

18. F. Henry, *op. cit.*, p. 107.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 110.
20. *Ibid.*, pp. 64-65.
21. F. Warren, *The Antiphony of Bangor* (London, 1895) II, p. 28.
22. F. Henry, *op. cit.*, p. 182.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 188.
24. K. Meyer, *op. cit.*, p. 83.
25. L. Bieler, *Ireland, Harbinger of the Middle Ages* (London, 1963) p. 134.
26. F. Henry, *op. cit.*, p. 202.
27. K. Meyer, *The Voyage of Bran*, p. 290.
28. L. Bieler, *op. cit.*, p. 59.
29. T. Merton, from an unpublished manuscript, "Anthology of Irish Poetry" (Gethsemani, 1964) p. 23.
30. L. Bieler, *op. cit.*, p. 144.

Gethsemani/Monte Cistello

Patrick HART *ocso*.

Eremitism in the Celtic Church

Introduction

Before the Second Vatican Council and the promulgation of the *Decree on the Appropriate Renewal of Religious Life*, monks of insight and vision in Europe and America had already begun to rediscover their "lost heritage." Due in part to the immense labors of such articulate monks as Dom Jean Leclercq and Dom Garcia Colombàs among the Benedictines, and Father Louis Merton of the Cistercians, the solitary life once more began to be appreciated within the ambience of the monastic communities.

Following Vatican II, the spirit of *aggiornamento* soon found its way into the very heart of contemplative monasteries and monks began to take stock of their lives by examining them in the light of the whole of monastic tradition, including eremitism as found in the East and the West. This "return to the sources," and reassessment of monastic ideals, taking into account present day needs and realities, has resulted in a measure of experimentation by monastic communities. The renewed interest in the solitary life is a striking manifestation of the dynamic spirit at work in the Church today.

But one may doubt the validity of the eremitical form of life for the twentieth century, when there is such a desperate need for a more relevant apostolic action, both at home and in the foreign missions, and for a more authentic Christian witness in all areas of social life. Does not the solitary opt for a selfish existence free from any real Christian commitment? Does he not strive to escape the inevitable vicissitudes of daily life in community? Is he not interested exclusively in his own salvation?

In a convincing article written before Vatican II but republished in English more recently, Dom Garcia Colombàs reminds us that the genuine hermit is not a misanthropist, or a man who has simply lost interest in the rest of humanity: "Hermits do not withdraw into solitude because they hate men. They do it in order to become more closely united with the whole monastic and Christian community."¹ His arguments for the solitary life have considerable impact because they are firmly rooted in the Scriptures and the Fathers.

The writings of Evagrius Ponticus are especially pregnant in their powerful defense of the eremitical ideal, always emphasizing the fact that it is charity that motivates the hermit. “He is a monk who is separated from all and united to all . . . A monk is a person who considers himself one with all because he sees himself in each . . . Blessed is the monk who sees with joy the salvation and progress of all as if they were his own . . .”²

Of course, the Church has never lacked active souls who feel that hermits and recluses ignore human affairs unjustly, and that they should become more “involved” in the things of this world. The whole concept of *fuga mundi* (the term is perhaps unfortunate because of its negative undertones) does not offer a challenging appeal for the modern active mind. However, if it is true (as has been reaffirmed by modern popes and by Vatican II) that the monk positively co-operates in the salvation of the world, not through direct action but through a life of prayer and the pursuit of perfection – not actively but existentially – the true solitary does so *a fortiori*.

From St. Augustine’s writings we know how well he realized that although the solitaries live apart from the Church physically, their prayers and their total detachment from the things of earth may be of inestimable value to her. Many other Fathers had similar views: St. John Chrysostom referred to solitaries as beacons lighting the course to be navigated in this life, “lamps which illumine the whole earth” and “walls defending the cities.” But why continue with an apologia of the solitary life which is totally unnecessary for anyone who has made even the slightest acquaintance with the writings of the Fathers?

It is the conviction of Father Louis Merton that “ours is certainly a time of solitaries and hermits.” But he follows this statement with an admonition that our monastic ancestors are not to be slavishly imitated today: “. . . merely to reproduce the simplicity, austerity and prayer of these primitive souls is not a complete and satisfactory answer. We must transcend them, and transcend all those who since their time have gone beyond the limits which they set.”³

The purpose of these pages is to trace briefly the historical development of the solitary life as we find it manifested in the early Celtic Church, and to sketch in broad outlines some of its distinctive features. Eremitism in the Celtic Church, admittedly overlooked except by a few specialists in the past, is a part of the whole of monastic tradition, and it merits our attention no less than the Egyptian Desert Fathers, to whom St. Benedict looked for inspiration.

The Celtic Solitaries

The eremitical form of life had numerous followers in the Celtic Church, at every period of its monastic history, and it is remarkable to see the variety of observances and the flexibility of structure of the solitary life as it was practiced from the fifth century onwards. In the first place there were hermits who lived far apart from the company of men, isolated in some vast virgin forest or on a lonely island accessible to none but the birds and wild animals, with whom the hermits became intimate friends. A whole tradition of nature and hermit poetry flowered spontaneously in such a favorable *milieu*.

An eschatological poem attributed to St. Columban shows how profoundly aware the early Celtic solitaries were of “the last things,” even in their literary works:

Day of the King most righteous,
The day is nigh at hand,
The day of wrath and vengeance,

And darkness on the land.
 Day of thick clouds and voices,
 Of mighty thundering,
 A day of narrow anguish,
 And bitter sorrowing.
 The love of women's over,
 And ended is desire.
 Men's strife with men is quiet,
 And the world lusts no more.⁴

It is the utter unworldliness of the anchoritic poetry of the Celtic monks which strikes us most forcibly today. The following poem on the death of Alexander the Great is a moving example of the hermit's consciousness of death and of the vanity that occupies the thoughts of so many.

Four men stood by the grave of a man,
 The grave of Alexander the Proud . . .
 Said the first man of them:
 "Yesterday there were around the king
 The men of the world – a sad gathering!
 Though today he is alone."⁵

Besides the hermits, there is evidence of the existence of countless recluses, enclosed in their *carcair* adjoining a church or monastery. Given daily sustenance through an opening, they had no other contact with the world, but occupied themselves entirely with the thought and love of God. Similar to these were the anchorites and anchoresses attached to the church of Armagh, mentioned in the *Liber Angeli*, and later inserted in the Book of Armagh.

Again, it was not uncommon to find "seasonal hermits," who, without renouncing the obvious advantages of community life, would feel an urgent need to give themselves from time to time a period of more intense contemplation and stricter mortification. There was an admirable fluidity of movement, which allowed cenobites to retire to the desert and hermits to return to the monastic community as the spirit moved them, and as their spiritual maturity warranted.

In most cases monks retreated to a life of greater solitude only after many years in the cenobium. It was considered rash to venture forth on such a serious undertaking without being well-trained in all the basic monastic virtues, and then only after receiving the approval of the superior. In the "Rule of the Anchorites" (ascribed to St. Columcille), it is clear that the hermit was in close proximity to a monastery: "The hermit is to be alone in a desert apart in the neighborhood of a chief monastery . . ." Such a system of eremitism, in dependence on a monastery and an abbot was doubtless the best way, as it precluded most of the dangers which threaten the hermit life.

The eremitical ideals of Lérins and Tours, which in their turn were in great part influenced by the Egyptian "Desert Father" tradition, unquestionably had their impact on the Celtic movement towards solitude. St. Patrick's experiences at Lérins and St. Ninian's contact with St. Martin of Tours⁶ were to have their effects on the orientation of monasticism in the Celtic countries.

The most popular choice of location for Irish hermits of the more adventurous type was "in

the desert of the sea,” such as Skellig Rock, an island very difficult of access situated in a wild sea about seven miles off the Kerry coast. Stone hermitages shaped in the form of bee-hives are still extant to bear witness to the dedicated lives of the solitaries who dwelt there.

However, it must not be concluded that these solitaries were morose or unsociable. They offered no objection to being visited and consulted by bishops, clergy and laymen. Their hospitality and charity were proverbial. It is told of one hermit named Cronan of Glen Essa, who had an evident musical talent for the pipes, that he was not unwilling to prove his skill if even mildly urged.⁷

It was inevitable that the hermits and anchorites should become the object of singular regard and veneration. A hermit was chosen, for example, by St. Brigid to be bishop of her double monastery at Kildare. And later on an important letter on the paschal question was addressed jointly to Beccan the solitary and Abbot Segene. In fact, the advice of hermits was nearly always sought before serious decisions were taken in the Celtic Church.

As late as the twelfth century the hermit life was still in vogue in Wales, as Giraldus comments: “Nowhere are hermits and anchorites to be found who practise greater abstinence and lead a more spiritual life . . .”⁸

The Venerable Bede mentions Anglo-Saxons who left their country in order to follow the eremitical call in Ireland, for example Hoemgils and Wilbert. So it is evident that the eremitical movement in Ireland became well known outside her own shores at an early date.⁹

For an adequate understanding of the Church in the Celtic countries, and the place which the solitaries occupied in it, it is necessary to consider briefly a work which gives an analysis of the principal elements of the early Irish Church. I refer to the famous *Catalogus Sanctorum Hiberniae*.¹⁰ In this document it is stated that there were three Orders of saints in Ireland.

The First Order, “Most Holy,” received its order of services from St. Patrick, and the saints were all bishops. They had but one liturgy, and did not scorn the company and assistance of women. The Second Order, described as “Very Holy,” contained no bishops, but only presbyters. There were various liturgies and numerous monastic rules. It declined the services of women except those connected with monasteries, and received its order from Saints David, Gildas and Docus of Wales.

The author of the *Catalogus* refers to as “Holy” the Third Order, which consisted of solitaries “who dwelt in desert places and lived on herbs and water and by alms, for the idea of possessing anything of their own was repugnant to them.”¹¹

From this passage one might be led to believe that the solitary life was more marked in the seventh century than earlier. However, Nora Chadwick, following Father John Ryan, places the Third Order (of anchorites) with the general tendency towards the desert at the end of the sixth century.

From a letter of St. Columbanus to Pope Gregory in the sixth century, it is clear that the solitary life was not new in Ireland even at that time.¹² Hence we can conclude that the eremitical ideal was present in the Celtic Church from its beginnings, and was practiced by the “Saints of the First and Second Orders” for longer or shorter periods of time, as well, of course, as by the “Third Order”; it is recorded that bishops and priests of the first two Orders frequented the woods and mountains for “a season of solitude,” such as Lent in preparation for the Paschal Mystery.

From the foregoing there can be no doubt that the Celtic Church, faithful to the Egyptian desert tradition, regarded the solitary life as more perfect than the cenobitic way of life – or more

exactly, as its completion and fulfillment. The general tendency to solitude towards the end of the sixth century was so prominent a feature that it was to mark the beginning of a new era.

Exiles for Christ

From the earliest days of their existence Irish monks visited the islands in the Northern Seas. Some were in search of “a desert in the sea,” as we have seen. One of these was Cormac, for whom St. Columba of Iona obtained the protection of the Prince of the Orkney Islands through Brude, King of the Picts. When Cormac landed on the islands, however, he found them already populated by natives, and as in the case of so many other Irish pilgrims, began at once to preach the Gospel message to them.¹³

The Faroe Islands, situated nearly half-way between the Orkneys and Iceland, had been inhabited by Irish hermits for a hundred years before the arrival of the Scandinavians. According to the Irish geographer, Dicuil, Iceland was discovered by them about 795.

St. Brendan’s sea voyages have become legend, and it is reasonably certain that he visited St. Columba on the Island of Hinba, as Adamnan, the reliable biographer of Columba, states. It is also stated that Brendan reached the Scottish Islands, but whether he actually reached the shores of America “drawn by, or driven by, favouring winds to the extreme west,” is still a matter of interesting conjecture.¹⁴

These “exiles for Christ” thus by degrees penetrated the sea regions of the north and north-west. One of the earliest was St. Columba, who settled with a small group on the island of Iona. From here Christianity spread to the Picts. And from Iona, too, went forth the Scottish monks, to found Lindisfarne and devote themselves to the evangelization of Northumbria.

About this same time St. Samson of South Wales set out in another direction. He was possibly the greatest political force among all the Breton colonists, and the founder of the most important Breton Church.

All these saints were practicing the characteristic form of Celtic ascetic discipline known as *peregrinatio*, “wandering” – or literally “pilgrimage.” *Peregrinatio* had its roots in the teaching of the Old Testament, as can be seen from the following quotation in the “Old Irish Life of St. Columba”:

God counselled Abraham to leave his own country and go in pilgrimage into the land which God had shown him, to wit, the “Land of Promise”. . . Now the good counsel which God enjoined here on the father of the faithful is incumbent on all the faithful; that is, to leave their country and their land, their wealth and their worldly delight for the sake of the Lord of the Elements, and go in perfect pilgrimage in imitation of Him.¹⁵

However, difficulties arose from the high esteem in which the pilgrimage was held in the Celtic Church. The principle of retirement, or withdrawal from one’s home, friends and relatives, was accepted more or less universally since the beginning of monasticism. St. Patrick in his *Confessions* gives expression to this ideal in his own life: “Whence came to me that gift so intense that I might part with fatherland and relatives?”¹⁶ And we recall that St. Martin of Tours had done the same, for he was not of Gaul, but Pannonia.

The Irish character has always been extremely sensitive to the torment of separation from

homeland. The *Lives* also illustrate the homesickness which was so characteristic in all ages of Irish exile, and “sometimes required a miracle to cure.”¹⁷

If the doctrine of “exile for Christ” was sound, why then the hesitation in putting it into practice? The question was whether a monk under obedience might be justified in ignoring his abbot on this point, and set out for a “desert” if he saw it would be beneficial for his own soul and that of his neighbor. From the evidence we possess, however, it is clear that the monastery might never be abandoned even for so high a purpose without first obtaining the blessing of the abbot. That was what was held in theory, at least – but in practice . . . ?

It is told of some monks from St. Fintan’s monastery of Cluain Eidnech that, glowing with an excessive desire for the pilgrimage and unwilling to live in their own country, they left without Fintan’s consent. One of the group had a delicate conscience, and returned. But Fintan was only slightly displeased for “he felt confident that the monks had acted in good faith.”¹⁸

In St. Berach’s monastery there was a certain brother who, without waiting to ask his superior’s leave, made a vow to go on a pilgrimage to Rome. When the Saint heard of it, he commended the brother for his great zeal, but he was not disposed to yield to his desire. So he prayed to God that the brother might be freed from his resolution, which was quickly granted. The brother had a dream in which he thought he made a pilgrimage to Rome under a very capable guide. So vivid was the dream that the brother’s desire was fulfilled without his ever leaving his enclosure, and he thus avoided all the dangers and inconveniences of travel. This episode is reminiscent of a poem of the Old Irish period:

To go to Rome
Is much trouble, little profit;
The King [of Heaven] whom thou seekest there,
Unless thou bring Him with thee, thou wilt not find.¹⁹

Abbots themselves were apparently not exempt from the “desire for the pilgrimage,” and they were warned against indiscreet trips outside their monasteries. Abbot Coemgen, for example, was shown that his wish to journey abroad was an evil in the guise of good, and that actually it was a suggestion of a demon.²⁰ In general, then, the principle was held that subjects must not set out on pilgrimage without leave from their superiors, and that superiors should not be absent from their monasteries without having first sought advice from others, and without prayerful reflection.

All the various Celtic countries still have place-names that remind us of the countless solitaries and wandering saints, legends of whom were recorded by later monastic chroniclers, often on a basis of truth, though they are difficult to authenticate. The spirit of the hermits and recluses of the Egyptian desert survived among the Celtic solitaries and was transplanted by them from Ireland to Gaul, Switzerland and Italy during the sixth and seventh centuries.

The most famous of these wandering solitaries was undoubtedly St. Columbanus (543-615), who was born in Ireland and became a monk of Bangor in County Down. At the age of forty, feeling inspired to become “an exile for Christ,” he set out with twelve monks, and landed in Gaul around 585. From here he made his way to Burgundy, where he established a semi-eremical community at Annegray in Haute-Saône. A clearing in a wooded valley shut in by rocky mountains provided complete isolation. Before long, however, another foundation was launched

at Luxeuil in the ruins of an old Roman fortress. Here the monks observed a penitential rule written by Columbanus, although later on the Rule of St. Benedict was introduced and observed simultaneously with that of Columbanus. Finally, the milder Rule of St. Benedict, which had the immense advantage of warm support from Rome, was to supplant that of Columbanus.

Always craving for greater solitude, St. Columbanus took one of his monks named Gall into Switzerland, and then to an idyllic location at what is now Vorarlberg, Austria, where a few huts and a chapel were built. Before long, however, Columbanus wandered over the Alps into Italy, where he founded his last monastery at Bobbio.

No matter where he was, this typical Celtic pilgrim had such a yearning for solitude that he often withdrew from the simple hut settlements, when his duties as Abbot became too distracting. One is reminded of the Egyptian monks fleeing further and further into the heart of the desert of Nitria. St. Columbanus wanted to be alone in death no less than in life. In 615 he left his brethren at Bobbio and retired to a cave on the side of a mountain, where he died alone.

The Scriptures and Prayer

It would be difficult to overestimate the place of honor accorded to the Bible in Celtic monastic education. Upon entrance into the monastery, the novice was given a psalter which he was required to commit to memory.²¹ This was later to prove an inestimable advantage during the chanting of the Divine Office, especially during the night hours when lighting was hardly adequate. After the psalms, the novice was given certain portions of the New Testament, such as St. Matthew and the Acts of the Apostles. A more advanced neophyte would be given the twelve minor prophets.

The early Celtic monks, for whom the Word of God was their “bread in the wilderness,” could hardly have missed the invitation to solitude in this beautiful passage from Osee: “I am going to allure her, and I will draw her into solitude, and there I will speak to her heart.”²² Or to mention only one quotation from the New Testament: “And every one that hath left house or brethren or sister or father or mother or wife or children or *lands* for my name’s sake, shall receive a hundredfold and shall possess life everlasting.”²³

According to Jonas, St. Columbanus, while still in his early manhood, had made such progress in the study of the Sacred Scriptures that he had composed a Latin commentary on the Psalter. This is understandable when one considers how the monks and hermits were steeped in the Word of God, both Old and New Testaments. After memorizing large portions of it, how natural it was for the monks to meditate upon it in the quiet hours of *lectio divina*, following the chanting of the psalms in the Divine Office. This inevitably flowed over into the monk’s study and his personal prayer life.

It has been asserted, and with some justification, that the early Celtic monks and hermits practiced the “prayer of Jesus,” or “prayer of the heart,” so widely used among the Eastern monks. When one considers the evident contacts between the two traditions, such a suggestion is understandable. The prayer was the familiar one based on the prayer of the publican in the Gospel: “Lord Jesus Christ, Son of the living God, be merciful to me, a sinner.” This verse, or a shorter adaptation of it, would be repeated thousands of times a day, synchronized with the monk’s breathing, until it became second nature, like inhaling and exhaling.

The *Lorica* (or “The Breastplate of St. Patrick”), which it is not unreasonable to attribute to

St. Patrick himself, contains passages which make Christ's presence very real and actual. He was not a "God up there," but a personal God, ever present to the monk in Christ, and was encountered in the concrete existential situation of each moment:

Christ be with me,
 Christ be before me,
 Christ be after me.
 Christ be within me,
 Christ be beneath me,
 Christ be above me,
 Christ be at my right hand,
 Christ be at my left hand,
 Christ be in the heart of every
 man who thinks of me,
 Christ be in the mouth of every
 man who speaks to me,
 Christ be in every one
 that sees me.
 Christ be in every ear
 that hears me.²⁵

Very little is found in the Irish documents in the way of instruction on the method of private prayer. Given an atmosphere of silence and solitude, and after having acquired purity of heart (as taught in Cassian's *Institutes*) prayer followed almost automatically once the monk or hermit had placed himself in the presence of God. Evidence of the fact that not a few monks had reached this stage can be deduced from the large number who left the cenobium for a more solitary life of reclusion or anchorite, where prayer would be more continuous.

Formal meditation such as we have known in our day, and which the modern handbooks of prayer set as the basis of the spiritual life, was completely unknown to the Celtic solitaries. "Meditation, thinking about God, penetrating the mysteries of the Scriptures, came much more simply: from the Mass, the Liturgy and the study of the Bible."²⁶

This brings us to the subject of the Liturgy in the life of the Celtic monks. It goes without saying that the *Opus Dei* was performed in all the cenobitic monasteries, roughly following the arrangement outlined by Cassian. However, there were notable variations. St. Brendan in the paradise of "Birds" is said to have found a system of five hours: Vespers, Vigils, Terce, Sext and None (Prime and Compline were later additions). Vigils and Vespers were considered the most important, and they were chanted solemnly in common. The "little hours," on the other hand, might be recited simply at the place of manual or intellectual work. Meals, too, in a sense, were a part of the Divine Office, and were therefore preceded and followed by the recitation of psalms.²⁷

We may perhaps be shocked to learn that the hermits and anchorites did not apply themselves very seriously to the official Liturgy, such as ecclesiastical functions and the eucharistic synaxis. But, as Dom Garcia Colombàs explains, the reason is not hard to find: "For the ancients, the entire life of the monk was a liturgy. The offering of one's own person and life, which was the basis

of primitive monasticism, takes the place of liturgical action. In its entirety the life of a monk is a consecration to God, a prayer, a sacrifice of praise within the limitless temple of the desert. The anchorite is himself a temple of God.”²⁸

Conclusion

No monastic tradition can be overlooked with impunity in our “return to the sources”; though these ideals should not be merely lifted from the past and transplanted into the context of the twentieth century. It will be the work of contemporary monks fully acquainted with the whole of monastic tradition yet committed to the present and its particular needs – physical, intellectual and psychological – to interpret the past for us today. It is obvious that continuity with the most authentic traditions of the past is necessary, as well as an openness to present day realities. The Celtic monastic tradition demonstrates clearly that “The windows of the monastery must open out onto the vast horizons of the desert.” And if they do not, as Fr. Louis Merton warns: “the monastic community inevitably becomes immersed in vanity. All that is accidental, trivial and accessory tends to assume a rank of high importance and to become the sole end of the monastic life.”²⁹

The renewal of the solitary life within the framework of our monastic communities should be an encouragement to all monks today, and a demonstration that amidst the process of “up-dating” and *aggiornamento*, monks will continue to seek the one thing necessary. “Just as the Church of God can never be without martyrs, so too she can never be without solitaries, for the hermit, like the martyr, is the most eloquent witness of the risen Christ.”³⁰

1. G. Colombàs, “The Ancient Concept of the Monastic Life,” *Monastic Studies* II (Pine City, 1964) p. 110. See also the same author’s article “Eremitism,” *American Benedictine Review* XVII (Collegeville, 1966) p. 57.
2. *De Oratione*, 124.
3. T. Merton, *The Wisdom of the Desert* (New York, 1960) p. 23. See also T. Merton, “Notes for a Philosophy of Solitude,” *Disputed Questions* (New York, 1960) pp. 177-207, and J. Leclercq, *Alone with God* (London, 1962) pp. 155-178 for a theological justification of the solitary life based on the doctrine of Bl. Paul Giustiniani, reformer of the Camaldolese Hermits.
4. H. A. Reinhold, *The Soul Afire* (New York, 1944) p. 136. See also our article “Irish Monastic Art and Poetry,” *Cist. Stud.*, 1966, pp. 150-165 for a short treatment of the nature and hermit poetry.
5. K. Meyer, Ed., *Ancient Irish Poetry* (Dublin, 1962) p. 96.
6. M. Anderson, *St Ninian, Light of the Celtic North* (London, 1964).
7. S. Gwynn, “Some Saints of Ireland” (C.Q.R. LXXIV, 1912) p. 71.
8. Giraldus, *D. K.* (i. 18) p. 204.
9. V. Bede, *H. E.* (V. 9-12).
10. Hadden and Stubbs, Ed., *Councils* (II, ii) p. 292f.
11. See N. Chadwick, *The Age of the Saints of the Early Celtic Church* (Cambridge, 1963) pp. 71f. for a full description of the Three Orders of Irish Saints. See also J. Ryan, *Irish Monasticism* (Dublin, 1931) p. 260.
12. See G. Walker, Ed., *Sancti Columbani Opera* (Dublin, 1957) pp. 2-11.
13. See Adamnan, *Vita Col.* (I. 6) p. 22 and II.42, pp. 115-8.
14. See Kenny, *Sources*, I, p. 408.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 433.
16. St. Patrick, *Confessions*, 36, p. 246.
17. See C. Plummer, *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae* (Oxford, 1910) p. cxxiii.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 100-1.
19. K. Meyer, *op. cit.*, p. 100.
20. C. Plummer, *op. cit.*, p. 250.
21. See V. Bede, *H. E.*, iii, 5.
22. Osee 2:14.

23. Matt. 19:29.
24. Jonas, *Vita Col.* i. 3, p. 158.
25. Hadden and Stubbs, Ed., *Councils, op. cit.*, p. 320.
26. P. Mould, *The Celtic Saints* (New York, 1956) p. 140.
27. See L. Gougaud, *Christianity in Celtic Lands* (London, 1932) pp. 313-328, and J. Ryan, *op. cit.*, pp. 328-350, for a good treatment of Celtic Liturgy and private prayer and devotion.
28. G. Colombàs, *op. cit.*, p. 111.
29. T. Merton, *op. cit.*, pp. 21-22.
30. *Ibid.*, p. 21. See also T. Merton, "For a Renewal of Eremitism in the Monastic State," *Collectanea Cisterciensia* 1965, p. 121ff.

Gethsemani/Monte Cistello

Patrick HART



Brother Patrick meets Pope Paul VI – mid-1960s