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Saint, Martyr, Killer of Christ?
The Legend of Longinus in Medieval Irish Tradition

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DEPARTMENT OF EARLY AND MEDIEVAL IRISH

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List of Abbreviations

Act. SS. Acta Sanctorum
AELAC Association pour l'Étude de la Littérature Apocryphe Chrétienne
AiD McKenna, *Aithdioghluim dána*
AL Acta Longini
Anal. Boll. Analecta Bollandiana
AOD McKenna, *Dánta dochum Aonghus Fionn Ó Dálaigh*
AU The Annals of Ulster
BAR British Archaeological Reports
BHL Bibliotheca hagiographica latina
BL The British Library
BNF The *Bibliothèque Nationale de France*
CBÉ Coimisiún Béaloideasa Éireann, Irish Folklore Commission
CCSA *Corpus Christianorum Series Apocryphorum*
CCSL *Corpus Christianorum Series Latina*
CESG *Codices Electronici Sangallenses*
CIH Corpus Iuris Hibernici
Clm Codices latini monacenses
CMCS *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies*
Cod. Sang. Codex Sangallensis
Cod. Taur.Codex Taurinensis
DD McKenna, *Dán Dé*
DIAS The Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies
DiD McKenna, *Dioghluim dána*
DIL QUIN, E.G. (ed.), *Dictionary of the Irish language* (...) comp. ed. (1983)
eDIL electronic Dictionary of the Irish Language, revised ed. (2007)
Flower, *Catalogue* 2: Flower, R., *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the British Museum*, vol. 2.
Harbison, *The High Crosses*, I, II, III: Harbison, P., *The High Crosses of Ireland: An Iconographical and Photographic Survey*. Volume 1: Text, Volume 2: Photographic Survey, Volume 3: Illustrations of Comparative Iconography.
Heist, *Vitae*: Heist, W. W., *Vitae sanctorum Hiberniae*
ITS The Irish Texts Society
JRSAI The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland
LCS Leabhar Chlainne Suibhne
LFF Liber Flavus Fergusiorum
LQE Liber Questionum in Euangeliis
LU Lebor na hUidre
PB McKenna, *Philip Bocht Ó Huiginn*
PG: J.P. Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*
PL: J.P. Migne, *Patrologia Latina*
PRIA Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy

RIA The Royal Irish Academy
TCD Trinity College Dublin
Thes. Pal. ii Stokes, W. and J. Strachan (eds.) *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus,* vol. 2.
UCC University College Cork
Vitae SS. Hib. Plummer, *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*
YBL The Yellow Book of Lecan
ZCP Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie.

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Introduction

Outline of topic and structure

The soldier at the crucifixion who pierced the dead Christ's side with a spear so that blood and water came out (Jn 19:34) is called Longinus in a recension of the apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus dating from the fifth century. The sparse biblical account of the event was supplemented by legendary material from an early stage and the figure was given a biography as well as a name[1] and came to be venerated as a saint. The main text, known as the *Passio Longini* or the *Acta Longini*, makes use of standard hagiographical material in telling of Longinus's pious life and martyrdom. Its Greek source, which has not survived, has been assigned an early fifth-century date and the Latin translation probably dates from the mid-fifth century.[2]

It is not known when a version of Longinus's Life reached Ireland. The earliest surviving copy is a Middle Irish translation of the text in the early fifteenth-century *Leabhar Breac*. However, there is some evidence to suggest that a source text in Hiberno-Latin may have circulated for several centuries previously. Stories about Longinus, not limited to the biographical Passion, seem to have been available in Ireland from early Christian times. Eighth- and early ninth-century sources, such as the Old Irish liturgical tract in the Stowe Missal and Blathmac's poetry, mention Longinus, and his feast, 23 October, is given its own stanza in the Martyrology of Óengus.

The aim of this thesis is to offer the first extensive study of the legend of Longinus in Medieval Irish tradition, ranging from these earliest attestations to the late Medieval period and continuing in popular tradition into the Modern period. It will provide an edition of the main Irish texts as a resource for further study. It will also trace the sources and analogues of the legend. Having recourse to both a wide range of textual materials and artistic representations in various media, it studies the legend of Longinus in its full cultural background.

[1] The name Longinus is generally thought to be derived from the Greek λόγχη, a lance, or ὁ λογχήνος, the lance-bearer, a title which appears in some iconographic representations. In the Greek recension A of the Gospel of Nicodemus he is called Λογγίνος.
[2] See my discussion of the origins of the legend of Longinus below.

My research will focus on whether the Irish version of the legend of Longinus shows any unique features or whether it preserves apocryphal elements which were not known or have not survived elsewhere. Considering the extraordinary richness of Ireland's apocryphal literature, it is probably not surprising that such apocryphal elements seem to be present. Bible scholars have long been aware of an interpolation from the Gospel of John in Matthew in a number of copies of the latter evangelist's account of the crucifixion. In these, the episode of the spear-thrust is not inserted after, but directly preceding Christ's death, so that it appears as its immediate cause. This interpolation is found in the earliest and best Greek manuscripts (e.g. *Sinaiticus, Vaticanus*) and in Coptic and Syriac versions, but does not feature in any Latin copies of the Bible apart from a group of Gospel books written in Ireland or in Irish monastic centres. It is, however, found in the majority of Irish or Irish-related Gospel books, starting with the seventh-century Book of Mulling, and including such famous manuscripts as the Book of Kells and the Book of Armagh. This scriptural evidence will be examined in chapter one, following a brief general outline of the origins of the legend of Longinus and the current state of research on the textual history of the *Acta Longini*.

The interpolation in Matthew must have made Longinus a figure of the greatest interest. Indeed, a gloss on *Félire Óengusso* terms him *iugulator Christi,* which seems to mean the 'killer of Christ'. The fact that the interpolated sentence has been erased in certain Gospel books suggests that the question of whether Longinus's deed preceded the death of Christ was a matter of controversy, probably both between Medieval Irish and Continental ecclesiastics and within the Early Irish Church itself. By studying the interpretations of the relevant passage in Hiberno-Latin exegetical texts I hope to shed further light on the matter. I also propose to investigate ideas about the motivation, as well as the moral and theological evaluation, of Longinus's piercing of Christ, an act which is variously called 'a most noble deed' in the Martyrology of Oengus and a 'sin without any defence thereof' in the twelfth-century Martyrology of Gorman.

Another central aspect of my discussion is the motif of Longinus's blindness. In a little-known short tract included in *Leabhar Breac*, the soldier is presented as a blind man who pierces Christ's side unwittingly and is miraculously healed when the blood coming out of the wound touches his eyes. In later Irish tradition Longinus is simply known as *an Dall*, 'the blind one'.

The legend of Longinus's blindness and its miraculous cure rarely features in other European popular traditions until the twelfth century and only seems to become more widely known following its inclusion in De Voragine's *Legenda Aurea*. However, the motif can be traced back as far as the mid-eighth century in an Irish context. It figures in the text of Blathmac's poem and is iconographically attested in the roughly contemporaneous depiction of the crucifixion in the Irish Gospel book *Codex Sangallensis* 51. Several scholars have therefore suggested a potential Irish origin of the *topos*. I will attempt to investigate the matter further. In the first chapter, I will discuss a variety of early Irish sources which make reference to Longinus. In addition to the biblical evidence and the exegetical material already mentioned, these include a liturgical text, Blathmac's poems and martyrological references.

A study of Longinus must take into account iconographic representations of the Passion as well as textual sources. The second chapter will therefore be dedicated to the study of representations of Longinus in early Irish crucifixion iconography. In Ireland, the central theme of Christianity is variously depicted through the media of manuscript art, metalwork, and stone. Like most of their Continental counterparts of the first millennium, most Irish crucifixion scenes prominently include the spear-bearer. However, many of them differ from the former in placing Longinus on Christ's left and in depicting the seemingly anachronistic piercing of the open-eyed, living Christ. Moreover, a small number of them also appear to illustrate the healing of Longinus's blindness. Through careful re-evaluation of this wealth of Irish material in connection with the study of the texts, I hope to both help explain the iconographic particularities and gather information about the complexities of the legend in its Irish contexts, and perhaps about the chronological development or the geographic distribution of its different components.

Having established their cultural context as fully as possible, the third chapter will present the main Irish texts dealing with Longinus, the Irish Passion of Longinus based on the Latin *Acta Longini* and the tract about the blindness and healing of Longinus from *Leabhar Breac*. The final chapter will examine evidence of the continued interest in the figure and the legend of Longinus in late medieval Irish popular belief down into the early modern era.

The material reviewed includes the Irish Gospel of Nicodemus, healing charms, Bardic poetry, which, with its numerous detailed and evocative descriptions of the Passion, is a prolific source, and a legal text. Where relevant, parallels with other Insular and Continental material will be drawn.

Overview of existing research

The legend of Longinus is one of the most popular medieval legends. Numerous studies have traced its origin and development and discussed its influence on different European national literatures. Early twentieth century research has focused on the legend's connection with the cult of the holy lance and the grail. A number of publications on the subject by the German philologist Konrad Burdach from 1903 onwards[3] culminated in his extensive and erudite study 'Der Gral', published posthumously in 1938.[4] Burdach traces the role of the lance, blood and water in liturgy, mysticism and eucharistic rites and explores the emergence of the legend of Longinus, the origin of the name 'Longinus' as well as representations of the spear-thrust in both art and literature. His main interest in the figure of Longinus, however, is in connection with the cult of the lance, the sacred blood and the grail.

A similar approach was taken by Rose Jeffries Peebles in her dissertation published at Bryn Mawr College, Pennsylvania, in 1911.[5] Peebles also investigates the origin and development of the legend and its relation to the Grail romances. However, her study is based on medieval English sources. Peebles also briefly discusses the motif of Longinus's blindness, which enjoyed great popularity in late medieval popular traditions across Europe, and she offers some thoughts on its possible origins. Her study includes a general overview of iconographic representations of the Longinus legend.

[3] Burdach's shorter publications on Longinus include 'Der Ursprung der Grallegende' (1903), 'Longinus und der Gral' (1903), 'Der Judenspieß und die Longinussage' (1916) and 'Der Longinus-Speer in eschatologischem Lichte' (1920).
[4] Burdach, Konrad, *Der Gral: Forschungen über seinen Ursprung und seinen Zusammenhang mit der Longinuslegende* (1938, reprinted 1974).
[5] Peebles, Rose J., *The Legend of Longinus in Ecclesiastical Tradition and in English Literature and its Connection with the Grail*, Bryn Mawr College Monographs 9 (1911).

The legend of Longinus has also been studied in a French[6] and a Dutch[7] literary context, and the German context has been further elucidated by Carla Dauven- van Knippenberg's detailed research into the figure of Longinus in late medieval German Passion plays.[8] However, no comparable, extensive study of the legend of Longinus in early Irish literature has been undertaken so far. The present thesis aims to close that gap.

My thesis includes an edition of the Irish Passion of Longinus, along with an edition of the *Leabhar Breac* short tract on Longinus's healing from blindness at the crucifixion. Unlike Robert Atkinson's previous edition of the text in *The Passions and the Homilies from Leabhar Breac* (Dublin 1887), my version will offer variant readings from the other two known manuscript witnesses. The Irish text will also be juxtaposed with the earliest surviving Latin text of the *Acta Longini* from the Turin legendary, recently edited for the first time.[9] This should allow for inferences both about the nature of the putative Hiberno-Latin source text and about differences between Irish and Continental versions of the Life. The main emphasis is not on linguistic features, but on the establishment of the texts to form the basis of a comprehensive thematic discussion.

The two most intriguing aspects of the legend of Longinus in the Irish tradition, the motif of Longinus's blindness and the interpolation in Matthew, have been identified by Martin McNamara in his excellent discussion of the crucifixion image in the St. Gall 51 Gospel book and the corresponding biblical text.[10] The interpolation is mainly treated as an interesting textual variant which suggests an Irish biblical text. However McNamara also considers a possible influence on Irish crucifixion iconography.

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[6] Kröner, Carl, *Die Longinuslegende, ihre Entstehung und Ausbreitung in der französischen Litteratur*, Dissertation (1899).

[7] Van Haver, Jozef, 'Longinus en de Longinuslegende in het Nederlandse taalgebied', *Handelingen* 17 (1963), 397-459; 18 (1964), 324-64.

[8] Dauven-van Knippenberg, Carla, *Einer von den Soldaten öffnete seine Seite: Eine Untersuchung der Longinuslegende im deutschsprachigen geistlichen Spiel des Mittelalters* (1990).

[9] The text and translation presented here are based on my own transcript from the Turin manuscript. However, I am grateful to Prof. Guy Philippart for kindly sending me a copy of his edition prior to publication. Philippart's edition has since been published in Monique Goullet et al., *Le Légendier de Turin. Ms D.V.$_3$ de la Bibliothèque Nationale Universitaire* (2014).

[10] McNamara, Martin, 'Bible Text and Illumination in St Gall Stiftsbibliothek Codex 51, with Special Reference to Longinus in the Crucifixion Scene' in *Pattern and Purpose in Insular Art. Proceedings of the Fourth International Conference on Insular Art held at the National Museum & Gallery, Cardiff 3-6 September 1998*, eds. Redknap, M. et al. (2001).

He goes on to examine evidence of the blindness motif in Irish tradition and tentatively agrees with Fabrizio Beggiato[11] and Ann Dooley,[12] who have both argued for its Irish origin. However, as Martin McNamara cautions, this remains to be proven and to date little research into the subject has been done.

While the interpolation in Matthew is included in several editions of the Greek New Testament and discussed by theologians and bible scholars, it does not seem to be widely known outside these circles. Its possible significance is rarely acknowledged, with the notable exception of Dom. René-Jean Hesbert's study *Le problème de la transfixion du Christ dans les traditions: biblique, patristique, iconographique, liturgique et musicale* published in 1940.[13] Taking his start from an examination of the *Tenebrae* responsory, Hesbert finds evidence of the piercing of Christ's side prior to his death and of its interpretation as a *coup de grâce* in various traditions. His detailed discussion of the iconography, in particular, suggests that the Irish tradition may have played an important part in the preservation and proliferation of this biblical reading.

Taking into account both textual sources and iconography, I will investigate the impact of the Matthew interpolation. Does this interpolation play a role in accounting for the numerous depictions of the piercing of the living Christ in Irish art and does it take precedence over the different symbolic interpretations proposed by art historians? My study of the figure of Longinus in Irish crucifixion iconography both complements and greatly profits from research undertaken by scholars of the Old English and Art History departments at UCC as part of the 'Christ on the Cross' research project (www.christonthecross.org), which has aimed at establishing the cultural context of the various early medieval Irish representations and accounts of the Passion and at setting them in a wider Insular and European context. The findings of the project have been published in the monograph *Envisioning Christ on the Cross: Ireland and the early*

[11] Beggiato, Fabrizio, 'Il mito di Longino dall'Irlanda all'Europa Continentale', in *Gli Echi della Terra. Presenze celtiche in Friuli: dati materiali e momenti dell'immaginario.* Convegno di studi, Castello di Gorizia, 5-7 ottobre 2001 (2002), 85-92.
[12] Dooley, Ann, 'The Gospel of Nicodemus in Ireland', in *The Medieval Gospel of Nicodemus. Texts, Intertexts, and Contexts* ed. Zbigniew, I. (1997), 361-401.
[13] Hesbert, René-Jean, *Le Problème de la Transfixion du Christ dans les Traditions: biblique, patristique, iconographique, liturgique et musicale* (1940).

medieval West in 2013.[14] The overall aim of this thesis is to establish the texts as a resource for future research and to set the Irish material in context. Additional supporting textual information is found in the appendices.

The Origins of the Legend of Longinus

Early textual references to Longinus

In medieval tradition, the figure of Longinus is associated both with the soldier piercing Christ's side and with the centurion converted by the signs surrounding Christ's death mentioned in the accounts of the crucifixion in the canonical Gospels. In the biblical account, there is, of course, no indication that these two figures are to be identified as the same person. The conversion of the centurion is found in Matthew 27:54: *centurio autem et qui cum eo erant custodientes Iesum viso terraemotu et his quae fiebant timuerunt valde dicentes: Vere Dei Filius erat iste.* (Now the centurion and they that were with him watching Jesus, having seen the earthquake and the things that were done, were sore afraid, saying: Indeed this was the Son of God.).[15] The episode is related in similar terms in the other synoptic Gospels (Mc 16:39, Lk 23:47). John does not mention the centurion, but gives an account of a common soldier piercing Christ's side with a lance after his death, which is not normally found in the other Gospels:[16] *Sed unus militum lancea latus eius aperuit et continuo exivit sanguis et aqua* (But one of the soldiers with a spear opened his side; and immediately there came out blood and water) (Jn 19:34).

The centurion is first given a name in the Gospel of Peter, an early to mid-second century apocryphon. However, he is not called Longinus but Petronius and there is no mention of the spear-thrust or its perpetrator. Petronius, who is also the head of the tomb guard placed at Christ's sepulchre, is not converted at the crucifixion but by witnessing the resurrection.[17]

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[14] Mullins, Juliet, Jenifer Ní Ghrádaigh and Richard Hawtree (eds.), *Envisioning Christ on the Cross: Ireland and the early medieval West* (2013).

[15] Unless stated otherwise the Latin Bible text quoted in this thesis is from the Vulgate, the English translation used is the Douay-Rheims.

[16] However, in a small number of Greek and Latin Gospel books this sentence is found as an apparent interpolation in Matthew (Mt 27: 49), see chapter 1.1 below.

[17] Mara, Maria G., *Évangile de Pierre*, Sources Chrétiennes 201(1973) 55, 168.

By the second half of the fourth century, there is some evidence for the existence of a nascent legend. John Chrysostom mentions the story of the centurion's martyrdom, albeit with a degree of reservation and without naming him:

> *Et centurio quoque Deum tunc glorificavit dicens: 'Vere hic homo iustus erat'. [...] Quidam vero narrant hunc centurionem postea in fide roboratum martyrium fortiter subiisse*.[18]
> and the centurion then also glorified God saying: ' Indeed this was a just man' (Lk 23:47) [...] , However, some relate that this centurion, strengthened by faith, later bravely underwent martyrdom.

Chrysostom elsewhere refers to 'the soldiers' who pierced the dead Christ, condemning their actions.[19] He clearly does not regard the soldier and the centurion as the same person.

In his Letter XVII,15 Gregory of Nyssa[20] states that the centurion who confessed the divinity of Christ went on to evangelize the Cappadocians, implicitly comparing his role to that of Peter for the Romans, of Thomas for the Mesopotamians and of other apostles which he discussed in the preceding part of the text. He even adds that the centurion became the first bishop of Cappadocia. Gregory does not identify this figure with the soldier of the lance-thrust, nor does he name him. However, as Michel Aubineau points out, this does not necessarily mean that the name Longinus was not already used for the centurion among the Cappadocians, as it starts to appear as a personal name in the region around that time.[21]

The name Longinus, then, first appears in a literary composition in the Greek recension A of the Gospel of Nicodemus or *Acta Pilati* dated to 425.[22] The side of Christ is said to have been pierced with a lance by *Λογγῖνος* ὁ *στρατιώτης*, 'Longinus the soldier'. In the later Greek recension B,[23] he is called *Λογγῖνος* ὁ *ἐκατόνταρχος i.e.* 'Longinus the centurion' and identified as both the soldier of the spear-thrust and that who made the 'confession': 'Truly, this was the Son of God'. In the Latin version, the name is applied

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[18] Chrysostom, *In Matthaeum Hom.* 88.2, *PG* 58, col. 177.
[19] Chrysostom, *Comm. in Iohannem, hom.* 85.3, *PG* 59, col. 463 line 16.
[20] *PG* 46, cols. 1061D-1064A.
[21] Aubineau, Michel (ed.), *Les homélies festales d'Hésychius de Jérusalem, vol. II: Les Homélies XVI-XXI et tables des deux volumes*, Subsidia hagiographica 59 (1980), 796.
[22] Tischendorf, Constantin (ed.) *Evangelia apocrypha* (1876), 283.
In the Greek recension A, as in the Coptic, Syrian and Armenian translations of the apocryphon, we find only the *Acts of Pilate*. The Descent into Hell is not added, as it is in the Greek recension B.
[23] Tischendorf, *Evangelia apocrypha*, 309.

to the soldier: *Lancea latus ejus perforavit Longinus miles* (the soldier Longinus pierced his side with a lance).[24]

The *Martyrologium Hieronymianum*, which some scholars have dated to as early as the mid-fifth century,[25] has three entries for Longinus for three different dates, *In Cappadocia sancti Longini* for 15 March, *In Caesarea Cappadociae Longini* for 23 October and *In Cappadocia Longini* for 22 November.[26]

By the sixth century, there is evidence of a popular cult of Longinus as a soldier saint. There is a dedication of a *μητᾶτον*, or military stationpost, to Longinus and to two other military saints near Apamea (Qal`at al-Madhīq) in Syria from 524 or 525.[27] An inscription at al Burj, Syria from 526 dedicates another *μητᾶτον* to the archangel Michael and to Saint Longinus the centurion.[28]

The first iconographic representation of Longinus appears in the famous crucifixion image in the Syriac Rabbula Gospels,[29] written before 586. The soldier, depicted in the act of performing the lance-thrust, is the only figure marked out by his name, ΛΟΓΙΝΟΣ, in Greek capitals. As Hesbert has argued, this suggests its derivation from an earlier Greek model, as the remainder of the Gospel book is entirely in Syriac.[30]

It is against this general background that the two main strands of textual tradition which came to inform the medieval legend of Longinus emerged, the Latin *Acta Longini* and the two Greek homilies ascribed to Hesychius of Jerusalem.

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[24] Tischendorf, *Evangelia apocrypha*, 387.

[25] Aubineau, *Les homélies festales*, has adduced these entries as an argument in favour of his dating of the *Passio Longini* to the first half of the fifth century (*op. cit.*, 867) as they make mention of Caesarea, and one of the feast days is 15 March, the date most commonly given as Longinus's *dies natalis* in the Latin *Passio*. He concurs with Hippolyte Delehaye who suggested that the first recension of the (pseudo-) hieronymian martyrology was compiled in northern Italy in the 430s or 440s. However, he admits that these dates are difficult to establish and that the earliest surviving manuscript of the martyrology from Auxerre dates from 592. (*op. cit.*, 797) Most scholars would now seem to argue for a later date of compilation in the late 6th or early 7th century.

[26] See Delehaye, Hippolyte, *Commentarius perpetuus in Martyrologium Hieronymianum, ad recensionem H. Quentin* in *Acta Sanctorum* 24, November 11, part II (1931); 145, 568 and 614.

[27] Jalabert, Louis et al., *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie, Tome 5: Émésène* (1959), no. 2155, 90-91.

[28] *Analecta Bollandiana* 67 (1949), 102. *Cf.* Decker, Michael, 'Towers, Refuges and Fortified Farms in the Late Roman East', *Liber Annuus* 56 (2006), 499-520, 508.

[29] Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, *cod*. Plut. I, 56.

[30] Hesbert, *Le Problème de la Transfixion du Christ*, 90.

The Latin Acts of Longinus

The Latin text known as the *Acta Longini* or the *Passio S. Longini* (BHL 4965) is highly popular in the late Middle Ages. It is included in many of the great legendaries and collections of Saints' Lives and is found in a large number of manuscripts in libraries all over Europe.[31] The text tells how Longinus, one of the soldiers at the crucifixion, opened the side of Christ with his lance. Seeing the signs he is converted and confesses his faith in the words of the biblical centurion. Longinus then quits his military service and leads a tranquil, quasi-monastic life in his native Cappadocia for around thirty years, preaches at Caesarea and converts the multitudes, until one day he is summoned before the Roman governor, or *praeses*, variously called Octavian or Octavius. Octavius, who had heard of his fame, demands that he should stop preaching, renounce his faith and worship idols. When Longinus refuses, the governor has his teeth pulled out and his tongue cut off. Longinus, however, reaffirms his faith and starts smashing the idols and altars, and the governor and his people are subsequently possessed by the demons that used to inhabit these idols. Longinus then expels the demons and the inhabitants of the city believe in Christianity. However, Octavius persecutes Longinus again and is consequently struck blind and loses control over his limbs. When he asks Longinus to help him, the latter demands to be killed so that he can intercede on the governor's behalf in heaven. After Octavius has Longinus beheaded, he is overcome by remorse and repents. He recovers his vision and believes in God thereafter and Longinus is honourably buried.

The origins of the *Acta Longini* are obscure. As the vast majority of manuscripts witnesses date from the late medieval period and the text is riddled with hagiographic commonplaces,[32] scholars have traditionally taken it for a relatively late composition.[33] However, Michel Aubineau's[34] research has more recently shown that this is not the

[31] See Siegmund, Albert, *Die Überlieferung der griechischen christlichen Literatur in der lateinischen Kirche* (1949), 238.
[32] On this point see Peebles, *The Legend of Longinus*, 36-37 and Le Blant, Edmond, *Les Actes des martyrs: supplément aux Acta sincera de Dom Ruinart*, Extrait des Mémoires de l' Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres 30:2 (1882), 147.
[33] Peebles, *The Legend of Longinus*, 16 notes that none of the 'very old' manuscripts used by the Bollandists is earlier than the tenth century. On this point see also my discussion of the Latin manuscripts used for the edition in ch. 3.1.2 below. In *The Apocrypha in the Irish Church* (1975, repr. 1984), 81 McNamara, quoting the oldest text cited in the *Acta Sanctorum*, suggested that the *Acta Longini* dated 'perhaps from the 10th century'.
[34] Aubineau, *Les homélies festales*, especially 802-4.

case. In addition to the Latin recension, the Acts of Longinus also survive in an early Armenian and an early Georgian version, which, despite having been edited in the nineteenth respectively early twentieth century, have never been translated and had largely gone unnoticed by the scholarly community.[35] According to the orientalists Charles Renoux and Michel van Esbroeck, these Armenian and Georgian texts broadly correspond to the Latin text.[36] On the basis of this evidence, Aubineau has proposed a common Greek source. He tentatively dates this lost Greek Passion of Longinus to the first half of the fifth century, the time when the name of Longinus first appears in the *Acta Pilati*. Aubineau takes the Latin strand of the tradition to be the oldest, suggesting a date as far back as the mid-fifth century for the Latin translation.[37]

The standard edition of the *Acta Longini* is the edition by the Bollandists in the *Acta Sanctorum*.[38] This edition is a seamless conflation of texts 'from several very old manuscripts' (*ex pluribus pervetustis mss*).[39] Three of these manuscripts have been identified by Aubineau[40] as Brussels, *Bibl. Bolland. lat.* 14 (9th c) ff. 125-126,[41] Douai, *Bibl. Publ. lat.* 865 (12th c) ff. 78-80,[42] and Saint-Omer, *Bibl. Publ. lat.* 715, II (12th c), ff. 167v-169v [43]. The current whereabouts of a fourth, referred to as the *codex Bonifontis*, are unknown. However, the earliest textual witness now known is the manuscript D.V.3 in the university library of Turin, a late eighth century legendary from North-Eastern France, written in the ab-script characteristic of Corbie and associated centres. This text has recently been edited for the first time.[44] A second copy which is chronologically and textually very close to the Turin text is in the St Gall *codex* 548 from the last quarter of the eighth century.[45]

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[35] The Georgian Passion has been published by Korneli Kekelidze in *Monumenta Hagiographica Georgica* (1918), 188-192, the Armenian version by Aucher, Iohannes B., *Plena descriptio vitae et confessionis sanctorum qui extant in veteri calendario ecclesiae Armeniorum*, vol. 9 (1813), 337-346.

[36] Aubineau, *Les homélies festales*, 802-804.

[37] Aubineau, *Les homélies festales*, 804.

[38] *Acta SS.* Mart. II (1668), 384-386.

[39] *Acta SS., t. cit.*, 386C and 383D.

[40] Aubineau, *Les homélies festales*, 802.

[41] *cf. Anal. Boll.* 24 [1905], 432*; ex Abbatiae Tongerloensi* (Tongerloo, diocesis of Liège).

[42] *cf. Anal. Boll.* 20 [1901], 417; *olim Abbatiae Aquicinctinae*, i.e. Anchin, near Lille.

[43] *cf. Anal. Boll.* 47 [1929], 258.

[44] M. Goullet et al., *Le Légendier de Turin. Ms D.V.3 de la Bibliothèque Nationale Universitaire* (2014).

[45] I am very grateful to Prof. Guy Philippart for kindly providing me with his personal transcripts of these two texts. The St. Gall manuscript is available online at the St. Gall virtual library CESG-*Codices Electronici Sangallenses* at www.cesg.unifr.ch.

The two Greek homilies ascribed to Hesychius

The extant Greek textual tradition on Longinus comprises of two homilies, XIX and XX, traditionally attributed to the fifth century presbyter and exegete Hesychius of Jerusalem. Homily XIX has been edited in the *Patrologia Graeca* (*t.*93, 1545) and the second part of Homily XX, concerned with the *inventio capitis*, the invention of the head of Longinus, has been included in the *Acta Sanctorum*.[46] Both homilies have been fully critically edited and translated into French by Aubineau.[47] I have included an English translation based on Aubineau's edition in the appendix.

As Aubineau has demonstrated, the attribution to Hesychius is false, as the text of Homily XIX and its derivative, Homily XX, show no marks of Hesychius's style[48] and generally appear to be of a later date. The postscript to Homily XIX, in which the author identifies himself as 'Hesychius, a priest of Jerusalem' and explains that his composition is based on a Passion of Longinus that he found in the library of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (*Anastasis*), is not likely to be authentic. Aubineau dates Homily XIX to the sixth or seventh century and suggests Jerusalem, and more specifically the monastery of the Holy Sepulchre, as a likely place of composition.[49] This monastery had close contacts with Cappadocia at the time, the apparent cradle of the cult of Longinus.

In Homily XIX, Longinus is presented as the soldier in command both at the crucifixion and at the tomb. Unlike the other soldiers guarding the tomb he does not accept a bribe and refuses to give false testimony denying the resurrection. Instead, he quits his military service together with two companions and returns to his home town in Cappadocia to lead a secluded life and make converts. A group of soldiers is sent out to find Longinus and put him to death. Longinus welcomes them into his house as guests and entertains them generously before revealing his identity to them. Despite the executioners' protests he insists on being martyred along with his two companions. After Longinus's death, his severed head is taken to Pilate in Jerusalem. It is later recovered by a pilgrim, a blind widow, after Longinus appears to her in a vision.

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[46] *Acta SS.*, Mart. II (1668), 736-39.

[47] Gianluca Orsola provides an Italian translation based on Aubineau's edition in his *San Longino nella tradizione Greca e Latina di età tardoantica* (2008).

[48] '*Malgré l'attribution de cette Passion, par certains manuscrits, à Hésychius de Jérusalem [...] cette pièce n'a pas été écrite par le didascale de Jérusalem, tel que nous l'ont révélé seize homélies authentiques: on n'y reconnaît pas sa marque*'. See Aubineau, *Les homélies festales*, 787.

[49] Aubineau, *Les homélies festales*, 795. The reference to the scriptorium of the *Spoudaei* in the monastery of the Holy Anastasis also argues against a fifth-century date as its existence is not attested before the sixth century.

The woman is healed, her only son, who had died a short time previously, is enlisted by Longinus into the heavenly military service and Longinus's head is returned to his homeland.

While Homily XX, which is dated by Aubineau to the seventh or eighth century, is partially based on Homily XIX, it elaborates a lot more and shows a marked predilection for the miraculous and the fantastic. It also differs from its predecessor in giving an account of Longinus's life prior to the crucifixion, starting with his conversion at the birth of Christ and his subsequent torture by Herod the Great. Homily XX also gives a far greater number of personal names and placenames, which, however, are partly taken from the Scripture and the *Acta Pilati*, partly probably the author's invention. The emphasis shifts from the Holy Land towards *Cappadocia Secunda*[50] and its capital Tyana and a new character is introduced in the bishop of Tyana, Pafnutius. Aubineau therefore takes it to have been written in this part of Cappadocia.

At first glance, the Greek homilies and the Latin *Acta Longini* seem to have little in common. The surviving Greek tradition places great emphasis on the confession of Longinus, who is identified as the biblical centurion and the head of the tomb guard, but not as the soldier of the spear-thrust like in the Latin Acts. Longinus, together with John the Baptist and Stephen the protomartyr, is extolled as one of the earliest martyrs, moreover he is a 'martyr', or witness, in both senses, first through his testimony for the faith through his acknowledgement of Christ as the son of God at the crucifixion and later through his death for his belief. He is also presented as a quasi-apostle and evangelizer of the Cappadocians in a formula which closely resembles the claims made for him by Gregory of Nyssa:

> Having left Jerusalem, he returned home with them [the other two converts] and became the evangelist of the Cappadocians like Thomas for the Indians, Peter for the Romans, John for the Asians and Paul from Jerusalem to Illyria and others for other peoples, announcing the good tidings of Christ and the mysteries done by him and in his name.[51]

[50] Cappadocia, a region in Anatolia, central-eastern Turkey, became the easternmost province of the Roman Empire in 17 CE, with its capital at Caesarea, modern Kayseri. In 371, emperor Valens split off the south-western region around Tyana (Kemerhisar) which became *Cappadocia Secunda* ruled by a *praeses*, with the remainder becoming *Cappadocia Prima*, under a *consularis*.
[51] Homily XIX, 4.

While Homily XX details Longinus's trial and torture under Herod the Great, this account does not closely correspond to Longinus's trial, breaking of the idols and vanquishing of demons in the *Acta Longini*. Both of the Greek homilies are mainly concerned with the story of the invention of the head of Longinus in the Holy Land, the post-mortem miracles he performs on the widow and her son and his high rank in heaven as a holy martyr and military leader of the heavenly hosts.

However, there are also correspondences between the pseudo-Hesychian homilies and the Latin *Acta*. Longinus is said to be from Cappadocia where he spends the remainder of his life after the crucifixion: The Greek tradition mentions the towns of Sandralis or Andrales and Tyana whereas the Latin text refers to Isauria and Caesarea. In both traditions, Longinus is subjected to cruel tortures by Herod respectively by the judge Octavius, both of whom are struck blind in consequence.[52] Longinus subsequently converts many people and is likened to the apostles. He is said to lead a secluded, ascetic and contemplative life after his conversion. Longinus not only embraces but positively demands martyrdom and is consequently decapitated with the sword. Both Homily XIX and the *Acta Longini* describe the posthumous healing of a blind person, the widow in the former and the governor in the latter text.
In a few instances there even appear to be vague verbal echoes between the dialogue of Longinus with Herod in Homily XX and that of Longinus with Octavius in the *Acta Longini*. Longinus is accused of practising magic art in Homily XX.7[53] and *AL* (§8 l.5),[54] refuses to deny his God to escape torture: Homily XX.10, *AL* ((§5 ll.1-5) and suggests to the king respectively the governor to convert to Christianity himself (Homily XX.4 and *AL* ((§5 ll.4-5). It would seem that these correspondences go beyond the common use of standard hagiographical *topoi* and may be vestiges of these three texts' ultimate adherence to a common Greek source or tradition, even though they have clearly undergone multiple reworkings.

[52] Herod's blindness does not seem to be attested elsewhere, *cf.* Aubineau, *Les homélies festales*, 885.
[53] See appendix.
[54] See my edition in ch. 3.1.4.

CHAPTER I

THE EARLY IRISH TEXTS

1.1 The Interpolation in Matthew

1.1.1 **The Biblical account**

In the Vulgate, the following account of Christ's death is given in Matthew 27:46-50:

> 27:46 et *circa horam nonam clamavit Iesus voce magna dicens Heli Heli lema sabacthani hoc est Deus meus Deus meus ut quid dereliquisti me* (And about the ninth hour, Jesus cried with a loud voice, saying: *Eli, Eli, lamma sabacthani*? That is, My God, My God, why hast thou forsaken me?)
> 27:47 *quidam autem illic stantes et audientes dicebant Heliam vocat iste* (And some that stood there and heard said: This man calleth Elias.)
> 27:48 *et continuo currens unus ex eis acceptam spongiam implevit aceto et inposuit harundini et dabat ei bibere* (And immediately one of them running took a sponge and filled it with vinegar and put it on a reed and gave him to drink.)
> 27:49 *ceteri vero dicebant sine videamus an veniat Helias liberans eum* (And the others said: Let be. Let us see whether Elias will come to deliver him.)
> 27:50 *Iesus autem iterum clamans voce magna emisit spiritum* (And Jesus again crying with a loud voice yielded up the ghost.)

Matthew then goes on to tell of the signs that occurred after the death of Christ, the tearing of the veil of the temple, the earthquake, the splitting of the rocks and the resurrection of the saints as well as of the conversion of the centurion on account of these signs (Mt 27:51-54)

John's description of the same events (Jn 19:28-30) is slightly briefer:

> 19:28 *postea sciens Iesus quia iam omnia consummata sunt ut consummaretur scriptura dicit sitio* (Afterwards, Jesus knowing that all things were now accomplished, that the scripture might be fulfilled, said: 'I thirst'.)
> 19:29 *vas ergo positum erat aceto plenum illi autem spongiam plenam aceto hysopo circumponentes obtulerunt ori eius* (Now there was a vessel set there, full of vinegar. And they, putting a sponge full of vinegar about hyssop, put it to his mouth.)
> 19:30 *cum ergo accepisset Iesus acetum dixit consummatum est et inclinato capite tradidit spiritum* (Jesus therefore, when he had taken the vinegar, said: 'It is consummated'. And bowing his head, he gave up the ghost.)

John makes no mention of the *signa* or the centurion. He goes on to tell of the *crurifragium*, the breaking of the two thieves' legs in order to hasten their death so that they could be removed before the following feast day, and explains that Christ's legs

were not broken, since he was already dead, 'but one of the soldiers with a spear opened his side: and immediately there came out blood and water' (*sed unus militum lancea latus eius aperuit et continuo exivit sanguis et aqua*) (Jn 19:34).

This is commonly held to be the only account of the opening of the side of Christ by a soldier with a lance. However, in a small number of copies of the Bible, the episode of the lance-thrust also features in the Gospel of Matthew, where it is not inserted after, but directly preceding Christ's death, with the underlying suggestion that the former is the immediate cause of the latter. Bible scholars have long been aware of this apparent interpolation from John in Matthew, which is found in some of the earliest and best Greek manuscripts such as *Codex Sinaiticus* ((ℵ[55] and *Codex Vaticanus* (B),[56] both dating from the fourth century, the fifth-century *Codex Ephraemi rescriptus* (C)[57] and the bilingual *Codex Bezae* (*Codex Cantabrigiensis*) (D/d),[58] also fifth century.[59] It is also found in Coptic and Syriac versions (e.g. syr $^{hr\ sem\ 1}$aeth,[60] 1010 syr^{pal}, eth$^{ro.ms\ 61}$).

In Greek, the interpolated text inserted after Mt 27:49 reads: *αλλος δε λαβων λογχην ενυξεν αυτου την πλευραν και εξηλθεν υδωρ και αιμα*, 'Another, however, having taken a lance pierced his side and water and blood came out'. Characteristics of this reading when compared to Jn 19:34 are the omission of 'immediately' (*εύθύς*, *continuo*), the use of the verb 'pierced' rather than 'opened' and the inversion of 'blood and water'. However, all of these recur as variants in Jn 19:34 in Old Latin bible texts and at least the omission of 'immediately' and the inversion 'water and blood' are also found in the same verse in Greek texts.[62]

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[55] London, BL, add.43725.
[56] Rome, Vatican Library, grec. 1209.
[57] Paris, BNF, grec 9.
[58] Cambridge, Univ. Lib., Nn II. 41.
[59] Other Greek manuscripts in which the interpolation in Mt 27:49 is found include **L** Codex Regius (Paris, BNF, grec 62) 8th c, **U** Codex Marcianus (Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, I.8) 9th-10th c, Codex Bigotianus (Paris, BNF, MS lat. 281, 298), **Γ** Codex Tischendorfianus IV (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. T. infr 2.2 and St. Petersburg, Nat. Lib. of Russia, Gr. 33) 9th-10th c, **72^{mg}** (London, BL, Harl. 5647) 10th c, **67** (Oxford, Bodleian Lib., misc. grec. 76) 10th-11th c, **127*** (Rome, Vat. Lib., grec. 349) 11th c, **5** (Paris, BNF, grec 106) 12th c, **48** (Oxford, Bodleian Lib., misc. grec. 1) 12th c and **115** (London, BL, Harl. 5559) 12th c.
[60] Vogels, Heinrich Joseph, 'Der Lanzenstich vor dem Tode Jesu', *Biblische Zeitschrift* 10 (1912), 212-227, 396.
[61] McNamara, Martin, *Studies on Texts of Early Irish Latin Gospels (A.D. 600-1200)* Instrumenta Patristica 20 (1990), 25.
[62] Vogels, 'Der Lanzenstich', 404.

The origins of the reading *αλλος δε...*in Mt 27:49 are uncertain and the question whether it is indeed an interpolation has not been fully resolved. Westcott and Hort[63] have suggested the possibility that it is a true part of the original text which has been deleted at an early stage due to the contradiction with John 19:34, or else that it is a very old interpolation from John 19:34 in Matthew. Modern biblical scholars generally seem to endorse the latter hypothesis, I will therefore refer to it as the interpolation in Matthew 27:49 for the purposes of this thesis.

Considering the close textual resemblance between Jn 19:34 and the addition to Mt 27:49, the great age of the latter and the unlikelihood of a direct influence of either Gospel text on the other, Heinrich Vogels[64] has suggested the influence of a third text on both Gospel traditions, an early Gospel harmony which he believes to be Tatian's *Diatessaron*.

The interpolation in Matthew is not found in Latin translations of the Bible, with the notable exception of a small group of Gospel books almost all of which seem to have been written in Ireland or in Irish monastic centres.

1.1.2 **Early Irish Gospel texts**

The Bible was being translated into Latin from around the middle of the second century onwards. Bible scholars distinguish three stages of Latin Gospel texts. The first is the *Vetus Latina* or Old Latin, which subdivides into the African text (Afra) surviving in only two manuscripts, the *Codex Bobiensis* and the *Codex Palatinus*, and the European type preserved in eighteen manuscripts. The second is the revision against the Greek made in 384 by Jerome at the request of Pope Damasus, known as the Vulgate and the third stage are admixtures of the Old Latin and the Vulgate, or Mixed Gospel Texts.

As Martin McNamara has pointed out, most Irish Gospel texts are of the mixed type, with true Old Latin texts being found only in *Usserianus Primus*, sections of John in St.Gall 60 and perhaps Matthew in St. Gall 51. The sole Irish representative of a true Vulgate is the 'Book of Durrow'.[65]

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[63] Westcott, B.F. and F.J.A. Hort, *The New Testament in the Original Greek* (1881), 21f.
[64] Vogels, 'Der Lanzenstich', 396-405.
[65] McNamara, Martin, 'Irish Psalters and Bibles: The Cathach, the Book of Kells, the Texts' The City and Book International Conference 1: The Alphabet and the Bible, Florence, 2001, part 3. Online at www.florins.ms./aleph3.html. Accessed 27/09/2009.

With regard to the interpolation in Mt 27:49, it is not clear whether it came to be inserted into the Irish Gospel texts as a correction according to a Greek text or whether it is a *Vetus Latina* reading which has not otherwise survived. While the passage is not in any extant copy of the Old Latin text, McNamara notes the variants *pepugit* and *pupugit* for *aperuit* found in two Old Latin copies of Jn 19:34 as a possible argument in favour of the latter hypothesis. Also, while the European text has *sanguis et aqua*, the African text gives *aqua et sanguis*, like the interpolated text in Matthew.[66]

The interpolation features in the five Irish or Irish-related Gospel books D (Book of Armagh), E (British Library, Egerton 609) L (the Lichfield Gospels) Q (the Book of Kells) and R (the Rushworth or Mac Regol Gospels). This group of manuscripts, sometimes referred to as the 'Celtic Gospels', have frequently been cited as the main examples of the 'Celtic' or 'Irish' text type. In these gospels, the text of the interpolation, inserted between the bystanders' mockery of the dying Christ (*ceteri vero dicebant sine videamus an veniat Helias liberans eum*, 'and the others said: Let be. Let us see whether Elias will come to deliver him' (Mt 27:49)) and his subsequent death (*Iesus autem iterum clamans voce magna emisit spiritum*, 'And Jesus again crying with a loud voice, yielded up the ghost' (Mt 27:50)) is rendered as: *alius autem accepta lancea pupungit latus eius et exit aqua et sanguis*, 'Another, however, having taken a lance, pierced his side and water and blood came out'. However, as McNamara has pointed out, the traditional DELQR group is not only somewhat artificial, as some of the texts appear to be more closely related to other gospel texts than to each other, it also does not do justice to the great textual wealth of the Irish Gospel tradition, which has yet to be fully collated and studied. McNamara lists twenty-seven known Gospel books or fragments of Gospel texts written in Ireland or by Irish scribes abroad in monastic centres with Irish affiliations,[67] as well as a few texts closely related to Irish tradition. This listing forms the basis of my following list of Irish and Irish-related Gospel books which are examined with regard to the interpolation in Matthew.

[66] *Cf.* McNamara, *Studies on Texts of Early Irish Latin Gospels*, 25.
[67] McNamara, *Studies on Texts of Early Irish Latin Gospels*, 18ff.

Irish or Insular Gospel Books that do not contain the interpolation in Mt 27:49 are:

- -r^1/r Codex Usserianus Primus (Dublin, TCD MS 55) prov. Ireland/ Bobbio? VL. Early7^{th}c.
- dur(m) Codex Durmachensis/ The Book of Durrow (Dublin, TCD MS 57) 7^{th}c, prov. Northumbria, Lindisfarne?
- lam The Gospels of Mac Durnan (London, Lambeth Palace Library, 1370) late 9^{th}c

Irish or Insular Gospel Books that contain the interpolation in Mt 27:49 are:

- μ/ mull The Book of Mulling (Dublin, TCD MS 60) VL, Irish mixed text, Vulgate. Ireland. 7^{th} /8^{th} c
- L Cod. Lichf(i)eldensis/ Chad Gospels (Lichfield Cathedral Lib. s.n.) prov. Welsh border, following Irish calligraphic traditions. 7^{th}/8^{th}c
- EP/ept Cod. Epternacensis/ The Echternach/Willibrord Gospels (Paris, BNF lat.9389) ca. 700, prov. Northumbria? Echternach? Ireland (Rathmelsigi)? (marginal reading)
- Würzburg, UB M.p.th.f 61 '*Evangelium secundum Matthaeum cum glossis sacramentarium Gelasianum rescriptum*' 2^{nd} half 8^{th} c
- St. Gall MS 51, mid- to late 8^{th}c, prov. Ireland
- dim The Book of Dimma (Dublin, TCD MS 59)? VL. prov. Roscrea. 2^{nd} part of 8^{th}c.
- London, BL Add 40618 8^{th}/ 9^{th}c cf. Book of Dimma (McNamara Bibl.St…) Beg. Mt 21:32; ends Jn 21:16. prov. Ireland.
- E/mm Egerton/ Marmoutier Gospels (London, BL Egerton 609) From Tours monastery. Written apparently in Brittany. 8^{th}/ 9^{th}c
- r^2 Codex Usserianus Secundus/ The Garland of Howth. (Dublin, TCD MS 56) mixed type, largely VL. Ireland. About 800.
- Q Cod. Cennanensis/ The Book of Kells prov. Iona? (Dublin, TCD MS 58) ca. 800

- D Codex Dublinensis/ The Book of Armagh, prov. Armagh (Dublin, TCD MS 52) ca. A.D. 809
- R The Gospels of Mac Regol/ Codex Rushworthianus (Oxford, Bodleian Auct D.2.19) early 9thc, ante 822
- Berne, MS Bürgerbibliothek ('Stadtbibliothek') 671 (?Wales/ Cornwall(Lindsay)) late 9thc Pocket Gospel
- petroc The Bodmin Gospels/ Gospels of St. Petroc (London, BL Add 9381)
- gat The Book of St. Gatien of Tours (Paris, BNF nouv.acq. lat. 1587) Breton? Irish/Insular? 8th/ 9thc.
- CCC/ *corp. oxon.* The Corpus Gospels (Oxford, Corpus Christi College, 122) 12thc
- The Harley Gospels (London, BL Harley 1023) 12thc
- The Gospels of Máel-Brigte (London, BL Harley 1802) Armagh, AD1138. (erased)

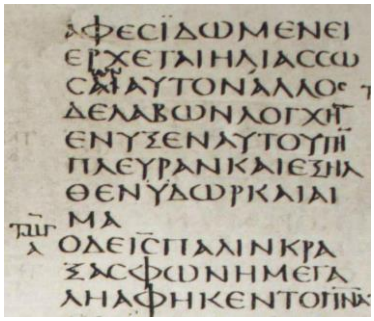
The interpolation is also found in:

- *Reg* Biblia Gregoriana, London, BL Reg. I E vi, 8th c
- London, BL Royal E. V.i
- Paris, BNF, 342*
- Paris, BNF,9386*
- Paris, BNF,16262

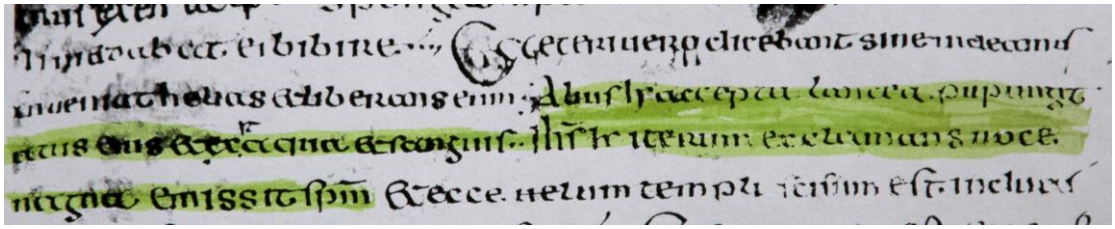
There are the following significant variant readings:
alius autem accepta lancea (-cia, R, r^{2}) pupungit (pupunguit D, pupugit Harl., popungit Ep^{mg}, pepungit *add.* et aperuit Gat., popunxit S. Petroc's, punxit BNF 16262, BNF 342*)
latus eius (*om*. eius Ep^{mg}), et exiit (exit L, Add 40618, St. Gall 51, exiuit Gat., Reg.)
aqua et sanguis (sangis Q, sanguis et aqua Gat., Add 40618)[68]

This listing makes no claim to be complete. However, the overall picture seems to be clear, the interpolation in Matthew features in virtually all Irish or Irish-related Gospel books of mixed text type, from the seventh or eighth century Book of Mulling and *Codex Lichfieldensis* to the twelfth century Corpus and Harley Gospels.

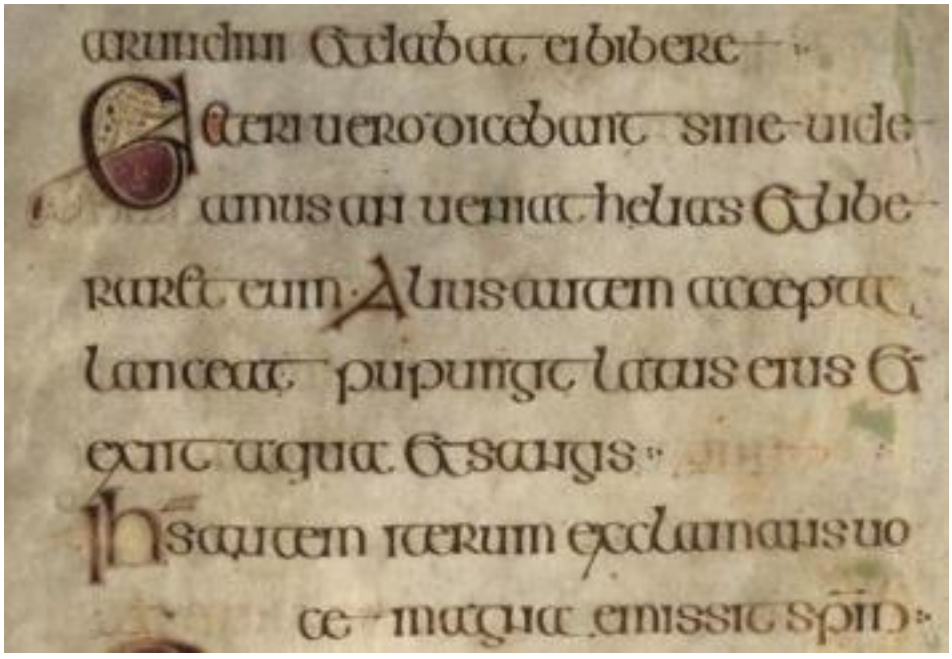
[68] Compare also McNamara, *Early Irish Latin Gospels*, 25.



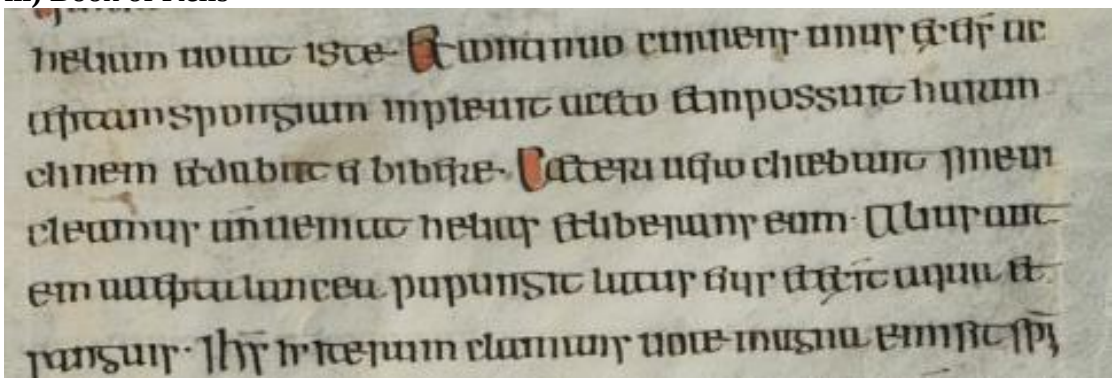
i) Codex Sinaiticus



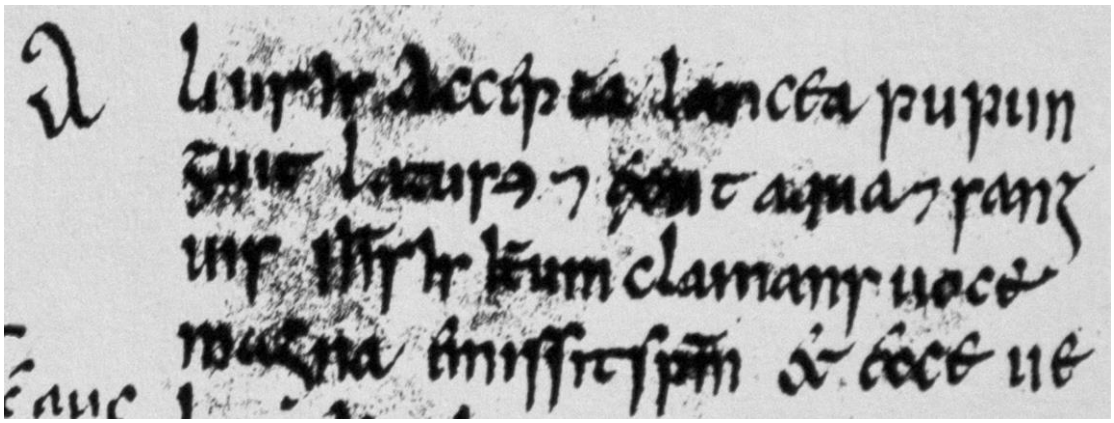
ii) Würzburg UB M.p.th.f 61 (markings mine)



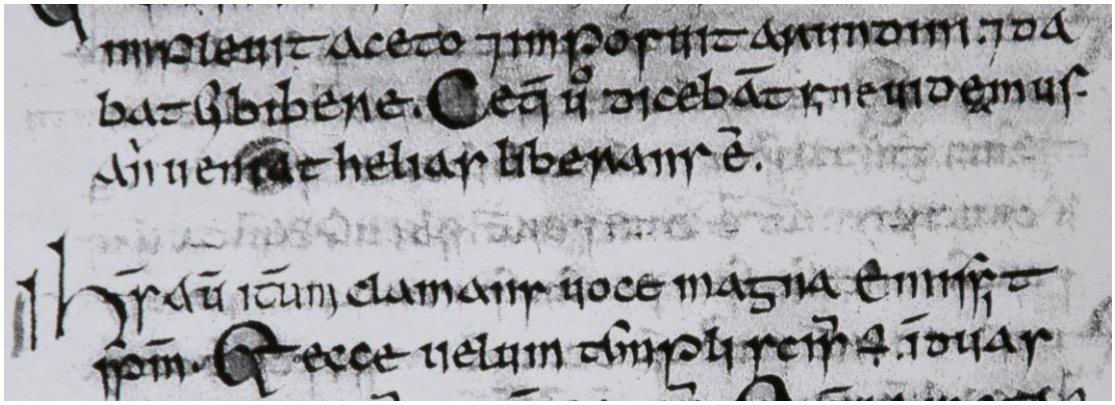
iii) Book of Kells



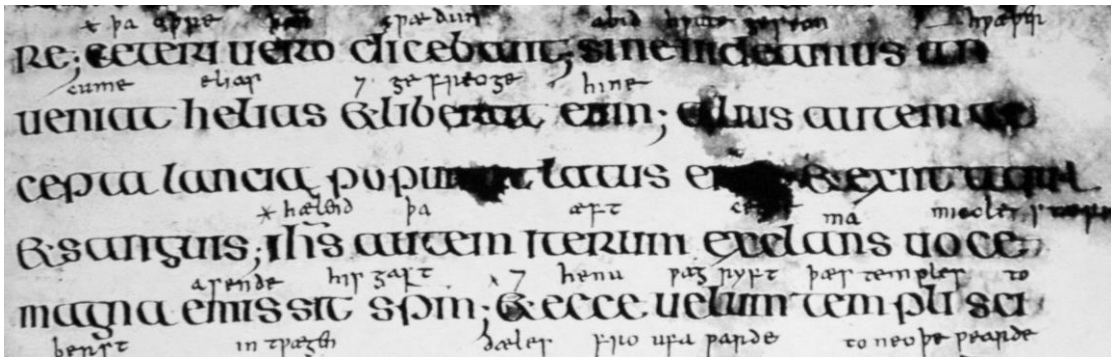
iv) Cod. Sang. 51



v) Book of Armagh



vi) Gospels of Máel Brigte (erased)



vii) Rushwortianus (omitted in the interlinear translation)

1.2 Hiberno-Latin Exegetical Texts

In his highly influential essay 'Wendepunkte in der Geschichte der lateinischen Exegese im Frühmittelalter'[69] published in 1954, Bernhard Bischoff suggested that the corpus of extant exegetical material from Ireland or connected with Ireland is far more extensive than hitherto believed. In his catalogue, he identified a total of thirty-nine items from the time period 650 to 800 which he believed to be Hiberno-Latin, or, at least, to show strong Irish influence.

The Royal Irish Academy, in cooperation with the Irish Biblical Association and Brepols Publishers, has since overseen the critical edition and publication of this exegetical, homiletic and theological material in the *Scriptores Celtigenae* sub-series of the *Corpus Christianorum Series Latina* and the *Continuatio Mediaevalis*.[70]

Michael Gorman[71]and some other scholars have cast doubts on Bischoff's list and similar, subsequently compiled lists and indeed rejected the concept of Hiberno-Latin biblical exegesis as a whole. It is certainly true that no authoritative verdict on the provenance of these texts can be made until they are all made available for study and carefully examined. As demonstrated by Jean Rittmueller and Martin McNamara, among others, such a study must not only take into account linguistic and palaeographical aspects such as Hiberno-Latin features in vocabulary and phraseology, vernacular glosses and the presence of Irish abbreviations, but also focus on the content. In addition to the identification of the sources and of interrelations between these presumed Irish biblical commentaries, it is important to identify the type of biblical text used and to study their use of apocryphal material.

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[69] Bischoff, Bernhard, 'Wendepunkte in der Geschichte der lateinischen Exegese im Frühmittelalter', first published in *Sacris Erudiri* 6 (1954), 189-279, and in slightly revised form in Bischoff's collected essays: *Mittelalterliche Studien. Aufsätze zur Schriftkunde und Literaturgeschichte* (1966), 205-273. English translation by Colm O'Grady in *Biblical Studies. The Medieval Irish Contribution*, ed. McNamara, Martin (1976), 73-160.

[70] For an overview of the titles published so far see www. brepols.net, for a list of the forthcoming publications see www.corpuschristianorum.org. For updates on the progress of the project see also the *Hiberno-Latin Newsletter*, Brepols Publishing House.

[71] Gorman, Michael M., 'The myth of Hiberno-Latin Exegesis', *Revue Bénédictine* 110 (2000), 42-85.

One apocryphal element of interest in this context, as already identified by the Bollandist Paul Grosjean in his discussion of the *Catechesis Celtica* in 1936,[72] is the story of Longinus.

The following section will examine a number of exegetical texts of likely Irish origin with regard to their representation of the death of Christ, the interpolation in Matthew and references to Longinus.

1.2.1 ***Liber Questionum in Euangeliis***

One of the earliest among these exegetical texts is the *Liber Questionum in Euangeliis*,[73] a comprehensive commentary on Matthew which has been dated to the early eighth century by its editor Jean Rittmueller.[74] Apparently written as a reference work for ecclesiastics by an anonymous Irish redactor, the *LQE* circulated not only in Ireland but also in England and on the Continent, and has been shown to have influenced the works of famous early Medieval exegetes including Rhabanus Maurus of Fulda (780-865) and Paschasius Radbertus of Corbie *(ob. ca.* 865). In addition to patristic sources, the *LQE* is believed to draw on a pre-existing native Gospel commentary tradition, particularly on the still largely unpublished commentary on Matthew by the Hiberno-Latin writer Frigulus *(fl. ca.* 700).[75]

The *LQE* does not mention the spear-thrust, neither prior to Christ's death nor afterwards. In its discussion of the moment of Christ's death in Mt 27:50 (*Iesus autem iterum clamans voce magna emisit spiritum*, 'And Jesus again crying with a loud voice, yielded up the ghost.') it begins by filling in the words of Christ's dying utterance as quoted in Luke (Lk 23:46) (*ITERUM CLAMANS*: *Quam uocem dederit Lucas narrat*: *Pater, inquit, in manus tuas, reliqua*, 'AGAIN CRYING: What he uttered is related by Luke: Father, into thy hands, *etc*.')

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[72] Grosjean,Paul, 'A Propos du manuscrit 49 de la Reine Christine', *Analecta Bollandiana* 54 (1936), 113-36, 128.

[73] Hereafter *LQE*.

[74] Rittmueller, Jean (ed.), *Liber Questionum in Euangeliis*, CCSL 108F (2003). In her extensive introduction Rittmueller traces the compilation of the work to about 725, and very likely to the monastery of Bangor.

[75] Anthony Forte's full edition of this work is due to appear in the *Scriptores Celtigenae* Series.

The text then gives the following entry:

EMISIT

Emissio ostendit uoluntatem 'liberam', ut: Potestatem habeo, reliqua. ('Yielding up [the ghost] shows 'free' will, as in 'I have power', *etc.*')

The reference is to Jn 10:17-18 (Jn 10:17 p*ropterea me Pater diligit quia ego pono animam meam ut iterum sumam eam*, 'Therefore doth the Father love me: because I lay down my life, that I may take it again' 10:18 *Nemo tollit eam a me sed ego pono eam a me ipso potestatem habeo ponendi eam et potestatem habeo iterum sumendi eam hoc mandatum accepi a Patre meo*, 'No man taketh it away from me: but I lay it down of myself. And I have power to lay it down: and I have power to take it up again. This commandment have I received of my Father.')

The exegete points out the complete power of Christ over the manner and time of his death and the therefore entirely voluntary nature of his self-sacrifice. Christ lays down his life of his own free will. It is not taken from him. The fact that the redactor only quotes two words from the passage would seem to suggest that the biblical quotation and the point he is making were familiar to his readership. Indeed, this quote recurs again and again in Hiberno-Latin Bible commentaries, as we will see below. It is probably derived from Jerome's Commentary on Matthew, which has the following entry for verse 50: *Divinae potestatis indicium est emittere spiritum, ut ipse quoque dixerat*; *Nemo potest tollere animam meam a me; sed ego pono eam a me ipso, et rursum accipiam eam* (It is a sign of divine power to yield up the ghost, as he himself said; no man can take my life from me; but I lay it down of myself, and take it up again).[76]

The next entry of interest in the present context is the one referring to Mt 27:54: *Centurio autem et qui cum eo erant custodientes Iesum viso terraemotu et his quae fiebant timuerunt valde dicentes vere Dei Filius erat iste* (Now the centurion and they that were with him watching Jesus, having seen the earthquake and the things that were done, were sore afraid, saying: Indeed this was the Son of God).

Under the heading '*CENTURIO AUTEM* ', the entry says: *Unus ex IIII militibus, nomine Longinus, ut quidam uolunt. Hae sunt primitiae gentium*. The centurion is tentatively identified as Longinus, although the writer distances himself from those who believe in

[76] Migne, Jacques-Paul (ed.), *Eusebii Hieronymi Stridonensis Presbyteri Commentariorum in Evangelium Matthaei ad Eusebium libri quatuor*, *PL* 26 (1845), 15-218, 212.

this legend by adding *ut quidam uolunt*, 'as some would have it.' He is said to be 'one of the four soldiers (*unus ex IIII militibus*)' who are apparently thought to be the only servicemen present at the crucifixion. I have not been able to find the origins or other attestations of this particular tradition. However, Rittmueller's variant readings show that the passage is also found in the Frigulus commentary. The other three soldiers are not identified here.

These four soldiers seem to be seen in a very positive light as they are called 'first-fruits of the Gentiles' (*primitiae gentium*). The O (Orléans, B.M. 65 [62]) manuscript has the reading *haec sunt primitiue gentium*, which could mean roughly the same or could be derogatory, *i.e.* 'simple people' or 'pagans'. Even if the latter reading were correct, it is not clear whether it is meant to refer to the soldiers or to people subscribing to the legend of Longinus.

The suggestion in Matthew is that it is the earthquake and the other signs, the splitting of the veil of the temple, the bursting of the rocks, the opening of the graves and resurrection of the saints, which prompt the conversion of the centurion and the other bystanders. Our exegete, however, does not agree, but believes that the cause of the centurion's acknowledgement of Christ as the son of God is more specifically the manner of his death. Under the lemma *UISO TERRAE MOTU*, 'having seen the earthquake', he says: *In alio euangelio manifestior causa huius* '*miraculi*' *dicitur; ita enim ait cum uidisset eum spiritum dimississe*: *UERE DEI FILIUS ERAT ISTE* (In one of the other Gospels a more evident reason for this miracle is named; for thus he spoke when he saw him yield up the ghost: 'Indeed, this was the Son of God'). The reference is apparently to Mk 15:37-39:

> 15:37 *Iesus autem emissa voce magna exspiravit.* And Jesus, having cried out with a loud voice, gave up the ghost. 15:38 *Et velum templi scissum est in duo a sursum usque deorsum.* And the veil of the temple was rent in two, from the top to the bottom. 15:39 *Videns autem centurio qui ex adverso stabat quia sic clamans exspirasset ait vere homo hic Filius Dei erat* And the centurion who stood over against him, seeing that crying out in this manner he had given up the ghost, said: Indeed this man was the son of God.

The *LQE* commentator goes on to explain that no one has the power to release their spirit except the one who is the creator of his own soul (*nullus enim habet potestatem dimittendi animam nisi qui est animae ipsius conditor*). The voluntary nature of Christ's

death is stressed again, Christ's supposed control over the moment of his death is presented as proof of his divinity. Both of these points seem to be directly taken from Jerome, whose comment on verse 54 reads: *In alio evangelio post terraemotum manifestior causa miraculi centurionis exponitur: quod cum vidisset eum spiritum dimisisse, dixerit: 'Vere filius Dei erat iste'. Nullus enim habet potestatem dimittendi spiritum, nisi ille qui animarum conditor est...* (In one of the other Gospels, after the earthquake, a more evident reason for the miracle of the Centurion is revealed: who, when he saw him yield up the ghost, said: 'Indeed, this was the Son of God'. For no man has the power to yield up the ghost, except he who is the Creator of all souls...).[77]

Under the entry *UERE FILIUS DEI* the *LQE* adds some further commentary on the figure of the centurion. His confession of faith shows, on the one hand, that good can be done even in brief, and on the other hand, that he who has sinned need not despair (*Centurio* [*ante*] *crucem in ipso scandalo passionis uere filium Dei confitetur, unus ut ostenderet etiam in breui suscipi pene etiam, alter ut significaret quod non disperandum quantacumque quis peccauerit.*)

This implies that the centurion was forgiven. However, whether the sin he is guilty of is meant to be the spear-thrust, or more generally his paganism and involvement in the crucifixion, is not specified.[78] The commentator then launches into a condemnation of the Jews, who stubbornly refuse to believe despite the miracles after Christ's death, and who are juxtaposed with the elements that mourn Christ (*Hic intellegenda* '*Iudaeorum duritia*'. *Sol tegitur*; *eorum malitia caelos superat*. *Uelum scinditur*; *illi in malitia adunati*. *Terra motatur*; *illi magis firmantur*. '*Petra*' *scinditur*; *illi indurantur*. *Etenim malitia eorum altior caelis, grauior terris, durior petris sit*. *Mortui suscitantur*; *illi infidelitate moriuntur*, 'That is to be understood as: the Jews' insensibility. The sun is hidden; their malice is greater than the sky. The veil (of the temple) is being torn; they are united in evil. The earth quakes, they are hardened even more. The rocks are being split; they are made hard. And indeed their malice would be greater than the sky, heavier than the earth, harder than rocks. The dead are being raised; they die of faithlessness.').[79] Returning to the subject of the centurion, he adds that the gentile

[77] Migne, Jacques-Paul (ed.), *Eusebii Hieronymi Stridonensis Presbyteri Commentariorum in Evangelium Matthaei ad Eusebium libri quatuor*, *PL* 26, 214.
[78] The Cracow Homily Collection and the Vienna Commentary are clearer on this point, see below.
[79] This entire passage is closely echoed in Sedulius Scottus, *In Matthaeum*, see below.

centurion believes, whereas the Jews disbelieve (*Gentilis* '*Centurio*' *credidit*; *Iudei ante fideles defidunt*). He continues to give the spiritual interpretation of the passage, noting that the centurion stands for the pagan people that now acknowledges Christ (*Spiritaliter*: … *CENTURIO significat populum gentilem qui nunc confitetur Christum*.)

1.2.2 **The *Catechesis Celtica***

Catechesis Celtica is the name given to the contents of *Codex Reginensis Latinus* 49 of the Vatican Library, a collection of commentaries and homilies apparently designed as a preaching aid[80] and possibly associated with the *Céli Dé*.[81] About one third of the manuscript has been edited by André Wilmart[82] in 1933. Wilmart has proposed an eighth century date.[83] The article *A Propos Du Ms 49 de la reine Christine* by Paul Grosjean[84] which makes reference to Longinus has already been mentioned.

The *Catechesis Celtica* has the following entry mentioning Longinus:[85]

> *Hic est dies quo…super vestigium lanceae militis Longini, qui latus Christi iugulavit, quando fuit in cruce. Et indulsit Christus sibi hoc factum per paenitentiam quam fecit. Donec vidit Deitatem per humanitatem, et donec miles fuit Deo postea praedicando nomine Dei et verbo et opera, et qui passus est martirium pro Christo in fine aetatis suae, quique fuit haeres regni caelorum.*
>
> This is the day that…over the relic of the lance of the soldier Longinus, who wounded (or stabbed) the side of Christ when he was on the cross. And Christ allowed that this was done to him because of the penance that he did. Therefore he [Longinus] perceived the divinity through the humanity, and therefore he was a soldier of God later, preaching the name of God both in word and deed, and who departed in martyrdom for Christ at the end of his days, and who became a heir of the kingdom of Heaven.

It is worth noting the reference to the cult of the Holy Lance here, which does not otherwise seem to feature prominently in the Irish tradition on Longinus.

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[80] *Cf.* McNamara, Martin, 'The Irish affiliations of the *Catechesis Celtica*', *Celtica* 21 (1990), 291-334, 296.
[81] *Ibid.*
[82] Wilmart, André, *Analecta Reginensia: extraits des manuscrits latins de la Reine Christine conservés au Vatican* (1933), 29-112.
[83] *Cf.*Wilmart, *Analecta Reginensia*, 29-34.
[84] Paul Grosjean, 'A Propos du manuscrit 49 de la Reine Christine', *Analecta Bollandiana* 54 (1936), 113-36, 128.
[85] Wilmart, *Analecta Reginensia*, 47.

Another noteworthy aspect is the use of the word *iugulavit*.[86] In classical Latin, *iugulare* primarily means to kill someone by cutting or stabbing their throat. It is also used in synecdoche to refer more generally to ways of killing a person in a brutal, unlawful or graphic manner, i.e. 'to murder', 'to butcher', and interestingly also 'to stab'. In Medieval Hiberno-Latin, the word is frequently used in this latter range of meanings. However, it has also taken on the sense of 'wounding', 'seriously injuring'. This is probably due to the influence of the Irish *gonaid*, which can mean either 'to wound' or 'to kill'.[87]

While there is no evidence of Longinus's deed being interpreted as 'killing' here, both the use of the verb *iugulare*, if one takes it to mean 'to wound' and the idea that Christ suffered this to be done to him as part of his atonement for the sins of humanity, suggest that he was thought to have been pierced while still alive. Longinus is identified both with the soldier of the spear-thrust and with the centurion of the confession. The allusions to Longinus's subsequent preaching and martyrdom indicate that the legend, or at the very least its general gist, was known to the exegete.

1.2.3 ***Homiliarium Cracoviense***

The *Homiliarium Cracoviense*, also known as the Cracow Homily Collection or *Catechesis Cracoviensis*, is a Hiberno-Latin exegetical text found in Cracow Cathedral Library MS 140 (43) and believed to date from the eighth century. It has partly been edited in *Revue Bénédictine*, tome XLIX in 1937. Homily 24 (fol. 85r-89r), which refers to Mt 7:13, discusses the parable of the two gates, a lesson on forgiveness and confession. The homily contains the following paragraph mentioning Longinus:

> *…Judas Scariottus disperavit se et ipse potuisset misericordiam Dei havere. Non minus fecit qui compunxit latus Domini de lancea, nomen ei Longinus, et legimus eum postea penitetentiam fecisse et fuit in gradum monachi triginta annis et postea pro Christo martyrium passus est.*
>
> …Judas Iscariot despaired of himself and (even) he could have obtained the mercy of God. No less did (the man) who pierced the side of the Lord with a lance, whose name is Longinus, and we read that he later did penance and was in

[86] Paul Grosjean already noted that the term is used rather loosely in Hiberno-Latin, see Grosjean, 'A Propos du manuscrit 49 de la Reine Christine', 128.
[87] The expression is also used in the glosses to *Félire Óengusso*, where Longinus is called *iugulator Christi*. See ch. 1.5.2 below.

the rank of a monk for thirty years and afterwards departed in martyrdom for Christ.

The exegete uses the Longinus story as an example of the power of penitence and of God's all-forgiving grace. Longinus is compared favourably to Judas Iscariot. Judas gave up on himself, *i.e.* committed suicide, although even he could have obtained mercy (*Judas Scariottus disperavit se et ipse potuisset misericordiam Dei havere*). This point is proven by the story of a person whose crime was no less than his, the man who pierced the side of the Lord with a lance, *i.e.* Longinus (*Non minus fecit qui compunxit latus Domini de lancea, nomen ei Longinus*) and who found salvation. This juxtaposition of Longinus and Judas, the traditional arch villain of the Passion narrative, and the comparison of the spear-thrust to the betrayal of Christ is remarkable and would only seem justified if one presupposes Longinus's direct involvement in, and culpability for, Christ's death.

The terms the exegete uses to summarize Longinus's conversion and his life after the crucifixion are equally interesting: '*et legimus eum postea penitentiam fecisse et fuit in gradum monachi triginta annis et postea pro Christo martyrium passus est*' (and, as we read, he later did penance and he was a monk for thirty years and later died a martyr for Christ). While this information could be taken to derive from a summary of Longinus's life in a martyrology,[88] the expression 'as we read' and the detail given, *i.e.* the number of years Longinus spent in monastic life,[89] more likely suggest the exegete's familiarity with the Passion of Longinus, which could also be inferred for the *Catechesis Celtica*. This could mean that the *Passio Longini* was known in eighth-century Ireland, which would make the lost Hiberno-Latin source of the Irish Passion of Longinus roughly contemporary with the earliest surviving copies of this text found in Continental manuscripts.

[88] Historical martyrologies, of course, only started to emerge in the eighth century. Bede's martyrology is generally considered to be the first to add biographical details to the lists of bare names in the tradition of the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum*. See Guy Philippart, 'Les Légendiers, des origines au début du ix^{e} siècle' in Goullet et al., *Le Légendier de Turin. Ms D.V.$_3$ de la Bibliothèque Nationale Universitaire* (2014), 28.

[89] This number does not correspond to the one usually given in the *Passio Longini*, which is 28 years, with the exception of the St. Gall manuscript 548, which has 27 years (see appendix). Bede's martyrology has 38 years. See Migne, Jacques-Paul, *PL* 94, col. 859.

1.2.4 ***Liber de numeris***

A transcript of this work along with a detailed examination of its contents and sources was made by the late Robert E. McNally in 1957.[90] Indications point to the later eighth century as the time of composition, and McNally associated the work with the circle of the Irish monk and bishop Virgil of Salzburg. A critical edition is in preparation by Marina Smyth. The *Liber de numeris* has the following brief entry on Longinus:[91] '*Longinus lancea latus Salvatoris aperuit. Non tantum veniam invenit sed episcopatus honorem et martirii gloriam et coronam habere meruit.*' (Longinus opened the side of the Saviour with a lance. Not only did he find pardon, but he was worthy of episcopal dignity and of the glory and the crown of martyrdom).

It is particularly interesting that Longinus is said to have held the rank of a bishop. This detail is not in the *Passio Longini* and I have not found any other attestation of it in the Irish tradition. It could derive, directly or indirectly, from the Greek tradition, where Gregory of Nyssa first relates that Longinus evangelized the Cappadocians and became the first bishop of Caesarea.[92] The commentator's beliefs regarding the nature and timing of the lance-thrust are uncertain However, the use of the word *aperuit* suggests that he is following John's account and referring to the post-mortem opening of Christ's side.

1.2.5 ***Commentarius Vindobonensis in Matthaeum* (*Cod. Vindobonensis* 940)**

The Austrian National Library manuscript 940 contains an anonymous Commentary on Matthew (fol. 13r-142v), believed to be Irish.[93] An Irish expression has been identified on fol. 101v.[94] The Vienna Commentary on Matthew has been dated to the early ninth

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[90] McNally, Robert E., *Der irische Liber de numeris; eine Quellenanalyse des Pseudo-Isidorischen Liber de numeris*, Dissertation (1957).

[91] McNally, Der irische *Liber de numeris*, 45f.

[92] Epistle XVII,15, *PG* 46, 1061D-1064A. See my discussion of the early textual references to Longinus above.

[93] Bischoff, 'Wendepunkte', 246; Forte, Anthony J., 'Some Philological Observations on *Codex Vindobonensis 940*' in *The Scriptures and early medieval Ireland: proceedings of the 1993 Conference of the Society for Hiberno-Latin Studies on Early Irish Exegesis and Homilectics*, ed. O'Loughlin, Thomas (1999), 109-115, 113.

[94] see Bischoff, 'Wendepunkte in der Geschichte der lateinischen Exegese im Frühmittelalter', in Mittelalterliche Studien 246, although not in the original version of the article in *Sacris Erudiri* 6. Compare also Ó Cróinín, Dáibhí, 'The Earliest Old Irish Glosses', in *Mittelalterliche volkssprachliche Glossen. Internationale Fachkonferenz des Zentrums für Mittelalterstudien der Otto-Friedrich-Universität Bamberg, 2. bis 4. August 1999*, eds. Bergmann, Rolf, Elvira Glaser and Claudine Moulin-Fankhanel (2001), 7-31, reprinted from Bischoff on page 14.

century in Hermann's catalogue,[95] to the eighth or ninth century by Bischoff [96] and to the ninth century by Forte.[97] A partial critical edition (Mt 1-8) has been undertaken by Forte.[98] A full critical edition is in preparation by the same. The following transcription from microfilm and translation are my own:

CETERI VERO usque ALIUS AUTEM ACCEPTA LANCEA PUPUNGIT LATUS EIUS
Ipse est Longinus cui Dominus remissionem dedit et aeternam hereditatem tribuit. Ne aliquot malum videatur insanabile et per paenitentiam deleri non possit populus.
This is Longinus to whom the Lord gave forgiveness and granted the eternal inheritance. Not many bad things would appear to be irremediable and can not be wiped out by people through penitence.
LATUS EIUS
nunc nobis ianua quam Adam cluserat introitus in Christo aperitur. Et nunc de latere secundi Adae mulier Ecclesia exciditur in somno mortis. Quasi in stupore mentis primi Adae Eva erat excisa. Sed secundum Adam mulier ferro et ligno. Et nequitia hominis cum effusione sanguinis exciditur. Quia Novi Testamenti Ecclesiae per crucis et tormenta multa et nequitia populorum persecutorum de latere Christi exciditur.
Now the door which Adam shut is opened for us as an entrance in Christ. And now, from the side of the Second Adam, his wife, the Church, is cut out in the sleep of death. Just as, when the first Adam's mind was dulled with sleep, Eve was cut out. But the wife of the Second Adam [was cut] by the iron and wood [of the cross]. And the wickedness of man is excised with the effusion of [his] blood. Because the New Testament Churches were cut out of the side of Christ through the cross and many torments and the wickedness of the people who persecuted [him].
EXIIT AQUA ET SANGUIS
Veram Christi incarnationem ostendunt isti rivoli. Boni autem effluunt ut corpore et anima abluamur.
These streams show the true incarnation of Christ. The good things flowed forth so we may cleanse body and soul.
EXCLAMANS VOCE MAGNA
Nos cum?minima voce sive sine voce moriatur. Christus cum magna voce clamavit, potestatem salvatoris etiam in morte ostendit.
We die with little voice or without voice. Christ cried out in a loud voice, demonstrating the power of the Saviour even in death.

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[95] Hermann, Julius Hermann, *Die frühmittelalterlichen Handschriften des Abendlandes, Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der illuminierten Handschriften in Österreich, 1. Band: Die illuminierten Handschriften und Inkunabeln der Nationalbibliothek in Wien* (1923), 159.
[96] Bischoff, 'Wendepunkte', 246.
[97] Forte, 'Some Philological Observations', 109.
[98] Forte, Anthony J., A critical edition of a Hiberno-Latin commentary on Matthew 1-8 (*Codex Vindobonensis* 940), Dissertation (1991).

EMISIT SPIRITUM
nunc implet quod promisit, '*potestatem habeo ponendi animam meam et reliqua*'.
Now he fulfils what he promised, 'I have the power to lay down my spirit', *et reliqua*.

In the case of the Vienna Commentary, it is evident from the sequence of the *lemmata*, the use of *pupungit* rather than *aperuit*, the inversion of 'blood and water' to 'water and blood' (*aqua et sanguis*) and indeed the presence of the spear-thrust in a commentary on Matthew, that the commentator had an interpolated copy of Matthew in front of him.
The name and the story of Longinus are mentioned without any reservations here. However, there is no reference to the subsequent life and martyrdom of Longinus. The emphasis is on the fact that the lancer obtained complete forgiveness and went to Heaven. As in the Cracow Homily Collection, the Longinus story is used as a prime example of the power of penitence. Since Longinus's deed was forgiven, virtually no evil deed seems to be beyond pardon. Whether Longinus's spear-thrust is meant to have led to Christ's death, however, is not entirely evident. Like the *LQE* commentator, the Vienna exegete notes the loud exclamation of the dying Christ, which is interpreted as a demonstration of his superhuman nature even at the very moment of death, and he goes on to quote Jn 10:18. The latter quote, however, does not so much seem to be understood to mean that Christ chose the moment of his death here, but that he promised and chose to die for the redemption of humanity, and to be resurrected afterwards.

1.2.6 ***Sedulius Scottus,* '*In Matthaeum*'**

This composition is ascribed to the ninth-century Irish teacher, grammarian, poet and scriptural commentator Sedulius Scottus or Sedulius the Younger, the head of a group of Irish scholars at Liège. The commentary has been edited in two parts by Bengt Löfstedt.[99] The part of the commentary discussed here closely matches the corresponding passage in *LQE*, although this may be due to their use of common sources such as Jerome's Commentary on Matthew, rather than to direct influence.

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[99] Löfstedt, Bengt (ed.), *Sedulius Scottus*: *Kommentar zum Evangelium nach Matthäus*. *(Mt 1,1-11,1)* (1989) and *idem*, *Sedulius Scottus*: *Kommentar zum Evangelium nach Matthäus*. *(Mt 11,2-end)* (1991). The translation offered here is my own.

IESUS AUTEM ITERUM CLAMANS VOCE MAGNA EMISIT SPIRITUM (27:50)

Quid hac 'uoce magna' Dominus dixerit, Lucas aperte designat: 'Pater, in manus tuas commendo spiritum meum.' Et haec, inquit, dicens exspirauit. Quod uero scribit Iohannes, quia cum accepisset Iesus acetum, dixit: Consummatum est. Et inclinato capite tradidit spiritum, inter illud quod ait consummatum est et illud inclinato capite tradidit spiritum emissa est uox magna, quam tacuit Iohannes.
Et notandum, quod diuinae potestatis indicium est emittere spiritum, ut ipse quoque dixerat: Nemo potest tollere animam meam a me, sed ego ponam eam a me ipso et rursum accipiam eam.
[…]

AND JESUS AGAIN CRYING WITH A LOUD VOICE, YIELDED UP THE GHOST

What the Lord said in this 'loud voice', Luke describes openly: 'Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit.' And saying this, he says, he expired. Regarding this John writes truthfully that when Jesus had taken the vinegar, he said: 'It is consummated.' And bowing his head, he gave up the ghost. Between that point when he says 'it is consummated' and that when bowing his head he gave up the ghost the 'loud voice' is uttered, of which John says nothing. And it must be noted that it is a sign of divine power to yield up the ghost, as he himself said: no man can take my life from me; but I lay it down of myself, and take it up again.

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CENTURIO AUTEM ET QUI CUM EO ERANT CUSTODIENTES IESUM ET CETERA (27:54)

Manifesta causa miraculi centurionis in alio euangelista exponitur, quod ipse centurio uidens Dominum sic exspirasse (hoc est spiritum emisisse) dixerit: Vere homo hic filius Dei erat. Nullus enim habet potestatem emittendi spiritum, nisi qui animarum conditor est. Et hoc considerandum, quod centurio ante crucem in ipso scandalo passionis uere Dei filium confiteatur et Arrius in ecclesia praedicet creaturam. Vnde merito per centurionem fides ecclesiae designatur, quae uelo mysteriorum caelestium per mortem Domini reserato continuo Iesum et uere iustum hominem et uere Dei filium sinagoga tacente confirmat.[100]
Notandumque, quanta sit Iudaeorum malitia. Sol tegitur; malitia eorum caelos superat. Velum templi scinditur; illi magis malitiae adunantur. Terra mouetur; illi magis in scelerato proposito stabiliuntur. Petrae scinduntur; eorum corda offirmantur. Ergo ipsorum malitia altior caelis, profundior terris, durior petris exstetit. Mortui suscitantur; illi infidelitate moriuntur. Gentilis centurio credit; fideles Iudaei diffidunt.

NOW THE CENTURION AND THEY THAT WERE WITH HIM WATCHING JESUS ETC.

An evident reason for the miracle of the Centurion is revealed in one of the other Gospels, because that same centurion, seeing the Lord expire in that fashion (that is yielding up the ghost) said: Indeed this man was the Son of God. For no man has the power to yield up the ghost, except he who is the Creator of all souls. And this has to be considered, that the Centurion before the cross in the sinful act of

[100] This passage is taken from Bede's Commentary on the Gospel of Mark (In Marci euangelium expositio), see Migne, *PL* 92, col.292B.

> the Passion itself confesses the true Son of God and Arrius declares him a being in the Church (?). By occasion whereof through the Centurion the belief of the Church is designated, which, with the veil (hiding the) mysteries of Heaven opened up by the death of the Lord and the Synagogue silent, at once confirms Jesus both as truly human and as the true Son of God.
> And it is worth noting the greatness of the Jews' malice. The sun is hidden; their malice is greater than the sky. The veil of the temple is being torn; they are united even more in evil. The earth quakes, they feel affirmed even more by their wicked conduct. The rocks are being split; their hearts are hardened. Therefore the malice of these people remains greater than the sky, deeper than the earth, harder than rocks. The dead are being raised; they die of faithlessness. The pagan centurion believes; the Jewish believers remain doubtful.

The texts examined above demonstrate that Longinus, who is identified as both the lancer and the centurion, was a figure of interest to the Irish exegetes. It is evident that the legend of Longinus was widely known among Irish ecclesiastics by the eighth century, and the *Catechesis Celtica* and the Cracow Homily Collection suggest that the *Passio Longini* may also have been available by that time.

It is worth noting that the quotation from Jn 10:18, which is used by the *LQE* exegete, by Sedulius and, albeit perhaps in a slightly different sense, by the Vienna commentator, also recurs in different contexts and in other Irish texts to stress the voluntary nature of Christ's death. Two further examples may suffice here.[101]
The Irish Reference Bible (also known as *Pauca problesmata de enigmatibus ex tomis canonicis*), generally thought to date from the mid-eighth century, has the following passage:[102]

> *linteum enim indicium est mortis Christi. Christus enim suo arbitrio mortuus fuit et mortuus secundum carnem non secundum spiritum et nec anima ei derelicta in inferno et caro ei non uidit corruptionem. Iterum dicitur potestatem habeo ponendi anima et. rel.*
> …for the linen shroud is the symbol of Christ's death. Because Christ was the judge of his own (moment of) death, and death according to the flesh, not according to the spirit, and neither was his soul given up to hell and his flesh did not see decay. Again, it is said: 'I have power to lay down [my] soul' *etc*.

[101] Other examples include, for instance, Rittmueller, *LQE* Mt 27:54, page 447, and a passage discussing the death of Christ in connection with the martyrdom of Saint Peter and Paul in the Reference Bible (Munich, Bav. State Lib., *Clm* 14277 fol. 271v- 272r).
[102] Munich, Bav. State Lib., *Clm* 14277 fol. 311v. Transcript and translation mine.

A later example is found in the macaronic eleventh or twelfth century homily *In cena Domini*:[103]

> *ACCEPIT IHESUS PANEM 7 BENEDIXIT AC FREGIT.*
> Arroét Ísu bairgin ina láim 7 ro bennach 7 ro briss. *Significat sui corporis fractionem non sine sua sponte uenturam, sicut alibi dicit.* Iss ed doforne sin comach cuirp Crist asa deóin fén hi croich 7 i césad, amal chom[m]aidessom fodéin isin tṡoscela, co n-epert: *Potestatem habeo ponendi animam meam 7 iterum sumendi eam.* Lem fén comus m'anma do chor uaimm in tan bus ail dam, ar Ísu, 7 a gabala chucum doridisi.
>
> JESUS TOOK BREAD AND BLESSED AND BROKE [IT].
> Jesus took bread into his hand and blessed and broke [it]. *It signifies that the breaking of his body would not come without his own consent, as he says elsewhere.* What that signifies is the breaking of Christ's body of his own will in cross and suffering, as he himself asserts in the Gospel and said: *I have the power of laying down my spirit and of taking it up again*. I have the power of putting my spirit from me when I wish, said Jesus, and taking it back to me again.

It would seem that the Irish commentators were particularly anxious to stress the voluntary nature and self-controlled manner of Christ's death and his therefore volitional suffering and self-sacrifice for the redemption of humankind. Could this be regarded as evidence *ex negativo* that these views were perceived to be challenged by the interpolation in Matthew and stories about Longinus? The notion that the spear-thrust triggered the death of Christ seems to underlie at least the Cracow homily and the Vienna commentary. Longinus is presented as the ultimate sinner, on a par with Judas Iscariot. Unlike the latter, however, he repented and was not only pardoned, but was exalted by God. The story of Longinus is therefore regarded as consummate proof that even the greatest of sins can be forgiven.

[103] Rittmueller, Jean, *The Leabhar Breac Latin and Middle Irish Homily In Cena Domini: An Edition and Source Analysis.* Dissertation (1984), 95, 121.

1.3 Liturgical sources: The Old Irish Mass Tract in the Stowe Missal and *Leabhar Breac*

The *Stowe Missal* is the most famous and the oldest surviving liturgical book of the early Irish church. Scholarly opinion on the dating of the manuscript is divided. However George Warner's opinion that the text was probably written at the very beginning of the ninth century is widely accepted and is considered a conservative estimate today.[104]

My concern here is with the vernacular Mass tract inserted on the final three folios (fos. 64v-66r) of the *Stowe Missal*. This tract was edited by W. Stokes and published in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung*[105] and in *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus*.[106] Stokes also drew attention to the existence of another version of the Mass tract in *Leabhar Breac* (fol. 126), which he partially edited in the same article as well.[107] The *Leabhar Breac* tract has only recently started to receive some scholarly attention. Pádraig Ó Néill[108] has shown that 'despite the gap of six centuries that separates their respective manuscripts, [the two texts] […] derive ultimately from a common original'[109] and Neil Xavier O' Donoghue has published a collation of the two tracts.[110]

While the *Stowe Missal* Mass tract is well known as one of few surviving pieces of continuous Old Irish prose and has received some comments from liturgiologists, Ó Néill and O' Donoghue agree that the two tracts deserve much further study. As O'Donoghue points out, the tract 'provides a fascinating insight into how the Eucharist was considered in [the early Medieval] [..] period' and the existence of two independent

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[104]The Stowe Missal: Ms. D. II. 3. in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin, ed. Warner, George F. (1989). This is a reprint in one volume of the two volumes originally printed in 1906 and 1915, and as such is volumes 31-32 in the Henry Bradshaw Society series of liturgical texts.
For Warner's opinion on the dating of the missal see esp. pp. xxxiv and xxxvii. For a discussion of earlier opinions on the dating see pp. xxii-xxv.

[105] Stokes, Whitley, 'The Irish passages in the Stowe Missal', *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung auf dem Gebiete der Indogermanischen Sprachen* 26:5 (1883), 497-519, 502ff.

[106] *Thes. Pal.* ii, pp. xxvii-viii and 252-5.

[107] For other editions of the *Leabhar Breac* tract see Kenney, *Sources*, no. 549.

[108] Ó Néill, Pádraig, 'The Old Irish tract on the Mass in the Stowe Missal: some observations on its origins and textual history' in *Seanchas*: *Studies in Early and Medieval Irish Archaeology, History and Literature in Honour of Francis J. Byrne, ed.* Smith, Alfred P. (2000).

[109] *Ibid*., 199.

[110] O'Donoghue, Neil Xavier, *The Eucharist in Pre-Norman Ireland* (2011), Appendix, 204-17. The following transcript and translation are taken from MacCarthy, Bartholomew, 'On the Stowe Missal', *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy* 27 (1886), 135-268, at 245-65. The translations of the Latin are O'Donoghue's (*loc. cit.*).

versions of the text 'gives weight to the possibility that this text enjoyed some popularity'.[111]

The tract consists mainly of a series of allegorical interpretations of various ritual acts of the Mass, in particular of the Eucharistic liturgy. It does not cover the entirety of the Mass, nor does it seem to follow any common liturgical rite. The first sections deal with the preparation of the gifts, while the following sections continue with the meaning of the opening rites and the liturgy of the word and would seem to signify the beginning of the Mass proper. Will Abbott therefore suggests that 'the author of the tract had in mind some sort of rite of preparation of the gifts taking place before the Mass proper, such as one might see in certain Eastern rites'.[112]

This is interesting as it is during the Liturgy of Preparation, called Proskomedia, i.e. an offering, or Prothesis, in the extended Greek rite, also referred to as the 'Divine Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom', that the lance-thrust into the side of Christ has been most prominently commemorated in Eastern Churches from the fifth or sixth century down to the present.[113] The Proskomedia is the preparation of the Eucharistic wine and bread, which is done quietly before the public part of the liturgy begins. The loaf of bread (*πρόσφορον*) is cut with a special spear-shaped liturgical knife, called the 'lance' (*λόγχη*). Then, the right side of the portion of the bread that is to be consecrated, referred to as the 'lamb', is pierced with the lance while the priest quotes Jn 19: 34-35.[114] The ceremony as a whole and the spear-thrust in particular is, as Konrad Burdach has pointed out, a dramatic reinactment of the slaughtering of the sacrificial lamb, i.e. Christ.[115]

The preparation of the gifts described in our Irish liturgical tract, however, is somewhat different. It is not clear whether the ceremony is meant to take part in private or in public, but what is described first is the mixture of wine and water in the chalice

[111] O'Donoghue, *The Eucharist*, 71.

[112] Abbott, Will, *Investigations into the Tract on the Mass in the Stowe Missal*, www.academia.edu/1857505/Investigations_into_the_Tract_on_the_Mass_in_the_Stowe_Missal. Accessed 20.04.2014.

[113] For a detailed description of the liturgy in Greek and German with special reference to the role of the spear-thrust throughout see Burdach, *Der Gral*, 130-150.

[114] εἷς τῶν στρατιωτῶν λόγχῃ τὴν πλευρὰν αὐτοῦ ἔνυξεν, καὶ εὐθέως ἐξῆλθεν αἷμα καὶ ἀληθινὴ ἐστιν ἡ μαρτυρία αὐτοῦ. *cf.* Burdach, *Der Gral*, 134.

[115] In der Proskomide wird er [der Speerstich des Kriegsknechts] ...dramatisch vergegenwärtigt, um die Schlachtung des Opfers, des Osterlamms Christus, darzustellen. Burdach, *Der Gral*, 150.

(*Huisque prius incalicem*..).[116] The oblation seems to be already on the altar in the Stowe Missal (*oblæ iarum super altare*..),[117] a piece of information that is missing in the *Leabhar Breac* text. However, no mention is made of a fraction of the bread at this point.[118] Instead, the highly complex fraction rite is detailed towards the end of the text.[119] The fraction, here, seems to be an important and drawn-out part of the Eucharist, which is also the point at which reference is made to the lance-thrust.

The first fraction of the host occurs in section thirteen:

Stowe Missal	*Leabhar Breac*
13. *In mesad mesas in sacart in cailech ocus in obli, ocus int ammus admidethar a combach, figor nan aithisse ocus nan esorcon ocus inna aurgabale insen.*	*Int aimsiugud aimsiges in sacart in cailech oifrind ocus in meis ocus in ablaind, ocus int amus dosbeir forsin ablaind dia combach- figuir sin inna haitise ocus inna hesoircne ocus inna nergabal forfhulaing Crist. Ocus is e sin a thaithmech sianside.*
The examination wherewith the priest examines the chalice and the Host, and the assault that the fraction implies, a figure of the contumelies and of the stripes and of the capture (is) that.	The aim that the priest aims at the chalice of Mass and at the paten, and the attack which he makes upon the Host to break it, that is a figure of the contumelies and of the stripes and of the capture that Christ underwent. And that is its {application according to sense}.[120]

The terminology used here, such as the 'attack' or 'attempt' the priest directs at the host to break it, seems to imply a degree of drama in the priest's gestures, as does the allegorical interpretation of these actions as the trial and the torture of Christ. On a practical level, the breaking of the host which is supposed to have been a round loaf of bread[121] probably required some physical effort. It is possible that *gabál oblann*, mentioned in the Book of Armagh and translated in *DIL* (*s.v.* obla(e)) as 'receiving the host' with a question mark, refers to the same action.

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[116] Stokes, 'The Irish Passages', 502.
[117] *Ibid.*
[118] According to Gregory Tilett, a rite of Prothesis which does not involve the fraction of the bread is also found in the Coptic Church, see Tilett, Gregory, 'The Fraction in the Coptic Orthodox Liturgy', *The Glastonbury Review* 101 (December 1999), online at www.coptic.org/language/tilett.htm
[119] This passage is missing in the *Leabhar Breac* text.
[120] Mac Carthy translates this as 'literal explanation'.
[121] *Cf.* O'Donoghue, *The Eucharist*, 186.

The divided host is then further interpreted as the body of Christ on the cross and after the resurrection:

14. *Ind oblæ forsin meis, coland Crist hi crann cruche.* The Host upon the paten, the Body of Christ upon the tree of the Cross.	*Ocus in abland forsin meis- coland Crist forsin croich.* And the Host upon the paten, the Body of Christ upon the Cross.
15. *A combag forsin meis, Corp Crist do chombug co cloaib forsin c(h)roich.* The fraction upon the paten, the Body of Christ being broken with nails upon the Cross.	*A combach forsin meis- coland Crist dochombach fri crand crochi.* The confraction upon the paten, the Body of Christ being broken against the tree of the Cross.
16. *In comrac conrectar in da (l)leth iarsin chombug, figor oge chuirp Crist iarn esergo.* The meeting whereby the two halves come together after the fraction, a figure of the integrity of the Body of Christ after the Resurrection.	*In comrac chomracithir in da leth iarsin combach- figuir oige Chuirp Crist iarn esergi.* The meeting wherein the two halves come together after the confraction, a figure of the integrity of the Body of Christ after the Resurrection.

The Eucharistic practices seem to be understood as a fairly literal reinactment of the events of the crucifixion. However, the resurrection is also prefigured here by the rejoining of the two halves of the host, before the symbolical crucifixion narrative continues:

17. *In fobdod fombaiter indalled, figor fobdotha cuirp crist inna fhuil, iarn aithchumbu hi croich.* The submersion wherewith the other half is submerged, a figure of the submersion of the Body of Christ in His Blood after the wounding on the Cross.	*In fodbugud fhodbaigther in da leth iarum- figuir sin fhodbaigiti inna fuile dothebrensat Iudaide a Colaind Crist.* The submersion whereby the other half is submerged afterwards, that [is] a figure of the submersion of the blood that the Jews drained from the Body of Christ.

The wounding of Christ referred to in the Stowe Missal text is not the general wounding of Christ on the cross, which seems to be what is meant in the *Leabhar Breac* text, but the wound inflicted by a weapon,[122] i.e. the spear of Longinus, which is again referred to by the same term, *athchumma*, in the following section.[123] The consequent 'bathing of Christ in his blood' is symbolized by the submersion -or the dipping- of the two halves

[122] Plummer noted that *ad-cuimben* refers to 'a wound which a weapon inflicts', see *DIL s.v. ad-cuimben*.
[123] '*ind aithchummi cosind lagin in oxil in tuib deiss*', see paragraph 18 below.

of the host in the chalice. This seems to be quite different from the *commixtio* of the Roman rite, where a small piece of the host is placed into the chalice. Abbott suggests that, since the chalice is not mentioned again after that, the wine may have been received soaked into the host, which I find doubtful.[124] It is even conceivable that the passage originally referred to some sort of consignation rite, as it is part of the Eucharistic rites of the Coptic, Ethiopian and Syrian Churches.[125] The following passage, not entirely chronologically, again refers to the lance-thrust, which is given a separate liturgical commemoration:

18. *In pars benar a hichtur ind lithe bis for laim cli, figor ind aithchummi cosind lagin in oxil in tuib deiss; ar is siar robui aiged Crist in cruce, id est, contra ciuitatem: ocus i[s] sair robui aigeth Longini; ar robo thuairse do shuidiu, issed ropo desse do Crist.*

The part that is taken from the bottom of the half that is wont to be on the left hand, a figure of the wounding with the spear in the armpit of the right side; for it is westward the face of Christ was on the Cross, namely, towards the city: and it is eastward the face of Longinus was; what was left for this person was right for Christ.

In rand benair a hichtar in lethi bis i laim cli in sacairt- figuir sin ind athcumai cusin lagin i laim Longini isind achsaill toibe deiss Isu: uair is siar boi aiged Crist ina chroich .i. frisin catraig, Ierusalem, ocus is sair roboi aiged Longini; ocus inni ropu tuathbel dosum, issed on robo dess do Crist. Uair issed boi aiged Crist frinde, oc tidecht chucaind, ut dictum est: orietur in diebus illis uobis timentibus nomen Domini sol iustitiae.[126] *Et: Deus ab Oriente ueniet. A chul, immorro, frind, ic tocht uaind, ocus se ic togairm chaich uli chuci ina diaid, dicens: Uenite omnes ad me, post me.*(...)

The portion that is taken from the lower part of the half that is in the left hand of the priest, that is a figure of the wounding with the spear in the hand of Longinus, in the armpit of the right side of Jesus: for westward was the face of Christ on His Cross, to wit, towards the city, Jerusalem, and eastward was the face of Longinus; and the thing that was left for this person the same indeed was right for Christ. For the face of Christ was towards us coming to us as it is said: in those days, for you

[124] Abbott, *Investigations into the Tract on the Mass*, 5. An argument in favour of this hypothesis is the economical challenge the import of sufficient wine for the entire congregation on every occasion would have placed on smaller ecclesiastical centres at a time when the Eucharist was commonly received under both species. On this question see O'Donoghue, *The Eucharist*, esp. 183ff. Arguments against it, as Abbott admits, are the importance of the sacred blood in early Irish devotion and of the chalice in art, see Abbott, *ibid.*

[125] See Tilett, 'The Fraction'. In the Syrian rite, for instance, each portion of the Body is partially intincted into the Blood, and then each part of the Body is anointed with the other, *ibid.*

[126] See Malachi 4:2.

> who fear the name of the Lord, the sun of justice shall arise. And: God comes from the East. His back, however, towards us, in going from us, and He calling each and every one to Himself after him, saying (...)

Again, the exact liturgical practice referred to is unclear, but seems to be unparalleled in Roman or general Western practice. Is a portion of the host actually being cut off, or is *benaid* used in a more general sense here? I am not aware of archaeological evidence of an Irish equivalent of the Eastern liturgical lances, nor of any knives for liturgical use. This, of course, does not necessarily mean that they did not exist. As Jane Stevenson has pointed out, early liturgical vessels -and presumably instruments- in both Britain and Ireland 'were not distinguishable from domestic utensils in shape'.[127]

It is also not specified who removes the particle in question, or whether it has any particular significance afterwards. There is no mistake, however, about the special commemoration of the lance-thrust at an important point of the Eucharistic liturgy. Moreover, Longinus is mentioned by name and great care is taken to clarify his position in regard to Christ and the exact location of the wound he inflicted, which is here said to be in the right armpit. The text's emphasis on this point suggests that the author or copyist of the tract was aware of the existence of conflicting traditions regarding the location of the side-wound.[128] The point is elaborated on further in the *Leabhar Breac* version.

The *Leabhar Breac* text finishes here whereas the Stowe Missal text continues to describe the fraction and finishes with a brief remark on the correct way of consuming the host. The fraction rite it details is highly complex.[129] The fraction occurs in seven different forms, according to the Feasts of the Church: At ordinary Masses, the host is divided into five fragments, on feasts of saints into seven, into eight on martyr's feasts,

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[127] See the introduction by Jane Stevenson in Warren, Frederick E. (ed.) *The Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church* (1987), pp. xi-xcvi, at xc, xci. There is also no surviving example of another attested early Irish liturgical instrument, the *flabellum*, or *cuilebad*, see O' Donoghue, *The Eucharist*, 188ff.

[128] See ch. 2 for the varying locations of the wound in Irish crucifixion iconography.

[129] The liturgical Fraction, a minor part of most Western liturgies, according to Tilett, possesses great symbolical significance in most of the Oriental liturgies. However, he also points out the existence of elaborate fraction rites in the Gallican and Mozarabic rites. See Tilett, 'The Fraction'.

into nine on Sundays, and so forth. Each of these numbers is then given a mystical significance. At Christmas, Easter and Pentecost, the host is divided into the sum of these numbers, i.e. into sixty-five particles, and the particles are then elaborately arranged on the paten, apparently in the shape of a Celtic cross.[130] The individual particles in that arrangement signify different things, and are apportioned to different classes of communicants. Some of them are regarded as the limbs of Christ, and the middle particle representing the breast of Christ 'with the secrets' (*figor in bruinni cosna rúnaib*), is apparently the most prestigious particle, which is reserved for the celebrating priest. Unfortunately, the study of all the intricacies of this complex and fascinating text are beyond the scope of my thesis. It proves, however, that the spear-thrust of Longinus was prominently and publicly commemorated during the celebration of the Eucharist at some, probably quite early, stage in the history of early Irish liturgy.

1.4 The poems of Blathmac

The earliest mention of Longinus in an Irish context is in the two Old Irish poems to Mary by Blathmac, son of Cú Brettan.[131] Blathmac is historically identifiable from annalistic and genealogical records and the poems have been dated to around the mid-eighth century.[132] Blathmac's composition is of great literary merit. The two poems deal with the birth of Christ and his miracle-working, the Passion, the Harrowing of Hell, the Resurrection and Ascension and the martyrdom of the Apostles. In addition to making use of the canonical accounts and of Christian exegetical texts, Blathmac clearly draws on a wealth of apocryphal material.

A particularly intriguing aspect of the work is its rendering of biblical themes in terms of early Irish social customs and concepts. Among others, fosterage, hostage-taking, kinship and kin-duty and royal sovereignty play an important role. The poet's depiction of Christ as a young hero warrior and his description of the relationship between Christ and the Jewish people in terms of the early Irish legal system prefigures the treatment of these themes in Bardic poetry.

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[130] O'Donoghue notes that decorations such as are found on the Derrynaflan paten might have been meant to aid the priest in this task. See O'Donoghue, *The Eucharist*, 181.
[131] Carney, James (ed.) *The Poems of Blathmac Son of Cu Brettan*, ITS 47 (1964).
[132] Carney, *The Poems of Blathmac*, xiv-xv.

1.4.1 **The piercing of Christ**

In its account of the crucifixion, the text curiously skips directly from the torture of Christ and the casting of lots over his garment to the lance-thrust. The following four stanzas[133] are then dedicated to this episode, its perpetrator and to the effusion of the sacred blood. The piercing of Christ is rendered in the following words:

55. Ó du-ruidmiset am-ne
Ísu combu thorise
do-luid Longinus iar sin
diä guin cosind láigin.

Ann Dooley has translates this as: 'When they thought thus that Jesus could be approached, Longinus then came to wound him with the spear.'[134] She silently emends Carney's translation here, which reads: 'Longinus then came to slay him with the spear'.[135] The verb *gonaid* can, of course, have either meaning, 'to wound' or 'to slay'. It is the verb most commonly used in Irish tradition to refer to the piercing of Christ's side. This -perhaps sometimes deliberate- ambiguity means that, in the absence of a clarifying context, the meaning, 'to wound' or 'to kill', must ultimately remain a matter of interpretation. In Latin, the verb *iugulare* is frequently used as an equivalent, which in Hiberno-Latin, probably due to the cross-linguistic influence of *gonaid*, also acquires the meaning of 'seriously wounding'. However, many texts,[136] by way of disambiguation, say 'wounded Christ in his side' or 'wounded his side', so that perhaps *gonaid* by itself is more likely to mean 'to slay' in this context.[137] Also, what appears as a great semantic difference to the modern reader must have appeared more as a continuum to the medieval mind, since serious wounds, such as stab wounds, would commonly have resulted in death.

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[133] Carney, *The Poems of Blathmac*, 20, ss. 55-58.
[134] Dooley, Ann, 'The *Gospel of Nicodemus* in Ireland' in *The Medieval Gospel of Nicodemus. Texts, Intertexts, and Contexts*, ed. Zbigniew, I. (1997), 361-401, at 367. The remainder of the text and translation is taken from Carney's edition.
[135] Carney, *The Poems of Blathmac*, 21, s. 55.
[136] For example the Irish Passion of Longinus §1, ll.2-3.
[137] The corresponding verbal noun is used to describe the death of Christ in stanza 63 (Carney, *The Poems of Blathmac*, 23): (...) *isind uair hi cés Críst guin dlochtae fial in Tempuil*, 'when Christ suffered slaying the veil of the Temple was rent'. This 'slaying' could perhaps refer to the killing of Christ at the crucifixion in a general sense. However, the primary meaning of *guin* is 'slaying by wounding', which seems to make reference to the spear-thrust.

In any case the suggestion here is that Christ is still alive at the time of the lance-thrust. In fact, he does not utter his dying invocation of God until four stanzas later.[138] This could be explained by poetic licence. However, the poem otherwise seems to present the events of the Passion largely in their chronological, canonical order, which it does here if one takes the account as based on the interpolated Gospel of Matthew.[139] The one notable exception is the poet's reversal of the order of the drink of vinegar and gall and of the lance-thrust. I am not aware of a biblical basis for this, however it is also occasionally found in Bardic poetry, apparently in connection with a particular interpretation of the drink of vinegar.[140]

1.4.2 **The 'wine-blood' of Christ**

The poem then continues:

56. Ó fu-rócbath a chride,	The King of the seven holy heavens,
mac ríg na secht noebnime,	when his heart was pierced,
do-rórtad fín fu roenu,	wine was spilled upon the pathways
fuil Críst triä geltoebu.	the blood of Christ flowing through
	his gleaming sides.

The first thing worth noting here is certainly the reference to the piercing of Christ's heart. The rival tradition of the piercing of Christ in the right side is, as we have seen, attested slightly later in the Old Irish Mass tract in the Stowe Missal.[141] Blathmac's description corresponds to the splitting of the heart of Christ mentioned in the Irish Passion of Longinus.[142] The piercing of the heart is also commonly depicted in early Irish Crucifixion iconography, and is probably the reason why it is frequently at odds

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[138] Carney, *The Poems of Blathmac*, 20, s. 60: *Ar-rócaib guth cain cathach oc atuch a noebathar*: '*Cair rom-léicis, a Dé bí, dom daíri, dom dochraiti*?' This would seem to paraphrase *Eli, Eli, lamma sabacthani*? (Mt 27:46), the utterance which, in the Gospel account, directly precedes the drink of vinegar and, in the interpolated version, the lance-thrust. Matthew does not give the words of Christ's final outcry (Mt 27:50), whereas in John (19:30) they are given as *Consummatum est*. However, in *Blathmac*, this utterance seems to mark Christ's death, as the following stanzas describe the signs following the death of Christ, followed by a lengthy lament.

[139] See ch. 1.1.

[140] See my discussion of the drink of vinegar below. The motif is also found in Bardic poetry, see chapter 4.3.

[141] See ch. 1.3.

[142] *Gabais láigin moir ina láim co ro ghon Críst ina shliss di, ₇ scoiltis a cride ar dó, conid ed tra tanic ass fuil ₇ fín* (§1, ll.2-3). The text, however, later also mentions the piercing of the right side: *is mé ro gon Críst co lágin miled ina thoebu ndes, cor'scoltis a chride* (§4, ll.2-3).

with general Christian iconography in placing the lance-bearer on the left of Christ. The heart-wound of Christ is also of great symbolic importance in later Bardic poetry.[143]

Blathmac, however, also speaks of the blood spilling out of both of Christ's sides, *triä geltoebu*. A plural form, *toebu*, also seems to be the original idea of the scribe of the *Leabhar Breac* text of the Passion of Longinus[144] -or, perhaps, what was in his exemplar- with the specification *ndes*, 'right', only added as an afterthought.[145] The poem, here, probably refers to the piercing of both sides at the same time as the perforation of the heart, i.e. by a single thrust.

Ann Dooley tentatively suggests that *roenu* may refer to 'the declivities of his [i.e.Christ's] body'.[146] However, the word *róen* is used in a similar context in a poem by Aonghus Ó Dálaigh, which talks about *raoin dearga na gcúig gcridhe* i.e. the red tracks -or perhaps the marks- of the 'five hearts', that is of the five crucifixion wounds of Christ.[147]

The use of the word 'wine' for the blood of Christ is both poetic and evocative, emphasizing the strong Eucharistic connotations of the scene. It is an example of the seamless merging of general Christian motifs with native Irish concepts in Blathmac's poem. The use of 'wine' as a euphemism for 'blood' appears to be used in both secular and religious Irish texts from an early stage.[148] In addition to its association with the Church, wine, as a costly, imported beverage, is also the prestigious drink of the aristocracy and hence stands for wealth and nobility.[149]

In addition to *fín*, Blathmac also uses the term *fínfuil*, which *DIL* translates as 'noble blood', a popular poetic expression which is very widely used to refer to Christ's blood in Bardic poetry. The Bardic poets often directly relate the blood flowing from Christ's wound to the wine of the Eucharist, which is also interpreted as a foretaste of the eternal wine-feast that Christ hosts for the just in Heaven.[150]

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[143] See ch. 4.3.
[144] See footnote 141 above.
[145] See also the notes on the edition, ch. 3.1.7, §4.
[146] Dooley, 'The *Gospel of Nicodemus* in Ireland', 367.
[147] McKenna, Lambert (ed.), *Dánta dochum Aonghus Fionn Ó Dálaigh*: *The religious poems of Aonghus Fionn Ó Dálaigh* (1919), xxiv 9, *cf.* also *DIL s.v.* '*róen*'.
[148] See *DIL s.v.* '*fín*'.
[149] It is also commonly used in sobriquets such as *fínbél* or *fínscothach*, *ibidem*.
[150] See also my discussion of the motif in Bardic poetry in ch. 4.3.1.

1.4.3 **The blindness of Longinus**

Blathmac next recounts the miracles worked by the stream of blood issuing from the side of Christ in stanza fifty-seven.[151] He first tells of the baptism by the holy blood of the skull of Adam, which, according to apocryphal sources, was located underneath the shaft of the cross-. He then goes on to describe the healing by the same blood of Longinus, who, allegedly, had hitherto been fully blind:

58. Dond fuil chétnai -ba cain n-am!- is trait ron-ícc in n-ógdall, ossé díb dornnaib co glé oc imbeirt inna láigne.[152]	By the same blood –it was a fair occasion!- he instantly cured the fully blind man who openly with his two hands was plying the lance.

This stanza is frequently cited as the earliest known textual reference to the legend of Longinus's blindness. In conjunction with the near-contemporary depiction of the miraculous healing of Longinus in the Irish gospel book *Codex Sangallensis* 51,[153] assigned to around the mid-eighth century, this passage has led McNamara and other scholars to suggest that the topos of Longinus's blindness and healing might have originated in Irish tradition.[154]

Indeed, it is possible that the point at which the legend was known in Ireland can be pushed back even further than hitherto suggested. If one takes the name *Móel Cáich* to mean 'servant of the dim-sighted or blind man' and if one interprets it as an homage to Saint Longinus, as T. S. Ó Máille suggested,[155] there are further and even earlier

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[151] *Toesca toebraith coimdeth dil; ro-bathais mullach nÁdaim; dég ad-rumedair int eú; cruchae Críst ina béulu.*

[152] Carney (ed.), *The Poems of Blathmac*, 21, s. 58.

[153] See ch. 2.2.2 and fig. 1.10. For a detailed discussion of the gospel book and the image in question with special reference to Longinus and the legend of his blindness see also McNamara, Martin, 'Bible Text and Illumination in St Gall Stiftsbibliothek Codex 51, with Special Reference to Longinus in the Crucifixion Scene', in *Pattern and Purpose in Insular Art: Proceedings of the Fourth International Conference on Insular Art held at the National Museum & Gallery Cardiff 3-6 September 1998*, eds. Redknap, Mark et. al. (2001), 191-202.

[154] McNamara, 'Bible Text and Illumination', 199ff.; Fabrizio Beggiato, 'Il mito di Longino Dall'Irlanda All' Europa Continentale' in *Gli Echi Della Terra: Presenze celtiche in Friuli: dati materiali e momenti dell'immaginario.* Convegno di studi. Castello di Gorizia, 5-7 ottobre 2001. Accademia Jaufré Rudel di studi medievali. 85-92, 87. Dooley, 'The Gospel of Nicodemus in Ireland', 368.

[155] see Ó Máille, T.S., 'Kilmalkedar' in *Seanchas Ardmhacha: Journal of the Armagh Diocesan Historical Society*, 14:1 (1990), 58-67, at 64: *Anseo a bhaineas an t-ainm Móel cáich (DIL C1 10.26 s.v. cáech) agus an sloinneadh Uí Maelcáich (Onom. 674b). Samhlaim leis gur in ómós do Longinus (nó an Dall), a sháith sleá i dtaobh ar dTiarna ar an gCroich, a cumadh iad. [...] Don Dall céanna, b'fhéidir, a coisriceadh Pobul Caech, Pobal in Cháich, Co. na Gaillimhe*

attestations, going back at least as far as the early seventh century.[156] If this hypothesis were correct, the comparative popularity and continuous occurrence of the name would also seem to suggest that the legend was fairly well known.

Curiously, however, the blindness of Longinus rarely features in early Irish art, with the notable exception of the very early example mentioned above.[157] Textual evidence is also scarce. Blathmac is the only early source to mention the legend and no other attestation of it is found until the short tract on the healing of Longinus in *Leabhar Breac*.[158]

As for the origin of the legend, it seems more likely that its original source is in the East, as already argued by Konrad Burdach.[159] Burdach suggests that the legend is early and he proposes the sixth century as a *terminus ante quem* on the basis of an analogous episode in the *Acta Pauli*.[160] He also points out the Greek custom of 'sanctifying' the eyes with a drop of the Eucharistic wine, first found in the fourth century writings of Cyril of Jerusalem,[161] which could either, by way of rationalization, have led to the development of the legend or, possibly, be an early reflection of it.

(Onom. 568a/Ann. Locha Cé). Is cosúil go bhfuil an t-ainm ó úsáid faoi seo. For a fuller discussion of the legend of Longinus's blindness in Irish tradition see also ch. 4.1 below.

[156] The Annals of Ulster record a Mael Caich, king of the *Cruithni*, who prevailed over the king of *Dál Riatai* in the Battle of *Fid Eóin* in 628, and the death of the same in 665. Two other early bearers of the name are a descendant of Ailill Ólom mentioned in the Book of Leinster and described as son of Aed Bennan, king of Kerry, who died in 619, and Mailcaich son of Noindenach, who is mentioned as a subscriber of *Cáin Adomnáin*. For further attestations of the name Mael Caich see Warner, *Stowe Missal*, xxiii f.

[157] For other potential depictions of the blindness of Longinus in Irish art see chapter two.

[158] See ch. 3.2 below.

[159] 'Die eigentliche Quelle [des Motivs der Blindheit in der Longinusfabel] müssen wir meiner Ansicht nach durchaus im Orient suchen. Dort wird man zuerst von den geheilten blinden Augen des Longinus fabuliert haben. Und das muß, wie so vieles, nach den fernen britischen Inseln übertragen worden sein.' Burdach, *Der Gral*, 291.

[160] S. Paul is lent a headscarf by Perpetua as a blindfold for his execution. When it is returned to her, the blood of the apostle which is on it heals her blindness in one eye. It is also worth noting that the name of the prefect leading Paul to his place of execution is Longinus. The dating is based on the dating of the Pseudo-Linus recension of the *Acta Pauli* by Lipsius. *cf.* Burdach, *Der Gral*, 283ff.

[161] See: Mystagogical catechesis 5, ch. 21f., Migne, *PG* 33, 1124f. *cf.* Burdach, *Der Gral*, 292ff.

An interesting mention of a reference to the blindness of Longinus by an unspecified 'early Greek poet' is made in a nineteenth century German dictionary of saints:[162]

> This blood [the blood from Christ's side], allegedly, was collected by the surprised soldier, who anointed his eyes with it, and thus, as an early Greek poet sings, his eyes were immediately opened. This has been taken by some as if the holy Longinus had previously been blind. However, since a blind soldier could not well have opened the side of Christ, others opine he had been one-eyed or squint-eyed, and had therefore frequently been teased by his comrades and had now been healed by the blood of the Lord. But surely it was merely the opening of the eye of the mind that the Greek poet referred to, and this, then, is how most people take it.[163]

Also, while the earliest unequivocal depiction of the blindness and healing of Longinus is in the St Gall Gospel book, there is other early potential iconographic evidence of the legend. A famous example is the fresco of the crucifixion in *Santa Maria Antiqua* in Rome, dating from 741-52, which, though no longer discernible, used to show the liquid coming from Christ's wounded side towards or onto the face of Longinus (see ch. 2, fig. 1.3).[164] Peter Harbison has therefore suggested that the motif is probably not Irish, but was borrowed from Rome.[165] He has also argued elsewhere that Blathmac's poem as a whole might be based on a Continental fresco cycle.[166] Ann Dooley, quoting the stanza above, also suggests an iconographic model for Blathmac's text, and, possibly, for the Irish version of the legend of the blindness of Longinus. She points out the similarity of Blathmac's description with Irish crucifixion imagery, where Longinus is also commonly depicted 'firmly grasping the spear with both hands'.[167]

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[162] From Stadler, Johann E. et al., Vollständiges Heiligen-Lexikon, 5 vols, vol. 3 (1869), 855.

[163] *ibid*., *s.v. 'Longinus Centurio et 2 Soc. MM*.' Translation mine. The original German text says: Dieses Blut habe nun der Soldat voll Erstaunen aufgefangen und sich damit die Augen bestrichen, und hierdurch wurden ihm, wie ein alter griechischer Dichter singt, sogleich die Augen geöffnet. Dieses haben Einige so genommen, als wenn dieser hl. Longinus zuvor blind gewesen wäre. Da jedoch ein blinder Soldat nicht wohl die Seite des Herrn hätte öffnen können, so meinen Andere, er sei einäugig oder schielend gewesen, deßhalb von seinen Kameraden oft geneckt und jetzt durch das Blut des Herrn geheilt worden. Aber sicherlich hatte der griechische Dichter nur die Oeffnung seines geistigen Auges im Sinne, und so wird es auch von den Meisten genommen.

[164] For a more detailed discussion of this and related images see ch. 2.1.

[165] Harbison, *The High Crosses of Ireland*, I, 281f.

[166] Harbison, 'Earlier Carolingian narrative iconography- ivories, manuscripts, frescoes and Irish High Crosses', *Jahrbuch des römisch-germanischen Zentralmuseums* 31 (1984), 455-71, 469 and note on page 181.

[167] Dooley, 'The Irish Gospel of Nicodemus', 368. Compare especially the Irish crucifixion plaques, ch. 2, figs. 2.4-2.9.

While the origins of the legend seem to lie outside Ireland, it is difficult to say whether it first reached Ireland in textual or in iconographic form, and whether it was developed further in Irish tradition. At any rate, the topos of Longinus's blindness is widely attested in later Medieval Irish texts. A curious reference to the healing of Longinus is inserted into the Irish Gospel of Nicodemus.[168] It also frequently features in Bardic poetry[169] and in later Irish tradition the lancer is usually simply referred to as *an Dall*, 'the blind one'.[170] However, this is hardly surprising as the legend of the cure of Longinus's blindness seems to have spread across the whole of Europe and become quite well-known from the twelfth century onwards.[171]

1.4.4 The drink of gall and vinegar

Blathmac's poem continues:

59. Láthirsit dó dig séto	They presented him with a parting drink
ar laindi a mochéco;	through eagerness for his speedy death;
con-mescat –gním nádbu chet!-	they mix (illicit deed!)
domblas dó ar fínacet[172]	gall for him with vinegar

It is worth noting that the figure offering Christ the drink of vinegar, who is ubiquitous in Early Irish crucifixion iconography, is here replaced by an impersonal 'they'. The idea that the mixture of gall and vinegar is poisoned and intended to hasten the death of the Crucified is sometimes found in other Irish texts. The drink is called *neim*, i.e. 'poison', in the 'Healing of Longinus' text in *Leabhar Breac*[173] and the idea occasionally occurs in Bardic poetry, in conjunction with the reversal of the lance-thrust and the drinking of the vinegar. In at least one Bardic poem, it is this poisoned draught which supposedly kills Christ.[174] It is possible, but unprovable that a similar reading is intended here. Christ's death is implied by the next stanza, which seems to refer to the outcry

[168] See ch. 4.1.3.
[169] See ch. 4. 3.
[170] Compare McNamara, Martin, 'Bible text and Illumination', 197-8, and my discussion of the later Irish tradition in chapter four.
[171] The Blindness of Longinus is mentioned in the *Legenda Aurea* (ch. XLVII) and appears in literary works in various European vernaculars from the twelfth century onwards. On this point see Beggiato, *Il mito di Longino*, esp. 85, 91-2. It is also ubiquitous in late medieval religious drama, particularly the German Passion plays, see Dauven- van Knippenberg, Carla, *... einer von den Soldaten öffnete seine Seite: eine Untersuchung der Longinuslegende im deutschsprachigen geistlichen Spiel des Mittelalters* (1990).
[172] Carney (ed.), *The Poems of Blathmac*, 21, s. 59.
[173] See edition ch. 3.2.2 line 14 and the notes on the text in ch. 3.2.3.
[174] See ch. 4.3, discussion and poem no. 25.

immediately preceding his death, followed by the signs and the 'keening of the elements' after his death in the subsequent stanzas (ss. 61-63). It would seem that both the lance-thrust and the drink of vinegar are meant to play a role in triggering the death of Christ in Blathmac's poem.

1.5 *Félire Óengusso* and other martyrological evidence

1.5.1 ***Félire Óengusso*, the Martyrology of Tallaght and other Irish martyrologies**

The Calendar or Martyrology of Oengus[175] (*Félire Óengusso*) is the earliest metrical martyrology in the vernacular. It is ascribed to Óengus mac Óengobann or Oengus the Culdee, who flourished in the early ninth century. The text is commonly dated to the beginning of the ninth century based on internal evidence.[176] The principal source for the composition of the *Félire* was the *Martyrology of Tallaght*[177], a version of the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* repeatedly augmented to include numerous Irish Saints. The *Martyrology of Tallaght* preserves two entries for Longinus. The first one for 15 March, which corresponds to one of three feast days given to Longinus in the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum*, reads simply: *Longini*. The second one is for *xi. cal. Novembris*, 22 October, perhaps meant to be 23 October (*x. cal. Novembris*), the date given as Longinus's feast both in the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* and in *Félire Óengusso*. It says: *Longini martiris qui Christum pupugit in latus suum. Qui etiam predicauit post precisam lingam suam*, i.e. '(the feast of) Longinus the martyr, who pierced Christ in his side (and) who also preached after his tongue had been cut out'.[178]

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[175] Stokes, Whitley, (ed.) *Félire Óengusso Céli Dé. The Martyrology of Oengus the Culdee* (1905).

[176] A late eighth or very early ninth century dating has been proposed by Stokes (*op. cit.*) and Thurneysen (Thurneysen, Rudolf, 'Die Abfassung des *Félire* von Oengus' *ZCP* 6 (1908), 6–8. Pádraig Ó Riain has argued for a later date range, between 828 and 833 (Ó Riain, Pádraig, 'The Tallaght martyrologies, redated' *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies* 20 (1990), 21–38. David Dumville has agreed with the earlier dating (Dumville, David N, '*Félire Óengusso*. Problems of dating a monument of Old Irish', *Éigse* 33 (2002), 19–34.

[177] Best Richard I. and H.J. Lawlor (eds.), *The martyrology of Tallaght*: *from the Book of Leinster and MS 5100-4 in the Royal Library, Brussels* (1931).

[178] There seems to be a greater than usual amount of variation regarding the date of Longinus's feast both in the martyrologies and in the *Passio Longini*. For a partial overview of the martyrological evidence see Aubineau, *Les homélies festales*, 797-8 and Peebles, *The Legend of Longinus*, 12-16. For remarks on the Irish evidence see Ó Riain, Pádraig, *Feastdays of the Saints* (2006), 16, 109, 186.

Longinus is given his own stanza in *Félire Óengusso* (23 October). This is evidence of the great veneration and status the saint must have enjoyed in early Ireland, as this is a privilege reserved for the greatest saints of Irish and world Christianity.
The entry itself is equally interesting:[179]

Escomlud Longíni dond rígflaith as díxu: geguin, gním as úaisliu, tóeb án álaind Íssu.	'The departure of Longinus to the Kingdom that is highest; he wounded – deed that is noblest!- Jesus' splendid delightful side.'

Longinus's repentance, his preaching and martyrdom are not mentioned here. Instead it would seem that it was the wounding of Christ's side itself, referred to as a 'most noble deed', which gained him entry into Heaven. We can only guess what the theological reasoning behind this extremely positive view of Longinus's spear-thrust may have been. One possible explanation is that Longinus was credited with a noble motivation, i.e. that his deed was interpreted as a *coup de grâce* intended to curtail the suffering of the Crucified. Or, perhaps more likely, Longinus is seen as a figure of instrumental significance in Salvation history, fulfilling his preordained destiny by triggering the death of Christ and consequently the redemption of humankind.

Longinus also features in the later Irish martyrological tradition. His entry in the twelfth century Martyrology of Gorman[180] (*Félire Uí Gormáin*) for 15 March contrasts markedly with the *Félire Óengusso* in terms of its moral evaluation of the spear-thrust:

Longinus or gonad Crist i croich do chrúadgha. Ba col cen a choemna.	Longinus by whose cruel spear Christ was wounded on the cross:[181] 'twas a sin without (any) defence thereof.[182]

The entries for Longinus in the Martyrology of Christ Church and the Drummond Martyrology and the date, 1 September, are apparently derived from the Martyrology of Ado (1). The Martyrology of Turin, compiled at Lismullin, Co. Meath, and preserved in

[179] Stokes, *Félire Óengusso*, 218.
[180] Stokes, Whitley (ed.), *Félire Húi Gormáin: The Martyrology of Gorman* (1895).
[181] A closer translation would be: 'Longinus by whom was wounded Christ on the cross with a hard spear...'
[182] Stokes, *Martyrology of Gorman*, 54, 55.

a late twelfth-century manuscript, simply has *Longiní* for 23 October.[183] Longinus does not appear in the Martyrology of Donegal compiled in the 1620s by Mícheál Ó Cléirigh, which can probably be explained by this work's almost exclusive focus on Irish saints.

1.5.2 **The Middle Irish Commentary on *Félire Óengusso***

A number of different notes on Longinus are found in the manuscripts preserving the *Félire* with the saint's entry for 23 October.[184] Rawlinson B.505 (=R^1), an early fifteenth century manuscript preserved in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, has the following comment: *Longinus et Egitianus nomina militum qui iuxta crucem Christi steterunt.* 'Longinus and Egitianus (were) the names of the soldiers who stood beside the cross of Christ'.

Egitianus seems to be the name originally given to the soldier offering Christ the vinegar in Irish tradition, although the 'Healing of Longinus' text from Leabhar Breac mentions the alternative name of Zefatón, or Stephaton. In fact, this note corresponds roughly to the *incipit* of that text: *Longinus, didiu, ⁊ Egitianus anmand na dessi batar oc in crochad.*[185]

Another manuscript from the Bodleian, Laud 610 (=L), dated to 1453, also mentions Longinus together with Egitianus in a bilingual entry: *.i. Longínus ro goin taeb Crist et predicauit post precisam lingam. Egitianus dedit uinum acetum sibi*. 'i.e. Longinus who wounded the side of Christ and preached after his tongue had been cut out. Egitianus gave him vinegar'.

The Royal Irish Academy manuscript 23 P3 (=P), which dates from 1467, offers a brief summary of the *Passio Longini*: *Et Longinus uidens signa quae fuerunt in illa die .i. solem obscuratum et petras scisas et terram tremitam, credidit in Dominum Iesum, et habitabat in Cessaria ci[uita]te Capodochie et in regione prouincie quae est in Assia Minori, habens quietam uitam monocorum, et uixit annis .xx.viii., et sub praeside Octauiano (Ms praedice octauiana) passus est.*

'And Longinus, seeing the signs that were made that day i.e. the sun being darkened and the rocks bursting and the earth trembling, believed in the Lord Jesus, and lived in Caesarea, a town of Cappadocia, and in a region of the province that is in Asia Minor,

[183] See Ó Riain, Pádraig (ed.), *Four Irish martyrologies: Drummond, Turin, Cashel, York* (2002), 160.
[184] The following entries are found in Stokes, *Félire Óengusso*, 226. The translations are mine.
[185] For the edition of the text see ch. 3.2.2.

leading the quiet life of a monk, and he lived for twenty-eight years, and passed away under Governor Octavian'.

It seems likely that this was added by the scribe of the manuscript, Uilliam Mac an Leagha, who, as the scribe of two of the four surviving copies of the Irish Passion of Longinus,[186] would have been very familiar with this text. Mac an Leagha may also have been the redactor who did minor revisions on the text of these manuscripts to assimilate them more closely to the Latin text.[187]

Perhaps the most remarkable gloss referring to Longinus, however, is found in the same manuscript, listed by Stokes in the notes for 21 November.[188] This is curious as Longinus does not actually appear in the text of the P manuscript for that date and no entry for Longinus in November is found in any surviving copy of *Félire Óengusso*. The note appears in the manuscript[189] between two glosses mentioning St. Aidan son of Concrad of Clonenagh, whose feast day is 21 November, and Saint Caecilia, whose feast is 22 November. It may therefore belong to 22 November, which would correspond to the third of Longinus's listings in the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* and to the Martyrology of Ado (2), as well as to the corresponding entries in the Martyrologies of Christ Church and Drummond.

The note reads: $_7$ *Longinus martir hodie et non iugulator Christi*

Perhaps the Glossator distinguishes two different saints called Longinus, Longinus the martyr on the one hand and Longinus the *iugulator Christi* on the other, with two separate feastdays. It is also possible that the gloss means that Longinus is commemorated as a martyr now rather than as *iugulator Christi*. The broader use of the verb *iugulare* in Hiberno-Latin has already been discussed,[190] however it seems unlikely that the term *iugulator Christi* could have meant anything other than the 'killer of Christ'.

[186] See my discussion of the Irish manuscripts preserving the 'Passion of Longinus' in ch. 3.1.1.
[187] See ch. 3.1.1.
[188] Stokes, *Félire Óengusso*, 244.
[189] Dublin, RIA, 23 P 3, f.9v.
[190] Compare my discussion of the paragraph mentioning Longinus in the *Catechesis Celtica*, ch. 1.2.2.

CHAPTER II

THE ICONOGRAPHIC TRADITION

2.1 Early Irish crucifixion iconography

Representations of Christ on the cross did not become widespread until the sixth century, when they were endorsed by the church in an effort to combat the heretic belief that Christ's nature was not dual, but that he was purely divine and hence incapable of suffering. Nevertheless, the early crucifixion images are not realistic representations of suffering, but symbolic depictions of Christ's victory over death. The triumphant Christ, *Christus triumphans*, is shown alive, with open eyes, an erect posture and upright head. His expression is calm and detached and he is often richly clad. The cross is often omitted, or, if present, Christ is frequently standing in front of it rather than suspended from it.

It is this type that is represented in the earliest Irish crucifixion images, which retain much of the solemnity and magnificence characteristic of Greco-Byzantine art and simultaneously make impressive use of indigenous ornamental art.

The later type of the suffering Christ, or *Christus patiens*, is thought to have emerged in ninth century Byzantine art. Christ is understood to be dead, his eyes are closed and his head inclined, his body, often emaciated, maimed and contorted, is hanging from the cross.

In her dissertation studying the iconography of the Crucifixion in pre-conquest sculpture in England,[191] Elizabeth Coatsworth identifies two main iconographic types originated in early Eastern art that influenced Early Western and Insular crucifixion iconography. One is the full-figured, narrative type, exemplified by the famous crucifixion image in the Rabbula Gospels, a manuscript made in the monastery of Zagba in Mesopotamia in

[191] Coatsworth, Elizabeth, *The Iconography of the Crucifixion in Pre-Conquest Sculpture in England*, Dissertation, Durham University (1978). Available at Durham E-Theses Online: http://etheses.dur.ac.uk/1862/.

586 (fig. 1.1).[192] The image shows Christ crucified between the two thieves, in the hilly landscape of Golgotha, with the sun and moon above him, the lance-and sponge-bearer, the three soldiers in the foreground gambling for Christ's garment, Mary and John and the weeping women. The second type is a much reduced, three-figured type, which Coatsworth, following Klaus Wessel, calls the 'Ephesian' type.[193] It shows the Virgin Mary and St John beside the Crucified and the sun and moon or the personifications of these two heavenly bodies, *Sol* and *Luna*.

The early Irish representations of the crucifixion do not closely correspond to either of these types. The composition is remarkably minimalistic and typically takes the shape of a *quincunx*. Two angels are flanking Christ, hovering above the crossbeam on either side of his head, and the only other participants are the sponge-bearer, 'Stephaton', and 'Longinus', the lance-bearer, with their respective paraphernalia on either side underneath the Crucified.
Almost a century ago, Louis Gougaud opined that '[t]he constant appearance of these four accessory figures in Irish art is not the least curious of their (the early Irish crucifixion images') characteristic features.'[194]

The lancer and the sponge-bearer are, of course, also found on the vast majority of non-Irish crucifixion scenes of the first millennium. However, not only their constant and isolated occurrence, but also the manner of their depiction in Early Ireland has been shown to differ from contemporary English or Continental practice.[195]

Perhaps the greatest peculiarity is that Longinus –unlike on virtually all other known representations of the crucifixion- is usually depicted standing on the right, or Christ's left. Gougaud suggested that the explanation may lie in the Irish Passion of Longinus,[196] which makes reference to the piercing or splitting of Christ's heart (*₇ gabais láigin moir ina láim co ro ghon Críst ina shliss di, ₇ scoiltis a cride ar dó*,[197] 'and [Longinus] went

[192] The illustrations are inserted at the end of each subchapter.
[193] Coatsworth, *The Iconography of the Crucifixion*, 109ff.
[194] Gougaud, Louis,'The Earliest Irish Representations of the Crucifixion', *JRSAI* 10:6 (1920), 128-39, 134.
[195] Compare *e.g.* Gougaud, 'The Earliest Irish Representations', McNamara, 'Bible Text and Illumination' and Harbison, *High Crosses*, II.
[196] Gougaud, 'The Earliest Irish Representations', 134f.
[197] See edition §1, ll.2-3.

and took a great lance in his hand with which he wounded Christ in his side and split his heart in two'. As Harbison pointed out,[198] the same text shortly afterwards refers to the wounding of the right side, or of the heart through the right side: *is mé ro gon Críst co lágin miled ina thoebu ndes, cor'scoltis a chride*,[199] 'it is I who wounded Christ with a soldier's lance in his right side so that his heart split'. It has to be noted that this reference to the splitting of Christ's heart is an Irish insertion not present in the Latin *Passio Longini*.[200] The splitting of the heart is already mentioned by Blathmac in the mid-eighth century,[201] suggesting that this element of the legend entered Irish tradition from an earlier textual –or iconographic- source.

The wounding of Christ in the right armpit is also attested from an early stage. It is found in the late eighth or early ninth-century Old Irish Mass tract in the Stowe Missal, which refers to the wounding by the lance 'in the armpit of the right side' (*in oxil in tuib deiss*).[202]

The conflicting textual traditions regarding the place of the side-wound are reflected in the iconographic representations. As demonstrated in the following chapter, early Irish crucifixion iconography depicts the wounding of Christ in the left side, in the heart, in the right side and in either armpit.

There is, however, no iconographic evidence for two wounds, unlike on the Semireche Paten (fig. 1.5), a gilded silver paten found in the region of Perm in the Urals in Russia,[203] which otherwise offers some of the closest iconographic parallels for the early Irish crucifixions. On the Semireche Paten, Christ is depicted bleeding profusely from both armpits. This same feature already seems to be referred to in the *Dittochaeon* of Prudentius of *c*. 400.[204] The age of the paten is disputed. However, it contains an

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[198] Harbison, *The High Crosses*, II, 277.

[199] §4, ll.2-3.

[200] See the Turin text and variants in ch. 3.1.4. Compare also the transcripts of the Latin Passion of Longinus from other manuscripts included in the appendix.

[201] Carney, *The Poems of Blathmac*, 20. See ch. 1.4.1.

[202] See ch. 1.3.

[203] Due to the silver alloy the paten is made of and to motifs associated with Nestorianism it has since been connected with the area of Semireche, in present-day Kyrgyzstan, an area where Nestorian communities were active in the Middle ages. See Bacci, Michele, 'The *Volto Santo*'s legendary and physical image' in *Envisioning Christ on The Cross. Ireland and the Early Medieval West*, eds. Mullins, Juliet et al. (2013), 230.

[204] Prudentius' composition consists of 49 quatrains which purport to accompany pictorial scenes taken from both the Old and the New Testament. The caption for the Passion begins: 'Pierced through either side, Christ gives forth water and blood' (*Traiectus per utrumque latus laticem atque cruorem Christus agit*) See *Tituli Historiarum*, 42, *Prudentius*, ed. and transl. H.J. Thomson, 2 vols, (1961), ii, 367.

inscription in Syriac and its iconography is thought to derive from that of sixth or seventh century Syria or Palestine.[205]

The Semireche Paten is one of very few non-Irish crucifixion images to place Longinus on the right. Another one is a British Museum ivory from Rome, dated to 420-30 (fig. 1.2), depicting the crucifixion and the suicide of Judas. The figure on the right – presumably understood to be Longinus- is raising his arm to pierce Christ in the left armpit with what was probably a dagger. An image of another interesting piece of likely Syro- Palestinian origin has been pointed out by Michele Bacci.[206] The enigmatic silver bowl (fig. 1.4) now in Ushguli in the remote region of Upper Svaneti, Georgia, depicts a combination of Gospel scenes and figures of holy horsemen. It most likely dates from the ninth or tenth century, although it is thought to be based on earlier models. There are distinct parallels between the early Irish crucifixion images and this minimalist crucifixion scene, which depicts the Crucified between the spear-bearer and the lance-bearer, in the act of piercing Christ in the right armpit, with the sun and moon above the cross-arms.

Considering these similarities, it is possible, though difficult to prove, that the placing of Longinus -and perhaps other features of Early Irish crucifixion iconography- derive from an early Christian iconographic type that has only survived in a few instances elsewhere.

The spear-bearer's iconographic counterpart is commonly known as the 'sponge-bearer'. However, this seems to be a misnomer in an Irish context. Stephaton is not depicted with a sponge, but with a vessel, usually a narrow, half-moon shaped cup on top of a pole on the Athlone plaque (fig. 2.1) and in manuscript depictions (figs. 1.8-1.10,1.12) and with a deeper cup on most high crosses.

Gougaud suggested that this may be due to a lack of familiarity with sponges, as the Middle Irish words for sponge, *machdual* and *spungia*, are both late loanwords from Greek and Latin respectively.[207] While this explanation has a certain appeal, it now seems unlikely as the half-moon shaped cup of the early Irish crucifixion images closely corresponds to the crescent-shaped cup depicted on the Semireche Paten.

[205] See Harbison, 'The Bronze Crucifixion Plaque', 13.
[206] Bacci, 'The *Volto Santo*'s legendary and physical image', 230.
[207] Gougaud, 'The Earliest Irish Representations', 136.

A textual parallel for this cup occurs in the Irish Gospel of Nicodemus,[208] which mentions a 'vessel' (*soitheach* in the Yellow Book of Lecan, *lestar* in the *Leabhar Breac* version), from which 'the soldiers' (*na ridireada*, lit. 'horsemen') in the former translation and 'the Jews' in the latter offer Christ the drink of vinegar.[209] However, the Irish translations of this text are thought to be late Medieval and may reflect the influence of the iconography on the text rather than the other way around.

Another distinguishing feature is the garment of Christ. In most early Irish crucifixion images Christ is neither wearing the loin-cloth or *perizonium* common in early Western depictions nor the *colobium,* the long, sleeveless dress decorated with golden stripes denoting sovereignty favoured by early Eastern artists. Instead, he is frequently clad in a long-sleeved robe, as is also depicted on the Semireche Paten. Sometimes the garment is draped in complex folds, or perhaps consists of ribbons (e.g. in St Gall 51, fig. 1.10), sometimes the Irish artists add trousers (e.g. in the Southampton Psalter, fig. 1.8).

2.2 Representations of the crucifixion in early Irish manuscripts

2.2.1 **The Durham Gospel Book**

The earliest extant illumination of the crucifixion from an Insular context is the full-page crucifixion miniature included at the end of St. Matthew in the Durham Gospels. The Gospel book has generally been assigned to Northumbria and its script compared to that of the Lindisfarne Gospels, although some scholars have argued for an Irish provenance. It is commonly dated to the late seventh or early eighth century.

While the Durham crucifixion has some unique features, it shares the basic iconographic characteristics of the crucifixion scenes in later Irish manuscripts, metalwork and stone carving. Christ, dressed in a long robe, is flanked by two angelic beings and by the spear-bearer and the cup-bearer. These features, as Richard Bailey has pointed out, are not otherwise found together in pre-Romanesque Northumbria, which, according to him, may reflect the previous existence of the iconographic type in Ireland.[210]

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[208] Hughes (*The Irish Gospel of Nicodemus*, xii) dates the *Leabhar Breac* text to the twelfth century, the YBL text and the texts of the other manuscripts, according to him, are slightly later.

[209] See my discussion of the references to Longinus in the Irish Gospel of Nicodemus in chapter 4.1.3.

[210] Bailey, Richard, 'A Crucifixion Plaque from Cumbria' in *Early medieval sculpture in Britain and Ireland,* ed. Higgitt, John (1986), 8-13.

Christ is shown in a priestly *orans* pose against the background of the equal-armed, cosmological cross, to which both his hands and feet are nailed. Above his head, the *titulus* is inscribed on the cross: *hic est ihs rex iudeorum.*

His head is upright and surrounded by a caul-like halo[211] apparently doubling as hair. His large, blue eyes are wide open and the face is expressionless. Christ is clothed in a long-sleeved, purple garment, edged with golden orpiment, which falls in complex folds to his ankles. This purple robe, as O'Reilly points out, has regal connotations in patristic exegesis and simultaneously symbolizes the mortal human body of Christ and his blood shed on the cross.[212]

The Crucified is flanked by two nimbed angelic figures shown in full frontal above the cross-arms. Their bodies are covered in colourful feathers, they have four wings and no visible arms which suggests that they are cherubim or seraphim.

The spear- and the cup-bearer are depicted in profile below. As in the Rabbula Gospels, Longinus is identified by his name, which can be made out in somewhat effaced writing above his head.[213] He is depicted on the left, piercing Christ in the right side.

The appearance of the spear-bearer generally resembles that found in numerous later Irish depictions. He has long hair and a striped cloak with a pointed hem. His posture is upright, with his spear raised and his legs apart in a stepping motion.

On the right, Stephaton is proffering the vinegar in what seems to be a small cup. This is not the crescent-shaped vessel found on the extant early Irish Manuscript depictions (see the Southampton Psalter fig. 1.8 and the St Gall Gospels fig. 1.10 below) but perhaps corresponds to the deeper, chalice-shaped cup seen on most high crosses.

As Jennifer O'Reilly has shown in her erudite discussions of the Durham crucifixion,[214] an interpretation of the image must take into account both the inscriptions on the image itself and in the margins as well as the manuscript context.

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[211] Caul-shaped haloes are also found on a number of Early Irish crucifixion images, e.g. on the 'Athlone' Plaque and the Unfinished Cross at Kells.

[212] O'Reilly, 'Image and Meaning', 61.

[213] Unfortunately, this is difficult to make out in the representation, however the detail is noted in Gougaud, 'The Earliest Irish Representations', 134.

[214] O'Reilly, Jennifer, 'Image and Meaning in Early Irish Manuscript Art' in *Envisioning Christ on the Cross: Ireland and the early medieval West*, eds. Mullins, Juliet et al. (2013), 52-82. and *eadem*, 'Know who and what he is': the context and inscriptions of the Durham Gospels

A marginal inscription above the illumination which reads 'know who and what he is' (*scito quis et qualis est*), she points out, 'heightens the paradox and extends the visual images' range of allusion'[215] in the manner of ekphrastic *tituli* on some Byzantine icons.

The apocalyptic title of Christ, *Alpha* and *Omega*, is inscribed on either side of his head and the eschatological reference is reinforced by the words *initium et finis* above the heads of the seraphim. There are also inscriptions on the remaining three sides, which amount to an exhortation to imitate Christ and express the belief that if we suffer with him, we shall reign together with him.

The crucifixion image is linked with the Gospel text on the reverse. The text of Mt 28:17-20 is highlighted by a cruciform frame matching the crucifix on the opposite page. The passage describes the last resurrection appearance of Christ prior to the ascension and ends with his commission and final promise to his apostles: 'Go and teach all peoples, baptizing them in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy spirit, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you. And behold, I am with you always, even to the end of the world' (Mt 28:19-20).

Linking the picture with the texts and their theological contexts, O'Reilly convincingly argues that 'the Durham Gospels presents Christ crucified, risen, ascended and glorified in a single image'.[216]

The sponge- and spear-bearer, according to her, testify to Christ's suffering and death as a human in a picture that 'does not record a historical moment, but presents a theological mystery through a visual paradox',[217] showing Christ 'both wounded and exalted'.[218]

This interpretation seems plausible. However, I would like to note the marked stylistic difference between the starkly frontal, solemn, hieratic figures of Christ and the two seraphim on the one hand, who are strongly reminiscent of early Greco-Byzantine art, and of the lance- and sponge-bearer on the other. Longinus and Stephaton are shown in profile and in motion and the overall manner of their depiction does not seem to fit the remainder of the image. This could suggest that these two figures are indeed borrowed from a pre-existing Irish type, where their presence may have had a different significance.

Crucifixion image' in *Making and meaning in Insular art: proceedings of the fifth International Conference on Insular Art held at Trinity College Dublin, 25-28 August 2005*, ed. Moss, Rachel (2007), 301-16.

[215] O'Reilly, 'Image and Meaning', 62.

[216] O'Reilly, 'Image and Meaning', 68.

[217] O'Reilly, 'Image and Meaning', 58.

[218] *Ibid.*

2.2.2 **The St Gall Gospels**

Another full-page crucifixion image is found in *Codex Sangallensis* 51,[219] an Irish Gospel book dated to the middle or the second half of the eighth century.[220] The crucifixion scene is depicted in magnificent detail here, the overall composition is beautifully balanced, which seems to suggest an already well-established iconographic tradition. The image is inserted at the end of the Gospel text, facing a depiction of the Second Coming. As O'Reilly has pointed out, there is a deliberate ambiguity in the latter image between ascension and *parousia*.[221] The twelve apostles are depicted looking up at Christ as at the ascension, when they were told he would return 'in like manner as you have seen him go into heaven' (Acts 1:11).

The two images are certainly meant to be read together, like a diptych. The composition prefigures that found on many later high crosses, where Christ's humble death on the cross is juxtaposed with his triumphant return on the opposite cross face.[222]

In the St. Gall crucifixion image, Christ is fully clothed and richly dressed in a curious, knee-length purple garment, perhaps consisting of ribbons. This complex drapery is unlikely to be purely ornamental in character, as suggested by Gougaud[223] and Hesbert.[224] O'Reilly has noted that the lozenge-shape of the *tetragonus mundi*, the four-fold world, is hidden in the folds of the upper part of the garment.[225] Perhaps Weitzmann also had a point when talking about the 'ribbon-like wrappings of a mummy'.[226] It seems to me that the robe could also represent a chrysalis, with Christ as the emerging butterfly. The butterfly is an ancient, pre-Christian symbol of the soul, it has been used from the earliest days of Christian art on sarcophagi in the Roman catacombs due to its metamorphosis being regarded as an image of the Resurrection. This could explain the unique and eccentric colouring of Christ's limbs, the blue legs

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[219] St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 51, page 266.
[220] Alexander, J.J.G., *Insular Manuscripts 6th to the 9th Century. A Survey of the Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles,* vol. 1. no. 44, 66-7. See also Duft, J. and P. Meyer *The Irish Miniatures in the Abbey Library of St Gall* (1954), 69-70.
[221] O'Reilly, 'Image and Meaning', 68.
[222] See ch. 2.4.
[223] Gougaud, 'The Earliest Irish Representations', 132.
[224] Hesbert, *Le Problème de la Transfixion*, 97.
[225] O'Reilly, 'Image and Meaning', 64.
[226] Weitzmann, Kurt, 'The Classical in Byzantine Art as a mode of individual expression' in *Byzantine Art. An European Art, Lectures* (1966), 153. See Harbison, *The High Crosses*, I, 279.

and red arms contrasting with his pale white countenance.[227] The shape of Christ's hairstyle, on the right side, also seems to form the outline of a butterfly and is probably meant to be symmetrical, as on the parousiac Christ on the opposite page, although this is not visible in the crucifixion scene due to his being depicted at a slight angle.

In the St Gall image, Christ is clearly depicted alive, looking straight ahead with clear, wide open eyes. Kees Veelenturf,[228] followed by Herren and Brown[229] has noted the quasi-simultaneous depiction of Stephaton's and Longinus's actions, and pointed out the apparent disagreement with the Gospel account (Jn 19:28-34) where wine and vinegar are offered to the living Christ, whereas the side of Christ is not opened until after his death. Despite his passing reference to Hesbert's discussion of the interpolation in Matthew, Veelenturf insists on regarding this as a conflation of non-contemporaneous events, which, according to him, demonstrates that the depiction of the crucifixion was not meant to refer merely to an historical event occurring in linear time. Christ's open eyes, he argues, are symbolic of the hypostatic union of God and man, Christ is simultaneously dead on the cross in his human and eternally alive in his divine nature. Stephaton and Longinus are seen as narrative intrusions into an otherwise essentially symbolic image.

This general symbolic reading is certainly valid, and is considered an inherent feature of the *Christus triumphans* type which Irish art inherited from early Eastern crucifixion iconography. However, symbolic interpretation should not entirely exclude a narrative, historical reading, especially considering that this latter level of interpretation is given great prominence by the early Irish exegetes.

There is no reason why the piercing of the living Christ, as depicted in St. Gall 51, would not have been considered historical by the contemporary artists. The interpolation in the Gospel of Matthew, which has the spear-thrust occur immediately preceding Christ's death, is found in the text of the same Gospel book, as first pointed out by Hesbert and discussed in detail by McNamara. As we have seen, the

[227] It seems that the colouring of Stephaton's hand in the colour of his tunic was accidental.

[228] Veelenturf, Kees, *Dia Brátha: eschatological theophanies and Irish high crosses* (1997), 139-40.

[229] Herren, Michael W., and Shirley Ann Brown, *Christ in Celtic Christianity: Britain and Ireland from the Fifth to the Tenth Century* (2002), 253.

interpolation is also found in virtually every other Early Irish Gospel book.[230] It would seem that the Gospel of Matthew, in particular, enjoyed a special status in early Ireland and considering the textual evidence given throughout this thesis, there is no doubt that the interpolation in Matthew's account of the crucifixion had a profound impact on the imagination of the crucifixion in the Early Irish Church.

As in most other Irish representations of the crucifixion, Longinus is placed on Christ's left *i.e.* the viewer's right in the St Gall image. He has just pierced either the heart or the left armpit of Christ with his spear. It is difficult to tell which, as Christ's body and the wound itself are hidden in the loose folds of the garment. The spear-point is directed at the armpit, whereas the stream of blood which is issuing from the wound seems to originate further down, in the region of the chest or the heart of Christ. The piercing of both the left armpit and the heart is iconographically attested from an early stage, the former on the 'Athlone' Plaque (fig. 2.1), the latter on the Clonmacnoise South Cross (fig. 3.4) and a large number of other early high crosses at important sites.[231]

There is a clear implication in much of early Irish textual tradition that the wounding of Christ by the spear of Longinus triggered the Saviour's death. However, despite the legend of the heart-wound, death was not necessarily thought to be instant. In the *Leabhar Breac* account of the Passion 'according to Matthew',[232] Christ makes a lengthy, uncanonical utterance between his wounding and death, whereas one Bardic Poem explicitly marvels at Christ's capability to survive a wound in the heart.[233] The St Gall image, which shows Christ wounded, yet alive, may illustrate a compromise between the belief that Christ was mortally wounded by the spear of Longinus and the point frequently emphasized in Hiberno-Latin exegesis that he freely chose the moment of his own death.[234]

One of the most remarkable -and certainly the most famous- features of the St Gall crucifixion image is its depiction of the healing of Longinus. The blood of Christ, represented by a crimson zigzag line, is spurting from the wounded side of the Crucified

[230] See ch. 1.1.
[231] For an overview see my map of the Irish High crosses with regard to the location of the spear-wound (fig. III).
[232] See appendix.
[233] See ch. 4.3.2, poem 15.
[234] See ch. 1.2.

onto the face of the soldier. Longinus's right eye is open and apparently healthy, while his left pupil is depicted as a slit. This comic-esque feature may simply be meant to emphasize the lancer's previous blindness. However, it may also be linked to his description as *clárainech*,[235] a word of uncertain and apparently varying meaning, which refers both to blindness, and, at least in the modern language, to the narrowing of the eyes to a slit.[236]

The St Gall image is the earliest unequivocal iconographic attestation of the legend of the healing of Longinus. This, in combination with its quasi-contemporaneous textual attestation in Blathmac's poem –has led Martin McNamara and other scholars to suggest a possible Irish origin of the legend.[237]

The motif, however, may already be present in the crucifixion fresco from Santa Maria Antiqua (fig. 1.3),[238] dated to *c.*750, a time when Rome was open to Byzantine cultural influences. Interestingly, the St Gall image seems to depict Longinus as a youth or as a very young man. His countenance is youthful and unlike Stephaton, who sports an impressive moustache, Longinus is beardless. This detail, also, seems to correspond to the 'Healing of Longinus'-text in *Leabhar Breac*, where Longinus is called *in mac dall clárainech* (see edition ch. 3.2.2, line 5).

The cup-bearer Stephaton is depicted on the left, holding his crescent-shaped cup just underneath the mouth of the Crucified. It may be significant that Christ's mouth is curving downwards. While this manner of depicting the human mouth is not uncommon in early Insular figurative art, the downward curve of the lips seems quite pronounced here. The feature is also found in a number of other early Irish crucifixion images, perhaps most prominently on the 'Athlone' plaque (fig. 2.1) and the Castledermot South

[235] See my edition of the text about the Healing of Longinus in *Leabhar Breac*, ch. 3.2.2, l.5: *In tan, tra, ro-t-gon Longinus, in mac dall clárainech, toeb Ísu don goi ...*, compare also the notes on that text.

[236] For a fuller discussion of the term and the legend of the blindness of Longinus in Irish tradition see ch. 4.1.

[237] McNamara, 'Bible Text and Illumination', 199ff.; Fabrizio Beggiato, 'Il mito di Longino Dall'Irlanda All' Europa Continentale', 85-92, 87. Ann Dooley, 'The Gospel of Nicodemus in Ireland', 368.

[238] The liquids issuing from Christ's wound are spurting towards the face of Longinus, close to his eye. This detail is difficult to make out in contemporary reproductions of the image, either before or after its recent restoration completed in 2012. However, it is still clearly visible in early twentieth century reproductions, see deGrüneisen, Wladimir, *Sainte-Marie-Antique* (1911) and the image reproduced here from Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, 20:3/4 (Jul.- Dec., 1957), pl. 26f (fig. 1.3).

Cross (fig. 3.9). This contortion of Christ's lips is hardly an expression of agony, as the overall image certainly depicts the triumphant Christ. Instead, it seems to be an expression of disgust immediately after tasting the unpalatable drink of vinegar and gall.

Two frontally depicted half-length angels are hovering above the arms of the cross on either side of Christ's head, holding books. These two angels, which, as noted above, are typical of Irish tradition, are commonly regarded as a non-descript angelic honour guard. However, they are occasionally found in similar fashion in Eastern tradition. One example is the tenth century Byzantine ivory triptych known as the Borradaile Triptych (fig. 1.6), which clearly identifies them as the archangels Michael and Gabriel. They are sometimes also identified as the two archangels by the red respectively blue colour of their garments in late Byzantine crucifixions.
I would suggest that the same applies to the early Irish crucifixions. The two angelic figures of the St Gall crucifixion scene are probably identical with the two trumpeters announcing the *Secundus Adventus* and the Last Judgment on the opposite page. Another case in point is the 'Athlone' plaque, where the right-hand angel has a short sword (see fig. 2.1 below). Harbison has argued that 'the differing objects held by the angels on the St. John's [*i.e.* 'Athlone'] plaque are more likely to be Instruments of the Passion than any weapons, which would be very much out of character in such a context'. [239] However, a sword would make perfect sense as the iconographic attribute of St. Michael. The thin, oblong object held by the second angel is less clear, but could easily be one of Gabriel's attributes like a staff, a scroll or a sceptre.

The two highest-ranking angels frequently flank and mark out the main characters in Byzantine art. However, one of the main roles associated especially with the archangel Michael is that of psychopomp, *i.e.* guardian and guide who escorts souls to the afterlife. Michael and Gabriel are the two angels commonly found in Byzantine depictions of the Assumption of Mary. They are usually shown with veiled hands, prepared to receive the soul of the Virgin -in the shape of a smaller version of her human body- from Christ to bring her to heaven. The two archangels are also mentioned in different strands of the *Transitus Mariae* apocryphon.[240]

[239] Harbison, 'The Bronze Crucifixion Plaque', 8.
[240] Some of the Coptic and Syriac accounts of the Assumption refer to Michael as the guardian and conveyor to heaven of the Virgin's soul, see Johnson, Richard, 'Archangel in the Margins:

Evidence that the two archangels played a role in early Irish conceptions of death is found in 'The Two Deaths', a vernacular eschatological tale recently edited by Katja Ritari.[241] Ritari proposes a late ninth or early tenth century date for the text on linguistic grounds. This tale contains a passage based on the following excerpt from the *Verba seniorum*, a text which, in the original Latin version goes back to the sixth century, describing the death of a righteous person as follows:

> [§8] And when the hour of his falling asleep arrived, the brother saw Michael and Gabriel descending for his soul. And, one sitting on his right and the other on his left, they asked his soul to go forth; and it did not go, for it did not wish to leave the body. Then Gabriel said to Michael: 'Take this soul now, so that we may go.' Michael answered him: 'We have been commanded by the Lord that it should be brought forth without suffering; and so we are not able to pluck it out by force.' Then Michael cried out in a loud voice, saying: 'Lord, what is your wish concerning this soul? For it does not acquiesce to us, that it should go forth'. And a voice came to him: 'Behold, I send David with a harp and all who sing psalms to God in Jerusalem, so that hearing the psalm it may go forth to their voice'.
> [§9] And when they had all descended in a circle around that soul, singing hymns, departing thus that soul sat in the hand of Michael, and was taken up with rejoicing. […]

The same general elements, incidentally, are also found in the *Leabhar Breac* version of the Passion of Longinus. The longest insertion in the Irish text refers to the presence of St. Michael and the heavenly choirs at the death of the saint, which suggests that this point was of some importance to the Irish redactor. Longinus demands of Octavius to have him beheaded at once, 'for there is Michael with the angels of Heaven around him above my head to take away my soul and bring it into the kingdom of God' (*ar ata Michel co n-aingliu nime imalle fris asa mo chind-sa oc fúr m'anma, dia breith i flaith*

St. Michael in the Homilies of Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 41', *Traditio* 53 (1998), 63-91, 71. The Latin *Transitus Mariae* B1 (edition Tischendorf, Constantin, *Apocalypses Apocryphae Mosis, Esdrae, Pauli, Iohannis item Mariae Dormitio* (1866), 124-36.) mentions Michael, who is entrusted with the task of protecting Mary's soul and conveying her to heaven, with Gabriel accompanying them. This version of the text was known in Anglo-Saxon England, see Johnson, 'Archangel in the Margins', 70. The Irish version of the apocryphon (translated in Herbert, Máire and Martin McNamara, *Irish Biblical Apocrypha: Selected Texts in Translation* (1989), 119-131, 127) does not name the angels, but mentions the archangels of heaven rising up around the soul of Mary and raising it up 'in human form, and seven times brighter than the sun'.

[241] Ritari, Katja, 'The Irish Eschatological Tale *The Two Deaths* and Its Sources', *Traditio* 68 (2013), 125-51.

Dé).[242] After his subsequent beheading, the text continues, Longinus '*sent his spirit to Heaven surrounded by choir-singing of angels and archangels* (*ro fhóid a spirut dochumm nime co claiscetul aingel 7 archaingel imme*).[243]

I would therefore suggest that the two angels present in most Irish crucifixion images were -at least originally- meant to be the two archangels, probably intended to mark the death and greet or accompany the soul of Christ. This hypothesis would seem to be supported by a motif found on some high crosses, where the two angels are apparently lifting up the severed head of Christ.[244] Perhaps this also explains the frequent depiction of 'David the Harper' on one of the cross-arms beside the crucifixion scene on the high crosses, who could be taken as a symbol of the heavenly music accompanying the event.

2.2.3 **The Southampton Psalter**

Another manuscript example of Irish crucifixion iconography survives in the Southampton Psalter[245] dated to the late tenth or early eleventh century.

Following a patristic and general Early Irish practice, the Psalter divides the psalm text at Psalms 1, 51 and 101. However, unusually, it features figural images at the beginning of each of the three divisions. The crucifixion miniature is placed at the beginning of the 'second fifty', with the first and third image depicting 'David overcoming the lion' and 'David slaying Goliath' respectively. As Kathleen Openshaw[246] has argued, these images do not illustrate their immediate manuscript contexts, but together form a Christological pictorial cycle. They symbolically depict Christ's -and his Old Testament type David's- victorious combat against evil. As Martin McNamara pointed out, there was a tradition of Psalter Exegesis in eighth and ninth century Ireland that '[gave] each psalm a historical interpretation first, and then a spiritual or Christological one, as part of unique Irish variants of the standard mediaeval fourfold exegesis'[247] and emphasized the typology of David and Christ.

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[242] §9, ll.7-8.
[243] §9, ll.10-11.
[244] See my discussion of this motif in ch. 2.4.7. and fig. II d.
[245] Cambridge, St John's College, MS C_9 (59), f. 38v.
[246] Openshaw, Kathleen, 'The Symbolic Illustration of the Psalter: An Insular Tradition', *Arte Medievale,* 2nd ser., 6 (1992), 41-59.
[247] McNamara, Martin, *The Psalms in the Early Irish Church*, 150. See also *idem*, 'Psalter Text and Psalter Study in the Early Irish Church', *PRIA* 73C (1973), 201-98.

The Psalter illustrations provide a meditative focus for the reader who is praying the psalms and shares with Christ in the daily spiritual battle against evil.[248]

In the Southampton Psalter, the cross is reduced to the horizontal crossbeam. Christ is shown alive, with wide open, staring eyes. He does not seem to be attached to the cross, but rather to be standing in front of it in the *orans* pose. He is clad in a long, crimson or royal purple garment without sleeves, a red undergarment and crimson trousers.

The depiction of the figures is highly stylized. The body of Christ consists of abstract shapes, from the short, spiralling hair, across the *pelta*-shaped ears to his pointy, interlaced beard and the interlaced garment. The cross-beam and the figures are outlined and connected by red calligraphic dotting.

As on most crucifixion plaques and on some high crosses, Christ's head is rounded and disproportionately large.[249] The posture, clothing and hairstyle of Longinus, standing on Christ's left, are reminiscent of the Durham Gospels Crucifixion and some of the Crucifixion plaques. Longinus is shown in profile in a stepping motion. He is wearing a cloak with a pointed, trailing, hem; his hair is long and curls outwards at the ends. There is no depiction of the wound or the blood issuing from Christ's side. Stephaton is presenting the drink of vinegar on the left, Longinus is raising his spear towards Christ's armpit on the right. There is no clear indication of the spear-bearer's blindness, although it could be implied by the fact that Longinus, unlike Stephaton, is not looking up at Christ, but has his face turned to the ground.

Overall, it seems that Stephaton and Longinus are treated as mere accessories here. They are holding their customary paraphernalia beside rather than in front of the body of Christ, as if they were not meant to interfere with the monumental figure of the Crucified. Stephaton's crooked pole is depicted in an awkward fashion, seemingly piercing the cup-bearer's face and interrupted by Christ's arm, as if held between the figure of Christ and the cross-beam. Both Stephaton's pole and Longinus's spear mainly seem to serve to direct the gaze of the beholder onto Christ.

The two angels are depicted frontal and half-length as in the St Gall crucifixion image. Their depiction, however, is much more rudimentary and they apparently do not have wings or mouths. Their hands are turned outwards, with open palms, perhaps in a welcoming or embracing gesture, perhaps imitating the posture of the Crucified. Acting

[248] Openshaw, Kathleen, 'Weapons in the Daily Battle: Images of the Conquest of Evil in the Early Medieval Psalter', *Art Bulletin* 75 (1993), 17-38 at 19-20, 24. *cf.* also O'Reilly, 'Image and Meaning', 70-71.

[249] On this feature compare also ch. 2.4.7 below.

as the upper limb of the cross, there is a third figure, maybe a third angel, or, uniquely, God the Father, looking down on the scene with a pained expression. The Southampton Psalter crucifixion contains all the customary elements of an early Irish crucifixion scene, however the focus is not on the historical events of the crucifixion, but on the figure of Christ dominating the picture and on his triumph over sin and death.

2.2.4 **The *Codex Delta* 'picture guide'**

Hesbert[250] has drawn attention to the picture guide included in *Codex Delta*, a Greek Gospel book with interlinear translation in Latin, written by Irish monks around 850, probably at the monastery of Bobbio. Following the Gospel of Matthew, the book contains a list detailing 42 images, a pictorial cycle meant to illuminate the Gospels, written partly in Greek, partly in Latin. It gives the following description of the Crucifixion scene:[251] LONΓINOϚ cu*m* lancia. alt*er* cu*m* spungia. duo milites tenenent (*sic*) kalamidem. II. λatrones. Iωannes stat ⁊ Maria plorat. (Longinus with the lance. The other one with the sponge. Two soldiers holding the cloak. Two thieves. John stands and Mary weeps.)[252]

The prominence given to Longinus is certainly intriguing. The spelling of the name in capitals probably suggests it was meant to be written above the figure of the spear-bearer, as seen in the Rabbula Codex, the fresco in S. Maria Antiqua, and the Durham Gospels. The crucifixion described here is the full-figured type of crucifixion of the Rabbula type. Hesbert took the image included in the Rabbula Codex to be derived from a Greek model slightly earlier than the Syriac Gospel book itself;[253] he suggests that the model of this image showing the piercing of the living Christ illustrated a Greek Gospel text of Matthew of the *Sinaiticus* type featuring the interpolation. However, no representations of this full-figured type of crucifixion survive from Ireland before the Romanesque period, although some high crosses depict additional figures such as the two thieves or personifications of sun and moon.

[250] Hesbert, *Le Problème de la Transfixion*, 102-4.
[251] Cod. Sang. 48, p.129. See fig. 1.7.
[252] Translation mine.
[253] Hesbert, *Le Problème de la Transfixion*, 90f.

2.2.5 **The Würzburg Epistles Crucifixion**

A further crucifixion image of likely Irish affiliation is found in the Würzburg St Paul (fig. 1.12). This unusual, fascinating image shall only receive a brief mention here, since the figures of the spear-bearer and the cup-bearer are omitted. Their deeds, however, are alluded to by abbreviated representations of their attributes. The spear-head is depicted against the right side of Christ's body, a rudimentary triangular cup is visible on the left. An unusual detail are the two birds perched on the cross-arms, which very probably represent the two angels, as argued by Gougaud.[254] The winged figures and dark birds flying towards the good and the bad thief to the left and right may also represent angels or demons.

[254] Gougaud, 'The Earliest Irish Representations', 138. To prove this point, he interestingly points out that St. Michael sometimes appears in bird-shape in Old Irish texts, e.g. in *Immram Curaig Ua Corra*, see Stokes, Whitley (ed.and tr.), 'The voyage of the Huí Corra', *Revue Celtique* 14 (1893), 22-69 at 32-33 and in *Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore*, ed. Stokes, W. (1890), xiv.

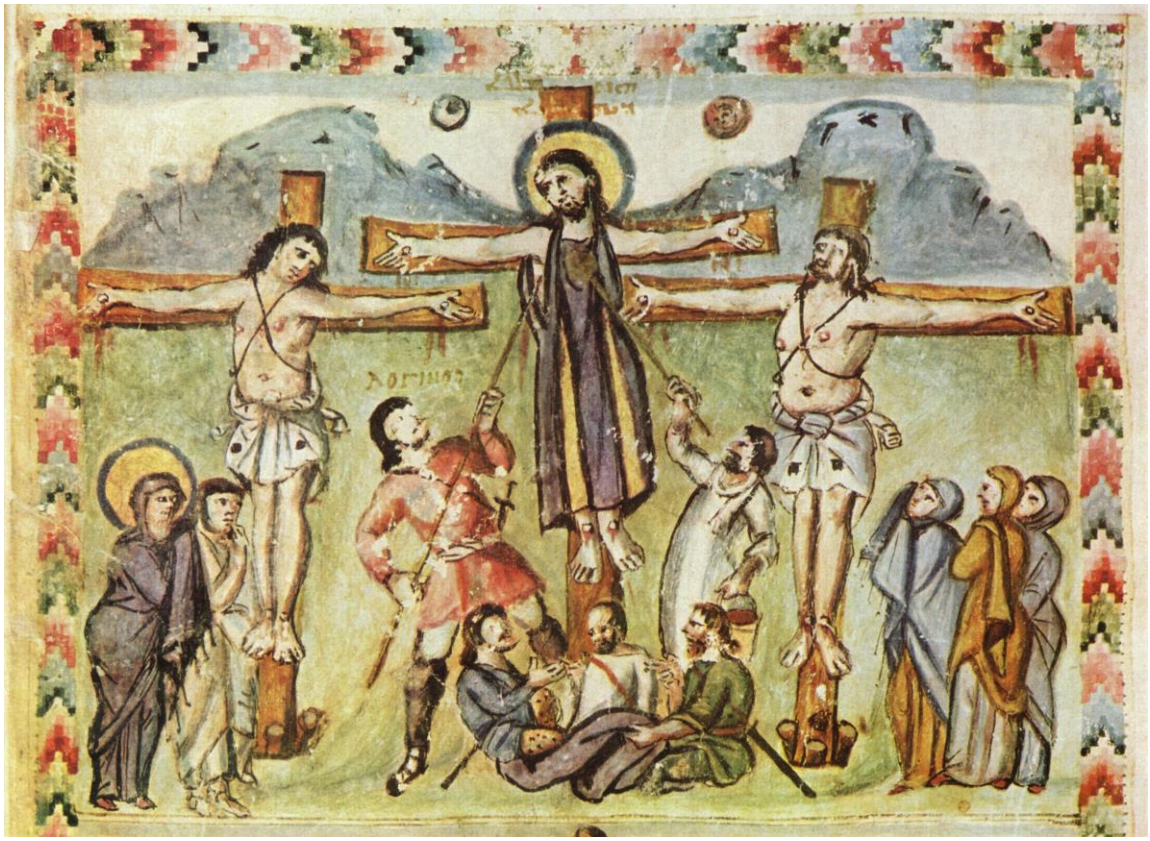


Fig. 1.1 Rabbula Gospels, 586 CE



Fig. 1.2 Panel from an Ivory Casket: The death of Judas and the Crucifixion. British Museum. 420-30 CE



Fig. 1.3 Crucifixion Fresco, Santa Maria Antiqua, Rome, mid 8th c (reproduced from Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, 20:3/4 (Jul.- Dec., 1957), Pl. 26f.



Fig. 1.4 Crucifixion, detail of a Syrian silver bowl, 9th-10th c, Ushguli (Zemo Svaneti), Chazhashi tower-museum



Fig. 1.5 Paten of Semireche ('Perm Plate'), Hermitage Museum, St.Petersburg



Fig. 1.6 Borradaile Triptych, Crucifixion (detail)

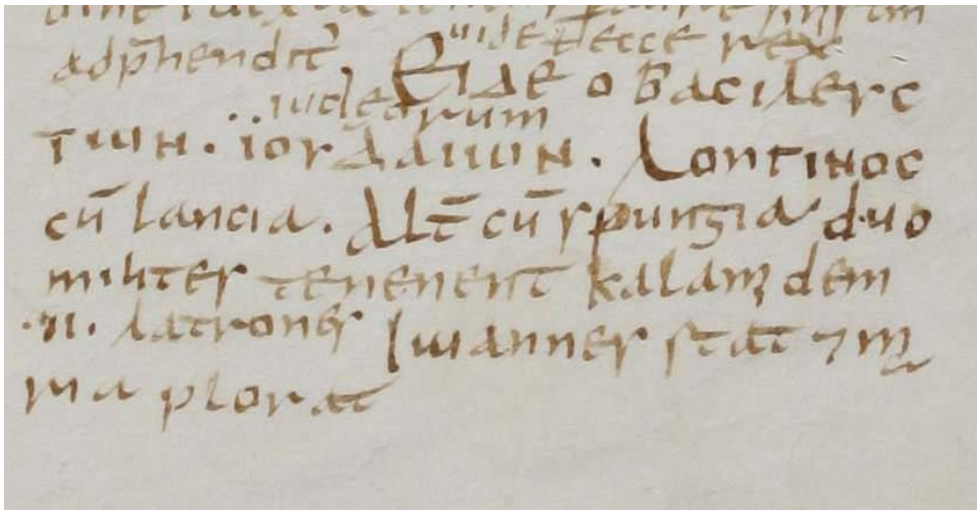


Fig. 1.7 *Codex Delta* 'picture guide', St. Gall



Fig. 1.8 The Crucifixion. Southampton Psalter, fo. 35v, ca. 1000 CE



Fig. 1.9 The Crucifixion. Durham Gospels, fo. 38v

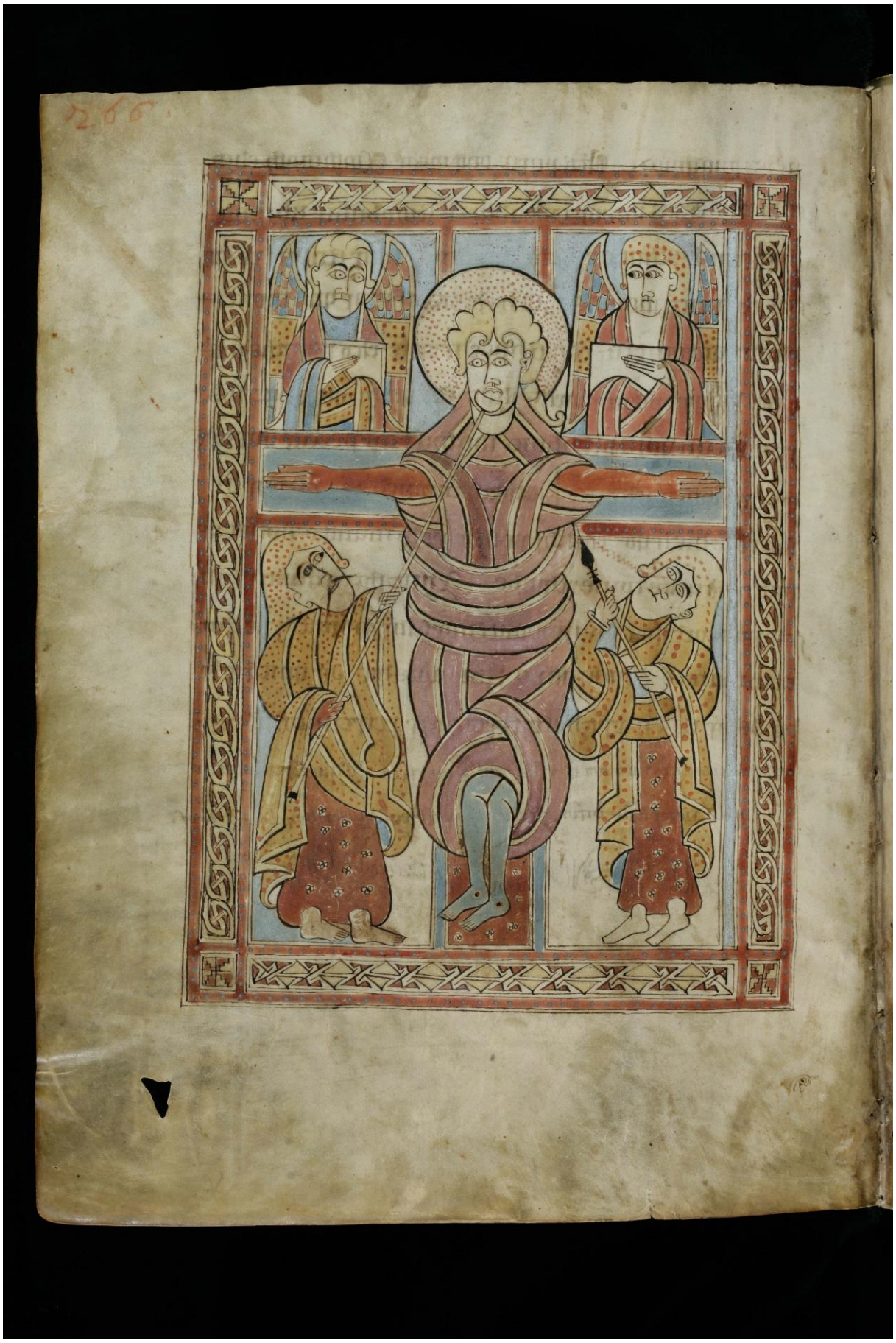


Fig. 1.10 The Crucifixion. St Gall Gospels. St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod.Sang. 51, p. 266

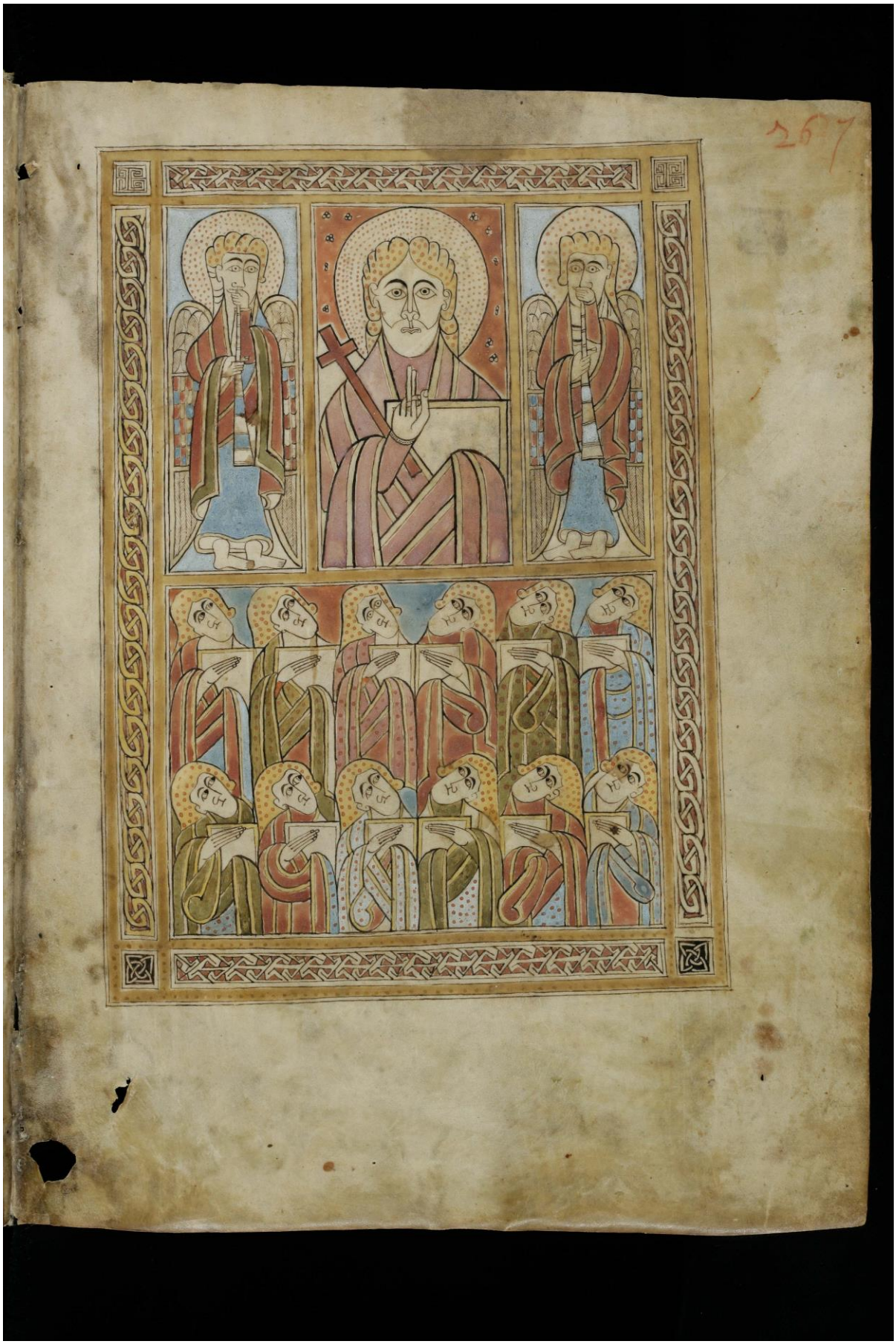


Fig. 1.11 The Second Coming. St Gall Gospels. St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod.Sang. 51, p. 267



Fig. 1.12 Würzburg Pauline Epistles, fo.7r

2.3 Representations of the crucifixion in metalwork

Representations of the crucifixion form a large part of the few representational pieces of early Irish metalwork. The corpus consists of one larger-sized, open-work crucifixion image in copper-alloy, the famous Athlone plaque (fig. 2.1), and of eight smaller, roughly quadrangular, copper-alloy Crucifixion plaques (figs. 2.2-2.9).

2.3.1 **The Athlone Plaque**

Although part of the same tradition, the Athlone plaque can be distinguished from the other plaques by its format, the manufacturing techniques employed, on the basis of style and by its generally accepted early date. The plaque has frequently been dated to the late seventh or early eighth century on the basis of its late La Tène curvilinear ornaments, which would place it among the earliest extant Irish representations of the crucifixion.[255]

Peter Harbison, who has discussed the plaque in great detail in an influential article, has argued for a ninth century date.[256]

The iconography of the plaque corresponds broadly to that of the early manuscript depictions discussed above. Christ is shown against the background of the cross, flanked by two angels, with Stephaton and Longinus standing on either side of the cross. The cowl-like halo resembles those of the Durham and St. Gall Crucifixions. As on the latter, Christ's face is beardless. The oversized body and rounded, oversized head of Christ are similar to the Crucifixion image in the Southampton Psalter. The garment of Christ, an ornate, long-sleeved tunic, however, is very different from the complex drapery of the manuscripts.

The two angels are not shown frontally and stationary, but in motion, as the positions of their wings and legs indicate. They appear to be hovering over or alighting on the cross-arms. Their faces are not turned towards Christ, but looking out at the viewer, while their bodies seem to be shown in profile. The angel on the left is holding a somewhat worn, oblong object, whereas the one on the right is holding a short sword. Harbison

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[255] cf. Ruth Johnson, 'Irish Crucifixion Plaques- Viking Age or Romanesque?', *JRSAI* 128 (1998), 95-106, 99. For a full list of dates put forward by different scholars see Peter Harbison, 'The Bronze Crucifixion Plaque Said to be from St. John's (Rinnagan), near Athlone', *The Journal of Irish Archaeology* 2 (1984), 1-17, 13.

[256] Harbison, 'The Bronze Crucifixion Plaque', 13-16, esp. 15. However, some of the proposed dating criteria, such as the supposed ninth century date for the St. Gall Codex 51 and for the poems of Blathmac, are highly questionable. On this point see also McNamara, 'Bible Text and Illumination', 200.

notes these implements with some perplexity and concludes that they must be Instruments of the Passion, as weapons 'would be very much out of character in such a context'.[257] However, the sword would make perfect sense if these were not nondescript attendant angels, but the archangels Michael and Gabriel, as I have tried to argue above. Perhaps the most distinctive feature of the plaque is its elaborate ornamental decoration, comprising of interlace, spiral- and herringbone patterns.[258]

Particularly eye-catching is the ornament of interlocked peltae on Christ's chest, where the limbs and head join the torso. Spiral ornaments on the body of Christ are also found on the Duvillaun More and Inishkea North Crucifixion slabs (figs. 3.1, 3.2), a complex round ornament of interlace on his chest on the Calf of Man Crucifixion (fig. 3.3). *Peltae* are similarly used to join the wings and legs of the calf symbolizing St. Luke to the body on page 78 of the St. Gall *Codex* 51 and the wings of the angels on the Clonmacnoise Crucifixion plaque (fig. 2.2, discussion below). It is possible that some of the ornaments had a symbolical meaning, and that the artist was fusing pre-Christian and Christian symbolism. The double triskel above Christ's head has been identified as a 'Trinity-spiral'.[259] The rounded, oversized head of Christ, according to Katzenellenbogen, 'symbolizes his Godhead'.[260]

As on the St. Gall Crucifixion, Stephaton is placed on the right of Christ and Longinus on his left. The curving pole Stephaton is holding is interrupted by the ornament on Christ's chest. According to Harbison, the cup-bearer 'offers Christ the vinegar in a half-moon-shaped vessel… placed unobtrusively at an angle beneath Christ's chin'.[261] Longinus, who is holding his spear exactly parallel to the side of Christ's garment, is shown in the act of piercing Christ in the left armpit.

As the offer of the vinegar takes place prior to the death of Christ whereas the opening of his side is generally taken to occur after death, there has been some disagreement among scholars as to whether Christ is supposed to be alive or dead on the image. Some

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[257] Harbison, 'The Bronze Crucifixion Plaque', 8.

[258] For an extensive catalogue of comparanda in manuscript decoration, metalwork and stone see Harbison, 'The Bronze Crucifixion Plaque', 8-13.

[259] Streit, Jakob, *Sonne und Kreuz. Irland zwischen Megalithkultur und frühem Christentum* (1977), 118.

[260] Katzenellenbogen, Adolf, 'The Image of Christ in the Early Middle Ages', in Hoyt, R.S. (ed.), *Life and Thought in the Early Middle Ages* (1967) 66-84, 72. *cf.* Harbison, 'The Bronze Crucifixion Plaque', 3.

[261] Harbison, 'The Bronze Crucifixion Plaque', 3. I find this difficult to make out, both on representations of the plaque and on the original.

early commentators have argued that his eyes are closed. Harbison has shown that they are meant to be open, as the pupil is faintly discernible in the left eye, but points out the very slight tilt of Christ's head to the right as a possible indication of his death.[262] More recently, Kees Veelenturf has argued that Christ is both alive and dead simultaneously, taking the representation to show 'the double nature of Christ, the hypostatic union of human and divine. His human nature was dead on the cross, but his divine nature eternally alive'. [263] I will return to this point below.

2.3.2 **The Crucifixion Plaques**

A total of eight crucifixion plaques is currently known. One of them, a fragmentary plaque discovered in Co.Mayo, is now lost and only preserved in a nineteenth century watercolour (fig. 2.3).

Harbison first discovered the close relation between the individual plaques and first treated them as a corpus.[264] He divided the six plaques known at the time into two groups, which he called after the only two plaques whose provenance was ascertained, incidentally also the two plaques showing the greatest artistic skill and craftsmanship, which appear to have served as models for other plaques. After the supposed provenance of these two plaques, the two groups were called the Clonmacnoise Group and the Dungannon[265] Group.

However, two further plaques have since been discovered and additional information concerning the provenance of some of the other plaques has emerged. This new evidence has allowed for a regrouping, which has recently been undertaken by Griffin Murray. Murray identifies three groups,[266] which he terms the Clonmacnoise Group, the Killalon Group and the Tynan Group. Two other plaques, the Kells plaque and the Lismore plaque, the only solid-cast example, stand apart. Murray convincingly argues

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[262] Harbison, *ibid.*

[263] See Veelenturf, *Dia Brátha*, 139-140. *cf.* also Herren, *Christ in Celtic Christianity*, 253.

[264] See Peter Harbison, 'A lost crucifixion plaque of Clonmacnoise type found in county Mayo' in *Irish Midland Studies. Essays in commemoration of N. W. English*, ed. Murtagh, H. (1980), 24-38.

[265] The plaque attributed to Dungannon, Co.Tyrone (fig. 2.6), has since been revealed to have been found at College Hall/Marrassit near Tynan, Co. Armagh. See Hamlin, Ann and Richard G. Haworth, 'A crucifixion plaque reprovenanced', *JRSAI* 112 (1982), 112-16.

[266] Murray, Griffin, 'Irish crucifixion plaques: a reassessment' in Mullins, Juliet et al., *Envisioning Christ on The Cross. Ireland and the Early Medieval West* (2013), 286-317. The article is partly based on Murray's dissertation. The Groupings were first recognized by his doctoral supervisor, John Sheehan of UCC.

that these different groups can be assigned to geographically distinct workshops. He proposes that the Clonmacnoise Group plaques were both produced at Clonmacnoise, the Tynan Group plaques at Armagh. The plaques of the Killalon group were probably produced by a workshop in the kingdom of Mide, perhaps at Fore, whereas the plaques found at Kells and Lismore where most likely produced at these places.[267]

Function

The various possible uses suggested by different scholars for the crucifixion plaques include their use on book covers,[268] as altar fittings[269] and on pax-plates.[270]

However, it now appears most likely that the plaques were mounted on wooden crosses, or metal crosses with wooden cores. These could either have been freestanding crosses or altar and processional crosses.[271] The existence of such crosses has been suggested, among others, by Dorothy Kelly, who has argued that some crucifixions on high crosses show evidence of direct translation into stone of such metal plaques on their supposed wooden predecessors.[272] Skeuomorphic 'frames' have been identified around crucifixion scenes on stone high crosses in Co. Armagh and Cumbria.[273] Kelly has pointed out typical features of crucifixion plaques, such as a crowded composition, the oversized head of Christ and the presence of linking devices, i.e. connections of the scene to the frame unnecessary in stone, on the Tower cross at Kells and the related South cross at Clonmacnoise.[274]

This theory is further supported by the discovery of such a large metal cross with an oak core, which must have served as an altar or processional cross, in Tully Lough, a lake in

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[267] Murray, 'Irish Crucifixion Plaques', 299- 300.
[268] Henry, *Irish art* II, 122.
[269] Ó Floinn, Raghnall, 'Clonmacnoise: art and patronage in the early medieval period', in *From the isles of the north: early medieval art in Ireland and Britain*, ed. Bourke, C. (1996), 251-60, 255-7.
[270] Raftery, Joseph (ed.), *Christian art in ancient Ireland*, ii, (1941), 105, 152. Harbison considers this use likely, due to the worn nature of Christ's head on many crucifixion plaques (*idem*, 'A lost crucifixion plaque', 26).
[271] On this point compare Bourke, Cormac, 'The chronology of Irish crucifixion plaques', in *The age of migrating ideas: early medieval art in northern Britain and Ireland*, eds. Spearman, R.M. and J. Higgit (1993), 175-81, 178. Johnson, 'Irish Crucifixion Plaques: Viking Age or Romanesque?', 98. Kelly, Eamonn P., 'Treasures of County Offaly', *Irish Arts Review* 26:1 (Spring 2009), 106 and Murray, 'Irish crucifixion plaques', 290.
[272] See Kelly, Dorothy, 'Crucifixion Plaques' *Irish Arts Review Yearbook* (1990/1991), 204-209.
[273] Bailey, Richard N., 'A crucifixion plaque from Cumbria', in *Early medieval sculpture in Britain and Ireland*, ed. Higgitt, John, BAR, Brit. Ser., vol. 152 (1986), 5-21.
[274] Kelly, D., *op.cit.*

Co. Roscommon. The Tully Lough cross, moreover, features two almost identical open-work figural bronze plaques -probably depicting 'Christ between two beasts'- which are similar in size and style to the crucifixion plaques (fig. 2.11).[275]

Dating

Like their function, the dating of the plaques has been the subject of scholarly debate for over a century. Harbison has proposed a late dating which has been widely accepted, dating the Clonmacnoise plaque to circa 1100[276] and the other crucifixion plaques to some time thereafter. Parallels of the Tynan (Dungannon) group with features found on Romanesque crucifixions, such as the Maghera lintel and Romanesque crucifixes, have been pointed out by Ó Floinn, Hamlin and Haworth and Mc Nab.[277] However, Cormac Bourke has shown that a case might equally be made for an earlier date.[278] Possible comparisons with earlier material with different chronological implications such as the Book of Kells have been ignored whereas other features taken as indicative of a late date -such as the representation of the cross or the outward-pointing feet of Christ- are inconclusive as these features are also found on some earlier high crosses.
Murray proposes a longer time span, dating the crucifixion plaques to between the years 1000 and 1150.[279] Unlike previous scholars, who argued for a tight date bracket due to the similarity between the plaques, Murray points out that, despite their general similarities, there is actually also considerable variation between the individual plaques. This longer time-span has the advantage of accommodating most of the dating arguments previously advanced.

However, even if one accepts an eleventh or twelfth century date for all the extant crucifixion plaques, it is possible that these plaques were modelled on older crucifixion plaques now lost to us. Considering the apparently conservative character of early Irish crucifixion iconography in general, they may well preserve earlier features.

[275] See Murray, 'Irish crucifixion plaques', 290-293.
[276] Harbison, 'A lost crucifixion plaque', 36.
[277] Ó Floinn, Raghnall, 'Irish Romanesque Crucifixion figures in metal' in *Figures from the Past*, ed. Rynne, Etienne (1987), 168-88, 181. Hamlin, Ann and Richard Haworth, 'A Crucifixion Plaque Reprovenanced', *JRSAI* 112 (1982), 112-6, and McNab, Susanne, 'Styles used in twelfth-century Irish figure sculpture', *Peritia* 6-7 (1987-88), 265-97, 88.
[278] Bourke,'The chronology of Irish crucifixion plaques', 175-81.
[279] Murray, 'Irish crucifixion plaques', 288.

It seems likely that earlier crucifixion plaques existed and were taken abroad by Irish monks. A crucifixion plaque has been suggested as a model for the eighth century Calf of Man crucifixion (fig. 3.3) due to the ornamental detail. Fabrizio Beggiato suggests an Irish crucifixion plaque as a possible model for the eighth century 'Peace' of Duke Orso, a Gospel-book cover from Lombardy.[280] Probably the closest parallel is with a tenth or early eleventh century Anglo-Saxon walrus ivory crucifixion plaque (fig. 2.10).[281]

The Clonmacnoise Group

The Clonmacnoise Group comprises of the Clonmacnoise Plaque (fig. 2.2) and of the now lost crucifixion plaque discovered in Co. Mayo (fig. 2.3).[282] The Clonmacnoise plaque is a particularly fine example of early Irish metalwork. It is widely recognized as the earliest surviving crucifixion plaque, mainly on the basis of the vegetal ornament (half-palmette) which decorates Christ's robe on this plaque. This is taken as an example of the Irish style generally seen to derive from the Scandinavian Ringerike style. Harbison has therefore proposed a date no earlier than *c.* 1050 for the plaque, the time when this style was traditionally thought to have arrived in Ireland.[283] However, as Ruth Johnson has shown, new evidence discovered in the Dublin excavations has since pushed this date forward to the late tenth or early eleventh century.[284]

The characteristics of the Clonmacnoise group are Christ's long-sleeved, ankle-length chasuble-like garment, his short hairstyle and his posture, with the arms held straight out from the shoulders, forming the shape of the cross. An unusual feature is the existence of two cruciform bridging pieces linking the two soldiers to the body of Christ on the Clonmacnoise plaque, which double as the crosses of the two thieves. Another aspect unique to this group is that, like the Athlone plaque, it places Longinus on the left of Christ and Stephaton on the right.

Once again, Stephaton is proffering the vinegar in a cup, not a sponge. However, this is not the delicate, half-moon shaped vessel of the early manuscript depictions, but a deeper, bent cup merging into the pole it is affixed to, resulting in an Alpenhorn-shaped

[280] Beggiato, 'Il mito di Longino', 89-90.
[281] See Johnson, 'Irish Crucifixion Plaques- Viking Age or Romanesque?', 99.
[282] For a fuller description of the Clonmacnoise plaque see MacDermott, Máire, 'An Openwork Crucifixion Plaque from Clonmacnoise', *JRSAI* 84:1 (1954), 36-40. For a discussion of the Mayo Plaque see Harbison, 'A lost crucifixion plaque'.
[283] Harbison, 'A lost crucifixion plaque', 35.
[284] Johnson, 'Irish Crucifixion Plaques- Viking Age or Romanesque?', 103-5.

device. This is represented in a similar fashion on all crucifixion plaques except the Tynan Plaque, where the cup forms a straight line with the pole.

On the Clonmacnoise plaque Longinus is shown piercing Christ in the heart. The spearhead is invisible, buried deep in Christ's breast. Unlike the cup-bearer, who is depicted in profile, the lancer is shown in full frontal, like Christ and the angels. He thus faces and engages the viewer, directing his gaze onto Christ via the spear. Only one arm is visible in the case of both soldiers, angled awkwardly backwards, with the pole or spear apparently resting on their shoulders. The result is a particularly unnatural gesture in the case of Longinus, who is stabbing Christ with the spear backwards over his right shoulder, with his face and entire body turned away from the Crucified during the thrust. It seems to me that this is the artist's way of visualizing Longinus's blindness. This hypothesis is lent some weight by the existence of a local model. The ninth century South cross at Clonmacnoise is the only high cross known to depict the healing of Longinus's blindness.[285]

Unlike on the Clonmacnoise South cross, there are no streams of blood visible here, perhaps due to constraints of the medium, or to another variation of the legend of Longinus's healing, as attested in the *Leabhar Breac* text, where Longinus is cured by a single drop of the water running along the spear onto the face of the soldier.[286] The pupils of the eyes of Christ and of the soldiers are hollowed out and were probably inlaid with glass.[287] It is possible, if purely conjectural, that the colour of these glass studs -such as white or transparent- might originally have underlined the impression of Longinus's blindness.

Unlike on the plaques of the Tynan Group (figs. 2.6, 2.7) and the Kells and Lismore plaques (figs. 2.8, 2.9), where the two soldiers are virtually indistinguishable, Longinus's appearance is clearly distinguished from Stephaton's, both by posture and hairstyle. Longinus has the same short bowl-cut style as Christ and the angels and, unusually, is sporting a moustache, perhaps as a sign of nobility. Stephaton has shoulder-length hair ending in a curl and some slight indentations around the chin may represent a goatee.

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[285] Harbison, *The High Crosses*, I, 56, 281. See also my discussion of the Clonmacnoise South Cross in section 4.3 and fig. 3.4.

[286] See my edition of the tract about the healing of Longinus in ch. 3.2.2, ll.5-7.

[287] Murray, 'Irish crucifixion plaques', 304.

Unfortunately, the right half of the Mayo Plaque has not survived, so that it is impossible to say much about its representation of Longinus. It is evident that he was also placed on Christ's left. He also seems to have been depicted piercing Christ in the heart, as a raised boss survives to the left of Christ's chest, presumably where the spear engaged the body of Christ. The very close overall resemblance of the remainder of the Mayo plaque to the Clonmacnoise plaque makes it likely that their composition was identical.

The Killalon Group

The two plaques forming the Killalon group are the unprovenanced Academy Plaque (fig. 2.4) and the plaque found at Killalon, Co. Meath (fig. 2.5). These plaques are similar to the ones of the Clonmacnoise Group, but have sufficient distinguishing features to warrant a separate grouping. Like on the Athlone plaque and on the Clonmacnoise Group plaques, Christ is oversized, with a particularly prominent head. In both groups, the cross is not depicted. However, on the Killalon plaques Christ's arms are bent in an embracing gesture resembling the prayer or *orans* posture. He is bare-chested and dressed in a skirt-like loincloth. As on the Clonmacnoise plaque, Christ has a long beard dividing into two strands and a moustache, but he has long hair which is parted in the middle and forms an arch with the outer wings of the angels. In both groups, all figures are standing upright. The angels in the Killalon Group plaques closely resemble the ones of the Clonmacnoise Group. They are shown frontally and stationary. There are spirals where the drooping, bird-like wings of the angels join their bodies. However, these are not joined by a line to form a *pelta* like on the Clonmacnoise plaque. Whereas the angels of the Clonmacnoise and Mayo plaques have no visible hands, the ones of the Killalon Group seem to be holding floriated staffs.

The representation of the two soldiers is very similar to that found on the Clonmacnoise plaque, except that both arms are shown. However, the plaques of the Killalon group exchange the positions of Stephaton and Longinus by simply swapping their paraphernalia. Longinus is thus on the right of Christ, piercing his right side. Unlike on the Clonmacnoise plaque, the spearhead on the Academy Plaque is fully visible, so that the spear-thrust either just took place or is imminent. On the Killalon Plaque, the spearhead seems to have partially entered the body of Christ.

The Tynan Group

The two plaques that form the Tynan Group are the Tynan plaque (fig. 2.6) and the Anketell plaque (fig. 2.7). Murray takes these to be the latest of the crucifixion plaques, noting the similarity of the figure of Christ with the early Romanesque crucifix figure in the St.Mel's diocesan collection and to a cross in the National Museum of Ireland featuring the outline of Christ and dated to the late eleventh or early twelfth century.[288]

Christ is depicted in relative proportion to the other figures. He is set against a plain cross on the Tynan plaque, on the Anketell plaque, only the horizontal crossbeam is shown. Christ is clad in a short, tight loincloth. He is bearded and has long hair. On the Anketell plaque a nimbus is visible. Christ seems to be represented alive, though his gaunt face and emaciated body seem to show the early influence of the *Christus patiens* type. The two feathered angels are hovering horizontally above the cross-beams. On the Tynan plaque they are nimbed and turning their heads towards Christ, with one hand touched to their cheeks as an expression of sorrow while supporting Christ's head with the other. On the Anketell plaque they are looking out at the viewer and, strangely, are grasping the two strands of Christ's hair.

The two tormentors are depicted in virtually identical fashion and pose. Both are seen in profile and dressed in knee-length, girded garments decorated with herring-bone, perhaps representing shirts of mail. They have long hair and pointy beards. On the Tynan plaque, they are looking up at Christ, with their heads angled sharply backwards. The impression of a mirror image is reinforced by the hemlines of their garments forming an arc with the hem of Christ's loincloth and by the similar positions of the spear of Longinus and the pole of Stephaton. However the cup is held underneath Christ's chin whereas the spear point touches his right side. The butt of the spear and pole are joined to the inner corners of the frame, and, on the Tynan Plaque, they seem to emerge from what appear to be the open jaws of beasts, i.e. two animal heads forming part of the decoration of the frame.[289]

[288] Murray, 'Irish crucifixion plaques', 294, 300.
[289] *cf.* Harbison, 'A lost crucifixion plaque', 32 and Murray, 'Irish crucifixion plaques', 310.

The Kells Plaque

The Kells plaque[290](fig. 2.8) has a number of unique features and seems to belong among the earlier examples of Irish crucifixion plaques. Murray has tentatively assigned it an eleventh century date.[291] Christ is depicted clothed in a short, tight-fitting, belted loincloth. His torso is bare with indentations marking the nipples and the prominent navel, his figure sturdy. No cross is visible, but Christ is set against a plain background framing his body, which forms a nimbus around his head. The nimbus is held by the two feathered angels hovering on either side, with their chins resting on one hand, facing the viewer.

Stephaton and Longinus are seen in profile. They are clad in knee-length robes. The lower parts of their garments are decorated with vertical grooves, while the upper half is decorated with vertical bands of herringbone. Their hair is long and sweeps back from their foreheads, ending in curls on their shoulders, both appear to be bearded.

Both soldiers are crouched, kneeling on one knee in the same manner as on the Tynan Group plaques and on the Lismore plaque. The spear of Longinus touches Christ's right side, close to but not in the armpit.

The Lismore Plaque

The Lismore plaque (fig. 2.9) is the only solid cast piece among the Irish crucifixion plaques. The figure of Christ is cruciform, his elongated arms are outstretched and almost horizontal, falling only very slightly from the shoulders. The cross is omitted. Christ is wearing a long-sleeved robe falling to above the ankles. It clings tight to the arms and torso, but is belted at the waist, with the lower part flaring out in the manner of a skirt. This type of garment has been identified as indicative of a twelfth century date.[292]

The angels are treated similarly as on the Tynan Group plaques, hovering, with one hand touched to their faces. While their facial features are almost obliterated, their noses

[290] The Kells plaque is the most recent addition to the corpus of Irish crucifixion plaques. It has only begun to attract scholarly attention in the 1980s and 90s, its provenance has been established even more recently by Murray. See Murray, Griffin, 'The provenance of an Irish Crucifixion Plaque', *Archaeology Ireland* 26:4 (Winter 2012), 31-32.

[291] Murray, 'The provenance', 32 and *idem*, 'Irish crucifixion plaques', 300. Murray points out the existence of a workshop at Kells at the time.

[292] See Ní Ghrádaigh, Jenifer, 'Christ on the cross in Early Medieval Ireland' *Archaeology Ireland*, 23:4 (Winter 2009), 26-30, 28. Compare in particular the garment of Christ on the 12th century High Cross at Dysert O'Dea, Co. Clare.

in profile are still discernible, which means they were looking towards Christ, as on the Tynan plaque.

The figures of the two soldiers bear a great resemblance to those of the Kells plaque, both in their general physical appearance -especially in the case of Stephaton- and regarding their very similar crouched postures. Unlike on that plaque, however, they are holding their spear and cup at the same height, directly underneath Christ's armpits.

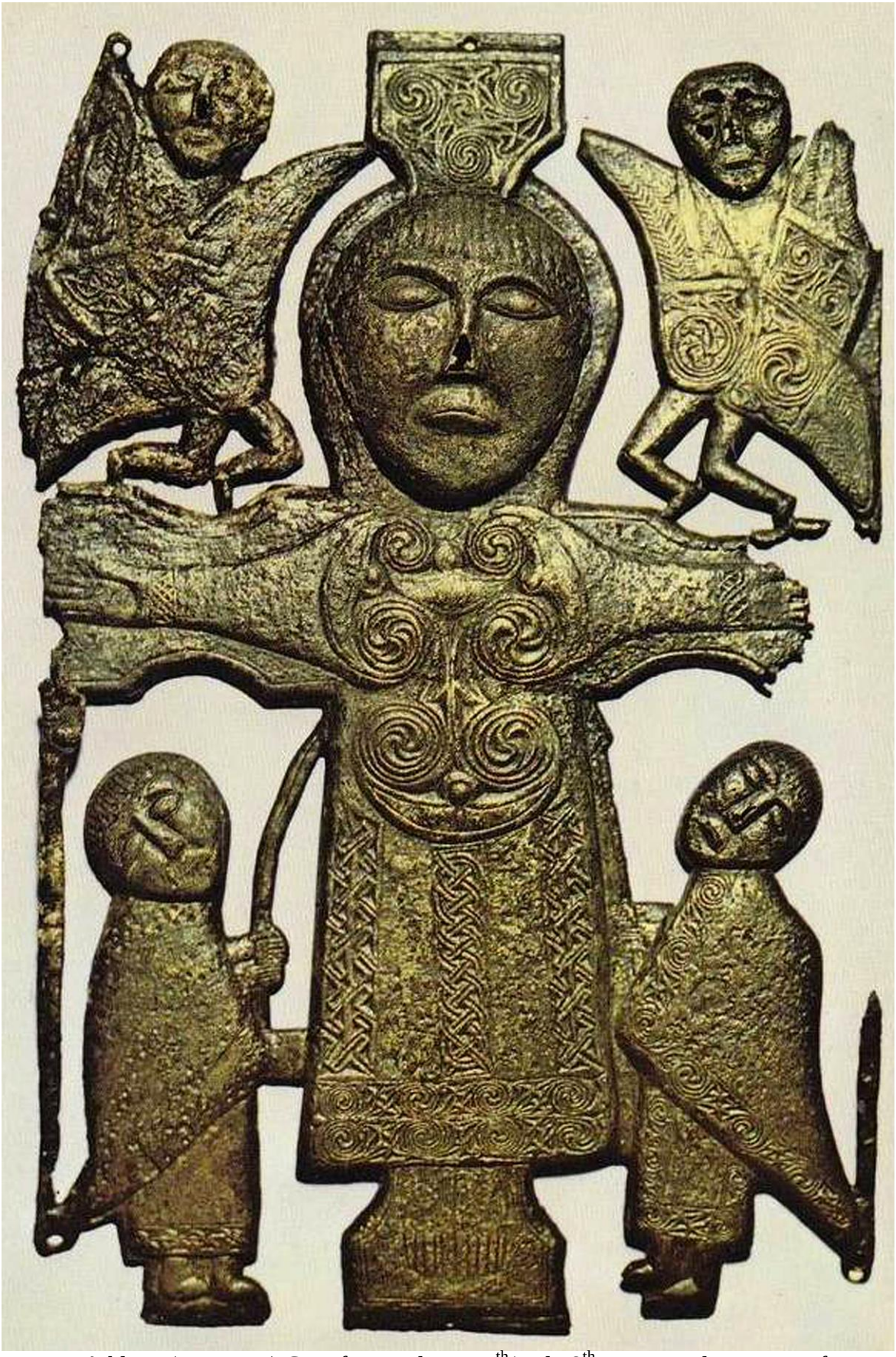


Fig. 2.1 Athlone (Rinnagan) Crucifixion Plaque, 7th/early 8th c, National Museum of Ireland



Fig. 2.2 Clonmacnoise Plaque, National Museum of Ireland



Fig. 2.3 Mayo Plaque (lost), 19th century watercolour



Fig. 2.4 Academy Plaque, Nat. Museum of Ireland



Fig. 2.5 Killalon Plaque



Fig. 2.6 Tynan (Dungannon) Plaque, National Museum of Scotland



Fig. 2.7 Anketell Plaque, Nat. Museum of Ireland



Fig. 2.8 Kells Plaque, British Museum



Fig. 2.9 Lismore Plaque, National Museum of Ireland



Fig. 2.10 Anglo-Saxon Crucifixion Panel, Walrus Ivory, late 10th or early 11th c,Victoria and Albert Museum



Fig. 2.11 Christ between two beasts, Tully Lough cross, National Museum of Ireland

2.4 The Irish High Crosses

The richest evidence of early Irish crucifixion iconography is found in the medium of stone. The crucifixion is, as Peter Harbison put it, 'the central and, literally, the most crucial event represented on the Irish High Crosses'. Virtually all surviving figure-sculpted crosses and fragmentary cross heads feature prominent representations of the Crucifixion. It is almost invariably depicted at the centre of the cross head, with the exception of four of the earliest crosses, Carndonagh, Moone, the South Cross at Clonmacnoise and SS. Patrick and Columba's Cross at Kells.

The crucifixion scene is usually placed on the West face of those crosses still *in situ*, and, as Harbison has pointed out, a number of crosses where it occurs on the East face are known to have been re-erected in modern times.[293]

Occasionally, the outline of the cross is visible behind the figure of the Crucified. However, more commonly, Christ is understood as being crucified upon the high cross itself.

On the high crosses, the crucifixion scene is usually part of an iconographic program. This, as has been argued above, is also the case with representations of the crucifixion in Irish manuscripts. The St. Gall diptych juxtaposes the death of Christ on the cross with the Ascension doubling as Second Coming, whereas in the Southampton Psalter, the crucifixion image is tied in with scenes from the life of David. On the Scripture crosses, these programs become three-dimensional, and often highly elaborate, e.g. on such famous masterpieces as the Cross of the Scriptures at Clonmacnoise and the crosses at Monasterboice.

There seems to be a general consensus among modern scholars that the biblical scenes on these crosses were chosen in relation to each other and probably meant to form a coherent whole.

There is no doubt that the high crosses reflect the same delight in the complex symbolism surrounding the Passion which is ubiquitous in early Irish exegetical texts and religious poetry. The 'Crucifixion' is often faced by the 'Second Coming' or the 'Last Judgment' and, perhaps, 'Christ in Majesty'. A number of early crosses feature bosses or spiral ornaments at the centre of the East face of the head instead. The Castledermot

[293] Harbison, *The High Crosses*, I, 273.

North Cross has the 'Fall' in the same place, which is often closely associated with the crucifixion scene on the crosses, as the death of Christ is regarded as atonement for original sin.[294] Another example is 'Daniel in the Lions' Den',[295] juxtaposed with the 'Crucifixion' on the Market cross at Kells, where the arrangement of the four lions flanking Christ above and below his outstretched arms very closely parallels that of the crucifixion scene.[296] Daniel's miraculous deliverance, according to the Early Church Fathers, foreshadowed the Resurrection of Christ.[297]

Some other popular motifs are the 'Sacrifice of Isaac', seen as a typological prefiguration of the willing sacrifice of Christ, and 'David the Harper', which are often found on the cross-arms on either side of the crucifixion. The two thieves are also frequently found on the cross arms, often flanked by two soldiers beating them with sticks.

The representation of the crucifixion on the high crosses follows the same general formula familiar from manuscript illumination and metalwork.

Christ is frequently, though not always, flanked by two angels on either side of his head. Underneath his outstretched arms, there are the two soldiers in varying postures, sometimes kneeling or sitting, sometimes standing upright, reeling back and gazing upwards or bowing down low.

Indeed, the presence of Stephaton with his cup-shaped vessel on top of a pole and of Longinus with his spear in the crucifixion scene has been identified as a main characteristic common to virtually all earlier high crosses throughout Ireland.[298]

Like the Irish manuscripts discussed above and some of the earlier crucifixion plaques, the overall majority of Irish high crosses are at variance with Western crucifixion iconography in placing Longinus on the viewer's right, or Christ's left, and Stephaton on the left, i.e. Christ's right. The only certain exceptions are the high crosses at Moone,

[294] Compare my discussion of representations of the Passion in Irish Bardic Poetry in ch. 4.3.
[295] For a detailed discussion of this frequently recurring motif and its origin see Roe, Helen M., 'An Interpretation of Certain Symbolic Sculptures of Early Christian Ireland', *JRSAI* 75:1 (1945), 1-23.
[296] Harbison, *The High Crosses*, II, fig. 337.
[297] See Roe, 'An Interpretation of Certain Symbolic Sculptures', 215.
[298] Harbison suggests that their absence on a number of smaller cross-head fragments is probably merely due to space constraints, see Harbison, *The High Crosses*, I, 273.

Ullard and Arboe and the South cross at Castledermot as well as the two stone crucifixion slabs at Inishkea North and Duvillaun More.

In a few instances, Stephaton and Longinus cannot be clearly distinguished due to the abrasion of the images or the omission of their identifying attributes. Sometimes, also, their representations are abbreviated to busts, such as at Durrow, or to mere heads at St. Mullins.

Longinus is variously shown standing on the right piercing Christ in the left armpit, the left side or the heart, and standing on the left, piercing the right side or the right armpit of the Crucified. As illustrated on the map (fig. III), the piercing of the left armpit is by far the most common, found on at least fifteen crosses[299] at twelve ecclesiastical sites throughout the Midlands and the North of Ireland, and probably also on the Aran island of Inishmore.[300] Harbison also lists SS. Patrick and Columba's Cross at Kells, and Tihilly, Co. Offaly. However, it seems to me that the spearhead enters the body of Christ well below the armpit at SS. Patrick and Columba's Cross (fig. 3.5) and rather pierces the side or heart, as on the related South Cross at Clonmacnoise. This also appears to be the case at Tihilly.[301]

The piercing of the left side or the heart of Christ is also fairly commonly depicted. In addition to the abovementioned crosses, the South Cross at Clonmacnoise, the nearby Tihilly cross and SS. Patrick and Columba's Cross at Kells, it is found on the Cathedral Cross at Armagh, the South Cross at Duleek, Co. Meath, the North Cross at Castledermot, Co. Kildare, as well as at Newtown, Co. Carlow.

Only two surviving high crosses show the piercing of Christ in the right armpit, with Longinus standing on the left. These are the crosses at Arboe, Co. Tyrone and at Ullard, Co. Kilkenny. The perforation of Christ's right side, which is common in contemporary Continental crucifixion iconography, is also rare. It is found on only two early high crosses, at Moone, Co. Kildare and Castledermot South, Co. Kildare, and may reflect a

[299] Donaghmore, Co. Tyrone; Donaghmore, Co. Down; Clones, Co. Monaghan; Galloon, Co. Fermanagh; Termonfechin, Co. Louth; Muiredach's Cross, Monasterboice, Co. Louth; Tall Cross, Monasterboice; North Cross, Monasterboice; Market Cross, Kells, Co. Meath; Unfinished Cross, Kells; North Cross, Duleek, Co. Meath; Durrow, Co. Offaly, Cross of the Scriptures, Clonmacnoise, Co. Offaly; Castlebernard, Co. Offaly; Tighlaheany, Inishmore, Co. Galway.

[300] See fig. 3.7 and discussion in section 4.6 below.

[301] Harbison, *The High Crosses*, II, fig. 591.

local tradition. However, it is also depicted on the two stone slabs on the islands of Inishkea North and Duvillaun More, Co. Mayo.[302]

The placing of Longinus on the high crosses does not seem to be strictly determined by geographical groups.

Interestingly, at some sites with multiple high crosses, the crosses differ in their location of Christ's wound and of the spear-bearer. At Clonmacnoise and Kells, the South cross and the Cross of SS. Patrick and Columba show the piercing of Christ in the heart, whereas on their later site-members he is pierced in the armpit. The North Cross at Duleek, which also depicts the wounding of the left armpit, and the Duleek South Cross, where Longinus thrusts his spear into the left side or the heart of Christ, are both thought to belong to the tenth century. The Castledermot North and South Crosses, showing the perforation of the left and right side respectively, are also considered to be roughly contemporary.

Tracing a possible diachronic development is also problematic, considering the notoriously difficult dating of the high crosses.[303] It is worth noting, however, that some of the earliest surviving representations of the crucifixion sculpted in stone, the Moone cross, which is sometimes dated to the eighth century, and the Inishkea North and Duvillaun More slabs,[304] show the piercing of the right side of Christ with Longinus placed on the left.

Only marginally later, in the early to mid-ninth century, Longinus is depicted on the right, thrusting his spear into the left side or the heart of the Crucified on the South Cross at Clonmacnoise and on SS Patrick and Columba's cross at Kells.

The iconographic evidence thus corresponds to the textual evidence, which suggests that both the tradition of the piercing of Christ's heart and of the perforation of the right armpit of Christ by the spear of Longinus coexisted from an early stage. The former is found in Blathmac's poetry,[305] whereas the latter is first mentioned in the Old Irish Mass tract in the Stowe Missal.[306]

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[302] Figs 3.1 and 3.2. See also discussion in section 4.1 below.

[303] Helen Roe (in the context of Kells) famously described the dating of high crosses as 'little more than the balancing of conjecture against conjecture'. See Roe, *The High Crosses of Kells*, 9.

[304] On the dating see section 4.1 below.

[305] See ch. 1.4.

[306] See ch. 1.3.

The piercing of the left armpit then seems to have become the iconographic norm on the high crosses until, on the twelfth century crosses, the crucifixion scene is replaced by the large figure of Christ crucified, without attendant figures.

In the following, I will discuss a selection of particularly fascinating and unusual representations of the crucifixion in stone and trace some unique features, in the hope of shedding some further light on the role of the cup- and the spear bearer in the crucifixion scene.

2.4.1 **Two curious motifs on the Crucifixion slabs at Inishkea North and Duvillaun More, Co. Mayo**

The two stone crucifixion slabs at Inishkea and Duvillaun, two islands in West Mayo, were assigned late seventh or early eighth century dates by Françoise Henry[307] and have traditionally been counted among the earliest surviving Irish representations of the crucifixion. More recently, Peter Harbison suggested a date in the ninth century on the grounds of parallels with contemporary continental crucifixion iconography.[308]

Both slabs show the crucified figure of Christ, unusually clad in the loincloth, against the background of the cross. He is flanked by Stephaton and Longinus. The angels are omitted. At Inishkea, the space above the cross-arms is taken up by symbolic representations of the two thieves in the shape of two double crosses,[309] whereas it is left empty at Duvillaun.

As mentioned above, the two slabs are unusual in an Irish context in placing Longinus on the left and in having him pierce Christ between the ribs on his right side. Stephaton is not holding a cup on top of his pole, but a rounded object which has been taken to represent the sponge.[310] However, it appears more like a vessel at Inishkea, where it consists of two concentric circles with a deep, rounded hollow at the centre.[311]

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[307] Henry, Francoise, *Irish Art During the Viking Invasions (800-1020 A.D.)* (1967),159.

[308] Harbison, Peter, 'The Date of the Crucifixion Slabs from Duvillaun More and Inishkea North, Co. Mayo' in *Figures from the Past: Studies on Figurative Art in Christian Ireland*, ed. Rynne, Etienne (1987), 73-88.

[309] The two crosses closely resemble those found on the 'Marigold' slab at Carndonagh, Co. Donegal *cf*. *op*. *cit.* 86.

[310] Harbison, 'The date of the Crucifixion slabs', 75-6.

[311] Compare Gougaud, 'The Earliest Irish Representations', 137 and fig. 3.1.

2.4.2 **Animal-headed figures in the crucifixion scene**

One highly unusual feature on the Inishkea slab and on three high crosses has been identified by Helen Roe. Roe has argued that '[o]n Kells Unfinished cross, on Inishkea North Cross, on Castledermot South Cross and on Clonmacnoise South Cross at least one of the two soldiers at the crucifixion is animal-headed'.[312] 'None is easily distinguishable', she continues, 'but the head is that of a snouted animal'.

Roe also points out two Northumbrian crosses which appear to show two animal-headed men on either side of the Crucified (at Kirklevington) respectively of an ornamental cross (at Lancaster).[313]

However it seems that on all the Irish examples mentioned above not 'at least one', but only one of the soldiers is depicted with the head of an animal. This is the cup-bearer, or Stephaton. This peculiar feature is particularly evident on the Inishkea slab, where the figure on the right has a small, canine or perhaps seal-like face, and his body, also, does not appear entirely human (fig. I.a). It is also quite clear on the Castledermot South Cross (fig. I.b), where the right-hand figure is looking up at Christ with a snouted face and long ears, a bit like a doe's. The face of the figure on the left on the Clonmacnoise South Cross is barely discernible; however slight protrusions in the sandstone seem to suggest open, wolfish jaws. The heads of the soldiers on the Unfinished Cross at Kells no longer survive, and I cannot make out any animal features on the cross itself or on the image in Porter cited by Roe. However, on the photograph in Harbison (fig. I.c), there appears to be a vestige of what may have been an oblong face or snout on the figure of Stephaton.

A further potential example is found on the head of the Composite cross at Donaghmore, Co. Tyrone. (fig. 3.6). On this cross-head, both the spear- and the cup-bearer stand reeling backwards, with their heads tilted far back, looking up at Christ or at something above Christ's head. The head and neck of Stephaton on the left appear markedly less human than those of Longinus on the right. Moreover, there are two

[312] Roe, 'An Interpretation of Certain Symbolic Sculptures',16.

[313] *ibid*., p. 15: 'On the Kirklevington cross, of which only a fragment remains, two beast-headed men in knee-length tunics hold between them the mast-like shaft of a Northumbrian cross; above their heads but now unconnected with the shaft are a pair of human feet, possibly those of Christ crucified. At Lancaster two beast-men, one with a long hanging tongue, stand on either side of an ornamental cross.' *cf*. also Collingwood, William G., *Northumbrian Crosses of Pre-Norman Age* (1927), 102-3, figs. 127-128.

curious, large beasts with long necks on either side of the soldiers in the contractions of the cross arms, aligned with their arched figures.
It is possible that the crucifixion plaque found at nearby Tynan, Co. Armagh, where the butt of Longinus's spear and of Stephaton's pole emerge from the heads of two beasts[314] also belong in this context.

This motif could be taken as a variation on the highly popular theme of Daniel/Christ in the den of lions. However, Roe treats it as separate from the Daniel motif and refers to Collingwood's suggestion that '[the presence of men wearing a beast disguise] in the Northumbrian crucifixion scenes serves to intensify the horror of the death of Christ'.[315]
A.T. Lucas[316] has also identified another likely source for depictions of Christ between two animals on Irish high crosses, though without any explicit reference to the crucifixion scene. This is the Old Testament verse Habbakuk 3:2, which, in the *Old Latin* translation reads: *In medio duorum animalium cognosceris, i.e.* 'in the midst of two animals thou shalt be known'.[317]
Jerome, in his discussion of the multivalent symbolism of this verse, mentions, among others, a typological application to Christ, which identified the two animals as the two thieves between whom Christ was crucified.[318]
In his discussion of the Acclamation of Christ by two beasts on the Bewcastle Cross, Éamonn Ó Carragáin has mentioned that '[a]ll of the Canticle of Habbakuk was well known to any [medieval] ecclesiastic, as it was […] sung throughout the year each Friday at Lauds'.[319] Even more pertinently, Ó Carragáin points out the presence of the verse in the Good Friday liturgy: 'On Good Friday at the ninth hour, in the Roman ceremony commemorating the moment of Christ's death, an ancient chant based on the Old Latin text of Habbakuk 3:2–3 was sung in response to the first Old Testament reading (Hosea 6:1–6)'.[320]

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[314] See my discussion of the plaque in 3.2 above.
[315] Roe, *op.cit.*, 15.
[316] Lucas, A.T., "In the Middle of Two Living Things': Daniel or Christ?' in *Figures from the Past: Studies on Figurative Art in Christian Ireland*, ed. Rynne, Etienne (1987), 92-97.
[317] For the different translations of the passage and the origin of the misreading see Jung, Leo, 'Mis-Translation as Source in Jewish and Christian Lore I', *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* 5 (1933-1934), 55-67, 56, 57.
[318] Lucas, 'In the Middle of Two Living Things', 96.
[319] Ó Carragáin, Éamon, 'Christian Inculturation in Eighth-Century Northumbria: The Bewcastle and Ruthwell Crosses', *Colloquium* Magazine 4 (Autumn 2007), 89-111. 92.
[320] Ó Carragáin,'Christian Inculturation', *ibid.*

This may well be the origin of the motif of the animal-headed figure or figures in the Irish and Northumbrian crucifixion scenes. Especially in an Irish context, the two figures most closely associated with the crucifixion and the death of Christ must have been Stephaton and Longinus, the two figures all but universally flanking the Crucified in Early Irish crucifixion iconography.

The implications of this portrayal regarding the character of the two figures of the cup- and spear-bearer or the morality of their conduct must remain uncertain, but would seem to be negative.

However, it is probably significant that on the Irish examples of this motif, unlike on their Northumbrian counterparts, only Stephaton is depicted with the head of an animal. Although the Donaghmore cross head and the Tynan plaque hint at the presence of two beasts, there seems to be a marked reluctance to depict Longinus in the same fashion. This may be due to his apparent status as a most revered saint in the Early Irish Church. Another possible explanation is Longinus's supposed conversion immediately after the spear-thrust. His recognition of Christ as the Son of God at that very moment would seem to preclude his representation as a brute or dumb beast.

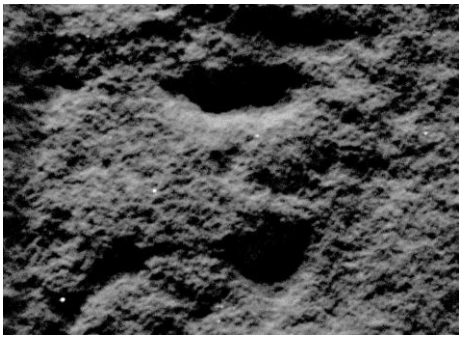
The second unusual motif is the 'curious horizontal line' pointed out by Harbison,[321] which separates the head and neck from the body of Christ on the Duvillaun slab. This motif will be discussed in more detail below.

[321] Harbison, 'The Date of the Crucifixion Slabs', 74.

I Animal Heads of Stephaton



a) Inishkea Crucifixion Slab (detail)



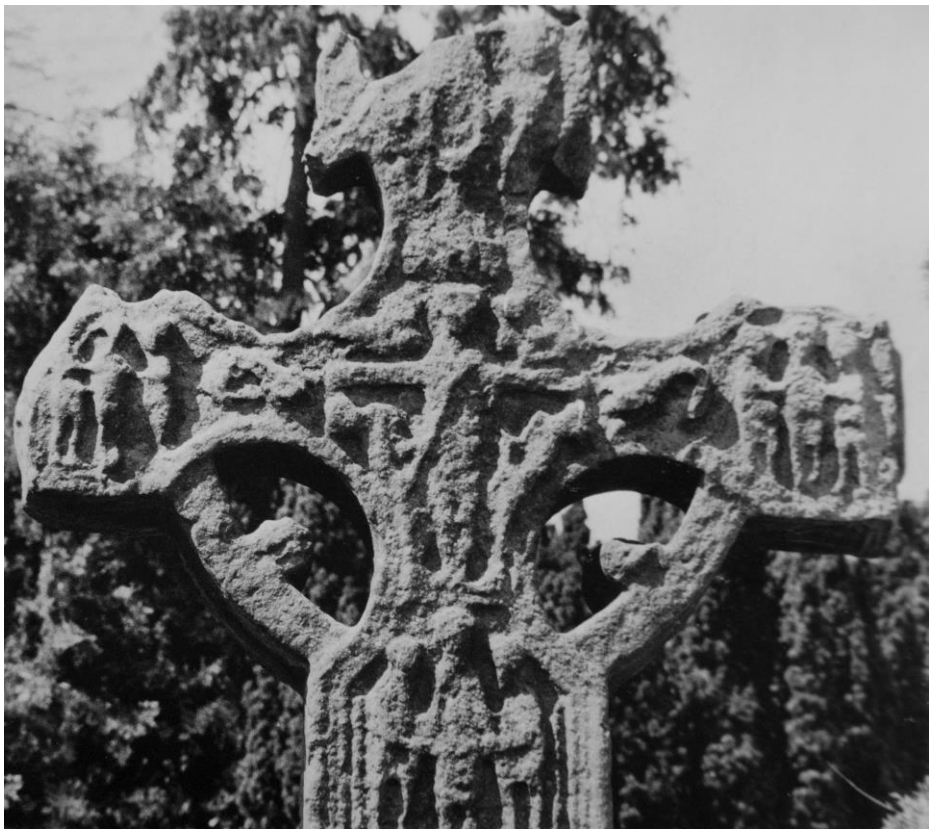
b) Clonmacnoise South Cross (detail)



c) Kells, Unfinished Cross (detail)



d) Castledermot South Cross (detail)



e) Donaghmore, Co. Tyrone, cross head

2.4.3 **The South Cross at Clonmacnoise, Co. Offaly**

The Clonmacnoise South Cross (fig. 3.4) has been dated to the mid-ninth century, as a very faint inscription seems to suggest that it was commissioned by Maelsechnaill Mac Maelruanaid, high king of Ireland from 846 to 862. It is sometimes referred to as a transitional cross. It has features thought to be derived from ornamental, metal-decorated wooden crosses, whereas the crucifixion scene, the only figurative scene on the cross, has been considered as marking a transition to the scriptural crosses.

The crucifixion panel is situated on the west side of the cross-shaft. It shows Christ against the background of a cross, clothed in a long robe reaching to just below the knees. The upper part of the garment falls in circular folds, the arms seem to be bare.
Beneath the cross-arms are Stephaton and Longinus, half-kneeling. The probably animal-headed Stephaton on the left is raising the cup with the vinegar to just underneath Christ's chin. Longinus, on the right, is looking up at Christ. He is piercing Christ in the heart with the lance he is holding in his left hand. Two streams issue from Christ's wounded chest. The thicker stream on top, presumably symbolizing the blood, flows directly onto the eye of Longinus, whereas the second, thinner stream underneath it, probably representing the water, flows onto the lower part of the lance-bearer's face. This is the only surviving depiction of the legend of Longinus's blindness and miraculous healing by the blood of Christ on any high cross.[322] Another detail which appears to be unique to this cross is the shield that Longinus is holding in his right hand, whose rim is faintly visible against the lower part of Christ's robe.

The head of Christ is oversized and rounded, as on the later Clonmacnoise crucifixion plaque. Harbison has suggested that the large, empty eye-sockets are secondary; however it is also possible that the eyes were inlaid, as has been suggested for the Clonmacnoise crucifixion plaque.
Although badly abraded, the head of Stephaton appears to be that of a snouted animal, as Roe suggested. The two crouched figures above Christ's head are unlikely to represent angels, as no wings are visible and the figure on the left has its back turned towards Christ. A similar arrangement is found on the Cross of SS. Patrick and

[322] Harbison, *The High Crosses*, I, 56, 281.

Columba at Kells, where the two figures appear with rounded discs above their heads, one of which has a trail behind it. Harbison has identified them as *Sol* and *Luna*, personifications of the sun and moon, which are commonly found in contemporary Carolingian crucifixion scenes.[323] Depictions of the Sun and Moon above the cross-arms are common in both Eastern and Western crucifixion iconography from an early stage. Together, the elements symbolize the eclipse, i.e. the darkness preceding -or following- Christ's death.

2.4.4 **The Cross of SS. Patrick and Columba (Cross of the Tower) at Kells, Co. Meath**

The crucifixion scene on this cross is closely related to the one on the South Cross at Clonmacnoise and it has been suggested that both images may be based on a common model.[324] The tall crucifixion panel is found on the west face of the cross shaft.

Christ is depicted with thin, outstretched forearms and large hands. The cross is not represented. As on the Clonmacnoise South cross, he is dressed in a garment to the knee with the upper part falling in rope-like folds. On the left, Stephaton is offering Christ the vinegar in a vessel on the end of a pole. His head is clearly human here. On the right, Longinus, slightly crouched, thrusts his spear into Christ's left armpit. As at Clonmacnoise, he seems to be holding the spear in his left hand. There is no evidence of Longinus's blindness or healing here. While Longinus raises his right hand towards Christ, he does not seem to be holding a shield.

On either side of Christ's head, two figures probably represent the Sun and the Moon as at Clonmacnoise, however their positions are inverted.

Above Christ's head, an eagle spreads his wings. It is not clear whether it belongs to the crucifixion scene or to the eschatological representation of Christ above it. Kees Veelenturf has argued that the eagle, a symbol of the Resurrection, is placed in a deliberately ambiguous position, connecting Passion and Parousia.[325]

However, it is worth noting that on the Durrow crucifixion, a bird -probably also an eagle- is similarly perched on the Crucified's head. This bird, which has open wings and

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[323] Harbison, *The High Crosses*, I, 56.

[324] Edwards, Nancy, 'The South Cross, Clonmacnois', in *Early Medieval Sculpture in Britain and Ireland*, ed. Higgett, John, BAR Brit. Ser. (1986), 25.

[325] Veelenturf, Kees, 'Irish high crosses and Continental art: shades of iconographical ambiguity', in *From Ireland coming: Irish art from the early Christian to the late Gothic period and its European context*, ed. Hourihane, Colum (2001), 83-101, 86.

is placed under what Harbison describes as 'a semi-circular canopy', clearly belongs to the crucifixion scene.[326]

The motif seems to be uncommon, however another possible example is the singular figure with a bird's –quite likely an eagle's- body and a human head depicted above Christ's head at Termonfechin (fig. II.e). It has been suggested that the figure represents an angel, although its solitary appearance and position above Christ's head would be unusual. It also seems to me that the face of the bird-man bears a certain resemblance to that of the Crucified underneath it. I would therefore suggest that this bird could be a representation of Christ's soul.

The souls of the dead commonly adopt the shape of birds in Early Irish literature[327] and there may also be other depictions of Christ's soul in the shape of a bird on some high crosses, as Herren and Brown have suggested.[328] A particularly striking example of such a depiction is the bird sitting on the tomb slab on the 'entombment' panels of the Durrow cross and on the Cross of the Scriptures at Clonmacnoise, putting its beak into Christ's mouth 'as if to breathe life back into the corpse'.[329]

2.4.5 **The Granite Cross at Moone, Co. Kildare**

The early high cross at Moone has been described as '[o]ne of Ireland's most unusual and attractive crosses'.[330] Uniquely, the crucifixion appears on the upper cross-base on the West face, with a carving of the twelve apostles occupying the lower base. Whether the apostles are part of the crucifixion scene and meant to be present at the crucifixion is not clear. Christ, nimbed and dressed in a long-sleeved, ankle-length robe, is depicted against the background of the cross. Longinus, on the left, is not holding his customary spear, but a much shorter implement. This is most likely to represent a short sword, but could also be some sort of knife or dagger. He pierces Christ in the middle of his right side. Unusually, Longinus and Stephaton are not depicted in profile but in full frontal.

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[326] Harbison (*The High Crosses*, I, 81) tentatively identifies it as the Holy Spirit, however it does not really resemble a dove.

[327] *Cf.* e.g. *Immram Curaig Ua Corra*, *Immram Curaig Maíle Dúin* and the *Navigatio Brendani*. See Strijbosch, Clara, *The Seafaring Saint*: *Sources and Analogues of the Twelfth Century* '*Voyage of Saint Brendan*' (2000), 214-5.

[328] Herren, Michael W., and Shirley Ann Brown, *Christ in Celtic Christianity: Britain and Ireland from the Fifth to the Tenth Century* (2002), 273.

[329] *Ibid*.

[330] Harbison, T*he High Crosses*, I, 154.

The East face of the head shows what is probably the Risen Christ,[331] however the indication of a nail-head may suggest a second representation of the crucifixion. There are no attendant figures in this scene.

2.4.6 **A fragmentary Cross-head at Tighlaheany (*Teighleach Éinne*), Inishmore, Co. Galway**

An unusual representation of the crucifixion which seems to have received little scholarly attention so far is found on the cross-head fragment discovered by Conleth Manning in 1984 during his excavation at Tighlaheany on Inishmore.[332]

It features a large, somewhat stylized figure of the crucified Christ in high relief against a smooth background. Christ has an oversized, rounded head and the nail hole is clearly visible in the surviving left hand. He is dressed in an ankle-length, long-sleeved robe. The only other figures are Longinus on the right and the fragmentary figure of Stephaton on the left.[333] Longinus bows down very low, with his face to the ground, while thrusting his spear. The fragmentary cup-bearer's position is similar, probably partially due to the need to accommodate the two figures on the small cross-arms.[334] The uncommonly large spear of Longinus pierces Christ just below the armpit. Due to the size and width of the spear-head, it is difficult to tell whether it is the piercing of the heart or of the armpit which is depicted here.

Manning considers the fact that the crucifixion is the only figure-carving on the surviving fragment of the cross, the large scale and the prominent position of the crucifixion scene as indicative of a late, probably twelfth century, date.

However, the presence of Stephaton and Longinus, the long-sleeved, ankle-length robe of Christ and especially the round, oversized head and impassive features of Christ, somewhat reminiscent of the Athlone plaque, could be taken to suggest an earlier date, or at least an earlier model.

As Manning points out, the Tighlaheany crucifixion also bears little resemblance to the curious crucifixion from neighbouring Temple Brecan, dated to the eleventh or twelfth

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[331] Harbison, T*he High Crosses*, III, fig. 930.

[332] Manning, Conleth, 'Archaeological Excavations at Two Church Sites on Inishmore, Aran Islands', *JRSAI* 115 (1985), 96-120.

[333] Why Manning takes the figure on the right to represent Stephaton and the one on the left to be Longinus is unclear to me, as the two figures are clearly identified by their paraphernalia.

[334] This seems to be the only surviving cross where the cup-and spear-bearer were placed on the cross-arms, so that the scene, originally, would have spanned the entire width of the transom.

century,[335] which shows two elongated, naked figures, representing either the thieves or the lance-and spear-bearer without their identifying attributes, squeezed in on the cross-shaft on either side of an apparently naked Christ.

In favour of a later date is, perhaps, the prominent depiction of the nail hole and the spear-head on the Tighlaheany crucifixion, which might suggest the special veneration of the wounds of Christ. As far as can be judged from the surviving fragment, the image certainly seems to afford particular prominence to the spear of Longinus and the action of the spear-thrust, and is also unusual in the pious and abject stance of both Stephaton and Longinus while performing their deeds.

2.4.7 **The 'acervical' head of Christ on Muiredach's Cross, Monasterboice, Co. Louth and other crosses**

Kevin Lynch has identified what he suggests is a uniquely Irish motif on a number of high crosses, a motif he has termed the 'neckless Christ crucified'.[336] He lists seven crosses where the head of Christ is separated from the body by a pronounced groove in the crucifixion scene. These are the North Cross at Graiguenamanagh, both the North and South crosses at Castledermot, Termonfechin, Duleek North Cross and Muiredach's and the Tower crosses at Monasterboice. While these seven crosses are not a group by traditional, geographic criteria, Lynch suggests relations between them, and proposes a mid- to late ninth century date for the entire group.

Whereas the other figures feature necks and the neck is depicted in other representations of Christ on the same crosses, the acervical head is unique to the figure of Christ crucified. A particularly clear example is Muiredach's cross at Monasterboice (fig. II.d) , where, as Lynch emphasizes, the head of Christ does not appear to be supported, but 'lifted up by two angelic figures, as if to make the separation obvious [….] the angels are clearly touching Christ's head and their preponderant wings give a sense of ascension'.[337]

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[335] See Waddell, John, 'An unpublished high cross on Aran, Co. Galway', *JRSAI* 111 (1981), 29-35, 34-5.
[336] See Lynch, Kevin, 'An Irish Motif on a Group of Early Irish High Crosses?' *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium* 16/17 (1996/1997), 55-76.
[337] Lynch, 'An Irish Motif', 63-4.

Lynch is cautious regarding the interpretation of the motif, arguing that '[a]t the remove of eleven centuries it is impossible to know exactly what sources and impulses led those Irish sculptors to sever Christ's head'. However, he stresses that '[i]t is […] unlikely that re-figuring the presentation of the supremely important Christian icon would have been done whimsically and without symbolic intention' and goes on to suggest that aspects of early Irish culture may have been relevant.[338] Quoting Anne Ross's conclusion in *The Pagan Celts* that the *tête coupeé* 'sums up the whole of pagan Celtic religion'[339] and that, in pre-Christian Celtic belief, the soul was located in the human head, which 'symbolized divinity itself', so that '[t]he Celts can truly be said to have venerated a god-head',[340] Lynch points out the continuing importance of head symbolism in Irish iconographic and architectural history into the fully Christian period as well as the function of the severed human head as an apotropaic emblem and as an abbreviation of the whole being. He goes on to enumerate references to beheadings of kings in the Annals and points out the plentiful references to decapitation and -sometimes talking- severed heads in Early Irish secular literature, suggesting a possible association of the motif with the imagination of Christ as a warrior-hero.

In my opinion, there is a direct connection between this 'severed' head motif and the horizontal line which separates the head and neck from the body of Christ on the Duvillaun slab. It is probably also a variant or continuation of the motif which Harbison terms the 'Godhead', the often rounded, extremely oversized head of Christ seen on the Athlone plaque, many Crucifixion plaques[341] and the Southampton Psalter as well as on the Inishkea slab, the Clonmacnoise South Cross and the Tighlaheany cross fragment.
I would like to suggest that, on these images, the head of Christ is indeed meant to symbolize his soul or his divinity. The separation of Christ's head from his body could then simply be interpreted as the symbolic visualization of the separation of Christ's soul from his body in death, i.e. of his human from his divine aspect.
There may be further examples of this motif, e.g. on the Unfinished cross at Kells, where the two angels are also seen to lift up Christ's head, which seems to be at some distance from his body, no neck is visible.

[338] Lynch, 'An Irish Motif', 69.
[339] Ross, Anne, *The Pagan Celts* (1986), 121.
[340] Ross, *op. cit.*, 122-23.
[341] See section 3.2 above. The motif is found on the Clonmacnoise plaque, the Academy Plaque, the Killalon Plaque and perhaps, though less markedly, on the Kells Plaque.

The Tall Cross at Monasterboice and the Duleek North Cross, however, would not seem to belong in this group. Although, as Lynch points out, the head of Christ is inclined at such an angle as to make a neck anatomically impossible, this is surely done to emphasize the fact that, on these two crosses, Christ is understood to be already dead.[342]

[342] *Cf.* Jn 19:30: *cum ergo accepisset Iesus acetum dixit 'consummatum est' et inclinato capite tradidit spiritum*.

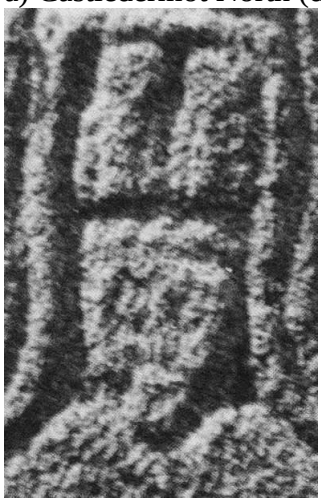
II Acervical Heads of Christ Crucified



a) Castledermot North (detail)



b) Castledermot South (detail)



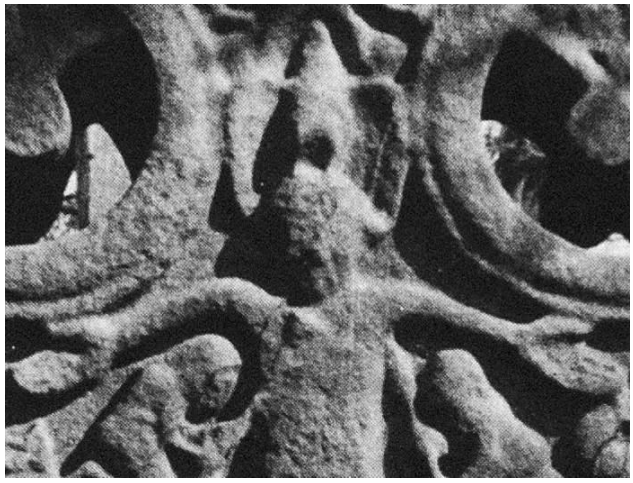
c) Graiguenamanagh



d) Muiredach's Cross, Monasterboice (detail)



e) Termonfechin (detail)



f) Durrow, Co. Offaly (detail)

2.4.8 Summary

I have attempted to argue that many representations of the crucifixion do not show the crucifixion scene in a general and abstract sense, but specifically depict the central and most emotive moment of Salvation History, the moment of Christ's death.

The Early Irish artists seem to have come up with different solutions to visualize an event that, ultimately, is impossible to depict.

I have suggested that the two angels so frequently found in the Irish crucifixion scenes are not always a mere honour guard, but were probably originally meant to be the archangels Michael and Gabriel in their role as psychopomps. The animal-head occasionally seen on the cup-bearer in Irish crucifixion scenes -and on both attendant figures on Northumbrian crosses- is probably derived from the two animals mentioned in the Good Friday liturgy at the time of Christ's death. The soaring eagle on Christ's head on Patrick and Columba's Cross, Durrow and Termonfechin could be interpreted as the soul of Christ and hence may belong in the same context. Even more evident is the representation of the soul or the divine aspect of Christ in the enlarged 'Godhead' and the 'severed' head motifs. Christ's soul is depicted in the process of separating from his human body, as can clearly be seen on Muiredach's cross and on the Kells Unfinished Cross, where the head is depicted at a distance from the body of Christ and being lifted up by the two angels. If this interpretation were correct, it would have far-reaching implications for the role of the spear- and perhaps the cup-bearer in these crucifixion scenes.



Fig. 3.1 Crucifixion slab at Inishkea North, Co. Mayo (West face)



Fig. 3.2 Crucifixion slab, Duvillaun More, Co. Mayo (West face)

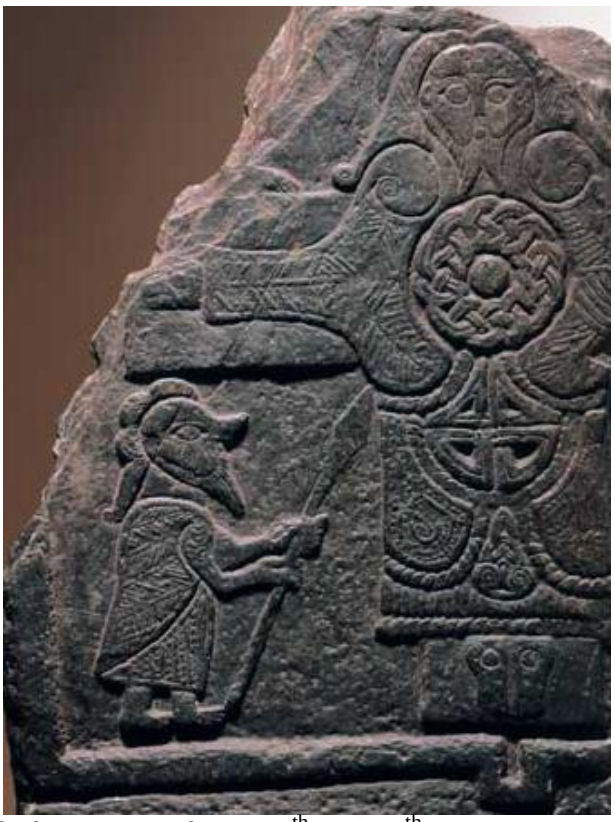


Fig. 3.3 'Calf of Man' crucifixion, 8th/early 9th c, Manx Museum, Douglas



Fig. 3.4 South Cross, Clonmacnoise, Co. Offaly (West face, cross shaft)



Fig. 3.5 Cross of SS. Patrick and Columba (Cross of the Tower), Kells, Co. Meath (West face, cross shaft)

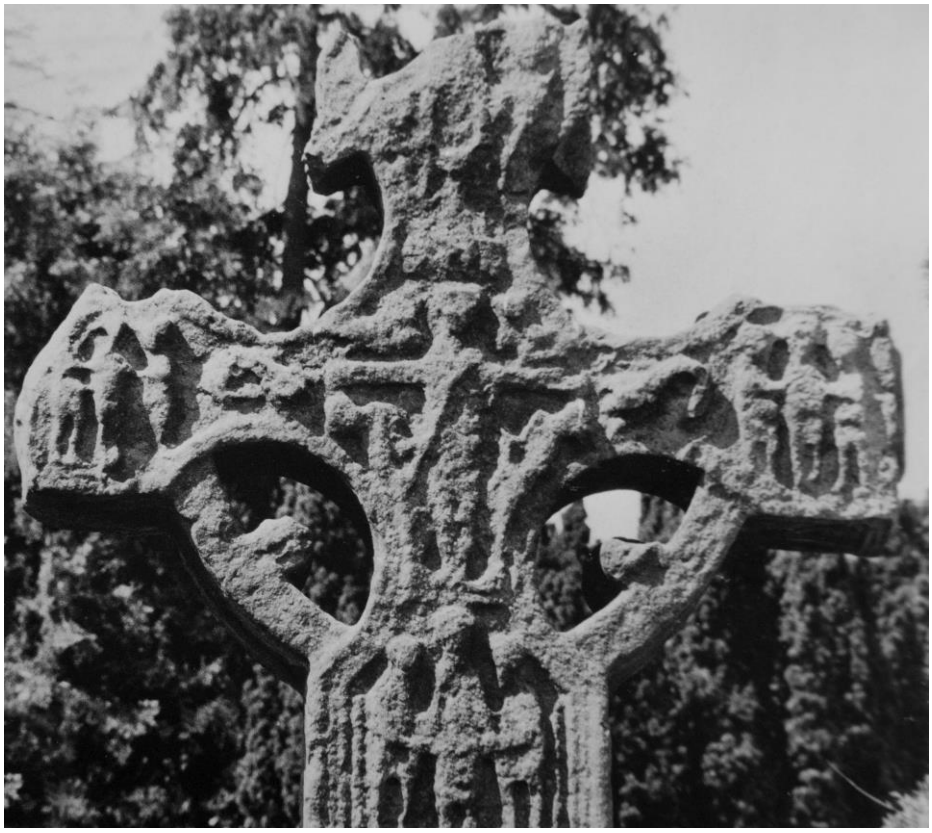


Fig. 3.6 Donaghmore, Co. Tyrone, cross head



Fig. 3.7 Fragmentary cross head at Tighlaheany (*Teaghlach Éinne*), Inishmore, Co.Galway



Fig. 3.8 Granite Cross at Moone, Co. Kildare (upper part of base)



Fig. 3.9 Castledermot, Co. Kildare, South Cross

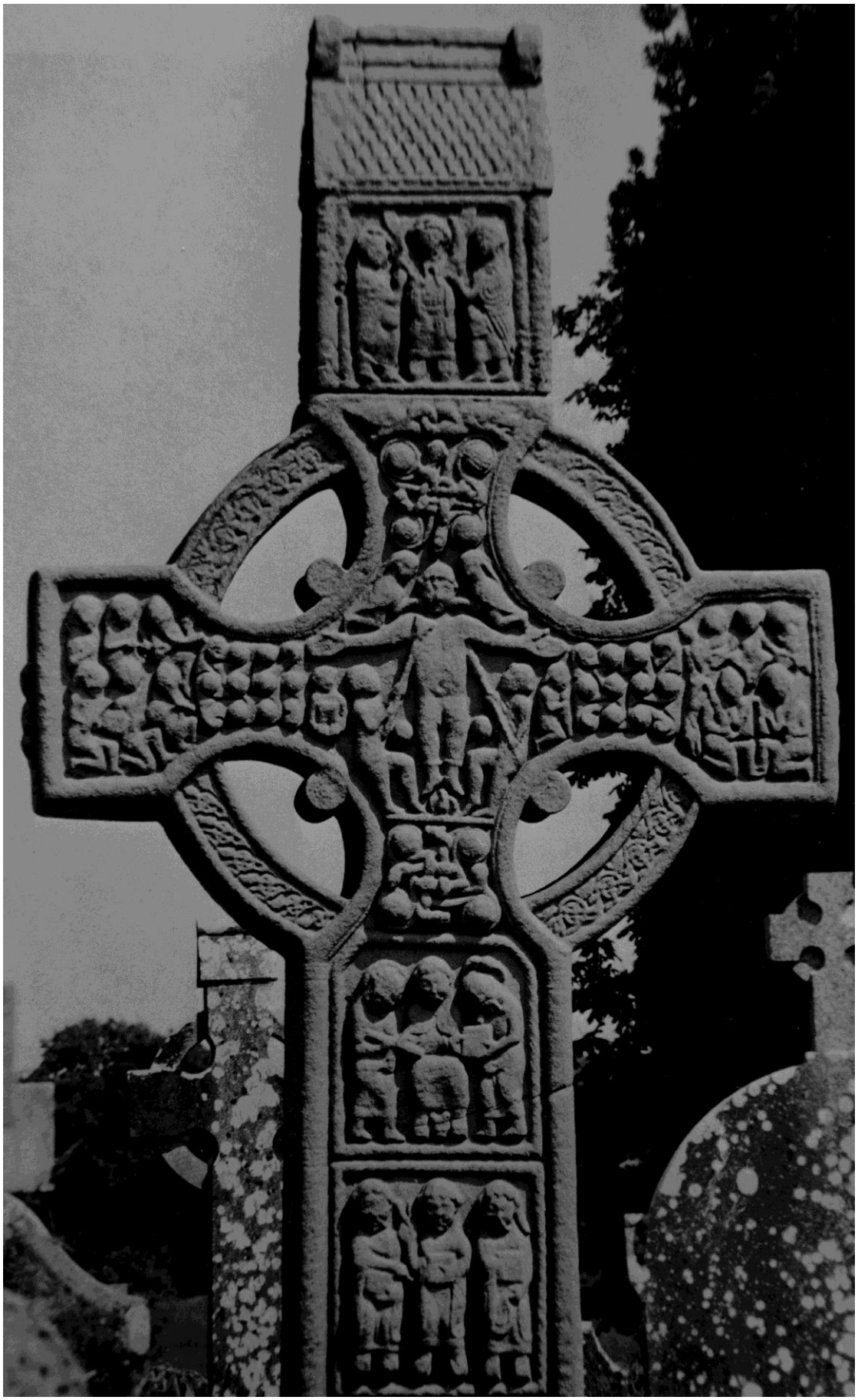
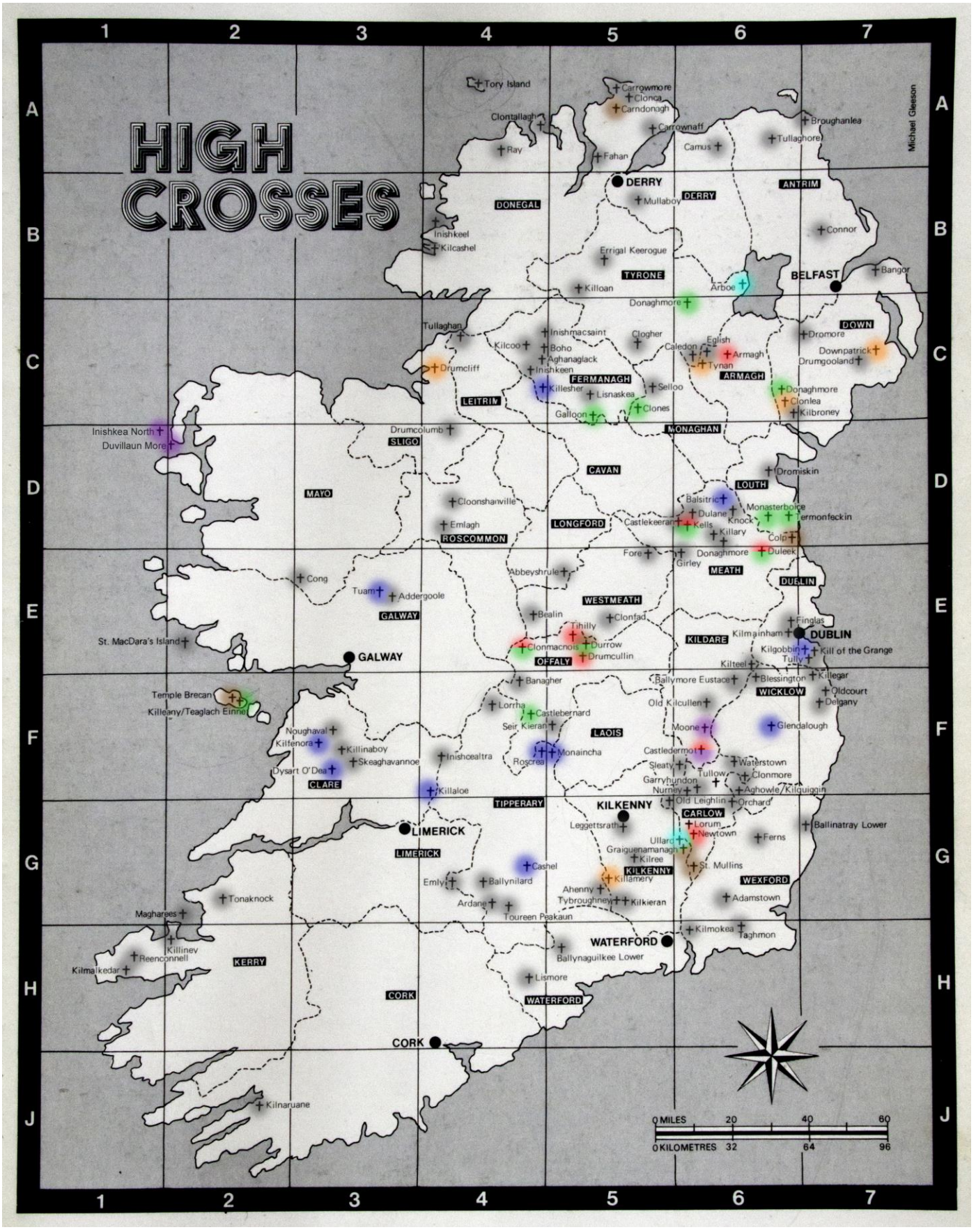


Fig.3.10 Muiredach's Cross, Monasterboice, Co. Louth

III. **The High Crosses of Ireland** (after Harbison, *The High Crosses*, I, 441, modified)

+ Longinus on left/piercing right armpit
+ no identifying attributes
+ non-figural cross or cross-head missing
+ Longinus on right/ piercing left side or heart
+ Longinus on left/ piercing right side
+ figures badly abraded
+ soldiers omitted/ Christ Crucified
+Longinus on right/ piercing left armpit



CHAPTER III

EDITIONS

3.1 The Irish Passion of Longinus

3.1.1 **The Manuscripts**

The Irish translation of the Passion of Longinus survives in the following four manuscripts:

B = *An Leabhar Breac* (Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, 23 P 16), pp. 81b-183b
Eg= London, British Library, Egerton 91 fol. 11-13
E= London, British Library, Egerton 136 fol. 84-85b
P= Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Celtiques MS. I, fol. 42v-43v

B = *An Leabhar Breac* (RIA 23 P 16)

An Leabhar Breac (B) is an early fifteenth century manuscript written by a single scribe, Murchad Riabach Ó Cuindlis.[343] There is a detailed physical description of the manuscript and a full listing of its marginalia and contents in the Royal Irish Academy catalogue of manuscripts.[344] The scribal marginalia indicate that it was copied between Christmas 1408 and the first of November 1411, mainly in the region of Múscraige Thíre in North Tipperary. B is a compilation of a hundred and ten religious tracts, predominantly Lives of Saints, Martyrs and Apostles, descriptions of events in Christ's life and tracts on Christian practice. It also contains some stories relating to early Jewish and Irish historical figures and events. The present binding of the manuscript does not represent the original order of the texts. Jean Rittmueller has convincingly argued that the *Félire Oengusso*, the first text to be transcribed according to the dates in the marginalia, originally stood at the beginning of the volume and served to introduce the main figures and themes, which are then given a fuller account of in the following. The

[343] Ó Concheanainn, Tomás, 'The scribe of the Leabhar Breac', *Ériu* 24 (1973), 64-79.
[344] *Catalogue of Irish manuscripts in the Royal Irish Academy* (1943) fasc. 27, 3379-4404.

main concern of B, according to Rittmueller, is with 'the lives and teachings of the heroes of the church'.[345]

Fifteen passions and twenty-one homilies were edited by Robert Atkinson in 1887.[346] The homilies included in B are partly macaronic, partly apparently Irish translations of Latin texts and seem to form a coherent unit[347] regarding their language, contents, provenance and use.

The Passions, however, seem to form a more heterogeneous group. They start on page 160a, line one, with a curious account of the Passion of Our Lord from the Gospel of Nicodemus, the canonical Gospels, especially Matthew, and other unidentified apocryphal sources. Relevant excerpts from these texts are included in the appendix. This is followed by a *Descensus ad Inferos* (170a, l.21). Next follows the connected series of Apostolic Passions including a brief genealogy of the Apostles, and after these the Passion of Longinus entitled *Pais Longinuis inso*[348] is given on p. 181b, line 46. Then, a fragmentary *Procept na Machaabdai* is inserted (183a, l.23) before the manuscript resumes with the Passions, i.e. the Passions of John the Baptist (187b, l.43), the Seven Sleepers at Ephesus (189a, l.31) and St. George (190b, l.1).

There is also a second short tract on Longinus included in B (p. 159,col.2, l.30) which will be discussed further below.[349]

P= Paris, BNF Fonds Celtiques MS. I (formerly Royal Lib., Ancien Fond. No. 8175)

P is a manuscript made up of texts of varying Irish provenance and date bound together. A description of the contents was given by J.H. Todd in 1846[350] and by H. Omont in 1890.[351] Large portions of the manuscript were written by Uilliam Mac an Leagha whom Robin Flower aptly called 'one of the most prolific scribes of the fifteenth

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[345] Rittmueller, Jean, *The Leabhar Breac Latin and Middle-Irish Homily In Cena Domini: An Edition and Source Analysis*, Dissertation (1984), 39.

[346] Atkinson, Robert (ed. and tr.), *The Passions and the Homilies from Leabhar Breac*: *text, translation, and glossary* (1887).

[347] Frederic Mac Donncha speculated that they may have been edited from Patristic and Carolingian sources and translated into Irish by Máel Ísu Ó Brolchain of Armagh (*ob*. 1086), however the place and time of the homilies' redaction remains uncertain.

[348] B is the only manuscript to call the text a 'Passion', it is called a *Betha* in Eg and Paris and has no title in E. Other texts called Passions in B like the tracts on St. George or the Seven Sleepers are also called *Vitae* in Eg 91 and P.

[349] See ch. 3.2.

[350] Todd, James H., 'On an Irish Manuscript Preserved in the Royal Library, Paris', *PRIA* 3 (1844-47), 223-29.

[351] Omont, Henry, 'Catalogue des manuscrits celtiques et basques de la Bibliothèque Nationale', *Revue Celtique* 11 (1890), 389-423, 391-405.

century'.[352] Most of the remainder was copied by Mailechlainn mac Illainn Mac an Leagha,[353] probably Uilliam's son, and by the former's student Seán mac ind Iarrla[354]. The date, 1473, is given by Uilliam in a colophon on fol. 7r.[355]

The Passion of Longinus is part of a group of Saints' Lives written by Uilliam Mac an Leagha most of which are also included in Eg 91 discussed below, with which the manuscript stands in close relationship. P also shares eleven religious texts in common with B. Rittmueller suggests in her discussion of the Homily on the Eucharist in B and P that the two texts were copied from a common exemplar and speculates that the ten other texts found in both manuscripts are likely to be from that exemplar as well.[356]

Eg= BL, Egerton 91

Egerton 91 is a fifteenth century manuscript also written by Uilliam Mac an Leagha as evident from the style of the script and a bilingual scribal note at the end of the life of S. Ciarán of Seirkieran.[357]

The manuscript is called 'The Leabhar Breac' in an apparently later inscription on fol. 1, which is probably due to the fact that it has many texts in common with that manuscript. The Life of Longinus (f.11) is entitled *Betha Loinginuis annso* and begins: *Dia mbui Crist i ccroich la hIudidibh*... It is the third text in the manuscript and is preceded by a homily on the Life of George, which agrees with the copy of that text in the Paris manuscript. It is followed by the apocryphal Passion of SS. Peter and Paul which, according to Flower, corresponds closely to the version of that text found in B.[358]

The Life of Longinus thus forms part of the opening section of the manuscript, a group of texts concerned with the abnegation of the world, the persecution of the early Saints and Apostles and the glory of martyrdom. The manuscript opens with an excerpt from

[352] Flower, *Catalogue* 2, 438.

[353] The scribe's first name seems to alternate between Uilliam and Illann in P and Eg 91. However, the question whether both names were used of the same scribe and the related question of the former's relation to Mailechlainn mac Illainn remains unresolved. See Walsh, Paul, 'An Irish Medical Family', *The Catholic Bulletin* 25 (1935) 646-53 and Ní Shéaghdha, Nessa, *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the National Library of Ireland,* fasc. I, 57-8.

[354] i.e. John fitz Thomas, son of the seventh Earl of Desmond

[355] *Trí blia*dna *décc* ocus *tri* XX ocus *ceitri* C. ocus *míli bli*adan *áis m*aic *Dé* ocus *is misi Uilliam mac an Legha dosgribh in sdair-so re dha lá sham*ráid.

[356] Rittmueller, *In Cena Domini,* 41.

[357] *[U]illiam qui scribsit m'anam duit a Ciarain,* fol. 42.

[358] Flower, *Catalogue* 2, 440.

the vernacular version of *De Contemptu Mundi* by Innocent III,[359] a copy of the original Irish translation of which by William Magawney, dating from 1443, is also included in P.[360] Of the ten Saints' Lives in Uilliam Mac an Leagha's hand preserved in what is now section five of the P manuscript (fol. 30-fol. 57), eight also occur in apparently identical recensions in Egerton 91.

The copy of the Life of Longinus in Eg 91 is imperfect because of a hiatus after folio 13. The remainder of the text, unfortunately, is very badly faded and has in parts been retraced, apparently inaccurately, by a modern hand. However, in the places where it can still be deciphered, it agrees entirely with P. Considering the identity of the scribe and the general correspondences between the two manuscripts, it seems safe to assume that the two texts were identical, therefore in the following Eg will be subsumed under P.

E= BL, Egerton 136

Manuscript E was written in 1630,[361] the scribe is unknown. The manuscript was probably written in the North of Ireland, possibly for the Co. Cavan literary family of Mac Pharthaláin.[362] It contains a miscellany of religious material which Flower took to be derived from a number of fifteenth century manuscripts such as the *Liber Flavus Fergusiorum*.[363] The orthography of the texts is modernized, while, according to Flower, the content is often largely unmodified.[364]

The Life of Longinus is found on f.84r. It is untitled and begins *Dia mbai Criosd i croich la hIudaidhaibh...* It precedes an abbreviated version of the account of the Passion of Christ attributed to S. Bernard of Clairvaux[365] and a number of other short tracts and poems dealing with the Passion. Curiously, the text breaks off abruptly with Prefect Octavius asking Aphrodisius to beg Longinus to intercede with God on his behalf, and it thus omits the actual martyrdom. This may be due to the fact that the

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[359] *De contemptu mundi, sive de miseriis humanae conditionis*, published in Migne, *PL* 217, col. 701-746.

[360] *Fol. 72v: Uilliam Mhagúibhne docuir in leabar so a ngaeidheilg ⁊ Domnall O'Conaill do-gheabh.* […] *Dobíad blia*dn*a in tigerna a sgribhadh an leab*ar *so fad*eredh *an*nso *Anno D*om*ini* MCCCCXL3.

[361] There is a note 'Anno Domini 1630' in the hand of the text at the bottom of f. 4b. See Flower, *Catalogue* 2, 54.

[362] There is an *ex libris* by one Cormaic Mic Pharthaláin in a contemporary hand on f. 4b (*ibid*.).

[363] Flower, *Catalogue* 2, 554.

[364] Flower, *Catalogue* 2, 554-563, esp. 554, 555.

[365] printed in Migne, *PL* 182, col. 1133 under the title *Liber de Passione Christi et doloribus et planctibus matris eius*.

scribe used a defective exemplar missing the final page. Perhaps the copyist did not notice that his text was incomplete and carried on regardless, as he did not supply an ending of his own or remark on the missing ending. However, it is also possible that the copyist was not interested in Longinus's martyrdom as such, but was merely giving some background information on him as one of the protagonists of the following Passion narratives. Some of these, in fact, seem to have been intended for reading on Good Friday[366] and it may be speculated that the text was used as a homily on Longinus to be read on that feast, even though it does not have a typical homiletic format. This, also, could be an explanation for the missing account of Longinus's death, which would perhaps have been considered out of place when the congregation was supposed to contemplate the suffering and death of Christ.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE IRISH MSS

One might be tempted to think that the Egerton and Paris texts are simply later, linguistically modernized copies of the B text. It is evident from their general closeness, both linguistic and in terms of content, that the Irish texts are not independent translations of the Hiberno-Latin source text, but are all related. It is certainly possible that the later manuscripts used B itself as a source. However, it seems more likely that all three Irish versions go back to a common exemplar, perhaps the original vernacular translation of the assumed Hiberno-Latin source text (hereafter V).

Both E and P use more modern and simpler language than B. However they do not consistently update the text to contemporary Irish but retain some older features. E, although the much later copy, is linguistically more conservative than P, but also introduces false archaisms, e.g. the spelling *na ndeighine*, and has some curious spellings in general.

It is possible that the B text, also, deliberately archaizes, as has been observed with other texts in the volume. Nevertheless, the language preserved in that version of the Passion appears to be genuinely older and is usually stylistically more elegant than that of either E or P. B also frequently offers the *lectio difficilior*.

[366] See Flower, *Catalogue* 2, 562.

B, largely followed by E, contains the fullest and perhaps the most interesting version in that it sometimes gives the story a subtle Irish twist. The main example of this is the passage referring to Longinus's role at the crucifixion. In the Latin version, his deed is conventionally defined as *latus Domini lancea percuciens aperuit* (See the edition of the Turin text in ch. 3.1.4., below, §1,l.2). In the Irish version, this turns into: *₇ gabais láigin moir ina láim co ro ghon Críst ina shliss di, ₇ scoiltis a cride ar dó, conid ed tra tanic ass fuil ₇ fín*(§1,ll.2-3), with P omitting *₇ scoiltis a cride ar dó*, however all three Irish texts have the uncanonical *fuil ocus fín* not found in the Latin *Acta Longini*.

B and E share another reference to the same event later in the text (§3,ll.11-13), when Longinus explains: *dáig is mé ro gon Críst co lágin miled ina thoebu ndes, cor'scoltis a chride, ₇ ropsa m'aithrech isin ngním sin, co ro-s-maith Dia mo peccda dam*, which is also omitted in P.

B, again, departs from the Latin tradition and from P towards the end, when Longinus asks Prefect Octavius to behead him, promising his intercession. In the Latin text, he merely argues that his influence with God and hence his chances of helping the ailing Octavius will be greater after being martyred. In the B version, the events become more magnificent with the archangel Michael awaiting the martyr's soul with the angels of heaven to escort him into paradise and after his beheading Longinus's spirit is said to go to heaven surrounded by the choir chants of the angels and archangels. (§9, ll.7-11).

B is also the only Irish copy which has an actual ending, since E is lacking the ending altogether, while it is abrupt and somewhat garbled in P. B, like the *Acta Longini*, has the prefect converted and the martyr honourably buried. The standard ending and dating of the events characteristic of the Latin *Acta* is omitted in the Irish texts and may already have been dropped in the exemplar, leaving the scribes with the task of supplying a few suitable final sentences in accordance with the type of text they perceived it to be and its intended purpose.

B, interestingly, finishes with the phrase *fogníd firta ₇ mírbuli mora iar a eccaib* (§10, ll.5-6). This is probably a standard phrase. However, it is possible that it refers to lost post-mortem miracles with which Longinus may have been credited in the Irish tradition. It may even be taken to refer to the Pseudo-Hesychian account of the *Inventio Capitis* and the healing of the blind widow, which is richly attested in Greek tradition (see appendix). However I have not been able to find a reference to -or a surviving copy of- that text in Ireland.

The E text generally follows that of B very closely, except for the aforementioned omission of the final passage. It does not, however, appear to be a mere copy of the B text. It lacks stylistic flourishes such as listing of synonyms found in B and, in some cases, it agrees with P against B beyond the common modernization of the language, if never in those instances where P and B significantly differ in meaning. I am inclined to regard E as an independent derivative of the presumed common vernacular source.[367] It is difficult to say, however, whether minor divergences between B and E are due to elaborating by B, or whether some material has been lost in transmission.

The P recension stands apart in that it is a lot more concise than both B and E, sometimes at the cost of stylistic elegance or even intelligibility. However, in many instances the P text seems to be notably closer to the Latin text and is, in that respect, the 'better' recension. P, for example, is the only Irish text to translate the expression *Uentris et gulae delectacio***s* (§4, ll.14-15) of the Latin original (*caraid in craes*).
The Latin text's *et nos perimus* (§8, l.3) is translated as *ro-n-doerfa sind uli* in B and *nod-daerfa sinn uile* in E, but more closely as *marfid sinne uile* in P. *Magnus est Deus Christianorum* (§7, ll.3-4) in the Latin is translated as '*is e do dia-su*', *ol siat*, '*in t-oen Dia uli-cumachtach*' in both B and E, but as *iss é Dia na Cristaidi in Día morcumachtach* in P.

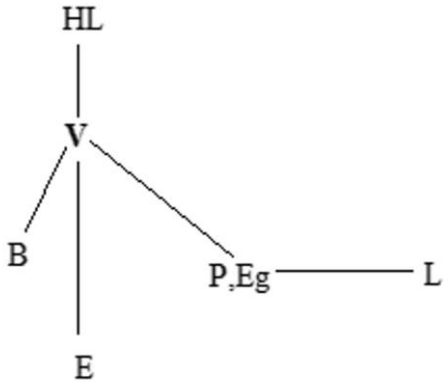
Therefore, one could take P to be more faithful to the Hiberno-Latin source. However, a close reading of the text and a look at the manuscript context suggest that it is more likely to be a reworking, which both significantly abbreviates the text and partially corrects it according to the Latin text. It edits out some of the characteristically Irish traits of the story and corrects or improves on the translation found in B and E. It does however, perhaps inadvertently, retain some of the peculiarities and mistakes of the vernacular source –or perhaps the Hiberno-Latin ancestor- such as the reference to 'blood and wine' coming out of Christ's wound (§1,l.3), or the account of Longinus's tongue being cut out a second time (§8, l.9), although, in the Latin texts, it is first Longinus, later Aphrodisius who is tortured in this cruel fashion.
Perhaps it is not a coincidence that this recension only survives in two manuscripts written by Uilliam Mac an Leagha, who, as recent studies have shown, was not just a

[367] Compare the proposed stemma below.

copyist, but has been credited with the translation and adaptation into Irish of both English and Latin texts and even with original work.[368] While a detailed comparative study is called for, it seems that a number of the Lives found in P and Eg 91, particularly those of non-Irish saints, are not merely linguistically updated but revised versions of texts which occur, in older versions, in the *Leabhar Breac*. Some of these texts seem to have been updated using popular continental Latin sources, such as the *Legenda Aurea*. One example is the Life of St. George (*Betha Sancti Seoirsi*) which does not correspond to the *Páis Georgi* found in *Leabhar Breac*, but is a modernized and recast version of the text which contains the story of St. George and the dragon first found in the *Legenda Aurea*.[369]

Rittmueller is probably right in suggesting a common prototype for B and P. However, some of the shared material, especially the Saints' Lives including the Life of Longinus, seem to have seen a wholesale reworking by the second half or the end of the fifteenth century by Uilliam Mac an Leagha or one of his contemporaries.

Proposed stemma:



[368] See Quin, Ernest Gordon, *Stair Ercuil ocus a Bás: The Life and Death of Hercules*, ITS 38 (1939), 38-40, and Poppe, Erich, 'Favourite Expressions, Repetition and Variation: Observations on *Betha Mhuire Eigiptacdha* in Add. 30512' in *The legend of Mary of Egypt in medieval insular hagiography*, eds. Poppe, Erich and Bianca Ross (1996), 279-99.

[369] *cf*. Flower, *Catalogue* 2, 439 and Atkinson, *Passions and Homilies*, 313; the Golden Legend also is the direct source of the tracts on the birth and death of John the Baptist in Eg 91 ([*D*]*o geinemain Eoin baisti annso mar ader an Legendauria*, fol. 44b and [*D*]*o dicennad Eoin baisti ann mar ader Legenda Auria*, fol. 46).

3.1.2 **The Latin Manuscripts**

The earliest copy of the Latin *Passio Longini* or *Acta Longini* that I have been able to find is in the manuscript D.V.$_3$ of the National University Library of Turin (T). This important codex, one of the earliest surviving legendaries, has recently been edited for the first time by Monique Goullet, Guy Philippart and others.[370] The Turin legendary is written in the uncommon and prestigious *ab*-script traditionally mainly associated with the scriptorium of Corbie, a centre with close connections to the court. However, it is now thought to have been used at a small number of other Carolingian centres as well. David Ganz and Monique Goullet have argued that the legendary belongs to a small group of *ab*-manuscripts copied at Soissons, and have been able to identify the abbey of Saint-Médard at Soissons as its likely place of provenance.[371] The editors suggest that T can be dated to the 780s or 790s.[372]

An interesting aspect, which does not seem to have been noted so far, is the apparent borrowing of a short passage, a description and catalogue of virtues of the saint, from the *Passio Longini* in the Life of Saint Eligius (Éloi).[373] The *Vita Eligii* is widely accepted to have been written in the 660s by the saint's friend Audoin, aka Ouen or Dado, bishop of Rouen. Is it merely a coincidence that Audoin was originally from Sancy-les-Cheminots, just outside Soissons? At any rate, this would seem to suggest that a copy of the life of Longinus was already available at the time in Merovingian France, perhaps at Soissons.

A second early copy of the Passion of Longinus which is roughly contemporary with the Turin text is included in the St Gall manuscript 548 (G) (*Cod. Sang*. 548 pp. 58-66). This manuscript is a collection of Lives of early Roman saints written at the monastery of St Gall itself and dated to the last quarter of the eighth century.[374]

I have also supplied variant readings from the standard –in fact, so far the only- edition of the *Passio Longini* in the *Acta Sanctorum* (AA. SS., Mart.II, 384-386).

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[370] Goullet, Monique (ed.), *Le Légendier de Turin. Ms D.V.$_3$ de la Bibliothèque Nationale Universitaire* (2014).
[371] Goullet, *Le Légendier de Turin*, 82-87.
[372] Goullet, *Le Légendier de Turin*, 36, 191.
[373] The passage in question is quoted in the notes on the text, see ch. 3.1.6,§2.
[374] The manuscript is online, along with a full description, at the St Gall Abbey Library's Virtual Library, *Codices Electronici Sangallenses* (CESG), see www.cesg.unifr.ch.

This edition conflates a number of texts and does not clearly identify the manuscripts used. Aubineau has suggested that these manuscripts are Brussels, *Bibl. Bolland. lat.* 14 (10th c), Douai, *Bibl. Publ. lat.* 865 (12th c) and Saint-Omer, *Bibl. Publ. lat.* 715, II (12th c). The current whereabouts of a fourth, referred to as the *codex Bonifontis*, are unknown according to him.[375] Guy Philippart has more recently confidently identified the two main sources as the *Bollandianus 14*, also mentioned by Aubineau, and the 'Wissembourg legendary' (Brussels, KBR 7984, 10th c). He suggests that the Bollandists consulted four further manuscripts for their edition, a now lost manuscript from Utrecht, the one from Saint-Omer which he identifies as Cambrai, BM, 863, 11th c, the one from Anchin which he, also, equates with Douai, *Bibl. Publ. lat.* 865), and the manuscript from Bonnefontaine in the Ardennes which he takes to be Brussels, KBR, 7483-7486, 13th c.[376]

In any case, the manuscripts used by the Bollandists do not seem to be any earlier than the tenth century. The recension of the *Passio Longini* included in the *Acta Sanctorum* is slightly longer than the earlier versions of the text preserved in the Turin (T) and St Gall (G) manuscripts. The Irish Passion of Longinus does not seem to have many of these probably later elaborations and overall appears to be textually closer to the two earliest extant manuscript witnesses T and G. One example is the reference to Longinus living in the manner of the apostles (*apostolorum imitans uitam*) which is noted by Philippart as a peculiarity of the Turin text, whereas other manuscripts merely refer to Longinus's quiet monastic life (*habens quietam monachorum uitam*) instead. Philippart wonders whether this could mean that T, or its antecedent, were not written for a monastic community, but adapted to a diocesan structure.[377] However, it is also conceivable that T is closer to the Greek source text here, as Longinus is commonly likened to the apostles or even called an apostle in Greek tradition.[378] A similar reference to the apostles must have been present in the text underlying the Irish Passion of Longinus, where, in the corresponding passage, Longinus is said to have been

[375] Aubineau, *Les homélies festales*, 802.
[376] Phillipart in Goullet (ed.), *Le Légendier de Turin*, 247.
[377] *Ibid*. 248, 249.
[378] See my discussion of the origins of the legend of Longinus and compare also the Pseudo-Hesychian Homily XIX in the appendix.

'admired by the apostles for his teaching' (*ba hadamraigthi i forcetul he o na hapstalu*, §2 ll.3-4).[379]

I have consulted three further Latin manuscripts, the 'legendary of Sankt-Lamprecht' Graz, UB, 412, 9th c, the *Magnum Legendarium Austriacum* (Zwettl, Stiftsbibl. *Cod*. 24, 13th c), and Turin, *Cod. Taur*. F.III.16 from Bobbio. Full transcripts of all the Latin manuscripts used are included in the appendix.

3.1.3 **Expansions**

Punctuation and capitalization are editorial. Marginalia without direct connection to the Irish text have been omitted. These are published in the Royal Irish Academy Catalogue and on the Irish Script on Screen (ISOS) website (www.isos.dias.ie)
Illegible letters are indicated by asterisks *. Square brackets [ ] are used to supply missing elements in the text. Round brackets ( ) denote superfluous elements. Angle brackets < > are used for uncertain readings. Letters cropped due to rebinding of the manuscript are given in curly brackets { }. Forward slashes / / are used to mark insertions.

In the Latin text I have indicated the expansion of common contractions, such as *dixit*, forms of *Ihesus*, *Christus*, *sanctus*, *Deus*, *Dominus* and *spiritus*, by use of italics. The expansion *us* expressed as a colon: has been italicized. The *n* and *m* suspension strokes are expanded silently. Itaq: is expanded as itaq*ue*. & is expanded as *et*.

In the Irish texts, the following emendations are silent:
ihu- is expanded as Ísu
cr- is expanded as Críst
di- is expanded as didiu
am- is expanded as amal

[379] The Irish text, however, also has the reference to Longinus's twenty-eight years in monastic life (*Ocht mbliadna fichet do iar sin i mbethaid manaig*) directly afterwards.

7 is left unexpanded when it signifies the Irish *ocus*, expanded and italicized when it signifies the Latin *et* in the Irish text. *Ocus* is spelt out at the beginning of a sentence. & is expanded as *ocus* or *et* according to context.
is- and iss- are expanded as *is ed, iss ed*
l with a crossbar for Latin *vel* is expanded as *nó* or *no*
the usual expansion for *ar* is expanded as *ar*, with a suprascript i as *air*
pop-is expanded as *popul*
m-, mc- is expanded as *mac* or its inflected forms
the symbol for *con* is expanded silently
Roman numerals are given in Irish and italicized
.c. is expanded as *cét*
iar~ is expanded as *iarum*
the sign for the *spiritus asper* and a suprascript dot or dash indicating lenition of consonants are expanded as h
The various abbreviations for the personal name *Longinus* are expanded silently. The varying spellings of the name in the P manuscript are retained.
s- is silently expanded when it stands for Irish *acht* or *-cht*, italicized when it stands for Latin *sed*
f-is expanded as *for*
suspension strokes are silently expanded when they stand for either *n*, *m* or *er*
suprascript a, e, i, o, are expanded as ra, re, ri, ro respectively

Expansions of word-finals are marked. *Olse*, though seemingly spelt as one word in *Leabhar Breac*, is taken as *ol sé* with the independent pronoun, as the text also has the forms *ol siat* and *ol iat*. Lengthmarks are as in the manuscript.

3.1.4 *Acta Longini ex codice Taurinensi* and *Páis Longínus*

TURIN, COD. TAUR. D.V.$_3$

1. Dieb*us* illis fuit quidam milis centurio nomine Longinus qui crucem D*omi*ni adstans [i]us[s]us a Poncio Pilato Praeside latus D*omi*ni lancea percuciens aperuit. Et uidens signa que fiebant propter D*omi*n*u*m crucefixum, sole obscurato <et terra> commuta, crededit in D*omi*no Ih*es*u et percutiens pectus suu*m* uoce magna dicebat: 'Vere, D*e*i filius est hic.'

2. Et post hec recidens de milicia instruebatur D*omi*ni praeceptis. Audiens s*anct*orum apostolorum uenerabilia uerba et Chr*ist*i mandata seruanda in ueritate. Itaque instructus uiam D*omi*ni et accipiens signaculum crucis totum se optulit D*eu*m. Faciens aelymosinas et in castitate corpus contenens puram custodiebat conscienciam. Caelestem uitam gerens in terris et omnem in Chr*ist*o moderationem ornatus per abstinentiam habebat uera*m* reuerentiam, [u]ulto plano, moderatam speciem, ornatu aspectu, quietum sensum, humilem sapie***am, animum letum.

H**c igitur cum esset annorum uigint{i} et octo aput Cesariam Cappadociae. Apostolorum imitans uitam et multus auertens ab iniquitate inluminabat uerbo ueritatis prohibens sacrificia et seminans uerbi D*omi*ni uenerabilia praecepta.

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§ 1 *Diebus illis:* In diebus (*add.* autem G) Domini nostri Iesu Christi A, G. *milis Centurio:* miles A,G, *om. Centurio A. qui: add.* illo tempore A. *crucem Domini:* cruci Domini A, cruci Dominicae G. *adstans:* astans A. *[i]us[s]us:* missus A, iussus G. *percuciens aperuit: add.* lancea A, aperuit percutiens G. *Dominum crucefixum*: eum A. *in Domino Ihesu:* in Dominum Iesum Christum A, *om.* Ihesu G. *Dei filius:* filius Dei A,G.

§2 *recidens*: recedens A, credens G. *de milicia:* a militia A. *sanctorum apostolorum*: ab apostolis G. *uenerabilia …in ueritate:* uenerabilia mandata A, uenerabilia *Christi* mandata in ueritate G. *Itaque.. Domini*: Veritatis itaque instructus uiam A. *uiam Domini:* de uia *Domini* G. *signaculum crucis:* signaculum salutis A, *om.* crucis G. *omnem:* omni A,G. *in Christo: om.* A. *ueram reuerentiam: add.* in *Domino* G. [*u*]*ulto plano:* uultum planum A, G.

annorum uigint[i] et octo: om. A, G. *aput Cesariam Cappadociae*: in Cæsarea Cappadociæ A, Caesaria Cappadociae G. *add.*uixit quieta monachorum uita annis uiginti octo A, *add.* habens quietam monachorum uitam annorum xx et *septem* G. *apostolorum imitans uitam: om.* A,G. *iniquitate:* impietate A. *inluminabat:* illuminabat A. *sacrificia:* idolorum sacrificia A, G. *seminans:* seminabat A. *add.*in populo A. *uerbi…praecepta:* uenerabilia Domini præcepta A. de uerbo d*omi*ni uenerabilia praecepta G.

1. Dia mbui Críst hi croich la h-Iúdaigib, do dechaid oen dona míledu boi oc in croch*ad* .i. Cenntúrus a*in*m dó, Longínus in ainm ele; ⁊ gabais láigin moir ina láim co ro ghon Críst ina shliss di, ⁊ scoiltis a cride ar dó, conid ed tra tanic ass fuil ⁊ fín, co nu-s-tanic dorchatu d*er*máir dar dreich thalm*an* uli in tan sin, co ro-s-dorch*aig* grian, ⁊ co ro scailset na clacha, ⁊ co mbatar na hádnaicti óbéla. O t'connairc tra Longínus in mírbuil moir sin, ro cretestar fo*cet*oir in t-oen dia .i. Ísu Críst, ⁊ ro nuall ó guth mor co n-ep*er*t: 'is fír, ol se, is e so Críst mac Dé, is e ro táirngirset fáide ⁊ uasal-athraig do chendach síl Adaim, ⁊ do dech*aid* fri bás n-inísel dar a cend innossa.'

2. Ro fácaib tra Longínus a míltnecht saegulda iartain, ⁊ ro-s-cói co s*er*b-goirt, co nd*er*na aithrigi ndíchra co Dia, ⁊ ro maith Dia a phecc*ad* dó iar sin colléir. Ba dércach trócar óintech ernaigtech intí Longínus iartain, ⁊ ba hadamraigthi i forc*et*ul he ona haps*tal*u isna cathrach*aib*-si .i. hi Cesaria, ⁊ i Capadotia. Ocht mbl*iadna fichet* do iar sin i mbethaid manaig; ⁊ do-ratsat a fhirta sochaide triana forc*et*ul dochum n-irse Dé.

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§1. *do dechaid*: do ndeachaid P. *oen dona míledu*: aen dona míledaibh E, dona míledaib P. *oc in crochad:* ag a crochadh E, ag a gcrococchad P. *Cenntúrus*: Centurius E. *ainm dó*: a ainm E, P. *Longínus in ainm ele*: ocus Loinginus a ainm ele E, Loinginus didiu ainm aili dó P. *gabais*: gabhuis Loinginus E. *láigin moir*: gái mhóir E. *ina láim*: *om.* P. *co ro ghon*: ocus gonais E, P. *ina shliss di:* ina shlis P. *ocus scoiltis..ar dó*: gur sccoilt a croidhe ar dó E, *om.* P. *conid ed tra tanic ass fuil ⁊ fín*: conad edh tainicc as .i. fuil ocus fín E, conid de tanic fuil ⁊ fín as P. *co nu-s-tanic*: go dtainic E, co tainic P. *dorchatu dermáir*: dorcad E, dorchataig P. *dar dreich thalman uli in tan sin*: tar grein ocus tar dreich talm*an* uile in tan sin E, tar dreich in talman uili P. *co ro-s-dorchaig grian*: gur dorcaidh grian E, P. *co ro scailset na clacha:* gu*r* sgoiltsa*t* na clocha E, cu*r* scoilt*is* na clocha P. *na hádnaicti*: na hadhlaicthe E, na hadnacail P. *in mírbuil moir sin:* na mirbuile móra sin E, na mírbuile sin P. *ro cretestar … .i. Ísu Críst*: ro creidistar focetoir in t-aen Dia .i. Isu Crist E, ro cretestar focétóir a n-Día P. *ro nuall*: ro raidh E, P. *ó guth mor co n-epert*: do guth mhor E, o guth mór P. *Críst mac Dé*: mac Dé E, P. *ro táirngirset fáide ⁊ uasal-athraig:* ro tairrngersaid E, do tarrngairedh P. *do dechaid ….. innossa:* do cuaidh fri bas inisil tar a chend E, do roch*aid* dó an-ísli fodeisin .i. do Íssu P.

§2. *a míltnecht saegulda:* a míltnecht P. *ro-s-cói ….co Dia:* ro chai co searbh ocus do ringhne aitricche ndiocra fri a Dia E, *om.* P. *ro maith Dia… colléir*: ro maith Dia uile a chion ocus a p[e]cadh dho iar sin E, *om.* P. *Ba dércach… ernaigtech:* ba dercach trocuireach E, ba dérach ⁊ bá dércach trocaire P. *intí Longínus*: Loinginus E, *om.* P. *ba hadamraigthi i forcetul he ona hapstalu*: ba hamhra ina forcedul é ona heasbalaibh E, ba hadamraigthi iarna forcetul ona hapstalaib P. *isna cathrachaib-si .i. hi Cesaria, ocus i Capadotia: …*Capatosia E, a Cesaria ⁊ a Capatóic P. *ocht mbliadna fichet:* [o]*cht* mbliadhna *trichet* E. *do-ratsat a fhirta sochaide triana forcetul dochum n-irse Dé:* ⁊ do-rads*a*t a ferta sochaidhe doc*h*um creidmhe <d>(?)o idhalaibh trena forced*ul* E, ⁊ dorat sochi*de* on ídaldacht trena forceatal docum irsi ⁊ cr*e*dim Críst P.

3. Cumq*ue* haec ad aures Octauii Presides peruenissent iussi[t] eum exhibere. Introductum autem eum Octauius Praesis dixit: 'Quis uocaris?' Sanctus Longinus dixit: 'Longinus uocor.' Pr*aeses* dixit: 'Cuius prouinciae ciues es?' Longinus dixit: 'Isauriae.' Octauius Presis dixit: 'Seruus es an ingenuus?' Longinus d*ixit*: 'Seruus eram prius peccati sed pius D*omin*u*s* Ih*esu*s Chr*istu*s per mysterium s*anctę* et uenerandę crucis per lateris sui gratiam dulcem dupliciter me liberauit. Prius quidem per aquam, nunc autem per sanguinem si persiuerauero in eius conf<es>sion*em*.' Presis dixit: 'Pro qua causa uenisti huc?' Longinus d*ixit*: 'Miles fui et militaui in seculo. Nunc autem milito Chr*isto*.'

4. Pr*aeses* dixit: 'Quis te absoluit a militia?' Longinus dix*it*: 'Fratres meos rogaui ut tollerent substantiam meam ut ego quererem animam meam. Et concesserunt mihi pro hoc resumptus solidus centum annuos quos et ipsus expendibam in pauperis Chr*isti*. Nunc autem depraecatus sum D*omin*u*m* meum Ih*esu*m Chr*istu*m ut me educerit de milicia carnali et darit mihi spiritale.'

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§ 3 *Octauii:* Octavia[n] G. *peruenissent:* peruenirent A, G. *exhibere*: exhiberi A, G. *Introductum:* inducto A, G. *eum:* eo A,G. *Octauius Praesis: om. P*raesis A, Octauianus Preses G. *dixit:* ait G. *Quis uocaris?* add. A,G: Beatus Longinus (*add.*cum esset perfectus sensu et uenerabilis in Domino A) dixit: *Christianus* (sum A). Oportet *enim* primum donum gratię *Christi* (A: Dei) confiteri. *Octauian* Pręses dicit: qui ante (*add.* te A) fuerunt nihil lucrati *sunt* de hoc nomine. Tu *autem* quis uocaris? (*add.* Edicito! A).
Sanctus Longinus dixit: uir Dei respondit A,G. *Praeses*: iudex A. *ciues: om.* A. *dixit:* respondit A. *sed:* et G. *Dominus: add.* n*oste*r G. *uenerande*: adorandæ A, orandae G. *gratiam dulcem dupliciter:* effusionem duplici gratia A, *gratiam* dulcem dulciter G. *per aquam*: *add.* et Spiritum sanctum A. *conf[*]sionem:* confessione A,G. *Praeses:* iudex A. *Pro qua causa:* propter quam caussam A, qua *add.* ergo causa G. *Longinus dixit: add.* respondens G. *Miles:* Curialis A,G. *Christo:* Christo Iesu A.

§4 *Quis te: add.* ergo A,G. *absoluit:* soluit G. d*ixit:* respondit A. *ut:* et A. *quererem:* acquirerem A, adquirerem G. *concesserunt*: consenserunt A. *concesserunt mihi*: *add.* dabant autem mihi A,G.
pro hoc: om. A. pro ac G. *resumptus:* in sumptus A. *annuos:* per singulos annos A, in annum G. *quos et ipsus: om.* et ipsus A, quos *add.* sumptus et ipsos G. *milicia carnali:* carnali militia A. *darit:* donaret A,G. *mihi: om.* G. *spiritale:* spiritualem *add.* et glorificetur nomen eius per me. A, spiritalem G.

3. Ranic tra clú Longínus iar sin fon uli domun, i ndeirc, i n-úmla, i cendsa, i foiditin. O mboi iarum cu forpthi isna gnimu sin, atcualae in t-errig diarbo ainm Octauis a chlu ⁊ a scela ⁊ in cattaid moir sin. Atbert iarum: 'tabair chucaind Longínus co ro-s-acallam he.' Do b*er*air tra Longínus chuca iarum. Atb*er*t in t-errig Octauis fris: 'Cia h'ainm-si?' ol se. 'Longínus goirth*er* dím, 'ol esium. 'Cia cennadaig as a tai?' ol se. 'Essuria .i. fer*and* fil isin Aissia Bicc is ass dam, ' ol se. 'Indat sochen*el* no dochenel?' ol in t-errig. 'Mog pecc*aid* for tús mé,' or Longínus, 'acht ro shaer Dia mé tria bathis ar in peccad sin, ⁊ saerfaid innossa tre thecht hi martra dam dar cend m'anma.'

4. 'Cid dia tanacais isna tírib-si?' ol in t-errig. Atb*er*t Longínus: 'Ro bádus a míltnecht o thús mo bethad cu croch*ad* Críst, dáig is mé ro gon Críst co lágin miled ina thoebu ndes, cor'scoltis a chride, ⁊ rops*a* m'aithrech isin ngním sin, co ro-s-maith Dia mo peccda dam. Ro guidis mo brathri ar sin, co ro léctís dam fognam do Críst; ro-m-lecsit uadib iarum, ⁊ gatsat mo uli indmas dím, acht becc doratus do bochtu Dé. Ro guides in Coimdid annside co ro chendsaig*ed* a m*en*main frim, ⁊ ro-m-saer Dia om' peccdaib, ' ol se.

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§3. *Ranic tra… fon uli domun:* Rainicc a chlú atru iarsin fon n-uile domun E, Roínic iar sin clú Longinus fana tuath*a* ⁊ fona cinél*a* P. *i ndeirc, i n-úmla, i cendsa, i foiditin:* a n-deirc ⁊ a trócu*ir*e ⁊ a n-inisle ⁊ a n-umhla ⁊ a chendsa E, a ndéirc ⁊ a trocaire ⁊ a n-ínisli ⁊ a c*enn*sa P. O mboi iarum *cu forpthi isna gnimu sin:* o ro bhai iaromh Loinginus isna gniomhaibh E, o ro-buí Longinus isna gnímaib sin P. *diarbo ainm Octauis*: dianadh ainm Octauius E, diarbo ainm Ochtauius P. *a chlu ⁊ a scela ⁊ in cattaid moir sin*: a chlú ⁊ a chádus asbert sidein P. *co ro-s-acallam he*: dar n-agallaibh E, P. Do berair tra Longínus chuca iarum: Do berar iaromh L. cuca iar sin E, do berar chucca é P. *Atbert…fris*: *om.* Octauis E,P. *cia h'ainm-si*: cia th' ainm-si E. *cennadaig:* cin*edh*ac[h] E, cinedai*gh* P. *Essuria:* Esuaria E, Esaurria P.
Indat sochenel no dochenel: In soichinelach nó in doicinelach thu E, P. *Mog peccaid*: Madh pecach E, Mod pectach P. *for tús*: ar tús E, P. *acht ro shaer… ar in peccad sin*: om. E, *om. ar* P. ⁊ *saerfaid ...dar cend m'anma*: ocus ro shaer Dia me anossa tre teacht a mart*r*a tar ceann m'anma E, ⁊ saerfaid innossa tre theacht dam i martra Dé tar cenn m' anmai féin P.

§4 *isna tírib-si*: as na tirtaibh sin E, ille P. *ro bádus*: robá P. *míltnecht*: milidheacht E. *o thus*: o tosach E, P. *dáig is mé… mo peccda dam:* daicch is me ro goin C*r*iosd do sleicch ina taobh g*ur* r'[s]goiltus a chroi ⁊ robsu m'ait*h*reach isin gníomh sin ⁊ romaith Críst mo p*e*cad damh E, *om.*P. *ro guidis*: ro guidhusa E. *mo brathri*: mo braithrecha E. *co ro léctís dam fognam do Críst: om.* P. *ro-m-lecsit*: do leigsid me E, ro leigset mo bruitri mé P. *iarum*: iardain E, iar sin P. *gatsat…dím:* ro gadsat mh'ionnmus diombh E, r*u*csat m'indusa leó P. *acht becc…Dé*: acht began do radus do bochtaibh Dhe E, ⁊ do r*a*t b*e*can airgit dam ⁊ do ratusai do bochtaib P. *co ro chendsaiged a menmain frim: om.* E, P. *ro-m-saer Dia om' peccdaib:* ocus rosaer me o mo pecadh E, ⁊ rosaer mé P.

Presis dixit: 'Ergo, tamquam uir ingenuos et bene nat[us], sacrifica diis et manduca de carnis et sacrificiis eorum ut habeas uitam quietem antequam disperdaris a poenis.' Longinus dixit: 'Nemo potest duobus dominis seruire. Contraria enim sapiunt. Meus itaq*ue* D*omin*u*s* subrietatis et mansuetudinis, castitatis et pietatis, humilitatis et modestia dux est. Quae ducunt hominis ad uitam aeternam. Dii autem tui contrarii sapiunt. Amatoris sunt omnes maliciae, auariciae, impietatis, superbiae et spurciciae. Numquid possumus idolorum /opera/ exercere et [non] que d*e*i mei sunt sapere.' Presis d*ixit*: 'contraria sapiunt ergo dii nostri et solus D*eu*s tuus iustos est.' Longinus d*ixit*: 'Dii uestri inpedimenta sunt subrietatis, damnatoris pietatis, corruptures uirginitatis. Uentris et gulae delectacio**s, paupertatis effugatio, auariciae desiderium, humilitatis alienatio. Ducis superbiae. Animarum pollatio. Turbium uerborum /ex/cogitacio. Hec est idolorum cultura et doctrina demonum. Si autem iubes et quae Chr*ist*ianitatis sunt dico praecepta.'

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uir: om. G. *nat[us]: add.* obaudi regibus A. *et manduca:* aut manduca A. *carnis: om.* A,G. *ut ... quietem: om.* A, *om.* uitam G. *contraria enim sapiunt:* singuli enim eorum sibi contraria sapiunt A. *Meus itaque Dominus: om.* itaque A. *subrietatis:* sobrietatis A, *add.* et pietatis G. *modestia:* modestiæ A,G. *quae ducunt hominis:* qui ducit hominem A,G. *contrarii:* contraria A,G. *spurciciae:* spurtitiae G. *numquid:* num A. *possumus:* possum A,G. *idolorum: add.* cultura G. *et [non] ... sapere*: et non sapere quæ Dei mei sunt A. *dei:* d*omi*ni G. *Presis dixit: add.* si ut tu dicis A, *add.* ergo G. *iustos:* iustus A,G. *est: om.* G.

iustos est: add. quomodo ergo gentilitas defensionem præbet regibus et Principibus, et exaltatur in gloria multiplicata: Christianismus autem humiliatur et in gloria minoratur? A. *Longinus:* S*anctus* Longinus A,G. *dixit: add.* uides ergo quia gentilitas contraria est Christianitati A. *uestri: om.* G. *damnatoris pietatis:* damnum pietatis A. *om.* G. *uentris et: om.* A. *Animarum pollatio:* puritatis (*add.* et G) animæ pollutio A, G. *idolorum cultura:* idolorum doctrina G. *doctrina demonum:* doctrina dæmoniorum A, cultura daemoniorum G.

'Isat fer anorach rethinech do Dia amal sin, ' ol in t-errig. Atb*er*t in rig annsin: 'Scuir don forc*et*ul sin, ' ol se, 'ocus déna ídpairt d'ár ndeeb-ni, síu ro-t-piant*ar*. 'Atb*er*t Longínus iarum: 'nico fétaimm fógnum do díb tig*er*naib, amal atbert Dia fessin, at cotarsnai na fogn*um*a do dís, ol in Coimdid. Ar it e mo Dia-sa *cet*us .i. Dia na cúndla ⁊ na búide, na hinísle ⁊ na trocaire; do dee-siu tra,' or Longínus, 'oirigthe cecha huilc, ⁊ buaidertha cecha maithiusa, ⁊ malarta cech oin olchena iatsen. Noco n-fhétaim-se sin,' or Longínus, fógnum da bar ndeeib brece-si, ⁊ mo Dia fén d'fhácbail.'

'In ed fil /and/,' ol in t-errig, 'maith do Dia-su ⁊ olc ar ndee-ne? ' 'Is amlaid tarla, ' ar Longínus. 'Cindus tócbas in génntligecht a cend isin t-saegul-sa tar in Crístaigecht, masa férr in Crístaigecht?' ol in t-errig. 'Nach fetura-sa,' or Longínus, 'acht conid cotarsna in génntligecht don Crístaigecht? Uair indarpaid in génntligecht eolas, ⁊ incongbaid aneolas, díscailid in mesardacht, formúchaid na cétfada, dallaid na ruscai, truallid in óige, miscnigid na bochta, immrádid na droch-ráti, timoircid na brec-scela, diultaid an fhírinde; acht is borb dásachtach aneolach cech duine o'n genntligecht,' ar Longínus; 'ocus mad ail, atb*er*-sa frit ní do maithius na Crístaidechta,' ol se.

Isat fer…do Dia: is fer… do Dia E, is fer… do Día tú P. *amal sin*: om. E, P. s*cuir:* eirg P. *ndeeb-ni*: ndeighibhne E. *síu ro-t-piantar*: riasu rospiantar E, résiu notpiantar P. *ni co fétaimm… díb tigernaib*: nocha bfhetaim foghnamh do da tigerna E, nocha nfhétaim fogn[a]m do dá tigernaib P. *atbert*: adubart E, itbert P. *fessin*: fein E, P. *at cotarsnai …do dís:* as codursna ⁊ is aimhirs*ich* foghnamh do dis E, at cotursna na fogn*um*a P. *ol in Coimdid*: om. E, P. *Ar it e mo Dia*-sa: uair is e mo Dia-sa E, atcoberat mo Día-sa P. *cetus*: cetamus E. .i. *Dia na cúndla.. ⁊ na trocaire:* .i. Dia na cunnla ocus na búidhe ocus na hinisle ocus na cendsa ocus na trocuire E, Dia na cennsa ⁊ na cunnla ⁊ na buíde ⁊ na trocaire e sin P. *tra*: immorro E, didiu P. *oirigthe*: airidhthi E, airithche P. *cecha huilc*: gach uilc E. *buaidertha...olchena iatsen:* buaid*e*rt[ha] g*a*ch ain ⁊ airidhthe g*ach* dimais ⁊ g*ach*a saithar chena iadsein E, ⁊ cec*h*a buaidirtha ⁊ cec*h*a diumusa ⁊ cec*h*a sáetha arch*enn*a P. n*oco n-fhétaim-se sin*: nocha fetaimsi eisen E, nocha n-fétaimsi de sin P. *ndeeib brece-si*: ndeighibhsi E, ndeibsi P. *⁊ mo Dia fén d'fhácbail*: ⁊ fognum mo Día fein d'fágbáil P. *in ed fil and*: in hedh fil E, in headh fil ann deisside P. *ar ndee-ne:* ar ndeighine E. *Is amlaid tarla: om.* P. *cindus… isin t-saegul-sa*: …a cend anairde isin tsaeghuld-sa E, cinnus tóbas in geinntligeacht airigi anairdi isin t[s]áeg*a*l-da*cht* (?) P. *tar in Crístaigecht*: tar ais na Crístaidhacht E, ic lucht na Críst*aid*achta P. *masa férr in Crístaigecht*: masi an Cristaidhacht as ferr E, más ferr an Cristaidacht P. *nach fetura-sa*: nochan fhedur P. *conid cotarsna in génntligecht don Crístaigecht:* conadh codursna an geinntl*id*acht ⁊ an Crístaidhacht E. *incongbaid aneolas:* congb*aidh* aineol*as* E, inchongbait anéolas ⁊ écunnlacht ⁊ toi(r)mriscid nim bicc P. *truallid in óige:* truaill*id* na hoccha E, *add.* caraid in craes P. *immrádid na droch-ráti*: miraidhicch na drochraite E, imrádaid na drochnethe. *timoircid na brec-scela, diultaid an fhírinde: om.* E, P. *aneolach: om.* P. *mad ail:* madh ail let E, P. *na Cristaidechta:* na Crístuidhe E.

5. Octauius Praesis d*ixit*: 'Multum loquutus es et nihil stabile dixisti. Accede ergo et sacrifica dies et gusta de sacrificiis et indulget tibi D*eu*s tuos propter necessitate*m* regale*m*. Video enim tibi poenas tollerare non posse prae abstinentia.' S*anctu*s Longinus d*ixit*: 'Si uis a me ueritatem audire magis tu eris Chr*ist*ianus et indulgit tibi rex tuus cum Rege aeterno et D*omi*no in ueritate cognuueris.'

Et iratus Pres*es* dix*it*: 'Dentale aferte et eius dentes excutite et gladi<o>[380] linguam eius incidete qui imperatores blasphemat et di*s nostros non adorat.' Quescionari uero linguam eius absciderunt et dentis eius excusserunt.

S*anctu*s autem Longinus haec omnia uiriliter sustenibat propter fidem quam in D*omi*no habebat et dixit ad Praesidem: 'Si credis deos esse quos coles sini me et confringam eos. Et uidebis si possint adiuuare te uel se.'

Presis dixit: 'A maleficia tua tanta turmenta sustenendae quare non subuenit tibi Chr*istu*s tuus?' Longinus dixit: 'Insensati, non uidis quanta tormenta mihi intulisti, et non praeualuisti. Da mihi ergo potestatem ut conteram deos tuos et si mihi aliquid nocuerint credo quia dii sunt. Si autem nihil ualuerint tu crede in D*omi*no meo quia ipsi est D*eu*s uiuens et uirus.' Presis d*ixit*: 'potestatem accipe.'

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§5 *loquutus:* locutus A. *Accede:* accedens G. *dies:* diis A,G. *et gusta:* aut gusta A. *de sacrificiis:* de carnibus sacrificij (sacrifice G) A,G. *Deus: Domi*n*u*s *Deu*s G. *regalem: add.* hoc (hec G) facienti A,G. *Video enim: add.* te multum gracilem et pallidum A, *om.* enim G *add.* in G. *tollerare:* sustinere A. *poenas… abstinentia*: *add.* ne cum cœperint in te amarissima tormenta cum confusione hoc facias A. *dixit: add.* Præses A,G. *eris:* sis A, fieri G. *indulgit:* indulget A,G. *aeterno:* æternum A,G. *Domino:* Dominum A,G *add.* magnum A,G. *cognuueris: add.* si autem rex tuus uoluerit te lædere, non te tangent pœnæ. Si enim gracilis sum & pallidus; noli curare; solummodo Christianus efficere: non enim imperat nequitia Regum Christi pietati A.
Dentale: dentalem A,G. *gladium: om.* A, gladio G. *qui…blasphemat:* blasphemantem imperatores A *add.* et loquentem iniqua in deos A. *et di[*]s nostros non adorat: om.* A, *om.* nostros G. *Quescionari uero: add.* fecerunt quod eis iussum est A. *dentis:* dentes A,G.
Sanctus: Beatus A,G. *omnia: om.* A,G. *fidem: add.* Christi A. *in Domino: om.* A. *ad Praesidem:* Præsidi A, *add.* clara voce A. *si credis: add.* uere A. *et uidebis …te uel se:* et adiuuent seipsos, si possunt A. *si credis…te uel se:* si credis eos et adiubent se G. *Praeses dixit: om.* G. *a maleficia*: O malum caput A,G. *tua:* tibi A, tu G. *sustenendae:* sustinenti A, mihi intulisti G. *sustenendae…quanta tormenta: om.* G. *subuenit tibi: om.* tibi A. *Insensati:* insensate A. *uidis:* uides A. *non praeualuisti:* non me tetigerunt pœnæ tuæ A. *ergo: om.* A,G. *mihi:* me A,G. *crede:* credis G. *in: om.* A,G. *Domino:* Deo A,G. *est: om.* G. *uiuens:* uiuus A,G. *potestatem accipe:* habeas potestatem *add.* aduersus deos A, habe potestatem G.

[380] apparently emended from *gladium*

5. 'Is lór an ro ráidis, ol in t-errig, uair is borb anbfhoss*ad* he. Eirc becc, ⁊ dena idpairt dona deeib,' ol in t-errig, '⁊ logfaid do Dia fen duit, uair no-s-fitir conid écen do b*er*ar fort.' 'Ropad ferr lim-sa, ' ar Longínus, 'Críst do cretem duit-si, oltás adrad na ndee mbalb mborb dia n(d)ádraid; ⁊ cindus a rád comtís dee na hí naptar dee .i. hidail balla ámlabra, gnimrada lama dóine pecdach?' ol se.

'Bentar a fhiacla as a chind, ' ol in t-errig, '⁊ tescth*ar* a thengaid, o na hadrand na dee.' Do rónad iarum fria Longínus amal atb*er*t in t-err*i*g. Ro fhulaing tra Longínus co ferrda inní sin ar grad Dé; ⁊ atbert o guth mor frisin rig: 'Ma crete-si dona deib, condat fír dee iat, leic damsa a n-altóri do scailed ⁊ a ndelba do briss*ed*, ⁊ saerut fen iat ma fhédat.'

'Cid fo*dera*, ' ol in rig, 'cen Críst dot' furtacht-su ona himnedaib fuarais, ⁊ nar cómraic erchoit dam-sa de. ' 'Lec-si dam-sa, ' or Longínus, 'co ro briser do dee-si, ⁊ cretfet doib dia n-erchoitiget dam, ⁊ cret-siu in t-oen Dia mine d*er*nat.' 'Comdílsi etruib,' ol in rig.

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§5 *is lór an ro ráidis:* as lór linn a raidhisi E, is lór a ndo-ráidis P. *uair …he*: uair as borb anbfhosach E, is borb ⁊ is anfhossaig roráidis. *eirc becc*: ericch beg E, *om.* becc P. *fen*: om. E. *uair no-s-fitir*: ar ro fhider E, P. *Ropad*: rob E, robo P. *Críst do cretem… dia n(d)ádraid:* Crist do creidiomh duit-si inás adradh na ndee mbalbh mborb dia n-adhrair E, mo Día féin d'adrad duit-si no logfad do p*e*c*cad* du*i*t P. *cindus a rád… dóine pecdach*: *om.* E, P. *bentar…ol in t-errig*: Atbert in t-errig fria muinter: benaid a fhíacla as a chenn, ar sé P. *tescthar:* teasccar E, teasctar P. *a thengaid*: a theanga E, P. *o na hadrand na dee*: o nach adhrann dar ndeene E, *om.* P. d*o-rónad …amal atbert in t-errig:* ...amal atbert an righ E, doron*a*d iarum fri Loingínus in ní sin P. *inní sin*: sin E. *frisin rig*: frisin errig P. Ma *crete-si dona deib: om.* dona deib E, In creidissiu dona déib P. *a n-altóri*: a n-altora E, a n(d)altóir P. *erchoit dam-sa de:* urcoid E, irchóir P, om. de P. *lec-si*: léic P. *co ro briser*: gur brisir E, cur ro brisiur P. *do dee-si*: do de P. *cretfet*: creidfid E, creidfetsa P. *dia n-erchoitiget*: dia n-urcoidid E, día n-ircoided P. *cret-siu*: creididsi P. *in t-oen Dia* don oen Dia E add. uile-cumhachtach E, mo Dia-sa P add. conid fír Día é P. Creididsi mo Dia-sa conid fír Día é P. *comdílsi*: coimdisle E. *ol in rig*: ar in t-errig P.

6. Et accepta potestate S*anctu*s Longinus confregit idolum et arras eorum et omnes statuas lapideas auertit et libamina effudit. Et statim demonis qui manebant in idolis fugierunt. Et alius inuasit Praeside alius Principale. Alius Commentariensi. Ceteri autem intrauerunt in reliquos de officio et erant omnes simul latrantes insani et arripiebant et dicebant: Vtquid adduxistis s*anctu*m d*e*i Longinum ut nos ante tempus euellat de habitaculis istis.

Et cadentes ante pedes S*anct*i Longini dicebant: 'Scimus te qui es seruus D*e*i excelsi.' Et coepit S*anctu*s Longinus increpare eos dicens: 'Quia occa(n)sione accepta habitatis in simulagris istis uanis?' Daemonis autem d*ixerunt*: 'Inuenimus ornatas statuas lapidum ubi non inuocatum est nomen Chr*ist*i nec eius signum est inpositum quod uos adoratis inuenientes homenis sacrificia et libamina exercentes in nostro nomine. Tunc insuper et nos homenis nostros aduocamus. Ubi enim Chr*istu*s non nominatur nec eius signu*m* adest inpositum, ibi est nostra habitacio. Huius rei causa depraecamur te, homo D*e*i, ne nos precipitis in abysum.'

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§6 *Et accepta… Sanctus Longinus:* Et accipiens S*anctus* Longinus securim (securem G) A,G. *idolum:* idola A,G. *arras eorum: add.* destruxit A. *statuas lapideas:* lapideas statuas A. *auertit:* euertit A,G. *libamina:* libationes A,G. *demonis:* dæmones A,G. *in idolis: add.* et in aris A, *om.* G. *fugierunt:* fugerunt A, *om.* G. *alius inuuasit Praeside:* quidam adhæsit Præsidi A,G. *Principale::* Principi A,G. *Commentariensi*: *Comentariens* G. *reliquos:* ceteros G. *simul: add.* velut A. *latrantes insani:* insani latrantes A. *arripiebant:* arripiebantur A,G. *euellat:* eliminet A, iaceat G. *ante tempus euellat:* eliminet ante tempus A. *istis:* nostris A,G.
et: om. G. *qui es:* quia es *add.* Longinus A. *Sanctus:* Beatus A,G. *quia occa(n)sione accepta:* quare A, qua occasione G. *habitatis:* inhabitatis A. *istis uanis:* et in aris istis A, *om.* G. *autem: om.* G. *ornatas statuas lapidum:* statuas lapideas circumornatas A. *ornatas:* ornatus G. *ubi:* ibi G. *inuocatum est:* est inuocatum A. *eius signum: om.* eius G. *est inpositum: om*. est A.
adoratis: colitis A. *homenis:* om. A, G. *sacrificia:* sacrificantes G. *libamina:* libationes A,G.
Tunc insuper…aduocamus: pariter (*add.* et locum A) et homines (*add.* nostros A) inhabitauimus (habita**bamus G). *enim:* autem A,G. *nec:* et A,G. *adest:* non est A,G. *precipitis:* præcipias *add.* ire A, praecipites G.

6. Gebid Longínus fair andsin, co ro bris na hídlu ⁊ na altóri co léir, ⁊ techit na harrachta as a n-attib. Luid didiu demun isin errig, ⁊ luid demun ele i n-Afradotium .i. isin fer n-anorach; lot*ar* tra na demnu o sin amach i timthirigib ecraibdech*aib* in rig; ⁊ ro lín dasacht ⁊ mire in rig cona thimtirigib uli, ⁊ no labratís na demna triana nginaib, conid ed atb*er*tís frisin rig: 'Cid ar a tucais in fer noem-sa chucaind diar cur as ar sostaib fen? '

Tancat*ar* na fir cusna demnaib iar sin, ⁊ ro shlechtsat do Longínus, co n-ep*er*tsat: ' Douicim-ne ⁊ tuicmít anossa, conid mog díles do Dia tusa, a Longínus, ol siat; dena trocaire frind, ⁊ slan*aig* sind ar Dia mbith-beo.' Atb*er*t Longínus frisna demnu: 'cia cúis dob*eir* isna harrachtaib sib?' ol se. 'Fuarumar na delba clochda, ' ol na demnu, 'cen sigin na crochi do fuirmed indib, ⁊ cen a n-ainmniug*ud* i n-ainm Dé, ' ol iat, '⁊ do gnithea idpurta inar n-ainm fén dún ona dóinib, ' ol siat, '⁊ ro aittrebam isna hinata sin ⁊ na lucca iar sin; uair baile na hadarth*ar* Críst no sigen a crochi, is and bís ar n-aittreb-ne tria bith sir; ⁊ guidmit-ne tusa,' ol na démnu, 'co na ro chuire sind as ar n-adba ⁊ as ar n-atib.'

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§6 *gebid*: gabhaidh E. *fair*: *om.* E, P. *andsin*: ainnsidhe E, annside P. *co ro bris*: brisidh E, forbrisid P. *na hídlu*: na n-arrachtaib P. *na altóri co léir*: *om.* E, ⁊ na n-altói(t)re P.
techit: teithid E. *na harrachta as a n-attib*: na deamna asna harrachtaib P. *isin errig*: as an irricch E. *Afradotium*: Afrodotim E, Afradosium P. *o sin amach*: o hsoin E, *om*. amach E, o sin immach P. *timthirigib*: timtiribh E, P *ecraibdechaib*: heccraibhtecha E, *om*. P. *ro lín dasacht …in rig:* menman an righ E, rogabs*a*t na firu iarsin for dásacht ⁊ mire P. *cona thimtirigib uli*: *om*. uli E, *om.* P. *no-labratís*: do labhradis E. *triana nginaib:* go hegcaointech E. *conid ed*: is ed E, P. *in fer noem-sa*: an fer noemhtha E, an fer naem ucat P. *chucaind*: *add*. .i. Loinginus P. *diar cur*: dar cur E, P. *ar sostaib fen*: ar n-ínad*aibh* E, P.
Tancatar na fir cusna demnaib: om. cus-na demnaib E. *ro-shlechtsat do L.:* roshléchtsat fo chossaib Longinus P. *co n-epertsat… Dia mbith-beo:* ⁊ atbertatar conid mod Dé Longinus P. *cia cúis … sib: om.* E. *Fuarumar na delba clochda…:* 'Fuaramar,' ar siat, 'na dealbai clochda so arna ndena*m* ⁊ íat cumdaigthi cin sigin na croici…P. *dognithea idpurta:* Donithi síabrad P. *i n-ar n-ainm fén:* i n-ár n-anmaib féin P. *is-na hinata-sin ⁊ na lucca iar sin: om.* ⁊ na lucca iar sin E,P. insna hátaib sin P. *ar n-aittreb-ne…:* ar n-átibni P. *tria bith sir: om.* P. *as ar n-adba ⁊ as ar n-atib:* as ar n-adhbha ⁊ as ar n-inadaibh E, a(r)s ar n-inataib P.

7. S*anctu*s uero Longinus adstante populo dixit: 'Quid uultis habere eos deos /*et*/ colere hanc effunius? Viditis enim hunc Presidem uestrum a daemonibus correptum et spumante*m* et prustratum sub pedibus meis.' Tunc populus clamabat dicens: 'Magnus est D*eu*s Chr*ist*ianorum. Rogamus ergo et depraecamur te, S*anctę* D*e*i, ne sinas demonis habitare in ciuitate nostra ad interitum inpietatis hominum.' Haec audiens Beatus Longinus intuens in caelo dix*it*: 'D*omi*ne Ih*e*su Chr*iste*, propiciare mihi pro tua pietate. Scio enim quia semper me audes et credo antequam postolem prestas et nunc propter adstantem populum et propter humilitatem serui tui et propter gloriam Deitatis tuae, iube inmunde spiritibus exire de corporibus istis quia opera manuum tuarum sunt omnes.'

Et cum haec dixisset S*anctu*s Longinus exclamauerunt daemones per homenis et uoceferantes magna uoce exierunt ab eis sp*iritu*s inmundi, et mundati sunt omnes ex illa hora. Et factum est gaudium magnum in illa ciuitate. Et credederunt in D*omi*no. Post pauco uiro temporis nequissimus humano generis aduersarius corrupit cor nequissimi iudicis unde et expugnabant famulum d*e*i S*anctu*m Longinum et iussit eum exhibere.

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§7 *uero: om.* A. *Quid: add.* dicitis G. *habere…hanc effunius:* eos deos, habere et colere, quos ego fugaui in nomine Iesu Christi A. habere hos deos et colere an effugam eos in nomine d*omi*ni nostri *Iesu Christi* G. *hunc: om.* A, G. *a daemonibus correptum:* uirtute Dei (Christi G) mei A, G. *et: om.* A,G. *Tunc: om.* A, G. *populus: add.* autem A,G. *clamabat:* clamauit A. *ergo: om.* A,G. *inpietatis:* et perditionem hominum A, et impietatem G. *intuens in caelo:* intendens oculos in cælum A, intuens in caelum G. *propiciare mihi:* propitius esto mihi A, propiciare in me G. *pro tua pietate:* propter pietatem tuam *add.* multam et inenarrabilem circa me benignitatem tuam A, *propter* tua pietatem G. *credo: add.* quia A. *prestas:* eas, quæ ad salutem sunt, petitiones præstabis A, quia pręstas G. *inmunde:* immundos A, inmundis G. *spiritibus:* spiritus A. *omnes: om.* A.

Sanctus: Beatus A. *per homenis:* in hominibus A, *per* homines G. *uoceferantes magna uoce:* ululantes (heiulantes G) uoce magna A, G. *spiritus inmundi: om.* A. *omnes: om.* G. *illa ciuitate:* ciuitate illa A. *credederunt in Domino:* multi permanentes cum S. Longino, crediderunt in Dominum Iesum Christum A. *humano generis aduersarius:* diabolus A, diabulus G. *nequissimi:* impudentissimi A, nequissimus G. *unde: om.* A, G. *et expugnabant:* qui expugnabat A, et expugnat G. *Sanctum: om.* A, G. *et iussit:* unde et iussit A, unde iussit G. *exhibere:* exhiberi A,G.

7. Atb*er*t Longínus tra, ₇ in popul imme di ce*ch* leth: 'mad ail díb, na dee-si no-t-cuireb-sa uaib iat, co mbet fo m' chosaib ina lige.' Atb*er*tsat in popul o guth mor: 'is e do Dia-su, ' ol siat, 'in t-oen Dia uli-cumachtach, ₇ guidmit-ne tusa, a mog Dé, na ro-s-léci na demnu isin cathraig, ₇ co ra shaera sind for a n-ulcu. 'O t'chuala tra Longínus na briathra-sa cansat na gennti, tuarcaib a rosc dochum nime, co n-ep*er*t: 'A Tig*er*na ₇ a Choimsig Nime ₇ Talman,' ol se, 'dena trocaire frisna doinib troga-sa, ₇ ar do mor-thrócaire frim-sa, díchuir na demna dam uadib, ₇ saer iat amal ro shaerais síl Adaim ar do dhul fen fri crand crochi dar a chend.' 'Dogéne Dia ámlaid, ' ol in popul. Do ratsat na démnu gáir tromm i n-ardi iar sin, ₇ tiagait o'n cathraig, co ro saerad in popul amal sin tria forcongrai Longínus. Do ronad fálti mor isin cathraig iarum, co r'cretset soch*aid*e dib do Dia; ₇ bat*ar* imalle fri Longínus iar sin fota n-ámsire, co ndechaid diabul doridisi isin errig .i. Octauin, ₇ co ro fhasl*ach* fair ingr*e*im Longinuis do denum. Atb*er*t tra in t-errig: 'gaibth*er* Longínus chucaind, ' ol se.

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§7 *imme*: uime E, P. *mad ail díb:* in áil dúib P. *na dee-si*: na dee sin E, na déi so P. *... no-t-cuireb-sa uaib iat*: nó in cuireb-sa uaib iat P. *co mbet ... ina lige*: *om.* P. *co mbet*: go mbetais E. *atbertsat*: atbert E, ro raid P. *is e do Dia-su... uli-cumachtach:* iss é Dia na Crist*aidi* in Día morcumachtach P. *a mog Dé:* a Longinus E, P. *na ro-s-léci*: nar leige E, ná roleice P. *co ra shaera*: go ro saerair E. *for a n-ulcu*: ar a n-olcaibh E, P. *na briathra-sa:* in comhradh sin E, sin P. *cansat na gennti*: ro cansat na geinte E, *om.* P. *a rosc*: a rosga E, add. anairdi P. *co n-epert*: ₇ atbert E, P. *a choimsig nime ₇ talman*: a coimdhe neimhe E, *om.* P. *troga-sa*: *add.* ormsa P. *do mor-thrócaire*: do trocuire E, P. *frim-sa*: f***-sa E, drimsa P. *díchuir*: um dhichur E, dichur P. *dam uadib*: da n-inadaibh E, dam ona dáinib truágasa P. *saer iat:* sáerad P. *amal...síl Adaim*: *om.* P. *ar do dhul...dar a chend*: guim do dúl féin iat o muintir na n-demna P. *Dogéne Dia...in popul: om.* E,P. *do ratsat*: do rat P. *gáir tromm:* gáir mor E, g*air* P. *add* uasa E, P. *tiagait*: do chuad E, do chotur P. *ro saerad in popul:* ro saerad na dáine P. *amal sin*: amhlaidh sin E, *om.* P. *forcongrai*: forcongal P. *sochaide dib*: *om.* dib P. *batar*: ro badur E. *imalle fri*: *om.* fri P. *fota n-ámsire:* fria re n-aimsire E, for-caemnachair iar ré n-amsire P. *co ndechaid diabul doridisi: om.* doridisi P. *.i. Octauin*: *om.* E, P. *do denum*: do genum P. *Atbert tra*: atbert miaro (sic ms) E. in t-errig: in t-erricch .i. Octauus E, Ochttáuius in rig P.

8. Cui et d*ixit*: 'Quia omnes ciuitas discessit a sacrificiis et cultura deorum? Propter artes magicas Chr*ist*ianorum. Si hoc notum factum fuerit Imperatori pereclitabitur ciuitas haec et nos perimus.' Afrodisius Commentar/ius/[381] Praesidae dixit: 'Eum que prestetit nobis salutem hanc et bene per eum D*eu*s fecit ciuitate huic et iterum torquere incipies?' Cum Pres*es* dixit: 'fantasma fecit et inlusit sensus nostros.' Afrodisius d*ixit*: 'Magnus est D*eu*s Chr*ist*ianorum et non est aput eum fantasma nec dolus. Nihil male facias in seruis eius ne aliquit tibi deterius contingat.'

Octauius Praesis iussit lingua*m* Afrodisii abscedi. Et cum haec fierit S*anctu*s Longinus ingemuit a D*omi*no et statim manus D*omi*ni facta est super Presidem et desolutis membris factus est cecus. Et uidens eu*m* Afrodisius cecum etclamauit dicens: 'Iustus es, Do*mi*ne, et iustum iudicium tuum.'

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§8 *Cui et dixit*: et dixit ei A. *Quia*: scis quia A, G. *omnes:* omnis A,G. *discessit*: recessit A. *et cultura*: *om.* A, G. *artes magicas Christianorum*: tuas magicas artes A. *om.* artes G. *Si:* et si A,G. *factum: om.* A, G. *Imperatori:* Regi A, G. *haec: om.* A,G. *perimus:* peribimus A, peribimur G. *Afrodisius Commentarius:* Aphrodisius (Affrodisius G) Commentariensis A, G. *eum que:* eum qui A, *prestetit*: præstitit A, prestitit G. *et bene … ciuitate huic:* et bene nobis Deus fecit per eum A, *om.* G. *et iterum:* ipsum iterum A, *om.* et G. *Cum: om.* A, G. *fantasma fecit:* per magicas artes hoc fecit A. *sensus nostros:* sensum nostrum G. *dixit:* respondit A. *fantasma nec: om.* A. *Nihil male… eius:* noli ergo negare eum, nec presumere tibi quidquam aduersus seruum eius A, nihil facias aduersum seruum eius G. *contingat:* contingu*am* G.

Octauius Praesis: Tunc Octauius Præses (Octauianus Praesis G) A,G. *iussit.. abscedi:* dixit: iubeo amputari linguam tuam, ut non loquaris, miser A. *Afrodisii:* Effrodisius G. *Et cum:* cumq*ue* G. *haec:* hoc G. *fierit:* fieret G. e*t cum…Longinus: add.* beatus autem Longinus dixit: Gratias tibi ago Domine Iesu Christe, qui ostendisti et alium athletam pietatis tuæ A. *ingemuit a Domino: add.* cum ergo incideretur Aphrodisio Commentariensi lingua, suspirauit cum gemitu S. Longinus ad Dominum A, ad D*omi*nu*m* ingemuit G. *desolutis membris:* et dissolutus est membris A. *iustum:* rectum G.

[381] Corrected from 'Commentare est'.

8. Tuccad chuca Longínus, ₇ atb*er*t in rig fris: 'do buaidris in cathraig, ' ol se, '₇ do chuiris o adrad ídal hi, ₇ dia cluine in rig sin, .i. Nero Cesair, ro-n-doerfa sind uli', ol se, '₇ delécha*id* sind re'r mainib ₇ re'r n-indmas'.

Tanic tra in fer cumachtach do raidsium r*emi*, o ro cuir*ed* in demun tuas, .i. Afradotium a ainm, co magin a mboi Longínus, co n-ep*er*t frisin errig: 'Cidh dia ndúsci inar n-agaid in fer noem, ro-t-saer in cathraig ₇ sind uli di nert na n-demnu? 'Fa', ol in t-errig, 'tria drúidecht ro shaer se ar ndoíni-ne. ' Atb*er*t Afradotium frisium: 'is fír,' ol se, 'na fil celg no eladu dráidechta lais, acht adrad in oen Dia uli-cumachtaig.'

Atb*er*t Octauin iar sin: 'bentar a thengaid a cind Longínuis doridise, dáig na labra ni bus mó.' 'Atlochar do Dia, ' or Longínus, 'nech ele do cathug*ud* di chend Críst imalle frind. ' *Ocus* benait a thengaid a cínd Longínuis annside, co tarut Longínus cneit ₇ ochsaid moir os aird; ₇ ro guid in Coimdid bá indechad forsin errig ce*ch* a nd*er*nai do écoir. Dalltar in t-errig iar sin, ₇ cassait a inde ₇ a inath*ar* iarum. Atb*er*t Afradótium iar sin: 'a Choimdiu, at firen, ₇ at fíra do br*eth*a; fort' chomairce dam-sa, ₇ no-m-saer o chumachtu diabuil.'

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§8 t*uccad chuca L.*: *om*. Longínus E, do rigned amlaid P. *atbert in rig*: adbert in t-erricch E, do ráid in t-errig P. *fris*: fri Longinus P. *do buaidris*: ro buaidris P. *in cathraig*: add. uili P. *do chuiris*: ro cuir P. *o adrad ídal*: ó ídal adraid P. *hi:* iet E, lucht na cathrach P. *Nero Cesair:* Ner Cesair E, *om.* P. *ro-n-doerfa sind uli:* nod-daerfa sinn uile E, marfid sinne uile P.

deléchaid: deleochaidh E, deileochaid P. *re'r mainib ₇ re'r n-indmas*: re'r n-ionnmus ₇ re'r mnaibh E. sinn risin cathraid P. *tanic:*tainicc E. *tra*: *om.* P. *do raidsium remi*: adhubhromur romhainn E, *om.*P. *tuas*: *om*. E, P. *Afradotium*: Af[ro]dociam E, Afradosium P. *a ainm*: a comhainm E, eiside. *co magin a mboi L.:* ait a mbai Loinginus E, co mbuidin móir mailli fris P. *co n-epert*: ocus atbert E, ₇ ro ráid P. f*risin errig*: frisin rig P. *inar n-agaid*: inar n-adhaigh-ne E. *ro-t-saer*: ro sháer E, P. *di nert na n-demnu:* ar nert n-demhan E, ar nert na demna P. f*a:* fo E, na hapair P. *tria drúidecht*: tria draoiecht E, uair is tré druidhecht P. *ar ndoíni-ne:*sibh E ar n-daine P. *frisium*: *om.* P. *is fír:* as fír E, luigim fá Día na Crístaide P. *na fil*: nach bfhuil E, nach fil P. *no*: na E, P. *eladu dráidechta: om*. *dráidechta* P. *lais*: aige E, aicce P. *in oen Dia*: don aen Dia E. *uli-cumachtaig*: uile-cumhachtach E. *acht...uli-cumachtaig*: *om.* P. *add*. ₇ na diult é fodáid ar ná rop mesa don chursa in ar irchor aile P. *Atbert Octauin…imalle frind*: *om.* P. *thengaid*: thenga E. *a cínd*: as cionn E. *doridise*: *om*. E. *dáig*: fa deoigh E. *na*: nach E. *ni bus*: niis E. *cathugud*: cathuccudh E. *di chend*: tar ceann E. *imalle frind*: maille frinn E. *benait*: ro benadh E, P. *a cind*: as ceann E. *co tarut*: dorad E,P. ₇ ochsaid om E, P. *os aird*: *om.* P. *add.* as deiside P. *bá indechad*: immdeachadh E, fá indeachad P. *add.* do denum P. *forsin*: ar an E, ar in P. *cech…ecóir*: *om.* P. *ndernai*: ndernadh E. *do*: *om*. E. *dalltar*: ro dalladh E, P. *in t-errig*: *om.* E. *iar sin*: focetoir P. *cassait*: ro cumhsgraidh E, ro chasait P. *inde*: inne E,P. ₇ *a inathar iarum*: *om*. P. *iarum*: iar sin E. *atbert*: daráid P. *iar sin*: *om.* P. *at firen*: *om*. E, P. *at fíra do bretha*: *om.* E, it firai do breatha P. *for-t-chomairce…diabuil*: *om*. P. coimhsinaibh (sic ms) E.

9. Pres*es* dixit: 'Frater Afrodisii, roga d*omin*um meum Longinum ut oret pro me quia mult*um* iniqui gessi in seruum D*e*i.' Afrodisius dixit: 'Nonne dixi tibi, noli iniecire manus in seruiss D*e*i quia D*eu*s non[382] est inuictus. Vides me indignum linguam incisam loquentem.' Pr*aeses* dixit: 'Non solum oculos perdedi sed et cor meum et uiscera mea male cruciantur.' S*anctu*s Longinus d*ixit*: 'Si uis misericordiam consequi celerius me /de/pone ut post mortem meam depraecer D*omin*um meum Ih*esu*m Chr*istu*m ut san*et* te. Tale enim fiduciam habeo ad D*omin*um meum Ih*esu*m Chr*istu*m.' Et statim Octauius Pr*aeses* iussit eum capitale subire sententiam. Et stans S*anctu*s D*e*i Longinus orauit quasi uni horae spacium et /postea/[383] beatus martyr reddedit sp*iritu*m.

10. Post haec Pr*aeses* habiit ad corpus Beati Martyris Longini et proiecit se in faciem cum gemito et lacrimaes dicens: 'Peccaui, D*omi*ne, peccaui. Agnusco iniquitatem meam.' Et illico recipit uisum et sanus factus est in illa hora. Et accipiens ipsi Octauius Presis corpus Beatissimi Martyris Longini inuoluens lintiaminibus mundis cum gaudio magno sepelliuit eum et credens in Chr*ist*o permanibat cum praedicatoribus unde glorificans D*eu*m semper.

Acta sunt haec in ciuitatem Capadocię sub die decimo k*alendas* decembris sub Octauio Pr*aeside* regnante in perpetuo D*omi*no nostro Ih*es*u Chr*ist*o. Cui est honor et gloria in sec*ula* sec*ulorum*.

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§9 *meum: om.* G. *multum iniqui:* nimis inique A. *gessi:* egi A. *seruum:* seruos A, seruo G. *Nonne:* non G. *dixi:* dicebam A, G. *iniecire:* inijcere A, iniecere G. *seruiss:* seruum A,G. *Dei:* D*omi*ni G. *non* (sic ms)*:* noster A, G. *est inuictus:* inuictus est A,G. *uides me indignum:* sicut et me indignum uides A. *linguam incisam:* lingua incisa A,G. *perdedi:* perdidi A,G. *uiscera mea: om.* mea A. *male:* pessime A. *Sanctus:* Sanctus Dei A. *depone:* puni A,G. *add.* ne frauder corona mea propter tuam sanitatem A. *ut:* et A. *depraecer:* orabo A. *Dominum meum Ihesum Christum:* Dominum A. *ut sanet te:* et sanat te G. *Tale enim fiduciam...Ihesum Christum:* tunc enim ampliorem potero habere fiduciam deprecandi Dominum pro te, cum conspectui illius adstitero A. alia enim fidutiam habeo tunc ad D*omin*um meu*m* Ih*esu*m *Christum* G. *Et statim:* statim itaque *add.* ut hæc verba compleuit A. *eum capitale subire sententiam:* ei caput abscindi A. *capitale:* capitalem G. *Dei: om.* A. *quasi uni horae spacium:* tamquam unius horæ spatio (spatium G) A, G. *et postea …spiritum:* et sic consummatus est per gladij interemptionem, spiritum tradens Domino in pace A, et sic D*omi*no in pace reddedit sp*iritu*m G.

§10 *Post haec*: et statim A,G. *habiit:* perrexit A, abiit G. *Beati:* Beatissimi A,G. *cum gemito:* et gemitu G. *illico:* statim A,G. *in illa hora:* ex illa hora A,G. *ipsi Octauius Presis: om.* A,G. *Beatissimi Martyris Longini:* B*eati* Longini A, Longini Martyris Beatissimi G. *inuoluens:* inuoluit G. *magno: om.* A,G. *add.* Martyrem A,G. *eum: om.* A,G. *permanibat:* permansit A, permanebat G. *praedicatoribus:* prædicatoribus fidei A,G. *Deum:* D*omin*um G. *Acta sunt haec:* haec acta sunt A,G. *in ciuitatem Capadocię:* in Caesarea Cappadociae A,G. *sub die…decembris:* Idibus Martij A, *XII mo kl* nouembris G. *Octauio: om.* G. *in perpetuo: om.* A,G. *Cui est …seculorum:* cui est cum Patre in unitate Spiritus Sancti honor et gloria, uirtus, imperium, potestas, æternitas et maiestas, nunc et in immortalia secula seculorum. Amen. A.

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[382] sic ms

[383] deleted *iter* before *postea*

9. Atb*er*t in rig fri hAfradotium: 'guid Longínus dam, ' ol se, 'co ro guide in Coimdiu dar mo chenn-sa, uair écoir ina ndernus fris.' 'Atber fritt, ' ar Longínus, 'feg latt for iff*er*n, dia nderna olc fri mog Dé, uair is nemchlóti Dia, amal is follus indíu co nach mesa labras mo thenga-sa innossa oltás in tan ro tescad hi.' Atb*er*t in rig fri Longínus: 'Is fír, ' ol se, 'ro-m-dallad-sa ⁊ ro-m-piantar tria m'índib. ' Atb*er*t Longínus frisin rig: 'Déntar mo dichennad-sa latsa, co ro lenair trocaire Dé iar m'écaib-sea; ⁊ bid slan tú o fholaid Críst iarum, uair ni tol do Dia, slánti d'aisiuc duit céin co ro díchennta mesi lat; ar ata Michel co n-aingliu nime imalle fris asa mo chind-sa oc fúr m'anma, dia br*eith* i flaith Dé.' Atbert tra Longínus a díchennad fodessin indsin, acht boi occu fri re n-uari he oc ernaigthi, co nu-s-dichenta he as a aithle sin o cloideb; ⁊ ro fhóid a spir*ut* dochumm nime co claiscetul aingel ⁊ archaingel imme.

10. Tanic in rig fo*cet*oir, ⁊ se dall, co corp Longínuis, co ru-s-loig fri toeb in chuirp, ⁊ boi oc toirs*i* truimm ann, ⁊ atb*er*t: 'a thig*er*na, ' ol se, 'is mor in t-olc do ronus frit .i. do mog díles do marb*ad* cen cinaid.' Ocus gabaid oc neméle moir, ⁊ oc aithrige dichra fri Dia fon cruth sin, ⁊ tucait a ruisc do iarum, ⁊ boi oc fógnum do Dia o sin amach cén ba beo. Adnaicth*er* Longínus iar sin la cách co honorach ⁊ fogníd firta ⁊ mírbuli mora iar a eccaib. *Finit.*

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§9 *Atbert*: is annside asbert P. *in rig*: in t-errig P. guid Longínus dam: L. do guide P. *co ro guide*: go guide E, cur roguided P. *in coimdiu*: *om.* P. uair écoir: uair is hecoir E, uair is écoír P. *ina ndernus fris:* a ndernus fris E, P. text ends in E.

Atber fritt: *om.* P. *feg latt*: fech lat P. *for iffern*: ar ifernn P. *dia nderna olc*: co nderna tú olc P. *mog*: mod P. *uair is*: ar is P. *nemchlóti*: nemchlíti P. *indíu*: *om.* P. *co nach mesa*: co nách messa P. *mo thenga-sa*: mo theanga P. *innossa*: innuis P. *oltás in tan ro tescad hi:* ina in uair ré a theascad P. *in rig*: in t-errig P. *fri Longínus*: *om.* P. *ro-m-dallad-sa*: ar ro-m-dall-sa P.

frisin rig: *om.* P. *trocaire Dé*: trocaire ara dáig P. *iar m'écaib-sea:* iarna m'écaib P. *add.* ⁊ cen*n*sa in Coimdid P. *uair ni tol… i flaith Dé: om.* P. *Atbert … L. a díchennad fodessin:* Atbert … a díchennad a*cu* P. *as a aithle-sin: om.* P. *co clais-cetul aingel ⁊ archaingel imme: om.* P. *bid slan tú*: ba slán P. *iarum…i flaith Dé*: *om.* P.

atbert tra Longínus: atbert annside P. *fodessin*: *om.* P. *indsin*: *om.* P. *add.* acu P. *acht boi occu*: ⁊ baí Longinus P. *fri re n-uari he oc ernaigthi*: ic earnaigthi annsin fri ré uaire P. *co nu-s-dichenta*: gur ro díchetnad P. as a aithle-sin: *om.* P. *ro fhóid*: ro fáid P. *co claiscetul…imme*: *om.* P. *in rig*: in t-errig P. *focetoir*: iar sin P. ⁊ se dall: ⁊ é dall P. *co ru-s-loig*: ⁊ ro loid P. *truimm*: *om.* P. *atbert*: iss ed ro raid P. *do ronus*: do rignius P. *mog díles*: mod dílus P. *do marbad*: do m*ar*bed P. *gabaid*: rogab P.

oc aithrige dichra: *om.* P. *add.* ic irnaigthi P. *fri*: ri P. tucait: tucad P. *ruisc*: ruscu P. *boi oc fógnum …iar a eccaib: om*. P. *add*. do-imdeachtaib Longinus ⁊ da ag- (? aided) conuicci sin. *Finit*. P.

3.1.5 **Translations**

TURIN, COD. TAUR. D.V.$_3$

1. In these days there was a certain soldier, a Centurion, named Longinus, who stood by the Cross of the Lord, (and) at the command of Governor Pontius Pilate, opened the side of the Lord by piercing it with a lance. And seeing the signs that operated on account of the Lord being crucified, the sun darkened and the earth trembling, he believed in the Lord Jesus and, striking his chest, he said in a loud voice: 'Truly, this is the son of God.'

2. And after this, he resigned from military service (and) was instructed in the precepts of the Lord. (He was) hearing the venerable sayings of the holy Apostles and the commandments of Christ to be served in truth. Having thus been instructed in the way of the Lord and received the [little] sign of the cross, he wholly offered himself to God. Performing charity and maintaining his body in chastity he guarded a clear conscience. Leading a Heavenly life on earth and adorned with every moderation in Christ, he had true reverence, a plain face, a sober appearance, a venerable aspect, a serene mind, modest wisdom and a happy soul due to his abstemiousness. He then was for twenty-eight years near Caesarea of Cappadocia. Imitating the lives of the Apostles and turning many from iniquity, he used to illuminate with the word of truth, prohibiting sacrifices and sowing the venerable precepts of the Lord's word.

RIA, MS 23 P 16

1. When Christ was being crucified by the Jews one of the soldiers who were at the Crucifixion, whose name was Cennturus, Longinus being the other name, went and took a great lance in his hand with which he wounded Christ in his side and split his heart in two, and what came out of it then was blood and wine. And then a very great darkness came over the face of the entire earth so that the sun was darkened, and the rocks burst and the graves were wide open. When Longinus saw this great miracle he immediately believed in the one God, that is Jesus Christ, and he cried out in a loud voice saying: 'It is true,' said he, 'this is Christ, son of God, he of whom prophets and patriarchs prophesied that he would redeem the seed of Adam, and who now has undergone a lowly death for its sake.'

2. Longinus then gave up his worldly military service after that and wept very bitterly and made fervent penitence to God and God thereafter forgave him all his sins.

That man Longinus was charitable, merciful, abstemious and prayerful after that and he was admired for his teaching by the Apostles in these cities, i.e. in Caesarea and in Cappadocia.

He then spent twenty-eight years living the life of a monk and his wondrous deeds brought a great host through his teaching to faith in God.

3. And when these (things) reached the ears of Governor Octavius, he ordered that he be shown (to him). When he had been brought in then, Governor Octavius said: 'What are you called?' Saint Longinus said: 'I am called Longinus.' The Governor said: 'Of which province are you a citizen?' Saint Longinus said: 'Of Isauria.' Governor Octavius said: 'Are you a slave or a free-born?' Longinus said: 'I was a slave of sin first, but the good Lord Jesus Christ set me free through the mystery of the holy and worshipful cross (and) through the twofold sweet grace from his side. First, indeed, through water, now, however, through blood, if I was to persevere in avowing him.'

4. The Governor said: 'For what reason have you come here?' Longinus said: 'I was a soldier and performed worldly military service. Now, however, I am in service to Christ.'

The Governor said: 'Who released you from military service?' Longinus said: 'I asked my brothers to take my wealth so I might seek (the salvation of) my soul. And for this they granted me a payment of one hundred solidi per year which I also spent on Christ's poor. Now, however, I beseeched my Lord Jesus Christ to lead me from the carnal military service and grant me the spiritual one.'

3. The fame of Longinus reached through the whole world thereafter, for (his) charity, humility, gentleness and forbearance.

When he was perfect in those deeds then, the prefect, whose name was Octavius, heard about his fame and his tidings and that great esteem (for him). Then he said: 'Bring Longinus to us so that I may speak to him.' Longinus is brought to him then. The prefect Octavius said to him: 'What's your name?' said he. 'I am called Longinus', answered he. 'Which territory are you from?' said the former. 'Isauria, a region in Asia Minor, is where I am from,' said he (Longinus). 'Are you high-born or low-born?' said the prefect. 'I was a slave of sin at first', said Longinus, 'but God saved me through baptism from that sin and he will save now through my undergoing martyrdom for the sake of my soul.'

4. 'Why have you come into these lands?' said the prefect. Longinus said: 'I was in military service from the beginning of my life till the Crucifixion of Christ, for it is I who wounded Christ with a soldier's lance in his right side so that his heart split and I was repentant for that deed so that God forgave me my sins.

I implored my brothers then to give me leave to serve Christ. They released me from them then and took all my wealth from me except for a little which I gave to God's poor. Then I prayed to the Lord that he make gentle his mind to me and God saved me from my sins,' said he.

The Governor said: 'Well, as you are a free-born and a well-born man, give sacrifice to the gods and eat of their (sacrificial) meat and sacrifices, so you may have a peaceful life before you are destroyed by punishments.' Longinus said: 'Nobody can serve two masters. They know contrary things. For my Lord is the leader of sobriety and clemency, chastity and piety, humility and modesty, which lead man to everlasting life. Your gods, however, know contrary things. They are lovers of every evil, greed, impiety, pride and filthy things. Surely we cannot cultivate the service of idols and (not) know who my gods are?'

The Governor said: 'So our gods know contrary things and only your God is just?' Longinus said: 'Your gods are impediments to sobriety, damage goodness, are corruptors of virginity. Delighting in gluttony and drunkenness, driving away the poor, (they are) greedy for gain, dislike humility. They are leaders in pride, the pollution of the soul, desirous of evil words. This is the worship of idols and the doctrine of demons: However, if you request it, I will relate also what the precepts of Christianity are.'

'You are thus an honourable man seeking God,' said the prefect. Then the king said: 'Give up that teaching,' said he, 'and make offering to our Gods, lest you are tortured.' Longinus then replied: 'I cannot serve two masters. As God himself said, opposed are the services to the two, said the Lord. For he is my God in the first place, i.e. the God of gentleness and lovingness, of humility and of mercy. Your gods, on the other hand', said Longinus, 'are the summit of every evil and disturbers of every good thing and are injurious to everyone besides. I can not serve your false gods and abandon my own God', said Longinus.

'Is that it, then,' said the prefect, 'your God is good and our gods are bad?' 'It is thus' said Longinus. 'How does paganism raise its head above Christianity in this world if Christianity is better?' said the prefect. 'Do you not know,' said Longinus, 'that paganism is diametrically opposed to Christianity? For paganism drives out knowledge, upholds ignorance, destroys moderation, stifles the senses, blinds the eyes, corrupts innocence, hates the poor, contemplates evil designs, gathers false tales, denies the truth. Everybody is rude, furious and ignorant due to paganism however,' said Longinus. 'And, if you wish, I will tell you a bit about the blessings of Christianity,' said he.

5. Governor Octavius said: 'You have spoken a lot and said nothing significant. Come over here therefore and give sacrifice to the gods and have a taste of the sacrifices; and your God will forgive you because of royal obligation. I see indeed that you are not able to tolerate physical punishment because of fasting.' Saint Longinus said: 'If you wish to hear the truth from me, you would be greater if you were a Christian and your king will forgive you when you know the eternal king and the Lord in truth.'

5. 'You have said enough,' said the prefect, 'for it is rude and unfounded. Arise a while and make sacrifice to the gods,' said the prefect, 'and your own God will pardon you for he knows that it is pressure that is being brought on you.' 'I would prefer,' said Longinus, 'for you to believe in Christ than to worship the dumb, uncouth gods to which you give adoration. And how can you declare to be gods those who are not gods, that is dumb, speechless idols, the handiwork of sinful people,' said he.

And the irate Governor said: 'Bring the dental instrument and extract his teeth and cut out his tongue with a sword for he blasphemes against the emperors and does not adore our gods.' The Questionarii (i.e. professional torturers) then cut off his tongue and pulled out his teeth. Saint Longinus, however, suffered all of this manfully on account of the faith he had in the Lord and said to the Governor: 'If you believe that the ones you worship are gods, let me break them. And you will see if they can help you, or themselves.'

'Let his teeth be knocked out of his head,' said the prefect, 'and his tongue be cut out because he does not worship the gods.' It was done unto Longinus then as the prefect had said. Longinus suffered this manfully then for love of God and he said in a loud voice to the king: 'If you believe in the gods, that they are true gods, let me destroy their altars and break their images and let them save themselves if they are able.'

The Governor said: You have withstood such torments out of your evil doings, why has your Christ not come to your rescue?' Longinus said: 'You fool, do you not see what torments you have inflicted on me? And you have not prevailed. Therefore give me power so that I may crush your gods and if they harm me in any way I believe that they are gods. If, however, they effect nothing, let you believe in my Lord, for he is the living and true God.' The Governor said: 'Receive the power.'

'Why is it', said the king, 'that Christ has not delivered you out of the tribulations that you received and that no harm has come to me from it?' 'Allow me', said Longinus, 'to break your gods and I will believe in them if they harm me and let you believe in the one God if they do not.' 'Let there be equality on both sides,' said the king.

6. And, having received the permission, Holy Longinus broke the idol(s) and their altars and toppled all the stone statues and poured out the libations. And immediately the demons that were abiding in the idols fled. And one went into the governor, another into the emperor, yet another into (Aphrodisius) Commentariensis. The others entered into the remaining officials and they were all as if barking mad, and were possessed, and they said: 'Wherefore have you brought the saint of God Longinus here, so he would drive us prematurely out of these dwelling-places?'

And, prostrating themselves before Saint Longinus's feet, they said: 'We know you, who are a servant of the high God.' And Holy Longinus began to reproach them, saying: 'Under what pretexts do you dwell in these useless images?' The demons however said: 'We came upon these decorated stone statues where the name of Christ is not invoked nor his sign is placed which you worship, finding people making offerings and libations in our name.

Then, moreover, we also summoned our people. For where Christ is not named and his sign is not established, there is our dwelling-place. Because of this fact we beseech you, man of God, do not cast us down into the abyss.'

6. Longinus then sets to and he broke all the idols and the altars, and the demons flee out of their dwelling-places. Then a demon went into the prefect and another demon went into Afradotius, i.e. the honourable man. From that out the demons entered the impious servants of the king, and folly and madness filled the king with all his servants and the demons (were) speaking through their mouths, and this is what they said to the king: 'Why have you brought the holy man to us to drive us out of our own abodes?'

Then the men who had the demons came and prostrated themselves before Longinus saying: 'I understand and we understand now that you are a true servant of God, O Longinus. Have mercy on us and save us for the sake of the ever-living God.' Longinus said to the demons: 'What brings you into these idols?' said he. 'We found the stone statues,' said the demons, 'without the sign of the cross being placed on them and without (their) being named in the name of God,' they said, 'and offerings were made to us in our own name by the people,' they said, 'and we used to inhabit these locations and places thereafter; wherever Christ is not adored nor the sign of his cross, it is there that our dwelling-places are for all time. And we beseech you,' said the demons, 'that you do not drive us out of our dwellings and out of our places.'

7. Saint Longinus indeed said to the bystanders: 'What do you want, to keep these gods and to worship that ?.[384] For you see this your Governor in the power of the demons and foaming and prostrate under my feet.' The people then cried out saying: 'Great is the God of the Christians. We ask you therefore and beseech you, Saint of God, do not let the demons live in our city to the ruin of impious people.' Hearing that, the blessed Longinus, looking up to Heaven, said: 'Lord Jesus Christ, be favourable to me in your graciousness. For I know that you always hear me and I believe that you grant before I ask; and now, for the sake of the people standing here and for the sake of the humility of your servant and for the sake of the glory of your Divine nature, order the unclean spirits to leave these bodies, which are all the work of your hands.'

And when the Holy Longinus had said this, the demons cried out through the people and, clamouring in a loud voice, the unclean spirits left them, and all were made clean from that hour forth. And there was great rejoicing in that city. And they believed in the Lord.

However, after a little while the most wicked enemy of the human race corrupted the heart of the most wicked judge, for which reason they then assaulted the servant of God, Saint Longinus, and he ordered him to be brought forth.

7. Then Longinus said, and the people around him on every side: 'If you like I will banish these (false) gods from you so that they are prostrate under my feet.' The people said in a loud voice: 'It is your God who is the one almighty God' said they, 'and we beseech you, O servant of God, not to allow the demons into the city, and that you free us from their evils.' When Longinus heard these words that the pagans spoke he raised his eyes to heaven and said: 'O Lord, O Ruler of Heaven and Earth', said he, 'have mercy on the wretched people and, out of your great mercy towards me, banish for me the demons from them. And save them as you saved the race of Adam by going yourself on the tree of the cross for their sake.' 'May God do thus', said the people.

The demons then uttered a loud cry on high after that and go out of the city, so that the people were freed thus at the command of Longinus. There was a great welcome in the city then so that a host of them believed in God and they were around Longinus after that for a length of time and the devil went again into the prefect, i.e. Octavius, and induced him to undertake the persecution of Longinus. Then the prefect said: 'Let Longinus be taken to us', said he.

[384] ms: *effunius*. This may be a misreading or an obscure derogative term. The G manuscript has '*an effugam eos in nomine domini nostri Iesu Christi*?'

8. And he said to him: 'Why has the whole city turned from sacrifices and worship of the gods? Because of the magic arts of the Christians. If that were to be made known to the emperor this city will be put in danger and we perish.'

Aphrodisius Commentariensis said to the Governor: 'Are you undertaking to torture again he who is responsible for this our salvation and because of whom God made this city good?' Then the Governor said: 'He has conjured up illusions and deluded our senses.' Aphrodisius said: 'Great is the God of the Christians and he has no delusion in him, nor deceit. Do not do evil to his servants, lest something worse should happen to you.'

Governor Octavius ordered that the tongue of Aphrodisius be cut out and when this was done Holy Longinus sighed to the Lord and immediately the hand of God manifested itself over the Governor and his limbs were put out of joint and he was blinded. And when Aphrodisius saw him blind he cried out saying: 'Lord, you are just and just is your judgment.'

8. Longinus was brought to him, and the king said to him: 'You have disturbed the city', said he, 'and brought it away from idol-worship, and if the king, i.e. Nero Caesar, hears this he will enslave us all,' said he, 'and part us from our possessions and our wealth.'

Then the aforementioned powerful man out of whom the demon was banished, Afradotius by name, came to the place where Longinus was and said to the prefect: 'Why do you rouse up against us the holy man who saved the city and all of us from the power of the demons?'

The prefect said: 'It was through his evil magic that he saved our people.' Afradotius said to him: 'It is true', said he, 'there is no deceit nor magic art with him but the worship of the one almighty God.'

Then Octavius said: 'Let his tongue be cut out of Longinus's head again, so that he may speak no more.' 'I give thanks to God', said Longinus, 'another one fighting for Christ's cause along with us'. And they take the tongue out of the head of Longinus then so that Longinus gave a sigh and a great groan aloud and he beseeched the Lord concerning retribution on the prefect for all the injustice he had done.

The prefect is blinded then and his innards and his entrails are twisted. Afradotius said then: 'O Lord, you are just and just are your judgments. Under your protection let me be and free me from the powers of the devil.'

9. The Governor said: 'Brother Aphrodisius, ask my Lord Longinus to pray for me because I committed a multitude of iniquity on a servant of God.' Aphrodisius said: 'Did I not tell you not to raise a hand against a servant of God. For our God is [not] invincible. You see me, unworthy as I am, talking with an excised tongue.' The Governor said: 'Not only did I lose my eyesight, but also my heart and my entrails are badly tortured.' Saint Longinus said: 'If you wish to obtain mercy, dispose of me quickly so that after my death I shall beseech my Lord Jesus Christ to heal you. Thus is the trust I have in my Lord Jesus Christ.' And immediately Governor Octavius ordered that he undergo the capital sentence. And the servant of God Longinus prayed for the space of about an hour standing and afterwards the Blessed Martyr gave up his spirit.

10. Afterwards the Governor went to the body of the Blessed Martyr Longinus and threw himself down on his face, with groaning and tears, and said: 'I have sinned, O Lord, I have sinned. I recognize my iniquity.' And immediately he received his eyesight and was cured in that hour. And Governor Octavius himself took up the body of the Most Blessed Martyr Longinus (and), wrapping it in clean linens, he buried him with great rejoicing and believing in Christ he remained with the preachers (of the faith), from where he glorified God forever.

These deeds happened in the state of Cappadocia on the tenth day of the calends of December under Governor Octavius, during the everlasting reign of our Lord Jesus Christ. To whom be honor and glory for all eternity.

9. The king said to Afradotius: 'Beseech Longinus for me,' he said, 'to pray to the Lord on my behalf, because there is injustice in what I did to him.' 'I tell you,' said Longinus, 'to beware of Hell if you do evil to a servant of God, for God is invincible as is clear today since it is not worse that my tongue speaks now than when it was cut out.' The king said to Longinus: 'It is true,' said he, 'I have been blinded and am tortured through my entrails.' Longinus said to the king: 'Have me beheaded so that the mercy of God may follow after my death and you will be free from the enmity of Christ then because it is not the will of God to grant you health until I have been beheaded by you. For there is Michael with the angels of Heaven around him above my head to take away my soul and bring it into the kingdom of God.' And thus (Longinus) asked to be beheaded, but he remained for an hour in prayer and then was beheaded afterwards with the sword and sent his spirit to Heaven surrounded by choir-singing of angels and archangels.

10. The king came immediately, blind as he was, to the body of Longinus, and lay down beside the body and he was sorrowing greatly there and he said: 'O Lord', said he, 'great is the evil I have done to you, that is, killing your faithful servant without a fault.'

And he began to lament greatly and give earnest repentance to God in that manner, and his eyesight was restored to him then and he served God from that onwards as long as he lived.

Longinus was buried after that by everyone with honour and he performed miracles and great marvels after his death. The end.

3.1.6 **Notes on the Latin text**

1.

[i]us[s]us a Poncio Pilato Praeside

The Turin manuscript has *usus*, however this may be a misreading due to confusion of minims and abbreviation. The Reading of the St. Gall manuscript, *iussus*, seems preferable. *Missus* is the reading given in the *Acta Sanctorum*.

The reference to Pontius Pilate, found in all of the early Latin manuscripts I have consulted, is omitted in the Irish text.

uidens signa

For the signs preceding the death of Christ see Mt 27:45, Mc 16:33, Lk 23:44-45.

The direct reference here may be to Lk 23:45, the only canonical Gospel to mention the darkening of the sun. Note also the parallel passage in the Gospel of Nicodemus: *Erat autem quasi hora sexta diei et tenebre facte sunt super uniuersam terram usque in horam nonam. Sole autem obscurante ecce uelum templi scissum est in duas partes a summo usque deorsum*...(§xi,ll.1-4) (And it was almost the sixth hour, and there was darkness over all the earth until the ninth hour. And the sun was darkening, (and) behold! the veil of the temple is torn in two from the top to the bottom...) (ed. Kim, H.C., *The Gospel of Nicodemus* (1973), 25, translation mine.

Vere, Dei filius est hic

See Mt 27:54. More commonly *Vere, Dei filius erat iste* or *Vere, filius Dei erat iste* (Indeed, this was the Son of God) in the *Vetus Latina* and in the Vulgate text. Compare also Mk 16:39 and Lk 23:47. The spontaneous statement of faith of the pagan centurion is a popular motif in Irish exegetical texts (see ch. 1.2).

2.

[u]ulto plano … animum letum

This list of virtues is exactly paralleled by one found in the Life of Eligius[385] written by Saint Ouen of Rouen before 684:

> *diligebat Deum ex toto corde, et ex tota anima, atque ex tota virtute: erat quoque tranquillus moribus, et serenus aspectu, gerebat vultum planum, moderatam speciem, ornatum aspectum, quietum sensum, animum laetum, humilem sapientiam,…*
> (he loved God with all his heart, and all his soul, and with all his strength: he was also mild-mannered and of serene aspect, kept a plain face, a sober appearance, a venerable aspect, a serene mind, a happy soul, modest wisdom...). (Translation mine).

[u]ulto plano

It is possible that this description is related to Longinus's designation as *cláraineach* in the short text on Longinus's healing in *Leabhar Breac* and the derivative terms *aonchláraicthi* and *aenchlaredain* used to describe him in the Irish Gospel of Nicodemus (see ch. 4.1.3), although the expression is not found in the extant Irish Passion of Longinus. The blindness of Longinus and the term *cláraineach* are discussed further in chapter 4.1.

aput Cesariam Cappadociae

Caesarea in Cappadocia (modern day Kayseri in Turkey), was the antique capital of *Cappadocia prima*. The ninth century Graz manuscript and the later texts I looked at only have 'Cappadocia'. Cappadocia is taken to be the cradle of the cult of Longinus.[386]

3.

Quis uocaris?

In the other early Continental copies of the *Acta Longini* Longinus answers: *Christianus sum.* This formulaic response, as Rose Peebles has pointed out, occurs in some of the earliest martyrology records. It is used by Epiphanius in Eusebius's *History of Martyrs in Palestine* and in the Coptic life of St. George.[387] The use of such hagiographical *topoi*

[385] *S. Eligii Episcopi Nouiomensis Vita, a Sancto Audoeno Rothomagensi episcopo scripta*, Migne, *PL* 87, 477-592, 486.
[386] Compare my discussion of the origins of the legend in the introduction.
[387] See Peebles, *The Legend of Longinus*, 36.

in the *Acta Longini* has led some scholars to assume mistakenly that the text was a late composition.

Isauriae

In ancient Greek and Roman geography, Isauria is the name given to a rugged, isolated district in the interior of South Asia Minor, at the core of the Taurus Mountains in what is now the Konya province of Turkey.

Prius quidem per aquam nunc autem per sanguinem

The Latin text is rather vague here, but seems to imply the association of the water issuing from the wound of Christ with the water of baptism on the one hand, and the association of the blood of Christ with martyrdom on the other. This interpretation of the effusions from Christ's side as symbols of a twofold baptism, baptism with water and blood baptism, i.e. martyrdom, appears to be first found in Tertullian, *De baptismo*.[388] John Chrysostom, Ambrose and Jerome interpret the miraculous event as the source of both baptism and Eucharist, with Jerome also referring to martyrdom.[389]

nunc autem milito Christo

The surviving Greek tradition on Longinus seems to place great emphasis on this military aspect. Longinus leaves the secular military service to join the spiritual one and, after his martyrdom, becomes a leader of the Heavenly troops. He is called a 'centurion of the holy martyrs' in the Pseudo-Hesychian Homily XX, §2 (see appendix) and enlists people into the heavenly military service (Homily XX, §29) An inscription in Syria also suggest his veneration as a soldier saint in conjunction with the Archangel Michael, chief commander of the Heavenly Host (see my overview of the early textual references to Longinus above).

[388] Dated to 198-203 CE. See Reifferscheid, August and Georg Wissowa, *Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum* (1864-), 20:1 (1890-1906), 214.
[389] For an overview of the symbolism of the side-wound in the writings of the Church Fathers see Burdach, *Der Gral*, chapter four, 49-66.

4.

solidus centum annuos

The reference is anachronistic, the *solidus* being a gold coin introduced by Constantine in 312 CE to replace the *aureus*. However, the word came to be applied to various coins and could also generally denote any piece of money in Medieval Latin.

Nemo potest duobus dominis seruire

See Mt 6:24. See also my notes on the Irish text *ni co fétaimm fognum do díb tigernaib*.

Uentris et gulae delectacios**

The P Manuscript is the only Irish copy to translate this expression (*caraid in craes*). The P text is generally closest to the Latin texts.

5.

Video enim tibi poenas tollerare non posse prae abstinentia

This point about Longinus's physical frailty is elaborated in some other versions of the Latin text (compare especially the *Acta Sanctorum* edition) but it is omitted in the Irish text.

Dentale aferte

The word *dentale, -is* normally means a share-beam, i.e. part of a ploughshare. However, here it seems to refer to some kind of dental instrument. The Bobbio Manuscript has *mordaces*, perhaps meaning 'cutting pliers'.

Insensati

The Latin text contains some offensive terms which are omitted in the Irish.

6.

libamina

The Turin manuscript is the only one of the early Latin texts studied here to use the word *libamen*, The St. Gall manuscript and the *Acta Sanctorum* text have *libatio*, the Graz manuscript omits the sentence. Both words can refer to a drink-offering, but *libamen* may also refer to other types of offerings to the gods, although drink-offerings seem to be intended here (*cf. libamina effudit*). This expression is omitted in the Irish

text whereas a second occurrence of the word is translated as *dognithea idpurta*, which seems more likely to render *libamina* than *libationes*, although it could also be the Irish redactor changing what was perceived to be an overly specific cultural reference.

7.

effunius

See footnote on the translation.

8.

Commentariensi

A *commentariensis* is a keeper of public records or a prison keeper. I have not been able to find any further explanation of the function of Aphrodisius in the extant Latin tradition.

et desolutis membris factus est cecus

Blindness and its healing, be it of Longinus himself or of one of the other characters, seems to have formed part of the Longinus story from an early stage (see also ch. 1.4.3 and ch. 4.1.). While the blinding of the cruel ruler persecuting a saint may have become a hagiographical commonplace later, it seems to have already been present in the early Greek Longinus legend, as in the Pseudo-Hesychian homily XX where Herod the Great is struck blind and dies 'after having been infected with worms' shortly after cruelly torturing Longinus (See appendix, Homily XX, §12).

9.

quia D*eu*s non est inuictus

Non here appears to be a misreading of '*n*' with a suspension stroke over it as the abbreviation for *noster*. '*Noster*' is the reading given in the St. Gall manuscript and in the *Acta Sanctorum*.

10.

Acta sunt haec...

This ending typical of official Roman documents has been adopted by medieval hagiographers. It is found in all early Latin manuscripts studied here with the exception of Graz.

sub die decimo k*alendas* decembris

The date given here, 22 November, is one of three feasts associated with Longinus in the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum*. The dates found in the early Latin *Acta Longini* vary, the St. Gall manuscript has *duodecimo kalendas nouembris*, 21 October, whereas the *Acta Sanctorum* version has 15 March, the date most commonly found in the later tradition. For the unusually great variety of dates commemorated as feastdays of Longinus see my discussion of the martyrologies (chapter 1.5).

3.1.7 **Notes on the Irish text**

1.

Cenntúrus

The Irish text turns the word *centurio*, a centurion, into a proper name, i.e. an alternative name for Longinus. This is probably due to confusion caused by the unusual expression *milis centurio*, which is found in the unspecified earliest extant Latin *Acta Longini* used by the Bollandists (see *Acta Sanctorum* (1865) 377). The same phrase, *quidam milis centurio nomine Longinus*, is also found in the Turin text (§1, l.1). This would seem to have been misread by an Irish redactor as *quidam milis, Centurio nomine,* [*i.e.*] *Longinus*. It seems odd to refer to a centurion as a *miles*, which normally designates a common foot soldier. The formulation may be due to the conflation of the two conflicting traditions which make Longinus the centurion overseeing the crucifixion, or alternatively, a common soldier (compare my discussion of the origins of the legend of Longinus in the introduction).

ro ghon Críst ina shliss di 7 scoiltis a cride ar dó

Both the wounding of the side of Christ, either right or left, and the wounding of his heart are frequently referred to in Irish tradition and are also attested in Irish crucifixion iconography (see chapter two). Sometimes, like in this example, the two traditions are unified. Compare also the note on *dáig is mé ro gon Críst.*. in §4 below.

fuil 7 fín

References to wine issuing from the side-wound of Christ are also found in *Blathmac* (see ch. 1.4.2) and elsewhere in Irish tradition, e.g. in an Irish blood charm. They are

ubiquitous in Bardic poetry. For a more detailed discussion of the motif see my discussions of Blathmac's poem in chapter 1.4, of the Irish charms material in chapter 4.2 and of Bardic poetry, chapter 4.3.

co nu-s-tanic dorchatu d*er*máir

The great darkness or eclipse preceding the death of Christ is mentioned in all Synoptic Gospels. See Mt 27:45, Mc 16:33, Lk 23:44.

ro-s-dorch*aig* grian... na hádnaicti óbéla

The Irish text adds some of the signs following the death of Christ in the biblical account, the bursting of the rocks and the opening of the graves (Mt 27:51-53).
In the case of *ro-s-dorchaig grian*, the infix could be redundant, or it could be a true 3rd sg feminine Class A infixed pronoun, *i.e.* 'the sun darkened itself'. The sun hiding its own light in mourning of its lord is mentioned in Blathmac: *To-celt grian a soillsi sain, ro-coíni a flaithemain* (Carney, *The Poems of Blathmac*, 23).

in mírbuil moir sin

It is not clear whether the 'great miracle' which prompts Longinus's confession of faith refers to the *signa* of the Latin text. As a singular form, it seems more likely to refer to something else, perhaps the effusion of blood and wine from the side of Christ (on this point compare McNamara, 'Pattern and Purpose', 198). It is also possible that the Irish redactor was familiar with the story of Longinus's miraculous healing from blindness supposedly occurring at that same moment, even though it is not mentioned in this text.

ro cretestar

The use of *creitid* with a deponent ending is unusual (see *DIL s.v. creitid*).

in t-oen dia .i. Ísu Críst

This curious expression is probably due to the accidental incorporation of a gloss into the text. Maybe the gloss originally belonged to the following sentence and was added by a reader who had not finished reading the sentence, and hence thought *⁊ ro nuall ó guth mor* referred to Jesus crying out in a loud voice prior to his death (Mt 27:50) rather than to Longinus.

is e ro táirngirset...síl Adaim

This insertion is found exclusively in the *Leabhar Breac* text.

2.

ro-s-cói co s*er*b-goirt... ro maith Dia a pheccad dó iar sin colléir

The themes of repentance and forgiveness seem to be greatly emphasized in the Irish text. The story of Longinus seems to have been regarded as an exemplum of the power of repentance in medieval Ireland (on this point compare some of the exegetical texts in ch. 1.2, the Bardic poetry and the legal text in ch. 4.3).

ba hadamraigthi i forc*et*ul he ona hapstalu

The Irish text seems to make greater claims than the Latin here, saying that Longinus was 'admired for his teaching by the apostles' where the Latin text has 'imitating the life (-style) of the apostles' (*apostolorum imitans vitam*). The centurion of the crucifixion – though not yet given the name of Longinus- is mentioned as Apostle of the Cappadocians in the writings of Gregory of Nyssa (Letter XVII,15, see my discussion of the Early textual references to Longinus).

hi Cesaria, ₇ i Capadotia

The Irish text mistranslates 'in Caesarea of Cappadocia' as 'in these cities, i.e. in Cesaria and in Capadotia' (*isna cathrachaib-si .i. hi Cesaria, ₇ i Capadotia*).

ocht mbliadna fichet

The number of years between the crucifixion and Longinus's martyrdom varies in the copies of the Latin Acts and in the martyrologies. Twenty-eight seems to be the number most commonly given in the early Latin texts, although the St. Gall manuscript (G, see appendix) has twenty-seven.

i mbethaid manaig

This seems to be used in a wider sense here, i.e. leading an ascetic and devout life.

do-ratsat a fhirta

The loanword *fiurt*, *fírt* is derived from Latin *virtus*. Like its Latin counterpart, which it translates here, it can mean either virtues or miracles.

3.

in t-errig diarbo ainm Octauis

We find the expressions *errig* (corresponding to Latin *praeses*) and *rig* used in the Irish text, both of which apparently refer to Octavius (or Octavian).

It seems that there were originally meant to be two officials interrogating Longinus in the Latin text, Octavius and a *principalis*, see the passage: *Et alius [demonis] invuasit Praeside[m] alius Principale[m]*. While these appear to merge into one person in the Irish texts, reference is made to a *rig* who is identified as Nero later in the text in LB and E (see note on *in rig [...] .i. Nero Cesair* (§8) below).

Essuria .i. fer*and* fil isin Aissia Bicc

See notes on the Latin text, *s.v.*'Isauria'.

tria bathis

This may either refer to literal baptism or to Longinus's 'baptism' by the blood – or water- issuing from the side of Christ. While the Irish text also mentions baptism and the blood baptism of martyrdom (§3, ll.7-8), it differs from the Latin in that it does not make a clear connection between these and the effusions from Christ's side. The imagery of the effusions of blood and wine seems to be more Eucharistic in the Irish text.

4.

Ro bádus a míltnecht o thús mo bethad cu croch*ad* Críst

This elaboration seems to be an addition by the Irish text. The phrase is probably merely meant to emphasize that Longinus had been a soldier all his life prior to the crucifixion. However, it also calls to mind an apparent Irish tradition that the saint was very young at the time of the crucifixion. He is called *in mac dall clárainech* in the 'Healing of Longinus'-text, in *Leabhar Breac* (see edition below ch. 3.2.2, line 5, compare also my notes on that text) and is depicted as a beardless young man in the St Gall image (see chapter two, section 2.2 and fig. 1.10).

dáig is mé ro gon Críst co lágin miled ina thoebu ndes, cor'scoltis a chride

The form *thoebu* is anomalous. It could be taken for a plural form if it were not directly followed by the specification *des*, 'right'. The early Christian tradition of the wounding of Christ in both armpits (see ch. 2.1) does not seem to be attested in Irish textual tradition or iconography. The text here unifies the conflicting traditions of the wounding of Christ in the heart and in the right side. Perhaps the redactor was thinking of two wounds in terms of an entry and an exit wound.

ro guidis mo brathri

The term *bráthair* here, as in the Latin text, seems to refer to Longinus's comrades or brothers in arms rather than his siblings.

gatsat mo uli indmas dím

The Irish text seems to misunderstand the Latin original here (*Et concesserunt mihi pro hoc resumptus solidus centum annuos*). It infers that Longinus was robbed of most of his wealth by his comrades rather than granted a generous stipend or army pension.

rethinech do Dia

The exact meaning is unclear. Atkinson translated 'esteemed by God' (*Passions and Homilies*, 301), *DIL* suggests 'at peace with God' (*DIL s.v. reithinech*) and gives the basic meaning of *reithinech* as 'calm', 'serene'.

nico fétaimm fognum do díb tigernaib

Compare Mt 6:24: 'No man can serve two masters. For either he will hate the one, and love the other: or he will sustain the one, and despise the other. You cannot serve God and mammon.' *cf.* also the parallel passage in Lk 16:13.

at cotarsnai na fognuma do dís

This does not seem to be a separate scriptural quote but rather a paraphrase of the aforementioned biblical quote (Mt 6:24).

oirigthe cecha huilc

This is difficult to translate literally. *Airigid*/*oirighidh*, gs. *oirighthe*, is a verbal noun formation from *ar-saig*, 'choice portion (of food), first fruits or first pick'. It is translated here as 'the summit of every evil'.

is borb dásachtach aneolach cech duine o'n genntligecht

The Irish text here seems to place greater emphasis on the association of paganism with ignorance and of Christianity with knowledge than does the Latin original, which simply has: *Hec est idolorum cultura et doctrina demonum*.

5.

Comdílsi etruib

This uncommon and somewhat obscure expression used in legal language is found in all three Irish manuscripts preserving the text. It seems to be more complex than *Potestatem accipe* in the Latin text. Atkinson translates it as 'Settle it among you' (*Passions and Homilies*, 302). A more literal translation would be 'There is an equal right or claim between you' (*i.e.* between Longinus and the demons). It could also mean something like 'Fair play between you' or 'let there be a contest between you'. It does not necessarily imply equal chances of the adversaries, as in the example *releíc comdílsi etarru 7 in snechta* where it is used of an infant being abandoned and left at the mercy of the snow (*DIL s.v. comdílse*).

6.

Gebid Longínus fair andsin

Most Latin versions -though not the Turin text- mention the use of an axe here: *accipiens Sanctus Longinus securim confregit idola*, 'taking an axe Holy Longinus broke the idols'.

i n-Afradotium .i. isin fer n-anorach

The otherwise obscure Saint Aphrodisius is commemorated together with Longinus and one 'Isaurus' (probably meaning 'a man from (Longinus's native) Isauria') on 29 October in the Old Orthodox calendar. It is possible that these two were identified with the two –unnamed- soldiers mentioned in the Pseudo-Hesychian Homily XIX as having guarded

the tomb of Christ under Longinus's command, having been converted with him and later suffered martyrdom alongside him (§§4,10).

For some reason the Irish texts consistently refer to Aphrodisius by the accusative form of the Latin name, the saint is called Afradotium in B, Afrodotim and Af*ro*dociam in E and Afradosium in P. Aphrodisius is described as a 'powerful' and 'honourable' man but does not appear to be considered a saint or fellow martyr. In the Irish texts, unlike in the Latin, Aphrodisius is not tortured by having his tongue cut out. P omits the passage in question wheareas in B and E it is Longinus's tongue which is cut out a second time (see note on *bentar a thengaid a cind Longínuis doridise* below).

as ar sostaib fen

The word *sosad*, 'station, seat, dwelling', is older and more elegant than the word *inad* used in E and P. This is one of a number of instances where *Leabhar Breac* offers the *lectio difficilior*.

do gnithea idpurta inar n-ainm fén dún ona dóinib

See notes on the Latin text, *libamina*. The P manuscript has an interesting reading here which is slightly at variance both with the Latin and with the other Irish texts: *Donithi síabrad inár n-anmaib fein duínne ó na dainib*. *Síabair*, a spectre or phantom, is a fairly uncommon word. The meaning here seems to be 'we were seen as supernatural beings by the people'.

7.

Atb*er*t Longínus tra... fo m' chosaib ina lige

The syntax of the quoted speech seems strained and untypical for Irish here, presumably reflecting the Latin source text.

8.

in rig [...] .i. Nero Cesair

This seems to be a gloss that became incorporated in the text. It is omitted in the P manuscript and none of the Latin or Greek texts mentions Nero. Nero was Roman Emperor from 54 to 68 CE, which puts him in the right time-frame if the Crucifixion is assumed to have taken place between 30 and 33 CE and if Longinus lived for twenty-eight years afterwards, as the text says. Perhaps, however, the naming of Nero here has

more to do with his ignoble fame and his role in the persecution of Early Christians, or is even meant to reinforce the parallel between Longinus and the Apostles as having both been persecuted by Nero.

delécha*id* sind re'r mainib $_7$ re'r n-indmas

E inverts the word order and misreads *maínib* as *mnaibh*, i.e. *deleochaidh sinn re'r n-ionnmus ocus re'r mnaibh,* 'he will part us from our wealth and our women'.

'Fa [...] tria drúidecht ro shaer se ar ndoíni-ne

'*Fa*' in B and '*Fo*' in E seems to be the 3rd sg past tense of the copula *ba*, 'it was'. However, P seems to take it as an interjection expressing contempt or disbelief, rendering it as *Na hapair!* 'Don't say (that)'. There is no direct equivalent in the Latin texts.

eladu dráidechta

The phrase seems to translate the *artes magicas* (*Christianorum*) mentioned in the Latin text three sentences earlier. *Elada* can mean art or science, an acquired craft or skill and commonly renders Latin *ars* (see *DIL s.v. elada*) Heinrich Zimmer took it to be etymologically related to the healing spell *Éle* (Zimmer, 'Ein Altirischer Zauberspruch', 148-51) and to originally have carried the meaning 'magic','witchcraft' or 'magic art' itself. He pointed out that out of eleven occurrences of *elada* in the *Leabhar Breac* homilies, five are in conjunction with *druidecht*, 'magic', (col.786, 1172, 1178, 1181, 1757) whereas in the remaining six it is used in the sense of 'magic art' or 'pagan supernatural art' (*heidnische übernatürliche Kunst*) on its own (col. 893, 898, 1950, 6967, 8090, 8247). It also seems to be used in that sense in the P manuscript, which simply has *nach fil cealg ná ealada aicce* instead of *celg no eladu dráidechta* like B and E.

bentar a thengaid a cind Longínuis doridise

This peculiar Irish Genitive form of the name 'Longinus' seems to be used exclusively in B.

In the Latin text first Longinus, then Aphrodisius are tortured by having their tongue cut out. The Irish texts B and E, however, have Longinus's tongue cut out twice. How the Irish redactors imagined that possible is not clear. Maybe they were thinking of the

tongue as being miraculously restored as in the influential Irish apocryphon *In Tenga Bithnua*.[390] In this text, the Apostle Philip's tongue is cut out nine times by heathens and restored as many times so he can go on preaching, which earns him the nick-name 'the Evernew Tongue'[391]. As it involves some alteration of the text I take this to be a deliberate change on the part of the Irish redactors rather than a misunderstanding, presumably with the aim of keeping the focus entirely on Longinus.

cneit $_7$ ochsaid moir

The B text is the only one of the Irish texts to use pairs of quasi-synonymous words, perhaps to capture different shades of meaning of the Latin original, but more likely as a stylistic device.

at fíra do br*eth*a

The manuscript has *bra* with a suspension stroke over all three letters. Atkinson expands this as br*iathr*a (*Passions and Homilies*, 63). However, in my opinion this should be br*eth*a, as in the P manuscript which has *it firai do breatha*, as it renders the Latin phrase *iustum iudicium tuum*.

9.

uair écoir ina ndernus fris

The E manuscript breaks off abruptly at this point. For possible reasons see my discussion of the manuscript in ch. 3.1.1.

ar ata Michel co n-aingliu nime imalle fris asa mo chind-sa oc fúr m'anma, dia br*eith* i flaith Dé

This is an insertion of the Irish text which is found exclusively in *Leabhar Breac*.

For a discussion of this passage and of the role of St. Michael as psychopomp in Irish textual and, perhaps, iconographic tradition see chapter two.

[390] See Carey, John (ed. and tr.), *Apocrypha Hiberniae 2, Apocalyptica 1. In tenga bithnua: The ever-new tongue*, Corpus Christianorum Series Apocryphorum 16 (2010).
[391] Carey, *op.cit*., 109-13.

ro fhóid a spir*ut* dochumm nime co claiscetul aingel ₇ archaingel imme

It seems that heavenly music may have played an important role in the early medieval Irish imagination of the death of a righteous person. Compare also ch. 2.2.2.

10.

fogníd firta ₇ mírbuli mora iar a eccaib

This may be a mere stock-phrase but given that post-mortem miracles are not very common in Irish hagiography it is intriguing to think that it refers to now lost stories of miracles. I am not aware of Longinus being credited with such miracles with the exception of the Greek *Inventio Capitis*, which forms part of both Pseudo-Hesychian homilies and details Longinus's healing of a blind widow and the exaltation of her son (see appendix, Homily XIX, §§14,15 and Homily XX, §26ff). It could, of course, simply refer to the preceding healing and conversion of Octavius in the text itself.

3.2 The 'Healing of Longinus' tract in Leabhar Breac

3.2.1 **Introduction to the text**

In addition to the Passion of Longinus, there is also a little known, second short tract on Longinus included in *Leabhar Breac.* This brief text starts with a *Cenn faoi eite* on p. 159, column b, line 30. The incipit reads: *Longinus, didiu, ₇ Egitianus anmand na dessi batar oc in crochad*... It is one of two religious anecdotes inserted at the end of the Irish translation of Bede's *De Locis Sanctis*, the other one being a tract on the Conversion of Constantine and the Invention of the Holy Cross by St. Helena which precedes our text. Both tracts have been published and translated in an article by Vernam Hull in 1928[392], but seem to have received little further scholarly attention.

Hull called the text 'The Repentance of Longinus' and deemed it to be a selective résumé of the Passion of Longinus given later in the manuscript.[393] He suggested that it was derived from a Latin source text based on the *Passio Longini*.[394] I have to disagree since none of the key elements of the Passion of Longinus -Longinus's dialogue with Governor Octavius, his trial and torture, the exorcism performed by him and his eventual martyrdom- are mentioned. The only common elements are general references to Longinus's repentance, his receiving forgiveness and his subsequent teaching activity as well as a reference to Longinus wounding Christ in the right side and splitting his heart, which corresponds to the Irish, but not the Latin, Passion of Longinus.

Instead I would suggest that what we have in *Leabhar Breac* is an independent tract and, indeed, the fullest written attestation of the legend of Longinus's blindness[395] and healing thereof found in an Irish context. Longinus is described as being fully blind and is said to be miraculously cured by a single drop of the liquid, issuing from the heart-wound of Christ, running along Longinus's spear, and touching his eyes. As this event, in my opinion, is the main theme of the text I have chosen to call it the 'Healing of Longinus'.

The source of the text is unknown. However, interestingly, it seems to have originally included further remarks on the soldier offering Christ the drink of vinegar, called

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[392] Hull, Vernam E., 'Two Middle-Irish Religious Anecdotes', *Speculum* 3:1 (Jan., 1928), 98-103.

[393]Hull, 'Two Middle-Irish Religious Anecdotes', 101-2.

[394] Hull, 'Two Middle-Irish Religious Anecdotes', 102.

[395] The blindness and healing of Longinus is, as we have seen, already mentioned in Blathmac's poem (see ch. 1.4.3).

'Egitianus' or Stephaton (Zefaton) here, which the redactor chose to omit. The text finishes abruptly with the sentence: *Egitianus, didiu, nó Zefatón in dara fer boí oc in crochad, is é dorat in neim do dig do Críst. Et reliqua*. (ll.14-15).There is possible evidence of a Latin source text in a gloss on *Félire Óengusso* in Rawlinson B. 505: *Longinus et Egitianus nomina militum qui iuxta crucem Christi steterunt*,[396] which appears to be the Latin equivalent of the opening line of the 'Healing of Longinus' tract. In the following, I will offer a transcript, translation and a short commentary on this brief but fascinating text.

3.2.2 **Edition and Translation**

RIA 23 P 16 p. 159

Longinus, didiu, ⁊ Egitianus anmand na dessi bat*ar* oc in croch*ad* .i. Longinus ro-t-ngon Críst tri a thoeb ndess co roscoilt a cride ar dó don láigin míled bói ina láim co tanic iarsin sruth fína ⁊ sr*uth* u*is*qi a toeb Ísu. Is dib-side dogníth*er* glandíunach[397] cuirp Críst ⁊ a fola i n-ecl*ais*ib na Crístaidi.

In tan, tra, ro-t-gon Longinus, in m*a*c dall clárainech, toeb Ísu don goi, rithid banna don usqi tanic a toeb Ísu fria cois croind in goí co tarla for agaid Longinus co tancat*ar* a súile do, ar ba dall co sin. Iar sin, tra, ro déch Longinus for Críst ⁊ gabaid aithrech*us* mor iarum he. Conid ead atbert: 'A Ath*air* Inmain, a Ísu, a slanícc*id* in chinedu dóenna, dena trocaire form-sa, ar isam pecdach truag. Ar dia no-s-faicind-sea do gnúis amal atcess do cách nidat-gonfaind tria bithu.'

Ro-t-maith Dia, tra, a uli chinad ⁊ pecc*ad* do Longinus ar in aithrige-sin co mba forcetlaid amra iar sin, ⁊ co tarut hilmile do dóinib doc*h*um n-irse ⁊ creitme in Choimded for slicht a maigistrech .i. Ísu.

Egitian*us*, didiu, *nó* Zefatón in dara fer boí oc in croch*ad*, is é dorat in neim do dig do Críst. *Et reliqua*.

[396] Stokes,'*Félire Óengusso*', 226. See also my discussion in ch. 1.5.2.
[397] Glossed *diunach .i. glana ó pheacadh* in the margin.

Longinus, then, and Egitianus are the names of the two who were at the crucifixion, *i.e.* Longinus who wounded Christ through his right side with the soldier's lance that was in his hand so that he split his heart in two. And a stream of wine and a stream of water came out of the side of Jesus after that. It is from them (those things) that the purification of the body of Christ and his blood is performed in the churches of the Christians.

Now when Longinus, the blind, flat-faced (?)[398] boy wounded the side of Jesus with the spear, a drop of the water that came from the side of Jesus ran along the wooden shaft of the spear until it came to be on Longinus's face, so that his eyesight (lit. eyes) came to him, for he had been blind until then.

After that, then, Longinus looked upon Christ and great repentance seized him then and this is what he said: 'O Beloved Father, O Jesus, O Saviour of the human race, have mercy on me, for I am a wretched sinner. For if I had seen your face the way it is visible to everybody, I would never have injured you.'

Then God forgave Longinus all his faults and sins because of that repentance, so that he was a wonderful teacher afterwards and he brought many thousands of people towards faith and belief in the Lord following the example of his master, *i.e.* Jesus.

As for Egitianus, or Stephaton, the second man who was at the crucifixion, it is he who gave Christ the poison as a drink. *Et reliqua.*

3.2.3 **Notes on the 'Healing of Longinus'**

Longinus, didiu, $_{7}$ Egitianus anmand na dessi bat*ar* oc in croch*ad*

The suggestion here seems to be that the only two figures of importance present at the crucifixion besides Christ were Longinus and Egitianus, also called Stephaton. See also line 14: *Egitianus […] nó Zefatón in dara fer boí oc in crochad*. This idea is probably derived from the reduced, three- or five-figure composition commonly found in early Irish crucifixion iconography which shows Christ flanked by the spear- and the sponge-bearer or cup-bearer, sometimes with two angels above the cross-arms (see chapter two).

[398] See also my discussion of the term *clárainech* in ch. 4.1.2.

Egitianus

I am not aware of a possible source for the name 'Egitianus'. It seems like an Italianate spelling of Latin *Aegyptianus*, a person of Egyptian provenance, which is the origin of the modern Italian name 'Egiziano'. The name is also found in two glosses on *Félire Óengusso*: *Longinus et Egitianus nomina militum qui iuxta crucem Christi steterunt* in Rawlinson B. 505 and *Egitianus dedit uinum acetum sibi* (*i.e.* to Christ) in Laud 610 (see Stokes, *The Martyrology of Oengus*, 226. Compare also my discussion of references to Longinus in the Irish martyrologies, chapter 1.5).

ro-t-ngon Críst tri a thoeb n-dess co ro-scoilt a cride ar dó

The 't' in ro-t-ngon probably stands for the 3rd sg m Class C infixed pronoun, *recte* 'd' . *Gonaid* is treated as a weak verb in the text, the forms are Middle Irish.

The fact that it was the right side of Christ which was pierced is emphasized in the liturgical tract included in the Stowe Missal, a version of which is also included in *Leabhar Breac* (fol. 126, see ch. 1.3). The piercing of both the right side and the heart is also found in the Passion of Longinus in *Leabhar Breac* (§1,ll.2-3): *₇ gabais láigin moir ina láim co ro ghon Críst ina shliss di, ₇ scoiltis a cride ar dó* and '*is mé ro gon Críst co lágin miled ina thoebu ndes, cor'scoltis a chride* (§4,ll.2-3).

sruth fína ₇ sr*uth* u*is*qi

This recalls the wording of the Passion of Longinus (§1, line 3): *₇ scoiltis a cride ar dó, conid ed tra tanic ass fuil ₇ fín*. For further references to the wine or wine-blood coming from Christ's wound see also ch. 1.4.2 and ch. 4.2.2. Compare also the note on the Irish Passion of Longinus, §1, *fuil ₇ fín*.

glandhíunach cuirp Críst ₇ a fhola

The word *glandhíunach* is glossed *diunach .i. glana ó pheacadh* in the margin of *Leabhar Breac* on page 159 in a later hand, which corresponds to the entry in O'Clery's Glossary: *diunnach .i. glanadh pheacadh* (see *DIL s.v. díun(n)ach*) .

Díunach, the verbal noun of *do-fonaig*, is a rare and early term. Apart from three attestations in *Leabhar Breac* and one in Egerton 88 it seems to be found exclusively in the Old Irish glosses. It refers to the literal washing of body, hair and clothing, but also to cleansing in a figurative sense, e.g. clearing of a person's name, and, in a legal

context, purgation by ordeal or lot. (O' Curry's Law transcripts in RIA, 1744, (23P6,31) see *DIL s.v. díun(n)ach*.

In the Würzburg glosses (33[d]2) (*ibid.)* it signifies baptism, *na ndiunag* is glossed '*baptismatum*'. The only other attestation of the compound *glandiunucht* (leg. *-diunuch*?) is in the Old Irish Glosses to the Trier Enchiridion of Augustine where it is glossed '*a lavacro*'(*ZCP* vii, 485).

The reference in the present text is clearly to the Eucharist and the cleansing from sins through communion as the *Leabhar Breac* glossator suggests here.

ro-t-gon Longinus, in m*a*c dall clárainech, toeb Ísu don goi

For a more detailed discussion of possible origins of the legend of Longinus's blindness see ch. 1.4.3. For depictions of Longinus's blindness and healing in Irish iconography see chapter two, for references to his blindness in later Irish tradition and a discussion of the term *clárainech* compare ch. 4.1. The translation of the latter expression would seem to depend on the context and on the supposed age of the text. However, there is no evidence in the text to suggest that the word is to be taken in its apparent late-medieval meaning of 'having no facial features' here, which seems to be the meaning in the Irish Gospel of Nicodemus, where Longinus is described as *aonchláraicthi* (*LCS*) or *aenchlaredain* (*LFF*) (see ch. 4.1.3). Compare also the notes on the Turin text, *[u]ulto plano*, §2, and the discussion of the St. Gall crucifixion image, ch. 2.2.2.

tancat*ar* a súile do

Lit.: 'his eyes came to him', *i.e.* Longinus received his eyesight. *Stair Nicoméid* [399] (see ch. 4.1.3) preserves a variant of the legend stating that Longinus 'grew eyes' (*7 an fuil do sil ar fut an gadh do cumail Loinginus da edan hi 7 da fasadar da suil glana gormglasa na cinn*).[400]

ba dall co sin

The manuscript has a stroke above the 'o' of *co*, however this appears to be an accidental pen stroke rather than a lengthmark.

[399] Hughes, Ian (ed.), *Stair Nicoméid: the Irish Gospel of Nicodemus*, ITS 55 (1991).
[400] From *Liber Flavus Fergusiorum*. See Dooley, 'The *Gospel of Nicodemus* in Ireland', 382f.

dia no-s-faicind-sea do gnúis amal atcess do cách

The infix seems redundant. *Atcess* is an Old Irish verb form, but it is apparently retained in formulaic use here.

nidat-gonfaind tria bithu

The idea that people were not disposed to hurt Christ due to his manifest divinity and virtuousness coupled with unearthly beauty is sometimes found in Bardic poetry.

Zefatón

The first letter seems to be a c with a cedilla as used in old Spanish for the voiceless alveolar affricate /ts/, i.e. a miniature cursive z, from the Visigothic form of the letter 'z' (ʒ), whose upper loop was lengthened and reinterpreted as a 'c'. It seems to be the scribe's way of representing a capital Z, *cf.* the name Zacharias in Leabhar Breac p. 41, column a line 26. The soldier with the sponge is commonly called 'Stephaton'. A widely accepted theory for the etymology of the name Stephaton is to regard it as derived from the Greek word for sponge, σπόγγον. A rival, perhaps more convincing explanation is that the word 'crown' (Greek στέφανος) was written beside the crown of thorns above the sponge-bearer's head and mistaken for his name (see William Chester Jordan, 'The Last Tormentor of Christ: An Image of the Jew in Ancient and Medieval Exegesis, Art, and Drama' *Jewish Quarterly Review*, New Series, Vol. 78, No. 1/2 (Jul.–Oct., 1987), 21–47, 28.

dorat in neim do dig do Críst

The word 'neim' could simply be taken to refer to something sharp or bitter tasting. The primary meaning, however, is 'poison' (see *DIL s.v. neim*)

In Matthew (27:34) and Mark (16:23) it is related that soldiers offered wine or vinegar mixed with gall to Christ at the beginning of the Crucifixion, which he refused to drink due to its bitterness. Matthew (27:48), Mark (16:36) and John (19:29) then tell of an unspecified bystander or bystanders giving Jesus a drink of vinegar or sour wine – probably understood to be the Roman legionaries' beverage *posca*- alone shortly before his death. In Luke, these two incidents are conflated, so that the vinegar alone is being offered by the soldiers and the act is condemned as derisive. In Late Antique and Medieval exegesis and imagination, the two acts frequently merge into one and take on strong negative connotations. The standard interpretation of the offer of vinegar is as an

unnecessary, malign, final humiliation of the dying Saviour (see William Ch. Jordan 'The Last Tormentor of Christ' 23.)

As Jordan has pointed out elsewhere, the Hebrew word underlying the New Testament Greek and Vulgate Latin words for 'gall' is clearly distinct from the Hebrew for animal bile and signifies a plant with a bitter extract -perhaps the opium poppy- and by transference poison. Greek χολή and Latin *fel* are the words used in the Gospels, carrying both the meaning of poison and animal bile.[401]

The Irish *neim* can be used for plant-derived poisons, as in *ind ibair báis neimnich* 'the deadly poisonous yews' in the St Gall Glosses on Priscian 33b11 (*Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus* ii page 88).

It is possible that the Irish text here preserves the apparent original New Testament meaning of a herbaceous drug meant to dull the pain, rather than the animal bile with which it was consistently confused in the Middle Ages.[402] There is, however, also a tradition which interpreted the act as the hastening Christ's death, i.e. 'poisoning' him. The 'poisoning' tradition is probably also referred to in *Blathmac* (see ch. 1.4) and in some Bardic poems (see ch. 4.3). The word *neim* is also used in *Saltair na Rann* (ll. 7755-6 *Rí noeb dia tardad in neim, Rí góet 'n-a thoeb co lagein* (the holy King who was given the poison, the King who was wounded in his side by a lance)).[403] Due to the truncation of the text it is not clear whether Stephaton's act was understood as an act of kindness and mercy rather than as a last –or in an Irish context probably penultimate- torment of the living Christ. See also my discussion of the figure of Stephaton in Irish iconography in chapter two.

[401] Jordan, William Chester, 'The Erosion of the Stereotype of the Last Tormentor of Christ', *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, NS, 81:1/2 (Jul.- Oct., 1990), 13-44, 41.
[402] Jordan, 'The Erosion of the Stereotype', 41.
[403] Quoted from David Greene's transcript available on www.dias.ie.

CHAPTER IV

THE LATER MEDIEVAL TRADITION

4.1 The legend of Longinus's blindness in Irish tradition

4.1.1 **The Early Attestations**

I have argued above (ch. 1.4.3), that the legend of Longinus's blindness and his healing by the blood of Christ is more likely to have originated in the East rather than in Ireland as some scholars have suggested.[404] However, it seems to have been known in Ireland much earlier than elsewhere in Western tradition.

If T. S. Ó Máille's hypothesis[405] that the name *Móel cáich* was adopted in reverence to Longinus is correct, the legend would have been known by the beginning of the seventh century when that name seems to be first attested.[406] According to Ó Máille, this is also likely to be the origin of the surname *Uí Maelcáich*[407] and of *Pobul Caech*, *Pobal in Cháich*, Co. Galway, mentioned in the *Onomasticon Goedelicum*. It is possible, then, that the legend is also reflected in placenames, such as the townland *Áit Tí Caoich* (Attikee), barony Longford, Co. Galway, which is close to the territory associated with the *Pobul Caech*.[408] Might this have been the place of a church associated with this group, perhaps a church dedicated to Saint Longinus and its corresponding religious community?

There are also a number of placenames containing the element *dall*, although it is, of course, impossible to prove that the blind person in question is Longinus. Perhaps the most likely example[409] is *Cuas an Daill*, the 'Blind Man's Cove', one of the historic landing places on Skellig Michael, Co. Kerry. There seems to have been a connection

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[404] McNamara, *Bible Text and Illumination*, 199ff.; Beggiato, 'Il mito di Longino', 85-92, 87. Dooley, 'The Gospel of Nicodemus in Ireland', 368.

[405] Ó Máille, T.S., 'Kilmalkedar', *Seanchas Ardmhacha*: *Journal of the Armagh Diocesan Historical Society* 14:1 (1990), 58-67, 64. See ch. 1.4.3 above.

[406] See above ch. 1.4.3.

[407] Hogan, Edmund, *Onomasticon Goedelicum locorum et tribuum Hiberniae et Scotiae: an index, with identifications, to the Gaelic names of places and tribes* (1910), 674b.

[408] Barony Kilconnell, near Clonbrock, Co. Galway.

[409] Other possible candidates include e.g. *Inis Caoich* (Inishkee), Co. Mayo or *Aill an Daill* (Ailladie), 'the cliff of the blind person' in the Burren, Co. Clare.

between the cult of the soldier saint Longinus and that of the archangel Michael since its emergence in Asia Minor.[410]

A possible argument against the identification of this *Cáech* with Longinus is that *cáech* and *dall* cannot be used interchangeably at this period of time. The primary meaning of *cáech*, as demonstrated by Liam Mac Mathúna in his discussion of the concept of blindness in Irish and the associated terminology,[411] is 'blind in one of two eyes'.[412] It is also used in the more general sense of 'purblind, dimsighted' from an early stage.[413] It does not seem to be used in the sense of 'fully blind' until the transition into the Modern Irish period.
However, Longinus is described as completely blind (*in n-ógdall*) in *Blathmac*[414] and in later tradition, where he eventually simply becomes known as *an Dall*, 'the blind one'. It has to be noted, though, that there is a variant of the legend of Longinus's blindness which describes the soldier as one-eyed or as having partially defective eyesight.[415] It is therefore possible that this version of the legend was known in early Ireland and was later superseded by the version according to which the soldier was fully blind from birth. Further research into the origins and permutations of the legend, especially in the Eastern Church, is called for, but is, unfortunately, outside the scope of this thesis.

In the early or mid eighth century, Blathmac describes Longinus as a fully blind man (*in n-ógdall*) who is wielding the lance with his two hands and who is instantaneously cured by the blood issuing from Christ's side.[416] The roughly contemporary iconographic representation of the same miracle in the St Gall Gospel book[417] seems to correspond to this description. In this image, the stream from Christ's side, which is represented as a bright crimson zigzag line, touches the open and healthy right eye of

[410] The inscription of a metaton or stationpost at al Burj, Syria dating from 526 CE with a double-dedication to Sts. Michael and Longinus, has already been mentioned, see my discussion of the early textual references to Longinus. Michael is the leader of the heavenly hosts, whereas Longinus, in the Greek tradition, is called the 'centurion of the holy martyrs' (Homily XX, §2)
[411] Mac Mathúna, Liam, 'On the Expression and Concept of Blindness in Irish', *Studia Hibernica* 19 (1979), 26-62.
[412] Mac Mathúna, 'Blindness in Irish', 32ff.
[413] Mac Mathúna, 'Blindness in Irish', 33.
[414] Carney, *The Poems of Blathmac*, 20, s. 58. Compare ch. 1.4.3.
[415] See the entry in Stadler et al., Vollständiges Heiligen-Lexikon, vol. 3 (1869), 855 quoted in ch. 1.4.3.
[416] Carney, *The Poems of Blathmac*, 20, s. 58. See ch. 1.4.3.
[417] See discussion ch. 2.2.2 and fig. 1.10.

Longinus whereas the soldier's left eye is unseeing, with the pupil depicted as a slit. As discussed above in chapter two, there are two more possible depictions of the blindness of Longinus, both of them from Clonmacnoise. The only surviving depiction of Longinus's healing on a High Cross is found on the Clonmacnoise South Cross dated to the mid ninth century. Sadly, the scene is much abraded. However, two streams issuing from Christ's chest wound and touching the face of Longinus can be made out (ch. 2 fig. 3.4). Another possible depiction of the legend, as I have suggested, is on the Clonmacnoise crucifixion plaque (chapter two, fig. 2.2), most commonly dated to the early eleventh century. On this plaque, no streams are visible and Longinus's eyes are open and appear healthy. However he is faced away from the crucifixion scene, piercing Christ backwards over his shoulder in an awkward manner while looking out at the beholder with a wide-eyed, vacant expression.

4.1.2 **The *Leabhar Breac* evidence of Longinus's healing from blindness**

There are no further known written references to Longinus's blindness until it is mentioned in the short tract in *Leabhar Breac*. The language of the tract is Middle Irish with some late features. Its content may, of course, be older and one of the glosses on *Félire Óengusso* could be taken to suggest the existence of a Latin source text.[418]

In this text the soldier is called *in mac dall clárainech* (l.5). The young age of Longinus seems to correspond to the St Gall crucifixion image, where the spear-bearer, unlike the cup-bearer, is beardless and appears youthful.

The term *clárainech* is somewhat problematic. Commonly suggested translations include 'table-faced', 'flat- or board-faced' and 'featureless'. These are derived from a number of glosses which define the term as lacking facial features, such as eyes and nose. These glosses, however, all seem to date from the Middle Irish period and there is some variation among their definitions of the term, which include *habens tabulatam faciem* (having a board-or table-face) or *oculorum sedibus nasique eminentia carens, totam faciem in modum tabule complanatam gerebat* (lacking the eyes and the nasal protuberance he wore the entire face like a flattened board) or even *sine nare et sine oculis natus* (born without nose and without eyes).[419] The fact that the redactors frequently thought it necessary to gloss the expression suggests that its meaning, at this

[418] See chapter 1.5.2 and the introduction to the 'Healing of Longinus'-tract in ch. 3.2.1.
[419] Plummer, *Vitae SS. Hib.*, cxi.

point, was not entirely clear. Also, it is difficult to think of a medical condition which would have caused such serious disfigurations and which the medieval patient could have survived.[420]

The term *clárainech* is attested from an early stage. It occurs in Broccán's hymn on St. Brigit,[421] in the Annals of Ulster for the year 714[422] and in the *Vita Tripartita Sancti Patricii*.[423] To students of Irish hagiography the term *clárainech* is most familiar as the epithet of the sixth century saint Mobí of Glasnevin. No Life survives, but Mobí is mentioned in *Félire Óengusso*[424] and also in the mid-twelfth century Life of Saint David of Wales by Rhygyfarch, §7:[425]

> it [the water from a spring miraculuosly created for the baptism of David] healed the eyes of the blind Mobí, who held him while he was being baptised; for that blind holy man, who, as it is said, had been born from his mother's womb without nostrils and without eyes, perceiving that the infant whom he held in his bosom was full of the grace of the Holy Spirit, took the water, in which the body of the infant had been immersed three times, and splashed it on his face three times and, quicker than saying it, he joyfully obtained the sight of his eyes and the whole completeness of his face.[426]

[420] Plummer suggests syphilis (*Vitae SS. Hib.*, cxi). Leprosy is another suggestion, see *DIL s.v. clárainech*, and Liz Gabay proposed that it might refer to a child's being born with a 'caul', i.e. with its face covered by a part of the placenta. (Old Irish L-List, https://listserv.heanet.ie/cgi-bin/wa?A3=ind0501&L=OLD-IRISH-L&E=quoted-printable&P=209709&B=--&T=text%2Fplain;%20charset=ISO-8859-1, Accessed March 2011)

[421] *Thes. Pal.* ii 338.3: *bennachais in clārainech comtar forréili a dí súil*. '*Forréil*' is glossed as 'solas no follas' in O'Clery's glossary, see *DIL s.v. forréil*.

[422] *in Clarainech cum omni familia sua*, of penitents murdered in Munster (AU an. 714).

[423] *cusin mac ndall clarenech* (...) *Lauit faciem ⁊ ro eroslaicti a roisc dó*. See Mulchrone, Kathleen, *Bethu Phátraic: The tripartite life of Patrick* (1939), 90.

[424] Stokes, *Martyrology of Oengus*, 216: *mo Bíi, ...,in clárainech cáinsin*. Mobí is also named in the eighth century Life of St Fintan of Clonenagh, §3 (Heist, *Vitae*, 146) and the related Life of St Colum of Terryglass, §13, (Heist, *Vitae*, 228).

[425] From the edition by Richard Sharpe and John Reuben Davies in *St David of Wales: Cult, Church and Nation*, eds. Evans, J. Wyn, and Jonathan M. Wooding (2007), 117.

[426] *Curauit quoque occulos Moui ceci, qui tenuit eum dum baptizaretur; intelligens enim sanctus ille cecus, qui, sicit fertur, ab utero matris sine nare et sine oculis natus fuerat, infantem quem in sinu suo tenebat plenum esse gratia Spiritus Sancti, accepit aquam de qua corpus sancti infantis ter immersum fuerat, sparsitque faciem suam ex ea tribus uicibus et, dicto cicius, claritatem oculorum totamque integritatem faciei suę hilariter sumpsit;...*

A seemingly even more fantastic account of Mobí's birth and explanation of his epithet is given in the Middle Irish scholia to *Félire Óengusso*, where he is said to have been begotten 'of a dead woman' and to have been *clar enech*, 'for the earth pressed him down, so that he was one flat board (*ro thairin talam he corbo aenchlar*).[427]

None of the earliest examples of the use of *clárainech* quoted above seems to refer to the absence of eyes, or to their appearance during the healing, but merely to blindness and the restoration of eyesight.
It would therefore appear to describe a certain type of blindness, or characteristic associated with blindness. Of the words used to refer to blindness it seems to be used exclusively with *dall*, i.e. in the context of full blindness, usually from birth. It could, for instance, refer to the sometimes less vivid facial expressions of a person born blind, or to someone keeping their eyes closed or narrowed to a slit. The latter would correspond to the Modern Irish expression *Tá clár ar a shúile*, 'his eyes are heavy-lidded'.[428]

With regard to the legend of Longinus, it is possibly in some way cognate with the expression *vultum planum* used in the Latin *Acta Longini* ([*u*]*ulto plano* in T, uultum planum in A, G., see edition of T, ch. 3.1.4, §2, l.6.) to describe the saint's physical appearance, although the extant Irish Passion of Longinus summarizes the text and omits the detailed catalogue of physical characteristics and virtues given in all copies of the Latin text.
It is also intriguing to see a connection with the St Gall image, where the spear-bearer's yet unhealed eye is depicted as a slit. However, it seems to be merely the pupil which is represented in that fashion, to visualize and to emphasize the fact that Longinus had previously been blind (see ch. 2, fig. 1.10 and discussion in 2.2.2).

[427] Stokes, *Martyrology of Oengus*, 222-25.
[428] Ó Dónaill, *Foclóir Gaeilge-Béarla*, 240, *s.v. clár*.

The *Leabhar Breac* text then describes the miraculous healing of the blind young man after his spear thrust as follows (see edition ll.5-7):

> *In tan, tra, ro-t-gon Longinus, in mac dall clárainech, toeb Ísu don goi, rithid banna don usqi tanic a toeb Ísu fria cois croind in goí co tarla for agaid Longinus co tancatar a súile do, ar ba dall co sin.*

The text stresses again that Longinus had been blind before, presumably from birth. There is no indication that he was missing his eyes or nose. The expression *tancatar a súile do*, literally 'his eyes came to him' surely simply means that he received his eyesight.

It is interesting that here it is not the blood issuing from Christ's wound that cures Longinus but the water, unlike in Blathmac's poem and, apparently, in the St Gall crucifixion image. Also, the *Leabhar Breac* text specifies that the healing liquid does not spurt onto the blind soldier's face or eyes in a jet. Instead, Longinus is cured by a single drop of the water which trickles down the shaft of the spear and touches his face.

As soon as Longinus receives his vision and looks upon Christ, he is overcome by repentance and asks forgiveness. He explains that had he been able to see Christ's face like everybody else, he would never have wounded him. In later permutations of the legend, it is said that no one could be found who was willing to pierce Christ with the spear except a blind man who could not see him.[429]

4.1.3 **The Medieval Irish Gospel of Nicodemus**

The Gospel of Nicodemus is an early Christian apocryphon which was extremely popular in the West throughout the medieval period. It consists of two originally distinct apocryphal works, the *Acts of Pilate* and *Christ's Descent into Hell*.[430] As mentioned

[429] Compare the Irish Gospel of Nicodemus below and Hyde, *Religious Songs of Connacht*, 322.

[430] For a good overview of the complex textual history of the work and the Irish material see McNamara, 'The Apocrypha in the Irish Church', 68-74. For a detailed discussion of the peculiarities of the Irish material see also Dooley, 'The *Gospel of Nicodemus* in Ireland', 361-401. For the most recent work done on the *Acta Pilati* see the articles published by the AELAC team preparing a new edition, e.g. in *Apocrypha* (1992), (1994), (1997), (2012) and Furrer, Christiane, 'La Passion dans les Acta Pilati', in *Gelitten-Gestorben-Auferstanden*, Passions- und Ostertraditionen im antiken Christentum, eds. Nicklas, Tobias et al. (2010), 69-96.

above,[431] the Greek recension A of this apocryphon assigned to the early fifth century is the first literary composition to mention the name 'Longinus'.

The miracle of Longinus's healing is also found in the later medieval Irish reworkings of the Gospel of Nicodemus or *Stair Nicoméid*. The following account[432] is given in the *Liber Flavus Fergusiorum*,[433] written 1437-40 CE, and the closely related version in the mainly sixteenth century *Leabhar Chlainne Suibhne*:[434]

> *Is and sin da éirich ridire dona ridirib diarbo comainm Loinginus .i. dall ⁊ is amlaid do boi ⁊ aenchlaredain aigi gan shuil na cinn. ⁊ tuc da gai mor fa chomuir a slis Isu amail do sheoladh dho uair nir dhughraic neach da facaidh Isu a goin. ⁊ do reathastair fo chetoir da thuind asa slis .i. tond fola ⁊ tond usce ⁊ an fuil do sil ar fut an gadh do cumail Loinginus da edan hi ⁊ da fasadar da suil glana gormglasa na cinn ⁊ mar do-connairc dreach Isu do creid do (LCS do gach ni da nderna ⁊ da-cuala uadha) ⁊ do iar trocairi fair ⁊ fuair gan fuireach.*
>
> Then a certain soldier *(lit. horseman)* called Loinginus, that is 'blind', came forward and this is the way he was. His face was one flat surface and he had no eyes in his head. With a great spear he struck the side of Jesus, as he had been instructed, for no one who could see Jesus wished to wound him. Immediately there flowed two streams from Jesus' side, a stream of blood and a stream of water. And Loinginus rubbed on his forehead the blood which ran down his spear. Then two clear grey eyes appeared in his head, and when he saw thus the face of Jesus, he believed in him (in everything which he did and had heard of him, *LCS*), and asked his mercy.

A very similar version has been published by Ian Hughes[435] from the Yellow Book of Lecan (YBL):[436]

> *Is and sin adébairt Hísu*[437] *isin chroich: 'Itá ítu orum.' Do línadar na ridireada soitheach do aigéd ⁊ do domblas hae ⁊ tucsad do Hísu da ibe hé. Is and sin da éirich ridire dona ridirib diarbo comainm Loinginus .i. dall ⁊ tuc builli dá gaí i slis Hísu ⁊ do reathastair fo chétóir dá thuind asa shlis .i. tond fhala ⁊ tond usci, ⁊ do rithsadur ar fhud in chroind dochum na lám cor chuir a láim ara étan co tánic dá shúil cor creid do Hísu 'na diaid.*
>
> Then Jesus said on the cross: 'I am thirsty.' The soldiers [lit. horsemen] filled a vessel with vinegar and gall and gave it to Jesus to drink. Then a certain soldier called Longinus i.e. blind came forward and thrust his lance into the side of Jesus. There rushed out at once two streams from his side –a stream of blood and a

[431] See my discussion of the early textual references to Longinus in the introduction.
[432] Text and translation are from Dooley, 'The *Gospel of Nicodemus* in Ireland', 382f.
[433] Dublin, RIA, MS 23 O 48 a-b, hereafter *LFF*.
[434] Dublin, RIA, MS 24 P 25, hereafter *LCS*.
[435] Hughes, Ian (ed.), *Stair Nicoméid: the Irish Gospel of Nicodemus*, ITS 55 (1991), 293.
[436] Dublin, TCD, MS 1318 (*olim* H 2.16), hereafter *YBL*.
[437] *Sic.*

> stream of water- and they rushed along the shaft to his hand so that when he put his hand on his forehead, there appeared two eyes and he believed in Jesus thereafter.

The version of the legend of Longinus's healing presented here appears to be a further development of the one found in *Leabhar Breac*. Hughes suggests that the term *aonchláraicthi* in *LCS –aenchlaredain* in *LFF*- 'obviously must mean the same as *clárainech*, 'born without nose or eyes".[438] While the meaning of *clárainech*, in my opinion, is debatable in early medieval texts and in the *Leabhar Breac* material of uncertain age, *aonchláraicthi* or *aenchlaredain* certainly has that meaning here. *Aenchlaredain* is an unusual expression otherwise mainly familiar from the Irish tradition on Antichrist.[439] The text says nothing about Longinus lacking a nose. However, it explicitly specifies that he had no eyes in his head prior to his healing, as a result of which he 'grew' two clear, blue-grey eyes in his head. The *YBL* text merely says that two eyes appeared when he wet his brow with the blood of Christ.

It is curious that the name Longinus itself is here glossed as 'blind'. This could be merely a misreading of *Loinginus .i. an Dall*. However, it seems to occur in all three copies of the text.

The description of the liquids issuing from the wound of Christ running along the spear is another parallel with the *Leabhar Breac* tract. However, Longinus is not healed by a single drop of the water but by the blood in *LFF* and *LCS* respectively and both blood and water in *YBL*. The healing liquids do not fall directly onto the face of the soldier, but onto his hands and are then applied to his face. The spear-thrust and the associated miracle take place directly after Christ is offered the drink of vinegar, before his death.[440]

Another Irish version of the Gospel of Nicodemus forms the first part of the threefold account of the Passion in *Leabhar Breac*.[441] It mentions Longinus but omits his blindness and healing. This text is included in the appendix.

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[438] Hughes, *Stair Nicoméid*, 70, footnote on line 296.

[439] On the Irish tradition on Antichrist compare McNamara, *The Apocrypha in the Irish Church*, 139, and Ó Cuív, Brian, 'Two items from Irish apocryphal tradition', *Celtica* 10 (1973), 87-102.

[440] For the vessel mentioned compare also my discussion of the Irish crucifixion iconography, ch. 2.1.

[441] Atkinson, *Passions and Homilies*, 121, translation 368. *Leabhar Breac* pp. 160a-163b.

4.1.4 **Longinus '*an dall*' in the late Medieval Irish, Insular and Breton traditions**

Neither the term *clárainech* or related terms nor references to Longinus's supposed lack of facial features seem to feature prominently in the later medieval and early modern tradition, where the soldier becomes known simply as *an dall*, 'the blind one'.[442] The epithet virtually comes to replace the name Longinus, which, as the Irish charms tradition suggests, became increasingly garbled and was largely forgotten (see below section 4.2). The name *an Dall*, on the contrary, is ubiquitous in Bardic poetry (see below section 4.3) and has been used in religious poetry and charms down to modern times.[443]

The legend of the blindness of Longinus is also found in the Welsh, Cornish and Breton traditions. In Brittany, Longinus is referred to as *Longius an dall* in Grégoire de Rostrenen's French-Breton Dictionary from 1732.[444]

Evidence that the legend was also known in Wales is found in the poem Crog Aberhodni,[445] 'The Brecon Rood', ascribed to the fifteenth century poet Ieuan Brydydd Hir:

Ar Wener wedi'r Ynyd,	That Friday after Shrove Tuesday,
A'i welïau yn loywon,	His wounds livid, bright,
Duw nef a'i frath dan ei fron.	Heaven's God wounded 'neath His breast.
Â theiroel y merthyrwyd	With three nails were martyred
Dwy law a deudroed Duw lwyd.	The hands and feet of Holy God;
Ei ddau droed a roed ar un,	His two feet one upon the other,
A gwaed rhestr a gaid drostun'.	A trickle of blood over them.
Dioddef -pand da iddaw?-	Suffering Oh! such His goodness
Daro dur llym drwy dor llaw.	Sharp steel struck through palm of hand,
Drwy ais a thrwy bais y bu	Through rib and through garment.
Un dall â gwayw'n ei dyllu.	A man, blind, piercing Him with his spear.

Reference to the blindness of Longinus is also made in the Cornish Passion poem *Pascon agan Arluth*, 'The Passion of our Lord', one of the earliest surviving works of

[442] there is one mention of a lack of eyes in Hyde, *Religious songs of Connacht*, 52: *A Chríost do crochadh i gcrann 's do goineadh le dall gan súil ...*

[443] Compare Hyde, *Religious songs of Connacht*, *e.g.* 52, 322, 356, 394.

[444] See de Rostrenen, Grégoire, *Dictionnaire François-Celtique ou François-Breton* (1732) *s.v.* Longis: (...) *Longius an dall. mad da vont da glasq ar maro*. The use of the name is also mentioned in Owen, Robert, *Sanctorale Catholicum or Book of Saints* (1880) 142.

[445] The excerpt from the text of the poem is from Bowen, David J., *Bardonniaeth yr Uchelwyr* (1959) 4. The translation is taken from Brynach Parri, 'Crog Aberhodni', *Brycheiniog* 35 (2003), 19-36.

Cornish literature which is commonly dated to the late fourteenth century. The episode of the spear-thrust is described in stanzas 216 to 220:[446]

216. En e3ewon skyntyll keth resteffo m*u*r vylyny 3e veras w*or*th c*ri*st y eth hag ef yn crous ow cregy y a welas w*ar* y feth y vos marow yredy yttaseffsons oll yn weth dre an golon y delly	Those learned Jews, much villainy had they. To look on Christ they went, while he was hanging on the cross. They saw by his face that he was dead indeed. They all also desired to pierce him through the heart.
217. In aga herwyth y 3ese vn m*ar*reg long*is* hynwys dal o ny wely banna ef rebea de*n* a brys gew a ve yn y 3ewle gans an e3ewon gorr*is* ha pe*n* lym rag y wane 3e golon Ih*es*us hynwys	Along with them was a soldier named Longis: Blind was he, he saw not a drop; he was a man of worth. Into his hands a spear was put by the Jews, and a sharp point for him to pierce mild Jesus' heart.
218. Long*is* sur an barth dyghow 3e grous Ihesus y 3ese 3e*n* marreg w*or*th y hanow y a yrhys may whane yn corf I*he*sus caradow en gew lym ef a bechye p*ur* ewn yn dan an asow dre an golon may 3ese	Longis, sure, was on the right side of Jesus's cross, To the soldier by his name they bade that he should pierce into the body of loveable Jesus, the sharp spear he darted right under the ribs, so that it was through the heart.
219. An golon y 3eth stret bras do*ur* ha goys yn kemesk*is* ha ryp an gyw a resas 3e 3ewle neb an gwysk*is* y wholhas y 3ewlagas gans y eyll leyff o gosys dre ras an goys y whelas Ih*es*us *cri*st del o dy3gt*is*	From the heart there came a great spring, water and blood mixed, and ran down by the spear to the hands of him that struck him: He bathed his eyes with his one hand that was bloodied- Through the blood's grace he saw how Jesus Christ was dighted.
220. Eddrek m*ur* an kemeras rag an ober re wresse 3y ben dowlyn y co3as arluth gevyans yn me3e dall en ny welyn yn fas ow bos m*ar* veyll ow pewe Ih*es*us 3o3o a avas pan welas y edrege	Great sorrow seized him for the work he had done. On his knees he fell. -'Lord, forgiveness!' he said. 'Blind was I, I saw not well, that I am living so vilely'. Jesus forgave him when he saw his sorrows.

[446] Text and translation from Stokes, Whitley (ed.), *Pascon agan Arluth.* Appendix to the Transactions of the Philological Society 7 (1860-61), 1-100.

Longinus, called 'Longis' here, is said to be completely blind. He is described as a 'man of worth'. Longinus is ordered to pierce the dead body of Christ with the spear by 'the Jews', he obeys the command and pierces the Crucified in the heart. He is healed by the mixture of water and blood running along the spear-shaft onto one of his hands which he then applies to his eyes. He is then overcome with remorse and asks forgiveness which is granted at once. The last stanza seems to be at odds with the timing of the spear-thrust supposed to be taking place after Christ's death, as Longinus appears to be conversing with Christ. However, he may be understood to be praying to him.
It is interesting that the text specifies that Longinus is standing on the right side of the cross, presumably meaning the viewer's right, where he is commonly situated in Irish crucifixion iconography.

4.2 Longinus in Irish Charms

4.2.1 **International parallels**

In order to interpret the Irish material I will put it in a wider European and especially an Insular context. Longinus is commonly mentioned in medieval charms for blood and wounds throughout Europe. As Lea Olsan recently pointed out, different Longinus motifs to staunch bleeding circulated independently in medieval English manuscripts where they appear in French, English and Latin.[447] Longinus formulae against bleeding are also commonly found in Germany, along with *Waffensegen*, 'weapons charms', which make reference to the lance-bearer. Longinus formulae also appear in older Greek charms, in Czech and in Latvian charms, although in the latter the name of the soldier piercing Christ is omitted.[448]

Of about three hundred copies of charms surviving in Middle English in manuscripts dating from the period roughly 1370 to 1540, almost half are versions of the Longinus motif against bleeding or of the *Flum Jordan* motif,[449] a formula to staunch bleeding in analogy to Christ's staying of the River Jordan, which was often combined with the

[447] Olsan, Lea T., 'The Three Good Brothers Charm: Some Historical Points', *Incantatio*. *An International Journal on Charms, Charmers and Charming* 1 (2011), 48-78, 60.
[448] *ibid.*
[449] Smallwood, T. M. 'The Transmission of Charms in English, Medieval and Modern', in *Charms and Charming in Europe*, ed. Roper, Jonathan (2004), 11-31, 15.

Longinus motif. In view of this wealth of material from the Middle English period, it may seem surprising that only one charm mentioning Longinus survives in Anglo-Saxon. This is not a variant of the blood- or wound charm so common in the later manuscripts, but a charm against a stitch:

Wiþ gestice.
Wriþ Cristes mal *and* sing þriwe þaeron þis *and* pater noster,
longinus miles lancea ponxit dominum et restitet sanguis et recessit dolor.[450]
(For a stitch.
Write a cross of Christ, and sing thrice over the place these words and a Paternoster:[451]
The soldier Longinus pierced the Lord with a lance and the blood would remain and the pain receded.)

In the charms from the Middle English period, appeals to Longinus are not only made to staunch bleeding and against the bloody flux, but also for the extraction of an arrow or spearhead or other sharp implement. There is even one Middle-English charm that invokes the saint against toothache:

A charme for the tethe-werke.
[…]
I conjoure the, laythely beste, with that ilke spere
That Longious in his hand gan bere,
And also with ane hatte of thorne
That one my Lord's hede was borne,
[…]
IX tymes goddis forbott thou wykkyde worme,
That ever thou make any rystynge,
Bot awaye mote thou wende,
To the erde and the stane!

Rose Peebles[452] takes this charm to be old since the belief that toothache and the decay of a tooth are caused by a worm can ultimately be traced back to Babylonian tradition.

[450] Cockayne, *Leechdoms* I, 393.
[451] Translation of the Old English after Grendon, Felix, 'The Anglo-Saxon Charms', *Journal of American Folk-Lore* 22 (1909). The translation of the Latin is mine.
[452] Peebles, *The Legend of Longinus*, 73f.

Indeed, the worm is mentioned in an Anglo-Saxon charm against toothache quoted by Douglas Hyde and is also found in Irish tradition.[453]

Struggling to see a connection between Longinus and toothaches, Peebles goes on to point out the use of heated spear-throwers in the treatment of dental conditions in native Australian folk medicine. A much more likely source, in my opinion, is the *Passio Longini*, where the martyr is tortured at the furious Prefect's command by having his teeth pulled out and his tongue mutilated:

> *Et iratus Preses dixit: 'Dentale aferte et eius dentes excutite et gladi<o> linguam eius incidete* […]'. *Quescionari uero linguam eius absciderunt et dentis eius excusserunt.*[454]
>
> And the irate Governor said: 'Bring the dental instrument and extract his teeth and cut out his tongue with a sword […].' The Questionarii (i.e. professional torturers) then cut off his tongue and pulled out his teeth.

The invocation of saints and martyrs for ailments in the body parts in which they were tortured as part of their prosecution has been attested in Christian sources and folk belief and practice throughout the Middle Ages and into the Modern period. It is curious, however, that there appears to be no evidence for the association of Longinus with eye complaints or blindness,[455] despite the popularization of his association with blindness by the *Legenda Aurea*,[456] and increasingly common references to it in folk traditions throughout Europe in the late medieval period.[457]

4.2.2 **Irish examples**

The spell called '*Éle*'

Probably the oldest Irish spell that may be of interest in the present context is the *Éle*. While it does not mention Longinus by name it seems to be related to the tradition and

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[453] Hyde, *Religious songs of Connacht*, 411. Since the Irish charm in question does not mention Longinus it will not be discussed further here.

[454] See my edition of the Turin text, §5, l.7.

[455] *Cf.* Olsan, Lea T., 'Charms in Medieval Memory', in *Charms and Charming in Europe*, ed. Roper, Jonathan (2004), 78.

[456] Graesse, Johann G.T., *Jacobi A Voragine* Legenda Aurea, *Vulgo Historia Lombardica Dicta* (1850), 202 (ch. xlvii, *De Sancto Longino*):*...maxime ex eo, ut quidam dicunt, quod cum ex infirmitate vel senectute oculi ejus caligassent, de sanguine Christi per lanceam decurrente fortuito oculos suos tetigit et protinus clare vidit.*

[457] Compare Beggiato, 'Il mito di Longino Dall'Irlanda All' Europa Continentale' and Dauven-Van Knippenberg, *einer von den Soldaten öffnete seine Seite: eine Untersuchung der Longinuslegende im deutschsprachigen geistlichen Spiel des Mittelalters*.

to the events of the Passion. This obscure spell –or perhaps even class of spells- is familiar to students of Irish literature from the *Éli Loga*, the 'Éle of Lug', an incantation spoken by Lug mac Ethlend in a famous episode in *Táin Bó Cúailnge* to heal the wounded Cú Chulainn after putting him to sleep on the burial mound of Lerga, and to rouse him to fight again.

In Recension II of the *Táin*,[458] the term *Éle* is mentioned as one of three types of spells used to restore Cú Chulainn and Fer Diad when the two champions are severely wounded and close to death after a day locked in mortal combat. The spells mentioned are *iptha ₇ éle ₇ arthana*[459], *i.e.* a form of *Éle* in conjunction with the plural forms of *epaid*, a spell, and *ortha*, an oration or charm. In the text these charms are apparently considered to be highly efficacious and more powerful than the herbal remedies tried before them.[460]

DIL (*s.v.éle*) defines the word *Éle* as a prayer, charm or incantation. However, the exact meaning and the etymology of the word are still uncertain and so, to some extent, is the function of the spell. A medieval attempt at an etymology is found in Cormac's Glossary, which suggests the derivation of the word from Latin *oleum*, 'oil', via Greek *elon*. *Oleum*, in turn, is apparently taken to derive from Irish *ola(e)*, oil, and *ím*, 'butter'.[461] This is interesting as in at least one manuscript the spell is associated with the preparation of a salve made from butter to be applied to a wound.[462]

Heinrich Zimmer[463] argued that the word was derived from Old Norse *heilla*, an argument which is central to his proposed dating of the spell to the early Viking period. *DIL* (*s.v. éle*) further suggests a possible derivation of the word *Éle* from the final outcry of Christ on the cross in Mt 27:46: *Eli, eli, lamma sabacthani* ('My God, My God, why

[458] O'Rahilly, Cecile (ed. and tr.), *Táin Bó Cúalnge*: from the Book of Leinster, ITS 49 (1967).
[459] O'Rahilly, *Táin Bó Cúalnge*, 87, ll. 3167-8.
[460] see Borsje, Jacqueline, 'A Spell Called *Éle*', in *Ulidia 3: proceedings of the Third International Conference on the Ulster Cycle of Tales, University of Ulster, Coleraine 22–25 June, 2009. In memoriam Patrick Leo Henry*, ed. Toner, Gregory and Séamus Mac Mathúna (2013), 193–212, 197-8.
[461] *cf.* Borsje, 'A Spell Called *Éle*', 208-9.
[462] see the 'Leechbook Éle' below. The use of butter on wounds is also otherwise attested in the Irish charms tradition, see Borsje, *ibid*.
[463] Zimmer, Heinrich, 'Keltische Studien. Ein Altirischer Zauberspruch aus der Vikingerzeit', *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung auf dem Gebiet der Indogermanischen Sprachen* 33:1 (1895), 141-156.

hast thou forsaken me?'). This latter theory has been endorsed by Jacqueline Borsje in her recent, detailed discussion of this spell.[464]

The occasional spelling of *Éle* with an initial 'h' –which Zimmer regarded as the original form- is not an argument against this theory. The correct Hebrew spelling 'Eli' varies freely with the Medieval Latin spelling 'Heli' in the biblical texts, as Brent Miles has pointed out.[465]

The main textual example of a charm explicitly referred to as an *Éle* is preserved in the Leechbook of Bald the Anglo-Saxon,[466] an Old English medical text which survives in one manuscript dating from the middle of the tenth century, but is thought to have been compiled in the ninth century, possibly at the instigation of King Alfred the Great.[467]

The 'Irish incantation' (*scyttisc gealdor*) in that manuscript is described in the table of contents as *gecost*, which Zimmer translates as 'tested' (*erprobt*).[468] The text starts with instructions in Anglo-Saxon for the preparation of a salve from butter:

> *Wiþ fleogendum atre ⁊ ælcum æternum swile: on Frigedæge aþwer buteran þe sie gemolcen of anes bleos nytne oððe hinde, ⁊ ne sie wiþ wætre gemenged; asing ofer nigon siþum letania, ⁊ nigon siþum ' Pater noster', ⁊ nigon siþum þis gealdor:...*
>
> Against flying poison and every poisonous swelling: on a Friday churn butter that has been milked from a cow of one colour or a hind, and do not let it be mixed with water; sing a litany over it nine times, and an Our Father nine times, and this incantation nine times.

This is then followed by the charm itself in garbled Old Irish:

> *Acræ. ærcre. ær nem. nadre. ærcuna hel. ær nem. ni þærn. æ. asan. bui þine. adcrice. ær nem. meodre. ær nem. æþern. ær nem allū. honor. ucus. idar. ad cert. cunolari. raticamo. helæ. icas cristi ta. hæle. to bært. tera. fueli. cui. robater. plana. uili.*

Heinrich Zimmer[469] and Howard Meroney[470] partially translated this charm. The exact meaning of the text is disputed and is beyond the scope of my discussion here. It seems

[464] Borsje, J., 'A Spell Called *Éle*', see footnote 7.
[465] Miles, Brent, *Heroic Saga and Classical Epic in Medieval Ireland*. Studies in Celtic History 30 (2011), 196.
[466] London, BL, Royal 12 D. xvii, also known as *Medicinale Anglicum.*
[467] Borsje, 'A Spell Called *Éle*', 203.
[468] Zimmer, 'Ein Altirischer Zauberspruch', 145. This is variously translated as 'approved' (Cockayne) and 'choice' (Pettit), see Borsje, 'A Spell Called *Éle*', 204.

clear, however, that the Old Irish original had something to do with the staunching of blood (*ærcre i.e. 'ar crú'*, 'against gore') and that the spell was used against wounding (*ærcuna hel, i.e. ar guin a héle*, 'against wounding [is] his *éle*'). The charm also seems to have been meant to protect against poison or snake venom (*ær nem nadre*), which is repeated several times with slight spelling variations, perhaps due to poetic licence or to the deliberately obscure use of language often found in charms.

Borsje concludes that the *Éle* is associated with poison on the one hand and with the treatment of a wound and the staunching of blood on the other. This may seem like a curious double function. One possible explanation is that infection was regarded as a form of poisoning,[471] here referred to as 'flying poison' (*fleogendum atre*) in the Anglo-Saxon directions for the use of the charm.[472]

A different explanation, however, is offered by Borsje who points to the apocryphal tradition of the 'poisoning' of Christ by Stephaton, as found, among others, in the 'Healing of Longinus'- text in LB:[473] *Egitianus, didiu, nó Zefatón in dara fer boí oc in crochad, is é dorat in neim do dig do Críst*. ('As for Egitianus, or Stephaton, the second man who was at the crucifixion, it is he who gave Christ the poison as a drink'). The wounding in question would then be the wounding of Christ by the spear of Longinus.

While the words *Eli, eli, lamma sabacthani* are not actually preserved in the Leechbook *Éle*, Borsje notes that the apocryphal prayer of St. John against poison, an apparently cognate text directly preceding the *Éle*,[474] starts with the words *Deus meus*, the Latin equivalent of 'Eli' or 'My God' and the beginning of the Latin equivalent of *Eli, eli, lamma sabacthani, i.e. Deus meus, Deus meus, ut quid dereliquisti me*?, 'My God, My

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[469] Zimmer, 'Ein Altirischer Zauberspruch',142-6.

[470] Meroney, Howard, 'Irish in the Old English Charms', *Speculum* 20:2 (Apr., 1945), 172-182.175ff.

[471] Compare the still popular, if medically inaccurate, term 'blood poisoning'.

[472] Irish charms and Irish manuscripts themselves seem to have enjoyed a great reputation for their efficacy against poisons in Anglo-Saxon England. See Bede, *The Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, eds. McClure, Judith and Roger Collins, transl. Bertram Colgrave, Oxford World's Classics (2008), 11: 'In fact almost everything that the island [of Ireland] produces is efficacious against poison. For instance we have seen how, in the case of people suffering from snake-bite, the leaves of manuscripts from Ireland were scraped, and the scrapings put in water and given to the sufferer to drink. These scrapings at once absorbed the whole violence of the spreading poison and assuaged the swelling.'

[473] See edition ll.14-15.

[474] Borsje suggests that the St. John's prayer or spell is also an *éle*, i.e. a powerful text against poison. See Borsje, 'A spell called *Éle*', 211.

God, why hast thou forsaken me?'(Mt 27:46). The spelling of the charm as *Eli* rather than *Éle* in the LU *Táin* may also be a pointer.[475]

Unfortunately, we know little about the circumstances surrounding the application of the spell. It is tempting to try and glimpse some such detail from the *Éli Loga*-episode in the *Táin*. Brent Miles and other scholars have pointed out the overt parallelism of Cú Chulainn's three-day sleep and his divine healing on *ferta Lerga* with Christ in the tomb and the Resurrection.[476] Perhaps this analogy is more than a mere literary device, but is already associated with the *Éle* itself. If Borsje's interpretation is correct, the spell appears to derive its healing powers from the mystery of Christ's death and, implicitly, his resurrection. Is it possible that the *Éle* at one stage formed part of a healing ritual modelled on these biblical events? Was a severely wounded or poisoned patient made to sleep before being treated with an *Éle*, maybe in conjunction with other spells and healing herbs like Cú Chulainn, and was he then, after a certain period of time and with divine help, expected to arise healthy and whole like Cú Chulainn in the *Táin*, or like Christ from his tomb? This interpretation is, of course, highly speculative and caution seems in order since the *Éle* is used in a specific narrative context here and it is uncertain how much the scene tells us about the general use of the spell.

A charm against bleeding (*Ortha na fola*)

A charm which explicitly invokes Longinus is the blood-charm known in Irish simply as *Ortha na fola.* This charm begins with the name of Longinus, or some other name given to the spear-bearer: '[Name] is the name of the man who thrust the spear through the side of Christ...' ([*Ainm*] *ainm an fhir a shaigh an tslea tri thaobh Chriost*). Angela Partridge notes that the charm is commonly found throughout the Irish Gaeltachts[477] where it seems to have been in use at least until the early twentieth century.

[475] Brent Miles further compares the perhaps parallel linguistic development which saw the opening words of the Lord's prayer, '*Pater noster* ', shortened to *pater*, become the general word for prayer in Old Irish. See Miles, *Heroic Saga and Classical Epic*, 196.

[476] Miles, *ibid.* See also Dooley, Ann, *Playing the Hero: Reading the Irish Saga 'Táin Bó Cúailnge'* (2006), 145-52. and Borsje, 'A spell called *Éle*', 211.

[477] Partridge, Angela, 'Ortha an Triúr Bráithre: Traidisiún meánaoiseach i mbéaloideas na Gaeilge', *Béaloideas* 48/49 (1980/1981), 188-203, 192.

A particularly clear version was discovered by Kenneth Nilsen written in the margin of an early nineteenth century manuscript from Co. Leitrim, now in Massachusetts:[478]

Longinus ainim an fhir do sgoilt taobh an Ard-ri
Is beannaigh an nidh do thainic as, fuil fíon agus fíor uisge,
An ainim an Athar stop an fhuil agus an Mhic táraidh,
agus an spiorad naomh, Amen.
O a Thighearna stop an fhuil so ata ro threan. Amean.

Longinus is the name of the man who split the side of the High King
Blessed the thing that came out of it, blood, wine and pure water,
In the name of the Father stop the blood and (of) the Son come to assist
and (of) the Holy Spirit, Amen.
O Lord, stop this blood that is too strong (i.e. copious). Amen.

This charm is an Irish version of a type of Longinus charm to cure wounds or to stop bleeding very commonly found in medieval English manuscripts.[479] One typical version runs as follows:

> *Longinus miles latus + domini nostri + Ihesu Christi + lancea perforauit, & continuo exiuit sanguis et aqua in redemptionem nostrum + Adiuro te sanguis per + ihesum + Christum per + latus eius per + sanguine eius, sta + sta + sta + […]*
>
> Longinus the soldier pierced the side of Our Lord Jesus Christ with a lance and there flowed out continuously blood and water in our redemption. I adjure you blood, by Jesus Christ, by his side, by his blood, stop, stop, stop... [480]

The following, slightly different medieval English version quoted by Owen Davies,[481] translated from the Latin, is closer to the Irish text as it invokes the Trinity and does not directly adjure the blood:

> A soldier of old thrust a lance into the side of the Saviour:
> immediately there flowed thence blood and water, -the blood of Redemption, and the water of Baptism. In the name of the Father + may the blood cease. In the name of the Son + may the blood remain. In the name of the Holy Ghost + may no more blood flow from the mouth, the vein, or the nose.

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[478] Nilsen, Kenneth E., 'Three Irish Manuscripts in Massachusetts', *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium* 5 (1985), 1-21, 7. I have changed the layout and the translation is mine.
[479] See Olsan,'Charms in Medieval Memory' and *eadem*, 'The Three Good Brothers Charm'.
[480] See Peebles, *The Legend of Longinus*, 77. Translation mine. Compare also Olsan, 'The Three Good Brothers Charm', appendix i, 17.
[481] Davies, Owen, 'Healing Charms in Use in England and Wales 1700-1950', *Folklore* 107 (1996), 19-32, 21.

However, the Irish version of the charm does not completely correspond to these Latin versions from England. An interesting characteristic of the Irish text is that it does not just mention blood and water issuing from Christ's side, but 'blood, wine and pure water'.

A reference to wine flowing out of Christ's wound is already found in Blathmac's poem and I have discussed the probably poetic use of *fín* and *fínfuil* to refer to the blood of Christ in Blathmac's poem and in Bardic poetry elsewhere.[482] The 'Healing of Longinus'-text in *Leabhar Breac* talks about 'a stream of wine and a stream of water' coming from the side of Jesus (*tanic iarsin sruth fína ⁊ sruth uisqi a toeb Ísu*)[483] whereas in the Irish 'Passion of Longinus' the soldier splits the heart of Christ in two, causing blood and wine to come out of it (*scoiltis a cride ar dó, co n-id ed tra tanic ass fuil ⁊ fín*).[484] I know of no other text besides *Ortha na fola* mentioning all three liquids, blood wine and water, together.

A slightly different version of the same charm is given by Douglas Hyde in *The Religious Songs of Connacht*:[485]

Alíneas ainm an fhir
Do sgoilt croidhe an chuim ghil
Agus níor tháinig amach de +
Act fuil fíon 's fíor-uisge
i n-ainm an Athar an Mhic agus an Spioraid Naoimh coisg an fhuil atá tréan.[486]

Here it is not Christ's side, but his heart which appears to be pierced. Hyde notes that his source specifically emphasized that the blood did not come out of the right side of Christ: '*nior tháinig as a thaoibh dheas amach*', *dubhairt seisean*.[487] Again, we see the reference to the three liquids issuing from Christ's wound.

The name of Longinus, which is preserved correctly in the Massachusetts manuscript, has frequently been altered or garbled in Irish charms. In addition to 'Alíneas' in Hyde's version, variants of the name given to the soldier piercing Christ in other copies of

[482] See ch. 1.4 and ch. 4.3.
[483] See edition ch. 3.2.2, ll.2-3.
[484] §1, l.3.
[485] Hyde, *Religious Songs of Connacht*, 382.
[486] For the English translation see Hyde, *Religious Songs of Connacht*, 383.
[487] *Ibid*.

Ortha na fola include 'Lann liomtha' (*Lann liomtha, hainm an fhir, etc*. (*An Lóchrann*, 191O)) 'Eólitis' (CBÉ 571: 248), 'Wóhíneas' (CBÉ 160: 454), and, in one instance, curiously, 'Seán Ó Cadhlaigh' (CBÉ 6: 261).[488]

The name is omitted -although called 'blessed'- in the following version included in O'Flaherty's *Siamsa*:[489]

Ortha coisgthe fola
Is beannuíth' ainm an fhir a sgoilt croí an laoi ghil,
Is maith an ní tháinic as, fuil, fíon, agus fíoruisge.
In ainm an Athar stop an fhuil; Sancti taraí dá chabhair.
Spiritus Sancti, stop an fhuil tá a' tíocht go tréan.

Yet another version apparently gives the soldier the telling name 'Abhuin fhion' (*Abhuin fhion do ghairm an fear, etc.*,[490] yet another striking reference to the stream of wine believed to have issued from Christ's wound.

A possible explanation for this variety of names is that the name 'Longinus', which is already comparatively rare in Bardic poetry, has been forgotten as it seems to have increasingly been superseded by the popular epithet *an Dall* in late medieval and early modern Irish popular tradition.[491]

Longinus in an Irish version of the 'Three Good Brothers' charm

The charm for wounds beginning *Tres boni fratres per uiam ibant/ambulabant*... (Three good brothers were going/ walking...) is found in many medieval manuscripts across Europe. This charm typically consists of a title designating its use for wounds, followed by a narrative describing an encounter between Christ and three brothers, travelling in search of healing herbs to cure wounds. This is followed by a brief dialogue between Christ and the brothers, with instructions for a cure involving the application of olive oil and wool to the wound and the recitation of a charm.

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[488] See Partridge, 'Ortha an Triúr Bráithre', 192, and Reidar Th. Christiansen's book review in *Béaloideas* 4:1 (1928), 412-415, 415.
[489] Ó Fotharta, Dónall, *Siamsa a' gheimhri cois teallaí in Iar-Chonnachta: cnuasach sean-aimsireachta; a chuir Dónall Ó Fotharta le chéile* (1892), 136.
[490] In the Comyn Manuscripts in the National Library, see Christiansen, book review [untitled] in *Béaloideas* 4:1 (1928), 412-415, 415.
[491] On the frequent use of *An Dall* in late medieval and Early Modern Irish literature compare McNamara, 'Bible text and illumination', 198. and Partridge, 'Ortha an Triúr Bráithre', 192. See also my discussion of the evidence in Irish Bardic Poetry in section 3 below.

In her recent discussion of the history of the 'Three Good Brothers' charm and the English manuscript evidence, Lea Olsan suggested that the original encounter formula of the charm may go back to the early Christian period, as a similar narrative for healing in Greek is found on a fifth or sixth century papyrus from the Oxyrhynchus collection.[492] The charm circulated in Latin in literate Christian clerical communities until it was translated into various European vernaculars, probably from the twelfth century onwards.

An example from an Irish context in Latin but with Irish directions for application is preserved in Trinity College MS. H.3.17 (1336), a miscellaneous collection of vellums of fifteenth to sixteenth century date, and has been published by R.I. Best:[493]

> Pater noster ⁊ aue Maria ⁊ credo ⁊ Ibant tres boni fratres ad montem Oliueti bonas herbas querentes omnia uulnera sanantes obuiauerunt domino nostro Ihesu Christo Quo tenditis uos tres boni fratres?
> Domine ad montem Oliueti bonas herbas querentes omnia uulnera sanantes.
> Reuertimini uos tres boni fratres et accipietis oliam oliue ⁊ lanam nidentis ⁊ consiuretis uulnera per quinqui plagas domini nostri Ihesu Christi ⁊ per mamillas de quibus lactatus est Ihesu quod nequi uultus doleat nequi putrescat nequi sicatriscat plusquam fecerunt uulnera domini nostri Ihesu Christi quando suspensus erat in cruce sic ita mundum sanata profundo sicut fecerunt uulnera domini nostri Ihesu Christi. I[n] nomine patris ⁊ filii ⁊ spiritus sancti. Amen.
>
> A Pater noster and an Ave Maria and a Credo. Three good brothers went to Mount Olivet seeking beneficial herbs to cure all wounds. They encountered Our Lord Jesus Christ. Where are you bound, three good brothers?
> To Mount Olivet, Lord, seeking beneficial herbs to cure all wounds. Turn back, three good brothers, and you shall receive olive oil and pure wool and you shall conjure the wounds by the Five Wounds of Our Lord Jesus Christ and by the breasts from which Jesus was suckled that the wound does not hurt nor putrefy nor scar any more than the wounds of Our Lord Jesus Christ did when he was hanging on the cross. and thus the ?deep gash (shall) heal cleanly as did the wounds of Our Lord Jesus Christ. In the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. Amen.
>
> Cuic p*aid*recha ⁊ cuic aue Maria ⁊ creda ina diaid A c*ur* sin i n-ola ⁊ i n-olaind muilt gin b*er*rad romi ⁊ a c*ur* imon cned ⁊ bid slan o tiachair cach cned re c*ur*fit*h*er ginmotha sicni *nó* cliab.
>
> Five paters and five Ave Marias and a credo after them. Put that into oil and in the wool of a wether which has not before been shorn, and place it about the wound,

[492] Olsan, 'The Three Good Brothers Charm', 49-50 and 62.
[493] Best, Richard I., 'Some Irish Charms', *Ériu* 16 (1952), 27-32, 29-30.

and every wound against which it is put will become free from soreness except peritoneum or chest.

This version of the charm omits the Longinus motif, beginning 'Longinus/Longeus, the soldier/Hebrew pierced the side of the Lord with a spear' which often, though not always, starts the final incantation. Olsan regards the Longinus motif embedded in the 'Three Good Brothers charm' as distinct from the typical Longinus formula found in the above mentioned blood- and wound-charms in medieval English manuscripts, which focus on the blood and water flowing from Christ's wound.[494] The focus in the 'Three Good Brothers' Longinus motif is on the piercing of Christ's side, followed by an enumeration of wound symptoms (*e.g.* bleeding, festering, swelling, rotting *etc*.) to be averted and is based on the belief that the wounds of Christ, referred to as 'uncorrupted wounds' in some versions of the charm, healed instantly. Sometimes, in late medieval sources, the appeal to Longinus is replaced by a direct conjuration of these 'Five Wounds'.[495] The Latin version from Ireland quoted above seems to belong to this later tradition.

There are also several versions of the 'Three-Good-Brothers' charm surviving in Irish which are collected from oral sources. Angela Partridge[496] gives four such modern Irish folk versions gathered by Hyde and by the Irish Folklore Commission in the early twentieth century, as well as a nineteenth century English translation from Lady Wilde's *Ancient Legends of Ireland*.[497] All five texts were collected in the West of Ireland. While demonstrating the conservatism and longevity of the Irish charm tradition, all of these versions of the charm are shortened and appear to be somewhat corrupt. The references to the prescribed treatment of the wound with oil and wool have become garbled, apparently due to confusion caused by the similarity of the words for oil and wool (*ola, olann*) and those for sheep and berry –or perhaps olive- (*caora, caor*) in Irish. In Lady Wilde's version this part has been omitted entirely and the three brothers are said to be seeking gold on Mount Olivet 'for a cup to hold the tears of Christ'. [498]

[494] Olsan, 'The Three Good Brothers Charm', 52.
[495] Olsan, 'The Three Good Brothers Charm', 51.
[496] Partridge, 'Ortha an Triúr Bráithre', 190-93.
[497] Wilde, Jane Francesca, *Ancient Legends, Mystic Charms, and Superstitions of Ireland*, vol. 2 (1887), 80.
[498] *Ibid.*

It is therefore perhaps not surprising that only one Irish version of the 'Three Good Brothers' charm, collected in Co. Galway in 1933, retains the Longinus motif:

Ortha na nArainneacha (p.191f) CBÉ 202: 81.

> Go mbeannai Dia duit (*sic*), a thriu'r braithre.' 'Go mbeannai Dia is Muire duit, a Mhic Dilis De.' 'Ca bhfuil sibh ag dul, a thriuir braithre?' 'Ta muid ag dul go Sliabh na hOla, 'Baint olann (*sic*) de chrann.' 'Imigh libh is téigh sibh ann, Tugaigh libh olann na n-olann, Olann ghlan chaorach, agus na' hiarraidh duais dai chionn. Luan d'Aois ainm an fhir a sháigh an tsleá tri thaobh Chríost. An té d'fhulaing sin agus d'fhóir, go bhfóire sé ar an arainn.[499]
>
> May God bless you, O three brothers. God and Mary's blessing to you, O dear Son of God. Where are you going, three brothers? We are going to Mount Olivet, to obtain wool (?oil) from a tree. Be off with you and go there, take with you wool of wool (?oil of olives), pure sheep's wool, and do not seek payment for it. Luan d'Aois is the name of the man who thrust the spear through the side of Christ. The man who suffered this and saved (us), may he help the stitch.

'Luan d'Aois' can confidently be identified as Longinus. Perhaps the most unusual aspect of this variant of the 'Three Brothers' charm is that it is not applied against bleeding or infection of wounds here.[500] It is not entitled *Ortha an Triúr Bráithre*,[501] or simply *An Triúr Bráthar*,[502] as in two other Irish versions, but *Ortha na nArainneacha*. The text specifies that the charm is for people suffering from *arainneacha*, defined as 'some sort of sharp pain' ('Ortha í seo lé duine a mbeadh arainneacha air, cineál pian ghéar eicínt').[503] *DIL* loosely defines *arrann* or *arraing* as a pang or a stitch.[504] In Modern Irish, *arraing* usually refers to a sudden, stabbing pain in one's side or a stitch in the side.[505]

The word is taken to mean 'a stitch in the side' by Partridge, who points out that another version of the charm, also from Co. Galway, is also entitled 'Ortha na nOrneacha'.[506] This charm appears to be incomplete. It ends abruptly with the exhortation not to take

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[499] *CBÉ* I 202: 81. Translation mine.
[500] In late medieval England the Three Good brothers charm seems to have occasionally been reinterpreted as a charm for toothache (see Olsan, 'The Three Good Brothers Charm', appendix), perhaps due to the influence of an apparent pre-existing tradition of Longinus-charms against this ailment (see above).
[501] *Béaloideas* 3 (1931-2), 68. See also Partridge, 'Ortha an Triúr Bráithre', 191.
[502] Hyde, *Religious Songs of Connacht* II, 2. See also Partridge, 'Ortha an Triúr Bráithre', 190.
[503] See Partridge, 'Ortha an Triúr Bráithre', 192.
[504] *DIL s.v. arrann*.
[505] Ó Dónaill, *Foclóir Gaeilge-Béarla, s.v. arraing*.
[506] Compare Partridge, 'Ortha an Triúr Bráithre', 193.

any payment and does not make any reference to a stitch in the charm itself, but it seems safe to assume that it originally contained the same Longinus motif.

Lady Wilde's version of the charm is also entitled 'For a Pain in the Side', although it does not, in its present form, include any reference to this ailment or to Longinus in its text.

However, the Irish reinterpretation of the 'Three Brothers' charm and its Longinus motif is interesting, especially since the above-mentioned only surviving Anglo-Saxon charm to mention Longinus is entitled 'for a stitch' (*wiþ gestice*). While the Anglo-Saxon charm is clearly distinct from the 'Three Good Brothers' charm, it suggests that the association of Longinus with stitches in the side has a long history. It is possible that this association was known in Ireland at the same time it was current in Anglo-Saxon England. Indeed, considering the Irish influence on the Anglo-Saxon charms tradition,[507] the isolated occurrence of the charm and the apparent absence of Longinus-charms for stitches from later medieval English manuscripts, it might even have originated in Ireland.

How Longinus's piercing of the side of Christ came to be linked to a stitch in the side is not entirely clear. In fact, it may seem surprising to the modern reader that such a transient and essentially benign condition as a stitch would have called for the recitation of a healing charm. Was it simply because the cause of the sudden pain was unknown, as it is disputed among medics to this day? It seems curious that the term *arraingeacha* in the modern Irish language either refers to a stitch in the side, as caused by excessive running or laughing, or, in the idiom *arraingeacha an bháis*, or sometimes simply *arraingeacha*, refers to the throes of death. Is this a coincidence or is it possible that a side ache was thought to be dangerous because of a perceived analogy with Christ's 'lethal' side-wound?

It is also worth noting that Modern Irish folk superstition still prescribes a cure for a stitch in the side, which involves the application of unsalted butter and sometimes the sign of the cross to be made seven times over the afflicted area.[508]

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[507] See Meroney, 'Irish in the Old English Charms', *Speculum* 20:2 (Apr. 1945) 172-82.

[508] See 'Irish Folk Remedies', eHow article by Sandra Murphy, online at http://www.ehow.com/about_5437431_irish-folk-remedies.html. Retrieved 01/10/2014. See also 'God Between us and All Harm- Irish Superstitions' by Bridget Haggerty, online at http://www.irishcultureandcustoms.com/ACustom/Superstitions1.html. Retrieved 01/10/2014, which only mentions the application of unsalted butter.

4.3 Bardic Poetry

4.3.1 **Representations of the Passion in Irish Bardic Poetry**

The vast corpus of Irish Bardic poetry written between the thirteenth and the seventeenth century is not only characterized by the use of standard language and verse-forms, but also, it has been argued, by a 'resemblance of content, mentality and spirit'.[509] A large portion of this poetry is devoted to religious subjects, with the most commonly recurring themes being Hell, Doomsday and the Passion. Bardic poetry is an invaluable -and far from fully exploited- source for tracing the development of religious thought in later Medieval Ireland. It both reflects contemporary popular belief and must have played an important role in shaping and spreading such belief. As Lambert McKenna, the most prolific editor and translator of Bardic poetry and still the most commonly cited authority on the subject, has pointed out, '[a] mass of poetry produced by the most educated people of the day, constantly recited at the courts and gatherings, and multiplied indefinitely by the scribes, cannot have failed to have had some influence on the religious mentality of the people in general'.[510] In what follows I have included relevant quotations from the poems in the text. I have then put them in the full context in the following section.

The poets use scriptural material, but also draw heavily on apocryphal texts, for example the Childhood miracles of Christ, the Flight into Egypt, or the Assumption of Mary. Pan-European folkloristic motifs have been identified, such as the Virgin's shedding of three tears, and red or bloody tears at the Crucifixion (e.g. AiD[511] 95,8, 32).[512] Other story-elements may have their origin in misunderstandings or in the poets own imagination, or perhaps reflect lost traditions, such as references to the Virgin

[509] See McKenna, Lambert (ed.), *Dán Dé: the poems of Donnchadh Mór Ó Dálaigh, and the religious poems in the Duanaire of the Yellow Book of Lecan* (1922), hereafter DD, introduction page x.
[510] McKenna, Lambert (ed.), *Philip Bocht Ó Huiginn* (1931), hereafter PB, introduction page xiv.
[511] McKenna, Lambert (ed.), *Aithdioghluim dána: a miscellany of Irish bardic poetry, historical and religious, including the historical poems of the Duanaire in the Yellow Book of Lecan*, 2 vols, Irish Texts Society 37, 40 (1939-40).
[512] See Breeze, Andrew, 'The Virgin's tears of blood', *Celtica* 20 (1988), 110–122.

harrowing Hell (AiD 95,29) or to the Jews alleged intention to crucify Mary along with Christ (PB 23,17).

McKenna, in the language of his day, acknowledges the presence of such apocryphal elements and perhaps uniquely Irish traditions, stating that 'some of the concepts and conceits of the Bardic style are …quite unknown in the religious literature of any other country' and are 'such as to surprise -even unpleasantly- the ordinary pious mind'. He goes on to suggest that '[f]rom the theological point of view, the strangest part of all Bardic poetry is its treatment of the Passion.'[513] In the following, I will talk about the representation of the Passion in Bardic poetry in general and attempt to put the references to Longinus in context.

Despite its representation as an indigenous and largely independent body of religious compositions, Salvador Ryan is certainly right in pointing out that Bardic poetry has to be seen against the backdrop of emerging English and Continental Passion devotions, showing evidence of common late medieval cults such as the veneration of the A*rma Christi* or instruments of Christ's Passion, the contemplation of the Fifteen Sorrows, or the cult of the Five Wounds of Christ as well as of the increase of blood piety, particularly in Northern Europe, in the later Middle Ages.[514] However, the Bardic poets' portrayal of the Passion seems to be equally influenced by their contemporary cultural background, by ideas found in earlier Irish religious tradition as well as by pre-Christian motifs, all of which are fused into an unique, intriguing and sometimes puzzling amalgam.

As in all early Irish religious writings, the holy cross is greatly reverenced. It is constantly referred and appealed to by the Bardic poets and there are numerous poems dedicated to the cross itself. The cross-legends mentioned largely seem to correspond to those found in contemporary prose tracts, such as the identification of the four kinds of wood that went into the making of the cross[515] and the invention of the cross by St.

[513] McKenna, *Philip Bocht Ó Huiginn*, introduction page xvii.
[514] Ryan, Salvador, 'The Legacy of the Early Medieval Christ on the Cross: The Case of Irish Bardic Religious Poetry, c. 1200-c.1600', paper delivered at '*Croch Saithir*: Envisioning Christ on the Cross in the Early Medieval West', conference held at University College Cork, 30 March 2010.
[515] See McNamara, *Apocrypha in the Irish Church*, no. 63.

Helena.[516] There is also an emphasis on the cross's saturation with the blood of Christ, which is repeatedly described in terms of blood-drinking (e.g. PB 5, 21-22)[517] This seems to refer to the supposed Celtic keening custom of a female drinking her slain lover's blood.[518] The 'tree of the cross' is frequently juxtaposed with the 'tree of knowledge' and sometimes its wood is said to have grown out of the grain of that apple-tree, which reinforces the connection made between the Fall of man and the redemption of the human race on the cross.

Christ is referred to by a wide variety of epithets, among them such peculiarly Irish ones as the 'salmon of the three wells' (*eo na dtrí dtobar*) (e.g. DDxii,4). Christ is also frequently compared to a teacher or a leech. Perhaps the most frequent image, however, is that of Christ as a hero-warrior, and Christ's life and death are described in terms which echo secular heroic tales. He is said to have leapt eight leaps, which are identified in DD xxxix,18 as the leap from God, the leap from Heaven, the leap into Mary's womb, the leap into the world, the leap onto the Cross, the leap 'neath the tomb, the leap from the grave and the leap into Hell. The cross is commonly referred to as Christ's 'steed' (AiD 65,20,36; AiD77,35), and Christ as its 'rider' (e.g. DDiii,8). Christ's descent into Hell is called a foray or Easter-raid (*Creach na Cásga*), the souls he saves there are his booty. By contrast, Christ is also commonly portrayed as a peace-maker who has come into the world to end the 'War of the Apple-Tree' (*cogadh na habhla*) (DD iii,13) which began with the Fall of man, which is customarily blamed entirely on Eve. Due to original sin (*céidchion, seinchion*) the past generations of men, the 'five generations', i.e. the generations up to Noe, Abraham, Moses, David, and Christ existed in misery and

[516] Compare McNamara, *op.cit*., no. 65. DD iii, 23- 31 gives a very peculiar version of that legend, where St. Helena finds three crosses interred and identifies the True Cross by placing dead bodies on the crosses, as the body placed on the cross of Christ comes back to life.

[517] *..[D]o bhí a ghrás fa ghlas gidh tlás do ní a-nos/ gur ibh tú [i.e. the cross] is a teas digh a crú na gcos/ Nach díoth drud a dhearc rug a fhíoch dá alt/ 'n-a bhás nír an ort/ ón ghrás do ghabh smacht/ braon do chrú 'n-a chorp gur mhaol tú do thart.*

[518] For a discussion of the motif in a religious context, especially of Mary drinking Christ's blood, see S. Ryan, '*Merita Missae:* The Eucharist and the Lived Reality of Irish Christians in the Late Medieval and Early Modern Periods' in *50th International Eucharistic Congress 2012, Proceedings of the International Symposium of Theology: The ecclesiology of Communion Fifty Years after the Opening of Vatican II* (2013). For a fuller study of the custom see Bergholm, Alexandra, 'The drinking of blood in the ritual context of mourning' in *Language and power in the Celtic world: papers from the seventh Australian Conference of Celtic Studies, The University of Sydney, 30 September – 2 October 2010*, eds. Ahlqvist, Anders and Pamela O'Neill (2011), 1–12.

bondage. The sixth generation begins with Christ's coming into the world to redeem humankind and make peace between God and man.

The idea that the death of Christ cancels out man's debt, is one commonly found in Christian literature. However, in Bardic poetry it is expressed using the terminology of the Early Irish legal system.[519] The debt humans owe to God due to Original sin and their subsequent sins and paid by Christ is called an *éiric* or an *eineaclann*. The poets also constantly use legal terms in their descriptions of both the Passion and the Last Judgment and to convey man's relationship and obligations to God. However, the legal implications are complicated and the legal terminology used is sometimes obscure. The human race is thought to incur a new debt due to the Passion and can reduce this debt through good deeds and a pious life, but must hope not to be charged the full price for Christ's wounding and slaying, as, of course, no conceivable *éiric* would be sufficient for the king of kings. In the poem *An ben pairte páis Isa*, it is specifically Longinus who is supposed to owe the price for wounding -or killing- the high king, but is forgiven: *Don Dall ler corcrad a cich/ do maited eric airdricch* (see no. 34 below). Christ's kinship with man through Mary is constantly emphasized. Christ is described as our brother or foster-brother, which turns the crucifixion into the abominable crime of kin-slaying, however Christ, by helping the human race, is also doing his kin-duty.

These legal issues are bound up with the paradox which McKenna perceived to be at the heart of the treatment of the Passion in Bardic poetry in general. On the one hand the human race is responsible for Christ's suffering and death. This guilt cannot be atoned for, instead it is aggravated by our subsequent sins and will be brought against us on Judgment day. At the Last Judgment, Christ is thought to return with his red cross on his back, his wounds, which will be smarting and bleeding anew, will accuse us and rouse God's –or Christ's own- wrath. On the other hand, Christ died for our Salvation and by his own choice, hence his wounds cannot be held against us and if the human race was refused entry to Heaven, Christ's incarnation, suffering and death would become pointless.

At the Last Judgment, man will not be allowed to defend himself but will have to rely on his 'advocates', above all Mary, who is considered the primary intercessor on

[519] On this point see McKenna, *Dán Dé*, introduction page xvi.

humans' behalf. She is expected to assuage Christ's anger by reminding him of his kinship with man and appealing to him on account of her motherly care for him as well as her own suffering witnessing the crucifixion. Particular importance in this context is given to the gesture of Mary's exposing her breast to Christ, both to remind him of her nursing of him and as a calming gesture.[520] Other intercessors are St. Michael, the 'Steward of the Creator' (*maor Dé na ndúl*, AOD xxxii,13) who weighs man's good deeds against his bad deeds, and certain saints, who can all convince Christ not to insist on the full price due to him.[521]

Christ's breast itself is sometimes called a legal document or a charter, His five wounds, especially the breast or heart-wound, are the seal of the peace-pact, they are termed the 'five peace-offerings', the cross is the 'tree of the five peace-offerings' (*crann na gcóig síoth*, e.g. DD iii,8). The five wounds of Christ are usually understood to be the two nails in his hands, the two wounds caused by a single, -blunt and hence particularly painful- nail in his feet, and the breast- or heart-wound, as in *Droichead na bpeacthach páis Dé* DiD[522] 23, 25: *Na cóig doirse i n-ar dhoirt a fhuil; do cheannach cloinne hÁdhaimh; sleagh 'n-a chígh cló n-a bhonnaibh;'s a dó dhíbh 'n-a dhearnannaibh.* Some poems mention chains or rope as well as nails (PB 23, 13; DD xxvii, 6)[523] apparently reflecting the legend that Christ was bound to the cross rather than –or as well as- nailed to it. This aspect is also attested by depictions of rope around the Crucified on some High crosses.[524] The crown of thorns is occasionally mentioned, but it is apparently not regarded as one of the five wounds. The wound in the side, which is sometimes specified as the right side, is also referred to, but does not seem to be counted as a separate wound. Strangely, the side-wound is usually mentioned in conjunction with the breast- or heart-wound and does not seem to reflect an alternative tradition. The heart-wound is clearly the most prominent of the five wounds, references to it are ubiquitous and it is evidently regarded as Christ's death-wound. Sometimes

[520] See for example AiD 68, 4: *Ní dhíolfadh briathra a bhuime; a bhfoil d'agra oruinne; léigthe an chíoch i gceilg chuige; fíoch an leinb más lughaide*. For a detailed discussion of the pre-Christian Celtic motif and its analogues in Classical literature see Ryan, Salvador, 'The Persuasive Power of a Mother's Breast: The Most Desperate Act of the Virgin Mary's Advocacy', *Studia Hibernica* 32 (2002/2003), 59-74.
[521] *Cf.* McKenna, *Dán Dé*, introduction xvii-xix.
[522] McKenna, Lambert (ed.), *Dioghluim dána* (1938).
[523] See McKenna, *Dán Dé*, introduction page xvi.
[524] See Harbison, *The High Crosses*, I, 280. Harbison notes that Christ's legs are bound by rope on some crosses of the Central Group. As there do not seem to be any obvious Continental parallels he suggests that this may be an Irish feature.

references to the slaying of Christ with the spear are explicit, e.g. in Tadhg Óg Ó hUiginn's poem *Slán ar n-a mharbhadh mac Dé* (AiD 78, no. 17 below) which states that Longinus, having seized his spear, gave Christ his death-wound (*An Dall ar ngabbháil a gha; Tug ar Críosd cneadh a mharbtha*). More commonly, however, this reading is merely implied in the poets' view of the heart-wound as the source of our Salvation on the one hand, e.g. in *Ceithre croinn croch Dé* (no. 9 below): *Goin an chroinn id chíogh/ do bhoing dár síodh snas*/, and as the greatest misdeed of the human race calling for divine retribution on the Last Day on the other, e.g. in PB 5, 24 (no. 9 below: .../*an taobh fa dearg dath*/ *a fhearg maol go moch*/ [*bí*] *liom lá na mbreath*/ *ó tá im chionn a chroch*/.

The allusions to both the side-wound and the heart-wound do not seem to indicate a unification of the two disparate Gospel traditions, i.e. the deadly spear-stroke vouched for by the interpolation in Matthew 27:49 and the *post-mortem* opening of the side found in John 19:34. Instead, it seems that the spear is thought to penetrate Christ's right chest or abdomen all the way to the heart, which might explain the frequent descriptions of the thrust as a 'sore stroke' which causes a 'deep wound'. This seems to be what is described in *An ben pairte páis Isa* (no. 34 below), where the spear 'with which God saved the world' is said to be 'through him [i.e. Christ] transversely' (*An tshleacch do bi trid tarsna/ ler slanuiccaid Dia in domansa*). In some poems, however, the reference seems to be to two distinct wounds caused by two separate strokes (see AiD 66.7 no. 13 below: *Do ghabh saoradh na sé líne, A luach leighis luit an taoibh, Rí 'n-a fhuilngidh ar chneidh gcroidhe...*). Some poems mention the piercing of the right breast and of the heart. Other poets resolve the issue by talking about the piercing of his 'heart's side', *cuirr a chroidhe* (see DD xx, 29 no. 25 below).

Also, death by the breast-wound or heart-wound is not necessarily thought to have been instant. This may be a concession to the point so frequently stressed in the early Irish exegetical texts that Christ was free to choose the moment of his own death,[525] which is occasionally mentioned in the poems. Christ sometimes converses after receiving the lance-thrust and is often said to have felt the flow of his heart's blood. Maolmhuire mac Cairbre Ó hUiginn's poem quoted below (AiD 77, 33 and 37 no. 15) seems to mention a recovery from the heart-wound, pointing out that this is not possible for an ordinary mortal (*Ní thiocfadh mar tháinig uadha*/ *áladh cígh gibe ar a mbiadh*/ *annamh theagar*

[525] See ch. 1.2.

ó chneidh chroidhe/ do b'eagal sin roimhe riamh.) However, the recovery in question is probably the Resurrection.

The five wounds of Christ are frequently called the 'Five hearts', (*na Cóig Croidhe*) (e.g. AiD 77, 25; AiD 89,16). This, as McKenna has pointed out, is 'a play on the two senses of 'croidhe', 'centre (of hand etc.)' and 'heart".[526] However, I would argue that the expression is not merely wordplay. The nail-wounds are cast as smaller versions of the heart-wound and imbued with symbolic meaning. The heart is regarded as the seat of love, hence the heart-wound, and by analogy the wounds in Christ's hands and feet, become emblems of his willing self-sacrifice as the ultimate act of love. The five wounds –particularly the heart-wound- and the blood issuing from them are also poetically imagined as roads or rivers leading to Christ i.e. to Heaven, Maritime imagery is often used in this context, humans are imagined to navigate the stream of Christ's blood in a ship, attempting to reach the safe haven which is Christ's heart; in one poem the spear is said to point the way in for us (AiD71,35, no. 16 below: *Ar mbeith a-muigh nír mhian lais/ Crann an chígh ar gcraobh eolais/ Nír hachradh cách ó chridhe/ Gér ghnáth athchar ainbhfine*).

Sometimes, the perceived paradox of Salvation leads to the introduction of two categories of wounds, with some -usually the heart-wound- saving us, whereas others -commonly the wounds in the hands or feet- accuse us. However, the view of the heart-wound itself is also ambivalent. Frequently the final verse of the poems either consists in an appeal to the heart-wound for protection or is an envoi to Mary, the archangel Michael or a particular patron saint, concluding the poem with an apparently heartfelt plea for their intercession on Judgment day and for forgiveness for the heart-wound (e.g. DD xxii,38 no. 26 below and AOD xxxii,9 no 30 below, finishing, like most of Aonghus Ó Dálaigh's poems, with an appeal to St. Michael: *saor a mhaoir ainglidhe inn, ó rinn crainn-shleighe an taoibh thinn*).

While perhaps not realizing its full significance, McKenna has noted the Bardic poets' emphasis on the piercing of Christ and their special interest in the perpetrator: 'In all the references to the Passion [in] .... Bardic poems, a very extraordinary prominence is given to the Centurion who pierced Christ's side'.[527] The name Longinus is occasionally used (e.g. AiD 63,13 no. 12 below: *Loin-gíonus ó shoin do shaor...*, AOD XXXVI no. 27 below: *Tugais a fhlaith do Loin-gínus, grása ort an uair do iarr...*)

[526] McKenna, *Philip Bocht Ó Huiginn*, introduction page xvii.
[527] McKenna, *Dán Dé*, introduction page xvi.

However, in the overall majority of the poems the soldier of the lance-thrust is simply referred to as '*an Dall*', the Blind Man. This evidence suggests that, despite its rare attestation in early Medieval Irish texts or iconography, the legend of the soldier's blindness and his healing by the blood of Christ was widely known and endorsed in Ireland throughout the later Middle Ages. Some poems also explicitly mention the healing of Longinus (e.g. AiD 86,23 no. 7 below), and a few even seem to describe the exact manner of that healing, i.e. the sacred blood trickling down the spear onto the face of the blind man in the same fashion as detailed in the 'Healing of Longinus' tract in *Leabhar Breac*[528] (e.g. in DiD 60,31 (no. 2 below) by Donnchadh Mór Ó Dálaigh: *D'éis do ghona do gha an Doill/ a chuirp Dé an deallraidh áluinn/ do chrú ar bhois an Doill a-droigh/ re cois an chroinn dá chobhair*. Another of his poems, DD xxvii,17 (no. 3), also describes the blood of Christ trickling down the lance: *fuil th'ochta ag snighe 'mun sleigh*..).

As in the earlier exegetical texts, the main appeal of the Longinus story appears to lie in its demonstration of the power of penitence and of the all-forgiving grace of God. Longinus is mentioned in conjunction with other favourite flawed Saints and penitent sinners, especially Peter, Paul, and Mary Magdalen. In Aonghus Ó Dálaigh's poem '*Ní maith do mhalairt a Iudais*…' he is also favourably contrasted with Judas, as in the eighth century *Catechesis Cracoviense* (see ch. 1.2.3). The saving of Longinus is given as a prime example of God's mercy, which raises hopes of forgiveness for the poet and the rest of humankind. Moreover, God's grace is not only manifested in the restoration of Longinus's eyesight. While his being crowned with martyrdom is not explicitly mentioned, some poems refer to an exaltation of Longinus after his death. Not only is Longinus not punished for his deed, but, as the poets remark with a certain marvel, he is rewarded with a high rank in heaven instead (see e.g. AiD 63,13 no. 12 below: *Loin-gíonus ó shoin do shaor/ Gan díoghail dá thoigh do thriall/ Fear a ghoine i ngrádhaibh ríogh/ Nar dhíol álaidh roimhe riamh*).

Christ sheds his heart-blood -indeed in some poems all of his blood- for the redemption of humankind. The sacred blood is commonly referred to as 'wine-blood' (*fíonfhuil,*

[528] See ch. 3.2.2,ll.5-7: *rithid banna don usqi tanic a toeb Ísu fria cois croind in goí co tarla for agaid Longinus co tancatar a súile do*.

fíoncrú) or simply as 'wine'.[529] The descriptions of the shedding of Christ's blood are permeated by Eucharistic imagery. Christ's heart's blood is 'pure wine to be drunk from golden cup' (e.g. AiD 63, 21,37, and 39). The gory scene of the Passion is associated with the heavenly banquet, the perpetual wine-feast hosted by the risen Christ which awaits the righteous in Heaven.

Some poems also use fertility imagery in connection with Christ's body in death, the blood he sheds for the redemption of mankind is the blood-rain fertilizing the land (e.g. AiD 63,29, AiD 71,3) so that 'corn rises 'neath that rain [of his heart-blood]' (AiD 77.4 no. 15 below: *Na braoin do fhear d'fhuil an chroidhe*/ *Ar chloinn Ádhaimh trom an tuar*/
a-tá fás eatha fan fhearthain/ *na ceatha grás fearthair uadh*). This may simply be a poetic conceit. However, it could also reflect presumed ancient Celtic beliefs associated with kingship, such as the sacrificial death of the king for the renewal of the land and the benefit of his people.

Another motif which has to be mentioned in the context of the Passion is the drink of gall. Sometimes there are merely vague references to Christ's drinking a bitter draught which may refer either to the drink of gall or to the bitter cup of the Passion. In *Slán ar n-a marbhadh mac Dé*, however, where the lance-thrust is clearly identified as the cause of Christ's death, Christ is said not to have drunk the gall until after that lance-thrust.

This inversion of these two events of the interpolated Gospel of Matthew, the drink of vinegar in Mt 27:48 and the lance-thrust in Mt 27:49, is found in a small number of poems. One or two poets, intriguingly, seem to subscribe to the tradition that Christ was poisoned by the drink of vinegar and gall, which may also be hinted at in the *Leabhar Breac* 'Healing of Longinus'. The draught is mentioned as an alternative or, more probably, additional cause of death to the lance-thrust in DD xvi, 25 (no. 23 below): *Crann i gcígh ndeis*/ *de do fóireadh ar bhfinei-ne*/ *fuair sibh an slógh*/ *ar dhigh d'ól nochar bh'in-ibhe*/.

Perhaps the idea is a kind of threefold death by crucifixion, poisoned draught and spear-thrust. Even more explicit is Tuathal Ó hUiginn's *Mór grádh Dé dona daoinibh* (no. 25 below), which refers to the piercing of Christ's heart, but clearly states that Christ did not die until he had drunk the drink of gall (*Deoch do dhomblas aoi gur ibh; ní torchair Mac Dé dhúiligh*) and that he died thereof (*marbh oidhre Dé don digh-se*).

[529] Compare Blathmac's poem, ch.1.4.2.

This, however, appears to be a comparatively rare belief, as only very few poems even mention the drink of gall, while the figure of 'Stephaton' or 'Egitianus' does not seem to be explicitly mentioned at all.

An overview of some of the main motifs and ideas characterizing the treatment of the Passion in Bardic poetry has been attempted here. However, this cannot be a substitute for their study in the poets' own words. For this purpose, further excerpts from poems drawn from McKenna's editions have been given below, some of them by celebrated master poets. I have also included excerpts from two unedited poems, *An ben pairte páis Isa* and *A chorpain coimhnidh do chríoch* (nos. 34,35), associated with Longinus in the thematic index of the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies' Bardic Poetry Database.[530] The poems range from the thirteenth century (Donnchadh Mór Ó Dálaigh) to the sixteenth or early seventeenth century (Aonghus Ó Dálaigh, Muircheartach Ua Cobhthaigh). I have attempted to present these roughly in chronological order. However, in some cases the author is unknown or the attribution highly uncertain. While this sample is small and highly selective in view of the vast amount of Bardic poems dealing with the crucifixion, it will hopefully suffice to illustrate some of the recurring ideas mentioned above and to demonstrate the remarkable consistency in the poets' portrayal of the Passion over the course of more than four centuries.

4.3.2 **The Poems**

1) ÉISDIDH RE MARBHNAIDH MEIC DHÉ (DD xxvi)[531]

Donnchadh Mór Ó Dálaigh (ob.1244) 'a master of poetry who has never been excelled and never will be' (Annals of Connacht, 1244,7.)

19. Mo ghlór re Dia is treabhadh taoi	I ask of God –my service is almost silent!
cia an slógh dar cneadhadh do chlí	-who are they by whom Thy breast was
a phríomh-achain duid a Dhé	wounded? Their charge against thee I
ní thuig mé a fhíor- Athair í.	understand not, O Father.

[530] See https://bardic.celt.dias.ie/

[531] The following poems and translations are quoted from McKenna's editions. In a few instances I have suggested emendations in curly brackets.

21. Cuanna ar n-a leadradh a lámh
freagradh ar nduana do dhíol
cuanna ar n-a threaghdadh a taobh
ag cealgadh craobh uadha d'fhíon.

Fair is His hand all torn –let the offering of my poems be its atonement!- fair His pierced side drawing forth from Him streams of wine.

22. Fuighleam re Dia is fuigheall faoi
re Dia [ad-chluineann] is do-chí
th'fhíon-fhuil mar dhlighim a Dhé
íobhaidh mé go hinill í.

I swear to God who sees and hears me – and judgment is His! (?) –'I will, as I am bound, drink Thy wine-blood worthily.'

24. A cholann Iosa fhuair gaoith
do-chíos-sa ní ba suail síth
an Dall is domhain rot sáith
crann áith 'n-a chomhair fad chích.

O Jesus, born into the world,
Thy tribute was powerful for peace;
for this the Blind Man drove deep
the lance into Thy breast.

25. Ní bhiadh féin i láimh dar linn
acht gomadh áil lé céibh gcaim
níor bhuidheach don umhla inn
fuireach fa rinn dubh-gha an Daill.

The curl-tressed Lord never had been captive did He not will to face the Blind Man's {dark} lance; yet we thanked Him not for His submissiveness.

39. Mairg rér crochadh Dia fa dhéin
mairg dá ria othar an áigh
mairg do sháith arm i n-a fheoil
a sgeoil ghnáith is garbh do ghráin.

Woe to him by whom God Himself was crucified, to Him from whom the death-wound came, to him who plunged the lance in His flesh. O too common thing, dread is thy horror!

2) TRÍ GLÚINE GEINEALACH DÉ (text DiD 60, transl. Irish Monthly 50.71)

Donnchadh Mór Ó' Dálaigh

31. D'éis do ghona do gha an Doill,
a chuirp Dé an deallraidh áluinn,
do chrú ar bhois an Doill a-droigh
re cois an chroinn dá chobhair.

O body of God fair and bright, when wounded by the Blind Man's lance, Thy blood spurted forth on his hand, to save him standing by the Cross. {perhaps rather: along the shaft of the lance to help (heal) him}

3) DIA DOM FHEITHEAMH AR FHEIRG DHÉ DD xxvii Donnchadh Mór Ó Dálaigh

17. Fuil do sheang-bhonn sháidheas goimh
fuil do dhearnann dháileas neimh
lochta [ar] mo chridhe ní chuir
fuil th'ochta ag snighe 'mun sleigh.

The blood of Thy slender feet pain-pierced, and of Thy hands' blood giving Thee torture, and Thy heart's blood trickling down the lance convince not my heart of sin.

18. Gan deachmhaidh gan almsa uaim
ní teagair ón chrann-sa an chígh
socht nocha bhia ar phláigh ná ar phéin
a cháin féin go ria don Rígh.

If I give not tithe and alms, there is no escaping that lance in Thy heart;
plague and pain shall not cease
till the Lord is paid His tribute.

4) LÓCHRANN SOILLSE AG SÍOL ADHAIMH DD xxviii Donnchadh Mór Ó Dálaigh (final stanzas)

45. Do cheannuigh sé an soillse síor
's a chuid d'impidhe an Aird-ríogh
bheith do réir Eoin go heolach
is céim eoil don aineolach

John merited light eternal, and his influence with God; to obey him carefully is a way of wisdom for erring man.

46. Go bhfaghar dul i n-a dáil
soillse an rí-thighe robháin
beir sinn ó ghéar-ghoin an gha
a éarlaimh do linn Lothra.

May I be able to reach the light of the White Mansion; save me from the spear-wound, thou patron of Linn Lothra {? the pool of Lorrha}.

5) UASAL CÉAD-OBAIR AN CHOIMDHEADH DD xxxi Donnchadh Mór Ó Dálaigh

27. A chéasadh ó 'dchíd sa teampull
toirneamh dhó dleaghaid an slógh
ón ló déachtair ar a dheallradh
gan sléachtain dó is meadhradh mór.

When in church men see His crucifixion they should prostrate before it; when men look upon His beauty 'tis folly not to bow before it.

28. Mairg nach creid crochadh an Aird-ríogh
d'éis a chrochaidh creid go mair
a-tá dhóibh cuid i n-a chrochadh
na slóigh nach tuig othar air.

Woe to him who believes not in the Lord's crucifixion; believe that He lives after it; those who understand not His wounds take part in His crucifying.

29. Mairg do tholl a throighthe málla
mairg do chréachtnuigh a chneas bláith
mairg ag nach fuil uime osnadh
guin a bhruinne ag cosnamh cáich.

Woe to the man who pierced His noble feet, who wounded His fair body,
who groans not over Him,
His wounded breast saving the world.

6) MITHIDH DO CHUIBHREACH, A CHUIRP (AiD 79)

Ó Leannáin (surname only, perhaps Maolmhuire Ó Leannáin, fl. 1320)

18. Tar éis a ghona don gha
Obadh an doill ní dhearna
Grádh don doll ag Mac Muire

When wounded by the lance Mary's son rejected not the Dall; sudden and plenteous was that merciful act of His, His love for

Ba prap trom an trócaire. the Dall.[532]

7) BUAINE NÁ BEATHA BÁS DÉ (AiD 86) (unknown)

23. Tu do dhorchuigh roth na rann
Tú thorchuir i gcroich dar gcionn
Tú thug a dhearca don doll
's rug a-nonn ar eachtra ionn.

Thou didst die on the Cross for us, darkening the starry sphere; Thou gavest back sight to the Dall; Thou didst carry us off.

8) MAITHIM D'URRA DÁNA ACHT DIA (AiD 96) (unknown)

7. An crann do cuireadh 'n-a chíogh
's an cruithsin i dtarla an taobh
Ós iad nar cuireadh ar gcúl
Budh buidhean dún iad ar-aon.

The spear plunged in His breast, and the piteous state of His side- these have never been unwelcomed, and both of them shall be my constant attendants.

8. Reacaire len dolta dhúinn
Crú an chroidhe as reacaire róin
Cuid dom buidhin cnead an chigh
Bean trír agus muirir mhóir.

The reciter with whom I shall journey shall be the heart-blood; in my company, too, shall be the breast-wound, that spouse of the Three and (mother) of many children.

18. Más ag agra a fhuile a-tá
A Mhuire, [go] dtagra tú
Dá mbeantar neamh dhíom le dia
Cia dar fhear an chíogh a chrú?

Plead for me, O Mary, if God charges me with His blood; If I be excluded from Heaven By God, for whom (I ask thee) did the breast shed its blood?

[532] McKenna variously translates Longinus's sobriquet as 'the Dall' and 'the Blind Man'.

9) CEITHRE CROINN CROCH DÉ Philip Bocht Ó' hUiginn, (ob.1487) AU: the best and greatest religious poet in these latter times (A.U.,III,316)

5.16 Goin an chroinn id chíogh do bhoing dár síodh snas pian deit cló na gcos a mheic gidh mó an glas an crannsa id chíoch dheas nach fríoth m'annsa as.	The lance-wound in Thy breast gave the finishing touch to our pardon the nail in Thy feet pained Thee, though a weightier chain on Thee, O Son, was that my love was not won by the lance in Thy right breast.
5.24 Turn ar Mhoire a mhóid croidhe na gcóig sruth an taobh fa dearg dath a fhearg maol go moch [bí] liom lá na mbreath ó tá im chionn a chroch.	Allay for Mary's sake the rage of the 'hearts' of the five streams, allay betimes the wrath of the side all ruddy; for these on Doomsday will be against me; help me, O Cross.

10) GACH OIGE MAR A HADHBHAR (PB 12) Philip Bocht Ó hUiginn

31. Is cóir as am dom fheitheamh an dall do fhóir an t-othar a bheith i ndún Dé athar dúnn go rachadh sé i sochar.	There is yet time to save myself; the Blind Man was saved by Him whom he pierced so that his being in Heaven might profit me.

11) BEART CHÁIS COGADH TIGHEARNA (AiD 60) Muircheartach Ó Cionga (ca.1562-ca. 1639)

33. Gríos a dhíoghla as dobhádhaidh Fíonfhuil an ríogh rodháilidh Cás omigh ní hionáirimh Go bás t' oidhir d' fholáirimh.	God's unquenchable vengeance draws the wine-blood of the Lord; no deed of generosity was ever like Thy decree for Thy Son's death.
34. Crú an chridhe do choimhfhe arais T'fhine ar gcúl gur chruinnighis Luidh chobhra ar gcneadh ndoileighis Bean ar gcomhdha cruinnighis.	Thou didst shed Thy heart-blood and so recover Thy race; the woman who saved us gathered the balm for our grievous wounds.
46. Ní fhuil meidh dá míorbhuile, Do cheil goin na géirshleighe A clann d'fheartaibh óghMhuire Thall 'na-a n-ealtain éinshreibhe.	Her power has no equal; she caused to be forgotten the thrust of the sharp spear; by Mary's power her children are pouring into Heaven, a close-gathered flock.

12) DEACAIR AIGHNEAS ÉARCA RÍOGH (AiD 63) Diarmuid Ó Cobhthaigh (fl. 1584)

11. Mac ochta do oil an ógh
Ar bhfolta do chuir ar gcúl;
Áladh go dtiobhradh 'n-a thaobh
Saobh an bádhad diomdhadh dhún.

The Virgin's dear nursling has caused our sins to be forgotten; to offer His side-wound was a foolishly loving way to remove the wrath against us.

12. Níor bhac sé tromghuin a thaoibh
Beart ler chobhraigh na sé sluaigh
A ghoin ar séan gcoimhdhe cháigh
I dtréan do-cháidh t'oidhre uaidh.

He let his side be wounded; His death fraught with the world's salvation was the move by which He saved the Six Hosts, and thus He entered on His power.

13. Loin-gíonus ó shoin do shaor,
Gan díoghail dá thoigh do thriall
Fear a ghoine i ngrádhaibh ríogh,
Nar dhíol álaidh roimhe riamh.

He saved Longinus spite of all; the man who pierced Him, now a prince {lit. king} in rank, went unpunished into His house; never was (the infliction of) a wound so well rewarded!

13) MAIRG AS AIGHNE I N-AGHAIDH BREITHIMH (AiD 66) Diarmuid Ó Cobhthaigh

7. Do ghabh saoradh na sé líne,
A luach leighis luit an taoibh,
Rí 'n-a fhuilngidh ar chneidh gcroidhe
Do chuimhnigh sin goire an ghaoil.

The Six Generations were saved, the price paid for this was the wounds in his side; He bore this in addition to His wound in His heart; this reminded Him how close was His kinship (with men).

8. D' oidhre Muire -cá mó eineach?-
Dá oighidh féin fríoth a thail;
Do ghéabhadh soin adhbhar mh'obtha
's n-a hadhnadh goin ochta air.

Mary's Son attained His purpose by dying-could love be greater? He would have had cause to reject me, His heart-wound being so inflamed.

10. Do shíol Éabha is éancuan luinge
Lot cíche ler chaomhain sinn;
Do b'fhiu taradh chuain an chroidhe
Go raghadh uair oile inn.

The only ship-haven for Eve's race is the breast-wound wherein He sheltered us; the wealth of that harbour, His heart, should induce Eve's race to return to it.

11. Bás airdríogh i n-am ar saortha
síoth ar locht is leis do fhuaigh
diongna an ní do chuir ler gcabhair
rí do ghuin gan fhalaidh uain.

11. In our salvation-hour the Lord by His death bound peace with us after our sins;
strange His way of saving us-
to be wounded and not resent it!

20. Do fhuilngis i n-íoc na cána
crann id chroidhe –nír chéim soirbh;
créadh oile do b'áil ar Ádhamh
dá loighe cáir t'áladh oirn.

20. To pay the Tribute Thou didst suffer
The spear in Thy heart –sore stroke!
If the debt due to Thy wounds is to stand against me -is not that what Thou wouldst have done in Adam's case?

14) FADA AN CUIMHNEISE AR CHÓIR NDÉ (AiD 68) Uaithne Mac Uilliam Ó Cobhthaigh (ob. 1556)

33. Fleadh nar dhearmaid an dáileamh
Deireadh cumainn cómháireamh
Sreabh do fhear a cneidh chíogha
Fleadh mar sin ní soidhíola.

Most precious is this banquet, banquet where cup-bearer never fails; 'love calls for sacrifice in the end' and so the wine flowed forth from the wounded breast.

36. Ar a breith do bhí a dalta
Crú an taoibh gidh tonn rabharta
Cia an bhean do bhréag an leanabh?
A chneadh ní fhéad d' aireaghadh.

Mary's Son has ever been subject to her will; even when His heart-blood was flowing at full tide, He felt not the smart of his wound; who was she who could thus fascinate Him?

15) DO-NÍ ÉANMHAC IONAD CLOINNE (AiD 77) Maolmhuire mac Cairbre Ó hUiginn (perhaps a brother of Tadgh Dall, i.e. Maol Mhuire Ó hUiginn, archbishop of Tuam, who died in 1590)

4. Na braoin do fhear d'fhuil an chroidhe
Ar chloinn Ádhaimh trom an tuar;
a-tá fás eatha fan fhearthain
na ceatha grás fearthair uadh.

The dripping of His heart-blood
-heavy the harvest (coming from it) on Adam's race; corn rises 'neath that rain
torrents of grace pouring down from Him.

9. Fuaras dá thaobh tuilleadh cabhra
crann 'n-a chíogh do chuir an Dall;
ní hé nach fear gaoil do ghabháil
cneadh an taoibh nír fhaláir ann.

I was even helped by the spear which the Blind Man drove into Christ's breast; Christ thought the side-wound necessary, and He was not a man to shirk doing all that kin-love required.

24. Mar do-chuaidh súd saobh an iomlaoid
uaibh dar gceann- ní connradh gnáth;
t'aire ruibh- nach rugais díogha?
tugais fuil do chíogha ar chách.

Foolish (in generosity) was the way it was carried out, that bargain of Thine for our sake, that extraordinary bargain;
Thou gavest Thy breast-blood to buy us; bethink Thee, wert Thou not choosing the worst side of the bargain?

30. Go teacht duit ó bhás go beathaidh
a mbreath ort do bh' adhbhar sgís;
ní fhaca aoinfhear crú cíghe
ler saoileadh thú i ríghe a-rís.

Until Thy resurrection men's thoughts of Thee were gloomy; no man saw Thy heart-blood flowing and expected to see Thee in Thy kingdom again.

33. Tolladh a thaoibh 's a thocht uadha
adhbhar orchra adhbhar lúith;
do ba doilghe gan é d' oighidh

The piercing of His side and His recovery from it cause both sorrow and joy; sad for us the death of God's Son, but it were

oidhre Dé gidh doiligh dhúinn.

worse for us had He not died!

35. Is í an chrochsoin a each iomchair
'n-a fhior luit an lá do bhí;
nír iongnadh each fa fhear ngonta
dá mbeath nar chneadh ochta í.

The Cross was His steed when He was wounded; there would be nothing strange in a wounded man riding a steed were it not that he was wounded in the heart.

37. Ní thiocfadh mar tháinig uadha
áladh cígh gibe ar a mbiadh;
annamh theagar ó chneidh chroidhe;
do b'eagal sin roimhe riamh.

No man wounded in the heart could have recovered as Christ did;
scarce anyone survives a heart-wound;
it was always dreaded.

16) NÍ CLUAIN GHABHÁLA GRÁS DÉ (AiD 71) Tadhg Óg Ó Dálaigh

5. Ar mbreith i dtír táinig dhi
Tonn gráidh do ghluais ón chridhe,
Tonn fam luing d' fhuil an ochta
Do mhuidh do dhruim daonnochta.

The wave of love from His heart brings me to shore; the wave of His breast-blood burst forth through great love, bearing my bark along.

11. A hiarraidh dámadh eol damh
Aithnim nach í do dhiultfadh
Gibé do-ní chneadh croidhe;
Ní bhí bean nach bréagfoidhe.

If I could only appeal to her [i.e. Mary] I know that she, no matter who inflicted the heart-wound [on Christ], would not reject his appeal; every woman can be won over.

21. Sleagh do chur san gcíoch ndeassa
Nír íoc mé a luach leigheasa;
Tug an chíogh far réidhigh ruinn
Díol i n-ar éirigh eadruinn.

I have not paid the price of curing the spear-thrust in His right breast; yet that breast made Him gentle with me and settled the quarrel between us.

23. Goin ríogh d'agra acht ar urraidh
Ní ba éidir eadamair;
's gan díol daoibh ó Ádhamh inn
Fa áladh taoibh ní théighim.

Only a freeman, as we know, could be charged for a wound inflicted on a king; as Adam never requited Thee for the wound in Thy side, I [having thus lost my freeman's rights] can not be charged with it.

26. Gémadh oircheas d'fhior mo ghníomh
A dhiultadh ó dhún airdríogh
Sgéal naoidhe ar chneidh an chridhe
Aoidhe im fhleidh nach léigfidhe.

Though 'twere fit that a sinner like me be excluded from the Palace, 'twould be an unheard of thing for Christ's breast-wound that any guest should be kept out from the feast.

27. Ar n-éara ní hoirchíos duit;
Clódh gaoil ní geall re héaruic;
Fear a luit do fhóir t'oidhre,
Ní coir dhuit ar ndearaidhne.

To reject us befits Thee not; to disown one's kin is not as good as to get *éiric* for them (?); Thy Son saved the man who pierced Him; (therefore) Thou must not reject me.

28. Ní héidir d'iomad a chnead
Nach cúis diomdha fa dheireadh;
Baoghal t'fhearg fa chneidh croidhe

His many wounds must needs at length rouse His wrath; seeing that Thou mayst demand redress even for the nail, I dread

An dealg leibh 's go leanfoidhe.

Thy anger at Thy heart-wound.

29. Ón tigh thall tig dar gcuireadh
Ceann sluaigh na sé sochuidheadh;
Trom an t-oire ar leanbh do luigh
Bearn an chroidhe gur chuartaigh.

The Captain of the Six Hosts comes from Heaven to invite us thither; heavy was the burden that lay on the Child and pressed down into the wound in His heart.

31. D'éis ar gceannaigh ar chrú an taoibh
Ní ceard duit déanamh míoghaoil
Leig searg madh áil it fhalaidh
Fearg budh báidh led bhiodhbhadhaibh.

After buying us with Thy side-wound, it is not for Thee to be false to Thy kin-duty; let Thy anger cool; only Thy foes like to see it flaming.

32. Créacht ler chuir a chlú einigh
Sleagh chorcra i gcích óigleinibh;
Fód seilbhe i mbearnaidh do bhean
T'eidhre ar shealbhaibh a shinnsear.

The red spear in the Youth's breast was the one by which he proved His glorious generosity; standing in the danger-gap, Thy Son seized possession of land in His ancestors' country.

33. Le fuil gcíoch do chiunaigh soin
Síon chogaidh chloinne hÁdhaimh;
Áladh croinn i gcíogh t'oidhir
An tsíon i gcoill ciunaighidh.

By His breast-blood He stilled the war-storm of Adam's race; the spear-wound in Thy Son's breast calms the storm in the forest.

35. Ar mbeith a-muigh nír mhian lais
Crann an chígh ar gcraobh eolais
Nír hachradh cách ó chridhe
Gér ghnáth athchar ainbhfine.

God wished not us to be kept out of His heart; the spear in His breast points the way in for us; no man was excluded from it, though men have ever wished to keep a foe at a distance.

17) SLÁN AR N-A MHARBHADH MAC DÉ (AiD 78) Tadhg Óg Ó hUiginn (ob. 1448, Four Masters)

4. An Dall ar ngabbháil a gha
Tug ar Críosd cneadh a mharbtha;
Tar éis fhulachtaidh Dhé dhó
Cumhachtaidh an té theasdó.

The Blind man took up a lance and gave Christ His death-wound;
Yet He who died after suffering from this (blow) makes him powerful (in Heaven)

8. Maith do-rinneadh i riocht uilc
marbhadh Dé dána an iodhbuirt;
beart as áille ar dteacht as-teagh,
beart as ghráinne don ghaisgeadh.

'twas a good thing in guise of an evil thing, the slaying of God –dread sacrifice!
A most noble work was our salvation, (yet) the most abominable deed of arms.

16. Tar éis a ghona don gha
do bhuail air teasbhach tarta;
a íota agus mé dá meas
nár íoca mé acht le maitheas.

After being pierced by the lance, He was seized with burning thirst; may I reflect on that thirst and alleviate it by good deeds.

17. Domlas aoi damhna a dhighe
is fíon dob olc inibhe;

Gall was His drink and undrinkable wine; Heaven's Lord captured by His foes was as

othar dighe seirbhe sin eidhre nimhe aga náimhdibh.	a wounded man taking a bitter draught.

18) CAIRT A SÍOTHCHÁNA AG SÍOL ADHAIMH (DD iii) Tadhg Óg Ó hUiginn

11. Do sáidheadh crann a cion Eabha i n-ucht an Dúilimh dia d'èacht do fhóir sé Eabha is a haicme is é séala a cairte an créacht.	Owing to Eve's sin a lance was driven into the Lord's breast- dread deed! That wound saved Eve and her race, 'tis the seal of their charter.
14. Is tú an crann rér chuir an Dúileamh Druim a bhaise baoghal dúinn Is riot do shil crú as a chroidhe tú ó shin it oile i n-úir.	On thee [i.e. the cross]_the Lord laid the back of His hand- woe to us! Down thee His heart's blood ran ever since thou art a memorial.

19) CIA GHABHAS M'ANMAIN RÉ AIS (DD iv) Tadhg Óg Ó hUiginn

9. Faghtha dhamh ó Dhia nimhe síodh ar son a impidhe síodh fan gcrann do chuaidh treimhit fuair an Dall ó Dhoiminic.	I must get from God peace through his prayer; owing to Dominic the Blind Man was forgiven the lance that pierced Him.
10. Saoilim nach leanfaidhe leis an cló do chuaidh 'n-a bhaithis ná an tsleagh do cháidh 'n-a chridhe madh áil lé fhear impidhe.	I think that God will not avenge the wound in His head, or the lance in his heart if His suppliant ask Him.

20) IOMDHA RÓD DÍREACH GO DIA (DD vi) Tadhg Óg Ó hUiginn

20. An fhuil dhearg do dhoirt an ga tar bhar gcionn a chlann Éabha 's an fheoil a-tá gan téachtadh an lá fa dheoidh dígheáltar.	The red blood drawn by the lance for you, O children of Eve, and His flesh all torn shall be avenged on that last day.

21) MAIRG DANAB SOIRBH AN SAOGHAL (DD vii) Tadhg Óg Ó hUiginn

25. A chlann do fhóir i n-éin-fheacht an crann do chóidh 'n-a bhán-ucht is liom é tar gach n-aon-olc sionn ar daonnacht Dé ag dánacht.	The lance piercing His white breast saved all His race; spite of my sin, I can now boldly trust in His goodness.

22) DÉANADH CHRÍOSD COMHAIRLE A MHÁTHAR (DD x) Tadhg Óg Ó hUiginn

7. An Dall ar ndortadh a fhola
is oidhir Dé ag déanamh grás
bheith dá ghuin as a ucht ortha
níor chuir lucht a chrochtha i gcás.

God's Son forgiving the Blind man who shed His blood, and the fact that His being pierced for their sake shall be brought against them, troubled not His crucifiers.

23) BEAG NAR DHEARMADAS MO DHÚTHAIGH (DD xvi) Tadhg Óg Ó hUiginn (final stanza)

25. Crann i gcígh ndeis
de do fóireadh ar bhfinei-ne
fuair sibh an slógh
ar dhigh d'ól nochar bh'in-ibhe.

By the lance in Thy right breast
our race was saved; by the undrinkable draught didst Thou win Thy people.

24) TROM AN SUAN-SO AR SÍOL ÁDHAIMH (DD xvii) perhaps by Tuathal Ó hUiginn (ob. 1450 Ann.F.Mast.) (final stanza)

37. Do ní an ógh tar ceann ar gcean
síothcháin dúinn ris an Dúileamh
ar ndáil fala Dé don Dall
ní hail lé an fhala d'altrom.

The Virgin makes my peace with God spite of my sins; she wishes Him not to nurse His anger after the Blind Man has shed His blood.

25) MÓR GRÁDH DÉ DO NA DAOINIBH (DD xx) Tuathal Ó hUiginn

26. Rí an talmhan fa truagh an bhreath
do chrochadh i measg meirrleach
gár bheag croidhe an Ríogh do roinn
's gach díol oile [dar] fhuloing.

'Twas a terrible doom to crucify Him between thieves; were not His heart's piercing and His other pains enough already?

27. Deoch do dhomblas aoi gur ibh
ní torchair Mac Dé dhúiligh
marbh oidhre Dé don digh-se
's do-roighne lé ar leighis-ne.

The Creator's Son died not till He had drunk the gall; He died from that draught, and cured me thereby.

28. Cuirthear Dall gár dhoille céim
uatha d'athghuin an fíréin

The Blind Man –blind deed!- is sent to pierce the Just One; -needless to pierce

níor bh'éigin a ghoin don gha
tar ar chéid-shil d'fhoil Iosa.

Him {with the spear} after all the blood
He had shed!-

29. Ar an Dall díreach anbhreath
an [fear] tháinig ar taithleach
gé ro sgoilt cuirr a chroidhe
do dhoirt tuinn dá thrócuire.

Over that Blind Man who won pardon –a
sure judgment!- poured the flood of
Christ's mercy, though he pierced His
heart's side.

30. Tonn uisge dhí go ndearna
fearais fuil an Tighearna
gan deoir nochar fhear dá fhuil
an tsreabh fa dheoidh gur dheasgaigh.

The Lord's blood pours forth,
and is as a wave of water;
not a drop of it but He shed
till the stream ran dry.

26) A-TÁ AN SAOGHAL AG SEANMHÓIR (DD xxii) Cormac Ruagh Ó hUiginn (final stanzas)

36. Gion go gcuirid clann Eabha
fós re híoc a oidheadha
tiocfa lá bhus daoradh dhóibh
a-tá an saoghal ag seanmhóir.

Though men have not yet tried to requite
Christ's death, a day of damnation shall
come; the world is preaching it.

37. Muna leige Mac Muire
meise i dteagh na trócuire
nár liege an bhan-ógh mé a-muigh
munab ra-mhór é d'iarruidh.

Even if Mary's Son let me not into the
Home of Mercy, may *she* leave me not
outside
-if this be not too much to ask.

38. Mo chuid nochar chúitigh mé
don gha do chuaidh 'n-a chroidhe
go rabh ag guidhe fan nga
Muire dhamh ar a dalta.

My share in the spear through His heart I
have not requited; may Mary pray to her
Nursling for me, saving me from that
spear.

27) NÍ MAITH DO MHALAIRT A IUDAIS AOD (XXXVI)

4. Tugais a fhlaith do Loin-gínus grása ort an uair do iarr níor shaoil neamh dá rochtain roimhe fear sgoltaidh do chroidhe id' chliabh.	Thou, O Lord, didst give Longinus his pardon when he asked it of thee. He never thought till then he could reach Heaven –he who had pierced Thy heart in Thy breast!

28) D'ÍOSA CHRÍOSD SAN CHROICH (AOD XVIII)

6. Lámh neartmhar na dtoirbheart dtrom do rinne a ceangal le crann gur sgailt an croidhe dar gcionn níor liom cairt an toighe thall.	That mighty hand of lavish gifts was fixed to the tree! Till that heart broke for me I held no right to Heaven!
8. Neímh [as] a thaobh-ucht [dá threighd] do badh baoghlach san bhreith bhuirb más fíor [do] dhearnain ar (or ?an) deilg níor cheird ríogh leanmhain a luirg.	At the fierce Judgment, dread (for us) may be the pain of His side being pierced! if His nailed hand tell us aught, to tread His path was never before the way of any king!

29) DON MHAIGHDIN MHUIRE (AOD XIX)

12. Maoidh t'amharc ar ghoin an gha maoidh do leathtrom lá a chéasda is maoidh dortadh na ndéar ndearg [corcradh] do mhéar fad mhaic-leanb.	Tell Him how thou sawest the spear- stroke! Tell thy anguish the day of His torture! Tell of thy shedding thy blood-red tears, and of thy fingers red (being wrung with grief) for thy baby boy.

30) ROGHA CAIRDIS CARA MAOIR AOD, XXXII, The Irish Monthly, Vol. 46, No. 535 (Jan., 1918), 32-35.

9. Áladh [ó] dheigh-cridhe an Daill d'eagla nach leigfidhe linn saor a mhaoir ainglidhe inn ó rinn crainn- shleighe an taoibh thinn.	Lest the wound inflicted by the good palm of the blind man (Longinus) {rather: the wound of the Sacred Heart by the Dall} be not forgiven me, save me, O angel- steward, from the anger caused by the spear-point piercing the wounded side!

31) IOCADH CRIOSD CUMAOIN A MHATHAR (unknown) (text DiD 30, transl. Ir. Monthly 58, 467)

9. Mar fuair an lot do Long-ínus grása Dé re ndul fan lia ní as tinne ná mo lucht leasa do-rinne an t-ucht deas-sa ar Dia.	As his stroke was forgiven Longinus by God ere He entered the Tomb, His (wounded) right breast is mightier with Him than even my advocates.

32) BRAON RE NDUBHADH DIOMDHA DÉ (AiD 84) (anonymous)

22. Ar mbeith réidh ní hoghar uan ní hé gur dhocar do dhíol; fear do loit as-tigh red thaobh, mar sin nach gaol doit mo dhíon?	22. My accounts are not clear, though 'tis not hard to settle accounts with Thee! The man who wounded Thee now sits in Heaven at Thy side; is it not thus clear that Thy natural impulse is to save me?

33) DLIGHIDH LIAIGH LEIGHEAS A CHARAD Muircheartach Ua Cobhthaigh (*fl*. 1586) Some Irish Bardic Poems LXXXX (ed. McKenna), Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review, Vol. 38, No. 150 (Jun., 1949),183-188.

10. Fearthain trom ler tráigheadh mh'fhala d'fhuil an ochta do fhear sé; cioth re mbás do fhear dá fhíonfhuil do bhean fhás do dhioghuil Dé.	'Twas from the blood of His breast that He poured the heavy shower that washed away my sin; the shower of wine-blood which He shed in death checked God's anger
20. Go guin an taoibh tarla fúthaibh fód mearbhaill nar mhothuigh siad; ceo na faladh ar fhuil n-Ádhaimh gur glanadh d'fhuil t'álaidh iad.	Till the piercing of Christ's side Adam's race lived in a land of deceit, though they knew not this; the mist of sin lay on them till it was cleared off them by the blood from thy wound.

34) AN BEN PAIRTE PÁIS ISA (RIA 24/P/13 pp. 39-41)

p. 39, ll.29-30 An tshleacch do bi trid tarsna Ler slanuiccaid Dia in domansa (...)	The spear that was through him transversely, with which God saved the world...
p. 40, ll. 59-60 Don Dall ler corcradh a cich Do mait[h]ed eric airdricch (...)	For the Blind one who made purple his breast; He was forgiven the price of a high king...

35) A CHORPAIN COIMHNIDH DO CHRÍOCH (BL Egerton 178 pp. 23-25)

p. 24, ll.5-6

Is truadh na duile gan cheil	It is pitiful the elements without
ag caoinnedh De air na ghoinn	concealment lamenting the slaying of God;
's an duine tre ba siocair dha bhas	and the person who was the cause of his
nach [c]cuireann accas[533] a fhuil	death, that he is not concerned (?) at his blood.

ll.9-10

Do chaoinniodar gnaoimh an Dall	The deed of the Blind one was lamented
na clocha 's na crainn go leirha	by the rocks and all the trees,
An Phais d'foillinn Righ na rinn	the Passion that the King of the Stars
nach bo acht ni chaoinnan fein.	suffered, it is not the case that he does not lament himself.

[533] This seems to be a modern and poorly attested idiom.

4.3.3 **Longinus in a Middle or Early Modern Irish Legal context**

A surprising parallel for the interpretation of the Passion in legal terms in Bardic poetry is a reference made to the salvific spear-thrust and its perpetrator in a contemporary legal text. The passage quoted below is found in *Corpus Iuris Hibernici* (*CIH*) 1305.34-37.[534] It forms part of a 'digest' which consists of glossed citations from different Old Irish legal texts and discusses various legal problems thematically. The glosses appear to be in late Middle or early Modern Irish. The subsection in question[535] deals with the principle that an offender who has made amends for his crime is to be treated the same as a person who has never committed an offence.

The passage begins:

> *Is edh atá sonn: cidh mór d'inndliged do-gné duine, acht go nderna pennait ₇ éiric nó innscucha gráidh nó céime nó tórmach .s. nó céilidi fo aigni na cenél dlighus a dhénam, gurab comglan é ₇ an tí nach derna cin ná fogla ríam..*
>
> What is here is: however many unlawful deeds a person may do, provided that he do penance and make compensation, or change his grade or rank, or acquire additional chattels or clients, according to the nature of the kinds [of amends] he is obliged to make, that he is equally pure as the person who has not previously committed wrong or offences.

After a discussion of individual offences, the story of Longinus's spear-thrust, subsequent repentance and pardon is adduced as an example, or even as a legal precedent:

> *₇ domaith crist fein do loinginus guin a taoibh ₇ scoltad a chraide iar ndenam aithrige; oir ni agrann dia in pecach, ₇ ni cuimnigann an diabal é, ó dhoniter faisitiugh ₇ lorgnim ann, oir da nagra, ni recha aonduine do cined daona ar neim, oir ni fuil dibh duine nach dein pecad.*
>
> Christ himself has forgiven Longinus for the wounding of his side and the splitting of his heart after he repented; because God does not prosecute the sinner, and the Devil does not remember it (is not aware of it?), since confession and atonement are done there, for if he prosecutes, not a single person from the human race will reach heaven, because there is not one of them who does not sin.[536]

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[534] I am grateful to Dr. Fangzhe Qiu for bringing this text to my attention.
[535] Section B15 in Breatnach, Liam, *A Companion to the Corpus Iuris Hibernici*, Early Irish Law Series 5 (2005), 55. The following translation of the first lines of the text is Breatnach's.
[536] Translation mine.

The fact that Christ even forgave Longinus for the infliction of the lethal wound on him after he repented of his deed is seen as evidence that God does not punish a sinner for his transgressions provided he repents. Similar interpretations of the Longinus story as proof of God's all-encompassing forgiveness have already been seen in the exegetical texts and Bardic poems. Moreover, the text adds, if God insisted on his strict legal rights, no human could ever hope to enter heaven since no one is free of sin, i.e. we are all offenders against God, however we can hope to appease him with remorse and good deeds and expect that he will temper justice with mercy.To find the story of Longinus in a legal context is somewhat surprising and once again demonstrates its popularity and importance in Medieval Irish belief.

CONCLUSION

In view of the material presented in this thesis there can be little doubt that Longinus is one of the few non-Irish saints to have enjoyed great and sustained veneration in Medieval Ireland. There may be different reasons for Longinus's popularity, perhaps including an apparent Irish fascination with 'sinful saints' or 'saintly sinners', e.g. Mary Magdalen and Judas Iscariot. While this is probably partly due to the wealth of apocryphal texts available in Early Medieval Ireland, which may have cast these figures in a more favourable light, it would also seem to reflect a certain predilection for these more fallible and hence more human characters of the biblical narrative.

Also, like St. Martin of Tours, another favourite foreign saint among the Early Medieval Irish, Longinus is a soldier-saint and a comparatively late convert. Moreover, his cult may also have been associated with that of the archangel Michael, which has been shown to have been extremely important to Medieval Irish belief.

The single most important aspect, however, as I have attempted to demonstrate, seems to be the interpolation of the episode of the spear-thrust in Matthew 27:49, directly before the death of Christ, and its implied reading as the immediate cause of death. While this reading appears patently uncanonical to the modern mind, the interpolation is found in virtually all surviving Irish and Irish-related copies of the Bible from the eighth to the twelfth century. But exactly how wide-spread was the belief that Longinus was the *iugulator Christi*, the 'killer of Christ'? It is difficult to say. The early Irish exegetes do not seem to have felt the need to explicitly comment on this point, although some of them do consistently stress the voluntary nature of Christ's death for the redemption of

humankind and his supposed choice of his own moment of death as a sign of his divinity. The verbs commonly used to refer to Longinus's piercing of Christ are ambiguous; *gonaid* can refer to both wounding and killing, as does its Latin counterpart, *iugulare*, in Hiberno-Latin usage. However, sometimes the interpretation of Longinus's deed can be inferred from the context, for example in the Cracow Homily Collection, where it is compared to Judas's betrayal of Christ. It is then presented as an *exemplum* of the power of repentance and the all-forgiving grace of God. If Longinus received forgiveness for killing Christ as soon as he asked for it, there would seem to be no sin that is beyond pardon. This interpretation, which is encountered time and again throughout the centuries and is very commonly found in the later Medieval material, such as the Bardic poetry and the legal text mentioned, seems to be the source of the great appeal of the Longinus story.

Indeed, Longinus generally seems to be viewed in a very positive light in Medieval Irish tradition. The spear-thrust is described as *gním as úaisliu*, a 'most noble deed' in *Félire Óengusso*, presumably due to the view of Longinus as an instrument of providential design. His virtuous life after his conversion and his high rank in Heaven are also repeatedly mentioned. Exceptions are the Martyrology of Gorman, where Longinus's act, is called 'cruel' and 'a sin without (any) defence thereof' (*col cen a choemna*) and perhaps some of the Bardic poems which focus on the suffering caused Christ by the spear-wound in order to create empathy. Also, in some iconographic representations the 'two beasts' between which Christ is revealed according to the Canticle of Habbakuk seem to be identified with Stephaton and Longinus. However, in the instances where one of the two figures flanking the Crucified is represented with the head of an animal, this figure is always Stephaton whereas Longinus appears to have a human head.

The spear-and the sponge-bearer are all but invariably found on the early Medieval Irish crucifixion scenes depicted in manuscripts, metalwork and stone. The five-figured type which is typical of Irish crucifixion iconography depicts Christ between Stephaton and Longinus, with their pole and spear, flanked by two angels. This composition seems to have no exact parallels elsewhere, although it is certainly influenced by Greco-Byzantine tradition and two close analogues, the crucifixions on the Semireche paten and the Ushguli silver bowl, are thought to derive from early Syro-Palestinian models.

The presence and prominence of Longinus and his iconographic counterpart in the Irish crucifixion images, as I have tried to argue, is deliberate. The piercing of the living

Christ is not anachronistic and does not necessarily require a symbolic interpretation, but can be regarded as an historical illustration of the account of the death of Christ according to the interpolated Gospel of Matthew, as already argued by René-Jean Hesbert. I have further suggested that many of the images seem to capture the very moment of Christ's death, the central event of Salvation history. The two angels can be identified as the archangels Michael and Gabriel in their role as psychopomps. Some images show the head of Christ, the seat of the soul in Celtic belief, greatly enlarged or separated from the body, or even being lifted up by the two angels. Some also feature bird-shapes above the head of Christ, which could also be identified as symbolic representations of Christ's soul leaving the body.

The unusual placing of Longinus on the left of Christ is likely due to the popular tradition that the spear wounded Christ in the heart. However, the varying traditions regarding the place of the wound reflected in the texts are also found in the iconographic representations, which variously show the piercing of Christ in the right or left armpit, the right side or the heart.

The crucifixion in the St Gall 51 Gospel book is the earliest unequivocal depiction of the blindness of Longinus and his healing by the blood of Christ. The legend is also mentioned in Blathmac's poem, which has led scholars to speculate that it might have originated in Ireland. However, the textual references cited, such as the mention of the Greek custom of 'sanctifying' the eyes with a drop of the Eucharistic wine in the writings of Cyril of Jerusalem and the reference to Longinus's blindness by an 'early Greek poet' mentioned in Stadler's *Heiligenlexikon*, suggest an Eastern origin. The mid-eighth century crucifixion fresco in *Santa Maria Antiqua*, based on Byzantine models, which shows the water splashing from the wound of Christ in a wide arc -apparently towards the face of Longinus- would seem to suggest the same. There are other, similar Greek crucifixion images such as the one included in the ninth century Sermons of Gregory of Nazianzus[537] and in the Mount Athos Psalter, also ninth century, where Longinus seems to be touching or indicating his eye.[538]

Nevertheless, the legend was known in Ireland from a very early stage and the Irish tradition may well have played a role in its spread across Europe from the twelfth

[537] Paris, BNF, Ms. grec 510. See Hesbert, *Le Problème de la Transfixion*, 92.
[538] See the Illustration in DeGrüneisen, Wladimir, *Sainte Marie Antique*, 111, fig. 278.

century onwards. The blindness of Longinus, as I have shown, is also attested in the Welsh, Cornish and Breton traditions.

Iconographic attestations of the legend, however, are rare. Apart from the St Gall Gospels, the only two other likely attestations I have been able to find are both from Clonmacnoise. No further textual references to the blindness and its miraculous cure are found until the 'Healing of Longinus'-tract in *Leabhar Breac* of uncertain age. This contrasts sharply with the popularity of the legend in the later Medieval period, when the name of Longinus seems to have been largely forgotten and the saint became simply known as *an dall*, 'the blind one'.

The Irish translation of the Passion of Longinus survives in only four copies in late Medieval manuscripts, two of them by the same scribe. Nevertheless, a passing reference to the life of Longinus after the crucifixion and to his martyrdom in the eighth-century Cracow Homily Collection and the closeness of the Irish text to that of the earliest known Latin recensions in the Turin legendary and in St Gall 548, both eighth century, suggest that the putative Hiberno-Latin source text may have dated from around that time.

However, the Passion of Longinus, the main text associated with Longinus in Western Christianity, appears as just one text among many in an Irish context, where references to Longinus are found in the most diverse sources, including exegetical texts, martyrologies, charms and folklore, religious poetry, a mass tract and a legal text as well as a large number of iconographic representations. The amount and variety of material dealing with Longinus has perhaps been the most surprising aspect for me in writing this thesis, along with the sheer longevity of the Longinus story in Irish tradition.

This thesis is, of course, by no means meant to be an exhaustive study. Further research into the subject of the assumed Eastern origins of the blindness legend might be profitable, and a translation and discussion of the Old Armenian and Georgian recensions of the *Passio Longini*, which might help shed light on the history of the text and the nature of its lost Greek source, would be highly desirable. However, it is hoped that the material presented here will facilitate and encourage further research and discussion.

APPENDIX

i) The Pseudo-Hesychian Homilies

The following is my own translation based on Michel Aubineau's editions of the two pseudo-Hesychian homilies in his *Les homélies festales d'Hésychius de Jérusalem. Vol. II: Les Homélies XVI-XXI et tables des deux volumes*. Subsidia hagiographica 59 (Brussels 1980). Aubineau's editions are based on the original Greek manuscripts and include a French translation. Aubineau's edition of homily xix is the first critical edition of that work –the Bollandists' edition is based on a single, somewhat corrupted manuscript-, and his edition of homily xx is the first edition of the complete text.

Homily XIX

The Passion of Saint Longinus the centurion, who was present at the cross of Our Lord Jesus Christ, and of his two comrades in arms, written by Hesychius, a priest of Jerusalem.

1. Many are the stories in honour of the martyrs: like the pictures of the painters which, in order to render urban scenes, show high towers and figures of men and women, sometimes young, sometimes old, sometimes in royal or nuptial attire, sometimes sad, sometimes happy, even so the people who compose the accounts of the battles of the martyrs illustrate to their audience the steadfastness of the soul, the courageous attitudes, the fearless behaviours, full of reassurance, equanimous in the face of danger, and the assistance of God, who descends to fight with them and, at times, to which both the great number of miracles and the abundance of grace in conversation bear witness. But how can one relate with due dignity the story of Longinus, both wise and brave, and above all the story of his testimony for Christ which he began with his confession?

2. When, indeed, all the Apostles denied Christ, beside themselves with fear, when the mute whom he had healed, the blind to whom he had restored their eyesight, the lepers for whom he had healed their blemished skin and eased the sufferings of the flesh, and others for whom he had relieved their afflictions, vanquished their illnesses and improved their nature, when all these were stunned before the violent drama of the crucifixion and crumbled, it reached the ears of the Jewish Synagogue, with the heart of a wolf, that confession of the pious centurion Longinus, who said: 'Truly, this was the son of God'. He was not bashful in front of Pilate, who had been bribed against Christ, neither did he feel the fear that moves so many people nor was he overwhelmed by the uncountable multitude of the crowds. It is therefore fitting to tell and write of his admirable fight, of which those who were eyewitnesses from the beginning have told and transmitted to the following generation. The accounts of the testimony of Longinus, therefore, have been passed on from that generation to the next, and the one after, and

from there down to us, and have been preserved like perfect pearls, to adorn the sacred wedding chamber of Christ.

3. When Pilate placed the guard necessary to watch over the tomb of God's only-begotten son, Longinus was in command of it because it was he who had supervised the crucifixion of Christ, with soldiers under his orders. But after the resurrection of Christ, as the writings of the Holy Gospels have transmitted to us, when the soldiers had told the high priests and the elders of the council of the Jews of the miracles that had happened, the latter, fearing the people and seeking to minimize the marvel, gave to the soldiers a considerable sum of money to make them deny the resurrection of Christ. Then, in the same fashion with the power of money, they persuaded Pilate as well to approve the calumny. But Longinus absolutely does not prefer wily falsehoods to the truth, he does not take gold in exchange for a defamation of Christ, he could not bear to love the mammon more than God, he did not become a slave to greed and did not slide into its abyss, cause of a thousand deaths; he refused to accept calumniating falsehoods against Christ who has retrieved Adam, slain death and brought the mortals to life.

4. Angered by these events, Pilate and the leaders of the Jews tried to find fault with the blessed Longinus, but did not succeed: Longinus was, in fact, the most outstanding of the entire cohort of soldiers. However, since he desired to belong entirely to Christ, he resigned as centurion of Caesar and established himself in a house with the two soldiers who joined in his holy fight with him, having become harbingers for what they had seen and heard.
Having left Jerusalem, he returned home with them and became the evangelist of the Cappadocians like Thomas for the Indians, Peter for the Romans, John for the Asians and Paul from Jerusalem to Illyria and others for other peoples, announcing the good tidings of Christ and the mysteries done by him and in his name.

5. The Jews, driven by jealousy, and burning with rage, could not stand the testimony of Longinus, who already announced the tidings in every place he came to. They therefore persuaded Pilate to write to Caesar and tell lies about the blessed Longinus, reporting that he was entertaining hostile thoughts against the Roman Empire and that, having deserted the army, he proclaimed the kingship of Christ to the nations, and that he had already spread talks of that kind in his homeland and his home region.
With these letters the Jews sent money and bought the death of Longinus having obtained the obedience of Caesar. Then, some letters from the emperor were brought to Pilate in Judea, against Longinus and his comrades: they ordered that they should be beheaded with the sword for having deserted.
Pilate hastened to pass Caesar's letters on to the executioners carrying out capital punishment. And the latter, travelling as swiftly as possible, arrived in Cappadocia and learned that Longinus had devoted himself to scholarship and retreated to a plot of land left to him by his father and that there he cultivated solitude, having rid himself of the concerns of the city. They quickly and quietly repaired to that place with the intention of executing the orders of Pilate and Caesar, before Longinus could resort to flight. They thus suddenly came upon the man as if they had come for somebody else and they did not flaunt any of the documents they were carrying in any way. Then, after entering and

approaching Longinus, not knowing that he was the very man they and Pilate were looking for, they began to ask him where they could find Longinus.

6. He, however, since the Holy Spirit had predicted the event to him in advance, said to them: 'Follow me and I will show him to you'. Then the blessed man, rejoicing by himself as is proper and anxiously awaiting the consummation of martyrdom, said to himself: 'How beautiful are the feet of those who proclaim peace, of those who bring good news. Now I will see the skies open, now I will behold the glory of the Father, now I will contemplate the ineffable splendour of the Holy Spirit. Now I will say: 'Lord Jesus Christ, receive my spirit', like Stephen the protomartyr, whom I have heard scream with a loud voice. Now, I shall enter that Heavenly Jerusalem, with the towers of gold, which is the home of the angels and also the city of all the host of the saints, with applause and victory chants and regal trophies. Now I will cast down my garment of clay, free myself from the fetters of the flesh which have made me groan many a time and rid myself of corruption, because I strive towards incorruptibility, I shall have a life without turbulences by leaving this ephemeral life where the waves are many and the shipwrecks dangerous. The only eternal haven is that life where the saints dwell. Rejoice, my soul, for you are departing to your maker, show a joyful countenance because the present is calling, let us treat as guests, with happiness and friendship, those who are the bearers of such boon for you and let us lay a rich table for those who are calling us to the royal feast'.

7. Having contemplated these things by himself, Longinus accommodated in his own house the men who had come to him and, entertaining them magnificently as treasured guests, receiving them with a countenance beaming with joy, dining with them at the table he had furnished, he began to question them, after the meal, about their reasons for searching for Longinus. And they, having asked him to swear neither to reveal their intentions nor to disclose the secret they were about to confide in him, told him both what Caesar had written to Pilate and that they had been sent there to behead Longinus and two other people.
The latter, upon asking who the two convicts associated with Longinus were, learnt that they were even those who had preferred Christ to the bribe money offered by the Jews. Hastily, he wrote to them to join him immediately to share with him great blessings. Having thus entertained the messengers as his guests for two days, Longinus invited them to his country residence on the third day. There he awaited the two men whom he had secretly summoned. Upon learning of their impending arrival, he revealed to his guests that he himself was Longinus, the man they were looking for.

8. At first, they refused to believe him, then, once they were convinced, they started weeping, tearing at their hair and addressing pitiful cries to Longinus: 'Why, friend, have you chosen to act like this? Why have you received in your house those who came to put you to death? Why have you prepared a meal and furnished a table for those who came to kill you, and not only for one day, but for a second and then a third one? Did you not see that your wine was mixed with your own blood which we are seeking? Now what's left to say? What can we do or want regarding you? Go away, take in exchange for your hospitality the release from the death we owe you, because we do not dare raise

the sword against you, we are bound by the salt (of hospitality), we blush at your entertainment, we fear God, the warden of hospitality. It is better for us to risk punishment at the hands of Pilate for acting shrewdly regarding the death penalty of Longinus but not to be tormented by (the pangs of) our conscience for life and not to see the demons dine with us which are, as they say, drunken with blood. How, indeed, will we ever eat a good meal again if we raise our hands against you? Not only will our hands be bound, but also our feet and our entire bodies if we were to do this, if we were to become murderers of our benefactor and our host'.

9. Here is what they said to Longinus. However, they did not succeed in persuading that eager and courageous hero to abandon the fight for the Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, instead he responded to them with determination: 'Do not hope that I become a traitor of life, nor that I test grace. May I not become a wolf after having renounced my vocation to be a lamb, may I not deny in any way Him to whom I have once confessed. May I, who saw the elements shake, not be deprived of that glory. May the people of the creation not become my accuser for offending Him on account of whom the sky hid its own face, the sun swallowed the wagons of its rays, the day refused to bring the course of its light to an end, the night was forcefully extended: for it could not, in fact, bear the weight of the cross and refused to be accused of making common cause with the Jews in their fight against God. These facts I have seen with my own eyes and vision, so how could I waste the riches of such a Salvation which happened for me? I could not bear the reproaches of the angels'.

10. Longinus repeated these words again when his comrades, the two soldiers whose death Caesar had ordered, arrived. With a beaming face radiant with joy, Longinus stood before them and, kissing their eyes and neck, said to them: 'Rejoice, my comrades in arms in the service of Christ, victors in the godly fights and heirs of the kingdom of Heaven, rejoice for the door of Heaven has been opened for us, because the angels will receive our souls and offer them to the Only-begotten son of God. Behold, I see the lights, I perceive the crowns, I cannot count the rewards which will be given to us at the altar of the Bridegroom'. After these words, he turned to the executioners: 'If, therefore, you have orders, carry them out, and quickly'. And he told his janitor to bring a clean garment, as if he had been invited to a wedding and was in a nuptial chamber. Having changed clothes and indicated with his hand the hill where he had ordered to have his blessed body buried, and after he and his comrades –who had fought the victorious fight to the end- had, with the greatest joy, knelt down and prepared to be decapitated, they were beheaded and were inscribed among the host of the Apostles and the martyrs, having shown the courage of the latter and the sacred zeal of the former.

11. The executioners took the head of Saint Longinus and brought it to Pilate, who, indeed, had acted thus to please the Jews and on account of the money he had received. Once the executioners had brought the head of the saint to Jerusalem, Pilate gave order to show it to the Jews thirsting after the blood of Longinus, for he had done business in this affair and received much gold by people who were in the habit of buying the blood of the just in exchange for money. The head of Longinus, then, dear to God and fearsome to the demons, but beloved to the angels and esteemed by the elements, was

ordered to be thrown out by Pilate, outside the city gates. It lay there before the gates, an inviolate treasure; even if there was a lot of dung there, the head, highly esteemed pearl of Christ, was preserved intact and the dung served it as a tomb, or rather a reliquary, for a long time, as God, the friend of humankind, acted in this with forbearance and with a providential design.

12. There was also a widow in that same region of Cappadocia, mother of an only son. She had gone blind but as her faith had triumphed over her disability she came to Jerusalem with her only son in the hope of having her eyesight restored there by worshipping the Holy Places. Led by her son, she gathered dust from the ground and prepared to apply it to her eyes, hoping perhaps to find in it the illuminating eyewash that would restore her eyesight; but instead disease soon struck her only son and stole him from the mother's hands.
Then the darkness of her eyes weighed her down twice as much and she despaired at the violent sufferings of her misfortune. Uttering pitiful cries she addressed God: 'How long, O Lord, will you forget me, *etc*…? Am I suffering from that violent pain because I am the greatest of sinners? Am I worse than the prostitute that you have welcomed, accepting her perfumed oil? But me you have deprived of my eyesight and have taken my only son from me: No hope of salvation is left for me now'.

13. As the woman was in great tribulation and in a state of inconsolable mourning, the blessed Longinus appeared to her in her sleep and told her the entire story of his life.
'I am Longinus the Centurion, said he, who, at the Crucifixion, made the following confession regarding Our Lord Jesus Christ: 'Truly, this was the son of God'. And I reveal to you also how Pilate disseminated lies and incited Caesar against me, ordered to behead me and to bring my head here and to throw it away outside the city; in fact, the sons of the Jews throwing around their money became his accomplices as well. However, a great mass of dung has gathered on my head, so that it has been preserved in order to heal you; because at the very moment you will discover my head you shall recover your eyesight. Afterwards, I will also show you your child in glory who will comfort you in your grief'.

14. Cheered up by these words, and at the same time fortified in her courage and her faith, the woman hastened to take action as soon as she was brought to the place where the dung was piled up, as she had learned from the people who led her, who were also believers. When she reached the place pointed out to her, she started digging with her own hands. Thanks to divine providence she quickly found the head beloved by God and immediately she saw the light of day. She kissed it, carefully cleansed it and embalmed it with precious perfumed oil, then she returned carrying that pearl to the house of her hosts. And again, the following night, Longinus showed himself to her with her son beside him, radiant and smiling and dressed in a wedding gown, and he said to her: 'Behold the one you have loved dearly, woman. Here is the one you thought was stolen from your hands. But God has set him free and enlisted him for the Kingdom up above. And now I shall take him with me because I have received him from Our Saviour and he shall not leave my right side again. Take therefore my head and the body of your child and place them in the same coffin and do not weep for your only son any

more: A great glory has been given him along with me and a sacred altar, holy martyrs, numerous hymn-singing choirs, assemblies of all the people and many other things that cannot be done on earth, but only in Heaven; things that no eye has seen or ear has heard of, that have not even occurred to humankind, the very things that God had given us, showing his love for us in word and in deed'.

15. The mother of the youth took these words as the commandments of a holy prophet. She got up and departed for her homeland. She took the sacred head, worthy of the greatest reverence, and returned it to its homeland and laid her son to rest, joyfully and cheerfully, next to the holy remains of Saint Longinus, as he himself had commanded her to, in the town called Sandralis where the holy martyr was born.
Both quietly in her heart and proclaiming it aloud she said to herself: 'I know everything turns out well for those who love God. I was looking for my physical sight but, along with that, I have also received spiritual sight. The loss of my child has made me sad, but behold, my heir is safe with God, in royal glory. I have seen my young man dressed in purple, I have seen my youth in all his beauty. My child with a countenance as radiant as a star, smiling at his mother, and, next to Longinus, shimmering like the morning star, almost radiant like the sun he appears both by night and by day, and not only in dreams but also in reality and in plain daylight: he appears to me like the martyrs do. His destiny is to be with the prophets although he has not lived the life of a prophet, and he carries the cross with Longinus, he brandishes the venerable trophy of the Kingdom of Heaven, he is a messenger to the angels and he has raised his voice among the archangels, as a disciple of Longinus, of all that the seraphim permit Longinus to glorify and all that the cherubs let him praise in hymns he also sings in a holy, triumphant, mystical, victorious voice: 'Truly, he was, he is and he will always be the son of God. That which was before the beginning of time is his, and will be his for ever and ever. It is he who makes the centuries pass, but remains the same without aging himself, because his realm is the Eternal realm and his power shall never be destroyed ever. To Him is the glory and the power to the ages and the ages. Amen".

16. I, Hesychius, a priest of Jerusalem, after long research and at the cost of great sacrifices, have been able to find the Passion of Saint Longinus the Centurion, the man who said at the cross of Christ: 'Truly, he was the son of God'. I have found it in a short document in the library of the Holy Anastasis and have composed (the text of) his confession and also his eulogy. Now those who fear the Lord may believe that this was really Saint Longinus the Centurion, the one who confessed at the Cross of Christ: through his mediation and intercession we shall all be under his protection, be it reading or hearing this account, in Jesus Christ our Lord. Glory and power be to him, the reign of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, now and always, for ever and ever. Amen.

Homily XX

The Eulogy of Saint Longinus the Centurion by Hesychius, a priest of Jerusalem.

1. The winners of the fight, the Heavenly inhabitants, the soldiers of Christ, the heirs of the Realm, the intercessors for the world with the Lord, the assistants of the cherubs and the healers of the sick, the ones who purify the leprous and put the demons to flight, the witnesses of the faith, the ones who trample the idols underfoot, who crushed the devil with their bodies and did not pay any heed to the torments, those who tamed the wild beasts and blunted the swords, those who were marked out by Christ who set his seal on them and who are recognized by him, the beautiful flowers of the Church, the powerful intercessors, the stars of the universe, are the first Holy martyrs, John the Baptist, Stephen and Longinus the Centurion.

2. When our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ was born in Bethlehem in Judea it was announced to king Herod that the king of Israel had been born. Herod, having heard these news, did not make it public for a while, placing his hopes in the Magi. Then, having grown very vexed he sent Longinus the Centurion, saying: 'Go and inform yourself clearly if a king was born, so I, too, can kneel before him, since I have been tricked by these Magi'.
Longinus, having departed for Bethlehem in Judea, saw on his way a great light shining all around him and he heard a voice saying to him: 'Come here, Longinus, my beloved, and I will make you the centurion of the holy martyrs'. The latter fell to the ground, prostrating himself before the one who had addressed him and answered: 'May it happen to me as you have said, Lord God'. And he departed for Bethlehem in Judea to kneel down before the newborn child, the Lord Jesus Christ. And he said to him: 'Greetings, king of the world'.

3. Having returned to Herod, he said to him: 'In truth, the child who has been born is the son of God, king and redeemer of the whole world'. Herod, getting furious, responded: 'And can you testify to that under oath'? The centurion Longinus repeated to him a second time: 'Truly, he is the son of God, the redeemer of the world'. Herod said to Longinus: 'What wonders have you seen him perform to say that and to think that he is the son of God'? Longinus, saint of God, replied to Herod: 'While I was going to Bethlehem in Judea and wondering by myself who it was who had just been born, behold a great light suddenly enveloped me on the road with its splendour. I fell down as if in ecstasy, I found myself in Bethlehem in Judea and I saw the Heavens open, the angels of God who ascended and descended above the child and adored him, the Holy Spirit descended on him, its power and glory surrounding him like a cloud. And I understood, I was convinced and believed firmly that he is the Christ, son of God and redeemer of the world'.

4. King Herod proposed to Longinus: 'I will give you half of my realm if you deliver him into my hands'. Saint Longinus answered to Herod: 'I have changed my allegiance to be enlisted in the service of the Eternal King and can not do that. If you like, believe in him also, and you yourself shall become an heir of the eternal life and kingdom. It is

for that reason that I, after departing, told myself: 'When I return to him I shall give him the good tidings so he may become an heir of the eternal life and the eternal kingdom'. And may I be considered worthy of great honour, because I have brought you happy news'.
Having become very angry at him, Herod gave commands to his high officials: 'Because I have showered him with honours and have made him a centurion, he believes that he is someone when in reality he is a nobody. Divest him therefore of his cloak, take his golden chain off, unstrap his sword from his side, because he has proven himself to be impious, and throw him into the innermost part of the dungeon. Put tight irons around his neck and his waist until I devise manifold tortures for him. Afterwards, I will give orders to cut off his head'.

5. Also, at that same hour he passed the following judgement, saying to his soldiers: 'Kill all the children in Bethlehem who are two years old this day, or less'. The soldiers went and carried out the order of their king and killed all the infants. Herod, furious on account of the Saviour's birth and the fact that he had been fooled by the Magi, summoned Saint Longinus, sat in his judgement seat and ordered to bring him in; when he had been brought in, the king saw that the saint was wearing the golden chain around his neck, he was vested in his regal cloak and his sword was at his side. Herod raved like a lion and raged like a wild beast at his high dignitaries, saying: 'Have I not told you, you good-for-nothing soldiers, to strip him of his chain, his sword and his garment'?

6. And the high dignitaries fearfully responded to the king: 'By your holiness, O king, we have obeyed your orders. After undressing him, we threw him into the dungeon. Where this garment comes from and who dressed him again we know not'. Herod turned to Longinus: 'Wretch, that you have brought dishonour on yourself, tell me, before I have you tortured, who gave you that garment'? Saint Longinus answered: 'It is the whole truth what I say, I am not lying: I have not been given it by anyone but the eternal king Jesus Christ'. And Herod replied: 'And it was he who dressed you in that garment'? Saint Longinus answered: 'He himself sent one of his angels who wrapped me in that garment and put the mark of the Eternal King Jesus Christ on me'.

7. Herod, turning to his high dignitaries, said: 'He is certainly lying, making us believe that he was awarded these insignia by his king; tear off the garment that is covering him and burn it in the fire'. The guards approached to carry out the orders they had received and found themselves touching empty air and found nothing they could take off him. 'What is this'? The high dignitaries asked the king. 'We see his garment envelop him like a shadow, and we cannot take anything off him'. Herod said: 'By Nemesis, who chastises mankind, now I know that you are a sorcerer, because you make the cloak invisible'. Saint Longinus responded: 'By the Heavenly king who has now come down from Heaven, I do not know what magic art is: For He himself, in fact, detests magicians and impostors. How can I, who am his servant, have a heart tainted by witchcraft and deceit? But, as I already said, the power of God has surrounded me with its splendour and protects me'.

8. Herod, deeply unsettled by Longinus's responses, gave order to his soldiers to flog him with scourges which had little balls of lead affixed to them. Longinus said: 'I feel lucky now to suffer for the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, after befriending him and feeling his love. I used to fear your evil machinations immensely'. Herod, gnashing his teeth at Longinus's words, commanded his elite guards: 'put him in the third hole of the stocks, hang heavy iron weights on him so that he will be stretched and dislocated and lose all strength and become hideous to behold, until all people who knew him previously will groan at the sight of him'.

9. The order of the king was carried out. However, when (the prisoner) had spent thirty days in the dungeon without feeling the weight of the jougs, Herod again sent for Saint Longinus, saying to his high dignitaries: 'Bring me Longinus here into the tribunal in chains, so I may have the satisfaction of seeing him morose and emaciated'. The high officials came to the prison and, finding him with his countenance radiating light, were afraid to bring him to the tribunal. However, as they had to obey the order Herod had given them, they brought that noble fighter for Christ to the tribunal. Herod, on seeing the man's face which was like the face of an angel, gnashed his teeth in fury at his guards, tore his clothes and said: 'Instead of chastising him you have brought the prisoner before me in the (florid) state in which you see him'.

10. Now beside himself with rage at his subjects, Herod drove them out, gave orders to behead the prison guards and to decimate the soldiers who had been in charge of watching Longinus. He thundered at his militia and raved at the thought that a plot was being laid against him. He made the following proposition to Longinus: 'Swear, by the salvation of the gods, not to mention the one who was born or pledge allegiance to him, and also not to call him king, because, if you do (as I ask), you shall escape the tortures and punishments that await you'. Saint Longinus replied to the king: 'By the glory of Jesus Christ, who saves the ones who believe in him, you have no way of persuading me to renounce my God. Because I place my hope in him I shall not fear your tortures'. Herod, then, gave order to flog him. But the Saint continued to voice his praise: 'Lord God, eternal king of kings, lord of lords, who bids kings sit down on the floor and raises the pauper from the ground, you alone are truly merciful, send me one of your angels to comfort me'.

11. Seeing that Longinus was insensitive to torture, Herod gave the following order to his high dignitaries: 'Take him to the dungeon, bind him in chains and, after chastising him, bring him to me, I shall reward you generously'. The latter, seizing Saint Longinus, brought him to the dungeon with great sorrow and carried out the orders they had been given. When Longinus had spent three days locked up and Herod was deeply worried on account of the king who had been born, Saint Longinus, during the night, uttered the following prayer: 'Lord Jesus Christ, send one of your angels and save your servants who are being punished in this place'. While he was praying, a great earthquake took place, so strong that the prison building was severely damaged, a great light shone on Saint Longinus and a voice told him: 'Hurry, get up, because the time for your martyrdom has not yet come'.

12. Immediately, all the chains gave way and the prison opened, and about a thousand people escaped and hid themselves outside the city, and a great tumult broke loose in the city. When the king heard what had happened in the prison and arrived at the site, not finding Saint Longinus there, he wondered, perplexed, what had happened. But Saint Longinus went around the city, and no one could see him because a veil had been laid on their eyes. Herod searched for him. There was a great tumult in the city and many rumours and the pious people were maligned. Herod gave orders to all the pagan people to bring him Longinus in chains because he thought the servant of God had fled and left the city. Struck with blindness, Herod became bedridden and died after having been infected with worms.

13. Then Archelaus, son of Herod, who had the same name as his father, became king. Saint Longinus was in the Holy City awaiting the Salvation by God. After the death of Archelaus, Herod, brother of Philipp, ruled over Judaea and Galilee. Longinus had his rank reinstated; he observed the wonders of God and the miracles worked every day by Our Lord Jesus Christ, until the time when, in the fifteenth year of the reign of the Roman Emperor Tiberius Caesar, Herod, brother of Philipp, also died under miserable circumstances after having John the Baptist beheaded on account of Herodias. Thereafter, Herod, son of Herod (the Great), brother of Archelaus, reigned over Galilee, replacing Herod the brother of Philipp. In the twenty-fifth year of his reign, eight days before the calends of April, i.e. the twenty-fifth day of March, under the consulate of Rufus and Rubellion, in the fourth year after the second Olympics, under the pontificate of Joseph and Caiaphas in Judaea, the latter delivered Our Lord Jesus Christ over to Pilate to be crucified.

14. Pilate, upon learning that He was a Galilean and under the jurisdiction of Herod, sent Him to Herod who was in Jerusalem. After mocking Him and treating him with disdain, Herod clothed him in a magnificent cloak and sent Him back to Pilate. The latter, having called together the high priests and leaders, passed the following judgement before them: 'The man you have brought before me is innocent'. But the crowd rendered him up to be crucified, thereby crucifying the one who takes away the sins of the world, nailing him to the cross. Pilate handed him over to the soldiers and put the centurion Longinus in command, whose name, in the army, had been changed to Primianus. It was Saint Longinus with his soldiers who watched over Christ upon the cross.

15. From the sixth hour to the ninth hour, a darkness came over the whole earth. The centurion present there who was watching over the cross around the ninth hour, saw it surrounded by a great light, while darkness reigned over the whole earth. He also saw a multitude of angels present at the cross, he felt the commotion of the whole earth and the tearing of the veil of the temple, and he saw the countenance of the Saviour shine like a flash of lightning. Before Christ yielded up the ghost, Saint Longinus contemplated in his heart, saying to himself: 'Truly, this is the son of God and the Saviour of the whole world'. While making these reflections, he fell on his face at the Saviours' feet while the other soldiers lost consciousness and fell asleep. Saint Longinus cried in a loud voice: 'Lord Jesus Christ, Son of the living God, have mercy on me, for I

believe that you are the Son of God, the Saviour of the world'. Jesus replied to him: 'Man, you have been born today and your memory will live after you until the last days'.

16. Having heard these words, Saint Longinus said to Jesus: 'Lord, I will leave this city on account of the threat posed by the high dignitaries'. Jesus said to him: 'Make the sign of the cross on your forehead, because I will baptize you with your blood, and go!' After making the sign of the cross, the centurion remained with the soldiers guarding the precious cross; he was present around the ninth hour, when Jesus, crying out in a loud voice: '*Eloi*, *Eloi*', i.e. 'My God, my God, why have you forsaken me?', gave up his ghost. And behold, there was a great thunder, the earth shook, the sun darkened itself from the sixth to the ninth hour, the stars of Heaven shone brightly, the rocks were split, the graves were opened, the veil of the temple was rent in two from the top to the bottom and many bodies of saints who had died were resurrected.

17. The centurion Primianus, also called Longinus, who stayed beside the cross, glorified God for the wondrous things that had happened and said: 'Truly, this is the son of God and the Saviour of the world'. And the crowds that were present at the scene, after seeing what had happened, turned away beating their faces. The centurion Longinus, the same to whom the task of watching over the cross had been entrusted, reported to the governor about the miracles that had happened. Afterwards, leaving everything behind, he returned to his homeland, *i.e.* a place in Second Cappadocia, near Tyana, called Andralis, or in Hebrew Gabralis. He changed his way of life turning to sheep-farming. But Herod, reading in the archives, found out that Saint Longinus had defied royal authority and caused a disturbance during the time of his father (Herod the Great) and that, moreover, he had encouraged everyone to convert to Christianity.

18. Having been told about the confession and the resistance of the Centurion precisely and in detail by the governor Lucius, Herod decreed a persecution of the Christians. Saint Longinus was pursued by the idolaters. In the days when Saint Longinus arrived in his home region, a pogrom against all pious people was conducted and the king decided to send three high officials with numerous forces to search for Saint Longinus. Having deployed the three high officials and the soldiers, Herod gave them instructions, saying: 'If you do not bring me the head of the centurion Longinus it will be your own heads that will be severed by the sword'. Under these premises, the soldiers went on their search, greatly distressed, they went from Antioch to Rome and on to Illyria, but did not find Longinus.

19. They marched, complaining, and retracing their steps towards Cappadocia, and, once they got near Tyana, started to look for Saint Longinus. In the town of Andralis they asked the inhabitants for information but no one gave them any answers regarding him, because everybody liked Longinus very much. As they did not succeed in getting any answers, the soldiers left the town in great dismay. Meanwhile Saint Longinus was herding his sheep, very close to the road the messengers took. Saint Longinus was sitting by the roadside and, seeing them approach from afar and recognizing them, arose. When they had reached him he said to them: 'Welcome, brothers'. The men did

not recognize the one who was speaking and Longinus added: 'Why are you sad, brothers? Are you worn out by a long journey?'

20. They responded: 'Hear, brother, of our bitter fate. Because a sentence was passed by king Herod against the centurion Longinus, with the following content: 'If you do not obtain for me the head of Longinus, it will be your heads that will be put to the sword'. And now, dear fellow, it has been a good nine months that we have been looking for him and we have not found him yet. Now you know the evil that has befallen us. If, therefore, you happen to know of a centurion called Longinus let us know'. Saint Longinus answered: 'I do not know that man. Come into my house, make yourselves comfortable, and tomorrow you shall return to your search.' They entered his house to spend the night there. When morning had come, Saint Longinus asked them: 'What crime has Longinus been accused of that justifies such a thorough search?' They answered him that the king searched for him for stirring up his kingdom by persuading people to worship the crucified Christ, King of all Ages.

21. They were much distressed and wondered and asked one another: 'What are we going to do?' And Saint Longinus said to them: 'Do not worry, brothers, do not lose courage, because I am the one you are looking for, Longinus, the servant of God and Jesus Christ, against whom you have been sent.' Having heard him, the men were distraught and remained in amazed silence, unable to speak. Saint Longinus encouraged them: 'Do not be disheartened, brothers, but let us eat and drink and then depart for the one who has sent you here. For I have offered my body to Christ, to regain my soul from him.' Having heard these words, they said to him, in tears: 'That is out of the question. After our return we shall plead your cause with the one who has sent us. If, indeed, you truly are Longinus we shall die together with you. We can not do that to you, we will not deliver you over to the one who sent us.'

22. Upon seeing that they were inspired by the spirit of God, Longinus said to them: 'If you feel compassion for me, do the following: take my head, bring it to the king and you shall live all the days of your life in peace.' The men were terrified and did not want to accept this. However, Longinus coaxed them and exhorted them two times to do it. After having been admonished at some length to do the deed, they said to him: 'Intercede on our behalf, then, when you are in your (heavenly) military service, so this will not be held against us as a sin.' They cut off his head, then, since he had requested it. When they had beheaded Saint Longinus, they brought the head to the king and the rioting of the wicked calmed down. The head of Longinus was preserved by the governor Lucius. The men of the city of Tyana, where the Saint of God had lived, took his body and laid it to rest in this town.

23. A widow called Chrestæ, a woman from a good family, was haunted by an evil spirit and tormented herself terribly. She was planning to depart for the East the next day, but when she heard people talk of the sick who were healed by Jesus she wanted to depart that very night. Saint Longinus appeared to her, headless. She said: 'Who are you?' Saint Longinus replied to her: 'Do you wish to be healed?' She answered: 'Yes, Sir, that is what I wish for.' And the Saint said to her: 'Go to Jerusalem, find the house

of the governor Lucius, look for the head of Longinus the Centurion and bring it back to my body and you shall be saved. For I am Longinus, the man who tended the herds on the road, and I have not found rest in the grave where I have been buried until now. Do this and you shall be healed in the name of Jesus Christ. And not only you yourself shall benefit by being healed, but I will also enlist your son in my host. For I, as I am speaking to you, am missing my head.'

24. At these words the woman arose, said goodbye to her friends and started on her journey. When she arrived at the monument (in Andrales), she cried loudly: 'Sir, you who are in that place, as you told me in the vision, I start on my journey, help me!' And immediately, the place started shaking and a voice reached her, saying: 'Be on your journey, Christ will help you.' Having heard this voice, she travelled joyfully the entire way.
After she reached Jerusalem, she inquired from the inhabitants of the city where the house of the governor was to look for the head of Saint Longinus. And the governor handed it over to her for the price of two hundred silver dinars. Taking it up, the woman prayed and glorified God because she was considered worthy of his grace.

25. Having obtained the head of the venerable Longinus, the woman prepared to return home that same evening, accompanied by her son Chrestion. And behold, three radiant angels appeared to her, whose glory she could not fathom. They were carrying torches of white wax in their hands and, while walking before them, praised God with their hymns all night long. At daybreak, they made a stop at the place where they had arrived to take refreshments. In three days (the widow) brought the head of the venerable Longinus to his hometown, accompanied by her son Chrestion. She arrived at the place where (the body) was resting at the sixth hour of the night. They came to the oratory which the believers in Christ had constructed in honour of the martyr. Immediately the door opened for them by itself and a circle of light shone inside the chapel. After entering the monument with perfumes and spices, the youth placed the head next to the body and it came to life with (him) as it was before the decapitation. When he had left the monument, the door closed by itself at once. They returned to their house rejoicing and glorifying God.

26. The following night, Saint Longinus appeared to Chrestæ, saying: 'I have now found my rest since you have brought back my head to me and you shall be healed from this day on. But now I ask you: Would you like me to enlist your son in the heavenly military service or in the worldly military service?' She answered, awed: 'I pray you, enlist him in the heavenly military service.' When he had heard these words he left her. The next day, the youth went to work in the vineyard. He worked until the fifth hour. Then Saint Longinus appeared to him, saying to him: 'Young Chrestion, would you like to be recruited for Christ, as your name already suggests?' The latter, raising his eyes, saw Longinus as a flash of light and answered: 'Who are you, Sir, who wants to recruit me?' And he answered: 'I am Longinus, the one to whom your mother restored his head, and, as she brought my head back to me, even so I would like to bring you to God.' And Chrestion answered him: 'If that is how it is, may it happen to me as you have said.' And at once the youth rendered up his spirit.

27. At the same hour as the preceding days, the youth's mother went to her son in the vineyard with the food for the meal. When she arrived there she found him dead. Seeing this, she fell with her face downwards to the ground. In despair and with her garment torn she remained motionless as if dead. An angel who appeared comforted her and said to her: 'Why are you weeping?' She answered him: 'My son is dead, the only one I had; the fruit of my womb has been taken from me prematurely.' Then the angel said to her: 'Do not be sad, woman. Do not weep for him any more, either, he has not been taken from you, he is not dead, he is in the arms of Jesus Christ. Go into the town, call the pious people together, and let them come and take your son's body. They shall bury him in the tomb where the faithful Longinus rests and within three days you shall see your son in the Heavenly host.'

28. Having spoken these words, the angel became invisible. The woman got up and went into the town as soon as the angel had comforted her and people asked what had happened to her. The woman told them everything, and having heard her, they went to the bishop of Tyana and told him about the events. At once bishop Pafnutius and the pious people went to the place where the deceased youth was and let his mother be sent for. When she arrived, the bishop said to her: 'Do not weep for him because he is in the Heavenly Kingdom and intercedes powerfully for us. Let us rejoice, therefore, and not be sad.' Having said these words, he demanded that the body of the youth be taken away and deposited with Saint Longinus, and they offered a welcome sacrifice to the Lord of the Heavens. That pious woman went on to become a deaconess and a great servant of the faith. As for the bishop, he returned to the city after the mass and many exhortations.

29. When it had become late and night had fallen, at the fourth hour of night, Saint Longinus appeared to the woman and said to her: 'Why are you complaining to me?' The woman, scared and trembling all over, answered: 'Who are you, Sir?' And he said: 'I am Longinus, the one who enlisted your son.' But Chrestæ, who could not stop thinking about her son, cried out: 'Sir, if you had enlisted him you would not have killed him!' The faithful Longinus said to her: 'Look, now you are reproaching me again. Get up, go out of your house and you shall see that your son has truly been enlisted.' Taking her by the hand he led her outside and she saw the Heavens open and a great light in the night. Raising her eyes, as if in ecstasy, she saw the King of Heaven and her own son in front of him. Saint Longinus said to her: 'Now that you have seen that your son has been enlisted, do you believe?' She replied: 'Yes, Sir, I have doubted you too much, Master.' And immediately Longinus became invisible.

30. The woman spent all her life, day and night, at the sacred oratory dedicating herself to prayers, canticles and alms and also working healings through invocation of Christ and the holy martyr, glorifying God all the days of her life for the goodness that had been shown to her. She died during the episcopate of Pafnutius and was deposited beside Saint Longinus in the same oratory, <…> (in the name of) the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit. To them be the Glory and the Power forever and ever. Amen.

ii) An excerpt from 'the first account of the Passion' in *Leabhar Breac* (from the Gospel of Nicodemus)

The following account mentioning Longinus resembles those in the corresponding passages in other Irish recensions of the Gospel of Nicodemus (compare chapter 4.1.3 above. However, it does not make reference to Longinus's blindness and healing. The text is quoted from Atkinson, *Passions and Homilies*, 122, the translation from the same, p. 369.

Is ann-sin atbert Ísu is-in croich: Ata hittu form; ⁊ ro-linsat na hIúdaide lestar do fhín-eccra co ndomblas ae, ⁊ tucsat do Ísu sin for barr shlati. Atberair is-in scriptúir, co n-id aire ro-s-cubadig Isu in dig-sea is-in croich .i. co ro-piantá i n-a uile ballaib, ar ni boi ball de cen pian fo leith acht a thenga nama; ⁊ co ro-pianta i-side o'n fhinaicet. Is and-sin ro-erig aroile milid di-a r-ba comainm Longinus, ⁊ tuc bulli do laigin miled i sliss Ísu, co r-rethitar focetoir da thuind as a sliss .i. tond fhala ⁊ tond usci.

Then Jesus said as He was on the cross: 'I thirst'; and the Jews filled a vessel with vinegar of the bitterness of gall, and gave it to Him on the top of a rod. In the Scripture it is said that Jesus asked for this drink on the cross that He might be tortured in all his members, for there was not a limb of Him that had not been separately tortured, save His tongue alone, so that it, too, might be tormented by the vinegar. Then rose up a certain soldier named Longinus, and thrust his soldier's lance into Jesus' side, so that there rushed out at once two streams from His side -a stream of blood and a stream of water.

The text distinguishes between Longinus and the centurion, or, 'the mighty man of the Jews named Cenntúrio':

Atconnairc din (didiu) fer cumachtach dona hIúdaidib d'a r-ba comainm Cenntúrio na mirbuli mora-sin, ⁊ ro-glom la rig-dia, ⁊ atbert : -' Is duine firen in duine ut ro-crocbad ⁊ ro-césad ann.' In popul din (didiu) bói i n-a thimcell, ro-buailset a n-ochta, ⁊ ro-gab ecla ⁊ omun mor iat.

A mighty man of the Jews, named Centurio, saw these great miracles; and he glorified God, and said that the man who was crucified and suffered was a righteous man. The people who were around him smote their breasts; and great fear and terror seized them.

iii) An account of the Passion in *Leabhar Breac*

Following the first account of the Passion in *Leabhar Breac* from the Gospel of Nicodemus, there is an item headed '*In ernail tanaise for Páis in Choimded sund* secundum Mathaeum'
(The second version of the Passion of the Lord here according to Matthew) on pp. 163b 21ff. This section is a paraphrase of Mt 26:36-27:10, i.e. from the events in the garden of Gethsemane to the suicide of Judas. As McNamara has pointed out, the account contains some apocryphal and foreign elements (McNamara, 'The Irish Affiliations of the *Catechesis Celtica*', *Celtica* 21 (1990) 291-334, 313). After a hiatus on p. 166 a 4 and a new heading, '*In tres gné in-so*' (the third account here), the narrative of Matthew is continued until the death of Christ and given a formal ending with a prayer for Matthew (p.167 a 52).
The following text is quoted after Atkinson, *Passions and Homilies*, 134f:

O'n sesed uair cus-in nomad uair .i. fri re tri n-uaire forcoemnacar dorcha mór for talmain. Ocus ro-díucart Ísu is-in nomad uair is-in croich o guth mor, 7 is ed ro-ráid: "*Ely, Ely, lama Zabatany* ?" is inann on 7 'a mo Dé, cid di-a ro-m-dilsigis?' Forend ele imorro, batar oc estecht fris-sin, is ed atbertis :—" Ely, or eat, ic a tógairm di-a thesorcuin." Ro-reith focetoir oen do na míledaib iarum, 7 do-rat fín serb a machdual for rind slatti, co tarut do Ísu di-a ol: Zefaton tra ainm in míled-sin, amal atfiadat na scribenna. *Ceteri uero dicebant, 'sine, uideamus an ueniat Elias liberare eum*.' Ro-ráidset tra na sloig ar-chena :—" Léic, ol eat, he a oenur, co n-accamar in ticfa Ely di-a thesorcuin." Gabaid tra oen ele do na míledu gói, 7 do-rat buille de i toeb ndess Ísu, co tanic fuil 7 usce ass. Is ed ro-ráid Ísu iar-sin fria droing do doinib, itconnairc oc siubal na sliged i comfhocus dó:—" A dóine maithe, ol se, in fhacabar mo galar for duine is-in doman riam?" Do-riucart tra Ísu doridisi o guth mor, 7 ro-fhóid a spirut iarum, *et dixit*, '*in manus tuas, Domine, comendo spiritum meum, r. m. me. d. ds. u. t.* (*redemisti me, Domine Deus ueritatis*, Ps. xxx. 6]'is inand ón 7 'a athair nemda, aichnim m'anmain 7 mo spirut i t' lamaib.' Ocus ro-dluiged iarum fial in tempuil a ndib lethib, o ta a uachtar co a híchtar; *et terra mota est*, 7 ro-cúmscaiged in talum; *et petrae scise sunt*, 7 rodluigit na clocha ; *et monumenta aperta sunt*, 7 ro-herslaicthi na hádnocail. In tan tra is iat na marb-duile cen dliged cen tuicsi ro-chóiset a ndúilemain, in coimdiu, is in mor-mo is

coru do na beoaib 7 do na dligtechaib a chóined. Alim trocaire Dé uli-chumachtaig co ro- n-dítne Matha mac Alphe, in sui ordraic inill na ro-thairind demum.

From the sixth hour to the ninth hour, for the space of three hours, there was a great darkness over the earth; and in the ninth hour Jesus on the cross cried out with a loud voice, saying :—" *Ely, Ely, lama zabatany*, i. e., "O my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" Another group of people who heard Him, said:—" It is Ely he is calling to deliver him." One of the soldiers immediately afterwards ran, and put vinegar in a sponge on the top of a rod, and gave it to Jesus to drink. Zefaton was the name of the soldier, as the writings tell. The multitudes in general said:—" Let him alone, that we may see whether Ely will come to save him." But one of the soldiers took a spear, and made a thrust with it into the right side of Jesus, so that blood and water came thereout. After that Jesus spake to a throng of people whom He saw walking along the road near to Him:—"O good men, saw ye ever my sickness on any man in the world before?" Then Jesus cried again with a loud voice, and gave up the ghost, *et dixit*, ' *in manus tuas, Domine, commendo spiritum meum, redemisti me, Domine Deus ueritatis*," i. e., 'O heavenly Father, I commend my soul and my spirit into Thy hands." And afterwards the veil of the temple was rent in two pieces from the upper to the lower part; and the earth was shaken, and the rocks were rent, and the graves were opened. And since even the dead elements, that have not reason or understanding, bewailed their Creator the Lord, far more is it fitting for living and reasoning beings to bewail Him.

We implore the mercy of Almighty God, to protect Matthew, the son of Alpheus, the celebrated sage whom the demon did not subdue. (*Passions and Homilies*, 382f).

iv) The Latin Text of the Passion of Longinus from selected codices

Dieb*us* illis fuit quidam milis centurio nomine Longinus qui crucem D*omi*ni adstans [i]us[s]us a Poncio Pilato Praeside latus D*omi*ni lancea percuciens aperuit. Et uidens signa que fiebant propter D*omin*um crucefixum, sole obscurato <et terra> commuta, crededit in D*omi*no Ih*es*u et percutiens pectus suu*m* uoce magna dicebat: 'Vere, D*e*i filius est hic.'

(TURIN. COD. TAUR. D.V.3 (SOISSONS, 8TH C)

In diebus Domini nostri Iesu Christi, fuit quidam miles, nomine Longinus; qui illo tempore cruci Domini astans missus a Pontio Pilato Præside, latus Domini lancea percutiens aperuit: & videns signa quæ fiebant propter eum, sole obscurato & terra commota credidit in Dominum Iesum Christum, & percutiens pectus suum voce magna dicebat: Vere filius Dei est hic.

(ACTA SANCTORUM, 'EX PLURIBUS PERVETUSTIS MSS')

In diebus autem *dni* nostri *ihu xpi* fuit quidam miles centurio nomine longinus qui illo tempore cruci dominicae adstans iussus a pontio pilato pręside latus *dni* aperuit percutiens et uidens signa quae fiebant propter *dnm* crucifixum sole obscurato et terra *comota* crededit in *dno* Et percutiens pectus *suû* uoce magna **59** dicebat. Uere filius *di* est *hic*.

(ST GALL, COD. SANG. 548, LATE 8TH C)

Quidam longinus nomine fuit in diebus dni nri ihu xpi militaris centurio qui illo tempore cruci dni adsistens percussit lancea latus dni et uidens propter crucem signa quę fiebant solem obscuratum et petras disruptas continuo credidit in dno et percuciens suum pectus dicebat magna uoce. Uere filius di est iste. **(GRAZ 412, S.IX)**

Fuit in dieb*us* D*omi*ni n*ostr*i I*esu Christi* cent*ur*io militans in illa <> D*omin*us noster I*esus Christus* sub Pontio Pilato p*rae*side cruci affix*us* es*t*. Qui *et* ipse lancea lat*us* ap*er*uit I*esu Christi* D*omi*ni. De q*uo* flux*it* sang[u]is *et* aqua in rede*m*ptione*m* salutis n*ostr*e. Q*uo*d videns Longin*us et* alia signa q*ua*e fiebant sole*m* obscuratu*m et* petras diruptas *et* velu*m* scissu*m* a summo usq*ue* deorsu*m con*tinuo c*ae*didit in <> *et per*cutiens pect*us* suu*m* voce magna dicebat: Vere fili*us* d*e*i es*t* iste.

(MAGNUM LEGENDARIUM AUSTRIACUM, ZWETTL, 13TH C)

Hic sanctus et beatus Longinus in diebus Domini nostri Iesu Christi nobilissimi centurion qui in tempore crucis adstitit. Et iuxta preceptum Iudeorum Iesu latus confodit. Videns autemque in cruce signa fiebant solem obscurantem et petras scindentes credidit in domino.

Tundens autem sibi pectus magna voce exclamavit: Vere, dei filius est iste.

(TURIN, COD. TAUR. F.III.16 (BOBBIO))

Et post hec recidens de milicia instruebatur D*omi*ni praeceptis. Audiens s*anct*orum apostolorum uenerabilia uerba et Chr*ist*i mandata seruanda in ueritate. Itaque instructus uiam D*omi*ni et accipiens signaculum crucis totum se optulit D*eu*m. Faciens aelymosinas et in castitate corpus contenens puram custodiebat conscienciam. Caelestem uitam gerens in terris et omnem in Chr*ist*o moderationem ornatus per abstinentiam habebat uera*m* reuerentiam, [u]ulto plano, moderatam speciem, ornatu aspectu, quietum sensum, humilem sapie***am, animum letum.

& post hæc recedens a malitia instruebatur Domini præceptis, audiens sanctorum Apostolorum venerabilia mandata.

Veri~~i~~tatis itaque instructus viam, accipiensque signaculum salutis, totum se obtulit Deo, faciens igitur eleëmosynas & in castitate corpus continens, puram custodiebat conscientiam, cælestem vitam gerens in terris.
Omni moderatione ornatus, per abstinentiam habebat veram reuerentiam, vultum planum, moderatam speciem, ornatum aspectum, quietum sensum, humilem sapientiam, animum lætum.
et post haec credens de militia instruebatur *dni* praęceptis audiens ab apostolis uenerabilia *xpi* mandata in ueritate. *Itaq-*; instructus de uia *dni* accipiens signac(o)ulum totum se obtulit *d-o* faciens igitur elymosinas et in castitate *corp-s* contenens *purâ* custodiebat conscientiam. Caelestem *uitâ* gerens in *t-ris* et omni in *xpo* moderatione ornat(i)us per abstinentiam habebat ueram reuerentiam in *d-o.* Uultum plan(a)um. *moderatâ speciê.* ornatum aspectum quietum sensum. humilem sapientiam. animum laetum.
Et post paucum tempus recedens de milicia obsequebatur dni pręceptis Audiens a scis apostolis uenerabilia xpi mandata in ueritate itaq: instructus de uia dni et accipiens xpi signaculum totum se obtulit do Faciens autem elemosinas et ad pietatem animam suam ducens et in castitate corpus continens puram custodiebat conscientiam celesti uita gerens et omniû in xpo moderationem ornatus
Et p*ost* modic*um* t*em*p*us*? a milicia rediens obseq*ue*bat*ur?* D*omi*ni p*rae*ceptis audiens a s*anct*is ap*osto*lis vene*r*anda mandata. In v*er*itate *i*taq*ue* instruct*us* de via D*omi*ni *et* accipiens signac*ulu*m *Christi* totu*m* se obtulit ?Deo faciens elemosinas multas *et* ad pietate*m* a*nim*am sua*m* ducens in castitate corp*us* suu*m* *con*tinens pura*m* custodiebat *cons*c*ien*tia*m* celesti vita *et* o*mni*u*m* vi*r*tutu*m* in *Christo* mod*er*atione ornat*us*.
Et post hec non longum tempus recessit de militia. Et erat observans Domini commemorationem audiens a sanctis apostolis quia Christi praecepta in veritate sunt inbutus est via domini accipiensque signum Christi totum se deo commendans faciens militias ad pietatem animam suam deducens. Corpus autem ad continentiam constituens integrum sensum servans celestis militie. Et sanctum dominum Christi pietate ornatus per continentiam castam habens frontem compositum simul humili aspectu. Stabilem gerens intellectum mitem, incassibilem corpus in turbulentam animam.

H**c igitur cum esset annorum uigint{i} et octo aput Cesariam Cappadociae. Apostolorum imitans uitam et multus auertens ab iniquitate inluminabat uerbo ueritatis prohibens sacrificia et seminans uerbi D*omi*ni uenerabilia praecepta.
Hic cum esset in Cæsarea Cappadociæ, vixit quieta monachorum vita annis viginti octo, & multos auertens ab impietate, illuminabat verbo veritatis, & prohibens idolorum sacrificia, seminabat in populo venerabilia Domini præcepta.
Hic cum esset caesaria cappadociae habens quietam monachorum uitam annorum xx et *septê* et multos auertens ab iniquitate inluminabat uerbo ueritatis proh^i^bens idolorum sacrificia seminans de uerbo *dni* uenerabilia praecepta.
Hic cum esset in cappadotia uixit habens quietam uitam monachorum annis uiginiti et octo et multos auertens ab impietate inluminabat uerbo ueritatis oculos eorum prohibens eos a sacrificis idolorum
Hic cum esset in Capadotia q*u*iet*am* *et* t*ra*nq*u*illa*m* monachor*um* ducens vita*m* annis xxviii (viginti octo) *et* multos av*er*tens ab impietate sua illuminabat v*er*bo v*er*itatis ? eor*um* *pro*hibens eos ab idolor*um* cult*am*
Hic vadens in Capadociam obtinuit secretam et singularem vitam annis viginti octo. Et multos discedere ab iniquitatibus fecit. Et inluminabat urbes verbum veritatis prohibens idolorum sacrificia. Seminans pia praecepta.

Cumq*ue* haec ad aures Octauii Presides peruenissent iussi[t] eum exhibere. Introductum autem eum Octauius Praesis dixit: 'Quis uocaris?' Sanctus Longinus dixit: 'Longinus uocor.' Pr*aeses* dixit: 'Cuius prouinciae ciues es?' Longinus dixit: 'Isauriae.'

Cumque hæc ad aures Octauij Præsidis peruenirent, iussit eum exhiberi. Inducto autem eo, Octauius dixit: Quis vocaris? Beatus Longinus, cum esset perfectus sensu & venerabilis in Domino, dixit: Christianus sum: oportet enim primum donum gratiæ Dei confiteri. Octauius Præses dixit: Qui ante te fuerunt, nihil lucrati sunt de hoc nomine: tu autem quis vocaris? edicito. Vir Dei respondit: Longinus vocor. Iudex dixit: Cuius prouinciæ es? S. Longinus dixit: Isauriæ.

Cumq: haec ad aures octau^{i}a pręside^{i}s peruenirent. iussit eum exhiberi Inducto autem eo octauianus preses ait. Qu^{i}s uocaris. Beatus longinus dixit *Xpianus* oportet *enî* primum donum gratię *xpi* confiteri, *Octauian* **60** pręses dicit qui ante fuerunt nihil lucrati *s* de hoc nomine. Tu *aû* quis uocaris. uir *di* res*pndit.* Longinus uocor. *Prs* dixit. Cuius *p-uinciae* ciue^{i}s es ? *scs* longinus *d-* Isauriae.

Hęc autem uenerunt ad **aures** iudicis et iussit exhiberi eum Inducto autem eo octauius pręses dixit. Quid uocaris? Beatissimus **longinus** *Rs- Xpi*anus sum oportet prius donum *xpi gr-e* confiteri. Octauius pręses dixit qui ante te fuerunt nihil lucrati sunt de hoc nomine tu autem dicito nomen tuum quid uocaris Beatissimus *Rs* Longinus uocor Octauius pręses dixit cuius es prouincię ? *scs* longinus respondit: Isaurię.

Hec tand*em* vener*it* ad aures iudicis q*ui* iussit exhib*er*i eu*m*. Intr*o*ducto au*tem* eo dix*it* Octav*us* preses: Q*u*id vocaris? Beatissim*us* Longin*us* *respondit*: Longin*us* vocor. Octav*us* preses dixit: Cui*us* es *pro*vincię? Longin*us* *respondit* Isaurię.

Hęcom~a vener~t in aure~ principis Octavii ducis. Qui dixit ad eum: quis vocaris? Beatus autem Longinus respondit: Longinus vocor. Princeps dixit: cui provincie natus es?[…..]

Octauius Presis dixit: 'Seruus es an ingenuus?' Longinus d*ixit*: 'Seruus eram prius peccati sed pius D*omin*us Ih*esu*s Chr*istu*s per mysterium s*anctę* et uenerandę crucis per lateris sui gratiam dulcem dupliciter me liberauit. Prius quidem per aquam, nunc autem per sanguinem si persiuerauero in eius conf<es>sion*em*.' Presis dixit: 'Pro qua causa uenisti huc?' Longinus d*ixit*: 'Miles fui et militaui in seculo. Nunc autem milito Chr*isto*.'

Octauius Præses dixit: seruus es an ingenuus? S. Longinus respondit: seruus eram prius peccati: sed pius Dominus Iesus Christus per mysterium sanctæ & adorandæ crucis, & per lateris sui effusionem duplici gratia me liberauit; prius quidem per aquam & Spiritum sanctum, nunc autem per sanguinem, si perseuerauero in eius confessione.

Iudex dixit: Propter quam caussam venisti huc? S. Longinus dixit: Curialis fui & militaui in seculo: nunc autem milito Christo Iesu.

Octauius *prs d;* Seruus es a*n ingenuus?* Sanctus Longinus dixit: servus eram prius peccati et pius *dns nr ihs xps* per mysterium *scae* et orandae crucis per lateris sui *gratiâ* dulcem dulciter me liberauit. Prius quidem per *aquâ* nunc autem *p-* sanguinem si perseruerauero in eius confessione; *Prs* dixit pro qua ergo causa uenisti huc. Respondens longinus dixit. Curialis fui et militaui in sęculo. Nunc *aû* milito *xpo.*

Octauius pręses dixit: Seruus es an ingenuus? *Scs* longinus dixit seruus eram prius peccati et pius *dns ihs xprs* per mysterium *scę* et adorandę crucis duplicem gratiam mihi donauit prius quidem per aqua baptismi nunc autem per effusionem sanguinis si consumatus fuero in *dni* confessione.

Octav*ius* preses dix*it*: Serv*us* es an ingenu*us*? Longin*us* miles *Christi respondit*: *Christi*an*us* su*m*. Oportet pri*us* donu*m* *Christi* gr*atię* *con*<> Serv*us* pri*us* pecc*ati* era*m*, *usque* pi*us* d*omin*us n*oster* *Iesus* *Christus* *per* miste*rium* s*anctę* *et* adorandę crucis

duplicem meum gratiam donavit: prius per aquam baptismi secundum autem per effusionem sanginis si consummatus fuero in Domini confessione.
Longinus dixit: servus eram ante peccati sed militiam Iesu Christi per sua dispensationem per *lat-s* eius duplici in me gratiam credidit. Et dupliciter ad libertatem deduxit, primum quidem aquam nunc autem per sanguinem si perfectus fuero in martyrii sanctii dio. Princeps dixit: propter quam culpam huc advenisti? Longinus dixit: curiales militabam, Nunc autem milito in virtute Iesu Christi.

Praeses dixit: 'Quis te absoluit a militia?' Longinus dixit: 'Fratres meos rogaui ut tollerent substantiam meam ut ego quererem animam meam. Et concesserunt mihi pro hoc resumptus solidus centum annuos quos et ipsus expendibam in pauperis Christi. Nunc autem depraecatus sum Dominum meum Iesum Christum ut me educerit de milicia carnali et darit mihi spiritale.'
Præses dixit: Quis te ergo absoluit a militia? S. Longinus respondit: Fratres meos rogaui vt tollerent substantiam meam, & ego acquirerem animam meam: & consenserunt mihi. Dabant autem mihi in sumptus solidos centum per singulos annos: quos expendebam in pauperes Christi. Nunc autem deprecatus sum Dominum meum Iesum Christum vt me educeret de carnali militia & donaret mihi spiritualem, & glorificetur nomen eius per me.
Prs dixit. Quis te ergo soluit a milicia. *Scs* longinus *dixit:* fratres meos rogaui [u]t tollerent *substantiâ* meam ut Ego adquirerem *animâ meâ* et concesser*unt* mihi, Dabant autem mihi pro ac *resumptus* sole[i]dos centum in annum quos *sûptus* et ipsos expendebam in pauperes *xpi*. Nunc autem deprecatus sum *dnm* meum *ihm xpm* ut me educeret de milicia carnali et donaret spiritalem.
[missing in Graz]
[missing in MLA Z]
Dux dixit: quis te relavit aut(em) propter quem curiam de servisti? Longinus dixit: propter curiam deprecatus sum fraters meos ut acciperent porcionem meam. Et accipientes consenser(un)t mihi ita ut per singulos annos mihi daren't in alimoniis auri solidos centum quos ego etiam pauperibus erogabam. Nunc autem deprecatus sum dominum meum Iesum Christum, verum celestem regem. Et soluit me de vinculo huius et eduxit me de carnali militiam et manumittens spiritalem militiam mihi tribuere dignatus est. ut in silentio vitam degens hic laudet? Nomen eius in me peccatore.

Presis dixit: 'Ergo, tamquam uir ingenuos et bene nat[us], sacrifica diis et manduca de carnis et sacrificiis eorum ut habeas uitam quietem antequam disperdaris a poenis.' Longinus dixit: 'Nemo potest duobus dominis seruire. Contraria enim sapiunt. Meus itaque Dominus subrietatis et mansuetudinis, castitatis et pietatis, humilitatis et modestia dux est. Quae ducunt hominis ad uitam aeternam. Dii autem tui contrarii sapiunt. Amatoris sunt omnes maliciae, auariciae, impietatis, superbiae et spurciciae. Numquid possumus idolorum /opera/ exercere et [non] que dei mei sunt sapere.'
Præses dixit: Ergo, tamquam vir ingenuus & bene natus, obaudi Regibus & sacrifica Dijs, aut manduca de sacrificijs eorum, antequam disperdaris a pœnis. S. Longinus dixit: Nemo potest duobus Dominis seruire**:** singuli enim eorum sibi contraria sapiunt. Meus Dominus sobrietatis & mansuetudinis, castitatis & pietatis, humilitatis & modestiæ dux est, qui ducit hominem ad vitam æternam: dij autem tui contraria sapiunt amatoresque sunt omnis malitiæ, auaritiæ, impietatis, superbiæ, & spurcitiæ. Num possum idolorum opera exercere, & non sapere quæ Dei mei sunt?
Pses dixit Ergo *tamquâ* ingenuos et bene natus sacrifica diis et manduca de sacrificiis eorum

61 ut habeas quietem antequam disperdaris a poenis. *Scs* longinus dixit. Nemo potest duobus dominis seruire contraria enim sapiunt. Meus *itaq*: *dns* subrietatis et pietatis et mansuetudinis castitatis et humilitatis et modestiae dux est qui ducit hominem ad uitam aeternam. Dii autem tui contraria sapiunt. Amatoris sunt omne^{i}s malitiae. auaritiae. impietatis et *sup-biae*. et spurtitiae. Numquid possum *idolorû* cult(o)^{u}ra opera exercere et non quę *dni* mei sunt sapere.
Ocatuius pręses dixit tamquam ergo uir uenerabilis et reurentissimus audi regis precepta et sacrifica diis et quere quietam et tranquillam uitam prius quam a poenis disperdaris Longinus dixit. Nemo potest duobus dominis seruire singuli enî eorum sibi contraria sapiunt *Ms itaq : dns* mansuetudinis et castitatis et humilitatis dux est dii aut tui amatores sunt omnis malitię et iniquitatis et sup-bię. Quomodo ergo possum eorum opera exercere et non sapere quę di mei sunt?
Preses dix*it*: Tamq*uam* vir vene*r*abilis *et* reverentissim*us* audi p*rae*cepta regis *et* sacr*if*ica diis. *Et* <> q*u*ietam *et* t*r*anq*u*illam vita*m* pri*usquam* a penis disp*er*daris. Longin*us respondit*: Nemo pot*est* duob*us* d*omi*nis servire. <...>eor*um con*traria sapiunt. M*eu*s ita*que* D*omin*us mansuetudinis *et* castitatis *et* humilitatis dux *est*. dii au*tem* tui o*mn*is malicię iniq*u*itatis *et* sup*er*bię amatores s*unt*. Q*ua*m possu*m* eor*um* oper*a* exerc*er*e *et* non sap*er*e q*ue* d[e]i mei s*unt*.
Dux dixit: sic ergo generosus et vir perfectissimus et gloriosus es. Oboedi imperatoribus et sacrifica diis et gusta de carnibus et transi ad castam et beatam vitam. Priusquam per parties discerparis in tormentis. Longinus dixit: nemo potest duobus dominis servire de contraria sapientia meus enim deus est. Castitatis silenti pure conscientię unanimitatis et totius nobilitatis deducens ad Christi militiam ducator est omnium bonorum. Dii autem tui adversarii sapientię, amatores concupiscentię, fornicationis, conturbationis, instabilitatis, inhumanitatis, superbie, et totius nobilitatis adversarii. Dolorum ad inventores sunt. Quomodo ergo possum sacrilego(?) Opera perficere. Et ea quę sancti(?) Dei mei relinquere.

Presis d*ixit*: 'contraria sapiunt ergo dii nostri et solus D*eu*s tuus iustos est.' Longinus d*ixit*: 'Dii uestri inpedimenta sunt subrietatis, damnatoris pietatis, corruptures uirginitatis. Uentris et gulae delectacio**s, paupertatis effugatio, auariciae desiderium, humilitatis alienatio. Ducis superbiae. Animarum pollatio. Turbium uerborum /ex/cogitacio. Hec est idolorum cultura et doctrina demonum. Si autem iubes et quae Chr*ist*ianitatis sunt dico praecepta.'
Præses dixit: Si, ut tu dicis, contraria sapiunt dij nostri & solus Deus tuus iustus est; quomodo ergo gentilitas defensionem præbet Regibus & Principibus, & exaltatur in gloria multiplicata: Christianismus autem humiliatur & in gloria minoratur? S. Longinus dixit, Vides ergo quia gentilitas contraria est Christianitati. Dij vestri sunt impedimenta sobrietatis, damnum pietatis, corruptores virginitatis, gulæ delectatio, paupertatis effugatio, auaritiæ desiderium, humilitatis alienatio, duces superbiæ, puritatis animæ pollutio, turpium verborum excogitatio: hæc est idolorum cultura & doctrina dæmoniorum: si autem iubes, & quæ Christianitatis sunt dico præcepta.
Prs dix- ergo contraria sapiunt dii *ni* et solus *ds* tuus iustus. *Scs* Longinus dixit. Dii inpedimenta sunt subrietatis corruptores uirgi^{ni}tatis. uentris et gulae d~~i~~e~~l~~ectacio paupertatis effugatio auaritiae *desideriû*.humilitatis alienatio.duces superbiae. puritatis et animae pollutio. turpium uerborum excogitatio. Haec est *idolorû* doctrina.et cultura daemoniorum. Si *aû* iubes et qua *xpi*anitatis sunt dico praecepta.
Octauius pręses dixit quid ergo detestabilis et miser sicut tu dicis contraria sapiunt dii *n-ri* et *ds* tuus iustus est Cum quando dii *n-ri* defensionem prestent regibus et principibus et eorum cultura exaltatur in *gl-a Xpi*anus autem cultus ignoratur. Longinus

scs respondit uides ergo quia gentilitas contraria est *xpi*anitati si autem iubes dicam quę est *xpi*anitatis

Octavi*us* p*re*ses dix*it*: Quis *er*go sic detestabilis *et* miser e*st* sic*ut* tu ?dicis *contra*ria sapiu*nt* dii no*stri* *et* de*us* tu*us* iust*us* e*st*, <> dii no*stri* defensione*m* < ……..> Si au*tem* iubes dica*m* qu*e* s*unt* *Christi*anitatis.

Dux dixit: quid ergo dampnabilis? Ut tuasseris contraria sentient dii nostri. Quomodo ergo paganus cultus habens imperator et principes exaltant? In Gloria multipliciter. Nam Christianitas humiliatur in ignobilitatem. Longinus dixit: videns ergo dux quam paganus cultus contra impedimentum est Christianitatis continentię castitatis detrim(en)tum fidei. Alienatio nobilitatis. Depositio ventris voraginis. Cooperator in possidentię. Fugacitas. Cupiditatis. Animę peregrinatio. Turpium cogitationum habitatio. Bellisuggestor. Neque enim sermonibus neque moribus neque sensum mitigat hominem. Sed totum eum rabidum et sine sensu ostendit. Sed si praecipis? et ea que Christiani cultus continent dico.

Octauius Praesis d*ixit*: 'Multum loquutus es et nihil stabile dixisti. Accede ergo et sacrifica dies et gusta de sacrificiis et indulget tibi D*eu*s tuos propter necessitate*m* regale*m*. Video enim tibi poenas tollerare non posse prae abstinentia.' S*anctu*s Longinus d*ixit*: 'Si uis a me ueritatem audire magis tu eris Chr*ist*ianus et indulgit tibi rex tuus cum Rege aeterno et D*omi*no in ueritate cognuueris.'

Octauius Præses dixit: Multum locutus es & nihil stabile dixisti; accede ergo & sacrifica dijs, aut gusta de carnibus sacrificij; & indulget tibi Deus tuus propter necessitatem Regalem hoc facienti: video enim te multum gracilem & pallidum præ abstinentia pœnas sustinere non posse: ne cum cœperint in te amarissima tormenta, cum confusione hoc facias. S. Longinus dixit: Præses, si vis a me veritatem audire, magis tu sis Christianus, & indulget tibi Rex tuus, cum Regem æternum & Dominum magnum in veritate cognoueris si autem Rex tuus voluerit te lædere, non te tangent pœnæ. Si enim gracilis sum & pallidus; noli curare; solummodo Christianus efficere: non enim imperat nequitia Regum Christi pietati.

Octauianus *prs dix* multum loquutus es et nihil stabile dixisti. Accedens ergo sacrifica di̲is et gusta de carnibus sacrifice et indulget tibi *dns ds* tuus propter necessitatem **62** regalem. hec facienti. Uideo in te poenas non posse tolerare pro abstinentia. *Scs* longinus dixit. Praeses si uis a me ueritatem audire magis tu fieri *xanus* et indulget tibi rex tuus. cum regem aeternum et dnm magnum in ueritate cognoueris.

Octauius pręses dixit multum filosophatus sum et nihil stabile dixisti accede ergo et sacrifica diis et gusta eorum sacrificium et indulget tibi *ds p-p*ter necessitatem regalem hoc facienti Video enim te multum gratilem et pallidum et non posse poenas sustinere ne cum seuire in te ceperint amarissi ma cum confusione hęc factas Longinus *scs* respondit si certum a me uis audire magis tu esto *xpi*anus et indulgit tibi rex tuus quia magnum dm in ueritate cognouisti ego enim absit a me ut pręferam nequiciam regum *xpi* pietati

Octavi*us* p*re*ses dix*it*: Multu*m* philosophat*us* es *et* ni*hi*li stabile dixisti. ? *er*go *et* sac*ri*fica diis *et* gusta de eor*um* sacrificia *et* indulgebit t*ibi* de p*ropter* regale necessitate*m* hoc faciam. Video *enim* te multu*m* g*ra*cile*m* *et* pallidu *et* no*n* posse penas sustine*re*. Ne cu*m* …..amarissima t*orme*nta cu*m* *con*fusione hoc facias. Longin*us* *respondit*: Si au*tem* vis audire mag*is* tu esto *Christi*an*us* *et* indulget t*ibi* rex tu*us*, ego eni*m* nu*mquam* tuis *con*sentio suasionib*us*. Absit a me ut? nequici*am* regu*m* *Christi* pietati.

Octavius dux dixit: multa filosofasti et nihil ad ea quę interrogatus es respondisti. Accede, sacrifica diis et gusta de carnibus et dabit tibi veniam deus tuus propter

imperialem necessitatem heç facere. Ne tecum incipero tormentis agere, video enim te valde tenuem et pallidum tormenta sufferer non potes. Ne incipientibus adversum te amaris tormentis non valeas sustinere et cum verecundia sacrifices. Longinus dixit: magis si hoc cogitas ipse opta fieri Christianum et dabit tibi veniam imperator tuus quia magnum deum poteris in veritate cognoscere. Etsi te voluerit cędere imperator tuus non te tangent tormenta etiam si tenues sis. Tu tantum fidelis esto nec enim pręvalebit impietas imperatorum contra pietatem Christi.

Et iratus Pres*es* dix*it*: 'Dentale aferte et eius dentes excutite et gladi<o>[539] linguam eius incidete qui imperatores blasphemat et di*s nostros non adorat.' Quescionari uero linguam eius absciderunt et dentis eius excusserunt.
S*anctu*s autem Longinus haec omnia uiriliter sustenibat propter fidem quam in D*omi*no habebat et dixit ad Praesidem: 'Si credis deos esse quos coles sini me et confringam eos. Et uidebis si possint adiuuare te uel se.'
Et iratus Præses dixit: Dentalem afferte, & eius dentes excutite, & linguam eius incidite, blasphemantem Imperatores & loquentem iniqua in deos. Quæstionarij vero fecerunt quod eis iussum est; linguam eius absciderunt & dentes eius excusserunt. Beatus autem Longinus viriliter heç sustinebat propter fidem Christi, quam habebat, & dixit Præsidi clara voce: Si credis vere deos esse quos colis, sine me vt confringam eos; & adiuuent seipsos, si possunt.
Et iratus *prs* dixit Dentalem adferte et eius dentes excutite et gladio linguam eius incidite qui imperatores blasphemat et deos non adorat Quaestionari uero *linguâ* eius absciderunt et dentes eius excusserunt. Beatus autem longinus uiriliter haec sustinebat. *propt-* fidem in *dno* quam habebat. Et dicit ad pręsidem Si credis eos et adiubent se.
Pręses dixit dentalem adferte et dentes eius excutite et gladio linguam eius abscidite iniquę loquentem in deos et blaspsefemantem imperatorem Questionarii autem facientes quid eis iussum est absciderunt linguam eius Beatissimus uero longinus uiriliter sustinebat propter fidem *dni nri ihu xpi*
Octavi*us* p*re*ses dix*it*: Dentale*m* afferte *et* dentes ei*us* excutite *et* gladio lingua*m* ei*us* abscidite iniq*ui*a in deos loq*uen*te*m et* imp*erato*re*m* blasphemante*m*. Questionarii au*tem* facientes ? eis iussu*m* fu*er*at, absciderunt linguam ei*us*. Beat*us autem* Longin*us* viriliter sustinebat *propter* fide*m* D*omi*ni n*ostri Iesu Christi*
Octavius dux dixit: Mordaces adferte et dentes eius excutite et gladium lingua eius amputate hunc impię agentem adversus deos et plasphemantem. Carnifices autem fecerunt imperata et eradicaverunt dentes ei et linguam ei amputaverunt. Beatus vero Longinus libenter sufferebat propter pietate Christi. Et dixit ad ducem :si existimatis deos esse quos colitis contero eos. Et si quid possunt sibi ipsis auxilium prębeant

Presis dixit: 'A maleficia tua tanta turmenta sustenendae quare non subuenit tibi Chr*istu*s tuus?' Longinus dixit: 'Insensati, non uidis quanta tormenta mihi intulisti, et non praeualuisti. Da mihi ergo potestatem ut conteram deos tuos et si mihi aliquid nocuerint credo quia dii sunt. Si autem nihil ualuerint tu crede in D*omi*no meo quia ipsi est D*eu*s uiuens et uirus.' Presis d*ixit*: 'potestatem accipe.' Et accepta potestate S*anctu*s Longinus confregit idolum et arras eorum et omnes statuas lapideas auertit et libamina effudit.
Præses dixit: O malum caput! Tibi tanta tormenta sustinenti, quare non subuenit Christus tuus? S. Longinus dixit: Insensate, non vides quanta tormenta mihi intulisti, & non me tetigerunt pœnæ tuæ? Da mihi potestatem, ut conteram deos tuos, & si me

[539] apparently emended from *gladium*

aliquid nocuerint, credo quia dij sunt: si autem nihil valuerint, tu crede Deo meo, quia ipse est Deus viuus & verus. Præses dixit: Habeas potestatem adversus deos. Et accipiens S. Longinus securim confregit idola, & aras eorum destruxit, & omnes lapideas statuas euertit, & libationes effudit.

O malum caput tu tanta tormenta mihi intulisti et non preualuisti. Da mihi potestatem ut *conterâ* deos tuos et si me aliquid nocuerint credo quia dii *s*. si autem nihil ualuerint tu credis *do* meo quia ipse *ds* u[i]uus et uerus. *Prs* dixit: habe potestatem Et accipiens *scs* longinus securem confregit idola et aras eorum et omnes statuas lapideas euertit et libationes effudit

et aperta est denuo lingua eius et dixit pręsidi uidens insensate qui talia tormenta mihi intulisti et non nocuerunt poenę tuae linguam meam abscidisti et ecce loquor sicut tu audis. Da mihi potestatem ut conteram deos tuos et si aliquid me nocuerint credam illis si autem ds ms nocuerit te crede illi quia ipse est ds habens potestatem super oms deos Et accipiens potestatem et xpi uirtutem scs longinus et confregit deos eorum et aras eorum et statuas lapideas euertit

et ap*er*ta e*st* denuo lingua ei*us et* dix*it* p*re*sidi: Vides, insensate, q*ua*lia m*ihi* intulisti torm*en*ta *et* n*on* me nocuer*ant* pene tue. Linguam mea*m* abscidisti *et* ecce loq*uo*r sic*ut* tu ipse audis. Da *er*go m*ihi* potestate*m* ut *con*? maleficos q*uo*s tu deos tuos (verb?) *et*si aliq*uid* me nocu*er*int c*re*da*m* illis. Si au*tem* d*eu*s m*eu*s te nocue*r*it c*re*de illi q*ui*a ipse e*st* habens ?potestatem sup*er* v*estro*s deos *et* ipsius …..e*st* …in celo t*er*raq*ue* *con*sistit? ? accipiens potestate*m* *con*fregit o*mn*ia

?delubra *et* deos eor*um* dirup?tasq*ue* eo*rum* ? *et* lapideas statuas ev*er*tit.

Dux dixit: fortiter tanta tormenta passus es. Et quare non tibi auxiliatus est Christus tuus. Longinus dixit: Insensate, non vides quia tantas poenas inferens mihi et non me tetigerunt sicut et teipse vides. Nunc autem da mihi potestatem et conteram deos tuos. Et si me leserint credo eis quia sunt dii. Si autem deus meus leserit eos vere crede ei quia est deus. Dux dixit: habe potestatem super eos. Et accipiens sanctus Longinus bipennem confregit deos eorum. Et statuas petrinas conteruit et sacrificia eorum effudit.

Et statim demonis qui manebant in idolis fugierunt. Et alius inuasit Praeside alius Principale. Alius Commentariensi. Ceteri autem intrauerunt in reliquos de officio et erant omnes simul latrantes insani et arripiebant et dicebant: Vtquid adduxistis s*anctu*m d*ei* Longinum ut nos ante tempus euellat de habitaculis istis.

Et statim dæmones, qui manebant in idolis & in aris, fugerunt; & quidam adhæsit Præsidi, alius Principi, alius Commentariensi, ceteri autem intrarunt in reliquos de Officio. Et erant omnes simul velut insani latrantes, & arripiebantur & dicebant: Vtquid adduxistis sanctum Dei Longinum huc, vt nos eliminet ante tempus de habitaculis nostris?

et statim daemones qui manebant. [sic] Et quidam **63** adhaesit praesidi alius principi alius *comentariens* ceteri autem intrauerunt in ceteros de officio et erant omnes simul insani latrantes et arripiebantur et dicebant, Ut quid adduxisti *scm di* longinum ut nos ante tempus iaceat de habitaculis nostris

et statim demones qui habitabant in idolis fugerunt et quidalm ex eis adhesit pręsidi alius commentariensi ceteri uero intro ierunt in reliquos de officio et erant omnes simul in insania latrantes et arripiebantur et dicebant ut quid adduxistis *scm* longinum huc ut nos ante tempus eiciat de habitaculis *n*-ris

Et stati*m* demones qui habitaba[n]t in idolis fugieru*n*t. Et q*uid*a*m* ex eis adheser*tur* p*re*sidi Octavio, alii Co*mm*e*n*tariensi cete*r*i *autem* i*n*troie*r*a*n*t in relig*uo*s de officio *et* era*n*t o*mn*e*s* la*tra*ntes *et* arripieban*tur et* dicebа*n*t: Utq*uid* adduxistis ser*vu*m Longinu*m* m*arti*rem *Christi* ut nos an*te* te*mpus* eiciat de habitac[u]lis no*st*ris

Et mox demones qui habitabant in idolis et in aris infiluerunt(?) et alius quidem adhesit principi, alius vero commentariensi et alii dęmones residui officio adheserunt. Et erant omnes in unum in multa rabie. Latrantes et coinquirentes dicebant: quid adduxisti ad nos sanctum dei Longinum hic ante tempus venit eminare(?) nos de habitaculis nostris.

Et cadentes ante pedes S*ancti* Longini dicebant: 'Scimus te qui es seruus D*ei* excelsi.' Et coepit S*anctu*s Longinus increpare eos dicens: 'Quia occa(n)sione accepta habitatis in simulagris istis uanis?' Daemonis autem d*ixerunt*: 'Inuenimus ornatas statuas lapidum ubi non inuocatum est nomen Chr*isti* nec eius signum est inpositum quod uos adoratis inuenientes homenis sacrificia et libamina exercentes in nostro nomine. Tunc insuper et nos homenis nostros aduocamus. Ubi enim Chr*istu*s non nominatur nec eius signu*m* adest inpositum, ibi est nostra habitacio. Huius rei causa depraecamur te, homo D*ei*, ne nos precipitis in abysum.'
Et cadentes ante pedes S. Longini dicebant: Scimus te, quia es Longinus, seruus Dei excelsi. Et cœpit B. Longinus increpare eos dicens: Quare inhabitatis in simulacris & in aris istis? Dæmones autem dixerunt: Inuenimus statuas lapideas circumornatas, vbi non est inuocatum nomen Christi, nec eius signum impositum quod vos colitis: & inuenientes sacrificia & libationes exercentes in nostro nomine, pariter & locum & homines nostros inhabitauimus: vbi autem Christus non nominatur & eius signum non est impositum, ibi est nostra habitatio. Huius rei caussa deprecamur te, homo Dei, ne nos præcipias ire in abyssum.
cadentes ante pedes *sci* longini dicebant. **S**cimus te qui es seruus *di* excelsi et coepit beatus longinus increpare eos dicens. Qua occasione habitatis in simulagris. Daemones di^{x}erunt Inuenimus ornatus statuas lapidum ibi non inuocatum est nomen *xpi* nec signum est inpositum quod uos adoratis et inuenientes sacrificantes et libationes exercentes in nostro nomine pariter et homines habita**bamus ubi autem *xps* non nominat~~o~~^{u}r et eius signum non est *inpositû* ibi est nostra habitatio. Huius rei causa deprecamur te homo *di* ne nos praecipites in abysum.
et proiecientes se ad pedes sci longini dicebant Scimus te quia tu es longinus seruus di excelsi et coepit beatissimus longinus increpare eis dicens Qua occasione inhabitatis in simulacris et in aris istis demones dixerunt circumornatas inuenimus statuas lapidum ubi non inuocatum est nomen *xpi* nec signum eius inpositum est quod uos adoratis crucem et inuenientes sacrificia et libationes exer cendas in nro nomine pariter et loca et homines *n*-ros inhabitabimus ubi autem *xps* non nominatur et *xpi* signaculum non est inpositum ibi est *n*-ra habitatio. Ideoque deprecamur te homo *d-i scę* longine ne nos pręcipites in abyssum.
et pr*o*iacintes se an*te* pedes b*eat*i Longini q*u*ondam sub Pontio Pilato militis *et* centur*i*onis. N*e*c *autem ?* dicebant: Scim*us* qu*i*a tu es Longin*us* serv*us Christi Iesu* filii D*e*i excelsi. Et cœpit eos beat*us* Longin*us* increpare dice*ns*: Qua occasione habitatis in simulacris *et* in aris istis? Demones dixer*ant*: Qu*as* invenim*us* statuas lapid*e*is? circ*u*mornatas u*b*i *non est* invocatu*m* nom*en Christi* n*e*c signu*m* ei*us* impositu*m est* q*u*od vos adoratis q*uasi? esset?* crux *Christi et* invenim*us* sac*ri*ficia *et* libationes exercendas in no*mi*ne no*st*ro. ?Paritus *et* hom*i*nes *et* loca inhabitam*us*. U*b*i au*tem Christus non* nom*i*nat*us et Christi* signac*u*l*um non est* impositu*m*, ibi *est* habitatio no*st*ra. S*ancto* dep*re*cam*ur* te ho*mo* D*e*i Longine, ne nos p*re*cipites in abyssu*m*.
Et adorantes Sanctum dei Longinum dicebant: Novimus te, Longine, servus dei altissimi. Et cępit beatus Longinus increpare eos dicens: qua occasione habitastis in aribus? Demones dixerunt: ornatam invenimus scultilia (?) et petrinea in quibus non invocatus nomen Christi neque signum ibi impositum est crucis quem vos adoratis. Et invenie(n)tis libationes et sacrificia in nomine nostro invenimus locum et homines

nostros et habitabimus in eis ubi Christi nomen non nominatur et Christi signum non est inpositum, ibi nostra est habitatio. Propter quod pręcamur te, Sancte dei, ne mittas nos in exulem abyssi.

S*anctu*s uero Longinus adstante populo dixit: 'Quid uultis habere eos deos /*et*/ colere hanc effunius? Viditis enim hunc Presidem uestrum a daemonibus correptum et spumante*m* et prustratum sub pedibus meis.' Tunc populus clamabat dicens: 'Magnus est D*eu*s Chr*isti*anorum. Rogamus ergo et depraecamur te, S*anctę* D*e*i, ne sinas demonis habitare in ciuitate nostra ad interitum inpietatis hominum.' Haec audiens Beatus Longinus intuens in caelo dix*it*: 'D*omi*ne Ih*es*u Chr*iste*, propiciare mihi pro tua pietate. Scio enim quia semper me audes et credo antequam postolem prestas et nunc propter adstantem populum et propter humilitatem serui tui et propter gloriam Deitatis tuae, iube inmunde spiritibus exire de corporibus istis quia opera manuum tuarum sunt omnes.'

S. Longinus adstanti populo dixit: Quid vultis eos deos, habere & colere, quos ego fugaui in nomine Iesu Christi? Videtis enim præsidem vestrum virtute Dei mei spumantem & prostratum sub pedibus meis. Populus autem clamauit, dicens: Magnus est Deus Christianorum, rogamus & deprecamur te, Sancte Dei, ne sinas dæmones habitare in ciuitate nostra ad interitum & perditionem hominum. Hæc audiens B. Longinus intendens oculos in cælum, dixit: Domine Iesu Christe propitius esto mihi, propter pietatem tuam multam & inenarrabilem circa me benignitatem tuam: scio enim quia semper me audis, & credo quia, antequam postulem, eas, quæ ad salutem sunt, petitiones præstabis. Et nunc propter adstantem populum, & propter humilitatem serui tui, & propter gloriam Deitatis tuæ, iube immundos spiritus exire de corporibus istis, quia opera manuum tuarum sunt.

Scs uero longinus adstant[540]populo dixit. Quid dicitis uultis habere hos deos et colere an effugam eos in nomine *dni* nostri *ohu xpi*. Uidetis **64** enim praesidem uestrum uirtute *xpi* mei spumantem et prostratum sub pedibus meis. Populus autem clamabat dicens: magnus est *ds xpianorum*. Rogamus et depręcamur te *scę d-i* ne sinas demones habitare in ciuitate nostra ad *interitû* et impietatem hominum Hęc audiens beatus longinus intuens in caelum dixit *Dne ihu xpe* propiciare in me *p-p* tua p^{i}etatem. Scio enim quia *semp-* me audis et credo antequam postulem quia pręstas Et nunc propter adstantem populum et *p-p* humilitatem serui tui et *p-p* gloriam deitates tuae iube inmundis *spiritib*; exire de corporibus istis quia opera manuum tuarum sunt omnes.

Beatissimus Longinus respondit adstante populo: qui uultis habere istos demones et colere aut effugabo eos? Uidetis enim pręsidem urm uirtute di mei superatum ipsum ante et prostratum sup pedibus meis Populus autem clamabat dicens magnus est *ds xpi*anorum Rogamus ergo et deprecamur te *scę* longine ne sinas demones habitare in ciuitate nra ad interitum et perdicionem nram Hęc audiens beatissimus longinus eleuans oculos ad cęlum dixit *dne ihu xpe* scio quia semper me audis et credo ante quam postulem quia pręstas ea quę ad salutem sunt peticiones et nunc propter adstantem populum et *p-p* humilitatem serui tui ad exaltationem gl-ae *di*tatis tuae iubę inmundis spiritibus exire de corporibus istis quia opera manuum tuarum sunt *dne*.

Beat*us* Longin*us* respond*it* astante o*mn*i po*pu*lo. Q*ui*d vultis habe*re* istos demones *et* colere aut effugabo eos? Videtis p*rae*side*m* vestr*u*m v*ir*tute d*e*i sup*e*ratu*m* ipsu*m* an*te* me p*r*ostratu*m* sub pedib*us* meis. P*o*pul*us* au*tem* clamabat dicens: Magn*us est* d*eu*s *Christi*anor*um*. Rogam*us* te, S*anct*e Longine, ne sinas habitare demones in n*ost*ra civitate ad int*er*itu*m* n*ostr*um. Hec audiens ?b*eatus* Longin*us* elevans ad celu*m* oculos

[540] Sic

dix*it*: D*omi*ne *Iesus Christus* scio quia semp*er* me audis *et* cr*e*do ant*e*qu*am* postule*m* q*u*ia p*re*stas ? salute*m* s*unt* petitiones. Et n*e*c p*ropter* astante*m* popul*u*m *et* p*ropter* humilitate*m* servi tui ad exaltatione*m* gl*o*rię de*i*tatis tuę iube immundos sp*iritus* exire de corporib*us* istis q*u*ia op*e*ra manuum tua*rum* sunt, D*omi*ne.
Longinus dixit adstanti populo: quid vultis, habere eos et colere aut exfugabo eos? Videtis enim ducem vestrum virtutem Christi mei spumantem et iacentem ad pedes meos. Populus autem clamabat dicens: magnus est deus Christianorum. Precamur te, sancte dei Longine, non dimittas dęmones habitare in civitatem nostrum ad perditionem et impietatem hominum. Hec autem audiens beatus Longinus elevivit oculos suos ad celum et dixit: Domine Iesu Christe, propter bonam voluntatem tuam in me et inenarrabilem p-stationem tuam novi enim quia semper me audis et credo quia antequam petam pręstas mihi maxime quę ad salutem postulantur. Et nunc propter adstantem populum et me indignum servum tuum et propter gloriam divinitatis tuę iubebis inmundis spiritibus exire de corporibus hominum quam figmentum opera manuum tuarum sunt.

Et cum haec dixisset S*anctu*s Longinus exclamauerunt daemones per homenis et uoceferantes magna uoce exierunt ab eis sp*iritu*s inmundi, et mundati sunt omnes ex illa hora. Et factum est gaudium magnum in illa ciuitate. Et credederunt in D*omi*no. Post pauco uiro temporis nequissimus humano generis aduersarius corrupit cor nequissimi iudicis unde et expugnabant famulum d*e*i S*anctu*m Longinum et iussit eum exhibere. Cui et d*ixit*: 'Quia omnes ciuitas discessit a sacrificiis et cultura deorum? Propter artes magicas Chr*ist*ianorum. Si hoc notum factum fuerit Imperatori pereclitabitur ciuitas haec et nos perimus.'
Et cum hæc dixisset B. Longinus, exclamauerunt dæmones in hominibus & vlulantes voce magna exierunt ab eis, & mundati sunt omnes ex illa hora; & factum est gaudium magnum in ciuitate illa, & multi permanentes cum S. Longino, crediderunt in Dominum Iesum Christum. Post paucum vero tempus nequissimus diabolus corrupit cor impudentissimi Iudicis, qui expugnabat famulum Dei Longinum: vnde & iussit eum exhiberi, & dixit ei: Scis quia omnis ciuitas recessit a sacrificijs deorum propter tuas magicas artes: & si hoc notum fuerit Regi periclitabitur ciuitas, & nos peribimus.
Et *cu* haec dixisset *scs* longinus exclamauerunt daemones *p-* homines et heiulantes uoce magna exierunt ab eis *sps* inmundi et mundatae sunt ex illa hora. Et factum est *gaudiû* magnum in illa ciuitate et crediderunt in *dnm.* Post *paucû* uero *teps* nequissimus diabulus corripit cor nequissimus iudicis et expugnat *famulû di* longinum, Unde iussit eum exhiberi **65** cui et dixit Scis quia omnis ciuitas discessit a sacrificiis deorum *p-p* magicas *xpi*anorum et si hoc notum fuerit regi periclitabitur ciuitas et nos peribimur.
Et cum hęc dixisset beatissimus longinus exclamauerunt demones ita ut homines et exierunt inmundi *sps* de ciuitate et multi crediderunt in *dnm* Post paucum uero tempus ignominiosus quidam corrupit sensum inpudici iudicis et expugnabat famulum di longinum unde iussit eum pręses exhiberi et inducto eo dixit ei scis quia omnis ciuitas discessit a sacrifitiis deorum propter tuas magias et si hoc notum fuerit regi habebimus peric(o)ulum et nos et ciuitas *n-ra.*
Et cum hec dixiss*et* b*eatu*s Longin*us* …demones ita ut ho*mi*nes audire*n*t. Exier*an*t immundi sp*iriti* de civitate *et* multi c*re*dider*unt* in D*omi*nu*m*. P*o*st modicu*m* *autem* t*empus* ignominios*us* q*uid*am corrupit sensu*m* impudici iudicis *et* expugnabat famulu*m* d*e*i Longinu*m*. U? ?Iterum iussit eu*m* preses exhiberi. Et inducto eo dix*it* ei: Scis q*ui*a om*n*is civitas discessit a sac*ri*ficiis ? p*ropter* tuas magicas artes *et*si si notu*m* fu*er*it regi habebim*us* p*ro*? magnum *et* nos *et* civitas no*st*ra.

Et hec dicente Sancto Longino exclamaverunt demones ita ut homines in quibus habitabant inmundi spiritibus. Exierunt de civitate. Ilico pericientes eos et heui/heiulantes voce magna exierunt demones et mundati sunt homines ex illa hora. Et factum est gaudium magnum in civitate illa. Et multi crediderunt in domino observante sancto Longino. Post paucam autem tempus inportunus belial suasit cor inverecundi principis et inpugnabat servum dei Longinum. Unde iussit eum sibi adstare et adducto eo dux dixit: scis quam tota civitas abscessa de sacrificiis propter tua maleficia. Et si hoc cognitum fuerit imperatori incipiemus periditari ego et civitas.

Afrodisius Commentar/ius/[541] Praesidae dixit: 'Eum que prestetit nobis salutem hanc et bene per eum D*eu*s fecit ciuitate huic et iterum torquere incipies?' Cum Pres*es* dixit: 'fantasma fecit et inlusit sensus nostros.' Afrodisius d*ixit*: 'Magnus est D*eu*s Chr*ist*ianorum et non est aput eum fantasma nec dolus. Nihil male facias in seruis eius ne aliquit tibi deterius contingat.'
Aphrodisius Commentariensis dixit Præsidi: Eum qui præstitit nobis salutem hanc & bene nobis Deus fecit per eum, ipsum iterum torquere incipies? Præses dixit: Per magicas artes hoc fecit & illusit sensus nostros. Aphrodisius respondit: Magnus est Deus Christianorum & non est apud eum dolus: noli ergo negare eum, nec preſumere tibi quidquam aduersus seruum eius, ne aliquid deterius tibi contingat.
Affrodisius commentariensis dixit prẹsidi: *eû* qui prestitit *nob* salutem hanc iterum torquiri incipies. Presis dixit fantasma fecit et inlusit *sensû* nostrum. Affrodisius dixit. Magnus est *ds xpi*anorum non est apud eum fantasma nec dolus nihil facias aduersum seruum eius. ne aliquid tibi deterius *continguâ*.
Afrodisius quam nomine commentariens*s dixit prẹsidi hunc qui prestitit nob salutem et beneficium ciyitati nrẹ Iterum torquere incipies? Prẹses dixit fantasia fecit et induxit(?) sensous *nros* Afrodisius dixit. magnus est *ds xpi*anorum et non est apud eum fantasia nec dolus Noli ergo negare eum *neq:* prẹsumas quidquam mali aduersus seruum eius Longinum ne deterius tibi aliquid contingat
Afrodisius *er*go no*m*ine co*m*mentariensis dix*it* p*rae*sidi: Hunc ho*min*em d*e*i q*ui* ?p*re*stuit nob*is* salute*m et* beneficium magnu*m* no*st*re civitati it*eru*m tor*que*re incipis. Octavi*us* preses dixit: Fantasia*m* ….sensus no*st*ros. Afrodisi*us* Co*mmen*tariensis dix*it*: Magn*us est* d*e*us *Christi*anor*um et* n*on* e*st* ap*u*d illum fantasia ulla n*e*c ?. Noli *er*go negare eu*m* neq*ue* p*re*sumas q*uicumque* mali adv*er*so d*e*i famulu*m* Longinu*m* ne dete*r*ius aliq*uid con*tingat.
Affrodisius Commentariensis dixit ad ducem: qui prestitit nobis tanta salutem et prestator est civitatis nostre hunc iterum tormentus conaris subigere. Dux ait: vanitatibus suis et maleficus sensum nostrum seduxit. Afrodisius Commentariensis dixit: magnus est deus Christianorum et non est in eo aliqua fallacia nec dolus. Ne ergo negare eum conaris nec aliquem de servis eius tangere et tibi aliquid peius contingat.

Octauius Praesis iussit lingua*m* Afrodisii abscedi. Et cum haec fierit S*anctu*s Longinus ingemuit a D*omi*no et statim manus D*omi*ni facta est super Presidem et desolutis membris factus est cecus. Et uidens eu*m* Afrodisius cecum etclamauit dicens: 'Iustus es, Do*mi*ne, et iustum iudicium tuum.'
Tunc Octauius Præses dixit: Iubeo amputari linguam tuam, vt non loquaris, miser. Beatus autem Longinus dixit: Gratias tibi ago Domine Iesu Christe, qui ostendisti & alium athletam pietatis tuæ. Cum ergo incideretur Aphrodisio Commentariensi lingua, suspirauit cum gemitu S. Longinus ad Dominum, & statim manus Domini facta est

[541] Corrected from 'Commentare est' .

super Præsidem, & dissolutus est membris, & factus est cæcus; & videns eum Aphrodisius cœcum exclamauit dicens: Iustus es Domine & iustum iudicium tuum.
Tunc octauianus praesis iussit *linguâ* effrodisi[us] abscidi,. *Cumq*; hoc fieret *scs* longinus ad *dnm* ingemuit et statim manus *dni* facta est sup praesidem et desolutis membris factus est caecus. Et uidens eum affro[di]sius caecum exclamauit dicens: justus es *dne* et rectum iudicium *tuû*.
Octauius pręses dixit afrodisio iubeo amputari linguam tuam ut non loquaris miserabilis Audiens hęc scs longinus dixit Gratias tibi ago *dne ihu xpe* quia ostendistis et alium athletam tui nominis. Cum ergo incideretur commentariensi lingua suspirauit cum magnum gemitum et exclamans *scs* longinus ad *dnm* dixit *Dne ihu xpe* extende manum tuam in pręsidem ut cognoscat quia tu es *ds* et non est alius pręter te. Et facta est ad eum uox de cęlo dicens exaudite sunt oratio nes tuę et statim manus *dni* facta est in presidem et dissolutos continuo factus est cecus et uidens eum commentariensis non uidentem lumen exclamauit dicens: Iustus es *dne* et rectum iudicium tuum.
Octavi*us* preses dix*it*: Afrodisi iubeo amputari lingua*m* tua*m* ut n*on* loqu*a*ris, miserabilis. Audiens hec S*anctus* Longin*us* dix*it:* Gr*ati*as t*ibi* ago D*omi*ne *Iesu Christi* fili d*ei* vivi q*ui* nos per crucis passione*m* redemisti qu*ia* ostendisti *et* aliu*m* athletha*m* ad testimoniu*m* no*mini*s tui. Cu*m* *er*go incider- lingua Afrodisii suspiravit cu*m* magno gemitu et exclamans S*anc*tus Longin*us* dix*it:* D*omi*ne *Iesu Christi* fili d*omini* vive q*ui* es summ*us* p*r*inceps extende manu*m* tua*m* i*n* p*rae*side ut *co*gnoscat q*ui*a tu es d*eus* sol*us* *et non est* pret*er* te ali*us*. Et facta *est* vox a deu*m* de cęlo dic*ens*: Exauditis s*unt* or*ati*ones tue. Et stati*m* facta *est* manus d*omi*ni in p*rae*side *et* dissolut*us* *con*tinuo fact*us* *est* cec*us*. *Et* videns Affrodisi*us* Co*mmen*tariensis p*rae*side n*on* vidente*m* lume*n* exclamavit dicens: iust*us* es D*omi*ne *et* rectu*m* iudici*um* tuu*m*.
Octavius dux dixit: iubeo tibi linguam amputari ut non loquaris, miser. Longinus dixit: Gra*tias* tibi Domine Iesu Christe quam ostendisti et alium adletam ad tuam pietatem. Dum adhuc lingua Commentariensis amputaretur. Suspiravit beatus Longinus ad Dominum et mox manus Domini facta est super ducem et paraliticus factus et excecatus est. Vidit eum Commentariensis non vidente lumen et exclamavit dicens: iustus es, Christe, et vera iudicia tua.

Pres*es* dixit: 'Frater Afrodisii, roga d*omin*u*m* meum Longinum ut oret pro me quia mult*um* iniqui gessi in seruum D*ei*.' Afrodisius dixit: 'Nonne dixi tibi, noli iniecire manus in seruiss D*ei* quia D*eus* non[542] est inuictus. Vides me indignum linguam incisam loquentem.' Pr*aeses* dixit: 'Non solum oculos perdedi sed et cor meum et uiscera mea male cruciantur.' S*anctus* Longinus d*ixit*: 'Si uis misericordiam consequi celerius me /de/pone ut post mortem meam depraecer D*omin*u*m* meum Ih*esu*m Chr*istu*m ut san*et* te. Tale enim fiduciam habeo ad D*omin*u*m* meum Ih*esu*m Chr*istu*m.' Et statim Octauius Pr*aeses* iussit eum capitale subire sententiam. Et stans S*anctus* D*ei* Longinus orauit quasi uni horae spacium et /postea/[543] beatus martyr reddedit sp*iritu*m.
Præses dixit: Frater Aphrodisi, roga Dominum meum Longinum, vt oret pro me quia nimis inique egi in seruos Dei. Aphrodisius dixit: Nonne dicebam tibi, noli inijcere manus in seruum Dei: quia Deus noster inuictus est: sicut & me indignum vides lingua incisa loquentem. Præses dixit: Non solum oculos perdidi, sed & cor meum & viscera pessime cruciantur. Sanctus Dei Longinus dixit: Si vis misericordiam consequi, celerius me puni; ne frauder corona mea propter tuam sanitatem: & post mortem meam orabo Dominum vt sanet te: tunc enim ampliorem potero habere fiduciam deprecandi Dominum pro te, cum conspectui illius adstitero. Statim itaque vt hæc verba compleuit,

[542] sic ms
[543] deleted *iter* before *postea*

Octauius iussit ei caput abscindi: & stans S. Longinus orauit tamquam vnius horæ spatio: & sic consummatus est per gladij interemptionem, spiritum tradens Domino in pace.

Pss dixit. frater affrodisii roga *dnum* longinum et oret pro me quia multum iniqui gessi in seruo *di*. Affrodisius dixit. Non dicebam tibi noli iniecere manus in *seruû dni* quia *ds nr* ~~est~~ inuictus est. uides me indignum lingua incisa **66** loquentem. *Prs* dixit non solum oculos perdidi sed et cor meum et uiscera mea male cruciantur. *Scs* longinus *dix* Si uis misericordiam consequi celerius me puni ut post mortem meam deprecer *dnm* meum *ihm xpm* et sanat te alia enim fidutiam habeo tunc ad *dnm meû ihm xpm.* Et statim octauius *prs* iussit *eû* capitalem subire sententiam. Et stans *scs di* longinus orauit tamquam unius horae spatium et sic *dno* in pace reddedit *spm.*

prẹses dixit frater afrodisi roga dominum meum longinum ut oret pro me quia iniquę gessi in seruis di Afrodisius commentariensis dixit ei nonne dixi tibi noli inicere manum tuam in seruis di ? Quia *ds nr* inui*ctus est sicut et in me indignum seruum et uides linguam abscisam loquentem prẹses dixit: frater Afrodisi non solum oculos perdidi sed et corpus meum et uiscera pessimę cruciantur Longinus scs dixit: si uis miam consequi celerius me puni ut post mortem meam de precer xpm et aperiet oculos tuos sicut apperuit oculos cęci nati et sententiam ei ex tabella recitari prẹcepit et eum gladio iussit interfici et statim scs longinus orationem fecit et sic eum ministri decollauerunt.

Octavi*us* preses dix*it*: Fr*ater* Afrodisi, roga d*omin*u*m* meu*m* Longinu*m* ut oret p*er* me q*ui*a iniq*ui*a gessi in servis d*e*i. Afrodisi*us* Co*mmen*tariensis dix*it*: Nonne dixi t*ibi:* Noli inic*e*re manu*m* tua*m* in servos d*e*i q*ui*a d*eus* n*oste*r invict*us est* in servis suis. Sic*ut et* me indignu*m* servu*m* audis abscisa lingua loq*uen*te*m.* Preses Octavi*us* dix*it*: Afrodisi fr*ater* n*on* solu oc*u*los meos p*er*didi s*ed et* corp*us* meum *et* o*mn*ia visc*e*ra mea pessime cruciant*ur*. Longin*us* dix*it:* Si vis m*isericord*iam *con*seq*ui* celeri*us* me fac puniri ut p*ost* obitu*m* meu*m* dep*re*cer de*um* ut ap*er*iat oc*ul*os tuos sic*ut* aperuit ceci nati. Et sententi*am* ei excabellare citam p*er*cepit *et* gladio eu*m* iussit int*er*fici. Et stati*m* *Sanctus* or*ati*one*m* fec*it et* sic eu*m* ministri decollaver*ant*.

Dux dixit: frater Afrodisi, satis fac Domino meo Longino ut oret pro me quia multa impie egi adversus servos Dei. Afrodisius Comentariensis dixit: non tibi dicebam noli conari adversum servum Christi iniqua. Quia deus noster invictus est. Sicut et me vides linguam abscisam loquentem. Dux dixit: Frater Afrodisi, non solum oculos meos perdidi sed et corpus meum graviter torquit? Beatus autem Longinus dixit: si vis mi(sericordi)am consequi a tuis (?) me decolla ut possim post mortem meam deprecari Dominum meum. Et mox permulgavit adversus eum dux gladii sententiam. Et stetit Sanctus Domini Longinus et oravit hora una. Adhuc interfectus est per gladii sententiam commendans Domino spiritum suum in pace.

Post haec Pr*aeses* habiit ad corpus Beati Martyris Longini et proiecit se in faciem cum gemito et lacrimaes dicens: 'Peccaui, D*omi*ne, peccaui. Agnusco iniquitatem meam.' Et illico recipit uisum et sanus factus est in illa hora. Et accipiens ipsi Octauius Presis corpus Beatissimi Martyris Longini inuoluens lintiaminibus mundis cum gaudio magno sepelliuit eum et credens in Chr*ist*o permanibat cum praedicatoribus unde glorificans D*eu*m semper.

Et statim Præses perrexit ad corpus beatissimi Martyris Longini, & proiecit se in faciem cum gemitu & lacrymis dicens: Peccaui, Domine, peccaui. Agnosco iniquitatem meam: & statim recepit visum, & sanus factus est ex illa hora: & accipiens corpus B. Longini, inuoluens linteaminibus mundis cum gaudio Martyrem sepeliuit: & credens in Christo permansit cum prædicatoribus fidei, glorificans Deum semper.

Et statim *prs* abiit ad corpus martyris beatissimi longini. et proiecit se in faciem et gemitu et lacrimis dicens Peccaui *dne* peccaui agnusco iniquitatem *meâ* et statim recepit uisum et sa
nus factus est ex illa hora. Et accipiens corpus longini martyris beatissimi inuoluit linteaminibus mundis cum gaudio martyrem sepeliuit et credens in *xpo* permanebat cum praedicatoribus fidei glorificans Dominum semper.

Statimque pręses abiit ad corpus beatissimi martyris et proiciens se cum gemitu et lacrimis dicebat peccaui *dne* peccaui et iniquitatem meam ego cognosco statim itaque recepit uisum et sanus factus est ab illla hora Accipiens au corpus sci longini et inuoluens linteis mundis cum aromatibus obtimo loco sepeliuit et credens in xpo permanebat cum prędicatoribus fidei glorificantes et benedicentes dnm nrm ihm xpm qui regnat cum *do* patre et *sco spu* in *scla* seculorum amen

Stati*mque* preses abiit ad ?bi Longini m*arti*ris *Christi* corp*us et* pr*o*iciens se cu*m* lac*ri*mis *et* gemitu *et* ululatu multo dicebat: Peccavi, D*omi*ne, peccavi, *et* iniq*ui*tate*m* mea*m* ego *co*gnosco. Stati*m er*go receipt visum *et* san*us* fact*us est* ex illa hora. Accipiens au*tem* corp*us* s*anct*issimi m*arti*ris *Christi* Longini involuit illud linteaminib*us* mundis *et con*diens cum aromatib*us* in loco optimo sepelivit. Et ipse preses Octavi*us* sepelivit corp*us* beatissimi Longini ….manebat cu*m* p*re*dicatoribus fid*e*i iuxta sepulchrum ipsi*us* glo*ri*ficans *et* bene*d*icens D*eu*m.

Et sine mora dux abiit ad corpus beati Longini et periciens se in faciem cum gemitum et lacrimis dicens: peccavi, Domine, peccavi et iniquitates meas ego agnosco et eadem horam aspexit et sanus factus est. Et accipiens dux corpus beati Longini involuit in linteaminibus mundissimis et sepelivit eum et credidit in Christum. Et erat perseverans pręconibus pietatis glorificans deum.

Acta sunt haec in ciuitatem Capadocię sub die decimo k*alendas* decembris sub Octauio Pr*aeside* regnante in perpetuo D*omi*no nostro Ih*es*u Chri*st*o. Cui est honor et gloria in sec*ula* sec*ulorum*.

Hæc acta sunt in Cæsarea Cappadociæ Idibus Martij sub Præside Octauio, regnante Domino nostro Iesu Christo, cui est cum Patre in vnitate Spiritus sancti honor & gloria, virtus, imperium, potestas, æternitas & maiestas, nunc & in immortalia secula seculorum. Amen.

Haec acta sunt in caesarea cappadociae *xii mo kl* nouembris sub praeside regnante *dno no ihu xpo* cui est honor et gloria in *scla sclor*

Pass*us est* S. Longin*us* iiii. non. Decembr*is*.

Haec facta sunt in Capadocia viii. kl. Avrilis sub duce Octavio. Sanctum deum nos regnante Domino nostro Iesu Christo cui est Gloria in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

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