FROFOR TRANSLATING REFUGIUM AND PROTECTOR

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0. Introduction

An OE word *frofor* usually means ‘comfort, consolation;’ and the verb form of it *froferian* ‘to comfort.’ We may infer from this that the former must have been used to translate Latin nouns *consolatio*, *solatium* or *solamen*. According to F.P. Dutripon (1880) there are 28 instances of *consolatio* in the Vulgata Bible, of which we have only four in the OE translation: Gen. 37:35; Psal. 93:19; Luc. 2:25; 6:24. These are all glossed or translated with *frofor* except Luc. 6:24 in The Lindisfarne Gospels, which glosses it with *frofernis*, while The Rushworth Gospels omits this passage. Seven instances of *solatium* in the Vulgata Bible have no corresponding passages in the OE Bible; nor does *solamen* appear in it.

While there is only one instance of *frofor* in Psal. as an equivalent of *consolatio*, the word is used more often to gloss *refugium* ‘refuge,’ and, though only in PsK, *Protector* as in 1 and 2:

1. PsD. 45:2 ure frofr 7 maþen þefylsta on þeswincum þa þemeton us swiþe (Deus nostor refugium et virtus; Adiutor in tribulationibus quae invenerunt nos nimir.

2. PsK. 17:31 god min vnwemme weg his spæc drihtenes fyr amerede frofer is callan hihtende on hine (Deus meus, impolluta via eius, eloquia Domini igne examinata, protector est omnium sperantium in se.)

We will examine the usage and characteristics of *frofor* as it appears in the OE Psalters as an equivalent of Latin *refugium* and *Protector* in the following sections.

1. FROFOR for Refugium

*Refugium* appears 14 times in The Psalter; the glosses to it are shown on Table 1 and the instances below it:
TABLE 1
OE EQUIVALENTS OF REFUGIUM

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>gebeorg</th>
<th>frofor</th>
<th>(ge)scild</th>
<th>(ge)ner</th>
<th>others</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PsA</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PsB</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PsC</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PsD</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PsE</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PsF</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PsG</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PsH</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PsI</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PsJ</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PsK</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.1 Ps 9:10 Et factus est Dominus refugium pauperi; adiutor in opportunitatibus, in tribulatione.

3.2 PsA 7 geworden is dryhten geberg ðearfena fultum in gelimplicnissum in geswencednisse.

3.3 PsD 3eworden rotsum 1. frofr ðearfana 3efylsta on 3erecum on 3eswince.

3.3 PsI 7 geworden is ner l. rotnes ðam ðearfan fultumiend on gedafenicnnessum on gedrefednyss.

3.4 PsK 7 gedon is drihten frofer ðerfan fylstend on 3eswince.

If the scribe tried to put literal glosses on refuge, gebeorg, (ge)ner and (ge)scild would be appropriate; Clark Hall (1894) gives them, respectively, the meanings of ‘protection, defence, refuge,’ ‘refuge, protection’ and ‘protection, defence.’ Generally as it appears, frofor does not seem very suitable. We will look at frofor in other works to see how it is used in OE before speculating on it in the Psalters.

Frofor is an ordinary word in OE; hundreds of its instances are found in A Microfiche Concordance to Old English. Some are cited below:
4. Beo 6 Syððan ærest weard/ feasceaf funden, he þæs fôfre gebad, weox under wolcnum, weordmyndum þah....

5. Rid 54 Fôfre ne wene, þæt me/ geoc cyne guðgewinnes, ær ic mid ældum eal forwurðe....

6. Bede 2. 2. 100.3 Wæs ærest læded to Bretta bispocum: & he nænge ne hælo ne fôfre þurh heora segnunge onfeng. (qui cum oblatus Brettonum sacerdotibus nil curationis uel sanationis horum ministerio perciperet....)

7. Mart 5 (Herzfel-Binz) 1141 [Ju10/A/2] Se wæs Cristes apostola discipul, forðæm his noma is gereah on leoden filius consolationis, ðæt is on ure gepeode fôfre sunu.

It is possible, but does not seem very appropriate, to translate the phrases above into ‘gebidan refuge’ in 4, ‘wenan refuge’ in 5 or ‘onfon refuge’ in 6; the word in 7 is simply a translation of consolatio.

Looking at the translation of Christian writings in A Microfiche Concordance, we find frofor as an equivalent of solacia and solamen as well as consolatio, but not of refugium except those instances in the OE Psalters:

8. HyGI 3 (Gneuss) 43.8 Getyða welwillendne fôfre mid singalam fulume & do us rixian mid ðe on heofonan æþrodene fram cwicsusle [Presta benignum solamen sedulo adiutorio, facque nos regnare tecum polo, raptos æe tartaro].

9. BenRgl 35.2 [Inbecillus autem procurantur solacia ut non cum tristitia hoc faciant, sed habeunt omnes solacia secundum modum congregationis aut positionem loci] þæm wæcmodum þe onfôscæawunge helpas mid unrotnessa þæt he na do ah hi habban ealle fôfras æafter gemete gegæðerunge oðde gesetnyssa stowe.

10. ÆGram 40. 13 ...solamen frofer....

Frofor was a word for the notion expressed by consolatio and the like, but the latter could be translated into other OE words depending on the context or the interpretation as in 9; this could have happened to other Latin words such as refugium.

All the instances of refugium that appear in Psalms, except one in 93:22, directly refer to God as in 3 and 11 below:
11. Ps 30:3 Inclina ad me aurem tuam, accelera ut eruas me. Est mihi in Deum protectorem, et in domum refugii, ut salvum me facias.

This and the OE counterpart, *frofor*, is used somewhat loosely with other epithets to God:


13. Lit 4.7(Sedgefiedl) 11 ...bu eart min sceoppend, & min alesend, min fultum, min frofer, min trewnes, & min tohopa....

Each of the epithets above does not seem to be strictly defined to represent a certain characteristic of God, but expresses simply what people expect of God. From this point of view *refuge* does not need to be clearly distinguished from *consolation* because one can find the latter in the former; that is, *refuge* can be partly identified with *consolation*.

2. **FROFOR FOR PROTECTOR**

*Protector* appears 17 times in PsA to PsE (Roman Psalter) and 19 times in PsF to PsK (Gallican Psalter); they are glossed as shown on Table 2 and instances below it:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 2</th>
<th>OE EQUIVALENTS OF PROTECTOR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(ge)scildend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PsA</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PsB</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PsC</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PsD</td>
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<td>PsG</td>
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<td>PsH</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PsI</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PsJ</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
14.1 Ps 17:19 Praevenunt me in die afflictionis meae; et factus est Dominus protector meus.

14.2 PsD hy forecomon on daæe ȝeswencednisse minre ȝewordon ȝescylidend min.

14.3 PsF hi forecomon me on daȝe geswencedynysse minre 7 geworden is drihten bewerigend min.

14.4 PsK hi forcoman me on daeg geswencednesse minre 7 gedon is frofer min.

Two agent nouns, (ge)scildend and beweriend, are right glosses for the word meaning ‘someone that protects,’ and (ge)scild, meaning ‘something that protects,’ would be good enough, too. But frofor, which is peculiar to PsK, does not directly relate to ‘protector.’\textsuperscript{10} We will think about the possibility that frofor could be an equivalent of protector.

As with the passages we mentioned of frofor ‘consolation’ in section 1, most of the passages with protector include other epithets of God and they seem to be simply enumerated in the praise of God, each being not strictly defined:


Therefore if the identification of frofor with part of refugium was possible as we have thought in Section 1, refugium, and next frofor, could have been influenced by protector. The merging of the meaning can be supported by OED, that has the meaning ‘one who, or that which, serves to give shelter, protection, aid, comfort, etc’ under ‘Refuge’ 2. This could have been the case with protector judging from the context though the first citation in OED is c. 1430.

Another factor would have been froforgtast, frofre gast and frofriend, which were equivalents of Holy Ghost, or Jesus as in 17:

15.1 Jn 14:26 Paraclitus autem Spiritus Sanctus, quem mittet Pater in nomine meo, ille vos docebit omnia, et suggeret vobis omnia quaecumque dixero vobis.
15.2 WSCP Se haliga frofre gast þe fæder sent on minum naman eow læð ealle þa þing þe ic eow sege;

15.3 AV But the Comforter, which is the Holy Ghost, whom the Father will send in my name, he shall teach you all things, and bring all things to your remembrance, whatsoever I have said unto you.

16. ÆHom 10 83 Se Halga Gast is gehaten Paraclitus on Greciscre spræce, and on Leden Consolator, þæt is Frefrigend....

17. HomS 40.2 (BHóm 9) 10 þa ealra fæmenna cwæn cende þone soþan Scyppend & ealles folces frefrend, & ealles middangeardes Hælend, & ealra gasta Nergend, & ealra sauła Helpend....

The instances above show that frofor gast was taken to be sent by God to comfort people; usually you have to protect someone before you comfort him. PsK’s scribe may have understood that frofor gast was one of the features of God and identified it with protector. Shortening of frofor gast to frofor can have been possible as a ‘straw hat’ can be shortend to a ‘straw.’

3. Conclusion

PsK’s scribe’s rendering of refugium into frofor is not suitable, and protector into frofor can be mistranslation. We do not know why he did so since he said nothing about it; we have only speculated how it was possible whatever his intention was.

Both consolatio and protector appear in the praise of or request for God with other epithets, with each not being clearly distinguished. Here refugium could have been synonymous with consolatio or frofor because having consolation usually presupposes being in refuge. An English word ‘refuge’ even came to have the meaning ‘someone that protects’ around 15 c.

The same could have been the case with protector following refugium: asking God for help includes for Him to be a protector. This process may have helped by the existence of frofor gast ‘Comforter.’ You may have to provide refuge before comforting, or providing refuge itself is comfort.
NOTES

1. The different versions of the OE glosses to the Psalter are abbreviated as PsA: the Vespasian Psalter; PsB: the Junius Psalter; PsC: the Cambridge Psalter; PsD: the Royal or Regius Psalter; PsE: Eadwine’s Canterbury Psalter; PsF: the Stowe or Spelman Psalter; PsG: the Vitellius Psalter; PsH: the Tiberius Psalter; PsI: the Lambeth Psalter; PsJ: the Arundel Psalter; PsK: the Salisbury Psalter.

Of these PsA to PsE are based on Psalterium Romanum (Roman Psalter) and PsF to PsK on Psalterium Gallicanum. Consolatio appears in 118:24 in the former, which is glossed with frofor in all the Psalters that are based on it. The latter has consilium instead, which is glossed with geþwaht in PsF, PsG, PsI and PsJ; PsH omits the passage and PsK has frofor.

2. They are: 9:10; 17:3; 30:3; 30:4; 31:7; 45:2; 58:17; 70:3; 89:1; 90:2; 90:9; 93:22; 103:18; 143:2.

3. They are: help, rotnesse, rottsung, tofleam, tohyht in PsD; friðstole, ge hyht, rotnesse, rotesung, geschildent in PsE; rotysse in PsF; friðstol, hef ſe in PsG; help, rotinis, tohith in PsH; rotex, soen in PsI; help in PsJ; help, rotnesse in PsK.

4. The totals differ from Psalter to Psalter because there are double or triple glosses and omissions in the MSS.

5. Another OE word meaning ‘refuge,’ hleo(w), does not appear in the OE Bible, though it is not rare in OE, used as below:

GenA,B 97 For þam halig god under rodæas feng, ricum mihtum, wolde þet him corde and uproder and sid wæter geseted wurðdgesceafte on wraþa wīeld, þara þe forhealdene of hleo sende.

6. All the citations Bosworth and Toller (1898) has for refugium under ‘frofor’ are from the Psalters; Toller and Campbell (1921) does not mention ‘refuge.’

7. The first solacia is translated into helps.

8. Roman Psalter has defensor in 26:1 and liberator 39:18 while Gallican Psalter has protector in both.

Six other instances are cited in Dutirop(1880): Gen 15:1; Eccli 2:13; 34:19; 51:2; Osee 4:18; 2Mace 8:36. Of these only the first one has an OE translation: weriend.

9. The others are: styhtend in PsD, PsG, PsH and PsJ; gescylded is in PsG; gescyldynes in PsI.

10. Although C. Sisam and K. Sisam talks about refugium being translated by frofor, they do not refer to protector.

Though there are three instances in Bede’s Historiam Ecclesiasticam Gentis Anglorum, they do not appear in the OE version.
REFERENCES


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