44, second system). In the Cormac piece (fig. 45b), thirds occur between the three voices on the first syllable of 'scripsit' and between the tenor (lowest) and duplum (middle) voice setting of the first syllable of 'ora', while there is an interval of a sixth between the tenor and the triplum (upper voice). Among the three versions of 'Angelus ad virginem' in the mid fourteenth-century Dublin Troper, two are arranged in three-part polyphony, where the voices are set at intervals of thirds and sixths.¹⁵⁶

A polyphonic choir was established at St Patrick's cathedral, Dublin, in 1431, and from the late fifteenth century the Smarmore fragments attest to the teaching of polyphony also in a locality away from the cathedral cities. A set of four pieces of slate which contain singing exercises in three-part polyphony was found in an excavation at Smarmore (County Louth) in 1961, and is now housed in the National Museum of Ireland (pl. 123). Transcriptions of those portions that could be deciphered were published by Harrison.¹⁵⁷ The fragments belong to a larger collection of other schoolwork activity, in English (medical and veterinary texts) and Latin (mainly ecclesiastical).¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁴ For a recent survey of the topic, see Susan Rankin, 'The early theory and practice of organum' in Susan Rankin and David Hiley (ed.), *Music in the medieval English liturgy* (Oxford, 1993), pp 59–99.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 99.

¹⁵⁶ See Dobson & Harrison, *Medieval English songs*, p. 305; also pp 266–8 for a transcription. A more recent study by Stevens, 'Angelus ad virginem', examines the entire MS tradition of this song.

¹⁵⁷ Harrison, 'Polyphony in medieval Ireland', p. 78, ex. 2; facsimile on p. 79.

¹⁵⁸ For a full report on the slates see Alan J. Bliss, 'The inscribed slates at Smarmore' in *R.I.A. Proc.*, lxiv (1965), sect. C, pp 33–60, who includes a transcription of the fragment on slate 24 by Thurston Dart on p. 42, fig 1, and its facsimile in plate IIIb. Dart dated them to the second quarter, Harrison to the second half, of the fifteenth century. Such objects are rare but not unique. Music notation has also been found on a set of slates from Somerset, now in the

Overall, one may conclude that, in spite of sparse evidence, there is sufficient to indicate that liturgical polyphony was practised in Ireland as elsewhere in these islands. There is nothing in the sources to indicate that the nature of multi-voice singing was different from anywhere else.¹⁵⁹ The question whether *organum* itself was originally an insular practice, which was exported to the Continent through missionary activity, remains a possibility, given the fact that the oldest theoretical sources for this practice (discussed in the next section) come from a part of northern France in which there was a concentration of British and Irish teachers. But with lack of firm evidence from before the ninth century, this must remain a matter of speculation.¹⁶⁰

WITH regard to the use of musical instruments, an Irish explanatory tract on the psalms in the form of a series of questions and answers, contains a reference to antiphonal singing based on the commentaries of Cassiodorus. Preserved in the fifteenth-century Bodl. MS Rawl. B 512, it has been cited variously as a reference to harp accompaniment of psalm-singing in an Irish context.¹⁶¹

This is what David did in his last days. He selected four thousand chosen men of the sons of Israel to sing and practise the psalms always without cessation. One-third of them for the choir, one-third for the *crot*, one-third for the choir and the *crot*. The word *psalmus* applies to what was invented for the *crot* and is practised on it. *Canticum* applies to what is practised by the choir and is sung with the *crot*. *Psalmus cantici* applies to what is taken from the *crot* to the choir. *Canticum psalmi* applies to what is taken from the choir to the *crot*.

City Museum, Wells. Cf. R. S. Bates, 'Musical slates', and comment by Rev. S. H. A. Hervey, in *Notes & Queries for Somerset and Dorset*, ed. G. W. Saunders and Joseph Fowler, xxii, pt 190 (Sept. 1936), item no. 49, pp 50–51.

¹⁵⁹ Howlett ('Polyphonic colophon', p. 84 ff) suggests that Gerald of Wales's discussion of the multi-voice practices of Irish harpers (see above, p. 761) may well be an indication that Cormac's composition would have been far from unusual in twelfth-century Ireland. However, apart from the fact that Gerald's vivid account concerns secular instrumental polyphony, it is hardly necessary to refer to this to explain what appears to be part of widespread insular practice. Once again, it is its very survival, and perhaps even the fact that it was ever committed to writing, that make Cormac's piece remarkable, rather than the detail of its content and structure.

¹⁶⁰ Cf. Michel Huglo, 'L'organum à Landévennec au IXe siècle' in *Études Celt.*, xxiii (1986), pp 187–92, and his exploration of the question whether it might be linked to an earlier period of insular ascendancy, or to the time of the Carolingian reform movement and the earliest theoretical attestation of this type of singing. Owing to a lack of historical source materials for Brittany at this time, he has (not unreasonably) left the question open.

¹⁶¹ See Fleischmann, 'References to chant in early Irish manuscripts' in Seamus Pender (ed.), *Féilscribhinn Torna* (Cork, 1952), pp 43–9: 47, and idem, 'Celtic rite', p. 53; Fergal J. McGrath, *Education in ancient and medieval Ireland* (Dublin, 1979), p. 230. The text is edited by Kuno Meyer, *An Old-Irish treatise on the psalter* (Oxford, 1894), pp 8–9, 31, n. 275, 89, n. 285. The reference is on f. 46'a in the Bodley codex.

The discussion of terminology is a paraphrase of Cassiodorus's *In psalmos*, caps V–VIII,¹⁶² in which the scribe has used the Irish term *crot* for Cassiodorus' *instrumentum musicum*. While the primary text is addressed to Old Testament practice, it is likely that its interpretation and accompanying commentary also had local significance. Michel Huglo has highlighted references in the 'Musica enchiriadis' to the organal voice joining with instruments,¹⁶³ and to different instruments being used in octave doubling.¹⁶⁴ Both the 'Scolica enchiriadis' and the 'Musica enchiriadis' (which probably developed in an Insular milieu in northern France in the ninth century) contain numerous citations of the 'Te Deum', which occupied a special place in Celtic liturgies. Accompanied singing of sacred songs is well attested elsewhere also; for example, in the case of Tuotilo in ninth-century St Gall, who composed and performed tropes to the accompaniment of a *rotta* (presumably here a Latin translation of the Irish *crot*, a lyre),¹⁶⁵ and Patrick, second bishop of Dublin (1074–84), who referred in a poem to a woman who had taught him to play a six-stringed lyre (*cithara chordis que sex resonare solebat*),¹⁶⁶ perhaps while in training in Worcester. This may be a reference to one of the muses, but it could equally be a human female.

Huglo has noted references by Isidore of Seville to the presence of a stringed instrument alternating with the singing of psalmody in Hispanic liturgies, as well as more general references in continental sources to the use of instruments in the course of the office, for psalmody, the singing of tropes, textless alleluiaic sequences, and subsequent proses (but not for the choral offices).¹⁶⁷ It was also an established teaching method to use a stringed instrument in the training of choirs. Hucbald of St Amand, in his treatise 'De musica' (c.800), mentioned that a six-stringed *cithara* (probably a lyre) was adapted for the purpose of teaching chant.¹⁶⁸ Hence, as in other instances, we are led to view the Celtic world not as a thing apart, but rather sharing common ground with practices elsewhere.

From a number of sources it is clear that increasing clerical resistance to 'histrionic abuses' led to the gradual banishment of all instruments save

¹⁶² *P. L.*, lxx, cols 15–16.

¹⁶³ M. Gerbert (ed.), *Scriptores ecclesiastici de musica sacra potissimum* (3 vols, St Blasien, 1784; reprint, Hildesheim, 1963), i, 166b. See Michel Huglo, 'Les instruments de musique chez Hucbald' in Guy Cambier (ed.), *Hommages à André Boutemy* (Paris, 1976), pp 178–96: 193.

¹⁶⁴ Gerbert, *Scriptores*, p. 161b. Cf. Eriugena's reference to *organicum melos* in 'De divisione naturae' (c.870) which Huglo, 'L'organum à Landévennec', p. 191, interprets as instrumental accompaniment rather than the usual reference to organal singing, or vocal organum.

¹⁶⁵ Ekkehardt IV, *Casus Sancti Galli*, ch. 46: MGH, *Scriptores rerum Sangallensium* II, p. 101.

¹⁶⁶ Aubrey Gwynn (ed. and trans.), *The writings of Bishop Patrick, 1074–1084* (Dublin, 1955), pp 90–91.

¹⁶⁷ Huglo, 'L'organum à Landévennec', p. 192.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 189.

the organ by the twelfth century in parts of continental Europe.¹⁶⁹ However, we should not draw conclusions in this respect as far as Ireland is concerned, or indeed many other places situated far from large urban centres where the excesses (and consequent controls) are more likely to have been concentrated. We have evidence in Ireland from as late as Turlough O'Carolan (late seventeenth/early eighteenth century) that harpers performed during mass,¹⁷⁰ and this raises numerous questions which we are not yet in a position to answer. On the other hand, it needs to be pointed out that we have little information on the use of organs in Irish liturgical services in the medieval or pre-reformation period.¹⁷¹ Grattan Flood stated that there were organs at Christ Church in 1358, in both of the Dublin cathedrals in 1450, and that a new organ was built in Christ Church in 1470. But like much else about this author's tantalising accounts, he provides no documentary evidence.¹⁷² The first apparently authenticated reference to an organ in Ireland concerns an instrument in St Thomas's abbey, Dublin, in the 1450s.¹⁷³ Archbishop Tregury bequeathed his pair of organs to the Lady Chapel at St Patrick's cathedral in 1471 for use in the celebration of the divine office,¹⁷⁴ and there are records of payments to organists at that establishment during the following two centuries.¹⁷⁵

¹⁶⁹ Michel Huglo, 'Organologie et iconographie médiévales' in *Annales d'Histoire et d'Arts et d'Archéologie*, iii (1981), pp 110–11.

¹⁷⁰ See, e.g., Charles O'Connor, *Memoirs of the life and writings of the late Charles O'Connor of Belanagare* (Dublin, 1796), pp 162–4; further references in Fleischmann, 'References to chant', p. 48, and n. 57.

¹⁷¹ Unfortunately, an erroneous report concerning the presumed destruction of organs at the Irish church of Cluain Cremha in the ninth century still sometimes reappears in the scholarly literature. The original source is an entry for the year 814 in the *Annals of Ulster*. Fleischmann, 'References to chant', p. 48, noted that the reference, *orgain Cluain Cremha*, was glossed *direptio* in the margin, a correct translation of the Irish term *orgain* ('destruction'), but one that has been misconstrued as referring to organs by a number of writers ever since. The Old and Middle Irish term *organ* can refer to a musical instrument or to some kind of organised sound in one or, usually, more parts (like the Latin term *organum* from which it is derived); but clearly not in this case. It is regrettable that Warren's study was republished, in its original 1881 version (1987, p. 126 and n. 4), without correction of this error. But it also underlines the critical importance of checking the original source and having due regard, in particular, for the complexities of medieval Irish (and other) terminology. See also full discussion in Buckley, '“And his voice swelled”', p. 56, and p. 69, n. 143.

¹⁷² William H. Grattan Flood, 'Irish organ-builders from the eighth to the close of the eighteenth century' in *R.S.A.I. Jn.*, xl (1910), pp 229–34.

¹⁷³ John Holmes, 'The organ in Ireland' (unpublished pamphlet, 1984), p. 1.

¹⁷⁴ H. F. Berry, *Register of wills and inventories of the diocese of Dublin in the time of Archbishops Tregury and Walton 1457–1483* (Dublin, 1898), 26.

¹⁷⁵ W. H. Grindle, *Irish cathedral music: a history of music at the cathedrals of the Church of Ireland* (Belfast, 1989), pp 133–4. For further discussion, see Brian Boydell, 'Music before 1700' in *N.H.L.*, iv, 548 ff, and Denise M. Neary, 'Organ-building in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Dublin, and its English connections' in *The British Institute of Organ Studies: BIOS Journal*, xxxii (1997), pp 20–27. Since the present chapter went to press, new information has been assembled on the pre-reformation history of organs in Ireland, suggesting that the instrument was probably well established in areas far from Dublin by at least the fifteenth century.

But to return to stringed instruments, there are numerous references in Irish narrative literature to travelling clerics who sang to the accompaniment of a small stringed instrument described as *ocht-tédach* ('eight-stringed one'—undoubtedly a lyre, perhaps later a small harp), which they carried about with them attached to their girdle. Gerald of Wales also referred to travelling clerics' use of a *cithara*, which he stated was commonly carried about by bishops and abbots and holy men in Ireland who delighted in playing pious music on it. Because of this, St Kevin's instrument was held in no mean reverence in Ireland, and was regarded as a great and sacred relic even in Gerald's day.

The iconographic record also attests to a clerical context for string-playing. Examples may be seen on the shrine of the Stowe Missal (mid eleventh century), where a player of a three-stringed lyre is seated between two ecclesiastics, one (to the left) holding a bell, the other a crosier. Above the group an angel hovers (pl. 124). On the *Breac Máedóic* (the shrine of St Mogue, eleventh century), a cleric is seen performing on a trilateral harp which appears to have eight strings (pl. 125). The Last Judgement scene on Muiredach's Cross at Monasterboice (early tenth century) provides a particularly detailed example in which a choir of monks is led by two monks playing a lyre and some kind of wind instrument (perhaps a straight horn), respectively (pl. 126). The combination of horn- and string-player may also be seen on the Durrow Cross (pl. 127), while on the Cross of the Scriptures at Clonmacnoise, a horn-player alone leads the group at the scene of the Last Judgement.

It is possible in some of these instances that the sounding of the Last Trump by St Michael is being evoked, but we should not overlook the fact that the use of horns in Irish liturgical practice is also suggested by the contexts of archaeological finds—a hypothesis further attested by annalistic references to horns with metal fittings and precious stones which were the property of the monasteries of Clonmacnoise and Derry. There are also references to such objects being included among church treasure in twelfth-century Ireland, although these may well be symbolic ritual objects, perhaps drinking-horns, rather than blast horns. Gerald of Wales refers to the use of sounding horns as saints' relics. And more generally the symbolic power of horns (expressive of the political power of their owners) is well attested in

Kilkenny appears to have been an important centre for organ-building at that time. Actual instruments are documented for the Dominican abbey at Athenry (1479); Duiske abbey, whose organ was confiscated at its dissolution in 1576; and the cathedral at Limerick, whose instrument was reportedly destroyed during the Elizabethan wars. For full details see Ann Buckley, 'The musical instruments in the paintings' in P. Gosling, C. Manning, and J. Waddell (ed.), *New survey of Clare Island: the abbey* (Dublin; in press). Among the wall paintings in the abbey (which are believed to date from c. 1420–50) are illustrations of a positive organ, a lyre, and a harp.

the narrative literature; hence it is possible that these instruments were deliberately taken over by clerics from pre-Christian practice, and adapted to their new ritual purposes.¹⁷⁶

Bells were a particularly common clerical accoutrement, and were important objects of veneration as well as symbols of saintly power in Ireland, Scotland, Wales, and Brittany. They were used to bless and to heal, to cast out devils, and to inflict curses on those who displeased or thwarted their owners, but there is no evidence that they were used as musical instruments in the narrow sense, i.e., to provide rhythmic or melodic accompaniment to the singing of the liturgy. Distinctive types of bells and bell-shrines survive to this day.¹⁷⁷

REGARDING music education, much may reasonably be assumed, but little of substance can be addressed owing to a lack of primary information. Instruction in liturgical chant (*musica practica*) and in music theory (*musica theoretica* or *speculativa*) undoubtedly followed the established traditions of the monastic schools and, later, university curricula. Chant was traditionally taught by rote, and with the increasing use of manuscripts copied or variously acquired from other houses, repertories, and undoubtedly some aspects of singing style, became more uniform. Music was one of the important subjects in the liberal arts. A set of six early seventh-century wooden tablets was found in Springmount Bog, County Antrim. One of the tablets contains extracts from the psalter and is suggestive of more general practice. They were probably used as an *aide-mémoire* in teaching, and perhaps also for instruction in calligraphy.¹⁷⁸

An ordinaire from the Cistercian abbey of Rosglas (Rosse Walle, Monastervein, County Kildare), now Oxford, Bodl. MS Rawl. C 32 (which dates to 1501), holds musicological interest because of the presence of notation of singing exercises on its flyleaves, as well as marginal illustrations of bagpipe

¹⁷⁶ See Buckley, "And his voice swelled", pp 43-4, for further discussion.

¹⁷⁷ For a complete survey of all surviving examples, see Cormac Bourke, 'Early Irish hand bells' in *R.S.A.I. Jn.*, cx (1980), pp 52-66, and idem, 'A crozier and bell from Inishmurray and their place in ninth-century Irish archaeology' in *R.I.A. Proc.*, lxxxv (1985), sect. C, pp 145-68, and idem, 'Les cloches à main de la Bretagne primitive' in *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique du Finistère*, xc (1982), pp 339-53, and 'The hand-bells of the early Scottish church' in *Antiq. Soc. Scot. Proc.*, cxiii (1983), pp 464-8, for information on the wider distribution of Celtic bells and their implications as evidence for communication between the Irish, Scottish, and Breton churches. For fuller discussion of use of symbolic sound in medieval Ireland to express supernatural power, see Buckley, "And his voice swelled", p. 43 ff and *passim*.

¹⁷⁸ The tablets are housed in the National Museum of Ireland, Dublin, no. S.A. 1914:2. See Martin McNamara, 'Psalter text and psalter study in the early Irish church' in *R.I.A. Proc.*, lxxiii (1973), sect. C, pp 201-80: 206-7, 213-14, and the edition of the text by Maurice P. Sheehy *apud* McNamara (appendix I, pp 277-80). Cf. also T. J. Brown, 'The earliest Irish manuscripts and their late antique background' in Ní Chatháin & Richter, *Ire. & Europe* (1984), pp 311-37: 312.

and horn players (on ff 31^v and 37^r, respectively). This former represents the earliest known Irish depiction of bagpipes. The copyist and illustrator was Donatus Okhella, a monk of that monastery.

Only two manuscripts containing music-theoretical texts are thought to have Irish associations; both are well post-Norman. One, an anonymous 'Tractatus de musica', is found in MS 1 (ff 59–70) in the GPA–Bolton (formerly Cashel Diocesan) Library at Cashel. It is in origin an English manuscript from the first half of the thirteenth century, and was apparently intended as a textbook for the young.¹⁷⁹ There is no record of how it found its way to Ireland. However, Hawkes believed that another Cashel manuscript, MS 2,¹⁸⁰ may have originated in the Augustinian priory at Darley, or its dependent hospital in Derby town, perhaps with a link to St Mary's Osney (in Oxford) which had associations with Cashel. And so, although there is no evidence to prove it, this could be one possible route for the arrival of MS 1 in Ireland. The other theoretical source is Fitzwilliam (Milton) Irish MS 71, now in the Northamptonshire Record Office, Northampton. It is a fragment of the 'Metrologus' preserved on a flyleaf from the beginning of the fourteenth century, and its Irish origin is uncertain.¹⁸¹

CHARTING the history of music in Ireland of any period is a multi-layered task. To account adequately for the full range of cultural expression at any one time, it is necessary to identify both those aspects that were characteristically local and those shared with international European culture. While its particular regional characteristics are indisputable, theories of cultural remoteness and unchanging tradition dissolve in an examination of the evidence. Native traditions established through centuries of continuous activity represent distinctive threads in a complex weave, which also includes innovations introduced from outside through the agency of ecclesiastical and secular administrators, travelling musicians, pilgrims, merchants, etc. Documentation is scant in proportion to the enormous amount of institutional activity—a result of the vicissitudes of decay and destruction, but also a consequence of

¹⁷⁹ Notes from Marvin Colker's description of the MS were kindly supplied by Stuart Ó Seanóir, assistant librarian, manuscripts department, T.C.D. library. The full text, edited by Charles Burnett and Michael W. Lundell, has since been published on the T.M.L. (*Thesaurus musicarum latinarum*) website at Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind.

¹⁸⁰ A twelfth-/thirteenth-century codex containing a psalter, missal, breviary, and some extracts from a *Manuale*. See W. Hawkes, 'Cashel MS 2: a thirteenth-century liturgical document in Dublin' in *Reportorium Novum*, iii, pt 1 (1962), pp 83–93, and notes by Colker held in the T.C.D. manuscripts department.

¹⁸¹ The 'Metrologus' is one of four major commentaries on the theoretical music treatise, 'Micrologus', by one of the most famous music pedagogues of the middle ages, Guido d'Arezzo (c.991/2–p. 1033). Confined to the elementary part of the older work, it is believed to have been written by an Englishman in the thirteenth century for the purpose of introducing pupils to the principles of music study; see also RISM [*Répertoire international des sources musicales*], BIII^a, p. 99.

oral-traditional practices of which only contemporaneous commentary could have preserved a glimpse. For this reason we are indebted to the writings of Gerald of Wales and the fortuitous twist of fate that led him to document his observations. In our own time, Grattan Flood has left us with tantalising hints, but little that is open to further scrutiny, since he overlooked the primary obligation of detailing his sources. Most of these cannot now be traced, owing to the burning of the Public Record Office in 1922, *inter alia*. Nevertheless, in spite of relatively sparse primary sources, Irish liturgical manuscripts that do survive with music notation can occasionally shed light on local practices. And even in sources without notation, rubrics and wider comparative study of relevant texts can contribute substantial information, if not on melodies *per se*, then on the role of music in Irish Christian worship, and its wider cultural links.

Literary references to music provide a veritable *embarras de richesse* for enquiry on topics such as terminology, social occasions of performance, patronage, roles and status of musicians, types of instruments, perceptions of the power and effects of music, and the overall role of symbolic sound as means and expression of social cohesion and emotional orientation. Through transmission and adaptation of images, the considerable repositories of music-iconographic data, in particular on ecclesiastical stone sculpture and metalwork, reveal much about the symbolic meanings, and probably about realistic situations, of music-making in medieval Ireland. Material culture, such as the yields of musical instruments from archaeological sites, helps in a particularly reliable way to locate musical activities in Ireland within their wider British and European contexts.

And finally, there is some need for caution when Irish sources are found to be unique. They may or may not indicate regional variants or 'chthonic invention', and in some cases they may represent part of a wider pattern for which evidence no longer exists elsewhere. With that in mind, we can deploy them not only in reconstructing the history of music in Ireland but also in an attempt to fill certain critical gaps in the history of music of the greater European area.

APPENDIX I

IRISH MEDIEVAL MANUSCRIPTS CONTAINING MUSIC NOTATION

Missals

- 1 New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 627 (the Drummond Missal, first half of the twelfth century)
- 2 Dublin, T.C.D., MS 1305 (fragments, twelfth/thirteenth century)
- 3 London, B.L., Add. MS 24198 (early fourteenth century)
- 4 London, Lambeth Palace, MS 213 (early fifteenth century)
- 5 Dublin, T.C.D., MS 82, ff 1^r-154^v (1458)
- 6 London, B.L., MS Egerton 2677 (fifteenth century)

Gradual

Oxford, Bodl. MS Rawl. C 892 (second half of the twelfth century)

Breviary

Dublin, T.C.D., MS 80 (early fifteenth century)

Psalters

- 1 London, B.L., Add. MS 36929 (mid or second half of twelfth century)
- 2 Oxford, Bodl., MS Rawl. G 185 (fourteenth century)

Antiphonals

- 1 Dublin, T.C.D., MS 77 (probably between 1416 and *c.* 1450)
- 2 Dublin, T.C.D., MS 78 (probably between 1488 and 1500)
- 3 Dublin, T.C.D., MS 79 (probably between 1431 and 1435)
- 4 Dublin, T.C.D., MS 82, ff 156^r-168^v, 170^r-171^v, 169^{r-v} (*c.* 1300)
- 5 Dublin, T.C.D., MS 109 (late fifteenth century)

Troper and sequentiary

Cambridge, U.L., MS Add. 710 (*c.* 1360)

Processionals

- 1 Dublin, Marsh's Library, MS Z.4.2.20 (*c.* 1400)
- 2 Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawl. Liturg. d.4 (*c.* 1400)

Miscellaneous

- 1 Oxford, Bod. MS Rawl. C. 32 (Cistercian ordinaire with singing lessons on fly-leaves, 1501)
- 2 Dublin, National Museum of Ireland, 1961:12, 24, 34, and 41 (slates with singing lessons, probably second half of fifteenth century)

APPENDIX II

INDEX OF LIBRARIES

Cambridge

University Library

1 *MS Add. 710. The 'Dublin Troper'.*

Sarum consuetudinary, troper, and sequentiary. Contains sequences in honour of St Patrick.

Dublin

Marsh's Library

2 *MS Z.4.2.20.*

Sarum processional. Formerly belonging to the church of St John the Evangelist, Dublin. Contains liturgical drama, 'Visitatio sepulchri', and proper processions for Patrick, Columba, and Stephen. Patrick, Brigid, Columba, and Columbanus are included in one of the litanies.

National Museum of Ireland

3 *1961:12, :24, :34, :41. The Smarmore tablets.*

Fragments of polyphonic singing lessons.

Trinity College

4 *MS 77 [olim B.I.I.]. 'Antiphonary of Armagh'.*

Divine Office MS, formerly belonging to the *céli Dé* (vicars choral) of Armagh cathedral. Includes notated chants for Patrick.

*Dates are included in appendix I, to which reference may be made under the typological headings.

*Music in Ireland to c.1500*5 *MS 78 [olim B.1.3.].*

Divine Office antiphonal designed for use at St Canice's cathedral, Kilkenny. Contains offices for Brigid, Patrick, and Canice. Obits and added feasts indicate use at Clondalkin during the mid sixteenth century. The psalter is noted in part.

6 *MS 79 [olim B.1.4.].*

Divine Office antiphonal, formerly belonging to the church of St John the Evangelist, Dublin; contains notated office for Patrick, and numerous references to Dublin.

7 *MS 80 [olim B.1.5.].*

Divine Office breviary used at Kilmoone; contains notated offices for Brigid and Patrick.

8 *MS 82 [olim B.3.1.]. The Kilcormac Missal and Sarum Antiphonal.*

The missal, formerly belonging to the Carmelite priory of Kilcormac, County Offaly, contains unnotated services for Brigid, Patrick, and Brendan. The antiphonal, a separate source now bound with the missal (ff 156^r-168^v, 170^r-171^v, 169^{r-v}), is probably Irish Use of Sarum.

9 *MS 109 [olim B.1.2.].*

Antiphonal. Irish Franciscan Roman use (partially notated).

10 *MS 1305.*

Fragment of notated Missal (ff 19^r-20^v only). Irish Use of Sarum. One of the earliest surviving texts of the Sarum Missal.

London

The British Library

11 *Add. MS 36929.*

Psalter containing three-part polyphonic autograph, 'Cormacus scripsit'.

12 *Add. MS 24198.*

Missal from the abbey of St Thomas the Martyr, Dublin.

13 *MS Eg. 2677.*

Missal of the Sarum rite adapted for Dublin practice (partially noted, but not in the case of materials for Irish saints).

Lambeth Palace Archiepiscopal Library

14 *MS 213.*

Missal of the Sarum Rite (partially notated). Includes Proper masses for Brigid, Patrick, and Finian (without notation).

New York

Pierpont Morgan Library

15 *MS M. 627.*

The Drummond Missal. Partially noted in non-diaSTEMATIC neumes.

Oxford

Bodleian Library

16 *MS Rawl. C 32.*

Missal from Cistercian abbey of St Mary of Rosse Walle (Monasterevan, County Kildare). Notation for singing lessons is found on one of the flyleaves. The missal itself is not noted.

17 *MS Rawl. C 892 [12726].*

Gradual from Downpatrick Benedictine house. Includes a three-part setting of the processional antiphon 'Dicant nunc Iudei'. Reference to Brigid in the Common of Virgins; prayers for Brigid and Patrick in the sanctorale.

18 *MS Rawl. G 185.*

Augustinian psalter from cathedral of the Holy Trinity (Christ Church), Dublin.

19 *MS Rawl. Liturg. d. 4.*

Processional. Formerly belonging to the church of St John the Evangelist, Dublin. Contains liturgical drama, 'Visitatio sepulchri', materials for the feasts of Patrick and Audoen; Patrick, Brigid, and Columba are included in the litanies.