Alfred's epistemological metaphors: *eagan modes* and *scip modes*

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ABSTRACT

King Alfred's translations successively develop the metaphors of *eagan modes* and *scip modes* to render the implicit and explicit psychological contexts of nautical and ocular images in their Latin source-texts. The increasing complexity and independence of the metaphorical modification evident in the Old English translations suggest the order in which Alfred translated and reveal his maturing conception of epistemology, particularly the theory of illumination. In *Pastoral Care, Consolations of Philosophy, Metres of Boethius*, and, especially, *Soliloquies*, the interplay of these psychosomatic metaphors functions not as rhetorical flourish or stylistic ornamentation but as a means for Alfred to model his inferences about epistemological phenomena.

In his translations, King Alfred used two metaphors, *eagan modes* ('eyes of the mind') and *scip modes* ('ship of the mind'), to conceptualize the mental process of acquiring knowledge. These epistemological metaphors, derived from a theory of illumination which early medieval Christianity adapted from Platonism, depended on a dual analogy, that between cognition and sensory perception, and that between an ascetic journey and mental transcendence from corporeal to incorporeal truths within this heritage. Alfred's translations employ an associative hermeneutic to impart coherence to the ocular and nautical metaphors which he found in his Latin sources. The cumulative logic that emerges from the frequency and repetition of the metaphors *eagan modes* and *scip modes* in the Old English *Pastoral Care*, *Consolations of Philosophy* (prose and metres), *Prose Psalter* and *Soliloquies* provides evidence for Alfred's collective authorship of these translations, suggests a chronological scheme for his translations, and offers a tantalizing glimpse into his developing conception of psychology, especially epistemology.[1]

[1] The degree to which Alfred participated himself in the work of translation has been debated, but most scholars conclude that Alfred probably had a significant supervisory and motivating role. For the latest views on Alfred's canon and authorship, see J. Bately, 'The Alfredian Canon Revisited: One Hundred Years On', *Alfred the Great: Papers from the Eleventh-Centenary Conference*, ed. T. Reuter (Aldershot, 2003), pp. 107–20, at 109–11. For a summary of the authorship debate, see G. Waite, *Old English Prose Translations of King Alfred's Reign*, Annotated Bibliographies of Old and Middle Eng. Lit. 6 (Cambridge, 2000), 17–18. A comprehensive study of Alfred's understanding of psychology has yet to be written. M. Godden was the first to address Alfred's psychology in the groundbreaking study, 'Anglo-Saxons on the Mind', *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England: Studies Presented to Peter Clemoes*, ed. M. Lapidge and H. Gneuss (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 271–98, esp. 274–7.

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My argument proceeds in two stages. First, I discuss the function of ocular and nautical metaphors in antiquity and the early middle ages in order to locate Alfred's unique personal use of these metaphors within the framework of inherited tradition. Next, I trace the progression of increasingly complex metaphorical manipulation that begins with Alfred's first experiments in translation in the *Pastoral Care*, continues with his independent additions to the *Consolation of Philosophy* and culminates with the convergence of visual and nautical metaphors in the *Soliloquies*.[2] The simultaneous variation and subtle development of the repetition of *eagan modes* and *scip modes* reveals the emergence of Alfred's use of conceptual metaphor.

METAPHORS OF COGNITION IN CLASSICAL ANTIQUITY AND THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES

The epistemology of antiquity was based on the phenomenological model of an embodied mental microcosm in which the inner and outer faculties operated simultaneously with 'correspondent relation' to produce knowledge.[3] Eventually the entire body came to be viewed as psychosomatic, and the ambiguity of a bodily referent, which could synonymously refer to the soul, had to be discerned by spiritual acuity. Of the five senses, vision in particular provided an apt model for cognition. Bodily experience of visual perception generated the prevailing cultural assumptions about mental cognition.[4] Such assumptions became so pervasive that the semantic fields of vision and mental activity overlapped in ancient languages; indeed, much of this overlap survives in many

[2] Most scholars follow D. Whitelock's conclusion in 'The Prose of Alfred's Reign', *Continuations and Beginnings*, ed. E. G. Stanley (London, 1966), pp. 67–103, at 76–7, that Alfred first translated the *Pastoral Care* and probably, but not certainly, produced the *Consolation of Philosophy* before the *Soliloquies*. In the present study, the development of the two metaphors supports this conclusion; but it is less clear where the translation of the *Paris Psalter* fits into the progression. *Eagan modes* replaces *oculi* in Psalm XIII.8 and XVI.10 in the *Paris Psalter*; see *King Alfred's Old English Prose Translation of the First Fifty Psalms*, ed. P. P. O'Neill, Med. Acad. Books 104 (Cambridge, MA, 2001), 112, 115. The presence of *eagan modes* in the *Paris Psalter* strengthens the argument in favour of Alfred's authorship and also indicates Alfred's level of confidence as a translator: he was not daunted by the sacrosanct nature of the scriptural text.

[3] R. R. Verbrugge, 'Transformations in Knowing: a Realist View of Metaphor', *Cognition and Figurative Language*, ed. R. P. Honeck and R. R. Hoffman (Hillsdale, NJ, 1980), pp. 87–125, at 88. Origen explains this view in *Commentarium in Canticum canticorum* 2.6 (ed. L. Brésard and H. Crouzel with M. Borret, Sources chrétiennes 375 (Paris, 1991), 94).

[4] For a summary of the widespread ancient conception of internal senses modelled on external senses, see D. Chidester, *Word and Light: Seeing, Hearing, and Religious Discourse* (Urbana, 1992), p. 8; H. A. Wolfson, 'The Internal Senses in Latin, Arabic, and Hebrew Philosophic Texts', *Harvard Theol. Rev.* 28 (1935), 69–132; and K. Rahner, 'La doctrine des "sens spirituels" au moyen-age, en particulier chez Saint Bonaventure', *Revue d'ascétique et de mystique* 14 (1933), 263–99.

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modern languages.[5] The linkage between the bodily experience of perception and cognition reveals that classical epistemology operated by means of conceptual metaphors, cognitive mechanisms by which people structure subjective experiences by means of physical ones. A conceptual metaphor provides a familiar context to enact or model complex relations of an insensible phenomenon.[6]

Greek philosophers, in particular, developed a consistent visual model of cognition that systematically elaborated metaphors derived from vision.[7] In Platonic epistemology, cognition operated according to the theory of illumination, an intellective process that functioned analogously to the ray-theory of vision. Reason – the intellect or the mind – made direct contact with intelligible objects in an intellective acquaintance just as humans were thought to access visible objects through sight.[8] Although he subscribed to a different optical model from the Platonists, Aristotle also emphasized the psychophysical parallelism between the mind and the body.[9] Neoplatonic psychology deployed the metaphoric imagery derived from the Platonic visual model to conceptualize relations between humanity and the divine. Plotinus constructed an elaborate vertical hierarchy of illumination in which each level imitated the one above in a transcendent chain from the sensible to the intelligible; moral virtue alone permitted ascent.[10] In his model, illumination and vision shared three essential components: possession of the appropriate power (intellect and sight), the object for that power (intelligible object and a coloured material body), and an enabling agent (intellectual and physical light).[11] His extensive recourse to ocular imagery firmly entrenched the visual capabilities of the soul for his successors. The particular metaphor of the 'eyes of the mind' became commonplace and was projected from the conceptual metaphor that thinking

[5] See N. Yu, 'Chinese Metaphors of Thinking', *Cognitive Ling.* 14 (2003), 141–65; G. Lakoff and M. Johnson, 'Why Cognitive Linguistics Requires Embodied Realism', *Cognitive Ling.* 13 (2002), 243–63, at 255–6; E. Sweetser, *From Etymology to Pragmatics: Metaphorical and Cultural Aspects of Semantic Structure* (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 23–48; and S. Ono, 'The Old English Verbs of Knowing', *On Early English Syntax and Vocabulary* (Tokyo, 1989), pp. 139–67, at 139.

[6] M. Johnson, *The Body in the Mind: the Bodily Basis of Meaning, Imagination, and Reason* (Chicago, 1987), pp. 108–9. [7] Chidester, *Word and Light*, pp. 4–6.

[8] Plato, *Republic*, trans. G. M. A. Grube (Indianapolis, 1974), VI.508b–e, 517b–518d, 540a. See also the *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, vol. V, ed. G. Friedrich, trans. G. W. Bromiley (Grand Rapids, 1967), pp. 319–24.

[9] Aristotle, *De sensu and De memoria*, trans. G. R. T. Ross (New York, 1973), pp. 5–9.

[10] For Plotinus's visual model of cognition, see A. H. Armstrong, *The Architecture of the Intelligible Universe in the Philosophy of Plotinus* (Amsterdam, 1967) pp. 49, 83–97, and R. Ferweda, *La signification des images et des metaphores dans la pensée de Plotin* (Groningen, 1965), pp. 120–9.

[11] S. MacDonald, 'Illumination', *Routledge Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, ed. E. Craig (London, 1998), pp. 698–700.

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is seeing.[12] Later, Philo and Origen blended the philosophic tradition of illumination by the 'eyes of the mind' with the biblical 'eye of the heart', and by so doing transmitted Greek, especially Platonic, assumptions about vision to Christian theologians.[13] Western Christianity adapted Origen's rich application of the philosophic metaphor of the mind's eye to the theological discourse of revelation.[14]

Classical philosophical and biblical anthropological attitudes to perception and cognition fused in early Christian theology, and this fusion endowed the psychosomatic eye with moral characteristics and salvific potential. The Latin patristic fathers transmitted *oculi mentis* as a metaphor for spiritual perception to the middle ages.[15] The Carolingians were particularly fond of the *oculus mentis* or the *internus oculus*.[16] Knowledge of the *oculi mentis* circulated in Anglo-Saxon England in Latin texts brought from the Continent and in Anglo-Latin compositions.[17] Nevertheless, in Old English, the use of the metaphor of the 'eyes of the mind' was limited to the polysemous semantic field of vision in which many words for physical vision were metaphorically transferred to refer also to mental perception.[18] The specific genitively linked metaphor *eagan modes* occurs independent of the Latin calque *oculi mentis* only in Alfred's *Pastoral Care, Consolation of Philosophy*, the *Prose Psalms* of the Paris Psalter and

[12] E. R. Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, trans. W. R. Trask (Princeton, 1953), p. 136. For the durability of the 'mind's eye' metaphor in modern conceptualizations of mental activity, see Z. W. Pylyshyn, 'What the Mind's Eye Tells the Mind's Brain: a Critique of Mental Imagery', *Psychological Bull.* 80 (1973), 1–24, and C. Collins, *The Poetics of the Mind's Eye: Literature and the Psychology of Imagination* (Philadelphia, 1991).

[13] For Philo, see D. Chidester, *Word and Light*, pp. 30–43. For Origen, see K. Rahner, 'Lé début d'une doctrine des cinq sens spirituels chez Origène', *Revue d'ascétique et de mystique* 13 (1932), 113–45. Origen discussed the inner senses in *De principiis* I.1.9.298–314 (ed. H. Crouzel and M. Simonetti, Sources chrétiennes 252, 253 (Paris, 1978), pp. 108–10), *Commentarium in Canticum canticorum* II.9.12 (ed. L. Brésard and H. Crouzel with M. Borret, p. 442), *In Exodum homiliae* X.3.10 (ed. M. Borret, Sources chrétiennes 321 (Paris, 1985), p. 312), and *In Numeros homiliae* IV.2.73 (ed. L. Doutreleau, Sources chrétiennes 415 (Paris, 1996), p. 104).

[14] Eric Jager, *The Book of the Heart* (Chicago, 2002), pp. 4–9.

[15] Searches on the *CLCT Library of Latin Texts*: http://www.clt.brepolis.net/ (Turnhout, 2002), accessed 2002–5, reveal countless occurrences of visual metaphors in patristic texts.

[16] T. F. X. Noble, 'The Vocabulary of Vision and Worship in the Early Carolingian Period', *Seeing the Invisible in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages: Papers from 'Verbal and Pictorial Imaging: Representing and Accessing Experience of the Invisible: 400–1000' (Utrecht, 11–13 December 2003)*, ed. G. de Nie, K. F. Morrison, H. L. Kessler and M. Mostert (Turnhout, 2004), pp. 215–39. For visual metaphors in earlier Gaul, see G. de Nie, *Word, Image and Experience: Dynamics of Miracle and Self-Perception in Sixth-Century Gaul* (Aldershot, 2003), pp. 67–122.

[17] Bede uses *oculi mentis* twenty-four times in his corpus. For Alcuin, see T. F. X. Noble, 'Vocabulary of Vision', pp. 219–20.

[18] C. J. Kay, 'Metaphors We Live By: Pathways Between Old and Modern English', *Essays on Anglo-Saxon and Related Themes in Memory of Lynne Grundy*, ed. J. Roberts and J. Nelson (London, 2000), pp. 272–85, at 283.

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the *Soliloquies*.[19] In his translations, Alfred adopted and adapted the metaphor of the 'eyes of the mind', with its ancient philosophical and theological resonances, as an interpretative mechanism to reveal how the mind functioned. As he discovered various optical implications of the theory of illumination in his source texts, Alfred developed his own visual model of cognition in his translations.

In the theory of illumination, directing a person's mental gaze toward truth was not the only action required for enlightenment. The mind or soul had to shift its preoccupation from the transitory, perceptible world and actually move toward the transcendent intelligible truths in the higher realms of wisdom. Origen and Augustine transformed and incorporated these Neoplatonic doctrines of spiritual ascent into the context of a Christian soul's obstacle-strewn journey toward enlightenment.[20] Early Christian authors likewise conceptualized this inner journey of enlightenment in terms of a cogent metaphor from the literary milieu of late antiquity, namely, that man's life is a sea voyage; this voyage involved 'a tripartite movement from one place to another: separation, a long anxiety-producing transition, then arrival'.[21] For the patristic fathers, a

[19] Search performed on *The Dictionary of Old English Corpus*, WWW-accessible version by the University of Michigan Humanities Text Initiative: http://ets.umdl.umich.edu/ (2002–4), accessed March 2002–May 2004. See table 1 for all the occurrences of *eagan modes* in the Old English corpus except for the single instance of 'modes eagum' translating 'mentis . . . oculos' in the Old English *Rule of Chrodegang* LXXIX found in the late eleventh-century Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 191: *The Old English Version of the Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang Edited Together with the Latin Text and an English Translation*, ed. B. Langefeld, Münchener Universitätsschriften 26 (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 2003), 320.13–14, 321.15–16. Although *eagan modes* occurs almost exclusively in texts from Alfred's reign, *eagan heortan* occurs occasionally in a variety of Old English texts, all of them probably influenced by the Bible: *Christ* 1237 in ASPR 3 (New York, 1936), 40; 'Saint Apollinaris', *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*, ed. W. W. Skeat, EETS 76, 82, 94, 114 (London, 1881–1900), I.472–86, lines 47–8; *Virgins* ['Evangelium de virginibus'] in 'Vier altenglische Predigten aus der heterodoxen Tradition' 1.156 (ed. H. Tristram (unpubl. PhD dissertation, University of Freiburg, 1970), pp. 439–45); *Defensor's Liber Scintillarum, with Interlinear Anglo-Saxon Version Made Early in the Eleventh Century*, ed. E. W. Rhodes, EETS 93 (London, 1889), 28.6, where *eagan heortan* glosses *cordis oculis* from *Liber scintillarum* VI.19 (ed. H. Rochais, CCSL 117 (Turnhout, 1957), 27), which quotes Isidore, *Sententiae*, PL 83, 609A (II.8.2); 'Mary of Egypt', in *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*, II.2–52.424. *Eagan sawle* occurs twice outside of Alfred's corpus: *Two Apocrypha in Old English Homilies*, ed. R. Willard (Leipzig, 1935), 4.16, and *The Vercelli Homilies and Related Texts*, ed. D. G. Scragg, EETS 300 (Oxford, 1992), 4.133.

[20] A. Sheppard, 'Plato and the Neoplatonists', *Platonism and the English Imagination*, ed. A. Baldwin and S. Hutton (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 3–18, at 10–11.

[21] R. Frank, 'Old English *Ancor* "anchor": Transformation of a Latin Loanword', *Germanic Texts and Latin Models: Medieval Reconstructions*, ed. K. E. Olsen, A. Harbus and T. Hofstra (Leuven, 2001), pp. 7–27, at 8. See also J. Pépin, 'A propos du symbolisme de la mer chez Platon et dans le néoplatonisme', *Association Guillaume Budé. Actes du Congrès de Tours et de Poitiers (3–9 septembre 1953)* (Paris, 1954), pp. 257–9, and *Homer's Ancient Readers: the Hermeneutics of Greek Epic's Earliest Exegetes*, ed. R. Lamberton and J. J. Keaney (Princeton, 1992), pp. 44–5, 127–33.

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Christian sailed through tempestuous seas of sin toward the long-sought heavenly homeland.[22] Ambrose interiorized the metaphor of the 'ship of the Christian life' so that the soul became a ship voyaging toward spiritual illumination.[23] Although not the first to use the formulation of *navis mentis* and *navis cordis*, Gregory the Great individualized Ambrose's metaphor of 'the ship of the mind' by describing his own psychological state as a storm-tossed ship.[24] Carolingian and Anglo-Latin authors, particularly Bede and Boniface, inherited the ethically informed *navis mentis* of these patristic fathers.[25]

Although psychosomatic transfer of meaning from the nautical to the mental is attested in Old English poetry, the only grammatically specific formulations of *scip modes* or *scip heortan* are found within the Alfredian corpus (aside from the single occurrence in Wærferth's *Dialogues*): three times each in the *Pastoral Care* and the *Soliloquies*, and once in the *Metres of Boethius*.[26] This metaphor seems to have resonated with Alfred's personal nautical experience; he consequently adopted it as a conceptually productive model for the abstract process of cognition.

Each of Alfred's Latin source-texts highlighted the visual and nautical aspects of illumination. Conveniently, by chance or design, Alfred seems first

[22] H. Rahner, *Greek Myths and Christian Mystery*, trans. B. Battershaw (New York, 1963), pp. 328–53, and *Symbole der Kirche. Die Ekklesiologie der Väter* (Salzburg, 1964), pp. 239–564. See also Curtius, *European Literature*, trans. Trask, p. 130.

[23] Ambrose, *De Cain et Abel* I.11.4 (ed. K. Schenkl, CSEL 32 (Vienna, 1897), 347), *De interpellatione Iob et David* I.15.18 (ed. K. Schenkl, CSEL 32.2 (Vienna, 1897), 220), *Expositio psalmi* VIII.39.10–12 (ed. M. Petschenig, CSEL 62 (Vienna, 1913), 174). Ambrose relies on the tradition of philosophical allegorizing of the *Odyssey* in *Expositio evangelii secundum Lucam* IV.1–3 (ed. K. Schenkl, CSEL 32.4 (Vienna, 1902), 178–80). See P. Dronke and U. Dronke, *Growth of Literature: the Sea and the God of the Sea* (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 10–11.

[24] Gregory the Great uses *navis mentis* in *Moralia in Iob* IX.xxxiii.50–4, XXI.xxii.12–13 (ed. M. Adriaen, CCSL 143, 143A, 143B (Turnhout, 1979), 492, 1090); and *Registrum epistularum* VI.61.48–52 (ed. D. Norberg, CCSL 140, 140A (Turnhout, 1982), 435); and *navis cordis* in *Moralia in Iob* VII.i.26, XX.xxiii.14 (*ibid.* pp. 334, 1040); *Registrum epistularum* IX.229.49–50 (ed. Norberg, p. 807); and *Regula pastoralis* I.ix.34 (ed. F. Rommel, Sources chrétiennes 381, 382 (Paris, 1992), 160).

[25] For the Carolingians, see Curtius, *European Literature*, trans. Trask, pp. 128–30. Bede, *In epistulas septem catholicas* III.71–9 (ed. D. Hurst and C. W. Jones, CCSL 121 (Turnhout, 1983), 204); *In proverbia Salomonis* III.xxx.157–61, III.xxxi.191–4 (ed. Hurst, CCSL 199B (Turnhout, 1983), pp. 145, 152); *In Marci evangelium expositio* I.iii.1213–17, I.iv.1671–4 (ed. D. Hurst, CCSL 120 (Turnhout, 1960), 468, 480). Boniface, *Die Briefe des heiligen Bonifatius und Lullus* 33 (ed. M. Tangl, MGH Epist. select. 1 (Berlin, 1916), 57, line 1).

[26] See J. Vickery, 'Some Hypotheses Concerning *The Seafarer*, Lines 1–47', *ASNSL* 219 (1982), 57–77, at 57–8; D. Dyas, 'Land and Sea in the Pilgrim Life: the *Seafarer* and the Old English *Exodus*', *ELN* 35.2 (1997), 1–9; M. Godden, 'The Psyche and the Self: Some Issues in *Beowulf*', *Studies in Middle English Language and Literature: Proceedings of the Vth International Conference of the Spanish Society for Medieval English Language and Literature*, ed. J. L. Chamosa and T. Guzmán (León, 1997), pp. 49–67, at 60; and R. Frank, 'Old English *ancor*', pp. 11–12. For Alfred and Gregory, see table 2.

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to have encountered the most general philosophical, but image-rich portrayal, in the *Regula pastoralis*, followed by the more philosophically sophisticated paradigm in *De consolatione Philosophiae*. Gregory and, to a lesser degree, Boethius filtered Augustinian epistemology to Alfred; this increasingly complex sequence of exposure to illumination prepared Alfred to tackle the technical philosophical argument in the *Soliloquia*. An examination of the two metaphors 'eye of the mind' and 'ship of the mind' in Alfred's source-texts and translations provides insight into Alfred's intellectual development as both a translator and a philosopher, and reveals his inheritance of Christian Neoplatonic epistemology. As we trace these two metaphors, we will see how Alfred permitted his reading to transform his sense of the world as he granted the Latin texts the authority on which he based his own imaginative representation of human epistemology.

GREGORY'S REGULA PASTORALIS AND ALFRED'S PASTORAL CARE

Gregory the Great's *Regula pastoralis*, and probably his *Dialogi*, exposed Alfred to the metaphors *oculi mentis* and *navis mentis*, which Alfred subsequently incorporated in his *Pastoral Care*. Gregory's exuberantly figure-filled prose no doubt provided some inspiration for Alfred's own frequent recourse to *eagan modes* as a means to distinguish between physical and psychological vision in his source-text and to the entailments of *scip modes* as a means to highlight the difficulty of living an ethical life amid worldly distractions. Having derived the metaphoric schematization of inner and outer from patristic, particularly Alexandrine, exegesis, Gregory was fond of emphasizing the opposition between spiritual and carnal, light and dark, ascent and descent, fixity and wandering, and blindness and sight.[27] This binary duality contributed to a unique spiritual topography based, as one critic has said, on 'complementarity, continuity, opposition, and paradox'.[28] For Gregory, vision and sailing became actions that redirected the soul's attention from outer to inner orientation.

'Eye of the mind'

The concept of *oculi mentis* permeated Gregory's writing.[29] Men had both physical and spiritual eyes: physical eyes saw outward forms by lumination while spiritual eyes saw inner truths by illumination. According to Gregory,

[27] S. C. Kessler, 'Gregory the Great: a Figure of Tradition and Transition in Church Exegesis', *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament: the History of Interpretation*, vol. 1, part 2, ed. M. Sæbø, C. Brekelmans and M. Haran (Göttingen, 2000), pp. 135–45.

[28] C. Straw, *Gregory the Great: Perfection in Imperfection* (Berkeley, 1988), pp. 21, 54. See also G. R. Evans, *The Thought of Gregory the Great* (Cambridge, 1986), pp. 28–45, and G. A. Zinn, 'Exegesis and Spirituality in the Writings of Gregory the Great', *Gregory the Great: a Symposium*, ed. J. Cavadini (Notre Dame, IN, 1995), pp. 168–80.

[29] Gregory used *oculi mentis* fifty times in his corpus and *oculus cordis* only once.

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prelapsarian man saw God in his mind's eye, but, after freely choosing a state of darkness, the bondages of sin clouded his spiritual vision, and God removed the light of his presence from fallen humanity.[30] Hence men must brush away the flies of distraction from their minds' eye so that they might experience the transcendence of contemplative vision: 'Sola namque eius uisio uera mentis nostrae refectio est.'[31]

It was in Bishop Wærferth's translation of Gregory's *Dialogi* that the metaphor *eagan modes* made an early and possibly initial appearance in extant Old English prose.[32] I suggest that Alfred may have been familiar with the *Dialogues* before he completed the *Pastoral Care* and that he learned two strategies of translation from Wærferth.[33] First, Alfred learned from the nine occurrences in Wærferth's translation to render *oculus mentis* and *navis mentis* in the source text as *eagan modes* and *scip modes* in Old English. Second, Alfred learned from Wærferth's single metaphorical addition to the prologue of the *Dialogues* to specify the psychological nature of a simple *oculus* in the source text as *eagan modes* or *eagan heortan*.

Wærferth's deviation from the *Dialogi* occurred in the prologue where Gregory describes his mental distress after an unpleasant business dealing: 'cuncta quae infligere dolorem consueuerant congesta ante oculos licenter uenirent.'[34] In his translation, Wærferth specifies the mental process involved:

[30] *Moralia in Iob* XI.xliii.8–11 (ed. Adriaen, p. 619).

[31] *Moralia in Iob* XXXI.xlix.26 (ed. Adriaen, p. 1619), 'the vision of God alone is our mind's true repast'. See B. McGinn, 'Contemplation in Gregory the Great', *Gregory the Great: a Symposium*, ed. Cavadini, pp. 146–67.

[32] *Bischof Wærferths von Worcester Übersetzung der Dialoge Gregors des Grossen*, ed. H. Hecht (Leipzig, 1900–7, repr. Darmstadt, 1965) [*Dialogues*]. In 'Old English Prose Before and During the Reign of Alfred' *ASE* 17 (1988), 93–138, at 103, J. Bately notes that the *Dialogues* must have been written by 893 because Asser refers to it in *De rebus gestis Ælfredi*, but also that it could predate the letter attached to the *Pastoral Care* (*c.* 890–7) and Alfred's other translations because Asser does not mention any of them. Wærferth replicated the cases of the Latin *oculus* in his Old English metaphors. However, based on the occurrences of the non-oblique cases of *eage* in Alfred's translation corpus, Alfred conceptualizes the mind as having more than one eye regardless of the number in the Latin source. Yet Alfred imagines the heart as having a single eye in *King Alfred's West-Saxon Version of Gregory's Pastoral Care*, ed. H. Sweet, EETS 45 (London, 1988), 11.69.11, 16.99.22 [*Pastoral Care*]. The *sawol* in *King Alfred's Version of St. Augustine's Soliloquies*, ed. T. Carnicelli (Cambridge, MA, 1969) [*Soliloquies*] can have either one (1.64.7) or multiple eyes (1.66.6, 1.68.8, 72.5). For consistency in this article, I will use *oculi mentis* and *eagan modes* when referring to the metaphor; see table 1 for the exact grammatical cases in both languages.

[33] In 'Wærferth and King Alfred: the Fate of the Old English *Dialogues*', *Alfred the Wise: Studies in honour of Janet Bately on the Occasion of her Sixty-Fifth birthday*, ed. J. Roberts and J. L. Nelson with M. Godden (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 35–51, at 44, M. Godden expresses reservations about the degree to which Alfred actually read the Old English.

[34] *Dialogi* 1.6–7 (ed. A. de Vogüé, Sources Chrétiennes 251, 260, 265 (Paris, 1978), 10), 'everything which had habitually inflicted sorrow came without hindrance heaped before my eyes.'

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'Þær comon sweotollice beforan þam eagum minre heortan eall þa gedonan unriht, þe gewunedan, þæt hi me sar ȝ sorge ongebrohton.'[35] Gregory's earlier comment that he 'graui excoqui cordis languore' may have prompted Wærferth to infer the spiritual nature of Gregory's vision here.[36] The independent use of the metaphor *eagan heortan* in this passage may have been the precedent for Alfred's frequent addition of *mod* or *heort* to modify *eagan* in his translations of *oculus* when he wanted to specify the process of spiritual illumination rather than physical lumination.

Alfred used both these translation strategies in the *Pastoral Care*: he translated all four instances of *oculi mentis* in the *Regula pastoralis* as *modes eagan*, and the single instance of *oculus cordis* as *eage heortan*. However, Alfred was not content simply to render the Latin into Old English without personal adjustment; he added *eagan modes* nine times without prompting in the Latin. Seven of his nine insertions specified the psychological function of the eye where the source-text only mentioned *oculus*. In these seven cases, Alfred made an interpretative decision to use *eagan modes* as an explicit marker for the mental action implicitly inferred in the Latin. In the two other additions, Alfred clarified the visual nature of the agent of contemplation that was merely implied in the Latin.

Alfred's translation of a passage in the *Regula pastoralis* (I.11) is a particularly good example of his tendency to heighten awareness of mental activity. Here Gregory describes the types of men who are unfit to be pastoral advisers. He allegorizes bodily disabilities as spiritual defects: a blind man 'supernae contemplationis lumen ignorat; qui praesentis uitae tenebris pressus, dum uenturam lucem nequaquam diligendo conspicit, quo gressus operis porrigat nescit.'[37] Alfred translates this as: 'Se bið eallenga blind se ðe noht ne ongiet be ðam leohte ðære uplecan sceawunge, ond se se ðe bið ofseten mid ðæm ðistrum ðisses andweardan lifes, ðonne he næfre ne gesiehð mid his modes eagum ðæt towearde leoht, ðy ðe he hit lufige, & he nat hwider he recð mid ðæm stæpum his weorca'.[38] As he inserts *eagan modes* in his translation to clarify

[35] *Dialogues* 3.19–23: 'there came clearly before the eye of my heart all the sins which I had committed with the result that they imposed pain and sorrow on me.' I quote from Hecht's edition of Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 322; there is a slight difference in word order between the Cambridge manuscript and the later redaction in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 76.

[36] *Dialogi* 1.11–12 (ed. de Vogüé, p. 10): 'was consumed by a severe weariness of his heart'.

[37] *Regula pastoralis* I.xi.13–16 (ed. Rommel, p. 164): 'is ignorant of the light of heavenly contemplation; while oppressed by the darkness of the present life, he does not perceive the future light with any esteem nor does he know where he should direct the steps of his labors.'

[38] *Pastoral Care* 1.65.6–10: 'He is entirely blind who does not perceive by the light of heavenly contemplation, and who is oppressed by the darkness of this present life; therefore he never sees with the mind's eye that future light so that he may love it, and he does not know where he directs himself by the steps of his deeds.'

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the agent of the Latin verb *conspicio*, Alfred begins to appropriate the moral implications of Gregory's visual dichotomy between dark and light.[39]

Gregory next focuses on the consequences of spiritual depravity, more specifically in terms of two visual maladies: a *lippus* 'blear-eyed' eye and an eye with *albugo* 'white-film' (1.11.58, 72). Quoting Apocalypse III. 18, 'Collyrio inunge oculos tuos ut uideas', Gregory explains that with the salve 'ad cognoscendam ueri luminis claritatem intellectus nostri aciem medicamine bonae operationis adiuuamus'.[40] Alfred realizes that it is not the physical eye that receives the salve: 'Ðonne we smierewað ure heortan eage mid sealfe þæt we mægen ðy bet geseon, ðonne we mid ðæm læcedome godra weorca gefultumað urum ondgite ðæt hit bið ascirped to ongietenne ða bierhtu ðæs soðan leohtes.'[41] Alfred follows the Latin closely, but he translates 'oculos' as 'heortan eage' and probes the implications of both the sharpness and sight in *acies*.[42] Gregory moves from a bleary eye to cataracts in the next sentence: 'Albuginem uero habet in oculo, qui ueritatis lucem uidere non sinitur, quia arrogantia sapientiae seu iustitiae caecatur.'[43] Once again Alfred specifies the level of meaning: 'Se ðonne hæfð eallinga fleah on his modes eagum, ðe on nane wisan ne mæg ryhtwisnesse geseon, ac bið ablend mid unwisdome ðæt he ne ongit ða uplican ryhtwisnesse.'[44] He reduces the degree of metaphorical implication in Gregory's text by assigning the eye to *mod* and reinforces this by placing the more psychological verb *ongitan* to be parallel to the more physical *geseon*.

Extending his lesson in ophthalmology to moral behaviour, Gregory continues: 'Pupilla namque oculi nigra uidet, albuginem tolerans nil uidet, quia

[39] Gregory explores the process and faculties of contemplation in greater detail in *Regula pastoralis* II.5.23 (ed. Rommel, p. 198); the mind's vision, which is the *oculus cordis*, extends to heaven and transcends earthly affairs.

[40] *Biblia sacra iuxta vulgatam versionem*, ed. B. Fischer (Stuttgart, 1969, repr. 1994), and translated in the Douay-Rheims Bible (Rockford, Ill., 1989), 'Anoint thy eyes with eyesalve, that thou mayest see'. *Regula pastoralis* I.xi.69–71 (ed. Rommel, p. 168), 'to perceive the brightness of the true light, we give aid to the keen vision of our intellect with the remedy of good work.'

[41] *Pastoral Care* I.69.11–14: 'When we anoint the eye of our heart with salve to see better, then we give aid to our intellect with the medicine of good works, in order to sharpen it to perceive the brightness of true light.'

[42] The distinction between the 'eye of the heart' and the 'eye of the mind' is unclear; the chest cavity was long thought to be the centre of emotions and thought, and the heart was used almost synonymously with other mental faculties. See Jager, *Book of the Heart*, pp. 2–17, and L. Lockett, 'Corporeality in the Psychology of the Anglo-Saxons', (unpubl. PhD dissertation, Univ. of Notre Dame, 2004), pp. 51–63.

[43] *Regula pastoralis* I.xi.71–3 (ed. Rommel, p. 168): 'But the man who has a white film in his eye is prevented from seeing the light of truth because he is blinded by the arrogance of knowledge or justice.'

[44] *Pastoral Care* 11.69.14–17: 'He who has an albugo completely over his mind's eyes can in no way see righteousness but is blinded by folly so that he does not perceive heavenly righteousness.'

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uidelicet sensus humanae cogitationis si stultum se peccatoremque intellegit, cognitionem intima claritatis apprehendit.'[45] Alfred maintains Gregory's distinction between clear and impeded sight: 'Ðurh ðone æpl ðæs eagan mon mæg geseon, gif him ðæt fleah on ne gæð, gif hine ðonne ðæt fleah mid ealle ofergæð, ðonne ne mæg he noht geseon.'[46] But in the next sentence, Alfred compares the eye, the *albugo*, and the unseen object to mental understanding, pride, and celestial light: 'Sua eac bi ðæs modes eagum is gecueden, gif ðæt ondgit ðæs menniscan geðohtes ongiett ðæt hit self dysig sie & synfull, ðonne gegripð hit ðurh ðone wenan ðæt andgit ðære incundan byrhto; gif he ðonne self wenð ðæt he sie wis & gescadwislice ryhtwis, mid ðy he hiene bedælð ðære oncnawnesse ðæs uplecan leohtes.'[47] In this passage, Alfred provides his first definition of *modes eagan* as *menniscan geðohtes ongiett*, ('understanding of human thought'). When all of Alfred's metaphorical additions in the *Pastoral Care* are read with this definition in mind, we can see Alfred's epistemological model taking shape: a discrete part of the mind, the intellect or understanding, perceives insensible truths by means of divine illumination. As *eagan modes* is repeated, its recurrence begins to carry the weight of the meanings that it acquired in earlier contexts into present and future contexts. These metaphorical reiterations interrelate the concerns of the work, as we shall see, with Alfred's entire corpus of translations.

'*Ship of the mind*'

As with *oculi mentis*, Alfred likewise discovered *navis mentis* in the writings of Gregory the Great. Gregory's fondness for nautical imagery may have been due to his exposure to classical poetry, but, as a monk, he would also have been intimately familiar with nautical imagery in the Bible and in the writings of earlier Church Fathers. Seafaring provided Gregory with a productive schema for imagining the journey of the soul to God; the ship became the mind or soul bound for the shore of salvation, and unless anchored by virtue it was tossed on the turbulent waves of sin and buffeted by the tempests of worldly cares. Although nautical imagery occurs throughout Gregory's work, the specific and often personalized image of *navis mentis/cordis* only appears six times in his corpus in passages where he describes his own mind being tossed about on the

[45] *Regula pastoralis* I.xi.73–7 (ed. Rommel, p. 168): 'For a black pupil of an eye sees, but bearing a white film it sees nothing, because when a man clearly understands that he is foolish and a sinner, his faculty of human cognition grasps the knowledge of the light internally.'

[46] *Pastoral Care* 11.69.17–19: 'Although a man can see through the pupil of his eye if that albugo does not cover it; but when that albugo does entirely cover it, then he cannot see.'

[47] *Pastoral Care* 11.69.19–24: 'So it is also said concerning the mind's eyes that if the intellect of human thought perceives that it is itself foolish and sinful, then through that idea it grasps an understanding of inner light; but if he himself thinks that he is wise and prudently righteous, then he deprives himself of the knowledge of celestial light.'

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sea of worldly cares.[48] In the *Pastoral Care*, Alfred embellished Gregory's nautical imagery, probably drawing on his own nautical expertise; he even added *scip modes* near the end of the *Pastoral Care* without a corresponding *navis mentis*.[49] As he assimilated this metaphor in his own work, Alfred became heir to the long literary tradition of sea imagery in the Mediterranean world.

In order to understand Alfred's familiarity with the *navis mentis* metaphor, we begin once again with Wærferth's *Dialogues*. Wærferth usually emulated his Latin source closely throughout, but he expanded Gregory's striking nautical imagery in the prologue of the *Dialogi*: 'Ecce etenim nunc magni maris fluctibus quatior atque in naui mentis tempestatis ualidae procellis inlidor, et cum prioris uitae recolo, quasi post tergum ductis oculis uiso litore suspiro. Quodque adhuc est grauius, dum inmensis fluctibus turbatus feror, uix iam portum ualeo uidere quem reliqui.'[50] Gregory's nostalgic lament for a more peaceful time in his life engendered two similes in Wærferth's rendition.

Geseoh nu, Petrus, þæt me is gelicost þam, þe on lefan scipe byð, þæt byð geswenced mid þam yþum mycclan sæs: swa ic eom nu onstyred mid þam gedrefednyssum þissere worulde, ⁊ ic eom gecnyssed mid þam stormum þære strangan hreohnesse in þam scipe mines modes. ⁊ þonne ic gemune mines þæs ærran lifes, þe ic on mynstre ær on wunode, þonne asworette ic ⁊ geomrige gelice þam, þe on lefan scipe neah lande gelætað, ⁊ hit þonne se þoden ⁊ se storm on sæ adrifeð swa feorr, swa he æt nyhstan nænig land geseon ne mæg.[51]

The Old English waves are bigger, the wind more fierce, and the storm-tossed mind more fragile than the Latin. Wærferth specifies the tenor of Gregory's

[48] *Nauis mentis*: *Moralia in Iob* IX.xxxiii.51–2 (ed. Adriaen, p. 492), *Dialogi* I.34 (ed. de Vogüé, p. 12). *Nauis cordis*: *Moralia in Iob* VII.i.24–8, XX.xxiii.14–18 (ed. Adriaen, pp. 334, 1040); *Regula pastoralis* I.ix.34 (ed. Rommel, p. 160); *Registrum epistularum* IX.229.49–50 (ed. Norberg, p. 807).

[49] For Alfred's personal experience with ships, see E. Gifford and J. Gifford, 'Alfred's New Longships', *Alfred the Great: Papers from the Eleventh-Centenary Conference*, ed. T. Reuter (Aldershot, 2003), pp. 281–9, and M. J. Swanton, 'King Alfred's Ships: Text and Context,' *ASE* 28 (1999), 1–22.

[50] *Dialogi* I.33–8 (ed. de Vogüé, p. 12): 'Behold, indeed I am now battered by the waves of the great sea and struck in the ship of my mind by the storms of the powerful tempest, and when I recall my previous life, as if with eyes turned behind me, I sigh when I see the shore. Everything is even now more grievous, while tossed by huge waves I am carried off, only with difficulty am I now able to see the harbour that I forsook.' See a similar personalized sea image in Gregory's letter to Leander in *Moralia in Iob* (ed. Adriaen, pp. 1–2, lines 13–20).

[51] *Dialogues* 5.13–30: 'See now Peter, that I am most like someone who is on a frail ship that is pressed by the waves of the great sea; thus I am now stirred up by the troubles of this world, and I am struck by the storms of rough weather in the ship of my mind. And when I remember my previous life in which I lived in a monastery, then I sigh and lament, like one who approaches land in a frail ship when the whirlwind and the storm drive it so far into the sea that he cannot, at last, see any land.' See J. Bately, 'Old English Prose', p. 123, for a discussion of this simile.

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metaphorical vehicles: in the sea journey of spiritual progression, the sea and storm are trials and the shore is monastic life. Wærferth's translation again may be precedent for Alfred's strategy of expanding the details of the schema in order to heighten its effect and increase its potential to create relationships in his own translations.

Nautical metaphors first appear in *Regula pastoralis* I.9 amid Gregory's exploration of the motivations of a leader. In this passage, Gregory employs a seafaring schema to examine how the particular responsibilities of leadership affect a soul's spiritual development; he concludes that leadership inevitably roughens the journey. He begins by comparing a leader to the captain of a ship, and Alfred translates with close fidelity: 'Swiðe eaðe mæg on smyltre sæ ungelæred scipstiera genoh ryhte stieran, ac se gelæreda him ne getruwað on ðære hreon sæ & on ðæm miclan stormum.'[52] A position of power entails mental turmoil: 'Hwæt is ðonne ðæt rice & se ealdordoom butan ðæs modes storm, se simle bið cnyssende ðæt scip ðære heortan mid ðara geðohta ystum, & bið drifen hider & ðider on swiðe nearwe bygeas worda & weorca, swelce hit sie ongemong miclum & monigum stancludum tobrocen?'[53] Gregory imagines, and Alfred adopts, the conception that some distinct part of the mind is responsible for rational consciousness while also being subject to emotional influence. That portion of the mind is the ship in the larger sea-filled container of the entire mind.[54] Alfred thus begins to develop a new schema by which to conceptualize the mental microcosm.

By the third book of the *Regula pastoralis*, Alfred was less inclined simply to translate the Latin nautical imagery. In III.34, Gregory draws upon the seafaring schema to highlight the effort that the soul must exert to achieve transcendence from the mundane cares of the world: 'In hoc quippe mundo humana anima quasi more nauis est contra ictum fluminis conscendentis: uno in loco nequaquam stare permittitur, quia ad ima relabitur, nisi ad summa conetur. Si ergo inchoata bona fortis operantis manus ad perfectionem non subleuat, ipsa operandi remissio contra hoc quod operatum est, pugnat.'[55]

[52] *Pastoral Care* 9.59.1–3: 'An unskilled pilot may very easily steer adequately enough on a smooth sea, but a skilled seaman does not trust him on a fierce sea and in a mighty storm.' See *Regula pastoralis* I.ix.28–32 (ed. Rommel, pp. 158–60), and Ambrose, *Expositio psalmi* CXVIII.39.10–21 (ed. Petschenig, p. 174).

[53] *Pastoral Care* 9.59.3–7: 'What then is that sovereignty and that power except the storm of the mind, which always is tossing the ship of the heart with waves of thoughts and is driven hither and thither in a very narrow bend of words and deeds as if it is broken among large and numerous rocks?' See *Regula pastoralis* I.ix.32–6 (ed. Rommel, p. 160).

[54] In 'The King's Metrical Epilogue to the *Pastoral Care*', *JEGP* 90 (1991), 175–86, at 179–83, W. T. Whobrey cites several examples in the *Regula pastoralis* and *Pastoral Care* in which the mind is envisaged as an expanse of water.

[55] *Regula pastoralis* III.xxxiv.79–85 (ed. Rommel, p. 508): 'In this world, indeed, the human soul is as a ship ascending against the current of a river: it is never permitted to stay in one place,

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Gregory's simile alludes to the immense effort required to progress on a spiritual journey toward illumination – stasis is not an option, for only regression will result from lack of exertion. Alfred maintains the structure of the simile but heightens the seafaring element.

Ac ælces mannes mod on ðys middangearde hæfð scipes ðeaw. Ðæt scip wile hwilum stigan ongean ðone stream, ac hit ne mæg, buton ða rowend hit teon, ac hit sceal fleotan mid ðy streame: ne mæg hit no stille gestondan, buton hit ankor gehæbbe, oððe mon mid roðrum ongean tio; elles hit gelent mid ðy streame. Swa deð sio forlætnes ðæs godan weorces. Hio winð wið ða god ðe mon ær gedon hæfð, buton mon simle swincende & wyrcende sie god weorc oð ende.[56]

The components that Alfred adds extend the functionality of the simile; the rowers and the anchor increase the relational complexity of a ship heaving against the current.[57] Alfred does not specify the precise spiritual corollary of the rowers and anchor but instead leaves the interpretative action to the reader. As the reader maps inferences about rowers and oars onto the entailments of a spiritual journey, the dynamic of the physical schema provides new insights into psychology.[58] The rowers supply the force necessary to produce motion, the diligent concentration that performing good works requires. The verticality of the anchor evokes the possibility of transcendence; anchors will reappear in the *Consolation of Philosophy* and *Soliloquies*, symbolizing the link between the human mind and God.

By the end of the *Pastoral Care*, the *scip modes* had become sufficiently part of Alfred's literary imagination that he added the metaphor to his translation of the last paragraph of the *Regula pastoralis* where Gregory pleads with his

because it will float back to the lower regions, unless it strives towards the highest point. Therefore if the strong hand of the worker does not raise the unfinished good to perfection, the very failing of the work contends against what had already been done.'

[56] *Pastoral Care* 58.445.9–16: 'But every man's mind in this world has the nature of a ship. That ship at times wishes to rise against the stream, but it cannot, unless rowers pull it, it will float with the stream; it cannot stand still unless it has an anchor, or a man pulls opposite with oars; otherwise it goes with the stream. In this way does the abandoning of good works. It resists against the good that a man had done before, unless he always is toiling and doing the good work until the end.'

[57] In 'Old English Prose,' p. 127, Bately discusses this images as an example of Alfred's tendency freely to amplify and enlarge Gregory's Latin. In 'The Anglo-Saxon Mind: Metaphor and Common-Sense Psychology in Old English Literature' (unpubl. PhD dissertation, Univ. of Toronto, 1998), p. 161, S. Low explains this passage as one of the many instances of metaphors of fastening and foundation in Old English literature. R. Clement also cites this passage as an example of Alfred's explanatory additions to his Latin source in 'The Production of the *Pastoral Care*', *Studies in Earlier Old English Prose*, ed. P. Szarmach (Albany, 1986), pp. 129–52, at 136.

[58] G. Lakoff and M. Johnson, *Philosophy of the Flesh* (New York, 1999), pp. 61–5, explain that schemata are not 'just plans for conceptualizing past experiences: some schemata are *plans* of a sort for interacting with objects and persons. They give expectations and anticipations that influence our interactions with our environment.'

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addressee, Bishop John of Ravenna, for aid against his personal shortcomings as a spiritual adviser. Gregory's brief nautical image adds a creative twist to the familiar modesty topos and is reminiscent of the Roman metaphor of sailing as literary composition:[59] 'Ecce, bone uir, reprehensionis meae necessitate compulsus, dum monstrare qualis esse debeat pastor inuigilo, . . . aliosque ad perfectionis litus dirigo, qui adhuc in delictorum fluctibus uersor. Sed in huius quaeso uitae naufragio orationis tuae me tabula sustine, ut quia pondus proprium deprimit, tui meriti manus me leuet.' [60] Remembering Gregory's previous personalized uses of the *scip modes* metaphor, Alfred infers that Gregory's first-person subject which is being tossed about by waves is metaphorically a boat.

Ðær ic hæbbe getæht hwelc hierde bion sceal. To ðæm ic wæs gened mid ðinre tælnesse, ðæt ic nu hæbbe manege men gelæd to ðæm stæðe fullfremednesse on ðæm scipe mines modes, & nu giet hwearfige me self on ðæm yðum minra scylda. Ac ic ðe bidde ðæt ðu me on ðæm scipgebroce ðisses andweardan lifes sum bred geræce ðinra gebeda, ðæt ic mæge on sittan oð ic to londe cume, & arær me mid ðære honda ðinra geearnunga, forðæmðe me hæfð gehefegad sio byrðen minra agenra scylda.[61]

Alfred may have added *scip mines modes* here because of this passage's similarity to the personalized nature of *navis mentis* in *Dialogi* I.33–6 and Wærferth's *scip modes* in the prologue to *Dialogues* at 5.20. This is one additional example of the inner ship's powerful and evocative representation of moral development.

Alfred learned three principles about the theory of illumination from Gregory's imagery: (1) there is an essential division between the inner and outer man; (2) the inner man is embodied with the same senses as the external man; and (3) a man must cultivate virtues to propel him on his spiritual ascent to the divine. This development in Alfred's epistemological framework influenced his method of translating the *Pastoral Care*. He began to use the metaphor *eagan modes* as an interpretative shorthand, much like putting 'eye' in inverted commas, to draw attention to psychological metaphors implicit in Gregory's

[59] Curtius, *European Literature*, trans. Trask, pp. 128–30. For an example, see Jerome, *Epistola* I.2 (ed. I. Hilberg, CSEL 54–6 (Vienna, 1910) I.1–2).

[60] *Regula pastoralis* IV.86–92 (ed. Rommel, p. 540): 'Behold, good man, compelled by the necessity of your reprimand, I take pains to reveal what kind of a pastor a man ought to be, . . . and I, who now am tossed by the waves of sins, lead others to the shore of perfection. But in the shipwreck of life, I ask that you sustain me with the plank of your prayers, so that the hand of your merits may raise me up since the weight of my own sins oppresses me.'

[61] *Pastoral Care* 65.467.19–27: 'There I have shown what a pastor should be. To which I was compelled by your reproach so that now I have led many men to that shore of perfection in the ship of my mind, and yet I myself am still tossing on the waves of my sins. But I pray that you reach out to me the plank of your prayers in the shipwreck of this present life that I may sit on it until I come to land, and raise me up with your merits because the weight of my own sins has oppressed me.'

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ocular imagery. Alfred also seized on Gregory's spiritualized nautical imagery as a familiar means to evoke a psychological microcosm. *Scip modes* and *eagan modes* continued to develop as conceptual metaphors in the *Consolation of Philosophy*.

BOETHIUS'S *DE CONSOLATIONE PHILOSOPHIAE*, ALFRED'S *CONSOLATION OF PHILOSOPHY*, AND *THE METRES OF BOETHIUS*

In Boethius's *De consolatione Philosophiae*, Alfred recognized parallel inner and outer worlds within which operated a theory of illumination similar to that in the *Regula pastoralis*. The prosimetrical structure of *De consolatione Philosophiae* facilitated such a binary division; Boethius analysed the prisoner's psychology in the prose sections and juxtaposed them with verses filled with natural imagery that poetically embodied 'some of Plato's most important ideas. These include not only the ascent through *eros* to God, but also . . . an explanation of how the mind may recover its original knowledge of a higher world.'[62] The shift from dark to light imagery after the midpoint of the work further highlighted the reciprocal connection between the inner and outer as well as the overarching narrative progress toward philosophical enlightenment. As Alfred perceived the consistency between Boethius's implicit psychological metaphors and those he had encountered in Gregory's work, he modified and inserted visual and nautical metaphors into the *Consolation of Philosophy* and also, I shall argue, the *Metres of Boethius*, as he had in the *Pastoral Care*, but with increasing independence and frequency.[63]

'Eye of the mind'

Although Boethius did not use the genitively constructed metaphor *oculi mentis* in *De consolatione Philosophiae*, his ocular imagery did draw on the same Neoplatonic conception of enlightenment through an illuminated ascent.[64] Alfred realized that while Boethius described the mental shift of his character, the prisoner, in terms of physical events, the change actually took place within the prisoner's mind. Thus Alfred concluded that references to the prisoner's eyes were meant to be figurative, in the sense that they implicitly referred to his spiritual sight. In translating, he modified Boethius's ocular imagery by adding *eagan modes* eleven times in his prose and metrical versions of the *Consolation of*

[62] A. Baldwin, 'Introduction', *Platonism and the English Imagination*, pp. 21–6, at 23.

[63] See tables 1 and 2 below. I cite the texts from Boethius, *De consolatione Philosophiae* (ed. L. Bieler, CCSL 94 (Turnhout, 1984)). *King Alfred's Old English Version of Boethius De Consolatione Philosophiae*, ed. W. J. Sedgefield (Oxford, 1899) [*Consolation of Philosophy*].

[64] Boethius does use *oculus intellegentiae* (V.pr4.78) and *acies mentis* (V.pr4.80) (ed. Bieler, p. 98); however, Alfred makes dramatic modifications and omissions in his rendition of V.pr4, and neither of these phrases appear in the Old English version.

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Philosophy.[65] Sometimes Alfred rendered *oculi* more specifically as *eagan modes*; however, every metaphorical addition occurred in a psychologically implied context.[66] Despite altering these metaphors in his source-text, Alfred maintained Boethius's rhetorically crafted cycle of imagery with skill: in the first two books, images of darkness and natural turbulence, particularly involving nautical imagery, mimic the prisoner's blind despair, and in the last three books, light-related images parallel the prisoner's gradual enlightenment.

Alfred's first addition of *eagan modes* to the *Consolation of Philosophy* is characteristic of his use of the metaphor as we have seen it in the *Pastoral Care*. Alfred interprets the prisoner's weeping eyes in I.pr2.14 as referring to his inner rather than his external faculty. Boethius's indication that the prisoner suffers from more than physical dejection justifies Alfred's translation of 'modes eagum' for 'oculos'. In I.pr1.45 the prisoner languishes with 'mentis perturbatione', and, in I.m2.2–3, his 'mens . . . propria luce relicta / tendit in externas ire tenebras'.[67] Moreover, Lady Philosophy diagnoses a psychological disorder before she wipes the prisoner's eyes.[68] Boethius associates spiritual blindness with physical blindness again in IV.pr4, where Alfred also adds *eagan modes*. In IV.pr4.88–94, Lady Philosophy advises the prisoner to turn his *animus* away from baser things – the squalid ground – and to better things – the sky. Alfred clearly differentiates between the physical and spiritual faculties of vision in his rendition: 'Forðæm hi eall luciað mid bæm eagum on þas eorðlice ðincg, ⁊ hi him liciað eallunga þær, ge on þæs modes eagum ge on þæs lichoman.'[69] All of Alfred's additions of *eagan modes* in the *Consolation of Philosophy* tear away Boethius's corporeal image and thus explicitly reveal the actual psychological subject beneath the surface of the narrative.

[65] The Old English prose and poetic versions of the Latin metres share six of the additions of *eagan modes*. The one occurrence of *eagan modes* in Metre 20 with no source in the Latin or Old English prose will be discussed below.

[66] Alfred was not the only reader to distinguish between the inner and outer eye in *De consolatione Philosophiae*; Remigius of Auxerre likewise commented on Boethius's ocular imagery in his *Expositio in librum Boetii De consolatione philosophiae*. See H. F. Stewart, 'A Commentary by Remigius Autissiodorensis on the *De consolatione Philosophiae* of Boethius', *JTS* 17 (1916), 22–42, at 33–4. For a discussion of *eagan modes* in the *Consolation of Philosophy*, see N. G. Discenza, *The King's English: Strategies of Translation in the Old English Boethius* (Ithaca, 2005) pp. 100–1.

[67] *De consolatione Philosophiae* I.pr1.45 (ed. Bieler, p. 3), 'confusion of the mind', and I.m2.2–3 (ed. Bieler, p. 3), 'a mind devoid of its own light tends to go towards the darkness outside'.

[68] *De consolatione Philosophiae* I.pr2.10–11 (ed. Bieler, p. 4): 'lethargum patitur, communem illusarum mentium morbum' ('he suffers from lethargy, a common sickness of deluded minds').

[69] *Consolation of Philosophy* 38.121.27–9: 'for they look fully with the eyes, both with the eyes of the mind as with those of the body, on these earthly things, and these excessively delight them there.' This passage is similar to Alfred's addition (39.129.28–30) to *De consolatione Philosophiae* IV.pr6 (ed. Bieler, p. 79–85).

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Despite his consistent use of *eagan modes* in the *Consolation of Philosophy*, Alfred's metaphorical additions are not entirely mechanical applications of the translation strategy which he developed in the *Pastoral Care*. Boethius's theory of illumination influenced Alfred's use of the *eagan modes* metaphor, particularly in his renditions of the Latin III.m9 and III.m10. The often-cited III.m9, on which the entire structure of *De consolatione Philosophiae* pivots, is a salient example of Boethius's transmission of the Platonic and Neoplatonic paradigm of the spiritual ascent towards the divine by means of a contemplative vision. At the end of the metre, the poet prays to a heavenly *Pater* to permit his mind to rise to heaven so that he may behold the Father's glory.

> . . . da luce reperta
> in te conspicuos animi defigere uisus.
> Dissice terrenae nebulas et pondera molis
> atque tuo splendore mica. [70]

Such mental transcendence signals that this prayer is an act of contemplation, an act that, as Alfred knew from Gregory, required mental vision. In his prose translation, Alfred triply emphasizes Boethius's 'conspicuos animi . . . uisus' at the end of III.m9 by adding the phrase *eagan modes* three times: '�

[70] *De consolatione Philosophiae* III.m9.23–26 (ed. Bieler, p. 52): 'since light has been found, permit me to fix the clear sight of my mind on you. Disperse the clouds of earth and the weights of this difficulty, and flash forth with your brightness.'

[71] *Consolation of Philosophy* 33.82.8–12: 'and that with the open eyes of our mind we may see the noble fountain of all good things: that you exist! Grant to us, then, sound eyes of our mind, that we may fix them on you; and drive away the mist that now hangs before the eyes of our mind, and enlighten these eyes with your light.' P. Szarmach has written extensively on the transmission of Platonism in *Consolation of Philosophy* 33 and Metre 20; see 'Alfred, Alcuin, and the Soul,' *Manuscript, Narrative, Lexicon: Essays on Literary and Cultural Transmission in honor of Whitney F. Bolton*, ed. R. Boenig and K. Davis (Lewisburg, 2000), pp. 127–48, and 'The *Timaeus* in Old English,' *Lexis and Texts in Early English: Studies presented to Jane Roberts*, ed. C. J. Kay and L. M. Sylvester (Amsterdam, 2001), pp. 255–67.

[72] *Alfred's Metres of Boethius*, revised edition (ed. B. Griffiths (Middlesex, 1994)), 20.252–81 [*Metres*], with *eagan modes* at lines 257–8, 261, 265 and 267. Although London, British Library, Cotton Otho A. vi, includes the Old English *prosae* and *metra* in a prosimetrical layout like the Latin text, Sedgefield's edition does not print the *Metres* with the prose text, and the *Metres* are

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eagan modes support Alfred's involvement, or else point to a careful imitation of him.[73]

The systematic and consistent use of *eagan modes* in the *Consolation of Philosophy* independent of the source-text suggest that it had become a conceptual metaphor for Alfred. Boethius's emphasis on the hierarchy of transcendence in the epistemological theory of illumination broadened Alfred's experience with ocular imagery. The shift from terrestrial to celestial imagery in *De consolatione Philosophiae* placed light imagery and sea imagery in the same figurative context of a journey from despondent despair to enlightened hope. Perhaps it was this cycle of imagery that suggested to Alfred that the progressive acuity of mental vision was similar to the morally transcendent journey of a spiritual sailor.

'*Ship of the mind*'

Although neither Boethius nor Alfred used the specific metaphor of *nauis mentis* or *scip modes*, raging storms and buffeting waves depict the prisoner's turbulent depression in the first half of the Latin *De consolatione Philosophiae* as well as in the Old English *Consolation of Philosophy* and *Metres of Boethius*. Boethius expanded Alfred's exposure to psychological applications of nautical imagery; at the same time, the nautical imagery in the *Consolation of Philosophy* anticipated images that Alfred would use in the *Soliloquies* and recalled images that he used in the *Pastoral Care*. I shall here focus specifically on the interrelated nautical imagery in the Old English *Consolation of Philosophy* and *Metres of Boethius* with the Latin *De consolatione Philosophiae*. The interrelated images among these works suggest that the Anglo-Saxon poet, who I argue is Alfred, was familiar with both Alfred's prose and Boethius's metres while composing the *Metres of Boethius*.

In the first book of *De consolatione Philosophiae*, particularly in the metres, sea and darkness are common Neoplatonic symbols for 'mental confusion caused by moral blindness'.[74] In I.m2.1–5, the mind drowns in surging waves in the *praeceps*

printed alone in *The Paris Psalter and Meters of Boethius* (ed. G. P. Krapp, ASPR 5 (New York, 1936)). See P. Szarmach, 'Editions of Alfred: the Wages of Un-influence', *Early Medieval English Texts and Interpretations: Studies presented to Donald Scragg*, ed. E. Treharne and S. Rosser (Tempe, 2002), pp. 135–49, at 138–9.

[73] K. Sisam, 'The Authorship of the Verse Translation of Boethius's Metra', in his *Studies in the History of Old English Literature* (Oxford, 1953), pp. 293–7, ended most of the debate regarding Alfred's authorship of the *Metres*. Also see A. Metcalfe, 'On the Authorship and Originality of the Meters of Boethius', *NM* 71 (1970), 185–7, and B. Griffiths, *Alfred's Metres*, pp. 35–45, for a summary of the authorship debate. Bately summarized the conclusions in 'The Alfredian Canon Revisited', p. 112: 'the most recent investigations into the language of the verse metres seem to me to show that there is nothing to indicate that Alfred could not have been responsible for the versification, not that there is good evidence to assume that he was.'

[74] G. O'Daly, *The Poetry of Boethius* (Chapel Hill, 1991), p. 109, 'The "sea", therefore, of these lines, while it may be influenced by Neoplatonic symbolism, is a metaphor at the moral, rather

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profundum surrounded by *tenebrae*. Although Alfred chooses a *grundleas seað* 'bottomless pit' to render the sense of 'abyss' in *profundum* rather than 'deep sea' in both his prose and verse renditions of this metre, he retains the storm imagery evoked in the Latin by making the worldly cares the storms and the mind the direct object of their blasts. He renders 'terrenis quotiens flatibus aucta / crescit in immensum noxia cura' as 'þonne hit bestyrmað þisse worulde ungeþwærnessa' in prose and 'þonne hit þa strongan stormas beatað / weoruldbisgunga' in verse.[75] The continuity of the progression of a single verb performing the metaphoric action in the prose to the introduction of a metaphoric subject in the Old English metrical version of I.m2 suggests a single authorial mind at work.

By the end of the first book of *De consolatione Philosophiae*, sea imagery firmly connects the mental and moral state of the prisoner. In I.m7.1–19, a distorted natural topography – cloud-covered stars, stormy sea, and obstructed river – is juxtaposed with the destructive passions that confuse the mind: 'Tu quoque si uis / lumine claro / cernere uerum, . . . gaudia pelle / pelle timorem / spemque fugato / nec dolor adsit. / Nubila mens est / uinctaque frenis, / haec ubi regnant.'[76] Gerard O'Daly describes this terrestrial mental microcosm as evoking 'the sensation of a mind that is enclosed in the confines of itself, of a world in which distortion is present everywhere, and from which, without radical change, there can be no escape'.[77] It is this spiritualized landscape which culminates in the overt sea imagery in the first book of the *De consolatione Philosophiae* which Alfred heightens in his Old English prose rendition of I.m7.

In *Consolation of Philosophy* 6.14.9–25, Alfred retains the list of natural images and passions. His only significant addition occurs where the natural pivots to the emotional between images of a dammed river and true light where he inserts, 'Swa doð nu ða þeostro þinre gedrefednesse wiðstandan minum leohtum larum.'[78] This insertion is significant because the word *gedrefednes* intro-

than the metaphysical end of the spectrum, as is the image of darkness . . . The sea which engulfs the mind is here not so much the material universe in itself, as the anxiety that derives from preoccupation with material concerns.' See also pp. 107–12.

[75] *De consolatione Philosophiae* I.m2.4–5 (ed. Bieler, p. 3), 'how often does harmful anxiety grow immoderately when enlarged by earthly blasts'. *Consolation of Philosophy* 3.9.11–12, 'when the disturbances of this world storm it (*mod*)'. *Metres* 3.3–4, 'when the strong storms of this world beat it (*mod*)'. The unusual verb *bestyrman* occurs only once in the corpus and has been defined in this context by the *Dictionary of Old English* (Toronto, 2003) to mean 'assail, agitate', but Malcolm Godden pointed out to me that the two occurrences of *styrman* at 7.18.12–13 suggest that Alfred was in fact trying to convey the literal action of storms in 3.9.11.

[76] *De consolatione Philosophiae* I.m7.20–31 (ed. Bieler, pp. 16–17), 'If you want to see with clear light, cast out joy, cast out fear and hope; grief should also not be present. The mind is cloud-filled and bound by restraints where these have power.'

[77] O'Daly, *Poetry of Boethius*, p. 136.

[78] *Consolation of Philosophy* 6.14.17–18, 'So does the darkness from your distress now resist my light-filled teachings.' I use *gedrefednesse* following the *Old English Online Corpus* (http://ets.

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duces the psychological element of the metre, even before Boethius links the *sidera* 'stars' hidden by *nubila* 'dark skies' in the first sentence of the metre with the *nubila mens* 'clouded mind' in the last sentence.[79] The sea image in Alfred's second sentence, 'se suðerna wind hwilum mid miclum storme gedrefeð þa sæ', evokes the metre's centre at lines 17–18, 'ða þeostro þinre gedrefednesse', and again in the explicitly psychological context of the last sentence in lines 24–5, 'þæt mod siemle bið gebunden mid gedrefednesse, þær þissa twega yfela auðer ricsað'.[80] Alfred's polyptoton with *gedrefan* and *gedrefednes* shifts the light/dark and blind/enlightened dichotomy in the Latin *sidera/mens* image to one of a disturbed sea/mind. Alfred's word-patterning subtly modifies the metaphoric implications of Boethius's original.

The corresponding Old English *Metre* 5.1–45 exuberantly expands the Old English prose version with synonymic amplification which makes no attempt to reproduce the limpid metrical compression of the Latin. Like Alfred's prose, *Metre* 5 employs polyptoton with *gedrefan* and a similar noun, *gedrefnes*; the poet uses the verbal form three times and the noun once, while, in the prose, Alfred used the verb once and the noun twice. The first instance of the polyptoton in the *Metre* occurs at the same image and in the same form as in the prose: the sea is 'grimme gedrefeð'.[81] The poet, like Alfred, adds the next occurrence at the midpoint of the poem: 'scir bið gedrefed, / burna geblonden', but expands Alfred's prose insertion so that the darkness is associated with the heart and the disturbance with the mind.[82] The last instance of polyptoton in the *Metre* is very similar to the prose: 'forðæm simle bið / se modsefa miclum gebunden / mid gedrefnesse'.[83] The preservation of *gedrefan/gedrefnes* in the *Metres* suggests that

umdl.umich.edu/ (Toronto, 2004), accessed on 24 March 2005, rather than Sedgefield's *gedrefed nesse* in the *Consolation of Philosophy*.

[79] *De consolatione Philosophiae* I.m7.1, 4, 29 (ed. Bieler, pp. 16–17). According to the *Dictionary of Old English*, *gedrefednes* can be used to denote a 'physical disturbance' or 'mental agitation', particularly involving 'distress, disquiet, and vexation' and 'confusion, disorder'. *Gedrefednes* is a common word in the Alfredian corpus, and it is always used with a psychological implication and even as specifically as *modes gredrefednes* in *Consolation of Philosophy* 35.95.23: see *Pastoral Care* 33.225.2, 40.291.2, 61.455.14; *Consolation of Philosophy* 5.13.8–9, 6.14.18, 6.14.24, 26.59.2, 35.95.23, 36.104.33, 41.142.21–2, 41.142.23; *Soliloquies* 1.68.2, 1.71.23.

[80] *Consolation of Philosophy* 6.14.11–12: 'the southern wind at times disturbs the sea with a mighty storm'; 6.14.17–18, 'the darkness of your distress'; 6.14.24–5, 'that mind always is bound by disturbance, when either of these two evils prevails.' See *De consolatione Philosophiae* I.m7.5–13 (ed. Bieler, p. 16).

[81] *Metres* 5.8, 'stirred up with grime'. Compare with *Consolation of Philosophy* 6.14.11–12.

[82] *Metres* 5.18–19, 'the clear brook is stirred and mixed up'. In the Old English prose and the Latin metre, the brook is described as dammed but not muddied. *Metres* 5.21–3, 'Swa nu þa þiostro þinre heortan / willað minre leohtan lare wiðstondan / ⁊ ðin modgeþonc miclum gedrefan!' ('So the darkness of your heart now desires to resist the light of my teaching, and to disturb your mind greatly.')

[83] *Metres* 5.38–40, 'therefore the mind is always greatly bound by disturbance'.

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the poet, if not Alfred himself, recognized the consistent association between imagery of darkness and the sea in the Latin metre and the Old English prose rendition. Further analysis of Metre 5 reveals that the poet must have consulted not only the Old English prose but also the original Latin metre. For unlike the Old English prose version, the Metre reintroduces, and even further specifies, the connection between the celestial lights darkened by mist and the prisoner's own mind blinded by the depression, as in I.m7.[84] Metre 5 is not the only one of the Metres that heightens imagery characteristic to Alfred's prose and indicates that the poet consulted both the Old English prose and the Latin metre.

Alfred's rendition of III.m10 reveals an increasing association between visual and nautical imagery, an association that is further heightened in the corresponding Metre 21. This confluence of visual and nautical imagery anticipates Alfred's welding together of the *eagan modes* and *scip modes* metaphors in the *Soliloquies*. In II.m10, Boethius constructs a moral hierarchy extending from the material world to the celestial heights. Lady Philosophy advocates that men change their spiritual orientation by lifting the *acies* 'sight' (line 11) of their *caecus animus* 'blind mind' (lines.11–12) to see the brighter light of heaven (lines 17–18).[85] Both the prose and metrical version of Metre 21 employ the *eagan modes* metaphor three times to emphasize the psychological element of the visual imagery.

Lady Philosophy also encourages those whose minds are bound by the chains of earthly cares to find rest at the 'portus placida manens quiete'.[86] Alfred emphasizes the nautical element of *portus* by contrasting the calm harbour with the open sea.'Forþam þæt is sio an ræst eallra urra geswinca; sio an hyð bið simle smyltu æfter eallum þam ystum ⁊ þam yðum urra geswinca. Þæt is seo an friðstow ⁊ sio an frofer erminga æfter þam ermðum ðisses andweardan lifes.'[87]

[84] Compare the first and last sentences of Metre 5 with *De consolatione Philosophiae* I.m7.1–4, 29–31 (ed. Bieler, pp. 16–17): 'Ðu meaht be ðære sunnan sweotole geþencean / 7 be æghwelcum oðrum steorran / þara þe æfter burgum beortost scineð; / gif him wan fore wolcen hangað, / ne mægen hi swa leohtne leoman ansendan / ær se þicca mist þynra weorðe' (lines1–6) ('You can see clearly by the sun and by every star of which the brightest shines through the cities; if clouds hang before them, then they cannot send forth their bright beam until the thick mist becomes thinner'), and 'Forðæm þa twegen tregan teoð tosomne / wið þæt mod foran mistes dwoleman / þæt hit seo ece ne mot innan geondscinan / sunne for ðæm sweartum mistum ær ðæm hi geswiðrad weorðen' (lines 42–5) ('Therefore the two misfortunes together bring forth errors of mists in front of that mind so that the everlasting sun cannot illuminate it inside because of those black mists until they become strengthened against them').

[85] *De consolatione Philosophiae* III.m10 (ed. Bieler, p. 56).

[86] *De consolatione Philosophiae* III.m10.5 (ed. Bieler, p. 56), 'a calm harbour enduring in peace'.

[87] *Consolation of Philosophy* 34.89.8–12, 'For this is the only rest of all our labours; the only haven which is ever calm after all the storms and waves of our labours. This is the only asylum and the only comfort of the wretched after the calamities of this present life.' C. Bonner discusses the literary tradition of the safe harbour in Greek and early Latin literature in 'Desired Haven', *Harvard Theol. Rev.* 34 (1941), 49–67.

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Like the Old English prose, Metre 21 emphasizes the refuge from the storms and crashing waves offered by the calm harbour. The poet even coins a new compound, the hapax legomenon *meresmylta* 'sea-calm', for the occasion.

> Forðæm þæt is sio an rest eallra geswinca,
> hyhtlicu hyð heaum ceolum
> modes usses, meresmylta wic:
> þæt is sio an hyð þe æfre bið
> (æfter þam yðum ura geswinca,
> ysta gehwelcre) ealnig smylte:
> þæt is sio friðstow ⁊ sio frofor an
> eallra yrminga æfter þissum
> weoruldgeswincum.[88]

The most significant addition in this metre is *ceol modes* 'ship of the mind' (lines 11–12), which is equivalent to *scip modes*, a metaphor characteristic of the Alfredian prose translations. The phrase *ceol modes* occurs nowhere else in the Old English corpus; given Alfred's repeated and almost exclusive use of the metaphor of the *scip modes*, he would most likely have coined the variant of the metaphor himself. The *Metres'* consistent synonymic amplification of visual and nautical images characteristic of Alfred's prose and the specific occurrences of both *eagan modes* and a variation of *scip modes*, two metaphors found primarily in Alfredian prose, provide more evidence that Alfred either composed the Old English metres himself or had a significant supervisory role in their composition.

Alfred's appreciation for Gregory's value-laden inner and outer orientation deepened through his exposure to Boethius's psychologically animated natural environment. Infused with Neoplatonic visual imagery, Boethius's metres systematized Alfred's conception of illumination, the spiritualized vision which he signalled to his audience by the consistent use of the metaphor *eagan modes*. The cycle of sea and light imagery between the two halves of *De consolatione Philosophiae*, and even the details in specific metres, provided Alfred with the opportunity to develop the association between visual and sea imagery in the *Consolation of Philosophy*, and provided him with a precedent for interrelating his self-generated ocular and nautical metaphors in the *Soliloquies*.

AUGUSTINE'S *SOLILOQUIA* AND ALFRED'S *SOLILOQUIES*

Through his experience translating visual and nautical metaphors in Gregory's *Regula pastoralis* and Boethius's *De consolatione Philosophiae*, the schemata of these

[88] *Metres* 21.10–18a: 'therefore that is to be a rest of all our labours: a pleasant harbour for the sublime ship of our mind, a sea-calm bay. That is to be the port, which is always beyond those waves of our labours, any of the storms, entirely peaceful. That is to be sanctuary and to be a refuge of the wretches after these earthly toils.'

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metaphors became sufficiently pervasive, well-defined, and internally structured in Alfred's mind to constrain his understanding and reasoning about epistemology in Augustine's early Neoplatonic dialogue, the *Soliloquia*.[89] Although Alfred's metaphorical exuberance in the *Soliloquies* has been called idiosyncratic, extravagant, and illogical by some scholars, the puzzling incongruity of the fusion of the visual and nautical makes logical and coherent sense when viewed in light of the ray-theory of vision and the Christianized Neoplatonic epistemology of illumination.[90]

The *Soliloquia*, more than any of his other source-texts, prompted Alfred to generate and modify metaphors when he lacked adequate cultural or linguistic resources to conceptualize Augustine's technical argument. In the *Soliloquies*, *eagan modes* and *scip modes* function as conceptual models from which Alfred derived new conclusions about psychological perception. Alfred added *eagan modes* nineteen times in the *Soliloquies* – the greatest number of additions in the shortest translation – often without even the prompting of the word *oculus* in the source-text. The proliferation of *eagan modes* may be due to Alfred's familiarity with the treatise *De uidendo deo*, in which Augustine took particular care to clearly distinguish between physical and spiritual vision.[91] Alfred's nautical images also reached the peak of their development in the *Soliloquies*. He added *scip modes* three times without correspondence in the Latin, and he reintroduced nautical extensions of the mental ship – anchors, storms, shore, and helmsmen – which he had explored in his previous translations.

Augustine's theory of perception presented Alfred with great difficulties. Over his lifetime, Augustine constructed a generative model of knowing by mapping the mechanics of physical vision in which the visual ray from the

[89] My interpretation of Alfred's use of metaphor is influenced by the discussion of conceptual metaphor in Johnson, *Body in the Mind*, pp. 109–26; see also A. Collins and D. Gentner, 'How People Construct Mental Models', *Cultural Models in Language and Thought*, ed. D. Holland and N. Quinn (Cambridge, 1987), pp. 243–65, at 247–8; and C. Cacciari, 'Why Do We Speak Metaphorically? Reflections on the Functions of Metaphor in Discourse and Reasoning', *Figurative Language and Thought*, ed. A. N. Katz, C. Cacciari, R. W. Gibbs, Jr, and M. Turner (Oxford, 1998), pp. 119–57, at 139.

[90] For a negative view of Alfred's metaphoric imagery, see M. McC. Gatch, 'Unity in King Alfred's Version of Augustine's *Soliloquia*: Some Suggestions on its Rationale and Unity', *Studies in Earlier Old English Prose*, ed. P. Szarmach (Albany, 1986), pp. 17–45, at 31–3, and R. Waterhouse, 'Tone in King Alfred's Version of Augustine's *Soliloquies*', *Studies in Earlier Old English Poetry*, pp. 47–85, at 79. For a positive view, see S. Hitch, 'Alfred's *Cræft*: Imagery in Alfred's Version of Augustine's *Soliloquies*', *Jnl Department of Eng.* [University of Calcutta] 22 (1986–7), 130–47.

[91] Augustine, *Epistula* 147 (ed. A. Goldbacher, CSEL 44 (Vienna, 1904), pp. 274–331) [*De videndo deo*]. Examples of the more explicitly metaphorical language are: *obtutus mentis, aspectus mentis, sensus et uisus animi, uidere mente, uisio mentium, inluminatus oculus cordis, interiores oculi, aciem mentis, oculi cogitationes, acies mentis, conspectus cogitationis, oculi mentis*. Alfred mentions *De uidendo Deo* at *Soliloquies* 2.92.5–6.

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physical eye united the soul and its object in similar direction and function to the intellect's union with intelligible truths in spiritual vision.[92] Profoundly influenced by Neoplatonic epistemology, Augustine built an 'enormous apparatus of metaphorical language' to work out the implications of the visual model of illumination.[93] The embodied experience of vision provided the pedagogical model by which Augustine conceptualized mental functions and structured relationships between man and divinity.

In the *Soliloquia*, the theory of illumination operated on a tripartite hierarchy of perception: first, sensation or corporeal vision was perception through bodily senses; secondly, cognition or spiritual vision was 'the faculty of the soul in which the mind expresses images of corporeal things' and judged 'sense objects by rational and eternal standards'; and, finally, intellection or intellectual vision was the 'contemplation of eternal truths by the mind' through which man obtained knowledge of God, the soul, and virtues.[94] He developed this hierarchy more comprehensively in later works, particularly in *De Genesi ad litteram* and *De trinitate*.[95] For Augustine, the mechanics of physical vision provided evidence for the possibility that the human soul could interact with God.

Although Augustine ultimately concluded that physical vision was a fundamentally inadequate model for spiritual vision, the metaphoric texture of the *Soliloquia* proved to be the only way that Alfred could conceptualize Augustine's epistemology. Alfred had encountered an epistemological paradigm similar to Augustine's in Boethius's *De consolatione Philosophiae* V.pr4 and V.m4; however, Alfred omitted most of Boethius's epistemological discussion in his *Consolation of Philosophy*.[96] Boethius's dense philosophical language may have been incomprehensible to Alfred's untrained mind.

[92] M. Miles, 'Vision: the Eye and the Body and the Eye of the Mind in Saint Augustine's *De trinitate* and *Confessions*', *Jnl of Religion* 63 (1983), 125–42, at 142.

[93] R. Nash, 'Some Philosophic Sources of Augustine's Illumination Theory,' *Augustinian Stud.* 2 (1971), 47–66. See also C. Ando, 'Augustine on Language,' *Revue des Études Augustiniennes* 40 (1994), 45–78, at 75, and Chidester, *Word and Light*, p. 54.

[94] R. Nash, *Light of the Mind: St. Augustine's Theory of Knowledge* (Lexington, KY, 1969), pp. 9–10. See also Nash, 'Some Philosophic Sources', p. 56, and G. O'Daly, *Augustine's Philosophy of the Mind* (Berkeley, 1987), pp. 162–216.

[95] Secondary literature on Augustine's epistemology is vast; the most comprehensive are O'Daly, *Augustine's Philosophy of the Mind*, particularly pp. 84–91, and Nash, *The Light of the Mind*. See also Ando, 'Augustine on Language', p. 56, and Chidester, *Word and Light*, pp. 62–4, for discussion of the psychosomatic relationship between body and soul in Augustine's theory of sensation. Augustine uses ocular imagery, particularly the genitive construction ('oculus animae/animi/mentis/cordis'), too frequently throughout his corpus to be adequately documented here.

[96] In *De consolatione Philosophiae* V.pr4.73–4 (ed. Bieler, p. 98), Boethius identifies four levels of understanding: *sensus*, the perception of material shapes; *imaginatio*, the perception of shapes removed from matter; discursive *ratio*; and *intellegentia*, or the perception of intelligible Forms. Alfred translated *sensus* as *ongit*, *imaginatio* as *rædels*, *ratio* as *gesceadwisness*, and *intellegentia* as *gewis*

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In the *Soliloquia*, Augustine relied heavily on analogous and metaphoric reasoning to propel his reader through the hierarchical stages of his epistemology. At the beginning of the work, Augustine's character asks his personified Ratio to teach him about God and the soul. Instead of proceeding immediately to the higher realms, Ratio begins with sensory knowledge since the mechanics of visual perception imitate the activity of higher spiritual and intellectual understanding. Ratio uses an example from geometry, which was particularly appropriate to illustrate the relationship between physical and mental perception since ancient philosophers considered geometrical figures to occupy an intermediate position between sensible and intelligible objects.[97] Ratio asks, 'ita ut lineam nosti, nosti etiam pilam, quam sphaeram nominant?' followed by 'Haec sensibusne percepisti an intellectu?'[98] The character Augustine uses a simile of a seafarer to explain how a person uses both the senses and intellect to understand geometrical figures. 'Immo sensus in hoc negotio quasi nauim sum expertus. Nam cum ipsi me ad locum quo tendebam peruexerint, ubi eos dimisi et iam uelut in solo positus coepi cogitatione ista uoluere, diu mihi uestigia titubarunt.'[99] Augustine compares a ship sailing to land as the initial sensory impression travelling to the mind where the information is processed more fully. Then he quips that 'Quare citius mihi uidetur in terra posse nauigari quam geometricam sensibus percipi, quamuis primo discentes aliquantum adiuuare uideantur.'[100] Augustine's simile is a straightforward description of the visual-

andgit in *Consolation of Philosophy* 145.29–32 and skipped the remainder of Boethius's explanation of the four faculties and the following metre (V.m4), full of Stoic epistemological images, before he resumed translating again at V.pr5.11. See also Godden, 'Anglo-Saxons on the Mind', p. 276.

97 D. Nikulin, *Matter, Imagination and Geometry: Ontology, Natural Philosophy and Mathematics in Plotinus, Proculus, and Descartes* (Aldershot, 2002), pp. 130, 183–7, 230–54. Nikulin describes how 'only an imaginable extended thing – in particular, a geometrical object – can be constructed or reconstructed by and within the finite mind' by the movement of imagination and discursive reason (p. 245).

98 Augustine, *Soliloquiorum libri duo* I.iv.9 (ed. W. Hörmann, CSEL 89 (Vienna, 1986), 15, lines 20–1; 16, line 4) [*Soliloquia*]: 'just as you know a line, do you also know a ball, which they call a sphere?' and 'Did you perceive these by your senses or by the intellect?'

99 *Soliloquia* I.iv.9 (ed. Hörmann, p. 16, lines 5–8) 'No indeed, I experienced the senses in this business like a ship. For when they had carried me to the place that I was aiming for, there I let them go and so as it were, having been placed on the shore, I began to turn these things over in thought; my steps were shaky for a long time.' In *Soliloquies and the Immortality of the Soul* (Warminster, 1986), pp. 171–3, G. Watson does not discuss this metaphor as being epistemological; instead he discusses the tradition of nautical metaphors with which Augustine may have been familiar.

100 *Soliloquia* 1.iv.9 (ed. Hörmann, p. 16, lines 8–11): 'It seems to me that one could more quickly sail on land than to understand geometry by the senses, although the senses seem to help those who are learning in the beginning a good deal.' Although Augustine only uses a brief simile of a sailing ship to explain how sensory impressions return to the intellect in the *Soliloquia*, he uses sea imagery elsewhere, as in the beginning of *De beata vita* to evoke the

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ray theory of vision. In the visual-ray theory, a ray links the viewer to the object in a two-way relationship: 'the soul of the viewer both initially projects the visual ray, and it also "absorbs into itself" the form or image of the object, which is then permanently retained by the memory.'[101] In Augustine's simile, the path of the ship is the visual ray, the ship's destination is the visible object, and land where the ship arrives is the receiving intellect.

Alfred apparently knew enough about the ray-theory of vision to recognize it from Augustine's simile. Although knowledge of the ray-theory of vision was probably as widespread in western Europe during the early middle ages as the theory of gravity is today, Alfred had access to several specific discussions of this theory: Boethius's *De consolatione Philosophiae*, Augustine's *De uidendo deo*, and Isidore's *Etymologiae*, all of which are sources for the *Soliloquies*.[102] Alfred narrows his concentration to visual relationships when he changes the *sensus* in Ratio's question to *eagan*; nevertheless, the character Alfred renders Ratio's seafaring simile fairly closely while adding an interpretation.[103]

more typical Christian metaphor of mortal life as a sea-journey through storm-tossed sin to the heavenly harbour. Augustine uses *nauis cordis* in *Sermo* 163B in *Sermones post Maurinos reperti* (ed. D. G. Morin (Rome, 1930), p. 217, line 20). See also Watson, *Soliloquies*, pp. 172–3, and H. Rondet, 'Le symbolisme de la mer chez saint Augustin', *Augustinus magister*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1954) II.691–711.

[101] Miles, 'Vision', p. 128. According to D. C. Linberg, *Theories of Vision from Al-Kindi to Kepler* (Chicago, 1976), pp. 1–17, the atomic, Platonic, Aristotelian, Stoic, and geometric theories of vision all agree that there must be a physical intermediary between the visible object and the sense organ. See also O'Daly, *Augustine's Philosophy of the Mind*, pp. 80–105, and Nash, *Light of the Mind*, pp. 39–59.

[102] Three sources for the *Soliloquies* provide more specific descriptions of the ray-theory than the sailing metaphor in Augustine's *Soliloquia*: Isidore's *Etymologiae* XI.i.36 (ed. W. M. Lindsay (Oxford, 1911), 'Oculi . . . dicta lumina, quod ex eis lumen manat' ('Eyes are called lamps because light emanates from them') (cited by S. Low, 'Anglo-Saxon Mind', p. 164), Augustine's *De uidendo deo* 43 (ed. Goldbacher, p. 317, line 22–p. 318, line 2): 'oculi cordis, quo radios suos mittant et ea [*scil.* caritas, gaudium, pax, longanimitas, benignitas, bonitas, fides, mansuetudo, continentia] uideant' ('The eyes of the heart should send out their rays and see things – charity, joy, peace, longanimity, generosity, goodness, faith, gentleness, and temperance'), and Boethius's *De consolatione Philosophiae* V.pr4.68–72 (ed. Bieler, p. 98): 'Nam ut hoc breui liqueat exemplo, eandem corporis rotunditatem aliter uisus aliter tactus agnoscit; ille eminus manens totum simul iactis radiis intuetur, hic uero cohaerens orbi atque coniunctus circa ipsum motus ambitum rotunditatem partibus comprehendit' ('Let this become clear in a short example. Sight recognizes the same roundness of a body one way and touch in another way; the former remains at a distance and looks at the whole at the same time by its emitted rays, while the latter, being united and conjoined to the orb and going round its circuit, grasps the roundness by its parts.') See M. R. Godden, 'The Sources of *Soliloquies* (Cameron C.B.9.4)', *Fontes Anglo-Saxonici: World Wide Web Register*: http://fontes.english.ox.ac.uk/ (Oxford, 2001), accessed October 2004.

[103] *Soliloquies* 61.11–12. In 'King Alfred's Version', pp. 29–30, M. McC. Gatch analyses Alfred's adaptation of Augustine's geometric example and speculates whether Alfred may have known glosses for *geometrica* and *Academicos* in *Soliloquia* I.iv.9 (p. 15, lines 12, 15).

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Ða cwæð heo: hweðer geleornodest þu þe myd þam eagum, þe mid þam ingeþance? þa cwæð ic: mid ægðrum ic hyt geleornode: ærest myd ðam eagum, and syðþan myd þam ingeþance. ða eagan me gebrodton on þam angytte. Ac siðþan ic hyt þa ongyten hæfde, þa forlæt ic þa sceawunga mid þam eagum and þohte; forði me þuhte þæt ic his mæate micle mare geþencan ðonne ic his mahte geseon, siððan þa eagan hyt ætfæstnodon minum ingeþance. swa swa scyp brincð man ofer sæ: syððan he þonne to lande cymð, þonne forlæt he þæt scyp standan, forþam him þincð syððan þæt he mæge æð butan faran þonne mid. Eaðre me þincð þeah myd scipe on drigum lande to farande þonne me þynce mid ðam eagum buta þara gesceadwisnesse ænigne creft to geleornianne, þeah eagam þær-to hwilum fultmian scylen.[104]

Alfred the author does not stop here as Augustine did, but instead has Gesceadwisnes elaborate further:

For ðam þingum is ðearf þæt þu rihte hawie mid modes æagum to gode, swa rihte swa swa scipes ancerstreng byð aþenæd on gerihte fram þam scype to þam ancræ; and gefastna þa eagan þines modes on gode swa se ancer byd gefastnoð on ðære eorðan. þeah þæt scyp si ute on ðære sæ on þam ydum, hyt byð gesund and untoslegen, gyf se streng aþolað; forðam hys byd se oðer ende fast on þære eorðan and se oðer on ðam scype.[105]

Alfred sees how a ship's path along a linear trajectory to and from a destination is like the path of the light ray from the eye to and from a physical object; however, he shifts from an axis of movement to one of simultaneous connection in Gesceadwisnes's explanation. Alfred omits Augustine's further discussion of Stoic epistemology and his example of bisecting lines. Instead, Alfred constructs a sophisticated multi-level model that combines the structural relations of vision and sailing with spiritual enlightenment. Alfred specifies that the *eagan modes* is 'gesceadwisnesse, to-æacan oðrum creftum'; then he indicates that these virtues are anchors that fasten the ship of the mind to God.[106] It is the structural relations among the elements in the visual, nautical, and spiritual domains that are important rather than the particular attributes of each

[104] *Soliloquies* 1.61.11–22: 'Then she said: Did you learn with your eyes or with your mind? Then I said: I learned it with both: first with the eyes and then with the mind. The eyes brought me to the understanding. But when I had understood it, then I stopped looking with the eyes and thought; because it seemed to me that I could think about much more of it than I could see, since the eyes fastened it to my mind. So it is when a ship brings a man over the sea: after he comes to land, then he permits the ship to stand still, because it seems to him that he can go more easily without it than with. Although it seems easier to travel on dry land with a ship than it seems to learn any discipline with the eyes and without the reason – yet sometimes the eyes must give aid thereto.'

[105] *Soliloquies* 1.61.23–1.62.3: 'For these things it is necessary that you look rightly with the eyes of the mind to God, as directly as the ship's anchor-cable is stretched straight from the ship to the anchor; and fasten the eyes of your mind on God as the anchor is fastened to the earth. Even if that ship is out on the sea in those waves, it is sound and unbroken, if the cable holds, because one end is fixed on the earth and the other on the ship.'

[106] *Soliloquies* 1.62.4: 'Reason, in addition to other virtues.'

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element. The metaphors do not need to be literally mimetic in order to function. Cognition was conceptualized through the embodied experiences of vision and sailing because they provided Alfred with the functional schemata to make inferences about the relations in the abstract mental realm with a familiar immediacy that was compelling both to himself and to his audience.

The complexity of Alfred's metaphorical model increased through the first book of the *Soliloquies* as he provided additional definitions and extensions in each domain. Tables 3 and 4 may more clearly illustrate the similarities and differences between Alfred's and Augustine's cognitive models. Only by simultaneously evaluating the metaphorical relations in the first book of the *Soliloquies* can a reader appreciate the sophisticated parallelism of Alfred's model, parallelism which readers tend to miss because Alfred often shifts domains within a paragraph or even a sentence without warning.

To explain what I have done in these tables, I first turn to Susan Hitch's perceptive explanation of the subtlety of Alfred's cumulative patterns of imagery.

> This use of image and example is dynamic – the argument is both carried forward in extended metaphor and moved into new areas and developments by the shifts in the direct comparisons made – and it is the source of considerable and enlivening formal variation. It clarifies rather than confusing the argument because the images are not only consistent and coherent wherever they appear or reappear, . . . but they are also reinforced by a great deal of highly specific detail. This detail is proper to the image as such, and is not made to refer to the argument or object to which the image as a whole refers or which it exemplifies.[107]

These tables reveal the dynamism of two physical images of eyesight and anchoring in relation to Alfred's argument, the development of his conception of the two complementary and interrelated epistemological processes that Augustine describes. I agree with Hitch that the consistency and coherency of the images, which I call relational domains, in their multiple appearances through the text clarifies Alfred's argument; I argue further that the consistency and coherency, that is the logic of the relationship between an eye and its object during vision and a ship and land when fastened by an anchor, actually structure and organize Alfred's understanding of how the mind acquires intellectual and spiritual knowledge. While Hitch is correct to point out that the details of each domain share appropriate integrity, I do not agree that the domain and argument share no relationship beyond a rhetorical one. Alfred's epistemological understanding is derived from the physical relationships operating in each domain. Alfred can only understand abstract mental faculties because he has actually experienced vision and anchored ships; he cannot understand epistemology in purely theoretical terms.

[107] Hitch, 'Alfred's *Cræft*', 142.

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In tables 3 and 4, each column represents one relational domain. The elements in each column follow the same vertical sequence of relationships in which a part of a whole acts on an object by a faculty; a complete sentence employs this same sequence of relationships. To use the first column in table 3 as an example: 'An eye of a body sees the sun by means of or through vision.' I traced the words that Alfred used to describe each domain – physical vision, spiritual understanding, intellectual contemplation, and anchored cable – throughout the first book of Alfred's *Soliloquies*. The degree of verbal consistency within each domain is remarkable; there is only minor synonymic variation among words for vision and fastening. However, this verbal consistency is often missed when reading a discrete passage in which Alfred shifts suddenly from an element in one domain to an element in another domain. Each domain shares a vertical relationship parallel with the other domains as I have depicted graphically which permits Alfred frequently to articulate horizontal comparisons among domains. So when in *Soliloquies* 1.67.14–1.69.4 Alfred shifts from a discussion about virtues in the spiritual and intellectual domains, to anchors and the ship of the mind in the nautical and spiritual domains, and then to the eyes of the soul in the visual and intellectual domains, we can follow and even enjoy his explanation of how man can know God by keeping his four domains firmly in our minds.

Not only do these tables help sort out Alfred's confusing analogies at a textual level, these tables reveal that Alfred made two significant alterations to Augustine's epistemological model, a model he too constructed from conceptual metaphors. Alfred develops the function of the nautical domain and revises the relationship between the spiritual and intellectual domains. In Augustine's model, the nautical domain most closely parallels the domain of physical sight. For Augustine, the light ray in vision is first understood in terms of a ship's course, then intellectual vision is understood in terms of physical vision, and finally spiritual vision is understood in terms of intellectual vision. Alfred does not mimic Augustine's increasingly hierarchical spiral of associations. Instead, Alfred flanks spiritual and intellectual vision with the experiences of both physical vision and anchoring. He realizes that no one system can adequately account for all the elements of mental perception, so he makes predictions based on two domains to generate inferences about how his target domain will behave.[108]

Alfred shifts the action from a sailing ship to an anchored ship and thus alters the relationship highlighted by the metaphor.[109] For Alfred, the movement of

[108] Collins and Gentner, 'How People Construct Mental Models', p. 248.

[109] The anchor is one nautical image that occurs in all three of Alfred's source-texts, and his treatment of this image reveals the cumulative nature of his symbolic associations of fixity with the Christian trio of faith, hope and love. See *Pastoral Care* 58.45.9–16 and *Consolation of Philosophy* 10.23.4–14 with its source *De consolatione Philosophiae* II.pr4.25–9 (ed. Bieler, p. 23). See also Frank, 'Old English *ancor*', pp. 108–10.

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the light ray from the eye to its object and back in vision is not as important as the connection between the eye and the object. It is this connectivity that he stresses with the cable connecting the ship to land with a fastened anchor. Alfred's metaphor elegantly expresses an additional aspect of the ray-theory of vision, in which

> . . . a ray of light [is] energized and projected by the mind toward an object, [and] actually touches its object, thereby connecting viewer and object. By the vehicle of the visual ray, the object is not only 'touched' by the viewer, but also the object is 'printed' on the soul of the viewer. The ray theory of vision specifically insisted on the connection and essential continuity of viewer and object in the act of vision.[110]

For Alfred, his visual and nautical model of fastening and connection reveal that it is the active focus and attention that connects the mind to the object of its thought and the soul to the object of its contemplation. In some respects, the implications of Alfred's metaphor of the anchor cable provide a more complex structural model for both physical and mental perception than Augustine's sailing metaphor.

Alfred also made a significant alteration to Augustine's hierarchy of vision. Augustine believed that cognition or the vision of the mind revealed the pattern for the higher faculty of intellection or vision of the soul. Alfred shifted the order of the hierarchy. For him, spiritual vision or the mind's understanding of God would naturally lead a person's soul to the higher contemplation of universal truth. Unlike the progressive spiral of Augustine's model, Alfred's model telescopes. Alfred shifted Augustine's hierarchical model of tripartite vision to a model of multi-metaphoric simultaneity where physical sight and an anchored ship illuminate the faculties of spiritual and intellectual perception. The physical, psychological, and contemplative levels of Augustine's visual model defined a continuous and even unifying relationship between subject and object, but his model failed to take into account the active spiritual effort that such a transcendent experience entailed. Alfred accordingly employed visual and nautical conceptual metaphors in a uniquely creative way to highlight this connective effort in his epistemological model.

Tracing the development of Alfred's epistemological model reveals the truth behind cognitive science's conclusion that 'metaphors, or analogies, are not merely convenient economies for expressing our knowledge; rather, they *are* our knowledge and understanding of the particular phenomena in question.'[111]

[110] Miles, 'Vision', p. 127. Miles explains (p. 128) the order of action in the ray theory as, first, the viewer must initiate vision with concentration and focus; secondly, the viewer, object, and power of the will are united in the act of vision; thirdly, the soul's will provides the energy to initiate vision and retain a memory of the image.

[111] Johnson, *Body in the Mind*, p. 112.

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CONCLUSIONS

The limited occurrences of *eagan modes* and *scip modes* in the Old English corpus and the consistent modification and addition of these metaphors in the *Pastoral Care, Consolation of Philosophy, Metres of Boethius* and *Soliloquies* reveal the unity of these works and suggest that a single interpreter shaped them all. It is crucial to examine metaphorical evidence diachronically. Each of Alfred's translations – *Pastoral Care, Consolation of Philosophy, Metres of Boethius*, *Prose Psalter* and *Soliloquies* – successively develop the metaphors of *eagan modes* and *scip modes* in variation and counterpoint with their Latin source-texts and reveal Alfred's maturing conception of epistemology. The convergences of these metaphors in these translations provide glimpses of the structure of Alfred's symbolic universe. Gregory the Great's nuanced binary inner and outer orientation, Boethius's cycle of terrestrial and celestial imagery, and Augustine's psychosomatic epistemology all shaped Alfred's use of the metaphors *eagan modes* and *scip modes* in his conception of the Mediterranean epistemological theory of illumination. These metaphorical models are not just rhetorical flourish or stylistic ornament but actually constitute Alfred's individual understanding of epistemology and influence his acts of inference about epistemological phenomena.

Alfred's translations raised the level of metaphorical explicitness in his Latin source-texts; he inserted *eagan modes* and *scip modes* as he realized the implicit metaphorical potential of nautical and ocular images in *Regula pastoralis, De consolatione Philosophiae*, the *Psalter* and *Soliloquia*. Furthermore, the increasing complexity and independence of the metaphorical modification evident in his translations suggest the order in which Alfred translated: first the *Pastoral Care*, followed by the *Consolation of Philosophy* and *Metres of Boethius*, and culminating with the *Soliloquies*.

Many of Alfred's images have yet to be studied, but it is likely that metaphoric consistency across his corpus, as in the cases of *eagan modes* and *scip modes*, will not prove to be unusual. Such metaphoric overlap will bolster evidence for the unity of the corpus of translations under the guiding direction of the single maturing will of King Alfred. Specific attention to other metaphors that Alfred employed to conceptualize mental functions – ladder, sexual intimacy, building and illness – will continue to broaden our understanding of Alfred's epistemology and psychology, two neglected fields in Alfredian scholarship.[112]

[112] I am very grateful for the wise and generous guidance of Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe and Michael Lapidge through the development of this study. I also thank Maura Nolan and Sabine MacCormack for commenting on earlier drafts of this paper. Any errors are, of course, my own.

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TABLE 1 *Occurrences of the 'Eye of the Mind' Metaphor in the Alfredian Corpus and Latin Source-Texts*

Old English Translation	Old English	Latin Source	Latin
1. *Pastoral Care* 1.29.16	modes eagan	*Regula pastoralis* 1.1.51	obscuratis oculis
2. *Pastoral Care* 9.57.11	modes eagan	*Regula pastoralis* 1.9.18	mentis oculus
3. *Pastoral Care* 11.65.9	modes eagum	*Regula pastoralis* 1.11.13–16	–
4. *Pastoral Care* 11.69.11	heortan eage	*Regula pastoralis* 1.11.69–70	oculos . . . intellectus nostri aciem
5. *Pastoral Care* 11.69.15	modes eagum	*Regula pastoralis* 1.11.72	oculo
6. *Pastoral Care* 11.69.19	modes eagum	*Regula pastoralis* 1.11.75	sensus humanae cogitationis
7. *Pastoral Care* 16.99.22	heortan eage	*Regula pastoralis* 2.5.23	oculum cordis
8. *Pastoral Care* 18.129.15	modes eagan	*Regula pastoralis* 2.7.30	Ecclesiae oculos
9. *Pastoral Care* 36.259.21	modes eagan	*Regula pastoralis* 3.12.34	oculos
10. *Pastoral Care* 46.349.20	modes eagan	*Regula pastoralis* 3.22.58	mentis oculos
11. *Pastoral Care* 53.413.15	modes eagan	*Regula pastoralis* 3.29.12	oculos
12. *Pastoral Care* 53.415.27	modes eagan	*Regula pastoralis* 3.29.58	oculos

Table 1 (*cont.*)

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Old English Translation	Old English	Latin Source	Latin
13. *Pastoral Care* 59.447.31	modes eagan	*Regula pastoralis* 3.35.11	mentis oculos
14. *Pastoral Care* 65.467.4	modes eagan	*Regula pastoralis* 4.74	mentis oculos
15. *Consolation* 3.8.26	modes eagan	*Consolatio* I.pr2.14	oculos
16. *Consolation* 33.82.8–9	eagum modes	*Consolatio* III.m9.22	–
17. *Consolation* 33.82.10	eagan modes	*Consolatio* III.m9.24	animi . . . visus
18. *Consolation* 33.82.12	modes eagum	*Consolatio* III.m9.25	–
19. *Consolation* 34.89.14	modes eagan	*Consolatio* III.m10.11	aciem
20. *Consolation* 34.89.16	modes eagan	*Consolatio* III.m10.11–12	caecos . . . animos
21. *Consolation* 34.89.21	eagum modes	*Consolatio* III.m10.17	–
22. *Consolation* 38.121.29	modes eagum	*Consolatio* IV.pr4.88–93	animum . . . cerenendi ratione
23. *Consolation* 38.122.6	modes eagan	*Consolatio* IV.pr4.96	visu
24. *Consolation* 42.147.25	modes eagan	*Consolatio* V.pr6	–
25. *Metres* 20.257–8	eagum modes	*Consolatio* III.m9.22	–

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26. *Metres* 20.261	eagan modes	*Consolatio* III.m9.24	animi . . . visus
27. *Metres* 20.265	eagan modes	*Consolatio* III.m9.25	–
28. *Metres* 20.267	eagan modes	*Consolatio* III.m9.25ff	–
29. *Metres* 21.22	modes eagan	*Consolatio* III.m10.11	aciem
30. *Metres* 21.26	modes eagan	*Consolatio* III.m10.11–12	caecos . . . animos
31. *Metres* 21.37–8	eagum modes	*Consolatio* III.m10.17–18	–
32. *Prose Psalter* 13.8	modes eagum	Vulgate Ps. 13.3	oculos
33. *Prose Psalter* 16.10	eagan modes	Vulgate Ps. 16.11	oculos
34. *Soliloquies* 0.48.1	modes eagan	–	–
35. *Soliloquies* 1.61.23–4	modes æagum	*Soliloquia* 1.4.9	–
36. *Soliloquies* 1.61.25	eagan modes	*Soliloquia* 1.4.9	–
37. *Soliloquies* 1.62.4	modes eagan	*Soliloquia* 1.4.9	–
38. *Soliloquies* 1.64.7	modes eagan	*Soliloquia* 1.6.12 (19.20–1)	mentes quasi sui sunt sensus animis

TABLE 1 (*cont.*)

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Old English Translation	Old English	Latin Source	Latin
39. *Soliloquies* 1.65.1	mod byð þære sawle æge	*Soliloquia* 1.6.12 (20.3–4)	[anima] oculos habeat, quibus iam bene uti possit, ut aspiciat, ut videat.
40. *Soliloquies* 1.65.7–8	ic eom gesceadwisnes, and ic eom ælcum manniscum mode on ðam stale þe seo hawung byð þam eagum	*Soliloquia* 1.6.12 (19.24–20.1)	Ego autem Ratio ita sum in mentibus, ut in oculis est aspectus.
41. *Soliloquies* 1.66.6	sawle eagan	*Soliloquia* 1.6.13 (21.6)	anima
42. *Soliloquies* 1.67.4	modes eagan hale	*Soliloquia* 1.6.13 (21.14)	sanos oculos
43. *Soliloquies* 1.68.8	eagan sawle	*Soliloquia* 1.7.14 (22.5)	animae
44. *Soliloquies* 1.69.14	modes æagan	*Soliloquia* 1.7.14	–
45. *Soliloquies* 1.72.5	eagan sawle	*Soliloquia* 1.9.17 (26.7)	–
46. *Soliloquies* 1.78.5	modes æagan	*Soliloquia* 1.13.23 (35.5–6)	–
47. *Soliloquies* 1.78.7	modes æagan	*Soliloquia* 1.13.23 (35.6–7)	–
48. *Soliloquies* 1.78.18	modes æagum	*Soliloquia* 1.13.23 (35.16)	isti [oculi]
49. *Soliloquies* 1.79.20–1	modes eagum	*Soliloquia* 1.14.25 (37.21–38.1)	–

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50. *Soliloquies* 1.80.2	eagan modes	*Soliloquia* 1.14.25	–
51. *Soliloquies* 3.93.1	modes eagum	–	–
52. *Soliloquies* 3.93.12	modes eagan	–	–
1. *Dialogues* 0.3.21	eagum minre heortan	*Dialogi* 1.0.7	oculos
2. *Dialogues* 2.100.30–1	modes eagum	*Dialogi* 2.1.9	mentis oculos
3. *Dialogues* 3.106.8	eage modes	*Dialogi* 2.3.46	mentis oculum
4. *Dialogues* 3.107.17	modes ege	*Dialogi* 2.3.63	mentis oculum
5. *Dialogues* 7.188.23–24	modes eagum	*Dialogi* 3.7.18	oculis mentis
6. *Dialogues* 17.218.3	modes eage	*Dialogi* 3.17.78	mentis oculum
7. *Dialogues* 6.270.3	modes eagum	*Dialogi* 4.5.53	oculos mentis
8. *Dialogues* 7.272.2	eage modes	*Dialogi* 4.7.4–5	mentis oculum
9. *Dialogues* 27.297.2–3	eage modes	*Dialogi* 4.27.5–6	incorporeum oculum mentis

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TABLE 2 *Occurrences of the 'Ship of the Mind' Metaphor in the Alfredian Corpus and Latin Source-Texts*

Old English Translation	Old English	Latin Source	Latin
Pastoral Care 9.59.4–5	modes storm . . . scip ðære heortan mid ðara geðohta ystum	*Regula pastoralis* 1.9.33–4	tempestas mentis . . . cogitationum procellis nauis cordis quatitur
Pastoral Care 58.445.9–10	ælces mannes mod on ðys middangearde hæfð scipes ðeaw	*Regula pastoralis* 3.34.79–80	humana anima quasi more navis est
Pastoral Care 65.467.22	scipe mines modes	*Regula pastoralis* 4.86–92	–
Metres 21.11–12	ceolum modes usses	*Consolatio* III.m10	–
Soliloquies 1.61.23–4	mid modes æagum to gode, swa rithe swa swa scipes ancerstreng	*Soliloquia* 1.4.9, 16.5–11	–
Soliloquies 1.62.10	scyp . . . þines modes	*Soliloquia* 1.4.9	–
Soliloquies 1.68.4	scyp ðes modes	*Soliloquia* 1.7.14, 23.8–12	–
Dialogues 0.5.21–2	scipe mines modes	*Dialogi* 1.0.34	naui mentis

TABLE 3 *Alfred's Metaphorical Epistemology (61.13–80.23)*

Physical	Spiritual	Intellectual	Nautical
eage	gesceadwisnes (eagan modes) ond cræftum	mod (eage)	ancor
licomes	modes	sawles	scipes
geseoð	ongyteð	wot	ætfæsteð, aþenneð, heoldeð
sunnan	God (Sunnan)	Wisdom	oð land
sceaunge,	andgyte	smeaunge	ancerstrenge
hawunge,		ond geleafan,	
gesyhðe		tohopan, lufe	

TABLE 4 *Augustine's Metaphorical Epistemology (pp. 15–44)*

Nautical	Physical	Intellectual	Spiritual
navis	oculus	Ratio	Ratio
[maris]	corporis	animi, mentis	animae
navigat	videt	comprehendet	intellegit, scit
ad terram	solem	veritatem	Deum
[meatus]	visione	intellectu	virtute: fide, spe, caritate

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