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THE INFLUENCE OF CHRISTIANITY ON THE VOCABULARY  
OF OLD ENGLISH POETRY

BY

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Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the

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IN

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OF THE

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THE GRADUATE SCHOOL

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I HEREBY RECOMMEND THAT THE THESIS PREPARED UNDER MY  
SUPERVISION BY Albert Keiser  
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BE ACCEPTED AS FULFILLING THIS PART OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR  
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## PREFACE

In undertaking to present the influence of Christianity on the vocabulary of Old English poetry, we have attempted for Old English what Raumer and Kahle have done for Old High German and Old Norse. A similar investigation, including the prose, was begun by MacGillivray, who published "Part I ( 1st Half )" in 1902. No continuation has ever appeared, and in a letter of December 2, 1916, the author stated that certain circumstances had led to "the complete shipwreck of my hopes for the completion of my book." His consent to take up the work was obtained.

After a survey of the field it did not seem advisable to continue the investigation on the plan and scale of MacGillivray, whose four chapters, corresponding to our first three, take up 170 pages. It was limited to the poetry as the more profitable and promising field. Neither could it be our intention to go to such lengths as our predecessor had done, for the generally favorable reviews of his work point out the diffuseness from which it suffers. We note E. Björkman's remark, Litbl. XXV, p. 235: "Nicht gerade nachahmenswert finde ich die ermuedende Weitschweifigkeit, womit allbekannte Dinger bis ins kleinste Detail auseinandergesetzt werden. Wenn man alles in der Wissenschaft so breit ausfuehrte, waere es doch zu schlimm !", as also in A. Pogatscher's appreciative review, E. St. XXXII, p. 390: "Die arbeit leidet unter einer geradezu ermuedenden breite und weitschweifigkeit."

From our practically complete collections we have given in many instances, especially in the case of rare words, all occurrences



noted; otherwise the examples were carefully selected with a view of illustrating characteristic features. Occasionally unimportant terms could be omitted without loss. For the sake of completeness the more important kennings have also been included; however, in view of their large number and the special studies devoted to them, sometimes only selections have been given. Where the Old English poems have a Latin source, in many cases the Latin equivalents, especially from the Psalms and Doomsday, were added. The quotations from the Hymnus De Die Judicii refer to Loehle's edition, while for Juliana and Elene the editions of Strunk and Kent have been used. Grein-Wuelker's Bibliothek der angelsaechsischen Poesie forms the basis of our textual study, though in many cases editions of single poems have also been consulted.

As to the most satisfactory arrangement of the material, there may be a difference of opinion. We have been guided by the similar efforts in the related languages, and though the plan is not without its defects, no radical departure seemed advisable, as the loss would have been greater than the gain. For the sake of comparison the plan also recommended itself, which since Raumer has been adopted by Kahle in his two investigations, by MacGillivray, and for the Romance loan words of Chaucer by Remus.

In the prosecution of the work, especially for checking up, Grein's Sprachschatz, in spite of its numerous omissions and mistakes, has been of great value. Bosworth-Toller and Clark Hall, the latter also for poetic terms, have been very helpful. In regard to etymologies the New English Dictionary has been chiefly drawn upon for a conservative statement of facts; it could not be our purpose to advance questionable theories for the solution of difficulties.



As the great world war has affected communications with Germany, and our own entrance prevented intercourse altogether, no literature pertaining to our subject that may have appeared in that country since 1915 could be consulted.





## INTRODUCTION

Great spiritual movements as the embodiment of new ideas and conceptions are bound to influence the language or languages which serve as the medium of their expression. Thus Christianity in its attempt to reveal ultimate truth in the speech of man has fashioned to a considerable extent the instrument for conveying its meaning. Either old material is utilized and takes on a new meaning, or a new word is created, or adopted with the new idea.

The religion of Christ first finds adequate expression in the highly developed and flexible Greek, a language capable to a remarkable degree of conveying all the finer shades of meaning and therefore admirably suited to serve as the means of propagating a spiritual religion. The Jewish-Christian doctrines find a fitting vehicle in the New Testament *Κοινή*, while later the Alexandrian School with the help of philosophy creates a distinctly Christian terminology. Simultaneously Christian ideas seek expression in the less flexible Latin, which, especially in the hands of Tertullian, is molded and enriched by ecclesiastical terms. In both cases a highly developed language with a wealth of expressions and a literature of centuries becomes the garb in which the new conceptions appear.

The same story repeats itself as nation after nation embraces the new faith, though the mental and spiritual plane of converted tribes not seldom necessitates the taking over of many new terms, where the language does not even possess words of an analogous



character. Missionaries to the American Indians and some Polynesian tribes can testify as to the poverty of suitable native terms for the new spiritual ideas. To a great extent the medium of expression has to be created.

Among the Germanic tribes the Goths fall first under the sway of the Gospel, and the remnants of Ulfilas' translation of the Bible bear testimony as to how the great bishop sought to express the new ideas. The native material is utilized to a large extent, old terms taking on a new significance, and new formations being created where the language is deficient.

However, when we consider the influence of Christianity on the vocabulary of the Germanic languages, we are confronted with a difficulty. Greek and Latin can boast of literatures antedating the Christian era by centuries, and we know in each case the exact meaning and connotation a word had in heathen times. Hence the transformation in meaning, or the acquisition of a new connotation, can generally be observed. Less fortunate is the situation in regard to the Germanic dialects, where, with the partial exception of Old Norse, the negligible remains from heathen times preclude such observation and detailed proof in all but rare instances. To this must be added the fact that in Old English and the related languages the poetical remnants of the early Christian period do not fairly represent the actual literature, since the works preserved 'have escaped total destruction by a series of lucky chances'. The facts at hand do not warrant any other interpretation. If we had only the more important pieces of the doubtless flourishing Christian literature, the influence of Christianity would appear to be much greater than is possible to trace under the existing



conditions. The large number of comparatively rare poetical terms in Old English also points to this conclusion.

In their continental home the tribes which later settled in Britain were not entirely ignorant of Christianity. The contact of the Goths with Christian culture and their christianization seem to have passed on a few conceptions and terms to other Germanic tribes, where they gain a firm hold. We may point to Old English cirice, engel, dēofol, and possibly also to biscop, as representatives of this class. In the case of cirice the term becomes so firmly rooted that the Latin ecclesia is unable to supplant it. Contact with other tribes more influenced by Christianity, communication with Gaul, as also the raids on the "Saxon shore" of Britain, in which the wealth and ornaments of churches and monasteries formed part of the spoil, would further add to the Anglo-Saxons' knowledge of Christianity. The few acquired terms are carried <sup>1</sup> along to the new island home.

From all appearances <sup>c</sup> the old heathen religion still had a strong hold on the new-comers. They clung firmly to the traditions of their Teutonic paganism, and the Christian Britons made no impression on the religious conceptions of their conquerors. In the words of Bright, <sup>1</sup> "it might even seem that their very successes had hardened them in antipathy to the religion of the Cross." Not even an attempt to evangelize the detested barbarians seems to have been made. Later, when an opportunity to co-operate in the christianization presented itself, <sup>2</sup> Augustine's invitation was scornfully refused. Too little is known

1 Chapters on Early English Church History, p.38.

2 Bede, Historia Ecclesiastica, I, ch.39: "Addebant --- ut numquam genti Saxorum --- verbum fidei praedicando committerent".



about the condition of the Britons at the time of the Saxon conquest to warrant any safe conclusion as to whether Vulgar Latin was spoken to any great extent in the conquered island. Extreme positions have been maintained by different scholars; after a review of the literature on the subject, we may accept as a conservative statement Remus' <sup>1</sup> summary: " Waehrend in anderen roemischen Provinzen, z.B. Gallien, fuer die Gesamtbevoelkerung die lingua rustica Lebensbedingung war und daher allgemein gebraeuchlich wurde, erhielt sie sich auf der pazifizierten Insel nur in den groesseren oder kleineren Kulturzentren und vielleicht auch laengs der das Land durchquerenden Heerstrassen sowie im ganzen Sueden und Westen des Mittellandes." Whatever the facts in the case may be, nobody has been able to show any appreciable influence of Celtic on the Old English Christian vocabulary during the period that preceded the coming of the Roman missionaries. <sup>2</sup> The Christian Britons refused to give the blessings of the Gospel to barbarous idolaters at whose hands they had cruelly suffered, while the heathen victors scorned to stoop to the god or gods who had been unable to protect their devotees against the strong hand of Wodan and his votaries. The result is that practically no addition is made to the Christian vocabulary of the Anglo-Saxons, though one cannot help believing that the inevitable contact with some external features of Christianity served to keep alive certain ideas and terms.

It seems that about the time of the arrival of the Roman missionaries the polytheistic religion had begun to lose its hold upon the thinking men of at least some of the tribes. The circumstances sur-

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1 Die kirchlichen und speziell-wissenschaftlichen Romanischen Lehnworte Chaucers, p.6. Literature on pp.4-6.

2 On the Celtic influence in general see Kluge, Paul's Grundriss, I, p.928 f.





rounding the conversion of Northumbria suggest that the old religion no longer satisfied<sup>1</sup> their needs, a fact plainly apparent from the speeches of Coifi and one of the chief councillors. The rapidity with which Christianity was adopted would point in the same direction.<sup>1</sup> Contact with Christian ideas had begun to undermine the old paganism and to hasten the process of degeneration.

Before turning our attention to the Latin influence, we may briefly survey the coming of Aidan and his missionaries to Northumbria, with its opening up of a wide field for speculation as to the influence upon the language. After an examination of the facts it will hardly cause surprise when the Celtic influence is found to be negligible.<sup>2</sup> With a proper appreciation of the noble and fruitful work accomplished by the Celtic missionaries, we cannot help agreeing with Bright:<sup>3</sup> "His (Aidan's) relation to English Christianity on a whole has indeed been somewhat seriously overrated, whether on account of his rare merits or from the controversial instinct of underrating our religious obligation to Italy." The inefficient organization coupled with the craving for meditation in secluded cloisters, from which the monks emerged at intervals to perform the sacred rites of religion before the masses, was not favorable to a pronounced influence upon a foreign tongue. The steady recruiting from Iona made the mastery of the vernacular at best uncertain, necessitating the constant employment of interpreters. We would not deny the probability of some influence

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1 Hunt, The English Church, p. 13.

2 Kluge, Paul's Grundriss, I, p. 930, remarks: "Dass teilweise irische Missionare das Evangelium verkuendeten, laesst sich an Lehnmaterialien nicht zur Gewissheit erheben".

3 Early English Church History, p. 160.



on Old English, but it has left scarcely any trace. In some respects the case is analogous to that of the English missionaries in Germany, of which Raumer says p. 279: "Ohne Zweifel hat die Angelsaechsische Muttersprache des Bonifacius und seiner Genossen auch auf ihre Hochdeutsche Predigt Einfluss geuebt. Dieser Einfluss ist jedoch meist so versteckt, dass er sich mit Bestimmtheit weder behaupten noch laeugnen laesst"; and further: " In ihren Predigten sind sie sicherlich oft genug ins Angelsaechsische verfallen. Allein die Hochdeutsche Sprache hat diese Angelsaechsischen Elemente in ihre Wortmasse entweder gar nicht aufgenommen oder, wo sie es in einzelnen Faellen tat, sich dieselben voellig assimiliert." At all events, after 30 short years the Celtic influence was struck its deathblow by the Roman triumph at the synod at Whitby, 664, and though it lingered for some time after Colman's departure, it may safely be dismissed from further consideration.

Latin Christianity with its splendid organization and its emphasis upon external representation becomes dominant, and the influence exerted upon the language is tremendous. As far as our subject, the Old English poetry, is concerned, it will be mirrored in the large number of words directly borrowed, translated, or closely imitated. Partly at least the adopted words are terms for the more striking external features of Christianity, though those for spiritual conceptions are by no means lacking. Naturally in some cases certain manifestations of Christianity were so foreign to the heathen mind that no appropriate native term could be utilized.

The official attitude of the Church toward the heathen remains was tolerant in a remarkable degree. Gregory deliberately adopted it



on principle, which some may be inclined to judge more charitably than Earle does the purpose behind the writing of Gregory's dialogues:

"It (the book) reflects the policy of converting the barbarians by condescending to their tastes, and belongs to the same system as that increase of pomp and ceremony which was due to the same motive." It was a deliberate attempt to make Christianity attractive to the new converts, a policy which was fraught with danger. According to Hunt,<sup>3</sup> "it seems probable that the heathenish and superstitious practices against which the Church had to struggle so long in this as in other Teutonic lands, would have died out more rapidly if the missionaries had from the first insisted that their converts should forsake everything connected with their former paganism", and p. 93: "Many nominal Christians must have looked on the religion of Christ rather as an addition to the old beliefs of their race than as wholly incompatible with them."

But scant remains of the heathen beliefs and the originally heathen terms have come down to us. Bede, for instance, shows a certain reluctance to discuss the subject of Anglo-Saxon heathenism, though he was probably in a position to reveal much more than he actually does. In the poetry only a few of the heathen terms, which would be utilized by the new religion, have come to our notice. A few of these may be taken up here. In the case of ēastor the heathen connotation must have been gradually lost, supplanted by an exclusively Christian one. Ealh, a word denoting a holy place, a temple, keeps the heathen connotation in the compound eolhsteda, while the simple term is twice

1 Compare ch. IV, Church Buildings.

2 Anglo-Saxon Literature, p. 17.

3 The English Church, p. 33.



applied to Solomon's temple. Lāc is used to designate Old Testament and Christian sacrifices, in the latter case referring to the mass, though originally the term would seem to have had an exclusively heathen significance. Hūs never refers to heathen sacrifices, but it is probable that this old Teutonic stem was not without a definite heathen connotation at an earlier time. In the case of wyrd we observe that the mythological force has been lost almost completely; the word takes a twofold development under the Christian influence, being used in the sense of God and predestination and in that of the fallen angel or devil. Other terms, such as heofon and hel, receive a fuller and deeper significance.

In the great majority of cases native material has been utilized, though not seldom the Latin term is either translated or closely imitated. Hālig gāst, hellewite, etc. belong here. In such terms the triumph of Christianity over the old beliefs is clearly mirrored. The original meaning of ethical designations could be modified and the expressions serve in a new capacity. Here belong a number of words referring to virtue, such as milde, which at first probably meant only liberal in a secular sense, while later it assumes also a distinctly religious connotation. In this case, as also in that of lufu, a new religious meaning is added to the old secular one, which is kept. The native terms for sin and sinful states are extremely numerous, which would of course, as Abbetmeyer has pointed out, indicate a deep sense of man's moral perversity; we note that these expressions are almost without exception native, and this seems to give support to the assumption that the ethical ideas of the Anglo-Saxon tribes

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1 Poetical Motives, p. 36.





were not on such a low plane as some would have us believe. Though the 'Teutonic mind had of course no conception of innate moral weakness',<sup>1</sup> a point of departure for the expression of the loftier conceptions of Christianity must have existed.

The new religion was taken into the life of the people, and in many respects adapted to their mode of thinking. As Ferrell well remarks:<sup>2</sup> "God, angels and devils become Teutonic heroes with all the virtues and vices of the same, and Heaven and hell show well-marked traces of the Anglo-Saxon way of thinking before the introduction of Christianity. As the poets draw the Christian religion as well as all that belongs to it within the horizon that bounds their own life, it becomes to them and their hearers a real religion- a Germanic religion- to which they can devote themselves body and soul, inasmuch as they can feel that it is thoroughly their own." In spite of the fact that Teutonic influence is not seldom invoked where other factors must be taken into account, this molding of the Christian ideas plays a large part. As crucifixion is unknown to the Anglo-Saxons, galga not seldom serves as a designation for the cross. Christ is the people's king, viewed as the guardian of his adherents, and the dispenser of bountiful gifts, an idea very dear to the minds of the men. He seems to have made a very strong appeal to the Germanic imagination, and the wholly new idea of a strong and powerful Redeemer exercised their thoughts. In some of the poems, notably so in Christ, his eminence is all-overshadowing, while the Godhead and God the Father play a minor role. In poems dealing with Old Testament history and even in the Psalms Christ is introduced almost as a matter of course. After

1 Abbetmeyer, Poetical Motives, p. 5.

2 Teutonic Antiquities, p. 8.



an examination of all the poetry one cannot get rid of the feeling that terms applied to the Godhead may often more specifically refer to Christ. Not seldom he appears where one would not expect his presence. We note two passages in the paraphrasing of the Lord's Prayer, which may indicate the difficulty of distinguishing between the persons of the Trinity if clear statements as in this case do not occur. In L. Prayer III, 12, in elaborating qui es in celis, the angels clypiad̄ to Criste, while L. Prayer II, 1-5 runs: Pater noster, qui es in celis. / Faeder manncynnes, frofres ic þe bidde, / halig drihten, þu ðe on heofonum eart; / Sanctificetur nomen tuum, / <sup>1</sup>Paet sy gehalgod, hyge-craeftum faest, / þin nama nu ða, neriende Crist, / in urum ferðlocan faeste gestadelod. At times the Son is even identified with the Father and the Holy Spirit, or is called Son and Father at the same time. These and other daring statements must not be interpreted as heresy; they are nothing more than expressions of the emphasis or over<sup>empha-</sup>sis placed upon Christ. And to call, for instance, Melchisedec a bishop and the three youths in the fiery furnace masspriests, is simply due to unhistorical thinking and to giving local color to distant per<sup>son-</sup>ages. So the appearance of the apostles, martyrs, etc., as retainers of the heavenly king, is nothing more than an uncritical application of the Anglo-Saxon political system to other nations and conditions. The idea of the Christian as servant, þeow, was less sympathetic, though it occurs. The spiritual warfare described in the Bible, the Latin designation of the faithful as miles Christi, and similar terms, would furnish the poet a welcome suggestion for further elaboration and invention.

The great number of kennings for religious conceptions calls for a brief discussion. That metrical necessities and alliteration

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 1 For the representation of the OE. ligature æ see page 17, note 2.



account for many, is without doubt. In Bode's words,<sup>1</sup> "Kenningar<sup>h</sup> dienen namentlich zum Flicken, zum Weiterkommen"; Rankin well illustrates this in regard to the variation from the Latin pattern, giving terms which actually occur.<sup>2</sup> For such variation, the chief causes lay in the demands of alliteration and metre in Anglo-Saxon verse. For example, instead of dryhten in the common phrase weoroda dryhten (dominus exercitum) an author might need a word beginning with sc and so substitute scyppend, making a new phrase weoroda scyppend, or he might need a word beginning with w and substitute wealdend or wuldorcyning, producing the new phrases weoroda wealdend or weoroda wuldorcyning; or instead of dryhten in the phrase engla dryhten (dominus angelorum) he might need a word beginning with b and substitute brego, or a word beginning with w and substitute weard if he desired one syllable or wealdend if he desired two; or, instead of cyning in the phrase wuldres cyning (rex gloriae) he might need a word beginning with a vowel and substitute agend; or, instead of dryhten in the phrase ece dryhten he might need a word with w and substitute wealdend."

This general method is of course just as applicable where the poet had no Latin pattern before him. The kennings employed are not felt by the poet in their original meaning, but are applied in a purely conventional fashion. Often <sup>h</sup>tey are not only not appropriate, but decidedly out of place. So eadega wer serves Gen. 1562 as a designation for the intoxicated Noah, 1532 for Abraham who has intercourse with Hagar; regarding the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah it is said, 1924-6, odpaet nergend god/for wera synnum wylme gesealde/Sodanan and Gemorran, sweartan lige, and Sat. 85-6 the words are put into the mouth

1 Kenningar, p. 14.

2 Kennings, VIII, p. 396 f.



of Satan, ic wolde towerpan wuldres leoman, / bearn helendes. In Elene 847 the author speaks thoughtlessly of sigebeamas III, the crosses of the two thieves being included.

As to the origin of the kennings there may be a difference of opinion. Rankin thinks that "for the great majority of terms for religious conceptions ---there can be no doubt as to their Latin origins". Undoubtedly Latin exerted a powerful influence in shaping the religious vocabulary of Old English poetry, as the terms from the Psalms and from poems patterned after the Latin show, though the poets do not follow the original slavishly. But Rankin seems to go too far in his emphasis upon the Latin influence by ascribing such kennings as cyning, dryhten, helm, weard, hyrde, and a host of others to Latin, and by suspecting a Latin source for almost any kenning that occurs, though he may be unable to find the Latin equivalent. Such an assumption denies on insufficient grounds initiative and imagination to the Anglo-Saxon poets. We heartily subscribe to his less daring opening statements,<sup>2</sup> "that such a classification of kennings as borrowed, native, and common Germanic, is necessarily simply tentative and a matter of probabilities",<sup>3</sup> that "a Latin equivalent does not in every instance necessarily mean a direct Latin source", and that he does not maintain<sup>4</sup> "that in every case where an exact equivalent does occur the Anglo-Saxon kenning is necessarily derived from the Latin and could not possibly have had an independent origin."<sup>5</sup> Though it would be folly to underestimate the tremendous Latin influence, Bode's remark<sup>5</sup> about "den geringen unanzweifelbaren Ergebnissen, die die

1 VIII, 358.

2 Ibid., 366.

3 Ibid., as above.

4 Ibid., 367.

5 Kenningar, p. 22 f.





Litteraturgeschichte von derartigen Vergleichen bisher gehabt hat, wiewohl doch so viele Litteraturhistoriker von einem krankhaften Eifer befallen sind, mit Huelfe der beliebten, aber unsicheren Methode, aus Aehnlichkeiten auf Einwirkungen zu schliessen, ueberall neue Entdeckungen zu machen," is not wholly inappropriate.

But whether borrowed or native, whether molded or newly formed, the extremely large number of religious terms in the poetry shows conclusively the great part the new religion played in the life of the Anglo-Saxons. Christianity with its solution of the problems connected with life and the Hereafter had once more won over virile Teutonic tribes. And a people that could glory in the learning of Bede and Alcuin, did not lack poets to set forth the anxieties, the aspirations, and the hopes imparted by the new religion. In the remains of that poetry we find mirrored the consciousness of sin and guilt, the firm trust in the powerful Redeemer, the world-weariness and melancholy yearning for a future life with its pleasures and blessings - in short, all the important features and ideas connected with Christianity. How these conceptions found expression in the poetry, and to what extent the terms were employed, the following pages will show.



## CHAPTER I

## DIVISION OF THE HUMAN RACE

1. The Non-Christians.

To the non-Christians belong, together with heathen nations, also the Jews. The most common designation of them is Judēas, the plural being in accordance with the OE. use of folknames, while the singular is not found. The term goes back to the stem of Latin Judaeus, which originally was applied to a Hebrew of the kingdom of Judah, but later assumed a wider meaning<sup>1</sup>. Examples of the OE. term are comparatively frequent, the use being illustrated by such passages as pone Judeas ongletan ne meahtan, Cr. 637, Judea cynn, And. 560, mid Judeum geomor wurde, 1408, geond Judeas, El. 278, which latter poem mentions them a number of times. The term Israēl, Israhēl, m., is also applied to them, for instance Israhela cynn, Ex. 198, 265, etc. Among other terms and designations encountered may be noted such as weras Ebrēa, El. 287, weras Ebrēsce, 559, we Ebrēisce <sup>2</sup> æ leornedon, 397, as also on Ebrēisc spraec, 724. No Jewish sects are mentioned in the poetry, though we have in the passage And. 607, paer bisceopas and boceras / and ealdormenn aeht besaeton/maedelhaegende, a reference to the scribes in bōceras, a word of somewhat wide meaning, as seen from Dan. 164, Ða haefde Daniel dom micelne, / blaed in Babilonia mid bocerum, Fates 71, Sume boceras/weorþad wisfaeste, and Durham 14, where we hear of þe breoma bocera Beda. In the passage quoted from Andreas,

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1 NED.

2 In all OE. words, with the exception of Israel, Ismael, etc., read æ as the OE. ligature æ.



the priests or highpriests and the elders are referred to in bisceopas and ealdormenn.

In Christian Latin the non-Christians were designated by the terms gentes, gentiles, pagani, and ethnici<sup>1</sup>. The last word has been taken over by the Vulgate from Greek ἐθνικοί ( e.g. Matth.6,7), while gentes renders τὰ ἔθνη. The word pagani does not appear in the Vulgate, being used in a specific Christian sense first in the 4th century, the original meaning of paganus, 'villager, rustic', having shaded into that of 'pagan, heathen', as Christianity became the religion of the towns while in the rural districts the ancient deities were still worshipped.

In OE. poetry the term heathen is generally rendered by hæðen, m., the form is OHG. being heidan, and in ON. heidinn. In all the Germanic languages this word is used in the sense of non-Christian, pagan, and it is assumed that the term was first thus employed by the Goths and thence passed to the other Germanic tribes. This view is supported by the occurrence of the fem. form haipnō, Mark.7,26, in Ulfilas' translation. The term is generally supposed to go back to Gothic haipi, heath, the derived word being a loose rendering of the Latin paganus<sup>2</sup>, though difficulties both chronological and etymological remain.

As in prose, the term hæðen is comparatively frequent in OE. poetry, being used both as an adjective and as a substantive, as will appear from the examples quoted. The word is variously used. Thus in

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1 Raumer, p.285 f.

2 See article heathen in NED. Compare also MacG., p.14.



contrast to the Christians, as in Beow. 179, *haepenra hyht*, where the evidently heathen Danes seek help against the terrible Grendel by sacrificing and praying to their idols. The Danes were sometimes designated simply as heathen, illustrated by such a passage as Chr. II, 10, *Denum waeron/aeror, under Nordmannum nede gebaeded/on haepenum haefteclammum/lange prage*, the now Christian Anglo-Saxons feeling the heavy hand of the heathen Norse. The Huns are called heathen in El. 126, *haedene grungon, /feollon fridese*, which is the regular designation of the Mermedonians in Andreas, as 1124, 1144, etc. etc. Maximianus Jul. 7 is called *haeden hildfruma*; *haeden waeron begen*, /synnum seoce, 64, is said of Helisius and Juliana's father, the former also being thus designated 533, etc. The contrast between the Christian and the heathen is brought out in such passages as Gn. Ex. 132, *husl (is fitting) halgum men, haednum synne*, in Sat. 268, where Satan takes charge of the unregenerated, *ah ic be hondum mot haedene scealc/gripan to grunde, godes andsacan*, as also Cr. 705, *pa seo circe her/aefyllendra eahtnysse bad/under haepenra hyrda gewældum*, pertaining to the persecution of the Christian Church.

Sometimes the author takes the Jewish point of view and styles the opponents of the chosen people as heathen. Thus in passages of Judith, as 98, 179, referring to Holofernes, to whom the epithet *pone haedenan hund* is applied 110. The Israelites have to endure *naedenra hosp* (of the Assyrians) in 216. The term is further applied to Nebuchadnezzar Dan. 203, 434, 540, etc., to the Babylonians, 307, 330, etc., *haedne peode*, 181, while the term *haedne leode* is used for them Az. 162. In Gen. 2416 we have *haednum folce*, and 2483 *haedne here-maecgas* applied to the people of Sodom. However, the use of the term depends very much upon the circumstances and the particular viewpoint





of the author, for in El.1075 reference is made to the Jews, on þa ahangen<sup>w</sup> aēs hāeðenum folcum/gasta geocend, as also Sat.540, þec gelegdon on laðne bend/hæþene mid hondum, who are thus branded as heathen.

Hæðen may be applied in various ways, serving to designate the hoarded gold in Beow.2216, gefeng/hæðnum horde, and 2276, þær he hāeðen gold/warað wintrum frod, and also referring to the monster Grendel in 986, hæþenes handspora, and 852, in fenfreoðo feorh alegde, / hāeðene sawle. In Jul.536 even the devil is called by that name, (Heo þæt deofol teah) halig hæþenne, an appellation not as strange as it may seem when we compare such passages as Jud.61, Gewat ða se deofulcunda (Holofernes), Dan.750, ge deoflu, (Babylonians), And.43, sippan deofles þegnas/geascodon aedelinges sið (Mermedonians). The line was evidently not always sharply drawn, room being left for metaphorical application.

A number of compounds occur, of which hæðendōm, m., the state of being a heathen, properly belongs here. There is only one occurrence of the term in poetry, Dan.221, and here it is contrasted to the worship of Jehovah, the state of belonging to the chosen people. Hæðencyninga occurs Dan.54, applied to Nebuchadnezzar and his vassals, while the people of Sodom and Gomorrah are called hæðencynn, n., Gen. 2546.

Words like hæðenfeoh and hæðengiold as well as similar terms will be treated in chapter VIII, under Devils.

Another term denoting heathen is the plural of þeod, f., people, which we find in the Psalms. We note eac geond þeode (in gentibus), LVI, 11, þeoda him ondraedað þinne egsan (Turbabuntur gentes), LXIV, 8, by laes aefre cwedan oðre þeoda, hāeðene herigeas (Ne forte dicant in



gentibus), LXXVIII, 10, ealle þeode (patriae gentium), XCV, 7, Beoð deofolgyld dysigra þeoda gold and seolfur (Simulacra gentium argentum et aurum), CXXXIV, 15.

## 2. The Christians.

The other part of the human race is composed of the Christians, the adherents of Christ. In Acts 11, 26, we read that the disciples of Christ were first called Χριστιανοί in Antioch. This was taken over by Latin as christiani. The OE. term is crīsten, derived from Crīst, christan, christāni, and christanō appearing in OHG., while in ON. we find kristinn, probably influenced by the OE., or the Middle High German form kristen. In the scanty Gothic literature the word does not occur, though we have there the name Xristus.

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In OE. prose the term is of frequent occurrence, both as an adjective and as a substantive, while in the poetry only nine examples have been encountered by me. The use of the adjective we find in Ps. CVI, 31, Forðon hine on cyrcean cristenes folces/hean ahebbað (in ecclesia plebis), El. 988, cristenum folce, 1210, ond þæs latteowes larum hyrdon, / cristenum þeawum, Jul. 5, cwealde Cristne men, Dox. 28, ealle, þa ðe cunnon cristene þeawas, 37, cristene bec. Of the substantive use only three examples occur, And. 1677, Cristenra weox/word and wisdom, El. 979, þær hie (the Jews) hit for worulde wendan mehton / cristenra gefean, and 1068, Be ðam frignan ongan/Cristenra cwen (Elene).

As in prose, terms like gelēafful, sōðfaest, etc., occur as designations of Christians, but these will be treated later. No compound of crīsten is found in the poetry.



From crīsten is derived the verb crīstnian, which in prose renders the Latin catechizare, signifying primarily the 'prima signatio'<sup>1</sup> of the catechumens as distinguished<sup>h</sup> from the baptism proper. The term in question occurs only once in the poetry, and there may have the meaning to make a Christian or to baptize, Sal. 325, (waeter) cristnað and claensað cwicra manigo.

All believers are gathered into the Church, the whole body of the Christians, for which OE. prose and poetry alike use cirice, circe, cyrcce, f., a term which is also applied to the church building, which was probably the original meaning. The word also occurs in other Germanic languages, as chirihha and variants in OHG., kirika, kerika, in OS., the ON. form being kirkja, kyrkja, very probably going back to the OE., all from the common Westgerm. stem \*kīrika.

It is now generally accepted that the Westgerm. term goes back to the Greek κυριακόν or κυριακά, (belonging to the Lord), which from the 3rd century at least came to be used as a name for the Christian house of worship, Constantine afterwards naming several churches built by him κυριακά. Walafrid Strabo (d. 849) first discussed the question involved, and having given the Greek derivation, asked: "qua occasione ad nos vestigia haec greccitatis advenerint?" He pointed to the Germanic mercenaries in the service of the Roman Empire and particularly referred to the Goths in the Greek provinces. But in the Gothic literature extant we have no word derived from the Greek κυριακόν or κυριακά, the Gothic rendering of the New Testament ἐκκλησία being aikklēsjō; however, as it does not designate the place

1 MacG., p. 21, note 2.

2 Libellus de exordiis et incrementis quarundam in observantibus ecclesiasticis rerum. Kluge, Gothische Lehnworte etc., p. 126.



of public worship, but the Christian society or assembly, a Gothic representative of Gr. κυριακόν or κυριακή may be assumed. Other avenues of entrance have been suggested, as for instance the early penetration of Christianity from the Rhone valley into that of the upper Rhine, but, as the NED. points out,<sup>1</sup> "it is by no means necessary that there should have been a single kirika in Germany itself; from 313 onward, Christian churches with their sacred vessels and ornaments were well known objects of pillage to the German invaders of the Empire: if the first with which these made acquaintance, wherever situated, were called κυριακή, it would be quite sufficient to account for their familiarity with the word. The Angles and Saxons had seen and sacked Roman and British churches in Gaul and Britain for centuries before they had them of their own, and, we have every reason to believe, had known and spoken of them as cirican during the whole of that period". For "long before they became Christians, the Germans were naturally acquainted with, and had names for, all the striking phenomena of Christianity, as seen in the Roman provinces and the missions outside".

However, while the term kirika originally was applied to the building, it came to be used for the Latin ecclesia in all its senses. The L. term goes back to the Gr. ἐκκλησία, meaning etymologically the body of the ἐκκληστοί, a name given by Solon to the public formal assembly of the Athenian people, and later used for similar gatherings of other Greek cities. "By the LXX it is used to translate the Hebrew קָהָל, the 'congregation' or assembly of Israel met before the Lord, or conceived in their relation to him. In the N.T. the word has

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1 Our discussion is mainly based on the able article church in that work.





a twofold sense: a. (after the LXX) the whole congregation of the faithful, the Christian Society, conceived of as one organism, the body of Christ; b. (after classical Gr.) a particular local assembly of Christ's enfranchised met for solemn purposes.<sup>1</sup> Other meanings were gradually added: the word came to be applied to the meeting house as well as to the outward organization of the congregation of the faithful, the later development with its specific shades of meaning being also connected with the L. ecclesia.

As stated before, cirice appears both in the sense of congregation and of the meeting place, the latter meaning to be discussed in chapter IV. In the sense of body of the faithful we find the term Cr. 699, Of er middangeard mona lixeð, / gaestlic tungol, swa seo godes circe / purh gesomninga soðes and rihtes / beorhte bliceð, and similarly 703, þa seo circe her / aefyllendra eahtnysse bad. The idea of the congregation is the only one used in the Psalms. LXVII, 24, has, and on circean Crist drihten god / bealde bletsige bearn Israela (In ecclesiis benedicite Deo Domino, de fontibus Israel)! LXXXVIII, 4, and þa halgan eac hergeað on cyrcean / þine soðfaestnesse (in ecclesia sanctorum). Similarly we have CXLIX, 1, wese his herenes on haligra clænre cyrcean cyðeð geneahhe! where the Vulgate has laus ejus in ecclesia sanctorum. The idea of congregation is furthermore clear CVI, 31, Forðon hine on cyrcean cristenes folces hean ahebbað and his haelu and lof on sotelum soðfaestra seggan to worulde (Et exaltent eum in ecclesia plebis etc.).

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1 NED.



Of compounds with church only two occur in the poetry, circ-nyt, f., the sole example being found in Gifts 91, Sum craeft hafad cyrcnytta fela, /maeg on lofsongum lifes waldend/nlude hergan, hafad healice/beorhte stefne, and ciricsōcn, f., church-going, found once, Exhortation 47, mid cyricsocnum cealdum wederum.

Other designations for the congregation of the faithful, such as gesomnung, geladung, gefērrāeden, gegaderung, and crīstendōm, more or less frequent in prose, <sup>1</sup> are either not met with in the poetry, or, as in the case of gesomnung, do not have a specific religious meaning.

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1 MacG. p.27 ff.



## CHAPTER II

## THE DEPARTED MEMBERS OF THE CHURCH

1. The Virgin Mary.

The Virgin Mary and her cult occupied a very prominent place in the Anglo-Saxon Church, and the references to her in both <sup>1</sup> prose and <sup>2</sup> poetry are numerous. The simplest designation of her is 'virgin', the idea being expressed by different words; other appellations showing the qualities and rank attributed to her are also found. Very frequently the term fāemne, virgin, is met with, so for instance Cr. 35, 123, 175, 195, 418, 720, Ap. 29, Creed 19, etc. Among other designations we note māeg, maegð, nēowle, weolme, frōwe, drūt, all of which are poetic. We find that the highest regard is paid to her, and the invocation of her aid, which before the Council of Ephesus <sup>3</sup> (431) had been resorted to only hesitatingly and occasionally, is very common in the Anglo-Saxon Church. We note Invocation 21, ful-tumes bidde friclo uirginem alman, and Cr. 342-7, Gepinga us nu pristum wordum, /paet he us ne laete leng owihte/ in pisse deaðdene gedwolan hyran, /ac paet he usic geferge in faeder rice, /paer we sorglease sippan motan/wunigan in wuldre mid weoroda god! The mother of Christ would be looked upon as having great influence upon her son; her intercession would be effective. His high regard for her is brought out Rood B 22-4, his modor eac Marian sylfe/aelmihtig god for ealle menn/geweorðode ofer eall wifa cynn.

1 Compare MacG., p. 33 ff.

2 For OHG. see Raumer, p. 292 f., for ON. Kahle, I, 325 f., II, 99 ff.

3 Encyclopaedia Britannica.



Absolute sinlessness of the Virgin Mary, originally quite unknown to Catholicism, and Augustine's repeated assertion that she was born in original sin (De ger. ad. lit. V, 18) notwithstanding, <sup>1</sup> is in Anglo-Saxon times often asserted, though one as late as Anselm (Cur Deus Homo, II, 16) says that the virgin herself was conceived in iniquity, and born with original sin. Perpetual virginity, not taught during the first three centuries, and first appearing in a book placed upon the papal index librorum prohibitorum as heretical, is also a number of times alluded to and openly claimed in OE. poetry. The following examples will illustrate: Ides unmaene, Creed 14; maegð manes leas, Cr. 36; and no gebrosnad weard / maegð had se micla, 85-6; hu ic faemnan had / mund minne geheold and eac modor gewearð / maere meotudes suna, 92-4; saga ecne þonc / maerum meotudes sunu þæt ic his modor gewearð / faemne forð se þeah, 209-11; worþma lease, 188; þæt þu þinne maegð had meotide brohtes / sealdes butan synnum, 289-90; and þe, Maria, forð / efne unwemme a gehealdan, 299-300; unmaele aelces þinges, 333; maeged unmaele, 721; þeah waes hyre maegden had / aeghwaes onwalg, 1420-1, etc.

A few times the Virgin Mary is spoken of as the mother of Christ. We note Marie, Cristes modur, Charms VIII, 17, cyninges modor, Men. 21, drihtnes modor, 169.

Not infrequently figures are used to designate the Holy Virgin. Hordfate halgan gaeste, Maxims 18, only once, the word being poetic; nu ic his (Christ's) tempel eam, Cr. 206; þær gestabelad waes / aepelic ingong, 307-8; duru ormaete, 309; swa faestlice forscyttelsas, 312; ðæs ceasterhlides clustor, 314; ðæs gyldnan gatu, 318; þa faestan

1 Encyclopaedia Britannica.





locu, 321, þu eart þæt wealldor, 328. In Cr. 280-1 we find, þæt þu bryd  
sie/þaes selestan swegles bryttan, and 292, bryd beaga hroden.

A few attributes attributed to the Virgin may be noted here.  
Sancta Maria, Cr. 88, <sup>1</sup>ða soðan sancta Marian, Charms I, 29, <sup>2</sup>sanctan Marian,  
Creed 13; seo claeneste cwen ofer eorþan, Cr. 276, meowle seo claene,  
Doom 293, claene and gecorene, Cr. 331; Eala þu maera, 275, maerre meowlan,  
446. Numerous others occur, as also some designations that show the  
greatest respect and veneration. We quote, ealra femnena wyn, Prayer  
III, 26, wifa wynn, Cr. 71; wifa wuldor, Men. 149; þurh þa æþelan cwenn, Cr.  
1199, Cwena selost, Men. 168; maedena selast, Doom 294; sio eadge maeg,  
Cr. 87, maeged modhwatu, Maxims 16, maegða weolman, Cr. 445, faegerust  
maegða, Men. 148; gebletsodost ealra, Doom 296; faemne freolicast, Cr. 72;  
aenlicu godes drut, Doom 291; seo frowe, 292. We add here the passage  
from Doom, 291-4, in order to show the rendering of the Latin line:  
aenlicu godes drut, /seo frowe, þe us frean acende, /metod on moldan,  
meowle seo claene: /þæt is .Maria., maedena selast (alma Dei Genitrix,  
pia virgo Maria, 148). The Virgin is further called hlaefdige halgum  
meahtum/wuldor weorudes and worldcundra/hada under heofonum and hel-  
wara! Cr. 284-6. This list, which could be extended, contains quite a  
number of poetical terms, some of them occurring only once, which will  
be seen from the list of poetical words at the end.

## 2. Patriarchs.

The Latin patriarcha as a designation of the venerable Old  
Testament characters is rendered in OE. poetry by hēahfaeder, OHG.

1 MS. sca marian.

2 MS. Scā.

3 Compare kennings of Virgin Mary in Jansen, Synonymik, p. 18 f.



hōhfater. Only a few examples occur, which we give in full. The Apostle Andrew reports about the experience of the disciples on the Sea of Galilee and their vision, And. 875, We ðær heahfaederas halige oncneowon/and martyra maegen unlytel. Further examples are found Sat. 656, þær martiras meotode cwemað/and herigað hehfaeder halgum stefnum/cyning in cestre, Doom 284, betwyx heahfaederas and halige witegan (vaticicis junctos patriarchis atque prophetis, 144), Har. 47, heahfaedra fela swylce eac haeleþa gemot, Ex. 357, heahfaedera sum (Abraham), Jul. 514, þurh halge meaht/heahfaedra nan is able to gain power over the devil, the accomplishment of the saintly Juliana being magnified by the spirit of darkness; And. 791, (þær) heahfaedera hra beheled waeron. As will be gathered from these examples, the patriarchs are generally mentioned with the prophets, the connection between them being close. In And. 801 Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob are even spoken of as ða witigan þry.

Once hēahfaeder is applied to God the Father, namely in Rood B 134, lifiað nu on heofenum mid heahfaedere, a use also appearing in prose and being equivalent to the Latin pater excelsus.

### 3. Prophets.

The term for prophet in OE. poetry is <sup>2</sup> wītega, wītga, from the Germanic stem <sup>3</sup> \*wītags, wise one; OHG. wīzago. In accordance with this fundamental meaning the word is probably used in a purely secular sense Dan. 41, to þæs witgan foron, / Caldea cyn to ceastre forð. In Ph. 30, swa us gefregum gleawe/witgan þurh wisdom on gewritum cypað, the idea of wise is also very prominent. Judas or Cyriacus is called

1 For ON. see Kahle, I, 326. For OE. prose MacG. pp. 38-9 may be compared.

2 For the prose compare MacG. pp. 36-8.

3 Compare for OHG. Raumer, p. 320ff., ON. Kahle, I, 325-6.



witgan sunu in El.592, and in the same poem, where the nails of the Cross are mentioned, we hear Be <sup>x</sup>dam se witga sang, /snottor searupancum.

In the sense of prophet the term witega occurs quite a number of times, especially in Elene, Christ, and other poems. A few examples will suffice here. Purg witgena wordgeryno, El.289, ge witgena/lare onfengon, 334, and, hu on worulde aer witgan sungon, /gasthalige guman be godes bearne, 561. In El.351 Isaiah is called witga, and in Cr.306 wisfaest witga. Witgan wisfaeste wordum saegdon, /cyddon Cristes gebyrd, we hear Cr.64, while 1193 we read witgan drihtnes/halge hige-gleawe. Halige witigan raise Christ on his throne, Sat.460. Of further occurrences of the term we note Ex.300, witgan larum, Dan.149, od paet witga cwom, Daniel to dome, Ps.CIV, 13, ne on mine witigan werg<sup>x</sup>de settan (et in prophetis meis nolite malignari), etc.

However, the term witga is also a designation for heathen prophets, magi; thus in Dan.135, andswarode/wulfheort cyning (Nebuchadnezzar) witgum sinum, and perhaps also in 647, Ne lengde pa leoda aldor/witegena wordcwide.

In the original sense of propheta as proclaimer, utterer, we have the poetic boda in Moods 4: wordhord onwreah witgan larum/bearn boca gleaw, bodan aercwide. More often the compound spellboda, spelboda is used, original meaning messenger, proclaimer of a message; the secular use of the term is illustrated in Ps.CV, 10, where it is said about the Egyptian disaster in the Red Sea, paet paera aefre ne com an spellboda. In a religious sense the term is applied to Daniel, in Dan.533 and 743, godes spelboda. In the Phenix, where Job appears in the role of prophet, godes spelboda, line 571, serves as a designation



for him, the reader having been exhorted in 548-9, gehyrað witedom/ Jobes gieddinga! The same term is also applied to the apostles Gu. 11, paet gearu in godes spelbodan/wordum saegdon and purh witedom/ eal anemdon, swa hit nu gonged.

Further uses of the word are found in Daniel, where in lines 230 and 465 the three youths in the fiery furnace are called godes spelbodan. In referring to the annunciation, Cr. 336, we have, pe se engel pe/godes spelboda Gabriel brohte; Gen. 2424, ac paer frome waeron /godes spellbodan, a refer<sup>e</sup>nce to the angels bringing Lot the fateful news of Sodom and Gomorrah's disaster, while the angels announcing Christ's birth to the shepherds are called bodan Cr. 449. As will be seen from the passages, the use of the term is often, though not always, explained by the function assumed in a particular case.

Prophecy, prophesying, is expressed by witedōm, wītigdōm, a term occurring five times in the poetry. Ph. 548, gehyrað witedom/ Jobes gieddinga, and Gu. 12, purh witedom/eal anemdon, have already been quoted in connection with wītega. The other examples are found El. 1152, Waes se witedom/purh fyrnwritan beforan sungen,/eall aefter orde, swa hit eft gelamp/pinga gehwylces, Cr. 212, Sceolde witedom/in him sylfum beon soðe gefylled, and Dan. 146, Ne meahte pa seo maenigeo on þam medelstede/purh wītigdom wihite apencean. In the sense of to prophesy the verb wītgian occurs only once, namely Dan. 546, And (Daniel) him wītigode wyrda geþingu. Once we find āercwide, m., Moods 4, wordhord onwreah wītgan larum/beorn boca gleaw, bodan aercwide, which may have the sense of prophesy.

The magi of the Chaldeans, otherwise also designated simply prophets, in Dan. 128 are called dēofulwītgan, found only once in OE.





4. Apostles.

The first adherents of Christ are called in the New Testament μαθηταί in contradistinction to the master as διδάσκαλος, and in reference to their being sent to preach, ἀπόστολοι. The Vulgate renders μαθηταί by discipuli, and takes over the term ἀπόστολοι as apostoli.

Apostol as a designation of disciples is found only twice in OE.

<sup>1</sup>  
poetry: Men.122, where Peter and Paul are spoken of as þa apostolas, /  
þeoden holde þrowedon on Rome, and Sat.571, þaet he þaes ymb ane niht  
twelf apostolas / mid his gastes gife, gingran geswidde. A direct trans-  
lation of the term apostolus, which in OHG. beside the rare postul is  
generally rendered by boto,<sup>2</sup> does not occur in OE, poetry, though once  
the compound spelboda is found, Gu.11, þaet gearu iu godes spelbodan  
wordum / saegdon. But references to the Twelve are by no means absent.  
We note And.2, twelfe under tunglum tiradige haeled, 1419, þa ðu us  
twelfe trymman angunne, Ap.4-5, Twelfe waeron / daedum domfaeste, dryhtne  
gecorene, 86, ðys ða aedelingas ende gesealdon, XII. tilmodige, and Gu.681,  
eom ic þara twelfe sum, þe he getreoweste / under monnes hiw mode ge-  
lufade.

Only one compound of apostol appears, the poetic apostolhād, and  
this only twice, designating the rank or position of an apostle, as And.  
1651, (Andrew) gesette / wisfaestne wer--- / in þære beorhtan byrig  
bisceop þam leodum / and gehalgode for þaem heremaegene / þurh apostolhād,  
Platan nemned, and Ap.14, (At Rome died) Petrus and Paulus: is se  
apostolhād / wide geweordod ofer werþeoda.

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1 For the prose compare MacG., p.39ff.

2 See Raumer, pp.364-6. A discussion of the terms used in ON, will  
be found in Kahle, I, p.327, and II, pp.106-7



However, the disciples and followers of Christ appear frequently in OE. poetry, though not often under the name of apostles. Thus we find ærendraca in Doom 286, paer þa ærendracan synd æelmihtiges godes (inter apostolicas----arces, 145), and folgere, once, Creed 35, and he. XL. daga folgeras sine/runum arette. The term geongra, comparative of gēong, in the sense of servant or disciple, occurs not infrequently. The simple meaning of servants is applied to Adam and Eve in Gen. 450 where they are called drihtnes geongran, and in 456, 515, and other places the term is similarly used. As referring to the disciples of Christ we find for instance gingran sinum, Sat. 522, gingran, 526, 530, 531, and 572 in the passage quoted about the twelve apostles. In And. 1330, ðæt hie ðe hnaegen/gingran aet guðe, reference is made to Andrew, though the term is even in its religious or Christian meaning by no means limited to the Twelve, for gingran sine, And. 427, similarly 847 and 894 is applied to the followers of Andrew.

Other appellations are also used for the followers of Christ in accordance with the view that is taken in a particular case. While thus in swa dyde lareow þin, /cyneþrym ahof, þaem waes Crist nama, And. 1321-2, lārēow as Andrew's teacher would be the διδάσκαλος καὶ ἑξολήν, Andrew is called leofne lareow, 1707, and James frod and faest-raed folca lareow, Men. 135. Not seldom Christ is represented as a king and his followers as his retainers, his begnas. This is an especially favored term, conspicuously in Andreas, but also in other poems. We note as designation of the Twelve, þeodnes þegnas, And. 3; maguþegne, applied to Matthew, 94; maguþegne, 1207, referring to Andrew, þegn þeodenhold, 384, Gif du þegn sie þrymsittendes/wuldorcyninges, 417, þegen gepungen þrymsittendes, 528, also mentioning him as retainer.



But the term is also employed for Andrew and his followers, 323, 344, while *wlitige þegnas*, 363, is used of Andrew's followers. In Cr. 497 the disciples at Christ's ascension are called *þegnas gecorene*, and 541, *Bidon ealle þær þær/þegnas þrymfulle þeodnes gehata/in þære torhtan byrig* (Jerusalem). Simon in Samaria accuses *þa gecorenan Cristes þegnas* opposing him as magicians, Jul. 299, and Nero commands that *Cristes þegnas/Petrus* and Paulus be killed, 303. Thus Gu. 665 Bartholomew is designated *dyre dryhtnes þegn*, calling himself *meotudes þegn* 680.

Other terms might be added in order to show the attitude of mind with which the authors of different poems view the followers of the man of meekness and peace. We note only a few. The Twelve are called *oretmaecgas*, And. 664, the term *oretta* used of Andrew in *eadig oretta*, 463, *anraed oretta*, 283, etc., *halig cempa*, 461, *Cristes cempa*, 991, similar terms also being used for Saint Guthlac, who as a true warrior defends himself against the hosts of evil spirits.

In relation to each other the apostles are conceived as brothers. Thus And. 183 Andrew is told about Matthew as *þinne sigebroðor*, and again 940, *þær þin broðor is*; 1014, *Sib waes gemaene/bam þam gebroðrum*, and 1037, *wuldres þegnas,/begen þa gebroðor*. In Gu. 686, Bartholomew, coming to the help of the saint, says, *Is þæt min broðor*, where the term has a more general significance.

##### 5. Martyrs.

The Latin martyr (from late Greek *μάρτυρ*) as the designation for one who suffers persecution on account of his belief, is expressed in OE. literature by two terms, the learned martyre, martyr, martir, and



the native brōwere, from brōwian, to suffer. Only four times is the learned term employed. Once it refers to Saint Guthlac, who valiantly puts up a good and winning battle against the evil spirits, 485, waes se martyre from moncynnes/synnum asyndrad. A reference to departed martyrs we find Sat. 655, paer martiras meotode cwemað/and herigað hehfaeder halgum stefne/cyning on cestre; similar is the passage And. 876, We paer heahfaedera halige oncneowon/and martyra maegen unlytel. A memorial in honor of all the martyrs was celebrated in the Anglo-Saxon Church, and to this reference is made in Men. 67, in the enumeration of the halige dagas: Sculan we hwaedere gyt/martira gemynd ma areccan.<sup>2</sup>

The native term brōwere is used only twice in poetry, both occurrences being in Guthlac. Line 132, Oft purh reorde abead, / pam pe prowera peowas lufedon, / godes aerendu, it is rather general, while the passage, frome wurdun monge / godes prowera, 153, refers to those still undergoing suffering.

The Latin martyrium, the witness or death of a martyr, is expressed by martyrdōm, martyrhād, and brōwung, the latter term being employed for the suffering of holy men as well as for the passio of Christ. In Men. 126 martyrdōm is used of the supposed joint suffering of Peter and Paul, pa apostolas, / peoden holde prowedon on Rome / ofer midne sumor miccle gewisse / furdor fif nihtum folcbealo prealic, /maerne martyrdom, while the death of Laurentius is mentioned 145, paenne ford gewat / ymb preo niht paes peodne getrywe / purh martyrdom, maere diacon. In a somewhat peculiar sense the term is employed Prayer IV, 80, God ic

1 For the prose compare MacG., 52ff. The OHG. terms are discussed by Raumer, pp. 293-4, the ON. by Kahle, I, 327-8, II, 107-8.

2 Further remarks will be found chapter V, Festivals and Holy Seasons.





haebbe/abolgen, brego moncynnes: forþon ic þus bittre weard<sup>1</sup>/gewitnad fore þisse worulde, swa min giewyrgto waeron/micle fore monnum, þaet ic martirdom/deopne adreoge. As has been pointed out by Wuelker,<sup>1</sup> the term martirdōm would suggest that the exiled author considers himself innocent as to the particular cause of the punishment, though realizing that the unjustly inflicted punishment as a just retribution overwhelming him on account of other sins. Martyrhād occurs once in Guthlac, where it is applied to the state of suffering to which the numerous devils subject the saint: (God would) aefter þrowinga(him) þonc gegyldan, / þaet he martyrhad mode gelufade, 443.

Prōwung in a somewhat general sense as referring to a saint is used in the passage just quoted, Gu. 442, aefter þrowinga, similarly 356, Nis þisses beorges setl/meodumre ne mara, þonne hit men duge, / se þe in þrowingum þeodnes willan/daeghwaem dreoged<sup>1</sup>, and also line 750, þoncade þeodne, þaes þe hi in þrowingum/bidan moste. The references to the passio of Christ are, þurh his þrowinga, Cr. 470, frean þrowinga, 1130, dryhtnes þrowinga, 1180, and Hymn 28, ða ðu ahofe ðurh ðaet halige triow/<sup>2</sup> ðinre ðrowunga ðriostre senna.

## 6. Saints.

In order to express Latin sanctus, two different terms are employed in OE. poetry, one native,<sup>3</sup> while the other has been taken over from the Latin. Sometimes the borrowed word even retains its Latin ending, as shown in El. 504 and Panther 69, sanctus Paulus. We found the term several times applied to the Virgin Mary, under sub-

1 Grundriss, p. 377.

2 Further remarks will be found in chapter VII, Life of Christ.

3 For the prose see MacG. p. 60 ff.



division 1, in this chapter. As the adjective, the noun sanct,<sup>m.</sup>, is also rare. We note Sat.240, to paem aepelan/hnigan him sanctas, and 355, sanctas singad. In Men.200 reference is made to the festival of All Saints, we healdad Sancta symbel, para pe sid odde aer/worhtan in worulde willan drihtnes.

However, the usual expressions corresponding to Latin sanctus is hālig, OHG. heilig, OS. hēlig, ON. heilagr, from Teut. \*hailag-oz, probably meaning inviolate, inviolable. The term, used both as an adjective and as a noun, is of great frequency in the poetry, so that a few examples will suffice for illustration. Jul. 61, referring to the saint, has, (gefetian) haligre faeder, Charms I, 58, his halige, pam on heofonum synt, Jul.15, halge cwelmdom, Instructions 63, haligra gemynd, Men.229, haligra tiid, Doom 22, para haligra on heofonan rice (sanctorum, 11), with which may be compared Creed 52-3, Ic gemaenscipe maerne getreowe/þinra haligra her on life, a rendering of the Latin communione[m] sanctorum; Rood B 154, eallum ðam halgum. Jul.237, halig þaer inne/waerfaest wunode, 345, seo halge ongon, 309, ahon haligne on heanne beam (referring to Andrew), Soul 68, þonne halige men/lifiendum gode lofsang dod.

The noun formed from hālig is hālignes, which is found only a few times in the Psalms, where it is used in the sense of holiness as an attribute of God, and as a term for sanctuary.

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- 1 It should be noted that the MSS. generally employ abbreviations, so El.204 for sanctus scs; in our passage Sat.240, scās, etc.
  - 2 A discussion of it will be found in chapter V.
  - 3 For the development of the meaning holy see NED., also MacG.p.61. Compare for OHG. Raumer, p.294, ON. Kahle, I, 328-9, II, 108 ff.
  - 4 The term hālig is employed in many different ways, from hālig feoh in Gen.201 to an attribute of the Deity.
  - 5 Quoted in chapters IV and VII.



The verb is hālgian and gehālgian, employed in a number of of different ways. Thus it is said of God Dox.25, đu sunnandaeg sylf gehalgodest, of Abraham in regard to the circumcision, Gen.2310, þu scealt halgian hired þinne, L.Prayer I,2, Sy þinum weorcan halgad/noma nippa bearnum. Gehālgian in the sense of to consecrate we find And.586, he gehalgode---/win of waetere, in 1652 used in the sense of consecration or ordination of a bishop, 1646, applied to the dedication of a church building, cirice gehalgod, and in a metaphorical sense, Cr.1482, þæt selegesceot, þæt ic me swaes on þe/gehalgode hus to wynne; as referring to the consecration of a king we note the term Chr.III A 2, (Edgar waes) to kinge gehalgod, and 20, waes peoden gehalgod. In the sense of to keep holy gehālgian is met with L.Prayer II,3, III, 18, Swa is gehalgod þin heah nama, the passage in each case rendering Sanctificetur nomen tuum. The participle used as an epithet of Christ occurs Cr.435, se gehalgoda haelend.



## CHAPTER III

## ECCLESIASTICAL OFFICES

From the second century on, Christianity<sup>t</sup> conceived society<sup>1</sup> as divided into two classes, the whole congregation of the faithful<sup>2</sup> being designated as the κληρος, originally meaning inheritance, lot. The Christians were thus the κληρος θεου, an expressions which goes back to the Hebrew קְלַח־דֵּי (hereditas Dei), used in the Old Testament of the Children of Israel. Soon, however, the term was transferred to the priestly class, which had gradually developed and which might be said to have chosen Christ as their particular portion. From κληρος the adjective κληρικος, clerical, pertaining to the priestly class, was derived, and both words were taken over by Christian Latin as clerus and clericus. In distinction to κληρος, the others were called λαϊκοί, those belonging to the people, the λαός, a word also taken over by the Latin as laici.

In OE. poetry this general division into two classes, laymen and clergy, is not formally indicated. In the prose laymen were termed lāewed men, ǣæt lāewede folc, while the favorite name for the clergy was ǣæt gāstlice folc, godes bēowas.<sup>3</sup> In the poetry a name for the laymen does not appear. The passage Chr. III B 18-19, feala weard<sup>ǣ</sup> to-draefed/gleawra godes peowa, does not absolutely demand the interpre-

1 Raumer, p. 205 f.

2 So in the only example of the learned word in poetry, Ps. LXVII, 13, Gif ge slaepað samod on clero.

3 MacG., p. 67.





tation of godes bēowa as clergymen, though a parallel passage Chr. III A 6-8, baer waes preosta heap, /mycel muneca preat mine gefraege/gleaw-ra gegaderod, would suggest such an interpretation. The other examples of the term do not furnish conclusive evidence.

The clergy was composed of two originally distinct classes, the clergy proper, and the monastic clergy. The clergy proper will be taken up first.

The whole priesthood in the Roman church was divided into two groups, the Ordines maiores, to which belonged 4 classes, episcopus, sacerdos, diaconus, subdiaconus; and Ordines minores, which embraced the acoluthus, exorcista, lector, and ostiarius. But according to Aelfric, (Canons, Thorpe, p. 443 ff.),<sup>1</sup> the Anglo-Saxon Church recognized only seven orders, and conceived bishops and masspriests as belonging to one order, so that our first and second class of the Ordines maiores would coalesce into one. To this order naturally belonged also the bishop of Rome, the pope, as well as archbishops, metropolitans, and patriarchs.

The pope may be considered first. The OE. designation is pāpa, derived from Eccl. L. pāpa, going back to late Gr. πάππας, Πάππας, a late variant of πάππας,<sup>2</sup> father. OHG. has babes, babist, ON. pápe, páfe. The Greek-Latin term was applied to bishops, patriarchs, and popes, being a recognized title of the bishop of Alexandria, a. 250. The L. papa was employed as a term of respect for high ecclesiastics, especially bishops, and throughout the 5th century all Christian bishops were still called by that name.<sup>3</sup> As late as 640 St. Gall applies it to

1 MacG., p. 83.

2 See article in NED.

3 For examples see Du Cange.



Desiderius, bishop of Cahors. However, commencing with Leo the Great (440-461), in the western Church the term became gradually<sup>a</sup> limited to the bishop of Rome, though it was not until 1073 that Gregory VII claimed the title exclusively for the Roman pontiff.

As pāpa is a late Latin borrowing, it is used in OE. for the bishop of Rome. In the poetry it occurs but once, Met. I, 42, waes ðaem aepelinge (Theoderic) Arrianes/gedwola leofre þonne drihtnes ae,/het Johannes godne papan/heafde beheawan. Where in Elene there is an opportunity to mention the pope, he is simply called a bishop, 1051, Siddan Elene heht Eusebium/on raedgeþeant, Rome bisceop/gefetian on fultum, a characteristic feature, since the Anglo-Saxons for a long<sup>1</sup> time regarded the pope simply as a highly revered bishop.

The OE. term for bishop is biscop, bisceop, m., OHG. bischof, pischof, ON. biscup. The word is assumed to be derived from a Romanic \* biscopo or L.L. (e)biscopus=L.episcopus, from Gr. ἐπίσκοπος, over-looker, overseer. In Greek as also partly in Latin it was used in this general sense, as also as the title of various civil officers, but with the rise of Christianity it came to be applied to the specific ecclesiastical office.<sup>3</sup> The OE. biscop differs from its Latin prototype in that it is often employed in a more general sense, translating also pontifex, flamen, sacerdos etc., by no means limited to Christian<sup>4</sup> conceptions.

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- 1 N. James, Die Englische Kirche in ihrem Verhaeltnis zum Papst- und Koenigtum, Diss. Halle, 1893. P. 30ff. See MacG. p. 83.
  - 2 However, F. Kluge, Urgermanisch, 3. Auflage, p. 37, says: "Die westgerm. Lautformen fuer den Begriff 'Bischof' haben auch ein hoeheres Alter als eine lat. Entlehnung aufweisen wuerde, und so wird ang. bisceop, ahd. bischof wohl got-griech. Ursprungs sein (aipis-kaupus = gr. ἐπίσκοπος)".
  - 3 See bishop in NED.
  - 4 MacG. p. 92.



In OE. poetry biscop occurs 14 times, mostly in the sense of Christian ecclesiastic. In El. 1051 Eusebius is Rome biscop; 1056, he gesette on sacerdhad/in Jerusalem Judas þam folce/to biscope, the term referring to Judas or Cyriacus subsequently in lines 1072, 1094, with the epithet se halga 1093, 1126, while <sup>we</sup>notice 1216, symle haelo þær/aet þam biscope, bote fundon/ece to ealdre. Chr. III B 14 we hear of Brytene gewat, biscope se goda/þurh gecyndne craeft, þam waes Cyneweard nama; in Durham rests among others Aidan biscop, Durham 11; line 13, Is ðerinne midd heom Aedelwold biscop. Two further examples occur, Men. 104, where St. Augustine is spoken of as Ne hyrde ic guman a fyrn/aenigne aer aefre bringan/ofere sealtne mere selran lare, biscope bremran, while Andrew anne gesette/---/in þære beorhtan byrig biscope þam leodum, And. 1649.

While in prose examples of biscop referring to the Jewish high-priests are very numerous, only one occurs in poetry, And. 607, þær biscopeas and boceras/and ealdormenn aeft besaeton/maedelhaegende. Biscop is also twice applied to Melchisedec of Salem, who was priest and king at the same time, namely Gen. 2103, þaet waes se maere Melchisedec,/leoda biscop, and 2123, þaes her<sup>e</sup>teames/ealles teodan sceat Abraham sealde/godes biscope. To heathen priests biscop is never applied in the poetry, though the instances of this use of the word are likewise comparatively numerous in prose.<sup>2</sup>

Of biscop only one compound, biscopphād, is found in the poetry, and this only twice. In the example from Ps. CVIII, 8, Wesan him dagas deorc and dinne and feawe/and his biscopephad brucan feondas (et epis-

1 MacG. p. 97.

2 Ibid.



copatum ejus accipiat alter)! the word is used in a purely secular sense, but in El.1211, Waes se bissceophad/faegere befaested, the Christian episcopal office is referred to.

To the Ordines majores belongs furthermore the prēost, prīost, m., OHG. prēst, priast, ON. prestr. Etymologically the term goes back eventually to Gr. πρεσβύτερος, elder, used as elder of the congregation in the New Testament, e.g. Tit.1,5. Soon the word came to be applied in the sense of sacerdos to the Christian ministers, the consecrated persons performing sacred duties. With this meaning it was taken over into Latin, where the term sacerdos as a name for the sacrificing priests of the heathen deities and the Jewish priests came also to be used for the Christian minister, thus becoming a synonym of presbyter. The OE. form prēost and the other monosyllabic forms are supposed to go back to a common Romanic \* prester, though the origin of the vowel ēo in OE. and the anterior phonetic history of the forms remain to be cleared up.<sup>1</sup>

In OE. prose, the word prēost may denote either a masspriest (the L. presbyter) or a priest in general, any member of the seven orders of the clergy proper, thus being often used in the sense of L. sacerdos.<sup>2</sup> Though of frequent occurrence in the prose, the term appears only once in poetry, Chr. III A 8, paer waes preosta heap, /mycel muneca preat mine gefraege/gleawra gegaderod. The term maessere, m., in the sense of maesseprēost, curiously enough is once used for the three Jewish youths in the fiery furnace, Az.149, bletsien þe þine sacerdos, soðfaest cyning, /milde maesseroas maerne dryhten.

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- 1 NED. under priest. Compare Pogatscher # 142. A discussion of various attempts to account for the English word is found MacG. p. 70 ff.
- 2 Lingard, History and Antiquities etc. I, 134; MacG. 73 ff.





More often the term sācerd,mf., is encountered. As its prototype sacerdos in Latin, the OE. word could be applied in prose to a Christian bishop and masspriest, a Jewish priest and highpriest, as also to a heathen priest. In poetry the term is not applied directly to a Christian priest or bishop, but a passage like El.1054-6, paet he gesette on sacerdhad/in Jerusalem Judas þam folce/to bisceope, shows that this meaning was by no means foreign to the mind of the poet. More generally sācerd is used to denote the Jewish priests or high priests, though sometimes it has a rather wide meaning, as in Ps.XCV III,6, Moyses and Aaron maere gebroðor/sode sacerdas, Samuhel ðridda (Moyses, et Aaron in sacerdotibus: et Samuel inter eos). Christ himself is called sacerd sodlice Cr.137. As referring to Jewish dignitaries we have sācerd Ap.71, (James) fore sacerðum swylt þrowode, And.742, (Christ) septe sacerdas sweotulum tacnum; the term also occurs in Ps. CXXXI,9,17, sacerdas rendering the Vulgate reading sacerdotes; the same applies to LXXVII,64.

Curiously enough, sācerd is used to designate the three Jewish youths in the fiery furnace, Az.148, bletsien þe þine sacerdos, sodfaest cyning. To heathen priests the term is not applied in the poetry, other designations being employed.

Only two compounds are found in the poetry, each being used once. Sācerdhād, already quoted in the discussion of sācerd, denotes El.1054 sacerdotium, the rank of a bishop. Ealdorsācerd, And.670, is an appellation of the Jewish high priest.

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1 MacG., p.76.



Of the two other classes belonging to the Ordines maiores, only one is mentioned in the poetry, namely the diacon, m., represented by the sole example Men.145, *paenne forð gewat/ymb preo niht paes peod- ne getrywe/purh martyrdom, maere diacon/Laurentius.*

In the discussion of the subject of the monastic<sup>t</sup> clergy, a few preliminary remarks on the development of the monastic institution will not be out of place<sup>1</sup>.

Christian monachism was inaugurated by St. Anthony in Egypt about 300, when he began to organize the life of ascetics who in solitary retirement had given themselves up to spiritual exercises. Growing out of the purely eremitical or hermit life, Antonian monachism retained many of the characteristic features inherited from its origin, there being for instance no organized community life.

Farther south in Egypt a number of monasteries were organized by St. Pachomius between 315-20, regulated in all details by minute rules, with prayers and meals in common. There was also a highly organized system of work, which made the different institutions, all ruled by a centralized form of government, closely akin to agricultural and industrial colonies.

St. Basil adapted monastic life to Greek and European ideas, and in so doing followed the Pachomian model, eliminating eremitical life and the competitive spiritual athletics which flourished in Egypt. However, his example, though not without influence, was no determining factor in shaping monastic ideals in the West.

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 1 Based upon the articles dealing with the subject in the Encyclopaedia Britannica and the Catholic Encyclopedia.



For when about 350 monachism was introduced there, the Antonian ideal with its solitary life and excessive austerities was followed. Climatic conditions and racial temperament rendering this extreme Egyptian pattern unsuitable, by the end of the 5th century monachism in Western Europe was in a disorganized state. From it it was rescued by St. Benedict through his famous rule (probably written about 530), the result of mature experience and observation, which gave coherence, stability and organization to the monastic institution. Oriental asceticism and rivalry in austerities were eliminated, and the individual was subordinated to the community. The idea of law and order came to be introduced into a society which formed a closely knit family, where productive work had a large part in the daily duties. St. Benedict was eager to establish a 'school', in which the science of salvation was to be taught, so that by renouncing their own will and in taking up arms under the banner of the Lord, the monks might "deserve to become partakers of Christ's kingdom". The regulations breathe the spirit of discretion, moderation, and extreme reasonableness, showing that the author possessed an uncommon fund of common sense.

St. Benedict's Rule soon supplanted all others, and is conspicuous for maintaining undisputed sway for centuries, the only exception being among the Irish monks, where the craving for hermit life, for bodily austerities, and individual piety had been strong from the first.

References to monks in OE. poetry are extremely rare, though a whole poem is devoted to the hermit Guthlac. He himself is never called a hermit or by any formal monastic name, but in line 59 hermits are mentioned, *hafad* (devil) *bega craeft*, / *eahted* *anbuendra*, persons who



dwell alone, characterized lines 52-4 as, Sume þa wuniad<sup>x</sup> on westenum/<sup>1</sup> secad<sup>x</sup> and gesittad<sup>x</sup> sylfra willum/hamas on heolstrum. Ānbūend, m. is poetical and found only once.

The monastic<sup>t</sup> clergy were supposed to live according to the regol. The word goes back to the Latin \* rēgula, a rule or ruler, which the Germanic tribes used in building their dwellings.<sup>2</sup> The original<sup>3</sup> meaning still occurs in OE. regol-sticca, a rule or ruler (the instrument), and in the verb regolian,<sup>4</sup> to draw lines with a ruler. After the introduction of monasticism it assumed its ecclesiastical meaning. So we find in Guthlac the saint reporting that the evil spirits showed him the dwellings of men and setton me in edwit, þæt ic eade forbaer/rume regulas and reþe mod/geongra monna in godes templum, 460. The allusion hardly includes the clergy proper, who are also not to be thought of in regolfaeste, men who strictly observe the rules, Men. 44, where reference is made to Benedict's death, þaene heriad<sup>x</sup> wel/in gewritum wise, wealdendes þeow/rincas regolfaeste.

Aside from general statements, such as Gu. 31, Sume him þaes hades hlisan willad<sup>x</sup>, /wegan on wordum and þa weorc ne doð<sup>x</sup>, and the characterization of monks Gu. 762-82, etc., only two other monastic terms appear in OE. poetry. One is munuc, munic, m., OHG. munih, munich, ON. múnkr, which according to its etymology (from \* muniko, L.L. \*monicus for L. monachus, taken from Gr. μοναχός) meant originally a religious solitary, but from an early period was applied to coenobites

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1 In a gloss of Aelfric we have wēstensetla as the equivalent of Latin emerita. Ānseld, hermitage, Guthlac's dwelling is called Gu. 1240.  
2 Pogatscher, # 44, and 103.  
3 Used by Aelfric.  
4 Naper, Contributions for Late Texts, 316 ( Clark Hall's Dictionary).





which eventually became the ordinary use<sup>1</sup>. It occurs only twice in the poetry, both examples being found in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. At the consecration of Edgar *paer waes preosta heap, /mycel muneca preat mine gefraege/gleawra gegaderod*, Chr. III A 9. The other example, Chr. IV, tells of a monastic establishment. The king, Aelfred, is captured, led to *Eligbyrig swa gebundene*, 18, but on the ship *man hine blende/ and hine swa blindne brohte to dam munecon*, 19-20. The other monastic term is abbot, m., OHG. abbat, ON. abóte, abbate. In the East  $\alpha\beta\beta\acute{o}\varsigma$  was originally applied to all monks, but in the West came to be restricted to the superior of a monastery. In OE. prose the common form is abbod, abbud,<sup>2</sup> taken over from the Latin through the Romance. In the 12th century the influence of L. abbātem substituted t for d. The new form predominates in ME., and occurs also in our example from the late Durham Poem, 14, *Is ðerinne midd heom Aedelwold biscop/and ðe breoma bocera Beda and Boisil abbot*.

In the poetry no references to the dress of ecclesiastics or to their source of income are found.

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1 NED.

2 Compare MacG., abbot, pp. 14-15, also NED. under abbot.



## CHAPTER IV

## CHURCH BUILDINGS

When the Christian missionaries began their work of conversion in England, the cult of the heathen gods was in the hands of a priestly hierarchy. For the worship of the idols temples had been erected, in which sacrifices were offered. It seems that the places of idolatry received little toleration at the hands of men, who, to judge from the scant material available, set themselves to root out all vestiges of a heathen tradition. It is true that the diplomatic Gregory in a letter had counseled moderation, for Mellitus, after having come to the 'reverentissimum virum fratrem nostrum Augustinum episcopum', was to tell him " quid diu mecum de causa Anglorum cogitans tractavi: videlicet quia fana idolorum destrui in eadem gente minime debeant; sed ipsa quae in eis sunt idola destruantur; aqua benedicta fiat, in eisdem fanis aspergatur, altaria construuntur, reliquiae ponantur: quia si fana eadem bene constructa sunt, necesse est ut a cultu daemonum in obsequio veri Dei debeant commutari; ut dum gens ipsa eadem fana sua non videt destrui, de corde errorem deponat, et Deum verum cognoscens ac adorans, ad loca quae consuevit, familiarius concurrat." Some concessions are made and gratifications permitted, in order that the people may be more easily won over. For, continues he who knows the human heart, "duris mentibus simul omnia abscidere impossibile esse non dubium est, quia et is qui summum locum ascendere

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1 Bede, Historia Ecclesiastica, Book I, ch. 30; Migne, XCV, p. 70.



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nititur, gradibus vel passibus non autem saltibus elevatur." But it would seem that Gregory had merely adapted himself to circumstances, for in a letter written a few months before (601) to king Ethelbert he exhorts him in his zeal for conversion "idolorum cultus insequere, fanorum aedificia evertete."<sup>2</sup> There is every reason to believe that Coifi's advice to the Northumbrian king "ut templa et altaria quae sine fructu utilitatis sacravimus, ocius anathemati et igni contradamus",<sup>3</sup> the high priest himself profaning the temple and "jussit sociis destruere ac succendere fanum cum omnibus septis suis",<sup>4</sup> does not mark an isolated occurrence.

Instead of places sacred to heathen divinities Christian churches and houses of worship rose, and these were made as imposing as possible by the Roman missionaries, men not ignorant of the impression created by external representation.

In OE. poetry several designations for Christian churches occur, but on the whole the material is very scant, no detailed description of the building or its interior being given. Aside from the general term in hūs godes, Ps. LXXXIII, 11, Crīstes hūs, CXXXIII, 2, and CXXXIV, 2, his hālige hūs, LXXVII, 68, and similar phrases, we find a few times cirice, the etymology and significance of which have already been discussed in ch. I, under 2. In the sense of church building for Christians we have the word in Elene, where we read line 1007, paet hio cirican paer/on þam beorhhlide begra raedum/getimbrede, tempel

1 Bede, Historia Ecclesiastica, Book I, ch. 30; Migne, XCV, p. 71.

2 Ibid., ch. 32, p. 72.

3 Ibid., Book II, ch. 13, p. 104.

4 Ibid., p. 105.

5 Gebetstōw will be treated in chapter VI.



dryhtnes/on Caluarie Criste to willan. Cirice as a place of worship occurs also And.1633, þa se modiga het,/cyninges craeftiga ciricean getimbran,/gerwan godes tempel, the consecration of which is mentioned 1646, cirice gehalgod. In the passage Jul.5, cwealde Cristne men, cirican fylde, it is hardly to be doubted that churches are referred to. And the passage Sal.107, Ðonne hine forcinnað ða cirican getuinnas, would seem to have no other meaning than that the sacred buildings of the Christians keep away the evil spirit, possessing a magic power against the principle of darkness.

The learned word templ, tempel, n., is mentioned no fewer than 21 times in the poetry, though not always in the sense of church building. Thus figuratively the Virgin Mary is called Christ's temple in Cr.206, while in line 707, Ac hi godes tempel/braecon and baerndon, the context clearly indicates that the body, the congregation of all the faithful is meant. This is perhaps also the meaning in El.1057, to godes temple, where the Latin has Ecclesiae Christi. Thus we would interpret the passage to mean that Judas or Cyriacus became bishop of the Christian congregation at Jerusalem. In a somewhat loose sense as heaven or sky tempel may occur Cr.495, cyning ure gewat/<sup>1</sup>purh þaes temples hrof, þaer hy to segun (the disciples at the ascension). The dwelling of St.Guthlac is spoken of as a temple of God in Gu.975, 1086, and 1122, which for instance in lines 1264 and 1284 is called þaet halge hus, while 120 it is stated se þaer haligne ham araerde.

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 1 But see Bright, Mod.L. Notes, 1898, p.27, where he explains that the passage refers to a large round church with its porches on the Mt. of Olives, the inner house remaining uncovered on account of the passage of our Lord's body. Taken from the first traveller's account of the Holy Land, with which the poet may have been acquainted. See also note on line 495, p.122 ff. in Cook's Christ.





A few times tempel is synonymous with cirice in the sense of Christian church building. Clearly so in the passage And.1634, ciricear getimbran,/gerwan godes <sup>P</sup>tempel, as also El.1009, cirican--/--/getimbrede tempel drihtnes, furthermore line 1021, on þam stedewange/girwan godes tempel. Some kind of a building, though the idea of monastery is probably in the mind of the poet, is indicated Gu.461, the saint observing the rume regulas and reþe mod/geongra monna in godes templum.

More often we have the term as a designation of the Jewish temple, as in And.667, þa we becomon to þam cynestole,/þær getimbred waes tempel drihtnes,/heah and horngeap, also 707, he in temple gestod. Cr.186 Joseph speaks of having received Mary as a virgin of þam torhtan temple dryhtnes, while 1139 þaes temples segl is mentioned, characterized 1135 as godwebba cyst. The passage Men.22 also refers to the Jewish sanctuary, (Mary) bearn wealdendes brohte to temple. Specific references to Solomon's temple are furnished in Daniel, the enemies bereafodon þa receda wuldor readan golde,/since and seolfre Salomones templ,60, when, line 711, hie tempel strudon,/Salomanes seld. Daniel in his speech mentions not only the golden vessels which have been stolen, but also that they were stored near the most sacred article of the Jewish sanctuary, Dan.751-2, Ða aer Israela in æ hæfdon/aet godes earce, the only other occurrence of this meaning of the term in the poetry being El.309, aet godes earce.

In the Psalms tempel is sometimes used synonymous with godes hūs, his hālige hūs, fāele hūs, and similar terms, as also Crīstes hūs etc. Thus we have LXIV,5, Ealle we Ðin hus ecum godum/faegere fyllad:faeste is þin templ/ece and wraeclic awa to feore(templum tuum), LXVII,26,



on þinum temple tidum gehalgod(a templo tuo), CXXXVII, 2, Eac ic þin tempel tidum weordige/þaet halige hus holde mode(adorabo ad templum sanctum tuum).

A word twice used to designate Solomon's temple is ealh, alh, m., so in Ps. LXXVIII, 1, þa þin faele hus ealh haligne yfele gewemdan (templum sanctum tuum), as also in the fulsome praise of it Ex. 301-5, getimbrede tempel gode, /alh haligne, --/--/neahst and haligost, haeledum gefraegost, /maest and maerost. This same term is used once in a compound denoting the places of heathen worship, And. 1642, diofolgild, /ealde eolhstedas anforlaetan.

In the Psalms there are further renderings of the Jewish sanctuary or indication of certain parts or furniture, though they are few. The tabernacle at Shiloh is referred in LXXVII, 60, And he þa swa gelome wiðsoc snytruhuse, -waes his agen hus (tabernaculum). Hālignes renders sanctuarium LXXXII, 9, þaet hi halignesse godes her gesettan (sanctuarium Dei). Atria is rendered by wīctūnas, XCV, 8, the oblique atriis by on wīctūnum XCIX, 3, though generally atriis is expressed by on cafertūnum, as in CXXI, 2, on þinum cafertunum, CXXXIII, 2, on cafertunum Cristes huses, and CXXXIV, 2, where exactly the same phrase occurs. A rather general term is on hālgum, as in LXII, 2, on halgum (in sancto), also LXVII, etc. Other designations are also encountered, but are of such a nature that we need not list them.

In addition to the ark of the covenant, the altar of the Jewish temple is mentioned several times. The term is wīgbed, nm., originally sacrifice table or holy table. In Ps. LXXXIII. 4, wīgbedu



is the rendering of altaria, while CXVII, 25, we have oð wigbedes wraest hornas (ad cornu altaris)! Ps. L. 138, hio þæt halige cealf/on wigbed pin willum asettað (tunc imponent super altare tuum vitulos). In Genesis the same term is used for Abraham's altars, as may be seen from 1791, þa se rinc gode/wibed worhte, 1806, Abraham þa oðere side/wibed worhte, characterized 1810, þurh his hand metend/on þam gledstýde gumcystum til; 1882 we have again wibed, and 2841, weobedd worhte and his waldende/on þam glædstede gild onsaegde. As a designation of heathen altar the word does not seem to occur, though the use of wīg (wīh), n., either alone or in compounds, denoting heathen worship or sacrifice, is common enough.

Three times in the poetry the term mynster, n., is found. It is likely that in one place it has kept the meaning originally<sup>n</sup> attached to it, where it denotes the dwelling place of the monks (mynster from \* munistrjo, fr. L. L. \* monisterium, L. monasterium<sup>1</sup>). In Gu. 387 we read (he---sceawode) under haligra hyrða gewealdum/in mynsterum monna gebaeru, and as here and 461, rume regulas and reþe mod/geongra monna in godes templum, the same objects are described, it would seem that monasteries are referred to.

But in the two other examples a church building must be assumed; so in Men. 106, Nu on Brytene rest/on Cantwarum cynestole neah / mynstre maerum, St. Augustine's resting place being pointed out. To be sure, Grein glosses both the examples quoted with monasterium, but the glorious mynster can be nothing else than the splendid church in which the archbishop was buried<sup>2</sup>. From an early time this connotation

1 NED.

2 Bede, Eccl. Hist., Book II, ch. 3. Compare also the discussion of the meaning of mynster in Kahle, I, 349f. See also B.-T.



of the term is available, the NED. quoting the first example c.960, Laws of A. Edgar I, 1: Man agife aelce teoðunge to þam ealdan mynstre (Lat. ad matrem ecclesiam) þe seo hyrnes tohyrd. The interpretation church building is demanded in the passage Durham 17, Eardiað aet ðem eadigen in ðem minstre/unarimeda reliquia/monia wundrum gewurðad, which the Latin prose account describing the burial place of the saints resting in the cathedral at Durham renders very probable, if not certain. The term mynster, though at first only used of a church having its origin in a monastic establishment, came to be applied later to any church of considerable size or importance.

In Chr. IV, 24-5 parts of a church at a monastery are mentioned. The imprisoned king is buried aet þam westende, þam stýple ful gehende/on þam sūðportice, for we have been informed 17-18 þaet man hine laedde/to Eligbyrig swa gebundene, and 20, hine swa blindne brohte to ðam munecon.

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1 Wuelker, Grundriss, p. 346.





## CHAPTER V

## FESTIVALS AND HOLY SEASONS

In general, it may be assumed that the expression hālige dagas served as a designation for the holy seasons and festivals of the church, illustrated by such a passage as Men. 66-8, ac sceal wintrum frod/on circule craefte findan/halige dagas, just as in OHG. wihe taga or heilige taga and in ON. helgar tíber is employed. Aside from the Menology, which gives a catalog of hāligra tíid that are to be observed according to the edict of the Saxon king, references to holy days and seasons in OE. poetry are extremely rare.<sup>1</sup>

Of the days of the week we have Sunday mentioned as sunnandaeg (dies solis), the OHG. sunnun tag, which seems to be entirely identified with the Hebrew Sabbath, as is gathered from Dox. 24-6, (and on þone sefoðan þu gerestest) Þa waes gefordad þin faegere weorc/and ðu sunnandaeg sylf halgodest/and gemaersodest hine manegum to helpe. In reality, the first day of the week came to be celebrated as the principal day for public worship in memory of the resurrection of Christ, though its association with Pentecost would furnish an additional reason for its observance. From the first the setting apart of a day for public worship would be introduced by the missionaries, and the Doxology shows that the custom was well established, 27-9, Þone heahan daeg healdað and freoðiap/ealle, þa ðe cunnon

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 1 For OHG. compare Raumer, p. 306ff., for ON. Kahle, I, 353 ff.



crístene þeawas, /haligne heortlufan and ðæs hehstan gebod.

In discussing the festivals mentioned, we shall follow the Menology in beginning with Christmas. The word Crístes maesse does not come into use until a late period, the first occurrence recorded by the NED. being for the year 1101 in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, a situation paralleled in OHG., where a term does not occur at all, though <sup>1</sup> Raumer asserts, without furnishing the least proof, that it undoubtedly was in use. In OE. the date was fixed on the 25th of December, Men. <sup>2</sup> 226-7, and the birth of Christ is mentioned Men. <sup>2</sup> as on midne winter. From Bede's statement we gather that the day was celebrated among the Christian Angles, but long before that time it had been a festival among the heathen, who on that day began their year: " (Antiqui autem Anglorum populi) Incipiebant autem annum ab octavo Calendarum Januariarum die, ubi nunc natale Domini celebramus. Et ipsam noctem nunc nobis sacrosanctam, tunc gentili vocabulo Modranicht, id est, matrum noctem, appellabant, ob causam, ut spicamur, <sup>3</sup> ceremoniarum quas in ea per-  
vigiles agebant"; De Temporum Ratione, ch. 15.

During the first centuries of the Christian era Epiphany served as the celebration of the physical birth of Christ as well as of the spiritual, and of several other occurrences in the life of the Lord. It was observed on the 6th of January, and came to be looked upon in England as the fulwihttiid/eces drihtnes, þaene'twelfa daeg' tireadige /haeled<sup>1</sup> headurofe hatað<sup>1</sup> on Brytene, Men. 11-14, namely the 12th day after the birth of Christ, that date having become fixed on Dec. 25.

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- 1 Einwirkung des Christentums etc., p. 307.
  - 2 Not to be considered a general term, but having the more specific meaning of Christmas. See Bibl. II, p. 282, note.
  - 3 Migne, Patrologiae Latinae, XC, p. 356.



On the second of February the most ancient of all the festivals in honor of the Virgin Mary was celebrated. Reference to it is made Men.20, we Marian maessan healdad<sup>1</sup>, /cyninges modor. OE. maesse, f., is from L.L. nessa, Eccl. L. missa. It is generally thought that L. missa is a verbal substantive formed like repulsa etc. In the early centuries it was used in the general sense of 'religious service', though in an eminent sense it always denoted the Eucharist, the celebration of the mass.<sup>1</sup> In the East the second of February was primarily a festival of the Lord, while in the West the Virgin stood in the foreground, though even here the antiphons and responsories remind one of the original idea, which is also present in the passage Men. 21-22, forþan heo (Mary) Crist on þam daege/bearn wealdendes brohte to temple. Originally the festival had been celebrated on the 14th of February, forty days after the nativity of Christ, but with the shifting of that date to the 25th of December, Marymas was moved according-<sup>2</sup>ly to the 2nd of February.

The great festival of the church year was Easter, the memorial of the resurrection of Christ. While mention of his resurrection is not infrequent, as for instance Men.56-8, on þam oftust cymd<sup>1</sup>/seo maere tild mannum to frofre, /drihtnes aerist, the term ēostor, frequent in prose, occurs in the poetry only in compounds, and then only a few times. The occurrences are, Men.72, paes þe Ēastermōnað<sup>1</sup> to us cymed<sup>1</sup>, Har.15, wendan (Jews) þaet he on þam beorge bidan sceolde/ana in þaere Ēasterniht, and Gu.1075, he of deade aras/onwald on eordan in þa ēostortīd. As in the case of Christmas, the heathen Angles celebrated

1 NED.

2 Encyclopaedia Britannica and Catholic Encyclopedia.



a festival at this time, in honor of Eostre, the goddess of dawn or of the rising sun, our scanty information being derived again from Bede. In ch. 15 (De mensibus Anglorum) of the De Temporum Ratione<sup>1</sup> he tells us: "Rheda-monath a dea illorum Rheda, cui in illo sacrificabant, nominatur. Eostur-monath, qui nunc paschalis mensis interpretatur, quondam a dea illorum quae Eostre vocabatur, et qui in illo festa celebrabant, nomen habuit, a cuius nomine nunc paschale tempus cognominant, consueto antiquae observationis vocabulo gaudia novae solemnitatis vocantes."

The importance of Easter and the paschal controversy, which stirred the Christians in England until the question finally was decided in favor of the Roman party, (Whitby, 664), would tend to put that festival in the foreground.

In the Menology we have a festival mentioned in martira gemynd, ---, 69, paet embe nihgontyne niht, / paes pe Eastermonað to us cymed / paet man reliquias raeran onginneð, / halige gehyrste: paet is healic daeg, / bentiid bremu, 71-5. This seems to have been an important festival. "According to the Sarum Breviary, the Festum Reliquiarum was celebrated on the Sunday after the feast of the Translation of St. Thomas of Canterbury (July 7), and it was to be kept as a greater double 'wherever relics are preserved or where the bodies of dead persons are buried'<sup>2</sup>". In our poem we have a different date mentioned.

Relics are only twice referred to in OE. poetry, the learned term reliquias, n., being used, though the subject must have occupied a prominent place in the mind of ecclesiastics and the people. Already at the establishment of the OE. church they are mentioned<sup>3</sup>. The cult

1 Migne, Patrologiae Latinae, XC, p. 357.

2 Catholic Encyclopedia, under relics.

3 Bede, Eccl. Hist., Book I, ch. 20.





increased in the following centuries, and "at the beginning of the 9th century--- the exportation of the bodies of martyrs from Rome had assumed the dimensions of a regular commerce"<sup>1</sup>, and "many unprincipled persons found a means of enriching themselves by a sort of trade in these objects of devotion, the majority of which no doubt were fraudulent"<sup>2</sup>. Aside from the mentioning of relics in the Menology, we have also Durham 18, Eardiad aet dem eadigen in dem minstre/unarimeda reliquia/monia wundrum gewurdad. Durham thus possessed a good collection of the prized remains, which would add to its sanctity and attractiveness, for "there was a keen rivalry between religious centers and an eager credulity fostered by the desire to be known as the possessors of some unusually startling relic!"<sup>3</sup> To gain possession of a prized relic, with its subsequent fame and profit, was the eager desire of church authorities and monasteries, and in their dealings they were not always above trickery and plain stealing. The presence of Bede's remains at Durham is a good case in point.<sup>4</sup>

Forty days after Easter, the ascension<sup>n</sup> of Christ would be celebrated. But though that fact is mentioned in several places, as Men. 64-5, in the poetry little is made of the festival. Pentecost as the Christian festival is only once referred to in the poetry, under the year 973, Chr. III A 8, þær waes blis mycel/on þam eadgan dæge eallum geworden,/pone niða bearn nemnad and cegead/Pentecostenes daeg. The term is a late adoption, the NED. citing as its first occurrence the Homilies of Aelfric (a.1000).

1 Cath. Encyclopedia.

2 Ibid.

3 Ibid.

4 Preface to Bede's Eccl. Hist., by Giles, p. XXII.



In the Menology a number of saints' days are mentioned. So for instance in lines 115-19, *Paenne wuldres þegn/ymb þreotyne, þeodnes dyrling, /Johannes in geardagan weard<sup>1</sup> acenned, /tyn nihtum eac:we þa tiid healdad<sup>1</sup>, /on midne sumor mycles on aepelum. Immediately after, the haligra tid--Petrus and Paulus is discussed. On the first of August would come hlāfmaessan daeg, 140, (Lammas), in the early English church celebrated as a harvest festival, at which loaves of bread, made from the first ripe wheat, were consecrated. In the Roman Calendar it is the festival of St. Peter's Chains, originally a dedication feast of a church of the apostle at Rome, perhaps held on that day or selected to replace the heathen festivities that occurred on the first day of August. In the Menology the harvest season is emphasized in connection with the day.*

Among other days heahengles tiid in haerfaeste, /Michaelis, (29. of Sept.), is mentioned 177-8, at that time a holy day of obligation. A very important festival would come on the first of November: And by ylcan daege ealra we healdad<sup>1</sup> /Sancta symbel, þara þe sid<sup>1</sup> odde aer/worhtan in worulde willan drihtnes, Men. 200. Originally each saint had his celebration in certain limited sections of the country, but in order that nobody should be overlooked and to supply any deficiency in the celebration of saints' feasts during the year, a solemn festival in honor of all the saints, known and unknown, was instituted. This of course would not abolish haligra tiid, but only serve to correct any possible oversight.<sup>2</sup>

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1 See Catholic Encyclopedia, under Peter's Chains, The Feast of.  
 2 " " " " All Saints.



## CHAPTER VI

## THE SPIRITUAL SIDE OF THE CHURCH

1. Worship.

The most general term for serving God is þēowan, to serve, used for instance in Gu.62, þa þam cyninge (namely God) þeowað, as also 712, dryhtne þeowde.<sup>1</sup>

In a religious sense the compound þēowdōm occurs in El.201, in godes þeowdom, referring to the zeal of the newly converted emperor Constantine. Once we have another compound, þēowet, mn., L. Prayer III, 98, though not den<sup>o</sup>ting service of God, for the passage reads deofles þeowet.

More often þēowian is employed. We note gode þeowian, Gen.264, and þeodne þeowian, 268. In a somewhat general sense of serving God the all-ruling power we find the verb Met.XXIX, 94, þaet hi þiowien swilcum þiodfruman, and 99, ordfruman/ne þiowoden, þeodne maerum, as also Ps.XCIX, 1, and blisse gode bealde þeowie (servite Domino).

In the services of the Anglo-Saxon Church, in common with the early Mediaeval Church, the mass had begun to occupy the most prominent place. In prose the idea is often expressed by maesse, the etymology of which has been considered in the preceding chapter. However,<sup>2</sup> this word occurs only twice in the poetry, Men.20, Marian maessan, and

1 For terms of worship in OHG. compare Raumer, p.309 ff., for ON. Kahle, I, p.358 ff.

2 Under Marymas.



140, hlafmaessan daeg, where it has the derived meaning of festival, not that of the Eucharist, to which it was originally applied. As we have seen before<sup>1</sup>, the term maessere is used in the poetry only in a secondary meaning. And the sacrifice of the mass is only once clearly referred to.

More and more the celebration of the Lord's Supper came to be looked upon as a repetition, though bloodless, of the original sacrifice of Christ on the Cross. An OE. word used for heathen and Jewish sacrifices alike is lāc, probably connected with \* laiko, to play, to dance, as applied to actions which would accompany the offering of sacrifices and hence might be transferred to the sacrifice itself.<sup>2</sup> In this sense of offering, sacrifice, as applied to heathen gods, the term is used for instance Jul. 254-5, paet pu lac hraþe/onsecge sigetifre. In Genesis there are a number of examples, as 975-6, referring to the sacrifice brought by Cain and Abel, 1497-8, by Noah, and 1792, applied to Abraham's offering, etc. In the Psalms it occurs a number of times, thus CV, 22, aeton deadra lac (sacrificia mortuorum), applied to the heathen worship of the Children of Israel, and CKV, 7, paet ic laces lof lustum secge (tibi sacrificabo hostiam laudis). There we have also the poetic āefenlāc (sacrificium vespertinum), CXL, 3, and bernelāc---/deadra neata (holocaustis), L. 123. Keeping in mind that the mass was conceived of as a sacrifice, we are not surprised to find that it is said of the saint in Gu. 1084, lac onsegde---/gaestge-rynum in godes temple. Otherwise the idea of the mass thus expressed

1 Chapter III.

2 See Grimm, D.M., I, p. 32; also B.-T. under lāc and NED. under lake. The sense of offering, sacrifice, is only found in OE.





would not seem to occur in the poetry.

Next to the mass preaching would form an important part of the services, and in the missionary period might even seem to overshadow the former. For obvious reasons we do not confine ourselves to terms that indicate a particular and definite function in a well ordered service. The most general term used would be to teach, as exemplified Jul. 638, where it is said of the saint, Ongan heo þa lāeran. Similarly we find in And. 170, leode laerde on lifes weg, 462, þegnas laerde, and 1680, Laerde þa þa leode on geleafan weg, etc. A general term is also bodian, to bring or announce a message, used in Christ's missionary command to his disciples, Cr. 483, bodiað and breað beorhtne geleafan, as also in And. 335, bodiað aefter burgum beorhtne geleafan. However, more often the word occurs in the general meaning of to announce, tell, and seldom in the strict sense of evangelizare. Other phrases are used quite extensively, sometimes indicating the result of the effort. Thus we have And. 974-5, þe ðu gehweorfest to heofonleohte/ þurh minre naman; Dan. 446, stepton hie soðcwidum; 479, þam þe his spel berað; Ap. 10-11, hie dryhtnes æ deman sceoldon/reccan fore rincan, as also And. 1403, þær ic dryhtnes æ deman sceolde. We have also for example such statements as þanon Israhelum ece raedas/---/neahþungen wer halige spræce,/- deop ærende, Ex. 515-16, but these and similar expressions hardly need any further treatment. Godspellian will be discussed in connection with godspel.

For the preacher occur such terms as boda, noted in a former chapter as designation of the Twelve; in Guthlac there is a reference to the saint in 909 as eadgum æbodan, and 976 as edelbodan,/þone

1 II, under 4.



leofestan lareow gecorene; lārēow, teacher, occurs also elsewhere.

Prayer, the communion of the faithful with God, forms a very important part in the service of the Lord. This act is often expressed in OE. by biddan, the OHG. term being bittan, ON. bipia. The OE. word has various shades of meaning, being used to render such Latin terms as petere, poscere, precari, deprecari, rogare, postulare. As biddan is so extremely common in the poetry, a few characteristic examples will suffice. Thus we have the construction with the accusative of person and the genitive <sup>of the thing</sup> prayed for Gen.2750, Abraham ongan arra biddan/ecne drihten; with the dative of person for whom one prays Ex.271, paet ge eow liffrean lissa bidde. A preposition is used Cr.1351, eadmode to eow arna baedun, while in Ap.90, in seeking help of the Apostles, the author asks another paet he geomrum me/pone halgan heap helpe bidde, / frides and fultomes, several features being illustrated in one sentence. From the Psalms we quote LXXVII,20, baedun(ut peterent), CXXI,6, Biddað eow(rogate), and CXLI,1, (ic) eam biddende bealde drihten(ad Dominum deprecatus sum).

Gebiddan in the sense of orare, adorare, is also used a number of times, especially in the Psalms. In Rood B 56 we have gebiddap him to pissum beacne,122, Gebaed ic me pa to pam beame, Prayer III,48, and gebidde me to þe, mihtig drihten. We note further Ps.V,2, ic to ðe, ece drihten, soðum gebidde(ad te orabo), and LXXX,9, nē þu fremedne god gebiddest(neque adorabis deum alienum). Once ābiddan in the sense of to intercede occurs Gen.2660, he abiddan maeg.

From the same stem we have the noun gebed, n., which occurs a number of times. In Jul.388 the spiritual warrior is called beald in gebede. We have And.1027, begen pa gebroðor to gebede hyldon, Gen.777,



Hwilum to gebede feollon/--/godne gretton, similarly 847; Ph.458-9, and gebedu seced<sup>x</sup>/claenum gehygdum and his cneo biged<sup>x</sup>. Sal.43, the Pater Noster is mentioned as mid <sup>x</sup>dy beorhtan gebede. Dan.406 the prayer acquires the quality of praise, We <sup>x</sup>dec heriga<sup>x</sup>, halig drihten, /and gebedum bremad<sup>x</sup>. In Exhortation 8 the noun is modified, paet halige gebed, as also Ps. CI, 15, hold gebed (the Vulgate has only precem). We note further from the Psalms, LIII, 1, God, min gebed (orationem meam), LX, 4, hu min gebed (orationem meam), similarly LXVIII, 13, etc.; LXXXVII, 2, Gehyr min gebed (precem meam).

Ingebed is found once, Ps. LXXXVII, 2, Gange min ingebed on pin gleawe gesih<sup>x</sup>, the Latin Intret in conspectu tuo oratio mea probably explaining the form.

Of other compounds there occurs gebedstow, the place of prayer. Only two examples are encountered, Jul. 376, ne maeg/---/lenge gewunian/ in gebedstowe, and Doom 30, breost mine beate on gebedstowe (percutiam pugnis rea pectora, 14).

Another term for prayer is bēn, f., ON. bōn, a word not found in the other dialects. A few characteristic examples will suffice. Used by man to man we have Doom 33, ic bidde eow benum nu pa (vos precor, 16). In a religious sense it occurs Gu. 749, let his ben cuman in pa beorhtar gesceaft, similarly El. 1088; And. 1028, sendon hira bene fore bearn godes, and similarly 1613. Of the thief on the cross it is said, Doom 60, his bene bebead breostgehygdum (verba precantia clamat, 30). From the Psalms we note CV, 33, he heora bene bealde gehyrde (orationem), similarly CI, 15; LIII, 1, ne forseoh aefre sariges bene (deprecationem meam), CXVIII, 170, ingange min ben (intret postulatio mea). Gebedes bene Ps.

1 Grimm, D.M., I, p. 25; Kahle I, p. 363: "Der Ausdruck ist beiden Dialecten eigentuemlich".



Ps. CXIV, 1, renders vocem orationis, in CXXIX, 1, vocem deprecationis.

Of compounds occur ēadbēne, found once, Ps. LXXXIX, 15, wes þinum scealcum wel eadbene (deprecabilis esto super servos tuos), and the poetic bēntīd, encountered only once, Men. 75, þaet (festival in honor of the relics) is healic daeg, /bentiid bremu.

The noun bēna, petitioner, is also found. In a religious sense it occurs Gen. 2357, swa þu bena eart / þinum frumbearne, as also Ps. CI, 2, helpys benan.

Among the prayers the Pater Noster naturally occupied a prominent place. Three different poetic versions are extant; it also plays an important part in Salomon and Saturn. There it is called se gepalmtwigoda Pater Noster, 12, þaet gepalmtwigede Pater Noster, 39, while 167 we have Pater Noster and þaet Palmtreow. The term cantic, m., used in Ps. CXLIII, 10, Ic niwlíce niowne cantic / singe in the general sense of Latin canticum, is applied to it several times. Thus we have Sal. 17, ðurh paes cantices cwyde Cristes linan, 24, ðone cantic, and 49, Fordon hafað se cantic ofer ealle Cristes bec / widmaerost word.

Amen is taken over directly from the Latin and used quite a number of times, as in L. Prayer, Doxology, etc. etc. In Dox. 51 there seems to be an explanation of it in the passage, We þaet 'sodlice' secgað ealle, as also in L. Prayer II, 37, in 'Weorðe þaet!'

A number of terms related to prayer and praise are given here, some of which are also used in a more general sense. The specific religious meaning generally is suggested by the context.





Cleopian, in the sense of clamare, to call upon, is common. We note only a few examples. L. Prayer III, 2, forðan we clypiad̃ to þe, 12, clypiad̃ (all angels); El. 1099, to gode cleopode, and 1318, and to sunu metudes/wordum cleopodon; Ps. LXXXVII, 9, ic to wuldres gode þuruh ealne daeg elne clypige (clamavi ad te Domine tota die), etc. etc. The noun clypung is met with once, Ps. V, 1, ongyt mine clypunga (intellige clamorem meum).

Hālsian, healsian, to adjure, to call upon, is also used a number of times in relation to God. Thus Har. 118, Swylce ic þe halsige, haelend user, /fore þinum cildhade, and L. Prayer III, 47, ac ic þe halsige nu, heofena drihten. The noun hālsung is only once found in poetry, Ps. CXLII, 1, mid earum onfoh--mine halsunge (obsecrationem, meam)!

Cīgan, with its variant forms, in the religious sense to call upon, is especially prominent in the Psalms. We quote LII, 5, ne hio god willad̃ georne ciegan (Deum non invocaverunt), LXXIV, 1, and naman þinne neode ciegen (invocabimus nomen tuum), similarly LXXIX, 17; also LXXXV, 4, eallum þam þe þe elne cigead̃ (omnibus invocantibus te). The form ge-cīgan also occurs a few times in the Psalms as well as in Ph. 454, and him dryhten oncygd̃/faeder on fultum.

Andettan (and & hātan), with its variants, in the sense of Latin confiteri, is very common in the Psalms, though rarely found elsewhere. We note Prayer III, 36, Ic þe andette, aelmihtig god, /þaet ic gelyfe on þe. Furthermore Ps. LI, 8, Ic þe andette awa to feore (confitebor tibi), LXVI, 3, and þe andetten ealle þeoda (confiteantur), and LXXIV, we þe andettað, ecne drihten (confitebimur tibi Deus). The compound maegen-andettan occurs once, Ps. LXXV, 7, Forðon ðe mannes gepoht maegenandettað



(confitebitur).

The noun andetnes, L. confessio, is very rare, occurring only a few times in the Psalms. We have it XCV, 6, Ys on þinre gesihde soð andetnes(confessio), CXXI, 4, him andetnes aeghwaer habban(ad confitendum) and CXVIII, 13, is upp ahafen his andetness(confessio ejus). The compound wliteandet occurs once, Ps. CIII, 2, where þy þe weorðlice wlite-andette gode gegyredest renders the Latin confessionem et decorem induisti.

Æerendian, to intercede, plead a cause, is found Gen. 665, where Eve tells Adam concerning the devil disguised as an angel, Unc is his hyldo þearf, / he maeg unc aerendian to þam alwaldan.

Gegyrnan, to entreat, beg, is used Gu. 229, Ic me frid wille/aet gode gegyrnan, also 43, gegyrnað.

The idea of offering thanks is quite a number of times expressed by þancean. Only a few examples need be given here. Beow. 227 we have gode þancedon, similarly 1397, 1626, etc.; Gen. 257, sceolde his drihtne þancian/þaes leanes, Dan. 86, þaet he þara gifena gode þancode. We note further Ps. LXIV, 14, and þe þonne lustum lofe þanciað(hymnum dicent).

Very often the noun þanc, m., with some verb is used. A few examples may illustrate. And. 1460, saegde meotude þanc, Cr. 209, Saga ecne þonc/maerum meotodes suna, þaet ic his modor gewearð, Jul. 593, saegde ealles þonc/dryhtna Dryhten. We note further Gen. 506, to þance geþenod þinum hearan, and And. 1451, Sie ðe ðanc and lof, þeoda waldend. Compounds are common, but they need no particular discussion here.

Among the terms expressing worship or praise is herian, rendering the L. laudare, celebrare, which is extremely common in the poetry.



Only a few examples need be given here. Judg.48 we find þæt hi lof godes/hergan on heahþu, Hymn 7, We <sup>de</sup> heriað halgum stefnum, and Creed 49, þe þurh aenne gebanc ealdor heriað. Of the angels it is said And.873, heredon on hehðo halgan stefne/dryhtna dryhten. Caedmon's Hymn begins with Nu <sup>we</sup> sculon herigean heofonrices weard. Dan.334 we find se halge wer hergende waes/metodes niltse, while Jul.6, the persecutor geat on graesgewong godhergendra(blod). From the Psalms may be noted CXLVII, 1, herige Hierusalem georne drihten! here þu Sion swylce þinne soðne god(lauda---lauda)! and LV,9, Ic on god min word georne herige(laudabo etc.etc. The form geherian also occurs, as in Sal. 24, se þurh ðone cantic ne can Crist geherian, while āherian, to praise adequately, sufficiently, is encountered only once, Prayer III, 10, ne maeg þe āherian haeleða aenig.

Of the noun herenes only a few examples are found, most of them in the Psalms. We have LV, 10, on herenesse(laudationes), CX, 8, herenes drihtnes(laudatio ejus); CXVII, 14, herenes(laus), CXLIX, 1, his herenes(laus ejus); in CIII, 32, herenes min renders eloquium meum. In the other OE. poems the term is found Cr.415, þe in heahþum sie/a butan ende ece herenis, and Gu.588, ge sceolon heaf on helle nales herenisse/halge habban heofoncyniges.

Weordian, expressing honor or worship in the religious sense, is employed very many times, though it does not always pertain to God, but may embrace worship or praise of the Rood etc. We note Gen.353, þæt he ne wolde wereda dryhtnes word wurdian, and Met. XXVI, 45, haefdon (heathen nations) heora hlaforð for þone hehstan god/and weorðodon swa swa wuldres cyning. In Jul.153 we have ac ic weorðige wuldres ealdor (adoro), and Ps.LXXXV, 11, and we naman þinne on ecnesse a weorðien (honorificabo).



In the sense of celebrare, laudare, the term occurs a number of times, thus Gen. 1885-6, paer se eadga eft ecan drihtnes/niwan stefne noman weorðode, and Cr. 394, weorðian waldend wide and side. In And. 55 we find wyrðode wordum wuldres aldor/---halgan stefne, and 806, paer þa aedelingas/wordum weorðodon wuldres aldor. From the Psalms may be quoted LV, 9, ic ealne daeg ecne drihten wordum weorðige (laudabo), and CXXXIV, 3, weorðiað his naman (psallite nomini ejus).

Geweorðian in the sense of adorare, celebrare, is also found a number of times, as Ex. 370, paet ge gewurðien wuldres aldor, L. Prayer III, 58, þu gewurðod eart on heofonrice, /heah casere, and also Ps. LXV, 3, geweorðie wuldres ealdor eall ðeos eorðe (adoret), etc.

To express praise the verb loflan is often used, though the noun lof is still more common. We cite only Az. 100, þec daeg and niht/lofigen and lufigen, El. 446, ðe þone ahangnan cyning heriað and lofiað, similarly L. Prayer III, 116. In Dan. 373 we have And þec, mihtig god, gastas lofige, 396, lofiað lifsfrean. In Ps. LXX, 21, mine weleras lofiað renders exultabunt labia mea.

The noun lof, n., either alone or modified, is used with verbs, and the following examples may illustrate various terms employed. Jul. 233, Hyre waes Cristes lof; 48, and his lof raerest, Gu. 130-31, he dryhtnes lof/reahte and raerde; El. 693, paer waes godes lof hafen; Judg. 47, paet he lof godes/hergan on heahþu; Wonders 49, lixende lof in þa longan tid; L. Prayer III, 25, and þin lof laedað; 32, þin halige lof; And. 1295, þa þin lof berað; Gen. 296, Lof sceolde he drihtnes wyrcean; Gu. 581, and him lof singe, And. 877, sungon sigedryhtne soðfaestlic lof. In the Psalms we have CVI, 21, laces lof iustum bringan (et sacrificent





sacrificium laudis); CXV, 7, ic þe laces lof lustum secge (tibi sacrificabo hostiam laudis); LXIV, 14, and þe þonne lustum lofe þanciad (hymnum dicent), etc. etc.

Of compounds we find the poetic lofmaegen, occurring only once, Ps. CV, 2, spedlice eall his lofmaegen leode gehyran (omnes laudes ejus)? and once also the poetic lofsum, praiseworthy, Gen. 468, characterizing the tree of life in Paradise.

Lofsang occurs a number of times, as Gifts 92, maeg on lofsongum lifes waldend hlude hergan (said of singing in the church); Jul. 689 the saint is buried (with) lofsongum; Soul 69 we find, þonne halige men / lifiendum gode lofsong doð; Sat. 155 (ealle hofan) -- lofsonga word. The other examples are found in the Psalms. CXVIII, 164, lustice lofsang cwedan (laudem dixi); LXVIII, 31, mid lofsange laede (in laude); XCIX, 3, mid lofsangum (in hymnis); CV, 11, him lofsangum lustum cwemdan (et laudaverunt laudem ejus).

Wuldrian, to glorify, praise, occurs twice, Cr. 401, and wuldriad / aepelne ordfruman ealra gesceafta, and Hymn 1, Wuton wuldrian weoroda dryhten. Gewuldrian is found Ps. LXXXVIII, 6, þu bist gewuldrad god (glorificatur), and XC, 16, (Ic) his naman swylce gewuldrige (glorificabo).

Mærsian is used in the Psalms a few times, the examples giving the connotation it has in each case. LXIII, 8, weorc godes wide maersian (annuntiaverunt), LXX, 7, wuldor þin wide maersian (cantem), CXLIV, 6, and þine maegenstrengðu maersien wide (narrabunt)! To these may be added the only further example in the poetry, Ph. 617, and heofoncyniges / meakte maersiad. Gemaersian also occurs a few times. Used of God's



hallowing Sunday it is found Dox.26. We note the occurrences And.544, is þin nama halig, /wuldre gewlitigað ofer werþeoda, /miltsum gemaersod and L.Prayer III,44, swa is þin aedele gecynd/miclum gemaersod.

Bletsian and gebletsian, in the sense of Latin benedicere, not confined to man, but also used of plants etc., is quite common. We note Az.77, bletsige þec, soðfaest cyning, Dan.357, baedon bletsian bearn Israhela, Gu.580, and ic bletsige--/lifes leohtfruman, Hymn 8, we blaetsiað bilewitne fæder. In Ps.XCV,2, his soðne naman bealde bletsiað, CXIII, 25, we leofne drihten bealde bletsigað (benedicimus Domino), etc. Of gebletsian may be noted Dan.363, ðe gebletsige (animals, things etc.), bylywit faeder. Other examples might easily be added.

## 2. The Sacraments.

Of the traditional seven sacraments of the Mediaeval Church only Baptism and the Lord's Supper appear in the poetry, the references to the poenitentia to be treated in chapter X.

The Greek βαπτίζω, βάπτισμα, was taken over by the Latin as baptizare, baptisma, baptismus. In OE. this word was not borrowed from the Latin, though later it is taken over and ousts the native terms. OE. uses fullwian, fulwian, fullian, 'to consecrate fully', composed of the adverb full and the Teut. \*wihējan, wihjan, to consecrate, from \*wīho, appearing in OS. and OHG. as wih, Goth. weihs, holy. According to an ancient custom of the Church, those who desired to enter the

1 But note And.1647-50, anne gesette--/bisceop þam leodum/and gehalgode--(Platan), El.1054-6, þaet he gesette on sacerdhad/in Jerusalem Judas þam folce/to bisceope (ordinavit Judam Episcopum in Jerosolyma).

For OHG. see Raumer, p.314 ff., for ON. Kahle I, 364 ff., II, 121 f.

2 See NED. under fullought.



lists of the catechumens and were not fully ready to receive baptism were marked with the sign of the cross, in prose expressed by cris-<sup>1</sup>nian. Later, when they were considered fully prepared, they received the fullwiht, 'the full consecration', or baptism.

The verb fulwian appears only once in poetry, Cr.484, in Christ's missionary command to his disciples: and fulwiad<sup>x</sup> folc under roderum. The form gefulwian we also have once, El.1043, Pa waes gefulwad(Judas).

More often the noun fullwiht, mfn., is used, sometimes in the phrase fullwihtes baed<sup>x</sup>, as And.1640, onfon fromlice fullwihtes baed<sup>x</sup> Mermedonians), El.490, Ponne brodor pin/onfeng--fulwihtes baed<sup>x</sup>(Stephen, called Cyriacus' brother), 1033, Judas onfeng/--fulwihtes baed<sup>x</sup>. In Sat. 546 the phrase is used figuratively, he(haelend)his swat forlet/feollon to foldan fulwihtes baed<sup>x</sup>, referring to the water that issued from the Savior's side when the soldier thrust in his spear. The simple term occurs And.1635 and 1643; El.172 the Christians at Rome are characterized as those pa purh fulwihte/laerde waeron. Of Constantine it is said El.192, se leodfruma fullwihte onfeng. Soul 87 we have fulwihte onfon and Maxims 9, an is fulwiht. The high regard for baptism and the gifts bestowed through it are mentioned And.1630-32, onfengon(Mermedonian youths)fulwihte and freoduwaere,/wuldres wedde witum aspedde,/mundbyrd meotudes. The cleansing power of baptism is sometimes referred to, as in the passage Sal.395(waeter)crisnad<sup>x</sup> and claensad<sup>x</sup> cwicra manigo, also El.333-4, Judas onfeng/--- fulwihtes baed<sup>x</sup>/and geclaensod weard<sup>x</sup>.

Peculiar is John the Baptist's reference to his and Christ's activities at the Jordan, Har.132, wit unc in paere burnan baþodon  
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1 MacG., p.21, note 2.



aetgaedere! Lines 133-7 tell more about it, oferwurpe þu mid þy waetre, weoruda dryhten, / blipe mode ealle burgwaran, / mid þy fullwihte faegre onbyrdon / ealne þisne middangeard. To Christ's baptism is also referred Men. 159, (John) se þe faegere iu / mid waetere oferwearp wuldres cynebearn. The compound fulwihttiid as referring to Christ's baptism we find Men. 11, already discussed in chapter V.

Once occurs the compound fulwihtþeaw, rite of baptism, Met. I, 33, cýning sylfa (Theoderic) onfeng fulluhtþeawum, i. e. became a Christian. There is uncertainty about the word fullwōn, f., the gen. pl. of which is encountered Gen. 1951, forþon his lof secgað / -- / fullwona bearn (namely Christians). This word does not occur elsewhere, and there is a suspicion that the MS. reading is corrupt.<sup>1</sup>

The sacrament of the altar or the Lord's Supper is expressed by hūsl, hūsel, n., Goth. hunsl (Gr. *ἄρτο*), ON. hunsl, húsl. It is a remarkable fact, as has been pointed out by Kahle, that this spiritual sacrifice as conceived by the Church, an idea wholly foreign to the heathen mind, should be expressed by an old Germ. stem. As in the other dialects, the OE. term originally meant offering or sacrifice, but this is never applied to the sacrifices of the heathen. The original meaning is still kept in a compound, as huslfatu halige, Dan. 507 and 749, reference being made to the sacrificial vessels of Solomon's temple.

The word hūsl is very rare in the poetry, only three examples being met with. We have, hūsl (MS. hus) sceal halgum men, hæpum synne,

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1 Bibl. II, 405.

2 I, pp. 366-7. See also Grimm, D.M. I, p. 32.





Gn.Ex. 132; in Gu.1274 it is said of the saint, Ahof þa his honda husle gereorded/eadmod by aepelan gylfe. The passage Cr.1685 refers to the blessed in Heaven, ac him bið lenge husel. However, twice we have a reference to the Lord's Supper in Soul, 41, and ic ofþyrsted waes/godes lichoman, gastes drynces, and similarly 145-6, Faestest ðu on foldan and gefyldest me/godes lichoman, gastes drynces.

Three compounds are met with in the poetry: hūsifæst, already mentioned; halig hūselbearn, applied to Gu.531; and hūselweras, ceman gecorene, Gu.768, a name for the faithful that enter the kingdom of God above. The last two words are poetical, each occurring only once in OE. literature.

Riddle 49 has as its subject the 'hring', 1, 'readan goldes', 6, and it would appear that the solution is nothing else than the paten or communion plate. In Riddle 60 the 'hring gyldene', 1, which speaks of the Savior's wounds, 'swa paes beages benne cwaedon', 12, is probably the chalice or communion cup.

### 3. The Scriptures.

In the New Testament the books of the Old Covenant are designated as ἡ γραφή or αἱ γραφαί, i.e. the writings καθ' ἑξοχὴν. A similar use of the term as applied to the Holy Scriptures, the Latin scriptura, is found in OE. poetry, where the sacred writings are called gewritu or fyrngewritu, n. So we read in Gen.1121, Us gewritu secgād (about Adam's age); similar statements occur 2563, 2611, etc. In El.674 we have swa gewritu secgād (about Calvary), and regarding Stephen it is said, 826, sint in bocum his/wundor, þa he worhte, on gewritum cyded, though

1 Compare Tupper, The Riddles of the Exeter Book, p. 179 f., 197 f.  
2 For OHG. see Raumer, p.319 ff., ON. Kahle I, p.368 ff.



here apocryphal books might be included. Ex.519 we find, on gewritum findað, and Sal.50 it is asserted regarding the Pater Noster, he gewritu laered. Fyrngewritu is also employed a number of times, as El. 430, þy laes toworpen sien/frod fyrngewritu and þa faederlican/lare forleten, where it refers to the Old Testament, and similarly 373, ymb fyrngewritu, mentioning the prophets. In Instructions 67, Is nu fela folca, þaette fyrngewritu/healdan wille, ac--, the Holy Scriptures seem to be in the mind of the speaker, as also in line 73. It is peculiar that 'holy' never modifies the terms.

Sometimes bēc, f., the Latin biblia, serves to point out the Bible. Qualifying words may be added in order to make the idea intended perfectly clear, should the context fail to do so. Thus we have Gen. 2612 godcunde bec, El. 204, on godes bocum, also 290; þurh halige bec occurs El. 364, 670, and 852, though this term is not limited in its application to the Holy Scriptures. Sometimes bēc alone suffices, especially where the context admits of no other interpretation. Thus we have Cr. 453, on bocum, 785, Us secgað bec (about Christ's birth), and 793, þaet me haelend min/on bocum bebed. Other examples could be cited.

A term frequently used to designate God's Word is æ, f., OS. ēo, OFris. ewa and its variant forms, OHG. ēwa, etc. However, the context must point to this interpretation or a modifier be employed. In a general sense we have it Cr. 670-71, Sum maeg godcunde/reccan rihte æ, and similarly Ap. 10, þaer hie drihtnes æ deman sceoldan; Gu. 26 we read, þe his æ healdan sceoldon, and Jul. 13, drihtnes æ. Clear references to the Old Testament occur El. 281, þurh rihte æ reccan cuðan, as also 379, we Hebreisce æ leornedon. El. 393-4, æ cuðan/



witgena word, specific parts of the Old Covenant are referred to, as also 283, þa þe Moyses æ/reccan cudon. Æ denoting the Mosaic Law occurs frequently in the Psalms, as LXXVII, 1, mine faeste æ (legem meam), CXVIII, 56, ic þinre æ a folgode (custodivi legem tuam), also LXXXIII, 7, brohte him bletsunge se ðe him beorhte æ soðe sette (Etenim benedictionem dabat legislator), while LXXVII, 6, we find, Israhelum æ ge-sette (et legem posuit in Israel). The Ten Commandments of the Ten Words of the Law are mentioned And. 1511-12, rihte æ/getacnode on tyn wordum. If æ denotes the New Testament, the fact is shown either by the context or by a modifier, such as æ hælendes, El. 1066, or Cristes æ, Jul. 411. For further examples of æ denoting the Scriptures compare Sprachschatz.

A few compounds of æ may be listed here, some of which, however, will be discussed more fully later.

Æebod, Ps. CIV, 4 (legem), also CXVIII, 102 and 126.

Æboda, poetic, occurring only once, Gu. 909, the saint being spoken of as eadgum æbodan.

Æcraeft, poetic. In the sense of religion we have it El. 435, and as denoting knowledge or skill in the Law Dan. 19, þæt hie æcraeft as an forleton/meotodes maegenscipe.

Æcraeftig, once in the poetry; said of Daniel, Dan. 742.

Æfaest, the pious, those keeping the Law. Not infrequent.

Æfremmende, the pious, religious. Poetic and found only once, Jul. 648.

Æfyllende, pious, religious. Poetic and found only once, Cr. 704.

Æglēaw, in the religious sense, learned in the Law. Said of Cyriacus El. 806; as applied to Jews summoned by Elene, we have ægleawe men El. 321. In a more general sense, as knowing about the Bible and



the Apostles and the miracles they performed, we have *aeglaeawe menn*, Ap.24, and the comparative *aegleawra man*, And.1483.

Āelāerend, poetic and occurring only once. After his conversion Paul is said to be the best of *aelaerendra*, El.506.

Āeriht, code of Law of faith. Poetic and occurring only twice. Designating the Jewish Law we have El.375, *ba þe fyrngewritu/þurh snyttro craeft selēst cunnen*, /*aeriht eower*, and 590, (Judas or Cyriacus may reveal) *aeriht from ord oð ende forð*.

Āewita, wise in the Law, counsellor. Poetic and found only once. Said of Cyriacus' grandfather, *ealdum aewitan*, El.455.

No discussion of the Prophets is necessary here, as that subject has already been treated in chapter II.

In the metrical version of the Psalms, which is generally speaking a faithful rendering of the Latin Vulgate, with the exception of occasional elaborations and personal touches, quite a number of terms not met with in the other poetry are naturally found. Among them we have gewitnes, used in a general sense in rendering the Latin testimonium, as CXVIII, 24, *þin gewitnys* (testimonia tua), similarly 45, *þine gewitnesse* (mandata tua), as also 114, *þine gewitnesse* (verbum tuum), etc. But sometimes we have the term in the sense of testamentum, the covenant entered into, the Law. So LXXVII, 12, *Ne heoldan hi halgan drihtnes gewitnesse* (testamentum Dei), as also CX, 4, *his gewitnesse* (Memor erit in saeculum testamenti sui).

The OE. rendering of the Latin psalmus is sealm, m., the learned psealm not being found in the poetry. We have Ps.LVI, 9, *þaet ic gode swylce sealmas singe* (psalmum dicam), similarly 11; LXV, 1, *mid*





sealmum(psalmum dicite), LXVII, 4, Singað soðum gode sealmas(psalmum dicite). Ps. CVII, 3, sealmas singe(psallam), similarly CXLV, 1. The other occurrences are CXVI, 1, singað him sealmas(bonus est psalmus), XCIV, 2, sealmas(in psalmis jubilemus ei).

Of compounds with sealm the poetic sealmfaet occurs once only, Ps. LXX, 20, and þe on sealmfatum singe þe hearpan, rendering the Latin in vasis psalmi. The Latin psalterium is directly taken over, occurring four times in the form on psalterio, XCI. 3, CVII, 2, CXLIII, 10, and CXLIX, 3. Once, LVI, 10, we have Aris, wulder min, wynpsalterium, where the Latin has only psalterium.

The verb salletan, the Latin psallere, occurs once in the Ps., CIV, 2, singað him and salletað(Cantate ei, et psallite ei).

Twice ymen, m, is found. Ps. CXVIII, 171, Nu mine weleras ðe word-um belcettað ymmas elne(Eructabunt labia mea hymnum), and CXXXVI, 4, Singað us ymmum(hymnum cantate).

Of the books of the New Testament the gospels demand attention. In OE, the term for the story of Christ is godspell, godspel, n. It is assumed that the original form of the word was gōdspel, the good or glad tidings, a rendering of the Latin bona adnuntiatio or bonus nuntius, which was in current use as an explanation of the etymological sense of evangelium, Gr. εὐαγγέλιον. In the compound word the regular phonetic law would shorten gōd, but it seems that already at an early time the first part of the compound was confused with god, God, and the word came to be used in the sense of divine story or message. From OE. the term passed into other Germanic languages, appearing in



OS. as godspell, OHG. gotspell, ON. gud<sup>x</sup>-or god<sup>x</sup>-spiall. In each case the first element is identified with God.<sup>1</sup>

In OE. poetry godspel is encountered only five times. It is not impossible that in Sal.A 65, durh gastes gife godspel segran, the word has kept its original meaning of good tidings, if we assume that this interpretation suggested by the context is further strengthened by the fact that MS.B has the reading godspellian. In the other cases we have clearly an indication of the Gospel, as El.176, paet hie for pam casere cydan moston/godspelles gife, the story of Christ following almost immediately as an explanation of the term. The same interpretation is demanded in Gu.1088, purh gaestes gife godspel bodian. Matthew seems to be especially prominent in connection with the Gospel, he being referred to Men.171 as pegn unforcud<sup>x</sup>, /godspelles gleaw. In And.12 his work in reducing the story of Christ to writing is definitively pointed out: Waes hira Matheus sum, /se mid Judeum ongan godspell acrest/wordum writan wundorcraefte.

The verb godspellian, godspellan occurs a few times. As already pointed out, we have godspellian Sal.B 65. Dan.658, swa he(Daniel)ofstlice godspellode/metodes mihtum for mancynne, the verb seems to be used in the sense of preaching. In the sense of making known the glad tidings, though not in the New Testament sense, it is employed Ps. LXVII, 12, God gifed<sup>x</sup> gleaw word godspellendum(Dominus dabit verbum evangelizantibus).

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 1 Article gospel in NED. The etymology given here seems to be generally accepted now. For another view see Bright, Mod.L.Notes, IV, pp. 208-10, V, 90-91. Compare also reply of Logeman, VIII, pp.89-93.



Of other terms denoting God's Word or pointing out specific commandments may be mentioned bod, bebod and gebod, n., which are used in different senses, in each case the context or modifiers supplying the specific meaning. Bod appears for instance L. Prayer III, 109. Ac min bebod braece, Cr. 1393, refers to Adam and Eve in Paradise, daes hehstan gebod, Dox. 29, mentions the supposed commandment regarding the observance of Sunday. Haelendes bebod is mentioned And. 735, while in other passages we have the commandment of the king or the heavenly king. Dan. 299 we have braecon bebodo bursittende. Gu. 783 occurs the compound bodscipe, and 430 gebodscipe. A few examples from the Psalms may follow: LXXVII, 9, godes bebodu georne heolden (testamentum Dei), CXXXVIII, 27, bebodu (legem), 28, bebodu (mandata), and CXVIII, 63, halige bebodu (mandata tua), etc., 87, gebod (mandata).

Such terms as lār, godes word, dōm, etc. etc., used either singly or with modifiers, may also denote the whole or parts of the Scriptures but these terms do not call for any detailed treatment here.



## CHAPTER VII

## THE DEITY

The Germanic tribes believed in polytheism, in a plurality of gods, whole number and identity seem to be shifting, and who were governed by the inexorable Wyrð. The idea of one supreme and all-powerful God in the Christian sense of the term was entirely foreign to them, and naturally some time elapsed before they were able to bring their former views into harmony with the Christian doctrine. For a long time their ideas regarding certain <sup>phases</sup> were bound to be vague, and we see for instance in the OE. poems assertions made regarding the persons of the Trinity not consonant with the official theological views accepted and decreed by the councils, but probably not at all surprising when viewed in the light of circumstances.

Wyrð.

Since the term wyrð is sometimes closely connected with God, a brief discussion of it as far as it pertains to our subject would seem to be in order at this point. OE. wyrð by regular changes from Germ. \* wurdiz goes back to the common Germ. stem \* werthan, the noun occurring as wurd in OS., wurt in OHG., and urdr in ON. The original meaning of OE. wyrð (fact, happening; Gummere, Germanic Origins, p. 111, "that which is accomplished") is common in poetry as well as prose,

1 See Grimm, D.M., I, p. 82 ff., Golther, Handbuch etc., p. 192ff., 502ff.

2 Cf. Grimm, D.M., I, 335 ff., Golther, Handbuch etc., 104 f., Gummere, Germanic Origins, p. 236, 371f. 3 Skeat, Ety. Dict., weird.





and occurs in such passages as pa seo wyrd gewearð, paet paet wif ge-seah/for Abrahame Ismael plegan, Gen. 2777, waes paet maere wyrd/(Christ's birth) folcum gefraege, Men. 53, he ne leag fela wyrda ne worda, Beow. 3030.

However, more often wyrd has <sup>a</sup> meaning analogous to the Latin fatum, fate or destiny, at times practically personified. At least one <sup>1</sup> passage, me paet wyrd gewaef, Rim. 70, seems to indicate the mythological conception of wyrd as weaving man's destiny, while in ON. the idea of Norns, corresponding to the Greek μοῖραι and the Latin parcae distinctly appears in Völuspa <sup>2</sup>

18 (B. 19) Ask ueit ek standa/heitir Yggdrasill/----

19 (B. 20) Þá þan koma meyar/margs uitandi/  
þriár ór þeim sal,/er und þolli stendr./  
Urb hétu eina,/abra Uerþandi,-/  
skáro á skíbi,-/Skuld ena þriþio./  
Þær lög lögþo,/þær líf kuro/  
alda þornom,/örlog seggia.

Even though Urðr in ON. literature is the predominating figure, from the passage quoted it is readily seen that Urðr, Uerþandi, and Skuld as Past, Present and Future have a function analogous to that of the μοῖραι and parcae in Homer and Isidor, even if the question of classic <sup>3</sup> al influence be waived.

Often, though not always, wyrd is the blindly hostile and inexorable power sweeping away man's joys and pleasures, intolerant even

1 In Rid. 36, 9-10, we read: Wyrmas mec ne awaefan wyrda craeftum/þa þe geolo godwebb geatum fraetwad, which is claimed to lead us back to ancient heathendom. But with Tupper, Riddles of the Exeter Book, note on p. 152, we agree that wyrda craeftum has lost its old force and means nothing more than 'durch Schicksalsschlaege', as Grein's Dichtungen renders it, the lines being a fairly accurate translation of Aldhelm's Latin. Gu. 1325, seo þrag cymed/wefan wyrdstafum, also seems to have a weakened force.

2 Saemundar Edda, Dettler & Heinzel, Leipzig, 1903.

3 Grimm, D.M., I, p. 335 ff.



of his dreary existence. The poet of the Ruined Burg contemplates in a melancholy mood the hall joys op þæt þæt onwende wyrd seo swiþe, line 25. Other pictures are no less gloomy: Earm se þe sceal ana lif-gan, wineleas wunian hafap him wyrd geteod, Gn. Ex. 174, and hio wyrd forsweop/on Grendles gryre, Beow. 477. In this poem wyrd is generally looked upon as the goddess of death, an idea which appears also in the OS. Heliand, Thiu wurd is at hendum, 4621, when compared with line 2990, nu is iru doð at hendi, etc. The same idea is not foreign to other OE. poems, a lingering trace of such function being found for instance in Gu. 1030, where at the death of the saint it is remarked, Wyrd ne mehte/in faegum leng feorg gehealdan,/deore fraetwe, þonne him gedemed waes.

With the advent of Christianity the notion of wyrd as the hostile force receives a further development. So in Sal. 436ff., heo wop weced, heo wean hladed, /heo gast scyp, heo ger bered, and especially 442ff., Ac hwaet wited us wyrd seo swiþe, /eallra fyrena fruma, faehdo modor, /weana wyrtwela, wopes heafod, /frumscylda gehwaes faeder and modor, /deades dohter? In Met. IV, 34, þæt sio wyrd on gewill wendan sceolde/yflum monnum ealles swa swiþe? the hostile force even helps in persecuting the saints. And. 613, hie seo wyrd beswac, /forleolc and forlaerde, especially when compared with lines 610-11, hie for aefstum in-wit syredon/purh deopne gedwolan deofles larum, wyrd assumes functions of the devil in instigating the condemnation of Christ. In the passages from Salomon and Saturn there is hardly any doubt that wyrd is identified with the fallen angel, who is the bringer of evil

1 Heliand, M. Heyne, 4th Edition, Paderborn, 1905. See Grimm, D.M., I, 335 ff., in the discussion of wyrd. Vilmar, Deutsche Altertuerer im Heliand, 2nd edition, p. 13 may also be compared. Compare also Klaeber, Anglia XXXVI, p. 171 f., 174 f.



1  
and misery. This idea was not foreign to the Anglo-Saxon mind, and the  
homilists exerted all their influence to combat such a belief.<sup>2</sup>

Excepting such negative statements as Wand.15, ne maeg werig  
mod wyrde wiðstandan and the variously interpreted passage Beow.  
1056-7, man seems to be helpless against the decrees of blind fate.  
Gaed a wyrd swa hio scel! Beow.455, mon himsylv ne maeg/wyrd onwendan,  
Prayer IV.117, ðaet ic gewaegan ne maeg wyrd under heofon, Judg. 115,  
testify to the prevalent belief of wyrd as the inexorable.

Entirely different is God's position in regard to the once all-  
ruling power, though even here peculiar statements occur. The belief  
in fatalism had a strong hold on the Germanic character and even  
after the conversion to Christianity exerted an influence by no  
means negligible. During heathen times Wyrd had occupied a unique  
position in as much as it operated outside the sphere of the gods,  
and, in ultimately controlling all destiny, even standing above them.  
With the conversion to Christianity the good God of Christianity  
might easily supplant the regnator omnium deus (Tacitus, Germania,  
ch.40) who had until then<sup>3</sup> <sup>been</sup> the provider and distributor of bountiful  
gifts. Not so easy was the subordination of a hostile and untrolla-  
ble force under the omnipotence of the Christian God, and this trans-  
itional stage may perhaps account for an occasional compromising  
statement. In Gn.Cot.5 we read, þrymmas syndan Cristes myccle, /wyrd

1 As Abbetmeyer, Poetical Motives etc. puts it: "Sal.442 ff. is clearly a Christian passage, in which Wyrd is discredited by being identified with Satan." P.6.

2 See Bouterweck, Caedmon's Biblische Dichtungen, p.LXIV; also LXX, "Darum eifern die angelsaechsischen Kirchenvaeter gegen den Aberglauben einer Wyrd, eines Geschickes, dass etwas anderes sei als der allmaechtige Gott."

3 Ehrismann, Zum Germanischen Fruhchristentum, pp.237-8.



bip swidast, and Seaf. 115, Wyrð bip swidre, /meotud meahtriga þonne  
 aenges monnes gehygd. It is not at all improbable that in the last  
 example, as also in Beow. 2526, <sup>1</sup>ac unc sceal weorðan aet wealle, swa unc  
 wyrð getoð<sup>e</sup>, /metoð manna gehwaes, the term metoð must be taken as syn-  
 onymous with wyrð, an interpretation which seems to be suggested by  
 connotations which this word in its simple form as well as in combi-  
 nations may originally have had. Without ascribing any undue im-  
 portance to the at least notable statement Gn. Ex. 9, God us ece bip: /  
 ne wendað hine wyrða, God controls wyrð, he is wyrða waldend, Ex. 432,  
 El. 80, And. 1056, Prayer IV, 43, though one might argue that wyrða has  
 here the weakened force of events. <sup>3</sup>But such statements as Beow. 1056,  
 nefne him witig god wyrð forstode, and especially Met. IV, 35, Hwi ðu ece  
<sup>4</sup>god aefre wolde, /paet seo wyrð on gewill wendan sceolde, and 49, Gif  
 ðu nu, waldend, ne wilt wyrðe steoraþ/ac on self wille sigan laetest,  
 leave little doubt as to God's superior power.

A further development may perhaps be assumed in passages  
 where wyrð takes on a meaning almost identical with God, such as Met.  
 I, 29, oðpaet wyrð gescaf, /paet þe ðeodrice þegnas and eorlas heran  
 sceoldan, when held together with line 38 f., ðenden god wolde, paet he

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- 1 In Beowulf, Heyne-Schuecking, Paderborn, 1913, metoð in this line is glossed as fatum in the vocabulary.
  - 2 Compare the discussion on metoð, under kennings of the Godhead.
  - 3 See Kent, Teutonic Antiquities, p. 3; Rankin, Kennings, VIII, p. 414, 37.
  - 4 Sedgefield (Beowulf, Manchester, 1910, p. 163), agreeing with Ettmueller would take wyrð as nom. sing. in apposition with god. He objects to the usual construction of wyrð as object of forstode on the ground that man's destiny could not be hindered. But his rendering of forstode as 'help, defend' is not happy from the grammatical standpoint, since then we should expect hie, not him as object, while his objection to the common interpretation on theological grounds loses its force because it is not based on all the evidence available, as will be seen from the examples we have quoted. Compare note to line 1056, p. 54, of Beowulf, Wyatt & Chambers, Cambridge, 1914.





Gotena geweald/agan moste, while El.1046, regarding the conversion of Judas, the discoverer of the Cross, huru Wyrð gescreaf, /paet he swa geleafful and swa leof gode/in worldrice weordan sceolde, /Criste gecweme, one is almost tempted to identify it with foreordination or the predestination of God. Such an interpretation is placed upon <sup>1</sup> wyrð by OE. homilists. In glosses forewyrð <sup>2</sup> has the sense of predestination.

The term God.

The OE. term for God is god, masculine in the singular, but with masculine and neuter forms appearing in the plural. Since the neuter plural is applied to the heathen gods, the masculine plural as confined to the Christian God from the nature of the case is rare. Other Germanic dialects use a word from the same stem; OFris. and OS. have god, m., OHG. got, m., ON. god, gud, the singular in ON. being both masculine and neuter, while the plural god, gud is neuter. The Goth. gub, singular, though according to form neuter, is used as a masculine, while in the plural the neuter guda appears. The Gothic and ON. words are declined as neuters, though the masculine concord is established, probably due to Christian influence. The O. Teut. type would be therefore \* gudom, n., which would seem to go back, though the ulterior etymology is disputed, to IE. \* ghutóm, the neuter of a past participle, meaning either 'what is invoked' or 'what is worshipped by sacrifice'.<sup>3</sup>

1 See also Kent, Teutonic Antiquities, p. 3.

2 Compare Bouterweck, Caedmon's Biblische Dichtungen, p. LXX.

3 See NED. For literature on the subject consult Falk-Torp, Norw.-Daen. Ety. Woerterbuch under Gud.



The original meaning of god in OE. was probably rather numen than deus, though afterwards used practically exclusively in the latter sense, with the restriction, of course, that god may render also dominus, etc. As in OE. poetry god as designation of the Christian Deity is of such frequent occurrence and numerous examples will appear in the subsequent discussion, illustrations of the use are superfluous here. The singular is also applied to the heathen gods, e.g. Jul.52, gif þu to saemran gode/þurh deofolgielð daede biþencest. The masculine plural is seldom used in the poetry; a good illustration occurs in Creed, where, having enumerated the persons of the Godhead, the poet continues, 44, ne synd þæt þreo godas þriwa genemned, /ac is an god, se ðe ealle hafað/þa þry naman þinga gerynum. As already pointed out, the neuter plural godu, godo is more common. The Christian Deity as conceived by the heathen is referred to Jul.120, and þu fremdu godu forð bigongest. As applied to the heathen gods we note Jul.80, where Juliana's father remarks, Ic þæt geswerge þurh soð godu, And.1319, þa ðu goda ussa gilp gehnaegdest, Ap.49, him waes wuldres dream, /lifwela leofra þonne þæs leasan godu. A few examples from the Psalms may follow. XCV,5, sindon ealle haepene godu hildedeoful (omnes dii Gentium daemonia), LXXXV,7, Nis þe goda aenig on gumrice ahwaer efle gelic (Non est similis tui in diis Domine); said of men we have it LXXXI,6, Ge synd uppe godu ealle and aedele bearn (Dii estis, et filii excelsi omnes). It will be noticed that the neuter plural is also applied to men, though they are looked upon as the representatives of God.

A feminine gyden, goddess, also appears, but in the poetry it is met with only once, Met.XXVI.53, where it serves as a designation of Circe.



### The Trinity.

Though there is confusion regarding the persons of the Trinity, and the lines are not always as sharply drawn as the trinitarian dogma of the Church defined them, the Anglo-Saxon poets hold the orthodox Athanasian view of the mystery. The Latin trinitas (Gr. τριάς) is expressed in OE. by prīnes (br̄ynes), the OHG. having thrinissi, ON. prenneng<sup>1</sup>. The term is comparatively rare in the poetry, occurring only eight times, though we have not seldom a juxtaposition of the three persons of the Godhead, though the formal expression of the Trinity is lacking. So for instance Charms VIII, 10-12, ac gehaele me aelmihtig and sunu and frofregaest, / ealles wuldres wyrdig dryhten, / swa swa ic gehyrde heofna scyppende, where the unity in the Trinity would also seem to be brought out in the singular number of the appellations evidently bestowed upon all the three persons.

As examples of prīnes we note Cr. 379, Eala! seo wlitige weord- mynda full/heah and halig hefoncund prynes, / brade geblissad geond brytenwongas, which all should praise, nu us haelend god/waerfaest on- wreah, paet we hine witan motan! 383-4, as also 599, Wuldor paes age/ prynysse prym, þonc butan ende. The belief in the Trinity is voiced by Guthlac, 617-19, forðon ic getrywe in þone torhtestan/prynesse prym, se gepeahtingum/hafað in hondum heafon and eorðan. Several times Christ is mentioned in connection with the Trinity in such a manner as almost to incline the reader to the belief that Christ embraces the three persons of the Godhead. A slight tendency toward it may perhaps be detected El. 177, hu se gasta helm/in prynesse prymme geweordad

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 1 For OHG. see Raumer, p. 347 ff., ON. Kahle, I, pp. 380-81.



acenned weard<sup>x</sup>. More pronounced is the passage in Hymn, for having spoken of Christ in lines 37-9 as <sup>x</sup>đu eart ana aece dryhten/and <sup>x</sup>đu ana bist eallra dema,/-- Crist nergend, the author continues, 40, forðan <sup>x</sup>đu on <sup>x</sup>ðrymme ricsast and on <sup>x</sup>ðrinesse/and on annesse ealles waldend,/ hiofena heahcyninc, haliges gastes fegere gefelled in faeder wuldre. This would not be so very surprising in view of the fact, as will appear later, that Christ is sometimes identified with both the Father and the Holy Spirit, and that L. Prayer III, 42-3, it is said of him, <sup>x</sup>Þu eart sunu and faeder/ana aegber. On the other hand, in Jud. 83-4, there is a change in the traditional order of the persons of the Trinity, for we read, <sup>x</sup>frymða god and frofre gaest, /bearn anwaldan, biddan wille--<sup>x</sup>ðrynesse <sup>x</sup>ðrym(86). The same order is followed in Jul. 724-7, faeder, frofre gaest, /--/and se deora sunu, /þonne seo þrynis þrymsittende in annesse(scrifed<sup>x</sup>). The traditional order is, however, observed And. 1684-5, þær(in Heaven) faeder and sunu and frofre gast/ in þrinnesse þrymme wealded<sup>x</sup>.

The unity in the Trinity was not lost sight of, as a number of passages tend to show. In And. 1685 we have the singular wealded<sup>x</sup>, although the subject is composed of three persons. Formally the unity is expressed by ānnes(L. unitas, Gr. μονότης), OHG. einnissi, ON. eineng. The OE. term is only twice found in the poetry, Hymn 41, (Christ reigns not only on <sup>x</sup>ðrynessæ, 40), but also on annesse, and Jul. 726, þonne seo þrynis þrymsittende/in annesse(scrifed<sup>x</sup>). The three persons are contained in the meotud(721), the heofona helm(722), and the mehta waldend(723) implored by Cynewulf. So in Jud. 80-82 the resolute maiden ongan <sup>x</sup>ða swegles weard /be naman nemnan, nergend ealra/woruldbuendra, followed by the invocation to Father, Spirit, and Son. The author of the Creed





enters into a discussion of the problem of unity and trinity in the passage quoted before in another connection. Having referred to the Spirit, the Father, and the Son, he continues<sup>e</sup>, in order to prevent an interpretation that might be made, 44-6, ne synd þaet þreo godas þriwa genemned, /ac is an god, se ðe ealle hafad / þa þry naman þinga gerynum. All of which goes to show that the poet tried to keep within the dogma as drawn up by the councils of the Church, though he could not withstand the temptation of making a rational explanation of the mystery.

The Godhead and God the Father.

Under this caption we shall first treat certain names which are applied to the Godhead, and the Father, or the first person of the Trinity, though one cannot always be sure as to who is meant, as in a large number of cases it is impossible to distinguish clearly the three persons of the Godhead. No attempt has been made to make the list of the extremely large number of names and kennings complete, as the works of Bode and Rankin are sufficiently comprehensive. We merely give from our full collections the more important of the designations, referring the reader to the above mentioned works.<sup>2</sup> But enough material will appear to illustrate by specific cases the wealth and variety of names at the disposal of the OE. poets. Though originally having a specific and definite connotation, there can be little doubt that

1 Bode, Kenningar, p. 72, remarks: "Sie (namely the Anglo-Saxons) umschreiben den himmlischen Vater mit mehr denn 300 Ausdruecken; namentlich wenn sie sich in Gebet zum Himmel wandten, redeten sie den Geber aller Gaben mit immer neuen Wendungen an, wie ein Bettler, der einen Reichen schmeichelt."

2 Bode, Kenningar, p. 79 ff. No attempt has been made to distinguish between the three persons.  
Rankin, A Study of the Kennings in Anglo-Saxon Poetry, J, of E. & G. Philology, VIII, p. 374 ff.



very often the names were not pregnant with meaning to the author, who not seldom was guided in his choice of an appellation by the exigencies of the alliteration, and similar considerations.<sup>1</sup>

The term god appears extremely often as a designation of the Godhead, and of the first person. The wealth and variety will sufficiently appear from the examples given. An god is ealra gesceafta/frea moncynnes, faeder and scippend, Met. XVII, 8-9, frymða god, El. 502, Jud. 83, similarly El. 345, Gu. 792; weoroda god, Gu. 366, similarly El. 1149, Cr. 347 etc.; weorodanes god, Fates 93, maegena god, El. 809, maegna gode, Jul. 659, mihta god, El. 785, sigora god, 1307, hefonrices god, 1125, wuldres god, Gu. 1054, engla god, Ex. 380, waldend god, Gen. 520, ic waldend god wordum herige, (Deo laudabo), Ps. LV, 4, drihten god, Beow. 161, dryhten god, Jud. 300, etc. etc.; on god drihten gearewe gewene (in Deo speravi), Ps. LV, 4, nergende god, Met. XXIX, 74, Gen. 1924, haelend god, Sat. 281, min haelend god (Deus meus), Ps. CXVII, 26, haelend god (Deus salvos faciendi), LXVII, 20, haelend god (Deus salutaris noster), LXIV, 6. Heonan ic cleopige to heahgode and to waldend gode (clamabo ad Deum altissimum! Deum), Ps. LVI, 2, se is waldendgode wel liclendlic (beneplacitum est Deo), LXVII, 16. It may be noted here that godes āgen bearn, e.g. El. 179, is very frequently found, where of course the reference in godes is clearly to the first person. Such adjectives as ēce, hālig, aelmihtig are common.

Faeder is often used where God conceived as one or the first person is meant, though the term is also applied to Christ. In the

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 1 See Introduction for a fuller treatment. For the terms of God in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin consult Raumer, p. 335 ff. OHG. words etc. are treated by Raumer, 338 ff., ON. Kahle, I, 377-8, 381-2, II, 123 ff.



formula where the three persons of the Trinity are mentioned, the reference is clear. So And.1684, faeder and sunu and frofre gaest, etc. And in most of the other cases the context indicates to whom the term is applied. We note, halig faeder, Met. XX, 46, etc., bilewit faeder, XX, 69, 255, similarly And. 997, Dan. 363, Az. 139, Gen. 856, etc.; beorht faeder, And. 937, etc.; paes breman faeder, Doom 296, faeder frefergendum, Sat. 318, an faeder ece, Maxims 9, faeder aelmihtig, Prayer III, 51, a term very frequent; nergende faeder, Gn. Cot. 63, waldend faeder, Cr. 163, faeder alwalda, Beow. 316, faeder engla, Met. XX, 153, 263, 273, And. 1412, El. 783, Men. 226, etc.; faeder frumsceafta, Moods 66, faeder frym<sup>ð</sup>a gehwaes, Ph. 192. Pinne wuldor faeder, Cr. 217, soðfaeder, 103, lifiað nu on heofenum mid heahfaedere (otherwise term for patriar<sup>h</sup>; see chapter II, 2), Rood B 134, on ða swið<sup>ð</sup>-ran hand/<sup>ð</sup>dinum godfaeder, Hymn 31.

God is the creator, scippend. Though the term is not seldom also applied to Christ, it would seem that the Godhead or the first person is more often regarded as the creator. References to the work of creation are very frequent, and the formal term is met with often. An sceppend is butan aelcum tweon/se is ece waldend woruldgesceafta, Met. XI, 1-2, ðu eca and ðu aelmihtiga/ealra gesceafta sceppend and reccend, IV, 29-30, scippend scira tungla/hefones and eorðan, IV, 1-2, heofona scyppend, And. 192, frym<sup>ð</sup>a scyppend, Ph. 630, mihta scyppend, Gu. 1131, engla scyppend, And. 119, gasta scyppend, Dan. 292, 315, El. 790, similarly Jul. 181; aeldra scyppend, Wand. 85, weoruda scyppend, Instructions 62. Here may also be added eall geworhtest/<sup>ð</sup>ing pearle good, Met. XX, 44-5, se wyrhta, Gen. 125, aepele se wyrhta, Ph. 9, wuldres wyrhta, 130.

Fruna, creator, founder, is found a number of times. We note, Moncynnes fruma, Met. XXIX, 42, Ph. 377, uppengla fruma, And. 226, sigores fruma,



Cr. 294, maerda fruma, Chr. III B 21, lifes fruma, El. 792. Of compounds may be quoted lifes leohtfruma, And. 1413, Gen. 175, 936, 1410, etc., Met. XI, 72; lifes ordfruma, Cr. 227, engla ordfruma, And. 146, Sat. 239, etc. Met. XX, 274-5, we find Ðu eart eallra ðinga, beoda waldend, /fruma and ende!

<sup>1</sup>  
<sup>2</sup>  
Metod, a poetic term, is extremely common in the poetry. We note only meotud moncynnes, And. 172, Ph. 176, etc.; metud engla, Gen. 121, similarly Gu. 1105, etc. To these might be added a host of expressions showing metod governing different kinds of objects. We note further eald metod, Beow. 945, milde metod, Maldon 175, similarly Met. XXIX, 69. The adjective is also used El. 1042, him wearð ece rex, /meotud milde, god mihta waldend.

God is cyning, a term extremely frequent. God is engla cyning, Met. XIII, 12, 110, etc. etc. But similar terms and phrases we pass over in order to give a few of the more important compounds. Wuldorcyning is frequent, thus Ph. 196, Whale 67, 85, similarly Beow. 2794; weoroda wuldorcyning, Met. XX, 162, similarly Gen. 2; heahcyning, Ph. 129, etc., heofona heahcyning, Ph. 446, heahcyning heofones, Dan. 408, heofoncyninga hynst, Judg. 108; sweglcynning, Gen. 2658, similarly Gu. 1055; prymcyning,

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1 The term has been treated by Grimm, D.M., I, 18 ff., III, 15. Vilmar, Deutsche Altertuermer im Heliand, p. 11, remarks: "Metod, der messende ordnende, welcher auch im angelsaechsischen ueblich geblieben ist, da er am wenigsten speciell heidnischen Inhalt zu haben scheint, vielmehr im ganzen nur fuer eine formelle Bezeichnung des hoechsten wesens gelten kann, sich also sehr wohl in die lehren der christlichen kirche fuegte." Koehler discusses it Germania, p. 130.

Grein, Sprachschatz, claims that in heathen times the word had probably the meaning of fate. In support of this view he points to Wald. A 19, and to on meotudwange (battle field), And. 11, as also to compounds in related languages. Rankin, VIII, 420, thinks, though the etymological significance may be creator, in the majority of cases it means deus. Klaeber, Anglia, XXXV, 124, claims: "Heidnischer Character ist dem Worte nicht anzumerken."

2 Excepting se metoda drihten twice in Aelfric's Homilies, and there in alliterative passages. B.-T





Moods 62, *peoda prymcyning*, Met. XX, 162, *deoda prymcyningc*, Invocation 2; *peodcyning*, Soul 12, gen. sing. Rid. 68, 1, (only two occurrences in the religious sense<sup>1</sup>); *maegencynning*, El. 1247, *maegencynninges prea*, Judg. 57, *maegencyninga hyst*, 6; *sigora soðcyning*, Beow. 3055, Ph. 329, etc. Of characteristic modifiers we add, *riht cyning*, Ph. 664, *blidheort cyning*, Gen. 192, *stidfrihþ cining*, 107, *stidferð cyning*, 241, *stidmod cyning*, 2423.

Dryhten, originally leader of the host, OS. *drōhtin*, OHG. *truhtin*, ON. *dróttin*, generally rendering L. *dominus*, is extremely common. As lord, ruler, chief it is also frequently used in a secular sense. Thus Sarah calls Abraham, Gen. 2225, *drihten min*. We note as occurrences in the religious sense, *haelend drihten* (*Dominus salvabit me*), Ps. LIV, 16, *haelend drihten* (*Deus salutaris noster*), LXXXIX, 4, *haelend drihten* (*Dominum*), CXLV, 1, also CXLVIII, 1; *haelynd drihten* (-), CVII, 6, *nergende dryhten* (*Domine*) CXII, 3, *god drihten*, El. 759, *dryhtna dryhtne*, And. 1151, Whale 84, similarly Gen. 638; *sigidrihten*, Gen. 523, Gu. 1212, Judg. 92, *sige-drihten god*, Met. XX, 260, *sigora drihten*, El. 346, similarly 1139; *duguda dryhten*, El. 81, Ph. 494, *gumena drihten*, Gen. 515, *weoruda dryhten*, Sermon Ps. 28, 8, 10, Soul 14, etc. etc.; *gasta dryhten*, Judg. 81, *weoruld drihtnes*, Met. XXIX, 1.

Wealdend, the wielder, the ruling one, is extremely frequent.

We give a number of kennings in order to show the great variety. Þone selestan sigora waldend, Moods 84, sigora -, Met. XI, 71, 204, Beow. 2875,

1 According to Rankin, VIII, 404, *bēod* may have become an intensifier, *bēodcyning* signifying "the mighty king."

2 Koehler, *Germania* XIII, 130: "*dryhten*, dass ganz entschieden germanische Anschauung verraeth, indem Gott als oberster Kriegsherr bezeichnet wird, wenn auch nicht gerade hierin eine Anspielung auf den Sieg spendenden Wodan, den *Valfedr* zu suchen sein wird."

3 Rankin, VIII, p. 413: "*Dryhten* ordinarily translates *Dominus*."

4 " " p. 405: "undoubtedly equivalent to *dominus exercituum*!"

5 Supply *waldend*.



Ph.463, rodera -, Met.X, 30, heofona -, XIII, 6, frymda -, Jud.5, wuldres -, And.193, Dan.13, etc.; lifes -, Met.XX, 268, XXI, 36, Judg.85, gasta -, Gen.1172, - engla, El.772, - manna, Az.96, folca -, L.Prayer I, 10, -fira, Beow.2741, ylða -, 1661, dugupa -, Jud.61, ðeoda -, Maldon 173, similarly Met.XX, 256, XXIX, 72; maegena -, El.347, weoroda -, 751, etc.; se ricesða/ealles oferwealdend, 1235. Similarly we have alwalda Beow.1314, etc., se alwalda, Gen.292, etc., ealwalda engelcynna, 246, to anwaldan, Beow.1272, ecne alwealdan ealra gesceafta, Gu.611.

2

Frēa, Goth. frauja, OS. frao, lord, is not infrequently used. Frea folces gehwaes, faeder aelmihtig, Dan.401, frumsceafta frea, Ex.273, frea engla, Gen.157, 2836, etc.; sigora frean, Ph.675; liffrea, Beow.16, and similarly Gen.16; agendfrea, 2141, the same term being applied to Sarah 2237.

ƿēoden, really the chief of a tribe or of a people; not very frequent. Se ðioden, Met.XI, 80, ƿeoden engla, Maldon 178, El.776, engla ƿeoden, Ex.431, ðearlmod ƿeoden gumena, Jud.91.

3

Brego, ruler, chief, used a few times. Brego moncynnes, Judg.7, Met.XX, 43, brego engla, Ph.497, Chr.III B 36, Gen.181, 976, 1008, etc.

4

Hearra, lord, chief, master, applied also to men, is frequent in the Genesis. As referring to Adam, herra se goda, Gen.678, hire hearran, 654; hearran sinum (the chief devil), Gen.726. Uncres hearran, /hefoncyninges, Gen.658, herran pines 567, etc., are applied to God.

1 Under wealdend wyrða wealdend, El.80, etc., of which Rankin, VIII, 414, says: "An interesting analogical formation. Is there any allusion to the Norns, or does the term mean simply 'ruler of destinies'? The latter is more probable."

2 In OE. and OS. this term is being superseded by dryhten, drōhtin.

3 Grimm, Andreas & Elene, p.97: "Kemble hat richtig bemerkt, dass das wort weder im gen. und dat., noch in pl. vorkomme, es gilt, gleich dem ahd. fro, nur als titel und anrede. Lauter zeichen hohes altertums."

4 Comparative of OTeut. \*hairo, old, verable. OLG. loan; cf. NED. her.



Ealdor, lord, chief. Swegles ealdor, Gen. 2807, similarly Jud. 88, 124; wuldres ealdor, Gen. 639, 1511, similarly Jul. 153, Partridge 4, Judg. 82, etc.; lifes ealdor, Gen. 2762, weoroda ealdor Cr. 229, gasta ealdor, Judg. 91.

Weard is extremely common. We note a few of the more characteristic examples. Heah hordes weard heofon and eorðan, Wonders 39, hluttur heofones<sup>1</sup> -, 52, heofonrices -, Dan. 12, etc. etc.; þu on ecnesse awa, drihten hea, hehsta bist heofonrices - (tu autem Altissimus in in aeternum Domine), Ps. XCI, 7, similarly XC, 1; rodera -, Cr. 222, etc., Met. XI, 20, rice raedwitan, rodera weardas (Father and Son), Doom 299, middangeardes -, And. 227, gasta -, El. 1021, similarly Gu. 1177; engla -, El. 1100, etc., moncynnes -, Gen. 2757, folca -, Gifts 20, leohtes -, Judg. 53, sigora -, Met. XI, 27, lifes -, Gen. 144, 163, Gu. 901. Of compounds we note from the Psalms, heora heafodweard holdne (Excelsum), LXXVII, 19, þu eart erfeweard ealra ðeoda (tu hereditabis in omnibus Gentibus), LXXXI, 8.

Hlāford is employed only occasionally in the religious sense. Of God we have it Gen. 2313, while the examples for Christ are a little more numerous. At a later time the word becomes more frequent, while metod etc. are discarded.

Agend, really possessor, is found only a few times. Thus se agend, Ex. 295, lifes agend, Wonders 55, etc.

Helm, protector. Not very frequent. Helm ealwihta, Gen. 113, se halga helm aelwihta, And. 118, engla helm, 2751, gasta helm, 2420, similarly 1793.

Hyrde, a number of times. Heofona hyrde, Judg. 86, tungla hyrde,

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1 Supply weard.



Prayer IV, 9, prymnes hyrde, El. 348, Jud. 60, 280, wuldres hyrde, Beow. 931, gasta hyrde, Dan. 199, dugupa hyrde, Gen. 164, leohtes hyrde Az. 121, 129.

Gēocend, preserver, not frequent. Gasta geocend, El. 682, Gu. 1106.

Brytta, dispenser or distributor, not very frequent. Torhtmod tires brytta, Jud. 93, boldes brytta, El. 161, lifes brytta, Gen. 122, 129.

Nergend, although generally applied to Christ, may also designate the Godhead, or the first person of the Trinity. <sup>1</sup> Nergend or nergend usser is frequent in Genesis, as 855, 903, etc., Met. XX, 249; sawla nergend Ph. 498, niða nergend, Dan. 313, El. 503, 1085, similarly Gu. 612; nerigend fira, El. 1172, nergend wera, L. Prayer I, 3.

Hæelend, rare. Towerpan wuldres <sup>e</sup>loman/bearn helendes, Sat. 86, ymb preo niht com pegen haelendes/ham to helle, 426.

We note here also rodera ræedend, Beow. 1555, Chr. III B 23, stadolfaest styrend, And. 121, <sup>x</sup>deoda ræeswan, And. 1622, scyldend usser (Protector noster), Ps. LXXXIII, 19, weoruda wilgifa, Ph. 465, etc.

Dēma and dēmend. Fordon him is dema drihten sylfa (quoniam Deus iudex est), Ps. LXXIV, 6, aela dema god, Prayer I, 1, hehstan deman, Jud. 3, se hehsta dema, 94, wuldres dema, 59. Duguda <sup>x</sup>demend, And. 1189, daeda demend, Beow. 181, Gn. Cot. 36.

To show the fondness of OE. poets for kennings and the extreme tendency to heap them, we note that in the 9 lines of Caedmon's Hymn

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1 Bode, Kenningar, p. 73, remarks: "Fuer die drei Personen werden demnach dieselben Kenningar gebraucht, mit Ausnahme einiger weniger wie nergend ---". His assertion, as also in other cases, is not borne out by the facts. Very few kennings are applied to the third person of the Trinity.





no fewer than 8 occur, which with a single exception differ from one another: Heofonrices weard, meotodes mihte, wuldorfaeder, ece drihten, halig scyppend, moncynnes weard, ece drihten, frea aelmihtig. We select two other passages, Dan. 332-4, þæt þu ana eart ece drihten, / weoroda waldend, woruldgesceafta / sigora settend, soðfaest metod, and Met. XXIX, 79-83, he is weroda god, / cyning and drihten cwucra gesceafta, / wyrhta and sceppend weorulde þisse, / wisdom and æ woruldbuendra.

### Qualities.

In giving here a number of the more important qualities of the Deity,<sup>1</sup> we are fully aware that some of them are closely associated with particular names, so as almost to become phrases. Many of them will be found among the kennings in our list, but it seemed best to assemble the terms for a few of the more important qualities, though no attempt at completeness has been made. Qualities ascribed to the Godhead, the Father, and the Son will occur, though the distinction will generally be indicated.

God is a spirit, as asserted Dan. 627, ana ece gast; Gen. 1009, godspedig gast. The fact that God is one is often asserted.

God is ēce and aelmihtig. These qualities are often ascribed to him. Sometimes both occur together, thus, <sup>χ</sup>du eca and <sup>χ</sup>du aelmihtiga, Met. IV, 29, se eca and se aelmihtiga, XI, 74, XX, 132. Aelmihtig, / micel, modelic, maerþum gefraege / and w<sup>n</sup>derlic witena gehwylcum, XX, 1-3, <sup>χ</sup>done miclan drihten, Charms I, 26, felamehtigne faeder in heofonum, Az. 156,

1 For OHG. see Raumer, p. 342 f., where a few of the qualities and gifts of the Deity are discussed. For ON. compare Kähle, I, 378 ff., II, 128-9, 137-9.



similarly 140; Nis nan mihtigra ne nan maera/ne geond ealle þa gesceaft efnlica ðin, Met. XX, 18-20.

Practically the same attributes are ascribed to Christ. He is cyning on riht,/wealdend and wyrhta wuldorbrymmes/an ece god eallra gesceafta, And. 324-6, ece Crist, Prayer IV, 55. Meotod aelmihtig, And. 902, anwealda aelmihtig, Rood B 153, aelmihtig god, 156; ece aelmihtig aerist fremede, Gu. 1073, ece aelmihtig, And. 365, also El. 799, etc.

Gn. Ex. 8-9 we have the statement, God us ece biþ:/ne wendað hine wyrda ne hine wiht drecep (the Latin deus immutabilis). The noun is ēcnes, used not infrequently, especially in the Psalms. XCI, 7, þu in ecnesse awa (in aeternum), CI, 10, þu in ecnysse wunast awa (in aeternum), Cr. 313, on ecnesse, 1204, þaet we wuldres eard/in ecnesse agan mosten.

Here may also be noticed, and ðe self wunast swiðe stille/unawendendlic a forð simle, Met. XX, 16-17, se ana dema is gestaeddig/unawendendlic wlitig and maere, XXIV, 42-3.

Hālig, applied to both God and Christ, is extremely common. Referring to God, halig god, And. 14, 91, þaer halig god/wið faerbryne folc gescylde, Ex. 71, se halga dryhten, Prayer IV, 1; halig is se halga heahengla god, El. 750, etc. Said of Christ, Ðu eart soðlice simle halig, Hymn 36, (clypiad to Criste) Halig eart þu, halig, heofonengla cyningc, L. Prayer III, 13, halig eart þu, halig, heahengla brego/soð sigores free! simle þu bist halig, Cr. 403-4.

Hālignes is extremely rare. We find it in the sense of sanctitas Ps. LXXXVIII, 32, while XCV, 6, it renders sanctimonia.



Sōð<sup>χ</sup> is frequently applied to both God and Christ. Ðu sōða god, Met. XX, 51, sōðne god, Rim. Poem 86, sōð cyning, Met. XX, 246. Referring to Christ, we have for instance Eala þu sōða and þu sibsuma/ealra cyninga cyning, Crist aelmihtig, Cr. 214-15, etc. Sōðfaest<sup>χ</sup> is often found, used of both God and Christ. Sōðfaest sylfa dryhten (rectus Dominus Deus noster), Ps. XCI, 14, drihten is sōðfaest (justus), CXXVIII, 3; applied to Christ, sōðfaest meotud, And. 386, sōðfaestne god, L. Prayer III, 54, etc.

The noun sōðfaestnes<sup>χ</sup>, frequent in the Psalms, renders veritas, justitia, justificationes. Ps. LVI, 12 (veritas), LXX, 16, þine sōðfaestnesse (justitiae), CXVIII, 16, on þinre sōðfaestnysse (justificationibus). Outside of the Psalms we have it El. 1148, secean sōðfaestnesse, /weg to wuldre.

A term closely related is rihtnes, very rare in the Psalms. XCVII, 9, his syndrig folc on rihtnesse raede gebringed (in aequitate), CX, 5, (bebodu) wurdan sōðfaeste and on rihtnesse raeda getrymede (facta in veritate et aequitate).

The benignity and liberality of God are frequently emphasized. We note milde, as Az. 90, milde metod, Met. XXIX, 69, se milda metod; of Christ, Cr. 417, moncynnes milde scyppend, L. Prayer II, 21, swa we mildum wið ðe, aelmihtigum gode. Mildheort is seldom found outside of the Psalms. In the examples we shall quote other terms of a similar character also occur. LXXVII, 37, He þonne is mildheort and manþwaere (misericors - propitius), CII, 8, mildheort þu eart and mihtig, mode geþyldig, is þin milde mod mannum cyðed (Miserator et misericors Dominus: longanimus, et multum misericors), CXLIV, 7, mildheort is drihten and manþwaere and geþyldig eac þearle mildheort (miserator-et misericors



Dominus, patiens, et multum misericors).

Fremsum(benignus), used a few times. Ps. LXVIII, 16, þin milde mod  
mannum fremsum(benigna est misericordia tua), LXXXIV, 11, Syleð us frem-  
sum god faegere drihten(Dominus dabit benignitatem), LXXXIV, 3, faest-  
raed and fremsum(bonus). Fremsumnes Ps. LXIV, 12, benignitas.

Fæle, not very frequent. Þu eart faele god(Deus), Ps. LXVI, 3, Folc  
þe andettan, faelne drihten(Deus), 5, faelum faeder(-), LXXXVIII, 23, faele  
dryhten(Dominus), CXVII, 6, 7.

Living is not infrequent as an attribute. Lifiende god(-), Ps.  
LXX, 8, lifigende god(Deus), 16, Gefultuma us, frea aelmihtig, and alys us,  
lifigende god(Adjuva nos Deus salutaris noster: et propter gloriam  
nominis tui Domine libera nos), LXXVIII, 9, lifigende god, Az. 77, þu lig-  
nest nu, þaet sie lifigende, /se ofer deoflum dugupum wealdeað, Dan. 764-5,  
lifiendum gode, Soul 69, etc. Said of Christ, se lifigenda, Gu. 1072,  
lifiende Crist, Ps. L. 126, Crist lifiend, Prayer III, 22.

Famous etc. Said of Christ, hu þu aedele eart, ece drihten, Prayer  
III, 14, hu þu maere eart, mihtig drihten, 17, hu þu maere eart, mihtig and  
maegenstrang, 21, ðin sunu maere, Dox. 10, etc.; of God, maere god, Prayer  
IV, 4, þu eart maere god and Jacobes god se maera(Deus Jacob), Ps. LXXX  
III, 8. We note further bremā dryhten, Az. 116, 142, þaes bremā faeder,  
Doom 296, applied to God; referring to Christ, fram gebyrdtide bremā  
cinges, Chr. III A 13.

Wise. Witig drihten, Beow. 1554, wigtig drihten, 1841, witig god, Cr.  
226; of Christ, sigefaest and snottor, Har. 23.





Humility is a number of times ascribed to Christ. Eadmod, Gu. 496, Cr. 255, purh eadmedu ealle biddad, 359. Apparently corresponding to L. benignus, ðu eart se miccla and se maegenstranga/and se eadmoda ealra goda, Prayer III, 39, swa þu eadmod eart ealre worlde, 57. Applied to God, para eadmetta eardfaest, Met. VII, 38.

Purity is asserted of Christ; for instance, þaet is se claena Crist, drihten god, L. Prayer II, 17, þu eart cyning on riht/claene and craeftig, Dox. 53, as it is said of him, Godbearn astag, /cyning claenra gehwaes, Cr. 702-3.

A number of terms may here conveniently be gathered together, such as tirfaest metod, Gen. 1044, domfaest cyning, 2376, Az. 99, wuldorfaest cyning, 133, waerfaest metod, Gen. 1320, 1549, arfaest, 2405, hu arfaest is ealles waldend, El. 512, the noun occurring once, ðe ðy manscilde middangeardes/for þinre arfæstnesse ealle towurpe (Christ), Hymn 23.

Love, anger, etc. etc., are also ascribed to God, but these and similar terms need no further discussion.

A few striking expressions referring to the Godhead, or the Father may follow here.

Friðstol (refugium), a few times in the Psalms, so LXXXIX, 1, XC, 9, similarly XCIII, 21.

Sio birhtu--/sodes leohtes and ðu selfa eart/sio faeste raest, --/eallra sodfaestra, Met. XX, 269-72, hiofones leohtes hlutre beorhto, XXI, 39, þaet micle leoht/godes aelmihtiges, 42-3, ðaet is sio soðe sunne mid rihte, XXX, 17.

Ðu eart selfa weg/and latteow eac lifgendra gehwaes/and se wlitige stow, þe se weg to ligð, Met. XX, 277-9.



ƿu earce eart eallhaligra(tu et arca sanctificationis tuae),  
Ps.CXXXI,8.

Fordon ðu eðest miht ealra laeca,Prayer I,6.

### Gifts.

Many are the gifts bestowed upon man by the Deity, and refer-  
ences to them are frequent.<sup>1</sup> Since the gifts of God and Christ are  
practically the same, and no clear distinction is made in many cases,  
we shall treat the whole subject here, pointing out, however, distinctive  
references.

We may open the discussion by quoting from Meters, where the  
goodness of God is emphasized as also the fact that he is the author  
of all good things. For gode godes, Met. III, 10, ðin goodness is, /ael-  
mihtig god, eall mid ðe selfum, XX, 31-2, eart ðe selfa/ ðæt nehste good,  
45-6, aewelm--eallra gooda, 259, þone hlutrestan hefontorhtan stream, /  
aedelne aewelm aelces goodes, XXIII, 3-4, ðæt nehste good on heahsetle/  
sited ðylf cyning, XXIX, 75-6. From the Psalms we note, se goda god(-),  
CV, 36, ecne drihten þaene goodan god(Domino quoniam bonus), CVI, 1,  
similarly CXVII, 1, 2, etc.

Bletsian and gebletsian, comparatively frequent, especially in the  
Psalms. We note only LXVI, 6, gebletsige(benedicat)us, bliðe drihten,  
and usic god eac bletsige(benedicat). The noun is bletsung, as Ps.  
LXXXIII, 7, brohte him bletsunge(benedictionem), CXXVIII, 6, bletsung  
(benedictio), Gen. 2331, He onfon sceal/ blisse minre and bletsunge, Cr.

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1 For ON. see Kahle, II, p. 129, 139-40.



100,paet nu bletsung mot baem gemaene/werum and wifum(in Heaven).

A word closely related is segnian and gesegnian. Ps.CXXXI,16, His wuduan ic wordum bletsige and gesegnade(benedicens benedicam), as applied to the ark Gen.1365,segnade/earce innan agenum spedum, referring to Christ's blessing at the Judgment Day,Cr.1342,gesenade/ on edel faran engla dreamas. Segnung occurs Ps.CXXXI,19,where(cymed) minra segnunga soðfaest blostma translates effloreat sanctificatio mea.

Hāelu,f.,in the sense of salutare,salus, is very common. Ps.LII, 7,ece haelu(salutare),CXVIII,123,paer ic on ðinre haelo hyldo sohte (salutare),And.95,haelo and frofre,Cr.752,mid heortan haelo secen, 1575,haelo strynan,613,paere haelo,þe he us to hyhte forgeaf. Hāel, fn., is also frequently found. We note only L.Prayer II,16,sawlum to haele,Doom 43,Ðis is an hael earmra sawle(sola salus animae,22),62, his(thief)haele begeat and help recene(salutem). The verbs hāelan and gehāelan are also used,the participle being often applied to Christ, as Creed 10,haelendne cyning.

Āl̄ysnes will be discussed under the redemption of Christ.

Āl̄ysing in the sense of redemption occurs Ps.CX,6,He alysinge leofum folce soðe onsende(redemptionem). Āl̄ysend is applied to God Ps.LXIX, 7,eart alysend min(liberator),LXXVII,34,alysend(redemptor). L̄ysan, āl̄ysan,tol̄ysan are not infrequently employed. Probably referring to the Father,we have L.Prayer III,4,sawle alysan,7,eft hig alyse/sawle of synnum þurh þine soðan miht. For examples referring to Christ see life of Christ,under redemption.

Gifnes,favor,mercy,occurs only rarely. The examples are,L. Prayer III,55,biddað soðfaestne god/are and gifnesse ealre þeode;



similarly 110, are and gifnes, 114, Ac alys us of yfele! ealle we beþurf-an/godes gifnesse, all the examples probably referring to Christ. In much the same sense forgifnes is used, as Cr. 427, (Christ gives) his forgifnesse guman to helpe, Doom 68, þu forgifnesse haefst gearugne tim on (veniae tempus, 34), similarly 91. The verbs gifan, āgifan, forgifan, are common; of forgifan in the sense of to remit we note L. Prayer II, 19, Forgif us, --gyltas and synna/and ure leahtras alet, Ps. L. 36, forgef me, sceppen min (Christ), /adilga min unriht to forgefenesse gast minum. As shown in the second example above, ālāetan in the sense of to forgive occurs, also forlāetan, Ps. LXXXIV, 2; unriht þu forlaete (remisisti iniquitatem); expressing an act on the part of man, L. Prayer II, 23, swa swa we forlaetað leahtras on eorþan, /þam þe wið us oft agyltað.

Ār, f., in the sense of favor, mercy, is frequently found. L. Prayer III, 110, are and gifnes, And. 76, Forgif me to are, aelmihtig god, /leoht on þissum life, Prayer III, 4, þonne ic minre sawle swegles bydde/ece are, Soul 140, arum bewunden, etc. A number of compounds as ārcraeftig, ārfaest, occur. Ārfaest in the sense of merciful, pious, is applied to Christians, while we cited ārfaestnes, clemency, mercy, under the qualities of Christ. Closely related to ār is āre, f., used for instance Cr. 255, Us is þinra arna þearf, Jul. 715, þonne arna biþearf.

Hyldo, favor, is found frequently. We note only Beow. 670, metodes hyldo, Jud. 4, þa heo ahte maeste þearfe/hyldo þaes hehstan deman, Ps. LXXVIII, 8, hyldo ðine (misericordiae). Hyld, m., in the sense of protection, favor, we have for instance Ex. 568, halige heapas on hild godes, 481, halgum gastum, þe his hild curon, etc.





Mundbyrd, f., protection, occurs several times, as Jud.3, heo ðar ða gearwe funde/mundbyrd aet ðam maeran þeodne, And.1433, ic þe fride heald,/minre mundbyrde maegene be<sup>e</sup>ste, etc.

Frōfor, f., consolation, is extremely common. Jul.639, him frofre gehat, Cr.801, frofre findan(at Judgment), Prayer IV,47, haebbe ic þonne/aet frean frofre. The Holy Spirit is frofre gast, which is also applied to God and Christ. Referring to the latter, we have And.906, þaet is frofre gast haeleda cynne, L.Prayer III,9, Ðu eart on heofonum hiht and frofor,/blissa beorhtost. Dox.13, heah higefrofre, may not refer to the Son, but to halig gast immediately following, while in line 8 it is said of the first person, Ðu eart frofra faeder. We note further Beow. 698, where God gives frofor and fultum, Men.226-8, faeder engla/his sunu sende on þas sidan gesceaft/folcum to frofre, similar statements occurring often. Ps.XCIII,18, we have þa me þine frofre faegere, drihten, gesibbedan sawle mine(consolationes tuae laetificaverunt animam meam).

Milds, milts, mercy, compassion, is very common, used of both God and Christ. Prayer IV,67, þe sie ealles þonc/meorda and miltsa, þara þu me sealdest, 50, nergende cyning,/meotud, for þinre miltse, Wand.2, Oft him anhaga are gebided, /metudes miltse. More especially of Christ, And.608, þaer is help gearu,/milts, Cr.156, þu miltse on us/gecyð, 244, þine miltse her/arfaest ywe, L.Prayer II,29, ealra þinra mildsa/---- fremde weorðan, Jul.85, biddan wille miltse. Referring to God, Ps.LXVIII, 16, for maenigeo miltsa þinra(multitudinem miserationum tuarum), CV,34, aafter his miltsa menigu godes(secundum multitudinem misericordiae suae), Ex.292, þaet eow mihtig god miltse gecyðe, 529, þaet we gesine ne syn godes þeodscipes,/metodes miltsa, etc. God also shows man his



mildheortnes, the L. misericordia. The term occurs frequently in the Psalms, but is not found in the other poems. Mildsian and gemildsian are rather common. We note only Hymn 33, (Christ) mildsa nu, meartig, manna cynne, Ps. CII, 3, He þinum mandaedum miltsade eallum (qui propitiatus omnibus iniquitatibus tuis).

Lis (līds) f., grace, favor, etc. is often used. Ex. 271, eow liffrean lisse bidde, Cr. 375, Us is lissa þearf/þaet þu us ahredde, Gen. 1889, þancode swiðe/lifes leoftfruman lisse and ara, etc. etc.

Frið, mn., peace, protection. Dan. 438, on friðe drihtnes, 466, ac him frið drihtnes/--gescylde, And. 1034, on frið dryhtnes, Ap. 91, þone halgan heap helpe bidde, /friðes and fultomes, etc.

Frēod, f., favor, peace, not very frequent. And. 1154, þær bið symle gearu freod unhwilen, etc.

Freoðo, f., peace, favor, security. Cr. 773, Utan us to faeder freoðo<sup>o</sup> wilnian, And. 336, Ic (Christ) eow freoðo<sup>o</sup> healde, etc.

As in the case of the attributes of the Deity, this list is not intended to be exhaustive. It could be extended considerably by the enumeration of all the blessings and favors bestowed upon man. Little would be gained by such a procedure, while in many cases it would involve unnecessary repetition. Therefore only the more important and characteristic terms have been included in our list.



Christ.

In order to render the Hebrew  $\text{יְהוָה}$ , the Greeks either adopted  $\text{Ιησοῦς}$  or translated it by  $\text{σωτήρ}$ , while Latin similarly uses both  $\text{Jēsus}$  and salvator. OHG. and ON. follow these languages in using both the proper name and a translation, but OE. uses only a translation, namely hāelend, substantive form of the past participle of hāelan, OS. having hēland, OHG. heilant, all of which go back to the OTeut. \* hail-<sup>2</sup>jan, to heal, save. Regarding the giving of the name it is said Men.4 (Crist waes acennyd, 1) on þy eahteodan daeg/haelend gehatan neofonrices weard. The name is rather frequent in the poetry. We note only El. 808-9, þaet ðu haelend eart/middangeardes, Hymn 16, ðu eart sigefaest sunu and soð hēland, Ph. 648, Judg. 64, haelend, Cr. 435, se gehalgoda haelend, Sat. 219, Prayer III, 24, drihten haelend, similarly And. 541; Cr. 383, Sat. 493, Prayer III, 9, haelend god. We also find the juxtaposition haelend Crist, Cr. 358, as also the combination haelendne Crist! 250, and haelende Crist, Ph. 590.

However, much more common is Crist,<sup>3</sup> used in the poetry as a proper name, though crist occurs a few times in the Psalms in its etymological sense, passages to be discussed presently. The Old Testament employs  $\text{D' W N}$ , the anointed one, in order to designate the promised

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- 1 Regarding terms etc. referring to Christ in OHG. compare Raumer, p. 354 ff.; for ON. see Kahle, I, p. 382 ff., II, p. 129 ff.
  - 2 Raumer, p. 355, NED. under healend.
  - 3 Kluge, Paul's Grundriss, 2. Auflage, I, p. 350, Anm., remarks: "Das Wort Christus haben die Germanen in der lateinisch-romanischen Form Cristus als angels. Crist uebernommen". See also MacG, p. 19., and p. 20, note 1, Morsbach's remark on MacG's note that he has never found in the MSS. any marks of length in the case of derivatives, "If this is really the case, we may assume shortness of vowel in O.E. Crist, cristen &c. and explain the M.E. and N.E. lengthenings through French influence."



Messiah. The New Testament either adopts the term as *Μεσσίας* or translates it by  $\delta$   $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ <sup>1</sup>. Then it passes into Latin as Christus. The other Germanic dialects also have taken over the word, each of course <sup>b</sup>subjecting it to its sound laws.

We note a few examples of the exceedingly frequent term, the quotations given here emphasizing by a modifier the peculiar function attributed. Sat. 346, 570, nergendne Crist, Gu. 570, nergende Crist, L. Prayer II, 4, neriende Crist; with change<sup>n</sup> of the word order, Hymn 38-9, Crist / nergend, Cr. 157, Crist nergende, L. Prayer II, 28, Crist nerigende. Here may also be noted such occurrences as waldend Crist, Doom 52, pone ahangnan Crist, El. 707, etc.

In OE. poetry Christ occupies a very prominent place, appearing also in poems dealing with Old Testament history, as in Dan. 402, soð sunu metodes, sawla nergend, Az. 103, Crist cyning, 157, pone sodan sunu, 165, ac hy Crist scilde.

A peculiar phenomenon is to be noticed in the Psalms. In Ps. L. (Cottoniana) Christ seems to have occupied the place of God. His name is inserted, though there is not the slightest warrant for it in the Vulgate. Line 3 David is called Criste llofost, to whom he also prays, 50, (ic) helende Crist helpe bidde. In 126 we have lifiende Crist, which is entirely on a par with god lifiende, 134, etc., and similar terms. Line 88 the Savior is addressed drihten Crist. The other occurrences are in 56, paet hio cerrende Criste herdon, 74, pone ic geclaensod Criste hero, and 149, god mannum to frofre/daes cynedomes Crist neriende/waldende god weorðne munde.

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1 Raumer, pp. 359-60.





In the other Psalms a similar fact may be observed, though perhaps less striking on account of the isolated cases. A few times the word is used in the sense of anointed, rendering the Latin christus. Thus LXXXIII, 9, oncnaw onsyne cristes þines (respice in faciem christi tui), as applied to David, LXXXVIII, 32, wiðsoce soðum criste and hine forhogodeð (distulisti christum tuum), similarly 44, faeste aetwitad and þaet þinum criste becwepað swiðe (christi tui), as also CXXXI, 18, bere for minum criste gecorenum (christo meo). While there is thus a warrant in the Vulgate for the OE. rendering, the same cannot be said of the other occurrences. The author of the poetic version of the Psalms has in a characteristic manner transferred Christ to the Old Testament. We read LXVII, 24, on ciricean Crist drihten god bealde bletsige (In ecclesiis benedicite Deo Domino), LXXXIV, 4, gecyre us georne to ðe Crist aelmihtig, renders Converte nos Deus salutaris noster. In CVIII, 25, haelynde Crist has been inserted, being on a par with drihten god just preceding. CXVIII, 146, we have, do me cudlice halne, heahcýning, heofona waldend, haelende Crist, the passage showing the synonyms. In CXXXIII, 2, and CXXXIV, 2, Dei is rendered by Cristes, for we read on cafertunum Cristes huses (in atriis domus Dei nostri). Finally, on cyrcean cristenes folces, CVI, 31, renders in ecclesia plebis.

In addition to hæelend and Crist, the term Emmanuhel is once applied to Christ, Cr. 132.

At this point we shall take up the life of Christ during his sojourn on the earth, the work of redemption and reconciliation, followed by a discussion of the names and figures which are applied to him.



All the important phases of Christ's life upon the earth are treated in the poetry to a greater or less extent. Only the main points will be considered by us. His coming to the earth is sometimes asserted to be the sending of God, Men. 226-7, at other times as Christ's decision and will to become man, as Har. 10-11, þu fore monna lufan þin-  
re modor bosm/sylfa gesohtes, sigedrihten god, similarly Ap. 27-28, Cr. 443-6, etc. He was conceived by the Holy Ghost, Creed 18, þær halig gast handgift sealde/þære faemnan, and Invocation 13 says that Christ was born through Mary and þurh þæne halgan gast. No specific word for the L. incarnatio appears, which is paraphrased, as for instance Cr. 121-3, nu eft gewearð/flaesc firena leas, etc. His sinlessness is often referred to, so especially regarding his conception and birth, Cr. 721-2, mennisc hiw/onfeng butan firenum, 418, onfeng aet faemnan flaesc unwemme, Invocation 10-11, he of aedelre waes uirginis partu / claene acenned Christus in orbem, etc.; Cr. 124-5, God waes mid us/ge-  
sewen butan synnum, El. 777, sunu synna leas, etc. The birthplace is mentioned several times, so Charms V A 3, Baedleem hatte seo buruh, þe Crist acaenned waes, similarly Creed 23-4; Charms V B 3, Bethlem hattae seo burh, ðe Crist on geboren wes. Mary, his mother, is often mentioned, as for instance Rood B 92-3, his modor eac Marian sylfe/aelmihtig god,  
1 etc. To Christ's life in Nazareth refers El. 912-13, se ðe in Nazared  
2 afeded waes.

Of other events in the life of Christ may be mentioned the betrayal of Judas, to which a reference is found Sat. 275-6, (Judas) se þe aer on tífre torhtne gesalde/drihten haelend.

1 Compare Chapter II, 1.

2 Curiously enough, Grein, Dichtungen II, p. 128, translates, "der geboren war in Nazareth."



Very many references are made to the suffering, the passion of Christ. The term used is brōwung, which occurs a few times, as Cr.1130, frean prowinga, 1180, drihtnes prowinga, 470, þurh his prowinga, and Hymn 28, ðinre ðrowunga. The verb is brōwian, e.g. Creed 26, Ða se Pontisca Pilatus weold/þa se deora frea deað prowode, etc. Folian is also used, as And.1451 (on the cross) wite polade. Among the other sufferings we note the crown of thorns, mentioned twice in Christ; 1126-7, ymb his heafod heardne gebigdon/beag þyrnenne, and 1444-6, þa hi hwaesne beag/ymb his heafod heardne gebygdon,/þrean beþrycton, se waes of þornum ge-worht. The crucifixion itself takes place on Caluarie, El.672, aefter stedewange, hwaer seo stow sie Caluarie, 676, on þa dune, 717, of ðam wangstede (wynsumne), 723. For the crucifixion no specific noun is encountered. Hōn and āhōn, to suspend, are used in the sense of to crucify, thus El.424, (godes agen bearn) þurh hete hengon on heanne beam; āhōn is more generally used, so El.205-6, hwaer ahangen waes---/onþrode treow rodera waldend, 209-10, þaet hie god selfne ahengon, Jul.305, Pilatus aer on rode aheng rodera waldend, etc. It is said that the crucifixion took place with the consent of the Father, Men.86-7, meotud on galgan be faeder leafe.

The word for cross is rōd, trēow, etc. It should be noticed here that galga is often used interchangeably with rōd, trēow, etc. The Anglo-Saxons being unacquainted with crucifixion, substituted the term  
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for hanging. So we have for instance And.966-7, þa ic mid Judeum gealgan þehte, /rod waes araered, 1326-7, hine rode befealg, /þaet he on

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1 For OHG. see Raumer, p. 362, and note 15, p.363, where he remarks:  
" Im Gothischen ist galga der gewoehnliche Ausdruck fuer σταυρός."  
For ON. compare Kahle, II, p.145 f.



gealgan his gast onsende. In Elene galga occurs frequently, as 179, hu on galgan weard<sup>x</sup> godes agen bearn/ahangen. At other times we have rōd, both terms not infrequently occurring in the same sentence. The same fact may be observed where the crucifixion of others than Christ is related, as Jul. 481-3, Sume ic rode befealh, /paet hi hyra dreorge on hean galgan/lif aletan. Here a few further occurrences of the frequent term galga may be given. On galgum, Sat. 511.550, on galgan, Cr. 27, on galgu gestiga, Rood A 2, on gealgan heanne, Rood B 40, fracodes galga, 10; in a compound, on pam gealgtreowe, 146.

The cross is mentioned very often in OE. poetry, a whole poem, Elene, being devoted to the finding of the cross of Christ, while the Dream of the Rood shows how an important part the cross played in the life of the people.<sup>1</sup> Besides, there are numerous references to it in other poems. Gu. 150-1 tells us that the saint him to aetstaelle aerest araerde, /Cristes rode. At the Judgment there is seo hea rod, Cr. 1065, mentioned also 1085 ff., 1102. In the Dream of the Rood, the invocation of the cross is plainly shown, B 83, gebiddaþ him to þyssum beacne, 122, Gebaed ic me to þan beame, 110-20, ac þurh ða rode sceal rice gesecan/of eardwege aeghwylc sawl. In Sal. 235 we have a compound, hiera winrod lixan, /sodfaestra segn.

In order to show the wealth of expressions for the cross, we note the more important kennings.<sup>2</sup>

Rōd, originally in the sense of L. virga, pertica, is used in OE. poetry for cross. Sio halige rod, El. 720, 1011, 1223, sio reade rod, Cr.

1 Regarding the place of the cross among the Anglo-Saxons and its veneration, see Bouterweck, Caedmon's Bibl. Dichtungen, p. CLXV ff.; Stevens, W.O. The Cross in the Life and Literature of the Anglo-Saxons. New York 1904. Yale Studies XXIII.

2 A few are given by Bode, Kenningar, 86-7. Cf. Rankin, IX, p. 62





1102, paere deorestan daegweordunga/rode under roderum, El. 1233-4, dryhtnes rod, Rood B 136, aedelinges rod, El. 219, Cristes rode, 103, And. 1337.

Trēo. Paet halige treo, El. 107, 442, 701, 840, etc. paet halige triow /dinra drowunga, Hymn 27-8, paet wlitige treo, El. 165, paet maere treo, 217; wuldres treo, El. 827, 866, similarly 1251, Rood B 14; lifes treow, El. 664, similarly 706, 1026; wealdes treow, Rood B 17, on rode treowe, Ph. 643, on rode treo El. 206, 855, Jul. 647, his rode treo, El. 147.

Bēam is also fairly common. On heanne beam, El. 424, waes ahongan an heanne beam, /rode gefaestnad, Cr. 1447, pone aedelan beam, El. 1033, pone halgan beam, Cr. 1024, on ful blacne beam bundan faeste, Judg. 64, se leohta beam, Cr. 1020, pone beorhtan beam, El. 1254, beama beorhtost, Rood B 6, maerest beama, El. 1012, similarly 1224; se wuldres beam, El. 218. Of compounds we note sigebēam, Rood B 13, in the dat. sing., El. 420, 444, 860; sigebēamas III, El. 846, selest sigebēama, 1027. Regarding the cross Constantine saw in the dream it is said, Geseah he fraetwum beorht/ wlititi wuldres treo ofer wolca hrof, /golde geglenged: gimmas lixtan; / waes se blaca beam bocstafum awriten/beorhte ond leohte, El. 88-92. This serves as the pattern of the cross he causes to be made.

Of other kennings we add bēacen, sign. Fuse beacen, Rood B 21, beacna beorhtost, Cr. 1086, beacna selest, Rood B 117, beacen godes, El. 109. Of compounds, sigebēacen soð, El. 886, in the dat. sing. 168, 665, 1256, selest sigebēacna, 274, sigorbeacen, 983. Tācen, sign. Maere tacen, And. 1338, tacna torhtost, El. 165, sigores tacen, 85. In El. 720 the cross is called paet goldhord.

The nails of the cross are mentioned several times in El. 1064-7 ff. and 1112-13, where they are characterized, swylce heofon-



steorran/ode godgimmas.

Christ's descent into hell receives a large share of attention in OE. poetry, one whole piece, the Harrowing of Hell, being entirely devoted to that subject. In other poems it is also mentioned. No specific term to denote the descent has been encountered, and the subject need not detain us here. We note only Sat. 426-7, ymb þreo niht com begen haelendes/ham to helle.

Resurrection is expressed by aerist, mfn., a word comparatively rare. We find it Men. 58, drihtnes aerist, Gu. 1073, ece aelmhtig aerist fremede, Har. 121, for þinum aeriste. The verb used is ārīsan. The resurrection of Christ is variously expressed, thus Sat. 516, þaes þe drihten god of deaðe aras, Ph. 644-6, he þy þridan daege/---lif eft onfeng/þurh faeder fultum, El. 779-81, ðu of deaðe hine/swa þrymlīce, þeoda waldend, /awehte for weorodum, Har. 19-20, open waes þaet eorðaern, aedelīnges lic/onfeng feores gaest, 21-22, hagosteald onwoc/modig from moldan.

In order to express ascension we have once only stīge, m., Men. 64, drihtnes stige/on heofonas up. Upstīge is also rare, being found Cr. 615, aet (h)is upstige, 711, aefter upstige ecan dryhtnes. A number of times the verb is employed, so Cr. 498, Gesegen hi on heahþu hlaford stigan/godbearn of grundum, etc., 464, aerþon upstige ancenned sunu.

Christ says Cr. 1415, ða mec ongan hreowan (that man should be lost), and Sat. 489-90, þa me gereaw þaet min handgeweorc/carceres clom ðrowode. Redemption was the purpose of his work upon earth. To that end he performed miracles, El. 826-7, wundor, þa þe worhte weoroda dryhten/to feorhnere fira cynne. The subject of miracles, wundor, is treated



at some length in And. 569 ff. This work of redemption, mainly accomplished through vicarious suffering, is expressed in different ways. It is suffering for the sins of mankind, Cr. 1094-5, *þæs he on þone halgan beam ahongen waes/for mancynnes manforwyrhtu*, 1117-18, *þaet he for aelda lufan,/firenfremmendra, fela þrowode*, Rood B 98-100, *se ðe ael-mihtig god on þrowode/for mancynnes manegum synnum/and Adomes eald-gewyrhtum*, 145-6, *aer þrowode/on þam gealgtreowe for guman synnum*, and somewhat varying, Cr. 1172-3, *þaer he earfedu/geþolade fore þearfe þeod-þuendra*. It is a saving, a rescuing from sin, devil, and hell, *nerian*, *generian*, *lȳsan* and *ālȳsan* being used. *Þaet hi frea nerede/fram hell-cwale halgum meahum,/alwalda god*, Cr. 1189-91, *þaet þu of deofles þurh þaet/nydgewalde genered wurde*, 1450-51. Rood B 41, *we hear, þa he wolde mancyn lysan*, El. 296, *fram ligcwale lysan þohte*, also Cr. 1209-10, *hu se sylfa cyning/mid sine lichoman lysde of firenum* (that sinners might live); El. 181-2, *alysde leoda bearn of locan deofla,/geomre gastas*, Cr. 1485-6, *þe ic alysde me/feondum of faedme*, and L. Prayer II, 45-6, *þæs ðe þu us mid milde mihtum alysest/fram haeftnyde helle wites*. *Onlȳsan* and *tolȳsan* are also used.

Occasionally redemption is represented as buying, as the payment of a ransom. Thus Hymn 25-6, *folc generedes,/blode gebohtest bearn Israela*, Cr. 257-9, (*hafad wulf*) *þin eowde/wide towrecene, þaet ðu waldend aer/blode gebohtes*, 1463-4, and *þe mine deade deore gebohte / þaet longe lif*. Besides *bycgan* and *gebycgan*, *cēapian* is also found, in Cr. 1096, *þaer he leoflice lifes ceapode/---/mid þy weorðe, þe no wom dyde/his lichoma leahtra firena,/mid þy usic alysde*, and once also we meet with *gecȳpan*, 1472, *lif þaet scyne,/þaet ic þe for lufan mid minre lichoman/heanan to helpe hold gecypte?*



Redemption is also conceived of as the routing of the devil, as for instance Hymn 23-5, *ðe ðy manscilde middangeardes/for þinre arfestnesse ealle towurpe/fiond geflaemdest*, etc.

It was the object of Christ to effect a reconciliation between God and man, to end the existing enmity. The word employed is geþingian, Cr. 616, *geþingode þeodbuendum/wið faeder swaesne faehþa maeste/cyning anboren*. In the sense of to reconcile it is also used of Saint Juliana, Jul. 717, *þæt me seo halge wið þone hyhstan cyning geþingige*. It may also denote intercession, as Cr. 342, where the Virgin Mary is implored: *Gepinga us nu -----*. Þingian is also employed in the sense of intercession. Thus it is said of Christ, El. 494, *ac his ealdfeondum/þingode þrotherd*; he himself says, Sat. 509, *ic eow þingade*. Applied to David we have it Ps. L. 7, *to ðingienne þioden sinum*, similarly 26 and 146.

Christ is god. So it is said of him Sat. 441, *þæt þu eart sylfa god*, /*ece ordfruma ealra gesceafta*, and El. 209-10, *god sylfne/ahengon*, Cr. 124-5, *God waes mid us/gesewen butan synnum*. We add a few terms which recall passages from the Creeds or seem to be approximations. *Swa þu god of gode gearo acenned*, Cr. 109, *butan anginne*, 111, *efenece mid god*, 122, *efeneardige mid þinne engan frean*, 236, *efenwesende in þam aebelan ham*, 350, *efenece bearn agnum faeder*, 465. In some of these cases the attributes are claimed for him though at the same time he is called the Son.

## 1

A number of kennings appear, of which we cite the more character

1 Bode in his Kenningar, p. 79 ff. has included those belonging to the Son in the kennings for "Gott", so only in a few cases is one able to make the distinction. Rankin, Kennings, may be compared under headings such as God as the Son, etc.





istic. Nergende god, Cr. 361, waldende god, 1011, lifigende god, 273, similarly L. Prayer III, 25; god lifigende, And. 1409, L. Prayer III, 101, mihtig god, Cr. 1008, 1171, aelmihtigne god, Rood B 60, aelmihti god, And. 260, similarly Rood B 92; <sup>X</sup>sodfaestne god, L. Prayer III, 54, similarly 115; pone ahangnan god, El. 687. Drihten god, And. 1281, Sat. 516, L. Prayer II, 18, god drihten, And. 897, gaesta god, Cr. 130, engla god, L. Prayer III, 122, weoroda god, Cr. 407, ealwalda god, And. 751, 925, waldend god, El. 4.

Christ is the sunu. Sunu meotodes, Sat. 143, 173, <sup>X</sup>sod sunu meotudes, El. 461, haligne godes sunu, Sat. 528, beorhtne sunu, Cr. 205, ancenned sunu, 464, waldendes sunu, Sat. 119, sunu <sup>sod</sup>an faeder, Cr. 110. Godes gast-sunu, El. 673, similarly 660.

## 1

Another term used is bearn, very frequent with godes, metodes, waldendes, etc. Godes agen bearn, Sat. 10, godes ece bearn, And. 747, efen-ece bearn, Cr. 465, <sup>X</sup>aedelust bearna, El. 476, <sup>X</sup>da beorhtan bearn, 782. God-bearn, And. 640, Cr. 499, 682, 702, etc., similarly Ph. 647; frumbearn, Cr. 507, frumbearn godes, Sat. 470, freobearn godes, Sat. 289, Cr. 643, 788, cyninges freobearn, El. 672, rodera weard/aet frymde genom him to freobearne, Cr. 223, cynebearn, And. 566, cynebearn gecyld cwycum and deadum, /aepele and ece ofer ealle þinge, L. Prayer III, 117, wuldres cynebearn, Men. 159, haelubearn, Cr. 586, haelobearn, 754, sigebearn godes, El. 481, 862, Creed 43, Har. 32, aelmihtig sigebearn godes, El. 1146.

In order to emphasize both the divine and the human nature in Christ, the author of the Christ states that fact in (somod eardedon) mihtig meotudes bearn and se monnes sunu, 126.

1 Rankin, Kennings, VIII, p. 419, remarks: "It is noteworthy that bearn occurs far more frequently than sunu, which apparently was a word of more commonplace and prosaic connotation."



Although Christ is the Son, he is also a few times identified with the Father. Thus faeder frumsceafta, Cr. 472, þa he on rode astag, / faeder, frofre gaest, 728, (þonne Crist sited etc.) on heahsetle heofon- maegna god, / faeder aelmihtig, 1219. He is also called faeder mancynnes Ap. 29, faeder folca gehwaes, And. 330, Curiously enough, we find in L. Prayer III, 42-3, the bold statement, þu eart sunu and faeder / ana aegþer.

Christ dwelt before his incarnation with the Father in glory. Ic wolde towerpan wuldres leoman, / bearn helendes, Sat. 85-6, and, ðæs ic wolde of selde sunu metodes, / drihten adrifian, 173-4, the chief of the fallen angels confesses, but, 67, Crist heo afirde. He took part in the creation, as it is said of him Fu eart seo snyttro, þe þæs sidan gesceaft / mid þi waldende worhtes ealle, Cr. 239-40, and he himself says, Sat. 472, ic eow (Adam etc.) þurh mine mihte geworhte. Such statements as the following also occur, waldend and wyrhta wuldorþrymmes / an ece god eallra gesceafta, And. 702-3, þaet he ana is ealra gesceafta / wyrhta and waldend þurh his wuldorcraft, Sat. 284-5. Thus Christ is scyppend, a term frequently applied to him. We note such phrases as scyppend ealra, El. 370, gasta scyppend, Sat. 244, engla scyppend, And. 288, similarly Sat. 434, 535, 563; haeleþa scyppend, Cr. 266, monocynnes milde scyppend, 417, manna scyppend, And. 486, Har. 109, scyppend wera, And. 786, etc.

Fruma is not infrequently found. Fyrnweorca fruma, Cr. 579, ealles folces fruma, Har. 29, ealra folca fruma, Cr. 516, ece eadfruma, 532, lifes leohtfruma, Gu. 565, And. 387, liffruma, El. 205, And. 1284, etc., teorhtes tir-fruma, Cr. 206, engla ordfruma, Sat. 659, Ap. 27, aepelne ordfruman ealra gesceafta, Cr. 204, eades ordfruma, 1199.



Metod, as in the case of the Father, is extremely frequent, practically the same kennings being employed for each. Middangeardes meotud Judg. 65, maegencyninga meotud, Cr. 943, etc. etc.

Cyning is very common. Fone ahangnan cyning, El. 444, 933, ahof ic ricne cyning/heofona hlaford, Rood B 44-5, Israhela cining, El. 799, cyning cwycera gehwaes, And. 912, haelepa cyning, Cr. 372, ealra kyninga kyning, liflend, Prayer III, 22, similarly Sat. 205, And. 978, etc.; reþust ealra cyninga, Har. 36, selast ealra cyninga, 117, cyninga wuldor, El. 5, wuldorcyning, Sat. 115, weoroda wuldorcyning, Cr. 161, heofon heahcyning, L. Prayer II, 15, heofena heahkyning, Prayer III, 50, similarly Cr. 1340, rodorcyninges, El. 886, Cr. 727, aedelcyninges, El. 219, prydcining, And. 436, sigora soðcyning, Cr. 1229.

Twice we have encountered cāsere. Þu gewurðod eart/on heofonrice, heah casere, L. Prayer III, 60, caseres lof, Ph. 634.

Dryhten is very frequent as an appellation of the Son. A few of the large number of examples may find a place here. Drihten ealra El. 187, dryhten haelend, And. 1407, dryhtna drihten, And. 874, dryhtna dryhten, Cr. 405, El. 371. Of compounds we note only freodrihten, Sat. 547, soð sigedrihten, L. Prayer II, 34.

Frēa, very frequent. Frea moncynnes, Har. 33, waldend frea, Cr. 328, soð sigora frea, El. 488, fyrnweorca frea, And. 1411, liffrea, Cr. 15, 27, heofona heahfrea, 253, 424.

Þeoden, not very frequent. Þrymfaest þeoden, Cr. 944, And. 322, engla þeoden, Cr. 731.



Wealdend and weard are frequently found, while hlāford seems more often applied to Christ than to the Father. Hlaford, Cr. 498, reðe and rihtwis, rumheort hlaford, L. Prayer III, 63, hlaford eallra, /engla and elda, El. 475-6, heofona hlaford, Rood B 45.

Aeðeling is sometimes applied to Christ. Aepeling, Cr. 449, aeðelinges lic, Har. 19, aepelinga ord, Cr. 515, aeðelinga ord, El. 393.

Āgend, not very frequent. Sigores agend, Cr. 420, 513, lifes agend, 471, swegles agend, 543, wuldres agend, 1198.

Helm. Helm wera, El. 475, helm alwihta, Cr. 274, aeðelinga helm, And. 623, haligra helm, Cr. 529, etc.

Hyrde. Halig hyrde, Gu. 761, Fram gebyrtdide bremes cinges/leonta hyrdes, Chr. III A 12, brymmes hyrde, El. 858, rices hyrde, And. 807.

Lārēow, a number of times. Lareow, And. 1321, boca lareow, Dox. 12.

Lāttēow, a few times. Lifes lattiw, El. 420, 898, paes latteowes larum hyre, Gu. 335, etc.

Compounds of giefa. Sawla symbolgifa, And. 1417, engla eadgifa, 74, 451, eorla eadgifan, Cr. 546, weoruda willgeofa, And. 1282, hyra wilgifan, Cr. 537, hyra sincgifan, 460, folca feorhgiefan, 556.

Gēocend, not very frequent. Gasta geocend, And. 548, 901, El. 1075, Cr. 198.

Nergend, very frequent. Nerigend fira, El. 1076, sawla nergend, And. 549, 921, Cr. 571, El. 461, 798, folca nergend, Cr. 426, niða nergend, Hymn 35.

Dēma. Ðu ana bist eallra dema, /cwucra ge deadra, Crist nergend,





Hymn 38-9, rihtwis dema, L. Prayer III, 28, soðfaest dema, 37, 121, se sige-dema, And. 661, etc.

Of metaphors and figures applied to Christ the most important have been listed.

Peculiar are two passages in which Christ is placed among the heavenly spirits: engla beorhtast/ofer middangeard monnum sendeð, Cr. 104, Sited<sup>x</sup> him on heofnum halig engla/waldend mid witegum, Sat. 586.

Faet ic wolde towerpan wuldres leoman,/bearn helendes, Sat. 85, se waes ordfnuma ealles lehtes, Maxims 30, se soðfaesta sunnan leoma, Cr. 696, similarly 106; soðfaestra leht, El. 7, lehtes leht, Prayer III, 1, ealles lehtes leht, El. 486, Ðu eart heofonlic liht, Hymn 22, aepele scima, Cr. 697.

Wlitig wuldres gim, Ph. 516.

Eala earendel, engla beorhtast/--/and soðfaesta sunnan leoma/torht ofer tunglas, Cr. 104-7.

Faet þu<sup>de</sup><sub>Λ</sub> laece ne cystþ, Doom 66, ealra cyninga/help and heafod, halig laece, L. Prayer III, 61-2, uplicum laece, se ana maeg/aglidene mod-god gode gehaelan, Doom 46-7. We note in passing, lifes laecedomes aet lifes frean, Doom 81, ladað<sup>x</sup> us þider to lehte þurh his laecedom, Sat. 589.

We note further, fugol, Cr. 636, also 639, 645, etc.; maegna gold-hord, Cr. 787 ; ðaet halige lamb, Hymn 22, godes lomber<sup>1</sup>; referring to building, se craeftga, Cr. 12, se earcnanstan, Cr. 1196, se weallstan, 2.

1 Bode, Kenningar, p. 74, remarks: "Unter uns sind einige Kenningar ueblich, die das Leiden Christi hervorheben: der Gekreuzigte, das Lamm Gottes, es ist charakteristisch, dass diese bei unseren Altvorderen keine Aufnahme gefunden haben." His assertion is not borne out by the facts. We might also point to such close parallels as þone ahangnan god, Crist, cyning.



The Holy Ghost.

In the New Testament  $\piνεϋμα \delta\acute{\iota}χ\tau\omicron\nu$  appears as the third person<sup>1</sup> of the Godhead. Christian Latin translates this by spiritus sanctus. The OE. term is gāst, gāest, m., OFris. gāst, OS. gēst, OHG. geist, from the common Westgerm. type \* gaistoz. It is sometimes used alone, but more generally modified. Gāst, as the Greek and Latin terms, has<sup>2</sup> a general meaning, it being used for instance interchangeably with sāwel, man's soul or spirit, as Jul. 413-14, El. 887-9, etc. etc. It is used for the evil spirits, so El. 301-2, fram unclaenum oft generede/deofla gastum, for the angels, e.g. Dan. 237-8, (God sent) gast þone halgan, /engel---, etc.

When used as a designation for the third member of the Godhead, hālig is generally added, as Dox. 13, Ex. 96, Jul. 241, Creed 41, Dan. 403, etc. But often the term has a weakened signification, and may simply stand for the power, help of God, the divine spirit. Furthermore it is applied to the first person of the Godhead, as also to the second, of which latter case we cite Sat. 561, bringan wolde/haligne gast to heofonrice, and Ps. L. 96, gast haligne, which very probably refers to Christ, since in this poem he seems to have assumed the place of the first person whom we should naturally look for; in a compound referring to Christ we have heofonhalig gast, And. 728. Aside from the clear cases of the juxtaposition of the three persons, the context must decide as to who is meant by hālig gāst.

The Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son, Cr. 357-8, Baem inc is gemaene/heahgast hleofaest, showing the view held by the

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1 Gospel of St. John, 1, 33, etc.

2 For a discussion of the third person of the Trinity in OHG. see Raumer, p. 370 ff., in ON., Kahle I, p. 386, II, 147-9.



Western Church. Regarding the work of creation it is said Gen.119-20, *pa waes wuldortorht/heofonweardes gast ofer holm boren*, which may refer to the third person of the Trinity. The Holy Spirit is not seldom mentioned in the poems dealing with Old Testament history, so Ex.06, leading the Children of Israel through the desert, Ph.540, where Job speaks through *gaestes blaed*, even as it is said of the disciples of Christ Sat.527, *haefdon gastes bled*. In Az. 155-7, we have, *Nu we geonge bry god bletsiað*, / *felameahtigne faeder in heofonum*, *þone soðan sunu* and *þone sigefaestan gast*, while in Daniel he is mentioned several times. In most of these cases the Old Testament  $\square \text{ } \text{)} \text{ }$  is interpreted according to New Testament and Christian ideas.

Christ is born through Mary and *purh þaene halgan gast*, Invocation 13, and Creed 17-19 it is stated, *Naes ðær gefremmed firen aet giftum*, / *ac þær halig gast handgyft sealde/þaere faemnan*. The Holy Spirit is especially active in regard to the faithful, guarding and shielding them against enemies, and assisting them in the work of sanctification. Thus it is said after the conversion of Judas, El. 935-6, *him waes halig gast/befolen faeste*, and concerning Elene herself, 1146-7, and *pa wic beheold/halig heofonlic gast*, *hreðer weardode*, / *aedelne innod*. Sins may compel him to leave, Cr.157-8, *þaet him halig gaest/losige purh leahtras on þas laenan tid*; in the L. Prayer III, 79-80, there is the petition, *Bewyrc us on heortan haligne gast/faest on*

1 The "qui ex Patre Filioque procedit" of the Nicene Creed. The procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son has never been admitted into the Creed by the Eastern Church. The "Filioque" was probably first introduced by the Spanish Church as an additional protest against the Arian denial of the full Godhead of the Son, probably at the Council of Toledo 589. Compare Cook, The Christ of Cynewulf, p.108.



innan. In each case the indwelling of the Spirit is emphasized. He is the helper in trouble, as it is said of St. Juliana, 241, hyre waes halig gaest singal gesid<sup>x</sup>, and Gu. 428, paet pec halig gaest/-gescilde. When Daniel is called upon to explain the dream of the Babylonian king, him waes gast geseald, /halig of heofonum, se his hyge trymede<sup>^</sup>. <sup>Dan. 533-4</sup> Very often the Holy Spirit is the helper, shown by such phrases as purh gastes gife, El. 199, 1057, 1156, Jul. 316, Cr. 710, etc., and similar terms, though they may sometimes refer merely to a manifestation of the divine power and not to a personal agent. At the Last Judgment the Holy Spirit with the other members of the Trinity judges men, Jud. 83, etc. <sup>Cr. 1624</sup> Finally at the request of the Father ðonne halig gaest helle beluced<sup>x</sup>, and the persons of the Godhead dwell f<sup>o</sup>re<sup>^</sup>ver in Heaven, And. 1684-6.

In the New Testament the Holy Spirit is called a number of times *παράκλητος*, the comforter, which is taken over by the Vulgate as *paracletus*. In OE. poetry a translation, *frōfre gāst*, is used, as Jud. 83, And. 1684, Charms VIII, 10, Jul. 724; <sup>siddan</sup> frowre gast/wic gewunode in paes weres breostum/hylde to bote<sup>^</sup>. <sup>El. 1036-8</sup> However, the term may also be applied to the Father, e.g., El. 1105, faeder, frowre gast, as also the Son, Cr. 207-8, in mec(Mary)frowre gaest/gearnode, as also And. 906.

In general, it may be said that the qualities of the Father and the Son, in as far as they are not peculiarly specific characteristics, may also be applied to the Spirit, but they are very sparingly used, as the third person of the Trinity occupies a far less prominent place in OE. poetry than either the Father or the Son. Here and there an adjective, as in Cr. 774, þone blidan gaest, and Az. 157, þone sigefaestan gast, is used, but, comparatively speaking, the available material is meager.





## CHAPTER VIII

## THE WORLD, ANGELS, AND DEVILS

1. The World.

The facts of Germanic mythology regarding the subject may be found in Grimm, Deutsche Mythologie, I, p. 436 ff., III, 161 ff., and Golther, Handbuch der Germanischen Mythologie, p. 509 ff. The Scandinavians especially had developed detailed and fairly well-ordered views about the universe. The distinction between heaven and earth in a physical and a religious sense is easily made, appears in different religions, and needs no further discussion.

However, the contrast between Heaven and earth in a religious sense became more definite with the teachings of Christianity, and the lines between the temporary, sinful, and the heavenly would be more sharply drawn. In Greek two words came to be used, κόσμος and αἰών, which are rendered by the Vulgate mundus and saeculum, the world as opposed to Heaven, and the vita, the aetas. OHG. also uses two words, mittilgart rendering mundus, and weralt both mundus and saeculum. In ON, heimr came to be employed for both mundus and saeculum, while verold was used only in the sense of saeculum.<sup>1</sup>

In OE. two terms are also employed, middangeard and woruld.

1 A discussion of "Welt" for OHG. will be found in Raumer, p. 373ff, while for ON. compare Kahle I, p. 386 ff.



Middangeard, m., Goth. midgungards, OHG. mittangart, indicates the middle earth, the place situated between heaven and hell, and is practically always used in the physical sense. At times it also stands for mankind, as for instance Cr. 249, þu þisne middangeard milde geblissa/þurh þinne hercyme, haelende Crist, Dan. 597, middangeardes weard.

More important for our purposes is woruld, f., from wer and aeldi, from Teut. type \* wer-aldi, the term also occurring in other Germanic dialects. So literally it means hominum aetas, the age of man. It is used in a physical sense, standing for mundus, as Met. XX, 27, nemdest eall swa þeah mid ane noman ealle togaedre/woruld under wolcum, and Gen. 916, þenden standeð/woruld under wolcum. As an interesting occurrence of the term we also note Charms IV, 40, sette and sende on VII worulde/earnum and eadigum eallum to bote, which Cockayne explains as "the seven spheres in which the seven planets revolve, the earth being the center of observation." A number of times woruld is contrasted with Heaven, and thus stands in a religious and Biblical sense. Thus Rood B 133, gewiton of worulde dreaman, sohten him wuldres cyning, Gu. 96, þam þe his giefre willað/þicgan to þonce and him þas woruld / uttor laetan þonne þaet ece lif, 713, sibban he þas woruld forhogde, Met. VII, 30-1, (who would possess true happiness) sceal swiðe flion / ðisse worulde wlite.

Not infrequently woruld stands in the sense of saeculum. So in the meaning of worldly life Met. X, 70, gif hine gegripan mot/se ece deað aefter ðissum worulde? In the meaning of in saeculum, in saecula etc. Cr. 101, Met. XI, 17, a to wurulde forð, L. Prayer III, 123, swa þu eart

1 Leechdoms, Wortcunning & Starcraft of Early England, III, p. 37.



gewurdoð a on worlða forð! We note further Cr.789, Si him lof symle, /  
 purh weruld worulða wuldor on heofonum, And.1686, wealded (the Trinity)  
 in woruld worulða wundor gestealda, Dox.41, on worulða woruld wunað and  
 rixað (in secula seculorum), Ps.LXXXIII,5, on worlða woruld (in saecula  
saeculorum), etc.

A large number of compounds occur, most of which, however, have  
 no religious significance, and in other cases it is not readily ap-  
 parent. We note only woruldbliss, Gu.135, þaet he his lichoman/wynna for-  
 wyrnde and woruldblissa, and woruldsæld, in Met.II,10, etc.

## 2. Angels.

The Jewish-Christian doctrine of angels was foreign to the  
 Germanic heathen mind, though there is reason to believe that the con-  
 ception and name were adopted at an early period by practically all  
 the tribes. In the Old Testament an angel was called מַלְאָכִים or מַלְאָכִי  
 מַלְאָכִי, messenger of Jehovah, his function determining the designation.  
 The LXX translates the Hebrew word by ἀγγελος, messenger, also employed  
 by the New Testament. Christian Latin takes over the term as angelus,  
 which is thus divorced from its general meaning of nuntius, assuming  
 the specific sense of angel. Already at an early time the word was  
 adopted by various Teutonic tribes either from Latin angelus or more  
 likely from Gothic aggilus<sup>1</sup>. In OE. it appears as engel, aengel, angel, m.  
 OS. having engil, OFris. angel, engel, OHG. angil, engil, ON. engill.

1 See Raumer, p.378. Kluge, article Teufel in Etymologisches Woerter-  
buch; Gotische Lehnworte, p.135; Pogatscher, pp.203-5; compare  
 also NED.



In the poetry the term is of frequent occurrence, a translation such as ār or boda being seldom used.<sup>1</sup> As in our discussion of the classes, attributes and kennings, as well as the work of the angels, the word will occur a number of times, no examples need be cited here.

We are informed Cr.351-2 that there was a time when angels had not yet been created, Naes aenig þa giet engel geworden/ne þaes miclan maegenþrymnes nan. Gen.246-8 records the creation and classes in Haefde se ealwalda engelcynna/--/tyne getrymede, though in the poetry not all of these classes appear. The race of angels is mentioned a number of times, as Jul.644, eal engla cynn, And.717, anlicnes engelcynna, etc.; Prayer III, 34, engla hades; Gen.583, engla gebyrdo. There also seems to be a fondness to have the angels appear in troops and hosts.

As possibly distinct classes the Seraphim and Cherubim appear, though the usual order is inverted And.719-20, Cherubim and Seraphim/þa on swegeldreamum syndon nemned. More specific details about the Cherubim are furnished El.739-45, þara on hade sint/in sindreamum syx genemned,/þa ymbsealde synt mid syxum eac/fidrum, gefraedwad, faegere scinap;/þara sint .IIII., þe on flihte a/þa þegnunge þrymme beweotigaþ/fore ansyne eces deman---.(749)þam is Ceruphin nama. In the Psalms the name is simply taken over: LCIX,2, Ðu ðe sylfa nu sittest ofer cherubin(qui sedes super cherubin), and XCVIII,1, sitted<sup>✓</sup> ofer cherubin (qui sedet super cherubin). Aside from And.719, the Seraphim are mentioned twice, so El.753-7, Syndon tu on þam, sigorcynn on swegle, þe man Seraphin/þe naman hated<sup>✓</sup>. He sceal neorxnawang/and lifes treow

1 For a discussion of angels in OHG. see Raumer, pp.378-9, in ON. Kahle, I, pp.390-1, II, 149-50.





legene sweorde/halig healdan. In Cr.386-8, the Seraphim are performing the services assigned to the Cherubim in Elene, no great distinction being made in the mind of the poet. We are told sodfaeste seraphinnes cynn/uppe mid englum a bremende/unapreotendum prymnum singad.

The archangels, especially Gabriel, are mentioned a few times. In Creed 12 he is called godes aerendraca, a term also applied to the apostles. Cr.336 we have godes spelboda, Gabriel, and 295, his heahbodan. His qualities are mentioned Har.76-8, Eala Gabrihel!hu þu eart gleaw and scarp,/milde and gemyndig and monþwaere,/wis on þinum gewitte and on þinum worde snottor! Cr.202 he is called heofones heagengel, and Men.50, heahengel. The same designation is applied to Michael, Men. 177-8, heahengles tiid on haerfeste,/Michahelis. El.750 the Cherubim sing, Halig is se halga heahengla god, while in Cr.403 the song of the Seraphim is, Halig eart þu halig heahengla brego. We further have Cr. 528, heahengla cyning, and 1019, heahengla maegen. Though the term heahengel is the designation for the archangels, it need not be assumed, however, that it is not used in a wider sense, though And.883-5 may not be conclusive: twelfe tealde, tireadige haeled;/--/halige heahenglas. It might even be used, in accordance with the spirit of OE. poetry, as a general indication of their place of abode. Upengel seems to have this meaning, as in And.226, uppengla weard edel secan, and Men. 210, upengla weard. Very similar are ufencundes engles, Gu.1097, engel ufancundne, 1216, also aras ufancunde, Cr.503. Probably not very different is heofonengel, which we have Cr.492, 928, heofonengla þreat, 1010,

1 The passage in the Vulgate reads, et collocavit ante paradisum voluptatis Cherubim. In our passage a Seraph is made to perform the duty. The plural form in the Vulgate might easily be mistaken by an Anglo-Saxon poet. Genesis especially is rich in amusing blunders. Compare Bibl. II, p.169.



heofonengla cyning, also Prayer III, 13, while Jul. 642 we read heofonengla god, and Cr. 1278 heofonengla here.

Among qualities of angels a few ascribed to Gabriel have already been mentioned. However, the wisdom of the angelic host is not unlimited, as it is remarked Prayer III, 34-5, ne þæt aenig ne wat engla hades /þa heahnesse heofena kyninges. Their brightness is often referred to. Thus Dan. 336-7, engel aelbeorht--/witlescyne wer on his wuldorhaman; Cr. 506, 548, aelbeorhte englas, with the word order changed also 881; Cr. 929, aelbeorhtra scolu; 493, weorud witlescyne; 552, beorhte gewerede; 1019, hwit and heofonbeorht heagengla maegen; 1277-8, aelbeorhte--/heofonengla here; El. 72-3, witlescyne on weres hade, /hwit and hiwbeorht; 732-4, aedelestan engelcynne, /þe geond lyft farad leohte bewundene/mycle maegenþrymme; 736, mid þa leohtan gedryht, Jul. 563-4, cwom engel godes/fraetwum blican, etc.

Other characteristics occur, of which we mention the most important, though they are often indirectly applied. Halig engel, Gen. 246, halige heahenglas, And. 885, sio halige gecynd, Cr. 1018, etc., eadiges engles, Sal. 450, eadig engla gedryht, Cr. 1014, mihtig engel, Ex. 205, sigorfaest(þegn), Gu. 1218, þegnas þrymfaeste, Gen. 15, englas arfaeste, 2525, þæt soðfaeste seraphinnes cynn, Cr. 386, wlitig wuldres boda, El. 77, faele(used with freoduward and similar terms), El. 88, Gen. 2301, 2497, Gu. 144, maerne maguþegn, And. 366, daedhwaete, Cr. 385, stidferde, And. 722.

The only adjective formed with engel is engelcund, angelic, found once, Gu. 72, nim gife sealde/engelcunde.

Not infrequently the term gāst, generally modified, is applied to the angels, undoubtedly influenced by such a passage Ps. CIII, 5,



where the Vulgate reading qui facis angelos tuos, spiritus, et ministros tuos ignem urentem is rendered by He his englas ded<sup>æ</sup>ædele gastas and his frome <sup>æ</sup>degnas fyr byrnende. Thus we have Dan. 237 gast þone halgan, 733, hwaet seo hand write haliges gastes, Gu. 1215, gaest haligne; halige gastas Rood B 11, Gen. 2300; wuldorgaest godes, Gen. 2012; godes aerendgast, 2206.

## 1

Of other kennings for angels the most important may find a place here. Godes aerendraca as applied to Gabriel in Creed 12 has already been mentioned. Used of the angels visiting Lot we have Gen. 2433-4, nergendes/<sup>æ</sup>ædele aerendracan. Ær, messenger, occurs a number of times, so El. 76, 87; aras, Cr. 759, Gen. 2424, halige aras, 2456, wuldres aras, Cr. 493, El. 737, aras ufancunde, Cr. 50. Boda, messenger, is also used. So Cr. 449, bodan, El. 77, wlitig wuldres boda. Of compounds we have for instance godes spelboda, Gabriel, Cr. 336, frome waeron/godes spelbodan, Gen. 2424, wuldres wilboda, Gu. 1220. A peaceful mission is indicated by faele fridowebba, El. 88, faele freoduweard, Gu. 144, faele freodoscealc, Gen. 2301, the plural being found 2497. Among terms showing peculiar relationships to God we note þegnas þrymfaeste, Gen. 15, wuldres þegn, Gen. 2266, similarly 2568, And. 726; metodes <sup>æ</sup>degn, Gen. 2007, similarly Gu. 1217; hehþegn, Dan. 443, maerne maguþegn, And. 366; ymb þaet hehsetl hwite standæ engla fedan, Sat. 220-1, halge herefedan, Cr. 1013.

From the previous discussion it will be gathered that the important function of the heavenly spirits is the worship of the Deity and the carrying out of his commandments. The protection of the faithful against enemies, especially evil spirits, is often mentioned. Instead

1 Bode, Kenningar, gives a few. See also Rankin, IX, pp. 60-61.



of the rather frequent examples we cite Charms VIII, 19-25, where, after the invocation of the saints, the poet continues, eac <sup>x</sup>ðusend þira engla/clipige ic me to are wið <sup>x</sup>eallum feondum./ Hi me ferion and friþion and mine fore nerion,/eal me gehealdon, me gewealdon/worces stirende, si me wuldres hyht/hand ofer heafod, haligra rof,/sigerofra sceote, soðfaestra <sup>x</sup>engla. The idea of the guardian angel is especially noteworthy in Guthlac. In lines 50-51 we are told that the heavenly <sup>n</sup>spirits protect the saints, fore him englas standað/gearwe mid gaesta waepnum/healdað <sup>x</sup>haligra feorh. In 81-4 it is said that God sent a particular angel in order to dampen the lusts of the saint-to-be. The good and the evil angel engage in warfare for his soul, 85-7, hine twegen ymb/weardas wacedon, þa gewinn drugon,/engel dryhtnes and se atela gaest. The good angel wins, and henceforth Guthlac is protected, 77-8, Hine weard beheold,/halig of heofonum, se þaet hluttre mod/in þaes gaestes god georne trymede, and 107-8, sib þam frofre gaest in Guðlaces geoce gewunade. Several times the guardian angel is mentioned, of whom the saint says 224-5, þaet me engel to ealle gelaeded/<sup>x</sup>spowende sped spreca and daeda, and 288-9, nu mec sawelcund hyrde behealdeað. This protection extends until the time of death, when, 753-5, waes Guðlaces gaest gelaeded/engla faedmum in uprodor/fore ansyne eces deman, and 1279-81, waes Guðlaces gaest gelaeded/eadig on upweg, englas feredun/to þam longan gefean, which is in line with the general belief as expressed in Chr. V, 27-8, englas feredon/soðfaeste sawle innan swegles leoht.

### 3. Devils.

As the foe of God and the heavenly kingdom the devil with his adherents plays a very prominent part in OE. poetry. In the Old Testa-





ment the chief of the evil spirits was called  $\gamma \zeta \psi$ , adversary. The LXX as a rule renders this by *διὰ βολῆος*, slanderer, a term also employed by the New Testament, though  $\delta \sigma α τ α ν ᾶ \varsigma$  is sometimes used. The Greek *διὰ βολῆος* as a translation of Hebrew  $\gamma \zeta \psi$  was regularly retained by the Old Latin version of the Scriptures as diabolus, but Jerome substituted Satan in his version, commonly known as the Vulgate. In his New Testament diabolus also occurs. Gothic adopts the Greek *διὰ βολῆος* as diabaulus or diabulus, and it is not improbable that other Germanic tribes received the word from this source. The OE. form is dēofol, -ul, mn., OFris. diovel, OS. diabul with variants, OHG. tiuval, etc., ON. diöfull.

As has been indicated, dēofol is extremely common in OE. poetry; examples will occur in the <sup>b</sup>subsequent discussion. For the chief of the fallen angels the Latin Sātan, Sātanās, and Lucifer are found a few times. Regarding the fallen angels God decided among other things, Gen. 344-5, se hehsta hatan sceolde Satan siddan; the term is also met with Gen. 347, And. 1689, Sat. 712, etc. Sātanās occurs for instance Sat. 371, 447, 692, etc. Lucifer (leohtbrēnde) is found once, Sat. 367. We are told that before the fall the chief devil was engla weard, Gen. 22, þe aer waes engla scynost, /hwittost on heofnon, 338-9, gelic waes he þam leohtum steorrum, 256. But he has become se ofermoda cyning, Gen. 338, who rebelled against God for oferhygde, 22, and with his adherents was cast down into hell, þær he to deofle weard, 305, while heo (namely the rebellious angels) ealle forsceop / drinten to deoflum, 308-9. In different poems, such as Genesis, Elene, Christ and Satan, etc., the circumstances of the fall are recounted with more or less detail.

1 Kluge, article Teufel in Etymologisches Woerterbuch; Lehnworte, pp. 134-5. The NED., after having mentioned that the Gothic word is directly from Greek, continues, "the forms in the other Teutonic languages were partly at least from Latin, and probably adopted more or less independently of each other."



The devil with the evil spirits becomes the enemy of God and man. The term fēond, the hating or hostile one, sometimes modified, but often alone, is frequently used synonymous with dēofol. We note feond, Sal. 69, 91, 100, Gu. 107, etc.; feond moncynnes, Jul. 317, 423; sawla feond, 348; ece feond, Gen. 1261; flah feond gemah, Whale 39; se ealda feond, Panther 58, El. 207, eald feondes aefest, Ph. 401, ealdfeondes/scyldigra scolu, Gu. 174-5, ealdfind (pl.), Har. 89, ealdfeondas, Gu. 189, ealdfeonda nan, Ph. 449, ealdfeonda nið, Gu. 112, etc. etc. We note also feondaetes, Ps. CV, 24, referring to the eating of sacrificial offerings, and feondgyld gebraec, in the same verse. The terms apply to the subordinates as well as to the chief, who is feonda aldor, Sat. 76. He is also godes andsaca, Sat. 191, etc., a phrase also used for the other devils, so for instance godes andsacan, Sat. 719, Gu. 204, earne andsacan, 181, etc. etc.

The activities of the devils in seducing man are described in a number of places, but the subject need not be discussed here. The chief with the evil spirits is the cause of sin, and we have applied to Satan for instance the following terms: yfles ordfruma, Sat. 374, facnes frumbearn, Gu. 1044, And. 1294, mordres brytta, Gen. 1170, mordres manfrea, And. 1313, Jul. 546, ealre synne fruma, El. 771, leahtra fruman, 838. To these we add others, which are only partly ascribed to the chief, in some cases there being doubt whether Satan or a subordinate spirit is meant. Jul. 347, fyrnsynna fruman (not chief), El. 941, mordres manfrea, El. 957, synna bryttan, Gu. 522, synna hyrdas, etc. It should be noted that for instance Abimelech is called synna brytta, Gen. 2641; though Sal. 443 it is said of Wyrð, eallra fyrena fruma, faendo modor, and 445, frumscylda gehwaes faeder and modor, Wyrð in these passages must be identified with the fallen angel, a case not isolated in OE. poetry.



The relation between devils and hell is naturally very close. So the chief is hellwarena cyning, Jul. 322, 437, etc.; his gingran (Sat. 191) are helle scealcas, Sat. 133. The seducer of Eve is called Sat. 485 handþegen helle. Among other terms encountered we note the following: helledeofol, El. 900, helle dioful, And. 1228, helle deofol, Jul. 629, etc., helle haeftling, Jul. 246, And. 1342, a term comparatively frequent; bystra stihtend, Jul. 419, þeostra þegnas, Gu. 668, helleþegna, 1042, hell-sceaða, Gen. 694, hellehinca, And. 1171.

The devils were looked upon as spirits, who were, however, capable of assuming the form of angel, man, or animal, as exemplified in such poems as Salamon and Saturn, Jul<sup>a</sup>ina, Guthlac, etc. In giving a few examples of designations, we have selected such that illustrate to some extent at least qualities ascribed to the evil spirits. So we have Hean hellegaest, Jul. 457, 615, se atola gast, And. 1206, se atela gaest, Gu. 87, werega gast, Sat. 126, werga gaest, Gu. 422, þa werigan gastas, Sat. 731, earne gastas, Gu. 490, etc., atole gastas/swarte and synfulle, Sat. 51-2, se swearta gaest, Cr. 269, blac bealwes gast, Sat. 721, unclaene gaest, Jul. 418, geomre gastas, Gen. 69, þone ladan gaest, Sal. 86.

Of the many other kennings for devils encountered in the poetry, we note as the more important:<sup>1</sup> wrað waerloga, Gen. 1297, waerlogan, Gu. 262, 595, etc., etc., awyrgde waerlogan on wymes bleo, Gu. 883, waerleas werod, Gen. 67; wiberbreca, Gen. 64, and wuldres wiberbreca, Jul. 269; wrohtes wyrhtan, Jul. 346, wrohtbora, Cr. 763, wrohtsmidas, Gu. 877, teonsmidas, Gu. 176; wraecca waerleas, Jul. 351, se wraecmaecga, 260, wraecmaecgas, Gu. 234, wraðe wraecmaecgas, 530, etc.; sawla gewinnan, Jul. 555, Haeleda gewinna,

1 Compare Bode, Kenningar, p. 76 ff., Rankin, IX, p. 56 ff.



Jul. 243, 345, gleaw gyrnstafa gaestgenidla, Jul. 245; braegdwis bona, Gu. 58, banan mancynnes, And. 1233, feorgbona, Whale 41, swarte suslbonan, Sat. 640; se aglaeca, Jul. 268, 318, earm aglaeca, 430, eatol aeclaeca, El. 201; se awyrgda, Sat. 316, Whale 67, awyrgda, Sat. 676, 691, 699, deoflum---/awyrgedum gastum (daemonibus dudum fuerantque parata malignis, 21), Doom 182-3.

To these may be added fah wurm (seducer of Eve), Gen. 899; she takes the fruit wyrmes larum, Gu. 818. In the same connection occur also, me naedre beswac, Gen. 897, and þurh naedran niþ, Ph. 413. Probably applied in a wider sense, the devil is called draca egeslice, Sal. 26, while the reference Panther 57-8, butan dracan anum/attres ordfruman, seems to point to the chief. He is also called se awyrgda wulf, Cr. 256, deor daedscua, 257. The Anglo-Saxon poet did not hesitate to apply to the evil one the strongest epithets of which the language was capable.

The OE. dēofol is wider in its application than the Greek διάβολος. It may thus be applied to the δαίμόνια, δαίμονες, of the LXX and the New Testament, which identify them with Satan and his emissaries. We have already seen that in Doom 182-3, deoflum, awyrgedum gastum rendered daemonibus malignis. Among Christ's activities we have mentioned El. 301-2, fram unclaenum oft generede/deofla gastum. The term is also applied to the heathen idols, who are looked upon as devils. Thus Quoniam omnes dii Gentium daemonia, Ps. XCV, 4, is rendered Syndan ealle haepenu godu hildedeoful, the worship of heathen divinities being equivalent to devil worship. The idols of Egypt are called deofolgyld Ex. 47. The interchanging of the terms may be seen very clearly in Juliana. Line 15 we read hofon haepengield; 22-3 it is said of Helisius, Oft he haepengield/ofer word godes weoh gesohte; 51-53





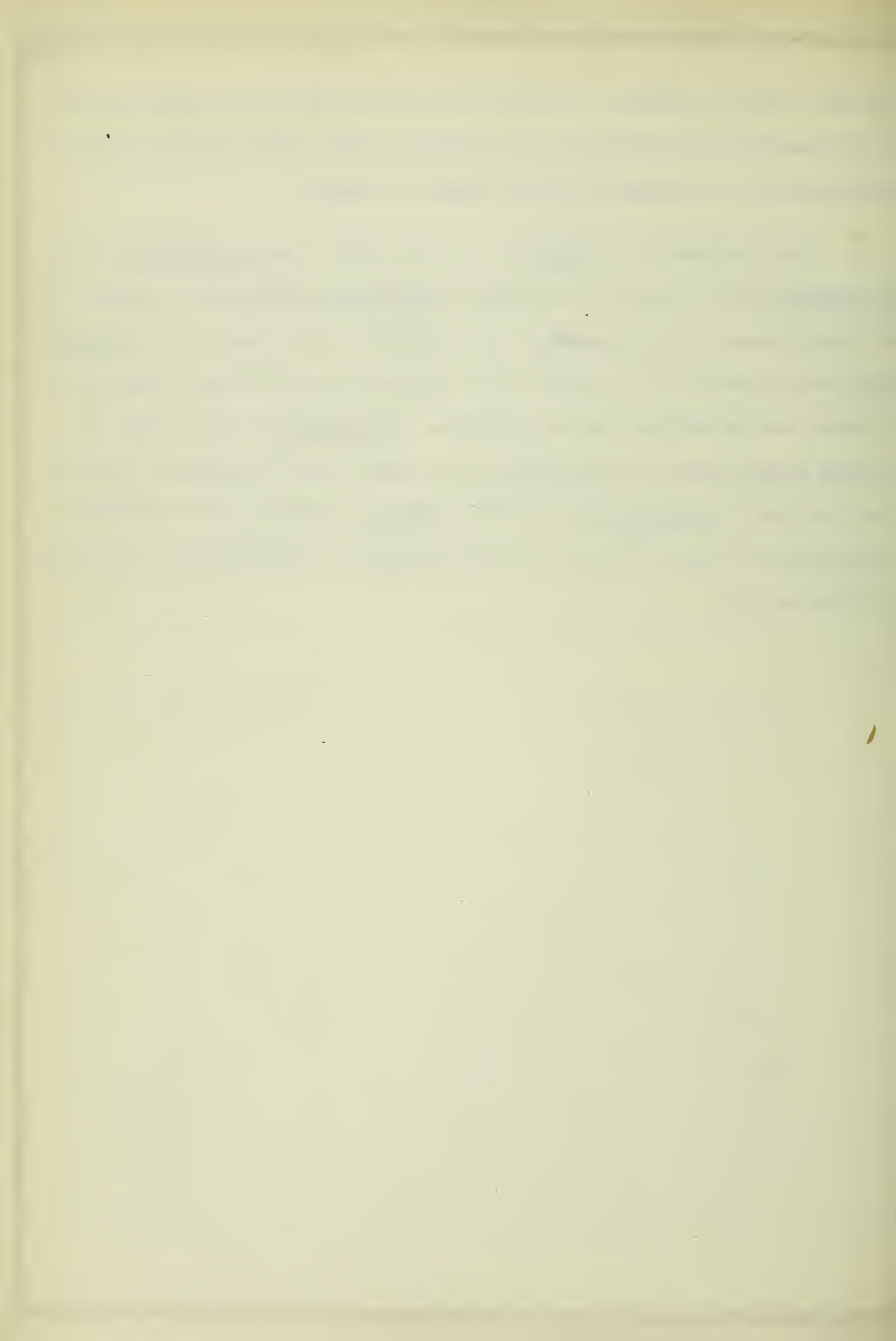
Juliana informs him of her refusal to marry him, gif þu to saemran gode/þurh deofolgielð daede beþencest,/haetst haeþenweoh. Her father is concerned about her attitude and her "foolish talk", þa þu goda ussa gielð forhogdest, 146; but to his threats she replies, 149-51: Naefr þu gelaerest, þaet ic leasingum/dumbum and̄ deafum deofolgielðum/gaesta genidlum gaful anhate. In And. 1641-2 we read about the Mermedonians, diofolgielð,/ealde eolhstedas anforlaetan, and 1688, se halga (Andrew) herigeas þreade,/deofolgild todraf. The turning to strange gods is evidently referred to Dan. 32, where it is said of the Israelites, curon deofles craeft. Line 128 the magicians of the Babylonians are styled deofolwitgan. In Elene the Jewish religion is practically identified with devil worship. Cyriacus has chosen the better thing, wuldres wynne and þam wyrsan widsoc,/deofulgildum and gedwolan fylde,/unrihte ae.

As already pointed out in chapter I, it becomes thus clear that the connection between heathen and devil is very close, the devil himself for instance being called a heathen Jul. 536. It should also be noted that the characteristics of the devil may be ascribed to other beings, or they themselves may be called by this very name. So Grendel is referred to as feond in helle, Beow. 101, mancynnes feond, 1216, helle-gast, 1274, godes andsaça, 1682; aefter deofla hryre, 1680, refers to Grendel and his mother. Similar designations might be added. Epithets generally applied to the devil may also be given to men. So Dan. 750 the Babylonians are called ge deoflu, the Jews El. 387 werge wraec-maecgas, while the Mermedonians are styled waerlogan, And. 71, 108, etc., werigun wrohtsmidan, 86, mangeniðlan,/grame grynsmidas, 916-17; the relation is very close And. 43, deofles þegnas (compare Satanes ðegn Sal.



117, and similar terms). Cr. 896 and 899 the damned are called devils, the blessed being referred to as angels. Moods 46-7 an evil man is characterized as feondes bearn/flaesce bifongen.

The compounds of dēofol are few. Aside from helledēofol and hildedēofol, we have once the poetic dēofolcund, diabolical, applied as se deofolcunda to Holofernes Jud. 61, and once also the poetic dēofoldāed, Dan. 18, where it is said of the Israelites, hie wlenco anwod aet winpege/deofoldaedum, druncne gedohtas. Dēofolgild, in the sense of idolum, simulacrum, and idolatria has already been mentioned, as also the poetical dēofulwītgan Dan. 128. Scucca, seducer, as also similar designations will be found in the treatment of temptation, at the end of chapter IX.



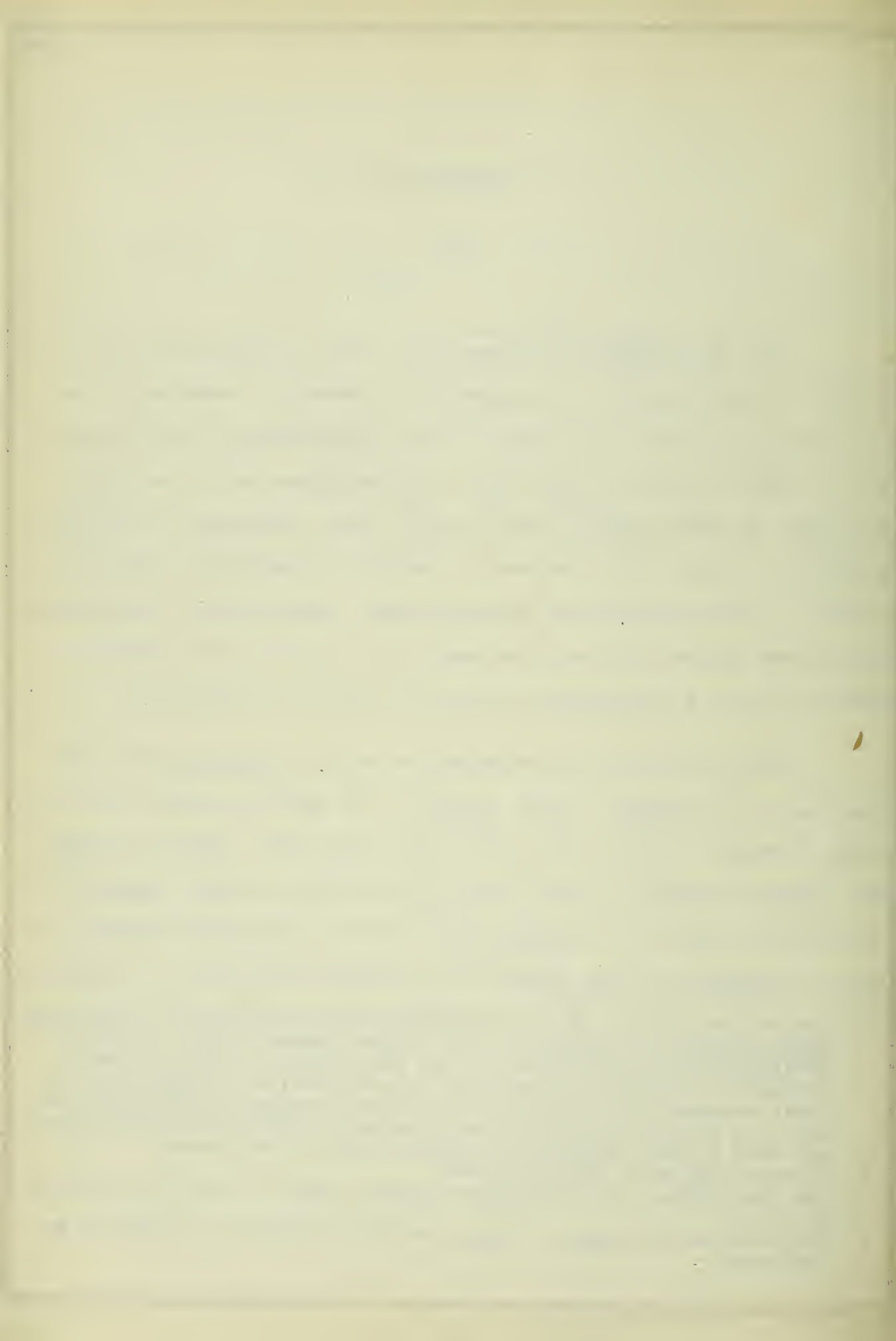
## CHAPTER IX

## SIN

The New Testament furnishes in I John 3,4, ἡ ἁμαρτία ἐστὶν ἡ ἀνομία a definition of sin, where its essence is conceived of as the deviation from a law of God or the transgression of such divine law. In spite of assertions to the contrary, there can be no doubt that many heathen peoples have a fairly clear conception of sin and guilt, of good and evil. However, it should be pointed out that according to Jewish-Christian doctrine every transgression constitutes an offense against the holy God, and in this consists the gravity of the act. It is a fundamental principle foreign to heathenism.

The Greek ἁμαρτία is rendered in Latin by peccatum, the verb ἁμαρτάνειν by peccare. In OE. syn(n), f., is used to express the idea, other Germanic dialects also using the term, OFris. sende, OS. sundea, OHG. sunta, ON. synd, all going back to the Germanic stem \* sunjo, which is perhaps related to L. sons, guilty. The OE. word, which renders not only L. peccatum, but also culpa, is of frequent occurrence in OE. poetry.

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- 1 Lingard, in Vol. I, p. 42, of his History and Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church, in speaking of the "pagan Saxons", says: "In their theology they acknowledged no sin but cowardice, and revered no virtue but courage." He seems to be very anxious to make the contrast between the heathen and the christianized Anglo-Saxons as great as possible, in order that the "mild influence of the gospel" may make a deep impression upon the mind of the reader.
  - 2 Compare NED., also Kahle, I, p. 396. For the chapter on Sin compare Raumer, p. 384 ff., Kahle, I, p. 395 ff. II, 151-2.
  - 3 Once the poetic culpa or culpe occurs, Cr. 177, Ne ic culpan in þe (onfunde).



so that a few examples will suffice here. Gen.1520, besmitene mid synne sawldreore, Prayer I, 3, mine saule synnum forwundoð, Jul.188, synna lease, etc. etc.

A number of compounds occur, of which may be noted synbyrðen, once, Cr.1300; syndǣl, dat. pl. Ps. CVI, 33 (a malitia); synfāh, as, synfa men, Cr.1083; synfull, guilty, fairly frequent, so in the pl. And.764 applied to the elders of Israel, and in the sing. Gu.646 to the devil, etc.; synlēasig, Beow. 9227; synlice, Cr.1480, Ps. LXII, 8; synlust, Cr.269, compare Peccata operis; synnig, used frequently, of the devil El.955, the plural being applied to the Jews And.565, etc. We have further synrūst<sup>1</sup> in synrust <sup>w</sup>þean Cr.1321; synsceaða<sup>x</sup>, a few times, as Jul.671, Cr.706, etc., the term being used of devils and sinful men alike; synscyldig in the gen. pl. occurs Doom 168 (scelerum, 83), where it is applied to the damned in hell; synwracu, vengeance for sin, is rare, occurring Cr.792, 1540, and Gen.832. Synwund is found once, Cr.757, while synwyrceud is applied to the devil El.943, to the Jews 395, and used more generally Cr.841, aeghwylcum/synwyrceudra. The gen. pl. we find Ps. LXXXI, 2 (peccatorum), and synwyrceude CXL, 11 (operantium iniquitatem).

A verb from the same stem, syngian, gesyngian, occurs a number of times, as Prayer III, 42, syngige, Ps. L. 47, syngode (peccavi). We note further we gesyngoden (the devils), Sat. 230, fyrenum gesyngad, Beow. 2441, swiðe gesingod, L. Prayer III, 115.

A term much employed is mān, ON. mein, crime, wickedness, etc.

1 Compare Cook's note on synrūst in Mod. L. Notes, IV, p. 129. Though it would seem that Cynewulf coined certain compounds with syn, synbyrðen and synlust must be stricken from Cook's list, as they occur also elsewhere.





Of the occurrences we cite And.604,man eft gehwearf,/yfel endeless, Prayer IV,50,mana fela,Met.IX,7,man and mordor,misdaeda worn(referring to Nero),Ps.LXXI,14,of mane(ex iniquitate),etc.etc. The adjective is used a few times,so Met.IV,18,mane adas,perjury,and man inwitstaef (nequitiae),Ps.LIV,10. A number of compounds are also found,but most of them need no further discussion. The poetic terms will be found in the table at the end,while a few will appear in the subsequent discussion,such as mānsceat,usury,and mānswara,perjury.

Firen,glossed by Grein as scelus,crimen,peccatum ,is very common. We note wrāde firene,Cr.1313,deopra firena,Gu.830,835,ne wom dyde/his lichoma leahtra firena,Cr.1009. The last example,referring to Christ,shows a massing of similar words in order to bring out and emphasize the idea,a procedure often employed in OE. poetry. As in the case of syn and mān,a number of compounds occur,of which may be noted as significant dēadfiren,mortal sin,in Cr.1207,deadfirenum forden(defiled);helfiren,also mortal sin,Partridge 6,swa ge hellfirene swearta geswicad,each of the terms occurring once. Of other compounds we have firencraeft,wickedness,Jul.14:firengeorn,prone to sin,as in Cr.1616,firengeorne men(damned);showing massing,firenlust,occurring a number of times,as Gu.775,firenlustas,Cr.1483,þurh firenlustas fule synne,Doom 160,fyrenlustum,etc.;firensynnig we have in firensynnig folc Cr.1379. The verb firnian is found once,Sat.620,þa forworhtan (damned)þa ðe fyrnedon,Doom 214 fyrgende flaesc being found;gefyrnian is also met with,Ps.CV,6,We gefyrnedan(peccavimus).

Leahtor,m.,vice,crime,etc.,used in about the same sense as mān,firen,is found frequently. Gu.1045,lices leahtor,Cr.1531,leahtrum fa(devils),And.1216,leahtrum scyldige(Merm.),Cr.1315,leahtra gehygdu.



Of the three compounds leahtorlēas belongs here. Thus Gu.1060, El.1208, leahtorlease. Often the fusion has not taken place, as for instance Gu. 804, ealra leahtra leas (Adam in Paradise), similarly 920, 1161, etc.

Leahtorcwide is also encountered, so Jul.109, after leahtorcwidum, signifying blasphemy of heathen gods, being on a plane with torne teoncwide, þe þu taelnissun (205), of which Helisius speaks as þære grimnestan godscyld (204).

Wom, mn., stain, spot, defilement, disgrace, as also in a more general sense, is common. We note Instructions 79, wommas worda and daeda, 73, þeah he wom don/ofere metudes bebod, 17, wommes gewita, Cr.54, womnes tacn, 1544, (ne maeg hate dæl forbaernan) wom of ~~þ~~ære sawle, Rood B 14, forwunded mid wommum, Ps.L.38, Adweah me of sennum saule fram wammum (ab iniquitate). The adjective is used Ps.CII, 10, (be)wommum wyrhtum (secundum peccata). The interesting compound mānwom is found Cr.1218, manwomma gehwone (may be seen on the souls of the damned). Of others occur wancwide, wamdæd, wamful, wamsceada, wamscyldig, and wamwyrcende, either once or only a few times, but no further comment would seem necessary.

Another term of general import used in the poetry is gylt, m., guilt, sin, offence, from Teut. \*gultiz. It is used L.Prayer II, 19, gyltas synna/and ure leahtras alet (debita), Prayer IV, 27, ma fremede/grimra gylta, Doom 39, (owiht) heanra gylta (quidquam culparum, 19), 47, aglidene gyltas modgod gode gehaelan (qui solet allisos sanare, 24), 56, hu maere is /seo sode <sup>1</sup> hreow synna and gylta (peccati quantum valeat confessio vera, 28), 88, henda and gyltas (crimina, 45), Gen. 998, þurh forman gylt,

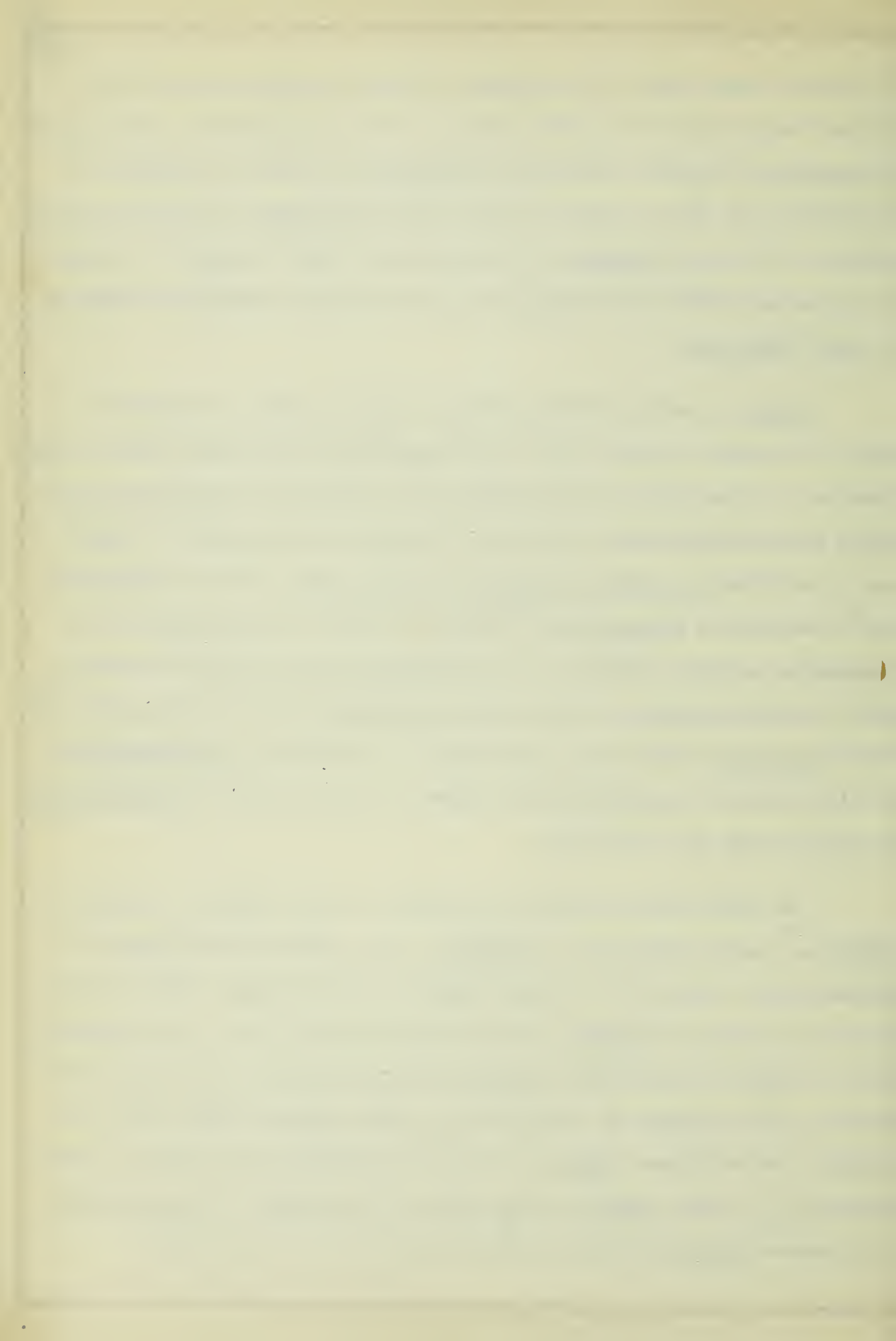
1 Is gyltas a gloss for aglidene, or should one translate, past sins? Compare note in Bibl. II, p.252.



El.816, sie mynra gylta,/--/gemyndig. Further examples are Gu.432, gyltum forgifene, Ps.L.84, fram synnum--/and fram misdaedum minra gylta (a peccatis), 39, geltas geclansa(a peccato), 112, geltas geclansa(--), Ps.LXXXIV, 3, na <sup>χ</sup>du ure gyltas egsan gewraece(peccata), 29, gyltas georne andhette. The verb āgyltan is comparatively rare. We have it L.Prayer II, 24, <sup>χ</sup>þam þe wið us oft agyltað, III, 114, we agylt habbað, Ps.CXVIII, 67, ic agylte(deliqui).

Scyld, f., fault, offense, crime, is used a number of times. We note Cr.97, þaet is Euan scyld eal forpynded, Gu.449, on eow scyld sittað<sup>χ</sup> (Guthlac to devils)! Dan.266, þe <sup>χ</sup>ða scylde worhtan, Chr.IV, 15, þe waeron butan scylde swa earmlice acwelde, Ps.L.63, me modor gebaer in scame and in sceldum(in peccatis concepit me mater mea), etc. Of compounds may be mentioned frumscyld, Sal.445, wyrd (devil) being spoken of as frumscylda gehwaes faeder and modor; godscyld, crime against heathen gods, Jul.204; mānschyld, see under mān; scyldfram, wicked craving, Gen.898 (Eve); scyldfull, occurring a few times, so El.310, etc.; scyldwrecende, Cr.1161, Hell eac ongeat/scyldwrecende (sin-avenging hell); scyldwyrcente Cr.1487, Ph.502, Jul.445, El.761.

To these terms others of a general nature might be added. So unþēaw, m., used especially in Meters, as þa unþeawas, XXII, 26, þa unþeawas aelces modes, XXVI, 117, his unþeawas ealle hatian, XXVII, 32. The specific meaning of unþēaw depends upon its modifiers or the context; while in Met.XXVI, 112, modes unþeaw, and similarly 117 the mind is referred to, the passage in Exhortation 41, þa unþeawas ealle, has a decidedly carnal flavor. Fācen, n., with its different compounds, is used frequently, as also unriht in the sense of nequitiae and unjustitia, furthermore uncyst, vice, and similar terms, which we pass over.



In entering now upon a discussion of specific sins, the material at hand makes it advisable to follow the division of St. Augustine of Peccata Operis, Peccata Cris, and Peccata Cordis. This plan has been followed by Kahle,<sup>1</sup> and what he says there in regard to the difficulties in carrying it out strictly applies with equal force to OE. poetry, and the solution adopted by him has been found advantageous also in our case.

### 1. Peccata Operis.

Under this heading carnal sins, or sins of the flesh, may be conveniently treated first, certain others following. The Latin caro as the seat of sinful lusts and desires is rendered in OE. by flāesc, n., as in Doom 175. Line 214, fyrgende flāesc renders caro luxurians, 107, of the Latin. Its use may be further illustrated by Soul 44, þurh flāesc and fyrenlustas/strange gestryned. Often lust, m., either alone or modified, expresses the carnal sins. In the example just quoted from Soul 44 we have fyrenlustas, as also 34, me fyrenlustas/þine geþrungon, possibly also in Cr. 1483, þu þæt selegescot, þæt ic me swaes on þe/gehalgode hus to wynne, /þurh firenlustas fule synne/unsyfre besmite, Exhortation 53, synlustas, mostly referring to sins of the flesh. But frequently the meaning is more general, though sometimes there may be doubt as to the exact rendering, as Jul. 409, lices lustas, Cr. 1297-8, leaslice lices wynne, /earges flāeschoman idelne lust; compare lices leahtor Gu. 1045. In this general sense the term is used Cr. 269, þurh synlust, 369, þurh firena lust, 756-7, idle lustas/synwunde; probably also Gu. 84, synna lustas, Jul. 369, ic him geswete synna lustas, Met. VIII, 15, hi firenlusta frece ne waeron.

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1 p. 398.





Gāelsa indicates the particular carnal sin expressed by Latin luxus, luxuria. Thus we have it Moods 11, his gemyndum modes gaelsan, Jul. 366, manigfealde modes gaelsan, Doom 179, paes gaelsan (luxuriae, 89), also 237, where aelc gaelsa/--scyldig renders scelerata libido, 119. A word closely related is gālnes, wantonness, lust, occurring once, Doom 178, glaed leofast on galnysse (servire libidine gaudes, 88). Two adjectives formed with gāl- may also be noted here, gālferhd, Jud. 62, and gālmōd, 256, both referring to the lustful Holofernes.

Wrāennes, wantonness, is found Doom 235, where it renders jocus, 118, and Met. XXV, 41, weaxad/ paere wraennesse woddrag micel.

Hefignes is encountered a few times in Meters, so XXII, 25, paes lichoman leahtras and hefignes, also 29; mid hefignesse his lichoman, 63.

The unclean lusts and desires lead to various sins, some of which have physical causes. Gluttony must be mentioned here. Exhortation 75 mentions pa oferfyllle, having discussed the subject before, 40, Warna be georne wid paere wambe fylle, to which are ascribed dire effects, 41-3, forpan heo pa unpeowas ealle gesomnad, /be paere saule swidost deriad, /paet is drunceness and dyrne geligere, to which is added, ungemet wilnung aetes and slaepes (44). Curiously enough, the author mentions not only that one may drive them away mid faestenum and forhaefdnessum (45), but also mid cyricsocnum cealdum wederum (47). Drunceness we have Exhortation 43, just quoted; druncen, f., occurs Instructions 34, druncen beorg be.

Exhortation 43 we had dyrne geligere, n., mentioned as one of the results of gluttony. Illicit intercourse, fornication, or adultery,



are mentioned several times in the poetry, the particular term used in each case being very expressive. From forlicgan we have in Cr.1611, lease and forlegene, the verb being employed Met.XVIII,9, gif se lic-homa forlegen weord<sup>x</sup>/unrihtaemende. Besides unrihtaemede, n., occurring in the passage just quoted, the word in the sense of adultery or fornication is found Met.IX,6 (referring to Nero). Wōhhāemed, n., occurs XVIII,2, se sylfa unrihta--/wra<sup>x</sup>da willa wohhaemedes. The sin of sodomy is referred to Gen.2458-9, paet mid pam haeledum haeman wolden/unscmlice. Wiflufu in the sense of adultery is used Jul.296, pa se halga wer/paere wiflufan wordum styrde, Herod's illicit relation being further characterized 297 as unrihte ae. In Instructions 36 the son is warned against idese lufan!37-9, fordon sceal aewiscmod oft sibian, /se pe gewited<sup>x</sup> in wifes lufan, /fremdre meowlan, the danger of def<sup>le</sup>iment being great.

Among the Peccata Operis worship of heathen gods and the devils may be pointed out here. Hāedengield, dēofolgield, etc., have already been discussed. Witchcraft and magic also belong here. Galdorcraeft, n., is ascribed to the Jews And.166, Judea galdorcraeftum. Wiccraeft we have mentioned Gifts 70, wiccraefta wis, and wiccungdōm Dan.121, both referring to witchcraft. Drycraeft (from dry, magician) is mentioned several times, for instance And.765, the Jews claiming concerning a miracle of Christ, paet hit drycraeftum gedon waere, /scingelacum, Met. XXVI, 54, cude<sup>x</sup> (Circe) galdra fela/drifan drycraeftas, to which is also referred 98, drycraeftum, and 102, mid drycraeftum. Scingelāc and scinlāc, n., magical practices, sorcery, we have Jul.214, as also Met. XXVI, 74, And. 766.



Other sins properly coming under this heading, such as murder, theft, etc., are also encountered, but since they offer nothing characteristically Christian, no treatment of them seems to be called for.

## 2. Peccata Oris.

Here belongs bismer, mnf., in a general sense insult, and when applied to God, blasphemy. Thus Ps. CV, 25, hi gefremedan oder bysmer (irritaverunt), CVI, 10, him hafdon on bysmer (irritaverunt); Judg. 70, bigdeð on bysmer. As occurrences of the verb we note And. 932, me bysmeredon--/ weras wansaelige (Jews Christ), Ps. LXXIII, 4, naman þinne nu bysmeriað, (irritat); gebysmerian, Ps. LXXVII, 56, hi heanne god gebysmeredan (exacerbaverunt Deum excelsum). In the sense of to blaspheme hyrwan occurs El. 355, ac hi hyrwdon me (Jews Christ). Hyspan, to mock, is found Cr. 1121, hysptun (Christ) mid hearmcwidum, the noun being hosp, m., in the sense of blasphemy when applied to the Deity. So Cr. 1444 (Ic gepolade) hosp and hearmcwide; in a somewhat general sense hospword is found Dan. 1315, in a more specific meaning El. 523, þaet þu hospcwide, / aefst ne eofol-saec aefre ne fremme, / grimme gegncwide wið godes bearne, though hospcwide as also the other terms used derive the specific meaning of blasphemy from the context. Onhyscan, to mock, is rare, occurring in the Psalms. Of other terms may be noted tēoncwide, Jul. 205, on þære grimmostan godscyld wrecan, / torne teoncwide, applied to heathen gods, the word also being encountered And. 771. Tēona, in the sense of slander we have Doom 137, seo tunge to teonangeclypede. Edwīt, n., scorn, abuse, is used a number of times. The damned have to endure deofles spellunge, / nu hie him on edwit oft asettað / swarte suslbonan, Sat. 638-40; Cr. 1122, spraecon him (Christ) edwit, Ps. LXXXVIII, 43, Cwepað him þaet edwit (exprobraverunt); in the same verse we have edwitspraece (appro-



brii), as also CI.6(exprobrabant), while Gu.418 the devils are called edwitsprecan.

A somewhat different sin is expressed by terms such as īdele sprāec, L. Prayer III, 108, and mānidel word (vanitatem), Ps. CXLIII, 9, 13, but they hardly need any further discussion. Gielp, mn., in the sense of boasting, though also in that of pride, arrogance, is rather frequent. Of the fallen angels it is said Gen. 25, haefdon gielp micel, 69, gylp farod; we note as further occurrences Dan. 599, ongan ða gyldigan þurh gylp micel, Sat. 254, Gu. 634, idel gylp. A number of compounds, such as gilpsprāec, are also found. The verb gielpan is very frequent; Dan. 714, gealp gramlice gode on andan, Gu. 237, firenum gulpon, Ps. LXXIII, 4, gylpað gramhydige (gloriati sunt), XCIII, 3, manwyrhtan mordre gyldað (peccatores gloriabuntur), etc., etc.

The most common term for lie is lyge, m., as exemplified El. 307, mengan ongunnon lige wið soðe, 575, lige ne wyrðeð, Sat. 53, pu (devil) us gelaerdest þurh lyge pinne. Of compounds may be noted lygesynnig, used once, El. 899, as an epithet of the devil; lygeword, occurring a few times, as Dan. 720, Ps. LVII, 3 (falsa), etc. The verb is lēogan, to lie, Moods 81, me se witega ne leag, Ps. LXXX, 14, him fynd godes faecne leogað (mentiti sunt ei). Ālēogan and gelēogan, though rare, also occur. Another term for lie is lygen, f., met with a number of times in Genesis, mid ligenum, 496, 531, 588, etc.; lygenword in the dat. pl. is found Gen. 299, the term occurring only once. A liar is called lygewyrhta, Sermon Ps. 28, 11, the dat. pl. being used. Lēas, n., is very rare; it is found El. 518, paet leas, and 576, lease leng gefylgað. The adjective is more frequent, occurring for instance Sermon Ps. 28, 24, etc. It may be pointed out that in Beow. 253, lease sceaweras is used in the sense of spies. Lēasung is rarely





met with; we have it El. 689, forlaete þa leasunga.

The OE. word for oath is ad. While in Beow. 2738-9 the idea of perjury is expressed by ne me swor fela/ada on unriht, Met. IV, 48, we have, on worulde her/monnum ne deriad mane adas (māne ādas<sup>1</sup>). The perjurer is called an adloga Cr. 1605 (hell is revealed) adlogum. Cr. 193 he is styled mānswara, the plural being found 1612.

Tāel, f., slander, calumny, is found a few times, as Prayer IV, 105, ic for taele ne maeg/aenigne moncynnes mode gelufian/eorl on eple. Tāelnis in the sense of blasphemy has already been quoted under that heading. The verb tāelan, to slander or backbite, is comparatively rare, being encountered for instance Sermon Ps. 28, 4, Eorl oðerne mid aef-þancum/and mid teonwordum taeled behindan, in Instructions 90 the father warning his son ne beo þu to taelende ne to tweospraece. In the sense of to blaspheme it is found Jul. 528, he his godu taelde. From the Ps. may be adduced CVIII, 20, þe oft wræde me trage taeldan (qui detrahunt mihi apud Dominum).

Wyrġdu, f., curse, is used a number of times. Thus we find it El. 295, þe eow of werġde (lysan þohte), Cr. 98, Euan scyld eal forpynded, / waerġða aworpen, Ps. CVIII, 17, he wolde wyrġdu wyrcean georne (dilexit maledictionem), etc. The verb is wyrġan, its use being illustrated Gen. 1594, (ongan hine) wordum wyrgean (Noah Ham), El. 294, þa ge werġdon þane, / þe eow of werġde (lysan þohte), Ps. LIV, 11, gif me min feond wyrġed (si inimicus maledixisset mihi). Relatively common is the form awyrġed, the accursed one, often applied to the devil or the lost, as Sat. 316, se awyrġda, etc., 676, awyrġda! etc. For a further discussion see ch. XII.

1 OS. mēnēth, OHG. meineid, ON. meineidr.



### 3. Peccata Cordis.

The chief one among the deadly sins in the church doctrine was the superbia, which in OE. poetry is often rendered by oferhygd, n., examples of which are numerous. Pride was at the bottom of the rebellion of the angels against God. Moods 57-8 tells us: paet waes geara iu in godes rice, /paette mid englum oferhygd astag, so that, 61, hi to swice pohten/and prymcyning peodenstolas/ricne beryfan. Of the chief it is said Gen. 22, aer X̄ don engla weard for oferhygde/dael on gedwilde, while 29 we are told in regard of all of them that aefst and oferhygd and paes engles mod proved their downfall. Of other occurrences of the term we note oferhygd, Dan. 490, oferhyd, 495, 615, fore oferhygdum, Jul. 423, on oferhygdo, Moods 23, oferhygda ful, 43, similarly 53; from the Ps. we quote, on oferhygde (in superbia), LVIII, 12, þe oferhygd up ahebbe (qui facit superbiam), C, 7, etc. etc. Oferhygdig, n., occurs Ps. LXXVII, 2 (aemulationem). The adjective oferhygdig is found a number of times, especially in the Psalms. We note englas oferhydige, Prayer IV, 55, oferhydig cyn engla, Gen. 66, oferhydige (superbos), Ps. CXVIII, 21, 22, oferhydigum (superbis), XCIIII, 2, etc.

In order to express superbia other terms are also employed, as ofermēde, n., Gen. 293, his engyl ongan ofermede micel ahebban wið his hearran; ofermedla, Dan. 657, for his ofermedlan; onmedla, a number of times as Cr. 815, onmaedla waes, Sat. 74, for X̄ dam ofermedlan, 429, for annaedlan, also Moods 75; Dan. 748, for annedlan. We have further ofermētto, f., Gen. 351, his ofermetto ealra swiðost, (chief angel) 332, þurh ofermetto, 337, þurh ofermetto ealra swiðost, (fallen angel); ofermod, n., Gen. 272, se engel ofermodes, Maldon 89, for his ofermode. The adjective ofermōd is found a number of times, so Gen. 262, ofermod wes an, 338, se ofermoda



cyning, (chief angel or devil), Met. X, 18, Eala ofermodan, etc. Ofermōdig in the pl. (superbi) occurs Ps. CXVIII, 51, found only once, as is also the verb ofermōdgian, Met. XVII, 16. Related terms are hēahmōd, adj., Moods 54, (Se þe hine sylfne) ahefed<sup>†</sup> heahmodne; swīdmōd, Dan. 529, etc., also hēahheort, adj., Dan. 540.

Among other terms for superbia we note wlenco, f., Gen. 2579, wlenco onwod, Dan. 17, hie wlenco onwod aet winþege, 678, wlenco gesceod, Gen. 1673, for wlence, etc. The adjective wlenc is also used, in Gu. 398, the saint speaking of monks in whom the sin of pride crops out. Gāl, n. is encountered Gen. 327, gal beswac (angels), and gālscipe, 341, for gal-scipe, in each case the term probably referring to pride. Baelc, L. superbia, arrogantia we find Jud. 267, baelc forbigeð<sup>†</sup> (Assyrians), and Gen. 54, baelc forbigde (rebellious angels).

Nīþ, m., L. invidia, is used in referring to the devil Ph. 400, also 413, þurh naedran nīþ; 469, wið nīþa gehwam; of Cain it is said Gen. 980-81, hygewaelm asteah/beorne on breostum, blatende nīð<sup>†</sup>, while And. 768, brandhata nīð<sup>†</sup> refers to the devil, etc. Similarly, also including hatred, aefest is employed. We have it Gen. 21, aefst and oferhygd and þaes engles mod (devil), Gu. 158, ne meahton hy (devils) aefeste anforlaetan 684, fore aefstum, Ph. 401, ealdfeondes aefest, El. 307, aefstum þurh inwit (Christ was crucified), Prayer IV, 47, is gromra to fela/aefstum eaden, And. 610, hie (Jews) for aefstum inwit syredon, El. 496, for aefstum unscyldigne (feore beraeddon - namely Christ), etc. etc.

Hete, m., is often employed in the sense of hatred, also having the wider meaning of hostility. We quote Gen. 648, se waes lað<sup>†</sup> gode, on hete heofoncyniges, 2273, (Ic fleah) hlafdigan hete, El. 424, (godes agen



bearn) þurh hete hengen on heanne beam. From hete a number of compounds are formed. We note hetebanc, Jul. 315, ne gerim witan/headra hetebanca, Beow. 475, mid his hetebancum; hetebancol, Jud. 105, hetebancolne; hetlen, full of hate, Cr. 364, hetlen helsceada. Fēogan, to hate, is encountered a considerable number of times, especially in the Psalms. We note Jul. 14, þa þe dryhtnes ae/feodon þurh firencraeft, El. 356, feodon þurh feondscipe, Ps. LXXVII, 1, þe hine feodon (qui oderunt eum), LXXXII, 2, ðe faeste aer feodan, drihten (oderunt te), etc.

Forhyrgan, despise, detest, exemplified by And. 1381, þu forhogodes heofoncyniges word, Gu. 713, sibban he þas woruld forhogde (not a sin here), Ps. LXXXVIII, 32, hine forhogodest (despexisti). Oferhyrgan, rare, Sat. 252, Utan oferhyrgan helm (God), Dan. 300, had oferhogodon halgan lifes Onscunnian, detest, found once, onscunnedon þone sciran scippend eallra, El. 370.

Yrre, n., ira, indignatio, is found frequently, especially in the Psalms. Met. XXV, 51, irre, Gen. 982, yrre for aefstum (Cain), Jul. 117, þurh yrre ageaf andsware/faeder, Gen. 695, godes yrre habban, Ps. LXXVII, 7, þa to yrre beoð ealle gecigde (eos qui in ira provocant), LXXVII, 58, swa he his yrre oft aweahtan (in iram concitaverunt), etc. The adjective is frequently found, Jud. 225, haeled waeron yrre, Dan. 324, weard yrre anmod cyning, Ps. LXXVII, 40, on yrre mod eft gebrohtan, etc. Among other terms may be noted yrsung, thrice used in Meters, while the adjective yrtinga and the verb yrnian are also rare.

Āebylg, n., is found once, Gu. 1211, geaefnan aebylg godes; āebylgd, f., in the sense of anger Ps. LXXVII, 40, He aebyligde on hi bitter and yrre sarlic sende (misit in eos iram indignationis suae); āebylgnes, L. indignatio, Moods 71, he him aebylgnesse oft gefremmede, and Ps. LXVIII,





25, aeylignes eac yrres pines (indignatio irae tuae). Belgan, to become indignant, angry, is frequently employed, abelgan and gebelgan being also found.<sup>1</sup> Abylgan, to anger, offend, we have Ps. CV, 32, hi hine on ge-beahte oft abyldan (exacerbaverunt), Sat. 195, paet he ne abaelige bearn waldendes. Among other terms we note hātheortnes, anger, fury, used once, Met. XXV, 47, mid ðaem swidan welme/hatheortnesse. Torn (OHG. zorn), n., Gn. Ex. 182, penden him hyra torn toglide, Gen. 2508, his torn wrecan, etc., Gu. 176, waeron teonsmidas tornes fulle, etc. Of compounds appear such as gārtorn, fighting rage, used Sal. 145, gartorn geotað gifrum deofle, tornmōd, once, Gu. 621, and tornwracu, once, Gu. 262. It may be pointed out here that the same terms are occasionally also applied to the Deity, and merely for the purpose of illustration we have at times added an example thus used.

Gītsung, desire, covetousness, avarice. Met. VIII, 43, ðeos gitsung, 46, sio gitsung, VII, 15, grundless gitsung gielpes and aehta, X, 13, gitsunge gelpes, Gu. 121-2, naeles by he giemde þurh gitsunga/laenes lif-welan. From the Psalms we note CXVIII, 36, nalaes me gitsung forniman mote (in avaritiam), CV, 12, ongunnon gitsunge began (concupierunt concupiscentiam), L. 24, for gitsunga (libidine percitus, Grein). Of compounds occur woruldgītsung, Met. VII, 12; we find also woruldgītsere, Met. XIV, 1, and feohgītsere, VIII, 55. Closely related are feohgīfre, Wand. 68, and gōdes grāedig, Sal. 344; similar terms might be added. Once faesthafolness is found, Doom 239, rendering dira cupido, 112. Mānsceat, m., usury, occurs once, Ps. LXXI, 14, He of mansceatte and of mane eac sniome hiora sawle softe alyside (ex usuris et iniquitate).

1 For examples see Sprachschatz.



Twēogan, to doubt, is sometimes found in the religious sense. Thus Jud.1, (No heo tirmeotudes) tweode gifena/in ðys ginnan grunde, 346, huru aet þaem ende ne tweode/þaes lænes þe heo lange gyrnde, Gu. 515, ne getweode treow in breostum; And.772, tweogende mod, to which may be contrasted El.798, hyht untweondne on þone ahangnan Crist.

A noun ungelēafa does not occur in the poetry, though we have the adjective once, Ps.LXVII,19, ungeleafa menn(non credentes). The idea is variously paraphrased, a complete discussion of which need not be given here. Not seldom unbelief or godlessness is represented as error, deception. Gedwild is used for instance Gen.922, hean þrowian/þinra daeda gedwild, 22-3, engla weard for oferhygde/dael on gedwilde. Misgedwild is also found, so Jul.326, þaet we soðfaestra/þurh misgedwild mod oncyrran. Gedwola is used several times, as for instance Dan.22, in gedwolan hweorfan, Cr.344, gedwolan hyran, Gu.230, gedwolan dreogan. Practically in the sense of idolatry we find it And.1688, deofulgild todraf and gedwolan fylde, 611, þurh deopne gedwolan deofles larum. Of Cyriacus it is said El.1040, (wid̅soc)deofulgildum and gedwolan fylde, while 1118-19, referring to the Jews, we find, þurh deofles spild in gedwolan lange/acyrred fram Criste. Arius' heresy is labeled Arrianes/gedwola, Met.I,40-1. The verb gedwelan in the religious sense we have exemplified Gen.1236, daedum gedwolene(people of Sodom and Gomorrah), similarly Jul.13.

Untrēow, f., we find in a secular sense Met.II,13, in the religious meaning Gen.773, þurh untreowa. Ungetrēowe, perfidious, is encountered Gn.Ex.163, Waerleas man and wonhydig, /aetrenmod and ungetreow. Untrēowd̅, f., Gen.581, he tyh̅d̅ me untreowd̅a. The cowardly companions of Beowulf are called treowlogan, 2847. Cowardice, perfidy, and disloyalty



would of course be regarded as cardinal sins by the Germanic mind.

Unsōd<sup>x</sup>faestnes occurs only once in poetry, Ps. LIV, 9, (injustitia). The adjective is also rare; we have it Ps. CV, 6, we unsōd<sup>x</sup>faeste ealle waeron (injuste), and CXIII, 11, unsōd<sup>x</sup>faestne wer (virum injustum). Unriht in the sense of injustice is also found.

God tempts or probes man in order to find out his position. The word used is costian, for instance Gen. 2846, pa paes rinces se rica ongan/cyning costian (God Abraham). The devil also tempts man, but with the object of seducing him. Here also costian is employed. Regarding the tempting of Christ we hear Sat. 671, paet he (devil) costode cyning alwihta. Of St. Guthlac it is said Gu. 124, He gecostad weard<sup>x</sup>. The noun is costung, a word comparatively rare. We find it L. Prayer I, 9, Ne laet usic costunga cnyssan to swide, II, 28, (Ne laed þu us) in costunge temptationen), and III, 105, us þu ne laet laðe beswican/on costunga (temptationen). We have the term also Gu. 9, sindan costinga/---monge arisene, and 409, Waes seo aereste earmra gaesta/costung ofercumen. Frāsung, temptation, is found Gu. 160, frasunga fela.

The devil himself describes his infernal strategy at some length in Juliana, under the picture of assailing the castle, etc. To express his procedure in winning man in language not figuratively, we quote<sup>1</sup> Abbetmeyer on Jul. 362 ff.: "Wherever he (namely the devil) finds the mind steadfast, he arouses wanton pride by inspiring fallacious, delusive thoughts ('suggestio'); he makes sinful lusts appear attractive, until the mind obeys his teaching ('delectatio'); he sets it so on fire with sins that, all ablaze, it will no longer tarry in the house of

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 1 Old English Poetical Motives Derived from the Doctrine of Sin, p. 38.



prayer for love of vice, but do the devil's will ('consensus')."

The work of the devil is often expressed by beswican, to deceive, defraud, seduce, a term also used in a more general sense, as Dan. 29-30, od þæt hie langung beswac/eordan dreamas eces raedes, Har. 25-6, we þurh gifre mod/beswican us sylfe. In regard to the devil the term is used frequently. So Judg. 16, oppæt hy beswicad synna weardas, L. Prayer III, 104, na us þu ne laet laðe beswican/on costunge, Gu. 540, þonne hy soð-faestra sawle willad/synnun beswican and searocraeftum, Gen. 450-52, (devil) wolde dearnunga drihtnes geongran, /mid mandaedum menn beswican, /forlaedan and forlaeran, etc. etc. Forlaēdan and forlaēran are also employed. We note further Gu. 547, (woldon geteon) in orwennysse (despair), fortēon Cr. 269, þonan us aer þurh synlust se swearta gaest/forteah and fortylde; fortyhtan, found once, El. 208, swa se ealde feond/forlaerde lige searwum, leode fortyhte. Dimscua, darkness, is employed And. 141, under dimscuan deofles larum. Gespan, n., seduction, we find once, Gen. 270, deofles gespon; the verb spanan occurs Gen. 588, mid listum speon/idese on þæt unriht, similarly 687; bespanan we have once, Jul. 224, ic Herodes in hige bespeon (to behead John the Baptist). Scyccan, in the sense of to seduce, occurs Gen. 898, Me naedre beswac and me neodlice/to forsceope scyhte. Scucca is the seducer, devil, demon, as in Beow. 939, scuccum and scinum, Ps. CV, 27, sceuccum (daemoniis), scuccgyld occurring Ps. CV, 26, sceuccgyldum (sculptilibus).





## CHAPTER X

## FAITH, CONVERSION, REPENTANCE

The teachings of Christianity demand of man that he forsake sin and lead a new life in Christ. By the grace of God faith accomplishes this regeneration or re-birth, and remains the basis from which Christian virtues and good works proceed as natural and inevitable evidences of sanctification.

1. Faith.

The New Testament  $\pi\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\iota\varsigma$ , which the Vulgate renders by fides,<sup>1</sup> is expressed in OE. by gelēafa, OHG. galauba. As in the case of OHG., gelēafa may be used in both the subjective and the objective sense, though the former is much more common. In the objective meaning it occurs only a few times, as in the missionary command Cr.483, bodiad and bremad beorhtne geleafan, and similarly And.335, Bodiad aefter burgum beorhtne geleafan.

As a rule, subjective faith is expressed by gelēafa, often a modifying adjective also being employed. Thus we have Invocation 8, An is geleafa, an lifgende, El.1033, his geleafa weard/faest on fernde, Jud.6, heo ahte trumne geleafan/a to dam aelmihtigan, Charms I, 34, mid faeste geleafan, Gen.543, Ic haebbe me faestne geleafan up to þam aelmihtigan gode, Ps.LXXVII, 36, (ne haefdon) on hiora fyrhpe faestne geleafan (nec fideles habiti sunt), Jud.97, mid rihte geleafan, 89, 345, soðne geleafan,

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1 For this ch. compare Raumer, p.388, ff., Kahle, I, 407 ff., II, 152-3.



Gu.770, beorhtne geleafan, El.401, leohtne geleafan, Jul.653, (mid)leohte geleafan, El.1136, leohte geleafan, also Gu.624, 1084, Ph.497; Dan.643, leohtran geleafan in liffruman, Jul.377, leohtes geleafan.

The verb is gelēfan, gelīfan, gelyfan, generally expressing the L. credere, though also rendering fidere and sperare. As gelēfan is of such frequent occurrence, only a few characteristic examples need be given here. Gen.2388, (ne)soð gelyfan, Creed 2, Ic on sunu þinne soðne gelyfe, Prayer III, 29, þe gelyfað on lyfiendne god, Creed 54, Lisse ic gelyfe leahtra gehwylces, Ps.LXXVII, 31, noldon his wundrum wel gelyfan (non crediderunt in mirabilibus ejus), Chr.IV, 13, Nu is to gelyfenne to ðan leofan gode.

Only a few compounds are met with in the poetry. Ungelēaf has already been cited in ch.IX. The acc. or inst. of soðgelēafa is found Gen.2325. Gelēafful occurs a few times, so El.959, referring to Cyriacus and as geleaffull 1047; Ps.C, 6, we find Ofer geleaffule eorðbugende (ad fideles terrae), Doom 61, wordum ac geleaffullum (fidei sermone, 31). Gelēafsum occurs once, Ps.XCII, 6, Þin gewitnes is weorcum geleafsum (testimonia tua credibilia facta sunt).

Sometimes other terms than gelēafa are used to express substantially the same idea. So we find Az.165, (that they might not) acwellan cnyhta æ. Trēow, f., is not infrequently employed. We note Cr. 82, where it is said of the Virgin Mary, Huru treow in þe weorðlicu wunade, Partridge 5, ge mid treowe to me/on hyge hweorfað, Jul.29, Hio in gaeste baer/halge treowe, 655, Soðe treowe and sibbe mid eow/healdað aet heortan, Ex.366, (Noah)Haefde him on hrede halige treowa, Gu.311, (no) treow getweode, 515, him ne getweode treow in breostum, Met.XXXI, 18, þaet his trewa sceal/and his modgedonc ma up þonne nider/habban to heofonum



Hygetrēow we have Gen. 2367, (God promises Isaac) him soðe to modes waere mine gelaetan, /halige higetreawa.

Trēowan and getrēowan are sometimes used in the same sense as gelēfan. Thus Ps. CXIII, 17, aeghwylcum, þe him on treowad (omnes qui confidunt in eis); Jul. 435, þu in ecne god/þrymsittendne þinne getreowdes, etc., Ps. CXXIV, 1, þa þe on drihten heora daedum getreowad (qui confidunt in Domino). Especially noteworthy is the use in Creed, where getrēowan and gelēfan are used interchangeably. We have 49, Eac ic gelyfe, þaet syn leofe gode, 52, and ic gemaenscipe maerne getrēowe (þinra haligra), 54, Lisse ic gelyfe leahtra gehwylces, and 55, and ic þone aerest ealra getrēowe.

The Christian idea of hope is of course closely related to that of faith. Sometimes it even seems that the same terms are synonymous. Among other examples that might be quoted we note Prayer IV, 36, Gesette minne hyht on þec, Cr. 865, Uton us to þaere hyde hyht stapelian, El. 797, hyht untweondne on þone ahangnan Crist, Gu. 770-1, berað in breostum beorhtne geleafan, /haligne hyht; Met. VII, 44, hopað to þam ecum, Exhortation 10, se miccla hopa to þinum haelende.

## 2. Conversion.

Conversion is expressed in different ways in OE. poetry, the turning away from sin and the turning to God being especially emphasized. In order to indicate conversion, the New Testament uses the terms ἐπιστρέφειν, στραφῆναι, and ἐπιστροφή, rendered in the Vulgate by convertere, converti, and conversio. These are concrete terms used in every-day life, metaphorically expressing actions taking place in the religious life of individuals. In OHG., ON., and OE. similar expressions are employed. In OE. poetry cyrran, which as a rule denotes



to turn in a profane sense, is employed to indicate conversion, as Ps. L.56, Ac ðu synfulle simle laerdes, / ðaet hio cerrende Criste herdon. Gecyrran in the sense of to convert is used a few times; we note Ps. CXIV, 7, gecyr mine sawle on þines raedes reste (convertere anima mea in requiem tuam), etc., Ps. L.64, ðaet ic fram ðaem synnum selfe gecerre, 106-7, þaet hie arlease eft gecerdan/to hiora selfra saula hiorde (et impii ad te convertentur). On the other hand, apostacy is similarly expressed as a turning away from God, so Jul. 411, acyrred cudlice from Cristes ae, El. 1110, acyrred from Criste.

Other expressions are also used. We note for to convert, Cr. 485, fulwiad folc under roderum, / hweorfad to heofonum, And. 974, Fe ðu gehweorfest to heofonleohte / þurh minne naman, Ps. LXXXIV, 4, Gehweorf us hrade, haelend drinten (Converte nos Deus, salutaris noster); And. 1682, wenede to wuldre weorod unmaete; Gu. 70-1, sibban hine inlyhte, se þe lifes weg / gaestum gearwad; And. 1618, Laerde þa þa leode on geleafan weg; Jul. 638-9, Ongan heo þa laeran and to lofe trymman / folc of firenum, etc. To be converted is also expressed in many different ways: And. 1691-3, hweorfan higeblide fram helltrafum / þurh Andreas este lare / to faegeran gelean; El. 1038-41, he þaet betere geceas, / wuldres wynne and þam wursan widsoc, / deofolgildum and gedwolan fylde, / unrihte ae, 1045-6, inbyrded breostsefa on þaet betere lif, / gewended to wuldre; Partridge 5-6, ge mid treowe to me / on hyge hweorfad; Gu. 627, (Ic eom) leomum inlihted to þam leofestan / ecan earde; Met. V, 25-6, þaet soðe leoht sweotele ancnewan / leohte geleafan; Ap. 52-3, þaer manegum weard mod onlihted, / hige onhyrded, þurh his halig word.





3. Repentance.

In order to express repentance the New Testament uses *μετάνοια*, which is rendered in the Vulgate by poenitentia. According to Catholic doctrine poenitentia is divided into three parts, contritio, confessio, and satisfactio. In OHG. hriuwa, bijihti, and buoza are employed, though not always used in their strict sense. In OE. poetry no such definite distinction can be made. Hrēow as a rule is used for contritio, a distinct term for confessio does not occur at all, though we find scrift in the sense of confessor, while bōt would seem to be more inclusive than satisfactio.

Hrēow, f., is used a few times, so in the strictly religious sense Met. XVIII, 11, bute him aer cume/hreow to hcortan, aer he hionan wende, Cr. 1557, ne he wihte hafad/hreowa on mode, and somewhat more general 904 hrewum gedreahte (overwhelmed with sorrow at the destruction of the world), 1675, þær naefre hreow cymed (in Heaven). In Doom 56 the term is more inclusive than contritio, for hu micel forstent and hu maere is/seo sode hreow synna and gylta renders the Latin peccati quantum valeat confessio vera. Of compounds hrēowcearig occurs a few times, so in the strictly religious sense Cr. 367, hreowcearigum help; it is said in the Dream of the Rood, 25, ic þær licgende lange hwile/beheold hreowcearig haelendes treow; in a more general sense we have it Gu. 1026, where the saint's companion is said to be hyge hreowcearig, and Jul. 536, where the term is applied to the devil. Hrēowig is used once, Gen. 799, Nu wit hreowige, referring to Adam and Eve. Hrēowigmōd is rare; it occurs Gen. 777, þæt wif (Eve) gnornode, /hof hreowigmōd, while Jud. 290, in referring to the Assyrians, the plural is used in a profane sense. Hrēowlīc

1 Raumer, p. 393.



in a religious meaning is encountered Doom 75, mid hreowlicum tearum, the Latin having lacrymis profusis, 40. We may add here the description of the contritio as found in Doom 78-9, hwi not feormast þu/mid teara gyte torne synne (cur tua non purgas lacrymis peccata profusis, 40), and 82, Nu þu scealt grotan, teoras geotan (fletibus assiduis est, 42).

The verb is hrēowan, āhrēowan and gehrēowan also being found. Adam says Gen. 816, nu me maeg ahreowan, 819, me nu hreowan maeg, while Eve rejoins 826, on þinum hyge hreowan, þonne hit me aet heortan ded<sup>x</sup>, Sat. 540, him (Jews) þaet gehreowan maeg (Crucifixion of Christ), Sat. 340, Him (devil) þaet oft gehreaw, Ps. XL, 4, forðon me hreowed<sup>x</sup> nu, þaet ic firene on ðe fremede (-quia peccavi tibi), Gen. 1276, hreaw hine (God) swiðe<sup>x</sup> (that he had created Adam), etc.

Confession is expressed in OE. prose by scrift, m., etymologically connected with Latin scribere<sup>1</sup>. The term has also the meaning of confessor and of prescribed penalty. ON. uses script, scrift, and though the word is found in other Teutonic dialects, the meaning penance<sup>n</sup>, confession, is confined to English and Scandinavian. The verb scrifan in the sense of to judge appears in OE. poetry, so Jul. 728, scyppend scynende scrifeð<sup>x</sup> bi gewyrhtum/eall aefter ryhte, while forscrifan in the sense of to condemn is encountered Beow. 106, siddan him (Grendel) scyppend forscriften haefde, and Sat. 33, hu he þaet scyldi werud forscriften haefde.

Scrift in the sense of confessor occurs once in the poetry, Cr. 1306, ne maeg þurh þaet flaesc se scrift/geseon on þaere sawle, hwæper him man soð<sup>x</sup> þe lyge/sagað<sup>x</sup> on hine sylfne, /þonne he þa synne bigaet<sup>x</sup>.

1 For the etymology compare NED. under shrift, also Kahle, I, 409-10.



If bigān has here the sense of to confess, it is the only example of such occurrence.<sup>1</sup> In line 1305 the confessor is called godes bodan (dat.) We may point out here, as has also been done under contritio, that in Doom 56 seo sode hreow renders confessio vera.

The third part of the poenitentia consists in the satisfactio, penance. In the Germanic languages we have, OHG. buoza, OFris. bōte, OS. bōta, ON. bót, while OE. uses bōt, f., the general meaning of which is advantage, compensation. However, in the poetry its meaning is more inclusive than the Latin satisfactio, as El. 494 for instance, Gif we sona eft/para bealudaeda bote gefremmað, and 1125, se ðe (Cyriacus) to bote gehwearf/purh bearn godes. Daēdbōt is met with once in the poetry, Doom 85, paet man her wepe/and daēdbote do, rendering poenituisse iuvat, line 43. The verbs bētan and gebētan are also found, in the religious sense Prayer IV, 34, peah he laetlicor/bette bealodaede, and Ps. L. 151-2, fordon he gebette balanida hord/mid eadmede ingepance. Unbēted occurs only once, Cr. 1312, wom unbeted (guilt or stain unatoned).

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<sup>1</sup> Compare note in Cook's Christ, p. 204.



## CHAPTER XI

## CHRISTIAN VIRTUES, QUALITIES, AND GOOD WORKS

1. Virtues.

In order to render Latin virtus OE. prose sometimes uses maegen, n., a term generally expressing vigor, power, might.<sup>1</sup> In OE. poetry maegen as a rule has the latter meaning, though in a case like Cr. 748,<sup>2</sup> of maegene on maegen maerþum tilgan, it may perhaps be rendered virtue. In other passages as Met. XX, 202, Hio (namely prudence) is þæt maeste maegen monnes saule, and El. 408, þa ðe snyttro mid eow/maegn and mod-craeft maeste haebban, the connotation would seem to represent the transitional stage. Another word closely approaching in meaning to virtue is dugub, f., power, efficiency. Sat. 122, dugubum bedeled, it probably occurs in the sense of power, but having the meaning virtue, Panther 57, Swa is dryhten god dreama raedend/eallum eadmedum oprum gesceaftum/duguda gehwylcre, which Thorpe renders "to everything of virtue", and Grein "den edelen anderen Geschoepfen". Cyst, mf., really choice, is sometimes used in the sense of virtue. Thus Gifts 106, his giefe bryttad/sumum on cystum, sumum on craeftum, Chr. V, 23, kystum god (Edward), Jul. 381, he sippan sceal/godra gumcysta geasne hweorfan, And.

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- 1 For this chapter compare Raumer, p. 397 ff., Kahle, I, 411 ff., II, 108 ff.
  - 2 Compare note on p. 146 of Cook's Christ. Ps. LXXXIII, 7, on which the phrase in Christ seems to have been modelled, has of maegene on maegen (de virtute in virtutem), in the sense of strength, victory. It is interesting to note that in ON. kraptr, really power, might, renders L. virtus in the religious sense of virtue, while the L. term itself originally denoted manly strength.
  - 3 Codex Exoniensis, p. 359.
  - 4 Dichtungen, I, p. 219.





1606, *paet we gumcystum georne hyran, while of Cain it is said, Gen.*  
 1004, *se cystleasa cwalmes wyrhta. The plural of þēaw, m., though gener-*  
*ally modified, is at times used in the sense of virtues. We cite El.*  
 1210, *cristenum þeawum, Ph. 444, þa þe meotude wel/gehyrdun under heofonum*  
*halgum <sup>✕</sup>ðeowum, /daedum domlicum, Gu. 577, hyran holdlice minum haelende/*  
*þeawum and gepyncdum.*

The chief Christian virtue is love. The New Testament dis-  
 tinguishes religious from profane love by using *ἀγάπη, ἀγαπᾶν* for  
 the former and *φιλία* for the latter. The Vulgate employs amor and  
amare for sexual and other secular love, while caritas and diligere  
 serve to express the religious emotion. Later this distinction is  
 partly obliterated, amor dei for instance being frequently found. In  
 OHG. and ON. no such distinctive terms are used, which holds good also  
 for OE. Here we have lufu, f., OHG. luba. The word is comparatively  
 frequent in the poetry, generally occurring in the religious sense. The  
 secular use is illustrated for instance Gen. 2737, *lufum and lissum,*  
 1906, *lufu langsumu, Instructions 36, idese lufan, 38, wifes lufan; Jul. 206,*  
*wiflufan, Gen. 2514, sibblufan, 1834, freondlufu. The examples dealing*  
*with religious love have been selected with a view of showing particu-*  
*lar qualities or relations. Jul. 652, (establish) mid lufan sibbe, /leohte*  
*geleafan, Gu. 441, þaet seo lufu cyðeð, /þonne heo in monnes mode getim-*  
*breð /gaestcunde gife, Men. 82, (Phil. and James died) for meotudes lufan,*  
*Judg. 48, lufan dryhtnes, also Seaf. 121, El. 491, similarly 247, 1205; Gu. 9,*  
*colap Cristes lufu, Jul. 31, for Cristes lufan claene geheolde (her maiden-*  
*hood), Exhortation 8-2, seo hluttre lufu/godes and manna, And. 1063, hacfde*  
*hluttre lufan, /ece upgenynd engla blisse, Jul. 669, soð lufu, Sermon Ps.*

1 Rauner, pp. 308-9.

2 Kahle, I, p. 412.



28,39, þæt he soðlice sibbe healde, /gaestlice lufe; Az. 172, for gaestlufan, 188, mid gaestlufan, Gen. 24, ac hie of siblufan/godes ahwurfan, Cr. 635, mid siblufan sunu waldendes/freonoman cende, Dox. 29, (those that know) haligne heortlufan (in observing Sunday, And. 83, faeste fyrðlufan, Cr. 583, torne bitolden waes seo treowlufu/hat aet heortan, Gen. 101, byrnende lufu, El. 936, fyrhat lufu, /weallende gewitt, Gu. 337, brondhat lufu, etc.

The verb is lufian, very frequent. We note Jul. 111, lufige mid lacum þone þe leoht gesceop, 48, gif þu soðne god/lufast, Ph. 478, hate aet heortan hige weallende/daeges and nihtes dryhten lufiað, Cr. 471, lufudun leofwendum lifes agend, Ps. CXIV, 1, ic lufie þe (Dilexi), CIII, 32, ic minne drihten deorne lufige (ego vero delectabor in Domino), LXIX, 5, þine haelu holde lufigean (diligunt salutare tuum).

Another Christian virtue is fear of God, the reverential awe due the supreme power. In the Old Testament the idea of fear is prominent, but though in the New Testament it is modified to reverential awe, L. still retains timor, timere.<sup>1</sup> In OE. poetry the idea is variously expressed. We have And. 1022, mid cwide sinum/gretan godfyrhtne (Matth.), 1516, godfyrhte guman Josua and Tobias, Ps. L. 14, þaette godferhte gylt gefraemmad. Ege, m., and egesa are more commonly used. We note Exhortation 17, hafa metodes ege on gemang symle, /þæt is witodlice wisdomes ord, Ps. CXI, 1, se þe him ege drihtnes on ferhðcleofan faeste gestanded (qui timet Dominum), CXVIII, 38, þa on ege þinum ealle healde (in timore tuo) ! Jul. 35-6, hire waes godes egesa/mara in gemyndum, Gen. 2865-6, him gaesta weardes/egesa on breostum wunode, Ph. 461, flyhð yfla gehwylc/grimme gieltas for godes egsan, Ps. CI, 13, in a more general sense, ealle

1 Kahle, I, p. 413.



eordbuend egsan habbad<sup>x</sup>(et timebunt gentes), in a religious sense, LXXXIV, 8, þam þe egsan his elne healdad<sup>x</sup>(timentes eum). Ondraedan is also used a number of times, so Exhortation 38, gif he him god ne ondraet, Seaf. 106, þe him his dryhten ne ondraedep, Ps. CII, 16, þa þe ondraedad<sup>x</sup> him(timentes eum), CXXVII, 1, Eadige syndon ealle, þe him ecne god drihten ondraedad<sup>x</sup>(Beatissimus, qui timent Dominum), LIV, 20, ne him godes fyrhtu georne ondraedad<sup>x</sup>(non timuerunt Deum), where we have in addition fyrhtu.

As the remedy against superbia and as one of the most important Christian virtues appears humility, the L. humilitas. The idea of humility was foreign to the Germanic heathen mind, so that the Christian terminology had to be created. In Gothic hauneins, really lowering, lowliness of mind, came to be used, in ON. litelléte and the adjective litellátr. In OHG. the terms are odmuoti, deomuiti, etc., which, as will be seen, are closely related to those used in OE. Here we have the adj. ēadmōd, as Gu. 571, Eom ic eadmōd his ambiehthera, /þeow gebyldig, Seaf. 107, Eadig bið se þe eapmōd leofad<sup>x</sup>, Men. 99, he (Augustine) on Brytene her/ eadmōde him eorlas funde/to godes willan, Moods 68, eadmōd leofad<sup>x</sup>/and wip gesibbra gehwone simle healded<sup>x</sup>/freode on folce and his feond lufad<sup>x</sup> 78, gif þu eadmōdne eorl gemete. Ēadmōd is also used, so Exhortation 3, þanne beo þu eadmōd, Ps. CXXXVII, 6, þu eadmōdra ealra locast(humilia respicit), the adverb ēadmōdlice occurring Exhortation 48, eadmōdlice ealluncga biddan/heofena drihten. Ēadmēde and ēadmēde are also encountered. We note Panther 56, dreama raedend/eallum eadmedum oprum gesceaftum/duguda<sup>e</sup> ghwylcre; Ps. CXV, 1, ic eom eadmede(ego humiliatus sum). The verb geēadmēdan is rare, used Ps. L. 128, geeadmeded ingeþancum,

1 Compare Kahle, I, pp. 413-14.

2 The unchanged reading of the MS. Grein, Dichtungen, I, p. 219, translates, "den demutgesinnten".



and CXLI,6,ic geeadmeded eom(huminiatus sum).

The noun employed is ēadmēdu,ēadmēdu,pl.n.,Gu.75,burh eadmedu, 748,oft his word gode/burh eadmedu up onsende,299,He waes on elne and on eadmedum,El.1100(Cyriacus prays)eallum eadmedum,Ps.CXVIII,153,ac min eadmedu(humiliatem meam),CXXX,3,ic mid eadmedum eall gepafige (humiliter);Ps.CXII,5,bu eadmedu aeghwaer begangad on eordwege,up on heofenum(et humilia respicit in celo et in terra). Eadmētto,pl.n.,is used Met.VII,33(wyrce him)his modes hus,paer he maege findan/eadmetta stan ungemet faestne,while in 38 the reference is to the Deity,for- paem on paere dene drihten selfe/para eadmetta earfaest wunigad.

The Latin miser cordia is often expressed by milds,milts,f.,a term whic is generally applied to the Deity. As supposedly pertaining to man we encounter it And.289,on merrefarode miltse gecydan; in Gu. 303 we find,no he hine wid monna miltse gedaelde,/ac gesynta baed sawla gehwylcre. An adjective often found is milde,really liberal, frequently applied to God. It is also used of man,as Gifts 108,sumun he syled monna milde heortan,Chr.V,23,kyningc,kystum god,claene and milde,probably in the religious sense,since it refers to Eadweard,(who) sende sopfaeste sawle to Criste(2),Cr.1350-2,the judge telling the blessed:Ge paes earnodon,pa ge earne men/woruldpearfendewillum on-fengum/on mildum sefan. In Az. 149 the three youths are called milde maesseras. Of Beowulf it is claimed,3181,though probably in a profane sense,that he was wyruldcyninga,/manna mildust. Mildheort is hardly ever used of man,though we find it Ps.LXXXIII,12,paet man si mildheort mode sodfaest(miser cordiam et veritatem). The noun mildheortnes,L. miser cordia,is used only in the Psalms,and always refers to God.





Man bwaere, L. mansuetus, is rarely applied to man. We note Ps. CXLIX, 4, þam manþwaerum syled<sup>x</sup> maere haelu (exaltabit mansuetos in salutem), in the same sense CXLVI, 6, milde mode and manþwaere, (mansuetos), while it is used of Beowulf 3181, manna mildust and man(þw)ærust.

The idea expressed by L. patientia would have been repugnant to the Germanic heathen mind. Only gradually could such a virtue take hold among a fierce and vindictive people. OE. uses gebyld, f., in order to render patientia. Thus we find in Beow. 1395 the admonition, Ðys dogor þu gebyld hafa/weana gehwylces; Prayer IV, 22, (Forgif þu me) gebyld and gemynd þinga gehwylces, /þara þu me, soðfaest cyning, sendan wille/to cunnunge, Gifts 71, Sum gewealdenmod/hafað<sup>x</sup> in gebylde, þaet he þonne sceal, 79, Sum gebyld hafað<sup>x</sup>, /faestgongel ferð<sup>x</sup>, Ps. LXI, 5, he minre gebylde þingum wealded<sup>x</sup> (quoniam ab inso patientia mea), Gu. 866, he gebyldum bad (the saint). The adjective gebyldig is even rarer than the noun. We note Gen. 2662, þeowfaest and gebyldig (Abr.), Gu. 572, Eom ic eadmod his ambienþera, /þeow gebyldig. Modgebyldig is found And. 981, Ða waes gemyndig modgebyldig/beorn.

Abstinencia is once rendered by forhaefdnes, Exhortation 46, (þa man maeg--mid)forhaefdnessum heonan adrifan (namely gluttony and its effects).

## 2. Qualities.

Here a number of terms may be conveniently treated, such as certain virtues, etc., qualities of the pious and faithful, which are ascribed not so much to any particular persons as representing a class, but rather to them as the adherents of God and Christ and as members of the heavenly kingdom. The apostles, patriarchs, saints, and the



blessed in Heaven are all represented, and need not be treated separately, since they all come under the heading of the faithful, and similar qualities are ascribed to them.

Godsæd, n., really God's seed, is encountered in the sense of piety Dan. 90, gode in godsæde (three youths<sup>h</sup> in the fiery furnace).

Folc godes, Cr. 765, Cristes folces, El. 499.

The Christians conceived as the flock of Christ we find Cr. 257, pin eowde.

Not seldom the faithful are called the chosen ones. Criste gecorene, Jul. 605, cempa gecorene, Criste leofe, Gu. 768, baerndon gecorene, / gaeston godes cempa, Jul. 16-17, gastas gecorene, Ph. 593, þa gecorenan, Cr. 1635, his þa gecorenan, Dox. 42, etc.

Closely connected with the idea just mentioned is that of purity. Sometimes terms for both appear in the same sentence. We note, claene and gecorene Cristes þegnas, L. Prayer III, 53, claene and gecorene, (Jul.) Jul. 613, sawla soðfaeste song ahebbad / claene and gecorene (the blessed), Ph. 541, þine þa gecorenan wes an claene and alyse (liberentur dilecti tui)! Ps. CVII, 5.

Cleanliness is often ascribed to the faithful. Þa claenan folc (at Judgment), Cr. 1223, hu þu þec geþyde / --- on claenra gemong, Jul. 420, hwa in claennesse / lif alifde, Judg. 62-3, claenum heortan, 33, þa þe heortan gehygd healdad / claene (qui ambulat in innocentia), Ps. LXXXIII, 13, þær his sawl weard / claene and gecostad, Gu. 506-7. We have not seldom such terms as synna lease (Juliana), Jul. 614, leahtra leasne (Guthlac), Gu. 920, wer womma leas (Martinus), Men. 200, leahtra claene (the blessed at Judgment), Ph. 518, etc.



Hālig is very frequently employed. We note here only þone haligan heap (apostles in Heaven), Ap. 90, gaesta halig, Gu. 1033, gaesthaligne in godes temple, 122, both passages referring to Guthlac, gasthalge guman, Panther 21, gaesthaligra, Gu. 844.

Sōdfaest, the L. rectus or justus, occurs often. Ne bið sōdfaest aenig (justificabitur), Ps. XCLII, 3, sangere he (David) waes sōdfaestest, Ps. L. 6, sōdfaeste men, Ph. 66, Sat. 307, Him þa sōdfaestan on þa swidran hand/ mid rodera weard reste gestigad, Sat. 611, eallra sōdfaestra, Met. XX, 272, sōdfaestra sib, Dox. 4, sōdfaestra/mod, Jul. 325-6, sōdfaestra sawle, Gu. 530, similarly 762; þaer sōdfaestra sawla motan/--lifes brucan, And. 228. We have also, Healdan heora sōdfaestnysse symble mid daedum (faciunt justitiam in omni tempore), Ps. CV, 3.

We have also such terms as wāerfaest, applied to Lot Gen. 2506, halig þaer inne/waerfaest wunade (Juliana), Jul. 238, waerfaestne haeled (Andrew), And. 1273, dōmfaest, for instance, domfaestra dream, Gu. 1056, ārfaest, as, Sum bið arfaest, Gifts 67, āēfaest, thus ehted aefestra, Sermon Ps. 28, 35, þaet we aefestra/daede demen, Gu. 407, etc.

Āefremmende occurs Jul. 648, rihtfremmende Ph. 632, the gen. pl. Jul. 8, while the keeping of the commandments is often mentioned. We note only a few expressions. The general statement gif ge gehealdad halige lare is found Ex. 560., etc.; lāēstan, to obey, to do, to hold, is used frequently, as in hu ic laeste well, Ps. CXVIII, 12, etc., Swa þu laestan scealt, Gen. 500, etc., laestan larcwide, And. 674, þaet hie his lare laestor georne, 1653, þaet ae godes ealle gelaeste, Dan. 219, etc. Aeinan in practically the same sense as lāēstan is found a number of times, thus, þaet heo his wisfaest word wynnnum aefnan (ad faciendum ea), Ps. CII, 17, sode



domas sylfe efnan(custodiunt iudicium),CV,3.

### 3. Good Works.

During the Middle Ages special emphasis was placed upon good works, and this doctrine of the Church has left a deep impression in OE. poetry. Time and again we are met with the claim that good works will be rewarded by eternal salvation. Exhortation 12-15 we have mentioned, eac opera fela/godra weorca glengað and bringað/þa soðfaest-an sawle to reste/on þa uplican eadignesse, though here prayer, love, and hope are also enumerated in connection with almsgiving. In order to express the specific religious meaning, weorc, like Greek ἔργον and Latin opera, has to be modified. This was done in the example just quoted by gōd, similarly Cr.350, þaet we to þam hyhstan hrofe gestigan/halgum weorcum. Dæd is also used. Thus Judg.68, Crist ealle wat/gode daede, and 87, geleanað lifes waldend/--/godum daedum, further Cr.1287, hu hi for goddaedum glade blissiað, Ph.660, þaet we motun her mereri/goddaedum begietan gaudia in celo, and 462-3, þaet he godra maest/daeda gefremme.

Among the good works a very prominent place was accorded the giving of alms. The OE. word is aelysse, aemesse, f., cognate with OFris. ielmisse, OS. alamósna, ON. almusa, OHG. alanuosan, the common Teut. type \*alemosna or alemosina going back through vulgar L. \*alimosina to L. eleēmosyna and Gr. ἑλεημοσύνη. The word is encountered a number of times in OE. poetry, one small piece especially treating of alms, bestowing the highest praise upon this good work. For worulde weorð-mynda maest/and for ussum dryhtne doma selest, the author exclaims 3-4 and as to the results, (Efne swa he mid waetre þone wealdan/leg ad-

1 Compare Judgment and Heaven in the next chapter.

2 Note discussion in NED. under alms; Pogatcher, Lautlehre, see pp.37-8, 59-60; for further references index, p.210.





waesce, þaet he leng ne maeg/blaç byrnende burgun sceddan, 5-7) swa he mid aelmessan ealle toscufed/synna wunde, sawla lacnað, 8-9. Such a man is said to have rume heortan, 2. Charms I, 37, it is also claimed, þaet se haefde are on eordrice, se þe aelmyssan/daelde domlice drihtnes þances. Þonne he aelmessan earmum daeled, Ph. 453, is mentioned as an effective antidote against nipa gehwam (451), and Gu. 48 it is said of the monks, sellad aelmessan. Exhortation 9 enumerates seo aelmesssylen among those good works that bring the soul to a blessed rest, while lines 32-3 exhort, syle aelmessan oft and gelome/digolice, and similarly Dan. 587, syle aelmyssan, wes earma hleo. While Gifts 67 simply states, Sum bið arfaest and aelmesgeorn, Exhortation 3-4 is more insistent: gif þu wille þaet blowende rice gestigan, /þaenne be þu eadmod and aelmesgeorn.

Among other good works fasting held a prominent place in the Mediaeval Church. The OE. word is faesten, the L. jejunium. In the poetry it is encountered only a few times; Gu. 780, said of monks or hermits, faesten lufiad, Exhortation 45, where it is said, þa (namely gluttony etc.) man maeg mid faestenum/and forhaefdnessum heonan adrifan. The other examples are found in the Psalms; LXVIII, 10, þonne ic minum feore faesten gesette (et operui in jejuniō animam meam), and CVIII, 24, Me synt cneowu swylce cwicu unhaele for faestenum (Genua mea infirmata sunt a jejuniō). The verb faestan is also rare. Sat. 667 it is said of Christ, he faeste feowertig daga, and in Soul 145 the body is addressed, Faestest du on foldan and gefyldest me/godes lichoman, gastes drynces. In the sense of jejuniiis expiare we encounter it Dan. 592, þonne hie wolden sylfe/fyrene faestan.

1 Compare Goth. fastan, OHG. fastēn, ON. fasta.  
2 Sprachschatz. See also Bibl. II, p. 705.



## CHAPTER XII

## THE FUTURE LIFE

Germanic heathenism was not without definite notions about a future life, developed especially among the Scandinavians. However, it cannot be our object to enter into the discussion of this subject here. Suffice it to say that we know scarcely anything as to the views held by the heathen Anglo-Saxons, and from the evidence at hand it would seem that they had very vague ideas about the matter.

1. Judgment Day and Purgatory.

We may fittingly begin our discussion of the future life with the Day of Judgment, the Day of Doom. The term for judgment offers nothing special for our purposes; it is dōm, m., from OTeut. \*domoz, appearing in OFris. OS. as dōm, OHG. tuom, ON. dómr, Goth. doms. The OE. term is found El. 1279, Donne dryhten sylf dom geseceð, Doom 15, ic ondraede me eac dom þone miclan (judicique diem--magnum, 8), and in many other passages. The particulars of the Last Judgment need not be entered

1 Grimm, D.M., I, 259 ff., II, 682 ff., Golther, Handbuch, 289 f., 313 ff., 471 ff., Kahle, I, 387, 421 ff.

2 Lingard, History and Antiquities, p. 42: "Of a future life their notions were faint and wavering; and if the soul were fated to survive the body, to quaff ale out of the skulls of their enemies, was to be the great reward of the virtuous: to lead a life of hunger and inactivity, the endless punishment of the wicked;" Hunt, Church History, p. 13: "The mysteries of life and death exercised the minds of the English, and their ideas of a future life appear to have been confused and to some extent gloomy."

3 For a discussion on the Judgment Day in OHG. compare Raumer, pp. 406-9, in ON. Kahle, I, p. 422-3, II, 153.



into here, since that has been done sufficiently elsewhere, and is only remotely connected with our subject. Only a few of the more important phases may now and then appear. Ic þonne aerest ealra getreowe, / flaescas on foldan on þa forhtan tid, Creed 55-6 runs, rendering the L. Carnis resurrectionem. By þa forhtan tid the Day of Doom is meant, to which two entire poems are devoted, and which furnishes a fruitful theme in several other pieces, notably so in Phenix and Christ. Though Germanic mythology knows of the end of the world, the Ragnarok, etc., a day of judgment in the Christian sense was unknown, and in OE. as well as in the other Germanic dialects, the term for it had to be especially created. In OE. it is dōmdæg, the L. dies iudicii, Gr. ἡμέρα κρίσεως, while OHG. and ON. translate the Latin expressions in various ways, though like OE., OHG. has also tuomtag. As occurrences of the term we may cite Sal. 272, aer he domdaeges dynn gehyre, Soul 96, on þam domdaege, Sal. 26, worpæð hine deofol / on domdaege, Sat. 600, Rood B 105, on domdaege, Cr. 1619, 1637, aet domdaege. Dōmes daeg, OHG. tuomes tag, also occurs, as for instance Beow. 3069, aer domes daeg, and Met. XXIX, 41; domes daeges dyn, Sal. 324, etc.

kennings for the Judgment are used not infrequently. It is the terrible, great, greatest, famous day, the gim, hard time, etc. And on that terrible day, þonne eall monna cynn / se ancenneda ealle gesamned. Therefore it is the gemōt, assembly, meeting, so Judg. 36, daet bið þearlic gemot; Soul 153 tells of gemotstede manna and engla; we hear of medel,

1 See especially W. Deering, The Anglo-Saxon Poets on the Judgment Day, also G. Grau, Quellen und Verwandtschaften der älteren germanischen Darstellungen des jüngsten Gerichts, and Klæber, Anglia XXXV, pp. 263-5.

2 Note Deering's rather daring statement, p. 83: "In the darkest days of their heathendom, the Germanic tribes believed in a destruction of the world, in a Judgment after death, in a Hell, in a Heaven."



the assembly or judicial meeting, so And. 1463, aet medle, Ph. 538, aet  
 paem maedle; Ex. 542, on paet medelstede. Once we have ping, Cr. 227, and  
 once also seonod, Ph. 493.

Christ is generally conceived of as the judge, though judgment is  
 also ascribed to God and to the Trinity, to the latter for instance  
 Jul. 723-2. As to Christ, we have among other statements Sal. 334-5, ac  
 hwa demed<sup>x</sup> donne dryhtne Criste/on domes daege þonne he demed<sup>x</sup> eallum  
 gesceaftum?, Cr. 1817-19, Þonne Crist sið<sup>t</sup> on his cynestole/on heahsetle,  
 heofonmaegna god:folca gehwylcum/faeder aelmihtig (here Christ) scrifed<sup>x</sup>  
 bi gewyrhtum, etc. etc. Christ is on his judgment seat, Doom 123, domsetle  
 drihtnes (tribunal, 62), 118, on heahsetle (sublimis in alto, 59). One law  
 or standard of judgment obtains for all, Doom 163, þær hæfd<sup>x</sup> ane lage  
 earm and se welega (et miser et dives simili ditione timebunt, 81). We  
 are told Judg. 67-8, Crist ealle wat/gode daede, and the decision is  
 rendered according to the works of men, Jul. 728, scrifed<sup>x</sup> bi gewyrhtum,  
 707, aefter daede deman wille, Doom, 121, þæt gehwylc underfo be his  
 daedum aet drihtne sylfum (judicium ut capiat gestorum quisque suorum,  
 61), etc. etc. The people are divided into two parts, the chosen and the  
 cursed, each to receive its reward, L. Prayer III, 97-8, þær man us tyhhad<sup>x</sup>  
 on daeg twegen eardas, /drihtnes are odde deofles þeowet, etc.

The subject of purgatory or the purgatorial fire, the doctrine  
 of which was first expressly formulated by Gregory the Great, may re-  
 ceive a brief treatment here. Though in OE. poetry the purgatorial  
 fire is several times described or alluded to, it differs in important

- 1 Dial. IV, 39: "de quibusdam levibus culpis esse ante iudicium purga-  
 torius ignis credendum est." Ency. Brit.
- 2 Compare Becker, Mediaeval Visions, pp. 60-73, the Anglo-Saxon Purga-  
 tory.





respects from the doctrine that came to be accepted by the Church of  
 1  
 Rome. Excepting Elene, the statements are not as clear and explicit as  
 we might wish them to be. In Judgment the earth is consumed by fire,  
 though the idea as a purgatorial element in regard to man does not  
 enter. More definite are the statements in Phenix. Having spoken be-  
 fore of the fire, the author continues, 521 ff., þonne þeos woruld/scyld-  
 wyrrende in scome byrneð/ade onaeled, 525-6, Fyr bið on tyhte,/aeled<sup>x</sup>  
 uncyste, and especially 544-5, Beoð<sup>x</sup> þonne amerede monna gastas,/beorhte  
 abywde þurh bryne fyres. Especially clear and detailed are the  
 statements in Elene. The poet in 1278 speaks of teonleg nined<sup>x</sup>, and with  
 1285 the detailed description begins. On the Day of Judgment the people  
 are divided into three groups. The sōdfaeste are uppermost in the fire,  
 and least affected, 1288-94, the synfulle māne gemengde are in the  
 middle, in hate wylm, 1294 ff., while the third part, awyrgeðe womsceadan  
 in wylmes grund,/lease leodhatan lige befaested, 1298-9, are in the grip  
 of the fire, and from thence they are thrown in helle grund, 1304. The  
 two other divisions are purged, hie asodene beoð<sup>x</sup>,/asundrod fram synnum  
 swa smaete gold, etc. 1207-8, swa bið<sup>x</sup> þara manna aelc/ascyred and a-  
 sceaden scylda gehwylcere,/deopra firena þurh þaes domes fyr. Though  
 this description leaves nothing to be desired as regards clearness of  
 statement and as to the purging process, no special term for purgatory  
 has as yet been adopted. Later the Latin word is taken over.

## 2. Heaven.

After the Day of Judgment the righteous enter Heaven, there to  
 dwell dwell forever with God and the angels in never-ending bliss.

1 Purgatory in the Anglo-Saxon poets commences and ends on the  
 Judgment Day. For the sources see Becker, Mediaeval Visions, 72-3,  
 Cook, Anglia, XV, pp. 9-20, his edition of Christ, p. LXIX ff., Grau,  
Quellen und Verwandtschaften, p. 15 ff., etc.



The idea of a future happy state was of course not foreign to the Germanic heathen mind, as Germanic mythology sufficiently shows; but with the advent of Christianity this future blissful state receives a more definite and significant importance.

The OE. term for Heaven is heofon, heofun, m., cognate with OS. heþun. The word is very frequent in the poetry, and there seems to be a preference for the plural forms, probably not uninfluenced by the Latin use. We note the rendering of the L. Prayer, as I, 1, Halig faeder, þu þe on heofonum eardast, II, 2, þu ðe on heofonum eart (qui es in celis) III, 11, Ðu eart on heofonum hiht and frofor (Qui es in celis). Otherwise the plural is also extremely common, e.g., Wand. 115, faeder on heofonum, þær us eal seo faestnung stondeð, Cr. 282, þa hystan on heofonum eac/ Cristes þegnas, And. 977, hefonas secan, Gu. 405, Guðlac sette/hynt in hefonas, etc. etc.

Regarding the situation, condition, and details concerning Heaven a great amount of material is found in OE. poetry; our discussion will include only a few of the more important aspects of the subject. As a convenient summary we quote from Deering's essay: "Heaven is, then, in short an idealized, yet concrete and definite kingdom somewhere above the earth, a bright and beautiful landscape with spreading, green fields, dotted with cities, planted with waving fruit-trees and fragrant flowers: in a narrower sense a city, the hereditary stronghold, as it

1 Grimm, D.M., II, p. 682 ff., Golther, Handbuch, p. 289f., 313 ff.

2 NED.: "Ultior etymology unknown"; as to the relation between the words in the Teutonic dialects, it says: "The L.G. heþana, heþuna-, was app. an entirely different word from Goth. himins, ON. himinn, OHG. himil; at least no connection between them can, in the present state of our knowledge, be assumed". But see Kluge, Englische Studien XX, pp. 334-5. For bibliography see Falk-Torp, under himmel.

3 P. 69. For an extended description compare p. 62 ff.



were, of the Eternal King, the happy home of his followers. The mild and generous Prince of Heaven sits upon His throne in His hall, is mindful of the welfare of His people and dispenses to them the rich gifts of His <sup>p</sup>resence, His grace and love, while His devoted followers surround His throne and with becoming reverence express their gratitude and faithful <sup>l</sup>allegiance in glad songs of praise. The good not only enjoy the presence and blessings of God, the fellowship of the angels, the light and glory and beauty of their heavenly home, but are also free from every torment of hell, from every care and sorrow and suffering of earthly life. And these joys of heaven are eternal."

1

Several times Heaven is called neorxna wang, a term generally applied to Paradise or the Garden of Eden. Thus in Doom 63-4 we have, and in gefor (namely the thief) þa aenlican geatu/neorxnawonges mid nerigende, where the Latin has portas paradisi. Men. 150-1, sigefaestne ham/neorxna wang also refers to Heaven, while the description in And. 102 ff. closely resembles that of the Garden of Eden: þe is neorxna wang, /blaeda beorhtost, boldwela faegrost, /hama hyhtlicost haligum mihtum/torht ontyned, which characterizes it sufficiently when compared with the Garden of Eden, Ph. 395 ff., Cr. 1390 ff., Gen. 170 ff., 211 ff., 854, 889, etc.

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1 The etymology is doubtful. Grein, Sprachschatz: "sollten somit nicht die ags. neriscan, neirxan, neorxan, geradezu identisch sein mit den nordischen Nornen, ---- und neorxna wang nympharum oratum bedeuten?" See O. Ritter, Anglia XXX, pp. 467-70, who proposes \* Ercan suna, \* Erca suna (sons of the earth). R. Im elmann, Anglia XXXV, p. 428, quotes as These III, (Berliner diss. 1202, (Men.): "Das anlautende n in ae. neorxawang, 'Paradies', ist nicht stammhaft oder rest eines selbstaendigen worts, sondern erkluert sich aus der haeufigen stellung von neorxnawang nach einem auslauts-n." Compare also note to line 102, p. 85 of Krapp's Andreas.



Heaven is above the earth, as is gathered from such terms and phrases as *upheofon*, *Sat. 167*, etc., *þa heahnisse heofena kyninges*, *Prayer III, 35*, as also from statements such as *up secan him ece dreamas/on heanne hrof heofona rices*, *Dan. 441-2*, *þæt we eade maegon upcund rice/ford gestigan*, *Wond. 34-5*, etc. It is often called a kingdom, for instance *Gen. 739*, on *heofonrice heahgetimbro*, similarly *El. 621*, *Cr. 1246*, etc.; *ða halgan duru heofona rices*, *Sal. 37*, *faeder rice*, *Cr. 475, 1345*, *Soul 140*, etc. Furthermore it is spoken of as a city, *Cr. 553*, *þeodnes burg*, *Jul. 665*, to *wuldres byrig*, *Cr. 519*, *El. 821*, etc., to *þære beorhtan byrg*, *Gu. 785*, to *halgan burg*, *784*, to *Hierusalem*, *Rid. 60, 15-16*, *godes ealdorburg-- /rodera ceastre*. *Gu. 556* we find *heahgetimbru/seld on swegle*, *Judg. 92*, *þone sele*. Regarding the details we may mention, *Gen. 8*, *heofenstolas*, *749*, *rodorstolas*, etc. The throne of God or Christ is referred to a number of times, *Sat. 43*, *hehselda wyn*, *47*, *heled ymb hehseld*, *Ph. 619*, *ymb þæt halge heahseld godes*, *Sat. 220*, *ymb þæt hehsetl*, *Met. IV, 2*, *ðu on heahsetle ecum ricsast (God)*, *Cr. 555, 1218*, on *heahsetle (Christ)*, *572*, *gaesta gifstol (Christ)*, *Gen. 260*, on *þam halgan stole*, *Cr. 1217*, *þonne Crist sited on his cynestole*, while it is said *Moods 62-3* that the rebellious angels tried *þrymcyning þeodenstoles/ricne beryfan*.

## 1

Of the various kennings we note further, *Moods 65*, *wuldres wynland*, *74*, on *engla eard*, similarly *Cr. 646; 1203*, *wuldres eard*, *Gu. 1051*, *upeard*, *1156*, on *ecne eard*, (compare *758*, *awo to ealdre eardfaest wesan*); *Gu. 54-5*, *daes heofoncundnan/boldes*, *And. 524*, *Ap. 33*, etc., *beorhtne boldwelan*, *Ap. 49*, *lifwela*, *Gu. 1090*, to *eadwelan*, *El. 1315 (brucan eces eadwelan)*; *Gu. 38* etc., *edel*, the hereditary home, *Cr. 1347*, *beorht edles wlite*, *630*, etc., *engla edel*, *Gu. 628*, *edellond*, *And. 119-20*, to *þam uplican edelrice*; *Gu. 1241*, on

1 Compare Bode, *Kenningar*, p. 74, Rankin, IX, p. 51 ff.





ecne gearð, Cr. 399, fridgearðum in; Met. XXI, 16, sio fridstow, 19, winsum  
stow, etc. etc.

Heaven is a home, even as it is said of God Ps. CII, 18, On heofon-  
hame halig drihten his heahsetle hror timbrade (Dominus in caelo para-  
vit sedem suam), CXXII, 1, heofonhamas healdest (in coelis), etc.; of the  
Virgin Mary it is said Cr. 292-3, she sent þa beorhtan lac/to heofonhame.  
We note Gu. 69, ham in heofonum, Rood B 148, heofonlicne ham, Gu. 40, deoran  
ham, Cr. 305, in þam ecan ham, 350, in þam aepelan ham, And. 227, þene maeran  
ham, 978, þone claenan ham eadmedum up.

The dwelling with God and the angels is called lif, L. vita,  
Rood B 116, while the rendering for L. vita aeterna recurs time and  
again, so Creed 57, Ap. 38, 73, Gu. 33, 97, etc. ece lif; Cr. 1053, eces lifes,  
1428, eadig on þam ecan life. It is further described, Gu. 750, bettre  
lif, Ap. 20, winsumre lif, Ph. 661, þaet leohte lif. Heaven was thought of  
as radiant with light, Sermon Ps. 38, 44, heofones leoht, Gu. 555, dryhtnes  
leoht, Ap. 61, wuldres leoht, 20, leoht unhwilen, Cr. 592, þaet leohte leoht.

The blessings of Heaven were considered the reward for battles  
well fought, wigges lean, El. 825, hafað nu ece lif/mid wuldorcýning wiges  
to leane, Ap. 73-4. Undue emphasis is laid upon works, and the theme  
never seems to weary the poets. Of the many examples encountered we  
note only a few. Cr. 1033, aer earnode eces lifes, Gu. 767-8, earniað on  
eordan ecan lifes/hames in heahþu, similarly 1849; El. 326-7, þonne þu  
gearnast, þaet þe bið ece lif, /selust sigeleana seald in heofonum, L.  
Prayer II, 25-6, him womdaede witan ne þencað/for earnunge ecan lifes,  
Men. 146-7, haefð nu lif wið þan/mid wuldorfaeder weorca to leane. Jud.  
345, sigorlean in swegles wuldre, Gu. 1344, etc., sigorlean, Cr. 1519, to



sigorleanum, Ap. 61-2, þonan wuldres leoht/sawle gesohte sigores to leane, Gu. 1347, weorca wuldorlean, Cr. 1080, wuldorlean weorca, Exhortation 34, Ceapa þe mid aetum eces lehtes, And. 1654, feorhraed fremedon, etc.

The fact that the blessed live in a state of bliss and happiness is often emphasized by the poets. A general term for salvation is gesæld, f., happiness, blessedness, used a considerable number of times in Meters, where we have the contrast between true and false happiness. We note XII, 19, sio soðe gesæld, 25, soða gesælda, XIX, 31-2, ecan good/soða gesælda, and 35, soða gesælda, þæt is sylfa god. In contrast to it we note, XII, 27, leasa gesælda, II, 10, VII, 52, 54, woruldsælda. Hālor, n., salvation, is thrice used in Jul., 327, 360, ahwyrfen from halor, 440, hyge from halor. The saved are gesælig, blessed, a term also applied to Christ, for instance Cr. 438, þær he gesaelig siddan eardad/ealne widan feorh wunad butan ende; to the saved, Cr. 1249, þæt gesaelige weorud, 1652, 1660, gesaelgum, Sat. 296, gesaelige sawle, Cr. 1461, gesaelig/mines edelrices eadig neotan, while Doom 246-7, Ea la, se bið gesaelig and ofersaelig/and on worulda woruld wihta gesaeligost renders Felix o nimium! semperque in saecula felix, 124. Gesæliglic is also encountered, Cr. 1079, meht and gefea/swiðe gesaeliglic sawlum to gielde. The noun gelsælignes is found only once in poetry, Cr. 1677, ac þær biþ engla ðeām, /sib and gesaelignes and sawla raest. Eadig, L. beatus, felix, is common. We note only Cr. 1427, eadig, Sat. 653, eadige sawla, Ex. 544, Þonne he soðfaestra sawla laedeð, /eadige gastas on uprodor, etc., etc. Welig, rich, is not so common; we note it Cr. 1496, welig in heofonum.

The Anglo-Saxon poets never tire of pointing out the joys and blessings of Heaven, transferring their ideas of worldly happiness to the heavenly abode. To designate the joy drēam, m., is often em-



ployed. This word had the 'primary meaning of noisy joviality',<sup>1</sup> which according to Ferrell Grimm refers to "the jubilum aulae, that ecstatic state of halfdrunkenness in which the comrades sat together in peaceful circle, told stories and drank". We note as the more characteristic occurrences, Soul 154, ecne dream, El. 1231, dream unhwilen, Sat. 680, halige dreamas, Cr. 1247, hluttre dreamas/eadge mid englum, 102, in þam uplican engla dreame, 1343, engla dreamas, Gu. 1278, etc., in wuldres dream, And. 809, swegles dreamas, Cr. 1349, swase swegldreamas, Gu. 602, gaestlice god-dream, Soul 105, heofondreamas, Cr. 580, folc gelaedan/in dreama dream, Sat. 314, agan--/dreama dream mid drihtne gode/a to worulde, a buto ende

Symbel, n., banquet, reminding one of the festal board in the mead-hall, with its gayety and conviviality, is also used a few times to express the heavenly joys. Thus Wonders 26, him is symbel and dream/ ece un hwylen eadgum to frofre, Rood B 139-41, þær is blis mycel, / dream on heofonum, / þær is dryhtnes folc/geseted to synle, þær is singal blis.

Of other characterizations a considerable number occur, as, for instance, gefēa, which is very common. We note Gu. 1052, etc., ecan gefean, Sat. 199, upne ecne gefean, Cr. 1253, wynsum gefea, Gu. 808-9, þam faegrestan /heofonrices gefean, etc. Blis is also extremely common, e.g., Cr. 750, þær is hyht and blis, Gu. 1055, sib and bliss. However, these and similar terms, as also compounds of heofon, some of which have been mentioned, need no further discussion.

1 Kent, Teutonic Antiquities, p. 17.

2 Teutonic Antiquities, pp. 16-17. Grimm's words, Andreas and Elene, p. XXXVII, are: "Nichts ging ihm ueber den seledream, jubilum aulae, A. 1656, wo im friedlichem kreise gewohnt, erzaehlt und gezecht wurde."



3. Hell.

The Germanic tribes were not without views about a place for the departed spirits, in the North even the idea of punishment having developed.<sup>1</sup> Thus when Christianity made its advent with its doctrine of hell, the Germanic tribes did not find it difficult to assimilate the new ideas, while the old name was kept. In OE. the term is hel(l), f., OFris. helle, hille, OS. hellja, hella, OHG. hella, ON. hel, Goth. halja, all from the Teut. stem \*halja, literally the coverer up or hider; cf. hēlan, to hide. The ON. ideas of hel in the extant writings are clearer<sup>2</sup> than those of the other peoples. There we meet also Hel, daughter of Loki and a giantess, as the goddess of the infernal regions.

In OE. poetry hel is common, and only a few characteristic examples need be given here. Sat. 777-8, hu heh and deop hell inneward seo, /grim graef hus, Cr. 1613, þonne hel nimeð/waerleasra weorod, Gen. 331, on þa hatan hell, similarly 362, etc. As hel translates Latin infernus, the Vulgate rendering of Greek ᾗδης and the Hebrew שְׁרַיִם, its meaning is of course wider than a place of punishment. We note Ps. LIV, 4, a-stigan heo on helle, heonan lifgende (descendant in infernum viventes), LXXXV, 12, þu mine sawle swylce alysdest of helwarena hinderþeostrum (eruisti animam meam ex inferno inferiori), LXXXVII, 3, ic min feorh swylce to helldore hyldeð geneahhe (vita mea inferno appropinquavit).

Hell certainly receives its share of attention at the hands of OE. poets, who seem to be especially anxious to describe this dreary place adequately. While it is outside of our task to paint a picture

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1 Grimm, D.M., I, p. 259 ff., Golther, Handbuch, p. 471 ff.

2 For a discussion of hell in ON. see Kahle, I, pp. 424-5, II, 155-6, in OHG. Raumer, pp. 414-16.





of hell, only a few main points to be touched upon in the following discussion, it may be convenient to give the Anglo-Saxon poets' conception of hell by citing Becker:<sup>1</sup> "Hell is a dark pit under the earth, incalculably immense in area, shrouded in eternal darkness. The principal torment is that of fire, but the flame is black, and burns without light. Side by side with extreme heat is the torment of cold; storms of wind, hail, and frost sweep down from the four corners of hell.

Frightful monsters, dragons, serpents, bloody eagles, people the awful depths, and dragons guard the entrance. The sinful souls are bound down with fetters, suffering the utmost agonies of mind in addition to those of the body. Consumed with bitter remorse and despair, they must remain thus eternally, without hope of ever being released from their sufferings or of gaining the bliss of the righteous, which they are forced to look upon."

Though the definite location of hell is not given, it is below, under the earth. In Met. VIII, 51, we read, (Etne) ~~paet~~ mon helle fyr hatæd wide, Whale 45-7, helle seced / --- grundleasne wylm / under mist-glome, Sat. 30-32, done deopan waelm / nidaer under nessas in done neowlan grund / graedigre and gifre, similarly Gu. 535, etc. As Heaven is a kingdom, so also hell, in which Satan rules, hellwarena cyning, Jul. 544, etc. Sal. 106 speaks of it as daes engestan edelrices, to which may be compared El. 520, in þam engan ham, etc. However, it seems to blac bealwes gast, ~~paet~~ he on botme stod, / -- / ~~paet~~ þanon waere to helle duru hund þusenda / mila gemearcodes, Sat. 721-4. But, as Becker has pointed out,

1 Mediaeval Visions, pp. 63-4. Compare also p. 58 ff., Deering, 48 ff., Klaeber, Anglia, XXXV, 265 ff.; Bode, 75 f., Jansen, 29 f., Rankin, IX, 54 ff.

For a discussion of the sources of the characteristics of hell see Deering, p. 57 ff., Becker, 11 ff., 54 ff., Abbetmeyer, 16.

2 P. 58.



"the terms of spaciousness are to be interpreted literally, whereas those of narrowness permit of no other than a figurative interpretation", so that he would take enge in the sense of oppressive. Hell is also called *murnende maegburg usse*, Har. 21, of *feonda byrig*, Cr. 562, *helwara/burg*, Rid. 56, 6-7, *deadsele*, Gu. 1048, while similar terms are frequent. The doors of hell are often mentioned, as Sat. 147, *he helle duru forbraec*/and *forbegde*, El. 1222, *behliden helle duru*, Gu. 531, *aet helle dore*, etc. Sat. 98 it is stated, *aece aet helle duru dracan eardigad*, while influenced by the preceding figure *Whale 76 & 8* reads, *ba grimman goman*---/*helle hlinduru*. With this may be compared *And. 1703*, *ah in helle cafl/sid* asette, and *El. 765*, *dreogap deadwale in dracan faedme*. The walls are mentioned for instance *Har. 34*, *helle weallas*, *Sat. 70*, *helle floras*, *Soul 105*, *hellgrund*, *Cr. 562*, *El. 1304*, *in helle grund*, etc.

Hell is the place of punishment for devils and the damned, *Gu. 606-7*, *in ece fyr/daer ge sceolon dreogan dead* and *bystro*, etc. As *Cr. 1535-6* the condemned are committed to *forwyrd* on *witehus/deadsele deofles*, so this state itself is called *se eca dead* aefter *dissum worulde*, *Met. X, 70*. Wite, n., or hellewite, is often used to denote punishment, as we find in OHG. helliwizi, OS. hellewiti, ON. helviti, the Latin supplicium inferni. We note, *Soul 32*, *helle witum*, *Sermon Ps. 28, 10*, *in wita forwyrd*, *Cr. 1622*, *synna to wite*, *Gen. 303*, *heardes hellewites*, *L. Prayer II, 36*, *alysdest/fram haeftnyde hellewites*. We find further *Sat. 621*, *baet witecraef*, 628, *baet witehus*, and *El. 231*, *ba wyrrestan witebrogan*, etc.

References to the agencies of punishment are often made, especially to the fire, *Cr. 1270*, *grim hellefyr*, *gearo to wite*, 1619-20, *under helle cinn in hate fyr/under liges locan*, *Gu. 643-4*, *baet ge waernysse/bryne-*



wylm haebban nales bletsunga, Cr. 831-2, in fyrbaede/waelmum biwrecene, 1251-3, weallendne lig and wyrma slite/bittrum ceaflum, etc. etc. The poets seem anxious not to omit a detailed description of the sufferings the doomed have to undergo; to quote from Deering:<sup>1</sup> "Having thus drawn such frightful pictures of the horrors of hell, the poets might have left their readers to imagine the sufferings of the damned, but the opportunity of impressing these dreadful scenes was too good to be lost, and they cannot resist the temptation to add a few more strokes to their already horrible pictures and tell us again and again of the physical and mental tortures of this eternal punishment."

The condemned are often called the cursed, so Sat. 628, Astigad<sup>x</sup> nu, awyrgde, in þaet witehus, Cr. 520-1, Farad<sup>x</sup> nu awyrgde willum bescyrede/ engla dreamas on ece fir, etc. Among other kennings for the doomed we note, unsaelge, Cr. 1288, the devil being called unsaelig Jul. 450, the Jews, haeled<sup>x</sup> unsaelge, And. 559, and haeled<sup>x</sup> hynfuse, 612; we find Cr. 1124 helfuse men, while the Mermedonians are called haeled<sup>x</sup> hellfuse in And. 50. Of the evil and the doomed we have also such terms as grundfusne gaest gode orfeorme, Moods 42, firenfulra faege gastas, Gu. 532, þaet faege folc, Cr. 1518, synfulra weorod, 1229, firensynnig folc, 1232, unsyfre folc, 1232, etc. etc.

A considerable number of compounds of hel are found in the poetry. Some of them have appeared in our discussion, while a number are included in the poetical list. Others also occur, but offering nothing characteristic, they need not be discussed.

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1 P. 54 f.



## POETICAL WORDS

Here are listed those exclusively religious terms which occur in poetical texts only. Kennings have not been admitted except when special circumstances and a distinctly religious connotation warrant it.

If a word occurs only once, the exact reference has been given; if the use is limited to a single poem, where it occurs more than once, the title has been added.

Ādfyr, sacrificial fire, Ex. 398.

āebobod, command, Ps.

āeboda, preacher, Gu. 909.

āecraeft, knowledge of law, religion.

āefenlāc, evening sacrifice, Ps. CXL, 3.

āefremmende, pious, religious, Jul. 648.

āefyllende, pious, Cr. 704.

āelāerende, teacher of the law, religion, El. 506.

āercwide, prophesy ? Moods 4.

āerendgāst, angel, Gen. 2296.

āeriht, code of law or faith, El.

āewita, counsellor, El. 455.

āgilpan, to exult in, Soul 166.

āglāeccraeft, evil art, And. 1362.

ānboren, only begotten.

ānbūend, hermit, Gu. 59.

ānseld, hermitage, Gu. 1214.





ārgifa, giver of benefits, Gifts 11.

ǣdloga, per jurer, Cr. 1605.

Bēntīd, prayer time, Men. 75.

berēotan, to bewail, Har. 6.

bernelāc, burt offering, Ps. L. 123.

bismerlēas, blameless, Cr. 1326.

blāedgifa, giver of prosperity, And.

braegdwīs, crafty, Gu. 58.

brynegield, burnt offering, Gen.

Ceargēst, sad spirit, devil, Gu. 365.

ciricnytt, church service, Gifts 91.

culpa or culpe, fault, sin, Cr. 177.

Daegweordung, feast day, El. 1234.

dēad**ǣ**m, deathbringing tree, Gen. 638.

dēad**ǣ**firen, deadly sin, Cr. 1207.

dēofolcund, diabolical, Jud. 61.

dēofold**ǣ**d, fiendish deed, Dan. 18.

dēofolwītga, wizard, magician, Dan. 128.

drencflōd, deluge.

drūt, beloved one, Doom 291.

dryhtendōm, majesty, glory, And. 999.

Ealh, temple.

eallbeorht, resplendent.

ealhālig, all-holy, Ps. CXXXI, 8.

eallmiht, omnipotence, Ps. CXXXV, 12.

earfo**ǣ**cynn, depraved race, Ps. LXXVII, 10.



- (ge)edbyrdan, to regenerate, Soul 101, Exeter text.  
 edwīts<sup>p</sup>reca, scoffer, Gu. 418.  
 efenēadig, equally blessed, Hymn 21.  
 efeneardige, dwelling together, Cr. 237.  
 efenēce, co-eternal, Cr.  
 eftlēan, recompense, Cr. 1100.  
 ēgorhere, flood, deluge, Gen.  
 endelēan, final retribution.  
 engelcund, angelic, Gu. 72.  
 engelcynn, race or order of angels.  
 ē<sup>χ</sup>delboda, land's apostle, native preacher, Gu. 276.
- Fācendāed, sin, crime, Ps. CXVIII, 53.  
 fācengeswipere, deceit, Ps. LXXXII, 3.  
 fācensearu, treachery.  
 fācenstafas, treachery, deceit, Beow. 1018.  
 fācentācen, sign of crime, Cr. 1566.  
 felasynnig, very guilty, Beow. 1379.  
 feohgīfre, avaricious, Wand. 68.  
 fēondaēt, eating things sacrificed to idols, Ps. CV, 24.  
 feorhrāed, salvation, And. 1654.  
 ferh<sup>χ</sup>lufu, heartfelt love, And. 83.  
 fīfmaegen, magic power, Sal. 136.  
 firenbealu, transgression, Cr. 1276.  
 firencraeft, wickedness, Jul. 14.  
 firendāed, wicked deed, crime.  
 firenfremmaende, committing sin, Cr. 1118.  
 firengeorn, prone to sin, sinful, Cr. 1606.



- firensynnig, sinful, Cr.1379.  
 firenweorc, evil deed, sin, Cr.  
 firenwyrccende, sinning, sinful, Ps.  
 firenwyrhta, evil doer, Ps.  
 forescyttels, bolt, bar, Cr.312.  
 fortyhtan, to seduce, El.208.  
 fortyllan, to seduce, Cr.270.  
 frīðoscealc, angel, Gen.  
 frīðowebba, peacemaker, angel, El.88.  
 frōwe, woman, Doom 291.  
 frungesceap, creation of world, Cr.840.  
 frumscyld, original sin, Sal.445.  
 fulwihttīd, time of baptism, Men.11.  
 fulwihtdēaw, rite of baptism, Met. I,33.  
 fyrngidd, ancient prophesy, El.542.  
 fyrnsceada, devil, And.1346.  
 fyrnsynn, sin of old times, Jul.347.  
  
 Galdorword, magic word, Rim.Poem 24.  
 gālmōd, wanton, licentious, Jud.256.  
 gāstbona, devil, Beow.177.  
 gāstcund, spiritual, Gu.743.  
 gāstcwalu, pains of hell, Gu.651.  
 gāstcynning, God, Gen.2883.  
 gāstgeniðla, devil, Jul.245.  
 gāstgewinn, pains of hell, Gu.561.  
 gāsthālig, holy in spirit.  
 gāstsunu, spiritual son.  
 gēocend, preserver, Savior.



- geongerdōm, discipleship, Gen.  
geongerscip, allegiance, Gen. 249.  
gifnes, grace favor, L. Prayer III.  
glēdstede, altar, Gen.  
goddrēam, joy in Heaven, Gu.  
godgim, heavenly jewel, El. 1114.  
godsāed, piety, Dan. 90.  
godscyld, sin against God, impiety, Jul. 204.  
godscyldig, impious, Gu. 834.  
grandorlēas, guileless, Jul. 271.  
grornhof, sad home hell, Jul. 324  
grundfūs, hastening to hell, Moods 49.
- Hæðencyning, heathen king, Dan. 54.  
hæðencynn, heathen race, Gen. 2546.  
hæðenfeoh, heathen sacrifice, Jul. 53.  
hæðenstyc, heathen calf, Ps. CV, 17.  
hālor, salvation, Jul.  
handgift, wedding present, Creed 18.  
hēahboda, archangel, Cr. 225.  
? hēahcāsere, Christ, L. Prayer III, 60.  
hēahgāest, Holy Ghost, Cr. 358.  
hēahgod, most high, God, Ps. LVI, 2.  
hēahheort, proud, Dan. 540.  
? hēahnama, most exalted name, L. Prayer III, 18.  
heargtraef, idol temple, Beow. 175.  
heargweard, temple warden, priest, And. 1124.  
hellbend, bond of hell, Beow. 3072.





hellcraeft, hellish power, And. 1102.  
hellcwalu, pains of hell, Cr. 1190.  
nelldor, gate of hell.  
hellebealu, hell-bale, Cr. 1427.  
helleceaf1, jaws of hell, And. 1703.  
hellecinn, hellish race, Cr. 1620.  
helleclamm, hell-bond, Gen. 373.  
helledēofol, devil.  
helledor, gate of hell, Har. 87.  
helleduru, gate of hell, El. 1230.  
helleflōr, floor of hell, Sat. 70.  
hellegāst, spirit of hell.  
hellegrund, abyss of hell.  
hellegryne, horror of hell, Sat. 433.  
hellehaeft, prisoner of hell, Sat. 631.  
hellehaefta, prisoner of hell, Beow. 788.  
hellehaeftling, prisoner of hell.  
hellehēaf, wailings of hell, Gen. 38.  
hellehinca, hell-limper, devil, And. 1171.  
hellehūs, hell-house, Gu. 649.  
hellenīd, torments of hell, Gen. 775.  
hellescealc, devil, Sat. 133.  
helledēgn, devil, Gu. 1042.  
hellfiren, hellish crime, Partridge 6.  
hellfūs, bound for hell.  
hellgepwing, confinement in hell, Gen. 696.  
helltraef, devil's temple, And. 1691.  
helltrega, hell-torture, Gen. 73.



- helrūna, hellish monster, Beow. 163.  
 heofonbeorht, heavenly bright.  
 heofonbȳme, heavenly trumpet, Cr. 949.  
 heofondēma, heavenly ruler, Sat. 658.  
 heofondrēam, joy of Heaven.  
 heofondugud, heavenly host, Cr. 1655.  
 heofonengel, angel of Heaven.  
 heofonhālig, holy and heavenly, And. 728.  
 heofonhām, heavenly home.  
 heofonhlāf, bread of Heaven, Ps. CIV, 35.  
 heofonlēoht, heavenly light, And. 974.  
 heofonmaegen, heavenly force.  
 heofonsetl, throne of Heaven, Doom 277.  
 heofonstōl, throne of Heaven, Gen. 8.  
 heofondrēat, heavenly company, Sat. 222.  
 heofonweard, God, Gen.  
 heofonwuldor, heavenly glory, L. Prayer II, 12.  
 heortlufu, heart-love, Dox. 29.  
 heterūn, charm which produces hate, Rid. 34, 7.  
 hūslbearn, communicant, Gu. 531.  
 hūslwer, communicant, Gu. 768.  
 hygeclāene, pure in heart, Ps. CIV, 3.  
 hygefrōfor, consolation.  
 hygetrēow, fidelity, Gen. 2367.  
 hygedryđ, pride, insolence, Gen. 2238.  
 hyhtlēas, unbelieving, Gen. 2387.  
 Ingebed, earnest prayer, Ps. LXXVII, 2.  
 inwitstaef, wickedness, evil, Ps.



- Leahorcwīde, blasphemy, Jul. 199.  
 lēohtruma, source of light.  
 līffrēa, Lord of life, God.  
 līffruma, source of life, God.  
 lofmaegen, praise, Ps. CV, 2.  
 lofsum, praiseworthy, Gen. 468.  
 lustgryn, snare of pleasure, Soul 23.  
 lygeword, lie.  
 lygewyrhta, liar, Sermon Ps. 28, 11.  
  
 Mānfāehđu, wickedness, Gen. 1378.  
 mānfolm, evildoer, Ps. CXLIII, 8.  
 mānforwyrht, evildeed, sin, Cr. 1095.  
 mānfrēa, lord of, evil, devil.  
 mānfremmende, sinning.  
 māngewyrhta, sinner, Ps. LXXVII, 38.  
 mānhūs, home of wickedness, hell, Ex. 535.  
 mānsceatt, usury, Ps. LXXI, 14.  
 mānscild, crime, fault, sin, Hymn 23.  
 mānscyldig, criminal, guilty, Gen.  
 mānwamn, guilty stain, Cr. 1280.  
 mānword, wicked word, Ps. LVIII, 12.  
 mānwyrhta, evil doer, sinner, Ps.  
 metod, fate, Creator, God, Christ.  
 micelmōd, magnanimous, Ps. CXLIV, 3.  
 misgedwild, error, perversion, Jul. 326.  
 mōdgepyldig, patient, And. 281.  
 mordorhof, place of torment, El. 1303.



mordorhūs, house of torment, Cr. 1625.

mordorlēan, retribution for sin, Cr. 1612.

mordorscyldig, guilty, And. 1599.

Nīdloca, place of torment, Har. 64.

nīdsynn, grievous sin, Sat. 180.

Ofersāelig, excessively happy, Doom 246.

ofersāeld, excessive pleasure, Met. V, 27.

onblōtan, to sacrifice, Gen. 2033.

(Ge)palmtwīgan, deck with palm branches, Sal.

Regolfaest, adhering to monastic rules, Men. 44.

reðhygdig, right-minded, Alms 2.

rodorcynning, king of Heaven.

rodorstōl, heavenly throne, Gen. 749.

Scīngelāc, magical practices, And. 766.

scuccgyld, idol, Ps. CV, 26.

scyldfrecu, wicked craving, Gen. 898.

scyldwrecende, avenging sin, Cr. 1161.

scyldwyrcente, evil doing.

sealmfact, in 'on sealmfatum' rendering L. 'in vasis psalmorum',  
Ps. LXX, 20.

sigebēam, Cross.

sigebearn, Christ.

sigidēma, victorious judge, God.

sigetīber, sacrifice for victory, Ex. 402.

sigortīfer, offering for victory, Jul. 255.

sōdcynning, God.





sōðfaeder, God, Cr. 103.

suslbona, devil, Sat. 640.

suslhof, place of torment, Creed 31.

sweglcyning, king of Heaven.

sweglwuldor, heavenly glory, Gu. 1160.

sweglwundor, heavenly wonder, Gu. 1202.

synfāh, sin-stained, Cr. 1083.

synrūst, canker of sin, Cr. 1321.

synsceaða, sin-stained wretch, sinful outrager.

synscyldig, wicked, Doom 168.

synwraacu, punishment for sin.

synwyrcende, sinning.

Tīrfruma, prince of glory, Cr. 206.

trēowlufu, true love, Cr. 538.

trēowraēden, state of fidelity, Gen. 2305.

Ḍrimsittende, dwelling in Heaven.

Unbealu, innocence, Ps. C, 2.

unbēted, unatoned, Cr. 1312.

ungebletsod, unblessed, 'non habentes signaculum Christi', Jul. 402.

ungelēaf, unbelieving, Ps. LXVII, 19.

unholda, devil, Cr. 762.

unhwīlen, eternal.

unrihtdōm, iniquity, Dan. 183.

unrihtfēoung, unrighteous hate, Met. XXVII, 1.

untwēod, undoubting, And. 1242.

upengel, heavenly angel.



Wægdreāt, deluge, Gen. 1352.

waelregn, deluge, Gen. 1350.

wæerloga, traitor, liar, devil.

wamcwide, shameful speech, curse, blasphemy.

wamdæd, deed of shame, crime.

wamful, impure, shameful, sinful, bad.

wamsceada, sin-stained foe, devil.

wamscyldig, sinful, criminal, Gen. 949.

wamwyrcende, worker of sin, Cr. 1093.

weolme, choice, Cr. 455.

wigweordung, idol-worship, idolatry.

wilboda, angel, Gu. 1220.

wītehraegl, penitential garb, sackcloth, Ps. LXVIII, 11.

wītescraef, hell, Sat. 691.

wīderbroga, devil, Cr. 564.

wōhfremmend, evil doer, Met. IX, 36.

woruldgītserē, coveter of worldly things, Met. XIV, 1.

wrōhtscipe, crime, Gen. 1672.

wrōhtsmīd, evil doer.

wuldorcyning, God.

wuldordrēam, heavenly rapture.

wuldorfaeder, Father of Glory.

wuldorgāst, angel, Gen. 2912.

wuldorweorud, heavenly host, Cr. 285.

wynpsalterium, psalm of joy, Ps. LVI, 10.

wynrōd, blessed cross, Sal. 235.

wyrdstaef, decree of fate, Gu. 1325.

wyrmsele, hell, Jud. 119.

Yfelsaec (eofulsaec), blasphemy, El. 524.



## TITLES AND ABBREVIATIONS

1. Titles and Abbreviations Referring to the Bibliothek der angelsaechsischen Poesie, I-III, by Grein-Wuelker.

Unless otherwise indicated, all quotations of Old English poetry are from the Bibliothek, the Arabic numbers referring to lines, except in the case of the Psalms, where the verse is given; however, in Ps. L. (Cottoniana) the references are to lines.

Alms. Bibl. III, p.181.

And. Andreas. Bibl. II, pp.1-86.

Ap. Fates of the Apostles. Bibl. II, 87-91.

Az. Azarias. Bibl. II, 491-497, 516-520.

Beow. Beowulf. Bibl. I, 149-277.

Caedmon's Hymn. Bibl. II, 316-317.

Charms I - VIII. Bibl. I, 312-330.

Chr. I - V. Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. Bibl. I, 374-388.

I. On the Victory of Aethelstan at Brunanburh.

II. Edmund.

III. Eadgar.

IV. Capture and Death of Aelfred.

V. Eadweard.

Complaint. Wife's Complaint. Bibl. I, 302-305.

Cr. Christ. Bibl. III, 1-54.

Creed, (Hy. X in Grein's Sprachschatz). Bibl. II, 245-249.



- Dan. Daniel. Bibl. II,476-515.
- Deor. Deor's Lament. Bibl. I,278-280.
- DOOm. Be Domes Daege. Bibl. II,250-272.
- Dox. Doxology, (Gloria in Bibl.; Hy. IX in Grein's Sprachschatz).  
Bibl. II,239-244.
- Durham. Bibl. I,391-392.
- El. Elene. Bibl. II,126-201.
- Ex. Exodus. Bibl. II,445-475.
- Exhortation, (Ermahnung zum christlichem Leben in Bibl.).  
Bibl. II,273-276.
- Fates. Fates of Men. Bibl. III,148-151.
- Gen. Genesis. Bibl. II,318-444.
- Gifts. Gifts of Men. Bibl. III,140-143.
- Gn.Cot. Gnostic Verses, Cotton MS. Bibl. I,338-341.
- Gn.Ex. Gnostic Verses, Exeter Book. Bibl. I,341-352.
- Gu. Guthlac. Bibl. III,55-94.
- Har. Harrowing of Hell. Bibl. III,175-180.
- Hymn, (Hymnus in Bibl.; Hy. VIII in Grein's Sprachschatz).  
Bibl. II,224-226.
- Instructions. A Father's Instructions to his Son. Bibl. I,  
353-357.
- Invocation, (Aufforderung zum Gebet in Bibl.). Bibl. II,277-279.
- Jud. Judith. Bibl. II,294-314.
- Judg. Last Judgment. Bibl. III,171-174.
- Jul. Juliana. Bibl. III,117-139.
- L. Prayer. Lord's Prayer, (Hy. V-VII in Grein's Sprachschatz)  
I -III, Bibl. II,  
227-238.





- Maldon. Battle of Maldon. Bibl. I, 358-373.
- Maxims, (Bruchstueck eines Lehrgedichts in Bibl.; Hy. XI,  
Grein's Sprachschatz). Bibl. II, 280-1.
- Men. Menology. Bibl. II, 282-293.
- Message. Husband's Message. Bibl. I, 309-311.
- Met. Meters of Boethius. Bibl. III, 247-303.
- Moods. Moods of Men. Bibl. III, 144-147.
- Panther. Bibl. III, 164-166.
- Partridge. Bibl. III, 170.
- Ph. Phenix. Bibl. III, 95-116.
- Prayer I -IV, (Hy. I-IV, Grein's Sprachschatz). Bibl. II, 211-223.
- Ps. Psalms. Bibl. III, 329-476.
- Ps. L. Psalm L (Cottoniana), Bibl. III, 477-482.
- Rid. Riddles. Bibl. III, 183-238.
- Rim. Riming Poem. Bibl. III, 160-163.
- Rood. Dream of the Rood. Bibl. II, 114-125.
- Ruin. Ruined Burg. Bibl. I, 289-301.
- Run. Runic Poem. Bibl. I, 331-337.
- Sal. Salomon and Saturn. Bibl. III, 304-328.
- Sat. Christ and Satan. Bibl. II, 521-562.
- Seaf. Seafarer. Bibl. I, 290-295.
- Sermon Ps. 28, (Predigtbruchstueck ueber Ps. 28). Bibl. II,  
108-110.
- Soul. Soul and Body, Vercelli text, unless otherwise noted.  
Bibl. II, 92-107.
- Wald. Waldere. Bibl. I, 11-13.
- Wand. Wanderer. Bibl. I, 284-289.
- Whale. Bibl. III, 167-169.



Wid. Widsith. Bibl. I,1-6.

Wonders. Wonders of Creation. Bibl. III,152-155.

2. Other Abbreviations.

Bibl. Bibliothek der angelsaechsischen Poesie, Grein-Wuelker.

B.-T. Bosworth-Toller, Anglo-Saxon Dictionary.

Dichtungen. Dichtungen der Angelsachsen, Grein.

Goth. Gothic.

Gr. Greek.

Grimm, D.M. Deutsche Mythologie, 4. Auflage.

Kahle, I. Die altnordische Sprache im Dienste des Christentums, I. Teil. Die Prosa.

Kahle, II. Das Christentum in der altwestnordischen Dichtung.

L. Latin.

MacG. MacGillivray, The Influence of Christianity on the Vocabulary of Old English.

ME. Middle English.

NED. New English Dictionary.

OE. Old English.

OFris. Old Frisian.

OHG. Old High German.

ON. Old Norse.

OS. Old Saxon.

OTeut. Original Teutonic.



Rankin, VIII & IX. A Study of Kennings in Anglo-Saxon Poetry,  
in The Journal of English and Germanic Philology, Vol. VIII &  
IX.

Raumer. Die Einwirkung des Christentums auf die ahd. Sprache.

Sprachschatz. Sprachschatz der angelsaechsischen Dichter,  
Grein, 2. Auflage.

W.-W. Wright-Wuelker, Anglo-Saxon and Old English Vocabularies



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## VITA

The author of this thesis was born December 7, 1887, at Neufirrel, East-Friesland, Germany, from which country he emigrated to the United States of America in 1902. After attending a grade school at Sterling, Nebraska, for a short time, he entered in January, 1907, the Preparatory Department of Wartburg Theological Seminary at Dubuque, Iowa. From 1908-11 he attended Wartburg College, Clinton, Iowa, and was graduated with the degree of A.B. in the latter year. Throughout his college career the author held a scholarship paying all expenses; during the last year he was also editor in chief of the Wartburg Quarterly, and class speaker at commencement. He attended the summer session of the University of Nebraska in 1911, and in the fall of the same year re-entered Wartburg Theological Seminary, finishing the three years' theoretical course in 1913. Besides being class speaker at commencement, he won three prizes of \$ 40 each during his stay at the seminary. After graduation and ordination as a Lutheran minister, the author served as state missionary of Montana for 18 months. In September 1914 he entered the University of Montana and held a scholarship in the English Department; the work for the A.M. degree was completed during the summer of 1915, and the degree awarded soon after. During the school year 1915-16 the author was acting professor of Classics at Newberry College, Newberry, South Carolina. Since 1916 he has held a fellowship in the English Department of the University of Illinois.





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