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LANGUAGING AND IRRUPTIONS IN A MEDIEVAL LATIN CHARM: A CASE STUDY ON POETICS, 'WEIRDNESS', AND SENSE IN NON-SENSE

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Abstract: This paper introduces the concept of *languaging* and explores its relevance to charm research through the case of a little-studied eleventh-century Latin text for healing fever. The concept of languaging was developed in linguistics for the analysis of people's use of multiple languages in interaction. Here, the concept is adapted to the study of folklore registers and genres. *Irruption* is introduced as a complementary concept to describe a distinct phenomenon in languaging. The text of the case study is approached as representing a metadiscursive genre that verbally communicates how to perform a ritual. The verbal components of this performance include two Old Germanic words as well as words from Greek and Hebrew, and an irruption of an etymologically opaque stretch of text or *voces mysticae*. A close look at the *voces mysticae* reveals contrasts in the semantics or associations of its constituents, which suggests syntax and that this part of the text was somehow interpreted or interpretable to users.

Keywords: charm, ritual, register, medieval, languaging, irruption

> Spells are composed in special languages, the language of the gods and spirits or the language of magic. Two striking examples of this kind of rite are the Malaysian use of *bhàsahantu* (spirit language) and the Angekok language of the Eskimoes. [….] Magicians used Sanskrit in the India of the Prakrits, Egyptian and Hebrew in the Greek world, Greek in Latin-speaking countries and Latin with us. All over the world people value archaisms and strange and incomprehensible terms.
>
> — Marcel Mauss (1902 [2001]: 71)

Medieval healing texts present innumerable examples of written or oral utterances that involve juxtaposing or mixing languages, *voces mysticae*,[1] archaisms, or otherwise 'weird' language. The transpositions of words, phrases, or whole texts of different languages in magic and ritual is so widespread that it tends to be taken for granted. Particular cases easily become viewed as socio-historically specific manifestations of a characteristic feature of ritual language more generally (e.g. Du Bois 1986). The present discussion situates this phenomenon in a broader context of how people may draw on a diversity of linguistic resources in both specific situations and in established social practices.

Combining and manipulating different varieties of linguistic resources is here framed through the concept of *languaging*. Languaging has been on the rise in social linguistics to advance beyond imaginations of languages as ideal and mutually exclusive systems. Alongside languaging, I employ the concepts of *register* to refer to varieties language or other semiotic resources, and *genre* for categories of the products of expression. The term *irruption* is introduced to refer to salient transpositions of languages or language varieties, in order to distinguish these from transpositions that may be more etymological than noticeable for users and observers. Together, these form a terminological toolkit for addressing the operation of language both at the general level of practices and in particular cases. A significant portion of the following is devoted to introducing languaging in relation to these other concepts and their applicability to folklore, and especially to charms. The paper culminates in an illustrative case study of a little-studied Latin text from an Old High German language area dated to the eleventh century on healing fever. The text is contained in the quarto manuscript, shelfmark Clm 18956 (Teg. 956), held in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich, and it is of particular interest because, despite the semantic opacity of its *voces mysticae*, the respective text sequence is potentially organized through syntax.

BACKGROUND

The use of multiple languages and *voces mysticae* has been in discussion since the disciplines of philology and folklore studies took shape across the nineteenth century. Medieval verbal charms became linked to different disciplines according to their cultural context and national scholarship. The background provided here is focused on research con-

cerned with Old Germanic languages and charms in Old Germanic language areas.

Charm research on Germanic traditions generally took shape as an offshoot of philology.[2] Until the paradigm shift linked to postmodernism, documented oral traditions were approached as equivalent to variant copies of medieval manuscripts reflecting a reconstructable ideal text, and charm research customarily included written sources back to the earliest medieval documents. The research took shape in the ideological environment of National Romanticism, which was predominantly concerned with reconstructing the linguistic and cultural heritage of siloed ethno-linguistic groups. When considering charms or many other genres of folklore, it is crucial to bear in mind that the documentation of the traditions across the nineteenth and twentieth centuries were widely shaped by ideologies of language as emblematic of culture and of a 'nation', in the etymological sense of a people of shared natal origin (see Vermeulen 2008). These ideologies made language a primary determinant on what individual collectors recorded, and then how the notebooks of early collectors became visible as source material when they passed through the prism of archives' indexing principles. The issue is exemplified by Finland's two, separate institutions with their two, separate archives, each representing one of Finland's two national languages. The Finnish Literature Society has perhaps the world's largest collection of folklore from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and it has been on the same block as the Swedish Literature Society in Finland for decades, yet there is still no way to search their corpora for people who may have contributed to both folklore collections. As a consequence, the respective oral genres tend to seem (mostly) monolingual. This is relevant in the present context because, especially in the medieval corpora, juxtapositions of Latin and a local vernacular or Latin and *voces mysticae* are widespread. In post-medieval folklore collection, charmers might know verbal charms in several languages (e.g. Vaitkevičienė 2008: 17–18, 71), holding charms as tools for doing certain things irrespective of the language that constitutes their form. Nevertheless, the construction of corpora may considerably exaggerate the impression of charming practices being segregated by language.

These ways of thinking about languages and how they relate to culture or people can be viewed as *language ideologies* – i.e. ideologies of what languages are and how they relate to social identities, nations, each other, or other things in the world.[3] These ideologies made it important in research to sort out alternations between languages,

particularly during the nineteenth and much of the twentieth century when the reconstruction of the *Urform* ['original form'] of a tradition-as-text was a primary concern. The Enlightenment-era language ideology that valorized language as ideally characterized by communicability, exemplified by the work of John Locke (1632–1704), has recently received attention for its role in structuring power relations in society (Briggs 2024). However, this same ideology led to the deconstruction of the incommunicability of *voces mysticae* as 'corrupted' words or phrases from other languages, like interpreting *hocus pocus* as a corruption of *hoc est corpus* ['this is the body'] (Tillotson 1694 [1742]: 237, *s.v.* 'hocus-pocus'). During the nineteenth century, the fetishism that took shape around reconstruction produced a paradigm for approaching *voces mysticae* as etymological puzzles, sometimes involving interpretational acrobatics to unravel a historically underlying phrase.[4] This idea operated alongside viewing some *voces mysticae* as "a mere mass of jingling nonsense" (Storms 1948: 5) and others as secret names or language (e.g. Güntert 1921: ch.4). Although "one editor's gibberish was often another person's language" (Arnovick 2006: 32), the dominant approach was to sort languages within a text and either reconstruct the *Urform* for each stretch of text or dismiss it as gibberish,[5] reducing it to an articulation of superstition without relevance to reconstructions.

Especially in medieval charm research, the approaches to languages seem to have remained relatively stable until the second half of the twentieth century. Germanic philological approaches generally remained divorced from fieldwork-based research across that whole time. In the wake of postmodernism, a cross-disciplinary paradigm shift steered focus from continuity-centered diachronic reconstruction to variation in synchronic contexts. The changes in this shift included: the remarkable boom in the reception of Oral-Formulaic Theory (following Lord 1960; see Frog & Lamb 2021); the rise of New Philology, attending to manuscripts and their texts in context rather than marginalized as source data for reconstruction (e.g. Speer 1979); the social turn in medieval studies, which reframed medieval healing text corpora as "the 'technology' of sorcery in the ancient world" (Brown 1970: 18) situated in relation to social contexts and relations (e.g. Douglas 1970); and the turn in folklore research from traditions as idealized text-objects to situated performance (e.g. Ben Amos & Goldstein 1975). These shifts reconfigured the relations between disciplines, which produced a divide between folklore research and philology. This cascade of impacts broke down the dominance of reconstructive approaches as well as

cross-cultural comparative approaches. It brought to light methodological problems of earlier research, especially with rising source-critical standards, while the earlier research questions no longer aligned with trending interests. (See further Frog 2013; 2021c; Frog & Ahola 2021). With these changes, the etymological acrobatics surrounding *voces mysticae* went into decline, and attention to the alternation of languages in healing texts also seems to have decreased. However, the transformative impacts seem not to have produced prominent new trajectories in the discussion of what is here called languaging in verbal charms, although the social turn, for instance, led knowledge of, or access to, language to be interpretable as structuring the relations between social positions (cf. Tambiah 1973 [1985]: 26–27).

The turn to situated meanings and meaning-production that gained momentum in the 1980s and reached a watershed around 1990 was partly linked to, but mostly followed by, a gradual renewal of interest in cross-cultural comparativism. This development was accompanied by the more rapid rise of interdisciplinarity.[6] The turn to meanings stepped back from the idea of communicability in the sense of language as expressing clear and unambiguous propositional meanings. This was especially significant for *voces mysticae* and jumbled phrases of other languages observed in Old Germanic charms and ritual texts. For example, Karen Louise Jolly called for the language used in charms to be considered from an emic perspective:

> The early Middle Ages probably did not have a concept of 'meaningless words' (just words a given individual did not understand). Late antique and medieval attitudes toward words and meaning were thus significantly different from our own, in that understanding the language was not considered absolutely necessary to the efficacy of the word. (Jolly 1996: 117.)

Similarly, John Miles Foley approached *voces mysticae* in Old English texts as a semiotic phenomenon, describing them as "embody[ing] a semantically unencumbered species of coding" that can "stand for a complex and richly nuanced traditional idea under the aegis of the performance event" (1995: 114). Later, Leslie K. Arnovick's application of pragmatics in the study of Old English charms advanced approaches to such utterances as "[s]emantically empty, lacking propositions," yet they "nevertheless invite us to infer their contents and illocutionary force" (2006: 34). This approach offers a perspective on the meaningfulness of utterances even where the constituent words remain obscure.

Arnovick thus interprets such incantations as directives: "They order, direct, command, and adjure" (2006: 35). Perhaps more significantly, Arnovick found that such language occurs in exactly one third of her sources, demonstrating its integrated position in the Old English corpus.[7]

International research on charms and ritual speech has increased and diversified, especially since the beginning of the present century.[8] It is not the aim here to offer a comprehensive survey, even only of Old Germanic charms and those from Old Germanic language areas. However, the rise in interest in the language of charms and ritual speech mentioned above is echoed in sociolinguistic and linguistic anthropological research (e.g. Du Bois 1986; Keane 1997), as well as in charm research more generally (e.g. Versnel 2002; Schulz 2003: ch.3; Hayden 2022). Nevertheless, the attention in recent decades remains fragmented, with different features of language use coming into focus rather than bringing into focus the phenomenon of the diversity and combinations of linguistic resources in such texts here approached as languaging.

WHAT IS LANGUAGING?

The term *languaging* refers to language use as an activity of using linguistic resources. Although this might seem rather banal, the shift in focus to language use has provided a way of (to some degree) bypassing the dominant academic imagination of languages. Languages are commonly envisioned as ideal and exclusive systems constituted of a lexicon and a grammar, often conceived as being freely combined for the production of utterances. This view has deep historical roots, whereas languaging has gained ground as an alternative only relatively recently. The value of the concept comes into better focus when situated in relation to other terms and approaches, and also in relation to its history.

Multilingualism and language mixing was discussed already from the nineteenth century, but generally remained discussed in terms of siloed ideal languages (e.g. Nilep 2021: 1–3). The emblematic formalization of the model of language as constituted of an idealized lexicon, grammar, and phonology, approached in isolation from other languages, is that of Ferdinand de Saussure (1916 [1967]), who was working when National Romanticism was in full swing in Europe. At that time, scholars were naturalized to conceiving language as emblematic of culture and of a 'nation' *qua* both ethnicity and race (see also Vermeulen 2008). This

was also the era of discipline formation, when a discipline was imagined as a 'science' distinguished by its particular research object with the aim of uncovering the 'laws' by which that object was governed, for which formal classificatory typologies and comparison were essential tools (e.g. Graff 2015; Griffiths 2017). Saussure was thus not theorizing language as a phenomenon *an sich*, but as the research object of linguistics as a discipline. He recognized a distinction between language as an ideal system – *langue* [literally 'language'] – and its actual use by people – *parole* [literally 'speech']. He considered *langue* and *parole* so different that they had to be assigned to different disciplines, and he chose to make the ideal, rule-governed system – *langue* – the research object of linguistics (1916 [1967]: 36–39).

Saussure's choice did not occur in a vacuum. It was a preference that followed from the fetishization of etymologies and the reconstruction of historical relationships between languages, which, with its discovery of 'laws' governing language change, provided a model for the ostensibly objective, scientific study of human culture (see also Csapo 2004: ch. 2). Philology became concerned with the historical reconstruction of ideal 'original' texts through the empirically grounded comparative analysis of variants (following Lachmann 1830 [1876]). During Saussure's time, this philological model provided the foundation for establishing folklore studies as a discipline, explicitly characterized by a corresponding reconstruction-oriented paradigm (formalized in Krohn 1918; 1926). However, the methodology was centrally developed around the variation of the text-scripts of documented folklore in terms of formal elements and the 'laws' governing how they varied in combination – i.e. a *langue* of folklore, commensurate to a lexicon and grammar constitutive of folklore texts (Krohn 1926; see also Frog 2021c). This approach assumed the complete 'text' as the primary unit of tradition, to which Vladimir Propp's 'morphology' was a response (1928 [1958]). Propp's morphology advanced to a higher order of abstraction that might be described as a construction grammar of a genre. In the same year that Propp's 'morphology' was published, Milman Parry's dissertations (1928a; 1928b;) established the foundations of what would become known internationally as Oral-Formulaic Theory (OFT). OFT focused on prefabricated linguistic units and their systemic operation for the production of metrically well-formed lines-as-text at the rate of performance (see also Lord 1960; Frog & Lamb 2022). Although V. N. Vološinov (1929 [1973]) and others in the so-called 'Bakhtin-Circle' (on which see e.g. Wehrle 1978: xii) began theorizing *parole* at that time in Soviet scholarship, these approaches

did not penetrate discussions in the West. In that context, Saussure's choice of centering the discipline of linguistics on *langue* rather than *parole* is natural and intuitive, reifying trends in contemporary ways of looking at language and other forms of expression in the West.

Formally-oriented paradigms dominated Western scholarship into the second half of the twentieth century, until a cross-disciplinary paradigm shift transferred research concern to variation in social contexts. This turn took shape gradually in the post-War environment. It precipitated, for example, the performance-oriented turn in folklore research (e.g. Bauman 1975 [1984]; Ben Amos & Goldstein 1975), the so-called 'new philology' in manuscript studies (e.g. Speer 1979), and gave birth to a new field of discourse studies (e.g. Foucault 1969). In linguistics, it yielded the emergence of the so-called 'ethnography of speaking' (Hymes 1962; see also Rothenberg & Tedlock 1970), research on variations of language linked to roles and recurrent social situations, variously addressed as *codes* (e.g. Bernstein 1971) or *registers* (e.g. Halliday 1978), and associated switching, shifting, or mixing these (e.g. Blom & Gumperz 1972; Ervin-Tripp 1972). The theories of language that had begun developing in the so-called 'Bakhtin Circle' (Vološinov 1929 [1973]) entered into these discussions through translation. Mikhail Bakhtin's neologism *разноречие* ['diverse language-ness'] (1934–1935 [1981]) was used to describe language varieties in literature for the analysis of their denotational and connotational meanings (Sturtzsreetharan 2021). The concept had already been adapted into Western literary discussions by Julia Kristeva as *intertextuality* (1969 [1980]). However, *разноречие* was translated into English on analogy to C. A. Ferguson's use of *diglossia* to describe a contrasted pair of high and low speech registers (1959). The result is a neo-Greekism *heteroglossia* (Holquist 1981: xix), which led it to also be used to refer to a plurality of language varieties more generally. Although *codes*, *registers*, and *heteroglossia* may all today be used to approach communication and performance in multilingual environments, they designate phenomena distinct from what is here addressed as *languaging*.

The concepts of code and register were similar from the outset and today may converge. The term *code* was initially used to view alternative language varieties through the analogy of mutually incompatible codes used in electronic systems (Nilep 2021: 3–4). However, it became equated with social codes of conduct, which also allowed a code to include non-verbal aspects of behaviour (Bernstein 1972). The social construct-

edness of codes was emphasized (*loc.cit.*) and the term was also used to refer to complementary languages from an early stage (e.g. Blom & Gumperz 1972: 411). An important trajectory of discussion concerned the alternation between codes, leading *code-switching* and *code-mixing* to become commonplace terms (Nilep 2021) – terms which reciprocally reinforce imagining codes as distinguished by polarized contrasts (cf. Gal & Irvine 2019). The term *register* gained ground as an alternative in Systemic-Functional Linguistics to explore correlations between particular social factors as determinants on particular linguistic factors in variations in language (Halliday 1978). In this type of approach, registers were viewed in terms of linguistic repertoires within a single language while differences between registers could be more fluid than was implied for codes. Although register may still be used for social varieties within a language, the term was taken up and theoretically developed in linguistic anthropology to study full semiotic repertoires linked to social roles and recurrent situations (e.g. Agha 2004; 2007). In multilingual environments, alternative languages could then be viewed as registers. The term *heteroglossia* was used with similar interests in language varieties. However, it originated with literary works as a point of departure. Although the term has been lifted from this context to refer to social situations of multilingualism (Sturtzsreetharan 2021), heteroglossia often remains tethered to Bakhtinian concepts that situate language varieties and particular utterances inside textual worlds – i.e. within networks of relations between written texts rather than in socially situated meaning production. The examples mentioned here are intended to be representative rather than exhaustive. A point of particular relevance is that these concepts and the approaches from which they originate are founded on distinguishing alternative ways of expressing the same thing (e.g. Silverstein 2010: 430), whether labelling them individually (code, register) or their plurality (heteroglossia). In addition, research attention tends to focus on how the use of the distinguished alternatives is bound up with their associated meaningfulness or meaning-production, in contrast (and response) to the formal emphasis of earlier research that sought to model languages and so on in isolation.

The term *languaging* seems to appear first in philosophical discussions of the relationship between language and knowledge or understanding. Already in 1939, John R. Bross and George J. Bowdery assert that "[t]o view language only as a calculus is clearly inadequate, because it does not take into account the process of languag-

ing" (1939: 106), which they conceive as "the using of language as an instrument" (1939: 107). They argue that languaging both shapes language and what language is used to express, communicate, or discuss, making it fundamental to knowing (1939: 110–111). A few decades later, apparently unaware of previous uses, the philosopher Emmanuel G. Mesthene used *languaging*, "[i]f the word existed" (1964: 2), for the activity of formulation through language "as an integral part of […] knowing" (1964: 59). This trajectory of development includes, for example, the Chilean biologists Humberto Maturana and Francisco Varela, who conceive of languaging as the behavioural coordination of knowing with realities that languaging simultaneously constructs and brings forth as meaningful (1992 [1987]: 234–235). This conception of languaging connects with psycholinguistic approaches to language in both meaning-making and worlding (see García & Wei 2014: 10–11). From this perspective, the use of verbal art to construct and actualize unseen realities (Frog 2017: 599– 611) is a form of languaging.

Around the time that Mesthene was writing, *languaging* begins entering the discourse of education as a general term for language in action or use (e.g. Feany 1965: 63). During the 1970s, languaging became used to discuss acts of speaking, writing, and reading, and began to be extended across other types of signification.[9] This conceptualization of languaging seems to be the stem from which approaches in social linguistics centrally grew, when they were linked to models of language acquisition. Saussurian ideal systems were reconceived, situating language as existing among people in society (e.g. Becker 1991). This turn to the use of linguistic resources as behviour, action, and meaning-making resonated strongly with research concerned with societal contexts and social environments characterized by linguistic diversity, sometimes addressed through derivative terms like *polylanguaging* and *translanguaging* (e.g. Jørgensen et al. 2011; García & Wei 2014). The entrenched paradigm of imagining languages as exclusive systems has marginalized their uses in combination as peripheral, anomalous, or non-ideal even in multilingual societies (Lüpke 2025). An approach through languaging opens into rethinking how languages are conceived (Watson 2019), with the potential to circumvent or neutralize such biases and bring the dynamics of the linguistic activity into primary focus. Unlike terms and approaches above, attention to those dynamics is not dominated by segregating linguistic resources among essentialized categories, nor is it centrally concerned with meaning-making. Consequently, it allows, for instance, ambiguity regarding how language users regard

the resources they manipulate, and whether they recognize them as stemming from different languages at all. The difference in emphasis makes languaging a very flexible tool.

To date, languaging is centrally used heuristically and remains undertheorized. Consequently, it easily becomes defined in relation to disciplinary concerns. Thus, although a distinction between languages may only be a social construct (e.g. Blom & Gumperz 1972: 411), the lively use of the concept to approach dynamics of multilingualism have led it to be defined as involving two or more languages in societal contexts and social environments characterized by linguistic diversity (see also Lüpke 2025). Such a definition is well fitted to studies of quotidian discourse especially in the context of current concerns about language diversity, sustainability, rights, and social justice. However, the mixing of different languages as a phenomenon in social interaction is much less relevant to folklore research. This is especially true in the study of practices characterized by regular text-type genres, such as verbal charms. Such charms tend to be coherent textual entities that are tethered to situations of ritual practice rather than broad repertoires of communicative resources that people draw on and may creatively utilize according to different situations of interpersonal interaction. In folklore research, an approach to the mixing and adaptation of linguistic resources is more relevant for exploring the internal dynamics of genres and registers, where it may have regular forms and operate in tandem with otherwise archaic vocabulary, word forms, and morphology. However, demarcating the threshold of languaging at involving two or more languages (however defined) becomes arbitrary for this material. The same phenomenon may occur for different dialects and registers, and seems to extent to the production of new words without recourse to other language varieties, or the adaptation of formulae from the register of one system of verbal art into another. Whereas current research is primarily concerned with languaging as an emergent phenomenon in contemporary language use, historically durable registers of verbal art can be extremely interesting sites for languaging in both diachronic and synchronic perspective.

I accept the mixing of different languages as an emblematic form of languaging, but I find it problematic to define languaging through such mixing because language is problematic to define according to ostensibly objective criteria. I do not consider the historical durability of languages and long-term-perspectives on language history incompatible with a view of languages as social constructions. I here consider language

to be a metasemiotic entity characterized by a lexicon, grammar, and phonology, of which the features or constituents become recognized as iconic or emblematic of that language as opposed to another or others. In contrast, I approach dialects and registers as distinguished as language varieties within a language – i.e. as social variations of a superordinate language from which are conceived as varying by features of lexicon, grammar, phonology, and prosody.[10] Nevertheless, the boundaries between language and register or dialect may vary between etic and emic perspectives or between individuals in a society. Defining languaging through the mixing of such categories is complicated by the potential for people to produce new words through resources within a register, like neologisms such as the word *languaging* once was in academic writing. This level of languaging connects back to the work on the entanglement of languaging and knowing, which becomes particularly interesting in genres that actualize social or supernatural realities through verbalization. Building from these considerations, I define languaging as *the exercise of agency through language, which appears most salient when involving creative agency of aesthetics or imagination or the selection and potential combination of linguistic resources of different backgrounds*. This definition covers both the drawing on diverse linguistic resources and also worlding as a dimension of languaging.

REGISTER, GENRE, AND IRRUPTIONS

I have elsewhere discussed in detail my approach to register in oral traditions (2015), which I only briefly mention here. I employ *register* to refer to a variety of language or other semiotic resources that forms a distinctive category among a society or group. A register may remain largely unconscious and embedded in social practice, or it may be reflexively recognized and even publicly discussed as indexing one or more practices, social situations, social identities, or other emblematic usage. (See further Frog 2015.)

I employ a practice-centered approach to *genre* as a category of text-type products. I consider *a text* as any organized and delimited arrangement of signs, whether linguistic or non-linguistic. Approaches to genre rooted in literature are often conceived in terms of the correlation of two features, like form and content, which is insufficient for a practice-centered approach. I approach genre through a four-aspect model of: (1) form; (2) content or enactment; (3) practice; and (4) functions. The aspect of form often includes one or more registers as its semiotic reper-

toire, noting that genre and register do not necessarily have a one-to-one correlation. A genre's formal conventions may operate at the level of language or other mediating sign system as in, for instance, traditions of ostensibly spontaneous situational verse. In this case, the genre may be saliently recognized through the primary register or registers of communication. Conversely, the primary register of communication may be an incidental mediator (if also a lens) while the genre's repertoire of formal resources and their conventions of use operate at the level of linguistically or otherwise mediated signs, like images, motifs, and the principles for their organization. Belief legend narratives[11] are of this type, which may be told in prose, song, or enacted as drama. In many cases, a genre's formal conventions operate at the level of both mediating and mediated signs combined, as in oral ballads, epics, and other traditions of narrating in verse. This sets my approach apart from many literary approaches that conceive genre through conceptions of text rooted in print consumer culture and its affordances as a combination of form as a linguistic surface and content as what is mediated by language. I group content and enactment as commensurate counterparts in practice, related to whether the genre is primarily oriented to mediate, for example, knowledge (including narratives) or to some sort of role-taking and/or actualizing an experience. Enactment can be observed, for example, in games or performances of ritual poetry that orchestrate unseen agents, forces, and events, where what occurs may extend considerably beyond the propositional meanings of words, and where words are often only one part of a performed sign repertoire, if words are part of the performance register at all. Content and enactment combine in many genres, as in charms with *historiolae*. Practice is crucial to the consideration of many folklore genres, because what is formally the same verbal text-product may be transposed between performance genres or interpreted as of a different genre in relation to other factors of performance. Functions are not significant here but refers to the position of the tradition in the broader tradition ecology, both in terms of a sort of distribution of labour, and also potentially relationships between genres, for instance in their relative authority or supernatural agency. (See further Frog 2016a.)

Both register and genre are calibratable concepts: they can be adjusted to the scope and sensitivity of the particular investigation. In the present case, medieval sources are often merely text-scripts, which tends to limit evidence to linguistic registers and verbal genres. The text-script may collapse the multimediality of embodied performance

to those features that are directly accommodated by the affordances of the writing technology, as was commonplace. Although this erases all other features for us today, we should not underestimate that the verbal component could be received as iconic of that more complex whole, as is found for Finno-Karelian ritual incantations in the nineteenth and twentieth century (Frog 2019: 220, 247). In this case, the additional features may have simply been considered invisible and implicit in the use of the text-script, to be reconstituted in a reading-based performance (see also Coleman 1996; Frog 2022b). In other cases, the medieval source represents a medium-bound written genre. Medieval texts like the one addressed below are particularly interesting in this regard. Although they are commonly referred to as 'charms', they represent a genre of metadiscourse in which a potentially complex ritual is represented. A healing text may present the text-script of one or more verbal charms along with instructions for the manner of recitation, writing, or inscription, as well as acts to accompany it. A single healing text may include instructions for the performance of several, discreet verbal texts, whether these are fully transcribed or the instructions assume the reader's prior knowledge, such as simply naming a prayer to be recited.

Irruption here refers to a transposition of limited duration of one language, register, or genre into another, from a single word, grammatical structure, or linguistically mediated sign to an extended stretch of discourse. The term is adapted from discussions of narrative discourse. Merrill Kaplan (2011) has used *irruption* as a tool for analyzing, for example, accounts of 'paganism' transposed into Christian contexts and elements identified with the past transposed into the present. Bringing these elements into focus as irruptive discourse, rather than focusing only on their formal dimensions or connotative semantics, draws attention to how such transpositions participate in the negotiation of the respective categories of culture – in Kaplan's case: 'pagan' versus 'Christian' – the relationships of those categories to one another, and their relationships to social identities in the present. Here, *irruption* is calibrated to language, whereas Kaplan uses it for what I would describe as images and motifs as linguistically mediated signs in mythic discourse (Frog 2021b). Her usage can be more generally described as salient transpositions of elements linked to one broad cultural domain into another. The concept can also be applied to visual media,[12] and also to material culture.[13] In language, *irruption* is a term for a particular type of what may otherwise be described as code switching or code mixing, whether strategic or accidental, characterized by limited duration.

The term can be applied to elements of language, or to elements of register or genre that are often discussed through what Julia Kristeva initially called *intertextuality* (1969 [1980]: 36–63) and later relabelled *transposition* (1974 [1984]: 59–60). Bringing irruptions into focus supports considering the social construction and negotiation of different categories of expression and their relations.

In the flow of discourse, much languaging may be largely or wholly invisible to participants. For example, academic writing in English is littered with Latin words and expressions: although relevant abbreviations might be opaque and idiomatic for many users in the present century, *id est* (*i.e.*) or *et alii* / *aliae* (*et al.*) remain commonly recognized as non-English (cf. *et cetera*). Similarly, linguistic anthropologists often use emic terms from the groups they study in their academic publications with the aim of holding closer to the vernacular categories. Fields surrounding particular cultures may naturalize repertoires of emic vocabulary to discussion, so that their use is normative to those in the field although the words themselves are regularly presented in italic font as a salient indicator that they are linguistically other.[14] Such a mixing of vocabulary can be similarly naturalized in slang, and my own experience of very small, localized speech communities is that the use of particular non-English vocabulary in English can become naturalized to the degree that the use of the English words is what becomes marked, for instance as translation to accommodate an outsider. *Irruption* is distinguished by some level of disruptive quality or markedness. Of course, rather than either being marked or not, the markedness or disruption may be on a spectrum of degree. Especially in a medieval or ancient text, evaluating it may be conjectural. Nevertheless, cases that are ambiguous do not undermine the term's value where the contrasts are salient.

LANGUAGING WITHIN REGISTERS AND GENRES OF FOLKLORE

Languaging within folklore registers, genres, and oral-poetic systems has received little attention as a phenomenon *an sich*. A brief introduction to some of its relevant types is offered here, with comments on certain factors that may either drive or constrain it. This introduction is not intended to be exhaustive, but rather to offer an orientation for considering languaging in charms and in the metadiscursive genre represented by the text examined below.

Oral-poetic systems are characterized by the organization of language into 'lines' by subordinating syntax and prosody to other organizing principles, such as parallelism, alliteration, rhyme, and/or meter (Fabb 2015; Frog 2021a). The respective registers evolve in symbiosis with the poetic system's organizing principles (Foley 1996). In other words, the organizing principles drive the development and maintenance of resources to meet the requirements of the poetic form, while the poetic form evolves between general language change and the language of its register(s), as well as the social practices of use within a broader poetic ecology (Frog 2024).

Canonical parallelism requires repetition with lexical variation (Fox 1977; 1988). In many traditions the vocabulary of parallel expressions includes words from other languages, such as Spanish in Cho'rti' Mayan (Hull 2017), Malay in Bandanese (Kaartinen 2017), and Chinese in Zhuang (Holm 2017). Canonical parallelism may be the only regular poetic organizing principle: when no additional principle drives variation in the vocabulary, lexical and phrasal pairs become regular formulae that express a coherent unit of meaning across lines, like Rotenese *inak* ['woman'] and *fetok* ['girl'] becoming a formula *inak* / / *fetok* ['female person'] (Fox 2022). When canonical parallelism is used in combination with organizing principles like meter or alliteration, the demands for equivalence vocabulary are increased. For example, Karelian lament combines semantic parallelism with alliteration, which multiplies the equivalence vocabulary needed for common semantic categories in order to vary the wording of lines according to the required pattern of alliteration. The use of Russian words in Karelian lament is linked to the combined requirements of parallelism and alliteration (Stepanova 2017). Within the respective register, the assimilated vocabulary is naturalized no less than Latin and other languages in academic writing practices. However, naturalizing the use of vocabulary from one language or another becomes generalizable for the production of new lexical and phraseological pairs or equivalence vocabulary. Moreover, languaging may itself become a textural or aesthetic feature of the verbal art rather than filling formal needs only. For example, Spanish loans are incorporated into the verbal art of a number of Mayan languages, and the loans may constitute both members of a formulaic pair in Cho'rti' Mayan rather than only forming complementary counterparts to vernacular words (Hull 2017: 296).

Different dialects are also used for equivalence vocabulary in canonical parallelism, although assimilating individual dialectal words may be

difficult to distinguish from the enduring maintenance of earlier shared vocabulary only preserved in the verbal art (Fox 2014: 374–379). Alternative dialectal forms of the same word may also alternate in metered poetry according to the alternative number of syllables or morae these contain (Foley 1996: 25–37). Conversely, semantically opaque vocabulary blurs with the production of pseudo-words. For instance, Peter Metcalf finds parallelism in Berawan ritual poetry to contain many canonical pairs in which the second element reduplicates the meaning-bearing word with variation of its onset, ending, or vowel (1989: 40–44). Finno-Karelian Kalevala-metric poetry exhibits a similar practice, although filling a metrical need of completing an eight-syllable line by accompanying an initial four-syllable word with a counterpart that has been described as onomatopoetic (Tarkka 2013: 154–156). This second word or pseudo-word is a poetic counterpart that differs by one or a few phonemes usually only in the stressed (initial) syllable. The result may be a pseudo-word, but the phonological variation in this register 'gravitates' to make the word stem converge with a recognizable lexeme, as visible in oral variation, which occasionally results in semantic incongruities such as the line variant *hyöryläinen, vyöryläinen* (*SKVR* VI_1 3653.2) ['hustle-one, landslide-one']. The generated word participates in a broader textural feature of this poetry whereby words are morphologically expanded to meet the needs of the syllable-counting meter. This morphological dimension of the meter can itself be viewed as languaging: it gets applied to vocabulary that may or may not otherwise be used in the register, adapting it to meet the combined needs of semantic parallelism, alliteration, and meter. (Frog 2022d: 88–94.)

Not all oral poetries are equally open to drawing on different languages, which must be considered in the light of broader language ideologies. For example, Old Germanic languages and their oral poetries were generally resistant to the assimilation of vocabulary marked as 'other'. The poetries nevertheless required poetic equivalence vocabulary to meet the needs of alliteration, which was often accommodated by the semantic flex of vernacular vocabulary that would be used somewhat differently in quotidian speech (Roper 2012). These poetries also developed a nominal circumlocution system of kennings or kenning-like constructions, such as calling 'gold' 'fire of water' (Fidjestøl 1997). The metrical requirement of alliteration drives lexical variation in these constructions, which develop exceptional complexity in the Old Norse *dróttkvætt* meter owing to its inclination to syllabic rhythms with combined requirements of both rhyme and alliteration (Clunies Ross

et al. 2012; Frog 2024). In this poetry, a kenning like 'fire of water' will only exceptionally be found in the same verbal form in more than one example (*Lexicon Poeticum* 2016–present). Individual examples of a 'fire of water' kenning are organic to the register, yet the formation of kennings for new referents, like 'bear of the wall-cave' to say 'mouse' (*ibid.*), may also be viewed as languaging. If one calibrates languaging more narrowly, this might seem more rhetorical or aesthetic. However, the generation of new circumlocutions in Karelian lament, like 'headless horse' for 'automobile', complicates dismissing such creativity when the lament register was conceived as the language of the dead, for whom the language of the living was no longer understandable (Stepanova 2015).

Whereas these forms of languaging operate at the level of words and phrases, many genres incorporate forms of languaging that may also manifest as irruptions. For example, medieval Icelandic sagas commonly incorporated the quotation of Old Norse poetry either as the direct speech of a character or to authenticate information presented in the prose (Harris 1997). The medieval manuscripts were written out as continuous text like prose today, yet the transition from aesthetically unmarked prose to metered alliterative verse was salient, and probably still more pronounced in public reading (cf. Quinn 1997). Although many narrative forms embed direct speech, the speech may be subordinated to the formal conventions of the primary genre, as often occurs in oral epics where any character's speech must be in the same meter as the surrounding narrative. The direct speech might itself represent a genre practiced in the society, but primarily at the level of metadiscourse rather than at the formal level of verbal art (Stepanova & Frog 2019; see also Tarkka 2013). Such metadiscursive representations may also be systematically varied with other motivations. For example, narrative discourse may systematically represent verbal charms or incantations differently than in ritual practice. Whereas ritual uses can be approached as a form of languaging entailing supernatural efficacy, narrative traditions in the same society may regularly avoid supernaturally empowered speech. The para-charms or para-incantations that may be recited in their place are treated as having supernatural efficacy only within the narrative world, not being used for supernatural effect outside of it. Conversely, the speech connected with a culturally other ritual specialist in the prose narration of a legend tradition may be presented as irruptions of the vernacular poetic form. (Frog 2022e.) Irruptions are widely found in a variety of folklore genres, but these are most often of other registers, genres, or a counterpart shaped by

the host discourse. Different languages may also be embedded, as in a metadiscursive genre of instruction about a ritual practice in which texts of different languages should be performed. They may also be embedded in narratives, for example in legends and anecdotes about language contacts, which may include imaginal languages attributed to supernatural beings,[15] but irruptions of different languages in narration seem less common.

VERBAL CHARMS AND LANGUAGING

Medieval verbal charms are ritual technologies that were being mediated through writing, whether the charm itself was conceived as an oral utterance or performed through a writing technology. The written medium situates the charms in a textual culture that had spread in conjunction with the Christian religion and its infrastructures. The western Church maintained Latin as the language of religion and as a transcultural *lingua franca* of both religious and secular authorities. Registers of Latin associated with the Christian religion also had infusions of Greek and Hebrew, both of which, as well as Aramaic, had strong associations with the history of the religion. Esoteric interests also brought in elements of Arabic. The learned discourse recognized a language of the angels (e.g. Storms 1948: 274–275), of which words, names, and whole texts could be circulated; within a medieval Christian worldview, the language of angels was presumably valorized above all human languages. Whereas these languages and various registers and genres associated with them circulated through the western Christian world, vernacular human languages tended to have more limited reach and their roles varied by milieu. Different vernaculars are present in medieval corpora of charms and metadiscursive texts presenting rituals, but their distribution generally seem to reflect historical language contacts among vernaculars. Nevertheless, when spoken verbal charms in one language appear in a written text of another, it is often unclear whether their passage into and out of writing and back again was by people who understood the respective texts. Thus, Old Irish and Old Norse verbal charms in the Old English corpus blur with *voces mysticae* to the point that it is not clear whether the writer or copyist even recognized what, if any, language they represent. Moreover, languaging irruptions extend to scripts: several written verbal charms appear to have been conceived as requiring a particular script, such as Greek, reflecting not just a language ideology, but a media ideology

(Gershon 2010). This practice results in the Old English corpus containing curious *characteres magici*, such as the runic or pseudo-runic text "ᛗMMRMÞ· Nϟ·ÞTX ᛗMRFᛇNϟ ·ÞTX" (Storms 1948: 271).

Voces mysticae is a very fuzzy category. H. S. Versnel considers *voces mysticae* ("*magicae*") to constitute:

> 'open-ended' performative utterances. Normally, performative enunciations are expressions that are equivalent to action: the verb itself is the accomplishment of the action which it signifies. Since the *voces* have *no communicable* meaning, however, they cannot denote one explicit – and consequently restricted – course of action, but give voice to a choice of imaginable (or perhaps rather *un*imaginable) avenues towards the desired effect. (Versnel 2002: 147)

The category is fuzzy because it may only be a researcher's presumption that the words "have *no communicable* meaning" (Versnel 2002: 147). Of course, *voces mysticae* themselves may be interpreted as supernaturally empowered articulations to which any propositional meanings are incidental to their performativity, such as *hocus pocus*. However, such a view is not exclusive of interpreting them as words of another language. This is reflected in the metadiscourse on such charms in *Harry Potter*, where para-charms like *expelliarmus* are recognizable as Latin (or at least as pseudo-Latin) even for someone with only a very superficial familiarity with the language. The alterity of the words, or what Bronisław Malinowski described as a "coefficient of weirdness" (1936), is sometimes viewed as inherently linked to the power of the utterances. Jolly is likely correct that people in the "Middle Ages probably did not have a concept of 'meaningless words' (just words a given individual did not understand)" (1996: 117). Of course, an utterance can be received and learned as a charm without any recognition of a particular language affiliation, much as children learn and reproduce the *expelliarmus* paracharm without reflection on the etymology or semantics of the word, conceiving it only as a verbal instrument that has supernatural effect, if only in the respective narrative world (Wray 2008: ch.16). Semantic opacity and identification with a language are not at odds *per se*, and could vary considerably by individual. However, it warrants bearing in mind that the medieval texts were not the instruments of illiterate peasants; they were the purview of the literate – presumably the clergy and the social or economic elites. In the Germanic world, this would normally indicate a knowledge of Latin and a naturalization to the

media ideologies of written text production. Consequently, the written words are more likely identified with a particular language. Moreover, the value conferred on the knowledge of what is written and learned discourses of exegesis and interpretation make it probable that users of these texts would be interested in the meanings or significance of the words *as language* – i.e. in understanding the words that were opaque to the uneducated.

Today, *voces mysticae* tend to be viewed as utterances like *expelliarmus* – i.e. they are, as in Versnel's description above, performative utterances without propositional meaning. The circulation of these texts among the educated members of society seems to be related to a different tendency in the Middle Ages and found through the Christian world that semantically opaque orthographic strings were often interpreted as the names of supernatural agents. Versnel points out that, already in antiquity, charm traditions underwent a development that foreign or unrecognizable words became interpreted as names of gods and demons, which were then mixed in with names characteristically used in charms, and also chained into strings of names (2002: 114–115). This interpretive paradigm then sometimes fed back into the names used in charms. For instance, in one example of a Seven Sisters charm, the seven are named as *klkb*, *rfstklkb*, *fbgblkb*, *sxbfpgllkb*, *frkcb*, *kxlkcb*, and *kgncb* (Ohrt 1925: 38), each a string of consonants that appears as 'foreign' within its Latin context, perhaps intended to reference Hebrew or Arabic. Although the charm type clearly circulated widely, Ferdinand Ohrt highlighted that the names appear vary comprehensively between sources (*loc.cit*). Versnel points out that names in charms often not only "replace each other in the course of time, but that they are and remain interchangeable," a trait that "appears to be perhaps one of the most characteristic, albeit hardly noticed, features of magical charms" (2002: 118). Versnel is referring mainly to actors in *historiolae* and individual actors in particular invocations rather than sequences that tend to be viewed today as *voces mysticae*, of which the names in Seven Sisters charms might be considered on the border. Within a language ideology where names are considered as powerful instruments, the performativity of semantically opaque text sequences were interpretable through that lens, a lens that could reciprocally shape the *voces mysticae* when the interpretation became a factor in variation. Versnel observes that "[e]specially names ending on -el and -oth abound, which clearly go back to Hebrew / Jewish models" (2002: 114). This dimension of languaging may also be behind the regular ending in *-kb* / *-(k)cb* in

the names in the Seven Sisters charm above, even if the imagination of linguistic identification is uncertain.

Arnovick shows that considerable variation was by no means limited to names and is equally found in extended text sequences that were likely considered to represent other languages (2006: ch.2). In those cases, the dynamics of languaging are much less clear. Text ideologies of modernity are dominated by an imagination of text identity as residing at the level of the organized arrangement of linguistic signs. In other words, a text is most emblematically a series of particular words in a fixed sequence, although text identity is also recognized as at the level of linguistically mediated signs or informational content, such as in the case of telling a story or an anecdote. This ideology of text identity does not usually map well onto other milieux, as I have discussed in the case of Finno-Karelian incantations: the metadiscourse surrounding Finno-Karelian incantations emphasizes their text identity at a verbal level as crucial for their efficacy, while the actual variation in the oral tradition and the ritual technology's ability to adapt to particular situations require a very flexible model of text identity (Frog 2019). Moreover, traditions that are centrally oral and assimilate the use of writing technology may treat written text-scripts as equivalent to the wording of a particular person rather than an ideal and absolute transcript for everyone else. Consequently, reading-based or (reading-centered) performances may diverge considerably from what is written without a sense of compromising the text's identity and performative potential (Frog 2022b; Reichl 2022). The intuition that sequences of *voces mysticae* in medieval manuscripts would have been exactly reproduced as a fixed series of words or phonemes may be grossly inaccurate, anachronistically imposing the dominant text ideology of modernity, rooted in consumer print culture. The variation observed by Arnovick might be attributed at least in part to a movement of ritual texts between written media, individual memory, and perhaps oral transmission. Nevertheless, some of these clearly point to conceiving the text sequences as utterances of language, within which the variation rather than an ideal degree of fixity suggests that the words were somehow interpreted as constituting meaningful utterances.

In medieval European charms, *voces mysticae* and the texts sequences on their periphery present distinct sites of languaging. On the one hand, different sequences were potentially interpretable in different ways, subjecting them to the text ideology of the particular lens of interpretation. The text sequence might simply be received as super-

naturally empowered without identifying it with a particular language or any interpretation; it might be considered a list of names of agents with a capacity to help or harm; or it might be understood as one or more meaningful utterances in a particular language, from Hebrew or Old Irish to the language of angels. Whatever the case, the sequences appear to have been open to variation, and that variation was conditioned by the text ideologies through which the sequence was viewed, whether this resulted in Hebrew-like names or the string of names in *-kb / -(k)cb* above, or perhaps a more fluid re-articulation in the language with which the stretch of text was identified.

THE TEXT IN CLM 18956

The quarto manuscript Clm 18956 (Teg. 956) in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich contains a little-studied text that presents a healing ritual, most often referred to as a 'fever charm'. In the eleventh century, according to the conventional dating, the text was added to the empty space on folio 77v, filling it down to the lower margin. Although written in Latin, it contains two apparently Old High German words, both of which are *hapax legomena*. The word *ridun* appears as a noun within a Latin sentence, where it is interpreted as an Old High German word for 'shivering, shaking', perhaps 'convulsing', designating an illness or symptom (Vogt 1903: 95; cf. Köbler 2014: *s.vv.* 'rīdo', 'rīdōn*'). The word *leodrune* ['song-rune, sorceress'] appears in what is commonly interpreted as a list of names of fever demons. The diphthong *eo* rather than *io* suggests it entered writing already in the eighth century or earlier (Vogt 1903: 95). This word is also the only example of a usage of Old High German *runa* ['rune'] as an agentive noun. There is nothing unusual about a medieval verbal charm including obscure words and phrases that may (or may not) be identifiable with other languages. In this case, however, the opening of the text sequence in which *leodrune* appears is paralleled in a charm in an Old English leechbook. This opens the question of whether *leodrune* is a centuries-old Old High German word or is a borrowing of the contemporary word in Old English, although the question requires too much space to be explored here.

The first mentions of this text in print seem to be in 1878. In the *Catalogus codicum Latinorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis*, Carolus Halm, Frigericus Keinz, Gulielmus Meyer and Georgius Thomas (1878 [1969]: 225) list the contents of Clm 18956, where they describe the text as a "benedictio contra frigus vel ridun" ['benediction against

fever or *ridun*']. In the same year, Elias Steinmeyer published the text with minimal comment, stating that W. Meyar had drawn his attention to it (1878: 247). Richard Wünsch published a new transcription of the text a few decades later (1903: 92) with an analytical discussion. To my knowledge, a century passed before the complete text was published again, in a book by Monika Schulz (2003: 109).

The text added to Clm 18956 is not a verbal charm *per se*. Although it opens with what appears to be the script of a ritual text, it soon shifts into metadiscursive instructions that explain what is to be uttered and the actions that should accompany this. The shift to metadiscourse follows the naming of the *Peter noster* – a text that 'everyone knows' – as to be performed at that point. Naming a Chrsitian prayer to be performed rather than writing it out in full is of course not unusual and saved valuable space. From this point on in the text, anything to be spoken is only quoted in full where it differs from texts already introduced.

The following diplomatic transcription has been made anew from the manuscript. Where Steinmeyer and Schulz read "fructıferı. i.", Wünsch and I read "fructferi. ꝛ", with the Tironian sign for 'and', which is the predominant sign for 'and' used through the text. The string of *voces mysticae* or words in an uncertain language are left untranslated and instead placed in italic font, and the sign for 'and' in this sequence is represented by ampersands because it is unclear whether it should be expanded with Latin *et* or Old High German *ende*.

> In nomıne d*omi*nı fuge ab eo +ea .N. beronıce. bırınıce. | turlur. leodrune. & malıfragra. & gahel. ꝛ gaıl. | tıgloıt. tılılot. depetonge. Ego ſu*m* alfa. & .ω. | ınıtıu*m* ꝛ fınıſ dıcıt d*omi*nu*s*. am*en*. Tunc canta pat*er* n*oste*r. | & dıc ınfine. ſed lıberet te amalo .N. h*abe*nſ vırgu|lam lıgnı fructıferı. ꝛ abſcıde partıcula*m* ei*us* dıcenſ. | S*anctu*ſ benedıct*us* tollat ate .N. hoc frıguſ. S*ecun*da uıce | canta. In nomıne d*omi*nı cu*m* p*re*dıctıſ uerbulıs. ꝛ d*omi*nica | oratıone. abſcıdenſ parte*m* uırgulę ut pri*us* fecıſtı. | dıcenſ. S*anctu*ſ uıtuſ. tollat t*ibi* hunc rıdun. Tertıo fac | ſımıl*iter*. ꝛ dıc*ens* S*anctu*ſ galluſ totu*m* frıguſ ate .N. tollat. | Ad ultımu*m* ıllaſ treſ partıculaſ lıgnı ſepelı. ꝛ canta | ınterı*m* om*ni*a quę sup*eri*us cantaſtı. Caut*us* ſıſ du*m* t*ibi* nun|tıatur q*uod* frıguſ patit*ur* alıqu*i*ſ. ne ſtanſ ſ*ed* ſedenſ ſis. +her
>
> In the name of the Lord, flee from him, [from] N. *beronice. birinice. turlur. leodrune. & malifragra. & gahel. & gail. tigloit. tililot. depetonge*. I am the alpha and the omega, the beginning and the end, says the Lord. Amen. Then sing The Lord's Prayer (*Pater noster*) and at the end say, 'but deliver you from evil, N.'. Have a branch

of a fruit-bearing tree and cut off a bit. Say, 'Saint Benedict take away from you, N., this fever'. Say 'In the name of the Lord' a second time with the aforesaid words and The Lord's Prayer (*Oratio Dominica*), cutting off part of the branch as you did before, saying 'Saint Vitus take from you this *ridun*'. Do the same a third time and say, 'Saint Gallus all the fever from you, N., take'. At the end bury these three pieces of wood and sing during that time all those songs that you sang above. You should be careful when you are told that someone is sharing a fever. You should not stand but sit.

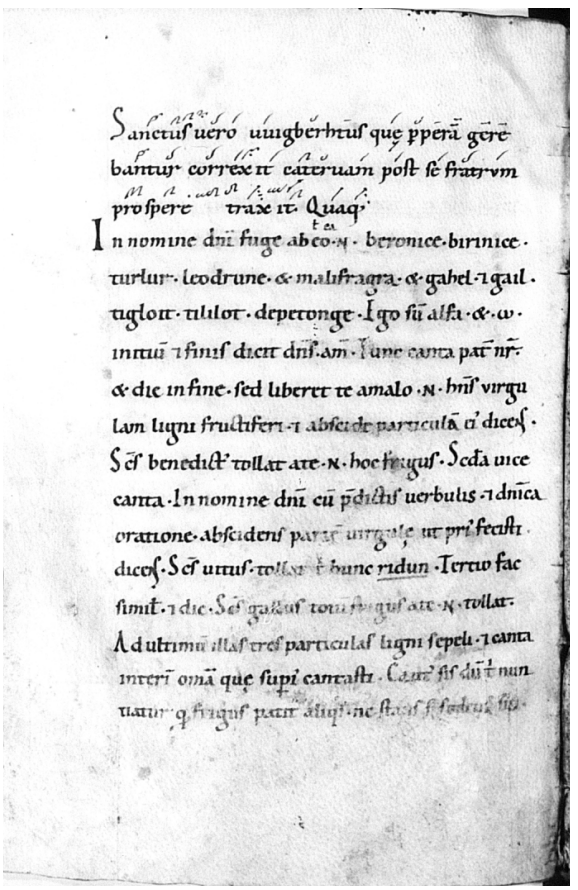

Figure 1. Image of Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 18956, fol. 77v.

THE ORGANIZATION OF VERBAL SEQUENCES

The ritual includes a series of verbal texts conceived as discreet units. The collection of utterances form a group that should then be repeated with indicated differences. The structuring of the verbal components of the ritual is presented below, numbering the constitutive verbal texts for discussion. However, it is unclear how *beronice* and the obscure words that follow should be viewed. This sequence is followed directly by Christ's words known from Revelation 22:13 ("I am the alpha and the omega, the first and the last, the beginning and the end"). This quotation was undoubtedly recognized as a text sequence distinct from what preceded it no less than the *Pater noster* (Matthew 6: 9–13; a shorter version in Luke 11: 2–4). Thus, the question has been whether the stretch of obscure text is a similarly distinct unit or a continuation of what precedes it.

The dominant view, as discussed below, has been that the sequence *beronice … depetonge* is a series of names of fever demons to be exorcized through the ritual. In this interpretation, syntactically, they continue the preceding clause as a vocative address, naming those who should flee. This interpretation has been considered problematic because the first 'demon' named is *beronice*, which is transparently recognizable as the name of Saint Veronica. A proposal that *beronice* and perhaps the words immediately following it are *voces mysticae* with a positive value offers a compromise to reading the word as the name of a saint. However, the latter interpretation interrupts the syntax that would connect the subsequent words to the preceding clause as names of the demons addressed. In this case, the clause preceding *beronice* would seem to be a complete utterance followed by a second utterance beginning with *voces mysticae* or an invocation of Veronica. That the obscure sequence was viewed as a coherent and distinct stretch of text finds some support in the punctuation of the sequence, which differs from both what precedes and what follows, placing a punctus after each word that is not a conjunction. Whether the text was added to Clm 18956 from personal knowledge or copied from an earlier manuscript, medieval punctuation commonly marked prosodic structure to facilitate reading (Scholes & Willis 1990), and the difference in punctuation is an indicator that this sequence was perceived as some sort of irruption.

The structure of the verbal components of the ritual is presented in Table 1. These components appear to form a sequence of texts with discreet identities, here labelled Texts 1–5. The possibility that the

mysterious sequence was a vocative address continuing the preceding sentence cannot be excluded, but its opacity and the difference in punctuation support a view that it is somehow distinct, while labelling it as Text 2 provides a practical means of referring to it in subsequent discussion. The obscurity of Text 2 and the seemingly positive valence of *beronice* creates the additional possibility that the words are the opening of the of the following quotation of Christ. However, insofar as *beronice* is likely an invocation of Veronica or otherwise related to Veronica, it seems unlikely to also be attributed to Christ in a first-person utterance of a recognizable biblical text. This quotation is therefore identified as Text 3. The *Pater noster* is distinguished from Text 3 through the metapragmatic label that refers to the prayer as a discreet text, with a note on how its final words should be varied, here identified as Text 4. Text 4 is followed by instructions for an act to be performed in the ritual, which supports viewing the subsequent jussive invocation of the saint to be conceived as yet another discreet text rather than a continuation of the *Pater noster*.

The instruction to repeat the sequence again indicates Text 1 through its opening prepositional phrase *cum predictis verbulis* ['with the aforesaid words'] followed by a punctus before mentioning the *Pater noster*. The remainder of Text 1, *fuge ab eo* ['flee from him'], is shorter than *cum predictis verbulis* and would have taken less space. It is therefore reasonable to infer that *cum predictis verbulis* minimally includes Texts 1 and 2. That Text 3 would not be specified is unsurprising: although it is transparently recognized as discreet unit as the speech of Christ, it lacks an established metadiscursivel label like *Pater noster* or *Oratio dominica,* used to refer to Text 4. In addition, Texts 1–3 begin with 'In the name of the Lord' and conclude with 'Amen', in the manner of a prayer. The invocation of Text 1 is clearly distinct from the quotation of Christ's words in Text 3, so the grouping does not resolve whether the irruption of Text 2 was considered part of one or the other. Nevertheless, the three constituents may have been conceived as forming a composite whole. The instructions thus most probably indicate that Texts 1–4 should be repeated. They then specify the variation for Text 5 in two of these repetitions, followed by a third instruction for repetition that is ambiguous regarding whether it should include a variant of Text 5. In Table 1, the series of repetitions with variations are presented as Text Sequences A–D.

Table 1. The structuring of the verbal components of the ritual in Clm 18956.

Text Sequence A
Text 1. Invocation ("In the name of the Lord") and command (banishment formula)
Text 2. Mysterious thirteen-word text sequence (in italic in the translation)
Text 3. Quotation of Christ followed by "Amen"
Text 4. *Pater noster*, varying the pronoun of its final line and adding the patient's name
Text 5a. Command (Saint Benedict)

Text Sequence B
Repeat Text 1–4
Text 5b. Command (Saint Vitus)

Text Sequence C
Repeat "the same"
Text 5c. Command (Saint Gallus)

Text Sequence D
Repeat "all [those songs] above"

RIDUN AND PARALLELISM

It is easy to infer that the repetition of Texts 1–4 in Text Sequences A–D was characterized by an ideal of non-variation – i.e. that the text would be recited 'the same' (however that was understood) in each iteration. The opening words of Text 1 are a crystallized formula, while Christ's words of Text 3 and *The Lord's Prayer* have a text identity that predicts verbatim repetition. Of course, traditions characterized by an inclination to non-variation may nevertheless exhibit variation in repetition, such as shortening in a series of utterances when these are repeated several times (Frog 2016b: 89–9). In addition, the quotation of Revelation 22:13 in Text 3 presents only two of the Vulgate's three parallel units (*Ego sum alpha et omega,* [*primus et novissimus,*] *principium et finis*). This may have been performed with all three units in practice, or expanding Text 3 to three units in repetitions if the memory of the more ideal form of the quotation was triggered during the course of performance.[16] Nevertheless, the formula in Text 1 and then Texts 3 and 4 can be assumed to have ideal forms and should be invariant in performance, which makes the variation in Text 4 marked. Following Texts 1–4, the variation between Texts 5a, 5b, and 5c appears consciously marked:

Sanctus Benedictus tollat a te .N. hoc frigus.
Sanctus Vitus tollat tibi hunc *ridun.*
Sanctus Gallus totum frigus a te .N. tollat.

Saint Benedict take away from you, N., this fever.
Saint Vitus take from you this *ridun.*
Saint Gallus all the fever from you, N., take.

The variation across these three phrases is more visible in a diagraph analysis, laying them out on a grid that places semantically corresponding or contrasting elements in columns and indicating any difference in order with arrows (Du Bois 2014):

	Saint X	take away	from you	NAME	the/all fever	.
5a.	Sanctus Benedictus	tollat	a te	.N.	hoc frigus	.
5b.	Sanctus Vitus	tollat	tibi		hunc ridun	.
5c.	Sanctus Gallus	→ tollat	a te	.N.	← totum frigus	.

Only the verb, the epithet 'Saint', and the second person pronoun are used in all three expressions. The pronoun varies morphologically while the position of the verb varies in word order. Viewed as a series, the order of syntagms in 5b reproduces that of 5a while varying its phraseology and omitting (though perhaps accidentally) the name of the patient; 5c then varies the order of syntagms of 5a and 5b but restores the phraseology of 5a in contrast with 5b. Besides the name of the saint,[17] the only other lexical difference between 5a and 5c is the exchange of the pronoun *hoc* for *totum* ['all'], which may be interpreted as a climax of the progression. If the first of the three varied from the following two, the variation would look like the recall of a preferred phrasing during the course of writing (cf. Frog 2022c: 196–200). The same might be argued if the first two were regular and the third varied or even if the three exhibited a stadial progression of variation. Instead, 5b and 5c each appear to vary from 5a in contrasting ways, and each varies from it by two syntagms in addition to the name of the saint. Particularly as this utterance regularly follows the verbatim recital of Texts 3 and 4, the variation appears to be an intentional device of parallelism rather than repetition.

Leaving aside Text 2 for now, the appearance of Old High German *ridun* in 5b appears to constitute an irruption of the vernacular in otherwise uniformly Latin texts. Languaging occurs elsewhere in these

texts in the form of vocabulary historically rooted in other languages (*alpha*, *omega*, *amen*), but these have been naturalized to registers of Latin Christian discourse. In contrast, *ridun*'s appearance would likely have seemed marked. Rather than an odd 'slip' or semantically weighted code-switching, the use of *ridun* appears motivated by a desire for lexical variation in parallelism (which does not exclude semantic relevance).[18] Semantic parallelism does not generally appear as a significant structuring principle of Latin charm discourse, and I am not aware of other examples of mixing vernacular vocabulary for lexical variation in a Latin parallel sequence. There is no reason think that *ridun* was conventionally paired in parallelism with *frigus* as in the examples of languaging in parallelism above. Parallelism was a significant feature of the Old Germanic charm tradition, often found in its conjurations, though not being a regular structuring principle of whole texts (Tolley 2021: 331–342). Old Germanic charms do not draw on vocabulary from Latin or other languages for such parallelism, so there is also no reason to think that the *frigus* / /*ridun* pairing stems from a Germanic tradition. However, if the device of parallelism in this ritual was associated with Germanic charming, its rootedness in Germanic poetics could have led to summoning the word *ridun* rather than a Latin word or phrase to produce the parallelism.

Since a conventional use of the *frigus* / /*ridun* pairing is improbable for a broader tradition in either Latin or an Old Germanic language, its appearance here was most likely unique to the charm, even if *ridun* was being reproduced within the Latin in speech and writing in the text's or ritual's transmission. The word points to an unusual dimension of languaging in the text that allows the inclusion of the vernacular commingled with the non-vernacular languages of religion. Contextually, the irruption can be transparently identified with the use of parallelism, although the structuring principle does not itself account for the use of a presumably local vernacular word. However, the possible connection with parallelism in Germanic verbal charms offers the possibility that an organizing principle of the utterances had associations with the vernacular charming tradition that produced linguistic interference. Although this explanation cannot advance beyond a conjectural hypothesis, it would offer a satisfying explanation for the otherwise anomalous appearance of an Old Germanic word in a Latin sentence. Whatever the case, this use of the word *ridun* situates the writing of the charm in a milieu where the Old Germanic vernacular was spoken.

PREVIOUS RESEARCH ON THE LANGUAGE IN TEXT 2

The text on Clm 18956, fol. 77v, has not received much analytical attention in the roughly 150 years since it was published in 1878. This is somewhat surprising because Text 2 has perplexed researchers, and "leodrune" has been considered an Old High German word that ties into a broader etymological discussion. "Leodrune" is identified with a set of vocabulary in which Proto-Germanic **rūnō* ['rune'] forms the second part of a compound. Thus, it is linked to the long and vibrant discussion of 'runes' and is particularly identified with the set of compounds used to designate a sorceress or female supernatural agent (see e.g. Willson 2019). This etymological discussion is too complex to delve into here, but it is relevant to mention because "leodrune" has been lifted from Text 2 and generally accepted as an Old High German word *leodrune* for etymological analysis without resolving the riddles of its context in the sequence:

> beronice. birinice. turlur. leodrune. & malifragra. & gahel. & gail. tigloit. tililot. depetonge.

Steinmeyer commented on Text 2 briefly in a footnote: "Die im anfang genannten namen *beronice* usw. sind mir bis auf *leodrune* unverständlich" (1878: 247) ['The names *beronice* and so on mentioned at the beginning up to *leodrune* are not understandable to me']. His comment includes a citation that leads the reader to Ludwig Ettmüller's dictionary of Old English, where *leodrun, -e* is defined as an *incantatio vulgaris* (1851: 173) ['vernacular incantation']. Steinmeyer thus seems to interpret *beronice, birinice*, and *turlur* as names for agents, and he identifies *leodrune* with a Germanic word, but as a verbal charm rather than as an agent of illness. His note is so brief that it is unclear whether or not he recognized *beronice* as 'Veronica', or, if he did make that connection, whether he rejected that interpretation as contextually problematic.

Wünsch (1903: 91–95) offers the most developed discussion of Text 2 to date. He proposed that it is a vocative series of the ten names of fever demons to be exorcized through the ritual. On the one hand, this interpretation is in line with the tendency to interpret foreign or unrecognizable words in charms as names of supernatural actors (Versnel 2002: 114–115). On the other hand, this interpretation works syntactically as a continuation of Text 1 by naming those who should flee. Wünsch acknowledged that *Beronice* is the name of Saint Veronica, although he could not account for how a saint's name came to be mixed

in with demon names. However, he saw its combination with *birinice* as a commonplace play with sounds in magic formulae, commensurate to *hocus-pocus* (1903: 94; on this poetic device in charms, see also Versnel 2002: 130–135). Wünsch saw *Beronice* as stemming from Greek and identified *malifragra* as Latin, although his interpretation of the latter was more intuitive than analytical. He considered *malifragra* reminiscent of *malum* and *flagrare* and suggested a sense of 'burning evil' (1903: 94). However, *mali* would be a genitive singular of neuter *malum* or masculine *malus* ['bad, wicked, evil'] (unless it is interpreted as an affix for compound formation), and *fragra* might intuitively be associated with the verb *fragro* ['to emit a smell'], giving a sense of 'stinker of the wicked one' or something similar.

Wünsch identified *ridun* and *leodrune* as Germanic words in the Latin text and explicated them. He links *ridun* to shaking as a connection to Saint Vitus, and he comments that *leodrune* exhibits an incongruity that *-eo-* rather than *-io-* in the first component of the compound would be a form from the eighth century while the final *-e* in the second component would be much younger (1903: 95). Wünsch's comments are expanded by (or perhaps originated in dialogue with) Friedrich Vogt (1903: 95–96), in an appendix to Wünsch's article. Vogt also discussed the appearance of *-eo-* rather than *-io-* as suggesting that the text had first been written down in the eighth century, although he equivocates over this, poring over the spelling in detail. More recently, Edith Marold has pointed out that *-eo-* would be consistent with an Old Frankish dialect (p.c., 23 November 2023). In this case, the assumption was that the words are from the better attested Germanic language, while an origin from Old Frankish would allow that the word was written much closer to the time of the containing manuscript. Vogt compares *leodrune* to *haliurunnae*, used for sorceresses in Jordanes' history, and its Old English counterpart *hellerune*, glossing *pythonissa* ['seeress', 'sorceress'], and concludes that *leodrune* in this charm was also a word for sorceress (*loc. cit.*). In medieval Christian discourse, words for 'sorceress, witch' often blur with words for other types of hostile and dangerous female supernatural agents. Vogt's interpretation of *leodrune* is thus semantically fitted to Wünsch's interpretation of Text 2 as names of fever demons. This interpretation later rose to dominance through the work of Heinrich Wesche, who is commonly cited in discussions of *leodrune*, and whose interest was in Old Germanic vocabulary rather than in charms (1940: 50–51).

Wünsch also commented on the remaining words. He stated that he saw no connection between any of them and either Classical or 'Oriental' languages, "trotzdem einige formeln einen völlig hebräische klang haben" (1903: 94) ['despite some formulae having a fully Hebrew ring']. This remark connects with Versnel's observation that names ending *-el* and *-oth* are linked to Hebrew or Jewish models (2002: 114). Thus, *gahel* and perhaps *gail* resonate with *Michael*, *Gabriel*, and similar names. On this background, *tililot* and perhaps *tigloit* resonate with names like *Sabaoth* (a name of God), where the final *-t* rather than *-th* may reflect phonological interference from the names' circulation in an Old High German or similar language area. In this light, it is noteworthy that *beronice* and *berinice* have a feminine name ending resembling Greek *-η* (*Φερονίκη*) rather than Latin *-a*, while *leodrune* has the same ending although as a contemporary Old Germanic feminine, and thus linguistically other from Latin, like those in *-el*/*-il* and *-ot(h)*/*-oit(h)*. Final *-e* is also in *depotange*, however it might be interpreted, which makes *malifragra* stand out as the only one of the ten words that would seem to be Latin. The context presents the alternative explanation that *malifragra* also indexed linguistic otherness, and that *-agra* is a pseudo-Greek ending used in naming supernatural actors.[19] Although if read with fluency in Latin, *malifragra* could easily sound like 'stinker of the wicked one' or something similar as a designation for a female agent, the ending *-agra* may belong to the repertoire of word endings used to index otherness from Latin.

Ferdinand Ohrt was sceptical about Wünsch's interpretation for precisely the point that Wünsch considered inexplicable. Ohrt's comment on the name Veronica opening Text 2 is in the context of his discussion of name variation in examples of a Seven Sisters charm, which is characterized by listing seven names of female agents of fever or illness to be expelled (1925: 38–40). Ohrt considered it improbable that 'Veronica' would open a list of demon names (1925: 40n. 4). His concern is rooted in an observation that lacked an analytical articulation at the time. Although names in charms may replace each other in transmission (Versnel 2002: 118), more commonly engaged names become regularly identified with particular supernatural actors, who become characterized through their alignment with or opposition to human societies (Frog 2021d: 23–26). Consequently, the name of the Virgin Mary may alternate with other names in verbal charms, but that variation can be predicted to regularly fill positions aligned with human society rather than opposed to it. Cases may occur in which the

Virgin Mary is named as an agent of illness or harm, positioning her as the adversary of the healer in the charm (e.g. Mastrangelo 2023: 66, 71, 75.n.8). However, such a case immediately raises the question of *why* this has occurred, whether it is simply an accident of someone saying the wrong name or there are complexities of religious history in its background (Frog 2021d: 30–33). Ohrt proposed instead that Veronica's name and perhaps some of the words that follow it were simply *voces mysticae*, infused with positive power (1925: 40n. 4). Revising the interpretation of the opening words of Text 2 interrupts the syntax of Wesche's vocative series and raises the question of how naming the positive agent Saint Veronica relates to naming apparently negative agents like *malifragra*, or how *voces mysticae* with a positive semantic prosody relate to those which seem to have a negative prosody.

The predominant trend has been to read the sequence as a vocative address as a continuation of the preceding clause. Schulz notes Ohrt's scepticism, but she does not take an explicit stance toward it. A list of names to expel fever suggests a Seven Sisters charm, yet the list in Text 2 is of ten names or words along with conjunctions. Schulz connects with Wünsch's suggestion that *Beronice birinice* should be read as a *hocus-pocus* type unit. She observes that, if *gahel & gail* and *tigloit tililot* are also each read as a single unit, the list is of seven rather than ten demons, and this would align the text with a Seven Sisters charm (2003: 109n. 423). A challenge to this interpretation is that *gahel* and *gail* are separated by a conjunction: the construction appears inconsistent with the proposal, suggesting instead that these were interpreted as separate names in the series. Of course, 'and' could have been introduced into the charm at some point in the course of the transmission of the written text, but this requires the introduction of a variation that disrupts the principle of there being seven names. Schulz's observation offers a way to explain why the text presents ten names where seven are predicted, but it does not seem accurate to how the names or words were understood in the preserved text, nor does it explain why three of seven names would 'originally' have been reduplicated in this way.

A. A. Barb brought the three opening words of Text 2 into comparison with a corresponding series of words in the Old English *Wiþ ælfsogoþan* ['against elf-sickness'] (1948: 42n. 4). Barb's concern was accounting for the appearance of Veronica's name outside of the expected domain of her agency linked to blood charms in Old English. This led to an idea that her name had shifted into a *vox mystica* of positive valence like that proposed by Ohrt (Storms 1948: 56). The Old English comparanda add

a dimension to Ohrt's concern and the question of a combination of a naming of Saint Veronica followed by potential names of fever demons.

OLD ENGLISH COMPARANDA

Among the instructions of *Wiþ ælfsogoþan* is the direction (given in Old English) to write out the following text, characterized by a variety of languaging:

> Scriptum est rex regum et dominus dominantium. byrnice. beronice. lurlure. iehe. aius. aius. aius. Sanctus. Sanctus. Sanctus. Dominus Deus Sabaoth. Amen. Alleluiah. (Storms 1948: 226–227)
>
> In the Scriptures is written: king of kings and lord of lords. *byrnice. beronice. lurlure. iehe. aius. aius. aius.* Holy. Holy. Holy. The Lord God, Sabaoth. Amen. Hallelujah.

G. Storms considers *byrnice*, *beronice* likely to reflect the name of Saint Veronica, although he also feels that "her very name became a word of power" (Storms 1948: 56). He considers *aius* likely to reflect Greek *ἅγιος* ['sacred, holy'], while he is more sceptical of a proposal that *iehe* reflects the letters I A O as a name of Yahweh; he knows no explanation for *lurlure* (1948: 233). Although words like *amen* may not be saliently perceived as belonging to one language or another, the three-fold repetition of Greek-based *aius* is followed immediately by the semantically equivalent three-fold repetition of Latin *sanctus* in interlingual semantic parallelism. These threefold repetitions are the opening words of the hymn called the *Sanctus* as it is known in each language. Although this presents the possibility that it is intended as a prompt for the performance of the whole hymn, like naming the *Pater noster* (cf. Quinn 1997), the punctuation between the words seems to speak against each set of three words being a title-like unit of utterance. That the words are given in both languages consecutively nevertheless makes parallelism salient, whether intended only between the written words or between two texts the words are intended to signify metonymically.

This charm of *Wiþ ælfsogoþan* and Text 2 exhibit several noteworthy parallels:

> Neither is a blood charm – i.e. the customary context in which Veronica is named

> Both pair *beronice* with a counterpart constituted of the same consonants and a different but similar stressed vowel and a variation or elision of the second vowel: *birinice* / *byrnice*
>
> The paired names are followed by a semantically opaque word with rhyme-repetition of the first syllable and differing only by the onset consonant and presence or absence of a final vowel *turlur* / *lurlure*
>
> *Beronice* and its phonically similar counterpart introduce a change in punctuation that contrasts with preceding and following clauses or phrases (noting the contrast in the *Wiþ ælfsogoþan* charm both with the two noun phrases in the preceding sentence and with the series of three designations for the Christian God following it)

The word in phonic parallelism and the following *C-urlur-(e)* word are too idiosyncratic to spontaneously occur independently as a three-word sequence. Although neither is used in a blood-charm context, the charms are intended for different media (speech, writing) and they seem to have contextually different positions in the charms. Text 2 situates these words between a banishment command and what appear to be designations of malevolent beings, whereas the *Wiþ ælfsogoþan* charm situates the same sequence amid what seem to be invocations of the Christian God. The variation points to the three-word sequence being handled as some sort of a formula, and that the formula was adapted across contexts.

Karl Farrugia (p.c., 24 November 2023) observes that phonically counterpart names are found elsewhere in medieval Latin mystical texts, such as the *Liber Iuratus Honorii*.[20] However, Text 2 exhibits six of ten words or names as having phonically connected counterparts. The ratio of those with such counterparts to those without is thus 3:2, whereas the highest ratio I noticed in the *Liber Iuratus Honorii* was around 1:3. Indeed, Versnel discusses the use and poetic production of phonically similar vocabulary in ancient and medieval charms (2002: 130–135), but it is noteworthy that he does not connect this with names, despite the tendency for *voces mysticae* to be interpreted as names. In contrast, this device with names is commonplace in Old Germanic poetries (Matyushina 2011; Frog 2022d: 86–87). For example, in the first strophe of the list of names of *dvergar* ['dwarfs'] in the Old Norse *Vǫluspá*, this is found for ten of the sixteen names or a ratio of 5:3.[21] Although that density gradually drops to below 1:1 across the six strophes of the list in *Vǫluspá*, the

organization and production of phonically counterpart names was an integrated feature of the Old Germanic poetic system as it was not in medieval Latin.

An additional, if less clear variant is found in the Old English *Wiþ lenctenadle* ['against (some sort of) fever']. The complexity of the instructions is similar to those in Clm 18956, fol. 77v. Relevant for comparison is a Latin text that appears intended to be spoken:

> In nomine domini sit benedictum. Beronica Beronicen. et habet in vestimento et in femore suo. scriptum rex regum et dominus dominantium.
>
> (Storms 1948: 270)

> In the name of the Lord, be blessed. *Beronica*, *Beronicen*, and on his garment and on his thigh [s/he] has written king of kings and lord of lords.
>
> (Adapted from Storms 1948: 271)

The instructions continue with another prayer of *In nomine domini sit benedictum* ['In the name of the Lord, be blessed'], followed by an obscure sequence of runes, and then state that three words in Greek letters must be written and placed on the patient's(?) right breast: *Hammanyel*. *Bronice*. *Noyertayeg*.

The use of phonic parallelism is distinct from direct repetition, which can also be found with Veronica's name, for instance in a blood charm (Ernst 2011: 145). Like the text of Clm 18956, 77v, *Wiþ lenctenadle* is meant to heal a fever illness. Within a complex series of distinct short texts, the name of Veronica again appears accompanied by a phonically near-identical counterpart, although this time variation is limited to the last syllable. If lack of the *-e-* is not a writing error in the Greek letters that must be written, a third form of the name, *bronice*, appears near the conclusion of the ritual alongside the biblical name *Emanuel* and a third string of letters that was presumably also interpreted as a name. If this is correct, it would support the interpretation of *Beronica Beronicen* as parallel names for the same agent, in line with the suggestion of Wünsch for Clm 18956's Text 2 (1903: 94; also Schulz 2003: 109n. 423).

The name *Beronica* and its counterpart are here immediately followed by a quotation of the Vulgate Revelation [3 Ioannis] 19:16. The combination of this quotation with the naming pair brings into focus the *Wiþ ælfsogoþan* charm's *Scriptum est rex regum et dominus dominantium* ['In the Scripture is written king of kings and lord of lords'],

revealing it to be a paraphrase of the same biblical passage. The biblical passage's relevance may have been included for its associations with an angel of the apocalypse as an adversary of (fever) demons combatted with the charm. Alternately, the legend of Veronica centers on her touching the garment of Jesus and being healed of excessive blood flow (e.g. Mark 5: 25–34). In addition, the instructions of *Wiþ ælfsogoþan* are to make a written text amulet, which may constitute an additional dimension of referentiality.

The co-occurrence *beronice*, a phonic parallel, and the quotation of Revelation 19:16 points to a connection between *Wiþ ælfsogoþan* and *Wiþ lenctenadle*. That the reduplication of *beoncice* in *Wiþ lenctenadle* is not based on the same principle as in *Wiþ ælfsogoþan* and Clm 18956, fol. 77v's Text 2 makes it seem most likely that the relationship is not bound to the copying of written texts. The difference is thus probably linked to writing from personal knowledge and memory at some point in the text's transmission. It may therefore reflect the oral circulation of the knowledge presented. The combination of elements supports the identification of *Beronica Beronicen* as a variation of the *beronice* formula, although it does not include a counterpart of *turlur*/*lurlure*.[22]

The Old English examples clearly group more tightly together than with the text of Clm 18956, and a total of three examples is an extremely limited basis on which to make any generalizations. However, acknowledging that any observations are necessarily dependent on the representativeness of that data, all three texts situate the formula as belonging to non-Germanic-language charms: it appears to have belonged to Christian discourse in Latin, comparable to words like *alpha*, *omega*, *amen*, *aius*, and so on. It also seems to be linked to fever-type illnesses rather than to blood-stopping, with which Veronica is commonly associated. The Old English examples suggest that Veronica or the *voces mysticae* have a positive valence, linked to support for the performer or patient. The formula exhibits formal variation: in *Wiþ lenctenadle*, it appears truncated and the phonic parallelism has a different basis than in the other examples; in *Wiþ ælfsogoþan*, *byrnice* precedes *beronice* and might be interpreted as an epithet. On this backdrop, the difference between *turlur* and *lurlur-* seems more likely related to these variations than to be a scribal error of 'l' for 't' or vice versa. If it is not accidental that the non-truncated examples regularly punctuate between the words of the formula and the words that follow in a stretch of text, this would show a strong connection to writing.

This connection could reflect that the healing knowledge in question was predominantly circulated through written copies. However, the variation in the evidence suggests a much more fluid movement of the knowledge from writing to people and back again, which may have occurred as scribal performances directly in the copying process. The latter possibility would reflect writing out what one knows in the place of what is found in a written exemplar, whether as a conscious intervention or owing to a confidence in one's own knowledge superseding the more time-consuming process of reading phrases, clauses, or sentences from the exemplar and writing them out more exactly. Finally, the positive valence of the formula in Old English, the recognizability of *beronice* as the name of Saint Veronica, and the probability that the formula circulated as an instrument in the healing of fever-type illnesses all underscore Ohrt's concern that Veronica's name seems unlikely to be the first in a list of fever-demon names.

POETICS

The evidence of poetic principles motivating the irruption (or apparent irruption) of *ridun* in a Latin text raises the question of the potential role of poetics in structuring Text 2. The operation of poetic principles is immediately apparent in the density of adjacent paired words that have identical onsets and endings producing phonic parallelism:

beronice	*birinice*
gahel	*gail*
tigliot	*tililot*

Turlur/lurlure may also be mentioned here as similarly structured, whether it is read as a reduplication of syllables within a word or as two words that have been read as one owing to spacing and punctuation in the manuscript.

When the question of poetics is brought into focus, the punctuation of the passages can also be viewed in that light, since medieval punctuation was commonly used as an aid for prosody in reading rather than marking syntactic structures as today (Scholes & Willis 1990). It was common for poetry in vernacular languages to be written out as continuous text like prose, in which case punctuation could be used at the level of line groups, lines, or metrical feet (e.g. O'Keeffe 1990; Doane 1994; see also Frog forthcoming). The punctuation of Text 2 thus appears to indicate a difference in the rhythm of this text from what precedes and

follows it. This shift in rhythm at the level of punctuation may thus be a marker of an irruption within the charm. The same type of shift is observed through the punctuation in *Wiþ ælfsogoþan*, where it seems to reflect an irruption of a word-based rhythm that exhibits a clear parallel structure in its three-fold repetitions of *aius* and *sanctus*, while *byrnice* and *beronice* also saliently form a phonically parallel pair. This makes it reasonable to consider whether *lurlure* and *iehe*, occurring between these, were organized with these in a poetically structured way:

byrnice.	beronice.	lurlure.	iehe.
aius.	aius.	aius.	
Sanctus.	Sanctus.	Sanctus.	
byrnice.	*beronice.*	*lurlure.*	*iehe.*
ἅγιος.	*ἅγιος.*	*ἅγιος.*	
Holy.	Holy.	Holy.	

The three-part structure makes it interesting to consider whether *iehe* was, by some at least, interpreted as representing I A O for the name Yahweh, or intended to be pronounced with such a three-part structure:

byrnice.	beronice.	lurlure.
i-	-e-	-he.
aius.	aius.	aius.
Sanctus.	Sanctus.	Sanctus.
byrnice.	*beronice.*	*lurlure.*
Y-	-ah-	-weh.
ἅγιος.	*ἅγιος.*	*ἅγιος.*
Holy.	Holy.	Holy.

The possibility is purely conjectural: there is no indication in the writing of the text that *iehe* should be pronounced differently than any other word. Speculations about I A O as an 'original' form that 'evolved' (to take a more neutral term than 'corrupted') in oral, aural, and/or written transmission could create a narrative about how I A O became *iehe*. However, such speculations could offer no grounds for thinking that I A O was the earlier form beyond an assumption that *iehe* must have been, from the perspective of modernity's dominant text ideology, a meaningful unit suited to the context. Nevertheless, the example is

good to think with because poetic structuring principles have received little consideration in the study of such texts. Here, if *i-e-he* was pronounced as three units rather than one, the sequence would have had a quatrain-type structure of four lines of three units each. The salient semantic parallelism in the final two lines would be anticipated already in the rhythms of the preceding two lines, raising the question of whether *byrnice*, *beronice*, *lurlure* is also in parallelism with 'holy, holy, holy', for instance as three names of supernatural agents, followed by a three-element name of god.

Bringing poetics into focus draws attention to the first group of lexical items exhibiting masculine rhyme in *-e* and those that follow in *-us*. Following this line of interpretation, final vowel on *lurlure*, in contrast to *turlur* in of Clm 18956, could be motivated by the interpretation as a name, making it rhyme with *byrnice* and *beronice* on analogy and thereby phonically reinforcing their belongingness to a group, as in the names of the Seven Sisters charm rhyming in *-kb* / *-(k)cb* above. Of course, if *iehe* was not to be pronounced as three units, the four elements *byrnice*, *beronice*, *lurlure*, and *iehe* remain linked by masculine rhyme, in contrast to the three-fold repetitions that follow. Because the phonic connection between *byrnice* and *beronice* leads them to be received as parts of a parallel group, more closely connected to each other than to what follows, *lurlure* and *iehe* may have been considered as forming a counterpart line to them commensurate to the two lines that follow:

byrnice.	beronice.	
lurlure.	iehe.	
aius.	aius.	aius.
Sanctus.	Sanctus.	Sanctus.
byrnice.	beronice.	
lurlure.	iehe.	
ἅγιος.	*ἅγιος.*	*ἅγιος.*
Holy.	Holy.	Holy.

Although the organization of the elements remains unclear, this sequence is intended to be spoken, which would make an associated rhythm salient. The discussion above suggests that *byrnice*, *beronice* and its counterpart *beronice*, *berinice* in Text 2 are rooted in a tradition of Old Germanic verbal art. In combination with the salient parallel-

ism in the sequence, this supports the probability that the languaging of this sequence, intended for oral performance, was understood as having some sort of structurally organized (i.e. poetic) rhythm. In this respect, the verbal charm may be contrasted with many other mystical and ritual medieval texts that were rooted mostly or entirely in writing culture, like those in the *Liber Iuratus Honorii*. Such texts in writing culture also employ *voces mysticae*, parallelism, and repetition, yet they seem to assume recital directly from the written medium rather than formulating utterances into rhythms for oral recital – some sort of 'lines' – or arranging lists of names or obscure words in ways that facilitate remembering them. Accordingly, it remains useful to consider the rhythms of this charm even if it remains uncertain how *lurlure*, *iehe* fits into them.

In Clm 18956's Text 2, the punctuation suggests that the orthographic words were generally correlated with units of utterance. The exception is the conjunction 'and': whether it was intended to be uttered in Latin or Germanic, the conjunction was treated as part of the same utterance as the following word. In Old Germanic verse, conjunctions could be written without a space before the following word, although I am not aware of any examples of a conjunction being written as appended to the preceding but not the following word, despite some modern interpretations of the relationship of meter to rhythm.[23] The placement of the conjunctions relative to punctuation in Text 2 would be consistent with this.

In this case, the units of utterance exhibit three pairs linked through phonic parallelism, each with words of two to three syllables, while the fifth and tenth obscure words each have a four-syllable rhythm. Also, the endings of the four-syllable words, in the light of the parallel words between them, are phonically similar enough to produce resonance between them, reinforcing a sense of relation (i.e. *-agCV* and *-aCgV*, in which the consonants are a liquid and a nasal: *-agra* and *-ange*). Thus, there is an opening phonic pair followed by *turlur leodrune* and the first longer word, and then two phonic pairs and the second longer word. A rhythmic structure thus becomes apparent that also brings into focus the asymmetry of *turlur leodrune*:

beronice birinice turlur leodrune
et malifragra
et gahel et gail tigloit tililot
depotange

Although *turlur* and *leodrune* are not phonically parallel *per se*, they are connected by consonance on /r/ and /l/. The form *turlur* rather than a form **lurlur* commensurate with what is found in the Old English text may warrant comment here. In *leodrune*, /l/ and /r/ are the onsets of stressed syllables that would be capable of carrying Germanic alliteration rather than merely resonating with sounds in other positions in a co-occurring word. It seems doubtful that the same would be true of *-lur* in *turlur*, whereas **lurlur* would have made the pair alliterate according to Old Germanic poetics. Conversely *turlur* would create a connection with the alliteration of its structural counterpart, or *leodrune* would have, if *tigloit* and *tililot* had stress on the second or final syllable. In either case, the whole sequence is dense with consonance.

The difficulty of evaluating metrical and rhythmic principles behind this sequence of words is a lack of frames of reference. Consequently, it is difficult to assess whether a potential rhythmic or metrical structure would reflect the creativity of a writer or copyist, of a medieval reader, or only of a researcher. Nevertheless, the prominent use of phonic parallelism illustrates that poetic principles were operating, and the organization of utterances with parallelism was also apparent in the discussion of *ridun* above. The three sets of phonically parallel terms and syllabic equivalence of the fifth and tenth words suggest some sort of rhythmic structuring of the sequence in two parallel series of three units. Put simply: poetic principles seem to organize the sequence, even though these are not very clear, and thus Text 2 may be an irruption of poetic form, even if that form is not marked as Germanic.

TURLUR, LURLURE, SYNTAX, AND SENSE

Ohrt's concern that 'Veronica' would not open a list of demon names (1925: 40n. 4) concerns the stance-taking toward the Christian society that is commonly attributed to the respective supernatural agents (Frog 2021d: 25–26). Within the dominant ontology of medieval Christianity, Veronica was a venerated and benevolent supernatural agent aligned with Christians and their societies. Whatever the precise sense of *malifragra*, the element *mali-* is saliently identifiable with *malus* ['bad, wicked, evil'], which is defined through opposition to the human, Christian society, with which Veronica is aligned. Simply put: Veronica and *malifragra* are fundamentally opposed, and thus something must by occurring syntactically in Text 2 that gives meaning to naming them together. Any considerations of that significance must remain conjec-

tural, yet in a case where obscure foreign words or *voces mysticae* form an extended utterance, it is reasonable to consider that the people who wrote, perhaps copied, and also used such utterances also considered them meaningful and may have interpreted them as complex. Simply classing the words as *voces mysticae* without acknowledging the potential for interpretations dismisses and marginalizes what may have been an important dimension of engagements with this stretch of text by users.

When approaching Text 2, *beronice* is here assumed to be recognizable as the name of the positive and supernaturally supporting agent Veronica. In the light of the discussion of poetics above, *birinice* seems likely to belong syntactically with *beronice*, whether *birinice* would be interpreted as a second agent, alternative name of Veronica, or an epithet. *Turlur* is obscure. Before continuing, it is necessary to consider the semantics of *leodrune*, which would presumably be interpretable in a Germanic language area, in more detail.

Leodrune may be interpreted with other Old Germanic compounds for some sort of sorceress, referred to as threatening or hazardous in Christian discourse already in the sixth century (Jordanes, *Getica* XXIV.121). Such compounds are well attested in Old English as referring to monstrous and threatening female supernatural beings (DOE, *s.vv.* 'burh-rūne, burh-rūnan', 'hago-rūn, heah-rūn', 'hell-rūne, helle-rūne', 'hell-rūn', 'hell-rȳnig'). However, an Old English word *leodrune* [literally 'song-rune' or 'tribe-rune'] is also attested and has been interpreted as an agentive noun meaning 'witch, wise woman' (BT, *s.v.* 'leōd-rūne'), but it is found only in a single healing text where it is used in parallel with *ælfsiden* ['elf-sorcery'], and thus seems to refer to 'song-sorcery' rather than to the performer (Page 1964: 20–21). Moreover, a variant form of the Old English word, *leoðorune*, appears in poetry with a positive significance, meaning 'sung mythic knowledge', 'sung Christian mysteries', or perhaps 'sung (secret) council' (*Elene* 522b; see Hall 2007: 124 and works there cited). Although it seems more probable that *leodrune* originates from a more recent Old Frankish dialect than from a very early dialect of Old High German, the appearance of the roughly contemporary formula in Old English raises the question of whether the charm formula spread to the continent from the Old English language area. The textual form of *leodrune* is identical to its Old English counterpart, which leaves it an open question whether this word would have referred to a dangerous female supernatural agent or potentially positive 'song-sorcery'.

When considering the potential syntax of Text 2, the question of word order is crucial. If the word order is interpreted as SOV as in Latin, then *beronice* and *berinice* and perhaps *turlur* are the grammatical subject, *leodrune & malifragra & gahel & gail* and perhaps *tigloit* and *tililot* are the grammatical object, and *depotange* would be the verb. If the word order is conceived as SVO, as in continental Germanic at the time, *beronice birinice* would be the grammatical subject and *turlur* as a (presumably imperative) verb: 'Veronica$_1$, Veronica$_2$, VERB *leodrune* and *malifragra* and *gahel* and *gail*….'. The conjunction 'and' suggests that *leodrune* and *malifragra* belong to a single category that Veronica acts against, and thus *leodrune* is a word for 'witch' or other hostile female supernatural agent rather than referring to songs or knowledge that Veronica is invoked to use against *malifragra* and other things. Following this interpretation, Clm 18956's Text 2, may be read as following *beronice birinice turlur* with a "Seven Sisters" series of demon names:

SUBJECT	VERB	OBJECT
Beronice		
birinice	turlur	leodrune
		& malifragra
		& gahel
		& gail
		tigloit
		tililot
		depetonge

Syntactically, the final three words of Text 2 are not linked in the series by conjunctions, which might indicate that they do not belong to the same series of syntactically parallel words. If these words were interpreted as a second clause expressing a parallel action or repeating the expression of action through parallelism, the syntax would probably be interpreted as repeating with elision of the verb as, for example:

SUBJECT	VERB	OBJECT
Beronice		
birinice	turlur	leodrune
		& malifragra
		& gahel
		& gail
tigloit		
tililot		depetonge

However, if the name in *-el* indexes an angelic being analogous to *Gabriel* and *Michael*, then the first five obscure words are interpretable as one syntactic unit, while the second five are a parallel unit, in which *gahel* and *gail* would be parallel to *beronice* and *berinice*, *tigloit* is parallel to *turlur*, and *tililot* and *depotange* are parallel to *leodrune* and *malifragra* (unless the parallelism allows elision of the verb, in which case *tigloit* could also name an agent of harm). This would account for why the lexeme in *-ot(h)*, forming a pseudo-Hebrew name, does not come first – i.e. because *tigloit* is not conceived as a counterpart to *tililot* as a name, but rather as a verb, as:

	SUBJECT	VERB	OBJECT
	Beronice		
	birinice	turlur	leodrune
			& malifragra
&	gahel		
&	gail		
		tigloit	tililot
			depetonge

This interpretation matches syntactic units with poetic structure, but does not account for the absence of the conjunction before *depotange*, unless the omission of the conjunction is a chiastic structure echoing its absence between *beronice* and *berinice*. Whichever interpretation is preferred, rather than Text 2 being identified with any particular lexico-grammatical system, it may simply be saliently perceived as 'other' in ways that point in the direction of vocabulary associated with Christian religious language and associated supernatural agents and agency. Opening this extended sequence with 'Veronica' and continuing it with negative agents seems more likely than not to have been interpreted as involving syntax more complex than a simple list of names. Although the words may be etymologically opaque, they were interpretable as formulations with semantic sense no less than Greek and Hebrew. However, unlike individual words and names, like *alpha*, *omega*, *Emanuel*, and so on, which may have been recognized as foreign in etymology but more or less integrated into the register of charms, the *beronice* formula seems most likely to have remained an "'open-ended' performative utterance" (Versnel 2002: 147) that was marked as an irruption as a move into a different language for a stretch of text. Transpositions of languages in charms and Malinowski's "coef-

ficient of weirdness" (1936) have long been recognized. The point here is that linguistic alterity and weirdness do not exclude a "presumption of semioticity" (Lotman 1990: 128) that leads to sense-making of the strange through poetic organization and syntax. Consequently, the stretch of text distinguished here as Text 2 could be interpreted as meaningful while the meaning of words like *turlur* either remained obscure or were potentially learned with an interpretation, while being distinctive to that stretch of text and the language it represented.

CONCLUSIONS

The concepts of languaging and irruption have been introduced above in order to approach how languages are used in medieval charms, focusing on the case of the healing text added to Clm 18956, fol. 77v. The concept of languaging offers the advantage of avoiding implicit polarizations of differences between vocabulary and phraseology according to their etymological identification with particular languages as exclusive and inherently contrasted lexico-grammatical systems. Languaging offers an approach to vocabulary rooted in Greek, Hebrew, and potentially also other languages with an integrated position in Christian Latin-language charms. Rather than being necessarily marked as words from different lexico-grammatical systems, words that index different languages may be wholly integrated into the respective register (see also Foley 1996: 25– 37). Emblematic features associated with the words or names may also be used in the generation of new vocabulary, which may be considered Greek-like or Hebrew-like on the etymological basis of the particular features, yet were integrated into the register of Latin charms. The concept of irruption offers a complementary tool for discussing those features that emerge as marked by difference, whether they are formally driven, like the use of *ridun* for lexical variation in parallelism, or a complex open-ended performative utterance like Text 2. Text 2 is then used to illustrate the potential for such open-ended utterances to be syntactically complex, even if the referents or propositional semantics of individual words cannot be accessed by researchers today. Text 2 has a high "coefficient of weirdness" (Malinowski 1936), yet the preceding discussion shows how a semantic analysis of its elements can advance to a syntactic analysis to reveal the complexity of what may initially seem like 'nonsense' in the charm.

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NOTES

[1] Although *vox magica* ['magical utterance'] is more widely used in discussions of medieval charms today, following from a discussion with Karl Farrugia, I use *vox mystica* ['mystical utterance'], which was more in use at the beginning of the nineteenth century. *Vox mystica* avoids characterizing such words, names, and phrases as 'magical', which is not always accurate for many ritual contexts.

[2] Folklore was not initially distinguished as a concept, which took shape differently in different national scholarships (on which, see Frog 2022a).

[3] For an accessible introduction to the concept of language ideologies and its background, see Kroskrity 2001.

[4] E.g. G. Storms reviews many such interpretations in his edition of Old English healing texts (1948).

[5] Although I appreciate Leslie K. Arnovick's (2006) elevation of 'gibberish' as a term for analysis, her use references the derogatory connotations characteristic of earlier twentieth-century scholars' evaluative perspective, which I prefer to avoid.

[6] In Germanic philology, the push to interdisciplinarity seems to have reached a watershed around or just after 2000, where it most commonly took the form of disciplinary transposition – i.e. when a specialist takes theoretical and analytical frameworks, approaches, concepts, research questions, or primary source material from another discipline and applies it to the source materials that they customarily study.

[7] Arnovick's corpus is constituted of 463 Old English texts of which she identifies 111 as containing a verbal charm or incantation, and 37 of these as containing 'gibberish'.

[8] This development was stimulated and supported by the formation of the Charms, Charmers, and Charming (ChaChaCha) Committee of the International Society for Folk Narrative Research (ISFNR). The ChaChaCha has had meetings almost every year since 2003 as well as symposia within the ISFNR congresses, producing numerous volumes and establishing this journal, of which the first number appeared in 2011.

[9] Cf. *The Journal of Visual Verbal Languaging*, est. 1981; renamed *The Journal of Visual Literacy* in 1989.

[10] This approach does not exclude, for example, scripts or social identities being considered emblematic for a language, nor does it exclude gesture, facial expressions, kinesthetics, haptics, and so on as integrated in language as signifying behaviour.

[11] Following the work of John Laudun (2021), I find it problematic to define belief legends as narrative, which is not representative of a significant portion of texts identified with the category in archives, nor of many examples recorded in oral discourse.

[12] In Helsinki, for example, the tunnel from the metro station in Kaisaniemi to the university campus has an irregular surface that gives a cave-like impression and was for decades painted with petroglyph-type ornaments; in one place along the tunnel, in the same general style, was the figure of a man talking on a mobile phone transposed among these images often associated with the Stone Age in Finland. Whatever one's opinion about the aesthetics of this juxtaposition, it appeared as a salient irruption amid the image repertoire otherwise characterized by 'ancientness'.

[13] For example, the transposition of one burial type into a cemetery characterized by another (e.g. Wessman et al. 2024) can be approached as an irruption.

[14] In research on Late-Iron-Age and medieval Scandinavia, for example, this is found for a distinctive type of sorcery (*seiðr*), ritual specialists (e.g. *vǫlva*), and sometimes the expression for non-Christian religion (*forn síðr*), terms for poetic meters (or more properly poetic forms: e.g. *ljóðaháttr*) and poetic language (e.g. *heiti*), and so on. Many researchers extend practices to uses of the vernacular word rather than the established English loan (e.g. *berserkr* versus berserk) and the spellings of proper nouns without marking linguistic otherness through italic font (e.g. Óðinn versus Odin, Valhǫll versus Valhalla).

[15] In Finnish and Karelian legends, the speech attributed to supernatural beings may be opaque, use alternative nouns (comparable to circumlocutions in laments, above), or use an incongruous register (Jauhiainen 1998: types D1701, D1831, [D1841], H191, M22, M86).

[16] On this process of remembering during the course of performance, see Frog 2022c: 196–200.

[17] On the relevance of these saints to the charm, see Schulz (2000: 354n.1201); on the possibility of semantic play behind the choice of names, see Wünsch (1903: 93).

[18] Wünsch proposes a direct connection between this word's semantics of trembling or shaking and the invocation of Saint Vitus (1903: 95), although the semantics do not account for why an Old Germanic rather than a Latin word is used.

[19] In the Greek magical papyri: *Akeobasagra*, *Ezagra*, *Obazagra*, *Orborazagra*, *Oreobazagra*, *Phorphorbarzagra*, *Zagra* (Betz 1986: 30, 32, 77, 90, 99, 148, 164, 237, 246, 256, 273, 299, 308).

[20] Paging through the *Liber Iuratus Honorii*, I observe examples like:

– *Raphael, Caphael* (Hedegard 2002: 118 [*Cafhael*], 120, 121, 124, 140; *Raphael* appears alone in the same list on 120, 121, 124, 140)

– *Nassar, Naas(s)a* (Hedegard 2002: 118, 128, 132 [four examples], 133 [two examples]; in the same list as *Nassar, Cynassa* on 118, 128; the latter pair alone on 134 [three examples], 135 [five examples], 138)

– *Libarre, Libares* (Hedegard 2002: 132)

– *Michael, Miel* (Hedegard 2002: 120, 121, [with ⁊ between them], 124; *Mychael, Myel* on 118, 140; appearing with *Michael, Samyel* in the same list on 120, 121, 124, 140)

– *Guth, Maguth, Gutrhyn* (Hedegard 2002: 117, 128, 134 [three examples], 135 [three examples], 138)

[21] Without considering manuscript variants and simply quoting a common edition: *Nýi oc Niði, Norðri oc Suðri, / Austri oc Vestri, Alþiófr, Dvalinn, / Bívǫrr, Bávǫrr, Bǫmburr, Nóri, / Án oc Ánarr, Ái, Mioðvitnir*; if *Nýi* : *Niði* are not counted, the ratio drops to 1:1; if, instead, *Bǫmburr* is considered phonically linked to the preceding pair (*bVC(C)Vrr*), the ratio rises to 11:7.

[22] When reading the text that precedes the one including the *beronice* formula, the obscure words *tiecon leleloth* (see Storms 1948: 270) struck me as having a potential resonance with *turlur*/*lurlure*, but the initial *t-* is only found in *turlur*, whereas the repetition of *-l-* is only in *lurlure*, and there is no counterpart to the *-ur-* rhyme.

[23] I have discussed this for an Old High German charm (Frog forthcoming), but I have observed it more generally in Old Norse eddic poetry.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AW = Althochdeutsches Wörterbuch (online). https://awb.saw-leipzig.de/?sigle=AWB&lemid=A00001

BT = Bosworth Toller's Anglo-Saxon Dictionary Online. https://bosworthtoller.com/

DOE = The Dictionary of Old English (online). https://tapor.library.utoronto.ca/doe/

SKVR = *Suomen Kansan Vanhat Runot* I–XV. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 1908–1997. Digital edition available at: http://skvr.fi/.

MANUSCRIPTS

Clm 18956. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 18956 (Teg. 956).

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