

## NOTES

### 1 Archipelago and Otherworld

1. John Carey, *A Single Ray of the Sun, Religious Speculation in Early Ireland* (Andover, MA, and Aberystwyth, UK: Celtic Studies Publications, 1999), p. 29; and “On the Interrelationships of Some *Cín Dromma Snechtai* Texts,” *Ériu* 46 (1995): 71–92. Of monastic provenance though concerned with Otherworld themes, some of the book’s texts may have dated to the seventh century, according to Carey.
2. The term Otherworld in Insular narratives, named often interchangeably the Irish or Celtic Otherworld, is a label created by modern scholarship. For debate over the meaningfulness of the modern term, see Patrick Sims-Williams, “Some Celtic Otherworld Terms,” in *Celtic Language, Celtic Culture, A Festschrift for Eric P. Hamp*, ed. A.T.E. Matonis and Daniel F. Melia (Belmont, MA: Ford & Bailie, 1990), pp. 57–81; and John Carey, “The Irish ‘Otherworld’: Hiberno-Latin Perspectives,” *Éigse* 25 (1991): 154–59.
3. Séamus Mac Mathúna, ed., *Immram Brain, Bran’s Journey to the Land of the Women: An Edition of the Old Irish Tale with Linguistic Analysis, Notes and Commentary* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1985), pp. 39–40. The English version is mine, relying heavily on Kuno Meyer, ed. and trans., *The Voyage of Bran Son of Febal to the Land of the Living*, vol. 1 (1895, repr. New York: AMS, 1972), pp. 16–22; § 33–38, 40–44, and on Mac Mathúna. I have followed modern Irish convention in using an “h” following letters that have a punctum delens over them in the original text, here and in other Irish texts that follow throughout this study.
4. See Edward S. Casey’s explication of Luce Irigaray’s work in *The Fate of Place, A Philosophical History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), pp. 321–30.
5. John Carey, *Ireland and the Grail* (Aberystwyth, UK: Celtic Studies Publications, 2007), pp. 60–65; another text, *Immacaldam in Druad Brain ⁊ inna Banfhátho Febuil ós Loch Fhebuil*, is important to this connection as made by Carey.
6. On multiform in early Irish literature, see Edgar Slotkin, “Medieval Irish Scribes and Fixed Texts,” *Éigse* 17 (1977–79): 437–50; and also Hildegard Tristram’s work on *Táin Bó Cúailnge*, including “The Cattle-Raid of Cuailnge between the Oral and the Written. A Research Report (SFB 321, Project A 5, 1986–1996),” *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* 51 (1999): 125–29.
7. James Carney, “The Earliest Bran Material,” in *Latin Script and Latin Letters, A.D. 400–900: Festschrift Presented to Ludwig Bieler*, ed. John J. O’Meara and Bernd Naumann (Leiden, NL: E.J. Brill, 1976), pp. 174–93; Proinsias Mac Cana, “The sinless Otherworld of *Immram Brain*,” *Ériu* 27 (1976): 95–115; and Mac Cana, “On the ‘prehistory’ of *Immram Brain*,” *Ériu* 26 (1975): 33–52. See also John Carey, “The Lough Foyle Colloquoy Texts: *Immacaldam Choluim Chille ⁊ ind Óclaig oc Carraic*

- Eolaig and Immacaldam in Druad Brain 7 inna Banfhátho Febuil ós Loch Fhebuil*,” *Ériu* 52 (2002): 53–87; and “On the Interrelationships of Some *Cín Dromma Snechtai* Texts,” *Ériu* 46 (1995): 71–92.
8. The term *Celtic* (pronounced by scholars “Keltic”) is a modern label of academic origin, based on Classical Greek and Latin terminology. It is a useful shorthand for cultures of the Irish Sea zone and Brittany with linguistic origins in the most recent survivors of the Celtic language family (including in modern times the related languages of Irish, Scots Gaelic, and Manx, along with Cornish, Welsh, and Breton, the latter three having developed together from early British-Celtic). Patrick Sims-Williams qualifies the term in “Celtomania and Celtoskepticism,” *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies* 36 (Winter 1998): 1–36.
  9. John Carey argues that original core Irish narratives of Bran probably were a source for the grail legends. Carey, *Ireland and the Grail*, pp. 60–65.
  10. On this celebration of island monasticism in the *Navigatio S. Brendani* in an Irish Sea context, see Jonathan M. Wooding, “Island and Coastal Churches in Medieval Wales and Ireland,” in *Ireland and Wáles in the Middle Ages*, ed. Karen Jankulak and Jonathan M. Wooding (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2007), pp. 220–22 [201–28]. On issues regarding genre, see David N. Dumville, “*Echtrae* and *immram*: some problems of definition,” *Ériu* 27 (1976): 73–94. The use of *fairci* in the *Immram Brain* poem quoted here, from Mac Mathúna’s edition, a genitive form of a term meaning expanse as in sea, also is at least in retrospect suggestive of the Middle Irish term *fairche*, related to *parúchia*, meaning monastic territory.
  11. See chapters three and four in this volume.
  12. For a survey of the distinctive involvement of animals in Irish and Welsh hagiographic traditions in relation to forest motifs, e.g., see Susan Power Bratton, “Oaks, Wolves and Love: Celtic Monks and Northern Forests,” *Journal of Forest History* 3 (1989): 4–20; and Mary Donatus, *Beasts and Birds in the Lives of the Early Irish Saints*, PhD dissertation (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1934).
  13. Benjamin Hudson, “Time is Short,” in *Irish Sea Studies 900–1200* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2006), p. 173 [172–96].
  14. John Carey, “Tara and the Supernatural,” in *The Kingship and Landscape of Tara*, ed. Edel Bhreathnach (Dublin: Four Courts Press for The Discovery Programme, 2005), pp. 32–48; p. 48, note 90.
  15. Robin Stacey Chapman, *The Road to Judgment: From Custom to Court in Medieval Ireland and Wales* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994), pp. 200 and 216.
  16. Marie-Louise Sjoestedt, *Celtic Gods and Heroes*, trans. Myles Dillon (New York: Turtle Island Foundation, 1982), p. 1.
  17. On nature as fact and nature as value in current medieval studies, see Barbara A. Hanawalt and Lisa J. Kiser, “Introduction,” in *Engaging with Nature: Essays on the Natural World in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Barbara A. Hanawalt and Lisa J. Kiser (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame University, 2008), pp. 3–4 [1–10].
  18. In this I follow somewhat the argument by Derek Pearsall and Elizabeth Salter, *Landscapes and Seasons of the Medieval World* (London: Elek, 1973), for a medieval semiotics of landscape as iconographic. Pearsall and Salter’s seminal work on early European literary landscape has been joined by notable studies such as the following: Gillian R. Overing and Marijane Osborne, *Landscape of Desire* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1994); Sylvia Tomasch and Sealy Gilles, eds., *Text and Territory: Geographical Imagination in the European*

- Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998); Barbara A. Hanawalt and Michael Kobialka, *Medieval Practices of Space*, *Medieval Cultures* 23 (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minneapolis Press, 2000); Nicholas Howe and Michael Wolfe, eds., *Inventing Medieval Landscapes* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2002); and Clare A. Lees and Gillian Overing, eds., *A Place to Believe In: Locating Medieval Landscapes* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006). Environmental literary studies or “ecocriticism” seeks to highlight attitudes toward the physical environment in literary texts, in order to analyze implicit cultural attitudes toward nature and related issues of ethnicity and power. See William Rueckert, “Literature and Ecology: An Experiment in Ecocriticism,” in *The Ecocriticism Reader*, ed. Cheryll Glotfelty and Harold Fromm (Athens GA, 1996), pp. 105–23. Glotfelty is a founding figure in the movement and of its central journal *ISLE: Interdisciplinary Studies in Literature and Environment*. Lawrence Buell developed criteria for environmentally oriented (or “ecocentric”) texts in his *The Environmental Imagination: Thoreau, Nature Writing, and the Formation of American Culture* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995), pp. 6–8. See also Buell, *The Future of Environmental Criticism, Environmental Crisis and Literary Imagination*, *Blackwell Manifestos* (Malden, MA and Oxford: Routledge, 2005); and Glen A. Love, *Practical Ecocriticism: Literature, Biology, and the Environment* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2003), p. 1.
19. On exoticization of the Celtic, see Terence Brown, ed., *Celticism*, *Studia Imagologica* 8 (Amsterdam: Editions Rodopi, 1996).
  20. See, e.g., environmental phenomenologist Ted Toadvine’s “Culture and Cultivation: Prolegomena to a Philosophy of Agriculture,” in *Nature’s Edge: Boundary Explorations in Ecological Theory and Practice*, *Environmental Philosophy and Ethics*, ed. Charles S. Brown and Ted Toadvine (Albany: SUNY Press, 2007), pp. 207–22; see also Bruce V. Foltz and Robert Frodeman, eds., *Essays in Environmental Philosophy*, *Studies in Continental Thought* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2004); and Bruce V. Foltz, *Inhabiting the Earth: Heidegger, Environmental Ethics, and the Metaphysics of Nature* (Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press, 1995). For Heidegger’s own related work, see Martin Heidegger, *Introduction to Metaphysics*, trans. Gregory Fried and Richard Polt (New Haven, CN: Yale University, 2000); and “The Thing,” in *Poetry, Language, Thought*, trans. Albert Hofstadter (New York: Harper Perennial, 2001), pp. 163–80; also Edward S. Casey’s helpful discussion of Heidegger’s work in relation to place, *The Fate of Place*, pp. 243–84; Jeff Malpas, *Heidegger’s Topology: Being, Place, World* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2006); and Graham Harman, *Heidegger Explained: from Phenomenon to Thing*, *Ideas Explained* 4 (Chicago and LaSalle, IL: Open Court, 2007), especially helpful on Heidegger’s often glossed-over notion of the fourfold, pp. 131–35.
  21. Edward S. Casey, “Taking a Glance at the Environment, Preliminary Thoughts on a Promising Topic,” in *Eco-Phenomenology, Back to the Earth Itself*, *Environmental Philosophy and Ethics*, ed. Charles S. Brown and Ted Toadvine (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2003), p. 195 [187–210].
  22. Eriugena’s major work is *The Periphyseon*. See I.P. Sheldon-Williams with John J. O’Meara, trans. *Periphyseon (The Division of Nature)*, *Cahiers d’études médiévales, Cahier spécial* 3 (Montreal: Éditions Bellarmin, and Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1987). Major editions of *The Periphyseon* include I.P. Sheldon-Williams and Ludwig Bieler, eds. and trans., *Books 1–3, Scriptores Latini Hiberniae (SLH)* 7, 9, 11; Édouard Jeuneau, ed., and J. J. O’Meara and I.P. Sheldon-Williams, trans.,

- Book 4, *SLH* 13 (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1968–81 and 1995); and Édouard Jauneau, ed., *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis* 161–5, 5 vols (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 1996–2003). References to the Latin transcript of Eriugena’s work in Migne’s *Patrologia Latina* (*PL*) throughout are to volume 122. Myra L. Uhlfelder, trans., with Jean A. Potter, ed., *Periphyseon, On the Division of Nature*, Library of the Liberal Arts (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1976), offers a helpful partial English translation with interpolated summary.
23. A term used by linguist Noam Chomsky (*Aspects of the Theory of Syntax* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1965) to describe syntactical structure below phrase-making. Following the anthropological theories of Clifford Geertz [*The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973)], cultures, like languages, have a deep coded pattern of values. Here the idea of a formative or “deep structure” of culture is used in relation to landscape in a way reflective also of the sociological notion of *habitus* developed by Pierre Bourdieu in studies of symbolic power [*Outline of a Theory of Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977)], but in the context of environmental literary studies and ecosemiotics [Winfried Nöth, “Ecosemiotics,” *Sign Systems Studies* 26 (1998): 332–43]. Thanks to my former students Nick Kupensky and A. Joseph McMullen for suggesting the ecosemiotic connection.
  24. Wooding, “Island and Coastal Churches in Medieval Wales and Ireland,” pp. 201–202.
  25. John Carey, “The Nature of Miracles in Early Irish Saints’ Lives,” in *Reimagining Nature: Premodern and Postmodern Confluences*, ed. Alfred K. Siewers (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, forthcoming). For an example of a cultural history of desert monasticism examining larger connecting themes crossing regions, see Douglas Burton-Christie, *The Word in the Desert: Scripture and the Quest for Holiness in Early Christian Monasticism* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993).
  26. See Thomas O’Loughlin, *Celtic Theology: Humanity, World and God in Early Irish Writings* (London: Continuum, 2000); and *Journeys on the Edges: The Celtic Tradition, Traditions of Christian Spirituality* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2000).
  27. On Brittany, see Nora K. Chadwick, *Early Brittany* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1969); and Julia M.H. Smith, *Province and Empire: Brittany and the Carolingians*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).
  28. Evidence includes archaeological suggestions of continued trade between the Irish Sea and the Eastern Mediterranean into the sixth century, Irish references to Cassian and apparent influence of his writings or similar models of spiritual practice, an account of visiting Egyptian and Armenian monks in Ireland, a seeming Syriac monastic model for an early community in Brittany, theories of relation of the so-called Celtic cross design to possible Coptic models, and the popular Ionan motif of the meeting of the desert hermits Antony and Paul. Parallel traditions included an emphasis on the influence of ascetic elders who apparently supplied the remarkable array of local Celtic saints purported to date from the fifth and sixth centuries. For a recent pamphlet-style but helpful compilation of evidence circumstantial and otherwise, see Gregory Telepneff, *The Egyptian Desert in the Irish Bogs: The Byzantine Character of Early Celtic Monasticism*, second edn (Etna, CA: Center for Traditionalist Orthodox Studies, 2001).
  29. Adomnán, *Vita S. Columbae* 1.20, ed. A.O. Anderson and M.O. Anderson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), p. 46. Wooding, “Island and Coastal Churches in Medieval Wales and Ireland,” p. 221.

30. For Augustinus Hibernicus, see his *De Mirabilibus sacrae Scripturae*, PL 35, 2149–202, and Francis MacGinty, trans., “The Treatise *De Mirabilibus Sacrae Scripturae*: Critical Edition, with Introduction, English Translation of the Long Recension and Some Notes,” unpublished doctoral thesis (University College Dublin, 1971). Portions are translated by John Carey in *King of Mysteries: Early Irish Religious Writings* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2000). See especially III.9–10, MacGinty, p. 168, and discussion in Carey, *A Single Ray of the Sun*, pp. 50–51. For Eriugena’s declaration of all miracles as natural (following the Irish tradition of his predecessor Augustinus Hibernicus), see *Periphyseon* V.24, PL 901C, in which he says “there has never been any miracle in the world which is contrary to the nature of God,” the nature of God being included in his use of the term Nature at large (trans. Sheldon-Williams with O’Meara, p. 574). Uhlfelder translates this phrase less literally yet more akin to his overall meaning as “God has produced no miracle in the world contrary to nature” (*Periphyseon, on the Division of Nature*, p. 306). On Augustine of Hippo’s view of miracles as natural, see Augustine, *De civitate Dei* 21.8.
31. Robert Bartlett, *The Natural and the Supernatural in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 16–17. Eriugena is a rare early medieval Latin author cited by Bartlett for using terms meaning “supernatural,” but did so in translating Greek apophatic concepts of the divine essence as unspeakably “beyond-natural” in a different context from later Scholastic uses of such terms.
32. John Cassian’s portrayal in his Thirteenth Conference of a desert father’s implicit criticism of Augustine’s emphases on grace and Original Sin was, if not a source for early Celtic literary culture, a parallel expression of prevalent ascetic emphasis. An early Irish elegy to St. Columba suggests the importance of Cassian’s writings to that seminal figure in the Irish church; likewise echoes of Cassian’s thought are found in the seminal Celtic penitential attributed to Uinniau; see Michael W. Herren and Shirley Ann Brown, *Christ in Celtic Christianity: Britain and Ireland from the Fifth to the Tenth Century*, Studies in Celtic History 20 (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 2002), pp. 117, 124. While Stephen Mercer Lake in *The Influence of John Cassian on Early Continental and Insular Monasticism to c. A.D. 817*, PhD dissertation (Cambridge University, 1996) is skeptical of Cassian’s direct influence on Western monasticism, he notes apparent affinities of Irish monasticism with the Egyptian monasticism that Cassian promoted, p. 218. Such affinities lie in part behind Michael Richter’s statement that the Irish tendency to honor the concept of the “naturally good” and pagan ancestral tradition was probably well-established “considerably earlier” than the seventh century. “If the Irish Christian Teachers had had a Choice between Augustine and Others, They Chose the Others,” *Ireland and her Neighbours in the Seventh Century* (New York and Houndmills, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 1999), p. 37.
33. Benjamin Hudson, “The Changing Economy of the Irish Sea Province: AD 900–1300,” in *Irish Sea Studies*, pp. 21–46.
34. On the distinctive cultural continuities of sub-Roman and post-Roman western Britain (from whence Ireland was Christianized), see Ken Dark, *Britain and the End of the Roman Empire* (Stroud, UK: Tempus, 2000), p. 230; and Christopher A. Snyder, *An Age of Tyrants, Britain and the Britons, AD 400–600* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998), p. 251; also Alfred K. Siewers, “Gildas and Glastonbury,” in *Via Crucis: Essays on Sources and Ideas in Memory of J.E. Cross*, ed. Thomas Hall (Morgantown, WV: West Virginia University Press, 2002), pp. 423–32. Many commentators, most recently Michael Herren and Shirley

- Anne Brown in *Christ in Celtic Christianity*, have sought to define a continuing Pelagian strain in early Irish and Welsh Christianity, although Cassianic better suggests its relative orthodoxy. This relates to the wide range of patristic sources for early Irish literary culture, apparently more extensive than that evidenced in the Anglo-Saxon corpus. See Peter Jeffery, "Eastern and Western Elements in the Irish Monastic Prayer of the Hours," in *The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages: Methodology and Source Studies, Regional Developments, Hagiography*, ed. Margot E. Fassler and Rebecca A. Baltzer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 100 [99–143]. See also Thomas N. Hall, *Apocryphal Lore and the Life of Christ in Old English Literature*, PhD dissertation (University of Illinois at Urbana, 1990), p. 5; and Charles D. Wright, *The Irish Tradition in Old English Literature*, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England 6 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).
35. T.M. Charles-Edwards, "Introduction: Prehistoric and early Ireland," in Dáibhí Ó Cróinín, ed., *A New History of Ireland I, Prehistoric and Early Ireland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), lvii–lxxxii, at lxxii. See also chapter six of this work.
  36. On the "mandarin class," see Donnchadh Ó Corráin, "Nationality and Kingship in Pre-Norman Ireland," in *Nationality and the Pursuit of National Independence*, ed. T.W. Moody (Belfast: Appletree Press, 1978), p. 19 [1–35].
  37. Donnchadh Ó Corráin, "Ireland c. 800: Aspects of Society," in *A New History of Ireland I, Prehistoric and Early Ireland*, ed. Dáibhí Ó Cróinín (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 549–50 [549–608].
  38. Laura L. Howes references writings on the modern meanings of place and space in discussing late medieval landscape narrative, in her "Introduction," in *Place, Space, and Landscape in Medieval Narrative*, Tennessee Studies in Literature 43, ed. Howes (Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 2007), p. viii [vii–xiv].
  39. Ó Corráin, "Ireland c. 800: Aspects of Society," p. 600. For population estimate see p. 580, and for number of churches, see p. 597; the attempt at a per capita estimate is mine.
  40. Benjamin Hudson, "Gaelic princes and Gregorian reform," in *Irish Sea Studies*, p. 225 [212–229].
  41. The Carolingians generally seem to have found Anglo-Saxon monastic models most compatible with their developing view of a more centralized monarchy. James Russell, *The Germanization of Early Medieval Christianity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), pp. 164–65; also Albrecht Diem, "Monks, Kings and the Transformation of Sanctity: Jonas of Bobbio and the End of the Holy Man," *Speculum* 82:3 (2007): 521–59; and David Harry Miller, "Sacral Kingship, Biblical Kingship," in *Religion, Culture, and Society in the Early Middle Ages, Studies in Honor of Richard E. Sullivan*, Studies in Medieval Culture 23, ed. Thomas F.X. Noble and John J. Contreni (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, 1987) pp. 136–37 [131–54].
  42. Athanasius, *The Life of Antony*, trans. Robert C. Gregg (San Francisco: HarperCollins, 2006), pp. 46–47, 48.
  43. *Ibid.*, p. 74.
  44. Anonymous, "The Scribe Out of Doors," p. 39, in Rudolf Thurneysen, *Old Irish Reader*, trans. D.A. Binchy and Osborn Bergin (Dublin: Dublin Institute, 1981), p. 39.
  45. Oliver Davies, ed. and trans., *Celtic Spirituality*, Classics of Western Spirituality (New York: Paulist Press, 1999), pp. 259–60.

46. I am indebted to John Grim for suggesting this term to me.
47. Bruce Martin, "Lord of Lark and Lightning: Reassessing Celtic Christianity's Ecological Emphases," *Journal of Religion and Society* 6 (2004), at <http://moses.creighton.edu/jrs/2004/2004-11.html> [accessed May 10, 2008]. See also Donnchaid Ó Corráin, "Early Irish hermit poetry?" in *Sages, Saints and Storytellers: Celtic Studies in Honour of Professor James Carney*, Maynooth monographs 2, ed. Liam Breatnach and Kim McCone (Maynooth, IR: An Sagart, 1989), pp. 251–67; and Patrick Ford, "Blackbirds, Cuckoos, and Infixed Pronouns," in *Celtic Connections: Proceedings of the 10th International Congress of Celtic Studies*, vol. 1, ed. Ronald Black, William Gillies and Roibeard Ó Maolalaigh (East Linton, UK: Tuckwell Press, 1999), pp. 162–70.
48. Irish text from Carey, *King of Mysteries*, pp. 131–32, 134; for English translations, see Oliver Davies, ed. and trans., *Celtic Spirituality*, pp. 118–20; Carey, *King of Mysteries*, pp. 132, 134; and Whitley Stokes and John Strachan, eds., *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus* vol. 2 (repr. Dublin: Dublin Institute, 1975), pp. 355–57.
49. Carey, *King of Mysteries*, p. 130.
50. Geoffrey of Clairvaux, *Vita Prima, Bernard of Clairvaux*, 3, chap. 2, in *Acta Sanctorum*, August 4, 297C–D (Antwerp and Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1643–1940). The environmental view of the present study differs somewhat from Joel Kaye's celebration of the paradigm shift in this era as a prelude to modern science, while it accepts that connection. Joel Kaye, "The (Re)Balance of Nature, ca. 1250–1450," in *Engaging with Nature: Essays on the Natural World in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Barabara A. Hanawalt and Lisa J. Kiser (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame University, 2008), p. 105 [85–113].
51. For a comparison of accounts of Franciscan and Celtic encounters with the natural world, see Bratton, "Oaks, Wolves and Love." As medievalist John M. Ganim observes, following the literary scholar Chris Fitter, in the later medieval period there emerged "a virtual urbanization of the countryside itself" ("Landscape and Late Medieval Literature," in *Place, Space, and Landscape in Medieval Narrative*, Tennessee Studies in Literature 43, ed. Laura L. Howes (Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 2007), p. xviii [xv–xxix]).
52. Jo Ann McNamara, "City Air Makes Men Free and Women Bound," in *Text and Territory: Geographical Imagination in the European Middle Ages*, ed. Tomasch and Gilles, p. 156 [143–58]: "In the early Middle Ages, before urbanization, powerful and active females were often gendered as manly, the sexually inactive monastic population was grouped in a porous middle . . . in the medieval city, the unwomanly female was cloistered out of sight," as "the universities produced new generations of ungendered men who gained a monopoly of the legislating order." On Irigaray's views of sexual difference and place, see again Casey, *The Fate of Place*, pp. 321–30.
53. Suzanne Conklin Akbari, *Optical Theory and Medieval Allegory* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), p. 43.
54. On the six points following, see Caitlin Corning, *The Celtic and Roman Traditions: Conflict and Consensus in the Early Medieval Church* (New York and Houndmills, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006): abbots and synods, see following note here; holy exiles and frequent private confession, pp. 176–77 and 44; rural orientation, p. 48; non-clerical management, p. 100; Antiochene exegesis, p. 106. On biblical models for foundational Insular writing styles in Latin, see the works of David R. Howlett, including *The Celtic Latin Tradition of Biblical Style* (Dublin: Four Courts

- Press, 1995). On the enumerative style and other aspects of early Irish writing and tradition, see Wright, *The Irish Tradition in Old English Literature*. On biblical writing as a model for a particular style involving the play of mystery on the surface of narrative, see Eric Auerbach's discussion of Odysseus' scar and the story of Abraham and Isaac in the beginning of his *Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature*, trans. Willard R. Trask (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003).
55. Corning, *The Celtic and Roman Traditions*, p. 110, also 94 and 102; on fragmentary Welsh evidence, see p. 167. Corning sees the latter as indicating a lack of significant parallels, although I reach the opposite conclusion based on issues discussed throughout this study related both to narratives and asceticism. Sarah Foot's recent study, *Monastic Life in Anglo-Saxon England, c. 600–900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), also offers a valuable look at contemporary parallels to Irish monastic networks in the Anglo-Saxon realms, including a lack of regularizing of monasteries and their definition, especially before the tenth century. However, she notes both distinctive close connections with Germanic aristocratic society and increasing episcopal control in Anglo-Saxon monasteries from the late seventh through the eighth centuries. Corning highlighted current issues in the area of comparative Insular monastic studies in *The Medieval Review*; accessed via email subscription [July 7, 2007], archives available at <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/t/tmr/>. For Bede's account of native British-Celtic bishops seeking counsel from a hermit, see *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum* 2.2; *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, rev. edn, trans. Leo Sherley-Price (London: Penguin, 1990), pp. 104–107.
  56. Russell, *The Germanization of Early Medieval Christianity*, pp. 164–65. Later medieval Irish monastic communities in Germany sometimes were founded in existing “urban” centers, but the tendency of monastic communities in Ireland to develop larger surrounding communities is sometimes termed proto-urban.
  57. Hildegard L.C. Tristram, in the introduction to *The Legend of Mary of Egypt in Medieval Insular Hagiography*, ed. Erich Poppe and Bianca Ross (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1996), pp. 1–17, points up how vernacular Anglo-Saxon texts show a “predilection for the Alexandrian mode of exegesis,” typology and allegory, while Irish exegetical writings “tend to follow the Antiochene mode of expounding texts... which led to the well-known Irish feature of (exegetical) *curiositas* and to the development of a vivid imagination,” a combination of literalism and verbal ornamentation “that is the hallmark of mediaeval Irish vernacular writing,” while early English writing is more controlling in style (p. 12). Augustine's famous exegesis of Genesis, often assumed to be literal from its title, involves a fairly metaphorical and allegorical approach by contrast with the works of St. Basil and some early Irish texts. See Thomas Finan, “St. Augustine on the ‘mira profunditas’ of Scripture,” in *Scriptural Interpretation in the Fathers: Letter and Spirit*, ed. Finan and Vincent Twomey (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1995), pp. 163–99 at 194.
  58. See T.M. Charles-Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland*, *The Cambridge History of Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 464–65; on the Finn tales and their backgrounds, see also Joseph Falaky Nagy, *The Wisdom of the Outlaw: The Boyhood Deeds of Finn in Gaelic Narrative Tradition* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985); and Michael J. Enright, *Lady With a Mead Cup: Ritual Prophecy and Lordship in the European Warband from La Tene to the Viking Age* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1995).
  59. Thomas O'Loughlin, “Living in the Ocean,” in *Studies in the Cult of Columba*, ed. Cormac Bourke (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1997), pp. 11–23; Deirdre

- O'Sullivan, "Space, Silence and Shortage on Lindisfarne: The Archaeology of Asceticism," in *Image and Power in the Archaeology of Early Medieval Britain: Essays in Honour of Rosemary Cramp*, ed. Helena Hamerow and Arthur MacGregor (Oxford: Oxford Books, 2001), pp. 33–52; cited also in Antonio Sennis, "Narrating Places: Narrative and Space in Medieval Monasteries," in *People and Space in the Middle Ages, 300–1300*, Studies in the Early Middle Ages 15, ed. Wendy Davies, Guy Halsall, and Andrew Reynolds (Turnhout, Bel.: Brepols, 2006), p. 293 [275–294]. O'Sullivan notes that "the procession, the act itself, was what defined the boundary, and not the other way around" (p. 40). She makes a similar point regarding book production as a performative act of mutual reciprocity with spatiality. For a short but helpful summary of early Irish monastic practices, see Charles-Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland*, pp. 380–82.
60. On theological "energy theory" in Christian tradition, see Duncan Reid, *Energies of the Spirit: Trinitarian Models in Eastern Orthodox and Western Theology* (Atlanta, GA: American Academy of Religion, 1997).
  61. Hesychastic practice involves a continual repetition of prayer (usually involving Jesus' name in the form of the Jesus Prayer), often in rhythm with breathing and heartbeat and certain bodily postures, with the goal of bringing the mind into the heart. It traces back at least to Evagrius Ponticus, a source for Cassian, in the fourth century; see Elizabeth A. Clark, *The Origenist Controversy, The Cultural Construction of an Early Christian Debate* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992), p. 69.
  62. Dumitru Staniloae, *Orthodox Spirituality, A Practical Guide for the Faithful and a Definitive Manual for the Scholar*, trans. Jerome Newville and Otilia Kloos (South Canaan, PA: St. Tikhon Seminary Press, 2003), p. 209. See also St. Basil of Caesarea, in chapter nine of *On the Holy Spirit: Basile de Césarée: Traité du Saint-Esprit*, Sources chrétiennes 17, ed. Benoit Pruche (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1947), pp. 326–28; trans. Nonna Verna Harrison in *On the Human Condition*, Popular Patristics Series (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2005), pp. 42–44.
  63. Colmán Etchingham, *Church Organisation in Ireland AD 650 to 1000* (Maynooth: Laigin Publications, 1999), pp. 329–30.
  64. Fergus Kelly, *Early Irish Farming: A Study Based Mainly on the Law-Texts of the 7th and 8th Centuries AD*, Early Irish Law Series IV (Dublin: Dublin Institute, 1997), p. 425.
  65. Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum* 2.2; *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, trans. Leo Sherley-Price, pp. 104–107. Gerald of Wales, *Descriptio Cambriae* 1; *The Journey through Wales and the Description of Wales*, trans. Lewis Thorpe (Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin, 1978), p. 254.
  66. See, e.g., Thomas Owen Clancy and Gilbert Márkus, *Iona: The Earliest Poetry of a Celtic Monastery* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1995); and Uinseann Ó Maidín, trans. and ed., *The Celtic Monk: Rules and Writings of Early Irish Monks*, Cistercian Studies Series 162 (Kalamazoo, MI, and Spencer, MA: Cistercian Studies Publications, 1996).
  67. Adomnán, *Vita S. Columbae*, I.43, p. 78.
  68. Archimandrite Sophrony (Sakharov), *St. Silouan the Athonite*, trans. Rosemary Edmonds (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1999), pp. 46–49.
  69. Letter by Dostoevsky, quoted by Richard Pevear in his "Foreword" to Fyodor Dostoevsky, *Demons*, trans. Richard Pevear and Larissa Volokhonsky (New York: Vintage, 1995), p. xx [vii–xxiii].
  70. *Ibid.*, p. xx.

71. Whitley Stokes and John Strachan, eds., *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus* vol. 2 (repr. Dublin: Dublin Institute, 1975), p. 164; Carey discusses an analogue between this and the early Irish Otherworld text *Echtrae Chonlai* in *A Single Ray of the Sun*, pp. 32–33.
72. A good introduction to these patristic layers of time, discussed further in the next chapter, can be found in Georgios I. Mantzaridis, *Time and Man*, trans. Julian Vulliamy (South Canaan, Pa.: St. Tikhon's Seminary, 1996); and in John Romanides, *Patristic Theology: The University Lectures of Fr. John Romanides*, trans. Alexios Trader (Thessaloniki, Greece: Uncut Mountain Press, 2007), pp. 274–75.
73. See Patricia Rumsey, *Sacred Time in Early Christian Ireland: The Monks of the Navigatio and the Céli Dé in Dialogue to Explore the Theologies of Time and the Liturgy of the Hours in Pre-Viking Ireland* (New York: T&T Clark Theology, 2007). While Rumsey's work bases its attempted contrast of the Céli Dé with other monastic elements in Ireland on somewhat limited evidence, its analysis of the *Nauigatio sancti Brendani abbatis* offers insight into a perceived relation of natural and liturgical time, and illustrates efforts to redeem time through liturgical and prayer practices in early medieval Ireland.
74. Mantzaridis, *Time and Man*, p. 80.
75. See especially Book Two of *The Periphyseon*.
76. For a helpful discussion of complexities involved in relating indigenous traditions to conservation, see Jeffrey G. Snodgrass and Kristina Tiedje, "Guest editors' Introduction: Indigenous Nature Reverence and Conservation—Seven Ways of Transcending an Unnecessary Dichotomy," *Journal for the Study of Religion, Nature and Culture* 2.1 (2008): 6–29.
77. Suzanne Conklin Akbari, *Seeing through the Veil: Optical Theory and Medieval Allegory* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 2004), p. 5.
78. On nonbeing and being as both part of nature in Eriugena's philosophy, see his *Periphyseon*, 1.1, PL 441A, trans. I.P. Sheldon-Williams and O'Meara, p. 25.
79. For Augustine's developing views on evil, evident in *De Libero Arbitrio* and *De Natura et Gratia* among other works, see G.R. Evans, "Evil," in *Augustine through the Ages, an Encyclopedia*, ed. Allan D. Fitzgerald (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1999), pp. 340–44. For Eriugena's evolving association of nonbeing with God, see Dermot Moran, *The Philosophy of John Scottus Eriugena, A Study of Idealism in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), especially pp. 215–16. Even in Eriugena's earliest known writing, on predestination, which is more accepting of the Augustinian view of nonbeing despite Eriugena's anti-predestination views, his embrace of free will includes a definition of ex nihilo nature that is fundamentally non-Augustinian in orientation, and for that matter non-Thomist, as Moran's study suggests (p. 215).
80. For her discussion of the significance in Western cultural semiotics of the addition of the *filioque* to the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed, see Julia Kristeva, "Dostoevsky, the Writing of Suffering, and Forgiveness," in *Black Sun, Depression and Melancholia*, trans. Leon S. Roudiez (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989), pp. 175–217.
81. *Ibid.*, pp. 209–10.
82. Nöth, "Ecosemiotics."
83. For both Eriugena and Maximus, the *per filio* formula [of the Holy Spirit proceeding from the Father *through* (*per*) the son] was an acceptable reading of the *filioque*. But as the *filioque* became dogma throughout the Western church from about the

- tenth century onward, Trinitarian theology underwent the systematic change described by Kristeva. In early Ireland, the *Liber de Ordine Creaturarum* from the seventh century contains the *filioque*, although in the context of cosmology emphasizing the renewal of the world that seems more akin to Maximian-Eriugenian ideas than Augustinian; likewise the peculiar wording of the Trinitarian formula in verse attributed to the ninth-century Irish poet Blathmac mac Con Bretan, while translated by James Carney in the sense of the *filioque*, seems to reflect a dynamic *per filio* sense of the Holy Spirit: “The Holy Spirit ministers from [or perhaps ‘goes back and forth from’] Them [the Father and the Son] with the permission of all,” the key word as Carney noted being the verb *do-imthiret* (pp. 66–67), which he called “strange” because it is “a verb of motion” related to *timthirecht*, “act of going to and fro.” See *The Poems of Blathmac Son of Cú Brettan together with the Irish Gospel of Thomas and a Poem on the Virgin Mary*, Irish Texts Society 47 (Dublin: Irish Texts Society, 1964), pp. 66–67 and note on line 788, p. 146.
84. Attributed to Theosterictus the Monk in the ninth century CE; from the Paraklesis service to the Theotokos (*The Service of the Small Paraklesis (Intercessory Prayer) to the Most Holy Theotokos*, trans. Demetri Kangelaris and Nicholas Kasemotes, rev. edn (Brookline, MA: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1997), p. 17.
85. Kristeva, “Dostoevsky, the Writing of Suffering, and Forgiveness,” p. 211; emphasis in the original. Kristeva’s use of the terms identity and difference here appear to echo Deleuze’s view of a dynamic experience of identity that is the effect of difference [see his “Bergson’s Conception of Difference,” in *The New Bergson*, ed. J. Mullarkey (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2000), pp. 42–65], related also to how Martin Heidegger and Edward S. Casey see place as the experience of difference.
86. Evan Thompson, *Mind in Life: Biology, Phenomenology, and the Sciences of Mind* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap-Harvard University Press, 2007).
87. Kristeva in exploring medieval intersubjectivity through formulas of the Trinity adapted the system of Jacques Lacan, with its orders of Real, Imaginary, and Symbolic. Iconographic identification of the semiotic and symbolic in apophatic Trinitarianism arguably would type the Father by the Real, as the essential source-principle of the interpersonal *perichoresis* of the Trinity, but in equalitive interpenetration with unsubordinated hypostases of the Holy Spirit (the Symbolic) and the Son (the Imaginary). That non-Augustinian view of intersubjectivity in effect supports the critique of neo-Freudianism by Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, who emphasized desire as a production of the real rather than lack [*Anti-Oedipus, Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, vol. 1, trans. Robert Hurley, Mark Seem, and Helen R. Lane (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1972)]. That emphasis energized the veiled overlay landscape-narrative of nature, and helps explain an empowered deified role for Mary as God-bearer and cocreator and embodiment of earth. This contrasts with the more familiar transcendent later Western Marian discourse of Immaculate Conception, Assumption, and idealized asexuality noted by Kristeva [*In the Beginning was Love: Psychoanalysis and Faith*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987), p. 43]. The result has implications for feminine associations with the Earth [on which see Sherry Ortner, “Is Female to Male as Nature is to Culture?” *Feminist Studies* 1 no. 2 (Autumn 1972): 5–31]. In the non-Augustinian sense, reflected in Eastern Orthodox doctrines of the naturally human origin of Mary and her Dormition rather than Assumption, the body of Mary as Theotokos, associated with the earth in the context of the Eriugenian synthesis, becomes a source of human

- authority analogous to Celtic-style Sovereignty or Byzantine *basileia*. Luce Irigaray parallels this in her explication of the Virgin Mary's fluid cosmic engagement in the Annunciation ["The Way of Breath," in *Between East and West*, European Perspectives, trans. Stephen Pluhacek (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), pp. 73–91].
88. Jorge Luis Borges, "The Gold of the Tigers," quoted in Miranda Green, *Symbol and Image in Celtic Religious Art* (London: Routledge, 1992), p. xii.
  89. Kaye, "The (Re)Balance of Nature, ca. 1250–1350"; Julia Saville, *A Queer Chivalry, The Homoerotic Asceticism of Gerard Manley Hopkins* (Charlottesville, VA: The University Press of Virginia, 2000), p. 27.
  90. See Phillip Cary, *Augustine and the Invention of the Inner Self* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); Andrew Louth, "The Body in Western Catholic Christianity" in *Religion and the Body*, ed. Sarah Coakley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 113–30 at 129; and, again, Kristeva, "Dostoevsky, the Writing of Suffering, and Forgiveness," as well as her discussion of Bernard of Clairvaux and subjectivity in *Tales of Love*, trans. Leon S. Roudiez (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987), pp. 151–69.
  91. On this division in the later Middle Ages, see also Erazim Kohák, *The Embers and the Stars: A Philosophical Inquiry into the Moral Sense of Nature* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), p. 7.
  92. Andrew Louth, *Greek East and Latin West, The Church AD 681–1071*, *The Church in History* 3 (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2007), p. 149.
  93. For earlier developments in this process, see Michael Kobialka, "Staging Place/Space in the Eleventh Century, Monastic Practices," in *Medieval Practices of Space*, *Medieval Cultures* 23, ed. Barbara A. Hanawalt and Michael Kobialka (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minneapolis Press, 2000), pp. 128–48.
  94. Philip Sheldrake, *Spaces for the Sacred: Place, Memory and Identity* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), pp. 43–44; Catherine Bell, *Ritual Body, Ritual Practice* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992).
  95. Richard C. Hoffmann, "Homo et Natura, Homo in Natura: Ecological Perspectives on the European Middle Ages," in *Engaging with Nature: Essays on the Natural World in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Barbara A. Hanawalt and Lisa J. Kiser (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame University, 2008), pp. 20, 23–24, 26 [11–38].
  96. Douglas Burton-Christie, "Listening, Reading, Praying: Orality, Literacy and Early Christian Monastic Spirituality," *Anglican Theological Review* (Spring 2001): 220–21 [197–221].
  97. *Táin Bó Cúailnge from the Book of Leinster*, ed. Cecile O'Rahilly (Dublin: Dublin Institute, 1984), 104b, ll. 4919–25; p. 272.
  98. This concession by the conquerors was reportedly a bow to the fertility magic of the Tuatha Dé Danaan, the denizens of the Otherworld given a variety of origins, including apparently that of earlier divinities embodying and typing life in biblical Paradise. Their name originally may have meant "people of the gods," with the possibly tribally derived Danaan name added to distinguish them from descriptions of the children of Israel as "people of God." See John Carey, "The name 'Tuatha Dé Danaan,'" *Éigse* 18 (1981): 291–294. Also see Alwyn Rees and Brinley Rees, *Celtic Heritage: Ancient Tradition in Ireland and Wales*, rev. edn (London: Thames and Hudson, 1989), pp. 38–39. A translation of the relevant passage from *Mesca Ulad* is in John T. Koch, ed., *The Celtic Heroic Age* (Malden, MA: Celtic Studies Publications, 1995), pp. 95–96.

99. See, e.g., John Carey, *Ireland and the Grail*, Celtic Studies Publications 11 (Aberystwyth, UK: Celtic Studies Publications, 2008), pp. 33–34.
100. *Ibid.*, p. 19.
101. Juliette Wood, *The Celts* (New York: Stewart, Tabiri and Chang, 1998), p. 70.
102. John Carey, “The Irish ‘Otherworld’: Hiberno-Latin Perspectives,” *Éigse* 25 (1991): 158 [154–59]. Patrick Sims-Williams notes the possible derivation of the Welsh Otherworld term *Annwfn* from the meaning “Not-World” or “Inner World” (“Some Celtic Otherworld Terms,” p. 62).
103. Carey, “The Irish ‘Otherworld,’” p. 158; “Time, Space, and the Otherworld,” *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium* 17 (1987): 1 [1–42].
104. John Carey, “Otherworlds and Verbal Worlds in Middle Irish Narrative,” *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium* 19 (1989): p. 31 [31–42].
105. Alaric Hall, *Elves in Anglo-Saxon England, Matters of Belief, Health, Gender and Identity*, Anglo-Saxon Studies 8 (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 2007).
106. Alfred K. Siewers, “Landscapes of Conversion: Guthlac’s Mound and Grendel’s Mere in Expressions of Anglo-Saxon Nation-Building,” in *The Postmodern Beowulf*, ed. Eileen A. Joy and Mary K. Ramsey (Morgantown, WV: West Virginia University Press, 2007), pp. 199–258; Carey, *A Single Ray of the Sun*, p. 19.
107. Richard Sharpe, *Life of St. Columba* (London: Penguin, 1995), preface (n.p.).
108. Jeffrey J. Cohen, *Cultural Diversity in the British Middle Ages: Archipelago, Island, England*, The New Middle Ages (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).
109. Jeffrey J. Cohen, *Medieval Identity Machines*, Medieval Cultures (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003), p. 13; Gilles Deleuze, “Desert Islands,” in *Desert Islands and Other Texts (1953–1974)*, trans. Mike Taormina (Cambridge and London: Semiotext(e), 2004), pp. 9–14.
110. Gearóid Ó Donnchadha, *St. Brendan of Kerry, the Navigator: His Life and Voyages* (Dublin, Open Air: 2004), pp. 8–9.
111. As defined by Dr. Kevin Murray; thanks for his generous personal conversation.
112. *Vita Sancti Columbae* by Adomnán; Adomnan’s *Life of Columba*, rev. edn, Oxford Medieval Texts, ed. A.O. Anderson and M.O. Anderson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991); trans. Richard Sharpe, *Adomnán of Iona: Life of St. Columba* (Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin, 1995). For a translation with striking photos of the island and sea around Iona, site of Columba’s main monastic community, see John Marsden, ed., and John Gregory, trans., *The Illustrated Life of Columba*, second edn (Edinburgh: Floris, 1995). For the poem “*Amra Choluim Chille*,” see Clancy and Márkus, *Iona*, pp. 104–15.
113. Benjamin Hudson, “Introduction,” in *Irish Sea Studies*, p. 14 [13–17].
114. Margaret Clunies Ross, “Land-Taking and Text-Making in Medieval Iceland,” in *Text and Territory: Geographical Imagination in the European Middle Ages*, ed. Tomasch and Gilles, p. 160 [159–184].
115. Benjamin Hudson, “The Changing Economy of the Irish Sea Province: AD 900–1300,” in *Irish Sea Studies*, pp. 21–46.
116. Benjamin Hudson, “Gaelic Princes and Gregorian Reform,” in *Irish Sea Studies*, pp. 222–23 [212–229].
117. J.H. Andrews, “The Geographical Element in Irish History,” in *A New History of Ireland I, Prehistoric and Early Ireland*, ed. Dáibhí Ó Cróinín (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 9 [1–31].
118. Nerys Patterson, *Cattle-Lords and Clansmen, the Social Structure of Early Ireland*, second edn (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994), p. 94.

- Patterson's overall approach needs to be supplemented by Stacey's *The Road to Judgment*, Kelly's *Early Irish Farming*, and T.M. Charles-Edward's *Early Irish and Welsh Kinship* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993). See also Lisa Bitel's critique of Patterson's book, *Speculum* 71.1 (1996): 188–90. Many of Patterson's overall conclusions nonetheless are in sync with T.M. Charles-Edward's recent exhaustive study *Early Christian Ireland*.
119. Andrews, "The Geographical Element in Irish History," pp. 6–7; 13, 18.
  120. On varied sources for the Otherworld in early vernacular literatures of what became Western Europe, see Howard Rollins Patch, *The Other World According to Descriptions in Medieval Literature* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1950), pp. 83–120, and 134–59.
  121. Jennifer Neville, *Representations of the Natural World in Old English Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1999), p. 37.
  122. O'Loughlin, *Celtic Theology: Humanity, World and God in Early Irish Writings*, and, *Journeys on the Edges: The Celtic Tradition*.
  123. Northrop Frye, "The Argument of Comedy," rpt. in *Shakespeare: Modern Essays in Criticism*, ed. Leonard F. Dean (London: Oxford University Press, 1957; rev. 1967), pp. 79–89, at 85.
  124. A.J. Toynbee, *Civilization on Trial* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1948).
  125. On today's culture as virtual reality, see Paul N. Edwards, "Cyberpunks in Cyberspace," in *The Cultures of Computing*, The Sociological Review monograph series, ed. Susan Leigh Star (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 1995), pp. 69–84.
  126. Emmanuel Lévinas, "Ethics and the Face," trans. Alfonso Lingis, in *A Phenomenology Reader*, ed. Dermot Moran and Timothy Mooney (London: Routledge and New York, 2002), p. 515 [515–28]. Moran, an Eriugenist, is a specially skilled guide. I am indebted to conversations with him, and with my former student Sarah Reese.
  127. Thompson, *Mind in Life*, pp. 402–403.
  128. See Eriugena, *Periphyseon* throughout, but, e.g., 5.25, PL914A, trans. I.P. Sheldon-Williams with John J. O'Meara, p. 587.
  129. See chapter two in this volume.
  130. Lawrence Buell, *The Environmental Imagination*, pp. 7–8. For current issues and concerns in ecocriticism since Buell's foundational definition of the ecocentric, see Ursula K. Heise's "The Hitchhiker's Guide to Ecocriticism" [*PMLA* 121 (2006): 503–16]; also Love, *Practical Ecocriticism*; Buell, *The Future of Environmental Criticism*; Deborah Bird Rose, "The Ecological Humanities in Action: An Invitation," in *Australian Humanities Review*, 31–32 (2004), <http://www.lib.latrobe.edu.au/AHR/archive/Issue-April-2004/rose.html>; Peter Fuller, "The Geography of Mother Earth," in *Iconography of Landscape: Essays on the Symbolic Representation, Design and Use of Past Environments*, ed. Denis Cosgrove and Stephen Daniels (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p. 11 [11–31]; and Serpil Oppermann "Toward an Ecocentric Postmodern Theory: Fusing Deep Ecology and Quantum Mechanics," *The Trumpeter* 19.1 (2003): 7–35.
  131. John Scottus Eriugena, *Periphyseon*, 5.25, PL915D, trans. Sheldon-Williams with O'Meara, p. 589.
  132. John Scottus Eriugena, *Periphyseon*, 1.1, PL 441A, trans. Sheldon-Williams with O'Meara, p. 25.
  133. Aarne Naess, *Ecology, Community and Lifestyle: Outline of an Ecosophy*, rev. edn, with David Rothenberg (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 8.
  134. Moran, *The Philosophy of John Scottus Eriugena*, pp. 243–44.

135. See Carol Bigwood, “Logos of our Eco: An Approach through Heidegger, Irigaray and Merleau-Ponty,” in *Merleau-Ponty and Environmental Philosophy, Dwelling on the Landscapes of Thought*, Philosophy of the Social Sciences, ed. Suzane L. Cataldi and William S. Hamrick (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2007), pp. 93–115, at 94. Cyril of Alexandria and other early Christian writers in Christological debates at times used *logos* and *phusis* synonymously, although the precise Trinitarian terminology that became accepted was to identify *logos* and *hypostasis*.
136. For a smart summary of Eriugena’s view of place (amid broader conclusions somewhat skewed by a modern Western focus), see L. Michael Harrington, *Sacred Place in Early Medieval Neoplatonism*, The New Middle Ages (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), pp. 148–56. Also, Steven Chase, ed., *Angelic Spirituality, Medieval Perspectives on the Ways of Angels*, Classics of Western Spirituality (New York: Paulist Press, 2002). This includes a translation of the crucial chapter seven of Eriugena’s commentary on Dionysius’ *Celestial Hierarchy*, as well as a helpful introduction. See also, however, Andrew Louth, *The Origins of the Christian Mystical Tradition: From Plato to Denys* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983), and *Denys the Areopagite*, Outstanding Christian Thinkers (London and New York: Continuum, 2002), for a sense of how early medieval contexts of interpreting the Dionysian texts differed from later readings in the Scholastic era.
137. See St. Maximus the Confessor, *On the Cosmic Mystery of Christ*, trans. Paul M. Blowers and Robert Louis Wilken (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 2003), especially “*Ambiguum 7: On the Beginning and End of Rational Creatures*,” pp. 45–74.
138. Bigwood, “Logos of our Eco,” p. 94.
139. On the identity of divine energies and Maximus’ *logoi*, see Lars Thunberg, *Man and the Cosmos: The Vision of St. Maximus the Confessor* (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 1985), p. 140; and Joseph P. Farrell, *Free Choice in St. Maximus the Confessor* (South Canaan, PA: St. Tikhon’s Seminary Press, 1989), pp. 181 and 191. On *logos* as “act-life,” see Nicholas V. Sakharov, *I Love, Therefore I Am: The Theological Legacy of Archimandrite Sophrony* (Crestwood, NY, 2003), pp. 160–63.
140. Maximus the Confessor, *Ambigua 22*, PG 91, 1257AB, trans. Blowers and Wilken, *On the Cosmic Mystery of Jesus Christ*, p. 54; see also discussion in Farrell, *Free Choice in St. Maximus the Confessor*, p. 181.
141. Gregory of Sinai, *Discourse on the Transfiguration*, ed. David Balfour (Athens: Theologia, 1982), pp. 44–45.
142. Michael Oleksa, *Alaskan Missionary Spirituality* (New York: Paulist Press, 1987), pp. 27–28.
143. On Daoism and alternate definitions of desire as productive rather than lack, see Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus, Capitalism and Schizophrenia 2*, trans. Brian Massumi (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987), p. 157. Parallels between Christian “energy theory” and Daoist practice are explored in Hieromonk Damascene, *Christ the Eternal Tao* (Platina, CA: Valaam Books, 1999), pp. 237–38. Daoism also is cited by Hans-Georg Moeller as a traditional example of a self-organizing worldview engaging the bodily and the spatial [*Luhmann Explained From Souls to Systems*, Ideas Explained 3 (Chicago and La Salle, IL: Open Court, 2006), p. 13 and note 3].
144. Hilary Richardson, “Visual Arts and Society,” in *A New History of Ireland I, Prehistoric and Early Ireland*, ed. Dáibhí Ó Cróinín (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 691 [680–713].

145. Naess, *Ecology, Community and Lifestyle*.
146. Maria Antonaccio, "Asceticism and the Ethics of Consumption," *Journal of the Society of Christian Ethics* 26 (2006): 79–96. On "ecomediaevalism" and "eco-faith," see Ann Marie Rasmussen, "Visible and Invisible Landscapes: Medieval Monasticism as a Cultural Resource in the Pacific Northwest," in *A Place to Believe in: Locating Medieval Landscapes*, ed. Clare A. Lees and Gillian R. Overing (University Park: Pennsylvania University, 2006), pp. 239–59; and Jack Hitt, "A Gospel According to the Earth: Sown by Science, a New Eco-Faith Takes Root," *Harper's* (July 2003): 41–55.
147. See, e.g., Christopher Bamford's impressionistic description of Eriugena's "unique framework at once cosmic and ecological," in *The Voice of the Eagle: The Heart of Celtic Christianity, John Scotus Eriugena's Homily on the Prologue to the Gospel of St. John*, rev. edn, ed. and trans. Bamford (Great Barrington, MA: Lindisfarne Books, 2000), p. 57.
148. On animals, see Donatus, *Beasts and Birds in the Lives of the Early Irish Saints*. For example, Jonas' seventh-century account of the famous Irish *peregrinus* Columbanus and his work on the Continent, written within a generation after the latter's death, includes many stories of the saint's engagement with the natural world and its denizens [*Vita S. Columbani, PL* 87, trans. Dana C. Munro, *Translations and Reprints from the Original Sources of European History* 2.7 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1899)].
149. *In Tenga Bithnua*, "The Evernew Tongue," par. 13, trans. Máire Herbert, in *Irish Biblical Apocrypha, Selected Texts in Translation* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1989), p. 111 [109–18].
150. Moran, *The Philosophy of John Scottus Eriugena*, pp. 259–60.
151. These are explicated, respectively, in Book One, Book Two, Books Three and Four, and Book Five of the *Periphyseon*.
152. Hudson, "Time is Short," pp. 172–96.
153. Carey, *Ireland and the Grail*, which makes a case for Irish origins for elements of grail lore.
154. *Ibid.*, p. 203.
155. See discussion in Philip Sheldrake's *Living Between Worlds, Place and Journey in Celtic Spirituality* (Cambridge: Cowley, 1995), an impressionistic study that, despite limitations discussed in chapter three, dovetails well with his more extensive exploration of spatial theory in *Spaces for the Sacred*.
156. Casey, *The Fate of Place*, pp. 103–15.
157. See the discussion of narrative and time in Augustine's *Confessions* 11:23 and throughout Book 11 [trans. Henry Chadwick, *Oxford World's Classics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 233–34]; also John Romanides' discussion of the Augustinian present in *Patristic Theology: The University Lectures of Fr. John Romanides*, trans. Alexios Trader (Thessaloniki, Greece: Uncut Mountain Press, 2007), p. 274.
158. This is what Edward S. Casey calls activist memory: *Remembering: A Phenomenological Study* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1987), p. 15.
159. On place-time, see Mikhail Bakhtin, "Forms of Time and of the Chronotope in the Novel: Notes Towards a Historical Poetics," in *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*, ed. Michael Holquist, trans. Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981), pp. 84 and 225 [84–258]. The concept of chronotope bears relation to Edward S. Casey's description of place

- as “eventment” [Casey, “How to Get from Space to Place in a Fairly Short Stretch of Time: Phenomenological Prolegomena,” in *Senses of Place*, ed. Steven Feld and Keith H. Basso (Santa Fe: School of American Research Press, 1996), pp. 13–52].
160. In this I follow Philip Sheldrake’s discussion and adaptation of Foucault’s work in relation to medieval Christian monasticism and mysticism, in Sheldrake, *Spaces for the Sacred: Place, Memory, and Identity* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), pp. 100, 137.
  161. See the chapter “Geophilosophy” in Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *What is Philosophy?*, trans. Janis Tomlinson and Graham Burchell III (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), pp. 84–116.
  162. John Grim, in a talk on the emerging field of Religion and Ecology studies, at Bucknell University on April 1, 2008.
  163. Mark Bonta and John Protevi, *Deleuze and Geophilosophy, A Guide and Glossary* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2004), p. 76.
  164. Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus*, p. 155; Claire Colebrook, “The Space of Man: On the Specificity of Affect in Deleuze and Guattari,” in *Deleuze and Space*, Deleuze Connections, ed. Ian Buchanan and Gregg Lambert (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), p. 206, note 10 [189–206].
  165. Philip Goodchild, *Deleuze and Guattari: An Introduction to the Politics of Desire, Theory, Culture & Society* (London: SAGE Publications, 1996), p. 218. The term “ecosophy,” also used by the deep ecologist Arne Naess, was adopted by Guattari after his collaboration with Deleuze, but grew from ideas in their *Capitalism and Schizophrenia*.
  166. Peter Hallward, *Out of this World: Deleuze and the Philosophy of Creation* (London and New York: Verso, 2006), p. 4.
  167. *Ibid.*, p. 2.
  168. See Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus*, p. 157. On the rhizomic as a related concept, see pp. 3–25.
  169. On Eriugena’s view of interactive theophany as fantasy, see again Books One and Two of the *Periphyseon*. Deleuze and Guattari describe earth as the ultimate “body without organs” in *A Thousand Plateaus*, p. 40. On “Bodies Without Organs,” see in particular *A Thousand Plateaus*, pp. 149–66, and also Bonta and Protevi, *Deleuze and Geophilosophy*.
  170. Eriugena, *Periphyseon*, 5.25, PL915D, trans. Sheldon-Williams with O’Meara, p. 589.
  171. Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus*, p. 40.
  172. Jeffrey J. Cohen, *Medieval Identity Machines*, *Medieval Cultures* 35 (Minneapolis and London: 2003), p. xvi.
  173. Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus*, pp. 149–66; see again also Bonta and Protevi, *Deleuze and Geophilosophy*, especially pp. 77–78 and pp. 62–64. Deleuze and Guattari’s theory of desiring production defines desire as physical flow, through the connecting and breaking of energy flows in organic or social desiring machines or assemblages, the registering of such flows as spots of intensity on a non-organismic body, and a diverting of part of them for enjoyment by a nomadic subject in anti-production.
  174. *Ecopoiesis*—sometimes spelled *ecopoiesis*—is defined by Jonathan Bates as poetic expression “which may effect an imaginative reunification of mind and nature,” a human dwelling within nature rather than a pastoral stage set [*The Song of the Earth* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000), p. 245]. *Ecopoiesis* includes a

- sense of shaping or highlighting landscape through text; *autopoiesis* describes the tendency of an organism to produce itself internally. *Ecopoiesis* is used in the sciences, especially in the alternate spelling *ecopoiesis*, as a term for actual physical shaping of an ecology. Lawrence Buell urges ecocriticism of early texts as a kind of recovery of ecocentric traditions (*The Environmental Imagination*, p. 21).
175. Goodchild, *Deleuze and Guattari*, p. 187–88.
  176. See René Girard, *Things Hidden Since the Foundation of the World*, trans. Stephen Bann and Michael Metteer (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 1987).
  177. See Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus*, p. 157. On the rhizomic as a related concept, see pp. 3–25.
  178. For more on Daoism and interest in purported scientific analogues, with potential connections to Judaeo-Christian traditions, see Fritjof Capra's *The Tao of Physics, An Exploration of the Parallels between Modern Physics and Eastern Mysticism*, twenty-fifth anniversary rev. edn (Boston: Shambhala, 2000), p. 341, and also especially in terms of Christian energy theory, Alexei V. Nesteruk, *Light from the East: Theology, Science, and the Eastern Orthodox Tradition*, Theology and the Sciences (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2003).
  179. Overing and Osborne, *Landscape of Desire*, pp. 91, 93; emphasis in the original.
  180. Bonta and Protevi, "Case Study—Entangled Spaces and Semiotics in Olancho," in *Deleuze and Geophilosophy*, pp. 169–90. See also Ian Buchanan and Gregg Lambert, eds., *Deleuze and Space*, Deleuze Connections (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005).
  181. But for potential insights from American literature regarding the environment, relative to Christianity, see Douglas Burton-Christie, "Words beneath the Water: Logos, Cosmos, and the Spirit of Place," in *Christianity and Ecology: Seeking the Well-being of Earth and Humans*, ed. Deter T. Hessel and Rosemary Radford Ruether (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Center for the Study of World Religions/Harvard University Press, 2000), pp. 317–36.
  182. Peter Hallward, *Deleuze and the Philosophy of Creation: Out of this World* (London and New York: Verso, 2006), pp. 5, 37, 56. Hallward mistakenly labels Eriugena Neoplatonist, and misses important affinities between Deleuze–Guattari's "otherworldly" view of desire as creativity, and physical concerns of environmental philosophy today.
  183. See John Protevi's review of *Out of this World: Deleuze and the Philosophy of Creation*, in *Notre Dame Philosophical Reviews*, <http://ndpr.nd.edu/review.cfm?id=10564> [accessed April 30, 2008].
  184. Philip Goodchild, *Deleuze and Guattari*, p. 198–99.
  185. *Ibid.*, p. 199.
  186. Michael Schellenberger and Ted Nordhaus, "The Death of Environmentalism" (2004), [http://www.thebreakthrough.org/images/Death\\_of\\_Environmentalism.pdf](http://www.thebreakthrough.org/images/Death_of_Environmentalism.pdf) [accessed May 21, 2008], p. 34.
  187. Real myth is offered here as an experiential variant of J.R.R. Tolkien's phrase "true myth" [see Joseph Pearce, *Tolkien: Man and Myth* (London: HarperCollins, 1998), p. 60; and Alfred K. Siewers, "Tolkien's Cosmic-Christian Ecology: The Medieval Underpinnings," in *Tolkien's Modern Middle Ages, The New Middle Ages*, ed. Jane Chance and Siewers (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), pp. 138–53.
  188. I am indebted to John Carey's *A Single Ray of the Sun* for connections between Eriugena, nature, and the Otherworld, although not in this ecocritical framework.

189. I am indebted in this picture of the Confluence to Katharine Faull's sharing of her work in translating and editing Moravian diaries from Old Shamokin, which promise when published to offer a remarkable window on this almost forgotten world.
190. Exemplified by the subtitle of Cooper's Leatherstocking book *The Pioneers*, "the Source of the Susquehanna."

## 2 Reading the Otherworld Environmentally

1. Osborn Bergin and R.I. Best, "Tochmarc Étaíne," *Ériu* 12 (1938): 180–81 [137–96].
2. For translations, compare John Carey, *Tochmarc Étaíne*, in *The Celtic Heroic Age: Literary Sources for Ancient Celtic Europe and Early Ireland and Wales*, Celtic Studies Publications 1, ed. John T. Koch with John Carey (Malden, MA: Celtic Studies Publications, 1995), p. 149 [135–54]; Jeffrey Gantz, ed. *Early Irish Myths and Sagas* (London: Penguin, 1981), pp. 55–56; and Bergin and Best, "Tochmarc Étaíne," p. 181 [137–196].
3. The triptych until the 1930s was only known to modern scholars in fragmentary form from the same manuscript as the First Recension of the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*, the *Lebor na hUidre*, ca. 1100. A complete version was found in the later medieval *Yellow Book of Lecan* manuscript. The edition used here is Bergin and Best, "Tochmarc Étaíne," pp. 137–96. As discussed there, the early Celticist Rudolf Thurneysen placed the story's core linguistics in the ninth century, a date related to fragmentary references to elements of it in other texts, but called its current version a late eleventh-century retelling. See Thurneysen, *Die irische Helden- und Königssage bis zum siebzehnten Jahrhundert* (Halle: M. Niemeyer, 1921), pp. 47, 77, 78. Other scholars have placed its origins perhaps in the eighth century, which, significantly in terms of the themes of land and contract as discussed, would parallel the full establishment of Ireland's synthesized seventh-century legal system.
4. E.G. Quin, ed. *Dictionary of the Irish Language Based Mainly on Old and Middle Irish Materials* (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 1990), s.v.
5. Martin Heidegger, "The Thing," in Heidegger, *Poetry, Language, Thought*, trans. Albert Hofstadter (New York: HarperCollins, 2001), p. 179 [163–80].
6. Martin Heidegger, "Conversation on a Country Path about Thinking," in Heidegger, *Discourse on Thinking*, trans. J.M. Anderson and E.H. Freund (New York: Harper, 1966), pp. 58–90; and "The Thing," Jeff Malpas, *Heidegger's Topology: Being, Place, World* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2007), pp. 195–98.
7. Martin Heidegger, "Die Kunst und der Raum," in Heidegger, *Gesamtausgabe* 13 (Frankfurt: Klostermann, 1983), p. 207 [203–210], trans. Edward S. Casey, *The Fate of Place: A Philosophical History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), p. 283.
8. World Wildlife Fund, "Ecoregions," at <http://www.worldwildlife.org/science/ecoregions/item1847.html> [accessed July 16, 2008].
9. On a possible common root for the Welsh and Irish terms related to "peace" and "settled seat," see John Koch, *Celtic Culture: A Historical Encyclopedia*, 5 vols. (Oxford: ABC-CLIO–2006), vol. 4, p. 1610.
10. On "rhizomic," see Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus, Capitalism and Schizophrenia* 2, trans. Brian Massumi (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987), pp. 3–25.

11. Monastic prototypes for that ascetic background can be glimpsed in texts such as Adomnán's Hiberno-Latin *Vita S. Columbae* (ca. 700), from the Western Isles of Scotland, and John Climacus' earlier Greek *Ladder of Divine Ascent* (ca. 600), from the Sinai Desert. St. John Climacus' work includes an emphasis on the desert, and, as the penultimate of its thirty steps, finding heaven on earth through asceticism. His emphasis on Greek *apatheia* and *hesychia* (dispassion that is a burning love for God, and quietude, respectively) needs to be understood in the context of the "energy theory" discussed in chapter one. Renunciation of the world in that context is renunciation of objectification for uncreated energies of grace by psychosomatic *ascesis* (exercise or struggle). See St. John Climacus, *The Ladder of Divine Ascent*, trans. Archimandrite Lazarus Moore, rev. edn (Brookline, MA: Holy Transfiguration Monastery, 1991).
12. Erazim Kohák, *The Embers and the Stars* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), pp. 16, 18.
13. "Laying down a path in walking" (a phrase coined by biologist Francisco Varela) is the dominant metaphor for human development in Evan Thompson, *Mind in Life: Biology, Phenomenology, and the Sciences of Mind* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap-Harvard University Press, 2007). For Thompson's discussion of the role of ecopoiesis in this, see pp. 118–22, and 382–411. See also Rebecca Solnit, *Wanderlust: A History of Walking* (New York: Penguin, 2000), p. 13.
14. For examples of traditional Indian cultural narratives in the Great Lakes, see Edward Benton-Benai, *The Mishomis Book: The Voice of the Ojibway* (Hayward, WI: Red School House-Indian Country Communications, 1988); on recent ecological restoration efforts in that region to shape new community narratives, see William K. Stevens, *Miracle Under the Oaks: The Revival of Nature in America* (New York: Pocket Books, 2006).
15. Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *What is Philosophy?* trans. Hugh Tomlinson and Graham Burchell (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), p. 169; emphasis in the original.
16. Philip Goodchild, *Deleuze and Guattari: An Introduction to the Politics of Desire, Theory, Culture & Society* (London: SAGE Publications, 1996), p. 190.
17. *Táin Bó Cúailnge from the Book of Leinster*, ed. Cecile O'Rahilly [Dublin: Dublin Institute of Advanced Studies, School of Celtic Studies (henceforth abbreviated as Dublin Institute), 1967], line 4855, p. 143; trans. p. 270. This is the later twelfth-century Second Recension.
18. Erica Sessle summarizes Medb's putative backgrounds in Irish sovereignty goddess mythology in "Misogyny and Medb, Approaching Medb with Feminist Criticism," in *Ulidia*, ed. J.P. Mallory and G. Stockman (Belfast: December Publications, 1994), pp. 135–38.
19. *De Chopur in dá Muccida* ("The Quarrel of the Two Swineherds"), in the Book of Leinster; trans. Thomas Kinsella, *The Táin* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970), pp. 46–51.
20. An early text about Ath Luin refers to the two sons of Crond mac Agnomain, Macha's husband, as Rucht and Rucne, the names of the two swineherds who became the bulls of the *Táin*. Whitley Stokes, "The Prose Tales in the Rennes Dindschenchas," in *Revue celtique* 15 (1894): 466 [272–336, 418–84], and 16 (1895): 31–83, 135–67, 269–312]. Garrett Olmsted notes that this relation of offspring associated with Macha to quadrupeds may be a mythic analogue of portrayals of the Gallo-Celtic horse goddess Epona between two colts, which would link her to the figure Rhiannon in the *Mabinogi*; *The Gods of the Celts and the Indo-Europeans*,

- Archaeolingua 6 (Budapest: Archaeolingua Alapítvány, 1994), pp. 169–71. There Olmstead also summarizes etymological issues in the relation between Macha and the Irish term *mag* for field or plain, the adoption of which for the figure Macha may have been a secondary development from Emain as a name for a horse goddess meaning “swift one,” though later understood in Emain Macha as “twins of Macha.”
21. Olmsted in his extensive philological efforts to reconstruct a Celtic pantheon of gods suggested a proto-pantheon of European myth in which the bulls represent varying sides of a shape-shifting deity of tree fruit (hence perhaps the relation to Emain Abhlach with its fruit associations) most often appearing in “bull-like guise” (*The Gods of the Celts and the Indo-Europeans*, p. 269). In his schema the destruction of the white bull is related to the end of the winter season he associates with the goddess Bóand, whose name means “white cow,” for whom the Boyne is named (p. 271). Similarly, the ancient Mediterranean god Dionysos has been described as expressing a bull-associated “two-fold nature” representing winter and summer (Carl Kerényi, *Dionysos: Archetypal Image of Indestructible Life* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1976), pp. 63, 115). See also Caroline Humphrey, “Chiefly and Shamanist Landscapes in Mongolia,” in *The Anthropology of Landscape: Perspectives on Place and Space*, ed. Eric Hirsch and Michael O’Hanlon (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), p. 135 [135–62].
  22. *Noinden Ulad* or *Tochmarc Cruinn ocus Macha*. “The Debility of the Ulsterman” or “The Wooing of Crunn and Macha,” ed. and trans. Vernam Hull, *Celtica* 8 (1968): 1–42; “Tochmarc Cruinn,” ed. Rudolf Thurneysen, *ZCP* 12 (1918): 251–54; trans. Thomas Kinsella, *The Táin*, pp. 6–8.
  23. N.B. Aitchison, *Armagh and the Royal Centres in Early Medieval Ireland* (Woodbridge, UK: Cruithne/Boydell & Brewer, 1994); and in Alfred K. Siewers, *Stories of the Land: Nature and Religion in Early British and Irish Literary Landscapes*, unpublished PhD dissertation (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois, 2001).
  24. See Aitchison, *Armagh and the Royal Centres in Early Medieval Ireland*.
  25. Miranda J. Green, *Animals in Celtic Life and Myth* (London: Routledge, 1993), p. 191; “Sinnan,” in *The Metrical Dindshenchas*, ed. Edward J. Gwynn, 5 vols (Dublin 1903–35; repr. Dublin Institute, 1991), vol. 3, pp. 292–95; also “The prose tales in the Rennes Dindshenchas,” part 2, ed. Whitley Stokes, *Revue Celtique* 15 (1894): 457 [418–84].
  26. A potential stereographic effect of illuminated manuscripts such as the Book of Kells is described by Oliver Sacks in his article “Stereo Sue” in *The New Yorker* magazine of June 19, 2006, pp. 64–73. See also Jacob D. Benestein, “Information in the Holographic Universe,” *Scientific American* (August 2003): 58–65.
  27. Sacks, “Stereo Sue.”
  28. On the relation of *Tochmarc Étaíne* to the Ulster Cycle, see Joan Radner, “‘Fury Destroys the World’: Historical Strategy in Ireland’s Ulster Epic,” *The Mankind Quarterly* 23 (1982): 42–60.
  29. A good source for tracing names of Celtic literary characters in relation to mythology and root meanings is Olmsted’s *The Gods of the Celts and the Indo-Europeans*; on Dagda and Bóand see pp. 43–45; some of the name interpretations here also draw on Jeffrey Gantz’s endnotes to his translation of the story in *Early Irish Myths and Sagas*.
  30. Osborn Bergin and R.I. Best, “Tochmarc Étaíne,” p. 146.
  31. Goodchild, *Deleuze and Guattari*, pp. 194.

32. On that variation, see the background summary and translated version of the story in Tom P. Cross and Clark Harris Slover, *Ancient Irish Tales* (New York: Henry Holt, 1936), pp. 82–92.
33. Mircea Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion*, trans. Willard R. Trask (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1987).
34. On the *omphalos* and *axis mundi* and shamanic knowledge, see Mircea Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane, the Nature of Religion*, trans. Willard R. Trask (1957; repr. New York: Harcourt, 1987); and *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004).
35. R.I. Best, ed., “The Settling of the Manor of Tara,” *Ériu* 10 (1908–10): 152 [121–72].
36. On Lucretius, see Duncan F. Kennedy, *Rethinking Reality: Lucretius and the Textualization of Space* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2002). On these various views of place and space, see Casey’s magisterial *Fate of Place* survey. On political ramifications today of universal space, see Antonio Hardt and Michael Negri, *Empire* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000), influenced by Deleuze and Guattari.
37. The classic examination of the Sovereignty motif in early Irish literature is by Proinsias Mac Cana, “Aspects of the Theme of King and Goddess in Irish Literature,” *Études Celtiques* 7 (1955–56): 76–114, 356–413, and 8 (1958–59): 59–65. For the best recent scholarly survey of the Sovereignty goddess trope, see Máire Herbert, “Goddess and King: The Sacred Marriage in Early Ireland,” in *Women and Sovereignty*, ed. Louise Olga Fradenburg (Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh Press, 1992), pp. 265–75. For parallels to the trope in Byzantine imperial iconography featuring the Virgin Mary, see Dean A. Miller, “Byzantine Sovereignty and Feminine Potencies,” in *Women and Sovereignty*, *Cosmos Yearbook* 7, ed. Louise O. Fradenburg (Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh Press), pp. 250–63.
38. Walter L. Brennehan, Jr., observed: “In the Irish meaning of the word, sovereignty, because she is a woman, carries a sense of ‘being with’ rather than ‘being above’ or distant from its object. It also conveys a sense of containment present in being in a place surrounded by its power,” in “Serpents, Cows, and Ladies: Contrasting Symbolism in Irish and Indo-European Cattle-Raiding Myths,” *History of Religions* 28 (1989): 346 [340–54]. Christina Harrington, *Women in a Celtic Church, Ireland 450–1150* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), notes that while the cult of Mary arose in Ireland earlier than extant evidence for most of Western Europe, in the seventh century, it did not involve a binarizing of Mary’s chaste womanhood and the feminine generally, or of Mary and Eve (pp. 280–82).
39. John Koch most recently interpreted the name as likely a diminutive form of Old Irish *ét*, meaning “passion” or “jealousy,” in *Celtic Culture: A Historical Encyclopedia*, vol. 5, p. 1675. Gantz in his translation includes “radiance” as a possible meaning. Interestingly, given the association of a mound named for her with a god of poetry, early Irish *etan* means “poetry.”
40. See especially Kevin Murray, ed., *Baile in Scáil*: “The Phantom’s Frenzy,” *Irish Texts Society* 58 (Dublin: Irish Texts Society, 2004).
41. On Irigaray and place, see Casey, *The Fate of Place*, pp. 321–30.
42. On “feminine subtext” as a term developed in relation to Arthurian literature, see Geraldine Heng, “Enchanted Ground: The Feminine Subtext in Malory,” in Sir Thomas Malory, *Le Morte Darthur*, ed. Stephen H.A. Shepherd (New York: W.W. Norton, 2004), pp. 835–49.

43. The shaping of non-Roman ethnic identities perhaps marked an opportunity, in tandem with conversion, for relatively less patriarchal social structures than the Classical Roman model (though still often oppressive), as seen perhaps also in some aspects of Anglo-Saxon texts. On women in early Ireland, see Lisa M. Bitel, *Land of Women, Tales of Sex and Gender from Early Ireland* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1996), pp. 10–11; Donnchadh Ó Corraín, “Ireland c. 800: Aspects of Society,” in Dáibhí Ó Cróinín, ed., *A New History of Ireland I, Prehistoric and Early Ireland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 572 [549–608]; Fergus Kelly, *Early Irish Farming: A Study Based Mainly on the Law-Texts of the 7th and 8th Centuries AD*, Early Irish Law Series IV (Dublin: Dublin Institute, 1997), pp. 351, 400, 415, 448–50. Christina Harrington’s more recent project, *Women in a Celtic Church: Ireland 450–1150*, concludes: “Irish views show a consistent pattern: womankind as a whole, though prone to folly . . . was not made into ‘the enemy’—either of the male sex generally or of the clergy in particular” (p. 289), a view that differentiated Irish monastic literary culture from trends in Western Europe in the tenth–twelfth centuries. On distinctive legal rights for women, see Donnchadh Ó Corraín, “Women in Early Irish Society,” in *Women in Irish Society: The Historical Dimension*, ed. Margaret MacCurtain and Donnchadh Ó Corraín (Dublin: Arlen House, 1978), pp. 1–13, which comments on an apparent increase of legal rights for women during the early Christian era. See also discussion of the increase in penalties for violence against women in the *Cáin Adomnáin* of 697, spearheaded by Adomnán of Iona, in Caitlin Corning, *The Celtic and Roman Traditions, Conflict and Consensus in the Early Medieval Church* (New York and Houndmills, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), p. 155. For a summary of the legal system generally, see T.M. Charles Edwards, “Early Irish Law,” in Ó Cróinín, ed., *A New History of Ireland I*, pp. 331–70. Nerys Patterson argues for a “framework of alternatives” for women’s status, including paradigms (at least among the elite) of marriage as a partnership of sorts [*Cattle-Lords and Clansmen, the Social Structure of Early Ireland*, second edn (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994), p. 295]. See also Katharine Simms, “Women,” in *Medieval Ireland, an Encyclopedia*, ed., Seán Duffy (London: Routledge, 2005), pp. 520–22. The early literature also includes, as Doris Edel notes in her discussion of women in early Ireland, a unique body of feminine-focused genealogies, the *Banshenchas*, in “Early Irish Queens and Royal Power: A First Reconnaissance,” in *Ogma: Essays in Celtic Studies in Honour of Próinséas Ní Chatháin*, ed. Michael Richter and Jean-Michel Picard (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2002), p. 2 [1–19]. The presence of legally privileged female holy figures also was attested in monastic rules (Colmán Etchingham, *Church Organisation in Ireland AD 650 to 1000* (Maynooth, Ireland: Laigin Publications, 1999), p. 330. Regarding women as official poets, see James Carney, “Language and Literature to 1169,” in Ó Cróinín, *A New History of Ireland*, pp. 453–54 [451–510]. Their numbers apparently were few yet their acceptance suggestive. The term *cumal*, referring both to a female slave and value of currency related to cattle (Patterson, *Cattle-Lords and Clansmen*, p. 73; Kelly, *Early Irish Farming*, p. 593), highlights an association of women, cattle, and the land that is oppressively patriarchal, yet also related to the mythical connection of women with fertility, cattle, and Sovereignty, as in the central *Táin* narratives (Ó Corraín, “Ireland c. 800: Aspects of Society,” in Ó Cróinín, *A New History of Ireland*, p. 572 [549–608]).
44. On such traditions of Mary in Greek sources, see Holy Apostles Convent, *The Life of the Virgin Mary, the Theotokos, viewed and treated within the framework of Sacred*

- Scriptures, Holy Tradition, Patristics and other ancient writings, together with the Liturgical and Iconographic Traditions of the Holy Orthodox Church* (Buena Vista, CO: Holy Apostles Convent and Dormition Skete, 1989), especially, regarding the mountain image, p. 30. On Paradise as a mountain encompassing earth and sea, see Howard Rollins Patch, *The Other World According to Descriptions in Medieval Literature* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1950), p. 142; and St. Ephrem the Syrian, *Hymns on Paradise*, trans. Sebastian Brock (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir Seminary Press, 1997), p. 54; Hymn 1.6–7, pp. 79–80.
45. Luce Irigaray, “The Way of Breath,” in *Between East and West*, European Perspectives, trans. Stephen Pluhacek (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), pp. 78–79, 91 [73–91].
  46. See discussion in Marina Smyth, “The Body, Death, and Resurrection: Perspectives of an Early Irish Theologian,” *Speculum* 83 (2008): 545–46 [531–71]. Regarding bodily metonymy, see pp. 543–44. Augustinus Hibernicus discusses the divine light or energy of Christ at the Transfiguration in *De Mirabilibus Sacrae Scripturae* 3.11, PL 35: 2197–98, translated and cited by Smyth at p. 538.
  47. Bergin and Best, “Tochmarc Étaíne,” pp. 180–81.
  48. Luce Irigaray, “He Risks Who Risks Life Itself,” in *The Irigaray Reader*, ed. Margaret Whitford, trans. David Macey (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1991), p. 218 [213–18].
  49. From a definition of *tuirigin*; *Sanas Cormaic*, ed. Kuno Meyer (1913, repr. Lampeter, UK: Llanerch Publishers, 1994), no. 1224, p. 106. A self-described “very provisional” translation from Dennis King on the Old Irish listserv, July 27, 2003, is at <https://listserv.heanet.ie/cgi-bin/wa?A2=OLD-IRISH-L;0iHMbw;20030727215918-0700> [accessed July 7, 2008].
  50. Thanks to Tomás Ó Cathasaigh’s suggestion of links between Étaín, sovereignty, and early Irish law in his talk “Love, Law, and *The Wooing of Étaín*” at Bucknell University, March 2, 2006; also especially to my student A. Joseph McMullen, for invaluable insights developed in his “A Living Land: *Tochmarc Étaíne* and the Sovereignty Goddess” (presented at the forty-second International Congress on Medieval Studies at Kalamazoo, May 12, 2007), especially in terms of land and land ethic; see also Aldo Leopold, *A Sand County Almanac*, 1949 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).
  51. Thanks to Early Irish scholar Cairtriona Ó Dochartaigh for suggesting this to me in generous feedback to a presentation on some of these ideas at University College Cork’s Early Irish seminar, November 10, 2004.
  52. *Dictionary of the Irish Language*, s.v. A further meaning of *dúil* attested in the medieval *Metrical Dindshenchas* is “desire” or “propensity,” perhaps including an ascetic sense of eros. And another perhaps related word with medieval attestations, *dúal*, carries the meaning of both “natural” and “belonging to by right,” as in heritage.
  53. On contractual social emphases, see Patterson, *Cattle-Lords and Clansmen*, pp. 374–75. On related premodern concepts of gift-giving as a quasi-erotic exchange of “creative spirit,” see Lewis Hyde, *Gift: The Imagination and the Erotic Life of Property* (New York: Vintage, 1983).
  54. Damian Bracken, “The Fall and the Law in Early Ireland,” in *Ireland and Europe in the Early Middle Ages: Texts and Transmission*, ed. P. Ní Chatháin and M. Richter (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2002), pp. 147–69. Ó Corraín, “Ireland c. 800: Aspects of Society,” p. 594 [348–608].
  55. T.M. Charles-Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 225.

56. Amy C. Eichhorn-Mulligan, "The Anatomy of Power and the Miracle of Kingship: The Female Body of Sovereignty in a Medieval Irish Kingship Tale," *Speculum* 81.4 (October 2006): 1014–54.
57. The notion of a king's *fír* is explicated in *Audacht Morainn* ("The Testament of Morann") known to have been in some form in the eighth-century *Lebor Dromma Snechtaí*. See Fergus Kelly, ed., *Audacht Morainn* (Dublin: Dublin Institute, 1976). The late Middle Irish text *Scél na Fír Flatha* is discussed by John Carey in *Ireland and the Grail* (Aberystwyth, UK: Celtic Studies Publications, 2008), p. 88.
58. See chapter six in this volume.
59. The conjunction of forest clearance and causeway construction may be a mythic memory of the prehistoric so-called Destruction-phase of Irish woodlands, ca. 300 CE, posited by archaeologists. See Kelly, *Early Irish Farming*, p. 4.
60. Miller, "Byzantine Sovereignty and Feminine Potencies," pp. 250–63.
61. Harrington, *Women in a Celtic Church, Ireland 450–1150*, pp. 280–82.
62. Wendell Berry, *The Unsettling of America, Culture and Agriculture* (San Francisco: Sierra Club Books, 1977), p. 123.
63. Versions of the story are found in *Lebor na hUidre* and the Yellow Book of Lecan, among other manuscripts. Accounts of Conaire's parentage seem garbled to mask the incest associated with his birth. An explicit connection with otherworldly revenge is in the outline of an alternate version of the story, *Togail Bruidne Uí Derga*. See Vernam Hull, "Togail Bruidne Da Derga: The *Cín Dromma Snechta* recension," *ZCP* 24 (1953): 131–32; and Tomás Ó Cathasaigh, "On the *Cín Dromma Snechta* version of *Togail Bruidne Uí Dergae*," *Ériu* 41 (1990): 103–14.
64. On the theme of balance between goddess and king, see Sessle, "Misogyny and Medb."
65. John Carey, "Tara and the Supernatural," in *The Kingship and Landscape of Tara*, ed. Edel Bhreathnach (Dublin: Four Courts Press for The Discovery Programme, 2005), pp. 32–48; see footnote 90, p. 48. For a recent edition of *Baile in Scáil*, see Murray, ed., *Baile in Scáil: "The Phantom's Frenzy."*
66. On the learned "mandarin class," see Donnchadh Ó Corráin, "Nationality and Kingship in Pre-Norman Ireland," in *Nationality and the Pursuit of National Independence, Papers Read before the Conference Held at Trinity College, Dublin, May 26–31, 1975*, ed. T.W. Moody (Belfast: Appletree Press, 1978), p. 19 [1–35]. For an excellent, fairly recent survey of what is known about early Irish monasticism, see Colmán Etchingham, *Church Organisation in Ireland AD 650 to 1000* (Maynooth: Laigin Press, 1999), chapters 7–10, pp. 290–455.
67. On earlier peoples in the Otherworld landscape, see chapter one, note 98.
68. John Romanides, *Patristic Theology: The University Lectures of Fr. John Romanides*, trans. Alexios Trader (Thessaloniki, Greece: Uncut Mountain Press, 2007), p. 275.
69. Carey, *Ireland and the Grail*, p. 330.
70. To compare passive and active memory, see Augustine, *Confessions*, 11:20; trans. R.S. Pine-Coffin (Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin, 1961), p. 269; and Edward S. Casey, *Remembering: A Phenomenological Study* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1987), p. 15.
71. Aarne Naess, *Ecology, Community and Lifestyle: Outline of an Ecosophy*, rev. edn, with David Rothenberg (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).
72. Elizabeth Robertson, "The 'Elvyssh' Power of Constance: Christian Feminism in Geoffrey Chaucer's *The Man of Law's Tale*," *Studies in the Age of Chaucer* 23 (2001): 143–80.

73. Benjamin Hudson, "Time is Short," in *Irish Sea Studies*, p. 181 [170–96].
74. Eriugena, *Periphyseon* V.31 and 38; PL 122, 946A, 998B, 999B, and 1000B–C; trans. I.P. Sheldon-Williams with John J. O'Meara, *Periphyseon (The Division of Nature)*, Cahiers d'études médiévales, Cahier spécial 3 (Montreal: Éditions Bellarmin and Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1987), p. 624, 685, 686, and 688.
75. Augustine, *Confessions*, 11:20; trans. R.S. Pine-Coffin (Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin, 1961), p. 269.
76. For Heidegger's discussion of ecstatic time or temporality, see his *Basic Problems of Phenomenology*, trans. Albert Hofstadter (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992).
77. Carey, *Ireland and the Grail*, p. 221.
78. Casey, *Remembering: A Phenomenological Study*, p. 15.
79. See Barry Raftery, *Ancient Pagan Ireland: The Enigma of the Irish Iron Age* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1998), chapter five, pp. 98–111.
80. Jerry Lewis, former Potawatomi Citizens tribal historian and Newberry Library D'Arcy McNicle Center research fellow; private conversations.
81. A.G. Van Hamel, *Aspects of Celtic Mythology*, Proceedings of the British Academy 20 (London: Humphrey Milford Amen House, 1934), p. 13, 18, 24.
82. The story of Patrick is associated with the famous protective *lorica* or breast-plate prayer-poem known as *fáth fiada* or "Deer's Cry," a title perhaps related to the *foid fiada* practices of druidic invisibility. Oliver Davies, ed., "The Sources: Introduction to the Translated Texts," *Celtic Spirituality*, p. 31 [26–61].
83. *Periphyseon* V.6, PL 872A–873D; trans. Sheldon-Williams with O'Meara, pp. 536–38. For Eriugena's declaration of all miracles as natural, see *Periphyseon* V.24, PL 901C [trans. Sheldon-Williams with O'Meara, p. 574; see also trans. Myra L. Uhlfelder, with Jean A. Potter, ed., *Periphyseon, On the Division of Nature*, Library of the Liberal Arts (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1976), p. 306]. C.S. Lewis claimed a therapeutic effect for literary overlay landscape derivative of the Otherworld trope in Edmund Spenser's *The Faerie Queene (The Allegory of Love: A Study in Medieval Tradition)* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1959), p. 359. Lewis, an Ulsterman, also wrote: "There is a real affinity between his *Faerie Queene*, a poem of quests and wanderings and inextinguishable desires, and Ireland itself—the soft, wet air, the loneliness, the muffled shapes of the hills, the heart-rending sunsets," in "Edmund Spenser, 1552–99," in *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Literature*, ed. Walter Hooper (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966), p. 126 [121–45].
84. On abjection and the feminine, see Julia Kristeva, *Powers of Horror* (1980), trans. Leon S. Roudiez (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982), p. 210.
85. Gantz, *Early Irish Myths and Sagas*, p. 38.
86. Eichhorn-Mulligan, "The Anatomy of Power and the Miracle of Kingship."
87. The feast of the Assumption or Dormition of Mary in mid-August follows the Feast of Transfiguration, with both overlapping the Irish harvest festival of Lughnasa in the first half of August. The Assumption-Dormition feast marks in Christian tradition the "falling asleep" of the Mother of God, depicted in iconography by Jesus holding her soul in the form of a baby; attempted desecration of her body is marked by startling bodily miracles; her body then is taken up into heaven from Gethsemane, the ultimate Christian place of abjection. On the native side of those parallel holidays, Lughnasa reputedly memorialized Tailtiu, foster mother of the god Lug. Tailtiu, according to the eleventh-century fantasy history of the

- Lebor Gabála Éirenn*, died shockingly after clearing forests to make the plain of Breg in Meath. See Máire McNeill, *The Festival of Lughnasadh* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962).
88. See Matthew 17.
  89. Bergin and Best, "Tochmarc Étaíne," pp. 184–85.
  90. Carol Bigwood, "Logos of our Eco: An Approach through Heidegger, Irigaray and Merleau-Ponty," in *Merleau-Ponty and Environmental Philosophy, Dwelling on the Landscapes of Thought*, Philosophy of the Social Sciences, ed. Suzane L. Cataldi and William S. Hamrick (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2007), p. 94. An identification of *logos* and *physis* occurred at times in the complex terminology of fifth-century Christological debates; however, Byzantine theologians at large came to Christological *Logos* in terms of the mystery of incarnate *hypostasis* instead with the Christological *Logos*. Heidegger's own definition of *physis* echoes the term's earlier very particular use by Cyril of Alexandria, although in vastly different contexts. See John McGuckin, *St. Cyril of Alexandria and the Christological Controversy* (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2004), pp. 207–26; and John Romanides, "St. Cyril's 'One Physis or Hypostasis of God the Logos Incarnate and Chalcedon,'" in *Christ in East and West*, ed. Paul R. Fries and Tiran Nersoyan (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1987), pp. 15–34.
  91. Carey, *Ireland and the Grail*, pp. 19, 221, 330.
  92. Julia Kristeva, "Women's Time," in *The Portable Kristeva*, updated edn, ed. Kelly Oliver (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), pp. 351–371.
  93. See Val Plumwood, *Feminism and the Mastery of Nature (Opening Out)* (London: Routledge, 1993) includes an ecofeminist focus on the binary of nature/reason as related to gender. Patristic views of Mary as the *Theotokos* or God-bearer/cocreator can (in terms used by Eriugena) identify the feminine with otherworldly formation, forms, and energies (Eriugena, *Periphyseon* 4.24, PL 851B and PL 853C, trans. Sheldon-Williams with O'Meara, *Periphyseon*, p. 511), and the masculine (in the form of the incarnate God) with physical nature and the earth (reversing enduring conventions)—and vice versa. Eriugena following some earlier patristic writers also held that Christ was no longer male after the Resurrection.
  94. David Wood, "What is Eco-Phenomenology?" in *Eco-Phenomenology, Back to the Earth Itself*, Environmental Philosophy and Ethics, ed. Charles S. Brown and Ted Toadvine (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press), pp. 211–33.
  95. *Ibid.*, 213.
  96. Thompson, *Mind in Life*, p. 356 and 333.
  97. *Ibid.*, pp. 118–22.
  98. *Ibid.*, pp. 290–91.
  99. Evan Thompson, *Colour Vision, A Study in Cognitive Science and the Philosophy of Perception* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), pp. 302.
  100. See Richard Pevear with Larissa Volokhonsky, Foreword, Dostoevsky's *Demons* (New York: Vintage Books, 1995), pp. xviii–xix. Charles Lock, "Bakhtin and the Tropes of Orthodoxy," in *Bakhtin and Religion: A Feeling for Faith*, ed. Susan M. Felch and Paul J. Contino (Evanston IL: Northwestern University Press, 2001), pp. 97–119.
  101. Modern editions of the *Mabinogi* (in order of the branches) include: R.L. Thomson, ed., *Pwyll Pendeuic Dyuet* (Dublin: Dublin Institute, 1957); Derick S. Thomson, ed., *Branwen Uerch Lyr* (Dublin: Dublin Institute, 1957); Patrick K. Ford, ed., *Manawydan uab Llyr* (Belmont, MA: Ford & Bailile, 2000); *Math uab Mathonwy*

- (Belmont, MA: Ford & Bailie, 1999), all based mainly on the diplomatic edition by J. Gwenogvryn Evans, *The White Book Mabinogion: Welsh Tales and Romances, Reproduced from the Peniarth Manuscripts* (Pwyllheli, 1907). For another foundational edition of the Welsh text, see Sir Ifor Williams, ed., *Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi*, 1951, second edn (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1951). Translations include Patrick K. Ford, trans., *The Mabinogi and Other Medieval Welsh Tales* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977); and Gwyn Jones and Thomas Jones, trans., *The Mabinogion*, Everyman 168, 1949, rev. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2000). See also new translations by John K. Bollard [*The Mabinogi, Legend and Landscape of Wales* (Llandysul, UK: Gomer, 2006)], with striking photos of related Welsh topography; and Sioned Davies, *The Mabinogion*, Oxford World's Classics (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).
102. On the conflict between native *clasau* and the new Norman colonial order, see R.R. Davies, *Conquest Coexistence and Change: Wales 1063–1415*, History of Wales, vol. 2 (Oxford and Cardiff: Clarendon Press and University of Wales Press, 1987); and F.G. Cowley, *The Monastic Order in South Wales, 1066–1349*, Studies in Welsh History (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1977), especially pp. 1–2. On the provenance of the texts, see Patrick Sims-Williams, “Clas Beuno and the Four Branches of the Mabinogi,” in *150 Jahre “Mabinogion”—Deutsch-Walisische Kulturbeziehungen*, ed. Bernhard Maier and Stefan Zimmer (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 2001), p. 112 [111–127]; and Brinley F. Roberts, “Where were the Four Branches of the *Mabinogi* written?” *CSANA Yearbook* 1 (2001): 61–73. Helen Fulton recently has tried to push forward the date of the Four Branches to the thirteenth century, as part of her theory of the work as representing a sequential Welsh education manual for different types of feudal princes. Her late dating in an effort to make her point primary is not convincing, if taken to mean composition *ex nihilo*, in light of philological and topographical suggestions advanced by Sims-Williams and earlier scholarship, strongly implying origins of the composition in native *clasau*. See Fulton, “The *Mabinogi* and the Education of Princes,” in *Medieval Celtic Literature and Society*, ed. Fulton (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2005), pp. 230–47.
  103. Carey, *Ireland and the Grail*, p. 117. On dating the *Táin Bó Cuailnge*, see chapters five and six in this volume.
  104. *Ibid.*, p. 131.
  105. Bollard, *The Mabinogi, Legend and landscape of Wales*, p. 13.
  106. Deleuze and Guattari, *What is Philosophy?* p. 169.
  107. Goodchild, *Deleuze and Guattari*, pp. 190, 219.
  108. On the term *mabinogi* see Eric P. Hemp, “Mabinogi and Archaism,” *Celtica* 23 (1999): 96–10, especially 104–110; also, the Celticist John Bollard offers a recent helpful survey of the issues online at <http://themabinogi.googlepages.com/mabinogiandmabinogion> [accessed May 12, 2009].
  109. Matthew Arnold, *On the Study of Celtic Literature and Other Essays*, 1867 (repr. London: Dent, Everyman, 1976), p. 54.
  110. In terms of the geophilosophy of Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, early medieval Wales in the Conquest era could be considered a “primitive society” with an ethos influenced by nomadic tendencies of its pastoral economy and monastic exile traditions, in its resisting a more systematically centralized social pattern (Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus*. See also Mark Bonta and John Protevi, *Deleuze and Geophilosophy, A Guide and Glossary* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2004).

111. Perhaps somewhat ironically, in hindsight, Gregory, also honored in Ireland (where he was claimed to have had an Irish father), as in Byzantium particularly for his *Dialogues*, was a key adaptive interpreter of Augustinian approaches for the later medieval church, and became in Anglo-Saxon historiography in effect spiritual father of later Anglo-Saxon cultural identity through his sponsorship of the mission to what is now England.
112. The etymology has been a general consensus of scholars including Marged Haycock (to whose private communication on this I am indebted); however, John Koch has also proposed an alternative and perhaps older root meaning related to hedge, earthwork, or possibly sacrifice (*Celtic Culture: A Historical Encyclopedia*, vol. 1, p. 79).
113. Patrick Ford, "Prolegomena to a Reading of the *Mabinogi*," in *The Mabinogi*, ed. C.W. Sullivan III (New York: Garland Press, 1996) pp. 197–216; "Introduction," in *The Mabinogi and Other Medieval Welsh Tales*, trans. Ford (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), pp. 1–29.
114. Manawydan's patronymic associations connect him with the Irish sea god Lir; on associations of Twryf Uliant with the sea, see Thomson, *Pwyll Pendewic Dyuet*, p. 39, n. 510.
115. See chapter three.
116. Regarding the renown of holy hermits in Wales, see Gerald of Wales, *The Journey through Wales and the Description of Wales*, trans. Lewis Thorpe (Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin, 1978), p. 254; on scholarship in the *dasau* see John Davies, *A History of Wales* (London: Penguin, 1993), p. 99.
117. See Eriugena's commentary on mythological nuptials in Martianus Capella [Jane Chance, *Medieval Mythography: From Roman North Africa to the School of Chartres, A.D. 433–1177* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 1994) pp. 250–99].
118. Derick S. Thomson, ed., *Branwen Uerch Lyr*, ll. 407–408, p. 15; trans. Jones and Jones, *The Mabinogion*, p. 32.
119. John Carey's studies of the Holy Grail highlight via updated scholarship the relation of the mythic figure of Bran to Bron of the Grail legends, which legends developed likewise in a syncretism of Celtic myth and Christian traditions related to the Crucifixion (*Ireland and the Grail*).
120. Augustine of Hippo, *Sermons III/7 (230–272B) on the Liturgical Seasons*, The Works of Saint Augustine, A Translation for the 21st Century, ed. Edmund Hill (New Rochelle, NY: New City Press, 1993), Sermon 263.2, p. 220.
121. This roughly correlates with the phase of *stasis* outlined in the *Amibigua* of Maximus the Confessor [Andrew Louth, *Maximus the Confessor*, Early Church Fathers (London: Routledge, 1996), p. 67].
122. Goodchild, *Deleuze and Guattari*, p. 187.
123. Patrick K. Ford, ed., *Math uab Mathonwy* (Belmont, MA, 1999), pp. 32–33.
124. See Augustinus Hibernicus, *De Mirabilibus sacrae Scripturae*, PL 35, 2149–202; and Francis MacGinty, *The Treatise De Mirabilibus Sacrae Scripturae: Critical Edition, with Introduction, English Translation of the Long Recension and Some Notes*, unpublished doctoral thesis (University College Dublin, 1971). Portions are translated by John Carey in *King of Mysteries: Early Irish Religious Writings* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2000)). For discussion by the "Irish Augustine" of his view of the naturalness of miracles, see especially III.9–10, MacGinty, p. 168, and discussion in John Carey, *A Single Ray of the Sun, Religious Speculation in Early Ireland* (Andover, MA, and Aberystwyth, UK: Celtic Studies Publications, 1999), pp. 50–51.

125. Ford, *Math*, pp. 18–19; lines 662–78 (exclusive of prose lines between the verses).
126. For English translations, see Ford, *Mabinogi*, p. 107; Gwyn Jones and Thomas Jones, trans., *The Mabinogion*, Everyman 168, 1949, rev. (London: J.M. Dent, 1993), pp. 61–62; and Jeffrey Gantz, trans., *The Mabinogion* (London: Penguin, 1976), p. 115.
127. Julia Kristeva, “Dostoevsky, the Writing of Suffering, and Forgiveness,” in *Black Sun, Depression and Melancholia*, trans. Leon S. Roudiez (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989), pp. 209–10.
128. Andrew Welsh notes how this destructive magic in the Fourth Branch negatively mirrors more life-affirming themes of what is termed here natural magic in the Fourth Branch, in “Doubling and Incest in the *Mabinogi*,” *Speculum* 65 (1990): 344–62.
129. Ford, *Math*, p. 3, lines 79–80.
130. Olga Sedokova, “The Light of Life,” a talk given at Bucknell University on March 10, 2007, online at <http://intelros.ru/lib/statyi/sedakova3.htm>, section 1.3.
131. Ford, *Math*, pp. 32–33.
132. Green, *Animals in Celtic Life and Myth*, p. 191; “Sinnan,” in *The Metrical Dindshenchas*, vol. 3, pp. 292–95; also “The prose tales in the Rennes Dindshenchas,” p. 457. On trees in early Irish place names, see Kay Muhr, “Trees—Early Traditions and Place Names,” *Iquas Insight, New Perspectives in Irish Studies*, No. 2, <http://homepage.eircom.net/~archaeology/two/trees.htm#two>.
133. The current definitive edition, translation, and background to the poem is in Marged Haycock, *Legendary Poems from the Book of Taliesin* (Aberystwyth, UK: CMCS, 2007).
134. See Carey, *Ireland and the Grail*, pp. 92–97, 329.
135. Kelly, *Early Irish Farming*, pp. 387–88.
136. Paul C. Bauschatz, *The Well and the Tree, World and Time in Early Germanic Culture* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1982). See also Thomas H. Ohlgren, “The Pagan Iconography of Christian Ideas: Tree-lore in Anglo-Viking England,” *Mediaevistik I* (1988): 145–73.
137. The visit by three angels to Abraham at Mamre in Genesis 18, read as a theophany of the Trinity in early Christian tradition, occurred at an oak, according to the Septuagint.
138. John of Damascus, “Exposition of the Orthodox Faith,” trans. S.D.F. Salmond, in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, second series, vol. 9, 1899 (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1999), pp. 29, 30.
139. Eriugena, *Periphyseon* IV.16, PL 122, 823A–D, trans. Sheldon-Williams with O’Meara, pp. 478–9.
140. Lars Thunberg, *Man and the Cosmos: The Vision of St. Maximus the Confessor* (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 1997), pp. 138–39.
141. Dumitru Stăniloae, *The World, Creation and Deification, The Experience of God: Orthodox Dogmatic Theology* vol. 2, trans. and ed. Ioan Ionita and Robert Barringer (Brookline, MA: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 2000), pp. 176–77.
142. Archbishop Averky Taushev and Seraphim Rose, *The Apocalypse in the Teachings of Ancient Christianity* (Platina, CA: St. Herman of Alaska Press, 1996), p. 112.
143. Common use of a differentiated Welsh term for Wales apart from Britain, the basis of the modern form *Cymru*, apparently had developed relatively late in the early medieval period.

144. Alfred K. Siewers, "Gildas and Glastonbury," in *Via Crucis: Essays on Sources and Ideas in Memory of J.E. Cross*, ed. Thomas Hall (Morgantown, WV: West Virginia University Press, 2002), pp. 423–32; Gildas' text could reflect a tradition similar to medieval accounts of early evangelism of Britain by Joseph of Arimathea and Aristobulus of the Seventy.
145. James McKillop, *A Dictionary of Celtic Mythology* (Oxford, 2004), s.v.; for a syncretic neopagan perspective on early evidence surrounding Lug, see Alexei Kondratiev, "Lugus: The Many-Gifted Lord," republished online from An Tribhis Mhor: The IMBAS Journal of Celtic Reconstructionism 1 (1997), at <http://www.mythicalireland.com/mythology/tuathade/lugus.html>.
146. See Dean A. Miller, "Byzantine Sovereignty and Feminine Potencies," and Michael Azkoul, "Saint Photios and the Filioque," in St. Photios, *On the Mystagogy of the Holy Spirit*, trans. Holy Transfiguration Monastery (Brookline, MA: Studion, 1983), pp. 3–27, at 11, note 36.
147. See Gregory, *Homiliae in Ezechielem Prophetam*, ed. M. Adriaen, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina 142 (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 1971), Homily IV; trans. Theodosia Gray, *The Homilies of Saint Gregory the Great on the Book of the Prophet Ezekiel, in English Translation* (Etna, CA: Center for Traditionalist Orthodox Studies, 1990), pp. 40–46. For a detailed working out of these parallels, see Alfred K. Siewers, "Writing an Icon of the Land: the *Mabinogi* as a Mystagogy of Landscape," *Peritia* 19 (2005): 193–228, from which a portion of this discussion is adapted. In Celtic cultures, a fourfold pattern could resonate with traditions of a quarterly calendar, one of whose main festivals, around May Day, was a point of reference in the First Branch. See Jennifer O'Reilly, "Patristic and Insular Traditions of the Evangelists: Exegesis and Iconography of the Four-Symbols Page," <http://www.ucc.ie/latinbible/oreilly.htm>, third section. Alwyn and Brinley Rees, in *Celtic Heritage*, enumerated fivefold schemes in Celtic lore that they saw as based on four directions plus "here." Fourfold Christian cosmology reached its epitome with Eriugena, whose tetrachal cosmic cycle echoed cosmic phases elucidated by one of his sources, Maximus, namely the basis in God the Logos, then *genesis*, *kinesis*, and *stasis* [Joseph P. Farrell, *Free Choice in St. Maximus the Confessor* (South Canaan, PA: St. Tikhon's Seminary Press, 1989), p. 221], reflecting earlier hexaemeral exegeses.
148. Augustine of Hippo, *Sermons III/7 (230–272B) on the Liturgical Seasons*, Sermon 263.2, p. 220.
149. Gillian R. Overing and Marijane Osborn [*Landscape of Desire: Partial Stories of the Medieval Scandinavian World* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), pp. 82–83] refer to the Icelandic tetramorph as meditatively "tantric" symbolism, presumably for uniting self and the visible world.
150. Carey, *Ireland and the Grail*, p. 254.
151. See discussion in Carey, *Ireland and the Grail*, pp. 334–35, and 339–40.
152. John Koch, "A Welsh Window on the Iron Age: Manawydan, Mandubracios," *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies* 14 (1987): 17–52.
153. Andrew Welsh, "Manawydan fab Llyr: Wales, England and the 'New Man,'" in *The Mabinogion*, ed. C.W. Sullivan (New York: Garland Press, 1996), pp. 121–43.
154. See Siewers, "Gildas and Glastonbury."
155. John Carey, "A British Myth of Origins?" *History of Religions* 31 (1991): 24–38.
156. Carey, *A Single Ray of the Sun*.

157. See again Mark Bonta and John Protevi, "Case Study—Entangled Spaces and Semiotics in Olancho," and Ian Buchanan and Gregg Lambert, eds., *Deleuze and Space*, Deleuze Connections (University of Toronto Press, 2005).
158. For more detailed background based on philological and source studies, see Siewers, "Writing an Icon of the Land: The *Mabinogi* as a Mystagogy of Landscape." The concept of textual iconography will be explored further here in relation to a wider array of early Insular texts in chapters four and five.
159. This effect parallels social theorist Michel de Certeau's focus on landscape that resists monoculture and homogeneity; see his "Walking in the City," in *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), pp. 91–110.

### 3 Paradise in the Sea: An Early Geography of Desire

1. See I.P. Sheldon-Williams with John J. O'Meara, trans. *Periphyseon (The Division of Nature)*, Cahiers d'études médiévales, Cahier spécial 3 (Montreal: Éditions Bellarmin and Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1987). Major editions of *The Periphyseon* include I. P. Sheldon-Williams and Ludwig Bieler, eds. and trans., Books 1–3, *Scriptores Latini Hiberniae (SLH)* 7, 9, 11; Édouard Jauneau, ed. and J.J. O'Meara and I.P. Sheldon-Williams, trans., Book 4, *SLH* 13 (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1968–81 and 1995); and Édouard Jauneau, ed., *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis* 161–5, 5 vols (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 1996–2003). References to the Latin transcript of Eriugena's work in Migne's *Patrologia Latina (PL)* throughout are to volume 122. Myra L. Uhlfelder, trans., with Jean A. Potter, ed., *Periphyseon, On the Division of Nature*, Library of the Liberal Arts (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1976), offers a partial English translation with interpolated summary.
2. Following Heidegger, the philosopher Edward S. Casey defines landscape as the appearance of "place-world." Casey, "Taking a Glance at the Environment, Preliminary Thoughts on a Promising Topic," in *Eco-Phenomenology, Back to the Earth Itself*, Environmental Philosophy and Ethics, ed. Charles S. Brown and Ted Toadvine (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2003), p. 195 [187–210]. In discussions here of Eriugena, I would like to acknowledge the invaluable help and insights of my student Michael Gibney.
3. Recent scholarship has attributed glosses in early Irish that reference early Irish culture to Eriugena.
4. John Marenbon, *Medieval Philosophy, an Historical and Philosophical Introduction* (London and New York: Routledge, 2007), p. 48.
5. Thomas O'Loughlin, *Journeys on the Edges: The Celtic Tradition*, Traditions of Christian Spirituality (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2000), pp. 78–79, argues for a background of Eriugena's philosophy in a "local theology" of apophaticism in Ireland, standing in an Irish hexamemonic tradition. The distinctiveness of Eriugena's philosophy in the context of the developing Western Church was recognized in attacks by contemporaries. Many thanks to Marina Smyth for recommending O'Loughlin's work to me.
6. Eriugena, *Periphyseon*, 4.2, *PL*744A–B; trans. Sheldon-Williams and O'Meara, p. 383.
7. Édouard Jauneau, "Le Symbolisme de la Mer chez Jean Scot Érigène," in *Études érigéniennes* (Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1987), pp. 293–94 [289–296].

8. See discussion of the cloud motif, suggestive of a pre-Eriugenan Irish sense of apophatic theology, in Patricia M. Rumsey, *Sacred Time in Early Christian Ireland* (London: T&T Clark, 2002), pp. 200–202. Rumsey’s important study needs to be read in tandem with Wesley Follett’s recent work on the *céili Dé*, discussed in chapter six, which questions the modern scholarly dichotomy between “reform” and traditional asceticism in early Irish culture.
9. Eriugena, *Periphyseon* 1.35, PL 479C–D; trans. Sheldon-Williams and O’Meara, p. 70.
10. Athanasius, *The Life of Antony*, trans. Robert C. Gregg (New York: HarperCollins, 2006), 74. A similar expression is found in another famous early ascetic text, by Isaac of Nineveh [*The Ascetical Homilies of Saint Isaac the Syrian*, trans. Holy Transfiguration Monastery (Boston, MA: Holy Transfiguration Monastery, 1984)], Homily 15, p. 85. For a parallel in Columbanus’ writings, see *Sancti Columbanii Opera*, *Scriptores Latini Hiberniae* 2, ed. G.S.M. Walker (Dublin: Dublin Institute, 1957), 13.2, pp. 118–19.
11. Eriugena, *Periphyseon*, 4.11, PL450C; trans. Sheldon-Williams and O’Meara, p. 36.
12. Luce Irigaray, *Marine Lover of Friedrich Nietzsche*, trans. Gillian C. Gill (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991), p. 46.
13. Kay Muhr, “Water Imagery in Early Irish,” *Celtica* 23 (1999): 208 [193–210]. In addition, Liam Mac Mathúna’s examination of Irish uses of threefold division of the cosmos (“Irish Perceptions of the Cosmos,” *Celtica* 23: 174–87), which he sees as pre-Christian in origin, raises a possible identification of that cosmic triad with a figurative type of the Trinity—our Father in heaven, the incarnate Son on earth, and the Holy Spirit in the sea, the later association in terms of waters of baptism and nourishment (and also the aerial waters and their relation to winds and *pneuma*).
14. St. John Climacus, *The Ladder of Divine Ascent*, trans. Archimandrite Lazarus Moore, rev. edn (Brookline, MA: Holy Transfiguration Monastery, 1991). On the association of *apatheia* with an erotic sense of “heaven on earth,” see pp. 221–24; on the terminology, see note 3 on p. 5.
15. Eriugena, *Periphyseon* 5.21, PL841B, 841D; trans. Sheldon-Williams, p. 500.
16. Eriugena, *Periphyseon* 4.26, PL858C, 859A; trans. Sheldon-Williams, pp. 520–21.
17. Philip Goodchild, *Deleuze and Guattari: An Introduction to the Politics of Desire*, Theory, Culture & Society (London: SAGE Publications, 1996), pp. 187, 219.
18. See opening chapter on rhizomes in Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus, Capitalism and Schizophrenia* 2, trans. Brian Massumi (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987).
19. Eriugena, *Periphyseon* 4.16, PL823A–D, trans. Sheldon-Williams with O’Meara, pp. 478–79.
20. Hilary Richardson, “Visual Arts and Society,” in Dáibhí Ó Cróinín, ed., *A New History of Ireland I, Prehistoric and Early Ireland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 691 [680–713].
21. For a helpful brief definition of *nous* with patristic references, see Elder Ephraim, *Counsels from the Holy Mountain, Selected from the Letters and Homilies of Elder Ephraim*, trans. and ed. St. Anthony’s Monastery (Florence, AZ: St. Anthony’s Monastery, 1999), p. 430.
22. This follows Kallistos Ware’s explication of the patristic meaning of the Greek and Latin terms for obedience in “How to Read the Bible,” in *The Orthodox Study Bible*, ed. St. Athanasius Academy of Orthodox Theology (Nashville, TN: Thomas Nelson, 2008), pp. 1757–60.

23. Eriugena, *Periphyseon* 4.26, PL858B–860A, trans. Sheldon-Williams with O’Meara, pp. 520–21.
24. Eriugena, *Periphyseon* 5.24, PL 122, 851A, 851B, trans. Sheldon-Williams, p. 511.
25. Cú Chuimne, “Cantemus in omni die,” in *Iona: The Earliest Poetry of a Celtic Monastery*, trans. and ed. Thomas Owen Clancy and Gilbert Markus (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1995), pp. 182–83.
26. Anthony Winterbourne, *When the Norns Have Spoken: Time and Fate in Germanic Paganism* (Madison and Teaneck, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2004).
27. Eriugena, *Periphyseon* 5.2, PL862D, trans. Sheldon-Williams with O’Meara, pp. 525–26; bracketed phrases are added for interpretive background.
28. Eriugena, *Periphyseon* 4.26, PL857B–D, trans. Sheldon-Williams with O’Meara, p. 519.
29. Dermot Moran, *The Philosophy of John Scottus Eriugena, A Study of Idealism in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 259–60.
30. David Wood, “What is Eco-Phenomenology?” in *Eco-Phenomenology, Back to the Earth Itself*, Environmental Philosophy and Ethics, ed. Charles S. Brown and Ted Toadvine (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press), p. 221 [211–33].
31. Eriugena, *Periphyseon* 1.11, PL451B, 454C, trans. Myra L. Uhlfelder, *Periphyseon: On the Division of Nature*, Library of the Liberal Arts 157 (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1976), pp. 13 and 17.
32. Maximus the Confessor, *Ambigua* 22, PG 91, 1257AB, translated by Joseph P. Farrell in *Free Choice in St. Maximus the Confessor*, p. 181.
33. Eriugena, *Periphyseon* 4.9, PL780B–C, trans. Sheldon-Williams and O’Meara, pp. 428–29.
34. Evan Thompson, *Mind in Life: Biology, Phenomenology, and the Sciences of Mind* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap-Harvard University Press, 2007), pp. 406–407.
35. Following Erwin Panofsky’s notion of “deep iconography,” see Denis Cosgrove and Stephen Daniels, “Introduction: Iconography and Landscape,” in *Iconography of Landscape: Essays on the Symbolic Representation, Design and Use of Past Environments*, ed. Denis Cosgrove and Stephen Daniels (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p. 2 [1–10].
36. See Jean-Francois Lyotard, *Lessons on the Analytic of the Sublime: Kant’s Critique of Judgment, Sections 23–29*, Crossing Aesthetics Series, trans. Elizabeth Rottenberg (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 1994). Writers in the so-called Radical Orthodoxy movement, advocating a “postmodern” approach to theology spanning Protestant and Catholic traditions, have found Eriugena’s writings relatively inviting, linking them to their interest in Deleuze’s work and a sense of sacramentalism in religious practice in which “the zone of immanence is invested with transcendence, not as a kind of container for an ethereal substance, but rather as a structure of phenomenological reference to an origin that is not itself subject to temporal conditions (or even ‘being’).” James K.A. Smith, *Introducing Radical Orthodoxy: Mapping a Post-secular Theology* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic/Paternoster Press, 2004), p. 220. Yet the emphasis of Radical Orthodoxy on Thomas Aquinas’ cosmology of *analogia* leads it ultimately away from the empirical experientiality of the early Irish Sea, for which Scholasticism became more an erasure than a continuity.
37. Wood, “What is Eco-Phenomenology?” in *Eco-Phenomenology*, p. 215 and 223 [211–33].

38. See discussion of Maximus' views of *logoi*, foundational to Eriugena's sense of "primordial causes," in an environmental context in John Chryssavgis, *Beyond the Shattered Image* (Minneapolis, MN: Light & Life Publishing, 1999), p. 57. Also Vladimir Lossky, *The Mystical Theology of the Eastern Church*, trans. Fellowship of St. Alban and St. Sergius (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2002), pp. 98–99.
39. See Chryssavgis, *Beyond the Shattered Image*, pp. 81–83; and Lossky, *The Mystical Theology of the Eastern Church*, p. 96; both express qualified appreciation for this aspect of Eriugena's work as reflecting patristic views, but also lack a contextualized understanding of his approach in relation to early Irish Sea culture.
40. St. Athanasius Academy Septuagint, in *The Orthodox Study Bible* (Nashville, TN: Thomas Nelson, 2008).
41. Eriugena, *Periphyseon* 2.21, PL560A, trans. Sheldon-Williams, p. 162.
42. Eriugena, *Periphyseon* 3.29, PL705D–706C, trans. Sheldon-Williams, pp. 336–37. See also *Periphyseon* 4.2, PL744C, trans. Sheldon-Williams, p. 384. A case of the part being referred to by the whole, as cited by Eriugena, is described at *Periphyseon* 4.26, PL859C, trans. Sheldon-Williams, p. 521.
43. Augustinus Hibernicus, *De Mirabilibus Sacrae Scripturae*, PL35.2149–202, at 2.11, PL35.2179. The passage is translated and discussed in Marina Smyth, "The Body, Death, and Resurrection: Perspectives of an Early Irish Theologian," *Speculum* 83 (2008): 545–46 [531–71]. Regarding bodily metonymy, see pp. 543–44.
44. Eriugena, *Periphyseon* 1.5, PL 445B, trans. Myra L. Uhlfelder.
45. Eriugena, *Periphyseon* 1.37, PL 480B, trans. Sheldon-Williams with O'Meara, *Periphyseon*, p. 71.
46. See Suzanne Conklin Akbari, *Seeing through the Veil: Optical Theory and Medieval Allegory* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 2004), p. 16; see also *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville*, trans. Stephen A. Barney, W.J. Lewis, J.A. Beach, and Oliver Berghof (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); and John Henderson, *The Medieval World of Isidore of Seville* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).
47. Luce Irigaray, *The Forgetting of Air in Martin Heidegger*, Constructs, trans. Mary Beth Mader (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1999); and *Marine Lover of Friedrich Nietzsche*. For a helpful explication of Irigaray's views on Heidegger, in relation to premodern philosophy, see Katrin Froese, *Nietzsche, Heidegger, and Daoist Thought: Crossing Paths* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2006), pp. 194–96.
48. Luce Irigaray, "The Way of Breath," in *Between East and West*, European Perspectives, trans. Stephen Pluhacek (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), pp. 73–91.
49. Irigaray, *The Forgetting of Air in Martin Heidegger*, p. 128.
50. Luce Irigaray, *An Ethics of Sexual Difference*, trans. Carolyn Burke and Gillian Gillian (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1993), p. 48.
51. *Ibid.*, p. 48.
52. Irigaray, *The Forgetting of Air in Martin Heidegger*, p. 72.
53. *Ibid.*, p. 178.
54. On Irigaray's view of the Virgin Mary and Eve, see her "The Way of Breath."
55. Marina Smyth, "The Physical World in Seventh-Century Hiberno-Latin Text," *Peritia* 5 (1986): 214 [201–34], speaking of Augustine's *rationes seminales* in the *De genesi*: "Very roughly, one could think of this interesting offshoot of the Stoic *spermatikoi logoi* as a sort of computer programme for the properties, and eventually the reproduction, of each creature."

56. See Lossky, *The Mystical Theology of the Eastern Church*, p. 96.
57. On “identity theory” versus “energy theory,” see Duncan Reid, *Energies of the Spirit: Trinitarian Models in Eastern Orthodox and Western Theology* (Atlanta, GA: American Academy of Religion, 1997). This is discussed further here in the next chapter as well.
58. See Augustine, *De Trinitate*, II.5 and II.7.1, in *The Trinity*, The Works of Saint Augustine, A translation for the twenty-first century, trans. Edmund Hill (Brooklyn, NY: New City Press, 1991), pp. 113–16, 120. Gregory of Nyssa, *The Life of Moses*, II.19–26, Classics of Western Spirituality, trans. Abraham J. Mahlherbe and Everett Ferguson (New York, 1978), pp. 59–61; and Augustinus Hibernicus, *De Mirabilibus*, I.16, trans. MacGinty, p. 50a.
59. See comments on Eriugena and Augustine in Lossky, *The Mystical Theology of the Eastern Church*, 1944, trans. Fellowship of St. Alban and St. Sergius (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 1976), p. 96.
60. Eriugena, *Periphyseon*, 3.8, PL 640C–D. The teacher in Eriugena’s voluminous dialogue is here claiming to be synthesizing Augustine, though as usual with a twist; trans. Sheldon-Williams with O’Meara, p. 259.
61. On intuitive patristic writing style, see John McGuckin, *Saint Cyril of Alexandria and the Christological Controversy* (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 2004), p. 143.
62. John Carey, *A Single Ray of the Sun, Religious Speculation in Early Ireland* (Aberystwyth, UK: Celtic Studies Publications, 1999), p. 50; see there also note 11 on p. 49.
63. Augustinus Hibernicus, *De Mirabilibus Sacrae Scripturae*, and Francis MacGinty, “The Treatise *De Mirabilibus Sacrae Scripturae*: Critical Edition, with Introduction, English Translation of the Long Recension and Some Notes,” unpublished doctoral thesis (University College Dublin, 1971), portions of which are translated by John Carey in *King of Mysteries* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2000). For discussion by the “Irish Augustine” of his view of the naturalness of miracles, see especially III.9–10; MacGinty, p. 168; and discussion in Carey, *A Single Ray of the Sun*, pp. 50–51. Marina Smyth, by contrast with Carey, earlier emphasized Augustinus Hibernicus’ reflection of Augustine of Hippo’s views, based on his use of similar terminology, although Carey’s interpretation captures more fully the Irish Sea recontextualization of that terminology. See Smyth’s *Understanding the Universe in Seventh-Century Ireland*, Studies in Celtic History (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 1996).
64. In the title of his essay on Augustinus Hibernicus in *A Single Ray of the Sun*.
65. For an edition of the homily, see Édouard Jeanneau, ed., *Jean Scot: L’Homelie sur le Prologue de Jean*, Sources Chrétiennes 151 (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1969), with an English translation in *Celtic Spirituality*, Classics of Western Spirituality, ed. Oliver Davies (New York: Paulist Press), pp. 411–32; and in John Joseph O’Mara, *Eriugena* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), pp. 155–76; the translation here is from Christopher Bamford, *The Voice of the Eagle, the Heart of Celtic Christianity, John Scotus Eriugena’s Homily on the Prologue to the Gospel of St. John*, rev. edn (Barrington, MA: Lindisfarne Books, 2000), pp. 86–87.
66. McGuckin, *St. Cyril of Alexandria and the Christological Controversy*, p. 225. On self-realization in deep ecology, see Arne Naess, *Ecology, Community and Lifestyle: Outline of an Ecosophy*, rev. edn, with David Rothenberg (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).
67. See Dermot Moran, *Introduction to Phenomenology* (London and New York: Routledge, 2000), p. 431. Moran’s explications of phenomenology have the

- virtue, from the point of view of this study, of coming from his background as an Eriugenist. “I love therefore I am” coincidentally is the title of a book on the life of Sophrony Sakharov, an ascetic in the desert tradition referenced in chapter one: Nicholas V. Sakharov, *I Love Therefore I Am: The Theological Legacy of Archimandrite Sophrony* (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir’s Seminary, 2003).
68. Christopher Bamford, trans., *The Voice of the Eagle*, pp. 88–89, 93, 101.
  69. Using “inculturated” as a term from conversion-mission theory, referring to the intradimensional growth of faith tradition within an indigenous culture’s own traditions.
  70. Francesco Benozzo, *Landscape Perception in Early Celtic Literature*, Celtic Studies Publications 8 (Aberystwyth: Celtic Studies Publications, 2004), p. 76.
  71. Evidence for continuity between Romano-British sites (including villas) and Christianity is circumstantial but suggestive, including artifacts and sometimes explicit art designs, as well as the ambiguous proximity between the Llantwit Major villa site and the reputedly post-Roman Christian center of Llanilltud Fawr in southeastern Wales. Overviews of some of the evidence and issues involved in transitions and continuities between late Roman Britain and early medieval Christian British realms include Dorothy Watts, *Christians and Pagans in Roman Britain* (London: Routledge, 1991); *Religion in Late Roman Britain: Forces of Change* (London: Routledge, 1998); Richard Morris, *The Church in British Archaeology*, Council for British Archaeology Research Report 47 (London: Council for British Archaeology, 1983); and Kenneth Dark, *Civitas to Kingdom* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1999). See also Alfred K. Siewers, “‘A Cloud of Witnesses’: The Origins of Glastonbury Abbey in the Context of Early Christianity in Western Britain,” unpublished MA thesis (Aberystwyth: University of Wales, 1994).
  72. O’Loughlin, *Journeys on the Edges*, pp. 78–79.
  73. There is a “step” devoted to this sense of exile in St. John Climacus’ *The Ladder of Divine Ascent* (ca. 600 from the Sinai Desert), pp. 14–20. In modern Greek the term is used often to convey meanings of “diaspora” as well as “pilgrimage.”
  74. See, e.g., Máire Herbert, “Becoming an Exile: Colum Cille in Middle-Irish Poetry,” in *Heroic Poets and Poetic Heroes in Celtic Tradition, a Festschrift for Patrick K. Ford*, CSANA Yearbook 3–4, ed. Joseph Falaky Nagy and Leslie Ellen Jones (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2005), p. 134 [131–40].
  75. Philip Sheldrake, *Spaces for the Sacred: Place, Memory and Identity* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), pp. 43–44: “A miracle, therefore, explains God’s world as an integrity because it reveals it all at once . . .”
  76. See, e.g., Proinsias Mac Cana, *Celtic Mythology* (New York: Hamlyn, 1970); and “Aspects of the Theme of King and Goddess in Irish Literature,” *Études Celtiques* 7 (1955–56): 76–114, 356–413, and 8 (1958–59): 59–65.
  77. Alwyn Rees and Brinley Rees, *Celtic Heritage, Ancient Tradition in Ireland and Wales* (New York: Grove Press, 1961); see especially pp. 121, 123, 133, and, on Wales, chapter eight.
  78. O’Loughlin, *Journeys on the Edges*, pp. 72–73. While this book is more a popular treatment for a Catholic religious press, it crystallizes O’Loughlin’s extensive scholarship. Here and elsewhere in discussion of the *Liber de Ordine*, I am grateful in particular for my former student Marcus Ladd’s study of the original and shared insights.
  79. Benozzo, *Landscape Perception*, p. 30. See also my review in *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies* 52 (2006): 100–101.

80. Patrick Sims-Williams, "Some Celtic Otherworld Terms," in *Celtic Language, Celtic Culture, A Festschrift for Eric P. Hamp*, ed. A.T.E. Matonis and Daniel F. Melia (Belmont, MA: Ford & Bailie, 1990), p. 67 [57–81].
81. *Ibid.*, pp. 60–61; emphasis in the original.
82. *Ibid.*, p. 63.
83. See the useful summary and discussion of these traditions in Rees and Rees, *Celtic Heritage*, pp. 38–39.
84. Garrett Olmsted, *The Gods of the Celts and the Indo-Europeans*, Archaeolingua 6 (Budapest: Archaeolingua Alapítvány, 1994). Even though Olmsted's work to reconstruct a pantheon may be reductive, his study is the most extensive into possible structures of pre-Christian Celtic beliefs and extremely helpful.
85. Kim McCone, *Pagan Past and Christian Present in Early Irish Literature* (Maynooth: An Sagart, 1990).
86. Carey, "The Irish 'Otherworld': Hiberno-Latin Perspectives," p. 158. Sims-Williams himself again notes the possible derivation of the Welsh term *Annwfn*, used for the Otherworld in the *Mabinogi*, from the meaning "Not-World" or "Inner World" ("Some Celtic Otherworld Terms," 62).
87. Carey, *A Single Ray of the Sun*. See also the introductory material and notes to his anthology, *King of Mysteries: Early Irish Religious Writings* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2000).
88. Ann Dooley, *Playing the Hero: Reading the Irish Saga Táin Bó Cúailnge* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006).
89. M. O'Daly, *Cath Maige Mucrama*, Irish Texts Society 50 (Dublin: Irish Texts Society, 1975), p. 48.
90. Carey, *Single Ray of the Sun*, p. 19; see also his "Tara and the Supernatural," in *The Kingship and Landscape of Tara*, ed. Edel Bhreathnach (Dublin: Four Courts Press for The Discovery Programme, 2005), pp. 32–48.
91. Kim McCone, *Echtrae Chonnlai and the Beginnings of Vernacular Narrative Writing in Ireland: A Critical Edition with Introduction, Notes, Bibliography and Vocabulary*. (Maynooth: Department of Old and Middle Irish National University of Ireland, 2000), p. 104.
92. John Carey, "The Rhetoric of *Echtrae Chonnlai*," *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies* 30 (1995): 64–65 [41–65].
93. Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus*.
94. John Carey, "Time, Space, and the Otherworld," *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium* 17 (1987): 13–15.
95. *Ibid.*, p. 15.
96. Eriugena was described by early medieval critics as holding to the view that the Eucharist was symbolic rather than real. His writing on the topic did not survive and it is likely, given the patristic and iconographic contexts of his work, that his view reflected a synergetic sense of symbolism rather than the developing objectified view of Transubstantiation in the West, in which categories of the symbolic and real became separate.
97. On the report of the Kievans at the Hagia Sophia from the *Russian Primary Chronicle*, see Timothy Ware, *The Orthodox Church*, rev. edn (Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin, 1983); on the church at Kildare, see Cogitosus, *Vita S. Brigitae*, trans. Liam de Paor, *Saint Patrick's World: The Christian Culture of Ireland's Apostolic Age* (Notre Dame, IN: Notre Dame University Press, 1997), p. 222 [207–224].
98. Anthony Ugolnik, *The Illuminating Icon* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1989), p. 49.

99. *Ibid.*, p. 58.
100. Christopher Tilley, *A Phenomenology of Landscape: Places, Paths and Monuments* (Oxford and Providence, RI: Berg, 2004), p. 202.
101. *Ibid.*, p. 109.
102. Roy Rappaport, *Ritual and Religion in the Making of Humanity*, Cambridge Studies in Social and Cultural Anthropology (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 459. See also p. 210.
103. Roy Rappaport, "Ritual Regulation of Environmental Relations," in *Ecology, Meaning, and Religion* (Berkeley, CA: North Atlantic Books, 1979), p. 41 [27–42].
104. Sheldrake, *Spaces for the Sacred*, p. 22. See also his helpful but impressionistic *Living between Worlds: Places and Journeys in Celtic Spirituality* (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1995).
105. On Duns Scotus, see Edward S. Casey, *The Fate of Place, A Philosophical History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), pp. 105, 109; and Pierre Duhem, *Medieval Cosmology: Theories of Infinity, Place, Time, Void, and the Plurality of Worlds*, trans. Roger Ariew (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), p. 186.
106. Catherine Bell, *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. 266–67.
107. Douglas Burton-Christie, "The Wild and the Sacred," *American Theological Review* 85.3 (Summer 2003): 493–510.
108. Catherine Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992).
109. Douglas Burton-Christie, "Words beneath the Water: Logos, Cosmos, and the Spirit of Place," in *Christianity and Ecology: Seeking the Well-being of Earth and Humans*, ed. Deter T. Hessel and Rosemary Radford Reuther (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Center for the Study of World Religions/Harvard University Press, 2000), pp. 317–36. He does helpfully discuss views of the *Logos* and *logoi* in Stoic philosophy and in the writings of Origen and Clement of Alexandria.
110. Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, pp. 7–8.
111. *Ibid.*, pp. 106–7.
112. *Ibid.*, p. 104.
113. Antonio Sennis, "Narrating Places: Memory and Space in Medieval Monasteries," in *People and Space in the Middle Ages, 300–1300*, Studies in the Early Middle Ages 15, ed. Wendy Davies, Guy Halsall, and Andrew Reynolds (Turnhout, Bel.: Brepols, 2006), p. 294 [275–94].
114. Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. D. Nicholson-Smith (Oxford and Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1992).
115. Sheldrake, *Spaces for the Sacred*, p. 111.
116. Sennis, "Narrating Places," p. 289.
117. Douglas Burton-Christie, *The Word in the Desert, Scripture and the Quest for Holiness in Early Christian Monasticism* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), p. 300; emphasis added. Douglas Burton-Christie's description of "the ultimate expression of the desert hermeneutic" as person is reminiscent of the Deleuze-Guattarian sense of desire as productive of the real, in Giles Deleuze's glossing of Foucault's butterfly-like diagramming of "supreme fiction." The two wings "are the two irreducible forms of knowledge, light and language, which capture the thinker in a double movement. . . . The goal of the two movements together is to become both integrated and different. . . . the

- chamber of the fold or fissure is not empty, since one fills it with oneself” [explanation by Michael Payne, *Reading Knowledge: An Introduction to Barthes, Foucault and Althusser* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 1997), p. 61]. In the desert ethos that Burton–Christie describes, the whole emerging personhood is itself amid movements that themselves are among larger movements, ecological and cosmic, within which the transfiguring person continues to form amid relations with others.
118. On sacramental–ethical landscape, see Sheldrake, *Spaces for the Sacred*. Sheldrake compares early monastic communities to Michel Foucault’s notion of the *heterotopia* (pp. 100–101), and argues that “sacramental–ethical place (despite our various human attempts to regulate and control it) engages a power beyond the ritual enactments themselves to become a space of alternatives that pries open an elitist history to offer an entry point for the oppressed, the marginalized, the excluded. The Eucharistic action, according to its own inner logic, is the most public and also the most catholic space that there is in the contingent world of space and time. There is perpetual and uncomfortable tension between the sacramental practice of reconciled place and all the many efforts of Christians to resist the logic of reconciliation” (pp. 80–81). On potential overlap of spiritual and environmental concerns with spatiality, see Michael E. Zimmerman, “Heidegger’s Phenomenology and Contemporary Environmentalism,” in *Eco-Phenomenology: Back to the Earth Itself*, ed. Ted Toadvine, SUNY Press Series in Environmental Ethics and Philosophy (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2002), pp. 95–96, and Erika Meyer-Dietrich on narrative as itself ritual performance reflecting and reshaping physical environment (“When Natural Phenomena Enter the Symbolic Sphere: An Ecological Perspective on Ritual Texts within the Egyptian Funerary Cult,” *Numen* 51 (2004): 1–19).
  119. Thompson, *Mind in Life*, p. 411.
  120. See *ibid.*, chapters five and six.
  121. *Ibid.*, p. 394.
  122. *Ibid.*, p. 157.
  123. On social systems theory as one aspect of this work, see, in addition to Cary Wolfe’s helpful explication of the autopoietic work of Francesco Varela and Humberto Maturana throughout Wolfe’s *Animal Rites: American Culture, the Discourse of Species, and Posthumanist Theory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), chapter five of Thompson, *Mind in Life*; and Hans-Georg Moeller, *Luhmann Explained from Souls to Systems*, Ideas Explained 3 (Chicago and La Salle, IL: Open Court, 2006), pp. 12–13. I am grateful for Wolfe’s kind discussion of this with me.
  124. See the Forum on Religion and Ecology, an online clearinghouse for the new field of Religion and Ecology, which is being developed by former colleagues John Grim and Mary Evelyn Tucker, to whom I owe a debt of thanks in their encouragement of my work: <http://www.religionandecology.org/>.
  125. Thompson, *Mind in Life*, pp. 180, 167, 192.
  126. *Ibid.*, p. 195.
  127. Focus on complex systems and string theory in different scientific fields is creating revived interest in alternative models of cosmogony and cosmology, with ramifications for views of self. See Paul J. Steinhardt and Neil Turok, *Endless Universe, Beyond the Big Bang* (New York: Doubleday, 2007); and Douglas H. Erwin, “Darwin Still Rules, But Some Biologists Dream of a Paradigm Shift,” *The New York Times*, Science section, June 26, 2007, <http://www.nytimes.com>.

com/2007/06/26/science/26essay.html?em&ex=1183003200&en=ec7150ae6d6fbee2&ei=5087%0A. For discussions of parallels between themes in quantum physics and hesychastic Christian energy theory that reflect aspects of asceticism in the early Irish Sea zone, see Daniel M. Rogich, *Becoming Uncreated: The Journey to Human Authenticity* (Minneapolis: Light and Life Publishing, 1997), pp. 196–97; and Archbishop Lazar Puhalo, *The Evidence of Things Not Seen, Orthodox Christianity and Modern Physics* (Dewdney, BC: Synaxis Press, 1996), but most helpfully (by a physicist) Alexei V. Nesteruk, *Light from the East: Theology, Science, and the Eastern Orthodox Tradition*, *Theology and the Sciences* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2003). Fritjof Capra has also discussed the potential for Christian traditions to engage in dialogue both with recent developments in physics and with non-Christian Asian religious traditions that he has described as most analogous to the latter. See his *The Tao of Physics, An Exploration of the Parallels between Modern Physics and Eastern Mysticism*, twenty-fifth anniversary rev. edn (Boston: Shambhala, 2000), p. 341. Parallels between Eastern Christian “energy theory” in the desert ascetic tradition and Daoist practice of relevance to Capra’s discussion were explored in Hieromonk Damascene, *Christ the Eternal Tao* (Platina, CA: Valaam Books, 1999), pp. 237–38. Eastern Christian traditions and Daoism had some historical connections through contact in Persia and at the Chinese imperial court in the early medieval period. On contemporary physics, I rely on explications by Michio Kaku in his helpfully accessible *Parallel Worlds, a Journey through Creation, Higher Dimensions, and the Future of the Cosmos* (New York: Doubleday, 2005); and also by Leonard Susskind, *The Cosmic Landscape, String Theory and the Illusion of Intelligent Design* (New York: Little, Brown and Co., 2006). See also Paul Davies, *God and the New Physics* (London: Penguin, 1990). On recent criticism of string theory, see Lee Smolin, *The Trouble with Physics: The Rise of String Theory, the Fall of a Science, and What Comes Next* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2006).

128. See the commentary on and selection from *The Divine Names* by Dionysius, trans. Colm Luibheid, in *Encompassing Nature, A Sourcebook: Nature and Culture from Ancient Times to the Modern World*, ed. Robert M. Torrance (Washington, DC: Counterpoint, 1989), pp. 554–55; also John S. Romanides, *The Ancestral Sin*, trans. George S Gabriel (Ridgewood, NJ: Zephyr, 2002), throughout, and at p. 7 (in the translator’s preface) regarding the Greek term *amartia* for sin as “missing the mark” or failing to realize full humanity. For Augustine on evil, see G.R. Evans, “Evil,” in *Augustine through the Ages, an Encyclopedia*, ed. Allan D. Fitzgerald and John C. Cavadini (Grand Rapids, MI, and Cambridge, UK: William B. Eerdmans, 1999), pp. 340–44. The Eriugenian synthesis of themes from the Cappadocians, Dionysius, Maximus, and Augustine enables an arguably more contextualized reading of Paul’s statements in Romans 1 about “natural” and in Ephesians 3 regarding the inner or inward man. In both epistle sections, Paul’s discussion is framed by a discussion of man’s relationship to cosmic hierarchies, invisible things, and families of creation. It is in that context of externalized dialogue that both natural and the inner man are defined in readings within the “energy theory” tradition, rather than an Augustinian emphasis on internalized Original Sin and its “inward turn” [as defined in Phillip Cary, *Augustine and the Invention of the Inner Self* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000)]. In a non-Augustinian reading, even the condemnation of sodomy in Romans 1 is not so much akin to later conventional Western views of homosexuality as *identity*, related to supposed essential identification with sin, as it is

- to premodern identification of the natural with external bodily sexual difference and a biblical tradition of reintegrating sexual difference symbolically in marriage.
129. John Chryssavgis, “The World of the Icon and Creation,” in *Christianity and Ecology, Seeking the Well-Being of Earth and Humanity*, ed. Dieter T. Hessel and Rosemary Radford Ruether (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Center for the Study of World Religions/Harvard University Press, 2000), pp. 89 and 95, note 15 [83–96]. Chryssavgis notes an Akathist Hymn using a verb related to *chora*: “[She] contained [*choresas*] the One who contains [*chorei*] the universe.”
  130. Wendell Berry, “The Idea of a Local Economy,” in *In the Presence of Fear, Three Essays for a Changed World*, ed. Berry (Great Barrington, MA: Orion Society, 2001), p. 22 [11–33]. Berry’s critique suggests how even posthumanism’s dismantling of subjectivity can be complicit in the postmodern “death of nature” that enables global commodification of bodily life. Removing “anthropocosmic” frames can enable the equivocality of abstract constructs such as multinational corporations with personhood, while creating intellectual space for an absent-presence regime of theoretical-neocolonial hegemony.
  131. Mikhail Bakhtin noted that “what unfolds . . . is not a world of objects, illuminated and ordered by [the author’s] monologic thought, but a world of consciousnesses mutually illuminating one another . . . Among them Dostoevsky seeks the highest and most authoritative orientation, and he perceives it not as his own true thought, but as another authentic human being and his discourse. The image of the ideal human being or the image of Christ represents for him the resolution of ideological quests. This image or this highest voice must crown the world of voices, must organize and subdue it. Precisely the image of a human being and his voice, a voice not the author’s own, was the ultimate artistic criterion for Dostoevsky: not fidelity to his own convictions and not fidelity to convictions themselves taken abstractly, but precisely a fidelity to the authoritative image of a human being.” [Quoted and translated by Richard Pevear in the Foreword to his translation (with Larissa Volokhonsky) of Dostoevsky’s *Demons* (New York: Vintage Books, 1995), pp. xviii–xix.] The notion of authentic humanity parallels phenomenological concerns; the dialogic frame of authority (identified with a relational as opposed to solipsistic mode) highlights parallels between the Christocentric focus of early medieval texts and the ecocentric focus of environmental literary studies. On Bakhtin’s own crypto-Christianity in the Eastern tradition, distantly paralleling some themes in early Irish Sea spirituality, see Charles Lock, “Bakhtin and the Tropes of Orthodoxy,” in *Bakhtin and Religion: A Feeling for Faith*, ed. Susan M. Felch and Paul J. Contino (Evanston IL: Northwestern University Press, 2001), pp. 97–119. For Sheldrake’s view, see his *Spaces for the Sacred*, pp. 43–44.
  132. Dostoevsky, *Demons*, trans. Richard Pevear and Larissa Volokhonsky (New York: Vintage, 1994), p. 145.

#### 4 Colors of the Winds, Landscapes of Creation

1. I am indebted to Dr. Kevin Murray for his sharing this definition in response to an earlier form of this chapter; to it Phillip Bernhardt-House, in kindly reading over this manuscript, thoughtfully added “any color of the sea.”
2. E.G. Quin, ed., *Dictionary of the Irish Language*, compact edn (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 1983), s.v.

3. Tatyana Mikhailova, "What Colour was Saint Colum Cille's Eye, or the Meaning of Old Irish *glas*," a paper at the Celtic Studies Congress, Aberystwyth, 2003. I appreciate very much Prof. Mikhailova's sharing of this paper with me.
4. "Byzantine art reverses Greek art by giving such a degree of activity to the background that we no longer know where the background ends and the forms begin": Gilles Deleuze, *Francis Bacon: The Logic of Sensation*, trans. Daniel W. Smith (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2004), p. 103; see discussion on pp. 103–08.
5. A phrase cited by the Russian poet Olga Sedokova in her talk "The Light of Life," given at Bucknell University on March 10, 2007; online at <http://intelros.ru/lib/statyi/sedakova3.htm> [accessed March 10, 2007], section 1.3 "Theological silence." Christian iconodules in the Early Middle Ages termed the iconoclastic movement a persecution of color, identifying color with Christ as Incarnate God [Herbert L. Kessler, *Spiritual Seeing, Picturing God's Invisibility in Medieval Art* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), p. 56].
6. Dionysius, *De coelesti hierarchia* xii, ed. J.-P. Migne, *Patrologia Graeca* iii.2322CD, trans. John Carey, "In the Kingdom of Hermes," *Temenos Academy Review* 6 (2003): 175 [155–80]. Carey also points out the Dionysian statement of how angels embody "the binding together of extremes through the power of transference" (*De coelesti* xv.8, iii.337B) involves "reflecting the supernal Light onto the mortal plane in a way which I have not seen in any of the Neoplatonists" (pp. 174–75 and note 80).
7. Recent studies suggest that color and language have a symbiotic relationship; see "How grue is your valley? Psychologists are learning more about how color builds language and language builds colour," *The Economist* online, January 18, 2007, [http://www.economist.com/science/displaystory.cfm?story\\_id=8548630](http://www.economist.com/science/displaystory.cfm?story_id=8548630) [accessed April 12, 2008]. While the effect of ultraviolet light at high altitudes is one theory about why some languages merge shades of blue and green in color terms, as in Celtic Irish and Welsh languages, neither Wales nor Ireland are at an altitude fitting that theory; the relation of cultures to sea and sky horizons on the sea could be an alternate explanation.
8. See Mary Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 61, and indexed references to *colores* throughout. David C. Lindberg, in *Theories of Vision from Al-Kindi to Kepler* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976), p. 8, discusses related premodern optical theories involving color as catalyst to sight.
9. Dionysius the Areopagite, *The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* i.5. *Pseudo-Dionysius, the Complete Works*, Classics of Western Spirituality, trans. Colm Luibheid (New York: Paulist Press, 1987), p. 199.
10. Liz James, "Color and Meaning in Byzantium," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 11 (Summer 2003): 223–233, at 232. See also my "The Bluest–Greyest–Greenest Eye: Colours of Martyrdom and Colours of the Winds as Iconographic Landscape," *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies* 50 (Winter 2005): 31–66, from which this chapter draws although in significantly altered form.
11. Luce Irigaray, "The Invisible of the Flesh," in *An Ethics of Sexual Difference*, ed. Irigaray, trans. Carolyn Burke and Gillian C. Gill (London and New York: Continuum, 2004), pp. 130–32 [127–53].
12. The edited text can be found in W. Stokes, ed., *Saltair na Rann: A Collection of Early Middle Irish poems* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1883). Gearóid Mac Eoin [in "The Date and Authorship of Saltair na Rann," *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie*

- 28 (1960): 51–67, and “Observations on *Saltair na Rann*,” *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie* 39 (1982): 1–28] argued that the author of the poem was Airbertach mac Cosse, who in the later tenth century was associated with a monastery in what is now County Cork; Airbertach has also been credited with a geographical poem indicating an interest in topographical poetics [see Thomas Olden, “On the Geography of Ros Ailithir,” *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, second series, 2 (1879–1888): 219–52]. The attribution of *Saltair na Rann* to Airbertach was vigorously opposed by James Carney, who placed it in the late ninth century with later interpolations, attributing the original to an Óengus of Cluain Eidnech in County Laois [see “The Dating of Early Irish Verse Texts, 500–1100,” *Éigse* 19 (1983): 177–216].
13. The section of the text involving the winds seems to have been adapted in prefatory material to the *Senchas Már* legal compendium, the main text of which is possibly from the early eighth century, roughly the same era as the *Cambrai Homily*, which contains the related colors of martyrdom to be discussed further; however, dating is uncertain and the prefatory material is probably of somewhat later composition. See D.A. Binchy, “The Pseudo-Historical Prologue to the *Senchas Már*,” *Studia Celtica*, 10/11 (1975–76), pp. 15–28. Binchy in his edition of the *Corpus Iuris Hibernici*, 6 vols (Dublin: Dublin Institute, 1978), 1:xxiii, categorized the “wind” material from the *Senchas Már* introduction with the Pseudo-historical Prologue, although it is distinct from the opening tale involving St. Patrick most often associated with that title. Regarding issues of dating the material as a whole, see also Kim McCone, “Dubthach Maccu Lugair and a matter of Life and Death in the Pseudo-Historical Prologue to the *Senchas Már*,” *Peritia* 5 (1986): 1–39; also John Carey, “An edition of the Pseudo-Historical Prologue to the *Senchas Már*,” *Ériu* 45 (1994): 1–32. Carey dates the Patrician story of the Pseudo-Historical Prologue to probably the ninth century; see also his *King of Mysteries* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2000), p. 239. The most “complete” introductory material for the *Senchas Már*, including the wind colors and the discussion of the term *senchas* related to them, is found in Binchy’s *Corpus Iuris Hibernici*, II:343–45; from Harleian 432 (the *senchas* discussion, f. 3<sup>b</sup>). Carey dates this larger synthesis of introductory material to the tenth or eleventh century (“An Introduction to the Pseudo-Historical Prologue,” p. 3), although he also speculates that the loose conglomeration of material, including the *senchas* discussion, may date more generally to the late Old or early Middle Irish periods (p. 7). See too the not always reliable translation by W.N. Hancock et al., *Ancient Laws of Ireland, Senchus Mor*, 6 vols (Dublin, 1865), 1:37.
  14. The four spirits of the heavens associated later, in an interesting conjunction of cosmology and eschatology, with the Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse.
  15. Rolf Baumgarten has noted how the circular description of the winds by name in Isidore of Seville’s *Etymologiae* (influential in early Ireland) derived from Ptolemy’s wind-rose. Isidore drew on Ptolemy also for his description of Ireland’s geographical orientation, which he described as an island as *ab africo in boream*, running according to his wind-names west-south-west to north-north-east. [Rolf Baumgarten, “The Geographical Orientation of Ireland in Isidore and Orosius,” *Peritia* 3 (1984): 189–203]. See also Barbara Obrist, “Wind Diagrams and Medieval Cosmology,” *Speculum* 72 (1997): 33–84.
  16. For reference to sacred colors of the four directions in American Indian tradition, see Linda Hogan, *Solar Storms* (New York: Scribner Paperback, 1995), pp. 87–88. John Carey, in “Cosmology in *Saltair na Rann*,” *Celtica*, 17 (1985): 33–52, discusses

- biblical and other analogues, including the *Vita Sancti Macarii* (PL 73, 420). Colors in Isidore of Seville's description of the rainbow in *De Natura Rerum* (31, 2, PL 83, 1004A) are cited as possible analogues to those of the major winds in the Irish color schema, as are those in the description of directions in hell in the *Cosmographia* of Aethicus Ister, possibly of Irish origin.
17. In this as in following passages, the text is as edited by Stokes, *Saltair na Rann*, 1–2. For English translations on which this rendering draws, see Carey, *The King of Mysteries*, 99–100, and David Greene's unpublished edition, now available from the Dublin Institute of Advanced Studies, School of Celtic Studies, at [http://www.celt.dias.ie/publications/online/saltair\\_na\\_rann/](http://www.celt.dias.ie/publications/online/saltair_na_rann/) [accessed January 13, 2009]. Many thanks to Fergus Kelly and the Dublin Institute for access to Green's manuscript during the writing of this study.
  18. John Carey translates *croda* here, apparently an adjective accompanying *lir*, describing the sea, as “valiant,” and takes it to be linked with *glas*. Vivid, courageous, and bloodthirsty are all other possible meanings for *croda* [*Dictionary of the Irish Language*, compact edn (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 1983), s.v. *cródacht*]. David Greene's glossary list (in the Dublin Institute of Advanced Studies archives) indicates that *croda* is often used in association with descriptions of biblical cruelty and captivity (typologically linked however to redemption through Christ). It is translated here as “powerful” to reflect this range. Thanks again to Fergus Kelly and the Dublin Institute for access to Greene's manuscript.
  19. s.v. *gel* and *bán*, *Dictionary of the Irish Language*.
  20. The wind-color wheel as a whole also reflects one recent digitalized scheme for the manuscript colors used in the Book of Kells (see the color chart at <http://www.bookofkells.com/features.html>); it is highly speculative but stimulating to reflect on possible association of the colors of iconographic book and Creation.
  21. Carey, “Cosmology in *Saltair na Rann*,” p. 38.
  22. Mikhailova, “What Colour was Saint Colum Cille's Eye.”
  23. Handout from “The Three Sails, the Twelve Winds, and the Question of Early Irish Colour Theory,” a paper at the Early Irish seminar, University College Cork, February 25, 2004.
  24. *Lebor Gabála Érenn, The Book of the Taking of Ireland*, Part IV, ed. and trans. R.A. Stewart Macalister, Irish Texts Society 41 (London: Irish Texts Society, 1941), pp. 138–39; this Irish fantasy history (compiled in the twelfth century) describes the Túatha Dé Danann as first living in northern islands, learning there diabolic arts of the devil. Another text also describes the Túatha Dé Danann, while living to the north, as being in touch with the otherworldly people known as Fomoiré, who became in turn enemy invaders of Ireland from across the sea (expressing disruptive aspects of the Otherworld or spiritual realm) during the “Second Battle of Mag Tuired” [*Cath Maige Tuired, The Second Battle of Mag Tuired*, ed. Elizabeth A. Gray, Irish Texts Society 52 (Naas, IR: Irish Texts Society, 1982)]. In the Irish and Welsh languages, north is also aligned in terminology with the “left” side or direction, when facing the East in a Christian (and perhaps also pre-Christian) worship orientation, contrasted with the “right” with certain connotations of “rightness” as in English. “An Old-Irish Homily,” ed. and trans. John Strachan, *Ériu*, 3 (1907): 5 [1–7], identifies hell with cold, wintry, wet qualities, and heaven with qualities of summer.
  25. Gearóid Mac Eoin, “The Date and Authorship of *Saltair na Rann*,” and “Observations on *Saltair na Rann*,” *ZCP* 39 (1982): 1–28, with a possible correlation suggested in Thomas Olden, “On the Geography of Ros Ailithir.”

26. The place name Tech Duinn is found off the Bearra Peninsula in the southwest.
27. Carey, "Cosmology in *Saltair na Rann*," p. 38 and note 12.
28. James Carney, ed. and trans., "The Poems of Blathmac," in *The Poems of Blathmac Son of Cú Brettan, together with the Irish Gospel of Thomas and a Poem on the Virgin Mary* (Dublin: Irish Texts Society, 1964), p. 18 [2–89], stanza 52. The verse is attributed to Blathmac, an eighth-century poet who was son of a probable king of the Fir Roiss sept of the Airgialla, in modern Louth and Monaghan [Aidan Breen, "Blathmac," in *Medieval Ireland, an Encyclopedia*, ed. Seán Duffy (New York: Routledge, 2005), p. 42].
29. Since this was a direction that could include both the probable Romano-British origins of Irish Christianity, together with Rome and Constantinople, it also perhaps included slight identification with *Romanitas*. Of the ecclesiastical factions dubbed *Romani* and *Hibernenses*, the former seemed to have been strongest in the south of the island.
30. Alwyn Rees and Brinley Rees, *Celtic Heritage, Ancient Tradition in Ireland and Wales* (New York: Grove Press, 1961), pp. 123–24.
31. Gildas, *De Excidio Britanniae*, in *Gildas, The Ruin of Britain and Other Works*, Arthurian Period Sources vol. 1, ed. Michael Winterbottom (London: Phillimore, 1978), par. 8, p. 91 [87–145]. On Patrician-related solar references, see T.E. Powell, "Christianity or Solar Monotheism: The Early Religious Beliefs of St. Patrick," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 43 (1992): 531–40.
32. *Lebor Gabála Erenn, The Book of the Taking of Ireland, Part V*, Irish Texts Society 44, ed. R.A. Stewart Macalister (Dublin: Irish Texts Society, 1956); for a summary of the legendary Milesian-Spanish connection, see pp. 2–3. On the probable early-medieval literary connection between Spain and Ireland, see J.N. Hillgarth, "Ireland and Spain in the Seventh Century," *Peritia* 3 (1984): 1–16.
33. Eric Hamp, "Mabinogi and Archaism," *Celtica*, 23 (1999): 104 [96–112].
34. John Carey, "Three Sails," and *A Single Ray of the Sun: Religious Speculation in Early Ireland* (Andover MA and Aberystwyth, UK: Celtic Studies Publications, 1999), pp. 4–5. In this sense, the color for blue should be more like *gorm*, spanning blue and black, as Dr. Carey kindly has noted to me. Yet absent *gorm* on the wind color-wheel, *glas*, with its connotations of blue and gray, could be a Christianized approximation of the same, especially given the possible association between *glas* and *gorm* in relation to the "red-white-blue" color complex of martyrdom. Pádraig P. Ó Néill, "The Background to the *Cambrai Homily*," *Ériu* 32 (1981): 142 [137–47], and the expression *cú glas* for an alien/exile from overseas in Ireland, meaning wolf and suggesting literally as well as figuratively an older darker (otherworldly apophatic?) social association for the term (see Mikhailova, "What Colour was Saint Colum Cille's Eye?"). *Glasfine* is a term for a son of a woman with a *cú glas* or foreigner in exile in Ireland, often a Briton [T.M. Charles-Edwards, *Early Irish and Welsh Kinship* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), p. 550].
35. See John Carey, "The Lough Foyle Colloquy Texts: *Immacaldam Choluim Chille 7 ind Óclaig oc Carraic Eolaírg* and *Immacaldam in Druad Brain 7 inna Banfátho Febuil ós Loch Febuil*," *Ériu* 52 (2002): 53–87. Carey ascribes the dialogue to a generally early date, though probably not earlier than the eighth century.
36. Carey, *A Single Ray of the Sun*, p. 7. Early Irish notions of rebirth may likewise have been integrated with Christian worldviews, as perhaps suggested by an ambiguous definition of the term *tuirigin* in *Sanas Cormaic* (c. 900). *Sanas Cormaic*, ed. Kuno Meyer (1913, repr. Lampeter, UK: Llanerch Publishers, 1994), § 1224, p. 106.

37. See Rees and Rees, *Celtic Heritage*, chapters 5 and 7.
38. Thomas Charles-Edwards, "The Social Background to Irish *Peregrinatio*," *Celtica* 11 (1976): 43–59. *Cú* refers to dog or wolf; Phillip Bernhardt-House describes the compound term well (in a personal note) as "sea dog" meaning "from the elsewhere."
39. The text of the Homily can be found in *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus*, 2 vols, ed. W. Stokes and J. Strachan (Dublin: Dublin Institute, 1975), 2:246–47, edited further by Rudolf Thurneysen, *Old Irish Reader* (Dublin: Dublin Institute, 1968), pp. 35–36, and fairly recently corrected (since Stancliffé's study) by Próinséas Ní Chatháin, "A Reading in the *Cambrai Homily*," *Celtica* 21 (1990): 417. The consensus of the editors is that the text dates from the seventh or early eighth century.
40. Text from Stokes and Strachan, *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus*, Thurneysen, *Old Irish Reader*, and Próinséas Ní Chatháin, "A Reading in the *Cambrai Homily*," following mainly Thurneysen's editing (p. 36). The translation that follows combines that of Stokes and Strachan with emendations from Stancliffé, Ní Chatháin, and myself.
41. Clare Stancliffé, "Red, White and Blue Martyrdom," in *Ireland in Early Mediaeval Europe: Studies in Memory of Kathleen Hughes*, ed. Dorothy Whitelock and others (Cambridge, UK, and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982), pp. 21–46. *Iacintus* is the medieval spelling of *hyacinthus*, "blue."
42. Próinséas Ní Chatháin, "A Reading," which corrects "cé rucésa" to read "cení césa."
43. Ó Néill, "The Background to the *Cambrai Homily*," p. 141.
44. *Catéchèses Celtique*, ed. Dom André Wilmart, in *Analecta Reginensia: Extraits des Manuscrits Latins de la Reine Christine Conservés au Vatican*, Studi e Testi, 59, ed. A. Wilmart (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca apostolica Vaticana, 1935), p. 88, lines 91–97 [29–112].
45. Ó Néill, "The Background to the *Cambrai Homily*," pp. 142–43.
46. *Ibid.*, p. 143; St. Andrew of Caesarea, *Commentary on the Apocalypse*, chapter 67, PG 106; translated in Averky Taushev and Seraphim Rose, *The Apocalypse in the Teachings of Ancient Christianity* (Platina, CA: St. Herman of Alaska Press, 1985), pp. 272–73.
47. Text from W. Bousset, "Evagrius-Studien," in *Apophthegmata Patrum* (Tübingen, Neth.: Mohr, 1923), p. 36, cited in Dumitru Staniloae, *Orthodox Spirituality*, trans. Archimandrite Jerome Newville and Otilia Kloos (South Canaan, PA: St. Tikhon's Seminary Press, 2003), p. 287. Staniloae notes how this passage became a source for other patristic writers.
48. Taushev and Rose, *The Apocalypse in the Teachings of Ancient Christianity*, pp. 272–73.
49. Stancliffé's study did not explicate the association of *glas* with the heavens, which invoked a common motif relating penance and reformation to turning toward heavenly desire (e.g., the Greek scriptural term *metanoia*, "beyond mind").
50. I Cor. 10:1–3, Douay-Rheims.
51. I Thess. 5:16, Douay-Rheims.
52. See also Kay Muhr, "Water Imagery in Early Irish," *Celtica*, 23 (1999): 208 [193–210]. Liam Mac Mathúna's examination of Irish uses threefold division of the cosmos ("Irish Perceptions of the Cosmos," *Celtica* 23: 174–87), which he sees as pre-Christian in origin, raises in the context of the current study the question of possible identification of that cosmic triad with a figurative type of the Trinity—our Father in heaven, the incarnate Son on earth, and the Holy Spirit in the sea, the latter association in terms of baptism and nourishment.

53. For a summary of Augustinus Hibernicus' cosmology, see Francis MacGinty, *The Treatise De Mirabilibus Sacrae Scripturae: Critical Edition, with Introduction, English Translation of the Long Recension and Some Notes*, unpublished doctoral thesis (University College Dublin, 1971), pp. 129–30.
54. For a translation of Basil's influential view of Creation, see Basil, *The Hexaemeron*, trans. Blomfield Jackson, in *Letters and Select Works*, Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, second series, vol. 8, 1895 (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1999), pp. 52–107. Thomas O'Loughlin reviews writings by Basil and other church fathers on aerial waters (reading Basil as placing them very near earth, associated with rain), in "Aequae Super Caelos (Gen. 1:6–7): The First Faith-Science Debate?" *Milltown Studies* 29 (1992): 92–114.
55. Augustinus Hibernicus, *De Mirabilibus sacrae Scripturae*, PL 35, 2149–202; portions are translated by Carey in *King of Mysteries. Liber de ordine creaturarum, Un anemimo irlandés. del siglo. VII*, ed. Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz (Santiago de Compostela: Universidad de Santiago de Compostela, 1972) provides an edited text and Spanish translation. Marina Smyth argues that the idea of the aerial waters as the source of the Flood first appeared in these Irish sources: "Isidore and Early Irish Cosmography," *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies* 14 (1987): 80 [69–102]. The *De Ordine* presented the idea alongside an echo of Basil's cosmology, placing Paradise physically atop the Earth extending to the heavens (as in other medieval cosmographies); X.2–3, Díaz y Díaz, pp. 156–8; IV.1–3, p. 106.
56. See James Carney, "The Earliest Bran Material," reprinted in *The Otherworld Journey in Early Irish Literature*, ed. Jonathan M. Wooding (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2000), pp. 73–90; Máire Herbert, "The Legend of St. Scothíne: Perspectives from Early Christian Ireland," *Studia Hibernica* 31 (2000–2001): 27–35; "The Lough Foyle Colloquy Texts"; and Carey, "Aerial Ships and Underwater Monasteries: The Evolution of a Monastic Marvel," *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium* 12 (1990): 16–28 [in relation to which see also "On 'Ships in the Air' in 749," *Peritia* 14 (2000): 429–30, in which David Woods suggests a possible origin for a story of an aerial ship in a Latin report of green storm clouds]. See also Pamela Hopkins, "The Symbolology of Water in Irish Pseudo-History," *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium* 12 (1990): 80–86, and again Muhr, "Water Imagery." See also discussion in John Carey, *Ireland and the Grail*, Celtic Studies Publications 11 (Aberystwyth, UK: Celtic Studies Publications, 2008).
57. *Dictionary of the Irish Language*, s.v. Aldhelm's use of the Latin term *glaucus* shows a somewhat similar range in Anglo-Latin, and makes it potentially another analogue to *glas*, with *iacinthina*. In Classical Latin, *glaucus* apparently had connotations of reflectivity. Carin Ruff, "Aldhelm's Jewel Tones," in *Anglo-Saxon Styles*, ed. Catherine E. Karkov and George Hardin Brown (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2003), p. 231 [223–38].
58. For a summary of these references, see Colin Ireland, "Penance and Prayer in Water: An Irish Practice in Northumbrian Hagiography," *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies* 34 (Winter 1997): 55–66.
59. *Ibid.*, 54–55.
60. *Ibid.*
61. Fergus Kelly, "A Poem in Praise of Columb Cille," *Ériu* 24 (1973): 1–34; *The Golden Treasury of Irish Poetry, AD 600–1200*, ed. David Greene and Frank O'Connor (1967; repr. Dingle, Brandon: 1990), pp. 20–21.
62. Claire Stancliffe, "Red, White and Blue," p. 33.

63. For a brief summary of Cassian's view of penitential therapy and its relation to the Irish penitential tradition, see Thomas O'Loughlin, "Penitentials" in *Medieval Ireland, an Encyclopedia* (New York: Routledge, 2005), pp. 371–72.
64. Columbanus, *Sancti Columbani Opera*, *Scriptores Latini Hiberniae* 2, ed. G.S.M. Walker (Dublin: Dublin Institute, 1957), 13.2, pp. 118–19.
65. Columbanus, *Sancti Columbani Opera*, 8.1, pp. 95–95.
66. Athanasius, *The Life of Antony*, par. 85, in *Athanasius, The Life of St. Antony and the Letter to Marcellinus*, *Classics of Western Spirituality*, trans. Robert Gregg (New York: Paulist Press, 1980), p. 93.
67. Patrick, *Confessio*, chap. 40; *The Book of Letters of Saint Patrick the Bishop*, ed. and trans. D.R. Howlett (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1994), pp. 78–79.
68. Attributed to Macarius, Homily XV.51, in *Fifty Spiritual Homilies of St. Macarius the Egyptian*, *Translations of Christian Literature*, Series 1, trans. A.J. Mason (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1921), cited in Andrew Louth, *The Origins of the Christian Mystical Tradition from Plato to Denys* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), p. 125.
69. See "Life of Brendan of Clonfert," in *Lives of Irish Saints*, ed. and trans. Charles Plummer, 2 vols (1922, repr. Oxford, 1997), vol. 1, pp. 50–51, and p. 62.
70. Adomnán, *Vita Columbae* 1.6; Richard Sharpe has translated it "retreat" [*Life of St. Columba* (London: Penguin, 1995), p. 118]. For a survey of early Irish references to the sea as desert, and as a terrible trial for monastics, see Thomas O'Loughlin, "Living in the Ocean," in *Studies in the Cult of Saint Columba*, ed. Cormac Bourke (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1997), pp. 11–23.
71. Muhr, "Water Imagery."
72. I.14, Sharpe, ed., *Life of St. Columba*, p. 117; Plummer, *Lives*, vol. 1, pp. 64–65.
73. An early patristic reference to aerial demons is in St. Athanasius' *Life of St. Anthony* (Willits, CA: Eastern Orthodox Publications, 1989), p. 41. For the Pauline basis of the motif see Eph. 2.2 and 6.12. Basil also warns of "airy thoughts . . . light and unstable of mind," in "On the Origin of Humanity, Discourse 1: On That Which is According to the Image," in St. Basil the Great, *On the Human Condition*, trans. Nonna Verna Harrison (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2005), p. 47 [31–48].
74. Acts 1.11.
75. John Carey, translated from the *Saltair*, in *King of Mysteries*, p. 100. Greene in his unpublished translation of the *Saltair* preferred "harmonies" as a translation. For a range of early definitions of *glés*, s.v. *Dictionary of the Irish Language*.
76. On the transformation of Neoplatonic and Hellenic-Jewish *Sophia* and *Logos* into the Christian *Logos*, see Jaroslav Pelikan, *What has Athens to do with Jerusalem? Timaeus and Genesis in Counterpoint* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1998), pp. 91–92.
77. See Édouard Jeuneau, "Pseudo-Dionysius, Gregory of Nyssa, and Maximus the Confessor in the Works of John Scottus Eriugena," in *Études Érigéniennes*, ed. Jeuneau (Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1987), pp. 175–87.
78. Maximus the Confessor, *Ambigua* 22, PG 91, 1257AB, translated by Joseph P. Farrell in *Free Choice in St. Maximus the Confessor* (South Canaan, PA: St. Tikhon's Seminary Press, 1989), p. 181.
79. *Dictionary of the Irish Language*, s.v. *Dlíged* in early Irish has also been translated as "right, entitlement, obligation"; e.g., T.M. Charles-Edwards, "Early Irish Law," in *A New History of Ireland I, Prehistoric and Early Ireland*, ed. Dáibhí Ó Cróinín (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 367 [331–70].

80. Daniel A. Binchy, *Corpus Iuris*, 2:345; Hancock, *Ancient Laws of Ireland*, 1:37.
81. See Farrell, *Free Choice*, pp. 195–228.
82. See Jane Stevenson, “Altus Prosator,” *Celtica* 23 (1999): 326–68. Stevenson dates the poem to the late seventh century.
83. *Ibid.*, pp. 353–54. Alan Orr Anderson and Marjorie Ogilvie Anderson, eds., *Adomnán’s Life of Columba*, Oxford Medieval Texts, rev. edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), p. xxxvi.
84. *Pseudo-Dionysius, the Complete Works*, Classics of Western Spirituality, trans. Colm Luibheid (New York: Paulist Press, 1987), pp. 187–88.
85. While the *Libri Carolini* responded to a mistranslation of Greek conciliar statements, its emphases marked an aesthetic disaffection of West from East. On Dungal, see C. Leonardi, “Gli irlandesi in Italia: Dungal e la controversia iconoclastica,” in *Die Iren und Europa im früheren Mittelalter*, Veröffentlichungen des Europa Zentrums Tübingen, ed. H. Löwe, 2 vols (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1982), 2: 746–57.
86. I.22, p. 65, of Francis MacGinty’s edition and translation of the long recension of *De Mirabilibus*.
87. III.9–10; Francis MacGinty edition, p. 168.
88. See Carey, *A Single Ray*, pp. 50–51, in which he explains this interpretive difference from Marina Smyth, who *contra* Carey sees the Irish Augustine’s cosmology in its deep structure as a lacuna-laden imitation of the African doctor, based probably on an incomplete source text [*Understanding the Universe in Seventh-Century Ireland*, Studies in Celtic History 15 (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 1996), pp. 44–45].
89. Augustine’s terms included *rationes*, *aeternae rationes*, *superiores rationes*, for eternal reasons, and *causales rationes*, *rationes seminales*, *causae*, *rationes*, *rationes primordiales* for causal reasons.
90. For an index to these terms, see St. *Augustine, the Literal Meaning of Genesis, vol. 1*, Ancient Christian Writers 41, translated by John Hammond Taylor (New York: Newman Press, 1982), p. 253, note 67.
91. Marina Smyth, “The Physical World in Seventh-Century Hiberno-Latin Text,” *Peritia* 5 (1986): 214 [201–34], speaking of Augustine’s *rationes seminales* in the *De genesi*: “Very roughly, one could think of this interesting offshoot of the Stoic *spermatikoi logoi* as a sort of computer programme for the properties, and eventually the reproduction, of each creature.” Eriugena uses the term *ratio* in terms of “‘causes’ of the places we now experience” [L. Michael Harrington, *Sacred Place in Early Medieval Neoplatonism*, The New Middle Ages (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), p. 150] in his *Periphyseon* (V; PL 122, 888B, 906A; trans. Sheldon-Williams with O’Meara, *Periphyseon (The Division of Nature)*, Cahiers d’études médiévales, Cahier spécial 3 (Montreal: Éditions Bellarmin and Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1987), p. 556 and 576]. This is part of his overall description of the world as a series of theophanies in which God is directly though not essentially revealed (III; PL 122, 683A–B; trans. Sheldon-Williams and O’Meara, 310). An example of a contrasting Greek patristic viewpoint to the Augustinian “double creation” emphasis can be found in the two homilies now believed to be Basil’s unfinished additions to his *Hexaemeron*: Harrison, *On the Human Condition*, pp. 31–64.
92. Eriugena, *Periphyseon*, III.9, PL 642A, trans. Sheldon-Williams with O’Meara (Montreal, 1987), p. 260.
93. Eriugena, *Periphyseon*, III.8, PL 640C–D. The teacher is here claiming to be synthesizing Augustine, though as usual with a twist; trans. Sheldon-Williams and O’Meara, p. 259.

94. Eriugena, *Periphyseon*, III.3, PL 630B–C; translated by Sheldon-Williams and O’Meara, pp. 246–47.
95. See *Periphyseon*, III.18–40; the differences from Augustine’s emphasis on a double creation narrative hinging on Eriugena’s stress on the theophanic nature of creation.
96. See Luigi Alici’s discussion of Augustine’s sea imagery in “Sign and Language,” in *Augustine, De Doctrina Christiana*, The Works of St. Augustine: a Translation for the 21st Century, trans. Edmund Hill (Hyde Park, NY: New City Press, 1996), pp. 28–29 [28–53]; Gregory in his *Moralia in Job*, XVII.21, on Job 26.5 (*Morals on the Book of Job by S. Gregory the Great*, A Library of Fathers of the Holy Catholic Church, 3 vols., trans. John Henry Parker, 2:299), and also discussion in Édouard Jauneau, “Le Symbolisme de la Mer chez Jean Scot Érigène,” in *Études érigéniennes* (Paris, Études Augustiniennes, 1987), pp. 293–94 [289–296]. Ambrose compares man to a fish in his *Hexameron* exegesis (6.15), and the gospel to a sea (7.17), and gives an idyllic description of the sea as refuge while describing the story of Jonah (11.24); see *Saint Ambrose: Hexameron, Paradise, and Cain and Abel*, The Fathers of the Church, vol. 42, trans. John J. Savage (New York: Fathers of the Church, 1961). Augustine, who saw the biblical waters primarily in figurative terms, emphasized in his hermeneutics the understanding of Christ through the Scriptures, whereas Maximus exemplified understanding the Scriptures through Christ (and beyond the Scriptures, created nature); see Thomas Finan, “St. Augustine on the “mira profunditas” of Scripture,” in *Scriptural Interpretation in the Fathers: Letter and Spirit*, ed. Finan and Vincent Twomey (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1995), p. 168 [163–199]; and Nicholas Madden, “Maximus Confessor,” in the same collection, p. 141 [119–41]. For Columbanus on the sea as analogous to the mystery of the Trinity, see *Sancti Columbani Opera*, 1.4, p. 65.
97. Alici, “Sign and Language,” pp. 28–29.
98. Ephrem the Syrian, *Hymns on Paradise*, trans. Sebastian Brock (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 1997), 54; Hymn 1.6–7, pp. 79–80. The fourth-century Syrian “proto-monasticism” of which Ephrem was likely a part shows some analogues to the large monastic communities of early Ireland in their inclusion of “monastic laity,” who for Stancliffe formed a demographic basis for the concept of *glasmartre*. For discussion on Syrian proto-monasticism, with its emphasis on “interpenetration of the physical and the spiritual worlds,” see Sebastian Brock, ed., *The Syriac Fathers on Prayer and the Spiritual Life* (Kalamazoo MI: Cistercian Publications, 1987), pp. xxi–xxxii.
99. Written perhaps as early as ca. 800, see *Navigatio Sancti Brendani Abbatis*, ed. Carl Selmer (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1959). The building of the boat is related in chapter four, trans. John J. O’Meara, *The Voyage of Saint Brendan: Journey to the Promised Land* (1976, repr. Mountrath and New York, 1982), p. 8.
100. Gregory of Sinai, *Discourse on the Transfiguration*, ed. David Balfour (Athens: Theologia, 1982), pp. 44–45.
101. Columbanus, Sermon 11; trans. Oliver Davies, *Celtic Spirituality*, p. 358.
102. Clancy and Markus, *Iona*, p. 201.
103. From the eleventh-century manuscript *Lebor na hUidre*, though probably an earlier text. R.I. Best and O.J. Bergin, eds., *Lebor na Huidre: Book of the Dum Cow* (Dublin, 1929), ll. 307–310. Trans. Gerard Murphy, *Early Irish Lyrics* (1956; repr. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1998), p. 65.

104. Mikhailova, "What Colour was Saint Colum Cille's Eye?"
105. Staniloae, *Orthodox Spirituality*, p. 209. Basil of Caesarea used similar terminology in Greek; see chapter nine of his *On the Holy Spirit*, SC 17 bis, second edn, pp. 326–28; trans Harrison in *On the Human Condition*, pp. 20–21.
106. Brock, ed., *The Syriac Fathers on Prayer and the Spiritual Life*, p. xxviii.
107. St. Ephrem, *Hymns on the Church*, XXIX.9, trans. Sebastian Brock, *The Luminous Eye: The Spiritual World Vision of St. Ephrem* (Rome: C.I.I.S., 1985), pp. 52–60.
108. See chapter six.
109. For potential parallel aspects of Byzantine and Irish Sovereignty, see Dean A. Miller, "Byzantine Sovereignities and Feminine Potencies," in *Women and Sovereignty*, ed. Louise Olga Fradenburg (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1992), pp. 250–63. Also see the perhaps seventh-century Irish "Ultán's Hymn," in which St. Brigit, whose traditions seem to relate to those of the pre-Christian fertility goddess Brig, is called Jesus' mother, reflecting traditions of Brigit as Jesus' nurse (Stokes and Strachan, *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus*, 2:323–26). Devotions to Mary from early Insular contexts are distinctively early for surviving evidence, and include some of the first extant visual depictions of Mary, in the Book of Kells and in St. Martin's Cross at Iona and St. Cuthbert's Coffin from Lindisfarne. Ann Buckley, "Music in Ireland to c. 1500," in *A New History of Ireland I, Prehistoric and Early Ireland* ed. Dáibhí Ó Cróinín (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 781 and note 98 [744–813]; Michael O'Carroll, "Our Lady in Early Medieval Ireland," in *Seanchas, Studies in Early and Medieval Irish Archaeology, History and Literature in Honour of Francis J. Byrne*, ed. Alfred P. Smyth (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2000), p. 181 [178–181].
110. John Chrysostom, *Homilies on the Epistle to the Hebrews*, par. 3; trans. Frederic Gardiner, in *Nicene and Post Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, First Series 14. (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1978), pp. 419.
111. Augustine, *In Iohannis epistulam ad Parthos Tractatus*, 2.10; trans. James Innes, in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, First Series 7 (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1974), p. 473.
112. Carey, "Aerial Ships and Underwater Monasteries"; Woods, "On 'Ships in the Air'"; Micael Ross, "Anchors in a Three-Decker World," *Folklore* 109 (1998): 63–75.

## 5 A Cosmic Imaginarium

For recent discussion on the river episode mentioned in the caption for the figure at the start of the chapter, however, see Joseph F. Nagy, "The Rising of the *Cronn* River in the *Táin Bó Cúailgne*," in *Celtica Helsingiensia. Proceedings from a Symposium on Celtic Studies*, Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum 107, ed. Anders Ahlqvist et al. (Helsinki: Societas Scientiarum Fennica, 1996), pp. 129–48. Thanks to Phillip Bernhardt-House for this reference.

1. Francesco Benozzo, *Landscape Perception in Early Celtic Literature* (Aberystwyth, UK: Celtic Studies Publications, 2004), pp. 145–46.
2. Thomas Kinsella, trans., *The Táin* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970), p. xiii.
3. Benozzo, *Landscape Perception in Early Celtic Literature*, p. 185. Metonymy retains paradoxical identification, an intertwining of discontinuity and continuity, Eelco Runia notes in "Presence," *History and Theory* 45 (2006): 1 [1–29]. Early

medieval Christian iconography provides a model for “framing” the visual experience of such metonymy across boundaries of image and word, in a way that emphasizes Runia’s “absence of presence” with a “partial but meaningful presence” nonetheless [Glenn Peers, *Sacred Shock, Framing Visual Experience in Byzantium* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2004), p. 2]. I am grateful for very helpful conversations with both Dr. Proinsias Ó Drisceoil, Kilkenny Vocational Education Committee arts officer, and Dr. Máire Ní Annracháin of the National University of Ireland, Maynooth, on early Irish metonymy.

4. Paul E. Szarmach, “*The Dream of the Rood* as Ekphrasis,” in *Text, Image, Interpretation: Studies in Anglo-Saxon Literature and its Insular Context in Honour of Éamonn Ó Carragáin*, Studies in the Early Middle Ages 18, ed. Alastair Minnis and Jane Roberts (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishing, 2007), pp. 267–288. Szarmach surveys Augustinian and Gregorian visual theory in relation to the Anglo-Saxon poem *The Dream of the Rood*, a poem whose ekphratic function, as he notes, nonetheless somewhat escapes from emerging conventional visual theory of the medieval Latin West. This will be discussed further in chapter six.
5. Gregory Toner, “The Ulster Cycle: Historiography or Fiction?,” *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies* 40 (2000): 6 [1–20].
6. Runia, “Presence,” p. 1.
7. Ann Dooley provides a very helpful analysis of patterning of place names on the cattle raid, noting difficulties with them, particularly in the Second Recension, in which they seem to become more detached from topography (though the raid in both main recensions still plays out on a fantasy-history landscape of the midlands, Ulster borderlands, and the Cooley peninsula). See Dooley, *Playing the Hero: Reading the Irish Saga Táin Bó Cúailgne* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), pp. 45–47. James Carney argued for a probable seventh-century origin of the core story of the *Táin* in part on the basis of traditional association of the early-seventh-century poet Senchán Torpéist with assembly of the main narrative. Such a time period for its composition would coincide, Carney argued, with assembly of native laws in the face of Christianization. Carney, “Language and Literature to 1169,” in *A New History of Ireland I, Prehistoric and Early Ireland*, ed. Dáibhí Ó Cróinín (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 468 [451–510]. Carney also maintained that genealogical references to Ulster heroes living long before Christianity represent an older pre-Christian tradition regarding their *floruit*, altered by a narrative connecting their king, Conchobar mac Nessa, to the time of Christ; *ibid.*, p. 474.
8. T.M. Charles-Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 471. This historian’s quote parallels a passage in J.R.R. Tolkien’s fantasy history, itself reflecting indirectly the overlay landscape of the *side* [*The Lord of the Rings* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1994), p. 424]: “Do we walk in legends or on the green earth in the daylight?” “A man may do both... The green earth, say you? That is a mighty matter of legend, though you tread it under the light of day!”
9. Philip Goodchild, *Deleuze and Guattari: An Introduction to the Politics of Desire*, Theory, Culture & Society (London: SAGE Publications, 1996), pp. 84–86.
10. *Ibid.*, pp. 190, 187.
11. Gary Saul Morson, “Introductory Study: Dostoevsky’s Great Experiment,” in Dostoevsky, *A Writer’s Diary, vol. 1 1873–1876*, trans. Kenneth Lantz (Evanston IL: Northwestern University Press, 1997), p. 72 [1–117]; emphasis in the original.

12. Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 9–10.
13. On the rise of Christian icons in the late sixth and seventh centuries, with disruptions from the Iconoclasm controversy, see Averil Cameron, “The Language of Images: the Rise of Icons and Christian Representation,” reprinted in *The Church and the Arts*, Studies in Church History 28, ed. Diana Wood (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992), pp. 1–42. Iconography was related to landscape in the traditional relation of desert saints to wilderness; in sites and relics of the Holy Land; and in sacralization of Constantinople as the ecumenical Christian metropolis and city of the Theotokos, a type of urban-iconographic “ecosystem” different from Augustine’s vision of two distinct cities of man and heaven in a Rome that unlike Byzantium had already fallen to barbarians. The Cappadocian Basil the Great in his *Hexaemeron* perhaps first articulated in its specific terminology (developed from Pauline and gospel texts) the apophatic doctrine of the divine energies that underlies iconographic perspective: “We know the essence through the energy. No one has ever seen the essence of God, but we believe in the essence because we experience the energy” (quoted in Kallistos Ware, *The Orthodox Way* (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir’s Press, 1999), p. 22).
14. Tendentious issues related to dating the epic are summarized but not exhausted by Ruairi Ó hUiginn, “The Background and Development of *Táin Bó Cúailnge*,” in *Aspects of the Táin*, ed. J.P. Mallory (Belfast: December, 1992), pp. 29–67. A compilation of the importance of topographical and place-name detail to the work as a whole is found in Gene Clifford Haley, *The Topography of the Táin Bó Cúailnge*, unpublished PhD thesis (Cambridge MA: Harvard University, 1970).
15. 245b, lines 32879–900 in *The Book of Leinster, formerly Lebar na Núachongbála*, vol. 5, ed. R.I. Best and M.A. O’Brien (Dublin: Dublin Institute, 1967), p. 2, lines 1–29. [*The Book of Leinster, formerly Lebar na Núachongbála*, vol. 1, eds. R.I. Best, Osborn Bergin, M.A. O’Brien (Dublin: Dublin Institute, 1954); vol. 2–5, ed. R.I. Best and M.A. O’Brien (Dublin: Dublin Institute, 1956–67); vol. 6, ed. Annie O’Sullivan (Dublin: Dublin Institute, 1983).] Trans. Thomas Kinsella, *The Táin, Translated from the Irish Epic Táin Bó Cuailnge* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970), pp. 1–2.
16. See Tomás Ó Cathasaigh, “The Rhetoric of *Fingal Rónáin*,” *Celtica* 17 (1985): 144 [123–44]; and Anne Heinrichs, “‘Intertexture’ and its Functions in Early Written Sagas: A Stylistic Observation of *Heiðarvíga saga*, *Reykda saga* and the Legendary Olafssaga,” *Scandinavian Studies* 48 (1976): 127 [127–45].
17. Peter Brown, review of Suzanne Conklin Akbari’s *Seeing through the Veil: Optical Theory and Medieval Allegory* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), in *Speculum* 81 (2006): 463–64 at 464.
18. Mikhail Bakhtin, “Author and Hero in Aesthetic Activity,” in *Art and Answerability: Early Philosophical Essays by M.M. Bakhtin*, ed. Michael Holquist and Vadim Liapunov, trans. Vadim Liapunov (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990), p. 56 [4–256].
19. See Doris Edel, “The *Táin Bó Cúailnge* between orality and literacy,” in her *The Celtic West and Europe, Studies in Celtic Literature and the Early Irish Church* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2001), p. 218 [216–26].
20. Hildegard L.C. Tristram, “Latin and Latin Learning in the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*,” *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* 49–50 (1997–98): 847–77; “What is the Purpose of *Táin Bó Cúailnge*?” in *Ulidia, Proceedings of the First International Conference on the Ulster Cycle of Tales*, ed. J.P. Mallory and G. Stockman (Belfast: December Publications, 1994), pp. 11–21.

21. *Lebor na hUidre, Book of the Dun Cow*, ed. Best and Osborn, reprint (1929; repr. Dublin: Dublin Institute, 1970).
22. For discussion of the Cycle's high-gravity pull on other tales, see Jeffrey Gantz's introductory comments to his translation of the tales, *Early Irish Myths and Sagas* (London: Penguin, 1981).
23. Wallace Stevens, "Thirteen Ways of Looking at a Blackbird," in *Collected Poetry and Prose*, ed. Frank Kermode and Joan Richardson (New York: Library of America, 1997), pp. 74–76.
24. Of uncertain date, though Tom Peete Cross and Clark Harris Slover say the *Óenét Emire* component of the text may date to the eighth century in earliest form; *Ancient Irish Tales* (1936; repr. New York: Barnes and Noble, 1996), p. 153. The earliest extant version of the text is in the twelfth-century *Lebor na hUidre*.
25. *Serglige Con Culainn*, ed. Myles Dillon (Dublin: Dublin Institute, 1953), paragraph 33, pp. 17–18, and lines 541 and 558, p. 19; trans. Jeffrey Gantz, *Early Irish Myths and Sagas*, pp. 167–68, 170.
26. Annemarie Weyl Carr, "Images: Expressions of Faith and Power," in *Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261–1557)*, ed. Helen C. Evans (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2004), p. 150 [143–152].
27. *Ibid.*, p. 151.
28. *Ibid.*, p. 150.
29. *Ibid.*, p. 144.
30. Mary Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 136–137.
31. *Ibid.*, p. 333, note 46.
32. Theories of optical extramission and intromission were often mixed and ill-defined; see David C. Lindberg, *Theories of Vision from Al-Kindi to Kepler*, *The Chicago History of Science and Medicine* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976). The iconographic extramission described here also parallels more modern views of "intromission": the gaze does not reside in the object for the iconographic viewer. See Robert S. Nelson, "To Say and to See, Visuality Before and Beyond the Renaissance" and Michael Camille, "Before the Gaze, The Internal Senses and Late Medieval Practices of Seeing," both in *Visuality Before and Beyond the Renaissance, Seeing as Others Saw*, ed. Robert S. Nelson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 143–68 and 197–223, respectively.
33. James R. Payton, Jr., "John of Damascus on Human Cognition: An Element in His Apologetic for Icons," *Church History* 65 (1996): 180–1 [173–83].
34. Eriugena, *Periphyseon* IV.24, PL 122:854A; *Periphyseon (The Division of Nature)*, Cahiers d'études médiévales, Cahier spécial 3, trans. I.P. Sheldon-Williams with John J. O'Meara (Montreal: Éditions Bellarmin and Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1987), pp. 514–15.
35. Akbari, *Seeing through the Veil*, pp. 23–24. The discussion of medieval visual theory and its philosophical backgrounds in the first two chapters of this work are helpful background to this discussion, although oriented toward the high and later medieval eras.
36. *Ibid.*, p. 5.
37. On Augustine's visual theory, see *ibid.*, pp. 27–28.
38. Jás Elsner, "Between Mimesis and Divine Power: Visuality in the Greco-Roman World," in *Visuality Before and Beyond the Renaissance, Seeing as Others Saw*, ed.

- Robert S. Nelson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 61 [45–69]; emphasis in the original.
39. Hilary Richardson, “Visual Arts and Society,” in *A New History of Ireland I, Prehistoric and Early Ireland*, ed. Dáibhí Ó Cróinín (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 691 [680–713].
  40. On monasticism as rhetoric see Jean Leclercq, *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God, A Study of Monastic Culture*, trans. Catherine Misrahi, third edn (New York: Fordham University Press, 1982); and Conrad Leyser, “*Lectio Divina, Oratio Pura*: Rhetoric and the Techniques of Asceticism in the *Conferences* of John Cassian,” in *Modelli di santità e modelli di comportamento*, ed. Giulia Barone, Marina Caffiero, and Francesco Scorza Barcellona (Torino, Italy: Rosenberg and Salles, 1994), pp. 79–105.
  41. Nelson, “To Say and to See, Ekphrasis and Vision in Byzantium,” pp. 158–59 [143–68].
  42. See chapter two here for discussion of Étaín’s transformations in *Tochmarc Étaíne*.
  43. *Togail Bruidne Da Derga*, Medieval and Modern Irish Series 8, ed. Eleanor Knott (Dublin: Dublin Institute, 1936), § 1; repr. 1963, 1975; repr. by CELT: The Corpus of Electronic Texts (Cork: University College Cork), at <http://www.ucc.ie/celt/published/G301017/index.html> [accessed March 5, 2007]. The story is found in manuscripts including the Lebor na hUidre and the Yellow Book of Lecan.
  44. “*Togail Bruidne Dá Derga*, The Destruction of Dá Derga’s Hostel,” § 1, in *The Celtic Heroic Age: Literary Sources for Ancient Celtic Europe and Early Ireland and Wales*, fourth edn, ed. John T. Koch with John Carey (Aberystwyth, UK: Celtic Studies Publications, 2003), p. 166.
  45. *Táin Bó Cúailnge: Recension I*, ed. Cecile O’Rahilly (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1987), pp. 68–69, ll. 2245–2278.
  46. *Táin Bó Cúailnge*, ed. Cecile O’Rahilly (Dublin: Dublin Institute, 1987), p. 187.
  47. Damianos, “The Icon as a Ladder of Divine Ascent in Form and Color,” in *Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261–1557)*, ed. Helen C. Evans (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2004), p. 336 [385–90].
  48. *Ibid.*, p. 339.
  49. Eunice Dauterman Maguire and Harry Maguire, *Other Icons: Art and Power in Byzantine Secular Culture* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006).
  50. See chapter two, and Vladimir Lossky, *The Mystical Theology of the Eastern Church*. 1944, trans. Fellowship of St. Alban and St. Sergius (Crestwood, NY, 1976), p. 96.
  51. See Richardson, “Visual Arts and Society,” pp. 708–12, for a survey of different phases of Irish Sea figurative art as expressed on stone crosses.
  52. John Cassian, *Conlationes* XIV.4.1, in *The Conferences*, Ancient Christian Writers 57, trans. Boniface Ramsey (Mahway, NJ: Newman Press, 1997), p. 506.
  53. Richardson, “Visual Arts and Society,” p. 687.
  54. Carruthers, *Craft of Thought*, p. 271.
  55. James H. Billington, *The Face of Russia* (New York: TV Books, 1999), p. 50.
  56. Kathleen Hughes, “The Golden Age of Early Christian Ireland,” in *The Course of Irish History*, ed. T.W. Moody and F.X. Martin, rev. edn (Lanham, MD: Roberts Rinehart, 1995), pp. 76–90, at 86.
  57. This point is made by Oliver Sacks in his article “Stereo Sue” in *The New Yorker* magazine [(June 19, 2006): 64–73], which also cites similar views by Cornell University paleobiologist John Cisne.

58. Paul the Silentiary, *Description of Hagia Sophia*, ll. 617–46, trans. Cyril Mango, *Art of the Byzantine Empire* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1972), pp. 85–86.
59. *Ibid.*, ll. 647–54, 617–46; trans. Mango, *Art of the Byzantine Empire*, pp. 84–85.
60. James Trilling, “The Image Not Made by Hands and the Byzantine Way of Seeing,” in *The Holy Face and the Paradox of Representation: Papers from a Colloquium held at the Bibliotecha Hertziana, Rome and the Villa Spelman, Florence, 1998*, Villa Spelman Colloquia 6 (Bologna: Nuova Alfa Editoriale, 1998), pp. 125–26 [109–27]. Vincent Scully [in *Architectural, the Natural and the Manmade* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1991)] created a different emphasis in his interpretation of the Hagia Sophia and nature in a grand narrative of Platonism separating humanity and the physical world almost from the start of Western culture. Yet he arguably failed to appreciate the dynamic bodily (and cosmopolitan “non-Western”) distinctiveness of early Christian ascetic spatial practice.
61. See, e.g., the description by Carruthers, *Craft of Thought*, of ekphrasis-style writing by Augustine, Gregory the Great, Hugh of St. Victor and also the Carolingian Plan of St. Gall, p. 241, and following.
62. Trilling, “The Image Not Made by Hands,” pp. 121–22.
63. “The Meaning and Language of Icons,” in Leonid Ouspensky and Vladimir Lossky, *The Meaning of Icons* (Yonkers, NY: St. Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 1999), pp. 23–50, at 40–41.
64. *De Trinitate*, VIII.iv, Corpus Christianorum, series Latina, L (Turnholt, Bel.: Brepols, 1968), pp. 275–76; trans. Gilbert Dagron, “Holy Images and Likeness,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 45 (1991): 24 [23–33].
65. Dagron, “Holy Images and Likeness,” p. 26.
66. Barbara Raw, *Trinity and Incarnation in Anglo-Saxon Art and Thought*, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England 21 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 92; 94–95.
67. See, e.g., the discussion of Archetype in St. Gregory of Nyssa, *On the Making of Man*, XVI, in *The Nicene and Post-Nicene Church Fathers*, 1892, Series 2, vol. 5, trans. Henry Wace (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1994), pp. 404–406. Following the Greek, exegetes of the patristic era often referred to people as made “after the image of God,” the image being Christ.
68. John of Damascus, *On the Divine Images*, III.23; trans. Andrew Louth, *Three Treatises on the Divine Images* (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 2003), p. 99.
69. *Conlationes* IX and X; *The Conferences*, trans. Ramsey, pp. 323–393; Carruthers, *Craft of Thought*, p. 176.
70. *Conlationes* I.18 and XIV.13; *The Conferences*, trans. Ramsey, pp. 57 and 517–18. Cassian also compared the process to the work of money changers trading values across cultural-religious systems.
71. *Conlationes* I.15; translation from G.E.H. Palmer, Philip Sherrard, and Kallistos Ware, *The Philokalia, the Complete Text Compiled by St. Nikodimos of the Holy Mountain*, 4 vols (London: Faber and Faber, 1979), 1: 96–97.
72. *Conlationes* XIV; Ramsey, *Conferences*, pp. 499–532; see discussion in Carruthers, *Craft of Thought*, pp. 90–91, 95.
73. *Conlationes* X.3 and 10.1–3; trans. Ramsey, *Conferences*, pp. 372–73, 378–79; Elizabeth A. Clark, *The Origenist Controversy, The Cultural Construction of an Early Christian Debate* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992), pp. 66, 69–70.

74. Such apophatic metonymy also is equivalent rhetorically to the mystagogy that Édouard Jeuneau has described as a master trope in Eriugena's philosophical view of art as initiation into mystery. That view emerges from St. Paul's description of incarnational mimesis, I Cor. 11.1 and Eph. 5.1 ["De l'art comme mystagogie (Le Jugement dernier vu par Érigène)," in *De l'art comme mystagogie. Jugement dernier et des fins dernières* à l'époque gothique; actes du colloque de la Fondation Hardt tenu à Genève du 13 au 16 février 1994, ed. Yves Christe (Poitiers: Centre d'Études Supérieures de Civilisation Médiévale, 1996), pp. 1–8]. Jeuneau relates Eriugena's views to the illustrations of the *Codex Aureus* of Saint-Emmeram, which Michel Herren in turn has sought to relate to the Palatine Church of St. Mary at Compiègne ["Eriugena's 'Aulae Sidereae' the 'Codex Aureus,' and the Palatine Church of St. Mary at Compiègne," *Studi Medievali* 28(2) (December 1987): 593–608]. The codex features in one famous illustration the Lamb of God, a type of nonhuman symbolism for Christ condemned by the Quinisextum Constantinopolitan synod. Gerhart B. Ladner, "The Concept of the Image in the Greek Fathers and the Byzantine Iconographic Controversy," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 7 (1953): 19 [1–34], though verses related to Eriugena's work are found in it at a mandorla image of Christ.
75. On the emphasis on experiential versus visionary in the Macarian brand of apophatic asceticism, see George A. Maloney, ed., *Pseudo-Macarius, The Fifty Spiritual Homilies and the Great Letter*, The Classics of Western Spirituality (New York: Paulist Press, 1992), p. 2. Maloney notes how Cassian borrows from Macarius' teachings on perfection and gifts of the Holy Spirit, p. 23.
76. Peter Brown's valuable and influential theory on the "hominization" of the natural world in Late Classical and Early Medieval art and worldviews fails to take into account sufficiently the significance of this complex of ideas and themes in early medieval Greek and Syriac Christianity, together with analogues in early Irish Christian culture. Brown suggests a cultural shift "from participation to vision" in the emergence by the end of the sixth century of an opaque sense of words and images as not representing this world even transformatively, but providing a glimpse of the invisible world beyond, or "worlds inhabited by the holy dead, made present on earth" ["Images as a Substitute for Writing," in *East and West: Modes of Communication, Proceedings of the First Plenary Conference at Merida 1994 (Programme on the Transformation of the Roman World)*, ed. Evangelos Chrysos and Ian Wood (Leiden, Neth.: Brill, 1999), pp. 15–34 at 15]. Brown's observation does not fully explain the distinctive iconographic landscapes of early Insular narratives and art, or nuance what Herbert L. Kessler terms the Byzantine sense that "the icon was transparent, a window onto the higher reality," *contra* the developing Augustinian focus on the function of a material Christian image as arousing interior emotion and thus stimulating direct vision of the divine ([*Spiritual Seeing: Picturing God's Invisibility in Medieval Art* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), p. 124]. The iconographic "window" involves the transfigured physical as cosmic portal or fractal mirror. Kessler reads the sixth-century apse mosaic at Sant' Apollinaire in Classe outside Ravenna more in the context of Brown's model (p. 113) than in relation to non-Augustinian spatial practice; compare Kallistos Ware's far different reading, based in Greek tradition, in "Healing Our Damaged World," *In Communion*, fall 2006, <http://incommunion.org/articles/essays/healing-our-damaged-world>. Relating Brown's theory of "localization" more fully to hominization would be helpful with regard to Irish Sea cultures [*The Cult of Saints* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), pp. 86–88].

77. Scenery and sites generously commented on, in private conversation, by Donnchaid Ó Corráin.
78. Augustine, *De Doctrina Christiana*, II.40.60.4–27, CCSL 32, 73–74.
79. Carruthers, *Craft of Thought*, 243.
80. John Cassian, *Conlationes* I.18, XIV.13; *The Conferences*, trans. Ramsey, pp. 57, 517–18.
81. Basil of Caesarea, “To Young Men, on How They Might Derive Profit from Pagan Literature,” in *The Letters IV*, Loeb Classical Library 270, trans. Roy J. Deferrari (London: William Heinemann, 1970), p. 391.
82. Margaret E. Goldsmith, *The Mode and Meaning of Beowulf* (London: Athlone Press, 1970), p. 33.
83. Julia Kristeva, *Revolution in Poetic Language*, trans. Margaret Waller (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984), pp. 164, 211.
84. Julia Kristeva, “Holbein’s Dead Christ,” in *Black Sun, Depression and Melancholia*, trans. Leon S. Roudiez (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989), p. 132 [107–38].
85. Basil of Caesarea, *Hexaemeron* 1.2 and 5.2, quoted in John Chryssavgis, *Beyond the Shattered Image* (Minneapolis, MN: Light & Life Publishing, 1999), p. 181.
86. Trilling, “The Image Not Made by Hands.”
87. Thomas O’Loughlin, “The Tombs of the Saints: Their Significance for Adomnán,” in *Studies in Irish Hagiography: Saints and Scholars*, ed. John Carey, Máire Herbert, and Pádraig Ó Riain (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2001), p. 3 [1–14].
88. Thomas O’Loughlin, “The Exegetical Purpose of Adomnán’s *De Locis Sanctis*,” *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies* 24 (Winter 1992): 40 [37–53].
89. *Conlationes*, 14.8.4; *The Conferences*, trans. Ramsey, p. 510.
90. Lisa M. Bitel, “Ekphrasis at Kildare: The Imaginative Architecture of a Seventh-Century Hagiographer,” *Speculum* 79 (2004): 605–27.

## 6 Archipelago and Empire

1. Picking up on a term used dismissively by Terry Eagleton, whose view of the archaic nature of the concept was taken to task by Eileen A. Joy and Mary K. Ramsey in “Liquid Beowulf,” their introduction to *The Postmodern Beowulf*, ed. Joy and Ramsey (Morgantown, WV: West Virginia University Press, 2007), pp. xxix–lxxvii, at xxxi–xxxii. T.M. Charles-Edwards cites the example of the Irish provinces: “long-enduring entities fortified by a great accumulation of common loyalties, common traditions and common conceptions of the shape of their world” [*Early Christian Ireland*, *The Cambridge History of Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 15].
2. Debra A. Cottrell, “The Semiotics of Conception, Construction and Use in the Delaware Indian Big House,” [www.connerprairie.org/HistoryOnline/bighouse.html](http://www.connerprairie.org/HistoryOnline/bighouse.html).
3. Charles D. Wright, “The Irish ‘Enumerative Style’ in Old English Homiletic Literature, Especially Vercelli Homily IX,” *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies* 18 (1989): 56 [27–74].
4. Eph. 1.10.
5. John M. Hill, *The Cultural World in Beowulf*, *Anthropological Horizons* 6 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), p. 4, 5. Jennifer Neville’s observation that “on a basic level the Anglo-Saxons did not have a word or expression for the modern conception of the natural world because they did not conceive of an

- entity defined by the supernatural” (despite an Old English otherworldly lexicon) relates to how the mead hall symbolizes universal space emanating from human interiority [*Representations of the Natural World in Old English Poetry*, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England 27 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 2–3]. See also Alaric Hall, *Elves in Anglo-Saxon England, Matters of Belief, Health, Gender and Identity*, Anglo-Saxon Studies 8 (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 2007), pp. 11–12.
6. Peter Dronke’s *Imagination in the Late Pagan and Early Christian World: The First Nine Centuries A.D.* Millennio Medievale 42, Strumenti e Studi, n.s. 4 (Florence: SISMEL, Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2003) deals definitively with these issues in early Christian aesthetics, especially his chapters on sea imagery and earthly paradises. Eriugenan-Otherworld views of nature are best understood in light of Dronke’s thesis of a late-Classical/early medieval cultural arc, not attempts to synthesize late-medieval views with science from modernist standpoints [as in Pierre Teilhard de Chardin, *The Phenomenon of Man* (New York: Harper Perennial, 1976)].
  7. By contrast, hostels in early Irish stories tend to be more open to external worlds, not resisting relations with otherworldly landscape. And the “house of iron” motif encountered in some early Celtic stories (the Irish *Mesca Ulad* and the Second Branch of the Welsh *Mabinogi*) seems to contrast an isolated structure with both the *side* and human community.
  8. Colin Ireland has highlighted possible Irish analogues of *The Seafarer* [“Some Analogues of the Old English *Seafarer* from Hiberno-Latin Sources,” reprinted in *The Otherworld Voyage in Early Irish Literature, An Anthology of Criticism*, ed. Jonathan M. Wooding (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2000), pp. 143–56]. The comparison here is with overall portrayal of human dwelling in nature. Sarah Lynn Higley, comparing Anglo-Saxon and Welsh poetry [*Between Languages: The Uncooperative Text in Early Welsh and Old English Nature Poetry* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1993), p. 14], notes how early Welsh tradition exhibits a greater tendency “to keep hidden rather than to make manifest. . . contrast this impulse in Welsh with the prevailing impulse in Old English—continually revealed in the elegies, the maxims and even the riddles—to explain, to clarify, to control, to preach.” But she does note in both Old English and early Welsh traditions a “vanishing” point of view in literary imagery, linguistic ambiguity, “the uncooperative text,” which she compares to semiotic communication contrasted by Kristeva with the linguistically symbolic. Comparing Eriugena’s treatment of the earlier Phoenix motif known from Lactantius/Claudian, with that of the anonymous Old English poem *Phoenix*, Dronke writes that to say that Eriugena’s treatment of the earthly Paradise in the motif “is allegorical would be to say too little. Rather, each detail becomes for him an imaginative illustration of his all-embracing vision of procession and return” (*Imagination in the Late Pagan and Early Christian World, The First Nine Centuries A.D.*, p. 131). The result is meta-allegorical and participatory, versus the Anglo-Saxon writer’s faux naturalism.
  9. This involves narratively a “contrapuntal variation” perhaps analogous also to antiphonal liturgical chanting in traditional Christian services. See Ann Buckley, “Music in Ireland to c. 1500,” in *A New History of Ireland I, Prehistoric and Early Ireland*, ed. Dáibhí Ó Cróinín (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 744–813. For “intertexture style,” a.k.a. “contrapuntal variation,” see Anne Heinrichs, “‘Intertexture’ and Its Functions in Early Written Sagas: A Stylistic Observation of *Heiðarvígga Saga*, *Reykðæla Saga* and the Legendary Olafssaga,” in *Scandinavian Studies* 48 (1976): 127 [127–45]. The “turning inside-out” of physical world

- through theme and contents of story-telling also reflects the paradox of Paul's "inner man" becoming cosmically connected with the Lord of Creation.
10. See Fabienne L. Michlet's discussion of Anglo-Saxon terminology for space, concluding that Old English spatial terms "designate a concrete and definite space," and quoting Nicholas Howe's observation that Anglo-Saxon land charters "speak of landscape as bounded, as contained by human-defined purposes" [*Creation, Migration, and Conquest: Imaginary Geography and Sense of Space in Old English Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 21]; and Nicholas Howe, "The Landscape of Anglo-Saxon England: Inherited, Invented, Imagined," in *Inventing Medieval Landscapes: Senses of Place in Western Europe*, ed. John Howe and Michael Wolfe (Tallahassee 2002), p. 102 [91–112]. See also Earl R. Anderson, "The Uncarpentered World of Old English Poetry," *Anglo-Saxon England* 20 (1991): 65–80.
  11. Walter Horn with Ernest Born, "On the Selected Use of Sacred Numbers, Toward a Medieval Aesthetic," 3 *Viator* 6 (1975): 378 [351–390, plus plates].
  12. Different temporalities occur also of course within stories-in-the-story of *Beowulf*, but they nonetheless more often subserve a mega-narrative of a more linear, hegemonically anthropocentric worldview. Two of the most prominent hostels in Irish stories are haunted places of otherworldly comeuppance (such as Da Derga's) or sorcery (such as Bricriu's) rather than centers to be defended as in *Beowulf* or the Guthlac *Vitae*. The hall of the Red Branch of the Ulster Heroes is at a mound complex, as are royal centers at Temair and Cruachan. Robert Folz, *The Concept of Empire in Western Europe from the Fifth to the Fourteenth Century*, trans. Sheila Ann Ogilvie (London: Edward Arnold, 1969), notes that the notion of national empire developed distinctively in Anglo-Saxon culture, while Charlemagne's regime developed a new concept of "the Church and the Empire welded together in one Western Christendom" (p. 25). See Luke Huber Wenger's *Hrabanus Maurus, Fulda and Carolingian Spirituality*, unpublished history PhD thesis (Harvard University, Cambridge, MA, 1973). Antonio Sennis has outlined a shift in Western European spatial thinking starting in the Carolingian era, though he does not account for cultural difference in the Irish Sea zone ["Narrating Places: Narrative and Space in Medieval Monasteries," in *People and Space in the Middle Ages, 300–1300, Studies in the Early Middle Ages* 15, ed. Wendy Davies, Guy Halsall, and Andrew Reynolds (Turnhout, Bel.: Brepols, 2006), pp. 275–94].
  13. Fabienne L. Michelet, *Creation, Migration, and Conquest* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 52, 62, 63.
  14. See, e.g., Virgil, *Eclogues* i.51–52; Loeb Classical Library, ed. H.R. Fairclough (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999), pp. 51–52.
  15. Derek Pearsall and Elizabeth Salter, *Landscapes and Seasons of the Medieval World* (London: Elek Books, 1973), p. 8; emphasis in the original.
  16. The triumph of this trend of what has been called political Augustinianism in Britain is seen in the feudal role imposed upon and assumed by Anglo-Norman monasteries in the twelfth century and afterward, paralleling development of the papacy itself as monarchy. See Kevin L. Shirley, *The Secular Jurisdiction of Monasteries in Anglo-Norman and Angevin England* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2004).
  17. Pearsall and Salter, *Landscapes and Seasons*, p. 14. This tendency has also been noted in the later Byzantine world, although in a cultural context still arguably less privileging of individual interiority [Henry Maguire, "Paradise Withdrawn," in *Image and Imagination in Byzantine Art*, Variorum Collected Study 866 (Aldershot, UK, and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 20–35].

18. Catherine A.M. Clarke, *Literary Landscapes and the Idea of England, 700–1400* (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell & Brewer, 2006).
19. Charles-Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland*, p. 585.
20. Nerys Patterson, *Cattle-Lords and Clansmen, the Social Structure of Early Ireland*, second edn (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994), pp. 107, 109, 113. Note the caution on Patterson's study earlier here in chapter one, endnote 118.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 109; Charles-Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland*, p. 22, notes: "The *mag* may be an island of dense settlement in the midst of thinly settled and less cultivated land."
22. Patterson, *Cattle-Lords and Clansmen*, p. 288. But in the early Irish tale *Fingal Rónán*, poetic allusion to cows by Echaíd's daughter can refer at once to a place-name of bovine origin, to actual cows, and to her own state, even as she refers to the tragic male hero Rónán as a hapless herdsman. [*Fingal Rónán and Other Stories*, Medieval and Modern Irish Series 16, ed. David Greene (1975; repr. Dublin: Dublin Institute, 1993), ll. 129–32, p. 7]. "The Kin-Slaying of Rónán," in *The Celtic Heroic Age: Literary Sources for Ancient Celtic Europe and Early Ireland and Wales*, trans. Máirín Ní Dhonnchadha, ed. John Koch with John Carey, fourth edn (Aberystwyth, UK: Celtic Studies Publications, 2003), p. 278 and note 19 [274–82].
23. *Familia* is defined by Charles-Edwards as indicating the people belonging to a saint's principal and affiliated churches, while *paruchia* focuses on lands and dependent churches of the primary church (*Early Christian Ireland*, p. 123), the latter in twentieth-century scholarship often held to be synonymous with federation. While recent scholarship has tended to downplay the strength of extraterritorial monastic networks, Charles-Edwards notes "a great saint could offer a powerful focus of unity, capable of helping to sustain a widely scattered people," in a kind of intra-territorial diaspora, as with the Fothairt and their scattered centers and churches devoted to St. Brigit (p. 14).
24. In Ireland, Armagh and Kildare, in relation to Canterbury in Kent.
25. Charles-Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland*, p. 13.
26. Charles-Edwards, "Introduction: Prehistoric and Early Ireland," pp. lxxix–lxxxii [lvii–lxxxii].
27. Dáibhí Ó Cróinín, *Early Medieval Ireland 400–1200* (London: Longman, 1995).
28. Michael J. Enright's recent reconstruction of "Celtic kingship theory" from the iconography of the Sutton Hoo scepter posits pre-Christian notions of cosmic kingship in Britain and Ireland that could have influenced literary elites in both islands (at least in an antiquarian sense as reimagined in texts such as the *Mabinogi*). In explicating early Irish accounts of Niall of the Nine Hostages and the goddess of sovereignty, Enright notes that the poetic version by Cuan Ó Lotcháin compares the goddess of the land to the sun, which provides the link for Enright between fertility and fire and metamorphosis that he sees in early Celtic cosmic kingship. Such a relationship parallels patristic Christian discussion of light, and the transmission of heat, as representing the diffusion of divine energies in nature: the *logoi* of the *Logos*, paralleling Enright's connection of fire with the words of truth of the goddess: "It is partly in the analysis of verbal exchanges that we see what the goddess of territorial fertility has to do with royal truth. Her monstrosity is a shell that is meant to be broken. No man could possibly sleep with her unless he could hear the ring of truth in her speech that contradicts the exterior evidence" [*The Sutton Hoo Sceptre and the Roots of Celtic Kingship Theory* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2006), p. 171].

29. Jaski, *Early Irish Kingship and Succession*. See also Charles Doherty, "Kingship in Early Ireland," in *The Kingship and Landscape of Tara*, ed. Edel Brheathnach (Dublin: Four Courts Press for The Discovery Programme, 2005), pp. 3–31.
30. Robin Chapman Stacey, *The Road to Judgment: From Custom to Court in Medieval Ireland and Wales* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994), pp. 226, 228. In contrast with the developing proprietary monarchies of Francia and the Anglo-Saxon realms, there arguably were more parallels between the symbolic role of Irish high kingship and the iconographic emperor of Byzantium (not to discount the on-the-ground ruthlessness of both). Both reflected in part what anthropologists noted in Southeast Asian kingship as anonymous sacred signs in a liminal space symbolically between the physical and ideal [Roy A. Rappaport, *Ritual and Religion in the Making of Identity*, Cambridge Studies in Social and Cultural Anthropology 110 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 332, citing Clifford Geertz]. Carey notes the ideal Irish king's "individuality is the symbolic embodiment of their [the people's] collective being" ("Ideal Kingship in Early Ireland," in *Monarchy*, ed. Carey (London: Temenos Academy, 2002) p. 58 [45–65]), rather than the people and the land being one of the king's two bodies as his proprietary self as in later Western European models. In Byzantine royal theory, "Every emperor is an image of God," wrote Theophylaktos of Ohrid to Nikephoros Melissenos, though significantly an image of the human nature of Christ: *Théophylacte d'Achrida, Lettres*, ed. P. Gautier (Thessalonica, 1986), 157.14–17, trans. Henry Maguire, in "The Heavenly Court," in *Byzantine Court Culture from 829 to 1204*, ed. Maguire (Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1997), p. 247 [247–258]. See also Michael Azkoul, "Saint Photios and the Filioque," in St. Photios, *On the Mystagogy of the Holy Spirit*, ed. Azkoul (Brookline MA, 1983), pp. 5–27; Máire Herbert, "Goddess and King: The Sacred Marriage in Early Ireland," in *Women and Sovereignty*, ed. Louise Olga Fradenburg (Edinburgh, 1992), pp. 265–75; and Dean A. Miller, "Byzantine Sovereignities and Feminine Potencies," in the same collection, pp. 250–63. Apparent "weak" kingship in Irish laws, its role shaped textually by the learned class in terms of protection of the culture, was in story focused on the "truth of the king"—wise counsel identified with words and the interests of the learned classes, implying a balance of human political and otherworldly concerns [see, e.g., *Scéla Éogáin 7 Comaic*, ed. Thomas Ó Cathasaigh, *The Heroic Biography of Cormac mac Airt* (Dublin: Dublin Institute, 1977), pp. 122–23]. Inaugurations (at least inside pre-Norman Ireland) seem not to have been conducted by clergy but symbolically represented ordination by the people, associated with royal sites such as Temair/Tara rather than crowns and anointing [Jaski, *Early Irish Kingship and Succession*, p. 60]. See also Charles-Edwards' discussion of Columba's reported blessing of a king of Dál Riata (*Early Christian Ireland*, pp. 360–61), and observation on an Irish canonical collection: "Early Irish kings were not crowned and, in spite of some interest in royal unction in the *Hibernensis*, they seem not to have been anointed either" (p. 481). There are potential reflections of earlier theological models as well. In the trinitarianism of Cappadocian-based theology, "the idea of divine-monarchy loses its political-theological character," even as that theology "altogether rejected the idea of a possible analogy between the earthly monarchy and divine sovereignty." [The first quoted phrase is from Erik Peterson, *Der Monotheismus als politisches Problem* (Leipzig: Jacob Hegner, 1935), p. 102, cited in György Geréby, "Carl Schmitt and Erik Peterson on Political Theology," in *Monotheistic Kingship, The Medieval Variants*, CEU Mediaevalia, ed. Aziz Al-Azmeh and János M. Bak

- (Budapest and New York: Central European University Press, 2004), p. 44]. The second is from Geréby, “Carl Schmitt and Erik Peterson,” p. 43.) The famous theory of the “king’s two bodies” in monarchy in the West “would have been utterly counterintuitive” in theology shaped by “a Cyrillian sharpening of the complete union in one hypostasis, but simultaneous identity preserved for the divine and the human natures of Christ,” the ruler being a cosmic icon of the human nature, not the divine (Geréby, “Carl Schmitt and Erik Peterson,” p. 59). Distinctions could even potentially go back in *longue durée* to pre-Christian cultural roots, given Roman accounts of Germanic tribes ruled by priest-kings, in contrast to Celtic tribes noted for distinct classes of kings and druid-priests.
31. This relates again to iconography. Averil Cameron notes that the latter’s rise was related to a crisis of authority in the Empire in the late sixth and seventh centuries, in which the church and specifically monasticism played increasingly important roles as sources of authority vis-à-vis a challenged imperium [“The Language of Images: the Rise of Icons and Christian Representation,” reprinted in *The Church and the Arts*, Studies in Church History 28, ed. Diana Wood (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992), pp. 1–42]. Icons “are an important element in a sign-system through which knowledge, no longer accessible in the old way, could still be reliably assessed” (p. 4). The crafted Irish landscape of continuity became an important texture from which to weave an iconography of words. It paralleled a posited differentiation of so-called Hibernian and Roman styles of Christian art. Such cultural competition has been suggested by T.M. Charles-Edwards in relation to illuminated manuscripts and architecture; it perhaps encouraged an aesthetic show-casing of native culture in a Christian context not at doctrinal odds with Rome (*Early Christian Ireland*, pp. 326–43).
  32. See also, on these different views of time and nature, Georgios I. Mantzaridis, *Time and Man*, trans. Julian Vulliamy (South Canaan, PA: St. Tikhon’s Seminary Press, 1996), p. 6, which references St. Basil the Great, *Hexaemeron* 1, 6, PG29, 13B. In paraphrasing Basil’s viewpoint, Mantzaridis writes, “The linear passage of time contains never-ending cycles of time which are an image of eternity.”
  33. Animal studies scholar Cary Wolfe describes the potential threat of a metonymic confusion to colonial domination as “the irreducible intrication of aesthetic representation and mimesis within sacrificial sociality” [*Animal Culture, the Discourse of Species, and Posthumanist Theory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), p. 117]. Such metonymic double-mimesis in early medieval Christian symbolism involves potentially subversive reciprocal synechdochal displacement: God/human, life/death, macrocosmic/microcosmic, universal/corporeal, Otherworld/everyday. Traditionalist writers on Christian iconography have argued that in iconographic art there is a late classical/early medieval fusion of simple stylized symbolism of the early persecuted church with Classical portraiture [John Maximovitch, “Concerning Iconography,” *Heritage* 1.1 (September 1968): 4–8], in effect melding art of the desert and of the cities of the East, which in Ireland was further layered by hybridities perhaps akin to magical realism in Latin America today.
  34. The development of alternate multiple temporalities narratively also perhaps parallels St. Columbanus’ Hiberno-Latin arguments for acceptance of varied cultural practices within Christianity (Charles-Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland*, p. 370).
  35. Harald Kleinschmidt, *Perception and Action in Medieval Europe* (Woodbridge, UK: The Boydell Press, 2005), p. 32; he describes “fundamentalist ethics enshrined

- in Augustine's work" at odds with "Eriugena's ethical theory [that] supported the conceptualization of action as process-related rather than goal oriented" (p. 138).
36. John V. Kelleher, "The *Táin* and the Annals," *Ériu* 22 (1971): 107–27 plus fold-out genealogy charts. David Dumville more recently cautioned about some of Kelleher's assumptions ["Ulster Heroes in the Early Irish Annals: A Caveat," *Éigse* 17 (1977), 47–54], noting that insertion of heroes into the annals comes perhaps as late as the eleventh century.
  37. Ann Dooley has also noticed, amid the fluidity of the text's various versions and scribal handlers, that glosses by one scribe (identified as M) of the First Recension suggest a possible provenance for that editor at Kells: *Playing the Hero: Reading the Irish Saga Táin Bó Cúailnge* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), pp. 45–47, and p. 227, note 27. She also observes that scribe H's interventions in the LU as a whole suggest an area constituent to Clonmacnois (pp. 98–99).
  38. Pádraig Ó Riain revised Kelleher's theory, moving the time of the composition slightly earlier in the ninth century, and in a different ecclesiastical-political context, though still related to possession of Armagh. His shifting the focus to a Connacht dynasty and its ecclesiastical allies is by the end less convincing than Kelleher's, considering association of Connacht with the origins of the Uí Néill, and the likely implications of this for the northern Uí Néill as a target of satire ["The Táin: A Clue to its Origins," in *Ulidia, Proceedings of the First International Conference on the Ulster Cycle of Tales*, ed. J.P. Mallory and G. Stockman (Belfast: December Publications, 1994), pp. 31–37]. For a current summary of theories on the origins and contexts of the *Táin*, see Dooley, *Playing the Hero*, p. 19.
  39. Westley Follett, *Céli Dé in Ireland, Monastic Writing and Identity in the Early Middle Ages*, Studies in Celtic History 23 (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 2006), p. 217. Charles-Edwards suggests a sharper differentiation of the movement from earlier monasticism in *Early Christian Ireland*, p. 7.
  40. Follett, *Céli Dé in Ireland*, p. 190, 195, 213.
  41. Benjamin Hudson, "Gaelic Princes and Gregorian Reform," in *Irish Sea Studies 900–1200* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2006), p. 215 [212–229].
  42. *Ibid.*, p. 220.
  43. Benjamin Hudson, "The Practical Hero," in *Irish Sea Studies 900–1200*, p. 141 [125–42].
  44. To further illustrate complexities of the local political situation in relation to the mantles of the old Ulaid and Patrick: The neighboring Dál nAraidi, also defeated by the Cénel Éogain ultimately, had come to claim to be the "true Ulaid" of yore in this period, but their local rivals the Dál Fiatach were associated with the Ulaid realm in the eighth and ninth centuries, evidencing strong connections with northern monastic centers at Bangor and Downpatrick, and through the latter with Patrician tradition (see, e.g., Charles-Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland*, pp. 65–67). Meanwhile the Airgíalla generally had become more and more closely associated with the Cenél nÉogain, despite disputes (p. 518).
  45. F.J. Byrne, "Church and Politics, c. 750–c. 1100," in *A New History of Ireland I, Prehistoric and Early Ireland*, ed. Dáibhí Ó Cróinín (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 675 [656–79].
  46. Hudson, "Gaelic Princes and Gregorian Reform," p. 215.
  47. Charles-Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland*, pp. 589–90; for Charles-Edwards' reconstruction and translation of "Chronicle of Ireland" Ur-annals, see his *The Chronicle of Ireland*, Translated Texts for Historians, vol. 44, 2 vols (Liverpool,

- UK: Liverpool University Press, 2005); for the ninth century see the first volume, which also lists editions and sources.
48. Kelleher, "The *Táin* and the Annals," p. 125.
  49. Perhaps accompanying social changes leading to the relative decline of the "free" men in the social system posited by F.J. O'Byrne by the eleventh century, with the Old Irish *airecht* assembly-court of those *airig* transforming more into a king's council in parallel with developments elsewhere in Europe ("Ireland and her Neighbours," p. 878). Byrne notes the apparent transformation of local kings and leaders into quasi-feudal hereditary lords by the twelfth century, following the earlier lead of the counts of the Carolingian courts.
  50. F.J. Byrne, "Ireland Before the Battle of Clontarf," in *A New History of Ireland I, Prehistoric and Early Ireland*, ed. Dáibhí Ó Cróinín (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 853 [52–61].
  51. Charles Edwards, "Introduction: Prehistoric and Early Ireland," p. lxiv.
  52. N.B. Aitchison, *Armagh and the Royal Centres in Early Medieval Ireland* (Woodbridge, UK: Cruithne/Boydell & Brewer, 1994), p. 169.
  53. Damian McManus, *A Guide to Ogam*, Maynooth Monographs 4 (Maynooth: An Sagart, 1991), pp. 36–39. There was also a fusing of words of divination and physical food, perhaps seen as a type of pagan typing of the Eucharist, most famously in the incident of Finn's thumb and the cooked salmon. Regarding divination through chewing flesh, *teinm láide*, see John Carey, trans., "The Boyhood Deeds of Finn," in *The Celtic Heroic Age*, p. 198 [194–201]. Regarding springtime foods at Samhain, p. 199, notes 22 and 23; see also Joseph Falaky Nagy, *The Wisdom of the Outlaw: The Boyhood Deeds of Finn in Gaelic Narrative Tradition* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), and John Carey, "The Three Things Required of a Poet," *Ériu* 48 (1997), 41–58. The reportedly ninth-century St. Euophrosynos the Cook is said to have provided his monastery with a branch of apples from Paradise, an explicitly Christian analogue to Irish narratives of otherworldly fruits. See Thomas Marretta, trans., "The Commemoration of the Venerable Euphrosynus," in *The Great Collection of the Lives of the Saints, vol. 1, September*, ed. St. Demetrius of Rostov (House Springs, MO: Chrysostom Press, 1994), pp. 223–26.
  54. The account in *Auraicept na nÉces* ("primer of poets"), originating perhaps in the late seventh century, sees Irish as formed from the best of every language, thus being close to the original language of Paradise [Anders Ahlquist, *The Early Irish linguist: An Edition of the Canonical Part of Auraicept na nÉces* (Helsinki: Societas Scientiarum Fennica, 1983), 1.13, p. 48].
  55. Kevin Murray, "The Role of the Cuilebad in Immram Snédgusa 7 Maic Riagla," in *The Otherworld Voyage in Early Irish Literature*, ed. Jonathan Wooding (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2000), pp. 187–93.
  56. Charles-Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland*, 106; see D. Binchy, ed., *Críth Gablach*, Medieval and Modern Irish Series (Dublin: Dublin Institute, 1941); trans. E. Mac Neill, "Ancient Irish Law: The Law of Status or Franchise," *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 36 C (1923): 265–316.
  57. As developed in a series of thorough but controversial studies by David Howlett, most recently *Muirchú Moccu Macthéni's "Vita Sancti Patricii" Life of Saint Patrick* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2006).
  58. "Having been instructed in this way [by the psalms], with our dispositions for our teachers, we shall grasp this [significance] as something seen rather than heard, and from the inner disposition of the heart we shall bring forth not what has been committed to memory but what is inborn in the very nature of things. Thus we

- shall penetrate its meaning not through the written text but with experience leading the way . . .” John Cassian, *Conlationes* 10.11.5 and 6; trans. Boniface Ramsey, *John Cassian: The Conferences*, Ancient Christian Writers 57 (New York: Newman Press, 1997), pp. 384–85.
59. *Apophthegmata Patrum*, the alphabetical collection, Ammonas 4 (120C), from *The Sayings of the Desert Fathers, the Alphabetical Collection*, trans. Benedicta Ward (London: Mowbrays, 1975), p. 26.
  60. Kuno Meyer, ed., “Echtra Nerai,” *Révue Celtique* 10 (1889): 212–228. See translation by John Carey in *The Celtic Heroic Age*, ed. Koch with John Carey, fourth edn (Aberystwyth, UK: Celtic Studies Publications, 2003), pp. 127–32.
  61. For a story of Túan and St. Finian of Movilla, well-explicated by John Carey in *A Single Ray of the Sun*, 7–10, see Carey, “*Scél Tuáin meic Chairill*,” *Ériu* 35 (1984): 92–111. On Fintan, see “Colloquy between Fintan and the Hawk of Achill,” ed. Kuno Meyer, in *Anecdota from Irish Manuscripts I*, ed. R. I Best et al. (Halle, 1907), pp. 24–39. Fintan also was the name of the one-eyed salmon of knowledge in early Irish lore. Regarding Mongán, see *Scél asa mberar combad hé Find Mac Cumail Mongán 7 aní día fil aided Fothaid Airgáid a scél so sís, Lebo na hUidre 133a25–133b17*, trans. Anne Lea in *The Celtic Heroic Age*, pp. 218–20.
  62. From *Expositiones in Ierarchiam coelestem Iohannis Scoti Eriugena*, ed. J. Barbet, CCCM 31 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1975), 2.5. Paul Rorem, trans., *Eriugena’s Commentary on the Dionysian Celestial Hierarchy*, Studies and Texts 150 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2005), p. 198.
  63. “Many voiced” is Maximus the Confessor’s phrase for apophatic silent-speech before the altar during the Eucharistic rite (*Mystagogy*, PG 91: 681D), trans. L. Michael Harrington, *Sacred Place in Early Medieval Neoplatonism* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), p. 138; “one-mouthed” reflects a traditional phrase from Eastern Christian musical theory (Dimitry Conomos, “Preface: A Brief Survey of the History of Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Chant,” [www.stanthonymonastery.org/music/History.pdf](http://www.stanthonymonastery.org/music/History.pdf) [accessed August 3, 2008]).
  64. Julia Kristeva, “Women’s Time,” in *The Portable Kristeva*, updated edn, ed. Kelly Oliver (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), pp. 351–71.
  65. *Ibid.*, p. 355. Regarding Augustine’s relation of linear time and grammar of the sentence, see Brian Stock, *Augustine the Reader* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995), pp. 76–77.
  66. See John McGuckin, *Saint Gregory of Nazianzus, an Intellectual Biography* (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 2001), pp. 5, 281, 290.
  67. Lisa M. Bitel, “Hail Brigit!: Gender, Authority, and Worship in Early Ireland,” in *Irish Women’s History*, ed. Alan Hayes and Diane Urquhart (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2003), pp. 1–14. In Germanic cultures, “The cult of Odin grew as the emergent kings built up armies of men whose kindred commitments had been preempted by loyalty to their new lord”: Craig R. Davis, *Beowulf and the Demise of Germanic Legend in England* (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1996), pp. 23–24.
  68. Christina Harrington, *Women in a Celtic Church, Ireland 450–1150* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 289.
  69. Charles-Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland*, pp. 396–405.
  70. *Ibid.*, pp. 400–14 throughout.
  71. Evan Thompson, *Mind in Life: Biology, Phenomenology, and the Sciences of Mind* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard/Belknap Press, 2007), chapter 12, “Empathy and Enculturation.”

72. *Contra* Kevin Kiernan, *Beowulf and the Beowulf Manuscript*, rev. edn (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1997), and others who have postulated a late date for the poem in the tenth or eleventh centuries, both earlier scholarly consensus and some late-twentieth-century reexaminations of the issue point to an eighth-century date, although a later date would not substantially change arguments here (Michael Lapidge, “The Archetype of *Beowulf*,” *Anglo-Saxon England* 29 (2000): 5–41; Patrick Wormald, “Bede, ‘Beowulf’ and the Conversion of the Anglo-Saxon Aristocracy,” in *Bede and Anglo-Saxon England*, British Archaeological Reports 46, ed. Robert T. Farrell (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 1978), pp. 32–95; and Sam Newton, *The Origins of Beowulf and the Pre-Viking Kingdom of East Anglia* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1993). The sparse evidence for the original dialect of the poem suggests an Anglian provenance in the Midlands (Robert Bjork and Anita Obermeier, “Date, Provenance, Author, Audiences,” in *A Beowulf Handbook* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), p. 26 [13–34]). This evidence is reinforced by the central presence in the text of the name of the ancestral Anglian king Offa and analogues between that reference and alleged marital sufferings of the eighth-century Mercian King Offa [*Beowulf and its Analogues*, trans. G.N. Garmonsway and Jacqueline Simpson (London: J.M. Dent & Sons, 1968), pp. 236–37]. Also significant, given the probable role of a religious center as the site of the composition, is the “close connection between the Mercian dynasty, whose ancestors appear in *Beowulf*, and which . . . produced successive kings named Beornwulf and Wiglaf in the early ninth century, and many of the most important religious foundations of the time”: Wormald, “Bede, *Beowulf*, and the Conversion,” p. 54. In addition, there are the poem’s analogues with the *Lives* of St. Guthlac and their eighth-century Anglian provenance, apparently under Mercian overlordship. A later Viking link still seems tenuous in light of ancestral concerns of the Mercian dynasty, as well as probable earlier East Anglian connections to Scandinavia. Richard North’s connection of the poem with names in early-ninth-century Mercia [*The Origins of Beowulf from Vergil to Wiglaf* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007)] could mistake as originary figures those named as a result of the poem’s tradition, given the evidence already mentioned.
73. There are analogues to this monstrous watery conflict in Irish. But in *Aided Fherguson maic Léide* [“The Death of Fergus Mac Leide”; “Death of King Fergus,” in *Silva Gadelica, A Collection of Tales in Irish with Extracts Illustrating Persons and Places* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1892), vol. 1, pp. 238–52, vol. 2, pp. 269–85], a late addition to the Ulster Cycle, the conflict is less charged with moral concerns of hubris and community than the Old English narrative. In Irish hagiography, the most famous encounter with a denizen of the deeps, that of St. Columba with the prototypical Loch Ness monster, ends merely with the saint commanding the monster to return to the depths, the saint having saved a companion in an apparent test of spiritual power with the beast. There is no detailed or negative description of the waters or dramatic destruction of the creature as in *Beowulf* [Adomnán, *Vita S. Columbae* 2.27; trans. Richard Sharpe, *Life of St. Columba* (London: Penguin, 1991), pp. 175–76]. Likewise, St. Antony’s struggle with a watery serpent in Athanasius’ archetypal desert hagiographic account involves no slaying of the monster, which is pacified. And in *Táin Bó Fraích* [ed. Wolfgang Meid (Dublin: Dublin Institute, 1967)], often cited as an Irish analogue to *Beowulf*’s struggle in the mere, the hero’s fight with the water monster occurs in the context of a wooing challenge, and he is helped by his lover who provides him with a sword, unlike *Beowulf*’s encounter in the mere, where he is alone

- with the monster and finds the giants' sword in the monsters' hoard, in order to kill a woman. In the Irish story, there is no watery landscape narrative, and no allegorical connection of the landscape with either the divine, moral, or civilizing concerns. The water monsters in *Táin Bó Fróech*, Columba's encounter at Loch Ness, and Antony's encounter are also wholly nonhuman by contrast with the demonized *Grendelcyn*.
74. Rosamond McKitterick, *History and Memory in the Carolingian World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 281.
  75. See Jennifer Neville, *Representations of the Natural World in Old English Poetry*, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England 27 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 38. Nicholas Howe has discussed the constructed yet layered nature of early English literary landscapes (and their sense of pilgrim-exile) in "The Landscape of Anglo-Saxon England: Inherited, Invented, Imagined." See also his *Migration and Mythmaking in Anglo-Saxon England*, rev. edn (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2001); and "Looking for Home in Anglo-Saxon England," in *Home and Homelessness in the Medieval and Renaissance World* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2004), pp. 143–63. For physical aspects of Anglo-Saxon landscape, see Della Hooke, *The Landscape of Anglo-Saxon England* (London 1998), and Oliver Rackham's works on early English woodlands. Also, for a helpful collection of essays on landscape edited by Anglo-Saxonists, see Clare A. Lees and Gillian R. Overing, eds., *A Place to Believe in, Locating Medieval Landscapes* (University Park: Pennsylvania University Press, 2006).
  76. *Felix's Life of St. Guthlac*, ed. Bertram Colgrave (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1956); Old English poetic versions "A" and "B" of Guthlac's *Life* can be found in Bernard Muir, ed., *The Exeter Anthology of Old English Poetry*, rev. edn, 2 vols (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2000). The *Guthlac B* poem's discussion of the soul and body represents an extension of the haunted barrow into a more directly Christian allegorical realm.
  77. The archaeologist John Shephard relates a pattern of barrows like Guthlac's to development of a strongly centralized manorial system in the medieval Midlands by contrast to Kent ("The Social Identity of the Individual in Isolated Barrows and Barrow Cemeteries in Anglo-Saxon England," in *Space, Hierarchy and Society*, British Archaeological Reports International Series 59, ed. B.C. Burnham and J. Kingsbury (Oxford: B.A.R., 1979), p. 70 [47–79]). By the mid- or late-Anglo-Saxon period, the Midlands led development of "open field" communally allotted holdings and nucleated settlement landscapes, based on archaeological and historical evidence that also suggests a strong system of local lordship (C.J. Bond, "Field Systems" in *The Blackwell Encyclopedia of Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. Michael Lapidge et al. (Oxford 1999), p. 184 [183–86]; see also Hooke, *The Landscape of Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 105–138).
  78. The Germanic notion of *wyrd*, as explicated by Paul Bauschatz [*The Well and the Tree: World and Time in Early Germanic Culture* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1982)], could interact in different ways with variant emphases on free will in Christian cultures. Even in *Beowulf*, *wyrd* could merge with either Augustinian predestination and linear temporality or with a system of asynchronous temporalities complicit in a soteriology more fully synergizing grace and free will. Yet it was the colonizing temporality that gained the upper hand in Western polities, a political and ecclesiological development more than a theological one.

79. See discussion in Julia Kristeva, "Dostoevsky, the Writing of Suffering, and Forgiveness," in *Black Sun: Depression and Melancholia*, trans. Leon S. Roudiez (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989), p. 211 [173–218].
80. As exemplified by his influential exegesis on Job.
81. In this case the contrast with a purportedly explicit menstrual flow at the end of the *Táin* in both recensions may be instructive: Medb is humiliated but not slain, and the hypermasculine warriors of Ulster themselves appear to be satirized as the bulls that are the objects of the battles elude captivity in spectacular landscape-forming death.
82. Julia Kristeva, *Powers of Horror* (1980), trans. Leon S. Roudiez (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982), p. 71.
83. Julia Kristeva, "Women's Time," in *Critical Theory Since 1965*, ed. Hazard Adams and Leroy Searle (Tallahassee: University Presses of Florida, 1986), pp. 472–73.
84. Brian Stock, *Augustine the Reader* (Cambridge MA, 1995), pp. 76–77. The emerging Augustinian-Gregorian conception in the early medieval West of an objectified phenomenal world is again theologically related to the developing notion of grace as objectifiedly created (J. Patout Burns, "Grace," in *Augustine through the Ages, an Encyclopedia*, ed. Allan D. Fitzgerald (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1999), p. 396 [391–398]), and of theophany as mainly mediated through created objects, all expressed in allegorical artistic styles.
85. See Kristeva, *Powers of Horror*, p. 210.
86. See "Dream of the Rood," in *The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records, A Collective Edition, II. The Vercelli Book*, ed. George Philip Krapp (New York: Columbia University Press, 1932), pp. 61–66. The current standard edition is Michael Swanton, ed., *The Dream of the Rood*, rev. edn. (Exeter, UK: University of Exeter Press, 1996).
87. In this brief discussion I rely heavily for background on Éamonn Ó Carraigáin's masterful *Ritual and the Rood, Liturgical Images and the Old English Poems of the Dream of the Rood tradition*, The British Library Studies in Medieval Culture (London and Toronto: The British Library and University of Toronto Press, 2005).
88. For a sense of the rich hybridities of Whithorn's landscape associations (including potential pagan ones), see Peter Hill, "Whithorn, Latinus and the origins of Christianity in northern Britain," in *Image and Power in the Archaeology of Early Medieval Britain, Essays in Honour of Rosemary Cramp*, ed. Helena Hamerow and Arthur McGregor (Oxford: Oxbow, 2001), pp. 23–32.
89. Fred Orton, "Northumbrian Sculpture (the Ruthwell and Bewcastle Monuments: Questions of Difference)," in *Northumbria's Golden Age*, ed. A. Jane Hawkes and Susan Mills (Stroud, UK: Sutton, 1999), pp. 216–26. Another analogue related directly to Bernicia and the cultural hybridities of the Ruthwell Cross lies in tree/cross associations with St. Oswald's victory over Cadwallon and subsequent martyrdom at the hands of Penda; see C. Tolley, "Oswald's Tree," in *Pagans and Christians, the Interplay between Christian Latin and Traditional Germanic Cultures in Early Medieval Europe*, Germana Latina II, Mediaevalia Groningaa 16, ed. T. Hofstra et al. (Groningen, Neth.: Egbert Forsten, 1995), pp. 35–69, 149–73. The Irish Adomnán referred to Oswald in the opening of his *Vita* of Columba as emperor of Britain ordained by God; by this account, it was Columba who appeared to Oswald in a vision that prompted the making of the cross before the battle with Cadwallon.
90. Another example of an environmental complexity of Anglo-Saxon texts is found in the Old English homily on the Transfiguration, which conveys a sense of how

- “All creation was ontologically related in its being and thus responsible to God’s commandments . . . Sin-wrought senescence even damaged the heavens,” although Creation’s shared sense of guilt there is clearly Augustinian rather than Cassianite (Thomas J. Heffernan, “The Sun Shall be Turned to Darkness and the Moon to Blood,” in *Place, Space, and Landscape in Medieval Narrative*, Tennessee Studies in Literature 43, ed. Laura L. Howes (Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 2007), p. 75 [63–78]).
91. On the probable Columbanian background of the seventh-century bishop of the East Angles, Felix, e.g., see Charles-Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland*, pp. 365–66; also on the relation of Columbanian monasticism to the spread of the Benedictine Rule in mixed-rule form, p. 388.
  92. On the latter in relation to trees, see Thomas H. Olgren, “The Pagan Iconography of Christian Ideas: Tree-Lore in Anglo-Viking England,” *Mediaevistik* 1 (1989): 145–73.
  93. John M. Hill, *The Anglo-Saxon Warrior Ethic: Reconstructing Lordship in Early English Literature* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2000).
  94. Northrop Frye, “The Argument of Comedy,” rpt. in *Shakespeare: Modern Essays in Criticism*, ed. Leonard F. Dean (London: Oxford University Press, 1957; rev. 1967).
  95. J.R.R. Tolkien, “On Fairy-Stories,” in *Essays Presented to Charles Williams*, ed. C.S. Lewis (London: Oxford University Press, 1947), pp. 38–89.
  96. Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum* 2.2; *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, rev. edn, trans. Leo Sherley-Price (London: Penguin, 1990), pp. 104–107. Bede himself in many ways embodied the hybridities of archipelagic cultures, with ecclesiastic-monastic mentors including Benedict Biscop (scion of an Anglo-Saxon noble family and associated with the Greek Archbishop Theodore, with a book-collection emphasizing on Augustine of Hippo’s works and a liking for Romanesque architecture) and Abbot Ceolfrith, friend of Adomnán of Iona.
  97. See, e.g., in addition to ancient and probably linguistic associations of oaks and druids, *Kat Godeu* and commentary in Marged Haycock, *Legendary Poems from the Book of Taliesin* (Aberystwyth: CMCS, 2007); Fergus Kelly, “Trees in Early Ireland,” *Irish Forestry. Journal of the Society of Irish Foresters* 56 (1999): 39–57; Kay Muhr, “Trees in Ireland in Early Traditions and Place Names,” *Inquas Insight* no. 2, <http://homepage.eircom.net/~archaeology/two/trees.htm> [accessed December 29, 2008].
  98. Frye, “The Argument of Comedy,” pp. 86, 88.

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