THE THEME OF PRIDE

IN OLD ENGLISH POETRY
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A Thesis
Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements
for the Degree
Master of Arts

McMaster University
September 1969
The theme of pride in Old English poetry begins with a detailed linguistic analysis of the various words for pride, ofermod, oferhyrd and blenco in particular. Once conclusions have been drawn as to the precise meanings of the words in their poetic context and this linguistic information used to elucidate certain passages in Old English poetry, there follows an investigation of the origins of the theme and the reasons why it should have so fascinated the early medieval poet. In the second half of the thesis is an analysis of the Junius Manuscript, beginning with a detailed textual analysis of Daniel, in an attempt to show that the poetry is largely thematic and didactic. The theme of the manuscript is largely a warning against pride, conveyed to the audience by the use of the highly associative stock epithets and imaginative patterns which give the poetry a structural unity, rather than the faithful rendering in verse of the individual biblical narratives.
**SIGNS AND ABBREVIATIONS USED**

**Signs:**

\[ \text{[a]} \cap \text{[b]} : \text{a is cognate with b, rather than related to it.} \]

\[ \text{[a]} \rightarrow \text{[b]} : \text{b is a form derivative from a.} \]

\[ \ast : \text{denotes a hypothetical, reconstructed, pre-historical form.} \]

**Languages:**

Co. - Gothic

Gk. - Greek

I.E. - Indo-European or Indo-Germanic

L. - Latin

Mod.E. - Modern English

O.E. - Old English

O.H.G. - Old High German

O.N. - Old Norse or Old Icelandic

O.S. - Old Saxon

Pr.Gmc. - Primitive Germanic or Primitive Teutonic

**Titles:**


Title abbreviations within this essay follow Magoun's code, presented in "Abbreviated Titles for the Poems of the Anglo-Saxon Poetic Corpus", *Etudes Anglaises*, VIII (1955), 144-46.
I wish to express my sincerest thanks to Professor A. A. Lee for his scholarly counsel, guidance and patience all through the preparation of this thesis. The topic was first suggested to me by Professor Lee, and the thesis has been largely inspired by his stimulating graduate class in Old English poetry. To Mr. Bargreaves and the English Language Department at Aberdeen I am indebted for originally fostering my interest in Old English language and for giving me a sound training in Medieval Germanic philology. I should also like to express my thanks to Miss A. P. Slot, who so kindly and willingly undertook the difficult task of typing such a thesis and who was so helpful in many ways during the preparation of this work.
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OLD ENGLISH WORDS FOR PRIDE

First we will be gynne at pride
for yet synne no man may hyde
nowe at pride we will be gynne
for it is rote of every synne. (Handlyng Synne)

This investigation of the theme of pride in early medieval thought and Old English poetry in particular begins with an analysis of the several Old English words translated, often loosely, by 'pride' in order to determine their etymology and hence precise meaning, followed by a survey of these words in their poetic context. The philologist, having determined the subtle nuances of meaning between the different words and their associative value, can often throw light on the interpretation of the poem itself. In this way one can appreciate whether the poet meant his audience to think of the quintessentially sinful pride of Satan, the socially dangerous pride that disrupted the heroic code, the praiseworthy, courageous pride of Beowulf, or the sancta superbia of the Christian, proud in the service of God. An attempt can thus be made to answer questions as to whether the pride of Byrhtnoth or Beowulf might have been regarded by the poet as sinful or praiseworthy.

But before coming to any definite conclusions that because, for example, ofermod describes Satan's sin, Byrhtnoth's ofermod must necessarily be evil, we must take into account the fact that one particular word might simply have been chosen for alliterative purposes. It would certainly appear at times that willen and its related forms often are little
more than a general, complimentary epithet used to alliterate with com-
ounds of win-, \(^1\) wig-, \(^2\) or wisdom \(^3\) in what appears to be a stock phrase.

We must also consider whether the words for 'pride' are merely synonyms,
the various poets simply preferring the one rather than the other; for
example, the Genesis A poet uses oferhym in contrast to the Genesis B
poet's preference for ofermod and its related forms to describe the sin
of Lucifer.

To the compound substantive ofermod I shall pay particular
attention in an attempt to see whether such a conclusion as G. C.
Britton reaches in relation to The Battle of Maldon, that ofermod means
'great, high courage', can be justified, for such a reading would affect
the interpretation of the poem. \(^4\)

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\(^1\) See Gen. 2581, Dan. 17, Ex. 29, Vol. 14, Rut. 34, Jud. 16, etc.
All line references to Genesis, Exodus, Daniel and Christ and Satan are
Line references to Christ, Guthlac, Agamem, The Phoenix, Juliana, The
Wanderer, The Seafarer, Vindolad, Widsith, The Rimi; Poem, Dean, The
Ruin are to The Exeter Book, G. F. Krapp and E. V. K. Dobbie, eds.,

\(^2\) See Bev. 2953, Egd. 240, Rbn. 39, Erb. 72, etc.
All line references to Beowulf are to C. L. Wrenn's edition (6th ed.;
Line references to The Battle of Maldon are to The Anglo-Saxon Minor

\(^3\) See Dan. 96, Gca. 503, etc.

\(^4\) "Heroic Poetry", a letter to the TLS, February 27, 1953,
p. 137.
(i) Ofemod. Related forms of the substantive are ofemede, ofemedu, ofernetio, ofemodiones (nyase), ofemodes, ofemodiones, ofemodigang.

Adjectival forms are ofemodig, ofemod, ofemodig, ofemodo.

Adverbial form -- ofemodliche.

Verbal form -- ofemod(i)gian, 'to be proud'.

The differences in the stem vowel can be traced back to the Indo-European ablaut variants *mo-, *me-, *mo-, giving a reconstructed Primitive Germanic *modo. Such a stem gives us Gothic mēbs, 'emotion', 'anger' \( \sim \) O.I.G. mōt, 'mind', 'thought', 'courage' \( \sim \) O.N. mōr, 'anger', 'grief' \( \sim \) O.S. mōd, 'courage', 'mind'.

It would appear, then, that the root meant 'the mind', 'heart', as it often does in Old English, \(^5\) and consequently the 'feelings' or 'the inner man'. In a continued sense it would appear to refer to specific states of mind in different Germanic languages, meaning 'courage' in O.I.G., O.S. and O.E., in the last of which it appears in an extended form to mean 'stoutness of heart', 'good or sinful pride'.

So Beowulf is praised for having mod micel (Beo. 1167a) 'great courage', 'noble spirit'; the faithful Israelites are a modig cyn (Heb. 7b) 'a proud, courageous people', just as Moses is their modig magamosa (Exo. 53a). In the same poem God Himself is called modig and megzenof (275a), just as the Whita of the world in the Phoenix is modig, neachtun spedig (10a), 'courageous' and 'abounding in might'. Perhaps the most expressive example is to be found in The Dream of the Rood as Christ

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\(^{5}\) Gen. B 735a, 750b, 750b, etc.
mounts the Cross modestly and manages gracefully (41a).

Even without the help of the intensifying prefix ofer-, mod can still mean 'sinful pride', 'arrogance' or 'presumption', the majority of examples occurring in Genesis. It is Satan's midle mod (738a) which causes his fall ac himac midu mod felumodo (53), and, in consequence, the angels are punished *burh heora niclan mod* and *burh niht nodes* (336). It is consequently no surprise that with the intensifying prefix ofer-, normally denoting excess in the stem it qualifies, it is invariably used in Old English prose and poetry to mean the 'sinful pride', the 'presumption' of Lucifer. Britton argues that the prefix ofer- can mean 'great', rather than 'excess of', giving such examples as ofermid, 'extreme need', and oferhwaete, 'great power', but omits to mention that in the greater number of examples ofer- means 'excess', and therefore is used in a derogatory sense; e. g., ofermidig, 'too covetous'; oferwis or oferwot, 'excess in eating', 'gluttony'; oferswade, 'overmuch'; ofertruma, 'overconfidence'. It is, therefore, almost certain that the prefix was used, as it is today, to express 'overabundance', or an 'unfortunate excess', just as the modern German related word überrascht, from O.H.G. ubermacht, means 'wrongful pride', whereas stolz can be ambiguously interpreted. As in modern English, there is as vast a difference between great courage and excessive courage as between the mod of Beowulf and the ofermod.

6 Other examples in Gen. 29b, 2237, etc.

7 Which can also be translated as "excessive power".

8Skt. upari ∼ Gr. πετύειν ∼ Pr. Gmc. *pet- > O.E. ofer ∼ O.S. ofar ∼ O.H.G. ubar ∼ O.N. ofar ∼ O.E. ofer. As the form suggests, it was originally a comparative adjective denoting the concept 'beyond', 'higher than' the noun it qualifies (cf. L. super, superbus), as in Mod. E. 'ab-ove'.
of Lucifer.  

Chapter XVII of the Defensor Libror Saintillanus entitled "De Superbia" is glossed as "De Ofemodignyse", and contrasts the vice of ofemodignys with oadmodynys, the opposing virtue:  

angynn ofermodignyse names frau gewitan frau gode.  
angynn symne ys ale ofermodigynas forspild god  
gemyn ofermodigra • nys geseconpan mannum ofermodigynys.  
... ofermodignys deofles deoful geheeneleccad ofer-
modige  
... caldorlicra lenhtre even y moder  
ofermodigynys ys y ale synyginge ofermod ys.  

In a non-Christian context, in answer to Britton's argument, we find Tarquin the Proud given the title of ofermod by Alfred, who invariably translates superbia by ofermetto:  

... swa hyt eac well gedafenoedhot God da mestan  
ofermetto genidrode mid bare hismerlicestan wrath  
here unwecontlicostan.  

In Alfred's translation of Gregory's Pastoral Care, Christ says:  

fontes hi swe mid [on] ofermettus and mid uphafen-
nesse beswod to dero are dere hirdelec gesege.  
[and earlier warned dykes he beforean des diglandsean  
eage vin abisen on his node and on ofermettus adwouden,  

9 Britton argues further that mod and ofermod "in a heroic context" would mean 'courage' and 'great courage', while in the poetry of a Christian moralist both might mean 'pride'. We have, however, seen that mod in such poems as Dan. (7), Exo. (55 and 275) and DeR (41) can mean 'courage' while, I hope to show, ofermod in the 'heroic' Mid. (69) can mean 'excess of courage', 'pride'.  

10 -ig/-i suffixes are interchangeable in late OE; therefore, this is a variant spelling of ofermodignyse.  

11 E. W. Rhodes ed., EETS 93 (London, 1889), Cap. XVII.  

12 This part, concerning the teaching of Isidore on Pride, is the gloss of superbia diaboli diabolum imitantur superbi.  


14 Ibid., p. 38, describing the Plagues of Egypt.
and done durth þat selfliche his godan weorc forlose.\textsuperscript{15}

In poetry, similarly, the cardinal sin of pride is also called ofermode, especially in \textit{Genesis} B:

\begin{quote}
\textit{Was ar godes engel, \\
hvit on heofene, od hine his hyge forapeon \\
and his ofermetto ealre aewidost, \\
þat he ne wolde wereða drehtnes \\
word wurdian.}\quad (\textit{Gen. 349b-53a})
\end{quote}

Lucifer is \textit{se ofermoda cyning} (338a), the angel who \textit{anges ofermode wesan} (262) and it was \textit{burn ofermetto ealma aewidost} (337)\textsuperscript{16} that he was punished. So often is it impressed on the reader that Satan fell through pride that 'proud' becomes the stock epithet for him; e. g., \textit{Genesis} 272a,\textsuperscript{17} 293b, 332a.

In Solomon and Saturn the poet makes a direct antithesis between the blessedness of the angels and the pride of the devils:

\begin{quote}
Nolde gud geardor \quad in godes rice \\
cadiges engies \quad and \textit{dass ofermoden} (452-53).
\end{quote}

Daniel predicted that the demonic tyrant Nebuchadnezzar would fall from his glory because of his presumption in thinking that he could live in prosperity and glory without God's aid:

\begin{quote}
\textit{Swa ar Daniel exed, \\
þat se folcetoga findon secelde \\
earflodeidas \quad for his ofermadan.} (\textit{Dan. 654b-56}),
\end{quote}

while in \textit{Vainclody} we are told:

\begin{quote}
\textit{He bid þam oþrum swa, \\
se be on ofermædan \quad eargum dedum \\
leofad in lechtrum, \quad ne beod þa lean gelic \\
mid waldorcyning.}\quad (745b-77a)\textsuperscript{18}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{15} Henry Sweet \textit{ed.}, \textit{EETS 45} (London, 1871), 26 and 24 respectively; other examples are to be found in the \textit{Old English Version of Boethius' De Consolatione Philosophiae}, ed. W. J. Sedgefield (Oxford, 1909) pp. 14, 106, 186, etc.

\textsuperscript{16} This line is echoed in 351.

\textsuperscript{17} \textit{Fela worda gearse \textasciitilde se engel ofermodes.} Sweet considers ofermodes to be instr. gen., klecker, as qualifying worda 'words of pride'; it could also be adv. gen. 'in his pride'.

\textsuperscript{18} See also \textit{Dan. 747} and \textit{XSt 427}. 
It is not surprising, then, that one should from the evidence of etymology, lexis and context comparison confidently read the ofermode in Maldon as 'excessive courage', hence 'overweening pride'.

Da se here [Byrhtnoth] organ for his ofermode alyfan landes to fela lafera deode. (89-90)

All critics except Britton, whose argument is questionable, pronounce judgment on Byrhtnoth's action as described in these lines, and hence on the entire poem, purely from a subjective interpretation. N. P. Blake treats the poem allegorically with the Horsemen as demonic attackers of the faithful English; Byrhtnoth's sacrifice of his physical life, as in Guthlac and other martyrrologies, and of the lives of his men, would therefore be immaterial as their souls were unassailable. His ofermode, then, is comparable to Beowulf's heroic idleness, and comes from the "nobility of the hero's spirit", his willingness to put his trust in God and let Him decide the outcome, an action, Blake admits, foolish if the poem were to be read on a literal level. However, the fact that the Vikings are termed hæden (55, 161) and wælwcæs (96) is no argument, as Blake would have us believe, that the poet wished his audience to interpret the poem allegorically. It is very common indeed in Old English poetry to have any enemy of the protagonist, spiritual or temporal, designated hæden and wulfheort; e. g., Nebuchadnesszar and Holofernes are called hæden in Daniel (153, 241, 539) and in Judith (110, 179) and Nebuchadnesszar, wulfheort in Daniel (116, 135, 246). Having used

20 Ibid., 334.
21 Generally the Vikings are termed as hæoðg (92, 277), or wyge (126), or, simply, man (77, 125) or byge (123, 125) -- epithets which are 'neutral' and are used for Byrhtnoth's men too.
linguistic evidence to prove this point, Blake then compares Byrhtnoth's ofermod with Beowulf's wlenco. Wlenco means originally 'wealth', 'prosperity', 'honourable pride', 22 and when used to describe Beowulf (338-9) is synonymous with hygge, 'magnificence of spirit'. But Blake overlooks the fact that on two occasions wlenco is used in Haldon to describe a similar quality as in Beowulf and is, therefore, explicitly differentiated from ofermod as is wlenco from oferhyge in Beowulf. 23 The heroic English are wlenco begenen (305) and Byrhtnoth's magnificent steed is called wlansec (241). The Haldon poet, therefore, wishes to make as clear a distinction between the two types of pride as does the Beowulf poet, permitting no opportunity for confusion. Professor Cross convincingly shows how Byrhtnoth, in spite of his Christian prayers, had not the makings of a saint; his dying speech is "selfish though human", 24 akin to that of the secular protagonist in Beowulf. 25 Cross compares the Haldon poet's handling of his character with Alfred's adaptation of Deed's story of Oswald, in which all the faults of the man are completely glossed over. It is clear that Byrhtnoth had been tricked by the Danes --ongumum lytegian be lade gystas (86), and that he had yielded landes to folka (90) to them, lacking

22 By extended sense, as we shall later see, it can also mean 'sinful pride'.

23 In Brodgar's "Saxon" the evil pride which wrecked and divided (Bef, 174a) and brings about man's downfall is termed oferhyge, as is Lucifer's pride in Gen. A. (22b, 29a, etc.)

24 J. E. Cross, "Oswald and Byrhtnoth", English Studies, XLVI (1955), 106.

25 Ibid., 105.
the cardinal virtue of prudencia, thus endangering the lives of his men and risking defeat. Desirous of lof and dom in truly heroic fashion, he is over-chivalrous and not sufficiently mindful of his duties as a leader, which are to win the battle for his king and to be responsible for those under his command. Ultimately, the battle was lost and the soldiers' lives sacrificed, while the poet's unambiguous criticism of the hero is underlined by his use of ofermod, the same pride which led Lucifer to disrupt the heroic code in Genesis, such disruption leading to chaos and death.

Professor Tolkien freely translates the line in question as "in overmastering pride [Byrhtnoth] actually yielded ground to the enemy, as he should not have done." Such an action is not comparable to Beowulf's decision not to use arms against Grendal but to have hand-to-hand combat, as he only endangered his own life, but more like Beowulf's ultimate attempt to attack the gold-keeping monster now that he is king. Such an example of pride leads to the downfall of his people and the poet's final assessment of him as being oferconost: Oft seeall eorl monig man wilian / wæc adreogan (5077-79). So also Byrhtnoth's desire for lof leads to an action which Tolkien calls "Magnificent perhaps, but certainly wrong. Too foolish to be heroic," In a hierarchically based society the responsibility of the leader was great and Byrhtnoth's error as grave

26 Ibid., 103. See also R. E. Kaske "Sapientia et Fortitude as the Controlling Theme of Beowulf", Studies in Philology, LV (1958), 423-56.


28 Ibid., 14

29 Ibid., 15
as Satan's who, in his ofermod, threatened the hierarchy of heaven.

(ii) Oferhyrd

Ofermod could never be used as veleno could, to signify either 'a good or an evil pride'. Oferhyrd, Bosworth notes, can mean 'an honourable pride', but this is exceptionally rare.

The etymological and lexical history of oferhyrd is rather similar to ofermod, hyre being practically synonymous with mod, meaning 'thought', 'mind', 'heart', and, by extension, a particular state of mind as 'courage' or 'pride'.

Substantives: oferhyrd, oferhyrd, oferhyre; oferheca and oferhecind, 'a proud, disdainful person'.

Adjectival forms are oferhyrd, oferhyrdig.

Verbal forms are oferhecian, oferhecigan (O.H.G. uberhygian, ∩
Co. uberhucian, 'to be proud' are cognate forms).

The O.E. stem hyre is cognate with O.N. huci, hyr (∩) Co. huge (∩) O.S. huci (∩) O.H.G. heti, hucci, meaning 'mind', 'thought', 'heart', 'courage'.

Normally various suffixes are used to denote particular states of mind;

e. g., hyre-geornor, hyre-rof, synonymous with mod-geornor and mod-rof,
respectively meaning 'sad' and 'brave'. There is a subtle shade of differ-
ence between the two, hyre referring more to the 'thought' (cf. hecian,
'to think') and mod to the more abstract mood, the 'inner man', one's humour.

Such a difference can be seen in the famous Maldon exhortation:

Hige secel be heandra, heorte be sene,
mod secel be mare, be ure nagen lytled. (312-13),
hyre hare referring to the 'thought', mod to 'courage'. And just as mod
can refer to both sinful and courageous pride, so also can hyre. The poet
refers to the insolence and pride of Nebuchadnezzar as hige (Dan. 490a), just as Satan's pride is referred to in Genesis B (274b, 350b): *Weoll him on inman / hyge ymb his heartan* (353b-54a). In Haldon, however, it refers to heroic pride: *higce to handum and to hige godum* (4).

There are very few occasions indeed when *oferhyge* is used in a favourable sense, and none in Old English poetry: *Gif me da, hulde de ic on hisse worulde si, and pedo me unmodigne; sile me oferhyge and Gif du pesave swone swide wisse nane de befde swide goda oferhyge and were deah swide earm.* ... (*King Alfred's Anglo-Saxon Version of Boethius' De Consolatione Philosophiae*, quoted by Bosworth under *oferhyge*, p. 735). But by far the largest number of examples describe the sinful pride of the demonic spirits. In Genesis A the poet prefers to use *oferhyge*:

*Him þær sar gelamp,*

*æst and oferhyge,*

*þæs engalas mod,*

*þæ pone umd organ ærest freoman,*

*wefan and weoccean.* ... (28b-31a)

The *oferdig cyn* (66a) previously performed nothing in heaven:

*þæt engalas weard* for oferhyge
dawl on gedwilde. ... (21b-23a)

The *Daniel* poet, writing at about the same time as the Genesis A poet (ca. A. D. 700), also prefers to use *oferhyge* to describe the sin of Nebuchadnezzar, who *in oferhyge gæhues lifde* (107) and whose pride, like that of Satan, was greater than any other man's: *æne on oferhyd ofer calle men.* (614) The poet breaks off to moralize on Nebuchadnezzar's pride which grew even after he had received God's warning:

*Ne by sal dyde,*

*ac þam ædelinge oferhygd gesced,*

*wearð him hyrrha hyge* and on heartan þedan

*næm on modæfan þonne gemet ware,*

*odfæt him nic niðe nydor asette*

*metod ældræhtig,* swa he manegam ded.
Belshazzar was also to find that a fall followed pride; he lived in prosperity. It was noted that the poet prefers to use when describing the sinful pride of man and the disastrous results that ensue:

"Se he hine sylfne in ha alipnan tid
puh h oferhygdas up alihned,
schede heammodne, so seael hean wesan
after neosipnum niþor gebiged,
vunnan witum fast, wynnun bebrungen.
Pet was geara in in godes rice
bettte mid englum oferhygd astag,
widzere gewin."

Hroðgar, as we have previously noted, differentiates between the possibly heroic pride, the vilence of Beowulf, and the evil, corrupting, cancerous pride of Beowulf, by terming the latter oferhygd. In the sermon, which we shall later see is inspired by patriotic thought, the hero is warned "ofeþ-hyda ne gyn/. meþæ cempe!" (1760-61) A prince may live in prosperity, be unaffected by sickness and illness,

ac him eal wæorld
weneð on willan. Ne þæt wyrse ne con,
od þæt him on innan ofer-hyggas deal
weaxed ond wundad, þonne se weard sweofed,
seuele byrde;

It is pride that is the beginning of all evil both in Christian teaching and in the heroic code, according to which the individual had to perform

30 See also Dan. 297b ff.: My italics in the above quotation.
31 Vg. 23b, 43 have other examples.
the duties expected of him, not necessarily humbly, but without insolence or presumption.

The spirits in Guthlac subtly try to shake the saint's conviction by accusing him of glorying in his goodness like Tennyson's Simon Stylites, a temptation ever present to the cleric and recluse in particular.

No we oferhygda anes nomes
geond middangeard maran fundon. (269-70)

This is the corrupting pride that the sufferer is generally unaware of, but of which Guthlac was definitely not guilty. Later, after being taken down to the gates of hell, he rightfully and forcefully accuses the hell-dwellers of oferhygda. They have to endure total separation from light:

for ham oferhygda he cow in mod sealag
pud idel ylp calles to wvide. (661-62)

In Christ and Satan the devil, lamenting, realizes that it is for oferhygda (50a) that he has no hope of battran haem (49b) and the poet later tells us about his fall:

Pa he in valdre wrohte ostalde
het he oferhyda agan wolde.
Pa Satanus swearte gebohte
het he wolde on heofonum hehseld wyrcan
uppe mid ham ecen. het wes caldor heorn,
yfeles ordfrum. (368-73)

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32 Guthlac further warns the hell-dwellers that they will be fore oferhygda in ece fyrb (634).

33 Other examples in Old English poetry are to be found in Gen. 3, 328, XSt. 196, And. 319, Jlu. 424, Aza. 18, and Reg. 55-6: sellan buhten / oncles oferhylige bonne ece Crist.

In the prose there are examples in Blickling Homilies, PLTS 58, where we are told that Adam and Eve forfeited Paradise burh heorn gifer-

nessa and oferhygde (24); and Christ says that Adam's sins, like Satan's, are oferhydeo and gifernessa. (31).
From the above survey it might well appear that the difference between *ofenmod* and *ofenhygd* was largely chronological. The earlier *Genesis* poem, in which the majority of examples of *ofenhygd* are found, is dated late seventh to early eighth century,\(^3^4\) while the interpolated *Genesis B*, written some two hundred years later\(^3^5\) prefers *ofenmod*. Similarly the earlier *Guthlac*, written early in the eighth century,\(^3^6\) uses *ofenhygd* as does *Daniel A*, which was written around the same time.\(^3^7\) *Christ and Satan*\(^3^8\) and *Beowulf*, in which poems a number of examples of *ofenhygd* are found, would also be called early; whereas in the later poems, such as *Genesis B* and *Haldon*, one finds *ofenmod*.\(^3^9\) This might well explain why one of the near-synonyms is chosen in certain poems in preference to the other.

It is, I believe, highly significant that the root words *mod* and *hygd*, originally indicating one's state of mind and thoughts, should come to mean 'courage' and 'heroic pride', and later 'sinful pride'. It is far

\(^{3^4}\)Krapp, PR I, "Introduction", xxvi-xxvii.


\(^{3^8}\)See Krapp, PR I, "Introduction", xxxvi.

\(^{3^9}\)Hans Schabran, *Superbia: Studien zum altenglischen Wortschatz* (München, 1965), p. 128, suggests that the use of *ofenmod* in *Genesis B* may be the direct influence of the source in Old Saxon:

*Genesis B* eine Übersetzung aus dem Altsächsischen ist, die in der Vorwahl stark unter dem Einfluss ihrer Vorlage steht. Be- denkt man nämlich, dass der Haldon im superbia-Bereich als Adjektive zwar *ofenmod* und *ofenmodig*, als Substantiv dagegen *ofenhygd* verwendet, so ist der Schluss berechtigt, dass die Vorlage der *Genesis B* in vers 328 *ofenhygd* hat.
easier for man today to appreciate the historical process of shift of meaning with such a word as 
violence, from 'prosperity', 'riches', to 'pride', since power and wealth corrupt; but in medieval times, before the rise of the merchant classes and the possibility of a wider cross-section of the community to achieve any wealth, the problems of avarice and the corruption of wealth were dangerous only to those in authority.

It is for this reason that the Ecclesiasticus text initium peccati superbia est is more often quoted than radix malorum est cupiditas, the text found more frequently in later medieval writings. 40 For the Anglo-Saxons, to simplify greatly the social structure of the day, it was far more important that one should fulfil the obligations of one's social position in the hierarchy. To disobey the simple rules of serving one's superior and helping and providing for one's inferiors greatly upset the entire hierarchy, the confusion being greater if the wrong-doer were a ruler.

Hence one's mod or hyge, one's 'state of mind', should be 'heroic courage' and 'pride'; but, if one were to exceed one's obligations, it would constitute a violation of the code and be considered offer-mod or offer-hyge. Such a rupture of the social code could come from the neglect of those for whom one is responsible, as in the case of Byxhtnoth, who sacrificed the lives of his men, or in the case of Heremod in Beowulf, who neglected the important function of being a 'gift-dispenser' to his dependent thanes.

On the other hand, the break-down of the comitatus system could come from that pride which led one to consider oneself more important and higher in the social hierarchy than one actually was, thus feeling oneself to be impaired; one would refuse to obey one's natural superiors and treat one's

40 Ecclesiasticus 10:15 and 1 Timoth. 6:10 respectively,
equals as inferiors. This is the pride of Lucifer and of such characters as Nebuchadnezzar or the Israelites in Daniel, when they think that they alone are responsible for their prosperity and can continue to thrive without any help from, or thanks to, God, the supernatural overlord of earthly kings, or even think of themselves as all-powerful gods.

The theme of pride was so popular in Old English poetry, I believe, because it struck at the roots of both heroic and Christian morality. The Monster Pride distracted men from obeying theirMetad and being charitable to their inferiors, and made them strive to rise above their natural position, thus breaking the heroic code and Christian commandments.

(iii) \mace

Substantives are \mlanc, 'pride' (in the plural, 'prosperity', 'riches', 'high birth'), \mlanc. Adjectival forms are \mlanc, \mlanclic. Adverbial form - \mlanclicce

Verbal forms - \mlancian, 'to be proud', \mlancan, 'to adorn', 'exalt', 'make proud'. The verb can be traced to early modern English 'vlencan', 'to make proud', originating from Fr.Gmc. *wlankian → O.E. vlencan (≠ O.S. (mi)wlenkid. The noun of\mlancence is very rare and means 'great ostentation', 'superabundance of wealth'.

Etymologically and lexically \mlanc and its related forms are quite different from the previous words which we have been discussing and are perhaps more readily understood by the modern mind which associates wealth

with pride. Menno, then, is associated more with the outer show of prosperity of a man, rather than with his 'inner mood'. Such a display of nobility or riches can mean either the honourable declaration of one's lawful, high position or, quite naturally following from this, the vain-glorious display of prosperity, despised in the heroic code and sinful in Christian thought which stresses how impossible it is for any man who glories in earthly possessions or power ever to gain the kingdom of heaven. This was not the sin of Satan, and the word, so far as I know, is never used in Old English poetry to describe him, although it is often used to describe demonic characters like Nebuchadnezzar or the vainglorious builders of the Tower of Babel; but they, unlike Satan, can be and were saved at a later date from the horrors of hell. Theirs was a worldly pride, since they were ostentatiously proud of their power and prosperity without acknowledging that it was given to them by God. Menno, however, leads man to act as Satan did in his ofremoc, making him attempt to 'equal the most High', to build his own kingdom in the northern regions, and, in so doing, to fail to appreciate the basic Christian paradox ... that only he who serves God can be free; for by attempting to reach the heavens by means of one's own powers, by stressing one's ability to be self-sufficient, one achieves, like Marlowe's heroes, the opposite result and finds oneself thrown into the depths of hell or reduced to the state of a beast, like Nebuchadnezzar. Pride comes before a fall and it is God who humbles the proud; 

42 "And I will cause the arrogancy of the proud to cease and will lay low the haughtiness of the terrible ... And Babylon, the glory of kingdoms, the

42 cf. Dan. 4:36-45; and for Biblical references, James 4:6; I Tim. 3:6; Isaiah 28:5; Luke 14:10; Psalm 119:21, etc.
beauty of the Chaldees' excellency shall be as when God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah. 43

But the boundary between the self-respect, the "noble pride through which merits shine brighter than through modesty" 44 and the sin of pride is razor-thin; one can be proud in one's humility or proud in one's goodness without realizing it. It is _wancc_ that is used in Old English, as far as I can ascertain, to describe the ambiguous, malignant pride which stealthily overcomes one till it grows into the deadly sin of _of orned_, "first peer and president of hell". 45

It is perhaps significant that on average the largest number of favourable meanings of _wancc_ appears in poems which are more heroic in tenor. Such a division of the _corpus_ must be subjective, but I would put _Beowulf, Helden, Brunnanburh, Waldere_ and _Midsith_ in this category. The conclusion of _Waldere_ admirably shows the fusion of heroic and Christian; he who trusts in God will gain His aid:

"Pomne noten wanche  wulan brantium
achtum wealdan,"  

(Wld. II, 30-31).

This is the honourable distribution of riches and possession of power by the proud ruler who is mindful of his place in the hierarchy and of his duty to pray for his Lord's aid, a heroic concept which fits in perfectly with the Christian virtues of not being covetous and of being aware of one's God-given responsibilities as a ruler.

43 Isaiah 13:11 and 19.


Generally, however, in these heroic poems uhlice refers to the

courageous pride, akin to mod and hyrde, of the heroes. Beowulf is uhlice

Welcera leod (341a), as Beowulf's lord Hygelac is called (2953a), and

Hroðgar's herald, uhlice haled (331b). In Maldon, English and Viking

warriors are termed uhlice wicing (139a), while the English are uhlice

hegenas, uncearse men (205b-206a), and Byrhtnoth's famous steed is also

uhlcan (240a). It would, therefore, appear to be a conventional, heroic

epithet describing the valour of both enemy and hero without any sinister

overtones. Similarly, the Angles and Saxons in Brunanburh are uhlice

wicsmahes (72e) as they overcome the indigenous Wealas (72b); in Midaith

we hear of nuince men, modum uhlice (106) and hæ uhlicean godryht Wil-

nyrginga (118). As some two hundred years separate Beowulf from Maldon,

and the same word appears to have identical connotations in both, there

seems little evidence of shift of meaning; in Beowulf the coast guard

equates uhlice with hygobyhyr, 'valour', 'magnificence of spirit':

"Wen ic hæ ge for uhlice, nalles for wise-sidum,

ac for hygobyhyr Hroðgar schton." (336-39)

Although most of the examples in the heroic Beowulf show that

uhlice is used in a highly complimentary sense or at best as a conventional

heroic epithet of praise, some uses of the word are rather ambiguous. The

treasure-hoard dragon in the second part of Beowulf, aggressive only after

his cave has been raided, is called m&auml;na-h&auml;te uhlice (2033b) 'glorying,

proud in his treasure', and we perhaps are reminded of the passage in the

'Gnomic Verses' 47 describing the perfect state in which every being in the


46 Although Hygelac at other times is said to be covetous, here the
term is meant as a compliment.

hierarchy performed his set duty — Cyning sceal on healle / beagas dalan (28-29) . . . God sceal on heofenun / deda demend (35-6) and also Breca sceal on hlæge / frod, frestum wænce (26-27). It is, therefore, only when the treasure was coveted by man that the wrath of the dragon was widespread and the sin of covetousness became rife in Beowulf's kingdom.

Wende se wisse [Beowulf], þæt he Wealdende ofer celde riht, eacen Dryhtne, bitre gebulge; (2329-31a)

Such a reading of Beowulf would place the sins of pride and covetousness on Beowulf and his subjects, as Margaret Goldsmith would have us believe. 48 Granted that the poem is perhaps a Fürstenspiegel 49 and that Hroðgar's sermon is important in any interpretation of the poem, we have little evidence other than the above speech of Beowulf to show that the disaster was self-inflicted.

Beowulf is accused of pride by Unferd, when Beowulf and Breca undertook their sea adventure:

"dar cit for wiænce wada cunnedon
ond for deor-glænce on deop wæter
aldran neþdorn?" (508-10a)

But Beowulf refutes the accusation and proves his great strength, endurance and courage by tackling the Leviathan monster. This is a different type of pride from the sinful pride, oferhyge, about which Hroðgar warns Beowulf; this is the heroic nobility which leads Beowulf to fight Grendel without a sword, a pride just this side of the Christian sin of vainglory, the

48 Margaret E. Goldsmith, "The Christian Theme of Beowulf", M. L., XXIX (1960), 61-101; in this article Miss Goldsmith claims that Beowulf's theme is a sermon against pride and covetousness.

arrogance of feeling self-sufficient in this world, a boundary which I believe Brynhilde crosses in his attempt to win lóf and dom.

Hygelac, the poet unambiguously states, is certainly guilty of pride. Glancing into the future history of the heala-benga meot (1195b) which Hroðgar gives Beowulf, we learn that:

Pone hring heofde Higelac Ceada,
nefa Swartingas, nyhstan side,
sidean he under seagna sine sealgode,
weal-reef werede; hyne wyrd fornam,
syppdan he for wælco wæan ahsoðe,
fæhde to Frysum.

(1202-07a)50

The torque, as was the custom, has been dutifully handed on by Beowulf to Hygelac. But the greatest danger comes to the king himself. Although not explicitly mentioned, the attack of the monsters seems possible only when the leader or people have sinned and after they have enjoyed prosperity. One might conjecture that the kings became proud in their power and wealth, and, like the Israelites, Nebuchadnezzar and Belshazzar in Daniel, were then vulnerable to attack from evil forces. In Christ and Satan we learn that Satan can attack only those who have already sinned. Beowulf, as we saw above, realized that the monster's fury was the result of his country's sin, as did Hroðgar before him; so Beowulf talks of 'cleansing'. (fæsian 432b) Heorot. Hygelac is more openly accused of pride and covetousness (malles-fætwe geaf / sældor angela [2929b-295]), an accusation which is substantiated by historical evidence: "He [King Hagleikr] was a rich man, but was miserly over his wealth", 51 and "The king of the island at this

50.1205b-06 are translated "Fate took him off, when in his pride he suffered misfortune in flight" by Gorden, p. 26.

time was Hugletus, who, though he had a well filled treasury, was yet so
prone to avarice that once, when he gave a pair of shoes... he took off
the ties." The proud and covetous king, then, refusing to dispense riches
as he ought to have done as king, also embarked on unnecessary hostilities
against the Franks, which were later to have tragic consequences.

Although I would not insist that pride and covetousness were the
major themes of Beowulf, I would say that they were of great importance.
Heremod and Hygelac are perfect examples of kings who take pride in thinking
that they need not bestow gifts and that they can win wars by their
own power regardless of the dangers involved. With Hroðgar and Beowulf,
on the other hand, we have no evidence at all. We know that they consider
themselves guilty and responsible for the monster's onslaughts, and that
Hroðgar, having learned his lesson, advises Beowulf to avoid the monster
pride. Further than this we must speculate.

If the pride of Beowulf is uncertain and only hinted at in the
heroic poem, there can be no doubt whatsoever that in the explicitly
Christian verse vlence is indeed a sin. A prosperous, powerful rule was
enjoyed by Belshazzar, for example,

\[\text{oðfer him vlence gesæd} \]
\[\text{oferhyð egle. De was endæg...} \quad (\text{Dan. 677-78})\]

Pride, then, led directly to his ignominious death. Similarly, the
Israelites enjoyed God's protection and a heaven on earth

\[\text{oðfer hie vlence amod wæt wiƿhægo} \]
\[\text{deofoldædum, dræone geæhtas.} \quad (17-18)\]

\[\text{Saxo Grammaticus, quoted in Gaimonsway, et al., p. 114.}\]
after which they are punished by the Babylonian Captivity and by 
\[\text{v\lance}\] (96), Nebuchadnezzar. The doomed \[\text{v\lance\v\lance}\] in *Exodus* are also 
called \[\text{v\lance\v\lance}\] (487 and 496), as is the demonic Holofernes in *Judith* 
(16); all are guilty of a Harlovian, overmastering pride, thinking them-
selves to be self-sufficient.

When one does come across \[\text{v\lance}\] used in Christian verse in an 
honourable sense, it is generally in those passages in which the Old 
English poet has dipped into his 'heroic word-heard' to describe the faith-
ful protagonist in terms of a Germanic hero; it is, indeed, this mixture of 
Christian and heroic elements that gives the poetry its distinctive 
flavour and excellence. Consequently, it is no surprise to hear the *Exodus*
poet, when he is describing the martial Israelites as an army preparing for 
battle, calling them \[\text{v\lance\v\lance\v\lance\v\lance\v\lance}\] (Exo. 170-71), just as 
the militant Judith is \[\text{v\lance\v\lance\v\lance}\] (325), or the faithful followers 
of Helena marching against the heathen Jews: \[\text{her v\lance\v\lance\v\lance\v\lance}\] (Elo. 231-32). So also the magnificent Phoenix is called 
a \[\text{v\lance\v\lance\v\lance\v\lance\v\lance\v\lance\v\lance}\] (100).

Apart from these occasions when the militant protagonist is des-
cribed in heroic terms, \[\text{v\lance}\] in the didactic, Christian poetry invariably 
signifies a sinful state. For example, the inhabitants of Sodom, \[\text{v\lance\v\lance}\] 
(*Gen. 2454b*) are

\[\text{Dagodum v\lance drihtne guldon}
\text{god mid goynre, odhest gusta helm,}
\text{liefe leochtifrum lench ne wolde}
\text{toru browigean. . .}\] 

(*Gen. 2421-24*)

A similar pride overcame God's people when they are dwelling in prosperity 
in the land of Shinar, enjoying wealth and power.
The Tower of Babel, just like the tree Nebuchadnezzar was to dream of, symbolizes the overweening pride of man apart from God. The only remedy, which Nebuchadnezzar eventually found, is to humble oneself before God and with humility and faith to trust in Him.

The Guthlac poet describes another type of pride, which was an ever-present danger for the young priests of that day; the hero is accused of being proud of his calling, to which he replies:

Pecudum ywæ 

wifodon wæres, wloncæ forleœæs,

siddan gegeude gead ewart aflïk.

(502a-04)

The exile for God is also tempted by the pride of humility and goodness, and accused by the spirits for wlenco on weste mrne h eorgas bæoce (208-9).

It is in the poetically beautiful elegies that the greatest difficulty in appreciating the precise value of wlenco arises, perhaps because here the heroic and Christian elements are most closely and successfully interwoven. We must also be careful that the word is not used simply for alliterative reasons, as might be the case when we find repeated such a phrase as wlonc and wingoal. This half-line occurs in The Seafarer and The Ruin. In the former, those land-dwellers who enjoy this life to the full, who have no notion of taking the spiritual journey, of renouncing the transient pleasures of the world and of enduring hardship in an exile for

\[53\text{cr. Sæs. 207-10.} \]

Vat ic dæt wæron Caldeas
gícul dæs giclice and dæs guldænce
mnda dæs nodige dær to dæm mæning gælcyp
and ymbe Sæntes feld.
God, are spoken of as **wlonc and wingal** (29a). In The Ruin the once\footnote{See R. F. Leslie ed., *Three Old English Elegies* (Manchester, 1961), p. 22 ff.} glorious and magnificent Roman spa\textsuperscript{54} has now become a ruin and a symbol of the transience of all things sublunary, of all the power, pleasure and wealth that it stood for:

\[
\text{Hymre wong gecrong}
\]
\[
\text{gebrocen to beorgam, bar in beorn monig}
\]
\[
\text{glændon and gældseorht gælca gefretwed}
\]
\[
\text{wlonc and wingal wighyrstum scan; (31-34)}
\]

When one remembers the innumerable times that pride has been coupled with the other cardinal sin of gluttony, of which drunkenness is a part, it becomes apparent that the phrase *wlonc and wingal* is more than a mere harmonious stock epithet. The Israelites in Daniel, when *wlonc amod uht vin-becge* (17), turn to *deofoldedum druncne gedohtas* (18); Belshazzar, after he becomes imbued with pride, is *medugal* (702a) and *uht vino* (695a), and both Israelites and Belshazzar immediately turn from God and commit sacrilege in His temple. It is when the demonic Dolofernes, as *stigmoda* (25a), is *medig and medugal* (26a) that he contemplates ravishing God's maiden, Judith. His followers also, when they are conquered by God's people, are *medoverige* (229 and 245). Perhaps we are meant to draw the parallel with the Patristic conception of Eve's sin; namely, her taking the fateful drink which poisoned her reason. Pride is indeed the *initia peccati*, and the Christian Church was intent on stressing the many sins stemming from it.

To label the land-dwellers (in itself a derogatory term, used to describe the Egyptians) *wlonc and wingal*, an expression which the medieval audience would immediately associate with the demonic characters guilty of
the same vices, is a definite condemnation of the life of those who enjoy

the things of this world as an end in themselves.

The beorhtan burh (37) of The Ruin is no new Jerusalem, but a

Babylon, with its simo, sylfor, sceaginamas, etc., constructed by those

who refuse to leave transitory joys behind them and to set off like the

Seafarer on a spiritual journey, to become, like the Israelites crossing

the Red Sea, seafarers, baptised in Christ and exiles for God. The poet

of The Ruin has no need to underline explicitly his criticism of all that

the Roman civilisation stood for since, by using such conventional but

highly associative epithets, he makes the message quite implicit.

A similar image is seen in The Vandalry:

Worlad þa winsalo, waldend liegod
dreams hidroxene, dugeone eal Gearong,
wlænc bi wealle. (76-80)

The winsalo of Belshazzar or the Romans has crumbled with the

passage of time, the rulers have fallen, joy has departed, even the heroic

warrior cannot fight death—all the ælence, the wealth, has, like the wall

in The Ruin, slowly fallen and passed away. The wall as the symbol of
earthly dwelling, the gift-hall, has not Christ as its cornerstone55 and so
cannot withstand the passage of time. The hall, like Heorot, or the tree,

which flourishes symbolising Nebuchadnezzar's great rule, is not evil in
itself; the joys of this life are not necessarily sinful, but everything
depends on whether or not one attributes them to God, whether one humbly
acknowledges that one is simply a thane of God, accepting gifts from a gift-
dispensing Lord and giving thanks for them, or whether one shuns the Corner-
stone of one's hall and uses the gifts of God as if one has earned them

55 An idea suggested to me by Dr. Lee; cf. Chr. I, 2-3 ðu eart se
weallstan he da wyrhtan in / vidwuran to wercce.
oneself. Men has to turn his back on the land and set sail on the pil-
grimage, be baptized like the Israelites in the Red Sea and thus escape
the demonic power; his reward will come at the end of the sea voyage
when the Hebrew maidens dispense the heavenly gifts.\footnote{56}

Without making any Christian-heroic division in Old English
poetry, one might assume that in the 'heroic' poems \textit{\textit{\ae}lno} generally
means 'courage' and 'heroic pride', while in the 'Christian' poetry it
invariably signifies the 'overmastering pride' that leads to man's down-
fall except in those passages in which the poet describes the martial
activities of the saints or chosen people.\footnote{57} Such a survey, then, helps
one to understand the implicit meaning of the intricate elegies, for
there the epithet \textit{\textit{\ae}lno} appears to be used as a definite criticism of
those who do not humble give up the things of this world end set off
on a spiritual exile for God.

\footnote{56}The MS. reads \textit{\textit{\ae}hrisc neowe} (500); a better reading would be, as
Bright and Collenetz suggest, \textit{\textit{\ae}hrisc neowe}. See \textit{\PI}, "Notes", 217.

\footnote{57}Other examples of \textit{\textit{\ae}lno} and its related forms in Old English
poetry are as follows ('fav.'/\textit{unfav.}' signifies whether or not the sense
is favourable; i. e., whether \textit{\textit{\ae}lno} is used to describe a virtue or a
sin):

\begin{verbatim}
Def. 331-2, 2832, 2949-53 (fav.); 508, 1532 (unfav.).
Erb. 937 (fav.).
Den. 17-19, 96-7, 677-8 (all unfav.).
Etc. 231 (fav. -- heroic).
Exe. 170 (fav. -- heroic); 204, 487 (unfav.).
Gen.A. 1671, 1825, 2581 (all unfav.).
Gen.Y. 27 (fav.).
Glc. 208, 503 (unfav.).
Jgd I (Exeter Book) 50 (fav.); Doomsday itself is called \textit{\textit{\ae}lnoa} d\textit{eg}.
Jud. 362 (fav.); 16 (unfav.).
Ldc. 139, 205, 240 (fav.).
Phx. 100 (fav. -- heroic).
Rbl. 45 (fav.).
Rom. 55 (fav.).
Sfr. 29, 39 (unfav.).
ScS. 217 ff. (unfav.).
\end{verbatim}
After an investigation of the origins of the words meaning 'pride' in Old English and of the various nuances of meaning seen in their poetic context, I should like to consider the early medieval concept of pride and the influence, if any, of the writings of the early Church Fathers on the subject of pride in Old English poetry.
THE THEME OF PRIDE

Maisterful mod and highe pryde,
I hate thee, art heterly hated here (Pearl, 401).

The various words for pride, continually appearing in Old English poetry, are more than merely stock epithets, as we have seen; indeed, they have highly associative connotations. However, before taking a close look at individual poems, I should like to discuss the question of why the theme should be so important in Old English literature, why the sin of pride fascinated writers in early medieval times to such an extent; and why the word "pride" occurs some fifteen times in the Old English Daniel but only twice in the Vulgate source.

The theme of pride, we shall see later, held a similar fascination for the early Christian Fathers, not only in Europe but all over the medieval world. It would be all too easy to claim that the theme in English literature had its origins in the patristic writings, a claim that could be substantiated by the evidence which J. D. A. Ogilvy presents. But could not both spring from a common tradition? The logical influence, one might think, would be the Bible; but, although there are a number of texts

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1 St. Jerome (ca. 340-420) wrote from Bethlehem,
    St. Augustine of Hippo (354-430) largely from North Africa,
    Cassian (ca. 360 - ca. 435) from Marseille,
    St. Gregory (Pope Gregory I, 590-604) from Rome.

stressing the dangers of pride, there is no real evidence for placing such importance on pride as the original and chief sin from which all others emanate. Rather, the Bible stresses the importance of humility and love, virtues practically absent in the martial saints of Old English poetry, such as Judith, Juliana or Elene.

Deus superbis resistit, humilibus autem dat gratiam. Subditi ergo ostote Deo; resistite autem diabolo, et fugiet a vobis . . . Humiliamini in conspectu Domini, et exaltabit vos.

**Jacobae Epistola 4:6, 7 et 10**

Contritionem praecedet superbiam, et ante ruinam exaltatur spiritus. Helius est humiliari cum mitibus quam dividere spolia cum superbis.

**Proverbia 16:18**

"Christ's humility and humiliation is at the centre of Christianity; it, therefore, robs us of the last shred of justification of that human pride which is the very root of the disease from which we need to be made whole." But the Christ of the Old English poetry, like the martial saints, becomes the militant opponent of _odes ansaces _and is never seen as the humble Lamb of God. In the Bible just as much importance is put on

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3 A few examples from Scripture are:

- Psalmi 10:2 et 4, 31:20, 36:11, 59:12, 73:6, 119:21, etc.
- Proverbia 3:13, 11:2, 13:10, 14:3, 15:25, 18:11, 29:23, etc.

the sin of avarice — *radix malorum est cupiditas*⁵ — a text well known to Augustine⁶ but still the Church Fathers preferred to stress the text from the rather questionable, apocryphal *Ecclesiasticus⁷* a book about which even Augustine expresses uncertainty in his *Retractions⁸*. In fact, the text, which reads as follows:

*Initium superbiae hominis apostatare a Deo; quoniam sb eo qui fecit illum recessit cor ejus, quoniam initium omnis peccati est superbia. Qui tenerer illum adimplebitur nalenictis, et subvertet eum in fines.*

*I Timoth. 6:10*

is said to be a mistranslation of the Hebrew and Greek⁶ and should in fact read, changing its sense completely, *initium superbiae est peccatum.*

It would, therefore, appear that the text, however linguistically corrupt, was of use to the Fathers to document a certain basic principle in their theology.⁹ The answer, I feel, to the question of why both patristic and the later English writers found the theme of pride so fascinating, yet terrifying, is to be found in the social structure of the medieval period.

⁵*I Timoth. 6:10*

⁶*Cf. PL 34, XV. Also in the later pseudo St. Bernard de Clairvaux Liber de Noto Bene Vivendi (PL 184, 1258), the problem of the conflicting texts is else neatly circumvented: *Superbia et cupiditas in tantum est unum malum at nec superbia, sine cupiditate, nec cupiditas, sine superbia esse possit.* See Appendix C for a list of the PL titles in full.

⁷W. O. E. Cesterley questions the authority of the book in *Ecclesiasticus* (Cambridge, 1912).

⁸William H. Green, "*Initium omnis peccati superbia: Augustine on Pride as the First Sin*, Univ. of California Publications in Classical Philology*, XIII (1949), 413.

⁹The emphasis placed on Pride as *initium peccati* might explain why Gregory's list of Cardinal Sins, in which pride is even omitted because it was the cause of all sin and synonymous with sin, should supersede that of Cassian.
Today, when individualism, independence and freedom of thought are encouraged, humility is, perhaps, unfortunately the least valued of virtues, while pride, the sin of selfish presumption, exaggerated or conscious independence, is not so severely criticized as it would be in a society which was strictly hierarchical in nature.

A civilization in which order and balance were the chief ideals could not look upon the vice of pride lightly; it struck at the roots of society, both human and divine.

. . . Pride meant rebellion, dangerous, independent thinking, setting up one's own interests as supreme; meant disobedience, upsetting the divinely appointed order, and—above all—ultimately heresy.10

In later medieval English literature, although by this time the Deadly Sins with Pride at their head had been well established in clerical thought, the emphasis shifts from pride to cupidity as the social structure changes with the emergence of the merchant classes and greater opportunities present themselves for amassing wealth. Each age, then, stresses a particular sin which is the greatest threat to the current way of life. The concept of universal order, of a natural hierarchy sub- and supernatural, governing cosmic, moral and social spheres, was at the very basis of the medieval age.

Sin is the breakdown of society because of failure of its members.11

Etymologically, sin means rebellion or a breach of agreement. In the Old Testament sin is generally the disloyalty of lord or servant and the refusal

10Horton W. Bloomfield, The Seven Deadly Sins (East Lansing, 1952), p. 75.

to fulfil the necessary obligations demanded by his position. Hence we find the disloyalty of king and subject, of Saul and David, called 'sin'. The Ten Commandments, or the later Seven Deadly Sins, are not dictated by purely theoretical, inexplicable theological rules, but are necessary, natural laws which must be kept if the society is to function successfully.

To sin is unnatural as it is a denial of life. God created all things good, as we are told in Genesis and in the writings of Augustine, and He also gave angels and man free will. God's lack of action, paradoxically, to prevent the Fall is the greatest example of His love, for to have interfered would have denied man freedom of choice. The satanic vitality so loved by Elizabethans and Romantics and really only apparent in Genesis must not be confused with the heroic struggle against immeasurable odds, as Miss Woolf seems to do. To choose evil, that is, to overrule Reason, when one is tempted in any way, is not true action for it leads to the wilful overthrow of one's Reason, the negation of one's power to choose right, becoming: "Fortune's Fool" like Marlowe's heroes; in fact, it is to choose death, as we shall see in the patristic writings... anima aequae peccavit, ipsa morietur. Satan and Tamburlaine, having wished in their pride to "equal the Most High", find themselves flung into the depths of hell, after having caused chaos throughout the

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13 Augustine, De Natura Bona contra Manichaeos, Cap. XXIII ff. (Pl. 42).

14 R. E. Woolf, "The Devil in Old English Poetry", RES no. IV (1953), 1-12.

15 Ezek. 18:4.
natural hierarchy of beings. Pride, then, becomes synonymous with sin, for it is pride, the sin of consciously isolating oneself from God and one's fellow man, that first led man to think he might disobey Him, achieve a higher place in the hierarchy than was naturally his and yet find greater happiness. "For inferior who is free?" Hilton's Eve asks, but is soon to realize, like the Satan of Christ and Satan, that, paradoxically, freedom can only be achieved by obeying one's superior—Deo servire vero libertas est.

The Junius MS, I hope to show, demonstrates the continual, cyclical pattern of man, created good, falling through pride into a hell on earth, then being restored into communion with God by baptism. Christ in His humility sets the perfect example to man, for, as the God Incarnate, the second Adam, He withstands the temptation to be proud and creates a second Eden, a Civitas Dei, a heavenly drysdale, in which man, cursed with original sin, will probably succumb to pride once more, beginning the cyclical process again, to be repeated till Doomsday.

But pride is by no means considered a sin in Christian theology only. "Pride, whether worldly or spiritual, is the most significant of all human sentiments, the 'wanton nymph' [hubris] that throughout all history has lured men to their destruction," 16 Robert Payne, making extensive research into Pride, finds it impossible to trace its origins: "her history is as dark as her birth." 17 From Apollodorus we learn that Hubris was the mother of Pan by Zeus, and closely connected with


Nemesis, "the implacable deity of those who allowed themselves to be touched by Hubris." ¹⁸ Pinder states that she is the mother of Koros or 'satiety', a connection we have already seen in Old English poetry. The Titans, Payne states, were the first gods to commit the sin, when Prometheus failed in his sacrificial duty to Zeus, and was disobedient to the god of gods.¹⁹ And, as a result of his sin, the box containing all evils was spilled into the world. In Greek mythology pride is also the original sin which disrupts the hierarchy of beings and causes all evils to be let loose in the world. Prometheus, like Lucifer, who also challenged the God of All, was chained in a place of torment for his presumption.

Payne connects the overthrow of the Titans with the Roman ceremony of purification each May, when the _argioci_ puppets were thrown into the Tiber by the _pontifices_ and Vestal Virgins.²⁰ No marriages would be conducted in that month, till Pride was overthrown, a sin which "must continually be overthrown, if the state is to survive."²¹ So also we find in the Junius manuscript and in other Old English poetry, that pride must be drowned in the Flood or the Red Sea, and man regenerated and purified by the waters or fire of baptism. Examples of the latter method occur in the _Genesis_ destruction of Sodom and the purgative flames in _Daniel_ and _Elene_.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 6.

¹⁹Ibid., pp. 9-10; Prometheus kept the better part of the sacrificial animal to himself and sacrificed the worse.

²⁰Ibid., p. 13.

²¹Loc. cit.
A similar connection between the Greek and Northern traditions is seen in the tragic grandeur of their heroes, who, in order to win \\n\textit{lof} and \\n\textit{dom}, pit their finite strength against an implacable god; doomed to fail, \\nbut majestically impressive in the attempt. Such a hero was Achilles and \\nthe protagonists of the \textit{ásugur}. Even the gods in Northern lore were not \\nomnipotent and infinite, but doomed, in a mythology basically tragic and \\npessimistic. It is the pride of the Germanic races, which is still seen \\ntoday, that Payne sees as the most magnificent and tragic, when the hero \\nfears nothing and risks all: \\

For the Germans the \textit{persona} of authority was nearly always the \\nanarchic hero, saying like Kleist's Penthesilea, "I shall go \\nand if I did not attempt all that is within the bounds of \\npossibility." But it was not only the possible that was attempt-
\textit{ed}. The Feastian magus sees God and desires to shine with His \\nsplendour, but at the same time he desires to live in the \\nsupercilious moment of the world's end. The two are probably \\nirreconcilable."\textsuperscript{22} \\

The pre-Christian, especially with Germanic blood in his veins, was \\nfaced with a delicate problem, not having the assurance of an after-life, \\na belief that was eagerly grasped at the advent of the missionary period; \\nhis only consolation was to achieve \textit{lof} and \textit{dom}, to be courageous and out-
\textit{standing}, gaining distinction above his fellow men, but at the same time \\navoiding the desire to equal his superior, and showing contempt for his \\ninferiors or equals. He had to be \textit{modig} but not \textit{ofemodig}. The boundary 
line is razor-thin, as we saw in \textit{Maldon}. Beowulf achieves great fame, yet 
\textit{humble} before his lord, Huygelac. 

\textit{few}, however, achieve such deeds of daring that they would find 
immortality in the songs of the \textit{scop}. The Christian religion, on the other 

\textsuperscript{22}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 151.
hand, did provide an answer. By adhering to the old code of obeying one's Lord, who promised eternal life and happiness within His dryhtsæle, one need not worry about worldly fame. In addition, the pessimistic philosophy of an inexorable word was replaced by an optimistic assurance that this fleeting life, like the flight of a bird through a hall, is merely a preparation for greater joys and that its tragedies, as Troilus realized in the eighthe spere should be seen as transient irritations in the Divine Comedy.

Perhaps I am misrepresenting the Anglo-Saxons' reasons for eagerly accepting the new religion, but I am keeping in mind the attitude of their Icelandic cousins, who in A.D. 1000 adopted Christianity only in order to avoid war and whose leaders, having made the decision at the Albing, voted to be baptized in the warm springs rather than in the nearby icy waters of the Öxara. The conversion, Skemp states, was "by persuasion, gradual, conciliatory and assimilative. The old beliefs long remained side by side with the new, which became modified to minimize their divergencies." Although it is almost certain that isolated pockets of paganism existed in England well into the period in which Old English poetry was being written, 


25 Bede, our chief source of Anglo-Saxon history, seems unwilling in his Ecclesiastical History to describe the heathen tribes, an omission which might, negatively, point to the fact that he feared openly discussing heathen practices. Generally his comments are about the conversions from paganism; e. g., A. D. 616 King Eadwald was converted.

A. D. 627 Eadwine holds council when he considers re-accepting Christianity and Gæf, the pagan high priest, complains that their old gods seldom answer his prayers. Gæf is, therefore, willing to give the Christian God a chance to do better; see Bede's Ecclesiastical History of
I am not stating that the emphasis on pride in the literature of that time was a lingering remnant of heathenism. The theme was popular because it was common to both heroic and Christian traditions, having, as I hope to have shown, its root in humanity's basic need for a disciplined and corporate society. A diplomatic and intelligent missionary force in England would, therefore, stress such common elements in its policy of conversion by persuasion rather than by force. "Gregory set up a new religious superstructure and, rudimentary as it was, built on the foundations of pagan England from materials brought over from the Mediterranean world; a vigorous civilization grew up on a receptive soil in which the mingling of native and foreign elements yielded a rich harvest." 27

Separate studies of such words as *leof, dom, wyrd*, dryht, domesday, would all afford greater insight into this fascinating question. "The fancy of the poet, preacher, and philosopher eagerly grasped those of its features [i.e., Christianity] that most invited imaginative amplification", such as the cardinal sins, descriptions of hell, the power of Satan and the fall of man. In *Beowulf* the poet stresses more the fate of the sinful, especially the proud ones, while he leaves one undecided about the reward of the heroes. All through the Middle Ages one finds evidence of a terrified fascination for the horrors of hell and the awe of Doomsday, the source often being found in apocalyptic biblical or patristic writings; but one is strongly reminded of the Northern mythologies *Niflheim* and *Ragnarök* when "chaos is come again", the ultimate, unnatural disorder that the medieval mind feared most greatly.

The Christian poet equates the heathen worshippers and those fallen in pride with devil worshippers, in an attempt to frighten his hearers with the tragic fate awaiting them unless they become baptized in the faith or turn from their sinful ways. Grendel, Holofernes, Nebuchadnezzar, Belshazzar and Eleusius become demonic Germanic leaders fighting the God-protected defenders of the new faith, just as the apostles and early missionaries like Andrew or Helena were attacked by heathen powers. It is on occasions such

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28 Such a study was undertaken by Dame Bertha S. Phillipotts, *"Wyrd and Providence in Anglo-Saxon Thought"*, E & S, XIII (1928), 7-27; and also by B. J. Timmer, "*Wyrd in Anglo-Saxon Prose and Poetry*", *Neophilologus*, XXVI (1941), 24-33 and 213-28.


as these when "the strings of the old heathen harp can be touched again."\(^{31}\)

One is also reminded of the earlier tradition by the choice of women as
heroic leaders; e.g., Juliana, Judith and Eleone, women whose courage and
strength and lack of femininity call to mind Brunnhild or Gudrun or the
fearsome women of the \( \text{스غار} \) bent on bloody revenge.

This was no yoking of heterogeneous elements, but a union as
natural as the placing side by side on the Franks Casket, of Weland the
Smith and the adoration of the Magi. It is, indeed, the natural inter-
weaving of these two traditions that constitutes a major attraction of the
poetry. Timmer states that the spirit of the heroic poetry was used "to
form the basis of the new poetry that was meant to strengthen people in
their belief."\(^{32}\) The Christian poetry became something unique, taking on
its peculiar characteristics:

> 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, in as much as they can feel that it is thoroughly
   their own.\(^{33}\)

And in this unsophisticated religion the chief theme is the battle, which
was very real and alive to the medieval man, between the forces of good
and evil, the omnipresent powers of the heavenly and demonic dryhts.

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\(^{31}\) Bertha S. Phillpotts, 24.

\(^{32}\) B. V. Timmer, "Heathen and Christian Elements in Old English
   Poetry", Neophilologus XXIX (1914), 161.

\(^{33}\) C. P. Farrel, Teutonic Antiquities, p. 8, quoted by Albert
   Keiser, The Influence of Christianity on the Vocabulary of Old English
Satan provided the perfect example of a proud, usurping thane in the
supernatural hierarchy, who misled and betrayed his followers, refused to
obey his overlord, and who, in consequence, brought into the world all sin
and suffering, unhappiness and death. As Skemp states, the biblical repre-
sentatives of evil become in Old English poetry the open and formidable
enemies of good, *odies ensanae*, to be forcibly wrestled with.34

The Old English poetic tradition, then, just like the religion
and philosophy of the early medieval period, was a happy interweaving of
the native, Germanic tradition with the Christian religion as interpreted
by the Church Fathers, whose thoughts on pride and sin we shall examine in
an attempt to estimate their influence on early English poetry.

Of all the early Fathers, Augustine seems to have had the greatest
influence on medieval England and is also, significantly, the most vehement
of them all in his denunciation of pride. When reading his *Confessiones*
we become aware of how proud he was in his youth, "deafened by the clanking
of the chains of pride".35 Yet, Payne states, despite his pathological
hatred of pride, Augustine seems as much fascinated by the sin as are men
in all ages, calling Lucifer "this superb and envious angel, this prince of
devils who turns away from his creator towards himself and makes himself
into a tyrant."36

The argument Augustine used to prove his case that pride was the
chief evil would have appealed to the heroic conception. Nothing in itself
is evil, it is only good perverted, and the source of the perversion is

34 Arthur Skemp, 36.
35 Robert Payne, p. 59.
36 Loc. cit.
man's proud turning away from God, his natural superior, and refusing to
obey Him. Augustine stresses the human, natural need to obey God;37 man
is continually searching for true happiness and only in Him can it be
found. To be happy we must respect the order of nature, while to disrupt
it is a self-willed act of pride:
esse autem natura, in qua nullum bonum sit, non potest.
Proinde nec ipsius diaboli natura, in quantum natura est,
malum est: sed perversitas cam malam facit. Itaque in
veritate non stetit (Deam. VIII, 44), sed veritatis
judicium non evasit: in ordinis tranquillitate non mansit,
nec ideo tumen a potestate Ordinatoris effugit.

(Pl. 41, 641)

No creature or thing was ever made evil, not even Satan, Augustine
states in De Natura Bona Contra Manichaeos, Cap. XXIII:

Angelos malos non a Deo, sed perseverando factos esse
malos . . . [XXIV] Omnis creatura Dei bona est
(I Tim. IV, 4): ac per hoc et omn: lignum quod
in paradiso Deus plantavit, utique bonus est.
Non ergo malam naturam homo appetivit, cum arborem
vetitam tetigit: . . . [XXXVI] Nulla creatura
Dei male, sed ea male uti est malum.

(Pl. 62, 561-62)

The Tree of Forbidden Knowledge, the power of the ruler, the gold
of the king, the prosperous dryshtale symbolizing worldly gain, the tree
representing Nebuchadnezzar's rule in Daniel, none are in themselves evil;
everything depends on how man, given freedom of will, as Augustine fre-
quently stresses, makes use of these gifts; unnatural love of any leads to
a lessening of our natural love of our superior, which in turn leads to
all other sins. Concerning worldly power, Augustine states:

Nec

37Augustine stresses in De Civitate Dei (Pl. 41, 621), that he
hopes to appeal to non-Christian, natural reasoning; sed exhibita etiam
ratione, qualem propter infideles posuamus adhibere . . .

Pride, as Augustine therefore defines it, is the passion of loving one's own power so much that one holds the authority of anyone more powerful in contempt, the sin of Lucifer, Belshazzar, Nebuchadnezzar and Belshazzar. Power itself is not evil, but worldly rulers are open to the temptation to be proud and to think that they have only themselves to thank for their prosperity. So it is with wealth. Gold in itself is not evil; neither is the possession of it, as we see the Israelites dividing the gold at the conclusion of Exodus; but to place a love of gold higher than such virtues as justitia is sinful: Neque enim auri vitium est avaritia, sed hominis perverse amantis suum, justitia heredita, ques incomparabiliter auro debuit ratiponi. (PL 41, 355) As F. N. Powicke points out, "The supreme quality of a state of harmony is justitia or righteousness, while the prime cause of resistance to it is pride, the vice which for this reason, that it breaks the peace of communion in the enjoyment of God, came to be regarded in later days as the worst of the Seven Deadly Sins."38

Sin is, therefore, the unnatural love of anything that is good, all things being created good: Ac per hoc qui perverse amat cujus libet naturea bonus, etiam si adiniscetur, inae sit in bono malus, et miser meliore privatus. (PL 41, 356) So Nebuchadnezzar's pride was greater homo generis homo (491), while the reward for the correct use of earthly gifts will lead to an increase in prosperity:

38Quoted by Norton Moonfield, p. 75; cf. PL 41, 629. Quod justitia, cujus natus est suu cunioe tribuere (unde sit in ipso homine cujus justus ordine naturae, ut anima subdata Deo et animae caro, ac per hoc Deo et anima et caro) . . . .
eo pacto aequissimo, ut qui mortalis talibus bonis paci mortalium accommodatis recte usus fuerit, accipiatur ampliora atque meliora, ipsam scilicet immortalitatis pacem, eique convenientem gloriam et honorem in vita aeterna ad fruendum Deo, et proximo in Deo: qui autem perpetuam, nec illa accipiat, et haec amittat.

(PL 41, 642)

Paradoxically, by taking pride in the fact that one possesses great worldly gifts, one in fact achieves the opposite result by losing the greatest gift of happiness found only in God. 39 Man was created to seek happiness, which can be achieved only by choosing right; otherwise, malitiae individua comes miseria. 40 Not to seek happiness is again a violation of nature, of the order willed by God. 41 It is unnatural and foolish, stupidity being regarded as a sin in biblical and patristic writings, to attempt to be super-natural, to strive to rise above one's position in the hierarchy of beings:

Sed ego conabam ad te, et repellebar abs te, ut saporem mortem, quoniam superbis resistis. Quid autem superbius, quam ut asserezum mira demerit me id esse naturaliter quod tu es? Om enim ego essent mutabilis, et eo mihi manifesta esset, quod idem utique sapiens esse cupiebam, ut ex deteriore melior fierem: naluaham tamen etiam te opinari mutabilem, quan me non hoc esse quod tu es.

(PL 32, 703-04)

Such was the stupidity of Lucifer.

God, as Milton tried to show in Book III of Paradise Lost, once having created all things good and given man freedom of will, is quite exonerated from the guilt of allowing man to fall. The proud man, of his own free will, voluntarily renounces goodness, happiness and life by choosing evil, misery and a self-denial of his freedom of choice and

39 Cf. PL 40, 236; PL 42, 562; PL 32, 1264.

40 PL 36, 293, and see PL 32, 15 and PL 41, 627.

41 PL 32, 1316.
liberty:

quia si velint, peccant; si peccaverint miserae sint.
Si enim peccatis earum detractis miseria perseverat, aut
etiam peccata praecedunt, recto deorumpendi dicitur et
atque administratio universitatis. . . Sed voluntaria
quia in peccato fit, turpis affectio est.

(PL 32, 1284)

and

Aut igitur ipsa voluntas est prima causa peccandi, aut
nullum peccatum est prima causa peccandi. (PL 32, 1294)

Evil, then, comes only when preceded by bad will, and bad will arises from

pride. Such was the case with our first parents:

In occulto autem mali esse coeperunt, ut in apertam
inobedientiam laborarent. Non enim ad malum opus
perveniretur, nisi praeecessisset mala voluntas. Perro
malae voluntatis initium quod potuit esse nisi superbia?
"Initium" enim "omnis peccati superbia est" (Ecc. X, 15).
Quid est autem superbia, nisi perversae celsitudinis
appetitus? Perversa enim celsitudo est, deserta eo cui
dedit animas inhaerere principium, sibi quodammodo fieri
atque esse principium. Hoc fit, cum sibi nimis placet.

(PL 41, 420)

Pride is "an appetite for inordinate exaltation" when the soul cuts
itself off from the love of God and consciously brings on itself all misery
and death.

One can be proud in one’s natural position; indeed, one ought to be
so in serving one’s Lord: Dignum est enim sursum habere cor; non tamen ad
se ipsum, quod est superbiae; sed ad Dominum, quod est obedientiae, quae
nisi humilium non potest esse. (PL 41, 421)

The paradox in the Christian religion is that those who obey and

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42 See Althelme’s writings too, which are semi-Pelagian, since he
believes that man’s corruption is due to choice rather than to innate evil.

serve their Lord are made free (Deo servire vera libertas est), those who exalt themselves are humbled and lose their liberty, while God exalts the humble.

Sed pin humilitas facit subditum superiori; nihil est autem superior Deus; et ideo exaltat humilitas, quae facit subditum Deus. Matio autem quae in vitio est, eo ipso quo respiuit subjectiæ et cadit ab illo, quo non est quidquam superior, et ex hoc exit inferior . . . .

(PL 41, 421)

In order to explain this fundamental paradox to mankind, God humbled Himself by giving His only Son to be a living example of humility:

Venit Filius Dei in homine et humilis factus est: præcipitur tibi ut sic humilis, non tibi præcipitur ut ex homine fines pecus? : ille Deus factus est homon; tu, homo, cognoce quin es homo: tota humilitas tua, ut cognoscas te . . . Haece enim commendatio humilitatis est. Superbia quippe facit voluntatem suam; humilitatis facit voluntatem Dei. . .

(PL 35, 1604) 44

and

humilitatem docceo, ad me venire non potes nisi humilis. Non mittit formas nisi superbia: . . . quare ideo non ejicit formas qui venit ad illum, quia non venit facere voluntatem suam, sed voluntatem ejus qui minit eum.

(PL 35, 1606)

In addition to being humble, one had also to be loved and feared, a concept more acceptable to the Germanic convert: Itaque nobis, quoniam propter quaedam humanæ societatis officia necessarium est amari et timeri ab hominibus (PL 32, 804). The beginning of wisdom is the fear of the Lord 45 —not the cringing fear the tyrant demands, but the respectful

44 See PL 35, 1606: Humilis veni humilitatem docere veni, magister humilitatis veni: qui ad me venit, incorporatur nihij; qui ad me venit, humilis sit, et also PL 35, 1604: Deus propter te humilis factus est. Pudore te fortasse inimici humilem hominem, saltem inimicæ humilém Deum.

45 Vulgate, Psalm. 111:10, Initium sapientiae est timor Domini.
fear, the awe for one's superior, a fear mingled with love:

Sic etenim in potestatibus societatis humanae, major potestas minori ad obedientiam praeposuitur; ita Deus omnibus . . . Sed nuncquid, Domine, qui solus sine typho dominaris, quia solus verus Dominus es qui non habes dominum; . . . Timeri et amari vale ab hominibus, non propter alium, sed ut inde sit gaudium, quod non est gaudium, misera vita est, et foeda iactantia.  

(PL 32, 690 and 804)

The proud man is, then, deprived of wisdom, although he may possess boundless knowledge. Nebuchadnezzar, despite the scientia of his many wisemen, the dekolvitisca, whose knowledge is significantly associated with the devil, is unable to interpret the dreams as he lacks that God-given sapientia which Daniel and the youths possess. Their hearts were hardened and so God's wisdom was a closed book to them. Superbia enim avertit a sapientia. 46

The loss of wisdom as a result of pride forms an important part of Hroddgar's "sermon" to Beowulf, as we shall see later on. But not only does a loss of wisdom, happiness, freedom and eternal life stem from pride, according to the Fathers, but indeed all sin, leading only to death:

et qui sua superbi sibi placuerat, Dei justitia sibi donaretur; . . . pro libertate quam conspexit durum misericorde aget servitutes; mortus spiritu volens, et corpore morituras invitus: desertor aeternae vitae etiam aeternas, nisi cratia liberaret, morte damnatus

(PL 41, 423; italics mine)

—the grace which Nebuchadnezzar was to find at the eleventh hour. Very simply, Augustine states that de peccato peccatum et ad peccatum peccatum propter peccatum 47 and that as pride is the original sin, then Caput omnium


47 PL 36, 677.
Man becomes what he loves, and, if he loves sin, he gradually becomes a devilish beast,\textsuperscript{49} as Nebuchadnezzar, suffering from lycanthropy and in exile, was to find. Pride does not change one immediately, but, like Milton's Satan slowly losing his beauty, cancerous pride insidiously creeps in like a disease, bringing all other diseases with it, till finally the proud man is dead, unless he should humbly ask the aid of the Divine Physician. Many of the patriotic writers see the vices as diseases:

\begin{quote}
Unde abundat iniquitates? Per superbia. Cur superbia et nulla exit iniquitas. Ut ergo causa omnium morborum curaretur, id est superbia, descendit et humilis factus est Filius Dei.
\end{quote}

\textit{(PL 35, 1604)}

Gregory sees pride as a similar disease:

\begin{quote}
Superbia autem, quae vitiorum radicum diximus nequaquam unius virtutis extinctione contenta, contra cumque animae membra se erigit, et quasi generalis ac pestifer morbus corpus omne corruptit, ut quidquid illa invadenti agitur, etiam si esse virtus estenditur, non per hac Deo, sed soli vanae gloriae servatur.
\end{quote}

\textit{(PL 76, 744)}\textsuperscript{50}

This is, I believe, the burning disease which overcomes the unfortunate nobleman in \textit{The Rising Poem}, as I shall discuss later.

\begin{quote}
Superbia, mater invidentiae est\textsuperscript{51} and indeed of all vices, states Gregory:
\end{quote}

\textit{48 PL 35, 1604.}

\textit{49 PL 75, 647.}

\textit{50 Cassian echoes this in \textit{De Spiritu Superbiae}, Cap. III (PL 49, 424-5).}

\textit{51 PL 37, 1290.}
Sicut enim inferius index tegitur, sed ab illam rami extrinsecus expanditur ita se superbia intrinsecus celat, sed ab illa protinus aperita vita pullulant. (PL 76, 744)

Pride leads to lust and gluttony, of which drunkenness is a part. In Old English poetry we find Holopixenus drunk after a feast lusting after Judith. Pride leads to boasting, a grave sin in both heroic code and Christian ethics, greed and cupidity, till at last the proud man is like a burning torch destroying itself and others in its fire. These too are the sins that beset the characters in Old English poetry, once they turn from God in their pride.

Augustine also describes the subtler type of pride such as the pride Guthlac was accused of by the demonic spirits—the danger besetting the aesthetoi dei, the pride of being humble. "Holding oneself good, one loses one's goodness." Or there is the pride of condemning pride:

_et saepe homo de ipso vanae gloriae contemptu vanius
gloriatur; idemque non jam de ipso contemptu gloriae
gloriatur, non enim eam contentum, cua gloriar intus.

(PL 32, 806)

But there is also an honourable, good and natural pride, when the heart is lifted up to God, the pride with which man shows self-respect and and the pride of occupying one's natural place in the hierarchy, the

52 See also PL 76, 621.
53 PL 76, 366-5: Non multis saepe superbim luxuriae seminariim suit, quia dim eos spiritus quasi in altum exexit, caro in infinitis nenit...
54 PL 76, 556. See also Isaiah 28:1.
55 See Gen. B. 264, 278-91, etc.
56 A saying of Shu Ching ca. 490 B.C. in Biblical Dictionary of Religious Quotations, p. 778; also quoted "They are proud in humility; proud in that they are not proud."—Barton's Anatomy of Melancholy I.
superbia bona Aquinas was to speak of: debo tibi magnam excellentiam, de qua homines saeculi superbiunt.\textsuperscript{57} And Jerome, another great influence on early medieval times,\textsuperscript{58} whose works were well known to Bede and Alcuin, wrote:

\begin{quote}
Qui gloriatur in dignitatis, peribit; qui inflatur, peribit: qui in fortitudine corporis gloriatur, peribit .... Si quis autem vult exigi et superbire sancta superbia, eligatur cum apostolis quando dignus fuerit pro nomine Jesu Christi contumeliam pati, glorietur cum Apostolo, qui excellet ab tribulationibus, scient quod tribulatione operetur patientiam, patientia spea, spea autem non confundat.
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{(PL 25, 1415)}

It is also interesting to see that the Church Fathers gave the same examples of proud people as the Old English poets were to take.

Nebuchadnezzar, living only to make his glorious Babylon greater, becomes the chief symbol of the Proud Man, naturally with demonic connotations. Jerome states:

\begin{quote}
Omnia quae de Babylone et Nebuchadnosor diximus, referri possunt ad mundum istum, et ad diabolum qui vere arrogans et superbus, et aliquid esse se credens nihil perduxit ad fines.

\begin{enumerate}
\item Nebuchadnosor rex Babylonius decipietur superbia sua.
\item Et quando vinum contra potentem facit, et postquam surrexerit, neque pes, neque mens suas officium tenent: omnisque lactitia, et mentis exhilaratio veritatem in ruisam: sic vir superbus non decorabitur, nec voluntatem suam perducat ad fines.
\end{enumerate}
\textsuperscript{(PL 25, 614 et 1355)}
\end{quote}

and Gregory in his Moralia gives a long tirade against worldly tyrants and proud rulers, concluding:

\begin{quote}
\textsuperscript{57}Aquinas \textit{Qu.} 6, 2 ad 17.
\textsuperscript{58}See J. D. A. Ogilvy, p. 171.
\end{quote}

... Et quia tumur mentis usque ad aperta verba se protrulit, patientia judiciis proutius usque ad sententiam erupit; tanteque hunc dextrietus perculit, quanto eis se superbia inmoderatius erexit; et quia enumerando bona dixit in quibus sibi placuit, enumerare mala in quibus feriretur, audivit.

(PL 76, 745)59

Even Daniel, according to Augustine in De Civitate Dei expanding the Biblical Daniel 9:5, admits that the Babylonian captivity was the result of Israelite pride, a fact which explains much of the emphasis which the Old English poet places on the necessity for the earne lave, the faithful few, to be cleansed in the purgative fire. This condition of servitude could arise only from sin, Augustine states:

et omnis victoria, cum etiam malis provenit, divino judicio victos humiliat, vel exsardans peccata, vel puniens. Testis est homo Dei Daniel, cum in captivitate positus, peccata sua et peccata populi sui conficitur Deo, et hanc esse causam illius captivitatis pio dolore testatur (Dan. IX, 5-19). Prima ergo servitutis causa peccatum est; ut homo homini conditionis vinculo subderetur. (PL 41, 643-44)

Such a loss of liberty because of pride was experienced by Satan, who in the patristic writings and in Old English literature is generally taken as the chief example of the "Proud One".

A further symbol for pride in biblical and patristic writings, which is also used at length in the Old English Genesis A, is the pride of Sodom and Gomorrah: ... haece fuit iniquitas Sodomae, sororis tuae; superbia, satanitas nonis et abundantia (Ezech. 16:49), which is enlarged

59 cf. PL 75, 633 where Gregory gives Babylon as the prime example of pride.
upon by Gregory in PL 76, 750, while in Judae Epistola 1:6, the sins of the fallen angels and Sodom are linked:

angelos vero qui non servaverunt sumum principatum, sed deseruerunt sumum domicilium in judicium magni diei, vinculis aeternis sub calagine reservavit. Sicut Sodoma et Gomorrha, et finitiniæ civitates similis modo ex fornicatæ et abeantibus post carnem alteram, factæ sunt exemplum, ignis aeternis poenam sustinentes.

Adam, the first man to fall from the love of God, although not accused of pride in the Bible, is definitely accused by Bede:

Haece sunt peccata Adae, quæ et originalia sunt, Prima peccatum sui superbia, quia delexit eam in suæ potestate plus quam Dei; secundum, sacrilegium, quia Deo non credidit. . . . (PL 94, 556)

And, finally, one could trace the Old English analogy of the good and the evil city to patristic writings: the Babylon and the New Jerusalem from which the Israelites have been banished after their pride led them into sinful ways.

Ipsum quippe extollit, jam dejici est. Quapropter quod nunc in civitate Dei, et civitati Dei in hoc seculo peregrinati maxime commendatur humilitas, et in ejus hoæ, qui est Christus, maxime praedicatur; contrariumque huius virtutis clationis vitium, in ejus adversario, qui est diabolus, maxime dominari, sacris litteris edoctur: profecto ista est magna differentia, quæ civitas, unde loquimur, utraque discernitur; una seilicet societas piorum hominum, alter impiorum, singula quæque cum Angelis ad se pertinentibus, in quibus praecessit hoc amor Dei, hoc amor sui. (PL 41, 421; italics mine)

It is possible, therefore, to trace, as many critics of the patristic exegetical "school" of Old English poetry have done, a considerable number of themes, examples and ideas in the poetry to a patristic source.

However, it is important to keep in mind that the Church Fathers, whose writings covered such a vast territory on every subject, as Ogilvy states,
exerted such an influence in medieval times that their teaching became absorbed gradually into the Anglo-Saxon philosophy, theology and society. The theme of pride, I hope to have shown in the first part of this chapter, rather than owing its genesis to the teachings of the Fathers, comes more from a harmonious and natural intermingling of ideas native and European. It becomes a game, it would appear, for many critics to plough through the Patrologiae Latineae and, generally successfully because of the vast amount of wisdom in the writings, emerge with some section which might be said to have influenced a certain poet.

Hugh T. Keenan spoils an otherwise good discussion of The Ruin by specifically connecting the poem with the Augustinian and Pauline apocalyptic vision of the ruined Babylon. In order to do this, he is obliged to attempt to destroy the common theory that the poet's thoughts were sparked off by the scene of a Roman spa, by arguing that the waters alluded to are in fact the catastrophic fiery waters of hell, associated also with Grendel's mere: "This hot flood pours out from a rock and is the inverse of the cool stream of God's grace (or Christ's intercession) which flows peacefully from the Rock-Cross-Throne elsewhere in Old and Middle English literature. This hot river of hate and pride flows directly from hell."62

My argument, as I hope to have shown in the initial word analysis, is that the Old English poet was far subtler in his approach, evoking

associative responses in his audience rather than direct allusions. The allegorical or, rather, typological interpretation of works was very popular, as can be seen from the Old English sermons, and, in a language still young enough not to be corrupted by diverse associations for a single word-symbol, and changed by semantic shift, the poet could skillfully evoke, however subconsciously, associative responses more easily in his audience. To call a king podes ensaca or hoden would make one immediately associate him with the demonic dryht in a literature in which characters are generally clearly good or evil, because one remembers that these epithets are also used to describe Lucifer.

The Ruin, then, may very well describe a Roman spa, just as it might describe any worldly community which aims at living alone and unigal, only for this life, and building up its earthly possessions, the symbol of which is the glorious city. For a time, even for rice after obma (10b), the city enjoyed great prosperity, towering high like the Tower of Babel, as a symbol of worldly power:

beorht weron burgereced burnesle monige
heah hermgestream heresweg nicel
meodoheall monige vq[mon] dreama full (21-23)

After describing the greatness of the buildings, the poet turns to look at the worldly joys of the inhabitants. They are reveling in their pride, drunken, ostentatiously adorned, and they value too much their treasure, silver, gems, wealth, possessions, precious stones, their bright city and wide domains (32b-37). As a result of their pride they have become covetous and are guilty of all the sins which the patriotic writers tell us ensue, thus constituting a hell upon earth. The list of disasters which plague the proud city when inevitably wund sce sceybe (24b; cf. 1b and 22.109b)
turns unfavourable, closely resembles the list of diseases mentioned by
the Fathers and is like similar lists we find in other "elegiac" poems
(e. g., Pfr. 70-1, Wen. 80b-84). The buildings in consequence are all
'recently undestroyed' (6a); those who were responsible for the erection of the
towering buildings have lain long in corruption in heard gripe brusan:

Cragon walo wide, cwoam wolledgas,
svylyt call fornom seegrof vera.  (25-26)

The people have sinned by placing their entire hopes on worldly joys,
that is, proudly thinking themselves capable of sustaining their transient
prosperity without exterior help. God lays waste the enta geweore (2b),
which are left for generations as a monument and warning to mankind of the
transience of this fleeting life. We are reminded of the more explicit
didacticism in The Wanderer (85 ff.):

Yple swa pione earlgeard  elda scoypend
oppet burgwara breshma leane
cald enta geweore idlu stodon.
Se bonne pione wealssteal wise gehohte
ond his deorre lif deope geoombenced,
frud in ferlic feor oft gemon
walslegha wern . . .

(Italics mine)

The Christian can gain the God-given sapientia by contemplating the
transience of all sublunary things, symbolized by these ruins of worldly
riches, power and pride. The creators may have been giants among men,
capable of achieving greater feats than conceivable by the Anglo-Saxon, but
without God's help they are incapable of building a Civitas Dei, the only
everlasting City, with Christ as its Corner-stone.

It is, therefore, immaterial to puzzle whether the poet when writing
had in mind the Romans or Babylonians; suffice it to know that the enta
geweore of The Lay and The Wanderer were made by workers of old who vainly
tried to build their wall or dryhtsceal without Christ as their foundation.
The Ruin is rightly called an imagist poem, for the poet conveys his message subtly by implicitly painting by means of original and stock images such a scene that the reader will not see the specific fate of a past, glorious empire depicted in the poem, but the universal apocalyptic vision of the fate of all men who do not take Christ as their Corner-stone.

There are, of course, occasions in which the debt of the Old English to the Church Fathers is indeed great. The best and often quoted example is Hroðgar's sermon on pride (Bmf. 1693b-1784). Hroðgar se wican (1693b), nun minnm fæd (1724a) like the man nannot on mode (111a) of The Wanderer, has eventually achieved wisdom, the God-given sapientia which the Fathers frequently referred to as the gift of God to those who humbly and faithfully obey Him. This is the wisdom of Daniel who, burh anytro crafte (594b), could interpret the dream of the proud Nebuchadnezzar when the desoluitas, with their worldly scientia in abundance, were unable to. Sapientia is impossible for the proud Babylonian king who, like the waldendwyrtan of The Ruin (7a), can only boast:

Du cart sec micle and min sec mere burh pe ic geworht to wundryndum, rune rice. (Dan. 608-10a)

Superbia enim avvertit a sapientia. (PL 32, 1307)

We might speculate that Hroðgar, initially enjoying the prosperity of successful rule, symbolized in the towering Heorot, was in consequence deprived of the heavenly wisdom. When wyrd struck in the form of Grendel,
the destruction of his hall was a major tragedy instead of an earthly
trouble to be endured; but it did punish Hroðgar, as Nebuchadnezzar was
punished by being afflicted with lycanthropy, and it succeeded in teaching
him humility, faith and eventually a wisdom which he eagerly wished to
impair to the young Beowulf lest he fall into the same trap of pride. God

bursk sidne sefan anyttra bryttad (1726), but, like so many before, that
man gifted by God but ensnared in worldly affairs will grow proud (1740-1)
and will be wounded with the darts of pride, as described by the Church
Fathers:

se þe of flæn-boga <fyremu scoced,
Pone had on hreþpre under helm drepenn
biteran stumel— him bebeorgan ne con—
wom wundor-bebodum wergan gæstes.

(1743b-47)

And also, as we have seen in the earlier Latin writings, the proud man
becomes covetous and eventually wounded by every sin:

geytæd grem-hydig, nallas on gylp sceld
fætte beagas; end ne þa ford-geacæft
forgytæd end forgææd, þæs þe him er God sealde,
vuldres Waldænd, veord-mynu ðæl.

(1749-52)

The proud ruler, like Heremod, no longer acknowledges the true source of his
prosperity, turns covetous and neglects his social duties as protector and
benefactor to his subjects; he has, therefore, disrupted the cosmos of the
natural hierarchy, bringing chaos on himself and his fellow beings.

Hroðgar stresses the transience of the flesh and the way in which
the treasure that man hoards simply goes to a successor after some natural
event such as death, illness or battle ends this fleeting period. Guard
against pride, he urges the young Geat, against the temptation to enjoy a
brief, egotistical period of glory and in consequence lose an eternity of

63 Cf. PL 34, 436-7; 32, 1294.
true happiness.

In the Rising Poem of The Exeter Book a similar design can be traced, this time narrated by the unfortunate nobleman whose fortunes have followed that pattern about which Hrothgar warns Beowulf. It is at a later period that the narrator, after having suffered deeply and eventually having acquired a serene wisdom, snottor on mode, vehemently and desperately pleads with his audience not to fall into the same evil ways as he himself had done.

Like the dwellers in The Ruin, Nebuchadnezzar in Daniel or Hrothgar, the speaker, a man of high rank, is blessed with all the God-given gifts possible:

\[ \text{bunden was ic myhte} \]
\[ \text{horsce mec heredon} \quad \text{hilde generedon} \]
\[ \text{feagre feredon} \quad \text{feonden hivededon} \]
\[ \text{swa mec hyhtgiefu heold} \quad \text{hygedriht befeold} \]
\[ \text{stapelachtum stealæ} \quad \text{stepægægæm weold} \]
\[ \text{swylyce corpe ol} \quad \text{ahlte ic ealdorstol} \]

Not too great emphasis can be placed on \text{bunden was ic myhte} (18b) as meaning 'very proud was I' since this line is imperfect.\(^65\) Krepp and Dobbie read it as \text{bunden was me mægen} 'meanwhile was I powerful', which does not rhyme, while Crain and Sieper first suggested Mackie's reading—"geschwollen war ich vor Machtgefühl."\(^66\) The sentiment in both cases is one of egotistical self-satisfaction; the nobleman deprived of sapientia, like the tragic Lear of Shakespeare after a lifetime of flattery, believes

\(^{64}\)Quoted here from The Exeter Book, Part II, ed. W. S. Mackie, EETS 194 (London, 1934), 56, 11. 18-23.

\(^{65}\)See Appendix A: \text{buman}.

\(^{66}\)PR III, "Notes", 512.
himself to be god-like.

As in the demonic cities, the hall of the lord resounds with revelry, burgscale boofode, beorht hlifade (30), reminding one of the ostentatious, high-towering hall of The Ruin or Heorot; treow telgade, tir velgade (34) — treow here might well mean 'truth' or 'loyalty', but it might equally well mean 'tree' with the verb telgian 'to branch out' or 'put forth shoots' (cf. telga 'a branch'). The image of a tree branching out, symbolizing the increasing growth of the nobleman's estate, is in keeping with the earlier

Pa was, weastum awaeth, world onsproht,
under roderum areaht, madmagc ofexbeat. (9-10)

This is the same image as the one used in Daniel to represent the blossoming kingdom of Nebuchadnezzar; in his dream he sees the gigantic tree reaching up proudly to the heavens as if challenging them. But God's messenger descends and fells the tree. Compare The Rime Poem: treowbyg is to trag. seo umtrum genac (57) 'Too evil is the time/life of the tree which degenerated weakly'. The tree itself is not evil, like the gold or power which Augustine mentions, but the use to which man puts it may be. If he places the love of these worldly things above the love of God, this is sin. So Heorot is not immediately destroyed and the tree in Daniel springs to life as soon as Nebuchadnezzar is 'reborn'.

The turning point in the nobleman's fortunes in The Rime Poem inevitably came and is subtly and succinctly alluded to as simply gin hverfada (36b); it is immaterial whether it was defeat, illness or any other worldly tragedy. Immediately we learn that sige neardade, sib neardade. (37) The love of treasure leads to treachery and follows pride
directly, in accordance with patristic thought. There follows an excellent account, unique in Old English poetry, of the psychosomatic ailment which grips and completely terrifies the man who lives only for this world and whose ambition is shattered:

Scriped nu deep in score
brondhord geblowen, broostum in forgrown,
flyhtum toflowen, Miah is geblowen
miclum in gemynde; modes gecynde
grete umgrynede grom efengynde,
bealofus byrned, bittre toryned. (45b-50)

The poet skilfully captures the literal state of mind, the malignant psychosis which seizes the man, who falls deeper and deeper into sin and despair, and at the same time describes metaphorically the spiritual corruption which the Church Fathers frequently compare with a cancerous disease. As in The Ruin and the other so-called elegies, the state of the individual suffering from the effects of pride is meant to reflect the macrocosmic state of all fallen humanity. So the poem concludes with a heart-rending plea to mankind from one who has already been in a hell on earth, just as Hrothgar warns Beowulf, to leave all worldly pride:

Repeyreth hou fro worldly vanyte,
And of your herte upcasteth the visage
To thilke God that after his ymage
Yow made. . . .67

The influence of the early Church Fathers on Anglo-Saxon as well as on all Western thought was indeed great; but I hope to have stressed how many of the themes often accredited to patristic sources, such as the theme of pride, were more a confirmation, or at best a moderation, of an existing conception ambivalently heroic and Christian. Far from being

directly indebted to patristic thought for the themes of their poetry, the Old English poets, I believe, assimilated this new material with its wide selection of metaphor into an earlier existing poetic tradition, creating as a result a unique and original literature. Such assimilation will be apparent in a detailed analysis of the Junius Manuscript Daniel.
Babylon to the patristic writers represented the fallen world, the proud and ungodly city directly antithetical to the *civitas Dei*. The Babylonian king, Nebuchadnezzar, therefore, symbolized the demonic leader, the Proud One, hostile to God and His chosen people. Although we have seen how the Old English poet integrated many of the patristic ideas into his work, we must proceed with caution before claiming that he uses the biblical story and characters in the same way as the earlier theological Latin writers had done. F. C. Brennan in his edition of Daniel not only sees the poem as "a general warning addressed to all those who had failed to grasp the moral implications of the new faith", but also wonders "whether some specific counterparts for Nebuchadnezzar and Belshazzar might not have existed among the Anglo-Saxon chieftains of this time. Daniel himself might have been represented in contemporary society by some bishop or abbot struggling with indifferent success against the stubborn remnants of heathen

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pride, superstition and intemperance."

Such a reading, I believe, is perhaps too imaginative and without any grounds if one considers the fact that the Israelites, who in the Old English poem would have to be the Anglo-Saxon people, are by no means encouraged in their revolt against the heathen chieftain. The poem is indeed largely didactic, constituting a general warning against the cardinal sin of pride by stressing the mutability of all earthly things and the fact that everlasting happiness can be achieved only by humbly acknowledging and serving God, the rightful Lord. It is an admonition to the Christian audience not to slip into proud ways even though they consider themselves to be God's chosen people and a reminder to the individual and to the leader in particular not to forget that all goodness comes from God.

When one considers what, according to Bede in his Ecclesiastical History (IV, XXV), was Caedmon's aim in composing his verse, one may with justification claim that the object of the Old English poet is largely didactic. Caedmon wished to reconstruct systematically the "gospel" he had sung stores; y spelles. Moreover, the verse had to be didactic so that Caedmon might put to good use his recently acquired, God-given gift of verse-making:

In callum pam he geornlice gende, but he men stuge from syma lufan y
manteda y to lufan y to geornfulnesse nuchte godra arede.

Theodore Hunt in his edition of the Old English Daniel claims that

Ibid., p. xli.

2

3

4

5

Ibid., 96, 344, l. 34 to 346, l. 1.

Ibid., 346, 11. 15-17.

Theodore V. Hunt, Caedmon's Exodus and Daniel (Boston, 1902); unfortunately the most modern published edition of the separate text, and far inferior to Bremmer's edition.
the subject of the poem is simply "a faithful paraphrase of the first five chapters of the Book of Daniel" and merely "the deliverance of the Three Hebrews from the Fiery Furnace." It is indeed true that the poet keeps far more strictly to his biblical source than does the Exodus poet, introducing little extraneous matter. A considerable number of the passages in the poem practically paraphrase their source; e.g., lines 320-5 with Cap. 3:36 quibus locutus es pollices aequo multiplices aequo eorum sicut stellas coeli, et sicut arenam. However, when the poet does depart from his source material, the additions, omissions and the parts which are stressed become all the more important in revealing the aim of the poet.

The most significant difference between the Old Testament version and the Old English poem is that the latter is simply not concerned with Daniel whatsoever; his role is very minor as the official interpreter of God's ways to Nebuchadnezzar, godes spelboda, who disdains any power of his own. He is not mentioned among the edele ensitas (89a) who were sent amongst the Israelite youth to be trained as Nebuchadnezzar's advisors, and he appears only briefly at line 150 and on two further occasions in order to interpret God's signs. Although the poem is incomplete, it is generally thought from a close study of the manuscript that only one page with some thirty-five lines is missing and that it is highly unlikely that the poem reached the climax of the Vulgate version with the dramatic encounter of Daniel with the lions. In addition, the theologically important prophecies and apocalyptic visions of Daniel are omitted, as well as the apocryphal

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6 Ibid., "Introduction", p. 13
7 Probably an earlier Latin translation of the Septuagint was used.
8 F. C. Bremmer, p. xxxv and FR I, xxxi.
Historia Susanneae and De Bel et Dracone. It is, therefore, apparent that
the poet shifts the emphasis away from Daniel and on to Nebuchadnezzar,
whose name alone is capitalized in the manuscript. The majority of omissions
in the poem from the Old English source are those which distract from a close
study of the proud Babylonian ruler, whose every motive and action the poet
comments upon. For example, the omission of Daniel from the list of Israel-
ite youths avoids the theological controversy of why Daniel was not con-
demned to death with the others for not bowing down to the heathen image;
the omission of "Azariah's Prayer" in Daniel A, though interpolated at a
later date, also shows the poet's desire not to spend as much time as the
biblical author had done on the Fiery Furnace digression away from the
'case-history' of Nebuchadnezzar.

Father McKenzie states that the largely mythical biblical story
was written to encourage the Jews in a neo-Babylonian period (626-539 B. C.)
when they were tyrannized over by Antiochus IV Epiphanes, an eccentric,
capricious and barbaric ruler, who, like Nebuchadnezzar, suffered from
lycanthropy. The first dream of the Babylonian king in the Vulgate version,
which is not described in the Old English poem (the image of gold, silver,
bronze, iron and clay), is of prime importance in the prophetic Old
Testament book. The image signified the future deterioration of earthly
kingsdoms, beginning with the golden age of Nebuchadnezzar till the de monte
abscessus lapis sine manibus, the God Incarnate, strikes and falls the
corrupt kingdom. Daniel's interpretation of the poem would have been eagerly
accepted by the oppressed Hebrew audience; the present tyrannical Seleucid-

9See Appendix B.
11Vulgate Daniel 3:45.
Ptolemaic rule, symbolized by the heterogeneously mixed clay and iron, would soon be ended by the approaching advent of Christ, who would establish the rule of God's people.

Both the historically true Antiochus and the mythical Nebuchadnezzar were victorious over the Egyptians and both were capricious tyrants oppressing the Hebrews, not allowing them to follow their religion. The biblical author was, then, deliberately trying to encourage his audience, who would see themselves as the oppressed Israelites in Babylonian captivity and believe that an end to their misery was near and a beginning to their promised rule well nigh. The Old English poet omitted the first dream, it would appear, because he had no need to encourage his audience in such a way. On the contrary, he wished to impress upon his worldly listeners the dangers which they risked by following the example of Nebuchadnezzar.

The most important addition, one of the very few made by the later author, for which he had no source, was the initial description of the pride of the Israelites, which led to their merited captivity. He skilfully alters the biblical version, quite reversing the aim of the earlier writer by stressing how the oppressor and the oppressed were both guilty of the sin of pride.

The poet achieves his aim of warning his readers against the dangers of the radix malorum in two ways. He changes his source material to repeat, in the main exemplum of Nebuchadnezzar and the two minor exempla of the history of the Israelites and Belshazzar, the recurring pattern we have previously seen in the elegies of man, who has been given originally prosperity but who falls from his natural position because in his pride he thinks himself self-sufficient, sinks slowly deeper into the captivity of sin and disease, till
finally, if it is not too late, he accepts God as his Lord and humbly obeys Him. It is not sufficient, Nebuchadnezzar finds out after his initial, token conversion, merely to acknowledge God’s existence, to which limited acknowledgment perhaps most of the poet’s audience restricted themselves. This is the similar, circular pattern that I believe constitutes the major theme of the Junius MS and regulates the poets’ choice of biblical stories: angels and man falling through pride, driven into exile from heaven or Eden. But man, as we see in Christ and Satan, has the possibility of being saved and regenerated if he will only humbly trust in God. In the individual, microcosmic stories of the characters in the poetry, the medieval audience saw the macrocosmic pattern repeated continually of the fall and rise of man from a spiritual hell on earth to a paradise regained, if not transcended. Medieval man, as we have noted in the patristic writings, saw the over-all biblical structure revealed in every part of the Bible and, as we know, was far more used to interpreting the exempla he heard allegorically, or rather typologically.\footnote{Robert B. Durlin, The Old English Advent: A Typological Commentary (New York: Yale University Press, 1968) has an excellent discussion of the typological interpretation of Old English poetry in his first chapter, pp. 1-35; he quotes Jean Daniélou in Origen: “Genius in typology is the perception of affinities in Scripture, just as poetic genius is the perception of affinities in the natural world.” p. 1, and K. J. Woollcombe, who defines typology as “the establishment of historical connections between certain events, persons or things in the Old Testament and similar events, persons or things in the New Testament.” pp. 4-5. Durlin also quotes Eric Auerbach, who prefers the term "figural interpretation" which, he states, "establishes a connection between two events or persons, the first of which signifies not only itself but also the second, while the second encompasses or fulfills the first." p. 7.}
for his own self-aggrandizement a great, worldly city like theonta gesceare
of the elegies, becomes proud in his achievements, thinks that he alone is
responsible and that none, like some Harlovian hero, is equal, far less
superior to him; by describing all this in such stock phrases as the
Caedmonian and other Old English poets used to represent respectively the
blessedness of heaven, paradise and the Promised Land, the joys of the
angels, prelapsarian man and the God-fearing Israelites, the sin of Lucifer,
Adam and the tribes of Sheen; by these means the poet is able to include
the macrocosmic myth of the Bible and to make the simple story become more
than a narrative, to render it, in fact, a major warning against pride.
We become aware that the pattern of Nebuchadnezzar's life is not unique
in Old English literature, but has been the recurrent theme of all God's
creatures who, given free will, have fallen through pride from grace, and
that it will continue to be the pattern till domesday.

The poetic formulas, symbolic metaphors or simply associative words
which constitute the poet's 'word-heard' would immediately bring to mind
far wider and more powerful connotations than those literally stated. The
medieval audience would instinctively interpret the archetypal metaphors
not only literally but also on allegorical, typological and anagogical
levels. For example, when, after the traditional epic-formulaic opening
gefnegic as in Andreas, Exodus and Beowulf, they heard gefnegaic hebrew
edge lifgean / in Hierusalem, golohord daslan / cyningsdom habban,
swa hi gecynde wass, (1-3) they would literally imagine the Israelites
prospering in the city of Jerusalem or in any great, worldly city, a con-
ception accommodated to their understanding by the use of the heroic imagery
of a wealthy, gold-distributing nation; such was the natural function (3b)
of the rich and powerful tribes. On the allegorical level, as the same imagery had many times been employed to describe the state of prelapsarian man in Eden, or God, the gold-dispensing lord, they would recall the paradisal heaven on earth, the sancta Hierusalem and Cristes burglond of Christ I (50-1); in the post-lapsarian world, the paradise restored represented the Church, where man had reclaimed a part of the fallen world for God, creating cosmos out of chaos and thus re-enacting the cosmogonic myth as happened in Eleno and Andreas when churches were established in heathen lands. Typologically, the audience would think of the spiritual cosmos, the perfected, paradisal state of man's soul when at one with God, diametrically opposite to the spiritual hell, the "myself an hell" of Milton's Lucifer or Marlowe's Faustus. Analogically, the hearer would immediately recall the New Jerusalem, the Paradise transcended, the apocalyptic vision. And as the symbol of the perfect, worldly state has linked with it, because of man's original sin of pride, the syllogistically ensuing fallen state, the demonic parody of the heavenly kingdom, we have indeed "the meaning of the universe in all its parts.\(^\text{13}\) The explicitly apocalyptic passages of the Vulgate version are, therefore, redundant, while the homiletic purpose of the poet is simultaneously reinforced by employing such symbolic imagery. It is by this means that the Old English poet, when describing one particular biblical passage, evokes instantaneously in his "conditioned" audience the entire, circular, macrocosmic structure of the Bible.

\(^{13}\)A. A. Lee, "The 'Guest-Hall' of Eden: Four Essays on the Design of Old English Poetry", (unpublished book manuscript), p. 19; many of my ideas in this section are influenced by this work.
The initial addition of the Israelites' downfall is of prime importance in understanding the poet's aim. The mention of Moses (4b), leading the chosen race out of Egypt into the Promised Land, creates a link with Exodus, the preceding poem in the Junius Manuscript; it also recalls the previous Egyptian captivity of the chosen people and their escape from the demonic Pharaoh because of their trust in God. The satanic powers of evil had been destroyed by the wrath of God, while, on the other hand, His people had been given the freedom, wealth and prosperity which they were enjoying at the opening of Daniel, because they kept God's covenant (10b). Such prosperity was only natural, we learn, for God's people (3b) who are called a modig cyn (7b) 'a proud, courageous folk', full of the sancta superbia,14 just as God, Christ and Moses are termed modig.15

However, the poet continually stresses that such prosperity is entirely contingent upon the Israelites' faith in God and their acknowledgment that all their power comes hurh metodeh magen (4a). If one changes the punctuation of Krapp's text in lines 7b-11a to read:

\[\text{Pen} \text{t was modig cyn} \]
\[\text{benden hic by rice} \quad \text{medan moston,} \]
\[\text{burgun wealdan;} \quad \text{wes him beorht wela} \]
\[\text{benden pet folc mid him} \quad \text{hiera fader wære} \]
\[\text{healdan wolden,} \]

then the conditional clauses each time qualify the statements of prosperity, stress the total dependence of man on God and prepare us for an approaching fall from his happy state. We can, perhaps, also see the parallel between the tribe of Shem dwelling in bliss on the plains of Shinar, the amod folc (Gen. 16:50) and the modig cyn of the Israelites in the Promised Land;

14 See Chapter II, p. 50.
15 See Chapter I, p. 3.
beorht wela (9b) was theirs only when they kept hieh fader wate (106),
fader. I think, being ambiguously used to mean either God or Abraham. 16

Isaia edelweandas
hefdon lufan, lifwelan  henden his leat meted
(55-56; italics mine)

while all through the poem the poet stresses

hette god sealde  gumena gehwilcum
welan swa wite,  swa he wolde sylf.

(643-44)

God is indeed the alwihta, the poet states, and we must be mindful to

thank Him for His gifts be him bar to augute  drithen sceyrede (67).

The initial apocalyptic imagery describes the edde (1b) state of

the Hebrews, 17 but also, along with the repeated conditional clauses,

prepares us for the fall of the nation:

odcat his wlenco amed  at winhge
deofoldesdum,  drunene gedoftean.
Pa hie acmftas  ane forleton,
metodes magenscope,  swa no man scyle
his gastes lufan  wid gode dulan.

(17-21)

This is a vastly different pride from the earlier mod. Wlenco, as we

noticed in the first chapter, means in all non-heroic poetry the pride

which comes from a misuse of worldly possessions. Similarly, the tribe of

Shem lived in the sage soldan,  odcat for wlence and for wofhydum (Gen.

1673) they decided to build the Tower of Babel, just as the inhabitants

of Sodom and Gomorrah in their pride deserted God:

16 Cf. Exodus 258-64
"wile nu gelestan  bat he lange gehet
mid adsware,  oncla dryhten,
in fyndagum  alerencynne,
gif ge gehealdad  halige lare,
bat ge feonda geowone  ford ofergangad
gesittad sigerice  be saw tweeun,
bearselas beorna.  Bid eowr blad nicel!"

17 The same epithet is used to describe Christ (Chr. 1337), Noah
(Gen. 1476) and the saintly Juliana (Jln. 125).
Hie bes wence onwoed and wingedrync
het his fixendeda to frece wurdem. . . (Gen. 2581-82)

This is the demonic pride which overtook Holofernes and Belshazzar also when drunk, the pride that leads to all other sins, as we read in the patristic writings and see enacted all through Old English poetry, when alone and wingal man falls from divine protection; perhaps we are meant to see a connection between Adam's drinking of the poisonous cup in his pride and the drunken, gluttonous feasts that follow in the poetry immediately after that sin. 18 They have broken their covenant, forfeited God's protection, disrupted the teachings of the secular law swa no man scyle (20b) and withdrawn their soul's love from God--wic gode delan (21b), as Huppé points out, 19 being balanced against the earlier goldhord delan (2b).

Just as later Nebuchadnezzar was to be given many chances to repent of his pride, so also the heofonnica weard 20 (26a) often sent prophets to teach the Israelites wisdom, the God-given gift which we saw earlier was often symbolized by treasure:

Hie bare snytro sod gelisdon
lyte hulde, odbet hie langung beswac
cordan dressas coces redes,
het hie et sidestan sylfe forleton
drihtnes domas, euron deosles crafte.

(28-32)

This passage becomes especially clear in the light of the patritic writings; the coces redes (30b), sapientia, is denied to them as long as they choose cordan dressas (30a)---the two opposing stock phrases neatly balanced.

18 See Gen. 720-23b.


20 The same epithet for God appears in "Caedmon's Hymn" (1b).
in one line. This is the same wisdom which is denied to the worldly-wise [desolavitgen (128a), to Nebuchadnezzar himself and to his people who [wist in [wasted med (182b). To turn from God's law is, naturally, to choose to be of the devil's party (32b), committing [desoladum (18a). The Israelites laid themselves open to attack from the demonic forces, the [cauldfeonda cyn (57b), who will ransack the hean byrig (36b) of Jerusalem, carry off the treasure given to them by God and deprive them of their freedom, which they enjoyed as God's servants. They are the slaves of [odes ansaca, who will take them into slavery in the land of [hadenum deman (71b). Ultimately death, as the patristic writers forewarned, comes to many of the Israelites:

    Nebochodnossor  him on nyd dyde
    Israelc bearn  ofer calle lufen,
    wepe lafe  to weorcpewum.

    (72-74)

The poet restrains himself from displaying his poetic skill in relating the battle, the favourite and often most effective description in Old English poetry. (The most effective part of [Exodus is the description of the battle scene before the Crossing, even though there was no actual combat.) Instead, he refuses to be distracted from his didactic purpose, as can be seen by his other omissions from the Vulgate source. Consequently, before reaching the opening of the biblical account, the poet has reminded us of the earlier Egyptian captivity of the Israelites and the fall through pride of the race of Sheba; after which introduction, he has described the rise of the Hebrews to their civitas Dei and their fall therefrom to the depths of hell or death because of their proud ways.

Although our attention is now shifted to the similar 'case-history' of Nebuchadnezzar, we are occasionally reminded throughout the poem of the
Israelites and their deserved punishment, their sin being compared to that of the other proud characters in the narrative. Azariah, for example, plunged into the fiery furnace, cries out:

We des lifgende
worhten on worulde,  eac don won dyde
user yldran;  for oferhygdun
bruncon bebedo  burhsittende,
haed oferhagedon  halgan lifes,
Siendon ve tourecene  geond widne grund,
heapum tohworfene,  hyldelease;

(295b-301)

now the Israelites are hyldelease (301b) 'cast out from the grace of God' and find themselves becomen bolied (307a) by the wyresstan / eordcyninge (304b-305a). Yet Azariah realizes that the punishment is just and gives thanks to God for it before praying that God might remember His covenant.

Again, at the conclusion of the poem, the prophet Daniel warns the proud Belshazzar that a fate similar to that which overcame the Israelites will be his lot unless he repents:

On ham [the holy vessels] ge deoslu  drincan ongumon,
da er Israel in e brsdon
et godes carce,  odhet his gylp beswac,
windruncen gævit,  swa he [Belshazzar] wurdan sceal.

(749-52)

Although we hear no more about the Israelites as a nation, the kepna lafa (74a), those still alive to be punished for their presumption and in particular the three youths chosen from the same lafa (80b), represent their nation; they are the faithful few who still follow God's

22 Etymologically it means 'lacking loyalty'; they have, therefore, caused the disruption of the comitatus relationship and deprived themselves of the protection of their lord, like the Wanderer.

23 wyresstan is frequently used to describe Lucifer (Apoc. 1592, Jln. 152); and also describes the demonic, heathen idol in Dan. 215.

24 See Appendix B concerning "Azariah's Prayer" and "The Song of the Youths".
ways and, like Lot, are spared from God's sentence of death on the proud sinners. One is reminded of the *watere laxe* (Gen. 15:49), the faithful remnants of the Flood, protected by God, as were the Israelites at the Crossing, because of their firm faith, while the sinful world perished. The Flood, symbolically as both a punishment for the wicked and a spiritually purifying force to the good, serves the same function as the *langae sid* (68b) of the Israelites and the fire of the furnace later on in the poem; indeed, all the ambivalent symbols of fire and water serve to purge the world of evil as in the Roman *argeloioi* purification ceremony, while simultaneously regenerating the pure. The journey from the *hean byric* (54b) into exile recalls the expulsion of our first parents from Eden, or of the tribe of Shem from the plains of Shinar. It is a spiritual journey on the downward slope from heaven to hell.

The *micle enihtas* (69) sent to the king are important only in their role of the 'faithful few'. Daniel, as we have noted, is omitted from the list just as the poet does not mention that their names were changed to the Chaldean Baltassar (Daniel), Sidrach, Misach and Abednego by the *pro-positum eunochorum* of the king (Daniel 1:7). The real *daniyyel* 'the Judge' in the Old English poem is God, while the biblical hero is merely His *scelhoda*. The poet, as we have seen, repeatedly stresses that mankind brings upon himself misfortune, and, in true Miltonic fashion, disclaims any Calvinistic predestination:

"Oft metod alwt monige dece
wyrcan bote, pone hes waldon sylfe,
syreene festen, se rin fer godes
burh egesan gryre Aldre gescode." (589-92)

Only after fair warning will He punish Nebuchadnezzar
Significantly in this largely Christocentric literature, the Old Testament God of Justice becomes more the forgiving, merciful God of the New Testament, called god sumu metodes, sawa nergend (401), phrases not found in either the Vulgate or Vespasian Psalter sources of the "Hymn".

The youths are *sodeste, werseste* (194) and *eseste* (69, 271), as God's much-favoured Abraham is called (Gen.2585); indeed, the youths are termed *Abrahames bearn* (193). Azariah is a *wer w tempalea* (281), as Christ is called (Chr.188a), and *jeorge maled*, like Christ in *The Dream of the Rood* (39) when He, like the youths, eagerly approaches 'death'. They are the 'chosen ones of God' (92, 150, 735), as well as His *spalboda* (464, 532), as the angels (Gen.2494) and Gabriel (Chr.336) are called. It becomes progressively clearer that the poet sees the same life as the perfect, faithful souls in comparison with whom the very 'human' Nebuchadnezzar is to be judged.

Such levels of interpretation are also found in the mineral and vegetable worlds, as we saw when discussing the interpretation of *Hermes* [Hermes]. The demonic counterpart of the apocalyptic city in the mineral world, Frye tells us, is the dungeon or prison; we are reminded of the dungeons of Andreas and Juliana, and the Fiery Furnaces in *Juliana* and *Daniel*. The perfected figure becomes the sacrificial victim, the

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25*Gen.2901* God is called *eseste*. Azariah is given the epithet of *ordfrusa* of the Israelites, a title often given to God.

pharmakos, as Frye calls him, in the demonic parody of the divine world. The satanic powers attempt to destroy perfection which cannot be perverted by temptation; so fallen man, under the power of Satan, must attempt to kill Christ, just as the perfectly coloured parrot will be pecked to death by the wild birds if set in their midst. But God will not permit evil to triumph finally over good. Instead, He will create a greater good out of the evil intent, a felix culpa, just as He is continually creating cosmos out of chaos, order out of anarchy, and reasserting the natural hierarchy of all things. So Christ's death brings eternal life for all who follow Him, and the attempted murder of the three youths brings about the ultimate regeneration of the Israelites, and produces as well the conversion of the Chaldeans.

Just as Christ, Juliana and Guthlac welcome the release from their earthly prisons, sure in their trust in God's providence, and convinced that there is a hastas hearan, in bisse hean byric (206), so are the youths joyful (255b) when approaching their torture. And just as the God-sent punitive forces, such as the Flood, destroy the evil and are tests of the faith of the good, so also the man-made tortures in Juliana and Daniel both rebound on the evil torturers and show the power of God in saving His faithful ones and the futility of trying to defeat good by evil:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{De se leg gewaend} & \quad \text{on lade men}, \\
\text{bedne of helgna} & \quad \text{Ilyssas waron}
\end{align*}
\]

\(^{27}\)Ibid., pp. 148-49.

\(^{28}\)Just as the Jews in Elenæ, the strange fcondan in The Dream of the Rood, the spirits in Guthlac, the Homadonians in Andrenæ, etc.
The ambivalent nature of the flames is seen when the poet mentions the
miere (447) in the furnace instead of the glorious light described earlier
(274, 346, etc.). 29 Miere can mean 'darkness', generally with evil connota-
tions, or 'crime', 'evil'; in Andreas (1220), Juliana (505), Phoenix (457),
it simply means 'evil', as when the Beowulf-poet talks of Grendel's
myrean mor (1405). This, then, is the dark, demonic hell-fire in which
Lucifer is engulfed, the punitive fire of Sodom which burned the wergla
as it did the accursed servants of Nebuchadnezzar, and in the form of molten
lead, the persecutors of Juliana. This is the Darkness which excludes the
Light. 30

But to the faithful youths the furnace is a source of brilliant
light and joy, and it is described in the most lyrical passage in the poem:

windig and wynsum, wedere gelicest
bonne hit on sumares tid sendes weorded
dropena draerung on deges huile,
weamalic wolena scour.

(346-49a)

Phoenix-like, they emerge from the flames not only completely unharmed and
physically unblemished, but also purified and regenerated, uttering a doxo-
logy to God. 31 Such a myth as the phoenix legend is founded on the funda-

29 Similarly, in Riddle 6, the sun is a weapon of terror to some and
a comforter to others.

30 The fæn fyres fænce (253a) is reminiscent of the fyres fænce of
Beowulf 185, while the satanic fire slaying burlust the torturers is
anticipatory of the fiery welcome awaiting them in hell.

31 The fire is called the balbyse, as is the funereal pyre of the
phoenix (Phx.216).
mental rebirth rituals of pagan and Christian mythologies originating in the rebirth of nature each spring. Only by dying to this world, Christianity adapts the myth, can one be alive in the next; so the *anhara* actually cuts himself off from the world, as does Guthlac, or, as the Christian, obliged to live in society, treats this life as a fleeting journey of exile from the joys of heaven, as the Seafarer also regards life. The elegiac poetry especially dwells on this conception of *middangeard* in which fallen man, like Adam or the Wandering Jew, waits for his final redemption. Baptism, liturgically connected with the Resurrection, is a more subtle ritual of rebirth, when the old man is drowned and the new, regenerate man is reborn. It is not surprising, therefore, that the youths in Daniel find *weamlic volena seur* (549a) in the furnace, since the fire has the same purgative function as the baptismal or deluvian waters. The *same lafe* of the race of Israel, representing their people as a whole, have survived a test of faith and are simultaneously baptized into God's keeping, their previous sin of pride now washed away.

It is significant that the *Juliana* poet should describe the burning of his heroine in language very like that of the Daniel poet; both martyrs are protected by an angel

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se hene lige tosceaf (Dan. 339)
[se] hene lig toscarp (Jln. 566),
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leaving both the youths and Juliana unblemished:

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Has hyre while gewenned, no menig wroht on haegle,
ne feex fyre beswæled. . . .
(Den. 436-37a)

. . . ungewennde white. Has hyre whch no haegle
ne feex ne fel fyre geswæled,
ne lic ne leoðu.
(Jln. 590-92a)
```
The poets are describing imaginatively the archetypal dying to the earthly world, and in so doing, achieving a greater good, as Milton's Adam, exiled from Paradise, realized that his future state would be

more wonderful

Than that which by creation first brought forth

Light out of darkness.  
(Paradise Lost, XII, 471-73)

From their now enlightened state, having acquired the power of wisdom, the youths view the fallen world around them and as godes spelboda urge man-kind earnestly to repent. They do indeed bring about Nebuchadnezzar's conversion, albeit only a temporary one, and the king

Agef his [to God] pa his leoda lafe  pe þær gelædde weron
on wæt ealdscenon, þat hie are bædon,
Was heora blæd in Babilone, siddan hie þone bryne
fannedon. . . (452-54)

The Israelites have come full circle and are once more living in bliss. In Juliana the reward to the faithful heroine is her worldly death and ascension to enjoy the blessedness of heaven, but the same lafe have a further function to perform—the conversion of the Babylonian king.

Nebuchadnezzar, the central character in the poem, is unlike the normal demonic figures in Old English poetry in that he is capable of salvation, being quintessentially neither good nor evil. Altogether, he is one of the more interesting and colourful characters in the poetry. To begin with, he is, like Tamburlaine, the Scourge of God, chosen to punish His wayward people; consequently, he is called weor aldorfæa (46b) and brego (47), titles often applied to God Himself 32 and, like Moses (Exo. 14) a folcortæga, leading his people against the erring Israelites, who are now

32 Cf. Breco engla (Gen. 181) for God and pasta breco (Kentish Psalm 50) for Christ.
committing *deosol-draum* (10). Yet he himself is still heathen (153, 241, 539, 548) as is the thoroughly demonic Holofernes, who is described as the ledestan / hadrones headrines (Jud. 178) and *pome hadenes hum* (Jud. 110); likewise, Grendel is termed *hehene saule*, as are the evil dwellers in Gomorrah (Gen. 2548).

Gradually, the Babylonians become more distinctly associated with the demonic dryht; they are the *caldfeonda cyn* (57), *caldfeond* being a common epithet for Satan.33 The Babylonian leader is frequently called *wulfheort* (116, 135, 246), a fact indicating that his degeneration in the hierarchy of beings is from the loftiest to the lowest in worldly status and in mental and spiritual condition. We are thus prepared for his actual degeneration, when he wanders in exile like a beast. In addition, the wolf being the archetypal enemy of the lamb, the word has definite demonic connotations—Satan is called *æawyrda wulf* in Chr. 256.34 It is not till he has suffered in exile, when he becomes the pathetic *earnsæczen* (631) and *necod nydeongu* (632), like the poor Israelite *nydisa* (Ex. 208), that he once more regains his prosperous and blissful state, becoming the *fred* and *foremnhic* (666) *folca nsawa* (639). By his use of stock imagery, the poet can skilfully guide our responses to the character of Nebuchadnezzar as he shifts elusive from one role and state of mind to the next.

In typical demonic fashion, Nebuchadnezzar carries off the sacred treasure to his own city in a vain attempt to gain that which worldly wealth or power cannot buy—the divine *sapiencia*. He also trains the

33 Cf. Chr. 567, Phx. 449, and Holofernes (Jud. 315).

34 Also Romanric in Bœor entertains *wulfenne gehohtin* (22) and Grendel infests the *wulf-hleclus* (2ef. 1358).
Hebrew youths to teach him that wisdom:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Wolde } & \text{bæ } \text{enhtas } \text{cræft } \text{learnedon}, \\
\text{bæ } & \text{him } \text{snynro } \text{on } \text{sefan } \text{scægan } \text{nihte}, \\
\text{rales } & \text{dy } \text{he } \text{bæ } \text{haste } \text{odde } \text{gemanan } \text{wolde} \\
\text{bæ } & \text{he } \text{gara } \text{gifena } \text{gode } \text{hanode} \ldots \ldots (83-86)
\end{align*}
\]

His reasons for wishing to achieve sapientia are also egocentric. He has everything this world offers except wisdom; so he wishes to obtain it. It is only when he is humbled before God with his worldly joys cut off that Nebuchadnezzar, like Hroðgar now wintrum frot (Bof. 1724), can achieve that sapientia.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{odhæt } & \text{him } \text{frean } \text{godes } \text{in } \text{gast } \text{becowm} \\
\text{madest } & \text{sefa, } \text{da } \text{he } \text{to } \text{roderum } \text{besæah} \quad (650-51)
\end{align*}
\]

Similarly, the deofalwitgan (128a), the heathen sorcerers, may be famous for their scientia, worldly knowledge, but are entirely helpless when confronted with divine wisdom (128-29).

Miss C. A. Hogen, in an unpublished thesis, attempts to show that the theme of Daniel is the Augustinian growth of sapientia in the characters.\(^{35}\) Although the gaining or loss of sapientia does play an important part in the poem, I would consider the loss of wisdom one of the greater disasters out of the many besetting the individual once he becomes proud. Compared to only two mentions of Nebuchadnezzar's pride in the Vulgate source, the Old English poet refers to it some fifteen times in the poem, and the Babylonian prince is made the epitome of the Proud One; he is ham wlicancan (96a),

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{more } & \text{and } \text{modig } \text{of } \text{middengeard,} \\
\text{egead } & \text{ylde } \text{beaxnum. } \text{No } \text{he } \text{a } \text{fremede,} \\
\text{so } & \text{in } \text{oferehyge } \text{aghues } \text{lifde.} \quad \text{(105-7)}
\end{align*}
\]

He is both \textit{wulan} and \textit{oferhyge}, proud in his worldly possessions and also dangerously arrogant in that he thought himself all-powerful and inferior to none. He believed himself to be above the natural law of the world (1066) and, besides committing the sins of gluttony, boasting and idolatry, he led his people too into the ways of sin. God, as He did also to the Israelites, sent many warnings, but even after the king, once having seen the miracle of the Fiery Furnace, acknowledged God, he still would not humble himself before Him and confess His superiority:

\begin{verbatim}
No by sel dyde,
as þam ædelinge oferhyð gescead,
weart him byrnu hyge and on heortan godan
mara on modesetan bonne genet were,
cæpet hine mid nyde nyder asette
metod edmihtig, swa he manegum ded
þara he þurh oferhyð up astige.
\end{verbatim}

(488b-94)

In the biblical version the king is converted, exclaiming: \textit{Vera Deus vesta deus deorum est, et Dominus regum et relevans mysteria, quoniam tu potuisti apertire hoc sacramentum.} \textit{(Daniel 2:47)} The poet is, therefore, determined to impress upon his audience the futility of a token acknowledgment of God and the necessity for complete surrender to Him.

After Nebuchadnezzar's second dream and third warning from God, Daniel pleads with him to forsake his proud ways:

\begin{verbatim}
"Oft meted alst moniga deode
wyrcean bote, bonne his woldon sylfe,
fyrene fastan, ear him fur godes
þurh egsan cryre alre gesceode."
\end{verbatim}

(589-92)

Nebuchadnezzar's arrogance, however, seems to increase despite the many warnings; he refuses to heed Daniel's words,

\begin{verbatim}
ac his mod astah,
heah fram heortan; he has hearde ongeæld.
\end{verbatim}

(596b-97)
He began proudly to survey his great city and the vast property of the Shinarites (601), the mention of whom makes one think of the earlier Tower built on the Plains of Shinar as a monument to their pride:

weard da anhidyg ofer ealle men,
swifモデ in sefan, for dare sundorgife
be him god scalde, gusena rice,
world to gewalse in were life:
"Du cart seo micle and min seo mere burs
be ic geworchte to wurdnyndum,
rame rice. Ic reste on þe,
eard and edel, agan wille." (604-11)

Nebuchadnezzar has become ana on offerhyd ofer ealle men (614), and it was necessary for God as a last resort to humble him.

The process of Nebuchadnezzar's spiritual redemption follows a pattern not unlike that of many of those other characters who in Old English poetry descend more and more into sinful ways as a result of their pride.

The second dream of the Babylonian prince is related in full in the poem, which closely follows its source material of the magna arbor, et fortis, et procerites eius contingens caelum. (Daniel 4:8)

The king dreams of a great tree with its roots fixed firmly in the earth but with its branches reaching up to heaven and affording protection to all worldly creatures. It is the wundubesc wlitig, the beam (507, 518, 544) reminding one of the paradisal tree which in itself was neither good nor evil but potentially either, depending on the use one makes of it. It is the spreading tree of The Rimming Poem (34-35) which also symbolizes the prosperity of the worldly lord. It could be either the apocalyptic symbol in the vegetable world of the civitas Dei, the flourishing, blossoming, idyllic state protected by God and itself protecting and nourishing those for whom it is responsible. It represents the sundorgife (605b) which God
gave to the king, who should thank Him and put these gifts to their natural use. The tree is like the heah and horngeap dryhtsele of Heorot (Exf. 82), symbolizing the perfect worldly "gift-hall" that God has given to man as a shelter for His people. The tree is also like the beaman twegen of cloud in Exodus stretching from heaven to earth, a God-given protection to the metodes geneum leading them to the Promised Land. It is also like the syllicre treow (4b), the beama bearhtost (5a) of The Dream of the Rood, which also hlifige under heofenum (85a) and ambiguously represented death and life, as well as Christ Himself. As the paradisal tree of knowledge was misused, so also the Babylonian ruler put his gifts to ill use, boasting that he had built the prosperous city to show his power (608-11). Because in his pride he placed the love of worldly wealth and power higher than the love of his God, thus upsetting the natural hierarchy, anything detrimental to his transient prosperity will come to the king as a major tragedy.

There is no textual evidence to support the theory, but in the light of Hroðgar's sermon given when he had gained sapientia, and after having studied some Old English elegies, I should think that Heorot, metonymously standing for the Danish people, might have reached that ambivalent state of complacency concerning material prosperity. Heorot before Grendel's attack is described in apocalyptic imagery; it is the 'neutral', worldly symbol, originally good (God having made all things good), but its ultimate condition, whether a hell or heaven on earth, depends entirely on the use its possessors make of it.

So is it with the tree which represents Nebuchadnezzar's worldly power. Consequently, when this power is taken away from him, his entire world collapses as in the case of the lord of The Ringing Poes. One can
see that the poet is thinking symbolically when he anthropomorphizes the tree, speaking of its being bound with mighty fetters and thrown into torment as Lucifer was,

\[
\text{Dat his mod wite } \text{ dat migtigra} \\
\text{wite wealted } \text{ bonne he him wid mege.} 
\]

(521-22)

'that he might know that it is a mightier power which judges than he could contend with.' With a similar transference of sense, the tree is later called dreamless. The tree, unlike the Tower of Babel, Sodom and Gomorrah, and the various ruins of the elegies, will not be totally destroyed, but will await, like Heorot and Paradise, the eventual regeneration of man, who, now humbled and with divine wisdom, will make it a paradise transcended. Nebuchadnezzar will, however, be exiled, cast from his paradisal city into the harsh wilderness, where he will learn humility. Only after he recognizes his limitations as merely an eordlie cying and his total dependence on God, will the grene bleda (517a) reappear and the tree flourish once more bonne god sylle (517b).

Nebuchadnezzar suffers lycanthropy and is mentally and spiritually exiled for seven years:

\[
\text{sual broxode,} \\
\text{wildeora westen, } \text{winburge cying.} 
\]

(620b-21)

With striking antithesis 'the king' is contrasted with 'the beast', the highest and lowest forms of life, and the 'joyful' or 'wine city' with the bleak wilderness.

In his exile the Babylonian king is hyldeleasc, like the Israelites earlier in the poem, and vineleasc (568) in his literal and spiritual exile,

36 The Danes are forced to evacuate the dryht-sele.
when the love of God is cut off by man, I should like to read ne bid hei melmete 37 (574) 'nor will you have any fixed time for eating' as signifying that, like animals, he eats only when hungry, while human beings are basically differentiated from beasts by their fixed hours of eating.

It is puzzling that the poet should say that Nebuchadnezzar lives in the forest heorla hlænum (573), with the animal which we associate with Christ. 38 Perhaps we are meant to see the possibility of regeneration, a gleam of hope that, although the king shuns God, His presence is still with him, even in the desert. Possibly we might also think that the regna scor (575) had a purgative and baptismal effect on the king like the summer showers in the fiery furnace. The king wanders, then, like an cardstana, minaleas (566), till he makes the exceptionally simple gesture of humbly looking up to God burch wolona pang (622), and remembers that God is the heofona heah cyning (625)

Babilone weard, haide beteran deaw,
leohtran geleafan in liffrusan,
hetet god sealdae gamene gehwilom
welan swa vitæ, swa he wolde sylf. (641-44)

Sensus meus redditus meus (Daniel 4:31), the Vulgate states. The Church Fathers claim that the knowledge of God's existence is innate in us all and that no man can claim he does not know of God. God is merely forgotten deliberately by men till God humbles their pride and they 'remember' who their true overlord is. The king becomes natta on hodgedæncæ to nancyne

37 Bosworth has 'food to eat' as the meaning of melmete, both parts of the word being synonymous.

38 Cf. Vulgate, Canticum Canticorum, 2:9 Similis est dilectus meus carnea / himulique cervorum, and in the Christ poem the 'leaps' of Christ are like the leaps of a stag.
The wyxtumma (580b) take root again and the king takes over the rule of an even more prosperous Babylon, now described by the poet in the same terms as hean hurh (665b) as the ones he had used for the unfallen Jerusalem. As is natural to his position, Nebuchadnezzar spends his remaining years as the gift-dispensing ruler, protecting his people, till God ordains that he should die (663-70). His descendants also enjoy a similar prosperity till the third generation when the recurring pattern of pride that goes before a fall begins yet again.

Belshazzar, the last Chaldean monarch of Babylon before the invasions of the Medes and Persians, was indeed the bridde cane (675) after Nebuchadnezzar and not, as the Vulgate states, his son. His 'case-history' is related, like the earlier story of the Israelites, only briefly, the two forming a framework around the more important narration of the pride of Nebuchadnezzar. He is a king who enjoyed wealth and power so much

odfret him wlenco gesceod,
oferhyd egle. Da was endecag
des de Caldeas cyningdon ahton.

(677b-79)

The poet effectively builds up the anticipation of approaching doom by reminding us that this is the endecag (678b) of the Chaldean rule, the sidestan dase (700b) that the king will drink and feast in his hall. Babylon has become the sacred haebyrz (698) after Nebuchadnezzar's conversion and is now
... para festna folcum cudost,
meat and mearost para be men bun,
Babylon burga, odmet Baldazar
burn gylp grome godes frasade

(691-94)

As with the Israelites, Jerusalem, their city, was prosperous until pride came upon them.

In a typically demonic scene reminding one of a parody of the holy mass, the revelers, medural (702) at wine (695), and, fearing no-one, defile the holy treasure and vessels of Solomon's temple. Then Belshazzar commits the ultimate sacrilege of setting up within the heathen his own gods:

Da wæxid blidemed burga aldor,
gealp granalice gode on andan,
cwet hwet his hekgas byrran manon
and mihtigran nammen to fridc
bonne Ismela eec drihten.

(712-16)

Once more God sends a sign to the demonic dryht, the Aramaic writing on the wall kine tekil ypsonin 'measured, weighed, divided'; a sign egesic for cordum (718) as the head of Grendel is called (Beow. 1649) when it is brought into the hall. Belshazzar and his runcwargic men (734b) are unable to decipher the letters, for they, like Nebuchadnezzar, have not the wisdom to do so. Only Daniel, snotor and sodfest (736a), filled with godes oncfert micel (737b) is able to interpret God's word.

In the concluding section of the poem before the missing page, Daniel summarizes for Belshazzar the history of the holy vessels which the

38 The Old English poet does not describe the letters or say what they mean; suffice it to know that they forecast the Sjdestan dage (700) of the Chaldeans.

Interestingly, the Old English poet describes the letters as hæawe, 'scarlet' (725), which apparently could only have found its source in Rabbinical writings.
latter has just defiled. These vessels are the treasure of the Israelites and seem to symbolize the spiritual treasure that accompanies all who trust and fear God. The Israelites used the vessels in their holy rites, odh
hie gyln beswac (751), whereupon the treasure was forcibly taken from them by Nebuchadnezzar. The Babylonian prince, however, although he had stolen the treasure, never boasted about his feat or defiled the vessels and so had a chance to repent and be forgiven. But Belshazzar

... for armel in eht bere
hulsatun halogu, on hand vorum.
On pan ge deoslu dritcan ongunnon,

(747-49)

and for this ultimate sin of sacrilege is to be punished with everlasting death. The history of the sacred vessels, then, is the connecting link between the three 'case-histories' narrated.

At the beginning of the poem we saw that allusions are made to the recurrent pattern of the fall of worldly man through pride extending back to Adam and Lucifer by means of the highly associative vocabulary; similarly, at the conclusion, hints are given that the same pattern will continue ad infinitum after the death of the proud Belshazzar. The Medes and the Persians, we are told (660 ff.) will act, like Nebuchadnezzar to the Israelites, as an instrument of punishment for the sacrilegious Belshazzar and will destroy the city of Babylon as Jerusalem had previously been destroyed. They too will rule the land which God has given them (660-81), but by adding the significant ymb lytel fec (681) the poet hints that their reign will also be short and we can suppose that a similar pattern of pride and disaster will overcome the Medes and Persians, as the audience of that time would well know from their reading of the Bible. 39

39. The pattern will continue till the coming of Christ as the first dream in the Vulgate prophesied (2:34): Donee abscissus est lapis de monte sine manibus...
The poem differs, I hope to have shown, from the biblical account not so much in narrative as in purpose; the latter, by the use of prophetic and apocalyptic literature, was intended to encourage the readers to believe that the Messiah would soon come and avenge His people. The medieval poet, however, whose audience were not persecuted for their religion, was delivering a homily, warning Christians of the dangers of only token acknowledgment of God, in which state the cardinal sin of pride is at its most dangerous; he was also warning his audience against the mutability of all earthly things, stressing that everlasting joy can be gained only by humbly and completely trusting in God and acknowledging man's weakness and total dependence on the infinitely powerful God.

By analyzing certain key poetic formulas, the highly associative 'word-thread' of the poet, I hope to have shown how he can elicit from his audience associations with other, similar biblical situations and, in the course of the poem, associations with the entire biblical mythology from cosmogonic myth to Doomsday. A similar pattern and didactic purpose can, I believe, be traced all through the Junius Manuscript.
IV

THE JUNIUS MANUSCRIPT

Vain man, said she, that dost in vain assay,
A mortal thing so to immortalize.

(Anoretti, 75)

No scholar today would attribute any one of the "Caedmonian" or
Junius Manuscript poems to Caedmon, far less the entire manuscript, as
the first editor, Franciscus Junius, did.¹ The poems were also written
in different centuries, Genesis A, Exodus and Daniel being written around
A. D. 700, while Christ and Satan and Genesis B were probably not written
until the early and the late ninth century respectively. Stylistically,
moreover, the poems clearly show that even the earlier three could not
have been the work of one poet. Although contemporaneous and copied by
the same hand in the early eleventh century manuscript, the style of
Genesis A is vastly different from that of the following Exodus. The
style of the latter is more concise, compressed, relying more on the use
of metaphor to convey its meaning, compared with the preceding, less
imaginative, more proseic and diffuse Genesis A poem, which keeps far more
closely to its biblical source. It would also appear, at first glance,
that the final poem, Christ and Satan, is neither unified in its subject
matter nor compatible in theme with the preceding three poems. Krapp

¹E. J. Turner in The Later Genesis, p. 4, quotes from Junius' writings as proof that Junius considered the entire manuscript to have been written by Caedmon. "Caedmon's Hymn", which Bede directly attributes to Caedmon in his Ecclesiastical History (Ec. 4, Ch. 24), is the only poem we can safely say that Caedmon composed.
considers it "an afterthought" by the scribe or commissioner of the manuscript, and "less harmonious in subject with the other three poems."\(^2\) We have, therefore, in one manuscript copied by different scribes\(^3\) early in the eleventh century, four poems written by different poets who were not contemporary with each other and who wrote in different styles.

There are, then, grave dangers in making general statements about any unifying theme in the Junius Manuscript as a whole, and, indeed, many scholars might consider such a search an impossible and worthless task. However, we are faced by the fact that an Anglo-Saxon compiler and scribe elaborately prepared a manuscript expressly to contain all four poems; there is no doubt at all, even in the minds of those critics who consider Christ and Satan unfortunately appended to the manuscript, that the poem is most definitely not a later interpolation. Collancz insists, because the folios were expressly and uniformly prepared for all four poems, that "the intention at the time of writing, was to make it [Christ and Satan] an integral portion of the manuscript";\(^4\) Knopp also admits that the scribe "had the manuscript as a whole before him".\(^5\) The collator had, then, a definite purpose in adding the New Testament material at the conclusion of his work and also for choosing those particular Old Testament poems which emphasized certain symbolical events in the Bible. In the same way in which we noted that the Daniel poet highlighted or changed some parts of his biblical source in order to stress his didactic aim, so also, I believe, it

\(^2\) PR I, xi and xii.

\(^3\) Genesis, Exodus and Daniel are copied by one scribe, while three scribes are responsible for Christ and Satan; cf. PR I, x.

\(^4\) Collancz, The Caedmon Manuscript, p. xcix.

\(^5\) PR I, xii.
is important to understand the aim of the later compiler of the manuscript, by noting which narratives and events he has underlined. Why in a work supposedly unified and purporting to tell the story of the biblical Exodus would the Red Sea Crossing alone be chosen from the biblical Exodus to compose the Old English Exodus? Why would the compiler of the manuscript add such a poem as Christ and Satan, a "hodge-podge" which, unchronologically, links the Fall of the Angels, Doomsday and Christ's Temptation by Satan? Answers to such questions will not only throw light on the theme of the manuscript and the aim of the compiler, but also help our understanding of the early medieval conception of the biblical narratives and the role of the Anglo-Saxon Christian poet, who considered his art a God-given gift. Any study of the history of the biblical writings would reveal an unbelievable diversity of sources, influences, cultures, poets of different ages and compilers with different views; yet there is, as I hope to show in connection with the Old English manuscript, an "imaginative unity" throughout the Bible, centered on the life and death of Christ.

We can but surmise that there was a thriving school of Anglo-Saxon religious scopas around the beginning of the eighth century. Bede might well have been writing figuratively about the lowly shepherd's revelation in order to convey the beginnings of a new direction taken by poets, employing the previously secular, heroic 'word-hoard' for religious, didactic ends. In any case, Bede states that the poetry was to be didactic and would contain the over-all pattern in the Bible of the Creation, Fall and Resurrection of Man.

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6 See Chapter III, p. 63.
Song he must be middangeardes gescape \( y \) bi fruman monymes \( y \) cal \( y \) est ster Genesis \( y \) est is see Æneste Æyeses booc; \( y \) ert bi utgone Israhela faeces of Aegypta londe \( y \) bi ingonge Æes gebatlandes; \( y \) bi odrum monegum spellum Æes halgan gevrites canones booc; [the major events in Christ's life and death are then narrated]. \( \ldots \) eft bi þæs dage þæs toweordan domes, \( y \) bi ðyrhtu þæs tinkreglican wites, \( y \) bi swehtnesse þæs þeofonlecan rices, he monig leod geworht.

We have already seen how the *Daniel* poet successfully conveyed, while narrating one small event in the over-all biblical narrative, the recurrent pattern from Creation till Doomsday of man's continual fall through pride and regeneration through Christ. A similar pattern, I believe, is seen in every section of the manuscript, while creating a unified theme in the work as a whole. As in the Bible, the poem moves from initial Creation to the Fall, because of pride, to an eventual regaining of the originally blissful state through the grace of Christ, Who as God-Man overcame that initial sin when tempted. In addition, one can also see the microcosmic, circular pattern of man continually falling from grace because of his pride, a state regained when man humbles himself and, like Christ, overcomes the temptation of Satan. Dr. Lee sees such a pattern in the entire extant Old English poetic corpus which "had as its major function in Anglo-Saxon England the recreation in poetic terms of the biblical vision of human life"; \(^8\) we are, therefore, presented with "the meaning of the universe in all its parts". \(^9\)

\(^7\)De De, Ecclesiastical History, EETS 96, 346.

\(^8\)A. A. Lee, "The 'Guest-Hall' of Eden", p. 12.

\(^9\)Ibid., p. 11.
Medieval Christianity, which was largely Christocentric, stresses the need for man, when he is tempted to commit the sin of pride, to follow Christ's example. The entire writings of the Scripture "lead up to Christ as all begins anew in Him".  

The Incarnation and the eschatological message of the Gospels marked an end to history and prophecy as the Jewish tradition had known them. The New Testament both concluded and absorbed the vision of the Old. . . . "In the Old Testament [St. Augustine states] the New lies hid; in the New Testament the meaning of the Old becomes clear".  

The biblical stories were typologically conceived; that is, the affinities in Scripture, especially between Old and New Testaments, were automatically recognized by the medieval audience:

it [the mystery of Christ dead and risen] is prefigured in the Old Testament; it is realized historically in the life of Christ on earth; it is contained by way of mystery in the sacraments; it is lived mystically in souls; it is accomplished socially in the Church; it is consummated eschatologically in the kingdom of heaven. Thus the Christian has at his disposal, for the expression of that single reality, several registers, a symbolism of several dimensions. All Christian culture consists in grasping the bonds of union that exist between the Bible and liturgy, between the Gospel and eschatology, between the mystical life and the liturgy.  

In this way the narratives become more immediate while explicit exegesis is made unnecessary and direct didacticism by those transposing the stories

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11 Robert B. Burdin, The Old English Advent, p. 5.

12 Jean Daniélou, Dieu Vivant, 1 (1945), 17, quoted by Manning, pp. 2-3.
into poetry is implicitly conveyed. Moses, therefore, leading the Israelites out of the land of sin and darkness through the Red Sea and into a land of freedom, prefigures the promise that a Saviour will come Who will save the faithful, punish the evil and lead the former to a New Jerusalem. In addition, the audience would see how they ought to follow Christ and be baptized in His name, whereupon they would be supported by the Holy Ghost and led eventually to Paradise. All this would be automatically realized by the audience in a way impossible for the modern reader to grasp. Burlin, in his excellent introduction to The Old English Advent, explains:

Historical typology... preserves the primary form or literal meaning along with the anti-type which it prefigures. It reflects some of the fundamental tenets of Christian thought by the value it finds in matter, in process and in the human person. Just as the Crucified Lord harrowed the bodies as well as the souls of the Patriarchs and Prophets out of hell, so the Christian typologist accords the Old Testament figures a value and reality as historical entities after their spiritual mission has been fulfilled. Once their function as heralds and types of the Redeemer has been acknowledged, they still retain their place in the continuum of human experience, and are not to be cast off as empty husks or the mere illusions of an evanescent world.13

So the narrative of Moses and the Red Sea Crossing can still be appreciated on a literal level. Significantly, the manuscript concludes with Christ and Satan, in which poem is narrated on the literal level the descent of the Noyald into hell and the saving of all those who had kept God's covenant. Conversely, we are reminded in this poem of the prefiguration of Moses descending to the depths of the Red Sea, slaying the Leviathan monster of evil and resurrecting, now baptized and purified, the faithful.

The Christ and Satan poet makes the connection between Old and New Testament

13pp. 6-7.
more immediate by beginning with an account of the fall of the angels and
the lament of Satan. Equally important is the fact that this poem concludes,
unchronologically, with Satan's temptation of Christ, the second Adam, the
God-Man. This time Satan fails to induce his victim to be proud and
renounce his dependence on His Father. So mankind is saved, Satan cast into
hell forever and man shown that it is not ordained that he too, because of
original sin, must fall through pride. All those who follow the example of
Christ, an example prefigured in the lives of Noah or Moses, can indeed
follow Him and be raised from the hell on this earth, where the wicked shall
remain, and join their God. And the example given to man is humility. If
man humbly abides by God's covenant, a perfect state of cosmos, order and
happiness, a paradise regained, in fact, will be his. "Christ's humility
and humiliation are at the centre of Christianity", and at the centre of
the Junius Manuscript is the warning to mankind against pride.

I should like to support my theory by a systematic, albeit somewhat
superficial, investigation of this theme throughout the manuscript, in an
attempt to show the recurrent and unifying pattern I have discussed above.

Although the Genesis A poet follows his source, the first twenty-two
chapters of the first book of the Pentateuch, he chooses to begin by stress-
ing his didactic purpose. It is only right (1:1) and natural that man should
praise God, his ordnrun (13a) and frea almhtig (5a). As in "Caedmon's
Hyem", God's omnipotence and desire to grant happiness to his creatures,
angelic or human, is stressed repeatedly throughout the manuscript. The
final poem especially emphasizes that it was because man did not praise God
and acknowledge His omnipotence, that God meted out punishment.\textsuperscript{14} The

\textsuperscript{14}Cf. Christ and Satan, 197-204a and 639-43.
perfect, blessed dryght of the prelapsarian angels is described—Hodon gleam and dream (12b)—because they praised God and served Him (15-18a). The phrase applied to the blessed state of the angels was heora hled nicel! (14b) parallels the description of the prosperity of the Israelites in Daniel:

\[ \text{wes him heorht wela,} \]
\[ \text{boden heorht folc mid him} \quad \text{hiera fader wre} \]
\[ \text{healdan waldon.} \quad \cdots \quad \text{(Dan. 9b-11a)} \]

But the archetypal description of a paradisal state, whether on high or on earth, contains within it the fear and knowledge of a subsequent fall. So it is no surprise to hear that the inevitable oferhygg (22b, 23a, etc.) attacks God's free creatures, whereupon they turn from the love of God (24b-25a), as the Israelites also were to do later. The deed is one of ummad (30a), the sinful folly and lack of wisdom that immediately follow pride, the state Eve is tricked into (700a); whereas sapientia, the patristic writers tell us, is only possible for those who serve God. Like the hapless Israelites who broke the covenant of Abraham, the fallen angels are exiled from their natural, heavenly home; the oferhiding cyn (66a) are driven on langue sid (68b; cf. Dan. 66b) to a witehus (29) and place of torment. There their pride is humbled (54-55) and their boasting halted (69b); him heos prin leean becom! The poet describes in graphic detail the terror and horror of the punishment which they bring upon themselves, beo heo ongaman wad gode wimman. (77)

Having banished evil to the depths of darkness, God then restores order and light in heaven, heorht and geblad fæst (69a), and proceeds to create light out of darkness in the firmament where

\[ ^{15} \text{Again, my punctuation change and italics; and passim.} \]
dreams uncease, [God] gescan deorc gesweorc
seman simihte sweort under xoderum,
won and weste. . . .

(108-10)

but with the presence of the Holy Spirit in the darkness

Leocht wes weest
puch drihtnes word dag geneamed,
whitebeorhte gesceast.

(129-31)

This is reminiscent of the pillar of light in Exodus descending to the depths and all the immeasurable other occasions in the poetic corpus when light, representing Christ, goodness and order, has triumphed over the powers of darkness. The Holy Ghost moves upon the waters, dividing them, separating light from darkness and also creating a hyhtlic heofontimber (146a) in the firmament; that is, a high timbered hall, reminding one of the many metaphors in the poetry for the apocalyptic dryhtsele. In Exodus, we shall see, the waters are divided to create land, and the walls of water form a similar, high fortress, a protection for God's chosen ones, later to be destroyed when the walls crash the powers of darkness.

There is a lacuna in the manuscript and the poem continues with an account of the creation of Eve; like the blissful angels before them

Man ne oulon
don ne dreogan, ac him drihtnes wæs
ban on breostum byrnende-lufu.

(189b-91)

In consequence, God blesses our first parents and promises to make them

16 Ex. 296-98.
Prosper. The later Genesis B is interpolated at this point, but it is not relevant to the present study to discuss the implications of the interpolation.\(^{17}\) In one important respect the poet diverges from his source; Adam and Eve are not, apparently, primarily held responsible for their fall, as are Milton's characters. The poet appears to wish to stress the dangers man is in when tempted by Satan or his emissaries, who were forces very much alive and omnipresent in the medieval age. We should, the poet seems to imply, be morally armed for the onslaught of the insidious, satanic wiles; evil thoughts have clear access to the minds of men and angels, and it is for this reason, because man is not the originator of sin, that he shall find grace when Satan can find none.

That Satan fell through pride is clearly and repeatedly stressed throughout Genesis B; his ofermod (262a, 272a, 332a, 337a, 350a, 350a) is synonymous, as we saw in Chapter I, with the oferhyre of Genesis A. Satan's pride is brought on by his own egotistical presumption and wish to disrupt the natural hierarchy of beings:

\[
\text{Heo wereon leof gode denden heo his halige word healdan woldon. (244b-45)}
\]

The most beautiful of angels ought naturally to have praised God:

\[
\text{Loof scolde he drihtnes wyrcean, dyran scolde he his dreamas on hoefonum, and scolde his drihtne heopian. (256c-57)}
\]

\(^{17}\) See B. J. Timmer's excellent "Introduction" to The Later Genesis, pp. 1-69. J. K. Evans, "Genesis B and its Background", RES ns. XIV (1963), 1 or 115, demonstrates how the O. S. poem, and consequently the O. E. translation, followed the patristic accounts of the theme, an Augustinian interpretation as expounded in De Civitate Dei and De Genesi ad Litteram, which was later adopted by Bede in his Historia and by Alcuin in his Interrogationes; there are also strong resemblances to Avitus' Latin poetry.
But, like Nebuchadnezzar, he thought himself self-sufficient and refused to be subservient to God (272b-74a), hoping to deify himself:  

The poet describes the twin trees of good and evil, of light and darkness, pointing out to his audience

Sceolde bu witan
yldan eahwile yfles and godes
gewand on hisse woorld.

To choose the fruits of evil may mean temporary enjoyment of worldly things, he states, but soon old age or death will rob the man of his transitory life, the theme of many of the elegies (481b-89).

Bid ðun nea full wa
þa hine ne worna þonne he his geweald hafad;

the poet moralizes and sums up his attitude towards the responsibility of Adam and Eve. Satan's emissary is very cunning, claiming to be God's angel:

... forloade mid ligenwordum
to ðan unmade... 

But, when we remember how Julianus was similarly tempted by a devil posing as God's emissary, we realize the Old English poet would have considered this insufficient excuse. The saint, like Christ before her, manages to resist the temptation and proves on a literal level that good is stronger than evil. In so doing she creates a heaven on earth, the establishment of a church in heathen lands, thus re-enacting the cosmogenic myth, and provides an example for all mankind. But before this is possible, as in Andreas before a church is founded among the Hermenomianas, the saint and the people have to be baptized—by fire in the former poem and by water in the latter,

10 The poet stresses the importance of their deception in lines 588-89, 601, 620, 699, etc.
elements which purge the land of the wicked elements, as the biblical Flood also did.

Postlapsarian man, like the hyldænas Israelites in Daniel, now finds himself without hyldo godes (Gen. 771), without the protection and grace of God because of their untræva (Gen. 773b). They must leave their paradise from where they can already see the fire of hell and realize how vastly different it is from the heavenly kingdom (792-99). God is not the wrathful God of Justice of the Old Testament, but more the Christian norend usser (855b), bilvit fæder (856a), and Adam is His son, just as Christ is often termed the second Adam. The sinful pair, awaiting death (922b) which is the final step on the road of sin, are exiled from Eden and become the first human wanderer-figures in Old English literature:

"Pu secælt oðerne edel secean, 
wynleæsan wic, and on wæc hæwofæn 
næcad niæwælca, neor neorxnaænges 
dugædum bedæled;" (927-30)

like Nebuchadnezzar, the næcad nygeæga (632) and unæces, they are to wander pathetically in the fallen world, the middængard between heaven and hell, awaiting their redemption or damnation.

That, the poet explains to his audience, was how misery first came into the world:

Hast, we nu gehyræd hwær us hæowæstæfæs 
wædæ omnæcan and wormæryanæ.

(939-40)

Man is, therefore, condemned to spend a transitory period in a world of suffering, the wilderness in which Satan is ever ready to tempt man. From this conception of the middængard stems much of the imagery of Old English

19As Dr. Lee also notes, p. 20.
poetry. Man can either retreat, as we noticed earlier, like Guthlac or the angels of this world, keeping himself uncontaminated by worldliness, thinking regretfully of the paradise from which he was expelled and joyfully of the glorious land that will greet him at the other end of his sea-voyage or peregrination on land. Man can also go out into the world, sure of God's protection of his soul if not of his body, and urge others, as in the hagiographies and martyrologies, to acknowledge God and thus establish His rule again on earth. On such a mission, it would seem, the early Christian English poets thought themselves to be sent, to warn mankind against sin, to turn him back to the love of God, that he might look up through the clouds and acknowledge, as does the Babylonian prince, that God is his natural Lord.

The Old Testament narrative continues with an account of Cain's slaying of his brother Abel because, like Lucifer, he thought himself impaired. Cain, who brought murder into the world, belongs to that demonic group headed by Satan and including such utterly evil beings as Grendel, Holofernes and Pharaoh, who are eternally damned. Cain is a wincless wæcca (Gen. 10:5) and is also called agyrgead (10:4), as are Grendel and Holofernes, driven from the paradisal grene folde (10:2), the stock paradisal epithet. Although pride is not specifically mentioned, the medieval audience would have associated the jealousy of an inferior who wished to usurp his superior brother's position with that sin which struck at the very roots of their society.

On the spot where Abel's blood was spilt, a tree sprouts up:

Rahten wilde
geond werpeoda wrohteas telgan,
hirinon beamtanes heards ceare
dritha beamm, (dod fiesta sawa),
of han brad hilo
brystan orgynnou.

(990-95)
vastly different from the fair, blossoming groves with their bright flowers which sprang up on the spot where Andreas' blood had been shed:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Gesoh he gebloxene} & \quad \text{bearwaes stedan} \\
\text{bladun gehrodene} & \quad \text{swa he ar his blod agot}
\end{align*}
\]

(signifying, probably, the infinite goodness which came from that tree on which Christ's blood was spilt, reversing man's original deed of sin.)

Yet man was not wholly evil. Seth continued the faithful house of Abel and, since he was beloved of God, was given the edelstol (1129b). Seth, Enoch and Noah in turn continue to be faithful, receive their due reward from God, the voruldgestreama (1177a) and wisdom (1194a), and act as gold-dispensing lords (1181). The virtue, wisdom and loyalty of Noah, nergende-leof (1265), is described repeatedly in epithets with which the poet portrays all the perfected, God-protected characters. Inevitably, however, some break God's commandment and intermarry with the accursed tribe of Cain.

God, regretting that he had ever created man (1276 ff.), resolves to punish the sinful gigantmegas (1268) by destroying all things evil in the Flood. Once more God attempts, by the use of water, to purify and purge His creation:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{sweart water,} \\
\text{wonne valstreamas} & \quad \text{verodum svelgad,} \\
\text{secadum scealdfullum.} & \quad \text{(1300-02)}
\end{align*}
\]

This is the same dark, towering wall of water that was to slaughter the

20 Giants and their works appear to be frequently associated with the worldly, proud men, confident of their own might and contemptuous of the strength of anyone else. Thus they epitomize the sin of pride (cf. epin gewesac of the elegies, the once mighty symbols of the power of men of almost supernatural ability, either literally giants or, like the Romans, capable of extraordinary feats). Giants loom more prominently in Old Norse literature as the hated jötunn; one is also reminded of the physically superior berserkir whose occupation was proudly to fight all and sundry.
demonic dryght of Pharaoh (Exo. 468-69). While the evil of the world is
dragged down to everlasting perdition, the faithful are lifted up through
the water to the heavens:

In Andreas God sends a similar flood to destroy the wicked persecutors of
the saint, 'men doomed to die' (1530b):

As happened for the children of Israel, a street and folde from
flood (1582a) opened up for the faithful Andreas to escape from the slaughter-
ous waters. The young men killed were resurrected after their drowning, a
process which the poet directly associates with baptism:

and a church was consecrated on the land now purged of evil and reclaimed
for God:

In the Andreas passage (1545-46) we saw how fire and water are
interrelated as a means of purification and hence baptism. Similarly, in
Chapter III, we noted in Daniel how the summer showers intermingled with the
fire in the Furnace of the Youths:

It is by means of water and the Holy Spirit that the new life is created, and it is from the latter that the water receives its creative power [Genesis 1:2]. This water also contains the property of fire of which John spoke when he said, 'One is to come after me . . . he will baptize you with the Holy Spirit and with fire.'

The fire in Daniel and Juliana, therefore, serves the same function as the cosmogonic waters over which the Holy Spirit moved in principio, turning chaos into cosmos, darkness into light. All prefigure the true Light:

"I am the light of the world: he that followeth me shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life." 22 And, according to John, Christ is also the Word, the primordial power in the world, while in Genesis we learn:

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{Geledde ða wigend} \\
&\text{worde ofer wideland} \\
&\text{weroda drihten}
\end{align*}
\]

(1411-12)

till they reach their new paradise (to which the dove, significantly, leads them), described in the Old English poem in archetypal, apocalyptic imagery (1485-87). An êorde ðeurgene (1517a), ðiger on foldeñ (1487a) awaits the sea-farers after their journey through the fallen world and after their baptism, and, with God's benediction and promise (1487), mankind departs in peace to go to his new home. As is fitting, Noah gives praise to God and offers sacrifice to Him, whereupon God gives man his covenant:

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{Mom wes to godees} \\
&\text{anlicnesse ærest gesceopén.} \\
&\text{Ælc hæfæd mægwilte metodes and engla} \\
&\text{hæra he healden vile halige heavens.}
\end{align*}
\]

(1523-31)


22 John 8:12.
Noah's progeny prosper and are blessed, dispense treasure (1611) and increase in wealth and numbers (1619 ff.). They are now free after God, (1601) free in their service to God. However, into the scene of prosperity creeps a hint of encroaching pride when we learn that Shem was

... Babylon: hrogonices fruma,
    armat edelinga; edeldrym onhof,
    rynde and mende.

(1633-35)

Babylon, as we noted, was automatically associated with the pride of worldly possessions and the ensuing fall. In addition, we are forewarned, prosperity was enjoyed on dare degtide (1659a), 'for a time', and the fole was amod (1650), pride here probably being used ambiguously.

It is not surprising, therefore, that we learn that the tribe of Shem to mende (1663a) built a tower, a symbol of their power to redortunglam (1667), as if challenging God and showing that they could reach the heavens through their own might:

what for wience and for wonhydum
cydden cwest heora, ceastru wulfhto
and to headmen up hlaed: mendo,
strenges stepton stanemo weall
ofor norma gonet, morda georne,
holed mid honda.

(1673-76)

In a wonderfully concise passage, the poet describes in literal terms the repetitive process of man's worldly pride. Greedy for glory and through pride, men build a tower or wall in the assurance that they can equal the works of God and as a monument to their own power; but, as the Anglo-Saxon poets remark so often in the elegies, when surveying similar attempts by 'giants' of old, a worldly city will never withstand the destructive force of time, as will an everlasting cirtian Dei. The ladder, to which the tower of Babel is compared, and on which they, like Icarus, hope to reach the heavens
by their own might, is over mona nemet—beyond that which is natural to
man. Like Lucifer, they strive to rise above their natural place in the
hierarchy, lacking the wisdom of the faithful. They are driven from their
land of prosperity, leaving behind them a half-finished and crumbling
monument to their pride, becoming an archetypal wandering people unable
to communicate with one another when God confounds their speech.23

Abraham now becomes, along with Lot, mona leofost to God (1749a)
and leads them with God’s blessing to the paradisal pigrane land (1751).
The pattern becomes almost monotonous when consistently followed through
the poem, but very evident by the repeated use of the archetypal heavenly,
paradisal and demonic imagery. As is only natural, Abraham sings God’s
praises, gives sacrifice to God and builds an altar to His glory. In
return, Abraham prospers in cattle, gold and silver (1769 ff.) and is led
towards the Promised Land of Canaan.

When, however, myrd grows unfavourable and famine strikes the
tribe, they are forced to seek aid in the land of the evil Egyptians, who
are called wance (1825 and 1848). Their dryhtsele towers high, as a token
of their worldly prosperity and pride; but God saves Abraham and Sarah from
the power of the arrogant Egyptians, for which protection Abraham and his
wife give due thanks and praise to God.

When the tribe increases greatly, Lot leads a part of the tribe
into another fruitful land, a grene condan (1921) which is exactly gelie
godes / neornxnavange (1923-24). But, the poet forewarns us, this land, on

23 It is interesting to note how the dissemination of the different
Indo-European languages, when the Urvolkswanderung from the Urheimat took
place, is here symbolically and unconsciously described.
which Sodom and Gomorrah are to be built, will be struck down by God's
dark flame because of man's sin (1924-26). The audience would recall that
Sodom epitomized the ungodly city, the hell on earth, and was to suffer
the same destruction by fire as the hell-dwellers. (In Jude 5-8, the
writer associates together the sinful Israelites, the Fallen Angels and the
inhabitants of Sodom and Gomorrah). In striking contrast to Lot, who guards
the God-given treasure, the Sodomites were wicked, impious and unrepentant.

Krapp changes the manuscript's fullwana bearn (1951a) to read
foldwana bearn without, he admits, any reason other than the fact that he
cannot make "the children of baptism" make sense in the context. 24 It
appears to me that it is an explicitly didactic interpolation when, after
attributing the prosperity of Abraham to the fact that he praised God, the
poet, turning to the audience, states "therefore the generations of men,
the children of baptism, exalt his praise far under the heavens."
(1951b-53a) The poet, then, wishes his audience to measure themselves
against the perfected characters portrayed, to see if they are fit for the
kingdom of heaven when, like Belshazzar, they are "measured and weighed."

God kept His halegut rexor (2116) by giving Abraham the strength
to rescue Lot and the holy treasure when the Sodomites were captured by
the frome folctogon (1961) and their treasure was taken from their sinful
hands as that of the Israelites was seized by the folctogon,Nebuchadnezzar
(19an. 108). Once more, Abraham gives thanks and hands over a tithe of the
booty to the Church. Before the description of the end of the sinful cities,
we are briefly told how God promised Sarah a son and how proud Sarah's hand-
maiden is when she bears a son while her mistress is barren: hire mod osphat
(2237). Because of her pride, she is driven out and sent in exile to the

24Pr 1, 185.
desert. There, like the Babylonian prince, she is humbled by God and
advised in words of wisdom (2298) to return, serve and respect her natural
superiors as their handmaiden.

The pride of Sodom and Gomorrah is symbolized by the lofty city
wall, the high towering halls, the treasure and red gold (2404 ff.). But,
like all proud creatures, they had put their worldly treasures to evil
use and the dygada ulace (2421) repaid God evil for good:

His has wloco onwod and wisedrync
but his firendada to frece vurdon,
synna briste, sod oforgeaton,
drihtnes donas, and hum him dygada forgeaf
blaz on burgum.

(2581-65a)

They are called a hedum folace (2416, 2485) even though they were once a
God-fearing race. Further investigation of this interesting word hedon
would show that all opponents to God’s people, or all who have turned from
Him, are given this epithet. The Jews in Eleno and in Christ and Satan
(538) are called ‘heathen’, just as are Holofernes and Nebuchadnezzar and
men who were probably idol-worshippers from birth. Significantly, the
Daniel poet talked of the Babylonian ruler ‘remembering’ God, suggesting
that the knowledge of God is innate in us all. To be ‘heathen’, to turn
from God, is a deliberate act of will. So the pagans could not be pitied
for not being God-fearing, and their lot would be the same as that of
those who deliberately disobeyed God.25

The poet delights in painting scenes of the hell-fire and brimstone
with the black flame, before the event actually takes place. Lot, ‘wise

25 Such a word study might throw light on the Beowulf, 179 ff.
heduma lyht controversy; the Danes could be God-fearing men, who, in a
time of trouble, as often happened in early Christian times in England,
forsook their God, or, simply, in pride worshipped their worldly possessions
more than Him.
of heart' (2448), remaining dear to God in the camp of the 'enemy', welcomes
God's messengers as is right and fitting (2434), while the evil Sodomites,
gode unleose (2454), wish to destroy them. Lot even suggests that he
might sacrifice his daughters to appease the evil ones, this act reminding
us of Abraham's offer to sacrifice his child. Exiled from the godless land,
he is led in an exodus to a place which can only be the New Jerusalem:

"Ilc wat hea burh herane neah,
lytle ceastro. Lyfad me har
are and reste, but we aldomere
on Sigor up secan moten.
Gif git het staeten fyre willad
steape forstandan, on here stowe we
gesande magon sales bidan,
feorh generigan."

(2519-26)

Lot knows of a place called Sigor, the City of Victory (the poet changes
the biblical Zear), the hea burh, as Jerusalem is called in Daniel (36)
and elsewhere, where that mercy (are) which the Wanderer searches for (1b)
is to be found. Into that lofty stronghold the flames of hell cannot pene-
trate. The destruction takes place when the sun, the folca friccandel
(2541), rises, God's sign of protection to the faithful and of punishment
to the evil (see Middle 6 of the Exeter Book and reference later to the
Paschal Candle in Exodus).

The final episode in Genesis is that of Abraham and Isaac, conclud-
ing the poem on a note of hope and looking forward to the central point in
Christianity when God was to sacrifice His Son to save mankind from sin.
Se eadega Abraham (2926) trusts in God absolutely, to the point of willingly
offering his only child, his most beloved of God's gifts, in sacrifice.
This is the ultimate test of faith and a trial which Abraham survives,
thus reversing the previous error of our first parents, as Christ was
later to do: "For God so loved the world that He gave-His only begotten
Son." Often in Old English poetry Abraham is called the 'father' of mankind and, like God, is seen as the *gamanferht golde brytta* (2866) giving spiritual treasure, wisdom to all.

"Pe wile gasta weard
lissun gyldan but pe wæs leofer his
sibb and hyldo bonne pin sylfes bearn."

(2920-22)

Symbolically, instead of a human victim, God provided a sheep, a lamb of God, to die in Isaac's place. The poem concludes on this note of hope and, as it began, with a joyous prayer of thanksgiving. Man can overcome pride and escape falling from God's grace by continually obeying his Lord, Who, the Old English poet stresses, is the merciful and the source of all goodness. The *Exodus* poem, which directly follows, illustrates God's omnipotence to save the faithful and damn their enemies. It is, therefore, no irrelevant interpolation to find the Abraham and Isaac episode added to the narration in *Exodus* of the Red Sea Crossing; in fact, it serves as a poignant reminder to the audience of God's promise at all times to save his people by sending a leader to guide them to the Promised Land. As the Son He sacrificed descended into the sinful world, and even into the depths of hell, in order to lead the faithful home, so also will He do at the end of each individual life (as specifically seen in the "Prologue" of * Guthlac A*).

*Exodus* traces the wanderings of the faithful, those who do in fact keep *hierna fæder wære* (*Dan. 10b*), through the wilderness of this existence when evil forces press around them as, after having been purified by baptism, they are led by the example of Christ to the Promised Land. Paradoxically, while the final aim of the *Exodus* poet is identical to that of the *Daniel* poet, their methods are different, the latter attempting to frighten
his audience into humble acceptance by associating them with the sinful Israelites and Nebuchadnezzar. Daniel continues the cyclical pattern, which we have traced in Genesis, of man's fall through pride and his later redemption. It might appear, therefore, that Exodus disrupts the unity in the manuscript, as in this poem there is a clear-cut division between the faithful, archetypally good Israelites (with whom the audience would have associated themselves) under Moses and the demonic, irredeemable vilane deode (Exo. 467b), godes ensaen (503), the Egyptians, who, like Satan, bid god wannon (Exo. 515). The theme, however, is very much in line with the rest of the manuscript, concentrating on the fates of the good and the evil rather than showing the conversion of those who previously had fallen. The impotence of the proud, demonic host to attack God's chosen ones is also stressed. As Satan specifically states in Christ and Satan, only if man of his own free will turns from God, can the devil take possession of him and lead him into further sins (cf. Pl 32, 1284 and 1294). Guthlac could be dragged to the gates of hell, just as Christ could be tempted by Satan, but no hams could befall him.

It becomes increasingly more evident to scholars of Exodus that the poet, perhaps more so than any other of the Junius Manuscript poets, is treating his theme metaphorically or, as better describes the process, typologically. Some critics, such as Professors Cross and Tucker, stress that the "allegorical" handling of the theme is the product of a strong patristic influence, while others, such as J. W. Bright, consider that


27 James W. Bright, "The Relation of the Caedmonian 'Exodus' to the Liturgy", MH, XXVII (1912), 97-103.
the greatest influence is liturgical—the liturgy for Holy Saturday. I believe that it is difficult and unnecessary to pin-point an exact influence or source, but rather think of the poet as making use of the accepted theological thought of his day. The actual service and sacraments played a large and living part in the Christian's life, and also the patristic doctrine influenced the writers of the homilies which the poet would frequently have heard. He would have known that both Paul and Peter treated the Red Sea Crossing symbolically as representing the baptismal sacrament:

... all our fathers were under the cloud, and all passed through the sea; And were all baptized unto Moses in the cloud and in the sea... they drank of that Spiritual Rock that followed them: and that Rock was Christ.

I Cor. 10:1-4

The Old Testament narratives of Noah and the Israelite Crossing were seen as forms (Vulgate, 1 Petr. 3:21), symbols of baptism and of Christ's Resurrection, when the worldly part of Him was cast off and His spirit descended to the depths of hell to raise fallen mankind to the heights of heaven. "The Exodus, then," Burlin states, "was a splendid vehicle for the progress of the individual Christian soul, sustained by the sacraments and supported by the Holy Spirit across the wilderness of terrestrial existence to the Promised Land." 29

Professors Cross and Tucker present a number of patristic excerpts

28 Cf. I Peter 3:19-21 "... in the days of Noah, while the ark was a preparing, wherein few, that is, eight souls were saved by water. The like figure whereunto even baptism doth also save us."

29 In Exo. 93-97 the protecting and guiding cloud is called the 

haligas" mantes: cf. also the above Corinthians quotation, "baptized unto Moses in the cloud"—that is, in Christ.

30 Robert B. Burlin, The Advent Lyrics, p. 16.
to show how the early Christians treated the Crossing "allegorically":

Allegorice autem sive Rubrum baptismus est, rubore sanguinis Christi consecratus. Hebraei qui exierunt de Aegypto et transierunt per mare Rubrum, fideles sunt, qui derelinguentes tenebras infidelitatis transierunt per fontem baptismaus. Pharao et Aegyptii mortui sunt in mari, quia in fonte baptismaus mortuus est diabolus, amittendo potestatem quam habebat.

They later change "allegorical" to the representation of "symbolic pictures [which] would occur naturally to a learned Christian's mind." Generally the term "typological" is applied, when the event described is of as great importance as the associated conception(s), which in this case are all the biblical symbols of a dying to the old, evil, worldly self and a resurrection of the innate, primordially pure goodness.

In the liturgy, as Jean Daniélou points out, the catechumen of the early Church re-enacted on the Holy Saturday the original temptation of man; unashamed and naked, trampling the hair cloth of Adam under his feet, he would descend to the waters of death where the evil in him would be purged, the Leviathan killed, and from whence he would re-emerge purified. By interpolating the Noah scene in the midst of the Crossing, the poet wished to make his audience recall the earlier purification of the world and ensure that they would catch the universal and personal relevance of the passage. Similarly, the Andrea poet interrupts his description of the drowning Nomononians to draw directly the parallel with baptism (And. 1636 ff.).

31 Primasius of Hedrumetum, in Epistolae ad Hebraeos Commentaria in Cross/Tucker, 122; cf. also the other patristic writings quoted.
32 Ibid., 123.
33 Like Beowulf descending into Grendel's mere?
The time of year chosen for the sacrament is also highly significant. "By baptism," Tertullian states, "man regains his likeness to God." It was the time of Pasch, when the immolation of the Lamb took place, the blood of which, smeared on the doors of the faithful, was to save them when God punished the wicked Egyptians. This recalled the earlier sacrifice of the sheep which saved Isaac and looked forward to the sacrificial crucifixion at the same Paschal season of the Lamb of God, Who died to redeem the faithful. Quid mare Rubrum, nisi baptismus est Christi sanguine consecratus? It was, therefore, fitting that the Exodus should directly follow the narrative of Abraham and Isaac in Genesis A, and have inserted in it, after the description of Noah, a further reminder of that symbolic scene. The story is not meant purely for a narrative, then, but _haec autem in figura sunt nostrae_—we are meant to follow the example of the Israelites and follow Christ, prefigured in Moses, Who will lead us, after our baptism in His name, to everlasting life. Such a process is fundamental to all humanity, as we noted in the Roman purification ceremonies or in the pre-historical phoenix-symbol emerging victorious from the fire, purged of its old self.

The Israelites are frequently called "Seafarerz" in the Old English poem, on a journey of exile through the fallen world; the Egyptians are the land-dwellers, those whom the Seafarer of the _Exeter Book_ criticizes for thinking only of this world and not setting out on the spiritual journey necessary to reach heaven. When they are forced to leave the land, they meet their spiritual and everlasting death. The waters, then, save the

35 Quoted by Jean Daniélou, p. 26 (in ML I, 1206).
36 Isidore of Seville, quoted by Cross/Tucker, 122.
37 1 Petr. 3:21.
faithful and destroy the powers of darkness, as did the cosmogonic waters, the principal force of Creation. The Israelite 

\textit{amon} (105) is an exile (137), forced to journey on a \textit{ladad} and \textit{bealosed}, as he is separated from his native land. Just as the Holy Ghost moved on the waters of darkness in Genesis, creating cosmos, so also the Spirit of God leads the Israelites across the waters to a land which is described in paradisal imagery. The \textit{bemmas twegen} (94), the poet tells us, represent the Holy Ghost, the power in which we are baptized, leading the Israelites out of bondage, protecting them from the cruel sun by day and, as a pillar of fire, acting as a protection by night and lighting their way. The pillars are, in fact, the Light which the children of Israel follow, leading them to baptism and a paradise regained. Daniélou points out that the catechumens were called the \textit{photizomenoi}, 'those who are coming into the Light', and Zeno of Verona precisely states, \textit{columna viae demonstrans Christus est Dominus}. In the liturgy, the Paschal Candle, at first unlit, then lit, represents the pillar of light and the coming of the Light into the world to guide mankind to his worldly death.

We are buried with Christ by baptism, so that we may rise again with Him.

\textit{St. Gregory of Nazianzen} \textsuperscript{39}

The \textit{Exodus} poem begins with the promise that those who follow the law of Moses, keeping God's covenant, will gain everlasting life; in fact, the entire poem elaborates on and gives an \textit{exemplum} of this promise. The power to save his fellow man is given by God to Moses, who is represented as the archetypally wise, beloved of God from \textit{solcto} (14a), an epithet

\textsuperscript{38}Jean Daniélou, p. 93 (in \textit{Th. 11, 510); cf. John 8:12.

\textsuperscript{39}Ibid., p. 44 (in \textit{Patrologiae Graecae, 36, 369B).}
directly juxtaposed against Parzophone cyn (14b), goddes ansacan (15a). The
demonic Egyptians are described as deade pedrence (34a), an expression
which hints at their later mode of death. Only one of the Egyptian plagues
is mentioned, that of the slaying of the firstborn, significant in the
light of the connection between the Pasch, Easter and baptism which we
have made above. The misery of the Egyptians is excellently portrayed by
the poet in the elegiac imagery of the fall of the dryht-sele when all joy
and treasure depart with the onslaught of tragedy, a passage which might
have come directly from Beowulf after Grendel's attack:

hordweard haere beow was geniwed,
saeufon sealdreamas, since berofene.
Heafde mansecanen set midere niht
srecne gasylled, friwbearns fola,
abrocone burhweardas, Dana wide scarad,
lag leodhale, land dryswyde
dedra hamuna. . .

(35-41a)

When the poet mentions the fact that the Egyptians festen drence (49)
'endured bondage', we realize that he is thinking of the spiritual and
mental loss of freedom, although, paradoxically, it is they who enslave
the spiritually "free" Israelites.

The Israelites endured langne lust leoses sides (53), longing
to leave the fallen regions of darkness, as the patriarchs in hell awaited
the Descent of Christ. Moses, prefiguring Christ, is their saviour, who
leads them out of bondage, accompanied by the cloud, the halyan netto (74),
which protects them from the strong, southern sun and which stretches, like
Christ's Cross from earth up to heaven, another symbol of the God-Man, Who
descended to this world as man's guide. 40 Moses goes before his people
lifveg netan, measuring out the path of life through the wilderness and

40 The protecting and guiding pillars are called bearac, as is
Christ's Cross.
slowly progressing towards their freedom on the other side of the Red Sea, whilst still threatened by the evil ones; they are unclean (137b), seafaring exiles being led by the heavenly secur (81, 89), not, in fact, knowing how the sail operated, only that God honoured the faithful (66-67). This metaphor is particularly effective as it recalls the stock comparison in the elegies of those on a spiritual journey through the world to seafarers. The poet at the same time also reminds us that the Israelites will indeed be seafarers when they cross the Red Sea.

In contrast, the Egyptians are faithless, heathen men, enslaved in sin, paradoxically, although literally free, because were ne fynoden (140b), as the proud Israelites were later to do in Daniel. Like all evil characters, they are described as vlane he mas (170b, 204b), who plot how they might destroy the faithful.

Moses, the shepherd of his kingdom (256b), addresses his people and tells them not to be afraid of the Egyptian advance:

Ne willad cow andredan deede seuden,
sege ferhollocan, fryst is et ende.
Iones lifes. Eow is lar godes
ahroden of breostum. Ic on betern red,
but ge gewuridian wilard alder,
and cow lifircean lissa bidda,
sigora gesynto, ber ge sidien.
His is se eceu Abrahames god,
frumscrafts frea, so das fyrd wered. (266-74)

The demonic dráht, doomed to die, can be of no hindrance to the faithful, and, if the Israelites remember again, like Nebuchadnezzar, the lar godes and pray for his guidance, they will become God's people and be protected by Him. This is the betern red which Moses presents to mankind. Yielding the grene toone (281a), the rod of Moses which would prefigure Christ's Cross, the leader smites the sea, which rises up, forming a walhusu (283),
It strikes the reader as curious that the poet should describe the breach in the Red Sea as both a pathway towards a paradise and also as a paradisal state in itself. However, one remembers that the interior of the Furnace in Daniel was described in apocalyptic imagery, yet was also a transient stage of bliss before a still greater happiness. In Exodus, the space between the walls of water is both *fage foldas* (287), *prenne grund* (312) and *beorhblidu* (449), an archetypal paradisal description, but, curiously enough, it is also seen on the literal level as a city or stronghold with the ramparts and *calde stabolas* (285a), foundations that are old and firm, unlike those of *The Ruin*:

"na se agend up amende
reade streams in rand gebeorn,
Sydon ha forewallas fegre gestepte,
waestliou weglare, od wolene hrof."

(295-98)

It is, therefore, described as the archetypal *dryht-sele* which towers up to heaven. In addition, the seas create a pathway to the Promised Land: *vegas* (283, 458), *hreostneta* (284) and *gelad* (313), over which they crossed *modgade*, keeping the *frodonware* (306). It is significant, I think, that the poet takes pains to point out that each tribe kept its proper place in the hierarchy according to its lineage, as Moses bade them; no man tried to usurp the place of another through pride or fear.

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41 The path is also described as a *beorwelas* (565) between the two seas, the poet here possibly alluding to the triumph of the Israelites.

42 Bosworth does not note this word. There might be a philological case for a translation 'without pride', but as *mod* means 'courage', probably here the poet means 'courageously'. James Bright, *MM*, XVII, 426, has *feda modgode*, but there is little need for such a change.
Him was an fader,
leaf leofleuma,  landriht gèbheh,
frud on ferhde,  freomagum leof.

(353-55)

Such a description of Moses as the beloved father of his people, having in his keeping the landriht, the God-given promise that his people would be given a paradisal home, leads naturally on to the following descriptions of the patriarchs Noah and Abraham, both of whom received similar covenants, were equally beloved of God and kept their faith. Beside hin on hredre halige treoun (366), the poet says of Noah, who was entrusted with the madmahorda mast (368) in his ark to lead to their new home. As previously mentioned, the reference to Noah, followed by one to Abraham, makes the poem more than a mere narrative of a historical event. It brings our attention, which perhaps has been diverted by the excitingly narrated adventure, back to the poet's didactic purpose; namely, that God will keep His covenant with man, given first to Noah and then to Abraham, that He will save all those who believe in and obey Him. In addition, these references bring to mind far wider connotations than the single Red Sea incident, centred on the Crucifixion, which the Abraham and Isaac scene prefigured and which is also at the heart of the baptismal service—man's death to this world and the purification of the worldly evil. Consequently, one hears in the poems of the mutilated carcasses of the evil ones and of much blood in the Red Sea, when the poet, if he had been thinking on a literal level, would have known that drowned bodies are generally intact.

God promises Abraham that his tribe, born free, shall dwell be bæm treocna / od Erinte (443-44), a promise also given to Moses; like Noah, "another selcoda (374)," and his family, the Israelites are the wætæ lifæ, the eæ lifae (370), those who have survived God's punishment of the wicked
world.

The poet then resumes his narrative of the fate of the Egyptians, describing the awful carnage and, in understatement, saying that their pride was now humbled (455; cf. 515). The ramparts of the fortress crumbled and the wicked men were crushed under it. Too late they discovered, just as Satan had done, that God's power was indeed greater than theirs. They were swallowed up by the Leviathan, the deadly sea monster, because he with god wronn (515).

Moses, filled with ece madas (516), preaches to the people and gives thanks to God. This gives the poet an opportunity of preaching to his audience on a theme by now very familiar to us:

\begin{quote}
His is lone dream,
\textit{woman swyrased,} \textit{wrecum alyfed,}
\textit{camara ambid,} \textit{Edellese}
\textit{byane gyastele} \textit{gihum healdad,}
\textit{munned on mode,} \textit{munhus witon}.
\end{quote}

(532-36)

After the brief time of exile will come the Day of Judgement, when Christ Himself will judge mankind and lead the souls of the blessed eadige mystas (545) to heaven, where they will praise God for ever and ever. This is the theme which Christ and Satan will take up, narrating the Domescag events on a literal level.

Moses, then, has descended into the depths, as Christ was to do, making it by his presence a heavenly place and leading the faithful up to their native home—\textit{pole was on landa} (567). The waldren beam (568), the guiding and protecting pillar of cloud sent by God and prefiguring the Cross, had led them there. On the far shore they found that their captivity was now over, their bonds broken (564) and in the new land they divided the 'treasure', giving thanks to God. The poet summarizes the theme of his
work:

"gif ge gehealded halige lare,
gat ge feonda gehwone ford ofergangad,
geseitted sigorice be sum twecnum,
beorsecas beorna. Bid eowor blad miscel!" (561-64)

In Daniel, as we have already seen, the fate of the Israelites is further narrated. It is not the reward of the faithful that is stressed, but rather the idea that men must guard against falling into the sin of pride whilst enjoying prosperity and having no need of a guardian. In the biblical narrative of Exodus, the children of Israel had far to go after having crossed the Red Sea, but, for the purposes intended by the Old English poet, the New Jerusalem had been reached immediately after their baptism into the faith. Daniel continues the recurring pattern of man, forgetful of God's great goodness to him as he enjoys wealth and power, in violence thinking himself capable of continued, if not everlasting, bliss by his own powers, thus incurring the wrath of God.

It is in the final poem of the Junius Manuscript that the answer to man's dilemma is explicitly given and the example of Christ described on a literal level, thus completing the linear pattern of man, having lost paradise, able to regain it once more through Christ.

We have already seen that much controversy surrounds Christ and Satan and that, subject matter aside, there is no evidence or reason to believe that the poem was appended heterogeneously to the manuscript at a later date. Scholars also fail to find any source for the poem or even for the individual sections other than the fact that the apocryphal Nicodemus has influenced the second episode, the "Descent into Hell". Nicodemus is also often quoted as the source of this popular subject in many other Old English works; e.g., Christ II and The Descent into Hell of the Exeter
Book, as well as various prose narratives. The theme fascinated the medieval imagination and the Christ and Satan poet might just have used the popular exemplum from his own memory. Because of the large amount of explicit didacticism and at times heavy-handed preaching, the poem might very well have been composed as a homily.

The subject matter, far from being disconnected, I see as being both unified in conception and thematically important in the entire manuscript. The poet completes on the literal level the linear pattern we have seen hinted at throughout the preceding poems, which are Christocentric only by allusion and association. Noah, Moses, and Daniel all prefigure Christ as redeemers of a fallen world, and their symbolic action—the leading the faithful to their baptism by water or fire—prefigures Christ's baptism and His later death to the world in the Crucifixion. Conversely, the narration of Christ's life and death in the poem conjures up the previous scenes in the Old Testament narratives—"in the New Testament, the meaning of the Old becomes clear."43 The concluding scene of the poem and the manuscript is, I believe, highly significant. The temptation of the second Adam by Satan proudly to accept the rule of the world, to turn from God and think of worldly things, is successfully overcome. Just as Milton added a Paradise Regained after his great epic, so also the Old English poet figuratively restores man to his initial, prelapsarian position and in so saving him, gives all mankind the perfect example of how each one has in his power, if successfully refusing Satan's temptation to be proud, the ability to become Christ-like and, by humbly obeying one's natural superior, to achieve eternal freedom.

43 St. Augustine, quoted by Robert B. Burlin, p. 5.
The most striking addition to the story of the fall of the angels, with which the poem opens, is the poet's treatment of Satan. Miss Woolf's claim of a heroic, courageous Satan appealing to the Germanic imagination of the Old English audience is quite refuted by this poem, although having some truth in Genesis B. The Satan here is a pathetic, lamenting creature, regretting that he ever disobeyed God, and the target for the abuse of his demonic followers. The reader is as surprised by such a conception of Satan as Marlowe's Faustus is when the pathetic Mephistopheles pleads with the protagonist to reconsider his decision, for the lot of a fiend is not what it is made out to be! The unambiguous portrayal in both the Old English poem and in Marlowe's Faustus of a pathetic and unattractive devil avoids the division of loyalties which the reader of the Miltonic Satan might have. Hell is a state of mind ("Why this is hell nor am I out of it") rather than a location, and the Old English poet's aim is to paint hell in such revolting colours that no man would wish to see it.

The poem opens with the by now familiar prayer to God, akin to "Cædman's Hymn", in which His omnipotence in the Creation is praised. That the poet is more interested in his didactic purpose than in keeping strictly to biblical fact (as seen in the unchronological arrangement of the sections) is apparent when he places man before the angels in his list of the creatures who initially enjoyed prosperity and later fell, because of their pride, from God's protection:

Dubhe him in node bæt hit mihte swa,
 hwelc wera on scelfe stegles brutan. (22-23)

---

45 him could mean either the angels alone or man and the angels. The poet, in any case, is stating that both fell because of pride.
The rest of this section, lines 19-364, is an elaborate exemplum of the paradox that he who wishes proudly to gain a higher position will find himself the lowest in the hierarchy and that he who is proud of any of his worldly gifts of power, beauty or liberty will lose them all and find himself in a hell in which there is not an ounce of enjoyment in devilish pursuits, with no hope of achieving any better fate:

... and the [Satan] betran ham
for oferhygdum wfire ne wene."

(49-50)

The persistent chorus of fallen angels heaps more coals, metaphorically, on the fire:

Duan the annam, het du abstel alle gewald,
beofnes and corpan, were halig god,
seypend scelfa.

(55-57)

It is for oferhygdum (69), they repeatedly claim, that they have lost the light (68) of their Lord, find themselves in eternal darkness with their beauty marred like Milton's Satan, and grow more and more corrupt. (We might recall how the baptismal fire in the Fiery Furnace left the Youths' beauty quite unblemished.)

Lucifer gives, as his emissary did in Juliana, a long account of his life story for the benefit of the audience. He tells how he was exiled from a heaven which he describes in heroic terms as a wlonere wimselc (93) and which is endowed with spiritual riches and andizs tir (92), an expression which reminds one of the beorscelc created in the Red Sea. He then becomes the archetypal wanderer:

"Fordon ic acclan hcean and eam
weorcse mey wido;
waden weclingas, valdre beneced,
hecstum baled, manigne deam agan
uppe mid englan, ges de ic en gced
het ic were scelfa angles bytt a
wihta wealden. Ac hit ne wyrse gelong!"

(119-124)
The 'worse fate' is an eternal life of hellish torture, vividly described by the poet. There is not even any enjoyment in tempting man, for he can injure only those who have already turned from God of their own free will. Guthlac cannot be forced into hell by the demons, and the doors are open to monsters only in a dryht-seale which is not God-protected. Those proud ones whom Satan brings into bondage (as Nebuchadnezzar enslaved the Israelites), paradoxically those who wish to be free from serving God, become slaves in hell. The edige of corban (266a) cannot be harmed, only the hehenre sceale (267b) godes anseacen (268b), who turn from God for oferhydun (226a).

As the patriotic writers stated, one becomes more and more wounded by sin and pierced by the arrows of pride.46 Turning to his audience as he frequently does, the poet states:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Wet ic nu } & \text{ ba} \\
\text{hit bid alles les} & \text{scan dreams} \\
\text{se de heosencyninge} & \text{heran ne henced,} \\
\text{meotode cweman}. & \text{(180-83)}
\end{align*}
\]

Take heed, he continues, that you do not commit the same fault as Satan for oferhydun (196), but remember righteousness and truth, giving thanks to God and praying for His ara (203), with wisdom (206) in our hearts. If we do this, we shall find a grene stute (266) stretching up to the heavens (such as the paradisical road through the Red Sea) where we shall have se torhte tramlicen hom (293) with heorhte burhwealles (294a)—the symbol of

46 The anthropomorphized Cross in The Dream of the Rood repeats the same words as Satan in Christ and Satan:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{and ic synnum fah} & \text{Ne ic eom dedum fah} \\
\text{forward mid worman} & \text{gewunded mid worman (XIII. 155-56)} \\
\text{(Parl. 13-14)} & \text{(Parl. 13-14)}
\end{align*}
\]

Both acknowledge their sinful, fallen state when confronted by the purity of Christ.
The civitas Dei with Christ as the Corner-stone, Wel is ham de hest wyrcan mot (364), the poet concludes, reminding us strongly of Beowulf 166b-68. The second section, generally called "The Descent into Hell," begins with a further reminder of Satan's fall and the descent from light to darkness of the wælan ordfyrn (373). The poet then describes the descent of the Light (i.e., of Christ) into the darkness and the terror and confusion that ensues amongst the fiends. Christ, the second Adam, raises the cadige saule / Adames cyn (405-06) from hell to their 'native home' in order to fulfil God's covenant. Eve, unnecessarily but providing an opportunity for a homiletic interpolation, pleads with Christ to free the faithful from hell, retelling the story of the Fall. The host now follow Christ, as the Israelites had followed Moses, up from the regions of darkness to the waldres leocht (447), returning to their native earde (456a, 504a), to sange hurh (457):

Hæfe þa druhten sealf dead oferwunnen,  
feond geflæsde; þat in surnagiðu  
witegan sedon þat he sva wolde.  

(460-62)

So the prophecies were fulfilled and Christ conquered death, showing, like Juliana or Guthlac, that worldly bodies are of no consequence, and how each one can overcome the satanic powers of evil. This is the theme of the final section of the poem: how mankind can and must follow the example of the second Adam and not yield to pride.

Christ narrates in brief scenes the central episodes in the Christian religion: man's fall through disobedience, his expulsion from Eden and exile along the road leading to hell, where nothing could help him

nimde helend gæð,  
se þat wite ær to weorc gesette.  

(491-92)
Christ came to earth to save fallen man and was crucified by the heathen men (538a), the Jews:

He on beame astah and his blod ageat,  
god on galgan, burn his gastes magen.  

(547-48).

This is the central moment in Christianity which the Old Testament prophesies and the Junius Manuscript alludes to from the first mention of the bean in Eden and which is prefigured in the sacrifices of the faithful, such as that of Abraham. After this climax, the poet turns to his audience and exhorts them to give thanks continually for His sacrifice,

\[ \text{pes de he us of haftum ham gelede}\]  
up to edle, har we agan socioen  
struknes domas,  
and we in wyman wanian moton.  
Us is vuldres lecht  
torht ontyned, pam de teala henced. 

(549-56)

The second section concludes with a vision of Doomsday, when the good and evil will be separated, as happened when Christ harrowed hell. The faithful will pass through golden gates *gimman gefrettede* like the Cross in The Dream of the Rood (6-7 and 16-17), while the accursed are sent to hell.

The poet has, then, traced the story of men and the angels from their creation to an apocalyptic vision of the end of the middangeard, in the hope that his contemporaries, placed somewhere between the times of Christ and Doomsday which was thought to be well nigh, might leave their evil ways, which are compared to those of Satan, especially his pride. We have, he states, the perfect model in Christ of how to ward off the wiles of Satan, and so it is only fitting that the poet should conclude his poem with the example of how the God-Man overcame the temptation of pride, the insidious sin which leads man out of the heaven on earth to
become an exile. Significantly, the poet concentrates on that temptation in which Lucifer tries to get Christ to usurp His Father's role and become ruler of the world. Christ realizes the utter folly of this and orders Satan back to hell, his 'grave house', showing the power of good over evil, of light over darkness. The poem concludes with Christ's curse on Satan 'because he did not wish for good'.

"Ut on la, gebencan geond þam vorulde,
bet we halende heran on engimen!
Goome þurh godes life gemanan gastes bled
hu ealige þær uppe sittead
selfe mid swegle, sumu halendes!" (641-46)

There is, I hope to have shown on a superficial level, a continuity and a unified purpose in the compilation of the Junius Manuscript from the initial exhortation in Genesis to praise God, a command repeatedly broken by mankind because of their pride and lack of wisdom in realizing that the only true freedom is in the service of God, to the final, triumphant scene of the successful overthrow of evil, which sets an example to all men to order Satan, "Cor de on becling" (697).

[The characters] portray a warfare, expressed in terms of Christian faith, between the powers of light and the powers of darkness, . . . the great drama unfolds in universal space, through infinite time. Amid the thunder of an elemental struggle man's life is born upon the green earth. The powers of evil for a moment prevail; the sky darkens and man goes forth to exile . . . an abiding sense of God's covenant with His people binds into unity these tales of His loving guidance or stern correction.47

The Covenant to man and man's need to praise God in return are indeed pre-dominant in the manuscript. But the method the poet uses, except perhaps

47 Kennedy, The Cædmon Poems, lxix and lxx.
in Exodus, is more to frighten an audience, whose faith might still be unstable, into rejecting the ever-present dangers of sin, especially during a period of prosperity and peace when the cancerous sin of pride might pervert the mind of the Christian. He might be lulled into thinking that his power is invincible and that nothing could challenge his position. Like Satan in his ofermod or oferhymne, he might consider himself a god and think it unnecessary to praise his Lord. Or else his worldly wealth and power might convince him of his self-sufficiency and tempt him in his silence to worship his transient, God-given gifts more than his God.

It is for this reason that I see the poems as a warning against the iniitiua peccati, superbia, the sin that struck at the roots of the entire medieval society, morals and religion. The antidote is to be found in Christ's example, the epitome of humility, on whom the poetry is largely focused, albeit metaphorically in the first three poems.
CONCLUSION

We have, therefore, traced the theme of pride in Old English poetry from an initial, philological study of the individual words for pride to a final discussion of the importance of the theme in the entire poetic corpus, concluding that the poetry is largely thematic in content.

The lexical differences between $mod$, $bygg$, $ofermod$, $ofenhyge$ and $elenco$ both from etymological evidence and from an analysis of the words in their poetic context were investigated, and a distinction made between the heroic, praiseworthy $mod$ or $bygg$, words also used to describe the Christian, noble pride, and the very "human" pride of $elenco$. In the "heroic" verse, $elenco$, we noticed, described the courageous virtue, the desire to win $lof$ and $dom$, which was the pagan consolation; while in the "Christian" verse, in which an after-life was offered, $elenco$ became the sin of worshipping such worldly things as power or possessions more than God. The poet of the "Christian" verse, however, dipping into the poetic 'word-hoard' to describe the martial saints or the battle between good and evil, would often use $elenco$ in a favourable sense. Significantly, $elenco$, associated frequently with other sins such as gluttony or avarice, is used in the elegies to denote the sinful pride that makes man prefer to choose the transient comforts of this life instead of setting out humbly on a spiritual pilgrimage, a finding which might aid our interpretation of these often enigmatic poems. In the poetry we noted that without exception $ofermod$ and $ofenhyge$ referred to the evil pride, the heinous crime of disrupting the hierarchically-formed heroic $comitatus$ system, and the Christian
sin of pride (sin etymologically meaning rebellion or breach of a covenant), which disrupts the heavenly and worldly perfected ayhts, the spiritual hierarchy.

Logically following these findings, in which the meanings of the words studied sometimes changed depending on whether the verse was "Christian" or "heroic", came an examination of the interweaving of heroic and Christian elements in Anglo-Saxon poetry, a union which was as natural as the adoption by the early Christian missionaries, with their policy of converting by persuasion rather than by force, of native, pre-Christian elements in the thought and practices of the new Church. The poet, although greatly indebted to patristic writings, did not slavishly follow them, but with surprising success fused certain of their theological concepts, especially those ambivalently heroic and Christian such as the sin of ofermod and oferbyrd, into his verse, which had its origins in a pre-Christian era. Pride, then, was considered the most dangerous of the cardinal sins in Anglo-Saxon England, not only because this was the teaching of the Church Fathers, but also because the act of striving to gain a higher position in the social hierarchy than was naturally allotted to one (an action applauded today) struck at the very roots of the rigid, medieval hierarchy, which would topple if undermined, as would a pyramid if any one of its constituent parts were removed.

While analyzing the poetry itself, we traced the pattern, which occurs with almost monotonous regularity all through the Junius Manuscript, of man's fall, like Lucifer's, because of pride and his later regeneration. The poet frequently changes his biblical source material, even to the extent of calling God "the Son of God" in Daniel, and chooses those sections of the
narratives which stress this circular pattern. The inclusion of Christ and Satan by the compiler of the manuscript is of great importance, for this poem both repeats the pattern, describing man's fall and his redemption through Christ, and also, like the New Testament, completes the cyclical process by showing Christ as the second Adam, successfully overcoming the original temptation proudly to defy His Lord. It also provides an example to mankind by showing that he too need not necessarily fall through pride like the heroes and heroines of the poetry, who prefigure or follow Christ's example.

This repeatedly narrated theme and the implied didacticism rarely become monotonous because of the Old English poet's ability to allude to paradisal or demonic states by his use of stock epithets and metaphors. In a language still uncluttered by semantic shift, the attribution of ofemed to Nebuchadnezzar, accompanied by such epithets as eden, eddihond and wyrrstanes, would immediately associate him with Satan and the other demonic characters in the poetic corpus. Similarly, by describing the later "exile" of the Babylonian ruler in imagery identical to that of all archetypal "wanderers" from Adam onwards, the poet is enabled to bring to the attention of his audience the macrocosmic story of the universe, thus underlining his didactic aim.

Largely through this study of the language and the imagery, I finally reached the conclusion that the poetry was more thematic and metaphorical than narrative, an interpretation of the poetic corpus which I had previously considered to be over-imaginative. When one carefully and systematically reads through the poetry, one becomes aware of the inescapable fact that similar words, metaphors or half-lines are constantly
recurring in like occasions, and thus the over-all pattern gradually emerges.

To claim that the major theme of the Junius Manuscript is that of pride appears at first questionable, when we consider the innumerable other themes which we have briefly touched upon. However, since the poetry was primarily didactic, the basic aim of the poets was to urge their audience to follow the example of Christ, an example reflected in the various Christ-like heroes and heroines of the poetry, and not that of worldly men, who are directly compared to the demonic figures. And, as the poets, who were so fascinated and terrified by this theme, considered the sin of pride to be the root of all evil which first brought into this world disorder, unhappiness and a disruption of the divinely-ordained plan, their main object would be to warn their audience not to commit the iniuria peccati and thus forfeit the kingdom of heaven. Man must use his God-given gifts, the poets stress, not as an end in themselves, but humbly in the service of his Lord. So the manuscript begins with and continually repeats a doxology in praise of God, following the pattern of that first "Hymn" of Caedmon.
APPENDIX A

OTHER WORDS FOR PRIDE

1. There are many words which can be compounded with mod to express pride:

(a) heahmod, heahmodnes; e. g., in Phoenix 111-12; heahmod means 'great, noble pride' akin to that of Christ:

Sibban hine sylline after sundplegan
heahmod heleo on heanne beame.

In Daniel the compound is used to describe sinful pride:

as his mod astah
heah fram heortan; he has hearde ongeald. (596b-97),

as also in Ye Inglorey 54-55:

heahmod heleo, as secal hean wesan
after neosibba niher gebiged.

(b) The adjective swidmod, as mod itself, can mean either 'brave' or 'proud', though the prefix intensifies the stem word.

Nebuchadnezzer is called as swidmod cyning (Dan. 528) and
swidmod in sefan (605). Similarly, Helofernes is called
swidmod sines beytta (Jud. 30). On two occasions in
Solomon and Saturn, swidmod is used (92 and 121).

2. Hale, adjective, originally meaning 'stomach', has come to mean in Old English 'arrogance' or 'pride'; e. g.,

as him [Lucifer] se mara mod getwæfde,
hale forgiged. Pa he gebolgen weard. (Gen. 53-54)

The same half line occurs in Judith 265b-67a:

Assyria weard
on dan dageworce dom geswidmod,
hale forgiged.
And in Vainglory 28 the verb hecelan 'to be vainglorious' is also found.

3. Frest, adjective, 'obstinate', 'proud'; e. G.,

\[
\begin{array}{c}
hone he [God] yrringa \\
\text{la} \text{yp} \text{un} \text{word} \text{um},
\end{array}
\]

(describing the hell-dwellers, while in Julianz, a voice from heaven tells the saint:

"Frofhe hone frostgan [the devil] ond fryste geheald, \\
ephet he his sidifet sege mid ryhte. . . . (284-85)

In Andreas 566b-71, Christ tells Andreas that God never revealed any part of the marvels of Christ's time on earth fryste hisede beforan (571). And the Heresidenians are called his fryste folc (1506) who are to be drowned in a flood sent by God.

In Vainglory 48 we hear of the fryste lif of the God-less.

4. Gal generally means 'lust!', 'folly', 'wantonness'; but would appear on a few occasions to mean 'pride'. Folly, in medieval thought, was considered a sin. So Gordon translates Hie hyra gal beawac / engles oferhyd. (Gen. 327b-28) 'Their pride played them false, the angels' presumption.'

In Christ 1034a, in the expression godes ohbe galcs, it would certainly mean simply 'evil'.

In Judith 61, Holofernes is termed galferhd, which is often translated as 'the proud spirited one', but would equally mean 'the lustful or sinful one' as in the expression Gwait da se deofulcumsa, / galferhd gysena dreata. (61-62)

And in Genesis 3 34a, it is Satan's galseine that angered God.

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Again the word could equally well be translated by 'folly' or 'sin'.

5. Anhydug, referring to Nebuchadnezzar in Daniel 604, was translated offic calle men, might mean simply 'perversion' or else 'proud in his singleness of mind'. It is etymologically related with anhaga, 'he who meditates alone', which is an alternative reading for The Wanderer 1a, anhaga, referring to the exile for God. Self-isolation could either take the form of the self-regarding pride of Nebuchadnezzar or the saintly isolation from the things of this world, like that of the Christian anchorite.

6. Amsedla, amsedla; e. g., Christ and Satan 426-27

swylice him [devil] wulder cyning
for amsedlan eorre geworden.

Satan is punished for dan amsedlan be his ar dragon (74), and Belshazzar is accused of pride by Daniel:

Pu for amsedlan in eht here
huslafatu halegu, on hand weran.

(Dan. 747-78)


8. Modern English 'pride' is not of Germanic but of Italic origin. In English, the word does date back to Old English times, pryto (-u) str. fem. or pryte, wk. fem. O.N. prydi. As with alance, the word meant 'ornamentation' or 'bravery' as well as 'pride'. The word, so far as I can determine, is never used in poetry, only in prose. Possie von der Art der altniederischen aber war sicher alles andere als fremdwortfremdlich.

The word was probably formed around mid-tenth century to translate superbia and is borrowed from Old French prud, prod, 'valiant', 'brave', itself coming from late Latin prode, 'useful', 'advantageous', a back-

2Hans Schubring, Superbia, p. 123.
formation of Latin prodesse, 'to be useful'.

9. Punic, 'to be prominent or erect', can also mean 'to be proud'. Mackie renders the unclear line in The Rime of the Remp (16b) as 'I was puffed up with power', a reading Grein and Sieper also give. Krapp and Dobbie prefer 'as long as power was to me'.

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3 The Rime of the Remp, 194, Part II, 56.
4 Ibid., 57.
5 III, 167, translation and notes on 312.
APPENDIX B

THE INTERPOLATION OF DANIEL B

Up to line 278, the poet has described briefly but adequately the miracle of the youths in the furnace, the angel of God descending to protect them, Nebuchadnezzar's amazement, which led to his acknowledgment of God's might. The narrative seems to continue again after line 439, when the Babylonian king is seen restoring the Israelites' fame. Apparently interpolated into this account are lines 279-439, beginning with "Azarish's Prayer" (279-332), which appears to be a plea to God to save the youths, after they had already been rescued. This is followed by a narrative passage (332-61), repeating the events recounted in lines 234-40. The "Song of the Youths" (362-415), a lengthy doxology, in which God is thanked for everything in the universe, is finally followed by the narrative of the royal treatment given the youths, a description which is to be repeated in lines 459 ff. Gollancz calls the passage, ll. 279-439, Daniel B and thinks, like the majority of critics, that the passage is interpolated. ¹ Apart from the fact that the chronology of events in the narrative is quite upset by the interpolation, it is written in a far more lyrical style than Daniel A and is frequently identical to the Azarish's Prayer of the Exeter Book; for example,

There are, however, a number of dissimilarities (e.g., Aze. 36 and Dan. 316; Aze. 46 and Dan. 329; Aze. 57-58, etc.) which may be evidence of a common source rather than of direct borrowing. "The Song of the Youths" (Dan. 362-408, Aze. 73-161) is both in a metrical passage of the Vulgate Daniel, Cap. 3:52-90, and in the canticle version of the Vespasian Psalter with its Old English gloss. 2

The Psalter version omits the Vulgate refrain of Benedictus....., Domino....., laudate et superexaltate eum, while the Exeter Book version of the "Hymn" differs radically from the Daniel B doxology, although both versions, as well as the Vulgate and Psalter, repeat in the same order the elements to be blessed:

sol et luna, stellae caeli, ignis et aetmas,
noctes et dies, lux et tenebrae (Vulgate, Cap. III; 62-72)

sun and mona, stearan heofonan, fyrr and
sunur, neht and dag, destran and leht (Psalter)

sunna and mona, heofonsteorran, fyrr and
beorch sunur, nght soned and dag, leecth and
pestro (Dan. 369-75)

There is little doubt that the interpolation of Daniel B and the Azarinclude of the Exeter Book are much later than Daniel A. Stanley Greenfield suggests A. D. 700 for Daniel A and the ninth century for the others. 3

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The most sensible theory would be that the eighth century poet of Daniel A in his attempt to concentrate on Nebuchadnezzar in preference to the Hebrew youths and Daniel, deliberately omitted the Vulgate "Hymnus", mentioning only briefly the miracle in the furnace and dealing more with the effect upon the king. It is likely that the poet's omission was noticed and that a different, complete poem, which might have been the source of Azariah in the Exeter Book, was added. The location of Daniel B in Daniel A is correct for the "Hymnus", but incorrect for the "Prayer". The problem of which poem influenced the other is highly complex and not relevant to this study: "we may have to do with different poems and versions by the same author, or with collaborations, or with dependence on common sources", Krapp vaguely sums up the problem. What is of interest to this study is to show that Daniel B is a later interpolation and that the Daniel A poet consistently omitted all material from his biblical source which was not pertinent to his aim, his warning against Pride.

\[\text{\textsuperscript{4}PR I, "Introduction", xxxiii.}\]
APPENDIX C

LIST OF REFERENCES TO THE PATROLOGIAE LATINAE


32 Confessio omn. S. Augustini; Retractationum. St. Augustine.
34 De Genesi Contra Manichaeos; De Vera Religione. St. Augustine.
36 Enarrationes in Psalmos. St. Augustine. (Ps. 1-79).
37 Enarrationes in Psalmos. St. Augustine. (Ps. 80-150).
40 De Fide et Operibus. St. Augustine.
41 De Civitate Dei. St. Augustine.
42 De Natura Boni Contra Manichaeos; De Trinitate. St. Augustine.
49 Opera Omnia (De Spiritu Superbiae). John Cassian.
75 Moralia I. St. Gregory.
76 Moralia II. St. Gregory.
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