## ALDHELMI CARMEN RHYTHMICUM ${ }^{1}$

The first Englishman, indeed the first man of any Germanic nation, to become a Latin author, was the most brilliant alumnus of the school of Theodore Archbishop of Canterbury and Hadrian Abbot of Saints Peter and Paul, Canterbury. Aldhelm was born about 639 or 640 , son of Kenten, perhaps Centwine, an otherwise unknown brother of Ine King of the West Saxons 688-726, educated by the Irish philosopher and monk Maeldubh, then by Theodore and Hadrian sometime between 670 and 675. Elected Abbot of Malmesbury about 675, he was from his elevation in 705 until his death in 709 first Bishop of Sherborne.

The following text of Aldhelmi Carmen Rhythmicum is based upon the only extant manuscript, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 751 folio $40^{r-v}$, copied in the middle of the ninth century, apparently from materials assembled by the successor of Saint Boniface as Archbishop of Mainz 754-86, Lul, who had been a monk at Malmesbury. ${ }^{2}$ In the manuscript each couplet occupies a single line with the verses arranged in two left-justified columns. Here each couplet occupies two lines.

[^0]Other departures from the manuscript are noted below ${ }^{3}$ and after the text. To the left of the text are line numbers. Within the text capital letters and punctuation marks in boldface represent litterae notabiliores and marks of the manuscript. Rhymes are marked by italics. Alliteration within lines and between adjacent lines is marked by solid underline. Alliteration between alternate lines is marked by dotted underline. To the right of the text the first column notes the scheme of rhymes; the second column notes the scheme of rhythms, three of which end $x / x x$ ( $1 / \mathrm{x} / \mathrm{xx} / \mathrm{xx}, 2 / \mathrm{xx} / \mathrm{x} / \mathrm{xx}, 3 \mathrm{x} / \mathrm{x} / \mathrm{x} / \mathrm{xx}$ ) and three of which end $\mathrm{xx} / \mathrm{x}(4 / \mathrm{x} / \mathrm{xxx} / \mathrm{x}, 5 / \mathrm{xx} / \mathrm{xx} / \mathrm{x}, 6 \mathrm{x} / \mathrm{x} / \mathrm{xx} / \mathrm{x})$; the third column notes the number of words and the fourth the number of letters.

|  | INCIPIT CARMEN ALDHELMI |  | 321 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | L éctor cásses cathólice. | a 1 | 321 |
|  | Atque óbses athlétice. | a 1 | 319 |
|  | Túis pulsátus précibus. | b 2 | 320 |
|  | Obnixe flágitántibus ; | b 3 | 219 |
| 5 | Ymnísta cármen çécini . | c 3 | 319 |
|  |  | c 2 | 422 |
|  | Sícut prídem pepigeram . | d 1 | 320 |
|  | Quándo proféctus fúreram. | d 2 | 321 |
|  | Usque diram Domnóniam. | d 1 | 319 |
| 10 | Pér carénte $m$ Cornúbiam . | d 1 | 320 |
|  | Flónléntis caespítibus . | b 1 | 222 |
|  | Et fecúndis gramínibus ; | b 1 | 320 |
|  | Éleménta inórmia. | e 1 | 315 |
|  | $\underline{\text { Alque fácta infórmia }}$ | e 1 | 318 |
| 15 | Ouassántur súb aethérea . | e 3 | 321 |
|  | Conuéxi caéli cámara. | e 3 | 318 |
|  | Dum trémet múndi máchina. | e 3 | 421 |
|  | Súb uentórum monárchia. | e 1 | 320 |
|  | Écce noctúrno témpore. | a 2 | 319 |

3. The semicolon; in lines 4, 12, 43-4 47-8, 52, 54, 76, 88, 97-8, 105-6, 111-15, 125, 127-8, 134-5, 137, 151 appears to serve as both the abbreviation for $-u s$ and a punctuation mark. The ordinary abbreviations are expanded as per-, prae-, and pro-, \& as et, xpi as Xpisti and xpo as Xpisto. Conrect Classical spellings as with ae in aethere 24 and with $e$ caudata in ȩtherea 15 justify normalization of ethera 79 ; so caecat' 69 justifies normalization of ceca 161, and caelitus 53, caelorum 55 , celi 94 justify normalization of celi 16 . Correct spellings of saeculo 26 and saeui 179 justify restoration of a into deseuirent 26 for both etymological correctness and internal alliteration. Elsewhere spellings like haec 79 and casae 167 justify normalization of cespitibus 11, germane 63, sepissime 67, libre 82, cetera 83, cerula 99, equora 104, aule 136, tetro 157.

| 20 | Óto brumáli turbine . | a 2 | 318 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Quátiens térram tempéstas . | f 5 | 323 |
|  | Turbábat átque unástitas . | f 3 | 321 |
|  | Cum . frácto uxénti fádere . | a 3 | 420 |
|  | Bácharéntur in aéthere. | a 1 | 320 |
| 25 | Et rúpto rétináculo . | g 3 | 317 |
|  | Désaeuirent in saéculo. | g 1 | 320 |
|  | Tum líbertáte potita. | e 6 | 318 |
|  | Et séruitúte sopita. | e 6 | 317 |
|  | Spissa státim spirámina - | e 1 | 321 |
| 30 | Dutélli dúcunt ágmina. | e 3 | 318 |
|  | Quíbus bis séna nómina. | e 2 | 419 |
|  | Índidérunt unolúmina. | e 1 | 218 |
|  | Hórum árchon atróciter - | h 1 | 320 |
|  | Fíman liérrens feróciter : | h 1 | 321 |
| 35 | Fúribúndus cum flámine | a 1 | 320 |
|  | Uéniébat a cárdine. | a 1 | 316 |
|  | Únde Titánis tórrida. | e 2 | 318 |
|  | $\underline{L a b u ́ n t u r ~ l u ́ m i n a ́ r i a ~}$ | e 3 | 217 |
|  | Cúmque flátus uictóriae | a 1 | 321 |
| 40 | Non fúrerént inglóriae | a 3 | 320 |
|  | Tremébat téllus túrbida | e 3 | 321 |
|  | Atque éruta róbora. | e 1 | 316 |
|  | Cadébant cuím uerticibus ; | b 3 | 321 |
|  | Símul rúptis radicibus ; | b 1 | 320 |
| 45 | Néque gúttae graciliter. | h 1 | 321 |
|  | Manábant séd mináciter. | h 3 | 320 |
|  | Múndi rótam rorántibus ; | b 1 | 320 |
|  | Úmectábant cum ímbribus; | b 1 | 321 |
|  | Cum praépollénti plúuia. | e 3 | 321 |
| 50 | Éssent reférta $\underline{\text { flúmina }}$ | e 2 | 320 |
|  | Túrerbo térram terétibus. | b 1 | 320 |
|  | Grássabátur grandinibus ; | b 1 | 222 |
|  | Quae cátervátim caélitus. | b 3 | 322 |
|  | Crebrántur núgris núbibus; | b 3 | 323 |
| 55 | Néque caelórum cúlmina. | e 2 | 320 |
|  | Cárent noctúrna nébula | e 2 | 320 |
|  | Quórum púlchra planities . | i 1 | 322 |
|  | Pérlucébat ut glácies. | i 1 | 319 |
|  | Dónec nímbo ac nuibibus. | b 1 | 419 |
| 60 | Tórue tegúntur trúcibus. | b 2 | 321 |
|  | Nam ténebréscunt tưrbine. | a 3 | 322 |
|  | Disrúpto rérum ơrdine. | a 3 | 319 |
|  | Germánae Phoébi númina . | e 3 | 320 |
|  | Átque praeclára límina. | e 2 | 320 |

65 Néque flagrábat flámmiger . ..... h $2 \quad 323$
Dúctor diérum Lúcifer . h 2 ..... 19
Sícut sólet saepissime - a 1 ..... 320
Aurátum sidus súrgere - ..... a 3 ..... 319
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70 Uélud fírua fulltgine - a 1 ..... 318
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Nón conpárent $\underline{\text { currícula }}$ - e 1 ..... 321
Áquilónis a círcio .. ..... g 1 ..... 316
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85 Quem Mázaróth repérimus . b 3 ..... 321
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Átramen flágrant fúlmina. ..... e 2 ..... 322
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95 Quándo palléntem péndula . ..... e 2 ..... 322
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Uentórum ác corréptio ..... g 3 ..... 19
Per pélagí itinera . ..... e 3 ..... 316
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105 Cúm bulliret brumálibus ; b 1 ..... 321
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Atque díris dodrántibus . b 1 ..... 321
$\underline{\text { Pulsábat prómontória } . ~}$ e 3 ..... 219

| 110 | Súffragánte uictória | e 1 | 219 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Sic tưrgescébat trúcibus ; | b 3 | 322 |
|  | Póntus unentórum flátibus ; | b 2 | 322 |
|  | Infligéndo flaminibus ; | b 1 | 220 |
|  | Scópulósis marginibus ; | b 1 | 220 |
| 115 | Quid dícam dé ingéntibus ; | b 3 | 421 |
|  | Altithroní opéribus. | b 3 | 218 |
|  | Quae nûllus néquit número. | g 3 | 422 |
|  | Cónputáre in cálculo | g 1 | 318 |
|  | $\underline{\text { E } n}$ muilta in $\underline{n}$ miráculo | g 3 | 417 |
| 120 | Nünc appárent propátulo | g 1 | 321 |
|  | Clára X Xisti cleméntia . | e 1 | 320 |
|  | Pér haec făcta recéntia. | e 1 | 420 |
|  | Cum quárta gálicicinia. | e 3 | 319 |
|  | Quási quárta uigilia . | e 1 | 318 |
| 125 | $\underline{\text { Súscitárent }}$ sonántibus ; | b 1 | 221 |
|  | Sómniculósos cáantibus . | b 2 | 220 |
|  | Tum bínis şántes çlássibus ; | b 3 | 424 |
|  | Célebrámus concéntibus ; | b 1 | 221 |
|  | Mátutinam melódiam | d 1 | 217 |
| 130 | Ac synáxis psalmódiam . | d 1 | 319 |
|  | $\underline{\text { En }}$ státim fưlcra flámine. | a 3 | 421 |
|  | Nutábant ${ }_{\text {á }}^{\text {fundámine }}$. | a 3 | 318 |
|  | Tigna tóta cum trábibus . | b 1 | 420 |
|  | Trémibúnda ingéntibus ; | b 1 | 220 |
| 135 | Uácillábant gab ọnnibus ; | b 1 | 320 |
|  | Gúlae pulsáta pártibus | b 2 | 320 |
|  | $\underline{\text { His tántis tét }}$ mpestátibus ; | b 3 | 322 |
|  | Ác terrórum turbínibus | b 1 | 320 |
|  | Nóstra páuent praecórdia . | e 1 | 322 |
| 140 | Tót monstrórum prodigia | e 1 | 321 |
|  | Quándo çemébant lámíma - | e 2 | 321 |
|  | Tectórum láqueária . | e 3 | 217 |
|  | Horrisonis fragóribus. | b 3 | 220 |
|  | Cóncuti ét çrepóribus | b 2 | 319 |
| 145 | $\underline{T} u m$ tándem cárs $u$ catérua . | e 6 | 421 |
|  | Confrácta línquens limina. | e 3 | 323 |
|  | $\underline{\text { Pớrtum pétit basilicae } \text {. }}$ | a 1 | 320 |
|  | Pópulánte pernície. | a 1 | 217 |
|  | Sic pellúntur pericula . | a 1 | 320 |
| 150 | Per Mátris ádminicula . | a 3 | 319 |
|  | Qutidam discrímen duóbus ; | b 5 | 321 |
|  | Déuitántes cum sáltibus. | b 1 | 321 |
|  | Pér deuéxa ac lábrica. | e 1 | 418 |
|  | Cliuósi rúris láátera. | e 3 | 318 |


| 155 | Métuébant magnópere - | a 1 | 218 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Cásam contritam crepóre - | a 5 | 321 |
|  | Pórro cum taétrae ténebrae. | a 2 | 423 |
|  | Praéteríssent et látebrae. | a 1 | 323 |
|  | Fátescénte uelámine. | a 1 | 218 |
| 160 | Órto | a 1 | 317 |
|  | Scissa caéca calígine - | a 1 | 319 |
|  | Quási móris imágine - | a 1 | 318 |
|  | Tunc uidens áb écclésia. | e 3 | 420 |
|  | Tigilli fúsa frágmina. | e 3 | 319 |
| 165 | En ínquam nóctis hórrid $a$ - | e 3 | 421 |
|  | Núnc appárent spectácula . | e 1 | 322 |
|  |  | c 1 | 317 |
|  | Cadébant ád fundámina. | e 3 | 319 |
|  | Quá solébant lautíssimae | a 1 | 322 |
| 170 | Ş́mi dúlces delíciae . | a 1 | 318 |
|  | $\underline{\text { En }}$ génestárum aprica . | e 6 | 318 |
|  | Fróndosárum ulelámina. | e 1 | 219 |
|  | Pellúntur páriétibus. | b 3 | 219 |
|  | Flabrórum áriétibus . | b 3 | 218 |
| 175 | $\underline{H}$ eú tectórum tutảmina | e 1 | 319 |
|  | Prósternúntur in plátea. | e 1 | 321 |
|  | Écce crátes a cúlmine. | a 1 | 418 |
|  | Rúunt sine munimine. | a 1 | 317 |
|  | Flátus saéui spirámina . | e 1 | 320 |
| 180 | $\underline{H} a e ́ c$ fecérunt ludíbria . | e 1 | 320 |
|  | Et nisi n nátalicio. | e 3 | 315 |
|  | Paúli Sáncti sollémnia . | e 1 | 320 |
|  | Túeréntur treméntia. | e 1 | 218 |
|  | Tímidórım praecórdia . | e 1 | 219 |
| 185 | Fórsan quassáto cúlmine . | a 2 | 321 |
|  | Quáterémur et fúlmine | a 1 | 319 |
|  | Quémadmódum crudéliter. | h 1 | 221 |
|  | Nóuies bínos círciter. | h 2 | 319 |
|  | Propálant éuangélica. | e 3 | 219 |
| 190 | Tríni Tonántis fámina | e 2 | 319 |
|  | Túris fregisse frágmina. | e 2 | 322 |
|  | Cúm inménsa macéria. | e 1 | 317 |
|  | Érgo Xpisto in commúne . | a 4 | 419 |
|  | Adémpti ${ }^{\text {á discrímine }}$ | a 3 | 318 |
| 195 | Grátes dicámus dúlciter. | h 2 | 321 |
|  | $\underline{\text { Manénti ínmortáliter } \text {. }}$ | h 3 | 219 |
|  | $\underline{\text { Dóxa Déo ingénito. }}$ | g 1 | 315 |
|  | Átque Gnáto progénito . | g 1 | 319 |
|  | Símul cum Śáncto supérna - | e 5 | 421 |
| 200 | Flátu regéntí saécula. | e 2 | 319 |
|  | FINITUR CARMEN ALDHELMI . |  | 321 |

Incipit MS al' sc. aliud. 1 catholicȩ. 4 flagittantib;. 6 responsa. 12 foecundis. 16 conuexa. 23 fracti. 34 famam. 35 flaminæ. 58 glaties. 60 crucibus. 66 doctor. 72 curricola. 82 torpẹbat. 89 radiebat ratulus. 91 nugerrima. 97 quarum. 101 ruit. 123 grata. 152 diuitantes. 156 contritum. 157 tetro. 159 fatescentes. 160 iuuaris. 169 que. 174 fabrorum. 185 quassati. 200 regente. Explicit MS finit.

## THE POEM OF ALDHELM BEGINS.

Reader, catholic 'helmet ' and champion 'hostage', assailed by your prayers clamouring resolutely, 5 I, a hymn-writer, have sung a poem and given back something promised as I had undertaken long ago.
When I had set forth toward dire Devon
10 through Comwall lacking flower-yielding turves and prolific grasses, irregular elements and disfigured effects are shaken repeatedly under the aetherial vault of convex heaven, while the structure of the universe trembles under the sole rule of the winds.
Behold, in a nocturnal time
with a wintry whirlwind risen, a tempest and a wasting desolation striking disturbed the land when with their pact broken the winds are running wild in the aether and with the retaining rope ruptured they are raging savagely in the world [lit. ' age '].
Then with their liberty strengthened and their servitude put to sleep, their breathings immediately coming thick and fast, they lead the troops of the duel,
32 on which volumes have put
31 twice-six names [i.e. learned books name twelve winds].
Of these the ruler, violently
sweeping along the ground, ${ }^{4}$ fiercely
35 furious with his blast,
was coming from the cardinal point

[^1]whence Titan's burning
lights set [i.e. where the sun sets, the west], and since the blowings of a not inglorious victory
40 are storming furiously, the disturbed earth was trembling, and rooted-out oaks were falling with their tops ruptured together with their roots,
45 and the raindrops were not lightly dripping but threateningly
48 they were moistening with their
47 bedewing downpours the wheel of the universe.
When with overwheIming rain
50 the rivers were filled to bursting the whirlwind was afflicting the land with rounded hailstones
which in a throng from heaven
are widespread with black clouds,
55 and the heights of the heavens do not
lack a nocturnal fog,
whose [i.e. hailstones'] beautiful surface
was shining pellucid like ice
until with a nimbus and harsh
60 clouds they are grimly covered.
For in the whirlwind
with the order of things disrupted
the divine powers of the sister of Phoebus [i.e. the moon]
become shadowy and her very clear lights. ${ }^{5}$
65 Nor did the flame-bearing
leader of the days, Lucifer, blaze
as he is most often accustomed
to arise, as the gilded star, but blinded by darkness
70 as with swarthy soot
the most plainly beautiful running movements of the
Plough
are not to be seen
from the northwest of the north
keeping its course sedulously, and with exactly as many, seven, burning lamps lies hidden the beautiful coupled group of the Pleiades

[^2]from the lineage of Atlas. ${ }^{6}$
These stars ascend together through the aether
80 from the rising of the sun [i.e. the east]. ${ }^{7}$
Then with its equal weighing-pan the limpid
scale of Libra lay motionless
when the Zodiacal circle with its other
throng is darkened,
85 which we find
called Mazaroth in antiquity
with its twice-six stars
shining through Olympus [i.e. the heavens].
Nor did ruddy Sirius radiate
as he was accustomed, because the blackest palls of cloud
hide the poles.
Nevertheless lightning bolts blaze
widely through the heights of heaven
95 when their suspended jagged tips ${ }^{8}$
belch pallid flame,
whose [i.e. lightning bolts'] nature proceeds
from colliding clouds, and also the marine blue waters
100 are accumulated on the gravel
on which the eruption rushed in
and the correption of the winds
through the ways of the sea
covered the salty surface of the sea with foam,
when the wavy whirlpool boils
with wintry billows,
when the ocean with its masses
and its dire three-quarters [of the world which it covers]
was assailing the promontories,
110 with victory supporting it.
Thus did the sea swell with harsh
blowings of winds
dashing with blasts against
rocky shores.

[^3]115 What shall I say about the vast works of the High-Throned, which no man can in number compute with a counter?
Lo, many things in the miracle [I am going to relate]
now appear in the open
by the clear clemency of Christ
through these recent effects.
When the fourth cockcrows, as if in the fourth vigil, rouse with resounding songs sleepy men, then standing in double ranks we are celebrating with singings together the melody of matins
and the psalmody of coming together [for prayer].
Lo, immediately pillars from a blast
rocked from the foundation.
Whole beams with their vast balks
trembling
tottered, assailed from all parts of the hall.
In these great tempests
and whirlwinds of terrors
our hearts are frightened at
140 so many portents of unnatural events.
When they discerned the lights [i.e. candelabra or windows or vents], the panels of the roofs
crashing together with honible-sounding breakings and roars,
145 then finally in one course [lit. 'running'] the throng, abandoning the broken thresholds, seeks the door of the basilica, with destruction devastating. Thus the perils are repulsed
150 through the supports of the Mother.
Certain men
avoiding danger with two leaps
through sloping and slippery
sides of hilly country
155 feared greatly
the house crushed by the roar.
Next when horrible shadows
passed away, and with the veil of hiding rent open,
160 with the light of day risen, the blind darkness split
s if in the image of death, then seeing from the church the broken bits of tile spread round,
lo, I say, the horrid spectacles of the night now appear.
Behold, the heights of the house
were falling to the foundations, in which [house] the cleanest
sweet delights [i.e. the Eucharist] were accustomed to be taken.
Lo, basking in the sun
the coverings of leafy broom plants
are repulsed from the walls
by the battering rams of the blusters.
175 Alas, the protections of the roofs
are strewn forth in the square.
Behold, the wickerworks from the height
tumble [lit. ' rush '] down without a defence [for the now roofless building].
The breathings of savage blowing
180 have effected these mockeries.
And unless the solemn birthday celebrations
of Saint Paul
were protecting the trembling
hearts of timid men
perhaps with the height shaken repeatedly
we would be struck also with lightning
187 as cruelly
189 the evangelical
190 words of the Trinal Thunderer
191 make it known that the broken bits of the tower [of Siloam] ${ }^{9}$ broke
192 with immense slaughter
188 of about twice-nine people.
193 Therefore in common let us rescued from danger
195 say thanks sweetly to Christ remaining immortally.
Glory to God Unbegotten
and to the Begotten Son
together with the Holy Spirit [lit. 'Blowing ']
200 ruling supernal worlds [lit. ' ages '].
THE POEM OF ALDHELM IS FINISHED.

[^4]The poem proper consists of one hundred rhyming couplets, 200 lines, 1600 syllables, and 594 words. Including the incipit and explicit there are 202 lines, all in perfect continuous octosyllables, 600 words, and 3983 letters. The incipit and the explicit are semantically and syntactically parallel, each containing three words, eight syllables, and twenty-one letters. The poem is divided into six sections, incipit, prologue (lines 1-7), part I (lines 8-114), part II (lines 115-92), epilogue (193-200), and explicit.

Rhyme and alliteration are conspicuous, though not comprehensively systematic, features of the oldest extant Latin poem composed in these islands, the pentadecasyllabic 'Saint Sechnall's Hymn ' Audite Omnes Amantes Deum, perhaps from the beginning of the fourth quarter of the sixth century. From the end of the sixth century and throughout the seventh Hiberno-Latin poets systematically disposed rhyme and alliteration in stanzaic poems in heptasyllabic and octosyllabic metres, and they used changes of rhythm to articulate structures. ${ }^{10}$ Among Anglo-Latin poets the first to compose heptasyllabic verse may have been Aldhelm, who at the end of his Letter to Heahfrith parodied the most famous and imaginative of Hiberno-Latin grammarians, Virgilius Maro Grammaticus, in a rhyming alliterative couplet : ${ }^{11}$
... ut uersidicus ait digna :
Fiat fante Glingio
Gurgo fugax fambulo.
Among Anglo-Latin poets the first to compose octosyllabic verse may have been Theodore and Aldhelm. ${ }^{12}$ Their compositions are not stanzaic but continuous. Lacking evidence to the contrary we may suppose that Aldhelm first adapted continuous octosyllabic rhyming couplets for narrative.

[^5]In Aldhelm's poem we see end-rhyme that extends from a single syllable and a single letter in lines 15-6, 19-20, 67-8, and 73-4, to two syllables and two letters in lines 139-40 and 181-4, to three syllables and five, six, or seven letters in lines 33-4, 39-$40,43-4$, and 69-70, up to five syllables and nine letters in lines $13-4$ and 173-4. From the very beginning of the poem Aldhelm rhymes not only the ends of verses, but medial syllables, the fourth and fifth as well as the seventh and eighth of the first couplet, casses catholice and obses athletice. He also rhymes the vowels and consonants of initial and medial syllables, as the first, second, fourth, sixth, and seventh as well as the eighth of lines 17-8, dum tremet mundi machina and sub uentorum monarchia, and the first, fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth syllables of lines 25-6, et rupto retinaculo and desaeuirent in saeculo. ${ }^{13}$ Awareness of this pervasive rhyme may have led a scribe into error, writing glaties 58 to rhyme with planities 57 , and radiebat rutulus 89 to introduce a false rhyme with solebat while ruining a true rhyme with Sirius 90.

The verses are stunningly alliterative. Of 200 lines only four, $27,114,122$ and 189 , do not exhibit alliteration within the line or between adjacent or alternate lines or combinations of these. Awareness of this pervasive alliteration may have led a scribe into error, writing nubis nugerrima 91 and grata gallicinia 123.

Aldhelm attended closely to the rhythms of his verses. In the scheme of rhythms mentioned above all six forms exhibit three stressed and five unstressed syllables, the eight syllables dividing by epitritus, epitrite or sesquitertian ratio, $11 / 3: 1$ or $4: 3$, at 5 and 3. In the first couplet of the poem verses $1-2$ exhibit identical rhythm. So do the verses of couplets in lines 9-16. Thereafter rhythms are matched in rhyming couplets in lines 19-20, 27-8, 33-$6,47-8,51-8,61-2,65-6,69-72,93-4,101-2,113-6,121-2,129-30$, 133-4, 139-40, 147-8, 159-64, 169-70, 173-80, 183-4 and 197-8.

[^6]Sometimes the rhythms recur parallel in adjacent couplets, as lines $24-7,85-8,107-10,117-20,125-8$ and 135-8. Sometimes the rhythms recur chiastically in adjacent couplets, as lines 3-6, 39-42, 43-6, 105-8, 129-34, 141-4, 165-8 and 185-8. The clearest indication of deliberate intent is the extended patterns that combine chiastic arrangement of matched, parallel, and chiastic rhythms, as in lines 1-16, in which all the couplets but one exhibit matched or chiastic rhythms (1-1|2-3-3-2| |-2| 1-1-1-1-1-1-3-3), the different rhythms $1-2$ in lines $7-8$ marking the end of the first sentence and the break between prologue and part $I$; lines 23-30 (3-1-3-1 | 6-6 | 1-3), 35-50 (1-1-2-3|1-3-3-1| 3-1-1-3| 1-1-3-2), 101-16 (3-3|3-2 $|1-3-3-1-3-1| 3-2 \mid 1-1-3-3$ ), 119-24 (3-1| 1-1 | 3-1), 125-38 (1-2-3-$1|1-1| 3-3|1-1| 1-2-3-1)$ and $149-56$ (1-3|5-1|1-3|1-5). The couplets which do not fit into these patterns may fit into others. The first rhythmically unmatched couplet is at lines 7-8. Five others follow the blocks of eight lines 9-16, 23-30, 51-8, 149-56 and 173-80. Note the unmatched group of eight lines 189-96, and the unmatched group of twelve lines $73-84$, which suggest that the regularity elsewhere in the poem is not merely incidental.

In the prologue, the first sentence of seven lines and twenty-one words, Aldhelm addresses the recipient, Lector Casses Obses, representing the Old English name elements helm 'helmet ' and gisl ' hostage ', perhaps an ecclesiastical lector or ' reader' bearing the eight-lettered name Helmgisl or with metathesis Helmgils, as in the Durham Liber Vitae. ${ }^{14}$ Aldhelm refers also to himself and his poem. The seven lines divide by epitrite ratio at 4 and 3 ; the twenty-one words divide by the same ratio at 12 and 9 , in the third line from the end, at ymnista | carmen cecini. The first four lines divide by the same ratio at 2.3 and 1.7 and the first twelve words at 7 and 5 , in the second line, after the fifth word, the last of the recipient's title and name.

In the epilogue, lines 193-200, Aldhelm thanks Christ for deliverance and praises the Trinity. The eight lines divide by epitrite ratio at 4.6 and 3.4 and the twenty-five words at 14 and 11. Between Xpisto and Gnato progenito there are fourteen words.

[^7]The poem contains two parts, the first beginning directly after the prologue, in line 8, Quando profectus fueram usque diram Domnoniam per carentem Cornubiam, and the second beginning in line 115, Quid dicam de ingentibus Altithroni operibus quae nullus nequit numero conputare in calculo. The 202 lines of the poem complete with incipit and explicit divide by epitrite ratio at 115 and 87 , the 600 words at 343 and 257 , exactly at the join of the two parts, which Aldhelm manifestly conputauit in calculo.

Let us consider the ways in which Aldhelm ordered the words of parts I and II, first by chiasmus in each part, then by parallelism in each part, then by chiasmus in both parts, then by parallelism in both parts.

## Part I chiasmus

| 3 | 1 | pulsatus |
| ---: | ---: | :---: |
| 9 | 2 | diram |
| 18 | 3 a | uentorum |
| 20 | b | brumali |
| 43 | c | uerticibus |
| 44 | 4 | ruptis |
| 54 | 5 | nubibus |
| 55 | 6 | caelorum culmina |
| 59 | 7 | nubibus |
| 67 | 8 | sicut solet |
| 68 | 9 | sidus |
| 69 | 10 | caecatus caligine |
| 71 | 11 | pulcherrima |
| 72 | 12 | non conparent curricula aquilonis a circio .. |
| 75 | $12^{\prime}$ | ac totiden torrentibus septem latet lampadibus |
| 77 | $11^{\prime}$ | pulchra |
| 84 | $10^{\prime}$ | fuscatur |
| 87 | $9^{\prime}$ | sideribus |
| 90 | $8^{\prime}$ | sicut solebat |
| 91 | $7^{\prime}$ | nubis |
| 94 | $6^{\prime}$ | caeli culmina |
| 97 | $5^{\prime}$ | nubibus |
| 101 | $4^{\prime}$ | inruptio |
| 102 | $3^{\prime} \mathrm{a}$ | uentorum |
| 105 | b | brumalibus |
| 106 | c | uortex |
| 108 | $2^{\prime}$ | diris |
| 109 | $1^{\prime}$ | pulsabat |

The crux of the chiasmus is marked by extraordinary punctuation in the manuscript at line 72.

Part II chiasmus
1161 Altithroni
1172 nullus nequit numero conputare
1213 Xpisti
1274 binis
1395 pauent praecordia
1416 cernebant
1427 tectorum
1498 pelluntur
1569 casam
15710 porro cum taetrae tenebrae praeterissent et latebrae fatescente uelamine
160 11' orto iubaris lumine
161 10 scissa caeca caligine quasi mortis imagine
167 9' casae
173 8' pelluntur
$175 \quad 7^{\prime} \quad$ tectorum
183 6' tuerentur
$184 \quad 5^{\prime} \quad$ timidorum praecordia
188 4' binos
193 3' Xpisto
195 2' dicamus
197 1' Deo ingenito, Gnato progenito, cum Sancto Flatu
The themes of light and darkness at the crux of this chiasmus are the same as at the crux of the chiasmus of part I.

Part I parallelism
171 tremet
172 mundi
203 turbine
214 terram
315 bis sena
41 I' tremebat
47 2' mundi
51 3' turbo
51 4' terram
87 5' bis senis

## Part II parallelism

1151 ingentibus
1192 en
1203 apparent

```
1324 nutabant a fundamine
134 5 tremibunda
134 1' ingentibus
165 2' en
166 3' apparent
168 4' cadebant ad fundamina
183 5' trementia
Parts I and II chiasmus
    15 la quassantur
    21 b quatiens
    23 b fracto
    26 2a desaeuirent
    29 b spiramina
    39 3 flatus
    42 4 eruta
    55 5 culmina
    56 6 nocturna
    56 7 tenebrescunt
    61 8 turbine
113 9 flaminibus
115 10 Quid dicam de ingentibus Altithroni operibus?
131 9' flamine
138 8' turbinibus
157 7' tenebrae
165 6' noctis
177 5' culmine
178 4' ruunt
179 3' flatus
179 2'a saeui
179 b' spiramina
185 I'a quassato
186 b quateremur
191 c fregisse
```

The crux of the chiasmus falls exactly at the division between parts I and II.

| Parts I | and II parallelism |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 3 | 1 | pulsatus |
| 21 | 2 | tempestas |
| 38 | 3 | luminaria |
| 53 | 4 | cateruatim |
| 61 | 5 | tenebrescunt |
| 69 | 6 | caecatus |
| 90 | 7 | solebat |


| 93 | 8 | fulmina |
| ---: | :---: | :---: |
| 136 | $1^{\prime}$ | pulsata |
| 137 | $2^{\prime}$ | tempestatibus |
| 141 | $3^{\prime}$ | Iumina |
| 145 | $4^{\prime}$ | caterua |
| 157 | $5^{\prime}$ | tenebrae |
| 161 | $6^{\prime}$ | caeca |
| 169 | $7^{\prime}$ | solebant |
| 186 | $8^{\prime}$ | fulmine |

In part I Aldhelm considers cosmic disorder in the heavens and on the earth. His words and ideas are arranged in another chiasmus, as the outer wings of a triptych, each of seven parts.

| 35 | 1 | flamine |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 39 | 2 | flatus |  |  |
| 39 | 3 | uictoriae |  |  |
| 41 | 4 | tremebat tellus turbida |  |  |
| 43 | 5 | uerticibus |  |  |
| 44 | 6 | ruptis |  |  |
| 55 | 7 a | caelorum culmina |  |  |
| 59 | b | nubibus |  |  |
|  |  |  |  | centre of the triptych, a crux of seven parts |
| 94 | 7 a | caeli culmina |  |  |
| 97 | b | nubibus |  |  |
| 101 | $6^{\prime}$ | inruptio |  |  |
| 106 | $5^{\prime}$ | uortex |  |  |
| 109 | $4^{\prime}$ | pulsabat promontoria |  |  |
| 110 | $3^{\prime}$ | uictoria |  |  |
| 112 | $2^{\prime}$ | flatibus |  |  |
| 113 | $1^{\prime}$ | flaminibus |  |  |

At the crux of this chiasmus, the centre of the triptych, is an astronomical passage of seven parts.
61. 4 I nam tenebrescunt turbine disrupto rerum ordine germanae Phoebi numina atque praeclara numina
65-70 2 neque flagrabat flammiger ductor dierum Lucifer sicut solet saepissime auratum sidus surgere
71-4 3 Plaustri plane pulcherrima non conparent curricula aquilonis a circio cursum seruantis sedulo
75-80 4 ac totidem torrentibus septem latet lampadibus Pliadis pulchra copula ab Athlantis prosapia; haec conscendunt per aethera ab ortu solis sidera
81-2 5 tunc pari lance limpida Librae torpebat trutina

83- 86 Zodiacus cum caetera cyclus fuscatur caterua quem Mazaroth reperimus nuncupari antiquitus bis senis cum sideribus per Olimpum lucentibus
89-92 7 nec radiabat rutilus sicut solebat Sirius quia nubis nigerrima abscondunt polos pallia.

Aldhelm mentions first the brightest object in the nocturnal heavens, the moon, germana Phoebi, second the brightest wandering star or planet, the morning star Lucifer ' the light bearer '. In a grand sweep of the heavens following the actual leftward rotation of the earth and the apparent rightward rotation of the heavens he mentions third Plaustrum 'the Plough ' from the north, fourth to the left in Taurus the Pleiades which conscendunt per aethera ab ortu solis ' ascend together through the aether from the rising of the sun [i.e. the east]', and fifth Libra to the left of Taurus on the opposite side of the sphere. Then in another comprehensive sweep of the heavens he mentions sixth all twelve 'stars' of the Zodiacus cyclus, ending seventh with the brightest star in the heavens, Sirius in Canis Major. The point is that because of the irregular elements and disfigured effects, elementa inormia atque facta informia, the winds raged both in the heavens and on the earth, cum fracto uenti federe bacharentur in aethere et rupto retinaculo desaeuirent in saeculo, and none of these lights could be seen shining.

In part II Aldhelm describes the effect of the cosmic disorder upon himself and his colleagues. He fixes the time as quarta gallicinia quasi quarta uigilia' the fourth cockcrows, as if in the fourth vigil', ${ }^{15}$ when his fellows binis stantes classibus 'standing in double ranks' celebrated concentibus matutinam melodiam ac synaxis psalmodiam 'with [antiphonal] singings together the melody of matins and the psalmody of coming together [for prayer]'. He fixes the date as natalicia Pauli Sancti sollemnia 'solemn birthday celebrations of Saint Paul', that is, 29 June, the twenty-ninth day of the sixth month, on which the lights of twenty-nine stars in six groups, Lucifer, seven stars of the Plough, seven stars of the Pleiades, Libra, Mazaroth binis senis cum sideribus ' with twice-six stars ', and

[^8]Sirius, were not seen shining. Beginning from 1 January, 29 June is the 180 th day of the year. There are 180 lines of verse before et nisi natalicia Pauli Sancti sollemnia. Beginning from et nisi natalicia there are eighteen words before nouies binos circiter. After Pauli Sancti sollemnia there are eighteen lines of verse to the end of the epilogue. ${ }^{16}$ From sollemnia inclusive to the end of the epilogue there are fifty-two words, one for each week of the year. From Pauli Sancti inclusive to the end of the epilogue there are 365 letters, one for each day of the year. The number of letters in parts I and II is exactly ten times that amount, 3650.

Incipit, prologue, epilogue, and explicit contain three, twenty-one, twenty-five, and three words, together fifty-two, one for each week of the year. They also contain exactly 333 letters. Prologue, part I, part II, and epilogue together contain 594 words, which divided by 18 equal 33 . The balancing of the numbers of words and letters in parts of the composition variously combined is identical with Aldhelm's technique in the Letter to Heahfrith. ${ }^{17}$

This is all perfectly clear. The facts are unmistakeable, but they must be inferred, as Aldhelm writes nothing explicit about what he has done. The clue he provides to the connection between astronomical phenomena and the date of destruction of the church is that though the former are real they are not immediately apparent, as he tells us seven times: tenebrescunt, neque flagrabat, non conparent, latet, fuscatur, nec radiabat sicut solebat, abscondunt polos. The same is true of the phenomena of Aldhelm's metrical art.

The older Hiberno-Latin heptasyllabic and octosyllabic and pentadecasyllabic poems exhibit regular rhythms, which different rhythms interrupt to mark articulations of structure. One might suppose that in composing continuous octosyllabic couplets Aldhelm would do something similar. But he did not. Instead he wrote in blocks of rhythmically matched, parallel,

[^9]chiastic, composite, and jumbled couplets, partly to represent rhythmically the turbulence and disorder which are the subjects of his verse, and partly to appeal to the ears of Anglo-Saxons accustomed to varied rhythms in Old English alliterative poetry. But the long stretches of lines exhibiting patterns of composite rhythms reveal order underlying the apparent chaos as surely as the numbers and groups of stars match the month and day of the year on which the storm occurred, represented in the numbers of lines of verse, the numbers of words, and the numbers of letters.

Aldhelm spells the name of the Zodiacus cyclus as Mazaroth, the letters -ar- confirmed by thyme with nuncupari in the following line. This spelling represents the Hebrew $\mathcal{Y} \square \rho$ of תוֹ of the Septuagint $\mu \alpha \zeta$ oup $\omega \theta$, more accurately than spellings of the Vetus Latina Mazuroth and Jerome Epistula LXIV 19.367: Nam et in Job, Arcturum et Orionem et Mazuroth, hoc est, zodiacum circulum et caetera astrorum nomina legimus. The most recent edition of Jerome's Liber Interpretationis Hebraicorum Nominum reads with no reported variant Mazaroth $\zeta \omega 1 \delta \mathrm{lo} \varsigma$, quae duodecim signa mathematici adserunt, ${ }^{18}$ but in one extant English manuscript of this text from the twelfth century the word is spelled Mazarath, and in another Mazaroth. ${ }^{19}$ The word is not recorded in the Interpretatio Nominum of the Corpus Glossary, nor does it occur among the works of Virgilius Maro Grammaticus nor the Hisperica Famina nor the associated Hiberno-Latin hisperic poems. ${ }^{20}$ Aldhelm may have

[^10]read the word correctly spelled in Jerome's Liber Interpretationis Hebraicorum Nominum. If not, the correct spelling may suggest that he knew some Hebrew, as affirmed by his biographer Faricius of Arezzo, cellarer of Malmesbury and from 1100 to 1117 abbot of Abingdon. ${ }^{21}$

In Aldhelmi Carmen Rhythmicum from the very beginning of the Anglo-Latin tradition we see a complete fusion of the arts of arithmetic, music, chronology, astronomy, and architecture in the art of metre. The church in which Aldhelm and his colleagues were singing a specific office on a particular day was blown down by cosmic forces disordered from their normally assigned positions. Aldhelm commemorated the occasion by singing a song in which every line, rhythm, word, syllable, and letter has been counted and artfully disposed. Unsung for centuries, it is as harmonious and resonant a composition today as when it flowed from his mind and pen.

## Oxford

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Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources
Bodleian Library

[^11]
[^0]:    1. I owe thanks for helpful criticism to Dr Leofranc Holford-Strevens and Dr Andy Orchard.
    2. For a facsimile of the unique manuscript see F. Unterkircher, Sancti Bonifacii Epistolae. Codex Vindobonensis 751 der österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, Codices Selecti Phototypice Impressi XXIV (Graz 1971). For the standard edition see R. Ehwald, Aldhelmi Opera Omnia, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auctores Antiquissimi XV (Berlin 1919) 523-8. For a translation see M. Lapidge \& J. L. Rosier, Aldhelm, The Poetic Works (Cambridge 1985) 169-79, 259-63. For secondary literature and analysis see H. Bradley, ' On Some Poems Ascribed to Aldhelm', English Historical Review XV (1900) 291-2, and A. Orchard, The Poetic Art of Aldhelm, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England VIII (Cambridge 1994) 17-72.
[^1]:    4. Not ' foam ' as Lapidge p. 177.
[^2]:    5. The praeclara lumina belong to the sister of Phoebus, not 'gleaming stars' as LapIDGE p. 178.
[^3]:    6. Not 'Atlantis ' as Lapidge pp. 178 and 262 n. 6.
    7. The direction, east, not the time of ' the sun's (first) rising' as Lapidge p. 178. After the sun's rising the stars would have been invisible even if there had been no storm.
    8. Aldhelm is referring to lightning bolts, not 'drooping fastnesses' as Lapidge p. 178.
[^4]:    9. Luke XIII 4.
[^5]:    10. D. R. Howlett, 'Two Works of Saint Columban ', Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch XXVIII (1994 for 1993) 27-46; ‘ The Earliest Irish Writers at Home and Abroad ', Peritia VIII (1994) 1-17; The Celtic Latin Tradition of Biblical Style (Dublin 1995) chapter IV 'Poems and Prayers' 138-242.
    11. D. R. Howlett, 'Aldhelm and Irish Learning ', ALMA LII (1994) 37 75.
    12. D. R. Howlett, British Books in Biblical Style (Dublin forthcoming), chapter II 'The Anglo-Latin Tradition '.
[^6]:    13. For earlier examples of this among Celtic Latin writers of the sixth and seventh centuries see the works in note 10 above and D. R. Howlett, 'Orationes Moucani: Early Cambro-Latin Prayers', Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies XXIV (1992) 55-74.
[^7]:    14. H. Sweet (ed.), The Oldest English Texts, Early English Text Society, Original Series LXXXIII (1885) p. 154 1. 10 Nomina regum uel ducum... helngils, p. 160 1. 244 Nomina clericorum... helmgils.
[^8]:    15. Note that there are four words from quarta to quarta inclusive.
[^9]:    16. At the other end of the poem the eighteenth word of the prologue is the last of atque rem sponsam reddidi, referring perhaps to the occasion on which Aldhelm undertook to commemorate the event.
    17. As nn. 11 and 12 above.
[^10]:    18. P. de Lagarde (ed.), S. Hieronymi Presbyteri Liber Interpretationis Hebraicorum Nominum, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina LXXII (Turnhout 1959) p. 116.
    19. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 382 (Summary Catalogue 2203), f. 42va: De Iob. Mazarath. zodion. id est signa horoscopi, and Fairfax 5 (Summary Catalogue 3885), f. 67vb: Mazaroth, zwioic. que duodecim signa mathematici asserunt.
    20. J. H. Hessels (ed.), An Eighth-Century Latin-Anglo-Saxon Glossary Preserved in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (Cambridge 1890). G. Polara \& L. Caruso (ed. \& transl.), Virgilio Marone grammatico Epitomi ed Epistole (Naples 1979). F.J.H. Jenkinson (ed.), The Hisperica Famina (Cambridge 1908). M. W. Herren (ed. \& transl.), The Hisperica Famina : I. The A-Text, Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Studies and
[^11]:    Texts XXXI (Toronto 1974). Idem, The Hisperica Famina II. Related Poems, Studies and Texts LXXXV (Toronto 1987).
    21. Prophetarum exempla, Davidis psalmos, Salomonis tria volumina, Hebraicis litteris bene novit, et legem Mosaicam, Patrologia Latina LXXXIX 66 C .

