I. DESIGNATION

The Catechesis Celtica is the name given to the contents of Codex Reginensis Latinus 49 of the Vatican Library, and is but the Latinisation of the French title ‘Cathédres celtiques’ given to the varied contents of the manuscript by Dom André Wilmart, when he published about one third of the work in 1933.  

Wilmart considered this title the most appropriate one for the contents of the collection. The genre of the collection, he notes, is hybrid and difficult to define. In it, one is in an intermediate and almost indistinct zone, half-way between direct preaching and didactic commentary. None the less, on rereading in succession the pieces chosen for inclusion by the compiler, one cannot fail to get the impression that his precise aim was to furnish priests involved in the ministry with varied expositions which would permit them to preach on the Gospel reading of the day. Thus, through these catecheses we are introduced to the ill-digested learning of a versatile exegete and also to the popular faith of a Christian community in the process of formation. In the catalogue of the Vatican Reginensis collection of manuscripts, published in 1937, Wilmart avoids use of his earlier designation and describes the contents of Codex Reginensis 49 as: ‘Commentaries and Homilies, principally of parts of the Gospels, and some excerpts’. The title, however, remained and has been extended by Fr Robert McNally and later writers to such other presumed Hiberno-Latin collections of homilies as those of Cracow and Verona.

II. CONTENTS OF VATICAN CODEX REGINENSIS LATINUS 49

A colophon gives the scribe’s name as Guilhelm: Finit. Amen. Guilhelm scripsit hunc librum. Deo gratias (f. 53). The Codex is numbered as (folios) 1–54, but there is no f. 5. The order of the folios in the present manuscript is disturbed and the text must be read in the sequence: ff. 1–2, 4, 3, 7, 6, 8–23, 32–47, 24–31, 48–54. There have also been some mistakes in transcription along the history of transmission, with portions of some texts copied erroneously as parts of other ones.

In the manuscript itself there is no clear division between the individual pieces. For this reason the division is left to the editors, who can differ on their separation of the material into individual items. Thus,
whereas Wilmart divides the contents into forty-six items, McNally in his unpublished edition of the text finds fifty-seven. The editor is helped on occasion in his efforts by the presence of headings to some items, e.g. *Incipit umelia de oratione dominica* (f. 9 v); *Omelia in Cena Domini* (16 v); *De Cena Domini id est de capitulo VI* (17 r); *Hoc ad solemnitatem Paschae consuetit* (18 v); *In nomine Dei Summi* (20 v, 30 r), and the final item headed *De die domini(m)ico* (f. 53). Together with these headings there is occasionally other introductory material which seems to indicate the beginning of a new item, such as the place in the Eusebian Canons of the Scripture pericope to be commented on. This information is occasionally accompanied by the number of the chapter in question, thus: 14 r (Palm Sunday); 24 r (Luke 11:27–8); 25 v (Matt. 13:45–6); 27 v (Matt. 21:10–11); 29 r (Matt. 12:42); 30 r (Matt. 21:1–11); 30 v (Luke 2:1–20; Christmas Day); 37 r (Matt. 10:16); 39 r (Matt. 6:33); 40 v (Luke 13:6–9); 42 v (Matt. 9:10–13); 43 v (John 14:1–2); 47 r (Luke 2:21).

Sometimes we have, without indication of Canon or chapter, a Scripture passage to be commented on, apparently indicating the beginning of a new item, thus: 35 v (Matt. 16:34), 40 v (Luke 13:6–9). Together with these headings and openings, we are aided in our separation of the pieces by certain formal and formulaic endings, e.g. *Finit* (10 v, first exposition of the *Pater noster*); *Finit. Amen* (11 v, second exposition of the *Pater noster*); . . . per infinita secula seculae. Amen (16 r); *ipsi gloria et imperium in secula seculae. Amen* (16 v); . . . qui cum Patre et Spiritu sancto uter et regnat in secula seculae. Amen (17 r); a similar prayer for eternal union with God in *secula seculae. Amen* (47 r, two distinct items; 47 v, 51 r).

The argument for distinct items is strengthened when a given piece has both a heading, introduction and an ending. However, even with these aids we are at times left in doubt with regard to the exact division or the original intention of the compiler in this matter. Thus in 16 r we have one exposition of the narrative of Jesus’s entry into Jerusalem rounded off with the ending: *Semptemque lastamur et corregnemus cum ullo in perpetua uta per infinita secula seculae. Amen*, which is followed immediately (without heading) by another exposition of the same text: *Mortaliter. Duo discipuli, id est doctores cum fide et opere*. This moral exposition is, in the tradition to which I believe the *Catechesis CELlica* belongs, but the normal continuation of treatment of the text in accord with the different senses of Scripture. This, in turn, is followed by an ending: *ipsi gloria et imperium in secula seculae. Amen*, after which comes (16 v) a homily headed *Omelia in cena Domini*. Sometimes when an item is not marked off by either heading or ending it can be identified as a unit by means of the subject matter, as in the case of 9 r (comment on Ps. 1); 11 v (order of reading of the canonical Scriptures).

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5 See further below, p. 313.
in St Peter's Church, Rome); 18 v, section of a Penitential; to which we may add two collections on various subjects (both preceded by sections with formulaic ending), i.e. 20 r and 49 v.

III. HISTORY OF RESEARCH

According to slips preserved in the Vatican Library, Codex Reginensis Latinus 49 has been consulted between 1913 and 1973 by twenty-eight different scholars, including: W. M. Lindsay (10 April 1915), K. W. Hughes (5 April 1951), E. Bischoff (17 April 1958; 3 March 1962), R. E. McNally (16 September 1960; 17, 21 October 1968). It was consulted too late by W. M. Lindsay for inclusion in his major works Early Irish minuscule script (Oxford 1910), Nolae Latinae (Cambridge 1915). There is a marginal gloss *guor cher* (written in two parts, one above the other) in f. 21 r to the word *summitas* (*fracta est summitas inferni cum resurgente mortui*). Attention had been drawn to this gloss by H. M. Bannister, in the work *Palaeografia musicale Vaticana*, who read it as *quor cher* and regarded it as Irish. Lindsay communicated his new reading of *guor cher* to J. Loth, who published a study of it, together with a facsimile of the page carrying it. He regarded the gloss as Cornish rather than Breton.

In May 1932, in preparation for his work on the cataloguing of the Reginensis Collection, Wilmart wrote to Loth, informing him of the existence of two further glosses in the manuscript, i.e. *trapen* over the Latin word *capite* in f. 32 v and another of uncertain reading in f. 50, i.e. *he be* (with a stroke over the final *e*) above the Latin word *elimosina*, which Wilmart expanded as *he ben* (less likely *he ber*). In the same letter he remarked that the Celtic origin of the collection is evident, and remarks that the copyist of the present text (writing in the tenth century, or at earliest towards the end of the ninth) reproduced unaltered an earlier collection, one probably put together in the eighth. With regard to the provenance of ms 49 Wilmart remained uncertain. In his own view there were three possible points of origin from the palaeographical point of view: Cornwall or Wales; Brittany (*Bretagne Armoricaine, his preference*); or Fleurysur-Loire. In the same letter Wilmart also remarked that the text of Luke 2:1-20 in the manuscript was entirely in the Celtic tradition as known to us through the manuscripts DELO (read: Q)R, except for 2:11, where for (*quia natus est ubis hodie* saluator (*qui est Christus Dominus* Reginensis 49 has: (... ) conservator (... ) and adds *saluasti*. Wilmart asks whether *saluasti* here might not be another gloss. Loth published this correspondence in 1933.

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6 Nor is it mentioned in his other study: W. M. Lindsay, 'Breton scriptoria: their Latin abbreviation-symbols', *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* 29 (1912) 264-72.
7 J. Loth, *Une glose brittonique du X*e siècle*, Revue Celtique 36 (1915-16) 411-12.
8 J. Loth, *Une glose briittore inédite du IX*-X* siècle: une autre origine douteuse*, Revue Celtique 50 (1933) 397-98.
The codex next attracted attention in 1933 when Wilmart published about one-third of it (in XIV 'Catéchèses') together with an introduction of five pages. He took our present copy to be from the tenth century, most likely from the first half. However, behind this tenth-century collection he saw an original which he believed was very similar — apart from the vernacular glosses and errors of transcription — to an original to be situated approximately towards the end of the eighth century and located in the British Isles, either in Cornwall or Wales. In his introduction Wilmart does not seriously consider the possibility, much less the likelihood, of Irish origin. He sees a clear 'Celtic' link in the biblical text of the Gospels used in the 'Catéchèses'. It is that of the 'Celtic' family, represented by the manuscripts DELQR, L being the Lichfield Gospels, probably written in a Welsh centre. He notes that the Gospel text used in the 'Catéchèses' is not particularly close to L, which he takes as a possible indication of Cornish rather than Welsh origin. He makes no mention of the fact that D (the Book of Armagh) and R (the Rushworth or Mac Regol Gospels) and presumably Q (the Book of Kells) are Irish. Another link 'with the Celtic race and Insular bias' he sees in the indiscriminate use of the Apocrypha. He instances the Gospel according to the Hebrews, certain profética verba, the Signs before Doomsday, the colourful description of the three Magi, the wonders worked on Sunday.

The first of the 'Catéchèses' published by Wilmart was one headed 'De cena Domini'. Dom J. Huybren soon pointed out to Wilmart that the sources of this were to be found in the writings of Paschiasius Radbertus. That same year Wilmart published an essay on the matter. This catechesis is but a résumé of Paschiasius's large commentary on Matthew's Gospel and of his treatise De corpore et sanguine. It would indicate a date in the later ninth century for this particular text of the catechesis, and for the entire corpus if all the material is of the same date.

In 1936 the Bollandist Paul Grosjean made a very thorough study of the section of the 'Catéchèses celtiques' published by Wilmart and advanced very strong reasons for concluding that they are not without Irish connections. In this remarkable study Grosjean modestly tells us that he wishes to draw attention to certain details in the catecheses which appeared to him, in their cumulative force, to indicate at least certain relationships with Ireland. What he presents us with, in fact, is a thorough examination of the portion of the Catechesis published by Wilmart, indicating the relationship with the Irish language, and with Irish tradition, both vernacular and Latin. In his introductory section he notes the three glosses discussed by Joseph Loth: guorcher, tra pen, he

9Wilmart, Analecta Reginensia, 29-34.
10... la race celtique et les partis pris insulaire... ibid., 32.
13Ibid., 118.
ben, the first of these indicating Cornwall rather than Wales or Armorica. He disagrees with Loth's understanding of the second gloss, which makes little sense in the context, and prefers another with the meaning 'in favour of'. The third expression he ben (after which he puts a question mark), he notes, could be Breton or Cornish; the matter is not as yet clear. Grosjean compares peculiarities of the Catecheses Latinity with Irish tradition: pascha modicum, haeres Christi, aliena non immolanda sunt Deo, filius vitae, veteris legis, creator omnium elementorum, familia caeli et terrae, gradus angelorum, initium (in an absolute sense of 'beginning of Lent'); the use in verbs with infinitive in -are of the subjunctive in -a instead of in -e (e.g. negamus for negeamus).

He goes on to note the resemblance in ideas and literary expression between the Catecheses and Irish literature of the Middle Ages. In this section he stresses in particular the close relationship between the Catecheses and the homilies in the Leabhar Breac and the material in the glosses of the Gospels of Máel Bríte. He mentions especially the use of the stereotyped peroratio, rigorously adhered to in Irish homilies. He instances a very close connection between one text of the Catecheses Celtica (ed. Wilmart, p. 111 lines 55–61), and the Leabhar Breac. The Catechesis text reads: (Béati qui habitant cum Abel et Enoch et Noe) cum Abraham et Isaac et Iacob, cum Moise et Aaron et Iesu filio Nun, cum XII profae(tis) cum XII apostolis, cum omnibus sanctis ab initio mundi usque ad finem, cum IX ordinibus angelorum, cum patre et filio et spiritu sancto, in pace et laetitia, in puritate et in iuventute, sine fame et nuditate, cum abun(dantia) omnis boni sine ullo male, circa regem iuuenem, largum, pulcrum, aeternum. Rogamus deum omnipotentem ut mereamur possidere illam beatitudinem in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

Grosjean notes that the beginning of this passage is cited in almost the exact same way by the glossator of the Gospels of Máel Bríte. This glossator, be he Máel Bríte or someone else, appears to have had before him different collections of homilies. According to Grosjean, the citation he has from the Catechesis Celtica leads one to believe that Reginensis 49 itself, or a similar collection, was in the library of the glossator of the Máel Bríte Gospels (in Armagh itself if Máel Bríte was the glossator).

Grosjean also notes the relationship of the Apocryphal elements of the sections published by Wilmart and Irish tradition (i.e. the Magi, miracles at Christ's birth, Longinus, the octo pondera de quibus factus est Adam, the IIII familiae quae ascribentur in iudicio, the signs before Doomsday, the text De die dominico).

Grosjean concludes his essay by noting that the 'Catechises celtiques' are not without relationship with Ireland, but prudently remarks that we know only one third of the work and that the sections remaining unpublished might well destroy hastily construed hypotheses. He follows this remark by recalling the role played by the Céli Dé reform (eighth and ninth centuries) in the Irish Church. One can suppose, he notes, that this, like all reforms, would have been accompanied by a renewal
in preaching. The date of the *Céli Dé* also fits in well with the aim assigned by Wilmart to the compilation of the *Catechesis Celtica*, a collection designed to aid preachers in their task.

We hope to show later than the unpublished sections admirably bear out Grosjean's surmises regarding the Catecheses' relationship to Irish tradition, and in particular to the *Leabhar Breac* and the glosses of the Gospels of Máel Bríghte.

Grosjean's study appeared too late to have influenced Wilmart in his treatment of Codex Reginensis 49 in his catalogue of the Reginensis Collection published in 1937. This does not go considerably beyond his earlier 1933 work in *Analecta Reginensia* apart from noting that the homily *De cena Domini* (ff. 17–18 v) depends on Paschasius Radbertus. He notes that in Matt. 6:33 (ff. 39–40 v) the Codex has the Book of Armagh reading _prestabantur_ and that there is an infinite number of abbreviations according to the custom of the Irish. The glosses show, however, that the book belonged to the British (Breton), not the Irish (Scottic).

McNally worked on the manuscript in the Vatican Library in the early and late 1960s and was preparing an edition of it for publication. He edited one text from it, *De die domino*, in 1973. In the preface he speaks of *Reg. 49* and its contents:

> The Vatican Codex, *Reg. lat. 49* . . . can be dated to the late ninth or early tenth century and is . . . Breton, perhaps Welsh. The script, a remarkable combination of Carolingian minuscule and insular abbreviations, seems to confirm the probability of Breton origin. The manuscript contains the only extant copy of the *Catechesis Celtica*, a collection of homilies, intended for liturgical use in a Celtic setting. Since its contents are composite in nature, it is impossible to date the work as a whole, though beyond doubt some of the component pieces of this collection are authentic specimens of early Celtic piety and representative of its oldest and purest traditions.

In a note to this he adds:

> With respect to Wilmart's scholarship, his edition of the *Catechesis Celtica* should be reworked with proper care for the source-analysis and the reproduction of the complete text. A careful study of the whole work will yield remarkable conclusions on the spirituality of

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14 Wilmart, *Codices Reginenses latini*.
15 Ibid., 115.
16 Ibid., 117: 'Compendiorum infinitus est numerus, ex hibernorum consuetudine adhibitorum et quae nunc lectorem multum docent'.
17 Ibid.: 'Quapropter Brittonum liber erat, non Scottorum'.
19 Ibid., 178–9.
IRISH AFFILIATIONS OF THE Catechesis Celtica

the Old Celts (Irish?). My edition of this work is nearing completion.

McNally died in 1978, but before his death he had completed the transcription of the entire manuscript and provided it with a source-analysis. McNally’s rather thorough source-analysis has relatively few Hiberno-Latin or Irish references: Pseudo-Isidore, Liber de numeris; Pseudo-Bede, Collectanea; Pseudo-Jerome, Expositio IV evangeliorum, In Matthaeum, In Lucam, In Ioannem; Scotus Anonymus, In Lucam (the Vienna Commentary on Luke); Scotus Anonymus, In epistolae Catholicae; for specific texts the Collectio canonum Hibernensis (on the Pater noster); the Leabhar Breac and the Cracow Homily Collection (being prepared for publication by himself).

Frederic Mac Donncha has made an intensive study of a set of Middle Irish homilies, found in the Leabhar Breac and elsewhere. In 1972 he successfully completed a Ph.D dissertation (National University of Ireland) on the subject.\(^{20}\) In a study of these homilies, published in 1976, he noted the relationship between the exordia and the peroratoriones in them and elements in the Catechesis Celtica (which he believed to be most likely of Irish origin).\(^{21}\) He also noted that many questions about these homilies must remain unanswered until the various Hiberno-Latin scriptural commentaries are all published (to which he could have added the Hiberno-Latin homiletic material).\(^{22}\)

In the early 1980s Giovanni Maria Vian published an interesting and informative survey of the contents of Codex Reginensis latinus 49, accompanied by a history of research on the Catechesis Celtica.\(^{23}\) A concluding English summary to the essay in Italian seems to favour Irish, rather than Cornish, origin.

A decisive turn in the direction of research in this general area came about a little later through the studies of Jean Rittmueller, both in her doctoral dissertation on the Leabhar Breac homily In cena Domini and on the sources of the corresponding glosses in the Gospels of Máel Bríte.\(^{24}\) Her doctoral dissertation concentrated on the study of the homily In cena Domini in the Leabhar Breac. This is in the form of a

\(^{20}\)F. Mac Donncha, ‘Na hoimil sa Leabhar Breac [LB], Lebor na hUidre [LU], Leabhar Mhíre Carraigh Raisheigh [LMC] agus i Vísa Tripartita Sancti Patriici [VTP] (ní Béithu Phádraic); a mháirta, a nádhar agus a ndásta’ (Ph.D dissertation, National University of Ireland 1972).


\(^{22}\)ibid., 71.


commentary on Matt. 26:17-30. She studies the commentaries on this passage in Irish tradition in writings from the seventh century down to the twelfth – from the Manchanus Gospel glosses of the mid-seventh century to the glosses of the Gospels of Mael Brigit (AD 1138; MS British Library Harley 1802). In all there are seven distinct Irish texts. Behind the central Irish tradition she finds Jerome’s commentary on Matthew and the Manchanus glosses, jointly giving rise to the basic outline of exegesis for Matt. 26:17-30. Within this tradition she situates the *Catechesis Cellica* homily *De cena Domini*, which she tentatively assigns to the eighth–ninth century. She shows that the assumed dependence of the *Catechesis Cellica* homily and the Mael Brigit Gospel glosses on Paschasius Radbertus is not the explanation of their similarity. Among the Mael Brigit Gospel glosses there are a number marked as ‘Man’, obviously considered as deriving from a writer thus abbreviated. The natural expansion of the abbreviation in an Irish context would be ‘Manchanus’ or ‘Manchanus’, and there was a noted Irish exegete of this name in the mid-sixth century. Bischoff could not accept the identification because of the presumed dependence of the *Man* glosses on the Eucharist on Paschasius Radbertus.25 Ritmueller has now shown that the Irish tradition in question is quite independent of Paschasius. They both depend on common sources (Jerome’s commentary on Matthew and the *Verba seniorum* on a Eucharistic miracle). On occasion also Paschasius has been proved to depend on Irish sources and, in fact, on one of the sources carrying the Irish exegetical synthesis on Matt. 26:17-30.

I have dwelt on Ritmueller’s contribution at some length as I believe what she has established with regard to the homily *De cena Domini* and its exegesis of Matt. 26:17-30 may well hold good for the use of Matthew’s Gospel in other homilies of the *Catechesis Cellica* and other Irish sources, e.g. the *Leabhar Breac*. Matthew’s Gospel, in fact, was the chief text used in Irish homilies and we are fortunate in having various Hiberno-Latin commentaries on it from the seventh to the twelfth centuries. This exegetical tradition may help us in locating the exposition of the *Catechesis Cellica* collection in place and time.

The final contribution to the study of the *Catechesis Cellica* to be noted here is that of An tAthair Diarmuid Ó Laoghaire, in a conference given in 1984 and published in 1987.26 He notes further points of contact between the contents of the collection and a variety of Irish texts: the Irish *Liber de numeris*, the Cracow Conferences, the


Lambeth Commentary, the Old-Irish Treatise on the Psalter, the Collectio canonum Hibernensis and others besides. One notable contribution is Ó Laoghaire’s treatment of one of the presumed Breton or Welsh glosses, namely the gloss on Elimosina. The text (f. 50 r a 21) in the manuscript reads: elimosina dei mei opus la (with stroke over a) and i. he be interliniated above elimosina. As transcribed by Wilmart, this reads: 27 Elimosina dei mei opus la (udat), with gloss on elimosina given (as the reading appeared to him) as: i (dest) he be(n). He also admits that the expansion of la to laudat is but a conjecture. Ó Laoghaire has brought to our attention what appears to be the real reading for this passage, i.e. that found in the Collectio canonum Hibernensis XII 2: Elimosina hebraice, Dei mei opus latine intelligitur. The separation of b from e in the Catechesis text seems due to the need to avoid the upper extension of the letter s of elimosina. The extra (final) e (clear in the manuscript) may be due to a copyist’s error or misunderstanding of the original. That the text of Codex Reginensis latinus 49 should be read in accord with the Hibernensis text is rendered all the more probable in that we have here an ‘etymology’ in the Hiberno-Latin tradition. That the basically Greek word elimosina should be taken as Hebrew is not surprising. El in Hebrew means ‘My God’ (cf. Matt. 27:46); mosina could easily be connected with the Hebrew ma’aseh ‘work’. The Bretonic glosses are thus reduced to a maximum of two.

In what follows I shall examine the Irish affiliations of the Catechesis from different points of view: biblical text used, exegetical tradition involved, homiletic material, apocryphal material.

IV. CATECHESES CELTICA AND IRISH BIBLICAL TEXT

Our examination of this topic is necessarily limited by the Irish (Latin) biblical text known to us in the present state of investigations. 28 For the Old Testament we have only the Psalter. With regard to the New Testament we have ample evidence for the Four Gospels, while for the remainder we are confined for the greater part to the text of the Book of Armagh, with an additional text from the Pauline Epistles and some evidence from the commentaries for the Catholic Epistles.

1. The Psalter text 29

From the time of Jerome onwards the Western Latin Church used three texts of the Psalter: the Old Latin (Vetus Latina; sometimes referred to simply as the Romanum [abbr. Ro.]), the Latin text revised by Jerome against the Greek and Hebrew, known as the Gallicanum [abbrv. Ga.], and Jerome’s translation direct from the Hebrew, known

27 Wilmart, Analecta Reginensia, 108 line 32.
28 On this see M. McNamara, ‘The text of the Latin Bible in the early Irish church: some data and desiderata’, in Ireland and Christendom: the Bible and the missions, 7-55.
29 On this see M. McNamara, ‘Psalter text and psalter study in the early Irish church (A.D. 500-1200)’, Royal Ir. Academy Proc. 73 C (1973) 201-276.
as the *Hebraicum* or *Iuxta Hebraeos*. Both the *Gallicanum* and the *Hebraicum* were known and used in Ireland and, as the Benedictine editors of the critical editions of both have shown, Ireland had a distinct family both of *Gallicanum* and *Iuxta Hebraeos* texts. The specifically Irish family of the *Gallicanum* is found in the manuscripts given the sigla *C* and *I*, i.e. the Cathach of St Columba (MS in the Royal Irish Academy) and the Double Psalter of Rouen (MS, Rouen Bibliothèque publique 24 [A 41]).

I have counted some ninety-nine Psalter texts in the *Catechesis Celtic*. In fifty-four of these the text employed is identical with both that of the Old Latin (*Romanum*) and the critical edition of the *Gallicanum*, and they are consequently without significance for our purpose. Likewise with thirty-one others in which the text used is identical with the critical edition of the *Gallicanum*, even though this does not coincide with the Old Latin. It seems obvious that the compilers' Psalter text was the *Gallicanum*, not the Old Latin.

What is significant are the texts which agree with none of these. In the *Catechesis Celtic* we have thirteen such texts, disagreeing with the critical edition of the *Gallicanum* but agreeing with the readings of the specific Irish family of the *Gallicanum*. It is of little significance that the specific *CI* reading may also be an Old Latin text. This is evidence of contamination of the *Gallicanum*, not direct use of the Old Latin (or *Romanum*). The texts are as follows:

18:5 (*exuit* [two occurrences], for *exiit*);
26:4 (*petsi*, for *petui*);
26:4 (*omnibus diebus*, for *omnes dies* of *Gallicanum*);
27:5 (*distrue illos et non aedicabis eos* for *dstrues i. et non aed. eos* of Ga.; Ro. has: *dstrue il. nec aed. eos*);
32:2–4 (*confudatio; psallite ei*);
32:7 (*in utrem*);
43:23 (*ob dormis*);
43:26 (*adiua nos Domine*; two occurrences);
49:3 (*ardebil*; *CI* only with Ro.);
83:11b (*quam habitarem, CI only*);
91:14 [*in atriis domus [Dei]; I with Ro.*);
145:7 (*solvet*);
146:6 (*humiliat, only I, with Ro.*).

2. *The Gospel text*

We know of some thirty Irish Gospel manuscripts, and some other texts not written in Ireland related to these. One of these texts, *Usserianus primus* (with symbol *r*¹) has the Old Latin Gospel text. Another, the Book of Durrow, has the Vulgate text. A number of the manuscripts have not as yet been fully examined from the point of view of textual character. The majority of those which have, however, present a mixed
text of both Vulgate and Old Latin readings. During the latter part of the last century and the opening years of this one, scholars have identified a group of manuscripts which carry such a mixed text, manuscripts known by their symbols as DELQR, i.e. the Book of Armagh (Codex Dublinensis), British Library Egerton 609 (probably written in Britain), the Lichfield Gospels (probably written in a centre at the Welsh border), the Book of Kells (Codex Cennanensis), and the Rushworth or Mac Regol Gospels (most probably written at Birr). These texts do not constitute a family, as they do not descend from a common original. Since the group cannot be assigned to any particular country, but have representatives from Ireland, Wales and Britain, they are often (if not generally) referred to as ‘the Celtic Gospels’. It should be noted that a number of other Irish works have the same characteristic readings as this group but have not as yet been adequately examined.

The *Catechesis Celtic* has an abundance of Gospel texts, especially from Matthew, the Gospel most frequently commented on in the homilies. For the most part, these are longer passages, first cited in full and then commented on with repetition of the key texts. Together with this there are many brief Gospel texts cited throughout the homilies and the other different items.

For the purpose of our study here we can take the established Vulgate text as our point of reference. What must interest us is the total number of deviations in reading from the Vulgate text and their textual affiliations in so far as this is ascertainable.\(^3\) I have counted three hundred and thirty-three such deviations: one hundred and seventy-three for Matthew, six for Mark, seventy-nine for Luke and seventy-five for John. I have failed to trace the origin of quite a number of these readings. They do not feature in the extensive apparatus of Wordsworth and White’s critical edition of the Vulgate. Some of them could be Old Latin readings, others simply adaptations made by the homilist. (This latter possibility, however, is something not lightly to be presumed.) My chief interest here is the relation of the texts to Irish tradition, principally to that of the mixed Irish or Celtic group DELQR, and related texts.

In this we must distinguish between the different Gospels. One notable feature of the citations from Matthew’s Gospel in the *Catechesis Celtic* is the high proportion of the deviations from the Vulgate which coincide with the DELQR group. In fact, of the one hundred and seventy-three deviant readings in question, eighty-five (almost half of them) are from this DELQR group. None of the deviations in the texts from Mark’s Gospel seems to belong to the DELQR group, while a few (but not too many) of those from the Gospels of Luke and John do.

\(^3\) M. McNamara, *Studies on texts of early Irish Latin Gospels (A.D. 600-1200)* (Instrumenta Patristica XX, Steenbrugge and Dordrecht 1990) 215–43. I edit the entire body of *Catechesis Celtic* Gospel texts which show disagreement with the Vulgate, and where possible I note their affiliations.
It is clear that the form of Gospel text for Matthew, in particular, used principally by the compiler or compilers of the collection, was of the DELQR type. The longer passages could be pages from one of these manuscripts, or of another similar to them. Wilmart rightly took this text as one of the clearest guides for identifying the contents of Vat. Reg. 49 as 'Celtic'. He noted that the biblical text used was not particularly close to L (presumably representing the Welsh text), and took this as a further reason for favouring Cornwall (rather than Wales) as place of origin.

At the present stage of research it is very difficult to speak of a Welsh or a Breton form of Gospel text. To do so it is not sufficient to list the Gospel manuscripts written in these regions. We must also try to trace the use of a given text in the region's literature. 31 Egerton 609 (E) seems to have been written in Brittany, but we do not have evidence that it was a text form actually used there. In fact, we know relatively little, as yet, of the Gospel text of Brittany.

An examination of the *Catechesis Celtica* Gospel texts reveals a preponderant correspondence with the readings of the Irish texts DRQ. Much more analysis, however, is required before we can say whether the Gospel text at the disposal of the writer or writers was nearer to any one particular known Gospel manuscript.

All the texts of the *Catechesis Celtica* which differ from the standard Vulgate or Old Latin versions are not of the DELQR type. The compiler (s) had certainly a very special text for Luke 2:11 which occurs a number of times in the homily on the Gospel for Christmas day and also outside of it. The text of Luke 2:11 reads: *quia natus est uobis Hodie conservator salutis qui est Christus Dominus in civitate David quae dicitur Bethlehem*. The Vulgate and general Old Latin text has: *quia natus est uobis Hodie Salvator qui est Christus Dominus in civitate David*. This text (*conservator salutis*) is found again in the (presumed Hiberno-Latin) Vienna Commentary on Luke (in ms Vind. lat. 997). 32 This is the reading of the Old Latin (Irish) text *Usserianus primus*, found also in Sankt P aul, Carinthia, 33 fragment (ms 23.3.19 with siglum β), the final words *quaec diciur Bethlehem* being found only in the latter.

I have given here the evidence for Irish affiliations in the Gospel text of the *Catechesis Celtica*. This does not prove categorically that these homilies are of Irish origin. Before a final conclusion is reached other aspects of these biblical citations will need to be examined. One is the use of a liturgical *incipit* in pericope as if it were part of the biblical text, treating it as a lemma for comment. Thus for John 2:1 we have: *In illis

31 We have one such study: L. H. Gray, 'Biblical citations in Latin Lives of Welsh and Breton saints differing from the Vulgate', *Traditio* 8 (1952) 389-97.
Irish affiliations of the Catechesis Celtic

diebus die tertio,\textsuperscript{34} with later comment on the opening words added only for liturgical purposes. Fr Bonifatius Fischer informs me that division of Gospel texts with words such as these inserted in the text itself is a feature of Gospel manuscripts written in Brittany.

A further point worthy of note regarding the Gospel text of the Catechesis Celtic is a presumed knowledge of the Greek text and the citation of part of Matt. 28:1 in Greek in the homily on the resurrection headed In nomine Dei summi. Amen. The Greek is actually cited in the course of a grammatical discussion on the gender of (the Latin) uesper, uesper, uesperum, uespera, the corresponding Greek word (to these Latin neutrals) being introduced as feminine.

`Vespera sabbati'. Id est, graeca nomina sunt uespera et uesperae, et interpretantur finis vel defectio. Et feminini (in) generis est in graeco uespera, nam sic est in evangelio greco: Ός Ε [above this: id est uespera] ΤΗ [above this: id est, hac] ΚΑΒΒΑΤΟΥ [above this: id est, sabbati] ΤΗ [above this: id est, qua] ΕΠΙΦΟC [above this: id est, luctavit] ΕΙC [above this: id est, in] ΜΟΥΑΝ [above this: primum] ΚΑΒΒΑΤΟΝ [above this: id est, sabbatorum]. In quo apparent quod opse femininum nomen est, tue vero femininum pronomen est. Quidem aulem voluit uespera, non uespera, hic dicit debere. Quidem dicit quod uespera commune est ute masculinum et femininum (f. 20 v).

The significance of the evidence on a knowledge and use of the Greek text has yet to be evaluated. Its use in the Catechesis Celtic must be examined in conjunction with the presence of essentially the same Latin text, and two of the words of the Greek text, in the eighth-century Hiberno-Latin commentary on Matthew entitled Liber questionum in evangelia. We shall return to this point below.\textsuperscript{35}

3. The text of the Pauline epistles

For an evaluation of the affiliations of the text of the Pauline Epistles we have only the text of the Book of Armagh (with siglum D in Vulgate manuscripts; no. 61 for Beuron Old Latin) and of the Würzburg manuscript Universitätsbibliothek M. p. th., f. 12 (with siglum W).\textsuperscript{36}

There are numerous citations from Paul in the Catechesis Celtic. Their textual affiliations, however, have not been studied in any depth. A number of the citations from Romans agree with the Book of Armagh readings against the Vulgate. Thus:

\begin{itemize}
  \item 2:4 (ignorar, bonitas); 2:5 (+ tu aulem; cor impenitens, for im. cor);
  \item 9:26 (vocabitur; Vg: dictum est); 9:25 (dilectam dilectam; Vg: misericordiam conseculam, twice); 11:20 (sta); 11:33 (inscriptalia, D:
\end{itemize}

\textsuperscript{34}Wilmart, Anecdota Reginia, 72.
\textsuperscript{35}See below, p. 321.
\textsuperscript{36}See M. McNamara, in Ireland and Christendom, 49-51.
There is an extensive citation from Romans in a comment on Matt. 7:12 ('The Golden Rule') which agrees verbatim with D as distinct from the Vulgate and other texts. In the course of the comment Rom. 12:9–10 is cited as follows:\(^{37}\)

\[
\text{Exsecrantes malum adherentes bono caritate fraternitatis invicem benigni honore mutuo praevenientes.}
\]

The Vulgate has:

\[
\text{Odientes malum adhaerentes bono caritate fraternitatis invicem diligentes honore invicem praevenientes.}
\]

Only D has the variant \textit{exsecrantes}, with no Old Latin support. It too, alone in Vulgate texts, has the variant \textit{benigni} for \textit{diligentes} (although some Old Latin texts do have it) and \textit{mutuo} (\textit{motuo}) for \textit{invicem} (with the Ambrosiaster, Augustine and Sedulius Scottus).

Beyond these texts from Romans there does not appear to be any close connection between the many \textit{Catechesis} Pauline citations and the Book of Armagh. More detailed study is required to ascertain the exact textual affiliations of the Pauline text used by the compiler.

4. The text of the Catholic epistles and Apocalypse

For the Irish textual tradition for the Catholic Epistles we have again the Book of Armagh, and a small fragment of text for 2 Peter from Bobbio, now in Turin. The indirect transmission is found in the two early Hiberno-Latin commentaries on these Epistles.\(^{38}\)

Walter Thiele\(^{39}\) has examined the Irish tradition and notes that the biblical text of the section of the \textit{Catechesis} published by Wilmart, together with that of the Hiberno-Latin commentaries, tends to agree with the text of D. There are relatively few citations from these seven Epistles in the entire compilation. I have counted eight from James; thirteen from 1 Peter, two from 2 Peter, six from 1 John, and find it hard to situate them within the Latin Bible.

There are about thirty-two citations from the Apocalypse in the \textit{Catechesis}. These, once again, I have been unable to situate within the Latin tradition. They do not appear to agree either with the Vulgate text or that of the Book of Armagh.

5. Conclusion on Biblical text of the Catechesis Cellica

In the matter of citations from the Psalms and the Gospels the \textit{Catechesis Cellica} has evident affiliations with Irish tradition. The same

\(^{37}\) Wilmart, \textit{Analecta Reginensia}, 83.

\(^{38}\) See McNamara, in Ireland and Christendom, 51–2.

\(^{39}\) W. Thiele, \textit{Epistolae Catholicae Vetus Latinae: die Reste der altlateinischen Bibel} 25/1 (Freiburg 1956–60) 22.
is true with regard to some citations from Romans. Any view on the origins of the compilation must take this evidence into account.

On the other hand, no solution regarding origins will convince until it explains all the phenomena of the work's biblical text, the deviations from Irish traditions and its affiliations with other recognisable ones (if such is the case), as well as the Irish connections.

An indication of the importance of the biblical citations in the matter of determining origins can be seen in one of the texts from the Catechesis published by Wilmart. This is text IX, a commentary on Matt. 7:11. It opens with a reference to an earlier writing of the author (sicut prius scripsi), which leads Wilmart to suspect the entire piece is from some (unidentified) source. He tentatively mentions Gildas the Wise and De excidio et conquestu Britannie. No definite sources have thus far been identified. Any theory of origins, however, will have to reckon with Irish-type elements in the biblical text, e.g. the addition of bona in Matt. 7:12, Ps. 32:7 (ultem), and the extensive Book of Armagh-type text of Rom. 12:9.

V. CATECHESIS CELTICA AND IRISH EXEGETICAL TRADITION

1. Comment on Psalm 1

One of the unexpected items in the Catechesis Cellica is its exposition of Psalm 1 in its entirety (f. 9 r-v). This is quite out of keeping with the other items in the collection. The greater part of the commentary on Psalm 1 is paralleled in other Irish sources. This is all the more significant in that early Irish Psalm exegesis had clearly defined characteristics of its own, which sets it off from the general Psalm exegesis of the Western Church, indeed from Psalm exegesis as generally known to us. This Irish exegesis of Psalm 1 is found in a number of sources: The Old-Irish treatise on the psalter (from c AD 800), the Irish Reference Bible (in Hiberno-Latin; from c.750–800), the Eclogae tractatorum in Psalterio, in Hiberno-Latin (from c. AD 750), in the Double Psalter of Rouen (Psalter of St Ouen or St Evreult), written in Ireland in the tenth century, with expositions on both the text of the Gallicanum and of the Hebraicum, the former being ‘historical’, literal, as distinct from the spiritual, found in glosses on the Hebraicum. A peculiarity of this Irish exegesis was the finding of a twofold historical (literal) reference for the Psalms, the first referring it to David and his times, the second (at
least in theory) to later Jewish history (Hezekiah, Assyrian, Babylonian or Maccabean times). It matters little that items of this Irish exegesis can be traced to earlier sources. If found in combination with other Irish elements the supposition is that the entire body of exposition is Irish.

i. The Psalm’s title

Catechesis Celtica


Old Irish Treatise

Question. Why has this psalm no title? Not difficult. Ideo primus psalmus non habet titulum, quia titulus omnium psalmorum est. Primus psalmus, says Bede, titulum non habet quia caput nostro Domino Salvatori de quo absolute loquitur non debuit proponi.

ii. Division of the Psalm

Catechesis Celtica

Tria in hoc psalmo continentur: definition, incipitatio, laudatio. Primo currit definition hominis iusti a loco ubi dicit: Beatus vir per II versus usque David dicit: Erit tamquam lignum (i.e. vv. 1–2 incl.). Currê enim laudatio hominis iusti per V versus usque David dicit: Non sic impii (i.e. v. 3). Postquam sequitur item versus II de hac laudatione, ubi dicit: non sic usque dum dicit peribit (vv. 4–6).

Old Irish Treatise

Some of the numbers of the commentators say that the three things which are found in the psalms are found in this psalm alone, to wit, vox definitionis, ‘the speech of definition’, vox consolationis, ‘the speech of consolation’, vox incipitatiois, ‘the speech of rebuke’. Primus psalmus titulus est omnium psalmorum, quod in eo continentur tres voces omnium psalmorum, i.e. vox definitionis, vox consolationis, vox incipitatiois. This is vox definitionis in it, from Beatus vir usque die ac nocte. This is vox consolationis in it, from die ac nocte usque prosperabuntur. This is vox incipitatiois in it, from prosperabuntur usque in finem. Twelve verses in it.

The verses in question are to be understood in the older sense, not in the sixteenth-century and current meaning, in which the psalm has six verses.

The same tradition of the division of this psalm is found in the right-hand margins of the Gallicanum of the Double Psalter of Rouen. There

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45 Based on Meyer, Ecsericae minora, 32–3.
46 Based on ibid., 32–5.
in the right-hand margin to *Beatus vir* we have *diffinitio*; opposite *die ac nocte* we have *consalatio*; opposite *proserabuntur* we have *incrupatatio*.

iii. First and second literal Exegesis.

The text of the *Catechesis Celtica* proceeds to give what, in effect, is the first literal interpretation of verse 1, according to the Irish fourfold sense pattern. The text runs:


The entire passage is anything but clear with regard to its exact meaning. It speaks of a *secunda intentio*, of an *intentione secundae historiae* without any prior reference to a *prima intentio*. The lack of clarity may be due to later use of an exegetical tradition, only imperfectly understood. The text and historical references become clearer when situated within the early Irish framework of interpretation and of this Psalm 1 in particular.

We have, first, the theory of the fourfold sense of the Psalms (in particular Ps. 1) as given in the *Old-Irish treatise on the psallter*:47

There are four things that are necessary in the psalms, to wit, the first story, and the second story, the sense and the morality. The first story refers to David and to Solomon and to the above-mentioned persons, to Saul, to Absalom, to the persecutors besides. The second story to Hezekiah, to the people, to the Maccabees. The meaning (*siens* = spiritual or mystical sense) (refers) to Christ, to the earthly and heavenly church. The morality (*morolus*) (refers) to every saint.

A little further on, this theory is applied to the interpretation of the Psalms, in particular Ps. 1, as follows:48

The first story (*céin stoir*) of the Psalms refers to the time of David; the second (*in tánhaise*) to Chusai Arachitis (*iēsu irechitis*;
variant reading: hissus ireichidis). It was he who did not abandon him at the time of persecution, though every one (else) abandoned him.

The same exposition is found in the section on the Psalter in the ‘Reference Bible’, a work closely related to the Old-Irish treatise. In words attributed to a certain Hilar(ius), most probably an early Irish expositor on the Psalms, the twofold historical sense is thus applied to Ps. 1:1:\textsuperscript{49}

\begin{quote}
Hilar. \textit{Beatus vir qui non abiit. Prima historia ad David pertinet, qui non abiit in consilio sociorum, qui voluerunt occidere Saul in spelunca, quando David dixit: Non contingat mihi ut militem manum meam in Christum Domini (cf. 1 Sam. 26:11, 23). Beatus reliquâ. Secunda historia ad Chusai Arachitam pertinet, qui non exiit in consilium Abisolon et Achilophel, qui voluerunt exire post David quando fugit et occidere eum, usque Chusai dissipavit consilium eorum (cf. 2 Sam. 15:34; 17:14).}
\end{quote}

The text of the \textit{Catechesis Celtica} obviously belongs to this Irish tradition of exegesis. For some reason as yet unknown, however, it uses the term \textit{intentio} (in the meaning of ‘sense’) instead of ‘story’ (\textit{stoir}) and \textit{historia} (i.e. ‘historical meaning’) of the Old Irish treatise and the ‘Reference Bible’.

iv. Psalm 1 interpreted of Joseph (of Arimathea).

The \textit{Catechesis} text goes on to interpret Ps. 1 (in the historical sense presumably) of Joseph of Arimathea who buried the body of Jesus. This interpretation, too, is found in almost all Irish texts.\textsuperscript{50}

v. Psalm 1 interpreted spiritually of Christ.

The \textit{Catechesis} text continues:

\begin{quote}
\textit{Alter. De Christo semet ipso psalmus iste cantatus est secundum veritatem.}
\end{quote}

By \textit{veritas} in this text ‘the mystical sense’ or ‘spiritually’ is most probably to be understood. It corresponds to the \textit{sians} of the Old-Irish treatise, and \textit{sensus} of Hiberno-Latin texts.\textsuperscript{51}

vi. Psalm 1 interpreted morally of every saint

The Old-Irish treatise in its fourfold sense says that the morality (\textit{morolus}) of the psalms (Ps. 1 is principally if not solely intended) refers to every saint. The \textit{Catechesis} text goes on without special introduction to say:

\textsuperscript{49}See text in M. McNamara, in Ireland and Europe, 365.
\textsuperscript{50}e.g. the Columba Series of Psalm Headings; the Tituli Psalmorum of Pseudo-Bede (Pl 93, 483B), the Irish Reference Bible.
\textsuperscript{51}On this see M. McNamara, in Ireland and Europe, 364.
Beatus vir id est unusquisque sanitas.

As part of this moral exposition it comments on verse 3 as follows:\footnote{\textit{ed. L. de Coninck, \textit{Incerta auctoris expositione}, pars altera 4 lines 30–34.}}

\begin{quote}
\textit{Et erit tamquam lignum quod est in paradiso Adae. Quomodo est istud lignum non Hieronymus dicit. Lignum, quod inter aquas bene crescit, (est) in quo IIII sunt: formositas, fructuositas, uiriditas et semper frondosum. Item de ligno Hieronymus dicit. Lingua ebricana lignum illud mochal [sic] dicitur. Nihil ueterescit in eo, sed cotidie innovatur fructus eius; siue non defult folium ab eo et non defict fructus eius.}
\end{quote}

A text corresponding to the greater part of the above is found in a gloss to this verse in the Hebraicum section of the Rouen Psalter (written in Ireland in the tenth century). Theodore of Mopsuestia and Jerome interpreted this entire psalm as containing moral teaching rather than history or prophecy, and the glosses in the Rouen Psalter are in this same line of exegesis. The gloss on verse 3 reads:

\begin{quote}
\textit{Et erit tamquam lignum transplatatum. Hoc lignum nochul [sic] vocatur quod inter aquas bene crescit; huic ligno III sunt: uiriditas fructuositas et semper frondosum est; sic huic uiro convenit uiritas uirtutum, fructuositas in filiis, et senium in hereditate florida.}
\end{quote}

There are a few other brief interpretations of the Psalms in the Cathecisis corresponding with Irish Psalm interpretation, but none in so sustained a fashion as we find for Ps. 1.

2. \textit{Interpretation of Genesis chapter 1}\footnote{\textit{For Gen. 1 in Irish tradition see M. McNamara, \textit{Celtic Christianity, Creation and Apocalypse, Christ and Antichrist}, Milltown Studies XXIII (1985) 5–35, esp. 5–16.}}

In Codex Reginensis 49, ff. 18 v – 20 r we have an item headed ‘Hoc ad solemnitatem paschae conuenit’\footnote{\textit{Wilmart, \textit{Analecta Reginensia}, 39–44.}}. It comes after a homily and an exposition on the narrative on the institution of the Eucharist (Matt. 26:20–30). The item is actually a homiletic exposition on the creation narrative of Gen. 1:1–26 read at the Easter Vigil. It is thus introduced in the Cathecisis:

\begin{quote}
\textit{Hae c autem lectio quam sancta ecclesia ad sanctificationem huius noctis constituit, convenientiam in se et magnum profectum continent nobis. Conueniens autem erat ut principium in principio, et nativitas in nativitate ac bapbismum in bapbismum legentur. Sicut namque in hac lectione principium mundi monstratur, ita in hac sollemnitate resurrectionis Christi initium novi testamenti ecclesia ostendit.}
\end{quote}
The text is actually an exposition of this creation narrative according to a threefold sense, historical, spiritual and moral, although it is not formally laid out as such. It has an ending of the kind frequently found in Irish homiletic and semi-homiletic compositions:

... *Et postea in montem sublimem regni caelestis subleuabuntur, ubi erit uta sine fine, letitia sine tristitia, suavitas sine senectute, sanitas sine dolore, lux sine tenebris; ubi non videbitur inimicus et non audietur nisi spiritualis carmen laudis Domini nostri Iesu Christi; ubi non odorabitur nisi suaviissimus (odor); ubi non gustabitur nisi dulcedo; ubi dabuntur praemia sempiterna sanctis eternis cum eterno Deo in secula seculorum. Amen.*

The exposition itself seems very closely related to the exegesis of this section which we find in such works as the Reference Bible, the *Commemoratio Geneseos*, the commentary on Gen. 1–3 in MS Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek 908 and in some other sources besides. The homiletic exposition of the *Catechesis* seems to follow the commentary material very closely indeed: the *lux* of Gen. 1:2 is *lux pallida* or the angels; the firmament of Gen. 1:3 is *caelum aereum vel glaciale et iacinthimum vel celum igneum*. In both, the exposition is according to the threefold sense. The moral interpretation of duo *luminaria* in both is *fides et opus*. These are but a few, almost random, examples of sustained correspondence between the catechetical homily and the commentary material.

Only detailed analysis will reveal how close the connection really is and whether other influences are present in the *Catechesis* beyond that of the commentaries on the Hexameron. That this exegetical synthesis on the six days of creation was very much at home in early and later medieval Ireland is proved by a comparison of the strictly exegetical Latin material with works in Irish, and with Latin works of demonstrably Irish origin.

3. *Exegetical glosses on the Canticle of Solomon* 55

In the *Catechesis Celtica* there is neither exegetical or homiletic commentary on the Canticle of Canticles. There are, however, in the collection, a number of citations from this book, principally in a homiletic treatment of Luke 11:27–8 ('Blessed is the womb that bore you...'). I have counted thirty texts of Canticles in the various homilies and half of

55 On this text, see now C. Wright, 'Apocryphal lore and insular tradition in St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek MS 908', in *Ireland and Christendom*, 124–45.

these (fifteen) carry exegetical material from the commentary of Apponius on this work, more precisely from the abbreviation of Apponius’s commentary on Canticles. This abbreviated commentary on Canticles was used in Ireland; in fact it was the only commentary on Apponius known to have been used there. It is the sole source for the commentary on this biblical work in the Reference Bible and in the Hiberno-Latin Marburg (Marburg, Staatsarchiv Hr. 2, II) fragmentary commentary on Canticles as well. We know from their Rule that this book of the Canon was held in high regard by the Céli Dé.

In this instance, as elsewhere, the Catechesis Cellica is using exegetical material current in the early Irish Church.

VI. THE CATECHESIS CELTICA AND IRISH HOMILETIC TRADITION

In this section I shall consider homiletic material in the Catechesis Cellica which I consider related to corresponding vernacular Irish and Latin material in the Leabhar Breac. Where possible this material will also be compared with Hiberno-Latin exegetical material. In this section I concentrate on material having to do with the liturgical celebrations of Holy Week and Easter.

In the Codex Regensis 49 this is found together in ff. 13 r b – 23 v b, 32 r (ff. 24–31 are displaced in the binding). The collection opens with a text entitled *Omelia in dominica die palmatorum* (f. 13 r), in which priests are presented as being directed to preach Christ’s great deeds and miracles to some undefined audience which is exhorted to listen and put the message into practice:

*Et idcirco, frater carissimi, sicut nescisse est sacerdotibus virtutes et mirabilia quae fecit Iesus narrare nobis, ita et vos debitis humilitatem audire et in corde firmam tenere, in actus et in opere voluntarie perficer.*

This text is on the curing of the blind men at Jericho (Matt. 20:29–34). It has what appears to be a formulaic ending (... caelestia dona quae semper manent in caelo, f. 14 r). This is followed by the continuation of the biblical passage (Matt. 21:1–17), its place in the Eusebian Canons being indicated in the left margin. This text begins with a small capital. The biblical text is rich in DELQR readings. The comment begins in Irish fashion through *heret.* (*Cum appropinquassent heret egredientibus illis ab Iericho.*) This text gives what appears to be the ‘historical’ interpretation of the pericope, even though no explicit mention is made of this. Another exposition of the same pericope follows immediately on this (15 r) and without heading. This section ends with a *peroratio* (*Illud autem scire et intelligere debitis, frater carissimi...*), ending in formulaic fashion: *Semperque laetemur et cognemus cum illo in perpetua vita per infinita secula seculorum.* Amen (f. 16 r). Immediately, in the same line, as heading, there follows: *Mors (liter),* formally introducing the next section, beginning a new line and with small capital, as
the moral exposition of the same pericope. This, too, has a formulaic ending (16 v . . . ipsi gloria et imperium in secula seculorum. Amen).

Immediately on this there follows (16 v) another piece entitled Omelia in cena Domini (addressed to fratres karissimi). This is on the Gospel for the washing of the feet (John 13:1-14), in which only the lemmata commented on are cited. It has a formulaic ending ( . . . qui cum Patre et Spiritu sancto uixit et regnat in secula seculorum. Amen). There follows another section (f. 17 r), headed in the right-hand margin as De cena Domini, id est de capitulo VI (written de capitulo uivo). It contains the pericope Matt. 26:20-50, on the institution of the Eucharist. This has a formulaic ending (f. 18 v).

This is followed immediately by a brief section from a Penitential. Then comes another section headed Hoc ad sollemnitatem paschae convexit (18 v), which opens by noting that Holy Church has arranged this reading for the sanctification of this holy night. The reading is Gen. 1, here provided with a commentary, of which we have already treated. It has a formulaic ending (20 v . . . cum eterno Deo in secula seculorum. Amen). A rather brief section, with some unrelated items follows. Then come a number of sections on the Gospel resurrection narratives. The first (20 v) is headed: In nomine Dei summi, opening: Vespere alem sabbati uaque in hodiernum diem, i.e. the resurrection narrative of Matt. 28:1-15. It is a long section without any apparent structure, one which we shall consider in greater detail below (VI, 3). Following on it (22 v, last line) we have a new piece beginning with a small capital: Vespere sabbati. Although not formally introduced as such, the nature of this new exposition indicates that it is the spiritual interpretation of the same pericope. The next small capital, and apparently the next division, is in f. 23 v: Duo sepelierunt Christum, id est Ioseph et Necedimus . . . The true beginning of this section, however, is to be found a few lines earlier: Moraltiter: sepulchrum Domini sanctam aeclesiam significat. We thus have a threefold exposition of the resurrection narrative of Matthew, in accord with the historical, spiritual and moral senses of Scripture. In 23 v another section follows (23 v, 32 r), on the praises of Easter Sunday, ending: Ipse est dies specialiter in quo erit pasca magna in fine mundi, quando Dominus sedebit in sede maiestatis sue, iudicaturus humanum genus reddens unicuique iuza opera sua.

In the Leabhar Breac the Passion and Resurrection material is all together, but separated from the homilies on Palm Sunday (Domnach na hImrime, p. 40 a 26), Spy Wednesday (Judas's betrayal, p. 44 a), the homily In cena Domini (p. 48 b 18). The section on the Passion of the Lord is in pages 160-72. The treatment is principally on the Passion (Good Friday), to which is subjoined, with separate heading, a homily on the resurrection of Christ (Easter Sunday) and another untitled homily on the incredulity of Thomas (Low Sunday). The entire body is preceded (pp. 157 b 31 – 159 b 51) by a piece on the corresponding holy places in Jerusalem, from Bede's summary of Adomnan's De locis sanctis (taken
down from the description of Arculf'). It is headed: ‘Here commences an account of the holy places which are in the Eastern world around Jerusalem, and around the holy places also, as related by Bede, the illustrious chief historian’. Next comes a section entitled _Pasio Domini nostri Iesu Christi incipit_ (pp. 160 a – 163 b). This is an Irish version of the Gospel of Nicodemus. Next (pp. 163 b 21 – 169 b 42) comes another item headed: ‘The second version of the passion of the Lord here according to Matthew’. This is a paraphrase of Matt. 26:36–27:10, with some apocryphal and foreign elements, from Gethsemane to the death of Judas, called ‘the incidents of the even and the morning of the next day’ (Good Friday). At p. 166 a 4 there is a break and a new part begins with the heading: ‘The third account here’ _In tres gné náso_. This is really a continuation of the preceding paraphrase of Matthew (with some apocryphal additions). This continues the narrative of Matthew until the death of Christ and has a formal ending, with a prayer to God to protect Matthew (p. 167 a 52).

There immediately follows, with special capital but without heading, another section in Irish, being an abbreviated paraphrase of the Gospel narratives (but mainly of Matthew 28) of the resurrection and post-resurrection appearances of Christ. There then follows a fourfold exposition of this according to the plain (historical), spiritual, moral and anagogical senses, these presented explicitly as such _etar gna slaraide, etar gna fholus; etar gna siansaide, .i. runda 7 infoilsigi, mad iar sians; etar gna bésta; iar n-anagoíg_).\(^{57}\)

After the anagogical exposition there follows an exhortation to celebrate the Easter festival, followed by a text on the day of judgement (p. 169 b 41).

A section of a bilingual homily for Good Friday follows (pp. 169 b 43 – 170 a 20), left incompletely, two and a quarter inches of blank space being left for its completion. After this there follows an Irish translation of the apocryphal _Descensus ad Inferos_, being the second part of the _Gospel of Nicodemus_.

Here it is worth noting that exposition according to the multiple sense of Scripture is a feature in common between the homiletic material in the _Leabhar Breac_ and Codex Reginensis Latinus 49. There is this difference, however, that while the _Leabhar Breac_ homilies are clearly structured according to the multiple sense exposition, with an indication of where one type of interpretation ends and the other begins, only occasionally is mention made in the _Catechesis Celtica_ of a multiple exposition. This is all the more noteworthy in that the exegetical exposition of the _Liber questionum in euangeliis_, on which the _Catechesis Celtica_ texts very often depend, is predominantly in accord with the historical, spiritual and moral senses of Scripture.

\(^{57}\)R. Atkinson (ed.), _The passions and the homilies from Leabhar Breac_ (Todd Lecture Series II, Dublin 1887) 137–41.
The homily on the Lord’s supper

Jean Rittmuller has made a detailed study of the sources of the homily *In cena Domini* of the *Leabhar Breac* and has shown conclusively that it stands in an Irish tradition that can be traced from Manchianus in the seventh century, down through the Hiberno-Latin commentary on Matthew entitled *Liber questionum in evangelis* of the eighth century to the glosses of the Mael Brigt Gospels of 1138. The *Catechesis Celtica* homily and the commentary of the Reference Bible on the institution narrative of Matthew belong to this same tradition, as do some other texts.

Homiletic material for Palm Sunday

The *Catechesis Celtica* introductory material on the cure of the blind men of Jericho (Matt. 20:29–34) need not detain us here, since there is no text corresponding to it in the *Leabhar Breac*. It is, however, worth noting that the Gospel reading (Matt. 27:1–17) on which the *Leabhar Breac* homily for ‘Riding Sunday’ (i.e. Palm Sunday) is based is the continuation of the text on the blind men of Jericho.

The *Catechesis Celtica* homiletic material that follows (on Matt. 21:1–17) is related to Irish tradition and to the bilingual homily of the *Leabhar Breac* in a number of ways. To begin with, together with the indication of the Eusebian Canons it has as heading *In nomine Dei summi*. These dedicatory words, as McNally notes, while not in themselves a conclusive proof of Hiberno-Latin presence, are symptomatic of its influence. Then again, the homily has the DELQR biblical text. Its exposition, too, in accord with a multiple sense of Scripture, is like that of the *Leabhar Breac* homily – in both cases the historical, spiritual, moral senses are treated. The relationship is closer than this, since right through all three sections, but through the first two in particular, there is a correspondence in the actual exposition of the text. Likewise, both have a relationship to other Irish exegetical texts (e.g. the glosses of the Mael Brigt Gospels), even when not related to one another. A detailed study of the kind performed by Rittmuller would be required to do justice to the relationship. Here I can only cite a few examples:

*Statim inuenietis asinam*

CeltCell: *id est prescientia Spiritus sancti quod inuenitur asina, quod II equi, quod alligata esset, quod dimmetetur.*


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68 Rittmuller, Ph.D dissertation [1984]: see note 24, above
70 See below, note 69.
In the spiritual exposition:

*Belfage:*
CatCelt: *id est domus maxillae interpretatur, quod significal ecclesiam in qua ruminant sacerdotes mysteria legis.*
LB: *quod interpretatur domus maxillarum, signat ecclesiam in qua ruminantur sacra mysteria scripturarum.*

*Duo discipuli:*
CatCelt: *... siue chorum apostolorum cum duobus legibus;*
LB: *signant duas leges, i.e. Uetus et Novum (Testamentum).*

In the moral exposition:

*Intravit Iesum in templum:*
CatCelt: *id est ipsum hominem qui templum Dei est;*
LB: *exprimit homini (!) cum sit templum Dei.*

The relationship between the *CatCelt* and the *LB* could best be illustrated by printing both in parallel columns. It runs right through, especially in the spiritual exposition.

When we turn from a comparison of the *Catechesis Celtica* with the *Leabhar Breac* text to a comparison with the Hiberno-Latin commentary *Liber questionum in evangelis* we find a continuous correspondence between the two. So close, in fact, is this in the historical and spiritual exposition that one may legitimately ask if the compiler of the *Catechesis Celtica* had the *Liber questionum in evangelis* as a direct source. That he had seems clear from the very opening of the exposition, which in both texts is as follows: *Cum appropinquassent (Matt. 21:1) heret egressientibus illis ab Jericho* (Matt. 20:29), i.e. the Irish technique of linking contextual texts through the word *heret.*

The introductory *Catechesis* material on the cure of the blind men at Jericho also follows the *Liber questionum in evangelis* exegesis. Thus, in this homiletic material on Palm Sunday we have a tradition stretching from the seventh century to the twelfth, from the *Liber questionum in evangelis* to the Máel Brígte Gospel glosses through the *Catechesis Celtica* and the *Leabhar Breac* homilies.

3. *Catechesis Celtica* homiletic material on Christ’s resurrection

The first item in this section is the homiletic treatment of Genesis 1, the reading for the first part of the Easter Vigil. This, as we have seen, is closely related to Irish exegetical tradition. After this comes the homiletic treatment of the Gospel for the Easter Mass, i.e. Matt. 28:1-15: *'Vespere aulem sabbati' usque 'in hodiernum diem' as the opening words put it. For grammatical purposes 28:1a is also given in Greek capitals, as follows: ΟΠΕ ΘΗ ΚΑΒΒΑΤΟΥ [Greek text has: σαββάτων] ΘΗ ΕΠΙΦΟC [sic! Greek has: επιφοκονιη] EIC MOYAN [= μια] ΚΑΒΒΑΤΟΝ. Next there is a homily of rather unusual kind, headed*
In nomine Dei summi. Amen. It has no obvious unifying principle of exposition, taking a variety of approaches to the text and apparently introducing items foreign to the central theme. In this it differs from the first exposition of the text in these homilies. It is obviously intended by the compiler as the historical interpretation of the biblical pericope but has little in common with the Leabhar Breac's historical exposition of the same passage. We shall consider this first exposition in greater detail below because of its very special Irish affiliations, albeit from other points of view.

Matters are different with regard to the connection between the Cathecisis Celtica and the Leabhar Breac in the spiritual exposition of the Gospel passage. To illustrate by some examples:

CatCelt: Vespere sabbati. id est in fine ueteris testamenti;
LB: 'The evening of the sabbath'. . . . denotes the completion and termination that overtook the Law on the coming of the Gospel.

CatCelt: Duo Mariae. Hae aeclesie;
LB: 'The two Marys who were seeking Christ at the grave' denote the two Churches that are seeking the Lord to-day in the New Testament – the Church of the faithful Jews, and the Church of the chosen Gentiles.

CatCelt: Angelus. id est Christus, Dei Filius et hominis, ueniens in carmen, consultans sanctas animas cum lenitate dicens: Venite ad me omnes;
LB: 'For an angel came from heaven': this denotes the Saviour Jesus, whose name in the Scripture is 'the Angel of great counsel', coming from heaven to earth at the pleasure of the heavenly Father, to help and deliver men . . .

CatCelt: Accedens revoluit. id est in carmen ueniens in carmen duplicate duritiam ammovit;
LB: '. . . he pushed the stone from the grave', means, mystically, when Christ came into the body, He put away the hardness and severity of the teaching of the Law, through the clemency and gentleness of the teaching of the Gospel.

CatCelt: Videte locum. id est, credite humanitatem sed incircumscrip- tim assumite divinitatem;
LB: 'Come and see the place', i.e. the humanity, as being the place and dwelling of the Son in his divinity.

In the Leabhar Breac text the moral exposition is followed by a passage on the praises of Easter Day, with an exhortation to honour it.

'Beloved brethren,' says the sage, 'let us today celebrate the festivity of the Easter; this festival fully deserves its honour and celebration at the hands of all the faithful'. This feast is directed to be honoured in three ways. . . . And though all feasts fully deserve their
celebration and honour in these three ways, still more does this festival; for in it is the assembling together of the folk of heaven and earth; it is the festival alike of the Old and New Testament; it is the peculiar feast of the heavenly Father; the feast of the Lord's resurrection; the feast which surpasses all others; the honoured and venerable festival of the people of heaven and earth, is this festival of Easter. For many are its wonders and marvels: in it the angel passed over the houses of the children of Israel; in it Christ arose from the dead, after binding the devil in hell; in it the souls of the righteous of the five ages of the world came out of hell into paradise; in it will be the famous day, the Day of Judgement.

(The text goes on to describe this great Day of Judgement at some length.)

In the Catechesis Celtic the moral exposition is also followed by one, or perhaps two, pieces with an exhortation to celebrate Easter, singing its praises, and dwelling on the marvels done and yet to be done on that day.

Facta sunt in hac die multa beneficia, quia in hac die resurrexit Christus, Filius Dei vivi post resurrectionem inferni, et solutionem humani generis de ore diaboli et de pecato Adae. Et in hac die debeamus laetari, quia dies mirabilis est, dies venerabilis, dies solemnis, dies lucis et iustitiae, dies principalis, dies salutis humani generis, dies laudabilis, dies magnae gloriae, dies resurrectionis Domini nostri Iesu Christi. Resurrectio Christi in caelo et in terra veneranda est, quia per illam nostra resurrectio facta est (f. 32 r).

This is immediately followed by a further praeconium paschale:

Solemnitas ista venerabilis est per totas aeclesias mundi, id est solemnitas resurrectionis Christi Filii Dei vivi altissimi a mortuis, quia omnes sollemnitates, quae sunt in anno, annuumetlur Christo, sunt quasi fructus mirandi et pulchri inter flores . . . Ista tamen solemnitas paschae praec omnibus specialiter pertinet Christo, nam etiam veneranda fuerit dies uaticinationis Christi quam profetae uaticinaverunt . . . venerabilior et altior est haec solemnitas resurrectionis Christi quae veneratur in caelo et in terra . . . Hic est dies in quo est maxima laetitia et exultatio familiae caeli. Hic est dies in quo fecit Deus Pater caritatem et pacem inter homines terre et familiae caeli. Ipsa est dies specialiter in quo erit pasca magnum in fine mundi, quando Dominus sedebit in sede maiestatis sue, iudicaturus hamanum genus reddens unicuique iudica opera sua.

61 Leabhar Breac, f. 169 a; Atkinson, Passions and homilies, 300 (Irish text, 141-2).
There are no glosses on this section of the Gospel of Máel Bríte. When we turn to the Liber questionum in evangeliis, once again we find the same tradition as in the Catechesis Celtica. This is continuous in the spiritual exposition, but is also present in the literal interpretation, as we shall see in the next section. It is a fair assumption that here again the compiler of the Catechesis was using the LQE or a commentary almost identical with it.


We now return to the Easter homily, or homilies, in ff. 20 v – 23 v. I have earlier (VI above, introduction) described the Catechesis Celtica sections on the resurrection narratives as lacking any apparent structure. It seems clear, however, that the first section in the folios indicated above contains a triple exposition (historical, ff. 20 v – 22 v; spiritual, 22 v infra – 23 v; and moral, 23 v) on the resurrection narrative of Matt. 20:1–15, although this original plan has not been respected in the present lay-out of the manuscript.

The first of these homilies, which must have been intended as the historical exposition, is headed 'In nomine Dei summi. Amen' (ff. 20 v – 22 v) and is of special interest to us for a variety of reasons. For one thing, we find in it the only sure Breton or Cornish gloss guor cher (f. 21 r). On the other hand it contains very strong indications of Irish affiliations, even of Irish origin, not least being the source indication Man. and the heading.

In this homily, by way of exception almost as far as Codex Reginensis 49 is concerned, we have the presumed sources indicated in the margins, and occasionally in the text. The marginal notations are (in order of occurrence): hir (unimus), Ag (ustinus), Man (chianus?), Sedo (lius; Carmen paschale), Amb (rosius) (twice), hir (unimus) (twice), Man, Ag (twice), hir (twice). In the text itself Arcul. (= Arculfus) is indicated as a source: 'De forma tegorii et aeclesiae rotondae Arcul. refert' (= Adomnan, De locis sanctis I, 2, 1–14). In this part there is also clear dependence on the Liber questionum in evangeliis, a dependence that is more pronounced in the spiritual and moral expositions that follow on it.

The historical exposition begins by a treatment of the opening word vespere (Matt. 28:1), which presents an obvious problem if taken to mean 'evening', since Christ's resurrection was in the early morning. The exposition opens with a long text on this and related forms, taken from the grammarian Virgilius Maro, a text already cited by the seventh-century anonymous Irish writer from the circles of Cummian, in his work Pauca de ratione computandi secundum solem et lunam.62 It reads:

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Est etiam uesper, uesper e, uesperum, uespera. Hic casus nominativus quadruplex est cuius differentia hoc erit, quod uesper quidem dicitur quoties sol nubibus aut luna ferrugineus quacumque diei noctis hora coniigitur. Et hoc merum est ut (sic!; Virgilius Maro: hoc neutrum ut) uesper, -is, -ri, -em, -er, -re declinetur. Nomina uesper vocatur ab hora nona, sole discessum inchoante. Sed hoc nomen non declinatur: Vesperum cum, sole occidente, dies deficit, et sic declinatur: uesperum, -i, -o, -um, -um, -u. Uespera est cum lucis oriente aurora nox finitur, et sic declinatur: uespera, -ae, -ae, -am, -ae, -a. Cavendum est ne aut uesper aut uesperum aut uespera plurality numerum habeant (Virgilius Maro: habere putetur).

This text is immediately followed by another in which the Greek text of Matt. 28:1a is cited for the purpose of showing that opse, the presumed Greek for uesper e, is feminine.

In this first and historical exposition the homilist is concerned with the harmonization (concordantiae) of the resurrection narratives of the Gospels. The Man. texts tend to occur in contexts of Gospel harmony (concordantiae).

The first of the Man. references comes soon after the initial grammatical considerations, and considers the different Marys mentioned in Matt. 28 (f. 20 v b 21–2). The text has the marginal references Ag and Man immediately under one another (line-ending noted by //):

`Venit Maria Magdalena, id est de Magdalo in Galilae de qua, ut Marcus dicit, ict Dominus VII demonia. `El altera Maria, id est virgo mater Domini. Cessantibus enim car/nis operibus in Domino, mater non dicitur haece.

The next occurrence (f. 21 r b 6–14) has an explicit reference to harmonization and is on the interval between the arrival of the different women at the tomb:

Aliqua distantia de adventu istarum mulierum uidetur inter evangelistas. Mattheus dicit: uesper e; Marcus, uero, Ortu sole. Lucas, ulde deluculo. Johannes, cum adhuc tenebrae essent. Man (chianus?) de hac concordatione dicit sapiens: Consummatio noctis uespera est, sicul consummatio diei uespera est. Quando nox consummaatur, diluculum est et adhuc tenebre et prima lucis et statim ortitur sol, ut III evangelistae in una narratio congruant. (The manuscript has, without marginal reference: . . . Man. De hac concordatione dicit sapiens, consummatio. . . .)

in Cumian’s letter De controversia paschali, together with a related Irish computistical tract De ratione computandi (ed. M. Walsh and D. O’Cróinín, Studies and Texts 86, Toronto 1988) 133. I am grateful to Professor Louis Holtz for having pointed out the source of this quotation to me in 1990. I note he had done so to D. O’Cróinín in 1983.
The text here ascribed to Man(chianus) sapi(ens), *Consummatio noctis uespera est, sicul consummatio diei uespera est*, would appear to depend on Virgilius Maro’s understanding of *uespera* cited above: *Vespera est cum lucis oriente nox finitur*.

A little further on (f. 21 v a) we have a further text, ascribed in the margin to Man, towards the end of which there is a further passage ascribed in the text itself to the same source:


Given the evidence of Irish affiliations, it is natural to expand the abbreviation Man. as *Manchianus* and to identify the scholar in question with the seventh-century Irish scholar known now from a variety of sources. He is mentioned in the prologue of the Irish pseudo-Augustine’s *De mirabilibus sacrae scripturae* (composed 655; PL 35, 2175-6): *post patrem Manchianum, as teacher of pseudo-Augustine*. He is presumably the same person as the *Manichaeus* of the printed editions of *De mirabilibus II, 4*, who is mentioned as among the *Hiberniensium... ceteros sapientes* who are said to have died on a year identifiable as 652. *Manchianus* is cited in the Hiberno-Latin commentary on the Catholic Epistles (seventh century) as *Manchianus doctor nostir* by reason of a comment of his on use of a text of Gen. (credidit Abraham Deo) by both the Apostles Paul and James (James 2:23). Manchianus’s commentary on the narrative of the institution of the Eucharist of Matthew has been excerpted from the glosses of the *Mael Brigit Gospels* as *Man., Manchianus*. P. Grosjean and others believe that he is very probably to be identified with Manchán of Liath Manch/ain (Lemanaghan) (ob. 655), while J. F. Kenney and others identify him with Manchianus of Men Droichit (ob. 652).

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63 McNally, *Scriptores Hiberniae minores* (CCL 108B) 13: ‘Manchianus, doctor nostier, hanc rem docuit apostolorum uno exemplo uidentium (tractavit), et ad uerasque causas de classibus uoluit etiam similitudinem ponere que uno codicem uenit mouentur, sed non uno itinerere currunt’.
65 See P. Grosjean, ‘Sur quelques exégètes irlandais du VIIe siècle’, *Sacris Erudiri* 7 (1955) 67-98, p. 89; McNally, *Scriptores Hiberniae minores* (CCL 108B) ix. D. Ó Laoíshaire, in *Ireland and Christendom*, 198, prefers to be more general, stating that the Manchianus in question was perhaps one of the two of that name, the first of Men Droichit († 652), the other of Liath Manchán († 655)." The arguments in favour
Apart from the name of Man. (Manchianus), there are arguments for Irish connections, even origin, for this particular homily. To begin with, the very title 'In nomine Dei summii' is symptomatic of Irish origins. The interest in grammatical questions in evidence at the beginning of the homily is in keeping with what we know of early Irish commentaries. Some of the sources used in the text have Irish origins or associations. The most noteworthy is the long excerpt from Virgilius Maro Grammaticus, a text also used by Manchianus's Irish contemporary, the anonymous author of De ratione computandi, from the circles of Cummian. Then there is the mention of Arculf's description of the holy places, i.e. Adomnan's De locis sanctis. It is also to be noted that pseudo-Jerome's commentary on Mark (probably of Irish origin, and possibly from the pen of a certain Cummeanus) is cited at least twice under the name of Jerome. The clear use of the Hiberno-Latin work Liber questionum in evangeliis is a further argument for strong Irish connections, if not for Irish origin. The Man. glosses and influence of this same commentary on Matthew are also present in the section on the Eucharist in the Mael Brigit Gospels glosses.

There remains the difficulty of the use of the Greek text of Matt. 28:1a. However, the Greek Psalter text of Psalm 39:3 is used in the Hiberno-Latin (and probably sixth-century) pseudo-Hilary commentary on the Catholic Epistles (1 Peter 1:1). With regard to the Greek text of Matt. 28:1a cited in the Catechesis Celtica, it must be noted that the text in question is found in substance, though not verbatim, already in the seventh-century Hiberno-Latin Liber questionum in evangeliis (p. 266). This reads:

De nomine vero quod et uesperae multae opinantur diversa. In evangeliio vero grecio ita habetur: OBIH CA BBA, id est uesperae sabbati quae in primam sabbatorem. In quo apparat quod OBIH femininum nomen est. TH enim femininum pronomen. Unde quidam volunt quod uesperae communis generis, id est feminini et masculi...

of identification with Manchianus of Men Drocith is the identification of the pater of the prologue with Manicheus of II, 4, said to have died in 652, the annalistic obit of Manchianus of Men Droicht; thus J. F. Kenney, The sources for the early history of Ireland: ecclesiastical (New York 1929, repr. Shannon 1968, etc.) 276–7; Walsh and Ó Crónín, Cumman's letter, 88 n. 225.

66 On this title, see R. McNally, 'In nomine Dei summii: seven Hiberno-Latin sermons', Traditio 35 (1979) 121–43, pp. 123–4 for the formula: 'The appearance of the dedicatory words, "In nomine Dei summii" in early medieval manuscripts, while not in itself a conclusive proof of the Hiberno-Latin element, is symptomatic of its influence'. F. E. Warren had earlier commented on the significance of this formula: 'This short and pious motto which is written on the upper margin of the opening pages of the Bangor Antiphonary seems to have been especially, if not exclusively, used by Irish scribes' (The Antiphonary of Bangor II (HBS X, London 1895) 31).

67 For the text referred to in the homily, see D. Meahan (ed.), Adamnan's De locis sanctis I (Scriptores Latinii Hiberniae III, Dublin 1938) 42–7.

68 McNally, Scriptores Hiberniae minores (CCL 1285) 77.
In this particular homily, we may note, the *Catechesis Celtica* agrees with the LQE in a number of points with regard to questions concerning the death and resurrection of Christ (e.g. the length of time Christ was in the tomb, both citing Augustine as an authority). It is obvious that both belong to the same tradition, even though here the *Catechesis* is not dependent solely on the LQE, for one thing, because it cites more of the Greek text.

That early Irish scholars were interested in the harmonization of the Gospel passion and resurrection accounts is clear from the Reference Bible, where the greater part of the entry on Mark (twelve columns out of sixteen in the Paris Ms, ff. 156 r – 159 v) is devoted to questions on the passion and the resurrection of Christ and the general resurrection. Some of the same sources are used as in the *Catechesis Celtica* homily, and the contents of one section on the prophecies of the resurrection and the number of hours Christ was in the tomb (drawing on Augustine for this) are the same in both.

5. *Homily for Octave of Easter*

In ff. 32 v – 35 v we have a long homily for the Octave of Easter, on the text of John 20:26–31.\(^69\) The *Leabhar Breac* also has a homily, in Irish and Latin, on this same passage.\(^70\) There are certain similarities between the two (such as the number of the post-resurrection appearances, the one to Thomas being the sixth). There are also Irish 'symptoms' in the Latin of the *Catechesis Celtica*, e.g. Low Sunday called *pascha modicum* (Irish *Mion-Cháis*). There is no clear relationship, however, between the *Leabhar Breac* text and the *Catechesis*, possibly because of the lack of a common exegetical source, as was the case in the homilies on pericopes from Matthew’s Gospel.

6. *Homily on Christ’s fast and temptation in the desert*

The very first item in the *Catechesis Celtica* (ff. 1 – 3 r) is a commentary on Matt. 4:1–11, i.e. Christ’s fast in the desert and his temptation. This is separated by a short piece (f. 3 r–v) from the comment on Matt. 19:16–30 on the call of the rich young man. In the *Leabhar Breac*, after treatment of Palm Sunday (p. 40 a 26) and Judas’s betrayal (Spy Wednesday *Cédain in bráth*, p. 44 a 1), and immediately before the section *In cena Domini* (p. 48 b 18) comes a section entitled *De ieiunio Domini in deserto* (p. 45 a 7). This is a bilingual homily which originally belonged to the eleventh-century homiliarium.\(^71\) One feature of this *Leabhar Breac* homily is the close manner in which part of it is related to the Latin tradition found in the *Catechesis Celtica*. This is evident in particular in the Latin text, in the *Leabhar Breac* first (i.e. the


\(^71\) ibid., 172–81 (Irish text), 425–30 (Latin text, with translation of small section of Irish not directly from Latin).
IRISH AFFILIATIONS OF THE Catehesis Celtica

historical) interpretation of the pericope and also in the final section on the supremacy of almsgiving over mere fasting, and in the remark that the time devoted to fasting is a tithing, a tenth of the three hundred and sixty-five day year. Since the Latin texts coincide verbatim and in sequence as comments on the lemmata there can be no question of mere accident. The final text found in both works, and in the Collectio canonum Hibernensis, strengthens the argument for direct links through some particular homiletic tradition. As examples we have:

Ductus est, non inuitus aut captivus, sed ex voluptate pugnandi. . .
Postea esurit: . . . ne a temptando pauens hostis aufugeret. . .
in sanctam civitatem: ista assumptio non imbecillitate Dei. . . sed
de inimicii superstia, qui voluptatem Salvatoris, nisi volat.
. . . si cadens adoraueris me: arrogans et superbus eliam hoc de
incipient laquitur. . .

This particular exegetical text occurs almost verbatim in the Hiberno-Latin Liber questionum in evangeliiis. Going on the evidence of other texts, the presumption is that the Catechesis depends (directly most probably) on the Hiberno-Latin commentary. The same is probably true with regard to the Leabhár Breac homily.

In both the Catechesis Celtica and the Leabhár Breac (in the Irish and Latin texts) we have an item on the seven-week fast, minus the six Sundays in which there is no fast, being one tenth of the year, the Lenten fast being consequently a tithing. In this section the Catechesis Celtica text is almost verbatim as that of the Liber questionum in evangeliiis.

Next after this in the Catechesis comes a text to the effect that Christ fasted immediately after his baptism which occurred at the Epiphany (January 6). The present position of the Lenten season in the calendar is due to the Fathers. There is a similar text in the Leabhár Breac, although not immediately after the treatment of Lent as a tithing. As in other texts, here too, the Catechesis Celtica is almost verbatim like that found in the Liber questionum in evangeliiis.

The text on the supremacy of almsgiving over mere fasting comes almost immediately after that on tithing in the Leabhár Breac, whereas in the Catechesis it is separated by a number of texts not drawn from the Liber questionum. The text reads as follows in the Catechesis:

Debet quoque unusquisque nostrum ieiunare in istis diebus; et si non
valuerit, manducet cum gemitu et suspirio et dolore animi. Pro eo
quo, alius abstinentibus, ille abstine non potest, et coniunicare
non potest, amplius (debet) ergore pauperibus, ut pecolla, quae non
potest ieiunando curare, possit elimosinas dando redimere. Bonum
est ieiunare, fratres; sed melius est elimosinam dare. Si aliquis
utrumque potest, duo sunt bona. Si uero non potest, melius est
elimosinam dare. Si possibilitas ieiunandi non fuerit, elimosina
sufficit sine ieiunio. Ieiunium uero sine elimosina omnino non
sufficit. Elimosina sine ieiunio bonum est. Ieiunium uero sine elimosina nullum bonum est nisi forte ibi sit aliquis pauper, ut non habeat omnino quod tribuat. Illic qui non habuerit, sufficit voluntas bona. Tale ergo ieiunium sine elimosina sicul lucerna, qua sine oleo accenditur, fum(q)are potest, lumen habere non potest. Ita ieiunium sine elimosina carnem quidem cruciat, sed caritatis lumine minimum illustret.

In the margin of Codex Reginensis 49 this text is ascribed to Ag, i.e. Agustinus. It is, in fact, from Sermon 199 (nos. 2–3 and 6) of St Caesarius of Arles,72 which with many other sermons of this saint became falsely attributed to Augustine (as Sermon 142, 3, 1–2; in PL 39, 2022–3) in the course of transmission. The Catechesis text is composed from two distinct sections (2–3 and 6) of Caesarius’s homily. The central section of it (Bonum est ieiunium . . . sufficit voluntas bona) is also in the Leabhar Breac text,73 which, however, we should recall, has more from Caesarius’s homily than that found in the Catechesis. The Collectio canonum Hibernensis (XIII, 8),74 in the section on fasting, has an almost identical text, with, however, some differences. In one branch of the Hibernensis tradition the excerpt is attributed to Jerome, in another, to Augustine.

The similarities and differences between these Irish texts may be due to dependence of all on some common homiletic tradition or patristic florilegium.

7. Homilies on the Lord’s Prayer

We have seen that the Catechesis Celtica has more than one item on the Lord’s Prayer, or more exactly a collection of material headed by the title Ineptit umelia de oratione dominica. It does not appear that the compiler has imposed any great order on this material. Matters are somewhat different with the material on the Pater noster in the Leabhar Breac (pp. 248 a 45 – 250 b z). This is a bilingual text, the sentences or phrases occurring alternately in Latin and Irish.75 The text opens with an introduction, followed by a single exposition of the petitions of the Pater, after which come comments of various kinds.

Opinion is divided with regard to the date to be assigned to the Leabhar Breac text. Frederic Mac Donnchá regarded it as part of a homiliarium of the eleventh century. Brian Ó Cuív would date it, from its language, to the end of the Middle Irish period, probably the twelfth century.

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73 Ibid., 420.
74 H. Wasserschleben [ed.], Collectio canonum Hibernensis (Leipzig 1888) 40.
75 Atkinson, Passions and homilies, 259–66 (Irish text), 499–503 (English translation of Irish), 503–6 (Latin text).
The piece has been transcribed in later Irish in ms BL Egerton 91 (f. 20; of the fifteenth century). Robin Flower noted that some points in the commentary in the Egerton manuscript are also to be found in the comment on the Pater in Matt. 6:5–13 in Harley 1802 (i.e. the Gospels of Mael Br Tighe). Thus far, scholars have failed to identify the sources of the Leabhar Breac text on the Pater noster.

It appears that the solution to the quest will come through the newly identified Hiberno-Latin exegetical and homiletical texts. Already, before the material brought to the attention of students by Bischoff, the Latin text of Leabhar Breac invited comparison with the commentary on the Pater in Pseudo-Jerome, Expositio IV evangeliorum, available in Migne’s Patrologia latina (vol. 30). Keeping with the aim of this paper, I here begin by comparing the Latin text of the Leabhar Breac with that of the Catechesis Celtica and then with other related texts.

The relationship of the Latin text with the Catechesis is verbatim and manifold, not merely in the exposition of the petitions. In the comment on the opening words we read in both: *Quid autem filii carius esse debet quam pater? Quid enim petentibus filii non dabit pater . . . ul filii essent, et dicant: ‘Pater noster . . .’. The Leabhar Breac text (Latin and Irish) gives six reasons why this Prayer is said (sung) silently. *Sex autem causis haec oratio silenter canitur. The Catechesis Celtica is interested in the point, but gives no list: *Interrogatur hic. Cur silenter hii versiculi canuntur? (Hoc) multis causis ostenditur. Obviously, the Catechesis compiler has cut short his source. The Leabhar Breac text speaks of the Old Testament prefigurations of the Pater: *Haec autem oratio figurata est in scala uisa ab Iacop in Bethel, cum septem gradibus attingente a caelo usque ad terram . . . Prophetata est per Isaiam prophetam, dicentem, ‘faciet Dominus uerbum breuissimum super terram . . .’, to which the Leabhar Breac Latin text (and corresponding Irish translation) adds: *uerbum consummatis et breuissima iniquitates hominum. The same text is found verbatim in the Catechesis Celtica. The passage of Isaiah intended is not quite clear (possibly Isa. 38:7), and the Irish translation interprets somewhat.

This text of the Leabhar Breac is followed by a very interesting one: *Hic est malleus ferreus, quo contritus est diabolus, sicut dicitur, ‘malleo ferreo contorum soliditatem tuam’. The Irish text, and

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77 The text is not Vulgate, which has: . . . *qua faciet Dominus uerbum hoc quod locutus est*, i.e. making the shadow on Ahas’ sundial turn backwards. The Septuagint translation does not differ significantly. The Irish Leabhar Breac translation renders *uernum* of the Latin as ‘prayer’: ‘The Lord will make a short prayer, by which all their sins and vices shall be forgiven to men’ [Atkinson, *Passions and homilies*, 501]. The other text which follows, attributed to Job in the Irish translation, cannot be traced. Both ‘quotations’ may be from a non-biblical source.
apparently translated, of this passage presumes to identify the source of the citation: This is the iron hammer by which the power of the devil is broken, as saith Job in the person of the Lord: “I will break your power, O devil, saith the Lord, with an iron hammer”. The text is also in the Catechesis Cellica as the immediate continuation of that just quoted: Hic est malleus de quo contritus est diabulus, sicut est malleo ferro ut concutiam soliditatem tuam.

The Leabhar Breac text connects the seven petitions of the Pater with the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, and with the seven deadly sins. This is also true of the Catechesis Cellica. Comparison of the Catechesis Cellica with the Liber questionum in evangelii shows that here again the former is indebted to the latter, in some sections more heavily than in others. The exposition of the Lord’s Prayer (Matt. 6:9–13) in the Liber questionum is extremely rich (covering pages 88 to 94 of the Orleans manuscript). There are no less than four different explanations of the passage and various other points of Christian teaching are connected with its seven petitions: the teaching on the paradise of Adam, Adam’s person, the seven principal vices, the manner in which the Lord himself fulfilled the seven petitions, the seven days of creation, the six ages of the world (Sex aetates), and the seventh age after the judgement. A number of the headings, and the substance of the teaching on them, have passed over into the Catechesis. What must also be noted is that the Leabhar Breac text has material from the Liber questionum in evangelii not in the Catechesis Cellica, such as a number of interpretations of the text of Matthew, which at times agree verbatim with the Latin Leabhar Breac text, e.g. the interpretation of regnum (of Adueniat regnum tuum) as iudicium, likewise the following: Cum ergo dicimus in oratione Domenica, ‘et ne nos inducas in temptationum’, nonne hic pelimus, non temptari sed ut non feramur in temptationes quas sustinere non ualemus (LB 249 b 32–4). The text of LQE (ms Orleans, p. 90, 3–2 from end) has: Non hic pelimus ut non temptemur sed ut non feramur in temptationes quas sustinere non ualemus.

The explanation of these phenomena seems to be that both the Catechesis Cellica and the Leabhar Breac texts depend on the Liber questionum in evangelii, or a text almost identical with it. Direct dependence of the Leabhar Breac on the Catechesis does not appear indicated by the evidence. The commentary of the kind found in the Liber questionum in evangelii must have been known in Ireland, and have continued to be used there, since it seems to have been employed as a source

78 Atkinson, Passions and homilies, 504; in manuscript followed immediately by Irish text: In tan din at erum is in ernaithi choimdeata Et ne noscatur. ‘a Dé nach ar-léic i n-amus’, ni hed chun chemit andsin, na ro-tartair phi amse fomind, acht is ed, na tartair phi amse dofhulachta non-noscatur fri forphleacht 7 fri frinde (ibid., 263, English translation p. 499: ‘When we say in the Lord’s prayer: “O God, leave us not in temptation,” we do not thereby ask that no temptations should be put on us, but what we ask is, that there should not be given us temptations beyond our power, which may sever us from spirituality and truth’).
for the glosses of the Gospels of Máel Bréig, roughly contemporary with the Leabhar Breac homily or catechetical text on the Lord's Prayer.

Many more questions remain to be answered with regard to the Leabhar Breac text on the Lord's Prayer, for instance, the exact relationship of the Irish version to the Latin. The new Hiberno-Latin material will scarcely bring an answer to all of these, as for instance, the background to the Irish form of the sixth petition: \( ni \ r-lec\text{e}a\ \text{sind} \ i\ n-am\text{u}s\ ndofulacht\text{ai;} \ o\text{cus} \ nach-ar-\text{t\text{e}}ic \ i\ n-am\text{us} \). \(^{79}\) However, the newly identified corpus of material of apparently Irish origin or affiliations should help immensely.

VII. Catechesis Homilies on Matthew and the Liber questionum in evangeliis

In examining the relationship between the Catechesis Celtica homiletic tradition and the homiletic tradition of the Leabhar Breac I have used the relevant material from the seventh-century Hiberno-Latin commentary on Matthew entitled Liber questionum in evangeliis. The use of this commentary established for these sections can be extended to practically all the pericopes from Matthew commented on in the Catechesis Celtica, with the exception of the homily on Matt. 20:1-16 (f. 7 v - 8 v) which is entirely from Gregory the Great's homily I and II on the Gospels. The historical and spiritual exposition on Matt. 19:16-30 (ff. 3 v and 7 r) draws on it throughout. So also the homily that follows on Matt. 21:33-46. Here, once again, direct use of the Liber questionum in evangeliis [LQE] seems indicated by the opening section verbal identical in both: 'Aliam parabolam audite' (Matt. 21:33) a loco ubi ait: 'Accesserunt ad eum principes sacerdotum' (Matt. 21:23), reliqua a Matheo sine ulla cuvisque rei vel personae interpositione sermo contexitur. Potest enim putari (LQE: aestimar e) omnia principibus locutum fuisse (LQE: esse) a quibus fuerat de poestate interrogatus, sine his lacuit breuitatia causa, quod Lucas dixit: 'coepit', inquit, 'dicer ad plebe parabolam', reliqua. 'Homo erat': Dominus noster.

It has been already noted that this same source (LQE) is used for the homily for Palm Sunday (Matt. 21:1-17) and for that on the institution of the Eucharist (Matt. 26:20-30) as well as for the homilies on the Resurrection narrative (Matt. 28:1-15). We find the same source used for another homily on Matt. 20:29-34 (ff. 47 v, 24 r), and in the homiletic treatment of Matt. 19:16-30 (ff. 50-51).

We may thus say that practically the sole source for the compiler's understanding and exposition of the Gospel of Matthew was the treatment of this Gospel in the Liber questionum in evangeliis.

\(^{79}\) On these Leabhar Breac forms, see Ó Cuív, Studia Celtica 14–15 (1979–80) 214, 216.
VIII. USE IN THE Catechesis Celtica OF APOCRYPHA AND RARE LATIN TEXTS

Wilmart, in his edition of sections of the Catechesis Celtica, noted the indiscriminate use made in them of Apocrypha, propheta verba, texts on Doomsday and signs before Doomsday, and suchlike. The use of these he saw as further indication of the Celtic origin of the homilies. We may go further and use this evidence as a strong indication of specifically Irish affiliations.

1. The Magi and the Gospel according to the Hebrews

In the homily for Low Sunday (f. 35 v), towards the end of the homily, we have a citation from the Gospel of the Hebrews:

*Item*, isti VIII dies paschae in quo resurrexit Christus Filius Dei significant VIII dies post remissionem paschae in quo indicabitur totum semen Ada, ut nuntiatur in evangelio Ebreeorum; etideo pulant sapientes diem iudicii in tempore pascae, eo quod in illo die resurrexit Christus ut in illo iterum resurgant sancti.*

Different texts from the work entitled 'The Gospel according to the Hebrews' are encountered in Irish sources. One of these is the description of the Magi. A text on these is found, without indication of source, in the Catechesis Celtica in a commentary on the Gospel for the miracle of Cana (Epiphany) (John 2:1–11):

*Hodie III magi ab oriente uenientes cum IIIbus munerbvs Ihesum Christum dominum nostrum inuenerunt. Hae c aulem est tractatio nom(inum) de his tribus magis. Primus eorum senior(um) Melchus nomine, qui erat canus cum barba proliza et cum coma, tonicam habens iacinthinam et sagum milleum, et induitius erat calcamentis iachi(n)tino et albo commizitis, opere polimatorio varie compositis. Secundus Caspar nomine, iuuenis imberris, rubicundus, tonicam millenicae et sagum rubem habens, calcamenta iacintha vestitis, tus secum offerens quasi deo digne deum adhorruit. Tertius Paltizara nomine, fuscus, niger, instig(er) barbatus, tonicam rubeam et sagum album habens, et calcamenti millenici induetus, per miram filium hominis morturum confessus est. Omnia aulem uestimenta eorum sirica erant.*

A slightly different form of this tradition is found in the Collectanea of Pseudo-Bede (PL 94, 541C-D), probably of Irish origin, and in other Irish sources.

2. The Liber de gradibus caeli, attributed to Gregory the Great\textsuperscript{81}

In the homiletic exposition on Gen. 1 for the Easter Vigil, on Gen. 1:26 the \textit{Catechesis} has:

\begin{quote}
\textit{Et nouissime factus est homo ad imaginem et similitudinem Dei. Imago autem in sanctitate et aeternitate anime consistit, ut Gregorius in libro de gradibus caeli dixit; similitudo vero in persecutione et dominatione ostenditur.}
\end{quote}

What must be the same work, but attributed to Augustine, is cited in the Hiberno-Latin commentary on Gen. 1–3 preserved in the St Gall manuscript, Stiftsbibliothek Ms 609 (\textit{Augustinus in libro de gradibus caeli}).

3. The signs of seven days before Doomsday\textsuperscript{82}

In f. 52 v of Codex Reginensis 49 there is an item entitled \textit{De diebus VII ante diem iudicii}, with a description of the events to occur on the seven days preceding Doomsday. The greater part of this depends on the apocryphal \textit{Apocalypse of Thomas}. There are citations from this same work in some homilies in a Reichenau manuscript, now at Karlsruhe, homilies which may be of Irish origin. It is clear from the extensive use made of it that the apocryphal work was known to the author of the concluding Cantos (153–62) of \textit{Saltair na Rann}. There was an early interest in the Signs before Doomsday in Ireland, coupled with a rich development on this particular tradition. While the signs as given in the \textit{Catechesis} are not of the developed kind we find in later texts, the presence of a text dependent on the \textit{Apocalypse of Thomas} can be taken as a further indication of Irish affiliations of the collection of homilies.

4. \textit{De Die Dominico}\textsuperscript{83}

The \textit{Catechesis Celtica} text (f. 53 r) entitled \textit{De die dominico} was published by Wilmart. It was republished, together with two other texts, by McNally, one of Breton origin (Orléans 221(193); Paris BN lat. 3182), the other (Vatican, Pal. lat. 220) in an Anglo-Saxon hand of the Middle or Upper Rhine. The texts are closely related to the Irish \textit{Epistol Isu} and the \textit{Cán Domhnaigh}. If not of Irish origin, the piece entitled \textit{De die dominico} at least has strong Irish affiliations.

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\textsuperscript{81} See P. Grosjean, 'Le "Liber de gradibus caeli" attribué à S. Grégoire le Grand', \textit{Analecta Bollandiana} 61 (1943) 99–103. On the St Gall text 609, see also C. D. Wright, in \textit{Ireland and Christendom}, 124, 132–3. The text is in Wilmart, \textit{Analecta Reginensia}, 41.

\textsuperscript{82} On the question in general see McNamara, \textit{Apocrypha}, 128–44 §§ 104–8; also idem, 'Airdena Brátha', in \textit{Dictionary of the Middle Ages} I (New York 1982) 111–12.

\textsuperscript{83} Wilmart, \textit{Analecta Reginensia}, 111–12; McNally, \textit{Scriptores Hiberniae minores} (CCL 108B) 185–6, with discussion of texts etc., 178–9.
5. The seven seals: the seven things prophesied of Christ

In the Catechesis Celtica (f. 23 v), in a text in praise of Easter, it is stated that on this day effect is given to the destruction of the seven walls of the sin of Adam and Eve. This destruction had already been going on through history, in Abel, in Enoch etc. and finally, as no. 11: in Christo, per VII quae profetata sunt de illo, id est nativitas, baptismum, cruc, sepultur, resurrectio, (ascensio et iudicium).

The seven things prophesied of Christ are given in greater detail in a separate item in the Catechesis (f. 40 v), this time in a comment on Apoc. 5:1: Vidi . . . librum scriptum . . . , signatum sigillis VII. The comment reads:


The tradition behind them is well attested in Latin literature. It has been traced by E. A. Matter from four manuscripts, with two families: Family A, Karlsruhe Aug CXI, Munich Clm 14423; Family B, Munich Clm 6407 and Vatican lat. 5096. The piece is connected in these manuscripts with the exegesis of Apocalypse 5:1-5. The tradition may have originated in Visigothic Spain in the sixth or seventh century. The tradition of the seven things prophesied of Christ is found in a number of Irish texts without direct connection with the Apocalypse. They are already listed by Hilary in his Instructio psalmorum (the introduction to his commentary on the Psalms), no. 6 (CSEL 27, 7), on which much of the Latin and Irish tradition probably depends.

The Latin tradition studied by Matter is really quite different from the developed one we find in the Catechesis Celtica. After an introduction

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tory paragraph, found in Family A only, citing Apoc. 5:1-5, the seven seals are identified in the traditional manner (natiuitas, baptismum, crucificatio, sepultura, resurrectio, ascensio, iudicium). The text then goes on to link the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit with these seven seals, and in the third and final section to link the same seven gifts with the Patriarchs. The *Catechesis Cellica* form of the tradition, which cites both the prophecy and its New Testament fulfillment, is found again in almost identical form in the Hiberno-Latin Reference Bible, in the comment on Apoc. 5:1-5. It begins:

Librum intus et foris signatum. Librum Uetus Testamentum significat. Intus et foris. Id est in historia et sensu. . . . sigillis VII qui de Christo principaliter leguntur, id est natiuitas reliqua. Ideo sigillati in ueteri quia nemo potuit scire Ecce virgo in utero concipiet reliqua usque Christus natus fuit de virgine. Haec sunt VII sigilli in ueteri testamento de natiuitate Christi. Ut est Ecce virgo in utero reliqua, Christus solvit quando natus est, ut dicitur: Natus est nobis hodie conservatur salutis nostrae reliqua. Secundus sigillus de baptismo. . . (MS Paris BN 11561, f. 207 r-v)

The form of both is extremely close right through all seven seals. The wording is likewise. With regard to the first, we may note the presence in both texts of the rare and peculiar reading *conservator* (Reference Bible, *conservatur* salutis for Luke 2:11). The ending of the best-known form of the tradition on the Seven Seals, with the connection of the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit with the patriarchs is found separately in the *Catechesis Cellica* (f. 3 r-v) and also in the Irish *Liber de numeris* (as VII, 1).

IX. CONCEPTS AND PHRASES COMMON TO CATECHESIS AND IRISH TEXTS

In this study I have, for the greater part, concentrated on areas which have not been hitherto fully explored. To the evidence for Irish affiliations of the homily collection in Codex Reginensis Latinus 49 which I have given above, we must add that already brought forward by others. This I have given in summary as part of the history of research, namely terms and phrases in the Latin text which are unusual in Latin but which correspond to the vocabulary of Irish vernacular texts, especially religious documents. I repeat these here:

*psachta modicum, haeres Christi, aliena non immolanda sunt Deo, filius vitae, seteris legis, creator omnium elementorum, familia caeli et terrae, gradus angelorum, initium* (in the specialized sense of 'beginning of Lent').

To these others could be added, for example, *sensus* with the meaning of the Irish *siams*, i.e. spiritual sense (on Matt. 21:7 and John 12:14): *Hic notandum est quod. . . super utrumque animal sedere non*
possit. . . . Tamen sensui (=the spiritual sense) magis conuenit quod super utrumque animal sedid, quia Dominus II populos superabdit, id est Israel et gentilem (f. 14 r); tres XL, i.e. tres quadragesimae, the ‘three Lents’.

This list could well be expanded. Such a study, however, is best left to a full examination of the peculiarities of the vocabulary of the *Catechesis Cellica*.

X. CONCLUSION

At the end of this investigation we return to the title of this paper and ask: How Irish is the *Catechesis Cellica*? How Irish are its affiliations?

Let us review the evidence. Although the script is Carolingian and not Irish or Insular, it does have certain Irish or Insular abbreviations, possible pointers to an Insular or Irish original.

In its biblical text there is a fairly strong Irish element in the Psalter text used, and in the Gospel of Matthew, in particular, there is clear evidence of use of the DELQR group of texts, which was at home in Ireland, if not restricted in use to that country. There is also evidence for the use of a text of Romans and of the Catholic Epistles of the kind used in Ireland.

Passing from Bible text to exegesis we find clear evidence of a close relationship between the *Catechesis Cellica* and the Irish tradition of Psalm exegesis, with relation to the understanding of Ps. 1, at any rate. The compiler’s understanding of Gen. 1 is also that of the Hiberno-Latin commentators on the Hexameron, and in so far as one can judge, also that of vernacular Irish literature. What little comment on the Canticle of Canticles the collection has is also that of the commentary of Apponius, a work very much at home in Irish circles.

We have seen that a major source for the compiler, and almost the sole source for the interpretation of Matthew, was the *Liber questionum in euangeliius*. As Bischoff has noted, this was quite an influential work. Much of it has passed over into the Hiberno-Latin one-volume commentary, the Reference Bible (composed towards the end of the eighth century), and into the commentary of Paschatus Radbertus on Matthew. The date of the work’s origin is uncertain, but probably the eighth century.

The author whose name was abbreviated by the compiler as *Man*, should, we believe, be taken as the mid-seventh-century Irish scholar Manchianus sapiens of Men Droichit, who died in 652, or possibly as Manchán of Lialf Manchán (Lemanaghan), who died in 655. Another author cited by him, namely Pseudo-Jerome on Mark, may also have been Irish. Together with this there are Irish affiliations in other texts he cites by name or uses anonymously: Gregory’s *Liber de gradibus casti*, the Gospel according to the Hebrews, traditions on the Magi, and in points of doctrine in the *Catechesis* known to have been of interest to the early Irish, e.g. the seven things prophesied of Christ. Then there
is the Latin phraseology, rare, if not unknown, outside of Irish sources but current in Irish texts and at times possibly representing translation from the Irish.

These are all Irish affiliations, to say the least. They may not prove that the *Catechesis Cellica* had an Irish origin, but they must at least be taken very seriously in the consideration of origins. An authoritative, if not final, verdict on provenance can only be given after the arguments in favour and against any particular origin have been duly weighed.

Should one opt for an Irish origin — and in Ireland itself rather than in Irish circles on the Continent — an attempt at a date and place must be made. In the Irish homiletic tradition, the *Catechesis Cellica* would fit well into the development between the compositions of Manchianus of the mid-seventh century and the *Liber questionum in evangelis* (eighth century), on the one hand, and the glosses on the Gospels of Mael Brigue (AD 1138), on the other. Grosjean mentioned Céli Dé circles as a suitable milieu for composition, by reason of this monastic movement’s interest in preaching. The use of Apponius’s commentary on Canticles by the compiler would further favour this position. We know of the regard in which this book of the Canon was held by the Reform monks. The *teaching of Mael Ruain* tells us that ‘when a person was at the point of death, or immediately after the soul had left him, the *Canticum Salomonis* was sung over him. The reason for this practice was that in that canticle is signified ‘the union of the Church and every Christian soul’ (*ceangal na heaglais agus gacha hanma Criostuidhe*)85 I cannot say that the composers of the Rule of Mael Ruain got this theory of interpretation from the commentary of Apponius. We may possibly infer as much, though, from a comment on Matt. 21:11: *Hic est Iesus prophet a Nazareth Galilaeae* occurring in one of the homilies on Matt. 21:11. Nazareth is first interpreted as *flos munditiae*. The homilist then links it with Cant. 7:12 as follows (f. 28 v):

Cuiitae autem in qua Christus nutitur nobiscum cor nostrum est in quo *flos munditiae* bonae cogitationes sunt quas Deus querit, sicut in Cantico Canlicitorum dixit: *Videamus, si floruit unia* (Cant. 7:12). Viniam animam uniusculi qui dicit in qua flores diversorum colorum cogitationes diuersarum auctutum, misericordiae, patientiae, oboedientiae castitatisque et ceterarum auctutum quas Deus requirit; sicut coram oculis hominum concupiscibile et pulchrum est in aestatis tempore pomarium cum uariis floribus aut aequum cum diversis coloribus coloribus conspicer, ita et anima coram Deo cum multarum auctutum (et) cogitationum (floribus) pulchra est. Igitur in corde nostro per bonas cogitationes (Iesus) nutitur, sicut in Nazareth nutritur est.

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85 E. Gwynn (ed.), *The Rule of Tallaght* (Dublin 1927) 18–19 § 29.
The possibility, or even the likelihood, of a non-Irish origin for the *Cathechesis Cellica* also needs to be explored further. The arguments put forward to date have to do with the manuscript Codex Reginensis Latinus 49 rather than with the nature of its contents: the Carolingian script, indicating Continental, not Insular origin, and the three glosses which have been seen to connect it with Cornwall. The value of the first argument still holds good and indicates a Continental origin for the present manuscript. With regard to the three 'Celtic' – presumed Cornish – glosses, one (he ben) seems in reality to be no more than a Latin abbreviation (heb) for hebraice. The most important of the three, i.e. guor cher, occurs as a marginal gloss in a homily which contains strong indications of Irish origin: the heading *In nomine Dei summum* citations ascribed to Man, who is most probably the seventh-century Irishman Manchanus sapiens of Men Droichit or Manchan of Lialh Mancharain, clear dependence on the Hiberno-Latin *Liber questionum in evangelium*, and contact with other Irish sources.

It may well be that more detailed research will indicate the presence in these catecheses of non-Irish affiliations (in the Bible text, source employment, and other ways), and in so doing give us new insights into the manifold relationships that existed between monks and scholars in Ireland, Britain and on the Continent. Evidence for non-Irish affiliations, however, will need to be concrete, as concrete as that now before us for the Irish affiliations.

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