Agrarian Metaphors

The Bible provided homilists with a rich store of "agricultural" metaphors and symbols.[1] The loci classici are passages like Isaiah's "Song of the Vineyard" (Is. 5:1-7), Ezekiel's allegories of the Tree (Ez. 15,17,19:10-14,31) and Christ's parables of the Sower (Matt. 13: 3-23, Mark 4:3-20, Luke 8:5-15),[2] the Good Seed (Matt. 13:24-30, Mark 4:26-29), the Barren Fig-tree (Luke 13:6-9),[3] the Labourers in the Vineyard (Matt. 21:33-44, Mark 12:1-11, Luke 20:9-18),[4] and the Mustard Seed (Matt. 13:31-32, Mark 4:30-32, Luke 13:18-19). Commonplace in Scripture, however, are comparisons of God to a gardener or farmer,[5] of man to a plant or tree,[6] of his soul to a garden,[7] and of his works to "fruits of the spirit".[8] Man is called the "husbandry" of God (1 Cor. 3:6-9), and the final doom which awaits him is depicted as a harvest in which the wheat of the blessed will be gathered into God's storehouse and the chaff of the damned cast into eternal fire.[9]

Medieval scriptural commentaries and spiritual handbooks helped to standardize the interpretation of such figures and to impress them on the memories of preachers (and their congregations). The allegorical exposition of the res rustica presented in Rabanus Maurus' De Universo (XIX, cap.1, "De cultura agrorum") is a distillation of typical readings:

> Spiritaliter ... in Scripturis sacris agricultura corda credentium intelliguntur, in quibus fructus virtutum germinant: unde Apostolus ad credentes ait *[1 Cor. 3:9]*: Dei agricultura estis ... Agricola autem Deus est: unde Dominus in Evangelio ait *[John 15:1]*: Ego sum vitis vera, et Pater meus agricola est. Item agricola Apostoli sunt, vel cæteri prædicatores ... semen enim est verbum Dei, ut in Evangelio Dominus ipse ostendit *[Luke 8:11]*, stercora ergo in agrum mittuntur, ut melius fructificet: quia per recordationem peccatorum quique fideles ad poenitentiam provocabuntur: ut melius in sulcis justitiæ

crescat germen rectæ fidei, et fructus bonæ operationis ... Semen, divina prædicatio, ut in Evangelio: Exiit qui seminat semen suum [Matt. 13:4]... Seminare est prædicationis sermonem in corda fidelium spargere, ut in propheta: Et seminabunt agros [Ps. 106:37]...[10]

The author of the OWN sermon, "of imbrodaGa haLd oc Mal" (Sthom. 35/10-37/3), draws on the same exegetical tradition in his treatment of the spiritual significance of Embertide:

... Sicvt imbrodagar vǽro setter forþom til likamlegs árs a iorþo. sva scolom vér nu hallda þa at vér náem andlego áre í hiortom ǫrom. Svasem imbrodagar of vetr ero haldner til þess at guþ føre þela or iorþo. sva at sáþ mege niþr komasc. sva scolom ver nu hallda þa ena sǽmo imbrodaga. at guþ føre ór brioste óro grimleícs frost oc ǽofvndar þela. sva at orþa sáþ hans mege koma i hiorto ór. Þa keomr orþa sáþ hans i hugscoz iorþ óra. es ver girnomsc at heýra keNingar. oc rekom fra oss illzco cvlþa. En hvat stoþar at heýra orþ guþs. nema ver varþveitem þa i miNingo. Af þui holldom vér aþra imbrodaga til þess at guþ late reótasc i miNingo orþa sáþ sitt. þat er hann sére i hiorto ór. þa rǿtesc orþa sáþ guþs er vér leGiom ęlsco a keNingar hans. oc sýnom svasem upreNanda acr af guþs sáþe. þat er ver seokiom ofst til beona oc til keNinga. En þa stoþa oss beoner til heílso. ef ver þægiom þér guþe meþ góþom verkom orom. þuiat til þess ero ǫss keNingar kendar at líf várt batne af þeim. En afþui holldom ver ena þriþio imbrodaga at guþs acr frǽvesc. sa er reótesc oc upraN i hiortom órrom. þa frǽvesc acr guþs i brioste óro ef vér feorom guþe avoxt góþra verka af keningom þeim es vér heýrþom oc elscoþom af hlýþne. þa ero goþ verc ór guþe þǽg ef vér hirþom þa i littellęte. oc holdom þeím alt til dauþa dags. Af þui holdom ver ena .iiij^þo^. imbrodaga. at hirþasc mege góþgørningar órer i litellęte. oc i staþfeste þeir er frę́þosc af orþom guþs. at eige bę́re fra oss ofme[t]naþar veþr[11] a voxt þaN er vér sǫmnoþom i góþom verkom...[12]

The Ember Days (Quatuor tempora) are periods of penitence and

abstinence observed at the beginning of each season (on the Wednesday, Friday and Saturday of the third week in Advent, the first week in Lent, Pentecost week, and in the week after the Exaltation of the Cross). Their observance seems to have been modelled on the Roman practice of celebrating festivals for harvest (feriae messis), vintage (feriae vindemiales) and seed-time (feriae sementinae), and originally their purpose was to invoke the aid of God for the protection of seeds and crops or to give thanks for a successful harvest.[13] Not surprisingly, however, preachers early came to emphasize that the prayers directed to God on these days for material prosperity should be accompanied by entreaties for a good "spiritual harvest". This is a recurrent theme, for instance, in the Embertide sermons of Leo the Great:

> Deus namque uerus et summus agricola non solum corporalium sed etiam spiritalium auctor est fructuum, et utraque semina, utraque plantaria duplici nouit exercere cultura, dans agris profectus germinum, dans animis incrementa uirtutum ...[14]

And agrarian metaphors are a standard feature of later discussions of the Ember Days. The treatments of the subject by, for example, Jacobus de Voragine and John Myrc are not unlike that of the OWN Embertide sermon:

> Legenda Aurea (ed. Græsse, 1890), cap. 35, "De jejunio quattuor temporum", 153
> ... prima hujusmodi jejunia fiunt in Martio ... ut in nobis virtutum germina oriantur ...
> In Septembri fiunt ante festum sancti Michaelis ... quoniam fructus tunc colliguntur et nos debemus Deo reddere fructus bonorum operum ...

> Mirk's Festial (E.E.T.S., E.S. 96, 1905), cap. 59, 253/20-26
> ... We fasten bytwyx heruest and syde-tyme, forto haue grace

to gedyr frute of goode werkes ynto þe berne of oure conciens, and so by good ensampull of good lyuyng sowe hom among all þat we conceyueþe wyth, pore and rych. We fasten yn þe wyntyr þat deyþe and sleyþe all stynkyng wedys, forto sle yn vs all þe stynkyng wedys of vyces þe whech han groen yn fowle erþe of oure flesche ...

It is convenient to examine the more striking metaphorical compounds in "of imbrodaGa haLd oc Mal" individually.

The Frost of Sin

With the Icelandic homilist's suggestion that during the winter Ember Days we should drive from our hearts all grimleics frost,[15] æfvndar þela, and illzco culþi one can compare the similar explanation of the purpose of the autumn and winter Ember Days given in Legenda Aurea (cap. 35, ed. Græsse, 153-154):

> Jejunamus ... in hyeme, ut castigemus frigus infidelitatis et malitiae ... in autumno, ut edometur terra frigiditatis spiritalis et tenebrosae ignorantiae ...

As Thomas D. Hill has pointed out in his article, "The Tropological Context of Heat and Cold Imagery in Anglo-Saxon Poetry",[16] the use of metaphors of heat and cold to describe the opposition of faith and unbelief, charity and envy, etc., can be traced to a series of biblical verses: Ecclesiasticus 3:17, sicut in sereno glacies, solventur peccata tua; Jeremiah 6:7, sicut frigidam fecit cisterna aquam suam, sic frigidam fecit malitiam suam; Matt. 24:12, quoniam abundavit iniquitas, refrigescet charitas multorum. Hill cites several interesting examples of the figures of the fire of charity and the snows of sin from patristic and Old English texts, but admits that the commonplace is "so widely attested that it is difficult to document meaningfully".[17]

Perhaps the best-known example of the metaphor in a medieval Scandinavian text is Eysteinn Erlendsson's description, in the prologue to his Passio et miracula beati Olavi, of the warmth of the Christian faith melting the icy bonds of Norwegian heathendom. From a closely related source (see above, p 130) figure was appropriated by the author of the Old Norwegian homily, "Jn die sancti Olaui Regis et martiRis":

Nhom. 108/16-25	cf. Metcalfe, 67/8-19
... fylgdi folc þat fiandans villu. ok trvðu faer á guðs miskun.	... Hactenus sacrilegis ydolorum mancipate ritibus, et supersti-

fyrir þvi at fianden hafðe cafða þa í u-trv mykilli ok unndir sic lagt með ofmetnaðr riki sva sem hinn helgi Ysaias spa-maðr guðs hermir hølne-orð anscota ok sægir os. Ec man sętia hosæti mit yfir oll himin-tungl. ok mæn ec sitia í vitnis-fialle guðs ok ráða norðre. ok likiasc hinum á-gæzta guði. En hinn hælgi guð ok sa lof-sæle droten er timbrar hina hælgu borg ... hann þidda þann myccla þela or brioste þæim með mykil-læic hins hælgasta, ok eldi hug harðhugaðra manna með astar hita hinnar hælgu trv.

ciosis erroribus deluse, nationes ille ueri dei cultum et fidem audierant; audierant quidem, set multi suscipere contempserant. Sicut enim loca aquiloni proxima inhabitabant, ita familiarius eas possederat, et tenaciori glacie infidelitatis astrinxerat aquilo ille ... qui in ysaia iactanter profert: Super astra celi exaltabo solium meum, sedebo in monte testamenti, in lateribus aquilonis [Is. 14:13]. Ceterum magnus dominus et laudabilis, qui de lateribus edificat ciuitatem suam, austri placido flamine aquilonis dissipauit duriciam. Et gentium efferarum obstinatos ac feroces animos calore fidei tandem emolliuit.[18]

Other early examples of the figure include the use of the compound illskufrost in the Elucidarius to render frigus malitiae,[19] and the extended opposition of the metaphors synða culði and ástar hiti in a translation of Gregory's thirtieth gospel homily in AM 677 4to.[20] Many similar metaphors are also found in later texts (Maríu saga,[21] Thómas saga erkibyskups II,[22] Lilja[23]).

The Earth of the Heart/ The Ploughshare of God's Word

The compound hugskotsjǫrð employed by the author of "of imbrodaGa haLd oc Mal" is also found in a sermon on the four evangelists preserved in both Sthom. (180/11-182/37) and Nhom. (47/28-50/30). The final section of this homily is devoted to a discussion of the tropological significance of the four evangelical beasts in which the listener is exhorted, inter alia, to imitate the humble ox in patiently suffering wrongs and in endeavouring to "cultivate" the faith (Sthom. 182/14-16; Nhom. 50/5-8):

> Ocxa líćneske sýnom vér í atferþ váRe. ef vér berom ok dróttens [Nhom.: ef ver berom þolen-moðlega mæingerðir naonga varra] oc drogom orþa plóg guþs þat ero helgar keNingar yfer hugscots iǫrþ naonga váRa.[24]

As Stephen Barney has pointed out, medieval exegetes habitually associate scriptural references to "oxen" or "ploughing" with the office of preaching.[25] Eucherius of Lyons, for instance, in his Formulae spiritalis intelligentiae (cap. 4, "De animantibus", CSEL 31, 27/17-18), glosses boves,

> ... apostoli, qui suscepto jugo Christi euangelii in uomere mundum exarauerint ...

Similarly, Gregory (In Primum Regum Expositione V. 4, PL 79,370C-D) takes a reference to "an half acre of land, which a yoke of oxen might plow" (1 Sam. 14:14) to signify:

> ... prædicatores Ecclesiæ, qui dum prædicant, arant, qui dum verbis coelestibus corda auditorum aperiunt, quasi in bona terra semen spargunt.

And Rabanus Maurus interprets in the same way references to "ploughing" at Luke 9:62 and 1 Kings 19:19 (De Universo, XIX, 1, PL 111, 505A-B):

> ... Arator crux, sive prædicationis officium, vel inchoatio

bonorum operum, ut in Evangelio: "Nemo mittens manum suam in aratrum et respiciens retro aptus est regno cælorum." Arare prædicationis officium exercere: unde in libro Regum legitur: "Et ipse in duodecim arantibus unus erat ..."

The metaphors of the "earth of the heart" and the "ploughshare of the tongue" are equally commonplace. Gregory is especially fond of such figures:

Moralia, XXII. 21. 52 , PL 76, 245C:

Et sunt nonnulli qui nullo lectionis, nullo exhortationis vomere proscissi, quædam bona, quamvis minima, tamen ex semetipsis proferunt, quasi terra necdum exarata. Sunt vero nonnulli qui, ad audiendum semper atque retinendum sanctis prædicationibus ac meditationibus intenti, a priori mentis duritia, quasi quodam linguæ vomere scissi, semina exhortationis accipiunt, et fruges boni operis per sulcos voluntariæ afflictionis reddunt.

Ibid., XXXI. 4. 4 , PL 76, 574A:

... Arare vero est per prædicationis studium humani pectoris terram vomere linguæ proscindere.

Hom. in Ez., I. 4, PL 76, 813A:

... Manum quippe in aratrum mittere est quasi per quemdam compunctionis vomerem ad proferendos fructus terram sui cordis aperire.[26]

For some later OWN examples of the "ploughing metaphor" see:

Tvegg. Post. s. Jóns ok Jacobs, Post. 596/22-24:

... Þvi kemr sa virktavin drottins austr i Asiam eptir guðligri skipan fagandi honum himneskan akr med ubl-kkiligum ristli freosamra fyrirheita ...[27]

Nik. II, HMS II, 70/19-24:

:.. Þin hugskotziord her til fagut med heilogum

ristli gangi fram i tvifalldan avoxt ... byrg eigi lengr, sæll Nicholæ, þann agætisakr, sem varr herra hefir plantad i þinn blezada briosti, er fullkomliga er frials af ollu illgresi ...

Magnúss s. lengri, ÍF 34, 350/4-6:

... Með þessum hætti var inn heilagi Magnús um snúinn í helgan mann, tók at erja jörð síns hjarta með vöskum ristli viðkenningar ...[28]

The Gospel Seed

The Ember Days Homily in Sthom. provides the only example of the compound orðasáð in the Homily Books (Sthom. 36/18,22,23). The metaphor of the "gospel seed" derives ultimately, of course, from Christ's explication of the parable of the sower (Luke 8:11, Semen est verbum dei)[29]; and it is not surprising that versions of the figure are also found in later OWN texts. Cf., e.g.:

Páls s. post. I, Post. 219/24-26 (cf. Tvegg. post.s. Petrs ok Páls, Post. 296/16-18):
Heiþner menn urþo fegner, er þeir heyrþo þetta, oc dyrcaþo orþ guþs, oc truðo aller, þeir er laþaþer varo til lifs, oc for orþa saþ guþs of oll heroþ.

cf. Acts 13:48-49:
...audientes autem gentes gavisae sunt et glorificabant verbum Domini et crediderunt quotquot erant praeordinati ad vitam aeternam disseminabatur autem verbum Domini per universam regionem.

Pétrs s. post., Post. 78/27-29:
...fylgðu fyrr nefndum Petro gaufgir vinnumenn guþligrar sæðgiorþar. kiænir at kasta korni Kristz i ekru andanna...

Barl. 18/32-35:
...Sua oc herra konongs svnr. ef ec finn með þér fræva iorð i hiartta þinv til goðz avaxtar. þa skal ec skiott sáá þar i guðs orð oc hins hærsta krapttar með hæilagre trv oc himneskom kenningum...

Ps. Ioh. Dam. 14/30-32:
...Si ergo terram inuenero in corde tuo fructiferam et bonam, non tardabo diuinum ibi seminare semen, et magnum mysterium tibi reuelare.

Den store saga om Olav den hellige, 711/35 - 712/2:
...sannlega matti han kallazt hertugi gvdligra orda ok omędr predikari gudspiallegra bodorda. þvi ath hann bodadi hvervetna miskvnnar sad j hiortv heyrandi manna...

Thóm. III, 274/32-34:
...tok at þroazt ok vaxa saðkornit Kriz i goðri saðiorð. ok endrlifnvðv blomar kraptanna æ akri gvðspiallamanna...[30]

It is also interesting to find the metaphor of the "seed of words" used in secular contexts. In fact, the earliest example of the compound orðasáð occurs in a quatrain by Eilífr Goðrúnarson cited by Snorri (Skáldskaparmál [1931], 93). The verse may have formed part of a poem in honour of Earl Hákon of Hlaðir (c. 990, Skjd B I, 139):

> Verðið ér, alls orða
> oss grær of kon mæran
> á sefreinu Sónar
> sáð, vingjǫfum ráða.

Finnur Jónsson (Ibid. ; Lexicon Poeticum, s.vv. sáð, sefrein) takes sáð with Sónar (the seed of the vat Són = the poetic mead) and orða with sefrein (land of words = breast). This reading has been contested, however, by Rudolf Meissner, Ernst Kock, and Roberta Frank, all of whom argue that the central image of the stanza must be the sprouting of the "seed of words" to produce poetry.[31] Snorri also attributes a Christian stanza to Eilífr, and he may well have been familiar with the scriptural metaphor of the verbi semen.[32]

Oddr munkr Snorrason likewise transplants the biblical figure to a secular setting in his description, in his Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar, of the "word-seed" of Dixin's counsel taking root in the hearts of Óláfr and Queen Geira (ed. Finnur Jónsson [1932], 33/33 - 34/1):

> ...En er hann hafði þessu orða saði sait ibriost þeim. þa tok þat at rǫtasc oc festasc með þeim baðum. oc syndiz þeim girnilect oc liclect til mikillar hamingio...

The Irrigation of the Soul

An agrarian metaphor not found in the OWN Embertide sermon, but attested in some other homilies, is that of the "watering" of the soul to promote spiritual growth. In the third of the commentaries on the Lord's prayer included in Sthom., for example, the explanation of the phrase sicut in cœlo et in terra includes a comparison of the teachings of Christ to the life-giving dew of heaven (Sthom. 197/35 - 198/2):

> ...EN keNa sumar beócr þa skilning þessa máls. at cristr iarteine himin. en crisne iorþ. afþui at svasem himeN es yfer iorþo oc af honom frævasc iorþ. Sva es cristr øfre iorþo heil-agrar cristne. oc georer sú iorþ allan andlegan avoxt af keN-ingom hans. svasem iorþ tecr gróþr af dægg himins.

No exact source has yet been found for this commentary, but the analogy is conventional; medieval exegetes regularly take scriptural references to dew or rain to refer allegorically to Christian teaching, or heavenly gra The author of a Lenten sermon in Sthom., for instance, makes use of the imag of the "dew of God's word" in his commentary on Isaiah 40:4 (Sthom.112/20-2

> ...sem isaias mælte spamaþr. HveR dalr qvaþ hann. mon fyllasc. oc hvert fiall oc hóll mon lægiasc. þa fyllesc dalr es litel-látr maþr tecr viþ goþs orþom svasem dalr viþ dæG oc grør þar síþan góþra verka gras af. en þat lævnar guþ meþ eivesanda upp angre. En þá lęgesc fiall eþa hóll. es metnaþar meN fyr líta guþs keNing. svasem fiall eþa hóll scýtr af sér dæGeNe. oc þeir missa svá ástar verca grátsens [recte: grassens] oc verþr þa tekeN af þeím upangr himinríkess hæþar...[34]

As the first cultivators of the gospel seed, the apostles are similarly associated with the "irrigation" of the soul:

Sthom. 16/26-27:

> [Postolar]...veitto hiortom heyranda ástsamlegar keNingar sva sem regn ýr skýiom gefr ár á iorþ.[35]

Nhom. 48/1-6 (Sthom. 180/15-19):

> ...Maclega valde drotenn sér .iiii.a guðspiallamenn. þvi at kenningar hans atto at fara umm fiorar ætter hæims. Þessa .iiii.a guðspialla-menn merkia .iiii.ar ár þær er falla or paradiso hingat i hæim. þvi at himnescar kenningar þæirra

> fliota umm alla verold sem rennande ar. oc døggva til andlegs groðar hiarta trvaðra...[36]

And the author of a sermon on the parable of the sower introduces the metaphor of the "moisture of love" (with reference to Luke 8:6, et aliud cecidit supra petram, et natum aruit quia non habebat humorem; Nhom. 70/10-12):

> ...En korn þat er fell á helluna iartegnir menn þa er fagnaðr er á fyrst at høyra guðs kenningar. En þæir haua ęigi briost þat er þæir þyrfte. ok æigi æstar veccu sér í brioste er guðs sæðe mæte þar røtasc þæim til gagns ok til goða.[37]

This sort of imagery is, of course, not peculiar to the Homily Books. The phrase dǫggr himneskrar mildi is used in Matheus saga postola I to render imber gratiae caelestis (AM 645 4to, ed. Larsson [Lund, 1885], 122/6-7 [Post. 805/20-21, cf. 821/30, 833/25]; Mombritius, II, 262/50-51), and dǫggr heilags anda is found for ros sancti Spiritus in Dionysius saga (HMS I, 317/35; PL 106, 45A). In an exposition of the story of "Gideon's fleece" (Judges 6:36-40) in Veraldar saga, the dew which fell first upon the fleece and then upon the surrounding earth is interpreted as the ros misericordiae which visited first the Jews, then the Gentiles (STUAGNL 61 [1944], 84/10-18):

> Reyfi þat er Gedeon lagdi j lavka gard. ok var dogg a reyfinv. en gardvrinn allvr þvr hia. Enn odrv sinne var reyfit eitt þvrt enn dogg vm allan gardinn hia. merker þat at myskunnar dogg Gvds fell a Gydinga lyd fyrst. er reyfit merkier, enn oll onnvr heims bygdinn var ān þeirrar myskunnar. Enn sidan tokv allar þioder adrar. er lavka gardinn merkia vid þeirre miskvnnar dogg. er Gydingar lydvr misti.[38]

A passage in Stjórn based on Augustine's interpretation of Genesis 2:5 (...non enim pluerat Dominus Deus super terram...) rings numerous changes on the metaphor of the "rain of doctrine":

Stjórn, 30/9-28:

...Fyrir þij sagdi hann at guð hafdi þa enn eigi regna latit yfir iórdina. sem hann segdi sua opinberligarr. eigi ueitti uaarr herra ritninganna skyium þa enn læringar regn til at dóggua ok endrlifga saalina medan er hon hafdi eigi misgórt. Spamanna bøkr ok postolanna ritningar uerda mórgum sua myrkar ok uskilianligar. sem þær se meór nóckurum þokum edr skyflokum skyggdar ok huldar. enn þa uerda þær uel skiliandi monnum sua sem nytsamligh sannleiks skúúr. ef þær eru medr margfalldri ok uitrligri tracteran talaóar ok skynsamliga skyróar. Enn þessa ritningarinnar regns þurfti aundin eigi medan hon misgerdi ecki. Eigi hafdi uaar herra þa enn fyrir mannzins skylld. þess sem iórdin kallaz ok er. uaars likama hulningh ok sky tekit upp aa sinn signada guðdom. fyrir huat er hann ueitti hardla nogliga gudspiallzins skurir. ok fyrir hueria sauk. eigi utan þa at madrinn uar enginn sa er iordina ynni. þat er sua at skilia. at madrinn misgiordi eigi þa. ok fyrir þi uar honum eigi naudsyn þa aa scriptarinnar skurum ok ritningarinnar regnum sem þeim manni er iordina uinnr ok erfidar. at almattigr gud daugguadi fyrr nefndan akrsins blomstr þann sem eigi hafdi þa enn yfir iorðina komit. þat er syndalausa saal. medr hinni innri ok andaligri sannleiksins æði ok uppsprettu...[39]

De Genesi contra Manichæos, II, cap.4 (PL 34, 198C-199A):

...Quia et nunc viride agri Deus facit, sed pluendo super terram, id est, facit animas revirescere per verbum suum; sed de nubibus eas irrigat, id est de Scripturis Prophetarum et Apostolorum. Recte autem appellantur nubes, quia verba ista quæ sonant et percusso aere transeunt, addita etiam obscuritate allegoriarum quasi aliqua caligine obducta, velut nubes fiunt: quæ dum tractando exprimuntur, bene intelligentibus tanquam imber veritatis infunditur. Sed hoc nondum erat antequam anim peccaret; id est, antequam viride agri esset super terram. Nondum enim pluerat Deus super terram, nec erat homo qui operaretur in ea. Laboranti enim homini in terr imber de nubibus est necessarius, de quibus nubibus jam dictum est. Post peccatum autem homo laborare cœpit in terra, et necessarias habere illas nubes. Ante peccatum vero, cum viride agri et pabulum fecisset Deus, quo nomine invisib ilem creaturam significari diximu irrigabat eam fonte interiore, loquens in intellectum ejus: ut non extrinsecus verba exciperet, tanquam ex supradictis nubibus pluviam; sed fonte suo hoc est de intimis suis manante veritate, satiaretur.

And the author of the Fourth Grammatical Treatise (c.1350) makes equally elaborate use of irrigation imagery in his explanation of a reminiscence of Ps. 41:8 (Abyssus abyssum invocat in voce cataractarum tuarum) in a Christian skaldic stanza:

> ...þessi tvav lǫgmál, eð forna ok hið nyia, kallar leo paví hinn mæl sníálle tvenn vatna divp, þav er annat er yfer himnum enn annat vnder himnum. ak david seger at a kallaz með rǫddum cataractarum, þat er himin ravfanna, þæirra sem vǫtnín sendv til iarðar ifloðínv noa, ok merkia þær hǫfuð feðr ok spámenn, postvla ok predicara, þa er himnesk vǫtn heilagrar predicanar senda a iorðina til þess at fyrer koma guðs vvinum, þat er lǫstum ok lytvm, ok at dǫggva hiortv rettrvaðra manna með regní heilsamrar kenningar...[40]

1. For a general discussion of biblical "agrarian" imagery and its literary influence see Stephen A. Barney, "The Plowshare of the Tongue: The Progress of a Symbol from the Bible to Piers Plowman", MS 35 (1973), 261-293.

2. Cf. Kirby, Biblical Quotation I, 167, 242-243 (esp. Nhom. 69/23-70/33).

3. Cf. Kirby, Biblical Quotation I, 251-252.

4. Kirby cites no OWN translations of the parable. But cf., e.g., the prologue of Jóns s. helga B, Bisk. I, 215/3-6: "Jesus Christr hefir ... plantat sínn víngarð, heilaga kristni, um Norðlendinga fjórðung ...". Víngarðs eflir is used as a circumlocution for "priest" in Árni Jónsson's Guðmundardrápa, st. 10 (Skjd A II, 414); the same phrase is used in Pétrsdrápa, st. 32 (Skjd A II, 505) to refer to Saint Peter. Cf. too Jóns s. post. IV, Post. 472/36-37, cit. below, p. 427.

5. Ps. 79:8-16, Is. 27:2-3,60:21,61:11, Jer. 2:21, John 15:1 (ego sum vitis vera et Pater meus agricola est). Cf. Manz 34, agricola cœlestis. Christ identifies himself as a heavenly farmer in his exposition of the parable of the Sower (Matt. 13:37-38, qui seminat bonum semen est Filius hominis, ager autem est mundus). Cf. Augustine's explanation that the "farmer" of John 15:1 is both God and Christ (In Joannis Ev. Tract. 80, PL 35,1839, cit. Barney, 263). Interesting too in this regard are medieval depictions of Christ in gardener's attire, carrying a spade, inspired by Mary Magdalene's confusion of Jesus with the gardener at John 20:15 (see L. Réau, Iconographie de l'art chrétien II.2 (Paris, 1957), 43,557; P. Diemer, "Gärtner", Lexikon der christlichen Ikono-

graphie, Bd. 3, 81-82; Augustine, sermo 246, PL 38,1148, cit. Barney, 268).

6. Judges 9:7-21 (Jotham's fable of the trees, cf. Stjórn 399/8ff., 402/32-403/20 -- Ps. Hugh of St Victor, Allegoriæ in Vetus Testamentum, PL 175,679B-680A), Ps. 1:3 (cf. Barl. 148/15-17 -- Ps. Ioh. Dam. 97/28-29), Ps. 91:13-15 (Kirby I. 63), 127:3, Wisdom 4:3-5, Ecclesiasticus 6:2-3, Is. 56:3,61:3, John 15:5 (Kirby I. 309, esp. Jóns s. helga B, Bisk. 241/18-22, cf. Árni Jónsson, Guðmundardrápa, st. 8, Skjd A II. 413), Rom. 11:16-23, Jude 1:12.

Barney points out (263) that the Old Testament tradition of tree-metaphors also "gave rise to such curious locutions as Paul's reference to a newly converted Christian as a 'neophyte', one newly planted in the faith" (1 Tim. 3:6). Oddur Gottskálksson (Hid Nya Testament [1540]) coins the adjective nýnæmur (cf. Luther [1522] ein Neuling) to render neophytus. (See Jón Helgason, Málið á Nýja Testamenti Odds Gottskálkssonar [1929], 323; Guðbrandur Þorláksson substitutes nyungargiarn in his revised New Testament of 1609.) Neophitus appears at Jóns s. post. IV, Post. 489/23,25,37, but I have not been able to find a direct translation of the word in an OWN text. Thors (94) notes that in OSw the equivalents were the Latin loan-word novitius and the partial loan-translation nykomin (cf. OHG niuchomene, OE niwcumen; the loan-word nouicius is also found in the ON translation of Lanfranc's Decretals, NRA 81 B 3r/6, 11, ed. E. Walter, Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur 82 [1960], 120).

The cast of mind which gave birth to the term neophyte is re-

flected in a picturesque passage in Barlaams ok Josaphats saga (Barlaam's prayer for the newly-converted prince 99/35-100/3; Ps. Ioh. Dam. 70/29-30):

... græð oc gofga þenna teinung. er planntaðr er með hælgum anndda sialfs þins. oc gef honom at vaxa til þess at bera blomstr oc blæzaðan avoxt til þins hins hælga loghmalls ...	... conuerte uineam istam tuo sancto plantatam spiritu et da ei ferre fructum iustitiæ, conforta illam disponendo in ea testamentum tuum ...

7. Ecclesiasticus 24:42, Is. 58:11, Jer. 31:12.

8. Matt. 3:8 (Luke 3:8) facite ... fructum dignum paenitentiae (Kirby I. 232; cf. Walter, Lex. Lehn., 187: Nhom. 11/20,21 -- PL 101, 622 B; Nhom. 76/2,2-3,10; Sthom. 61/36,37, see J. Turville-Petre, Traditio 19 [1963], 58, H. Spencer MS 44 [1982], 285/31-32; Jóns s. post. II, Post. 875/17-18, cf. PL 198,1552 D; Oddur Gottskálksson, Hid Nya Testament [1540], cf. Jón Helgason, Málið ..., 194), Matt. 7:16-20 (Kirby I. 156), 12:33, Luke 6:43-44 (Kirby I. 237), John 15:16, Rom. 1:13,7:4, II Cor. 9:10 fruges iustitiae vestrae, Gal. 5:22-23 fructus Spiritus (Kirby I. 376-377; cf. Maurus s., HMS I, 669/35 andar avextir -- Acta Sanctorum II (Jan. 15), 329 e spiritus fructus; Vitae Patrum, HMS II, 353/2 andans avextir -- Ibid., 352/31 fructus Spiritus), Phil. 4:17, Col. 1:10, Tit. 3:14, James 3:17-18 fructus iustitiae.

Cf. Manz 380 fructus bonorum operum, Sthom. 36/30-31, avoxtr góþra verka (see p.398); Walter, Lex. Lehn., 176: Leifar, 86/11-12,31,32 avoxtr goþs vercs -- Gr. 31 in Ev., PL 76,1228C, 1229B fructus (bonæ) operationis; Stjórn 403/9-10 menn sem øngan bera avoxt goðra verka -- PL 175,679C infructuosi; Walter, Lex. Lehn.,

62: Leifar 86/13 avoxtr hlýþni -- Gr. 31 in Ev., PL 76,1228C fructus obedientiæ; Walter, Lex. Lehn., 169: Gr. Dialogues, HMS I, 233/20 crapta avoxtr -- de Vogüé, vol. 2, 146, III. 37.20/187 virtutum fructus; Nhom. 2/12 ávoxtr æilifrar fulsælo -- PL 101, 615A fructus æternæ beatitudinis; Sthom. 198/1 andlegr avoxtr (af keNingom); Vitae Patrum II, HMS II, 592/19-593/1 andaligr avǫxtr himneskrar astundanar -- Ibid., 592/37 fructus cœlestis; Magnúss s. lengri, ÍF 34 (1965), 370/8-9 inn sætasti kornskurðr ins hjálpsamligasta ávaxtar.

9. Joel 3:12-15, Matt. 3:12 (Kirby I. 138-139), 13:30 (Kirby I. 167: Gr. Dialogues, HMS I, 249/17-22 -- de Vogüé, vol. 3, 125, IV. 36, 14/97-107; Sthom. 167/19-22 -- Gr. 38 in Ev., PL 76,1287B), 13: 39-43 (Kirby I. 168: Barl. 34/8-10 -- Ps. Ioh. Dam. 25/20-23). Cf., e.g., Nik. II, HMS II, 89/22-25, Tvegg. post. s. Jóns ok Jacobs, Post. 559/2-7. On this apocalyptic theme see J.E. Cross, "Bundles for Burning - A Theme in Two of Ælfric's Catholic Homilies - with other sources," Anglia 81 (1963), 335-346.

10. PL 111, 504C-505B; cit. Barney, 270.

11. On the metaphor ofmetnaþar veþr see above, p. 267, n. 41.

12. Sthom. 36/12-37/1. Versions of this homily are also preserved in Hauksbók (ed. Finnur Jónsson and Eiríkur Jónsson [1892-96], 172-174) and in Old Norwegian in AM 114a 4to (ed. Anne Holtsmark, ANF 46 [1930], 259-272). Holtsmark demonstrates that this ms., though dated c. 1325, presents a text closest to the original version of the sermon.

13. See Gustav Morin, "L'origine des Quatre-Temps", RB 14 (1897), 337-346; Ludwig Fischer, Die kirchlichen Quatember (Munich, 1914);

G.G. Willis, Essays in Early Roman Liturgy (London, 1964), 51-97; R.E. McNally, "Ember Days", N.C.E. 5, 296-297. On the observance of the Ember Days in Iceland see A. Taranger, Den angelsaksiske kirkes indflydelse paa den norske (Kristiania, 1890), 383ff.; Lilli Gjerløw, "Imbredagene", KLNM VII, 361-363. Icelandic translations of Gregory's homilies for Friday and Saturday of the autumn Embertide are found in AM 677 4to (Leifar 79/18-85/7, Gr. 33 in Ev., PL 76,1239B-1246A; 85/8-86/34, Gr. 31 in Ev., 1227C-1229B).

The OWN Embertide sermon resorts to an interesting piece of folk-etymology to clarify the purpose of the imbrudagar (AM 114a 4to, Sp. 2, ed. Holtsmark, 260; cf. Hauksbók, 172/18-23; Sthom. 35/15-17 omits the etymology):

> ... En hann sette fostu þessa til árs at menn skýllde bidia gud miskunnar at hann gǫfve reghnn a iord ok avoxt þenn er alþýda mǫte uid biargazst. Sua sem merker namnn þet er uer gefvm þesse fostu. Ymbres heíta skurer a latinu. en uer blavndum saman latínu ok danskri tunghu. þa er kollum ímbrudagha þat er skurdaghar þiat þeir uoru fyrst til regns setter.

The word imbrudagar is, in fact, modelled on OE ymbrendagas (ymbrenfæsten, ymbrenwice) which may, in turn, be derived from ymbryne (m.) in the sense, "lapse, course, revolution of time" (Taranger, 383ff.; de Vries, A&W s.v. imbrudagr; Falk-Torp, s.vv. Imbredage, Tamperdag; Thors, 331-332). And as Bradley notes in his discussion of the word's origin (O.E.D., s.v. Ember[2], cf. Onions-Friedrichsen-Burchfield, The Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology [1966], s.v. Ember Day), "it seems ... not wholly im-

possible that the word may have been due to popular etymology working upon some Vulgar Lat. corruption of quatuor tempora" (cf. Ger. Quatembertag, M. Dan-Norw. tamperdag, OSw. tamperdagar). With the Icelandic homilist's philological speculations one can compare John Myrc's derivation of the word from embers (Mirk's Festial, E.E.T.S., E.S. 96 [1905], cap. 59, 254/7-13:

> ... Then ȝe schull know þat þes dayes byn callet Ymbryng-dayes, for, as opynion of summe ys, þay byn callet Ymbryng-dayes for encheson þat our old faders wolden ete þes dayes kakes bakyn yn þe ymbres and was callyt 'panis subciner[ic]ius,' 'brede bakyn vndyr þe askes,' and to askes schuld turne þay wyst neuer when; so þat yn etyng of þys bred, þay reducet to mynde how þay were but askes ...

Bishop Finnur Jónsson of Skálholt († 1789) provides a conspectus of popular and learned etymologies in his Historia Ecclesiastica Islandiæ (Havniæ, 1772-78), I (Periodus II, sectio I, cap. 1, sec. 42, note b), 168:

> ... De vocis ymbra derivatione ARNESENS Islandske Rettergang [i.e., J. Arnesen, Historisk Indledning til den gamle og nye Islandske Rættergang (Kbh., 1762)] cap. 4, § 10, varias variorum exhibet sententias, qvorum qvidem eam deducant ab imber, avis cujusdam nomine [see de Vries, A&W s.v. himbrin = colymbus glacialis, "the great northern diver, loon", M. Dan. imber, M.Norw. imbre, ymmer, orkn. emmergoose], qvæ 7. tantum diebus ante Festum nativitatis Domini, semet conspiciendam det; qvidam a Latino umbra, qvidam ab imber, pluvia; Qvidam ab Anglo Saxonico ymbrinen, qvod respondet Islandico umm-renni; qvidam tandem ab Anglico embren, cinis. Qvibus qvod addamus nihil habemus, nisi qvod olim, cum ab ore viri doctissimi, et nobis nunqvam sine debita laude nominandi ARNÆ MAGNÆI, penderemus, ab ipso audivimus Danorum tamper, et Islandorum ymbru, simili fere modo a monachorum qvatumber sc. qvatuor tempora, corrupta videri.

As both Finnur Jónsson (Hauksbók, CCXXII) and Lilli Gjerløw (KLNM VII, 362) point out, the use of the term dönsk tunga in the version of the OWN Ember Days sermon in AM 114a 4to is an indication of the antiquity of the text (Hauksbók, 172/21-22, has "ver blondum saman latinu oc norrænu"). Whether the etymology is equally old is difficult to say. Holtsmark notes (270),

> Forklaringen av navnet Imbrudagar, er det ... umulig å si om er oprinnelig eller senere innskudd. Men er det først på ett punkt så at den fyldigere tekst er nærmere originalen enn den knappere, bør man være forsiktig med å kaste ut idet hele tatt.

In his survey of texts which employ the term dönsk tunga in his preface to Lexicon Poeticum (Hafniæ, 1860), Sveinbjörn Egilsson cites the passage on the origin of the Ember Days from AM 114a 4to, and makes mention of yet another curious rationalization of the term imbrudagar recorded by Árni Magnússon (xxv, n.1):

> ... In Islandia vulgo traditum esse dicit Arnas Magnæus: vixisse in Islandia occidentali fæminam, nomine Ymbra, quæ divitiis pollens, quotannis amicos suos quater convivio excepit, unde dies convivales Ymbrudagar (dies Ymbræ) appellati sint. Quod, ut jam indicatum est, nugæ sunt ...

14. Tractatus 20.2, CCSL 138, 82/40-44. For similar examples of Leo's use of agrarian imagery in his Embertide sermons see Tractatus 12.13 (52/89, cordis ager); 14.1 (56/1-13 dominicus ager, spiritalis cultura, sanctorum operum fruges, rorante desuper gratia Dei [Is. 45:8], ieiuniis exaratur, elemosinis seritur, amaritudinis radix, semen uitiorum, seges uirtutum); 18.3 (74/53 fructus pietatis, 75/70-71 dominicus ager); 87.4 (544/58 fructus misericordiae, 544/61 cultura pietatis); 89.4 (554/69-70 divinus ager, caelestia horrea).

15. Instead of the metaphor grimleícs frost found in both Sthom. and AM 114a 4to (ed. Holtsmark, 262/100), Hauksbók (173/29) has simply syndir. As Holtsmark points out, however (271), since the versions of the sermon in Hauksbók and AM 114a 4to are more closely related to each other than they are to the version in Sthom., "må de steder hvor begge eller én av dem stemmer med Sthom. være oprinnelige". One may therefore assume that grimleícs frost is the older reading here.

16. NM 69 (1968), 522-532.

17. 592, n.2 (cf. texts cited passim). To take a single example, any mention of "winter" in the Bible is regularly taken by medieval exegetes to refer to the frigus malitiae or the congelatio infidelitatis; see, e.g. (on John 10:22), Augustine Tract. 48 in Joannem, PL 35, 1741D; Gregory, Moralia, II. 2, PL 75, 555C; Bede, Hom. II. 24, CCSL 122, 359/30-38, In Joannem, PL 92, 771A (= Alcuin, PL 100, 891C; Haymo of Auxerre, PL 118, 342B-C); Glossa Ordinaria, PL 114, 397D-398A; (on Song of Solomon 2:11), Ps. Rabanus (Garnier de Rochefort), Allegoriæ, PL 112, 954A. See too Alan of Lille, Distinctiones, PL 210, 810C (Hiems - gelicidium infidelitatis); J.B. Pitra, Spicilegium Solesmense, 85 (Glacies - duritia peccatorum; cf. Eucher of Lyons, CSEL 31, 11/9), 88 (Nix - frigida corda pravorum); 116 (Hiems - torpor mentis, vel frigus malitiæ).

18. On heat and cold imagery in the Passio Olavi see Eiliv Skard, Sprache und Stil der Passio Olavi (Oslo, 1932), 55, and esp. Vegard Skånlund, "Calor Fidei", Symbolae Osloenses 32 (1956), 86-104. Skånlund examines the influence of the biblical concept of aquilo

as a source of evil (Is. 14:13, Jer. 1:4, 6:1) upon notions of the geographical north as a place of glacial sinfulness and obdurate heathendom. He points out that the extended metaphor of the "heat of grace" dissolving the frigor antique infidelitatis also figures in Ailnoth's account of the conversion of Norway and Iceland in the introduction to his life of Saint Knut (Passio Canuti Regis, ed. M. Cl. Gertz, Vitae Sanctorum Danorum [Kbh., 1908-12], 84/7-21), and in the famous letter of Peter the Venerable to Sigurðr Jórsalafari (DN XIX. 25). There is no need to assume that these authors draw on a common source; rather, as Skånlund observes, each is familiar with the metaphor as a popular and effective commonplace. One might compare, for instance, Gildas' very similar description of the warm rays of Christ's teaching melting the glacial grip of British heathendom in his De Excidio Britonum, 8. 30-31 (ed. M. Winterbottom [London/Chichester, 1978], 91; cit. Hill, op.cit., 529, n.2).

19. See Salvesen, Studies, 33.

AM 238 fol. XVIII (Annaler for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie, 1858, 163/15-17)	Lefèvre, 448/14-15:
... Svo sem þeir stirnvdv her j illskv frosti. svo oc er ritad at þeir gnotri tonnvm þar j pislar frosti.	Quia vero frigore malitiae hic riguerunt, juste ibi poenali frigore stridebunt.

20.

Leifar 32/7-30	PL 76, 1223A-D
... En drottiN sendi brenanda eld a iorþ. þa es heilagr andi brendi i Gvþs ost licamligt	... Sed ignem Dominus in terram mittit cum afflatu sancti Spiritus corda carnalium incendit.

hiarta þat es aþr var callt i girndom heims þessa. Retliga svndisc heilagr andi i eldi. þvi at hann eldir i Gvþs ost hvert hiarta er hann vitiar. oc recr a brat þaþan svnþa culþa ... I eldligom tungom svndisc hann þvi at hann gerer alla þa es hann vitiar malsnialla oc breNandi i ǫst vid sic. Elligar tungor hafa keNimeN. þeir er boþa Gvþs nafn med ǫst. oc elda sva hiorto heyranda. þvi at tomt er mal ceNimanz. ef þat veitir eigi astar hita ... Hitnar hugr maNz at hevrþo orþi Gvþs. oc flør culþi svnþa. oc scilsc hann vid iarþligar girnder óc breNir sic i saþri ost himnescra hluta. En er hugriN breN i þessom eldi þa fvsisc hann at høra himnesc boþorþ. oc kvndisc sva morgom brøndom sem boþorþom. oc hitnar hann avallt i Gvþs ǫst ... Eldlig log ero i høgri hendi Gvþs. þvi at goþer meN taca eigi coldo hiarta vid boþorþom hans. heldr hitna þeir af astar eldi ...

Et terra ardet cum cor carnale in suis pravis voluptatibus frigidum, relinquit concupiscentias præsentis sæculi, et incenditur ad amorem Dei. Bene ergo in igne apparuit Spiritus, quia ab omni corde quod replet torporem frigoris excutit, et hoc in desiderium suæ æternitatis accendit. ... quia per linguam procedit verbum, in linguis apparuit Spiritus, quia quisquis sancto Spiritu tangitur, Dei Verbum, id est unigenitum Filium confitetur; et negare Dei Verbum non valet, quia jam sancti Spiritus linguam habet. Vel certe in linguis igneis apparuit Spiritus, quia omnes quos repleverit ardentes pariter et loquentes facit. Linguas igneas doctores habent, quia, dum Deum amandum prædicant, corda audientium inflammant. Nam et otiosus est sermo docentis, si præbere non valet incendium amoris. ... Ex audito quippe sermone inardescit animus, torporis frigus recedit, fit mens in superno desiderio anxia, a concupiscentiis terrenis aliena. Amor verus qui hanc repleverit, in fletibus cruciat; sed dum tali ardore cruciatur, ipsis suis cruciatibus pascitur. Audire ei libet præcepta cœ-

> lestia; et quot mandatis instruitur, quasi tot facibus inflammatur; et quæ torpebat prius per desideria, ardet postmodum per verba. ... In dextera Dei lex ignea est, quia electi mandata cœlestia nequaquam frigido corde audiunt, sed ad hæc amores intimi facibus inardescunt.

Cf. Ælfric's rendering of the same passage (CH I, 320/19-25). For further examples of the metaphors ástar eldr, ástar hiti, see below, pp. 647-649.

Ernst Walter, Lex. Lehn., 102-103 ("Hartherzigkeit, Zorn, Streit, Haß"), observes, "Mir ist ... aufgefallen, daß ... er den bildlichen Ausdruck kalt hjarta in ma. Norden ursprünglich offenbar nicht gegeben hat, denn die - trotz vielen Suchens - einzigen mir bekannten Stellen sind [the two calks of frigidum cor in the passage just cited]". Another example of the phrase kalt hjarta is, in fact, found at Ísl. Æv. XLVIII, 97-99 (although this text is, of course, too young to affect Walter's suggestion):

> ... Því ferr huggari sálnanna, heilagi andi, ok slær þat kallda hjarta með ellding hita síns ok miskunnar ok bræðir þann jökulinn er svá var harðr sem steinn er Adamas heitir...

Walter notes that "eine immerhin entfernte Verwandtschaft in der Ausdrucksweise zeigt Þidr. I, 328, kalt brjóst" (ed. H. Bertelsen, STUAGNL 34 [1905-11], I. 328/5-6 ... merkir blár litr kallt briost. oc grimt hiarta). One might also compare Mar. 192/29-30 (483/18-19),

> ...rettløtis vønd til hirtingar kalldra hugskota halldande...

or even, perhaps, the description of Venus in the Codex Wormianus version of the Prologue to Snorra Edda (ed. Finnur Jónsson, Edda Snorra Sturlusonar Codex Wormianus, AM 242 fol. [1924], 6/2-3):

> ... þeir truðu at hon mætti þiða allra manna hjortu til æstar.

21. Mar. 99/3-7:

> ... En er hann hafti þetta sagt, þa sungu þeir lof guði ok sælli Maríu, sem allir eigu, þeir er undir hennar miskunnar mötli vilia vera, þeim er svá er víðr, at yfir tekr allan heiminn. Ok ef þeir kriúpa undir þenna möttul, er áðr eru frosnir af ástleysis kulða við guð, þá flóna þeir til ástar við guð. Svá ok hinn, er áðr er heitr í ást til skapara síns, náir eigi at kólna í ástleysis frosti undir þessum mötli ...

716/1-4:

> ... þessi heilagi mottull worrar frv myskunnar er meiri ok widari enn allr heimrinn, weitandi skiol ollu mannkyni. Sa maðr, sem frosinn er af kulda astleysis wid gud, hyli sig med honum, ath hann megi hitna til guds kærleiks ...

For a Provençal analogue for this miracle see J. Ulrich "Miracles de Notre Dame en provençal", Romania 8 (1879), 23 (X) (cf. F.J. Child, Ibid., Mélanges III, 428). The figure of Mary's "mantle of mercy" is unknown before the thirteenth century, and makes its first appearance in Caesarius of Heisterbach's Dialogus miraculorum (written c. 1220-1230). See P. Perdrizet, La Vierge de Miséricorde (Paris, 1908), ch.2, and passim. Perdrizet points out that although the image originates in a Cistercian milieu, it was quickly appropriated by other orders. See too J. Seibert, "Schutzmantelschaft", Lexikon für christlichen Ikonographie, 4.Bd., 128-133 and bibliography.

22. Thóm. II, I, 336/17-21:

> ... sakir úhlýðni ok harðleika hjartans ... varla gefr hann sik liðugan at hafa nokkurt samtal með sendiboðum, þótt

þeir umleiti með góðvild ok friðsemi at bræða þann harðyðgisjökul sem hann berr í sínu brjósti til Thómam erkibyskups.

cf. Ísl Æv. XLII, 130-133:

... því nálgaz hans hjarta. vitjan drottins er engan mann vill fyrirláta ... ok línaz nú hans brjóst ok þíðiz jökullinn, þvíat heilags anda miskunnsemi er til komin.

23. Lilja, st. 78, Skjd B II, 410:

Festiz opt í fjúki lasta
frost ágirni mér í brjósti

Ibid., st. 81, Skjd B II, 411:

Laust aldrigi lát mik, Kriste,
lasta-vinds í bylja-kasti,
typta mitt ok tem sem optast
tendrat brjóst með líknarvendi,
svá at grátandi fúss at fótum,
faðir skínandi, krjúpa ek þínum
hvert þat sinn, er ek kulda kenni
kostalauss af glæpa-frosti.

cf. "Rósa", st. 7, ÍM I, 7 (cit. Schottmann, Die isländische Mariendichtung, 134):

DRottenn gef þu af dyrdar mætti
dygdar brunn j hiarttans bygder
þann eR allann þida kunne
þela inn forna synda minna

24. The greater part of this sermon would appear to be a much expanded reworking of Gregory's interpretation of Ezekiel's vision of the tetramorphic beast (Ez. 1:4-28; Hom. in Ez. I. 4, PL 76, 815f; cf. Moralia XXXI. 47,94, PL 76,625. See Vrátný, ANF 32 [1916], 44; Erik Gunnes, 166. A similar reworking of Gregory I. 4 in Ez. is found in the early MHG homiliary Speculum Ecclesiae [c. 1150], ed. G. Mellbourn [Lund/Copenhagen, 1944], 117/32-122/25, "De euangelistis".) Gunnes notes that the sources for the final section, "den moralske anvendelse på tilhørerne", are unknown. This part of the sermon too, however, may well have been inspired by Gregory's discussion of the moral significance of the four beasts (see PL 76,815C-816A, "Omnis etenim electus atque in via Dei perfectus, et homo, et vitulus, et leo simul et aquila est [etc.]"), and similar (though far less elaborate) tropological readings are provided by, e.g., Smaragdus (Collectiones, "Dominica Oct. Pentecostes" on Rev. 4, PL 102,333B), Haymo of Auxerre (in Apoc., PL 117,1010B-C), and Bruno of Segni (Sententiæ, IV. 12, "In Ascensione Domini", PL 165, 1013D-1014A). The rest of the Scandinavian homilist's moral excursus on the ox, for instance, is not unlike any of the moral treatments of the ox presented by these Latin authors:

Sthom. 182/16-18 (Nhom. 50/8-10): Svasem faorþom seófþr oxe mercþe crist píNdan. sva merker nú siá oxe licams meínláte ór þao es vér møþom oss fyrer synþer órar.	Gregory (PL 76,815D): ...Et quoniam semetipsum ab hujus mundi voluptate mortificat, vitulus est. Smaragdus: ... Secundum moralem vero sensum ... vitulus misericordes in Ecclesia ...

> Haymo: ... Designantur etiam per hæc animalia omnes sancti, nam unusquisque electus ... in quantum se mortificat cum vitiis et concupiscentiis vitulus.
> Bruno: ... [Christus] habuit similitudinem vituli, quia erat sacerdotalis hostia, in cruce velut vitulus hostia moriendo ... Nos ergo ... portemus imaginem cœlestis hominis ... ut ... in vitiis velut vituli moriamur ...

The corresponding passage in Speculum Ecclesiae (119/22-23) reads, "... Der auer sich selben tôdet uon der unreinen gelust dirre werlde, der ist ein salic man ..."; as Mellbourn notes (192, ad loc.), "Der Bearbeiter hat sich offenbar vor dem lat. vitulus, das hier übersetzt werden sollte, gescheut." (Cf., however, 119/29ff., "Wan ein îegelich gotes erwelter ... von dem opphere siner arbeit wirt ein rint [etc.] so mac uon rehte ein îegelich durnahter man zŏ den uieren euangelisten gebenmazzet sîn.")

25. "The Plowshare of the Tongue ...", 268ff.

26. Cf., too, Hom. in Ez., I. 2, PL 76,796C. The ploughing metaphor was especially well suited to accounts of missionary work. See, e.g., Gregory of Tours, Historia Francorum IX. 39 (ed. B. Krusch and R. Buchner [Darmstadt, 1955-56; rpt. 1967], II, 298/6-9):

> ... cum pius rerum arbiter tales in hereditate culturae ecclesiasticae personas ubique dissiminat, quibus agrum eius intenta operatione fidei rastro colentibus, ad filicem centini numeri reditum divina temperiae Christi seges valeat pervenire.

and Willibald, Vita Bonifatii, cap. 5 (ed. R. Rau [Darmstadt, 1968], 482/22-26):

> ... tum etiam ... a beatissimo pape ad inspiciendos inmanissimos Germaniae populos directus est, ut, an inculta cordium arva euangelico arata vomere

praedicationis recipere semen voluissent, consideraret.

A late witness to the longstanding popularity of the metaphor is Hugh Latimer's remarkable Sermon of the Plough (1549).

For further examples of the phrase ager cordis/pectoris see Blaise, s.v. II. ager, 1, and Gregory, Moralia, II. 46. 73, PL 75, 589D; Caesarius of Arles, CCSL 103,317 [304/4]; 336 [321/33]; 518 [496/14].

27. Cf. Jóns s. post. IV, Post. 472/36-37, "... þessi blezaðr vingarðs fágari hifnakongsins ..."

28. See Davíð Erlingsson, Blómað Mál í Rímunum, 80-82 on the use of plógur as a base-word in nafnorðsaukningar.

With the compound hugskotsjǫrð cf., e.g., Jóns s. helga B, Bisk. I. 219/11 hjartans akr (cit. below,431, n.30); Pétrs s. post. I, Post. 78/29 ekra andanna (cit. p. 406); 'Arni Jónsson, Guðmundardrápa st. 1, Skjd A II, 412, sædis iord ad sannleiks ordi.

In skaldic poetry base-words meaning "land" are often employed in kennings for "breast", "heart", "mind", etc. (see R. Meissner, Die Kenningar der Skalden [1921], 135-136; Lexicon Poeticum, s.v. sefrein [Eilífr Goðrúnarson, fl. c. 1000, Skjd A I, 148,1], geðrein [Hofgerðarefr Gestsson, eleventh century, Skjd A I, 320,3.1], hugar land [Máriuvísur III, fourteenth century, Skjd A I, 496,2]; Skáldskaparmál, k. 68[70], ed. Finnur Jónsson [Kbh., 1931], 146, "Brjóst skal svá kenna, at kalla ... eljunar land, hugar ok minnis" [F.J. notes that the passage is "vistnok et senere tillæg"]). In some cases, however, such compounds would appear to be used more in imitation of the Christian metaphor of the "earth of the heart".

Cf. esp. Líknarbraut, 5 (Skjd A II, 151),

> Dreifdu láds ok lofda
> lífstýrerr mer dýru
> leýfdar k[e]ndr í lýndiss
> lád himnesku sáde

and even, perhaps, the use of the phrase iarðir geðs at Merlínússpá II. 82 (Skjd A II, 33, cit. below, p. 445).

29. Cf. Matt. 13: 19-23. References to preaching as the sowing of the gospel seed also figure in the Epistles (1 Cor. 9:11, 1 Pet. 1:23, 1 John 3:9). Cf., e.g., Eucherius of Lyons, Formulae, CSEL 31, 15/4, "Semen. diuina praedicatio"; Garnier de Rochefort, Allegoriae, PL 112, 950D, s.v. herbae; Ibid., s.v. semen, "sancta prædicatio"; Alan of Lille, Distinctiones, PL 210, 940A-B, semen: "verbum Dei", seminare: "praedicare".

Perhaps the most striking illustration of the deep and lasting impression made by this image on the Christian consciousness is provided by the history of the word seminiverbius, first used of Saint Paul at Acts 17: 18 in the purely derogatory sense, "babbler, mountebank":

> ...Quidam autem epicurei et stoici philosophi disserebant cum eo, et quidam dicebant: Quid vult seminiverbius hic dicere? Alii vero: Novorum daemoniorum videtur annuntiator esse: quia Iesum et resurrectionem annuntiabat eis.

(The word is a calk of the Greek σπερμολόγος. See Liddell and Scott, s.v. III, "as subst. one who picks up and retails scraps of knowledge, an idle babbler, gossip" [Demosthenes; N.T.]; Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament III, 608/22ff.; IV, 850/19ff.; IX, 184/22ff.; Kaulen, Sprachliches Handbuch zur biblischen Vulgata, 98; Forcellini, s.v. seminiverbius, n.2, "qui verba hac illac serit, loquax aut vaniloquus, nugator"; A. Souter, A Glossary of Later Latin to 600 A.D. [Oxford, 1949], s.v., "babbler".) Christian commentators had no difficulty, however, in demonstrating the sublime significance of the insult. Cf. Augustine, sermo 150 (PL 38, 808A; cit. Glossa Ordinaria, PL 114, 460B),

> Legimus Paulum apostolum dictum fuisse seminatorem verborum, quod dictum est ab irridentibus, sed non respuendum a creden-

> tibus; erat quippe seminator verborum, sed messor morum. Et nos, licet parvuli, nec illi comparandi in agro Dei (quod est cor vestrum) seminamus verbum Dei, exspectantes uberem frugem, vel fructum de moribus vestris.

Cassiodorus, Complexiones in Actus Apostolorum (PL 70, 1395D),

> ...quem alii seminiverbium, alii novorum dæmoniorum prædicatorem esse dicebant. Tunc prudentes, Paulo in medio constituto, desiderabant audire doctrinam quam longe lateque seminabat.

By Gregory the Great's day the word would appear to have lost all trace of its original meaning (Regula pastoralis II. 4, PL 77, 32A):

> ...In mente quippe audientium semen secuturæ cogitationis est auditæ qualitas locutionis, quia dum per aurem sermo concipitur, cogitatio in mente generatur. Unde et ab hujus mundi sapientibus prædicator egregius seminiverbius est vocatus...

In Medieval Latin, seminiverbius is regularly used as a synonym for "an outstanding orator", "a preacher". See, e.g., Radbod of Utrecht († c.917), Vita Bonifatii (ed. W. Levison [Hannoverae/ Lipsiae, 1905], 68/ 27-28), "...Hos remotos a ceteris nationibus ideoque brutos ac barbaros celestis seminiverbius adiit..."; cf. Niermeyer, s.v. seminiverbius, "grand discoureur, big orator [!]"; Latham, Revised Medieval Latin Word-List, s.v., c. 900, 1090, 1345, "preacher"; and, for further examples, Du Cange, s.v., "Concionator".

King Alfred translates the passage from Gregory's Regula Pastoralis cited above (E.E.T.S., O.S. 45, 50, 97/3-4),

> Forðæm heton woroldwise menn wordsawere ðone æðelan lareow Paulus...

I have not been able to find a similar loan-translation of seminiverbius in OWN; but the paraphrase of Acts 17:18 in Páls s. post.I (Post. 221/18-22, cit. Kirby, Biblical Quotation, I, 346) suggests that the author of that work at least was unfamiliar with

the original pejorative connotation of the word:

> ...En spekingar þrętto i gegn oc matto eigi sigr vega a honom oc undruþoz mełsco hans oc melto meþ ser: "Hvað þegna er sia enn orþføri maþr, er oss boþar ny unndr?" En þat undroþoz þeir mest i kenningom hans, er hann boþaþi Jesum Cristum oc upriso dauþra manna.

Cf. perhaps Barl. 95/28-31 (Ps. Ioh. Dam. 68/9-11):

...Hæyrir þu Zardan fiolmæle oc malstnilld þessa hins gamla karlls. huerssu hann villdi pretta mik ok slœgea með sinum fagrgala. ef hann mætte með sinni stnilld leiða mik oc lokka fra varre sælo oc margfallegom fagnaðe...	...Audisti qualia mihi seminator uerborum iste dixit, seducere me uanis suis moliens persuasionibus, et alienare a iucunda ista delectatione et refrigerio, et extraneo seruire deo?

The Icelandic biblical translators of the Reformation emphasize the negative sense of the word: Oddur Gottskálksson (1540, Acts 17:18), "...ok sumer søgdu/ Huad vill þesse Ordsnapr tilseigia?" (same reading in Guðbrandsbiblía [1584] and in Guðbrandur Þorláksson's revised New Testament of 1609; see Jón Helgason, Málið á Nýja Testamenti Odds Gottskálkssonar [1929], 329; Blöndal, s.v. ordsnápur, "Ordgyder"; cf. Luther [1522], "Was will dieser Lotterbube sagen?")

30. Cf. Barl. 5/26-29 (Ps. Ioh. Dam. 3/29-33), 193/13-16 (Ps. Ioh. Dam. 123/36-38); Den store saga om Olav den Hellige, 747/32 frjóligt sáð heilagra guðs orða; Jóns s. helga B, Bisk. I, 219/10-12, "...hversu þat sáðkorn fagrliga plantaðist í hjartans akri, sem hann hafði nægliga í sáð meðr sínum ágætum kenningum ok fagrligum dæmum..."; Líknarbraut st. 5, himneskt sáð (see F. Paasche, Hedenskap og Kristendom [Oslo, 1948], 161); Arngrímr Brandsson, Guðmundardrápa st.15 trúar sæði.

With the "heavenly seed" one can contrast the seeds of malice,

fear, dearth and discord:

Barl. 160/7-8:
Sa anndskote er alla hatar rettvisa menn. oc sær iafnan illzkufullv fræo [var. illzsku freo]...

Ps. Ioh. Dam. 103/34:
Seminator autem maliciæ et iustorum inimicus...

Antonius s. HMS I, 79/30-31:
Ef þeir finna i varvm briostvm nockvrtt sað hræzlv eða illra hvgrenninga...

PL 73, 145D:
...si quod in pectoribus malæ mentis et pavoris semen invenerint...

Konungs skuggsía 52/32-36:

...Nu æf sva illa bæRr æinu hværiu riki til...at morg ero kononga æfni...ma þat naliga virðaz sæm tynnt riki. þvi at þat er þa saet mæð hino mæsta o arans fræ. oc ufriðar korni...

Cf. references to the "rooting" of sin in the heart:

Nhom. 25/14-19:
ATta ero hofuð-læstir ok upphaf allra synda. Af þæim spretta upp sem af rotom aller læstir...Af þæim hofum vér raðet at sægia noccora luti. ok hværir cvistir last-fulrar grøðingar synaz vaxa af hværingi rotom. at hværr viti sic auðvællegar mega af sniða limar at undan hoggnom rotom...

Alc. VV, PL 101, 632D-633A:
Octo sunt vitia principalia vel originalia omnium virtutum, ex quibus quasi radicibus, omnia pullulant...De quibus pauca dicere ratum duximus; vel ex quibus radicibus qui rami vitiosæ germinationis crescere videantur; ut sciat unusquisque radicibus extirpatis, facilius ramos præcidere posse...

Nhom. 29/1-2:
Ef þess lastar rot væx. þa synaz gróa marger ilzcu limar.
cf. AM 685d 4to, ed. Widding, Ed. Arn. A. 4 (1960), 128/3 lastar rot...ilzskv kvister; AM 688a 4to, Ibid., 128/19-20, hatar Rot... jllzskurv (!) limar.

Ibid., 635D:
Ex cujus vitii radice multi malitiæ germinare videntur ramusculi...

Nhom. 148/28-29:	cf. Un Samedi Par Nuit,B,33-34:
Oll u-trú hafðe fæst rǫtr í	Tu rachinas en toi
brioste þino.	Toute mauvaise loi.

(The image is prompted by a reference to the sin of avarice, radix omnium malorum -- 1 Tim. 6:10, cf. Kirby, I. 385.)

Barl. 86/34-35:	Ps. Ioh. Dam. 65/12:
...verða þeir bratt i syndum	Qui enim malitiæ seruiunt,
rotfaster...	radicitus ei inhærent...

(cf. Barl. 86/9-12, Ps. Ioh. Dam. 64/13-15)

For examples of the related image of the "uprooting of vices" see below, pp.538,551,n2.Cf., e.g., Árni Jónsson, Guðmundardrápa, st. 1 (Skjd A II, 412):

> Almättugr sie dyrdar drotten
> dyggr oc byartr i mynu hiarta
> upp slytandi oll med rötum
> illsku klungr er þat hafa stungid

31. See Meissner, Die Kenningar der Skalden (Bonn/ Leipzig, 1921), 427; Kock, Notationes Norrœnæ §441 (who points out that Finnur Jónsson, in fact, gives the correct reading "orða sáð grær" at Lexicon Poeticum 206, s.v., gróa); Frank, Old Norse Court Poetry: The Dróttkvætt Stanza. Islandica 42 (Ithaca/ London, 1978), 96-97, and "Snorri and the mead of poetry", Speculum Norrœnum (Odense, 1981), 163. Frank goes a step further in arguing that Snorri's interpretation of Són as a vat-name is unreliable. She translates the stanza (Speculum Norrœnum, 163), "You must -- since the seed of words grows on my mind-land of reconciliation [sefrein sónar] concerning the illustrious man -- govern friendly gifts".

32. See the verse, "Setbergs kveða sitja/ sunnr at Urðarbrunni...", and discussions by F. Ohrt, "Sunnr at Urðarbrunni", APhS 12 (1937-38), 91-101; Lange, Studien, 53-57; G.W. Weber, "Die Christus-Strophe des Eilífr Goðrúnarson", ZfdA 99 (1970), 87-90. On Christian influence on the work of the poets of the Earls of Hlaðir in the late tenth

century see Kurt Schier, "Zur Mythologie der Snorra Edda: Einige Quellenprobleme", Speculum Norrœnum, 405-420.

33. See, e.g., Rabanus Maurus on Deut. 32:1-2 (PL 108, 969A), "Eloquium legis Dei comparat pluviæ attritæ ac rori, quia germina spiritalium fructuum a fidelium cordibus expetit..." (cf. Caesarius of Arles, sermo 1, CCSL 103, 12-13 [14/28 - 15/12]; sermo 118, 488-489 [467/10-33]); Rabanus, De Universo, XI. 19, "De rore", PL 111, 328D, "...Stillæ autem roris Christi sancti prædicatores sunt, qui arva pectoris nostri inter mala vitæ præsentis, quasi inter tenebras siccæ noctis arentia, gratia supernæ largitatis perfundunt"; Gregory, Moralia 16.51 (PL 76, 1151C) on Job 24:8, "...Imbres montium sunt verba doctorum..."; Moralia 20. 2 (PL 76, 136D -137C) on Job 29: 22-23, "...In hac stillatione eloquii quid aliud quam mensura sanctæ prædicationis accipitur?...Verba quippe sanctæ prædicationis sicut pluviam sustinemus, cum vera humilitate ariditatem nostri cordis agnoscimus, ut potu sanctæ prædicationis irrigemur"; Ps.-Haymo of Halberstadt (recte Remigius of Auxerre; see Glorieux, Pour Réval-oriser Migne, 57) on Isaiah 55: 10-11 (PL 116, 1005A), "...Allegoriæ autem per imbrem possumus intelligere Evangelicam doctrinam, quæ a nubibus, id est ab apostolis, venit super corda arida terrenorum hominum, et suo rore fecundavit, ut fructus justitiæ et virtutum proferrent"; Distinctiones Monasticæ, ed. Pitra, Spicilegium Soles-mense, II, 90-92, s.v. Ros: Verbum Dei, gratia spiritualis, doctrina; III, 473/40ff., s.v. Imber: Prædicatio, sacra doctrina, gratia spiritus; III, 482/21ff., s.v. Pluvia: sacra doctrina, Dei miseri-cordia, gratia Dei. Cf. also Manz 428, imber/ pluviae benedictionis; 862-64, ros benedictionis/ misericordiae/ pietatis/ refrigerii. See also J.E. Cross, "The Metrical Epilogue to the Old English Version of Gregory's Cura Pastoralis", NM 70 (1969), 381-386, on scriptural water-imagery in general.

34. The sources of this sermon have not yet been adequately investigated. Karel Vrátný (ANF 33 [1917], 149) proposed the emendation of grátsens

at Sthom. 112/27 (by analogy with 112/24, goþra verka gras), and suggested that the whole passage was a paraphrase of part of Gregory's twentieth gospel homily (assigned in PD [I. 13] to the Ember Friday before Christmas, PL 76, 1161C-D):

> ...Omnis enim vallis implebitur, quia corda humilium sacræ doctrinæ eloquio virtutum gratia replebuntur, juxta hoc quod scriptum est: "Qui emittit fontes in convallibus" [Ps. 103: 10]. Et unde rursus dicitur: "Et convalles abundabunt frumento" [Ps. 64: 14]. A montibus namque aqua dilabitur; quia superbas mentes veritatis doctrina deserit. Sed fontes in convallibus surgunt, quia mentes humilium verbum prædicationis accipiunt. Jam videmus, jam convalles frumento abundare conspicimus, quia illorum ora pabulo veritatis impleta sunt qui mites ac simplices huic mundo despicabiles esse videbantur.

Hans Bekker-Nielsen later questioned the accuracy of this identification ("Et overset brudstykke af en af Gregor den Stores homilier", Bibl. Arn. XXV. 1 [1961], 38-39), pointing out that the Psalm-verses cited by Gregory are omitted altogether by the Scandinavian homilist, and that "hvis den 20. homilie skal være kilden, maa den islandske gengivelse siges at være parafraseret indtil ukendelighed". If one assumes, however, that the Icelandic homilist simply recalls the Gregorian passage here, rather than translates directly from a written text, the omission of the Psalm-verses is not so surprising. (They are also missing from Ælfric of Eynsham's paraphrase of the same passage, CH I. 362/18-26; see Förster, Anglia 16 [1894], 56; Smetana, Traditio 15 [1959], 190-191.) And it does not seem unlikely that the imagery employed by the Icelandic homilist could have sprung from a reminiscence of Gregory's interpretation of the water which runs off the mountains but collects in the valleys as the verbum prædicationis which is rejected by the proud but received by the

humble. Gregory himself, of course, works within an exegetical tradition. Cf., e.g., Caesarius of Arles, sermo 77 (CCSL 103, 321 [307/ 17-25]):

> ...benedictio enim, quae vobis datur ros et pluvia caelestis esse cognoscitur. Sic enim et Moyses ait: EXPECTETUR SICUT PLUVIA ELOQUIUM MEUM, ET SICUT ROS VERBA MEA [Deut. 32:2]. Et optime nostis, fratres, quia pluvia si montem nimis erectum invenerit, cito in vallem decurrit. Et ideo qui se ad accipiendam benedictionem humiliter inclinantes quasi valles faciunt, ipsi pluviam divinae benedictionis accipiunt; et impletur in eis illud quod scriptum est: OMNIS VALLIS IMPLEBITUR, ET OMNIS MONS ET COLLIS HUMILIABITUR...

Unfortunately, the text of the OWN translation of Gregory 20 in Ev. now preserved fragmentarily in AM 238 fol. XVIII begins after the passage cited by Vrátný. (The fragment does, however, contain some other interesting "irrigation" metaphors; cf. Bekker-Nielsen, "Et overset brudstykke...", 46/ 11-17 and PL 76, 1166C: flod heilagrar kenningar/ fluenta sanctæ prædicationis; læki heilagra ritninga/ doctrinæ rivi.)

35. This comparison is part of a commentary on Isaiah 60:8 (Qui sunt isti, qui ut nubes volant...?) taken from Gregory's fifth gospel homily (see below, pp. 693-4). Here, the Icelandic homilist expands Gregory's terse metaphor, "Vidit [Isaias prædicatores sanctos] verbis pluere" (PL 76, 1094C), into a more elaborate simile. With this fuller interpretation of nubes cf., e.g., Rupert of Deutz, in Is., (PL 167, 1347A), "Ipsi volant ut nubes...pluviam salutaris doctrinæ portantes", and Godfrey of Admont, Hom. 43, "In festem ss. apost. Philippi et Jacobi" (PL 174, 843A-B):

> ...Nubes enim...aquam in se continet...aquam...emisit, cum doctrinæ salutaris fluenta aridæ terræ infudit... Cumque ab...altitudine nubes illa volans aliquantulum se dimisit, tam salutaris doctrinæ fluenta effudit, per quæ arida infidelium corda irrigavit, et ad proferendos

bonorum operum fructus indesinenter provocavit.

(cf. Ibid., 844B).

36. Cf., e.g., Tveggja Postola s. Jóns ok Jacobs, Post. 637/ 17-23:

> ...Ewangelium Johannis er einn brunnr af þeim .iiii., er upp spretta i paradiso ok dauggva allan skoginn með lystiligri framrás ok blomga iorðina til ymisligs ævaxtar. Sennilega doggvar vatn Johannis sialfa paradisum, þat er at skilia æsionu heilagrar cristni, er fagrliga blomgaz i hans kenningum með freosaumum elldi valdra manna guðs i himinriki...

The association of the evangelists with the four rivers of paradise is, of course, traditional. See, e.g., Rabanus Maurus, in Gen. (PL 107, 479C), "...allegorice quatuor paradisi flumina, quatuor sunt Evangelia ad prædicationem cunctis gentibus missa"; in Eccl. (PL 109, 942D), "...Quod autem quatuor flumina paradisi ex uno fonte procedentia assimilat sapientia regi, qui ex David ortus est, significat ex Domino nostro Jesu Christo...quatuor Evangelia procedere: quæ totam terram prædicatione sua irrigant, ut credentes Christo multiplices virtutum fructus germinare faciunt..."; De Universo XI. 10, "De fluminibus" (PL 111, 319A, 320Bff.). See also P.A. Underwood, "The Fountain of Life in Manuscripts of the Gospels", Dumbarton Oaks Papers 5 (Cambridge, Mass., 1950), 72-73.

37. Cf., on Luke 8:6, Bede PL 92, 439B (= Smaragdus, PL 102, 110A):

> ...Hoc est autem humor ad radicem seminis quod juxta aliam parabolam, oleum ad lampades virginum nutriendas, id est, amor et perseverantia virtutis.

Glossa Ordinaria, PL 114, 273B:

> Petra indomitum cor nullo veræ fidei vomere penetratum, in quo non est verus amor et perseverantiæ virtus.

38. The passage is part of a discussion of the figurative significance

of the principal events of the third age of the world. (This section is included in the earliest version of Veraldar saga preserved in AM 655 4to VII-VIII, c. 1200.) James Marchand ("The Allegories in the ON Veraldar saga", Michigan Germanic Studies 1 [1975], 111-112) notes that "no one has been able to find a single source for the Norse version" although "none of the individual allegorical interpretations is difficult to trace" (he names no sources for individual passages himself). On Judges 6: 36ff. see, e.g., Augustine, Quaestiones in Heptateuchum; Iud. 49.9 (CCSL 33, 363/ 1028-34 = Glossa Ordinaria, PL 113, 527A-B):

> ...in conpluto scilicet uellere et area tota circumquaque sicca figurare primum populum Israhel, ubi erant sancti cum gratia caelesti tamquam pluuia spiritali; et postea conpluta area, sicco uellere figurare ecclesiam Dei toto orbe diffusam, habentem non in uellere tamquam in uelamine sed in aperto caelestem gratiam illo priore populo uelut ab eiusdem gratiae rore alienato atque siccato...

Similar interpretations are given by Isidore (PL 83, 382D-383A), Caesarius of Arles (CCSL 103, 488-489 467/[12-22]), Bede (PL 93, 424D-425A), and Rabanus Maurus (PL 108, 1159C-D).

39. Cf. the use of similar imagery at Stjórn 26/ 12-18 (De Genesi contra Manichæos I. 23, PL 34, 191A).

The "spiritual fountain" is also, of course, a commonplace figure in OWN religious literature. It is used more often, however, as a baptismal than as an agrarian metaphor. Cf., e.g.,

crists brunnr: Sthom. 80/ 3 (Nhom. 59/ 2; Ps. Aug. 135, PL 39, 2012D, Christi unda); cf. Jóns s. post. IV, Post. 483/ 1, brunnr hins blezaða Jesu.

lífs brunnr/ kelda/ æðr (fons vitae, cf. Ps. 35: 10, Prov. 13: 14, 14: 27, 16: 22, Manz 371; John 7:38 flumina aquae vivae): Sthom.124/30

(Messuskýringar, 49/13) bruþr lífs (cf. Honorius, Gemma Animae, I. 99, PL 172, 576B, fons vitæ); Leifar 158/25-26, "...með henni var sjálfr lífs brunnr, svo at af þeim brunni flýtr algjorningr alls lífs..." (Ps. Anselm, Hom. 9, PL 158, 649A, "...apud eam, imo intra eam erat fons vitæ, de quo manabat cuncta perfectio utriusque vitæ"); Barl. 84/10, "af sannre lífs æð sem lífs kellda" (Ps. Ioh. Dam. 61/9, "de uera uita fons uiuificans"); Michaels s., HMS I, 710/29, lifskellda Michaelis; Jóns s. post. IV, Post. 466/35, lifs-brunnr; Mar. 274/2-3, "lifæðr, fram rennande af brunni giøzkunnar með gnógleik milldinnar"; Heilags anda vísur, st. 2, lífs brunnr, st. 12, eilífr brunnr ok heilagr (cf. "Veni creator spiritus", st. 2, Fons vivus); Pétrsdrápa, st. 40, lífs brunnr, Lilja, st. 25, lifandi brunnr; Mariudrápa, st. 10, brunnr eilífrar heilsu.

miskunnarbrunnr/ brunnr milldi/ líknar brunnr. Surprisingly, Ernst Walter (Lex. Lehn., 123) includes the compound miskunnarbrunnr among his examples of "singuläre Bildungen" employed by the early translator of Gregory's homilies which "ohne Nachfolge geblieben sind". With Leifar 79/31 (Gr. 33, PL 76, 1239D fons misericordiae), cf. Sthom. 47/5 bruþr miscuNar; Leifar 158/23-24, "...hún fylldiz af brunne miskunnar hans ok drack af forsjo vilja hans..." (Ps. Anselm, Hom. 9, PL 158, 649A, "Inebriabatur ab ubertate domus Dei, et torrente voluptatis ejus potabatur"; cf. Ps. 35:9); Antonius s., HMS I, 74/36, brvnnr miskvnnar ok vpprás allz rettlætis (Vitae Patrum, PL 73, 142D fons et origo lætitiæ); Barl. 118/32, brunnr eilifr fullr fliotannde miskunnar (Ps. Ioh. Dam. 81/15, fons immortalitatis); Mar. 21/13 miskunnar brunnr, 417/33 brunnr milldi ok miskunnar, 1101/5 brunnr milldi (cf. Vincent of Beauvais, Spec. Hist., XXI. 70, 840b, fons benignitatis), 419/10 milldibrunnr, 1101/31 myskunnarbrunnr (cf.

Vincent of Beauvais, Ibid., 840b, fons misericordiæ), 628/4 liknar æðr ok brvðr miskvnnar, 1048/3-4 liknarbrunnr myskunnarinnar, 1061/27 hialparæðr fvll miskunnar; Heilags anda vísur st. 8, brunnr miskunnar; 'Arngrímr ábóti Brandsson, Guðmundar drápa st. 59, miskunnar fullr hjartans brunnr; Lilja st. 28, fullr miskunnar sætr brunnr, st. 89 líknar æðr; 'Arni Jónsson ábóti, Guðmundar drápa st. 28 líknar æðr; Heilagra meyja drápa st. 15, líknar brunnr. On the fountain as a Marian metaphor see further Anselm Salzer, Die Sinnbilder und Beiworte Mariens, 9/13ff., 71/5ff., 322/35ff., 520/8ff., 569/15ff.; Maj-Britt Wadell, Fons Pietatis. Eine Ikonographische Studie (Göteborg, 1969), passim; Schottmann, Die isländische Mariendichtung, 52f., 57, 61.

skírnar brunnr (cf. Manz 367 fons lavacri/ baptismatis): Sthom. 26/36, 79/30 (Nhom. 58/30; Ps. Aug. 135, PL 39, 2012D, fons), 102/32, 34 (Nhom. 99/25, 27).

spektar brunnr: Konungs skuggsiá 95/3 u þrotlegr spæctar brunnr (Ibid., 92/36 indeficiens fons sapiencie).

sætleiksbruðr: Elucidarius (cit. Salvesen, Studies, 35; Lefèvre, 469/27, fons suavitatis).

tára brunnr (cf. Manz 363, flumina lacrimarum): Nhom. 99/26, 143/6-7 (Leifar 167/16) "ræinsum ós í tara brvnni af synda sauri" (cf. Gregory 34 in Ev., PL 76, 1255D - 1256A, "...manu pænitentiæ tergamus maculas pulveris nostri..."); Jóns s. post. III, Post. 451/27.

brunnr viðcomnengar: Nhom. 9/22 (Alcuin VV, PL 101, 620D, fons compunctionis).

vísdoms brunnr (cf. Baruch 3:12, fons sapientiæ): Nhom. 153/11, "...þu visdóms brvnnr..." (Un Samedi Par Nuit, P996, "...tu, qui es

tant sage..."); cf. Heilags anda vísur, st. 16, vits brunnr; Arngrímr ábóti Brandsson, Guðmundar drápa, st. 50, spektar brunnr.

Anne Holtsmark has suggested that the names Urðarbrunnr and Mímisbrunnr may have been styled after Christian metaphors like lífs brunnr and spektar brunnr (Studier i Snorres Mytologi [1964], 45ff.).

40. Den tredje og fjærde grammatiske afhandling i Snorres Edda, ed. B.M. Olsen, STUAGNL 12 (1884), IV. 22, s.v. "emophasis" (cf. Alexander de Villa-Dei, Doctrinale, ed., D. Reichling [1893], 2627-29, homophesis), 145/22 - 146/9. Olsen (xliii-xliv, 289-290) attributes the verse cited and discussed here ("Sæll er sénn í milli", Skjd A II, 165, 13) to the fourth grammarian himself. The stanza presents difficulties of interpretation, but can be roughly paraphrased, "The blessed king of heaven (sæll mánaranns mildingr) was seen between two beasts of uprightness (siðvendis kvikendi) when he was born into this world (hingat), or when sea-deep to sea-deep loudly proclaimed the concord (þá's dorgtúns djúp vátta hátt samþykkit at djúpi) through the lofty sound-holes of heaven (um hávar hljóðrauvar niða borgar)". (I follow the reading of the second quatrain proposed by Olsen [290, n.5] and Ernst Kock [Not. Norr. §1410] rather than that of Finnur Jónsson [Skjd B II, 183].)

As Olsen remarks (289), "For rigtig at forstå verset må man læse forfatterens egen prosaiske kommentar". This begins (145/9-21),

> ...her erv orð abbacuch spamannz, þav er hann seger guð drottin sienn milli siðuendis kvikenda ok i þenna heim komanda, sett í hinn fyRa visv helming, enn glosa yfversett, sv er david seger vnderdivp vatnanna kallar á annat vnderdivp vm þær himinborvr sem katarakte kallaz ok opnvðvz, er noafloð drektí ǫllum heími vtan þeim monnvm sem íorkinni varo. En til þess at þenna myrkleik megi skilia seger avgvstinus, at spamaðrinn sáá fyrer, at guð mvndi holldgaz, ok var sienn milli tveggia kvikenda vxa ok asna, er merkia ivða ok

> heiðingia, í milli moysi ok helie imyndskiptingv værs herra áá fiallínv, ok milli tveggıa latrona með ser krossfestvm, ok at lyktum millvm tveggia lǫgmæla...

Olsen (145n.) confesses that he is unable to find the citation from Habakkuk in the Vulgate, but points out that Habakkuk 3:10 (...dedit abyssus vocem suam...) may well have prompted an association with Ps. 41:8. In fact, the verse referred to is the Old Latin version of Habakkuk 3:2, In medio duorum animalium cognosceris.... And the interpretation of this text is probably taken from the Pseudo-Augustinian sermon "Contra Iudaeos, Paganos et Arianos", now included among the works of Quodvultdeus of Carthage (see Clavis Patrum 404). Quodvultdeus takes the words of the minor prophet in conjunction with those of Isaiah (1:3), "The ox knoweth his owner, and the ass his master's crib", as a prophecy of the Christ-child in praesepio ("Contra Iudaeos", XIII, 5-8, CCSL 60, 243-244 [13/16-29], PL 42, 1124C-D):

> ...dic et tu, Ambacum propheta, testimonium Christo. Domine, inquit, audiui auditum tuum, et timui; consideraui opera tua, deus, et expaui. Quae opera dei iste miratus expauit? Numquid fabricam mundi iste expauit? Absit. Sed audi ad quid expauit. In medio, inquit, duum animalium cognosceris. Opera tua, deus, uerbum caro factum. In medio duum animalium cognosceris. Quis, quousque descendisti? Expauescere me fecisti: Verbum, per quod facta sunt omnia, in praesepe iacuisti. Agnouit bos possessorem suum, et asinus praesepium domini sui. In medio duum animalium cognosceris. Quid est "in medio duum animalium cognosceris", nisi aut in medio duorum testamentorum aut in medio duorum latronum aut in medio Moysi et Heliae cum eo in monte sermocinantium?

Quodvultdeus, in turn, draws on Augustine, De Civitate Dei, 18.32, CCSL 47, 623/32, 5-8; cf. also Ps. Haymo of Halberstadt (Remigius of Auxerre? - see Glorieux, Pour Révaloriser Migne, 57), PL 117, 188D; Rupert of Deutz, PL 168, 629B; Cornelius a Lapide, Commentarii, Tom.7 (Paris, 1866), 553-555. With the fourth grammarian's additional interpretation of the ox and the ass as the Jews and the Gentiles

cf., e.g., Augustine, Enarrationes in Psalmos, 126:11, CCSL 40, 1865/11, 19-31; Gregory, Moralia I.16.23, CCSL 143, 37/30-38; Haymo (Remigius of Auxerre? - see Glorieux, 57), PL 116, 718D-719A; Hervæus of Déols, PL 181, 21B.

The reference to "leo paví hinn mæl sníálle" which follows in the Icelandic commentary (145/22ff.) may be to the reading of Ps. 41:8 in the sixtieth tractate of Leo the Great ("De Passione Domini", PD I.102, AF I.73, CCSL 138A, 363/7-10):

> ...et sicut scriptum est: Abyssus abyssum inuocat, in uoce cataractarum tuarum, quoniam ad enarrandam gloriam gratiae Dei paribus sibi uocibus utriusque Testamenti altitudo respondet, et quod erat sub uelamine figurarum profundum, fit reuelata luce perspicuum...

But the interpretation of the uox cataractarum as the teachings of the prophets and apostles must come from some other source. See, e.g, Bruno of Wurzburg († 1045, PL 142, 178C-D):

> Duabus enim abyssis duo Testamenta significantur...quæ se mutua attestatione confirmant, quando Vetus Novum prædicit... Cataractæ prophetæ et apostoli sunt, quia sicut aquarum multitudo per cataractas evomitur, ita de ore ipsorum Domini præcepta manaverunt.

Cf. Bruno the Carthusian († 1101) PL 152, 816B-C; Ps. Haymo (recte Anselm of Laon, see Glorieux, 57) PL 116, 341A-B; Gerhoh of Reichersberg († 1169), PL 193, 1514C-1515A; Peter Lombard, PL 191, 419D.

The Old and New Testaments are also compared to two watercourses in Bergr Sokkason's Nikolaus saga (HMS II, 71/26-33):

> ...honum þickir ser eigi þorf vinna at fylla at eins bodskap logmals hins fyrra, nema enn helldr samtengir hann þar med gudspialliga miskunn iatandi sik samþyckianda hvartveggia testamentum forna ok nyia, at medr tveimr

votnum af einni uppras framrennandum skuli hann vel doggva þurran gard þverrandi truar, sva at eigi optar megi uppsnidnir þyrnar med snorpu iarni milldinnar undirleggia gudligt sædi med illgresi rangrar spillingar.

With these Christian "irrigation" metaphors one might also, perhaps, compare the description in Merlínusspá of the kaupskapar villigalti (the aper commercii) irrigating the "mind-land" of its listeners with its flowing eloquence:

II.82, Skjd A II, 33:

Falla or orða
almæRi vok
dyniandi ár
drottar styris
þær mvnv doggva
dyrar iarðir
geðs i glæstvm
gollor heime
ok þvrrar kverkr
þioðar margrar.

cf. Geoffrey of Monmouth, Historia Regum Britanniae, VII, 4 (al. 115), ed. E. Faral, La légende arthurienne (Paris, 1929) I.3, 195/33-34:

...Ex ore ipsius procedent flumina, quae arentes hominum fauces rigabunt...

Medical Metaphors

Numerous passages in the OWN homilies illustrate the commonplace penitential theme of the "medicine of the soul".[1] The following list includes only some of the more striking examples:

syndasótt/mein

Nhom. 12/10-11 ("Vmm iðran"):

... Umm andar dæuða mælte hann. þann er at bersc fyri synda sott.

Alc. VV 13, "De pœnitentia", PL 101, 622D:

... De morte animæ dixit, quia propter peccatorum ægritudinem eveniet illi.

Nhom. 26/30-33 ("Vmm fe-girni"):

AGirni er mykil girnd at samna æuðøfom. ok haua ok halda. Su sót er u-fylli-leg. sva sem vatn-kalfr.* sa er þvi mæir þystir sem hann dræcr mæira. Sva er oc sin-giarn maðr. þvi flæira sem hann hæfir. þvi flæira girnisc hann.

Alc. VV 30, "De avaritia", PL 101, 634B

Avaritia est nimia divitiarum acquirendi, habendi, vel tenendi cupiditas, quæ pestis inexplebilis est. Sicut hydropicus, qui quanto plus bibet, tanto plus illi sitis accrescit ... sic avaritia quanto magis habet, tanto plus [habere] desiderat.

* cf. AM 685d 4to, vatnbolge, AM 688a 4to, uatz bolgi, ed. O. Widding, Ed. Arn. A,4 (1960), 120/1,18[2]

Nhom. 59/34-35 ("Jn epiphania domini sermo necessaRia"; Sthom. 80/33-35):

... stynr dufo merkir bøner varar. þvi at vér sculum af ællu hiarta calla á guð sva sem styniendr í syndo-sot (Sthom. i sótt) ...[3]

Sthom. 56/26-28:

... møNdom ver þa nióta mega nafneNs þess er váR drótteN á er hann heiter greoþare. þuiat erom vér grødder er æll synþa mein ero af oss teken ...[4]

Sthom. 96/26-27:

... at þeir þoli vel hreinsonar elld þaN es guþ leGr

a heNdr þeim her oc breNer af þeím synþa sótter.

Sthom. 119/37-120/2:

... En eige scal hata. heldr elsca bęþe bermæless menena oc bermælet sialft ... þuiat [þeir ero] læcnar orer. þa es þeir skera synþa veíleNde várT meþ tungo knifenom ...[5]

lækning; syndasár

Nhom. 10/8-9 ("Vmm scriftar-gængu"): Huætr os oft hæilog ritning at fara til læcningar scriptar-gængu varrar ...

Alc.VV,12 "De confessione", PL 101, 621B: Hortatur nos sæpius Scriptura ad medicamentum fugere confessionis ...

Nhom. 10/20-23: Mykil hæillsu-læcníng er æigi at ændr-nyia þat er vér gęrðum ómildlega. ok at særa þau sár er fyrr hofðu gróét.

Ibid.,PL 101, 661C: Magnum est salutis medicamentum non iterare quæ prave gessimus, nec priorum cicatrices vulnerum resauciare.

Nhom. 11/15-16: Scriptar-ganga er miscunar værc. hæilsa siucs. æinga læcning afls vars með iðran.

Ibid., PL 101, 622A:B: Confessio opus est misericordiæ: salus ægroti unicum est viribus nostris medicamentum cum pœnitentia.[6]

Nhom. 71/34-72/21:

... Sva hyggia oc sumir menn ef þæir gera mioc mart væl. ganga opt til kirkiu ok biðia fyrir sér. gefa mat sin ok klæðe þæim er þurfu. ok liggia þo í hofuð-syndum. ok vilia æigi til scripta ganga ok æigi iðraz ne af láta. þes manz lif er á þa lund sem þes er fenget heuir sar mykit. ok bærr á þegar smyrsl á saret u-fægt. hvat monu smyrslen þa nema renna ór sareno á brout með ulicans bloðe ok vage. ok grør ecci. Sva at sæmu renr oc goðgerning þes manz fra honum er ligr í hofuð-syndum ok vil æigi áf lata ne yfir bøta. Nu tæcr læcnir brodd ór sare eða ór ef í stændr. en siðan fæger hann saret. þa berr hann smyrsl við ok grøðer til þes er hæilt er. En þa tæcr maðr or eina ór salosare sinu þvi er diofull-en hefir særðan hann með er hann gængr til yfir-bota. En þa fægir hann

alshugar synda-sar sitt er hann berr til scripta við kenni-mann sin syndir sinar ok sægir honom til. En þa berr hann á smyrsl er hann hældr upp yuir-bot þæirri er kenni-maðr kennir honum. Þa grøðer hann sit syndasar at hæilu. En ef maðr frestar of lengi scrifta-gang sinum fyrir stor-syndum sinum. þa vaxa syndir hans þo at hann gere æigi flæiri. Sva sem sáret er maðr heuir fenget ef æigi er læcner til fengen. þa fyllir saret vags ok ulicans ok verkia. en þvi næst heuir hann bana. Sva er os oc hascasamlect ef vér liggium of lengi í licams munuð varre. ok vilium æigi yfir bøta ...[7]

Sthom. 55/36-56/3:

... Til slícs fagnaþar scylde hverR maþr langa. oc of þat ǫN ala at eige miste hann. taka sem bráþast lęcningar sára siNa ef hann veiter sér. oc þyrma sem bazt scriptar vmbændonom. oc anýia eige sóren meþan æNor ero eige greódd.

cf. Bede I.11, CCSL 122,77/166-78/171:

... Et ideo necesse est, fratres carissimi, ut qui ad huius pulcherrimae renouationis quasi summae cicumcisionis desideramus praemia pertingere curemus interim primitiuae circumcisionis et renouationis quae cotidiano uirtutum exercitio fit subire remedia ...

Sthom. 66/7-9 :

... Megoþer þa meþ øryGu hiarta ganga till guþs altera oc friolsom hug at taka holld hans oc blóþ. eige til afalz doms. heldr til læcningar aNda yþvaRa ...

Caesarius 201, CCSL 104,813(770/30-32)

[ut] ... ad altare domini libero animo accedere, et corpus ac sanguinem eius non ad iudicium sed ad remedium animae vestrae possitis cum conscientia secura suscipere ...[8]

Sthom. 131/22-27 :

Sva ok es keome til hennar siuker meN. þot þeir snyrti viþ kläþi hennar at eins. þa varþ hverR þeira þegar er þui náþi alheill huatki sem áþr hafþi at meini veret. oc fóro

cf. Ps.-Matthaei Evangelium, ed. Tischendorf, Evangeliae Apocryphae, 64/16-17 :

Si quis autem de infirmantibus tetigisset eam, salvus ad domum suam eadem hora remeabat.

georvallir fegner fra hennar
fundi alheilir oc sva et sama
greodder andlega af seotum
kenningom til husa siNa.[9]

Sthom. 141/31-35:

... en timotheus var ríclyndr. oc hvass i hugscoti. oc mælti hann [i.e. Paul, II Tim.4:2] þui at hann scylldi keNa meþ hægvære oc þolinmøþi. at þeim þurfti heldr aptr at hallda. oc at stǫþva es acaflyndr var. at eige veítti þa/ ahlaú[p][10] i bræþi siNi. i baNsetningom eþa forboþom. es geíg sętti. oc sǽrþi hann. helldr heíla en grøddi siúca ...

Gr. in Ezech. I.11,15, CCSL 142 175/262-176/264 (See Vrátný, ANF 32[1916], 39):

... is autem qui per spiritum feruebat, per patientiam temperandus fuerat, ne si plus iusto inferuesceret non ad salutem uulnerata reduceret, sed sana uulneraret.

Sthom. 194/21-23:

... Biþ ec þic almáttegr sonr guþs lifanda. læcn þu sær aNdar miNar meþ smurneng leilags anda ...[11]

Sthom. 213/3:

... Meþ øst scolom vér grøþa saŕ æfuNdar ...

Sthom. 216/3-13

... svasem þar í gegn es su vesol oc mikels gráts verþr [sic]. es sva blóþgar sic í illom verkom. at í heNe huilesc eige cristr. heldr hiT at í heNe take diofoll orþ at hafa. Slíc ænd. ef eige helpr henne brátt iþronar læcning. verþr myrcrom horfen ... þeyge scal sa ifa of

Caesarius 187, CCSL 104,765 [725/1-13]

... sicut e contrario quam infelix est illa conscientia, et toto lacrimarum fonte lugenda, quae se ita malis operibus cruentavit ... ut in ea non Christus requiescere, sed diabolus incipiat dominari! Talis enim anima, si medicamentum paenitentiae non cito subvenerit ... a tenebris occupatur .. Non tamen de domini pietate diffidat, qui talis est, nec mortifera

drottens millde at heldr þót slícr sé. oc eige orvilnasc. heldr reNe hann aftr til iþronar sem bráþast. oc hafe sva viþ sic heilsamlegar læcningar meþan eN er nv. oc vǫrm synþa sór hans. þuiat læcner váR es almattegr. oc sva es hann vanr at grǿpa sár ór at hann létr eige øRen á sea epter.[12]

desperatione frangatur, sed magis ad paenitentiam cito recurrat; et dum adhoc nova sunt et calent peccatorum suorum vulnera, sic sibi adhibeat medicamenta salubria: quia medicus noster omnipotens est, et sic consuevit plagas nostras curare, ut nec cicatricum faciat vestigia remanere.

1. On Christian medical metaphors and their classical antecedents see Rudolph Arbesmann, "Christ the medicus humilis in St. Augustine", in Augustinus Magister. Congrès International Augustinien (1954), II, 623-629, and "The concept of Christus medicus in St Augustine", Traditio 10 (1954), 1-28; S. Angus, The Religious Quests of the Graeco-Roman World: A Study in the Historical Background of Christianity (London, 1925), 414; A.S. Pease, "Medical Allusions in the Works of St Jerome," Harvard Studies in Classical Philology 25 (1914), 73-86. On the theme of the cure of sin in the Penitentials see J.T. McNeill, "Medicine for Sin as Prescribed in the Penitentials", Church History 1 (1932), 14-26; J.T. McNeill and H.M. Gamer, Medieval Handbooks of Penance (New York, 1938; rpt. 1965), 44-46: Ludwig Bieler, ed., The Irish Penitentials, Scriptores Latini Hiberniores, V (Dublin, 1975), 46-47. For liturgical examples of the metaphor see Manz, 18 aegritudines cordis, 184 contagio criminum/delicti/peccatorum, 422 ieiunia medicinalia, 479 infirmitas mortalis, 587-591 medicus animarum/bonus/caelestis/salutaris/verus, 840-842 remedium animae/indulgentiae/veniae, 1095 vulnera peccatorum/vitiorum.

The image of Christ as a "physician of souls" was encouraged not only by the gospel record of his healing miracles, but also by various Old Testament verses - e.g. Ex. 15:26 "... ego enim Dominus sanator tuus", Ps. 102: 2-3 "Benedic, anima mea, Domino ... qui sanat omnes infirmitates tuas", Ps. 146:3 "Qui sanat contritos corde, et alligat contritiones eorum" - and by Christ's own use of the medical analogy at Matt. 9:12 (cf. Mark 2:17, Luke 5:31), "Non est opus valentibus medicus, sed male habentibus", (cf. commentaries on his ironic citation of the proverb "Medice cura te ipsum" at Luke 4:23; Bede In Luc., CCSL 120, 105/225 ff.; Haymo of Auxerre, PL 118, 263B ff.; Glossa Ordinaria, PL 114, 255A). The brazen

serpent in the forked stick with which Moses cured the Israelites of snake-bite (Numbers 21:8-9) was interpreted as a type of the crucified Christ through whom mankind is cured of sin (see esp. John 3: 14-15; cf., e.g., Augustine, Tract. in Joh. XII, 11-12, CCSL 36, 126/17 ff.; Bede, Hom. II. 18, CCSL 122, 315/170 - 316/211; Ælfric, CH II, 238-40; Pope, Ælfr. Suppl. XII, 227-238, XX, 333-352; Veraldar saga 84/3-5, cit. below, n. 11). And the parable of the Good Samaritan, who treats with oil and wine the wounds of the traveller set upon by thieves (Luke 10: 30-34), was likewise taken to signify man's cure at the hands of Christ the Physician (cf., e.g., Caesarius, sermo 161, CCSL 104, 661-662, and homilies for the fourteenth Sunday after Pentecost - Haymo of Auxerre, PL 118, 673B-674A; Rabanus Maurus, PL 110, 449D ff.; PDL 173, PL 95, 1381D - 1382B; Ibid., 174, PL 95, 1391A-C).

See, too, the interpretation of the name Jesus (σωτήρ, salvator, OWN græðari) at, e.g., Nhom. 54/17-27, Sthom. 55/19-25, 56/26-28 (cf. Bede I.11, CCSL 122, 76/121-77/134: Matt. 1:21, Ps. 102:3). The OWN verb at græða, "to heal", regularly has the loan-significance "to redeem" in religious texts, and, as Ernst Walter points out, the verb often renders salvare in contexts where no medical metaphor is intended (Lex. Lehn., 134; he cites, e.g., Nhom. 2/20-21 æigi ma þa trv grøða hann - PL 101, 615B numquid poterit fides salvare eum?; Nhom. 12/11 ... buin at grøða fyri miscun - PL 101, 622D ... paratus est salvare per misericordiam). Walter also observes (Lex. Lehn., 134-135) that while the meanings "to heal" and "to redeem" coexist in the verb at græða, its derivative græðari (= salvator) is always used in the sense "redeemer" (i.e., Christ) in the early religious prose, and never as a general term for "doctor". Læknir, on the other hand (which probably derives, with lækna and lækning, from OE læcnian and its cognates) retains the meaning "physician" and is

never used as an equivalent for salvator or redemptor even when the word refers to Christ (cf. Nhom. 11/4 læcner - PL 101, 622A medicus; Sthom. 50/24 reNec sęrþr til lęcnessens - PL 39, 1977/56-57 vulneratus ad medicum curro; Sthom. 216/11-12 læcner váR es almattegr - CCSL 104, 765 [725/10] medicus noster omnipotens est; Leifar 58/5 himnescr lęcnir - PL 76, 1247B cœlestis medicus; Ibid. 80/20-21 - PL 76, 1240B-C medicus; Ibid. 81/18 himnescr lęcnir - PL 76, 1241C cœlestis medicus; Salvesen, Studies ..., 55 on the translation hinn sanni læknir for verus Samaritanus in Elucidarius [Hauksbók 482/32; Lefèvre 384/3-4]). On the OWN vocabulary associated with salvation and redemption see further Lex. Lehn; 134-136 (esp. §6, "Heilsa und heill"), 191-192; Thors, 525-529.

2. Cf. Nhom. 148/27-32 ("Visio sancti Pauli apostoli")

... þu vart íllz losta fullr þes er menn calla ágirnd ... þu hafðer þa sótt er engi maðr fær bót af. þat heitir idropicus. þat cœllum vér vatn-calf. þes mæir er hinn dræcr er þa sott hefir. þes mæir þystir hann. ok værðr aldrigi fullr. sva þes flæira er þu hafðer þes flæira girnðiz þu ...

Un Samedi Par Nuit, P, 29-40

Plains fus d'un maluais uice,
Qui a non auarice
Tu as l'enfermete
- Dont ia n'aras sante -
Com a l'idropicus
Tant com il enboit plus
Et il greignor soif a;
la saoul ne sera.
Onques saoul ne fus,
Tostans uoloies plus.
Comme tu plus auoies,
Et tu plus desiroies

Vatnkalfr (cf. Fritzner, Suppl., vazkálfr), m., is a German loanword, from either OHG wazzarkalb (see I. Reichborn-Kjennerud, MM [1935], 130, n.2) or MLG waterkalf (see de Vries, A.e.W., s.v.; Alexander Jóhannesson, 1222; cf. Fritzner and Cleasby - Vigfusson s.vv. vatnsótt/vatnssótt/vatzsótt, f.; vatnbolginn, adj.; vatn-þrunginn, adj.; I. Reichborn-Kjennerud, Vår Gamle Trolldomsmedisin IV, NVAOS 1943 (1944), Hist.-Fil. kl.2, 99-101). The translator of the passage from Alc. VV, would appear to use vatncalfr like hydropicus in

his Latin text, to mean "a dropsical man", a sense not otherwise attested (cf. Fritzner, s.v., "Vattersot"; Cleasby-Vigfûsson, "dropsy"). It is worth noting, however, that the translator of "Un Samedi Par Nuit" clearly takes l'idropicus in his text to refer to the disease rather than the sufferer.

The comparison of avarice to dropsy is an antique commonplace (cf. esp. Horace, Carmina II.2.13, Ovid, Fasti I. 215) which became a favourite theme of Christian Latin authors of the middle ages. See Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, 280-281; André Oltramare, Les origines de la diatribe romaine (Lausanne, 1926), 61, n.1; S.G. Owen, "Ovid's use of the simile," Classical Review 45 (1931), 101; Fridolf Kudlien, "Krankheitsmetaphorik im Laurentiushymnus des Prudentius," Hermes 90 (1962), 104-115 (esp. 107f.); Thes. Ling. Lat., s.v. hydropicus, adj., and hydrops, m., 1 b translate: de tumore, inflatione animi, 2 de aegroto, i.q. hydropicus; Rabanus Maurus, De Universo XVIII.5, "De medicina", PL 11, 502A.

3. The parallel Latin text for this passage referred to by Erik Gunnes (168) and Andrea van Arkel (thesis, 4) - Haymo 16, PL 118, 118 - is not close here. Cf. generally Nhom. 64/25-27, and H. Messelken, Die Signifikanz von Rabe und Taube in der mittelalterlichen deutschen Literatur (Koln, 1965), c.2.d, gemit pro cantu, 77-81.

4. Mein is also used on its own as a synomym for "sin".

See, e.g.,

Sthom. 38/28-30 (Nhom.104/33 - 105/1)	cf. Gr. 32 in Ev.,PL 76, 1234B-C
... þa berom ver cross i hugscote. ef hiarta várt harmar aNars meín eþa synþer. sem eN gerþe pǫ́ll. HverR er svá siúcr	... audiamus nunc in compassione proximi crucem mentis. Ait enim: Quis infirmatur, et ego non infirmor? Quis scandalizatur, et

qvaþ hann eþa sva villtr at eige kenna ec mér hvers meína i brióste.	ego non uror? [II Cor. 11:29]

Sthom. 50/5-6: A þesse tíþ var boreN sá guþs Gymbell er a braut tóc meín heimseNs.	Ps.Aug. 117,PL 39, 1977/25-26: ... in qua nascitur Agnus, qui tollit peccatum mundi.

cf. the translation of John 1:29 at Sthom. 13/13-14, "... sia þaN guþs gymbel er a braut tekr synþer heimseNs", and other examples cited by Kirby, Biblical Quotation, I. 282.

Sthom. 50/15-16: Røgesc ǫnden en eige grøþesc. sagt er þa til meinaNa en eige a bravt teken.	Ps.Aug. 117,PL 39,1977/41-42: ... accusatur anima, non sanatur: pronuntiatur offensa, non tollitur.

Cf. the hendiadys mein ok saurlifi in the Nhom. Olaf legend:

Nhom. 127/1-3: Siðan at þvi com er hann scyldi til scripta bera sin mein ok saurlifi. þa þorðe hann æigi vesal maðr at sægia. gleymði þvi þa oc vildi æigi grøða sit synduct lif.	cf. Passio ... Olavi, ed. Metcalfe, 91/29-92/1: Uulnus tamen adultere mentis aperire uerebatur, et, confusus pudore, confessionis remedia differt adhibere.

See further Fritzner s.vv. meinafullr, meinfullr, "syndig, ond"; meinalauss 2, "uskyldig, syndfri"; meinlauss, "uskyldig, brødefri"; meinleysi, "Uskyldighed"; Lex. Poet. s.vv. 2. mein 4, "synd, brøde (i religiøs forstand), syndig tanke"; meinalauss, "uden mén, skade, velvillig, el. syndfri, om Kristus"; meinbǫnnuðr "... manna, som fjærner menneskers synd, om bispen"; meinhrjóðandi, "synd-udrydder, om gud"; meinlauss, "men-fri, uskyldig"; meinstyggr, "som undgår, skyr, synd, om Placitus' hustru"; Walter, Lex. Lehn. 47, Thors 587 ff. (HMS I 240/14 meinlauss - Gr. Dial. IV.11. 4, ed. de Vogüé III, 48/44-45 corde simplici); Lex. Lehn. 49 (Leifar 2/13 ómeinn

[=innocens?], cf. Prosper, Sententiae 1, "De innocentia", PL 51, 427A).

5. The addition of þeir ero before læcnar is Vrátný's suggestion (ANF 33 [1917], 150). No source has been identified for the sermon or for the "surgical" image in this passage. In scripture, it is normally the tongues of the wicked, of backbiters, which are compared to swords and razors (cf. Ps. 51:4, 56:5, 63:4), but the figure of the "knife of the tongue" is also often associated with preachers and sound counsellors)though usually as a "pruning" rather than a medical metaphor - cf. Thes. Ling. Lat., s.vv. amputo B2, mucro B II B; Rudolph Willard, "The Address of the Soul to the Body", PMLA 50 [1935], 963 [Ms. Junius 85], ll. 45-46, " ... Þu wære ðæt scearpeste scyrsex, forþon ðu cuðest synna þe framaceorfan ..."; Thomas Wimbledon's Sermon [1388], ed. I.K. Knight [Pittsburgh, 1967], 63/39-41, " ... To prestis it falliþ to kutte awey þe voide braunches of synnis wiþ þe swerd of here tonge ..."; see, too, below, p. 551, n.2). Here, the sermonist probably has in mind the commonplace of the Physician's "kind cruelty" (see A.S. Pease, "Medical Allusions in the Works of St. Jerome," 77, n.8). See, e.g., Gregory, Reg. Past. III. 25 (al. 49), PL 77, 96C (cf. Rabanus Maurus, In Jer., PL 111, 1115B):

> ... Si medicinalis artis minime ignari secandum vulnus cernerent, et tamen secare recusarent, profecto peccatum fraternæ mortis ex solo torpore committerent. Quanta ergo culpa involvantur aspiciunt, qui dum cognoscunt vulnera mentium, curare ea negligunt sectione verborum. Unde et bene per prophetam dicitur: Maledictus qui prohibet gladium suum a sanguine [Jer. 48:10]. Gladium quippe a sanguine prohibere, est prædicationis verbum a carnalis vitæ interfectione retinere ...

Augustine, sermo 83, PL 38, 518D: cf. Ælfric, homily for the twenty-third Sunday after Pentecost, ed.

A.O. Belfour, Twelfth-Century Homilies in Ms. Bodley 343, E.E.T.S., O.S. 137 [1909], 38/12-25:

... Corripiamus verbis, et si opus est, et verberibus: sed ... si per charitatem imponitur disciplina, de corde lenitas non recedat. Quid enim tam pium quam medicus ferens ferramentum? Plorat secandus, et secatur: plorat urendus, et uritur. Non est illa crudelitas; absit ut sævitia medici dicatur. Sævit in vulnus, ut homo sanetur: quia si vulnus palpetur, homo perditur ...

... Ac Augustinus us sægð ðæt mon steoræn sceal his agene childum mid æge ⁊ mid lufe, hwilon mid wordum, hwilon mid swingelum ... na to stiðlice swa ðeah, ac ... mid mildheortnysse æfre þæt þe mon beo irihtlæht, na mid ræðnesse fordon. All swa ðe læce deþ ðe læcnæð þene mon - þe pinæð on ða wundæ ðæt heo wurðæ ihæled. Forþan ðe ðe mon losæð þe ligeð yfele forwundod, gif þe læce him aræð ⁊ nyle mid stiðnesse þa wunde hælen mid þam ðe his creft tæcæð.

R. Morris, ed., Old English Homilies of the Twelfth Century, Series 2, E.E.T.S., O.S. 53 (1873), 79/2-3:

> ... biseche we þanne þe sowle leche þat is þe prest. Vt ferro prohibitacionis re[s]cindat a nobis exterius carnis et mentis uicia...

For a secular example of the simile cf. Alexanders saga, ed. Finnur Jónsson (1925), 115/5-9; Walter of Chatillon, Alexandreis, ed. M.L. Colker (1978), VII, 506-510.

6. Cf. Sthom. 61/29-30 (H.L. Spencer, MS 44 [1982], 285 S, 25-26; J. Turville-Petre, Traditio 19 [1963], 58). See above, p. 275.

7. On the medical terminology used in this passage (úlíkan, vágr, smyrsl, at fægia sár, etc.) see I. Reichborn-Kjennerud, Vår Gamle Trolldomsmedisin II, NVAOS (1933), Hist.-Fil. Kl., 2, 120-129. Gunnes cites no analogues, but, in addition to the general discussions of confession as "medicine for the soul" in the books

and articles mentioned above, n.1 (esp. Arbesmann, McNeill and Gamer, Bieler), cf., e.g., Gregory 40 in Ev., PL 76, 1302C (Leifar 38/6-10):

Quid est ... peccatorum confessio, nisi quædam vulnerum ruptio? Quia peccati virus salubriter aperitur in confessione, quod pestifere latebat in mente. Vulnera etenim cutis in superficiem trahunt humorem putredinis. Et confitendo peccata quid aliud agimus, nisi malum quod in nobis latebat aperimus?	En hvat se utbrotning saraNa nema viþganga svnþaNa. þvi at i svnþa iatning lvcsc up grand þat es hętliga levndisc i hug. þa svnom ver oc vágs lit utan a sciNi er ver lucom up illsco þeiri fvr scriptar gongo er aþr levndisc i oss.

Numerous similar passages can be found in the sermons of Caesarius of Arles: sermo 59, CCSL 103, 261[250/32-251/2]; 64, Ibid., 275 [263/10-25] (cf. Eusebius Gallicanus, hom. 53 [47], 132-136, CCSL 101A, 621); 65, Ibid., 279 [267/8-20]; 71, Ibid., 298[286/1-3]; 79, Ibid., 327-328 [313/28-314/1]; 101, Ibid., 419-420 [402/32-403/12]; 107, Ibid., 448-449 [429/20-430/19]; 109, Ibid., 452-454 [434/5-7, 435/7-14].

8. Vrátný (ANF 32 [1916], 44-45) noted that this sermon (Sthom. 64/18-66/21, "Jn cena domini") contained reminiscences of some of the Lenten sermons attributed to Augustine in PL 39 and 40. The first part draws on Caesarius 202, "De Cena Domini" (CCSL 104, 814ff. = Ps. Aug. 149, PL 39, 2034ff.; see Kirby, Biblical Quotation II, 55; van Arkel, 13). The exhortation to remain chaste during Easter week which forms the final section of the sermon, however, follows closely the conclusion of Caesarius 201, "Castigatio ad Plebem Legenda in Symboli Traditione" (Sthom. 66/4-9; CCSL 104, 813 [770/23-32]).

Variants of the formula non ad iudicium sed ad remedium occur

frequently in Caesarius' sermons (see Morin's Index Verborum et Locutionum, CCSL 104, 1083b, s.v. iudicium, 1095a, s.v. remedium: examples in sermons 1, 73, 76, 86, 187, 188, 196, 201, 229). Cf., e.g.,

Sthom. 215/22-25 :	Caesarius 187, CCSL 104, 763 (723/6-9):
... at á þeim dege megem vér meþ sva hreíno hiarta at vér vitem goT eiT a heNdr oss oc hreinom licama ganga til altera at taka holld oc blóþ várs drottens. eige til afallz dóms. heldr til þess at vér naem at taka til eNdrbótar andar várrar.	... ut in illo die cum pura et sincera conscientia, mundo corde et casto corpore ad altare domini possimus accedere, et corpus vel sanguinem eius non ad iudicium, sed ad remedium animae nostrae mereamur accipere.

Sthom. 216/27-28 :	Caesarius 188, CCSL 104, 767 (727/10-12):
... þa mon hann gefa þeím af þionosto presta siNa. holld siT oc blóþ. eige til afallz dóms. heldr til lausnar.	... corpus et sanguinem suum ei non ad iudicium, sed ad remedium per sacerdotum suorum ministerium dispensabit.

Walter (Lex. Lehn., 130-131) notes that lausn translates variously redemptio, remissio, satisfactio, indulgentia, ereptio, remedium in early OWN prose. He observes that the extension of the base-meaning of the word to signify "deliverance from sin" is a clear instance of semantic borrowing, although the exact origin of the loan is difficult to trace. Walter does not discuss lækning as a rendering of remedium in its soteriological sense, but this use of the word is not unusual. Cf., e.g.,

Sthom. 50/21-22 :	Ps.Aug. 118, PL 39, 1977/52-53 :
Hneíge þic til lęcningar litelláte biþiandaNs ...	Inclinet ad remedium humilitas pœnitentis ...

Sthom. 54/25-26:

... tók hann þa hlute á
sic sem synþger meN hafa
sér til lęcningar ...

cf.Bede I.11, CCSL 122,74/37-38:

... remedium quo caro peccati
consueuerat mundari non respuit ...

cf. Nhom. 54/14-16: ... hann let sér sóma ... at fylla laga boðorð þau er syndugum mannum varo sæt til læiðretingaR ...

9. On the relationship of this sermon (Sthom. 127/11-134/27, "Nativitas sancte MaRie") to the apocryphal gospels of Pseudo-Matthew and of the Nativity of Mary see G. Neckel, "Zum Stockholmer Homilienbuch", Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur 38 (1913), 481 ff. (on this passage, 486).

10. Wisén's ahlaúþ is a misreading (cf. van Arkel, 64v, 33; AM 686 b 4to, Leifar 176/8 ahlæp).

11. No analogues have been found for either of the prayers at Sthom. 194-195. Appeals to Christ the Physician in prayers are, of course, commonplace. Cf., e.g., "A Prayer", 3-7, ASPR (1942, rpt. 1968), 94:

Ic wat mine saule synnum forwundod;
gehæl þu hy, heofena drihten,
and gelącna þu hy, lifes ealdor,
forðan ðu eðest miht ealra læca
ðæra ðe gewurde side oððe wyde

J. Stevenson, ed., The Latin Hymns of the Anglo-Saxon Church. Surtees Society 23 (1851), 33/22ff.:

Tu nostrorum pectorum
Solus investigator es
Tu vulnerum latentium
Bonus assistis medicus
. . .
Te ergo sanctę quesumus
Ut nostra cures vulnera

J.J. Campbell, "Prayers from Ms. Arundel 155", Anglia 81(1963),

87/5-7 :

> ... Vulnera domine mea quae hominibus abscondo. tu pius emunda. Medicamenta salubria mihi concede ...

Ibid., 116/11-12:

> ... ad te summum medicum vulneratus peccator curro ...

12. With the figurative compounds andar sár, syndasár, sálusár, and ófundar sár found in the Homily Books one can compare many other OWN examples of the metaphor of the "wounds of the soul":

andarsár

Leifar 38/29-30 :

... ceNimeN grøþa andar sor þa es þeir taca vid svnþa iþron vandra maNa. oc leiþretta þa ...

Gr. 40 in Ev., PL 76, 1303A :

... Sancti etenim doctores dum gentilium confessiones accipiunt, mentium vulnera saluti restituunt.

Gamli kanoki, Jóansdrápa, st. 4 (Skjd A I, 561):

> Hǫrðu lát mik hveríu firðan
> hreínlifr faðir drottar meini
> siðan mętti var of eyðaz
> ándar sár þui er líonum grandar
> ...

Harmsól, st. 54 (Skjd A I, 570):

> ...
> nu beidum þíodar
> þrek fédande græd[a]
> [an]dar sár þau er vǫ́ru
> ó suífr glata life.

Veraldar s., STUAGNL 61 (1944), 84/3-5 :

> Eirormvr sa er i tre hieck er hver vard heill er til leit. merker Iesvm Christvm hanganda a krossinvum er græder oll sār anda vora.

(see above n. 1)

AM 655 XI 4to (c. 1300), 2r/4-6, ed. Eva Rode, "Et fragment af en

prædiken til askeonsdag," Bibl. Arn. 34 (1979), 44-61 (59):

> ... kennimenninir eru læknar uarir oc megu þeir
> þuiat eins oss at heilu græða var anndar sar
> nema uer kynnim þeim allt uart rað sem
> uandyrkligazt ...

In this sermon, a catalogue of sins listed in order of their seriousness is compared with a graduated series of bodily injuries and diseases. See Rode's discussion, 45f. (For a similar tropological treatment of particular diseases and injuries cf. Rabanus Maurus, De Universo XVIII, 5, "De medicina", PL 111, 502D, and the interpretation of the dream of the hedgehog at Thóm. II, I. 232/21ff.).

Þorláks s. A, ed. Jón Helgason, Ed. Arn., ser. A, 13.2 (1978), 212 (k.14/45):

> ... hann grǫddi andar saar sinna undir manna ...

Heilags anda vísur, st.12, Skjd AII, 162:

. . .
elldr ertu elsku milldrar
eilifr brunnr ok heilagr
hínn er anndar sára
eín smurníng vit hreínsar.

"Veni creator spiritus", Analecta Hymnica 50, 193(144[13]), st.2:

...
Fons vivus, ignis, caritas
Et spiritalis unctio

(See generally Einar Ólafur Sveinsson, "Íslenzk sálmaþýðing frá 13. öld," Skírnir 116 [1942], 140-150.)

Jóns s. post. I, Post. 421/7-10:

Ok sva sem su lækning er hégomlig og onyt, er eigi batnar meinanna við eða sottarinnar, sva ok hit sama er su hegomlig kenning, er hvarki gerir at hon bøtir siðu mannzins ne grødir sar andanna.

Fabricius, Cod. Apocr. Nov. Test III (1743), 608/2-5:

Sicut vana medicina est, ex qva non absciditur morbus, ita vana doctrina est, ex qva non vitia curantur animorum et morum.

(cf. Jóns s. post. II, Post. 446/36-38; Tvegg. post. s. Jons ok Jacobs, Post. 640/7-11)

Mar. 1137/32-34:

... bidiande þenna hinn goda lôkne nokkorn þann lôkidom ser gefa, medr huerium hon môtte sitt andarsar sem skiotaz grôtt fa.

cf. Vincent of Beauvais, Spec. Hist. VII, 95, 256a :

... requisiuit ab eo, vtrum per quodcunque malagma pœnitentię curari posset vulnus peccatricis conscientiæ.

Vitæ Patrum II, HMS II, 504/10-15 :

... ef inn siuki helldr sik eigi af meinsligri fædu eda odru þui, er krankleikann eykr, þa gôrir ecki gott læknissins kostgæflig astundan; þeima hætti er ok farit andar sarunum: þott heilagir fedr, er vorir eru andligir læknar, bidi .. miskunnar ... fyrir þeim er þurftugir eru þess, þa stodar þat hardla litit, nema sialfr leggi nidr onenningar leti ...

HMS II, 504/26-36 :

... si ille, qui infirmatur, a noxiis cibis vel de aliis, quæ solent lædere infirmitates, abstinere noluerit,nihi: ei proficit cura et diligentia et sollicitudo medicorum. Similiter etia: in animæ languoribus eveniet. Licet enim ... sancti patres, qui sunt medici spirituales, exorent misericord ... pro eis, qui orationibus eorum se postulant adiuvari, nisi et ipsi .. q Deo placita sunt fecerint, non eis proficient ... orationes sanctorum.

Thóm. II, I. 232/21-23 :

> ... Allir þeir er eltu þenna bustígul fra sinni bygô, voru vanaôir einhverju lýti, er þýôist fyrir þeira andlig sár ...

Ibid., II. 88/2-3 :

> ... sumum þar grátandum líkams mein veittist heilsa, ok ôôrum sýtandum andar sár gefst líkn ok leiôrétta.

hjartasár

Stjórn 567/12-14:

... ef nockorr er sa af ôllo

1 Kings 8:38:

... si quis cognoverit plagam

folki at við kanniz sin hiartasár oc rætti hann sinar hendr til þin biðiandi i þesso hvsi ...

cordis sui et expandit manus suas in domo hac ...

ótrú sár

Leifar 22/21-23:

MiNa vetti oS MaRia Magdalena es fvrst trvþi en Thomas er lengst ifaþi. þvi at þrefaþi of øR sara drottins. en hann oll otrv sǫr af briosti oro.

Gr. 29 in Ev., PL 76, 1213C:

Minus enim nihi Maria Magdalene præstitit, quæ citius credidit quam Thomas qui diu dubitavit. Ille etenim dubitando vulnerum cicatrices tetigit, et de nostro pectore dubietatis vulnus amputavit.

sakasár

Máriuvísur III, st. 18 (Skjd A II, 498)

...

firi þetta saka sar
sälín verdr at hafa bäl.

samvizkusár

NGL II, "Retterbøder og Forordninger" 3 (9.Aug., 1277), B, 469/6-7:

... nu skodaði herra erchibyskup af sinni halfu sa sik æigi mega yfir dylma þessa luti aan grvnsemd med samuitzku [var., AM 351 fol., 14th cent., vtan samuitzku saar] ...

Ibid., 3.A.,463/4-6:

... Considerans itaque prefatus pater archiepiscopus et <!> ex una parte se non posse supra memorata absque scrupulo consciencie uel conniuencie pertransire ...

syndasár

Leifar 38/18-22:

En hundar como oc slecþo sǫr Lazari. I helgom ritningom mercia opt hundar keNimeN. Hunds tunga grøþir sór þat er hon sleicer. En keNimeN snerta·

Gr. 40 in Ev., PL 76, 1302D-1303A:

... At contra jacentis pauperis vulnera lingebant canes. Nonnunquam solent in sacro eloquio per canes prædicatores intelligi. Canum etenim lingua vulnus dum lingit,

med tungo siNi svnþa sor or þa er þeir fvsa oss scripta gongo oc grøþa þeir sor or med tungo þa es þeir tøgia oss fra svnþom i keNingom.	curat, quia et doctores sancti dum in confessione peccati nostri nos instruunt, quasi vulnus mentis per linguam tangunt; et quia nos loquendo a peccatis eripiunt, quasi tangendo vulnera ad salutem reducunt.

(On this popular comparison see, e.g., Pierre Mandonnet, "Note de symbolique médiévale: Domini canes", Revue de Fribourg 43 [1912], 568-574.)

Ibid., 38/31-32:	Ibid., 1303B:
... ceNimeN biarga þeim til lavsnar es þeir grøþa af svnþa sarom oc leiþretta fvr orþ tungo siNar.	... ipsi hunc ad ereptionem juvant quia ejus vulnera per linguæ correptionem curant.

For some further examples of Christian medical metaphors in OWN texts see

Markús Skeggjason († 1107), Eiríksdrápa, st. 28 (Skjd B I, 419; cf. Not. Norr. §§ 3104, 3235):

Lýst skal hitt, es læknask fýstisk
liðhraustr konungr sǫr en iðri;
norðan fór með helming harðan
hersa mœðir sǫl at grœða

...

Leifar 45/24-25:	Gr. 40 in Ev., PL 76, 1310A:
... þat ma verþa at valaþs lecning grøþi þa er ostvrcþ sǫrir ...	... fortasse quos morum infirmitas vulnerat, medicina paupertatis curat.
Jóns s. post.I, Post. 432/24-28:	Fabricius, Cod. Apocr. Nov. Test. III (1743), 620/3-8:
Eigi mun ek af lata, fyrr en sar hans eru með øllu groin; mun ek gera sem aðrir læknar, þeir er siukan mann hafa með hǫndum, þann er miok er þurfi lækningar, ok þvi meiri stund sem þeir hafa a lagt, þvi meira þikkir þeim	Non enim cessabo hoc opere, quomodo ejus possit vulneribus provenire. Ut sicut medici habentes inter manus ægrum varia medela indigentem, ita etiam nos si adhuc curatus non est, ideoque quod factum non est aliud faciamus.

skipta, at þat komi vel at
halldi, er þeir hafa til lagt,
ok verði maðrinn heill.

cf. Jóns s. post. II, Post. 453/10-14; III, Post. 464/7-10; Tvegg. post. s. Jóns ok Jacobs, Post. 660/9-12 (...sva sem læknirinn floar frosinn lim millum sinna handa, sva skal ek gera við þenna mann ...)

Jóns s. bapt. II, Post. 863/22-24:

... vitiaði guð faðir þenna heim fyrir sinn einka sun, þann sem syndiz i mannligu holldi, oc þa gerði heila, sem aðr voru dofnaðir i longum siuknaði ...

cf. Bede II. 20, CCSL 122, 333/178-182:

Visitauit autem nos apparens in carne dominus, quasi longius a se recedentes quos in peccatis positos quaerere et justificare curauit. Visitauit quasi medicus aegrotos qui ut inveteratum superbiae nostrae languorem sanaret, nouum nobis suae humilitatis exemplum adhibuit.

cf. too Bede in Luc. (1:67-68), CSSL 120, 41/885-887:

Visitauit autem dominus plebem suam quasi longa infirmitate tabescentem et quasi uenditam sub peccato unici filii sui sanguine redemit.

Thóm. II, I 384/20-21:

... læknir i kristninni...

Magnúss s. lengri, ÍF 34, 345/21-24:

... læknir hann ok græðir þeim mun krǫptuligar
sem sóttin sækir áðr inn sjúka ákafligar,
ok gerir hann alla heila ok hólpna, þá er
til hans hjálpar leita.

Eysteinn Ásgrímsson, Lilja, st. 91 (Skjd A II, 392):

...
maría græd þu meínnen storu
maría ber þu smyrsl j sarenn.

Árngrímr ábóti Brandsson, Guðmundardrápa, st. 50 (Skjd A II. 358):

Orð guðs kenndi aagétr fyrðum
elsku kunr af spektar brunni

fyrir þvi varð sem frægt er ordit
feyiandi saar maðkr at deyia
siþan sleikti sæll ok mykti
synda þunga linri tungv
feítí smurði aastvínr yta
aullum trur ok víní súrv.

(Arngrímr alludes to both the parable of the Good Samaritan - "feíti smurði ... ok víní súrv", cf. Luke 10:34 - and the tradition of the priest as canis medicus - "mykti ... linri tungv", see above Leifar 38/18-22, Gr. 40, 1302D-1303A.)

Árni ábóti Jónsson, Guðmundardrápa, st. 1 (Skjd A II, 412):

...
särnad briost af synda þyrnum
so smyriandi myktar anda
...

The Wings of the Soul/ The Burden of Sin

The author of the remarkable Doomsday sermon preserved on the interpolated leaves in Nhom.[1] invokes the native proverb, "ærvætt er litlum fugli með lamdum vǫngium at hefia hǫtt sina flaug," to express the difficulty of framing heavenly matters in human speech. A similar analogy is drawn in a sermon for the Feast of the Ascension in Sthom. to emphasize the futility of attempting to reach heaven without the aid of the two "wings of charity" (20/16-20):

> ...Tva vénge scolom vér fa ǫss til heímfarar meþ guþe. Ver scolom vNa honom oc virþa hann framaR en siólf øss. . HiN er aNaR vǫ́ngr at hverRt várt scal vNa ǫþrom sem siólfo ser. Enge ma hefiasc langt fra iorþoNe meþ eíN váng. af þui scolom ver vNa bǽþe guþe oc mæoNom...[2]

This formulation of the idea was apparently a commonplace, for Ælfric makes use of more or less the same image in a homily for Rogation Monday (the second day before Ascension Eve):

> ...Soðlice ne mæg ure sawul gefleon to heofonan rice, buton heo hæbbe fiðera þære soðan lufe Scyppendes and manna, ðe ma ðe ænig fugel his flyhtes gewylt, gif his oðere fiðere forod bið on ær.[3]

The depiction of the twin precepts of love of God and one's neighbour as "wings of the soul" is, of course, traditional; and some other examples of the figure are also found in the Homily Books

> Sthom. 84/17-21 ("PvRificatio S. MaRie")
> ....Ver scolom uNa guþe umbfraM of alla hlute. en hverR váR ǫþrom sem sér siólfom..... þeím ástarvǽngom tueim má huers manz oNd fliúga a himna til eilífrar dýrþar meþ guþe...[5]

Sthom. 182/32-34 (Nhom. 50/24-26, "Sermo de euuangelistis").

....Fliúgom vér meþ tueNom ástar vængom þat es meþ guþs elsco oc náongs til himnescra hluta fra iarþlegom girnþom...[6]

"Shamefastness" and good works are called a set of spiritual wings at Sthom. 160/26-29:

....ef allt feR saman grandverin oc góþgerningarner. þa es guþi þægilict. oc ero þat vænger tveir þeir er maNiN mego up hefia til himna af iorþiNi.[7]

The theme of the ascent of the soul in the Sthom. Ascension homily also finds expression in a striking concluding simile, based on the metaphor of the "burden of sin" (Sthom. 22/1-4):

...Sicut þeim manne verþr harþla þungt at svimma ef hann vill eige kasta fæotom sínom áþr af sér. hvártz hann suimr a sió eþa vatne. þa er þó torvellegre byrþr ændeNe at komasc meþ svnþernar i loft et upp...[8]

No similar image is found elsewhere in the Homily Books, but references to sin as a heavy weight and to the sinner "drowning" in a sea of vice are Christian commonplaces, and many examples of this sort of imagery are found in other OWN texts:

syndabyrðr/-þungi[9]

Nhom. 3/27	Alc. VV, PL 101, 616B
....þo at hon þrøngvisc mykilli synda byrði...	... quamvis ingenti peccatorum pondere prematur...

Nhom. 211/16-17

...hverr er sva cafðr undir gram-legre byrði læiðilegra synda...

Barl., 145/16	Ps. loh. Dam., 95/37
þung syndabyrðr	graue peccati onus

Ibid., 173/33
...hefdir þu þa bundit ok borit oss eina mikla syndabyrði.

Gen. 26:10
...induxeras super nos grande peccatum.

Magnúss s. lengri, ÍF 34, 345/21
... mikill þungi várrar vesoldar...

Ibid., 371/28-29
....þröngdir....með miklum þunga várra synda.

Arngrímr ábóti Brandsson, Guðmundardrápa , st. 50 (Skjd AII, 358)

....mykti
synda þunga linri tungv.[10]

swimming/drowning in the sea of the world/sin, etc.[11]

Nhom. 170/11-12
...þeir er drucnaðir ero i dulnaðar hafe. eða syslu heims þessa...

Nhom. 152/21-25
.....þu scyldir stýra mér ok føra til hafnar. en þu førðir mic utan borz. ok drectir míc á diupi...
JS 405 8vo (MS 21 [1959], 287)
...þú skylder mier stírt hafa oc til Hafnar fœra, enn þú fœrðir mig utan bords oc Drektir mier sem Illr Stíga madr... [12]

Un Samedi Par Nuit, P 803-808
Quant en la haute mer
Me deus gouerner
Et moi mener al port,
Por moi garir de mort
En la wage parfonde,
Me trebuchas en l'onde

Jóns s. post. IV, Post. 486/24-25
... drecktr... i orvæntis forat...

Tveggia post s. Jóns ok Jacobs, Post. 577/27-29
...Þat er vani ranglatra manna, þeira er drektir ero i diupi lastanna, at þeir gleðiaz iafnan af styrk ok uppgangi illra manna ser likra...

Jóns s. baptista II. Post. 914/ 23-25	Interpolated passage in PD version of Petrus Chrysologus, sermo 127, "De natale sancti Iohannis Baptistæ", CCSL 24B, ed. A. Olivar, 786, n. ad 63 (PL 52, 551A-B)
...Se her ena fornu illzku konunnar... Hon gerði himneska menn iarðliga oc drekði allt mankyn i helviti...	... Hæc est mulieris antiqua malitia...hæc cælestes homines facit [PL fecit] esse terrenos, hæc humanum genus mersit [PL misit] in infernum... [13]

Thóm.II, I. 72/14-16

...segja þat ok einkar mjök úheyriligt ok aflaga, at så skipist forstjóri yfir reglumönnum ok siðsemdar, sem áðr svimr í leik ok lausung veraldarinnar...

Maríu s. 418/1-2	cf. Vincent of Beauvais, Spec.Hist. XXI, 70 (840b)
... liggr sua sem i saurfullu diupi nedarlega drecktr...	...in profundum cœni demersus sum...
cf. Ibid., 1101/6-7	
...þo at ek hafi hörmuliga drekst i enum diupazta leirpytt minna synda... [14]	

Lilja, st. 73 (Skjd AII, 386)

Reknir burt j dauda druknan

Heilagra meyja drápa , st. 33 (Skjd AII, 533)

Latit þier eigi líufar sætur
lifit uort er einskís suifumzt
glæpa fullt i dauda díupí
dreck a s er þott iafnan fleckizt
. . .

1. Nhom. 168/13ff. See above, pp. 159-160.

2. The beginning of this homily (Sthom. 20/2-5) appears to follow the opening lines of a sermon by Augustine for Ascension Day, sermo 263, PL 38, 1209B ff. (cf. Clavis Patrum, 263: G. Morin, Miscellanea Agostiniana 1 [Roma, 1930], 507f. = PLS 2, 591-592. The sermon circulated in AF as item II.21, de dominica ascensione: see Grégoire, Les Homéliares..., 52):

Dýrþ drottens vårs iesu crisz sů es varþ af upriso hans er nu fyld. J dag stę grøþare våR til himna. sva er aller postolar sæ̨. Jesus christus er guþ våR o[c] drotteN sa er a crosse heck oss til hiálpar. en nu sitr hann a himne eiN æollo stýrande.	Glorificatio domini nostri Iesu Christi resurgendo et ascendendo completa est. Resurrectionem ipsius Paschæ dominico celebravimus: ascensionem hodie celebramus. Festus nobis dies uterque. Ideo enim resurrexit, ut nobis exemplum resurrectionis ostenderet; et ideo ascendit, ut nos desuper protegeret. Habemus ergo dominum et salvatorem nostrum Iesum Christum prius pendentem in ligno, nunc sedentem in cælo.

The discussion which follows, in Augustine's text, of Christ's second coming on Judgement Day (PL 38, 1209C; PLS 2, 592/4-11, "... manifestus autem veniet, ut indicet") is summed up by the Icelandic homilist (Sthom. 20/5-6), "Sa eN sama mon koma í eNda heíms at deóma of allt maNkyn". The alliterative passage at Sthom. 20/6-9 resembles the exordium of a variant version of Augustine 263, also published by Morin (op.cit., 507, n. 3, Wolfenbüttel ms. 4096, 21; PLS 2, 591, n. a):

Nu alz ver hǫldom i dag upstigo dag drotteNs vårs. þa scolom ver hefia upp hugeN til hǽþar himeNseNs efter honom. þó at ver megem eige fylgia honom at likama.	Ascensionem domini hodie celebramus, carissimi fratres: celebratio enim nostra tunc vera est, si ad illum corde ascendamus... Ascendamus ergo ad eum interim mente, quia non possumus corpore.

Cf. too PL 38, 1210C (A. Mai, Noua Patrum Bibliotheca [Roma, 1852], sermo 98, 204; PLS 2, 494):

> Hodie dominus noster Iesus Christus ascendit in cælum; ascendat cum illo cor nostrum... Sicut enim ille ascendit, nec recessit a nobis, sic et nos cum illo ibi iam sumus, quamvis nondum in corpore nostro factum sit quod promittitur nobis...

The reference to the "wings of charity" at Sthom. 20/16-20 is not paralleled in any of these Augustinian texts, but the use of such a figure is hardly surprising in an Ascension homily. Cf., e.g., Ivo of Chartres, sermo 19, "In Ascensione Domini", PL 162, 592B (=Ps. Leo, PL 54, 500C: see Glorieux, Pour Révaloriser Migne, 34):

> ...Hæc quippe hujus solemnitatis est ratio, ut Christum ad dexteram Patris jam regnare credamus, et interim eum quasi geminis virtutum alis, charitatis scilicet et spei subsequamur...

Ps. Maximus of Turin, "De ... ascensione... IV", PL 57, 630B (see Glorieux, Pour Révaloriser Migne, 38):

> ... Patris sui dextra regnare credamus, atque ad eum quasi geminis virtutum alis, caritate et spe, semper tendamus.

3. CH II, 318/26-29. Pope (Ælfric: Suppl., II, 749) describes

this sermon as "an omnium gatherum assembled from a number of sources." (See also M. Förster, Anglia 16 [1894], 58, § 143; J.E. Cross, "The Literate Anglo-Saxon - on Scources and Disseminations", Proceedings of the British Academy 58 [1972], 90ff.).

I have not been able to find a Latin analogue for this passage. The commonplace comparison of the soul impeded by earthly things to a bird whose wings are damaged, or burdened with dirt or lime, is, however, at least as old as Plato (cf. Phaedo 82e, 83d) and is part of the Neoplatonic heritage of medieval Christian thought. For examples from Ambrose, Prudentius, Augustine, and other Church Fathers, cf. Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum VIII, "Flügel (Flug) der Seele I, 51ff., and Pierre Courcelle, "La colle et le clou de l'âme dans la tradition néo-platonicienne et chrétienne," Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire 36 (1958), 72-95. Dietrich Schmidtke, Geistliche Tierinterpretation in der deutschsprachigen Literatur des Mittelalfers (Berlin, 1968), I, 442, s.v. Vogel, iii, and Gerhard Bauer, "David von Augsburg und das St. Trudperter Hohe Lied", Euphorion 56 (1962), 410-416, cite several interesting examples from the works of the thirteenth—century Franciscan mystic, David of Augsburg:

De exterioris et interioris hominis compositione, ed. PP. Collegii S. Bonaventurae ad Claras Aquas (Quaracchi, 1899), 294, 4:

> ... [homo] potest se tanto liberius ad interiora transferre intuenda, quanto exterioribus magis est expeditus... Avis, si habet pennas ligatas vel infectas aut praecisas, non potest se in alta volando sublevare...

Franz Pfeiffer, ed. Deutsche Mystiker des vierzehnten Jahrhunderts, I (Leipzig, 1845), 315/22-25

> ...wan sie [sc. irdischen dingen] klebent in an als der

lette und unsûbernt unde swærent in die vedere, mit den sie solten ze himele vliegen, daz ist reinekeit âne houbetsünde unde vlîz guoter werke...

Pfeiffer, "Bruder David von Augsburg", Z.f.d.A.9 (1853), 42

...wan der vogel mac niht hôhe vliegen, ob ime die vetiche mit lietemen bekleibet sint. alsô muoz der mensche sich entslahen von aller irdenischer liebe, der hôhe zuo dir über die welt in die himelischen lûterkeit vliegen wil.

On the antique background of the image of the "wings of the soul" see A. d'Alès, "Les ailes de l'âme", Ephemerides theologicae Louanienses 10 (1933), 63-72.

4. Virtually any scriptural reference to "wings" could be taken to signify the alae charitatis. See, e.g. Augustine, Enarrationes in Psalmos 67, 17, 18, CCSL 39, 88/18.17-19; 103.1.13, CCSL 40, 1486/13.29-34; 138.12, Ibid., 1998/12.11ff.; 149.5, Ibid., 2182/5.11-15; sermo Mai 126, PLS 2, 511D-512A; Leo the Great, Tract. 45, CCSL 138A, 265/58-61; Caesarius, sermo 82, CCSL 103, 337-338 [323/27-30], 339 [325/20], virtutum pinnae; sermo 234, CCSL 104, 933 [887/9]; sermo 236, Ibid., 941 [894/19], caritatis et humilitatis pinnae; Gregory, Hom. in Ez.II.3.11, CCSL 142, 244/225-227 penna caritatis (= Defensor, Liber Scintillarum, II.31, CCSL 117, 9-10); Epistulae, VIII.2, PL 77, 907A; Ps. Bede, in Ps., PL 93, 834C; Spicilegium Solesmense, II. 475-477. Occasionally, the cardinal virtues are styled "the four wings of the soul": see R.E. McNally, ed., Prebiarum, 26, Scriptores Hiberniae Minores 1, CCSL 108B, 163/75-77; cf. J.E. Cross and T.D. Hill, ed., The Prose Solomon and Saturn and Adrian and Ritheus (Toronto/Buffalo/London, 1982), 38 (27), 150.

On the "flight of the soul" as a favourite theme in monastic

literature see Jean Leclercq and J.-P. Bonnes, Un maître de la vie spirituelle au XIe siècle: Jean de Fécamp (Paris, 1946), 90.

5. The figure is introduced in a long exhortatory digression (Sthom. 84/7-85/33) not found in the parallel version of this sermon in Nhom. (66/22-69/22; the digression begins after Nhom. 69/6). The passage deals with general themes - the observance of the feast days of Saints, the details of the Passion story and their significance, the importance of keeping the commandments and remembering the terror of Judgement Day - and it is probably safe to assume that it is the original work of a Scandinavian homilist. On the citation from Gregory at Sthom. 85/8-10, see below, p. 518.

6. On this sermon see above, pp. 403, 425-426. Cf. esp. Bruno of Segni's similar interpretation of the moral significance of the evangelical eagle in his Ascension Day sermon, PL 165, 1013-14:

> ... ad meliora resurgamus, pennisque virtutum, velut aquilæ per contemplationem sublevamur...

7. On this sermon, for All Saints' Day, see above, ch. 1, n. 68. On the meaning of the word grandveri see Ernst Walter, Lex. Lehn, 74.

Cf. the expansive rendering of the phrase contemplationis pennae (Gregory 38 in Ev., PL 76, 1284B) at Sthom. 163/23-26 (cit. above, pp. 291-2), and the translation of Prosper of Aquitaine's seventh Epigram in AM 677 4 to:

Leifar 3/31-4/2	Epigrammata VII, "De virtute charitatis", PL 51, 501 A-B
Himinrikiss meN einer oc helger meN hafa gvds ǫst oc navngs. Þars adrer coster aller mego bedi vera i goþra	Dilectio Dei et proximi propria et specialis virtus est piorum,

maNa fari oc vandra...
stigr hon sva umb fram of
ǫll oNor god verc at med ǫngo
of flygr til himinrikiss fyrer
vtan þessa tva vǫngi.

atque sanctorum, cum cæteræ
virtutes et bonis et malis
possint esse communes.
...
Unde istis geminis virtutum
qui caret alis,
Cœlorum ad regnum non habet
unde volet.

8. Ps.-Augustine 263 ends on a similar note (PL 38, 1211A; PLS 2,496A): "...Facile corpus levabitur in alta cœlorum, si non premat spiritum sarcina peccatorum"; but I have not been able to find a close Latin analogue for the swimming image in the Icelandic homily. The simile is preceded by an elaborate excursus on the various "fetters" (of pride, envy, and various other sins) with which the devil impedes our ascent to heaven (Sthom. 21/23ff, see below, p. 487). This passage was probably inspired by the third Psalm reading for Ascension Day, Ps. 67:19, ... ascendisti in excelsum captivam duxisti captivitatem (cf. Paul's citation of this verse at Ephesians 4:7-11, the epistolary reading for Ascension Eve). Caesarius of Arles also speaks of the "fetters of sin" in one of his sermons for the Feast of the Ascension (210, CCSL 104, 837-838 [794/3-8], AF II.22 = Ps.-Aug. 177, PL 39, 2082-2083A: the passage was also appropriated by Rabanus Maurus, Hom. 21, "In Ascensione Domini", PL 110, 42B-43A):

> ...Ascendamus cum Christo interim corde: cum dies eius promissus advenerit, sequemur et corpore. Scire tamen debemus, quia cum Christo non ascendit superbia, non avaritia, non luxuria; nullum vitium nostrum ascendit cum medico nostro. Et ideo, si post medicum desideramus ascendere, hic studeamus vitia vel peccata deponere. Omnes enim iniquitates nostrae quasi quibusdam conpedibus nos premunt, et peccatorum nos retibus ligare contendunt...

Maurice of Sully makes the same point in the Ascension homily in his "Christian Year" (written 1168-75; C.A. Robson, Maurice of Sully and the Medieval Vernacular Homily [Oxford, 1952], 133/27-37), using the image of the "burden" rather than of the "bonds of sin":

> ....si devons garder raison, e faire que nos soions tel, que apres lui puisons monter el ciel. E qui sont cil qui monteront el ciel? Sont ço li peceor? li avoltere? cil qui font les fornications? Sont ço li usurier? li laron? li robeor? li jureor? li foimentie? li parjure? Sont ço cil qui font ices coses qui a Deu desplaisent, e qui plaisent al diable? Nenil, voir! Certes cil n'i monteront mie, s'il ne s'amendent; quar ausi com les bones uevres qui sont faites por l'amor de Deu traient le buen homme amont; ausi traient li pecié le malvais homme aval. Donques se nos volons monter el ciel, si covient que nos nos alijons de nos pechiés...

9. See esp. Ps. 37:5, "Quoniam iniquitates meae supergressae sunt caput meum, Et sicut onus grave gravatae sunt super me", and Hebr. 12:1, "....deponentes omne pondus, et circumstans nos peccatum, per patientiam curramus ad propositum nobis certamen." Cf. Blaise, s.v. sarcina (fig.), miseriae/corporalis/peccatorum; Manz 337 fascis curarum, 614 moles criminum/delicti/facinorum, 658 onus criminum/peccatorum/scelerum, 757 pondus iniquitatis, 759 - peccatorum, 896-897 sarcina carnis/criminum/delictorum/peccatorum; Gregory, Hom.in Ez. I.2.6, CCSL 142, 20/103-104 (= Defensor, Liber Scintillarum 9.39, CCSL 117, 42), "Omne enim peccatum grave est, quia non permittit animam ad sublimia levari." Richard Rolle of Hampole compares the man burdened with sins to the stork, whose body is too heavy to allow it to fly (English Prose Treatises of Richard Rolle of Hampole, ed. G. Perry, E.E.T.S., O.S. 20 [1866], 9): "...thay may noght flye to lufe and contemplacyone

of God þay are so chargede wyth othyre affecyons and othire vanytes."

10. Cf. too:

Leifar 6/10-11	Prosper, Epigrammata 18, PL 51, 504 B-C
Engi maðr er sa er eigi þyngi hans ondo eN brigligi licami oc þer enar licamligo girnþer er honom fylgia...	Nemo est cujus animam corruptibile corpus et inhabitatio terrena non aggravet .... Nulla anima est, quæ non mortali carne gravetur.

and "Grædarinn lýðs og landa", st.2, ÍM II, 181, "i saurugan synda þunga": "Laurentiusdiktur", st. 3, ÍM II, 367, "sarlig synda byrdur".

11. See esp. Ps. 87:7-8, "Posuerunt me in lacu inferiori ... et omnes fluctus tuos induxisti super me"; 1 Tim. 6:9, "... desideria multa inutilia, et nociva, quae mergunt homines in interitum et perditionem." Cf., e.g., Thes. Ling. Lat., s.v. mare III, 2, speciatim apud christianos. a, de saeculo, mundo, peccato sim.; s.v. mergo II in imag.: ... peccatorum fluctibus, ... in profundo erroris, ... in gurgitem vitiorum; P. Courcelle, "Plotin et Saint Ambrose", Revue de Philologie 76 (1950), 35, 49 n.1; Manz 360 fluctuans saeculum, 361-2 fluctus marini/mundi/saeculi, 400-401 gurges marinus/vitiorum, 586 mare saeculi, 802-803 profundum iniquitatis/ peccati, 1079 voragines saeculi; M.E.D., s.v. flod 6(f), drounen 1c (b), drenchen (d) "in þe blak see of synne". On the theme of the unda mortis see Ute Schwab, "Eva reicht den Todesbecher...", Atti dell' Accademia Peloritana. Classe di Lettere Filosofia e Belle Arti 51 (1973-74), 11ff.

12. For the image of the "shipwreck of sin" see esp. I Tim. 1:19,

"...habens fidem, et bonam conscientiam, quam quidam repellentes, circa fidem naufragaverunt." Cf. Du Cange, s.v. naufragium; Hugo Rahner, Symbole der Kirche. Die Ekklesiologie der Väter (Salzburg, 1964), 298-301, 444-449; and discussions of the Icelandic ship allegory in AM 673a 4to (ed. L. Larsson, "Nochmals Schiff und Regenbogen", Z.f.d.A. 35 [1891], 244-248, esp. 246-7: 18/21-19/19) by W. Lange, Studien..., 256ff., and J.W. Marchand, "The Ship Allegory in the Ezzolied and in Old Icelandic", Neophilologus 60 (1976), 238-50. Cf. Marchand, "Sagena Piscatoris: An Essay in Medieval Lexicography", Linguistic Method: Essays in Honor of Herbert Penzl, Janua Linguarum. series maior. 79 (The Hague, 1979), 123-137. See too:

Leifar, 198/15	Bernard of Clairvaux, PL 184, 493A
... at fylgia skipbroti þessarar veralldar ...	...hujus mundi sequi naufragium...
Gregory's Dialogues, prologue, HMS I, 179/29-180/6	ed. de Vogüé, S.C. 260, 2, I. Prol. 5, 12/33-13/4-5 (PL 77, 152A-B)
....Nu reida mik storar bylgiu mikils siofar ok margar hridir a hugar skipi ... Þviat þa er ver siglum langt i haf, þa megum ver eigi sea hvilldarhöfn, þa er ver fyrirletum...	....Ecce etenim nunc magni maris fluctibus quatior, atque in naui mentis tempestatis ualidae procellis inlidor ... quia cum nauigamus longius, iam nec portum quietis quem reliquimus uidemus.

13. On the interpolation and the attribution of the sermon to Petrus Chrysologus see Olivar's introductory note, CCSL 24B, 780-781; cf. R. Grégoire, Les Homéliaires..., 103, PD II.71, and Clavis Patrum 227 and 930. See above, pp. 195-96.

14. For some further OWN examples of the profundum peccati metaphor see Barl. 157/22 synnda gröf (Ps. Ioh. Dam. 102/15 peccati fouea), 158/7 tapanar diup (Ps. Ioh. Dam. 102/30 profundum perditionis), 192/16-17 synda diup (Ps. Ioh. Dam. 123/5-6 superbiae fouea); Antonius s., HMS I,75/33 avrvilnanar divp (Vitae Patrum, PL 73, 143C impietatis fovea); Vitae Patrum, HMS II,364/3 synda diup (Ibid. 363/22-23 infernus peccatorum): "Grædarinn lýós og landa", st. 15, ÍM II, 183 synda grof; "Hæstur heilagur andi", st. 4, ÍM II, 196 lasta diup. Cf. too Sthom. 27/1-3 ("Drottens daga mal"):

> ....Ór eigiptalanz anaúþ leysomc ver at søcþom ǫvinom orom i et rauþa haf. þa er ver róþomc fra synþom i iþranar tǫrom. sva at þeir søcqve i helvitis diúp.

Servitude/ The Bonds of Sin/ Snares and Nets

The liberation of mankind from the captivity of the devil (prefigured in the deliverance of the Israelites from Egypt "out of the house of bondage", and dramatically represented in the tradition of Christ's descensus ad inferos) is the central theme of Christian soteriology.[1] St Paul speaks repeatedly of the "bondage" of the Old Law (Gal. 2:4, 4:3, 9, 24, 5:1), "the captivity of the law of sin" (Rom. 7:23, cf. Heb. 2:15), the "servitude of corruption " (Rom. 8:21), and of Christ's transformation of men from "servants of sin" into "servants of righteousness" (Rom. 6:16-22) and the "adopted sons" of God (Rom. 8:14-15, Gal. 4:5). Christ himself describes the sinful man as a servus peccati (John 8:34), and St Peter refers to false teachers as servi corruptionis (2 Peter 2:19). It is not surprising that such figures are used habitually by the OWN homilists:

Sthom. 32/6-12 ("Oratio domiNi"):

> Adám vas fríals scapaþr oc til sælo...EN nv es hann hvgþe at siNi eiNe sálo...gat diofæll yver hann stigit. oc varþ hans illzko þræll...

Sthom. 32/21-24:

> Nu biþíom vér várn fæþor. at hann frelse oss fra illo... þóat sva illa hafem ver fyr oss leítat es vér vórom guþs born. at nu sém vér diofols mansmeN oc synþa þiónar oc þýiar. at guþ frelse oss fra þeírre anaúþ...

Sthom. 54/22-23 ("CiRcvmcisio domini"):	Nhom. 54/11-12 ("In circumcisione domini..."):	Bede I.11, CCSL 122, 74/32-34:
...oc hann gerþe sér at ǫskmǫgom[2] þa er hann leýste ór þreldóme lægmálsens...	...Þvi at vér collomc cristnir ok gerðomsc guðs synir er aðr varom synda þrælar...	...ac de seruili conditio quae sub lege erat erepto in adoptionem filiorum quae per gratiam est sua largitate reduceret.

Sthom. 75/5-6 ("ResvRectio doMiNi"):

> A þriþio tíþ veraldar leýste cristr allt maNkyn vndan anauþ ámlegs dauþa...

Sthom. 99/15-16 ("Kirkio dags mal"; Nhom. 95/23, "Jn dedicatione tempeli"):

> ...oc geresc hann þa guþs sonr. þar er hann var áþr synþar þræll.

Sthom. 109/32-34:

> ...Syngve þa eN .v. pater noster. i miNing .v. faldra meinláta þeira er guþ drótteN þolþe af þessa heims anauþ...

Sthom. 149/1-6:

> ...þa erom vér dauþer i græf lagþer. oc risum kykver upp. es vér erom synþger aþr oc fiándaNs þrælar. komom síþan hreiner ór skírnar brvNnenom oc guþs born til lífs boren.[3]

Sthom. 160/14-16:

> ...A vallt es maþr gerer glǿpiN. þa er hann þræll gǫR a nauþigr af synþiNi. oc buNdiN fra himinríki...[4]

Bonds

The related metaphor of the "fetters of sin" also derives ultimately from Scripture. With the following examples from the Homily Books, cf., e.g., Ps. 118:61, "Funes peccatorum circumplexi sunt me..."; Prov. 5:22, "Iniquitates suae capiunt impium, et funibus peccatorum suorum constringitur"; Acts 8:23, "In felle enim amaritudinis, et obligatione iniquitatis video te esse"[5]:

Sthom. 21/23-37 ("ascensio domini"):

> Diofoll fǽr siNi sveít fiotra til meins ǫss. FiotoR er lagþr a þaN maN er sva er metnaþar fullr at hann þyckesc yver ǫllom ǫþrom. oc vill lof sitt heýra a valt. en virþer til lyGe hveriom er hann lastar. Sa fiotoR es sva ramlegr ef hann er eige broteN meþ litillǫ́te. at ecke ma til þess ǽtla at stíga i himiniN meþ hann [etc.]...[6]

Sthom. 46/6 ("Nativitas domini"):

> ...buNdet stríþlega af secþ ens fyrsta manz...

Sthom. 46/9-11:

> ...var boreN i þeNa heím af mikille milde siNe oc miscuN. oc sleít bǫnd eilífs dǫþa oc þungrar synþar...

Sthom. 55/1-2 ("ciRcvmcisio domini"):
...leýsto sik af þǫndom eNar fyrsto synþar eþa secþar meþ fórnom...

Bede I. 11, CCSL 122, 75/62-65:
...hostiarum oblationibus...a primi reatus uinculis absoluere curabant.

Sthom. 55/28-29:
...oc mǽlom daviþs orþom viþ goþ. Sleítz þu bǫnd ór drotteN...

Ibid., 77/144-145 (Ps. 115:16):
...Disrupisti, inquiens, uincula mea...

Sthom. 67/21-23 (Nhom. 78/23-25):

> Christus sat þolenmóþlega gyþingom bǫnd oc bardaga... at hann leýste oss ór synþa bǫndom...

Sthom. 136/18-19 ("Die annunciationis beatę Marię..."):

> ...at guþ myne leýsa oss ór ǫllom synþa bǫndom...

Sthom. 150/34-35:
Nu er sa dagr halldeN er diofoll varþ yfer stigeN þa er hann hugesc sigr hafa oc buNdeN þa er hann hugþesc biNda...[7]

Acta S. Sebastiani, PL 17, 1122B:
...En dies in quo vincere se tyrannus existimabat, qui dum capit captus est; dum tenet, vinctus est...

Sthom. 168/9-10:
...þeir ero þa buNdner nauþger ı quǫliNi er her biNda sic lostca i glǫpalífino...

Gr. 38 in Ev., PL 76, 1290A (Matt.22:1:
...Qui ergo nunc sponte ligantur in vitio, tunc in supplicio ligantur invite...

Nhom. 72/20-34:

...Sva er os oc hascasamlect ef vér liggium of lengi í licams munuð varre. ok vilium æigi yfir bøta. þa likiumc vér dyri þvi er á ut-lændum er er hæitir lutolupus...þat er venia þess...at læica við tre æit með hornum sinum sva lengi at þat væfr sic sva i viðinum at þat ma sic ængum coste ór læysa...En þa hæyrir væiði-maðr-enn rodd þes .ok cømr þar farande er þat er fast orðet. ok lægr á spiote til bana. Sva er oc maðr-enn sa er færr mioc at licams munuð sinni...ok festir sic ok bindr sic fyrir dioflinum með syndum sinum. nu ef hann fyrir-færsc í þvi synda-bande ok getr hann æigi or læyst. þa tæcr diofull hann ok fører með sér til æilifra quala...[8]

Nhom. 126/30-32 (Flat. II, 392/19-22):
...bað aumlega með mycclum grat þann milda konung með guðs fulltingi lœysa en sæigu synda-bond af sér er fianden hafðe hann í vafðan.

cf. Passio et Miracula Beati Olaui, ed. Metcalfe, 91/24-26:
...mente prostratus sanctum martirem uberrimis cepit interpellare gemitibus, ut dampnationis quo tenebatur uinculo suis mereretur precibus absolui...

Nhom. 169/ 17-18:

...hværr er sva fast tekin í flærð hins bannaða fianda..[9]

The homilists similarly speak of being "entangled" in sin and error (cf. 2 Tim. 2:4, 2 Pet. 2:20, Manz 503 involvi criminibus/ peccatis/ sceleribus):

Sthom. 106/6-8:

...at vér þyrptem heldr micklo umbótar of várt ráþ...heldr en áfalz oc auka viþ þa anmarka er vér erom áþr i vafeþ.

Sthom. 111/8-10:

...oss verþe hald fosto þessar. at aflaúsn allra synþa. þeira er vér hæfom oss i vafet.

Sthom. 155/2-3:

> ...at keNa rétta trv oc atferþ þeím monnom [er] *í anticriz villo vefiasc*[10]

Snares/ Nets

The author of the Doomsday sermon preserved on the interpolated leaves in Nhom.[11] makes use of the biblical figures of the "snares" of death (laquei mortis, cf. 2 Sam. 22:6, Ps. 17:6, Prov. 21:6) and of the devil (laquei diaboli, cf. 1 Tim. 3:7, 6:9, 2 Tim. 2:26):

Nhom. 170/23-30:

> ...Nu mætte ognasc þessor haróyrði þeir er dvalder ero i drambe heims þessa. ok hyggiasc á manu lifa. En fyrr kømr oft dauða snara umm hals oss en sialfa oss vare.[12] Nu goðir breðr. hvat er oss til licna syndugum mannum. með þvi at ver erom sva mioc kvaldir i imisum snarum vár·ovinaR þat er fianden sialfr. ok hans erændrecar. nema þessor mildleg orð vars scapara er hann mælir sva. Nolo mortem peccatoris sed ut inpius conuertatur et uiuat...[13]

And with the laqueus diaboli one can contrast the image of the "net of faith" introduced in the third Christmas homily in Sthom. The central section of the sermon is based on Gregory's thirty-eighth gospel homily, on the parable of the wedding feast. On the whole, the Icelandic homilist stays fairly close to Gregory's Latin, but in the passage concerned, an interpretation of Matt. 22:10 in terms of the mingling of good and evil persons within the Church, he suddenly departs from his original:

Sthom. 165/10-23:

Nu fara þeir sendimen conungs ens oc sǫmnoþo saman allom þeim er þeir fundo góþom oc illom. oc varþ þa manna fiolþi mikill. bera boþsmenir vitni umb. er marger voro váNder. at þat brauþcaup [sic] er þar es umb røtt i guþspiallino merker þetta maNboþ her iNan heims er guþ býþr ollom iamsaman til sín i heílagre tru oc skírn. en eige hiT es a domadegi. býþr hann góþom monnom eínom heím oc helgom til sín. en rekr váNda meN a bravt alla fra sér i elld eilífan meþ diofli. Her es sambland mikit góþra oc illra fisca í trvarnótiNi.

Gr. 38 in Ev., PL 76, 1285C-D:

Et egressi servi ejus in vias, congregaverunt omnes quos invenerunt, malos et bonos, et impletæ sunt nuptiæ discumbentium. [Matt. 22:10] Ecce jam ipsa qualitate convivantium aperte ostenditur quia per has regis nuptias præsens Ecclesia designatur, in qua cum bonis et mali conveniunt. Permista quippe est diversitate filiorum, quia sic omnes ad fidem generat, ut tamen omnes per immutationem vitæ ad libertatem spiritalis gratiæ culpis exigentibus non

oc má her eige of greina. oc verþr alla saman til laNds at draga. oc bíþa uNz sa skipter a dóma degi er veit hverer góþer ró eþa hverer eige...	perducat. Quousque namque hic vivimus, necesse est ut viam præsentis sæculi permisti pergamus. Tunc autem discernimur, cum pervenimus...

In substituting a fishing metaphor for Gregory's travelling imagery here, the Icelandic homilist undoubtedly had in mind Christ's comparison of the kingdom of heaven to a net (Vulgate, sagena) into which are gathered fish of every kind (Matt. 13:47-50). His use of the metaphorical compound trúarnót suggests, moreover, that his digression was prompted by a reminiscence of another Gregorian text - the discussion of the parable of the net in the eleventh gospel homily (PL 76, 1116B-C):

> Sancta Ecclesia sagenæ comparatur...Quæ sagena...tunc universaliter repletur, cum in fine suo humani generis summa concluditur. Quam educunt, et secus littus sedent, quia sicut mare sæculum, ita sæculi finem significat littus maris. In quo scilicet fine boni pisces in vasis eliguntur, mali autem projiiciuntur foras ...Nunc enim bonos malosque communiter quasi permistos pisces fidei sagena nos continet, sed littus indicat sagena, id est sancta Ecclesia, quid trahebat...Cogitemus igitur in captione, ne dividamur in littore.

Perhaps the repetition of the words permista...permisti in the Icelandic homilist's chief source, Gr. 38 in Ev., was enough to trigger an association with the permisti pisces of Gr. 11 in Ev.[14]

1. See, e.g., Jean Rivière, "La Rédemption chez Saint Augustin", Revue des Sciences Religieuses 7 (1927), 433ff., and Le dogme de la rédemption chez Saint Augustin (Paris, 1933), 11-36; Phillip Haerle, Captivus - cattivo - chétif. Zur Einwirkung des Christentums auf die Terminologie der Moralbegriffe, Romanica Helvetica 55 (1955), 17ff., 28ff.; Thomas Rendall, "Bondage and Freeing from Bondage in Old English Religious Poetry", JEGP 73 (1974), 497-512; J.A. MacCulloch, The Harrowing of Hell (1930), esp. 227ff.

2. See also,

Sthom. 54/12-13:

...at hann leyste þa er vnder lǫgom vóro. ok vér yrþem at óskmogom...

Bede I.11, CCSL 122, 73/17-18 (Gal.4:5):

...ut eos qui sub lege erant redimeret ut adoptionem filiorum reciperemus...

Sthom. 29/11-15 ("oratio domiNi"):

Faþer váR þu ert a himnom. er oss...synþogra manna bǫrn... hever andlega gorva sina óska suno...

31/12-14:

...oc meta hann til þess fæþor várn. es eínga sun siN iesum crist seNde at kaýpa daúþa sínom oss synþa bǫrnom líf. oc síþan gera sér at ǫscabǫrnòm.

cf., e.g., Christian Druthmar, PL 105, 1314B, "Duobus modis est nobis Pater Deus: conditione, quia condidit et creavit nos: adoptione, quia per suam misericordiam adoptavit nos in filios"; Glossa Ordinaria, PL 114 100B, "Dum Pater dicitur, de adoptione cogitemus, ut Patri pium affectum rependemus. Dum dicitur noster, fraternitas admonetur, cum sit communis adoptio omnibus"; Ælfric, "De Dominica Oratione", CH I, 258/25-26, "Gud Fæder Ælmihtig hæfð ænne Sunu gecyndelice and menige gewiscendlice

Sthom. 148/28-29:

...þót vér seem aller oskmeger fæþor af hans miskuN. þa es þó iesus eíN eínga sonr hans...

Sthom. 196/17-18 (on the Lord's Prayer):

...vér cǫllom. Faþer noster. fyrþui at aller góþer meN ero oscbǫrn goþs. af giof hans oc miskuN...

197/4-5:

...þa helgasc nafn goþs a oss. ef vér lifom sva. at at sva se honom oc vegr at oss oscbærnom sínom.

Cf. Fritzner s.vv. óskasonr, óskbarn, óskberni, óskmögr, tilæskingarsonr, æskiligr, adj. (2, udvalgt - æskiligr sonr), æskingarsonr, esp.:

Elucidarius, AM 674 A 4to,
ANOH (1858), 79/6-11:

Sva sem konongr sę siukan liggia ísaure...oc gefe honom nafn sitt oc gerþe sér at oscmege...sva... gaf [Guþ] oss cr(i)stet nafn oc gerþe sér at oskmogom...

Lefèvre, 473/27 - 474/1:

Sicut igitur rex præteriens aegrum in caeno jacentem...nomen suum ei imponeret, in filium eum adoptaret ...ita Deus...nos per fidem levavit ...nomen suum divinitatis imposuit, in regnum suum hæredes adscivit...

Flat. I, 512/38 - 513/1 ('Oláfs s. Tryggvasonar, "Predican Sigurdar vid Suia"):

...tilęskingarsynir æilifs lifs...

Flat. II, 97/30 (Fóstbræðra s.):

...Kristr hefir mennina skapat ok gert þa sina tilæskingarsonu en æigi þræla...

'Oláfs s. Tryggv. en mesta II, 149/14-16 (Flat. I, 421/2-5):

...guð virðiz at...leysa þat folk fyrir sína erendreka af laungum fiandans þræl domi. ok leiða siþan til sam lags eilifrar erfdar sinna æskiligra sona...

All of these terms are clearly loan-formations from filius adoptivus (cf. OE wuscbearn, see B.T., s.v., "a beloved or an adopted child"; OHG wunsc chindo [= adoptio filiorum], see Rudolf Schützeichel, Althochdeutsches Wörterbuch [3. Ausg., 1981], s.v. kin(d); Grimm, D.W., s.vv. Wunsch IAlb, Wunschkind 2; OSw uska son/ önszka son, see Söderwall, s.v. usk 3). One need not, however, assume that the use of the word óskmögr to refer to Christ in Heilags anda vísur, st. 17 ("Vegr sé fedr ok fögrum/...oskmegi drottins", Skjd A II, 179, cf. Veni Creator Spiritus, Doxology, Analecta Hymnica 50, 194, "Sit laus

patri cum filio") reflects Adoptionist sympathies on the part of the author. Þorleikr fagri's reference to Sven Estridsson as Ulfs óskmǫgr (i.e., the "beloved", not the "adopted" son of Ulfr, his natural father - Sveinsflokkr, mid-eleventh century, st. 5, Skjd A I, 397) suggests that óskmögr must have acquired the secondary sense "beloved son" at an early date. (Cf. Lexicon Poeticum, s.v., óskamey, Máríuvísur I, st. 23, Skjd A II, 531, oskamey dróttins = Maria.)

Hjalmar Falk has argued ("Oldnorske ordforklaringer", ANF 5 [1889], 114) that the word óskmegir in st. 16 of Lokasenna derives from the Odinic epithet 'Oski, i.e. = 'Óðins megir. (The same idea is expressed less cautiously by Jakob Grimm, Teutonic Mythology, trans. J.S. Stallybrass, I [1882], 138ff. Cf. Lexicon Poeticum, s.v. óskvíf; Finnur Jónsson, Ibid., suggests that óskmær at Oddrunargrátr, st. 16 [= valkyrje] is the result of a scribal corruption.) H. Gering and B. Sijmons (Kommentar zu den Liedern der Edda, Germanistische Handbibliothek VII. 3,1 [1927], 284) compare Snorri's reference to the Einherjar as the óskasynir of 'Óðinn in Gylfaginning , ch. 20 (ed. Anne Holtsmark and Jón Helgason, Nordisk Filologi. A 1 [1950 , rpt. 1976], 24/14).

The words óskabarn, óskmögr, etc. would not appear to have formed part of the legal vocabulary associated with ættleiðing in Norway and Iceland (cf. E. Hertzberg, Glossarium, NGL V and, e.g., Konrad Maurer, Vorlesungen über altnordische Rechtsgeschichte [1907-10], III, 165ff.) On the quite different use of the term oska barn/ uskabarn/ unskabarn in the Old Swedish laws see, however, Per-Edwin Wallén, "Önskebarn", KLNM XX, 715-716.

3. No close analogue has yet been found for this text, an exposition of the Apostle's Creed (cf. van Arkel, 15; Lilli Gjerløw, Liturgica Islandica, Bibl. Arn. 35 [1980], 24-25). The Icelandic interpreter would appear to allude here to Romans 6:4, a text often associated

with this article of the symbol ("passus sub Pontio Pilato, crucifixus, mortuus et sepultus..."): "Consepulti enim sumus cum illo per baptismum in mortem: ut quomodo Christus surrexit a mortuis per gloriam Patris, ita et nos in novitate vitae ambulemus." (Cf., e.g., Ivo of Chartres, PL 162, 605D -606A; Joscelin of Soissons, PL 186, 1486A.)

4. Although Kirby does not include these lines in his catalogue of OWN biblical quotations, the passage is probably a reminiscence of John 8:34, "...omnis qui facit peccatum servus est peccati" (cf. Mar. 823/17-18, cit. Kirby I. 292, "...sa sem gerir syndina, hann er þræll syndarinnar").

The twelfth-century skald Halldórr skvaldri uses the term djǫfuls þrælar to refer to the defenders of one of the Moorish cities sacked by Sigurðr Jórsalafari (Útfarardrápa [c. 1120], st. 8, Skjd A I, 487; cf. Eirspennill, ed. Finnur Jónsson [1916], 130ff.). The author of the translation of Prosper's Epigrams now preserved in AM 677 4to describes the man enslaved by vice as a þræll fastr á fótum:

Leifar 13/12-15:	Prosper, Ep. 52, PL 51, 514B:
...iN illi maðr þot hann hafi konongs rici þa er hann þo þrell fastr a fotom eigi sem eins maNz se helldr iafnmargra drotna sem hann a losto marga.	...Malus...etiam si regnet, servus est; nec unius domini, sed quod est gravius, tot dominorum quot vitiorum. ... Solus peccator servit male; qui licet an Utatur regno, sat miser est famulus; Cum mens carnalis, nimium dominante tyra Tot servit sceptris dedita quot vitiis.

(See D.A. Seip MM [1943], 115.) This phrase was regularly used to refer to a person in the most abject condition of slavery (see, e.g., Fritzner, s.v. fastr, adj., 2; A. Gjessing, "Trældom i Norge", ANOH

[1862], 271; P. Foote, "Træl: Alment, Norge og Island", KLNM 19, 16; Alexanders s. 115/3, "bornir at vera þręlar fastir áfotom" = Alexandreis VII, 504, "nati servire clientes"; Grágás, ed. V. Finsen, I (1852), "Rannsóknaþáttr" 229, 165/14; Njáls s. ÍF 12, 49/14-15).

See also:

Sthom. 37/11-12 (Nhom. 103/17-18):

...leyste alt maNkyn ór anaúþ er hann dó a crossenom...

Sthom. 135/18:

...fra diofuls velde oc anaúþ...

Nhom. 74/9-10:

...hværia á-nauð vér tocum af at-girninni...

Gr. Dialogues, HMS I, 220/19-20:
...glicþi hann i þvi eptir drotni orom, es þrels licam toc a sic, til þess at hann levsti oss or svnþa anaþ...

Leifar, 198/16:
...þrældómr omillds grimmleika...

Barl. 69/26-28:
...þeir margr er i falla syndinnar...gera sik sialfkrave at þrælom oc leggiazt vndir þann lavarð til anauðar er þeir ero með ollu engo vndir skyldir...

Stjórn 408/8-10:
...Jepte læysti Jsraels lyð af illvm yfirgang sona Amons. Jesus Cristr frelsti sina valða menn af diðfla þionkan oc þrældomi.

de Vogüé 2, 264, III.1.8/91-92:
...illum videlicet imitatus, qui formam serui adsumpsit, ne nos essemus serui peccati...

Bernard, Meditationes de humana conditionis, PL 184, 493A:
...impiæ tyrannidis dominium...

Ps. Ioh. Dam. 48/28-32:
...Qui enim semel ab auaritia et uoluptate malorum capiuntur...quasi seruos semetipsos uoluntarie uenundantes alieno domino...et uincti ab eo tenentur...

Ps. Hugh of St Victor, Allegoriae in Vetus Testamentum (= Richard of St Victor, Liber Exceptionum, see J. Chatillon, Revue du moyen âge latin 4 [1948], 23-52), IV.15, PL 175, 680A-B:
...sicut Jephte liberavit populum de manu filiorum Ammon; sic Christus electos de servitute dæmonum.

Words like herfenginn, hertekinn, hertekja and hernaðr are also used to express the notion of the captivitas diaboli. Sthom. and Nhom. provide no examples of the metaphorical use of these terms, but cf.:

Andreas s. post. I, Post. 337/6-7:	Passio sancti Andreae apostoli, ed. M. Bonnet, Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha 2.1 (1898), 4/7 - 5/1:
...en er guð hverfr fra þeim, þa verða þeir herfengnir...af diofli (cf. AM 239 fol., ed. L. Harty, MS 39 [1977], 147/29, herteknir; Andreas s. post. I., Tillæg, Post. 349/32, rekningar; Andreas s. post. IV, Post. 406/7, herfengner.)	...et cum auersus fuerit et non exaudierit habeantur a diabolo ipsi captiui...
Barl. 114/15-17:	Ps. Ioh. Dam. 79/12-13:
...at guð með sinni miskunn hevir mik vuerðugan frialsat. oc af sua þungum þrældome oc þeirri hinni hervilegre hertekiv hevir hans milleikr mik aptr kallat...	...quod de malignorum seruitute dęmonum liberatus et de dura captiuitate reuocatus essem...
Ibid., 160/21-22:	Ibid., 104/3:
...hertekinn vndir synda akefð...	...ad peccandum captiuatus...
Ibid., 181/31-33:	Ps. Ioh. Dam. 116/27-28:
...með miskunn þinni læys oc fræls þræl þinn faður minn or þeim hinum hervilega hernnaðe.er fiandenn hevir langlega halldet honom i...	...perfecte libera seruum patrem meum de sæua illa captiuitate diaboli...
Antonius s., HMS I, 80/4-5:	PL 73, 145D - 146A:
...enn veila Jvdam, er tyndi sinni trv, batt hann hertekinn sinvm fianzligvm bavndvm	...infelicissimum Judam exspoliatum fide, vinculis captivitas innexuit.

Thóm. II, II. 228/29 - 230/1:

...Súnamitis þýðist hertekinn, ok því merker hún sál mannkynsins, er Jesús Kristus leysti með sínu blóði brutt úr herleiðslu fjandans.

The antithetical figure of the þræll guðs (= servus/ famulus dei, cf. Mark 10:43-44; Gjessing, "Trældom i Norge", 96f.; Walter, Lex. Lehn. 48), is also, of course, common in both the Homily Books and later religious prose and poetry: Sthom. 8/6-7 (Nhom. 133/26-28, Mar. 56/10), "...ef droten vár Iesus Cristr væitir opt slica dyrð i andláte þræla sina [Mar., eþa þiona]" (cf. PL 30, 130C [PL 95, 1502A], "...quod si...talia et tanta dignatus est exhibere per suos cæli ministros circa defunctos..."); Sthom. 164/23-24 guþs þionar, 194/17 þrǽlar þíNs velldess, 208/20 þióN guþs, 212/9 þióN guþs, 217/31 dróttens þrælar (Caesarius 188, CCSL 104, 768 [728/21], domini servi); Nhom. 5/14 þrælar guþs (Alc. VV, PL 101, 617C sancti Dei), 25/29 þrǽlar guðs (Ibid., 633B famulus Dei), 27/25 þrǽlar guðs (Ibid., 635A Deo famulantes; 28/8 þræll guðs (Ibid., 635B servus Dei), 130/13 guðs þrælar; Gr. Dialogues, HMS I, 222/33 gvþs þrell (de Vogüé 2, 278, III.6. 1/16 seruus Dei), 227/11-12, "Ef þv er gvþs þrell, þa halde þer Cri(s)tz festr en eigi iarnfestr" (de Vogüé 2, 335 III.16. 9/95-96, "Si seruus es Dei, non te tenent catena ferri, sed catena Christi"), 227/20 gvþs þrell (de Vogüé 2, 336, III. 16. 10/110-111 uir Dei; see further Walter, Lex. Lehn. 170, n.2); AM 645 4to ("Jarteinabók Þorláks biskups"), ed. Larsson (1885), 10/29, "eN sele thorlacr þioN Gvþs", 25/14 Gvþs þioN; Konungs skuggsiá 92/22,"kominn firi kne Guðe sem þræll eða þionn"; Oddr munkr, Saga Óláfs Tryggvasonar, ed. Finnur Jónsson (1932), 91/17, guðs þionar cf. 92/23 kenne menn); Barl. 85/ 87-89, "...hevir guð frælst þik oc læyst af synddinni oc gortt þik anauðgan vndir sitt valld" (cf. Ps. Ioh. Dam. 63/8-9 "...liberatus a peccato, seruus autem factus deo..."); Óláfs s. Tryggv. en Mesta

I. 306/11-12 ('Oláfr's "sermon" at the Mostrarþing), "...gerir hann sina þræla bræðr síns sæta sonar ok samerfingia eilifs fagnaðar..."; Kr. Kålund, "En Islandsk Ordsprogsamling fra femtende Århundrede: IV. Bönner og Anråbelser", Småstykker, STUAGNL 13 (1884), 182, "Jesus firi-gef þu þinum synduga ok auma þræl...". For some poetical examples see Einarr Skúlason, Geisli, st. 58 alldar milldíngs þíonn; Gamli kanóki, Harmsól, st. 9 þrêll þinn, st. 10 Þínn...sýndugr þíonn; Merlínússpá II. 59 þygiar kristz (cf. Geoffrey of Monmouth, Historia Regum Brittaniae, ed. E. Faral, La légende arthurienne I. 3 [1929], 194/ cap. 114, 20 virgines); Kolbeinn Tumason, lausavisa 8, þræll þiN; Líknarbraut st. 33 frons konungs þrêlar; Einarr Gilsson, Selkolluvísur, st. 20 hímna hilldings þíonandi; s.a., "digt om Guðmund Arason", st. 26 þræll himins þengils; 'Arni ábóti Jónsson, Guðmundardrápa, st. 19 þionari (krapta drottins); Máríudrápa, st. 7 þrêlar guds ord[s]. The personal name Gottskálk (cf. MHG Gottschalk) first came into use in Norway and Iceland in the late medieval period (see E.H. Lind, Norsk- Isländska Dopnamn... [1905-15], s.v. Gotskalk, "Nästan alla namnets bärare äro mer äller mindre uppenbart utländingar...").

Bonds

5. Cf. also Job 36:8 funes paupertatis, Is. 58:6 colligationes impietatis, Ps. 115:16 "Disrupisti vincula mea", 145:7 "Dominus solvit compeditos"; Manz 146 catena delictorum/ peccati, 1041 vincula iniquitatis/ pravitatis, 1042 vincula tartarea, 1043 vinculum carcareale, 926-927 solvere opera diaboli/ peccata/ delicta. For some OE examples see Rendall, op. cit., passim; Fr. Klæber, "Die christliche Elemente im Beowulf", Anglia 35 (1911), 135-136 (IV, Sünde, 8), 254 (V, Der teufel, 2e), 269 (VIII, Hölle); R.J. Menner, ed., Poetical Dialogues of Solomon and Saturn (1941), 132-133 (note ad l. 325a); Ælfric, CH I. 208, "anra gehwilc manna is gewriðen mid rapum his synna"; II. 34/28-29, "he...his sawle... mid deoflicum rapum gewriðe" (cf. J.E. Cross, NM 72 [1971], 452, n.4).

6. On this passage see above, p. 479, n.8.

7. Cf. the independent translation in AM 238 fol. XII, ed. A.Loth, Bibl. Arn. 31 (1975), 114:

> Nv er sa dagr er hin forne fian[de] uar yfir stigin. þa er hann hugdiz yfir stiga. þa uard hann g[ri]pin er hann uilldi gripa...

8. As Vrátný noted (ANF 29 [1913], 176-177; cf. Gunnes, 170), this parable is taken from a text of the Physiologus (cf., e.g., F.J. Carmody, ed., Physiologus Latinus [Paris, 1939], 12-13, "Autolops"). It was exploited by preachers throughout the middle ages (see Pauly-Wissowa, Realenzyklopädie des classischen Altertums XX, 1 [1941], s.v. "Physiologus", 1091f.; Lynn Thorndike, "The properties of things of nature adapted to sermons", Medievalia et Humanistica 12 [1958], 81, "Phichalops"; D. Schmidtke, Geistliche Tierinterpretation in der deutschsprachigen Literatur des Mittelalters [diss. Berlin, 1968], I. 246-247, "Autula", II. 576, n.773; I. 261, "Calopus", II. 580, n.812). On the commonplace comparison of Satan to a hunter see,

e.g., D.W. Robertson, "Why the Devil Wears Green", MLN 69 (1954), 470-472, and below, n. 13 on the laqueus diaboli.

9. For further OWN examples of the metaphor see:

Leifar 59/23:

...sem þæir sé í ǫllum syndum bundnir...

Gr. 34 in Ev., PL 76, 1248C:

...ac si peccatis omnibus coangustentur...

Ibid., 195/8:

...bundin með synda reipum...

Bernard, Meditationes... PL 184,490C

...peccatorum funibus irretita...

Niðrstigningar s. IV, HMS II, 19/31-32:

...ok hann mun leysa þa, er byrgdir eru i grimre myrkvastofu ok stridligum synda baundum...

Ev. Nicodemi II. cap. 5(21), ed. Tischendorf, Evangelia Apocrypha (1876), 397/2-3:

...omnes qui sunt hic in crudelitate carceris clausi et in insolutis vinculis peccatorum constricti, solvet...

Barl. 91/6

...fræistaðe hann at frælsu hana af þessom dauðlegom synnda bondum...

Ibid., 113/9-10:

...lœysti með þessom hætte af oss synda fiotur...

Ps. Ioh. Dam. 78/25:

...quatenus solueretur peccati dominium...

Ibid., 145/29-30:

...þo at se vmattolegt at hann vili lœysa bonnd sua vbærelega synnda...

Ibid., 96/6-7:

...licet impossibile uideatur mihi remissionem peccatorum meorum...posse adipisci...

Ibid., 148/17-18:

Margar salor lœysti hann fra fianddans bondum...

Ibid., 97/30-31:

Multas enim animas eripuit de principatu diaboli...

Ibid., 183/10-12:

...hevir allt hanns afspringi langlega fylgtt oc með faret allzsconar villu. með fianndans

Ibid., 117/27-28:

...elapsum genus humanum in multos decidit errores, seruiens peccati et subditum morti per tyrannidem

aeggian vndir synnda bannde oc anauðar byrði gengit.

diaboli...

Pétrs s. post. I, Post. 37/11:

...ek se þik bundinn i stauddu fyrirheiti illzku þinnar...

Acts 8:23:

In...obligatione iniquitatis video te esse.

Fabricius, Cod. Apoc. Nov. Test. III (1743), 619/31 - 620/2:

...Unde si adhuc Aristodemus ab infidelitate tenetur, solvamus nodos infidelitatis ejus...

Jóns s. post. I, Post. 432/21-23:

Nu með þvi at Aristodimus hellzt enn i otru sinni, þa skulum ver leita at leysa otruleiksknuta hans, þa er hann er með bundinn...

Jóns s. post.II, Post. 453/8-9:

...baund otru hans...

Jóns s. post. III, Post. 464/5-6:

...rexna tortrigþar (!) hans...

Tveggia Postola s. Jóns ok Jacobs, Post. 660/5-8:

...þa bundna knuta, er hann hafa bundit langa tima ok vafit i villu bolvaðra skurðgoða...

'Oláfs s. Tryggv. en Mesta, II, 150/3-4 (Flat. I, 421/9-10):

...þann lyð er hann hafði aðr allan tíma halldit her tekinn ívillu bóndum sinna bóluadra skurd goda...

Thóm. II, I. 508/16-18:

...leysir margan mann...er áðr váro haldnir fyrir hörmulig syndabönd...

Jóns s. baptista II, Post. 915/ 25-26:

...eigi skal eiðr illzkuband vera...

Mar. 334/4:

...storum syndafiðtrum bundnir i þersi myrkuastofu...

Ibid., 335/22:

...þrongdir...syndafiotrum þungum...

Ibid.,338/23-25:

...fram steypum bønir varar, at þu, hinn milldazte veralldar drottning, leysir af oss þann synda strenginn, sem oss vil draga til eylifs vfagnadar...

Ibid., 619/7:

Meðr þvilikri iðranar exi hoggr hann synda streinginn...

cf. "Græðarinn Lýðs og Landa", ÍM II, 191, st.77 (cit. Schottmann, Die isländische Mariendichtung..., 134):

...

sem gud fyrer lati mier
med idranar oxi hann af sier hio
þann syndanna flærdar fiotuR
eR fordum ad sier dro

Elucidarius (AM 238 fol. XVIII, ed. Konráð Gíslason ANOH [1858], 164/7, cit. Salvesen, 61):

...þeir er her bundu sik i syndabondum...

Lefèvre, 448/32 - 449/1:

Et quia hic per singula vitia erant diffluxi...

Sólarljóð, st. 37 (ed. B.M. Olsen [Rvk., 1915], 14):

Heljar reip
kómu harðliga
sveigð at síðum mér
slíta ek vilda,
en þau seig vóru
...

Líknarbraut, st. 30 (Skjd A II, 155-156; cf. Not. Norr. §1393):

Krýp ek til kross en glêpa
knosut bǫnd af þuí losna
...

Lilja, st. 23 (Skjd A II, 371):

bíug ok sar j bandí væri
bandí ríett ens nedsta f[·an]da
nema hialprædit guds id goda
gefr á jord mic leystan hefdi.

Ibid., st. 83 (Skjd A II, 390):

leysezt ǫnd af holldzens baundum

Maríudrápa, st. 32 (Skjd A II, 470):

Leýstu med frelsí fǫstu
frek bǫnnd af lyd sekium

"Hið Minna Jesúskvæði", st.7 (ÍM I.2,183/7):

ad snua fra lasta lijnum

Cf. the compounds dauða/ dauðans bǫnd (Leifar 85/23-24 = Luke 13:16 vinculum istud; Niðrstigningar s. II, HMS II, 10/13 i dæpa bændom, cf. Tischendorf, Evangelia Apocrypha, 396/10 mortuus; Barl. 28/18-19, cf. Ps. Ioh. Dam. 20/34 mortis tyrannis; Mírmans s., ed. E. Kolbing, Riddarasǫgur [1872], 208/30; Máriudrápa st. 2, Skjd A II, 364; "Rosa" st. 33, ÍM I.13, cit. Schottmann, 134); harmsbǫnd (Strengleikar, "Guiamar", 26/13-14, "hava þau nu i myklum ok kynlegom harms bondum nætiazt", cf. A. Ewert, ed., Marie de France: Lais (1944), "Guigemar", 475-478, "En grant effrei erent amdui"), hertekningarband þessa krankleika (Mar. 960/4-5).

And with the "bonds of sin" contrast the metaphors vinculum caritatis (Hoseah 11:4, cf. Col. 3:14, Manz 1044), vinculum pacis (Eph. 4:3, Manz 1045); see, e.g., "Erkebiskop Jons Statut. 1280 (Kortere Bearbeidelse)", NGL III, 238/30, fridar band ok astsemdar; Mar. 174/11 elskuband kristiligrar trvar; Michaels s., HMS I, 693/ 2-3 fastr...i friðarbandi æ gautu guðs; Ibid., 709/21 eilifligt elskuband (cf. Acta Sanctorum, vol. 48, 29 Sept., 78A, caritatis connexio).

10. Cf., e.g.,

Leifar, 194/5-8:	Bernard, Meditationes de humana conditione, PL 184, 489D:
...hversu líkaminn se klyfjaðr með syndunum, netjaðr ok vafðr í maurgum lýtum, kláðafullr af	...quam sit onerata peccatis, irretita vitiis, pruriens concupiscentibus, occupata

saurgum fýstum; heptr ok haldinn með maurgum píslum...

passionibus...

Harmsól, st. 16 (Skjd A I, 564):

...hefí ek...
aumle[g]r þrêll í öllum
afgerdum mic vafdan.

Jóns s. helga A, Bisk. I, 170/37 - 171/1:

...frá öllum svikum ok umsátum djöfulsins, þeim er hann hafði orðit í vafiðr...

cf. Jóns s. helga B, Bisk. I, 243/29-30:

...frá öllum svikum ok umsátum djöfulsins, er hann hafði hann háskasamliga í vafit...

Ibid., 244/6-8:

...sakir þeirra sjónhverfínga, er djöfullinn hafði hans sál ok líkam lengi háskasamliga tekit ok illkyndugliga ínetjað...

Barl. 125/23-27:

...hellt honom aptr fornn siövenia oc mykyt þralynndi. er hann hafðe lengi i vafzt vsyniv ...þvi likazt sem hann være sva með beizli bunndinn oc niðr þrængdr. at varlla matte hann vpp lita til sannenda lios at sia.

Ps. Ioh. Dam. 85/32-33:

...retrahabatur a mala consuetudine et ex usu confirmatis in eo uitijs, a quibus chamo et freno constringebatur, non permissus lucem uidere ueritatis.

Thóm I, 114/17-18:

...morghum illgerðum ivafða...

Quadrilogus, Ibid., 114/36:

...multis pollutos facinoribus...

(The metaphor is omitted in the parallel passage at Thóm. II, I. 228/3-6.)

Martinus s. biskups III, HMS I, 609/28:

...vafdr i Arius villu...

Skálholtsannáll, ed. G. Storm, Islandske Annaler indtil 1578 (1888, rpt. 1977), V. 166/sub anno 493:

Þiðrekr...var vafiðr i Arrius villv.

Magnúss s. lengri, ÍF 34 (1965), 345/24-25:	Legenda de Sancto Magno, Ibid., 304/10-11:
..sem inn heilagi Magnús í vafðist slíkum syndum...	...cum beatus Magnus hujusmodi sceleribus implicaretur...

Máríudrápa, st. 23 (Skjd A II, 468):

hefr ek allzkonar illum
afgerdum mic vafdan

Kátrínardrápa, st. 26 (Skjd A II, 521):

gilldliga vafdr j glæpum ollum

There is probably no reason to assume, however, that the analogous use of vefja(sk) to refer to the condition of being "involved in difficulties" need have been influenced by the clerical metaphor. See, e.g.,

Sturlu s. k. 9, Sturlunga s. I, 73/27-28:

...snýst nú Einarr með fjandskap á hendr Sturlu ok kvað hann hafa vafit sik í miklu vandræði.

Þórðar s. kakala k.2, Ibid. II, 4/23-25:

...En margir váru í sökum vafðir við Þórð, er farit höfðu með eignir þær, er faðir hans hafði átt ok bræðr.

Barl. 58/4-5:	Ps. Ioh. Dam. 42/25:
...margfallega oc alla vega vafðr i þessom vannda...	Coartatus...
Ibid., 58/19-20: ...i þinum vandræðom vil ec með engo mote ueuiazt...	nothing corresponding in Ps. Ioh. Dam.

Cf., too, similar figurative uses of netia(sk), ánetia(sk), ínetia(sk); e.g.,

Antonius s., HMS I, 75/38-39:	Vitae Patrum, PL 73, 143C:
...sæ hinn sami villdi eigi, at kristit folk anetiaðiz slikvm diofvls svikvm...	Christianorum autem populos his fallaciis irretiri non passus est Dominus...

Marthe s. ok Marie Magdalene, HMS I, 519/32-35:

...nægðiz með henni syndin, þviat hun var full af siau dioflum, þat er netiut morgum syndum ok lostum...

cf. Innocent III, sermo 23, PL 217, 562A:

...Abundavit igitur in Magdalena delictum, quia multis fuit vitiis irretita...

'Oláfs s. Tryggv. en mesta, I, 306/19-20:

...þer skulut neíta fiandanum ok allri skurð goða uillu er hann hefir yðr ínetiat...

Strengleikar,"Equitan",68/12-14:

...af þessare viðr ræðo hennar er hann nu sua inætiaðr ast hænnar at alla nott fecc hann huarki huilld ne svæfn...

Marie de France uses a different hunting image, cf. Lais, ed. A. Ewart (1944), 27, "Equitan", 54-5

Amurs l'ad mis a sa maisnie,
Une s[e]ete ad vers lui traite,
Que mut grant plaie li ad faite,
El quor li ad lancie e mise.

(Cf. Ibid., "Guiamar", 26/13-14, cit. above, n. 9.)

The verb ánetia(sk) was also used of those placed under a ban of excommunication; cf. Páls s. biskups, Bisk. I, 141/31, DI, I. 38, 222/29-32.

11. On this sermon, see below, pp. 662ff.

12. These lines echo an earlier passage (Nhom. 169/17-20):

> ...eða hværr er sva fast tekin í flærð hins bannaða fianda. at ęgi ræðesc eða ognasc eða scelvisc þesse sar-yrði er snuasc å hals þeim er standa å vinstra veg varom drotne sva svartir sem dioflar.

The underlined phrase might reasonably be taken as an image of Christ's malediction twisting about the necks of the damned like a noose. It is more likely, however, that these words mean simply, "which are turned upon the necks (i.e., descend upon the heads) of those who stand on Christ's left hand". Cf. perhaps Ps. 7:17, and the OI translations found in Bergr Sokkason's Nikolaus saga erkibyskups and Maríu saga (cit. Kirby, Biblical Quotation I, 32):

Nik.II, HMS II, 93/12-13:	
Prettr hans mun uppsnaraz i sialfs hans hofud, ok hans ranglæti mun nidr koma i sialfs hans hvirfli.	Convertetur dolor eius in caput eius, et in verticem ipsius iniquitas eius descendet.
Mar., 562/15-16:	
...hans prettr snarizt honum i haufut, ok hans ranglæti stigi nidr yfir hans hvirfil...	

Hermann Pálsson has recently compared this verse (which he wrongly identifies as "fimmtándi Davíðssálmur") and others like it with the proverbial phrase, "e-m vefsk tunga/illska um höfuð/fœtr/háls ok höfuð" (Úr Hugmyndaheimi Hrafnkels Sögu og Grettlu, Studia Islandica 39 [1981], 107-110).

Stefán Karlsson ("Ögn og Háls i Hómilíu," Gripla 4 [1980], 135-137) has pointed out that the statement at Sthom. 211/31, "ef [reiþe] føþesc í scape maNz lenge. þa snýsc hon í háls",

must mean "if anger is long nurtured in one's mind then it turns into a beam," since it is the analogy of the mote and the beam of Matt. 7:3-5 (often associated with the sin of wrath) which is alluded to in this passage. He argues (137) that hals in this context may be a scribal variant of hasl ("hazel" = trabs?) by analogy with the form pils for pisl found elsewhere in Sthom. Hasl is, however, a rather odd equivalent for trabs, and it is perhaps worth suggesting that hals in this passage might as easily be a corruption of balc, acc. sing. of balcr/bálkr (= bjálki?, cf. Blöndal, s.v. bálkur 4, "[langur raftur] et langt Stykke Træ").

13. Cf. Manz 523 laquei mortis, 524 - peccatorum. On the background and popularity of the image of the devil's snares see, e.g., J.T. Muckle, "The use of the term laqueus by Guigo and St Ambrose", MS 13 (1951), 225-226; B.G. Koonce, "Satan the Fowler," MS 21 (1959), 176-181. Kirby (Biblical Quotation I, 36) cites renderings of Ps. 17:6 from Duggals Leizla and the section of Bergr Sokkason's Michaels saga based on the Visio Tnugdali:

Michaels s., HMS I, 688/23-25: ...mer aangra helvitis pislir, ok sorgir hverfa um mik, ok gilldrun dauðans egnaz firir alla veghu mina.	Visio Tnugdali, ed. O. Schade [1869], 4: Dolores inferni circumdederunt me, preoccupauerunt me laquei mortis.
Duggals Leizla, HMS I, 334/1-2: ...helvitis pislir ok sorgir hverfa um mik, ok gilldra daudans hefir fyrir tekit alla vegu mina.	

The OWN version of Gregory's Dialogues provides a translation of 2 Tim. 2:26 (cit. Kirby I, 386):

HMS I, 255/16-18:	de Vogüé, 164, IV. 46.7/51-53:
...gvð gefi þeim iðron ok skilning ins sanna, at þeir vitkizt ok leysizt or snorvm diofvlsins, er þeir vorv aðr i netiaþir.	Vt det illis Deus pænitentiam ad cognoscendam ueritatem et resipiscant diaboli laqueis, a quo capti tenentur ad ipsius uoluntatem?

Cf. too the translations of Ps. 123:7 cited by Kirby (I, 73):

Quadraginta Militum Passio, HMS II, 218/2-4:	Acta Sanctorum, vol.8, 10 March, 21A:
Avnd ór er sem titlingr, er sprętr ór snoro veiþimanna; snara er slitin, en ver erom leystir...	Anima nostra sicut passer erepta est de laqueo venantium: laqueus contritus est, et nos liberati sumus.
Thóm.I, 117/11-12: Vårt líf er sem (titlingr) leystr ok af væiðemanna snoru frælstr, snaran er sliten, en ver erum leyster.	Thóm.I, 117/30-31 (same as above)

cf. Thóm.II, I. 238/15-19:

...Vårt líf er svå leyst af veiðimanna snöru, sem einn titlingr, snaran er slitin, enn vér erum frjålsir. Þessi rödd auðsýnir, at dauða snara var upp egnd fyrir erkibyskupi, åðr enn hann forðaðist með flótta.

And with the renderings of Ps. 7:17 cited above, n.12, cf. the paraphrase of Ps. 7:16-17 found in the older OI version of Oddr Snorrason's Óláfs s. Tryggvasonar (135/7-9; cit. Kirby I, 32):

> ...illzka hans steig yfir hofuð honum oc iþeire snoru sem sialfr hann hafði eygt. varð hann oc sialfr ueiddr i ...

For some further OWN examples of the figure see:

Leifar 1/6-7:	S. Hellmann, ed., De XII abusivis, 58/15-59/1:
EN tolfti pallr osoma er lydr laga lavss sa er fellr i snoro glæytunar þa er	Duodecimus abusionis gradus est populus sine lege, qui dum Dei dicta et legum scita contemnit

hann reNr of ymsar villo gotor...	per diversas errorum vias eundem perditionis laqueum incurrit.
Strengleikar, "Equitan", 78/8-9: Nu er hann tekinn i sialfa sins gilldru ok aftr snuen a hann sialfs hans illzka.	Lais..., ed. Ewert, "Equitan", 1.299: Sur lui est le mal revertiz
Barl. 93/8-9: ...allar stnarur oc gilldrur fiandans skal hann auðvellilega yuirkoma.	Ps. Ioh. Dam., 66/13-15: Impossibile est enim hominem cum tali deuotione orantem et obsecrantem deum non quotidie in bono proficero, et cunctos inimici laqueos præteruolare.
Antonius s., HMS I, 66/28-29: ...A hverivm tima hata dioflar alla kristna menn ... ok setia fyrir þaa otalligar snorvr sinnar slægðar.	Vitae Patrum, PL 73, 137D-138A: Hostile illis contra omnes Christianos ... odium est. Eorum semitis laqueos prætendunt.
Ibid., 67/23-25: Með slikum hætti ... veiðir [hann] optliga nockvra af þeim, er vel synaz lifva, i sinvm snorvm ...	Ibid., 138C: Sic iniquus ... bene viventium aliquos frequenter illaqueat ...
Vitae Patrum II, HMS II, 601/17-18: ...sæll faðir Antonius sagði sik sét hafa allar snörur ovinarins upp egndar á öllu jarðríki.	HMS II, 601/38-602/20: Beatus Antonius retulit se vidisse omnes laqueos inimici super universam terram extentos.

Thóm.II, I. 276/9-10 (II. 252/25):	Alan of Canterbury, Vita Thomæ..., PL 190, 218C:
...egndi hann sér ok oss byskupunum þær snörur...	...et sibi et fratribus suis contexit laqueos...

Ibid., II. 110/1-2:

...at hann hafi frjálsazt af snöru dauðans fyrir þessa Guðs vinar verðleika...

Jóns s. helga B, Bisk. I, 244/10-11:

...fjandinn kom aldri síðan þessari tálarsnöru á hans háls.

Ísl. Æv., Formáli B, 7-9:

...ef maðr hneigiz frá góðu ok gjörir samlag með illzkunni, þá leggr hann sinn háls í snöru fjándans...

Cf. the image of the devil's "net" (on the devil as a "fisher of souls" see, e.g., Rabanus Maurus, De Universo XX. 43, "De retibus", PL 111, 557B and Alan of Lille, Distinctiones..., s.v. rete, PL 210, 926C on Ps. 140:10, "cadent in retiaculo eius peccatores", and commentaries on Habakkuk 1:14-15, "Et facies homines quasi pisces maris ... Totum in hamo sublevavit, traxit illud in sagena sua, et congregavit in rete suum," Jerome PL 25, 1287-1288; Haymo PL 117, 183B; Rupert of Deutz, PL 168, 608-609):

Barl. 123/32-124/1:	Ps. Ioh. Dam., 84/23-25:
...þui likazt þessa heims livi sem þat se net fianndans eða angull. en agn þessa anguls er skemtanar livi oc lostasemdar munugð oc eptirlæte. En þeir aller er við þetta agn festazt of miok. Þa dregr fianndenn þa alla til helvitiss.	Hamus enim est diaboli præsens uita, operta abominabili uoluptate uelut esca, per quam seductos ad profundum trahit inferni.

Ibid., 157/21:
...at rekkia ok breiða net villusamt...

Ibid., 102/15:
...ut seductionis expandat retia...

Antonius s., HMS I, 78/3-5:
...setti hann optligha fram gvll mer fyri avgv sva sem sina gilldrv. Þetta giordi hann fyri þaa savk, at ek skyllda i vefviazt hans sviksamligv neti...

Vitae Patrum, PL 73, 144D:
Auri quoque decipulam mihi ... frequenter tetendit; quod ideo offerebat, ut ... visu irretiret me ...

Óláfs s. Tryggv. en mesta, 88/9-10 (Flat. I, 376/27-28):
...leitar hann oss at ueiða i net[i] siNar illzku fullrar slægdar [Flat. ... at nætia j neti sinna boluadra slegda...]. Þvi er hann egndi með sinum bragð uisligum prettum...

Cf. too:

Mariu s. Egipzku I, HMS I. 487/39-488/1 (cf. HMS I, 501/22-24):
... for ek um borginna alla innan ok locka(da) ek til min hvern mann, þann sem ek matta, ok spanda ek svo saalur þeira til helvitis, sem fiskar vefiaz i neti.

cf. Mombritius II, 139/5-6:
...ego ut mihi erat consuetudo gyrabam totam illam ciuitatem animas innocentium uenando.

Mar. 896/23-24:
...for ek um alla borgina at veida andir saklausa manna...

Thóm. II, I. 302/2-3:
...þat flærðsemdar net, er cardinalis hafði egnt á frelsi kirkjunnar...

Ísl. Fv. I, 9/67:
... [meistari Secundus] dregir at henni dauðanet ...

14. Gregory's interpretation of Matt. 13:47-50 is not, of course, unusual. James W. Marchand discusses at some length the image of the "net of the Church", and cites numerous patristic analogues for the passage in Gr. 11 in Ev., in "Sagena Piscatoris: An Essay in Medieval Lexicography," Linguistic Method: Essays in Honor of Herbert Penzl (1979), 123-137 (esp. 128); cf. too J. Engemann, "Fisch", Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum 7, 1036.

Christ is compared to a fisherman in an impressive alliterative passage in the introduction to the Pentecost homily, "De sancte spiritu" (Sthom. 22/25-29):

> Nu svá sem vanr es veiþi maþreN. at verpa
> þar nete sínо er hann veít mestrar veiþi vón.
> sva gerþe oc guþs sunr at hann beíþ þessa
> fiolmennes oc gaf huGera vinom sínom a þeire tíþ
> er meN mátte víþast bera lof hans. oc segia
> hveriar vingiafar hann veítte ástmonnom sínom...

The underlined phrase bears a superficial resemblance to a passage from Ovid's Ars Amatoria which circulated as a sententia in the middle ages (I. 45-48; cf. Walther, 27647), "Scit bene venator, cervis ubi retia téndat/...qui sustinet hamos,/ Novit, quae multi pisces natentur aquae"; but I have not been able to find an example of the application of this "proverb" to Christ as a venator/piscator animarum. On this image see further Engemann, "Fisch", loc.cit., 1027ff., 1040ff.; L. Charbonneau-Lassay, Le Bestiaire du Christ [1940], 742ff., "Le Christ Jésus, Pêcheur des âmes"; F.J. Dölger, IX YC, V. Bd., Die Fisch-Denkmäler in der Frühchristlichen Plastik Malerei und Kleinkunst [1943], 318ff. Cf. too Michaels s., HMS I, 692/37 - 693/1:

> ... drottinn milldr ok blezaðr vill alla menn (til) hialpar ok til sinnar miskunnar koma lata. Þvi setr hann sin hialparnet i hverium stað, er maðrinn skal ganga...

Fishing imagery is, of course, associated generally with the evangelical mission. Cf. esp. Matt. 4:19, Mark 1:17, Luke 5:10 (and OWN translations cit. Kirby, Biblical Quotation I, 143, 235); Jerome PL 24, 784C and Glossa Ordinaria PL 114, 33C on Jer. 16:16, "Ecce ego mittam piscatores multos dicit Dominus, et piscabuntur eos"; Rabanus Maurus, De Universo, VIII. 5, "De piscibus," PL 111, 240 C; Ibid., XX. 43, "De retibus," 557A.

Comparisons of God to an angler were encouraged by the interpretation of Job 40:20, "An extrahere poteris leviathan hamo...?", as an allusion to God's entrapment of the Devil by means of the "bait" of the incarnate Christ. On the treatments of this theme in Sthom. (75/25 - 76/25, cf. Gr. 25 in Ev., PL 76, 1194C-1196A) and in Niðrstigningarsaga (HMS II, 4/27-32, 5/7-11; 10/20-24, 10/37 - 11/1; 15/3 - 7,20-24) see, e.g., Magnús Már Lárusson, "Um Niðrstigningarsögu," Skírnir 129 (1955), 159-168; J.W. Marchand, "Leviathan and the Mousetrap in Niðrstigningarsaga," Scandinavian Studies 47 (1975), 328-338. In Sthom. see esp. the metaphors agn likams 75/31, 34 = Gr. 25, 1194D-1195A esca corporis/carnis; guþdoms broddr 75/32, 34 = Gr. 25, 1194D - 1195A divinitatis aculeus, cf. Niðrstigningarsaga, öngull guðdoms 5/8-9, 10/38, 15/4. The hamus divinitatis motif is also found in Lilja, st. 60/7-8, 66/7-8. (see, e.g., F. Paasche, Lilja et kvad til guds moder [1915], rpt. in s.a., Hedenskap og Kristendom [1948], 233-234; P. Foote, "A note on Lilja", Fróðskaparrit (Annales societatis scientiarum Færoensis 28-29 [1981], 200, n.20). Cf. too Antonius s., HMS I, 67/29-35 (Vitae Patrum, PL 73, 138C-D):

...Þessi hinn grimmazti dreki er nv veiddr af drotni fyri hinn helga kross sem fiskr aa	...hamo crucis ut draco aduncatus a Domino est ... Nunc miserabilis ut passer, ad ludum irretitus a Christo est...

avngli ... Nv er hann af
Kristi veiddr, sva sem hinn
herfviligzti titlingr i neti
vafór, ok af goðvm monnvm
at haði hafór.

On the comparison of the cross to a bird-hunter's snare see Gregory's interpretation of Job 40:24, "Numquid illudes ei quasi avi", Moralia 32.15.40, PL 76, 691-692; Isidore, Sententiae I. 14.13, PL 83, 567B; J. Rivière, Le dogme de la rédemption ... (1933), 337.

The Cup of Death/ Life, etc.

The sermon for the Feast of the Purification of Mary in Sthom. (82/3 -86/10) contains a long digression not found in the parallel text in Nhom. (66/21 - 69/22).[1] This exhortatory passage, which touches on a variety of subjects -- the invocation of Mary and all the saints, Christ's passion, the need to fear Doomsday, etc. -- contains a free "citation" from Gregory's twenty-fifth gospel homily, on Christ's appearance to Mary Magdalene after his resurrection:

Sthom. 85/7-10:	cf. PL 76, 1194A-B:
...guþ vitraþesc fyrst epter pining sína marío magdaleno. sicut GreGorius sagþe. af þui byrlaþe maría magdalena lífsdryck heimenom ollom. at efa byrlaþe dauþa dryc ǫllo maNkyne. þa es hon át eple í paradíso þat es heNe vas eige lofat.	"Venit Maria Magdalene annuntians discipulis quia vidi Dominum, et hæc dixit mihi." [John 20:18] Ecce humani generis culpa ibi absciditur unde processit. Quia enim in paradiso mulier viro propinavit mortem, a sepulcro mulier viris annuntiat vitam; et dicta sui vivificatoris narrat, quæ mortiferi serpentis verba narraverat. Ac si humano generi non verbis Dominus, sed rebus dicat: De qua manu vobis illatus est potus mortis, de ipsa suscipite poculum vitæ.[2]

The theme of the "two cups" is, of course, traditional, and has recently been discussed at length by Ute Schwab.[3]

The author of the Nhom. Olaf-legend would also appear to recall the figure of the poculum mortis in his rendering of a passage in which the Passio Olavi has instead the image of the devil's poison-tipped dart:

Nhom. 125/26 - 126/5:	cf. Metcalfe, 90/21 - 91/3:
...En u-vínr allz man-kyns letter aldrigi slict at vinna nu á hverium dægi við ós sem hann vann forðum í paradiso...Með þæirri villu svæic hann hinn fyrsta mann. þar með bleccir	Inimicus etenim humani generis, quod in paradiso egit, hoc cotidie nobiscum agere non desinit...Hac elationis peste primus seductus est parens, qua nunc cotidie posteros sauciat incautos. Hoc usus est iaculo, dum quendam adeo praue

hann hværnn dag hans af-spring. Þes bragz næyti hann við mann noccon þann er hann svæic með sva ban-vænum drycc. at hann gløymdi ollum guðs boðorðum. ok fylgði villtr ok ofdrambs-fullr fianðans í-blast.[4]	suggestionis ueneno infecerat, ut, creatoris precepti oblitus, spiritum superbie sequeretur deceptus.

The compound píslardrykkr is found for calix in a rendering of Luke 22:42 in a Palm-Sunday sermon found in both Nhom. and Sthom.:

Sthom. 66/30-31 (Nhom. 77/32-33): Faþer tacþu af mér píslar dryc þeNa ef þat ma verþa...[5]	Luke 22:42: Pater, si vis, transfer calicem istum a me...

And the author of an exposition of the Mass in Sthom. makes use of the metaphor "the drink of eternal bliss":

Sthom. 124/26-30 (Mess. 49/8-14): ...þui førum vér honom...vín oc vatn at ver takem fulla synþa lausn...oc drekcem at eilífo drykc eilífs unaþs af honom siólfom er es oc heíter bruþr lífs...[6]	cf. Honorius, Gemma Animae, I.99,"De sacrificio panis et vini", PL 172,576B: Aqua ab aequalitate dicitur, hæc ideo sacrificio admiscetur, ut ex ea aqua renati fonte vitæ satiemur, et angelis coæquemur.

1. Gunnes (169-170) points out that the main text of the sermon is based on Ambrosius Autpertus' "Sermo...in Purificatione S. Marie" (PL 89, 1296-1298), and Bede I.18 (CCSL 122, 128-133). Van Arkel (14) names no sources for the interpolation in Sthom.

2. Gr. 25 in Ev. was available in PD, II.12, "Feria V Paschalis". A translation of the section which immediately follows this passage (on Leviathan and the hamus dei) is found at Sthom. 75/16- 77/7. Gregory echoes the passage on the "two cups" in one of his letters (Indict. XV.25, PL 77, 877D-878A): "Et hoc mira dispensatione Dei fuit, ut ex ore mulieris nuntiaretur vita, quia ex ore mulieris mors fuerat in paradiso propinata."

3. "Eva reicht den Todesbecher. Zur Trinkmetaphorik in altenglischen Darstellungen des Sündenfalles", Atti dell' Accademia Peloritana. Classe di Lettere Filosofia e Belle Arti 51 (1973-74), 7-108. See also Carleton Brown, "Poculum Mortis in Old English", Speculum 15 (1940), 389-399; G.V. Smithers, "Five Notes on Old English Texts", English and Germanic Studies 4 (1951-52), 67-75.

4. For some other OWN references to the "devil's draught", see:

   Óláfs s. Tryggv. en mesta II. 85/12-15:

   ...Sva illzku fullr ok ôfvndar með sinum ærum ok erendrekum. at hann kost giæfir allz mest at fyrir koma hueriv goðu raði. ok byrlar optliga eítr siNar slægdar mann kyninu meðr ymisligri aa synd eðr yfir bragði...

   Ísl. Æv. XLV, 18-20:

   ...Hinn forni mannzins úvin...steypir fram eitri sinnar illzku móti konunni...

   Lilja, st. 15:

   ...
   Ok bruggandi dauðans dreggjar
   ...
   ormi tók hann mál at forma.

5. cit. Kirby I. 271. Cf. the translation of John 18:11 in Petrs saga postola I, cit. Kirby,I.313:

Post. 13/25-26:	John 18:11:
...Ok þu vill eigi at ek drecka þann pinslardryck [var. dryck, banadryck], er faðir minn gaf mer...	Calicem quem dedit mihi Pater, non bibam illum?

The phrase calix salutaris in Ps. 115:13 is rendered heilsukalekr at Maríu saga 180/23 (473/30).

Similar figures occur frequently in Scripture. Cf., e.g., calix benedictionis (I Cor. 10:16), - daemoniorum (I Cor. 10:20), - Domini (I Cor. 10:20), - indignationis (Is. 51:22), - irae (Is. 51:17, Rev. 14:10), - vini indignationis irae eius (Rev. 16:19), - soporis (Is. 51:17, 22); potus spiritalis (I Cor. 10:4); vinum compunctionis (Ps. 59:5), - irae Dei (Rev. 14:10), - irae fornicationis (Rev. 18:3), - prostitutionis (Rev. 17:2).

6. For some further OWN examples of this type of metaphor see:

Leifar 11/6-7:	Prosper, Epigrammata,42,PL 51, 511A:
...þav vil er fvnat hafa af sellifes cvrosom ate nv hardr dryccr til sadrar heilso...	... Deficiant potius vana oblectamina mundi ... Inque putres fibras descendat cura medentis Ut blandum morbum pellat amica salus.

(Cf. esp. R. Arbesmann, "The Concept of 'Christus medicus' in St. Augustine", Traditio 10 [1954], 14ff., on Augustine's use of the figure calix humilitatis to refer to the medicine of "Christ the physician".)

Barl. 148/18-19:	Ps. Ioh. Dam. 97/31:
...allum er til hans komu skenkti hann heilsu dryck guðlegra boðorða...	Plurimi enim ad ipsum uenientes, uerba hauriebant salutaria.

Thóm. II, II. 72/2:

...heilsudrykkr síns verðleiks...

Jóns s. post. IV, Post. 474/20-22:

...veitandi...þann hialpardryck hverium, sem hans hifneskr

meistaradomr sa vænstan til allra godra hluta...

cf. Tvegg. post. s. Jons ok Jacobs 599/18-20:

...Veitti hann ollum...þann hialpardrykk ok miskunnar af sinum boðorðum...

Light and Darkness

The pericope of the Epiphany homily, "Apparicio Domini" in Sthom. (Matt. 2:1-12) contains an exegetical digression which incorporates two traditional light metaphors. The gospel narrative is interrupted at Matt. 2:9 ("Qui cum audissent regem, abierunt, et ecce stella, quam viderant in oriente, antecedebant eos...") by a brief explanation of why the guiding star was not seen by the Magi while they were in Herod's presence (Sthom. 57/13-17):

> ...Nu fara þeir. oc só þegar stiornona es þeir qvomo ýr borgeNe en þeir so hana eige meþan þeir vóro meþ herode.[1] Afþuiat slocnar liós trúNar fyr hveriom er gleópe gerer oc snýsc til fiánda. en þa er hann fremr góþa hlute oc hverfr til guþs. þa kycnar fyrer honom liós miscuNar...

No parallel for this passage is found in the source for the main text of the homily, Gr. 10 in Ev.; but the interpretation is common enough. Cf., e.g., Haymo (of Auxerre), Hom. 15, "In Epiphania Domini" (PL 118, 113B-C):

> ...Sed cum ab Herode recessissent, "ecce stella quam viderant in oriente antecedebant eos sicut prius, usque dum veniens staret supra ubi erat puer". Discimus ergo per hanc stellam gratiam Domini non incongrue figurari, et per Herodem diabolum. Ingredientibus ergo magis ad Herodem, stella eos reliquit: quia eos qui servitio diaboli se subdunt, divina gratia deserit. Sed si ab Herode egressi fuerint, si per pœnitentiam jugum diaboli a cervicibus suis excutientes, Deum quærere cœperint, diterum divina gratia eis apparebit, iterum eos illuminabit...

and Ps. Augustine, sermo 139, "In Epiphania Domini IX" (PL 39, 2018/43-52; Gustave Morin [CCSL 104, 961 (913)] contests the Maurists' attribution of this text to Caesarius of Arles):

> ...Magi ad Herodem intrantes, stellam perdiderunt; et vos si ad diabolem accesseritis peccando, lucem spiritualem non habebitis, nisi forte per confessionem et poenitentiam denuo ab illo

> recesseritis. Moneo ne intretis ad Herodem; quia melius est peccatum cavere, quam emendare. Nam si diabolo suadente, peccaveritis, per poenitentiam autem Deo adjuvante, ab illo recesseritis, gratiam perditam recipietis: sicut et Magi postquam ab Herode recesserunt, stellam quam perdiderunt, videre meruerunt.

The metaphor of the "light of faith" is also used in the same context in the second sermon for Epiphany in Nhom. (63/5-16):

> Austrvægs konungar læitaðu guðs með fornum þegar þæir sæ stiornu hans. sva scolum ver oc læita hans með goðum vercum þegar er vér siom lios rettrar trvar... Austr-vægs konongum vitraðesc stiarna ok læiddi þa til drotens þa er þeir foro fra fyndi Herodis. þvi at þa læiðir os lios sannrar trvar til guðs ef vér scilium os fra ollum verkum fiandans ok fra ollum vilia hans.

Again, this body of imagery originates in Scripture, where "light" regularly represents the holiness and wisdom of Christ and the Godhead (Luke 2:32, John 1:9, Heb. 1:13, James 1:17, 1 John 1:5), the revelation of Christian teaching (Matt. 4:16, 5:14, 16, 6:23, 2 Peter 1:19, 2 Cor 4:4), and the glory of the righteous in heaven (Matt. 13:43, Col. 1:12), and "darkness" the dominion of sin and unbelief (Ps. 107:10, Is. 9:2, 42:6-7, Matt. 6:23, Luke 1:79, John 1:5, 2:8, 3:19, 12:46, Col. 1:13). John the Baptist is called a lucerna ardens (cf. Sthom. 14/15, liosker), Christ, the "day-star" (lucifer 2 Peter 1:19) and the "light of the world" (John 8:12, 9:5). The Old Testament figures of the sol iustitiae (Mal. 4:2) and the candor lucis æternæ (Wisdom 7:26) were also accepted as epithets of Christ by later interpreters.[2] In the Liturgy, imagery of light and darkness is associated particularly with the season of Advent (see esp. the Antiphon of the Magnificat for Dec. 21, "O oriens, splendor lucis aeternae et sol justitiae: veni et illumina sedentes in tenebris et umbra mortis").[3] Cf Manz, 518-20, lampades bonorum operum/ inextinguibiles/ virtutum; 542, lucerna luminis; 546-552, lumen angelicum/

caritatis Dei/ indeficiens/ luminis/ pacis/ verum/ visitationis; 556-563, lux aeterna/ perpetua/ angelorum/ de luce/ et refrigerium/ indeficiens/ lucis/ vera/ virtutum; 923, sol iustitiae; 120-127, caligo delictorum/ erroris, errorum/ ignorantiae/ infidelitatis/ peccatorum/ saeculi/ tenebrarum/ tenebrosa; 644, nox saeculi; 647, nebula delictorum; 647, nubes peccatorum; 968-977, tenebrae caecitatis/ carcerales/ cordis/ errorum/ ignorantiae/ infernales, inferni, infernorum/ infidelitatis/ iniquitatis/ peccatorum/ vitiorum; 1013, umbra mortis.

Numerous examples of this type of metaphor are found in the homilies and in later OWN literature:

bjartleikr

Sthom. 59/20 biartleicr yverlegrar specþar (Gr. 10 in Ev., PL 76, claritas supernæ sapientiæ)

cf. Barl. 147/25-26 skynsemdar biartleikr eða geisli; 156/32 miskunnar biærtleik (Ps. Ioh. Dam. 101/40 -102/1 compassionis claritas)

birti

Sthom. 7/24 (Nhom. 133/4-5) goþdoms birte (on the passage, see Gabriel Turville-Petre, "The Old Norse Homily on the Assumption and Maríu Saga", Nine Norse Studies, 103, n.10).

cf. Barl. 116/14, birtting sinna blæzaðra boðorða (Ps. Ioh. Dam. 80/11, dulcissimum lumen); Thóm. III, 274/31-32, birti táknanna.

dagr

Sthom. 71/19-24 "Sva kalla helga beókr sem nótt myrc synþa oc villo. oc þar meþ reíþe guþs. læge yver allre verold... Su nótt endesc i upriso criz. oc raN þaþan af dagr biartr trú rettrar oc miscuNar domini... (cf. Ps. 111:4, Nhom.39/33 - 40/1, 43/19-22, cit. below).

geisli

Sthom. 24/20-35 specþar geísle, skilningar-, ráþs-, stvrcþ[a]r-, fróþleícs-, hrǽzlo- (cf. Is. 11:2, see Kirby, Biblical

Quotation, I, 98-99).
cf. Elucidarius: Hauksbok 491/27 spectar geisle (Lefèvre, 405/2 scientiae radius; see Salvesen, 34)

Sthom. 78/26-27 ...hotíþer þér es ver holldom her i heime. ero geíslar neqverer himinrikiss dýrþar.

Nhom. 42/3 ...er vér lysomsc af gæisla guðs miskunnar (see Ibid., 39/33 lios guðs miscunnar, cit. below)

cf. Barl. 147/25-26, skynsemdar biartleikr eða geisli; Jóns s. helga B, Bisk. I, 215/11, guðs geisli (= Jón); Einarr Skúlason, Geisli, st. 1, geisli sólar miskunnar, st. 7, geisli goðs hallar (= St Óláfr); Árni Jónsson, Guðmundardrápa, st. 67, geisli Íslands (= Guðmundr Arason).

ljós

Sthom. 14/23 et miNa lios keNinga hans (cf. Caes. 216, CCSL 104, 860 816/1 , ...lumen lucernae...quasi tenuem splendorem...)
cf. Sthom. 17/30, keNingar liós; 69/22-23 (Nhom. 80/35 - 81/1), lios keNinga siNa; 124/8-9, liós guþspiallz keNingar

Sthom. 26/33 trú liós (see below, s.v. myrkr); cf. Sthom. 57/14-15, liós trúNar (cit. above); Nhom. 63/7-8, lios rettrar trvar, 63/15, lios sannrar trvar.
cf. Jóns s. post. IV, Post. 413/23, lifanda lios i lampa truarinnar

Sthom. 21/29 lios dyrþar siNar

Sthom. 57/17 liós miscuNar (cit. above); cf. Nhom. 39/33 - 40/1, "...skin þvi gnoglegar lios guðs miscunnar yfir þæim. sem þæir vaka trvlegar yfir hiorð guðs. Maclega vittraðesc engil með liose þa er Cristr var boren. þvi at hann er sialfr lios ret-latra þat er lysir hvern mann er kemr í hæim..." (cf. Bede I. 6, CCSL 122, 42/218 - 43/235: "Ecce angelus domini stetit iuxta illos et claritas Dei circumfulsit illos [Luke 2:9]... Cum enim uera lux mundi nascebatur in mundo dignum profecto fuit ut praeco natiuitatis illius etiam corporales hominum uisus nouitate caelestis perfunderet lucis.

Dicit namque de illius natiuitate propheta: Exortum est in tenebris lumen rectis corde...Misericors et miserator et iustus dominus Ps. 111:4 . Cum ergo misericors et iustus conditor ac redemptor generis humani mundum gloria nouae natiuitatis inlustrare dignatus est decebat omnimodis ut ipsam in qua natus est regionem claritas lucis nouae conpleret."
Bede's use of the phrase uera lux mundi prompts the Scandinavian homilist to recall John 1:9, "...lux vera, quae illuminat omnem hominem venientem in hunc mundum"; cf., e.g., Sthom. 75/10-11, "...et saNa liós. þat es lýser hveriom manne komanda i heim eN"; see Kirby, Biblical Quotation..., I. 278-279).

cf. Dionysius s., HMS I, 314/35, liós himneskrar miskunnar (PL 106, 41B, lux cœlestis gratiæ); Jóns s. post. IV, Post. 480/26, lios eilifrar guðs miskunnar; Barl. 116/13, lios guðlegrar miskunnar (Ps. Ioh. Dam. 80/10, dei mei splendidissimum lumen)

Sthom. 83/29-34 (Nhom. 68/22-27) liós til vitranar þióþa, liós þióþa, liós heiþeNa þióþa (cf. Ambrosius Autpertus, PL 89, 1298C, cites Luke 2:32, Lumen ad revelationem gentium ...). -
cf. Árni Jónsson, Guðmundardrápa, st. 28, liós þióð-anna (= Mary).

Sthom. 86/2 (Nhom. 69/15) liós goþra verka
cf. Michaels s., HMS I. 712/25, liosir lampar góðra verka

Sthom. 90/5 guþs lios (Gr. 34 in Ev., PL 76, 1252A, claritas Dei); 90/10 guþdoms liós (1252B claritas divinitatis); 92/9 goþs lios (no parallel in Gr. 34, cf. PL 76, 1255B).
cf. Nhom. 39/31 lios guðs.
Mar. 333/6, lios guddomsins (cf. Mal. 4:2).

Sthom. 216/25-26 "...ef hann sér maNen clæþdan gøtsco leoseno oc scryþ-dan miscuNar gımsteínom..." (Caes. 188, CCSL 104, 767 [727/9-10], "Si enim viderit caritatis luce vestitum, iustitiae vel misericordiae margaritis ornatum...").

Nhom. 19/7-8 lios hiartans/ licams lios (Alc. VV, PL 101, 628A, lumen cordis/ lumen corporis; same translation in AM 685d 4to, ed. Widding, Ed. Arn. A 4, 96/11-12).

Nhom. 20/24 lios ret-lætes (Alc. VV, PL 101, 629B, claritas justitiæ; cf. AM 685d 4to, ed. cit., 100/17-18, biartleikr rettlætissins)

Nhom. 43/19-22 Dag-messa merkir miskunnar þui at burð drottens rac bræut alla villu-not or hiortum truaðra ok syndi æilift lios retlátum mannum sva sem salma-scaldet mælte. Upp rann lios retlatra eptir myrcr miscunsamr ok retlátr drotten. (Ps. 111:4; cf. Ibid., 39/33 - 40/1, cit. above; on the significance of the three Christmas Masses, see, e.g., Ps. Bede, PL 94, 498B-C; cf. Sthom. 220/23-30 -- see below, s.v. sól).

cf. Elucidarius: Hauksbók 475/20, andarlios (Lefèvre,369/26-27, animae quae lux sunt); Ibid., 497/30, vizkv lios (Lefèvre, 427/8-9, lumen scientiae; see Salvesen, 35); Barl. 182/24 vitrleiks lios (Ps. Ioh. Dam. 117/7, lumen scientiae); Tvegg. post. s. JJ, Post. 635/9-10 lios sannleiksins; Jóns s. helga B, Bisk. I, 215/11, kraptanna ljós; AM 142 fol., Fóstbræðra s., ed. A. Loth, Ed. Arn. A 5 (1960), 108/27 hugar lios; Líknarbraut,st.4, ástarljós, st. 36 ljós himna friðar.

skin

Sthom. 51/4 skin aNdareNar (Ps. Aug. 117, PL 39, 1978/23, animi nitor).
cf. Elucidarius, ANOH (1858), 60/25 scin retlętes (Lefèvre, 369/29, fulgor iustitiae; cf. Hauksbók, 475/21, skirlæikr rættlætis).

sól

Sthom. 14/20 sól rétlætes (Caes. 216, CCSL 104, 860 [815/30], sol iustitiae; cit. below, s.v. myrkr); 47/19-22, "...þat merkþe at a hans tíþ meonde berasc sæN [see van Arkel 22v/29; 348 ad loc.] sól cristr siálfr sá er lýser allan heím. af villo eílífs blindleíx. sem malakias spámaþr sagþe. Yþr vGvndom nafn domini mon upreNa sól retlætes." (Cf. A. Wilmart, ed. Catéchèses

Celtiques, Studi e Testi 59 [1933], 99/34-35, "Quod significat quia in eius tempore nasceretur uerus sol post caliginem ueteris testamenti, idest Christus de quo dixit Esaias [Mal. 4:2]: ORIETUR IN VOBIS TIMENTIBUS NOMEN DOMINI SOL IUSTITIAE..."); Nhom. 82/29-30, "...ef ret-lætes sol skin i hiortum værum" (not paralleled in Gr. 21 or 22 in Ev.; see H. Bekker-Nielsen, MM [1960], 102).
For further examples of the figure in OWN prose works see Walter, Lex. Lehn., 81; Kirby, Biblical Quotation..., I. 117. See also Árni Jónsson, Guðmundardrápa, st. 13, Heilagra meyja drápa, st. 3.

Sthom. 181/28 (Nhom. 49/16) guþdóms sól (see below, s.v. ský).

Sthom. 220/27-29 "...siá tiþ es nu es heiter afþui uNder miskunn at þa raN himinrikiss sol upp es cristr vas boreN..."

cf. Einarr Skúlason, Geisli, st. 1, miskunnar sól, st. 3, sól heilags siðar; Gamli kanóki, Harmsól (st. 64).

myrkr

Sthom. 14/19-21 "En áþr ioan keóme þa hæfþo sva liþet of allan heím. synþa myrcr oc nótt ðtrúNar. at eige mátto of siá sól rétlætes þeir es oskygner voro orþner af illzko siNe. (Caes. 216, CCSL 104, 860 [815/29-32], "Et quia universum mundum peccatorum tenebrae et nox infidelitatis obpresserat, et solem iustitiae aspicere non valebat, beatus Iohannes quasi lucerna praemittitur, ut cordis oculi, qui lippitudine iniquitatis obpressi magnum et verum lumen videre non poterant..."); cf. Sthom. 71/19, myrcr synþa oc villo, cit. above, s.v. dagr.
See also Elucidarius: Hauksbók, 475/19-20, synða myrkr (Lefèvre, 369/26-27, tenebrae); Barl. 117/24, i mærkva synnda oc saurlliviss (Ps. Ioh. Dam. 81/10, sub peccato); Thóm. II, I. 236/6, syndarmyrkr; Thóm III, 274/32, myrkr lastanna.

Sthom. 16/13 "Maclega kallasc postolar liós. þuiat keNingar þeira lýsto of allan heim. þa er áþr voro i villo myrkre."

(cf. Rabanus Maurus, PL 110, 67D PL 39, 2157B , "Isti sunt lux mundi, quia per ipsos lumen fidei et veræ scientiæ primum Dominus huic mundo tradidit et ab errorum ac peccatorum tenebris gentes et populos eruit"; see below, pp. 692-693); 26/32-34, "...þa skiliom vér liós fra myrkrom. es vér lǫtom skína trú liós i hiortom órom. at vte byrgþom villo myrkrvm". cf. Elucidarius, ANOH [1858], 164/1 villumyrkr (Lefèvre, 448/25-26, tenebrae vitiorum; see Salvesen, 48); Andreas s. post. I, Post. 336/36, villumyrkr (cf. Andreas s. post. IV, Post., 406/1, flærdar myrkr); Tvegg. post. s. JJ, Post. 630/9 villumyrkr (cf. Jóns s. post. IV, Post. 480/14, villureykir bolfaðra orma); Ibid., 635/9, myrkr villumanna.

Sthom. 71/6-8 "Biþiom ver fyr ǫtrúm gyþingom. at guþ oc váR drotteN take otrú myrkr af hiortom þeira..." (cf. Missale Romanum [1872], Fer. VI. in Parasc. Oratio Solemnis 8 [p. 162], "Oremus et pro perfidis Judæis: ut Deus et Dominus noster auferat velamen de cordibus eorum..."). Cf. Blasius s., HMS I, 268/5, myrkr otrú (= Acta Sanctorum [1863-] , vol. 4, 3 Feb., 347E, ignorantiæ tenebræ; cf. HMS I, 270/26-27, myrcr Ovittru minnar).

Sthom. 83/31 (Nhom. 68/23-34) "Heíþnar þióþer voro i hugar myrkre...". Cf. Augustinus s., HMS I, 128/15, hiarta myrkr Augustini (A.G. Cramer, ed., Vita Augustini...auctore incerto [1832], 19/15, tenebrae Augustini).

Sthom. 168/13-16 "...en ytre myrcr ero helvítiss myrcr. oc aúgliósar qvalar. en en iþri myrcr ero hugscots myrcr. oc blindleíc[r] brióstz. nu þeir es her vilia siálfcrafa þola myrcr misgerbaNa. þeir verþa þar þola nauþger meiþingar myrcr oc ei vesaNde nótt." (Gr. 38 in Ev., PL 76, 1290 A-B, "Interiores quippe tenebras dicimus cæcitatem cordis, exteriores vero tenebras æternam noctem damnationis. Tunc ergo damnatus quisque non in interiores sed in exteriores tenebras mittitur, quia illic invitus projicitur in noctem damnationis, qui hic sponte cecidit in cæcitatem cordis.").

Cf. Líknarbraut, st. 4, myrkr misverka.

See also Elucidarius: Hauksbók 497/30-31, heimskv myrkr (Lefèvre, 427/9, tenebrae ignorantiae), see Salvesen,32; Barl. 29/23, vglaða myrkr (Ps. Ioh. Dam. 21/20, tristitiæ uelamen); Jóns s. post. IV, Post. 480/25, dauðamyrkr; Thóm. II, I.232/27-28, í myrkrum heimligs eftirlætis (Gr. Reg. Past. I.xi, PL 77, 24A, præsentis vitæ tenebris pressus); Ibid. , I. 302/13 ofundar myrkr; Flat. II, 154/12 (Fóstbræðra s.) úræktarmyrkvi, ÍF 6 (1943), 174/1-2, órækðar þokki ok myrkvi, AM 142 fol., ed. Loth, Ed. Arn. A 5 (1960), 108/27, reiði myrkvi (cf. the compound oreðcþar suefn found at Sthom. 67/11 [Nhom. 78/13]; Sthom. 151/3 [Acta S. Sebastiani, PL 17, 1122C, gravis somnus]; Nhom. 40/6); Lilja, st. 77, sútamyrkr; Rósa, ÍM II. 245, 12, meina myrkr.

nótt

Sthom. 14/20 nótt otrúnar (cit. above, s.v. myrkr).

Nhom. 43/20 villu-not (cit. above, s.v. ljós).

ský

Sthom. 181/26-28 (Nhom. 49/14-16) "Johannes er afþui mercþr sem ærn at honom drap alldrege villo skí i hugscotz ávgo þót hann sęe a guþdoms sól dróttens."

cf. Magnúss s. lengri, ÍF 34 (1965), 362/9, ský skröksemdarinnar (Legenda de sancto Magno, Ibid., 306/4-5, simulationis nubes); see below, "Nafnorðsaukningar", n. 6).

þoka

Nhom. 20/24 "...hann sér æigi lios ret-lætes fyri ræiði þoco" (Alc. VV, PL 101, 629B, "...caligine furoris non videt claritatem justitiæ"; cf. AM 685d 4to, ed. cit., 100/17-18, "...hann ser eigi firi þoku ædinnar biartleik rettlætissins")

cf. harmaþoka: Clári s. 70/1; heimskuþoka: Katerine s., HMS I. 404/35 (H. Varnhagen, ed. Zur Geschichte der Legende der Katharina von Alexandrien [1891], 11/31, insipientie caligo); illskuþoka: Thóm. II, 46/26, cf. Barl. 117/32, hin þunga þoka fornns illvilia oc graleiks (Ps. Ioh. Dam. 81/16, interna tenebrarum crassitudo); myrkvaþoka: Barl. 123/11-12, "...mykyl mærkuaþoka er dregin allavega yuir skynsemd þina" (Ps. Ioh. Dam. 84/11, "Ad multa tibi circumfusa est caligo ignorantiae

..."); Ibid., 147/24-25, "...su hin mykla myrkuaþoka hafðe ... vm hult oc firir dregit hiartta hans..." (Ps. Ioh. Dam. 97/9-10, "circumfusa caliginis spissa nebula"); Ibid., 172/23-24, "...nalgaðezt nokkot um hiartta hans heilsamleg fortala oc fra þyntti mærkua þoko fornnrar villu augum hans" (Ps. Ioh. Dam. 111/7, "Tetigit autem obtenebratos cordis illius oculos sermo salutaris..."); Mar. 1002/33 - 1003/1, myrkraþoka þessa heims; synda þoka: Barl. 116/11, "...reinsa hiartta þitt oc hugskot at þeirri hinni fornno syndda þoko." (Ps. Ioh. Dam. 80/9-10, "...albuginem atque caliginem de mentis tuæ oculis excute"; Thóm. II, II. 58/20; villuþoka: Elucidarius: Hauksbók 491/27 (Lefèvre, 405/1, ignorantiae nubilum), see Salvesen, 48; Barl. 3/38 (Ps. Ioh. Dam. 2/17, obscuritas), 145/26-27 (Ps. Ioh. Dam. 96/4, uelamentum obscuritatis); Augustinus s., HMS I. 124/26-27, "Guð ... þolði ... at hann væri i vafðr saumu villuþoku" (Vita Augustini..., ed. Cramer [1832], 7/ 28-29, "dimittebat Augustinam adhuc volvi et involvi illa caligine"); Silvesters s., HMS II, 254/26 (cf. Mombritius, II, 513/55-56, ignorantiae caligo); Ísl. Ev. XCIX/13; Nyere Landslov of Magnús Hákonarsson, II. Christendomsbolk, 3, "Vm fals konunga", NGL II, 24/5-7, "...þa uære þat þarflegt at menn uaraðezt þa miklu villu þoku er mesti lutr folks þessa landz hefir sua hormuliga verit blindath af..." (cf. Gulathings-Christenret, 4, "Vm konongs kosneng", NGL II, 308/14-17; NGL III, Retterböder og Forordninger 14, 45/22ff.).

See also translations of the phrase umbra mortis at Luke 1:79 cited by Kirby, Biblical Quotation... I. 226: Jóns s. baptista I, II, Post. 844/15, 863/28, dauðaskuggi; Niðrstigningarsaga II, HMS II, 175/25, skuggi dauðans; cf. ÍM II. 232, 15 dauðans skuggi.

1. Cf. Maríu s. 31/16-19 (370/12-15):

   Þat er ok ritit, at þá at eins sá þeir eigi stiórnuna, er þeir vóro með Herodi konungi í Jórsalaborg, en þegar er þeir kómu ór borginni, þá sá þeir hana ok urðu henni fegnir harðla.

2. See, e.g., Gregory, Moralia in Job, V.25.64, PL 75, 714C; J.E. Cross, "The 'Coeternal Beam' in the O.E. Advent Poem (Christ I), ll. 104-129", Neophilologus 48 (1964), 75.

3. See A.S. Cook, ed., The Christ of Cynewulf (1900), 88ff.; Cross, op. cit., 72ff.

   The secondary literature on Christian and medieval light symbolism is massive. Cf., e.g., Franz W. Dölger, "Lumen Christi. Untersuchungen zum abendlichen Licht-Segen in der Antike und Christentum", Antike und Christentum 5 (1936), 1-43; s.a., Sol Salutis: Gebet und Gesang im christlichen Altertum (1925, rpt.1972); s.a., "Sonne und Sonnenstrahl als Gleichnis in der Logostheologie des christlichen Altertums", Antike und Christentum 1 (1929), 271-290; s.a., "Das Sonnengleichnis in einer Weihnachtspredigt des Bischofs Zeno von Verona: Christus als wahre und ewige Sonne", Antike und Christentum 6 (1940), 1-56; C. Bäumke, "Witelo", Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie und Theologie des Mittelalters (Munster), III,2 (1908); R. Bultmann, "Zur Geschichte der Lichtsymbolik im Altertum", Philologus XCVII (1948), 1-36; Wolfgang Lange, Studien zur christlichen Dichtung der Nordgermanen, 1000-1200 (1958), "Exkurs: Zur Geschichte der germanischen Sonnenverehnung", 236-247; Hildegard Tristram, "Die Leohtfæt-Metapher in den Altenglischen Bittagspredigten", NM 75 (1974), 229-49; Jean Ritzke-Rutherford, Light and Darkness in Anglo-Saxon Thought and Writing, Sprache und Literatur: Regensburger Arbeiten zur Anglistik und Amerikanistik,

17 (1979).

The File of Castigation/ The Rust of Sin

Chapter 24 of Jóns saga helga B contains an effusive description of bishop Jón's energetic efforts to promote a reform of Icelandic morals by "filing away" the residual vices of pre-Christian times and uprooting the tare-like remains of nordic heathendom. The passage can be compared with the far more subdued account in chapter 12 of the older version of the saga:[1]

Jóns s. helga A, Bisk. I, 165/9-17:

... Ok at vér lúkum þessu máli í fám orðum, þá fekk hann svá samit siðu sinna undirmanna á skömmu bragði með guðs fulltingi, at heilug kristni í Norðlendinga-fjórðungi hefir aldreigi staðit með slíkum blóma, hvárki áðr né síðan, sem þá stóð, meðan fólkit var svá sælt, at þeir höfðu slíks byskups stjórn yfir sér. Hann bannaði ok með öllu alla úháttu ok forneskju eða blótzskapi, gjörninga eða galdra, ok reis í móti því með öllu afli, ok því hafði eigi orðit af komit með öllu, meðan kristnin var úng.

Jóns s. helga B, Bisk. I, 237/14-27:

... ok at vér talim þetta allt jamnsaman í fám orðum, þá kenndi hann með sínum iðuligum áminningum sínum undirmönnum allan hátt guðligrar þjónastu af heiligra feðra setningum ok gat svá samit á skömmum tíma með guðs fulltingi, framferðir ok siðu fólksins, at heilög kristni í Norðlendínga fjórðúngi hefir hvárki áðr né síðan skinit með svá björtum blóma ok fagri ásjón, sem þá stóð, meðan fólkit var svá sælt, at þeir náðu at vera undir stjórn ok stýring hins blezaða biskups Jóns; svarf hann ok af snarpri ok bitrligri hirtingar þél alla óháttu, fjölkýngi ok fordæðuskap, galdra ok gerníngar, ok allan sjónhverfiligan kuklaraskap, ok stóð í mót allri illri forneskju með öllum mátt ok megni, þvíat áðr var eptir í kristninni miklar ok illar afleifar heiðins

siðar, er eigi var upp rætt or guðligum akri meðan kristnin var úng.

The author of Jóns saga B has clearly taken pains to embellish and amplify the original passage, partly through the extensive use of tautologies and alliterative doublets - með svá björtum blóma ok fagri ásjón (for með slíkum blóma), stjórn ok stýring hins blezaða biskups Jóns (for biskups stjórn), með öllum mátt ok megni (for með öllu afli), etc. The most interesting change in the later text, however, is the introduction of two bold metaphors. The second of these - "the weeding of God's acre" - is the more commonplace, and with Jón's amputation of tenacious heathen vices one can compare, for instance, bishop Sigurðr's praise of Óláfur Haraldsson in the longer version of Óláfs saga helga found in Flateyjarbók (Den store saga II, 747/27-32; Flat. II, 24/7-11):

> ... mun allr lydr i Noregi ... hafa æilifar meniar ok minningar þessa stolpa ok styrktar mannz guds kristni. er upp mun Ræta þyrnni klungr ok allt illgresi or guds akre ok uingarde. en sa þar nidr j stadinn frioligu sáðe hæilagra guds orda ...

or the description of John the Evangelist as a spiritual gardener in Jóns saga postola IV (Post. 474/17-19, cf. 599/14-15):

> ... upprætandi með postaligri rauksemd villur ok uveniur allar, sem fremst var honum mattulikt.[2]

The first metaphor, however, is the more striking - "he filed away with the keen and biting file of chastisement all evil customs and malpractices".

Classical Latin literature provides a few examples of the comparison of vices to a rust which must be scraped or rubbed away from the soul. Seneca, for instance, remarks that those who are dull and sluggish "must

have their soul-rust incessantly rubbed off" (Illis autem hebetibus et optusis aut mala consuetudine obsessis diu robigo animorum effricanda est).[3] Horace uses the word aerugo to describe the evils of petty jealousy (Satires 1,4,101) and avarice (Ars Poetica, 330); and Ovid depicts the hand of Envy as "stained with rust" (ferrugine tincta, Metamorphoses 2,798).[4] Figurative uses of words for rust become more commonplace, however, in Christian Latin literature. Christian readers could find the metaphor in the Bible (cf. Ecclesiasticus 12:10, non credas inimico tuo in aeternum, sicut enim aeramentum eruginat nequitia illius); and commentators regularly took any use of the words aerugo and robigo in scripture to refer to various sins.[5] Cyprian speaks of envy as a peccatoris rubigo,[6] and John Cassian warns against the "corrosive rust of vainglory" (edax cenodoxiae aerugo).[7] Prudentius suggests that fasting can file away this "unhealthy rust of the breast" (quod limat aegram pectoris rubiginem);[8] and Gregory the Great speaks repeatedly of the purging of the rust of sin by the fires of love or tribulation:

Moralia III, xiv, 27, PL 75, 613C:

... Rubigo quippe vitii purgari non potuit, nisi igne tormenti ...

Hom. 30 in Ev., PL 76, 1223A:

... Deus quippe ignis dicitur, quia per hunc peccatorum rubigo consumitur ...

Hom. 33 in Ev., PL 76, 1241B-C:

... Quid fratres mei, esse dilectionem credimus, nisi ignem? et quid culpam, nisi rubiginem ... Tanto namque amplius peccati rubigo consumitur, quanto peccatoris cor magno charitatis igne concrematur.

Hom. 34 in Ev., PL 76, 1255C:

... Quid ergo istos nisi seraphim dixerim, quorum cor in igne conversum lucet et urit, quia et mentium oculos ad superna illuminant, et compungendo in fletibus vitiorum rubiginem purgant ...[9]

Regula Pastoralis III. xiii (37), PL 77,71B:

... Ignem quippe nobis tribulationis admovet, ut in nobis rubiginem vitiorum purget; sed nec per ignem rubiginem amittimus, quando et inter flagella vitio non caremus.

The "filing" metaphor also has classical antecedents. Wrath was styled "the whetstone of virtue" by the Peripatetics;[10] and this slogan was cited repeatedly by authors with Stoic sympathies who endeavoured to refute its validity:

Cicero, Tusculan Disputations IV, 19,43:

... Again, what of the contention of the same Peripatetics that these selfsame disorders which we think need extirpating are not only natural but also bestowed on us by nature for a useful end? This is the language they use. In the first place they praise irascibility at great length; they name it the whetstone of bravery (... iracundiam laudant: cotem fortitudinis esse dicunt ...) and say that the assaults of angry men upon an enemy or disloyal citizen show greater vehemence ... no stern commands in time of need are given, they think, without something of the keen edge of irascibility.[11]

s.a., Academica II, 44,136:

... ipsam iracundiam fortitudinis quasi cotem esse dicebant ...[12]

Lactantius, Divinae Institutiones VI, xix (PL 6, 703B):

... Itaque hanc ipsam iram, cotem dicunt esse virtutis, tanquam nemo possit adversus hostes fortiter dimicare, nisi fuerit ira concitatus ...

Annaeus Florus, in his Epitome of Livy's Roman History, uses the metaphor to emphasize the moral benefits of the hardships of war:

> ... The Carthaginian war being ended, a period of rest ensued, brief, indeed, for the Roman people to recover their breath ... but immediately afterwards ... first the Ligurians and then the Insubrian Gauls ... began to give trouble at the continual instigation of some god, who feared that Rome's arms should suffer from rust and decay. In a word, both these races, continually active and, as it were at our very doors, provided our recruits with practice in warfare, and the Roman people sharpened the edge of their valour on these two peoples as on the whetstone (quasi cote quadam populus Romanus ferrum suae virtutis acuebat).[13]

Similarly, Orosius suggests that Diocletian's public humiliation of Galerius Maximianus after his defeat by king Narseus of Persia only whetted the edge of the Roman general's determination:

> ... After losing his troops, Galerius took refuge with Diocletian, who received him with extreme arrogance. The story goes that though clad in scarlet robes he was forced to run before the emperor's carriage for several miles. Nevertheless Galerius made this insult serve as a whetstone to his valor. Spurred on by this treatment, when the rust of kingly pride was rubbed off, he was able to sharpen his mind to a keen edge (hac contumelia quasi cote ad uirtutem usus est, per quam detrita regii fastus robigine aciem mentis expediit). He at once made a general levy of troops ..., and hurriedly returning to meet the enemy, he overwhelmed Narseus by skillful strategy and superior forces.[14]

The metaphor of the "whetstone of adversity" was quickly adopted by Christian authors, who could speak of the soul being purified of dross and "honed" through tribulation and spiritual warfare. Bishop Faustus of Riez († c. 490) speaks of God drawing a "file of salutary castigation"

over the excrescence of vices which collects on the soul in times of ease (... dominus ad rubiginem longa securitate contractam salutiferae limam castigationis admouit).[15] And the early medieval biblical commentator Aponius speaks in the most ecstatic terms of the "file of martyrdom" in his exposition of the Song of Solomon:

> ... Nullum enim aliud ferramentum fortius potuit reperiri, per quod antiquae scoriae animae limarentur, nisi martyrii lima, per quod in tormentorum fornace possit anima, quantalibet sordium peccatorum mole sit circumdata, in suo sanguine renovari ...[16]

Gregory the Great uses the filing metaphor to refer to the benefits of tribulation in his homily on the parable of the wedding feast, where he interprets Matt. 22:10, "Et egressi servi ejus in vias, congregaverunt omnes quos invenerunt, malos et bonos", in terms of the necessary intermixture of good and evil persons within the body of the Church. And, in fact, the translation of this homily preserved in Sthom. contains the earliest Icelandic forerunner of the snörp ok bitrlig hirtingar þél wielded by Jón of Hólar:

Sthom. 167/4-9	Gr. 38 in Ev., PL 76, 1286D
Seherna brøþr míner at sva dregr æll dømiN til. oc hafiþ ér nu heýrtt margra heilagra manna orþ. at engi varþ góþr nema reýNdr være af vándom. eige má huast verþa iárnit elligar. nema til eGiar se hvat eþa sorfit. sva má oc eige verþa ænd ór hvǫss nema hon sé til eggiar hvǫT meþ þrøngvingar þeliNi. eþa hegningar harþsteíni.	Ecce fratres charissimi, pene omnia percurrendo cognoscimus quia bonus non fuit quem malorum pravitas non probavit. Ut enim ita loquar, ferrum animæ nostræ nequaquam perducitur ad subtilitatem acuminis, si hoc non eraserit alienæ lima pravitatis.

In addition to breaking down the rather difficult image, ferrum animæ nostræ, into a more easily comprehended simile ("as iron ... so our souls"), the Icelandic translator generates two interesting metaphorical compounds from the second part of Gregory's extended metaphor.[17] In transforming Gregory's "file of the viciousness of others" into the "file of oppression or the whetstone of castigation", the translator gives the figure a more general significance, perhaps with the intention of suggesting not only the inevitable tribulations caused by human iniquity but also the salutary hardships of mortification and chastisement.[18]

The theme of the sharpening of the ferrum animae is also touched on briefly in a passage on the virtue of patience at Sthom. 211/34-38. Here, the homilist makes use of another interesting þél-compound, this time in association with Prov. 27:17, "Ferrum ferro acuitur, et homo exacuit faciem amici sui":

> Enge es góþr ne verþr eílífs lífs nema hann se
> þolenmøþr. Járn hvessesc a iárne. oc maþr hvesser
> asióno vinar síns. Eigom *[sic]* megom vér gløct góþer
> vera í hugscoteno. nema þél ranglátess hvesse oss.
> en ver fyrgefem meingerþena.

It is not unlikely that the scriptural citation prompted a reminiscence of the passage from Gregory's thirty-eighth gospel homily here. This sermon contains several other Gregorian borrowings,[19] and even if the author did not have access to a complete text of either the Latin or the OWN version of the homily, he may well have been familiar with the passage on the "filing of the soul" as a patristic proverb. (It circulated as a "sentence" in, for instance, Defensor's Liber Scintillarum, cap. 45, "De Compassione Proximi", 24-25, CCSL 117,161, and the

Carolingian florilegium De varietate librorum sive de amore cœlestis patriæ, cap. 39, "De Tolerantia", PL 118,911B-C.[20])

The "file of the spirit" also figures in many later medieval discussions of patience and the "uses of adversity". The Dominican friar, Lorens of Orléans still attributes the figure to Gregory in his Somme le Roi (written in 1279):

Des branches de misericorde a dextre :	cf. W. Nelson Francis, ed., The Book of Vices and Virtues (c. 1400), E.E.T.S., O.S. 217 (1942), 202/22-32 :
... La quarte chose est penser aux biens que les tribulations font a ceulx qui les seuffrent patientement ... les tentations purgent lame ainsy comme la fournaise lor et come la lime le fer. sicomme dit sainct gregoire.	Þe ferþe þing is to þenke on þe goodnesses þat tribulacions and sorwes doþ to hem þat suffren hem pacientliche ... tribulacions purgeþ þe soule as þe ouene doþ þe gold and as þe flaile doþ þe corne and as þe file doþ þe ieren, as seynt Gregory seiþ.[21]

In the treatise De Duodecim Utilitatibus Tribulationis ascribed to Peter of Blois,[22] Augustine is cited as the authority for the same set of similitudes:

PL 207, 993C:	cf. the anonymous ME prose translation printed by C. Horstmann, Yorkshire Writers, Richard Rolle of Hampole (New York, 1896) II, 49/26-30 :
... Secundus modus purgationis est quomodo metalla purgantur, ut aurum igne et ferrum lima.	... Þo secunde maner of clensyng is thorough whilk metals are clensid, as gold with fire, &

Primo ergo tribulatio purgat animam et puram reddit, sicut ignis aurum. Unde dicit Augustinus: Quod flagellum grano et ignis auro, quod lima ferro, hoc facit tribulatio justo ...	ierne with file. First tribulation clensis þo soule & makis hit clene as fire dos þo gold; þerof saies seynt Austyn: "Þat þo flayle dos to þo corne, þat þo fire dos to þo gold, þat þo file dos to þo iern, right so & on þo same maner tribulacion clensis þo rightwyse mon" ...
cf. 994A:	Ibid., 50/1-6:
... Secundo tribulatio purgat animam sicut lima ferrum, limando scilicet et clarificando. Sicut gladius qui nunquam exit de vagina sua, et cultellus qui nunquam scindit, contrahunt rubiginem; sic cor humanum sine exercitatione tribulationis contrahit rubiginem spiritualem ... Noli ergo conqueri, si Deus limet lima cor tuum ut fulgeat, et clarificetur, et gloriosum appareat, quia aliter non poteris Deum videre.	Sith, tribulacion clensis þo soule as file dos þo iern, furblisshand hit & makand bright. For why as þo swerd þat neuer passis out of þo shethe, & þo knyue þat neuermore sheres, gedres rust: so monnes hert gedres rust gostly with-outen vse of tribulacion ... For-þy ne pleyne þe not þof god furblisshe þi hert þat hit shyne & be made clene; for in oþer maner þou may not se god ...[23]

The "file of correction" is frequently envisaged in the hands of the divine craftsman himself, whose concern to polish and perfect his creatures is often described in picturesque detail in medieval religious texts.[24] Thus, for instance, in the following passage from Stjórn taken from Gregory's Dialogues, God's correction of mankind is seen in terms of his energetic use of the rasp:

Stjórn 158/13-20	de Vogüé, vol. 3, 64, IV. 16. 3/20-26
... Enn þat kann þo at henda. at þeir hafi nockurar uannirkiur i sinum framferdum ok uerkum fyrir augum hins agętazta ok haaleitazta hǫfudsmids. sem fyrir manninum synaz algǫruir uera. sem uer uhagir menn lofum þann innsighlissgrǫft sua sem algeruan ef uær seam hann. sem honum grafiurinum uirðiz eigi algǫrr. ok hugsar sik um ok séér upp aa sinn grǫpt. þetta suerfr hann ok setr til betr. slær hann ok sléttir til betranar ok fullkominnar umbotar ...[25]	... Sed quia plerumque hii, quos iam perfectos homines aestimant, adhuc in oculis summi opificis aliquid inperfectionis habent - sicut saepe inperiti homines necdum perfecte sculpta sigilla conspicimus, et iam quasi perfecta laudamus, quae tamen adhuc artifex considerat et limat, laudari iam audit, et tamen ea tundere meliorando non desinit.

Magnúss saga lengri contains two still more elaborate descriptions of the "file of God". The first of these is taken from a section of the saga which is based directly on the lost Latin life of the saint by meistari Roðbert,[26] and deals with Christ's testing of the virtues of the young Magnús by allowing him to spend a brief period in the company of violent and reckless men (ÍF 34, 345/12-27):

> ... Því at dróttinn Jesus er son ins mikla smiðs, er heiminn ok allt þat, er í honum er, gerði ok gerir ok stjórnar með sínu valdi, ok hann umskiptir ker reiði sinnar í miskunnar ker, sverfandi þau með þél heilags anda ... Sé um síðir, sem inn heilagi Magnús í vafðist slíkum syndum, þá kom þar, at hann af létti þessu starfi ok fylgdi feðr sínum ok bróður ok lendum mönnum í Orkneyjum.

This passage is echoed later in the saga, where the narrator begins to recount the events which led to Magnús' martyrdom at the hands of earl Hákon (Ibid., 358/20-359/6):

> Ætlaði Hákon þá at koma á óvart á hendr inum heilaga Magnúsi at vinna ok fullgera með þeim hætti sína illgirnd ok svik þau, er hann hafði lengi áðr í hug haft ok efnat. En inn hæsti himnakonungr, er frá eilífu upphafi skipaði, at hann skyldi varðveita sín in dyrðligu einvalaker í sínum féhirzlum, sá á þeim sínum völdum manni enn nökkut ryð heimligrar atferðar, þat er hreinsanda var. Því vildi guð hann láta hreinsast ok skírast innan fára daga með eldi þrönginganna ok meinlæta ok með þélum freistninnar ok margra mótgörða, þó at eigi væri höfuðsyndir til af honum at þvá. Þá vildi guð auka hans verðleika, ef nökkut skorti á, at eptir því sem hans freistni ok stríð væri meiri ok harðari, þeim mun hæri ok háleitari skyldi verða dyrð ok fagnaðr sigrvegarans.[27]

Both of these excursuses recall two passages in Paul's letters in which God's human creatures are likened to the vessels of a potter:

Rom. 9:21-23 An non habet potestatem figulus luti ex eadem massa facere aliud quidem vas in honorem, aliud vero in contumeliam? Quod si Deus volens ostendere iram, et notam facere potentiam suam, sustinuit in multa patientia vasa irae, apta in interitum, ut ostenderet divitias gloriae suae in vasa misericordiae, quae praeparavit in gloriam.

2 Tim. 2:20-21 In magna autem domo non solum sunt vasa aurea, et argentea, sed et lignea, et fictilia: et quaedam quidem in honorem, quaedam autem in contumeliam. Si quis ergo emundaverit se ab istis, erit vas in honorem sanctificatum, et utile Domino ad omne opus bonum paratum.

Interestingly (perhaps by association with Ecclesiasticus 27:6, "Vasa figuli probat fornax, et homines iustos tentatio tribulationis"), these verses are interpreted in the Glossa Ordinaria in terms of the theme with which the "filing metaphor" is most often associated - the value of the tribulations inflicted by evil men:

Rom. 9:22-23, PL 114, 502B-C:

> Sustinuit. Sustinet Deus malos ut ordinate disperdat; et utitur illis tanquam instrumento ad salutem bonorum. Nullum enim Deus, vel angelorum, vel hominum crearet, quem malum futurum esse præsciret, nisi pariter nosset eos, quibus bonorum usibus commodaret.
> Ut ostenderet. Quasi dicat: Ad hoc patitur malos, et præostendit iram, et ad notitiam trahit, ut ostenderet in vasa misericordiæ, id est quam dives, et quam magna sit et gloriosa misericordia ...

2 Tim. 2:20, PL 114, 635D:

> Vasa aurea et argentea. Sicut enim vasa lignea et fictilia valent ut purgentur aurea et argentea, sic mali prosunt ad profectum bonorum. Magna ergo domus, Ecclesia, in qua sunt vasa aurea et argentea, id est, boni et fideles et sancti Dei servi ubique dispersi et spirituali unitate devincti, in eadem communione sacramentorum degentes. Et vasa lignea et fictilia, id est illi qui sunt in domo, ut non sint in compage domus, nec in societate pacifica, et tamen adhuc corpore simul cum bonis.[28]

Similarly, the author of the Elucidarius explains that in persecuting mankind the devil is employed, as it were, as a smith - assisting the divine craftsman in his task of smoothing and cutting away the imperfections which mar his handiwork:

Lib.II, cap. 4, Lefèvre, 408/1-12 (PL 172, 1136A-B):	AM 675 4to, Hauksbók, 493/7-18:
D. Quomodo diabolus servit Deo? M. Quia gloriosus princeps despexit esse in palatio; fecit eum Deus laboriosum fabrum in hoc mundo, ut coactus totis viribus serviat, qui vacare Deo fruendo nolebat, ut dicitur: Faciam tibi eum sempiternum (Job XL, 23). Cujus fabri caminus, est afflictio et tribulatio; folles sunt tentationes et suggestiones; mallei et forcipes, sunt terrores, et persecutores; limae vel serrae, sunt linguae maledicentium et detrahentium. Tali camino et his instrumentis purgat ipse aurea vasa cœlestis regis: haec sunt electi, in quibus renovat imaginem Dei, reprobos autem qui contra regem agunt, ipse torret et ut hostes punit. Tali modo servit diabolus Deo.	Hværsso þionar fiande liðvm guðs. Þvi at hann firir leit at vera ængla hofðingi a himni þa gerðe gvð hann starfsaman smið i heimi at hann þionadi nauðigr með illv [eds., Vistnok fejl for ǫllu] erviði þa er hann villdi eigi ærviðis lavst þiona gvði i himnvm vppi sem ritit er Gera man ek hann þer eilifan ðręl. Þessa smiðs aflar ero qvalar heims. Smið bælgir hans ablastar fræstni hamraR hans ok tænggr ero ofriðar menn ok qveliarar [eds., Rettet fra hdskrs - aðrar] þrælar hans ok sagðer [Fejl for þialar, sager] ero bolvendr ok bakmalogar tvngvr. I þeso<m> afle ok með þesom tolvm hræinsazc gullker himna konungs þat ero hælgir menn er vanðer pinaz i dvflizv hans þeir er moti gera himna kononge. a þessa lvnd þionkar diavvll gvði.[29]

The same idea underlies the interpretation in Stjórn of Isaac's words to Esau, "And by the sword shalt thou live, and shalt serve thy brother" (Gen. 27:40); and with this passage it is especially interesting to compare again the treatise De duodecim utilitatibus tribulationis:

Stjórn 160/4-6:	cf. PL 207, 993D:
... utan meðr þeim skilning	Et boni, qui significantur per

segiz at Esau hafi þionat Jacob. þa er hann gerdi honum ufrid. sem þel þionar iarni þann tima sem þat er sorfit ok hreinsat ...

aurum, per malos qui significantur per plumbum, frequenter purgantur. Unde, si quæratur, de quo deservit plumbum auro. Unde dicit Salomon. Stultus serviet sapienti, scilicet, ipsum purgando. Sic servivit Esau Jacob, eum persequendo.

All these examples suggest that the filing metaphor proved a serviceable commonplace for several generations of early Scandinavian prose writers.[30] And while it cannot be argued that the þél-compounds found, for instance, in Jóns saga B and Magnúss saga lengri are derived from either of the passages in Sthom. which contain similar phrases, the presence of such metaphorical compounds in the early sermons does give one an idea of how a rich fund of new metaphors, which could be used in a variety of contexts, was introduced into Icelandic by the early translators.

1. On the dating of the two versions of the saga see Ole Widding, "Ave Maria eller Maríuvers i norrøn litteratur", MM (1958), 1-7 ("Stilen tyder på, at gennemarbejdningen er foretaget af en kirkens mand, der var fast forankret i den gejstlige udtryksmåde omkring 1300"). See also Einar Ól. Sveinsson, Dating the Icelandic Sagas (London, 1958), pp.60,109n.1, and Peter Koppenberg, Hagiographische Studien zu den Biskupa Sögur. Scandica, Wissenschaftliche Reihe 1 (Bochum, 1980), "Forschungsabriß", pp.9ff., and "Dritter Teil: Literarische Einordnung des Jóns saga B als Werk des 14. Jahrhunderts", 200ff. (esp. 214ff., "Sprachliche Besonderheiten - Florissante Stil-figuren - Zeittypische Wortwahl"). Peter Hallberg has argued on stylistic grounds that Jóns saga B is among the texts which should be ascribed to Bergr Sokkason, "Jóns saga helga", Afmælisrit Jóns Helgasonar (Reykjavík, 1969), pp.59-79.

2. For a somewhat more distant parallel, cf. perhaps Fulk of Reims' description of Archbishop Plegmund's efforts to eliminate deep-rooted heathen error among the English of King Alfred's day:

> ... he was concerned to cut down with the sword of the word that most perverse opinion, arisen from pagan errors, until then surviving among that people ... (... perversissimam sectam paganicis erroribus exortam, et in illa gente tunc usque relictam, verbi mucrone satageret amputare ...)
> ... he was working to cut off and extirpate the incestuous heats of lasciviousness which would seem to have sprung up in that race ... (... laborare pro abscidendis et extirpandis incestuosis luxuriae fomentis ... quae in ea gente videbantur inolevisse ...)

(cit. Flodoard, Historia Remensis Ecclesiae, Lib. IV, MGH. Scriptores XIII, 566/28-31 and 568/21-24; PL 135,278A and 280D; trans.

Dorothy Whitelock, English Historical Documents I: c. 500-1042 [2nd ed., London/New York, 1979], items 224 [pp.886-887] and 225 [p.887]). See generally Thes. Ling. Lat., s.vv. eradico A1 (maxime in alleg. Christ. locutionibus), B3; evello IA 2a, C acced. (adv. stirpitus, radicitus, praep. c. subst. a radicibus, cum radicibus); exstirpo AI in imag., B1. Cf above, pp. 403-434 passim.

3. Epistulae Morales 95.36, trans. R.M. Gummere (1917-25), vol.3, 80-81. Cf. Ibid., Ep. 7.7, vol.1, 32-33: "the companion, if he be slanderous, rubs off some of his rust upon us, even though we be spotless and sincere" (malignus comes quamvis candido et simplici rubiginem suam adfricuit).

4. Ferrugo is used as a synonym for invidia in the anonymous first-century poem Laus Pisonis (ed. J.W. Duff, Minor Latin Poets, Loeb Classical Library [1934], 302/107). And Servius, commenting on Virgil's description of the vegetal "rust" which blighted plants after the passing of the Golden Age, reminds his readers that the word robigo can signify more than "mildew": ... sed haec res abusive robigo dicitur: nam proprie robigo est ... vitium obscenae libidinis, quod ulcus vocatur (in Georgica I. 151, ed. G. Thilo and H. Hagen [Lipsiae, 1881-1902], III, 168).

5. Cf., e.g., Ps. 77:46, "et dedit erugini fructus eorum" = occulta superbia (Augustine, Enarrationes in Psalmos 77, CCSL 39, Pars X.2, 1087: sec. 27/5-11; Glossa Ordinaria, PL 113, 971D); Eccli. 12:10, cit. above, "... altiori sensu denotat hæreticos ... Illi enim veri inimici sunt, quorum doctrina plena est rubigine erroris et nequitiæ" (Rabanus Maurus, In Ecclesiasticum III, cap. 7, PL 109,848C; Glossa Ordinaria, PL 113,1197A); Ezek. 24:12, "et non exibit de ea nimia

rubigo eius" = malitia nimia (Jerome, In Ezechielem, PL 25, 226A-B; Rabanus Maurus, PL 110, 750D-751A; Ps. Rabanus, Allegoriæ in sacram scripturam, PL 112, 1041B); Joel 1:4, "et residuum bruchi comedit rubigo" = ira (Gregory, Moralia, lib. 33, cap. 37, sec. 65, PL 76, 714D-715A), iracundia (Ps. Rabanus, Allegoriae, PL 112, 1041B); Matt. 6:19, "nolite thesaurizare vobis thesauros in terra ubi erugo et tinea demolitur" = superbia (Bede, In Mattheum, PL 92, 34B; Rabanus Maurus, PL 107, 834D), vana gloria (Christian of Stavelot, PL 106, 1316A), gula seu fornicatio (Paschasius Radbertus, PL 120, 304B).

6. De zelo et liuore, cap. 7, ed. G. Hartel, CSEL 3 (Vindobonae, 1868-71), III. 1, 423/17-18.

7. Conlationes, I, 22, 2, ed. M. Petschenig, CSEL 13 (Vindobonae, 1886), 34/14.

8. Cathemerinon VII, 205, ed. and trans. H.J. Thomson (London/ Cambridge, Mass., 1949-53), vol. I, pp.68-69.

9. See further Blaise, s.v. robigo; Du Cange, s.v. rubiginare (metaphorice); Manz 865, rubigo peccatorum/scelerum/vitiorum; Walther 12765 invidie rubigo (and 28307a, "Si cariem videas, vigilet correctio lime"). None of the OWN versions of Gregory 34 in Ev. contain a translation of the phrase vitiorum rubigo (cf. Sthom. 91/7-10, Leifar 63/27-30, Nhom. 139/24-26). The metaphor rubigo peccatorum/peccati in Gregory 30 and 33 in Ev. is rendered synþa ím in AM 677 4to (Leifar 32/4-5, 81/13,15; cit. Walter, Lex. Lehn., p.180); cf. Ísl. Æv. X, 92, sindr glæpanna. For examples of the metaphor of the "rust of sin" in OE see, e.g., CP 269/11-15 (= Reg. Past. III. xiii [37], cit., p.540), "... he wolde from us adon ðone

rust urra unðeawa, ac we ðeah for ðæm broce ðæs fyres nyllað alætan from us ðæt rust ðara unnytra weorca ..."; Def. Lib. Scint. 4/14, synne rust/peccatorum rubigo (the source for this entry is the passage from Gregory 33 in Ev., cit. p.539; see H.-M. Rochais, ed., Liber Scintillarum I. 31, CCSL 117 [1957], 5); Christ 1320, "synrust þwean" (see esp. A.S. Cook, "The Old English Word Synrust", MLN 4 [1889], p.129; Christ, pp.205-206).

10. The figure of the file/whetstone is, of course, not only used to describe the removal of blemishes from the soul. Horace employs the metaphor, for instance, in his Ars Poetica (289-291,304-305) to refer to the erasure of literary vices and the sharpening of wit and expression (ed. and trans. H.R. Fairclough, Loeb Classical Library, 1929):

> ... Nor would Latium be more supreme in valour and glory of arms than in letters, were it not that her poets, one and all, cannot break the toil and tedium of the file (si non offenderet unum/quemque poetarum limae labor et mora)
> ... So I'll play a whetstone's part, which makes steel sharp, but of itself cannot cut (ergo fungar vice cotis, acutum/ reddere quae ferrum valet exsors ipsa secandi).

This passage is often echoed by medieval authors. Cf., e.g., Ranulph Higden, Polychronicon (Trevisa's translation, ed. C. Babington and J.R. Lumby, Rolls Series 41, vol. 1 [London, 1865], I, cap. 9, 13/5-10):

> Þerfore I pray þat no man me blame, þei ich fare as sound and askes; þat þouȝ þei beeþ dym and foule hym self, oþer þinges þey clenseþ and makeþ schyne ful briȝt; and meny oþer þinges þat þey haueþ not in hem self, ȝeueþ to oþere. So saiþ the prophete Satiricus, "I fare as the whetston þat makeþ yren sharpe and kene."

See too Walther, 10092. Walter of Châtillon gives the Horatian similitude a Christian application:

Carmina Burana, ed. A. Hilka and O. Schumann, I. Text 1 (Heidelberg, 1930), 8, st. 1 (p.10):

> Licet eger cum egrotis
> et ignotus cum ignotis
> fungar tamen vice cotis,
> ius iusurpans sacerdotis.

Moralisch-satirische Gedichte, ed. K. Strecker (Heidelberg, 1929), 9, st. 13 (p.107):

> Cum secare nequeam, fungar vice cotis,
> imitantur presules Christum a remotis.

Late classical writers regularly associate the figure with the polish of education:

Quintilian, Institutiones Oratoriae, II. xii. 8 (trans. H.E. Butler, Loeb Classical Library, 1920, rpt. 1980, 286-287):

> ... it must be confessed that learning does take something from oratory, just as the file takes something from rough surfaces or the whetstone from blunt edges ... it takes away defects, and if the results produced after subjection to the polish of literary study are less, they are less only because they are better (... confitendum est etiam detrahere doctrinam aliquid, ut limam rudibus et cotes hebetibus ... sed vitia detrahit, atque eo solo minus est, quod litterae perpolierunt, quo melius).

Sidonius Apollinaris, Epistulae, II.x.6 (ed. and trans. W.B. Anderson, Loeb Classical Library, 1936, 466-467):

> ... you lament that in addition to your oratorical skill your poetical capacity and the keen edge of your tongue, which has been sharpened on the whetstone of industrious study, are blunted by the society of ladies ...

(... praeter oratoriam contubernio feminarum poeticum ingenium et oris tui limam frequentium studiorum cotibus expolitam quereris obtundi ...)

Cassiodorus, Variae I, ep. 22, PL 69, 523B:

... Polisti siquidem forensi cote multifarie praedicatus ingenium.

Ibid., III, ep. 6, 579C:

... Verum hæc naturæ bona litterarum decoravit insignibus: ut cote magistrarum artium detersis mentis penetralibus plus luceret.

Ibid., VI, ep. 17, 698C:

... Sub nobis enim non licet esse imperitos, quando in vicem cotis ingenia splendida reddimus, quæ causarum assiduitate polimus ...

For many similar examples, see Thes. Ling. Lat. s.vv. cos 2, lima 2 (esp. a - "limantur scripta"), and limo B 1 a. "incorporaliter (maxime de scriptoribus vel scriptis perficiendis)"; Walther 10062, "Fulget mens exercitio limata studendi, / Nec rubigo potest tetra nocere sibi", 1153,16069. The image of the lima doctrinae was, of course, attractive to Christian teachers. With the examples from Sidonius and Cassiodorus cf., e.g., St Zeno of Verona, Tractatus I. 13. 8, PL 11, 351A-B:

Jesus ... recte cultellos petrinos fecit ... id est sua doctrina formatos, et Spiritus sancti lima acuminatos constituit viros apostolos omnesque discipulos ...

and Incerti auctoris Ariani opus imperfectum in Matthaeum (fifth-sixth century , homil. 43, PG 56, 880A:

... Homo ...non intellectum homini præstat docendo sed a Deo præstitum per admonitionem exercet. Doctrina enim cotis habet officium. Sicut enim cos non facit ferrum,

sed acuit: et sicut sine causa ferrum acutum acuitur, ita sine causa homo sensatus docetur.

11. ed. and trans. J.E. King (London/New York, 1927), 372-373. Cf. Ibid., IV, 21, 48 (378-9) where Cicero complains that the favourite phrases of the Peripatetics, "ardores animorum cotesque virtutum" are mere "rhetorical fireworks". Cf. too Seneca, De Ira 3.3.1 (ed. E. Hermes, Senecae Dialogi [Lipsiae, 1917], 110/25-27), "Aristoteles defensor irae ... calcar ait esse virtutis".

12. ed. J.S. Reid (London, 1885), 337/17.

13. Epitome of Roman History, I.18.3, trans. E.S. Forster (London/New York, 1929), 88-89.

14. Historia adversum paganos VII, 25, 9-10, ed. C. Zangemeister (Lipsiae, 1889), 265/7-17; trans. I.W. Raymond, Seven Books of History against the Pagans, Records of Civilization. Sources and Studies, No. 26 (New York, 1936), 356-357.

15. Faustus Reiensis Opera, ed. A. Engelbrecht, CSEL 21 (Vindobonae, 1890), Epistula 9, 211/7-8. For further examples of the rubigo quietis metaphor see Whiting I 59, "Iron (steel) that lies still gathers rust"; cf. Walther 26907, 32467, "Ut niteat virtus absit rubigo quietis".

16. Aponii ... in Canticum Canticorum Explanatio, ed. D.H. Bottino and D.J. Martini (Romae, 1843), lib. 1, p.6. On Aponius see H. Riedlinger's article L. Th. K., s.v., Bd. I, col. 771; B. Altaner and A. Stuiber, Patrologie (8. Aufl., Freiburg/Basel/Wien, 1978), 457, § 105.1.

17. Cf. his use of the doublet hvat eþa sorfit in response to the phrase perducitur ad subtilitatem acuminis.

18. With the phrases *þrǫngvingar þél* and *hegningar harþsteinn* one can compare a whole armoury of figurative instruments of castigation introduced by later Icelandic prose-writers. The author of the final section of *Stjórn* renders 2 Sam. 7:14, "arguam eum *in virga virorum et in plagiis filiorum hominum*": "... þa man ek asaka hann oc hirta *með raðningarvǫndi mannligrar striðv*" (506/32-33). And he makes free use of similar compounds with far less encouragement from the scriptural text:

Stjórn 547/28-29:	2 Sam. 24:25:
Giðrðiz drottinn þa enn liknsamr oc sneri sinne *reiði oc raðningarvendi* af Jsraels lyð.	... et repropitiatus est Dominus terrae et cohibita est plaga ab Israhel
Ibid. 651/14-15:	2 Kings 23:26:
... þa sneri drottinn enn æigi sinum *rikissprota ok refsingaruendi sinnar reidi* fra Gydinga lyd ...	Verumtamen non est aversus Dominus ab ira furoris sui magni, quo iratus est furor eius contra Iudam ...
Ibid. 653/3-5:	2 Kings 24:19-20:
Sedechias vǽr slikt illr i guds augliti sem hinir fyrri brødr hans. fyrir þi endrnyiadi hann reidi guds ok reitti hans *hegningaruǫnd* moti Hierusalem ok Juda ...	... et fecit malum coram Domino iuxta omnia quae fecerat Ioachim irascebatur enim Dominus contra Hierusalem et contra Iudam donec proieceret eos a facie sua ...

Many more metaphorical compounds of this kind can be found in *OWN* texts:

Vitae Patrum II, *HMS* II, 637/36-38:	*PL* 73, 875B:
"... þa skulo vid nu bidia, at eptir gudligri gæzku ok miskunnsemd hverfe fra þer *þesse*	... omnibus orationibus Dominum deprecemur, ut et *adversum te dimissum flagellum* avertat.

hegndarsprote likamligrar
oreinsanar, er þu hefir þolt."

cf. Vitae Patrum II, HMS II, 512/22, hegndarsproti; Nik. II, HMS II, 153/36, hegningarsproti sæls Nicholai; Saga Guðmundar Arasonar, eptir Arngrím Ábóta, Bisk. II, ráðningar sproti guðs; Árna saga biskups, Bisk. I. 700/7, 743/3, sproti ráðningar; Konungs skuggsiá 109/40-41, "Guð toc ræfsingar uonnd sinn oc sælldi i hænðr sauli" cf. Ibid. 110/23-28; Ísl. Æv. XLIIB, 106, miskunnarsproti, cf. Bisk. II, 148/35, cit. below, p. 567 ; Mar. 192/29-30, hirtingar stafr, réttloetis vöndr. On the term lausnarvöndr (= virga poenitentiae) used in the post-Reformation account of Catholic observances in Iceland printed in Bisk. II, 248-249, "Söguþáttr um Skálholts Biskupa fyrir og um siðaskiptin", see Magnús Már Larússon, "Lausnarvöndur", KLNM X, 356-357.

The author of Thóm. I uses the term hegndar suerþ to render falx ecclesiasticæ severitatis; substituting a military metaphor for the agrarian image of his original:

Thóm. I, Annarr Hlutr, k.23, 171/4-11:	Quadrilogus, cit. Ibid. 171/30-35:
... þa heyrer meirr a huerium dege ... at margar nygiar uhéfur verþa viþa i hans byskupdœme ... þat skil hann ok, at þat þroaz nu oc daglega allt saman upp renn meðr folkeno ok fær hinn versta avoxt. Af þi riss hann nu upp ræsklega, gyrþande sek ster(k)lega meðr guðlego hegndar suerþe, þæim til hirtingar sem nu geraz hæilagrar kirkio niþingar ...	Archiepiscopus vero audiens novas et sciens enormitates cum veteribus, quæ in pessimos fructus excreverant, per diœcesim suam quotidie pullulare, ... ne non amputatis putridis ramis vinea Domini corrumperetur, accinxit se et falcem ecclesiasticæ severitatis in multos exercuit.

(Cf. Thóm. II, k.63, I. 416/24-25, "gyrðandi sik sterkliga guðligu hefndarsverði þeim til hirtingar", and Ibid., k.68, I. 456/18, "hefndarsverð hins heilaga Petri"; cf. too the use of the compound ræfsingarsverð at Konungs skuggsiá 124/4-6.)

In Thóm. II (I. 118/2-4) St Thomas himself is called a "hammer of castigation" against the recalcitrant among his flock:

> Mjúkr ok ástúðigr var hann sínum lýð, öllum þeim er lýðnir vildu vera, enn ranglátum var hann hvellr hamarr til hegningar.
>
> II [Formáli], 2/18-19 [cf. Mar., Jartegnir II. 61, 200/17-18]
>
> ... svá réttvíslega harðr við ómildan lýð, at hann má þeira hegnaðarhamarr vel kallast ...

Similarly, in Maríu saga, the epithet hamarr hirtingar is applied to St Bernard. A parallel Latin text for the passage concerned is found in the Chronicle of Helinand of Froidmont, Lib. 48, An. 1115, PL 212, 1018B (cf. Vinc. Beauv., Spec. Hist. XXVI, cap. 25); this text, however, makes no reference to the "hammer" epithet:

Mar. 197/18-24 (cf. Ibid. 492/33-493/5):	PL 212, 1018B:
Eina nott ser Bernardus standa hia ser einn fagran suein með guðligri birti. Þessi byðr honvm vndir ræksemþar vallde, at hann tali heþan af með fullu trøsti þat er skipat verðr af gvði i hans mvnni.	Vidit tunc temporis beatus Bernardus puerum sibi cum divina claritate astantem, et magna auctoritate sibi præcipientem, ut fiducialiter loqueretur, quidquid ei suggereretur in apertione oris sui; quando non ipse esset, qui loqueretur; sed Spiritus Patris sui qui loqueretur in eo.
Eptir þessa vitran var Bernardus aboti sva ørvggr ok einarðr rettlǫti at boða moti ranglatvm, at hann matti kallaz mvnnr snilldarinnar ok hamarr hirtingarinnar.	

On the application of the "hammer" metaphor to both churchmen and rulers (e.g., malleus hereticorum of St Augustine, malleus mundi of Frederick II of Germany, Charles Martel, etc.) see G. Waitz, "Kleine Beiträge zur fränkischen Geschichte. Über den Beinamen 'der Hammer'", Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte III (1863), 147-149, and Rudolph Arbesmann, "The 'Malleus' Metaphor in Medieval Characterization", Traditio 3 (1945), 389-92.

Another onomastic curiosity perhaps worth mentioning in connection with this group of metaphors and epithets is the ironic nickname Hein ("hone" or "whetstone") given to King Haraldr of Denmark (1074-1080), son of Sveinn Estriðsson, in mockery of his submissive behaviour. Cf., e.g., Sven Aggesen's Regum Daniae Historia (ed. M. Cl. Gertz, En Ny Text af Sven Aggesøn's Værker [Kbh., 1916], 91/14-16 [revised text of AM 33, 4to, 41r]):

> Mortuo itaque Suenone rege filius eius Haraldus, quem ob benignitatis mollitiem Cotem cognominabant <intronizatur>.

Knýtlinga Saga records that when Haraldr was, in turn, succeeded by his far more dynamic brother, Knútr (1080-1086, later St Knútr), the latter made a point of reminding his subjects of their insolence (k.28, ed. Carl af Petersens and Emil Olson, Sǫgur Danakonunga, STUAGNL 46 [1919-25], 72/21-73/9:

> Eptir andlát Haralds konungs áttu Danir Vébjargarþing; þar skulu þeir jafnan konung taka á því þingi. Þá var þar Knútr Sveinsson til konungs tekinn at ráði allra landsmanna yfir allt Danaveldi; hann gerðiz brátt ríkr maðr ok stjórnsamr. Hann mælti þá á einu þingi, er hann talaði: "Þér Danir launuðuð svá Haraldi konungi, bræðr mínum, góðvilja þann, er hann hafði til yðar, er hann var yðr helzti hægr ok linr,

at þér kolluðuð konung yðarn Harald hein ok gerðið þat fyrir spots sakir við hann, en nú skal ek þat launa yðr, er þér kunnuð þat illa at þiggja. at nú skal ek vera yðr frekr harðsteinn.

19. See above, pp.252-253.

20. Migne wrongly attributes this text to Haymo of Halberstadt. See G. Baader, L. Th. K., Bd. 4, col. 1325; H.-M. Rochais, "Florilèges Spirituels Latins", Dict. Sp., Tom. 5, 443, sec. 11.

For a similar sententia which associates the filing metaphor with the virtue of patience see Walther 24405, "Qui non limatur umquam feritate malorum / Permanet impatiens et bonitate caret." Prov. 27:17 is usually associated with the sharpening of the mind through consultation with wise men. Cf., e.g., J.B. Pitra, Spicilegium Solesmense II. 292/35-36, VI. De Metallis, xvi, Ferrum, "8. Acumen Mentis"; Ibid., 293/col. 2, 37-38 (= Rabanus Maurus, De Universo, PL 111, 480B), "... acumen sapientiæ ... id est sapiens a sapiente instruitur". Alan of Lille's explanation (Distinctiones Dictionum, PL 210, 789A-B), "Dicitur bona consolatio ... quia dum se invicem consolando fideles instruunt, ferrum ferro exacuitur", would seem to be based on a mistranscription of Bede's commentary on the verse (PL 91, 1018D, cf. Rabanus Maurus, PL 111, 768D; Glossa Ordinaria, PL 113, 1110C), "Satis bona est collatio et consilium sapientium, qui ubi se invicem consulendo instruunt, ferrum ferro acuitur." The verse circulated as a proverb; cf. Defensor, Liber Scintillarum 77, "De Discipulis", 5, CCSL 117,221, and Whiting I 58.

21. This treatise on the virtues and vices circulated widely in the fourteenth century and was translated into many languages (see

Francis' introduction to The Book of Vices and Virtues, pp.xxviii-xxxi). The French text is cited here from Sommes des vices et vertus, printed by Antoine Vérard, Paris, c. 1487-8 (see Catalogue of Books Printed in the XVth Century Now in the British Museum [London, 1949], VIII, 73-74). The book is without pagination, but the passage can be found in the o-signature.

Cf. Caxton's translation, The Boke Named the Royall (c. 1488), cap. cxxxi, "The braunches of the vertu of mercy & of almesse":

> ... Also trybulacions purge the soule as the fyre purgeth golde in the fornays. & as the flaylle the corne whan it beteth it. & as the hamer the yron as sayth saynt Gregorye.

Dan Michael of Northgate's version of La Somme le Roi, Ayenbit of Inwit, omits the passage altogether.

22. The attribution is, however, doubtful. See James R. Kreuzer, "The Twelve Profits of Anger", PMLA 53 (1938), 78, n.1.

23. Cf. too the ME poetical adaptation of De Duodecim Utilitatibus Tribulationis, ed. Kreuzer, op.cit., p.83, st. 14:

> The thrydde propurte of anger & pyne
> Is þat anger þe soule of synne clensyþ here
> ffor as þe fyre þe golde from drosse may fyne,
> That ys moost precyous metall and dere,
> And as þe fyle þe yren from rust makeþe shyne,
> And as þe flayle from chaffe beteþ cornes sere,
> And as þe pressour from grapes presseþ þe wyne,
> So clensyþ angers þe soule & makeþ yt clene.

With the combination of the images of flail and furnace in this list cf. perhaps the concluding section of Augustine's De Excidio Urbis Romae Sermo (ed. M.V. O'Reilly, Catholic University of America.

Patristic Studies 89 [Washington, 1955], 9 [VIII], 72/6ff., and 91 ad loc.), where, in addition to introducing the conventional aurum in fornace analogy, he plays on an etymology of tribulatio from tribula, "threshing floor" (cf., e.g., Johannes Balbus, Catholicon, s.v. tribulum, tribula, "... Instrumentum quo fruges terunt ... unde tribulacio. persecutio. aduersitas").

The comparison of trials and temptations to the testing of gold in the furnace is a scriptural commonplace. See Job 23:10 (cf. Gregory Moralia XVI, xxxii, 39/6-17, CCSL 143a, 822-23), Ps. 65:10-12 (cf. Augustine, Enarrationes in Psalmos LXV, 16, CCSL 39, pars X, 2, 850-51), Prov. 17:3,27:21, Wisdom 3:6 (cf. Rabanus Maurus, PL 109, 681D-682A), Eccli. 2:4-5 (cf. Rabanus, PL 109, 772D-773B), Ez. 22:22 (cf. Rabanus, PL 110, 737B-C), Zech. 13:9 (cf. Ps. Haymo of Halberstadt, PL 117, 269A), Mal. 3:3, 1 Pet. 1:7 (cf. Bede, PL 93, 43D-44A). For an OWN example of the simile, cf. Nhom. 157/12-14, "Oratio Dominica" (a parallel text is found in Ælfric's homily "De Dominica Oratione", CH I. 268/14-16):

... sva sem menn costa gullz í ælldi. sva costar hinn hælgi guð cristins mannz hværs hvárt hann sé æinarðr í trv guðs eða æigi ...	... Swa swa man afandað gold on fyre, swa afandað God þæs mannes mod on mislicum fandungum, hwæðer he anræde sy ...

On the relationship of the Nhom. text to Ælfric's homily see Gunnes, p.183. Cf. too Ælfric's preface to CH I, 4/35-6/3, and Whiting G 298, "Gold is afonded (tried, etc.) in (the) fire (furnace)". For some further examples see Augustine, Sermo 81.7, PL 38, 503D-504A; Gregory, Moralia XVIII, xxvi, 40, CCSL 143a, 911; Ps. Rabanus, Allegoriæ in sacram scripturam, s.v. aurum, PL 112, 870B, s.v. fornax, Walther 32351e, "Ut, cum limatur, ferrum nitet, igne probatur / Aurum,

sic iustum temptatio servat inustum".

24. Cf., e.g., the following passage from an Epiphany sermon preserved in both Sthom. and Nhom., based on an excerpt from sermon 135 in the Appendix Augustini (on the appropriateness of Christ's being called fabri filius at Matt. 13:55):

Sthom. 187/18-23 (Nhom. 58/23-29):	Ps. Aug. 135. 3, PL 39, 2012C-D:
Joseph smiþr vas ætlaþr faþer iesu crists a iorþo. þat má ráþa til rettrar skilningar er smiþr vas ætlaþr faþer hans. þuiat guþ er hiN saNe smiþr sa es meþ óumbreóþelegom mætte smíþaþe himen oc iorþ oc sæ meþ ǫllo sino scrúþe. Smiþr er hann þuiat hann læger ofmetnoþ en hefr litillæte oc sníþr onýt verc af siþom orom en styrker nytsamleg.	... Deus pater, faber. Joseph ergo faber in terris pater putabatur esse Domini Salvatoris, nec ab hoc opere Deus qui vere est Pater Domini nostri Jesu Christi excluditur: nam est et ipse faber. Ipse enim est artifex, qui hujus mundi machinam non solum mirabili, sed etiam ineffabili potentia fabricatus est; tanquam sapiens architectus cœlum subtilitate suspendit, terram mole fundavit, maria calculis alligavit. Ipse est artifex, qui ad mensuram quamdam superbiæ deponit fastigia, humilitatis extrema sublimat. Ipse est artifex, qui in nostris moribus præcidit superflua opera, utilia quæque conservat.

(On this text see Gunnes, 168; van Arkel, 14, item 25.) The Deus artifex is, of course, a commonplace of great longevity. See Curtius, 544-46 and Whiting S410, "To try as the smith does iron in the fire". For some other OWN references to God as "heavenly smith" see Lange, 211, and, e.g., Leifar 14/8 eilífr hofoðsmiðr (= Prosper of Aquitaine, Epigrammata LVIII, PL 51, 515C, æternus artifex);

Ibid., 34/23 inn hesti smiþr (= Gregory 30 in Ev., PL 76, 1225C, hic opifex); AM 674 A 4to. Elucidarius (Kbh., 1869), 7/6-11; Nik.II, HMS II 70/28; Árna saga biskups, ed. Þorleifur Hauksson (Rvk., 1972), 117/9-11; Fóstbræðra saga, k.2, ÍF 6 (Rvk., 1943), 128/3-6, and Agnete Loth, ed., Membrana Regia Deperdita, Ed. Arn., Ser. A, vol.5 (Kbh., 1960), 87/1-3; Alfræði íslenzk I, 89/18; Kolbeinn Tumason, lv.8, Heyr himna smiðr, hvers skáldit biðr (see Jón Helgason, "Heyr þú himna smiðr", Bibl. Arn., vol.31, Op. 5 [Kbh., 1975], 219-224).

25. Unfortunately, this section of the early OWN translation of Gregory's Dialogues has not been preserved.

26. See generally Magnús Már Lárusson, Saga (1962), 470-503, and Finnbogi Guðmundsson's introduction to ÍF 34 (1965), cxxxiiiff, cxxxvif. Magnús Már (487) dates the longer Icelandic version of the saga to the fourteenth century on stylistic grounds. Peter Hallberg ("Om Magnúss saga helga", Einarsbók: Afmæliskveðja til Einars Ól. Sveinssonar [Rvk., 1969], 59-70) includes the work among the texts he would ascribe to Bergr Sokkason. Both examples of the filing metaphor from Magnúss s. lengri are cited by Davíð Erlingsson, Blómað Mál í Rímum, Studia Islandica 33 (1974), 62-63 (see below,pp.573ff.).

27. George Webbe Dasent (The Icelandic Sagas, R.S. 88, vol.3, The Orkneyingers' Saga [London, 1894], 259) translates, "... For the [sic] God would that he should be cleansed and purified within a few days with the fire of suffering and insult, and with the frost of temptation and much opposition ...", taking þél, f., for þeli, m., "frost, rime". Guðbrandur Vigfússon (The Icelandic Sagas, vol.1, Orkneyinga Saga and Magnus Saga [1887], 237) transcribes the phrase as does Finnbogi Guðmundsson, "... þèlum freistninnar ..."; both

editors note, however, that the reading of the ms. (AM 350 4to) is garbled (see Ibid., 237, n.4, "þrelum for þielum, Cd. [badly]"; cf. ÍF 34, 359, n.1). Dasent translates the analogous passage in chapter 8, "... he changes the vessels of his wrath into vessels of mercy, polishing them with the file of the Holy Spirit" (The Orkneyingers' Saga, 248).

Hallberg ("Om Magnúss saga helga", p.68) notes that the phrase einvala ker also occurs in another work he would attribute to Bergr Sokkason, the translation of Arngrímr Brandsson's Latin life of Guðmundr Arason:

Bisk. II, 70/18-20:

... Herra biskupinn, sem hann heyrir hversu vorðit er, angrast ok hrærist af midli, sem einvalit ker almáttigs guðs ...

Ibid., 148/35-37:

... sjálfr várr herra fór til með sínum miskunnar sprota at semja ok alskira sitt einvala ker með likams meinlætum ...

The metaphors kosta ker and miskunnar ker are used of the Virgin in Maríudrápa st. 10-11 (Skjd B II, 498-499):

Búit ástum ker kosta
konungs ert glæst et hæsta
smíðat bezt ok bæði
byrstalls með list allri
...
Þu ert makligast miklu
miskunnar ker funnit
...

Cf. too Árni Jónsson's Guðmundardrápa, st. 71 (Skjd B II, 459):

Gullker máttu geðligt kallaz,
glæst ok valit af smið enum hæsta.

Davíð Erlingsson (Blómað Mál ... 57-58) suggests that the periphrases heljar ker and dauðans kör in Króka-Refsrímur (II. 28; IV. 66) are probably modelled on "vessel" metaphors found in clerical writings. Cf., e.g., Leifar 108/21, ... heilog ker ero hugscot truaþra m(aNa) (Gr. Dialogues, ed. de Vogüé, vol.2, 138-40, II. 2. 4/36-37, Vasa autem sacra sunt fidelium mentes); Stjórn 230/22, bardagagiðrn ok ufridsðm ranglætiss ker (Gen. 49:5, vasa iniquitatis bellantia).

28. Similarly, the author of De duodecim utilitatibus tribulationis sees the strokes of misfortune as the blows delivered by the divine goldsmith upon his precious vessels (PL 207, 1000D-1001A):

> ... Quia sicut malleus aurifabri dilatat aurum vel argentum frequenti percussione ad faciendum vas pretiosum, sic Deus fabricator totius creaturæ ordinavit tribulationem ad cordis dilatationem, ad reponenda dona gratiæ ... quod Deus aurifaber tenet in manu sua malleum tribulationis, qui bene novit ictum suum secundum possibilitatem recipientis materiæ moderari.

Cf. John Lydgate's depiction of Tribulation as a goldsmith, with her "hammer of Persecution" and "tongs of Distress", in his translation of Guillaume de Deguileville's Pèlerinage de Vie Humaine (The Pilgrimage of the Life of Man, ed. F.J. Furnivall and J.B. Locock, E.E.T.S., E.S. 77,83,92 (London, 1899-1904), ll. 15847ff). For some further examples of God as a goldsmith see Augustine, sermo 15.4, CCSL 41, pars XI, 1, 195/80ff.; Enarrationes in Psalmos XXI (II), 5, CCSL 38, pars X, 1, 124; Rupert of Deutz on Mal. 3:3, PL 168, 830C.

29. Cf. the OE translation, ed. R.D.N. Warner, Early English Homilies

from The Twelfth Century Ms. Vesp. D. XIV, E.E.T.S., O.S. 152 (London, 1917), 141/24-33:

> Hwu þegneð he him? For he nolde beon mid uren Drihtene on wuldre mid wele ⁊ mid blisse buten geswynce, þa geaf God him ane wica þ he næfre ne byð (ge)swyncleas, for he is smið, ⁊ his heorð is seo gedrefodnysse, ⁊ seo tyntrega. Þa hameres ⁊ þa beliges synden þa costninga, þa tangen synden ehteres, þa fielen ⁊ þa sagen synd þæra manna tungen, þe wyrceð hatunge betweonen heora emcristene, ⁊ bliðelice specað yfel. Þurh swylcne smið ⁊ þurh swylce tol, geclænsað ure Drihten þære halgena sawlen, ac of þan yfela mannen God sylf nymð þa wræce.

See too The Recluse, ed. J.H. Påhlsson, Acta Universitatis Lundensis, N.S. no.VI, 1 (Lund, 1910, rpt. 1918), 135/22-29 (cf. Ancrene Wisse E.E.T.S., O.S. 225 [1952], 128/3ff.; O.S. 249 [1962], 147/14ff.; O.S. 252 [1963], 98/7ff.; O.S. 267 [1972], 209/18ff.; O.S. 274 [1976], 124/13ff.):

> He þat mysseiþ þe oiþer misdoþe þe he is þi file. for þe file fileþ away al þe rust of þe soule. For al þis word is goddes smiþe to smiþe wiþ his chosen. & his belys þat he bloweþ wiþ þat ben his wicked Men & wymmen þat clensen his childer and briȝtten hem whi schułł we be waryand hem þat done vs good. ȝif we weren wel avised we auȝtten to blissen hem & bidden for hem fast for þe good þat hij done vs. wolde þe yrne ȝif it couþe speken warien þe fyle þat it clensed nay bot it were a gret fole...

and The Complaynt of Scotland, ed. James Murray, E.E.T.S., E.S. 17, 18 (London, 1872-3), ch.3, 28/5-13 (the English have been permitted by God to scourge the Scots as the Assyrians and Babylonians did the Israelites):

Euyrie thing is corruppit be ane vthir corruppit complexione. ane file is ane instrument to file doune yrn, ande ane synnar is maid ane instrument of the diuyne iustice to puneise ane vther synnar. the file that filit the yrne is vorne ande cassin auaye as ane thing onutil to serue to do ony gude verk: bot the yrn that hes beene filit be the forgear or be ane smytht, is kepit to serue to the necessite of men.

For a somewhat more benign (though no less severe) "agent of correction", cf. the description of Dame Justice in La Pèlerinage de Vie Humaine:

ed. J.J. Stürzinger (London, 1893), 8905-12:

Dame Justice, (la) favresse
De vertus et (la) forgeresse
A une lime qui par non
Apellee est Correction.
C'est la lime qui hors lime
Pechie jusqu'en la racine
Ne puet souffrir rooul n'ordure
Que tout ne lime (et tout) ne cure

Lydgate, 15700-15712:

A lady called "Ryghtwysnesse",
Smyth and also forgeresse.
Off al vertues, rekne echon
Hyr sylff hem forgeth, on by on;
And she hath (in conclusioun)
A ffyle callyd "Correccioun"
With wych (thogh yt be nat soote)
She ffyleth synnes to the roote,
That no Rust (I the ensure)
May ther kankren nor endure,
She skoureth yt a-way so clene,
That noon ordure may be sene.

30. For another (though perhaps less striking) early fourteenth-century example, cf. the translation of part of a Lenten sermon by Leo the Great inserted in Stjórn:

Stjórn, 142/9-13:

Leo, Tractatus XLI, sec. 1, ed. A. Chavasse, CCSL 138A (Turnholti, 1973), 233/21-23:

... Fyrir þa sauk eru þeir allir lutir einkannliga þenna tima opt ok iðuliga af þerrandi ok sua sem af nǫckurri snarpri umslettan ok yfirbot biartari ok skiærri gǫrandi. sem hugarins skęrleik ok hugskotzins skuggseon hafa hegat til skyiat ok uskyggnat ...

... Omnia igitur quae animi puritatem et speculum mentis obnubilant, abstergenda sedulo et quadam eliminatione radenda sunt. [text at PL 54, 272C has reddenda sunt clariora. See Chavasse's note, 233 n.22, and intro., ccix.]

Appendix: Nafnorðsaukningar

While there is little evidence of direct influence from skaldic diction on the metaphors of the OWN homilies, the figurative compounds of the early religious prose often served as models for figures employed in later Icelandic verse. Davíð Erlingsson, in his study Blómað Mál í Rímúm,[1] points out that the genitive periphrases known as nafnorðsaukningar which are a characteristic feature of the Icelandic rímur of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were, on the whole, patterned after the metaphorical compounds commonly used in earlier prose works.[2] The rímur-compounds normally consist of an abstract noun in the genitive case attached to a base-noun (stýriorð - usually a concrete noun) in the nominative: the former bears the burden of meaning, while the latter determines the figurative application of the compound. In many cases, however, the purely conventional nature of the base-word deprives the compound of any real value as a metaphor, and its function becomes merely to ornament and amplify.[3] Thus, to take two examples given by Davíð Erlingsson, in Grettisrímur V 2

> Þat var fyr at hrepta eg helldr
> hylli dyrra segia;
> nv er þat hardr heiptar elldr,
> holldar æa mic leggia.

heiptar elldr is simply a periphrasis for heipt which owes its existence primarily to the exigencies of rhyme, whereas in Sturlaugsrímur IV 40,

> Hilmi bran firi hringa norn
> hrygdar elldr um siafna korn

the compound hrygdar elldr stands for hrygd but also fits into a complex of "burning" imagery.[4]

The use of nafnorðsaukningar in the rímur is, of course, a relatively late development in Icelandic literature and of limited value

for comparison with the use of metaphorical compounds in the Homily Books.[5] For in spite of their formal resemblance to one another, the periphrases used in the rímur-poetry differ markedly from the genitive compounds of the early sermons in function: while the flexibility and comparative insignificance of the stýriorð in the nafnorðsaukningar betray the chiefly ornamental purpose of the rímur-compounds, the base-words of the allegorical compounds employed in the sermons are (especially in passages of scriptural exegesis) no less significant than their genitive modifiers. In fact, the tension of meaning which exists between the two halves of compounds such as scatt boþorþs hans and viþsmior allrar sælo could reasonably be compared with that which binds together the literal and spiritual levels of a scriptural text.[6]

In his study, Die isländische Mariendichtung, Hans Schottmann examines briefly yet another body of metaphorical compounds which are common in late Icelandic religious verse, and which, because of their direct debt to Latin liturgical metaphors, can be more readily compared with the figurative compounds of the Homily Books. Isolated examples of these metaphorical phrases, which he calls "intensifying metaphors", can be found in early Icelandic religious verse, although it is only in later devotional poetry that they become commonplace:

> ... Bedeutend zahlreicher als diese farblosen Formen [i.e., the nafnorðsaukningar] sind die intensivierenden Metaphern. Auch sie sind nicht "Bildschöpfung", die überhaupt nicht Sache der isländischen Dichter ist, kaum je bewußt verwendete "Versinnlichung", sondern übernommenes Gut in stereotyper Verwendung. Aber sie unterscheiden sich von den nafnorðsaukningar doch dadurch, daß die Kombinationen verhältnismäßig fest sind und eine sinnvolle, wenn auch sicher nicht mehr immer voll realisierte Vorstellung ergeben. Das Streben des deutschen geblümten Stils

> und seiner lateinischen Vorbilder, mit ausgefallenen und überraschenden Fügungen zu prunken, hat die isländischen Dichter nie geleitet. Abgesehen von einigen wenigen, allgemein verbreiteten Wendungen haben sie in der Sprache der Liturgie oder der Homilie ihre Vorbilder ...
>
> ... In der geistlichen Dichtung sind früh zweigliedrige Formeln, die nicht Kenningar sind, beliebt. Eine intensivierende Metapher hat die der theologischen Prosa besonders nahe stehende Harmsól schon im Titel, dann etwa in ... blóm af verkum (8; fructus operum bonorum, Manz 380), græða andar sǫr (54), was später öfter wieder aufgenommen wird; Sólarljóð 37 hat slíta heljar reip, Geisli im größeren Bildzusammenhang heims myrkr (2), auch himna hǫll (atria coeli u.ä. Manz 72). Auch diese Fügungen finden sich in jüngeren Gedichten.[7]

Schottmann observes that it is in the religious drápur of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, poems like Heilags anda vísur and Líknarbraut,[8] that the real vogue for this type of metaphor begins;[9] and with the composition of Eysteinn Ásgrímsson's Lilja its dominance over the traditional kenning in religious verse is assured and the basic repertoire of conventional phrases established:

> Mit Eysteinn erhebt ein großer Teil der späteren Dichter die Kenningfeindlichkeit zum Programm, wodurch die intensivierende Metapher sehr an Boden gewinnt. Das Register bleibt aber schmal: Die Welt als Haus, der Weg des Lebens und des Todes, der Brunnen der Freude, der Tugend, die Bande der Liebe ..., der Hoffnung, des Körpers usw., das Schwert des Schmerzes (nach Luc. 2,35), die Pfeile der Untugend, die Lampen der Tugend usw. Sie alle lassen sich auf gängige lateinische, zum guten Teil auch biblische Vorbilder zurückführen und gehen großenteils auch innerhalb der isländischen Dichtung in eingefahrenen Gleisen.[10]

Icelandic devotional poets of the late middle ages could also draw, however, on a formidable body of "isländische Vorbilder" -- for, as I have

endeavoured to show in this chapter, examples of most of the metaphors mentioned here can be found in the Homily Books and in other religious prose works of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[11] And there can be little doubt that this late flowering of conventional latinate metaphors in Icelandic religious verse owes much to the efforts of the early sermonists to appropriate and naturalize the verbal copia of their Latin models.[12]

1. Studia Islandica 33 (1974), 1-98.

2. The term nafnorðsaukning was coined by Björn K. Þórólfsson (Rímur fyrir 1600, Safn Fræðafjelaggins um Ísland og Íslendinga IX [Kaupmannahöfn, 1934], pp.204ff.). Davíð Erlingsson, however, criticizes his account of the phenomenon as excessively narrow:

> In his treatment, nafnorðsaukningar are seen as separate from other related phenomena - and on the whole regarded as a not very laudable feature of rímur poetry. They should be looked upon in the context of genitive periphrases, to which they belong. This gives perspective to the picture, and genitive periphrasis appears as an expression of the florid tendency in the poetic diction of the late Middle Ages. (Blómað Mál, summary, 94; cf. 23-30) D.E. provides the following revised definition (Ibid., pp.30-31):

> Nafnorðsaukningar eru eignarfallsumritanir nafna óhlutbundinna hugtaka, er fyrst að upphafi snerta sálarlífið og ástand þess (hyggja, sinna, gleði, sorg, reiði, heift, vinátta, hatur, ást, þrautir, raunir o. s. frv. ...), og umritanir fáeinna hlutbundinna hugtaka, sem sérstaklega er háttað um og farið er með eins og hin fyrri, en þau eru: hel ..., orð, kveðskapur (sköpun mannsandans).

3. See D.E., Blómað Mál, 31:

> Það stílfyrirbæri, sem rannsaka þarf og sem nafnorðsaukningar eru mikill hluti af, er ... einfaldlega: Umritun óhlutbundinna hugtaka og nokkurra annarra í eignarfallssambönd, þar sem hugtaksnafnið stendur í eignarfalli, er stýrist af öðru orði, hvort sem samböndin fela í sér líkingu eða ekki, enda fer það eftir merkingu stýriorðsins. Stýriorð geta verið mjög margvíslegrar merkingar, og sum hinna fjölhæfustu eru óhlutbundin. Í þessum samböndum týna stýriorðin oft mestu af eigin merkingu sinni, og eru þau því eiginlega notuð sem stílglósur til skrauts.

4. See D.E., Blómað Mál, p.27, and Finnur Jónsson, ed., Rímnasafn,

STUAGNL 35 (1905-1922), I, 70 and 487.

5. D.E. suggests that the rímur-poets patterned their use of genitive periphrases after the practice of MHG poets writing in geblümter Stil, although he admits that both bodies of literature must also have drawn upon Latin models (Blómað Mál, 82-88; see further K. Nyholm, Studien zum sogenannten geblümten Stil. Acta academiae aboensis. ser. A, vol. 39, nr. 4 [Åbo, 1971] "5. Die Genitivumschreibung", 82ff.).

6. It is clear, however, that a great many of the genitive periphrases employed in the rímur derive ultimately from metaphors used in earlier prose works. Parallels for many of the examples of rímur-compounds cited by D.E. can be found without difficulty in OWN clerical prose (see Blómað Mál, 33-62. D.E. refers passim to analogous phrases from prose works, but see esp. 62ff., "Umritanir í Prósa. Dæmi úr Magnúss sögu lengri"):

heiptar rætr (Sörlarímur V 6, Geðraunir X 38, Sálusrímur VI 8)

cf., e.g., lastar rót, Nhom. 29/1 (= vitii radix, PL 101, 635D) (see above pp. 432-433).

hrygdar bǫnd (Skáld-Helgarímur II 7), véla bǫnd (Geirarðsrímur VII 7)

flærðar streng (Króka-Refsrímur IV 40)

cf., e.g., synda bönd Nhom. 126/31 (= dampnationis uinculum, Passio Olaui 91/25) Niðrstigningarsaga IV, HMS II 19/32 (= vincula peccatorum, Ev. Nicodemi 20, ed. Tischendorf, 397/3);

illskuband Jóns s. bapt. II, Post. 915/25-26; harmsbönd Str. 26/14;

villuband Óláfs s. Tryggv. Mesta 150/4 (see above,p. 502)

ástar band (Hjálmþérsrímur XI 3), yndis band (Mágusrímur IX 2, Geiplur II 38), elsku bǫnd (Landrésrímur III 39)

cf., e.g., ástarband Tveggja Post. s. Pétrs ok Páls, Post. 316/25; ástarbönd Str. 162/20; elskuband Mar. 174/11, Michaels s., HMS I, 21 (= caritatis connexio) (see above, p. 504).

hrygdar elldr (Sturlaugsrímur IV 40); heiptar elldr (Grettisrímur V 2)

cf., e.g., valaþs eldr Leifar 43/10 (= ignis inopiae, Gr. 40, PL 76, 1307C), Ibid., 43/15-16 (= caminus paupertatis, 1307D); ófriðar eldr Thóm. II, I. 92/18; ǫfundar elldr Nik. II, HMS II. 102/21.

elsku brími (Geirarðsrímur VIII 4)

cf., e.g., ástarbrími Stjórn 519/21, Florents s. I, Fornsögur Suðrlanda 151/58-59 (cf. below, p. 647-649).

vizku brunnr (Króka-Refsrímur V 3)

cf., e.g., visdóms brvnnr, Nhom.153/11-12 (see above, 441-442).

grimdar flekkr (Króka-Refsrímur II 30); svikana fleckr (Landrésrímur VI 27), cf. syndaflekkr Nhom. 99/9 (Sthom. 102/17), Leifar 79/31 (= turpitudinis macula, PL 76, 1239D), Mar. 847/28, 861/11 (= macula Ps. 14:2); flekkr hiarta Sthom. 76/28 (= macula cordis, PL 76, 1196A); ágirndarflekkr Clári s. 42/8; lýtaflekkr Elucidarius, ANOH [1858] 73/17 (= macula, Lefèvre 465/22, cf. Salvesen 71); ranglætisflekkr Stjórn 142/3 (= macula iniquitatis, CCSL 138A, 233/17); svíksemdarflekkr Thóm. I, 103/18 (= proditionis macula, Ibid., 103/33), 246/4 (= proditio, Ibid. 246/25); úfrægðarflekkr Bisk. II, 53/6; óskynsemdarflekkr NGL III, 274/6; dauðans flekkun Lilja, st. 78.

girndar broddr (Jónsrímur leikara II 3)

cf., e.g., öfundar broddir Nhom. 22/9 (= invidiæ stimulus PL 101, 630B); lygdarinnar broddir Mar. 425/24-25; angrsemdar broddr Mar. 426/18; freistnebroddr Vitæ Patrum,

HMS II 638/2, 4 (= stimulus PL 73,876C); oreinsanar broddr Ibid. 638/7,25 (= stimulus fornicationis PL 73,877A).

sorgar ský (Skáld-Helgarímur III 1)

D.E. (Blómað Mál, 63-64) compares ský skröksemdarinnar, Magnúss s. lengri, ÍF 34 362/9 (= simulationis nubes, Legenda de sancto Magno, Ibid., 306/4-5). For a somewhat closer analogue cf. vglaða (var. ogleðe) myrkr Barl. 29/23 (= tristitiæ uelamen Ps. Ioh. Dam. 21/20) (see above, p. 532).

7. Münchner Germanistische Beiträge, Bd. 9 (1973), 132-133. Many of Schottmann's examples have been incorporated in the discussions of particular metaphors in this chapter. See Ibid., 133-137 passim for further examples; and 52 f. on the use of "intensifying metaphors" in invocations of the Virgin.

8. Líknarbraut is dated after 1300 by Anne Holtsmark, KLNM X, 553-554.

9. Wolfgang Lange, too, notes that the influence of the allegorical compounds favoured by preachers on the style of the Christian poetry of Norway and Iceland really only began to make itself felt towards the close of the thirteenth century. Before that time, he observes (op.cit., 262-264):

> ... in der altnordischen Poesie ist diese Stilfigur der Allegorese merkwürdigerweise fast ohne Wirkung geblieben, obgleich eine gewisse Nähe zum System der Kenningar auf der Hand zu liegen scheint ...
>
> ... Obgleich die christliche Dichtung - namentlich die der ersten Generation - ihre Stoffe aus der Predigt bezogen haben muß oder, sobald Geistliche dichteten, auch aus der Predigtliteratur, haben diese Quellen die isländische Dichtung stilistisch nur in sehr geringem Grade beeindruckt. Ja, es darf noch schärfer formuliert werden: die besondere Predigt-

sprache mit ihrer Technik der Allegorese wurde dichterisch so gut wie gar nicht nachgeahmt, obgleich Verbindungen zur altüberkommenen poetischen Darstellungsweise vielleicht nahe genug lagen.

Positiv ausgedrückt: die heimische Tradition des Dichters wird im Formalen stärker als der fremde Einfluß. Das wirkte sich nicht nur in der Beibehaltung der alten Formen und der Versmaße aus, sondern auch in der des Stils ... Die Bildtypologie kam wenig, die Allegorese gar nicht über den Bereich der Predigt hinaus ...

10. Schottmann, 134. See Ibid., 138-145 and 192-204 on Eysteinn's use of latinate metaphors in lieu of kennings in Lilja.

11. Schottmann notes (135) that the debt of the late medieval religious verse to earlier prose works is especially noticeable in its corpus of metaphors to do with sin:

> Am häufigsten sind intensivierende Metaphern und verwandte Ausdrücke im Bereich der Sünde, deren Wirken oder Folge das Grundwort der Genitivverbindung ausdrückt. Die seltneren Wendungen für "Tod" sind ihnen sehr ähnlich. In diesen Bedeutungsbereichen hat die kirchliche Sprache eine besondere Vielfalt ausgebildet, die sich auch in der isländischen Prosa spiegelt; die Ausdrücke der Dichtung haben so alle in der geistlichen Prosa(übersetzungs)-literatur ... ihre Parallelen oder sind geringfügige Abwandlungen dieser Vorbilder.

12. Hallgrímur Pétursson's use of metaphorical compounds in his Passíusálmar (1666) has been studied by Helgi Skúli Kjartansson, Myndmál Passíusálmanna og aðrar athuganir um stíl, Studia Islandica 32 (1973), esp. 30-42.

Chapter five:
A special use of the verb *at sjóða* in Nhom.

Trygve Knudsen concludes his brief discussion of proverbial phrases in Nhom. with a reference to a peculiar use of the verb at sjóða in the Easter homily, "In die sancto pasce sermo ad populum" (Nhom. 81/33-87/10):

> Hjemlig er vel også den billedlige uttrykksmåte som blir nyttiggjort i utlegningen om påskelammet...: "þat er almæle at menn sióðe þau rað er þæir hafa lénge i hug sér".[1]

Some years after Knudsen made this suggestion, Hans Bekker-Nielsen demonstrated that this sermon is a conflated translation (or a translation of an already existing harmony) of Gregory's twenty-first and twenty-second gospel homilies.[2] The passage in question, an exposition of the instructions for the preparation of the Paschal lamb given at Exodus 12:9, is from the latter text.[3] Gregory explains that the Old Testament injunction to eat the lamb "not raw, nor sodden with water, but roast with fire" refers to ways of apprehending the mystery of Christ's Incarnation: we should neither "eat the lamb raw" by recognizing only Christ's humanity, nor "boil it with water" by attempting to understand the Easter mystery through prolonged cogitation, but "roast it with fire" by fervently believing that all things are dispensed through the power of the Holy Spirit. The Scandinavian translator follows Gregory's Latin fairly closely, but interprets, abridges, paraphrases, or fills out his text as he sees fit:

Nhom. 85/5-18:	Gregory, Hom.22 in Ev., PL 76, 1179B-C:
Ecci sculu þér eta rát af þvi ne í vatne soðet. hældr stæict í elde. Eigi var gyðinga lýðr forðum vánr at eta lamb ráotsva at þat þyrfti at banna þæim í logum. En er siolf laga orð reca os fra licamlegre scilningo. þa værðr os scyldt at læita andlegrar. Sa etr pascha-lamb rát er galauslega tæcr hold ok bloð Crist at honum þyccir ænscis umm þat vært hældr	Non comedetis ex eo crudum quid, nec coctum aqua (Exod.XII, 9). Ecce jam nos ipsa verba historiæ ab intellectu historico repellunt. Nunquid, fratres charissimi, Israeliticus ille populus in Ægypto constitutus comedere agnum crudum consueverat, ut ei lex dicat: Non comedetis ex eo crudum quid? Ubi et

enn umm annat bræuð. Þvi at þat sioðum vér er vér velkium léngi í hugscote váðro. þvi at þat er almæle at menn sióðe þau rað er þæir hafa lénge í hug sér.

... Vatn merkir manlega ok verald-lega speki í þesso mæle. J vatne syðr lambs hold sa er með mennzcre scynsemi vil graua umm táðcn mandóms Crist. eða hygsc hann monu skilia af sínu hug-víte hverso verða ma holð ok bloð drotens ór bræuði ok vini ok vatne...

additur: Nec coctum aqua. Sed quid aqua, nisi humanam scientiam designat... Quid crudæ Agni carnes nisi inconsideratam ac sine reverentia cogitationis relictam illius humanitatem significant? Omne enim quod subtiliter cogitamus quasi mente coquimus... Omnis vero qui incarnationis ejus mysteria juxta humanam sapientiam discutere conatur, carnes agni aqua vult coquere, id est dispensationis ejus mysterium per dissolutam vult scientiam penetrare...[4]

Gregory's statement that whatever one ponders carefully is, as it were, "boiled" in the mind ("Omne enim quod subtiliter cogitamus, quasi mente coquimus") is not in itself very remarkable. Latin coquere was regularly used metaphorically to mean, "to cogitate". See, e.g., Lewis and Short, s.v.:

> III. Trop. (in the poets and prose writers after the Aug. per.)
> A. To elaborate something in mind, to consider, to think, meditate upon, contrive, plan: quicquid est, incoctum non expromet; bene coctum dabit, Plautus, Miles Gloriosus 2, 2, 55 ... consilia secreto, Livy 2, 36, 2: bellum, id. 8,3,2: trucem invidiam, Statius, Thebaid 2,300: iras cum fraude, Silius Italicus 7, 403: Latio extrema coepta, id. 10,431....
> - Hence, coctus, a, um, P.a....well considered, well digested: bene coctus sermo, Lucilius ap. Cic., Epistulae ad Atticum 13, 52, 1, etc.[5]

The use of OWN sjóða to refer to the thinking process is, however, far less common. Fritzner and Cleasby-Vigfusson distinguish three senses of the verb: 1) to cook, 2) to forge or fuse (steel, iron, etc.), 3) "to

brood over, delay", "grunde paa noget, som man vanskelig kan fordrage eller kommer til en vis Mening om (jvf. tygge paa noget)". However, both these dictionaries and the files for the Arnamagnæan Dictionary of Old Norse record only two instances of this third usage -- our example from Nhom., and a passage from Njáls Saga in which Bergþóra rails at her sons for merely brooding over the slaying of their half-brother Hǫskuldr instead of taking immediate action to avenge his murder (98. kap., ÍF XII, ed. Einar Ólafur Sveinsson [Reykjavík, 1954], 252):

> Bergþóra mælti: "Undarliga er yðr farit: þér vegið víg þau er yðr rekr lítit til, en meltið slíkt ok sjóðið fyrir yðr, svá at ekki verðr af; mun hér þegar er spyrsk, koma Hǫskuldr Hvítanessgoði ok biðja yðr sætta, ok munuð þér veita honum þat, ok er nú til at ráða, ef þér vilið." Skarpheðinn mælti: "Eggjar móðir vár oss nú lǫgeggjun."
> Síðan hljópu þeir út.

Finnur Jónsson, in his edition of the saga, remarks that both of the verbs employed here, at melta and at sjóða, "werden von langen überlegungen und vorbereitungen gebraucht: 'nun kaut und verdaut ihr so lange'," but provides no further examples.[6]

Considering the rarity of this use of sjóða in OWN texts, one might be tempted to assume that the phrase in the Nhom. Easter homily, "þat sioðum vér er vér velkium léngi í hugscote váro" is simply a calk of Gregory's Latin, were it not for the translator's matter-of-fact parenthesis, "þvi at þat er almæle at menn sioðe þau rað er þeir hafa lénge í hug sér". In her translation of Nhom., Astrid Salvesen renders these two sentences,

> Men det koker vi, som vi lenge har i tankene, for det er et alment ordtak at "folk koker de rådgjerdene som de tenker på lenge".[7]

"Det er et alment ordtak" is a perfectly acceptable translation of

"þat er almæle", provided one takes the word ordtak in its broadest sense. Cleasby-Vigfusson gives as one of the meanings of almæli, "a saying, proverb", and, in addition to the passage from Nhom., cites an example from Harðar Saga Grímkelssonar (10 kap., Islendinga Sögur... udgivne af det kongelige nordiske oldskrift-selskab, vol. 2 [København, 1847], 29):

> þótt almælit sannaðist, þat at móðurbræðrum verði menn líkastir, though the saying proved sooth, that men are likest to their uncles by their mother's side.[8]

Fritzner, s.v. almæli, does not include this reference, but only cites more general uses of the word in the sense, "hvad der siges almindeligen, af alle med en Mund":

> Hákonar saga herðibreiðs, k.15, Fornmanna Sögur VII (1832), 273 (cf. Heimskringla, III, ÍF 28, 364):
> En þat var almæli, at hann væri höfuð lendra manna í Noregi, í þeirra manna minnum, er þá voru uppi...

> Laurentius saga biskups, k. 36, Bisk. I, 837:
> Hefir þat verit almæli manna, at eigi hafi verit af norrœnum biskupum slíkr höfðingi á Íslandi til allrar mikilmennsku, sem var Auðunn biskup.

> Ísl. Æv. LXXVIII, "Af dauða ok kóngssyni," I, 205/25-30:
> Meistari svarar, "Herra minn, sagði hann, fœri þessi orð eigi fram af kóngs munni, væri þau án efa usönn í sér, þvíat mín kunnátta er sú sem alldri varo spenabarna leíkr, helldr hefi ek þat lán þegit sem syni yðrum verðr í fullr sómi, ef hann kann svá mikit, ok þat skal almæli."

The participial adjective almæltr was used in a similar way. Cf., e.g.,

> Páls saga biskups, k.2, Bisk. I, 129:
> Herdís varðveitti bú þeirra í Skarði ok börn þeirra öll, ok öll auðræði þeirra, vel ok sœmiliga, meðan hann var útan, ok var þat almælt, at engi börn væri svá vel vanin, sem þeirra börn, í öllu heraði.[9]

Thus, although the term almæli is used generally in OWN texts to refer to whatever is "common parlance", and need not, in itself, suggest a peculiarly local frame of reference, a preacher could hardly have used such a word to refer to a special figurative meaning of sjóða, "to brood over, ponder", unless he were confident that his audience would be thoroughly familiar with this sense of the verb.

It is, nevertheless, puzzling that this metaphorical use of sjóða should be called commonplace in one of the earliest monuments of Old Norwegian prose, and yet be attested in only one other passage in the whole corpus of OWN literature. It would perhaps not be a fruitless undertaking to consider in what context of ideas such a metaphor could have found a home, and to see whether there is any evidence to suggest that this sort of figure might have been more familiar to a medieval Scandinavian audience than the paucity of examples in surviving OWN texts seems to suggest.

Transferred senses of sjóða certainly abound in modern Icelandic. Blöndal, s.v., cites several examples:

> II. overf. 1. ...s. e-ð fyrir sjer, tænke længe over n-t; s. e-ð saman, kompilere n-t, forfatte n-t, sætte n-t sammen[10]; það sauð í honum (heiftin), það sauð niðri í honum, Vreden, Blodet kogte i ham...

Cf. Árni Böðvarsson, s.v.:

> 5: ýmsar afl. merkingar: s. e-ð fyrir (með) sér hugsa um e-ð, reiðin sauð niðri í honum hann var mjög reiður (en stillti sig),...[11]

In modern Swedish and Danish too, verbs whose primary meaning is "to boil" are used figuratively in ways comparable with the "seething" metaphor of Nhom. and Njáls Saga. S.A.O., s.v. sjuda lists among the extended meanings of the verb,

6)...d) uttänka l. förbereda l. planera l. "koka ihop" (ngt ont l. försåtligt o.d.); särsk. i uttr. sjuda ont; äv abs.;... Bisp Gostaff bisp Måns eller the andre bisper ther j Norige huilke ey forsumma siudha ondt huar the thet bekoma kunna...(1532) Oc är thenne sama Herman skriffwere i Lifflandh. Hwad han ther taszlar oc sijwder, thet ingen weett ... (1536) Nu ligger.. (riksrådet Kristofer Andersson Röd) och siuder med thet parthij som thu (dvs. Sten Eriksson) well west oss föghe gott vnne...(1545)

With these Early Modern Swedish examples one can compare special uses of Modern Swedish koka:

S.A.O., s.v., v.[2], I. 6,

[jfr motsv. anv. i t. o. lat.] uttänka l. förberede l. planera (ngt ondt l. försåtligt)...H. M:tt haffuer... antagit Greff Casimir för sitt rådh och gubernator öffuer leibgedinget, uthan nogon vår vettskap. Om han nogott kokandes varder, giffuer tijden...(1634).

Ibid., Särskilda förbindelser, Koka Ihop, 1) a ...särsk. bildl., i sht med avs. på ngt för ngn obehagligt l. farligt o.d., ofta övergående i bet.: ställa till, hitta på, fundera ut...Nu koka de ihop ett krig... 1703)... särsk.: sätta ihop l. uppdikta (historia l. sladder o.d.). Låt dem icke koka ihop någon romantisk historia om mig -- framdeles... (1886)[12]

A similar (though now obsolete) use of this verb is attested in Modern Danish (O.D.S., s.v. koge, 3.1, col.999):

... (nu næppe br.) om spekulation, grublen olgn. Halvkogt Raad er usundt, for meget kogt smager ikke. [Peder Syv, Almindelige Danske Ordsproge (1682-88), ed. Aage Hansen (Kbh., 1944), 158, no. 5757] jf.: saa kommer jeg mig maaskee til Natten, ligesom Uglen, og vil imidlertid, ligesom den, koge mit onde Lune, ifald jeg har det, i min Eensomhed. [Tomasine Gyllembourg-Ehrensvärd, Nær og Fjern (1841)] ... koge paa noget (nu næppe br.) pønse paa, brygge paa, ruge over noget. de kåger på noget, som ikke er got. [Matthias Moth (ca. 1647-1719). haandskreven ordbog] Han gaaer og koger paa Noget [Dansk Ordbog udg. under Videnskabernes Selskabs Bestyrelse (1793-1905)].

Modern continental Scandinavian koge/koka (cf. Modern Icelandic kokka[13]) was introduced from Middle Low German towards the end of the medieval period. German kochen was itself imported from Latin along with Roman cuisine; and the loanword seems to have preserved many of the secondary meanings of its parent, coquere.[14] In early modern German, at least, it was also possible to "cook up" a plan or to "mull over" an idea.[15] See Grimm, D.W., s.v. kochen, "kochen als bild für andres thun und treiben":

> d) ...mit bestimmten object. (man könne) underdes seine practicken (ränke) desto besser kochen und sicher herfür tragen. KIRCHOF mil.disc. 98; grosz krieg und niderlag kocht er (der potentat) auf jahr und tag. MEZLER odæum 320; weil der teufel nun forthin wird vom kriegen müszig werden (weil friede ist), wird er sonst gar wirtlich sein, uns zu kochen viel beschwerden LOGAU 2,47 ...er hat noch anders was im sinn, das ich lengst wol gerochen habe... ich weis auch wol, das d. Carlstad diesen brei lengest hat in seinem herzen gekocht und nie kund anrichten. LUTHER 3,59b
> wie etwas im herzen auskochen 1,895, ausbrüten...[16]

Grimm observes (Ibid., II, 7, d) that

> als küche oder kessel zu diesem kochen erscheint das herz (wir würden den kopf nennen...)[17]

He notes, however, that in Modern German this sort of figure is generally confined to descriptions of involuntary internal disturbances, especially those caused by powerful, turbulent emotions:

> II.8) jetzt ist kochen so fast nur in gebrauch von unwillkürlichen vorgängen unseres inneren,...
> a) das herz kocht, wie ein kochender kessel: der könig ward über diese worte so erhitzet, dasz sein herz wie zu kochen begunte, OLEARIUS pers. baumg. 6 (1,6)...auch trans., rache kochen[18]...

b) gewöhnlich steht das ich selbst statt des herzens: man hüt sich leicht vor den, die bochen (lärmen, den zorn ausbrausen), aber nicht den, die lang neid (hasz) kochen. FISCHART flöhhatz 835 Sch. (2,57Kz.)
...so lat. iram coquere. trefflich vom neid, dasz man sich selber kocht, wie er sich selber nazt, friszt...
c) aber auch die empfindungen selber kochen in uns (wie das wasser im kessel) oder leidenschaften, böse oder drängende gedanken, vgl. brüten, gähren, brausen in gleichem bilde: es kocht mir im leibe, manet alta mente repostum. STIELER 1000, es arbeitet verborgen im innern fort, ich brüte darüber; die gedanken, die in seinem herzen kochten. WIELAND 8,414; er (der ärger) kochte heimlich fort GÖTHE 23, 87; ist diesz ein kindlicher blick? es kocht was (schlimmes) in ihm. KLINGER 1,22; ...schon fing die galle mir an zu kochen GÖTHE 24, 106.
d) auch unpersönlich es kocht, ganz wie in der küchensprache: ...dasz etwas vorgeht innerhalb. es kocht (in ihm) und soll nicht überkochen LESSING 2,267, Nathan 3,3...damals kocht' es und trieb (in mir, von regem gemütsleben)! jetzt schlepp ich mich an den augen des mädchens so hin [GÖTHE] 8, 196.
e) aber auch der (innere) mensch selbst kocht: wie seine mutter docht (Maria am kreuze), die zwischen furcht und zagen ihr aufgeschwelltes leid mit kummer kann ertragen. ANDR. SCULTETUS bei Lessing 8,283;
...tirol. heraufkochen, einer unbill sich mit zorn erinnern...
f) von unwillkürlich andrängenden gedanken: groszer kochender gedankenschwall hebt sich und hebt sich und hebt sich in mir. LICHTENBERG (1800). 1,100, satirisch, gegen die kraftgenies.[19]

The transferred use of verbs meaning "to boil" to describe violent emotions (often with reference to the boiling of the blood) is, in fact, so common in Modern Germanic languages that it is unnecessary to multiply examples. German sieden (see Grimm, D.W., s.v., II A 2, and 6 passim[20]), Swedish koka (S.A.O., s.v., II2 c and d) and sjuda (Ibid., s.v., II 2 c), Danish koge (O.D.S., s.v., 3.1, col. 1000) and syde (Ibid, s.v., 3.3[21]), English boil (O.E.D., s.v., 3 fig.[22]), seethe (Ibid., s.v., 5 fig.) and

simmer (Ibid., s.v., v.[1], 1.b and c) are all regularly used in this way.

This sort of "boiling" imagery would seem to be related to a figurative meaning of coquere distinct from the one already mentioned, "to elaborate something in the mind, to consider, to think, etc.". In fact, the Latin verb was used to describe a fairly wide range of mental and emotional states and processes, from the hatching of a plot to the condition in which one could be described as "simmering" with rage. cf. Lewis and Short, s.v., III B:

> To vex, harass, torment, disturb the mind: egomet me coquo et macero et defetigo, Plautus, Trinummus, 2,1,3: si quid ego adjuero curamve levasso, quae nunc te coquit et versat in pectore fixa, Ennius ap. Cicero. De Senectute 1,1; cf.: si sollicitudo oratorem macerat et coquit, Quintilian, De Oratore, 12,10,77: quos ira metusque coquebat, Silius Italicus 14, 103: quam...Femineae ardentem curaeque iraeque coquebant, Vergil, Aeneid 7,345.[23]

The human role in this internal cooking process is alternately envisaged as active (when one "concocts" a scheme) and passive (when one is "embroiled" in cares).

In neither case is the exact location of this boiling activity within the body made very clear, nor is this surprising since even the earliest examples of the use of coquere to refer to a visceral conflagration of some kind are purely figurative. Nevertheless, the metaphor would appear to have originated in the association of certain mental and emotional states with particular physiological conditions.[24] Richard B. Onians, in his wide-ranging study, The Origins of European Thought about the Body, the Mind, the Soul, [etc.] ([Cambridge, 1951], 150), informs us that the Romans conceived of the marrow as a combustible substance in the body which could be ignited by powerful emotions:

> Thus, according to Virgil, when by his steersman's fault Gyas is passed in the race, exarsit iuveni dolor ossibus ingens, and he knocks the steersman into the water (Aen. V, 173ff.); and when his attack upon the Trojans is baffled,
>
> Rutulo...tuenti
> ignescunt irae et duris dolor ossibus ardet. Aen. IX, 65-66

This type of "internal combustion", however, is not associated with pensive introversion, but with aggressive and uncontrollable passions. Onians notes, for example, (p. 151), that sexual desire is often described as an inward burning:

> Explicitly of sexual excitement, the furor of love, Catullus says cum vesana meas torreret flamma medullas; so on other occasions ignes interiorem edunt medullam; ignis mollibus ardet in medullis, etc.; while Virgil in the third Georgic says that all men and beasts
>
> in furias ignemque ruunt: amor omnibus idem[25].

Another liquid whose relative heat or coldness was felt to have a decisive influence on the human temperament was the "hot and moist" humour, the blood. Onians, for instance, makes the following interesting observations concerning the ancient Greek concept of the θυμός (which Liddell and Scott, A Greek-English Lexicon [9th ed., Oxford, 1953], glosses variously as "soul, heart, the seat of sorrow or joy, mind, temper, will, spirit, courage, the seat of anger, the soul as the agent of thought"[26]):

> ... it is clear that θυμός expressed a much richer concept for the Homeric Greeks than our "breath" or mere outer air received and expelled. They did not know that breathing helped to regulate temperature and they could not guess that it brought oxygen to the body and took carbonic gas away. What they must have observed is that breath is warm and moist... The cognates of θυμός (θυμιάω, etc.) suggest that it should mean vapour. Whence? From what liquid but blood, the hot liquid which is in fact concentrated in the heart and around it in the lungs (φρένες)?

> The latter are filled with blood and breath that interact, giving and taking from each other. A tradition of this relation probably survives in the doctrine attributed to Empedocles that slowness of wit is due to coldness of the blood around the heart and in the scholion "θυμός is the boiling of the blood around the heart through a desire to retaliate" and lies behind the Platonic expression, "θυμός from the seething (θύσεως) and boiling of the ψυχη ".[27]

In the middle ages too, the heart was regarded as the centre of both corporeal and mental "heat". The seat of both feeling and understanding[28], it was located near the lungs precisely in order that cool, moist blasts from these organs might moderate any excessive friction caused by mental and emotional crises. Thus, Isidore says (Etymologiae, XL, i, 118):

> Cor a Graeca appellatione derivatum, quod illi καρδίαν dicunt, sive a cura. In eo enim omnis sollicitudo et scientiae causa manet. Qui ideo pulmoni vicinus est ut, cum ira accenditur, pulmonis humore temperetur.[29]

Even the symbiosis of cor and cura was seen in inflammatory terms; for if cor was derived from cura, cura was so called "quod cor urat".[30] Johannes Balbus gives a similar explanation of ira (Catholicon [Mainz, 1460], s.v.):

> Ira ab ur quod est ignis dicitur hoc ira -e quasi ura. quia ascendit et inflammat. vnde irascor -ceris iratus sum. et hinc iracundus -da -dum facile irascens. quia accenso sanguine in furorem compellitur...

An excellent example of the image of the heart "seething with cares", is found in Själens Kloster, a fifteenth-century Swedish translation, by Jöns Budde (or Jöns Räk) of Nådendals kloster, of a Latin allegory in which the various aspects of the soul are compared to the rooms, furniture, and activities of a monastery.[31] The monastic kitchen picturesquely becomes the locus of contrition (ed. F.A.

Dahlgren, Skrifter till Läsning för Klosterfolk, S.F.S.S. 20 [Stockholm, 1874-75], 84/30-85/21):

> Coquina est contricio, Stekerhwset är syndenna angher, i hwilkom hwar en syndare skal koka oc samman blanda eth confäkt, ällar smörilse, swa som maria magdhalena giordhe som kallas vngentum contricionis, Anghersens smörilse, thz skal göras oc blandas aff slemlikom oc illa loktande yrthom, huilka ympnet thy wär wäxsa i allas wara hiärtas yrthegardhom, badhe i ordhom tankom oc syndoghom gärniggom, Här aff sigher bernardus, Enna handa smörilse är som sik redher siälen jnwäffdh i otalekom syndhom, naar hon böriar at tänkia oc oppräkna sina snödha wägha, böriandhes them näpsa oc saman stöta i samwitzsens martara, Oc swa manghanda sinna synda illa loktandhe röther sywdher oc wärmer i angrande hiärtans grytho, wndher läggiandes hälffwittes räddoghans eeldh, som synden haffwer förskullat, Oc än tho thenna blandhnig synes hardh skämeliken oc nödhsam i the förste oppböriar, tho wardher ther aff omsidhe eth sötasta confäkt, aldra lwstelikast badhe gudhi oc hälgom änglom, som glädias ower hwan en syndara, som sik omwändher til synda bättring...

The translator's use of the verb sjuda in this passage is not, of course, of any great significance in itself. Here, the verb is used quite literally, as part of an elaborate culinary allegory, and not as an actual synonym for a verb meaning "to think, ponder".

Popular physiology and classical literature were not the sole sources of this sort of imagery. In the Bible too, images of heat and fire in the heart are occasionally used to describe turbulent emotions, usually anguish, e.g.:

> Psalm 21:15 Factum est cor meum tanquam cera liquescens in medio ventris mei.
>
> Jeremiah 20:9 ... Et factus est in corde meo quasi ignis exaestuans, Claususque in ossibus meis...[32]

Devotional zeal is described as a fire in the heart in St Luke's

account of the appearance of the resurrected Christ to his disciples on the road to Emmaus (Luke 24:31-32):

> Et aperti sunt oculi eorum, et cognoverunt eum:
> et ipse evanuit ex oculis eorum.
> Et dixerunt ad invicem: Nonne cor nostrum
> ardens erat in nobis dum loqueretur in via,
> et aperiret nobis Scripturas.[33]

Especially interesting is Psalm 38:4, where this sort of imagery is associated specifically with contemplation:

> Concaluit cor meum intra me;.
> Et in meditatione mea exardescet ignis.[34]

Again, however, what seems to be stressed in this verse is the inner "agitation" and zealous rapture of the speaker rather than cogitation alone.

Old English literature is especially rich in formulaic descriptions of the "hot surgings of care" within the human breast.[35] In the Exeter Book poem, Christ II, this sort of imagery is used to describe the bereavement felt by the apostles after Christ's ascension (499-500; 537-40[36]):

> Him wæs geomor sefa,
> hat æt heortan hyge murnende
> . . .
> ær wæs wopes hring;
> torne bitolden wæs seo treowlufu,
> hat æt heortan; hreðer innan weoll,
> beorn breostsefa.

In the poem Andreas, the heartfelt desolation of the inhabitants of Marmedon (once cannibals and devil-worshippers, now followers of the true faith) at the departure of Andrew, the instrument of their conversion, is described in similar terms (1706-1709):

> Ða ic lædan gefrægn leoda weorode
> leofne lareow to lides stefnan,

mæcgas modgeomre; þær manegum wæs
hat æt heortan hyge weallende.

Earlier in the same poem, similar imagery is used to describe the welling-up of malice in the mind (767-69):

Man wridode
geond beorna heort, brandhata nið
weoll on gewitte...

In the Old English Genesis the metaphor is applied to the mental torment of the fallen Lucifer (353-55):

Weoll him on innan
hyge ymb his heortan, hat wæs him utan
wraðlic wite.

In Genesis the figure is also used to suggest how the subtle rhetoric of the serpent infiltrates Eve's thoughts (588-90):

Lædde hie swa mid ligenum and mid listum speon
idese on þæt unriht, oðþæt hire on innan ongan
weallan wyrmes geþeaht...

Many more such examples could be cited from Old English poetry.[37]

The prominence of the verb weallan in these passages is particularly interesting. The primary meaning of this word is, of course, "to boil, seethe"[38]; and while in none of the examples cited could weallan be translated "to brood", or "to ponder", the verb is very often associated with thought (hyge -- Christ II 500, Andreas 1709, Genesis 354) or understanding (gewitte -- Andreas 769). It figures in the following remarkable description of the workings of the mind included in the cryptic excursus on "the organ" in The Poetical Dialogues of Solomon and Saturn (ed. R.J. Menner, Modern Language Association of America Monograph Series, XIII [New York/London, 1941], ms. B, 57-62; transl. J.M. Kemble, The Dialogue of Salomon and Saturnus [London, 1845-48], 137-38):

...Mec þæs on worulde full oft fyrwet frineð, fus gewiteð, mod geondmengeð. Nænig monna wat, hæleða under heofonum, hu min hige dreogeð bisi æfter bocum. Hwilum me bryne stigeð, hige heortan [neah] hearde wealleð.	About this in the world full oft my curiosity enquireth, quick it moveth about, my mind it mingleth. No man knoweth, hero under the heavens, how my spirit sinks labouring over books; at times the heart ariseth, my spirit near the heart hardly boileth.

And the verb is also used in Alfred's translation of Gregory's Regula Pastoralis, to refer to the "enthusiastic attentiveness" (to the spiritual needs of their charges) which all ministers must cultivate (H. Sweet, ed., King Alfred's...Pastoral Care, cap.18, 136/10-14; Regulae Pastoralis Liber, Pars secunda, cap.vii, PL 77, 41B):

Forðæm is niedþearf ðæm reccere ðæt he mæge & cunne oðerra monna ingeðonc gindgeotan & gewætrian, & hie eac on hiora niedðearfum utane besio. Swæ sculon ða hierdas weallan ymb ða geornfulnesse ðære inneran ðearfe his hieremonna, ðæt hie ne forlætan ða giemenne hiera uterran ðearfe.[39]	...Unde rectorem necesse est ut interiora possit infundere, cogitatione innoxia etiam exteriora providere. Sic itaque Pastores erga interiora studia subditorum suorum ferveant, quatenus in eis exterioris quoque vitæ providentiam non relinquant.

Cognates of weallan in other Germanic languages are often used in similar ways. E.H. Sehrt, for instance, in his Vollständiges Wörterbuch zum Heliand und zur altsächsische Genesis (Göttingen, 1925), s.v. wallan (636, "wallen, aufwallen, in unruhiger Bewegung sein"), cites several examples from the Heliand (Munich ms.):

606-608	Matthew 2:3
Tho uuard Herodesa innan briostun harm uuid herta: bigan im is hugi uuallan, sebo mid sorgun...	Audiens autem Herodes rex turbatus est...

3687-3689 (Christ's tears over Jerusalem)

Tho uuel imu an innen hugi uuid is herte: tho ni mahte that helage barn uuopu auuisien...

Luke 19:41
Et ut appropinquavit videns civitatem flevit super illam...

4965-4869 (Peter in Gethsemane)

Tho gibolgan uuard snel suerdthegan Simon Petrus: uuel imu innan hugi, so harm uuard imu an is hertan binden uuelde. that he ni mahte enig uuord sprekan: that man is herron thar

And some OHG parallels can be found in Eberhard Graff's Altdeutscher Sprachschatz (Berlin, 1834-6), I, 797-798, s.v. WALLAN. He refers, for example, to glosses uvielun and aruuialan for Job 30:27, "efferbuerunt interiora mea" (see Ah. G. I, ccxii, 505/50-54; ccxv, 510/51-52), and to a ninth-century gloss, "ferveant uuallænt" (Ah.G. II, dcxlix, 233/8) for Gregory, Regula Pastoralis, pars tertia, cap.14 [al.38] (PL 77, 71D):

> Nam sæpe linguam quia immoderatius frenant, in corde gravius multiloquium tolerant; ut eo plus cogitationes in mente ferveant, quo illas violenta custodia indiscreti silentii angustat.[40]

See too the description of the grief-stricken Mary of Bethany in Otfrid von Weissenburg's Evangelienbuch (ed. O. Erdmann, 4te Aufl. besorgt von L. Wolff, Altdeutsche Textbibliothek, Nr 49 Tübingen, 1962), III, 24, 47-48 (cf. John 11:31-32):

> Si zi fúaze Kriste fíal, unz thaz muat iro so wíal;
> mit záharin sí thie bigóz, thar si then brúader liobon róz.[41]

Old Icelandic examples of a similar figurative use of vella appear to be less common. But we can compare Ívents Saga Artúskappa, kap. 3 (ed. E. Kölbing, Riddarasögur [Strassburg / London, 1872], 85/14-16, rendering Chrétien de Troyes, Yvain, ed. M. Roques [Paris, 1971], 811-814):

...En gyrr en þeir luku sínum söng, þá kom þar einn riddari *með vellandi reiði* ok miklu ópi sem hann rœki með hundum hjört ur skógum...[42]	Einz que la joie fust remeise,/ vint, *d'ire plus ardanz que breise*,/uns chevaliers, a si grant bruit/con s'il chaçast un cerf de ruit

This sort of metaphor could clearly be used to express a whole range of ideas associated with thought and feeling. A few somewhat closer analogues for the transferred use of *OWN sjóða* to refer specifically to cogitation can, however, be gleaned from the medieval literary remains of some other Germanic languages. Unfortunately, standard dictionaries are not always reliable guides to such analogues. One of the most curious examples of the "boiling metaphor" (though also, unhappily, the most vague) is presented in Grimm's entry for *kochen* in *D.W.* After discussing the derivation of the verb from *coquere* (I c, *cit.* below, p. 619, n.14), Grimm considers briefly certain German words (such as *kuchen*, "a cake", *kachel*, "a tile", and Low German *kuckel*, "a hearth") which are cognate with *kochen* but need not come directly from *coquere* (I d). He suggests that such words may derive, on the contrary, from a Germanic root related to *coquere*, and mentions two other examples which are of special interest:

> ...ahd *chutôn* meditari verglichen mit ags. *ceócian* considerare, eig. ruminare (ETTM. 387), wenn diesz überlegen, eig. wiederkäuen urspr. als ein inneres kochen, verdauen gedacht wäre.

Grimm's source for Old English **ceocian*, Ludwig Ettmüller, *Lexicon Anglo-saxicum...* (Bibliothek der gesammten deutschen National-Literatur, Abthl. I, Bd. 33 [Quedlinburg/Leipzig], 1835, 387), does indeed have the entry,

ceócjan (-*ôde*, -*ôd*), *ruminare*, *considerare*

but Ettmüller cites no sources. What is more, neither *BT* nor Clark

Hall-Meritt lists any such word. Both of these dictionaries, however, cite a gloss aceocung[43] for ruminatio from Wright-Wülcker, vol. I, "Supplement to Ælfric's Vocabulary", 179/1:

> Ruminatio, ciwung, uel edroc, uel aceocung.[44]

BT suggests that the word should be emended to aceosung.

Grimm's other example, OHG chutôn=meditari, is somewhat less nebulous (though perhaps no less misleading). Although, once again, Grimm provides no source-references, he probably takes this information from Graff's Altdeutscher Sprachschatz, IV, 365, where ih chutôn is recorded as a rendering of meditabor in glosses of Isaiah and Psalms. In Graff's chief printed source for this entry, however, Bernhard Pez, Thesaurus Anecdotorum Novissimus (Augsburg / Graz, 1721), t.I, "Glossarium Theodiscum in Sacra Biblia, Erutum ex Cod. Ms. Celeberrimi Monasterii Monseensis...", the part of the gloss of Isaiah containing the word chuton (col. 335) is mistakenly repeated at the end of the Psalter gloss (col. 350). Thus, as Elias Steinmeyer and Eduard Sievers indicate in Ah.G. (Bd. I, B. "Zu Esaias", cclxxix, 610/19-21; cclxxx, 616/39-41[45]), chuton' is found as a gloss for meditabor only with reference to Isaiah 38:14:

> Sicut pullus hirundinis, sic clamabo;
> Meditabor ut columba.

The gloss is intriguing, and might tentatively be compared with the use of Latin coquere and OWN sjóða to mean "to meditate", were the context of meditabor in this verse less peculiar. Jerome uses the verb in a similar way at Isaiah 59:11:

> Rugiemus quasi ursi omnes,
> Et quasi columbae meditantes gememus.

Lewis and Short, s.v. meditor II (fin.), cite these verses as isolated examples of the use of meditari in the sense, "to murmur, utter a sad cry".[46] This meaning of meditari is even attested in classical Latin,

in Virgil's first Eclogue, 2:

silvestrem tenui Musam meditaris avena.[47]

Jerome, however, would appear to use the verb as a deliberate Hebraism[48], as Franz Kaulen suggests in his Sprachliches Handbuch zur biblischen Vulgata (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1904, rpt. Hildesheim / New York, 1973), 181:

> meditari heisst in der Heiligen Schrift, wie anderswo nicht bloss bedenken, sondern auch aussprechen (ebenso μελετάω [the verb used by the Septuagint at Isaiah 38:14] und הגה [hagah]...), z.B. Job 27,4: nec lingua mea meditabitur mendacium; Ps. 2,1: populi meditati sunt inania (parall. fremuerunt); 36,30: Os iusti meditabitur sapientiam...

That meditari has this special meaning in Jerome's translation of Isaiah 38:14 and 59:11 is made clear too by his own commentaries on these verses: (PL 24, 394B) "...ego in similitudinem hirundinis et columbæ, fletibus et gemitibus dies noctesque jungebam..."; (PL 24, 580C) "Et quasi columbæ meditantes gememus, absque sensu et intelligentia Scripturarum, tantum verba meditantes, quæ decantant memoriter." In fact, it seems very likely that OHG chutôn has nothing whatsoever to do with meditation, and is simply an onomatopoeic word meant to suggest the cooing of a dove (cf. e.g. Lexer, M.H., s.v. kuteren, kuttern, swv., "wie ein kuter [kute, kûte] tauber gitren...lachen...verlachen").[49]

Fortunately, not all of the OHG examples of the "thought-as-boiling" metaphor are so disappointing. In Otfrid's Evangelienbuch (composed c.870) we find the following metaphorical use of the verb siadan (ed. Erdmann [1962] v.23, 149-150):

> Hiar síudit mánne ana wánk io ther úbilo githánk
> in hérzen joh in múate, ni firséhent sih zi gúate[50]

It is interesting to note that for Otfrid it is not the man who "boils" the thought, but the thought which seethes (with respect to, within) the man.[51]

An even closer OHG analogue to the figurative use of OWN sjóða is found in yet another of the glosses referred to by Graff. In his entry for arsiudan (VI, 165), Graff mentions a gloss ersot for excoquit (mens curas) preserved in a ninth-century manuscript of Gregory's Pastoral Care.[52] The passage concerned is an exposition of Proverbs 20: 27-30, in which Gregory interprets the use of the word venter in these verses in terms of the "ruminating" mind; for, he says, the mind "cooks over" cares as the stomach does food. We are fortunate enough to have King Alfred's translation of the same passage for comparison:

Regulae Pastoralis Liber, III, 12 [al. 36], PL 77, 69A-B.	Pastoral Care, ed. Sweet, 258/5-10.
Solet vero ventris appellatione mens accipi; quia sicut venter consumit escas, ita mens pertractando excoquit curas. Quia enim venter mens dicitur, ea sententia docetur qua scriptum est: Lucerna Domini spiraculum hominis, quæ investigat omnia secreta ventris [Prov.XX, 27]...	Ðære wambe nama getacnað ðæt mod, forðæm swæ swæ sio wamb gemielt ðone mete, swæ gemielt ðæt mod mid ðære gesceadwisnesse his geðeahtes his sorga. Of Salomonnes cwidum we namon ðætte ðære wambe nama sceolde tacnian ðæt mod, ða ða he cwæð: Ðæs monnes lif bið Godes leohtfæt; ðæt Godes leohtfæt geondsecð & geondliht ealle ða diegelnesse ðære wambe...[53]

That Alfred uses the verb miltan where the OHG gloss uses arsiudan to translate excoquere is intriguing, since melta and sjóða are the two verbs used in Bergþóra's complaint in Njáls Saga, "Þér...meltið slíkt ok sjóðið fyrir yðr, svá at ekki verðr af."

Excoquere was used only rarely (even in late and medieval Latin) as a synonym for concoquere, "to digest".[54] The verb normally meant "to boil away" or "to boil thoroughly" (see Lewis and Short, s.v., I); but it could,on occasion, be used like coquere to describe meditation or deliberation.[55] Both OE miltan and OWN melta, however, were regularly

used to refer to the digestion of food in the stomach[56]; and Bergþóra's words would suggest that the Old Icelandic verb, at least, was also used figuratively to describe a process of mental "digestion", or rumination.

Besides the example from Njáls Saga, Fritzner, s.v. melta, cites a passage from Rauðulfs þáttr in which the verb is employed in a somewhat similar way. While feasting at the home of a man named Rauðr in Eystridalir, King Óláfur Haraldsson initiates a boasting competition, in which each of the more important guests is asked to name his most outstanding accomplishment. After several participants have spoken of their own íþróttir (most of which are straightforward enough -- stargazing, shooting, skiing, swimming, etc.), Kálfr Árnason is asked to tell his chief skill; and he gives a sinister reply (O.A. Johnsen and Jón Helgason, ed., Den store Saga om Olav den Hellige, 2. Bd. [Oslo, 1941], 664/4-8):

> Þa melte Olafr kongr. Þesse skemtan sem ver hofum upp tekít skal fara nockoro uiðara um stofuna. Seg Kalfr Arna son huat þu tekr til iþrottar þer. Kalfr sagðe. eigi man ek mellta reiðe mína. huersu lenge sem ek þarf at bera hana.

Anthony Faulkes explains the significance of this startling response in his study of Rauðulfs þáttr (Studia Islandica 25 [Reykjavík, 1966], 53):

> Kálfr, whose unusual boast strikes a somewhat menacing note in this otherwise innocent entertainment, alone of the sons of Árni turned against the king in the last years of his reign and fought against him at Stiklarstaðir; according to Heimskringla he gave the king one of the three wounds from which he died. His chief reasons for turning against the king seem to have been, according to Snorri Sturluson, his resentment for the death on the king's orders of his stepson Þórir Ǫlvisson and for the death of Áslákr Fitjaskalli. His boast thus foreshadows his later conduct.

Thus, Kálfr is saying that he will never "swallow his wrath"[57], but will continue to ruminate on the wrongs he has suffered.[58]

In modern Icelandic, melta can be used to refer to various types of "mental digestion". Blöndal, s.v. melta, vt., lists, for instance,

> I...3...b. overf.: m. e-ð með sjer[59], overveje n-t; m. með sjer reiðina, tære paa sin Vrede, pønse paa Hævn; hann hefur lesið margar bækur, en ekki getað melt það, sem í þeim stóð (ikke kunnet fordøje, assimilere Indholdet).

Similarly, the phrase liggja á meltunni, "to lie on the digestive organ, the belly", can be used to describe brooding behaviour (Blöndal, s.v. melta (-u), f., 3):

> liggja á meltunni, 1)ligge og fordøje ((pop.) ogs. om Mennesker); ...3)(ligge og) overveje n-t: Eg heiti friði meðan ég ligg á meltunni (overvejer Sagen)...[60]

An interesting (though isolated) example of the use of the Middle English verb melten in a way that might be compared with the "deliberative" sense of Icelandic melta is found in the late fourteenth-century poem, Cleanness, cit. M.E.D., s.v., 3:

> Of the meaning of an inscription: to impinge (on the mind of sb.), be intelligible (to sb.)
> c 1400 (? c 1380) Cleanness 1566: He at...make[s] þe mater to malt my mynde wythinne, Þat I may wyterly wyt what þat wryt menes .. schal be gered .. in gounes.[61]

This particular reference to "mental digestion" would seem to belong to a tradition of describing study (especially study of the Scriptures) in "gastronomic" terms (cf., e.g., the cognomen of the great twelfth-century exegete Peter Comestor). Jean Leclercq has observed that in patristic discussions of lectio divina, the

> ...repeated mastication of the divine words is sometimes described by use of the theme of spiritual nutrition. In

> this case the vocabulary is borrowed from eating, from digestion, and from the particular form of digestion belonging to ruminants. For this reason, reading and meditation are sometimes described by the very expressive word ruminatio... To meditate is to attach oneself closely to the sentence being recited and weigh all its words in order to sound the depths of their full meaning. It means assimilating the content of a text by means of a kind of mastication which releases its full flavor. It means, as St. Augustine, St. Gregory, John of Fécamp and others say in an untranslatable expression, to taste it with the palatum cordis or in ore cordis.[62]

Augustine compares reminiscence to rumination in his Confessions (X, 14[22], CCSL 27, 166/29-32):

> ...et antequam recolerentur a me et retractarentur, ibi erant; propterea inde per recordationem potuere depromi. Forte ergo sicut de uentre cibus ruminando, sic ista de memoria recordando proferuntur.

And perhaps the best-known example of this type of metaphor is Bede's description of the poet Cædmon's method of composition (Historia Ecclesiastica IV, 24, ed. B. Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors [1969] 418):

> At ipse cuncta, quae audiendo discere poterat, rememorando secum et quasi mundum animal ruminando, in carmen dulcissimum conuertebat...[63]

O.E.D., s.v. seethe (1, trans.+ d.), suggests that a sense "to digest" for OE seoðan may underlie two references to "inner boiling" in Beowulf:

> To digest (food). Hence perh. the use in OE for:
> To brood over (care, anxiety): cf. Gr. κῆδεα πέσσειν
> Obs. Beowulf [189-]190 Swa ða mælceare maga Healfdenes singala seað...
> [1992-]1993 ...Ic ðæs modceare sorhwylmum seað...[64]

Klaeber does not see a digestive metaphor in the use of seoðan in these passages, but interprets the lines rather in terms of the conventional figure of the "surgings of care" (Beowulf, 3rd ed. [1950], 136, n. ad 189f.):

> The unique phrase, lit. "he caused the care to well up", i.e. "he was agitated by cares", shows an individualized application of the favorite metaphor of the surgings of care... The general sense of the expression is not obscure, but the grammatical construction has been debated...

The debate to which Klaeber refers dates back to his rejection of the interpretations of these two passages by Moritz Heyne (ed. Beowulf, 4th ed. [Paderborn, 1879], Glossar, s.v.) and B.T. in his article, "Aeneis und Beowulf" (Archiv 126 [1911], 351):

> ...Als eine individuell ausgestaltete Form dieser Metapher sehe ich den eigentümlichen Gebrauch des Verbums seoðan in 189...1992 ...an, das weder durch "in Wallung sein, brüten über etwas" (Heyne) noch durch "to prepare food for the mind" (B.-T.) übersetzt werden darf. Es ist vielmehr wörtlich: "brachte die Sorge zum Wallen".

He notes the general similarity with Virgil, Aeneid IV, 564,

> variosque irarum concitat aestus

and suggests that direct influence from Latin coquere is not out of the question.[65] Klaeber's interpretation of seað as a transitive verb and ceare as a noun in the accusative case in these passages (a view shared by L.L. Schücking, rev. 8th ed. of Heyne's Beowulf, Paderborn, 1908, Glossar, s.v.; B.T., s.v.; Grein-Köhler, s.v., 598) was challenged by Ernst Kock in his "Interpretation and Emendation of Early English texts", Anglia 42 (1918), 104-105:

> ...To me it appears more natural to regard seoðan as an intransitive verb (like O.E. weallan, beornan,

brædan, MnE. seethe, burn, boil, broil, cook, fry) and ceare as an instrumental, in the second quotation parallel with sorhwylmum. Thus sorhwylmum seoðan = þeostrum geþoncum weallan Beow. 2331; ceare seoðan, lit. "seethe in care," i.e. "be tormented or agitated by care, be in constant anxiety". Hall's translation agrees with this view.[66]

Kock and Klaeber continued to dispute the grammar of these lines for several years without resolving the question to their mutual satisfaction.[67] The debate was, however, fruitful in bringing to the fore some interesting examples of the use of seoðan to refer to mental or emotional turmoil. In support of his opinion that "the logical object of the transitive seoðan is not the tormenting thing or feeling, but the sufferer" (Anglia 42 [1918], 105), Kock referred, for instance, to Guthlac B, 1070-73,

...ne mæg synne on me
facnes frumbearn fyrene gestælan,
lices leahtor ac in lige sceolon
sorgwylmum soden sar wanian[68]

and to the OE Bede (Edwin of Northumbria learns of Rædwald's vow to murder him):

The Old English Version of Bede's Ecclesiastical History, ed. T. Miller, E.E.T.S., O.S. 95 (London, 1890), 128/10-16:	Bede's Ecclesiastical History, ed. B. Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors (Oxford, 1969), II. 12, 178:
Þa eode se his freond onweg from him, & he Eadwini ana þær ute gewunade; sæt swiðe unrot on stane beforan þære healle, & ongon mid monegum hætum his geþohta swenced beon: & ne wiste, hwider he eode oðþe hwæt him	Abeunte igitur amico, remansit Eduini solus foris, residensque mestus ante palatium, multis coepit cogitationum aestibus affici, quid ageret quoue pedem uerteret nescius. Cumque diu tacitis mentis angoribus et caeco carperetur igni[69],

selest to donne wære.

Mid þy he þa longe swigendum nearonissum his modes & mid þy blindan fyre soden wæs, þa geseah he semninga on midre niht sumne mon wiõ his gongan uncuþes ondwlitan & uncuões gegyrlan...

uidit subito intempesta nocte silentio adpropinquantem sibi hominem uultus habitusque incogniti...

A still closer analogue to the figurative use of seoðan in Beowulf, mentioned by neither Kock nor Klaeber, is an eleventh-century Prudentius-gloss, "coquebat. he seað", preserved in Ms. Boulogne-sur-Mer 189 (ed. H.D. Meritt, The Old English Prudentius Glosses at Boulogne-sur-Mer. Stanford Studies in Language and Literature 16 [1959], 50, gloss 478).[70] This gloss occurs in a passage in Book 10 of Prudentius' Peristephanon, ("Sancti Romani Martyris contra Gentiles Dicta", 391-95), in which coquere is used transitively with iram in the sense, "to nurse one's wrath" (Romanus has launched into a protracted diatribe against Roman religion, followed by an equally long-winded confession of faith, to all of which his "tormentor", the irascible prefect Asclepiades, listens with mounting impatience):

> Dudum coquebat disserente martyre
> Asclepiades intus iram subdolam
> stomachatus alto felle, dum longum silet
> bilemque tectis concipit praecordiis,
> tandem latentis uim furoris euomit:
> ...[71]

As Meritt notes in his edition of the Boulogne-sur-Mer glosses (50):

> BTS cites this gloss as meaning "seethe, boil, cook in a liquid"[72], but the context concerns one seething with wrath and the gloss may accordingly be an instance of the figurative use of seoðan, reminding one of Beowulf 190: swa ða mælceare maga Healfdenes / singala seað.

In the course of his debate with Kock, Klaeber repeatedly emphasized the possibility of direct Latin influence on such special figurative uses of seoðan. In his "last word" on the subject ("Beowulfiana", Anglia 50 [1926], 116), he observed,

> That the better known use of (transitive) seoðan as, e.g., in [the examples from Guþlac], so far as it is not conveniently explained by the presence of "fire", is due to the example of the Latin "coquere", is far from improbable; in several cases it is a certainty. Thus, Bede 290.8 mid þa untrymnesse...soden (= IV, c.9 "infirmitate decocta est"); 372.26 wæs ær mid singalre untrumnesse soden ond geswenced (= IV, c.29 "diutina prius infirmitate decoquitur").

And although Klaeber had earlier rejected B.T.'s interpretation of Beowulf 190 and 1993 as an alimentary metaphor ("to prepare food for the mind"), his longstanding interest in parallels between the Old English epic and Homer made the comparison with the Homeric "digestive metaphor" suggested by O.E.D. especially attractive to him (Ibid., 116):

> An even closer phraseological parallel is mentioned in N.E.D., s.v. "seethe" (although the explanation given there differs from the present one), viz. κήδεα πέσσειν. As soon as we are ready to accept the view of Professor Cook that the author of Beowulf was acquainted with the Homeric poems, we could even enjoy the satisfaction of pointing to a direct source, namely the words put into the mouth of old King Priam, who (like the aged Hroðgar) was continually sorrowing i.e., after Hector's death: ἀλλ' αἰεὶ στενάχω καὶ κήδεα μυρία πέσσω Il. 24. 639.[73]
> Here I am content to rest the case.

Without admitting the necessity of looking quite so far afield for the origin of the seething metaphor in Old English and Old West Norse, I too should perhaps attempt to draw some conclusions from the ferment of examples already presented.

In his book, Kulturtradisjon fra en Storhetstid, Bjarne Berulfsen emphasizes the importance of studying loanwords for what they can teach us about the current of ideas which permeates a body of literature.[74] And he suggests that the search for loanwords should begin with "det hjemlige miljø, grunnfjellet så å si, hvor eldgamle lånord forlengst var innarbeid og kanskje ikke lenger var følelige som lånte saker en gang" (352). Perhaps the use of sjóða to describe the thinking process was this sort of "eldgammelt lån" from Latin coquere, borrowed long enough in the past that it could be called almæli by a twelfth-century sermonist.

On the other hand, it is not impossible that this "boiling metaphor" is, in some form or other, the common heritage of many Indo-European peoples, perhaps based on shared notions of a connection between "internal heat" and heightened mental and emotional activity. With the Germanic and classical examples already cited one can compare, for instance, the following entries in Monier Monier-Williams, A Sanskrit-English Dictionary (Oxford, 1899):

575, s.v. 2.pac

...to cook, bake, roast, boil...to digest,...to ripen, mature, bring to perfection or completion,...Pass. pacyáte ...to be cooked or burnt or melted or digested or ripened or developed,..to be tormented,...Intens. pāpacīti,... pāpacyate, to be much cooked, to cook very much or burn excessively, to be much afflicted...

324, s.v. kvath

cl. I. A. kvathate, to boil, prepare by heat,...to digest...to be hot (as the heart)...

324, s.v. kvatha, as, m.

...boiling...a decoction, any solution or infusion prepared with a continued or gentle heat,...the mixture of the materials for a decoction,...pain, sorrow, distress...

849, s.v. yas

cl. 4. P. ...yásyati...to froth up, foam...to heat or exert one's self...to strive after...

856, s.v. yesh

cl.I.P. yéshati, to boil up, bubble,...(Ā.) yeshate, to exert one's self, endeavour...[75]

There is no need to extend this already vagrant search for foreign analogues any further. But it is interesting to note that some linguists have studied the phenomenon of parallel metaphors in various languages in the hope of finding certain regular and universal patterns of semantic change.[76] As Stephen Ullmann has remarked, such investigators have

> ...tried to collect instances of similar changes which [have] occurred, independently of each other, in different languages and periods and which [can] therefore be regarded as symptoms of a common tendency, of a widespread and abiding feature of the human mind.[77]

A "parallel development" is an altogether more vague and less tractable entity than a "semantic loan". But an overzealous search for the latter may also be attended by hazards. If, for example, we look at some of the other metaphors used in the Old Norwegian Easter homily to refer to thought or contemplation, we find phrases which might reasonably be regarded as products of a process of semantic borrowing. When, however, the sermonist translates Gregory's phrase, "quod subtiliter cogitamus" (PL 76, 1179C), "er vér velkium léngi í hugscote váoro" (Nhom. 85/11-12), it hardly seems necessary to see in this metaphor a distant semantic borrowing from Latin volvere or versare, or even to assume that the translator was familiar with a derivation of cogitare from agitare. To take another example, at Nhom. 85/20-21 the verb grafa is used almost paronomastically to render penetrare (cf. PL 76, 1179D):

ok grafa æigi með manlego hug-víti diup tæcn guðlegra iartæina.	neque per humanum sapientiam profunditatem illius penetrare appetat.

Yet earlier in this passage the sermonist uses the same verb to translate discutere; and skilia to render penetrare (Nhom. 85/15-17; PL 76, 1179C):

I vatne syðr lambs hold sa er með mennzcre scynsemi vil graua umm tǽcn mandóms Crist. eða hygsc hann monu skilia af sínu hug-víte hverso verða ma holð ok bloð drotens ór bræuði ok vini ok vatne.	Omnis vero qui incarnationis ejus mysteria juxta humanam sapientiam discutere conatur, carnes agni aqua vult coquere, id est dispensationis ejus mysterium per dissolutam vult scientiam penetrare.[78]

The meaning of grafa here is clearly not dependent on that of either of the Latin verbs it is used to translate; rather, the translator is able both to modify his choice of words for the sake of stylistic variation, and to draw on his native word-hoard for an apt parallel for a Latin phrase where possible (grafa diup tǽcn / profunditatem...penetrare). Similarly, the figurative meaning of sjóða in Old Norwegian might well have presented itself to the translator of Gregory's Easter homily as an even more felicitous parallel for the figurative use of coquere in his original.

Astrid Salvesen, in her Studies in the Vocabulary of the Old Norse Elucidarium, has stressed the difficulty of establishing with certainty the semantic history of any word in OWN (22-23; she discusses loan-translations here, but her point holds good for semantic loans as well):

> ...it should be emphasized that the semantic development of any Old Norse word is difficult to trace. A substantial part of the literature cannot be given an exact date, and, where a word seems to be a translation loan, there is no

> way of asserting this borrowing with certainty. Even when an apparent translation loan has a semantic development parallel to that of the corresponding Latin word, it is still difficult to determine, first, in which meaning the translation loan was first introduced, and secondly, whether these meanings have in fact been borrowed or whether they have developed independently within Old Norse itself.

Salvesen points out that the notion of the "parallel development" has declined in popularity as scholars have come to appreciate the importance of semantic loans in the European languages (Ibid., 23):

> Modern scholars agree that semantic loans are relatively frequent. They no longer accept the opinion of Richard Heinzel (1875) that the common semantic development within Germanic languages was an expression of the common background of the Germanic tribes going back to the time "in welcher alle Germanen noch eine zusammenhängende Völkerverbindung waren und Eine Sprache redeten" ["Über den Stil der altgermanischen Poesie," Quellen und Forschungen zur Sprach- und Culturgeschichte der germanischen Völker, X (1875), 2]. This romantic viewpoint has now long been abandoned. Erik Wellander, maintaining that a great number of apparent semantic loans may be parallel developments, still concludes: "in grossen und ganzen beruht aber die auffallende Übereinstimmung im Wortgebrauch zwischen den europäischen Kultursprachen auf Bedeutungsentlehnung." ["Studien zum Bedeutungswandel im Deutschen," Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift (1917), 68 and 130]

Students of semantic loans, however, must still approach the subject with extreme caution. For, as Elisabeth Back has argued,

> die meisten Lehnübersetzungen... sind solche deren Vorstellungsgehalt nicht volkhaft gebunden sind. Infolge weitgehender Gleichentwicklung auch nicht stammverwandter

> Sprachen, die eben auf allgemeinmenschlichen Voraussetzungen beruht, besteht für solche Wörter die Möglichkeit, aber auch nur die Möglichkeit, dass sie freilich in gewandelter aüsserer Form und wohl mit starker Verspätung hätten entstehen können.[79]

This is clearly treacherous ground even for experienced scholars, and, for the moment at least, one can only endorse Salvesen's (and Ullmann's) tentative conclusion:

> For more solid arguments we need more research into the sources, especially into sources which can be dated, and we agree with Stephen Ullmann when he concludes: "There can be no doubt about the rightness of the contention that semantics need [sic] reliable collections of material rather more acutely than lofty constructions with insecure foundations."[80]

1. Gammel norsk homiliebok etter AM 619 qv., Corpus Codicum Norvegicorum Medii Ævi. Quarto Serie. I (Oslo, 1952), 6.

2. "Den gammelnorske paaskeprædiken og Gregor den Store", MM (1960), 88-104.

3. PL 76, 1174A-1181B. Migne assigns Gregory 22 in Ev. to the first Saturday after Easter, as does the late redaction of Paul the Deacon's Homiliary (PL 95, 1335C, pars aestiva, 133). This sermon did not form part of Paul's original compilation, but Gregory II.21 was included in the original version of the Homiliary as item 5 of the pars aestiva, for Easter Sunday. (See R. Grégoire, Les Homéliaires du Moyen Âge, 93.)

4. Cf. Nhom. 85/19-24:
...En með þvi at vér sculum æigi rát etá pascha-lamb ne í vatne sioða. þat er mistrva æigi. ok grafa æigi með manlego hug-víti diup táocn guðlegra iartæina. Ða sculum vér stæicia lambs hold í eldi. þat er at trva fastlega þvi er þár ritningar sægia er af helgum anda ero settar. ok álsca hæitri áost táocn mandóms Christ þau er vér truum.

Gregory, 22 in Ev., PL 76, 1179C-D:
...Qui ergo Paschalis gaudii solemnitatem celebrare desiderat, agnum nec aqua coquat, nec crudum comedat, ut neque per humanam sapientiam profunditatem illius incarnationis penetrare appetat, neque in eum tanquam in hominem purum credat, sed assas igni carnes comedat, ut dispensari omnia per sancti spiritus potentiam sciat.

Interestingly, Ælfric of Eynsham employs the verb seoðan in his translation of the same Gregorian passage in his "Sermo de Sacrificio in die Pascae" (CH, II. 15, 278-280):

> Næs þæt Israhela folc gewunod to hreawum flæsce þeah ðe God him bebude þæt hí hit hreaw ne æton, ne on wætere gesoden, ac gebræd to fyre. Se wile ðicgan Godes lichaman hreawne, seðe buton gesceade wenð þæt he wære ánfeald man ús gelíc, and nære God. And se ðe, æfter menniscum wisdome, wile smeagan ymbe ða gerynu Cristes flæsclicnysse, he deð swilce he seoðe ðæs lámbes flæsc

on wætere; forðan ðe wæter getácnað on þyssere stowe mennisc ingehyd. Ac we sceolon witan, þæt ealle ða gerynu Cristes menniscnysse wæron gefadode þurh mihte þæs Halgan Gastes, þonne þicge we his lichaman gebrædne to fyre, forðan ðe se Halga Gast com om fyres híwe to ðam apostolum, on mislicum gereordum.

Here, however, seoðan is simply used as part of an extended simile ("He deð swilce he seoðe...", cf. Gregory's "quasi mente coquimus"), and Ælfric gives no indication that the verb could mean "to ponder" in OE. Cf. the rendering of the passage by Byrhtferth of Ramsay (Byrhtferth's Manual, ed. S.J. Crawford, E.E.T.S., O.S. 177 [1929, rpt. 1966], 142/8-15):

...Ælc þæra þe wyle þa Easterlican blisse mærsian, ne sceal he naðer ne þæs lambes flæsc hreaw etan ne gesoden, ac gebræd; þæt ys þæt he ne sceal þurh menniscnysse wisdom þurhscriðan þa halgan flæscennysse ures Drihtnes, ne on Him gelyfan, swylce He sy anfeald man, buton His godcundnysse; ac we sceolon gelýfan þæt He ys soð man ⁊ soðlice soð God on þære Þrynnysse...

5. See further Thes. Ling. Lat., s.v. coquo, II. translate A, "de consilio i.q. excogitare, machinari"; Albrecht Köhler, "Zum metaphorischen coquere," Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik 10 (1898), 289-291; Walter Goldberger, "Kraftausdrücke im Vulgärlatein," Glotta 20 (1932), 127. Cf. Tommaseo and Bellini, Dizionario della Lingua Italiana (Torino, 1929), s.v. cuocere, 19, "Fig. Apprender bene una dottrina, quasi convertendola in alimento dell' animo", and Littré, Dictionnaire de la Langue Française (Paris, 1956), s.v. cuire, 6° Fig.

6. Similarly, Walter Baetke, Wörterbuch zur altnordischen Prosaliteratur, s.v. melta, cites this passage alone and translates, "ihr überlegt so lange, bis nichts mehr daraus wird."

7. Gammelnorsk Homiliebok (1971), p.92. The passage evidently aroused the curiosity of Erik Gunnes, who draws attention to this sentence in his commentary on Salvesen's translation (placing his footnote reference after Salvesen's quotation marks): "Jfr. Gregor: Omne enim quod subtiliter cogitamus, quasi mente coquimus" (Ibid., 172, "16. Påskedag", note 5).

8. = Finnur Jónsson, "Oldislandske ordsprog og talemader", ANF 30 (1914), 173, no. 283. Cf. Hugo Gering's list of similar introductory formulas for Old Icelandic proverbs. "Altnordische sprichwörter und sprichwörtliche redensarten", ANF 32 (1916), 3ff.: "sannaz þat sem mælt er", "kømr at því sem mælt er", etc.

9. With Fritzner's examples cf. the references given by Cleasby-Vigfusson under the meaning, "what all people say, a common saying, general report": Knýtlinga s., ed. C. af Petersens and E. Olson, STUAGNL 46 (1919-25), 205/8n. (var. for alkunna); Hákonar s. heróibreiðs, k. 14, ed. Bjarni Aðalbjarnarson, Heimskringla III, ÍF 28 (1951) 364/24; Svarfdæla s., k. 18, ed. Jónas Kristjánsson, ÍF 9 (1956), 170/15; Laxdœla s., k. 78, ed. Einar Ól. Sveinsson, ÍF 5 (1934), 228/6; and in addition,

Barl. 7/10-12:
...þat var almæle af ollum er hann sa. at þvilikt sveinbarnn var alldrigi fyrr fœtt i þeim landum.

Ps. Ioh. Dam., 6/10-11:
...Dicebatur enim nequaquam in terra illa talem aliquando apparuisse, gratissimum ac speciosissimum puerum.

Rím I, Tillæg IV, Alfr. Ísl. II, 77/7-8:
...allt [tungl] ero iafngǫmol at retto tali, þot sitt se hvart at almęli...

(see Ibid., Register, s.v. almæli, 'vanligt betraktelse-, betecknings-sätt... "alla lunationer äro egentligen lika långa, ehuru de ha olika längd efter vanligt sätt att räkkna"'; cf. s.v.v. almannatal, alþýðu tal)

Líknarbraut, st. 17 (Skjd B II, 165):
Árstillir vann alla
oss, þás hekk á krossi,
eitt er of þat, dróttinn,
almæli, fullsæla
. . .

See also Fritzner, Cleasby-Vigfusson, s.v.v. alsagðr. alþýðumál.

10. This phrase, however, probably derives from sjóða in the sense, "to fuse, forge", and is intended to conjure up a "metallurgic" image. See, e.g. Halldór Halldórsson, Íslenzkt Orðtakasafn (Reykjavík, 1978), p.107:

> sjóða e-ð saman: "setja e-ð saman, semja e-ð". Orðtakið er kunnugt frá 19. öld: sagði, að málið væri soðið saman til að steypa sér. SKIRN[IR], 1888, 35. Líkingin er runnin frá málmsmíði. Eiginleg merking kemur fyrir á 18. öld: Conferveo...sýð saman, smelti saman. [Nucleus Latinitatis... (Hafniæ, 1738), "Kleifsi", p.383].

11. Sjóða can also be used in Modern Icelandic to describe an outburst of, e.g., violent emotions (which have been "boiling" secretly for some time). See Halldór Halldórsson, op. cit., 107:

> sjóða upp úr er notað um útrás tilfinninga (reiði, gremju). Orðtakið kemur fyrir á 18. öld: Efferveo...eg sýð upp úr [Nucleus Latinitatis, 384]. Eiginleg merking er kunn frá sama tíma: Ebullire, að bulla út af, sjóða upp úr [Ibid., 84]. Nú er algengara, að orðtakið sé ópersónulegt eða orð, sem táknar tilfinningu, sé frumlag: það sýður upp úr með e-m Blöndal, op. cit. -- Hjá einum verkamanni Sæmundar sauð þessi gremja eitt sinn upp úr. [Rauðskinna IV, Safnað hefir Jón Thorarensen (1940), 129]. Samsvarandi orðtak er notað i d. koge over.

Cf. Árni Böðvarsson, s.v. sjóða, "5...það sauð upp úr í landinu : óeirðir brutust út...7. Ih nt sjóðandi til áherzlu: sjóðandi heitur : nærri við suðumark; sjóðandi vondur ofsareiður ; í vægum blótsyrðum..." Perhaps furthest removed from the figurative use of sjóða in OWN is a phrase cited by Blöndal, s.v. sjóða II.1, "...það er soðið upp á e-n, en

er i Snakkehjörnet".

12. Cf. Modern English "to cook up" a scheme. See O.E.D. s.v. cook, v.[1], 3b; s.v. concoct, 5 and 11.

13. See Árni Böðvarsson, s.v., "sjóða mat, brasa, bralla, brygga með sér".

14. See Grimm, D.W., s.v. kochen, I c:

> wie koch deutlich von coquus, küche von coquina, ist kochen von coquere gekommen nach der volksmaszigen aussprache cocere (c als k). man musz annehmen, dasz wie in andern dingen, z.B. im schreiben, unsere vorfahren das kochen als kunst wie etwas neues von den Römern lernten. davor trat dann das heimliche sieden zurück; denn es blieb zwar für das einfache abkochen, aber kochen ward für das künstliche bereiten der gerichte nach der kochkunst der eigentliche ausdruck, wie der küchenkünstler nur koch, seine werkstätte nur küche heiszt...

Cf. Hjalmar Falk and Alf Torp, Etymologisk Ordbog over det norske og det danske Sprog (Kristiania, 1903), s.v. koge:

> ...sv. koka, laant fra mnt. koken (holl. koken) oht. kochôn (nht. kochen) ordet stammer -- som saa mange kulinariske udtryk -- fra lat. coquere (it. cuocere, fr. cuire). Det egte ord er syde...

Elof Hellquist, Svensk Etymologisk Ordbok (Lund, 1948), s.v. koka:

> ...Det inhemska ordet för "koka" är sjuda. Lanet av koka till germanerna antyder säkerl. en bestämd utveckling av den germ. kokkonsten.

Ibid., s.v. sjuda:

> ...Sjuda började rätt tidigt delvis undanrängas av det ytterst från lat. kommande lanordet koka.

See also P: Skautrup, Det Danske Sprogs Historie (København, 1944-68) I, 301; Einar Haugen, The Scandinavian Languages (London, 1976), 220 (10.6.8); P: Kretschmer, Wortgeographie der hochdeutschen Umgangssprache (Göttingen, 1968), 300.

15. On the English phrase, "to mull over", see below, pp. 654-5, n.73.

16. Cf. Ibid., II, 7, e, "auch geistige arbeit wird nämlich kurz als kochen bezeichnet: die Manicheer haben viel giftiger irrthumb gehabt, und sind viel (die irrthümer) aus den stoicis gekocht. MELANCHTON im corp. doctr. chr. 455, er dachte vielleicht an gift kochen..." and II, 1, b, γ and II, 8, b. See too Keith Spalding and Kenneth Brooke, ed., An Historical Dictionary of German Figurative Usage (Oxford, 1959-) s.v. kochen (5): "etw. -- to brew or concoct sth. (mainly with the intention of harming sb.); particularly with ref. to Gift, as in Schiller, Eberhard d. Gr.: 'die Reutlinger...erbittert, kochten Gift', but also with abstracts, esp. Rache, since the 18th c., e.g. (DWb) Pyrker, Tunisias 5,291: 'Rache kochte sein Herz' (also Wieland 6;279: '...verbarg seinem Unmuth...aber sein Herz kochte Rache'). The connexion with phys. 'cooking' is sometimes preserved, as in coll. jem.m. ein Süppchen -- = 'to give sb. a nasty surprise, cause sb. to get into difficulties'."
Cf. the interesting note, Ibid., s.v. auskochen, on the phrase, "ein ausgekockter Kerl": "(sl.) a cunning fellow, no flies on him; exclamation or comment (mostly in condemnation, but occasionally with touch of envy); it may be a case of pop. etym., not derived from auskochen, but confused with it (influence of abgefeimt, gerieben, mit allen Wassern gewaschen, etc.); from Rotwelsch kochem = 'clever' < Yiddish chochem < Hebrew chacham = 'wise'; its general use is quite recent (nineteen-twenties)".

17. With this remark it is interesting to compare one of the Sprichwörter und Redensarten cited by Grimm under I, 1, e, β : "das ist nicht in seinem hafen gekocht, kommt nicht aus seinem kopfe". Cf. Lutz Röhrich, Lexikon der sprichwortlichen Redensarten (Freiburg/Basel/Wien,

1974), 522, s.v. Koch, kochen: "in einem Topf (Hafen) kochen: gemeinsame Ziele verfolgen, zusammenhalten".

18. See Spalding and Brooke, s.v. kochen (5), above, n.16.

19. See too Spalding and Brooke, s.v. kochen (4);

to boil (figur.), rage; with ref. to feelings of anger, revenge, envy and passions of any kind; fully established by the 17th c. [cites STIELER (1691), as in D.W., II, 8, c]...Different parts of the body can be described as 'boiling' when passions are roused, e.g. Goethe Dicht.u.Wahrh. 2: 'schon fing die Galle mir an zu kochen'...similarly, das Blut kocht, die Eingeweide kochen, but usually es kocht mir (im Herzen, im Blut, in der Galle, etc.)...

Cf. Ibid., s.v. aufkochen:

aufkochen über etw. (a.) to become enraged, infuriated; cf. English 'to boil with rage' and coll. 'to boil up'; e.l. Klinger, Th. 3,313; also: meine Wut kocht auf, e.g. in Arnim 2,116...

and s.v. auskochen:

ausgekocht haben (coll.) to have finished boiling (with fury, anger etc.); cf. Engl. 'to boil, simmer (down)', etc.); e.l. Klinger, Th. 4, 153 1787...

Cf. Röhrich, 522, s.v. Koch, kochen:

Die Rda. vor Wut kochen häufiger kochen vor Wut: sehr wütend sein, veranschaulicht treffend die starken Gefühlswallungen eines im Zorn Erregten.

20. For MHG examples see Lexer, M.H., s.v. sieden, col. 911.

21. See also O. Kalkar, Ordbog til det ældre danske Sprog (København, 1881-1918), s.v. sjude, col. 736, "mea conferbuit ira, søed offr. Etym. 431".

22. Cf. M.E.D., s.v. boillen, 4a.

23. Cf. Thes. Ling. Lat., s.v., II translate. B, "de affectibus excitandis maxime de dolore cogitando accepto i.q. urere, macerare, opprimere, affligere sim.". It is perhaps also worth noting that etymologists of antiquity and the middle ages seem to have regarded both cogitation and cooking as forms of "agitation" (in the literal sense of the word). See, e.g., Sexti Pompei Festi de verborum significatione quae supersunt cum Pauli epitome, ed. O. Müller (Leipzig, 1839), 66/7, "Cogitatio dicta velut coagitatio, id est longa eiusdem rei agitatio in eadem mora consilii explicandi"; Varro, De Lingua Latina, ed. G: Goetz and F. Schoell (Leipzig, 1910), VI, 43, "cogitare a cogendo dictum: mens plura in unum cogit, unde eligere possit"; and Augustine, Confessions, Lib. X, cap. 11 (Loeb Classical Library, London/New York, 1912), on the workings of memory:

> ...quae [i.e., those things stored in the memory] si modestis temporum intervallis recolere desivero, ita rursus demerguntur et quasi in remotiora penetralia dilabuntur, ut denuo velut nova excogitanda sint indidem iterum -- neque enim est alia regio eorum -- et cogenda rursus, ut sciri possint, id est velut ex quadam dispersione colligenda, unde dictum est cogitare. nam cogo et cogito sic est, ut ago et agito, facio et factito. verum tamen sibi animus hoc verbum proprie vindicavit, ut non quod alibi, sed quod in animo colligitur, id est cogitur, cogitari proprie iam dicatur.

Cf. Sexti Pompei Festi...epitome, 39/2, "Coctum a cogendo dicitur, quia coquendo coercetur, ut ad utilitatem vescendi perducatur"; Isidore, Etymologiae, ed. W.M. Lindsay (Oxford, 1911), "coctum quasi coactum dicitur, id est ab aqua vel igne violento modo actum usuique comestionis aptum". I have not, however, found any etymology which connects coquere and cogitare directly.

24. See, e.g. G.M. Stratton, ed. and trans. Theophrastus and the Greek Physiological Psychology Before Aristotle (London/New York, 1907), 117, sec. 58:

Concerning thought, Democritus says merely that "it arises when the soul's composition is duly proportioned". But if one becomes excessively hot or cold, he says, thinking is transformed; and it was for some such reason, the ancients well believed, that the mind became 'deranged'. Thus it is clear that he explains thought by the composition of the body...

25. O.E.D., s.v. marrow, sb.[1], 1.b., refers to the conventional use of this metaphor in Early Modern English:

Proverbial and hyperbolical uses. (In 16th-17th c. love was often said to "burn" or "melt the marrow".)...1592 Shaks. Ven. & Ad. 142 My flesh is soft, and plumpe, my marrow burning...

For an earlier English example, see Þe Liflade ant te Passiun of Seinte Iuliene (dated 1200-1225), ed. S.T.R.O. d'Ardenne, E.E.T.S., O.S., 248 (London, 1961), 17, ms. Bodl. 34, 11.195-201:

...As he biseh & biheold hire lufsume leor lilies ilicnesse & rudi ase rose. & under hire nebschaft al se freoliche ischapet. weorp a sic as a wiht ꝑ sare were i wundet. His heorte feng to heaten & his meari mealten þe rawen rahten of luue þurh euch lið. of his limes. & inwið bearnde of brune...

Cf. too Jóns saga post. IV, Post. 501/7-11:

En hvat er langt at gera af þeiri góðfýst ok tárfelldu þacklęti, er broðir Jon lagði drotninginni firir sva tignarsamliga velgiorð eða hvilik var su lofmessa, er hann flutti sama dag henni til virðingar með ast af ilmandum mergium sins hiarta...

and Maríu saga, 521/5-8:

...Sua tekz hun aptr i allann heidr, sem nu uar greint, heitt unnandi, fagrliga elskandi, sæla guðs modr vegsamandi af inztum mergium sins hiarta...

26. The word is related to Sanskrit dhumáh, "smoke", Latin fumus, furere, etc. See J. Pokorny, Indogermanisches Eytmologisches Wörterbuch, I. Bd. (Bern/München, 1959), 261ff, 268ff.

27. pp. 46-47. Onians invites the reader to compare Aristotle, De Anima, Book I, 403a. 24-403b.1 (trans. David Ross [Oxford, 1967], 164):

> ...If this is so, the emotions are abstractions involving matter; the definitions of them are of this type -- "anger is an event in such and such a body or part or faculty, caused by such and such a cause and aiming at such and such an effect"; and the study of the soul, or at any rate of a soul which has such experiences, is a task for the student of nature. But the student of nature and the dialectician will define each such experience differently; the latter will define anger as the desire to hurt another in return, the former will define it as the boiling of the blood or hot matter in the region of the heart, one stating the matter, the other the form or definition...

Cf. P.A. Robin, The Old Physiology in English Literature (New York/London, 1911), 120ff. on "hot blood" as a metaphor for rage, passion, etc. See too the explanation of frenzy given in the Old English Leechdoms (ed. O. Cockayne [London, Rolls Series, 1864-66] I.208-210, cit. C. Lambert, "The Old English Medical Vocabulary", Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine 33 [1940], Section of the History of Medicine, 141):

> Gewitleast, "folly, madness". Wið ða adle ðe grecas frenesis nemnað ðæt is on ure geðeode gewitleast ðæs moðes ðæt byð ðonne ðæt heafod aweallan byð ("For the disease which the Greeks call frenesis, that is, in our language, madness of the mind, that is when the head is on fire" [Lambert's translation]).

(On conceptions of fire in the head, cf. Onians, 146-9; 158-60.) For medieval Scandinavian references to the boiling of the blood (without mention of emotional states), see, e.g., G.E. Klemming, Läke och Örte-Böcker från Sveriges Medeltid, S.F.S.S., 26 (1885-86), 177, sec.82,

> Jtem är han [i.e., blodhit] alstingx tunder tha märker thȝ onda smältning, oc myklo wazsko i kroppenom osmälta oc raa som ey är sudhat, ok är blodhit hät, tha är thȝ thunt aff hetanom...

179, sec.86,

> Jtem vnderstundom är fradha j honom, od är thȝ aff blodzsens lup äller strängxsins fradha, antigi blodhit siwdher, äller ok märkir thȝ vädher standande j kroppenom. Oc for thy är ekke frada a blodhit tha är thȝ got

and P. Fossum, Om De Gamle Nordboeres Anatomiske og Fysiologiske Begreper i Oldtid og Middelalder (Oslo, 1936), 50-54; 80-83.

28. See Lewis and Short, s.v. cor, II. A and B; Thes. Ling. Lat., s.v. cor III, "translate. A sedes affectuum,...B sedes cogitationis et cognitionis,...C sedes voluntatis,...D mens, animus". The notion that the heart is the organ of judgement is often reflected in anatomical taxonomies of the middle ages -- e.g., Isidore, Etymologiae XI,i,127, "splene ridemus, felle irascimur, corde sapimus, iecore amamus"; Regimen Sanitatis, 1.1242 (ed. S. de Renzi, Collectio Salernitana I [Naples, 1852-59], 486), "Cor sapit, pulmo loquitur, fel commovet iram, etc." In his article, "Das Herz in Edda und Skaldendichtung" (Scandinavistik 8, Hft 1 [1978], 16-26), Klaus von See discusses, inter alia, the association of hugr and hiarta in stanza 95 of Hávámal, "Hugr einn þat veitt, er byr hiarta nærr". He notes that while this collocation is attested nowhere else in Eddic or Skaldic verse, the word-pair hugi/herta occurs frequently in the Old Saxon poem Heliand, and that hyge and heorte are juxtaposed twice in the Old English Genesis. He concludes (somewhat abruptly), "Es muss deshalb als sicher gelten, dass die stabreimende Verbindung erst durch die geistliche Dichtung dem Norden vermittelt wurden" (24). The word-pair is, in fact, quite common in the Homily Books (see, e.g., Nhom. 36/28-29, 65/6, 66/10, 87/11-12, 170/33, Sthom. 104/18-19. Cf. Nhom. 9/20, 60/31-32; Sthom. 26/29-30, 70/5-7, 81/25-27, 186/12-14). The confidence of von See's more general conclusion, "In heidnischer Zeit hätte noch keine Veranlassung bestanden,

hugr 'Gemüt' und hiarta zu kombinieren", is, however, puzzling.

29. Cf. Aristotle, Historia Animalium I, xvi, 594B. On the heart as the nucleus of emotion, understanding, and bodily heat, see also Bartholomeus Anglicus, De Proprietatibus Rerum, lib. 5, cap. 36, "De Corde", (in John Trevisa's translation, ed. M.C. Seymour et al. [Oxford, 1975], 237ff.). Johannes Balbus gives a somewhat different etymology of cor in his Catholicon, s.v. but still cites Isidore:

> ...quod autem dicitur cor quasi custodia omnium rerum ethimologia est. Et ut dicit Isidorus. Cor ideo est vicimum pulmoni ut cum ira accenditur, pulmonis humori temperetur.

30. This etymology was first suggested by Varro, De Lingua Latina VI, 45 (ed. cit., 73/15). In the later middle ages, it circulated in the "dictionaries" of Festus (De verborum significatu..., ed. W.M. Lindsay [Leipzig, 1913], 43.14), Huguccio (Magnae Derivationes, s.v.), and Balbus (Catholicon, s.v.). See Roswitha Klinck, Die Lateinische Etymologie des Mittelalters, Medium Aevum, Band 17 (München, 1970), 65, n.120. Cf. Thes. Ling. Lat., s.v. cor, III A, 2a, sedes curae.

31. See Hans H. Ronge's article, "Själens kloster", KLNM XV, 324-25. The Latin original was identified by Hans Schück ("Medeltidsstudier 2" Samlaren 6 [1885], p.63) in a manuscript from Vadstena now in the Library of Uppsala University (Codex Benzel., No. c 26, fol.41r.-73v.); but this text has not yet been published.

32. Cf. Job 30:27:

> Interiora mea efferbuerunt absque ulla requie:
> praevenerunt me dies afflictionis.

Luther translates, "In mir kocht es und hört nicht auf"; AV, "My bowels boiled, and rested not"; Christian III's Bible (1550), "Mine Indvolde syde og ere ikke stille"; Guðbrandsbiblía (1584), "Mijn Jnnifle þau laatu ei af að sioða i mier". Jerome interprets this verse in terms of Job's mental anguish and spiritual unrest rather than his physical suffering (PL 26, 717A-B):

> Interiora mea...Sive quod dolore tactus, intrinsecus animus ejus sollicitudine et anxietate ferbuerit, super eorum perditione: sive quod Verbo carne facto, et habitante in nomine Jesu Salvatore nostro, interiora ejus, id est, animæ illius motus sine cessatione divino igne fervebant.

The hearts of those who suffer discouragement or distress are frequently described as "languishing" (Vulgate "tabescentes", AV "melting"), as with a wasting fever (see, e.g., Psalm 106 (107):26, Isaiah 13:7, 19:1, Ezekiel 21:7, Nahum 2:10).

Occasionally, a vernacular translator will even introduce images of "visceral heat" independently of his original. Cf., e.g., translations of Deuteronomy 19:6:

> Vulgate: ne forsitan proximus eius, cuius effusus est sanguis, dolore stimulatus...
>
> Luther: Auf dass nicht der Bluträcher den Totschläger nachjage, weil sein Herz erhitzt ist...
>
> Coverdale (1535): ...lest the auenger of bloude folowe after the deedslayer. whyle his herte is whote...
>
> Christian III (1550): ... men hans hierte er saa optend...
>
> Guðbrandsbiblía (1584): ...so ad Blodhefnarinn veite ecke epterfør Mannslagaranum / a medan hanns Hiarta er suo heitt...
>
> AV (1611): Lest the avenger of the blood pursue the slayer, while his heart is hot...

and Ezekiel 3:14:

Vulgate: ...et abii amarus in indignatione spiritus mei...

AV: ...and I went in bitterness, in the heat of my spirit...

33. An Old Icelandic translation of Luke 24:32 (after Bede I.14, CCSL, 122, 102/253-254) is found at Sthom. 190/24-25 in a homily on the wedding at Cana: "BreNanda vas hiarta í oss þa es hann mælte viþ oss of goto fyr." (Cf. Leifar 32/19-21).

34. Cf. some vernacular versions:

Early English Psalter, ed. K.D. Bülbring, E.E.T.S., O.S. 97 (London, 1891), 47:
Myn hert wex hote wiþ-inne me, and fur bigan to brenne in my þouȝt.

The Psalter translated by Richard Rolle of Hampole, ed. H.R. Bromley (Oxford, 1884), 143:
My hert hetid withinen me: and in my thynkynge bren sall fire. That is, my hert verraly hetid with the fire of cristes luf. say that my thoght was hally takyn til the ioy of ȝod: and in my thynkynge, that is, in meditacioun of crist and of heuen, bren sall fire of perfite luf, sa that .i. fele the brennynge in my hert: and thus delitid.

The Holy Bible...in the earliest English version...by John Wycliffe and his followers, ed. Forshall and Madden, Vol.2, (Oxford 1850), 775:
Myn herte wax al hot with inne me; and in my swete thinking ful out shal brenne fir / Myn herte was hoot with ynne me; and fier schal brenne out in my thenkyng.

Luther (1534): Mein herz ist entbrand in meinem leibe / vnd wenn ich dran gedencke / werde ich entzündet.

Coverdale (1535): My hert was hote within me. & whyle I was thus musynge, the fyre kyndled...

Gustavus Vasa (1541): Mitt hierta är brinnande j migh / och när iagh tencker ther vppå / warder iagh vptend...

Christian III (1550): Mit hierte er forbrent vdi mit Liff / oc naar ieg tencker der paa / da bliffuer ieg optend...

Guðbrandsbiblía (1584): Mitt Hiarta þat brennr i mier / Og nær eg huxa þar til / þa stikna eg allur...

AV: My heart was hot within me, while I was musing the fire burned.

With this image of meditative ardour one can perhaps compare an intriguing marginal variant for AV Psalm 45:1 cited in Cruden's Concordance (42nd ed., London, 1879), s.v. boileth, "My heart boileth up a good matter" (Vulgate 44:2, "Eructavit cor meum verbum bonum"; AV, RSV, "My heart is inditing a good matter "). The Douay Bible (London, 1850), renders the verse, "My heart hath uttered a good word", and has the following note (p.623): "VER. 2 uttered. Heb rēss, 'boileth', as one unable to contain himself."

35. On this figure see F.B. Gummere, The Anglo-Saxon Metaphor (Halle, 1881), 40; Fr. Klaeber, "Aeneis und Beowulf", Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprache u. Lit. 126 (1911), 351; Leslie Whitbread, "A Medieval English Metaphor", Philological Quarterly, 17 (1938), 365-70. Whitbread points out that the "surgings of care" are often represented as cold rather than hot (cf., e.g., Beowulf 282, "þa cearwylmas colran wurðaþ"; The Wanderer 23-24, "ic hean þanon / wod wintercearig of er waþema gebind"; Chaucer, Troilus and Criseyde, III, 1202, "But Troilus, al hool of cares colde", cf. I.264, 612; Pearl 50, "For care ful colde þat to me caȝt"; The Gest Hystoriale of the Destruction of Troy, E.E.T.S. O.S. 39, 56 [1869-74, rpt. 1968], 1306, "þe kyng for þat care coldit at his hert"). He suggests, very tentatively, that this alternation between extremes of temperature in descriptions of states of anguish and perturbation may be intended to suggest the torments of heat and cold suffered by the damned in hell (368):

> ...I do not think it a sufficient explanation that this analogy should arise only by connecting wintry cold with times of care and distress, even though there is this common independent connection (which could naturally overlap at times). For it leaves quite unexplained the contrasting and clearly connected figure of heat. A more elaborate origin must be discovered. My suggestion is that this metaphor derived originally from the medieval conception of hell. It is well known that the medieval church held the condemned souls to endure alternate cold and heat and not only to be devoured by flame (as the biblical referances warranted).

He concludes, however, with a rather nervous disclaimer (370):

> ...It is not implied at all that in whatever form or phrase this common metaphor of cold or heat applied to cares is derived even ultimately from the medieval conception of hell torment. It remains for me to stress that abundant allowance must be made for a psychological explanation of the metaphor.... It is only when this the obvious explanation seems inadequate...that the need arises for a more elaborate explanation....

36. All line-references to Old English poems are to G.P. Krapp and E. Van Kirk Dobbie, ed., The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records (New York, 1931-53).

37. The phrase hat æt heortan recurs, for instance, in Elene 628, and in Guþlac 1182, 1310. Cf. the emotive pairing of heitr and hjarta-, with reference to Christ's self-sacrifice on the cross, in Eysteinn Asgrimsson's Lilja, st. 85: "heitr ok rauðr hjartablóði / hana [the speaker's soul] leystir" (see von See, op. cit., 22). For parallels with phrases like hreðer innan weoll and weoll on gewitte see, e.g., Beowulf 2065, 2113, 2331, 2464, 2593, 2599, 2714, 2882, Andreas, 1019, Guþlac 952, The Phoenix 191, Metres of Boethius VIII, 45 (cf. De Consolatione Philosophiae, lib.2, metr.5, 23-26), The Riming Poem 68.

38. See B.T., s.v., I, for examples of the use of the verb to refer to boiling water, the sea, streams of blood, etc. On figurative uses of the verb see Ibid., s.v., VII. The substantive wilm (wielm, welm, wælm, wylm), "a welling, surging" is used in similar contexts. See B.T. s.v., IV:

> of mental emotion (1) fervour, ardour: -- Hie wenaþ ðæt hiera unðeaw sie sumes ryhtwislices andan wielm his suum vitium quasi virtus fervens videtur Past. 40, Swt. [King Alfred's translation of Gregory's Pastoral Care, ed. H. Sweet, E.E.T.S., O.S. 45,50 (1871)] 289,20 On ðæm welme ðære soþan lufan Godes [The Blickling Homilies, ed. R. Morris, E.E.T.S., O.S. 58, 63, 73 (1874-80), 29/10, cf. Ælfric, CH, 128/3]...Wylme fervore, ardore, Hpt. Gl. ["Die angelsächsischen Glossen in dem Brüsseler Codex von Aldhelms De Virginitate", ed. K. Bouterwerk, Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum IX (1853)] 469, 56. Wælme lufu ðinre fervore dilectionis tuae, Rt. [Rituale Ecclesiae Dunelmensis, Surtees Society, No. 10 1839] 95,27. Seo halige cyrice sum ding ðurh (per fervorem) receþ, Bd. [The Old English Version of Bede's Ecclesiastical History, ed. T. Miller, E.E.T.S., O.S. 95, 96, 110, 111 (1890-98), I,27: 72/1]... (2) heat, fury, rage, passion: -- Wræðr ðin and wælm (furor) ðin, Rtl. II,1. In uælme ðinum in furore tuo, 183,2. Mid ðam welme ðære hatheortness, Bt. [King Alfred's Old English Version of Boethius, ed. W.J. Sedgefield (1899), ch.37, paragr.1, 111/30-112/1] Met. 25,46. Mid miclum wylme and yrre onstyred nimio furore commotus, Bd. I,7 [36/30]. Of lufe nalæs of wylme, I,27; [68/7]...

Cf. Ibid., s.v. breostwylm, cearwylm, hygewælm, sorhwilm. On the association of OE terms for "blood" with verbs like weallan and onhætan see Wolfgang Kühlwein, Modell Einer Operationellen Lexikologischen Analyse: Altenglish "Blut", Anglistische Forschungen, Hft 95 (Heidelberg, 1968), pp. 30, 34ff.

39. Weallan is used again to translate fervere in the sense of "to burn with spiritual ardour" at Pastoral Care 447/8, and in Ælfric's Lives of Saints, ed. W.W. Skeat, E.E.T.S., O.S. 76, 82, 94, 114 (London, 1881-1900), II, 6/85-86, "on dædum scinende. and on gaste weallende". Cf. The OE Bede, ed. Miller, 524/17 (cf. B. Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors, ed., Bede's Ecclesiastical History [Oxford, 1969], III, 2, p.214), "He wæs weallende on geleafen /...fide fervens"; A.S. Napier, ed., Wulfstan, Sammlung englischer Denkmäler 4 (Berlin, 1883, rpt 1967), 286/11 (=Ælfric, CH 100/26), "mid weallendre lufe". In Alfred's version of the Pastoral Care (ch. 21, 162/22-164/6) the phrase se wielm ðæs modes is used to translate frixura mentis in Gregory's exposition of the curious "mock-siege" of Jerusalem spoken of in Ezekiel 4:1-3 (see PL 77, 47B-C; cf. too the early eleventh-century gloss in ms. Harl. 3376, "Frixura, wylm, uel hyrsting" [Wright-Wülcker I, 243/20; R.T. Oliphant, ed., The Harley Latin-Old English Glossary, Janua Linguarum. Series Practica 20 (The Hague/Paris, 1966), p.199, l.761]. Frixura originally meant a "frying pan", and Gregory may well be using the word in this passage as a synonym for Ezekiel's sartago ferrea (4:3). By the late seventh-century, however, frixura was distinguished from frixorium, "a frying pan", and had the meaning, "burning, enkindling" (see R.E. Latham, Revised Medieval Latin Word-List from British and Irish Sources [London, 1965], p.202). This is clearly how Alfred interprets the word. An Old High German gloss on this passage renders frixura with the word cohunga, and friget a few lines later with cohot (Ah.G. II, dcxl, 198/33-34).

40. Cf. Alfred's OE translation of the same phrase, Pastoral Care, ed. Sweet, 270/14-15, "...forðæm for ðære swiggean hiera geðohtas bloð aweallene on hiera mode...

41. Lexer, M.H., s.v. wallen (1), 3. Bd., col. 654-655, cites many more figurative examples ("der zorn in ir herzen wiel", "ir gemuete wiel nâch den hirten", etc.). Cf. Grimm D.W., s.v. wallen I, B, 3 b, "gewöhnlich von der erregung durch leidenschaften"; 4, "durch übertragung wird wallen dann auch vom gemüt, der seele, der brust, dem brusen gebraucht". See also Ibid., I, B, 5-7, esp. 6:

> wallen ist überhaupt ein kunstausdruck der älteren medicin, vgl. effervescentia, ebullitio, das aufbrausen, wallen: wird hauptsächlich von einer starcken innern bewegung zweyer mit einander vermischter säfte und materien gebraucht onomat. medica (arzneywiss. 1772), 581...

42. It is interesting to note, moreover, that the Old Icelandic adjective ólmr, "savage, furious, vicious, angry", and the verb ylmask, "to rage, become ólmr", are both cognate with vella. See de Vries, A.e.W., s.v. ólmr:

> adj. "wütend" (<urn. wulma-) nisl. ólmur, nnorw. dial. nschw. dä. olm...< me. olm "grausam"... -- Dazu nnorw. dial. ulma "schwül, dunkel sein", nschw. ulma "glimmen", dial. "dunkel werden", ädä , ulme, olme, "stürmisch werden"; vgl. ädä. valm, volm, "kochen, sieden", und ae. wielm "ds", mnd. walm "mahlstrom", mnl. walm "quelle; kochen, qualm", ahd. walm "hitze, glut". -- vgl. vella 2 and ylmast.

Cf. Alexander Jóhannesson, 161-162.

43. Cf. aceocian, "to choke, suffocate"?

44. Wright-Wülcker prints this gloss from a sixteenth-century transcript (Junius Ms. 71) of two eleventh-century glossaries, BM Add. 32246, and Ms. no. 47 in the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp. On the history of these texts see E.M. Thompson, "Ælfric's Vocabulary", Journal of the British Archaeological Association 41 (1885), 144-52; F. Kluge, "Angel-

sächsische Glossen", Anglia 8 (1885), 448-52; Max Förster, "Die Altenglische Glossenhandschrift Plantinus 32 (Antwerpen) und Additional 32246 (London)", Anglia 41 (1917), 94-161; C.A. Ladd, "The 'Rubens' Manuscript and Archbishop Ælfric's Vocabulary", Review of English Studies, N.S. 11 (1960), 353-64. The transcript of Junius 71 appended to William Somner's Dictionarium Saxonico-Latino-Anglicum (Oxonii, 1659, rpt. in the series, English Linguistics 1500-1800, ed. R.C. Alstron [Menston, England, 1970]), "Ælfrici Glossarium", p.76, has the same reading as Wright-Wülcker, "Ruminatio, ciwung, vel edroc, vel aceocung". The gloss in BM Add. 32246 is also identical, save for the reading ciung instead of ciwung (see Kluge, op.cit., p.452).

45. Taylor Starck and J.C. Wells, Althochdeutsches Glossenwörterbuch 5, Lieferung (1980), 356, s.v. kutōn, sw. v., "...meditor: nachsinnen", cite no further examples. The gloss is found in manuscripts from the tenth to the twelfth centuries. See Ah.G., IV, 462/32, 545/13, 561/34, 570/36, 576/34, 650/11,654/20.

46. Cf. AV 38:14, "I did mourn as a dove"; 59:11, "We roar all like bears, and mourn sore like doves." Douay-Rheims has at 38:14, "I will cry like a young swallow; I will meditate like a dove" (no note), but at 59:11, "We shall roar all of us like bears, and shall lament as mournful doves". Guðbrandsbiblía has, 38:14, "Eg tijsta sem Tranan og Sualan / Stunde lijka sem Dwfua"; 59:11, "Vier rymium sem Biørndyr og krytium sem Dwfr."

47. For further examples, most of them late or medieval, see Thes. Ling. Lat., s.v. meditor, B specialia: 1. i.q. sonando, vociferando edere.

48. Jerome modifies only slightly the Old Latin version of Isaiah 38:14 (ed. P: Sabatier [Paris, 1751]), "...ut hirundo ita clamabo, & sicut columbae meditabor". At Isaiah 59:11, however, the Vetus Latina has "Quasi ursus, & quasi columba pariter ambulabunt".

49. Rudolf Schützeichel. Althochdeutsches Wörterbuch (Tübingen, 1969), records no word k(ch)utôn. Oskar Schade, Altdeutsches Wörterbuch (Halle a. S., 1872-82) merely follows Graff: "chutôn, ahd. SchwV. meditari". Unfortunately, E. Karg-Gasterstädt and T. Frings, Althochdeutsches Wörterbuch (Berlin, 1952-) has not progressed far enough to be of help.

50. Johann Kelle, Christi Leben und Lehre besungen von Otfrid (Praz, 1870), p.458, V.23, ll. 297-300, translates, "Hier setzt dem Menschen ohne Ruh / Die böse Denkart immer zu, / Im Herzen nicht, und nicht im Geist / Nimmt auf das Gute man Bedacht..." On the significance of githank in Otfrid, see Gustav Ehrismann, "Psychologische Begriffsbezeichnung in Otfrids Evangelienbuch", Beiträge zur Germanischen Sprachwissenschaft. Festschrift für Otto Behaghel, Germanische Bibliothek, 2. Abt., 15. Bd. (Heidelberg, 1924), p.330: "Hugu ist das Vermögen zu Denken, der Verstand, githanc (githâhtî fem.) ist das Erzeugnis, die Leistung des hugu, der einzelne Gedanke, cogitatio (auch collecktiv innere Meinung, Willensmeinung, Gesinnung)." Cf. Otfrid II.21, 8; IV.5, 57f.; V.18,14; II.24,15f.

The ambiguity of the first three minims in síudit in this verse has posed difficulties for generations of editors and students of Otfrid's poem. Until quite recently the preferred ms. reading has been suidit (a form Erdmann himself adopts in his first edition of the text (Halle a. S., 1882), p.307). Johann Schilter in the transcript of the poem presented in his Thesaurus Antiquitatum Teutonicarum (Ulmae, 1727, Tom. 1, p.377, Lib. V, cap. XXIII, 297-298), transforms the word still further:

Hiar snidit manne ana uuang,
io ther ubilo githang.

He notes, however (Ibid., p.377),

> Cod. Caesar. habet: suidit, hodie diceremus : siedet. Usurpatur hic metaphorice pro: affligit, vexat. Celeberr. Staden in Expl. Voc. Bibl. Germ. [i.e. Dietrich von Stade, Erlaüter- und Erklärung der vornehmsten deutschen Wörter (Bremen, 1724)] p.262 reddit: Hier siedet ohn unterlass der böse Gedanck; addit: dass es im verblümten Verstand hier genommen uuird...

Graff, out of either prudence or desperation, records the word both as suidit and siudit in his Sprachschatz, as Johann Kelle remarks in his rather petulant defence of the former reading (in his own edition, Otfrids von Weissenburg Evangelienbuch [Regensburg, 1856], vol. II, p.7, n.1):

> Dieses nur durch eine Stelle Bei O. ...V.23,149 belegte Verbum hat Graff wie bei schwierigen oder für schwierig erachten Fällen gewöhnlich ohne alle weitere Erklärung nur mit dem eingeklammerten Beisatz [siudit? suîdit?] in den Sprachschatz (VI, s.871) eingetragen. Die Conjektur, siudit ist abermals IV, s. 164 unter siudan aufgefürhrt. Es ist indess kein Grund vorhanden, die überstimmende Leseart der Handschriften für einen Schreibfehler zu halten und Graffs Conjektur siudit ist mindestens ebenso überflussig als snîdit, das nicht von Graff, sondern schon von Schilter herstammt...

In his glossary (vol.III, 574), Kelle refers to the line s.v. **svidu (st.v. ...), "wuchere, gedeihe, nehme überhand". And an even more peremptory verdict is pronounced by F.E.C. Dietrich ("Berührung der Ablautsreihe iu, au, u mit anderen," Z.f.d.A. 5 [1845], 215):

> ...die von Graff vorgeschlagenen änderungen des otfridischen hiar suidit ...5, 23, 149 in siudit oder snidit sind unnöthig; der qualvolle gedanke soll ein erstickendes brennen haben.

In 1934, however, Edward Schröder discovered as a result of his careful second revision of Erdmann's text that síudit was the true reading of the

principal manuscript in the Nationalbibliothek, Vienna. (The oldest and most complete of all the textual witnesses, this ms. is believed to contain corrections in Otfrid's own hand. See Erdmann, second ed., pref., VI; and further references in Johanna Belkin and Jürgen Meier, Bibliographie zu Otfrid von Weissenburg..., Bibliographien zur deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters, Hft 7 [Berlin, 1975], "Überlieferung", 13ff.) Schröder's remarks on his comparison of Erdmann's text with the Vienna manuscript are cited by Ludwig Wolff in the forward to Erdmann, third edition [1957], pp. ix-x:

> Dass bei dem nicht nur für das literarische Deutschland aller Zeiten, sonder, wie ich annehmen möchte, innerhalb der gesamten Literatur des Abendlands einzigartig guten und zuverlässigen Überlieferungszustand, [und gegenüber der hohen und gegenseitig abwägbaren Gewissenhaftigkeit von vier Herausgebern (Graff, Kelle, Piper, Erdmann) für den Wortlaut und die Lautform des Textes] etwas Wesentliches herauskommen würde, war von vornherein so gut wie ausgeschlossen: es war eine grosse Überraschung, als ich, von Ludwig Wolff in meiner zweifelnden Einsicht bestärkt, bei V 23, 149 feststellte, dass für das von allen vier Herausgebern festgehaltene und demnächst mühsam gedeutete suídit die Hs. V tatsächlich das von Graff noch im Sprachschatz VI. 871 mit einem Fragzeichen erwogene síudit bietet. Das ist aber die einzige Besserung, die ich der Überlieferung selbst entnehme...

51. One might perhaps compare the earlier use of the English verb to concentrate with a direct object, as in Doctor Johnson's observation, "When a man knows he is to be hanged in a fortnight, it concentrates his mind wonderfully," as against the present-day elliptical use of the same verb with a personal agent ("I concentrate [my mind] = "I think hard").

52. (Cf. Starck and Wells, Althochdeutsches Glossenwörterbuch, 8. Lieferung [1982], s.v. ir-siodan, st. v. "excoquo, examino, von Schlacken reinigen, aussinnen, erwägen...") Ah.G. II, dcxlix, 232/53. On the ms., Carlsruhe Aug. 220, see Ibid., IV, 407/43. Graff also notes that arsiudan is used to gloss examinare in a late tenth- or early eleventh-century ms. of Gregory's

Homiliae in Evangelia (Ah.G. II, dclxxiv, 267/50-51):

Examinat casonit c 193 gisuonit a 235[a] gisuonit arsiudit b 77

(On ms. b, Clm. 19440, see Ibid. IV, 570/36ff.) The passage glossed here is a commentary on Psalm 49:3 in Gregory's first gospel homily (PL 76, 1081B):

> Deus manifeste veniet, Deus noster, et non silebit. Ignis in conspectu ejus ardebit, et in circuitu ejus temptestas valida... Districtionem quippe tantæ justitiæ temptestas ignisque comitantur, quia temptestas examinat, quos ignis exurat.

Here examinare is clearly used in the sense "to try" or "test" rather than "to ponder" or "consider" (cf. the alternative and more widely used gloss gisuonit; and Schützeichel, op. cit., s.v. suonen, "entscheiden, richten, beurteilen, sühnen für, versöhnen, halten für). Examinare is regularly used in the Vulgate in the sense, "to prove, to test (as if by fire)" (e.g. 2 Sam. 22:31, Ps. 11:7, 16:3, 17:31, 65:10, Sap. 16:11; cf. esp. Thes. Ling. Lat. s.v. examinare, B.2.b, "de deo homines et experiente ac temptante et iudicante [saepius in ultimo iudicio...]").

B.T. cites the following example of the use of OE seoðan to translate examinare in the sense, "to purify (of dross)":

J.W. Bright and R.L. Ramsay, ed., Liber Psalmorum: The West Saxon Psalms (Boston, 1907), 30 þu hæfst afandod min mod, and þu come to me on niht and me gemettest unrotne, and me sude mid þam fyre monegra earfoða, swa swa gold oppe seolfor...	Psalm 16:3 Probasti cor meum, et visitasti nocte: Igne me examinasti, et non est inventa in me iniquitas.

Cf. Wright-Wülcker I, 230/24 (Oliphant, op. cit., 160, 433), "Examinasti, probasti, asude"; King Alfred's Pastoral Care, ch. 37,

ed. Sweet, 267/19-20:
...Ic hie wolde geclænsian mid ðæm gesode ðæs broces, & wolde ðæt hie wurden to golde & to seol[u]fre...

Gregory, Reg. Past. III.13, PL 77, 71A:
...Purgare eos per ignem tribulationis volui, et argentum illos vel aurum fieri quæsivi...

Vercelli homily 22,

ed. P.E. Szarmach, Vercelli Homilies ix - xxiii (Toronto/Buffalo/London, 1981), 92/67:
...swa swa gold on ofne he hie syð ⁊ costað...

Isidore, Synonyma, PL 83, 834B:
...In fornace probatur aurum, tu, ut sorde careas, tribulationis camino purgaris...

Elene, 1308-1312 (A.S.P.R. II, 102),

Hie asodene beoð,
asundrod fram synnum, swa smæte gold
þæt in wylme bið womma gehwylces
þurh ofnes fyr eall geclænsod,
amered ond gemylted ...

B.T. suggests that OE miltan is used in the same sense in the passage from the Poetical Dialogues of Solomon and Saturn already mentioned (above,596-7 on the marvels of the mental "organ" (ed. Menner, Ms.B,ll.53-56):

Saturnus cwæð:
Ac hulic is se organan ingemyndum
to begangenne þam þe his gæst wile
miltan wið morðre merian of sorge,
asceadan of scyldum?

B.T. translates (s.v. miltan, I c, to refine by melting), "...by him who will refine his spirit from the dross of crime, separate it from sins".

53. The comparison of mind and stomach was a commonplace. The passage from Reg. Past. III, 12 was reproduced frequently in commentaries on Proverbs 20:30 (cf., e.g., Bede PL 91, 999A; Rabanus Mauras, PL 111, 746D; Glossa Ordinaria, PL 113, 1104B). And Gregory also makes use of the metaphor of the "stomach

of the mind" in his twenty-second gospel homily, in the passage immediately preceding his discussion of the preparation of the Passover lamb. Here, he interprets allegorically the injunction at Exodus 12:8 to eat the paschal meal "with bitter herbs" (PL 76, 1179A-B. The sentence is not translated by the Scandinavian homilist.):

> ...Carnes ergo Agni cum lactucis agrestibus sunt edendæ, ut cum corpus Redemptoris accipimus, nos pro peccatis nostris in fletibus affligamus, quatenus ipsa amaritudo pœnitentiæ abstergat a mentis stomacho perversæ humorem vitæ.

The comparison of the two organs also figures in many versions of the antique "fable of the belly". See, e.g., PG 56, 839, Eruditi Commentarii in Evangelium Matthæi, Incerto Auctore on Matt. 21:12:

> ...quia si stomachus sanus fuerit, totum corpus validum est, si autem dissipatus fuerit, totem corpus infirmum est: ita si sacerdotium integrum fuerit, tota Ecclesia floret: si autem corruptum fuerit, omnium fides marcida est. Cor autem et stomachus sacerdotes intelliguntur, quia in rebus spiritualibus per eos totus populus gubernatur. Et sicut cor sapientiæ locus est, ita sacerdotes sunt receptacula sapientiæ spiritualis,...Sicut enim stomachus accipiens cibum, coquit eum in seipso, et per totum corpus dispergit: sic et sacerdotes accipiunt scientiam sermonis per Scripturas a Deo, et excoquentes eam in se, id est, tractantes et meditantes apud se, universo populo subministrant...

The fable of the belly, perhaps most familiar as the parable of Menenias Agrippa in Livy (II, 32, 8-12), circulated widely during the middle ages. It was reworked, for instance, by King Sverrir in En Tale Mot Biskopene (ed. A. Holtsmark, NVAOS II. Hist.-filos. kl. 1930, nr. 9, Oslo, 1931, 264). For a survey of medieval versions of the allegory (including some with which Sverrir himself might have been familiar) see Erik Gunnes, Kongens Ære: Kongemakt og Kirke i "En tale mot biskopene"(Oslo, 1971), 73-82, 367-71. On the occasional identification of "heart", "mind", and "stomach" in such allegories (as, e.g., in the Matthew commentary cited above), see W. Meyer-Lübke, Romanisches

Etymologisches Wörterbuch (Heidelberg, 1935), s.v. cor: "Im Mittelalter bedeutet das Wort auch 'Magen', gilt als Sitz des Verstandes und Gedächtnisses..."; and A. Walde and J.B. Hoffmann, Lateinisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch (Heidelberg, 1938), s.v. cor: "'Herz'(als Köperteil; auch 'Magen', z.T. wohl Bed.-Lw. nach gr. καρδία) übtr. "Geist, Verstand, Gemüt" (Herz also Sitz der Gefühle und des Denkvermögens)".

54. But see, e.g., Forcellini, Totius Latinitatis Lexicon (Prati, 1861), s.v. excoquo, 3, "Item concoquo; concuocere, digerire..."; Thes. Ling. Lat., s.v., 3 b, "sensu laxiore: i.q. bene et quasi ad finem percoquere, vergente aetate fere i.q. simplex coquere...:CATO agr. 156,7 postea...iusculum frigidum sorbere et ipsam brassicam esse, uti quam primum -atur (sc. in stomacho?) ..." On the ancient theory of digestion through concoction see Robin, The Old Physiology..., 76.

55. See Lewis and Short, s.v. II. Trop., "to devise malum alicui"; Thes. Ling. Lat., s.v. 3, "in imag...mystice...de intelligendo, fere i.q. examinare". This usage appears to be more common in later, esp. patristic texts, e.g.:

Verecundus (d. 552), Commentarii super cantica ecclesiastica, ed. J.B. Pitra, Spicilegium Solesmense..., tom. 4 (Paris, 1858), Lib. IV, "In Canticum Azarice", cap. 13 (v. 40?), p.60:

> Bovem in holocaustum offerre, est Christum credere in passionibus immolatum,... Sed et aliter potest hic sensus intelligi. Diversis nominibus ipse Dominus appellatur: dicitur etiam Verbum, ergo Verbum Dei per minutias intelligentiæ dividimus, et igne ingenii excoquimus: quodam enim inflammatione ardore ingenium concitatur, ut in se diutius excoquendo, id est, retractando rem obscuram, ad intelligentiæ decoctionem perducat. Si vero superadjecerit et ligna, diversos videlicet sapientiæ exitus, tunc demum holocaustum plenum offert Deo...

Gregory, Moralia in Job, Lib. 22, cap. viii, sec. 19 (PL 76, 224B)

Sancti suis laudibus cruciantur. -- Qua ex re agitur ut electorum animus magno laudum suarum igne crucietur, atque ab omni torporis sui rubigine mœrore cogitationis excoquatur.

56. See B.T., s.vv. miltan (mieltan, meltan), I. trans. (b), "to digest" (e.g., O. Cockayne, Leechdoms... [1864-66], II, 220/22, "Sio wamb seo ðe bið hatre gecyndo melt mete wel..."); meltan II, "(of food) to digest"; gemeltan; gemieltan, "to melt, digest"; meltung, f., "Melting (of food), digestion"; unmeltung, "Indigestion" (cf. B.T. Suppl. s.vv. gemeltan II, gemiltan (2), meltan II, add., miltan I.b.add.). Cf. Fritzner, s.v. melta, "fordøie, opløse i Maven den deri optagne Føde", as in, e.g., Guðrún's exultant announcement to Atli in Atlakviða 36, "Melta knátto, móðugr manna valbráðir". See Henning Larsen, ed., An Old Icelandic Miscellany (Oslo, 1931), glossary, s.v. melta, for many examples. Ingjald Reichborn-Kjennerud discusses the medieval Scandinavian conception of the digestive process in Vår Gamle Trolldomsmedisin, IV (NVAOS II Hist.-Filos. Klasse, 1943, nr. 9, Oslo, 1944), 39-40.

57. This is the phrase Joan Turville-Petre uses in her translation of the passage (The Story of Rauð and His Sons, Viking Society for Northern Research, Payne Memorial Series II [London, 1947], 7). Cf. O.E.D., s.v. swallow, v. 1b, "In fig. or allusive phr. To swallow one's spittle: (a) in renderings of Job vii.19, where the reference is to the difficulty of swallowing when in distress; (b) to restrain anger or other strong feeling, to repress the rising gorge." Cf. 5, "To accept without opposition or protest...", 6, "To put up with, submit to, take patiently or submissively (something injurious or irksome). (Cf. F. avaler.)" See too Ibid., s.v. stomach, v., 5, "To brook, endure, put up with, tolerate" (but contrast earlier meanings: 1, "To be offended at, resent..."; 2, "To excite the indignation of, to offend, vex..." 3, "To turn the stomach of, to nauseate"; 4, "To inspire with resentment, fury or courage; to incite"), and Ibid., s.v. digest, v. 6, a, "To bear without resistance; to brook, endure, put up with; to 'swallow, stomach'", b,

"To get over the effects of. arch." Cf. too perhaps Grimm D.W., s.v. schmelzen, II,3,e, "zorn, kummer schmelzen, lindern, mildern, heben".

58. In connection with Kálfr's atribilious boast it is interesting to consider the relationship between melta and milti, "the spleen". Jan de Vries, A.e.W., notes that the two words are often associated, although, he suggests the milt may, in fact, take its name from its milky appearance:

> milta, milti, n. auch mjalti m. "milz", nisl. mjalti, fär. milti, milt, nnorw. dä. milt, nschw. mjälte. -- ae. afr. mf. milte, mnd. milte, mnl. milt(e) f., ahd. milzi n. -- Gewöhnlich zu melta I, also etwa "verdauungsorgan" (H. Petersson Indogermanische Forschungen 23, 1909, 158).
>
> Nach Falk und Torp, Norwegisch-dänisches etymologisches Wörterbuch, 721 soll die grundform *melhtia sein, das er zu mjolk stellt; die milz besteht aus einem weichen blutreichen gewebe, mit weisslichem griess. Es ist wahrscheinlich, dass ein solches organ nach seinem aussehen, und nicht nach seiner funktion benannt wurde. -- Nicht mit Jóhannesson, Isländisches etymologisches Wörterbuch, 674: lässt sich gleichsam schmelzen'.

(Cf. O.E.D., s.v. milt, sb., preamble, "perh. f. the root of melt v., with reference to the supposed digestive function of the spleen...") P.A. Robin discusses early ideas about the spleen in The Old Physiology, 66-67:

> As it is only within the last half century that the true office of the spleen has been discovered, it is not surprising that there is considerable variety in the functions ascribed to it in ancient and modern literature. Medical men regarded it as helping to purify the blood manufactured by the liver by secreting the thick and melancholic juices [Galen, De Usu Partium, IV.xv; De Atra Bile, VI]. This melancholy humour or black bile was thought to cause not only melancholy, but anger and ill-temper.

(Cf. Vilhelm Møller-Christensen's article, "Lever-og-miltsygdomme", X, 520-521.) Somewhat paradoxically, antique and medieval popular medicine also made the spleen the seat of laughter. (Several formulations of this notion

are to be found in Old Icelandic literature. See esp. the curious and much-discussed interpolation in Fóstbræðra Saga, kap. 21 [ÍF 6 (Rvk, 1943) p.226]. Jónas Kristjánsson cites several Latin and Old Icelandic analogues in Um Fóstbræðrasögu [Reykjavík, 1972], 240-44.) Robin points out that "digestion" was felt to play an important part in eliminating noxious by-products of the spleen (90):

> Corrupt or excessive humours were either "digested" or expelled. "Digestion" in the strict sense is to be distinguished from concoction. Though it was frequently used as a mere synonym for concoction, yet as a technical term it meant the dissolving or absorption of superfluous or morbid humours. Shakespeare uses the term in the strict sense in Julius Caesar (IV. iii. 47): --
>
> "You shall digest the venom of your spleen
> Though it do split you."
>
> That is, you shall not vent it upon me but disperse it within your own system. With this compare I Henry VI. (IV. i. 168):--
>
> "Go cheerfully together and digest
> Your angry choler on your enemies."
>
> Carlyle [French Revol. II. 2, vi] aptly uses the same metaphor in describing a futile military movement: --
>
> "The fourth thousand...have to retire elsewhither, and digest their spleen or reabsorb it into the blood."

(See O.E.D., s.v. digest, v., 1 b, "To disperse, dissipate", and 6, "To bear without resistance", for further illustrations.)

It is perhaps also worth noting that even the cold and dry humour, melancholy, could occasionally be said to "boil". See, e.g., Aristotle, Problemata Physica XXX,1 (trans. E. Forster [Oxford, 1927], cited by R. Klibansky, E. Panofsky, and F. Saxl, Saturn and Melancholy [London, 1964], pp.21-25):

> ...It is therefore clear that it is the same agent that produces character both in the case of wine and of the individual nature, for all processes are governed by heat...the atrabilious humour in the natural constitution is already something mixed as it is a mixture of heat and cold, for of these two things nature is composed. Black bile

can therefore become both very hot and very cold, for one and the same substance can naturally undergo both: for example water, which although in itself cold, yet when sufficiently heated (for example, when boiling) is hotter than the flame itself... Now, if black bile, being cold by nature and not superficially so, is in the stated condition, it can induce paralysis or torpor or depression or anxiety when it prevails in the body; but if it is overheated it produces cheerfulness, bursting into song, and ecstasies and the eruption of sores and the like... those who possess much cold black bile become dull and stupid, whereas those who possess much hot bile are elated and brilliant or erotic or easily moved to anger and desire, while some become more loquacious. Many too are subject to fits of exaltation and exstasy, because the heat is located near the seat of the intellect; and this is how Sibyls and soothsayers arise and all that are divinely inspired, when they become such not by illness by by natural temperament... Those, however, in whom the black bile's excessive heat is relaxed towards a mean, are melancholy, but they are more rational and less eccentric...

Cf. perhaps Lydgate, Troy Book, ed. H. Bergen, E.E.T.S., E.S. 97, 103, 106, 126 (London, 1906-35, rpt. 1973), l. 4214-4215, "Cedar... of malencolye / And of disprit boilyng in his herte...", and Shakespeare, Twelfth Night, II. v. 2-3, "...if I lose scruple of this sport, let me be boiled to death with melancholy."

59. Cf. Modern Icelandic at bræða e-ð með sér "velta e-ð fyrir sér" (Arni Böðvarsson, s.v. bræða, 3).

60. Cf. Halldór Halldórsson, Islenzkt Orðtakasafn (2nd ed., 1978-80), II, 41, s.v. melta: liggja á meltunni. The reflexive form of melta can also be used in the sense, "leve et sløvt og uvirksomt Liv" (Blöndal, s.v. melta, vt., II. b, "...meltast heima, kukkelure hjemme: mér þykir líklegt, að hún ekki ætli sér að meltast svona upp eins og meykerling...").

61. The figurative use of melten in Cleanness need not, of course, be associated exclusively with mental "concoction". The word may also be used in this passage to suggest the fervour of inspiration. Images of heat, fire, flame, of "boiling", "melting", or "burning" are very often exploited in description of spiritual ecstasy or mystical rapture. See the biblical examples already mentioned (Ps. 38:4, Lk 24:52, above, p.595 ; cf. Rom. 12:11 ferventes spiritu), and n.38 above on OE wilm (B.T. s.v., IV.1). Cf. O.E.D., s.v. melt, v.[1], I 3 c, "To melt away. To be 'dissolved' in ecstasy", and Ibid., II. 11 b; T.D. Hill, "The Tropological Context of Heat and Cold Imagery in Anglo-Saxon Poetry," NM 69 (1968), 531-2 (esp. 532, n.2 on Piers Plowman B, XVII, 223ff.); W. Riehle, The Middle English Mystics (1981), 10, 110, 141, 155. For an elaborate extended example of this mystical metaphor see Richard Rolle's Incendium Amoris (ed. M. Deanesly [1915], see, e.g., cap.16, 192-193; transl. Richard Misyn [c. 1435], The Fire of Love, ed. R. Harvey, E.E.T.S., O.S. 106 [1896], cf. 38-39). On the imagery of the work see Eugen Schnell, Die Traktate des Richard Rolle von Hampole, "Incendium Amoris" und "Emendatio Vitae" (Leipzig, 1932), 115-120. In another Middle English mystical treatise associated with Rolle, "The Mirror of Sinners", the image of spiritual fervour is combined with a metaphorical use of the verb "to boil" to describe contemplation (ed. Carl Horstmann, Yorkshire Writers: Richard Rolle of Hampole...and His Followers [London/New York, 1895-96], II. 437. Horstmann describes the text as "an abridged, free translation of the Speculum Peccatoris, ascribed to St. Augustine..., St. Bernard, and R. Rolle" [See Glorieux, Pour Révaloriser Migne, 28]; cf. Spec. Pecc. I.2, PL 40, 986A):

...To this heelful sentence loke þat þow biholde, and þat nouȝt passyngly, but with greet studye & riȝt good auysement: ffor riȝt as encens smelleth not but ȝef it be put in to the fuyr, so no sentence of hooly scripture may

...Hanc admonitionem salutiferam oculo rationis consideres, charissime, non in transitu, sed cum studio et deliberatione sæpissime revolvendo: quia sicut thus non redolet, nisi ponatur in igne, ita nulla sacræ Scripturæ

sauoure to the redere ne to be herere þerof but ȝef it be i-boyled in herte with bisy and brennyng studye of it.	sapit sententia, nisis cocta sit in corde.

(With the incense simile cf. perhaps the renderings of Gr. 10 in Ev., PL 76, 1113B, at Sthom. 59/20-22 and Nhom. 63/22-24, cit. above, p. 357.)

For examples of the metaphor of the "fire/burning of divine love" see, e.g., Manz 62 ardor fidei, 130 calor fidei, 343 fervens spiritu. In OWN cf. ástareldr:

Sthom.	27/23	guþś ástar eldr
	77/5	guþs ástar eldr (Gr. 25 in Ev., PL 76, 1196C, ignis divini amoris)
	90/15-16	kynda ástar eld i oss (Gr. 34 in Ev., PL 76, 1252C, nos ipsos...bonis studiis inflammare)
	91/3	Sumer kyndasc...af elde guþs ástar (Gr. 34 in Ev., PL 76, 1253C, nonnulli...supernæ contemplationis facibus accensi; cf. Nhom. 139/25 ...er sva hæita aost unnu guði...)
Leifar	29/11	(Gr. 30 in Ev., PL 76, 1220B amor)
	32/30	(Ibid., 1223D amoris fax)
	81/14	(Ibid., 1241C amoris ignis)
	81/15	(Ibid., 1241C caritatis ignis)
	83/16	(Ibid., 1243C amoris ignis)
Barl.	195/8	akefð guðlegrar astar elldz eða bruna (cf. Ps. Ioh. Dam. 124/40-125/1, ineffabilis pulchritudinis Christi amor uelut ignis in corde)
	195/8-9	Af þessom astar ellddi brann þetta hitt blæzaða ivngmenni ...(cf. Ps. Ioh. Dam. 125/4-5, Hunc ignem et bonus iste... in seipso suscipiens...). Cf. 194/29-30, Miok sua varð hann allr af ser komenn likamlega af brennannda ast er hann

hafde til himneskrar fystar. (cf. Ps. Ioh. Dam. 124/33-34, ...amore diuino uulneratus animo immortalis regis Christi omnino desiderati, erat extra se factus, totus eius liquefactus amore...)

Michaels s. HMS I, 712/23-24...er ástarelldr þvi frammarr kveikiandi honum til lofs ok dyrðar...

Nik. II, HMS II, 99/18-19 uppkveiktr med elldi astarinnar (cf. Vincent of Beauvais, Spec. Hist., XIII, 72, 530b igne pietatis inflammatus)

Thóm. II, I.110/9 allr lék i eldi ástarinnar

Jóns s. bapt. II, Post. 886/13-14 elldr sinnar eiginligrar astar

ástarhiti :

Sthom. 90/9 at glóa i ástar hita (Gr. 34 in Ev. PL 76, 1252B amore flammescere; cf. Nhom. 138/3-6)

Nhom. 108/25 eldi hug harðhugaðra manna með astar hita hinnar hælgu trv (Passio et Miracula Beati Olaui, ed. Metcalfe [1881], 67/18-19 gentium efferarum obstinatos ac feroces animos calore fidei tandem emolliuit)

109/12-13 með mycclum astar hita (Ibid., 68/17-18 ardentissimo amore)

Stjórn 8/20-21 eptir þi sem huerr sem einn fyrir sinn astarhita uar uerdugr ok uidrtøkiligr (cf. Vincent of Beauvais, Spec. Hist., I, 10, 5 ...pro varia munerum dignitate...)

Thóm. II, I. 316/30 - 318/1 hiti guðligrar ástar

II. 2/8-9 ástarhite lifanda Guþs

Mar. 186/2 (478/27) upp kueiktir...með astarhita

cf. Sthom. 92/20-21, at vera heít i aost guþs; Nhom. 140/15-16, unna hæita aost guði...hafa astar hitan (Gr. 34 in Ev. PL 76, 1255C, amore conditoris ardere); Sthom. 191/23, 27, at hitna i óst guþs; Barl. 194/31-32 Af þessarre guðlegre ast hitnaðe þesse hinn vngi maðr (Ps. Ioh. Dam. 124/35-36, Huiusmodi ipse a diuina charitate susceperat ebrietatem, ita exarserat siti); Mar. 418/14, med hitnanligri girnd; 679/20-21,...hitnar...at sia enn hus guds modur Marie...; Árni ábóti Jónsson, Guðmundardrápa, st.10 (Skjd A II, 414), hitnandi elsku vitni; Vitnisvísur af Máriu, st. 24 (Skjd A II, 487), hitnad elsku uítne.

ástarlogi:

Sthom. 86/2 (Nhom. 69/14-15) Birte ástarloge hiorto ór.

91/6-7 ...dreifa ástar loga i kenningom yuer alla þa es þeir mæla [viþ]... (Gr. 34 in Ev., PL 76, 1253C...loquendo et alios accendunt, et quos verbo tangunt, ardere protinus in Dei amore faciunt...)

bruni trúar:

Den store saga om Olav den Hellige, 694/22-23 (Flat. III, 247/2-3)

...mikill bruni heilagrar truar brann i hans briosti...

elsku eldr:

Heilags anda vísur, st. 12 (Skjd A II, 162)

...elldr ertu elsku milldrar

(Cf. "Veni, creator, spiritus", st. 2, Analecta Hymnica 50, 193 "Qui paracletus diceris/...Fons vivus, ignis, caritas...")

With the employment of verbs meaning "to melt" to refer to states of the mind or the soul, it is also interesting to compare the use of the phrase tármelti hiartans to translate compunctio cordis in the Old Norwegian translation of Alcuin's De Virtutibus et Vitiis. As Ernst Walter points out, the etymology of tármelti is uncertain, and apart from the four examples in the

translation of Alcuin (Nhom. 9/17, 18, 18, 20) the compound is not found elsewhere in OWN (Lex. Lehn., 109, "...hat also keine Verbreitung und Nachfolge gefunden und ist daher eigentlich als Hapax legomenon zu betrachten"). Cleasby-Vigfusson clearly associates the word with melta (see s.v., "a melting into tears") as does Kahle (Acta Germanica I, 4 [1890], 409, "schmelzen unter Thränen"). Fritzner, however, merely gives the Latin compunctio in lieu of a definition; and the etymological dictionaries of Falk-Torp, Alexander Jóhannesson, and de Vries do not treat the word at all. Walter rejects the interpretation suggested by Josef Weisweiler (Busse: Bedeutungsgeschichtliche Beiträge zur Kultur- und Geistesgeschichte [Halle, 1930], 246, "Zermalmung des Herzens durch Tränen" as "nicht gerade überzeugend", but admits that a derivation from melja "to grind" is tempting ("doch macht sie Schwierigkeiten"). He concludes (Lex. Lehn., 109), "vielleicht haben CV und Kahle mit ihrer...Auffassung recht."

It should perhaps be noted that the image of the "dissolving of sin in the tears of compunction" is quite common in devotional and mystical literature, and the "tears of compunction" were often numbered among the gifts of divine grace. See Riehle, op. cit., 44, and Hope Emily Allen's note, The Book of Margery Kempe, E.E.T.S., O.S. 212 (1940), 31/3 terys of compuncyon, and texts cited there; e.g., PL 158, 893 (Oratio XVI ascribed to St. Anselm):

> ...Da mihi gratiam lacrymarum...quia sine dono tuo non possum habere eam, sed per Spiritum sanctum tuum, qui dura corda peccatorum mollit, et ad fletum compungit.

Cf. too OWN iðranar tár (Walter, Lex. Lehn. 111, 187): Sthom. 27/2; Leifar 164/35 (AM 237 fol.); Matt. s. post. A, AM 645 4to. ed. L: Larsson (1885), 118/21 (cf. Matt. s. post. B, Post. 824/40); Nik. II, HMS II 158/36; Mar. 444/14, iðranar grátr.

62. The Love of Learning and the Desire for God, 90. Cf. E.R. Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, 134-136 on "alimentary metaphors". The metaphor palatum cordis (in Gr. 36 in Ev., PL 76, 1266B) is rendered gómr hiartans in AM 677 4to (Leifar 48/25). For examples of the figures "spiritual food", "food for thought" see, e.g., Thes. Ling. Lat., s.v. alimentum B, cibus II. B, esca B; O.E.D., s.v. food 3a and b. Cf. too O.E.D., s.v. digest, v., 3, "To settle and arrange methodically in the mind; to consider, think or ponder over ", and 7, "To comprehend and assimilate mentally; to obtain mental nourishment from ".

63. On the background of the "rumination" image in Bede see, e.g., C.H. Plummer, ed., Venerabilis Baedae Historiam ecclesiasticam gentis Anglorum... (Oxford, 1896), II, 250; Philip J. West, "Rumination in Bede's Account of Cædmon", Monastic Studies 12 (1976), 217-26. Elizabeth Suddaby (MLN 69 [1954], 468) suggests that Bede's use of the metaphor is based on the traditional allegorical interpretation of Leviticus 11:3, and compares Ælfric, LS II, xxv, "Passio Machabeorum", 46-49:

> þa clænan nytenu þe heora cudu ceowað getacniað þa men þe on heora mode smeagað embe godes willan syððan hi his word gehyrað of lareowa muðum swylce hi heora mete ceowan.

Margaret E. Goldsmith (Medium Ævum 37 [1968], 74) compares Augustine, Enarrationes in Psalmos 46.1 (CCSL 38. X, 1, 529/11-16; cf. Prosper of Aquitaine, Liber Sententiarum 194 [193], PL 51, 454C-455A):

> ...Nam et ipsa ruminatione, in qua significat Deus munda animalia, hoc uoluit insinuare, quia omnis homo quod audit sic debet in cor mittere, ut non piger sit postea inde cogitare, ut quando audit, sit similis manducanti; cum autem audita in memoriam reuocat, et cogitatione dulcissima recolit, fiat similis ruminanti...

64. Although B.T., s.v. seoþan, II. metaph. 3, suggests that the verb here means "to prepare food for the mind, to make fear, hope, etc. subjects with which the mind may be occupied (cf. to feed a person with hopes)", the non-figurative meaning "to digest" is nowhere attested for seoðan (any more than for OWN sjóða). ME seoðen could, however, be used of the digestive process. O.E.D., same entry as above, cites:

> 1398 TREVISA Barth. De P.R. III.xiv. (1495) 59 The fode is sodde and defyed by werkynge of kynde. c. 1400 tr. Secreta Secret., Gov. Lordsh. xl. 71 Wherfore þe stomak...losyth his strengthe to fully sethe þe mete...

Cf. Ibid., s.v. Seething, vbl. sb., 3.

65. Ibid., 351: "Dass daneben der -- in der Konstruktion natürlich durchaus verschiedene -- bekannte Gebrauch des lat. coquere (auch in der Aen. VII 345 quam...femineae ardentem curaeque iraeque coquebant; vgl. B.T. , s.v. seoðan) eingewirkt hat, ist nicht ganz ausgeschlossen."

66. See John R. Clark Hall, Beowulf and the Finnesburg Fragment: A Translation into Modern English Prose (London, 1911), 18, 189f., "Thus with the trouble of the times seethed ever and anon the sone of Healfdene"; 103, 1992f., "For that I seethed with gloomy care, surgings of sorrow..." Cf. his revised translation of 1950: "Thus the son of Healfdane brooded constantly over the trouble of this time."; "For that I was troubled with gloomy care, surgings of sorrow."

67. See MLN 34 (1919), 131-32; Anglia 44 (1920), 99-100; ANF 39 (1922), 187; Anglia 50 (1926), 115-116. Else von Schaubert supports Klaeber's interpretation in her note to 189f., Heyne-Schückings Beowulf (Paderborn, 1940), p.23. Klaeber would perhaps have been happy to find some support for his view in the analogous transitive use of sjóða with an object in

the accusative in the Old Norwegian homily: "...*þat* sioðum vér er vér velkium léngi í hugscote váoro", "...at menn sióðe *þau rað*..."

68. Cf. *Ibid.*, 1147-1150:

> ...fónd þa hlingendne
> fusne on forðsiþ frean unwenne,
> gæsthaligne in godes temple
> *soden sarwylmum*.

and 1259-1262:

> ...nelle ic lætan þe
> æfre unrotne æfter ealdorlege
> meðne modseocne minre geweorðan,
> *soden sorgwælmum*.

69. Cf. Virgil, *Aeneid* IV, 2.

70. Both the ms. and the glosses are of the eleventh century (see Meritt, introduction, ix).

71. *Avrelii Prvdentii Clementis Carmina*, ed. I. Bergmann, *C.S.E.L.* 61 (Vindobonae/Lipsiae, 1926), 385. Cf. the translation by H.J. Thomson, *Prudentius* (Loeb Classical Library, London/Cambridge, Mass., 1953), II, 257:

> While the martyr was discoursing, Asclepiades had long been privily nursing wrath within him, for he was fuming and his ire was deep while he kept his long silence and displeasure was rising secretly in his heart. At last he discharged the violence of the rage he had been cloaking...

Stomachatus in l. 393 is glossed "iratus. *geyrsad*" in Boulogne-sur-Mer 189 (Meritt, p.50, gloss 479).

72. See B.T. suppl., s.v. seoþan I. Toller refers to the older edition of the OE Prudentius glosses by A. Holder, Germanica: Vierteljahrsschrift für deutsche Altertumskunde (Stuttgart/Vienna, 1856-92), Bd. 23, 395, 391. Alistair Campbell, in his "Enlarged Addenda and Corrigenda" to B.T. Suppl. (Oxford, 1972), cites the gloss and Beowulf 190 and 1993 as examples of a distinct meaning of seoðan, "add. III. to experience an emotion strongly".

73. See Liddell and Scott, A Greek-English Lexicon (Oxford, 1966), s.v. πέσσω 3. metaph., for further examples. The verb regularly has the meaning, "to cook, bake", and is cognate with Sanskrit pácati, Latin coquere (see E. Boisacq, Dictionnaire Etymologique de la Langue Grècque (Heidelberg, 1950), s.v. πέπων J. Pokorny, Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch, I. Bd., p.798, s.v. pekṷ -- "kochen"). Richmond Lattimore renders the verb in various ways in his translation of the Iliad (Chicago/London, 1971):

IV, 512-13 No, nor is Achilleus the child of lovely-haired Thetis fighting, but beside the ship mulls his heartsore anger,

IX, 565-6 (of Meleager) ...with this Kleopatra he lay mulling his heartsore anger,
raging by reason of his mother's curses...

XXIV, 617 (of Niobe) ...there stone still, she broods the sorrows that the gods gave her.

XXIV, 639-40 (Priam) I have been grieving and brooding over my numberless sorrows
and wallowed in the muck about my courtyard's enclosure.

Lattimore's use of the verb "to mull" in two of these passages is rather interesting. This extended sense of the verb (if this verb is not, in fact, a different word from mull, "to pulverize") is a late American coinage of obscure origin. See O.E.D., s.v. mull, v.[5], 2. intr. colloq. U.S., 1890 Webster, "Mull, v.i. To work (over) mentally; to cogitate; to ruminate;

usually with over; as, to mull over a thought or a problem." (Cf. Richard H. Thornton, ed., An American Glossary, vol. III, vii, in Dialect Notes, vol. VI, ix [1934], p.444) William Craigie and James R. Hulbert, A Dictionary of American English (Chicago, 1942), s.v. Mull, v., gives the very tentative derivation, "Perhaps fig. application of *mull v. 'to pulverize, grind, squeeze'." But one is tempted to assume that since he uses the verb to translate πέσσειν, Lattimore, at least, associates the idiom with mull (trans.), "To make (wine, beer, etc.) into a hot drink with the addition of sugar, spices, etc...." (O.E.D., s.v. mull, v.[3]). The origins of this verb are also obscure; see O.E.D., Ibid.:

> It is not easy to connect the sense satisfactorily with that of MULL v.[1] ["to grind, powder, pulverize, etc."] It has been suggested that the vb. is f. MULL sb.[1] ["something reduced to small particles; dust, ashes, mould, rubbish"] applied to the powdered spices used in mulling; but there is no evidence of such a specific use of the sb. Another unsupported conjecture is that the original sense may have been "to soften", "render mild" (cf. Du. mul soft) of which MULL v.[2] ["to dull, stupefy"] might be another application. Quite inadmissible is the notion, which appears in all recent Dicts., that mulled ale is a corruption of moldale (Mould sb.[1]) funeral banquet.

Whatever the derivation of mull (over), "to ponder", however, it is curious that it has come to be associated with the sort of internal "cooking" metaphor discussed here.

74. He cites Frank Fischer's observation (Die Lehnwörter des Altwestnordischen, Palaestra 85 [1909], III), "Die Prüfung des Lehnwörterschatzes einzelner Werke kann also ein Hilfsmittel der Literarhistorischen Characteristik werden", and adds, "Lånordene vil liksom språkbruk og stilføring ellers utdype bildet av de omgivelsene som geistligheten på forskjellige måter kom til a bli påvirket av" (Kulturtradisjon..., 352).

75. It is particularly interesting to compare the last two verbs in this list with OI *œsa*, "to stir up, excite" (*œsask*, "to be stirred, to swell"). This verb can also be used to describe violent emotions (see Cleasby-Vigfusson, Fritzner, *s.vv.*, for examples) and is related etymologically to words associated with heat, fermentation, etc. See de Vries, *A.e.W.*, *s.v. œsa*:

> *œsa*, schw. V. "aufreizen" (<germ. **josian*), nisl. *œsa*, fär. norw. *øsa*, neben schw. dial. *åsa*, dä *æse* (<germ. **jēsian*) "gären", und nisl. *asa* "etwas übereilt tun", nnorw. *asa* st.V. "gären, brausen, stürmen", *esja*, nschw. dial. *esa* "gären". -- ahd. *jesan* "gären, schäumen", -- vgl. *jǫstr*, -*ósa* 2, *óss* 3, *ǫskra*

Cf. Alexander Jóhannesson, 98-99, *s.v. ies-*:

> ...kausativ *œsa* vb. "in heftige bewegung setzen, aufreizen", vgl. norw. *opöst* "gereizt" und dial. *ós* "das brausen, unruhe in tieren und menschen". In der bedeutung "sich anstrengen" scheint das wort von nd. *åsen* "schmutzige arbeit verrichten", *sik af åsen* "sich mit solcher arbeit bemühen" beeinflusst zu sein. Die wz. *ies-* bedeutet "wallen, schäumen (von kochendem wasser)": ai. *yasati*, *yásyati* "sprudelt, siedet; müht sich ab" gr. ζέω (=*yásati*) "kochen, wallen, sieden", cymr. *ias* "fervor, ebullitio", vgl. ahd. *jesan* "gären, schäumen" = schw. dial. *esa(as)* "gären", norw. *æse*, auch *esja* (<**jasjan*) "gären"; hierzu *jǫstr* m. (gen. *jastar*) (<**estuR*<**jestuz*) und *jastr* n. (<**estra*) (in rímur auch *jast* n.) "hefe", dan. *gjest*, schw. *jäst*, nnorw. *gjester*, ags. *giest* (eng. *yeast*) "schaum, geifer, hefe"...

With the "deliberative" sense of *sjóða* one might also compare the widely attested metaphor of "brewing bale/trouble". Fritzner *s.v. brugga*, *v.* 2, cites examples of the application of the verb to a wide variety of mental "preparations":

Stjórn 213/3-4	Genesis 42:11
...ok eigi bruggu uær brædr þionar þinir nockurs konar illt edr daligt.	...nec quicquam famuli tui machinantur mali.

Olafs s. Tryggv. en mesta, I, 59/9-10 (Flat. I, 66/32-33)
...þeir væri þvi siór grunadir vm þau suik er þau hófóo saman bruggat...

Ibid., 157/7-8 (Flat. I, 119/1-3)
...Nu er þetta sannara en þat er vandir menn grunuðu [Flat. bruggudu] at v dygð mundi undir bua ockrum kiær leikum.

Karlamannús s., 1/13-14
...En þeir urðu fegnir vitraninni, en þótti mjök illa er þessi svik váru brugguð...

Nik. II, HMS II, 91/11-12
...Sem gallsurar diofulsins radagiordir eru til fullz eitrliga bruggadar...

Ibid., 93/9-10
...sem þetta eitr sambruggadi med falsaradomi...

Mar. 287/3-4 (295/8-9)
...ef betr yrði enn hann hafði brvggat...

Ibid., 821/16
...bruggudu hans motstodumenn þat rad...

Dorotheu s., HMS I, 323/13-15
...fre<i>star hann þess grefa, er hierud var settr...Fiandinn bruggar diofuligt eitr med honum ok kveikti lostasemisgirnd til þessarar meyiar...

cf. Legenda Aurea, ed. T. Grässe (1846, rpt. 1965) 910
...terrae praefectum in amorem stimulans, ut ipsam carnali concupiscentia appeteret...

Isl Æv., XCVII, 308/26-27
Nu megi þer vita af þersu ævintyri at þjófnaðr bruggar mikit böl...

Cf. Robert of Brunne's Handlyng Synne, ed. F.J. Furnivall, E.E.T.S. O.S. 119, 123 [1901-3, rpt. 1973], 2353-54
Now may ȝe se be þys tale,
Þat þeftē breweþ mochē bale.

Eysteinn Ásgrimsson, Lilja, st. 15 (Skjd A II, 368)
...brvggandi daudans dreggjar...

(Cf. Fritzner, s.v. brugg, n.: Mar. 227/7, diofulsins brugg; Thóm. II I, 56/22, brugg ílskunnar.) With the figurative use of brugga Fritzner compares ll. 2179-84 of the MHG poem, Reinhart Fuchs (ed. Jacob Grimm [Berlin, 1834]):

Die heren, die nu waren so fier,
dat si Reinaerde waenden bier
te sinen lachtre hebben ghebrauwen:
ic wane wel, in rechter trauwen,
dat hi sal weder mede blanden,
dien si sullen drinken met scanden.

Cf. Grimm's note (Ibid., 279-80):

> 2183 mede blanden, meth mischen wird, wie das vorausgehende brauen (Vgl. zu 1961 ["...hem langhet omme clôsterbier: / nu gaen wi voren, ende bruwen hem."]), vom anstiften, verrath stiften gesagt, in dem sinn unsers heutigen: einem etwas einrühren, brauen, oder kochen, ohne dass dabei an gift zu denken nothwendig ist...

Grimm cites numerous MHG analogues (cf. Lexer, M.H., s.v. briuwen, brûwen, stv. III, "...bildl. machen, hervorbringen, anstiften, verursachen, allgem. ..."; Grimm D.W., s.v. brauen, 3, "wie in der alten sprache, blanden... und noch in der heutigen mischen, mengen, kochen, und einrühren, einbrochen, so steht auch brauen sehr oft in dem bösen sinne des unheil, mort und verrat stiftens..."). Cf. too O.D.S., s.v. II. brygge, v., 3, "især...om aandelig frembringen, spekulation, opfindsomhed olgn.: lave (sammen); 'fabrikere'...brygge paa (noget), være i færd med at udtænke (noget); spekulere paa; forberede"; S.A.O., s.v. brygga, v., 3-4; Söderwall, s.v. bryggia, v., 2; Littré (Paris, 1958), s.v. 1.brasser, 3, "Fig. et en mauvaise part, tramer, pratiquer secrètement. Brasser une trahison, une perfidie"; O.E.D., s.v. brew, 4, "To concoct, contrive, prepare, bring about, cause: spec. a. evil, mischief, trouble, woe; in early use esp. with bale, boot, bitterness, brew, bargain, etc. b. designs, projects, productions of the intellect; M.E.D., s.v. breuen, 2, "To contrive (sth.), bring about: (a) ~ bale, contrive or do harm or injury; ~ bote, derive a benefit; (b) ~ baret, ~ bargain, cause strife, etc.; care, cause suffering or trouble; deth, contrive or cause (someone's) death, etc...", 3, "Fig. expressions and proverbial sayings: (a) breuen a bitter beverage, etc., to

concoct a bitter draught, inflict great harm...". Cf. too Bjarne Berulfsen's discussion of the phrase hæitt ok bakat used by Bishop Håkon Erlingsson of Bergen in a letter written in 1339 (DN VIII, 123; Kulturtradisjon..., 298-299).

76. See, e.g., J.J. De Witte, De Betekeniswereld van het Lichaam (Nijmegen, 1948): A. Sauvageot, "À propos des changements sémantiques", Journal de Psychologie 46 (1953), 465-72.

77. Semantics: An Introduction to the Science of Meaning (Oxford, 1962, rpt. 1977), 225. Ullmann adds that such studies have produced some remarkable results (Ibid., pp.225-26):

> In many languages, for example, verbs meaning "to catch" or "to grasp" are used figuratively in the sense of "to understand": English catch, grasp; French comprendre (from prendre, "to take"), saisir; Italian capire, from Latin capere "to catch"; German begreifen, from greifen "to grasp"; and there are similar formations in Russian, Finnish, Hungarian and Turkish. The difficulty is of course to determine how far these various languages may have influenced each other. This difficulty can be eliminated if the examples are taken from widely different idioms and civilizations which have had little or no contact with one another. Thus it is interesting to learn that the English expression eye of a needle has exact parallels in Eskimo and in Chuvash, a Turkish language spoken in Russia, and that the "eyelid" is called "skin" or "rind" of the eye in Hungary and in the Marquesas Islands of Oceania as well as in some other areas. Even more surprising is the case of pupil "apple of the eye"... The Latin pupilla "orphan girl, ward, minor" could also denote the apple of the eye, because of some similarity between a small girl and the minute figure reflected in the pupil (Bloch-Wartburg). [See also O.E.D. s.v. baby, sb., +3.]. Now it has been found that in more than thirty languages belonging to the most different groups, the apple of the eye is called metaphorically "little girl" or, more rarely, "little boy". [See C. Tagliavini, "Di alcune denominazioni della 'pupilla'", Annali dell' Instituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli, N.S., iii (1949), 341-78; 363ff.] Nor are such parallel developments confined to meta-

phor: metonymies can be just as widespread. The use of the word for "tongue", organ of speech, in the sense of "language" occurs not only in many European idioms which may have influenced each other, but is also found in many non-European languages.

78. Cf. other examples of the figurative use of at grafa in the Homily Books:

Sthom. 57/8-10 ...þa heimte herodes konungana til máls viþ sik a laún. grefr at siþan vaNdvirclega hue nęr þeir sęe stiornona.	Gr. 10 in Ev., PL 76, 1110B (Matt. 2:7) ...Tunc Herodes, clam vocatis magis, diligenter didicit ab eis tempus stellæ quæ apparuit eis.
Sthom. 61/19-21 ...þa er maþr gengr til scripta. þa seal vandvirclega at grafa meþ hveriom hætte eþa af hveriom atburþ hann hever framet þat er hann telr sic gort hafa.	H.L. Spencer, MS 44 (1982), 283/17-18 (cf. Joan Turville-Petre, Traditio 19 [1963], 57-58) ...Quando ergo unusquisque ad confessionem venerit, diligenter debet inquiri quomodo, aut qua occasione, peccatum perpetraverit quod peregisse se confitetur.

79. "Wesen und Wert der Lehnübersetzung", Giessener Beiträge zur deutschen Philologie, XL (1935), 15-16, cited by Salvesen, 23.

80. Salvesen, 23-24; Ullmann, The Principles of Semantics, 2nd ed. (Glasgow/Oxford, 1957), 200.

Chapter six:

The phrase "væl ma min sál a bita gras með aðrom sálom" in a sermon on Judgement Day.

The last item in Nhom. is a fragment of a sermon on Doomsday entitled "Sermo ad populum ualde necessaria" (168/12 - 171/6). This piece did not form part of the original homiliary, but is the last entry on four leaves bound in with the Homily Book after folio 68.[1] In his examination of "Originale stykke i den norske homilieboki", in his introduction to Nhom., Gustav Indrebø pays special attention to this sermon, arguing that its colloquial tone, lively diction, and specifically local references suggest very strongly that it is a work of native composition:

> Denne preika er so livsnært knytt til det som maatte vera heimlegt for tilhøyrarane, so ein kjem til aa tenkja paa eit original-arbeid. Ho hev ein slik frisk spraaktone som me ikkje lett raakar i umsetjingar. Ho viser til eit norsk ordtøke: "þat er atqvæðe norrønna manna", stend der. Ei ekte munnleg vending som "konor ok karlar" ("karlom ok conom") finst tvo gonger. Den festlege hermingi som forfattaren hev der som han talar til dei vantruande, maa vera teki beint ut or det røynlege livet: "... þeir mæla sva. Lærðir menn ræða oss við hælviti. sęgia þeir sem kona ræðir barn sit. Þęgi þu barn. seigir hon. ec læt ref-enn at þer. ef þu þegir ęigi" (s.170/7-10).[2]

As Indrebø says, "Det er eit tap at vi ikkje kjenner meir til denne friske og ordhittige forfattaren"[3]

It is not only through his use of native saws and "local colour" that this sermonist invests his composition with its remarkable vigour. Equally impressive is his self-conscious exploitation of a wide variety of colores rhetorici:

> rhetorical question -- En hvar mega ec bætr mina røðo hęfia hælldr en minna goða menn á þa ena miclu ogn er ęftir þetta man verða... (168/21-22)

> zeugma -- Nu stuði guð læmstr mal-hellti minnar. ok gefe u-froðre tungu horskleg orð at mæla [note the use of transferred epithets]. þau er minum drotne snuisk til lofs ok dyrðar.
> ok ollom þeim til himnescra hæil-ræða

er á lyða með litil-lætes øyrum. (168/17-21)

anaphora, isocola --
Engi er sva gafugr at ætt eða at ęignum.
engi er oc sva aumr eða harðhugaðr at þenna dom mege flyia.
ok í þęirri scialfando tið. þa verða allir ransacaðer
fra hvirfli ok ofan í tær bæðe konor ok carlar.
Engi ma þa scildi firi sic sciota ne garplegom orðom...
(168/25-29)

exsuscitatio (interrogatio, polysyndeton, homoioteleuton) --
Hværr er sva harðr eða illzcu fullr.
eða hverr er sva cafðr undir gram-legre byrði læiðilegra synda.
eða hværr er sva fast tekin í flærð hins bannaða fianda.
at ęgi ræðesc
eða ognasc
eða scelvisc þesse sar-yrði er snuasc á hals þeim er þa standa
á vinstra veg varom drotne sva svartir sem dioflar. (169/16-20)

extravagant metaphors -- [þeir] er á lyða með litil-lætes øyrum (168/20-21); ...hæyra friðleg heim-boð með fagnaðar øyrum (168/33-169/1); þeir er drucnaðir ero i dulnaðar hafe (170/11); dauða snara (170/24-25)

subtle use of alliteration --
...þeim til himnescra hæil-ræða er á lyða með litil-lætes øyrum. (168/20-21)
at ætt eða at eignum (168/26)
Engi ma þa scildi firi sic sciota ne garplegom orðom.
hælldr scyldum ver minnasc nu á hvesso mykin fagnað peir manu liota er nu ero lyðnir guðs boðorðom ok lærðra manna firirtalum (168/29-32)
...ok hæyra friðleg heim-boð með fagnaðar øyrum þa er hin milldaste konungr mælir sva...(168/33-169/1. Note too the assonance of hæyra with øyrum.)
En nu kuma eptir grimleg orð með græyplego langræke. (169/15)
Þa fara þessir veinande ok valande með fianda til hælvitis ok hins diupazta pyz. ok kveliasc þar siðan ęi ok ęi ændalaust (169/32-33)

A favourite device of this preacher is the figure sermocinatio or dialogismus -- putting in the mouth of an imagined speaker words which conform to, or reveal, his character[4]. In the central section of the

sermon (169/1-33), full advantage is taken of the dramatic power of the description of the Last Judgement at Matt. 25:34-46. Redundant introductory phrases are used effectively to emphasize the awful seriousness of the final "dialogue" between Christ as Judge and the throngs of the righteous and the sinful:

> ...þa er hin milldaste konungr mælir sva. ok snyst til þeirra með blið-legre ásýn. ok með margfaldu þoccagøðe ok męler þessom orðom. Uenite benedicti patris mei possidete Regnum qvod vobis paratum est a constitutione mundi...
> ok en letr hann þetta fylgia. Ec var hungraðr...
> En þeir svara með sanlegre rodd eilifrar gleði ok sva mæla. Drottin nér cveða þeir. nær var þar er ver sam þic hungraðan...
> Da svarar vár drottinn þeim. ok mælir sva. þat allt er þer gerðoð veslom mannom. ok fatøkiom. þat allt gerðu þer mer.
> En nu kuma eptir grimleg orð með græyplego langræke...
> Ða mælir guð á þessa lund. Discedite a me maledicti in ignem eternum qui praeparatus est diabolo et angelis eius...

Another such passage is the sequence cited by Indrebø, in which the unrepentant sinners complain that clerical fulminations on the themes of hellfire and damnation are like nursery-tales of bogies and bugbears.[5] The preacher seems to present this mock-debate between representative sinners and the voice of Scripture as a rhetorical and thematic show-piece. The passage is worth examining in its entirety, not only because it is an admirable piece of prose, but because it presents certain problems of interpretation (170/7-25):

> Nu tæcr sia ræða til þęirra manna er ælsca hordom ok nat-drycciur. þeir mæla sva. Lærðir menn ræða oss við hælviti. sęgia þeir sem kona ræðir barn sit. Þęgi þu barn. sęgir hon. ec læt ref-enn at þer. ef þu þegir ęigi. En sumir mæla þetta. þęir er drucnaðir ero i dulnaðar hafe. eða syslu hęims þessa. at væl ma min sál a bita gras með aðrum sálom. þa er ec em andaðr. En þeir er slíct mæla. þa lyði þeir nu til vændlega hvat vár drottinn mælir um otrv þæirra manna er slict mæla. Ecce uenio cito. et merces mea mecum est

reddere unicuique secundum opera sua. Se nu segir hann. ec køm sciott. ok laun man fylgia mér. ec scal gialda hverium æftir sinum vercum. Oc en í aðrum stað. sęgir hann sva. Nolite errare. deus non irridetur. Hirðið ęigi at villa Crist. þvi at guð lætr æigi skiælkiasc. Oc enn mælir vár drottinn propheta mal eitt. Non est sapientia. non est prvdentia. non est consilium contra deum. Eigi er spæct ok eigi er horsclæicr. ok æigi ráð a mote guði. Nu mætte ognasc þessor harðyrði þęir er dvalder ero i drambe heims þessa. ok hyggiasc æ manu lifa. En fyrr kømr oft dauða snara umm hals oss en sialfa oss vare.

The humorous banality of the first "lines" assigned to an imaginary chorus of lechers and drunkards appeals to the background of the preacher's audience. The second monologue, however, delivered by those who are "drowned in a sea of illusion or the affairs of this world" -- "væl ma min sál a bita gras með aðrum sálom. þa er ec em andaðr" -- is rather more difficult to construe.[6]

The usual meaning of the verb phrase at bíta gras[7] is "to graze" (see, e.g., Fritzner, s.v. bíta, v., 2, "aede, især om græsædende Dyr: græsse, uden Objekt, jvf. bíta gras"; Heggstad, Gamalnorsk Ordbok [1958], s.v. bíta, 3, "bita, eta; b. gras beita"; Cleasby-Vigfusson s.v. bíta, 2, "of grazing animals: b. gras, lauf, skog...hence beit, pasture...to graze")[8]. Thus, the phrase "væl ma min sál a bita gras með aðrum sálom" may be meant to conjure up an image of the locus pascuae of the twenty-second Psalm, and to suggest the confidence of worldly men that they will "lie down in the green pastures of heaven" along with the blessed in spite of their sins.[9] In other words, they ignore the warning of Matt. 25:32, that when Christ sits in majesty on Judgement Day, "before him shall be gathered all nations: and he shall separate them one from another, as a shepherd divideth his sheep from the goats". It is perhaps possible, however, to interpret the phrase at bíta gras in other ways.

In their entries for gras both Fritzner and Cleasby-Vigfusson refer to the phrase hníga at grasi (cf. hníga í gras, lúta í gras) which Fritzner defines "bide i Græsset, falde i striden". This is, of course, a common euphemism for death on the battlefield, and Fritzner cites numerous examples of its occurrence in Old Icelandic literature:

> Heiðarvíga saga, ÍF 3 (1938), 303/22-27:
> Þa segir Þorbjǫrn: "...þat skulu þér til eiga at segja, áðr en ek hníga í gras, at ek nennta at vísu at neyta vápna." þar fell hann fyrir Barða ok fekk gott orð.

> Fóstbræðra saga, ÍF 6 (1943), 236/2-5:
> "...ek var eigi í því sinni feigr, ok má vera, at ek hafa til nǫkkurs undan rekit ok lúti enn fyrri í gras nǫkkurir frænðr Þorgríms en ek."

> Gunnars þáttr Þiðrandabana, ÍF 11 (1950), 206/7-12:
> Þorkell...kvazk eigi nenna at leggja hann við velli at óreyndum sǫkum. Sveinki svarar: "Þess er at ván, at þér megið drepa mik, en þykkia mun þat skjótræði mikit at saklausu, en þess mun ek at leita at hafa mann fyrir mik, áðr en ek hníg at grasi."

> Snorri Sturlusson, Háttatal, st. 16, Skjd B II, 65:
> Setr of vísa vitran
> vígdrótt, en þar hníga,
> (ýr dregsk) við skotskúrum
> skjaldborg, í gras aldir

The metaphor is, in fact, of great antiquity, and similar expressions are found in most of the Germanic and Romance languages. A convenient catalogue is presented in S.A.O., s.v. Bita:

> B 4) p)γ: i bild i uttr. bita i gräset; i bet. α[1], i sht i öfversättningar från klassiska l. romanska spr., ngn gg bita i stoftet, l. mullen l. marken, förr äfv. bita stoftet.
>
> α[1] jfr. d. bide i græsset, holl. in het zand bijten, het gras l. den grond bijten, t. ins gras beissen, in die erde beissen, die erde beissen, eng. to bite the dust l. ground l. sand,

fr. mordre la poussière l. la terre, it. mordere lá polvere l. la terra, lat. humum l. arenam ore mordere [cf. Aeneid 11, 418; Ovid, Metamorphoses 9, 60-61], gr. ὀδαξ ἑλεῖν γαῖαν l. οὖδας [cf. Iliad 2, 418; 11, 749; 19, 61; Odyssey 22, 269][10].

The editors offer the rather ingenuous, though sensible, suggestion that "uttrycken torde bero på iakttagelsen att dödligt sårade personer ofta i dödskampen bita i marken", and give the general definition, "stupa, falla; stundom allmännare: dö".[11]

If the phrase at bíta gras is used in the Homily Book passage simply in the sense "to die", then the speaker's statement that his soul will "bite the dust" with other souls "þa er ec em andaðr" seems peculiarly redundant. The implication may be, however, that the deluded sinner feels his spirit will suffer total dissolution, a second death after the death of the body, and that his assertion is, in effect, a denial of the immortality of the human soul.

Although the doctrine of the immortality of the soul was not confirmed by a Papal Bull until the sixteenth century,[12] it is implicit in the closing words of the Apostles' Creed, "carnis resurrectionem et vitam aeternam". Above all, a belief in the immortality of the soul is crucial to the Christian conception of a final Judgement, as A. Michel points out in his article "Vie Éternelle", D.T.C. 13, 2963:

> Prise individuellement, la vie éternelle est pour chacun de nous le salut de son âme, Matth., XVIII, 25; Marc., X, 26; Luc., XVIII, 26. Ainsi, dans l'enseignement des synoptiques, la vie éternelle, récompense de l'âme juste, se situe nettement dans l'autre vie, après la mort, "dans le siècle à venir" comme dit saint Luc. S'il fallait une confirmation de cette doctrine, on la trouverait dans saint Matthieu, XXV, 34, 41, 46, concluant la scène du jugement dernier par la sentence du Fils de l'homme:
>
> > [...Venite benedicti Patris mei, possidete paratum vobis regnum a constitutione mundi...Discedite a me maledicti in ignem aeternum...Et ibunt hi in supplicium aeternum: iusti autem in vitam aeternam.]

It is appropriate that precisely this gospel text provides the framework for the central section of "Sermo ad populum" which directly precedes the passage under discussion[13]. That the sinful speakers' statement that their souls will "bite grass with the other souls" is meant to imply a disbelief in an ultimate Judgement, either at the moment of death or on the Last Day,[14] is also suggested by the homilist's immediate rebuttal, in which he cites Revelation 22:12 (170/13-17):

> En þeir er slíct mæla. þa lyði þeir nu til vandlega hvat vár drottinn mælir um otrv þæirra manna er slíct mæla. Ecce uenio cito, et merces mea mecum est reddere unicuique secundum opera sua. Se nu segir hann. ec køm sciott. ok laun man fylgia mér. ec scal gialda hverium æftir sinum vercum.[15]

The self-deception of those who believe that they will know no life after death and will, therefore, be exempt from divine punishment for their sins is denounced in an Old English homily formerly attributed to Wulfstan. The author of this text argues that the many miracles which have been and still are performed in this world are proof and foretokening of the bliss which awaits the righteous in the next; and he adds:

> ...ac þa beoð adwealde and þurh deofol beswicene, þe þæs ne gelyfað, ac wenað, þæt se man scyle deadlice swyltan, efne swa nyten, and syþþan ne þoljan ne yrmðe ne myrhðe, ne ænig lean hæbbe þæs, ðe he worhte on lifes fæce þa hwile þe he mehte. ac soþ is, þæt ic secge: of eorþan gewurdan ærest geworhte þa, ðe we sylfe ealle of coman, and to eorþan we scylan ealle geweorþan and syþþan habban swa ece wite ÂÂ butan ende, swa ece blisse, swa hwæþer we on life æror geearnedon.[16]

The phrase "efne swa nyten" is intriguing. One wonders whether the Norwegian homilist may not have meant, in his use of the ostensibly "pastoral" image of souls "biting the grass", to suggest that the miscreants whose self-delusion he deplores make the same fatal error of thinking that their spiritual condition is no different from that of beasts.

Such a topic would not be out of place in a sermon on the Last Things. Ælfric of Eynsham, for instance, in his homily for the Feast of Circumcision, emphasizes that it is precisely because man, unlike the lower animals, is endowed with an immortal soul, that he must dread the Final Judgement (CH I. 96/8-20):

> ...gif ge...eowere galnysse underþeodde beoð, þonne beo ge swa se witega cwæð, "Se mann ðaða he on wurðmynte wæs he hit ne understod; he is forðy wiðmetan stuntum nytenum, and is him gelic geworden" [Ps. 48:13, "Et homo cum in honore esset, non intellexit. Comparatus est iumentis insipientibus"]...Witodlice se fyrenfulla bið earmra ðonne ænig nyten, forðan þe þæt nyten næfð nane sawle, ne næfre ne ge-edcucað, ne þa toweardan wita ne ðrowað. Ac we ðe sind to Godes anlicnysse gesceapene, and habbað unateorigendlice saule, we sceolon of deaðe arisan, and agyldan Gode gescead ealra ure geðohta, and worda, and weorca.[17]

The crucial difference between the spiritual status of men and animals is also discussed by Gregory in his exposition of Ecclesiastes 3:19 in Book Four of the Dialogues. Gregory maintains that in this verse the Preacher voices the opinions of those "who suffer the infirmities of human notions" (cf. the OWN version of the passage preserved in AM 677 4to and AM 921 4to):

De Vogüé, vol. 3, 30, IV. 4. 6-7/ 54-69:

> ...ita etiam concionator noster uelut ex mente infirmantium humanae suspicionis sententiam proponit, dum dicit: "Vnus interitus est hominis et iumentum, et aequa utriusque condicio. Sicut moritur homo, sic et illa moriuntur. Similiter spirant omnia, et nihil habet homo iumentis amplius"...Habet [autem]...hoc homo amplius iumentis, quod illa post mortem non uiuunt, hic uero

HMS I, 236/38-237/17 (cf. Hreinn Benediktsson, ed., Ed.Arn. B 4 [1963], 56/13-16, 28-31):

> ...sva fórþi hann oc fram af ostvrcra manna aliti þat atqveþi, es hann melti sva: "Einn er davþi oc iafnt øþli manna oc smala, sva devr maþr sem smali oc hevir eki framarr en cvqvende"...þat hevir maþr framar en smali, at smali livir eigi eptir davþa, en maþr tecr þa at lifa, [er] hann lvcr svnilict lif meþ licams davþa.

> tunc uiuere inchoat, cum per mortem
> carnis hanc uisibilem uitam con-
> summat.

Similarly, in the Soul and Body dialogues which enjoyed an immense popularity throughout the Middle Ages, the witless brute's blissful freedom from fears of hell-torment is often contrasted with the urgent need of everyman to remember his ineluctable doom. Thus, for example, in the Old English poem "Soul and Body I" preserved in the Vercelli Book, the disembodied soul chides the flesh it once inhabited (A.S.P.R. II, 56-57, ll. 74-87; cf. "Soul and Body II" in the Exeter Book, A.S.P.R. III, 176-177, ll. 69-81):

> ...Ne synt þine æhta awihte
> þe ðu her on moldan mannum eowdest.
> Forðan þe wære selre swiðe mycle
> þonne þe wæron ealle eorðan speda,
> (butan þu hie gedælde dryhtne sylfum),
> þær ðu wurde æt frymðe fugel oððe fisc on sæ,
> oððe on eorðan neat ætes tilode,
> feldgangende feoh butan snyttro,
> oððe on westenne wildra deora
> þæt wyrreste, þær swa god wolde,
> ge þeah ðu wære wyrma cynna
> þæt grimmeste, þær swa god wolde,
> þonne ðu æfre on moldan man gewurde
> oððe æfre fulwihte onfon sceolde.[18]

The thirteenth-century poem, Desputisoun bitwen þe Bodi and þe Soule, based in part on the Visio Philiberti,[19] contains an analogous passage, although in the Middle English poem it is the body which complains to the soul that it would gladly have occupied a lower place in the chain of being in order to escape damnation:

Desputisoun..., ed. W. Linow, Erlanger Beiträge zur englischen Philologie 1 (1889), 42 (Auchinleck ms.), ll. 289-296:

Ac ȝiue ichadde ben a nete,
Oþer a schepe, oþer a swine,
þat ȝede about and drank and ete,
And were yslawe and passed pine,
Þan hadde ich neuer ytaken kepe,
No knowe þat ale fram þe wine,
Þan hadde ich neuer com in helle depe,
Nouþe at mi last fine.

cf. Visio Philiberti, ed. E. du Méril, Poésies populaires latines antérieures au douzième siècle (1843), 226:

O felix conditio pecorum brutorum!
cadunt cum corporibus spiritus eorum,
nec post mortem subeunt locum tormenti
talis esset utinam finis impiorum!

A much amplified version of the same passage is found in the Old French poem, Un Samedi Par Nuit, which is thought to be the source for the Old Norwegian Soul and Body dialogue.[20] Again, in these texts the body addresses the soul[21]:

Un Samedi Par Nuit, P 702-748:

Fols est qui ce ne croit,
Que io ia ne pechaise,
Se toi ne herbergaisse;
Ia ne soffrise mal,
S'a toi ne fust estal.
Un poi de terre fuisse,
D'iluec ne me meusse;
Ne m'esteust morir
Ne enferte soffrir.
Iamais mal ne soffrise
Ne enfer ne cremise.
Car pleust ore a de,
Ki maint en trinite,
Que io fuisse femiers
Ou argille ou boiers
Ou autre creature
De diuerse nature!
Se dex me fesist arbre
Ou .I. perron de marbre
Ou .I. oisel uolage
Ou .I. poisson marage

Nhom. 152/12-18:

Nu er þat auð-synt at alldrigin mynda ec syngasc ef æigi være þu með mér. ok eigi mynda ec rørasc hældr en stein ok mynda ec þa æigi í hælviti cuma. Nu vilda ec guð þes biðia at ec være æinhvær onnur scepna. ok æigi þurfta ec þa luti ræðasc er nu ráðumc ec. þat at mín uprisning mér man vera hvarke goð ne fógr. ok mon vera fyrir þinar sakar.

cf. text in JS 405 8vo, ed. Widding and Bekker-Nielsen, MS 21 (1959), 287:

...Nú vilda eg þad af Gude ætíd hafa, ad vera sú skepna önnur, ad ei þyrfte slíkt ad hrædast, ad upprísa verda, er hvörke mun verda fögr nie gód,

Ou beste mue ou uer,
Que ne cremisse enfer,
Ne cremisse deable
Ne paine pardurable,
Deable ne cremisse
Ne ia mal n'i soffrise
Ne cremise noient
L'orible iugement,
Ou tot li saint arcangle
Trembleront et li angle!
Plus maluaise nature
Ot la nostre auenture;
Molt ert no vie sure
Que d'autre creature.
Cil a cel iugement
Ne resordront noient,
Car tote la lor uie
Est od le cors fenie.
Mais quant io resordrai,
Uie reprenderai
Et ma surexion
Me donra passion.
Ame, ce ert par toi
Que reuendras a moi;
Resaisiras l'ostal,
On sofferas grant mal.[22]

oc minst Slíkum, mier oc mínum.

Support for such an interpretation would seem to be provided by an interesting cluster of proverb-formulas cited by B.J. and H.W. Whiting as item S527 in their dictionary of Proverbs, Sentences and Proverbial Phrases (1968), "To reck (care) not if Souls go blackberrying". They quote first the well-known occurrence of this phrase in the Prologue of Chaucer's Pardoner's Tale, where the villainous Pardoner professes his frank indifference to the fate of the souls of his spiritual charges:

For myn entente is nat but for to wynne,
And nothyng for correccioun of synne.
I rekke nevere, whan that they been beryed,
Though that hir soules goon a-blackberyed.[23]

The Whitings then refer to two analogous passages from another Middle English work, Peter Idley's Instructions to his Son in which Idley, a true ancestor of Polonius, expatiates on the folly of making an heir one's executor:

> Lete neuer thyn heire be thyn executure.
> ffor they ne recke how the soule fare,
> So they may heue thy londe and goodis;
> The fadir shall departe naked and bare,
> The soule shall goo grase in fieldis and in woodis.
> Than may I sey suche a man woode is
> That for ony loue or carnall sauoure
> Woll make his heire to be his Executoure.
>
> ...
>
> Now haue I tolde you of executours occupasion,
> Hir couerte demenyng and subtell gouernaunce.
> I trow the craft be vsed in euery nacioun -
> It is so profitable and sonnest doith men enhaunce,
> And to grete levelode and goodis dooth men avaunce;
> They lieve merily by othir mannes laboure -
> No force if the soule goo daunce with a taboure.[24]

While the exact meaning of all these phrases -- "their souls may go blackberrying", "...go grazing", "...go dancing" -- is rather obscure,[25] they are all clearly meant to emphasize the same thing -- the indifference of self-seeking individuals to the spiritual welfare of those upon whom they prey. The similarity between Idley's words, "The soule shall goo grase in fieldis and in woodis", and the phrase at bíta gras með aðrum sálum in Nhom. may well be merely coincidental.[26] But it does not seem unreasonable to suggest that the Norwegian homilist may make his (collective) dramatis persona speak of his soul "grazing" after death for much the same reason that Chaucer has the Pardoner refer to the lost souls of his congregation "going a-blackberrying". Both remarks are affirmations of a profound moral insensibility; the former may well be an expression of the speaker's blind indifference to the fate of his own soul.

While there would seem, then, to be evidence to suggest that the error to which the speakers at Nhom. 170/10-13 have succumbed is a denial of some belief fundamental to Christian eschatology -- the resurrection of the dead, the immortality of the soul, the judgement and eternal damnation of the wicked -- it must be admitted that to say that the phrase at bíta gras here refers specifically to the dissolution of the soul can be no more than a conjecture. The main difficulty facing this interpretation is that the meaning "to bite the dust" for the phrase at bíta gras is not attested elsewhere in Old West Norse. Another problem however, is posed by the homilist's remarks at 170/23-25:

> Nu mætte ognasc þessor harðyrði þęir er dvalder ero i drambe hęims þessa. ok hyggiasc á manu lifa. En fyrr kømr oft dauða snara umm hals oss en sialfa oss vare.

Are both groups of misbelievers, "þęir er drucnaðir ero i dulnaðar hafe, eða syslu heims þessa", and "þęir er dvalder ero i drambe hęims þessa", to be considered as one, or is each criticized for a different error -- the first for believing in the dissolution of the soul at death, the second for giving death no thought whatsoever?

Whatever the author of the sermon may have had in mind, it seems safe to say that his criticisms in this passage are directed generally against those who do not devote sufficient attention to their spiritual welfare and to the fate of their souls. In fact, in light of this general theme, it may be possible to read the statement "væl ma min sál a bita gras með aðrum sálom" in another way -- as an emblem of spiritual negligence.

The image of lost souls grazing seems peculiarly well suited to a denunciation of this sort of fatal neglect of the needs of one's soul. Those who irrationally (or arrogantly) reject the tenets of the Christian faith are often compared, in religious tracts of the Middle Ages, to the mindless herd of cattle. The author of the "pseudo-Wulfstan" homily

already cited complains of the stolidity of those who refuse to believe in the joys of heaven simply because they are difficult to comprehend:

> ...ac ealles to lytel andgyt bið þeah on ðæs mannes heortan, þe nele soðes gelyfan he sylf his agenum eagum eal ne gesawe, þæt soðes is geworden. la, hwæt byð betweonan mannes and nytenes andgyte, gyf he nat ne witan nele, butan þæt he on starað?[27]

And an even more vociferous censure of the bovine abdication of reason of which the faithless are guilty is found in another Old English text, The Poetical Dialogues of Solomon and Saturn:

> Unlæde bið on eorþan, un[n]it lifes,
> wesðe wisdomes, weallað swa nieten,
> feldgongende feoh butan gewitte[28]
> se þurh ðone cantic ne can Crist geherian,
> warað windes full...[29]

I fear that I too have gone blackberrying in my search for analogues which might elucidate the use of the bíta gras phrase in Nhom. I hope, however, that some of the material examined here may help to suggest possible ways of interpreting this curious passage.

1. Indrebø, Nhom., *5; Gunnes, 182. Indrebø also notes (*40) that of this interpolated material, "fyrste luten er avskrift etter rygsk fyrelag, og siste luten, Sermo ad populum, etter trøndsk". The ms. from which these pages were taken was probably roughly contemporary with Nhom. (see Trygve Knudsen, introduction to Gammelnorsk Homiliebok etter AM 619 Qv., CCNMÆ, Quarto Serie. I [1952], 20-25).

2. Indrebø, Nhom., *58.

3. Ibid., *59. Trygve Knudsen (op. cit., 27) suggests that the title of the sermon itself may give one reason to suspect that it is an "original composition":

> ...det er overveiende sannsynlig at de original forfattede norske prekener er å søke først og fremst i kategorien sermones necessariae, fordi disse tekster mer enn de andre skyldes situasjonbestemte behov ... Derfor står tre prekener særlig sterkt i den hjemmegruppe G. Indrebø har stillet opp: første Sermo ad Populum (17a [Nhom. 35/16-38/4]), "Klokkeprekenen" (Sermo ad Populum, 34b [Nhom. 71/1-73/5]) og dommedagsprekenen på innskuddsbladene...

Erik Gunnes, on the other hand (182), suspects that the homily's stylized introduction, with its attractive captatio benevolentiae, may be based on a Latin model even though it incorporates a Scandinavian proverb:

> De aller første linjene er tydelig af norrøn opprinnelse, mens den egentlige innledningen synes a forråde en latinsk original. Denne originalen er ukjent, men tematikken er velkjent nok.

On the simile of the crippled bird see above, p. 470.

4. See, e.g., Rhetorica Ad Herennium IV, xliii, 55: "Sermocinatio est... in qua constituetur alicuius personae oratio adcommodata ad dignitatem..." (Cf. IV, lii, 65: H: Lausberg, Elemente der Literarischen Rhetorik [6. Aufl., 1979] §§ 432-433).

5. On the reference to refr see above p. 157.

6. The "drowning" metaphor itself is, of course, a Christian commonplace. See above, pp. 472-3.

7. Knudsen suggests that the appearance of the "preposition" á in the phrase in Nhom. may be due to a scribal misunderstanding:

> Det er...fristende å tenke seg at han [i.e., skriveren] har vært lite fortrolig med tostavelsesordet for "sjel", sala, så endelsen for ham er blitt til preposisjon (á) i forbindelsen væl ma min sál a bita gras með aðrum sálom..."

(op. cit., 22). Sála is, in fact, Unger's reading (Gammel Norsk Homiliebog [1864], 212/29), and this is the form more commonly used by the scribes of the rest of Nhom. (see Anne Holtsmark, Ordforrådet... [1955], 515-516).

8. None of the lexicographers cited refer to the use of the phrase in Nhom.

9. Cf., e.g., Ps. Rabanus Maurus (Garnier de Rochefort), Allegoriae in Sacram Scripturam, s.v. Herba (PL 112, 952B-C):

> ...Per herbas gaudia æterna, ut in Jeremia [recte Exekiel 34:14]: "Ibi requiescunt in herbis virentibus [et in pascuis pinguibus], quod electi quietem habebunt in gaudiis immarcescibilibus...

and commentaries on John 10:9, "per me si quis introierit salvabitur...et pascua inveniet": Augustine, CCSL 36, 397/40-41 (cf. Ps. Bede, PL 92, 765D-766A; Alcuin, PL 100, 886B), "...pascua inuenit, cui dictum est: Hodie mecum eris in paradiso"; Alan of Lille, Distinctiones..., s.v. Pascua, PL 210, 893B, "...Dicitur etiam vita æterna."

10. See also Grimm, D.W., s.v. Beissen: "...in das gras, in die erde beiszen, mordre la poussière, von menschen gesagt, sterben müssen, wie die kraut, erde und staub oft einander vertreten..."; O.D.S., s.v. bide, v., 1.1: bide i græsset; M.E.D., s.v. biten, v., 1 (10), biten the gres," c 1330 (? a 1300) Arth. & M. 7107: þai...sexten þousende to grounde slowe, Mani mouþe þe gres bot"; Ibid. s.v. gras, n., "4. (a) gnauen-, to bite the dust; fall dead... c 1400 (? a 1300) KAlex. 2370: Many knigth wiþ depes wounde Gnoug þe gras on þe grounde."

11. Saxo would appear to elaborate on the expression in his hyperbolic accound of the death of Starkatherus (Gesta Danorum VIII, ed. A. Holder [1886], 274/3-5):

> ...Quod corpori auulsum impactumque terre glebam morsu carpisse fertur, ferocitatem animi moribundi oris atrocitate declarans...

Unfortunately, the commentary of Paul Hermann (Erläuterungen zu den ersten neun Büchern der dänischen Geschichte des Saxo Grammaticus [1922], 566) is not helpful here.

12. See H. Denzinger, Enchiridion Symbolorum Definitionum et Declarationum de Rebus Fidei et Morum (ed. 35 by A. Schönmetzer, 1973), art. 1440, "Sessio VIII, 19 Dec. 1513 [Fifth Lateran Council]: Bulla 'Apostolici regiminis'. De anima humana doctrina contra Neo-Aristotelicos". Milton McC. Gatch (Death: Meaning and Mortality in Christian Thought and Contemporary Cultures [1969], 35, 64ff.) has argued, though not entirely convincingly, that a doctrine of the immortality of the soul is not, in fact, presumed in Scripture, and is largely an innovation of Patristic theology.

13. Origin cites Rev. 9:6, "Et in diebus illis quaerent homines mortem, et non invenient eam: et desiderabunt mori, et fugiet mors ab eis," in

confutation of those who believe that the human soul is dissolved in death (see J. Scherer, ed., Entretien d'Origène avec Héraclide, Sources Chrétiennes 67 [1960], 77-79). Cf., e.g., Bruno of Segni, In Apocalypsim, PL 165, 625D.

It is also interesting to compare a passage in another of the sermones ad populum in Nhom. (the so-called "Church-bell homily"), in which the author again makes use of sermocinatio to draw attention to the error of those who refuse to accept the notion of eternal damnation (Nhom. 71/30-33):

> ...En þetta mæler margr maðr hvat man ec mæir en brenna þa allr ok verða þa at engu siðan. Sa hygr mykin hægóma. þvi at margr myndi vilia a æinum dægi opt at vettoge værða ef costr være þes. En æigi være æilífar qvalar ef endir yrði á.

14. The author of the second homily for All Saints Day in Sthom. concludes his digression on Antichrist with an exhortation to beware not only the "General Judgement" on the Last Day, but also the "Particular Judgement" which occurs at death (Sthom. 155/34-156/2):

> ...sva er sem hveriom comi dómadagr þegar er hann andasc. fyr [þui] at veít hueR þa þegar siN hluta. hvárt hann scal helvitis qvalar hafa þár es alldrege scal þrióta. eþa scal hann hafa hreinsonar elld nęcqveria stund. oc þav mæinláte es af honom breNi enar smæri synþer þár er hann hever óbøtar áþr hann andisc.

15. The use of the term ótrú also perhaps suggests that the sinners are castigated for their failure to accept a basic tenet of the Christian faith. (The word regularly translates infidelitas, occasionally incredulitas, dubietas; see Walter, Lex. Lehn., 97.)

16. A.S. Napier, ed., Wulfstan: Sammlung der ihm zugeschriebenen Homilien... (1883, rpt. 1967), I. 5/7-16. No specific source for this passage is mentioned in Klaus Ostheeren's notes on the text (Ibid., 329-330). Dorothy Bethurum favours attributing this section of the sermon to Wulfstan himself (see her edition, The Homilies of Wulfstan [1957], 41-42).

17. No parallel for this passage is found in the principal sources for this section of the sermon, Bede I.11, "In Octava Nativitatis Domini", CCSL 122, 73-79 (see M. Förster, Anglia 16 [1894], 20 § 74; C. Smetana, Traditio 15 [1959], 185). Ælfric refers frequently to the soulless condition of beasts; see, e.g., CH I. 16/7ff.; 18/26-27, cf. 20/1-6; 276/2-3; 302/16-17, "Nytenu lybbað and habbað felnysse, butan gesceade: hi nabbað nan gescead, forðan ðe hi sind sawullease" (cf. Gr. 29 in Ev., PL 76, 1214B, "Bruta...animalia sunt, vivunt, sentiunt, sed non discernunt"; Leifar 23/12-13, "Cyqvendi ero oc lifa oc ceNa sin. en scilia eigi scvnsemi"); CH II 324/10-19.

18. On this text see, e.g., T.A. Shippey, Poems of Wisdom and Learning in Old English (1976), 29-36, and bibliographical references.

19. See, e.g., R.W. Ackerman, "The Debate of the Body and the Soul and Parochial Christianity", Speculum 37 (1962), 541-565. and bibl.; A.B. van Os, Religious Visions: the development of the eschatological elements in mediaeval English religious literature (1932), 205-208.

20. Nhom. 148/17-153/23. See Gunnes, 182-183; Ole Widding and Hans Bekker-Nielsen, "A Debate of the Body and the Soul in Old Norse Literature", MS 21 (1959), 272-289. Both the Visio Philiberti and Un Samedi Par Nuit are dated to the twelfth century, but arguments in favour of the priority of the Old

French poem are presented by Gaston Paris, review of G. Kleinert, Über den Streit zwischen Leib und Seele, Romania 9 (1880), 313, and J.D. Bruce, "A Contribution to the Study of The Body and the Soul Poems in English", MLN 5 (1890), 200.

21. Thedor Batiouchkof, "Le Débat de l'Âme et du Corps", Romania 20 (1891) 522-523, observes that the Visio Philiberti stands alone in having the soul deliver its lines on the felix conditio brutorum with reference to its own fate rather than that of the body. The general idea, however -- that the human body and soul will together be tormented for the sins they have committed conjointly -- is clearly the same in all the versions.

22. See also Ælfric, "Sanctorum Alexandri Euentii et Theodoli", CH II, 308/15-17:

> ...Alexander ða wiscte, "Eala gif ðu wære hund! Hund is sawulleas, and on helle ne ðrowað. Se man þe forsihð his Scyppend on life, sceal æfre ðrowian on ecum tintregum."

and perhaps Íslendzk Æventyri, Formáli B, ll. 7-10:

> En ef maðr hneigiz frá góðu ok gjörir samlag með illzkunni, þá leggr hann sinn háls í snöru fjándans ok er miklu aumari en þat kvikendi er úti gengr ok alldri matti fá skynsamliga önd...

It is illustrative of the longevity of the motif that it crops up again in Marlowe's Doctor Faustus (V, 2, 170-177):

> Why wert thou not a creature wanting soul?
> Or why is this immortal that thou hast?
> Ah, Pythagoras' metempsychosis - were that true,
> This soul should fly from me, and I be changed
> Unto some brutish beast.
> All beasts are happy, for when they die,
> Their souls are soon dissolved in elements;
> But mine must live still to be plagued in hell.

23. The Canterbury Tales, C 403-406, ed. F.N. Robinson, The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer (2nd ed., 1957), 149.

24. Peter Idley's Instructions..., ed. Charlotte D'Evelyn, MLA Monograph Series 6 (1935), II. 1237-44; 1807-13. D'Evelyn provides no explanatory note for either line. The whole of Book II of the Instructions is based on Robert Mannyng's Handlyng Synne (see E.J. Arnould, Le Manuel des Péchés. Étude de Littérature Religieuse Anglo-Normande [1940], 335-355); and while ll. 1219-1225 of that work are a clear source for ll. 1237-41 of Idley's Instructions, they do not contain the same "pastoral" image (ed. F.J. Furnivall, E.E.T. S., O.S. 119 [1901, rpt. 1973]):

> Of alle wykked men þat men calle
> Þe fals executours be werst of alle;
> For þey ne reche how þe soule fare,
> And mennys owne eyres werst wyþ hem are.
> Y tolde erhwyle, for no socour
> Þou makē þyn eyre þyn executour;
> For alle þat was langere þy catel,
> He halt hyt hys euery deyl.

25. In his article, "On the Meaning of 'A-Blakeberyed' (Canterbury Tales, C406)" (Review of English Studies, N.S. 2 [1951] 372), James Cross runs through some of the interpretations of that phrase suggesed by editors of the Pardoner's Tale:

> Editorial comment has hitherto been directed mainly to the form of "a-blakeberyed", and suggestions on its meaning have been very tentative. Whereas translators usually ignore the secondary meaning, leaving the reader to draw his own conclusion, editors have recognized the need for explanation. Skeat glosses the word "a-wandering at will, astray", and translates in his notes "though their souls wander wherever they like", suggesting a "not very dissimilar expression" in "his wits are gone a-woolgathering". Pollard and Barber note the phrase as meaning "wander idly about". Robinson, in his notes,

suggests "wandering at large". Manly makes no attempt at explanation, but says that this phrase is "no doubt current slang".

Cross himself argues from an examination of dialect words for "blackberry" and "to go blackberrying" that the line means, "I care not, when they are buried, though their souls play truant" (374). A.S.C. Ross discusses an illusory Modern English example of the phrase in Notes and Queries (Aug. 1973), 284-285.

26. It is not unlikely that the phrase in Idley's Instructions owes something to the notion that the souls of sinners in purgatory for whom no prayers are said wander in waste places until their crimes are expiated. See, e.g., Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens, I. 585, "Arme Seelen"; F. Tubach, Index Exemplorum (1969), 4523, "Soul heard wailing in the woods" (cf. J.A. Herbert, ed., Catalogue of Romances in the British Museum, vol. 3 [1910, rpt. 1962], 596, no. 158).

It is also worth noting in this regard that even the pastoral image of the locus pascuae could be taken in malam partem. Cf. esp. interpretations of Ps. 48:15, "Sicut oues in inferno positae, mors pastor est eis": Augustine, CCSL 38, 562/2ff.; Ps. Rufinus, PL 21, 842C; Cassiodorus PL 70, 345C-D; Ps. Rabanus (Garnier de Rochefort), PL 112, 1015B (s.v. ovis); Haymo, PL 117, 363D-364A.

27. Napier, ed., Wulfstan, I, 3/19-4/2.

28. Cf. the use of the same alliterative formula in "Soul and Body I", l. 81, "Soul and Body II", l. 76, cit. above, p.670.

29. text B, ll. 21-25, ed. R.J. Menner, MLA Monograph Series 13 [1941],

One model for similitudes of this sort was, of course, the story of the metamorphosis of Nebuchadnezzar in the fourth chapter of the Book of Daniel. In the Old English poem, Daniel, Nebuchadnezzar's transformation

is interpreted specifically as a punishment for his haughty incredulity (Daniel and Azarias, ed. R.T. Farrell [1974], ll. 574-79):

> Ne bið þec mælmete nymþe mores græs,
> ne rest witod, ac þec regna scur
> weceð and wreceð swa wildu deor,
> oðþæt þu ymb seofon winter soð gelyfest,
> þæt sie an metod eallum mannum,
> reccend and rice, se on roderum is.

Similarly, Ps. 48:13, "et homo, cum in honore esset, non intellexit, comparatus est iumentis insipientibus, et similis factus est illis ", was regularly discussed in terms of man's abdication of reason in sin, and of his betrayal of the divine image in which he was made. Cf., e.g., Cassiodorus, PL 70, 344D-345A; Augustine, CCSL 38, 563-564; Ps. Rufinus, PL 21, 842A-B; Ps. Bede, PL 93, 739C; Glossa Ordinaria PL 113, 915D; Ælfric, Suppl. II. XVI, 58-71 (cf. CH I.96, cit. above, p.669)

Jacques de Vitry tells an amusing story of a man who, feeling his sins had made him no better than a beast, presumptuously sought to atone for them in a bestial manner (T.F. Crane, ed., The Exempla...of Jacques de Vitry [1890, rpt. 1971], 21-22, no. LV):

> Audivi de quodam qui, ut faceret penitentiam, sicut assimilatus fuerat bestiis in peccando ita assimilari voluit bestiis in edendo, et mane surgens sine manibus herbam pascebat et frequenter in die taliter comedebat. Cumque diu hoc fecessit [sic] cepit cogitare in mente de quo ordine angelorum esse deberet qui tantam faciebat penitentiam et responsum est ei per angelum: "Tali vita non meruisti esse de ordine angelorum sed potius de ordine asinorum." Teste utique B[ernardo]: Qui non vixerit ut homo vivet ut bestia. Hic igitur indiscretione cecidit in presumptionem.

Bovine comparisons are, of course, often employed in secular texts as well to describe subnormal intelligence. In a skaldic stanza inserted, in some manuscripts, into chapter 44 of Njáls saga, Sigmundr Lambason and his followers are disparagingly referred to as grasbítir (Skjd B II,

214, "Uægte vers af Njálssaga", st. 12):

> þeir hafa, seima særir,
> smíðandar drafníða
> (geystr vinnk geira róstu)
> grasbíta skyn lítit.

The use of the word grasbítr in this verse is inspired by the surrounding prose dialogue, in which Skarpheðinn puns on Sigmundr's patronym (ÍF 12 [1954], 115/2-4):

> ...Hann mælti: "Hvert skal fara, Skarpheðinn?" "Leita sauða þinna," segir hann. [verse] Njáll mælti: "Ekki mundu þér þá vera vápnaðir, ef þér ætlaðið þat, ok mun annat vera ørendit."

Cf., too the description of Helgi, the idiot son of Ingjaldr í Hergilsey, in Gísla saga Súrssonar (ÍF 6 [1943], 79/7-10):

> ...var afglapi sem mestr mátti vera ok fífl; honum var sú umbúð veitt, at raufarsteinn var bundinn við hálsinn, ok beit hann gras úti sem fénaðr ok er kallaðr Ingjaldsfífl...

Chapter seven:

The Old Icelandic homily on the Apostles -- some possible sources, and sources for Vrátný's sources.

In his seminal article, "Enthält das Stockholmer Homilienbuch durchweg Übersetzungen?", Karel Vrátný sought to demonstrate that many texts in Sthom. could safely be regarded as original Scandinavian compositions in spite of their dependence on Latin models. Among his examples Vrátný included the sermon "Postola mál" (Sthom. 15/14 - 19/33), intended for the feast day of any apostle.[1] Vrátný argued that an Icelandic author was probably responsible for the construction of this text and its sequence of ideas, even though the ideas themselves were undoubtedly borrowed from Latin sources:

> Das Gedankengerippe und der Gedankengang rührt zweifelsohne von dem heimischen Prediger her. Er hat aber dieses Gerippe sinnreich mit verschiedenen Stellen aus den Kirchenvätern oder aus den Evangelien bekleidet und an zwei Stellen fremde Gedanken weiter ausgearbeitet.[2]

Exigencies of space prevented Vrátný from investigating thoroughly the sources of more than a few of the entries in Sthom., but he was able to identify Latin analogues for two parts of this sermon. Unfortunately, his own references to these analogues are frustratingly vague, and before attempting to uncover the sources used by the Icelandic homilist one is obliged to identify those used by Vrátný himself.

Concerning the third section of "Postola mál" - the treatment of the meanings of the names of the apostles and their application to moral behaviour - Vrátný notes,

> Der Gedanke ist entweder aus dem Homiliare Pauli Diaconi oder direkt aus Beda geschöpft, doch die lateinische Vorlage berücksichtigt nur vier Apostelnamen (Petrus, Andreas, Jacobus, Johannes), die isländische Predigt dagegen hat den Gedanken an allen zwölf durchgeführt (Sthom. 17/15 - 18/8).[3]

In her notes on sources for Sthom., Andrea van Arkel repeats the suggestion that the idea for this section "probably derives from Bede" but is

no more specific than Vrátný about which text she has in mind.[4] Bede discusses the significance of the names of Simon, Andrew and Peter in a homily for the third Sunday after Epiphany (I.16) and of Matthew in a homily for Lent (I.21).[5] Both of these sermons were included in the original homiliary of Paul the Deacon, the first as the entry for the Vigil of Saint Andrew (PD II.97), the second as the entry for the feast of Saint Matthew (PD II.99).[6] However, Vrátný was almost certainly thinking of another passage, in a sermon for the Octave of Saint Andrew included in the late redaction of PD printed in PL 95 (1460B-D):

> Simon Petrus, qui interpretatur obediens, sive agnoscens, et Jacobus, qui supplantator dicitur, populum Judaicum significant, qui prior per legislationem Creatorem suum agnoscens, obedire præceptis ejus promisit...Qui etiam gentilem populum supplantavit, idola contemnendo et Deum colendo. Andreas vero, qui virilis dicitur, et Joannes, qui gratia Dei interpretatur, gentilem populum designant, qui postquam ad fidem pervenit, in præceptis Dei viriliter ambulare studuit... Moraliter quoque quatuor nomina ista in se unusquisque fidelium valet recognoscere, si illorum interpretationes in quatuor principalibus virtutibus studuerit observare. Est enim unusquisque fidelis Simon Petrus, cum per prudentiam agnoscit propria peccata, et, his deletis, mandatis divinis fortem exhibet obedientiam. Est Andreas, cum viriliter per temperantiam sustinet tentationes sibi illatas. Jacobus quoque non indebite dicitur, si per fortitudinem vitia supplantare probatur. Convenienter etiam Joannes nominare potest, si per justitiam mandata Creatoris adimplens, nil sibi deputat sed cuncta bonorum omnium largitori assignat. Quisquis ergo ad patriam cœlestem venire desiderat, studeat necesse est cum Simone Petro, qui interpretatur agnoscens sive obediens, præceptis obedire divinis, et propria recognoscere peccata, dicens cum propheta: *Quoniam iniquitatem meam ego cognosco (Psal. L)*. Curet etiam cum Andrea virili tentationibus diaboli viriliter resistere, et cum Jacobo supplantatore omni fortitudine vitia supplantare. Satagat quoque de bonis suis actibus, bonorum omnium largitori actiones gratiarum cum Joanne, qui interpretatur gratia Dei, rependere, ut bonum quod agit non sibi, sed Deo, per omnia deputans, ab ipso in futuro remunerari mereatur...[7]

This sermon was taken by the compiler of the late version of PD from the homiliary of Heiric of Auxerre († c. 876).[8] The treatment of the names of the first four apostles in Heiric's text is not, however, unique, and variant versions of the onomastic passage cited above (complete with "moral application") can be found in sermons for the feast of Saint Andrew by Smaragdus of Saint-Mihiel[9] and Haymo of Auxerre.[10] Ælfric of Eynsham, too, drew on a text of this kind in his exposition of the significance of the names Simon, Peter, Andrew, James and John in his homily for the Nativity of Saint Andrew.[11]

The section on the names in the Icelandic sermon resembles these texts more in its general method than in particular details.[12] Most notably, as Vrátný remarks, the Icelandic preacher extends his treatment to the names of all twelve apostles. Here he may have relied on a general exposition of the meanings of the names of the apostles like those provided by Isidore (Etymologiae 7, 9, 1-21) and Rabanus Maurus (De Universo, IV, 1, PL 111, 85B-88C).[13]

Vrátný's reference to an analogue for the fourth section of "Postola mál", on the significance of the four approaches to the Heavenly Jerusalem, is still more obscure. Again, he claims to have found his source in PD, but this time he cites the passage concerned in full:

> ...Den Gedanken hat er wiederum aus dem Homiliare Pauli Diaconi genommen (Dominica in Septuagesima), hat ihn aber selbstständig verarbeitet. Die lateinische Homilie bezieht sich auf die Parabel von den Arbeitern auf dem Weinberge und es heisst dort: "Has autem horarum sive ætatum distinctiones illæ quoque illius templi portæ significare videntur, de quibus in Apocalypsi Ioannes Apostolus ait: Ab oriente portæ tres etc. [Rev. 21:13]...In hoc templum pueri et infantes et primo mane et per portas orientis ingrediuntur; adolescentes autem intrant hora tertia et per angustas difficilesque magis portas aquilonis. Intrant autem per portas australes iuvenes et senes ...Per portas vero occidentales non solum decrepiti senes ingrediuntur verum etiam quicunque in qualibet ætate ad bonum per poenitentiam con-

vertuntur". Man sieht, der Gedanke ist hier, aber die isländische Predigt hat ihn verteift und zugleich ein wenig umgestaltet.[14]

Andrea van Arkel, apparently following Vrátný's suggestion that the source for the discussion of the gates is the entry in PD for Dominica in Septuagesima, notes that the whole passage is "a free reworking of Gregory the Great's 19th homily".[15] Gregory 19 In Ev., on the parable of the vineyard (Matt. 20:1-16) is indeed included in PD as the second item for Septuagesima Sunday[16]; and this homily does contain a passage much like section four of "Postola mál", in which the various times at which the labourers in the parable begin their work are compared to the "four ages" of man's life, and to the times, early and late, at which men' may be drawn to the path of virtue.[17] The passage cited by Vrátný, however, is not to be found in Gregory's homily, nor does Gregory make any reference to the heavenly gates of Rev. 21:12-13.

In fact, Vrátný's passage is taken word for word from a different sermon for Septuagesima Sunday which also expounds the parable of the vineyard - the twenty-second homily of Bruno of Segni (PL 165, 770B-772C). The first section of this text is reproduced from Bruno's Matthew commentary,[19] but the last section, beginning with the passage cited by Vrátný (PL 165, 771Dff.,)[20] does not form part of that work. The main ideas for Bruno's treatment of the four sets of gates in his Septuagesima homily are, however, also found in his commentary on Revelation (PL 165, 722A-B):

> ...Ab oriente tamen illi venire intelligi possunt, qui in ipsa primæv ætate ad fidem conversi in Christi ecclesia Domino militant; qui verc ab adolescentia convertuntur, per portas aquilonis ingrediuntur... Illi autem per australes portas intrant, qui in juventute conversi zelo fidei et charitatis amore succenduntur...At vero illis ab occasu portæ patent, qui in senectute pœnitere et Christo servire incipiunt...[21]

Bruno's homily is not included in the late redaction of PD printed by Migne, but is found (attributed to Eusebius of Emesa)[22] in the massive collection printed by the Carthusian Laurentius Surius under the title Thesaurus Homiliarum sen Concionum...ab Alcuino Flacco, iussa Caroli Magni primum acri indicio erutus... (Coloniae, 1604, p.182a). This homiliary (based ultimately on PD) also contains the sermon of Heiric of Auxerre for the Octave of Saint Andrew which has the excursus on the names of Peter, Andrew, James and John cited above.[23] In fact, it is not unlikely that when Vrátný speaks of the inclusion of these two homilies in "Paul the Deacon's homiliary" it is to Surius' collection that he refers.[24]

The passage from Bruno's homily cited by Vrátný cannot, of course, be regarded as the sole, or even an exact model for section four of "Postola mál".[25] That the Icelandic homilist also had in mind the passage on the "ages of man" from Gregory's nineteenth gospel homily (as Andrea van Arkel suggested) is apparent from his exploitation of Gregory's "solar" analogy. Cf, e.g., Sthom. 18/23-29 with PL 76,1155B:

...En þeir ró sumer es a fultíþa aldre snuasc til guþs fra synþom. þeir merkia miþian dag er sol [er] í suþre. oc es þa mest megan dagsens sem maNzens a þeím aldre...	Sexta vero juventus est, quia velut in centro sol figitur, dum in ea plenitudo roboris solidatur.
Sumer bíþa ęlle oc taka þa at leíþas synþer es þeir taka at møþasc at líkams afle. sicut dagreN es sól es í vestre kólnar þa es solen lęgesc. sva kólnar licamr maNs eNs i elleNe oc óstyrkesc...[26]	Nona autem senectus intelligitur, in qua sol velut ab alto axe descendit, quia ea ætas a calore juventutis deficit.

Again, however, the parallels with Gregory's homily are too general to suggest that the Icelandic author translated directly from this text. It seems far more likely that details from both homilies were recalled as links in a chain of associations: the conventional identifi-

cation of the teachings of the twelve apostles with the twelve gates of the heavenly Jerusalem[27] may have prompted a reminiscence of the passage on the gates from Bruno's homily, which in turn could have triggered an association with Gregory's well-known interpretation of the parable of the vineyard.[28]

A few Latin parallels can also be identified for passages in the Old Icelandic homily not discussed by Vrátný. The opening sentence would appear to be based on the first words of a homily "In natali apostolorum" attributed to Rabanus Maurus[29]:

Sthom. 15/14-17	Hom.35, PL 110,66D (cf. PL 39,2156D)
Allar hótiþer heilagra guþs vátta eigom vér ástsamlega at dýrka góþer brøþr. en allra reokelegast scolom ver gæfga hotíþer postola guþs. er hǫfþingiarró allrar cristne.[30] oc foryisto savþer guþs hiarþar.	Si omnium sanctorum martyrum grata nobis debet esse solemnitas, fratres charissimi, quanto gratior eorum qui præsentem secuti sunt principem martyrum: si agnorum, quanto magis arietum.

Sthom. 16/5-19 can be compared with a passage from the same homily; both texts treat the same scriptural verses, though not in the same order:

	PL 110,67C-D (PL 39,2157B)
Sva mæler dominus viþ postola. huatke es ér biNdiþ a iorþo scal buNdet a himne. oc huatke es ér leyset a iorþo. scal laust á himne vesa. Mikillar tígnar es þat er dominus veítte postolom sínom. at þeir scylde ráþa boþe oc baNe yver alla cristne. sva at fyr þeim vere uploket himinriki es þeir villde vplúka. en fyr þeim byrgt es þeir vilia byrgia. En mæler dominus sva viþ postola sina. Ér eroþ liós heims oc ér eroþ sallt iarþar. Maclega kallasc postolar liós. þuiat keNingar. þeira lýsto of allan	... Eisdem ait item alio loco: *Quæcunque alligaveritis super terram, erunt ligata et in cœlo (Matth.XVIII)* Item alibi *(Matth.XIX)*, sciscitanti Petro quid sibi et sociis suis profuisset reliquisse omnia et sequi Redemptorem, respondit dicens: *Amen dico vobis quod vos qui secuti estis me, in regeneratione cum sederit Filius hominis in sede majestatis suæ, sedebitis et vos super sedes duodecim judicantes duodecim tribus Israel.* Isti sunt lux mundi *(Matth.V)*, quia per ipsos lumen fidei et veræ scien-

heim. þa er áþr vǫro i villo myrkre. Jorþ kallasc hiorto iarþlegra manna. en þat funar eige er saltat es. Postolar kallasc sallt iarþar. þuiat keningar þeira styrkþo iarþleg hiorto at þa funaþe eige af saure. þesser .xij. postolar ero dómendr ǫ́rer er of oss scolo dǫma meþ criste a enom efpta dege. svasem hann mæler siálfr viþ þá. Ér es fylgoþ mér monvþ sitia yver .xij. domstólom. oc dǫma of .xij. kyn israel.[31]

tiæ primum Dominus huic mundo tradidit, et ab errorum ac peccatorum tenebris gentes et populos eruit. Isti sunt sal terræ, quia per ipsos terrigenæ condimentum saporis vitæ æternæ perceperunt, ut restringerent carnis lasciviam, et a putredine peccatorum et vitiorum vermibus servarentur illæsi.

The comparison of the twelve apostles to the hours of daylight at Sthom. 16/19-22 is not found in Rabanus' homily, but a similar passage appears in the section on the apostles in his De Universo (IV, 1, PL 111, 73B):

Maclega valþe dominus ser .xij. postola þuiat dominus kallasc eN saNe dagr a bókom. En .xij. stunder dags merkia .xij. postola es domino fylgþo sem stunder dags.

Et sicut dies duodecim horis ab ortu solis usque ad occasum volvitur, ita dies verus Christus per duodecim apostolos suos ad inchoationem rectæ conversationis, quod per ortum solis intelligitur, suos illustrat fideles.[32]

The commentary on Isaiah 60:8 at Sthom. 16/22-30 is taken from Gregory's fifth gospel homily, "In natale beati Andreæ" (PL 76,1094C-1095A):

...þessa sa spameN [sic] guþs vine... fyrer helgom aNda. þa es hann mæler. hvererro þesser er fliúgia sem ský oc sva sem dúfor viþ glugga síNa. Postolar kallasc sem fliugendr. þuiat þeir hófo upp hugscot sín til himnescra hluta fra iarþlegom. oc veitto hiortom heyranda ástsamlegar

...Quos bene Isaias intuens, ait: Qui sunt isti, qui ut nubes volant, et quasi columbæ ad fenestras suas? Vidit quippe terrena eos dispicere, mente cœlestibus propinquare, verbis pluere, miraculis coruscare. Et quos a terrenis contagiis sancta prædicatio et sublimis vita suspenderat,

keNingar sva sem regn ýr skýiom gefr ár a iorþ. Dufor kallasc þeir viþ Glugga sína. þuiat þeir lito einfaoldom augem til allra hluta þeira es þeir sáo a iorþo. oc girnþosc þeir einegra hluta likamlegra.	hos volantes pariter et nubes appellat. Fenestræ autem nostri sunt oculi, quia per ipsos anima respicit quod exterius concupiscit. Columba vero simplex est animal, atque a malitia fellis alienum. Quasi columbæ ergo ad fenestras suas sunt, qui nihil in hoc mundo concupiscunt, qui omnia simpliciter aspiciunt, et in his quæ vident rapacitatis studio non trahuntur.[33]

The identification of these additional Latin parallels does not, of course, diminish the validity of Vrátný's suggestion that "Postola mál" is an original vernacular composition. On the contrary, it is probably more reasonable to interpret the pastiche of source material described above as a testimony to the capacious memory of the Icelandic homilist. As Vrátný pointed out, the art of the medieval preacher (as of his latter-day counterpart) is unabashedly eclectic:

> ...Es war ihnen [i.e., den isländischen Priestern] geläufig (ausser den eigentlichen theologischen) eine Menge von verschiedenen kleinen Kentnissen, wie sie auch uns, heutigen Priestern, vielfach geläufig sind, z.B. verschiedene liturgische Erklärungen, symbolische Deutungen, viele Schriftstellen und Stellen aus den Kirchenvätern oder anderen kirchlichen Schriftstellern, aus dem Brevier und dem Messbuch, lauter Dinge, die man liest oder hört, die man dann gelegentlich reproducieren kann, ohne immer angeben zu können, wo man eben dies oder jenes gelesen oder gehört hat. Mit solchen Gedanken und Kentnissen können wir unsere Ansprachen und Predigten durchweben und ausschmücken, ohne dass unsere Rede dadurch aufhört eine selbstständige Arbeit zu sein. Das gleiche kann, und in noch grösserem Masse, auch von den Priestern jener Zeit gelten, deren Bücher- und überhaupt Quellenvorrat mehr beschränkt war, aber eben infolgedessen in ihrem Gedächtnisse tiefere Spuren hinterlassen konnte.[34]

The Icelandic sermon on the apostles is an admirable example of the ability of an early homilist to construct from the learned lumber stored in his retentive memory a whole greater than its constituent parts.

1. Cf. Sthom. 19/5, "alz ver hældom: dag hotíþ .N.N. postola...". The sermon can be divided into five sections:

1. (15/15 - 16/2) an introduction in which the congregation is reminded that of all the celebrations in honour of God's saints, those in memory of the apostles, who are at once the "rams" and the "pastors" of God's flock, should be observed most conscientiously. (All the apostles are honoured when the feast day of any one of them is observed.)

2. (16/3 - 17/4) a series of interpretations of biblical verses relating to the apostles: their power to bind and loose (Matt. 16:19, 18:18); Christ's reference to his disciples as "the light of the world", "the salt of the earth" (Matt. 5:13-14), the twelve judges over the tribes of Israel (Matt. 19:28); Isaiah's allusion to "those that fly as a cloud and as the doves do to their windows" (Is. 60:8); the twelve gates of the heavenly Jerusalem which represent the apostolic teachings (Rev. 21:12), etc.

3. (17/4 - 18/11) a discussion of the meanings, literal and tropological, of the names of the apostles.

4. (18/11 - 19/4) an excursus on the significance of the twelve gates: the four approaches to the heavenly city represent the four stages in life at which men turn to God.

5. (19/5 - 33) an exhortatory conclusion which sums up the main points of the sermon: the congregation is enjoined to love the apostles and to pray for their assistance, to observe their teachings and remember their deeds, to endeavour to enter the city of heaven by one of its gates, and, as God's flock, to turn to their shepherds, the apostles, for deliverance from the gaping jaws of the wolf, Satan.

2. ANF 32 (1916), 43.

3. Ibid., 43

4. The manuscript Sthom. Perg. 15, 4to (Utrecht doctoral thesis, 1977), 12.

5. See I.16, CCSL 122, ed. D. Hurst (Turnholti, 1955), 115-116; I.21, Ibid., 149/32 - 34.

6. See Réginald Grégoire, Les Homéliaires du moyen âge, Rerum Ecclesiasticarum Documenta, Series Maior, Fontes VI (Roma, 1966), 108, and D. Hurst's notes (CCSL 122, 111n., 149n.) on the frequent use of these homilies for the feasts of Andrew and Matthew.

7. James Cross has pointed out that this expanded version of PD, which Migne reprints from the edition of Eucharius Cervicornus (Coloniae, 1539), also contains a fuller text of the Pseudo-Bede homily, "Legimus in ecclesiasticis historiis..." which was used as a source for the sermons for All Saints Day at Sthom. 39-45 (cf. Nhom. 143-147) and Sthom. 151-161 ("Ælfric and the Medieval Homiliary's Objection and Contribution", Scripta Minora Regiae Societatis Humaniorum Litterarum Lundensis, 1961-62 4 [Lund, 1963], 23, n.2; cf. Vrátný, ANF 32 (1916), 40-41, and see further above, ch. one, n.68). It is also to Cervicornus' edition that Wisén refers in his short list of parallel texts for some of the pieces in Sthom. (intro., xvii).

8. See Henri Barré, Les homéliaires carolingiens de l'école d'Auxerre, Studi e Testi 225 (Città del Vaticano, 1962), 73-85, 179 (II. 45).

9. † c. 825, PL 102, 511D-512A. Here the passage is attributed to Fulgentius.

10. † 855. PL 118, 754B-755C (Migne's ascription of the sermon to Haymo of Halberstadt is no longer accepted; see P. Glorieux, Pour réval oriser Migne. Tables rectificatives, Mélanges de Science Religieuse 9 [1952], Cahier Supplémentaire, 57); cf. Fr. Liverani, Spicilegium Liberianum (Florentiae, 1863), 511-512.

11. CH I. 586/7-27. C.R. Davis ("Two New Sources for Ælfric's Catholic Homilies," JEGP 41 [1942], 510-513) identifies Ælfric's main source for this homily, Gregory 5 in Ev., but does not discuss sources or analogues for this section, nor does Max Förster ("Über die Quellen von Ælfrics Homiliae Catholicae," Anglia 16 [1894], 1-61), nor Cyril Smetana ("Ælfric and the early medieval homiliary," Traditio 15 [1959], 195). In his article, "Ælfric and the homiliary of Haymo of Halberstadt" (Traditio 17 [1961], 461), Smetana notes that the first part of the homily (576-578) is probably based on Haymo's sermon for the feast of Saint Andrew (PL 118, 750B-C), but he overlooks the further parallel between Ælfric's and Haymo's treatments of the names of the apostles. For this section Ælfric would, in fact, appear to have recalled a text more like that of Smaragdus:

CH I. 586/12-27	cf. PL 102, 511D-512A
...þas getacnunge sceal gehwilc cristen mann on his drohtnunge eallunga healdan. Petrus, þæt getacnað, "oncnawende," forðan ðe he oncneow Crist mid soðum geleafan, þaða he cwæð, "Þu eart Crist, ðæs lifigendan Godes Sunu." Untwylice se ðe God rihtlice oncnæwð, and him gehyrsumað, he hylt on his drohtnunge	...Nam et hæc quatuor nomina in moribus uniuscujusque hominis continentur, Simon obediendo Deo, Petrus agnoscendo peccatum suum [cf. Haymo, PL 118, 754C: ... Petrus enim, qui a quibusdam agnoscens interpretatur, prudentiam significat...Hanc virtutem

þyssera twegra namena getacnunge. Gif he ðegenlice, for Godes naman, earfoðnysse forberð, and werlice deofles costnungum wiðstent, ðonne gefylð he on his ðeawum Andres getacnunge, þe is gereht "ðegenlic". Iacob is gecweden "forscrencend," and se bið unleas forscrencend, þe mid gleawnysse his flæsclican leahtras, and deofles tihtinge forscrencð. Iohannes is gecweden "Godes gifu." Se bið gelimplice Godes gifu geciged, þe ðurh gode geearnunga Godes gife begyt, to ði þæt he his beboda geornlice gefylle.

in se habuit, qui corde, hominem videns, Deum cognovit, dicens: "Tu es Christus filius Dei vivi" (Matt. 16:16)], Andreas viriliter sustinendo labores, Jacob vitia carnis supplantando, Joannes Dei gratiam suscipiendo habentur. Sive hæc quatuor nomina pro quatuor principalibus intelligenda sunt virtutibus. Tunc enim unusquisque obediens est, cum prudentiam agnoscendi peccata habuerit. Tunc virilis est cum temperantiam sustinendi laborem apprehenderit. Tunc supplantator, cum fortitudinem vincendi vitia receperit. Tunc Dei gratia cum veram justitiam implendi mandata invenerit.

Unfamiliarity with the analogues for Ælfric's analysis of the names causes T.M. Pearce ("Name Patterns in Ælfric's Catholic Homilies", Names 14 [1966], 155) to marvel at his renderings of Petrus as oncnawende (Thorpe, "acknowledging") instead of "a rock", and of Jacobus as forscrencend (Thorpe, "withering") instead of "supplanter". As Fred C. Robinson points out, however, ("The Significance of Names in Old English Literature," Anglia 86 [1968], 17-18 and nn. 9-11), with reference, inter alia, to Haymo's homily for the feast of Saint Andrew, the meaning agnoscens for Petrus is perfectly regular, and the word "withering" at CH I. 587/10, 21 is Thorpe's error, not Ælfric's (Thorpe confuses forscrencend, "supplanter" with forscrincend, "withering"; see Bosworth-Toller, svv.). Hanspeter Schelp ("Die Deutungstradition in Ælfrics Homiliae Catholicae," Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und

Literaturen 196 [1960], 291, n.46) glosses Jacob: forscrencend, "Fersenhalter (Volksetymologie)", but, again, gives no indication of possible sources.

12. For instance, while all the texts cited base their discussions of the name Petrus on the Hebrew meaning agnoscens (cf. Jerome, Liber interpretationis hebraicorum nominum, CCSL 72, 141 [65/18]; 147 [70/16]), the Icelandic homilist works from the interpretation, "Petrus þýþesc steiN" (Sthom 17/9-10), with reference to Christ's "renaming" of Simon bar Iona (Matt. 16:18, cf. John 1:42; Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament VI, 102 ff., s.v. Πέτρος B3, C1). The names of Andrew, James, John and Simon are assigned their normal meanings in the Icelandic homily (Sthom. 17/10-13): "...Andreas. drengelegr. Jacobus. vNdergrefell. Johannes. MiscvN guþs...Simon. hlýþeN..."

13. Elisabeth Heyse (Hrabanus Maurus' Enzyklopädie "De rerum naturis", Münchener Beiträger zur Mediävistik und Renaissance-Forschung 4 [1969], 78) notes that Rabanus' principal source for this passage is Isidore. She notes further that Rabanus' remark at PL 111, 88C, "...aliter Matthias parvus interpretatur..." refers to Bede, Expositio Actuum Apostolorum 1, 23 (ed. M.L.W. Laistner [Cambridge, Mass. 1939], 13/21) "...Mathias dei parvus interpretatur..." (cf. Sthom. 17/13, "Maþias. litell guþs").

Cf. also commentaries on the "roll" of the names of all the apostles given in the gospels: Matt. 10:2-4 (Ps. Bede, PL 92, 51A-52A; Rabanus, PL 107, 887B-890D; Christian of Stavelot, PL 106, 1344B-1346A); Mk 3: 16-19 (Bede, PL 92, 159D-161D), Lk 6: 13-16 (Bede, PL 92 396D-399D). The Icelandic homilist's interpretations of the names often differ from those found in Jerome's Liber interpretationis hebraicorum nominum, and

it is unlikely that he made any direct use of that work.

For general discussions of the medieval love of onomastics see Curtius, "Etymology as a Category of Thought", European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, 495-500; Robinson, Anglia 86 (1968), 14-58; Roswitha Klinck, Die Lateinische Etymologie des Mittelalters (München, 1970), 57-65. See too Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament, V, 252ff. s.v. ὄνομα C.2, "Die Bedeutung des Namens", C.3, "Eigennamen und bedeutungsvolle Namen."

14. ANF 32 (1916), 43.

15. thesis, 12. She refers the reader to Vrátný, ANF 32 (1916), 43.

16. PD, I. 69; see Grégoire, Les homéliaires du moyen âge, 87. The heading of Gr. 19 In Ev., "Habita ad populum in basilica beati Laurentii martyris, Dominica in Septuagesima", is among the earliest testimonies to the observance of Septuagesima Sunday as part of the pre-Lent series, Septuagesima, Sexagesima, Quinquagesima. L.J. Crampton ("St. Gregory's Homily XIX and the Institution of Septuagesima Sunday", Downside Review 86 [1968], 162-166, rpt. Studia Patristica 10, Texte und Untersuchungen 107 [1970], 333-336) has contested the assertion of Antoine Chavasse that Gr. 19 In Ev. was in fact intended for the Feast of Saint Lawrence and that the assignment of the homily to Septuagesima dates from a later period (see Recherches de Science Religieuse 37 [1950], 125-145; Le Sacramentaire Gélasien [Paris/Tournai, 1958], 216, n.10).

17. PL 76, 1155B-C

18. alias Bruno of Asti († 1123). On Bruno's life and writings see esp. Réginald Grégoire, Bruno de Segni: Exégète Médiéval et Théologien

Monastique. Centro Italiano di Studi sull'alto medioevo 3 (Spoleto, 1965).

19. Cf. PL 165, 770B-771D; Ibid., 236B-237D.

20. Migne's exemplar, the edition of Sancti Brunonis Astensis Opera by Bruno Bruni (Rome, 1789-91) omits the last sentence cited by Vrátný, "Per portas vero occidentales...ingrediuntur...quicunque...per pœnitentiam convertuntur" (cf. PL 165, 772A; Bruni, vol. 2, 397a/13ff.). The edition of Bruno's works by Dom Maur Marchesi (Venice, 1651), however, has the full text (vol. 2, 23a/23-37).

21. Most of Bruno's homilies are made up of borrowings from his own scriptural commentaries (see Grégoire, Bruno de Segni, 87-93, "Table de concordance des homélies et des commentaires bibliques"). Although Grégoire suggests that this "morcellement des commentaires" was probably not the work of Bruno himself (he compares the piecing-together of Bede's gospel homiliary from his commentaries), he adds that "les morceaux qui ne se trouvent pas dans les commentaires sont de la main de Bruno, semble-t-il" (Ibid., 86-87).

22. On the frequent attribution of Bruno's homilies to Eusebius and their circulation under that name in the collection of Surius see Grégoire, Bruno de Segni, 83-84. See too Grégoire's list of mss. (many from the twelfth century) containing complete collections of Bruno's homilies (Ibid., 93-95).

23. With PL 95, 1460B-D cf. Surius, 771a.

24. Surius' Thesaurus first appeared in 1567 and was reprinted several times in re-edited versions - in Cologne by Maternus Cholinus in 1569, 1576 and 1604, and in Venice by Bartholomæus Rota in 1571 (see Grégoire, Bruno de Segni, 84). I have only been able to consult the edition of 1604. It should also be noted that Vrátný also made use of Cervicornus' edition of PD reprinted in PL 95 (see ANF 32 [1916], 37, n.1).

25. The two texts do not agree, for instance, in either their association of gates with ages or the order in which each gate is discussed:

Sthom.	18/20-23	east - unga aldr	Bruno east - pueri, infantes
	18/23-26	south - fultíþa aldr	north - adolescentes
	18/26-29	west - elle	south - iuvenes et senes
	18/29-19/1	north - ørvasa aldr	west - decrepiti senes

Nor is any parallel found in Bruno's homily for the Icelandic homilist's numerological interpretation of the three gates in each of the four walls of the Heavenly City. The idea for this passage was, however, commonplace, and the author of "Postola mál" probably recalls an Apocalypse commentary here:

Sthom. 18/13-19
...Þriu hliþ vǫro austan a borgeNe oc .iij. svNan .iij. vestan. oc .iij. norþan. þriu hliþ a fiorom veGiom borgareNar merker þreNingar trú. þa es boþoþ es í fiorom guþspiollom. en þau .iiij. guþspioll merkia þessa fióra vegge borGar. þuiat enge ma iN GaNga í almenNelega trú.. nema hann iate þreNningar tru. sicut enge ma komasc i borg. nema hann gange iN [í] hliþen.

cf. Ps. Augustine (recte Caesarius of Arles, see Glorieux, op. cit., 24; Dekkers-Gaar, Clavis Patrum, 1016), Expositio in Apocalypsim, PL 35, 2450D:
...ideo per quatuor partes civitatis ternæ portæ esse dicuntur, quia per totas quatuor partes mundi, Trinitatis mysterium in Ecclesia prædicatur.

Bede, Explanatio Apocalypsis, PL 93, 196B
...Hac tamen solerti reor descriptione portarum, duodenarii numeri voluit indicare mysterium, quo idcirco vel summa apostolorum, vel Ecclesiæ sit figurata perfectio; quia per eam orbi quadrato sanctæ Trinitatis erat fides intimanda.
Haymo, Expositio in Apocalysim, PL, 117, 1200B:
...Duodenarius enim numerus portarum, qui per quatuor mundi partes sub tenario comprehenditur, ad ministerium pertinet duodecim apostolorum, per quos fides sanctæ Trinitatis per quadripartitum orbem diffusa est...
Glossa Ordinaria, PL 114, 747A:
...Numerus portarum duodecim, quæ per quatuor mundi partes sub ternario comprehenduntur, ad mysterium pertinet duodecim apostolorum, per quos fides Trinitatis diffunditur per orbem quadripertitum.
Bruno of Segni, In Apocalypsim, PL 165, 721D:
In trinitate dividuntur portæ, ut undecunque venientes in ipso numero statim recognoscant quid profiteri debeant, et qua fide salvari possint.

26. In his use of anaphora, the Icelandic homilist may also have Gregory in mind:

Sthom. 19/3-4	cf. PL 76, 1155C
[keningar postola]...leiþa suma til guþs þegar a unga alldre, en suma miþialldra. en suma a vrvasa aldre.	Quia ergo alius in pueritia, alius in adolescentia, alius in juventute, alius in senectute, alius in decrepita ætate perducitur...

27.Cf., e.g., on Rev. 21:12,"...habens portas duodecim...",

Ps. Augustine (Caesarius), PL 35, 2450D:

Ostendit duodecim portas...Apostolos esse...

Bede, PL 93, 196A:

Hæ portæ apostoli sunt, qui suo vel scripto vel opere cunctis primordialiter gentibus Ecclesiæ pandebant introitum...

Haymo, PL 118, 1199A:
... Per duodecim quippe portas duodecim intelliguntur apostoli...

Glossa Ordinaria, PL 114, 746D-747A:
...Vel portæ, apostoli, qui alios introducunt in Ecclesiam...

28. The Gregorian passage on the "ages of man" seems to have enjoyed a considerable popularity. Substantial portions of Gr. 19 in Ev., including this section, were appropriated by, e.g., Smaragdus (PL 102, 102-103), and Haymo of Auxerre (PL 118, 157A-C; cf. Liverani, Spicilegium Liberianum, 215-216) in their sermons for Septuagesima Sunday; and Ælfric used Gr. 19 as the principal source for his homily for the same feast (cf. esp. CH II. 76/12-28). Bruno of Segni, too, may well have used Gregory's homily as a source for his own interpretation of the parable of the vineyard. (On the influence of Gregory's method of allegoresis on Bruno see René Wasselynck, "L'influence de l'exégèse de S. Grégoire sur les commentaires bibliques", Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale 32 [1965], 174-176). The reading of the parable in terms of the stages of life and the times of conversion was not, however, an innovation of Gregory's (cf., e.g., Origen, PG 13, 1359A-B; Augustine, PL 38, 533D).

29. On the homiliary of Rabanus dedicated to Haistulfus of Cologne see Barré, op. cit., 13-17. The collection as a whole was not influential, but the homily on the apostles also circulated in collections of Augustine's sermons cf. Ps. Aug. 222, PL 39, 2156-2157; Dekkers-Gaar, Clavis Patrum, 368 [222]).

30. The phrase "hǫfþingiar allrar cristne" may be a simplification (or a garbled reminiscence) of the words, "qui secuti sunt principem martyrum".

31. Rabanus' interpretations of these verses are, of course, thoroughly conventional. For instance, the same allegorical reading of Matt. 5:14 is found in Ælfric's homily "In natale plurimorum apostolorum," CH II, 536/16-21:

...Lareowum gedafenað þæt hi mid wisdomes sealte geleaffulra manna mod sylton, þæt swa hwa swa him genealæhð beo geondstred mid swæcce þæs ecan lifes. Swa swa sealt hylt ælcne mete wið forrotodnysse, swa sceal ðæs wisdomes bodung healdan manna heortan wið brosnunge fulra leahtra. This passage finds no parallel in Ælfric's principal source, Gregory 17 in Ev. (see Förster, Anglia 16 [1894], 47; Smetana, Traditio 15 [1959], 201); but the "antiputrescent" interpretation of sal terræ was a commonplace (cf. Ps. Bede, PL 92, 25D-26A; Christian of Stavelot, PL 106, 1305D; Rabanus Maurus, PL 107 801C; Paschasius Radbert, PL 120, 231D-232A; Alan of Lille, PL 210, 931D).

Rabanus' homily also introduces the stock comparisons of the apostles to the twelve precious stones of Rev. 21:19-20 and to the twelve gates (PL 110, 67D [PL 39,2157B-C]; cf. Sthom. 16/30-35).

32. The section on the apostles in Book IV of De Universo also circulated separately, as the prologue for a collection of homilies on the Epistles mistakenly attributed to Bede (see Barré, op. cit., 6ff,; cf. e.g., Oxford, Bodl. Laud Misc. 427, "Incipit prologus Bedani presbyteri ..."; H:O: Coxe, Catalogi Codicum Manuscr. Bibl. Bodleianae II [Oxford 1858], 311-312).

Gabriel Turville-Petre has drawn attention to parallels between parts of the "Stave-church Homily" (Sthom. 98-103; Nhom. 95-99) and passages in Book XIV of De Universo (Origins of Icelandic Literature, 118; "The Old Norse Homily on the Dedication," Nine Norse Studies, 81ff).

33. This interpretation of Isaiah 60:8 is found in almost exactly the same words at Moralia 21.2 (CCSL 143a, 1065/II. 4, 15-20), and In Ezechielem II, Hom. 6.15 (CCSL 142, 306/36ff.). Gregory 5 in Ev. was included in the homiliaries of both Paul the Deacon and Alan of Farfa (PD II. 98; AF II. 80, see Grégoire, Les homéliaires du moyen âge, 108,

63), and was the principal source for Ælfric's homily for the Nativity of Saint Andrew (see C.R. Davis, JEGP 41 [1942], 510-513; cf. esp. CH I. 584/26-586/6). The passage on Isaiah also circulated separately (cf., e.g., Paterius, Liber de Testimoniis, PL 79, 964C-D; Hervæus of Déols, In Isaiam, PL 181, 544B-D).

34. ANF 32 (1916), 36. Cf. James Cross's discussions of Ælfric's method of composition from memory in the articles cited above, ch.2, n.49.

Table of Abbreviations

For standard abbreviations - e.g. exempli gratia, op.cit., = (in) opere citato, ibid. = ibidem, etc. (= et cetera) - see John Paxton, Everyman's Dictionary of Abbreviations (London 1974; rpt. with revisions 1981).

The following abbreviations are frequently used (for full references, see the bibliography):

Ælfric, CH	Catholic Homilies, ed. B. Thorpe, The Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church... (1843-45)
LS	W.W. Skeat, ed., Ælfric's Lives of Saints..., E.E.T.S., O.S., 76, 82, 94, 114 (1881-1900; rpt. 1966)
Suppl.	John C. Pope, ed., Homilies of Ælfric: A Supplementary Collection, E.E.T.S., O.S., 259-260 (1967-68)
AF	the homilary of Alan of Farfa (see Grégoire, 17-70)
Ah.G.	Elias Steinmeyer and Eduard Sievers, ed., Die althochdeutschen Glossen (1879-1922; rpt. 1969).
Alc. VV	Alcuin, De Virtutibus et Vitiis
Alexander Jóhannesson	Isländisches etymologisches Wörterbuch (1956)
Alfr. Isl.	Alfræði Islenzk, I. STUAGNL 37 (1908), II. STUAGNL 41 (1914-16), III, STUAGNL 45 (1917-18)
AM	The Arnamagnæan Collection, Copenhagen
ANF	Arkiv för nordisk filologi
ANOH	Annaler for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie
A.Ph.S.	Acta Philologica Scandinavica
Archiv	Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen

van Arkel	Andrea van Arkel - de Leeuw van Weenen, The Manuscript Sthom. Perg. 15, 4°. A Diplomatic edition and Introduction (unpublished dissertation, Utrecht, 1977).
Árni Böðvarsson	Islenzk Orðabók handa skólum og almenningi (1963, rpt. 1980)
ASB	Altnordische Saga-Bibliothek (1892-1929)
ASPR	G.P. Krapp and E.V.K. Dobbie, ed., The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records (1931-53)
Aug.	Augustine
AV	Authorized Version (i.e., King James Version of the Bible, 1611)
Barl.	R. Keyser and C.R. Unger, ed., Barlaams ok Josaphats Saga (1851)
BHL	Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina Antiquae et Mediae Aetatis, ediderunt Socii Bollandiani. Subsidia Hagiographica VI (1898-1901), Suppl., Ibid., XII (1911)
Bibl. Arn.	Bibliotheca Arnamagnæana
- Op.	Opuscula
Bisk.	Biskupa sögur, gefnar út af hinu íslenzka Bókmentafélagi (1858-78)
Blaise	A. Blaise and H. Chirat, Dictionnaire latin-francais des auteurs chrétiens (1954)
Blickling Homilies	R. Morris, ed., The Blickling Homilies of the Tenth Century, E.E.T.S., O.S. 58, 63, 73 (1874-80, rpt. 1967)
Blöndal	Islandsk-dansk Ordbog (1920-24, rpt. 1951-52); Supplement, ed. Halldór Halldórsson and Jakob Benediktsson (1963)
B.T.	J. Bosworth and T.N. Toller, An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary (1882-98)
- Suppl.	T.N. Toller, An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary: Supplement (1908-21)
Caes.	Caesarius of Arles
CCIMÆ	Corpus Codicum Islandicorum Medii Aevi
CCNMÆ	Corpus Codicum Norvegicorum Medii Aevi

CCSL	Corpus Christianorum Series Latina (1953-)
Christ	A.S. Cook, ed., The Christ of Cynewulf (1900)
Clári saga	G. Cederschiöld, ed., ASB 12 (1907)
Clark Hall-Meritt	John R. Clark Hall, A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary, fourth edition with a supplement by Herbert D. Meritt (1960, rpt. 1970)
Clavis Patrum	E. Dekkers and A. Gaar, Clavis Patrum Latinorum..., Sacris Erudiri iii (2nd ed., 1961). cited by section
Cleasby-Vigfusson (CV)	An Icelandic-English Dictionary, initiated by Richard Cleasby, ed. Gudbrand Vigfusson, second edition with a supplement by Sir William Craigie (1957, rpt. 1975)
CP	Henry Sweet, ed., King Alfred's West-Saxon Version of Gregory's 'Pastoral Care', E.E.T.S., O.S. 45, 50 (1871-2, rpt. 1973)
C.S.E.L.	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum (1866 -)
DACL	F. Cabrol and H. Leclercq, ed., Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie (1907-53)
D.E.	Davíð Erlingsson.
Def. Lib. Scint.	E.W. Rhodes, ed., Defensor's Liber Scintillarum. With an Interlinear Anglo-Saxon Version Made Early in the Eleventh Century, E.E.T.S., O.S. 93 (1889; rpt. 1973)
Den store saga	Oscar Albert Johnsen and Jón Helgason, ed., Den store saga om Olav den Hellige (1941)
Dict. Sp.	Dictionnaire de Spiritualité, ed. M. Viller, et al. (1937-)
DN	Diplomatarium Norvegicum (1849-) cited by item number
D.T.C.	Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique, ed. A. Vacant, E. Mangenot, and E. Amann (1903-50)
Du Cange	C. Dufresne dom. du Cange, Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae latinitatis (2nd ed., 1883-87; rpt. 1954)
Ed. Arn.	Editiones Arnagnæanae

E.E.T.S.	Early English Text Society (1894-)
E.Ó.S.	Einar Ólafur Sveinsson
Fabricius	Johann Albert Fabricius, Codex Apocryphus Novi Testamenti (2nd ed., 1719, 1743)
Falk-Torp	Hjalmar Falk and Alf Torp, Etymologisk Ordbog over det norske og det danske Sprog (1903); Norwegisch-Dänisches etymologisches Wörterbuch (1910-11, rpt. 1960)
Flat.	Flateyjarbók, ed. C.R. Unger and Gudbrand Vigfússon (1860-68)
Fritzner	Johan Fritzner, ed., Ordbog over det gamle norske sprog I-III (1886-96, rpt. 1972), IV, Rettelser og tillegg ved Finn Hødnebø (1972)
GD	Hans Hecht, ed., Bischoff Wærferths von Worcester Übersetzung der Dialoge Gregors des Grossen, Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa, 5 (1900-7, rpt. 1965).
Gr.	Gregory the Great
- in Ev.	- - Homiliae in Evangelia
- in Ez.	- - Homiliae in Ezechielem
Grégoire	Réginald Grégoire, Les homéliaires du moyen age (1966)
Grein-Köhler	C.W.M. Grein, Sprachschatz der angelsächsischen Dichter, rev. J.J. Köhler. Germanische Bibliothek, IV. Reihe, IV. Band (1912)
Grimm, D.W.	Deutsches Wörterbuch, initiated by Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm (1854-1971)
Gunnes	unless otherwise specified = Erik Gunnes' notes to Astrid Salvesen, trans., Gammelnorsk Homiliebok (1971)
Handlist	Ole Widding, Hans Bekker-Nielsen, L.K. Shook, "The Lives of the Saints in Old Norse Prose. A Handlist", MS 25 (1963), 294-337
Hertzberg	Ebbe Hertzberg, Glossarium, NGL V (1895)
HMS	Heilagra Manna Sögur, ed. C.R. Unger (1877)
ÍF	Íslenzk Fornrit (1933-)
Isl. Æv.	Íslendzk Æventyri, ed. H. Gering (1882-83)
ÍM	Íslenzk Miðaldakvæði. I,2-II. ed. Jón Helgason (1936-38)
JEGP	Journal of English and Germanic Philology

Jóns s. A	Jóns saga helga hin elzta, Bisk. I, 151-202
Jóns s. B	Jóns saga helga eptir Gunnlaug múnk, Bisk. I, 215-260
Jóns s. p. (Jóns s. post.)	Jóns saga postola
J.T.P., "Sources..."	Joan Turville-Petre, "Sources of the Vernacular Homily in England, Norway, and Iceland", ANF 75 (1960), 168-82
Kahle	Bernhard Kahle, "Die altnordische Sprache im Dienste des Christentums. I. Teil: Die Prosa", Acta Germanica I (1890), 307-441
Kalkar	Otto Kalkar, Ordbog til det ældre danske Sprog (1881-1918)
Kirby, Biblical Quotation	Ian J. Kirby, Biblical Quotation in Old Icelandic-Norwegian Religious Literature. Stofnun Árnamagnússonar á Íslandi. Rit 9 (1976), 10 (1980)
KLNM	Kulturhistorisk leksikon for nordisk middelalder (1956-78)
Kluge-Mitzka	Friedrich Kluge, Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache, rev. W. Mitzka (20. Aufl. 1968)
Konungs skuggsiá	Ludvig Holm-Olsen, ed., Konungs skuggsiá. Gammelnorske tekster. no.1 (1945)
Lange, Studien...	Wolfgang Lange, Studien zur christlichen Dichtung der Nordgermanen. 1000-1200. Palaestra 222 (1958)
Lat.	Latin
Lefèvre.	Yves Lefèvre, ed., L'Elucidarium et les Lucidaires, Bibliothèque des Écoles Francaises d'Athènes et de Rome. Fasc. 180 (1954).
Leifar	Leifar fornra kristinna frœða íslenzkra, ed. Þorvaldur Bjarnarson (1878)
Lewis and Short	A Latin Dictionary, ed. Charlton T. Lewis and Charles Short (1879, rpt. 1975)
Lexer, M.H.	M. Lexer, Mittelhochdeutsches Handwörterbuch (1872-78)
Lex. Poet.	Lexicon Poeticum antiquae linguae septentrionalis, 2nd ed. by Finnur Jónsson (1931, rpt. 1966)
Lib. Scint.	= Def. Lib. Scint. (q.v.)

L.Th.K.	Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche, 2nd ed. by J. Höfer and K. Rahner (1957-68)
Manz	Georg Manz, Ausdrucksformen der lateinischen Liturgiesprache bis ins elfte Jahrhundert (1959)
Mar.	Maríu saga, ed. C.R. Unger (1871)
ME	Middle English
M.E.D.	Middle English Dictionary, ed. H. Kurath and S. Kuhn (1952-)
Mess.	Messuskýringar, ed. O. Kolsrud (1952).
Metcalfe	F. Metcalfe, ed., Passio et Miracula Beati Olaui (1881)
Meters	The Meters of Boethius, A.S.P.R. V (1932, rpt. 1970), 153-203.
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica, ed. G.W. Pertz, et al. (1826-)
- Cap.	- - - , Capitularia Regum Francorum
- Conc.	- - - , Concilia Aevi Carolini
MHG	Middle High German
MI	Modern Icelandic
MLG	Middle Low German
MLN	Modern Language Notes
MM	Maal og Minne
Mombritius	Boninus Mombritius, Sanctuarium, seu Vitae Sanctorum (1910)
Moricca	Umberto Moricca, ed., Gregorii Magni Dialogi. Libri IV (1924)
MS	Mediaeval Studies
Napier, Wulfstan	A.S. Napier, ed., Wulfstan. Sammlung der ihm zugeschriebenen Homilien... (1883, rpt. with a bibliographical supplement by Klaus Ostheeren, 1967)
NCE	New Catholic Encyclopedia (1967)
Nhom.	Gamal norsk homiliebok. Cod. AM 619 4°, ed. Gustav Indrebø (1931, rpt. 1966)

Niermeyer	J.F. Niermeyer, Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus (1976)
Nik. I	Nikolaus saga erkibyskups I, HMS II, 21-41
Nik. II	(Bergr Sokkason) Nikolaus saga erkibyskups II, HMS II, 51-158
NM	Neuphilologische Mitteilungen
Not. Norr.	E.A. Kock, Notationes Norrænæ (1923-44), cited by section
NRA	Norges Riksarkiv
NVAOS	Skrifter Utgitt av det Norske Videnskaps-Akademi i Oslo
O.D.S.	Ordbog over det Danske Sprog (1919-54)
OE	Old English
O.E.D.	The Oxford English Dictionary (1884-1933; rev. 1961)
OF	Old French
OHG	Old High German
OI	Old Icelandic
Óláfs s. Tryggv. en mesta	Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar en mesta, ed. Ólafur Halldórsson, Ed. Arn. A, 1-2 (1958-61)
ON	Old Norwegian
OWN	Old West Norse
Passio Olavi	= Metcalfe (q.v.)
PD	The original homiliary of Paul the Deacon (see Grégoire, 71-114)
PDL	the late redaction of PD in PL 95, 1159-1566
Pflieger	André Pflieger, Liturgicae Orationis Concordantia Verbalia (1964-)
PG	Patrologia Graeca, ed. J.P. Migne (1857-66)
Pitra, Spic.Sol.	Jean Baptista Pitra, Spicilegium Solesmense (1852-58)
PL	Patrologia Latina, ed. J.P. Migne (1844-64)

PLS	Patrologia Latina Supplement, ed. A. Hamman (1958-)
PMLA	Publications of the Modern Language Association of America
Pokorny, IGEW	Julius Pokorny, Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch (1959-69)
Post.	Postola Sögur, ed. C.R. Unger (1874)
Ps. Ioh. Dam.	the oldest Latin version of the Historia Iosaphat et Barlaam (BHL 979) falsely attributed to Saint John of Damascus, here cited from Ioannis Damasceni ... Omnia ... Opera (Basileae, 1535) - the Historia is paginated separately
Quadrilogus	the Quadrilogus Prior, a Latin Life of St Thomas Beckett composed c. 1200 from works by various authors - John of Salisbury, Alan of Tewkesbury, Herbert of Bosham, William of Canterbury, Benedict of Peterborough - (see P.G. Foote, SBVS 15 [1957-61], 403 and n.1), cited from the parallel text for Thóm. I printed by C.R. Unger
Rómverja s.	Rómverja saga, ed. Rudolf Meissner. Palaestra 88 (1910)
R.S.	Rolls Series. Rerum Britannicarum Medii Ævi Scriptores.
RSV	Revised Standard Version
Rule of Chrodegang	A.S. Napier, ed., The Old English Version of the Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang together with the Latin Original..., E.E.T.S., O.S. 150 (1916, rpt. 1971)
s.a.	same author
Salvesen	unless otherwise specified = Astrid Salvesen, Studies in the Vocabulary of the Old Norse Elucidarium (1968)
Salzer	Anselm Salzer, Die Sinnbilder und Beiwörte Mariens in der deutschen Literatur und lateinischen Hymnenpoesie des Mittelalters (1893)
S.A.O.	Ordbok öfver Svenska Språket utgifven af Svenska Akademien (1898-)
SBVS	Saga Book of the Viking Society for Northern Research.

S.F.S.S.	Samlingar utgivna av Svenska Fornskrift-sällskapet (1844-)
SGL	Sweriges Gamla Lagar, ed. H.C. Collin and C.J. Schlyter (1827-77)
Skjd	Finnur Jónsson, ed., Den norsk-islandske skjaldedigtning (1913-16)
Söderwall	K.F. Söderwall, Ordbok öfver svenska mideltids-språket (1884-1918), Suppl. by E. Olson, W. Åkerlund, and K.G. Ljunggren (1925-)
Soliloquies	W. Endter, ed., König Alfreds des Grossen Bearbeitung der Soliloquien des Augustinus, Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa 11 (1922)
SS	Scandinavian studies
Sthom.	Theodor Wisén, ed., Homiliu-Bók (1872)
Stjórn	ed. C.R. Unger (1862).
Strengleikar	ed. R. Cook and M. Tveitane, Norrøne Tekster 3 (1979)
STUAGNL	Samfund til Udgivelse af Gammel Nordisk Litteratur (1880-)
Sturlunga s.	Sturlunga saga, ed. Jón Jóhannesson, Magnús Finnbogason and Kristján Eldjárn (1946)
Thes. Ling. Lat.	Thesaurus Linguae Latinae (1900-)
Thóm. I	Thómas saga erkibyskups, ed. C.R. Unger (1869), 1-279
Thóm. II	Thómas saga erkibyskups, ed. Eiríkr Magnússon, Rolls Series LXV (1875-83), I, II.1-241
Thóm. III,	Ibid., II. 262-84
Thors	Carl-Eric Thors, Den kristna terminologien i fornsvenskan Studier i nordisk filologi 45 (1957)
Tilley	Morris Palmer Tilley, A Dictionary of the Proverbs in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries (1950, rpt. 1966)
Tvegg. p. JJ	Tveggja postola saga Jóns ok Jacobs
Tveitane, Den lærde stil	Mattias Tveitane, Den lærde stil. Oversetterprosa i den norrøne versjonen av Vitæ Patrum. Årbok for Universitetet i Bergen. humanistisk serie. 1967 no.2 (1968)
"Un Samedi Par Nuit"	H. Varnhagen, ed., "Das altfranzösische Gedicht Un Samedi Par Nuit", Erlanger Beiträge zur englischen Philologie 1 (1889), 113-196

Vinc. Beauv., Spec. Hist.	Vincent of Beauvais, Speculum Historiale (1624, rpt. 1964-65)
de Vogüé	Adalbert de Vogüé, ed., Grégoire le Grand. Dialogues, 3 vols, Sources Chrétiennes 251 (1978), 260 (1979), 265 (1980)
VP	Vitae Patrum
de Vries, A.e.W.	Jan de Vries, Altnordisches etymologisches Wörterbuch (2nd ed., 1962, rpt. 1977)
Walter, Lex. Lehn.	Ernst Walter, Lexikalisches Lehngut im altwestnordischen ... Abhandlungen der sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig. Phil.-Hist. Klasse, Bd. 66, Hft.2 (1976)
Walther	Hans Walther, Lateinische Sprichwörter und Sentenzen des Mittelalters... (1963-69)
Whiting	B.J. and H.W. Whiting, Proverbs, Sentences, and Proverbial Phrases from English Writings mainly before 1500 (1968)
Wright-Wülcker	T. Wright, Anglo-Saxon and Old English Vocabularies, 2nd ed. by R.P. Wülcker (1884, rpt. 1968)
Z.f.d.A.	Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum

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