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Master thesis

In times of flood

Environmental Imagination in Odo of Châteauroux' (c. 1190–1273) "Sermo in processione facta propter inundationem aquarum"

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Abstract

In the 13th century, perhaps in the year 1233, a flood submerged Paris. In the wake of the flood, Odo of Châteauroux, master of theology at the University of Paris, held a sermon as part of a procession organized to protect the city and make the flood cease. This thesis is an analysis of the sermon, "Sermo in processione facta propter inundationem aquarum". The overarching aim of this thesis is to get a deeper insight into Odo's interpretations of the Parisian flood and to get a deeper understanding of how the environment and human-environmental relations were imagined and conveyed in the medieval period. Odo interprets the Parisian flood through biblical narratives. He draws on cultural contingent modes of explaining natural disasters—the divine-wrath mode and the eschatological mode—and interprets the flood both as a form of divine punishment directed toward the Parisian community and in light of salvation history. In the analysis, I bring in perspectives from environmental humanities. I argue that Odo's interpretations of the Parisian flood point to and negotiate between different environmental imaginaries of his time. The divine-wrath mode points to environmental imaginaries where humans are entirely intertwined with their non-human environment and seen as morally accountable for natural degeneration and natural disasters through their sinfulness. The eschatological mode brings in broader temporal and spatial scales in the conceptualization of the environment and human-environmental relations as the contemporary flood is conceptually linked to global, environmental events in the biblical past and future. By applying environmental humanities perspectives in historical studies, we can explore new sides of the past and catch sight of how conceptualizations of the environment and human-environmental relations are culturally contingent and historically changeable.

Preface

First of all, I want to sincerely thank my supervisor, Line Cecilie Engh. She has encouraged me to pursue my interest in medieval studies and Latin since my first year at the University of Oslo. Her enthusiasm and our discussions during the work with the thesis have been inspiring and motivating, and for this, I am tremendously grateful. I want to thank the EKUL-program, which made it possible for me to spend half a year on exchange at Utrecht University, where I could deepen my knowledge in Latin and paleography. I also want to thank Tor Ivar Østmoe for supervision related to the translation of the sermon here studied. I want to thank Kaia and Torfinn Tobiassens Fund for the travel grant which enabled me to travel to Arras Bibliothèque municipales and to thank Pascal Rideau, the keeper of manuscripts in Arras, for providing me access to the manuscript collection. I also want to thank The Norwegian Institute in Rome, for granting me a scholarship as visiting fellow. Here I presented some of my early work and was given feedback from the scholarly community at the institute which helped me develop my project further. I am grateful for all the lunch breaks with my fellow EKUL-students. Lastly, I want to thank Sveinung for our many discussions, and for his support and encouragement.

Taran Palmstrøm Fenn
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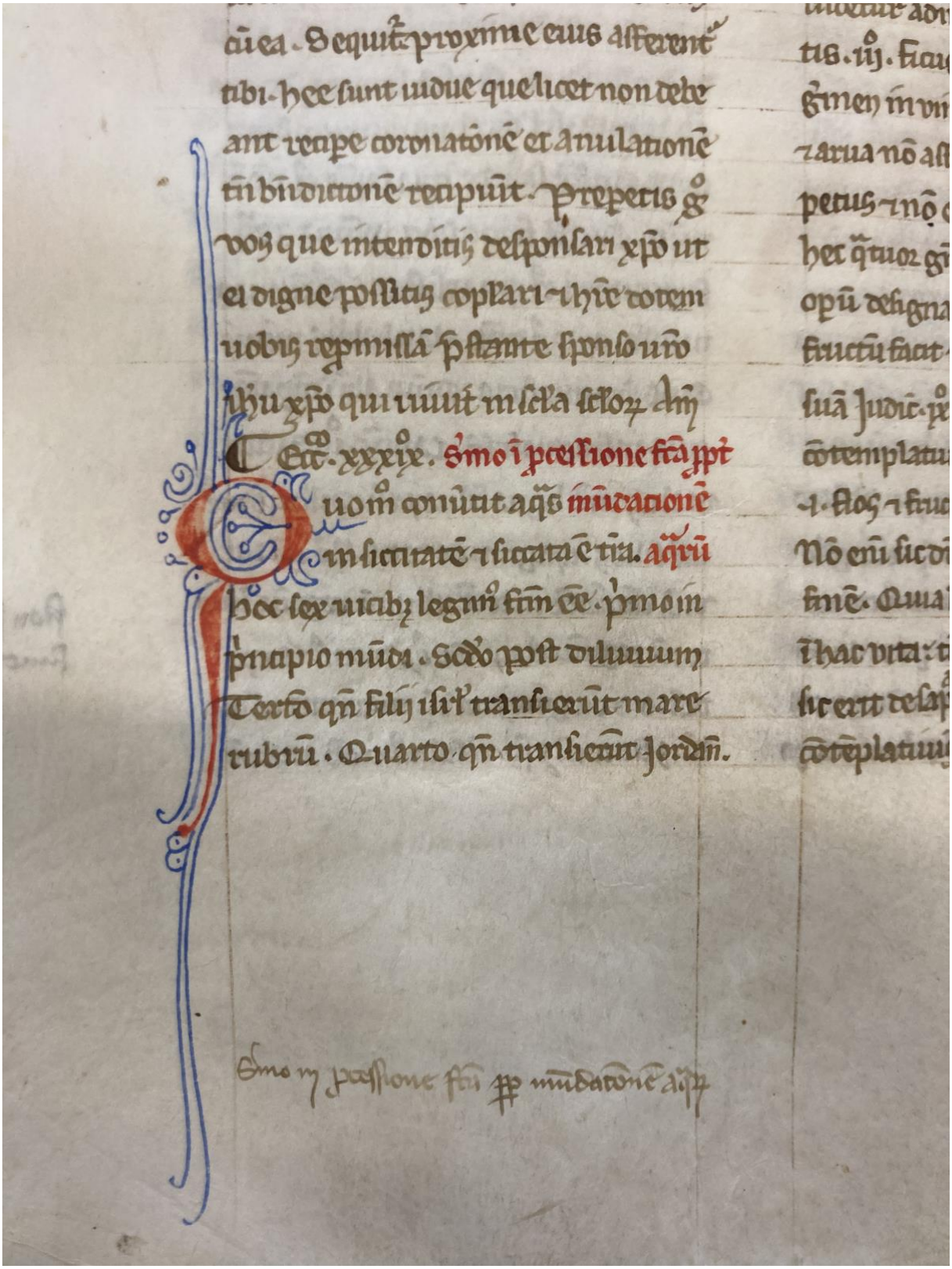

The picture shows the title of the sermon rubricated in red, “Sermo in processione facta propter inundationem aquarum”, the pen-flourished initial (Q) in red and blue penwork, and the first lines of the sermon in Arras, Bibliothèque municipales, MS 137 (olim 876) f. 78v. (Photo: Taran Palmstrøm Fenn)

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Chapter 1: Introduction

When I was about to finish this master's thesis, news about a great flood in the North of Italy reached Norwegian news media. Pictures of flooded landscapes, houses, roads, and fields covered in muddy floodwaters illustrated the reports. The Norwegian minister of climate and environment proclaimed that the catastrophic flood in Italy marked the beginning of the most dramatic climate summer in living memory. The flood in Italy was compared to repeated forest fires on the other side of the globe, in Alberta, Canada, and both events were seen in relation to the current climate crisis.[1] With a few sentences, the journalists and the climate minister had taken a local, environmental event in Italy, and placed it within a conceptual framework that was global in scale and pointed towards a catastrophic climate future. This thesis is not about our present climate predicament, but it is inspired by questions relating to it. The current environmental crisis has in the past decades made scholars turn to the past with new questions about how people of the past conceived of the environment and their relationship to it.

In this thesis, I study medieval conceptualizations of one particular natural event, a flood in Paris in the first half of the thirteenth century. Scholars within historical disaster studies emphasize that "natural hazards" become "disasters" when they are framed that way in light of politically, scientifically, and religiously contingent frameworks.[2] Natural events, such as a flood, are at once physical events and cultural phenomena. The focus of this thesis is how a natural event acquired cultural meaning. The conceptual frameworks that medieval people used to make sense of extreme natural events differ from modern conceptualizations. However, similar to the way in which the recent Italian flood was conceptualized, medieval conceptual frameworks created connections between local and global events; they created connections across time, and they reflected on humans' relationship to their natural environment.

Material

The primary source material for this thesis is a sermon that was delivered in Paris after the said flood had overflown the banks of the Seine. The sermon, "Sermo in processione facta

[1] Elster and Knežević, "Espen Barth Eide tror vi står overfor den mest dramatiske klimasommeren i manns minne".
[2] Spinks and Zika, "Introduction: Rethinking Disaster and Emotions, 1400–1700", 2; Kverndokk, *Naturkatastrofer: en kulturhistorie*, 20.

propter inundationem aquarum" ("Sermon at a procession held on account of the flood of waters"), was written and delivered by Odo of Châteauroux (c. 1190–1273).[3] As the title indicates, the sermon was held as part of a procession organized to protect the city and make the flood cease.[4] Records of flood processions in Paris suggest that the sermon was most likely delivered during a procession in 1233.

"Sermo in processione facta propter inundationem aquarum" has come down to us in one single manuscript.[5] The manuscript contains sermons by Odo collected before 1261,[6] and includes sermons for a wide variety of occasions. There are sermons for the election of a new pope, for condemning heretics, for the consecration of virgins, and two sermons that deal with natural disasters, the flood sermon studied here and a sermon on an undated earthquake.[7] Jussi Hanska provides a transcription of the sermon on the Parisian flood,[8] but the sermon has never been translated in full until now. In the Appendix, I offer an English translation of the sermon based on Hanska's transcription and my own reading of the Arras manuscript, MS 137 (olim 876). The translating process has given me the opportunity to close read the Latin text, functioning as a fundament for my analysis.

Odo of Châteauroux was one of the most active preachers in the thirteenth century. He has left behind a huge sermon collection consisting of about one thousand two hundred sermons.[9] His career can be divided into two periods. First, he was attached to the University in Paris, where he was appointed master of theology in 1228, canon of Paris c. 1234, and chancellor of the University in 1238.[10] As a canon, he had a prominent position within the church.[11] As chancellor, he had strong connections to the royal power and the French king, Louis IX (r. 1226–1270). The second part of his career began in 1244 when he was appointed cardinal of Tusculum and attached to the papal curia. During his time as cardinal, Odo kept strong ties to the royal power in France. In 1248, he was chosen by Pope Innocent IV (1243–

[3] Odo of Châteauroux goes by many names, including Eudes de Châteauroux, Odo of Tusculum, and Odo de Castro Radulphi.
[4] Hanska, *Strategies of Sanity and* Survival, 49-51.
[5] "Sermo in processione facta propter inundationem aquarum", in Odo de Castro Radulphi, *Sermones de diversis casibus,* Arras, Bibliothèque municipales, 137 (olim 876), ff. 78v–80r.
[6] Charansonnet, "L'évolution de la prédication du cardinal Eudes de Châteauroux (1190?-1273, 8.
[7] For the sermon on the earthquake see Hanska, *Strategies of Sanity and Survival*, 181 and his transcription of the Latin text, Odo of Châteauroux, "Sermo propter timorem terremotus", at 192–194.
[8] See the Appendix, pp. 62–66 for my amended version of Hanska's transcription. See also Odo of Châteauroux, "Sermo in processione facta propter inundationem aquarum", in Hanska, *Strategies of Sanity and Survival*, 189–192.
[9] Hanska and Katajala-Peltomaa, "Giving Birth as a Metaphor", 25.
[10] Charansonnet, "L'évolution de la prédication du cardinal Eudes de Châteauroux (1190?–1273), 2; Hanska, *Strategies of Sanity and Survival*, 180.
[11] Charansonnet, "L'université, l'Eglise et l'Etat dans les sermons du cardinal Eudes de Châteauroux (1190 ?–1273)", 78.

1254) as legate in the crusade of King Louis IX.[12] After returning from the crusades, Odo spent most of his time in Italy until his death in 1273.[13] During his long and diverse career, Odo preached on a wide variety of topics. In addition to the topics covered in the Arras manuscript, he preached on political issues and on topics related to various crusades.[14] More important for this thesis, Odo preached on natural disasters. In addition to the sermon about the Parisian flood and the undated earthquake, he left behind two other sermons on an earthquake in Vitterbo in 1269.[15] These earthquake sermons will not be studied in detail here, but function as material for comparison with the flood sermon.

Current scholarship

Over the last three decades, there has been some scholarly interest in Odo's sermons and preaching activity.[16] Scholars highlight that Odo's sermons often deal with contemporary affairs,[17] and that he applied biblical hermeneutics and typology to current issues in his sermons. Several scholars have shown that Odo, when preaching on religious or political affairs, chose a biblical theme that fitted the occasion and then provided a typological reading of the biblical text that allowed him to reflect on the contemporary issue.[18] For Odo, Old Testament events provided a historical precedent for contemporary events.[19] Previous scholarship has thereby established that biblical hermeneutics and typology were important features in Odo's style of preaching, especially when he preached on contemporary political

[12] Charansonnet, "L'évolution de la prédication du cardinal Eudes de Châteauroux (1190?–1273), 2–3.
[13] Hanska, "Catastrophe Sermons and Apocalyptic Expectations", 120.
[14] See Charansonnet, "L'évolution de la prédication du cardinal Eudes de Châteauroux (1190?-1273)", 22–23.
[15] For the sermon on the undated earthquake, see note 7 above. For the sermons on the Vitterbo earthquake, see Hanska, *Strategies of Sanity and Survival*, 182 and his transcription of both sermons in *Strategies of Sanity and Survival*; Odo of Châteauroux, "Sermo exhortatorius propter terremotum qui media nocte factus est Uiterbii et in multis locis", at 194–198; Odo of Châteauroux, "Sermo quando timetur de terremotu", at 198-201.
[16] See especially Alexis Charansonnet's dissertation on Odo's preaching and political sermons which provides an extensive overview of his career at the University of Paris and as a cardinal and includes transcriptions of several sermons, Charansonnet, "L'université, l'Eglise et l'Etat dans les sermons du cardinal Eudes de Châteauroux (1190 ?–1273)"; Fortunato Iozzelli studies Odo's sermons on political and religious issues in the second part of his career, and provides transcriptions of several of his sermons from this period, see Iozzelli, *Odo da Châteauroux: politica e religione nei sermoni inedita*; Odo's sermons on various crusades has received particular attention, see Maier, "Crusade and Rhetoric against the Muslim Colony of Lucera: Eudes of Châteauroux's Sermones de Rebellione Sarracenorum Lucherie in Apulia"; Maier, *Crusade Propaganda and Ideology: Model Sermons for the Preaching of the Cross*; Bériou, "La prédication de croisade de Philippe le Chancelier et d'Eudes de Châteauroux en 1226".
[17] See Cole, d'Avray, and Riley-Smith, "Application of Theology to Current Affairs", 227–228; Charansonnet, "L'université, l'Eglise et l'Etat dans les sermons du cardinal Eudes de Châteauroux (1190 ?–1273)", 15; Hanska, "Catastrophe Sermons and Apocalyptic Expectations", 121.
[18] See Charansonnet, "L'université, l'Eglise et l'Etat dans les sermons du cardinal Eudes de Châteauroux (1190 ?–1273)", 49–51; Spatz, "Imagery in University Inception Sermons", 338–342; Dalmas, "Un vulgarisateur de l'exégèse politique av XIII^{e} siècle: le cardinal Eudes de Châteauroux, 131; Cole, d'Avray, and Riley-Smith, "Application of Theology to Current Affairs", 227–129; 146–147.
[19] Cole, d'Avray, and Riley-Smith, "Application of Theology to Current Affairs", 239.

issues. As my analysis will demonstrate, this style of preaching was also prominent when Odo preached on a contemporary natural event, the Parisian flood.

Jussi Hanska is so far the only scholar who has studied Odo's sermons on natural disasters. In his study of medieval catastrophe sermons as religious responses to natural disasters, four sermons by Odo are given particular attention.[20] Hanska's work has established the genre of catastrophe sermons within the field of medieval sermon studies, as sermons held during acute crisis.[21] He has identified two main religious interpretative modes for natural disasters which figured in such sermons. Natural disasters were either seen as God's wrath towards communal sin as a form of local punishment or interpreted in terms of eschatology as a sign of the approaching Last Days.[22] Hanska holds, in line with other scholars working on natural disasters in the medieval period, that the first mode of interpretation was most common.[23] In his analysis of Odo's two sermons on the earthquake in Vitterbo in 1269, Hanska emphasizes that Odo applies the eschatological mode as well as the divine-wrath mode.[24] However, when it comes to "Sermo in processione facta propter inundationem aquarum", he holds that Odo solely interpreted the Parisian flood as an expression of God's wrath towards the sinfulness in the Parisian community.[25] Hanska studies catastrophe sermons with perspectives from modern catastrophe psychology, exploring what kind of psychological effect preaching during acute crises might have had on the survivors of natural disasters and emphasizes that such sermons offered explanations, directed blame, and encouraged responses.[26]

Hanska's work has laid the foundation for the study of medieval catastrophe sermons in general and Odo's sermons on natural disasters in particular. However, more work needs to be done, both to unpack the biblical hermeneutics and typology in "Sermo in processione facta propter inundationem aquarum" and to connect the sermon with perspectives from environmental humanities. Odo's interpretations of the local, Parisian flood, I hold, feature

[20] See Hanska, *Strategies of Sanity and Survival*; Hanska, "Cessante Causa Cessat et Effectus"; Hanska, "Catastrophe Sermons and Apocalyptic Expectations"; Hanska, "Late Medieval Catastrophe Sermons: Vanishing Tradition or Common Custom?".
[21] See Hanska, *Strategies of Sanity and Survival*, 64–81 for a detailed genre discussion.
[22] Hanska, "Cessante Causa Cessat et Effectus", 143; Hanska, *Strategies of Sanity and Survival*, 116–117; "Catastrophe Sermons and Apocalyptic Expectations", 130–131.
[23] Hanska, "Catastrophe Sermons and Apocalyptic Expectations", 130–131; Armin F. Bergmeier, "Natural Disasters and Time", 168–169; Labbé, *Les Catastrophes naturelles au Moyen Age*, 140.
[24] See Hanska, "Catastrophe Sermons and Apocalyptic Expectations".
[25] Hanska, "Catastrophe Sermons and Apocalyptic Expectations", 130–131; Hanska, "Cessante Causa Cessat et Effectus", 148–149; Hanska, *Strategies of Sanity and Survival*, 129–130.
[26] Hanska, *Strategies of Sanity and Survival*, 143–149; Hanska, "Cessante Causa Cessat et Effectus", 141–143; 153.

broader temporal and spatial scales that reveal culturally contingent notions about the environment and human-environmental relations.

Research questions, theory, and method

The overarching aim of this thesis is to get a deeper insight into Odo's interpretations of the Parisian flood and to get a deeper understanding of how the environment and human-environmental relations were imagined and conveyed in the medieval period. I will explore Odo's interpretations and conceptualizations through three research questions. The two first research questions are engaged in getting a deeper insight into the interpretative frameworks Odo makes use of in his sermon. The last question engages directly with questions occupying the field of environmental humanities:

1. How does Odo explain and interpret the contemporary flood?
2. How do Odo's interpretations of the Parisian flood enable and constrain certain forms of responses?
3. How do Odo's interpretations of the Parisian flood point to and negotiate between different environmental imaginaries of his time?

The first two research questions will explore Odo's interpretation of the Parisian flood, focusing on typological patterns, hermeneutical schemes, and different concepts of flood. To approach the complex and entangled relationship between the environment, humans, and divine powers in Odo's interpretations, I will draw on perspectives from conceptual metaphor theory and conceptual blending theory. The analytical focus of these theoretical approaches, situated within the broad field of cognitive science, is on how cultural meaning is produced, communicated, and understood. The analytical tools and the terminology of these theoretical perspectives offer a high level of analytical precision when analyzing complex structures of meaning.[27] A point of departure for these approaches is that human cognition, i.e., the way we think, operates through *mappings*, that is, connections between different *conceptual domains*, or mental spaces. As a methodological approach, conceptual metaphor theory studies mapping from a *source domain* to a *target domain*.[28] The source domain is usually something concrete,

[27] Engh and Turner, "Introduction: A Case Study of Symbolic Cognition", 16–17.
[28] Conceptual metaphor theory was developed by George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, see Lakoff and Johnson *Metaphors We Live By*; Zoltán Kövecses offers a comprehensive introduction to conceptual metaphor theory as a methodological approach, see Kövecses, *Metaphor: A Practical Introduction*.

which we draw metaphorical expressions from to understand the more abstract target domain.[29] The mapping takes the form of systematic conceptual correspondences between the source domain and the target domain, transferring meaning from the former to the latter.[30] Conceptual blending theory, which developed from conceptual metaphor theory, also focuses on mapping and the transfer of meaning between conceptual domains, but is broader in scope and allows for more complexity.[31] Two, or more, conceptual domains are blended together which creates a new *blended space*, or just *blend*, where new meaning emerges.[32] Conceptual blending processes make complex phenomena manageable for the human mind.[33] It creates *compressions* across, time, space, causation, and agency which can be used to think with and grasp complex structures of meaning.[34]

By applying terminology and perspectives from conceptual blending theory and metaphor theory, I want to catch sight of how Odo's interpretations blend the contemporary flood in Paris with biblical narratives. Analyzing these processes of conceptual mapping and conceptual blending will be central when exploring the first and the second research question engaging with how Odo interprets the flood and how his interpretations enable and constrain responses. When exploring Odo's interpretations, I will also draw on the theoretical concept *chronotope* from narrative theory, to explore how Odo's concepts of flood invoke different biblical narratives and organize time and space in the sermon.[35]

The third research question engages directly with environmental humanities perspectives asking how people of the past conceived of the environment. Environmental humanities perspectives on environmental history can roughly be divided into two approaches. The first one is concerned with mapping out how past climate conditions actually were, using newfound methodologies which combines palaeoclimatological data and historical evidence, to analyze how past climate conditions might have affected history and

[29] Kövecses, *Metaphor: A Practical Introduction*, 4–6.
[30] Kövecses, *Metaphor: A Practical Introduction*, 6.
[31] Conceptual blending theory was developed by Gilles Fauconnier and Mark Turner, see Fauconnier and Turner, *The Way We Think*; Turner, *The Origin of Ideas: Blending, Creativity, and the Human Spark*; For a short introduction see Engh, "Om å tenke med kvinner i middelalderen", 122–123.
[32] Fauconnier and Turner, *The Way We Think*, 40–50; Engh and Turner, "Introduction: A Case Study of Symbolic Cognition", 32; Engh, "Om å tenke med kvinner i middelalderen», 122–123.
[33] Fauconnier and Turner, *The Way We Think*, 40; Turner, *The Origin of Ideas: Blending, Creativity, and the Human Spark*, 16.
[34] Engh and Turner, "Introduction: A Case Study of Symbolic Cognition", 30.
[35] Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination*, 84–85; Kverndokk and Eriksen, "Climate Change Temporalities", 6–7; Ingemark, "In the Shadow of Apocalyptic Futures", 49–52.

societies of the past.[36] The second approach, which I follow here, focuses on how people of the past themselves conceived of their natural environment. It is concerned with how the environment was conceptualized and interpreted, and how natural events acquires cultural meaning.[37] Thus, the theoretical perspectives from conceptual metaphor theory and conceptual blending theory will also be relevant when exploring the last research question, concerning how Odo's interpretations of the Parisian flood point to and negotiate between different environmental imaginaries. When exploring the third research question, I will introduce and develop the theoretical concept *environmental imagination* from environmental humanities which calls attention to broad, cultural contingent frameworks through which people imagine and conceptualize the environment and the relationship between themselves and the environment.[38] By applying this term I want to catch sight of not only how Odo interprets the Parisian flood, but how these interpretations negotiate between different environmental imaginaries.

The thesis is structured after the three research questions. The first research question is the focus of Chapter 2. Here, I explore how Odo draws on biblical narratives and creates typological connections between biblical time, biblical spatial features, and the present. I suggest that these typological connections can be seen as conceptual blending processes which entail spatial and temporal compression. I will also explore the chronotropic organization of the different concepts of flood in the sermon, which I argue organizes time and space and invokes different narratives. Through the analysis, I aim to show that Odo's interpretation of the flood not only sees natural disasters as an expression of God's punishment towards communal sin, but relates the Parisian flood to global environmental events of the biblical past and the future tribulations during the Last Days. This chapter argues that Odo draws on the eschatological mode of interpretation and places the contemporary flood within a broad narrative encompassing all of salvation history.

The second research question is addressed in Chapter 3. Here, I explore Odo's use of the divine-wrath mode by focusing on how Odo's interpretation of the flood is directed towards local concerns in the Parisian community. I also explore questions related to the

[36] For an introduction to this approach see White, Pfister, and Mauelshagen, "General Introduction: Weather, Climate, and Human History", 1–17; For an example of this approach to medieval environmental history see Büntgen et al., "Cooling and Societal Change during the Late Antique Little Ice Age from 536 to around 660 AD".
[37] See Palmer, "Climates of Crisis", 6–7; Arnold, "Rivers of Risk and Redemption in Gregory of Tours' Writings", 118; Miglietti and Morgan, "Introduction: Ruling Climates in the Early Modern World", 1–2.
[38] The definition of this term is further developed in Chapter 4. See also Buell, *The Environmental* Imagination, 7–8; Arnold, "Environmental History and Hagiography", 365–366.

procession as context for the delivery of the sermon and questions regarding the audience. Through tropological interpretations of biblical narratives, Odo directly engages different groups in Parisian society. I argue that the tropological interpretations arise from conceptual blends between the conceptual domain of nature and that of morality. Through this tropological interpretation, Odo tries to enable and constrain the audience's responses to the flood.

In Chapter 4, I explore the third research question. Here, I introduce the term environmental imagination to explore how Odo's interpretations of the Parisian flood point to broad, cultural contingent frameworks through which people imagine and conceptualize the environment and the relationship between themselves and the environment. I argue that the two modes of interpretation, the divine-wrath mode and the eschatological mode, point to different environmental imaginaries which were available at Odo's time. I aim to show how Odo's sermon negotiates between different environmental imaginaries and more generally how culturally contingent interpretations of natural disasters can provide insight into the environmental imagination of the past.

Chapter 2: Between *inundatio* and *diluuium*: Typological patterns

In this chapter, I will explore the interpretative frameworks Odo uses when explaining the Parisian flood. I will do so in two ways. In the first part of the chapter, I will show how Odo creates typological connections between biblical narratives and the contemporary flood to write the flood into a grand narrative, thus providing meaning to the natural disaster. The typological and hermeneutical interpretations have been largely overlooked in previous research, which has focused on the causal relationship between sin and natural disasters in Odo's interpretations. The second part of the chapter explores the chronotopic organization in Odo's sermon. By looking at the typological interpretations and the concepts of flood and their chronotropic organization, I will answer the first research question: How does Odo explain and interpret the contemporary flood?

Biblical typology and hermeneutical schemes as modes of thinking

Throughout the sermon, Odo draws on typological patterns and hermeneutical levels of meaning to explain and interpret the Parisian flood. Biblical typology and biblical hermeneutics originated as exegetical methods in early Christianity. Biblical typology was a way of reading where events or persons in the Old Testament were understood as prefigurations of events or persons in the New Testament. The exegetical method had biblical origin in Saint Paul's letters to the Romans (Rom 5:14) and the Corinthians (1 Cor. 10:1–6), where Adam in the Old Testament was seen a *typos* or *figura* that prefigured the *antitypos* Christ in the New Testament. The New Testament was a fulfillment of the prefigurations laid out in the Old Testament.[39] Biblical exegetes also developed hermeneutical schemes distinguishing between four levels of meaning, called *quadriga*: the literal or historical sense of the biblical text and the three spiritual senses, namely, the allegorical sense, the tropological sense which is concerned with morality, and the anagogic sense which is concerned with the Last Judgment and the end of the World.[40] In the sermon, the hermeneutical schemes are used to interpret different levels of meaning of the contemporary flood. Combined with the typological patterns, these hermeneutical levels of meaning establish connections between the contemporary flood and the biblical narratives.

[39] Kretschmer, "Y a-t-il une 'Typologie Historiographique'?", 1; Haug, *Vernacular Literary Theory in the Middle* Ages, 65.
[40] Engh, *Gendered Identities in Bernard of Clairvaux's Sermons on the Song of Songs*, 29–30.

Odo does not employ typology or hermeneutical schemes in a strict exegetical sense, but rather draws on them quite freely. Marek Thue Kretschmer has demonstrated how biblical typology became a mode of thinking in the Middle Ages.[41] Christ's incarnation was a dividing point in history, but history was also imagined to continue after Christ, implying that Old Testament prefigurations could be fulfilled anew.[42] Drawing on Walter Haug, Kretschmer suggests that typology as a mode of thinking established a triangle relationship between the Old Testament *typos*, the New Testament *antitypos* and the imitative *antitypos*, or postfiguration in the present. For instance, David could be seen as prefiguring Christ, whereas contemporary figures, such as a king could be seen as the imitative antitype of the present.[43] Typological patterns were thus an inherent part of the medieval conceptualization of not only biblical history but contemporary history, and they are to be found in historical writing and literary texts,[44] as well as liturgical literature such as the sermon studied here. The typological patterns in the sermon often establishes connections between the contemporary flood and Old Testament narratives without referring to the New Testament.

Typology establishes connections across time and is thus linked to medieval notions of time and history. Armin Bergmeier and Andrew Griebeler claims that medieval notions of time radically differed from modern conceptions. The modern notion of time views history as a linear and theological progression that extends from the past, to the present, and into the future.[45] Events in history are linked through chronology and in terms of causality.[46] As Eric Auerbach has noted, medieval use of typology opened a completely different way of conceptualizing time and history. Typological interpretation combines two events in history, "causally and chronologically remote from each other, by attributing to them a meaning common to both".[47]

Alexander Gomola suggests that typological interpretations can be viewed as conceptual blending processes. Typological interpretation or typological blends involves compression of time as features of the Old Testament *typos* and the New Testament *antitypos* exist simultaneously in the new blended space.[48] Typology can also be viewed as blending

[41] Kretschmer, "Y a-t-il une 'Typologie Historiographique'?", 10.
[42] Haug, *Vernacular Literary Theory in the Middle* Ages, 65–66.
[43] Kretschmer, "Y a-t-il une 'Typologie Historiographique'?", 13; Haug, *Vernacular Literary Theory in the Middle Ages*, 65–66; for an example of contemporary kings as imitative antitypes see Bagge,"Typologie biblique et idéologie royale en Norvège au xiiie siècle", 167–177.
[44] Kretschmer, "Y a-t-il une 'Typologie Historiographique'?", 12–15.
[45] Bergmeier and Griebeler, "What is time? Present and Presence", 4.
[46] Bergmeier, and Griebeler, "What is time? Present and Presence", 6.
[47] Auerbach, "Typological Symbolism in Medieval Literature", 5.
[48] Gomola, "Conceptual Blending with Moral Accounting Metaphors in Christian Exegesis", 217.

when typological patterns are established between Old Testament events and contemporary events. Odo establishes typical connections between Old Testament narrative and the contemporary flood, which involves a compression of biblical time and the present time. These typological blends have a spatial dimension, as Odo draws on Old Testament narratives that involve specific landscape features, stories of flooding, and of God's interference in the natural world. Old Testament spatial and temporal features are conceptually linked to the contemporary flood through typological interpretation.

A biblical flood in Paris

Odo's sermon opens with a quote from Ecclesiasticus concerning how God has the ability to turn water into dry land. The quote is taken from a passage that explains how God can cause rivers to flood as vengeance for human sin. After quoting Ecclesiasticus, Odo lists six Old Testament stories where God has turned water into dry land on various occasions:

> *As he turned the waters into a dry land, and the earth was made dry* [Ecclus 39:29]. We read that this has occurred six times. First at the beginning of the earth. Second after the deluge. Third when the children of Israel crossed over the Red Sea. Fourth when they crossed over Jordan. Fifth when Elias crossed over Jordan. Sixth when Eliseus. From which this must be noted firstly how thus God overflows rivers, secondly how he dries [them].[49]

Although it might appear peculiar, Odo cluster these six different biblical narratives together in the same category: floods. They do all tell something about how God overflow rivers and how he dries them up again. These Old Testament stories will hereafter be called flood narratives. The first flood narrative concerns how God turned water into dry land at the beginning of Genesis, where water is said to have covered the entire earth's surface (Gen 1:9). The second flood narrative point to the biblical flood and the story of Noah's ark where water once more covered the entire earth. After a hundred and fifty days God retracted the water and made dry land appear (Gen 8:13). Then Odo lists four incidents where God has made it possible for people to cross over bodies of water. The third flood narrative is the story in Exodus where the Israelites are pursued by the Egyptians and God divides the Red Sea in two so they can walk over on dry ground before he closes the sea again and drowns the pursuing Egyptian army (Ex 14:21–31). The fourth flood narrative concerns the Israelites crossing of the river Jordan at the time of Joshua (Josh 3:15–17). The fifth and sixth flood narratives are two closely connected instances where Elias and his son Eliseus both cross the Jordan by

[49] Appendix, p. 62, lines 1–5. All references to the sermon are to the transcription of the Latin text in the Appendix. All translations of biblical quotes are based on the translation of Vulgate in Douay-Rheims Bible, with my modifications. https://www.drbo.org/index.htm

means of Elias' mantle which makes a dry pathway for them through the river (2 Kings 2:8; 2:14). All the biblical narratives mentioned at the beginning of the sermon are elaborated on later.

Already in these first lines, Odo alludes to typological connections between the present flood and the biblical narratives. The flood narratives demonstrate God's power to overflow rivers and to dry them again. Without explicitly mentioning the contemporary flooding of the Seine, Odo uses biblical stories to comment upon the current flood. We can imagine how the procession led the Parisian people through a landscape which might still have been partly occupied with floodwaters. In this context, Odo states that just as in Noah's time, the flood will recede. Likewise, just as the Israelites crossed the Red Sea and the river Jordan, the Parisians will walk on dry land again and be saved. Through the use of biblical narratives, Odo makes typological connections between biblical events, places, and persons and the current situation. We can view these typological connections as conceptual blending which transfers meaning from the biblical narratives to the present. The Israelites, as well as Elias and Eliseus can be seen as mirroring the Parisians. The flood in Noah's time can be seen as a historical parallel to the current flood. Likewise, the river Jordan is a historical parallel and mirrors the flooded Seine.

Odo goes on by explaining why floods happen in the first place. The most obvious biblical reference to flood in the Bible is Noah's flood. However, Odo does not start here. He goes even further back to the very beginning of the creation story in Genesis, where water is said to cover the entire surface of the earth:

> The reason that water covered as much as the entire earth in the beginning is shown through Moses pointing out at the beginning of Genesis when he says [Gen 1:2]: *And the earth was void and empty, and darkness was upon the face of the deep; and the spirit of God moved over the waters.* And moreover, because there was no firmament that separated water from water. And it is shown through Moses responding with an Anthypophora[50] how this could happen. Since God created the earth, why did he allow it to be covered with water? He responded: *Because the earth was void*, that is unfruitful, *and without inhabitants*, and therefore there has been no damage, so nor is it anything to wonder about that he let it be filled with water. In a similar manner [*Sic*], it is nothing to wonder about that the floods [*inundationibus*] come [now], on the contrary, it is a miracle that the Lord does not bring a deluge *[diluuium*] over the earth because it is void and empty, truly void because it is unfruitful, for the earth brings no or very little fruit.[51]

Odo asks rhetorically why God let the entire earth be covered with water in the beginning. Then he states, through a quote from Genesis (1:2), that the earth in the beginning was void, empty, and unfruitful. Therefore, the water that occupied the entire surface of the earth did no

[50] Anthypophora is a rhetorical term for asking a question and then immediately answering it.
[51] Appendix, p. 62, lines 6–15.

harm. The water that covered the earth's surface was strictly speaking not a flood. As Odo also mentions, based on the biblical story (Gen 1:6–8), medieval natural philosophy assumed that the firmament was undivided in the beginning. On the second day of creation, God made a firmament that separated the water on earth from the water above the firmament, that is above the celestial sphere.[52] No typological connection is made between the Parisian flood and the water that occupied the earth at the beginning of the creation story. The emphasis is rather on the reason why God allowed the earth to be filled with water, namely, because it was void, empty, and unfruitful. By using the adverb *sic*, which can be translated as "in a similar manner", Odo creates a typological connection between the earth's unfruitfulness at the beginning of the creation story and the earth's unfruitfulness in his own time. The similarity in the earth's condition is so striking that Odo thinks it is rather strange that God brought a local flood, *inundatio*, and not a deluge, *diluuium*, that would have covered the entire earth. *Diluuium* is the biblical term for Noah's flood in Genesis.[53] The typological connections can again be seen as a conceptual blending process that maps spatial features, the earth's unfruitfulness, from the creation story to contemporary Paris, and blends them together. The earth's unfruitfulness in Genesis is a historical parallel that mirrors the earth's unfruitfulness in Odo's time. The earth's unfruitfulness functions as an explanation for why God allows the earth to be flooded with water.

In terms of hermeneutical levels, Odo uses the literal and historical level when discussing the earth's unfruitfulness at the very beginning of the creation story. The earth's unfruitfulness is understood as a historical fact. When moving on to the explanation of how the earth is unfruitful now, Odo moves to the tropological level of meaning, interpreting the earth's unfruitfulness in a non-literal way as moral unfruitfulness:

> Since the earth is unfruitful it does not carry fruit, therefore it is nothing to wonder about if God allows water to overflow just as the earth from the beginning was void and empty. In reality, the earth is free from good people, whence Jeremiah [Lam 1:1] laments: *How does the city sit solitary that was full of people!* Without good men, full of bad! Amos [5:3]: *The city, out of which came forth a thousand, there shall be left in it a hundred*.[54]

The condition of the earth is mirrored in the moral condition of humankind and specifically the Parisian community. Odo explains in length elsewhere how different social groups in the Parisian community stand responsible for the flood through their sinful behavior (see Chap. 3). The city that Jeremiah laments is Jerusalem, which has been ruined by the Babylonians. A

[52] Grant, *The Nature of Natural Philosophy in the Late Middle Ages*, 244–246.
[53] Schenk, "Disastro, Catastrophe, and Divine Judgment", 52.
[54] Appendix, p. 64, lines 65–68.

central theme in the biblical narrative is that the destruction of Jerusalem is caused by God's punishment for the sinful behavior of its inhabitants. Odo also quotes Amos where the same theme of communal sin and God's punishment is present. By referring to the biblical narrative, Odo creates typological connections between the Parisian community and the Israelites on the one hand and the cities of Jerusalem and Paris on the other. The solitary and ruined city of Jerusalem can thereby be conceptually linked and blended with contemporary Paris. It is important to note that the typological connection between the two cities is grounded in a tropological interpretation. Odo is not referring to the loss of human life or destruction of buildings and infrastructure caused by the flood, but rather the absence of morally just people left in the city. The sinful behavior of the Israelites is mapped onto the Parisian community and mirrors their sinful behavior which has caused the flood. Tropology transforms the flood into a meaningful, significant event rather than just a natural disaster.

Finally, after stating that the cause of the Parisian flood is moral unfruitfulness, Odo brings in Noah's flood. Noah's flood explicitly provides a moral explanation for floods. The great flood was sent by God as punishment for human sinful behavior:

> Likewise, he commanded the deluge at the time of Noah. And the reason is written in Genesis [6:4–12]: *The sons of God went into the daughters of men. And God seeing that the wickedness was great on the earth, and that all the thought of their heart was bent upon evil at all times, it repented him that he had made man on the earth, and guarding beforehand for the future and being touched inwardly with sorrow of heart. He said: I will destroy man*. *All flesh had corrupted its way.* Thus, men connect themselves inseparably to bad habits, malice is multiplied. Men's thoughts were stretching out towards malice all the time. Whether it be clerics or laymen, their ways, are a corrupted way of living. Because of this, the Lord brings floods and other plagues,[55] which are not just threats, whence Psalms [49:6]: *The heavens shall declare its justice* with hurling rain, lightning, and hail-storms. And in the Psalms [35:6]: *your truth*, that is justice, *reaches, even to the clouds* until there is burning from the clouds and pestilence is brought forward. Ecclesiasticus [39:28]: *And as a flood had watered the earth; so shall his wrath inherit the nations, that have not sought after him*.[56]

Here Odo explains how sin can be seen as a cause of the flood. Just like in Noah's time, God can bring floods and other plagues as a punishment for sinful behavior. We remember that Odo in the first quote used the word *inundatio*, meaning a local flood, to describe the flood that had submerged Paris and distinguished this from *diluuium*, meaning the biblical flood, where water covered the entire earth. Nevertheless, resting on the typological connection

[55] The word *pestes* in the Latin means something resembling the biblical plagues in this context, as it clusters together different catastrophic natural events that is sent by God as punishment for human sin. The Latin *plaga* is the biblical term for such events, used both for the seven biblical plagues in Exodus (Ex 9:14) and the plagues that would fall upon earth during the Last Judgment (Rev 15:1). *Pestis* takes on some of the same meaning here, therefore, I have chosen to translate *pestes* with "plagues", catastrophic natural events sent by God as punishment for sinful behavior. See also *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*, s.v "plaga"; *Latinsk ordbok: latin-norsk*, s.v. "pestis".

[56] Appendix, p. 64, lines 71–82.

established between *diluuium* and *inundatio* in the beginning of the sermon, he draws typological connections to Noah's floods here.[57] The Parisian flood is a postfiguration of the *typos* laid out in the Old Testament, namely Noah's flood. The Parisians are imitative antitypes of the human race and their sinfulness in the story of Noah. In terms of conceptual blending, this typological connection maps the cause of Noah's flood, that is human sinfulness, onto the Parisian flood and thus onto the Parisian community's implied sinfulness. The biblical flood is seen as a historical and conceptual parallel mirroring of what is happening to the Parisian community in the present.

God's wrath and judgment are very much present in the last part of the quote. Odo refers to the Psalms when explaining that heaven shall declare its justice with plagues like heavy rain, hail-storms, and lightning, as well as burning clouds and pestilence. The first reference is to Psalms 49, a prophetic passage concerning God's future judgment over his people. The second reference is to Psalms 35, a less prophetic passage that nevertheless thematizes God's judgment. Neither of the two passages includes descriptions of the plagues mentioned above. However, these are all plagues that will fall upon the earth during the Last Days according to the apocalyptic Gospel passages and Revelation. Pestilence is mentioned as a sign of the Last Days in the Gospels (Matt 24:7; Luke 21:11). When Jesus describes his second coming, he refers to Noah's flood and God's judgment over Sodom and Gomorrah, stating that the last days will be introduced in the same manner (Luke 17:26–30). Heavy rains and floods could thus be interpreted as signs of the Last Days. The same counts for burning clouds, as God sent fire and brimstone from heaven during the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah. Fire from the clouds is also mentioned multiple times in the descriptions of the Last Judgment in the Book of Revelation, as well as lightning and hail-storms, for instance when the seventh seal is opened (Rev 8:5–7) and when the seven angels open their vials which send plagues over the earth (Rev 16:8; Rev 16:18–21). Thus, the biblical intertextual connections ("plagues") allude to apocalyptic natural disasters that will fall upon the earth during the Last Days.

Jussi Hanska points out that apocalyptic thinking in Odo's sermons often figures without direct reference to the apocalyptic biblical passages. In another sermon, Odo states that he views the Apocalypse as an epilogue of the prophetic writings in the Old Testament.[58] When approaching the Bible from a typological viewpoint, the prophetic narratives in the Old Testament can be seen as foreshadowing the apocalypse in the New Testament. In one of his

[57] Appendix, p. 62, lines 12–15.
[58] Hanska, "Catastrophe Sermons and Apocalyptic Expectations", 127.

earthquake sermons, a prophetic passage in Isaiah (24:18–20) is described as a threat which will be fulfilled during the Last Days.[59] Floods and other apocalyptic plagues are in the sermon on the Parisian flood described as not just threats. The passage in the Psalms stating that heaven will reveal God's judgment can thus be seen as prefiguring the plagues that will fall upon the earth during the Last Days. I suggest that Odo draws on the anagogic sense here when interpreting the flood. The anagogic sense is turned towards the future and the Last Judgment, which allows Odo to create typological connections and conceptual mappings between the contemporary flood and future apocalyptic events.

I have now shown how Odo through typological patterns and hermeneutical levels blends the contemporary flood and past and future biblical disasters. Odo writes the contemporary flood into a grand narrative that encompasses the history of the earth from its creation to the end of time. Through this grand narrative, Odo emphasizes God's wrath and punishment. The earth's unfruitfulness at the beginning of the creation story is interpreted as a historical parallel mirroring the unfruitfulness of the Parisian community. Like in Noah's time, God punishes humans for their sinful behavior through floods. These floods and other plagues can be interpreted as pointing to the Final Judgment.

As mentioned, Jussi Hanska has identified two main interpretative modes for natural disasters in medieval catastrophe sermons, the eschatological mode and the divine-wrath mode. The eschatological mode viewed natural disasters as part of God's plan in light of salvation history. This history starts with the Fall of Man and ends with the Final Judgment that would be introduced by tribulations taking the form of natural disasters such as earthquakes and famines, and it was cosmological in scale. The primary cause of natural disasters was seen as original sin. Natural disasters could thus be seen as a form of purification to prepare for the Last Days. The divine-wrath mode was directed towards communal sin. Here, the natural disasters were taken out of their cosmological context and seen as God's wrath towards the sinful behavior of a specific community.[60]

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[59] "God made this threat through the prophet Isaiah and it will be accomplished and consummated at the end of the earth, when the day of the great judgement is approaching" ["Hanc comminationem fecit Dominus per Ysayam prophetam et complebitur et consummatur in fine mundi appropinquante magni iudicii die"], quoted in and translated by Hanska, "Catastrophe Sermons and Apocalyptic Expectations", n.23, 125. For the full sermon see Odo of Châteauroux, "Sermo exhortatorius propter terremotum qui media nocte factus est Uiterbii et in multis locis", in Hanska, *Strategies of Sanity and Survival*, 194–198.

[60] Hanska, "Cessante Causa Cessat et Effectus", 143; Hanska, *Strategies of Sanity and Survival*, 116–117; Hanska, "Catastrophe Sermons and Apocalyptic Expectations", 130–131.

Hanska argues that Odo uses the divine wrath mode in our sermon.[61] He emphasizes the casual relation between communal sin and natural disasters, which takes the form of formal logic: "If A then B, where A = cause (sin), and B = effect (God's punishment in the form of a natural disaster)."[62] In catastrophe sermons this is evident in formulations such as: "cessante causa cesset et effectus" ["When the cause ends, so ends the effect"].[63] Hanska finds this formulation towards the end of Odo's sermon: "si peccata nostra cessarent que sunt fontes abyssi, cessarent et pene que a Deo inferuntur, hoc, est clauderentur catharacte celi." ["if our sins, which are the fountains of the deep, cease, the penalty that is brought by God will also cease, that is the gates of heaven will be closed."][64] This leads Hanska to conclude that Odo explains the flood according to the divine-wrath mode, emphasizing the causal relationship between natural disasters and communal sin.[65]

I agree that Odo draws on the divine-wrath mode in the sermon and that his way of expressing himself in this particular quote might be seen as modeled after the established formula "cessante causa cesset et effectus". However, I hold that Odo's use of typological patterns and hermeneutical levels of meaning demonstrates that he also draws on the eschatological mode. The eschatological and cosmological mode in Odo's sermon encompasses environmental biblical events from the past and at the same time points to the tribulation during the Last Days. Moreover, Odo's moral interpretation of the Parisian flood is not only modeled after the causal relation between communal sin and natural disasters. As we have seen, the moral interpretation arises from tropological interpretations of biblical flood narratives, especially the unfruitfulness of the earth and the water occupying the earth at the beginning of Genesis and Noahs's flood. The typological connections made between the contemporary flood and Old Testament narratives allow Odo to connect the contemporary flood to salvation history, from the creation of the earth to the Final Judgment. In doing so Odo makes connections between the local flood and the universal floods, and between natural history and human history.

[61] Hanska, "Catastrophe Sermons and Apocalyptic Expectations", 130–131; Hanska, "Cessante Causa Cessat et Effectus", 148–149; Hanska, *Strategies of Sanity and Survival*, 129–130.
[62] Hanska, "Cessante Causa Cessat et Effectus", 150.
[63] Hanska, *Strategies of Sanity and Survival*, 129.
[64] Appendix, p. 65, lines 94–95.
[65] Hanska, *Strategies of Sanity and Survival*, 129–130; Hanska, "Cessante Causa Cessat et Effectus", 151.

Concepts of flood and their chronotopic organization

Odo's account of the Parisian flood establishes connections across time and space. By exploring the typological interpretations, we catch sight of the temporal and spatial aspects of Odo's treatment of the flood. To explore these aspects of Odo's sermon further, I analyze the concepts Odo uses to describe the flood. The concepts used to describe a natural disaster can provide insight into the conceptual frameworks that are used to make sense of the disaster.[66] In the case of Odo's sermon, the concepts are closely connected to his typological interpretations discussed above. In the analysis of these concepts, I will bring in the theoretical term *chronotope* which opens up for looking at the connection between narratives and concepts on the one hand, and between temporal and spatial aspects on the other hand.

Chronotope literally means time-space and is defined by Mikhail Bakhtin as the intrinsic connectedness of temporal and spatial relations as expressed in literature, organizing time and space in narratives.[67] Camilla Asplund Ingemark has used Bakhtin's concept of chronotope to explore how climate change as a concept is capable of organizing multiple temporalities such as deep time, catastrophe, and crisis. These temporalities form chronotopes that organize the contemporary discourses on climate change.[68] Ingemark demonstrates how concepts such as catastrophe and crisis can function as chronotopes that invoke different kinds of narratives about extreme weather and climate change. Inspired by her use of the concept of chronotope, I will now turn to Odo's concepts of flood to explore how these organize time and space in the sermon.

Odo uses three terms of flood in the sermon: *inundatio*, *diluuium*, and *alluuio*. *Inundatio* or *inundatio aquarum* means a local flood and is a rather neutral, descriptive concept.[69] In the sermon, Odo uses this term to refer to the contemporary flood, for instance in the title or when he compares it to the waters that occupied the earth in the beginning of Genesis: "In a similar manner, it is nothing to wonder about that the floods [*inundationibus*] come [now]".[70] Or when he refers to flood processions: "Similarly, in times of flood [*temporibus inundationum*], the relics of saints are carried."[71] Thus, *inundatio* indicates temporally the present and spatially the local context for the flood, namely Paris and the Seine.

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[66] See also Kverndokk, *Naturkatastrofer: en kulturhistorie*, 24.
[67] For Bakthins definition see Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination,* 84–85; see also Kverndokk and Eriksen, "Climate Change Temporalities", 6–7 and Ingemark, "In the Shadow of Apocalyptic Futures", 49.
[68] Ingemark, "In the Shadow of Apocalyptic Futures", 49–52.
[69] Schenk, "Disastro, Catastrophe, and Divine Judgment", 52.
[70] Appendix p. 62, lines 12–13.
[71] Appendix, p. 65, lines 101–102.

Diluuium on the other hand, refers to Noah's flood in the Old Testament.[72] The term denotes a universal flood that covered the entire surface of the earth. After the flood ceased, God had promised Noah that he would never bring another flood that would cover the entire earth and consume (almost) all living creatures (Gen 9:15). This led to a problem when *diluuium* was used to describe local floods. The relationship between *diluuium* and local, contemporary floods was a subject for scholarly debate at Odo's time. Albert the Great (c. 1200–1280) proposed a solution by polularising the distinction made by Avicienna (980–1039) between the terms *diluuium particulare* and *diluuium uniuersale*.[73] *Diluuium particulare* was used to describe local floods and can be seen as a synonym for *inundatio*, while *diluuium uniuersale* referred to the biblical flood. However, Odo does not use this distinction. His main distinction is between *inundatio* as a term for a local flood and *diluuium* as a term for a universal flood.[74] Although, there are some slippages between the two concepts, *inundatio* and *diluvium*, towards the end of the sermon.[75]

As a chronotope, *diluuium* functions as a historical point of reference that provides a parallel for the contemporary flood back in time. The historical reference is not just any reference, it directs the interpretation of the flood according to the biblical narrative. The flood in Noah's time was brought by God as divine punishment for human sinful behavior.[76] The use of *diluuium* as a historical reference point thus provides a particular interpretive framework for the flood. In terms of the spatial aspects of *diluuium* as chronotope, the concept refers to a universal flood that covered the entire earth. It has a global dimension, as it occupied the entire earth and consumed (almost) all living creatures. It is important to note that the chronotope denotes the intrinsic connectedness of time and space, thus the spatial and temporal aspects of *diluuium* must be seen as inseparably connected.[77] Thus, the term creates a connection between the local and the global as well as between the Parisian community and

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[72] Appendix p. 62, lines 2; p. 64, lines 71; See also Schenk, "Disastro, Catastrophe, and Divine Judgment", 52.
[73] Schenk, "Disastro, Catastrophe, and Divine Judgment", 53–54; Albert the Great, *On the Causes of the Properties of the Elements*, trans. Irven M. Resnick, 71–77; for the Latin see Albert the Great, *De causis proprietatum elementorum*, 1.2.9, p. 76–79.
[74] See for instance Appendix, p. 62, lines 12–14.
[75] See Appendix, p. 66, lines 114–116 and especially the use of *diluuium peccatorum* (the deluge of sin), *diluuium penarum* (deluge of punishment), *inundationem peccatorum* (the flood of sins), and *inundationem aquarum* (flood of water).
[76] Christian Rohr argues that *diluuium particulare* was a used solely as a descriptive term describing immense amounts of water. Christian Rohr, "Writing a Catastrophe. Describing and Constructing Disaster Perception in Narrative Sources from the Late Middle Ages", 90. Shenck argues that the term was used as a historical point of reference as contemporary floods could be rated as the worst since Noah's time, and that it had a strong interpretative side, see Schenk, "Disastro, Catastrophe, and Divine Judgment", 52–53. In lien with Schenk, I hold that *diluuium* does not only say something about the size of the flood, but provides an interpretation of the meaning of contemporary floods.
[77] Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination*, 84–85.

the human race as a whole. In addition, it creates conceptual connections between the present time and biblical time.

Alluuio is a less frequently used concept of flood in Latin. However, it appears a few times in the sermon. The concept has biblical connotations and appears in the Book of Job when he laments over the shortness of man's day and professes his belief in the resurrection (Job 14:19).[78] The passage alludes to the destruction of the earth and of man. The term *alluuio* thus points to God's judgment and punishment, as well as the end of the earth and possibly the Last Judgment. The first time the word appears in the sermon is in a passage where God's judgment is being thematized: "Because of this, the Lord brings floods [*alluuiones*] and other plagues which are not just threats".[79]As discussed above, the term *alluuio* is closely connected to other catastrophic natural events such as heavy rains, hail-storm, lightning, pestilence, and burning clouds which are plagues that will fall upon the earth during the Last Judgment. Odo uses the term *alluuio* two other times in the sermon, but without connecting it to the Last Judgment.[80] As a chronotope, *alluuio* brings in the temporal aspect of the future in the sermon and connects the contemporary flood to the Last Judgment. Spatially, the Last Judgment is something that will afflict the entire earth and humanity as a whole. Like *diluuium*, *alluuio* creates connections between the local flood and the Parisian community and the entire destiny of the earth and of the human race.

We have now seen how Odo interprets the flood through typological patterns and hermeneutical levels of meaning and how different concepts of flood organize the interpretative framework temporally and spatially. Through typological patterns, Odo places the local flood within a grand narrative encompassing the history of the earth from its creation to the Final Judgment and the ultimate destruction of the earth. The contemporary flood is drawn into salvation history through Odo's interpretation. Thus, I hold that Odo draws on the eschatological and cosmological mode when interpreting the contemporary flood, as well as the divine-wrath mode. Turning to the concepts of the flood and their chronotropic organization, I have shown how the concepts of flood organize Odo's interpretation spatially and temporally. Spatially, his use of the concepts *inundatio*, *diluuium*, and *alluuio* creates a conceptual framework where the local flood is seen in relation to the global, universal flood and in relation to the end of the earth. Temporally, the concepts allow the flood to be interpreted in relation to the biblical past and the apocalyptic future. The concepts also create

[78] Schenk, "Dis-astri. Modelli interpretativi delle calamità naturali dal medioevo al rinascimento", 48–49.
[79] Appendix, p. 64, lines 77–78.
[80] Appendix, p. 65, line 85; p. 65, line 98.

connections between the Parisian community and the human race as a whole, reinforcing the conceptual links between the contemporary flood and salvation history. This chapter has focused on how the Parisian flood acquired cultural meaning. Through Odo's interpretations the flood became a significant and meaningful event by being inscribed into salvation history, and conceptually connected to global, environmental events of the biblical past and future.

Chapter 3: "For the fig tree shall not blossom": Tropology and moral responsibility

Odo's sermon is not only concerned with the largescale, global implications of the Paris flood. His interpretations are also directed toward local concerns in the Parisian community. In this chapter, I will explore how Odo's interpretation of the contemporary, natural disaster turns it into an acute, morally significant event for the Parisian community and how the sermon attempts to direct the community's response to the disaster. Interpretations of natural disasters can, in the words of James T. Palmer, impose "meaning on human life".[81] Palmer has shown through his study of early medieval responses to extreme natural events and climate change that cultural framings and interpretations of natural disasters were used to encourage certain forms of behavior.[82] Thus, cultural responses to natural disasters provide meaning that can extend beyond the effect of the natural disaster itself.[83] I will apply this perspective to Odo's interpretation of the Parisian flood.

In a considerable part of the sermon, Odo addresses different social groups in the community using the tropological level of meaning that deals with the direct relevance of biblical tropes to single individuals or groups. I argue that these tropological interpretations create complex conceptual blends between nature and morality that transforms the natural disaster into a moral disaster, which requires responses from the audience. Consequently, this chapter will also deal with the immediate context of the sermon and the question of the audience. Jussi Hanska argues that catastrophe sermons preached in the midst of a chaotic situation had much in common with what D. L. d'Avray has called revivalist preaching.[84] Revivalist preaching sought to have an immediate effect on the audience, both when it comes to emotion and action. Contrarily, model sermons preached year in and year out aimed to have a long-term effect on the listeners, as the same message was repeated over and over to contribute to the forming of popular assumptions.[85] I suggest that Odo's sermon sought to encourage immediate emotional responses and move the Parisian community to action. I will here explore the second research question: How do Odo's interpretations of the Parisian flood enable and constrain certain forms of responses? I will first present the procession as the ritual context of the sermon and discuss what this context might imply regarding Odo's audience

[81] Palmer, "Climates of Crisis", 12.
[82] Palmer, "Climates of Crisis", 4.
[83] Palmer, "Climates of Crisis", 7.
[84] Hanska, *Strategies of Sanity and Survival*, 77–78.
[85] d'Avray, "Method in the Study of Medieval Sermons", 8–9.

and the relationship between the sermon as written text and performed event. Then I will turn to the way in which Odo addresses different social groups in Paris and turns the flood into a significant event for the Parisian community. Finally, I will discuss how Odo's interpretation of the flood enables and constrains certain forms of responses.

The procession as the context for the sermon and the sermon's audience

Sermons are a highly oral and performative genre. However, the ephemeral nature of the performed sermon makes it difficult to reconstruct the sermon as a performed, oral event.[86] In the cases where there is extra-textual evidence such as records of actual performance, one might come closer to the sermon as an oral event and its performative aspects.[87] But there are to my knowledge no such sources to Odo's "Sermo in processione facta propter inundationem aquarum". I will not attempt to reconstruct the performative aspects of Odo's sermon. Rather, I will point to the procession as the ritual context of the sermon and discuss what it can tell us about the audience of the sermon, and I will reflect on some aspects related to the relationship between written text and oral delivery.[88]

The sermon was, as indicated in the title, delivered in connection with a procession in Paris, probably arranged during or right after the flooding of the Seine. Processions were religious ceremonies that took place in the cityscape and the city's churches. They were arranged by the clergy, but open to the public and required active participation from the audience. Processions were held once a year on Rogation Day to secure the growing of crops and invoke God's protection, thus, processions were an established part of the liturgical cycle.[89] By the thirteenth century, so-called *processiones causa necessitates* had become a well-established response to natural disasters in France and in most parts of Western Europe.[90] These processions included sermons, public prayers, and cortèges through the town, often while carrying the relics of the city's patron saints to invoke their protection.

Records of Parisian processions in the thirteenth century show that processions as a response to flood or heavy rains were organized in 1206, 1240, and 1242, as well as in 1233

[86] Thompson, "From Text to Preaching", 14–15.
[87] For an overview of methodological approaches see Thompson, "From Text to Preaching".
[88] Thompson, "From Text to Preaching", 27.
[89] Hanska, *Strategies of Sanity and Survival*, 49.
[90] Sigal, *L'homme et le miracle dans la France médiévale*, 157; Hanska, *Strategies of Sanity and Survival*, 49–51.

which is the most likely date for the procession that Odo's sermon was a part of.[91] Pierre Féret has described how such processions took place. High town officials commissioned the procession from the bishop who in turn asked permission to carry out the relics of the patron saint of Paris, Saint Geneviève, from the Abbey of Saint Geneviève where they were kept, and sought approval for arranging the procession with the parliament. A public sermon was held in the church of Saint-Étienne near the Abbey of Saint Geneviève to inform and prepare the Parisians for the ceremony.[92] In the procession, the clergy and monks walked in front carrying the shrine with the relics while the laity followed behind them.[93] The procession itself started at the Abbey of Saint Geneviève situated on a hill on the Left Bank of the Seine and went down to the Seine to cross over to the river to the cathedral of Notre Dame where mass was celebrated. Afterwards, the procession continued back to the Abbey of Saint Geneviève.[94] We can note from the descriptions of how these processions were arranged that they were well-planned ceremonies authorized by the city's authorities and organized by the religious elite.[95]

Despite the fact that processions required some planning and organizing, they were often arranged during a lasting catastrophic situation.[96] An anonymous monk from the Abbey of Saint Geneviève noted down a description of the serious flood and the procession in 1206. He claims that the procession was held while the floodwater still occupied the streets of Paris. The bridge that needed to be crossed to move from the Left Bank to the Cathedral of Notre Dame at Île de la Cité was near collapse. Miraculously, with the protection of Saint Geneviève according to the monk, the cortège managed to cross the bridge both on their way to and on their way back from Notre Dame before it collapsed.[97] These descriptions of the flood processions in Paris can help us imagine the circumstances of the delivery of "Sermo in processione facta propter inundationem aquarum".

We can assume that the procession of 1233 was arranged by the ecclesiastical elite and authorized by the city's authorities. It is likely that this procession, too, followed the customary route from the Abbey of Saint Geneviève to the Cathedral of Notre Dame and back. Odo's sermon was probably held as part of the mass at Notre Dame. Odo himself

[91] The procession in 1206 is too early. Of the remaining dates, the only procession which is explicitly linked to a flood is the one in 1233, the two other dates are processions arranged to stop heavy rains, see Féret, *L'abbaye de Sainte-Geneviève et la congrégation de France*, 354; see also Hanska, *Strategies of Sanity and Survival*, 181.
[92] Féret, *L'abbaye de Sainte-Geneviève et la congrégation de France* , 350–351.
[93] Féret, *L'abbaye de Sainte-Geneviève et la congrégation de* France , 352; Hanska, *Strategies of Sanity and Survival*, 55.
[94] Féret, *L'abbaye de Sainte-Geneviève et la congrégation de France*, 353.
[95] See also Hanska, *Strategies of Sanity and Survival*, 59–60.
[96] Hanska, *Strategies of Sanity and Survival*, 63.
[97] For a transcription of the Latin text, see "De processione reliquiarum S. Genovefæ anno MCCVI", 662–663. For a French translation see "La chute du Petit-Pont de Paris", trans. de la Marche and Berlioz, 116–117.

mentions that the relics of Saint Geneviève had been carried to the place where he was preaching.[98] The account of the flood in 1206 makes it possible to imagine that the sermon was held in the midst of a chaotic situation, while the destructive consequences of the flood still were visible in the streets of Paris. The procession might have been moving through muddy streets or even streets immersed in floodwater. Finally, the procession as the ritual context for the delivery of the sermon can help us gain a picture of the sermons' audience.

Public processions involved both lays and clerics, so it is likely that Odo preached for a diverse audience. Textual evidence also indicates that Odo preached to an audience consisting of different social groups, not just the elite. In the sermon, he addresses the monks and clerics, prelates and princes, as well as the citizens and the peasants, and explains how each of these groups' sinful behavior stands responsible for the flood.[99] These groups correspond to some of the main groups of inhabitants of Paris in the thirteenth century, namely the priests, canons and monks of various orders; the secular and ecclesiastical officials such as the king and his court and the abbots and the bishop of Paris; the citizens ranging from wealthy Parisians to poor merchants, craftsmen, and artisans; and finally the peasants or countrymen, possibly just moved into the city in search for better prospects in life. The audience thus consisted of both learned and unlearned men and women, with different levels of knowledge of the Bible and of Latin.

The mixed audience has implications for the way in which we might approach the relationship between the sermon as written text and performed event. First, there is the question of the language of delivery. It is generally assumed in scholarship that sermons preached to the laity were delivered in the vernacular even though they were recorded in Latin.[100] Thus, it is possible, perhaps even likely, that Odo preached the sermon in the vernacular to reach a wider audience and not just the learned elite. Alexis Charansonnet holds that there is a close relationship between the written text and oral delivery when the sermon was composed for a specific, contemporary event. Whereas the relationship between text and performance is more uncertain when it comes to model sermons and liturgical sermons.[101] If we follow Charansonnet, we can assume that Odo's oral delivery kept close to the written

[98] Hanska, *Strategies of Sanity and Survival*, 80; Appendix, p. 66, lines 117–118.
[99] Appendix, pp. 62–64, lines 18–65.
[100] See for instance Thayer, "The Medieval Sermon: Text, Performance and Insight", 48; Thompson, "From Text to Preaching", 17–18; d'Avray, *The Preaching of the Friars*, 90–95.
[101] Charansonnet, "L'université, l'Eglise et l'Etat dans les sermons du cardinal Eudes de Châteauroux (1190 ?–1273)", 15. Charansonnet discusses Odo's political sermons. I suggest that Odo's sermon on the Parisian flood also was composed for a specific, contemporary event.

account of the sermon in terms of content, even if he recorded the sermon in Latin and performed it in the vernacular.

Sermons have been viewed in recent scholarship as a medium of communication, an interaction between preacher and audience.[102] While we cannot reconstruct the audience reception, how they interacted with or acted out the response to the sermon,[103] we can, however, approach the question of interaction from the point of view of the sermon as a written text. Since I argue that Odo preached for a mixed audience ranging from the clerical and monastic elites to the simple citizens of Paris, I want to explore the way in which he handled this rhetorically challenging situation. Odo's sermon addresses different groups in the audience and advocates for how they should respond to the flood in different ways. The message of the sermon needed to be activated and understood at different levels by different parts of the audience at the same time. Only then could he attempt to direct their response to the flood. This rhetorical situation will therefore be the starting point when I now turn to how Odo addresses his audience and what he tells them.

Moral unfruitfulness

As we have seen, at the opening of the sermon, Odo establishes the typological connection between the unfruitfulness of the earth at the beginning of the creation story and the condition of the earth in his own time. In Odo's sermon, biblical time and biblical spatial features are interwoven with the present. The void (*inanis*), empty (*uacua*), and unfruitful (*infructuosa*) earth at the beginning of Genesis becomes a contemporary concern.[104] This is most vivid in a long passage where he reflects on the following quote from the prophecy of Habacuc:

> For in these days [*hiis temporibus*], the prophecy of Habacuc seems to be fulfilled, saying [Hab 3:17]: *For the fig tree shall not blossom: and there shall be no sprout in the vines. The work of the olive tree shall fail: and the fields shall yield no food: the flock shall be cut off from the fold, and there shall be no herd in the stalls.*[105]

Odo claims that the prophecy of Habacuc is about to be fulfilled here and now [*hiis temporibus*], in the muddy streets of Paris. He interprets and actualizes the biblical quote using the tropological level of meaning. The unfruitful trees and crops in Habacuc are, in Odo's interpretation, four kinds of people and the good works associated with them.[106] The fig

[102] Thompson, "From Text to Preaching", 15; Bériou, "Conclusion: La Parole du prédicateur, objet d'historie", 479–88; d'Avray, *The Preaching of the Friars*.
[103] See Thompson, "From Text to Preaching", 20.
[104] Appendix, p. 62, lines 10–15.
[105] Appendix, p. 62, lines 15–17.
[106] Appendix, p. 62, line 18.

tree stands for the clerics and monks, the vines for the prelates and princes, the olive tree for the citizens and the fields for the peasants.[107] The tropological level, which directs interpretations towards the individual faithful soul, lends itself well to the actualization of biblical passages. There are here two biblical passages, with important spatial features, that are actualized through the tropological interpretation: the unfruitfulness (*infructuosa*) of the earth at the beginning of Genesis and the unfruitful trees and crops in the prophecy of Habacuc, which is fulfilled in contemporary Paris. By invoking the tropological level, Odo can interpret the unfruitfulness in the Genesis narrative and in Habacuc as signifying the *moral unfruitfulness* of different social groups in Paris. Odo has already stated that God flooded the earth at the beginning of Genesis because of its unfruitfulness. Thus it is the sinful behavior of the Parisian community, their moral unfruitfulness, that has caused God's wrath and thereby the flood.

Based on this part of the sermon, Hanska argues that Odo uses the divine-wrath mode when interpreting the Parisian flood, as Odo explicitly states that the sins of the Parisian community have caused the flood. He relates this passage to the causal relationship between communal sin and natural disasters displayed at the end of Odo's sermon.[108] In my analysis, I aim to show that Odo's use of the divine-wrath mode is grounded in a tropological interpretation of biblical passages and displays a more complex relationship between communal sin and natural disasters than the causal schemes proposed by Hanska.

I would like to suggest that Odo's tropological interpretation of the quote from Habacuc arises from a complex conceptual blend between two conceptual domains, where the conceptual domain of nature is mapped onto the domain of morality. From this blend new meanings emerge whereby Habacuc's prophetic trees and crops are not only translocated in contemporary Paris, but come to life in the form of the various groups of the Parisian society. The conceptual blending between nature and morality rests on Odo's explanation of why floods take place in the first place, namely because the earth is unfruitful, understood in a literal sense: it lacks humidity. Through the interpretation of the biblical passage from Habacuc, Odo transforms the concept of unfruitfulness, and with it the refertilizing flood, into a moral event. The blending of the conceptual domain of nature, fruitfulness, and unfruitfulness on the one hand, and the conceptual domain of sin and morality, on the other hand, further strengthens the interpretation of the flood as a moral disaster: an event which is the consequence of immorality and brought on to restore the earth's (moral) fruifulness.

[107] Appendix, pp. 63–64, lines 27–28; 53–54; 60–61; 62.
[108] Hanska, "Cessante Causa Cessat et Effectus", 148–152; Hanska, *Strategies of Sanity and Survival*, 129–130.

Thereby, Odo can encourage certain moral responses to the flood. When Odo addresses the different groups, he unpacks this conceptual blend between nature and morality in different ways relevant to each group.

The first group consists of the clerics and monks (*clerici et religiosi*),[109] that is, the Parisian clergy and the members of various monastic and mendicant orders, including masters and students at the university, a group that Odo himself belonged to. This group was exclusively male (Odo will address them as *viri*, "men"), unlike the group of citizens and peasants which could include women as well.[110] The records of Parisian processions show that members of different mendicant orders, the monastics community at the Abbey of Saint Geneviève, as well as the clergy of the parish churches, the collegiate churches, and the chapter of Notre Dame, were present during processions.[111] These clerics and monks were thus highly likely to be present in the audience of the sermon. When addressing this group, Odo provides them with numerous biblical quotes and intertextual references, explicitly stated in the text or implicitly indicated. This section exceeds the other parts of the text when it comes to length and the complexity of the content.

The fig tree in Habacuc represents the "good works" (*bonorum operum*)[112] of the clerics and monks and their way of life. Odo refers to them as contemplative men (*viri contemplatiui*): "Through the fig tree that makes the sweetest fruit which *cannot leave its sweetness*, Judges [14:11], contemplative men [are signified]."[113] *Uita contemplatiua* is usually connected to the monastic life but is here extended to include the clergy as well. A long section follows where Odo describes the kind of "work" that is assigned to these contemplative men, namely contemplation:

> And the contemplation and the fruit of contemplation are in the fig tree, that is [in] blossom and fruit. So also in contemplation. For note thus [that] it is said: *the patience of the poor shall not perish forever.* For although the act of patience is limited to this life, the fruit will exist in eternity. […] For in these virtues which partly exist eternally, the act will disappear, but not the fruit. But in the contemplative virtues, the act and the fruit are the same, it is blossom and fruit like it is with love.[114]

Here, Odo describes the fig tree, or the clerics and monks, before the fulfillment of the prophecy of Habacuc where it has become unfruitful. He unpacks the conceptual blend between nature (the fig tree) and morality (contemplation understood as good works). There

[109] Appendix, p. 63, line 28.
[110] Roux, *Paris in the Middle Ages*, 97.
[111] Féret, *L'abbaye de Sainte-Geneviève et la congrégation de France* , 352.
[112] Appendix, p. 62, line 18.
[113] Appendix, p. 62, lines 18–20.
[114] Appendix, p. 62, lines 20–23; 25–26.

are several intertextual elements in this passage. Odo states that in the contemplative virtues, there is no distinction between the act, that is the thing that you do, and the reward you get from that act, just like it is with love. Here, Odo plays on, first, the double meaning of the Latin word *fructus*, which can mean both the fruit of a plant, like the fruit of the fig tree, and spiritual enjoyment or reward,[115] and second, on Augustine's (354–430) distinction between *uti* (to use) and *frui* (to enjoy).[116] To enjoy something is to love something for its own sake, that is how one should love God. To use something, on the other hand, is to love something, e.g. worldly things, for God's sake.[117] The passage from the Psalms stating that the patience of the poor shall not perish forever, reflects this distinction. The "act of patience" (*actus patientie*) refers to the things one needs to endure and suffer in this life in order to obtain the reward (*fructus*) in the afterlife. In this context, it describes the actions, or good works, which one ought to do in order to obtain eternal reward in the afterlife, following Augustine's concept of *uti*. Contemplation, on the other hand, bears no distinction between the act of contemplation (*actus*) and the enjoyment and reward (*fructus*) you obtain through it, just as when you love God for God's own sake (*frui*). Contemplation is in this sense its own reward.

The blend between nature and morality continues when Odo states that the clerics and monks shall overflow with ripe fruits (*fructus*) like the fig tree:

> In the fig tree, while the fruit becomes ripe, others grow forth and therefore there is an overflow of fruits. Likewise, it should be among the clerics and the monks, who in good works [*bonis operibus*] should overflow more than all. And since they [the clerics and monks] constitute one [*unum*], they should also have the other [*aliud*, i.e. other groups in society] in mind and will, for it [the fig tree] makes fruit before leaves that are like a human hand, so that the works [*opera*] precede the words [*uerba*].[118]

The clerics and monks are not just like the fig trees, they *are* fig trees. Features of the fig tree (the conceptual domain of nature) are mapped onto the clerics and monks and their good works (the conceptual domain of morality) with a set of systematic correspondences. The fig tree corresponds to the clerics and monks, and the ripe fruit of the fig tree corresponds to their good works. The way in which some fruits of the fig tree become ripe while other fruits grow fourth corresponds to the way in which the good works (*bonis operibus*) of the clerics and monks shall overflow before all. The fig tree grows fruit before leaves and corresponds to the way in which the clerics and monks should have others (*aliud*) in mind and will, not just in

[115] *Fructus* is a participle of *fruor*, which means to enjoy. For the double meaning of the words see *Latinsk ordbok: latin-norsk*, s.v."fructus"; *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*, s.v. "fructus".
[116] Augustine, *De Doctrina Christiana*, trans. R. P. H. Green, 1.3.3–1.4.4.
[117] Augustine, *De Doctrina Christiana*, trans. R. P. H. Green, 3.10.16; Engh, *Gendered Identities in Bernard of Clairvaux's Sermons on the Song of* Songs, 68; 73.
[118] Appendix, p. 63, lines 28–32.

what they say and teach (*uerba*), but most of all in what they do (*opera*). All these features exist simultaneously in the blend so that new meanings can emerge. Through the blend, the clerics and the monks are instated as moral examples for other groups in society. They function as moral examples because they are united as a group and constitute one (*unum*). We shall now see what unites them.

Ecclesiastical unity was important for the church. The Gregorian reforms of the eleventh and twelfth centuries sought to bring unity to the church by amongst other things institutionalized clerical celibacy.[119] Before the reforms, monks had practiced celibacy as part of their ascetic lifestyle. Celibacy was seen as an ascetic ideal for the clergy, but not an obligation.[120] With the Church reforms came "the monasticization of the clergy".[121] The clergy should now practice the same ascetic ideal as the monks by abstaining from marriage. Part of the argument for clerical celibacy was that it sustained social order. Clerical celibacy set a good example as the clergy was not leading disordered lives.[122] Odo hints at the unity of clergy and monks already when he addresses them both as contemplative men, sharing in the *uita contemplatiua*. In the final part of this section dealing with the fruitful clerics and monks, the subtext of the monasticization of the clergy emerges explicitly: "Through Jacob, the contemplatives [are signified] who fight with the angel until sunrise which for them arises in death. Then they become part of Israel and for them, all affection of the flesh wither away."[123] In the biblical narrative, Jacob is wrestling with a man until sunrise (Gen 32:22–32), who later is described as an angel (Hosea 12:3–4). The fight ends with the angel blessing Jacob and naming him Israel. Jacobs wrestling with the angel is here interpreted as a contemplative fight with the desire of the flesh which continues until death. Through this fight, all desire of the flesh withers away. As mentioned, the clerics and monks in Odo's audience were not a homogeneous group. It consisted of the monks of different orders, the clergy of the parish churches, and the chapter of Notre Dame. By bringing in the subtext of asceticism in the form of celibacy, Odo reminds this part of the audience of what brings them together as contemplative men, and what they ought to do to remain fruitful like a fig tree overflown with fruit.

In other words, Odo is telling the clerics and monks how they should live. Presently, he will show them how they have failed in this and so stand responsible for the flood. The

[119] Engh, *Gendered Identities in Bernard of Clairvaux's Sermons on the Song of Songs*, 47.
[120] Karras, *Unmarriages: Women, Men, and Sexual Unions in the Middle Ages*, 116.
[121] Karras, *Unmarriages: Women, Men, and Sexual Unions in the Middle Ages*, 118.
[122] Karras, *Unmarriages: Women, Men, and Sexual Unions in the Middle Ages*, 116.
[123] Appendix, p. 63, lines 34–36.

unfruitful fig tree in Habacuc's prophecy (Hab 3:17) is the focal point of his diatribe: "For the fig tree shall not blossom […]". The text of the sermon reads:

> But in certain people, the fig tree is unfruitful [*sterilis*] because it has words [*uerba*] and not works [*opera*], and there are not in them pomegranates connected with tintinnabulum. These are of the fig tree about which [we can read] in Luke [13:6–9] and Matthew [21:19–21]. About these are said in Joel [1:7]: *He had pilled off the bark of my fig tree: he had stripped it bare, and cast it away; the branches thereof are made white.* These are the clerics and certain monks whom the devil has pilled the bark of who do not even accept the habit [*habitum*] of the cleric and the monk.[124]

Through intertextual references, the conceptual blend between the fig tree and the clerics and monks is developed. Monks who fail in following the contemplative virtues and do good works, fail to *do* (*opera*) what they teach (*uerba*) and are thus unfruitful fig trees. The tension between words and works is elaborated by the phrasing from Exodus (28:33–35) "pomegranates connected with tintinnabulum." The *tintinnabulum* (a little bell) was a liturgical and papal symbol often found in medieval churches.[125] Again the subtheme of ecclesiastical unity emerges. Odo attacks clerics and monks who fail in sustaining this unity, which he has insisted on in the previous section. Further biblical intertexts (Luke 13:6–9, Matt. 21:19–21, and Joel 1:7) allude to barren and destroyed fig trees, which are identified as clerics and monks who do not accept the clerical and monastic habit (*habitum*). *Habitus* can refer to clothing, but might also mean living according to a rule, whether monastic or clerical.[126] By not following the contemplative virtues and living according to the monastic roles and clerical regulations, they not only fail to practice what they preach but also undermine ecclesiastical unity. The clerics and monks are invited to reflect on their role as moral examples for other parts of society and encouraged to sustain this role with their celibate, contemplative lifestyle and by performing good works.

The next group addressed by Odo comprises the prelates and princes (*prelati et principes*),[127] i.e., the secular and the ecclesiastical high-ranking officials. The terms can refer to bishops, abbots, cardinals, and other high-ranking clerics within the Church as well as secular rulers such as the king and members of the royal family.[128] The bishop of Paris and

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[124] Appendix, p. 63, lines 37–41.
[125] In Exodus tintinnabulum and pomegranates are part of the decoration the high priest Aron's robe. For tintinnabulum as papal symbol, see *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*, s.v "tintinnabulum"; DuChange, s.v. "tintinnabulum".
[126] *Latinsk ordbok: latin-norsk*, s.v. "habitus"; *Dictionnaire latin–français des auteurs chrétiens*, s.v. "habitus".
[127] Appendix, p. 63, line 52.
[128] *Dictionnaire latin–français des auteurs chrétiens*, s.v. "princeps"; *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources,* s.v. "praelatus" and "princeps". "Praelatus" is primarily an ecclesiastical term, while "princeps" can refer to both ecclesiastical and secular officials. Odo uses "principes" to describe both ecclesiastical and secular rulers and high–ranking officials in a later sermon, see the transcription of the sermon "Sermo in festo sancti Thome Cantuariensis archiepisco", in Charansonnet, "L'université, l'Eglise et l'Etat dans les sermons du cardinal Eudes de Châteauroux (1190 ?–1273)", p. 906–911, lines 6–8.

abbot of Saint Geneviève most certainly would have attended the Parisian procession which makes it likely that they were part of Odo's audience.[129] There is more uncertainty concerning the royal family. However, high town officials normally commissioned and authorized processions and might have been present during Odo's delivery of the sermon.[130]

This section of the sermon is shorter than the previous one, but includes numerous intertextual biblical references and is quite complex in the use of images. Odo is here still addressing the learned elite. While the clerics and monks were associated with contemplation, the prelates and princes are associated with the practice of justice.[131] The conceptual blend between the domain of morality and that of nature functions on two levels here. First, the works of justice are signified by wine (*uinum*), the product which can be made out of the vines in a vineyard (*uinea*):

> Wine [*uinum*] from the vineyard [*uinea*] that delights the human heart. For wine is created for enjoyment. Through wine, the works of justice [are signified] that not only delight those who perform them but also those who see [them]: *For the just shall rejoice when he shall see revenge*.[132]

Works of justice do not only bring joy to the prelate and princes but to everyone who can see that justice is done and the unjust punished. Second, the conceptual blend is extended to include the vines (*uinea*) themselves, which stand for the prelate and princes:

> For the vine [*uinea*] [stands] the prelates and princes whose duty it is to perform justice. But it is necessary that the vine is trimmed and cultivated, that is so that justice is restrained and injustice is punished. But now there is no sprout in these vines, because like he says in Isaias [25:5]: *As with heat under a burning cloud, thou shalt make the branch of the mighty to wither away.* The burning cloud, that is, glowing and burning desire [*cupiditas*] which withers away and destroys justice. Joel [1:7]: *He had laid my vineyard waste*, when, certainly, not trimmed and cultivated. Thus, because the princes and the prelates do not have someone who can pass judgment on them, therefore after giving up justice, they stretch out their hands towards injustice. And therefore there is no sprout in these vines.[133]

The vines, or the prelates and princes, fail to produce sprouts and grapes which can be made into wine, that is justice. The glowing and burning desire (*cupiditas*) refers to the desire for power.[134] This desire for power undermines justice because no one passes judgment on these people high up in society. Again, Odo is inviting the powerful elite to reflect on their role in society. Justice sets an example for the rest of society, and should therefore be practiced in a righteous manner.

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[129] Féret, *L'abbaye de Sainte-Geneviève et la congrégation de France*, 352.
[130] Féret does not comment on the presence of the royal family in Parisian processions. Féret, *L'abbaye de Sainte-Geneviève et la congrégation de France*, 350.
[131] Appendix, p. 63, line 52.
[132] Appendix, p. 63, lines 45–47.
[133] Appendix, pp. 63–64, lines 52–59.
[134] *Lewis and Short's Latin-English Lexicon*, s.v. "cupiditas".

The next group to be addressed are the burghers or citizens of Paris (*burgenses*), the *bourgeois* in French.[135] This group might include the citizens of Paris from the wealthiest Parisian families to the simple citizens, such as merchants, artists, and craftsmen. The simple citizens constituted one of the largest, if not the largest population group in the city.[136] If the laity participated in the procession, which we may assume that they did, this group was represented in the audience of the sermon. The appeal to the citizens is spelled out in a much simpler manner than in the preceding sections. The only explicit biblical reference is to the Prophecy of Habacuc and the olive tree:

> *The work* [*opus*] *of the olive tree shall fail*. Through the olive tree the citizens [are signified], who if they give works of charity [*opera misericordie*], they brag about it or even do it in a way that is a mortal sin. And therefore work [*opus*] of this kind is deceitful.[137]

The conceptual blend between nature and morality is here activated to describe a rather concrete sin committed by the citizens, namely their failure to do good works. Works of charity (*opera misericordie*) refers to the practice of charity and almsgiving to the poor. According to 1 Corinthians 13, charity reflected the quality of the giver's soul (1 Cor 13:2–3).[138] Medieval theologians saw the practice of almsgiving as strongly connected with *caritas*, the Augustinian concept of ordered love between man and God.[139] When given properly, alms were given for God's sake, not for the benefit of the giver or for the sake of the poor alone.[140] The connection between the quality of the giver's soul and the practice of almsgiving is reflected in the quote when Odo states that the citizens do good works in a way that is a mortal sin. The message to the ordinary citizens is clear and simple, they should give alms and do works of charity in the right manner, that is, for the love of God (*caritas*).

The last group that Odo addresses are the peasants (*rustici*).[141] It is more unclear what social group in Paris he is referring to here. *Rustici* means both peasants and people who lack the townsmen's refinement either when it comes to appearance, behavior, or level of knowledge.[142] Many people from surrounding rural areas moved to Paris to seek a better life.[143] Odo might refer to these groups of former peasants and people from the country, but

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[135] Appendix, p. 64, line 60; *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*, s.v. "burgensis".
[136] Roux, *Paris in the Middle Ages*, 77.
[137] Appendix, p. 64, lines 60–61.
[138] Buhrer, "From Caritas to Charity", 115.
[139] See Buhrer, "From Caritas to Charity", 115–119. Buhrer draws on early medieval notions of charity and *caritas*, especially Augustine, and thirteenth-century scholastic theologians such as Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274), suggesting that connection between *caritas* and almsgiving extended throughout the medieval period.
[140] Buhrer, "From Caritas to Charity", 116–117.
[141] Appendix, p. 64, lines 62.
[142] *Latinsk ordbok: latin-norsk*, s.v. "rusticus"; *Oxford Latin* Dictionary,1996 ed., s.v. "rusticus".
[143] Roux, *Paris in the Middle Ages*, 45–48.

this is based more on speculation than solid evidence. It might be safer to assume that Odo means peasants and that they most likely were not present in the audience since most peasants lived outside the city walls. Present or not, the peasants also have their share of the guilt when it comes to why Paris is (morally) unfruitful:

> *And the fields shall yield no food*, that is, the peasants. Either because they are without the fulness of love [*pinguedine caritatis*], or because they are immersed in water of lust [*luxurie*], or because they are infected by the saltwater of hatred [*odii*], or because they are neither planted nor cultivated.[144]

The sins of the peasant are related to the absence of *caritas* or the concept of ordered love. Peasants are immersed in *luxuria*, one of the seven deadly sins connected with sexual lust, and infected by hatred (*odium*). Both these characteristics reflect back on the absence of *caritas*. The peasants are unrestrained and profligate. The water of lust and the saltwater of hatred make the fields unfruitful. The conceptual blend between nature and morality seems to suggest that the profligate peasants are unable to do good works because they lack the fulness of love (*caritas*).

The tropological interpretations allows for a compression of time, where the spatial features in the Genesis story and in Habacuc come to life in Paris as a contemporary presence. The social groups constitute an unfruitful and sterile landscape, displaying the devastating effects of a moral disaster: twisted and crippled trees bearing no fruit, overgrown vines without sprouts, and soil drenched in putrid water. It is this miserable state of affairs that has caused the flood. God sent the flood at the beginning of time to render the earth fruitful, it can seem that Odo thinks that the same will happen again now.

Encouraging collective responses

In the section where Odo addresses the social groups of Paris, the conceptual blend between morality and nature is activated in different ways, providing the diverse parts of the audience with different possibilities for reflecting on their roles in society and their moral failings. Odo might have sought to evoke the audience's feelings of guilt and responsibility for the flood and adjusted his message so that it could reach different parts of the audience. Nevertheless, their collective sins have caused the Parisian flood. After the section dealing with moral unfruitfulness, Odo compares the current situation to that of Noah:

[144] Appendix, p. 64, lines 62–64.

> Thus, men connect themselves inseparable to bad habits, the malice is multiplied. Men's thoughts were stretching out towards malice all the time. Whether it be clerics or laymen [*tam clerici quam laici*], their ways, it is a corrupted way of living. Because of this, the Lord brings floods and other plagues […][145]

Odo describes the cause of the flood in Noah's time and the cause of the Parisian flood, blending together the biblical narrative and the present situation. The sinful behavior of both clerics and laymen has brought God's punishment upon the Parisian community. Clerics and laymen (*tam clerici quam laici*) must refer back to the social groups discussed above. Their communal sin calls for a collective response.

The conceptual blend between nature and morality continues when the collective response is introduced:

> [T]he firmament through the water below [signifies] nature's punishments, through the [waters] above [signifies] divine revenge. Repentance [*pentientia*] is the firmament [*fimamentum*] that prevents that divine revenge shall be streamed forth over us. In this firmament are the seven works of mercy [*opera misericordie*] like the seven planets, and all are good works [*bona opera*] like stars. Likewise, it is read in Genesis [8:1–2]: *The waters were abated. The fountains also of the deep, and the flood gates of heaven were shut up, and the rain from heaven was restrained.* And put in front of that place *God remembered Noah, and all the living creatures*. For because of a few good people, God saves the wicked, and if our sins cease which are the fountains of the deep, the penalty that is brought by God will also cease, that is the gates of heaven will be closed.[146]

The conceptual domain of nature or the cosmos, represented in the text as the firmament, is mapped onto the domain of morality in different ways. At the beginning of the sermon, the firmament was introduced as part of the creation story.[147] After the water had covered the entire earth, God separated the water below from the water above with a firmament and made dry land appear (Gen 1:6–10). Here, the firmament signifies nature's punishment (*penalitates nature*) through the waters below. In the creation story (Gen 1:2) and the flood narrative of Noah (Gen 8:2), the waters below correspond to the abyss (*abyssus*) and fountains of the deep (*fontes abyssi*). In the sermon, the fountains of the deep also stand for the sins of the Parisian community. Through the waters above, the firmament signifies divine revenge (*ultiones diuine*). In the creation story, the waters above correspond to water above the firmament which God created when he separated water from water (Gen 1:6–8). In the flood narrative of Noah, the waters above are the floodgates of heaven (*cataracte celi*) (Gen 8:2). Finally, the firmament is also repentance (*pentientia*), which functions as a shield from the waters above and the waters below. This complex conceptual blend allows for the spatial features in the creation story and the flood narrative of Noah to become part of the description of what the firmament of repentance shall shield the Parisian community from.

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[145] Appendix, p. 64, lines 75–78.
[146] Appendix, p. 65, lines 88–95.
[147] Appendix, p. 62, lines 8–9.

The conceptual blend between morality and cosmos presents the audience with the possibility to respond emotionally and morally to the flood, by showing repentance for their sins. Through collective repentance, the Parisian community can hinder that divine revenge shall fall upon them. The firmament which shall shield the community from divine revenge is not constructed by repentance alone. The firmament includes seven planets and stars which correspond to the seven works of mercy (*opera misericordie*) and to the doing of good works (*bona opera*). The seven works of mercy refer to the corporal works of mercy described in the Gospel of Matthew (25:32-40), to feed the hungry, give water to the thirsty, give shelter to the homeless, clothe the naked, visit the sick, and visit and redeem the imprisoned. To bury the dead was added as a seventh act of mercy in the twelfth century.[148] The corporal works of mercy were spiritualized and used to encourage the faithful to also care for the spiritual well-being of others.[149] To include the seven acts of mercy can thus be seen as an exhortation both for the clergy and the laity to do good works. Repentance and doing morally good works will close the floodgates of heaven and the fountains of the deep, and function as a shield against the flood. That being said, divine powers did also play a part in making the flood cease. God was the one that remembered Noah and all the living creatures and might show mercy to the Parisian community as well if they repent their sins and changed their behavior.

To conclude this chapter, I will bring attention to the procession and the circumstances surrounding the delivery of the sermon. Before the sermon was delivered at Notre Dame, the cortège, consisting of clergy, monks, ecclesiastical and secular powers, simple Parisian citizens, and possible peasants, had moved through the city on the Left Bank and over the Seine to Notre Dame. The cityscape might have been transformed by the flood and the water level of the Seine was probably higher than usual. In such circumstances, the need for action might have seemed acute. The tropological interpretation of the flood offered the audience diverse individual and collective possibilities for responding to the situation. Each group was encouraged to reflect on their moral failings. By showing repentance for their sins, and by doing works, the Parisian community could create a firmament that would keep the floodwaters out. Odo's interpretation, which transformed the flood into a moral disaster, sought to enable and constrain the audience's response by advocating for moral improvement.

[148] Gray, *The Least of My Brothers*, 172; 341.
[149] The spiritual works of mercy did not make up a fix list like the corporal works in the thirteenth century, but were open for interpretation. They could include teaching of the doctrine and instructing the ignorant. See Gray, *The Least of My Brothers*, 149–189.

Chapter 4: "This has occurred six times": Environmental imagination

Scholars working on the history of natural disasters have noted that in the aftermath of a natural hazard, cultural negotiations take place as people try to attribute meaning to the event that took place. Natural hazards can turn the world upside down. In the attempt to re-establish cultural and cosmological order, fundamental conceptions of the world become visible.[150] These can include spatial and cosmological conceptions the earth's condition, temporal conceptions as the disasters are seen in relation to past and possible future events, and conceptions about good and evil forces in the world, human or metaphysical. Thereby disasters can be used as a lens for understanding cultural conceptions of how the world is constructed.[151] Odo's "Sermo in processione facta propter inundationem aquarum" is an attempt to provide meaning to the flood that has submerged Paris. In the previous chapters, I have shown how Odo draws on two medieval modes of explaining natural disasters: the cosmological and eschatological mode, which placed the flood in Paris within salvation history (Chap. 2); and the divine-wrath mode, which directed the interpretation of the flood towards local concerns in the Parisian community (Chap. 3). Odo's sermon not only makes visible culturally contingent conceptualizations of the world, it also negotiates between them. To discuss this, I will introduce a term from environmental humanities and ecocriticism, namely environmental imagination.

The term environmental imagination was first introduced by the literary scholar Lawrence Buell to describe a particular kind of environmentally oriented literature which gave the non-human environment a central role, related human history to natural history, emphasized human accountability to the environment in its ethical orientation, and viewed the environment as a process rather than static.[152] Buell studied modern American literature that engaged specifically with modern concerns about the environmental crisis.[153] We can note that Buell's definition, probably unintentionally, fits quite well with medieval and early modern sources. Thus, we can speak of a medieval environmental imagination that conceptualizes human-environmental relations, that hold humans accountable for the environment, and that entangles human and natural history. Indeed, environmental humanities scholars working with the medieval period have adopted the term, broadened its definition,

[150] Kverndokk, *Naturkatastrofer: en kulturhistorie*, 258–259; Kempe, "Noah's Flood", 151–152; Spinks and Zika, "Introduction: Rethinking Disaster and Emotions", 1400–1700", 5.
[151] Kverndokk, *Naturkatastrofer: en kulturhistorie*, 258–259.
[152] Buell, *The Environmental Imagination*, 7–8.
[153] Buell, *The Environmental Imagination*, 2. See also Estes, *Anglo-Saxon Literary Landscapes*, 21–22.

and used it analytically in historical studies.[154] Ellen F. Arnold defines an author's environmental imagination as "the framework through which he or she sees, interprets, and then constructs literary images of the natural world."[155] As an analytical term, environmental imagination points to the framework through which the environment is thought about and talked about. Environmental imagination is to be found on a broad cultural and conceptual level, as patterns for interpretations of the environment which are more or less collectively shared within specific communities and historical contexts.

In her studies, Arnold emphasizes the term's interrelationality and focuses on human-environmental relations in medieval sources: the "complex medieval understanding of the way that nature, humans, and the divine was caught up in a complex web of relationships."[156] Lydia Barnett uses a related term, environmental imaginaries, to talk about specific conceptualizations of the environment. She studies how interpretations of Noah's flood in the early modern period allowed intellectuals to imagine a global environment.[157] Nature was "the medium through which humanity was punished for their sins".[158] This notion opens up for imagining human environmental agency. Humans, through their sinful behavior, had the power to change the global environment.[159] Barnett highlights that early modern imaginaries of a global environment involved conceptualizations of history as biblical time, natural history, and human history were seen as closely intertwined.[160]

I follow the understanding of environmental imagination and environmental imaginaries as terms that call attention to a broader framework through which people imagine and conceptualize the environment and their relationship to it. In line with Arnold, I hold that environmental imagination in the medieval period included notions of divine interventions in the natural world. Drawing on Barnett, I suggest that medieval environmental imagination encompassed notions of humans' accountability for the environment and carried significant temporal aspects. By applying this understanding of environmental imagination I want to catch sight of not only how Odo interpreted the Parisian flood, but how his interpretations point to and negotiate culturally contingent frameworks for conceptualizing the environment in the medieval period. The research question addressed in this chapter is thus: How do Odo's

[154] For the use of the concept within the field of medieval studies, see Arnold, *Negotiating the Landscape*; Arnold, "Rivers of Risk and Redemption in Gregory of Tours' Writings'"; Arnold, "Environmental History and Hagiography"; Estes, *Anglo–Saxon Literary Landscapes*.
[155] Arnold, "Environmental History and Hagiography", 365–366.
[156] Arnold, "Rivers of Risk and Redemption in Gregory of Tours' Writings", 142.
[157] Barnett, *After the Flood*, 19.
[158] Barnett, *After the Flood*, 3.
[159] Barnett, *After the Flood*, 3–4.
[160] Barnett, *After the Flood*, 10

interpretations of the Parisian flood point to and negotiate between different environmental imaginaries of his time? I will explore this question by analyzing the environmental imagination connected to the two modes of interpreting natural disasters. First, the divine-wrath mode, which points to conceptualizations of human accountability for the environment on a local level, and how saintly and divine powers intervene in the natural world. Second, the eschatological mode, which brings in questions about spatial and temporal connections and the entanglement of human and natural history.

The two modes of explanation and the temporalities of natural disasters

Odo interprets the Parisian flood through biblical narratives, explaining the flood both as a form of local punishment directed toward a specific community (contemporary Paris), and in light of salvation history which began with creation and ended with the tribulations of the Last Judgment. These modes of explanation have been identified as the two main religious explanations of natural disasters in the medieval period.[161] The first explanation is "presentist", concerned with the consequences of the disaster for the specific community in the here and now.[162] In Odo's sermon, it is linked to tropological interpretations of the creation story, the Prophecy of Habacuc and Noah's flood.[163] The latter model brings in broader temporal aspects in the explanation of natural disasters, where the disaster is seen in relation to a chain of events leading up to the Last Days.[164] Thus, this model is more global and cosmological in scale. The way in which this model is expressed in the sermon is not merely eschatological, as past biblical events are emphasized. Through typological patterns, hermeneutical levels and different concepts of flood, Odo relates the local, contemporary disaster to major global environmental events in salvation history, such as the creation story, Noah's flood, and the tribulations of the Last Days.

Scholarship has emphasized that the most common explanation for natural disasters in the Middle Ages was to see them as God's wrath toward a specific community and as divine punishment for their sins.[165] Hanska claims that Odo exclusively makes use of this model in

[161] See Bergmeier, "Natural Disasters and Time", 168–169; Hanska, "Catastrophe Sermons and Apocalyptic Expectations", 130–131; Hanska, "Cessante Causa Cessat et Effectus", 143; Hanska, *Strategies of Sanity and Survival*, 116–117.
[162] Bergmeier, "Natural Disasters and Time", 167–169.
[163] Hanska, "Catastrophe Sermons and Apocalyptic Expectations", 130–131.
[164] Bergmeier, "Natural Disasters and Time", 173.
[165] Hanska, "Catastrophe Sermons and Apocalyptic Expectations", 130–131; Bergmeier, "Natural Disasters and Time", 168–169; Labbé, *Les Catastrophes naturelles au Moyen Age*, 140.

"Sermo in processione facta propter inundationem aquarum".[166] Bergmeier, on the other hand, holds that there is a shift in the thirteenth century, where the eschatological mode of explanation becomes more prominent, introducing grand temporal scales in the conceptions of natural disasters. Now natural disasters could be seen in relation to a linear progression of time.[167] I suggest that Odo's sermon displays a negotiation between the two modes of explaining natural disasters, the divine-wrath mode, focusing on the local disaster in the here and now, and the eschatological mode, seeing natural disaster in connection with global events and in a broad temporal scale. In light of the concept of environmental imagination, these modes can be seen as frameworks for imagining and conceptualizing the environment and human-environmental relations. They are constitutive parts in the creation of environmental imaginaries.

Divine interference, saintly interventions and human accountability

I will now explore the environmental imagination related to the first interpretative mode. The interpretative mode where natural disasters are seen as God's wrath towards the sinfulness of a specific community reveals an understanding of the complex relationships between nature, humans, and the divine in medieval environmental imaginaries.[168] This environmental imagination was grounded in the Bible and the understanding of the post-lapsarian world. The Fall of man brought sin into the world and corrupted nature.[169] Despite this natural corruption, God made a new covenant between himself and humanity after Noah's flood. He promised Noah that he would never send a new global flood or introduce worldwide catastrophes. Humanity could expect order, regularity, and permanence in the natural world. However, God could interfere in the ordered natural world and send natural disasters as punishment for communal sin.[170] Odo applies this mode of interpretation in the sermon. Nature is seen as the medium through which God punishes humans for their sins. This is explicitly thematized in the section where the natural elements are described as God's slaves who punishes the impious:

> And just as the slaves rise up against anyone who imposes injustice upon their master and one strikes him on one side and another on the other, in this manner the elements rise up against the impious

[166] Hanska, "Catastrophe Sermons and Apocalyptic Expectations", 130–131; Hanska, "Cessante Causa Cessat et Effectus", 148–149; Hanska, *Strategies of Sanity and Survival*, 129–130.
[167] Bergmeier, "Natural Disasters and Time", 169; 173.
[168] Arnold, "Rivers of Risk and Redemption in Gregory of Tours' Writings", 142.
[169] Hanska, *Strategies of Sanity and Survival*, 116–117; Labbé, *Les Catastrophes naturelles au Moyen Age*, 140;
[170] Labbé, *Les Catastrophes naturelles au Moyen Age*, 140; Glacken, *Traces on the Rhodian Shore*, 160.

> [*impios*] for punishment: the earth through earthquake, the water through floods, the air through winds, [and] fire through lightning.[171]

The natural elements, earth, water, wind, and fire were the four elements that constituted the natural world in the earthly realm according to Aristotle's classification and medieval natural philosophy.[172] In early medieval natural philosophy, Isidore of Seville (c. 560–636) and the Venerable Bede (c. 672–735) described the natural elements and their combination as the basic elements of the natural world including the human body.[173] In the thirteenth century, with the scholastic tradition bringing in Aristotle's philosophy in theology, the natural elements were still seen as the constitutive for the natural world, for instance in the writings of Albert the Great and Vincent of Beauvais (c. 1190–1264).[174] In Odo's treatment of the natural elements, they are connected to natural disasters and presented through metaphorical mappings. The source domain is the relationship between the slave, the master, and people who are unjust towards the master. This rather concrete, familiar relationship of power is mapped onto the abstract target domain, the cosmological relationship between God, nature, and humans. The master corresponds to God. His slaves correspond to the natural elements. People who are unjust to the master correspond to the impious (*impios*). Through the metaphorical mappings, it becomes clear that the natural elements, acting on behalf of God, punish sinful humans through natural disasters.

Recent scholarship has suggested that the notion that nature was a divine medium for punishment, provided humanity with environmental agency. The divine-wrath mode did not suggest that humans were helpless victims of natural disasters. On the contrary, this interpretative framework allowed humanity to be imagined as morally accountable for environmental degeneration and thus as coproducers of environmental disasters.[175] In Chapter 3, we saw how Odo made use of this mode and directed his interpretation towards moral concerns in contemporary Paris. Odo used the tropological level of meaning, which is directed towards morality and the individual faithful soul, and interpreted the unfruitfulness in Genesis and Habacuc as signifying the moral unfruitfulness of the different groups in the Parisian community. I argued that the tropological interpretation took the form of a conceptual

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[171] Appendix, p. 65, lines 83–85.
[172] John Aberth, *An Environmental History of the Middle Ages*, 11.
[173] Isidore of Seville, *On the Nature of Things*, trans. Calvin B. Kendall and Faith Wallis, 130–132; Bede, *On the Nature of Things and On Times*, trans. Calvin B. Kendall and Faith Wallis, 75–76.
[174] Albert the Great, *On the Causes of the Properties of the Elements*, trans. Irven M. Resnick; for the Latin see Albert the Great, *De causis proprietatum elementorum*; Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum naturale*, see for instance 5.2, p. 308–309.
[175] Barnett, *After the Flood*, 10; Barnett; "The Theology of Climate Change: Sin as Agency in the Enlightenment's Anthropocene", 218–219; Labbé, *Les Catastrophes naturelles au Moyen Age*, 157–159.

blend between the domain of nature and that of morality. Sinful Parisians became crippled trees and failing crops. It was their moral unfruitfulness that had made God send the flood, just as the earth in the beginning was void and empty. The Parisians were thus morally accountable for natural degeneration and had brought the flood upon themselves through their sinful ways. This environmental accountability includes a form of agency. Through repentance and moral improvement, the Parisians could make the flood cease. Hanska claims that Odo used the "cessante causa cessat et effectus"-model when he emphasized communal sin as cause for the contemporary flood; if the Parisians ended their sinful behavior, the flood would also cease.[176] The causality inherent in Odo's use of the divine-wrath mode points to environmental imagination typical of his time.

In Odo's sermon, humans are seen as morally accountable for natural degeneration and thus responsible for the flood in Paris. Odo thus displays a notion of environmental reflexivity, as the state of the natural mirrors the moral state of humanity.[177] This kind of environmental imagination was grounded in the Bible. After the Fall, God said to Adam: "Cursed is the ground because of you" (Gen 3:17).[178] Several catastrophe sermons and Rogation Day sermons emphasized the relationship between sin and natural degeneration. In a sermon from thirteenth-century France, the Dominican Nicolas de Gorran explained the relationship between sin and drought by quoting Jeremias (6:25): "Our sins have withholden good things from us." At the beginning of the fourteenth century, the Giovanni Regina da Napoli compared sinners to trees and plants which could not flourish because of drought.[179] As we see from these examples, not even the conceptual blending between failing crops and sinful humans is particular to Odo. I thus hold that the notion of environmental reflexivity, or humans' moral accountability for the environment, was inherent in the divine-wrath mode, and played an important part in the environmental imagination at Odo's time. Moral accountability for the environment also included a sense of optimism, through moral improvement, humans could help restore the natural order.[180]

Human moral accountability for the environment was closely linked to saintly and divine interventions. At the opening of the sermon, Odo states through a quote from Ecclesiasticus (39:29) that God not only can overflow rivers but also has the power to dry them up again. As shown in Chapter 2, Odo lists six biblical flood narratives where this has

[176] Hanska, "Cessante Causa Cessat et Effectus", 148–153; Hanska, *Strategies of Sanity and Survival*, 129–130.
[177] See also Labbé, *Les Catastrophes naturelles au Moyen Age*, 157–159; Barnett, *After the Flood*, 90–91.
[178] Glacken, *Traces on the Rhodian Shore*, 153–154.
[179] The examples are from Hanska, *Strategies of Sanity and Survival*, 73–74.
[180] See also Labbé, *Les Catastrophes naturelles au Moyen Age*, 168–169.

occurred.[181] The first and second flood narratives, the flooding of the earth at the beginning of Genesis and Noah's flood, are, as the analysis has shown, leading motives throughout the sermon. They are both global environmental events. The last four flood narratives come up again at the very end of the sermon.[182] They involve some sort of divine or saintly intervention in the natural world on a local level and are conceptually linked to the procession and carrying of relics. Through typological patterns, which involve temporal displacement, the last four Old Testament flood narratives become part of the here and now. They do not only ascribe meaning to the contemporary flood but describe what will happen during the Parisian procession, the ritual context for the Odo's sermon.

Odo links the third flood narrative concerning the Israelites crossing the Red sea to the Parisian procession through a postfigurative interpretation. Here Odo emphasizes the rod (*uirga*) that Moses, on God's command, used to divide the Red Sea (Ex 14:16;14:21–22):

> The earth at the bottom of the Red Sea was dried by the rod. That rod [*uirga*] [is] the blessed virgin [*uirgo*], who flourishes and puts forth leaves, where the Assyrian had been struck, he fled.[183] With this rod [*uirga*] miracles are made. It is the rod [*uirga*] of Jesse. If we held this [i.e. the rod] in heart and in hand in order to serve it, the flood would cease immediately.[184]

The rod in Isaiah is the Old Testament *typos*, the rod that will grow out of Jesse's root (Isa 11:1). Jesse's root is the prefiguration of Christ, which is the New Testament *anitypos* (Rom 15:12). Thus, the rod represents the promise of salvation. The postfiguration of the rod in the present is established through the alliteration between *uirga* ("rod") and *uirgo* ("virgin"), where the rod is conceptually linked to the Parisian patron saint, the virgin Saint Geneviève.[185] Her relics were carried in front of the cortège during the Parisian procession as it moved through the flooded cityscape of Paris. The postfigurative interpretation shows that the rod can work miracles, make God's wrath cease, and bring salvation. Through typological connections, Saint Geneviève becomes a rod that can make a dry pathway for the Parisians in the here and now.[186]

In the section that follows, Odo discusses the fourth flood narrative, the Israelites crossing the river Jordan (Josh 3:3–4.25). In the biblical story, Joshua, Moses' successor as

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[181] Appendix, p.62, lines 1–5.
[182] Appendix, pp. 65–66, lines 96–118.
[183] The reference is biblical and refers to the rod that God struck the Assyrian with which made him flee (Isa 30:31–32; 31:8). The rod is initially described as the Assyrian, the oppressor of the Israelis. The Assyrian is the rod of God's anger towards Israelites (Isa 10:5). God's wrath will immediately soon cease (Isa 10:24–25) and the rod will be used to strike the Assyrian himself so that he flees from Egypt.
[184] Appendix, p. 65, lines 96–98.
[185] We learn that *uirgo* refers to Saint Geneviève at the end of the sermon (*gloriose uirginis Genouefe*), see Appendix, p. 66, line 117.
[186] Appendix, p. 65, lines 96–98.

the leader of the Israelites, leads his people across Jordan. In front, twelve priests are carrying the Ark of the Covenant. The Ark makes a dry pathway so the Israelites can cross the river. Through another postfigurative interpretation, Odo creates a typological connection between the Ark of the Covenant and the carrying of saints' relics "in times of flood":

> At the time of Joshua through the carrying of the Ark. The Ark of Jordan remained. Similarly, in times of flood [*temporibus inundationum*], the relics of saints are carried. Unless they are unwilling because of our sins, the flood will cease through the merits of the saints, when their relics are carried.[187]

The Ark of Covenant is the Old Testament *typos*, which often was seen as prefiguring the virigin mother Mary in the New Testament.[188] Odo mentions her in the last part of the sermon (*gloriose uirginis matris*).[189] The postfiguration here are the saints and their relics which are carried in front of the procession. Virgin Mary was often seen as a protective mother figure who could placate God's wrath. Saints, and especially patron saints like Saint Geneviève, were ascribed a similar role. They were seen as possessing power over nature and could protect their community from natural disasters. This is evident from other catastrophe sermons.[190] The account of the anonymous monk from the Parisian flood in 1206, mentioned earlier, also displays this notion. The monk even compared Saint Geneviève's protection to the biblical narratives of the Israelites crossing the Red Sea and Jordan.[191] Thereby, I hold that saintly and divine intervention were central in the environmental imagination at Odo's time. In the sermon, Saint Geneviève and other saints are ascribed the power to make the contemporary flood cease. They will do so if they can disregard the sins of the Parisians. Thus, saintly intervention is intertwined with human accountability for the environment, which we have seen was inseparably connected to sin.

The fifth and sixth flood narratives that Odo introduces is the story of Elias and his son Eliseus crossing the river of Jordan (2 Kings 2:8–14): "*And Elias took his mantle and folded it together,*" cites Odo, "*and struck the waters, and they were divided hither and thither, and they both passed over on dry ground.*"[192] In the biblical narrative, Elias is taken up to heaven immediately after. Eliseus tries to divide the water of Jordan with the mantel that his father has left behind. First, he is unable to do so, and asks: "*Where is the word of Eliseus?*"[193]

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[187] Appendix, p. 65, lines 101–103.
[188] Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex: The Myth and Cult of the Virgin Mary*, 11–12; 63.
[189] Appendix, p. 66, line 117.
[190] See Hanska, *Strategies of Sanity and Survival*, 42–45.
[191] See "De processione reliquiarum S. Genovefæ anno MCCVI", 662–663 and the and the French translation "La chute du Petit–Pont de Paris", trans. Lecoy de la Marche and Berlioz, 116–117.
[192] Appendix, p. 65, lines 104–105.
[193] Appendix, p. 65, lines 106–107. Odo has probably change the wording of the biblical text. The Vulgata Latin in Douay-Rhemis Bible reads: "Ubi est Deus Eliae*", Deus* is substituted by *verbum*.

Eliseus tries to strike the water with the mantel again and now it separates so that he can walk over the Jordan on dry ground.[194] After introducing the story of Elias' mantel and how it possesses the power to make a dry pathway through the river Jordan, Odo asks rhetorically:

> What is that mantel [*pallium*] of Elias if not Christ's love [*caritas*]? Isaias [59:17]: *He was completely clad with zeal as with a cloak.* But the cloak wrapped this in. For Christ has not revealed his love [*amorem*] for us fully but in a covered and implicit way. Through this love [*amore*], he softens our destined punishment and sometimes he removes the mantel of Elias. It is this love [*amor*] that we should love [*diligere*] him with, the one he left us according to what he said in the first [epistle] of John [1 John 4:10]: *In this is love* [*caritas*]*: not as though we had loved* [*dilexerimus*] *God, but because he had first loved us.* If we have this duplex mantel [*duplex pallium*], namely, that Christ loves us and we him, then the deluge of sins in us will be dry, and also the deluge of punishment.[195]

The mantel (*pallium*) of Elias, which had the power to divide water from water, allegorically signifies Christ's love (*caritas, amor* and *diligere*). This love is twofold (*duplex pallium*) and includes God's love for man and man's love for God. *Pallium* was a papal insignia and can be an allusion to the role of the Church in the relationship between humans and the divine.[196] In the end, it is *caritas*, the love between Christ/God and man, which has the power restrain human sin and the punishment that is brought upon them.

Remembering back to the sins that the groups in the Parisian society were guilty of, all included the lack of *caritas* in some way or another (Chap. 3). *Caritas* signifies ordered love between God and man, to love God for his own sake (*frui*) and to love worldly things for God's sake (*uti*). It is contrasted with *cupiditas* and *luxuria*, disordered love where worldly things are loved for personal gain and not for the sake of God. The clerics' and monks' contemplation was associated with *caritas*, to love God for God's own sake. The unfruitful clerics and monks were unable to produce fruits, and could not stand as examples for other parts of society with their good works, because they lacked *caritas*. The prelates and princes had a love for power (*cupiditas*), a disordered love, which made them neglect their responsibility for justice. The citizens performed works of charity in a way that was a mortal sin because they lacked *caritas*. The peasants were explicitly described as lacking the fulness of love (*pinguedine caritas*), as they were immersed in acts of disordered love, namely lust (*luxuira)* and hatred (*odium)*. This lack of *caritas* made the Parisian community morally unfruitful and was the reason why God had sent the flood.

This suggests that human accountability for the environment and divine powers were seen as intertwined and entangled in the sermon. Divine and saintly interventions will not

[194] Appendix, p. 66, lines 107.
[195] Appendix, pp. 65–66, lines 108-114.
[196] DuChange, s.v. "pallium".

happen if the Parisian community does not show that they possessed *caritas*. Only if they have the duplex mantel, that is, Christ's love for them and their love for Christ, will the deluge of sin and of punishment end and the contemporary flood cease. This is evident from the last prayer in the sermon:

> Therefore we ask the Lord that he holds back the flood of sins and also the flood of water, in praise and glory of his sacred name and his glorious virgin mother, and also virgin Geneviève and other saints whose relics are brought here. Amen.[197]

The Old Testament flood narratives are actualized in the here and now and linked to the carrying of relics during the Parisian procession. They demonstrate how saintly and divine interventions in the natural world can happen on a local level. Odo displays a notion of interrelationality between nature, humans, and the divine. On the one hand, human sinfulness and human accountability for the environment are conceptually linked to divine punishment in the form of natural disasters. On the other hand, moral improvement and saintly protection can placate the divine powers and make the contemporary flood cease. Other catastrophe sermons end with similar prayers invoking divine mercy.[198] I thereby suggest that the interrelationality between nature, human and divine powers was a constitutive element in the environmental imagination linked to the mode that interpreted natural disasters as God's wrath towards communal sin.

Natural disasters in salvation history: the entanglement of human and natural history

I will now turn to the second mode of explaining natural disasters, which involves a broad temporal and spatial scale. This model has been connected to eschatology by other scholars, the events leading up to the last days, but as mentioned above, I suggest that this model also encompasses environmental events from the biblical past in Odo's sermon.

In Chapter 2, we saw how Odo used typological patterns to make sense of the contemporary flood, which established connections across time. I suggested that the typological interpretations were conceptual blending processes, which involved compressions of time and space. In the sermon, past biblical narratives and their spatial features are mapped onto contemporary Paris. However, as Eric Auerbach and Alexander Gomola have emphasized, typological interpretation does not deprive each historical event of its historicity.

[197] Appendix, p. 66, lines 115–118.
[198] For examples see Hanska, *Strategies of Sanity and Survival*, 128–132; "Cessante Causa Cessat et Effectus", 146–153.

Typological interpretations included two real and concrete historical events in the Christian worldview.[199] In Odo's sermon, the typological patterns are used to interpret a contemporary event, the Parisian flood. He places the Parisian flood on a timeline of biblical events, both past and future. They include the most significant environmental events in the Bible: the creation story, Noah's flood, and the Final Judgment.

This timeline is indicated at the very beginning of the sermon with the mention of the six times that God has let waters overflow and dried it up again: "Hoc sex uicibus legimus factum esse" ["This has occurred six times"].[200] Already here he displays a notion of these events as places on a timeline with the use of temporal phrases such as "Primo in principio mundi" ["First, at the beginning of the earth"] and "Secondo post diluvium" ["Second, after the deluge"].[201] Odo continues to use temporal expressions for instance when he introduces Noah's flood (*temporibus Noe*) and the story of the Israelites crossing Jordan (*temporibus Iosue*).[202] The six natural events mentioned at the opening of the sermon are presented in their biblical order and treated chronologically throughout the sermon. It can seem like Odo places the contemporary flood as a seventh in this timeline of biblical environmental events. The symbolism of the number seven alludes to the Book of Revelation and its structure which is built around series of seven: the opening of the seven seals (Rev 6:1– 8:5); the sounding of the seven trumpets (Rev 8:2–11:9) and the seven angels with seven vials sending seven plagues over the earth (Rev 15:5–16:21).[203] When Odo places the contemporary flood as the seventh in the timeline of biblical flood narratives, he suggests that the contemporary flood can be seen not only as divine wrath towards communal sin, but also in light of the Last Days. The Parisian flood is both seen as God's punishment on a local level in the here and now and as the seventh flooding in a timeline spanning from the Creation to the Last Days. The Parisian flood could thus be interpreted as a sign of the imminent end.

Odo's sermon negotiates between the two modes, between human accountability and salvation history, the local and the global. There was a shift in the thirteenth century where the eschatological mode became more prominent when interpreting natural disasters.[204] I would like to suggest that this shift also included a shift in the environmental imagination, the way in which past, present, and future environmental events were conceptualized and seen in relation

[199] Auerbach, "Typological Symbolism in Medieval Literature", 6; Gomola, "Conceptual Blending with Moral Accounting Metaphors in Christian Exegesis", 216–217.
[200] Appendix, p. 62, lines 1–2.
[201] Appendix, p. 62, line 2.
[202] Appendix, p. 64, line 71; p. 65, line 101.
[203] McGinn, "Introduction: John's Apocalypse and the Apocalyptic Mentality", 15.
[204] Bergmeier, "Natural Disasters and Time", 169; 173.

to one another. Already in the twelfth century, Anselm of Havenburg (c. 1100 – 1158) placed past biblical natural disasters on a timeline ending with the tribulations during the Final Judgment. The earthquake during Moses' encounter with God on Sinai and the earthquakes during the crucifixion of Christ followed a linear progression ending with the future disasters during the Last Days.[205] In the thirteenth century, Odo is far from the only one combining the divine-wrath mode and the eschatological mode in the interpretation of contemporary natural disasters. Matthew Paris used both modes side by side when describing a storm and flood in 1236 in England.[206] The flood was seen as both God's punishment and a sign of the Last Days:

> The Lord indeed seemed, owing to the sins of the people, to have sent this flood as a scourge to the earth, and to fulfil the threat contained in the Gospel [Luke 21:25], — "There shall be upon the earth distress of nations, with perplexity; the sea and the waves roaring."[207]

The two modes do not seem to be mutually exclusive in Matthew Parsis' account of the storm and flood. The same can be said for "Sermo in processione facta propter inundationem aquarum". The environmental imagination connected to the eschatological mode and the divine-wrath mode meet in Odo's sermon. Odo provides his audience with an interpretation along the lines of the divine wrath mode, on a local and contemporary level, the sins of the Parisian community have caused the flood. The eschatological interpretation introduces broad temporal and spatial scales, as the contemporary flood is placed as the seventh in the timeline consisting of past biblical flood narratives. The two first flood narratives are global environmental events, the last four describe local encounters between human and the divine. The contemporary flood is in line with the divine-wrath mode seen as such an encounter between divine powers and the Parisian community. In light of the eschatological mode, the contemporary flood takes on a significance in salvation history and is associated with global environmental events through the two first flood narratives and the tribulations that will fall upon the earth during the Last Day.

I thus suggest that the eschatological and the divine-wrath mode were constitutive of the environmental imagination at Odo's time, and that they both display notions of the entanglement of human and natural history. The divine-wrath mode points to environmental imaginaries where humans are entirely intertwined with their non-human environment to the

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[205] Anselm of Havelberg, *Anticimenon: On the Unity of the Faith and the Controversies With the Greeks*, trans. OPraem and Neel, 1.5, p. 55–56. See also Bergmeier, "Natural Disasters and Time", 173.
[206] See also Bergmeier, "Natural Disasters and Time", 169.
[207] Matthew Paris, *Matthew Paris's English History: From the Year 1235 to 1273*, trans. Giles, 42; For the Latin see Matthew Paris, *Matthæi Parisiensis, Monachi Sancti Albani, Chronica Majora*, 379–380.

extent that humans and nature are blended. Grounded in the Fall of Man, which corrupted nature, humans were seen as morally accountable for the environment through their sinfulness. Odo's sermon, as well as other catastrophe sermons, exhibit sinful humans as crippled trees and failing crops. At the same time, the natural elements punish the impious on behalf of God through natural disasters such as earthquakes, floods, winds, and fires. Saintly and divine powers can intervene in the natural world. The divine-wrath mode is concerned with human accountability for the environment on a local level and with natural events in the here and now.

Moving to the environmental imaginaries connected to the eschatological mode, the entanglement of humans and nature acquires a broad temporal and spatial dimension. The eschatological mode opens for conceptualizations of natural history that are completely entangled with human history. Natural history began with the creation, the first flood narrative in Odo's timeline. The remaining flood narratives Odo draws on are placed after the Fall and describe natural events where encounters between humans and the divine play an important part. The flood narratives on Odo's timeline are all events concerned with God's judgment, punishment, and salvation. They lead up to the ultimate judgment during the Last Days. God sends natural disasters as punishment for human sinfulness. He also makes floods cease, and creates dry pathways over roaring rivers and seas so that his people can safely cross over to the other side. This can happen globally, as with Noah's flood, or locally, as when the Old Testament figures cross the Red Sea and the River Jordan. And it will happen on a global scale again during the Last Days. The Parisian flood fits within this history as the seventh in the timeline.

I argued that the divine-wrath mode displayed a notion of human environmental agency since the Parisians, by mending their sinful ways, could make the contemporary flood cease and become morally fruitful again. This might seem contradictory to the eschatological mode where the contemporary flood was a sign of the approaching Last Days. However, natural disasters could be seen as a form of purification before the Final Judgment, and moral improvement was seen as a preparation for the Final Judgment.[208] The eschatological mode brings a global and spatial scale to the environmental imagination. Thus, human and natural history were inseparably entangled in the environmental imagination of Odo's time.

[208] Hanska, "Catastrophe Sermons and Apocalyptic Expectations", 130; Hanska, *Strategies of Sanity and Survival*, 132–143.

Conclusion

I will sum up the findings from each chapter and then conclude this thesis with some reflections on how environmental humanities perspectives can contribute to intellectual history. In the introductory first chapter I laid out the state of the art and the research questions, which I posed to get a deeper insight into Odo's interpretations of the Parisian flood and into how the environment and human-environmental relations were imagined and conveyed in the medieval period.

In Chapter 2, I explored typological patterns, hermeneutical levels of meaning and the chronotropic organization of the different concepts of flood in the sermon. Odo's typological interpretations were seen as a blending process, which involved compressions of biblical time and present time, as well as biblical and present spatial features. The contemporary flood was conceptually linked to global, environmental events in the biblical past and future. I argued that the Parisian flood was drawn into salvation history through Odo's interpretation, which suggests that Odo did not only draw on the divine-wrath mode, but also on the cosmological and eschatological mode of interpretating natural disasters in the sermon.

Chapter 3 turned to the procession as the immediate context for the sermon, the sermon's audience, and the way in which Odo's interpretations of the contemporary flood attempted to enable and constrain certain forms of responses. I argued that the audience of the sermon was mixed, consisting of both laity and clergy and that Odo addressed them through tropological interpretations. The tropological interpretations arises from complex conceptual blends where the conceptual domain of nature is mapped onto the conceptual domain of morality. Through blending, the groups of the Parisian society became the unfruitful trees and crops in the prophecy of Habacuc. Odo's interpretation made the social groups in the Parisian community morally responsible for the flood, as their sins had brough God's wrath upon them. Each group was invited to reflect on their moral failing, and through collective repentance and moral improvement they could help to make the flood cease.

In Chapter 4, I explored how Odo's interpretations of the Parisian flood negotiated and conjoined different environmental imaginaries of his time. First, I discussed the environmental imagination connected to the divine-wrath mode. In the sermon, this mode of interpretations was directed towards local concerns in the here and now. Divine and saintly powers intervened and interfered in the natural world. Humans were imagined as morally accountable for the environment through their sinfulness. The environmental imagination connected to the first mode conceptualized humans and their non-human environment as inseparably intertwined. The environmental imagination connected to the cosmological and

eschatological mode, brought in broader temporal and spatial scales in the conceptualization of the environment and human-environmental relations. I argued that the Parisian flood was placed as the seventh in the timeline of past biblical flood narratives in Odo's sermon indicating that the Parisian flood could be seen as a sign of the approaching Last Days. The flood narratives on this timeline were concerned with God's judgment, punishment, and salvation and displayed a conceptualization of past and future environmental events which were inseparably linked to human and salvation history. Thus, the environmental imaginaries connected to the second mode conceptualized natural history as profoundly entangled with salvation history.

In this study, I have analyzed Odo's interpretation of the Parisian flood and the environmental imagination of his time focusing on getting a deeper insight into how the environment was conceived and conceptualized in the medieval period. Paying attention to the Latin words and phrases, I have attempted to unpack the modes of interpretation that appear in the sermon, how they create meaning and point to culturally contingent frameworks for conceptualizing natural events and the relationship between humans and their environment. Thus, I have tried to avoid reading past environmental conceptions in light of contemporary concerns. Nevertheless, the questions raised in this thesis—how was the Parisian flood explained and interpreted, how did Odo's sermon encourage response, what kind of environmental imaginations did his interpretation point to—are all inspired by our present situation. In this sense, this analysis is "presentist". As Elisabeth Clark puts it: "history-writing grows out of present questions and concerns."[209] This does not mean that I do not think that we should study the past in its own right, but that we, as historians, always come to the past with questions and concerns inspired by our own time. To acknowledge this is also to acknowledge the value of studying the past. As this thesis has tried to demonstrate, medieval interpretations of natural disasters and conceptions of the environment and human-environmental relations were much different from modern conceptualizations. In this difference lies the value of such studies, as Sara Miglietti points out:

> Examining the ways in which previous generations of writers, thinkers, and scientists conceived of climate and nature can make us more alert to the unspoken norms and assumptions that regulate contemporary environmental discourse; considering how past societies coped with their own specific environmental challenges can give us a sense of how the current crisis, while arguably unprecedented in scale, is stirring anxieties and fears that are not unique to modern Western culture but that have constantly characterized human interactions with nature.[210]

[209] Clark, *History, Theory, Text,* 20.
[210] Miglietti, "Introduction: The Past and Present of Climate Theories", 905.

In order for the past to be useful for the present, we need to let it speak on its own terms.[211] By historicizing environmental conceptions and interpretations of extreme natural phenomena, we can catch sight of how these conceptions are culturally contingent and historically changeable. The unspoken norms and assumptions governing the ways we speak about the current climate crisis are cultural constructions, even though they are grounded in science and point to real climate change. Thus, bringing awareness to the different ways extreme natural events and climate change have been conceptualized in the past, might help us think in new and deeper ways about our current predicament.

Past conceptualizations of natural disasters and the environment are different from ours, but can also be surprisingly familiar at times. In the introduction, I reflected on how a flood in Italy in May 2023 was placed within a global context and related to a broad temporal scale with the prediction that the summer of 2023 would become the most dramatic in living memory. The flood was related to human-made climate change and global warming and the Norwegian climate and environment minister advocated for imminent action to prevent the aggravation of the current crisis.[212] Odo's interpretation of the Parisian flood likewise placed the local natural event within a global and broad temporal scale, encompassing all of salvation history. In Odo's interpretations, there was no distinction between the human and the non-human; natural history and human history were entangled to the extent that nature mirrored the moral state of humans. The sermon encouraged social and moral responses to the flood that had submerged Paris. The environmental imagination of Odo time was saturated with moral concerns. Thus, medieval and modern environmental imaginaries, have some striking similarities. By applying environmental humanities perspectives in historical studies, we can explore new sides of the past as well as getting a deeper insight in the historicity of how we conceive of the environment and human-environmental relations today.

[211] Miglietti, "Introduction: The Past and Present of Climate Theories", 905.
[212] See note 1 above.

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Appendix

Transcription: Sermo in processione facta propter inundationem aquarum

The transcription of the sermon is an amended version of Jussi Hanska's transcription,[1] based on my own reading of the Arras's manuscript, MS 137 (olim 876). I consulted the original manuscript[2] in person when visiting Arras Bibliothèque municipales, and BVMM's digitalized version.[3] The folio numbers are indicated in the transcription, following the numbering in the Arras manuscript and not the numbering in digitalized version which differ the manuscript. Hanska studied the manuscript through a copy on microfilm which resulted in two illegible passages in the text. I have added the missing passages in this transcriptions and indicated my modifications in the notes. Hanska's transcription includes extensive notes on the exact biblical passages referred to in the text. These notes are also included here. Biblical quotes in the text are given in italics.

[1] Odo of Châteauroux, "Sermo in processione facta propter inundationem aquarum", in Jussi Hanska, *Strategies of Sanity and Survival: Religious Responses to Natural Disasters in the Middle Ages*, 189–192. (Finnish Literature Society / SKS, 2002).
[2] "Sermo in processione facta propter inundationem aquarum". In Odo de Castro Radulphi, *Sermones de diversis casibus*, Arras, Bibliothèque municipales, 137 (olim 876), ff. 78v–80r.
[3] "Sermo in processione facta propter inundationem aquarum". In Odo de Castro Radulphi, *Sermones de diversis casibus*, Arras, Bibliothèque municipales, 0876 (CGM 137) (Reproduction intégrale), 146. f. 070v – 149. f. 072r. Bibliothèque Virtuelle des Manuscrits Médiévaux (BVMM). https://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/mirador/index.php?manifest=https%3A%2F%2Fbvmm.irht.cnrs.fr%2Fiiif%2F24761%2Fmanifest

Sermo in processione facta propter inundationem aquarum

Quomodo conuertit aquas in siccitatem et siccata est terra, Ecclus. xxxix.[1] Hoc sex uicibus legimus factum esse. Primo in principio mundi. Secundo post diluuium. Tertio quando filii Israelis transierunt Mare Rubrum. Quarto quando transierunt Jordanem. Quinto quando Helyas transiuit Iordanem. Sexto quando Helyzeus. Unde hic notandum primo quare sic Deus facit flumina inundare, secundo quomodo siccat.

Causa propter quam aqua totam terram operuerat a principio, uidetur Moyses assignare in principio Gen. quando dicit: *Terra autem erat inanis et uacua et tenebre erant super faciem abyssi et spiritus Domini ferebatur super aquas*.[2] Et preterea quia non erat firmamentum quod diuideret aquas ab aquis. Et uidetur Moyses respondere antipofore que posset ibi fieri. Quare ex quo deus terram fecerat permittebat eam ab aquis occupari, respondet: *Quia terra erat inanis*, id est infructuosa, *et uacua habitatoribus*, et ideo nullum dampnum erat nec etiam mirum si permittebat eam occupari ab aqua. Sic non est mirum de inundationibus que fiunt, immo plusquam mirum est quod dominus non inducit diluuium super terram quia inanis est et uacua, uere inanis quia infructuosa, mundus enim nullum fructum uel ualde parum facit. Hiis enim temporibus uidetur adimpleta prophetia Abacuch dicentis iii[o][3]: *Ficus enim non florebit; et non erit germen in uineis, mentietur opus oliue et arua non afferent cibum, abscindetur de ouili pecus et non erit armentum in presepibus.*

Per hec quatuor genera hominum et quatuor genera bonorum operum designantur. Per ficum que dulcissimum fructum facit nec *potest deserere dulcedinem suam*, Iudicum ix[o][4] uiri contemplatiui. Et fructus contemplatiue et contemplationis in ficu est, id est flos et fructus. Sic est in contemplatione. Nota enim sic dicitur: *Patientia pauperum non peribit in fine*.[5] Quia licet actus patientie terminetur in hac uita, tamen fructus erit in eternum. Non sic erit de sapientia intellectu et ceteris uirtutibus contemplatiuis, quia sicut fructus earum[6] [f. 79r.] non peribunt, sic nec actus. In illis enim uirtutibus que ex parte sunt essencialiter actus excidet sed non fructus. Sed in uirtutibus contemplatiuis idem est actus et fructus, id est, flos et fructus sicut est in caritate. Et ideo sicut caritas nunquam excidet, ita nec ille. Sed augebuntur et

[1] Ecclus 39:29.
[2] Gen 1:2.
[3] Hab 3:17.
[4] Judg 9:11.
[5] Ps 9:19.
[6] The word "earum" does not appear in Hanska's transcription. I have added the word after consuletd the manuscript in person and the digitalized version.

perficientur unde Prouerbum xxvii°[7]: *Qui seruat ficum comedet fructus eius.* Per ficum istam non tamen modo contemplatio designatur, immo clerici et religiosi. In ficu dum fructus ad maturitatem perueniunt alii subcrescunt et ideo habundat in fructibus. Sic deberet esse in clericis et religiosis qui in bonis operibus deberent pre aliis habundare. Et dum unum faciunt, deberent aliud habere in proponito et uoluntate, ante etiam producit fructum quam folia que sunt ad modum palme humane, ut opera uerba precedant. Jhesus enim cepit facere et docere, Numeris xxiii°[8]: *Quis dinumerare possit puluerem Iacob et nosse numerum stirpis Israel?* Alia littera: *Quis inuestigauit semen Jacob et quis dinumerauit plebem Israelis?* Per Iacob contemplatiui qui luctantur cum angelo usque ad auroram que eis oritur in morte. Tunc fiunt Israelis et eis emarcessit omnis affectus carnalis.

Sed in quibusdam ficus ista sterilis est quia uerba habent non opera, et non sunt in eis malo granata coniuncta cum tintinnabulis. Hii sunt ficulnea de qua in Luca xiiii° et in Mattheo xxii°[9]. De hiis dicitur Joel I°[10]: *Ficum meam decorticauit nudans expoliauit eam et proiecit; albi facti sunt rami eiusdem.* Hii sunt clerici et quidam religiosi quos diabolus decorticauit qui etiam habitum clerici uel monachi nolunt deferre. Quis crederet quod arbor decorticata debet fructum facere uel etiam uiuere? Quis ergo habebit bonam opinionem de talibus? Nullus. O quantum fimi posuit Dominus circa radicem huius ficus et tamen fructificare non uult! *De hiis enim dicit: Ficus enim non florebit.*

Sequitur: *Et non erit germen in uineis*. De uinea uinum quod letificat cor hominis. Uinum enim in iocunditate creatum est. Per uinum opera iusticie que non tamen facientes letificant, sed etiam uidentes: *Letabitur enim iustus cum uiderit uindictam*.[11] et in fine Ysa.: *Erunt usque ad satietatem uisionis omni carni*.[12] Et in Prouerb. xxx°[13] : *Date siceram merentibus et uinum hiis qui amaro sunt animo. Bibant et obliuiscantur egestatis sue et doloris sui non reminiscantur amplius*. Ysayas. xxv° postquam locutus est de penis malorum dicit: *Faciet Dominus in monte hoc conuiuium pinguium*.[14]

Per uineam prelati et principes quorum officium est iusticiam exercere. Sed oportet ut uinea putetur et colatur, hoc est ut iniusticia resecetur et iniurie puniantur. Sed iam non est germen in uineis istis, quia ut dicit Ysa. Xxv°[15]: *Quasi calore sub nube torrente propagines*

[7] Prov 27:18.
[8] Num 23:10.
[9] Luke 13:6–9 and Matt 21:19–21.
[10] Joel 1:7.
[11] Ps 57:11.
[12] Isa 66:24.
[13] Prov 31:6–7.
[14] Isa 25:6.
[15] Isa 25:10.

fortium emarcescere faciet. Nubes torrens, id est, feruens et urens cupiditas est que iustitiam emarcescere facit et destruit. Joel Prima prima[16]: *Posuit uineam meam in desertum*, quando, scilicet, non putatur nec colitur. Sic quia principes et prelati non habent qui de eis faciant iusticiam, ideo iusticia derelicta ad iniurias extendunt manus suas. Et ideo non est germen in uineis istis.

Sequitur: *Mentietur opus oliue*. Per oliuam burgenses, qui si opera misericordie faciunt, ea uendunt, uel in peccato mortali ea faciunt. Et ideo mendax est huiusmodi opus.

Sequitur: *Et arua non afferent cibum*, id est, rustici. Aut quia sine pinguedine caritatis suntuel aut quia in aqua luxurie sunt immersi, aut quia salsugine odii sunt infecti [f. 79v.], aut quia nec seminati nec culti.

Quia ergo mundus sterilis est nec fert fructum, ideo non mirum si Deus permittit aquas inundare sicut a principio quando terra erat inanis et etiam uacua. Uere mundus uacuus a bonis personis unde deplorat Jeremias u°[17]: *Quomodo sedet sola ciuitas plena populo*. Sola a bonis, plena a malis! Amos u°[18]: *Urbs de qua egrediebantur mille, relinquentur in ea centum.* Item *tenebre erant super faciem abyssi*, eis enim sol iustitie non irradiat, non est firmamentum quod diuidat, id est, orationes et bona opera que obsistant ire Domini.

Item temporibus Noe diluuium mandauit. Et causa scribitur Genesis cui°[19]: *Ingressi sunt filii Dei ad filias hominum uidens autem Deus quod multa malitia esset in terra et cuncta cogitatio cordis intensa esset ad malum omni tempore penituit eo quod fecisset homines in terra, et precauens in futurum et talis dolore cordis intrinsecus*: ‘Delebo’ *inquit ‘hominem’. Omnis quippe caro corruperat uiam suam.* Sic homines consuetudinibus malis inseparabiliter se coniungunt multiplicatur malitia. Cogitationes hominum intente sunt ad malum omni tempore.Tam clerici quam laici uias suas, id est, modus uiuendi currumpunt. Propter hoc Dominus adducit alluuiones et alias pestes que non sunt nisi comminationes, unde Psalmus[20]: *Annuntiauerunt celi iustitiam eius* pluvias emittendo fulgura et grandines. Et in Psalmo[21]: *Ueritas tua*, id est, iustitia *usque ad nubes* dum e nubibus uenti urentes et pestilentes producuntur. Ecclesiasticus xxxix°[22]: *Quomodo cathaclismus aridam inebriauit sic ira ipsius gentes que non exquisierunt hereditabit.*

[16] Joel 1:7.
[17] Lam 1:1
[18] Amos 5:3.
[19] Cf. Gen 6:4–12.
[20] Cf. Ps 49:6.
[21] Ps 35:6.
[22] Ecclus 39:28.

Et sicut serui insurgunt contra aliquem qui domino suo iniuriam irrogauit et unus percutit eum ex una parte et alius ex alia, sic elementes insurgunt contra impios ad uindictam. Modo terra per terremotum, aqua per alluuiones, aer per ventos, ignis per fulgura. Sed quando Deus conuertit aquas in siccitatem sicut et a principio fecit, fit lux cognitionis qua cognoscimus quare Deus ita nos uerberet.

Secundo firmamentum per aquas inferiores penalitates nature, per superiores ultiones diuine. Penitentia est firmamentum que se opponit ne ultio diuina super nos effundatur. In hoc firmamento sunt septem opera misericordie quasi septem planete, et alia bona opera quasi stelle. Item legitur Genesis uiii°[23]: *Addixit Dominus spiritum super terram inminute sunt aque et clausi sunt fontes abyssy et catharacte celi et prohibite sunt pluuie de celo.* Et ibi preponitur *Recordatus est Dominus autem Noe cunctorumque animantium.* Propter paucos enim bonos Deus parcit malis, et si peccata nostra cessarent que sunt fontes abyssi, cessarent et pene que a Deo inferuntur, hoc, est clauderentur catharacte celi.

Siccata est terra in fundo Maris Rubri percussione uirge. Hec uirga beata uirgo que floruit et fronduit qua Assur percussis fugit.[24] Per hanc uirgam fiunt mirabilia. Hec est uirga Iesse. Si hanc haberemus in corde et in manu ei seruiendo, statim cessaret alluuio. Dicitur in uulgari: Ego teneo eum in manu mea, id est, in uoluntate mea. Si poneamus nos in uoluntate ipsius, et ipsa esset in uoluntate nostra.

Temporibus Iosue per asportationem arche. Stetit archa Iordanis.[25] Sic temporibus inundationum asportantur corpora sanctorum, unde nisi nolerint per peccata nostra, cessabit inundatio per meritis sanctorum quorum corpora tunc ablata. Legitur quarto Regum ii[26] : *Tulitque Helyas pallium suum et inuoluit illud et percussit aquas* [f. 80r.] *que diuise sunt in utramque partem et transierunt ambo per siccum.* Infra eodem dicitur quod Helizeus pallio Helye, *quod ceciderat ei, percussit aquas et non sunt diuise. Et dixit: 'Ubi est Helye uerbum?' Etiam nunc percussitque aquas et diuise sunt huc atque illuc, et transiit Helyzeus.*[27] Quid hoc pallium Helye nisi caritas Christi? Ysayas lix°[28] : *Coopertus est quasi pallio zeli*. Sed pallium istud inuolutum est. Non enim ex toto manifestauit Christus amorem suum erga nos, nisi inuolute et implicite. Hoc amore penas nobis debitas mitigat et aliquando amouet ex toto pallium Helysei. Amor est quo debemus eum diligere quod dereliquit nobis secundum

[23] Gen 8:1–2.
[24] The four words "et fronduit qua Assur" does not occure in Hanska's transcription.I have added these words after consuletd the manuscript in person and the digitalized version.
[25] Cf. Josh 4:1–11.
[26] 2 Kings 2:8.
[27] 2 Kings 2:13–14.
[28] Isa 59:17.

quod dicitur prima Iohannis iiii^{o}[29]: *In hoc est caritas; non quasi nos dilexerimus Deum, sed quoniam ipse primo dilexit nos.* Si habuerimus hoc duplex pallium, scilicet, ut Christus diligat nos et nos ipsum, tunc siccabitur in nobis diluuium peccatorum, diluuium etiam penarum.

Rogemus ergo Dominum ut inundationem peccatorum faciat cessare et etiam inundationem aquarum ad laudem et gloriam sui sancti nominis et gloriose uirginis matris sue, necnon et gloriose uirginis Genouefe et aliorum sanctorum quorum hic corpora sunt allata Amen.

[29] 1 John 4:10.

English translation: Sermon at a procession held on account of the flood of waters

Here I provide the first full English translation of "Sermo in processione facta propter inundationem auarum". I will list some principles used when translating the text. I have tried to stay as close to the Latin original as possible. Some parts of the text have been hard to eloquently translate into English. I have indicated these passages in the notes. If words are added to make the English sentences more fluent, they are placed within brackets. The sermon frequently uses "que" which appears to be used as the Latin relative pronoun *qui, quae, quod*. "Que" might be a contracted form of "quae", but it is not always declined in concord with the word it refers to. This indicates some grammatical uncertainty. However, I have treated "que" as the Latin relative pronoun in the translation. All biblical citations are from Douay-Rheims Bible, whit my modifications.[1] The biblical references in the text are written out as they appear in the Latin original, the full biblical reference is given in the notes. These notes are based on Hanska's notes in his transcription and my own reading of the Latin text. I have also provided notes for biblical allusions which are not explicitly stated in the Latin original. All biblical quotes are in italics. Any errors in the transition are my own.

[1] Douay-Rheims Bible, https://www.drbo.org/index.htm

Sermon at a procession held on account of the flood of waters

As he turned the waters into dry land, and the earth was made dry, Ecclesiasticus 39.[1] We read that this has occurred six times. First at the beginning of the earth.[2] Second after the deluge.[3] Third when the children of Israel crossed over the Red Sea.[4] Fourth when they crossed over Jordan.[5] Fifth when Elias crossed over Jordan.[6] Sixth when Eliseus.[7] From which this must be noted firstly how thus God overflows rivers, secondly how he dries [them].

The reason that water covered as much as the entire earth in the beginning is shown through Moses pointing out at the beginning of Genesis when he says: *And the earth was void and empty, and darkness was upon the face of the deep; and the spirit of God moved over the waters.*[8] And moreover, because there was no firmament that separated water from water. And it is shown through Moses responding with an Anthypophora how this could happen.[9] Since God created the earth, why did he allow it to be covered with water? He responded: *Because the earth was void*, that is unfruitful, *and without inhabitants*, and therefore there has been no damage, so nor is it anything to wonder about that he let it be filled with water. In a similar manner, it is nothing to wonder about that the floods come [now], on the contrary, it is a miracle that the Lord does not bring a deluge over the earth because it is void and empty, truly void because it is unfruitful, for the earth brings no or very little fruit. For in these days, the prophecy of Habacuc 3 seems to be fulfilled, saying: *For the fig tree shall not blossom: and there shall be no sprout in the vines. The work of the olive tree shall fail: and the fields shall yield no food: the flock shall be cut off from the fold, and there shall be no herd in the stalls.*[10]

Through these four kinds of people, four kinds of good works are signified. Through the fig tree that makes the sweetest fruit which *cannot leave its sweetness*, Judges 9,[11] contemplative men [are signified]. And the contemplation and the fruit of contemplation are

[1] Ecclus 39:29. All translations of biblical quotes are based on the translation of Vulgate in Douay-Rheims Bible with my modifications.
[2] Gen 1:9.
[3] Gen 8:13.
[4] Ex 14:21–22.
[5] Josh 3:15–17.
[6] 2 Kings 2:8.
[7] 2 Kings 2:14.
[8] Gen. 1:2.
[9] Anthypophora is a rhetorical term for asking a question and then immediately answering it. The passages does not translate eloquently to English and is therefore translated so that it makes sense in the context.
[10] Hab 3:17.
[11] Judg 9:11.

in the fig tree, that is [in] blossom and fruit. So also in contemplation. For note thus [that] it is said: *the patience of the poor shall not perish forever.*[12] For although the act of patience is limited to this life, the fruit will exist in eternity. It will not be this way with wisdom, knowledge, and the other contemplative virtues, because just as their fruit will not perish, neither will the act. For in these virtues which partly exist eternally, the act will disappear, but not the fruit. But in the contemplative virtues, the act and the fruit are the same, it is blossom and fruit like it is with love. And therefore, like love will never perish, so neither it. But it is strengthened and perfected, from Proverbs 27: *He that kept the fig tree, shall eat the fruit thereof.*[13] But by the fig tree, it is not only contemplation that is signified, but the clerics and monks. In the fig tree, while the fruit becomes ripe, others grow forth, and therefore there is an overflow of fruits. Likewise, it should be among the clerks and the monks, who in good works should overflow more than all. And since they constitute one, they should also have the other in mind and will, for it makes fruit before leaves that are like a human hand, so that the works precede the words. For Jesus captures the creation and the teaching, Numbers 23: *Who can count the dust of Jacob, and know the number of the stock of Israel?*[14] Another writing: *Who search after the seed of Jacob and who counts the people of Israel?* Through Jacob, the contemplatives [are signified] who fight with the angel until sunrise which for them arises in death. Then they become part of Israel and for them, all affection of the flesh wither away.

But in certain people, the fig tree is unfruitful because it has words and not works, and there are not in them pomegranates connected with tintinnabulum. These are of the fig tree about which [we can read] in Luke 14 and Matthew 22.[15] About these are said in Joel 1: *He had peeled off the bark of my fig tree: he had stripped it bare, and cast it away; the branches thereof are made white.*[16] These are the clerics and certain monks whom the devil has pilled the bark of who do not even accept the habit of the cleric and monk. Who thought that a tree without bark could bear fruits or even live? Also who had a good belief about such a thing? No one. Oh, the Lord put dung around this fig tree and still it would not bear fruits.[17] *For about this, he says: The fig tree shall not bear fruits.*[18]

It follows: *And there will not be sprout in the vines*. Wine from the vineyard that delights the human heart. For wine is created for enjoyment. Through wine, the works of

[12] Ps 9:19.
[13] Prov 27:18
[14] Num 23:10.
[15] Luke 13:6–9 and Matt 21:19–21.
[16] Joel 1:7.
[17] Cf. Luke 13:8
[18] Cf. Matt 21:19.

justice [are signified] that not only delight those who perform them but also those who see [them]: *For the just shall rejoice when he shall see revenge.*[19] And finally in Isaias: *They shall be a loathsome sight to all flesh*.[20] And in Proverbs 30: *Give strong drink to them that are sad: and wine to them that are grieved in mind: Let them drink, and forget their want, and remember their sorrow no more*.[21] Isaias 25, after he has spoken about bad revenge, he says: *The lord shall make in this mountain a feast of fat things.*[22]

For the vine [stands] the prelates and princes whose duty it is to perform justice. But it is necessary that the vine is trimmed and cultivated, that is so that justice is restrained and injustice is punished. But now there is no sprout in these vines, because like he says in Isaias 25: *As with heat under a burning cloud, thou shalt make the branch of the mighty to wither away.*[23] The burning cloud, that is, glowing and burning desire which withers away and destroys justice. Joel 1:1[24]: *He had laid my vineyard waste*, when, certainly, not trimmed and cultivated. Thus, because the princes and the prelates do not have someone who can pass judgment on them, therefore after giving up justice, they stretch out their hands towards injustice justice. And therefore there is no sprout in these vines.

It follows: *The work of the olive tree shall fail*. Through the olive tree the citizens [are signified], who if they give works of charity, they brag about it or even do it in a way that is a mortal sin. And therefore work of this kind is deceitful.

It follows: *The fields shall yield no food*, that is, the peasants. Either because they are without the fulness of love, or because they are immersed in water of lust, or because they are infected by saltwater of hatred, or because they are neither planted nor cultivated.

Since the earth is unfruitful it does not carry fruit, therefore it is nothing to wonder about if God allows water to overflow just as the earth from the beginning was void and empty. In reality, the earth is free from good people, whence Jeremiah 5 laments[25]: *How does the city sit solitary that was full of people!* Without good men, full of bad! Amos 5[26]: *The city, out of which came forth a thousand, there shall be left in it a hundred*. Likewise, *the dark was over the face of the deep,*[27] for the sun of justice does not shine on them, there is no heaven to

[19] Ps 57:11.
[20] Isa 66:24.
[21] Prov. 31:6–7.
[22] Isa. 25:6.
[23] Isa 25:5.
[24] Joel 1:7.
[25] Lam 1:1.
[26] Amos 5:3.
[27] Cf. Gen 1:2.

separate them, which is to say prayers and good works that can stand in the way of God's wrath.

Likewise, he commanded the deluge at the time of Noah. And the reason is written in Genesis[28]: *The sons of God went into the daughters of men. And God seeing that the wickedness was great on the earth, and that all the thought of their heart was bent upon evil at all times, it repented him that he had made man on the earth, and guarding beforehand for the future and being touched inwardly with sorrow of heart. He said: I will destroy man. All flesh had corrupted its way.* Thus, men connect themselves inseparably to bad habits, malice is multiplied. Men's thoughts were stretching out towards malice all the time. Whether it be clerics or laymen, their ways are a corrupted way of living. Because of this, the Lord brings floods and other plagues,[29] which are not just threats, whence Psalms[30]: *The heavens shall declare its justice* with hurling rain, lightning, and hail-storms. And in the Psalms[31]: *your truth*, that is justice, *reaches, even to the clouds* until there is burning from the clouds and pestilence is brought forward. Ecclesiasticus 39: *And as a flood had watered the earth; so shall his wrath inherit the nations, that have not sought after him*.[32]

And just as the slaves rise up against anyone who imposes injustice upon their master and one strikes him on one side and another on the other, in this manner the elements rise up against the impious for punishment: the earth through the earthquake, the water through floods, the air through winds, [and] fire through lightning.[33] But when God transformed the waters to dryness just as he did in the beginning, the light of examination is placed where we get to know why God punished us in such as way.

Secondly[34], the firmament through the water below [signifies] nature's punishments, through the [waters] above [signifies] divine revenge. Repentance is the firmament that prevents that divine revenge shall be streamed forth over us. In this firmament are the seven

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[28] Cf. Gen 6:4–12.

[29] The word *pestes* in the Latin means something resembling the biblical plagues in this context, as it clusters together different catastrophic natural events that is sent by God as punishment for human sin. The Latin *plaga* is the biblical term for such events, used both for the seven biblical plagues in Exodus (Ex 9:14) and the plagues that would fall upon earth during the Last Judgment (Rev 15:1). *Pestis* takes on some of the same meaning here, therefore, I have chosen to translate *pestes* with "plagues", catastrophic natural events sent by God as punishment for sinful behavior. See also *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*, s.v "plaga"; *Latinsk ordbok: latin-norsk*, s.v. "pestis".

[30] Cf. Ps 49:6.

[31] Ps 35:6.

[32] Ecclus 39:28.

[33] I have chosen to not include the Latin word "modo", which indicates a litany in this context, in the translation to make a more fluent sentence.

[34] *Secundus* might refers to the second metaphorical reading of the firmament, the first appears in lines 69–70 in the Latin text.

works of mercy like the seven planets, and all are good works like stars. Likewise, it is read in Genesis 8: *The waters were abated. The fountains also of the deep, and the flood gates of heaven were shut up, and the rain from heaven was restrained.* And put in front of that place *God remembered Noah and all the living creatures*.[35] For because of a few good people, God saves the wicked, and if our sins, which are the fountains of the deep, cease, the penalty that is brought by God will also cease, that is the gates of heaven will be closed.

The earth at the bottom of the Red Sea was dried by the rod. That rod [is] the blessed virgin, who flourishes and puts forth leaves, where the Assyrian had been struck, he fled.[36] With this rod miracles are made. It is the rod of Jesse.[37] If we held this in heart and in hand in order to serve it, the flood would cease immediately. It is said in common day language: I hold it in my hand, that is in my will. If we place ourselves in her will, and she will be in our will.

At the time of Joshua through the carrying of the Ark. The Ark of Jordan remained.[38] Similarly, in times of flood, the relics of saints are carried. Unless they are unwilling because of our sins, the flood will stop through the merits of the saints, when their relics are carried. It is read in Kings 2: *And Elias took his mantle and folded it together, and struck the waters, and they were divided hither and thither, and they both passed over on dry ground.*[39] Below at the same place it is written that *Eliseus struck the water with the mantel of Elias, which had fallen from him, and they were not divided. And he said: Where is the word of Eliseus? And he now struck the waters, and they were divided, hither and thither, and Eliseus passed over.*[40] What is that mantel of Elias if not Christ's love? Isaias 59: *He was completely clad with zeal as with a cloak.*[41] But the cloak wrapped this in. For Christ has not revealed his love for us fully but in a covered and implicit way. Through this love, he softens our destined punishment and sometimes he removes the mantel of Elias. It is this love that we should love him with, the one he left us according to what he said in the first [epistle] of John 4: *In this is love: not as though we had loved God, but because he had first loved us.*[42] If we have this duplex mantel, namely, that Christ loves us and we him, then the deluge of sins in us will be dry, and also the deluge of punishment.

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[35] Gen 8:1–2.
[36] The Assyrian and the rod appears in Isa 10:5; 10:24–25; 30: 31; 31:8.
[37] Cf . Isa 11:1, Rom 15:12.
[38] Cf. Josh. 4:1–11.
[39] 2 Kings 2:8.
[40] 2 Kings 2:13–14. Odo has probably changed the wording of the biblical text. The Vulgata Latin in Douay Rhemis Bible reads: "Ubi est Deus Eliae*"*. *Deus* (God) is substituted by *verbum* (word).
[41] Isa 59:17.
[42] 1 John 4:10.

Therefore we ask the Lord that he holds back the flood of sins and also the flood of water in praise and glory of his sacred name and of his glorious virgin mother, and also of virgin Geneviève and of other saints whose relics are brought here. Amen.