

BLEBOMEN AGIALOS

BIBLICAL EXEGESIS AND MARKED DICTION IN ADELPHUS ADELPHA METER

GRACE ATTWOOD

IT IS WELL KNOWN that during the early Middle Ages regular cultural exchanges took place between the scholars working in Irish and English foundations.¹ As early as 635 CE, Irish missionaries were dispatched from Iona to Northumbria at King Oswald's request, which resulted in the Irish playing a significant role in the conversion of the early medieval English.² Moreover, many English students spent considerable time studying in Ireland, as is noted by both Bede³ and Aldhelm.⁴ Indeed, English foundations were even established in Ireland.⁵ Yet, despite this deep connectivity, the stylistic links that emerge between the Latin texts written in Ireland and England during this period must be placed back into a broader context still. In particular, Patristic sources and their accompanying interpretations influenced not only the contents of early medieval poetry, but sometimes also the style in which they were written.⁶ This study examines the relationship

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1 A good overview of these exchanges is found in Wright, "The Irish Tradition."

2 Bede, *Historica Ecclesiastica*, III.3–5.

3 Bede, *Historica Ecclesiastica*, III.27.

4 Aldhelm, *Epistola ad Heahfridum*, in *Opera*.

5 On the English foundation, which was possibly established near modern-day Clonmelsh, Co. Carlow, see Ó Cróinín, "Rath Melsigi, Willibrord, and the Earliest Echternach Manuscripts." On an English foundation in Co. Mayo, see Ireland, "Seventh-century Ireland as a Study Abroad Destination."

6 For example, some of the lexical choices made in *Primo deus caeli globum* can only

between Patristic biblical exegesis and marked diction found in *Adelphus Adelpha Meter*, an early medieval text with links to Hiberno-Latin and Anglo-Latin materials. This study is accomplished through a philological study of key marked terms (*agialos* and *dodrans*) and a re-examination of glossarial evidence contained in Cambridge, University Library, MS Gg. 5. 35.

Here, the term marked diction is used to refer to words that might have stood out to their medieval readers since they are outside the usual *Latin* vocabulary, including certain Hellenisms, Hebraicisms, neologisms, or rare Latin words. However, a word of caution. Naturally, there is a certain fluidity to the concept of marked diction. Indeed, the perception of marked diction would have been determined by several factors, including the knowledge and training of the reader. For this reason, lexical items found in medieval Latin texts which might be described as marked today may not in fact have been perceived as marked by the early medieval *literati*. Rather, it is possible that the modern evaluation of their so-called markedness might instead reflect modern training and biases.⁷ For instance, the understanding of word distribution is shaped by the accident of survival, whereby certain terms may have been much more frequently employed in a collection of analogous texts that are now lost to time. Yet, even if such textual features were less unusual than has been suggested, this does not necessarily mean that those who produced them and those who engaged with them were not aware that they were marked in some way, as difficult or rare, even if they had been trained to engage with such vocabulary.

Adelphus Adelpha Meter

Adelphus Adelpha Meter (or *St Omer's Hymn*; hereafter *AAM*) is a Latin homily that may have been known in Anglo-Latin circles as early as 934 CE.⁸ It explores significant Christian themes, including the finite nature of human

be understood with knowledge of the interpretations provided in Bede's *On Genesis*, 1.2.3 and *De temporum ratione*, 10, as is shown by Kendall and Wallis, *Bede: On the Nature of Things and On Times*, 180–84. In other words, the stylistic decisions taken in early medieval poetry can sometimes be driven by a desire to capture exegetical nuances.

7 This issue is set out very well by Carin Ruff, "The Perception of Difficulty in Aldhelm's Prose."

8 The rare word *tanaliter* (translated as "in a deadly manner?" by Lapidge "The Hermeneutic Style," 100n2) found in the Æthelstan A charter of 934 CE may have been known through *AAM*. See Herren, *Hisperica Famina II*, and Lapidge, "Israel the Grammarian in Anglo-Saxon England," 105.

existence and the importance of abstaining from wrongdoing in order to attain eternal reward.⁹

AAM has attracted attention due to noteworthy stylistic features. In addition to an abecedarian structure and several instances of alliteration, much of the lexicon is marked. This includes the use of Greek and Hebrew, sometimes with Latin endings.¹⁰ There are also several lines of continuous Greek, much of which is drawn from the Greek New Testament. For example, *Quirius [apemon] anomias u/apollit agion autu:/soston me,/o theos mu* (The Lord does not absolve [from us] the sins of his saints; save me, O my God).¹¹

AAM appears to be copied in full in two manuscripts. The first is Bibliothèque d'Agglomération de Saint-Omer, MS 666 (fol. 43r–v), which is dated to the first half of the tenth century. In this manuscript, *AAM* contains thirteen Brittonic glosses, which are probably Old Breton. Some of these glosses display linguistic corruption, which led Jacopo Bisagni to suggest that it may have been copied from a Breton exemplar in a Northern Frankish scriptorium, possibly at Montreuil-sur-Mer or Saint-Bertin.¹² The second witness is the well-known, mid-eleventh century manuscript, Cambridge, University Library, MS Gg. 5. 35 (hereafter **C**), which was most likely written in Canterbury.¹³ In this manuscript, *AAM* is found on fol. 420r–v, directly after the *Rubisca*, another abecedarian poem with unusual vocabulary, including Hebraicisms, Hellenisms, and neologisms. It is also copied in the same section as a Greek alphabet and several transliterated Greek prayers. Therefore, by the eleventh century, *AAM* is clearly being associated with other texts that display marked diction. In **C**, both *AAM* and the *Rubisca* contain Latin and Brittonic glosses, and it has been suggested that these texts may derive from Breton exemplars.¹⁴ Finally, a single stanza of *AAM* (stanza-O) is also found

⁹ Editions have been completed by Stowasser, “De Quarto Quodam Specimine Scoticae Latinitatis”; Thurneysen, “Glosses bretonnes”; Jenkinson, *The Hisperica Famina*; and Howlett, “Five Experiments in Textual Reconstruction and Analysis.” The critical edition and translation of *AAM* that are used in this article are by Herren, *Hisperica Famina II*, 104–11.

¹⁰ *AAM* also includes Hebraicisms, such as *asmon* (faithful), *asarum* (blessed), and *lamech* (low-lying).

¹¹ *AAM* 46–48. Herren, *Hisperica Famina II*, 108–9.

¹² See “Saint-Omer, B.M., MS 666,” A Descriptive Handlist of Breton Manuscripts, c. AD 780–1100 (DHBM), <https://ircabritt.nuigalway.ie/handlist/catalogue/210>.

¹³ For more on this manuscript, see Rigg and Wieland, “A Canterbury Classbook” and Wieland, “The Glossed Manuscript.”

¹⁴ For Bisagni’s discussion of this, see “Cambridge, University Library, MS Gg.5.35,” DHBM, <https://ircabritt.nuigalway.ie/handlist/catalogue/40>.

in the margin of fol. 54r of Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS lat. 13043, a manuscript of Virgilian texts, which is dated to the start of the eleventh century.¹⁵ This manuscript has a Corbie provenance, a centre to which other texts with marked diction, such as the *Libellulus sacerdotalis* by Liosmonocus, may have also been transmitted.¹⁶

AAM: Date and Place of Origin

As a result of its unusual vocabulary, *AAM* is frequently grouped with early medieval Latin texts thought to have associations with Ireland that also contain noteworthy lexis (e.g., rare vocabulary and Greek and Hebrew coinages). These texts include the *Hisperica famina* (*A-Text*, *B-Text*, *C-Text*, and *D-Text*), *Lorica of Laidcenn*, *Leiden Lorica*, and *Rubisca*.¹⁷ However, of these, only two texts, which both probably date to the seventh century—*Hisperica famina: A-Text* and *Lorica of Laidcenn*—provide convincing evidence for an origin in Ireland.¹⁸ The remaining texts, including *AAM*, may be the products of Irish scholars working either in Ireland or on the Continent, perhaps at a later period; they might also have been written by non-Irish scholars who were influenced by Hiberno-Latin materials.

Based on current evidence, the most plausible explanation is that *AAM* was written by a scholar working on the Continent (possibly in Brittany), who was either Irish or responding to Hiberno-Latin trends.¹⁹ The date is

15 Herren, *Hisperica Famina II*, 21; cf. Gautier-Dalché, “Mappae mundi antérieures au XIII^e siècle,” 160.

16 See Lemoine, “Note sur *Les Hisperica Famina* et La Bretagne,” 219, and “Paris, BnF, MS Lat. 13386,” DHBm, <https://ircabritt.nuigalway.ie/handlist/catalogue/158>.

17 In 1908, Jenkinson first implied a connection between these texts when he edited *AAM* alongside *Hisperica famina* (*A-Text*, *B-Text*, *C-Text*, and *D-Text*), *Lorica of Laidcenn*, and *Rubisca*. The idea that these texts might find a corpus has persisted in subsequent editions, such as Herren, *Hisperica famina: II*, although he was careful to highlight the fact that even though *Adelphus Adelpha Meter*, *Leiden Lorica*, *Lorica of Laidcenn*, and *Rubisca* display an overlap in stylistic features, “it cannot be demonstrated that they emanate from a single milieu and time,” 2.

18 On the date and origin of *Hisperica famina: A-Text*, see Grosjean, “Confusa Caligo”; Roth, “Observations on the Historical Background of the *Hisperica Famina*”; Smyth, *Understanding the Universe in Seventh-Century Ireland*, 16. On the date and origin of the *Lorica of Laidcenn*, see Herren, “The Authorship, Date of Composition and Provenance of the So-Called ‘*Lorica Gildae*.’”

19 For an overview of the question, see Herren, *Hisperica Famina II*, 54–56, and Stevenson, “Bangor and the *Hisperica Famina*,” 203–4.

uncertain and could range from the seventh to the early tenth century.²⁰ Nevertheless, this text does much to suggest a Continental context of the ninth or early tenth century and perhaps a Breton origin.

Its use of continuous Greek and knowledge of Greek syntax support the idea that *AAM* was written on the Continent. As noted by Pádraic Moran, early medieval Latin texts localized to Ireland tend to use individual Greek or Greek-derived words rather than continuous Greek.²¹ In contrast, Irish scholars based on the Continent during the ninth century, such as Sedulius Scottus and Johannes Scottus Eriugena, are known for their facility in Greek. Furthermore, *AAM* derives much of its Greek vocabulary from the Septuagint and Greek New Testament.²² Greek-Latin interlinears of the Psalter,²³ Gospels,²⁴ and Pauline Epistles²⁵ were certainly available to scholars working on the Continent in the ninth century.

In addition to the Breton glosses mentioned above contained in Saint-Omer, MS 666,²⁶ a few other pieces of evidence point to a possible Breton origin.²⁷ *AAM*'s closest lexical ties are with the Echternach Glosses (also known as the *Hisperica Famina C-Text*) with which it shares six noteworthy terms: *tona*, *mansia*, *gibra*, *dusmus*, *soma*, and *pelta*.²⁸ This word list in Luxembourg, Bibliothèque nationale, MS 89²⁹ originated in Echternach, but has clear con-

20 Herren, *Hisperica Famina II*, 54–56. A *terminus ante quem* is given by the inclusion of stanza-O in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS lat. 13043 (IX^{ex} or Xⁱⁿ).

21 Moran, "Greek in Early Medieval Ireland," 175–76.

22 Herren, *Hisperica Famina II*, 42. Indeed, as noted by Stevenson, "Bangor and the *Hisperica Famina*," 204, many of the Greek words found in *AAM* are not in the *Hisperica famina*.

23 Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, MS A VII 3 was written in Irish minuscule in the last quarter of the ninth century, possibly in Saint Gall. See "Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, A VII 3," Manuscripts with Irish Associations (MIRA), www.mira.ie/171.

24 Saint Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 48 was written in Irish minuscule in the second half of the ninth century, possibly in Saint Gall. See "Codex Delta: St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, 48," MIRA, www.mira.ie/274.

25 Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, MS A.145.b was written in Irish minuscule in the middle of the ninth century, possibly at Saint Gall. See "Codex Boernerianus: Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, A.145.b," MIRA, www.mira.ie/48.

26 See Thurneysen, "Glosses bretonnes."

27 For the influence of the *Hisperica famina* on Breton scholars, see Lemoine, "Maniérisme et Hispérisme en Bretagne," and "Paléographie et philologie médiévales."

28 Herren, *Hisperica Famina II*, 42n9.

29 For more on this manuscript, see "Luxembourg, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS 89," DHBM, <https://ircabritt.nuigalway.ie/handlist/catalogue/83>.

nections with Brittany, as is shown through the inclusion of 104 entries written in Old Breton. Moreover, Michael Lapidge demonstrated that Israel the Grammarian (ca. 900–ca. 970 CE), a scholar who was probably from Brittany, could plausibly either be the author of *AAM* or at least involved in its transmission to England.³⁰ Taken together, it appears that *AAM* was probably produced in a Continental centre during the ninth or tenth century and may indeed be a Breton composition.

In many ways, therefore, *AAM* is an ideal subject for the study of the ongoing (and perhaps second-hand) influence of early medieval Hiberno-Latin texts outside of Ireland, including in Anglo-Latin circles. This is because *AAM* contains a distinctive lexicon that is strongly associated with the Hiberno-Latin tradition. Moreover, it was transmitted from the Continent to Anglo-Latin circles, where it is found alongside glosses that provide insight into its reception.

Marked Diction in *Adelphus Adelpha Meter*: B-stanza

A case study of the B-stanza and the associated glossing tradition contained in C suggests that an early audience of *AAM* aligned its marked diction with established interpretations found in biblical exegesis.³¹

Blebomen agialos, nicate dodrantibus: sic mundi et vita huius

We see how the shore is overcome by the tide: so too the life of this world.³²

The first two lines of the B-stanza contain striking lexical features: three words are Greek-derived; the fourth is a relatively rare technical term with an uncommon meaning. Furthermore, there is a noteworthy shift to unremarkable Latin in the final line of the stanza.

30 Lapidge, “Israel the Grammarian.” See Stevenson, “The Irish Contribution to Anglo-Latin Hermeneutic Prose.”

31 As noted by Gernot Wieland in “The Glossed Manuscript,” it would be wrong to assume that the glosses contained in this manuscript were produced by the glossator. Indeed, the same hands (Hands A and B) that wrote the main texts found in Part III of CUL Gg. 5.35, which includes *AAM*, also copied most of the associated glossing; see Rigg and Wieland, “A Canterbury Classbook,” 115. This suggests that the glosses were possibly carried over from the exemplar.

32 *AAM*, 4–6.

In particular, this stanza contains the following marked lexical items:

1. *Blebomen* from βλέπομεν “we see” or *blebomenon*.³³ βλέπομεν is a very common form in Greek overall; however, it is not found frequently in the Greek New Testament, and it is of course very rare in a Latin context. This term occurs five times in the Greek New Testament, including 1 Cor. 13:12a: βλέπομεν γὰρ ἄρτι, δι’ ἐσόπτρου ἐν αἰνίγματι (For now we see through a glass dimly).
2. *Agialos* from αἰγιαλός (sea-shore).³⁴ This word is found six times in the New Testament.³⁵
3. *Nicate* from the middle-present indicative of νικάω (I conquer, prevail): νικάται.³⁶ This word is often found in the New Testament, where it tends to arise in eschatological contexts.³⁷
4. *Dodrans* means “three quarters” of a unit in Classical sources. However, in Irish computistical materials it is often used as a synonym of *quadrans* (one quarter).³⁸ In an important article, Alan Brown argued that a semantic shift from “three quarters” to “flood-tide” or “wave” in Insular sources resulted from a misunderstanding of Philippus Presbyter’s commentary on Job 38:16, which describes the daily retardation of the flood by a quarter-hour.³⁹ In addition to *AAM*, *dodrans* occurs in several other non-computistical contexts, including Columbanus’s *Epistula* 5, *Hisperica famina: A-text*, *Altus Prosator*, Aldhelm’s *Letter to Heahfrith* and *Carmen rhythmicum*.⁴⁰

33 Herren, *Hisperica Famina* II, 172.

34 Herren, *Hisperica Famina* II, 172.

35 Matthew 13:2; Matthew 13:48; John 21:4; Acts 21:5; Acts 27:39; Acts 27:40.

36 Herren, *Hisperica Famina* II, 70.

37 νικάω and its derivatives are found seventeen times in Revelation alone. For example, Revelation 3:12: “Ο νικῶν ποιήσω αὐτὸν στύλον ἐν τῷ ναῷ τοῦ θεοῦ μου, καὶ ἔξω οὐ μὴ ἐξέλθῃ ἔτι, καὶ γράψω ἐπ’ αὐτὸν τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ μου καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τῆς πόλεως τοῦ θεοῦ μου, τῆς καινῆς Ἱερουσαλήμ, ἡ καταβαίνουσα ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ μου, καὶ τὸ ὄνομά μου τὸ καινόν” (Him that *overcometh* will I make a pillar in the temple of my God and he shall go no more out and I will write upon him the name of my God and the name of the city of my God which is new Jerusalem which cometh down out of heaven from my God and I will write upon him my new name).

38 See Warntjes, *The Munich Computus*, 18–19; Bisagni, “A New Citation,” 118.

39 Brown, “Bede, a Hisperic Etymology, and Early Sea Poetry.”

40 For Hiberno-Latin attestations of *dodrans*, see Bisagni, “A New Citation,” For

The Glosses of Cambridge, University Library, MS Gg. 5.35

The glosses to stanza-B in **C** suggest that the glossator whose work is copied into the Cambridge manuscript was recalling Christian interpretations of the shoreline and the sea while reading this passage.

On fol. 420v, *agialos* is glossed *omnes sanctos* and *dodrantibus* is glossed *morientibus*. Herren suggested that these glosses may reflect errors on the part of the glossator. In particular, he noted that the influence of ἅγιος (holy) might have resulted in the gloss on *agialos*.⁴¹ Furthermore, he suggested that the gloss on *dodrans* could be an error, in which the glossator was wrongly influenced by a gloss on *dedronte*, which occurs a few lines earlier in *AAM*.⁴² Since *dedronte* is glossed *moriuntur* in **C** and there is a superficial similarity between *dedronte* and *dodrans*, the glossator might have assumed these words were related and thus applied the gloss *morientes* to *dodrans*. However, when one reads these glosses alongside biblical commentaries, they begin to look less like errors, and instead, they reveal the dynamic reading practices of the early medieval *literati*.

The Patristic Context for the Themes in the Cambridge Glosses

As noted above, the author of *AAM* may have encountered some of the Greek vocabulary through Greek-Latin interlinear glosses rather than relying solely on glossary lists. For example, Josef Stowasser identified Matthew 12:50 as the source of the phrase *adelphus adelpha meter*.⁴³ The Greek version of this verse might have been encountered in interlinear glosses such as those found in St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Codex Sang. 48,⁴⁴ which was copied in the ninth century by Irish monks working on the Continent. This manuscript contains the Greek gospels with the interlinear translation into Latin. For example, Matthew 12:50 is found on p. 56: “Ὅστις γὰρ ἂν ποιήσῃ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πατρὸς μου τοῦ ἐν οὐρανοῖς, αὐτός μου ἀδελφὸς καὶ ἀδελφὴ καὶ μήτηρ ἐστίν” (For whosoever shall do the will of my Father that is in heaven, he is my brother, and sister, and mother). Here, the interlinear paral-

dodrans in Aldhelm, see Lapidge, “The Career of Aldhelm.” For attestations of *dodrans* in Old English glossaries, see Hayden, “Old English in Irish Charms.”

41 Herren, *Hisperica Famina II*, 172. Indeed, the glossator may have interpreted *agialos* as a compound constituted by ἅγιος (holy) and ὅλος (whole, all) (whence *omnes sanctos*).

42 Herren, *Hisperica Famina II*, 172. This can be seen on fol. 420r.

43 Stowasser, *De quarto quodam Scoticae*, ix.

44 “Codex Delta: St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, 48,” MIRA, www.mira.ie/274.

els provided for ἀδελφὸς καὶ ἀδελφὴ καὶ μήτηρ are *frater et soror et mater*. Given this context, in which the author of *AAM* is mining language directly from the Greek Scriptures, it is tempting to think that not only would early readers recognize the application of biblical language within the text, but they might also have considered the biblical exegesis that had been applied to those very biblical passages.

Patristic Interpretations of the Sea

In the writings of the Church Fathers of Late Antiquity, references to the sea in Scripture were often interpreted as the present age of the world.⁴⁵ For instance, the widely circulated Psalm commentaries of Jerome,⁴⁶ Augustine,⁴⁷ and Cassiodorus⁴⁸ had all suggested that the sea represented the *saeculum*, a term which, in ecclesiastical Latin, was often used to contrast the present world with the eternal, heavenly realm.⁴⁹ This interpretation of the sea was connected to a set of complex overlapping metaphors. For instance, the Church was sometimes represented as a ship sailing towards the afterlife;⁵⁰ the ship's wood was the cross of Christ;⁵¹ and the savage storms at sea that beat against the ship were heretics.⁵² Such interpretations are found in many Patristic sources and would certainly have been familiar to the early medieval reader.

Patristic Interpretations of the Agialos

In the Cambridge manuscript, *agialos* (seashore) is glossed with *omnes sanctos* (all saints). Here, it appears the glossator may be drawing upon well-known interpretations of biblical shorelines. Since the sea was interpreted as the age of the world, the shoreline came to be associated with the conclusion of the world. This interpretation has its origins in the Parable of the

45 On the metaphorical sea of the world in Patristic sources, see Radner, *Symbole der Kirche*; Compare McGinn, "Ocean and Desert as Symbols of Mystical Absorption in the Christian Tradition."

46 Jerome, *Tractatus LIX in Psalmos*, 96.

47 Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, 39.9; 95.12.

48 Cassiodorus, *Expositio Psalmorum*, 64.9; 88.12.

49 "Saeculum." *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780199381135.013.8233>.

50 Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, 92.7.

51 Augustine, *Sermo* 75.

52 Cassiodorus, *Expositio Psalmorum*, *Preface* XVII. This passage directly connects these set of interpretations to the ark of Noah, which stood as a symbol of the Church.

Dragnet (Matthew 13:47–52), a parable explicitly described by Jesus as an illustration of the Kingdom of Heaven:

iterum simile est regnum caelorum sagenae missae in mare et ex omni genere piscium congreganti quam cum impleta esset educentes et secus litus sedentes elegerunt bonos in vasa malos autem foras miserunt. sic erit in consummatione saeculi exhibunt angeli et separabunt malos de medio iustorum et mittent eos in caminum ignis ibi erit fletus et stridor dentium⁵³

Here fish, which represent mankind, are caught into the net and brought to the shore. However, the wicked fish (i.e., non-Christians) are separated and cast back into the sea, while the good fish (i.e., Christians) are placed into vessels. As a result of this passage, the shoreline became a symbolic location where the Final Judgement would take place.⁵⁴

However, since the Christians remain in the vessels on the shore, in some texts the shoreline is explicitly associated with the Christian afterlife. One such direct association between the shoreline and the destiny of Christians can be seen in the *Anonymi Glosa Psalmorum ex traditione seniorum*, a collection of glosses likely written in southern France (ca. 600 CE), which may have been known in Ireland by the end of the seventh century.⁵⁵

The relevant comment occurs on the lemma *pisces maris*, a phrase found in Psalm 8:9, “volucres caeli et pisces maris qui perambulant semitas maris” (The birds of the air, and the fishes of the sea, that pass through the paths of the sea):

Sed in alio sensu per pisces maris possunt martyres intellegi, quia martyres istud mare saeculum transnantes ad altiora petunt, unde Gregorius ait: “Mare omnia corpora in se uiua retinet, mortua uero ad litus mittit.” Sic et mundus iste illos homines retinet qui in carnalibus desideriis uiuunt et qui in peccatis permanent. Nam qui propter deum se mortificant ad litus id est ad deum transmittit. Uel per hoc quod “extremum maris” dicit, pro fine mundi huius constituisti me, quia tunc se scit resurgere ecclesia plenissime, cum ista transiret id est cum terminum maris huius mundi transierit.⁵⁶

53 *Biblia Sacra Vulgata*. Matthew 13:47–50: “Again the kingdom of heaven is like to a net cast into the sea, and gathering together of all kind of fishes. Which, when it was filled, they drew out, and sitting by the shore, they chose out the good into vessels, but the bad they cast forth. So shall it be at the end of the world. The angels shall go out, and shall separate the wicked from among the just and shall cast them into the furnace of fire: there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth.” All translations of biblical passages are Challoner’s, taken from *Biblia Sacra Vulgata*, 1749–52.

54 Jerome, *Commentarii in euangelium Matthaei*, 13.47–49.

55 McNamara, *The Psalms in the Early Irish Church*, 306–7.

56 *Anonymi Glosa Psalmorum ex traditione seniorum*, 8.9; *Anonymi Glosa Psalmorum*

Here, the shoreline is identified as the place where Christians will remain until the whole Church moves beyond the boundaries of the sea, which will occur after Judgement Day. Moreover, *ad litus* (to the shoreline) is equated to *ad Deum* (to God). Thus, the transition from the sea of the age to the shoreline represents the transition from life on earth to the afterlife. A similar idea occurs in a gloss on Psalm 138:9,⁵⁷ in which the shoreline is a symbolic location that must be crossed in order to attain eternal rewards.⁵⁸

Most importantly, however, in the Parable of the *Dragnet* and its subsequent interpretations, the wicked fish (i.e., non-Christians) do not remain on the shore, but they are cast back into the sea to await eternal punishment. This Patristic context suggests that a possible reason *agialos* is glossed with *omnes sanctos* in **C** is because the original glossator recognized the seashore as a symbolic location where Christians alone would gradually be gathered until Judgement Day.

Transition from Marked to Non-Marked Diction in AAM

Of course, it would be difficult to prove that the author of *AAM* intentionally used marked diction to allude to this biblical passage and its subsequent interpretation. Nevertheless, it is striking that within stanza-B not only do we find a clear transition from marked to non-marked diction, but also *sic* is used to signal that transition.

ex traditione seniorum, 39: “But in another sense, the martyrs can be understood as the fish of the sea, because martyrs swimming that sea of the world reach towards higher things; whence Gregory says: ‘The sea keeps all living bodies in itself, but it sends the dead to the shore.’ In this same way, too, that world retains those men who live in carnal pleasures and who remain in sin. On the other hand, those who destroy themselves for the sake of God, **he transmits to the shore, that is, to God**. Or through this because he says, ‘the end of the sea’, you have appointed me for the end of this world, because then the Church knows that she herself will be completely risen when she has crossed, that is, when she has crossed the boundary of the sea of this world.”

57 *Biblia Sacra Vulgata*, Psalms 138:9: *si sumpsero pennas meas diluculo habitavero in novissimo maris* (If I take my wings early in the morning, and dwell in the uttermost parts of the sea).

58 *Anonymi Glosa Psalmorum ex traditione seniorum*, 138.9: “Et habitauero in extremis maris’: ecclesia in fide firma, quae est pro fine mundi istius nlocata, quia tunc se scit ecclesia remunerari pleniter, cum terminos maris huius mundi transierit” (“And I will dwell in the ends of the sea”: the Church is firm in faith, which is assembled for the end of that world, because then the Church knows she will be rewarded abundantly, when she will cross over the boundaries of the sea of this world).

The importance of this adverb is seen in a set of glosses found in the Würzburg Saint Matthew, a fragmentary manuscript of Matthew's Gospel that was written in Ireland during the second half of the eighth century.⁵⁹ The glosses and commentary on Matthew 13:47–52, which re-elaborate interpretations found in Jerome's commentary on Matthew, are thought to have been added by an Irish *peregrinus* at the beginning of the ninth century.

"Elegerunt" i.e. sanctos in regnum; "uasa" in mansiones caelestes; "foras" i.e. peccatores in infernum; "sic" nunc soluit parabolam.⁶⁰

Notice that not only is the shoreline once again associated with the destiny of Christians, but the glossator identifies *sic* as a transition word, marking a shift from a figurative plane to a literal interpretation.

This is precisely the same construction found in stanza-B of *AAM*. The first two lines contain marked diction, which the glossator appears to read figuratively. In contrast, the final line of stanza-B uses *sic* to mark a transition back to unmarked diction: *sic mundi et vita huius*. This unmarked line solves the puzzle: it provides a literal explanation of the figurative, marked diction contained in the preceding two lines.⁶¹ Indeed, according to Augustine, the intermingling of literal and figurative language is a hallmark of prophetic language.⁶²

59 Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, M.p.th.f.61. For more on this manuscript, see "Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, M.p.th.f.61 [palimpsest new]," MIRA, www.mira.ie/95.

60 *Commentarius Wirzburgensis in Matthaeum necnon et glossae*, 13.48, 89: "'They have chosen,' i.e. the saints in the kingdom; 'vessels' in the heavenly dwellings; 'outside' i.e., sinners in hell; 'thus' now he solves the parable."

61 This transition from non-marked lexicon, which appears to operate at a literal level, to marked diction, which appears to be figurative, is found in other stanzas in *AAM*. An example of such a transition can be seen in *AAM*, stanza-D: *Didaxon, sapisure,/ toto biblion acute;/ non debes reticere* (Teach us, Master, this text in sagacious fashion; you must not keep silent).

62 Augustine, *De Ciuitate Dei*, 20.16: "quamuis et nunc, sicut amat prophetica locutio propriis uerbis translata miscere ac sic quodam modo uelare quod dicitur, potuit de illo mari dicere: et mare iam non est, de quo supra dixerat: et exhibuit mortuos mare, qui in eo erant. iam enim tunc non erit hoc saeculum uita mortalium turbulentum et procellosum, quod maris nomine figurauit" (However, just as the prophetic speech loves figurative things to be mixed with literal words and thus to veil in a certain way what is being said, he was able to say about that sea: 'and there is no longer a sea,' about which he had said before 'and the sea presented the dead, which were in it.' For then this age, which was symbolised by the name of the sea, violent and stormy in the life of mortals, will not exist).

Patristic Interpretations of *Dodrans* (Flood-Tide)

Another example of the application of interpretative glossing to marked diction in *AAM* occurs in relation to *dodrans* (flood-tide), which is glossed with *morientes* (the dying ones) in C. Here, it appears the glossator may have been familiar with a tradition where *dodrans* was equated to the Noahic Flood. This equation can be seen in Bibliothèque d'Agglomération de Saint-Omer, MS 342 bis (fol. B), a fragment written in Insular script, which was probably written at the end of the seventh or early eighth century in Ireland or Wales,⁶³ from where it travelled to Saint-Bertin in Northern Francia.⁶⁴ This fragmentary manuscript contains glosses to Amos that are largely drawn from Jerome's *Commentarii in Amos*. One gloss, however, which does not follow Jerome's tradition is particularly relevant here: "Effudit eas' id est ut in Dilu<u>io fecit uel in dodran<te>" ("He pours them [the waters of the sea],"⁶⁵ that is, as he did in the Diluvium or in the flood-tide).

This gloss provides a direct parallel between *dodrans* and the Noahic Flood (Genesis 6–9). However, in Patristic interpretations, the Noahic Flood was a multivalent symbol. For example, it was associated with the cleansing waters of baptism.⁶⁶ It also represented the world's activities, including the persecution of the Church. The Flood, moreover, had strong eschatological associations⁶⁷ and was sometimes used to represent the final punishment of

63 "Saint-Omer, Bibliothèque municipale, 342 bis (fol. B)," MIRA, www.mira.ie/41.

64 The provenance in Saint-Bertin is, of course, interesting in light of the possibility that Bibliothèque d'Agglomération de Saint-Omer, MS 666 may have been produced there. If this is true, perhaps the writer of *AAM* might have been influenced by this gloss.

65 *Biblia Sacra Vulgata*, Amos 9:6: "Qui aedificat in caelo ascensionem suam, et fasciculum suum super terram fundavit; qui vocat aquas maris, et effundit eas super faciem terrae: Dominus nomen ejus" (He that buildeth his ascension in heaven, and hath founded his bundle upon the earth: who calleth the waters of the sea, and poureth them out upon the face of the earth, the Lord is his name).

66 For a particular focus on baptism, see Lundberg, *La typologie baptismale*, 64–72, who observes that baptism or being 'buried' in the sea represented the death of sin, and rising to the surface represented the start of a new sinless life.

67 The association with Judgement Day was based on statements found in Matthew 24:37–39 and Luke 17:26–27, which equated the days of Noah to the Coming of the Son of Man. For example, Origen-Rufinus explained this connection in *Homilies in Genesis*, 2.3. "In quo evidenter unam eandemque formam diluvii, quod praecessit, et finis mundi, quem venturum dicit, designat" (In which he clearly signifies one and the same form of the Flood, which went before, and the end of the world, which he says will come).

sinner.⁶⁸ This multivalence is captured by Bede, “designet diluuium fontem baptismi quo abluitur, designet fluctus mundi temptantis quibus probatur, designet finem in quo coronatur” (the flood may signify the font of baptism by which it is washed clean, or it may signify the waves of the tempting world by which it is tested, or it may signify the end in which it is crowned).⁶⁹ Since the *dodrans* is equated with the Noahic Flood, it appears feasible that the term *dodrans* might be used to signal these spiritual interpretations.

The Context of *Dodrans* in Columbanus, *Epistula* 5

Indeed, as early as the start of the seventh-century, *dodrans* was already used in Hiberno-Latin texts to represent established interpretations of the Noahic Flood. This is important as it adds weight to the idea that the author of *AAM* used the term *dodrans* to signal an established spiritual interpretation, which they would have expected their audience to recognize. In particular, Columbanus (ca. 543–615 CE) uses *dodrans* not just to refer to a “flood-tide,” but rather to signal the exegesis of the flood waters as representative of worldly behaviours and activities.⁷⁰

Dodrans occurs in a heavily stylized passage in a letter (*Epistula* 5) sent by Columbanus to Pope Boniface IV (ca. 613 CE), which dramatizes the spread of the Christian message to Ireland. Here, Columbanus signals the important position of the Insular world in the providential growth of the Church, whereby the gospel must spread to all nations—in line with the injunctions of Luke 24:47 and Acts 1:8; 13:47—before the end of time is realized.⁷¹ Importantly, Columbanus depicts the gospel message as overcoming three hurdles in order to reach Ireland: *euriporum rheuma* (the

68 For an overview of Patristic links between the Flood, baptism, and Judgement Day, see Danielou, *From Shadows to Reality*, 69–114, and Anlezark, *Water and Fire*, 38–39.

69 Bede, *In Genesis*, 2.1127–1129 (trans. Kendall, *Bede: On Genesis*, 174). Compare Bede, *In Genesis*, 2.1061. “Primo quidem quod, sicut Dominus ipse ostendit, per inundationem diluuii repentinam improuisa nouissimi examinis hora designator” (First of all, just as the Lord himself declared, the unexpected hour of Last Judgment is signified by the sudden inundation of the flood) (trans. Kendall, *Bede: On Genesis*, 172).

70 See Lewis, *A Study of the Interpretation of Noah*, 167–73, on the Patristic exegesis of the flood waters, which were sometimes interpreted as a flood of impiety (Gregory of Nazianzus, *Oratio* 43), the waters also represented the peril of the Church in the world (Augustine, *De Ciuitate Dei*, 15.26), including the persecutions and trials caused by those outside the Church or the heretics within.

71 O'Reilly, *History, Hagiography, and Biblical Exegesis*, 36–64.

channels' surge), *delfinum dorsa* (the dolphins' backs), and *turgescentem dodrantem* (the swelling flood).

There have been several suggestions on the purpose of these three poetic *trans* phrases. For example, Christine Mohrmann suggested that Columbanus used them to craft a "powerful description of irresistible speed of the divine charioteer."⁷² Johannes Smit, who provided a useful examination of the Patristic background to this allegorical passage, suggested that they emphasize the spread of the gospel throughout the world.⁷³ However, a close philological examination raises a third possibility: the clauses correspond to the three temptations overcome by Christ in Christian theology.

The New Testament contains three accounts of the temptation of Christ (Matthew 4:1–11; Mark 1:12–13; Luke 4:1–13). In Matthew and Luke, Satan tempts Jesus to transform stones into bread, to jump from a pinnacle, and to worship Satan. These three temptations soon came to represent three categories of sins.⁷⁴ There is some variance in Patristic accounts on the identification of the three precise sin categories associated with Christ's temptation, however, they generally correspond to desire for worldly knowledge or power (i.e., the world), fleshly desire (i.e., the flesh), and pride (i.e., the Devil).⁷⁵

Early Christian writers saw a parallel between Christ's temptation and Adam's temptation in the Garden of Eden. Adam responded to the temptation, bringing forth destruction and death; Christ overcame temptation, bringing forth resurrection and life. Therefore, the three temptations of Christ became explicitly tied to the triumph of salvation, as in the writings of Gregory the Great:

72 Mohrmann, "The Earliest Continental Irish Latin," 223.

73 Smit, *Studies on the Language and Style of Columba the Younger*, 190–97.

74 In *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, 8.13, Augustine drew a direct correlation between the temptation of Christ and the threefold categorization of vices listed in 1 John 2:16: the lust of the flesh (*concupiscentia carni*), the lust of the eyes (*concupiscentia oculorum*), and the pride of life (*superbia vitae* or *ambitio saeculi*).

75 For example, in the context of the temptation of Christ, Augustine describes three main types of sin from which all others stem: *uoluptas carnis*, *superbia*, and *curiositas* (*Enarrationes in Psalmos*, 8.13.). A similar categorization is found in Cassian's *Conlationes* (5.5–6), where Christ is presented as the archetype of victory over temptation. For Cassian, the temptations that Christ overcame were *gastrimargia*, *cenodoxia*, and *superbia*. In Gregory the Great's *Homiliae in euangelia* (16.2.), the temptation categories are *gula*, *uana gloria*, et *auaritia*. However, in the *Moralia in Iob*, 33.15.30.22–31.31, Gregory states that are three specific sins associated with temptation: *luxuria*, *malitia*, and *superbia*.

Sed quibus modis primum hominem strauit, eisdem modis secundo homini temptato succubuit. Per gulam quippe temptat cum dicit: Dic ut lapides isti panes fiant. Per uanam gloriam temptat cum dicit: Si Filius Dei es, mitte te deorsum. Per sublimitatis auaritiam temptat cum regna omnia mundi ostendit dicens: Haec omnia tibi dabo si procidens adoraueris me. Sed eisdem modis a secundo homine uincitur, quibus primum hominem se uicisse gloriatur, ut a nostris cordibus ipso aditu captus exeat, quo nos aditu intromisus tenebat.⁷⁶

Here, Satan conquers Adam through the three temptations, leading to the Fall of Man; however, Satan is also conquered by Christ through the three temptations, opening the door to salvation for mankind.⁷⁷

This idea was re-elaborated in early medieval texts, where Christ's temptation often stands as a demonstration of his victory over Satan and the coming of salvation. For example, this tradition is found in Recension 1 of *Expositio quatuor euangeliorum* by Pseudo-Hieronymus, which may have been written by an Irish *peregrinus* at the end of the seventh century.⁷⁸ This text states that when he overcame the three temptations to which Adam fell, Christ demonstrated that he would also overcome Satan.⁷⁹ A similar concept

76 Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in euangelia*, 16.3: "But by the same means that he [Satan] overcame the first man, he was himself overcome when tempting the second man. Through gluttony he tempted Him when he said, 'Command that these stones be made bread.' [Mt. 4:3] Through **vainglory** he tempted Him when he said, 'If thou be the Son of God, cast thyself down.' [Mt. 4:6] Through **avarice** of high place he tempted Him when he showed Him all the kingdoms of the world, saying, 'All these things will I give thee, if thou wilt fall down and worship me.' [Mt. 4:9] **But he [Satan] was conquered by the second man [Christ] through the same means by which he prided himself to have conquered the first man [Adam]**; so that being captured, he may come out of our hearts by very way by which, having been let in, he was holding us"; Cf. Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in euangelia*, 16.1: "Quid ergo mirum si se ab illo permisit in montem duci, qui se pertulit etiam a membris illius crucifigi? Non est ergo indignum Redemptori nostro quod temptari uoluit, qui uenerat occidi. Iustum quippe erat ut sic temptationes nostras suis temptationibus uinceret, sicut mortem nostram uenerat sua morte superare" (Why, therefore, be surprised if [Jesus] permitted himself to be led onto the mountain by that one [Satan], he who also endured his own crucifixion by the members of that one? Therefore, it was not shameful of our Redeemer to wish to be tempted, he who had come to be killed. **On the contrary, it was right for him to triumph over our temptations with his own, just as he had come to overcome our death by his death.**)

77 Compare Ambrose, *Expositio euangelii secundum Lucam*, 4.33.

78 For the potential Hiberno-Latin background to this text, see Bischoff, "Wendepunkte," 236. However, see also the reservations expressed by Stansbury, "Irish Biblical Exegesis."

79 *Expositio quatuor euangeliorum* (recensio I) (PL 30.542A): "Has tres tentationes

occurs in the Old Irish text *Aipgitir Chrábaid* (The Alphabet of Piety), which is attributed to Colmán mac Beógnai (d. 611 CE). In this text, three elements which correspond to the three temptations—the world, the flesh, and the Devil—are renounced through the act of baptism, which itself is a representation of salvation.⁸⁰

This established tradition suggests that a reference to overcoming the three temptations would not be out of place in Columbanus's account of the triumphal spread of the gospel message to Ireland. In fact, a reference to Christ's temptation in the context of the victory of salvation might be part of the horizon of expectation of an early medieval audience trained in biblical exegesis.

in Adam prius diabolus exigit: per gulam dixit, 'gusta': per uanam gloriam, 'eritis sicut dii': per auaritiam, 'scientes bonum et malum'; sed per has tres iterum tentauit Christum: gula, de petra fieri panem: per uanam gloriam, 'mitte te deorsum': per auaritiam, 'omnia tibi dabo', et reliqua. Sed qui eum in abyssum, uerbo praedicationis, ducit: ostendit per has tres uincere diabolum. (The devil first tested these three temptations in Adam: through gluttony, he said, "taste:" through vain glory, "you will be like gods:" through avarice, "knowing good and evil," but by these three he again tempted Christ: through gluttony, to become bread from the rock; through vainglory "send you down," through avarice, "I give all things to you" and so on. But he who leads him into the abyss by the word of preaching **shows that by these three things he overcomes the devil**).

80 *Aipgitir Chrábaid* §30: "Inna teora tonna tiaghtai tar duine a m-bathis trē fretiuch fristoing indib .i. fristoing don domun cona adbclossaib, fristoing do demon cona indtledoib, fristoing do tolaib collæ. Iss ed in so imefolngi dvine dendī bes mac bāis co m-bī mac bethad, dendii bes mac dorchoi co m-bī mac solse. Ochōn abbaing inna trī fretiuch so isna teura tonnaib tiaghta tairis! Mani tudchaid tre drilind afrithisse docōi i flaith Dē .i. lind dēr aithrige, lind tofaiscthi folai hi pennaind, lind n-aillse hil-lebair" (A man pronounces three renunciations in the three waves which go over him at baptism: **he renounces the world with its splendours; he renounces the Devil with his traps; he renounces the desires of the flesh. This is what changes a man from a son of death to a son of life**, from a son of darkness to a son of light. If he breaks these three vows, [made] in the three waves which go over him, he cannot enter the kingdom of God unless he pass again through three fluids: the fluid of the tears of repentance, the fluid of blood shed in penance, the fluid of the sweat of toil') (trans. Carey, King of Mysteries, 243). I thank Paula Harrison for drawing this example to my attention.

Furthermore, Patristic writers, such as Cassiodorus⁸¹ and Caesarius of Arles,⁸² had directly associated the three temptations with sea imagery, which is very striking in circumstances where Columbanus provides the three *trans* phrases within a passage that uses sea imagery in an allegory for the gospel spread. The writings of the Church Fathers suggested that the three temptations can be overcome by the Church, which is sailing across

81 Cassiodorus, *Expositio Psalmorum*, 123.5: “Intolerabilis ergo aqua dicitur, quando nostra infirmitas cogitatur. Nam peccatorum gurgines criminum que tempestas tolerari non potest, quando se a defensione domini segregata inuenerit. Econtra omnia tolerabilia fiunt, cum deus in sanctis suis habitat; tunc enim nec error subripit, nec luxuria trahit, nec superbia uentosa praeualet, nec hostis antiqui suggestio maligna grassatur” (Intolerable water is being spoken of, since our weakness is being considered. For the whirlpool of sins and the storm of guilt cannot be tolerated, when it will have found itself removed from the protection of the Lord. In contrast, all things are made tolerable when God dwells in his own saints; then truly neither errors will steal, **nor indulgence drag away, nor vain pride prevail, nor the wicked influence of the ancient enemy advance**).

82 Caesarius of Arles, *Sermo* 56.2: “et si aliqua crimina vel peccata capitalia necdum elemosynis et orationibus purgata in nobis adhuc dominari cognoscimus, portum paenitentiae, devictis peccatorum fluctibus, christo gubernante festinemus intrare: et si quid in navicula animae nostrae multis tempestatibus peccatorum, aut per superbiam fractum, aut per avaritiam ruptum, aut per luxuriam resolutum esse cognoscimus, componere vel reparare bonis operibus festinemus” (And if we know of some crimes or deadly sins that still master us and are not yet cleansed with alms and prayers, let us, with Christ steering, hasten to enter the harbour of repentance, with the subdued waves of sin: and if we know that there are many storms of sins in the little ship of our mind, **either having been broken through pride, or having been destroyed through greed, or having been released through luxury**, let us hasten to build or renew with good works). cf. Caesarius of Arles, *Sermo* 97.4: “Istas tres vias obsidet inimicus, sicut de pharaonis exercitu legimus: electos ascensores ternos stantes demersit in rubrum mare. Qui sunt isti electi ascensores? electi utique a diabolo ad luxuriam, ad malitiam, ad omnium malorum caput superbiam. Et hi ergo terni stantes istas tres obsident vias: ut aut ille hominem ad opera mala subvertat, aut ille sermonem malum eliciat, aut ille iniquam cogitationem extorqueat” (The enemy occupies those three ways, just as we read about Pharaoh’s army: he plunged the chosen charioteers, standing threefold, into the Red Sea. Who are these chosen charioteers? By all means, the ones having been chosen by the Devil **for luxury, for malice, for pride, the source of all evil**. And therefore these, standing threefold, occupy those three ways: so that either that one subverts mankind to evil works, or that one provokes evil speech, or that one extorts unjust thought); Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, 103.4.5: “naues ecclesias intellegimus, commeant inter tempestates, inter procillas tentationum, inter fluctus saeculi, inter animalia pusilla et magna. gubernator est christus in ligno crucis suae” (We understand the ships as churches, they travel among the storms, **among the storms of temptation**, among the waves of the age, among the tiny and large animals. The helmsman is Christ on the wood of his own cross).

the sea of the world towards the shoreline (i.e., the safe harbour of the after-life), since Christ had already triumphed over those very same temptations.

Moreover, the hypothesis that the three poetic phrases found in Columbanus's *Epistula* 5 could potentially represent the three temptations of Christ and mankind is supported by a closer examination of each individual phrase:

a. *trans euriporum rheuma* (“over the channels’ surge”): the flesh

The first collocation describes Christ reaching Ireland *trans euriporum rheuma*. This phrase pertains to the temptation of the flesh (i.e., *luxuria, uoluptas carnis, gula, or gastrimargia*).

Euripus (channel) provides twenty-seven results on the Brepolis Cross Database Search Tool.⁸³ *Euripus* often had negative connotations in Late Antique and early medieval Christian texts.⁸⁴ There are clear indications that Columbanus recognized the negative semantic range of this term. In *Epistula* 1 (written to Gregory the Great), Columbanus uses the term *euripus* to refer to a precarious, metaphorical strait that requires careful navigation. Here, this is because it carries with it a potential risk of falling into obstinacy.⁸⁵

Rheuma (mucus or discharge) provides seventy-six results on Brepolis. Potential sources for Columbanus's use of *rheuma* include Jerome's *Commentarii in prophetas minores*, Jerome's *Commentarii in Ezechielem*, and

83 My methodology for the Brepolis Cross Database Search Tool throughout this article has been to use the similarity search function, to restrict the search criteria to results found between ca. 200–735 CE, and to exclude any instances where results were duplicated.

84 For example, in Tertullian's *De spectaculis* (§8), *euripus* is used in the Classical sense to describe the water channel that surrounds the track in the Circus Maximus, however, the context is made demonic: “Frigeat daemonum concilium sine sua matre magna; ea itaque illic praesidet euripo” (The great assembly of demons has lacked vigour without its own mother; and so she presides over the *euripus* there). In *Epistula* 3.4, Jerome describes the monk Bonosus, who seeks Christ on a desert island. In this text, *euripi* are associated with worldly pleasures and directly contrasted to the water of salvation: “nulla euriporum amoenitate perfruitur, sed de latere domini aquam uitae bibit” (He [Bonosus] enjoys no delights of the *euripi*, but he drinks the water of life from the side of the Lord).

85 Columbanus, *Ep.* 1.4: “Sed haec magis procaciter quam humiliter scribens, scio euripum praesumptionis difficillimae me inuexisse, enauigandum fore ignarus” (But writing these things more brashly than humbly, I know that I have brought myself to **the *euripus* of grave obstinacy**, ignorant of what must be sailed). cf. Smit, *Studies on the Language*, 97–8; Stanton, “Columbanus, Letter 1: Translation and Commentary,” 165–66.

Origen-Rufinus's *In Numeros*. In each of these texts, *rheuma* is directly associated with lust.⁸⁶

The context in which *rheuma* appears in Jerome and Origen-Rufinus and its status as a relatively rare noun indicates that Columbanus selected this term because of this close association with the sin of lust (i.e., sin of the flesh). Moreover, the context of *euripus* in Patristic sources could have primed Columbanus's contemporary audience to expect *euriporum rheuma* to signal a dangerous or precarious context, as is supported by the example of *euripus* in Columbanus's *Epistula* 1. Therefore, a more appropriate translation for *trans euriporum rheuma* would perhaps be "across the [precarious] straits of the streams [of lust]."

b. *trans delfinum dorsa* ("over the dolphins' backs"): the Devil

The second collocation describes Christ's message reaching Ireland *trans delfinum dorsa*. This phrase pertains to the temptation of pride (i.e., *superbia*), which is often linked directly to Satan.

In Patristic traditions, the biblical Leviathan, described as the "king of the children of pride" in Job 41:25,⁸⁷ was often interpreted as Satan. For example, in Philip the Presbyter's *Commentarii in Librum Iob*, the Leviathan is described as the Devil, who is marked by the sin of pride.⁸⁸ Likewise, the

86 Jerome, *Commentarii in Ezechielem*, 4.16: *fluentia lumborum reumata* ("the flowing rheum of the loins"); Jerome, *In Michaeam*, 2.7: "erit seditio usque ad eos qui saeculi huius rheumate delectantur, et libidines generant in hominibus" (strife will exist for those ones, who are being lured by the rheum of this age, and they produce lusts in men); Jerome, *In Malachiam*, 4.4: *et ad radios solis iustitiae, libidinis rheuma siccatur* (and by the rays of the Just Sun [i.e., Christ], the rheum of lust is being dried); Origen-Rufinus, *In Numeros*, 15.1: "si quis rheumatibus libidinis inundatur" (if anyone is being flooded by the rheum of lust).

87 *Biblia Sacra Vulgata*, Job 41:25: "Omne sublime videt ipse est rex super universos filios superbiae."

88 Philippus Presbyter, *Commentarii in Librum Iob* (PL 26.786D–787A): "Commutavit figuram aenigmatis, ut diabolum quem superius Behemoth translato nomine dixerat, eundem nunc Leviathan appellet; sed illic eum quasi bestiam dicit, quae terras inhabitet; hic vero ita illum nominat, qui velut in aquis maris consistat...Quia ergo in veritate non stetit, et excedens praesumptionis modum addit sibi superbiam, quasi supra naturae bonum in tumorem et morbum elationis excedit" (He changed the figure of the enigma, so that the Devil, whom he had called by the translated name 'Behemoth' above, the same will now be called 'Leviathan,' but there he speaks of him as a beast, which occupies the earth; however, here he calls that one thus, who stands as if in the water of the sea...Because he did not stand in truth, and he, going beyond the limit of obstinacy, adds pride to himself, as if he goes beyond the good of nature into the swelling and sickness of exaltation).

pride of Satan, whose characteristics are revealed through the Leviathan, is a central theme in book 41 of Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Iob*. This association between certain sea creatures and pride is re-elaborated in early medieval writings, such as Aldhelm's *Prosa de Virginitate* (10), in which he refers specifically to the *superbiae balena* (whale of pride). Important to the Columbanus passage, pride was often specifically localized to the head⁸⁹ or the neck⁹⁰ of the sea creature. Moreover, in the Latin *Physiologus* tradition,⁹¹ the sin of pride is associated with the sailors landing on a whale's back.⁹²

In *Epistula* 5, Columbanus uses the Latin term *delfin* to describe the sea creature. However, this does not negate the possibility that he is referring to the biblical sea creature that represents Satan, since many different terms describe that sea creature in Late Antiquity and early medieval texts.⁹³ Therefore, Columbanus may have used the collocation *delfinum dorsa* to signal the sin of pride, one of the three temptations that Christ overcame.

89 Cassiodorus, *Expositio Psalmorum*, 73.14: "Cum superius dixerit plurali numero capita draconum, significare uolens nequitias spirituales, modo singulari numero ponit draconem, ut ipsum satanam indicare uideatur, qui quantum fortior...Confractum est enim caput eius, quando superbia ipsius de caelo deiecta est" (Whereas above he said the 'heads of the snakes' with a plural number, he is wishing to signify the spiritually wicked, now instead he puts 'snake' in a singular number, so that it seems to indicate Satan himself, who is so much stronger...for the head of him had been crushed, when by his pride he had been driven down from heaven).

90 Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob*, 34.2: "Quid enim collo leuiathan istius, nisi elationis extensio designatur? Qua contra deum se erigens, cum simulatione sanctitatis etiam tumore potestatis extollitur" (What is the 'neck' of that Leviathan, if not the swelling of exaltation? Which raising itself against God, it is being lifted up with a pretense of holiness and with the swelling of power).

91 In the *Physiologus*, the *aspidochelon* (asp-turtle) or *cetus* (sea creature) is described as intentionally remaining along the surface of the water. Sailors who see the whale mistake it for an island. Once lured to the apparent "island," the unwitting sailors anchor on its back and build a fire. The creature then plunges into the abyss, dragging the sailors and their boat to ruin. This behaviour of the sea creature was allegorized in the *Physiologus* as a snare of the Devil. Like the *aspidochelon*, the Devil can disguise sin, causing mankind (through the sin of pride) to let down their guard, before he captures and drags them down into the fires of Gehenna. Several early medieval texts featured a motif of a sea creature's back that was mistaken for an island. In the early medieval Insular world, this motif is found in the eighth century Hiberno-Latin text, *Nauigatio Brendani* (15.31–33), and in the Old English poem *The Whale*. However, there is no evidence that the *Physiologus* was known by Columbanus.

92 DeAngelo, "Discretio spirituum and *The Whale*."

93 For example, in Augustine and Cassiodorus, the term *draco* is used; in Gregory the Great *cetus*, *Leviathan*, and *Behemoth*; in Aldhelm *balena*; and in the *Nauigatio Brendani* *belua*.

c. *trans turgescentem dodrantem* (“over the swelling flood”): the world

The final collocation describes Christ reaching Ireland *trans turgescentem dodrantem*. This clause pertains to the temptation for worldly power, knowledge, or wealth (i.e., *curiositas*, *malitia*, or *avaritia*).

Turgesco provides eighty-one results on Brepolis. In Patristic sources, *turgesco* often refers to the rise of human emotion that is associated with investment in the world, rather than things pertaining to God (e.g., Augustine⁹⁴ and Cassiodorus⁹⁵). It occurs on one further occasion in Columbanus’s *corpus* where it again describes a swelling sea. Most interestingly, in this passage, Columbanus describes a dangerous and turbulent sea that is threatening the ship of the Church:

Ideo libere eloquar nostris utpote magistris ac spiritalis navis gubernatoribus ac mysticis proretis dicens, Uigilate, quia mare procellosum est et flabris exasperatur feralibus, quia non una sola minax unda, quae, etiam per motum pontum, semper cautis spumosis concauae uorticibus hyperbolice, licet de longe turgescens, extollitur, et ante se carbasa sulcatis Orco molibus trudit, sed tempestas totius elementi, nimirum undique consurgentis et undique commoti, mysticae navis naufragium intentat; ideo audeo timidus nauta clamare, Uigilate, quia aqua iam intrauit in ecclesiae nauem, et navis periclitatur.⁹⁶

94 Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, 103.3.16: “quis enim pauper non turgescit in spem saeculi huius? quis non quotidie cupit augere quod ha”bet? (Is there any poor person who does not begin **to swell** with hope for this age? Is there anyone who does not long every day to increase what he has?).

95 Cassiodorus, *Expositio Psalmorum*, 91.5: “Intuere hanc regulam ueritatis ubique seruari, ne humanis uiribus applicetur quod fuerit diuina largitate collatum. Tunc enim elatio noxia provenit; tunc superbia Deo inimica turgescit, quando aliquid infirmitas humana de sua possibilitate praesumpserit” (See that this rule of truth is maintained everywhere, lest it, which has been conferred by divine abundance, be attributed to human strength. Then, indeed, harmful exaltation comes into being; then pride hostile to God **begins to swell**, when human weakness presumes somewhat about its own power). Cf. Cassiodorus, *Expositio Psalmorum*, 106.25.

96 Columbanus, *Epistula* 5.2: “Therefore, I will speak out freely, namely to our masters and to the helmsmen of the spiritual ship and the mystic watchmen, saying, Watch, because the sea is stormy and it is made rough by deadly blasts, because **threatening the shipwreck of the mystical ship**, there is **not only one single wave**, which rises up even out of a rough sea growing to an extraordinary height from the ever-foaming whirlpools of the hollow rocky bottom, that wave, **swelling** up from afar drives before it the sails, the waves having been furrowed by Death like a plough, but **it is a storm of the whole element**, that truly rises up on all sides and is equally rough in all directions. For this reason, I, although being a shy sailor, dare to shout: Watch! because the water has already entered the ship of the church and this same ship is in danger.”

In this passage, the *minax unda* and *tempestas* both represent threats to the Church (here, from doctrinal error). In this context, *turgescens* (swelling) describes the “swell” of hostile forces. This is in keeping with Patristic sea symbolism, where “swelling” waves often correspond to the arrogance of persecutors.⁹⁷ Related interpretations, in which the “swell” of waves cause threat to the Church, are contained in other Patristic sources, such as Gregory the Great, where “swelling waves” are associated with the temptation of worldly cares.⁹⁸ In this way, “swelling waves” can represent either direct and open attacks on the Church or more subtle forms of attack, such as the attractions of the world, which might lure away those within the Church. In both instances, however, “swelling waves” are associated with the world itself. This broader context suggests that in *Epistula* 5 the phrase *turgescens dodrans* might be used to represent the final temptation which Christ was able to overcome, which is the world itself.

This suggestion is supported by a return to the original context through which *dodrans* was known to the early medieval Irish *literati*: Philippus Presbyter’s *Commentarii in Iob*. As already noted, *dodrans* arises in an interpretation of Job 38:16: *numquid ingressus es profunda maris* (Hast thou entered into the springs of the sea?). The defining features of the *dodrans* (flood-tide) are described thus in Philippus’s commentary: the flood-tide is an *immensa effusio* (enormous outflow) of *tantarum aquarum* (immeasurable waters) that *in superficiem profundantur* (pour forth onto the surface) before returning to the *profundissimus sinus* (most deep curves), which are also described as the *matrix maris* (womb of the sea). Most importantly, Philippus’s commentary provides not only a “scientific” account of this flood-tide, but he also provides a moral interpretation:

Possumus et moraliter hunc locum ita sentire, ut quia mare per figuram, hoc saeculum dici novimus: profunda eius super omnes iniquos et peccatores, qui quantum illud diligunt, tamen in eius obscurissimam profunditatem demergunt, ut omnino non videant lumen Evangelii et gloriae Christi.

⁹⁷ Jerome, *Commentarii in Isaiam*, XIV.51.15: “qui conturbari faciat mare, et intumescere fluctus eius, ut adversum servos suos persecutorum inflatur superbia, quae iterum, auxiliante Domino, conquiescat” (Who makes the sea to be disturbed, and **its waves to swell up**, so that the pride of the persecutors might be blown against his own servants, which may settle down again with the Lord’s help).

⁹⁸ Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob*, XXVI.xiv.24: “Absconditum quippe tempestatis est, cum in corde contrito cogitationum temptantium fluctus intumescunt, cum contra amoris sancti studia curarum saecularium se tumultus illidunt” (It is ‘the hidden part of the storm’ when in the penitent heart **the waves of tempting thoughts are swelling** when the **confusions of worldly cares** beat themselves against the eagerness of holy love).

Novissima vero abyssi sint omnes impii et sacrilegi, qui in profundiores peccatorum tenebras descendentes, lasciviarum nimio fluxu, velut aquarium multitudine deprimuntur.⁹⁹

The *profunda maris*, which is the location from which the *dodrans* rises, is here clearly associated with the sinful and wicked. Moreover, Philippus' account chimes with Patristic interpretations of large volumes of sea-water, which were sometimes believed to represent the attack of Satan and his agents.¹⁰⁰ Furthermore, in Augustine's interpretation of Job 38:16, he identifies the *fons maris* as the source from which all evil springs up.¹⁰¹ Taken together, this supports the idea that *trans turgescentem dodrantem* might be interpreted as the third temptation, the lures of the world itself. Thus, in Columbanus's *Epistula* 5, *dodrans* appears to relate to an established interpretation of the Noahic Flood (i.e., the flood waters represent, in the words of Bede, the "waves of the tempting world by which [the Church] is tested").

99 Philippus Presbyter, *Commentarii in Iob*, XXXVI (PL 26.753B): "And we can understand this passage morally because we know the sea to be designated 'this age' through a figure of speech: its depths are above **all the wicked ones and sinners**, who, however much they love that [world], so much they sink into its darkest depth, so that they do not see at all the light of the Gospel and the glory of Christ. Truly, the utmost places of the abyss are **all the impious and sacrilegious ones**, who, flowing down into the deepest darkness of sins, are weighed down by an excessive flow of lasciviousness like a multitude of waters."

100 e.g., Hilary of Poitiers, *Tractatus super psalmos*, 123.6: "torrentem pertransiit anima nostra, forsitan pertransisset anima nostra aquam immensam. ecce diaboli et suorum inruentes impetus et ex turbidis motibus concitatos furentesque procursus et tempestatis temporariae torrentes; sed haec intolerabilis aqua animam non transit, in qua deus habitat" ("Our soul has crossed a torrent, perhaps our mind has crossed immeasurable water." [Psalm 123:6] Behold there are headlong attacks of the devil and his own ones, and agitated and raging outbreaks, from turbulent commotions, and rushing streams of temporary storms. But this unendurable water does not pass through the soul, in which God dwells).

101 Augustine, *Adnotationes in Iob*, 3: "aut uenisti ad fontem maris? sicut ille, cui uenienti patuit confitendo quidquid occultum erat in cordibus inpiorum, qui credendo in eum iustificati sunt. nam quem fontem maris melius accipimus nisi secretum, unde erumpit omnis haec amarissima impietas, quae ingentes fluctus iam manifestorum malorum operum concitat, quae uident homines in apertis factis, qui fontem ipsum uidere non possunt?" (Or have you come to the source of the sea? Just like that one to whom, upon coming, it was revealed by declaration whatever was hidden in the hearts of the impious, who were justified by believing in him. For what **source of the sea** do we accept more fittingly if not the secret one, **whence all this most bitter impiety gushes forth**, which already stirs up the enormous waves of obvious evil deeds, which people see in open deeds, but they are not able to see the fountain itself?).

The Context of *Dodrans* in AAM

Returning to AAM, we find that *dodrans* appears to relate to the eschatological interpretation of the Noahic Flood:

Blebomen agialos, nicate dodrantibus: sic mundi et vita huius

We see how the shore is overcome by the tide: so too the life of this world.¹⁰²

Here, stanza-B immediately suggests an apocalyptic scenario, since the flood-tide crossing the shoreline is compared to the life of this world drawing to a close.¹⁰³

Moreover, as noted above, the gloss on *agialos* (*omnes sanctos*) ties very closely with the Parable of the Dragnet, which itself was a parable that was believed to have eschatological relevance. The glossator, whose work is contained in C, might have recognized this particular nuance of *dodrans* and have chosen to gloss it with *morientes* precisely because of established Patristic traditions in which the *morientes* are those who have not received salvation, which itself represents a rebirth from death to life:

Et vos, cum essetis mortui delictis et peccatis vestris, in quibus aliquando ambulastis secundum saeculum mundi huius, secundum principem potestatis aeris huius.¹⁰⁴

Thus, the *morientes* are those who remain dead in the offences of their sins.

Therefore, the glossator of C appears to interpret both *agialos* and *dodrans* as locations associated with the dead awaiting the Final Judgement. On the shoreline (*agialos*), Christians (i.e., *omnes sanctos*) have been placed into vessels awaiting their final transition into heaven, while in the *dodrans*, the non-Christians (i.e., *morientes*), who have been tossed back into the sea, are awaiting their day of punishment. This is noteworthy since the heart of the sea (*cor maris*) referenced in Jonah 2:4 was interpreted as Hell.¹⁰⁵ Indeed, Gregory the Great (*Moralia in Iob*, XXIX. xii) suggested that the depth of the

102 AAM, 4–6.

103 It might not be insignificant, therefore, that when *dodrans* is used by Aldhelm in *Carmen rhythmicum*, it comes precisely at the point when the sea appears to be achieving victory over the land (until Christ intervenes): “Oceanus cum molibus/Atque diris dodrantibus/Pulsabat promontoria/Suffragante Victoria” (and the ocean with its mighty strength and savage flood-tides was pounding the promontories with the support of victory).

104 *Biblia Sacra Vulgata*, Ephesians 2:1–2: “And you, **when you were dead** in your offences, and sins, Wherein in time past **you walked according to the course of this world**, according to the prince of the power of this air.”

105 Cf. Jerome, *In Ionam*, 2.4a: “porro cor maris significatur infernus, pro quo in

sea (*profundum maris*) was the allegorical location Jesus visited during the Harrowing of Hell. Moreover, Gregory only specifies that Christ rescued the faithful during this trip, which suggests is the non-faithful (i.e., *morientes*) remained in the depths of the sea.

Furthermore, *dodrans* may not only relate to the allegorical location where the *morientes* are held, but it might also signify the approaching judgement of the *morientes*. For example, Bede stated that the Flood represents the end of the world or the Final Judgement.¹⁰⁶ Yet, as a result of the Noahic Covenant (Genesis 9:9–17), in which God promised never to flood the world again, the apocalyptic flood was sometimes presented not as a flood of water, but one of fire.¹⁰⁷ For example, Augustine provided a parallel between the Flood and the coming destruction of the world by fire.¹⁰⁸ A flood was often used as a portent of Judgement Day in Anglo-Latin and Old English sources.¹⁰⁹ This suggests that the *dodrans* might not only be associated with the location of the *morientes*, but also their coming judgement.

euangelio legimus: in corde terrae” (again the ‘heart of the sea’ signifies Hell, for which we read in the Evangelist: in ‘the heart of the earth’).

106 Bede, *In principium Genesis*, 2.6: “Sicut autem, facta arca et inlatis in eam omnibus quae erant saluanda, uenit diluuium et tulit omnia quae extra eam erant, sic ubi omnes qui praeordinati sunt ad uitam aeternum ecclesiam intrauerint ueniet finis mundi, et peribunt omnes qui extra ecclesiam fuerint inuenti. Et iuxta hunc sensum manifeste arca ecclesiam, noe dominum qui ecclesiam in sanctis suis aedificat, diluuium finem seculi uel iudicium designat extremum” (And just as, after the ark was made and all those creatures that were to be saved were brought into it, the flood came and carried off all those that were outside it, so when all the people who have been predestined for eternal life have entered the Church, the end of the world will come, and all the people who are found outside the Church will perish. And in this sense, the ark plainly signifies the Church, Noah signifies the Lord who builds the Church in his saints, and the flood signifies the end of the world or Last Judgement). (trans. Kendall, *On Genesis*, 173).

107 Anlezark, *Water and Fire*, 39.

108 Augustine, *De Ciuitate Dei*, 20.16: “iudicatis quippe his, qui scripti non sunt in libro uitae, et in aeternum ignem missi (qui ignis cuius modi et in qua mundi uel rerum parte futurus sit, hominem scire arbitror neminem, nisi forte cui spiritus diuinus ostendit), tunc figura huius mundi mundanorum ignium conflagratione praeteribit, sicut factum est mundanarum aquarum inundatione diluuium” (For these judged ones, who are not written in the book of life, and have been sent into the eternal fire (which fire, of what kind, and in which region of the world or things it is going to be, I believe that no man knows, except perhaps the one to whom the divine spirit reveals [it]) then the image of this world will pass away with a burning of worldly fire in the same way the Flood has been made in the flood of worldly waters); cf. Bede, *In principium Genesis*, 2.9.

109 See Anlezark, *Water and Fire*, 174–240, and Hawk, “The Fifteen Signs before Judgment.”

Typologies of Glossing in C

The typology produced by Gernot Wieland suggests that five main types of glosses occur in the writings of Arator and Prudentius found in **C**: glosses on prosody, lexical glosses, grammatical glosses, syntactical glosses, and commentary glosses.¹¹⁰ Of particular note, Wieland showed that some of the interpretative glosses applied to Arator and Prudentius were based on principles of biblical exegesis.¹¹¹ This suggests that the two interpretative glosses discussed above could very well have been recognized by the mid-eleventh-century audience of **C**, who would have been familiar with the gloss typologies found within the same manuscript.

Conclusion

This chapter began with the tentative suggestion that marked diction used within *AAM* might relate to interpretations found in biblical exegesis. In this way, what seems to be an irregularity of Latinity could sometimes instead be an attempt to adequately signal established spiritual interpretations. In order to provide adequate contextualization of marked lexical items in *AAM*, this study was limited to an extremely small sample size. Therefore, it is unclear whether this research is generalizable to marked diction found in other early medieval poems. However, there is reason to believe that the findings could be replicated for other glosses. For example, *equonomicum* (reward) is glossed *coronam* (crown), which immediately draws to mind Patristic discourses on the crowns found in Revelation. Yet, despite this concern, this study suggests that the early audience of *AAM* read the text in a very different manner than modern scholars. Their training in biblical exegesis shaped their understanding of the meaning of marked diction in *AAM*. In particular, they aligned marked lexical items with established Patristic discourses on the sea and the shoreline. The *agialos* was interpreted as the location of the Church before Judgement Day, while the *dodrans* was associated both with the moral condition of unbelievers, who were believed to be dead in their sin, and the coming judgement of the unbelievers.

Whether these particular interpretations of the figurative passages in *AAM* were the intention of the original author is impossible to say with certainty. However, it is striking that *AAM* shows clear and intentional transitions between marked diction and unmarked diction (in line with the transition

110 Wieland, *The Latin Glosses on Arator and Prudentius*.

111 Wieland, *The Latin Glosses on Arator and Prudentius*, 147–59.

found, for instance, in the Parable of the Dragnet). This is particularly true when a glossator later applies spiritual interpretation to the rare and noteworthy vocabulary that seems to intentionally suggest a figurative message.

The use of *dodrans* in other contexts adds weight to the idea that the author of *AAM* might intentionally be signalling a spiritual interpretation. As we have seen, *dodrans* was explicitly equated to the Noahic Flood in Saint-Omer, MS 342 bis (fol. B), which itself was the basis of a range of complex, overlapping spiritual interpretations. Moreover, in *Epistula* 5, Columbanus used *dodrans* to signal one of the temptations that Christ overcame: the world itself. This is striking when the flood waters of the Noahic Flood were often interpreted as worldly forces, who test the Church.

This study has several implications for Anglo-Latin poetry. In particular, it raises questions about the function of marked diction in the poems of authors who were influenced by Hiberno-Latin sources, such as Aldhelm. Moreover, even if it is determined that marked diction is not ever (or not always) used in this way in Anglo-Latin materials, it is still worth reconsidering whether difficult texts (including not only Hiberno-Latin materials but also the works by authors such as Odo of Cluny and Abbo of St. Germain) received into Anglo-Latin circles could have been studied for potential hidden spiritual interpretations. Finally, and most importantly, this study highlights the importance of studying early medieval poetry, including both Hiberno-Latin and Anglo-Latin poetry, alongside Patristic sources, including biblical commentaries, which set the tone for much of what was composed during this period.

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