


2012

Desert Islands: Europe's Atlantic Archipelago as Ascetic Landscape

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Recommended Citation

Siewers, Alf, "Desert Islands: Europe's Atlantic Archipelago as Ascetic Landscape" (2012). *Faculty Contributions to Books*. 132.
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From *Studies in the Medieval Atlantic*, ed. Benjamin Hudson, Palgrave Macmillan/New Middle Ages series (forthcoming)

Chapter 1: Desert Islands: Europe's Atlantic Archipelago as Ascetic Landscape

In James Fenimore Cooper's nineteenth-century American novel *The Deerslayer*, the hero Natty Bumppo and a friend approach the lake at the headwaters of the Susquehanna River, a huge watershed at the heart of what used to be the great Eastern Woodlands of America:

The motion of the canoe had been attended with little or no noise, the frontiersmen from habit getting accustomed to caution in most of their movements, and it now lay on the glassy water, appearing to float in air, partaking of the breathing stillness that seemed to pervade the entire scene.¹

This image of the canoe floating in air, as if in reflective water above and below, is evocative of two points to be argued in this essay, namely the environmental function of literature and its particular relevance to understanding early writings of the medieval Atlantic.² The image of the spiritual sea formed a fluid palimpsest with long after-life in Trans-Atlantic literatures, including the derivative retro-medieval "green world" romances of Cooper. His *Leatherstocking Tales* echoed earlier tropes of archipelago in describing the primeval American forest as a sea while celebrating the reciprocally reflecting sky, water and earth in his fantasy overlay landscape at Lake Glimmerglass, site of the ex-sailor's family home on Lake Otsego.

But long before Cooper's adaptation of the Insular trope of overlay landscape, the Atlantic helped form an image of nature as an archipelago of interpenetrating layers of life in the philosophy of John Scottus Eriugena, in stories of the "Celtic" Otherworld's

overlay landscape on land and sea, and in the watery asceticism of early medieval monastics who called their islands and places of refuge on the sea the “desert.” All these melded into the otherworldly “green world” that Cooper’s classic American tales still reflected centuries later. Such was the long-lasting impression on subsequent English letters of living simultaneously in, over and around the Atlantic in the formative era of Insular literacy. The image of a new archipelagic “desert” as an icon of nature’s mysteries emerged symbolically from the Atlantic isles. In it, pre-Scholastic and apophatic Christian traditions of nature as divine energies merged with a native continuum of seascape and landscape, in a kind of regional symbolism that would be adapted and transformed again and again by later writers.

As the medievalist Jeffrey Jerome Cohen notes of this *longue durée* of archipelagic symbolism, “the shared experience of living between land and sea gathers seemingly disparate groups into a maritime network of unceasing interaction, shared experience, and cultural interchange.”³ The literary critic Terry Eagleton calls the ongoing effect in Insular literatures, going back to Eriugena’s day, “the Irish sublime”—“an ungrounded play of self-delighting difference, an infinity of partial perspectives, an anarchy of unbridled non-identity... a theology which stressed the sensuous immanence of God... the ordinariness of the marvelous.... a creative sharing in that abyss of ineffable, inexhaustible un-being which is the godhead... [which] baffles representation and ruins all stable cognition....to induce in us certain numinous effects by virtue of its suggestive obscurity.”⁴ But first, let us trace back the thread to what could better be called the medieval Atlantic sublime.

The environmental dynamic of literature and the early Atlantic

Lakes and woodlands amid the headwaters of several major rivers in New York state, experienced or re-imagined as a kind of green sea by Cooper in light of his own naval career and motifs of earlier literatures from the British Isles, influenced his foundational *Leatherstocking Tales*. That five-novel cycle in turn influenced the interaction of American culture with so-called wilderness, as for example in the cycle's effect on its reader Theodore Roosevelt's imagination, which helped to shape an American conservation movement.⁵ So too the geography of Europe's Atlantic archipelago interacted with the ascetic practice and theology of monastic literary communities to help shape aspects of early medieval Irish Sea literatures and resulting cultural orientations, perhaps most distinctively in literature about the Otherworld, a parallel spiritual realm entwined with physical landscape. Such narratives that articulate entwinement of text with regional landscape can both form and be part of a physically embedded "nature-text," as defined by the new field of ecosemiotics.⁶ In the terms of that field, such stories can intensify and articulate the triadic relation of text, environment, and the performative interpreting of their relation into landscape. They thus can serve a combined ecological and cultural function in fostering an eco poetic empathy with potential for realizing an epigenetic side of human development.⁷ Cultural narratives as Cooper's stories from the Susquehanna headwaters, or early Irish Sea tales of what modern commentators often call the Celtic Otherworld,⁸ could in this respect be contrasted with other more dyadic cultural landscapes, in which a sense of isolated subjectivity is heightened by its opposition to the Other, purposely or critically, through a much more binarized sense of culture and nature. Beowulf's encounters with the

Grendelcyn, reflecting Anglo-Saxon colonialism, or William Bradford's journal of Plymouth Plantation, could exemplify that latter type of environmental narrative.

While environmental literary interactions have been well studied in recent decades in nineteenth-century Romanticism, they only recently have gained sustained serious attention in re-reading early medieval literature. Yet around Europe's Atlantic archipelago such environmental reciprocities are crucial in articulating the relation between parallel tropes of the Otherworld, early Irish ascetic practices and cosmology, and social practices. Modern Atlantic scholars could reflexively identify Cooper's discussion of an aerial boat suspended as if between aerial and earthly waters with Romanticism, and with American expansion and landscape, relating it also to Romantic writings associated with the Lake District of England and the Scottish Highlands, and paralleling contemporary philosophical views of nature present in American Transcendentalism around Walden Pond. But how often do medievalists consider the combination of environmental and philosophical approaches behind motifs in early medieval Insular literature, such as the ships that appear floating through air as if on the sea in early Irish texts, descriptions of ascetic practices of standing in the sea while praying, texts referring to the sea and islands as desert, verse telling of the Irish mythical figure Bran finding the sea to be a kind of land of its own, John Scottus Eriugena's writing about the sea as metonym for divine energies in nature, the Irish concept of *glas* martyrdom involving a color used to express the archipelago's distinctive melding of sea and sky, or of the influence of overlapping and environmentally related multiple social networks in the archipelago on notions of the Otherworld in early Irish and Welsh literatures?⁹ This essay will try to provide a sampling of possible archipelagic readings of

a few such motifs, in the framework of ecocriticism, which seeks to foreground the background, as it were, by focusing on setting rather than on other categories of literary criticism such as plot, characterization, and theme.

Europe's early medieval Atlantic archipelago as eco-culture

First it may be helpful to discuss briefly theoretical underpinnings of this ecocritical experiment in early Atlantic studies. The work on early Irish Sea studies by the editor of this volume has been essential in opening an horizon for study of the region as a cultural zone.¹⁰ This essay offers a few sample readings to probe how aspects of this early medieval region can be discerned further through environmental literary studies. Developing a concept of a cultural eco-region there can highlight interplay between environment, cultural practice and narrative, as well as to suggest how the fluid reciprocity of environment and cultures in Europe's early Atlantic archipelago offers an important alternative view of nature in Western tradition. As Michael Schellenberger and Ted Nordhaus noted in their famous polemic *The Death of Environmentalism*, those concerned with environmental issues today need to become more engaged with issues of culture, imagination, myth and spiritual practice, in order to affect cultural narratives of nature.¹¹ To do that it is necessary to understand better how environment and cultural imagination interact, mindful of the potential for leveraging alternative traditions within a modern culture's formative periods, for work on the cultural and social side of environmental restoration today. In the case of America's dominant Anglo language culture, such traditions involve especially the mix of biblical-patristic and northwest European languages and texts from medieval north Atlantic environments.

The late twentieth-century geophilosophers Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari discussed the environmental and cultural meld of archipelago in relation to modern dominant English culture of the islands as involving

a plane of immanence as a movable and moving ground... an archipelagian world where [inhabitants] are happy to pitch their tents from island to island and over the sea... nomadizing the old Greek earth [of another archipelagic culture zone influential on the region through early medieval asceticism and later Classicist Renaissance and Enlightenment studies], broken up, fractalized, and extended to the entire universe [via the larger Atlantic zone].”¹²

In such a geo-cultural archipelago, in their words, the landscape sees,¹³ much as images of early iconography look out on us rather than allowing us to internalize and objectify them.

In an archipelago, the sea both separates and connects. Islands alternately and simultaneously are blank spaces or full, and the sea vice versa, in fluid contrast with more dominating continental peninsulas, main islands and oceans. Cohen has also compared archipelagic cultural perspectives of melded social and cultural identities on the British Isles to Deleuze and Guattari’s notion of the “body without organs,” a non-organismic body, to which Cohen suggests parallels in the medieval astrological zodiac and the bodily humors, spanning physical and bodily and cultural and imaginative realms. Such a body without organs can also involve a rhizomic sense of entwined eco-region and culture-region such as the archipelago itself. The philosopher Peter Hallward sees a cloaked theophany or emanation of the divine in nature in Deleuze-Guattarian geophilosophy, here associated with archipelagic narratives melding worlds, akin to

Eriugena's philosophy, the latter culminating an early medieval Irish tradition of hexaemeral exegesis relevant to this essay.¹⁴ In Otherworld narratives of the early archipelago, the environmental theophany in which humans participate looks out as a "seeing landscape," a melding of sea, sky, earth and spiritual realms reminiscent of eco-phenomenological adaptations of Martin Heidegger's old fourfold of earth, sky, mortals and gods.¹⁵

The sea is missing from Heidegger's continental fourfold, though, and textual iconography of the sea in early Atlantic traditions arguably provides a missing integrative image for that fourfold's reciprocal mirroring—and one possible fulfillment of Heidegger's intriguing metaphor for the experience of poetics entwined with environment in a continuum of culture and nature.¹⁶ In that metaphor, standing for place-event or meaning inherent in life, we can interpret "earth" as a landscape that makes meaning eco-semiotically through Charles S. Peirce's relational triad of Sign, Object, and Interpretant (the latter as context, meaning or tradition), rather than a binary of signifier and signified as in conventional Western semiotics. The "sky" can emblemize a metonymic ecopoetics, of physically in-dwelling but defining imagery. The element of "mortals" can symbolize the plexity of time that inheres in layers of personal experience of the earth--in patristic terms the overlaying of human time, natural time, created eternity, and an uncreated everlasting, all simultaneously in play. And "immortals" can figure the paradoxical immanence of a transcendent ethos of poetic habitation at the intersection of time and eternity.

The early Insular image of the sea pulls that all together in an unexpected intersection of pre-modern and postmodern *theoria*. If Heideggerean mortals and

immortals together express Peirce's Interpretant, in the sense that the contexts of both readers and authors constitute meaning in an ecosemiotic "nature-text," they do so in the metaphor by relating the earth-landscape as dynamic Object to larger contexts of the sky as metonymic Sign. Julia Kristeva's semanalysis repositions that fourfold similarly in poetic theory thus: Earth=the Real, sky=the Imaginary, and mortals/immortals=the Symbolic. In such dynamic landscape, human subjectivity discloses itself as symbolic, mirroring the relation of Sign and Object, metaphoric sky and earth. For early medieval Atlantic cultures, aerial and terrestrial waters in the Genesis story of creation exemplified such reciprocal mirroring of meaning, constituting a sense of the sea as a spectrum from earthly to heavenly atmospheres. In the parallel Hebrew poetry of the seven days in Genesis 1, the creation on the second day of waters above and below the firmament parallels the creation on the sixth day of man in the image and likeness of God, reflecting the divine. That parallel set of biblical mirroring suggests how the sea in Europe's early Insular world could become in stories and spiritual practices an image for realizing human personhood through grace personalized in nature.¹⁷

Deleuze in an early essay on "Desert Islands" wrote of how the geological "double movement" of islands, both pulling away and recreating themselves, parallels human involvement with them imaginatively. A collective cultural imagination in his view, through rites and mythology, could produce an imaginary identity with the island landscape in a way that "geography and the imagination would be one."¹⁸ Arguably this was effected in narratives of asceticism that came to the islands in search of a desert that was spiritual sea, an archipelago that in the post-Roman period was constituted culturally as both deserted by Rome and a monastic desert. Adomnán's late-eighth-century

Hiberno-Latin *Vita S. Columbae*, for example, refers to a spiritual pilgrim wishing to find a *desertum* in the ocean off Scotland.” Four “archipelagic” readings of such melding of geography and imagination follow, focusing on *Immram Brain*, the tropes of the colors of the winds and colors of martyrdom, Eriugena’s image of the sea, and Ireland’s social networks.

Bran’s otherworldly archipelago

In the early Irish story *Immram Brain* or the Voyage of Bran, with origins tracing back to the eighth-century at least,¹⁹ the Irish ruler Bran mac Febail leads an expedition to seek an otherworldly island. Bran encounters Manannán mac Lir, a sea god, who describes the Otherworld in the sea (and this is just the opening of his description):

Caíne amrae lasin mBran
ina churchán tar muir nglan;
os mé im charput do chéin,
is mag scothach imma-réid.

[An extraordinary beauty it is for Bran

In his coracle across the clear sea:

but to me in my chariot from a distance

It is a flowery plain on which he rides about....]²⁰

The sea forms a double-folded landscape in the text. Its watery plane and atmosphere enfold a parallel reality, which in turn also envelops the sea. The fantasy embodies the elemental melding of sea, land and atmosphere on the islands, while Bran’s experiences throughout the story call into question the objective reality of Ireland itself.

This effect oddly parallels Luce Irigaray's discussion of landscape as a bodily femaleness both enveloped and enveloping, and indeed the text refers to the Otherworld as "the land of women," while early Irish Sea texts generally associate the Otherworld with the Irish sovereignty goddess trope.²¹ The rest of the above text describes Manannán's realm as a flowered plain of sport with honeyed rivers, a peaceful land with herds of colorful animals, all featuring gold cloths and silver streams. There is no Original Sin or old age. Above the undersea fruited, fragrant forest with gold leaves, Bran's coracle floats as if on air. The Otherworld that Bran seeks is a distant island, but one contiguous with the same sea adjoining Bran's home, identified in other texts with the Lough Foyle region; other early Irish narratives recount how a flood covered a kingdom to create the Lough.²² Like Manannán's oceanic realm, Bran's home Lough itself is a Paradise lost in historic time but associated both with imagination and the natural world. The fluidity of both is marked not only by geographical features but by temporality. When Bran's expedition returns to Ireland it is to find that their voyage has become an ancient legend. And when one of Bran's band attempts to jump back out of the boat to the group's home shore, he instantaneously grows older by centuries and dies. Verses in the narrative meld prophecies of the Incarnation of Christ the Creator God, and of the birth of Manannán's son Mongán, who reputedly is an historical king of Ulster in its Christian era, suggesting the immanence of the Otherworld in human history as well. Textually the Otherworld also constitutes a multidimensional trope, a performative multiform of oral and literary sources.²³ *Immram Brain* engages a larger network of native or Celtic Otherworld narratives,²⁴ biblical traditions, and analogues in later Welsh narratives and French traditions of the Holy Grail.²⁵ Its *immram* ("rowing about") genre reached its most

popular medieval form in various redactions of the ascetic Christian journeys of St. Brendan.²⁶ Through the figure of Mongán, elsewhere identified with Finn, *Immram Brain* is also drawn into the orbit of the Finn cycle concerning the youth-war-band or *fian*.

As suggested by *Immram Brain*'s complex narrative analogues and connections, the early Irish Sea Otherworld trope extends beyond sea and islands to rivers such as the Boyne, inlets of the sea such as Lough Foyle, and, in explicitly Christian contexts, holy wells associated with saints and the waters of baptism. The aerial Otherworld is manifested in the birds in the tree in *Immram Brain*, who are elsewhere identified with the neutral angels (as in the *Navigatio S. Brendani*) or the souls of the just (*Dá brón flatha nime*); birds often having otherworldly associations in early Celtic narratives, as in the bird troop in *Togail Bruidne Dá Derga*. The terrestrial Otherworld also is identified with the *síde* or mounds (usually Neolithic mounds specifically identified in Irish topography), which form portals to it in early Irish and later extant early Welsh lore. Underlying this seemingly haphazard interconnected geography of the natural supernatural Otherworld lay the early Irish literati description of the biblical Paradise as above the world, near the aerial waters of the creation account in Genesis and the clouds in which Christ disappeared and will return, finding its analogue with early Christian notions of Paradise as a hollow mountain encompassing creation (an unseen yet engaging spiritual realm or dimension potentially both aerial and chthonic).²⁷

The early archipelagic Otherworld integrates aspects of spiritual, imaginative, and natural realms of human life and the physical environment, including wilderness and animals in a multiplex landscape.²⁸ It often is expressed as a mirroring image that is relational, transcendent yet immanent, "a landscape that was, at the same time,

reassuringly familiar and hauntingly different,” as Benjamin Hudson succinctly puts it.²⁹ It could support the Irish high kingship and threaten it, reflecting a continuation of pre-Christian beliefs in Christian contexts.³⁰ The Celticist Marie Sjoestedt added this memorable definition: “A discussion of the mythological world of the Celts encounters at once a peculiar difficulty, namely, that when seeking to approach it you find that you are already within.”³¹ The relation of the trope to a physical environment of a sea that is both encompassing and distinguishing of islands becomes apparent in considering Gearóid Ó Donnchadha’s account, offered in relation to accounts of St. Brendan, of his own modern experiences in Atlantic storms like those that would have been encountered by early monastics in the archipelago:

What I can best liken it to is to being among the Himalayas except that the mountains are moving, not regularly, but criss-crossing one another in tumultuous frenzy, running one across the breaking, white-foamed tops of others.... One lives in a virtual white-out, stung and blinded by spray.... the auditory cacophonous assault that limits the ability to think.... Finally, the harassment and brutalization of one’s senses enters into one’s very consciousness so as to create a virtual out-of-body experience where one is bereft of all but the experience of the moment...you are one with the first human beings that tried to make sense of a new existence into which they had been thrust.³²

Ó Donnchadha’s impressionistic but experiential account suggests how archipelago can be more than a metaphor in seeking to understand an Atlantic cultural region of the early Middle Ages. It suggests how the biblical aerial waters could have been seen as an overlay landscape, mirroring both biblical Paradise and native chthonic

Otherworld. The description of Atlantic storms off Ireland suggests why exile on the sea was considered a type of martyrdom for the early Irish, and also why the sea exemplified to the aquatically adept and mobile early medieval Irish both the dynamic instability of the creaturely world as well as the nature of nature itself—essentially uncorrupted, as God had made it, embodying in the wake of the Incarnation divine energies with which asceticism could achieve a type of union, although subject to roiling by aerial demons. The sea was unstable as the cosmos at large, while expressing the apophatic nature of the divine as beyond not-knowing, emanating energies known to the world as if the latter were a veil moved by forces behind it, but still charged with the energy of those forces. In this aspect, the Otherworld trope becomes an embodied figure of Athanasius' popular notion, voiced in his fifth-century *Life of St. Antony*, that the desert is a spiritual sea in which monks swim like fish.³³ Such an archipelagic orientation of patristic motifs perhaps explains why, as Jennifer Neville, put it, early Irish poetry invested nature with a sense of the joy inherent in the search for God, while early Anglo-Saxon Christian poetry, oriented more to the continent, on the whole figured nature (particularly the sea and watery environments) as symbolic of human alienation from God.³⁴

Early Irish colors of the winds and colors of martyrdom

The colors of the winds and colors of martyrdom in early Irish tradition can provide a second test case for reading texts in an archipelagic frame. Both tropes illustrate how color can textually and iconographically express the fluidity of the boundary between body and idea, human and non-human, physical and spiritual in the archipelagic environment, spanning again elements of water, sky, and land. The wind

colors survive in the ninth- or tenth-century vernacular devotional text *Saltair na Rann*³⁵ and in other texts as well.³⁶ The colors of martyrdom are described in the earlier Cambrai Homily.³⁷ The primary overlap between the two color schemes is found in environmental and cultural associations of the term *glas*, for grey-green-blue or “shining,” best translated as “the color of sky in water.”³⁸ *Glas* is the color of a southwest wind, from the quadrant of Ireland oriented by tradition toward the Otherworld and by geography toward the ocean. *Glas* is also the color of a non-violent ascetic “martyrdom” involving strict self-discipline, *glasmartre*. The latter encompasses specific bodily and environmental practices. In them its color evokes biblical aerial waters and clouds associated both with Eriugena’s cosmology and hesychastic-style exercises linking the body and physical world with the light of divine energies. *Glas* was used for descriptions of everything from pale complexion and foreigners to tears, shiny metal, fresh vegetation, natural-colored wool, ice, the sea, and fog.³⁹ A “pre-color,” it hinges on the meaning “shining,”⁴⁰ as the Celticist Tatyana A. Mikhailova suggests. Its otherworldly associations and value of brightness evoke a parallel with the active radiant background (usually golden) of Byzantine iconography cited by Deleuze, in which “we no longer know where the background ends and the forms begin.”⁴¹

Incarnational Christian visual theory of iconography, emerging in the early Middle Ages, involved a participatory sense of “theology in colors,” which arguably was reflected in both these *glas* tropes and iconographic aspects of the Otherworld as landscape trope.⁴² Experiencing nature as icon in “color theology” reflected how, in the words of the Christian Dionysius (a prime source for Eriugena’s cosmic ecology),

...it is not possible for the mind [*nous*, or energy of the heart], as it exists among us, to be lifted up to that immaterial imitation and contemplation of the heavenly hierarchies, if it could not have material things to lead it by the hand according to its capacity—accounting beautiful appearances to be pictures of the unseen seemliness, and sensory fragrances to be reflections of noetic influence.⁴³

The wind-color motif, really a textual description of a “wheel” of winds from all directions named as colors, traces its origins to a synthesis of prophetic writings in Jewish scripture,⁴⁴ Classical models,⁴⁵ and native tradition,⁴⁶ all with an orientation to early Irish geography and apparent analogues to Otherworld and related ascetic themes (while also paralleling wind-color traditions in other indigenous cultures).⁴⁶ The description of the winds in the first canto of *Saltair na Rann* is prefaced by earlier quatrains setting forth a cosmological view of the relation between aerial waters, atmosphere and earth. Christ is then said to form and arrange in beauty the wind. The description yields the “wind-color wheel,” in which the color categories of Irish ascetic martyrdom (red, white, and *glas* or blue-grey-green) closely approximate the southernmost triad of red-white-and-*glas* wind colors (the difference being that the term *gel* is used for those winds, instead of *bán*, both meaning white).⁴⁷

The wind-color wheel forms a cultural region overlapping Ireland’s island geography. The north with its light-deprived colors was associated not only with harsh weather, but also in early Irish traditions with sorcery and the devil (and perhaps the Vikings),⁴⁸ and fittingly some scholarship places the probable writing of *Saltair na Rann* in the south among the brighter colors.⁴⁹ To the west was the island of the dead placed in

the western sea in early Irish lore,⁵⁰ ruled by the lord Donn, whose name is “also a color adjective nearly synonymous with *odor* (dun), identified with Satan in one early Irish text.”⁵¹ *Corcra* (purple) to the east was given royal connotations elsewhere.⁵² This was the direction from which Ireland historically was Christianized and the direction of the Holy Land and (according to medieval Christians) of Christ’s Second Coming.⁵³ Further, the *Saltair* divides the wind-colors into those lying from dun to red on the southern tier of the circle--of which “no wrath comes among their good assemblies”--and those along the northern tier from dun to the northeastern quadrant, of which it says “gloomy colors are not radiant or so graspable.” Purple in the east is excluded from this evaluative division, perhaps given special cosmic significance by its identification with the coming Christ, and chromatically mediating bright vibrancy and dark texture. Some scholars argue that the northern half of Ireland’s early medieval cultural map was identified with warrior heroics,⁵⁴ and the bright, embraceable southern colors also could mark Christian inversion of an older imagined warrior ethos.

It is in the southern tier of colors that we see the clearest overlap with ascetic practice and geography. Those wind-colors of “good assemblies” may first reflect identification of the sun with Christ, going back to writings of Patrick and Gildas.⁵⁵ And the tier’s orientation toward southern Ireland could type Christian society as a whole, with the three colors of martyrdom there paralleling those that the Indo-Europeanist Georges Dumézil associated with a primordial tripartite social structure, related by Eric Hamp to Celtic archaic color schemes, with the color range closest to *glas* involving agriculture.⁵⁶ This triad of colors also parallels substantially the colors of the three cosmic sails referred to in an early dialogue between an otherworldly youth and St. Columcille

related to a cycle of death and rebirth.⁵⁷ *Glas* in this spectrum of overlapping meanings and directions would relate to earthly death melding with the sea and agriculture in the hidden earth, identified with the “Otherworld orientation” of the southwest.

The southwest of Ireland, traditionally associated with the Otherworld⁵⁸ as the quadrant of the island leaning farthest into the ocean in early maps, is identified through its winds with green-blue colors including *glas*, the latter being explicitly associated in the *Saltair* text with the sea. *Glas* also formed part of a legal term for outcast-exile from local, identity-defining, political communities, *cú glas*, with associations to the Irish tradition of ascetic exile.⁵⁹ The west-southwestern winds exist in a kind of color transition between the brightness of south and east, and the direction associated with death to the west, while associated with an Otherworld that in early Irish narratives often seems to be a kind of transitional state between native pagan and Christian beliefs about Paradise and afterlife, related to the sea.

Using those associations of *glas* on the color-wheel in relation to *glasmartre* helps contextualize our reading of the latter while also providing further insights into an environmental reading of both wind and martyrdom color tropes. “Red” martyrdom was clearly identified with giving one’s life in sacrifice, including associations of the color with blood; “white” martyrdom with a kind of monastic life involving a cutting off of one’s life from the entanglements of objectified relationships (possibly including exile), the color associated with purity and ultimate brightness. Yet the color association of “blue-grey-green” (*glas*) martyrdom at first glance is harder for us to interpret from a modern standpoint. There is an analogue from the Latin *iacinthus*, referring to the pallid faces of penitents in effect “turning blue.”⁶⁰ But corrected editions of the text⁶¹ revealed

that *glasmartre* alone of the three colored martyrdoms was associated with specific physical practices of both asceticism and repentance, and thus “two distinct actions,” namely penance and “separation from one’s desires.”⁶² Pádraig Ó Néill cited an Hiberno-Latin analogue that identifies *iacinthina* with martyrdom in a twofold sense of both “desire for heaven” (*caeli desiderium*) and “abstinence” (*abstinentia*).⁶³ He suggests that this in turn may relate to a merging of bodily ascetic meanings for the colors green and blue from separate Latin and Irish terms, in a line of exegesis ultimately traceable to explication of precious stones adorning the foundations of the New Jerusalem in the Apocalypse of St. John.⁶⁴ Patristic exegesis identified both the sapphire and the jacinth (hyacinth) stones of the New Jerusalem with the azure color of the sky.⁶⁵ Such associations echo St. Paul’s linking of interrelated imagery of cloud, heaven, and sea to baptism, the Eucharist, the divine glory on earth, and the approaching end of time.⁶⁶ Eriugena likewise associated fluidly liminal cloud imagery and the sea with theophany.⁶⁷

Irish cosmological association of clouds with heavens and with waters above and below the firmament is found in the seventh-century *De Mirabilibus Sacrae Scripturae* by the Hiberno-Latin writer Augustinus Hibernicus, with its hexaemeral vision of the earth founded on waters (the earth including the lower air, and set in cycles of aerial waters), and implications for cosmic asceticism.⁶⁸ The *De Mirabilibus* and the related early Hiberno-Latin cosmology of the *De Ordine Creaturarum*⁶⁹ perhaps echo Basil of Caesarea’s cosmic linking of the hexaemeral with the eschatological, associating depletion of the aerial waters with the biblical Flood. In Irish tradition, floods overwhelmed primeval legendary realms, perhaps thereby also associating the waters and sea with access to paradisaal and otherworldly marvels.⁷⁰ An antediluvian “vapor cover”

for earth (a kind of aerial Gulf Stream) also could have been envisioned as being literally and figuratively the atmosphere of Paradise or its after-life.

In melding of sky and sea we can glimpse how early Irish monks and lay faithful in communities clustered around monasteries must have perceived an inescapable environmental analogue to both baptism and ascetic practice, one that Colin Ireland notes was “thoroughly incorporated into religious life both as an ascetic act of piety and as an alternative form of penance.”⁷¹ Immersion, involving either devotion or penance, or presumably a discipline combining the two, is described by a ninth-century Irish writer as discipline for overcoming earthly desires or as an additional labor of piety.⁷² A seventh-century hymn to St. Columcille stated that it was not for his sins he crucified his body on the blue-grey-green [glas] waves.⁷³ *Glasmartre* likely evoked physical meanings that, through color imagery, and ascetic and penitential associations, linked the motif of human pallor to other motifs involving the heavens, clouds, aerial waters, the sea, and the water of tears. Thus spiritual practice in the human body linked to the insular environment. The Irish St. Columbanus wrote that Christians should “in the loftier regions of the heavenlies...seek the Fount of glory, the Fountain of life, the Fountain of living water, like intelligent and most wise fishes, that there we may drink the living water which springs up to eternal life.,”⁷⁴ of a God who is “deeper than the ocean.”⁷⁵

The sea could be described as a desert of suffering exile for early Irish monastics, and Adomnán refers to monks seeking a “desert in the ocean,” using the Latin *eremus*, which is clearly derived from accounts of the desert fathers.⁷⁶ However, as noted by Kay Muhr, waters more often than not had positive connotations in early Irish literature, akin to the often positive connotations of the desert in the *Life of St. Antony*.⁷⁷ In Adomnán’s

Vita Columbae of the seventh century, the sea in a sanctified state showed “storm and calm together in the same sea at the same time, but by God’s gift a marvellous line kept them apart,” as the liquid sea acts also as a type of solid land for burial in the perhaps eleventh-century Irish *Life of St. Brendan*.⁷⁸ Ambiguous descriptions (and undoubtedly experiences) of the waters under the firmament as unstable and, potentially a source of either good or of ill, are in a sense paralleled by perceptions of the lower air as the residence of cast-down rebel angels in early cosmology.⁷⁹ The lower air, identified with the earth, was, like the waters, known as unstable in the archipelago--yet also mirroring and promising cosmic connectivity. A path through it for the faithful presumably was cleared through Christ’s bodily Ascension, even as Christ would return through it again.⁸⁰ While early Irish scholars could sometimes write of the sea (inextricably connected to the unstable lower air) as a threatening desert, these natural zones of elements could also become a blue-grey-green (*glas*) path to redemption, spanning sea and sky. The environmental associations of *glas* as light in water finally could be reflected as well in a term for contemplative hermit or anchorite that meant “spark of the contemplative life.”⁸¹

Eriugena’s Ocean of Divinity

The Hiberno-Latin writer Eriugena (writing in exile from Francia) developed in his work on nature, the *Periphyseon*,⁸² a distinctive image of the sea that runs against conventions in Classical and much medieval literature of the sea as allegory for turbulent alienation of human life from nature. Eriugena’s symbolism embraces in archipelagic fashion the sea’s flux and energy:

Let us spread sails, then, and set out to sea. For Reason, not inexperienced in these waters, fearing neither the threats of the waves nor windings nor the Syrtes nor rocks, shall speed our course: indeed she finds it sweeter to exercise her skill in the hidden straits of the Ocean of Divinity than idly to bask in the smooth and open waters, where she cannot display her power...until the grace of God leading and helping and aiding and moving her by patient and assiduous study of the Holy Scriptures, she may return and reach again that which in the Fall of the First Man she had lost, the contemplation of Truth...⁸³

Reason, *ratio* in Eriugena's description of the sea above, is a Latin term used to gloss the Greek *logos*, which played a large role in iconographic doctrines of the divine Logos thickening into icon in the Incarnation, and in cosmological writings of Maximus the Confessor that influenced Eriugena as translator and writer.⁸⁴ For Maximus, the *logoi* of the *Logos* are the divine energies running through Creation. Eriugena's distinctive image of reason casting forth on the "Ocean of Divinity," perhaps echoing Luke 5.4, stands for a mutually reciprocal theophany (which he often figured also as clouds), in which human beings and the natural world participate "textually" in divine energies.

Eriugena writes, "Our bodies are placed on this earth or surrounded by this air...bodies within bodies" like "the fish in the sea."⁸⁵ Desert writers (in Athanasius' account of St. Antony and the influential monastic writings of St. Isaac of Nineveh paralleled by the Irish St. Columbanus) again refer to the spiritually atmospheric sea in which monks swim as the quietude of the desert in which they can remember "things within."⁸⁶ Here we see again a double-enfoldedness easily related to the archipelago: The

desert encompasses the things within; the things within constitute and encompass the desert. Just so Eriugena's theophanies (figured by the biblical trope of clouds embodying energies of God) encompass cosmic relations, which in turn, as in Paradise or the landscape of the Otherworld, in a sense include theophanies. Eriugena's distinctive relation of sea to peace and freedom ("peace" being another meaning, too, of the Irish term *síd* for mound-portal to the Otherworld) involves a fluid sense of Paradise. He wrote:

Paradise is not a localized or particular piece of woodland on earth, but a spiritual garden sown with the seeds of the virtues and planted in human nature, or, to be more precise, is nothing else but the human substance itself created in the image of God, in which the Tree of Life, that is the Word and wisdom of God, gives fruit to all life; and in the midst of which streams forth the Fountain of all good things, which again is the Divine Wisdom.... In this intelligible Paradise God goes walking.⁸⁷

Archipelagic social networks

Finally, it is worth briefly considering how overlapping layers of social networks also form part of the environment of the archipelago as analogues to early Irish textual tropes of landscape. A synthesis of native and Christian social systems shaped what historian T.M. Charles-Edwards calls competing "multiplicity of hierarchies of status" in early medieval Ireland, which is the best-attested of the early literary cultures around the Irish Sea.⁸⁸ These formed a patchwork of realms ranging from localized clans to regional dynasties, among which lived a "mandarin class" or scholarly elite bridging clans and

monasteries.⁸⁹ The latter included clusters of lay families in their outlying grounds, and balanced geographically and genealogically between local and regional social networks. Perhaps 50,000 farmsteads in Ireland, from a population probably averaging under 500,000 in the early medieval period, with some 4,000 churches evident, all attest its decentralized social landscape.⁹⁰ Monastic sites in this social landscape tended to be in places that were both geographically liminal and socially linked to varied clan networks. Ascetic traditions of exile-journey co-existed with an emphasis on “being in place” in both Irish and Welsh monastic texts. Families living in monastic proto-towns, clan connections of monastic leaders, and the spiritual families of the monasteries themselves, formed kinship networks that melded sacred and secular. Just as the sea served simultaneously both as connector and divider, so too the culture’s imaginative sense of place was dynamic (however much social roles may not have been) and constructed an indigenous orientation amid the archipelago’s flux, in contrast with the more continental-based and colonial-shaped identities of Christian Anglo-Saxon and Frankish realms. Early Irish monastic communities were amid this archipelago of social networks the literary centers and cultural brokers that produced the Otherworld trope as an overlay landscape of their own in retro “fantasy” histories of the islands.

Amid the interiors of the sea region, including the “bewilderingly irregular” midlands in Ireland and Wales’ fractal valleys and divided coastlands, the literary centers of the early Irish Sea lacked a central fertile river basin to provide a nucleus for proto-national consciousness.⁹¹ A certain distinctive combination in this Irish landscape of rootlessness and intense localization, noted by geographer J.H. Andrews, reflected indefinite boundaries in sea, loughs, land and sky.⁹² To some extent this was arguably the

case across the Irish Sea in Wales as well, amid displacement of native Celtic British culture to western highlands and valleys near the Irish Sea, where later-attested and probably Irish-influenced literature such as the *Mabinogi* and poems attributed to Taliesin also presented similar tropes of nature.⁹³ What Andrews terms a combined displacement and localism in geo-cultural landscape can be glimpsed also in Irish notions of exile on other islands, a separation to connect in effect.

There is a geopolitical analogy to the literary Otherworld trope as well in Irish central grazing areas and liminal “sacred zones” or belts of monasteries marked shifting spheres of influence among paramount dynasties. Social historian Nerys Patterson noted, “The linch-pin of the political economy was ... the control of wilderness.”⁹⁴ Each of the four quarters of the legendary pentarchy of ancient Irish kingdoms was geographically based on an upland massif, whose hill fringes were the basis for early farming that seems to have expanded more to the interior with new ploughs and crops at the time of the spread of Christianity. An increasing squeeze on borderlands that housed monasteries during the early Middle Ages brought increasing pressure on liminal lands and transhumant grazing resources. Such “middle lands,” both marginal and central, also could have formed an analogue to the Otherworld, an inner archipelago.

From the desert-sea to the cloister and back: Ecocritical connections

We’re told in an early medieval Irish poem that Columba looked back toward Ireland from exile in Scotland’s western isles with a *glas*-colored eye. This has been variously interpreted as meaning sadness or anger. But we can consider fourth-century writings by St. Ephrem the Syrian (who articulated the image of Paradise as a hollow world-mountain) on the need for a luminous heart to renew a luminous eye, leading

beyond prayer to cosmic wonder (the Syriac word translated luminous meant also “limpid, lucid, clear, pure, transparent, serene or sincere,”⁹⁵ reminiscent of *glas*). To Ephrem, Mary’s eye was kept luminous and “she is the land which receives the source of light: through her it has illumined the whole world with its inhabitants, which had grown dark through Eve.”⁹⁶ In this patristic context adapted to the archipelago, blue-grey-green asceticism was a discipline of cosmic synergy to see through that luminous eye. Unlike a Platonic emphasis on reaching archetypes of reality, the colors of the winds and colors of martyrdom, overlapping in *glas* with its environmental associations, evoke a mysterious reality of immanent divine energy infusing the world and entwining with our experience, a reality of relationality always ungraspable in essence. In this they partake of the Otherworld landscape and Eriugena’s sea.

This combination of transcendence with immanence is reminiscent again of the odd overlap between Eriugena’s apophatic patristic cosmology and the postmodern geophilosophy of Deleuze and Guattari, noted by Hallward. The theological scholar Nikolaos Loudovikos offers further insight into this, by discussing how Deleuzean cosmology argues “that we must search for transcendence in the interior of immanence, and it is from the latter that we expect the emergence of the meaning of the former,” in a “mystical potentiality, absolutely real and not abstract, which brings things out of chaos, without being transcendent itself, as it is pure ‘reservation.’”⁹⁷ To clarify, Loudovikos moves us further into the Dionysian-Maximian-Eriugenan notion of the *logoi* of the Logos as uncreated divine energies in nature:

...the doctrine of divine uncreated *logoi* of things allows us to say, along with Deleuze, that transcendentality is found within immanent things... that supreme

divine and human meaning are located within this world of immanence, and then... ordinary things become absolutely extraordinary.... Otherworldliness is the very condition of innerworldliness, while the latter can be a location of the former, for us..... Nature is not only made for grace, but it is made, from the beginning, *out of grace*. We are beyond 'immanence' and before 'transcendence,' as we have both simultaneously.⁹⁸

In short, there is a fusion in this approach to nature, manifest in the imagery of the sea and the Otherworld in early Insular texts, of the analogical and the dialogical, the transcendent and the immanent, or arboreal and rhizomic to use Deleuzian terms, which incorporates on the environmental side both a sense of human respect for otherness (in all spheres) and a sense of personal dialogue with otherness as well. Oddly this reflection on cosmology of the past suggests a possible future relation between ecological literary and "new physics" studies, which would have been unthinkable until recently in interdisciplinary environmental fields dominated in engagement with the sciences by socio-biological models, but branching recently however in this direction via a focus on empathy in mind sciences. As Loudovikos suggests, "Physics could become the most 'existential' science today, as it no more describes 'logical,' but 'personal,' i.e., dialogical natural structures that bear the image of their relational archetype upon them."⁹⁹

To return to the past, the fluidity of body, earth and spiritual realms in the literary expressions of sea examined here echoes the emphasis of the early Western ascetic John Cassian's mentor, John Chrysostom, in comments on St. Paul's statement that "This hope [of faith] we have as an anchor of the soul" (Hebrews 5:19):

For through hope we are already in heaven ...And you see how very suitable an image he [Paul] has discovered: for he did not say 'foundation,' but 'anchor.' For that which is in the tossing sea, and seems not to be very firmly fixed, stands on the water as upon land, and is shaken and yet is not shaken.¹⁰⁰

Chrysostom speaks of being already in heaven through hope, standing on the water as upon land, shaken and yet not shaken, not linked to another land beyond the earthly sea. This dialogical way of being agrees with the environmental Otherworld of the Atlantic archipelago, as in accounts from early Irish annals of aerial ships that float through the air as if at sea.¹⁰¹

Thus we can return to Cooper's liminally floating boat at the headwaters of the Susquehanna, and discussions at the start of *The Deerslayer* about the names of the lake and the river at Lake Otsego: Native names forgotten and remembered, names reimagined with stories linked to the interplay of waters and forest there in narrative that resists objectification of the environment by giving it in effect a perspective of its own. Interestingly, Natty Bumppo's spiritual mentors in Cooper's cycle were Moravians (as were the sympathetic sources for Cooper's understanding of Native Americans), who shared with Eriugena and the early Irish *Stowe Missal's* original text an emphasis in Trinitarian and ascetic desert theology of the divine energies, which arguably was more cosmically engaged than later Scholastic forms, and more positively engaging with native cultures.¹⁰² Later the interiorized cloister and cathedral replaced the desert-ocean as the central environmental figure of Christian Europe, the cloister evolving today in globalized Western culture into the academic quad and laboratory. Early Irish stories of the Otherworld nonetheless lived on in their influence on the so-called "green world" of

English literature of Edmund Spenser and others that influenced both Cooper and modern fantasy-genre fiction, such as J.R.R. Tolkien's *The Lord of the Rings* and C.S. Lewis' Irish-inspired *Chronicles of Narnia*, which have helped to inspire many environmental activists.¹⁰³ Samuel Coleridge would find inspiration from Eriugena for Romanticism that flourished amid the Irish Sea zone in the Lake District, and young Teddy Roosevelt would find inspiration in Cooper's fantasy when camping in the Adirondacks, providing an imaginative vision for America's national park system. Such connections suggest again the environmental embeddedness of literature, glimpsed particularly in the early medieval Atlantic.

¹ James Fenimore Cooper, *The Deerslayer*, in *The Leatherstocking Tales*, vol. 2, ed. Blake Nevius, Lance Schachterle, Kent P. Ljungquist, and James A. Kilby, The Library of America (New York: Literary Classics of the United States, 1985), p. 534.

² For more detailed theoretical and historical background to this discussion, see Alfred K. Siewers, *Strange Beauty: Ecocritical Approaches to Early Medieval Landscape*, The New Middle Ages (New York and London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).

³ Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, "Introduction: Infinite Realms," in *Cultural Diversity in the British Middle Ages: Archipelago, Island, England*, ed. Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, The New Middle Ages (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), p. 4.

⁴ Terry Eagleton, "The Irish Sublime," *Religion & Literature* 28 (1996): 25-26, 29.

⁵ Douglas Brinkley, *The Wilderness Warrior, Theodore Roosevelt and the Crusade for America* (New York: HarperCollins 2009), pp. 40-41.

⁶ See, for example, Timo Maran, "Towards an integrated methodology of ecosemiotics: The concept of nature-text," in *Sign Systems Studies* 35 (2007): 269-94.

⁷ The importance of environmental empathy in human self-realization, proposed in deep ecology, is argued in terms of neuroscience and environmental phenomenology by Evan Thompson, *Mind in Life: Biology, Phenomenology, and the Sciences of Mind* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap-Harvard University Press, 2007), pp. 382-411.

⁸ On the use of the term Otherworld in this context, 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.

⁹ About Irish aerial ships, see Carey, "Aerial Ships and Underwater Monasteries: The Evolution of a Monastic Marvel," *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium* 12 (1990): 16-28.

References to other items in this list are given further below.

¹⁰ See, among other works by Benjamin Hudson, *Irish Sea Studies 900-1200* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2006).

¹¹ Michael Schellenberger and Ted Nordhaus, *The Death of Environmentalism*

(2004), www.thebreakthrough.org/images/Death_of_Environmentalism.pdf [accessed 10/1/09], p. 34. See also Lawrence Buell, *The Environmental Imagination: Thoreau, Nature Writing, and the Formation of American Culture* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995).

¹² Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *What is Philosophy?* trans. Janis Tomlinson and Graham Burchell III (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), p. 105.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 169.

¹⁴ Peter Hallward, *Deleuze and the Philosophy of Creation: Out of this World* (London and New York: Verso, 2006).

¹⁵ Martin Heidegger, "The Thing," in Heidegger, *Poetry, Language, Thought*, trans. Albert Hofstadter (New York: HarperCollins, 2001), pp. 163–80; see also Graham Harman, *Heidegger Explained: from Phenomenon to Thing*, Ideas Explained 4 (Chicago and LaSalle, IL: Open Court, 2007), pp. 131–35.

¹⁶ Theoretical backgrounds to the comparisons in this and the following paragraph are developed at length, and with detailed references, in A. Siewers, "Pre-modern Ecosemiotics: The Green World as Literary Ecology," in Kalevi Kull, Valter Lang and Tiina Pell, *Spatiality, Memory and Visualisation of Culture/Nature Relationships: Theoretical Aspects* (University of Tartu Press, forthcoming).

¹⁷ See Siewers, "Pre-modern Ecosemiotics: The Green World as Literary Ecology."

¹⁸ Gilles Deleuze, "Desert Islands," in *Desert Islands and Other Texts (1953–1974)*, trans. Mike Taormina (Cambridge and London: Semiotext(e), 2004), p. 11 [9–14].

¹⁹ 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.

²⁰ Séamus Mac Mathúna, ed. and trans., *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), 39–40; see also 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.

²¹ See Edward S. Casey on Irigaray’s work in relation to landscape, in *The Fate of Place, A Philosophical History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), pp. 321-30.

²² John Carey, *Ireland and the Grail* (Abersytwyth, U.K.: Celtic Studies Publications, 2007), pp. 60-65; another text, *Immacaldam in Druad Brain 7 inna Banfbátbo Febuil ós Loch Fhebuil*, is important to this connection as made by Carey.

²³ 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): 125-129.

²⁴ 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.

²⁵ John Carey, *Ireland and the Grail* (Aberystwyth: Celtic Studies Publications, 2007), 60-65.

²⁶ 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 Wales 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.

²⁷ St. Ephrem the Syrian, *Hymns on Paradise*, trans. Sebastian Brock (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 1997), p. 54; Hymn 1.6-7, pp. 79-80.

²⁸ For a survey of the distinctive involvement of animals in Irish and Welsh hagiographic traditions in relation to forest motifs, for example, see Susan Power Bratton, “Oaks, Wolves and Love: Celtic Monks and Northern Forests,” *Journal of Forest History* 3 (1989): 4-20, and Sister Mary Donatus, *Beasts and Birds in the Lives of the Early Irish Saints*, Ph.D. dissertation (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1934).

²⁹ Benjamin Hudson, “Time is Short,” in *Irish Sea Studies 900-1200* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2006), p. 173 [172-96].

³⁰ 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), p. 48, note 90 [32-48].

³¹ Marie-Louise Sjoestedt, *Celtic Gods and Heroes*, trans. Myles Dillon (New York: Turtle Island Foundation, 1982), p. 1.

³² Gearóid Ó Donnchadha, *St. Brendan of Kerry, the Navigator: His Life and Voyages* (Dublin, Open Air: 2004), pp. 8-9.

³³ St. Athanasius, *The Life of Antony*, trans. Robert C. Gregg (New York: HarperCollins, 2006), p. 74. A similar expression is found in another famous early ascetic text, by St. 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 the Irish St. Columbanus' writings, see *Sancti Columbani Opera, Scriptorum Latini Hiberniae* 2, ed. G.S.M. Walker (Dublin: Dublin Institute, 1957), 13.2, pp. 118-19.

³⁴ Jennifer Neville, *Representations of the Natural World in Old English Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1999), p. 37.

³⁵ *Saltair na Rann: A Collection of Early Middle Irish poems*, edited by W. Stokes (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 (see Thomas Olden, "On the Geography of Ros Ailithir," *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 2nd series, 2 (1879-1888): 219-52). James Carney placed the poem 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).

³⁶ 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; 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): 15-28. Binchy in his edition of the *Corpus Iuris Hibernici*, 6 vols. (Dublin: Dublin Institute, 1978), vol. 1, p. 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. 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; and 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*, 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 below, is found in Binchy's *Corpus Iuris Hibernici*, vol. 2, pp. 343-345; from Harleian 432 (the *senchas* discussion, f. 3^b). Carey dates this larger synthesis of introductory material to the tenth or eleventh century ("An edition of the Pseudo-Historical Prologue," 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).

³⁷ 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), 35-36, and fairly recently corrected (since Stancliffe'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.

³⁸ I am indebted to Dr. Kevin Murray for his sharing this definition in discussion; to it Phillip Bernhardt-House added “any color of the sea.” For a fuller explanation of philological, source, and cultural-ascetic backgrounds to these color schemes, see A. Siewers, “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

³⁹ E.G. Quin, ed., *Dictionary of the Irish Language*, compact edition (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 1983), s.v.

⁴⁰ Tatyana Mikhailova, “What colour was Saint Colum Cille’s eyes, or the meaning of Old Irish *glas*,” a paper at the Celtic Studies Congress, Aberystwyth, 2003.

⁴¹ “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 pp. 103-08.

⁴² A phrase cited by the Russian poet Olga Sedakova in her talk “The Light of Life,” given at Bucknell University on March 10, 2007; on-line at <http://intelros.ru/lib/statyi/sedakova3.htm> [accessed 3/10/07], section 1.3 “Theological silence.” Christian icondules 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).

⁴³ 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).

⁴⁴ Zech. 6.2-5. The four spirits of the heavens in prophetic writings became associated, in an interesting conjunction of cosmology and eschatology, with the Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse.

⁴⁵ 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.

⁴⁶ 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.

⁴⁷ s.v. *gel* and *bán*, *Dictionary of the Irish Language*.

⁴⁸ *Lebor Gabála Éirenn, 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; "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), pp. 11 and 2). 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 worship orientation, contrasted with the "right" with

certain connotations of “rightness” as in English. “An Old-Irish Homily,” edited and translated by John Strachan, *Ériu*, 3 (1907): 5 [1-7], identifies hell with cold, wintry, wet qualities, and heaven with qualities of summer.

⁴⁹ Gearóid Mac Eoin, “Observations on *Saltair na Rann*,” 1-28, with a possible correlation suggested in Thomas Olden, “On the Geography of Ros Ailithir.”

⁵⁰ The place name Tech Duinn is found off the Bearra Peninsula in the southwest.

⁵¹ John Carey, “Cosmology in *Saltair na Rann*,” p. 38 and note 12.

⁵² 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*, edited and translated by James Carney (Dublin: Irish Texts Society, 1964), pp. 2-89 at 18, stanza 52..

⁵³ 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.

⁵⁴ Alwyn Rees and Brinley Rees, *Celtic Heritage, Ancient Tradition in Ireland and Wales* (New York: Grove Press, 1961), pp. 123-24.

⁵⁵ Gildas, *De Excidio Britanniae*, in *Gildas, The Ruin of Britain and Other Works*, ed. Michael Winterbottom, *Arthurian Period Sources* vol. 1 (London: Phillimore, 1978), par. 8, pp. 87-145 at 91. 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.

⁵⁶ Eric Hamp, “Mabinogi and Archaism,” *Celtica*, 23 (1999): 104 [96-112].

⁵⁷ See John Carey, "The Lough Foyle Colloquy Texts: *Immacaldam Choluim Chille* ⁊ *ind Óclaig oc Carraic Eolaírg* and *Immacaldam in Druad Brain* ⁊ *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.

⁵⁸ See Alwyn Rees and Brinley Rees, *Celtic Heritage*, chapters 5 and 7.

⁵⁹ 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."

⁶⁰ Clare Stancliffe, "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. *Iacintbus* is the medieval spelling of *hyacinthus*, "blue."

⁶¹ Próinséas Ní Chatháin, "A Reading," which corrects "cé rucésa" to read "cení césa."

⁶² Pádraig P. Ó Néill, "The Background to the *Cambrai Homily*," *Ériu* 32 (1981): 137-47, at 141.

⁶³ "The Background to the *Cambrai Homily*"; see *Catéchèses Celtique*, ed. Dom André Wilmart, in *Analecta Regimensia: 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].

⁶⁴ Pádraig P. Ó Néill, "The Background to the *Cambrai Homily*," pp. 142-43.

⁶⁵ Archbishop Averky Taushev and Seraphim Rose, *The Apocalypse in the Teachings of Ancient Christianity* (Platina, CA: St. Herman of Alaska Press, 1996), pp. 272-73.

⁶⁶ The association with the heavens invoked a common motif relating penance and reformation to turning toward heavenly desire (e.g. the Greek scriptural term *metanoia*, “beyond mind”).

⁶⁷ See also Kay Muhr, “Water Imagery in Early Irish,” *Celtica*, 23 (1999): 208 [193-210]. Liam Mac Mathúna’s examination of Irish uses of three-fold division of the cosmos (“Irish Perceptions of the Cosmos,” *Celtica* 23: 174-87), which he sees as pre-Christian in origin, raises the question of possible syncretic identification of that 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.

⁶⁸ 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.

⁶⁹ Augustinus Hibernicus, *De Mirabilibus sacrae Scripturae*, PL 35, 2149-2202; portions are translated by John Carey in *King of Mysteries* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2000). *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.

⁷⁰ 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; John Carey, "The Lough Foyle Colloquy Texts"; and Carey, "Aerial Ships and Underwater Monasteries: The Evolution of a Monastic Marvel" (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 Symbology of Water in Irish Pseudo-History," *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium* 12 (1990): 80-86, and again Kay Muhr, "Water Imagery." See also discussion in John Carey, *Ireland and the Grail*.

⁷¹ Colin Ireland, "Penance and Prayer in Water: An Irish Practice in Northumbrian Hagiography," *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies* 34 (Winter 1997): 54-55 [54-66].

⁷² Ireland, "Penance and Prayer in Water," pp. 54-55.

⁷³ 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.

⁷⁴ Columbanus, *Opera*, ed. Walker, 13.2, pp. 118-19.

⁷⁵ Columbanus, *Opera*, 8.1, pp. 95-95.

⁷⁶ 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.

⁷⁷ Kay Muhr, "Water Imagery in Early Irish."

⁷⁸ I.14, Sharpe, ed., *Life of St. Columba*, 117; Charles Plummer, ed., *Betha Brenainn Cluana Ferta*, in *Bethada Náem na Érenn, Lives of the Irish Saints*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1922), 1: 64-65.

⁷⁹ 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].

⁸⁰ Acts 1.11.

⁸¹ Colmán Etchingham, *Church Organisation in Ireland AD 650 to 1000* (Maynooth: Laigin Publications, 1999), pp. 329-30.

⁸² 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) 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.

⁸³ Eriugena, *Periphyseon*, 4.2, PL744A-B; trans. Sheldon-Williams and O'Meara, p. 383.

⁸⁴ See St. Maximus the Confessor, *Ambigua* 22, *Patrologia Graeca* 91, 1257AB; Paul M. Blowers and Robert Louis Wilken, *On the Cosmic Mystery of Jesus Christ: Selected Writings from St. Maximus the Confessor* (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir Seminary's Press, 2004); Lars Thunberg, *Man and the Cosmos: The Vision of St. Maximus the Confessor* (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1985); and Joseph P. Farrell, *Free Choice in St. Maximus the Confessor* (South Canaan, PA: St. Tikhon's Seminary Press, 1989). 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.

⁸⁵ Eriugena, *Periphyseon* 1.35, PL 479C-D; trans. Sheldon-Williams and O'Meara, p. 70.

⁸⁶ 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, *Ascetical Homilies*, Homily 15, 85. For a parallel see Columbanus, *Opera*, 13.2, pp. 118-19.

⁸⁷ Eriugena, *Periphyseon* 5.21, PL841B, 841D; trans. Sheldon-Williams, 500.

⁸⁸ 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), p. lxxii [lvii-lxxxii].

⁸⁹ 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].

⁹⁰ 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), p. 600 [549–608]. For population estimate see p. 580, and for number of churches, see p. 597.

⁹¹ 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].

⁹² J.H. Andrews, "The geographical element in Irish history," 6-7; 13, 18.

⁹³ See Chapter 2 of Siewers, *Strange Beauty*, and John Carey's *Ireland and the Grail*.

⁹⁴ Nerys Patterson, *Cattle-Lords and Clansmen, the Social Structure of Early Ireland*, 2nd ed. (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994), p. 94. Patterson's overall approach needs to be supplemented by Robin Chapman Stacey's *The Road to Judgment* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994), Fergus 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 Edwards' more recent work.

⁹⁵ Sebastian Brock, ed., *The Syriac Fathers on Prayer and the Spiritual Life*, p. xxviii.

⁹⁶ St. Ephrem, *Hymns on the Church*, 29.9, trans. Sebastian Brock, *The Luminous Eye: The Spiritual World Vision of St. Ephrem* (Rome: C.I.I.S., 1985), pp. 52-60.

⁹⁷ Nikolaos Loudovikos, *A Eucharistic Ontology: Maximus the Confessor's Eschatological Ontology of Being as Dialogical Reciprocity*, trans. Elizabeth Theokritoff (Brookline, MA: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 2010), p. 234.

⁹⁸ Loudovikos, *A Eucharistic*, p. 236.

⁹⁹ Loudovikos, *A Eucharistic Ontology*, p. 238.

¹⁰⁰ 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), p. 419.

¹⁰¹ John Carey, "Aerial Ships and Underwater Monasteries"; Micael Ross, "Anchors in a Three-Decker World," *Folklore* 109 (1998): 63-75.

¹⁰² For more detailed discussion of the Trinitarian issues and what scholars have dubbed the "energy theory" of early medieval asceticism and its later Byzantine developments, see the first chapter of Siewers, *Strange Beauty* and also "The Bluest-Greyest-Greenest Eye."

¹⁰³ On connections between Tolkien, environmental activists, and early Celtic literatures, see 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. On the influence of the fantasy of Tolkien and Lewis on popular environmental ethos, see Matthew T. Dickerson and Jonathan D. Evans. *Ents, Elves, and Eriador: The Environmental Vision of J.R.R. Tolkien* (Lexington, KY: University Of Kentucky, 2006), also Matthew T. Dickerson, and David O'Hara. *Narnia and the Fields of Arbol: The Environmental Vision of C.S. Lewis* (Lexington, KY: The University of Kentucky Press, 2009), both in the Culture of the Land series.