Studies in the Prose Style
of the Old Icelandic and Old Norwegian
Homily Books

work submitted by
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Abstract of Thesis

The importance of the Old Icelandic and Old Norwegian Homily Books as the earliest monuments of continuous prose in Old West Norse has long been recognized, but to date the style of the homilies has only been given cursory treatment in short articles or general literary histories and has not been the subject of a special study. In my dissertation I have examined various aspects of Old West Norse homiletic prose style in an effort to show how the early homilists were able to take advantage of a Latin literary tradition to enhance the resources of their own language.

The first chapter is a general discussion of rhetorical and "narrative" techniques in the Homily Books. Here those traits normally associated with Icelandic prose written in the so-called "popular style" are compared with stylistic features developed in imitation of Latin models.

The second and third chapters of the thesis deal with native proverbs and learned sententiae in the homilies, with special reference to the use of the phrases at fagrt mæla ok flátt hyggia and at bera dust í vindi.

Chapter four is devoted to a discussion of metaphorical compounds. Commonplace metaphors and similitudes used in the homilies are set against their Latin background and compared with analogous figures in later Old West Norse religious literature.

The next two sections are semantic studies -- chapter five, of the special use of sjóða in the sense "to ponder" in an Easter sermon in the Old Norwegian Homily Book, and chapter six, of the cryptic phrase vel ma min sál a bita gras með aðrum sálon found in a sermon on Judgement Day included in the same collection.

The final chapter is an investigation of source-material for the sermon Postola mál in the Old Icelandic Homily Book. This piece illustrates the eclectic method of sermon-construction characteristic of most of the "original" compositions in the Homily Books.
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Chapter one:

Some Aspects of Native and Latin Rhetoric in the Homilies.
The OWN sermons are frequently praised for their lucid and idiomatic prose which, scholars have been quick to observe, can more readily be compared with the terse, homespun narrative of the Icelandic Family Sagas than with the latinate diction of many later works of devotional literature in Old West Norse. Finnur Jónsson, for example, describes the homilies in Stom. as:

...i reglen fortrinlig oversatte; sproget er kraftigt og de er lagt an på tydelighed, idet der ofte bruges ord og billeder fra tilhørernes eget forstandsrørde.

Similarly, Trygve Knudsen notes that the style of both Homily Books:

...er gjennomgående enkel og verdig, nøkternt innpretende og belørende, med et overveiende hjemlig preg, også der hvor fremmed tekst er påvist som første kilde. Egenheter fra lat. syntaks ... er alt i alt få og makter ikke å påtrykke sprogføreren noe helhetspreg av "lærde" stil.

Fredrik Paasche characterizes the prose of Stom. in particular as "concise, forcible, earnest" and "homely". And Karel Vrátný admires "die kräftige, echt islandische Sprache" in both the translated pieces and the original compositions in the same collection:

...Wohl ist die Sprache fast überall fließend, weit entfernt von dem späteren "gelehrten Stil", und mutet den Leser recht heimisch an, so dass man auch bei den übersetzten Stücken beinahe ihren lateinischen Ursprung vergisst; aber in einigen Reden erinnert sie auffallend an die Sprache der besten isländischen Sagas.

The presence in the homilies and other early clerical prose works of stylistic features reminiscent of the vigorous narrative of the Family Sagas has, in fact, encouraged some scholars to look for evidence of direct influence from an oral narrative tradition on twelfth-century Icelandic prose. Jan de Vries, for instance, has suggested that in the lively account of the death of John the Baptist in the sermon for his feast day in Stom. one can see "ein Einbruch der geläufigen mündlichen
Erzählweise in das kirchliche Schrifttum. And in two recent articles, Dietrich Hofmann has discussed two further examples from twelfth-century texts of passages in which the translators adopt "die Darstellungsweise der Sagakunst" in preference to the narrative method of their Latin models. Hofmann takes his first example from the Old Icelandic rendering of the A-version of the Gospel of Nicodemus; his second text is a translation of Matthew 2:7-8 from the pericope of the Epiphany homily "Apparicio domini" in Sthom. He observes that the salient stylistic features of these passages -- vacillation between past and present tenses, sudden switches from indirect to direct speech, asyndetic Satzanreihung without repetition of subject -- "hat ihre nächste Entsprechung im Sagastil":

Niörstigningarsaga, HMS II, 2/8-10:

Et posthaec supervenit quasi heremicola, et interrogatur ab omnibus: Quis es tu? Quibus respondens dixit: Ego sum Johannes, vox et propheta altissimi, praevious ante faciem adventus eius praeparare vias eius...

Stom. 57/8-12:

... tunc Herodes clam vocatis magis diligenter didicit ab eis tempus stellae, quae apparuit eis, et mittens illos in Bethleem dixit, "Ite et interrogate diligenter de puero, et cum inveneritis, renuntiate mihi, ut et ego veniens adorem eum.

Evangelium Nicodemi, pars II, ed. C. de Tischendorf, Evangelia Apocrypha [1876, rpt. 1966], 392/19 - 393/1:

Matt. 2:7-8:

Et posthaec supervenit quasi heremicola, et interrogatur ab omnibus: Quis es tu? Quibus respondens dixit: Ego sum Johannes, vox et propheta altissimi, praevious ante faciem adventus eius praeparare vias eius...
Hofmann rightly argues that the obvious differences between these OWN texts and their Latin exemplars indicate that the translators clearly had their own, independent stylistic aims and ideals; but, like de Vries, he insists that in these examples we are not presented with "ein primär literarisches Phänomen, die Anwendung eines eigens in der gelehrt-geistlichen Schriftkultur entwickelten Stils", but with "eine Anpassung an die allen Isländern aus mündlichem Gebrauch vertraute Erzählweise".  

In rebuttal, Klaus von See has pointed out that some of the stylistic devices which Hofmann associates with "saga-style" (unheralded transitions from oratio obliqua to oratio recta in particular) are also widely attested in other European literatures, often in texts far removed from an oral tradition. And he argues that prose passages like those cited by Hofmann should be taken, on the contrary, "als Indiz dafür...dass diese Züge des Sagastils aus der gelehrt-geistlichen Schriftkultur stammen".

It would be unwise to pursue here the history of the complicated and apparently endless debate between the proponents of the so-called "free prose" and "book prose" theories of the origins of Icelandic saga-literature. It is worth noting, however, that Hofmann's use of an isolated example from the Sthom. Epiphany sermon shows how an overenthusiastic search for "die Einfluß des Sagastils" can colour assessments of early Icelandic prose. For in concentrating on a single narrative passage in the sermon, Hofmann of necessity ignores less "popular" features which are also part of the stylistic make-up of the text.

The sermon is, in fact, a fairly close rendering of most of Gregory's tenth gospel homily, "in die Epiphaniae"; and one could as easily extract from it passages illustrating Latin influence on Old Icelandic prose. Hofmann's excerpt can be contrasted, for instance, with the following passage from the opening section of the sermon proper:
The passage abounds in calks of Latin phrases (cf. the descriptive genitive algors aldrs for perfecte statis, and the close rendering of the periphrasis rationis ordo poscebat — pat beidd hóttr skynsemennar); and although not all of the participial constructions in the passage need be regarded as features of lard stil, most are clearly prompted by Gregory’s Latin (cf. in particular the phrase melanda drotten kyNde oss melande keNerar for loquentem ... Dominum loquentes nobis pradicatores innotes—cerent). The substantive use of adjectives (trvlegom = fidelibus; ñtrûm = infidelibus) is also a “learned” syntactical feature. Further latinate stylistic traits are found throughout the homily. The translator retains many of Gregory’s metaphorical phrases (Sthom. 58/14–15 kliufasc til ipronar = PL 76, 1111B scindi ad penitentiam; 59/20 biartleícr yver-
The Icelandic homilist also imitates, on occasion, phrases characteristic of Latin Nominalstil (cf. 58/16 *til auka fyrdømingar sínar* = 1113B *ad damnationis sum cumulum*; 59/18-19 *dauplaícr hólnens = 1113B *carnis nostræ mortificatio*), although, on the whole, he takes care to excise the more cumbersome nominal phrases in his source (cf. 59/26-27 *saurllfeno = 1113C *in fetore luxurias*; 59/28 *fyr bindende = 1113C *per condimentum continentis*; 60/4 *ógn dóma dags = 1114A *judicium extreme districionis*; 60/9 *blecne = 1114A *voluptatum fallacia*; 60/19 *skírn = 1114B *baptismatis perceptio*). The judiciousness of the Icelandic translator's method is evident in a passage in which he at once trims away two unwieldy turns of phrase and retains an isocolon he admires in Gregory's text:

58/21-22: 1111B:

...síálf frolleícfr þeira. yrpe
beim til fyrdømingar
en oss til tønabar

...eorum scientia et
illis fieret ad testimonium damnationis,
et nobis ad adjutorium credulitatis.

At any rate, it is clear that while this homilist carefully exploits the resources of his own language, his imitation of features from his Latin model is equally deliberate. It is not really surprising that Hofmann's example of "saga narrative" in "Apparicio Domini" should be taken from the pericope, since the scriptural text naturally offers more scope for the use of genuine "narrative" techniques than does the sermon itself. In fact, it is interesting to note that the translation of the same gospel passage in the second homily for Epiphany in Nhom., though quite independent of the version in Sthom., also contains a sudden switch from indirect into direct
Indeed many of the paraphrases of scriptural passages found in the Homily Books are remarkable for their popular tone. The following expansive rendering of Luke 1: 34-36, for instance, (from an Annunciation homily in Sthom.), is adorned with many "homely" stylistic features — change of tense, unheralded modulation into direct speech, colloquial turns of phrase, litotes and an alliterative tag:

Sthom. 139/3-22:

...En þa es gabriel hafpi sagt þessi stórtípeNdí marío. þa svarar hon. oc spurðí hvesso þat métí verþa at hon yrþi hafandi at barni. þars hon hafpi øngo vilþ carlman skipt...En engillIN saqbi oc brosti at. et eige þyrfti hon at uGa at hreinilfet hennar myNde fyr farasc vilþ þaN getnóp. heldr myNdí helgasc mioc. oc fyr þui at eige mon siá getnóp a þaNíg sem verallidar venia es til meðal carla oc qveNa.

Luke 1:34-36:

Dixit autem Maria ad angelum: Quomodo fiat istud, quoniam virum non cognosco? Et respondens angelus dixit ei: Spiritus sanctus super- brosti at. et eige yrfti hon at uGa at hreinilfet hennar myNde fyr farasc vilþ þaN getnóp. heldr myNdí helgasc mioc. oc fyr þui at eige mon siá getnóp a þaNíg sem verallidar venia es til meðal carla oc qveNa.

Et ecce Elisabeth cognata tua, et ipsa concepit filium in senectute sua: et hic mensis sextus est illi, quae vocatur sterilis.
alla ëfì hefer óbyria veret. oc es nu orpin sva gamol. at hon måtti eige barn ala fyr alldrs sacar oc eblis. pot hon hefpi fyr born ått. nu feR hon mep hæen...["25

A similar (though less garrulous) rendering of the verses which follow in Luke's gospel can be found in the sermon for the Feast of John the Baptist, the popular style of which was admired by Jan de'Vriës (again, note in particular the frequent changes of sense and "homely"-vocabulary):

Luke 1:39-41:
Exsurgens autem Maria in diebus illis abit in montana cum festina-tione, in civitatem Iuda: et intra-vit in domum Zachariae, et salutavit Elisabeth. Et factum est, ut audivit salutationem Mariae Elisabeth, exsul-tavit infans in utero eius: et repleta est Spiritu sancto Elisabeth.

Luke 1:57-68:
at yrkia. Benedictus dominus deus israel...

Another good example of this sort of unabashedly idiomatic handling of scripture is found in the spirited version of Acts 2:1-18 in the Pentecost homily "De sancte [sic] spiritv":

Sthom. 22/31 - 23/28:

...Fra pislar tip iesu voro þeir sva eorharta orþner viþ illzco gyþinga. at traulla þotte þeim haska laust sér at ganga i augsýn þeim. þót þeir átte naupsyniar. þeir lucþo sic i þui loft-húse er ioseph ab arimþia hafþe fenget þeim til i vistar at póscom áþr...þeir sóto i þesso húse allor saman meþ sino liþi. pa ér leiþ at dagnólom. þa heþra þeir sem vindr keóme a húset. þeir lito upp til. oc só sem eldr vexe iN komeN i huset. sa er lýste af en eige bran.

Han vas eige allor saman. heldr greín-desch hann. var sua vaxen sem tungur til at sia iastrmargar þeim. Lipo siban tungor þer at þeim. En etter þat pa þóko þeir sva fullega eN helga anda. sem meN mego of bera. þat sýndes brápast i þui hue þeir vrpo sér oglíker. sem ec sagþa fyþr at þeir vpo til þessa beþe hrædder umb sic oc ófróper. En nv gingo þeir þegar a stráþe út oc þangat es þeir só fiolmenz vera. oc þóko þa at màla a allar tungur. þar es þeir þorpo eige áþr þegiande at ganga. Viþ þat brá siban allre alþýpo. oc reóddo umb hui

divulgabantur omnia verba haec: et posuerunt omnes qui audierant in corde suo, dicentes: Quis, putas, puer iste erit? Etenim manus Domini erat cum illo. Et Zacharias pater eius repletus est Spiritu sancto; et prophesavit, dicens: Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel...

Et cum compleverunt dies Pentecostes, erant omnes pariter in eodem loco: et factus est repente de caelo sonus, tanaquam advententis spiritus vehementis, et replevit totam domum ubi erat sedentes. Et apparuerunt illis dispertitae

linguae tanaquam ignis, seditque supra singulos eorum: et repleti sunt omnes Spiritu sancto, et coeperunt loqui variis linguis, prout Spiritus sanctus dabat eloqui illis.

...Facta autem hac voce, convenit multitudo, et mente confusa est, quoniam audierat unusquisque lingua sua illos loquentes. Stupebant autem omnes et mirabantur, dicentes: Nonne
All of these passages, are, of course, examples of scriptural paraphrase rather than straightforward translation. However, the clear preference of the homilists for such free treatments of Scripture encourages one to ask, with Dietrich Hofmann:

...Wie sollten sie da auch nur auf den Gedanken gekommen sein, die Darstellung ihrer Vorlagen im Sinne eigener literarischer Ambitionen eigenmächtig zu verändern, über das hinaus, was für eine gute, sinngemäße Wiedergabe - selbst sie im Mittelalter keineswegs eine Selbstverständlichkeit - notwendig war?  

Hofmann denies emphatically that the homilists could have taken such a free hand with their sources (especially with sacred texts) and developed their independent style "aus eigenem Antrieb", and he insists that the primary model for their method of translation must have been a thriving tradition of oral narrative. His parenthetical reference, however, to the character of medieval translations in general is perhaps worth pursuing further, for Norwegian and Icelandic clerics of the twelfth century must also have been influenced by a tradition of ecclesiastical translation, whose principles had been worked out over many centuries.
The foundation of this tradition was laid by Saint Jerome, who, though not the first, long remained the model Christian translator. Jerome's interpretive method was, however, influenced in turn by the theories of translation fostered in the Roman rhetorical schools; and in his famous letter to Pammachius "de optimo genere interpretandi" he defends himself against the accusation that he has translated a Greek text inaccurately by appealing to the authority of Cicero and Horace, both of whom deplore the barbarism of a "faithful" rendering:

...ego enim non solum fateor, sed libera uoce profiteor me in interpretatione Graecorum absque scripturis sanctis, ubi et uerborum ordo mysterium est, non uerbum e uerbo, sed sensum exprimere de sensu, habeoque huius rei magistrum Tullium, qui Protagoram Platonis et Oeconomicum Xenofontis et Aeschini et Demosthenis duas contra se orationes pulcherrimas transtulit. ...sufficit mihi ipsa translatoris auctoritas, qui ita in prologo earundem orationum locutus est:

...nec converti ut interpres. sed ut orator, sententiis isdem et earum formis tamquam figuris, uerbis ad nostram consuetudinem aptis. in quibus non pro uerbo uerbum necesse habui reddere, sed genus omnium uerborum uimque seruaui. non enim me ea adnumerare lectori putau i oportere, sed tamquam adpendere.

sed et Horatius, uir acutus et doctus, hoc idem in Arte poetica erudito interpreti praecipit:

nec uerbum uerbo curabis reddere fidus interpres. 31

Jerome recognized that the difficulties facing the translator of Scripture "in which even the order of the words is a divine mystery" were infinitely more complex; and in producing his own translation of the Bible he was forced to reach an uneasy compromise between "sense for sense" and "word for word" renderings, as he explains in his preface to Job:

Haec autem translation...nullum de veteribus sequitur interpretem, sed ex ipso Hebraico Arabico sermonem, et interdum Syro, nunc verba, nunc sensus, nunc simul utrumque resonabit. 32
Jerome's primary concern in adopting this method was to remain faithful to the meaning of his original, as he emphasizes in his letter to Sunnias and Fretela:

...non debemus, sic verbum de verbo exprimere, ut dum syllabas sequimur, perdamus intelligentiam.33

Jerome's judiciously flexible principle of translation was repeatedly endorsed (though not always observed) by medieval translators.34 King Alfred, for instance, adopted Jerome's formula as the motto, as it were, of the translation programme instituted to arrest the decline of learning in his realm, stating in the prefaces to his own renderings of Gregory's Pastoral Care and Boethius' Consolation of Philosophy that he has endeavoured to translate "hwilum worde be worde, hwilum ondgit of andgite".35 Alfred explains, moreover, that this was the method taught him by his clerical teachers ("swæ swæ ic hie geleornode at Plegmund minum ærcebiscepe & at Asserie minum biscepe & at Grimbolde minum mæssepreoste & at Iohanne minum mæssepreoste"36). In England, this tradition was continued by Ælfric of Eynsham, who provides clear statements of his methods and aims as a translator in the Latin prefaces to his Catholic Homilies and his Lives of Saints:

CH I. 1/6-14:
...transtulimus hunc codicem ex libris Latinorum, scilicet Sancte Scripture in nostram consuetam sermocinationem, ob aedificationem simplicium, qui hanc norunt tantum modo locutionem, sive legendo sive audiendo; ideoque nec obscura posuimus verba, sed simplicem Anglicam, quo facilius possit ad cor pervenire legentium vel audientium, ad utilitatem animarum suarum, quia alia lingua nesciunt erudiri, quam in qua nati sunt. Nec ubique transtulimus verbum ex verbo, sed sensum ex sensu...

Nec potuimus in ista translatione semper uerbum ex uerbo transferre, sed tamen sensum ex sensu, sicut inuenimus in sancta
scriptura, diligenter curauimus uertere Simplici et aperta locutione quatinus proficiat Audientibus.

In his "Preface to Genesis", Elfric repeats Jerome's dictum that a translator of the Bible must take pains to preserve the very word-order of the original; he insists, nevertheless, that even a translator of a sacred text must respect the usage of his own language:

...we ne durron na mare awritan in Englisken onne ðat Leden hæfð, ne ða endebyrdnyssse awendan, buton ðam anum, ðat ðat Leden 7 ðat Englisc nabbað na ane wisan on ðære spræcæ fandunge: æfre se ðe awent oððe se ðe þæcð of Ledene on Englisc, æfre he sceal gefadian hit swa ðat ðat Englisc habbe his agene wisan, elles hit bið swyðe gedwolsum to ræddenne ðam ðe ðæs Ledenes wise ne can. \[37\]

Elfric wishes to remain as faithful as possible to the scriptural text; but above all he desires to guard against the production of a translation which might confuse or mislead an English reader. As Ann Eljenholm Nichols has pointed out, it is to the painstakingly literal method he is obliged to adopt in his Old Testament translations, quite distinct from the freer paraphrases found in the Catholic Homilies, that Elfric refers when he states in the "Preface to Genesis" ...ðat ic ne dearr ne ic nelle nane boc æfter ðisre of Ledene on Englisc awendan": \[38\]

...Nowhere in the preface does Elfric object to translation as such. What he says is that a mere translation is not enough, for if he translates he cannot supply a commentary as he can in his homilies... \[39\]

Elfric states in the preface to his second series of Catholic Homilies that his first aim as a translator is to be understood by his listeners (CH II, 1/11-16):

...interpretare, non garrula verbositate, aut ignotis sermonibus, sed puris et apERTis verbis linguae hujus gentis, cupientes plus prodesse auditoribus simplici locutione quam laudari artificiosi sermonis compositione, quam nequaquam didicit nostra simplicitas.

And while even the freer renderings of biblical passages found in his sermons rarely approach the colloquialism of the Own scriptural para-
phrases cited above, it is clear that the preference of both Ælfric and the OWN homilists for a more liberal method of translation in their sermons was encouraged by a well-established precept of Christian education -- that preachers should address their congregations in familiar language. Saint Paul asked in his first letter to the Corinthians (14:9), "...except ye utter by the tongue words easy to be understood, how shall it be known what is spoken?"; and the spirit of Augustine's celebrated formula, "melius est reprehendant nos grammatici, quam non intelligent populi", informed a series of later pronouncements on the importance of preaching in terms familiar to the masses. The influential preacher Caesarius of Arles (whose works were well known in twelfth-century Scandinavia) begins one of his sermons with not only a defence of, but a plea for rusticity in popular preaching:

...et ideo rogo humiliter ut contentae sint erudite aures verba rustica aequanimitate sustinere, dummodo totus grex domini simplici et ut ita dixerim, pedestri sermone pabulum spiritale possit accipere. Et quia imperiti et simplices ad scholasticorum altitudinem non possunt ascendere, eruditi se dignantur ad illorum ignorantiam inclinare.

Similarly, Rabanus Maurus devotes a chapter of his De clericorum Institutione to a discussion of the use of down-to-earth speech in sermons; and Ælfric observes that, in preaching, "Man sceal læwedum mannum secgan be heora andgites meâe". The author of a sermon on the Annunciation in Sthom. paraphrases Gregory's advice to the pulpit orator to consider the capacities of his audience:

Sthom. 141/35-39 (Leifar 176/10-14): 

...þat verþr sâ oc lîta es keNer. til hvéss þeIr ó fallner es til hlýpa. at eige máli hann fyr þeim myrcë es lîta skîlning hafa oc eige sva langt saman at torvellt sê
In part, the adoption of a lucid, uncomplicated sermon-style was simply a matter of practicality. Ornate rhetoric and unfamiliar terminology could easily confuse an illiterate or newly-converted congregation for whom the fundamental tenets of the Christian faith might be difficult enough to grasp. However, simplicity and clarity of expression were more than mere expedients for religious writers of the Middle Ages. Medieval Christianity, in defending the inelegant, ungrammatical and vulgar prose of the earliest Christian writings (and of the Latin translations of the Scriptures in particular) generated at an early stage its own aesthetic of "humility". As Erich Auerbach has demonstrated, the sermo.humilis, the "lowly style" almost inevitably became the hallmark of Christian eloquence. The "homeliness" of biblical style was: the ultimate model for Christian authors:

...the style of the Scriptures throughout is humilis, lowly or humble. Even the hidden things (secreta, recondita) are set forth in a "lowly" vein. But the subject matter, whether simple or obscure, is sublime. The lowly, or humble, style is the only medium in which such sublime mysteries can be brought within the reach of men. It constitutes a parallel to the Incarnation, which was also a humilitas in the same sense, for men could not have endured the splendor of Christ's divinity. But the Incarnation, as it actually happened on earth, could only be narrated in a lowly and humble style. The birth of Christ in a manger in Bethlehem, his life among fishermen, publicans, and other common men, the Passion with its realistic and "scandalous" episodes -- none of this could have been treated appropriately in the lofty oratorical, tragic or epic style. According to the Augustan esthetic, such matters were worthy, at best, of the lower literary genres. But the lowly style of Scripture encompasses the sublime. Simple, vulgar, and crassly realistic words are employed, the syntax is often colloquial and inelegant; but the sublimity of the subject matter shines through the lowliness, and there is hidden meaning
at every turn. The sublime content...is often obscure and hidden, but even then, thanks to the lowliness of the presentation, the common man can partake of it. The common denominator of this style is its humility. 46

Early Christian scholars recognized, however, in spite of their professed hostility to the seductive charms of rhetoric, that their *sermo piscatorius* need not be utterly barren of ornament. 47 Augustine addresses the vexed question of the use of rhetoric in preaching in the fourth book of *De Doctrina Christiana*, where he argues,

...since by means of the art of rhetoric both truth and falsehood are urged, who would dare say that truth should stand in the person of its defenders unarmed against lying, so that they who wish to urge falsehoods may know how to make their listeners benevolent, or attentive, or docile in their presentation, while the defenders of truth are ignorant of that art?...Who is so foolish as to think this to be wisdom? While the faculty of eloquence, which is of great value in urging either evil or justice, is in itself indifferent, why should it not be obtained for the uses of the good in the service of truth if the evil usurp it for the winning of perverse and vain causes in defense of iniquity and error? 48

Not only does Augustine have no objection to the pillaging of the "Egyptian spoils" of Roman rhetoric by the Christian orator, but, more significantly, he demonstrates that the Bible itself is a treasure-house of eloquence. As Christine Mohrmann notes, what strikes Augustine most in the Scriptures is "the so-called figured style: the parallel, paratactic cola, antithesis, the use of climax and dialecticon". 49 In Romans 5:3-5 he finds an example of *gradatio* or *climax* ("the figure in which the speaker passes to the following word only after advancing by steps to the preceding one"):

```
scientes quia tribulatio patientiam operatur,
patientia autem probationem,
probatio autem spem.
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He draws attention to the effective use, in II Corinthians 11:16-30, of
parallel *cola*, rhetorical questions, and an impressive series of *caesa* which "pour forth with a most pleasing vigour": 51

...Ter virgis caesus sum,
     semel lapidatus sum:
     ter naufragium feci,
     nocte et die in profundo maris fui
     in itineribus saepe,
     periculis fluminum,
     periculis latronum,
     periculis ex genere,
     periculis ex gentibus,
     periculis in civitate,
     periculis in solitudine,
     periculis in mari,
     periculis in falsis fratribus;
     in labore et aerumna,
     in vigiliis multis,
     in fame et siti,
     in ieiuniis multis,
     in frigore et nuditate
...
Quis infirmatur, et ego non infirmor?
quis scandalizatur, et ego non uror?

Similarly, he admires the simple parallelism in Amos 6:4 -- "Qui dormitis
in lectis eburneis/ Et lascivitis in stratis vestris;/ Qui comeditis
agnum de grege,/ Et vitulos de medio armenti" -- and observes that this
form of utterance was particularly well suited to the humble audience of
the "rustic turned prophet". 52 As Mohrmann notes, "it is as though, with
this remark, he wishes to free these figures from the rhetorical tradition
and place them in the framework of the living, popular language". 53 As
she points out, it is not surprising that the features of scriptural
elocution discussed by Augustine are also among the hallmarks of his own
sermon-style -- a style based upon "the Bible on one hand, [and] the
living language-consciousness on the other". 54
Mohrmann echoes Henri Marrou in emphasizing that Augustine was the first Christian author "to treat the problem of style not negatively, but positively. He was also the first to demand a Christian style." She observes, moreover, that Augustine's revolutionary insight was that the Christian orator could acquire eloquence, as it were, without rhetoric:

...Augustine had the courage to separate the "eloquentia" from the rhetoric, and this was unheard of in Antiquity. He declares that it is possible to become a good orator without the rules and precepts of the rhetoricians... Instead...Augustine proposes the possibility of developing a natural talent by the reading of good models. These models, however, are no longer the Classical authors, but the Bible and the Fathers of the Church. Quintilian's precept frequens imitatatio transit in mores was thus given a new emphasis, as, for the Christian writer, the lectio divina itself became a "school of rhetoric". As Augustine says,

There is no lack of ecclesiastical literature...which, if read by a capable man, even though he is interested more in what is said than in the eloquence with which it is said, will imbue him with that eloquence especially if he gains practice by writing, dictating, or speaking what he has learned according to the rule of piety and faith.

A brief survey of commonplace tropes, figures and stylistic features in Sthom. and Nhom. shows clearly how this principle was put into practice by the Old West Norse homilists. Not only did the scriptural and patristic texts they read, digested and "made their own" often serve as practical models, allowing them to make use of figures such as those admired by Augustine, but more importantly the exercise of translation and adaptation from Latin sources acted as a midwife for expression, forcing the homilists to adapt the resources of their own language to new uses. Fredrik Paasche has observed that Latin reading to a great extent forms the basis of Icelandic
ecclesiastical sermons, and this kind of study of the Latin language must have developed and strengthened a taste for good prose. It may be conjectured that some of the distinctive features, which to us appear so characteristic of the later Icelandic (and Norwegian) style of writing, the "saga style", have derived support from the Latin texts.59

Indeed, the marriage in the homilies of simple but effective rhetorical devices to a "humble style" of delivery was part of the process whereby, as Gabriel Turville-Petre has emphasized, the early writers of religious prose:

...helped the Icelanders to develop a literary style in their own language, and gave them the means to express their own thoughts through the medium of letters. In a word, the learned literature did not teach the Icelanders what to think or what to say, but it taught them how to say it.60

In exploiting both a Latin literary tradition and their own considerable talents, the early Norwegian and Icelandic homilists enriched the stylistic resources of their literary heirs.
Parallelism, Prose Rhythm, and Alliteration.

In his essay, "Saga Style in Some Kings' Sagas", Frederic Amory makes the following surprising observation:

...The range of Latin expressions and stylisms which Old Norse could assimilate, and did, has not yet been canvassed by any means; but there were linguistic limits to what clerical stylists might do with the vernacular. The periphrastic oddities of style in the Fóstbrœðra Saga...were presumably easier to contrive, congenial as they were to skaldic poets, than the balanced, antithetical Kunstprosa of classical and medieval Latin, which was quite foreign to the over-all ordonnance of literary Old Norse. The parallelism of alliterative phrases was not to be forced farther into antitheses between sentences, as in Ágrip: "Syræþ hann hana dauþa, en landz-lýpr allr syræþ hann viltan", or, "Seig hon svá ú þesko, en konungr steig til vitzko ok hugþi af heimsko, stýrþi sípan ríki síno ok styrkþi, gladdisk hann af þegnom sínom ok þegnar af honom, en ríkit af hvóro tvêggia". These antithetical sentences are indeed exceptions to the habitual stylistic practice of clerical writers of Old Norse, for all their love of Latin. In comparison with Latin Kunstprosa, Old Norse prose remains unbalanced and unperiodic --what Aristotle would have called λειψις ἐξομένη, a running style, merely additive of clauses, "which has no end in itself, unless the subject matter comes to an end". In this unadorned style, however, subtleties were contained undreamt of in the philosophy of Aristotle.61

Amory's claim that balanced sentence-patterns are "exceptions to the habitual stylistic practice of clerical writers of Old Norse" is difficult to test, since he does not say which clerical texts, or even which period he has in mind. In Sthom. and Nhom. at any rate, examples of isocolon and antithetical constructions can be found on almost every page, both in translations and in texts for which no Latin analogues have been found:

Sthom. 51/5-8
Ps. Aug. 117, PL 39, 1978/24-29:
Ef sic truer sélán her. sa
Si beatum se credit, qui hoc er þat eignasc er hann misser
possidet quod dimissurus est
efster dauðan.

hvē œryGr es sa er
þess þíþer er hann scal
aldrege tyna?
Ef sa er rfrk kallaþpr er
stíórnar heimenom.

hverso sáll er sa er
Guþ hever i hug ser.

post mortem;

quam securus est,
qui illud præmium sperat, quod
nunquam amissurus est per
æternitatem!

Si potens dicitur, qui mundo imperat;
quam beatus est qui Deum
in conscientia pura portat!

Sthom. 114/30-32:

vér þurfom at vör látem í mein oss.
til þess at þa oflife hann epter ðss.
vér þurfom at hann gere i mein oss.
til þess at hann of huGe oss.

Sthom. 120/2-5:

bæmæless meN
oc umbless meN
oc meins meN óra.

scolom ver eige hata
heldr elsca
eige sem vine
heldr sem óvine
eige fyr þeiRa verpleics sacar.
heldr fyr guþs sacar.
endA fyr sacar naþsynia bêpe váRa oc þeiRa.

Sthom. 102/27-29 (Nhom. 99/20-22):

Gott es at gefa fé til kircna.
en betra es at hugga válaþa nanga i naþsyniom sinom.
þuiat kirkior farasc meþ heîme.
en aNðer maNa fyrfarasc aldrege. 63

Nhom. 110/21-22:

En þvi meþir gözaco er hann teðe þaim af sinni hendi.
þvi ollu verri ok u-tryggrí varo þeir honum. 64

Nhom. 113/17-19
cf. Metcalfe, 76/8-9:
þa caus hann sér þann lut
...elegit honeste mori, quam cum
heldr at døyia með drængscap
dedecore tanto et infamia sui
The parallel and antithetical constructions found in the Homily Books are, on the whole, less ostentatious than those Amory cites from Ágrip; but the homilists very often reinforce their isocola and antitheses with other figures: homoioteleuton, polyptoton, anaphora, assonance, rhyme, and alliteration. Cf., e.g.:

Sthom. 81/16-20 (Nhom. 60/21-25):

...pa geromsc vér verber heilags anda.
oc kollom[sc] liþer crists
ef ver erom oslíger i hiortom
oc meîlnæser i orþom.
millder i verkom
oc athugasamer i beðnom.
vakrer i glean allre freístne.
oc ástsamrer viþ guþ.
oc miscunsamer viþ nónga.

Sthom. 143/14-20:

bétha lif eGiar galása meN
til ofáts oc ofdryckio.
oc hordoms meN
til saúrífess.
míner þat þiófeN at hann stele.
en reþpan at hann vege.
en scrácmaN at hann liúge.

Acta S. Sebastiani., PL 17, 1116:

Ipsa dat edacitatem glutonibus.
ipsa ebrietatem ingerit temulentis,
ipsa naufragium pudoris adulteris,
ipsa exsecrablem tradit perversitatem incestis;
ipsa admonet furem, ut rapiat;
iracundiam ut sviat;
mendacem, ut fallat.
Ipsa inter conjuges divortia seminat. inter amicos discordias,
in ter Pacificos lites,
inter justos injustitiam,
inter fratres scandala.

Fulgentius, PL 65, 730A:
Beri Christus pro nobis pannis est
involutus;
hodie Stephanus stola
est ab eo immortalitatis
indutus.

Sthom. 191/27-28:
Hodie immensitas Christi
suscepit Stephanum
triumphantem.

Sthom. 177/3-8 (Nhom. 44/1-7):
J gér vas cristur vaf[r]i reifom.
en i dag vas stephanus scrýddr
odaþeg o scrúpe.

J gér tóc þræng eta viþ crist
ungom sveíne.
en i dag tóc rúm holl himins
viþ stephano cristz ripera.

Kristr ste niþr holde hulpr
en stephanus sté upp
blópe helgabr
66

Nhom. 43/1-5:
Maór hafnaðe guði.
ok hvarf braut fra honum.
en guð alscaðe mann
ok com hingat til mann.

Elscaðe hann syngan
ok gerðe retlátan.
Elscaðe hann síucan
ok gerðe háilan.
Elscaðe hann anaðgan
ok gerðe frialsan.
ok escaëe [sic] sva framarla

at hann selöi sic til dauða

at ver mættim lifa.

Nhom. 107/12-16:

Oc sva sem Iohannes boðae burð Crist i burð sinum.

ok scirn hans i skirn sinni.

sва boðae hann oc douða Crist i sinum dauða.

Oc sva sem hann sagðe nalgast frið ok fagnaó

þeim er i þeimi varó.

sва sagðe hann oc nalgasc lausn guðs vínnum

þeim er i hælti varó:

Nhom. 109/12-13:

Hann firði sic hvivitna þvi er

guðs log banna.

en þat vann hann

męp mycwdum astar

hitara er þau bioða.67

Nhom. 107/12-16:

ehementer abhorrebat;

quicquid preceptit

ardentissimo complectebatur

amore.

Certain commonplaces provided the OWN homilists with, as it were,
"ready-made" rhythmical sequences. The Homily Books contain several
examples, for instance, of the traditional alius-series, in which isocolon
is combined effectively with anaphora:

Sthom. 41/6-12 (Nhom. 145/8-13):

cf. J.E. Cross, "Legimus in Ecclesiasticis Historiis", Traditio 33 (1977),
115/124-32:

His subiectum est triumphale

martyrum nomen qui per diversa tor-
mentorum genera Christi passionem non
lacessentibus precordiorum mentibus
imitabantur;

alii ferro perempti

alii flammis exusti,

alii flagris uerberati,

alii uectibus perforati,

alii cruciati patibulo,
SUMER SVELLER
EN AF SUMUM KYKOM
SKIN FLEGET.
EN FYR SLIKA HLUTE ALLA TAKA
PETIR ELÍFA [SIC] DÝRP A HIMNE.

SUMER SVELLER
EN AF SUMUM KYKOM
SKIN FLEGET.
EN FYR SLIKA HLUTE ALLA TAKA
PETIR ELÍFA [SIC] DÝRP A HIMNE.

Alíi pelagi periculo [var. + demersi]
Alíi uíui decoriati,
Alíi uíucís mancipati,
Alíi línguis priuati,
Alíi lapidis obruti,
Alíi frigore adïcti,
Alíi fame cruciati,
Alíi uero truncatis manibus
Siue ceteris cõsis membris.

...Hi sunt triumphatores et amici dei
Qui ... modo coronantur et accipient
Palmas laborum...

STHOM. 204/21-26:
ER Á PETIR ENÊ SÁMÓ STUNDO TÓKO
HEÎISO BRÎR MEÑ ËNS ÁTÁ TEGAR
AF ÍLM ÒSOMM.
Frà SOMMOM FLEÔPO DIOFLAR. OC
VITKÔPOS OC ÒRER.
EN SUMOM TÓKO SÝN SINA.
SUMOM HREÎNOSOBOSC LÍCPRÆR.
SUMOM BEÔTTESC HAFÔP VERKIA
SUMOM STÀPVÅPESC BLOPRÔS.
EN SUMOM ÍNAN MEÍNA. EPA
RIPOSÓTA. OC MARGRA AÑARÁ
KÑJIA SÔTTA PETÍRA ES VÉR CÚNOM
EÍGE NEFÑA.

Similarly, conventional descriptions of heaven and hell offered ample opportunity for the production of elaborate rhythmical sequences, embellished with anaphora, polysyndeton, and often assonance and alliteration:

NHOM. 32/11-14, 33/31 - 34/2 ("DE NATIUITATE DOMINI SERMO"):  
DÁR ER MÍGI HUNGR: NE, PÔRSTE.
NE ÆLÍI. NE MYRCR.
NE ÓP - NE RÆÍMR.
ne vóinan. ne gratr.
ne sorg. ne sarlæicr.

Bar er liós fyrir utan mycr [sic]
ok lif fyrir utan dauða.
óðska fyrir utan alli.
Hælsa fyrir utan sótt.

...

Bar er her a veroldo lofa of-dryciiu eða of-fylli.
ok vilja æigi til yfir-bota ganga.
ok una í þeim synnum til dauða-dags.
Þa hafa þær ængi lut í himnum með guði.
ok þeim er atlat helviti með dioflum.

Bar er óp. ok gratr.
ok hungr. ok þorste.
ok svalgljandu ældr.

vili. lutum heitare en á veroldo mege hinn heitasta gera.
Oc þar er æi myrcr án liós.
allis fyrir utan ósko.

Nhom. 88/28 – 89/4 ("Sermo necessaria"): 
En himin-riki er sva got at engi maðr kan þat hyggia eða oðrum sægia.

Þar er lif æi-lift
ok, æi ok æi liós

Þar er gaman ok gleði
ok hverssonar pryði
ok dyrð ok fagnaðr enda-laus.

Þar varðr maðr æigi siurðr.

ok engi of-gamal.

Þar er hvarke hungr ne þorste.

Þar er æigi sut ne sorg.

Þar ann hver maðr oðrum iamt sem siolfum sér.

Bar sculu aller göðer menn guð sia æi ok æi
ok með honum lifum ok hans englum yfirir utan enda.

Selur ero þær menn er við slict sculu vera.

en hinir ero vesler er til helvitis sculu rapa.

Þar sculu þær vera með dioflum.

Þar er ei ok ei myrcr ok mein
ok sut ok sorg.
It is especially interesting to observe how in both of these passages parallel phraseology is used to accentuate the polarity of the antithetical descriptions, and to make the torments of hell appear as a demonic parody of the joys of heaven: Nhom. 32/11, **hungr ok þorste** -- 33/35, **hungr. ok þorste**; 32/12, **ne óð ne reýmr** -- 33/35, **óð. ok gratr**; 32/13, **lios fyri utan mycr** -- 34/2, **mycr æn liós**; 32/14, **céska fyrir utan sæli** -- 34/2, **sæli fyri utan þekko**; Nhom. 88/29-30, **líf æi-lift ok æi ok æi lios** -- 89/2, **æi ok ei mycr æi mein**; 88/32, **hvarke hungr ne þorste ... sut ne sorg** -- 89/2-3 **sut ok sorg. hungr ok þorste**.

Catalogues of virtues and vices also tend to become rhetorical show-pieces. In a eulogy on "shamefastness" in Sthom., a striking rhythm is achieved through the asyndetic juxtaposition of short parallel cola in which the verb appears in the primary position (note, too, the use in the passage of alliteration, **homoio teleuton** and **polyptoton**; 103/11-20):

```
Grandvære er gøfogleg oc iarleg oc drengeleg
atferp fyr gups avgom.
þæiat af henne gerasc marger göber hluter.
Af henne geres crenilife.
en hon heldr aftr singirno [sic].
forbas eon þrátor.
oc stæþvar eon reipe.
varasæ eon viþ ofdryckio.
þreongver eon losta
stiller eon belpine.
hírter eon gímpere.
hon eycr eige orpe of orþ.
forbasæ eon ofát [oc] ofdryckio
oc fyr deomer eon stulp.
alla lasto þreonguer eon.
```
The author of this text would appear to use the subjectless sentence-construction in order to imitate as closely as possible the rhythm he admires in his Latin model. The sermon on grandveri cited above contains, for instance, the following companion-passage on "uprightness" (Sthom. 103/36 - 104/3):

...En of rápvendina verþr nu mart reótt
...hon es kælloþ...
fegrþ liótra manna
en farsála goðra.
huggon harmaNda.
auke allrar fegrþar.
vegr splátes
oc vœrn gleópa

In many similar passages, especially catalogues of sins, which often grow to impressive proportions, the prose rhythm is buoyed up through the use of word-pairs. The introduction of rhythmical "inventories" of sins often helped the preacher to hold the attention of his listeners and to make a simple point ("Repent, that your sins may be blotted out") in a memorable way. As the author of an Ascension Day homily in Stom. explains in introducing such a list, he makes use of the device in order to make his sermon less boring (Stom. 21/34-22/1):

...En til þess at eige gere þýr langmál leþpende. þa monom ver scyndelegaR aþqvéþom leþpa 73 hvat oss hefter mest til guþs at koma.

Grímþ. oc óþocke.
vílfúb oc þústr.
Saurlífe. oc þíófskapr.
illýþge of þa meN es ver megom etke reýna anat en vel se...

This roll of vices is remarkable for its subtle alliteration (note especially the vowel alliteration and assonance of "þocke ... vílfúb ...illýþge"). More often, however, in lists of this kind, a more insistent sound-pattern is achieved through the use of conventional alliterative doublets. Cf., e.g., Stom. 44/12, "...varna vþ ofmetnaþe oc æfund. vþ þatre oc hþþnæ..."; 147/6-16, "Hefe ec synþer gort i morþe oc i manþrape ... i hþþnæ oc i hþþøte ... J bacmelgi oc i bermelgi..."; 158/ 19-20, "... oc strýqva sva eþtrit or hugnom. reþþi oc ranþþtí. bolvþn oc bacþþli. æfund oc ofmetnþ. eþtr es slíþt callat...". 75

A good extended example of the same technique is found in a catalogue of virtues which forms part of an excursus on Luke 2:14 ("...pax hominibus bonae voluntatis") in an Annunciation sermon in Stom. (137/ 17-32):
In his article, "Vers i homiliebøgerne", Jón Helgason points out that the last two lines of this passage can be scanned as verse; and he cites many other examples from the homilies of short sequences which are reminiscent of fornyrðislag in their stress-patterns and alliteration (among them some other passages already cited in this chapter: cf. above, Sthom. 103/38 - 104/3, 191/27 ; Nhom. 88/35 - 89/1). Jón admits that "Sådanne linjer vil flere ganga dukke op i allittererende prosa, uden at man derfor med nogen sikkerhed tør hævde, at det har været forfatterens eller oversætterens bevidste hensigt at slå over i versform"; but such passages serve, at least, to demonstrate the homilists sensitivity to prose-rhythm. Perhaps the most striking of Jón's examples is a passage in the second homily for All Saints in Sthom., the last part of which can (as Gabriel Turville-Petre previously noted) be written out as a complete fornyrðislag stanza (Sthom. 157/37 - 158/1):

\[ ...lygi ok lausung \\
oc lester marger, \\
scopon. oc scialsemi \\
oc skeftun. optlega \]
In an essay on "Latin Influence on the Norwegian Language", Bjarne Berulfsen suggests that alliteration is often used in ON clerical literature as a substitute for Latin Reimprosa:

...the almost completely dominant use of alliteration we sometimes meet in the religious literature and also in the translated, romantic sagas is there to make up for all the stylistic effects in the original which could not be translated easily into Norwegian. The inflectional endings of Latin seem to favour assonance more than Norwegian does, so the latter compensates by using alliteration.

In his discussion of alliteration in the OWN translation of Vitae Patrum, Mattias Tveitane considers Gustaf Cederschiöld's similar suggestion that in OWN translations of French romances the device was used to make up for the loss of "originalets prydliga rim". Tveitane objects,

...Men dette resonnement kan ikke strekke til som forklaring på hvorfor alliterasjonen også kan bli brukt i slik overflod i prosaoversettelser fra latin ... Vi kan ikke se noen grunn til å etterstreve en slik "poetisk" form i legendeoversettelser, og de latinske originaltekstene synes ikke i særlig grad å invitere til bruk (enn si misbruk) av et slikt kunstmiddel.

The alliterative excesses of the OWN Vitae Patrum are rarely paralleled in twelfth-century OWN clerical prose; but the early translators recognized the value of alliteration as a simple means of enlivening a phrase or emphasizing a point. And Tveitane observes that the real "model" for their habitual use of the figure was doubtless a rich native tradition of alliterative mnemonic formulas and proverbial phrases.

As Tveitane also notes, the translators occasionally encountered examples of alliteration in their Latin sources:
...den første generasjon av norrøne oversettere, de som har gjengitt den eldste preken- og legendlitteraturen, har i sine latinske forelegg møtt spredte allitererende forbindelser som ikke uten videre samsvarte med de faste allitererende formlene de kjente fra sitt eget språk. En del av disse "tilfeldige" alliterasjonene kan de så ha ført over i sin norrøne språkform -- kanskje delvis av pietet, for å følge forelegget så nøye som råd, men vel også fordi figuren hadde en særlig stilverdi...

In the Nhom. Olaf-legend, for instance, one can find isolated examples of passages in which alliteration would appear to be used in imitation of the same figure in Eysteinn Erlendsson's Passio et Miracula Beati Olaui:

110/8-11:
Nu eptir þat þa setti hann log manna á millum þau er yfir allt land hafa síðan halden veret. at rikir menn réne mgi hina er er fatskre ero. hældr raðe hverr sinu sem ret er...

116/6-8:
...hAIMTI til sin þann litla stuf er eptir stoð tungunnar.. ok togaðe sva hár ok þøygði at sá ungi mær fec mgi þolat í søfnenom u-ðpande. 88

117/8-9:
...um kono þa flout ok fór ferlect u-orðan.

117/19-20:
...stýfðu af tungunni. ok gþungu bæðe æugun őr hafði honum.

118/13-14
...þa greere ár hvit á hvernum baðom. 89

80/3-6:
...lingue truncate partem que remanserat tanta uirtute extraxit et extendit, ut uiolenciam conaminis adolescens ferre non ualens in somnis clamare cogeretur

81/4-5:
...de muliere illa suspicio sinistra oriretur.

81/14-15:
...abscidunt linguam, a capite oculos eruunt.

82/4
...remansit in palpebris cicatrix candida.
Similarly, in the Nhom. version of Alcuin’s De Virtutibus et Vitiis, odd examples can be found of alliterative sequences which correspond to Latin passages featuring both alliteration and homoioteleuton:

12/34-35: PL 101, 623C:
...fyr-færs e dvolen en
...perit dilatio,
aftir stændr ðømengen et restat damnatio
20/22-23: 629B:
A varga veniu gripa þæir alla
...luporum more cuncta rapientes,
luti. en væita fát veslom.90 et vix pauperibus paucu relinquentes.

Even on the basis of such examples, however, one would hardly be justified in arguing that the general use of alliteration in either the Olaf-legend or the Nhom. version of De Virtutibus et Vitiis is derived from, or even directly inspired by the Latin, since in both texts the figure is commonly introduced in translations of Latin passages which are adorned with few or no verbal ornaments. Cf., for example, in the Alcuin translation:

Nhom. 20/9-10:
Opt ma forðascâmð flotta en
sígi ma flyia ríki dømandi 91

21/6-8:
...Ef scildir verða scrócvattar.
þa munu þæir þegar finnasc lygnir. En hvartvæggi er sæcr.
sa er læynir sonnu ok sa er sægir lygi. þvi at annar vil
sígi duga. en annar gírnisc at
granda.92

29/21:
O-glæði ild fyri andlega glæði.93
...tristitia mala per lastitiam
spiritualem...

The author of the Nhom. Olaf-legend habitually resorts to even more elaborate forms of alliterative word-play. It is interesting, for
instance, to compare the following examples from the introductory homily "Jn die sancti Olaui Regis et martiris" with the corresponding passages in Eysteinn's Passio, for although, as Anne Holtsmark has pointed out, the OWN homily cannot be regarded as a direct translation of this Latin text, it is instructive to see how the vernacular writer often overgoes Eysteinn in his combination of alliteration with assonance and figura etymologica:

Nhom. 108/23-25:
...hann bidda þann myccla bela or briost þæm með mykil-laíc hins hælgasta. ok eldi hug harð-
hugadra manna.með astar hita
hinnar hælgu trv...

108/30 - 109/1
En þa réð fyrir Norege hinn hælgí Oláfr konungr. hann var
mykil guós dyrlingr. mildr at
sannu ok miscunsamr.
sannsyn umm alla luti þa er
til gøzsco horfðe.

68/5-7:
Buic tunc, ut diximus, prouincie
preerat rex olaus, qui licet gentilis,
natura tamen benignus erat, et ad
honesta queque sequenda quadam mentis
ingenuitate promtissimus.

110/14-16:
Stillir hann konunga ok konungs
menn. lastar of-dramb þærra ok
of-mykin yfír-gang. ok lægr við
sectir ef þær ganga yfír hit
sanna.

71/4-6:
...Sapienter considerans plerumque
reges potestate sibi consessa superbe
abuti in subditos, legum rigore
regalem cohercuit et refrenuit
licenciam.

Many other passages could be cited from Sthom. and Nhom. which demonstrate that the homilists' facility for the use of alliteration did not make them less willing to exploit other rhetorical devices. In, for instance, the impressive eulogy of the Cross which forms the peroration of a sermon for Inventio Sanctae Crucis found in both Sthom.
and Nhöm., alliteration is used sparingly to accent the sonorous rhythm achieved through the use of isocolon and homoiooteleuton (Sthom. 39/6-16; cf. Nhöm. 105/8-18):

fyr crosse drottens flóia dioflar.
hræpesc helvite.
daþpe fjrresc.
synþer forþasc.
scammasc oviner.
friþr magnasc.
en ðóst þróaoc oc aller góper hluter.
Heilagr cross es sigrmarc guþs.
en laúsnamarc mann.
en fagnaparmarc engla.
heilagbr af guþe.
dýrcapl af englom
en goþgapr af monnom.
oc vegsampbr af allre skepno.
Heilagr cross er hlifskioldr viþ meþnom.
en hiólþ i farsélegom hlutom.
huGom viþ harme.
oc hugbot i fagnape.
ålif viþ hásca.
ålæcning viþ sóttom.
laísн i hoftom.
en leiþrétteng fra synþom.
sigr i orrostum
en eþfling viþ allre freþste
styrþp válabra.
en stþórn aupogra.
friþr góþom
en ógn illom.

And the author of a translation of Caesarius' sermo 227, "De Natale Ecclesiae", shows that his skill at combining alliteration effectively with isocolon, homoiooteleuton and rhyme equals that of the Latin preacher:
...quantum possumus cum ipsius adiutorio laboremus, ne dominus noster in templo suo, hoc est, in nobis ipsis inveniat quod oculos suae maiestatis offendat; sed habitaculum cordis nostri evacuetur vitis, et virtutibus repleatur claudatur diabolo, et aperiatur Christo; et ita laboremus, ut nobis bonorum operum clavibus ianuam regni caelestis aperire possimus.

Such passages are clearly the work of accomplished stylists who had no difficulty in combining native and Latin features to produce a prose of remarkable power.


4. "Enthält das Stockholmer Homilienbuch durchweg Übersetzungen?", ANF 32 (1916), 45. (Vrátňy cites several examples of "popular" features in Sthom., 46ff.) See also Jan de Vries, Altnordische Literaturgeschichte (2nd ed., 1964-67), II, 182:

   ...Diese sermones ad populum sind für den mündlichen Vortrag bestimmt. Deshalb ist die Sprache ohne gelehrte Stilmerkmale, sondern fließend und einfach...


8. Another, less striking example of a sudden modulation into direct speech is found a few lines earlier in the same passage:

   Sthom. 56/33 - 57/2: 
   "...En þa qvomo austr vegs konungar til iorsala. oc spurþo herodes konvng hvar borneN meonde vera konungr gybinga. ["]Sóm vér stiorno hans i austre oc fþrom afþui at gøfga hann.["]...

   Matt. 2:1-2: 
   "...ecce Magi ab oriente venerunt Ierosolymam, dicentes: Ubi est qui natus est rex Iudaorum? vidimus enim stellam eius in oriente, et venimus adorare eum."
And breathless, paratactic sentence-sequences, uninterrupted by conjunctions, are found throughout the pericope:

57/2-5: Matt. 2:3-4:
...Herodes varp hryGr viþ oc Audiens autem Herodes rex, turbatus est,
allt fólc hans meþ honom. Sam- et omnis Ierosolyma cum illo. Et con-
nape saman állom hofþingiom gregans omnes principes sacerdotum,
kaNemanna oc ritmonnom. fráte et scribas populi, sciscitabatur ab
þà sìpan hvar cristr münde eis ubi Christus nascetur.
berasc...

57/17-20 (note change of tense): Matt. 2:9-11:
...Stíarnan fòr fyrer þeim uNz ...et ecce stella, quam viderant in
hon kom yver þat hús er sveiNen oriente, antecedebant eos, usque dum
var í. þeir fognobo mioc es veniens staret supra, ubi erat puer.
þeir só hana. Ganga sìpan i Videntes autem stellam gavisi sunt
húset iN. hitta par sveineN oc gaudio magno valde. Et intrantes
mópor hans marío. Falla til domum, invenerunt puerum cum Maria
iarpar oc lutu honom. Feorbo matre eius, et procidentes adorav-
honom sìpan gópar gërsemar... erunt eum: et apertis thesauris suis
obtulerunt ei munera...

For some examples of similar passages in the Nhómr Olaf-legend, see below, n. 72.

gezielt verwendeten im Sinne eines eigenen Stils".

10. Ibid., 14.

11. Von See, "Das Problem der mündlichen Erzählprosa im Altnordischen",
Skandinavistik 11 (1981), 90-91. He refers in particular to W.
Schröder's study, "Übergänge aus oratio obliqua in oratio recta bei
Wolfram von Eschenbach", Festschrift für Ingeborg Schröbler. Beiträge
zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur, 95, Sonderheft
[1973], 70-92. On the alternation of direct and indirect speech in
saga-style see also, e.g., M. Jeffrey, The Discourse in Seven Ice-
landic Sagas (1934), 20-27; I. Netter, Die Direkte Rede in den
Isländersagas, Form und Geist 36 (1935). Bernadette Maloney, "A
Further Anglo-Saxon Trait in the Narrative Style of Ælfric's Lives
of Saints", Notes and Queries 224 (1979), 498-500, examines some
examples of the same phenomenon in Old English and concludes (499) that "it was undoubtedly from his native tradition that Ælfric adopted this feature". She adds (500) that the phenomenon "hardly merits the title of a 'stylistic device'; C.L. Wrenn's description -- 'a colloquial trait' -- is perhaps more appropriate, since the flexibility the feature betrays is perhaps more typical of the spoken rather than the written word". (Cf. Wrenn, "A Saga of the Anglo-Saxons", History 25 [1940-41], 212, where he refers to the sudden switch from indirect to direct speech towards the end of the "Cynewulf and Cyneheard" entry in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, Parker ms. sub anno 755, ed. J. Earle and C. Plummer, Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel [1892-99, rpt. 1972], 48/24-26.) In most cases, however, the device is clearly used for dramatic effect, and it is easier to imagine its cultivation in literature (or, at least, in oral narrative) than as a feature of colloquial speech. (See Schröder, 78 ["...ein erlaubtes und brauchbares Stilmittel literarischer Sprache..."]; Von See, 91; and further examples of the device from the Homily Books, cited below, p. 13.)


16. Although the use of the "descriptive genitive" is not confined to OWN texts written in lærð stil, Nygaard, Norrøn Syntax § 127, Anm. 1, notes that "mere pasafaldende forbindelser" of the type found here are more common in poetry and "learned" prose texts.

17. On participial constructions in lærð stil see Marius Nygaard, "Om brugen af det saakaldte presens particip i oldnorsk", ANOH (1879), 203-28; s.a., "Den lærde stil i den norrøne prosa", Sproglig-historiske Studier tilegnet Professor C.R. Unger, 155-161; s.a., Norrøn Syntax (1906, rpt. 1966), §§ 229-247; Tveitane, Den lærde stil, 54-56. In his recent critical examination of Nygaard's theory of "learned" and "popular" styles in OWN literature ("Learned style or saga style?", Speculum Norroenum. Norse Studies in Memory of Gabriel Turville-Petre [1981], 260-292), Jónas Kristjánsson has argued that neither the use of the present participle in phrases resembling the Latin "passive periphrastic" construction (in the passage cited here, cf. bess er oss leitaNd = quærendum nobis est, merkianda er oss = notandum) nor the use of the past participle in apposition with a noun governed by the preposition at (cf. at børnom
lausnera orom = Redemptore nato) can be regarded as a distinguishing feature of lærde stil. In this homily, however, such participial constructions occur so frequently in imitation of Latin phrases that influence from the Latin model cannot be doubted. Cf. Stom. 58/2 oss er beckianda = PL 76, 1111A considerandum nobis est; 58/3 at bornom drótne oc deyianda = 1111A nascente Domino vel moriente; 58/9 at honom deyianda = 1111A eo moriente; 58/32 funder boreN dróttan = 1111C-D natum Regem reperiunt; 59/9-10 Vér scolom goll feóre bornom drótne orom = 1113A Nos itaque nato Domino offeramus aurum. Contrast, however, 58/1 meban hann var mál lauss at likams aldre = 1111A neccum loquentem; 59/15 at pui er salomón sahe = 1113B Salomon attestante; 59/17 at pui er david sahe = 1113B Psalm-ista testante; 59/32 alz vér kenDom isum = 1113C Jesu cognito.)

18. On the substantive use of adjectives in OWN see Nygaard, "Den lærde stil i den norrøne prosa", 167; Norrøn Syntax §§ 53-56; C.E. Thors, "Substantivering av adjektiv i fornsvenskan", Studier i Nordisk Filologi 36-38 (1949), 28-153; Walter, Lex. Lehn., 50-53. Jónas Kristjánsson, op. cit., 286-288, argues that "it is not foreign to popular style to use adjectives substantivally"; Thors, however, demonstrates "att de substantiverade adjektiven, i synnerhet de maskulina, åro säälsynta i folklig prosa i fornvästnordiskan" (111). He also notes that "det substantiverade adjektivet har väsentligen utvecklats i religiös prosa" (see Walter, 51ff. for OWN examples).

19. On this passage see below, ch. four, pp. 524ff.

21. At times, the homilist's colloquial renderings are at once more lucid and more forceful than the Latin. Cf., e.g.,

58/7-8:
Hafet keNde hann. puiat bat
spratt eige vndan fótom hans
ba er hann geck yver bat.

1111A:
Mare cognovit, quia sub
plantis ejus se calcabile
prabuit.

58/9-10:
Sólen kende hann. puiat hon
gerpe eige skína.

1111A:
Sol cognovit, quia lucis
sus radios abscondit.

58/26-27:
herodes snøresc til slógbra
bragba...

1111C:
Herodes ad callida argumenta
convertitur...

22. It is also interesting to compare his "capping" of Gregory's alliterative phrase, celisitudo celestis (111OC), with an apt Icelandic equivalent, himnesc hêp (57/26; for similar phrases in the Homily Books, see below, pp.108-9). Other alliterative tags in the Icelandic text find no parallel in the Latin (cf. 57/20, göbar görsemar = Matt. 2:11 munera; 59/16, Girnleg gørseme = Thesaurus desiderabilis [Prov. 21:20, Vetus Latina; cf. alternative OWN translations of the phrase cit. Kirby, Biblical Quotation, I.85 -- Alc. VV, Nhom. 10/3, Beccileg fe-hirzla; Sthom. 81/26-27, Nhom. 60/31-32, Fyseleg gollhirpsla; Ísl. Æv. 244, Girnilig fêhirzla]; 59/34 bergbom baNabre føőzlo = 1113D cibum vetitum gustando; 59/36 hofnon heimseNs = 1113D visibilia contemnendo [on alliteration in the parallel passage at Nhom. 63/30-34 see below, n.81 ]; 60/1 fyr sút oc sorg = 1113D per lamenta).

23. Nhom. 61/10 - 65/3, "Secundum Mathewum. In epiphania". No single source has yet been discovered for this text; Erik Gunnes (168-169) refers to parallel passages in sermons for Epiphany by Haymo
(of Auxerre), Maximus of Turin, Honorius, and Gregory.

24. Cf. the version of the passage found in Marfu saga (31/13-16 [370/9-12], cit. Kirby, Biblical Quotation I. 135-136):

...Sióan vísaði Herodes þessom í. konungom til Bethlehem ok mælti svá við konungana, at þeir skylldi hann finna, þá er þeir fari aðr, ok sagðiz hann ok þeim sveini fórnir vilja fera...

Note the Nhom. translator's use of alliteration to emphasize his aside: "ok hædde at í hug sér". With the "asyndetic" sentence-sequences of the Sthom. gospel narrative one can compare this translator's insistent, and rather ingenuous repetition of the introductory phrase En sióan (Nhom. 61/30 - 62/17):

En sióan er Heroóes høyði mal þærra ... En sióan callaðe hann konunga løynilega til sin ... En sióan bauð hann þeim at fara til Bethlehem ... En sióan er hann hafðe við þa rød ...

... En sióan er þær sá stórnuna standa kyrra ... En sióan fórðo þær honom giafar ... En sióan er þær hurfu aðr...

Similar introductory phrases and connectives (especially en and nú) are regularly used by the homilists to buoy up the rhythm of their prose. The author of a Lenten sermon in Sthom., for instance, punctuates his "historical survey" of fasting with the adverbial phrase en efter þat (104/33 - 105/16):

...þa eptir þat það moyses...þa for Moysés fra æþrom monnom upp a fiall oc fastape...æn eftir þat gaf guþ læymál þat... Þat var myclo sipar er sa mabr. er helias hét fastape...

En eftir þat nam guþ hann fra æþrom monnom i fognob paradisar...æn siparst prýðde þeira fæsto...síalfr guþ dótten vár...Efter þat er hann hafþe skírn teket...þa geck hann i eyþe morc...æn eptir þat kom diofull at freista hans...

Throughout the rest of the homily less obtrusive (though equally consistent) use is made of the connectives en and nú. In the Nhom. Olaf-legend alone, so-called "epic" nú occurs 48 times, occasionally attached to other temporal formulas:
Nhom. 116/2-3: Nu á stund noccore um dag ein þa sofnaðe hann í kirkju...

Ibid., 117/32-33: Nu síðan eptir á mórum dagi þa fecc hann umm síðir dur noccorn.

Ibid., 124/3-4: Nu á næsta dagi eptir þegar þa var hótíðar-dagr þess helga konungs...

(For general remarks on the use of nú in OWN prose see Sigurður Nordal and Guðni Jónsson, ed. Heiðarvíga saga, Fr 3 [2nd ed., 1957], cxxxiii; Hallberg, Stilsignalement..., 31-35; Jónas Kristjánsson, Úm Fóstbræðrasögur [1972], 166, 170-171; J.E. Knirk, Oratory in the Kings’ Sagas [1981], 72.)

The homilists also occasionally make use of stock introductory formulas reminiscent of saga-narrative. Cf., e.g.:

St Thom. 96/27-29: Nu scal þar til máls taca es mest fylger en þesso er nú es mælt ápr. oc fyr vas getit nacqvat. er en helge íób es...

St Thom. 3/27-28: En þar er til máls at taka frá Mario at segia eþa of hana at rópa. at fæber hennar hét ioakim en aþa móper.

25. Cf. the more literal OWN renderings of these verses cited by Kirby, Biblical Quotation I, 219-220. No sources have yet been identified for the earlier part of the Annunciation sermon which contains the passage cited here (cf. van Arkel, 15; Kirby, Biblical Quotation II. 58; part of the sermon, though not this passage, is also preserved in the early-thirteenth-century ms. AM 686b 4to; cf. Leifar 178-179; 174-175). On the use of alliteration in the translation of the
Magnificat in this sermon (Sthom. 140/4-17), see below, p. 88.

26. On this metaphor, see below, PP. 332ff.

27. Cf. independent translations cited by Kirby, Biblical Quotation I. 220-221, 223-225. Changes of tense permeate the gospel narrative in this sermon. Cf., e.g.,

Sthom. 10/29 - 11/1:
...En þa er kom at hleýte zacharias at fremia biscoþ embňette. þa fer hann til tem-
plum domini at bera þar reyk-
else. En aprer meN stoþo a beñoN vti meþan hann bar
reykelset. þa sér hann engel
guþs til heógre handar. en
ôte mikill fylghe syn
ingelsens.

11/16-17:
...Síþan for zacharias heîm. oc
vitiabe kono siÑar. þa verpr
elisabép hafande. oc leýnde hon
þvi .v. monopr...

Luke 1:8:
Factum est autem, cum sacerdotio
fungeretur in ordine vicis suae
ante Deum, secundum consuetudinem
sacerdotii, sorte exit ut incensum
poneret, ingressus in templum Dom-
ini: et omnis multitus populii erat
orans foris hora incensi. Apparuit
autem illi angelus Domini, stans a
dextris altaris incensi. Et Zach-
arias turbatus est videns, et timor
irruit super eum.

13/22-28:
...þa let herodes taka ioan oc
setia i myrqvastofo. Síþan fyl-
lesc hann þess ofmetnaþar. at
hann heldr burpar típ sina...
En er manboþet breîsc þa léc
ménen vel fyr konunge oc bop-
monnom. þa meðer herodes vilp
meyna. Kóstþu þa þu vill at
leiks launom. oc mun ec veita
þer...

Luke 1:23-24:
Et factum est, ut impleti sunt
dies officii eius, abîit in domum
suam: post hos autem dies concepit
Elisabeth uxor éius, et occultat
se mensibus quinque...

Mark 6:17, 21-22:
Ipse enim Herodes misit, ac tenuit
Ioannem, et vinxit eum in carcere...
Et cum dies opportunus accidisset,
Herodes natalis sui coenam fecit...
cumque introisset filia ipsius Her-
odiadis, et saltasset, et placuisset
Herodi, simulque recumbentibus; rex
alt puellae: Pete a me quod vis, et
dabo tibi...
And many other passages are remarkable for their "rough-hewn" phraseology. Cf., e.g.,

12/26-36:

...pau sette hann ríp víp ofáte at hafa þat eitt til feótslo sér. er sollteNa manna matr þótte vera. Fógl ða veídde hann sér til handa er locuste ero kaíaper.* oc drack þar víp vatn eða skógar hunang. þui er kallat beis[k]t at berðla. En víp þat er hann gerðesc sílíkr afburpar mapr. þa lægbo meN a hann þa virþing at þeir fáro til fundar víp hann oc spurpo ef hann vere cristr. En víp svár bau er hann svaråpe lýsesc yfir þui. i hver- iom crafte liteléttesens hann sva zo régifg e ge verþr at leýsa scó- þveng hans. þót ec léga allr víp iorpo rakeþr fyr honom...

cf. Matt. 3:5 (Mark 1:5):

Tunc exibat ad eum Ierosyblyma, et omnis Iudaea, et omnis regio circa Iordanem...

cf. John 1:20:

...et confessus est: Quia non stóþ. Eige em ek cristr qvaþ hann. sum ego Christus.

en stendr sa a meðal ypvar. er ek vérá þegge verþr at leýsa scó-

Þeng hans. þót ec léga allr víp iorpo rakeþr fyr honom...

13/7-14:

... Joan ðaþesc oc leit at sa var komN. er hann þurpte at huivetna, en sa þurfte hans at engo. oc svaråpe. Hui ertu komN til mín þars ec em þráll þín. en þu ert drotteN mín. oc áþpu mik

cf. Matt. 3:13-15:

Tunc venit Iesus a Galilaea in Iordanem ad Ioannem, ut baptiz-

aretur ab eo. Ioannes autem pro-
hibebat eum, dicens: Ego a te debeo baptizari, et tu venis ad me? Re-
spondens autem Iesus, dixit ei:
at skíra synpagan en þu eðt synþa
Sine modo: sic enim decet nos
læss. Sva scolom vit gera alt
implere omnem iustitiam.
sem batst er qvæþ iesus. oc
scaldú skíra mik i vatneno. fyr
þui at vǫtnen þurfo helgonar.*
þa
bar ioan þat vitni iesus at þar
megobér nú qvæþ hann sia þaN
John 1:29:
...Ecce agnus Dei...
guþs gymbel. er a braut tek N
synþer heimseNh.**

*For a less laconic treatment of this theme cf. Sthom. 79/28ff.
(Nhom. 58/29ff., based on Ps. Aug. 135 [now attributed to Maximus
136 [now attributed to Faustus of Riez, cf. Clavis Patrum 1006];
see Gunnes 168, van Arkel 14; cf. too Nhom. 64/12-14).

** Cf. Sthom. 50/6, "A þesse þif var boreN sá guþs Gymbell er
a braut tóc þein heimseNh." (= Ps. Aug. 117 [now attributed to
Sedatus of Nimes, cf. Clavis Patrum, 1006], PL 39, 1977/25-26,
"...in qua nascitur Agnus, qui tollit peccatum mundi"). The
usual OWN rendering of agnus dei was lamb guðs; see Kirby,
Biblical Quotation I, 282.

28. No sources have yet been found for this sermon. See Kirby, Biblical
esp. the laconic aside in the paraphrase of Acts 2:6 at Nhom.93/22-23:
...høyróu þær postola mæla hvessconar mæl. hværk kendí
sit mæl ok sins lanz tunga sem vón er at.

Trygve Knudsen admires a similarly "unadorned" account of
Christ’s ascension in Nhom. for its "enkel og likefrem muntlighet"
and its "farve av hjemlig fortellemåte" (CCNME, Quarto Serie, I
[1952], 6; Gunnes[173] points out that a close Latin analogue for
the passage is found in the entry for Ascension Day in Honorius’
Speculum Ecclesiae, PL 172, 957C-D; cf. especially Honorius’ use
of homoioteleuton with the Norwegian homilist’s straightforward
paratactic periods):
Nhom. 90/10-17:

...Han syndisc postolom sinum ok ðorum lærvesveinum þan dag þa er þaír soto yfir mat ok avitaða þa. þvi at þaír varð tortryggvís sumir up-rísu hans sva sem Thom-as var ok sumir aðrar. ok bauð þaím siðan at þaír scylðu þæla rettví trv fyrir mænum ... * gaf þaím vald at gera iartainar.

Siðan mataðesc hann með þaím ok for með þaím í Bethaniam. ok for upp í loptet ok siðan í himin fyrÍR ollumum þaím. ok gaf þaím aðr blezan sina...

*Indrebbø's insertion of an <ok> not found in the ms. here is probably unnecessary.

It is also interesting to compare the use of a turn of phrase familiar from saga-literature in the sermon "Nativitas sancte MaRie" in Sthom. The passage is a free rendering of a verse from the Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew:

Sthom. 131/33-36:

...mon verþa sva mikill fyr sér at hans vegr oc tígn mon vera uppi meðað mon verold sia er byGp. oc mono allar þóper þær er byGva í heime þessom oc sva et sama í ørom veraldom dyrka hann at eilifo.

(Cf., e.g., Gizurr Teitsson's praise of Gunnar's defence, Njáls s., k.77, ff 12 [1954], 191/2-3: "...mun hans vørn uppi, meðan landit er byggt").

30. Ibid., 13.


32. *PL* 28, 1139B. Similarly, when working from older Latin versions of Scripture, Jerome made a practice of revising the received texts only when they distorted the original sense of a passage. Cf., e.g., the "Prefatio in quattuor euangelia Beatissimo Pape Damaso" (*PL* 29, 528A):

...Quæ ne multum a lectionis latinae consuetudine
discrepant, ita calamo temperavimus, ut his tantum qua sensum videbantur mutare, correctis, reliqua manere pateremur ut fuerant.


...neque uero, ut diserti interpretetes faciunt, uerbum uerbo reddidi...sed pariter appendi, ut nihil desit ex sensibus, cum aliquid desit ex uerbis.

See also his succinct formulation of the translator's dilemma in his Interpretatio Chronicae Eusebii (PL 27, 34A-35A):

...Difficile est enim, alienas lineas insequentem non alicubi excidere; arduum, ut quae in aliena lingua bene dicta sunt, eundem decorem in translatione conservent...
Si ad verbum interpretor, absurde resonat; si ob necessitatem aliquid in ordine, vel in sermone mutavero, ab interpretis videbor officio recessisse...

34. Cf., for instance, the following Middle English examples:


...In somme place I shall sette word for worde, and actyf for actyf, and passyf for passif arowe right as it stondeth withoute chaungyne of the ordre of wordes; but in somme place I must chaunge the ordre of wordes, and sette actyf for passyf and ayneward; and in somme place I muste sette a reson for a worde, and telle what it meneth; but for al such chaungyng the menyng shal stande and not be chaunged...

pp. 41-42:
...pys booke þat latyns wantyd and ys founden with fewe arabyes I haue translatyd with greet traualle ynto opyn vnderstandynge of latyn out of þe langage of araby, to þoure heghnesse and worshipe som tyme expounande letter of letter, and som tyme vndirstandynge of vndirstondynge, ffors other maner of spekynge ys with arabyys & òper with Latyns.

John Lydgate, The Pilgrimage of the Life of Man English...
from the French of Guillaume de Dequileville, A.D. 1335.
I wyl translate hyt sothly as I kan,
After the lettre, in ordre effectuelly.
Thogh I not folwe the wordês by & by,
I schal not faillé teuchyng the substance.

Osbern Bokenam's Legenden, ed. C. Horstmann. Altenglische Bibliothek I (Heilbronn 1883), vi. "Agnes", p.119, II. 678-683:
...Aftyr þe wrytyng of sent Ambrose
Whom fully to folwyn was my purpose,
Not wurde for wurde - for þat ne may be
In no translacyoun, aftyr Jeromys decre -
But fro sentence to sentence, I dar wele seyn,
I hym haue folwyde euene by & by...

The word-for-word translation continued, of course, to thrive, especially under the irresistible influence of the interlinear gloss. Augustine had suggested (De Doctrina Christiana II.13.19, CCSL 32, 44/8 - 45/10) that verbatim renderings of Scripture were valuable as study-aids "...non quia sufficiunt, sed ut ex eis libertas uel error dirigatur aliorum, qui non magis uerba quam sententias interpretando sequi maluerunt". Most assessments of the culpa fidei interpretis tended, however, to be less benign. Gregory the Great complains bitterly in one of his letters of those "faithful" translators who succeed only in garbling the sense of their originals and confusing their readers (Registrvm Epistvlarvm, ed. D. Norberg, CCSL 140A
[1982], X.21, 855/112-116):

Indicamus praeterea quia grauem hic interpretum
difficultatem patimur. Dum enim non sunt, qui sensum
de sensu exprimant sed transferre uerborum semper
proprietatem ulunt, omnem dictorum sensum confundunt.
Vnde agitur ut ea quae translatata fuerint nisi cum
grauli labore intellegere nullomodo ualeamus.

Similarly, Pope Nicholas the First (†867), in a letter to
Emperor Michael III of Constantinople, reviles those Latin trans-
lators who pervert their own language by following their Greek
originals too closely (PL 119, 932C):

...si [Latinam] linguam ideo barbaram nuncupatis,
quoniam a translatoribus in Græam dictionem mutata
barbarismos generat, non linguæ Latinæ, sed culpa
est, ut opinamur, interpretum, qui quando necesse
est non sensum e sensu, sed violenter verbum edere
conatur e verbo.

On literal translation in the middle ages see W. Schwarz, "The
Meaning of Fidus Interpres in Medieval Translation", The Journal
of Theological Studies 45 (1944), 73-78. In suggesting, however
(73), that "...the word-for-word method of translation became the
predominant; if not the only method during the Middle Ages", and
that "a new principle of translation, that according to sense" was
introduced by Italian translators of the Quattrocento, Schwarz takes
into consideration only medieval Latin translations from Greek and
ignores the very rich tradition of "liberal" translation in the
vernacular in the middle ages.

35. See H. Sweet, ed., King Alfred’s West-Saxon of Gregory’s Pastoral
Care, E.E.T.S., O. S. 45, 50 [1871, rpt. 1958], 6/19-20; W.J. Sedge-
field, ed., King Alfred’s Old English Version of Boethius De
Consolatione Philosophiae (1899), 1/2-3. Cf. Dorothy Whitelock’s
remarks on the amplified renderings of parts of Genesis in Alfred’s laws ("The Prose of Alfred’s Reign", in E.G. Stanley, ed., Continuations and Beginnings [1966], 95ff.).

Asser invokes Alfred’s (and Jerome’s) formula in praising another text commissioned by Alfred, Winferth of Worcester’s translation of Gregory’s Dialogues (Asser’s Life of King Alfred, ed. W.H. Stevenson [2nd ed., 1959], cap. 77, 62/6-10):

...libros Dialogorum Gregorii ... de Latinitate primus in Saxoniam linguam, aliquando sensum ex sensu ponens, elucabratim et elegantissime interpretatus est...

It is odd to hear Winferth’s painstakingly literal version of the Dialogues described as a "sense for sense" translation; but it is interesting to note that Gregory also makes use of the commonplace in explaining how he adapts the accounts of his oral informants:

Hans Hecht, ed., Bischof Winferths von Worcester Übersetzung der Dialoge Gregors des Grossen, Bibliothek der Angelsächsischen Prosa 5 (1900-07), Prol., 10, 16/84 - 18/91:

...Sed ut dubitationis occasionem legentibus subtraham, per singula quae describo, quibus mihi haec auctoribus sint comperta manifesto. Hoc uero scire te cupio, quia in quibusdam uero et uerba cum sensu teneo, quia si de personis omnibus ipsa specialiter uerba tenere uoluissem, haec rusticano usu prolata stylus scribentis non apte suscipiet.

Unfortunately, this passage is omitted in the only ms. preserving an Ol version of this section of Gregory’s Dialogues (AM 239 fol.)
[fourteenth century]; this part of the translation in AM 677 4to has not survived; cf. HMS I, 180/30ff.)

It is also interesting to compare Bede's apology for his Latin translation of Caedmon's hymn (Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People, ed. B. Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors [1969], 416/18-22):

_Hic est sensus, non autem ordo ipse verborum, quae dormiens ille canebat; neque enim possunt carinina, quamuis optime composita, ex alia in aliam linguam ad verbum sine detrimento sui decoris ac dignitatis transferi._


38. Ibid., 80/113-114.


40. Cf. de Vries, op. cit., 73-74:

Wenn ... die Predigt in der Volkssprache gehalten wurde, so dürfte es einleuchtend sein, daß der Geistliche danach bestrebt war, seine religiösen, dogmatischen, oder ethischen
Betrachtungen seinen Zuhörern näher zu bringen, indem er sich in einer Sprachform ausdrückte, die dem Volk geläufig war.

Hofmann, *Skandinavistik* 12 (1982), 14:

...eine Anpassung an die alten Isländern aus mündlichem Gebrauch vertraute Erzählweise ... war auch für Geistliche legitim und sogar geboten, wenn sie Menschen, die die Heilige Schrift nicht selbst lesen und verstehen konnten, mit deren Geschichten vertraut machen wollten.


43. Caesarius, sermo 86, *CCSL* 103, 353 [338/6-10]. This passage and others like it from Caesarius' sermons are discussed by Riché, *op. cit.*, 92ff. Henry G. Beck (The Pastoral Care of Souls in South-East France during the Sixth Century. *Analecta Gregoriana* 51 [1950], 264) notes that Caesarius' biographers "praise his knack of hitting upon everyday examples to make clear his thought to the flock he fed. Why he used such devices is told to us by himself [sic]: he wanted
the faithful to mull over what they had heard in church and to talk among themselves of the lessons he had given them" (cf. Vita Caesarii, ed. G. Morin, S. Caesarii...opera omnia II [1942], 302; sermons 6, CCSL 103,35 [37/17ff.]; 7, Ibid., 37 [39/4ff.]; 8, Ibid., 42 [44/3ff.]; 69, Ibid., 294 [281/27ff.]). The accessibility and want of pretension of Caesarius' own style doubtless contributed to the popularity of his sermons as sources for vernacular preachers. See, e.g., G. Morin, "The homilies of Caesarius of Arles, their influence on the Christian civilization of Europe", Orate Fratres 14 (1940), 481-486; G. Bardy, "La prédication de S. Césaire d'Arles", Revue d'histoire de l'église de France 29 (1943), 201-236; Bekker-Nielsen, "Caesarius and Stjórn", 42; J.B. Thahern, "Caesarius of Arles and Old English Literature: some contributions and a recapitulation", ASE 5 (1976), 105-119.

44. III.30, "Quod facili locutione uti in vulgus debeat", PL 107, 408A-C. On similar passages in later preacher's manuals see Harry Caplan, "Rhetorical Invention in Some Mediaeval Tractates on Preaching", Speculum 2 (1927), 286; "Classical Rhetoric and the Mediaeval Theory of Preaching", Classical Philology 28 (1933), 84.

45. CH II, 446/6-7. Cf., e.g., Elfric's homily for the twenty-second Sunday after Pentecost, ed. A.O. Belfour, Twelfth-Century Homilies in Ms. Bodley 343, E.E.T.S., O.S. 137 (1909, rpt. 1962), 23/28-29, "...we wullæ eow sæcgan sum andgit þerto of þære trahtnunge be eowres andgites maede...". Elfric's phrase is reminiscent of the provisions made for the delivery of sermons in the vernacular, juxta quod intelligere vulgus possit, at, e.g., the Councils of Tours, 813 (MGH Conc. II.i.cc.4.17, p.288) and Rheims, 813 (MGH Conc. II.i.c.15, p.255; cf. Capitula e Canonibus excerpta 813,
c. 14, *MGH* Cap. I, 174/16-17), and the Rule of Chrodegang:

cap. 44, "De cura quam in populo sibi commissa ... habere clerici debent", *PL* 89, 1076C-D: cf. A.S. Napier, ed., The Old Version ... of the Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang, E.E.T.S., O.S. 150 [1916], 50/6-11:

...constituimus ut bis in mense ...per totum annum...uerbum salutis ei predicetur...et iuxta quod intelligere uulgus possit, ita predicandum est.

...we gesettað þat tuwa on monge man æfre þam folce bodige mid larspelle...& do ma þa larbodunge be þam þe þat folc understandan mage.

Albert Werminghoff ("Die Beschlusse des Aachener Concils im Jahre 816", *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde* 27 [1902], Anhang I, "Die Recensionen der Regula Chrodegangi", 650) is unable to identify a direct source for this section of the Rule, but notes that "die Vorschrift, dem Volke verständlich zu predigen, entspricht der Karolingerzeit", and echoes the phraseology used at the Councils mentioned above. See generally Anton Linsenmayer, *Geschichte der Predigt in Deutschland* (1886, rpt. 1969), 7-14, "Kirchliche Vorschriften über das Predigen"; Werner Betz, "Karl der Grosse und die Lingua Theodisca", in Bernhard Bischoff, ed., *Karl der Grosse: II. das geistige Leben* (1965), 300-306; Rosamond McKitterick, *The Frankish Church and the Carolingian Reforms 789-895*, Royal Historical Society (1977), 81ff. Note esp. McKitterick's observation (81) that:

the sermon was not only a practical means for imparting the essentials of the Christian faith and Christian social mores, but was also a direct appeal to the imagination, aesthetic sensibilities and social consciousness of the people. Potentially a powerful means of instruction, it was an attempt to make the message of the New Testament intelligible in everyday speech.


Nam cum per artem rhetoricam et uera suadeantur et falsa, quis audeat dicere, aduersus mendacium in defensoribus suis inermem debere consistere ueritatem, ut uidelicit illi, qui res falsas persuadere conantur, nouerint auditorem uel beneuolum uel intentum uel docilem prooemio facere, isti autem non nouerint?


51. See *De Doctrina Christiana*, IV.7.13 (CCSL 32, 126/10-11, ...Deinde quattuordecim caesa decentissimo impetu profluunt).

52. Ibid., IV.7.16 (trans. Robertson, 129; cf. CCSL 32, 128/7ff., ...rusticus uel ex rustico iste propheta....


54. Ibid., 365.


Monks, in a milieu where silence reigns, continue to practice the same genres because of the literary resources they offer. Consequently the art of speaking is applied to the writing of letters or sermons. No doubt the monks rarely studied rhetoric as theory. In this domain also, the lectio divina was the monks' school.

58. De doctrina christiana, IV.3.4 (Robertson, 119); cf. CCSL 32, 118/13-20:

Nec desunt ecclesiasticae litterae, etiam praeter canonem in auctoritatis arce salubriter conlocatum, quas legendo homo capax, etsi id non agat, sed tantummodo rebus, quae ibi dicuntur, dum in his uersatur, imbuitur accedente uel maxime exercitacione sive scribendi sive dictandi, postremo etiam dicendi, quae secundum pietatis ac fidei regulam sentit.

Cf. Alcuin’s formulation of the same idea in his De Rhetorica (cit. E. Faral, Les Arts Poétiques du XIIe et du XIIIe Siècle (1944), 99, n.1):

...Legendi sunt auctorum libri eorumque bene dicta memoriae mandanda: quorum sermoni adsueti facti qui erunt, ne cupientes quidem poterunt loqui nisi ornate.

Faral (99ff.) cites further medieval examples of the recommendation that the rhetorician base his art not only on theoretical rules but also on good models.

59. OCTIME VIII (1935), 20. Rudolf Meissner (Die Strengleikar [1902], 136), in discussing the salutary influence of later translations from Old French on OWN prose, notes similarly,

...Sie gab geschmeidigkeit, beweglichkeit und auf der anderen seite auch schwung und pathos, freude an der fülle des ausdrucks, an breit dahunströmenden sätzen; diese entwicklung ist lange vorbereitet durch die Übersetzungen der predigten und legenden. Besonders durch die predigt musste man mit der subjektiv erregten und eindringlich gehobenen prosa vertraut werden.
Cf. Thorkild Damsgaard Olsen, "Den Høviske Litteratur", Norrøn Fortællekunst (1965), 103-104:

De høviske oversættelser fra latin og fransk skal i det hele ses som en fortsættelse af det 12. aarhundredes gejstlige oversættelsesvirksomhed... Hvad enten man oversatte latinsk litteratur eller skrev paa folkesproget, var prosaen prøget af kendskab til og vilje til at udtynne den latinske rhetoriks figurer. De norrøne homiliebøger er fremragende eksempler paa, hvorledes den norrøne gejstlighed allerede før og omkring aar 1200 kunde skrive en kunstprosa, hvis retoriske virkemidler: rytme, allitteration, synonymfordobling, parallelismer og antiteser o.s.v. kun delvis var paavirket af og aldrig slavisk kopieret fra det latinske forløg.


62. As Eduard Norden observes (Die antike Kunstprosa [4th ed., 1923], II. 616-617, "Die Signatur des Stils der christlichen Predigt in lateinischer Sprache ist der antithetische Satzparallelismus" (cf. II. 508ff., 621-24, 817ff.). Christine Mohrmann ("Saint Augustine and the Eloquentia", 367) refers to W. Havers' observation (Handbuch der erklärenden Syntax [1931], 181) that "the striving after parallelism in phrases is one of the most normal expressions of a general human striving after sonority and harmony in language". Moreover, for the Christian author, parallelism is not merely a favourite mode of expression, but reflects a fundamental belief in a balanced universe (cf., e.g., Augustine's discussion, with reference to 2 Cor. 6:7-10, cf the cosmic significance of the figure antithesis: De Civitate Dei XI. 18, "De pulchritudine universitatis, quae per ordinationem Dei

63. The sentence is reminiscent, both in sound and in sense, of biblical verses like John 2:17:

Et mundus transit, et concupiscentia eius.
Qui autem facit voluntatem Dei, manet in aeternum.

and Ecclesiasticus 41:16:

Bonae vitae numerus dierum;
Bonum autem nomen permanebit in aevum.

(Cf. also I Cor. 7:31).

64. No parallel for this sentence is found in Eysteinn Erlendsson's Passio Olai (cf. Metcalfe 71/9ff.); but similar constructions, usually modelled on the Latin text, are found throughout the Nhom. Olaf-miracles. Cf., e.g.,

Nhom. 117/27: Metcalfe, 81/20-23:
...því allu trufastare er ...quo infirmior, eo fortior
hann var siucare... et potens...quo miserier eo
miserabilor...

127/9-11: Ibid., 92/11-12:
Síðan gerðesc hann því allu ...tanto se deuotius ad
guðræðare ok truare er hann bene agendum postmodum
vissi sic áðr ferlegra faret erexit, quanto se ulius
hava. deiectum prius fore cognouit.

On the imitation of the Latin quo...eo/ tanto...quanto construction
in European vernacular languages see Franz Blatt, "Latin Influence on European Syntax", Classica et Mediaevalia 18 (1957), 159f.

65. As Erik Gunnes notes, this citation is not, in fact, from the Bible, but from the principal Latin source for this homily -- Caesarius, sermo 33, "De Decimis" (CCSL 103, 145/5). By introducing the adjectives nauóigr and lostigð at the end of each clause, the Scandinavian homilist preserves, and even overgoes the homoioteleuton of the Latin phrase.

66. Ole Widding ("De norrøne homiliébøgers prædiken på Stephansdag", MM [1959], 43) notes that this sentence is not paralleled in any of the Latin sources for the OWN sermon (Fulgentius, PL 65, 729ff.; Ps. Fulgentius, Ibid., 859ff.; Ps. Maximus of Turin, PL 57, 379ff. = Caes. 219, CCSL 104, 867ff.). Cf. the whole series of antitheses which forms the introduction of the sermon: Sthom. 176/32 - 177/12 (Nhom. 43/29 - 44/10).

67. Cf. p. 100, s.v. bob oc bann.

68. As Cross has pointed out ("Elfric and the Mediaeval Homiliary. Objection and Contribution", Scripta Minora Regiae Societatis Humaniorum Litterarum Lundensis 4 [1961-62], 23, n.2), the Latin model for the sermon for All Saints' Day at Sthom. 39-45 and Nhom. 143-147 was not, as Vrátný assumed (ANF 32 [1916], 40; cf. Gunnes, 181; van Arkel,13), the pseudo-Bede homily 71, "Legimus in ecclesiasticis historiis..." (PL 94, 452-455), but a longer version of the same text which circulated in the late redaction of PD. Cross notes (Ibid., 23, n.2):

The Scandinavian sermon abbreviates the Latin material considerably, but there are many verbal echoes and comments are made on the patriarchs, prophets and anchorites, who
are not described in the pseudo-Bede version. It is, I think, quite startling to realise that Wisén (p.xvii) opened the Lund copy of the 1539 edition [of PDL] and identified this source without realising that he was using a version of Paul the Deacon’s homiliary, whereas K. Vrátý, who knew the importance of PD (and used the abridged version in PL 95), incorrectly regarded the shortened Latin version in pseudo-Bede as the source nearly fifty years later...

In his article in Traditio 33 (1977), 101-135, Cross presents an edition of the earliest known text of the longer version of the Latin homily (from the ninth-century Munich ms. clm. 6314) collated with later mss. The section on the deaths of martyrs cited here is found in full in Ps. Bede 71 (cf. PL 94, 454C); but the phrase alii pelagi periculo [demersi] in the text edited by Cross is closer to Sthom. 41/9 (Nhom. 145/11) sumer i vatne kaffer, than Ps. Bede’s phrase, alii pelagi periculo subjecti. (Demersi was also the reading in the exemplar used by Elfric for his homily for All Saints: cf. CH I. 542/28-29, "sume on widdre sa besencte". See Cross, "Elfric and the Mediaeval Homiliary...", 23, n.1.)

Another longer All Saints' Day homily in Sthom. (151/9 - 161/6) follows the basic plan of "Legimus in ecclesiasticis historiis...", but contains several digressions and is connected only distantly with the Latin text. The catalogue of torments is omitted in the section on martyrs; but an alius- catalogue on the duties of angels found in the Latin homily (but omitted in the first All Saints' Day sermon in Sthom.) is adapted (piecemeal) in the second text in Sthom. (cf. Cross, Traditio 33 [1977], 108/44-53; Sthom. 153/5-14, 154/19-29). The longer All Saints sermon in Sthom. also contains a minimal version of the "Gifts of Men" series (158/15-19):

...es ðo hveriom hiálpvé[n]lict at erfípa ser i nóck[v]i
ef hann es heill svasem hver es hellst til fær.
sumer i bønahaldi oc knebæðiar foljom.
Í smiðum þeir er hager ró.
fylgia ofrörom monnom yfer vætn.
þa slíct er guþ scýtr hveriom i hug at gera til hialpar sér.

No parallel for this passage is found in the Latin sermon; but on
the commonplace see Cross, "The Old English poetic theme of 'The
Gifts of Men'", Neophilologus 46 [1962], 66-70.

69. For a full discussion of the background of the alius-series and its
use in Old English literature, see Cross, "On The Wanderer, lines
Further examples of the figure are found at Sthom. 18/23-31, 19/3-4
(cf. Gr. 19 in Ev., PL 76, 1155C; see below, ch. 7, n.26); Sthom.
90/18ff. Nhom. 138/20ff.; cf. Gr. 34 in Ev., PL 76, 1252Dff., sunt
nonnulli...). Cf. also the following sequence,based on the list of
the works of mercy given at Matt. 25:35-36, from the sermon for the
Feast of the Assumption of Mary preserved in both Sthom. and Nhom.
(Sthom. 5/8-15; Nhom. 130/9-17):

Æll góþ verk þau es aprer mën gera víþ liþo guþs.
þau georþe maría víþ siálfan drotten.
Aþrer mën geþa hungróþm feótslo en þyrstom dryc.
en maría feóðde drotten várn siálfan a brióste sér.
oc af sino erfeþe.
Aþrer mën clóþa þá er kalner ero.
en maría kláþde son guþs holde sino. oc reþom
oc kláþom.
Aþrer mën vitía þeira er í myrquvastofom ero. eþa veita
þeim miscúN er fyr deóþper ero. af ofríke vándra manna.
en maría fleþþe undan ofríke herodes meþ drotten
várn til egiþtalanz.

A close analogue for the passage is found in a sermon for the same
Feast Day falsely attributed to Saint Anselm, an Old Icelandic
translation of which is preserved in AM 624 4to (c. 1500; the Latin
sermon also circulated in PDL; see further below, ch. 4, n.7).

PL 158, 647B-C (PL 95, 1507A):

\[...\text{Alii hospitum quemlibet in domo sua suscipiunt; ista non quemlibet, sed proprium Dei Filium, qui non habet ubi caput reclinet...}, \text{non in domo, sed in utero suscipit. Alii nudum quemlibet veste mutabili atque corruptibili undelibet composita operiunt, ista Verbum Dei quodammodo nudum carne induit; dum idem verbum in eadem virgine carnet in unitate persona assumpsit, que sine fine incom-mutabilis atque incorruptibilis permanebit. Alii quemlibet esurientem vel sitientem cibo, vel pota exteriori reficiunt; ista hominem Deum humanitus indigentem, non solum exterioribus cibis vel potibus pavit, verumetiam interiori suo lacte aluit.}\]

\[\text{Leifar 157/14-21:}\]

\[...\text{Aðrir taka nokkra gesti í húsi sitt; enn sjá mær tók einka son guðs, eigi í húsi sínu helldr í kviðe. Aðrir klaða noktan mann skiptilegu ok brigðiligu klaði nockro, en María skrynðe í sjer orð guðs óskiptíligu ok óbrigðilígu holldi. Aðrir fæða nockurn hundraðan ok þyrstan enni ytri fæslu, enn María fæði guð ok mann eigi at eins enni ytri fæslu, helldr fæði hún hann á brjóstí sjer, þa er hann þurfti mannligrar fæslu.}\]

For some other OWN examples of the alius-series see, e.g.,

\[\text{Elucidarius (AM 674 A 4to, Kbh., 1869), 23/10-15; M. Tveitane, "En Norrøn Versjon av Visio Pauli", Årbok for Universitetet i Bergen. Humanistisk Serie (1964), 8/2-7; 11/4; Jóns s. helga B, Bisk. I. 240/10-12; Hávamál, st. 69; Brot af Sigurðargvíðo, st. 4; and the translations of I Cor. 12:8-10 cited by Kirby, Biblical Quotation...}\]

I. 364-365.

70. On these texts see Gunnes, 162, 172-3. Mattias Tveitane ("Irish
apocrypha in Norse tradition?", Arv 22 [1966], 111-135) has suggested that antithetical descriptions of heaven and hell of this kind may be based on insular models. (On analogous sequences in OE texts see, e.g., M. McC. Gatch, "Eschatology in the Anonymous Old English Homilies", Traditio 21 [1965], 134, n. 75; 158 nn. 118-120; F.C. Robinson, "The Devil’s Account of the Next World", NM 73 [1972], 362-371; H.L.C. Tristram, "Stock Descriptions of Heaven and Hell in Old English", NM 79 [1978], 102-113.) James W. Marchand, however ("The Old Norwegian Christmas Homily and the Question of Irish Influence", Arv 31 [1975], 30), has pointed out that such features as "the neither-nor formula" and the negative formulation of the joys of heaven are also commonplace in accounts of the afterlife in patristic texts. In Sthom., for instance, one can compare the description of heaven included in the translation of Ps.-Ambrose, Acta S. Sebastiani (Sthom. 144/1-15; PL 17, 1118B-1119A; cf. the younger Icelandic rendering of the same text preserved in AM 238 fol. XII [c. 1400], ed. A. Loth, "Til Sebastianus saga", Bibl. Arn. 31 [1975], 107-108). Shorter versions of the "joys of heaven" commonplace were also used as peroration-formulas (cf. Nhom. 37/33 - 38/1, 95/1-5, 159/13-19).

With the catalogues of hell-torments one can compare similar rhythmical lists of the miseries of this world, found for example in a commentary on the Lord’s prayer in Sthom. (32/6-14, 18-21; no source known, cf. van Arkel, 12):

Adám vas friáls scapaðr oc til salo...
oc gat diofáll yver hann stigit.
oc varþ hans illzko þráll.
þvi varþ hann fyr svicom oc synþom.

söttom oc sorgom.
oc allre þessa heims meinseme.

...
...hever drótteN vá. eige eN æoll synþa vite
af oss teket.
þat es bêpe erfête oc móbe
oc morg þessa heims mégense.
sótt oc dauþe
sarg oc vmboge.
hungr oc þorste.
válab oc vílsípr.

Cf. Sthom. 169/6-9 ("A Joladagin"; no source has been identified
for this section; cf. K. Vrátný, ANF 32 [1916], 40; van Arkel, 16):

...þeim monnom es stadder erom í vesolb veralldar
þessar.

í sóttom oc sárleigk
hríþom oc frþstom. oc óarum.
sullti oc manaúp.
oc marghóttom meínlátum
þeim es her verþa at hafa
þeir men er heimen byGva.

Stock descriptions of heaven and hell are regularly accompanied
by a form of the "inexpressibility topos". Elaborate versions of
this commonplace are appended, for instance, to the heaven and hell
catalogues in the Nhom. Christmas homily already cited:

Nhom. 32/14-16:

[Par er æigi hungr ne þorste, etc.]. . . Oc þo at
allt man-kyn melte fra uphafe heims-ens ok til
veraldar anda. þa ðatte æigi sægja himna fagnað
allan. ok dýrð þa er ðar er...

34/2-6:

[Par er óp ok grátr, etc.]. . . Oc þo at hvær að
hæfði hundrað hofða. ok í hværiu hofði være .c.
tugna [sic] or iarne. ok þær allar melte fra uphafe
heims þessa. alt til veraldarenda. þa ðatte þær æigi
sægja allt þat hit illa er í hælvti er.

Tveitane points out that the "hundred heads topos", which derives
ultimately from Virgil (Aeneid VI.625; Georgics II.42-44), is also found in the OWN translation of Visio Pauli preserved in AM 624 4to ("Irish apocrypha...", 119; "En Norrøn Versjon af Visio Pauli", 10/27 - 11/7; 11/20-21; 13/1-5, 15-18). As Marchand points out, however (op. cit., 29-30), this form of the "inexpressibility topos" is so commonplace that one cannot assume a direct connection between the two OWN texts. See generally, Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, 159-162; P. Courcelle, "Histoire du cliché virgilien des cent bouches", Revue des Études Latines 33 (1956), 231-240. Old English examples of the commonplace are discussed by, e.g., Tristram, op. cit., 107; A. di Paolo Healey, The Old English Vision of St. Paul, Speculum Anniversary Monographs 2 (1978), 54-55; J. Bazire and J.E. Cross, Eleven Old English Rogationtide Homilies (1982), 58, 60-61, nn. 11-12, 65/85-90, 142/89 - 143/94.

Less elaborate versions of the inexpressibility topos are also associated with the joys of heaven at, e.g., Sthom. 45/12-18; 169/3-5; Nhom. 88/28-29, 100/9-12. The device is also used in other contexts. Cf., e.g., in the Nhom. Olaf-legend,

110/1-2: cf. Metcalfe, 70/9:

Enngi maór fár þat oðrum sagt hvessu mykil fagnaðr fylgði þeims goða manne...

110/19-20: Ibid., 71/9-10:

Dat fr ngi maór oðrum sagt Explicari uerbis non potest, quanta hvessu mykit sa hinn helgi maðr beneficia populis illis rex sepe býtte fyrir mánum meðan hann nominatus contulerit...et in réð fyrir lande oc lægum. promulgacione legum, et in sustentacione pauperum...

cf. Den store saga om Olav den Hellige, 695/9-11 (Flat. III. 247/32-34):

...engi tunga ma tina ne hugr hyggia huersu mikit gott
konungrin veitti sinum mónnum i laga setningu ok huGgan fatakra manna...

See also Sthom. 5/4-5 (Nhom. 130/4-6); 78/9-11; Nhom. 36/3-4; 101/28-31.

For some other OWN examples of the commonplace, see Duggals Leizla, HMS I, 338/26-28; Michaels saga, HMS I, 713/1-2; Barl. 78/2-4, "...po at ein tunga være þær allar tungu sem veret hava" (Ps. Ioh. Dam. 54/23-25, "...et si omnes qui modo et aliquando fuerunt hominum lingua una fieren") , 124/27-32 (Ps. Ioh. Dam. 85/2-7); Sólarljóð, st. 68; Lýknarbræut, st. 41; Lilja 93-94 (Dórhallur Dorgilsson, Drög að skrá um ritverk á íslensku ... af latneskum eða rómönskum uppruna, II. Ítalía [1958], 23-24, í 147, compares the verse of Peter Comestor, "Si fieri posset quod arenae, pulvis et undae..." [PL 198, 1045], a prose translation of which is found in Mariú saga, 685/32ff. Cf. also H.E. Allen, ed., The Book of Margery Kempe, E.E.T.S., O.S. 212 [1940], 252/1-27, and note ad loc.); Árngrímur ábóti Brandsson, Guðmundardrápa, st. 52; Píslar-grátur, st. 4, fn I.196.

71. No source has been identified for the passage (cf. van Arkel, 14-15). On the meaning of grandveri see Walter, Lex. Lehn., 74.

72. On the "subjectless" construction in OWN, see M. Nygaard, "Udeladelse af subjekt; 'subjektlöse' sætninger i det norrøne sprog (den klassiske sagastil)", ANF 10 (1894), 1-25; Norrøn Syntax, §10. See also G.E. Rieger, "Die Spitzenstellung des finiten Verbs als Stilmittel des isländischen Sagaerzählers", ANF 83 (1968), 81-139.

The Nhom. Olaf-legend contains several examples of passages in which a similar staccato rhythm is achieved through the omission of verb-subjects:
Nhom. 117/14-20:
En umm dag noccon callaðo ðær prestenom til sin... cvascsc scylðu sysla noccot.
ok baðo hann fylgía sér. hafóu með sér háima-man
sin ... Síað ðær como langt fra husum ... ða
gripu ðær prest u-varanda. ok brutu bása fot-leggi á
honum. styfðu af tungunni.
ok stungu bæðe augun ór hafði honum...

125/13-19:
...sennu ðegar samdøgres
til hans hægu kirkju.
treystuzc ða hans miscunn.
ok læitað ða hit príðía
sinni at barneno. ok funnu
ðegar sváinen ðar sofanda
hia husi ... foro ða hæim
fegnir. en fry greto ðær.
ðaccsø varum milda drottne
alla ða dyrð ok pryði er hann
gerir ðes hæla mannz hvert
sinni er á hann vært hæitit.

Similar examples are found at Nhom. 119/12-14 (Metcalfe 83/9-11);
121/9-11 (Metcalfe, 85/14-15); 122/13-15 (cf. Metcalfe, 86/22f.)

Cf. also the following passage, in which the translator produces
a rhythmical calk of the Latin through the omission of verbs:

Nhom. 118/10-12:
Tungan hæill. ok æugun
bæðe. leggirnir groner.
ok oll onnur sár
verclaus. ok fenget
hína bászu hæillisu.

Ibid. 90/10-15:
...mittentes ad ecclesiam sancti
martiris, tercio sub eius obtentu
querere temptant. Statimque exuntes,
in quodam loco prope domum ... dormien-
tem inveniunt, et aiacres facti domum
revertuntur, super inuento, quem prius
perditum defleuerant, domini laudantes
magnalia, qui pro agonista suo tot
dignabatur operari miracula.

cf. Metcalfe, 81/10-15 (note the
use of the historical present): Quadam vero die sacerdotem...
euocant, et assumpto quodam cliente
suo ... quasi cuisdam negocii gracia
secum abducunt. Cum ergo remoti longe
a domo sua ... deuenissent, arripientes
presbiterum nichil tale formidantem,
frangunt ei tibias, abscidunt linguam,
a capite oculos eruunt.

Metcalfe, 82/2-3:
Lingua reddita, tibie sanate,
ocii respecti, et loca, si
qua fuerant vulnerata uel lesa,
integerrimam receperes sospitatem.
This might be called "slavish imitation"; but it is probably fairer to say that the translator has simply succeeded in capturing an effect he admired in his original.

Cecily Clark draws attention, in the introduction to her edition of *The Peterborough Chronicle 1070-1154* (2nd ed., 1970, lxxx), to the effective use of the same sort of sentence-rhythm in a passage in the "First Continuation" of the Chronicle:

...How well this writer grasped the need for appropriate variation is made clear by his use of a different sort of accumulation, asyndeton, for expressing the swift and joyful action by which the monks of Angély at last expelled their abbot:

7 Des oðer dæies æfter Sancte Iohannis messedi, cusen þa muneces abbot of hemself and brohten him into cyrce mid processionem; *sungen 'Te Deum Laudamus', ringedæn þa belle*, setten him on þes abbotes settle, *díden him ealle hersummesse swa swa hi scolden don here abbot.*

73. Note the paronomasia: *leípende...leípa*. For some similar examples of word-play in the homilies, see below, appendix, *paronomasia*.


75. For further examples, see the list of alliterative pairs appended to this chapter.

76. Word-pairs are, of course, a commonplace feature of many languages and literatures. (Inna Koskenniemi, for instance, in her study,
Repetitive Word Pairs in Old and Middle English Prose... (1968), 105ff., cites examples from French, German, Swedish, Finnish and Hebrew.) And Vilhelm Andersen ("Gentagelsen, en sproglig Studie", in S.a., Danske Studier [1893], 89ff.) and Franz Blatt (Fra Cicero til Copernicus 1940, 46ff.) have pointed out that "tautologies" are often used by translators in an earnest attempt to make clearer the sense of their originals (cf., e.g., Mattias Tveitane, Den lærde stil..., 83ff.; Bjarne Berulfsen, Kulturtradisjon fra en Storhetstid, 269ff.; S. Kuhn, "Synonyms in the Old English Beðe", JEGP 46 [1947], 168-176). Many examples of this procedure can be found, for instance, in the Nhom. Olaf-legend: með fortolum sinum. ok hæl-ræðum ... með orðum sinum ok astraðum (113/14-16) for precibus (Metcalfe, 76/7-8); þøe oc u-scap (115/15) for peruersitas (Metcalfe, 79/2-3); hæil oc scoren-orð (116/11) for libere loquens (Metcalfe, 80/8); hvatvís oc uvítr (120/10-11) for satis temerarius (Metcalfe, 84/15-16); fyrir harme ok sórg (120/25) for pre anxietae (Metcalfe, 85/2); laus oc ú-bumðin (122/4) for omni uinculo liberatus (Metcalfe, 86/12-13). Even in translated passages in the Homily Books, however, word-pairs would usually appear to be used primarily for rhythmical effect. Cf., for example, the resonant series of doublets in the concluding sentence of the last miracle-story in the Olaf-legend:

Nhom. 129/15-18: cf. Metcalfe, 94/20 -95/2:

...at á þeim sama aptne þa... ut eodem uspere tumor sedaretur, et toc or værcen ok prota allan, propulso dolore, ad quelibet offitia ok svæ miúcr ok letr var membrorum agilitate, ac lesionem non honum þégar <fétr>beðe at sensisset, promtus haberetur. riða ok at rinna sem honum sensisset, promtus haberetur. hefði enskisvetta veret at grande eða at meðini orðet.

78. Ibid., 358.

79. Origins of Icelandic Literature, 119-120. The rhythm of the passage was also admired by Karel Vrátňý, ANF 32 (1916), 48.

80. Cf the sequence which precedes these lines, on the virtues associated with simplicity (Sthom. 157/32-36):

Nu sa hveRþ einfalldr er. sa mun
falyndr vera oc es þat þegar götsca.
þar fyiger oc oft litilláte.
oc hlýpni falyndino.
nógvre oc hreín lifi
trufesti oc tár felling.
stæfести hugs cotz
oc störm atferpar.
geðfesti oc gasemi.
oc er þat mikil götsca allt saman.

81. SBVS XVI (1963-4), 170-171. A good example of what Berulfsen would call the "substitution" of alliteration for homoioteleuton in an OWN rendering of a Latin text is found in the translation of Gregory's tenth gospel homily, "in die Epiphaniae", discussed at the beginning of the chapter. In his exposition of Matt. 2:12, "...per aliam viam reversi sunt in regionem suam", Gregory includes a rhythmical catalogue of the sins which have precipitated man's exile from paradise and of the acts of penitence which can facilitate his return to heaven. It is interesting to compare the rendering of this passage in the Sthom. Epiphany homily with a freer handling of the sequence found in the independent sermon for the same feast day in Nhom. (On this text see above, n.23.)

Sthom. 59/31-36: PL 76, 1113D:

...Heraþ várt er paradis. en ...Regio quippe nostra paradisus est,
þó er oss baNat at fara ena ad quam, Jesu cognito, redire per
The passage in the Nhom sermon is, of course, a paraphrase (probably based on reminiscence) rather than a translation of Gregory’s text; and although, in most respects, the sermon in Nhom is quite independent of the Stnom. Epiphany homily, it is tempting to imagine that the author of this text was familiar with a version of the passage like that found in Sthom., and that he was able to modify and refine the alliterative features of this vernacular “source” according to his own tastes. (Cf., e.g., his use of the phrase “fyrir ofmetnað ok ulyðni” for the Sthom. translator’s “fyr metnapar sakar oc óhlyðne”; “fyrir lítil-láte ok lyðni” — note the “Nor-
weglan" alliteration -- for "fyr grát oc hlýpne".) It is also worth noting, however, that the success of both "translations" is due only in part to the use of alliteration. Balanced non-alliterative phrases also contribute (though, admittedly, in a more subdued way) to the rhythmical complexion of each passage.

82. Fornsôgur Suðrlanda (1884), V.


...When one considers the natural alliance between rhyme and parallelism, one can see, first of all, why the two are so often found together and, secondly, why it would be virtually impossible to get the same effect by substituting alliteration for rhyme. Rhymes on grammatically parallel forms are a reflection of the very parallelism they serve to emphasize. They arise naturally from the structural elements of the prose. Alliteration does not, of course, harmonize with parallelism in this way. If the final words of parallel syntactic units are to alliterate, they must be carefully chosen for the purpose; the alliteration will not be a part of the parallelism itself, but rather a superimposed adornment. Thus the rhyme of rhymed prose and alliteration would not be really comparable even if the alliterating words came at the ends of syntactic units.

84. Cf., e.g., D.A. Seip’s remarks on the use of alliteration in
the OWN translation of Prosper's Epigrams ("En norsk oversetteise av Prosper fra 12. hundreår", MM [1943], 115ff.; "En Middelaldersk Lærebook", Nordisk Tidsskrift for Vetenskap Konst och Industri 19 [1943], 313-24) and Gregory's Dialogues (Nye Studier i Norsk Språk-historie, 93ff.).

In the Homily Books, alliteration is commonly used for emphasis in peroration-formulas. Cf., e.g., Sthom. 25/8-9, 66/18-21, 86/6-8; Nhom. 37/30-38/4 (combined with rhyme); and especially the long alliterative conclusion to the Nhom. sermon on the parable of the Sower.

Stereotyped alliterative formulas in the homilies include versions of the phrase at gefa gaum guôs boôoróum (cf. Sthom. 164/5, 169/12; Nhom. 37/14, 100/9-12, 159/3-4), and the term heims hégómi used for mundi vanitates (Alc. VV, PL 101, 616D) at Nhom. 4/14 (see D.A. Seip, MM [1943], 118; B. Berulfsen, Kultur-tradisjon fra en Storhetstid, 199-200; cf. Leifar 6/22 [Prosper, Epigrams, PL 51, 505A, mundi vana], Barl. 91/2, 93/15 [Ps. Ioh. Dam., 66/21, sæcularis sollicitudo], 116/15 [Ps. Ioh. Dam., 80/12, carnis passiones et voluptates]; cf. Nhom. 94/25-26, "...at hugr var se ægi aptr til heims-enns ne til hégóma verald-lega luta"; and, perhaps, Sthom. 212/25-26, "Hégóma dýrp oc vegsemb þessa heims scolom ver flóia...". Accounts of Christ's sufferings based on the Improperia of the Good Friday Liturgy contain variations on the sequence, bond oc bardage, brixtle oc hlátr. hobung oc lyge: (Sthom. 67/21-24 [Nhom. 78/23-26], 84/28-29, 109/23ff., 146/1-2; cf. Nhom. 34/17ff.; see M. Tveitane, Arv 22 [1966], 132; J.W. Marchand, Arv 31 [1975], 31; A.S. Cook, ed. The Christ of Cynewulf [1909], 208ff.).

The Homily Books contain a few examples of alliterative
scriptural paraphrases. A "citation" of John 3:16 at Sthom. 167/35-38 modulates into an urbane alliterative sequence (cf. Kirby, Biblical Quotation..., II. 168). Similarly, in the introduction to the St Olaf's Day Homily (Nhom. 108/18-20), the words of Isaiah 14:13f. are caught up in the alliterative current of the surrounding prose. (See also the translation of Ps. 121:1 at Nhom. 89/18-19 cit. below, p. 102, s.v. fara ok flytiask, and the reminiscence of I Col. 2:14 at Sthom. 106/33-35).

Especially interesting is the expansive rendering of the words dispersit superbos (Lk. 1:51) in a paraphrase of the Magnificat at Sthom. 140/11, "...oc dreifpi hann drambltom oc mygpi metnapar fullom". The second half of this verse can be compared with the free translation of Luke 14:11 ("Qui se exaltat humiliabitur...") at Sthom. 93/29-30, "...mun sa verpa laegbr oc mygbr af gupi es sic vill siálfr upphfia oc mikils meta" (cf. Kirby, Biblical Quotation..., I. 252-253), and with a commentary on Is. 40:4 in Jóns s. baptista II (Post. 870/15), "...pviat hann mygir metnafa fullum en veltir miskunn litillátum". The phrase at dreifa dramblatom is also used in versions of the Magnificat in Mariú saga (cf. 29/29-30; 363/20-21), and in Oddur Gottskálksson's New Testament. (Jón Helgason suggests, Málió á Nýja Testamenti Odds Gottskálkssonar [1929], 193, that Oddur may have been familiar with the phrase from Mariú saga.) Cf. too the juxtaposition of the verbs dreifa and dramba in the translation of Alc. VV, PL 101, 620B at Nhom. 9/4-6 (cit. below, p. 245).

85. Ibid., 73. For some examples of alliterative proverbial phrases in the homilies, see ch. 3.
86. Ibid., 73.

87. On the relationship between the two texts, see Anne Holtsmark, "Sankt Olavs Liv og Mirakler", Festskrift til Francis Bull (1938), 127ff.

88. Note that the alliteration of stuf and stoð is not paralleled in the Latin. An almost identical alliterative sequence is found in the translation of Metcalfe 81/29-31 at Nnom. 118/4-6. See below, p.124, s.v. toga ok teygia.

89. Cf. perhaps the use of the phrase himnesk høp at Stnom. 57/26 for celsitudo celestis; himins hað at Nnom. 8/8 for celi culmina. See below, pp. 108-109, s.v. hað ok himinríki.


   Allir [sic] gripendur vlfvas mvnni ok travtt firilatendr fa hluti aumum monnum

Widding has pointed out (Ibid., 12) that the text in Nnom. bears the marks of a reviser who endeavoured to polish the prose style of the original translation (see below, p. 315).

   With the phrase a varga vanni, cf. the renderings of the same simile in the OWN versions of "Un Samedi Par Nuit" (P 102-103,

91. Cf. AM 685d 4to, ed. cit. 100/3-4:

Opt ma fordæzt fiandr ok víkinga.

eigi ma fordæzt eda flyia vonda domencr.

The onomatopoeic alliteration of flótți/ flyia in the Nhôm. text makes the translator's figura etymologica more striking than that of his exemplar: fuga/ effugi.

92. Cf. AM 685d 4to, ed. cit., 102/8-11:

Ef (s)krok vottar ero skildér
bà munv peir _skiott_ finnaz lygner.
Huortueggi er firì gudi sekur sa
er leyner hinu sanna ok sa er sèger
hit logna. pviat sa uill eigi biarga
er leyner hinv sanna. enn sa giàrnìz
at meina er lygur.

93. Cf. AM 685d 4to, ed. cit., 130/5:

<o>gledî ill med andligri gledî.

94. op. cit., 130.
95. As Gunnes notes (177-178), analogous sequences on the Cross are found in sermons by Ivo of Chartres (Ps. Aug. 247, PL 39, 2203D-2204A) and Jonas of Orléans (PL 106, 344B-D).

96. Cf. the more pedestrian rendering of the same passage in an independent translation of Caes. 227 at Sthom. 193/6-14.


It is interesting to compare the rhythm and phraseology of a eulogy of fasting found in a sermon for Ash Wednesday in Nnom. (74/22-25):

Fasta megrir likam-en.
en hon feitir ond-ena.
mjöer hon holdet.
'en hon styrkir hiartat.
inn laðar hon engla.
ok recr ut diofla.
þýtr hon losto.
ok þótr costo.

(Cf. similar sequences on fasting at Sthom. 62/30ff.; see H.L. Spencer, MS 44 1982, 287/59ff.; J. Turville-Petre, Traditio 19 [1963], 60). For further examples of the rhyming pair kostr/lostr in the Homily Books, see Sthom. 50/32-33 (Ps. Aug. 117, PL 39, 1978/13-14, virtus/vitium); Sthom. 121/13-14; Nnom. 24/22 (Alc. VV, PL 101, 632B, virtus/vitium); Nnom. 83/26-27 (Gr. 21 in Ev.)
Appendices:

Alliterative Pairs; Cursus;
Paronomasia; Litotes.
Some Alliterative Word Pairs in Sthom. and Nhom.

The list is far from exhaustive. The orthography of the catchwords conforms (on the whole) to spellings given in Larsson, Ordförrådet i de älsta islänska handskripterna, and Holtsmark, Ordførådet i de eldste norske håndskrifter. Exigencies of time and space have prevented me from providing a full set of references to occurrences of the doublets in other texts; but I have noted odd analogues here and there, especially those recorded in the convenient table of alliterative pairs provided by Harald Ehrhardt in Der Stabreim in Altnordischen Rechtstexten (1977), 175-209, and in the (less convenient) lists in J.P. Oakden, Alliterative Poetry in Middle English (1930-35; rpt. 1968).
áfall oc auki
Stom. 106/7 ...vér þyrptem heldr micklo
umbotar of várt ráp ok gleocvingar at
synþom órom. heldr en áfálz oc auka vip þa
anmarka er vér erom Áþr i vafeþ

afát ok ústillta gleði
Nhom. 63/32 (cf. ofát...)

aflát ok yferbót
Stom. 106/14; 30/16, at fullo aflát synþa
oc yver bót; cf. Nhom. 72/7-8, 31-32, vil
zígi áf lata ne yfir bota

afleítr ok áttlere
Stom. 21/20.

aftekía ok aflát
Stom. 56/15

ágirnd ok elska
Nhom. 70/24-25, ágirnd fear ok alsca þessa
heims lif

algorr ok al-þágr
Nhom. 77/15

alheilagr ok alséll
Stom. 29/31, ...ero þeir ádaubleger alhelger
oc alsáler

alúþ oc yferbót
Stom. 31/10, til alúþar vip hann oc
yverbótar

áttlere oc andvane
Stom. 150/16-17, En sa maþr er átlere oc
andvane allz góps er eige elscar þetta et
biarta lif (Acta S. Sebastiani, PL 17, 1120D,
O vere illum degenerem et omnium bonorum
expertem, qui hujus tam formosæ vitae amore
non capitur; cf. AM 238 fol. XII, ed. A. Loth,
Bibl. Arn. 31 [1975], 111/12-13, ...sa madr
er miog etlere ok ouerdr allra gódra luta er
eigi elskar sua fagurt lif...)
auóigr eóa aumr

Nhom. 31/21 (Alc. Ww, PL 101, 638C dives vel pauper); cf. Nhom. 19/17-18, auóigr döyia slict hit sama sem aumir = Ibid., 623B, Nunquid non divites similiter mortuntur, sicut et pauperes?; Nhom. 37/4-5, En auóigr menn. Peir sculo hialpa aumum mannum ok fatekium (cf. Ælfric, LS I, 290, xiii. 119, ne se welega ne beo butan almes-dædom; see J.T.P., "Sources..., 175f.); Sthom. 33/4 auógr oc avmr (Caes. 147, CCSL 104, 602 [570/8] dives et pauper); cf. Oakden II.214, earmum and eadigum

bacmálge oc bermálge

Sthom. 147/15-16.

beria ok bøysta

Nhom. 121/9-10, Nu taka þeir hann hønndum. beria ok bøysta ok laica halzcostar illa (Metcalfe, 85/14-15, Capitur miser, trahitur, ceditur uerberibus afflictus...); cf., e.g. Stjórn 418/10-11, Philistae lavpa nv til oc handtaka hann. beria ok bøysta oc blinda hann báovm avgvm (Judges 16:21, Quem cum apprehendissent Philisthiem, statim eruerunt oculos...)

bióia ok bióda

Nhom. 36/2 (cf. Ehrhardt, 177; Oakden II.213, bidde and beode)

blíór ok biartsygór

Nhom. 128/1-2, For hon þaðan blió ok biart- sygór með halzitum fagnaðe... (Metcalfe, 93/5-7, ...uisisionis optate leticiam...meruit recipere.)

boþ oc bann

Sthom. 16/8, ...at þeir scylde rápa boþe oc baNe yver alla cristne; Sthom. 173/38-39, ...at rápa her bobi oc baNi of laNd allt (cf. Ehrhardt, 178).

brióta ok brenna

Nhom. 109/31-32, Þa bræut hann ok brendi hæðin hof; cf. Metcalfe, 70/3-4, Effringle-bantur statue, succidebantur luci, euertebantur delubra. (cf. Ehrhardt, 178, brenna
oc brjóta, bryta oc brænna; E.S. Olszewska, "NE Britene and Brenne", Notes and Queries 219 [1974], 207-9, 323-326.

**brióta/ beóta**
Sthom. 190/12,...eige at brióta en förno læg
heldr at bêta (Matt. 5:17, ...non...solvere
sed adimplere; Kirby, I.146)

**bolvon oc bacmálge**
Sthom. 158/20

**bând oc bardage**
Sthom. 67/22 (Nhom. 78/24)

**dráp ok dauði**
Nhom. 66/1, ...er vár dröten let berasc í
þenna haim oc bolde drap ok dauða fyrir os.
ok kóypf os með sinu helgu bloðe or helviti
(cf. M. Tveitane, "En Norrøn Versjon av
Vísio Pauli", 12/5-6, sijdan boldi ek drap
ok dauða firi yður -- Ibid., 12/31-32, Eg
pro vobis me ipsum in martirio dedit; Stjörn
567/9, drep æða davði [cf. 1 Kings 8:37 =
pestilenta?]; Ehrhardt, 179, til draps ok
til döpb)

**drepa ok dýyða**
Nhom. 109/6, hann drepa ok dýyði ó-kynni sin
fyrir guðs sakar (cf. Metcalfe,68/11, para-
phrase of Romans 6:4, ...consepultus in christo
per baptismum in mortem...); cf. Sthom. 153/14-
16, ...svasem þeir fóro víp íóð. þeir lómpo
hann með líþro. en felldo hús a sono hans.
oc dýýða þa. en drápó fonal hans allan (cf.
Ehrhardt, 179-80, drápr ok dýydr, döban ok
drápin; E.S. Olszewska, Leeds Studies in
English 6 [1937], 61-62, dreped & dede)

**ei oc ei**
Sthom. 25/9, 32/32-33, 34/14, ...lofa hann ei
oc ei (Caes. 147, CCSL 104, 604 [571/5], non
deficient in laudibus), 49/33, 66/21, 71/30,
79/6, 84/35, 123/16-17, 127/5, 145/18 (Acta
S. Sebastiani, PL 17, 1120B, jugiter), 150/15-
16 (Ibid., 1120D, jugiter; see s.v. ealdasc ne
endasc); Nhom. 2/10 (Alc. vv, PL 101, 615A,
in áternum), 12/6-7 (Ibid., 622D, in áternum),
13/35 (Ibid., 624B, in áternum), 16/14 (Ibid.
626A, .éternaliter), 19/14 (Ibid., 628B, in
ternum), 31/9 (Ibid., 638A, perpetualiter), 88/29-30, 34, 89/2, 94/34, 102/10, 158/26, 28, 159/7, ei ok ei utan enda (cf. 158/25, å utan enda), 169/33, ei ok gi anda-laust (cf., e.g., E.S. Olszewska, "Alliterative Phrases in the Ormulum: Some Norse Parallels", English and Medieval Studies Presented to J.R.R. Tolkien ... [1962], 124, ag occ agg.)

eldasc ne endasc

S Thom. 150/15-16, ... en aNat lif er ei oc ei. oc elldesc þat alldreg ne endesc (Acta S. Sebastiani, PL 17, 1120D, Illa autem vita manet jugiter, et perseverat instanter, annis quoque labentibus juvenescit et pollet, et inde renovationis sumit initium unde finis accipitur; cf. AM 238 fol. XII, ed. cit., 111/10-12, Enn ansars heims lif ell diz eigi med vetra tali h elldr endm nyaz þat at uallt ok tek r þa vpphaf er þetta endiz.)

fagr/ fatiðr

N Hom. 119/5-6, fagrt værc ait ok fa-tit baðe (Metcalfe, 83/3-4, percelebre et inauditum miraculum)

fara ok flytiask

N Hom. 89/18-19, ... at vér monnum fara ok flytiask til guðs hus (Ps. 121:1, ... in domum Domini ibimus)

fé oc fasta

S Thom. 51/19, Eige beþper guþ iafn mioc fiþr þins eþa fosto. sem þess er hann fór i dag at leýsa feorpu honom þat. þat er ænd þín. (Ps. Aug. 117, PL 39, 1978/47-50, Non eget Deus nec specie tua, nec oleo tuo, nec je- junio tuo: sed hoc quod in te hodie redemit, ipsum offer, hoc est, animam tuam.)

fé ok frændr

N Hom. 94/19-20, Ecce nos reliquimus omnia et secuti sumus te. Vér hofum allt fýrir-látet fýrir guðs sakar. bæðe fe ok frændr, ok
omnem mundi pompam. (On this text see Gunnes, 174-175. Cf. Ehrhardt, 181, fé ok frændr.)

**fiárscap** eða frárendaðapr** Sthom. 94/32; 97/29-30, ...es flestom oc ósáraðar þó nöcquvi en bæpi fránda dæpi eða sva fiárscapi... (cf. Ehrhardt, 183, til fránda tjöns ok fjártapanar)

**fleygr oc feórr** Sthom. 20/11, værem þa fleyger oc feórer honom til handa

**friþr oc fægnoþr** Sthom. 66/19, í friþr oc í fægnum [sic] para-díar; 86/7, ...late oss fara í þan friþr oc fægnum; Nhon. 107/14, ...hann sagðe nalgast frið ok fagnað.

**fríðr ok fagrbúinn** Nhon. 123/1-2, þa sa hann möyjar þriar ganga til sin friðar aincum oc fagur-bunað (Metcalfe, 87/15-16, ...uidit nocte tres uirgines uultu decoras, habitu nitidas, sibi astare...)

**fægnoþr oc farsála** Sthom. 45/21-22; Nhon. 37/17-18 (on this passage see J.T.P., "Sources...", 180).

**gagn ok góðir lutír** Nhon. 37/17 (see Ibid., 180 ), Nhon. 70/13-14, ...er guðs saðe mate þar röptasc þeim til gagns ok til góða. (cf. Ehrhardt, 183)

**galdr/ gerning** Nhon. 87/30, ...við goldrum, við gerningum... (cf. Ehrhardt, 183, galdrar ok gerningar; Barl. 42/21)

**gaman ok gleði** Nhon. 88/30 (see also gleði ok gaman; cf. Ehrhardt, 183, til gamans eða glenno; E.S. Olszewksa, "Norse Alliterative Tradition in Middle English", Leeds Studies in English 6 (1937), 59-61, game & glathe; Oakden, II. 200, gamen ond gleodream [Beowulf 3021], 240, ich
gomeni...ant gledie; 261, gamen and gleo;
283, gamen and gle, gle and gomen; 326,
game and gle; 354, gamyn and gle; 374,
game and gle)

gépfeste oc gásome
Sthom. 157/35

gildingr oc gépleyse
Sthom. 157/38

gift oc géózca
Sthom. 93/10, fyllisc gipt oc götsco
(Caes. 227, CCSL 104, 898 [852/15],
virtutibus repleatur)

giálp oc géaleyse
Sthom. 157/38

gléói ok gaman
Nhom. 38/1 (see gaman ok gleói; cf., e.g.,
Stjórn 359/11, ...sem þeir ero vanir at
hafa til gleói oc gamans = Joshua 6:4,
...quarum usus est in iubilaeo)

góbr oc géózcu fylldr
Sthom. 160/20, góber meN oc götsco fylldr

grandvere oc góbgerningar
Sthom. 160/27

grandvere oc góblife
Sthom. 160/26

góblife oc gups boborp
Sthom. 141/6-7, ...ef vándr mabr snýsc fra
illsco sinni. oc skilsc vip. en tecr upp
góblífi oc gups boborp... (cf. Ezekiel 18:21,
Si autem impius egerit poenitentiam ab omnibus
peccatis suis, ... et custodierit omnia præ-
cepta mea, et fecerit iudicium et iustitiam...);
 cf. Sthom. 94/36, ...snuasc til gups i góblífi
...

gup oc góber menn
Sthom. 103/18, þat es loflect fyr gobe oc
góbor monnom; 104/3, vinátta mepal gups
oc gobra manna; Nhom. 36/34-35, þat er
retvísun manne hverium scylát at álsla guó
ok goóa menn. ok gefa olmoso fatakium mannum...
(cf. Ælfric, LS I, 290, xiii, 116, Ne sceal se wise mann beon butan godan weorcum; see J.T.P., "Sources...", 176); Nhom. 151/12
...þu rœcter hvarke guð ne goða menn ("Un Samedì Par Nuit", P 324, ...de deu n’eus
cure); see Ehrhardt, 184-5, guð ok goðir menn, guðs frið ok góðra manna frelse; E.S. Olszewska,
"Alliterative Phrases in the Ormulum...", 125-6, Goðd & gode menn.

gub oc geðzca
Sthom. 153/13, ...at þeir gleými gubi oc
gøtsco allri; cf. Sthom. 96/39, f götsco
oc f gups láne; Sthom. 161/27, Gub er uphaf
siálfr allrar götsco; 169/24-26, ...fiândin
scylldi þui avallt hólasc at hann hefþi ríkri
orþit af illzco oc flárp. heldr an gub af
gøtscoNi; Nhom. 3/26-27, af gøzco guólegar
miscunnar (Aic. VV, PL 101, 616B, de bonitate
divine pietatis); 29/8, andr-minning guólegar
gøzco (Ibid., 636C, recordatio divine bonitatis)

gmgokeley oc geðzca
Sthom. 156/17-18, gubi nást at gøgleíc
állom oc gøzco

hafa ok halda
Nhom. 26/30-31, Ægirni er mykil žirnd at
samma scyldum. oc haua ok halda (Aic. VV,
PL 101, 634B, Avaritia est nínia divitarum
adquirendi, habendi, vel tenendi cupiditas);
70/32, þeir scylldi þat hafa ok halda; cf.
Sthom. 42/16-17, ...svát ver haldem öss fra
synþem. oc hafem hug varn fastan til gups;
164/5-6, ...þeir gefa eige gaúm gubs boþ-
orþom òprom fyrtþui. helga daga at hallda
eþa tífer at hafa. eþa kenningar at heýra
(cf. Gr. 38 in Ev., PL 76, 1284C-D, ...alís
...mysterium incarnationis dominicae pensare
et secundum illud vivere dissimulat); see
Ehrhardt, 185; Oakden, II. 200, habban and
healdan, 205, 214, 221, 241, to habben ant
to halden, 285, 355, to hafe and to holde)
hatr oc heift

Sthom. 67/37 (Nnom. 79/5), Vér holdom lenge hatr oc heift i hiortom órom ígegn þeim es oss sekia of saNar sakar...
Sthom. 93/9-10, ...fírísoc hatr oc héipter (cf. Caes. 227, CCSL 104, 897 [852/15], cit. above, p. 42 ); 94/10, ...hriði a brávt ofund oc hatri heift oc ofmetnaþi.

hatr oc hápne

Sthom. 44/12, ...varna viþ ofmetnabe oc afund. viþ hatre oc hápne viþ bRæpe oc langræke...

heilaglega oc hreiðnlega

Sthom. 92/34 (Caes. 227, CCSL 104, 897 [852/6], fideliter ac diligenter; cf. truelega oc teokelega, below)

heilagr oc hreinn

Sthom. 7/20, ...svasem góþer englar ero sva helger oc hreiner... (Nnom. 133/1, helgir oc reinsir); 146/23, ... heilagra manna samneyte es hiarta hrein oc hlealct; 188/21, helgare oc hreíNe; cf. 188/25-26, Heílog maria mer meyia domina heims oc iarpar allom englom hreíNe oc allom monnom helgare. (cf. hreinson oc helgon)

heill ok herfær

Nnom. 122/33, En þa er hann var heill oréen oc hær-för. þa íóraðesc hann sinna heita... (Metcalfe, 87/12-14, ...uotum persoluere mens ad modicum cepit refugere, donec... ualidus iam et fortis effectus. iter arripuit recendí.)

heilsa oc hiólþ

Sthom. 77/28-29, ...þa es oc hatéglect at hann verþa andvane heilso oc hiólþar (see hiólþ oc heilsa, below)

heilsa eþa huggon

Sthom. 67/2-3, Rétt es manne at biþia ser hugonar í meinum eþa heilso (cf. Nnom. 78/4-5, ...heilso eþa hugganar í meinum); 67/4-5
(Nhom. 78/6-7), ...þa er ver bíðiomb oss likamlegrar heilso eða huGonar...

heilsa oc hyggiandi

Sthom. 153/25-26, ...hann hefer allt goT af þer. þat er hann vill...heilso göba oc hyGandi.

hiól oc heilsa

Sthom. 153/20, ...þar er mann var mart comit til fundar við gúþ at þióna honom. oc þigua af honom hiól oc heilsa. þa com þar oc fiándi farandi (cf. Job 1:6, Quadam autem die, cum venissent filii Dei ut assist-erent coram Domino, affuit inter eos etiam Satan.); see also Nhom. 115/33 - 116/2, ...hét á hann til hialpa. oc miscunnar. bað i guðs nafne léa sér mals oc heilsu...
(Metcalfe, 79/17-18, Sanctam multis ef-flagitabat lacrimis, altis exorat gemitibus, ut loquendi officium...suo sibi restituat interuentu); cf. Ehrhardt, 186.

hirðasc oc haldasc

Sthom. 35/23

hiú oc hiór̄p

Sthom. 129/36, ...þa fóro þaw heím meb hiúm sínom oc hiór̄p bæpe allz hugar fegen. til heimkyNa siNa i nazáréth (nothing corresponding in the source for this passage, Ps. Matthai Evangelium, cap.3, §5; see G. Neckel, "Zum Stockholmer Homilienbuch", Bei-träge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur 38 [1913], 485); cf. 129, gladdesc af hans til qvámó oc hirpaNa meb hiór̄póNi (cf. Ehrhardt, 186, hjör̄ó ok hjún, híór̄p ok hiþpe, hjór̄ó ok hír̄or).
hreinson oc helgon

Stom. 122/30, ...at drotten se með
and aða þínom til hreinsonar oc helgonar...

hugr oc hiarta

Stom. 104/18-19, ...ó hreínso þa es i
hiartano vas oc i hug.; Nhom. 36/28-29,
af ollum hug ok hiarta, 65/6, 66/10,
með ollum hug ok hiarta; 87/12-13, af
ollu hiarta ok af ollum hug ok af allu
magni sinu (Matt. 22:37, ...ex toto corde
tuo, et in tota anima tua, et in tota mente
tua...; cf. Nhom. 3/1-2, ...hiarta...ond... hug...); 170/33 (cf., e.g., Klaus von See,
"Das Herz in Edda und Skaldendichtung",
Skandinavistik 8 [1978], 16-26; G. Weber,
"Irreligion und Heldenzeitalter...", Speculum Norroenm. Norse Studies in Memory
of Gabriel Turville-Petre, 495, n.58)

hús ok hýbèle

Nhom. 94/24, Vér hofum ok omnia communia...
ægum ok allt saman hús ok hýbèle iarróer
ok aðra fiarluti sem þær atto (see Gunnes,
173-174; cf Fritzner, s.v. hýbýli; Cleasby-
Vigfusson, s.v. híbýli; Ehrhardt, 187, hús
ok herbergi, etc.)

hús ok hýske

Stom. 48/14-15, ...sva er cristnín hús ok
hýske allra truafstra (cf. A. Wilmart,
Catéchêses Celtiques", in Analecta Reginensia
..., Studi e Testi 59 [1933], 102/24, ...
Deinde est aeclesia locus requiei...); Nhom.
150/32, ...Vesol scepna er tu. hus þín ok hýski
stándr nu eptir þic þér til enscis gagns...
(cf. "Un Samedi Par Nuit", P 277-280, Dolente
creature;/ Con male engendreure/ Remaint en
ta maison;/ En ta posescion!/ the same alliter-
ative phrase is found in the texts of the OWN
translation in AM 696 4to and JS 405 8vo; see
MS 21 [1959], 284)

það ok himinríki

Nhom. 91/17, Dum deus pater eum pre omnibus
sanctis et angelis in celis exaltavit. þa er
guð faðer dyrkaðe son sin í háð ok í
himin-riki yfir öllum helgum ok englum;
cf. Nhom. 8/8, til himins háðar (Alc. VV,
PL 101, 619D, ad celi culmina); Sthom. 20/
6-9, ...þa scolom ver hefia upp hugen til
hápar himensens efher honom... (see below,
pp. 474-475 ); 57/26, himnesk háð (Gr. 10
in Ev., PL 76, 1110C, celsitudo celestis);
112/28, upangr himinríkess hápar; 128/24,
...fiallet iarteiner himinríkess háp...

háре oc helgare
Sthom. 3/11, ...etke ma maría mørper drottens
coma í samiofnun vip apha helga men. í verp-
leicom sínom. fyr þui at hon er þeim álom
háре oc helgare... (PL 95, 1501B, ...et virgo
incomparabilis est ceteris virginibus...);
195/2, Heliof MaRia...herbirge heilags anda
þu eft álom helgum helgare oc háre at verp-
leicom.

háþne oc hláttr
Sthom. 147/14, Ec h[e]f e s[yñber] g[ort] í
háþne oc í hláttr...

høyrn ok heilsa
Nhom. 122/25, ...gaf honum høyrn ok heilsu
alla... (no close correspondence in Passio
Olaui, cf. Metcalfe 87/4ff.)

iarn ok eggjar
Nhom. 108/5-6, ...astvinum guðs er sva myccla
mílsco hofðu við almatkan guð at þeir gengo
undir íórn ok æggiar ok toko bana fyrir hans
sakar

ill atkváma ok áslátta diofuls
Nhom. 70/17

ill atkváma ok úhamingia
Nhom. 124/8, ...fra þeim dagi til hennar enda-
dags vitaðe hennar aldrigi síðan su íla at-
cváma ok u-hamingia (no close correspondence in
Passio Olaui, cf. Metcalfe, 88/27ff.)

illr oc oskyldr
Sthom. 192/21-22, Varþveittu muN þin fra orþom
íllom oc ó skylldom (Regula Benedicti, cap. IV,
CSEL 75 [1960], 32/51, Os suum a malo uel prabo
eloquent custodire; cf. Sthom. 142/28-29, vera
eige...fiplmólogr)

illr ok útrúr
Nhoom. 111/11, illr ok útrur sem allur verða
drotns svicarar

ípron oc yferbót
Sthom. 20/23; 52/3, ...legge hann a hendr
sér yverbót oc ípron ópockans (Ps. Aug. 117,
PL 39, 1979/20-22, ...animum plenum veneno...
cruciat per abstinentiam et humilitatem);
Nhoom. 171/1, ...stændr síðan fast í íörar
ok í yfir-botom...

carl ok kona
Sthom. 40/34-35 (Nhoom. 144/35 - 145/1), ...
enge være honum betre mæþ boren fra karle
oc kono (Matt. 11:11, ...non surrexit inter
natos mulierum maior Ioanne Baptista; Nhoom.
107/8-9, engi være bettri fra karle ok cono
boren...; see also Post. 846/15, AM 625 4to,
47r/1-2, and variant translations of the verse

cit. Kirby, Biblical Quotation..., I, 163;
cf., e.g., Ælfric, LS, I.344,xvi, 103-105,
...þat nan mærra man nes on middanearde acenned
of were and of wife); Sthom. 47/26, ...at hverR
mæþ . iafnt aupegr sem fæteócr. vngr oc
gamall. kallar oc conor. at hverR mæþ scyllde
gialda honum eiN peníNing... (cf. Wilmart, ed.
"Catéchèses Celtiques...", 100/58-59,...ut
unusquisque homo denarium redderet Cesari tam
dues quam pauper.); 52/34, ...karlar oc konor
er hreiNífe haldeþ (Ps. Aug. 117, PL 39,
1980/5-6, ...quicumque dono Christi in corpore
virgines estis); 84/5 (Nhoom. 69/5) karlmaþr
oc kono; 84/6-7 (Nhoom.69/6); 137/4-5; 139/10;
211/23; Nhoom. 92/25; 155/3-4, Hvæt er þat riki
er hann sælr fær sinum. nema hælgrir menn
hvartvæggia carlar ok konor er hann kóypti
fra hælvi... (cf. Ælfric, CH I. 264, Hvæt
is þat rice þat he betæð his Fæder, buton ða
halgan menn, æðer ge weras ge wif, þa þe he
alysde fram helle-wite...?; see Gunnes, 183);
168/11, 13, 28-29 (cf. Fritzner, Hertzberg,
Lex. Poet., s.v. karl; Ehrhardt, 189)
keisere oc konungr 
Stom. 70/28-29, Bipiom ver fyr keisara oc konunge orom... (cf. Missale Romanum [1872], Fer. VI in Parasceve, Oratio Solemnis 4, Oremus pro Christianissimo imperatore nostro ...); cf. Oakden II, 199 cyningas ne caseras, 213 caseras and cyningas, 238 king...keiser.

kirkia ok kennimaðr 
Nhom. 70/23-24 (cf. Ehrhardt, 189)

kirkia eða kross 
Stom. 109/9-10, Fare sípan brátt til kirkia eða krossen er þar keomr; 110/31, koma til kirkio eða kross (cf., e.g., Bisk. I. 164, "...at sökja hvern dag, síð ok snemma, kross eða kirkju...; DN I. 627/14)

lágr ok lítil 
Stom. 3/21, ...hvatke er men mego af hugvite síno. mála til lofs henne. þa er þat allt lágt oc líitet at virpa hia lofe heilagra engla... (cf. PL 95, 1498B, ...quidquid humanis dici potest verbis, minus est a laude coli...)

land ok log 
Nhom. 110/21, hvessu mykit sa hinn helgi maðr bótte fyrir munnum meðan hann reð fyrir lande ok légu. (cf. Metcalfe, 70/9-11, ...qua quanta beneficia populis illis rex...contulerit, quantum pro fuit dum profuit, et in promulgacione legum, et in sustenacione pauperum...); cf. Ehrhardt, 192, land ok lag

leyndr/ lióss 
Stom. 136/34-37, J leyndom göþgerningom lýsom ver öst við guð. en í liósom göþgerningom öst við men. þui scolom vör sumom göþgerningom leyña. en suma fyr munnom lýsa. at vér eigom hvárar tveglo synþar at beóta leyndar oc liósar; cf. Stom. 31/32-34, ...at eigi gillde hann oss sva ena leyndre synþ at vér rasem í ena liósare oc ena torbeóttre. (cf. Ehrhardt, 193, í leynd en í ljóse).
Nnom. 17/5-6, Lióir ok limar varer (Alc. VV, PL 101, 626C, Membra nostra); 116/27, ...pionae siéan hvar lióir ok limar rettre scepnu (Metcalfe, 80/17-18, ...singulis membris officio suo et forme redditis...); cf. Oakden, II.330, ymne and lyne

Nnom. 37/33 - 38/1

Stom. 137/22, vera litelláte oc lastvarer

Nnom. 63/33, fyrrir litil-láte ok lyóni ok hannan haims (see above, p. 85 ); 98/17-18, Golf-bíili merkí litil-láte ok lyóni ok þolenmðøe (Stom. 101/28, litelláte oc hlýpne); cf. Stom. 157/33-34, ...par fylger oft litil-láte. oc hlýpni falyndino...

Nnom. 24/4-5, Dann lost at lofasc af mognom í goóom verkum lastaðe Cristr mioc... (cf., e.g., Leifar, 158/8, ...er hvorke er lofaðr nje lastaðr = Ps. Anselm, PL 158, 648C,...non laudatur, sed tamen non vituperatur; Ehrhardt, 195, löstr ne lof; see also Stom. 21/25-26, cit. below, s.v. lostr oc lyga

Nnom. 37/1-2, En gomlum mane hverium byriar at giata laga ok landzretrar (cf. Elfric, LS I, 290, xiii, 117, ne se ealdne he bo buton æwfeazsysse; see J.T.P., "Sources...", 176); cf. Ehrhardt, 192, lag ok landzens rétt, lagh ok landzrætt (cf. also lag oc landzsiýer, below)

Stom. 93/14, ...svasem mep lokom eþa lássom (Caes. 227, CCSL 104, 898[852/18], ...quasi quibusdam seris ac vectibus; the phrase is omitted in the translation at Stom. 193/14-16); cf., e.g., Mar. 465/9, 1141/3; Ehrhardt 193, láss ok lok.
lyge oc lausung

Sthom. 157/37; Nhom. 87/28 (cf., e.g., Hávamál, st. 42, 45; Fritzner, s.v. lausung)

lög oc landssíðar

Sthom. 159/8-10 ...bær ðøsc til laga oc landssíðar at gups lög gengi rícura helldr an ovni vánda manna. eða sípleysí svicápiópar... (with the term svicápió cf. Gyóinga saga, STUAGNL 6 [1881], 40/2, ...hann rek r alla svikamenn oc íllzkupjóð ór landinu...= Maccabees 9:73, ...et exterminavit impios ex Israel); cf., e.g., Strengleikar, "Equitan", 66/17, aðfir logum ok landsíðum; Enrhardt 194, lög ok landsins síóuenia.

læstr oc lyge

Sthom. 56/23, ...lát hvárte múla lást ne lyge tungo sýna...; cf. Sthom. 21/25-26, ...vill lof sit hýra a vælt en víþer til lyge hveriom er hinn lastar

læstr oc lyte

Sthom. 159/16, ...þeir bær ðøsc hverndag a móti lóstom oc lýtum (cf., e.g., Leifar, 196/33, eptir hafí lýtissens eða lastarens = PL 184, 491D, Juxta...qualitatem culpae...; Ibid., 198/14, beiskleír lýta ok lasta = PL 184, 493Á, vitiorum...absinthium; Ehrhardt, 194, lýta alla lýti, lóstar ok lyti)

mál ok miskunn

Nhom. 116/18-19, ...báð mioc gratande Olaf hinn hálga konung. léá ser mals ok hælso. Óvni nást fecc hann mál ok miskunn af þæim góða konunge. (cf. Metcalfe, 80/10-12, ...ut lingue sue pristina redderetur sanitas cum intima cordis·contricione postulans, usum loquendi quem amiserat recepit...)

mannfiolpe/ mannmetnømr

Sthom. 112/20, Hvartke scal gups hyggjande merkia at manfiolþa ne at manmetnæþe...
margr oc mikill

Sthom. 27/26, meþ sva morgom oc miklom t:jcnom guþ[s] miscuNar; 44/26, Nu veit ec át yrpr mño ðykia vanNdfe morg oc mikil fiNasc á life þro i mále míno; Nhom. 156/18-19, ...þa fyri-gefr vár drotten oss mis-giærningar varar margar ok mycclar...; 156/21-22, ...misgiærningar mycclar ok margar (cf. Ælfric, CH I.266/27-28, ...ure synna mycele and manega); cf. Sthom. 53/17-18, ...þeim verpr mart fyr gefet er mikit aN. Luke 7:47, cit. Ps. Aug. 117, PL 39, 1980/57, Cui multum dimittitur, multum diligit; cf. Kirby, Biblical Quotation..., I.241); 64/23, ...miklar virþingiar eþa morg hogende ...; Nhom. 110/32, ...var med honum margag daga í mykilli sömd. (cf. Metcalfe, 71/23 -72/1, ...in honore amplissimo, quamdiu ibi morari uoluit, habitus est); cf., e.g., Oakden, II.223, 243, manig and micel, manie ant mikle.

matr ok mungát

Nhom. 89/10-11, ...sва sem licamr-en þarf matar ok mungáþ ... sva scal sóló mannz lifa viþ guðs oró... (See J.T.P., "Sources...", 178: Basil, Admonitio ad Filium Spiritualem, ch. xii, Sicut enim ex carnalibus escis alitur, ita ex divinis eloquiis interior homo nutritur et pascitur; cf. Nhom. 36/32, Sua sem likamr mannz lifir viþ mätt ok drycc...; Ælfric, LS, I, 288, xiii, 89, Swa swa se lichoma leofaó be hlæfe and drence...); cf. Ehrhardt, 195.

mein oc myrcr

Sthom. 45/23, í mein oc í myrcr (see myrkr ok mein, below)

meire/ minne

Sthom. 41/35-36, ...virþom ess siálfar miNa sem vér hofom meira lán af goþe; 65/13, ... beþe af enom miNom synþom oc enom meirom; 107/5-6, ...huárt sem oss er bopet meira eþa miNa; 162/6-7, ...eigi miNi ne meiri heldr
samiafn feðrnom; 211/20, ...allan licams losta oc swregon meĩre oc miNe scolom véð rákia. (cf. Ehrhardt, 195)

metorp mikil oc morp fiáð
Sthom. 153/26

milde/ miscunn
Sthom. 50/23, þu en fra bára millde oc miscun... (Ps. Aug. 117, PL 39, 1977/54-55, ...pietas immensa...misericordia publica...); 204/35, fyr miscuN oc millde dróttens várs iesu criz (Epistola Luciani, PL 41, 815/51-52, ...propter celestem ejus thesaurum misericordia et pietatis); Nhon. 91/22, mildi oc miscun er droten vár hefir við ós (cf., e.g., Thóm. I, 69/17, 70/22; Ehrhardt, 196, mildeikr ok miscunn)

mildr ok meinlauss
Nhon. 119/6 (Metcalfe, 83/4, simplex et innocens)

mildr oc miscunnarfullr
Sthom. 194/25, Styrcþu mic gub mIN millDR oc miscuNar[fulx] (see van Arkel, 357 ad loc.)

mildr ok miskunnsamr
Nhon. 108/31, miłdr at sannu ok miscunsamr (see above, p. 40 ; cf., e.g., Stjórn, 314/19-20, Heyrdu drottin. milldr ok myskunn-samr. styrkr ok þolimmodr. sannr ok fullr mikillar myskunnar = Ex. 34:6, Dominator Domine Deus, misericors et clemens, patiens et multa miserationis, ac verax; Ehrhardt, 196, mildr ok miskunnsamr)

misgranda ok mispyrma
Nhon. 153/19, Nu er þat unndarlect hvi fiand-en er sva dairft at hann þorer mis-granda oc mis-pyrma þvi er guðs sonr þolde dauða fyrir. (cf. "Un Sainedi Par Nuit", P 1020-24, ...Dient que c'est grant tort,/ Que li siens anemis/ Est tant poesteis,/ Que ice uolt saisir,/ Por coi il uolt morir;
see MS 21 [1959], 289, JS 405 8vo, granda edr misbyrma; Ehrhardt, 195, mein gera eda misbyrma.

miscunn oc mennzca
Sthom. 182/28 (Nhom. 50/20), Veitom vér miscuN oc menSCO nangom órom at ver megem nióta þeIrar miscuNar er dominus tók maNdOm a sic fyr oss.

morb oc manndráp
Sthom. 147/6, Hefe ec synþer gort i morb oc i maNdrape.

muncar oc meyiar
Sthom. 160/31

myrkr ok mein
Nhom. 89/2-3, þar er ei oc ei myrcr ok mein...
(cf., e.g., Elucidarius, ANON [1858], 163,
myrkra iord ok meina [Job 10:22, Lefèvre,
448, terra (miseriae et) tenebrarum], cit.
Kirby, Biblical Quotation..., I.28; Barl.
145/10, til myrkr oc meina = Ps. Ich. Dam.
95/32, barathriis ac præcipitiis); see mein oc myrcr, above.

máttr oc milde
Sthom. 80/8 (Nhom. 59/7), Allt gerer seN gubs mótttr oc míllde (cf. Ps. Aug. 136 [Faustus of Riezj, PL 39, 2015/20, O misericordia simul et potentia Dei!)

meópi / meinseme
Sthom. 32/19, ...bæpe erÐepe oc móbe oc morg þessa heims meinseme

óðal ok eignir Nhom. 117/3, Bróðr tveir váro í Vic mustr kyn-stórer menn oc feaør væl atto þar óðal ok eignir allar (cf. Metcalfe, 80/21-22, Erant duo urí fratres, et hii genere clari habundantes in seculo obtinebant diuitias.); cf. Ehrhardt, 197, óðal ok eignir; 180, eign ok óðal.
oddr ok egg

Nnom. 36/6, ...costom vió at nema pater noster oc credo. ok kenna siðan fram á læði hverr sinu barne. fyrir því at þat er þaðe oddr ok æg í mot allre costan fiandans... (the word-play, costom vió ...í mot costan..., is probably deliberate; on the Pater Noster as a weapon see R.J. Menner, The Poetical Dialogues of Solomon and Saturn [1941], 112, n. ad I.90; cf., e.g., Enrhardt, 197, oddr ok æg, oddr ok egg; Oakden, II.196, 201, ord ond egg; 333, of egge and ord.

ofát oc ofdryckia

Sthom. 103/16-17, forpasc hon ofát [oc] ofdryckio; 143/14-15, þetta lif eGiar galása meN til ofáts oc ofdryckio (Acta S. Sebastiani, PL 17, 1116D, Ipsa dat edacitatem glutonibus, ipsa ebrietatem ingerit temulentis...), 145/6 (Ibid., 1119D edacitas gula; cf. AM 238 fol. XII, ed. cit., 110/10, ofdryckia); 147/21; 185/21, 23-24 (Nnom. 55/31, 34-35, af-át ok af-dryccia); 213/11; Nnom.15/7, þar sem þeir sia opt framt verða of-át ok of-dryccio (Alc., VV, PL 101, 625A, ubi videbunt frequenter comessationes et ebrietates exerceri); 33/29; 74/21 af-át ok af-dryckia; cf. Sthom. 192/13-14, Vestu eig ofmetnaþar maþr. oc eige ofdøykcio maþr. oc eige of atz maþr... (Regula Benedicti, cap. IV, CSEL 75 [1960], 31/34-36, Non esse superbum, non uinolentum [var. violentum]; cf. Sthom. 142/23-24, ...vera eige metnaþar maþr. oc eige afundsamr. eige ofdrykciamapr. ne acafliga ger...)

ofdrykkia eða offylli

Nnom. 33/32

ofmetnaþr oc afund

Sthom. 44/12; 78/25, i ofmetnaþe eþa i afund eþa i orþom illom; 107/21; 147/5; 158/20; see
also Sthom. 94/10, ἀφυτὸς ὁ ἡμιρ ἕιθτ
τὸν ὁμοστᾶμότι, and 142/23-24, cit. above,
s.v. ὄφατος ὁ ὁμοφύλος

ofmetnánór ok ulyóni
Nnom. 63/31 (see above, p. 85 )

okeónscă/ illska
Sthom. 68/7-8, ...misgerþó méir af
ILLSCO en af okéonsko. (Nnom. 79/13-14,
...zigu af o-kéonsko. hældr af illsco...);
cf. Ehrhardt, 188, illska ok uvizka.

okeónscă epa ostyrçp
Sthom. 68/14 (Nnom. 79/20-21), torþötre
er þær synþer...er af illsco ero gorvar.
en hinar er af okeónscă epa ostyrçp verþa
framþar...

onýtr / -illgiarnlegr
Sthom. 185/12 (Nnom. 55/22), ...es eige
vill heýra ónýt orþ ne illgiarnlegr... (cf.
Bede, I.18, CCSL 122, 78/202-203, ...qui
sepiunt aures suas spinis ne audiant linguam
nequam...)

óp oc ákall
Sthom. 44/33, ...þa muno guþs englar wekia
upp af daþpa alla þióþ þa es veret hefer
her i heime meþ óþi micklo oc meþ ákalle
(cf. Ehrhardt, 197, op ok akallan)

oracklärte oc omennzca
Sthom. 147/10-11

oreócp oc omennzca
Sthom. 22/6-7, Lótom ver oss òróþpēna allá
oc òmenzcona leþpa vera...

orþ oc atferþ
Sthom. 160/24, bæþi. i orþom sinom. oc i
atferþom, 160/30

orþ oc eyrende
Sthom. 4/19
ovitr oc omále

Sthom. 184/25 (Nhom. 52/29), ...
hveria epter glikNg megem vér gera barna þessa 
es vér holldom hótíþ í dag. þar es þar 
væro óll õvitar en sum omála (cf. Ehrhardt, 
205, ómáli ok úviti. The final section of
this homily for Holy Innocents [Sthom. 184/ 
23-37; Nhom. 52/27 - 53/11] is not based on
the principle source for the text, Bede, I.10, 
CCSL 122, 68-72. The list of the characteris-
tics of a child at Stom. 184/30-32 [Nhom. 53/ 
1-4] is a late patristic commonplace: ...
sviN helldr eige lengi heft í híarta þót 
hann verþe réíþr. oc gírnesc eige til gólégrar 
cono þót hann sé. oc hygr eige aNAtl en hann 
mále...; cf., e.g., Bede, in Marc., PL 92, 
230D-231A; Puer non perseverat in iracundia, 
non læsus meminit, non videns pulchram multiem 
delectatur, non aliud cogitât, aliud loquitur. 
Pierre Riché, Education and Culture in the 
Barbarian West, 453, n.48, cites examples of 
the formula from Columban and Isidore.)

racna/ réna

Sthom. 95/20, ...
hvárt hann látí racna 
nacqvat eþa réna tru eþa vinfengi viþ mic;
96/30, ...
lét eige réna ne racna tru oc sóst 
viþ guþ.

ranglátr/ réttlátr

Sthom. 118/4, sól sína láþr skína ialnt á 
rangláta sem á réttláta (Matt. 5:45, ...
solem suum oríri facit super bonos et malos 
...); Nhom. 6/3-4, ok sva regner yfir rang-
láta sem yfir reflata (Matt. 5:45, cit. Alc. 
VV, PL 101, 618A, ...
et pluit super justos 
et injustos; cf. Kirby, Biblical Quotation... 
I.147-148); Sthom. 144/22, ...
þar er rétt-
láter hafa eilifan veg. en rangláter eilifa 
pining (Acta S. Sebastiani, PL 17, 1119B, 
...utrum possit ... ipsa æternitas vel 
honorem tradere justis vel injustis þenam
inferre; cf. AM 238 fol. XII, ed. cit.,
109/7-10, ...huor<ts> [s]a odadleikr se
med rettlatum monnum æ(da) syndaugum til
vegs rettlatum. en hinum med eilifum pislum.)

ranglæt/ réttlæt
Sthom. 192/12-13, ...þóla ranglæt af
æþrom fyr rettlæt þít (Regula Benedicti,
cap. IV, CSEL 75 [1960], 31/33, Persecutio-
nem pro iustitia sustinere; cf. Sthom. 142/
22, þóla vel meíngærber...)

rangr/ rétttr
Sthom. 155/9-10, ...séger hann þat rétt er
rangt er en þat rangt er rétt er (cf.
Ehrhardt, 198, rétt ok rangt)

reinlega ok réttlega
Nhom. 100/15, ...gerum æigi Crist reiðan
er með oss vil vera ef vör haldum ós rein-
lega ok relegg (cf. Caes. 229, CCSL 104,
909 [864/10-11], ...ne...Christo iniuriam
faciamus, qui in nobis habitare desiderat.)

reiðe oc ranglæt
Sthom. 158/19

réttlega oc reðkelega
Sthom. 15/27-28, ...at halda réttlega hotþber
postola oc røkelega; cf. Nhom. 10/12 ranglega
ok o-røkelega (cf. Alc. Vv., PL 101, 621B,
...negligentes).

réttynde/ rangynde
Sthom. 198/38 - 199/1, hann lícnar hveriom
með rettyndom. oc fyr deómmer enge með rang-
yndom (cf. Ehrhardt, 198)

rióa ok renna
Nhom. 129/17 (cf. Metcalfe, 94/20 - 95/2,
cit. above, p. 83 ; Ehrhardt, 198, renna
ok ríoa, rióa ok ránna)

ríke oc réttleþe
Sthom. 95/32, Leftíþ ér fyrst qvæþ hann oc
bíþit qvós ríkiss oc réttléþis (Matt. 6:33,
Quarite ergo primum regnum Dei, et iustitiam
elus; the same alliterative collocation is
found in translations of the verse at Post.
sacar oc synþar

Sthom. 45/29, ...at hann fyr gefe oss
sakar oc synþar; 194/17-18, þu síálf
synþa lausa oc saka...; Nhoms. 156/26,
...þa man fáer yðar fyr-gefa yðr sacar
ok syndir (cf. Ælfric, CH, I, 266/30-31,
...and eower Fæder, þe on heofonum is,
forgyfð eow eowre synna); cf., e.g., the
runic inscription on the Sálna stone
(eleventh/twelfth century; E. Wessén and
S.B.F. Jansson, ed., Upplands Runinskrifter
2:1 = Sveriges Runinskrifter 7 [1943-46],
45, cit. Walter, Lex. Lehn., 127) Guó hialpí
hans and ok selu, forgefí hanum sakaR ok
syndir; K. von See, Altnordische Rechtswörter,
Hermaea 16 (1964), 225; Enhardt, 199, sakir
ok syndir.

saurr ne synþ

Sthom. 144/15, af þeire feótslo er eige
saúrr ne synþ (Acta S. Sebastiani, PL 17,
1119A, ...et ista refectio non potest in
digestionem prorumpere; cf. AM 238 fol.
XII, ed. cit., 108/8, ...par gerir eigi
fæzsla swr i kuidi); cf. the compound synþa-
saurr: Sthom. 93/7, 180/20 (Nhoms. 48/7),
190/5 (Bede I.14, CCSL 122, 98/99, peccatorum
sordes); Nhoms. 5/25 (Aec., VV, PL 101, 617D,
peccatorum sordes), 64/17, 104/11, Nhoms. 143/
7 (cf. Gr. 34 in Ev., PL 76, 1256A, maculae
pulveris nostri; Sthom. 92/30, synþa dust);
and Sthom. 55/5, saúrgon synþareNar (Bede I.
11, CCSL 122, 75/68, peccati contagio); see
Walter, Lex. Lehn., 106f., saurga, saurífi.

siukr/ sárr

Nhoms. 88/19, ...þar eor retir aumingiar.
blindir menn ok haltir ok daufir. siukir
ok sarer. likþraer ok vælír...; 118/10,
...sem hann hafðe hvarke orðt siucr eða
sár (Metcalfe, 82/1, ...ut níchil omnino passus uideretur); cf. e.g., Barl. 195/2, sivk oc sar af kærleik astar þinnar (Ps. Ioh. Dam. 124/39, Vulnerata charitate); Ehrhardt, 200, sjúkr eða sárr.

skilia oc skýra

Sthom. 162/1, ...eigi es þat vaNt at skilia oc scýra

skírðr/ skilór

Nhom. 54/32, ...sva ganga litillatír in í himnesca Ierusalém með fornorn goðra værca skírðr ok skílór fra ollum dæum-legum ustyrkóum a domsdegi (cf. Bede, I.11, CCSL 122, 77/140-144, ...Vera enim circumciscione purgatus templum domini cum muneribus ingreditur qui gloria resurrectionis ab omní labe mortalitatis excoctus cum bonorum fructibus operum supernae civitatis gaudia sempiterna subit; cf. Sthom. 55/26-27, ...skilper viþ æill mein aNdar oc likama a domsdege...)

scæpon oc scialsemæ oc sceiton  Sthom 157/37.

sleógbp oc saurlífe

Sthom. 157/36

sleógbp/ suíc

Sthom. 158/6, ...at hon snuisc eigi til sleógbpar eða til suiða.

sorg/ sárleikr

Nhom. 32/12-13, Þar er eigi...sorg ne sarlæicr (cf., e.g., D. Bethurum, "The connection of the Katherine Group with Old English Prose", JEGP 34 [1935], 562 -- sar and sorg, sorhe ne sar, etc.; Oakden II. 201, 207, 216, 224, 245, 255, 260, 337)

sótt oc sárleicr

Sthom. 169/7, ...Á vesolþ veralldar þessar. í sóttom oc sárleík... (cf., e.g., Elucidarius: Hauksbók 483/4-5, Fyr vtan alla synð ok sótt
sótt oc sorg
Sthom. 32/5-6, ...fra synþom oc svikom.
sóttom oc sorgom...; 32/13 (cf. 32/20, sótt oc daþpe. sorg oc vmboge); 60/1, fyrm
sút oc sorg (Gr. 10, in Ev., PL 76, 1113D, per lamenta); Æhom. 88/32, þar er aðgi sút
ne sorg...; 89/2-3, ...myrcr ok máin ok
sut ok sorg (cf., e.g., Thóm. I, 462/8-9,
Marfu s. 23, 363)

sótt oc synþ
Sthom. 40/10 (Æhom. 144/9), ...hon var
verb at...bera af sinó holde guþ oc man
hingat í heim ón sótt oc synþ (cf., e.g.,
Hauksbók, 483/4-5, cit. above, s.v. sótt
oc sóarleicr); cf. the compound synþasótt:
Sthom. 96/27, Æhom. 12/10-11 (Alc., VV,
PL 101, 622D, peccatorum agritudo); 59/35.

stafeste/ stiór
Sthom. 157/34-35, stafestí hugscotz oc
stiór atferpar

suic oc synþ
Sthom. 32/5-6, 12-13, 16, fyrm svicom oc
synþom

syner/ sameilífer
Sthom. 161/21, ...aller þeir er víþ honom
tóco oc trúþo a hann...gaf hann þat velldi.
at þeir urþo syner hans oc sameilífir honom.
(John. 1:12, Quotquot autem receperunt eum,
Dedit eis potestatem filios Dei fieri...; see Kirby, Biblical Quotation..., 1.279)

synþ/secþ
Sthom. 55/1, ...leýsto sik af bándom eNar
fyrsto synþar eþa secþar... (Bede I.11, CCSL
122, 75/63-65, ...suas suorumeque animas...a
primi reatus uinculis absoluere curabant);
141/20, ...pa monu þeir farasc mep meiri sekþ af synpom sínom... (cf., e.g., Stjórn 55/8, ...pa reiddiz gud þeirra syndum ok sektum...

Sthom. 3/13-16, En þót ver villdem víþ leifa synbger men oc seker marga gagngerþa víþ gub. at lofa mópor hans a hótiþar dege sínom. þa er mioc uggaNdja. at eige mege sömelect verþa í muNe oss lof hennar (cf. PL 95, 1498B, Ex quo timeo satis, et valde per timesco...ne forte sicut improbus, ita et indignus laudator inveniar); cf., e.g., Andreas s. post. I, Post. 337/7, ...unz þeir fara ut or likomum sinum sekir ok syndugír...

(A. Lipsius and M. Bonnet, ed., Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha 2.1 [1898, rpt. 1959], 5/1-2, ...quamdiu de corpore exeant rei et nudi...)

Sthom. 119/5-6, ...hvárt sem hyGiaNdæ aNdans þarf at teýgia eþa temia...

Nhom. 70/30, ...lyða væl tiþum ok talum kenni-manna...

Nhom. 116/7, ...toc hendi sinni í mun hanum ok heimti til sin þann litla stuf er eptir stoð tungunnar. ok togaðe sva hart ok toygói at sá ungi maðr fec ægi þolat...u-þpande (Metcalfe 80/3-6, ...manu sua os adolescents aperiens, lingue truncate partem que remans-erat tanta uirtute extraxit et extendit, ut uiolenciam conaminis adolescens ferre non ualens...clamare cogeretur); cf. Nhom. 118/4-6, ...toc hann til tungunnar ok togaðe til sín tungu-røtrnar með sva mycclu afle at prestr-en cvað við oc øpte... (Metcalfe, 81/29-31, ...lingue radices tanto extraxit conamine, ut, nimio dolore coactus, clamorem maximum sacerdos emitteret.)
trúfeste oc tárfelling  Sthom. 157/34

tala/ teygia  Sthom. 185/28-30 (Nhom. 56/4-7), Oráp-vandra Qvena vanþe es at bera í hús sín ilmande urter at þar tále meþ þessom ilm oc teýge til sín þa meN es eige cuNo sia viþ vélim þéira... (cf. Bede I.11, CCSL 122, 78/196-199, Incircumcisi olfactu et tactu qui unguento et variis odoribus sunt delibuti, qui sequuntur amplexus meretricis aspergentis cubile suum myrrha et aloë et cinamomo).

úáran ok úfriðr  Nhom. 37/22, ...þa vil var drotten os beria fyrir þat. bæðe með mann-dauða ok úáran ok ufriði. ok hví-vitni er ïlt er...
(cf. Tractatus de rectitudine catholicae conversationis, PL 40, 1177/16-18, ...in vobis venient plagae ab eodem Moyse prae-dictae, pestilentia scilicet, fames et gladius...; see J.T.P., "Sources...", 180)

úsæll ok aumr  Nhom. 149/3, Vsál ok áumr. illu hlítle var þu födr... ("Un Samedi Par Nuit", P 53-54, Chaitis, maleures,/ Mal fuisses onques nes...)

útlenzkr eða innlenzkr  Nhom. 92/25, ...viðr-scípti utlenzкра eða innlenzкра... (cf. Ehrhardt, 205, útlenzkr ok innlenzkr)

útlenzkr/ úskylðr/ úvinr  Nhom. 64/ 29-30, ...dugir aigi at ðnis frændum sinum ok vinum. hældr ok utlenzcum ok oscyldum ok u-vinum...

válap oc vílsípr  Sthom. 32/21
válc oc vandræpe

Nhom. 169/32, Þa fara þessir veinandi ok valande með fianda til hálvitis...

veinandi ok válandi

Nhom. 169/32, Þa fara þessir veinandi ok valande með fianda til hálvitis...

válaðr ok vistlauss

Nhom. 77/14, Briot þu brouð þit fyrir hungraðan. ok leit í valaða ok vist-lausa í hus þit... (Isaiah 58:7, cit. Gr. 16 in Ev., PL 76, 1138A, Frange esurienti panem tuum, et egenos vagosque induc in domum tuam...; Kirby, Biblical Quotation..., I.104)

vit ok vísdomr

Nhom. 37/3-4, ...ungir menn eigu lýðnir at vera þeim mænum er þeim kenna vit ok vísdom (cf. Ëlfrið, LS I, 290, xiii, 118, ne se iunga ne beo butan gehyrsummysse; see J.T.P., "Sources...", 176); Nhom.159/1-2, En her þurfum ver goðra garninga ok vitt at nema ok vis-dóm. at visum boc-lærðum man(n)um (cf. Ëlfrið, CH I.270/31, Her we behofiað lare and wisdomes); cf., e.g., Òækden, II.311, 342, 363, wit and wisdom.

bíónar oc þýiar

Sthom. 32/24, ...at nu sém vér diofols mansmenn oc synpa bíónar oc þýiar.

þráttan ne þiorkudríðr

Sthom. 142/29-30, ...vera eige þráttan ne þiorkudríðr (cf. Regula Benedicti, cap. IV, CSEL 75 [1960], 33/68, Contentionem non amare)

ätt ok eign

Nhom. 168/26, Engi er sva gafugr at átt eða at eignum...at þenna dom mege flyia.

eðe ok uskap

Nhom. 115/15, Vita þótest hon þegar eðe ok u-skap þês illa mannz... (Metcalfe, 79/2-3,
Illa, quia peruersitatem hominis nouerat...

S Thom. 166/2-3, ...peir heofpno hann selldan mansali fyr aefundar sacar oc ilzco (Gr. 38 in Ev., PL 76, 1286B, ...per malitiam vened-tores fratris fuerunt); cf., e.g., Stjörn 246/31, ...af sinni eiginni aefund ok illzku ...; see also Nhnom. 115/2, illir ok aefund-fullr (Metcalfe, 78/10, odibilis et praenus)

S Thom. 44/12, varna vĩp ofmetnabe oc aefund; 78/25, i ofmetnabe epha i pfund epha i orpom illom; 94/10, ...aefund oc hatri heif oc ofmetnabi...; 107/21, ...aefund oc ofmetnab. dramb. hæpne oc atfyndle...; 147/5, J aefund oc i ofmetnabe; 158/20, ...aefund oc ofmetnab. eftr es sleft callat; Nhnom. 35/26, 31, fyir offund oc ofmetnað fello englar guðs af himnum

S Thom. 120/20-21

S Thom. 15/30, ...su er aost oc elsca a mìplom heilagra manna...; 78/17-18, ...mêb aost oc mep elsco beþe vĩp guþ oc vǐp nỳnga óra; 153/2, ...ef berom...aost oc elsco vĩp guþ oc vĩp meN; 198/36, ...scolom vër þat gera af aost oc af elsco. en eige af heifst ne af reiþe; cf. Nhnom. 42/16, ...hafna mìgnangelsco fyrir guðs aost; S Thom. 61/5, ...aost at hann se fullr af elsko guþs oc nògns (H. L. Spencer, "A Lost Penitential Homily Found...", MS 44 [1982], 283/4-5, Caritas ut sit plenus in dilectione Dei et proximi...; cf. J. Turville-Petre, Traditio 19 [1963], 57)

S Thom. 136/5-6, ...beþe til ástar vĩp guþ. oc til yfer botar synþa várra...
Cursus

In two articles ("Traces of Latin prose-rhythm in Old Norse Literature", and "Cursus in Old Norse Literature") Jakob Benediktsson has attempted to find in Stom. and Nhom. (among other own prose texts) examples of cursus, the stylized accented period-endings commonly used in twelfth-century Latin prose. He concentrates on the four principal cursus-patterns:

I. cursus planus, of the type \textit{videbis armatum}

II. cursus tardus, of the type \textit{laudabis iustitiam}

III. cursus velox, of the type \textit{omnia perdidissent} (or with a final disyllabic word: \textit{omnibus dona dedit})

IV. cursus dispondaicus aut trispondaicus, of the type \textit{esse videatur}, or sometimes with six syllables in the last word: apostolicam \textit{benedictionem}.

Unfortunately, for most of the texts he examines, Jakob presents only statistical counts of cursus-types in lieu of examples. Only in his first article does he provide a short sample list of phrases from the Nhom. Olaf-legend which would appear to correspond to cursus-patterns:

I. planus

1. Pál postole segir (109/5-6)
2. almatkom guói (109/19)
3. hafóe hann veret (109/27)
4. mykilli ióran (109/34)
5. alsconar villu (110/1)
6. lände ok ogum (110/21)
7. anzscotans afle (110/23-24)
8. våpnurn at scipta (110/27-28)

II. tardus

9. almatigs scapara (110/4)
10. méó ollum þám fiarlutum (113/28)
Jakob estimates that in the Nhom. Olaf-legend "the first three types of cursus make up rather more than 65% of the sentence endings and type IV about 12%. Of the rest only about 8% end with a stressed syllable". It is impossible to dispute these figures without a complete list of examples; but it is disturbing to notice that at least three of the phrases he cites in his sample list (7, 21, 22) do not occur at the ends of clauses. And many of his other examples (esp. 1, 2, 3, 9, 25, 26) are of such an utterly commonplace character that it is difficult to believe without further evidence that their rhythmical form can only
be due to influence from Latin *cursus.*

Jakob suggests, "since the original Latin follows the *cursus*
rules more or less consistently, the use of *cursus* in the translation
is all the more natural." Again, however, he fails to support this
statement with examples. As Anne Holtsmark has demonstrated, the author
of the homily "Jn die sancti Olaui..." cannot have translated directly
from the *vita* in Eysteinn Erlendsson’s *Passio et Miracula Beati Olaui,
but must have worked from an older Latin original also used by Eysteinn.
The ON text of the miracles, however, follows the Latin of Eysteinn’s
miracle-collection more faithfully, and it is interesting to compare
examples of *cursus* in passages where the two texts are reasonably close.
(A dash [-] indicates that none of the four traditional *cursus*-patterns
is found in the passage cited.)

Nhom. 113/27-30 (tardus; tardus)
En eptir ann holita sigr. þa
vendi hann haim or þæirri glaor ok
fegin meó òllum þæim fiarlutum. ok
let gera þegar roóo sva myccla ór
silfri at allz costar er hon lengri
ok meirir en manzvaxtar.

118/13-14 (dispondaicus):
...þa grere ár hvit á hvarvm
bāðom

82/12 (velox):
...inmemor quod dominica dies
esset.

118/22-23 (planus):
...engi maór þorer at vinna umm
hotiðir. hvarke mykit ne lítit.
It would clearly be pointless to cite further examples. Any correspondences between cursus-patterns in the Latin and ON texts which might
appear in a more exhaustive catalogue would more likely be the result of chance than design. And to argue that the translator felt he could substitute any cursus-type for any other in the Latin text makes the notion of "imitation" so broad as to be almost meaningless.

This is not to deny the existence of the rhythmical patterns observed by Jakob Benediktsson in the Nhom. Olaf-legend. The following passage, for instance, from the St. Olaf's day homily, is remarkable for its insistent concatenation of "planus-like" and "tardus-like" phrases (109/33 - 110/4):

...Siðan snerez folc allt til astar við guð með mykilli íðran. nitti þa heiðni ok alsconar villu. Enngi maðr fær þat ófram sagt hvessu mykil fagnaðr fylgði þæm göta manne ok var á því er hann sa Noregs menn venda frá heiðni ok anscotans villu. ok ganga til miscunrar almatigis scapara.

The passage is clearly meant to recall the antithetical description of pre-Christian Norway in the opening sentences of the homily (Nhom. 108/15-16):

...Bat var bygt til scamrar stundar mykilli <villu>[Indrebø's addition] ok margconar ø-sið...

Further, better documented studies of such rhythmical patterns in OWN prose would be necessary to determine which "cursus-types" would come more naturally to the lips of a speaker or the pen of a translator. Jakob himself observes that "sentence endings corresponding to cursus dispondaicus (type IV) are very common and natural to the normal speech rhythm of Old Norse". Similarly, one might note of example 6 in his sample list, that any bisyllabic word-pair linked by ok naturally forms a planus (gaman ok gleði, beria ok beysta, frá sóttum ok sorgum, etc.)
1. See "Traces of Latin prose-rhythm in Old Norse Literature", The Fifth Viking Congress, Tórshavn, July 1965 (1968), 17-24; "Cursus in Old Norse Literature", Medieval Scandinavia 7 (1974), 15-21. The origins of the cursus are obscure, and as Karl Strecker notes (Introduction to Medieval Latin, trans. and rev. R.B. Palmer [1965], 88, n.3) various theories of how and when this system of rhythmical endings came into being have been proposed. Whether ultimately the invention of fourth-century African authors or the product of the fifth-century imperial chancelleries, however, the cursus clearly flourished in twelfth-century Latin, in part as the result of efforts to reform its use in the Papal Chancery (cf. Strecker, 90; Tore Jansson, Prose Rhythm in Medieval Latin from the 9th to the 13th Century, Studia Latina Stockholmiensia 20 [1975], 63 ff.; he pointed out that the role of John of Gaète in the "revival" of the use of cursus in the twelfth century has been exaggerated by scholars; he demonstrates, 85 ff., that cursus was in continuous use in Italy from the ninth through the eleventh century). See generally Jansson passim; G. Lindholm, Studie zur mittellateinischen Prosarhythmus, Seine Entwicklung und sein Abklingen in der Brettliteratur Witen. Studia Latina Stokhholmian 10 (1963); Wilhelm Meyer, "Die rhythmische lateinische Prosa", Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur mittellateinischen Prosarhythmus II (1905), 236-286; A.C. Clark, The Cursus in medieval and Vulgar Latin (1910); K. Polheim, Die lateinische Reimprosa (1925); 73-83; M. G. Nicolau, L'Origine du "cursus" rythmique..., Collection d'Études Latines, V (1930); N. Denholm-Young, "The Cursus in England", in Oxford Essays Presented to H.E. Salter (1934, rpt. 1968), 68-103; and further bibliography cited by Strecker, 86-90.

Jakob Benediktsson's studies can also be compared with similar efforts to find cursus-rhythms in Old English texts: see esp. P.F. van Draat, "Voluptas aurium", Englische Studien 48 (1914-15), 394-428; "The Cursus in Old English Poetry", Anglia 38 (1914), 377-404; "The authorship of the Old English Bede: A Study in Rhythm", Anglia 39 (1915-16), 319-346; G.H. Gerould, "Abbot Ælfric's Rhythmic Prose", Modern Philology 22 (1924-25), 353-366; and critical reviews of the arguments presented in these articles by Frances Randall Lipp,

2. "Cursus in Old Norse...", 15. As Lipp notes (699, n.26), the number of recognized cursus-types varies from scholar to scholar -- von Winterfeld (164-5) lists ten forms; Meyer (II. 267-269), eight; Polheim (73-83), eleven. As Nicolau observes, however, not only were the additional cursus-types rarely used deliberately, but, "il n’est pas sans danger d’allonger la liste des types de cursus, car, à ce compte, finalement on en découvrera partout et il n’y aura plus de prose arythmique" (2, n.2).

3. I have modified the list printed in "Traces of Latin prose-rhythm...", 20, only by keeping the original orthography, numbering each item, and adding "scansion" marks and page and line references.

4. This example does not scan as cursus dispondaicus and was perhaps meant to go under the heading velox: holmitlega dyrlegt haimbod.


6. It is also worth noting that while Jakob normally appears to use the manuscript punctuation as his guide for determining where periods end (cf., e.g. example 1: Nnom. 109/5-6, "Pel postole segir. hann drap ok döydi..."; example 17: 109/14-16, "...allt þat folc er guó hafœe hanum á hendi folget. vildi hann giarna...til guós leiða”; example 23: 109/27-29, "...vildi hælór...óóalaz sva ðnnda-lausān...
fagnæþ. en liggia unndir fiandans villu..."), in example 21
he ignores the punctuation-mark between reðr and rikir: 113/34-35,
"...drotens er reðr. ok rikir nu ok í hverri tíð í verolld verallda".
(It is worth noting that the translator makes no effort to imitate
the familiar velox, in saecula saeculorum.)

7. The phrase almáttkum guði, for instance, is found, as one might
expect, in numerous texts in the Homily Books, very often in mid-
sentence, or in passages containing no obvious rhythmical features:
see, e.g., Nhom. 108/11, 120/6, Sthom. 15/7, 45/33-34, 128/8-9,
161/5-6, 195/3, 211/8. (Cf. the use of the phrase at Nhom. 70/26
as part of an elaborate alliterative sequence.)
The phrase almáttgr skapari also often occurs in mid-sentence:
see Nhom. 129/15, Sthom. 145/27, 209/15 (cf. also rhythmically
identical phrases: e.g., Sthom. 73/26-27, almátegr lausnare;
Sthom. 214/35 almátkan domara).

In connection with examples 25 and 26, it is sobering to note
that virtually any reference to Saint Óláfr in the Nhom. legend can
be scanned as a type of cursus (underlined examples occur in mid-
sentence):

planus: Öláfr hinn hælgi 123/14, 128/19-20
Olafs ens hælga 112/23, 113/25
Oláfr hinn hælga 110/25, 115/19

tardus: hinum hælga Óláve konunge 109/20, 114/28, 121/22, 122/22

velox: Öláfs hinns hælga konungu 120/6
Olaf hinn hælga konung 114/13, 116/17-18

dispondarcus: hinn hælgi Öláfr konungr 108/30, 109/25, 30,
120/16, 128/19-20,
129/10-11
8. "Cursus in Old Norse...", 17.


10. With Jakob's first example, for instance, Pał postole segir (planus), one can compare the use of the same rhythmical figure in Eysteinn's Passio (Metcalfe 68/11), apostolus ait. (On the relative frequency of cursus-patterns in the vita and the miracles see Eiliv Skard, Sprache und Stil der Passio Olavi, NVAOS. II. Hist.-Filos. Klasse [1932], 67-68.)

11. Cf. Kuhn's use of statistics (op. cit., 199ff.) to demonstrate that the correspondences between cursus-types in the Old English translation of Bede's Ecclesiastical History and the Latin original pointed out by van Draat ("The Authorship of the Old English Bede...", 325-331) are random and "can be explained by the workings of pure chance".

12. The corresponding passage in Eysteinn's Passio is not close, verbally or rhythmically (cf. Metcalfe, 70/5-10).


proportion of inflected nouns and verbs with a single unstressed syllable after the stressed root: ‘x or x’x. Placing an unstressed & between two of these automatically results in planus’.

As both van Draat ("Voluptas aurium", 401) and Kuhn (195) observe, cursus-forms often crop up in perfectly banal, non-rhetorical phrases:

"Give me an apple" (planus), "social security" (tardus), etc.

It is impossible to know what criteria Jakob uses to distinguish between deliberate and accidental (or, perhaps, "natural") cursus-patterns in OWN texts. Quite misleading, however, is his suggestion that the long passage found in the Sthom. version of the homily "Assumptio Sanctae Mariae" (St Thom. 8/32 - 10/13) and not in the version of the same text in Nnom. can be proven to be an interpolation because "in the passage in question there is no trace of cursus at all" ("Traces of Latin Prose-Rhythm", 22-23). Again, he cites no examples, but phrases which resemble cursus at least as closely as do those in his sample list from the Olaf-legend can be found without difficulty in the extra passage in Sthom:

**Planus:**
- x x - x
  heilagra manna (8/38), òðrom með orðom (9/22),
  talða fyr móòm (9/26), hirðarner mæðþ (9/35),
  loc á át efná (10/3), sem nu mon ek segia (10/4),
  haldá þau sipan (10/10), þem es hon georpe (10/13)

**Tardus:**
- x x - x - x
  heilagleic mario (8/32), et helgasta eyrende (9/34-35),
  i heilagre namgirne (10/12)

**Velox:**
- x x \ x - x
  sporgango mæðr vill gerasc (9/18), skilpe hon betr
  en áþer (10/2)

**Dispondaicus:**
- x x \ x - x
  likamlegom meínom (9/3), mesta þorfe at geta (9/9),
  námgiarn at guðs lögðom (9/20), óztta lán af gupe
(9/23), hafpe sér a brióste (9/31), feópde
ser a brióste (9/23), hafpe sér a brióste (9/31), feópde
ser a brióste (9/23), hafpe sér a brióste (9/31), feópde
ser a brióste (10/8-9), atferp heNar gópa (10/9),
æollom gopom hlutom (10/13)
Paronomasia

Figura etymologica/ adnominatio/polyptoton

Sthom. 3/20-23:

Ps. Jerome, PL 95, 1498B:

...hvatke er men mego af hug-
vite síno. mála til lofs henne. verbis, minus est a laude óxli,
þa er þat allt lágt oc litet.
at virka hia lofe heilagra
engla eða spamanna. er hana
lofa goblego love. at til-
vison heilags anda.

Sthom. 12/24-26:

...þat klæpe hafpe hann a vait fyrpvi at sa eIN var. þat
var hvártke heógt ne scrautlect. þaneg svá varapasc hann
synþer skratz oc hógenDa.

Sthom. 12/32-33:

...svær þau er hann svarape

Sthom. 16/8-10:

...sva at fyr þeim vere uploket himinríki es þeir villde
vplúka. en fyr þeim byrgt es þeir vilia byrgia.

Sthom. 23/28-29:

Sípan telr petar tSCO fyrer gyfingom oc útlendom...

Sthom. 24/1:

...er ápr vildo þeir raba þeim bana róp

Sthom. 32/3:

...þeir er saurger vilia vera scyle saurs cost efga...

Sthom. 49/22-23:

...þess scolom vér bíþia miscunar alMÁttegs gúps at
eige missem ver eilifra fyrer heita eilífs konungs²

Sthom. 63/17-19:

Góp er fasta. Góp systken. ef hon er męp stillingo framep.
þuiat þat er allt hiálpvénlect er stillt es. en huatke es
vanstillingen fylger þa er háskasamlect.

Sthom. 80/7-8 (Nhom. 59/5-6):  Ps. Aug. 136 [Faustus of Riez], PL 39, 2015/18-20:
Af honom drupo skírnar dropar. De illo gutte baptismatis fluebant; en af oss flvto synþer í þeim dropom.

Sthom. 83/22-24: (Nhom. 68/15-17):
þrifseme gups kallasc dominus iesus christus. þúiat af honom hliota aller þrifnöb þeir es þrif[las]c mego þebe þessa heims oc aNars.

Sthom. 102/18-21 (Nhom. 99/10-13):
...svasem vör feópom oss itarlegre feótzlo á hótípom. sva skolom vör oc feópa aNder órar hotíplegre feótzlo þat es orb gups. þúiat óseómt es at likamr feópsc oc klópesc itarlega. en eN ipre mápr sé óþróþr oc misse siNar feótslo.

Sthom. 112/2-4:
Eínrónlect es malet bróþr mínær. oc es þó satt at hvóro. oc es at saNara at nýnámlect sé. þúiat eN nýe máþr. oc siálft at saNar iesus cristr saNar þat í þessom orbom oc aþþrom mærrom.

Sthom. 112/31-36:

Sthom. 113/8-10:
Nu es at saNø oc þa sa sábr eigaðe hver es òstena á. þá es bøben es. en saNleggæ sa hver øreiþe es hennar es andvane. þót mart þykce aNat eíga.
Sthom. 113/14-16:
...oc scal afpuí þat raNsaka hvat hon sé. eða hvern veg hon sé halldande. En hon es sva halldande at hana scal hallða at sumom hlut víþ gub an sumom víþ cristna meN.

Sthom. 118/15-16:
...sva mikíN miscuNar dóm sem mikíl es miscuNen til.

Sthom. 120/21-22:
Ramlega nýtr. es sva nýtr at ðoll heliðg verc. oc mankoster ero hans coster oc hans verc...

Sthom. 120/24-25:
Sva at gub dóm mer þan dóm .at...

Sthom. 124/27-30:
...at ver...drekem at eilífo drykð eilífs unáps...

Sthom. 135/25-27:
...vill gub drotteN. sáttasc at keNe manna siNa dóme. es gópra manna dóm vill þiggia...

Sthom. 136/34-37:
J leyndom gópgerningom Lýsom vör óst víþ gub. en í líósom gópgerningom óst víþ meN. þuí scolom vör sumom gópgerningom leyñ. en suma fyr monnom Lýsa. at vör eigom hvárar tveGio synÞer at beóta leyndar oc líósar.

Sthom. 145/28:
...allrar skepno scaperar...

Sthom. 147/4:
...meþ menZkre ænd oc menZkom likama

Sthom. 148/13-15:
...afpuí almáttgegr at hann ma allt þat gera es hann vill...

Sthom. 148/39 - 149/2:
...Daufr vas hann likams dauþa til at gefa oss æNdar líf es áþr várum dauþer í synþom...
Sthom. 152/16-17:

Nu helgar hotíp pessa fyrst at uphafi sa er alt helgar ḫat er heilact verpr. dróttin vá� iesus cristr.

Sthom. 152/22-23:

En þeir er gûp elsca muno
elscaper vera af gûp.

Sthom. 154/8-11:

...þa tóc gûp af honom van- heîlsona oc varþ hann maþr
heîl svasem þa er hann var
batst heîl. lét gûp aukasc
þa oc helmingi eigo hans alla.
Sva at þa átti hann allt
hólfo fleîra an fyR þa er
fleît var.

Sthom. 158/4-5:

...at hyGGiandin oc hvasleikrîN scal hvessa einfaldleîkiN
til neNingariNar...

Sthom. 159/17-19:

...þat er sipom gópm oc stîrîn at þeir stîrþo bêþi sér oc
síno fókli til laga hallz. oc gûps bopørþa varþveîtslo...

Sthom. 162/11-13:

Nu þat er huguitit fîpr þat má muna mep mînîro. en skîlia
oc greina mep skîliningoNe huiîlîct þat er es maþr sér eþa
heyrer eþa siîlom kórî i hug...

Sthom. 171/6-7:

Eþa villþu eige at ec drekca Calicem, quem dedit mihi Pater,
drykc þaN es faþer miN gaf mór. non bibam illam?

Sthom. 173/11-12:

...oc scrîþdo hann conungs
skrûbe...

John 18:11:

John 19:2:

...et veste purpurea circum-
dederunt eum.
Sthom. 200/11:

Faber vár es oss ant fæborlegreóst...

Sthom. 208/10-11:

...þat es raún es guð reýnde en[n] fyrrsta maN...

Sthom. 212/14-16

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Romans 12:15:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fagna scolom vér meþ þeim es</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fagna góðom verkum sóm oc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aNara. oc lofe dróttens. en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gráta meþ þeim í samneýte es</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>synþer sínar gráta.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sthom. 212/37-38:

...capp miþil manna. þat es gratanda es allt miklom gráte.

Sthom. 219/16:

...hann réþ hiálp rób heimenom...

Nhom. 10/20-22:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Alc. VV, PL 101, 621C:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mykil hæilsu-lécníng er æigi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>at ændr-nyia þat er vér gærðum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ómíldlega. ok at sára þau sár</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>er fyrr hofþu grót.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nhom. 19/31 – 20/2:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Alc. VV, PL 101, 628D:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fyrir þvi raðesc þémande guðs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>þáma at æigi fyrir-dómsesc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hann af guði. ef hann fyrir-ðámer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sac-lausan en líuir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sæckium...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nhom. 88/2-4:

<p>| |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fasta langa-fastu val. ok</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imbrvdaga ok postola messa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apta[n]. ok allar þer fæstor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aðrar er byscup byór mænnom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>at fasta. ok lifa lif sit rænlegra iafnan.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Nhon. 91/2-4:

...sa være sêl er til þes verkaðe at hann mætte þa
göto fara er hann for sem aller monu fara er hans vilja
drygía...

Nhon 93/34-35:

...svo va oc umm aðra postola ok guðs vîni er lut
hofðu af lotet.

Nhon. 107/1:

...clæðr har-clæðum...

Nhon. 118/18-19:

cf. Metcalfe, 82/10:

...meðan sá hinn helgi maðr
lifði þessa hæims lifi.

Nhon. 118/18-19:

cf. Metcalfe, 91/14-16:

En vár droten er sva aum-
hiartaðr minir göðo vínr.
at hannum byccir þvi sollu
aumlegra umm þann aumingia
er hann sér hann sarlegra
svicvin en hvern crístin mann.

Nhon. 126/16-19:

"Un Samedi Par Nuit", P 3-4:

Et ui en mon dormant
Une ausion grant.

The homilists also resort, on occasion, to more elegant forms
of paronomasia. Cf., for instance:

Sthom. 41/15-19 (Nhon. 145/17-21):
Sva er oc sia hótíp helgöp
einsetomæNom þeim es...répo sic
fra alþúþo skiale at þeir mætte
teómcsc ofvalt til beona oc sia
vîb ollom tómvum orbom.
Sthom. 46/23-25:
...sva sende guþ...almátkan svn siN i þeNa heim
at heimta af oss scatt boporps oc rétlétes hans...

Sthom.123/11-15:
Sa sángr er fylger heîter palla sáng ... iarteiner
þat lof oc æmbátte er vér veitom guþi þessa heîms.
er ver scylldom sva heîmtasc fram ígóðo lífe sem
vér stígem aNan pall upp af ðoprom.

Sthom. 169/17-18:
...þa rac guþ hann a brávt ór señal staþnom. oc
hingat i vesolþ verallðar þessar. 6

Sthom. 190/27-30:
...svasem vín tecr mópe af manne oc gleþr hiarta hans
hans sva geor oc andleg skilning manne lét æøll
erfeþe fyr guþs áøst. oc gleþr hugen himneskæ huggon.
en létr hann gleþma iarþlegom hlutom sem vínþruckeN
maN.

Nhom. 2/3-4:
...speki þessa heîms er
heîmsca fyrir guði. 7

Nhom. 149/27-28:
...þu vart illz fulir. ok
lausungar fulir. ok ofundar
fulir. Hordómr þín máte
alldrígin fyllisc. 8

Alc. VV, PL 101, 614D (I Cor. 3:19)
...sapienta hujus mundi stultitia
est apud Deum.

"Un Samedi Par Nuit", P 135-138
Plain fus de felonie,
De losenge et d'enuie.
Ainc la toie luxure
Ne pot avoir mesure.
A favourite piece of word-play in the homilies is the epigrammatic antithesis of things "great and small", "long and short", etc. Cf.:

Sthom. 4/22-25 (Nhom. 129/26-29):
En helga mør MaRia mør drottens vars var ens betzta kyns komen fra abraham oc òr kyne davids konungs. Ener nçnosto fraNdr hennar væro rétláter. oc hafpo mikit crafta lán af gope. en litet aura lán af heime.9

Sthom. 11/37-39:
Hann varabesc sva afgecorper at hann vilde eige heldr láta sik seokia smálwem en stêôre gleope...

Sthom. 31/16-20:
Sa verpr ōsmáquamr viþ sín systkin at vera es meb litille yverbót er viþ sín fþþor. fyr stórar sakar. vill reípe af sér þiggia. Allar sakar ero smár oc fár þár er òrer brôpr gera viþ oss. viþ þat at viþpa es ver gerom viþ várn al-mátkan fþþor.

Sthom. 69/2-3 (Nhom. 80/15-16):
Scamma stund leípréttesc sa es lenge hafþe misgort.

Sthom. 77/13-15:
...þuiat su en helga þionasta af iafn miklom crafste sem hon es. ma eige at sva lítlo legiasc...

Sthom. 87/31-33:
...J þeim orþom hneykesc dramb várt þars ver giolldom oft miklom opocka smár sakar...

Gr. 18, in Ev., PL 76, 1151A:
...In quibus verbis quid aliud nisi superbia nostra confunditur? quæ si exagitata vel leviter fuerit, atrociores injurias reddit, quam accepterat...

Sthom. 108/11-12:
...þat er allsmátt er viþ oss er afgort. viþ hitt at virþa hue oft oc stôrum vér misgerom viþ gub
Sthom. 121/24-25:
...en su en litla fózla óx svá víp átet. at þar urpo fuller tólf vaðhlópar af hleífonom stórer.

Sthom. 155/29-31:
Veit þa engi nema guþ ein. hvé lanct epter es heimstópoNar. an þat vito marger at scampt mun epter.

Nhom. 9/12-13:
Ver þu litill fyrir æaugum þínun. at þu séér mykil fyrir augum guðs.10

Nhom. 34/16-18:
En þa mæler en var drotten við þár armar sálor. Mykit bolda ec fyrir yór. en litla þock kunnu þér mer.

Nhom. 88/12-13:
...ok bøter hann margar syndir ok storar. þo at hann gefe litla almosu...

Nhom. 108/14-16:
Nórrsla ligr land þat í heims-bygð þessu er Noregr hitir. Bat var bygt til scamrar stundar mykilli [villu, Indrebt's addition] ok margssonar ó-sið.11

Nhom. 109/30-31:
Mykin floc ok goðan á litilli stundu dró hinn hálgi Ólafkr konungr til miscunnar við guð ok alla hálga menn.

cf. Metcalfe, 70/1-2:
Plurimum profectit in breui, et innumerabilem domino multitutinem adquisiuit.

Nhom. 156/20-22:
En ef vör villum aigi her hinar litlu misgiærningar fyrigefa er menn gera við oss. þa vil guð aigi fyrigeфа oss misgiærningar mycclar ok margar er vör gerom fra hans vißa.12

cf. Æfric, CH I.226/25-28:
Gif we ðonne nellað forgyfan þa lytlan gytlas ðæra manna þe us gegremedon, þone nele eac God us forgyfan ure synna myceland manega.
These passages can also be compared with examples of the formula, multum in paucis verbis:

Sthom. 44/14-17:
\[\text{\emph{ettem vér oc at varasc við munophife allra helst þat es mest fylgia meín. oc umbfram es of eplet. Wilda ec sva umb þat mála es flest métte i felasc i skómma mále.}}\]

Sthom. 54/2-3:
\[\text{Lvcas guðspiallámabr skyrer fóm orbom helga míning þessar hotípar. en etke ér hon þa mine i himnescom tócnom en áþr.}}\]

Bede I.11, CCSL 122, 73/1-3:
\[\text{Sanctam uenerandamque praesentis festi memoriam paucis quidem uerbis euangelista comprehendit sed non pauca.}}\]

Nhom. 53/19-20:
\[\text{I þesso guðspialle ero fað orð, en þau fað hafa bó morg merki í sér.}}\]

\[\text{13}\]

2. Cf. the commonplace formula *lif eilíft*: Sthom. 136/19, 192/19 (Regula Benedicti, cap. 4, CSEL 75 [1960], 32/46, vita aeterna), 212/14; Nhom. 159/5-6, til lifs hinns *mi-lífa* (cf. Æfric CH I. 272/2-3, ...mid ham he rixað on ecnysse), 159/13 (*lifí hinu mi-lífa* (cf. Ibid., 272/8-9, On ðam ecn life...)). Contrast the oxymoron, *dau1ego lífe*, at Sthom. 144/17 (Acta S. Sebastiani, PL 17, 1119A, in ista mortali vita).

3. Cf., e.g., Nhom. 34/31: "Eige ma ret-visa mín ðóma yór annan dóm en þer hafeó til gort"; Nhom. 90/21-23: "...ok sog sóu þæm at hann myndi koma til doms at ðóma alla verold í þvi manz liki sem þa var hann".

4. With this etymological formula, cf., e.g., Æfric, *Dominica Prima Post Pasca*, CH I. 236/8-9, "...Ac we cweðað þer-togeanes, þat God is Ælmihtig, and meæ eal þat he wile...". John C. Pope (Æfric, Suppl., I. 109-110) discusses Æfric’s exploitation of the device of repetition in this passage and elsewhere in his Catholic Homilies. (Cf., for instance, his use of the collocation *He gesceop gesceafa* at CH I. 10/5 with Sthom. 145/27-28, Ec true a ... allfar skepno scapera.)

5. Cf., e.g. Sthom. 177/4 (Nhom. 44/2-3), *scryddr...odúplego scrúpe* (Fulgentius, PL 65, 730A, *stola...immortalitatis indutus*); Nhom. 83/2,
Hvítu scruí var han scrýdr (Gr. 21 in Ev., PL 76, 1171A, stola candida coopertus).

6. Bjarne Berulfsen (Kulturtradisjon fra en Storhetstid [1948], 265) cites an example of the same pun from a letter of Bishop Håkon Erlingsson to abbot Hallvard of Halsnakloster (DN VII, 166):

"...þar sem han beðidst orlof, er hælór ma olof kalla, fysandeþst fra rænliþwi ok sidgáde til vesaldað ok vsañlaiks veroldennar".

7. Cf. Maríu saga 743/21 (cit. Kirby, Biblical Quotation..., I. 360), "...uitzka þessa heims er heimska fyrir gudi...". Berulfsen (op. cit., 199-200) cites an example of the same formula from Barlaams ok Josaphats saga, 1/5-7: "...því kusu margar af hins hælsa anda bending fullkomlega heiminum at hafna oc fírfixlata hegomlega heimsku heimsins". (Ps. Ioh. Dam. offers no close parallel.)

8. This piece of word-play is found only in the Nhom. version of the translation of "Un Samedi Par Nuit". Cf. O. Widding and H. Bekker-Nielsen, MS 21 (1959), 282: AM 764 4to, "þu uart illzku fullr...j agirni ok lausung ok lygi ok allrar aufunndar. hordómur þinn ok likams fyst fylldiz alldri"; JS 405 8vo, "þu varst fullr af Ilsku... i ágyrne, oc Iafngyrne oc lausúng oc Illrar ófundar, Hórdómur þinn oc likams fyst fyltist aldreige".

9. Gabriel Turville-Petre ("The Old Norse Homily on the Assumption and Maríu saga", Nine Norse Studies [1972], 107-108) notes that this sentence also appears in the parallel text in Maríu saga (2/12-13), but is not paralleled in the Latin source for this passage, the Gospel of the Birth of Mary.

Sa es sic läger sem litell
Quicumque ergo humiliaverit se
sveíN. sa mon mikill verpa
sicut parvulus iste, hic est
i himinrīke.
(Cf. Sthom. 184/28; Nhom. 52/32, cit. Kirby, Biblical Quotation..., I.176.)

11. No similar antithesis is found in Eysteinn Erlendsson's Passio
Olaui (cf. Metcalfe, 67/5ff.).

12. The "great and small" antithesis is a commonplace proverbial
formula (cf., e.g., Whiting R 89, "Great reproof follows little
excess"; T 137, "A little thing may gar great harms arise"; W 603,
"Of small words waxes great conteck"). For some examples of similar
phrases in other OWN texts see, e.g., Hugrvaka, Bisk. I. 60,
"...margr hefir þess raun, ef hann leitar sér skammar skemtanar,
at þar kemr ef þæt a laung ahyggja"; Ágríp, ed. Finnur Jónsson,
ASB 18 (1929), 6/6-7, ",...litil kona sýnum, en mikil ráðum...";
Hrafnkels s. Freysgoða, k. 3, ÍF 11 (1950), "Þorbjörn átti fé lítit,
en omegð mikla"; Martinus s. byskups II, HMS I. 597/20-21, "ok at
enu fysta nervalpe dro diaknum mikinn lax i litlu neti..." (Sulpicius
Severus, Dialogus II [III], 10,4, CSEL 1 (1866), 207, "...ad primum
iactum in rete permodico immanem esocem diaconus extraxit...";
neither of the other versions of Martinus s. preserves the word-
play: cf. I, HMS I, 572/16-17; III, HMS I, 630/11-12).

13. Cf. Ælfric's rendering of the same text (CH I. 90/8-10):
SE Godspellere Lucas beleac þis dægerlice godspel mid
feawum wordum, ac hit is mid menigfealdre mihte þere
heofenlican gerynu afyllid.
(See also, e.g., his translation of the introductory sentence of
Gr. 19 in Ev., PL 76, 1154B at CH II. 72/21-23.) The same figure
is found in a translation of Gr. 34 in Ev. in AM 677 4to:
Leif. 67/20-21: PL 76, 1257C:

Dómíso go scamma mon ec segia. Rem, fratres, breviter refero...
EN su saga ma ýpr langs hiof
veita ef er virpit rettliga...
Hanc itaque si solerter auditis,
charitati vestre non breviter
suffragari credo.

Cf. perhaps the remarks on Christ’s condemnation of orationes
longae at Sthom. 29/7-10:

...keNdde beóin meþ fóm orþom. at þa mette helðr allr hugr
fylgia. heNe. oc være hon auþnemre. mâtte þó at hvóro sem
propheten sagðe. meþ scamma mále fylla alla purft óra til
fulz retlétæs. þess er híminríki ma meþ caupa.

(Kirby, II.239, notes that “Eccles. 5:2 was probably the quotation
in the writer’s mind”.)

For OWN examples of the related brevitas- formula, pauca ex
multis (E.R. Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages,
160, 487ff.; Arbusow, Colores Rhetorici, 119) see, e.g., Jóns saga
postola I, Post. 420/37-39; Maríu saga, 236/15-17; Vitae Patrum
HMS II, 469/14ff.; Kristní saga, ed. B. Kahle, ASB 11 (1905), 76/
14ff.
Litotes

Sthom. 12/6-14:
Hann ken in sva mikla þrynde. at maðr skylde gefa anNan kyrtel sIN þeim er enge átte. ... þat sýna eoss deome enS sêla mar teins biscoPS. þars hann gaf tytsvar sva klæpe af sér at hann var valla qber epter.

Sthom. 18/11-12:
En þat scal eige umb lípa óskilet. es sagt es fra þessom .xij. hlíþom...

Sthom. 22/31 - 23/1:
Fra þíslar típ íesu voro þeir sva eorhiarta orþner víþ íllacó gýpingar. at traulla þótte þeim haska laust sér at ganga í augsýn þeim...

Sthom. 24/1-2:
...þat var sípan æN ð til til at skíra þa meN es til tru kvomo

cf. H.L. Spencer, MS 44 (1982), 287/56-57:
...puiat þeir vito at eige keomr ...Sciunt autem quod non est vanum
til enskess at váka of nêtr til mane surgere ante lucem ad vigilantum.
bôna...

Sthom. 93/2:
...eige lýgr sa es petta melti. ...non enim mentitus est ille qui
Mustari guþs es heilact... ...dixit: TEMPLUM ENIM DEI SANCTUM EST...
cf. Sthom. 193/3-4:
...eige es lygí þat es sagt es.
þuiat ér eroþ heilact mustere guþs...

Sthom. 97/29-31:
...es flestom oc ósára þó nœcqvi en bêpi franda dâþi eþa sva fiárscâþi heldr en hitt ef siál[f]r hefer all mikcla qval a sér.
Sthom. 115/8-10:

...Ea hver se sva ófrobr nu þat at eige vîte þat þo at su gîof es hver óþág gûfe es aftrmund es a læg. þót fyrst se meþ allgöþom vilea uñet...

Sthom. 153/24-25:

...þat er eige cynlict qvaþ satân at iob sé vel vîp þic. þar er hann hefer allt goþ af þer.

cf. Job 1:9-10:

Cui respondens Satan ait: Numquid Iob frustra timet Deum? Nonne tu vallasti eum...et possessio eius crevit in terra?

Nhom. 86/1-3:

...þvi at vîr scyldum meø sva myclu cost-gáfe lîita at scilia ok fylla oll boðorð guôs at ecci se eptir u-scilat eða ugrôt þa er droten kômr å doms-dægi.

Nhom. 116/7-8:

...at sá ungi maðr fec sîgi þolat i søfnenom u-þpande.

Metcalfe, 80/4-6:

...ut uiolenciam conaminis adolescens ferre non ualens in somnis clamare cogeretur.

Nhom. 117/4:

...sîgi...al-forseala við u-orðane vándra manna

Metcalfe, 81/1-2:

...ad prauorum detrectationes minime circumspecta

Nhom. 117/8-9:

Da bar sîgi bêtr at en umm kono þa flout ok för ferlect u-orðan.

Metcalfe, 81/4-5:

Accidit autem ut de muliere illa suspicio sinistra oriretur.

Nhom. 117/12-13:

...vár þæim i þvi mykil ó-fagraðr sem sîgi var kynlect. ok þógóu þo yfir...

Metcalfe, 81/8-9:

...supra modum indignati sunt, et furore nimio successi dolorem suum dissimulando suppresserunt.
Chapter two:
Native proverbs in the Homily
Books -- at mæla fagrt ok
hyggja flátt.
Perhaps the chief task of the vernacular preacher was to "naturalize" his source material, to make it comprehensible and palatable to his audience without distorting its original significance. This often necessitated the substitution of native equivalents for unfamiliar names or concepts. Thus, for instance, in an Epiphany homily in Sthom. based on Bede I. 14, the architriclinius of the wedding feast at Cana (John 2:9) becomes an ondvegismâbr. Similarly, in the translation of the Epistula Luciani de translatione Sancti Stephani included in the same collection, the protomartyr's sarcophagus is called a steínþró (Sthom. 201/16, 28, etc. = theca, PL 41, 809C-D and passim); moreover, we are told that it is inscribed with "runes" (Sthom. 204/9, ...bar fundo þeir rúnar clappabar a steín... = PL 41, 815A, §8, Invenimus igitur altissimis litteris scriptum lapidem obrutum) and is found buried in a forn haugr (Sthom. 203/38-39 = PL 41, 813D §7, monumentum quasi neglectum et ruinosam). Still more remarkable is the information provided by the author of a homily for the Feast of John the Baptist in Nhom., that Salome entertained Herod and his court í song ok í fíolu-slatte. The resources of native idiom are also tapped in the use of martial vocabulary: Saint 'Oláfr, donning the arms of the Christian knight before his martyrdom at Stiklastaðir, is said to prepare himself "til holm-gangu sem ræustr riðare"; Christ is surrounded by lægoneyteN engla siNå, and qll himinrîkis hirb; and God the Lord of Hosts sends forth his ghostly armies at glata vikingonom.

At times a "humble style" is achieved simply through the adoption of a colloquial tone, especially in interjections and apostrophes. In a sermon in Nhom. on the significance of church bells, for instance, the homilist interrupts his allegorical interpretation of the belfry to give voice to his fears that there are those among his congregation who pay the sound of a church bell no more mind than they would the cawing of a
crow or the bark of a dog (Nhom. 71/17-19):

...En mik grvnar þat at þeir menn ero sumir er ænskis þyccir umm vært þo at kloccor høyri hældr en craca scræcte eða hundr gauli.

Similarly, in a sermon on Judgement Day preserved on the interpolated leaves in Nhom. 8, the preacher mimics, in a piece of mock-dialogue, those who sneer at clerical admonitions concerning the punishment of sin in the life to come (Nhom. 170/8-10):

...þeir mel a sva. Lærðir menn ræða oss við hælviti. séggia þeir sem kona æðir barn-sit. Þegi þu barn. séggir hon. eða læt ref-enn at þer. ef þu þegir þigi.

The author of this sermon may well have been thinking here of Grýla, the child-snatching troll-wife of Icelandic folktales. As 'Olafur Briem points out ("Grýla I", KLNM V, 491-2), in the nafnabúlur appended to Skálaskaparmál, the name Grýla appears in both the catalogue of trúllkvennaheiti and the list of refaheiti, probably, he suggests, "fordi både trolde og rave brugtes til at skramme børn med". At any rate, it is probably safe to assume that a reference to this bogey would not have been obscure to the preacher’s audience; on the contrary, he clearly hoped that this amusingly pedestrian piece of mock-dialogue would appeal directly to the background of the people he addressed, and engage their attention in a way a scriptural citation or a reference to a learned authority could not.

A similar effect -- a general reduction of the distance between the preacher’s lofty subject matter and the everyday frame of reference of his audience -- was achieved through the use of native proverbs and stock expressions. Sir Thomas Browne observes in his Pseudodoxia Epidemica that to the common people "being unable to wield the intellectual arms of reason,...proverbs [are] more powerful than demonstrations". Similarly, a German legal document of the fourteenth century recommends, "Whenever you can attach a proverb, do so, for the peasants like to
judge according to proverbs". The frequent citation of proverbs and maxims in medieval texts does not merely, however, reflect a willingness to pander to plebeian tastes; rather, as Grace Frank has observed, the medieval author's love of pithy sayings springs from a deep-seated interest in general truths:

Ruizinga and others have shown how heavily the medieval man leaned upon tradition and traditional learning, how exaggerated was his respect for general concepts expressed as maxims, and how frequently arguments of all kinds -- political, social, and moral, as well as religious -- were settled by citation of texts.

...We tend today to associate the use of homely aphorisms with intellectual poverty of expression, with writers of limited vocabulary and little imagination...However, it is clear that this was not the attitude of medieval or even Renaissance authors. From the twelfth century on authors of books on rhetoric recommend the use of proverbs as a stylistic device of merit...13

The poetical manuals of Geoffrey of Vinsauf and Matthew of Vendôme contain sections on the use of proverbs, as do the artes praedicandi of Robert of Basevorn and John of Wales.14 Indeed, not only vernacular sermons of the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, but Latin sermons too, are rich in current popular sayings; and scholars such as Barthélemy Hauréau and G.R. Owst have demonstrated that preachers in France and England during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries "were wont to make use of collections of both Latin and vernacular proverbs especially compiled for the purpose".15 There is no need to assume that the OWN homilists made use of similar written collections of maxims; but it is clear that they, like preachers of a later period, often spiced their compositions with native proverbs not only to make their listeners feel at ease, but also to fortify moral arguments.16

Thus, for instance, the author of a Christmas sermon in Sthom. based, in part, on Gregory's homily on the parable of the wedding feast, bolsters with a popular saying his criticism of those who foolishly
ignore their invitation to God's heimboð (Sthom. 164/36-38):

Verðr sva sem orþqvir eN maler. at sér stríþer vesal
mabr at mat hafne. þeir stríþa sér oc síoþom er eige
vilia þiGia heimboð at conunginom.17

Similarly, in the sermon for the Feast of John the Baptist in the same
collection, the homilist concludes his account of Salome's entertainment
and John's decollation with a well-known misogynist maxim (Sthom. 13/32-34):
"...kom þat þar fram sem miok oft byker verþa. att kollð ero qveNa róþ.18

The author of a sermon for Lent in Sthom. invokes a legal maxim in support
of his exhortation of his listeners to suffer gladly and with humility
the salutary tribulations visited upon them from heaven. For, he says,
whoever is chastised by God and takes his punishments so ill that he would
gladly rid himself of them if he could behaves like the man who both
"rows in a levy and pays the fine for not doing so" (114/35-36): "...þa
es honom þess manz dôme es rór leiþena enDa gelldr þó leiþvitét...

This adage refers to the penalty in law for absenting oneself from a levy,
or for joining the wrong ship in an expedition.19

It is remarkable that the humorous banality of certain proverbs
does not diminish their effectiveness in a sacred context. In a Pentecost
sermon in Sthom\textsuperscript{7}, the preacher describes in the homeliest of terms the
sudden zeal of the apostles to begin their evangelical mission after they
have received the gift of the Holy Spirit (Sthom. 24/13-17):

...Enge mabr mon sva matvíss vera at hann mege iafnfúss til
síns dógorþar of vera. sem þeir výro fúser fra at ganga. oc
leiþa lýpeN guþe til handa fra dúòfolis vilia. Oc kom þat
fram sem mált er at létt ero lostverc...20

Indeed, the captatio benevolentiae which introduces the Nhom. Doomsday
sermon already mentioned seems all the more urbane for its inclusion of
a native saw (Nhom. 168/14-17):

...þat er atqváðe norrønna manna at ærvett er litlum fuglí
meó landum vengkap at hefía hátt sina flaug. Sva er ok ærvett
miðlungar snotrum meó usniálle tungu at málæ um almatkan guð
The homilists were clearly discriminating in their choice of proverbs, and took care to find the appropriate phrase for a particular context. In a lively retelling of the story of Job included in the first homily for the Dedication of a Church in Sthom., for instance, the Icelandic homilist replaces a proverb in the scriptural narrative with an apt vernacular equivalent:

Sthom. 97/23-33:

...En dominus svarar. Nu muNTu fuNDet hafa iób sipan vin miN. oc muNTu nu vita glóogra. en ápr hverR dýrpar mäpr hann er. sáttu nóçqverm betr verpa viþ freístinna sva acafelega mikcla en hann. eða póli[n]mópliga bera. svasem ec vissa ápr at vera myNde. En satán svaraþi. Eige þycke mér mioc til reýtNt. hué pólinmópliga hann myni bera. meþan hann es heillsiálfr. sa þykcer elldr en heitastr es a síóifom légr. es fles trom oc ósárara pó nóçqvi en bépi frénda dópi eþa sva fiárscaþi. heldr en hitt ef síál[f]r hefer all mikcla qvál a sér. þykci mér sva fremi vita oc reyna oc meþ fullo. hue pólinmóþr ióþ verþi viþ. ef þu látr hann keNa qvala nacqvat a [recte oc] sárleíca á sínom licama...

Job 2:3-5:

Et dixit Dominus ad Satan: Numquid considerasti servum meum Job, quod non sit ei similis in terra, vir simplex et rectus, ac timens Deum, et recedens a malo, et adhuc retinens innocentiam? Tu autem commovisti me adversus eum, ut affligerem eum frustra. Cui respondens Satan ait: Pellem pro pelle, et cuncta quae habet homo dabit pro anima sua; alioquin mitte manum tuam, et tange os eius et carnem; et tunc videbis quod in faciem benedicat tibi.

This maxim is also found in chapter 59 of Grettis saga; and in his recent study, Or Hugmyndaheimi Hrafnkels Sógu og Grettlu, Hermann Pállsson points out that the phrase has a close Latin analogue in a line from the twelfth-century comedy, Pamphilus. The Latin text can be compared with an Old Norwegian translation (probably from the mid-thirteenth century):
It is not unlikely, however, that the Icelandic homilist was influenced in his choice of this proverb by a reminiscence of Job 23:10: "Et probavit me quasi aurum quod per ignem transit". One might compare, for instance, his remarks at Sthom. 96/23-27:

"...Nu mego þui góper meN aller vel af berasc. þót gub láti pá í nǽcqveri freístni verpa eþa mánrám. at þeir scolo þat til hafa til synþa lásmnr oc verþéîka vîp gup. at þeir þoli vel hreiónsonar eîllð baN es gub leGr a hndNr þeim her oc brenNer afþeim synþa sóttter."

In his article, "Enthält das Stockholmer Homilienbuch durchweg Übersetzungen?", Karel Vrátný includes in a list of passages from Sthom. illustrating the skill of the homilists at exploiting native idiom two examples of the alliterative proverbial phrase, "at mâla fagrt ok hyggja flátt" -- the first from a translation of Chapter Four of the Benedictine Rule, the Instrumenta bonorum operum (Sthom. 142/17-18, "mâla eige þar fagrt er mâpr hyGr flátt"), the second from an Easter homily which is also preserved in Nhom. (Sthom. 69/34-35, cf. Nhom.81/3, "meloN eige þar fagrt er ver hyGiom flátt"). In addition to these examples, two non-alliterative versions of the formula are found in the Homily Books. The collocation "láta blíplega oc hyGia flátt" occurs at Sthom. 56/10-12 in a sermon for the Feast of the Circum-
cision; and the "Soul and Body" dialogue preserved in Nhom. under the title "Visio sancti Pauli apostoli" contains the phrase, "meóan þu máltir slét við mann. þa hugóir þu honum flæð" (Nhom. 149/29-30).26

The frequent occurrence of this traditional proverb-formula in the homilies is in itself interesting; and it is perhaps worth examining the background of the phrase more closely, in order to understand what prompted its use in each of these texts, and to see how it was adapted by the homilists to a new context of ideas.

The mæla fagrt/hyggja flátt antithesis is very widely attested in Old Icelandic poetry and prose. Vrátný suggests that its use in Sthom. "an die Hávamål (Bugge 91) erinnert".27 In fact, versions of the formula are found in both stanzas 45 and 91 of Hávamál:

Ef þú átt annán þann's þú illa trúir,
    vill þú af honum gott geta,
    fagrt skal mæla en flátt hyggja,
    ok gjalda lausung við lygi.
...
    Bert ec nú mæli, þviat ec þæi veit:
        þrigör er karla hugr konom;
        þá vér fagrst mælom, er vér flást hyggim,
        þat telir horsca hugi.28

In his studies of the learned background of parts of Hávamál, Klaus von See has pointed out that stanza 45 of the poem is composed almost exclusively of borrowed elements29; and he suggests that the "fair words/false intent" formula in this stanza is taken either from the later strophe of Hávamál, or from stanza 91 of Hugsvinnsmál, the Old Icelandic poetical paraphrase of Disticha Catonis:


Blidum ordvm
þo þik bragnar lofi,
þarfvt eigi þelmi at trua
opt sa fagurt mæler,
sem hefer flátt j hvga.
gott er at sia vit suíkvm.

Sermones blandos blaesosque
cavere memento:
simplicitas veri fama est,
fraus ficta loquendi.
Hávamál 45 can also be compared with the rendering of Disticha Catonis I. 26-27 in stanza 41 of Hugsvinnsmál:


do not render his words,
who then falts adorns,
not observing how he came;
the voice of the tyrant is:
Qui simulat verbis nec corde est fìdus amicus,
tu qui fac simile: sic ars deluditur arte.
Noli homines blando nimium sermone probare:
proxima dulce canit, volucrum cum decipit aucepts.

In the Poetic Edda the formula occurs again in the exultant "Warning" of Vingi in st. 39 of Atlamál in grønlenzco: "fagrt baó ec ycr qvámo,
flátt var þó undir"; and the phrase is also recalled in stanzas 19 and 21 of Sólarljóð (Skjá A I, 630-631):

Ovinum þynnum
trú þu alldri
þo fagrt mæli firi þier
godu þu heit
gott er annars
vîjti hafa ad varnadi.

So honum gafst
Sorla hinum godrada
þa er hann lagði avalld hans vîjgulfs
tregliga hann trudi
en hinn ad talum vard
synum brodr bana.

Grid hann þeim selldi
af godum hug
en þeir hietu honum gulli gien
sattir lietust
medan saman drucku
þo komu flærdir fram.30

In prose works, versions of the proverb-formula are used to describe a rogues' gallery of eloquent dissemblers: Prándr í Götu in Færeynig...
The phrase occurs three times in Alexanders saga, the translation of the Alexandreis of Walter of Châtillon attributed to Brandr Jónsson:

ed. Finnur Jónsson (1925), 98/19-29:

Crastinus amissum noctis caligine mundum

ed. M.L. Colker (Patavii, 1978), VI,468-482:

Nv liór af en nesta nott. oc

Cf. Galteri de Castellione Alexandreis, use

þegar vm morgonenn eptir. byór

Reddiderat Tytan, et signum castra mouendi

Darius at vpp scyle taka her-

Iam dederat Darius, aderant cum milite multo

buðernar. Oc iamskiott kona

Participes sceleris, caute pretendere docti

þeir Bessus oc Narbazones með

Officium sollemne foris speciemque sequendi

miclo liðe til fnvndar við

Principis imperium. sed in alta mente latebat

hann oc fall til fota honom.

Occultum facinus scelerisque proteruâtanti.

biðia af ser reiðe míclega.

Sceptrum preradians et adhuc insignia regni

en kallaz heðan ífra sem her

Gestabat Darius curruque inicabat ab alto.

til vilia þiona honom tvrlæga.

Prona iacebat humi suppex uniamque precata

oc gera þat allt er hann vill

Sediciosa cohors, et sustinuit uenerati

fírir þa leggia. þat sonnvó

Tunc patricida ducem, quem post in uincula

þeir sem oppt verór melit. at

serus

margr melir þa fagrt er hann

Detrusurus erat, lacrimisque coegit obortis

þygr flátt. en sva fengu þeir

Credere Belidem uultumque rigare senilem

vmtalet oc aumkat sec at hann

Fletibus irriguis. 

trvøe þat allt fals laust er þeir

mellto, oc gaf vpp bliðelegra þat

er þeir baðo.
Cunarum lacrmmis pretendere doctus amorem
Voce sed occultis odium celare medullis,
Ad regem ire parat,...

...Oc ef ðu letr oss ífríðe
sitia. ða monom ver vera vinir
þínir. oc kollom ver at sv
vináttta kvnne tryggast at
verða er þeir binda sin amil-
lov er aðr hafe hvarigr yvir
aðra komet. En ðu þarft eigi
Þat at ȝtla at þeir verðe þer
tryggvir. er þu þrengvir undir
þec méð ofrafle þvìat fyði mon
iorð vera stirnd sem himinn en
sv vingan verðe méð fullom
trunaðe er festr verðr méð
naðungsungu. þvìat sa er hann
þionar nauðigr hyggr ȝafnan
flátt bòtt hann late stundom
fagrt. Sva lycr þessi maðr sino erende
er sendr hafðe veret af Scithis.

Varla hafðe annscotenn til
lycóa leitt sitt þrende þa er
Proditio stendr vpp oc ann-
svarar. þat er vêlen. Haróla
litið starf segir hon at gera
þat er þu byðr. Ec áþap eit
er sva sterct er. at enge lutr
fér halldet þvi nema hrosshofr.
Þat scal gefa Alexandro ívìni
at drecka. Oc til þess gefr
nu vel oc hoglíga þvìat mìn
fostrson er Antipater heitir
einn hofþangi íher Alexandri
sa er þat scaplyndi hefir er
mer licar. kann lata fagrt þøat
hann hygge flátt atlar áfund hans...
Foreign analogues for the phrase are not difficult to find. The same sentiment is expressed, for instance, in a passage from Plautus' Truculentus which circulated as a sententia in antiquity and throughout the middle ages:

in melle sunt linguae sitae uostra atque orationes, facta atque corda in felle sunt sita atque acerbo aceto: eo dicta lingua dulcia dati', corde amara facitis.32

(Cf. Walther 13835, "Lingue sunt site in mella, corda in felle"; 14574, "Mel in ore, fel in corde"; 14577, "Mel in ore, verba lactis/Fe"). in corde fraus in factis", etc.33)

It is especially interesting, however, to compare the OWN phrase with the English proverbial formula, "To speak fair before and false behind", many variants of which are recorded by B.J. and H.W. Whiting in their collection, Proverbs, Sentences and Proverbial Phrases from English writings mainly before 1500.34 The earliest example of the phrase cited by the Whitings occurs in the Old English poem "Homiletic Fragment I" preserved in the Vercelli Book.35 As G.P. Krapp points out, in the introduction to his edition of the poem, "the fragment is a loose amplification of Psalm XXVIII [27 in the Biblia Vulgata], and the beginning of the fragment corresponds to the third verse of the Psalm".36 It is this verse which prompts the use of the "fair words/ false intent" antithesis; but the translator rings changes on the phrase throughout his poem:

Psalm 27:3:

Ne simul trahas me cum peccatoribus
et cum operantibus iniquitatem ne perdas me;
qui loquuntur pacem cum proximo suo,
mala autem in cordibus eorum.

Homiletic Fragment I:

sorh cymeo (1b-6)
manig ond mislic in manna dreame.
Eorl oerne mid æfancum
Interestingly, the first variant of the mæla fagrt/ hyggja flått formula in Sthom. -- in the homily for the Feast of the Circumcision (54/1 - 56/29) -- would appear to correspond to a citation of the same scriptural verse in the principal source for this text, Bede I.11, "In Octava Nativitatis Domini": 38

Sthom. 56/10-12:  

...peirro oc skírnar lóswar í tungo oc í höndom. er mæla sér til þóurfartar eða áþrom. eða ero meínsamer í verkom. láta blíþplega oc hyGia flått.

Bede I.11, CCSL 122, 78/190-194:  

Incircumcisi sunt auribus incircumcisi lingua et manibus quorum os locutum est uanitatem et dextera eorum dextera in-iquitatis [Ps. 143:8]; gui loquuntur pacem cum proximo suo mala autem sunt in cordibus eorum [Ps. 27:3]...

An alternative ending for this homily is included in Sthom. at 185/1 - 186/30 ("en aTTa daG"). This second text is, in fact, the concluding
section of an independent sermon for the same feast day, preserved in full in Nhom. (53/12 - 55/10, "In circumcissione domini nostri Iesu cristi sermo"). The section of this sermon which corresponds to the passage from Bede cited above, however, contains no phrase similar to the "fair words/ false intent" antithesis.

The mæla fagrt formula is also used to render a Latin phrase reminiscent of Psalm 27:3 in the translation of the Instrumenta bonorum operum included in a sermon on the Annunciation at Stathom. 142/4-38. Part of this sermon is also preserved in AM 686 4to (cf. Leifar 175-177); and an independent translation of the Instrumenta is found later in Stathom, at 191/32 - 192/37. In addition to forming Chapter One of the Benedictine Rule, this list of precepts circulated as a separate homiletic treatise as early as the eighth century, under the title Instrumentum magnum bonorum operum. The Icelandic versions can be compared with both Ludwig Traube's transcription of this text from Ms. Vat. lat. 3836 (f. 198v) and Rudolf Hanslik's edition of the Regula Benedicti:

**Instrumentum magnum, ed. Traube, 89/9-10:**

...dolum in corde non retineas.
pacem falsam non dare. caritatem non derelinquere. non iurare ne te perius veritatem et ex corde et ore proferre...


24 dolum in corde non tenere.
25 Pacem falsam non dare, caritatem non derelinquere.
26 Non iurare, ne forte periuret. 28 Veritatem ex corde et ore proferre.

Stathom. 142/17-19 (cf. Leifar 176/34 - 177/1):

...veri eige veliN ne ótrúr i scapi. mæla eige þar fagrt er maþr hyGr flátt. sveria eige rangsæri. heldr scal it saNa segia á vallt ef maþr veit...

**Sthom. 192/6-8:**

Hafpu eige vél i hug þér.
Gefpu eige svicsamlegen frið. Fyr lát eige elscona þót víþ þic se misgeorT.
Scallt þu alldrege viNa eþ at eige meineiper þu.
In a footnote, Hanslik invites the reader to compare Instrumenta, item 25, "Pacem falsam non dare", with Jeremiah 9:8, "in ore suo pacem cum amico suo loquitur et occulte ponit ei insidias", and Psalm 27:3. The author of a modern commentary on the Regula Benedicti, Paul Delatte, suggests that this line be compared with the same Psalm verse.45

It is, of course, impossible to prove that an association made by a modern editor might also have been made by a twelfth-century translator. But the capacity and agility of the "medieval memory" is itself almost proverbial;46 and Jean Leclercq, for instance, has suggested that the "ruminative" reading habits of monastic authors in particular endowed them with "biblical imaginations":

...The memory, fashioned wholly by the Bible and nurtured entirely by biblical words and the images they evoke, causes [monastic writers] to express themselves spontaneously in a biblical vocabulary.47

He explains how this affected their methods of literary composition:

It is this deep impregnation with the words of Scripture that explains the extremely important phenomenon of reminiscence... Verbal echoes so excite the memory that a mere allusion will spontaneously evoke whole quotations and, in turn, a scriptural phrase will suggest quite naturally allusions elsewhere in the sacred books. Each word is like a hook, so to speak; it catches hold of one or several others which become linked together in their minds and under their pens, like variations on the same theme. It happens that the same context is found several times in the same author and in others. Not that the one is necessarily referring to what he has already said or is citing another author who is using the same series of texts. Quite simply, the same words evoke similar quotations.48

Similarly, in a series of articles on Ælfric of Eynsham's method of composition from memory, James Cross has demonstrated that the medieval homilist could store in his memory a hoard of serviceable themes, phrases, and rhetorical sequences which were "ready to be used as the trip-wire of memory was touched".49 It does not seem impossible that, for some of
the OWN homilists at least, the proverbial phrase at mæla fagrt ok hyggja flátt could likewise have been caught up in a process of exegetical "reminiscence", and associated, not necessarily exclusively with Ps. 27:3, but with a whole network of scriptural verses expressing a similar sentiment in similar words (Ps. 54:22, "Molliti sunt sermones eius super oleum; et ipsi sunt iacula "; Ps. 61:5, "Ore suo benedicebant, et corde suo maledicebant "; Prov. 26:24, "Labiis suis intelligitur inimicus, cum in corde tractaverit dolos "; Prov. 29:5, "Homo qui blandis fictisque sermonibus loquitur amico suo, rete expandit gressibus eius"; Eccli. 12:15, "In labiis suis indulcat inimicus, et in corde suo insidiatur ut subvertat te in foveam", etc.).

At any rate, it might not be wrong to suggest that a similar sort of associative process may lie behind the use of the mæla fagrt/ hyggja flátt antithesis at Sthom. 69/34-36 (Nhom. 81/12-14), even though this passage has no clear Latin "source":

Leggiom nir alla flårp oc vél. oc mælom eige þa fagrt er ver hyGiom flátt at eige glikemc ver þeim es meb cosse sellde drotteN siN.

This sentence is one of a series of exhortations which together form the peroration of an Easter homily called "Passio Domini" in Sthom., "Dominica Palmarum Sermo" in Nhom. No single Latin model for this text has yet been discovered; but Erik Gunnes notes that in this final section of the homily "kan det merkes gjenklaxiger fra kirkefedrene og homilie-samlingene (Pseudo-Augustin, Maximus av Torino)". Occasional references to Judas' kiss of betrayal are, not surprisingly, found in Easter sermons attributed to both these authors. However, I have not been able to find a text either in the Appendix Augustinus or among the sermons of Maximus (genuine or spurious) which offers a close analogue for the lines from the OWN homily cited above.

In fact, it seems more likely that the Scandinavian homilist simply alludes in this passage to the custom of omitting the kiss of peace before
the Communion on Maundy Thursday, Good Friday, and Holy Saturday, as a mark of abhorrence for Judas' notorious act of "false peace". Thus, for instance, the author of a messuskýring preserved in two Icelandic mss. of the late fifteenth century explains (Mess. 78/19-22):

Skirdag ok fostvdag. ok þuottdag. firir paska ero menn uaner at kýsazt eigi ok eigi heilsazt. Enn þúi rökium ver þann koss ok kuediu er judas skariot quadd' kristum ok hann kýstí hann. þa er hann selldi hann.52

Honorius Augustodunensis, Johannes Beleth and Guilelmus Durandus provide similar explanations of the practice:

Honorius, Gemma Animae III. 85, "Feria V in Cena Domini", PL 172, 665B:

Ad tertium Agnus Dei non Dona nobis pacem, sed Miserere nobis, cantatur, et pax non datur, quia Judas osculo pacis illum tradidit qui vera pacx nostra fuit.53

Beleth, Summa de Ecclesiasticis Officiis, CC Cont. Med. XLIA, cap. 73,e, 135/33-35:

...triduo ante Pascha osculum pacis non damus, ut Iude proditori nos esse dissimiles ostendamus.

Ibid., cap. 96,g, "De sexta feria", 171/36-38:

...non cæmus osculum pacis alicui propter osculum Iude nec aliquem salutamus, qui cum salutatione Iudas tradidit Christum dicens: Ave, rabbi...54

Durandus, Rationale Divinorum Officiorum (1859), VI. 72, "De eadem quinta feria...", § 6, 512/36-39:

In his quoque tribus diebus salutatio non fit, quia Dominus vobiscum non dicitur, ut vitetur pestifera salutatio, per quam Judas tradidit Christum, dicens: Ave Rabbi. Pax etiam non datur, pro eo quod Judas osculo tradidit Christum...

It is also interesting to find that Durandus, in his chapter, "De pacis osculo", cites Psalm 27:3 (Rationale, IV, 53, § 1, 309/1-3):
Postquam Dominus salutavit Apostolos, ut praemissum est, iterum dixit eis: Pax vobis, ostendens quod non solum debemus pacem habere in ore, verum etiam in pectore, ne simus ex ills, qui loquuntur pacem cum proximo suo, mala autem in cordibus eorum...

The "tropological" significance of Judas' deed was, of course, often discussed by scriptural commentators. Candidus of Fulda († 845), for instance, in his Opusculum de Passione Domini, observes (PL 106, 77B-C):

...Quia nox erat ut scirent quem comprehenderent, dedit eis ille qui eum cognoverat, signum osculi. Signum pacis fecit signum belli. Quam multi hodie, fratres, labiis tangunt, et mente longe sunt; ore pacem dant, et cor eorum machinatur iniqua! Hic impletum est quod Dominus per prophetam dixit: "Populus hic labiis me honorat, cor autem eorum longe est a me." [Is. 29:13, Matt. 15:8, Mark 7:6].

And the liturgy for Maundy Thursday in particular is filled with reminders of Judas' treachery. One can compare, for instance, the recitation of Psalm 119 -- "Ad dominum cum tribularer clamavi...libera animam meam a labiis iniquis et a lingua dolosa... Cum his qui oderunt pacem eram pacificus; Cum loquebar illis, impugnabant me gratis" -- and Psalm 139 -- "Eripe me, Domine, ab homine malo; a viro iniquo eripe me. Qui cogitaverunt iniquitates in corde, tota die constituebant praelia. Acuerunt linguas suas sicut serpentes; venenum aspidum sub labiis eorum" -- among the Psalms for Vespers in Cena Domini. And with the "fair words/ false intent" formula it is especially interesting to compare the old eighth responsory for the third nocturn of Maundy Thursday found, for instance, in the Ordo Nidrosiensis Ecclesiae (composed early in the thirteenth century):

R. O iuda qui derelequisti consilium pacis: et cum iudeis consiliatus es: triginta argenteis vendidisti sanguinem iustum. Et pacis osculum ferebas quam in pectore non habebas.

V. Os tuum abundauit malicia: et lingua tua concinnabat dolos. (Ps. 49:19)...
One of the examples of the phrase "fair before but not behind"
cited by B.J. and H.W. Whiting (S 580) is also taken from an Easter
homily -- the entry for Passion Sunday in John Myrc's *Festial* (ed. T.
his sermon with a discussion of the general significance of the Feast
Day, then proceeds with a diatribe against those wicked individuals
who, in their sinful deeds, persecute Christ long after his crucifixion.
Among these are the enemies of truthfulness, in condemnation of whom
he tells the following tale (111/25 - 112/12):

...These byn glad, when ðay haue don a fowle dede, and ben
growndud yn fowle lyuyng, and wol not amend hom for no
þyng, for no prechyng, ne for no techyng. But euer defendyth
hor guilt by ensampull of such oþyr as ðay ben, and ben
wroþe and redy forto fyght wyth hym þat tellyth hom hor
soþe. For more harme ys: þe world ys such þat he schall
have mony ennmys þat sayþ þe soþe now allway. Herby I may
schewe you an ensampull.

Narracio.
I rede þat þer was summe tyme a mawmet in a cite, þat
wold tell of all stolen þyngys, and who hyt had. So was
þer a þong man þat had stolen a þyng, and was adred of
þat mawmet lest he had dyskeuered hym, and sayde: "Wele
I wot þou myght do me schame and vyleny, yf þou wolt.
But by þat God I leue on, and þou dyskeuer me, I woll
breke þy hed"; and so þode forth hys way. Then sone aftyr
com þay þat mysseden hor þyng, prayng þe mawmet to tell
hom who hyt had. And when þay prayde soo longe, at þe last,
þys mawmet spake and sayde þus: "Tymes byn changet, men
byn worsont; and noþer may no man say þe soþ, but ße
gy nd hys hed be broken. Thus wo ys þe trew man þat lyuyth yn
þys world, for he schall be so pluckyt at on yche syde,
þat he schall not wytte to whom he schall dyskeuer hys
conseyly; for ßylk þat wyll fyrst dessayue a man, þay
woll fyrst speke fayre to hym."

To this amusing exemplum Myrc immediately appends a much darker nar-
rative, and one whose typological significance could hardly have been
missed by any member of the Easter congregation (112/13-19):
For, as we redyn yn þe Boke of Kyngys, how þer wer two knyghtys þat enyvut oþyr: Ioab and Amasa. Then, on a day as þay meten, Ioab logh on Amansa and sayd: "Hayl broþer!" and toke hym by þe chynne, and cussed hym; but wyþ þat oþyr hond, he smote hym yn þe backe and slogh hym.

Thus faryth moche pepull now-on-dayes þat woll speke fayre before a man, but bihynd þay woll sle hym wyþ hor tong.62

Gregory the Great refers to Joab's slaying of Amasa in his discussion of hypocrisy at Moralia XV, 11, observing (PL 76, 1087C), "Dextera quippe mentum tenere est quasi ex benignitate blandiri. Sed sinistram ad gladium mittit, qui latenter ex malitia percutit"; and this moral interpretation of the infamous slaying was repeated in many later commentaries on II Sam. 20:8-10.63 Gregory's words might aptly have been rendered by the English writer, "speke fayre before a man, but...sle him with hor tong"; but one would hardly be justified in regarding Gregory's commentary as a direct source for Myrc's sermon. The fact that the story was traditionally treated as an emblem of deceitful behaviour would have been enough to prompt Myrc's use of the phrase. Joab's murder of Amasa and Judas' betrayal of Christ were often juxtaposed in medieval picture-Bibles.64

It is also interesting to note that Bede, in his exposition of 1 Peter 5:14, "Salutate in osculo sancto", refers to the treachery of both Joab and Judas, and cites Ps. 27:3 (PL 93, 68A-B):

Salutate invicem in osculo sancto. Osculo sancto, osculo vero, osculo pacifico, osculo columbino, non subdolo, non polluto, quali usus est Joab ad occidendum Amasam, quali Judas ad tradendum Salvatorem, quali utuntur hi qui loquuntur pacem cum proximo suo, mala autem sunt in cordibus eorum. Illi ergo osculo sancto salutant invicem, qui non diligunt verbo neque lingua, sed opere et veritate.65

The remaining example of the "fair speech/ false intent" formula in the Homily Books -- from the Old Norwegian Soul and Body dialogue -- is also associated with Judas Iscariot. While the phrase does not alliterate in the Nhom. version of the dialogue, two later textual witnesses have
The first lines of the passage are, of course, a version of the proverb "mel in ore, fel in corde." I realize that attempting to establish connections among texts separated by tracts of time and space as wide as those which divide many of the examples cited in this chapter is a haphazard and often futile exercise. It seems unlikely, however, that the relationship of these very heterogeneous parts to one another, vague as it may appear, is merely coincidental. The real connecting thread here, I think, is the clerical tradition of association and "reminiscence" mentioned above. Nor is it difficult to imagine that this tradition could also have accommodated secular proverbs and proverbial phrases. In his Early English Proverbs, Walter Skeat suggests that "one of the ways in which proverbs were formally..."
popularized was by their use in sermons delivered in the vernacular". G.R. Owst makes far loftier claims for the importance of the medieval homilist as the true mouth-piece of the ordinary people, the custodian of their language and thought. It was, he says,

...neither poet nor dramatist, neither novelist nor chronicler, who first condescended to take notice of these [everyday sayings and proverbs] with a view to including them in his own compositions, there to be preserved as vivid reflections of current life. Before ever the day of such literary realism and humanism had dawned, it was the homilist who first stooped to raise them from the level of the dusty commonplace and set them on high amid the wider concerns of the human mind, thus "making their dust fat with fatness". He it was, ... who clothed them for the first time with a deep spiritual and social significance for the ordinary man, who linked them in his more polished speech with great religious themes and moral principles, with the majestic struggle of humanity between Right and Wrong, with the fate of Christendom, with the solemn issues of Life and Death, Judgment and the Hereafter, the whole impressive revelation of the Church.

Owst overstates his case somewhat, but one may well ask whether a commonplace phrase like at mæla fagrt ok hyggja flátt, once it had been drawn into a complex of grander associations and become linked in particular with the archetypal story of betrayal told in the gospels, could ever have been completely divorced from these elevated themes again. Henceforth, would not anyone to whom such a phrase was applied become something of a Judas?

The Christian sensibility seems always to have harboured a certain distrust of "fair speech" ("that which cometh out of the mouth, this defileth a man"). It is perhaps not surprising that the compounds fagrmæli and sléttmæli very often have a pejorative connotation in OWN clerical writings. Presumably (the cynical morality of stanza 45 of Hávamál aside), Icelanders and Norwegians found hypocritical behaviour equally offensive before their conversion to Christiany. But one can well imagine that a Scandinavian preacher would have wasted no time in "prime-signing", 


as it were, so serviceable a native saw as beir mæla fagrt ok hyggja flátt. 72
1. Stom. 188/1,3; 190/31,33,35; 191/2 (cf. Bede I. 14, CCSL 122, 103/268, 274). See Kirby, Biblical Quotation, I, 284-285. The Icelandic homilist (or the scribe of his text) retains the Latin word when it first occurs in the pericope (187/36 ...feórep arkitriclino), but it is interesting to note that a later hand has supplied a superscript gloss, manne (see Wisén’s note, Stom. 187, n.4; van Arkel, 87r 11).

Cf., e.g., the use of binghus hofpindi for archisynagogus in the translation of Luke 13:14 at Leifar 85/20 (Gr. 31 in Ev., cit. Kirby, Biblical Quotation, I, 251).

2. The translator of this text is adept at finding idiomatic equivalents for Latin words and phrases. Cf., e.g.,

Stom. 176/18: kirkio scot = PL 41,809A, §2: locum sanctum baptisterii
201/22: hofpingia vellde = 809D, §3: principatus
202/6: lyge mabr = 811B, §4: seductor
202/11,12,17,18: kistell = 811B-C, §4: calathus
203/17: ...es fyrist hápe gobs qrossor = 813B-C : ...primum adversum Judeos dominica bella bellavit.
203/31: grióthaugr = 813C, §6: acervus minutorum lapidum (The parallel text in the version of Stephanus saga in the ms. fragment AM 655 XIVb 4to agrees with Stom. here; cf. Ole Widding, "Et fragment af Stephanus saga...", A.Ph.S. 21 [1952], 146, 1v,13. Widding notes [150, n.5] that the versions of the saga in Holm 2 fol. have more literal renderings of the phrase: respectively, haugr smárra steina [HMS II, 301/9-10], and haugr af smam steinum giorr.)
203/31: i landnorbr = 813D,§7: ad boream
204/11: keNe manna fundr = 815A, §8: synodus.

3. Cf. Grím Hólmsteinsson’s Jöns s. baptista II, Post. 914/13-15:

...Sumir segia, at hon hafi kveðit með listuligum nota

"...every Englishman who did his duty in the Middle Ages and listened intelligently to sermons (as he was repeatedly bidden) could have told you, doubtless, that "Herodius' daughter... was a tumbestere, and tumblede byfore him and other grete lordes of that contre".

4. "In die sancti Olavi Regis et martiris", Nhom. 111/2-3. Cf. the rest of the passage (111/3-5) based on Ephesians 6:17. The militia Christi is also described as a holmganga at Harl. 54/19-20 (of St Anthony contending with a host of demons: "En Iesu Kristr gløymdí eigi holmgangu sins berserks").

The loan-word ríðari (from MLG rídere, see de Vries, A.e.W., s.v.) had established itself in OWN by the twelfth century (see D.A. Seip, Norsk Språkhistorie til omkring 1370 [1931], 122). Cf. esp. the refrain of Einarr Skúlason's Geisli (st. 18, etc.), "Greitt má gumnnum létta/ goós ríðari stríóum...". St Stephen, with whom 'Oláfr is perhaps compared when he is called, at Nhom. 111/5, "frum-vátr í Nórge hins hesta konungs" ("Óláfs messa in síðari" and the invention of Stephen's relics are celebrated on the same day, Aug. 3) is also styled crísti ríðari in the OWN homily for St Stephen's day (here based on Fulgentius 3, PL 65, 729f.; see O. Widding, "De norrøne homiliebøgers prædiken på Stephansdag", MM [1959], 43):

Sthom. 176,32-33 (Nhom. 43/30): PL 65, 729C:

...i dag hældom vér sigsæla
pils [sic] rípera hans...

...hodie celebramus triumphalem militis passionem...
177/5-6 (44/4):

...i dag tóc rúm hall himins

730A:

...hodie immensitas calé sus-

VIP stephano cristz ripera...

cepit Stephanum triumphantem.

5. Sthom. 48/23-24 ("Nativitas doMiNi. A Joladag"), "...eilifr

konungr sa er boreN var a þesse nótt, meb logoneyte engla siNa";

cf. Ibid., 45/33 - 46/1, "...adám [var]...sva skapaþr...at hann

mátte...neyta fagnabí paradísar í auglité oc í logoneyte engla

gubs". No source has been identified for either passage. Cf.

Sthom. 171/5 hervígi engla (= legiones angelorum, Matt. 26:53),

and the more commonly used phrases engla sveit and engla fylki

(e.g., Sthom. 88/27 e. sveiter [Nñom. 137/19 e. fylki] = angelorum

ordines, Gr. 34 in Ev., PL 76, 1249D; 89/2 e. sveiter = angelorum

chori, 1250C; 91/22 e. fylke = angelorum agmines, 1254B; 92/11

e. fylke = beatorum spirituum ordines 1255B).

Mattias Tveitane (Den lærde stil..., 102) notes that in the

OWN translation of Vitae Patrum the phrase himneskir hermenn is used

to render virtutes célestes (HMS II, 377/33, 378/3), and himnesk

herferð is found for célestis militia. He compares the phrase

heimamenn himinríkis found in Guðmundar saga Arasonar by Abbot

Arngrímr (Brandsson?, Bisk. II, 152/24) and Barl. (98/20, cf.

Ps. Ioh. Dam. 69/34 célestis exercitus).


...meb égn mikille honum þíunar þa gll himinríkis hírb

bæpe englar oc helger men hans.

Sthom. 71/34 ("ResvRectio doMiNi"):

...allre himinsrikis hírb varþ mikill fognopr at upriso drótten.

Sthom. 150/32-34:

Acta S. Sebastiani, PL 17, 1122B:

Fognom vér þéim er sigr ·vógo

...congadeamus martyríi prætexta
a fióndom. oc nu ero téigner indutis, et cali factos consules
gorver. aller helger í himna gloriemur.
conungs hirp.

Cf. the version in AM 238 fol. XII, ed. A. Loth, "Til Sebastianus saga", Bibl. Arn. 31 (1975), 114: "...fognum ver med þeim er sig[r] barv af fiandanum ok nu þegar eru radnir til himinrikis hallar...".

See also Sthom. 1/4-5:

...voro gups viner oflger. sem somer hirpmannon oc conungs vinom...

(On this text, an allegory of the eight church modes, see Róbert A. Ottósson, "Das musiktheoretische Textfragment im Stockholmer Homilienbuch", Bibl. Arn. 30 (1970), 169-176; J.W. Marchand, "The Old Icelandic Allegory of the Church Modes", The Musical Quarterly 61 [1975], 553-559.)


...oc seNder hann heR siN til...Missis vero exercitibus exstinx-
at glata vikingonom. par ero...isse homicidas dicitur, quia in
englar hans er heR sa er...hominibus omne judiciux per angelos

exhibitetur. Quid namque sunt illa
angelorum agmina, nisi exercitus
Regis nostri?

As Ernst Walter points out (Lex. Lehn., 103) the word vikingr is
regularly used in clerical prose to render a variety of terms assoc-
iated with "Gewalttat": cf. Sthom. 143/24 = pirata (Acta S. Sebastiani,
PL 117, 1117A); Nhom. 19/5 = raptor (Alc. VV, PL 101, 628A); Nhom.
20/8 = prado (PL 101, 628D); Nhom. 150/30 = robere ("Un Samedi Par
Nuit", P 270; cf. AM 696 4to, "micill vikingur ok manndrapamadr",
JS 405 8vo "micill madr til vikingskapar; oc...manndrápare", cit.
O. Widding and H. Bekker-Nielsen, MS 21 [1959], 284); Leifar 17/11
= hostes (Prosper, Epigrammata, 78 [75], PL 51, 522A); Matheus s.
post. I, Post. 803/37 = latro (Mombritius II, 261/47); Barl. 116/6
hermaðr or grimr vikingr = tyrannus (Ps. Ioh. Dam., 80/6); Stjórn
489/31 = latrunculus (I Sam. 30:8). Salvesen, 48, notes that
vikingr is found for tyrannus in the OWN Elucidarius; and Rudolf
Meissner cites numerous examples of the use of the term in Rómverja
saga to render both tyrannus and pirata (Palaestra 88 [1910], 272-
273). Viking translates latrocinia at Nhøm. 27/2 (Alc. VV, PL 101,
634B), and also figures in a catalogue of vices at Nhøm. 87/27 (on
this text see esp. J.T.P., "Sources...", 173-174).

Many similar examples of folkeligt ordvalg in the homilies could, of
course, be cited. The archangel Michael is called höfþinge paradisar
(Nhom. 142/12-13), the apostles höfþingiar allrar cristne (Sthom. 15/16,
cf. references to St Peter as höfðingi postola at, e.g., Leifar 183/23,
Petr s. post. II, Post. 215/12). The emotive term drottens sviki is
applied to Judas in the ON translation of Alc. VV (24/31-32 = PL 101,
632C, proditor Domini; cf. AM 685d 4to, ed. Widding, Ed. Arn. A 4
[1960], 114/2 seliare hans) and in the "Soul and Body" dialogue in
Nhøm. (149/31, Drotens-sviki pa var engi pín make nema Iudas min...;
 cf. "Un Samedi Par Nuit", P 149-151, De traison penser/ Ne fu onques
ton per,/ Fors Iudas le dolent). And a celebrated example of the
interpretatio germanica is found in the superscript gloss mibgarparormr
for leviaðan at Sthom. 75/26. (The passage is a discussion of Job 40:20
based on Gregory’s twenty-fifth gospel homily. Mibgarbar- is Larsson’s
reading; see Studier över den Stockholmska homilieboken [1887]; 24;
cf. van Arkel, 35 v 11; Björn Hagström, Scripta Islandica 26 [1975],
35, §41. Wisén has mibgarpsormr; cf. the parallel text in AM 686c 4to,
ed. Konráð Gíslason, Um Frumparta Íslenzkra Tungu f Forðild [1846],CIII/
11, Mibgarzormr. See further Magnús Már Lárusson, "Um Niðröstigningarsögu"
Skírnir 129 [1955], 164; J.W. Marchand, "Leviathan and the Mousetrap
in the Niðröstigningarsaga", SS 47 [1975], 329 and n.4.)
Countless similar passages attest to the homilists’ imaginative use or their native word-hoard. Cf., e.g.:


Sthom. 62/16 ("JN capite ieiuNii"): Unde et salvator ad vigilandum

Siálfr iesus eggiape sínafaronauta til vocuNar...


Ibid., 64/6-8:

Olmosogêpe...kallar...gup tilumbhyGio vip siN fçronaut.

Unde et salvator ad vigilandum auditores suos excitat...

Ibid., 64/6-8:

Ibid., 291/102-103 (cf. J. Turville-Petre, ibid., 60):

Ibid., 64/6-8:

Aelimosina...Deum convocat in adiutorium.

Ibid., 291/102-103 (cf. J. Turville-Petre, ibid., 60):

Metcalf, 91/13:

tanto fieret inimico obligator...

Sthom. 142/25

Regula Benedicti, cap.iv,

(Leifar 177/8):

"Quae sunt instrumenta bonorum operum", ed. R.

Hanslik, C.S.E.L. 75 (2nd ed., 1977), IV. 39 (p.34):

Sthom. 192/15:

[eigne] meglonar samr... eigne meglonar samr... non murmurosam...


Sthom. 142/28-30

Regula Benedicti, IV.

(Leifar 177/1):

Sthom. 192/21-22:

...eigne hlátr

Varþveittu muN ßiN fra

mildr ne fiçl-

orþom illom oc ó skyldom

mólogo. allra sízt

multum loqui non amare

heimsmólogo. vera

oc eigne hlátr mildr vera.

eigne prátiN ne

uera uana aut risui apta

þjorkudriúgr.

non loqui,

Ibid., 192/35:

risum multum aut excussum

...besse ero andleg

non amare.

Ibid., IV. 75 (p.37):

smípar tól...

Ecce haec sunt instrumenta artis spiritalis.
Sthom. 156/30-31:
...sua mun oc guþ látå elldiN ganga yfer allan heimeN
at nestípconum...

Sthom. 168/29-30:  
...snuasc þa til götsco sumer
þeir at nestígcom efíNar...

cf. Gr. 38 in Ev., PL 76, 1290C:
...juxta finem vitae a pravitate
sua...revocatur...

Alc. VV, PL 101, 620D (Ps. 83:3, see Kirby, Biblical Quotation I.60):
Concupiscit et deficit anima
mea in atria Domini.

Nhom. 9/27:
Ond mín fysisc ok gîrisc i
garða drottens.
cf. AM 56 8vo, ed. Widding,
Ed. Arn. A4, 68/2-3:
Aund mín gîrnizt j garða guds.

Cf. the use of skígrpår for atrium in the Sthom. Passion gospel
22:55, John 18:15; on this text see Ian Kirby, ANF 91 [1976], 130-
137.)

Nhom. 24/3-4:
...sua sem scrópa-menn ero
vaner at gera.
cf. AM 685d 4to, ed. Widding,
Ed. Arn. A4, 110/18:
...so sem flærdsamer menn ero vaner at gera.

Cf. Leifar 180/23-24, skrópamenn = Ps. Aug., "De Confictu Vitiorum
et Virtutum", PL 40, 1094C, hypocrite; Nhom. 29/3 scrópar = Alc. VV,
PL 101, 636A, hypocrisis (same translation in AM 685d 4to, ed. cit.,
128/4). See also Oddur Gottskállksson's translation of James 5:12,
Hid'Nya Testament (1540), "...suo at þier fallit ecki i skropasem"
(cf. Vulgate: "...uti non sub iudicio decidatis"; Luther [1534],
"...auf daß ihr nicht in Heucheley fallet"; Guðbrandsbíblía [1584],
"...i hrasne"; see Jón Helgason, Málið á Nýja Testamenti Odds
Gottskállkssonar [1929], 356). Oddur regularly uses the terms hraþni
and hraþnari for hypocrisis, hypocrita (cf. Jón Helgason, op.cit.,
284-285, and 359, s.vv. smjaðran, smjaður). The words skí and
skímaðr are also commonly used in OWN to render the same terms.
Cf. too Kirby’s note on the term *aburbar meN* found for *ethnici* at Sthom. 195/26 (Biblical Quotation, I. 150, Matt. 6:7, II. 154).

Nhom. 39/15:  
...sua sem á annars oðale...  
Gr. 8 in Ev., PL 76, 1104A:  
...quasi in alieno...

Nhom. 110/6-7:  
...ávitaðe brioscomenn ok harðhugaða...  
Cf. Metcalfe, 70/10-11:  
...non cessabant...obstinatos convincere...


Nhom. 117/20-21:  
...enn síðan er hann bræuzu umm ok blaðraðe...  
Cf. Metcalfe, 81/15-16:  
Denique cum ille, dolore anxius, lingue residuum mouens balbutire uideretur...

Nhom. 123/18-19:  
...er hon la ok snorglaðe...  
Cf. Metcalfe, 88/5:  
...volutabatur spumans...

Nhom. 148/21-22:  
...var su hin auma grún sem graslautcr  
cf. AM 764 4to, ed. O. Widding and H. Bekker-Nielsen, MS 21 (1959), 280/22-23:  
...sem gras mapkr gurl...  
JS 405 8vo, Ibid., 280/39:  
...so sem guler graslaðar...

Nhom. 150/14-15:  
...nu ertu sem fouski...  
cf. AM 696 4to XXXII, ed. cit., 283/24:  
...sem fauskr...  
JS 405 8vo, ed. cit., 283/43:  
...sem fólske...

"Un Samedi Par Nuit", P 15-16:  
E estoit la chaïtiue  
Si verde comme chiue

Ibid., P 216-217:  
Ore es comme la brese  
Dont es chaois li feus
The use of rytta to translate veautre is interesting. The OF word normally means "a hound, a hunting-dog" (see, e.g., A.J. Greimas, *Dictionnaire de l'Ancien Français* [2e édition, 1968], s.v. veltre, "chien qui chasse l'ours et le sanglier"; cf. W. von Wartburg, *Französisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, s.v. vertragus, "windhund"; Niermeyer, s.v. veltris, "Chien de chasse...greyhound"); and although in OWN rytta is used exclusively in the sense "elendig menneske, stakkar" (Fritzner; see, e.g., Barl. 88/34 gamul rytta, cf. Vinc. Beauv., *Spec. Hist.*, XI.97, senex; Barl. 154/34 gamul oc vesol rytta = Ps. Ioh. Dam. 100/36 miser), the word may be derived from OE ryttan, m., "a species of dog, mastiff" (B.T.; cf. de Vries, *A.e.W.*, s.v. — E. Björkman, *Scandinavian Loanwords in Middle English*.)
Studien zur englischen Philologie, Heft 7 [1900-1902], 232).
Alexander Jóhannesson, however (709) relates the word to rot, rotinn, rotna, etc. (cf. Blöndlal, s.v. rytta, f., "la (ljeleg skepna) usselt, magert Dyr, spec. daarlìg Ko el. daarlìgt Malkefaar. -- b. (ljeleg sléggja) daarlìg Eng...").

Nhom. 151/2-3:
...kona þin hefir gipsc manne þaim er hon kaus sér meðan þu lát á nastrám...
cf. AM 696 4to, ed.cit., 284/32:
...þa þu latt á nastram...
JS 405 8vo, ed. cit., 284/47:
...medann þú lást a Borrúum...
cf. HMS I, 199/3
...i. buande, þa es sa la á nastróm...
Ibid. 231/23-24:
...melti viþ prestinn, þa es hann la a nastróm: "Leg þu mic i grof þina."
VP I, HMS II, 415/17-18:
...med þvi at einn af þeim la á nastrám...
VP II, Ibid., 575/21:
...er einn þeira la a nastram...

Gr. Dialogues, ed. de Vogüé, vol. 2, 112: I.12. 1/5-6:
...cum quidam paterfamilias ad extremum venisset diem...
Ibid., vol.2, 358-60:III.23.2/16-19:
Cum...ad extrema peruenit, atque adsitent presbytero iussit, dicens: "In tuo sepulcro me pone."

Nhom. 170/18-20:
...Occ en í áróm stað. segir hann sva. Nolite errare. deus non irridetur [Gal. 6:7]. Hirðið eigi at villa Crist. þvi at guð letri eigi skjalkiask.

Many of the "homely" translations used by the homilists were either already part of a traditional "lexicon" of scriptural and doctrinal vocabulary, or quickly became common coin, e.g.:

gúospjallaskáld for evangelista (St Thom. 56/31, 161/9, 180/11-12, 183/1, 187/27; cf. Kahle, 369; Thors, 400 -- guospjallari, guospjallamaór).
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sálmaskáld for psalmista (Sthom. 15/17, 28/17, 75/18, 89/7,28, 90/2, 101/21 [Nhom. 98/7], 106/14, 162/28, 186/18,23 [Nhom. 56/33, 57/4], Nhom. 43/21; cf. Kahle, 369; see also M.R. Godden’s remarks on Ælfric’s use of the terms sealm scop, sealm wyrhta, "Ælfric’s Changing Vocabulary", English Studies 61 [1980], 213).

skríókvikendi for reptilis/ serpens (Sthom. 167/13 [cf. PL 76, 1287A, reptilia]; cf., e.g., Stjórn 18/33 [Gen. 1:24 reptilia], 317/20 [Lev. 11:44 reptilis]; Oddur Gottskálksson [1540], Acts 10:12 serpentia, Rom. 1:23 serpentia; see Jón Helgason, Málíð..., 296, s.v. kind).


OWN renderings of falsus testis, falsum testimonium, etc., see Fritzner, Cleasby-Vigfusson, s.vv. falsvátttr, falsvitni, ljúgvátttr, ljúgvitni, lygivitni, skrök, skrökmaðr, skrókvátttr, skrökvitni.

skuldar-/ skuldunautr for debitor (in translations of the Lord's Prayer, Matt. 6:12 ..debitoris nostris: Nhom. 100/30 ..sculdar-nautum vorum; Leifar 160/42 ..skuldonautum vorum; cf. Nhom. 156/15 ..varom saku-nautum. See Kirby, Biblical Quotation, I.151 for variant translations: Sthom. 31/22-23 ..peim er vîb oss hafa misgert, 34/24 ..skulderom, 118/11 ..peîm es oss misbiöpa, 135/35 ..peim monnom. er afgøra vîb oss, 198/31 ..sculderum; Nhom. 27/23 ..sculderum [Alc. VV, cf. AM 685d 4to, ed. Widding, Ed. Arn. A 4, 122/9 ..skuldarmonnum; AM 688a 4to, Ibid., 122/25 ..skuldonautum]. Skuldunautr is also the term used by Oddur Gottskálksson at Matt. 6:12 (cf. skuldamætur at Luke 7:41, Rom. 15:27; see Jón Helgason, Málið..., 357); and Kirby suggests [II. 154] that in spite of variations in the treatment of individual words in the OWN versions of the Oratio Dominica, "the overall similarity of the Norse quotations indicates that a standard form of the prayer was developing.


8. On this text, see below, pp. 662ff.

9. Skjöd A I, 655,c, "Trollkvenna heiti"; 688, æ æ, "Grýlu heiti".

10. Descriptions of the devil and other figures of evil in vulpine terms are, of course, commonplace, even in "learned" texts. Cf., e.g., J.W. Marchand, "Leviathan and the Mousetrap in Nórstigningarsaga", SS 47 (1975), 334-335.


14. See below, pp. 239ff.


16. As Siegfried Wenzel has suggested, one of the principal reasons for the great popularity of proverbs among preachers as among the common people was:

...their recognized value as proof texts. In preaching they clearly enjoyed an authority on a par with scriptural and patristic quotations. A thirteenth-century *ars dictaminis* for example, defines *proverbium* as "auctorabile dictum virtutis et moralitatis inductivum" whose use is sanctified by Christ himself since He spoke "in proverbiis"; and Martin Luther still shared this view when he commented that vernacular proverbs "are a strong argument" ["Es ist ein fein Ding umb proverbia germanica undt sind starckhe beweisung."]... together with biblical and patristic quotations and *exempla*, proverbs formed a standard ingredient in the material collected to prove a moral point.

On the habitual use of proverbs by Norwegian and Icelandic clerical authors of the middle ages see, e.g., Bjarne Berulfsen, *Kulturtradisjon fra en Storhetstid* (1948), 295ff. In addition to examples of proverbial phrases from fourteenth-century episcopal correspondence, he refers to the citation of the proverb *gríser gíaldla bess er gomul suin vallda* in a discussion of Noah's curse on Ham's son Canaan in one of the texts of the first section of *Stjórn* (*Stjórn* 63/32-33, B ms., Gen. 9:25; cf. Comestor, *Historia Scholastica*, PL 198, 1087B, "Peccata quidem patrum saepe vindicantur in filios temporaliter"). Similarly, D.A. Seip ("En norsk oversættelse av Prosper fra 12. hundreår", MM [1943], 117) notes that the author of the OWN translation of the Epigrams of Prosper of Aquitaine is prompted by a citation of Prov. 1:7 to make use of an alliterative "ordspråklignende setning":

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Leifar 54/4-5:} & \quad \text{Prosper, Ep. 10, PL 51, 503A:} \\
...1?ar er sva umb ritit at & \quad ...\text{cum sit scriptum, Initium sapientiae timor Domini.}
\text{hretsla er upphaf allar} & \quad \text{specçar en ba missir allz ef uphafs missir.}
\end{align*}
\]

Interestingly, Hallvard Lie, in his *Studier i Heimskringlas Stil* (NVAOS, Hist.-Fil. Kl., 1936, No. 5 [1937], 113) suggests that the extensive use of proverbs and similar "citations" in *Sverris saga* gives certain passages a distinctly "homiletic" character:

"Kanskje intet tjener i den grad til at særkjenne Sv.-sagas retorikk overfor Hkr.'s som den hyppine forekomst av citater hermer, ordsprog o.l., som Snorres taler på sin side er praktisk talt rene for.... Undertiden gir disse innleggene Sv.-sagas taler et prediken-aktig preg, og det er spørsmål..."
om de ikke for en del er å se i direkte forbindelse med Sverres og abbed Karls spesielle geistlige forutsetninger...

Sverrir's "sermon" to the people of Bergen, for instance, is adorned with a homely proverb (Sverris saga, ed. G. Indrebø [1920], k. 99, 106/17-19):

...Ecki tocum ver þat af os sialfum helldr syndi gvô hverso litit honom var firir at steypa þeira ofdrambi. oc kemr þar at þvi sem mælt er. at sart bitr sollin lus.

17. No similar turn of phrase is found in Gr. 38 in Ev.; the corresponding passage (PL 76, 1285D) is an ubi sunt catalogue.

18. For further OWN examples of this proverb (from Njáls saga, Gísla saga, Partalopus saga, etc.) see Fritzner, s.v. kaldr 2; Finnur Jónsson, "Oldislandske Ordsprog og Talemåder", ANF 30 (1914), 103, § 217; H. Gering, "Altnordische Sprichwörter und sprichwörtliche Redensarten", ANF 32 (1916), 10, s.v. kona. Another clerical author introduces the saying into his translation of Jerome's Life of Malcus (HMS I, 443/17-21; no similar phrase is found in the Latin text -- cf. PL 23, 57A). And the author of Hugsvinnsmål may also have recalled the proverb in rendering Disticha Catonis III.20 (cf. st. 104, ed. Birgitta Tuvestrand, Lundastudier i Nordisk Språkvetenskap, Ser. A, Nr 29 [1977], p. 129, e 105; Disticha III.20, cit. Ibid.):

konu þinnar Coniugis iratae noli tu verba timere,
hlyd eie kueinstófum nam lacrimis struit insidias, cum femina nie ad þui gaum gefer. plorat.
kallrad kona
higg eg klóckvandi bidie
opt òbarfra hluta.

As Samuel Singer notes (Sprichwörter des Mittelalters [1944], I, 22-23), this Scandinavian proverb "sich...weit außerhalb des Nordens verbreitet hat". In addition to many ME examples (cf. esp. B.J. and H.W. Whiting, Proverbs, Sentences, and Proverbial Phrases-from English Writings Mainly Before 1500 [1968] -- henceforth Whiting -- R66, "Cold rede is quean rede"), Singer cites a version of the maxim from the fourteenth-century Swiss Chronik des weißen Buches: "Wie wol man spricht: Frowen geben kalt rät." For similar gnomic warnings against muliebre consilium, feminine wiles, etc., see Walther 8988-9320 passim, 15347, 15366, 33439, 37949, 29213; Whiting W505, "who trusts woman is deceived".

Misogynist diatribes are not uncommon in sermons on the Decollation. Ælfric's sermon for this feast day, for instance, contains a lengthy digression on the bestial ferocity of womankind borrowed from a sermon mistakenly attributed to John Chrysostom in Paul the Deacon's homiliary (PD II 72, cf. Grégoire, 103; on this borrowing see C. Smetana, Traditio 15 [1959], 193):

CH I, 486/28 - 488/11:

Nu cvýó se trahtnere, þat nan wilde deor, ne on fyórferfotum ne on creopendum, nis to wićmetene yfelum wife... Ac se wise Salomon cwáz, þat selre were to wuningenne mid leon and dracan þonne mid yfelan wife and oferspracum...

Eornostlice nis nan wyrmcynn ne

PL 95, 1509B-C:

...Nulla ergo in hoc mundo bestia similis est mulieri malaie...Salomon dicens: Cohabitare leoni et draconi melius est quam cum muliere mala et litigiosa. (cf. Ecclesiasticus 25:23, Prov. 21:9, 19, etc.)
wilddeora kyn on yfelnesse gelic
yfelum wife.

Grímr Hölmsteinsson includes a similar excursus on the perfidy of the female sex in his discussion of Salome’s entertainment in Jóns saga baptista II. Grímr cites Augustine as his authority; but the passage is, in fact, based on another text in PD for the Feast of the Decollation, an expanded version of a sermon by Petrus Chrysologus, sermo 127, "De natale sancti Iohannis Baptistae" (PD II. 71; cf. Grégoire, 103):

Post. 914/22-30:

Se her ena fornu illzku konunnar, þa er Adam tok or paradisar fognuðum. Hon gerði himneska menn iarðliga oc drekði allt mankyn i helviti oc tok lifit fra ollum heiminum fyrrir epli ens uleyfða tres. Dêta grand leþir mennina til eilifs alldrtila. Hana flyði Elias spamaðr, sa er með sinni tungu lukti ok lauk upp himininn, oc hann for fyrrir henni hriaðr oc rekinn, oc þann manninn, sem hon finnr reinan, gerir hon saurgan. Hon leiddi oc i girndarbruna oc þrongving David psalmistam, oc drap nu Johannem baptistam....

Olivar notes (780-781) that the entire passage is an interpolation found only in the versions of the sermon in PD. Like its companion-piece, PD II.72, the sermon was regularly attributed to John Chrysostom (see, e.g., PL 52, 182 note ad loc.; Dekkers, Clavis Patrum 930 and 227). Chrysologus’ authorship has, however, been defended by Olivar (Los Sermones de San Pedro Crisologo [1962], 189-195).
Sermons by Chrysologus were also very often attributed to Augustine in the early middle ages (see Olivar, Ibid., "Indice de Autores", s.v. Augustín; Max Förster, "Altenglische Predigtquellen II. 6. Petrus Chrysologus und die 14. Blickling Homily", Archiv 122 [1909], 246ff.).

Grímr also makes use of the rest of Chrysologus 127 at Post. 916/17 - 917/23 (cf. PL 52, 551C - 552B; CCSL XXIV B, 786/67 - 788/95).

19. Cf. Den ældre Gulathingslov, NGL I, 99/14-16:

...En of maðr gerir leiðangr i annan stað en hann a at gera. þa er sem hann have ugorvan. Nu fær maðr á skip annat en hann a at fara. þa gerir hann bæði, at hann rear leiðangrinn oc gellir vítit.

The phrase also appears as a proverb in 'Oláfs saga Tryggvasonar en mesta (ed. 'Olafur Halldórsson, Ed. Arn. A1, vol. 1 [1958], 94/3-8, cf. Flat. I. 84/18-23), where Håkon Sigurðsson seeks to persuade King Haraldr Gormsson that their plot to help Gull-Haraldr win the kingdom of Norway may work to their mutual disadvantage:

...En er Gullharalldr var brott farinn, þa kom Hákon j(arl) til Haralldz konungs ok s(agði) sva. Nu veit ek eigi nema ver roím leiðina. ok gialldim leiðar vítit. Nu man Gullharalldr drepa Haralld grafellið. sípán man hann taka konung dom iNoregi. ætlar þu þer hann þa tryggun er þu fær honum sva mikinn styrk...

(Cf. Heimskringla I, ed. Bjarni Altalbjarnarson, IF 26 [1941], I. 237/19-25.)

The sources of the sermon in Sthom. in which the proverb appears (Sthom. 111/21 - 121/25) have not yet been investigated (see van Arkel, 15; Kirby, Biblical Quotation II, 57). The homily also contains some other "forensic" turns of phrase. Cf., e.g., Sthom. 115/17-18, "...gup dómur etke vápa verð...naþungar verð.
helldr siálfsv erc... (see Konrad Maurer, Vorlesungen über altnordische Rechtsgeschichte (1907-10), V, 258f., 261-264; Fritzner, Hertzberg, s.v. váðaverk); 118/2, "...bíðep fyr averca monnom vþrom" = Matt. 5:44, "orate pro perseverentibus et calumniatibus vos"; cf. Kirby, Biblical Quotation I. 147-8 (see, e.g., Grágás, ed. Vilhjálmur Finsen [1852-70], I. 146/15; Hertzberg, s.v. ýverki). Cf. too Stomh. 137/2-3 ("Die annunciationis beate Marie virginis..."); source unknown):

"...Oll cristne spell þá es baNsakar ero. oc aller lagalester þær es sakar áþíle. á vígt umb..." (see Fritzner s.vv. laðalöstr, sakaraðíli).

20. This is the only example of the phrase cited in Hugo Gering's list of items omitted from Finnur Jónsson's collection of proverbs (see ANF 32 [1916], 24, s.v. lostverk). Bjarni Vilhjálmsson and 'Oskar Halldórsson, íslenskír málshattir (2nd ed., 1979), 214, s.v. Lostverk, cite only Stomh. and examples from late proverb-collections: Landsbókasafn ms. 1096 8vo ("Adagia", íslenskt málsháttasafn með latinskum þyðingum...), "Létta falla lostverkin"; Málsháttasöfn Hallgríms Schevings. Boðsrit Bessastaðaskóla (1843, 1847), "Oll falla lostverk létt".

Interestingly, Gregory the Great makes use of a similar image in his *Regula Pastoralis* in reproaching those who presume to preach without adequate qualifications (III. 25, "Quomodo admonendi qui officium prædicationis nimia humilitate detrectant, et qui præcipiti festinatione occupant", PL 77, 98A):

...At contra admonendi sunt quos a prædicationis officio vel imperfectio, vel ætas prohibet, et tamen præcipitatio impellit, ne dum tanti sibi onus officii præcipitacione arrogant, viam sibi subsequentis ameliorationis absicient; et cum arripiunt intertempestive quod non valent, perdant etiam quod implere quandoque tempestive potuissent...

Admonendi sunt ut considerent quod pulli avium si ante pennarum perfectionem volare appetant, unde ire in alta cupiunt, inde in ima merguntur.


...Gísli eggjaði fast fylgðarmenn sína. Grettir sá nú at hann var eigi slíkr fullhugi, sem hann lézk, því at hann stóð jafnan á baki mýnnum sínum... Grettir mælti þá: "Þat sér lítt á, at þu hefir víða vel fram gangit, ok illa skilsk þú við þína félagi." Gísli svarar: "Sa er eldrinn heitastr, er á sjálftum liggir, ok er illt at fásk við heljarmanninn." Skiptusk þeir þá fám høggum við, ár en Gísli kastaði vápnunum ok hefir á rás undan út með fjallinnu.

23. See *Studia Islandica* 39 (1981), 79-80. Hermann maintains that the author of *Grettis saga* appropriated the proverb from the Sthom. Job-narrative (or a text like it) as part of a pattern of reminiscences from the Book of Job which transform Grettir into a paragon of patient suffering (cf. 88-90). He does not, however, regard the proverb in Sthom. as a substitute for Satan’s words *Pellem pro pelle* at Job 2:2 (79: "...setningin á sér enga orð-rétta fyrirmind í Jóbshók sjálfri, heldur er henni bætt við til skýringar og áherzlu").
24. Cf. the digression on Job in the second All Saints' Day homily in Sthom., 154/12-17:

...Nu scaut ec af þui dómisogo þessi i þetti [sic] mál.
at þat es styrking mikil þeim monnom er fvr vanheílo
verþa eþa manna missi. eþa fiárscaþa. nu er slíct hrei-n-
snor eldr her iNaN heims. oc breNeþ þat synþer af monnom
þeim er sva verþa vip sem iob.

25. See Vrátný, ANF 32 (1916), 47; cf. s.a., "Noch einiges zu den
altisländischen Sprichwörtern", ANF 33 (1917), 61.

26. The phrase is perhaps also recalled in a commentary on the Lord's
Prayer in Ñhom. No direct Latin source has yet been found for this
entry, but Erik Gunnes (183) notes that the text runs parallel to
Ælfric's sermon "De Dominica Oratione" (CH I. 260-73). Cf.:

Nhom. 157/8-12:
Fyrir því ma diofull-enn
costa hvârs mannc hvârt hann
mège hvârfa oss fra guós tvv
eða sigi. eða hvârt vèr unnum
guði sva væl í hug varom sem
vèr mælom í orðom varom. eða
ver hafem áðra flerð undir.

27. ANF 32 (1916), 47.

28. ed. Gustav Neckel, Die Lieder des Codex Regius nebst verwandten
citations from the Poetic Edda are from this edition unless
otherwise specified.

29. See von See, Die Gestalt der Havamál (1972), 33; "Disticha Catonis
und Hávamál", Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und
Literatur 94 (1972), 8-9. Samuel Singer (op. cit. I. 6ff.), like
von See, argues that many of the proverbial phrases in the poem
should be seen against the background of a Latin school-tradition, but does not discuss the collocation at mæla fagrt ok hyggja flátt.

30. Hjalmar Falk (Sólarljóð, NVAOS [1914], II. Hist.-Fil. Kl., No. 7, 11) notes that the "avgjort ukristelig" sentiment of stanza 20 is reminiscent of Hávamál 45 and Hugsvinnsmál 41, and suggests, "enten var forfatteren av Solsangen ikke sterkere befestet i sin kristendom, end at det raad som i de gamle leveregler stadig blev git mot falske venner: at gjengjelde like med like, er gliidd med ind i verset; eller ogsaa er linjen forvansket av en avskriver hvem den form av sentensen foresvævet". He suggests that line four of stanza 19 should be changed (after the pattern of line three) to gðóu þó heiti ("selv om de gir gode løfter"). This emendation is adopted by B.M. 'Olsen in his edition of the poem (Safn til Sögu Islands V, Nr. 1 [1915], 10, cf. 34, n. ad loc.)

With the mæla fagrt formula it is also interesting to compare the use of the phrase at heita fægru in stanzas by Egill Skallagrímsson and Djóóólf Arnórsson:

Egill Skallagrímsson, lv. 43 (Skjöd B I, 52):

... 
mér brásk minnar systur
mýgr, hétumk þá fægru,
máttit bólts of bindask
Blundr, ek stlkt of undrumk

Djóóólf Arnórsson, Magnúsflokkur, st. 5 (Skjöd B I, 333):

Sjalfr bar austr vió Elfi
Ulfs mýgr ok hét fægru
(þar réó Sveinn at sverja)
sínar hendr at skríní;
réó 'Aleifs sonr eiðum,
átt hafa þeira sáttir
skemra aldr an skyslíði,
Skónunga gramr, hónum.

...Il y a un certain nombre de proverbes islandais et fréquemment sans que le texte y fasse penser. Ils sont souvent allitérés. Il y a beaucoup d'expressions convenues, archaïques et spécifiquement islandaises, allitérés ou non. Cela confère au style un air national populaire...


lingua iuuet mentemque tegat: blandire noceque; impia sub dulci melle uenena latent.

33. Cf. Walther 7900a, 11843a, 14575, 14576, 14583, 14585, 24239; Joseph Klapper, Die Sprichwörter der Freidankpredigten, Wort und Brauch, Hft. 16 (1927), 71, § 327 and n. (Perunt mel in ore, fel in corde: "De dolosis hominibus solet dici...secundum illud: Dulcia verba serit, qui falsum dicere quenit...""); Whiting H 433 "Honey and Gall", S 871 "Sugar and gall", T 383 "Tongue and Heart"; B.J. Whiting, "Proverbs and Proverbial Phrases from Scottish Writings before 1600", MS 11 (1949), 187 s.v. Heart (7), 190 s.v. Honey (2); MS 13 (1951), 101 s.v. Mouth (1), "His mouth is honey, but his hairt is gall"; Tilley T391, "A honey tongue a heart of gall"; A.S. Vedel's Ordsprogssamling (Gl. kgl. Samling nr. 3603, 8vo [c. 1614]), cit. B. Holbæk og I. Kjær, Ordsprog i Danmark (2nd ed., 1972), 119, no. 1344, "Udi sød tale ligger falskhed i dvale"; Einar
Seim, Ordtøkje og Herme I. Norsk Folkeminnelag 84 (1960), 92, s.v. fals "I søt tale ligg fals i dvale"; 191, s.v. honning, "Å ha honning i munnen, men edik i grunnen".

See also Walther 20398b, "Os aliud fatur, mala autem mens aliud meditatur" (the sentiment is at least as old as Homer; cf. Achilles' words at Iliad 9, 312-13, trans. Richmond Lattimore [1962], "For as I detest the doorways of Death, I detest that man who/ hides one thing in the depths of his heart, and speaks forth another" -- see also Whiting S 583, "To speak other than one thinks"); Walther 26832, 30713, "Retro rođentes et coram blanda loquentes/ Sunt detractores inimicis deteriores"; 24746, "Qui simulat pacem, certius ense ferit"; 27155, "Sepe latet bellum grato sub nomine pacis".

34. Cf. Whiting F 44, "To be false and speak fair"; F50, "To feign falsehood under fair words"; M 755, "Mouth and heart do not agree"; S 580, "To speak fair before but not behind"; S 589, "To be a fair speaker and false thereunder"; S 618, "Under fair speech one may wry treason"; W 581, "Fair words (speech) but no love"; W 585, "Fair words without, hate within"; B.J. Whiting, MS 13 (1951), 129, s.v. Speech (2), "The fairer speech, the falser heartis", 143, s.v. Tongue (3), "Ane silkin toung, ane hart of crueltie"; H.E. Rollins, An Analytical Index to the Ballad-Entries, 1557-1709, in the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, Studies in Philology 21 (1924), 2466, "A smooth toung and a false heart"; Tilley, A 112, "All are not friends that speak us fair"; S 727, "He that speaks me fair and loves me not, I'll speak him fair and trust him not". The following list of examples from Old and Middle English texts is, needless to say, far from exhaustive. Most of the citations are taken from Whiting; to these I have added a few
others. In most of the examples the phrase does not alliterate:


Et tunc iudicabit iudicia nouissima. et reddet unicuique iuxta opera sua. ßenne wille god deme his lest dom. and wile gelden eche men his mede efter his werke. ße sunfulle. Men. ßet spushad brekeð. ße ßet mei lutel to wreche. ße boues. ße ßet spekeð faire bi-foren and false bi-hinden. ße niðfulle. ße prude, ße fordrunkene, etc.

The Proverbs of Alfred, ed. O. Arngart, Skrifter Udgivna av Kungl. Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet i Lund XXXII: II (1955) 13 (J), 95/211-214:

Serewe if þu hauest.
and þe erewe hit wot.
by-fore he þe meneþ.
by-hynde he þe teleþ.

19 (18-J), 107/316-22:

Þus queþ Alured.
Monymon wenþ
þat he weny ne þarf.
Freond þat he habbe.
þar me him vayre bi-hat.
Seyþ him vayre bi-vore.
and frakele bi-hynde.


secundus demon. sir, so mekill ill will
that thai wold synke
Thare foes in a fyere still
bot not all that I thynke
dar I say,
Bot before hym he prase hym,
behynde he mys-sase hym,
Thus dowbill he mase hym,
thus do thai today.
DETRACCIO. ...For I am known fer and nere,  
I am the Werldys messengere,  
    My name is Backbytere.  
    Wyth euery wyth I walke and wende  
        And euery man now louyth me wele.  
    Wyth lowde lesyngys vndyr lende  
        To dethys dynt I dresse and dele.  
    To speke fayre befor and fowle behynde  
    Amongys men at mete and mele  
        Trewly, lordys, pis is my kynde.


Now comth the synne of double tonge; swiche as spoken faire byforn folk, and wikkidly bihynde; or elles they maken semblant as though they speeke of good entencioun, or elles in game and play, and yet they speke of wikked entente.


[Vn] To his name yet was yt no reprefe,  
    for, al for vertu was [it] that she wroght;  
    but he that brewed hath al this myschefe  
    that spake so faire and falsly inward thoght,  
    his be the sclaudre as yt be reson oght.

Jacob's Well, ed. A. Brandeis, E.E.T.S., O.S. 115 (1900), 86/33 - 87/8:

An enuyous man is lykened to an hound. an hound is wo þat ony man goth besyden him in þe waye, þof þe man do hym non harme, & þerfore he berkyth on hym. so þe enuyous man is wo of an-õber man þat stondyth, or syttyth, by him, or goth besyden him in þe waye, þof þe õber man do hym non harm,  
    get he wyl berkyn on hym bacbytyng, & lesynges, & dyscorde.  
    As sum hownd, befor a man, fawnyth hym wyth his tayl, & behynde him byteth hym; So þe enuyous man spekyth sum-tyme fayre befor an-õbere, & bakbyteth hym behynde.

There is som tong can mater ffynd,
Afore folk to fflatyr and glose,
and cursidly can say behynd,
And of fals slander his sak vnclose,
Resemblyng and breydyng on a rose,
Outward fayre, and thorn in his entent,
Wherfore late ech man hym dispose
To sey wele, and he shal neuer repent.


"Well", seyde kyng Arthure, "ye ought to do me servyse, omayge and feauté, and never wolde ye do me none, but ever ye have bene ayenste me, and a dystroyer of my knyghtes. Now, how woll ye acquyte you?"

"Sir", seyde kyng Marke, "ryght as your lordshyp woll requyre me, unto my power I woll make a large amendys."

For he was a fayre speker, and false thereundir.

"The cyte is bond that shuld be fre", in May D. Harris, ed., The Coventry Leet Book, E.E.T.S., O.S. 135 (1908), 578/11-12:

We may speke faire & bid you good morowe,
But luff with our her-tes shall ye haue non.

"A Heartless Mistress", in Rossell Hope Robbins, Secular Lyrics of the XIVth and XVth Centuries (1952), 140/21-24:

With body and connyng I wold yow please
fful fayre, and I wyst how to begyn;
But your fayre glose doth me desease:
Ye spek fayre ovtward and feyneth withyn.


Fals flaterers that fawne thé, and kurris of kynde
That spek fayre before thé and shrewdly behynde.
Ibid., I, 392/759:
For when he spekyth fayrest, then thynketh he moost yll.

35. A.S.P.R. II (1932), 59-60.


37. None of the Old English Psalter-glosses I have checked make use of the fæger word/ facen collocation. The gloss found in the Junius Psalter (ed. Eduard Brenner, Anglistische Forschungen 23 [1908], 31) is typical: "...mid þissum þa ðe sprecað sibbe mid ðone nihtstan his yfel soþlice sint on heortum hira" (cf. Arundel Psalter, ed. G. Oess, Anglistische Forschungen 30 [1910], 60; Cambridge Psalter, ed. K. Wildhagen, Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa 7 [1910, rpt. 1964], 59; Eadwine’s Canterbury Psalter, ed. F. Harsley, E.E.T.S., O.S. 92 [1889, rpt. 1973], 42; Lambeth Psalter, ed. U. Lindelöf, Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae 35 [1909], 41; Regius Psalter, ed. F. Roeder, Studien zur englischen Philologie 18 [1904], 46; Salisbury Psalter, ed. C. and K. Sisam, E.E.T.S. 242 [1959], 110; Vespasian Psalter, ed. S.M. Kuhn [1965], 23; Vitellius Psalter, ed. J.L. Rosier, Cornell Studies in English 42 [1962], 61). The phraseology of the prose translation of Psalm 27 in the Paris Psalter is, however, interestingly similar to lines 5-6 of "Homiletic Fragment I" (Liber Psalmorum: The West-Saxon Psalms, ed. J.W. Bright and R.L. Ramsay [1907], 57-58): "Ne me ne fordo mid þam þe luflice sprecað to heora nyhstum, and habbað peah facen on heora heortan." Facen is regularly found for dolus, facenlic for dolosus,-a,-um in the Old English glosses (see, e.g., renderings of Ps. 49:19, "...lingua tua concinnabat dolos", in the Cambridge Psalter, 123, "tunge þin hleoðrode facyn"; Eadwine’s Canterbury Psalter, 86, "tunge þin sang vel leoðråde facen vel sær"; Lambeth Psalter, 81, "gealchatte vel

Lines 28 to 30 of "Homiletic Fragment I" are reminiscent of proverbs of the type mel in ore fel in corde mentioned above. Neil D. Isaacs (Structural Principles in Old English Poetry [1968], ch. 6, "...The Old English Taste of Honey", 99-106) suggests that lines 22b-23 "seem to echo a passage from Boethius" (cf. Meters 18, 5-11; Consolatio Philosophiae, ed. H.F. Stewart and E.K. Rand 1946, III. metr. vii):

Habet hoc uoluptas omnis, Stimulis agit fruentes
anunga sceal eall forweorðan
gif hio yrringa awuht stingeð.
Swa sceal sawla gehwilc siódan losian,
unriðhmæde, bute him ær cume
hrowe to heortan, ær he hionan wende.

Thomas D. Hill, however ("The Hypocritical Bee", Notes and Queries 213 [1968], 123), has pointed out that a commonplace passage found in Gregory’s ninth homily on Ezekiel (and, in almost the same wording, in the Liber formularum spiritualis intelligentiae of Eucherius of Lyons) offers a closer analogue for these lines (cf. CCSL 142,
Unde etiam per Psalmistam dicitur: Circumdederunt me sicut apes, et exarserunt sicut ignis in spinis [Ps. 117:12].
Apes enim in ore mel habent, in aculeo caudae uulnerus. Et omnes qui lingua blandiuntur, sed latenter ex malitia ferunt, apes sunt, quia loquendo dulcedinem mellis proponunt, sed occulte feriendo uulnerus inferunt.

38. See van Arkel, 13; Kirby, Biblical Quotation II, 54-55. Bede's homily was included in PD as the third sermon for the Feast of the Circumcision (PD I, 40; see Grégoire, 83).

39. This text is based partly on Bede's homily, partly, perhaps, on a homily for the same feast day by Ps. Haymo of Halberstadt (recte Auxerre, Hom. XIV, "De Circumcisione Domini", PL 118, 90-107; see van Arkel, 16; Gunnes, 167). Indrebø discusses the relationship between the texts in Nhram. and Sthom. in his introduction to Nhram., *43.

40. Cf. Nhram. 55/21-30; Sthom. 185/11-20. Haymo also devotes a section of this homily to a discussion of the "circumcision of the senses". In his treatment of the "circumcision of the tongue" he cites Ps. 33:14, rather than Ps. 27:3 (PL 118, 96B-C):

Circumcidenda est lingua a maledictionibus, perjuryis, falsitatibus, murmurationibus, et a consuetudine otiosi sermonis... Et Psalmista nos admonet dicens Prohibe linguam tuam a malo, et labia tua ne loquantur dolum.

41. Unfortunately, the corresponding section of the Old Norwegian translation of the Benedictine Rule, a fragment of which is preserved in NRA 81A (ed. E. Walter, "Die fragmente zweier Klosterregeln für Benediktenermönche in altnorwegischer Übersetzung", Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache 82 [1960], 83ff.) has not survived.

43. op. cit., 88-89.

44. Cf. the translation of the passage in the OE version of the Rule (ed. A. Schröer, Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa 2 [2. Aufl. 1964], 17/6-10):

...facn ne sceal mon on heortan gehabban; lease sibbe ne sceal mon syllan; sohe lufe ne sceal mon forlætan. Swerian ne sceal mon, þylæs mon forswerge; soðfastnesse of heortan and of muðe mon sceal simle forôbringen...

45. Delatte, Commentaire sur le Règle de Saint Benoît (1913), 80.

46. Cf., e.g., Margaret Deanesly, The Lollard Bible and Other Medieval Biblical Versions (1920), 26, 38-39, 62 (with reference to the memorization of large tracts of Scripture by the Waldensians); N.J. Chaytor, From Script to Print (1945, rpt. 1966), 115ff.; M.T. Clanchy, From Memory to Written Record (1979); J. Coleman, English Literature in History 1350-1400 (1981), 157ff., 172ff.


...The Psalms had, of course, their regular weekly place in the monastic offices. But many holy men recited the Psalter daily and knew it by heart and used it as a devotional manual.
Godric, the recluse of Finchale, acquired a finger permanently curved through constantly holding his psalm-book...

On the memorization of the Psalter and its use as a school primer in the early middle ages see P. Riché, Education and Culture in the Barbarian West (1976), 463-466.

According to the author of Laxdæla saga, Guðrún 'Osvífrsdóttir was the first woman in Iceland to learn the Psalter by heart ([P 5 [1934], 223/23-24, "Hon nam fyrst kvenna saltara á Íslandi" -- the story implies, at least, that she was not the last to do so); and the author of Hnogvaka records that Bishop Þorlákr Rúnólfsson of Skálholt († 1133) "...sogn hvern dag þróðung af psaltara seint ok skynsamliga" (k. 6, ed. Jón Helgason [1938], 96/3-4). Even the well-known reference in Jóns saga helga B to Gíslí Finnsson's humble practice of preaching from an open book rather than from memory (Bisk. I, 236/3-10, "...taldi hann eigi utanbókar margu luti, eðr treysti mjök á sitt minni...at þeir sá þat, at hann taki sínar kennínar af helgum bókum ok merkilínum, en eigi af eiu saman brjóst-megni ok hugviti") perhaps suggests that preachers who habitually relied on their own brjóstmegni ok hugvit when composing sermons were not unusual.


50. Gunnes, 171.

51. Cf., e.g., Appendix Augustini, sermo 150, "De Passione Domini", PL 39, 2037A; sermo 151, 2038D; Maximus Episcopi Taurinensis...
   Sermones, ed. A. Mutzenbecher, CCSL 23 (1962), sermo LXXIV, 310/36-39; Ps. Maximus, sermo 36, "De eadem Paschatis solemnitate VIII", PL 57, 606C - 607B. An admonitory catalogue vaguely similar to that in the OWN homily concludes Caesarius of Arles, sermo 204, "De Pascha Domini", CCSL 104, 821 [778/3ff.] = Ps. Augustine 168, PL 39, 2071A-B: "Admoneant...ut...a maledicto vel a periurio linguam refrenent...pacem et ipsi teneant [etc.]".

52. AM 435 12mo, 24r; cf. Codex Lindesianus, Icelandic ms. no. 1 in the John Rylands Library, Manchester, 46r, 1-6.


54. Cf. Ibid., 161,g, 315/51 - 316/54:
   ...Quare ad missam mortuorum pax non datur, triplex assignatur ratio. Prima est, quoniam hoc officium, ut dictum est, triduanum Christi sepulturam significat, ubi pax non datur propter osculum Iude...

55. See also H.A.P. Schmidt, Hebdomada Sancta (1956-57), II. 741:
   ...In traditione romana salutatio Dominus vobiscum feria V in Cena Domini simpliciter omittenda est ubique. Ratio cur sic agendum est, nulli in documentis indica est, sed videtur esse symbolica: propter sacrilegam salutationem Iudae omittimus hanc formulam.

Schmidt suggests (742-43) that the kiss of peace may originally have been omitted because the Pax Domini was preceded by the ceremony of the blessing of the chrism-vessel; but he admits that latterly the chief motivation for the practice was undoubtedly symbolic.
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56. It is also interesting to note that item 25 of the Instrumenta bonorum operum is associated with the kiss of peace in most medieval commentaries on the Benedictine Rule. Cf.:


Pacem falsam non dare [Spannagel, ad. loc., compares Jer. 9:7 \(\text{sic}\); Ps. 27:3; Migne's exemplar, Hrabani Mauri...operum Quotquot reperiri potuerunt (Köln, 1626), compares Ps. 27, I Pet. 3]...Negare enim vel maligno animo celare quod verum est, falsitas est, sicut Iudas qui signum pacis in dolum convertit quia et falsus confessor fuerat, et falsam pacem in ecclesia figurabat...Et passioni iam proximus hoc nobis mandatum commendavit [dominus] dicens "Pacem meam do vobis, pacem meam commendo vobis"; et addidit "Non sicut mundus dat pacem do vobis", id est non dolosam, non falsam sicut Iudas et eius sequaces donant, quam et hic nobis beatus Benedictus invicem dare vetat; sed veram pacem ascendens in caelum tenendam dedit, et in hereditatem sempiternam habendam reliquit...

commentary attributed to Paul the Deacon, printed in Florilegium Casinense, Bibliotheca Casinensis, IV (1880), 49:

...Ille enim pacem falsam dat: qui non diliget osculari.

Expositio-Regulae ab Hildemaro Tradita, ed. R. Mittermüller (1880), 154:

...Ille enim pacem falsam dat quem [var. qui] non diligens osculatur.

A.M. Caplet, ed., Bernardi I Abbatis Casinensis in Regulam S. Benedicti Expositio... (1894), 94:

...falsa pax fratri datur, quando quis eum quem non diliget, osculatur. falsa pax datur quando quis fratrem odit. et eum se diligere mentitur set et falsa pax datur quando quis alicui occulte detraxit. et ei postmodum adulatur...

Gerhoh of Reichersberg († 1169) similarly associates Ps. 27:3 with the false kiss of peace in his Psalm Commentary (PL 193, 1227C-D):
...Nonne isti operantur iniquitatem, qui loquuntur pacem cum proximo suo, mala autem in cordibus eorum, quando per osculum, quod est pacis signum, adimplent homicidium...

Cf. also Ps. Augustine, Sermo Caillau-Saint-Yves 1.68, "De falso amico", PLS 2, 1018A-B:

...Verba pacis sonat os, et cor ejus dolum occultat. De talibus autem dicit Propheta in Psalmo: Qui loquitur pacem cum proximo suo, mala autem sunt in cordibus eorum. Dum pacem loquitur, percutit; et dum blanditur, interficit, quia in corde tenet malitiam. ...Nam et Judas, mercator sacri vulneris, Dominum Jesum dum salutat vendidit, dum osculatur tradidit.

The phrase **Judas kiss** (cf. French baiser de Judas, German Judaskuss, Danish Judaskys, etc.) is proverbial in almost all Christian countries for "a hypocritical expression of affection". See W.D. Hand, "A Dictionary of Words and Idioms Associated with Judas Iscariot", University of California Publications in Modern Philology 24, no. 3 (1942), 333-35, for many literary examples; cf. Whiting J 68, "A Judas kiss". Proverbs of the "fair words/ false intent" type also occasionally incorporate a reference to Judas’ betrayal: cf., e.g., Walther 6430, "Dum bonum faris, in corde malum meditaris, /Oscula, que Judas Domino dedit, hec mihi tu das", 20451, 23460, 28637; Whiting P 153, "Many a one speaks of Peter and John and thinks Judas in his heart" (Gower, Confessio Amantis I. 655-7, E.E.T.S., E.S. 81 [1900-1901, rpt. 1979], I. 53-54).

57. Most commentators on Matt. 26:49-50 and Luke 22:47-48 were quick to stress that Christ’s acceptance of Judas’ kiss should not itself be taken as a hypocritical act (see Glossa Ordinaria, PL 114, 341B; cf. Ibid., 171A; Ps. Bede, PL 92, 116D; Rabanus Maurus, PL 107, 1117B; Haymo of Auxerre PL 118, 404B):
Suscepit Dominus osculum, non quod simulare nos doceat, sed ut nec proditorem refugere videretur, et plus afficeret proditorem, cui amoris officia non negaret. Unde dicitur: Cum his qui oderunt pacem erant pacificus [Ps. 119:2].

Candidus' suggestion that Judas used the osculum pacis as the sign of betrayal "quia nox erat" can be compared with the widespread notion that Judas marked Christ with a kiss for fear that he might elude his captors by magically changing his appearance. Raymo of Auxerre, for instance, explains (PL 118, 367D):

Infelix Judas stimans Dominum signa magicis artibus patrasse, recolens eum transfiguratum fuisse in monte coram tribus discipulis, stimans etiam eum in hora passionis sua similitudinem in aliam mutare, ideo dat signum persecutoribus suis, ut quemcunque oscularetur, ipsum comprehenderet, stimans Dominum persecutores suos eludare, et in aliam formam se transfigurare.

(Cf. Ps. Bede, PL 92, 116D; Rabanus, PL 107, 1117A; Glossa Ordinaria, PL 114, 170D; anonymous Irish Matthew commentary, PL 120, 914D-915C; Comestor, Historia Scholastica, PL 198, 1622C-D; Cornelius a Lapide, Commentarii in Scripturam Sacram, VIII (1864), 497, § 49.)

Still more remarkable is Johannes Beleth's suggestion that Judas' greeting was meant to help Christ's enemies distinguish him from his brother James (CC Cont. Med. XLIA, 171/38 - 172/40): "...Ideo hec signa dedit Iudas illis, qui Christum ceperunt, ne Iacobum caperent, pro illo, quia consimilis erat illi."

58. See, e.g., Herbert Thurston, Lent and Holy Week (1904), 283-293.

59. Cf., e.g., Nidaros Missal (Missale secundum usum ecclesie Nidrosiensis [1519, rpt. 1959]) d.xviii.r; Sarum Missal (ed. F.H. Dickinson, Missale ad usum insignis...ecclesiae Sarum [1861-63, rpt. 1969]), 305-306; York Missal (ed. W.G. Henderson, Missale ad usum insignis ecclesiae Eboracensis, Surtees Society, 59-60 [1874]), I. 98-99. Ps. 139 also serves as the second Tract for the Good Friday Office. See Nidaros Missal, d.xix.r; Sarum Missal, 318; York Missal, 102; Missale Romanum (1872), 157.


Judas' kiss is remembered in the responsory for the third nocturn on Good Friday:
Barrabas latro dimittitur: et innocens christus occiditur: nam et iudas doctus scelèris qui per pacem didicit facere bellum. Osculando tradidit dominum iesum christum.

(Nidaros Breviary M. iv., r; cf. Ordo Nidrosiensis Ecclesiae 227/8; Sarum Breviary I. dccxci; York Breviary I. 391-392), and in the responsory, "Amicus meus osculi me tradidit signo..." (Matt. 26:48) assigned to the night office of Wednesday in Holy Week in the Ordo Nidrosiensis Ecclesiae (222/11) and the Nidaros Breviary (L.vii.v; now used as the fourth responsory for Maundy Thursday -- see Breviarium Romanum [1950], Pars Verna, 521). Allusions to the sin of hypocrisy and to "false peace" are also found elsewhere in the Passiontide Liturgy. Ps. 42:1, for instance, "Judica me Deus, et discerne causam meam...ab homine iniquo, et doloso eripe me..." is used as the Introit for Passion Sunday and the Gradual for the following Tuesday (cf. Nidaros Missal c.xix.v, c.xxii.r; Sarum Missal 235, 241; York Missal 78, 80; Missale Romanum [1872], 116, 120) and as the second Antiphon for Lauds on Tuesday of Holy Week (cf. Ordo Nidrosiensis Ecclesiae, 222/4-5; Nidaros Breviary, L.vii.v; Sarum Breviary, I. dccclxviii; York Breviary, I. 372); and Ps. 34:20, " Pacifice loquebantur mihi, inimici mei" is used as the Gradual for Friday and Saturday after Passion Sunday (cf. Nidaros Missal, d.i.r [Friday only]; Sarum Missal 251; York Missal, 83; Missale Romanum, 125, 126) and also appears as a response for the night office on Passion Sunday and the following Thursday in the Ordo Nidrosiensis Ecclesiae (215/8, 217/26) and the Nidaros Breviary (K.viii.r, L.iii.v; cf. York Breviary, I. 350). See also the antiphon for Terce in the Hours of the Passion attributed to St Bonaventura edited from a fourteenth-century Icelandic ms., AM 241a fol., by Lilli Gjerløw (Liturgica Islandica I. Text, Bibl. Arn. 35 [1980], 220/17-18): "Locuti sunt adversum me lingua dolosa. et sermonibus odij circum-dederunt me..." (Ps. 108:3; the same verse is now used in the night
office on Wednesday in Holy Week and Good Friday -- see Breviarium Romanum [1950], Pars Verna, 508, 546; cf. Sarum Breviary I.dccxci).

62. Myrc gives the conventional explanation for the omission of the kiss of peace during triduum sacrum in Festial 29, "Ad Tenebras", (126/27-29): "This day nys no pax ȝeuyn at mas, for Iudas betrayde Crist þys nyȝt wyth a cosse: þus was þe prophesy of þe passion þys day endyd."

63. Cf. Ps. Eucherius of Lyons (recte Claudius of Turin, † c. 827 -- see Clavis Patrum, 498), PL 50, 1094C (PL 104, 710A); Rabanus Maurus, PL 109, 112B; Angelomus of Luxeuil, PL 115, 377D.

64. See, for instance, mss. of the Speculum Humanæ Salvationis, composed c. 1324 by the Dominican friar Ludolph of Saxony (ed. J. Lutz and P. Perdrizet [1907-09], II, Pl. 35, 91, 131 (XVIII,1 and 2); cf. the Latin text at I. 38 (cap. XVIII, 3-16):


A Joab-Judas diptych is also found among the typological miniatures of the Peterborough Psalter (also dated to the early fourteenth century -- see below, plate 1). Cf. the accompanying verse (cit. Lucy Freeman Sandler, The Peterborough Psalter in Brussels and
other Fenland Manuscripts [1974], 114):

Hic cum fraude Ioab. amasam gladio iugulavit.
Sic Iudas dominum. tradidit ipse suum.

On folio 33v of the same work, the Last Supper is juxtaposed with depictions of David (playing on a harp), citing Ps. 40:10, and Jeremiah and "Jesus of Sirach", seated together, citing respectively, Jer. 9:8 and Eccl. 6:10, "Est amicus socius mense". (See below, plate 2. Sandler, 114, misidentifies the figure beside Jeremiah as David. The footwashing scene on the same page cf. John 13:34 recalls the pedilavium ceremony of Maundy Thursday, and anticipates a later typological sequence; see Sandler, 110-111, and 114 ad fig. 39, 36). These miniatures are accompanied by the following verse (cit. J. van den Gheyn, Le Psautier de Peterborough [1911], 8-9):

In quo sperabam fore pacificumque putabam,
Hic suppliantor traditor atque fuit,
Pacem qui fatur et amicis insidiatur,
Sic Iudas fuerat qui maledictus erat.
In mensa socius nec habetur fidus amicus.
Est Iudas talis consuluitque malis.

(Sandler, 114, reads sonus instead of socius in l. 5)

In the Biblia Pauperum, the oldest manuscripts of which also date from the beginning of the fourteenth century, the betrayal of Christ is associated with Jacob's slaying of Abner (II Sam. 3:27) and Triphon's false peace with Jonathan (I Macc. 12:39-49); the scriptural captions are Ps. 40:10, Prov. 17:20 ("qui vertit linguam incedit in malum"), Isaiah 3:11 ("Vae impio in malum!"), and Jer. 9:8 (see Henrik Cornell, ed., Biblia Pauperum [1925], 273-4, "Judas-kuss", fig. 32, pl. 17, 37). For further examples of pictorial and plastic representations of the typological parallel of Joab and Judas see H. Sachs, "Joab", Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie, II, 407.

W.D. Hand, op. cit., 334-35, cites early modern examples of the
proverbial collocation "Joabsgruss und Judaskuss" (cf. ODS, IX, col. 891, "Joabs Hilsen og Judaskys").

The author of the third section of Stjórn neither alludes to Judas’ betrayal nor makes use of a saying of the type "fair words/false intent" in his account of Joab’s slaying of Amasa. He does, however, embellish with a gnomic observation his rendering of II Sam. 20:11: "Interea quidam viri, cum stetissent iuxta cadaver Amasae, de sociis Ioab, dixerunt: Ecce qui esse voluit pro Ioab comes David."; cf. Stjórn 541/32 -542/1, "Ok sem suéitungr Joab komu þar at sem likami Amase laa i bloði sinu. mělltu þeir. Morgu skipter skiott um. sa liggr her nu er giarna villði vera hófðingi Dauid fyrer hertuga varn." (Hermann Pálsson, op. cit., 81, cites some OWN analogues for this proverb.)

Another vivid emblem of deceitfulness which came to be associated with the Easter season, especially in the later middle ages, was the figure of the scorpion. In a curious sequence in his Pèlerinage de l’Ame, Guillaume de Deguileville (fl. 1320) associates each of the chief events in the life of Christ with a sign of the Zodiac (on this section of the poem see Edmond Faral, "Guillaume de Diguileville, moine de Châalis", Histoire Littéraire de France XXXIX [1952], 69ff.). In compliance with the demands of Guillaume’s allegory (rather than those of conventional astrology) Christ’s entry into Jerusalem on Palm Sunday takes place under the sign of Scorpio:

Le Pèlerinage de L’Ame, ed. J. Sturzinger (London, 1895), 10211-24:

En Escorpion fu vêu
A celle fois que recœu
Fu a la grant procession
De ceux qui mort et passion
Tost apres li procurèrent.

Scorpio Overpassyng this in pro-

Scorpio Overpassyng this in pro-
cesse of tyme of two yere and an
half or nyhe there aboute this pre-
cious sonne entred in to the scor-
pion what tyme so solemnly he was

cf. Caxton’s translation, The
Pylgremage of the Sowle (1483), rpt.
The English Experience, No. 726 (1975), Lib.V, fol. Cii r–v:
Escorpions se montrèrent
Qui bonne chiere par devant
Li firent et tost ensuant
De la queue le ferirent
Et a mort livrer le firent.
Aussi li fu escorpion
Judas qui fist la trahison.
Par bel semblant il le baisa,
Puis aus Jûis il le livra.

receyued of the peple with braunches
and palmes And of that same people
sithynne a wyke after which that
shewede theym seluen venemous
Scorpyons shewynge hym atte hys
comyng sooo good and frendely chere
he was stongen bytterly anone to the
deth And wonder wel may Judas be
lykened to the scorpyon For he byteth
and styngeth bothe two at ones Soo
dyde fals Judas kyssyngoure lord
bytryd hym to the Jewes such maner
kyssynge with treson may be callyd
a full bytter and venemous bytyngye
who that euer it useth.

Similarly, in the Passion d'Arras attributed to Eustache Mercadé
(†1440) Judas himself, in a monologue in which he bemoans his own
treachery, compares his false kiss to the scorpion's sting (J.M.
Richard, ed., Le Mystère de La Passion [1891], 151/12994-98):

Ce fu bien faulse trahison
De le livrer par mon baisier!
Ha, morsure d'escorpion,
Comment l'osas tu atouchier?
Ha! faulx trahitre! ah! faulx lodier!

In yet another mid-fifteenth-century Passion drama, the Mystère de
La Passion of Arnoul Gréban, Mary Magdalene draws the same
comparison in a philippic against the Jews (G. Paris and G. Raynaud,
ed., Le Mystère de la Passion d'Arnoul Gréban [1878], 316/24146-53):

O fellons Juifz, qui vous meust
d'occire cil qui vous promeust
a tout bien et tout bien vous veult?
detraction,
C'est toujours ta condicion:
devant sers d'adulacion
mes tu poins comme escorpion,
voire en absence.

The Scorpion's "caudal sting" made it a natural symbol of false
flattery and deceit. Vincent of Beauvais, for instance, notes (Speculum Naturale, XX. 160 [1625, rpt. 1964-65], col. 1549):

Scorpio blandus est, quasi virgineum dicitur habere vultum, sed habet in cauda nodosa venenatum aculeum, quo pungit et inficit proximantem.

(Cf. D. Schmidtke, Geistliche Tierinterpretation in der deutsch-sprachigen Literatur des Mittelalters [1968], I. 305ff.)

And Bartholomeus Anglicus explains that the creature’s nature is mirrored in its name (John Trevisa’s translation, On the Properties of Things..., ed. M.C. Seymour, et al. [1975], II, lib. 18, cap. 98, p. 1248):

...And his name scorpius comeb of scorte pat is "swete" and of pogo pat is "to fayne" for bifore he faynep plesaunce and bihynde he styngep...

(cf., e.g., Johannes Balbus, Catholicon [c. 1470], s.v.). Similarly, Gregory, in his ninth homily in Ezekiel (in the passage directly preceding the discussion of the "hypocritical bee", cited above, n. 37), takes a reference to scorpions in Ezekiel 2:6 to refer to smooth-tongued backbiters (CCSL 142, in Ez. 1.9. 21, 134/431 - 135/438; PL 76, 879C-D):

...At si fortasse iustuxn quexnpiain tantae jam uirtutis inuen-
erint, ut ei loqui contraria non praesumant, quia subuersores esse non possunt, statim scorpiones fiunt. Scorpio enim palpando incedit, sed cauda ferit; nec mordet a facie, sed a posterioribus nocet. Scorpiones ergo sunt omnes blandi et malitiosi, qui bonis quidem in faciem non resistunt, sed mox ut recesserint derogant, alios quos valuerint inflammant, quaque possunt noxia immittunt, mortifera inferre occulte non desinunt. Scorpiones ergo sunt qui blandi et innoxii in facie uidentur, sed post dorsum portant unde uenenum fundant.

The comparison was proverbial (cf., e.g., Walther 2782, "Clam verbis pungens et coram leniter ungens/ Est ut in occulto scorpius insidians"; Whiting S 96, "The scorpion flatters with its head when it will sting with its tail"; G. Frank, MLN 58 (1943), 509, "l'escorpion lèche
quand il veut poindre") and other well-known examples of the scorpion analogy include Bernard of Clairvaux's denunciation of Arnold of Brescia (Epistola 196, PL 182, 363C-D, "...cujus conversatio mel, et doctrina venenum: cui caput columba, cauda scorpionis est"), John of Plano Carpini's characterization of the treachery of the Mongols (Ystoria Mongolorum, IV. 6, ed. A. van den Wyngaert, Sinica Franciscana I [1929], 47/6-8, "...In principio quidem sunt blandi, sed ultimo pungunt ut scorpio", cf. Ibid., VIII. 3, 94/14-22), and Dante's depiction of Geryon, his symbol of fraud (Inferno 17, 10-27), with the face of a righteous man and the tail of a scorpion. (He draws here on a tradition that Geryon treacherously slew his guests after winning their confidence with "fair words"; see P. Toynbee, A Dictionary of Proper Names and Notable Matters in the Works of Dante, rev. C.S. Singleton [1968], 310. On the "false flattery" of the scorpion as a "venereal" image in, e.g., Ancrene Riwle, ed. M. Day, E.E.T.S., O.S. 225 [1952, rpt. 1975], 90/35 - 92/25, and Chaucer, Merchant's Tale, 2057-60, see G.B. Pace, "The Scorpion of Chaucer's Merchants Tale", Modern Language Quarterly 26 [1965], 369-74).

As Marcel Bulard has pointed out, however, in his fascinating study, Le Scorpion Symbole du Peuple Juif dans l'Art Religieux des XIVe, XVe, XVIe Siècles (Annales de l'Est. Mémoires, No. 6 [1935]), the scorpion was also used as a symbol of the Synagogue, and is often depicted on pennons and banners in late medieval representations of the Crucifixion. In many Calvary scenes, Roman and Jewish soldiers alike bear the sign of the scorpion on their tunics, shields and saddlecloths (cf. below, plates 3, 4, 5). Moreover, scorpion-pennons are regularly juxtaposed with Roman standards bearing the S.P.Q.R. (the letters of which are often jumbled or displayed backwards) to emphasize, by means of a visual
pun, the shameful collusion of Rome and Israel in the crime of
the Crucifixion (cf. plate 6; Bulard notes that this deliberate
association of the scorpion and S.P.Q.R. is made explicit in a
Crucifixion scene [dated 1495] by Donato da Montorfano in the
Refectory of Santa Maria delle Grazie in Milan, in which three
standards, two bearing the S.P.Q.R. and one the scorpion, are
accompanied by a fourth on which an escutcheon with a double
scorpion motif is enclosed within the letters SCOR (see Bulard,
218-219; below, plates 7 and 8).

65. Cf. Sedulius Scotus on Romans 16:16 (PL 103, 125A):

Hoc autem osculum sanctum appellant Apostolus, quo nomine
illud docet ut casta sint oscula quae in ecclesiis dantur,
tum deinde ut simulata non sint sicut fuerunt Judae, qui
osculum labiis dabat et priditionem corde tractabat.

Hatto of Vercelli on the same verse (PL 134, 283C):

Denique post speciale salutationem, ad generalem se
contulit, dicens: Salutate invicem in osculo. Et quia
sunt quorumdam subdola oscula, sicut Judae: ut ea pro-
hiberet, subjunxit, sancto.

66. It is interesting to compare these lines with a similar passage
in the ME Soul and Body dialogue partially preserved in the "Worces-
ter Fragments". Again, the soul directs its invective against the
body's hypocritical tongue (Die Fragmente der Reden der Seele an
Richard Buchholz, Erlanger Beiträge zur Englischen Philologie VI
[1890], 9-10, "Fragment G", 11. 15-21):

Nu lip þin [tung]e stille on ful colde denne.
Nafest þu garsum þe mo, þe heo was spekinge [so].
Heo was faken bifo ren ond atterne biihiden.
Heo demde feole domes, þe drihten [wren] Iope.
Ismid hit is on psalme ond ful sop hit is bi hire:
"Lingua tua . . . concinnabat [dolos] . . ." [Ps. 49:19]
Heo geoddede fakenliche ond þen feonde icwemde.
Eleanor K. Hemingham ("Old English Precursors of 'The Worcester Fragments'", PMLA 55 [1940], 306) has suggested that there may be a connection between this text and "Homiletic Fragment I" in The Vercelli Book.


68. Owst, Ibid., 46.


Dá er liðit hvárt tveggja stóð ok kenndusk menn, þá mælti konungr: "Hví ertu þar, Kálfr, því at vér skilóumsk vinir suðr á Mæri? Illa samir þer at berjask í móti oss eða skjótta geigurskot í lið várt, því at hér eru fjórir bræðr þínir." Kálfr svarar: 

"Mæli nu annan veg, konungr, en bezt myndi sama. Skilóusk þer þá við oss, at nauðsyn bar til at friðask við þá, er eptir váru. Verðr nú hvern at vera þar, sem staddr, er, en sættask myndim vit enn, ef ek skylda ráða." 

Dá svarar Finnr: "Þat er mark á um Kálfr, ef hann mælit vel, at þá er hann ráðinn til at gera illa."

The reference, in the Saint Olaf’s Day homily in Nhom., to Kálfr as a drottens svicari who "vann...niðings-værc á sinum lánar-drotne er hann var famennastr fyrir staddR" (Nhom. 111/10-15) is doubtless meant to call to mind the arch-dróttinssviki. This term is not only used to refer indirectly to Judas in the Soul and Body dialogue (Nhom. 149/31-32), but also renders proditor Domini in the translation of Alc. VV (Nhom. 24/31-32, "...sva sem Judás er fyrst var postole. en siðan drottens sviki. ok sáliare hans..." = PL 101, 632C, "...sicut Judas primo Apostolus, & postea proditor
Domini...”). Cf. also Bishop Eysteinn 'Asláksson of Oslo’s revilement of false-hearted dissemblers in a letter of 1395 (DN IX, 186/22-28):

...Ero þat þau værsta førrad sam væra megho lofua frid oc grid oc sidan bæra ofwod a sino hiærsa ok illan wilia till þes sam han fyrr sættes vider. Ok mughu þeir er aa þer sættir gera gridnídhiingar sita ok fullir drottans suikarar luttakande ûærlegre heluitis pinu med diæflium siæluum sam fullar med ofwod oc alsko ær ok med hins fula Judas ær suzuk siin herra med kosse sam fridarmark skuldi væra.

(On the use of the term dröttinssviki to refer to Lucifer at Konungs skuggsiá 78/25, see Anne Holtsmark "Uppreistarsaga", MM [1958], 95-97.)

It is also interesting to compare the various accounts of how Earl Hákon Pálsson lured Magnús Erlendsson to his martyrdom on Egilsey. The author of Orkneyinga saga reminds us that this killing took place during Eastertide (ÍF 34 1965 , 105/13 - 106/1):

...Þeir heldu þá báðir til Hrosseyjar, þar sem þingstgö þeira var Orkneyinga... Þessi fundr var á langafostu... þá bundu þeir sætt sína með eðum ok hændsgrönum. Ok er þaðan liðu nýkkurur stundir, þá eindagaði Hákon jarl með falsi ok fagræmælu stefnudag inum sala Magnúsi jarli, at eigi skyldi snúask eða ónýtask frændsemi þeira ok staðfastliga nýgjar friðr. Skyldi þessi fundr til staðfestu friðar ok sattargerða þeira á milli í þáskaviku um várit í Egilsey...

In the Legenda de Sancto Magno (Ibid., 306/3-7) it is Hákon’s retainers who are said to bear "fair words with false intent":

...Satellites autem sui in necem beati Magni conspirantes, sed simulatioiis nube palliantes, cum beato viro pacifice in dolo locuti sunt ut beatus Magnus et Hako statuto die in quadam insula, que vocatur Egelesio cum pari numero hominum et armorum conveniunt.

The author of Magnúss saga lengri, however, makes explicit the
analogies between Hákon’s treachery and that of Judas:

k. 20, Ibid., 359/15-19:

...Sem þessi satt er samin ok staðfest með eíðum ok handsóllum, þá fundust jarlar með friðarkosi. En þat sem inn heilagi Magnús jarl hugdi til friðar, þát sneri Hákon til flærðar ok undirhyggju.

k. 22, Ibid., 361/1-9:

...Allar syndir gerast af gírn, ok allar fýstir óleyfðar af af áfgríni fram ganga...Dat birti inn gleípafullasti Júdas er seldi drottin váru við verði. Þetta it sama svikarin Hákon jarl, þeði með dæmum ok raunarstöfum, í þeim svikum, er hann sveik sinn frænda, [Magnús] jarl, í tryggðum, þó at með ýmum hattí gerðist atburðir um skipti þeira ok sundrþykk.

k. 23, Ibid., 362/5-11:

...Þessi formáli settar ok samþykjis líkaði ínum heilaga Magnúsi harðla vel svá sem fullkommum heilhuga ok skarrar samvísíku án allra grunsemá. En Hákon jarl hafí á þessu þíngi skreytt sína undirhyggju ok hult með skýi skröksemdar-innar, því at þetta sáttað hafí hann górt með flærð ok prettum ok fullum svíkum, sem síðan reyndist...

(This chapter closes [362/21ff.] with a comparison of Magnús to the "grape in the winepress", a simile usually applied to the crucified Christ. Cf., e.g., the stanza, "Tveirr hygg ek at ber bæri", attributed to Nikulás of Æverá in 'Óláf Hvításkáld's Málkróðsfraði. See discussions by G. Turville-Petre, Origins of Icelandic Literature, 161; W. Lange, Studien zur Christlichen Dichtung der Nordgermanen... [1958], 77f.; J.W. Marchand, "Two Christian Skaldic Fragments", ANF 91 [1976], 138-152.)

70. The antagonism of "human" and "divine" eloquence was, of course, a matter of grave concern to Christian writers of antiquity and the middle ages. The early Christian repugnance for verbositas without veritas is perhaps given its most forceful expression in Augustine’s Confessions (cf. III. 3.6 - 5.9; IV. 2.2; V. 13.23;
VI. 4.5 - 6; VIII. 2.5); but a general mistrust of seductive eloquence persisted throughout the middle ages. See, e.g., H. Caplan, "Classical Rhetoric and the Medieval Theory of Preaching", Classical Philology 28 (1933), 80-81; R. McKeon, "Rhetoric in the Middle Ages", Speculum 17 (1942), 8ff., 12ff.; and above, p. 68, n. 47.

71. Fagrmæle, cf., e.g.:

Stathom. 13/18-24 ("Nativitas sancti Johannis baptiste"): 

\( \text{Þa urpo missatter brœðr tueir oc konungar at nafne. Herodes oc phillippus syner herodis þess er bornum lét fara. hafþe herodis veita kono bróþor síns frá honom. Bar hann fagrmæle sípan a ioan. sagþe ioan at eongom maNe være lofát at hafa bróþor kono sína. Þa let herodes taka ioan oc setia i myrkvastuf.} \)

Barl. 23/33 - 24/4 (the temptation of Eve): Ps. Ioh. Dam. 17/34-37:

\( \text{Til þessa fann hann ser meó flærð ok prettum slika vel. Hann bað ormenn er slegare var oc pretvisare en ekkj annat kuðkuuñndi. at hann skyldi meó fagrmælom svikia Evo...} \)

Strengleikar, "Equitan",

72/22-24:

\( \text{Undir fagrmæle bunir at blækkia Þa hovum ver marga sêna...} \)

Elís s. ok Rosamaud, ed. E. Kölbing (1881, rpt. 1971), 106/10-13:

\( \text{Ek hygg, kuáð hann, at Maghur se mer nockot ræiðr, Þa er hann þolði Malkabre at suikia mik; hann sendi til min æinn vandan mann, er bar a mik fals oc fagr máli...} \)

(No similar phrase is found in the corresponding laisse [LXIII] in Elie de St Gille, ed. G. Raynaud 1879. Cf., perhaps, the collocation fals ok flærð, discussed by E.S. Olszewska, "Alliterative Phrases in the Orinulum: Some Norse Parallels", English and Medieval Studies Presented to J.R.R. Tolkien on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday, ed. N. Davis and C.L. Wrenn [1962], 115-118.)

See also the account in Njáls saga of Þór Valgarðsson’s initial
efforts to ingratiate himself with the sons of Njáll (k. 108, Fr 12 [1954, rpt. 1971], 275/23-26):

Nókkuru síðar reið Mórör til Bergþórshváls ok fann pá Skarpheðin. Hann síði á mikit fagrmeli við pá, ok talaði hann dag allan ok kvezk við pá mart vilja eiga...

Bakmeli eða lygilegh fagrmeli is included among the sins deplored in chapter 28 of Hírðskrá (NGL II, 418/1-2). Cf., however, Hírðskrá 29 (421/2-4): "...ver goðu hofe faðryróðr, aigi ofmalogra nauðsynia laust, síðlar oc þo kuiklast r í lollum atfærðum þinum...".

One can perhaps compare Arne Rudskoger’s analysis of the semantic development of the English adjective, fair (Fair, Foul, Nice, Proper: A Contribution to the Study of Polysemeity [1952], 139):

...With det[erminant]s like promise and word there early arose a conflict between the positive and the negative aspect. Fair words might be sincerely meant, "gentle" or "delightful, agreeable", but they might as well be, and more often were, dissimulated, "specious, flattering". The two senses often appear side by side in the same text, and the reader has to go to the wider context to find out which aspect is meant. In the course of time the negative aspect seems to have got the upper hand.

Sléttmæle/ -mælge/ -yrði, etc., cf., e.g.:

Barl., 121/30-34:

Sem sa hinn vngi maðr oc hinn vitri hafðe høyrtt sua langa fortalu faður sins oc gírossam- lega til lytt allz þess er hann sagðe. þa fann hann giorlra. at þess slettyróði varo með myklu falsse oc fíanndans aegðiñ framflutt. er vm þat ligr iafnan at suikia með sléttmæle alla þa er til hans fortalu tøygiazt.
Archipresul vero... in suspicionem innox incidit.

Ibid., 164/28-30:
Margar í pesso likar ræðor tomar oc hegumlegar flutti fram sa hinn illzskufulli ellkarll oc villði sva firirkoma með sinum slettyróum við konongs son guðspíella tvr...

Ibid., 175/6-7:
...er slikt meir með slegð oc slettmælge fram flytiannde. en með afle oc akefð.

Thom.I, 196/16-23 (King Henry refuses to confirm with the kiss of peace his reconciliation with Archbishop Thomas):

Thomas erkibyskup sem hann heyrer konungenn slik oró i munne hava, grvner hann þegar at þau se meirr með glæsum frammeðró en fullum vilia... konungsens skaplynde kenner hann ok giorla, fyr ði gefr honum skilia, at slik orð ero ðíge sogð af fullum vilia. Fyr ði grunar hann þegar...at ðíge se vist at fullr vile fylge sliko slettmæl.

cf. Thóm. II, I. 448/5-7:
Thómas erkibyskup skilr essi orð, ok kennir þegar af kunnrí lund, at egi er brjóstíð bjart, þótt orðín fari slétta... and the characterization of Henry at Thóm.II, I.44/10-12:
Heinrekr konungr var vítr mrðr ok glöggr í allr grein þegar á ungum aldri, orðafagr ok, enn egi ljóss í skaplyndi...
(see also Thóm. II, II.236/12, slettmælgi Heinreks konungs)

Michaels s., HMS I, 711/35 - 712/2 (Antichrist):
...tekr þa mandom ok segiz Kristr vera, lyandi verolldina ymíssum hattum sinnar flerðar, lokkandi með fegiofum, leiðandi með slettm orðrokum...
Jón Helgason, The Arnamagnæan ms. 674 A 4to, Elucidarius, Manuscripta Islandica 4 (1957), xxxii, compares the description of the deceptive eloquence of Antichrist at Elucidarius
III. 33 -- Hauksbók 171/1-2, "suicr hann kenní menn með speiki oc melsku. þui at hann <kann> allar íprotter";
(LeFèvre, 453/8-10, "sapientia et incredibili eloquentia clerum obtinebit, quia omnes artes et omnem scripturam memoriter sciet) -- with the similar characterization of 'Óðinn in Ynglinga saga, k. 6, ÍF 26 (1941), 17/5-14, ". . . af honum námu þeir allar íprottarnar, þivist hann kunni fyrrst allar . . . hann talði svá snjalt ok slátt, at ollum, er á heyröu, þótti þat eina satt".

Cf. also Söderwall, s.v. slátt, adv., i. "glatt; vackert; vél", with reference inter alia to Erikskrónikan (ed. R. Pipping, S.F.S.S. 47 (1921)), 256-261:

   Ok talado for them yffrid slát
   ok sagdo at the villo haffuat til sáát
   Swa at folkunga lagdo thera vapn nid
   thy at biscop koll haffde sworet them frid
   Ok gingo til thera over ena aa
   ther loth them jérin hoffwod aff slaa

Cf. Ibid., 1070-83; 3696-7, "The wille han oss ekke wäll/ å huro slát han for oss thäll".

Hailvard Lie ("Studier i Heimskringlas Stil", NVAOS Hist.-Fil. Xl., 1936, No.5 [1937], 124) distinguishes between terms like fagr-mæli, orðaskreyting, orðaglæsa, sléttmæli, orðkræni used to refer to "det skinnende retoriske praktsytte... glätt-tungethet og munnrapphet", and the more sober forms of eloquence exemplified in the speeches in Heimskringla. Earlier in the same study (68), Lie draws attention to a passage illustrating the pejorative connotation of the terms sléttorór and sléttmæli in chapter 21 of Snorri's Magnússonasaga -- the mannjafnaór episode in which the brothers and bitter rivals Sigurðr Jórsalafari and Eysteinn compare their talents. When Eysteinn touches on his skill as a speaker, Sigurðr is quick to take advantage of his ambiguous choice of words (Heimskringla III,
Eysteinn konungr segir "...kann ek ok miklu betr til laga en þú, ok svá hvat sem vit skolum tala, em ek miklu sléttormi."  Sigurðr konungr svarar: "Vera kann, at þú hafir numit fleiri lögprettu, því at ek átta þá annat at starfa. En engi frýr þér sléttmælis, en hitt mæla margir, at þú sér eigi allfastórðr..."

Cf. also Vitae Patrum, HMS II, 358/14, blidimella eitr (Ibid., 358/23, venena blandimentorum).

72. It is interesting to compare R.W. Southern’s observation that it was precisely the ability to find new contexts for old ideas which characterized the "original genius" of the "twelfth-century renaissance" (Platonism, Scholastic method, and the School of Chartres. The Stenton Lectures, No. 12 [1978], 36):

The process of accumulation did not exclude the proper exercise of individual genius. This was displayed partly in sharpening and refining, but most creatively in perceiving connexions which had eluded previous observers. All the masters of this period had read and approved a sentence which they found in Horace:

Dixeris egregie notum si callida verbum

Reddiderit iunctura novum.

"You will have spoken well, if you make an old word new, by giving it a fresh context."  Substitute the word sententia for verbum and we have a perfect formulation of the kind of originality which was open to the masters of this period.
Plate 1:
*Peterborough Psalter*, 40v
(Sandler, *op. cit.*, 26, fig. 40).

Plate 2:
*Peterborough Psalter*, 33v (Sandler, *op. cit.*, 25, fig. 36).
Plate 3: Crucifixion panel (1447) from the predella of the Madonna del Pergolato of Giovanni Boccati (Giovanni di Pier Matteo); reproduced by Pietro Zampetti, La Pittura Marchigiana da Gentile a Raffaello (1970), pl. 63 (cf. Bulard, ch. 10, § 24, 135-136).
Plates 4 and 5:
Two panels painted c.1450 by Fra Angelico da Fiesole and his pupils for the sporo-telli of the Church de la Santissima Annunziata, Florence -- now in the Museo San Marco, Florence (reproduced by Bulard, planches XXVII, XXVIII cf. Ibid., ch. 10, § 25, pp. 138-139).
Plate 6: Two details from a Crucifixion mural (c. 1466) by Giovanni and Antonio Sparapane di Norcia in the Church of San Francesco, Toscanella (above, the unrepentant thief, Gestas; below, the good thief, Dysmas); drawing by Bulard, planche XVIII, cf. Ibid., ch. 10, § 7 bis, 124-125.
Plate 7:
Crucifixion mural (dated 1495) by Donato da Montorfano, in the refectory of the monastery of Santa Maria delle Grazie, Milan (reproduced by Bulard, planche XVIII; cf. Ibid., ch. 10, §8, 125-126).

Plate 8:
Detail of same (drawing by Bulard, planche XIX.1).
Chapter three:

Learned sententiae --
"dust in the wind".
Concerning proverbs N.F.S. Grundtvig observed generally, and (as one might expect) sententiously, "det skal man ei spørge Bøger men Bønder om"; the original and true anthologies of this material are the minds and tongues of the common people. From the time of Aristotle, however, the use of well-known proverbs and sententiae by public speakers was also recommended in rhetorical manuals. Aristotle demonstrated that familiar apothegms or γνώμης, if employed skilfully and sparingly, could make statements about particular subjects sound like general truths, and invest almost any argument with a serious, moral character. By Quintilian's day the proverbial phrase had become a favourite tool of Roman rhetoricians as well, as he emphasizes in introducing his discussion of the sententia — "a form of ornament which many regard as the chief, nay almost the sole adornment of oratory". Quintilian says that the word sententia was originally used to refer to what one "sensed" or felt in one's soul. He adds, however, that the word is properly used of familiar aphorisms, called sententiae because they resemble the decrees or resolutions of public bodies. Indeed, because the "sentences" manipulated by the public speakers and men of letters of Greek and Roman antiquity were usually not orally transmitted folk-proverbs but celebrated lines from "classic" curriculum authors, they may well have been used to give a piece of writing a stamp of respectability and authority. As E.R. Curtius remarks, the prudent author or orator would have taken care to learn by heart a fund of literary memorabilia, or to have access to a written collection:

In the antique poets there were hundreds and thousands of lines which put a psychological experience or a rule of life in the briefest form .... Such lines are "mnemonic verses". They are learned by heart; they are collected; they are arranged in alphabetical order that they may be ready to hand. Medieval litterati continued this process of selection and compilation, intermingling, as Curtius says, "antique and medieval booty" in their
florilegia and handbooks. Maxims and aphorisms, even "vulgar" ones, also found their way into schoolbooks as practice pieces for Latin translation and penmanship. Iver Kjør, in his article "Ordsprog", KLNM XII, 675, notes,

I skolen brugtes samlinger af o. fra folkesprogene med tilhørende lat. versioner (disse ofte metriske og ofte flere lat. til hvert vulgar-sproget o.) til indlæring af lat. (ordforråd, synonymik, grammatik, retorik) og livsvisdom.

Kjør makes the important point that while popular and "bookish" proverbs were distinguished in theory, both types are found interwoven in anthologies and, accordingly, in the writings of those who used them (Ibid., 674-675):

De middelalderlige o. er i vidt omfang fælleser. og må studeres under dette perspektiv .... Efter senantikt mønster skelned middelalderen mellem folkelige og lærde o. (proverbia rustica og voces sapientium), en distinktion, der vanskeligt kan opretholdes ved studium af periodens egne o. De bibelske og antikke o. vandrede fra lat. ud i folkesprogene, de folkelige o. ind i lat., og o. fra et folkesprog til et andet gennem lat. Periodens lat. skribenter benytter - i overensstemmelse med retorikkernes forskrifter - o. fra folkesprogene jævnside med det bibelske og antikke stof.

Medieval rhetorical manuals also continued to advocate the use of proverbia. Both Matthew of Vendôme and Geoffrey of Vinsauf recommend the citation of a proverb in the exordium of a literary work as one method of achieving an "artificial beginning", and include a number of illustrative "proverbs", mostly drawn from classical authors, in their treatises. Ernest Gallo, in his study, The Poetria Nova and Its Sources in Early Rhetorical Doctrine (1971), points out that the advice that one should begin a composition with a proverb is not found in classical rhetorical theory. He notes, however, that "the proverb often opens those forms of quasi-syllogistic proof known as the enthymeme and epicheireme, and like-
wise introduces a related form of discourse known as the *chria*, and that these three forms of discourse were developed in both the *artes dictaminis* and the *artes praedicandi*. Of the former, Gallo notes,

In the letter, the exordium often takes the form of a proverb or of a quotation from scripture. Guido Faba says that the letter-writer may begin with a proverb, and Conrad von Mure inserts a brief discussion of the proverb and the *chria* into his discussion of the *exordium* of the letter. However, theoretical discussions of the use of the proverb, enthymeme or *chria* are not frequently to be found in treatises on *dictamen*...

Gallo also shows that the instructions set forth in the *artes praedicandi* for introducing the theme of a scholastic sermon according to the "argumentative method" also resemble the views of Matthew and Geoffrey on the use of general maxims in the *exordium*. Robert of Basevorn, in his *Forma Praedicandi*, distinguishes four types of *introductio per argumentum*: by means of induction, example, syllogism, or enthymeme (*inductive, exemplariter, syllogistice, enthymematice*). In all of these methods the major premise tends to be either a general statement of a proverbial character or a proverb pure and simple. Similarly, John of Wales recommends the use of "aliquod vulgare proverbium" to introduce both the protheme and the theme of a sermon, and cites some sample vernacular proverbs in Latin translation.

The scholastic sermons discussed in the *artes praedicandi*, with their strict divisions into theme, protheme, introduction, division, subdivision, and discussion, represent a later and quite separate stage in the evolution of the sermon from that reflected in the looser compositions of the OWN Homily Books. It is, however, interesting to find at least one clear instance of the use of a proverb to introduce a sermon, in the Doomsday homily mentioned in the previous chapter, "Sermo ad populum ualde necessaria" (Nhom. 168/13-17):

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GU6s fri6r se ineó ollum yór b6e karlom ok conom. at
er atqv&óe norrnna manna at ervett er litium fugli
meó lamdum vëngium at hefia hótt sina flaug. Sva er ok
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The Sunday homily "Drottens daga mal" in Sthom. also opens with an alliterative sententia communis (25/11-16):

Sa es mikill vanbe veraldar at meira virpesc allt pat es sialdnar verpr. þó at til þess se miNe til qvama. en þat virpesc miNa es aupgatra es þó at þat se raúnar meira. Af þessom veraldar vanpa hever at orpet at mikill-hlute alþýþo virþa velflestar helgar tíþer. þer es siaaldrnR erro a tveim misserom framaR en drótteNs daga es a hverre viko erro haldner ...

The introductory phrase would appear to be a proverb of the type, "Omne quod est rarum, plerisque solet fore carum."17

At any rate, the opening lines of both of these sermons could without difficulty be called proverbia by the standard of medieval rhetorical manuals. For, as Ernest Gallo points out, the terms proverbium and sententia (regularly accompanied by the adjectives generalis and communis in the medieval handbooks18), could be used to refer to almost any "wise words" or memorable pronouncements:

Geoffrey's proverbium may be a proverb in the modern sense: e.g., "The more a thing is wished for, the more it evades us." (Poetria Nova 181); but generally the proverbium in Geoffrey is any sententious, general statement:

"Hatred is most vile, a quite deadly poison." (Poetria Nova 186)
"That law is just which pays deceit with sorrow." (Poetria Nova 191).19

Similarly, D.V. Ives, in an article on the use of proverbs in the Ancrene Wisse, notes,

Under the term "proverb" the mediaeval writer himself would doubtless have included all quotations from the Scriptures and from the Fathers, for the term proverbium seems to have been used in the Middle Ages to denote any quotation from a patristic or classical authority. 20

Indeed, the authors of the Old Scandinavian homilies, when they wished to make use of a general proverb to bolster an argument, could, like
sermonists elsewhere, draw not only on a fund of native saws, but on another store of sententiae — those culled from the writings of the Church Fathers.

In the first chapter of his *Summa de arte praedicatoria*, Alan of Lille says (PL 210, 113B):

In sententiis vero debet habere praedicationis pondus, ut virtute sententiarum animos auditorum emolliat, excitet mentem, pariat contritionem, compluat doctrinis, tonet minis, blandiatur promissoribus, et ita tota tendat ad utilitatem proximorum.

The meaning of the term sententia here is rather vague. Alan may simply be saying that a sermon should have some substance, or that the sermonist should make use of apt scriptural citations. It is more likely, however, that Alan is thinking here of the sort of excerpts which might be found in a preacher's florilegium. Such compilations differed according to the purposes of their authors, as H.M. Rochais has pointed out:

Les buts poursuivis par les compilateurs sont divers. Ils visent à commenter l'Écriture: chaînes exégétiques; à manifester ou à défendre une vérité théologique: florilèges dogmatiques ou apologétiques; à fournir des textes pour les cérémonies du culte: recueils liturgiques; à munir de citations ou d'exemples les prédicateurs: sentenciaires homiletiques ...

Among these were also the collections of devotional commonplaces and moral axioms whose influence on Old English and Old West Norse homilies has been examined by Joan Turville-Petre. These handbooks were, as Turville-Petre notes,

... manuals of a humble practical kind, supplying simple definitions and illustrative passages from the Fathers. These were the florilegia of the type known as "ascetic", which assembled moral and penitential extracts and formulations of Christian duty. This channel transmitted fragments of the learning of Jerome, Augustine, Cassian and Gregory; excerpts from the homilies of Caesarius and of obscurer
preachers such as "Eusebius Gallicanus" were included; and the encyclopedic works of Isidore were extensively used, particularly his Synonyma and Sententiae. From such sources the teacher composed his manual, and the preacher illustrated the instructions to his flock.

Rochais, in his article, "Contribution a l'Histoire des Florilèges Ascetiques du Haut Moyen Âge Latin", lists over forty such collections of extracts (some of them available in modern editions, most still unpublished), many of which circulated widely throughout the middle ages. Prominent among these were Isidore's Sententiae (which Rochais calls "chef de file aux florilèges ascétiques latins" because it served as both model and source for many later collections), the Liber Scintillarum of Defensor of Ligugé, the Liber Exhortationis of Paulinus of Aquileia (based in part on the Admonitio ad filium spiritalem attributed to Saint Basil), Alcuin's Liber de Virtutibus et Vitiis, the Penitential of Halitgar of Cambrai (the first two books of which are a patristic florilegium), and the Diadema monachorum of Smaragdus of Saint-Mihiel.

Turville-Petre has shown how works such as these were systematically plundered by preachers, and how, at times, whole sermons were manufactured by weaving together commonplaces and citations from earlier writings. Such compositions could reasonably be regarded as small florilegia in themselves, but commonplace manuals often played a role in the composition of less complex mosaics as well. Jean Leclercq has argued that florilegia were especially important to the monastic writer. By contrast with the libri sententiarum of the urban schools, in which, Leclercq says, quotations from the Fathers, councils and the classics were combined to serve as "a veritable arsenal of auctoritates", the monastic florilegia ... grew out of spiritual reading. The monk would copy out texts he had enjoyed so as to savor them at leisure and use them anew as subjects for private meditation. The monastic florilegium not only originated in the monk's spiritual reading but always remained closely associated with it.
Through the habitual contemplation of certain favourite texts, a writer could appropriate for his own use, and, as it were, "make his own" whole phrases, lines, even entire passages from patristic authors. Leclercq observes, for instance, that in some of the writings of the Benedictine mystic John of Fécamp († 1078),

... it is difficult to detect what is original and what comes from the Fathers. The truth is that everything is his and, at one and the same time, everything is the Fathers'. He said himself: Dicta mea, dicta Patrum.32

In fact, it would not be untrue to say that this could have been the motto of the vast majority of religious writers of the later Middle Ages. The penitential homily examined by Joan Turville-Petre, which is literally a cento of patristic commonplaces, is an extreme example of this sentiment put into practice; but the dicta Patrum could also be manipulated in more humble ways. A single citation from a patristic author could easily become associated with a particular topic and circulate independently as a kind of "patristic proverb". There is an interesting example of the use of one such phrase, isolated from its original context, in one of the many exhortatory sermons in Sthom. whose sources have not yet been thoroughly investigated.

Sthom. 208/1-215/17 is a somewhat rambling sermon which touches on a wide variety of topics: the power of the Holy Spirit, the importance of resisting temptation, Man's service to God, his exile from heaven, the virtues of faith and hope, love of the Creator and of one's neighbour, the perils of evil thoughts, intemperate speech, and numerous other sins and malpractices -- pride, envy, disobedience, gluttony, drunkenness, lechery, wrath, impatience, vain worldly tristitia, backbiting, and lewdness. Not content to speak in generalities, this sermonist makes special mention of incontinence as the favourite vice of his own countrymen (nor do the failings of his Norwegian neighbours escape mention, 212/35-38):
Among this great multitude of sins, the preacher also deplores the behaviour of those who do good works only in the hope of receiving praise or payment. This, he says, will not save them from God's judgement (212/24-31):


This expressive figure also occurs in Nhom., in the translation of Alcuin's Liber de Virtutibus et Vitiis, chapter 10, "De humilitate":

Nhom. 8/33-9/6, "Vmm litillête"

PL 101, 620B
Quantum quis humilior erit de seipso, tanto major erit in conspectu Dei. Superbus vero quanto gloriosior apparret inter homines, tanto dejectior erit ante Deum. Qui enim sine humilitate bona opera agit, in ventum pulverem portat. Quid superbì terra et cinis, dum vento superbìs dispersit, quod jejuniis et elemosynis congregare videtur?

And a similar turn of phrase is found in chapter 25 of the same work:
The lines from the Stohm. sermon cited above would seem to borrow ideas from both of these passages. The reminiscence of Matthew 6:2-18 in the Icelandic homily corresponds more closely to Alc. VV, cap. 25:

Stohm. 212/26-29

... þeir es þat vilia hafa fyr verc sín göp. þeir hafa tekna sambon þá es þeir mono. Marger men gera verc göp. oc bera fram mikit meínlaête. [fostom oc í bønøm fyr monnom oc vilia þat lofát láta vera af monnom ...]

Nhom. 23/29-24/2

þvi málte drotten síalfr umm noccora þa er olmoso gera eða bøner eða fastur. at þeir take lof af monnum. [Satt segi ek yór, tóku þeir verkaup sitt. Sá er til þess gerir, hvatki er hann vinnr göz, at hann lofisk af monnum] þa er þat værcchaup hans er hann leitaðe. ok man hann sinnigrar ombunar vêta af guði. þvi at hann gerði sigi gott fyrri hans æst. heldr fyrir toma rósne manlags lofs ... Sa maðr er syniz gera gott. ok ginnisc hann at lica fyrri þat heldr monnum en guði. til onyzt starfær hann. ok sár hann í vindi.34

The reference to "bearing dust in the wind" in Alc. VV cap. 10 offers, however, a more striking parallel with the phrase, "þeir berá dust í viNðe", in the Icelandic sermon than does the "sowing" figure used in Alc. VV cap. 25. It is easiest to examine the background of each of these passages from Alcuin's treatise separately, beginning with chapter 10 and the phrase, "in ventum pulvere portat".

PL 101, 631D-632A, "De humana laude non quarenda": Ideo ipse Dominus dixit de quibusdam, qui eleemosynas faciunt, vel orationes et jejunia, ut ab hominibus laudem accipiant: Amen dico vobis, receperunt mercedem suam (Matth. VI, 2). Qui pro eo bonum quodlibet facit, ut ab hominibus laudetur, hoc est merces illius quam quasivit, et nullam a Deo sperare habet retributionem; quia pro ejus amore non facit, sed pro vana humana laudis jactantia ...

Qui bona agere videtur, et per hoc non Deo sed hominibus placere cupit, in vanum laborat, et in ventum semenat.
The editor of Alc. VV in PL 101, Frobenius Forster (Ratisbon, 1777), notes that this chapter "pars est sermonis 297 S. Aug.". The Maurist editors of the text to which Forster refers, Ps. Augustine sermo 297, "De Humilitate et Timore Domini" (PL 39, 2313-15, sec. 1, cf. esp. 23/4A), assume, however, that Alcuin is the source for most of the sermon rather than vice versa. Luitpold Wallach has argued convincingly that this assumption is incorrect, and that many of the pseudo-Augustinian homilies predate Alcuin's treatise and were used by him as sources. The comparison of beneficence without humility to "bearing dust in the wind" is, however, older than both Alcuin and the sermons in the Appendix Augustini.

The phrase, "in ventum pulverem portat", is used twice by Gregory the Great with reference to the sin of vainglory. In his seventh homily on the gospels, "Dominica quarta in adventu Domini" on John 1:19-28, two citations from the Book of Samuel -- I Sam. 15:17, "Nonne cum parvulus esses in oculis tuis, caput te constitui in tribubus Israel?", and II Sam. 6:22, "Ludam et vilior fiam plus quam factus sum, et ero humilis in oculis meis." -- prompt the following comment (PL 76, 1103A):

... Si ergo sancti viri etiam cum agunt fortia, de semetipsis vilia sentiunt, quid in sua excusacione dicturi sunt qui sine opere virtutis intumescent? Sed etsi quilibet bona adsint opera, nulla sunt, nisi ex humilitate condiantur. Miranda quippe actio cum elatione non elevat, sed gravat. Qui enim sine humilitate virtutes congregat, in ventum pulverem portat; et unde aliquid ferre cernitur, inde deterius cacatur.

Again, in his commentary on the Penitential Psalms, discussing Psalm 37:3, Gregory emphasizes that both chastity without humility and humility without chastity are unacceptable to God (PL 79, 569B-C):

... Una enim virtus sine altera, aut omnino nulla est, aut minima. Si enim aut castitatem humilitas deserat, vel humilitatem castitas derelinquit, cum Deus detestetur tam superbiam, quam immunditiam, quomodo oculis ejus accepta erit castitas elata, vel humilitas immunda? Non enim bona accepta sunt Deo,
que malorum administione maculantur; quia modicum fermentum
totam massam corrumpit (I Cor. V, 6); et qui in uno offendit,
multa bona perdit; et qui sine humilitate virtutes congregat,
quasi in ventum pulverem portat.

Although this particular turn of phrase seems to be of Gregory's own
devising, the use of this sort of imagery to describe vain speech or
futile activity is, of course, no innovation. Many examples of similar
metaphors can be found in classical Latin literature:

... sed mulier cupido quod dicit amanti,
in uento et rapida scribere oportet aqua.

Lucretius, *De Rerum Natura*, ed. J. Martin (Leipzig, 1963), IV, 929-31
Sed quibus hac rebus novitas confiat, et unde
perturbari anima et corpus languescere possit,
expediam: tu fac ne ventis verba profundam.

lentus es, an somnus, qui te male perdat, amantis
uerba dat in uentos aure repulsa tua? 39

But closer analogues for Gregory's phrase are found in certain scriptural
verses:

Psalm 1:4-5  Non sic impii, non sic;
Sed tanquam pulvis quem proiicit ventus a
facie terrae.
Ideo non resurgent impii in iudicio,
Neque peccatores in concilio iustorum

Psalm 17:43  Et comminuam eos ut pulverem ante faciem venti;
Ut lutum plateau delebo eos. 40

Psalm 34:5  Fiant tanquam pulvis ante faciem venti,
Et angelus Domini coarctans eos.

Wisdom 5:15  Quoniam spes impii tanquam lanugo est quae
a vento tollitur,
Et tanquam spuma gracilis quae a procella
dispergitur,
Et tanquam fumus qui a vento diffusus est ...

Isaiah 17:13  Sonabunt populi sicut sonitus aquarum inundantium,
Et increpabit eum, et fugiet procul;
Et rapietur sicut pulvis montium a facie venti,
Et sicut turbo coram tempestate.
The "dust in the wind" metaphor also recalls a series of biblical verses in which man is reminded of his humble origins in the earth to which he must at last return:

- **Genesis 3:19** ... quia pulvis es et in pulverem reverteris.  
- **Psalm 102:14** Quoniam ipse cognovit figmentum nostrum; 
  Recordatus est quoniam pulvis sumus.  
- **Psalm 145:4** Exibit spiritus eius, et revertetur in terram suam; 
  In illa die peribunt omnes cogitationes eorum.  
- **Ecclesiastes 5:14-15** Sicut egressus est nudus de utero matris suae, sic revertetur, 
  Et nihil auferet secum de labore suo. 
  Miserabilis prorsus infirmitas: 
  Quomodo venit, sic revertetur. 
  Quid ergo prodest ei quod laboravit in ventum?  
- **Wisdom 2:3** Qua extincta, cinis erit corpus nostrum, 
  Et spiritus diffundetur tanquam mollis aer; 
  Et transibit vita nostra tanquam vestigium pubis:  
- **Ecclesiasticus 10:9** Quid superbit terra et cinis?

The origins of the phrase cited from Aic. VV cap. 25, "Qui bona agere videtur, et per hac non Deo, sed hominibus placere cupit, in vanum laborat, et in ventum seminat", are somewhat more vague. The passage is reduplicated in Defensor's *Liber Scintillarum*, cap. 20, "De vana gloria" (ed. H.-M. Rochais, CCSL 117 [1957], 93''), where it is attributed to Gregory. The image of "sowing in the wind" is, however, omitted by Defensor:

17. **GREGORIVS DIXIT:** Sancti non solum gloriam supra modum suum omnino non appetunt sed eciam hoc ipsut refugiunt quod sese habere sciunt.

18. **Tunc ueeraciter hic [sic] quod agit homo bonum est, quando ei coplacere concupiscit ha quo est. Qui bona agere uidetur, et per hoc non Deo, sed hominibus, placere desiderat, in uanum laborat.**

Rochais identifies the source for section 18 as a passage in one of Gregory's *Homiliae in Ezechielem* (I.4.4, PL 76, 817A), where he comments on Ezechiel 1:11, "Et facies eorum et pennae eorum extentae desuper":

...
Facies et penna extensae desuper describuntur, quia omnis intentio omnisque contemplatio sanctorum super se tendit, ut illud possit adipisci quod in celestibus appetit. Sive enim bono operi, sive vero invigilet contemplationi, tunc veraciter hoc quod agit bonum est, quando ei complacere concupiscit a quo est. Nam qui bona agere videtur, et per hoc non Deo, sed hominibus placere desiderat, intentionis suæ faciem deorsum premit.

The phrase, "in ventum seminat", would appear therefore to be Alcuin's own addition, possibly influenced by a reminiscence of Hosea 8:7, "Qui ventum seminabunt, Et turbinem metent."

The "dust in the wind" metaphor enjoyed a considerable popularity in the middle ages, finding its way into a variety of texts and contexts, either directly from Gregory or through Alcuin or some other intermediary. Defensor includes the phrase in his Liber Scintillarum, but attributes it to Isidore (CCSL 117, 20, cap. 4,35):

**HISIDORUS DIXIT**: Qui enim sine humilitatem [sic] virtutis [sic] congregat, in uento puluerem portat.

The passage from Gregory's Advent homily in which the formula first occurs was also included in Paterius' Liber Testimoniorum (a collection of excerpts from Gregory's works arranged according to scriptural citations) under I Reg. XV, 17 (PL 79, 792 B-C).46 Here are some other witnesses which give an idea of the popularity of Gregory's proverbium:

**Rabanus Maurus** († 856), Homiliae, 54 "De Timore Dei et Vera Humilitate" (based on Alcuin, De Virtutibus et Vitiis, chapters 10 and 1547), PL 110, 100B:

Quanto quis humilior erit de seipso, tanto major erit in conspectu Dei: superbus vero quanto gloriosior apparat inter homines, tanto dejectior erit ante Deum. Qui enim sine humilitate bona opera agit, in ventum puluerem portat.

**Belgaldus** (of Fleury-sur-Loire, eleventh century), Epitoma Vita Regis Roberti Pii, PL 141, 916:

Is quippe rex Deo dilectus Robertus semper meminit sanctæ legis, quia memor fuit operis Dei in omnibus visis. Sciebat etenim scriptum: "Scientia, virtus; custos virtutis,
humilitas sancta." Et illud beati pape Gregorii: "Qui sine humilitate virtutes congregat, quasi in ventum pulverem portat."

Legerat quod dixerat quidam ex Patribus: "Omnis labor sine humilitate vanus est; humilitatis signum dat regnum coelorum."

Distinctiones Monasticae, s.v. Puluis, ed. A. Wilmart, "Un Répertoire d'Exégèse composé en Angleterre vers le début du XIII siècle", Mémorial Lagrange (1940), 330/35-37:

Puluis, quia oculum turbat, uidetur superbiam significare uel inanem gloriam, unde beatus Gregorius: "Qui sine humilitate virtutes congregat quasi qui in uento puluerem portat."

Vices and Virtues ... A Middle-English Dialogue of about 1200, ed. F. Holthusen, E.E.T.S., O.S. 89 & 159 (1888), 47/23-49/1 (preamble to discussion of humility):
... Nu me cump on ianke an forbisne þe sanctus Gregorius us seió: Qui virtutes sine humilitate congregat, quasi in uento puluerem portat, "Se de gadereó mihtes wiôuten eadmodnesse," he seió, "he is ilich ðo manne ðe berð dust amidewarde ðe winde."

Ancrene Wisse (c. 1200), ed. J.R.R. Tolkien, E.E.T.S., O.S. 249 (1962), 143/11-144/19:
O þis wise eadmodieð & meokið ow seoluen. Bernardus. Superbia est appetitus propriæ excellencæ. Humilitas contemptus eiusdem. Þe alswa as prude is wilnunge of wurðschipe. riht alswa þer toȝeines. eadmodnesse is forkeastunge of wurðschipe. & luue of lutel hereword & of lahnesse. þis þeaw is alre þeawene moder. & streoneð ham alle. þe is umben wið uten hire to gederin gode þeawes. he bereó dust i þe wind as sein gregoire seió. Qui sine humilitate virtutes congregat. quasi qui in uento puluerem portat.

Speculum Gy de Warewyke (c. 1300), ed. G.L. Morrill, E.E.T.S., E.S. 75 (1898), 11. 657-678:
Ac, if þu coubest knowe and se þe vertu of humilite, For noþing þu noldest shone, Ac hit sholde euere wid þe wone:
Off alle vertuz it is hext,
And godes wille it is next.
Sein Gregory herof bere witnes,
Dat muchel spekeb of sopenes:
Qui sine humilitate uirtutes ceteras conregat, est quasi,
qui in vento puluerem portat.
Man, boh bu do muchel god,
But boh be meke and bolemod,
Sein Gregory seib, bat holi clerk,
Dat muchel on ydel is bat wer.
Hit fareb bi swiche, as we finde,
As who-so bereb poudre in grete winde;
For, bere he neuere so muche,
Hit flep awaye ful lihtliche.
Off man hit fareb riht so,
For, gode dedes boh he do,
Many and fele in vch a side,
Per may non wid him abide
Bute he haue humilite,
Awaye peih wolen fro him fle.49

Gesta Romanorum (c. 1450), ed. S.J.H. Herrtage, E.E.T.S., E.S. 33 (1879), 41-42:
... Also the kyng had not with him his fader, neither his moder;
by the fadir, that is cause of oure generacion, is vndirstond
mekenesse or humilite, withoure which perre abideth no vertue
in a man; as seith Seint Gregory, Siquis ceteras virtutes sine
humilitate portat, quasi in ventum portat [sic], This is, who so ever
bat berith othir vertues withoute humilite, he berith hem as in
to be wynde, or as men berith poudir in be wynde.50

It is not unlikely that the model for the "dust in the wind" phrase
in Sthom. 208/1-215/17 was chapter 10 of Alc. VV (possibly even a
vernacular translation of this work).51 But the author of the Icelandic
sermon may also have had access to a Gregorian florilegium of some kind.
He makes use of a passage from Book Four of the Dialogues, on the allegory
of the cave and the three types of souls created by God.52 And Karel
Vrátý pointed out that the discussion of Matthew 24:20 at Sthom. 215/1ff.
is based on part of Gregory's twelfth homily In Evangelia.53 Rochais
notes that many medieval commonplace books were compiled from the works
of a single author, and prominent among these were collections of
Gregorian "sentences":

En la littérature chrétienne, ce sont surtout Augustin et Grégoire
qu’utilisent les compilations de ce genre. Généralement
le premier a servi de source à des florilèges de caractère
plutôt dogmatique ou apologétique, le second à des recueils
ascétiques ... Quand on sait, de plus, que les sentences
d’Isidore -- si souvent pillées elles aussi -- ne sont qu’un
démarquage de Grégoire, on mesure l’importance qu’il faut
attacher à l’étude des œuvres du grand Pape pour une meilleure
intelligence des florilèges ascétiques du moyen âge. 54

However, even if the snippets from Gregory used by this homilist
were familiar to him from a Gregorian florilegium (and about this one can
only speculate), his "citations" may be not so much transcriptions from
the written page as reminiscences of a favourite text, fixed in his mind
through habitual reading and meditation. In the dedicatory epistle to his
Liber de Virtutibus et Vitiis, Alcuin asks Count Guido to "reread often"
and even to commit to memory select passages from his treatise:

Nhom. 1/12-14, 18-20
En ec scyrŏa scipan þessa mals
sēr-hverium upphafum til þes at
min mál mege auðvallega festasc
i minningu yðarrar goðfysí ...
... Sva sem þu batt mic vandlega
mildrar kenningar. sva bið ec
þic at þu later þer söma at lesa
oft ba hina samu kenning.

A Scandinavian reader of Alcuin’s handbook, or of a similar "sententiary",
would undoubtedly have followed this advice too -- "Cotidie lecitare et
lecta frequenter in corde revolvere," in the words of John of Fécamp. 56

Jean Leclercq has considered the background and the consequences of this
approach to study:

The monks, trained to the life of prayer by the liturgy in
which the Church tirelessly repeats the same formulas, the
same one hundred and fifty Psalms, could, without taking
them for granted, read and reread the most beautiful pages
of the Bible and of the Fathers. The florilegia, in which
reading and prayer became as one, provided the best possible
means for the kind of meditation closest to their hearts, a
means completely devoid of any method. Consequently it is understandable that generations of contemplatives looked upon them as their staff of life, and copied them over endlessly, scarcely ever knowing whose writings they were. They were no longer the sayings of this or that author; they were the anonymous pronouncements of the Fathers of the Church: dicta Patrum.

The early Icelandic homilists strove to make them dicta Islandorum as well.


4. Quintilian VIII, v, 1: "Sententiam veteres, quod animo sensissent, vocaverunt." Cf. Isidore of Seville, Etymologiae (ed. W.M. Lindsay, 1911), XI, i, 13: "Nam inde animus sensus dicitur pro his quae sentit, unde et sententia nomen accepit."

5. Quintilian, VIII, v, 3: "...nomen ex eo acceperunt, quod similes sunt consiliis aut decretis."

6. On the habit of choosing "sentences" from great authors see, e.g., Rhetorica Ad Herennium IV, iv, 7.

8. Ibid., 59. Hans Walther's massive collection of *Lateinische Sprichwörter und Sentenzen des Mittelalters* (*Carmina Medii Aevi Posterioris Latina, II* [1963-]) is an impressive testimony to the medieval enthusiasm for proverbs and pithy sayings.


10. On the fusion of classical and scriptural traditions in medieval proverb-lore see, e.g., Archer Taylor, *The Proverb* (1931, rpt. 1962), 60-61: "...Such authorities, the Bible, the classical poet, and the Church Father, contributed to the success of the proverb, and he would be brave indeed who would endeavour to assign to each his proper share."

Cf. Nicholas Orme, *English Schools in the Middle Ages* (1973) 98-100, 107, 109, 110, 250 (on the juxtaposition of local proverbs and classical citations in the elementary *vulgaria*). See also F. Seiler, *Deutsche Sprichwörterkunde*, Handbuch des deutschen Unterrichts an höheren Schulen IV, 3 (1922), 23, 68f., 77ff.


    Processionе generalis sententiae sive proverbiī. Ut aliquis utatur zeumaticо principio vel secundum ipozeusim, praetermittendum est generale proverbium, id est communis sententia, cui consuetudo fidem attribuit, opinio communis assensum accommodat, incorruptae veritatis integritas adquiescit.
Geoffrey of Vinsauf, Poetria Nova (composed between 1208 and 1213), 126ff., ed. and trans. E. Gallo, op. cit., 20-21:

Si pars prima velit majus diffundere If you should wish the
lumen,
Thematis intacta serie, sententia greater light without dis-
sumpta
turb ing the natural order
Ad speciale nihil declinet, sed of the theme, let the senti-
caput edat
tment you begin with not sink
Altius ad quoddam generale... to any particular statement
but rather raise its head
to a general pronouncement.

See also Geoffrey's Documentum de arte versificandi I,7 (Faral, 266), II,1,5ff. (Faral, 269ff.). Gallo notes (139, n.21) that Matthew passed the notion of using a proverb in the introduction on to Eberhard the German (Laborintus, 293-298, Faral, 347), and Geoffrey transmitted the same idea to John of Garland (Poetria, see Giovanni Mari, "Poetria magistri Johannis anglici de arte prosayca metrica et rithmica," Romanische Forschungen XIII [1902], 905-906).

See also Faral, 58f.

12. Gallo, 140. See Ibid. 140-150 passim. The enthymeme is an abbreviated syllogism of which the "major premise" is often a proverb. Gallo gives the following example from Aristotle's Rhetoric (trans. Roberts, 1394b/1-7): "There is no man in all things prosperous" is a maxim; but, if followed by the phrase, "For all are slaves of money or of chance", it becomes the major premise of an enthymeme.

Gallo cites an illustration of the epicheireme from Cicero's De Inventione I. 58-59:

The epicheireme is an enthymeme expanded into an explicitly syllogistic form in which both the major and the minor premises are proven by supporting reasons. The epicheireme
thus consists of five parts:

Major: Things that are done by design are managed better than those which are governed without design.

Reason: The house that is managed in accordance with a reasoned plan, is in every respect better equipped and furnished than one which is governed in a haphazard way with total lack of design.

Minor: Of all things, none is better governed than the universe.

Reason: For the risings and the settings of the constellations keep a fixed order.

Conclusion: Therefore the universe is administered by design.

Gallo observes (142, n. 26), "Notice that the major is proverb-like, and that the reason supporting the major is an example."

A convenient summary of the relationship between the sententia and the chria is provided by Isidore of Seville (Etymologiae II, xi, 2). While the former is simply a general statement, the latter substantiates such a statement by referring to a particular situation involving a particular person:

Sententia est dictum impersonale, ut (Ter. Andr. 68):

Obsequium amicos, veritas odium parit.

Hui si persona fuerit adiecta, chria erit, ita: "offendit Achilles Agamemnonem vera dicendo", "Metrophanes promeruit gratiam Mithridatis obsequendo." Nam inter chriam et sententiam hos interest, quod sententia sine persona profertur, chria sine persona nunquam dicitur. Vnde si sententiae persona adiciatur fit chria; si detrahatur, fit sententia.

13. See Gallo, 144 and refs. Cf., however, C.S. Baldwin, Medieval Rhetoric and Poetic to 1400 (1928, rpt. 1959), 191-2, on John of
Garland's unbridled enthusiasm for the use of proverbs in letter-writing. James Murphy (Rhetoric in the Middle Ages [1974], 234), suggests that disagreements in the manuals on dictamen concerning the use of the proverb perhaps arose because "the theory of proverbs in the medieval ars dictaminis is one that was of only tangential interest to the theorist and for that reason did not receive complete development". He adds, however (234-235), that "the exordial position of proverbia in letters was clearly established by the early thirteenth century, and very little theoretical discussion was devoted to the subject after that". He also notes that collections of proverbs often circulated in association with some of the ars dictaminis (the Candelabrum of Bene of Florence, for instance, contains 171 proverbs). See further C.H. Haskins, "The Life of Medieval Students as Illustrated by their Letters", American Historical Review 3 (1898), 204; s.a., The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century (1927, rpt., 1976), 143-144; W.A. Pantin, "A Medieval Treatise on Letter-writing, with examples, from the Rylands Latin Ms. 394", Bulletin of the John Rylands Library 13 (1929), 326-82; Bjarne Berulfsen, Kulturtradisjon fra en Storhetstid (1948), 116ff.


15. See Gallo, 145-146; Charland, 143-144. Thus, for instance, to introduce the theme "for those who love God all things work together for the good" by enthymeme, one might argue a contrario from an antithetical proverb:

For those who hate God, all things work together toward ill. Therefore, for those who love God, all things work together for the good. (See Gallo, 146; Charland, 144 and 271.)


It is also interesting to compare Páls saga biskups, k.14, Bisk. I, 140/10-13:

Páll biskup lét sjaldan, nema þá er hátför væri, kenna kenningar hjá því sem áör var, ok virði hann þá enn öllum meira um vera, at sjaldan næi; en hann lét náliga hvern helgan dag tvær messur syngja...

18. Gallo, for instance (140, n. 22), notes that "Geoffrey refers to the proverb as commune (*Poetria Nova* 185) and generale (180)". Cf. Matthew of Vendome, *Ars Versificatoria*, I.16, cit. above, n.11.
19. Gallo, 140.


...solent etenim in tractatibus evangeliorum sententiam de Veteri Testamento adhibita auditores reddere magis intentos...

and Alan's own "Lectulum Salomonis" (ed. Marie-Thérèse d'Alverny, Alain de Lille: Textes Inédits [1965], 283),

Lectulus floridus est sacra Scriptura, que quasi florum referta fraglantia [sic] diversarum sententiarum respirat aromata, in quo velud in lecto conuiuii rex regum epulatur, dum per eum fidelis populus sententiarum ferculis saginatur.

Cf. the analogous use of OWN atkvæði at, e.g., Nhom. 6/20-22 (Alc. VV, PL 101, 618C), following a citation of Matt. 6:14:

...Detta atkvæði drottens liðar ...Hæc vero domini sententia myccla miscunn yfir oss. þeim er magnam super nos misericor- þat scilia retlega... diam sonat his qui intelligere possunt.

See too Marlu saga, 22/19-22:

En í fyrsta versi í Magnificat þá mæliti Maria drottning svá: Miclar þóð món dróttin. Þetta atkvæði eða orótak guðs móður Marie er af mörgum minnr íhugat, en snílld ritningarinnar skylldar framburðarmanninn til at skýra...

For a general discussion of the wide range of meanings of the term sententia see C.S. Lewis, Studies in Words (2nd ed., 1967), 138ff. On the exegetical differentiation of littera (the meaning of the individual word), sensus (the superficial meaning of the text of which it forms a part), and sententia (the deeper meaning of the whole), see below n.29.
22. Harry Caplan ("Rhetorical Invention in Some Mediaeval Tractates on Preaching", Speculum 2 [1927], 291) reminds us that among his other works Alan himself wrote "a Summa quo modis, a preacher's dictionary, and a Liber Sententiarum, a book of aphorisms" (see PL 210, 229-253).


25. "Sources...", 171. On the transmission of sources for Nhom. and Sthom. through florilegia cf. Walter, Lex. Lehn., 16-17:


Cf., e.g., the practice of Bishop Guðmundr Arason (Saga Guðmundar... hin elzta, k.14, Bisk. I, 431/8-10): "Hann skoðaðe ok rannzsakaðe bêkr manna þar sem hann kom, ok hende af hvers bökum þat er hann hafðe eige áðr."

27. Ibid., 250.

28. Ibid., 250-253.

29. In her article, "Translations of a Lost Penitential Homily", she was able to reconstruct a putative Latin original for three closely related vernacular sermons -- Vercelli Homily 3 (ed. M. Förster, Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa XII [1932], 53-71), Sthom. 61/1-64/16, and Homily 6 in Ms. Bodley 343 (ed. A.O. Belfour, E.E.T.S., O.S. 137, 50-58) -- by drawing solely on commonplace material available in popular doctrinal handbooks. The Latin sermon itself has since been discovered and edited by Helen L. Spencer, "Vernacular and Latin Versions of a Sermon for Lent: 'A Lost Penitential Homily' Found", MS 44 (1982), 271-305.

Even Ælfric of Eynsham, whose "careful compositions," Turville-Petre observes, "evidently superseded the scrapbook methods of less scholarly predecessors" ("Sources...", 172), could draw on as many as five patristic sources in composing a single sermon. (See Cyril Smetana, "Ælfric and the Early Medieval Homiliary", Traditio 15 [1959], 180 and note 4. Smetana later speaks admiringly of Ælfric's "art of concatenation", 184.) One might compare the circumspection of the compiler of Marðu Saga who describes his efforts to exploit numerous (and often contradictory) sources (38/8-12):

En þar, sem þýkkir greina ñ frásøgnun heilagra feóra, þar er sá hátrr tekinn af vítrum mónnum, at segja hvåratveggju frásøgn, en dóema hvårki ømätt, en þó þýkkir þat bjartast ok ðerfiðast, at hafa fleiri manna vitni til máls spønnunar.

(cit. Gabriel Turville-Petre, "The Old Norse Homily on the Assumption and Marðu saga," Nine Norse Studies [1972], 116)
Leclercq, *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God*, trans. C. Misrahi (1977), 228. On the later history of the *sententiae* in medieval education and literature see also M. Grabmann, *Die Geschichte der scholastischen Methode*, vol. I (1909), 143ff. and 182ff., J. de Ghellinck, "Diffusion, utilisation et transmission des écrits patristiques", *Gregorianum* 14 (1933), 356-400, and s.a., *Patristique et Moyen Age: Études d'histoire littéraire et doctrinale*, vol. 2 (1947), 7-9 and 181-377 passim. In the later middle ages, as the demands of urban schools and universities for extracts from patristic commentaries and exegetical works for *lectio divina*, doctrinal studies, and disputation became more exacting, the *libri sententiarum* take on the character of systematic compendia of Christian doctrine. This process culminates in the *Quattuor Libri Sententiarum* of Peter Lombard, the "Master of the Sentences", as G. Paré, A. Brunet, and P. Tremblay point out in their examination of the semantic evolution of the word *sententia* in *La Renaissance du XIIe siècle: Les Écoles et l'Enseignement*, Publications de l'Institut d'Études Médiévales d'Ottawa III (1933), Ch. 6, "Les 'Sommes de Sentences'," 267-74, esp. 269-270:

C'est par une autre voie, par la technique de l'étude textuelle (la *lectio*), que *sententia* va prendre un sens nouveau, sans lien direct avec la *sententia-flos*, un sens exégétique. On se rappelle quels sont, d'après Hugues de Saint-Victor, les éléments d'une explication de texte: la *littera* d'abord qui étudie les mots et leur enchaînement, le *sensus*, c'est-à-dire le sens obvie, la *sententia*, enfin, que fournit, par une attentive *expositio*, l'intelligence profonde qui est comme sous-entendue dans le texte.

Il ne paraît pas que cette nouvelle distinction *sensus-sententia* soit à rapprocher de l'ancienne
distinction des rhéteurs.... Il ne s'agit point en effet d'analyse de formes littéraires, mais d'exégèse idéologique; car nous sommes déjà au stade de la réflexion doctrinale, sinon à celui de la discussion dialectique. Sens fort par conséquent qui déteint sur le concept de l'ancienne defloratio. La compilation de "sentences" se transforme en collection organique d'opinions, commentées, motivées, systématisées: c'est le type de "sententiaires" en vogue dans le premier moitié du XIIe siècle, dans l'école de Laon, par exemple, et la Summa sententiarum comme le Liber sententiarum de Pierre Lombard montrent, chacun à leur manière, à quel point d'élaboration on en est arrivé. La vieille tradition de la defloratio d'Isidore, de Bède ou de Raban Maur, à laquelle tient encore un Guillaume de Saint-Thierry, est submergée par ce nouveau régime.

florilegia before compiling their ambitious sagas" ("On a Handlist of Saints' Lives in Old Norse", MS 24 [1962], 329).


33. Cf. the parallel text preserved in the fifteenth-century Icelandic ms. AM 56 8vo, ed. Ole Widding, Alkuin De Virtutibus et Vitiis i norsk-islandska overlevering, Ed. Arn., A 4 (1960), 66/1-7:

...dyrligri sem hann synizt med monnum þvi heruiligri werdr hann firi gudi. Enn sá er giorer god werk án litillisti berr mold jwindi. Huad drambar jord ok aska. þviam dreifizt af windi ofmetnadar. þat er synizt saman safnad þfaustum ok þ olmausu gádi.

34. The corresponding passage in the freer version of Alc. VV in AM 685 d 4to omits the sentence containing the "sowing in the wind" metaphor. See Widding, ed.cit., 110-112.

35. The section enclosed in square brackets is added by Indrebó; there is a hole in the ms. at this point. But cf. 685d 4to, ed.cit., 110/12-16:

...firi þvi meðlti drottin so. þeir er gera aulmosur. eda bænor. eda fostur til þess at þeir taki lof af monnum. Satt segi ec ydr þeir taka þa verkkaup sitt. Sa er firi þvi gerir gott þat sem hann gerir at hann hafi lof af monnum þat er verkkaup hans sem hann leitadi ok aungrar aumbonar ma hann vænta af gudi...

36. PL 101, 619, n.

37. PL 39, 2313, n.: "... Conflatus est ex cap. 10 et 15 operis Alcuini de Virtutibus et Vitiis."

39. For further examples see Otto, Die Sprichwörter..., pp. 364-366, and Eduard Margalits, Florilegium Proverbiorum Universae Latinitatis (1895), 522-523, s.v. ventus.


41. For early English versions of these scriptural sententiae see Whiting D 443, "Like Dust (powder) in the wind."

With the metaphor ventus superbiæ used in Alc. VV cap. 10, cf., e.g., Rabanus Maurus, De Universo IX. 25, "De ventis", PL 111, 281D-282: "...Item venti superbiæ spiritus intelliguntur, velut ... ibi ... Qui nititur mendaciis, hic pascitur ventis [Prov. 10:4]."; Alan of Lille, Distinctiones Dictionum Theologicalium, s.v. ventus (PL 210, 995C-D): "Dicitur superbia, unde David [Ps. 1:4-5]"; Ibid., s.v. pulvis (915 D): "Dicitur peccator, quia, sicut pulvis ... levi flatu venti dispergitur, ita peccator ... levi flatu superbiæ dispergitur ..." The phrase vindr ofmetnaðar at Nhom. 9/4-5 finds a parallel in the metaphor ofmetnaðar veór used, again with reference to the vitiation of good works through vanity, in an Embertide sermon preserved in Stathom., Hauksbók, and AM 114a 4to (see below, pp. 398ff.): Stathom. 36/33-37/1 (Hauksbók [1892-96], 174/8-11; A. Holtsmark, "En gammel norsk homilie i AM 114a qv.", ANF 46 [1930], 262-263): ...Åf þui holdom ver ena .iiijpo. imbroðagæ. at hirþasc mege gøþgerningar øker i litelløste. oc i staþfeste þeir
er frøsposc af orpom gups. at eige börre fra oss ofmenapar [Hauksbók, ofmetánar; 114a 4to, ofmetánar] vebr a voxt baN er vér somnópopm i gópom verkm.

The author of the Middle English tract, Jacob’s Well (ed. A. Brandeis, E.E.T.S., O.S. 115 [1900], 74/6-12) makes use of another Gregorian parable to make the same point:

Seynt gregàrie seyth, libro 10, moralium, xxxvj. capitulo, þat an ypocrite, a popholy man, is lyche an irane; for an eran, when he hath longe trauyled, & myche, to makyn his web, þanne comyth a lytel wynd and blowyth away all to-gedere. Rygt so, an ypocryte, when he hath gretly & longe trauyled, & vexid his body in penauns & in opere holy werkys, to ben holdyn holy, þanne comyth a lytel wynd of manys mowth, þat is, a lytel preysing, & blowyth away all his mede. Perfore, be þe nozt as ypocrytes. Mat vj.

42. It is tempting to conjecture that the variant readings in the Icelandic versions of the Gregorian proverb -- Stjorn. 212/31, "...sem þeir bere dust í vínde," and Nhom. 9/3-4, "...hann ber mold í vindi" -- may be due to reminiscences of Gen. 3:19 in, respectively, the Vulgate ("Quia pulvis es, et in pulverem revertere and the Vetus Latina ("Terra es, et in terram ibis"). The translations of the verse found in the early homilies follow the Old Le version (see Kirby, Biblical Quotation I, 7: Stjorn. 26/32 "ver erom iorþ. oc scolom en í iorþ fara"; Nhom. 73/30, "hann er mold í hann scal í mold fara"; Leifar 27/14, "Iorþ ert tu. oc scaldu í iorþ fara," cf. Gr. 29 in Ev., PL 76, 1218 B, "Terra es, et in terram ibis."). The rendering found at Stjorn 38/24-25, however, unites both readings in a word-pair: "þiat þu ert dupt ok molld ok í þa sömu molld skalltu aptr huerfa" (see Kirby’s note, Biblical Quotation, II, 135; cf. Peter Comestor, Historia Scholastica,
PL 198, 1074 C, "...quia terra es, et in terram ibis.").

One might compare Elfric's "double-barreled" rendering of Gen. 3:19 in his First Series homily for Ascension Day, based on Gr. 29 in Ev. (CH I. 300/8-9): "Pu eart eoróe, and þu gewenst to eoróan. Pu eart dust, and þu gewenst to duste." James Cross suggests that "Elfric first translates Gregory's words, then repeats the verse in terms of his own recollection of the Vulgate" ("More Sources for Two of Elfric's Catholic Homilies," Anglia 86 [1968], 73, n.28).

43. This verse is cited directly after the "dust in the wind" phrase in Alc. ΥΥ, ch.10 (Nhon. 9/4, "Hvat drambar iaró ok asca.").

For other examples of the use of such verses in connection with exhortations to humility see, e.g., Sthom. 52/24-25 (Ecclesiasticus 10:9, cf. pseudo-Augustine 118, PL 39, 1979D); Sthom. 26/31-32 (Genesis 3:19); Sthom. 182/5-8 (Genesis 3:19). It is at least possible that Gregory may have had in mind the popular etymology of humilitas -- ab humo. See, for example,

Varro, De Lingua Latina..., ed. G. Goetz and F. Schoell (Leipzig, 1910), V,23:
...terra, ut putant, eadem et humus; ...et quod terra sit humus, ideo is humatus mortuus, qui terra obrutus...et dicitur humilior, qui ad humum demissior, infimus humillus, quod in mundo infima humus...

This derivation was later standardized by Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae* (ed. Lindsay [1911]), X, 115; "Humilis, quasi humo adclinis." Interestingly, Johannes Balbus (d. c. 1298), in his *Catholicon* (printed at Mainz, 1460), s.v. *humilis* gives the standard etymology, "humilis ab humus dicitur...quasi hum [sic] acclinis," but also cites Gregory's seventh gospel homily: "Item dicit gregorius in quarta dominica de adventu. Miranda actio cum eleuacione non eleuat set grauat. qui enim sine humilitate uirtutes congregat. quasi in uentum puluerem portat..."

44. In his article, "Le Liber de virtutibus et vitiiis d'Alcuin: Note pour l'etude des sources," *Revue Mabillon* 41 (1951), 77-86, Rochais argues that the *Liber Scintillarum* was the direct source for Alcuin's treatise. Wallach has demonstrated, however (op.cit., pp.236-247), that this view is untenable, since both works make independent use of older sources, among them the sermons in the *Appendix Augustini*.

45. Rochais notes that this section is taken from Gregory's *Moria in Job*, XVIII.8.13, PL 76, 44C.

46. This Gregorian *florilegium*, said to have been compiled by one of Gregory's own notarii, had become a popular reference-work by the twelfth century. See esp. André Wilmart, "Le Recueil Grégorien de Paterius et les Fragments Wisigothiques de Paris", *Revue Bénédictine* 39 (1927), 81-104. Wilmart says (p.85), "On estimera...que le recueil de Paterius s'était répandu assez vite, et qu'il contribua à faire connaître un peu partout la doctrine de saint Grégoire", and (p.91), "Depuis le XIIe siècle environ, les manuscrits sont fort nombreux; le recueil de Paterius a certainement été goûté à cette..."
époque de renaissance...". See also Rochais, "Contribution...", 255-257.

47. Wallach (op.cit., 248-249) has shown that many of Rabanus' Homiliae de Virtutibus are compiled from chapters of Alcuin's treatise. Rabanus' Homilia 59, "De Superbia et Vana Gloria Cavenda" is based on De Virtutibus et Vitiis 23 and 25, and has the "sowing in the wind" phrase (PL 110, 111D):

Tunc ergo veraciter hoc quod agit homo bonum est, quando placere desiderat a quo habet quidquid boni habet, vel facit quae bona agere videtur. Et qui per hac non Deo, sed hominibus placere cupit, in vanum laborat et in ventum seminat.

48. This example and the two which follow are cited in Whiting, D444, "To bear Dust (powder) in the wind".

49. Alc. VV is a direct source for the Speculum (see Morrill's introduction, xciii-cxiv and cxvii f.). Alcuin's treatise was available in English translation at least from the twelfth century.


50. It is perhaps worth noting that the variant reading "quasi qui in uento puluerem portat" found in many of these texts (cf. the citation from Defensor's Liber Scintillarum on p.250) parallels the use of the dative (f vindi) in the OWN versions. It is clear, however, from the passage in Gr. 7 in Ev., that the accusative case must have been used in the original version of the phrase, since the image is of one who casts dust into the wind so that it blows back
and blinds him (see above, p. 247, PL 76, 1103A, ...inde deterius cæcatur). Cf., e.g., Blake's use of the same similitude (Complete Writings, ed. G. Keynes [1966, rpt. 1972], 418):

Mock on, mock on, Voltaire, Rousseau:
Mock on, mock on: 'tis all in vain!
You throw the sand against the wind,
And the wind blows it back again.

I have not been able to find further examples of Gregory's sententia in Old West Norse. Halldór Halldórsson (Íslenskt Orótakasafn, 2nd ed., 1978-80, s.v. Vindur, II. 247-248) lists variants of a proverb-formula kasta í vind(inn) meaning "kasta á glæ, skeyta e-u ekki". He notes that "orótakið er kunnigt ûr formáli" (e.g., Marfi s. 300/5, "...kastar hann nv dygðinni ût í vindinn...") and compares the phrase at verpa oróum í vind (see, e.g., Marfi s. 227/20-21, 423/2-3; Thómr. I 179/10-11 -- Thómr. II I. 426/14-15, no corresponding phrase is found in the Quadrilogus Prior, cit. Thómr. I, 178-179; cf. analogous biblical figures at, e.g., Job 6:26 ... in ventum verba profertis, 15:2 ...quasi ventu loquens, 1 Cor. 14:9 ...in aera loquentes). Halldór also cites an example of the phrase at sá í vind from Pátrs s. post. I, Post. 79/11-14 (the author plays here on the image of the "gospel seed" cf. 78/27-29):

At eigi syndiz hinn sáli Petrus til litíllar nytsembar fram bera Kristz predikan eða í vind saa sinum oróum, tendraði hinn helgi andi sva mikinn elld guðlígrar astar í hiörtum þeirra manna...

(None of the general sources for this work cited by Widding, Bek Nielsen, Shook, "The Lives of the Saints in Old West Norse Prose a Handlist", MS 25 [1963], 329-330, and Kirby, Biblical Quotatic II, 23 -- i.e., BHL 6659, 6570; Peter Comestor, Historia Scholastica -- offers a parallel text for this passage.)
Barlaams ok Josaphats saga the "dust in the wind" analogy is used to describe the evanescence of worldly things (Barl. 70/1-3; cf. Ps. Ioh. Dam. 49/1-3):

*pvi at su farzaza verór ...magnum quid...falsam
yór til fals oc flæróar. prosperitatem arbitrantes.
pui at þeir tyna optega Què non eorum sunt què
skött. er baðum handum uidentur, uel putant se
hyggiazt a hallda... bui habere illa, sed ... sunt
likazt sem dust dreivizt sicut puluis agitatur, et
hengat oc begat fir ab alio ad alios ventilata
vinndi... traiiciuntur.

Here, however, as in the previous examples, such imagery is used simply to describe "lost labour", not, as in Gregory's "proverb", feigned humility or the undoing of good works through pride.

51. Indrebø assumed from Kålund's dating of the ms. fragments which preserve portions of Alcuin's treatise in Icelandic (AM 685d 4to, 688a 4to, and 56 8vo) that the work was not known in Iceland before the fifteenth century (Nhom. "61-"62). But Ole Widding has concluded from a comparison of these fragments with the Nhom. text (Ed. Arn. A 4 [1960], 9-22) that all are descended from the same original, and, in his article "Alcuin and the Icelandic Law-Books", he suggests, "... the odds are that a translation of this book by Alcuin also existed in Iceland in the early period" (SBVS 14 [1956-57], 292-293). In his introduction to Ed. Arn. A4 (22), he cautions against drawing hasty conclusions:

Sammenligningen mellem de fire Alkuinhåndskrifter har vist, at alle de tre islandske fragmenter indeholder samme oversættelse som den norske i 619,4° og endvidere, at de er uafhængige af selve dette håndskrift og indeholder tekster, der på visse punkter er fuldstændigere eller bedre overleveret end teksten i 619,4°.
Hvis oversættelsen er foretaget i Norge, må det antages at hele to håndskrifter, hvori tekstoverleveringen er bedre end i 619,4°, er vandret fra Norge til Island....Men dette resultat indebærer intet, der kan afgøre spørgsmålet, hvorvidt oversættelsen oprindelig er foretaget i Norge eller Island.

Strenget taget indebær det heller ikke nogen sikker oplysning om, at Alkuin har været kendt i oversættelse i Island i højmiddelalderen....Gustav Indrebøs mening, at Alkuin ikke har været kendt før end i senmiddelalderen på Island, kan jeg dog ikke godtage uden med tvivl. Tilstedeværelsen af hele tre afskrifter i delvis forskellig bearbejdelse må dog mange til forsigtighed med at slutte ex silentio. De er et indicium for, at hans skrift har været kendt før.

Widding also notes (Ibid., 22):

For fuldstændigheds skyld skal det nævnes, at de Alkuincitater, som Vråtø har påvist i den stockholmske (islandske) homiliebog (ANF 1916, 42) ikke har nogen betydning i denne forbindelse, da de repræsenterer en anden oversættelse. De kan have hørt hjemme i en latinsk grundtekst og være overført til islandsk med den, i hvert fald kan de ikke tages som bevis for, at Alkuins skrift har været oversat i sin helhed, så kompilatoren af homiliebogen har kunnet øse af den kilde.

The subsequent studies of this text -- the "penitential homily", In capite ieluWii, Sthom. 61/1 - 64/16 -- by Joan Turville-Petre and Helen Spencer (see above nn. 23, 29) confirmed Widding's suspicion that the author of this homily translated from an intermediary text rather than directly from Alcuin. At times, however, the parallels in phraseology with the Nhöm. text of Alc. VV are striking. Cf., e.g.:
The evidence provided by these parallel passages is clearly too slight to support any general conclusions about the existence of a complete translation of Alc.VV in Iceland in the twelfth century, but it does not seem impossible that this Icelandic homilist could...
have been familiar with a vernacular text of the treatise like that in Nhom., which he occasionally recalled when translating the citations from Alcuin in his own Latin source.


(Vrátňý's note that the passage "dem ersten Buche der Dialogen ... entnommen sind" [ANF 32 (1916), 39] is an oversight.) Cf. the independent translations found in AM 677 4to (Leifar, 123/27-124/23, 128/7-30; HMS I. 234/26 - 235/40) and Norges Riksarkiv fragm. no. 71 (ed. Breinn Benediktsson, Ed. Arn. B 4 [1963], 55/11-22).


53. Vrátňý, ANF 33 (1917), 156; cf. PL 76, 1123A. Both Gr. 7 and Gr. 12 in Ev. were available in the homiliary of Paul the Deacon as,
respectively, items 8 of the pars hiemalis and 122 of the pars aestiva (see R. Grégoire, Les Homéliaires du Moyen Âge [1966], 78, 122; on the use of PD by the OWN homilists see, e.g., Ole Widding, "De norrøne homiliebøgers prediken på Stephansdag," MM [1959], 44-45). But the cycle of Gregory’s forty gospel homilies was itself a standard homiliary throughout the middle ages. As Cyril Smetana remarks in an essay on "Paul the Deacon’s Patristic Anthology" (in P. Szarmach and B. Huppe, ed., The Old English Homily and Its Backgrounds [1978], 81-82), "priests in the early Middle Ages were expected to be acquainted with these homilies, and bishops were enjoined to examine clerics on them during canonical visitations."

(Cf., e.g., O. Kolsrud, Messuskyringar [1952], 110/7-9, "Prestur skal kunna gudspialla suo at hann kunne þádann af at kenningar ok omíll[ur Greg]orij..."; Ibid., 110/25-26, "Hann skal kunna þyðing gudzspialla ok omíll[ur Gregorij...]") Icelandic versions of ten of Gregory’s gospel homilies, from what was probably a complete collection (cf. Hans Bekker-Nielsen, s.v. "Kyrkoæderna och Kyrkolärarna," XLNM IX, 691-692) are preserved in AM 677 4to (dated shortly after 1200, cf. Walter, Lex. Lehn. 143-144; for a comparison of the homilies in this ms. with material from Gregory in Sthom., Nhom., and later OWN texts see D.A. Seip’s introduction to The Arnamagnæan Manuscript 677, 4to..., CCIME XVIII [1949], 29-32). And part of Gr. 34 in Ev. is found not only in Sthom., Nhom., and 677 4to, but also in perhaps the very oldest of Icelandic manuscripts, AM 237 a fol. (dated c. 1150, cf. Lex. Lehn. 142; see Britta Olrik Frederiksen, "Tit engleafsnittet i Gregors 34. evangeliehomilie i norrøn oversættelse," Bibl. Arn. 25 [1979], 62-93). Collections of Gregory’s homilies, both in Latin and in the vernacular, are
also frequently mentioned in book-lists of a later period, at Vellir in 1318, at Hjarðarholt in 1355 and 1397, and at Móöruvallaklaustr in 1461 (see Emil Olmer, Boksamlingar på Island 1179-1490 [1902], 46, no. 221). A Bishop Aquila of Bergen (= Árni Sigurðsson? 1314) is said to have had in his library "Omelias beati Gregorii xl. in vno volumine" (see O. Kolsrud and G. Reiss, "Tvo norrøne latinske kvæde med melodiar," NVAOS 1912, No. 5 [1913], 58; cf. Stefán Karlsson, "Islandsk bogeksport til Norge i middelalderen," MM [1979], 14, n.10).

The popularity of Gregory’s works in Iceland and Norway throughout the middle ages is undoubted. Bishop Þorlákr Runólfsnson of Skálholt is said to have asked to have Gregory’s Cura Pastoralis read to him during the long infirmity which preceded his death (Hungrvaka k.12, in Jón Helgason ed., Byskupa Sögur, Ed. Arn. A 13. 1 [1938], 96/11-15), and copies of the same work were later to be found at Viðeyjarklaustr (1397) and Móöruvallaklaustr (1461; see Olmer, op.cit., 13, no. 49). Icelandic book-lists also contain references to Expositiones Gregorii (at Múli, 1318; see Olmer 19, no. 79) and to Gregorius super Ezechielem (at Viðeyjarklaustr, 1397; see Olmer 22, no. 102). Móöruvallaklaustr also possessed a copy of Quattuor libri dialogorum, in Latin, in 1461 (see Olmer, 42, no.198); and some of the works called dialogus in other Icelandic catalogues cited by Olmer (15, no. 61) may well have been copies of Gregory’s Dialogues (on the use of the singular dialogus to refer to Gregory’s work in English library-lists see R.M. Wilson, The Lost Literature of England [2nd ed., 1970], 75, 78). On the influence of the Dialogues on own literature see, e.g., D.A. Seip, op.cit., 36-39, and Nye studier i norsk språkhistorie (1954), 92f.; Þórhallur Þorgilsson, Drög að skrá um ritverk á islensku að fornu og nýju.
A reminiscence from Gregory's Dialogues would also appear to be found in the first sermon for the dedication of a church in Stohm., the first part of which is a translation of the opening sections of Caesarius 227, "De Natale Ecclesiae" (CCLL 104, 897-898 [852/5-853/13] = Ps. Augustine 229, PL 39, 2166ff.; see Karel Vrátý, ANF 32 [1916], 40; Hans Bekker-Nielsen, "Caesarius af Arles som kilde til norrøne homilier," Bibl. Arn. 25. 1 [1961], 13). Vrátý included this text among his examples of sermons in which "...verfährt der Prediger in der Weise, dass er zuerst eine lateinische Vorlage, teilweise recht frei, übersetzt, dann aber mit eigenen Erwägungen, Ermahnungen oder Erklärungen und dergleichen weiter fortfährt". The Icelandic homilist follows Caesarius' text as far as his citation of Matt. 5:24, "Prius reconciliare fratri tuo, et tunc veniens offer munus tuum" (CCLL 104, 898 [853/12-13], cf. Stohm. 94/10-15), then he appears to recall Gregory's discussion of the same verse in Book Four, chapter 62 of the Dialogues:

Stohm. 94/15-27:
...Nu þar es sva er til faret. at sa es hvarfianri es mapren es missâtr vîp. oc mæ eige fyr þui sáttasc vîp hann þót vili at eige mæ ná fundi
de Vogüe, vol.3, IV. 62. 1/10-15:
...Debemus itaque ad proximum, quamuis longe positum longeque disiunctum, mente ire eique animum subdere, humilitate illum ac benevolentia placare, et scilicet conditor noster,
Unfortunately, this section of the OWN translation of Gregory's Dialogues preserved fragmentarily in AM 677 4to has not survived. A somewhat more literal rendering of the passage forms part of Vercelli Homily XIV (the central section of which is based on Dialogues IV. 59-62; see Paul Szarmach, ed., Vercelli Homilies IX-XXIII [1981], 31/83-96, ms. 78v-79r; cf. Szarmach, "Another Old English Translation of Gregory the Great's Dialogues?", English Studies 62 [1981], 97-109).

54. "Contribution ...", 255-257. Cf. Wilmart, "Le recueil Grégorien...", 102: "L'œuvre de saint Grégoire le Grand est entourée de florilèges ...", and Leclercq, The Love of Learning..., 229: "...collections from St Gregory the Great were very numerous, beyond any doubt the most numerous of all, because the Gregorian texts were eminently conducive to contemplative prayer".
55. Cf. Rabanus Maurus, *De clericorum institutione*, cap. 36 (PL 107, 413A), who defends those who make use of the words of others when they preach from a charge of plagiarism, and, on the contrary, encourages a judicious eclecticism:

Sunt sane guidam qui bene pronuntiare possunt, quid autem pronuntient, cogitare non possunt. Quod si ab aliis sumant eloquenter sapienterque conscriptum, memoriaque commendent, atque ad populum proferant, si eam personam gerunt, non improprie faciunt. Sic enim, quod profecto utile est, multi praedicatorum veritatis fiunt...


Chapter four:
Metaphorical Compounds.
In a chapter on "the Art of Preaching" in Rhetoric in the Middle Ages, James J. Murphy points out that one of the most important models for medieval homilists was the gospel record of Christ's own method of preaching:

...Most importantly, he confirmed and reinforced the Judaic practice of using Scripture as proof; he distinguished carefully between parables and "direct" discourse; he distinguished between evangelizing (announcement) and teaching (exposition of doctrine); and finally he made constant comparison of earthly and divine through the use of analogy and metaphor. Each of these features runs through Christian preaching even to the present, but they are especially prominent in the medieval period. ¹

Undoubtedly the most memorable feature of Christ's sermons is his use of parables and figurative language; for it was through his "dark sayings" that he fulfilled the prophecy of the Psalmist: "I will open my mouth in a parable: I will utter dark sayings of old". ² Christ explained to his disciples that he made use of extended similitudes like the stories of the Sower and the Seed, the Prodigal Son, and the Labourers in the Vineyard for the practical reason that few were capable of grasping the message of his teaching directly (Mark 4: 11-12):

And he said unto them, Unto you it is given to know the mystery of the kingdom of God: but unto them that are without, all these things are done in parables: That seeing they may see, and not perceive; and hearing they may hear, and not understand.

Christ's parables and extended metaphors did not only, however, serve the practical purpose of helping to distinguish those of greater or lesser faith - their use also encouraged a special view of the universe as a complex of similitudes of things spiritual.

This habit of mind was, of course, already fundamental to the Judaic interpretation of human history. God had revealed himself to Israel through things, events and persons as well as words, and therefore all things which could tell of his operation in history had to be scrutinized for possible significances. ³ For Christian theologians of
the Middle Ages who inherited this special view of divine action, this meant not only that the laws and history of the people of Israel recorded in the Old Testament could be reinterpreted as a series of figures of Christ and the Redemption, but also that the search for evidence of the divine plan could be extended to the whole of creation. Medieval authors are fond of reiterating that the annals of the material world, the "books" of universal history and visible nature have, like the tables of the Old Law, been "written with the finger of God".4

The implications of God's ability to communicate through things as well as words are expounded in an oft-cited passage in Thomas Aquinas' Quaestiones Quodlibetales:

Any truth can be manifested in two ways: by things or by words. Words signify things and one thing can signify another. The Creator of things, however, can not only signify anything by words, but can also make one thing signify another. That is why the Scriptures contain a twofold truth. One lies in the things meant by the words used - that is the literal sense. The other in the way things become figures of other things, and in this consists the spiritual sense.5

For this reason, not only do the figures of the Old Testament find their fulfillment in the New, but, as Jerome remarks in a letter to Paulinus concerning the study of Scripture, a single book of the Bible may contain as many hidden meanings as it does words:

Apocalypsis Johannis tot habet sacramenta, quot uerba...et...
in uerbis singulis multiplices latent intellegentiae.6

The consequent difficulties of interpretation for the Christian reader are aptly summarized in an Icelandic homily preserved in the fifteenth-century manuscript AM 624 st0 (Leifar 155/20-29):

Jó helgum ritningum finnst opt einn hlutr fleira merkja enn eitt. Svo sem annat er eða óarga dýr það er sigr vo úr kyni Júda: það er Krístr; enn annat er eða óarga dýr það er ferr ok leitar, hvvern það megí svelgja; en það merkir enn forna fjanda. Ok svo sem annarr er elðr sá er drottiinn sendi á
jorð, ok villði brenna láta, en annarr er sóllir, er fellr yfir syndoga menn, at þeir sjáí eigi sól. En þótt íllska Gyðinga merki kastala, só er drottin sendi til postula sína, ok málti: "Farit þjer í kastala þann er í gegn yr er", þa merkur þó só kastali helga mey guðs móður Mario. 7

Such ambiguities are, of course, not due to the deficient authority of the spiritual sense, but, as Aquinas again observes, to the nature of metaphor itself: "For one thing may have similitude to many; for which reason it is impossible to proceed from any thing mentioned in the Scriptures to an unambiguous meaning." 8 It is part of the mystery surrounding the sacred page that its plenitude of meanings is only partially accessible to any human interpreter.

Needless to say, however, Christian scholars eagerly accepted the challenge of hunting out, interpreting, and cataloguing the multitude of figurative words and phrases contained in the Bible. As M.D. Chenu points out in his study of the medieval "symbolist mentality", this was the precise object of Augustine’s De Doctrina Christiana – "to furnish the means to clarify the verborum trans-latorum ambiguitates, the double sense of such transferred or figurative words". 9 Augustine’s method allowed no scrap of biblical text to go to waste, not even passages which had no apparent connection with questions of faith and morality. Rather, he advised, 

...whatever appears in the divine Word that does not literally pertain to virtuous behaviour or to the truth of faith you must take to be figurative. 10

Chenu observes that Augustine’s approach to allegoresis, although perhaps overzealous, was to prove immensely influential:

His allegorizing entailed two unwieldy practices continued by his medieval disciples: there was the practice of the grammarian-exegete who, commenting line by line, applied his allegorical technique minutely to each separate element; then there was the practice of the Latin rhetorician who,
ignorant of the Semitic idiom and style, even of the Hebraic use of parallelism, lumped together imagery that he found obscure—imagery that was figurative but basically literal in sense, like that of the parables—with imagery that actually had spiritual or allegorical meanings. This confusion would operate throughout the Middle Ages, even within the systematization of the four senses.

In a passage in *De Doctrina Christiana* reminiscent of Christ's explanation of his reason for using parables when preaching (Matt. 13:13, Mark 4:11-12, Luke 8:10), Augustine suggests that obscure figures in scripture act as a salutary obstacle to the proud and idle reader:

...many and varied obscurities and ambiguities deceive those who read casually, understanding one thing instead of another; indeed, in certain places they do not find anything to interpret erroneously, so obscurely are certain sayings covered with a most dense mist. I do not doubt that this situation was provided by God to conquer pride by work and to combat disdain in our minds, to which those things which are easily discovered seem frequently to become worthless.

At the same time, he argues, the challenge presented by difficult figurative passages gives them a peculiar aesthetic appeal. Of Song of Solomon 4:2, "Thy teeth are like a flock of sheep that are even shorn, which came up from the washing; whereof every one bear twins, and none is barren among them", he remarks,

Does one learn anything [from this verse] besides that which he learns when he hears the same thought expressed in plain words without this similitude? Nevertheless, in a strange way, I contemplate the saints more pleasantly when I envisage them as the teeth of the Church cutting off men from their errors and transferring them to her body after their hardness has been softened as if by being bitten and chewed. I recognize them most pleasantly as shorn sheep having put aside the burdens of the world like so much fleece, and as ascending from the washing, which is baptism, all to create twins, which are the two precepts of love, and I see no one of them sterile of this holy fruit.
Augustine admits that he cannot define the exact nature of the charm of such a passage (“...why it seems sweeter to me than if no such similitude were offered in the divine books...is difficult to say”), but he draws the general conclusion,

For the present...no one doubts that things are perceived more readily through similitudes and that what is sought with difficulty is discovered with more pleasure.14

Augustine’s sympathy for scriptural obscurity seems strangely out of place beside his frequent admonitions that lucidity should be the first aim of the Christian teacher.15 A taste for dark conceits was not new, however, in Augustine’s day. Quintilian decries the vulgarity of those who admire outlandish similes and metaphors:

... as ingenious, daring and eloquent, simply because of their ambiguity,...quite a number of persons have become infected by the belief that a passage which requires a commentator must for that very reason be a masterpiece of elegance. Nay, there is even a class of hearer who finds a special pleasure in such passages; for the fact that they can provide an answer to the riddle fills them with an ecstasy of self-congratulation, as if they had not merely heard the phrase, but invented it.16

In fact, it is interesting to compare the passage just cited from De Doctrina Christiana with Augustine’s discussion in his treatise De Trinitate, of St Paul’s use of the term aenigma in his first epistle to the Corinthians 13: 12, "Videmus nunc per speculum in aenigmate, tunc autem facie ad faciem". Augustine points out that the word aenigma can refer to a rhetorical trope, a special subcategory of allegory:

...Hujus autem tropi, id est allegorice, plures sunt species, in quibus est etiam quod dicitur aenigma....Enigma est autem ut breviter explicem, obscura allegoria...17

Cicero uses the term aenigma in his De Oratore to refer to an extravagant abuse of metaphor:

Something resembling the real thing is taken, and the words that properly belong to it are then, as I said, applied
metaphorically to the other thing. This is a valuable stylistic ornament; but care must be taken to avoid obscurity - and in fact it is usually the way in which what are called riddles [aenigmata] are constructed...

Quintilian is even more emphatic in his condemnation of "enigmas":

When, however, an allegory is too obscure, we call it a riddle [aenigma]: such riddles are, in my opinion, to be regarded as blemishes, in view of the fact that lucidity is a virtue...

Augustine argues, however, that scriptural "riddles" are well suited to the expression of supernal truths which are in themselves, to mortal minds, not lucid, but dark and difficult to grasp. The aenigmata of scripture are accommodated to our understanding, as far as this is possible:

Proinde, quantum mihi videtur, sicut nomine speculi imaginem voluit intelligi; ita nomine enigmatis quamvis similitudinem, tamen obscuram, et ad perspiciendum difficilem. Cum igitur speculi et enigmatis nomine quacumque similitudines ab Apostolo significatae intelligi possint, que accommodata sunt ad intelli-gendum Deum, eo modo quo potest.

Cicero suggested that metaphor "sprang from necessity due to the pressure of poverty and deficiency, but has subsequently been made popular by its agreeable and entertaining quality". Christian authors of the middle ages recognized, however, that the poverty and deficiency of human language was only exaggerated when it became the vehicle for the expression of the Word of God, and that the use of metaphor was, therefore, an even greater necessity in Scripture. In his influential treatise, De coelesti hierarchia, written less than a century after Augustine's death, Dionysius the "pseudo-Areopagite" insisted that precisely because even the most sublime analogies to which sublunary language can resort in attempting to speak of God and heaven -- images of light, fragrance, beauty, sweetness, etc. -- are only pale approximations of
their ineffable power and splendour, the obscure figure is needed
to act as a corrective: "Impossibile est nobis aliter lucere divinum
radium, nisi varietate sacrorum velaminum circumvelatum". The
use of an incongruous symbol, Dionysius argues, a "dissimilar simi-
liitude", is the most effective way of evoking the transcendent mystery
of the Godhead, and of inducing an anagogic leap across the otherwise
insuperable gap which separates the mundane and celestial worlds.

As M.D. Chenu has observed, however, Dionysius' theory of the
symbol differed radically from Augustine's theory of scriptural "signs"
in its disregard for the role of the Christian reader, the interpreter
of the mysteries of scripture:

For pseudo-Dionysius, it was not the believer who gave signs
their meaning; it was objective elements themselves which, before
anything else and by their very nature, were so many representa-
tions, so many "analogies"... For Augustine, no sacrament was
possible without the intervention of the human "word" or concept:
Accedit verbum ad elementum et fit sacramentum (Men's word or
concept is conjoined with some element, and a sacrament results).
This was the axiom of medieval sacramentalism... In pseudo-
Dionysian symbolism, wholly taken up with mystagogy, such concept-
ualization did not come into play. The symbol was the starting
point of knowledge, of "initiation", and it was no more reducible
to analysis than the mystery it made present.

Ultimately, the pragmatism of Augustine's approach to scriptural figures
made it more attractive to Christian teachers, and Chenu points out that
by the twelfth century it was Augustine's influence and not that of
Dionysius which informed treatments of Christian "signs" in the areas of
both biblical exegesis and interpretations of the Mass. Analysis was
preferred to anagogy, and the tendency to transform scriptural metaphor
into allegory became ever more exaggerated, as Chenu emphasizes:

We are not dealing here with an occasional excess but with a
fundamental misunderstanding of the proper character of metaphor
as image and consequently of the difference between symbol and
allegory. In certain cases, such as the case of the Song of Songs -
a major case it is true - combination of the two genres, or constant modulation from one to the other, was legitimate and was, moreover, traditional. But confusion was bound to arise from the institutionalized flaunting of allegory. While metaphor or parable developed an image which, by its dissimilar similitude and its entirety, initiated one to an understanding of the spiritual reality so figured, allegory was the analytical exploration of an idea which made use of details dissected and abstracted from an image, with each detail having specific meaning. It was no longer the Ark as a whole which was taken as a type or symbol of the church, but it was each detail of its construction that was explored in a new complex of meanings -- its beams, its design, its length and the like. The panther with its seven colors betokened the priest readying himself for the sacrifice and clothing himself with seven vestments and virtues that served him in combat. St Peter's liberation from prison, as an event of early church history, no longer figured man's liberation from sin; instead, we have his four guards representing the four passions, his two chains signifying habit and despair, his sandals signifying perfection, and his tunic signifying justice...

The germ of this procedure can be seen in Augustine's exposition of Song of Solomon 4:2 cited above. A special figurative significance is attached to almost every word in the verse -- the "shorn sheep" are those who have been saved from error, their "fleeces" are the burdens of this world, the "washing" from which they ascend is the rite of baptism, the "twins" they bear are the two precepts of love. It is even more interesting, however, that Augustine himself employs a bizarre extended metaphor to elucidate his obscure text when he speaks of the "teeth of the Church" masticating those it has torn away from error:

Et tamen nescio quo modo suavius intueor sanctos, cum eos quasi dentes ecclesiae uideo praecidere ab erroribus homines atque in elius corpus, emollita duritia, quasi demorsos mansosque transferre.

Augustine repeatedly stressed that expositors of difficult scriptural passages should not feel that they need, in turn, cultivate obscure figures in their writing, but should strive on the contrary to attain
clarity of expression. It is clear, however, that he also recognized that at least a moderate use of metaphor (even of rather extravagant metaphors) was an indispensable tool for the elaboration of the meaning of a difficult text. Metaphors provided the key to the solution of the riddles of the sacred page.32

In the Old Scandinavian Homily Books examples of elaborate metaphors generated by the exposition of a biblical verse are not difficult to find. The way in which such "exegetical" metaphors are manipulated by the sermonist is illustrated, for instance, in the following passage from a Christmas homily in Sthom., an exposition of Matthew 22: 4, "Ecce prandium meum, paravi, tauri mei et altilia occisa sunt, et omnia parata". This section of the sermon is a translation of Gregory's homily on the parable of the wedding feast (Hom. 38 in Evangelia); and the Sthom. text can be compared with a parallel, though independent, Icelandic translation preserved in AM 677 4to (Leifar, 76/ 29 - 79/ 17):

Gr. 38, PL 76, 1284A-B
...qui ergo per tauros nisi patres testamenti veteris significatur? Nam dum ex permissione legis acceperant quatenus adversarios suos odii retributione percuterent, ut ita dicam, quid aliud quam taurerant, qui inimicos suos virtutis corporeas cornu feriebant? Quid vero per altilia nisi patres testamenti novi figurantur, qui dum gratiam pinguediis interna percipient, a terrenis desideris evitentes, ad sublimia

Sthom. 163/ 19-26
...huat merkia griiung- arner nema febr ens forna laga hallds. þar es þeim vas lofat i þeim lýgonom at stanga andscota guþs oc sínæ mej horni hatrs. eþa hvat merkia alifoglar- ner nema febr. ens nyia laga hallz. þeir er gírnþer sínar hafa til guþs. oc fliúga mej helgorn skilingom oc guþs boborba öst. sva- sem mej vengiom til [guþs]. Göpgernar oc guþs boborba halld oc vili gópr hefr manniN upp til guþs

Leifar 78/ 35 - 79/ 4
...Af þvi mercia oxn febr ena forno laga. at þeim var lofat at hata andscota sin[a] oc stanga þa með hornom licanlegs afls. En alifoglar mercia [febr] eña nvio laga þeir er fettir ero af fozlo himnescrar miscunær oc heflasc up fra iarligom [sic] gírnþom til himins dvrþar sva sem foglar flvga i loft af forpo.33
Both of the Icelandic translators are reasonably faithful to Gregory's text, but each makes independent use of the Latin metaphors available in his source. The *virtutis corpore cornus* with which the Patriarchs of the Old Law strike down their enemies remains a "horn of bodily strength" in *Leifar* but becomes a "horn of hate" in *Sthom*. The *Sthom.* translator skilfully distills this more forceful and memorable alliterative compound from Gregory's parallel phraseology: "quatenus adversarios suos *odii retributione percurrent...qui inimicos suos virtutis corpore cornu feriebant". On the other hand, the *Sthom.* sermonist is more expansive in his treatment of the image of the "wings of contemplation" which is introduced by Gregory to show how the winged "fatlings" prepared for the feast represent the saints of the New Testament. The *Leifar* text replaces Gregory's ecstatic metaphor, "a terrenis desideriis evitentes, ad sublimia *contemplationis sua pennis sublevantur*", with a more easily digested simile, "þeir hefiasc up fra iar[þ]ligom girndom til himins dvrðar sva sem fòglar flvga i loft af iorpo". The *Sthom.* translator also uses a simile instead of a metaphor here, but packs even more information into his interpretive rendering than Gregory himself provides: "...þeir er gírnþer sínar hafa til guþs. oc flíðga meþ helgóm bøþorþa óst. svasem meþ vængiom til [guþs]. Góþgerningar oc guþs bøþorþa halld oc vili góþr hefr manniN upp til guþs sem vænger". Finally, it is interesting to note that while the *Leifar* translator strives to preserve the rather difficult image of the Christian Fathers "perceiving the grace of internal fatness" (*qui dum gratiam pinguetudinis internæ percipiunt.../* þeir er fettir ero af fözlo himnescrar mis-cunnar*), the *Sthom.* sermonist omits this figure altogether. Perhaps this translator felt that the only two figures he needed to make his allegorical point were those of "horn" and "wings" corresponding to the *tauri* and *altilia* of the scriptural verse, and therefore could dispense
with this more ornate flourish as an unnecessary distraction.34

In this example, as in Augustine's exposition of Song of Solomon 4: 2, metaphor is used primarily as an allegorical tool. And Gregory's Latin illustrates that allegorical readings can be presented simply and effectively through the use of compounds which bind together figure and meaning: virtutis corporeâ / cornus; contemplationis / penneâ.35 Another Christmas sermon in Sthom. (45/ 33 - 49/ 36, "Nativitas Domini, A Joladag") contains several good examples of allegorical compounds of this kind. The central section of the sermon is devoted to an explanation of the significance of the historical events and natural wonders which accompanied the birth of Christ: Augustus entered into Rome in a chariot; a golden ring encircled the sun; a fountain of oil sprang up in Rome; all debts were remitted; there was an earthquake; the sun rose at midnight; a universal taxation was imposed. This section of the sermon can be compared with a commentary on Luke 2: 1ff. which forms part of the interesting collection of excerpts from the tenth-century Vatican Library manuscript, Reg. Lat. 49, edited by Dom André Wilmart under the title, Catéchêses Celtiques.36 This text can by no means be regarded as a direct source for the Icelandic sermon, but it is a reasonably close analogue, and both texts make use of the same method of "exposition by metaphor":

Sthom. 46/ 21-25
Oc svasem sendr var cir-
ínus iarl at boborpe þessa
keisara. a opro áre ens
fimtategar ríkis hans til
gyplingalanz. at heimta
skatt til haNda honom.
sva sende guþ a þui eno
sama áre almátkan svn siN
i þeNa heîm. at heimta af
oss scatt boborps oc
rétlétes hans.

cf. Cat. Celt. 101/ 84-90
...Aliter Augustus totius mundi rex
censum unicuique imperans deus pater
intelligitur, qui est rex totius mundi,
et qui misit censores, idest profaetas
et apostolos et doctores, ut totus
mundus censum fidei redderet ei. Per
Cirinum uero qui interpre<etur> haeres,
Christus designatur,...qui primus
censum fidei deo patri reddidit in
bab(tismo)...
Because the metaphorical compounds in these passages are found, as it were, *in situ*, as part of the verbal apparatus for the exposition of a specific body of material, they do not seem at odds with the simplicity of the surrounding prose. In isolation, however, phrases like *scattr boborba oc rétlétés hans*, *kerra miscuNar*, *peNing boborba*, and *bruþr miscuNar oc vipsmiør allrar sálo* sound as though they would be equally at home in later *OWN* prose works written in the "learned" or "florid" styles. Mattias Tveitane notes, for instance, that the *OWN* translation of *Vitae*...
Patrum "bruker...langt flere metaforer enn den latinske originalen"⁴¹;
and these often take the form of allegorical compounds. Cf., e.g.:

HMS II, 375/ 16-17
...en hann sialfr sitr hia
oss a midlandi oss af sein
gudligra mola.

Ibid., 375/ 33-35
...Ipse tamen sedens nobiscum
numquam cessabat aliquid de studiis
spiritalibus commonere.

HMS II, 528/ 14-17
...hann ottadiz eigi iaf-
mick sina synd sem hitt, ef
hans andligr fadir felli i
reidinnar fen eda ofundar-
innar forad, ok fyrirfariz
bar af allr avoxtr hans
andligs starfs ok erfidis...

Similarly, Ole Widding cites, as an illustration of florissant stil,
a passage from Bergr Sokkason’s Nikolaus saga Erkibyskups which includes
the use of "udpyntede sammenstninger" among its stylistic ornaments
(the passage, concerning a merchant whose prodigality leads him to ruin,
can be compared with an earlier Icelandic version written c. 1200)⁴²:

Nik. II, HMS II, 133/ 30-37
...geymir nefndr kaupmadr,
sem stundir lida fram, uvitr-
liga sinu gоzi...veitandi vin
ok vist leikorum ok fontum
sik lofondum sva oforsialiga,
at eigi litaz hann fyrri um,
en uti er enn sidazti pen-
inger, ok hann er volltinn
af seti virdingarinnar nidr
i brigdzi ok kinnroda
fyrirlitningar.

Such phraseology reflects the predilection for Nominalstil characteristic
of both early and late OWN clerical prose. Ernst Walter observes,

Dieser Nominalstil bildet einen Teil des sogenannten "gelehrten
Stiles" in der altwestnordischen Literatur, der so deutlich vom
"Sagastil" absticht. In unseren geistlich-gelehrten Übersetzungs-
texten beobachten wir, wie eine Fülle von Nomina auftauchen. Die Präferenz des Nomens in den lateinischen Originalen müste (oder sollte) bei der Wiedergabe der zahlreichen Substantiva und der erläuternden oder auch nur schmückenden) Adjektiva nachgeahmt werden.44

Walter refers specifically to the nominalization of adjectives and verbs through the use of suffixes (-leíkr/-leíki, -ing, etc.),45 but the use of allegorical or metaphorical compounds would seem to be a facet of the same stylistic phenomenon.46

In his article, "The style of the Old Icelandic Family Sagas", Otto Springer describes the figurative expressions which populate OWN religious prose texts as "a strange hybrid of ecclesiastical reflection and skaldic kenning"; and, in fact, more than one scholar has been tempted to compare the metaphorical compounds used by clerical authors with simple kennings. Bjarne Berulfsen suggests that, as far as the artful use of metaphor was concerned, medieval Scandinavian authors needed no help from foreign models:

Eddaens og skaldekvadets kenningar viser hvor utbredt metaforen har vært på norrønt område fra eldgammel tid, og det vrimler av bilder i både ættesaga og kongesaga. For så vidt er det ikke nødvendig å søke etter fremmed påvirkning når vi møter den i vår hjemlige litteratur.48

And Ernst Walter notes that a practical understanding of skaldic diction would have helped early Christian translators to cope generally with the verbal complexities of foreign sources, including, presumably, new and unfamiliar metaphors.49 To take a specific example, Einar 'Olafur Sveinsson has remarked that the word hjartahöll used at Stthom. 93/9 bears at least a formal resemblance to the simplest type of kenning:

Ef litið er á óbundið mål 12. aldar, einkum trúarleg rít, gætir þar töluvert áhrifa frá kveóskap, einkum frá eddu-kveóum, en lítt dróttkvæóum. Í Stokkhólms Þómilubók 93 kemur þó fyrir "hjartahöll", sem rætur á að nokkru leyti að
rekja til bibliúmáls: "bér eruð musteri Guðs", 1 Kor. 3, 16 (og miklu víðar), en það efni ræðir prédikarinn einmitt um á þessum stað, á hinn börinn er orðið að minnsta kosti að formi til í stíl kenninga...

It should be noted, however, that while the source for this text -- Caesarius of Arles' Sermo 227, "De Natale Ecclesiae" 51 -- does elaborate on the meaning of 1 Cor. 3:17 and 6:19 at this point, the word hiartahæll itself is, in fact, a direct translation of Caesarius' phrase, habitaculum cordis (CCSL 104, 897 [852/15]). This is not, of course, to deny the resourcefulness and skill of the Icelandic translator, who makes use of alliterative and metaphorical compounds among other rhetorical figures to achieve an oratio ornata in this passage:

Sthom. 93/6-13: Caesarius 227, CCSL 104. 897 852/12-17:

...en þó es nap spun at leita
vip sva sem vör megom at
hirópa abravt synspa saurfr oc
lundar læstom. at etki fini gup
þat í hugafari óro es augo
hans stygguisc vip. helldr
leítom vèr at hiartahæll ór:
leýsisc fra læstom. en lýsisc
costom...oc leítom at lúca upp
himinríkiss dyr meþ luklom
gopgrinninga vára. þar es vèr
hafom lástar fyrer oss síífir
af synþom orom... 52

At any rate, although a compound like hiartahæll may owe its form to some extent to a native poetic tradition, it is not a kenning, but a forceful rendering by an accomplished prose stylist of a metaphor rooted in a Latin ecclesiastical tradition. 53

The following selective survey of figurative expressions in Sthom. and Nhom. shows how fully the homilists exploited this tradition. In
doing so they helped to introduce into Icelandic a fund of conventional figures which could, in turn, be used to advantage by later writers.


3. See Murphy, 279-280; A.C. Charity, *Events and Their Afterlife* (1966), ch. 2, "God and History" (and secondary literature cited there); and, generally, Eric Auerbach, "Figura", *Archivum Romanum* 22 (1939), 436-489, rpt. in *s.a.*, *Neue Dantestudien* (1944), 11-72, and (trans. Ralph Mannheim) *s.a.*, *Scenes from the Drama of European Literature* (1959), 11-76.

4. On the immensely popular metaphors of "the book of the world", "of nature", etc. in medieval literature see E.R. Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, trans. W.R. Trask (1973), ch. 16, "The Book as Symbol", esp. 310-326. M.D. Chenu (*Nature, Man and Society in the Twelfth Century*, trans. J. Taylor and L.K. Little [1968, rpt. 1979], ch. 3, "The Symbolist Mentality", 116) observes that twelfth-century theologians "gradually worked out the principle that the Bible, having God, master of all events, for its author, differed radically from books composed by men in that it communicated not with words (voces) alone as they did but by the events (res) it recounted as well". Chenu points out that although this attitude eventually led to a wholesale and systematic allegorization of Biblical narrative at the expense of its literal significance, even this did not undermine the basic recognition that "knowledge of God and his designs was derived both from nature and from history" (*Ibid.*, 117). The idea is perhaps expressed most succinctly in the famous verse of Alan of Lille: "Omnis mundi creatura/ Quasi liber et pictura/ Nobis est et speculum". Chenu refers, in addition, to Hugh of St Victor, *De tribus diebus iii* (PL 176, 814B), "Universus enim mundus iste
sensibilis quasi quidam liber est scriptus digito Dei..." (cf. Augustine, *Enarrationes in psalmos*, 45: 7 [PL 36, 518]), and Bernard Silvestris, *De mundi universitate*, ed. C.S. Barach and J. Wrobel (Innsbruck, 1876), 13, "Illic exarata suprerni digito dispunktoris textus temporis, fatalis series, dispositio sec-

5. *Quaestiones Quodlibetales*, ed. R. Spiazzi (Turin/ Rome, 1949), VII, q. 6, a. 1 [14], p.146:

Manifestatio autem vel expressio alicuius veritatis potest fieri de aliquo rebus et verbis; in quantum scilicet verba significant res, et una res potest esse figura alterius. Auctor autem rerum non solum potest verba accommodare ad aliquid significandum, sed etiam res potest disponere in figuram alterius. Et secundum hoc in sacra Scriptura manifestatur veritas dupliciter. Uno modo secundum quod res significantur per verba: et in hoc consistit sensus litteralis. Alio modo secundum quod res sunt figurae aliarum rerum: et in hoc consistit sensus spiritualis, et sic sacrae Scripturae plures sensus competunt.

I cite above the translation provided by E.H. Gombrich in his essay, "Aims and Limits of Iconology", *Symbolic Images* (1972, rpt. 1978), 13-14.


7. Órvaldur Bjarnarson suggested that this text should be compared with two of Saint Bernard’s sermons for the Feast of the Assumption of Mary and with Gregory in Ezechielem, Lib. II, hom. II (Leifar, x). This suggestion is repeated by Órhallur Ógrimsson, *Drög að skrá um ritverk á íslensku*, að fornu og núju af latneskum eða rómönsku uppruna. II. Ítalía (1958), 37, f 289. Ian Kirby, however, has observed that the last and greater part of the sermon, beginning with the passage quoted above, is a translation
of "a rather better text than that in Migne of PD [i.e., the late redaction of Paul the Deacon's homiliary] Homiliae de Sanctis, no. 48 (Migne 95, 1505-08)" (Biblical Quotation, II, 72). In fact, this text is identical with a sermon for the assumption of Mary attributed to Anselm of Canterbury in the Maurist edition of Anselm's works by Dom Gabriel Gerberon (1675; 2nd ed., 1721, Hom. IX; PL 158, 644-9). André Wilmart has demonstrated that the sermon is actually the work of Archbishop Radulfus of Canterbury (†1122). See "Les Homélies Attribuées à S. Anselme", Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge. 2 (1927), 16-23, and Max Förster, "Die spätenglische Übersetzung der Pseudo-Anselmschen Marienpredigt", Anglica: Brandl Festschrift in PALESTRA 147-148 (1925), 8-69. With the Old Icelandic passage cited above, cf. Radulfus' more expansive Latin text (PL 158, 644D-645B = PL 95, 1505B-C):

In Scriptura sacra res una et eadem multoties invenitur diversa significare, sicut leo, hadus, ignis, aqua, vel etiam sol, et alia multa. Est enim leo de triba Juda (Apoc. V); et est leo, qui circuit querens quem devoret (I Petr. V). Est hadus emissarius (Levit. XVI), qui peccata nostra portavit, est hadus a sinistris (Matth. XXV), qui damnatur. Est ignis quem Dominus misit in terram, et quem vult ut ardeat (Luc. XII): est ignis, qui super impios cadit, ut non videant solem (Psal. LVII). Est aqua cujus flumina fluunt de ventre credentis (Joan. VII); est aqua cujus tempestas non nos demergat (Matth. XIV). Let Sol justitiæ, qui nos illuminet (Eccli. XLII), et sol qui nos non urat per diem (Psal. CXX). Licet ergo castellum alias malum significet, ut illud de quo dicitur: Ite in castellum: ubi, additur, quod contra vos est, plane manifestatur quid significet; tamen hic castellum, in quod intravit Jesus, singularem et intemeratam Virginem ejusdem Jesu genitrice, salva Scripturarum regula, per similitudinem accipimus...

For very similar remarks on the polysemeity of scriptural figures see, e.g., Augustine, De Doctrina Christiana, CCSL 32, 97-99, III.

8. *Quaestiones Quodlibetales*, ed. cit., VII, q.6, a.14:

...non est propter defectum auctoritatis quod ex sensu spirituali non potest trahi efficax argumentum; sed ex ipsa natura similitudinis, in qua fundatur spiritualis sensus. Una enim res pluribus similis esse potest; unde non potest ab illa, quando in Scriptura sacra proponitur, procedi ad aliquam illarum determinate...


12. *De Doctrina Christiana*, CCSL 32, 35, II.vi (7), 1-7:

Sed multis et multiplicibus obscuritatibus et ambiguitatibus decipiuntur, qui temere legunt, aliquid pro alio sentientes, quibusdam autem locis, quid vel falsa suspicentur non inueniunt: ita obscure dicta quaedam densissimam caliginem obducunt. Quod totum prouisum esse divinitus non dubito, ad edomandam labore superbiam et intellectum a fastidio revocandum, cui facile investigata plerumque uilescent.


...ipsa etiam occultatio figurarum utilis est ad

13. CCSL 32, 35-36, II.vi(7), 18-29:

"...Dentes tui sunt grex detonsarum ascendens de lauacro, quae omnes geminos creant, et sterilis non est in illis? Num aliud homo discit, quam cum illud planissimis uerbis sine similitudinis huius adminiculo audiret? Et tamen nescio quo modo suauius intueor sanctos, cum eos quasi dientes ecclesiae uideo praecidere ab erroribus homines atque in eius corpus, emollita duritia, quasi demorsos mansosque transferre. Oues etiam iucundissime agnosco detonsas oneribus saecularibus tamquam uelleribus positis et ascendentes de lauacro, id est de baptismate, creare omnes geminos, duo praecepta dilectionis, et nullam esse ab isto sancto fructu sterilum uideo."


14. CCSL 32, 36, II.vi(8), 30-34:

"Sed quare suauius uideam, quam si nulla de diuinis libris talis similitudo promeretur, cum res eadem sit eademque cognitio, difficile est dicere et alia quaestio est. Nunc tamen nemo ambigit et per similitudines libentius quaeque cognosci et cum aliqua difficultate quaesita multo gratius inueniri."
15. See, e.g., CCSL 32, 131-132, IV.viii(22)-ix(23), and 137-138, IV.xiv(31), where Augustine belittles the mannerism of Cyprian.


> Ingeniosa haec et fortia et ex ancipiti diserta creduntur, pervasitque iam multos ista persuasio, ut id iam demum elegantem atque exquisite dictum putent, quod interpretandum sit. Sed auditoribus etiam nonnullis grata sunt haec, quae cum intellexerunt acumine suo delectantur et gaudent, non quasi audierint sed quasi invenerint.

17. *De Trinitate*, XV, ix, 16 (PL 42, 1068D-1069A). For a full discussion of the passage see M.L. Colish, *The Mirror of Language* (1968), 79. Isidore makes the same distinction between *allegoria* and *aenigma* at *Etymologiae* I, xxxvii, 26:

> Inter allegoriam autem et aenigma hoc interest, quod allegoria vis gemina est res alias alius figuraliter indicat; aenigma vero est sensus tantum obscurus est, et per quasdam imaginum adumbratus.

Cf. too, e.g., Peter Lombard, *In Ep. I ad Cor.*, PL 191, 1662D:

> ...allegoriae sunt plures species quarum una est quae dicitur aenigma. Aenigma vero est ut breviter explicem, non omnis, sed obscura allegoria. Proinde quantum mihi videtur sicut nomine speciali imaginem significavit, ita nomine aenigmati similitudinem, quamvis obscuram, et ad perspiciendam difficilem.

In other words, as D.W. Robertson notes ("Some Medieval Literary Terminology...", *Studies in Philology* 48 [1951], rpt. in Robertson, *Essays in Medieval Culture* [1980], 57), "...an enigmatic statement contains a cortex which is itself obscure, whereas the cortex of an allegorical statement may be perfectly clear".

The term normally means simply "a riddle". Cf., e.g. ʻOláfr Hvítaskáld, Málskrúðsfreiði (*Third Grammatical Treatise*), s.v.,
ed. B.M. Olsen STUAGNL 12
(1884), 114, III.16 (60),
252-258:

Enigma är myrkt sen vm
leynda liking lvtanna,
sem her:

vara ek sa
folldar molldbva
a sat nár aná.
Dæskonar figrv köllvm
ver gátv, ok är hon iafnan
sett iskålldskap.

Donatus, Ars Maior, III, cit.
Ibid., 114, n.

Donatus, Ars Maior, III, cit.

Enigma est obscura sententia
per occultam similitudinem rerum,
ut:

Mater me genuit, eadem mox
gignitur ex me,
cum significet aquam in glaciem
concriscere et ex eadem rursus
effluere.

18. Cicero, De Oratore, ed. and trans. H. Rackham, Loeb Classical
Library (1968), III.xli-xlii (166-167):

...Sumpta re simili verba eius rei propria deinceps in rem
aliam, ut dixi transferuntur. Est hoc magnum ornamentum
orationis. In quo obscuritas fugienda est: etenim ex hoc
genere fiunt ea quae dicuntur aenigmata...

19. Institutio Oratoria, ed. cit., VIII, vi, 52:

Sed allegoria, quae est obscurior, aenigma dicitur;
vitium meo quidem iudicio, si quidem dicere dilucide
virtus...

Cf. other admonitions to avoid "bold" and extended metaphors:
Cicero, De Oratore, III.xli (163); anon., Rhetorica ad Herennium
IV, 34, 45. See Harald Weinreich, "Semantik der kühnen Metapher",
Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift 37 (1963), 324f.

CLXXX, CSEL 34 (1895), pars 3, 697-700. Johan Chydenius ("The
Symbolism of Love in Medieval Thought", Commentationes Humanarum
Litterarum, vol. 44, 1, 23) discusses a very similar interpretation
of the Song of Solomon by Abbot Claudius, the pupil of Gregory
the Great:

...This is a system of communication in which God speaks
in riddles in order to be understood by the sleeping soul. [Idcirco per quemd migmata sermo divinus
anime torpenti et frigide loquitur, et de rebus quas
novit, latenter insinuat ei amorem quem non novit.
(PL 79, 473A)] He uses words that have a double sense:
the outward sense which designates things known by man,
and the inward sense which designates something which
he does not know [Tbid., 473A]. By solving the riddle,
man finds the inward sense. Allegory becomes, in
Claudius' own words, a "machine" by which the soul
that lives remote from God is lifted up to him [Tbid.,
473A-B].

For a discussion of similar medieval treatments of the term
aenigma (esp. in connection with 1 Cor. 13: 12), see Peter
Dronke, Fabula, Mittellateinische Studien, Bd. IX (1974), 32-
47 (esp. 44ff.); Robert Javelet, Image et Ressemblance au douz-
ième siècle (1967), I, 376-390; Ian Bishop, Pearl in its Setting
(Oxford, 1968), 66-72. Gombrich, op. cit., 14, emphasizes that
meditative riddle-solving was not merely an idle pastime for the
medieval exegete:

...The monk in his cell had only few texts to read and
reread, to ponder and to interpret, and the finding of
meanings was one of the most satisfying ways of employ-
ing these hours of study. Nor was this merely a matter
for idle minds seeking employment for their ingenuity.
Once it was accepted that revelation had spoken to man
in riddles, these riddles embodied in the Scriptures...
demanded to be unravelled again and again, to provide
the answers for the problems of nature and history. The
technique of finding meanings would help the priest
composing his sermons day in and day out on given texts
which had to be applied to the changing events of the
community, it would sanction the reading of pagan poets,
which would otherwise have to be banished from the
monastic libraries, it would give added significance
to the fittings of the church and to the performance
of sacred rites.
Edgar de Bruyne has suggested that the same love of riddles fostered the tortuous obscurities of Hesperic Latin style (Etudes d'Esthétique Médiévale [1946] I, 125): "Pour le médiéval 'hisperique' tout poème, pour être beau, semble devoir être un problème a résoudre." (Cf., e.g., B. Huppé, Doctrine and Poetry [1959], 55-56)


   ...sic verbi translatio instituta est inopiae causa, frequentata dilectionis.

22. Aquinas (Summa Theologiae I, q.1, art.Ix-x) observes that while secular poets make use of metaphors "propter repraesentationem", the authors of books of the Bible do so "propter necessitatem et utilitatem" (cf. Krewitt, op.cit., 454-455). Gregory in his Moralia in Job remarks repeatedly that the Creator deliberately humbles himself in allowing figures like "God's arm" or "His voice" to appear in Scripture that he might be the more easily understood by men: "...Ad parvitatem igitur nostram divinus semo se attrahit: sicut pater cum parvulo filio loquitur, ut ab eo possit intelligi, sponte balbutit." (XIX 8, PL 76, 105A); "...usque ad nostra se humiliat, atque ut alta insinuet, humilibus condescendit, quatenus parvulorum animus rebus cognitis enutritus, ad inquirenda exsurgat incognita..." (XXX 11,7, PL 76, 638A). (On these and similar passages from the Moralia see Hans-Dietrich Kahl, "Papst Gregor der Grosse und die christliche Terminologie der Angelsachsen", Zeitschrift für Missions - und Religionswissenschaft [1956], 192ff.).

24. Dionysius argued that celestial things manifest themselves not only by affirmation, by means of beautiful similitudes, but also by negation, through deliberately gross symbols which bear no resemblance to the objects they symbolize. Moreover (as Peter Dronke summarizes, *Fabula*, 44):

…the second mode is "more suited to the darkness of arcane matters"...because with incongruous images there is less danger of illusion, of the image's being mistaken for the supernatural reality which it symbolizes.


Chenu stresses the importance of the pseudo-Areopagite's theory for medieval thought:

It was from pseudo-Dionysius that medieval man enunciated the primary law of symbolism. The essential appeal of his dialectic, his "demonstration", seems to have been that it bridged the apparently nontraversable gap that the mind perceived between two realities otherwise akin; to join these two realities within a single symbol was to put the mind into secret contact with transcendent reality, not without a sense of inward exaltation, and certainly with an affective response that inspired poetic creativity.

(op. cit., 131; see also Dronke, op.cit., 44ff.)

25. See below, n.35.

27. See Chenu, 131-132:

...the figural interpretation featured by biblical exegesis drew rather upon Augustine's "signs" than upon the anagogy of pseudo-Dionysius; the latter was the master of symbolic metaphysics, hardly the master of biblical typology....
In the area of liturgy, privileged province of the symbol 'in action, the failure was even more evident, for the most realistic elements -- water, light, fire, a meal, a table -- were handled rather as materials for allegorical instruction than as things having power to represent the mystery to those initiated into it. Thus the mass tended to become a sophisticated and complex figure of the episodes of the passion instead of a sacrificial meal.

28. Cf., for instance, the procedure of the so-called "Stave-Church Homily", preserved in Nhom., Sthom., AM 237 folio and AM 624 4to, in which spiritual and moral significances are assigned to the various parts and furnishings of a church-building. (See esp. G. Turville-Petre, "The Old Norse Homily on the Dedication", MS 11 [1949], 206-218, rpt. with a postscript in s.a., Nine Norse Studies [1972], 79-101; H. Bekker-Nielsen, "The Old Norse Dedication Homily", Festschrift für Konstantin Reichardt, ed. C. Gellinek [1969], 127-134; s.a., "Kirkedagsprædiken", Sjótfu Ritgerðir helgaðar Jakobi Benediktssyni, ed. Einar G. Pétursson and Jónas Kristjánsson [1977], 93-99.) One of the sermones ad populum in Nhom. includes a similar allegorical treatment of the church-bell (Nhom. 71/ 5-22):

Cloccan iartægnir trvmbu-liðó þat er vér erom aller upp vacter með til myccla mozw er domáðagr haitir...En tre þat er cloccan er vió fæst. iartægnir cros almategs guðs. En strengerir er niór hanga ór. iartægnna boðóró guðs. en kirkian iartægnir paradisi...

(For a somewhat similar text see J.B. Trahern, "Amalarius be Becnum: A fragment of the Liber Officialis in Old English", Anglia 91 [1973], 475-8.) See also the allegorical anatomies of the ship and

29. Chenu, 142-143.

This exegetical zeal for allegory was accompanied by a desire to organize and catalogue the mass of figurative phrases discovered and analysed by generations of biblical scholars. Just as the author of the Rhetorica ad Herennium had advised that "the invention of Comparisons will be easy if one can frequently set before one's eyes everything animate and inanimate... of the earth, sky and sea,... and can amongst these hunt out some likeness which is capable of embellishing or proving or clarifying or vivifying" (Harry Caplan's translation, Loeb Classical Library [1954, rpt. 1977], IV, xlvi,61), so Augustine had counselled the Christian reader not to neglect the book of nature, but to familiarize himself with the properties of animals, stones, and plants that he might the more easily make sense of figurative expressions like Christ's exhortation to be "wise like serpents" (Matt. 10: 16, De doctrina christiana II, xvi(24); cf., e.g., the conventional interpretation of this verse, probably based on a text of the Physiologus, at Stom. 158/ 2-12). To this end, he recommended the use of various biblical aids, organized scriptural lexicons and encyclopedias, and noted that many such works had already been compiled by Christian scholars (De doctrina christiana II, xxxix[59]). To the reference works for preachers which had begun to be compiled in Augustine's own day -- the
bestiaries, lapidaries and herbals -- later students of the
spiritual senses of the Scriptures were to add ever more special-
ized study aids and claves scripturae, culminating in the elaborate
"spiritual dictionaries" of the twelfth century -- the books of
distinctiones. (On the indirect debt of such attempts to system-
atize the study of scriptural allegory to Augustine, see Étienne
Gilson, Introduction à l'étude de St Augustin [Paris, 1931], 152,
n.l. Friedrich Ohly, "Vom geistigen Sinn des Wortes im Mittelalter",
ZfdA 89 [1956], 1-23, provides a survey of spiritual dictionaries.
On the distinctiones see, e.g., Chenu, "The Symbolist Mentality",
111 and n.33, and La Théologie au douzième siècle [1957] 191-209;
Beryl Smalley, The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages [1940,
rpt. 1970], 246-248 and refs., and esp. R.H. and M.A. Rouse,
"Biblical Distinctions in the Thirteenth Century", Archives
d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Âge 41 [1974], 27-37,
and bibliography.) Some of the distinctiones monasticae are
printed by J.B. Pitra, Spicilegium Solesmense (1852-58), vols II
and III, as part of his Clavis S. Melitonis. A selection has been
edited more recently by André Wilmart, "Un Répertoire d'Exégèse
Composé en Angleterre vers le Début du XIIIe Siècle", Mémorial
Lagrange (1940), 307-346. Cf. also texts such as pseudo-Rabanus
Maurus' Allegoriae in sacram scripturam (PL 112, 977ff., now
attributed to Garnier de Rochefort [†c.1216]; see Wilmart, "Les
Allégories attribuées à Raban Maur", Revue Bénédictine [1920],
47-56) and Alan of Lille's Distinctiones Dictionum Theologicalum
(PL 210, 815ff.; on this text see G. Evans, "Alan of Lille's
Distinctiones and the problem of theological language", Sacris
Erudiri 24 [1980], 67-86). Some of these works were exhaustive
treatments of a single topic, such as Peter of Celle's Liber de
panibus (PL 202, 927-1046), an allegorical interpretation of every
biblical verse which mentions bread. (Chenu notes ["The Symbolist
Mentality", 111] that John of Salisbury asked Peter for a similar
work devoted to texts about wine and the vineyard.) The distinctive
ions, however, most often took the form of an elaborate dictionary
in which key-words, arranged alphabetically, were accompanied by
biblical verses illustrating their allegorical senses. Jonna Louis-
Jensen has recently suggested that such a work may have influenced
'Oláfr Hvítaskáld in his analysis of two Christian skaldic stanzas
used to illustrate the figures paradigm and parabola in his Mál-
skrúðsfraði ("Vøndr er Máría mynduó", Speculum Norroenum [1981],
328-336).


31. See examples cited above, n.15.

32. Exponendo metaphorae was recommended as a method of amplification
in the artes praedicandi of the thirteenth century. See T.M.
Charland, Artes Praedicandi (1936), 204-205:

Supposons qu'il s'agisse de développer l'autorité Egregietur
virga de radice Jesse, et flos de radice ejus ascendet (Is.
XI, 1), en rapport avec la Bienheureuse Vierge Marie et son
Fils. On pourra s'étendre sur les propriétés de la tige,
sur celles de la racine, sur celles de la fleur, soit de la
fleur en général, soit de telle fleur en particulier, et
faire des applications à Marie et à son Fils.

Ce procédé est évidemment plus à la portée de ceux qui
connaissent bien les propriétés des choses. Mais, indépend-
amment de la science de ceux qui s'en servent, c'est le
procédé le plus facile avec des autorités contenant des
locutions figurées. Les locutions de ce genre sont plus
fécondes que les autres. Bien appropriées, elle plaisent
davantage et se gravent plus profondément dans la mémoire
que les locutions ordinaires, étant plus en conformité
avec notre mode naturel de connaître per conversionem ad
phantasmata. De là vient l'usage fréquent des locutions
symboliques dans l'Écriture.

Cf. numbers 2, 3, 5 and 7 of the topics of expansion listed by
Harry Caplan, "Classical Rhetoric and the Mediaeval Theory of Preaching", Classical Philology 28 (1933), 88-89. Caplan mentions (89) that "among the mediaeval books which 'Henry of Hesse' advises for supplementary use by the preacher is the Book of Similitudes, the Summa de exemplis et rerum similitudinibus libris decem constans (ca. 1300)". Aids like the books of distinctiones would clearly have been of great service for this aspect of sermon composition. (See esp. Beryl Smalley, op.cit., 248.)

33. Cf. Ælfric’s rendering of the same Gregorian text in his homily for the twenty-first Sunday after Pentecost (CH I, 522/ 22-29):

...Hwæt getacniāþ þa fearras buton fæderas ðære ealdan æ?
Hwæt wæron hi, buton feorra gelican, þaða hi, mid leafe þære ealdan æ, heora fynd mid horne líchamlicere mihte potedon?
Ða gemøstæn fugelas getacniāþ þa halgan lærewæs þære Niwan Gecẙnsyœs. Ða sind gemœste mid gifæ þæs Halgan Gastes to ðam swiðe, þæt hi wilniaþ þæs upplican fœrældes mid fyðerum gastlicere drohtnume.

34. The early homilists do not, on the whole, appear to have been indiscernate in their imitation of the figurative language of their Latin-sources. Most translators seem to have carefully considered the capacities of their audience in dealing with difficult metaphors, and to have excised those which could become obstacles to understanding. Cf., e.g.,

Sthom., 14/ 14-15:
Segla mon ek ypr fyr hui greoparneN kallaþe ioan liosker...

Sthom., 50/ 11-12:
...sa er ipras i hugnom oc eige hverfr allt til leib-

Caesarius 216, CCSL 104, 860 [815/24-26]:
Quare autem beatum Iohannem dominus et salvator noster lucernam esse dixerit...caritatis vestrae auribus cupimus intimare.

Ps. Aug. 117 (= Sedatus of Nimes; see Clavis Patrum 1006), PL 39,1977/32-33:
...quis ex corde penituerit, et ad vom-
itum peccati reversus non fuerit...
Stom. 50/24-25:
Baltu hovrgrene. buiat bu
frestaber hefndene...

Ibid., 1977/57-58:
Serva pietatem mansuetudinis, qui
tamdiu suspendisti gladium ultionis...

Stom. 53/33-35:
...oc afpuu varveiteper pa
hlute er ec kenda. at bepe
mege ek niota batnapar yprvar
oc ypr laphe miscunsmar
drotteN i himnescar vister...

Ibid., 1981/9-13:
Et ideo servate qua dixi, ut de
vobis fructum habeam, et vos omnes
in caelestibus horreis, ubi fruenta
congreganda sunt, misericors Dominus
intromittat...

Stom. 55/29-30:
Sleitz bu bend or drotteN.
nu monom ver lofa bic.

Bede I.11, CCSL 122, 77/144-145 (Ps.
115:16):
Disrupisti uincula mea, tibi
sacrificabo hostiam laudis.

Stom. 87/7-8:
...pa raNsake nu hverR
siálfan sik hve beek hann
lår ser gups bob.

Gr. 18 in Ev., PL 76, 1150B:
...interroget se unusquisque si
verba Dei in aure cordis percipit...

Stom. 87/12-13:
Virpe nu pa hverR uarr hverso
ér hafeb besse gups bob. oc
reynepèr i bui hvårt ér erøp
gups meN.

Ibid., 1150B-C:
Penset ergo apud se unusquisque si
hac vox Dei in cordis ejus aure
convaluit, et quia jam ex Deo sit
cognoscit.

Stom. 87/39 - 88/2:
Huat er oss pa i bui keNt.
nema þat at ver scolom eige
illybom beriasc við meín-
gerbar meN òra po at til sé
þat of pa at reöpa es þeim
se kiNrope at.

Gr. 18 in Ev., PL 76, 1151B:
Ex qua re quid nobis innuitur, nisi
ut eo tempore quo a proximis ex fals-
itate contumeliae accipimus, eorum
etiam vera mala taceamus, ne minister-
uim justa correctionis in arna vertamus
furoris.

Stom. 216/3-4:
...par ò gegn es su vesol
oc mikels gråts verpr [sic]...

Caesarius 187, CCSL 104,764[724/33-34]:
...e contrario quam infelix est illa
conscientia, et toto lacrimarum fonte
lugenda...
It would clearly be wrong, however, to conclude that such examples reflect a general distaste for latinate metaphors on the part of these translators. For all of the sermons just cited also contain examples of metaphors taken over wholesale from their Latin models. (Most of these are cited in the course of this chapter)

On occasion, the early translators even overgo their Latin sources in their use of figurative expressions. The version of Alcuin's De Virtutibus et Vitiis preserved in Nhom., for instance, contains a few interesting examples of figures which are at once more homely and more evocative than those found in the Latin. (Ole Widding has shown from a comparison of the Nhom. text with the versions preserved fragmentarily in mss. AM 56 8vo and AM 685d 4to that the Homily Book version bears the marks of a redactor who has endeavoured to polish the prose of the original translation and to purify it of stilted latinisms. His changes are sufficiently numerous, Widding argues, "at de må være udtryk for en bevidst vilje til at modernisere og at opløse de værste stilknuder" [Ed. Arn. A. 4, 1960, 12]):

Nhom. 17/ 2-3:  
Aic. VV, PL 101, 626C:

Rein-lifi með litil-léte man hafa laannz-bygd hæilags anda...

Castitas cum humilitate,
Spiritus sancti merebitur
cf. AM 685d 4to, ed. Widding, 90/8-9:  
habitationem...

...mun avdlaz bygd heilags anda...
The reviser also seems to have introduced at least one interesting metaphorical compound found neither in Alc. \( VW \) nor, to judge from the texts preserved in AM 685d 4to and AM 55 8vo, in the original version of the ON translation:

Hver er rét-dómur er. hann ber
ret-lætis veg [Indrebø: "Soleis. =
(vág)"] i hendi sér. ok innan
handar ber hann hvartvæggia
ret-læt ok miscunn.

cf. AM 42a, 8vo, ed. Widding, 139/ 4-5:
...hefer rietlæsis vog j hendi sier...

AM 685d 4to, ed. Widding, 98/ 5-6:
...hann ber j hendi tvifallda vött. j huaritveggi Vog hafi hann
rettlæti ok myskunn.

AM 55, 8vo, ed. Widding, 141/ 17-19:
...hann ber j hendi tvifallda vðg. j hvorutuegi vðg hef hann
Rettlæti og myskun firi Rettlæti.

(Marius Høgstad, Vestnorske Maalføre fyre 1350, NVAOS, II. Hist.-Fil. Kl., No. 1, 1907 [1908], 51, suggests that the form \textit{rettlætesveg} for \textit{-vág} should be compared with OE \textit{wage}.) Ernst Walter notes (Lex. Lehn., 81) that the compound "ist insofern interessant, als es zeigt, daß dem Übersetzer aus der Literatur oder der bildenden Kunst schon bekannt gewesen sein muß, daß die römische Göttin Juititia die Waage als Attribut hatte". (Cf. perhaps Fredrik Paasche's discussion, in Hedenskap og Kristendom [1948], 73-74, of references.)
to St Michael's scales in OWN literature -- e.g., Arnór Jarlaskáld, 7: 1, Skjöd A I, 353; Njáls saga, k. 100, IF 12 [1954], 257/12-15.) It seems equally likely, however, that the reviser of Alc. VV may simply have had in mind Job 31:6, Appendat me in statera justa.

Réttlatísvisað is also found in Thóm. II, I. 112/22, and Maríu s., 1140/34. Cf. the figure skynsemdar vág used in Jóns s. helga B, Bisk. I, 233/28-29.

35. Such metaphorical compounds remind one of an observation of Augustine's alluded to by Chenu (op.cit., 126-127, see above, p. 289). In his eightieth tractate on the Gospel of John (CCSL 36, 529, sec. 3, 1-7), he makes the following remarks concerning the significance of John 15:3:

"Iam nos mundi estis propter uerbum quod locutus sum uobis." Quare non ait, mundi estis propter baptismum quo loti estis, sed ait: "propter uerbum quod locutus sum uobis", nisi quia et in aqua uerbum mundat? Detrahe uerbum, et quid est aqua nisi aqua? Accedit uerbum ad elementum, et fit sacramentum, etiam ipsum tamquam uisibile uerbum.

36. Analecta Reginensia, Studi e Testi L (1933), 98ff.

37. The enumeration of the significant events which occurred at the time of Christ's birth is, as James Marchand has pointed out ("The Old Norwegian Christmas Homily and the Question of Irish Influence", Arv 31 [1975], 27), "a tradition in Christmas sermons. Ultimately, the tradition derives from the miracles connected with Emperor Octavianus Augustus, related by various Roman historians and later amplified and applied to the birth of Christ". Some of the events and wonders mentioned in the Old Icelandic homily -- the golden ring around the sun, the pax Romana, the fountain of oil -- are referred to in Orosius' Historia adversum paganos (ed. C. Zange-meister, CSEL 5 [1882], VI.xx.5-8; see further E. von Frauenholz,
"Imperator Octavianus Augustus in der Geschichte und Sage des Mittelalters", Historisches Jahrbuch der Görresgesellschaft 46 [1926], 86-122, and H.F. Massmann, Der keiser und der kunige buoch oder die sogenannte Kaiserchronik [1844-54], Abt.3, 547-69). The only Latin analogue for Sthom. 46/31ff. cited by both Kirby (Biblical Quotation II, 54, n.9) and Andrea van Arkel (13, item 16) is the opening of the first chapter of pseudo-Alcuin's De Divinis Officiis Liber, "Cur Nativitas Domini Celebratur" (PL 101, 1173ff.), although, as Kirby admits, "this is clearly not the source". Mattias Tveitane, however, draws attention to the close similarity between details in the Icelandic sermon and the Catéchèses Celtiques text in his article, "Irish apocrypha in Norse tradition? On the sources of some medieval homilies", Arv 22 (1966), 111-135. Marchand rightly criticizes Tveitane's over-enthusiastic references to this text as "the Latin source" (Ibid., 123-125 passim), and emphasizes that "both the sermon in Homil [Sthom.] and that in the Catéchèses are simply fabricated from the usual mirabilia found in Christmas sermons", ("...Question of Irish influence", 29; he cites numerous similar treatments, 27-28: Nicholas of Clairvaux PL 184, 828ff.; Peter Damian PL 144, 828; Rabanus Maurus PL 110, 466ff.; Elucidarius I, nos. 132-134, ed. Y. Lefèvre [1954], 385, cf. Hauksbók, 483; Annolied 31, 4ff.; Kaiserchronik 695ff.; Innocent III, PL 217, 475f.). However, his remark (29) that "Alcuin (PL 101. 1174f.) offers as good a parallel" as Catéchèses Celtiques for the Sthom. text is hard to understand, and until sources and analogues for this homily have been more thoroughly investigated, the text in Catéchèses Celtiques remains the most useful Latin analogue for the main part of the sermon. The principal points of correspondence between the two texts are as follows: Sthom. 46/15-19, Cat. Celt. 98/12-15; Sthom. 46/21-25,
Some other texts worth comparing with the treatment of events at Christ's birth in this Old Icelandic Christmas sermon are Nhom. 31/24ff., "De nativitate domini sermo" (see, e.g., Oluf Kolsrud, "Ein normentagsspreika frá umlag ár 1200", Norsk jol [Bergen, 1927], 4-5; on the parallel motif of the "midnight sun" Nhom. 32/26ff., Sthom. 47/18ff., Tveitane, op.cit., passim, esp. 123ff.), and Vercelli Homilies V and VI (ed. M. Förster, Die Vercelli-Homilien, Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa 12 [1932, rpt. 1964], 107-137), parts of which are derived from sources similar to those used by the Icelandic homilist, i.e., on information like that supplied by the text in Catéchãses Celtiques (see Tveitane, op.cit., passim; Rudolf Willard, review of Förster's edition of the Vercelli homilies, Speculum 9 [1934], 229-30; J.E. Cross, "Portents and events at Christ's birth: comments on Vercelli V and VI and the Old English Martyrology", Anglo-Saxon England 2 [1973], 209-220).

The peroration of the Old Icelandic Christmas homily is preceded by an excursus on the commonplace theme of the "transience of life" (Sthom. 49/9-22) which may be compared with some of the Latin and Old English versions of the "ubi sunt" motif.
examined by James Cross ("'Ubi Sunt' passages in Old English",
Vetenskaps-Societeten i Lund. Årsbok [1956], 23-44; "The Dry
Bones Speak - a theme in some Old English homilies", JEGP 56[1957],
434-439).

Finally, it is interesting to note that Karel Vrátný, in
his "Textkritische Nachlese zum Stockholmer Homilienbuch" (ANF
33 [1917], 145), makes the following correction of the ms. reading
at Stom. 46:37, in the passage on the ring around the sun: "gob-
legr lies gollegr (aureus)". One can only speculate as to whether
this emendation is based on a combination of common sense
and a familiarity with the traditional list of miracles at Christ's
birth, or whether had a specific Latin text in mind (or in front
of him) when making this emendation. On texts of the mirabilia
which contain the phrase circumius aureus see Cross, "'De Signis
et Prodigii' in Versus Sancti Patricii Episcopi de Mirabilibus
Hibernie", Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy 71C (1971), 249-
250, and "Portents...", 210, n.5.

38. Catéchêses Celtiques provides no parallel for this passage.

39. For further examples of the compound miskunnarbrunnr see pp. 440-441.
With viðsmior allrar sálo cf. Niórstigningar saga, HMS II, 3/9,
9/11 miscunnarsmior, 18/20 myskunar viðsmior (= oleum misericordiae,
Evangelium Nicodemi, cap.19, ed. Tischendorf, Evangelia Apocrypha,
394/11).

40. Cf. the use of the compound fagnadarpenningar in the Old Icelandic
Elucidarius:

674A 4to (København, 1869) 62/2-4: Lefèvre, 474/4-6:
...& taka þó aller í eino huse
fobor siN fagnabarpenning, af
syn Guðs & samlag eangla...
...tamen omnes unam domum
Patris...et unum denarium de
visione Dei et consortio
angelorum perciipient.
... (gledens mynt, gledelig belønning) "pennyworth of happiness", ... here the ON compound is emphatic for the the simplex denarius; for the significance of the penny see Matt. 20:1-16.

41. Den lærde stil..., 58.


43. Cf. the Latin analogues for the story in, e.g., Vincent of Beauvais, Speculum Historiale XIII, 77, 532a:

Alius quoque vir mercator, et diues, diuitiis suis prodige vtens: cum tandem ad ignominiosam paupertatem deuenisset...

and "Appendix ad Catalogum codd. hagiog. civit. Namurcensis", Analecta Bollandiana II (1883), 154/3-5:

...Hic itaque vir de quo nobis sermo est, fertilitate divitiarum suarum dapsiliter et prodige utens, et in posterum non præcavens, ad ultimum ad ignominiosam pervenit paupertatem.

(See Widding, "Kilderne til den norrøne Nicolaus saga", Bibl. Arn. 25.1 [1961], 17-26.)

44. Lex. Lehn., 137-138.


46. It is, of course, not surprising that exegetical works like the early homilies in particular should become overburdened with substantives, since nouns are more amenable to allegorical analysis than are verbs. Cf., e.g., Barbara Nolan's remarks on Bede's Explanatio Apocalypsis (The Gothic Visionary Perspective [1977], 6):

... in his interpretations of all John's vivid, often bizarre imagery, Bede is preeminently interested in nouns and adjectives, not in verbs, in moral essences, not in historical or narrative action, and in the verbal play which can lead by logic to the inner moral significance of the Divine Word.
47. **JECP** 38 (1939), 116.


49. **Lex. Lehn., 14**:

Wir können...der Qualität und der Technik der Übersetzungen entnehmen, wie weit die Aneignung der lateinischen Sprache gediehen war. Wenn wir bedenken, mit welchen begrifflichen und terminologischen Schwierigkeiten eine Sprache von Bauern und Fischern dabei zu kämpfen hatte, darf man den Nordleuten die Anerkennung nicht versagen. Der Umgang mit der komplizierten Reim- und Kenningtechnik der bei Norwegern und Isländern hoch geschätzten Skaldendichtung hatte wohl dazu beigetragen, die sprachliche Ausdrucksfähigkeit zu schulen.


A second, independent translation of Caesarius 227 preserved in Sthom. and in AM 672 4to has, instead of hiartaholl, the less memorable phrase byGh hiarta várs (Sthom. 193/10; Mess. 63/29; on the independence of the two translations see Bekker-Nielsen, op.cit.,13). For further examples of the Latin metaphor see, e.g., Augustine, Confessions VIII.8, init., "in cubiculo nostro, corde meo"; X.8, "lata praetoria memoriae...in aula ingenti memoriae meae"; Thes. Ling. Lat., s.vv. domus I B 2d, 2aula II 4, castellum I. B, habitaculum I. B. 2d. 3. 4b, hospitium II. A. 2 γ, δ; Manz 405 hospitium cordis. See also R.D. Cornelius, The Figurative Castle (1930); G.R. Owst, Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England (1961), 77-85; M.A. Manzaloui, "The struggle for the House of the Soul: Augustine and Spenser", Notes and Queries 206 (1961), 420-422. In the Homily Books cf., e.g.:

Sthom. 43/6-8 (Nhom. 146/31-32):
...ef vár...rekom a braut þys liótra hugreNinga fra byrge hugar várs...

Sthom. 102/12-15 (Nhom. 99/4-7):
Afpui es oss naubsyn...at vár hreinsem brióst kirkio órrar.
svát etke fné Gúp í mustere síno því es ver siálfer erom þat es hann styGwesc víp.

Nhom. 69/16-20:
Rennum vér ámot Cristi...ok laðum hann með miskunnar vercum til mysteres hiarta vars...at hann laði os í í mystere dyrórar sinnar...

Nhom. 84/11-12:
Hus vár andleg ero briost vár. því at í þeim byggua allar hugrenningar.

Gr. 22 in Ev., PL 76, 1178B:
Quid enim spiritualiter domos nisi mentes nostras accipimus, in qui- bus per cogitationem inhabitamus?
In using the hall-of-the heart "kenning", Christian skalds would also often seem to have the Latin metaphor in mind. Cf. esp. Kolbeinn Tunason, lv. 9 (Skj A II, 40), "ryttv roðla gramr/ ...hverri sorg/ or hiarta borg"; Líknarbraut 4 (Skj A II, 151), "Dríf gádir láttu þíðadar/ þíns annað mer skín/ áðar líos.../ al biart í sal hiarta"; Nikulásdrápa 2 (Skj A II, 160), "Jon lavt í höll hreinnm/ hiarta sals hins biarta/ meyjar manvix frægrar/ mildingi braginga". (The compound hjartaborq is also used by the author of the B-recension of Agílandusbáttr in Karlamagnús_saga, ed. C.R. Unger [1860], 191/2, 244/28.)

53. E. O. S. notes that one finds isolated examples in religious prose texts of metaphorical circumlocutions which could fall into his "first category" of kennings (Ritunartimi íslendingasagna, 138; c.f. s.a., Íslenzkar Bókmenntir í Fornólð [1962], 145, and "Dróttkvæða þáttur", Skírnr 121 [1947], 16, rpt. in s.a., Við Uppsprettturnar [1956], 46). From Níðrstigningarsaga, for instance, he cites several kenning-like terms for the devil: glats oddviti, dauða jofurr, dauða skilfingr, jofurr helvíts (Ritunartimi..., 137-138), although he admits that the ornate style of this saga is not typical of that of other early OWN prose texts. These terms are not generically different, however, from conventional names for the devil and the powers of darkness found in the early homiletic works: e.g., hafþingiar helvíts myrkrs (Stóhm. 74/18), grimr myrkra hofpíngi Leifar 75/1 = Gr. 39 in Ev., PL 76, 1299D, princeps hujus mundi. (On medieval depictions of the devil as princeps tartari, commander of an infernal army, see, e.g., Oswald A. Erich, Die Darstellung des Teufels in der christlichen Kunst [Berlin, 1931], II.5, "Der Höllen- staat - Beelzebub, Luzifer, Satan - Rangordnung und Bewaffnung", 83ff.).

Wolfgang Lange, in his chapter on "Die christlichen Kenningar" (Studien zur christlichen Dichtung der Nordgermanen 1000-1200. Palaestra 222 [1958], 208ff.) observes that even when speaking of circumlocutions in Christian skaldic verse, which "in ihren Wort- und Bildschöpfungen ungleich freier -- weil nicht an zu übersetzende Vorlagen gebunden -- ist als die Prosä" (208-209), one can only
use the term kenning in a very restricted sense (208):

...Die Umschreibungen der christlichen Dichtung sind zumeist inhaltlich anderer Art als alles bisher von den Göttern Ausgesagte, aber formal bleiben sie in der Tradition und führen die schwere Würde und Bürde dieser eigentümlich nordgermanischen Dichtweise mit sich. Allerdings werden sie durchsichtiger, da sie sich nicht auf eine alte, figurenreiche Mythologie beziehen können, durchsichtiger bis zu bloßen Umschreibung, die man nicht mehr als Kenning bezeichnen kann, weil ihr der Rätsel- und Verweisungscharakter abgeht. Im ganzen aber ist es gerecht- fertigt, in den Umschreibungen der christlichen Dichtung das Mittel zu sehen, durch welches die Nordleute das ihnen Wesentliche der neuen Religion dichterisch sagten.
Corporal metaphors
E.R. Curtius devotes a section of his chapter on "metaphorics" in *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages* to a discussion of "corporal metaphors". He cites examples of this type of figure from both classical and medieval texts:

In a somewhat daring image, Plato says that the dialectical method raises "the eye of the soul, buried in barbaric mud" (Republic, 533d). Thenceforth the "eye of the soul" became a favourite metaphor, which we find both in pagan and Christian authors... Metaphors of this sort are frequent in late Antiquity and the Middle Ages. Characteristic of Augustine are metaphors which violate visual perception: "the hand of my tongue" (Conf., V, 1), "the hand of the heart" (Ibid., X, 12), "the head of the soul" (Ibid., X, 7). The soul tosses to and fro, "on its back, on its sides, and on its belly" (Ibid., VI, 16, 26). Prudentius introduces "the belly of the heart"; Aldhelm the "vulva of regenerating grace", the "neck of the mind", the "groins of the bowels"... Godfrey of Breteuil can say: "After it has drunk all this thoughtfully and sufficiently, the belly of my mind thirsts for more... The field is immense and unexplored. An entire volume could be filled with examples from patristic literature alone.¹

Curtius observes that many metaphors of this type - the eyes, ears, palate of the mind, heart, etc. - also belong to a mystical tradition which derives (at least in part) from Origen's doctrine of the spiritual senses.² Christian writers could also, however, find models for metaphors of the body in Scripture: "the hand of the tongue" (Prov. 18:21), "the foot of pride" (Ps. 35:12 [36:11]), "the eyes of the heart" (Eph. 1:18), "the bowels of mercy" (Lk. 1:78, Phil. 2:1, Col. 3:12, cf. Is. 63:15).³

Saint Peter speaks of "girding the loins of the mind" (succincti lumbos mentis vestrae I Pet. 1:13, cf. Eph. 6:14) and Paul recalls the Old Testament figure of the praeputium cordis (Deut. 10:16, cf. 30:6; Jer. 4:4)
in his discussion of the "circumcision of the heart" (Rom. 2:25-29).

The author of a sermon for the Feast of the Circumcision found in both Stthom. and Nhom. draws on both the theme of "spiritual circumcision" and the doctrine of the spiritual senses, in his elaboration of the hidden significance of the circumcision rite, to produce an impressive catalogue of corporal metaphors:

...En þat es vitaNða at vér megom varþveita umb sçurðar skirN dróttings a ællom vitom ens yrta manz. oc hins ibræ ef vér lifom siblega.

Sa skirer augo hugar ðins oc licams. es enga licamlega fegrþ lético tåla hug siN...þuai augo ibræ es oft siá þat es hug hans eþa licam teýger til freistne. Sva er oc ibræ hugscots augo þess er uner viþ synÞa licosne ðaw es ðhreINðaðe sýner hugscote hans.

Sa skirer eyro ens yrta manz oc ens ibræ es eige vill heýra ónýt orþ ne illgiarnleg... þuai ibræ eþa augo es gaman heþðer at illom tipendom eþa sãýrþþom. Oc er oc altra hellst ibræ hugscots eyro þess er versnar af aðaþra orþom.

Sa skirer muN siN sçurðar skirN gûps es hann varasc viþ ónýt orþ... Sa skirer muN hins ibræ manz oc eige bôlvar nóñge ðínom i hugscote...

...es...ilming ens ibræ manz su es þarf umbsçurðar.

s. crists. þat er at hann verþe eige samdaûne viþ synþer náongð ðins...

Sa skirer heNðr sínar. s. s. es þeim heläss frå stulp oc råne... EN es ænnor umb. s. s. ens ibræ manz. þat es at hann hallde hændom hugar ðins fra agirne þefRæ hluta allra es honom es eige lofat at hafa. þuai eige ibræ hugscots heNðr þess manz skirðar es hann girn-esc aNars eigens i hiarta sínþo. þót hann take þat eige meþ hæNðom.

Sa skirer feôtr sína es georer þat es salomón malte.

Ef synþger meN teýgia þic meþ sér at vera saclaðisan...
The various manifestations of these metaphorical *membra disiecta* in the Homily Books and later OWN literature can conveniently be examined individually. 
Eyes

Ocular metaphors are by far the most common of the corporal metaphors found in the Homily Books. The compound hugskotsuga occurs most often, and although this term would appear to be modelled on the phrase oculus mentis it is regularly used to translate various other Latin metaphors as well. Cf., e.g.:

Sthom. 87/19-20 ("Jn passione domini"):  
...lIf yþpwart broþr leibeþer fyrer hugskoz ðgo yþr...  

Gr. 18 in Ev., PL 76, 1150C:  
...Vitam ergo vestram, fratres charissimi, ante mentis oculos revocate...

Sthom. 91/7-9 (Leifar):  
...Hveriom glîkiasc þesseract nemar seraphim þat ero breNdadr oc logender. þuiat loge lyser oc breNer. sva lýsa keningar þeira hugscots augo manna til himnescra hluta...

Gr. 34 in Ev., PL 76, 1253C:  
...Quid ergo istos nisi seraphim dixerim, quorum cor in igne conversum lucet et urit, quia et mentium oculos ad superna illuminant...

Sthom. 60/3-4 ("Apparicio domini"):  
Setiom véð fyr hugskoz augo oss àNmarKa óra oc þar meþ ðgn dóma dags...

Gr. 10 in Ev., PL 76, 1113D-1114A:  
... necesse est ... ut ... ponamus ante oculos cordis hinc culpas operis, illinc judicium extreme districtonis.

Sthom 83/24-26 ("FvRificatio s. MaRie"; Nhom.68/17-19):  
...Sia þrifsemse segesc buen fyner auglirte allra lyþa. þuiat aller toco hiþlp af honom. þeir es hugskoz augom nóto sia hann oc elsca. fidei oculis aspexerunt.
The "eyes of the heart" are mentioned in both Sthom. and Nhom.:

Sthom. 50/33-34 ("Alia sermonis"):  
Ps. Aug. 117 § 3, PL 39, 178/16-17:  
Aperiat vobis ille oculos cordis, qui hodie propter nos dignatus est nasci...

Nhom. 91/26-29 ("In ascensione domini ... sermo valde necessaria")  
Especially interesting is the use of the metaphor "the eyes of mercy" in a rendering of Luke 1:58 in a sermon for the Nativity of John the Baptist:

Sthom. 11/24-26:  
En er kom sú tip sem nú  
hældom vær þa verðr elisabép  
líttare. En er þat heyrþo  
frándr hennar oc viner.  
leit miscunar augom a hana. þa  
æognópo þeir...  
cf. Luke 1:57-58:  
Elisabeth autem impeditum est tempus  
pariendi et paperit filium et  
audierunt vicini et cognati eius  
quia magnificavit Dominus miseri-  
cordiam suam cum illa et congratula-  
bantur ei...

None of the other translations of this verse preserved in OWN texts make use of this ocular metaphor (cf. Kirby, Biblical Quotation, I, 223-4:  
Nhom. 106/19-20, "...er guð vætti henne miscun sina...", Jóns s. baptista I, Post. 843/30-31, "...at guð miðlaði miskunn sina med henne...", Jóns s. baptista II, Post. 862/4, "...er guð miklaði miskunn..."
sina með henni..."1, and it is possible that the Sttom. translator’s introduction of the figure was prompted by a reminiscence of the second and fourth verses of the Magnificat (Luke 1:48,50): *quia respexit humilitatem ancillae suae... et misericordia eius in progenies et progenies timentibus eum*. 13

Ernst Walter notes that the phrase *at líta miskunnaraugum á e-u* is found for *misericorditer respicere* in the translation of Gregory’s thirty-sixth gospel homily found in AM 677 4to14:

Leifar 54/1-2:

*...En Gv litr opt miscuNar avgom a silica ond oc setr meinsemi & mót girndom heNar...*

PL 76, 1271C:

*...Sed plerumque omnipotens Deus talem animam misericorditer respicit, et ejus voluptatibus amaritudines permiscet.*

Walter observes that this metaphor is "sonst einige wenige Male belegt", but cites no further examples. 15 In fact, the circumlocution, "to see with the eyes of mercy" is widely attested in both early and late OWN prose, and the figure is often found as an amplified rendering of the verb *respicere*. Cf.,


*...Guô sa miskunnar augum a borg vara ok sendi þík hingat til var, at þu leystrir oss af hónðum þessa .ii. fiólkunnigra manna...*
Thóm.I, Fyrsti hlutr, k.20, 69/25-70/1:
...Fell hinn sæle Petrus, sem ver sogðum, ba er hann neitaðe guð, en várnum drotte sinum miskunnaraugum til hans litande, reis hann með tárom oc trega upp báðe skiótt oc skorulegða eptet fallet.16

Barl. 16/22-24:
Nu meðan er hann var í þessarre ahýggiv. ba leit sa miskunnar augum til hans. er ollum við hialppa...

Ibid., 26/10-11:
...Oc firir þú leit hann til hans sinvm miskunnar augum oc birtti honom skynsamlega sialvan sik oc sina miskunn...

Ibid., 26/10-11:
A þik kalla ec faður oc hinn hálga eingetinn sun þinn með hálgum an-da. lit miskunnar augum til þessa sauðs þins...

Ibid., 100/18-19:
...lit til min með þinum mis-kunnará augum. þúi at þu villt at aller hialppeztt oc haye kenning til þins sannleiks...

Ibid., 112/35-113/5:
...En síðan er hann braut guðs boðoró ... ba vennde eigi guð at helldr sinum miskunnar augum

Ps. Ioh. Dam. 13/3-5:
...Sic ergo habente se iuuene ... uïdit eum qui cuncta cernit oculis nec despexit, qui uilt omnes saluos fieri...

cf. Ibid., 19/1-2:
...Susciens autem hunc gratianti et recto iudicio deus, manifestauit ei semetipsum...

Ibid., 70/26-27:
...Te ergo inuoco et unigenitum filium tuum, et sanctissimum tuum spiritum, respice super hanc rationabilem ouem tuam...

Ibid., 70/26-28:
Cecidit siquidem Petrus, sed respiciente in eum Domino, flens amarissime fortior resurrexit.

Ibid., 70/40-71/1:
...Respice in me et miserere mei, quia omnes uis saluos fieri et ad agnitionem ueritatis uenire...

Ibid., 78/19-23:
...Præuaricantem uero mandatum illius non deseruit, sed omnia patiendo ad antiquum honorem ulens eum
af honom nema helldr var hans reducere, totius factor creaturae, hinn milldi goðvili til hinnar et nostri generis autor homo factus samu hialppar at leiða hann est...
aptr til hinnar fyrri söemdar ... er hann vísæde ser ifra af sialfs sins vangizzlo...
Ibid., 114/24-28: cf. Ibid., 79/17-19:
...En þo bað ec guð optsamlega af allu hiartta ... at hann liti miskunnar augum til þin.
þo at þu ser honom af þinom misverkkom mick fiarre oc gortt þik sialfkrava lygimann oc laupingia...
Ibid., 155/24-27:
...Ev drottenn allzvalldannde miskunnsmr miskunna mer... oc lit þinvin hinv miskunnnsama auga binnar margfallegrar miskunnar a mitt mal...
Ibid., 181/33-34: Ibid., 116/29-30:
Se a iðran hiartta hans með augum miskunnar binnar ... Vide contritionem cordis mei propicio et misericordi oculo ...
Olafs s. Tryggvasonar en Mesta, II, 149/12-15 (Flat. I, 420/39 - 421/4):
...Nu boðaði þessi atburðr fyrir sem þorhallr sagði. ok margir lutir þvilikir. þann fagnadar tíma sem eptir kom. at allzvalldandi guð virði at líta miskunnar augum aa þann lyð er Island bygði. ok leysa þat folk fyrir sína erendreka af laungum fiandans þræl domi ...
Stjórn 225/9-10: Gen. 47:25:
...Liti guð ok þi miskunnar- augum til úr. þa munum ugr ...respiciat nos tantum dominus glaðliga konunginum þíona.
...et de longino reuocaret exilio, cuius tu autor tibimetipsi...fugitius piétatis factus, et malitia minister totius impietatis.
Ex. 2:6:
•...cernensque in ea parvulum vagientem miserta eius...

Ex. 2:25:
•...respexit filios Israhel et cognovit eos

Ruth 1:6:
•...Et surrexit ut in patriam pergeret audierat enim quod respexisset Dominus populum suum, et dedisset eis escas.

I Sam. 9:16:
•...quia respexi populum meum...

cf. 2 Kings 23:27:
•...Dixit itaque Dominus: Etiam Judam auferam a facie mea, sicut abstuli Israel: et proiiciam civitatem hanc, quam elegi Jerusalem, et domum, de qua dixi: Erit nomen meum ibi.

DN IX, 125/6-8 (p.139), (13 July 1340). Bishop Håkon of Bergen requests that Bishop Eiríkr of Stavanger release a cleric, one of his own kinsmen, from a ban.

...er þat boenastader vaar. at þer lijtir miskunnar augum a han frialsande han af sinum vaanda. þo at han hafwe brøysker vordet, ok saker vaar...
It is remarkable that pleonastic references to the eye of the subject are found in the parallel Latin texts of only three of the examples cited, all from Barlaams ok Josaphats saga (16/22-24, cf. Ps. Ioh. Dam. 13/3-5; 155/24-27, cf. Ps. Ioh. Dam. 101/13-15; 181/33-34, cf. Ps. Ioh. Dam. 116/29-30). Whatever the ultimate origin of the metaphor, it is clear from the examples from Stoth., AM 677 4to, and AM 655 IX 4to that the OWN phrase at líta miskunnaraugum was already a stock formula by the twelfth century.
With the hugscots eýro of the Feast of Circumcision homily (Sthom. 185/15; Nhom. 55/26) one can compare a reference to the "hearing of the heart" in the messuskýring at Sthom. 123/34-36 (cf. AM 625 4to, Mess. 47/5-9):

Dui tókum ver háatto af höfpe oss. at etke se þess er byrge hlust vára. oc allra hellzt hugscotz várs hlust fra orpe dróttens...

The Doomsday sermon preserved on the interpolated leaves in Nhom. introduces the "ears of humility" and "of rejoicing":

Nhom. 168/17-21:
Nu stuði guð leamstr mal-hellti minnar. ok gege u-froðre tungu hórskleg orð at mæla. þau er minum drotne snuisk til lofs ok dyrðar. ok ollum þeim til himnscra hæl-ræða er á lyða með litil-lates ýrum.

Nhom. 168/32-169/1:
...þvi at þa standa allir retvisir menn sva liðsir sem sol á hógra veg varom drotne ok hýra friðleg heim-boð með fagnaðar ýrum þa er hín milldaste konungr melir sva...

An equally interesting "auricular" metaphor is found in another of the sermones ad populum in Nhom., in an admonition against unseemly conduct in church:

Nhom. 36/18-21:
En sumir menn þera með ollu rangt í guðs husi. fara með glæm ok uspaki. ok með meðgi ok ulyóni ok hværn ð-sið er mykil er. ok fóra ð-lioðans ýruru við guðs ambæte ok halætri þionaesto.

Joan Turville-Petre has pointed out that this section of the Old Norwegian sermon draws on the same source-material as a passage in Ælfric’s homily on the "Prayer of Moses", but neither Ælfric’s sermon nor any of the analogous Latin texts on misbehaviour in church referred
to by her contain anything like the ear-metaphor employed by the Norwegian 
homilist. In fact, both Fritzner and the files of the Arnamagnæan 
Dictionary list only one other example of this metaphorical compound, 
from an official letter of Bishop Håkon Erlingsson of Bergen, in which 
he complains of the drunkenness and violence of his parishioners and 
pronounces a ban upon those responsible for an assault upon a local cleric 
(DN IX, 117/25-30, 7 August, 1339):

...Nu af þui, at ver meghom med engho mote, 
vttan vaarrar ofmykillar abyrgdar þuillka vlydni 
med ifirdylmande aughum, eðr vliodans øeyrum 
þeghiande vmljda, þa gerom ver allum godom monnum 
kunnligt, at þeir oc hwar þeirra er þ þesso 
vóða værki vaaro stadór kunnir eðr sanner falla oc 
fallet hafwa, j bann af siaulfw verkinu...

On its own, the rather rare word 6hliðóan is regularly used to refer 
to loud and disorderly behaviour (especially in church or other places 
of public assembly). Mattias Tveitane has drawn attention to this use of 
the word in the OI version of the Visio Pauli and in a Norwegian statute 
of the fourteenth century:

AM 624 4to, 293, ed. Tveitane, 
En Norrón Versjon av Visio 
Pauli, 8/9-11: 
...þeir menn sem standa til 
knif[a] ero þeir sem...
[o]hlíodon giordo j kirkiu 
þa er enn helga messa var 
sungin...

"Om Prestestevne," NGL III, 308/23-24:
...Enn ef hann byriar edr uliodar [var. ohliodon gerir]28 
gialldi eyrir.

The word is used in the same way in a "guild law" from Nidaros preserved in 
a thirteenth-century ms. (NRA 50 C):
...En aller menn skulu jnni vera er firir er mælt Mariu

minni ok at Petrs minni ok at allra heillaghra minni
ok at Olafs minni ok upp standa ok åkki mæla nema biðiz
fhirir ok...gjällde penning...ef olioðan ger[er]. 29

It is worth noting, however, that, in the example from the translation

of Visio Pauli at least, the meaning of the word ohiiodon is by no means

unambiguous. For while the phrase þeir sem ohiiodon giordo appears at

first glance to be a simple calk of gui lites faciunt, in the context

ohiodon may also carry something of the meaning, "inattentiveness, un-

heedfulness", in so far as it refers as well to the words non audientes

verbunm dei. At any rate, as Tveitane observes, it is unlikely that the

word can mean "noise" or "uproar" when used as part of the compound

ôhljóðanseyra:

I sammensetningen olioðansýra i Hom. er denne
spesielle betydningen noe modifisert: "Øre paa
hvilket man ikke hører" (Fritzner). Og når ordet
brukes av biskop Håkon ... er sammenhengen med "bråk
i kirka" brutt: "ver meghom med engho mote ... ðulika
vlydni med ... vliodans ðyrum þeghiannde vmljda"
(vi kan ikke vende det ðøve ðre til slik ulydighet). 30

The infrequent occurrence of the term ôhljóðanseyra in OWN and the

very general similarity of the contexts in which the compound is used by

the Norwegian homilist and Bishop Håkon encourage Tveitane to ask,

"Kan det være fra juleprekenen i Hom Håkon har tatt uttrycket?" 31

Even if this rhetorical question could be answered, one would still be

justified in asking from what source (oral or written) the author of the

Old Norwegian sermon was familiar with the expression in the first place.

Certainly it seems more reasonable to imagine that both the homilist

and Bishop Håkon make use of the phrase as a commonplace than to assume

that the only two examples of the word ôhljóðanseyra known to modern

lexicographers must somehow be directly related.
Like Tveitane, Fritzner, Cleasby-Vigfusson, and Heggstad all compare the phrase *at fœra 6hljóanseyra við e-n* with the proverbial expression, "to turn a deaf ear to s.t.". As Tveitane observes, the phrase at ljó 6hljóöseyru is still used in this way in Modern Icelandic; and in OWN the verb *daufheyrast* was used to express more or less the same idea.

In fact, in another of his letters, Bishop Hákon employs this verb in much the same way he uses the metaphor *6hljóanseyra*. In this letter (dated 4 April, 1342), he writes to the clerics of Fyrdafylki requesting that they prepare to receive the archbishop of Nidaros and his retinue, and warns of the dire consequences which will attend any dereliction of hospitality (DN VIII., 150/13-16):

... nu ef nokor er sa. sam ver æi truum er daufheyrizst mote þessare skylou ok varo bode. ada þriotzsko æor vlydni vidber. þa skulum ver so æftir sia vid hann. at hans gerð skal odrum til fulkomins otta ok varnadar verda.

In this text, as in Håkon's earlier letter and in the Nhom. passage on misbehaviour in church, the metaphor of "deafness" is associated with a cognate of 6hljóanseyra - the word vlydni. Ernst Walter points out that while this derivative of hl6a ("to listen closely, obey") regularly has the meaning "disobedience", its significance would appear to be slightly different in the passage from Nhom.:

*Hlyóni* ist stets "Gehorsam", 6hljóni stets "Ungehorsam" - mit einer Ausnahme, wo in Hom 6hljóni mit melgi zusammengestellt ist und wohl "Unaufmerksamkeit (im Gottesdienst)" bedeutet...35

In this passage then, the meaning of 6hljóanseyra would appear at least to touch the semantic edge of 6hljóni. In fact, it is difficult to believe that there is not deliberate word-play in the association of these cognates in both the ON sermon and Håkon's letter on the troubles in Bergen.
Even in Hákon's letter, where vlydni is clearly used in its normal sense of "disobedience", the word may still be linked with the ear-metaphor by sense as well as sound, for the ears are often associated with the virtue of obedience by Christian scholars of the Middle Ages. One can compare, for instance, the entries for auris in the "spiritual dictionaries" of Eucherius of Lyons and Alan of Lille, and in the Distinctiones Monasticae:

Formulae Spiritualis Intelligentiae, "VI. De Interiore Hominem", CSEL 31, 35/17-18:
\[
\text{Aures obedientia fidelis;} \text{ in evangelio: et aures uestrae quia audiunt [Matt. 13:16].}
\]

Distinctiones Dictionum..., PL 210, 714B:
\[
\text{Auris ... Dicitur obedientia, unde Psalmista: Populus quem non cognovi, in auditu auris obedientiv mihi [Ps. 17:45].}
\]

Distinctiones Monasticae, Spic. Sol. II, 225:
\[
\text{...Est auris intelligentiæ; unde Isaias: "Dominus Deus aperuit mihi aurem, ego autem non contradico, retrosum non abii." [Is. 4:5] Felix qui hoc veraciter dicere potest, cui Deus dedit intelligentiam, et ipse paratus est ad obedientiam... Est auris obedientia; unde: "In auditu auris obedientiv mihi."36}
\]

In his use of the term vliodans zyru Bishop Hákon perhaps suggests that "to pass by in silence the disobedience" of the iniquitous citizens of Bergen (puilika vlydni ... vmlijd) would be to ignore his episcopal duties and to turn to the problem not only "deaf ears" but "ears of disobedience" as well.37
The figurative ears of the Homily Books are again part of a long and respectable Latin tradition. The figure of the "ear of the heart" is found in Augustine's *Confessions* (I, 5; IV, 5) and in the first line of the Benedictine Rule (*...inclina aurem cordis tui*, CSEL 75, 1/1); and Curtius notes that the metaphor *aures mentis* is used by Paulinus of Nola, Juvenecus, Jerome and Gregory the Great. For liturgical examples see Manz 84 *auditus pietatis*, 91 *aures clementiae*, 92 - *misericordiae*, 93 - *pietatis*; Pflieger (p.45), *Auris*(*-pietatis, misericordiae, praecordiorum*).
With the hugscotz hændr of the Nhom. Circumcision homily one can compare two other sets of "spiritual hands" mentioned in the Homily Books. The sermon for the Feast of the Purification of Mary preserved in both Nhom and Sthom. concludes with an exhortation to "receive Christ with the hands of faith" (Nhom. 69/16-19; Sthom. 86/4-6):

Rennum ver ámot Cristi mēo aöst ok góðum siðum
... ok takum við hænum með hændum retrar trv... 40

And the peroration of the version of Gregory's thirty-fourth gospel homily found in Sthom. and AM 677 4to contains the figure of the "hand of penitence":

Sthom. 92/28-32 (Leifar 65/22-26):
En vēr gōper breðpr scolom
ofvalt fīysasc til dýrpar þeira
es nu segiðm vēr frā. oc
miNasc þo at vēr erom iarþieger.
oc þerra af oss synþa dust meþ
ipranar hēnde fyr aúgo scapera
vārs. at vēr megin hreiner
verþa oc komasc til himnescrar
borgar.

Numerous examples of similar compounds can be found in later OWN texts. 42

Cf. Manz 584 manus misericordiae, 585 -pietatis; Pitra, Spicilegium Solesmense II, 232, manus potentiae, gratiae, protectionis, humanitatis, benignitatis, fidei, devotionis, curationis, laudationis, pigritiae, elationis, duplicitatís, etc. 43
With the feet ens íóra manz of the Circumcision homily one can compare Nhom. 8/8-9 (Alc. VV, X, "De humilitate," PL 101, 619D):

Liti1-1tes f6tum scal uppHumilitatis passibus ad celistiga til himins hécár.culmina conscenditur; quia Deus
Þvi at hár guó kænniscexcelsus non superbia, sed
aigi í ofmetnae. hólðrhumitate attingitur.44
í litil-láte.

A similar metaphorical compound, "the feet of virtues", is found in another early translation, the OWN version of the Epigrams of Prosper of Aquitaine in AM 677 4to:

Leifar 16/1-3:Epigrammata, LXIX, PL 51, 519B:
Er er upp eroó callæer yrAd patriam vita noctis de valle
myrcom dal til ens liosa vocati, Virtutum gradibus scandite
lifs pa clifió er þangat lucis iter.
costa fotom epter eNex
biorto monvits goto.45

The figure, "the foot of pride", appears in both of the complete versions of Thómas saga erkibyskups as part of a free rendering of John 13:18:

Einn maór, sa er mitt brauó ...Unus homo, qui manducavit panem
åt, hóf sinn drambuisissfót meum, levavit contra me calcaneum
mér a mot. suum.

Thóm. II, 1, 513/28-29:
Einn sá maór, er þá mitt borð ok át mitt brauó, hóf sinn
drambsemisföt mer í mót.46

Variants of the same metaphor are found in Jóns saga postola I and IV and in Tveggia postola saga Jóns ok Jacobs:

Jóns s.p. I, Post. 434/31-34: Pseudo-Mellitus, Passio Sancti
Luk þu upp fyrir mer, drot-
þinn, þvát ek tek nu at
knyia a ðyr eilifs lifes, sva

Iohannis, ed. Fabricius, III, 622/28-31:
Aperi mihi pulsanti januam vitæ,
principes tenebrarum non occurrant
mihi, et pes superbia, et manus
Peter Hallberg has pointed out that the only examples of the words *drambsemisfótr* and *dramblaciisfótr* recorded by Fritzner are those cited above - all from works which he has attempted to prove (from statistical studies of vocabulary and stylistic features) were written by Bergr Sokkason, monk of Æingeyrar, later Abbot of Æverå († some time after 1345). The suggestion that these metaphorical phrases reflect the style and imagination of a particular individual is, in many ways, attractive, but one wonders whether the texts cited need support such a hypothesis. In the example from Thóm.II, the compound *drambsemisfótr* is clearly modelled on the word *drambuisissfótr* in Thóm.I, a work which Hallberg
admits "år visserligen ej av Bergr Sokkason". And to take drambsemis-fótr as a touchstone of the style of the author(s) of Jóns s. p. IV and Tvegg. p. s. JJ seems equally dubious, for although these two texts agree in using this term to translate Pseudo-Mellitus' pes superbiae, they differ markedly in their renderings of the other two metaphorical compounds found in the Latin passage:


It is also disturbing that none of the foot-metaphors cited by Hallberg occur in either of the works expressly attributed to Bergr in medieval sources - Michaels saga and Nikolaus saga erkibyskups II; and even Hallberg's observation that of the two remaining drambsemis-compounds recorded by Fritzner one (drambsemisandi) is from Nik. II (HMS II, 82/38) and the other (drambsemisháls) from a section of Maríu saga (530/7) "med mycket stark prägel av Bergr Sokkasons ordval" does little to bolster one's confidence in the value of these terms as examples of diction peculiar to a particular author. It seems more likely that the concentration of such figurative compounds in fourteenth-century texts reflects the general popularity of the "learned" and "florid" styles during that period. Nor is it unreasonable to assume that a metaphor like "the foot of pride" could have been used, like the compound litillates fótr in Nhom. (and, indeed, like almost all of the corporal metaphors examined in this chapter), by any Icelandic or Norwegian writer with a taste for such figures - in this case, by anyone familiar with the words of the Psalmist, "Let not the foot of pride come against me."
Also worth mentioning in connection with the corporal metaphors is a reference to Christ's "bosom of mercy" in a sermon on the Holy Cross found in both Sthom. and Nhom. (Sthom. 37/4 - 39/18, "De sancta Crvce"; Nhom. 103/11 - 105/20, "In inuentione sancte crucis sermo"). The nailing of Christ's hands to the cross is interpreted in bonam partem (Sthom. 37/33 - 38/1; Nhom. 104/6 - 8):

...Rétte hann fra sér bápar hendr a crossenom. þuiai hann bybr faðm miscvNar siNar. æoll[on] þeim er hann elsca...

None of the Latin sources suggested by Gunnes for this section of the sermon offer a close parallel to this statement, but the idea that the outstretched arms of Christ on the Cross represent his drawing of mankind into his merciful embrace is a commonplace found, for instance, in commentaries on Isaiah's prophecy of the crucifixion (Is. 65:2, cf. Romans 10:21), "Expandi manus meas tota die ad populum incredulum".

The phrase faðmr miskunnar itself is probably modelled on a Latin metaphor like sinus misericordiae. One can compare the use of the figurative phrase faðmr mildi in the translation of Gregory's gospel homilies in AM 677 4to:

Leifar 66/8-9:
...ver erom falnir oc liGiom i svnpom. en drottin lvcr up faðm mildi siNar oc eGiar oss up át risa oc vill taca id irpron vaRi...

Leifar 84/25:
Gvþ bybr faðm mildi siNar iprondom...

Gr. 34 in Ev., PL 76, 1256A-B:
...Ecce autem jam lapsi sumus, ...
in pravis nostris desideriis jacemus. Sed qui nos concidit rectos, adhuc exspectat, et provocat ut surgamus. Sinum suæ pietatis aperit, nosque ad se recipere per poenitentiam querit ...

Gr. 33, PL 76, 1245B:
Ecce superna benignitas ... nobis revertentibus suæ clementis sinus parat.
Again, the early translators bequeathed this metaphor to later Icelandic authors. The figure of the bosom of mercy is found in *Líknarbraut* in an excursus on the crucifix which is reminiscent, in much of its phrasing, of the own sermon on the Cross (st. 42-45, *Skjöd B II*, 171-172):

```
. ..
sjá má hverr í heimi
hnossa brjótr, á krossi
dygr hvé sinn faðm seggjum
sölstéttar gramr réttir.

Dá er sem þengill skýja
þreknjallr kveói alla
oss með oróum þessum,
þagatr fyr meinlasti:
...
Mín snúsk þjóð ok þjóna
(þat 's róðuligt) dýðum
glapum von frá greypu
grandi mér til handa;
þvi býð ok faðm, at feðmik
fúss ok glaðr með saðri
óst, hvern er íðrask lasta
unninna, miskunnar.
```

The phrase *faðmr sinnar mildi ok miskunnar* occurs in *Magnúss saga lengri* (fr. 34, 345/16-19):

```
...ok hann við tekur synduga menn í inn víðasta faðm
sinnar mildi ok miskunnar, alla þá er af láta sinni
óvízku ok til hans snúast af óllu hjarta...
```
The metaphor is applied to Saint Ólafur Haraldsson in Jóns s. helga B (Bísk. I, 218/9-12),

... Egill för til hijöar hins heilaga Ólafs konungs, ok var þar val höndlaör ok sæmiliga, sem aðrir Íslenskir menn, þeir sem kómu undir miskunnarfaðm þessa hins hins völula hófingia.

and to the Virgin Mary in a version of the Theophilus legend in Marlu saga (418/27-30):

...þytr upp mikít kall allz lyds, loftanda lifanda guð ok hans signudu modur, er íafnan virdiz sinn miskunnarfaðm moti þeim at breida, er frá honum snunir uilia til hans aþtr huerfa.

In Thóm. II the phrase is used of the bosom of the Church (I, 182/23 - 184/1):

..."Tví er ljóst voröit af kirkjunar lögum," sagði erkibyskup, "at veraldligt vald stendr mjök fjari at leggja dóm yfir klerka máí, fyrr enn kirkjan hefir þeim fyrir sitt ofbeldi ok ðaflatliða ílsku af sínum miskunnarfaðmi með öllu brott kastat."
1. European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, pp.136-137.


...In theological terms the "spiritual senses" are not just five powers permanently residing in the soul - by analogy with the physical senses - but are temporary spiritual acts, ultimately effected by divine grace. In these acts it seems to the soul that it is experiencing a supernatural object which reveals itself as if it were present in some concrete manner ... therefore the language which expresses such experiences is something rather different than mere metaphor.

3. On the place of "corporal metaphors" in Hebrew thought see generally Édouard Paul Dhorme, L'emploi métaphorique des noms de parties du corps en hébreu et en akkadien (Paris, 1923; rpt. 1963); G.D. Driver, "The

In Israelite thought man is conceived, not so much in dual fashion as "body" and "soul", but synthetically as a unit of vital power ... That is to say, the various members and secretions of the body, such as the bones, the heart, the bowels, and the kidneys, as well as the flesh and the blood, can all be thought of as revealing psychical properties.

Thus, e.g., the Hebrew word "nasal", also means "wrath" (see F. Brown, A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament [Oxford, 1906], p.60, s.v., 3: Gen. 27:45, 49:6-7, Ex. 4:14, 22:23, 32:12,Dt. 9:19, 2 Kings 24:20; cf. Johnson, 7, 28, 49f., Dhorme, 80ff.), and "throat" (me' ayim), "the intestines, the bowels", can also refer to the emotions of pity, compassion, distress, and love (see Brown, p.589, s.v., 5: Is. 16:11, 63:15, Jer. 4:19, 31:20, Lam. 1:20, 2:11, Song of Sol. 5:4; cf. Johnson, 74, Dhorme, 134ff.).

Two OI renderings of the phrase viscera misericordiae are found in Jóns saga baptista II, written by the priest Grímur Hölmsteinsson between the years 1264 and 1298 (see Lilli Gjerløw, "Johannes Baptista", KLN VII, 539-41). The first of these occurs in a commentary on the eleventh verse of the Benedictus canticle of Zacharias (Luke 1:78, Post. 865/32-36; see Kirby, Biblical Quotation I. 226):

...þvi let hann fylgia at þessi heilsa mundi þeim veita aflausn eiginligra synða ... eptir þvi sem hit ellipta vers vattar um miskunnar iðr guðs vars. Miskunnar iðr guðs eru aðstæðir hans, þær er hann veitir oss fryrgefning synða.

In another passage (Post. 872/32-33), Grímur speaks of John's leading
those converted by his preaching "...i kvíð kristinnar oc til miskunnar íóra almattigs guós".

Interestingly, Oddur Gottskálksson (Hid Nya Testament, 1540) also uses the phrase miskunnar íóra in his translation of Luke 1:78 (Jón Helgason suggests, Málía Í Nýja Testamenti Odds Gottskálkssonar [1929], 194, in reminiscence of Jóns s. bapt. II) The metaphor seems, however, to have been avoided by earlier OWN prose writers, perhaps to avoid confusion with íóra, "repentance, remorse, contrition". (On the difficulties associated with the etymology of this word see Walter, Lex.Lehn., 109ff.; Thors, 210; De Vries, A.e.W., s.v. íóra.)

Cf., e.g.,

Gr. Dialogues, HMS I, 228/20-21: III.17, PL 77, 265B:
...bvi at hann snere i kenningom ...quod illius prædicatione sinom grimmon hugscotom til milde cruelissime cogitationes ad ... pietatis mollia conversæ sunt viscera ... (Ernst Walter, Lex.Lehn., 115, notes that the PL reading is closer to the translator's exemplar here than is Umberto Moricca's text [Gregorii Magni Dialogi. Fonti per la storia d'Italia 57 (Roma, 1924), 183/2]: ...quod illae illius cruelissimæ cogitationis ad pietatis mollitiam conversæ sunt viscera. Cf. de Vogüé, vol.2, 342/70-71: ... quod illae eius cruelissimae cogitationes ad pietatis mollia conversæ sunt viscera.)

Leifar 40/30-32:
...fvr þat at hann var galawss iarþom sinom. oc vilþi eigi caþpa ser svnþalawþ þar er hann atti gnogt til at gefa.

Leifar 76/7-8:
...I þessom hlut er merc-ianda hverso miscunnar verc samtengia oss Gyþi.

Gr.40 in Ev., PL 76, 1305A:
...quia viscera pietatis ignoravit, quia peccata sua redimere etiam cum sibi abundaret pretium noluit.

Gr. 39 in Ev., PL 76, 1300D-1301A:
...Qua in re pensandum est nobis quantum fraternala compassio valeat, quantum nos omnipotenti Deo misericordia viscera conjugant.
Ban. k. 86, 84/28-31:
En þat er vmattelegt at spyria
eða segia með huerium hattæ
guðs sunr lægðe sinn guðdom oc
tok a sík firir varar saker
daúlegan manndom. Hatt
þessarrar miskunnargíaver vitum
ver eigi. oc eigi hoever oss
vm at rœða.

Ban. k. 88, 86/35-36:
Nu ert þu með guðs miskunn
val fra villu frælstr...

Ps. Joh. Dam. 61/30-32:
Modum uero ignoramus, nec dicere
ualemus. Crede filium dei per
uiscesa suæ misericordìæ factum
hominem, onus suscepisse quæ sunt
humanitatis naturales et
ineuitabiles passiones.

Ps. Ioh. Dam., 65/13-14:
Tu autem de cætero liberatus ab
ea per uiscera misericordìæ dei
nostri...

The word iðrar, f. pl., used like ðór, n.pl., "entrails", in
Guðrúnarkviða II, st. 23, has the meaning "remorse, regret" in Atlamál
in groenlenzco, st.69:
Feginn ertu, Atli, ferr þú víg lýsa,
á muno þér iðrar, ef þú alt reynir

Ursula Dronke notes (The Poetic Edda, I. Heroic Poems [Oxford, 1969],
132 ad loc.),
...The notion that deep feeling has its seat in the
entrails ... may well be ancient and pre-Christian in
Norse ... but it would be unwise to assume, on the sole
evidence of Am, that the word "entrails" would be used
without qualification to signify "remorse". If iðrar
was a rare variant form of ðór, the poet of Am may well
have confused the words iðran and iðrar in his own
mind, attributing to both the sense "remorse".

4. For further Old Testament examples of the circumcision-metaphor see L.V.
Snowman, "Circumcision," Encyclopedia Judaica 5, 568:
In the time of the Prophets, the term "uncircumcised" was applied allegorically to the rebellious heart or to the obdurate ear (Ezek. 44:1, 9; Jer. 6:10). Jeremiah declared that all the nations were uncircumcised in the flesh, but the whole house of Israel were of uncircumcised heart (Jer. 9:25)...
The word describes the lips of a person whose speech is not fluent (Ex. 6:12, 30) or the heart and ear of a person who will not listen to reason (Jer. 6:10, 9:25)...

(cf. Dhorme, 90, 127; Johnson, 85).

The author of Barlaams ok Josaphats saga simplifies a reminiscence of I Peter 1:13 in his Latin source:

Barl., k. 93, 93/27-30:    Ps. Joh. Dam. 66/26-27:
...verð þu nv heðan i fra ...De reliquo ipse praecinges
drengilega at herða oc staðfesta hug lumbos mentis tuae, secundum
bínn til þess guðs, er þu hever gevet illum qui uocauit te sanctum
skilning...

Kirby (Biblical Quotation, I, 17) cites a passage from Silvesters saga as a rendering of Deut. 10:16 (HMS II, 265/4-5): "...sва sem hann
mælti fyrir spámann sinn einn: Taki þer skurdarskírn hiarta ydvars...
..." Johannes Belsheim (Af Bibelen paa norsk-islandsk [norroña] i
Middelalderen [Christiania, 1884], p.33) takes the passage to refer to Jer. 4:4 (cf. however, Kirby, II, 137, "...Jer. 4:4 ... is not as close. The attribution to spámann sinn einn may be discounted."). Until a parallel Latin text for this part of Silvesters saga is established (the text printed by Mombritius, Sanctuarium [Paris, 1910] does not correspond here, cf. II, 520/40-58), it is probably safer to assume that the phrase is a general reminiscence of the biblical metaphor of the circumcision of the heart than to take it as a citation of a particular scriptural verse.
5. Sthom. 185/4 - 186/14 (Nhom. 55/13 - 56/28). Sthom. preserves only the final section of this sermon which seems to draw primarily on Bede I.11, "In Octava Nativitatis Domini" (CCSL 122, 73-79) with some additional material from Ps. Haymo of Halberstadt, (Haymo of Auxerre), sermo 14 de tempore (PL 118, 90ff.; see Gunnes, 167). Neither of these texts, however, offers close parallels for the section on the "circumcision of the senses" in the OWN text, and neither Latin sermon makes use of corporal metaphors. Nor are similar metaphorical compounds found in an independent OWN reworking of Bede I.11 also preserved in Sthom. (54/1 - 56-29. "ciRcumcisio domini. Attadagr", cf. esp. 56/5ff., "Allra vitsmuna våRa scolom vér skírn taka bápe aúgna heymnar oc máls. hilmíngar oc keNeseme...”). On the relationship between the OWN texts see Indrebø's introduction to Nhom., *43.


7. With Sthom. 185/28.31 (Nhom. 56/4-8) cf. Bede (CCSL 122, 78/196-199):

Orávanda QveNa vanpe es at bera f húis sín ilmanDe urter at þér tále meþ þessom ilm oc teýge til sín þa meN e s eige cuNo sia vîp véloM þeiRa. En nauþsýn es at hveR cristen maþr halldse sér fra þessum ilm. e s skíra vîl vîl ilmíngar siNar.

Incircumcisi olfactu et tactu qui unguento et uariis odoribus sunt delibuti qui sequuntur amplexus meretricis aspergentes [var. aspergentis] cubile suum myrra et aloe et cinamomo. [cf. Prov. 7:17]

Fritzner and the files of the Arnamagnæan dictionary record only one other example of the adjective samdauni/-a, from Barlaams ok Josaphats saga, again with reference to the "stench of sin" (cf. Fritzner's definition, "fortroliq med Stanken af noget, saa at den ikke findes afskyelig, fig."
Ernst Walter does not discuss the derivation of the word in his article, "Einige mit sam-präfigierte Komposita in früher altwestnordische Überlieferung," Nordeuropa. Studien 9 (1976), 103-114, although he suggests (114) that "alle mit sam-präfigierten Adjektiva scheinen Lehnbildungen [after Latin adjectives formed with the prefix con-/co-] zu sein."

Although no figurative noses are included among the corporal metaphors of the Homily Books, the homilists occasionally make use of "olfactory" metaphors. The figure, "the fragrance of virtues/good works/prayer" is especially common:

Nhom. 63/22-24:
Røykelsi för om vèr
guói ef vèr brennum
hugrenningar varar í
við-komningar ælde.
at bøner varar gere
bægian ilm guói.

Sthom. 59/20-22:
Reykelse för om ver
honom. ef ver breNom
hiartano hugreNingar
holzens fyr helgar
beoner. at ver méttem
vel hilma fyr gupe i
göpmom verkom eba
sibom.

Gr.10 in Ev., PL 76, 1113B:
Thus offerimus, si
cognitiones carnis per
in ara cordis incendimus,
redolere valeamus.

Nhom.60/32-34 (Sthom.81/27-29):
Røykelse merkir ilm hailagra
bøna. [Sthom. ilm göbra verka
oc heilagra beðna]. sva sem
Daviót malte í psalme. Greiðisc
bøn min í æuliti þíno droten
sva sem røykelsi.

Gr.10 in Ev., PL 76, 1113B:
Thure autem quod Deo incenditur
virtus orationis exprimitur.
Psalmista testante, qui dicit:
Dirigatur oratio mea sicut
incensum in conspectu tuo
[Ps. 140:2].
Sthom. 123/37 – 124/1

...þui es reykelse boret. at af hans orpe hefer hilm
laget góhra verka of allan heim.

Nhom.82/23-28 (cf.87/4-5):
AM 624 4to,
Leifar 151/19-23:
Gr.21, PL 76,

...Ef vér trvm ok ...þá komom vjer með ...Et nos ergo in eum
sýcheck dauða Crist ok smyrslum til grafar qui est mortuus
lætim hans með ēlm drottins, ef vier credentes, si odore
goóra verka. þá er sem virtutum referti,
vér cumem til grafar var ok grafinn, ok
drotens með gódum leitum hans með ēlm virtutum perfecto
smyrslum. góhra verka.

...þær hyggjur mego ...þær áhyggjor líta
lita himnesca luti er himnesca hluti, er
með goóra verka ílm með krapta ílm fara
læita drotens. til guós fyrir helgar cives aspiciunt, qu

See too Leifar 81/34, ilmr góbra verca (Gr.33, PL 76, 1242A, odor bona
opinionis); Ibid. 82/1 ilmr góbra dýma (Gr.33, 1242B, odor bona opinionis);
Ibid., 82/24 ilmr góbra verca oc ceninga (Gr.33, 1243A, sacri eloquii
bona opinio); Ibid., 198/33 ...með hinum sata ílm himneskrar sýnar ...
(PL 184, 493B, suavitate contemplationis); Bekker-Nielsen, Bibl. Arn.
25(1), Opuscula II, 1 (1961), 47/6, ilmr takna ok krapta (Gr. 20, 1166C-D,
virtutes et signa); Thóm. I, 39/2-3, ... ilmanda þaf dyrlegara krapta
pryðdr... (Quadrilogus, cit. Ibid., 39/28, ...virtutem referunt odoribus ...
); Jóns s. p. IV, Post. 490/4-5 ...með ilmanda ávexti góra verka...
(Cf., e.g., Rabanus Maurus, Allegoriae... [PL 112, 866B], "Aromata ...
sunt bona opera sanctorum..."); [Ibid., 1010D-1011A], "Odor est suavitas
sanctitatis ... bona vita ..."; Alan of Lille, Distinctiones... [PL 210,
711B]. "Aroma ... dicitur virtus ... sancti alios incitantes ad bona
opera ... orationes sanctorum...”; *Ibid.* 881B, “Odor ... fama ...
virtutum vel bonorum operum.”) This sort of figure was inspired at
least in part by Paul's words at 2 Cor. 2:15, "Christi bonus odor
sumus deo" (see Kirby, *Biblical Quotation*, I, 369: *Sthom.* 186/20–
21, *Nhom.* 57/1–2, "Gōbr 1mlr erom vēr fyr gupe" [cf. Haymo 14,
*PL* 118, 96B]; *Leifar* 81/34–35; *Bibl. Arn.* 25.1, 47/8).

For some further examples of the comparison of sin to a foul
odour see:

Sthom. 16/13–15:  
...Jorēp kallasc hiorto
iarplegra manna. en Ḟat
funar eige er saltat es.
Postolar kallasc sallt
iarpār. ūuiat zieningar
peira styrkpo iarpleg
hiorto at Ḟaw funaɓe
eige af saure.

Sthom. 81/29–31 (*Nhom.*
60/34–61/2; cf. *Sthom.*
...MiRa es urt su es eige
lētr fūna licame daupra
manna. hon merker hrei-
life oc synba vipsio Ḟa
es ander ārār oc likame
varpeiteit vīp synba
daïne.

cf., e.g., Alan of Lille,
*Distinctiones...*, *PL* 210, 931D:
...Vel sapientia eleganter dicitur
sal, quia, sicut sal terram sterilem
reddit, condit cibos, arcet vermes,
liberat a putredine carnis: sic
pralatus sua sapientia debet carnem
suam a pravis operibus sterilem
facere, cibos spirituales sapientia
condire, vermes pravarum cogitationum
arcere, carnem a putredine peccati
alienare...

cf. *Gr. 10 in Ev.*, *PL* 76, 1113C:
...Per myrrham namque, ut diximus,
agitur ne mortua caro putrefiat.
Mortuam vero carnem putrescere, est
hoc mortale corpus fluxui luxuriae
deservire, ... Myrrham ergo Deo
offerimus, quando hoc mortale corpus
a luxuriae putredine per condimentum
continetiam custodimus.
Elucidarium (AM 238 fol. XVIII), Yves Lefèvre, L'Elucidarium et ed. Konráð Gíslason, Annaler for nordisk oldkyndighed og Historie (1858), 163/20 (see Salvesen, Studies..., 341):

...svå sem þeir undu her ví syndaðaun...

Bekker-Nielsen, Bibl. Arn. 25.1 (1961), 47/8-9:

...þeirra hiortv ero svo fost j guds ast. at þeim ma eigi spilla fvnnon iardligrar elskv.

Gr. 20 in Ev., PL 76, 1166D:

...Quorum corda ita in æterno amore solidata sunt, ut eadem jam terreni amoris putredo nulla corrupat.

...Quia autem hic fetore luxuria dulciter delectabantur.
8. The figure of the "eye of the heart/mind, etc." was immensely popular in antique and medieval literature. Christian authors could find a scriptural model in Ephesians 1:18, "illuminatos oculos cordis vestri, ut sciatis quae sit spes vocationis eius..." See generally Curtius, 136-137; Wolf Gewehr, "Der Topos 'Augen des Herzens' - Versuch einer Deutung durch die scholastische Erkenntnistheorie," Deutsche Vierteljahresschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte 46 (1972), 626-49; Riehle, The Middle English Mystics, 122-27; Javelet, Image et Ressemblance au XIIe Siècle, I, 227-228, II, 477, n.477; Thes. Ling. Lat. s.v. oculus 3 B 1 b (col.448/35ff.) de-is interioribus; Oxford Latin Dictionary (Oxford, 1968), s.v. oculus 7 -i mentis, animi, etc.; F. Blatt, ed., Novum Glossarium Mediae Latinitatis (Hafniae, 1975), s.v. oculus V (sens figurés), 2 interior -us B) -us cordis C) -us mentis D) -us intellectualis, E) -us contemplationis F) -us fidei, etc.; Pflieger 432; Manz 653-54, oculi cordis, -fidei, -mentis; O.E.D. s.v. eye sb.1,3c fig.; M.E.D. s.v. herte n. 2a (a) "eie of the - the understanding", (c) "...hertes eie (ere), the mind". OE literature is rich in examples of such metaphors: heortan eagan - Christ 1328; Ælfric LS xxii, 47; xxiiiB, 425, 559; (= oculi) CP 69/11 (PL 77, 25B), GD 3/20 (Moricca 13/7); (= oculus cordis) CP 99/22 (PL 77, 32D); modes eagan - Boethius 8/26 (cf. I, pr. 1, 44 acies); 82/8-9, 10, 12 (cf. Meters XX, 257-8, 261, 265, 267; III, met. 9, 24 animi uisus); 89/14, 16, 20 (cf. Meters XXI, 22, 37-38; III, met. 10, 11 acies); 122/6; 147/25; CP 65/8 (cf. PL 77, 24A); Soliloquies 1/22, 22/21, 23/1, 26/17, 28/4, 13, 30/32, 35/16, 48/13, 24, 67/5, 17; (= oculi) CP 29/16 (PL 77, 15B), 69/11, 15(25B), 259/21 (69B), 413/15 (107C), 415/27 (108C), GD 3/20 (Moricca, 13/7); (= mentis oculus/-i) CP 57/11 (PL 77, 22B), 349/20 (90B), 447/31 (119C), 467/4 (126D), GD 100/30 (Moricca 78/25),
Certainly the "eye of the mind" seems the least unnatural of the corporal metaphors, and its popularity probably owes much to a general association of "knowing" with "seeing". Cf., e.g., Pokorny IGEW I, 1125ff.: '2 euch - "erblicken, sehen" (ursprüngl. Aorist), Zustandsverbform euch, aor. "habe gesehen, weiß", woher die Bedeutung, "wissen" auch auf andere Formen übertragen wurde...'

9 Cf. the independent translation of Gr. 34 in Nhom. (139/24-26):

...en hvat ero slikir nema brennendr ok logendr.
er sva hæita æost unnu guði at þair villia at
honum æinum hyggia...

10 For this source see Gunnes, p.170. The phrase augu hugar is used to render oculi fidei at Leifar 34/24 (= Gr. 30 in Ev., PL 76, 1225C see Walter, Lex. Lehn., 171 and n.2]. Cf. too the late medieval poem "Vegsemð allra vífa" (ÍM II 86), st. 20:

    draþa kroszenn minn
    trwar sioþer setia á hann

11 Cf. the slightly younger translation preserved in AM 238 fol. xii (ed. A. Loth, Bibl. Arn. 31, Opuscula 5 [1975], 114, lvb/26-29):

...Enn nu ukeium uer hugi vora til sigurs at
uar stigim yfir uora ouine þann er fagna uildi
falli uorv. Lukum uer upp augu hugskota vorra
at uer siaim vid diofuls taalgæfum ok forðimz
þer ...
For further examples of the metaphor see Sthom. 100/28 (Nhom. 97/7-8), Sthom. 100/31 (Nhom. 97/10-11), Sthom. 181/27 (Nhom. 49/15-16), Sthom. 191/16; Leifar (hugskotsauga/-u = mentis/-ium oculus/-i) 63/29 (Gr. 34 in Ev., PL 76, 1253C), 84/33 (Gr. 33 in Ev., PL 76, 1245C), 91/19 (Moricca 149/3), 108/1-2 (Ibid. 78/25), 109/24 (Ibid. 81/22-23), 110/5-6 (Ibid. 82/10-11), 131/32 (Ibid. 238/3), 132/27 (Ibid. 239/22), (= memoriae oculi) 49/2 (Gr. 36 in Ev., 1266C-D), (= cognitiones) 150/18 (Moricca 106/13); Veraldar saga 84/6; Stjórn 20/33 (cf. Spec. Hist., Lib. 1, cap. 31, f.12), 132/10-11 fyrir sin hugskotz augu (ante oculos, Spec. Hist., Lib. 1, cap. 107, f.37);
Jóns s. helga B, Bisk. I, 219/15; Mariu saga 1100/17; Alfr. Isl.III, 92/4; Thóm. II, I. 234/6; Clári saga 70/1; isl Ev. LXXXI. 2, 47.

Cf. too the phrase augu hugar:

Sthom. 76/33-36:

...pa es ec liù a petar
postola. eba ec hyG at
biofenom es leiprettess c
crossenom. eba pa es ec se
a zakeum eba mario. pa
fiNec par sètt dôme vilnap
ar oc iðranar fyr augu
hugar vars.

and, e.g. Konungsskuggsía 1/1-2, "Pa er eg hug vmm leidda allar
þbrottir firu augu hugar..."; Prologue to the Grammatical Treatises in AM 242 fol. (Cod. Wormannus), SVUAGNL 12 (1884), 55/15-17, "...ok þar sem nu vilja með þyn kveða, haf svæðu
ok hvos ok skygga hugsumar augum..." For a reference to the "inner eyes" see "Erkebiskop Paals andet Statut (1336)", NGL III, 282/21-23:
...Her til sortar blindleiki agirinnar sva mick
hin innri augu sumra prestanna at ... fa þeir aigi
litið lios sannleiksins...

12. No Latin source has yet been identified for this section of the sermon
(see Gunnes, 173-4). For further OWN examples of the metaphor see,
e.g.,

Barl. 145/24-25: Ps. Joh. Dam. 96/2-3:
...var ovena oc fylgiusom ...mala consuetudo ueteris inoleuit
kynfylgia hevir blindat augu erroris, oculos caecavit cordis
hiartta mins... mei...
Ibid., 209/33-35: Ps. Ioh. Dam. 134/2-3:
Her með hafðe hann reinnt ...Insuper et mundum anime oculum
hiartta auga af allre synd-leGRE oc verallidlegre fyst...

Liknarbraut, st. 46, Skjá B II, 172:
leiðum hpró á hauðri
hiARTTA våRS með tórum
systkin mín fyr sjónir
siógtís meinléti.

13. Cf. Kirby, Biblical Quotation I, 222: Sthom. 140/6-10, "... þuiat
hann leit lifellstí ambáttar sínar... Oc miskoN hans es yfir allt
maNkyn ..."; Leifar 156/17, "...Leit guð lifellstí ambáttar sinnar...";
Marflú saga 23/25-28 (363/16-20), "...þvi at hann leit lifellstí
ambáttar sinnar... Hans miskunn er yfir öllum mönnum, er hann hræðaz..."


15. As Walter points out (123, n.6), of the entries for miscunnar-augu
in Larsson, Ordförrådet, s.v. miscunn, only the reference to Sthom.
11/26 is correct; the others should read miscunnar-verc. Holtsmark,
Ordförrådet contains no entry for miskunnarauga.
16. Thóm. II (cf. I, 166/2ff.) does not retain the metaphor.

17. Bjarne Berulfsen cites this passage as an example of the influence of scriptural phraseology in fourteenth-century Norwegian diplomas, "selv om det ikke er noe direkte bibelsitat" (Kulturtradisjon fra en Storhetsstid, p.285).

18. On this entry in Maríu saga, "Af Walltero abota" (789-800), see Ole Widding and Hans Bekker-Nielsen, "The Virgin Bares her Breast," Bibl. Arn. XXV. 1, Opuscula II. 1 (Kbh., 1961), 76-79, where reference is made to Latin versions of the story in BM mss. Additional 15723 (13th cent., 87v-88v) and Harley 2851 (c.1300, 82r-83r). For some additional analogues (none of which could, however, be called a source for the OT version) cf. Miracles de la Bienheureuse Vierge Marie d'après un manuscrit du XIIIe siècle, transcrit par M. Ch. Bouchet (Orléans, 1888), 38-40, "De abbate anglico", 64-66, "De monacho infirmitatem simulante" (= H. Isenard, "Recueil des Miracles de la Vierge du XIIIe siècle," Bulletin de la Société archéologique, scientifique et littéraire du Vendomois XXVI [1887], 56-58, 122-124); Sister Mary Vincentine Gripkey, "Mary Legends in Italian Manuscripts in the Major Libraries of Italy", MS 14 (1952), 44 (Group III, 69) and n.110 (esp. ref. to BM ms. Harley 495 [early 14th cent.], 59r-60r, cf. Herbert, Catalogue of Romances..., III [London, 1910], 535, no.5); Siegfried Wenzel, "A Latin Miracle with Middle English Verses", Neuphilologische Mitteilungen 72 (1971), 77-85.

19. Cf., e.g., Add. 15723, 88r/17-18, "...Ecce filius meus propter peccata tua auertit faciem suam a te ..."; Harley 495, 59v, a/19-22, "...clamuit fortiter ad iudicem petens misericordiam per adiurationes. Ipse uero semper clausit oculos..."
20. Gering (Isl. Ev. II, 124-125) notes that versions of this story are found among the exempla of Etienne de Bourbon (ed. A. Lecoy de la Marche, Anecdotes Historiques, légendes et apoloques... [Paris, 1877], 75, nr 79), in Vincent of Beauvais’ Speculum Morale, III, 3, 10 (cit. Isl. Ev. II, 124-125), in Mariu saga (249-252), and in the Osw Klosterläsning (ed. Klemming [Stockholm, 1877-78], 108). None of these versions of the story contain a metaphor like "the eyes of mercy", but the figure is suggested by the words of the "Salve Regina" itself (Antiphonale Romanae Ecclesiae [Parisis/Tornaci/Romae, 1949], "Dominica ad Completorium", p.68), "...Eia ergo, Advocata nostra, illos tuos misericordes oculos ad nos converte..." In the twelfth century, the Cistercians used this prayer as an antiphon for the principal Marian feasts - the Purification, Annunciation, Assumption, and Nativity (see W. Irtenauf, LTh.K. 9, 281-282, R.J. Snow, N.C.E. 12, 1002; Jose Marie Canal, Salve Regina Misericordiae, Temi e Testi 9 [Roma, 1963], 37-52). The early popularity of the "Salve Regina" is attested by reminiscences of the prayer in the writings of, e.g., Jean of Fécamp (in a prayer to God the Father, ed. Leclercq and Bonnes, Un maître de la vie spirituelle au XIe siècle..., 222-228; cit. Canal, 28-29),

O mi custos, o mi heros,
mi pater misericors,
flecte, precor, ad me tuos
miseranter oculos.

and Amedeus of Lausanne (Hom. VII, "De B. Virginis Assumptione" [c.1145-59], PL 188, 1342A-B), "...illos misericordissimos oculos, quibus coelum illustratur, ad nos convertens..." (cit. H. Leclercq, DACL 15:1, 714ff; see further Canal, 83-95). The "Salve Regina" is also cited in the Distinctiones Monasticae, s.v. oculus miserations
(Pitra, Spicilegium Solesmense II, 202). Canal suggests (p.36),

La expresión: "misericordes oculos ad nos converte",
puede estar inspirada, por contraste, en el verso
del Cantar: "Averte oculos tuos a me, quia ipsi
me avolare fecerunt" (Cant.6:4); o en este otro
de Isaias: "Et cum extenderitis manus vestras,
avertam oculos meos a vobis" (Is. 1:15).

(Cf. the Vetus Latina version of Cant. 6:4, "Converte oculos tuos
contra me, quoniam ipsi elevaverunt me."). On the use of the antiphon
in Norway in the late middle ages see Lilli Gjerløw "Maria-antifoner",
KLNM XI, 376; cf. Schottmann, Die islândische Mariendichtung, 514,
528ff.; IM II, 241f.

21 The story is a version of the Theophilus legend (see Isl. Ev.
II, 137-138).

22 On the frequent association of the eyes with favour, love, mercy, etc.
in biblical Hebrew see Dhorme, L'emploi métaphorique des noms de
parties du corps... 77; Johnson, The Vitality of the Individual...
47ff. Cf., e.g., Gen. 33:10, si inveni gratiam in oculis tuis...
(Stjórn, 185/29-30, Ef ek piggr nöckura miskunn edr eptirati i pin
augliti...); Ruth 2:10, ...ut invenirem gratiam ante oculos tuos...
(Stjórn, 422/23-24 ...at ec skylldi finna sva mikla miskvnn i pinv
augliti...); I Sam. 16:22, ...invenit enim gratiam in oculis meis
(Stjórn 461/5, ...bvi at hann fann miskvnn i mino augliti); I Sam.
29:6, ...quia rectus es tu et bonus in conspectu meo (Stjórn 489/7-8,
Veit ek at b v ert goór oc grófastr i mino augliti...); and further,
Deut. 11:12, Job 36:7, Ps. 9:30, 10:5, 31:8, 32:18, 33:16, 65:7, 100:6,
Eccli. 11:13, Jer. 24:6, 40:4, Amos 9:4, 8. See too Haymo of
Halberstadt (recte Auxerre), PL 118, 778D (cf. PL 95, 1548D) on
misericordiae munera significat." Miskunnaraugu may be styled after a liturgical model; cf. Manz 656, oculi/intuitus/respectus pietatis/misericordia, 849-50, respectus clemens/clementia.

23 Analogous periphrases are amply attested in OWN literature:

\[
\text{at renna miskunnarhug/vårkunnarhug til e-s}
\]

Leifar 43/24-25:  
...En þat er for retlætra til þeirra er i quolom ero. at renNe miscuNar hug til þeira...

Ibid., 43/28-29:  
...ero sva samlvndar við retleti Gvps. at þer renNa sngom varcuNar hvug til þeira es fvr dmpir ero...

Ibid., 43/33-34:  
...þeir renNa eigi varcuNar hug til reNninga Gvps...

Gr. 40 in Ev., PL 76, 1308A-B:  
...ita ad afflictos atque in tormentis positos transire justorum est mente ire per misericordiam...

Ibid., 1308B:  
...tanta rectitutine constringuntur, ut nulla ad reprobos compassionem moveantur...

Ibid., 1308B-C:  
...eis nullo modo ex aliqua compassioni miserentur...

See Walter, Lex.Lehr., 123: "...Da miskunnarhugr und vårkunnarhugr sonst und später nicht belegt sind, hat man sie wohl als singulare Bildungen des GH-Übersetzers zu betrachten..."

\[
\text{at renna/líta ástaraugum til e-s}
\]

Gunnlaugs s. ormstungu, k.3, Fl 3, 56/16-18:  
...beim ástaraugum renni ek til barns bessa, at víst eigi nenna ek, at þat sé út borit...

Knýtlinga s., k. 31, STVAGNL 46, 77/20-23:  
...Et fyrsta kveld veizlunnar så konungr þar eina fagra konu, svá at hann þóttiz varla sét hafa friðari konu ...

Konungr leit ástaraugum til hennar...
at líta/renna/sjá girndaraugum

Stjórn 54/9-11:
...synir Seth saa girndar augum til aðtra Kayns...
lógduz medr þeim ok toku þar commixti sunt...

Ibid., 125/24-26:
...af hueriu er hennar einkanllig fegrð má uel markaz. þar sem menn rendu girndaraugum ok áðstarhug til hennar þann tima er hon uar nírð.

Agathu s. meyjar I, HMS I, 1/5-6:
...saurlifr iarll leit girndar-augum a þesa ena göfgu mey...

cf. Comestor, PL 198, 1102B-C:
...In quo vis formæ illius miranda notatur, quæ nonageria adhuc amari poterat...

cf. Mombritius, I, 37/30-31: 
...libidinosus autem ad aspectum uirginis pulcherrimæ oculorum suorum concupiscientiam commonebat.

at sjá hjálparaugum

Heilagra meyja drápa, st. 12, Skjd. B II, 585:
hvern dag sá hún með hjálpar-augum himna dýró, er guð þárr skýrói.

at sjá sældaraugum

Den isländske lægebog, ed. Kr. Kaalund, Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskabs Skrifter. Række 6, Hist.-Fil. Afd., Bd. 6, No. 4 (Kbh., 1907), 368 (14)/19-20:
...Gud liti mic ok godir menn, sía hvern aa mic sælðar augum, ægis-halm er ec berr í millum bruna...

at sjá vínar augum til e-s

...hun multi. eigi muntu vera ialla staði giðfu maór. þvát Freyr líþr eigi vínar augum til þín. Nu þúl þík her fyrst .iíj. nátr. ok úfta þa huersu Freyþ þókkniz til þín.
Partalopa s., ed. O. Klockhoff, Upsala Universitets Årsskrift (1877), 33/14-17:

...Nv geingr Partalopi at honvm ok múlti: godan dag, bondi.
Enn Gramr sa eigi vinar avgvm til hans ok svaradi honvm:
alldri siertv heill.

Cf. too some other interesting OWN ocular compounds:

andaraug: Mar. 1002/29; Jöns s. postola IV, Post. 480/25-26

skilningaraug: Leifar 35/30 (intelligentius oculus, Gr.30 in Ev., PL 76, 1226C); Vita Patrum II, k.237, HMS II, 669/38-39 (oculi intellectuales, PL 73, 979C)

skynsemdarauga/-u: Leifar 187/27; Barl. 73/3-5 (mentis sensus, Ps. Ioh. Dam. 50/36-37); Nik. s. II, k.86, HMS II, 99/13-15, "...hefir blindat sin skynsemdaraugu med gullpenningum" (cf. Mombritius II, 302/37-40; Spec. Hist., Lib. 13, cap. 72, ...munere excaecatus...);
Thóm. II, k.44, I, 302/16.

upplitningarauga: Mar. 683/31

Auditur etiam capite nudato. Primo, ut attentio adesesse demonstretur, ... Secundo, ut quinque sensus patuli sint ad audiendum ...

Sicardus, *Mitrale*, III, cap. 4, PL 213, 111D:

... caput detegimus, innuentes quod attente verbum Domini audire debeamus...

25. See below, pp. 662ff.


27. Turville-Petre (*Ibid.*, 178-179) compares similar warnings against unruly behaviour in some of the sermons of Caesarius of Arles (13, 16, 19, 50, 55, 73), the *Tractatus de rectitudine catholicae conversationis* attributed to Eligius of Noyon, the *Dicta Pirmini*, and the *Admonitio ad filium spiritualem* ascribed to Saint Basil. Although none of these texts makes use of an "auricular" metaphor, almost all of them contain passages which might have inspired the Norwegian homilist to introduce such a figure. Cf., e.g. Caesarius 13, CCSL 103, 66 [64/23-26]:

In ecclesia stantes nolite verbosare, sed lectiones divinas patienter audite: qui enim in ecclesia verbosare voluerit, ... nec ipse audit, nec alios audire permittit.

*Ibid.*, 19, 89 [86/2-3]:

...lectiones divinas quae leguntur cum silentio et quiete suscipite...

*Tractatus* §7, PL 40, 1174/33-35:

...ibi non causas aut rixas vel otiosas fabulas agatis: sed lectiones divinas cum silentio auscultate.


Cf. the similar use of the term *úljóð* (also glossed "ulyd, støi, skrael" by Hertzberg) in "Skraa for St Olafsgildet i Onarheim", *NGL* V, 19, sec. 19:

Item hvor som gjører olyudh ner minnen syngast eller aaldermannen talar förer bøthe ij. lybyska.

Fritzner defines *úljó*, n., "Støi som volder at man ikke kan høre eller fatte hvad der tales", and cites an example from *Njáls saga*, k.105, ff 12, 271/8-12:

...Um daginn eptir gengu hvártveggju til lögbergs, ok nefndu hvárir vátta, kristnir menn ok heiðir, ok sogðusk hvárir ór lögum annarra, ok varð þá svá mikit úljó at lögbergi, at engi nam annars mål.

CV gives the definition "shoutings" and refers to *Njála*, k.8, 28/8-11,

...Dá kvað Mprðr þat upp, at hann mundi eigi berjask við Hrúts; þá varð ðó mikit at lögbergi ok úljó, ok hafði Mprðr af ina mestu svívirðing.

and to *Flat. I*, 211/1-3, *Óláfs Saga Tryggvasonar*, k.170, "Dáatr Þorleifs jarlaskálds",

...vard af þessu hark ok hareysti sua at heyrdé vm alla hallina. En er jall uerdr þessa uarr spyrð hann huit uaildi ohliode þessu.

*Úljó*ðr, m., was used poetically as a heiti for "wind" (*Lex. Poet.*, s.v., "stærkt støjende"; *Skjó* B I, 674, *Pulur IV* 200, "Veǫra heiti," 2),
and óhljóó, n., is found as a heiti for "battle" (Lex. Poet., s.v.,
"stærk støj, larm"; Skjö B II, 2, Bjarni Kolbeinsson, Jómsvíkinga-
drápa, st.5). As Erland Rosell points out, however, in his study,
Prefixet o- i nordiska språk I (Upsala, 1942; pp.144-145, 166-167,
180-181), the sense of óhljóó in the prose passages cited clearly
depends on the original meaning of hljóó - "listening, (power of)
hearing" - "...och bör sälandas förstås: 'ické tystnad, urakltåten-
het att iakttaga den lyssnande tystnad, som påbudits, "åskats"
på tinget e. d.'" (145). He adds that it is worth observing that,
in OSw. as well as OWN, the word "uteslutande förekommer i fråga
om óhljóó, oliudh på tinget, i rådstugan, i kyrkan eller annorstädes,
där tystnad skall iakttagas" (145); and he cites analogous OSw.
examples from legal texts (cf. Söderwall, s.vv. oliudh, n., 1;
oliudhan, f., 1), e.g.:

Magnus Erikssons Stadslag. Radzstuffyt balker 2:5,
SGL XI, 250:
Gör nokor oliudh [var. oliudhan] inne a radhstwu
ella vte fore rattenum, tha borghamstara ella
radhmen karomal høra ella döma, bôte hwario sin
han thet gör ena halffwa mark konungenum ok
stadhenum.

Christoffers Landslag. Konungx balker 29:1, SGL
XII, 46:
Om then som oliudh gör a tinge ...

Ibid., Tingmaala balker 43, SGL XII, 126:
Gör nokor merkelikit oliudh a tinge for rattenom,
bôte VI öra rettarens ensak...

Interestingly, even the examples of these words cited by Söderwall
under the meaning "missljud, disharmoni" (oliudh 2, oliudhan 2)
have to do with noisy disturbances in church:
This apparent "modification" of the meaning of óhljóóan is in part attributable to the ambiguity of the Indo-germanic root from which the word derives (cf. Pokorny, IGEW [Bern/München, 1959], I. 605ff. s.v. I. kleu-, kleya-: klú- "'hören'..., auch 'wovon man viel hört, berühmt, Ruhm'..."; Alexander Jóhannesson, IEW, 276-277, s.v. I. kleu-, "hljóó n., 'zuhören, stille, laut,...!"; de Vries, AeW, s.v. hljóó n., "gehören, schweigen; laut, ton; horn"). For an explanation of the double significance of kleu cf. Jost Trier's suggestion (Lehm. Etymologien zum Fachwerk, Münstersche Forschungen 3 [1951], p.57) that the word *kleu- be compared with the root *kel in the sense, "Zaun, zäunen" (cf. Pokorny, IGEW, I. 552ff., s.v. 4. kel- "bergen, verhüllen"; Trier, "Zaun und Mannring", Paul und Braunes Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur. 66 [Halle, 1942], 242) with reference to the archetypal social gathering - the "ring of men" in which some speak while others listen. Cf. de Vries, AeW, s.v. hljóó:

"...Trier...bemerkt dass wörter für "hören, gehorchen, lob" usw. die gemeinschaft des mannrings (vgl. ping) voraussetzen, und also aus der situation der volks-versammlung hervorgegangen sind; vgl. bes. die bed."
"schweigen" im An., also sich auf den lauschenden ring beziehend.

31. op.cit., p.16.

32. The proverbial phrases "to turn a deaf ear" and "to preach to deaf ears" are found in most of the European languages. See, e.g.
A. Otto, Die Sprichwörter und sprichwörtlichen Redensarten der Römer (Leipzig, 1890), § 212, 47-48, surdis auribus dicta,
R. Häussler, Nachträge zu A. Otto... (Hildesheim, 1968), 96, 138,
262; Tobler-Lommatzsch, Altfranzösisches Wörterbuch (Wiesbaden, 1925-),
32. s.v. oreille, Bd.VI, 1232/24ff., faire (la) sorde oreille; Tommaseo-Bellini, Dizionario della Lingua Italiana (Torino/Napoli, 1865-79),
33. s.v. orecchio, 17, Fare orecchie di mercante, 18, Fare la sorda
orecchia/li sordi orecchi; O.E.D., s.v. Deaf a., 2 fig., M.E.D.,
s.v. def, adj., 2(b) - ere, Tilley E 13; Grimm DW, s.v. Ohr, III.1
(d), tauben, todten ohren singen, predigen; Dahlérup, Ordbog over det
danske Sprog, s.v. døv, 1.2, vende det døve øre til (noget); SAO,
s.v. døf, 1(b), Tala predika för döfva öron, vanda döfva öron till
ngt. The use of the figure by Christian authors perhaps owes something to an association with biblical verses like Jer. 5:21, Matt. 13:13ff., Acts 28:26ff., and the Psalmist's parable of the
"deaf adder," Ps. 57:5 (58:4).

33. op.cit., p.16, n.33. Cf. Blöndal, s.v. ðhljóðseyru, 2:
...døve øren: (Ordspr.) ljá skal ðhljóðseyru,
ef illa er talac..., læg døve øren til Bagvaskelse;
sjer eru hver ðhljóðseyrun og þjer! det har du
oppfattet aldeles urigtigt.

It is interesting to note in this connection that Fritzner also
records an OWN example of the use of the word ðhljóð, n., in the
sense, "a ringing in the ears (Susen for ørene)" in a prescription
from the thirteenth-century medical manuscript AM 655 xxx 4to, ed. Konråd Gislason, Fyrre og Fyrretyve... Prøver... (Kbh., 1860), 474/16-17:

Malurt blandin við ufua gall ok smurt of eyro
manns - þat styrkir þau ok hrindr frá þöljóó... 

Cf. Söderwall s.v. olíudh 3, "susning for öronen", with reference to G.E. Klemming, ed., Låke-och Örte-böcker från Sveriges Medeltid, SFSS 26 (1883-86), VII. 36, 200/7-8:

Malørth blandat mg oxa galla smør ther öron
máðh thg wrakår borth oligd

(see I. Reichborn-Kjennerud, "Vår gamle Trolldomsmedisin," V, NVAOS [1947], II. Hist.-Filos. Kl., p.23). Rosell (op.cit.,145) suggests that this sense of the word is also dependent on the meaning "icke-tystnad". Cleasby-Vigfusson, however, s.v. óhljóó, n., takes the word to be a by-form of ofhljóó, "a violent singing sound"; cf. Ibid., s.v. ofheyrn, f., medic., "a tingling in the head". Similarly, the term óhljóóseyru is used in MI of the valves or "auricles" of the heart (with reference to the sound made by blood coursing through them?); see, e.g., Jón Dorkelsson, Supplement til Islandske Ordbøger 3. Saml. (Rvk., 1890-97), II, s.v. Blöndal suggests, s.v., that this form of the word is, in fact, a corruption by folk-etyymology of ullins_eeyru (although the fact that this word is found in early sources makes this hypothesis doubtful):

Flige ved Hjærtet paa slagtede Dyr (auriculi), der skøres af og smides bort ved Slagetningen, samtidig med at der gøres et Snit (Kors) i Hjærtet; rimeligvis har man her Lævninger af en gammel Offerskik ved Offring til Ullinn (Ullr). Ordet forekommer nu ofte i forvanskede Forme: óhljóóseyru, úllins-, úlluns-, óláns-, úlfjóts-, úlunds- osv. idet Forbindelsen med Ullinn forlængst er glemt.

34. See, e.g., Jómsvíkinga saga (AM 291 4to), ed. Carl af Petersens, *STUAGNL 7* (Kbh., 1882), 115/1-9:

...nv ferr jarl a Land vpp meb noccora menn oc
ferr norpr f gyra primsigp...scorar å fylltrva sin
þorgerpe hærtha troll. En hon dawneyriz vih bön
jaris oc þyckiz havn þat fiNa at hon mon honom rág
orpin...

(cf. Flat. I, 191/17-22; AM 510 4to, ed. Carl af Petersens [Lund,
1879], 79/6-14); Den store saga om Olav den Hellige 751/33-752/1

(Flat. II, 26/5-9, k.23, "Olafr konungr vann margvghe"):

...boat vinnrin vissi sig uanmattugan at geta
nockura mot stódu haft vid suo agætan guds Riddara
sem var hinn hailagi Olafra konungr Haralldz son
þa uill hann bo uist æigi daufeyraz vid eyrende
ok akall sinna kumpana...

Magnúsar saga góða, *Fms. VI*, 30/13-15 (Hulda, AM 66 fol.), k.17:

...hann var manna friðastr, hlýðinn vinum sínnum
um öll góð ráð, en við rág vandra manna var hann
daufeyrór.

(cf. Flat. III, 266/1-2).

35. Lex. Lehn., 60; cf. Walter, "'Gehorsam' im Altwestnordischen,"
Nordeuropa. Studien 5 (1972), 83-89. On the influence of Latin
oboedire on hlýð and its Germanic cognates see further Thors,
500-501; Werner Betz, "Aufgaben deutscher Wortforschung," Zeitschrift
für deutsche Wortforschung 18, N.F. 3 (1962), 10-11; s.a., Deutsch
378

36. Cf. Thes.Ling.Lat., s.v. auris 11, "i.q. obedientia". Isidore derives obaudiens ab aure, eo quod audiat (Etymologiae, X, 196). Ps. 17:45 is also cited in chapter five of the Benedictine Rule, "De obedientia", 5. See further, e.g., Rabanus Maurus' interpretation of Matt. 13:9 (PL 107, 941C),

Aures enim audiendi, aures sunt cordis, et sensus interioris aure obediendi et faciendi qua jussa sunt.


...facturi sint illi muraenulas pulcras et pretiosas, quae sunt aurium ornamenta. Atque hoc propterea, ut opinor quia fides ex auditu ... ac si illud Prophetae ei dicant: "AUDI, FILIA, ET VIDE. [Ps. 44:11] Videre desideras, sed audi prius. Gradus est auditus ad visum. Proinde audi, et inclina aures tuae ornamentis quae tibi facimus, ut per auditus oboedientiam ad gloriam pervenias visionis...

For an OE example see Elfric CH II, 228/22-23 (on John 8:47):

...se is fram Gode þe Godes beboda mid gehyrsumum eare gehyrô...

G.R. Owst cites an interesting example of the metaphor, "the ears of obedience", from a discourse on the all-consuming "leprosy of lust" preserved in a fifteenth-century English collection of Sunday sermons (Preaching in Medieval England [Cambridge, 1926], 326, EM Add. 21253, 27 b/16ff.):

...Item per lepram luxurie peccatum designatur... quia consumit totum hominem ... aufert ... oculos intelligencie ... aures obediencie nares discretionis capillos bone cogitationis barbam fortitudinis supercilia sancte indignacionis manus bone operacionis pedes sancte affectionis linguam confessionis oracionis et predicacionis...
Cf. perhaps Rabanus Maurus, De Universo XVIII. 5, "De medicina", PL 111, 502D:

...surdus, qui contemnit audire verbum Dei. Aurem abscisam habet, qui obedientiam in Dei præceptis non exhibet...

37. For another example of the association of "deaf ears" with ðählýóni see Thóm. II, k.52, I. 336/14-17:

Detta brève herra påfans sem ná var lesit, flyzt
Heinreki konungi fyrir sunnan sjó í Norómandi, heyrir
hann þat at kalla með eyrum líkamans, ok þó er hann
haróla fjárri, sakir ðählýóni ok haróléika hjartans...

38. European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, p.136, n.17; see further

Thes. Ling. Lat., s.v. auris I. 1. h.

For some OE auricular metaphors see, e.g., Álfric LS I. vii. 330,
CP 31/14, earan þære heortan; CP 337/21, modes earan; Napier, Wulfstan
252/7-9, Blickling Homilies 107/1-3, mildheortnesse earan; A.H.
Thompson and U. Lindelöf, Rituale Ecclesiae Dunelmensis, Surtees
Society 140 (London, 1927), cap. 22. 3; cap. 131.1, eare ðinre
arfæstnisse (= aures pietatis).

39. The phrase aures praecordiorum from the prayer now found in the Missale
Romanum, Per. VI in Parasc., Oratio Solemnis 5, "pro catechuminis", is
rendered simply hugscot at Sthom. 70/32.

Schottmann (Die isländische Mariendiichtung,
p.134) suggests that the phrases lífknar eyru and myskunnar eyra in two
late medieval Icelandic religious lyrics may copy a liturgical model
like aures misericordiae:

Milska (ÞÍ I. 57), 84:
Maria drottning huern mann heyrir
heyrandi med lífknar eyrum
Rósa (fM I, 6), 1:
FAdeR og son åa hæstum hædum
himna smiduR til jardaR níðri
hneig þu þitt enn helgi ðrottinn
heyranda myskunnar eyra

Cf., e.g., the use of these metaphors in the parallel texts for the Good Friday prayers of the Regularis Concordia cited by Lilli Gjerløw (Adoratio Crucis, p.123, Brussels Missal, 60v),

...perueniant ad aures pietatis tuæ preces quas pro me fundo in hac hora coram te...

(Ibid., p.133, Rouen Psalter, 132v).

...perueniant ad aures misericordie tuæ orationes quas pro me misero peccatore effundo coram te...
40. Neither of the principal Latin analogues identified for this sermon - Bede I. 18 (CCSL 122, 128-33) and Ambrosius Autpertus' "Sermo ... in Purificatione S. Marie" (PL 89, 1291ff., see Gunnes, 169-170; van Arkel, p.14) - makes use of a phrase like manus fidei. Gunnes remarks (p.170), "Særlig mot slutten er materialet sterkt bearbeidet, og en del nytt er lagt fra andre kilder," but he does not name specific parallel texts.

41. Cf. the freer rehandling of the same passage at Nhomb. 143/4-7 (and Leifar 167/13-16 [AM 237 a fol.]):

Rennum vær oc þa opt hug værom til himnescrar fagnaða. ok fysumz af ollum hug til engla dyrðar. ok minnumc þo at vær erom sialfer mold ok asca. ok reinsum ðs f tara brvnni af synda sauri.

On the relationship of the OWN versions of Gr. 34A see Britta Olrik Frederiksen, Bibl. Arn. 34, Opuscula 7 (1979), 62-93.

42. Cf. feginshönd

Flat. I, 213/4-6, Olafs saga Tryggvasonar, "þattr þorleifs jarlaskálds":

...þa letti hann æigi sinne ferd fyrr en hann kom a fund Sueins konungs. ok tok hann vit honum fegins hende ...

Ibid., 257/7-8, "þattr Þorsteins uxafôts"

...for hann þa enn til Styrkars a Grimsar ok tok hann vid honum fegins hendi...

Þórðar s. hreðu, lv. 10, Skjó B II, 485

... er Þzur vácum afrendr feginshendi.
hjálparhönd

Stjórn 252/13-15: cf. Ex. 2:10:
...ok þann sama suein gerði hon ...Quem illa adoptavit in
ser at oskberni. ok kalladi locum filii, vocavitque nomen
hann fyrr í þann skylld Moysen. eius Moyses, dicens: Quia de
at hun hafði hann af uatni aqua tuli eum.
medr hialparhendi tekít...

Pétursdrápa, st. 6, Skjd B II, 546:
... ònd meó hjálpar hendi
heilagr stjórnu deilir
seði...

graftrar hönd

Jóns s. post. IV, Post. 469/2-4:
...Hverr mundi þora, heilagr cf. Grässe ed., Legenda Aurea,
faðir, at leggia honum 272/3-4:
graftrar hond meðr orskurðar
ogn, er hann diktaði
sialfr...

hefnadarhönd

Stjórn, 381/25-26: Judges 2:15:
...hvert sem þeir villdo ...sed quocumque pergere
fara ǫ́a flyla. þa var voluissent, manus Domini
a yfir þeim hefnad hönd super eos erat...
drottins fyrr þeirra
illgerðir.

Ibid., 439/34-440/1: I Sam. 7:13:
...þvi at jafnan var drottins ...facta est itaque manus
hefnóarhónd yfir Philisteis Domini super Philisthaeos,
hefndarhönd yfir Philisteis, cunctis diebus Samuelis.
...meðan Samuel lifði.
Ibid., 448/36-449/2: 

Enn ef þer hæyrið sigi róðd drottins...pa man hans hafndar-hönd koma yfir yór sem yóra fyrri frendr.

I Sam. 12:15: 

si autem non audieritis vocem Domini, sed exasperavitis sermones eius, erit manus Domini super vos, et super patres vestros.

hernaðarhönd

Michaels s., HMS I, 678/13-15:  
...Sva for Sathan or sømdarhæð, sem hann villdi gripa guðlikt valld með hernaðar hendi...

Thóm. II, I. 320/29-322/1:  
... Liggr svá erkistöllinn undir hernaðar hendi allan tíma, meðan heilagr Thómas er í útlegð.

jafnaðarhönd

DN VII, 104/21-23 (p.123), "De decimis Grønlandensium mercatorum," Nidaros, 5 Aug., 1325:  
...Pakkum ver yder þo mykilegha at þer letor hældar tiundena undir jafnaðar hond læg gia en medar bradare alaupum varar kirkiu reet oc hæfd under yder gripa...

lífknarhönd

Thóm. II, 508/16-18:  
...leysir margan mann af sínun misfellum, ok huggar þá með mjúkri lífknarhönd, er áór våro halðmir fyrir hørmulig syndabönd...

Rósa (ÍM I, 8), st. 9 (see Schottmann, Die isländische Mariendichtung, 134):  

Huorcki kendi ord nie andi  
verssa smid åå diktann þessa  
Nema vislegen goggleicks <g>eísla>  
gleri biarttare mier j hiartta  
sannr almaturenн sолaR drottinn  
sendi fram af licknar hendj.
"Agæt vil eg þar þeinn fara" (ÍM II, 73), st. 6
leys þu os med liknar hendis
lof señal jungfru Maria.

ræðshönd

Fms. V, 55/25-28, Öláfs s. helga (AM 61 fol.):
...ef vør föllum ò orrostu, þa er þat vel ráðit,
at fara þangat eigi með ræðshendi, en ef vør
sigrumst, þa skulu ver vera arftókumenn þeirra,
er berjast í móti oss.

(All the other mss. used by O.A. Johnsen and Jón Helgason.
[Den store saga... I, 542/1-2; cf. Snorri, Heimskringla II,
ed. Bjarni Ásulfjarnarson, ÍF 27, 357/15-16] have "...þa
er þvi vel ráðit at fara eigi þangat með ransfe...")

Hist., Lib. XXV, cap. 22:
...jaðnvel alitari offrit...Oblationes accedentium vix dum
sem önnur kirkjufé gripu...appositæ de manibus arripiabantur.
þeir ok stálur með ræðshendi
ok börj õt í sukk ok
saurlífi.

vígsluhönd

Laurentius s. biskups, k. 47, BS I, 850/17-22:
Um vetrinn fyrir langafóstu sendi herra Laurentius bróður
Árna, son sinn, suðr í Skálholt til herra Jóns biskups,
bíðjandi hann at hann vígöi hann öllum vígslum og til
prests... Syndist herra Laurentio biskupi þat fegra, at
faðir legði eigi vígsluhendr yfir son sinn holdligan...

Thóm. I, 43/6-7: I Tim. 5:22 (see Kirby I, 384),
Quadrilogus, cit. Thóm. I, 43/29-30:
Læggængum skíott vígsluhendr
Manus cito nemini imposueris, ne
i hofuð, at æige samneyter
þu synnum þeirra.

cf. Thóm. II, I. 110/18-19:
Læggængum manni vígsluhönd án foscjó at eigi samlagist þu
syndum hans.
43. Cf. too some OE examples:

**CP 105/16-19:**

...Ond s'æ sus ðara monna honda & fet weren aðwægene on ðære ealdan ø on ðæm ceæke beforan ðæm temple, sua ðonne nu we aðwean ures modes operis manus lavet. honda & ure weorc mid ðære ondetnesse.

**Ibid., 467/25-26:**

... & æær me mid ðære honda ðinra geearnunga...

**GD 150/24-25:**

...seo hand þinre spræce... cf. **HMS I, 216/8, Melsca þin**

**Ælfric, CH I. 212/15**

...mid strangre handa his mildheortnyse...

**Poenitentiale Theodori...,** ed. F.J. Mone, Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte der teutschen Lit. u. Sprache (Aachen/Leipzig, 1830), 523:

Gyf holinga hwylc man mid unclannysse handa his mete oð hrineð ... ne sceðeð him þat.

**cf. Poenitentiale Bigotianum,** ed. L. Bieler, The Irish Penitentials, Scriptores Latin i Hiberniae V (Dublin, 1975), "De Remediis Vitiorum", 5.8, 216/22-24:

...si cassu quis immunda manu cibum tangit ... non nocet.
44. Cf., e.g., Distinctiones Monasticae, cit. Pitra, Spic. Sol. II, 265:

...Pes significat humilitatem; unde in veste pontificis
in lege veteri erant et tintinnabula et malogranata
circa pedes, ut tam in pradicatione quam in operatione
servetur humilitas...

and Ibid., II, 264 (on Matt. 10:14, "Excutite pulverem de pedibus
vestris"): "...Pedibus namque fere semper adheret pulvis: et
pedibus superbi, semper pulvis inanis gloria..."

With litillmtisfôtr cf. esp. the compound [litilllates stetr
found for humilitatis gradus in the ON version of the Benedictine
Rule (NRA 81 A 1r, 3, ed. E. Walter, "Die Fragmente zweier Kloster-
regeln für Benediktinermönche in altnorwegischer Übersetzung,"
Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache 82 [1960], 94 and
102 n.3).

45. On this text see esp. D.A. Seip, MM (1943), 104-136; Nordisk Tidskrift
N.S.19 (1943), 313-324. Ernst Walter has expressed his doubts as to
whether kosta-fôtr can be regarded as a simple loan-translation of
virtutum gradus here (Lex. Lehn., 44), but it is difficult to share
his scruples:

Mit vielleicht einer Ausnahme gibt es kein kosta(r)-kompositum, in dem die Bedeutung, "Tugend" enthalten
ist. Ob man nämlich das singuläre kosta-fôtr als
Lehnübersetzung von virtutum gradus betrachten darf,
hängt davon ab, ob es sich um ein Kompositum handelt
oder nicht; ich halte den einheitlichen Begriff
"Tugendschritte" für wahrscheinlicher als "Schritte
der Tugend"...

46. See Kirby, Biblical Quotation, I, 304. Christ's reference at John
13:18 is to Ps. 40:10, "Qui edebat panes meos, magnificavit super
me subplantationem". None of the extant OWN translations of this

47. The *pes superbiae* metaphor is not retained in the abbreviated versions of this passage in Jóns s.p. II (Post. 454/22-23) and Jóns s.p. III (Post. 465/20-21).

48. For the story of the vision of the Emperor Theodosius I prior to his battle against Eugenius and Arbogastes see, e.g., Theodoretus, Hist. Eccl., ed. L. Parmentier (Lipsiæ, 1911), V, 24, 325/2-21; Cassiodorus, Historia Tripartita, IX, 45 (PL 69, 1161C); Vincent of Beauvais, Spec. Hist., XVII, 106; Tubach, Index Exemplorum 4773; J.A. Herbert, Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum, III (London, 1910), 181 * 33, 518 * 137.

Hallberg's suggestion (Ibid., 150) that Bergr may have worked from his own transcript of Thóm. I into which he had "...infört vissa av sina egna språkegenheter - dem som vi nu möter i codex nr 17 4to" (i.e., the principal ms. of Thóm. I, perg. 17 4to, Kungl. Biblioteket, Stockholm) was dismissed by Stefán Karlsson in a letter to Hallberg (cit. Stilsignalement ..., 151) in which he points out that this ms. is "äó öllum likindom réttliga tímasett til loka 13. aldar eða um 1300, og fyrir þann tíma hefur Bergur varla verið farinn að skrifa". (On the dating of Thóm. I see, e.g., P.G. Foote, SBVS XV [1957-61], 403 and n.1, "...the translation probably belongs to the second half of the thirteenth century"; cf. H. Bekker-Nielsen, KLNM XVIII, 250.) Hallberg seems to concede the point (Stilsignalement ..., 151):

... Beröringspunkterna mellan de båda texterna borde i stället tolkas så, att Thomas I varit ett av de verk som påverkat stilen hos skribenten i Thomas II. Om detta kan anses räcka som förklaring på de anmärkingsvärda likheter jag påvisat, skulle förstås min speciella hypotes om Bergrs manipulation med Thomas I vara överflödig.

Ian Kirby suggests that the translation of Pseudo-Mellitus in Tvegg. p.s. JJ is independent of that found in the versions of Jöns s.p.

See Biblical Quotation II, 31, n. 20, and 165±Lk. 16:19-21.

See FMS I, 713/5-8; FMS II, 49/14-22.

"Jöns saga helga", 76.

Fritzner, for instance, records many compounds which could be compared with drambsemisandi, some, to be sure, from works claimed for Bergr by Hallberg, but several from other texts as well (here marked
with an asterisk):

blekkingarandi Nik.II, HMS II. 105/30
freistanarandi Thóm. II, I. 47/16
(*grimmdarandi Stjórn 288/37 (Ex. 15:8, spiritus furoris. This first section of Stjórn contains references to Nikolaus saga. Selma Jónsdottir, Illuminations in a Manuscript of Stjórn [Rvk., 1971], 65-71, examines parallel passages in Nik. II and suggests that Bergr Sokkason may also be "connected in some way" with this text.)

*guðlastanarandi VP, HMS II. 559/4 (spiritus blasphemia, Ibid., 559/28)
harðyögisandi Nik.II, HMS II. 155/17
*höraranarandi VP, HMS II. 497/13 (spiritus fornicationis 497/31)
metnaðarandi Clári s. 66/4
*ofbeldisandi "Erkibiskop Jóns Statut" (1280), NGL III 238/28
ranglæsisandi Marfu s. 423/3
*reiðandi VP, HMS II. 585/8 (spiritus iracundia, Ibid., 585/26)
*saurganarandi VP, HMS II. 496/13 (spiritus fornicationis, Ibid., 496/32-33)
*sundrbykkisandi Stjórn (Judges 9:23, spiritus pessimus)
*uhreinsanarandi VP, HMS II 499/11 (demon fornicationis, Ibid., 499/24)

Ibid., 503/5 (spiritus fornicationis, Ibid., 502/35-36)
Ibid., 503/8 (passio fornicationis, Ibid., 502/38)
Ibid., 507/4 (passio fornicationis, Ibid., 507/23-24)

ofundarandi Marfu s. 1123/31

55. See, e.g., H. Bekker-Nielsen, T. Damsgaard Olsen, O. Widding, Norrøn Fortællekunst, 120; E.F. Halvorsen, "Lær og folkelig stil: Island og Norge", KLNM XI, 122. It is perhaps worth noting that the word drambsemi is not found in earlier OWN prose and would appear to be a fairly late coinage. Fritzner's earliest example is from Alexanders saga (attributed to Brandr Jónsson, 1264), ed. Finnur Jónsson (Kbh.,
Ernst Walter suggests that the word dramb and its cognates, although well attested in the early prose were, unlike the native ofmetnaør, almost always associated with Kirchensprache (Lex. Lehn., 99-100):

...Wir stehen... vor der sonderbaren situation, dass das Wort dramb seiner Erscheinung nach geradezu volkstümlich wirkt, aber zuerst fast nur in "gelehrter" Prosa erscheint...
56. Gunnes (177-178) refers to Sedulius' Opus paschale (PL 19, 723ff.), Jonas of Orléans' De Cultu Imaginum II (PL 106, 343ff.), Augustine's sermo 53 (PL 38, 371), and Honorius' Speculum Ecclesiae. Only Honorius provides even a vague analogue for the passage cited (PL 172, 946A):

...Latitudo crucis illa duas partes accipiuntur per quas manus distenduntur. Per hanc latitudinem gemina dilectio intellegitur qua amisic in Deo et inimicos propter Deum utrinque complectitur...

57. Cf., e.g., Petrus Chrysologus, sermo 108, PL 52, 499C:

...Expandi manus meas. Ad quem? Ad populum. Et ad quem populum? Non tantum non credentem, sed contradicentem. Expandi manus meas. Distendit membra, dilatat viscera, pectus porrigit, offert sinum, gremium pandit, ut patrem se tantum obsecrationis demonstret affectu...

Ps. Haymo of Halberstadt, In Is., PL 116, 1065C-D:

...Expandi manus meas tota die pendens in cruce, ad populum incredulum ... ut eos recipere et collocarem in sinu meo, sed ipsi semper increduli et contradictores extiterunt...

Herveus Burgidolensis, In Is., PL 181, 568D-569A:

...in eo quod ait: Expandi manus meas, crucis patibulum intellexerimus ... Significant expanse manus et parentis clementiam suos filios in sinu recipere gestientis ...

Cf. too Dreves-Blume, Analecta Hymnica, vol.IX, 27, "De sancta Cruce" (eleventh century), st. 5 b:

In ligno
transverso sacri patibuli
docemur
expansis manibus
crucifixi
dextros et sinistros amplecti.

Anselm, Meditationes, X, "De Passione Christi", PL 158, 762A:

... Dulcis in extensione brachiorum: extendens enim brachia nobis insinuat quod amplexus nostros ipse desiderat, et quasi dicere videtur ... venite, et reficimini inter brachia mea, inter amplexus meos: videte quia paratus sum intra brachia mea congregare vos...

58. E. Schwyzer ("Der Götter Knie-Abrahams Schoss. sprach- und kulturgeschichtlicher Ausblick", Antidoron. Festschrift Jacob Wackernagel [Göttingen, 1923], 292-293) points out that the bosom (or, more precisely, the lap) is regarded as a symbol of refuge, protection and fosterage in many cultures (cf., e.g., the medieval Scandinavian adoption ritual of "knee-setting" [Vilhelm Grönbech, The Culture of the Teutons (London/Copenhagen, 1931), I, 304-307; Lizzie Carlsson, "Rättssymbolik", KLN M XIV, 603 (ättledning, skötsul barn), and refs.; K.A. Modéer, "Ettleieing: Sverige", KLN M XX, 610]; and Gen. 48:10-12, 50:25, Ruth 4:16). The Christian "bosom metaphor" has classical antecedents (cf. Thes. Ling. Lat., s.v. 2. Gremium, I. A. 2. a, "de eis, qui personas et cura egentes recipiunt [persaepe tropice de ipso auxilio, curatione, educatione]"; Oxford Latin Dictionary, s.v. sinus, 3. fig., ... patriae, pacis, philosophiae ...); but for Christian authors the natural appeal of this sort of figure must have been enhanced by an association with the image of the souls of the righteous resting in "Abraham's bosom" (Luke 16:22-23; sinus Abrahae is regularly translated faêm Abrahams in OWN; see Kirby, Biblical Quotation I. 262-264). Cf., e.g. Petrus Chrysologus, sermo 108, PL 52, 280A, "Abraham ... pias animas ... in gremio sua consolationis includit." See generally J.A. MacCulloch, The Harrowing
of Hell (1930), ch. xvi, esp. 278ff.

For the phrase sinus misericordiae see, e.g., Anselm, Meditationes, II (PL 158, 725A-B), "Si me admiseris intra latissimum tum misericordiae sinum ..." (cf. Ibid., XX [813 A], "...si me misericordiae tuae brachiis amplecteris ..."); and the examples cited below, n.62. Pflieger (p.638), cites a late example from the Missale Romanum, 18. Jul. Festa S. Camilli de Lellis. Postcommunion, "... ut ... culpis omnibus expiati, in sinum misericordiae tuae laeti suscipi mereamur ..."

For the interesting (though probably erroneous) suggestion that German barmherzig, erbarmen, and their cognates originated through an association by folk-etymology with barm, "breast", see Grimm, DW, s.v. barmen 4 (cf. erbarmen, pref.):

...wie das transitive barmön in gremium suscipere, fovere hiesz, würde ein intransitives barmen sinu commoveri, innerst erregt, bewegt sein, σταυρὸν συνέχεια, aussagen und diese sinnliche deutung von barmen, erbarmen, barmherzig aus barm der oben gewagten von arm miser aus arm brachium zu statten kommen. der unglückliche wird vom mitleidenden in den arm oder auf den schosz, an die brust genornen. beidemal entfaltete sich die abstraction misereri, hinter den abgezogenen wörtern läge schön ein sinnlicher grund. ein gangbarer altn. ausdruck für misereri lautet kenna i briosti, in der brust fühlen, und briostgōdr ist misericors, briostlaus ferox, unerbarmend...

W. Betz, Deutsch und Lateinisch, 73; Thors 593-594.) All of Grimm's examples of the association of *brjóst* with *misericordia* are, in fact, from Modern Icelandic (cf. Blöndal, s.vv. *brjóst* 4 b, *brjóstgóur*, *brjóstlauss*; Jón Dorkelsson, Supplement til Islandske Ordbøger (1876) 54, s.v. *brjóstgóur*, (1890-94) I, 120, s.v. *brjóstgoedi*). The word *brjóstgoedi* occurs once in OWN in an alliterative catalogue in Stoth. (part of a commentary on Luke 2:14) for which no source has yet been identified (137/19-24, "Die annunciationis beate Marie..."); "...peir ero eN mep gópm vilia. es ... hafa bindande oc bri6stgoe ..."; cf. Fritzner's definition, "veltænkende, velvilligt Sindelag"); and the adjective *góobrjóststaór* is found as a variant for *armvitigr* in seventeenth-century mss. of Reykóela saga ok Víga-skútu (see IF 10 [1940], 231/22; *Íslendinga Sögur*, udg. af det kongelige danske oldskriftselskab [Kbh., 1830], II, 308, n.1). In fact, only one of the *brjóst-* compounds referred to by Fritzner seems to have anything to do with the virtue of mercy - the word *brjóstlitill* (which Fritzner takes to mean "lidet barmhjertig") found at *Mariu saga* 462/6-7: "... oss virðiz miklv betra at reknaz miól briostlitilla byskvpa en retra leigvanna."

59. The other OWN versions of Gr. 34 in Ev. (Stoth. 88/27 - 92/32, Nhom. 136/30 - 140/35, Leifar 165/5 - 166/5) do not extend as far as this passage. On the use of the words *miskunn* and *mildi* to render *misericordia* see Walter, Lex. Lehn., 118-123.

60. Finnur Jónsson (Den oldnorske og oldislandske litteraturhistorie, 2. udg., [Kbh., 1920-23] II, I. B, 120-121) notes further examples of verbal correspondence between the poem and the sermon. As Fredrik Paasche remarks, however (Kristendom og Kvad 3.3, in Hedenskap og Kristendom [Oslo, 1948], 164), the points of resemblance between
the two texts are too few and too general to suggest that this sermon need have been the source for this section of the poem.

Cf. also Lilja, st. 55(Skjá B II, 405):

... leiddr af móður [Bergsbók: a krossín – Skjá AII, 38ln] faðminn breiddr breiddr á krossinn guman græðdi, græðdi hann oss, er helstríð maðdi.


62. On the use of the figure sinus misericordiae in Marian literature see Anselm Salzer, Die Sinnbilder und Beiwörte Mariens (Linz, 1893), 554ff., and, e.g., Anselm, Oratio LXI, Rhythmus ad Sanctam Virginem... (PL 158, 965), "Ad te suspiro domina / Meas accepta lacrymas, / Sinum misericordiæ / Dignare mihi pandere"; Bernard of Clairvaux, "Dominica infra Octavam Assumptionis B.V. Mariae sermo" (PL 183, 430 D), "Omnibus misericordiæ sinum aperit, ut de plenitudine eius accipiant universi ..."

63. See too Thóm. II, I, 80/3, faðmr heilagrár kirkju; DN I. 196/6-7 [1328], miskunnarskaut heilagrar kirkju. Cf. Manz 397 gremium (matris) ecclesiae, 922 sinus (matris) ecclesiae; Blaise, s.vv. gremium 3. - ecclesiae, sinus 3. -ecclesiae; Niermeyer, s.v. gremium 2. -ecclesiae, 3. = nave of a church; Thes. Ling.-Lat., s.v. 2 gremium I. B, "de ecclesia".

Astrid Salvesen (Studies ..., 57) notes that the phrase himneskt sæti is used in the OWN Elucidarium to render the "more baroque" Latin metaphor, caeleste gremium (cf. Jón Helgason, ed., Manuscripta Islandica 5, 13r/18-20, Hauksbók 491/26; Yves Lefèvre, ed., L’Elucidarium et les Lucidaires, 403/7-8).