

A NEW HIBERNO-LATIN HYMN ON ST MARTIN

IN ONE important respect the early Irish church made a distinctive contribution to the Latin literature of medieval Europe, namely in the composition of hymns in a variety of rhythmical forms. But although this contribution is widely appreciated, it has never been precisely defined. There are various reasons for this, prominent among them the fact that earlier scholars tended to regard as indisputably of Irish origin many hymns preserved uniquely in manuscripts written in Anglo-Saxon England. Such is the case, for example, with Clemens Blume's collected edition of hymns which passes under the title 'Hymnodia Hiberno-Celtica'.¹ It may eventually prove to be the case that there are reasonable stylistic and linguistic grounds for attributing such hymns to Ireland; but before such attribution is possible it will be necessary to consider all relevant evidence without prejudice and preconception. In the meanwhile I should like to present one further piece of relevant evidence, namely a hitherto unknown hymn on St Martin which is embedded in a prose prayer among a collection of materials of probable Insular origin, and which on stylistic and metrical grounds has a strong claim to Irish origin.

The prose prayer in question forms part of the so-called pseudo-Bede *Collectaneum*.² This *Collectaneum* is an amorphous collection of materials which apparently has nothing to do with Bede but which was printed by Johannes Heerwagen among Bede's collected works at Basel in 1543.³ The manuscript used by Heerwagen has since been lost, and there has accordingly been considerable discussion about the date and unity of the so-called *Collectaneum* itself: whether the materials in the *Collectaneum* had been assembled by the compiler of the lost manuscript, or were simply put together by Heerwagen himself from disparate sources of various date, where and when the original collection – assuming it was such – was made, and so on. In the absence of a surviving manuscript these questions cannot easily be answered, and should best remain unanswered until a new edition, with thoroughgoing source-

¹ *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi* LI (ed. G. M. Dreves and C. Blume, Leipzig 1886–1922) 259–364; cf. my remarks in 'Columbanus and the Antiphony of Bangor', *Peritia* 4 (1985) 104–116, pp. 105–6. In what follows I use these abbreviations: *AH* = *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi* (as above); *BCLL* = M. Lapidge and R. Sharpe, *A bibliography of Celtic-Latin literature, 400–1200* (Dublin 1985); HBS = Henry Bradshaw Society publications; *ICL* = D. Schaller and E. Könsgen, *Initia carminum Latinorum saeculo undecimo antiquiorum* (Göttingen 1977); *PL* = *Patrologia Latina*, ed. J. P. Migne, 221 voll. (Paris 1844–64).

² *BCLL*, no. 1257.

³ J. Heerwagen, *Opera Bedae Venerabilis* III (Basel 1563) coll. 647–72; repr. *PL* XCIV, 539–62. On Heerwagen's treatment of his manuscript sources, see B. Bischoff, 'Zur Kritik der Heerwagenschen Ausgabe von Bedas Werken (Basel 1563)', in his *Mittelalterliche Studien* I (Stuttgart 1966) 112–17.

analysis, is available.⁴ Nevertheless, several preliminary observations are relevant to our enquiry. On the one hand, the *Collectaneum* includes excerpts from sources of recognized Irish origin, such as the anonymous tract *De duodecim abusiuis saeculi* and the *Collectio canonum Hibernensis*; and it has clear links with other works of presumed Irish origin, such as the *Epitomae* of Virgilius Maro Grammaticus and the *Collectaneum* of Sedulius Scottus, part of which seems to have been assembled in Ireland before Sedulius departed for the Continent. On the other hand, the compilation includes several of the *Enigmata* of Aldhelm, and has several less precise links with early Anglo-Latin texts. In other words, the compiler had access both to English and Irish materials, and although the precise place of his scholarly activity cannot yet be determined, some location in the British Isles would seem to be in question. The inclusion of *enigmata* by Aldhelm suggests a *terminus post quem* for the compilation of c.700. It is not possible as yet to establish a *terminus ante quem*, but again, a date in the eighth century seems on present evidence most likely.

Now the prose prayer relevant to our enquiry occurs as one of a group of six prayers at the very end of the *Collectaneum*.⁵ Most of these prayers have demonstrable links with early Insular prayerbooks, and it is necessary to begin by listing them.

I. A prayer to the Apostles (inc. 'Rectorem mundi Christum regem ex uirgine natum'); preserved uniquely here.

II. A prayer to St Martin (inc. 'O Iesu Nazarene, fili Marie, reus tibi sum regum regi'); preserved uniquely here (see discussion below).

III. A litany-like prayer to God and His saints (inc. 'Dominator Dominus Deus'). This prayer enjoyed wide diffusion in the early Middle Ages. In addition to its occurrence in the pseudo-Bede *Collectaneum*, it is found in two early Insular prayerbooks, namely the 'Book of Cerne', now Cambridge University Library Ll.1.10 (? Mercia, s.ix¹),⁶ and the 'Book of Nunnaminster', now London, BL Harley 2965 (southern England, s.viii/ix).⁷ It is also preserved in a number of continental prayerbooks, mostly dating from the early ninth century: the 'Troyes

⁴An edition, with translation and full commentary, is in preparation by members of the Cambridge Insular Latin Seminar, to be published in the series *Scriptores Latini Hiberniae*.

⁵*Opera Bedae Venerabilis* III, coll. 672-4; *PL* XCIV, 559-62. Note that Migne, for reasons unknown, separated the six prayers from the remainder of the *Collectanea*, and this has possibly led scholars unfamiliar with the Heerwagen edition (where the prayers follow on without interruption) to doubt that the prayers form part of the *Collectanea*; but there is no doubt that they do.

⁶A. B. Kuypers, *The prayer book of Aedhuald the Bishop commonly called the Book of Cerne* (Cambridge 1902) 103-6.

⁷W. de G. Birch, *An ancient manuscript of the eighth or ninth century formerly belonging to St Mary's Abbey, or Nunnaminster, Winchester* (London and Winchester 1889) 58-60.

Prayerbook', now Troyes, Bibl. munic. 1742 (Tours, s.viii/ix);⁸ the 'Mondsee Psalter', now Montpellier, Bibl. de l'École de Médecine 409 (Mondsee, s.viii^{ex}; the prayer is an addition of s.ixⁱⁿ);⁹ the 'St Emmeram Prayerbook', now Munich, SB Clm. 14248 (St Emmeram, Regensburg, s.viii/ix);¹⁰ the 'Fleury Prayerbook', now Orléans, Bibl. munic. 184 (161), pp. 260–356 (diocese of Salzburg [?Mondsee], s.ixⁱⁿ; provenance Fleury);¹¹ the 'Saint-Denis Prayerbook', now Paris, BN lat. 1153 (Saint-Denis, s.ix^{med});¹² and the 'Nonantola Prayerbook', now Vatican City, BAV lat. 84 (Nonantola, s.xiⁱⁿ).¹³

IV. A prayer to the Father (inc. 'Deus meus et pater meus, rex meus, protector meus'); also preserved in the 'Book of Cerne',¹⁴ but apparently not elsewhere.

V. A lorica-like prayer to the archangels for protection from sin (inc. 'In nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti, Gabriel esto mihi lorica'); also preserved in the 'Book of Cerne',¹⁵ but apparently not elsewhere.

VI. A prayer to Christ (inc. 'Aperi mihi pulsanti ianuam uitae'); also preserved in the 'Book of Cerne',¹⁶ and the 'Harley Prayerbook', now

⁸A. Wilmart, *Precum libelli quattuor aevi karolini* (Rome 1940) 11–13; on the manuscript, see Bischoff, *Mittelalterliche Studien* III, 15 n. 49.

⁹F. Unterkircher, *Die Glossen des Psalters von Mondsee* (Spicilegium Friburgense 20, Freiburg 1974) 513–14; on the manuscript, see pp. 3–12, and esp. 10, where a possible connection with Arno of Salzburg is mooted. See also D. Bullough, 'Alcuin and the Kingdom of Heaven', *Carolingian Essays* (ed. U.–R. Blumenthal, Washington 1983) 1–69, p. 14, who notes that the prayer 'proclaims its Irish origin'. Bullough would link the transmission of the prayer to the Continent with Alcuin; Unterkircher (following B. Bischoff) notes that the prayer was added to the psalter in a hand of Saint-Amand origin, and he notes that Arno, bishop of Salzburg and a close friend of Alcuin, had previously been at Saint-Amand.

¹⁰M. Frost, 'A prayer book from St Emmeram, Ratisbon', *Jn. Theological Studies* 30 (1929) 32–45, pp. 35–6. On the manuscript, see B. Bischoff, *Die südostdeutschen Schreibschulen und Bibliotheken in der Karolingerzeit* I (Wiesbaden 1960) 193.

¹¹E. Martène, *De antiquis ecclesiae ritibus* 2nd ed. III (Antwerp 1763–4) 234–48, p. 242; repr. *PL* CI, 1383–1416, coll. 1400–1401.

¹²Printed *PL* CI, 510–612 (= the pseudo-Alcuin *Officia per ferias*), coll. 589–91.

¹³J. Blanchinus [= G. Bianchini], *Venerabilis viri Iosephi Mariae S.R.E. presbyteri, Cardinalis Thomasii opera omnia* (Rome 1741) 538; see also P. Salmon, 'Libelli precum du VIII^e au XII^e siècle', in his *Analecta Liturgica* (Studi e Testi 273, Vatican City 1974) 121–94, pp. 129–39 (on the manuscript) and 184 (on the prayer). There are also various later copies of this prayer too numerous to list. I take the opportunity of listing two English examples: the 'Galba Prayerbook', now London, British Library Cotton Galba A.xiv (English, s.xi^{med}), printed B. J. Muir, *A pre-conquest English prayer-book* (HBS CIII, London 1988) 56–60, and the 'Portiforium of St Wulstan', now Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 391 (Worcester, s.xi²), printed A. Hughes, *The Portiforium of Saint Wulstan II* (HBS XC, London 1958–60) 15–17. For others see A. Wilmart, *Auteurs spirituels et textes dévotés du moyen âge latin* (Paris 1932) 571–7.

¹⁴Kuypers, *Book of Cerne*, 140–41.

¹⁵*ibid.*, 153–4.

¹⁶*ibid.*, 156–7.

London, BL Harley 7653 (? Mercia, s.viii/ix),¹⁷ but apparently not elsewhere.

It will be clear that the prayers in the pseudo-Bede *Collectaneum* have their closest links with early Anglo-Saxon prayerbooks, above all with the 'Book of Cerne'; only one of the prayers (no. III) appears to have circulated beyond the British Isles, and it is possible in this case that the continental circulation is to be associated with Alcuin's career on the Continent. Scholars have long suspected that many of the prayers in Anglo-Saxon prayerbooks derive from Ireland;¹⁸ we must now test this hypothesis with respect to the prayer to St Martin (no. II).

We may best begin by quoting the prayer as it is preserved in the pseudo-Bede *Collectaneum* (the punctuation and capitalization are those of Heerwagen's text):

O Iesu Nazarene, fili Marie, reus tibi sum regum regi, cuius regnum est sine fine. Deus Domine meus, tibi sum reus mortis, esto mihi nunc patiens, qui es fortis et potens. Adiuro Dominum uerum, unum semper et trinum, ut adire tantum possim sanctum Martinum. Rogo nunc regem regum, qui est lumen diuinum, ut ualeam sanctum uisitare Martinum. Christe Deus deorum cuius est numen mirum, fac me lugere sanum, iuxta sanctum Martinum. Viam dirige plane o Iesu Nazarene, ut ualeam pure, ibi peccata flere. Mihi adiutorium erit per naufragium, Christi militis miri suffragium Martini. Volo te uisitare, fac me ad te uenire, qui es uirtutis tantae o mi sancte Martine. O sancte Martine, nunc intercede quaeso pro me dolente, male labe culparum presso. O mi sancte Martine, pro me nunc intercede, ne me contingant comae flammae perennis poenae. O mi sancte Martine, turbae coelorum chare, ne sim particeps poenae, mihi auxiliare. O sancte Martine, mihi auxiliare, ut fruam in fine uitae perenni pane. Gloria tibi pater, qui es frater et mater.¹⁹

The prayer is evidently beseeching God's support to enable the suppliant to visit the shrine of St Martin (*ut ualeam sanctum uisitare*

¹⁷Printed Birch, *An ancient manuscript*, 119, and F. E. Warren, *The Antiphony of Bangor* II (HBS X, London 1893-5) 86; on the source of the prayer - pseudo-Mellitus - see Warren, 95-6.

¹⁸Cf. E. Bishop *apud* Kuypers, *Book of Cerne*, 283: 'The liturgical documents with which the prayers of *Cerne* shew affinity . . . are first of all, as might be expected, those of Irish origin'; J. F. Kenney, *The sources for the early history of Ireland: ecclesiastical* (New York 1929; repr. with addenda by L. Bieler, Dublin 1966) 723: 'It has been seen that the English manuscripts, Regius 2 A. XX, the Book of Nunnaminster, and the Book of Cerne, are made up of material which is chiefly of Irish origin or inspiration'; and K. Hughes, 'Some aspects of Irish influence on early English private prayer', *Studia Celtica* 5 (1970) 48-61, p. 61: 'Not only were English scribes of the eighth and ninth centuries prepared to copy the prayers of seventh-century Irish . . . scholars: the Irish style of private devotion was so much a part of their tradition that they went on following its forms'.

¹⁹Heerwagen, *Opera Bedae Venerabilis* III, coll. 672-3; *PL* XCIV, 559.

Martinum). The shrine in question is presumably that at Tours,²⁰ and one might suppose in the first instance that the prayer was composed somewhere in Francia, perhaps at Tours itself. But in that case it is decidedly odd that the prayer is not found in the 'Great Prayerbook of Tours', now Paris, BN lat. 13388 (Tours, s.ix^{med}),²¹ nor in the above-mentioned 'Prayerbook of Troyes', which as we have seen was written at Tours c.800. Closer inspection reveals that the prayer was not composed on the Continent, but rather somewhere across the sea, presumably therefore in the British Isles, for the suppliant asks Martin's protection against shipwreck (*per naufragium*) on his journey to the shrine. Either England or Ireland might be in question. There is some evidence that St Martin was culted in England, for there are several early church dedications, especially in Canterbury and its environs,²² and his feast on 11 November is recorded (as an addition) in the early eighth-century 'Calendar of St Willibrord'.²³ But – to judge from the literary record – St Martin was the object of particularly intense devotion in Ireland. Adomnán in his *Vita S. Columbae* refers to a service in which 'that usual prayer in which St Martin's name is commemorated' (*illa consueta decantaretur deprecatio in qua sancti Martini commemoratur nomen*) was being chanted (III.12). In the famous 'Stowe Missal', now Dublin, RIA D ii 3, ff. 12–67 (Tallaght, AD 792) is found a *Deprecatio Sancti Martini pro populo*.²⁴ Martin is mentioned with particular esteem in the *Féilire Óengusso* or 'Martyrology of Oengus' (c.800), being described there as 'the mount of gold in the western world':

Sanct Martain, sóer samuil
slíab óir iarthair domuin.²⁵

The so-called 'Irish *Liber Hymnorum*', preserved in two eleventh-century manuscripts, includes a hymn addressed to St Martin (inc. 'Martine te deprecor')²⁶ and the early fifteenth-century *Leabhar Breac* includes a Middle Irish homily (perhaps of thirteenth-century date) on

²⁰See *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie* XV.2 (Paris 1953) coll. 2617–64 s.v. *Tours*.

²¹Wilmart, *Precum libelli*, 63–166.

²²W. Levison, *England and the Continent in the eighth century* (Oxford 1946) 259.

²³See H. A. Wilson, *The Calendar of St Willibrord* (HBS LV, London 1918) 13 and 42, who notes that Bede's Martyrology contains no mention of St Martin.

²⁴For the 'Stowe Missal', see *BCLL*, no. 537; it is ed. G. F. Warner, *The Stowe Missal* (HBS XXXI–XXXII, London 1906–1916), with the *Deprecatio* at II, 6–7; see also F. E. Warren, *The liturgy and ritual of the Celtic Church* (Oxford 1881; reprinted with introduction by J. Stevenson, Woodbridge 1987) 229–30. See also the brief remarks by P. Ní Chatháin, 'The liturgical background of the Derrynavlan altar service', *Royal Soc. Antiq. Ire. Jn.* 110 (1980) 127–48, p. 135.

²⁵W. Stokes, *The Martyrology of Oengus the Culdee* (HBS XXIX, London 1905, repr. Dublin 1984) 234.

²⁶*BCLL*, no. 589; *ICL*, no. 9333; printed J. H. Bernard and R. Atkinson, *The Irish Liber Hymnorum* I (HBS XIII, London 1898) 47, and *AH* LI, 328 (no. 247).

St Martin.²⁷ There is no comparable literary veneration of St Martin in early England, and I incline therefore to situate the present prayer in Ireland rather than England.

My inclination gains some confirmation from a more detailed consideration of the language of the prayer. On close inspection, many of the prose sentences seem to be made up of rhyming phrases having a roughly equal number of syllables. If these phrases, beginning with the second sentence of the prayer (the first is manifestly in prose) are set out as lines of verse, it becomes immediately clear that the author of the prose prayer has simply incorporated into his prose a pre-existing hymn on St Martin.

Deus Domine meus, tibi sum reus mortis, esto mihi nunc patiens, qui es fortis et potens.	
Adiuvo Dominum uerum, unum semper et trinum, ut adire tantum possim sanctum Martinum.	5
Rogo nunc regem regum, qui est lumen diuinum, ut ualeam sanctum uisitare Martinum.	10
Christe Deus deorum cuius est numen mirum, fac me lugere sanum, iuxta sanctum Martinum.	15
Viam dirige plane O Iesu Nazarene, ut ualeam pure, ibi peccata flere.	20
Mihi adiutorium erit per naufragium, Christi militis miri suffragium Martini.	
Volo te uisitare, fac me ad te uenire, qui es uirtutis tantae o mi sancte Martine.	25
O sancte Martine, nunc intercede quaeso pro me dolente, male labe culparum presso.	30

²⁷W. Stokes, 'A Middle-Irish homily on S. Martin of Tours', *Revue Celtique* 2 (1873-5) 381-402.

O mi sancte Martine, pro me nunc intercede, ne me contingant comae flammae perennis poenae.	35
O mi sancte Martine, turbae caelorum chare, ne sim particeps poenae, mihi auxiliare.	40
O sancte Martine, mihi auxiliare, ut fruam in fine uitae perenni pane. Gloria tibi pater, qui es frater et mater.	45

By comparing the prose form of the prayer given above with the verse form given here, one can easily see that the author of the prayer simply composed an opening sentence of invocation and then copied out a hymn which he had at hand. Let us turn our attention to the hymn.

Of the forty-six verses of the hymn, thirty-eight contain seven syllables; of the remaining eight, two contain eight syllables (3, 5), and six, six syllables (7, 11, 19, 29, 41 and 43). Given the great preponderance of heptasyllabic verses, it is worth proceeding on the hypothesis that the remaining irregular verses are corrupt in some way. Of those containing eight syllables, line 5 ('Adiuro Dominum uerum') is easily reduced to a heptasyllable by altering *Dominum* to *Deum* (the confusion of *dñm* and *dñ* is a common scribal slip); and in line 3 ('esto mihi nunc patiens'), it is possible that the short medial *-i-* in *patiens* was compressed by synizesis to make of the word a bisyllable *patiens*. Of the lines containing six syllables, some may easily be rendered into heptasyllables by minor and obvious emendation: thus both lines 29 and 41 ('O sancte Martine') should undoubtedly be emended to 'O (mi) sancte Martine' on the analogy of lines 28, 33 and 37. Others can be emended by the addition of extra syllables or monosyllabic words: thus line 43 can be made into a heptasyllable by altering *fruam* into *perfruam*, or line 11 by adding *nunc*. In other cases emendations of this sort are not so obvious; but given the circumstances of transmission – that is, that a hymn in heptasyllables was rendered into prose by a later redactor – it is not surprising that there should be some measure of corruption. An emended text of the hymn is included below as an appendix. In setting the prose prayer out as verse I have not attempted to arrange it in stanzas. However, hymns of this sort were normally composed in four-line stanzas; and there is stylistic evidence within the hymn itself to indicate that it was indeed conceived originally in stanzas. Thus, after the first direct appeal to St Martin in the words 'O mi sancte Martine' (28), it is noticeable that these same words recur at four-line intervals in lines 29, 33, 37 and 41:

as if the direct appeal in each case introduced a new stanza. On this assumption, lines 28, 32, 36 and 40 will have formed the final line in each case of a four-line stanza. If this principle is applied to the whole, the hymn will be seen to consist of eleven four-line stanzas followed by a two-line doxology (see Appendix); and in fact these stanzas correspond precisely to the sentences (or sense-divisions) of the prose. Concerning the verse-form, note first that the lines are rhythmical, not metrical (that is, quantitative).²⁸ It is noteworthy that there are eight instances of hiatus,²⁹ but none of elision. Within each stanza, one finds bisyllabic rhyme, either in consecutive lines (e.g. st. 6 *adiutorium/naufragium*) or in alternate lines (e.g. st. 2 *trinum/Martinum*; st. 3 *diuinum/Martinum*; st. 8 *quaeso/presso*; st. 10 *chare/auziliare*). Sometimes these rhymes are impure, and would more appropriately be described as assonance (e.g. st. 7 *uisitare/uenire, tantae/Martine*). There is no example of trisyllabic rhyme. With respect to stress-pattern, it should be noted that in the majority of cases, the lines terminate with a word in which the natural stress falls on the penultimate syllable (thus *méus, pótens, uérum, trinum, Martinum, diuinum, deórum*, etc. This stress-pattern is referred to as 'falling'; in the notational system of Dag Norberg it is described as 7p, insofar as the stress falls on the paroxytone (or penultimate) syllable in each heptasyllabic line.³⁰ It is clear, however, that the poet was not concerned to achieve utter regularity in his stress-patterns, since in two lines (21-2), the natural stress falls on the antepenultimate or proparoxytone syllable (*adiutórium, naufrágium*); this pattern is referred to as 'rising', and in Norberg's notational system is referred to as 7pp.

We must now ask how these characteristics – hiatus (but not elision), bisyllabic (but not trisyllabic) rhyme, prevalence of falling stress – fit into the context of other surviving heptasyllabic hymns. The verse form is by no means a common one. It is found in four other hymns, all of them Insular in origin, some (and perhaps all) of them datable to the seventh century. These are:³¹ 'Benchuir bona regula',³²

²⁸It is quite possible that rhythmical heptasyllables derive ultimately from the iambic dimeter catalectic verses of late antiquity, as, for example, in Prudentius, *Cathemerinon* vi ('Ades pater supreme'); this poem, like the later Hiberno-Latin heptasyllabic hymns, is cast in four-line stanzas. The assumption is that Irish authors, attempting to imitate the form of late antique hymns such as 'Ades pater supreme', misunderstood its quantitative scansion (based on the alteration of long and short syllables) and substituted rhythmical patterns based on stress. See Blume, *AH* LI, 357.

²⁹Hiatus: 4 *qui | es*; 10 *qui | est*; 21 *mihi | adiutorium*; 26 *me | ad*; 27 *qui | es*; 40 and 42 *mihi | auziliare*; 46 *qui | es*.

³⁰D. Norberg, *Introduction à l'étude de la versification latine médiévale* (Studia Latina Stockholmiensia 5, Stockholm 1958); for discussion of heptasyllables (including three of the hymns treated below), see pp. 127-8.

³¹Some other (later) examples, including one by Ionas of Bobbio evidently modelled on 'Mundus iste', are discussed by Schaller (as cited below, note 35), 474-5 and n. 34; but for various structural and metrical reasons, none is relevant to the present discussion. See also below, note 47.

³²*BCLL*, no. 574; *ICL*, no. 1654; ed. *AH* LI, 356-7 (no. 260).

preserved uniquely in the late seventh-century 'Antiphony of Bangor', now Milan, Bibl. Ambrosiana C. 5 inf.;³³ the poem 'Mundus iste transibit',³⁴ which Dieter Schaller has recently shown (conclusively, in my opinion) to be the work of Columbanus of Bangor, who died as abbot of Bobbio in 615;³⁵ 'Pro peccatis amare',³⁶ preserved uniquely in the early ninth-century (English) 'Book of Cerne'; and 'Martine te deprecor',³⁷ preserved uniquely in the 'Irish *Liber Hymnorum*'. To begin with, each of these four hymns shares with our hymn the avoidance of elision³⁸ and the use of hiatus.³⁹ It shares with 'Martine te deprecor' the synzesis of short *-i-* in unstressed syllables.⁴⁰ This latter feature is widely attested in Hiberno-Latin hymns. In the matter of rhyme, the other four hymns have more sophisticated rhyme-schemes than does our hymn. Every single line of 'Benchuir bona regula' ends in *-a*; bisyllabic rhyme in alternating lines is normal, but there are occasional trisyllabic rhymes as well (e.g. *fecunda/tremebunda*). That of 'Mundus iste' is more complex still, having frequent trisyllabic rhyme; in this respect it is quite unlike our hymn.⁴¹ The rhyme-schemes of 'Pro peccatis' and 'Martine te deprecor' are strikingly similar, in that they usually exhibit bisyllabic rhyme at the end of the second and fourth lines of each stanza and avoid trisyllabic rhyme altogether; in addition they share a propensity for internal rhyme and assonance of various sorts (enough, in fact, to raise the suspicion that they are the work of one poet). On balance, the rhyme-scheme of our hymn is closest to those of 'Pro peccatis' and 'Martine te deprecor', though it lacks their internal rhyme/assonance, and its bisyllabic rhyme is not restricted to the end of the second and fourth lines of each stanza. Finally, the question of stress. 'Mundus iste' alternates throughout between rising and falling stress, and in this respect is quite unlike our hymn, which (excepting two lines) consists entirely of falling stress, as we have seen. 'Martine te deprecor' consists

³³ *BCLL*, no. 532; ed. Warren, *The Antiphony of Bangor* (cited above, note 17).

³⁴ *BCLL*, no. 819; *ICL*, no. 9888; ed. *AH LI*, 352–6 (no. 259).

³⁵ D. Schaller, 'Die Siebensilberstrophien *De mundi transitu* – eine Dichtung Columbanus?', in *Die Iren und Europa im früheren Mittelalter* I (ed. H. Löwe, Stuttgart 1982) 468–83.

³⁶ *BCLL*, no. 1297; *ICL*, no. 12625; ed. *AH LI*, 351 (no. 258).

³⁷ *BCLL*, no. 589; *ICL*, no. 9333; ed. *AH LI*, 328 (no. 247).

³⁸ A possible exception occurs in 'Martine te deprecor', 1,3, 'Christum ac spiritum sanctum', where in order to reduce the line to seven syllables *ac* would have to elide with *-um* of *Christum*. In my view, however, it would be simpler to delete *ac* and insert a comma after *Christum*.

³⁹ 'Benchuir bona regula' Refr. 2 *recta* | *atque*; 4 *iusta* | *ac*; 4,3 *gloriosa* | *ac*; 5,2 *parte* | *aurata*; 6,1 *regina* | *apta*, 2 *luce* | *amicta*, 4 *undecumque* | *inuicta*; 8,3 *laeta* | *ac*. 'Mundus iste' 2,2 *ortu* | *utitur*; 4,3 *inportune* | *amittunt*; 11,2 *cuncta* | *amice*, 3 *tibi* | *amare*; 13,1 *sole* | *arescit*; 22,1 *perge* | *inter*; 24,2 *quae* | *in*; 27,1 *ubi* | *aula*, 2 *plena* | *est*, 4 *audita* | *est*; 28,2 *futura* | *est*. 'Pro peccatis' 4,1 *o* | *unda* | *amabilis*; 5,4 *lacrimate* | *et*; 9,3 *meae* | *in*; 11,1 *o* | *oculi*. 'Martine te deprecor' 2,4 *atque* | *amauit*; 3,4 *magnae* | *atque*.

⁴⁰ 'Martine te deprecor' 1,4 *habentem Mariam matrem*; 6,3 *uoluntarie propter nos*.

⁴¹ See Schaller, 'Die Siebensilberstrophien', 469–71.

entirely of falling stress; 'Benchuir bona regula' and 'Pro peccatis' each consist largely of falling stress, but – just like our hymn – each has occasional lines of rising stress.⁴²

The preceding evidence shows that our hymn on St Martin is specifically to be associated on metrical grounds with three other heptasyllabic hymns: 'Benchuir bona regula', 'Martine te deprecor' and 'Pro peccatis'. The first two of these hymns are preserved uniquely in manuscripts written in Ireland, and there is no need to doubt that they were composed there as well. On metrical grounds 'Pro peccatis' has long been regarded as Irish, though it survives only in an English manuscript.⁴³ By association, therefore, our hymn would seem to be of Irish origin. As far as its date is concerned, it may be worth noting that earlier scholars have posited as a dating criterion the progression from impure or assonantal rhyme to pure bisyllabic rhyme (characteristic of seventh-century Hiberno-Latin verse) to trisyllabic rhyme (characteristic of Hiberno-Latin and other medieval Latin rhythmical verse of the eighth century and later).⁴⁴ On this criterion – which requires to be properly tested⁴⁵ – our hymn would appear to be a product of the seventh century. In any event, the three Hiberno-Latin hymns which it most closely resembles are almost certainly of seventh-century date.⁴⁶ This being the case, future students of Hiberno-Latin hymnology will be obliged to take our hymn, which in its prose hiding-place has hitherto escaped detection, into their reckoning.⁴⁷

⁴²'Benchuir bona regula' Refr. *régula* / *sédula*; 'Pro peccatis' 4 *flébilis* / *críminis*, and 6 *cáidite/láedite*; cf. Schaller, 'Die Siebensilberstrophien', 472.

⁴³Blume, in *AH* LI, 352: 'Wer den Versbau (katalektischer jambische Dimeter) dieses Gedichtes mit dem gleichen in den echt irischen Gedichten Nr. 247 [= 'Martine te deprecor'], 259 [= 'Mundus iste transibit'] u. 260 [= 'Benchuir bona regula'] zusammenhält und beobachtet, wie hier und dort Wort- und Versakzent oft stark disharmonieren; wie Silbenzählung das Prinzip der Versbildung ist; wie der Reim im zweiten und vierten Halbvers in gleicher charakteristischer Weise sich zeigt; und wer namentlich noch den eigentümlichen Reim im Versinnern . . . hier zur Geltung kommen sieht, wird kaum zweifeln, dass dieses Gedicht der alt-irischen Hymnodie beizuzählen ist'.

⁴⁴*ibid.*, 355–6.

⁴⁵Cf. Schaller, 'Die Siebensilberstrophien', 471 and n. 17.

⁴⁶*ibid.*, 472: '. . . drei von ihnen [sc. 'Pro peccatis', 'Benchuir bona regula', 'Martine te deprecor'] können mit Gewissheit ins 7. Jahrhundert datiert werden'.

⁴⁷It is interesting to note that another heptasyllabic hymn probably of Irish origin lay similarly embedded and undetected in a prose prayer in Kuypers, *Book of Cerne*, 106–8; the hymn in question, 'Ubi resplendet semper' (*ICL*, no. 16681), was first detected and printed by W. Meyer, 'Poetische Nachlese aus dem sogenannten Book of Cerne in Cambridge und aus dem Londoner Codex Regius 2. A. XX', *Nachrichten von der (vgl.) Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen* (Göttingen 1977) 597–625, pp. 602–5.

APPENDIX

'DEUS DOMINE MEUS': A HYMN ON ST MARTIN

1	Deus Domine meus, tibi sum mortis reus: esto mihi nunc patiens qui es fortis et potens.	4
2	Adiuvo Deum uerum, unum semper et trinum, ut (nunc) adire tantum possim sanctum Martinum.	8
3	Rogo nunc regem regum qui est lumen diuinum, ut ualeam (nunc) sanctum uisitare Martinum.	12
4	Christe Deus deorum cuius est numen mirum, fac me lugere sanum iuxta sanctum Martinum.	16
5	Viam dirige plane o Iesu Nazarene, ut ualeam preclare ibi peccata flere.	20
6	Mihi adiutorium erit per naufragium Christi militis miri suffragium Martini.	24
7	Volo te uisitare: fac me ad te uenire qui es uirtutis tantae, o mi sancte Martine.	28
8	O (mi) sancte Martine nunc intercede quaeso pro me dolente male, labe culparum presso.	32
9	O mi sancte Martine pro me nunc intercede, ne me contingant comae flammae perennis poenae.	36
10	O mi sancte Martine, turbae caelorum chare, ne sim particeps poenae mihi auxiliare.	40

- 11 O (mi) sancte Martine
 mihi auxiliare,
 ut perfruar in fine
 uitae perenni pane. 44
- 12 Gloria tibi pater
 qui es frater et mater.

Readings in Heerwagen's edition (H):

- 2 mortis reus] reus mortis H
 5 Deum] Dominum H
 7 nunc] *om.* H
 11 nunc] *om.* H
 19 preclare] pure H
 29 mi] *om.* H
 41 mi] *om.* H
 43 perfruar] fruar H

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