What Did They Sing at Cashel in 1172? Winchester, Sarum and Romano-Frankish Chant in Ireland[1]

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Introduction

The question posed in the title serves to focus reflection on the role played by the second Council of Cashel of 1172 in the development of music and liturgy in medieval Ireland. The question is not intended literally: those who wish to reconstruct the musico-liturgical tradition of Cashel's cathedral and palatine chapel at the time of the Council in 1172 may be disappointed. I will attempt to offer some indications as to what might have been sung in or around 1172 in reform-oriented Irish churches such as Cashel, but the main focus of this article will be the historiography of the Council and its impact on musicological reflection.

In the past century the second Council of Cashel has been accorded a pivotal role in writing on music and liturgy in medieval Ireland.[2] The Anglo-Norman invasion of 1169–71 is understood as sounding the death knell of the 'Celtic rite' and heralding the introduction of English liturgical practice to Ireland. At its most benign, this reading results in a polarization of 'Celtic' and 'English' traditions. In this article I hope to show that the arrival of the Anglo-Normans was not initially of particular significance for the history of liturgy and music in Ireland. Indeed, Ireland had already been open to Norman cultural influences from England and Normandy itself in the decades preceding the invasion. My intention is to bring to bear on musicological discourse the

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1 I use the designation 'Romano-Frankish' rather than the more common 'plainchant' or 'Gregorian' when referring to what is traditionally called 'Gregorian' chant, i.e. the synthesis of Roman Urban chant and Gallican Frankish traditions that took place in the Carolingian realm in the ninth century.

2 Somewhat akin to the role accorded the Council of Burgos held in the spring of 1080, which tried to suppress the Old Spanish (Mozarabic) rite, favouring the advance of the Roman rite on the Iberian peninsula.

insights of historical research in recent decades and to corroborate those insights using surviving Irish liturgical and musical sources.

A failure adequately to understand the significance or insignificance of the second Council of Cashel in 1172 leads to the drawing of artificial boundaries, where manuscripts are described as 'Gaelic' or 'Anglo-Norman' on palaeographical grounds; where liturgical texts are classified as 'Celtic' or 'Sarum'; and where notation is described as 'Anglo-Norman'—the same notation being described as 'Norman' if it occurs in a manuscript from Normandy. Cashel has had a long afterlife in polemical religious debate from the seventeenth century onwards and has been used in perverse ways to drive ecclesiastical and political agendas.[3] While the era of Christian religious polemic has passed, it has been replaced at a popular level by a surge of interest in Celtic spirituality and all things Celtic, often resulting in a tendency to overemphasize the non-Roman character of the early Irish church. Such views fail to engage with the musical and liturgical dimensions of the twelfth-century reform movement in the Irish church and the renewed process of 'Europeanization' that began in the early eleventh century.

A particular reading of one account of the Council of Cashel, that of Giraldus Cambrensis in his *Expugnatio Hibernica* (The Conquest of Ireland),[4] has predominated in discourse on the music and liturgy of twelfth-century and Anglo-Norman Ireland. In this reading the extended seventh decree or so-called 'eighth canon' of the Council imposes English and, for some, even Sarum liturgical and musical usage on the Irish church. Thus F. E. Warren writing in 1879, Frank Ll. Harrison in 1958 and Aloys Fleischmann writing in the *New Grove* in 1980 all subscribe to this view: Cashel heralds the demise of the 'Celtic rite'.[5] Others avoid the pitfalls of Cashel,[6] but have been misled into subscribing to the view that the Use of Sarum was introduced to the

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3 See the uses to which 'Cashel 1172' was put by Archbishop Ussher among others: James Ussher, *A Discourse on the Religion Anciently Professed by the Irish and Brittish* (London: printed by R. Young for the partners of the Irish Stocke, 1631), 125–7.

4 Giraldus Cambrensis, *Expugnatio Hibernica—The Conquest of Ireland*, ed. with translation and historical notes by A. B. Scott and F. X. Martin (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 1978).

5 F. E. Warren (ed.), *The Manuscript Irish Missal Belonging to the President and Fellows of Corpus Christi College Oxford* (London: Pickering & Co., 1879), 45. Frank Ll. Harrison, *Music in Medieval Britain* (London: Routledge, Kegan & Paul, 1958), 16. Aloys Fleischmann, 'Celtic rite, music of', in Stanley Sadie (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London: Macmillan, 1980), vol. 4, 52–4: 52.

6 Ann Buckley, 'Celtic chant', in Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (eds), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, second edition (London: Macmillan, 2001), vol. 5, 341–9: 342; Barra Boydell, 'Music in the Medieval Cathedral Priory', in Kenneth Milne (ed.), *Christ Church Cathedral: A History* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2000), 142–8: 142ff; Alan J. Fletcher, 'Liturgy in the Late Medieval Cathedral Priory', in Milne, 129–41: 129–30.

Dublin province at Archbishop John Cumin's 1186 Synod in Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin.[7] Unsurprisingly, this view has no basis in fact and the 1186 Synod in its surviving decrees, transmitted to us through the bull of confirmation of Pope Urban III, does not mention any liturgical or musical use.[8]

This article will first examine the accounts of the Council of Cashel, seeking to understand what actually happened at that gathering and also to situate it within the broader context of the twelfth-century reform movement in the Irish church. Next it will briefly revisit the early development of the Sarum liturgical and musical tradition. Finally, it will suggest what might have been sung at Cashel in or around 1172, using surviving Irish manuscript sources as evidence.

The second Council of Cashel of 1172

The Anglo-Norman chroniclers tell us that the response of the Irish bishops to King Henry II's personal intervention in Ireland in 1171–72 was both unanimous and positive.[9] All of the chroniclers with the exception of Giraldus Cambrensis inform us that the bishops swore oaths of loyalty to Henry II.[10]

The different accounts of the Council of Cashel cannot be interpreted too literally because they contradict each other in certain details; and it is important to note, too, that no Irish source records the event. Indeed Ralph of Diss's account of Henry II's visit to Ireland speaks of a council to further church reform being held shortly before Henry's departure from Ireland, not at Cashel but at Lismore.[11] The Irish monastic

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7 It was Patrick Brannon who gave currency to the view that the Use of Sarum was introduced to Dublin in 1186. See Patrick V. Brannon, *A Contextual Study of the Four Notated Sarum Divine Office Manuscripts from Anglo-Norman Ireland* (PhD diss., Washington University, 1990), 22–3; Patrick V. Brannon, 'The Search for the Celtic Rite', in Gerard Gillen and Harry White (eds), *Irish Musical Studies 2: Music and the Church* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1993), 13–40: 15.

8 See Aubrey Gwynn, 'Archbishop John Cumin', *Reportorium Novum*, 1/2 (1955), 285–310, especially 301–7; and, for the decrees of the 1186 synod, Aubrey Gwynn, 'Provincial and Diocesan Decrees of the Diocese of Dublin during the Anglo-Norman Period', *Archivium Hibernicum,* 11 (1944), 31–117: 31ff, especially 39–44.

9 William Stubbs (ed.), *Gesta regis Henrici secundi Benedicti abbatis*, Rolls Series 49, 2 vols. (London, 1867), i, 26–8; William Stubbs (ed.), *Chronica magistri Rogeri de Houedene*, Rolls Series 51, 4 vols. (London, 1868–71), ii, 30–2; William Stubbs (ed.), *Radulfi de Diceto Decani Lundoniensis Opera Historica*, Rolls Series 68, 2 vols. (London, 1876), i, 350–1; William Stubbs (ed.), *Gervase of Canterbury: Historical Works*, Rolls Series 73, 2 vols. (London, 1879–80), i, 235.

10 Giraldus Cambrensis, *Expugnatio Hibernica*, 96–101.

11 Stubbs (ed.), *Radulfi de Diceto*, 351; Marie Therese Flanagan, 'Henry II, the Council of Cashel and the Irish Bishops', *Peritia*, 10 (1996), 184–211: especially 191.

annals are silent on the event and this is indeed strange because they do record the arrival of Henry in Ireland and the submission of a substantial number of Irish kings: for the year 1171 the Munster-based Annals of Inisfallen state that 'The son of the empress came to Ireland and landed at Port Láirge. The son of Cormac and the son of Tairdelbach submitted to him there, and he proceeded thence to Áth Cliath and remained there during the winter'.[12] The failure to mention this national council at Cashel is even more surprising in two respects: the Annals do record a series of less important synods and councils held at Lismore in 1166, at Athboy in 1167 and at Tuam in 1172;[13] and the manuscript of the Annals of Inisfallen is unique among surviving Irish annals as it is a contemporaneous document, rather than a later copy.[14]

Three letters from Pope Alexander III to Henry II, the Irish bishops and the Irish kings respectively, do indirectly corroborate the Anglo-Norman accounts of the council. The letters sent from Tusculum on 20 September 1172, while not referring to a council, do make reference to letters and reports received from the papal legate, the Irish bishops and Henry's representative, Ralph, archdeacon of Llandaff[15].

The account of the Council of Cashel that has continued to echo through the centuries is that of Giraldus in the *Expugnatio Hibernica*. The interpretation and manipulation of his account characterizes the historiography of 'Cashel 1172' to the present day. Here is an excerpt of Giraldus's text from the *Expugnatio*:

> In the year of Our Lord's Incarnation 1172, in the first year in which the illustrious king of the English and conqueror of the Irish gained possession of that island, Christian bishop of Lismore and legate of the apostolic see, Donat archbishop of Cashel, Laurence archbishop of Dublin, and Catholicus archbishop of Tuam with their suffragans and fellow bishops…met in the city of Cashel at that same conqueror's command and held a council there, which was concerned with measures beneficial to the church and with the amelioration of the existing condition of that church.[16]

He then lists the seven decrees of the council and concludes with the famous paragraph which has had the long afterlife:

> Thus in all parts of the Irish church all matters relating to religion are to be conducted hereafter on the pattern of Holy Church, and in line with the observances of the English church. For it is

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12 Seán Mac Airt (ed.), *The Annals of Inisfallen* (Dublin: DIAS, 1951), 304–5, 'Mc. na Perisi do thidach i nH[er]ind goro gab ac Purt Lárgi ….' [i.e. Henry II, son of Matilda, empress of Germany].

13 Flanagan, 'Henry II, the Council of Cashel', 188.

14 GB-Ob, Rawl. B. 503.

15 M. P. Sheehy (ed.), *Pontificia hibernica*, 2 vols. (Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son, 1962–65), i, items 5, 6 and 7.

16 Giraldus Cambrensis, 99.

> proper and most fitting that, just as by God's grace Ireland has received her lord and king from England, so too she should receive a better pattern of living from that same quarter.[17]

Commentators on the Council of Cashel have presumed that this last section was part of the seventh decree or a separate eighth decree, but in an article of 1937 J. F. O'Doherty showed clearly that this is not the case:[18]

> Now, in the text of Giraldus, the sentence just quoted is not a separate canon at all. There are seven canons. And this clause is a general comment on all seven, and is actually introduced by the word *itaque*. The Synod made several changes in the existing practice in Ireland in the seven canons; and then said, in effect, 'In other words (*itaque*) we are imposing on our subjects the discipline of the Church, such for example, as it exists in England'.[19]

The Anglo-Norman chroniclers' accounts of the Cashel gathering do not agree in every detail. However, these accounts function on a symbolic level depending on the priorities and interests of the author: so the royal chronicler Roger of Howden depicts the submission of the Irish kings as taking place at the Christmas feast at Dublin, in a palace which was constructed specially for Henry by the Irish kings 'according to the custom of the country';[20] Gervase of Canterbury, writing for the Canterbury monastic community, focuses on the real reason for Henry's trip to Ireland, 'to avoid the proclamation of a papal interdict following the murder of Thomas Becket'.[21] Marie Therese Flanagan, in her excellent article on the Council of Cashel, provides a detailed exegesis of the chroniclers' accounts. Suffice it to note here that it is unlikely that the Angevin king played a prominent role in such a council given the presence of the papal legate (Christian, bishop of Lismore) and the papal interdict following Becket's murder little over a year earlier.[22]

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17 Giraldus Cambrensis, 101.

18 The paragraph preceding the excerpt quoted below provides a flavour of the sort of polemical use to which Cashel was put from the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries by James Ussher and later Anglican scholars.

19 J. F. O'Doherty, 'St. Laurence O'Toole and the Anglo-Norman Invasion', *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, 50 (1937), 600–25: 606–7. The two phrases *ad instar sacrosanctae ecclesiae* and *juxta quod Anglicana observat ecclesia* are understood by the author to imply conformity with the universal church whose usage may conveniently be learnt from England.

20 Marie Therese Flanagan, *Irish Society, Anglo-Norman Settlers, Angevin Kingship: Interactions in the Late Twelfth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 172.

21 Flanagan, *Irish Society, Anglo-Norman Settlers*, 169.

22 Flanagan, 'Henry II, the Council of Cashel and the Irish Bishops'.

Having noted that the eighth decree of the Council of Cashel beloved of writers on music and liturgy is not a decree at all but a commentary of Giraldus, it is also worth reminding ourselves that the other seven decrees do not mention liturgical practice and are only concerned with the canonical aspects of some sacraments.[23] The chroniclers of the Cashel event agree that the assembly legislated on tithes and marriage law and here we get to the crux of Cashel's significance. Other reforming synods and councils had already issued decrees on tithes and marriage law and would do so again in the future. However, the significance of these two elements for the Anglo-Norman chroniclers is the opportunity they provide to portray Henry II as an agent of church reform in Ireland. After all, the entire Angevin project in Ireland hinged on this for its legitimacy.[24]

It is just possible that the Irish annals ignored the Council of Cashel because it had nothing new to say. Its decrees were, after all, a repetition of existing canonical legislation. The symbolic significance of the decrees counted on two fronts: they could be used to portray Henry II in his role as reform-minded monarch, but they also signified the desire of the Irish bishops to enlist the support of a strong secular power that would help in enforcing this legislation. W. L. Warren has noted in this regard that the bishops didn't get the one thing they really wanted from Henry—royal enforcement of tithe and marriage law:

> Henry II would not do it, because his political policy in Ireland (followed by John) required no interference with Irish custom except on the initiative of the Irish, and no interference with Irish kingship and lordship except in so far as stability and security demanded. The church would have to shift for itself.[25]

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23 Legislation relating to the sacraments of baptism and marriage.

24 J. F. O'Doherty, 'Rome and the Anglo-Norman Invasion of Ireland', *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, 42 (1933), 131–45: 133–4; Anne J. Duggan, '*Totius christianitatis caput*. The Pope and the Princes', in Brenda Bolton and Anne J. Duggan (eds), *Adrian IV, the English Pope (1154-1159): Studies and Texts* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), 105–55: 138–52, especially 149, material given also in the same writer's public lecture to the Dublin Medieval Society at Trinity College Dublin on 10 March 2005: *Non ficta sed falsa: a New Interpretation of 'Laudabiliter'*. The much disputed papal bull *Laudabiliter* has, as O'Doherty and Duggan have shown, come down to us in an edited form. They have also shown that a comparison of *Laudabiliter* with another bull, *Satis Laudabiliter* granted to Louis VII of France when he was planning an invasion of Spain in 1158, reveals the reluctance of the papacy to sanction military action for its own sake, unless in the best interests of the Church and country concerned.

25 W. L. Warren, 'Church and State in Angevin Ireland', *Peritia*, 13 (1999), 276–91: 289.

Perhaps the writers of the Irish monastic annals ignored the Council because they had some sense of Henry's *Realpolitik*: they knew that the bishops would have to wait for a future English king willing to play ball with them!

The twelfth-century reform

In the aftermath of the Viking invasions the petty Irish kingdoms and the Irish church began to re-establish regular contact with Rome. This is highlighted in the number of royal pilgrimages to Rome during the eleventh century.[26] Renewed contact with Rome in the eleventh century combined with considerable contact with English and French ecclesiastical and political centres helped to create a climate in Ireland conducive to ecclesiastical reform.[27] The aims of the reform movement in the Irish church were those of the Gregorian reform sweeping the continent. The Irish movement could be summed up succinctly as an attempt to bring the Irish church into conformity with standard continental practice and discipline after a period of isolation. Contact between Irish kings and the great Norman archbishops of Canterbury, Lanfranc and Anselm, provided a focus for the reform movement. The close relationship of the Hiberno-Norse sees of Dublin, Waterford and Limerick to Canterbury and the presence of Benedictine bishops in two of these places provided a conduit for new theological, liturgical and juridical ideas to enter the Irish church. The proper celebration of the Roman liturgy was a central element of the reformers' programme; and the treatise *De statu ecclesiae*[28] of Gilbert, bishop of Limerick (and papal legate in the early decades of the twelfth century), could be viewed as a charter for the entire Reform movement.

The Irish church had already demonstrated its ability to begin a reform process from within and had skilfully severed Canterbury's jurisdictional links with the Hiberno-Norse sees of Dublin and Waterford at the Synod of Kells-Mellifont in 1152. Its full independence was recognized by Rome in that same year through the granting of not two, as originally envisaged, but four *pallia* to the new metropolitan archbishops. Dublin and Tuam were added to the original list of Armagh and Cashel: Tuam because of its association with the important royal dynasty of the O'Connors; and Dublin in order to wean it out of Canterbury's orbit. In this context we need to ask

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26 Aubrey Gwynn, ed. Gerard O'Brien, *The Irish Church in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1992), 37–8.

27 Denis Bethell, 'English Monks and Irish Reform in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries', *Historical Studies*, 8 (1971), 111–35: 116ff.

28 John Fleming, *Gille of Limerick (c. 1070–1145): Architect of a Medieval Church* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2001), 145ff.

why the Council of Cashel would have had matters of liturgical legislation before it. The evidence of surviving liturgical and musical books, church architecture, fresco painting and juridical legislation suggests that the reform movement was well advanced by the 1150s–60s.

Sarum[29]

It is worth remembering, as Nick Sandon has argued, that 'the modern fame of the Use of Sarum is to a great extent an accidental product of the political and religious pre-occupations of nineteenth century English ecclesiastics and ecclesiologists…and the fascination that it has exerted threatens to limit rather than increase our understanding of the medieval English Church'.[30] In this regard David Chadd has noted that the study of secular liturgical uses in England is 'bedevilled by that liturgical portmanteau usually called *Sarum*'.[31]

Let us suppose for a moment that the Council of Cashel had decreed the adoption of the Use of Sarum in Irish dioceses. How would the precentors, cantors or *magister scole* of Irish cathedrals and collegiate churches then have gone about introducing the Sarum liturgical and musical tradition in the late-twelfth century? If we think about the question in this way, we soon realize that such an undertaking would have been impossible, unless we allow for a scenario such as 'the influence of T. S. Eliot on Shakespeare'.[32] We now know, thanks to the work of Diana Greenway, that the *Institutio Osmundi*—that venerable text on which Salisbury staked so much of its authority and appeal to antiquity—is a fake.[33] We have to await the deanship of

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29 In 1075 William the Conqueror moved the episcopal see of Sherborne to Old Sarum and with the appointment of Bishop Osmund in 1078 the real history of Sarum begins. Bishop Richard Poore oversaw the removal of his see from Old Sarum to New Salisbury, where a new cathedral was begun in 1220.

30 Nicholas Sandon, 'Salisbury, Use of', in Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (eds), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music & Musicians*, second edition (London: Macmillan, 2001), vol. 22, 158–62: 158.

31 David Chadd, 'An English Noted Breviary of circa 1200', in Susan Rankin and David Hiley (eds), *Music in the Medieval English Liturgy: Plainsong and Mediaeval Music Society Centennial Essays* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 205–38: 206.

32 David Lodge, *Small World* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1985), 197.

33 Diana Greenway, 'The false *Institutio* of St Osmund', in Diana Greenway, Christopher Holdsworth and Jane Sayers (eds), *Tradition and Change: Essays in Honour of Marjorie Chibnall Presented by her Friends on the Occasion of her Seventieth Birthday* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 77–101: 85–8, 91 and 94.

Richard Poore,[34] later to become bishop of Salisbury, for the Ordinal and Customary. These were not available before at least 1215 and it is highly unlikely that they circulated outside southern England in the thirteenth century. The earliest notated Sarum books date from the second quarter of the thirteenth century, a good fifty or sixty years after the Council of Cashel.[35] And let us not forget that a period of fifty or one hundred years was just as long in the Middle Ages as it is today!

It would seem that a number of factors combine in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries to aid the dissemination of Sarum books, but this takes us beyond the scope of this article and these matters have been ably dealt with by Sandon and Hiley.[36] Among these factors are the easy availability of Sarum liturgical books from Oxford and London booksellers as well as the popularity of this Use in the college chapels of Oxford. Furthermore, the fact that the Chapel Royal followed the Use of Sarum (or, as David Chadd has imaginatively hinted, that Sarum may have followed the Use of the Chapel Royal) surely added to the status of this particular liturgical dialect.[37] Indeed the success of Sarum in the later Middle Ages resulted more from its thorough codification than its liturgical originality.

So, what did they sing at Cashel in 1172?

It is now time to return to Cashel and attempt to describe briefly what may have been sung there in 1172. It is important to stress that any attempt to answer this question is based on hypothesis. There are very few surviving musical and liturgical sources from twelfth-century Ireland. In addition, the absence of a native tradition of commentary on liturgical matters and the absence of narrative chronicles akin to those of Norman

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34 Richard Poore, dean of Salisbury, 1197–1215 and bishop of Salisbury, 1217–28. See Brian Kemp, 'God's and the King's Good Servant: Richard Poore, Bishop of Salisbury, 1217–1228: Denis Bethell Memorial Lecture 1997', *Peritia*, 12 (1998), 359–78.

35 Graduals: GB-Lbl 12194 and GB-Ob Rawl. Lit. d. 3. Antiphoner: GB-Cu Mm. 2. 9.

36 Sandon, 'Salisbury, Use of', 158ff; David Hiley, *Western Plainchant* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 584.

37 David Chadd, 'Beyond the Frontiers: Guides for Uncharted Territory', paper on his personal website at http://www.uea.ac.uk/~q506/papers/guides.html, accessed 2 May 2007, with reference to a rubric in GB-Lbl Add. 11414 that the use of the King's chapel was normative for Sarum; also, a Breviary reference to the Papal Bull promulgating the feast of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary, having being read *in capella domini Regis.* He notes (p. 7) that this may explain why 'textual peculiarities of the Westminster Abbey missal (a member of the Sarum family, but a distinctive one) should have carried more weight in the world at large than the text as it appears to have been approved at Salisbury itself'. Unfortunately, due to the untimely death of Professor Chadd in November 2006 this website is no longer available to access.

and Anglo-Norman writers make the work of anyone attempting to recreate a picture of the cultural milieu of late twelfth-century Ireland very difficult.

However, we can establish certain facts in relation to Cashel and on that basis use the surviving evidence to offer a reasonable hypothesis of what might have been sung there. The see of Cashel had been recently established and could not lay claim to an ancient tradition like Lismore, Kildare or Armagh. The dramatic rock, symbol of Munster royal power, was handed over to the Church in perpetuity in 1101.[38] Secondly, its early bishops were all keen reformers in close contact with Winchester, Canterbury and Regensburg.[39] Cashel's close links with Lismore, its neighbour to the south, cannot be underestimated, given the importance of the monastery of Lismore throughout the twelfth century as a centre of reform, place of sanctuary and conduit for continental influences.

Given the contacts between Winchester, Canterbury and Munster bishops, we could expect to find a pre-Conquest English liturgical tradition in Cashel. The church of Cashel was also in close contact with the Irish Benedictine *Schottenkloster* of Sankt Jakob in Regensburg.[40] The Irish genealogical tracts refer to the proclamation of the kings of Munster in Cormac's chapel after their election in the manner of the German emperor.[41] Furthermore, possible south-German architectural influences in Cormac's chapel have long been debated.[42] Therefore, it would be reasonable to expect to find liturgical and musical influence from this region. It is also possible that the liturgical and musical tradition of Cashel was a melange of Winchester, Canterbury and continental influences. Although the German liturgical and musical evidence requires considerable further study, preliminary indications in surviving chant fragments of

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38 John Watt, *The Church in Medieval Ireland* (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 1972), 8.

39 The most notable being the first archbishop, Malchus (Máel Ísu Ua hAinmire), a Benedictine monk of Winchester, consecrated as first bishop of Waterford in 1096 by Anselm at Canterbury. He resided in Lismore while bishop of Waterford from 1096 and was archbishop of Cashel *c*1111. He returned to Lismore where his death is recorded in 1135 (Annals of the Four Masters) as bishop of Waterford.

40 Pádraig A. Breatnach, 'The Origins of the Irish Monastic Tradition at Ratisbon (Regensburg)', *Celtica*, 13 (1980), 58–77; Dagmar Ó Riain-Raedel, 'Cashel and Germany: the Documentary Evidence', in Damian Bracken and Dagmar Ó Riain-Raedel (eds), *Ireland and Europe in the Twelfth Century: Reform and Renewal* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2006), 176–217.

41 Francis John Byrne, *Irish Kings and High Kings* (London: B. T. Batsford, 1973), 191.

42 Tadhg O'Keeffe, 'Lismore and Cashel: Reflections on the Beginnings of Romanesque Architecture in Munster', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 124 (1994), 118–52.

Regensburg provenance, now housed in the library of the Vienna *Schottenstift*, suggest theoretical and notational influence from an Irish centre.[43]

The four oldest extant sources of the Romano-Frankish repertory in Ireland all date from the late eleventh or twelfth centuries. For the purposes of this article I will exclude the Drummond Missal from discussion since it clearly emanates from a Gaelic milieu which may or may not have been reform-oriented.[44] The other sources do however, offer many important insights into the musical and liturgical practice of pre-Norman Ireland in the twelfth century, while clearly emanating from a common reform-oriented milieu. These sources are commonly known as the Downpatrick Gradual,[45] the Corpus [Irish] Missal[46] and the Rosslyn Missal.[47] A palaeographical, repertorial (musical) and liturgical study of these manuscripts reveals that they pre-date the arrival of the Anglo-Normans in Ireland, but emanate from a milieu open to

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43 See the wide variety of clefs used in the Vienna fragments, characteristic of British and Irish practice in the twelfth century but unusual in a south German/Austrian context. The notation itself is Messine on a four line staff, bearing a close resemblance to A-Gu 807. See the introduction and tables in Jaques Froger, *Le manuscrit 807, Universitätsbibliothek Graz (XIIe siècle): Graduel de Klosterneuburg*, Paléographie musicale, 19 (Berne: Editions H. Lang, 1974).

44 Named after Drummond Castle in Perthshire where it was located in the nineteenth century. Now US-NYpm 627. It is now generally accepted that this is a Glendalough manuscript, or possibly an Armagh manuscript exported to Glendalough. I remain to be convinced by the arguments that this is a late-twelfth-century book and continue to opt for a late-eleventh-century dating following Françoise Henry and G. L. Marsh-Micheli, 'A Century of Irish Illumination (1070–1170)', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 62c (1962), 101–65: 122–3 and 125. For a problematic printed edition see G. H. Forbes (ed.), *Missale Drummondiense: The Ancient Irish Missal in the Possession of the Baroness Willoughby de Eresby, Drummond Castle, Perthshire* (Burntisland: Pitsligo Press, 1882). For an alternative view on dating see Sarah Gibbs Casey, '"Through a glass, darkly": Steps towards Reconstructing Irish Chant from the Neumes of the Drummond Missal', *Early Music*, 28/ 2 (May 2000), 205–15.

45 GB-Ob, Rawl. C. 892. It was Derek Turner who first suggested a Downpatrick provenance for this manuscript. See Derek Turner (ed.), *The Missal of the New Minster Winchester (Le Havre, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 330)*, Henry Bradshaw Society, vol. 93 (Leighton Buzzard: Faith Press, 1962), appendix, 3.

46 GB-Occ 282. Digital images of the Corpus Missal can be viewed at http://www.image.ox.ac.uk (Early Manuscripts at Oxford University). The text has been published in the problematic edition of F. E. Warren (ed.), *The Manuscript Irish Missal Belonging to the President and Fellows of Corpus Christi College Oxford* (London: Pickering & Co., 1879).

47 Named after Rosslyn Castle in Scotland, its former home before moving to the Advocates' Library in Edinburgh. Its current shelfmark is GB-En Adv. 18.5.19. See the printed edition by Hugh Jackson Lawlor (ed.), *The Rosslyn Missal. An Irish Manuscript in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh*, Henry Bradshaw Society, vol. 15 (London, 1899).

Anglo-Saxon and Norman traditions. It is difficult to accept the Downpatrick provenance of the Rosslyn Missal or of the Downpatrick Gradual, the latter source being the oldest extant notated musical source from Ireland. I have made a case elsewhere for a Lismore provenance for the Downpatrick Gradual.[48] The Corpus Missal has been assigned variously to Clones and Armagh, but this is based on pure speculation: what is certain is that it emanates from a milieu in Ireland open to Scandinavian artistic influence and Anglo-Saxon and Norman liturgical traditions.[49] I do not want to suggest that any of these manuscripts originates in Cashel itself, but I do think they can provide a solid indication of the liturgical and musical practice of the church of Cashel, a reform-oriented milieu, in the second half of the twelfth century.

The melodic variants found in the Downpatrick Gradual reflect the pre-Conquest Anglo-Saxon chant tradition of Winchester, which in turn can be traced back to Corbie and Saint-Denis in northern France.[50] This manuscript is the earliest diastematic representative of the Corbie Saint-Denis tradition, later representatives being the Worcester and Crowland Graduals.[51] In other respects the Downpatrick Gradual reflects Norman rather than Anglo-Saxon liturgical influence. This can be seen in its choice of introit psalm verses, post-Pentecost Alleluia series, text of the *Exultet*, form of celebration of Trinity Sunday and the Palm Sunday procession. Indeed this book is imbued with the spirit and, at times, the very letter of Lanfranc's 'Monastic Constitutions',[52] which we assume were normative in Canterbury. Lanfranc's influence is evident in precise instructions regarding the singing of the hymn *Inventor rutili* by the *pueri* on Holy Saturday and the role of the *cantor* in the Palm Sunday processional rubrics.

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48 Frank Lawrence, 'The Provenance of MS. Rawl. C. 892 in the Bodleian Library, Oxford', a paper read at the *Cantus Planus* meeting in Niederaltaich, Germany on 2 September 2006. The paper will appear in the proceedings of the conference to be published in Budapest in 2008 by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences Institute for Musicology.

49 On the idea of a Clones provenance see Warren (ed.), *The Manuscript Irish Missal*, 50–1. On Armagh see Aubrey Gwynn, 'The Irish Missal of Corpus Christi College, Oxford', in Gwynn, *The Irish Church in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*, 17–33: 28 and 31. The decoration of the manuscript highlighting the Scandinavian-Urnes style is examined in Henry and Marsh-Micheli, 'A Century of Irish Illumination', 136–40.

50 See the study of the monks of Solesmes where these relationships were confirmed: *Le graduel Romain: Édition critique par les moines de Solesmes*, IV: *Le Texte neumatique*, *i: Le Groupement des manuscrits* (Solesmes, 1960).

51 GB-WO, F160, and GB-Lbl, Egerton 3759, respectively.

52 David Knowles (ed.), *The Monastic Constitutions of Lanfranc* (London: Nelson, 1951), 22–6.

The two un-notated twelfth-century manuscripts, the Corpus Missal and the Rosslyn Missal, also display a strong Winchester liturgical and musical influence. It is important to note that although these are books without musical notation this does not mean that they should be considered as books without music: they do contain the texts of the *Antiphonale Missarum* and as such are musical texts in the same way that the manuscripts (without musical notation) used by Hesbert in his edition of the *Sextuplex* bring us into contact with the earliest layers of the Romano-Frankish repertory.[53] The Corpus Missal and Downpatrick Gradual share identical Good Friday rubrics, an unusual textual variant of the intercession for the king of the Irish in the *Exultet* as well as the 'Norman' version of that text,[54] and Offertories and offertory verses that are rare or unique in sources from the British Isles. The Rosslyn Missal is clearly a close cousin of the Corpus Missal as evidenced by its sacramentary texts. Christopher Hohler has already linked these two missals and the Drummond Missal to a group of late Saxon service books which may reflect the tradition of the English secular clergy in the pre-Conquest period.[55]

The fusion of Anglo-Saxon and Norman musical and liturgical elements in these books is most interesting when set in the context of their palaeographical and artistic traditions. The Corpus and Rosslyn Missals can be safely dated to the first half of the twelfth century while the Downpatrick Gradual can be dated to the middle of that century.[56] Clearly these books reflect, in their myriad influences, the intense contact with English and continental political and ecclesiastical centres characteristic of reform circles in the Irish church, particularly in Munster, in the decades preceding the arrival of the Anglo-Normans.

The notation of the Downpatrick Gradual suggests primarily Norman-French rather than English influence. This type of notation is not unique in Irish sources. The three-voice polyphonic colophon *Cormacus scripsit* in a mid-twelfth-century Irish psalter

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53 Réne-Jean Hesbert, *Antiphonale Missarum Sextuplex* (Brussels: Vromant & Co., 1935).

54 On the 'Norman' version of the *Exultet*, see Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *Laudes regiae: A Study in Liturgical Acclamations and Mediaeval Ruler Worship* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1946), Appendix III, 231–3.

55 C. E. Hohler, 'Some Service Books of the Later Saxon Church', in David Parsons (ed.), *Tenth-Century Studies: Essays in Commemoration of the Millennium of the Council of Winchester and Regularis Concordia* (London & Chichester: Phillimore, 1975), 60–83.

56 On the dating of the two missals I follow Henry and Marsh-Micheli, 'A Century of Irish Illumination'. The dating of the Downpatrick Gradual is based on my own research and the opinions of Professor Rodney Thomson and Dr Tessa Webber.

contains similar notation.[57] The illumination of this latter manuscript suggests a provenance in a monastic scriptorium in the south of Ireland and the notation reveals clear Norman-Benedictine influence.[58] Other examples of similar, although not identical, notation can be found in a fragment of a twelfth-century Irish missal that found its way to Iceland[59] and in an antiphoner fragment from Ireland, now in the library of St Gall.[60]

The similarities of notation in surviving Irish sources and the presence of polyphony in two of these sources, characterized by a vertical layout of parts separated by a wavy horizontal line, all point to Norman-French or Burgundian influence. The manuscripts with notation closest in appearance and form to this Irish notation come from Jumièges in Normandy and Vézelay in Burgundy.[61]

Marion Gushee has also drawn attention to the fact that one of the few known concordances for a piece of polyphony from before the Notre Dame epoch occurs in a Chartres manuscript fragment from *c*1100.[62] The setting of the verse *Dicant nunc iudei* (of the Easter processional antiphon *Christus resurgens*) in this fragment is almost identical with that found in the Downpatrick Gradual.[63] The Chartres fragment was at the church of Saint-Père de Chartres in the later middle ages, but its original provenance is not certain.[64] Given the wide range of continental contacts maintained by Irish monks, bishops and kings in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, a northern

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57 GB-Lbl, Add. 36929.

58 On the illumination of this psalter see Henry and March-Micheli, 'A Century of Irish Illumination'. The use of the 'Fécamp mi-neume' is a tell-tale sign of Norman Benedictine influence in the notation, rather than Cistercian influence as thought to be the case by Henry and Marsh-Micheli. I would like to thank David Hiley for bringing this to my attention.

59 Reykjavík, Landsbókasafn Íslands, fragment 22, verso (= f. 2*v*). See Lilli Gjerløw, *Liturgica Islandica*, Bibliotheca Arnamagnaeana, 36 (Copenhagen: C. A. Reitzels Boghandel A/S, 1980), plate 5.

60 CH-SGs, Collectanea 1397. See Johannes Duft and Peter Mayer, *The Irish Miniatures in the Abbey Library of St Gall* (Olten, Berne & Lausanne: Urs Graf Verlag, 1954), 44 and 80–1.

61 See, for instance, F-R 267 from Jumièges and the *Codex Calixtinus* now in Santiago de Compostela. On Huglo's thesis that part of the *Codex Calixtinus* was written at Vézelay around 1150, see Michel Huglo, 'The Origin of the Monodic Chants in the Codex Calixtinus', in Graeme M. Boone (ed.), *Essays on Medieval Music in Honor of David G. Hughes*, Isham Library Papers, 4 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Department of Music, 1995), 195–205.

62 F-CHRm 109. See Yves Delaporte (ed.), *Fragments des manuscrits de Chartres : reproduction phototypique*, Paléographie musicale, 17 (Solesmes, 1958).

63 Marion S. Gushee, *Romanesque Polyphony: A Study of the Fragmentary Sources* (PhD diss., Yale University, 1965), 50–67.

64 It may be of Chartres provenance or may ultimately derive from Fleury. I would like to thank Michel Huglo for reminding me that Saint-Père de Chartres was a foundation of Fleury.

French and Burgundian musical influence in Irish sources should not surprise us. The fusion of diverse influences represented in the Irish sources is particularly interesting and testifies to an unusual degree of openness to multifarious traditions.

Roger Stalley has drawn attention to the remains of what was obviously an elaborate fresco cycle in the chancel vault of Cormac's Chapel on the Rock of Cashel.[65] The small scale of Irish Romanesque churches of the twelfth century and loss through the vicissitudes of history should not seduce us into thinking that the ritual and music performed in those places were less sumptuous or elaborate than that found elsewhere in medieval Europe.[66] Indeed, the surviving liturgical, musical, architectural and historical evidence suggests that the reform-minded clerics of the Irish church had achieved a rich synthesis by mid-century. The prominence of Munster clerics in the reform movement, combined with the rich network of contacts that the church of Cashel maintained with the Anglo-Norman world and the German Empire, makes it highly probable that what was sung in Cashel in 1172 is closely reflected in the chant tradition of the Downpatrick Gradual and the *Antiphonale Missarum* of the related missals.

Conclusion

I hope to have dispelled the idea that the second Council of Cashel was of particular significance for the development of music and liturgy in Ireland and to have alerted musicologists to the problematic historiography of that event. While the surviving notated and un-notated manuscript sources display archaic characteristics reflecting the innate conservatism of Gaelic society and culture, the fusion of Norman elements reflects openness to innovation. Furthermore, the Downpatrick Gradual, particularly in its notation and polyphonic content, is a witness to contemporary continental practice. This openness to reform and innovation is also evident in the art, architecture, juridical structures and theology of the Irish Church on the eve of the arrival of the Anglo-Normans.

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[65] Roger Stalley, 'Design and function: the construction and decoration of Cormac's Chapel at Cashel', in Bracken and Ó Riain-Raedel (eds), *Ireland and Europe in the Twelfth Century*, 162–75, especially 173ff. While accepting Professor Stalley's argument in favour of English artistic influence in the fresco cycle, I do not think it necessary to try to link the composition of the cycle to the visit of Henry II in 1172, a reading which may result from a rather literal interpretation of Giraldus's account in the *Expugnatio Hibernica*.

[66] A possibly problematic historical parallel, but an apt visual paradigm, is offered in the sumptuous liturgical scenes of the film *Andrei Rublev* (1969) by the Russian director Andrei Tarkovsky.