

FORESTS OF THOUGHT AND FIELDS OF
PERCEPTION: LANDSCAPE AND
COMMUNITY IN OLD ENGLISH POETRY

by

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Abstract.

Old English poetry is centred on the concept of community and the importance of belonging. Landscape was a component of any community since, during the period when Old English poetry was being composed and written down, the landscape was a far more important constituent of daily life than it is for the majority of people today.

Landscape dictated the places that could be settled, as well as the placing of the paths, fords, and bridges that joined them; it controlled boundaries, occupations, and trading routes. In the poetry of the period landscape, as part of the fabric of community, is the arbiter of whether each element of a community is in its proper place and relationship to the others. It is the means of explaining how a community is constructed, policed, and empowered. Erring communities can be corrected or threats averted through the medium of landscape which also positions communities in place and time. Landscape is presented as the cause of dissension in heaven, the consequent creation of hell, and the key to comprehension of the fundamental difference between them. The linguistic landscapes of Old English poetry are a functional component of the meaning inherent in the narratives.

Dedication.

For Gnome, who introduced me to Old English poetry

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Abbreviations

ASPR	The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records
DOE	Dictionary of Old English A-H online

Introduction

Landscape holds a rather inconspicuous place in Old English poetry. This thesis originated in an attempt to discover the function of such an apparently minor component of the texts. Closely analysing the poems, the vocabulary, phrases and formulæ used in connection with topographical features, revealed that landscapes in the Old English poetic corpus engage fully with both events and protagonists to widen and deepen the meaning, to explain and describe things that are not otherwise explicit in the texts. They are neither panoramic verbal visualisations nor a backdrop for the narrative action. As is demonstrated in this dissertation, through the narrative context the landscapes of the poetry articulate the perceptions of the Anglo-Saxons as regards the way the world is structured and functions, in particular its ordering on both a microcosmic and macrocosmic scale.

The basis of order in Old English poetry is the community, which is a central motif in the poetry of the period: ‘a concern with ideas of community and of the relationship of individuals to communities is widely evident in surviving Old English poetic texts’.¹ The structure of community as it is revealed in the poetry is one of innate orderliness; each component of any community has its own function and position, and it is only when all are in place and fulfilling their purpose that the community as a whole can work smoothly. The importance that the poetry attaches to the concept of a rightful habitation for every element is demonstrated by the final line of *The Dream of the Rood*. The culmination of Christ’s triumph is not glory, honour, and praise, but that he came ‘þær his eþel wæs’ (where his homeland was, line 156). His sacrificial acts, the power he displays in liberating souls from hell, his rejection of Satan’s temptations, his redemption of humanity, result simply in his return home.

¹ Hugh Magennis, *Images of Community in Old English Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p.1.

The climax of the poem is that he is now in his rightful place, his homeland, his native land. He is in the place where it is right and proper that he should be, in his own community of heaven.

In the poetry of the period, the concept of community and the rightful place of each element of which it is composed, is extended, not only to the whole of creation, but beyond it to such abstractions as qualities and emotions. It is universal in application: such disparate entities as wisdom, hills, kings, nations, and worlds, are all part of some kind or type of community and have their own appointed position within it. The relationship of each element with all the others and the interactions between them are what form a community and this is only possible when each individual part, every single thing of whatever type or origin, is both functioning and positioned correctly. Landscape is a fundamental part of the structure of thoughts and ideas that inform the concept of what the Anglo-Saxons understood a community to consist of, and how it should function. It is the contention of this thesis that landscape is the poetic arbiter of what is right in this context. The rightness of something may be expressed in terms of space, place, location, or time; it is not a human-based legal, moral, or ethical correctness but a more absolute constituent of the structure of the cosmos. That being so, there is no questioning, in the poetic corpus, as to why things should be thus arranged, only a developing exploration of how they work together when each is in its rightful habitation, the consequence of which is the ordered cosmos. Landscape is the means of expressing whether an individual or a community is in its proper place and therefore in a satisfactorily harmonious relationship with the remainder of its own community or with other communities or with God.

The research that yielded these insights was, firstly, a detailed examination of the entire corpus of Old English poetry to see how much landscape it contained and of

what type. This included making my own translations of many of the texts which appeared to make significant use of landscape. The production of a database containing all instances and their place in the poems was the next stage, once it became apparent that landscape was a feature of many more of the poems than is usually recognised, but in ways that do not conform to a modern understanding and categorisation of landscape features. The vocabulary that these texts employ, it was clear, is governed more strongly by the demands of the verse form as to stress and alliteration than it is by any attempt to depict a visualised geographical setting for the narratives, whether imaginary or otherwise.

Studying the landscape through the medium of the database, differences of genre were revealed to be insignificant in the Anglo-Saxon understanding and appreciation of landscape. Landscape is a constant presence throughout the corpus but the use that is made of it in the texts is incremental rather than immediate in each case; studying the poems in detail shows an awareness of landscape as a component of daily life and a constituent of what is to be understood by community. The texts that have been analysed in this study are therefore those which exemplify most clearly the cast of mind that appreciated landscape as part of the fabric of society, regardless of any genre or categorisation that might be applied in regards to purpose or function.

In this study, I argue, therefore, that the landscapes of Old English poetry provide not only a context in which human activity and experience in any communal eventuality can be situated, but a means by which it can be expressed and a mode through which it can be understood. Landscape is the component of community which expresses the workings of the whole; the human element is inevitably foregrounded as poetic narrative provides a testing ground and an exemplar for the conduct of daily life: 'poetic narrative consistently tested accumulated wisdom about the foundations

of society's integrity'.² Landscape is a fundamental part of the complexity of thoughts and ideas that informed these works; as such it is both a narrative technique for their expression and the basis of their structure. Hence, the way a society functions, the interrelationships on which it is based, its values, rules, what is included and excluded, even the emotions and psychology of its inhabitants may be delineated, explored, and expressed in terms of landscape.

What is to be understood by the term landscape here is, as indicated above, not something predominantly visual, nor a historical resource, as is the case with landscape studies.³ In his work on settlement patterns and their relationship to topography Williamson observes that scholars have often employed what he considers 'an entirely false dichotomy between "human choice" and "geographical determinism"'. In his view, 'choices were for the most part intelligently made, by people knowledgeable about material conditions, and the physical results thus reflected, to a significant extent, the spatial character of the natural environment.'⁴ Settlement patterns, in other words, were the result of an understanding of the topography and resources mediated by human needs. This does still insist on the compartmentalisation of two different things, labelled separately as people and nature, however much the resultant settlement patterns reveal a collaboration between them.

Landscape in this dissertation accords more closely with the views promulgated by Jones and Semple on the understanding of place-names and the opposition between topographical and habitative features therein:

might we interpret places in –ford not just as river crossing but "places where

² Peter Clemoes, *Interactions of Thought and Language in Old English Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. xi.

³³ See, for instance, W. G. Hoskins, *English Landscapes: How to Read the Man-Made Scenery of England* (London: British Broadcasting Corporation, 1973) or Della Hooke, *Landscape: the Richest Historical Record* (Birmingham: Society for Landscape Studies, 2000).

⁴ Tom Williamson, *Environment, Society and Landscape in Early Medieval England* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2012), p.4.

people crossed the river”)? Similarly, should we really visualize a term such as *leah* – not strictly a habitative name of course – as a woodland clearing, isolated stand of trees, or wood-pasture depending on your outlook as we have been taught to do with a topographical name, or instead read between the lines and see it as meaning “area where we pannage our pigs, area where we collect firewood or go hunting, or area where people live in dispersed settlement?”⁵

This is an approach that unites the topography with the experience of living in it, and, further, challenges the perception of landscape as somehow external to humanity.

That is to say, it becomes part of life, not an adjunct or accompaniment:

It is often said that there exists at the heart of all landscape history a feedback loop which sees people shaping landscape and landscape shaping people. While this suggests a close relationship between the two, it still insists upon a separation. It might work for the modern world but not for all earlier periods. For Anglo-Saxons such a distinction would not have been drawn. For them people were landscape and landscape was people.⁶

This attitude to landscape is entirely in accord with that to be found in the Old English poetic corpus; there the community includes all aspects of material surroundings in addition to the human component. Community is an entity which encompasses what our modern appreciation would see as separate divisions of being (see above) as simply elements of a united whole.

A further example of the desire to compartmentalise can be seen in the field of critical scholarship, where a study can be called by such subdivisions as feminist, or post-colonial, or Marxist criticism, to name but a few. The latest arrival on the critical scene is what has become generally referred to as ecocriticism. This arose some years ago, possibly in response to the developing field of landscape studies and possibly, also, as a consequence of the increasing awareness of threats to the environment from a rising human population, its overuse and wastage of resources and the consequent loss of species and habitats. Glotfelty, one of the pioneers of this field of study, sees it as part of this wider preoccupation: ‘most ecocritical work shares a common

⁵ Richard Jones and Sarah Semple, eds., *Sense of Place in Anglo-Saxon England* (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2012), p.13.

⁶ Jones and Semple, p.14.

motivation: the troubling awareness that we have reached the age of environmental limits, a time when the consequences of human actions are damaging the planet's basic life support systems.'⁷ Coupe, who prefers the term 'green studies' sees it as a call to reconsider our conceptualisation of the world: 'in insisting that the non-human world matters, it challenges the complacent culturalism which renders other species, as well as flora and fauna, subordinate to the human capacity for signification.'⁸ He defines 'green studies' in his glossary of terms at the end of the book as 'an emerging academic movement which seeks to ensure that nature is given as much attention within the humanities as is currently given to gender, class, and race.'⁹

There are now many works of scholarship that seek not only to explain and expound the idea of ecocriticism but to widen its scope; see, for example, 'In the Nature of Things: Language, Politics and the Environment' and 'Ecocritical Theory: New European Approaches.'¹⁰ So pervasive is ecocriticism that it is now hybridizing with other types of criticism.¹¹ These are necessarily brief indications of what directions such studies might take, there are plenty of others to be found. This dissertation is not the place to engage deeply with either the theory or practice of the field, which from the above may be seen to encompass any critical study that considers the environment, flora, fauna, and topography as it appears in literature.

⁷ Cheryll Glotfelty, 'Introduction: Literary Studies in an Age of Environmental Crisis', in *The Ecocriticism Reader: Landmarks in Literary Ecology*, ed. by Cheryll Glotfelty and Harold Fromm (Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 1996), pp. xv-xxxvii, p.xx.

⁸ Laurence Coupe, 'General Introduction', in *The Green Studies Reader: From Romanticism to Ecocriticism*, ed. by Laurence Coupe (London: Routledge, 2000), pp. 1-15, p. 4.

⁹ Coupe, 'Glossary', pp. 302-303, p. 302.

¹⁰ Jane Bennett and William Chadloupa, *In the Nature of Things: Language, Politics and the Environment* (Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 1993) and Axel Goodbody, Catherine E. Rigby and Kate Rigby, *Ecocritical Theory: New European Approaches* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2011).

¹¹ See, for example Carl Cassegård, 'Eco-Marxism and the Critical Theory of Nature: Two Perspectives on Ecology and Dialectics', *Distinktion: Journal of Social Theory*, 18 (2017), 314-322; Timothy J. Burberry, 'Ecocriticism and Christian Literary Scholarship', *Christianity and Literature*, 61 (2012), 189-214; Heide Estes, 'Beowulf and the Sea: An Ecofeminist Reading', in *The Maritime World of the Anglo-Saxons*, ed. by Stacey S. Klein, William Schipper and Shannon Lewis-Simpson (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2014), pp. 209-226.

Clark defines it thus:

For an environmental critic every account of a natural, semi-natural or urban landscape must represent an implicit re-engagement with what “nature” means or could mean, with the complex power and inheritance of this term and with its various implicit projections of what human identity is in relation to the non-human, with ideas of the wild, of nature as a refuge or nature as resource, nature as the space of the outcast, of sin and perversity, nature as a space of metamorphosis or redemption. Ecocriticism usually reads literary and environmental texts with these competing cultural conceptions of nature to the fore. At the same time, a definitive feature of the most challenging work is that it does not take the human cultural sphere as its sole point of reference and context.¹²

From this quotation, and those of Glotfelty and Coupe (see above), it will be apparent that many ecocritics see this discipline as something of an evangelising mission in a time of potential environmental crisis. Siewers subtitles his study of landscape and the Otherworld in early Irish literature as ‘Ecocritical Approaches to Early Medieval Landscape’ and further says:

Strange Beauty is offered here in hopes that, in a small way, it may help advance understanding of the workings of narrative as an environmental phenomenon, and the potential for literary studies to contribute to that understanding, with even perhaps some indirect support to efforts by ecological restorationists who work urgently in many fields worldwide today.¹³

No such higher ambition or theoretical stance informs this dissertation which is solely an attempt to acquire a deeper understanding of the Old English poetic corpus through its landscapes. These, as has already been said, do not conform to the modern usage of the term, nor have they hitherto been the focus of a great deal of critical attention.

Landscape was a far more important constituent of daily life for the Anglo-Saxons than it is for the majority of people today; no-one then was surrounded for the most part by brick, steel, concrete, glass, and tarmac, as is the case for many modern

¹² Timothy Clark, *The Cambridge Introduction to Literature and the Environment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), p.6.

¹³ Alfred K. Siewers, *Strange Beauty: Ecocritical Approaches to Early Medieval Landscape* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), p.xii.

individuals: in the year one thousand ‘only one person in ten lived in towns’.¹⁴ The familiarity with its foibles and workings and the traces of the past which it contained, which ensued from close daily experience, enables the Anglo-Saxon perspective to include landscape as an element in the workings of society and a functional part of the concept of community. Any mention of landscape in the poetry of the period is consequently not there to make the verbal picture complete or to fill out the lines:

Without wishing to deny the Anglo-Saxons any aesthetic emotions and to grant them only symbolic perceptions of space, one nevertheless has to recognise that vernacular authors do not speak of the landscape as a vista to be enjoyed. Rather, they mention salient topographical features when these relate to the unfolding of the events or adventures recounted.¹⁵

In fact to say that they do not ‘speak of the landscape as a vista to be enjoyed’ is to understate the case; vernacular poetic texts do not speak of the landscape as a vista at all. The Romantic idea of landscape as scenes of wild, natural beauty, on which the human community impinges only as an external force, is one that has no place or relevance to any depictions of landscape contained in Old English poetry.

When landscapes do occur in the Old English poetic corpus they are frequently adumbrated by an apparently insignificant word or phrase. Such seemingly inconsequential passing references are, however, made for some specific purpose; the landscape intrudes because it has something to contribute at this particular point. It has a meaning rather than simply providing a setting for the narrative. This lack of visual application may be one of the reasons why the landscapes in this corpus have received comparatively little critical attention, they do not conform to the modern approach of a panoramic, scenic, pastoral setting which appeals to the visual sense even when presented verbally: ‘images focussing on landbound natural scenes are

¹⁴ Graeme J. White, *The Medieval English Landscape, 1000-1540* (London: Bloomsbury, 2012), p.2.

¹⁵ Fabienne L. Michelet, *Creation, Migration and Conquest: Imaginary Geography and Sense of Space in Old English Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 8.

very rare in Old English poetry'.¹⁶

The lack of scholarly discussion of these landscapes may also be due to the unacknowledged perception that such mentions of landscape as there are do not call for specialist interpretation; topographical features such as a hill or a river are still present today and therefore do not, apparently, present a challenge to our critical understanding. Such references do not intrigue the modern reader, or suggest tantalizing glimpses of long-lost values of a society that we are struggling to understand from the fragmentary textual and physical survivals. In upholding both of these views Pearsall and Salter go so far as to assert that 'there is no "taste for landscape" in Old English poetry and no "feeling for nature", though there is an awareness of its grim realities'.¹⁷ This quotation reveals that modern perceptions of landscape and its place in the life of humanity differ markedly from those of the Anglo-Saxon period.

Many references to aspects of Anglo-Saxon society and culture are alien to twenty-first century understanding. These include such things as life based on the heroic ethos, the centrality of communal life in the hall, the loyalty demanded of the comitatus, the concept of a life where most things worn, eaten, or used were produced within the immediate local community, the idea of bondmen and serfs as well as free men being part of that community. A close relationship with landscape as a constituent factor of life, part of the fabric of existence, is another. An example of the complexities of understanding the nuances of different cultural perceptions of landscape is the poetic formulaic phrase 'æsc deall' (pride in the ash), which occurs in widely differing contexts in the poems *Andreas* (line 1097) and *Riddle 22* (line 11).

¹⁶ Alaric Hall, 'The Images and Structure of *The Wife's Lament*', *Leeds Studies in English*, 33 (2002), 1-29, p. 6.

¹⁷ Derek Pearsall and Elizabeth Salter, *Landscapes and Seasons of the Medieval World* (London: Paul Elek, 1973), p. 41.

Ash trees are as commonly occurring a part of the landscape now as they were in Anglo-Saxon England, but the idea that one could take pride in them is not. Before this phrase can be understood today we must learn firstly that ‘æsc’ here is used as a metonym for spear, and secondly that the right to carry spear and shield was one of the signifiers of a free man, part of his ‘basic equipment’.¹⁸ A society which includes the unfree values freedom highly and ‘pride in the ash’ is therefore to be understood not as pride in the spear in itself but for what it symbolizes: the status that is displayed by bearing one. An element of landscape in this formula has become a signifying factor in human society. Any Anglo-Saxon would have grasped all the implications of the formula immediately and without conscious deliberation, but to appreciate these things requires modern readers to make an imaginative leap, aided by the archaeological record and those artefacts that survive, as well as the texts that mention them.

The interconnectedness of an Anglo-Saxon community with its surroundings is revealed by what, in their understanding, comprised an estate. To function smoothly it was crucial that the land was as well known and understood as the people. The ‘gerefa,’ the estate reeve, was the lynch-pin of the estate community and thus it was important that he knew and understood the operation of both human and natural aspects of the manor estate. The duties of a reeve, set out in *Be Gesceadwisan Gerefan*¹⁹ include a detailed understanding of the landscape of the manor:

Gyf he wel aginnan wile ne mæg he sleac beon ne to
oferhydig; ac he mot ægðer witan ge læsse ge mare,
ge betere ge mætre ðæs ðe to tune belimpð, ge on tune

¹⁸ Nicholas Brookes, *Communities and Warfare 700-1400* (London: Hambledon, 2000), p. 142.

¹⁹ This is to be found in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 383.

ge on dune, ge on wuda ge on wætere, ge on felda ge
on falde, ge inne ge ute

(If he wants to begin well, he may not be too lax nor too overbearing; but he ought to know both the lesser and the greater, both the more and the less important of what appertains to the manor, both in house and on hill, both in woods and in water, both in field and in fold, both indoors and out).²⁰ The land and the people, the animals, buildings, and plants, all are combined here in the entity that has both a physical existence and an abstract conceptual one. The estate is a collaboration between the elements of which it is composed and does not regard differences of origin; whether the elements are natural features, like streams and woods, or constructed by the hand of man, like the buildings and the folds, is not relevant to the concept of the estate as an entity. It is at the same time a place, a community, and an idea. The sentence quoted uses appositive pairs, alliteration, and rhyme to create a virtual manor that is specific to this text while still having resonances with estates that operated in reality.

Landscape and human constructions thus combine to make ‘place’ in Anglo-Saxon perception, something that is most evident in the boundary clauses of the charters from this period. There is a sense of collaboration and partnership in the use of landscape within these clauses, with topographical features and human constructs given equal weight in the demarcation.

Consider the boundaries of the land at Wick Episcopi in Worcestershire, granted to Bishop Milred by King Offa in a charter dated from between 757 and 775:

Ærest of temede gemyðan andlang temede in
wynna bæces gemyðan of wynna bæce in wuda mor
of wuda mor in wætan sice of þam wætan sice in þa

²⁰ Translation by Michael Swanton, *Anglo-Saxon Prose* (London: Dent and Sons, 1975), p. 25.

bakas ond of þam bakan in þa ealdan dic of ðære
 ealdan dic in secges mere ond of secges mere in þes
 pulles heafod andlang to þorn brycge of þorn brycge
 in kadera pull of kadera pulle in beke brycge of becha
 brycge in forwarden hipes mor of þam mor innon
 coforð broc of þam broc innon þone hagan æfter þam
 hagan innon kett of kette in þa hlaves of þam hlawan
 in lawern of lawerne in þæt at sic ond æfter þam sice
 innon þa scip ac ond of þære scip ac in þa gretan
 æspan ond swa in þæt hreade sloh of þam slo innon
 þa hlaves ond of þam hlawan in fif acana weg ond
 æfter þam weg innon þa fif æcc of þam acan into þrim
 gemæran of þrim gemæran in lacge burnan of þære
 burnan to mila stane of þam stane on þa haran apel
 treo of þære apel treo innon doferic æfter doferic in
 sæfirne ond andlang sæferne in temede muðan²¹

(first from Teme confluence/mouth along Teme to wynna brook's confluence from
 wynna brook to wood marsh from wood marsh to wet ditch from the wet ditch to the
 backs/ridges and from the backs to the old ditch/dyke from old ditch to sedge's pool
 and from sedge's pool to the stream's head along to thorn bridge from thorn bridge to
 kadera pool/stream from kadera pool to stream's bridge from the stream's bridge to
 the front of the hip's/haunches marsh from the marsh into coforth brook from the
 brook to the hedge/enclosure along the hedge to kett from kette to the tumuli/mounds

²¹ Charter 142 in P. H. Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1968), p. 107. Text and translation as quoted here from *Langscape: The Language of Landscape: Reading the Anglo-Saxon Countryside* <[https:// www.langscape.org.uk](https://www.langscape.org.uk)> consulted 5th December 2012, although here the ȝ sign has been expanded to 'ond' and the letter 'w' appears in its modern form.

from the tumuli to Laughern from Laughern to the oat ditch and along the ditch to the ship oak and from the ship oak to the great aspen and so on to the red/reed's slough from the slough to the tumuli and from the tumuli to five oaks way and along the way to the five oaks from the oaks to three boundaries from three boundaries to marsh bourn/stream from the bourn to the mile stone from the stone to the hoar apple tree from the apple tree into Doferic along Doferic to Severn and along Severn to Teme mouth).

This translation shows the difficulties in defining some terms precisely, and the awkwardness of determining whether, for example, 'wynna' here is a description of the brook or a personal name associated with it. Overriding such issues, however, it is still clear that reading a boundary clause requires a setting aside of the categorisation of features; going from the five oaks to the three boundaries equates the naturally occurring trees with the artificial human limits. Exactly what 'three boundaries' means here, (the junction of three paths, the limits of three estates which meet at this point?), is not relevant to this discussion; what matters is the equation between the physical and conceptual features. While the estate itself, and the concept of land division by ownership, is a human-imposed abstraction on the landscape, it relies on the landscape for validation. A place is created and defined by the application of a linguistic landscape. The mixture of natural and man-made features here has, in addition, possibly natural features named after individual people. This is co-operation developed into partnership between the inhabitants and the landscape.²² This connection between man-made and naturally occurring features so that they are equally valid aspects of the landscape extends into the abstractions of landscape that appear in the poetic corpus; any mention of 'weall' (wall), for example, needs to be

²² Natural features associated with named individuals are not uncommon in the charter boundary clauses, see for example 'Cuthelm's tree' in charter number 916, Sawyer, p. 280.

examined in context to discern whether this is a topographical feature, as in a cliff, or of human construction.

There are some suggestive hints in the poetic corpus of an Anglo-Saxon appreciation of land and water as states of being. In *Genesis*, *Daniel*, and *The Metrical Epilogue to the Pastoral Care*, the ‘scipe’ suffix is added to land and water to produce the compounds ‘landscape’ and ‘wæterscipe’. As a suffix ‘scipe’ is common among Old English words; it is added to words with a variety of meanings in the poetry but always with the connotations of a state of being. The closest parallel in Modern English are the suffixes ‘ness’ and ‘ship’, where such words as ‘happiness’ and ‘comradeship’ have similar connotations. This causes the Old English to be awkward to translate since the states of being that the poetic texts are referring to do not always have precise modern equivalents.

In *Genesis*, Enosh achieves his desire to have a son and Abraham fails to do so ‘þurh gebedscipe’ (through bedship, lines 1148 and 2218), that is, through the state of being bedded with their respective wives. The protagonist of *The Wife’s Lament* regrets the loss of her partner by expressing the relationship as ‘freondscipe uncer’ (friendship of the two of us, line 25); where the emphasis is not on either of them being the friend of the other but the mutual state of friendship that they enjoyed. *Instructions for Christians* assures us that those who teach their children and others by good example will earn ‘weorðscipe mycelne’ (great worthiness, line 82); that is, the obedient Christian will achieve a state of honour and respect. So, in *Genesis* when Satan is consigned to hell and his complaints include ‘Ic a ne geseah/ laðran landscape’ (I never saw a more loathsome landship, lines 375-376), it should be understood as meaning not the region or area, but the physicality of the state of being the land of hell. Likewise, in *Daniel* the youths’ praise song in the furnace includes

‘Hwalas ðec herigað and hefonfuglas/ lyftlacende þa ðe lagostreamas/ wæterscipe wecgað’ (whales praise you, those that move in sea-currents and waterness and the birds of heaven sporting in the sky, lines 386-388), where the inclusion of a second word for water widens the significance of the statement: whales move in a different element or order of being to that of the birds.

Poetic places combine humanity and landscape within the context of both the narrative and the ideas about the structure of society that inform the Anglo-Saxon perception of how the world works; each is specific to the text in which it appears while retaining connections to both the community and landscape of reality, those that may be encountered in actuality. People and landscape share and create places between them: the land, topography, territory, and the different elements of which it is composed, which are here considered together under the inclusive term landscape, are complicit with humanity in both the physical and abstract sense. Community provides the linguistic space in which interactions between the two establish what is the rightful habitation of every element of which the cosmos is composed.

Space, in modern critical terminology, is a way of thinking about the world in terms of relationships. It has to do with the way people order the world around them in interactions with the world in regard to how they live and work and think. Humans are ambulant and social creatures, so a relationship develops not only between their own body and its contacts but with those of others: ‘man, out of his intimate experience with his body and with other people, organizes space so that it conforms with and caters to his biological needs and social relations.’²³ The communal experience that is society necessitates controlling and perceiving space in terms of these relationships, hence spatial awareness, even when not consciously articulated as

²³ Yi-Fu Tuan, *Space and Place* (Minneapolis: University of Minneapolis Press, 1977), p. 34.

such, is a constant of the human experience: ‘understanding of the world is grounded in the spatial.’²⁴ People use space in every aspect of their lives, from the rituals that reinforce the social structure and hierarchy to the mundane tasks required to feed and clothe themselves. By using it, they also control and organise their understanding of it, in a way that is both determined by and determines the ordering of society. Spatial awareness is thus a consequence of the mobility and sociability that are human attributes.

This control of physical space leads to the conceptualizing of space. As a physical entity, a space provides an area or arena where things can happen, rituals can be enacted, where movements and positions are relative to one another. This relativity is a consequence of the interactions that are one of the basics of community: ‘concepts of space are created in the environment of social action.’²⁵ The way in which any society is constructed varies over time, and hence so does social interaction and the relationships that accrue from it. Both the idea of space in general and anything that can be considered as ‘a space’ are thus full of possibilities; each movement or action changes the situation, and that change both opens new alternatives and closes others. Space, whether actual or conceptual, has variability as one of its inherent characteristics:

a *space* exists when one takes into consideration vectors of direction, velocities, and time variables. Thus space is composed of intersections of mobile elements. It is in a sense actuated by the ensemble of movements developed within it.²⁶

The activities and processes that are enacted in any space are what define that space: hence spaces can be referred to as, for example, a social space, a ritual space, or a

²⁴ Mary C. Olsen, *Fair and Varied Forms* (London: Routledge, 2003), p. 51.

²⁵ Dick Harrison, ‘Invisible Boundaries and Places of Power: Notions of Liminality and Centrality in the Early Middle Ages’, in *The Transformation of Frontiers*, ed. by Walter Pohl, Ian Wood and Helmut Reimitz (Leiden: Brill, 2000), pp. 83-94, p. 84.

²⁶ Michel De Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Randall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), p. 117.

sacred space.

Since these activities and processes are culturally determined, space is therefore also responsive to historical change: ‘Men and women are automatically able to structure the world around them, but the specific spatial categories inherent in a historical epoch are products of that particular period.’²⁷ As communities change and develop, particularly as they come under the influence of other societies with different ways of understanding and structuring space, so their own conceptions of space alter and adapt to these new ideas. Each culture, society, or historical epoch therefore has its own, multiple, ways of using and structuring space: ‘every culture including the Anglo-Saxons has not one, but a number of spatial models for ordering information.’²⁸ By this constant use and appreciation of the spatial environment physical space develops into conceptual space. Physical spaces can thus acquire, or embody, particular conceptual definitions: ‘space is charged with meaning and with differentiations, with mundane familiarities and with cosmic mysteries.’²⁹ As a concept it is dynamic not static, fluid not fixed, culturally determined, and historically responsive.

The landscapes contained in the Old English poetic corpus provide a conceptual space for the ordering of society and the interactions of humanity with both the surrounding world and the creator. It is a culturally constructed space which not only allows the interplay of communal relationships but is used to express them: the workings and fundamental bases of Anglo-Saxon society are revealed through their use and control of spatial understanding within the environment of the landscape. They reveal the Anglo-Saxon concept of community to be one in which each constituent element is defined by its position and place within the communal space of

²⁷ Harrison, p. 84.

²⁸ Olsen, p. 51.

²⁹ Mary W. Helms, *Ulysses' Sail* (Princeton: Princeton University Press 1988), p. 9.

the landscape.

Place, as a critical conceptualisation, is complementary to space. 'if we think of space as that which allows movement, then place is pause; each pause in movement makes it possible for location to be transformed into place.'³⁰ Place is particular, fixed, and defined. Whether as abstract (as in one's place in the social hierarchy), or actual (as in the place one calls 'home'), it is a particular location within that sphere of reference. It is locatable because it has meaning or function or associations (or combinations of these). Memory, knowledge, and experience are all factors in the determination of place:

the concept of place refers not simply to geographical location but to a dialectical relationship between environment and human narrative. Place is space that has the capacity to be remembered and to evoke what is most precious.³¹

This is perhaps too optimistic a view; memories of a place can evoke fear or horror as well as what is precious or valued. Whichever emotions it evokes, however, positive or negative, place is something individual and special: 'place is space to which meaning has been ascribed.'³²

Place acquires not only meaning but also labels; the study of place-names reveals such names are not chosen at random. They mean something. Place-names are identifiers of actual places, which people may need to find and recognise. Hence the name of a place contains all the necessary information: 'many topographical words would convey not just an image of the place but also a wealth of information about the likely size, status and pattern of farming practised by the community living there.'³³

³⁰ Tuan, p. 6.

³¹ Philip Sheldrake, *Spaces for the Sacred* (London: SCM Press, 2001), p. 1.

³² Erica Carter, James Donald, and Judith Squires, 'Introduction', in *Space and Place: Themes of Identity and Location*, ed. by Erica Carter, et al (London: Lawrence Wishart, 1993), pp.vii-xv, p.xii.

³³ Gelling, p. xiii.

Toponymic terminology is specific and particular. The linguistic landscape of Anglo-Saxon daily life was a precise and informative one: ‘the shapes of the ridges called “hōh” and of those called “ofer” and “ōra”, and the angles of the slopes at those called “clif” and at those called “helde”, are so clearly and consistently differentiated that the application of these terms must be regarded as systematic’.³⁴ There is not even a great deal of regional variation in terminology: ‘valleys called “cumb” or “denu” are clearly differentiated from each other in all areas except Devon, and everywhere a “beorg” is a small rounded hill and a “dun” is a larger eminence which affords a particularly good settlement site’.³⁵ Modern English is a blunt and imprecise tool for translating such terms, and this can give the impression that Old English vocabulary contained many words for landscape features which were synonymous, rather than precisely descriptive in their appreciation of fine detail: ‘this vast topographical vocabulary includes many groups of words which dictionaries treat as synonyms. My study has convinced me that they were rarely, perhaps never, synonyms to the Anglo-Saxons’.³⁶

The fictive places of Old English poetry are rarely given such identifying labels. The plateau that is home to the phoenix, the island where the protagonist of *Wulf and Eadwacer* dwells, the grove or sanctuary that the speaker in *The Wife’s Lament* is forced to inhabit, are all definitely particular places but none is named in these texts. Heorot in *Beowulf* is named but even there it is the hall which is specified not the region or area or settlement. Any information that the landscape has to offer the audience in a fictive poetic context is therefore of another order than identification.

³⁴ Margaret Gelling and Ann Cole, *The Landscape of Place-Names* (Stamford: Shaun Tyas, 2000), p.144.

³⁵ Gelling and Cole, p. xv.

³⁶ Margaret Gelling, *Place-names in the Landscape* (London: Dent, 1993), p. 7.

Place as expressed by the poetic landscapes is a cultural construct: each text requires places of safety and danger, places that are often of greater psychological significance than as features of fictive geography. This provides for an intersecting of landscape and place within both modern and medieval understanding:

from the disciplinary perspectives of, for example, art history or landscape and settlement studies, the notion of “landscape” is post-medieval, but that of *locus* or place is thoroughly medieval – a familiar element of monastic habits of thought and knowledge.³⁷

The landscapes of Old English poetry are present in the poems as linguistic places rather than cartographical ones; their appearance signals a textual understanding rather than geographical representation. The verse relies on the audience recognising and appreciating the relevance or significance of any established place within the context of the narrative, it appeals to a communal understanding of what constitutes a place in positive or negative reference.

Landscape, as indicated above, is a means of creating place, and thus enables a text to construct a context of materiality which is one of the essentials of narrative technique. Some answer to the question of ‘where did these events happen?’ is a necessary preliminary to any type of narration. The answer channels and directs audience response. It need not be an especially detailed or precise answer in terms of location; even the vague ‘in a land far away’ of fairy tales sets up connections, ideas, and expectations in the audience, so that a context is there ready for the characters and events to move into. These expectations are culturally determined, in a two-way process; societal norms shape perceptions of place but perceptions of place in their turn help to form and perpetuate those norms. The material context is given meaning and significance beyond the physical by these overlying mental perceptions, the

³⁷ Clare A. Lees and Gillian R. Overing, ‘Anglo-Saxon Horizons: Places of the Mind in the Northumbrian Landscape’, in *A Place to Believe In*, ed. by Clare A. Lees and Gillian R. Overing (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006), pp.1-26, p.2.

abstract conceptualization of forces that drive and shape the human community.

Landscape controls place; in the texts of the Old English poetic corpus, it does so in terms of the Anglo-Saxon communities that produced them.

Landscape structures the narrative so that events, characters, and surroundings function together as a whole; space and place as created by the texts relate to each other but also to the whole meaning of the poem. Abstractions and concepts are interwoven with the material context. By this means, landscape serves not a visual but a conceptual purpose. There are deeper significances to the ways in which the surroundings of the narratives are referred to that go beyond the literal; hence the basic necessities of structure are the mode through which the meaning of the narrative goes beyond what is explicitly stated. Such revelations are not only concerned with the characters, but are about wider issues: the constraints of societal norms, spirituality, eternity, contending belief systems, the relationship of humanity with time and place, ideals and values, are all contained within the landscapes of Old English poetry. They provide information to the audience about both the surroundings and the content of the narrative in terms of Anglo-Saxon society and culture.

One of the cultural norms of that society is the form that their verse takes. The manuscripts which preserve these poems have little in the way of punctuation, capitalization, or line separation. Such matters as form, style, rules and traditions of composition therefore have to be extrapolated. Cable considers ‘the greatest part of the structure of the verse, its skeleton, is provided by the word stress’ and Stanley sees further implications of patterning in the way that such stress is applied.³⁸ Leslie observes that there is no absolute consensus on the form itself ‘although scholars will

³⁸ Thomas Cable, ‘Type D Verses as Evidence for the Rhythmic Basis of Old English Metre’, in *Heroic Poetry in the Anglo-Saxon Period*, ed. by Helen Damico and John Leyerle (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1993), pp.157-170, p.162 and Eric Stanley, ‘Some Observations on the A3 Lines in *Beowulf*’, in *Old English Studies in Honour of John C. Pope*, ed. by Robert B. Burlin and Edward B. Irving Jr. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1794), pp.139-164.

agree that such things as variation and parallelism exist, they will not always agree about the particular application of them.’³⁹ Orchard regards Old English poetry as highly traditional in form, relying largely on ‘what now seems the Germanic poet’s stock-in-trade of repeated formulas, echo-words, and envelope patterns’.⁴⁰ By exploiting the constraints imposed by the verse form, the use of stress, alliteration, and formulaic phrasing, Old English poetry developed a coded, allusive nature which demands considerable application on the part of the audience if it is to be fully appreciated. It requires particular effort on the part of modern scholars, compounded by the fact that, while we need to use our knowledge of Anglo-Saxon society to understand the poetry, we can also use the poetry to enable a deeper understanding of that society, and the conceptual bases on which it rested. This may result in any arguments developing a sterile circular form. Landscape provides an interface where the practical experience and daily life of the Anglo-Saxons meets the life of the mind and imagination and therefore provides a means of checking this possibility.

Unlike allusions or references to classical or patristic texts and concepts, landscape has a physicality and presence in daily life which influences its conceptual use. This cannot be understood by consulting other texts of exegesis, or ones that expound knowledge or bring classical learning to Anglo-Saxon England. Knowledge and perception of its participating role in Old English poetry has to be appreciated from analysis of the texts, their vocabulary, their form and structure, and their narrative techniques. Landscape is a constant presence which provides a means for the expression of human concerns while shaping both the contexts in which they occur and

³⁹ Roy F. Leslie, ‘The Editing of Old English Poetic Texts: Questions of Style’, in *Old English Literature*, ed. by R. M. Liuzza (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), pp.271-283, p.272.

⁴⁰ Andy Orchard, ‘Intoxication, Fornication, and Multiplication: The Burgeoning Text of *Genesis A*’, in *Text, Image, Interpretation: Studies in Anglo-Saxon Literature and its Insular Context in Honour of Éamonn Ó Carragáin*, ed. by Alastair Minnis and Jane Roberts (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), pp.333-354, p.335.

the textual form of that expression. The understanding and appreciation of landscape to be found in these texts is not a threatening external ‘other’, nor is it visual in its appeal; rather it is an accepted component of what Anglo-Saxon society considered a community to be, one of the fundamentals on which their culture was based.

Previous investigations of landscape as it appears in the Old English poetic corpus have largely been tangential, considering it only insofar as it is pertinent to a wider-ranging investigation. Clarke, engaging with questions of the cultural construct which became the idea of England, focuses on the *locus amoenus* and its emergence as a ‘symbolic landscape for English space and identity’.⁴¹ Her work includes some aspects of landscape as it occurs in the poetry, but this is incidental to the main theme which is the literary configuration of a specifically English identity, the construction of which also goes well beyond the Anglo-Saxon period. Kabir also includes aspects of a particular type of landscape in her work, this time the ideal landscapes of paradise and their relationship to those of heaven as presented in the literature of the period.⁴² Michelet has considered landscapes in the poetry in pursuit of her questions as to how the Anglo-Saxons conceived of space and the ways in which this understanding informed imaginative geographical representation in Old English literature generally. Her concern is with the development of the idea of space that the Anglo-Saxons evolved and the relationship of this mental construct to national identity. Her work is therefore not concerned with landscape in itself but rather uses it as a factor in attempts to understand space as a cultural construct of developing Anglo-Saxon nationhood. She analyses ‘numerous strategies of remapping and recentering which operate both in poetry and in historiographic writings, strategies through which

⁴¹ Catherine A. M. Clarke, *Literary Landscapes and the Idea of England 700-1400* (Woodbridge: Brewer, 2006), p. 2.

⁴² Ananya Jahanara Kabir, *Paradise, Death, and Doomsday in Anglo-Saxon Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

Anglo-Saxon authors engage in a thorough redefinition of their homeland, and consequently also of themselves'.⁴³ Appleton also centres her work on the literary construction of the spatial environment in Anglo-Saxon texts in general; as with the others, she includes work on some poetic representations of landscape but always and only as a factor in the understanding of how the Anglo-Saxon mind-set perceived space to be organised.⁴⁴

Howe's studies are concerned with the way in which the landscapes of England in Anglo-Saxon texts reflect their concern with establishing a homeland, fixing it as a particular place in communal memory, and locating that place within the conceptual sacred space of the Church.⁴⁵ He analyses landscape as it appears in charter bounds and other sources, including the poetic corpus, in a verbal rather than visually-oriented mode; once again, poetic landscapes are a constituent of understanding but not the primary focus of his analysis. Neville does centre her work on the poetry of the period, but her object of study is the 'natural world' rather than the landscape, although she is careful to point out the differences between Anglo-Saxon concepts and our own. She notes that: 'in these texts it is not possible to separate natural from supernatural phenomena' but she concludes that

the modern definition of the natural world as all that is external to humanity can be applied to Old English poetry, for the Anglo-Saxons did represent many entities defined as strange, frightening and alien to humanity – things that modern critics would collectively call "the Other".⁴⁶

⁴³ Michelet, p. ix.

⁴⁴ H. M. Appleton, 'Anglo-Saxon Landscapes: The Construction of the Environment in Old English and Related Texts' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Sydney, 2012).

⁴⁵ Nicholas Howe developed these ideas over many years and published them in various works, among them: *Migrations and Mythmaking in Anglo-Saxon England* (Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2001); 'An Angle on this Earth: Sense of Place in Anglo-Saxon England', *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*, 28 (2000), 1-27; 'The Landscape of Anglo-Saxon England: Inherited, Invented, Imagined', in *Inventing Medieval Landscape*, ed. by John Howe and Michael Wolfe (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2002), pp. 91-112; *Writing the Map of Anglo-Saxon England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008).

⁴⁶ Jennifer Neville, *Representations of the Natural World in Old English Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 2 and 3.

Neville finds that externalising quality in the poetic corpus. Inevitably, by denoting the natural world as ‘external to humanity,’ she sets up a binary opposition between the two, finding in this a source of conflict and hostility which has a conceptual rather than factual basis. It is this external quality that, in her view, enables the natural world to be adopted in Old English poetry as a device for understanding and explaining human concerns. The imagery of the natural world as ‘other’ to the world of humanity is thus shown to be a purely literary device, not a reflective representation of the realities of life in Anglo-Saxon England where ‘the natural environment was less hostile than the human environment. Yet it is presented as a power more terrifying than human threats’.⁴⁷ The natural world, thus evoked, is employed as a literary technique to define issues concerning humanity, society, the place of the individual, the constructions of power, and the relation of God to his creation, precisely because it is external to humanity; it provides an objective template for revealing inner truths by employing imagery of exterior forces. As a poetic device it is related only tangentially to reality: ‘it is instead a reflection of human constructions’.⁴⁸ Although Neville writes about the natural world rather than specifically landscape, it is inevitably present as the source and site of this hostile threat to humanity.

These scholars have considered literary landscapes as contributions to wider arguments, rather than in and for themselves and their role in the texts that contain them. They do not, therefore, concentrate on analysis of the poems as poems. This thesis argues for a difference in perception of the meanings and workings of landscape as it appears in Old English poetry. Closely analysing the texts reveals landscape to be a significant element in constructing meaning through its arbitration of correctness of location and function. The poems were composed by people and are about the human

⁴⁷ Neville, p. 8.

⁴⁸ Neville, p. 16.

experience, but humanity does not exist in isolation; landscape is the mode of expression that the texts use to enable the human component of the narratives to relate to the rest of the world and beyond it to the other worlds of heaven and hell. As landscape was such a fundamental part of Anglo-Saxon daily life it provides a readily accessible link with the audience, so that the long-ago and the far-away in which so many of the poems are set become comprehensible in terms of vernacular society and culture.

In defining place, the poems situate their narratives within the Anglo-Saxon context of Britain through the landscape. The lands of the narrative may be far-off places, such as those in *Juliana* or *Elene* or the Old Testament narratives, or lands of the imagination, such as those in *Beowulf* or *The Phoenix*, and the other worlds of heaven and hell. All, however, have poetic landscapes which are comprised of the same basic elements as those found in Anglo-Saxon England, to a greater or lesser degree. They have defining characteristic topology that can be exploited and developed because this can be understood in terms with which the audience is already sufficiently comfortable and familiar. Landscape is the means of translation so that whatever is presented to the audience as a narrative is done within the confines of the world as they experience it. That is how landscapes function outside the texts, as a point of entry for the audience. It gives them a setting which enables them to experience the narrative, because it is connected with their own daily life. This relevance to the audience helps to make the message of the narrative more acceptable, allows the audience to be receptive to it, and helps to establish empathy with the protagonists in relation to the Anglo-Saxon understanding of community.

Reference so far has been made to text and audience rather than poet and reader and this will continue to be the case throughout this study. This raises the

question of what is meant by ‘text’ and ‘audience’: who created this complex form of poetry and at whom were its effects aimed? There is an unspoken assumption amongst scholars that the texts that survive are all copies of other, older versions. Since the majority of poems occur in only one surviving manuscript we have, in fact, no means of knowing whether this was written from memory, dictation, copied, or composed on the page. Most of these manuscripts have corrections and emendations in them, but again, we have no way of knowing whether these were corrections made by checking against another copy, from remembering a different version, or from an attempt to improve the piece. They can be superfluous or obvious corrections, but they can also introduce a note of uncertainty as to what was intended, and just how many scribes have contributed to the manuscript.

A good example of how such issues can affect analysis in this study occurs in *Christ and Satan*. When Satan is comparing hell with heaven he says ‘nis her eadiges tir/ wloncra winsele’ (here is not the glory of the blessed, the winehall of the proud, lines 92-93). This conflates the Germanic concept of the afterlife as a perpetual feast with the Christian ideal of heaven as the abode of the blessed. It is a conflation that also occurs in *Dream of the Rood* where heaven is described as ‘þær is dryhtnes folc/ geseted to symle’ (there the people of the Lord are established at the feast, lines 140-141). In the manuscript of *Christ and Satan*, however, ‘winsele’ has been emended to ‘wynsele’, so what Satan laments are joyhalls, not winehalls. As part of the scenes in hell, ‘hreopan deofla/ wide geond winsele’ (the devils cried out widely throughout the winehall, lines 318-319), and when at Doomsday the gates of hell are burst open the devils again rush about in terror ‘wide geond winsele’ (line 384). In both lines ‘winsele’ has been emended by the addition of a superscript ‘d’ to read ‘windsele’

(windhall).⁴⁹ In the first case, either description could apply, but the change has resulted in removing the Germanic associations and emphasising instead the more Christian ideal of the unspecified joys of heaven. So this can be considered as an attempt to improve theological accuracy, or the correction of an honest mistake by the scribe, or aimed at an improvement of the text. In the second case, Finnegan considers the emendation to result from a misunderstanding: ‘the corrector has missed the poet’s ironic intention’.⁵⁰ The reading ‘windsele’, however, could equally be intended as part of the contradictoriness of the landscape of hell, where the usual safety and comfort of the hall is inverted by giving it the characteristics of an exterior setting, so it is a possible reading.⁵¹ In fact all of these, wine, joy, and wind, are acceptable readings in context. Choosing between them alters the tone and effects of the piece, however.

The phrase ‘wide geond win[d]sele’ acquires formulaic status by repetition, and formula is regarded as an indicator of oral origins of composition or, at least, an indicator of the influence of oral composition. The question of whether Old English poetry is to be considered more in the light of a lingering textual form of an oral origin or a written tradition which is in the early stages of development has occupied scholars for many years. There are many contributions to the debate as to how the written versions that survive reflect, or otherwise, an oral original.⁵² This is a complex and ongoing debate which will not be fully addressed here. Suffice it to say that, when the possibility of oral transmission is taken into account, it renders authorial

⁴⁹ Manuscript consulted in Bernard J. Muir, ed., *A Digital Facsimile of Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Junius 11* (Oxford: Bodleian Library, 2004) [on CD].

⁵⁰ Robert Emmett Finnegan, *Christ and Satan: A Critical Edition* (Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1977), p. 104.

⁵¹ See chapter five for a detailed discussion of the landscapes of heaven and hell.

⁵² See, for instance, Andy Orchard, ‘Oral Tradition’, in *Reading Old English Texts*, ed. by Katherine O’Brien O’Keeffe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp.101-123; Alain Renouir, *A Key to Old Poems: The Oral-Formulaic Approach to the Interpretation of West Germanic Verse* (Pennsylvania: State University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988); Larry D. Benson, ‘The Literary Character of Anglo-Saxon Formulaic Poetry’, *PMLA*, 81 (1966), 334-341. This is only a small sample of the available scholarship in this area.

intent or identification very difficult. Residual oral elements, together with copying and corrections, imply a continual reworking of a text: 'in such a process, reading and copying have actually conflated with composing'.⁵³ It thus appears invidious to talk of 'the poet' of any particular piece, instead this study will refer to the text or the poem.

This has implications when considering the intended recipients. Bede's story of Cædmon and the "scop" singing to the assembled Danes in Heorot both suggest social and convivial gatherings in which the poetry was performed.⁵⁴ Yet the runic signatures of Cynewulf and the presence of runes in some of the *Riddles* rely on sight rather than sound for their effect. These alternatives employ two different modes of expression. Performance is an event in time while a written text occupies physical space that has to be looked at: 'the movement from orality to literacy involves the gradual shift from aural to visual reception'.⁵⁵ Bragg has observed that the physical size of some manuscripts allows for conflation of these two modes of expression: 'the size of early manuscript books is one indication that they were intended for reading aloud in a communal setting'.⁵⁶ The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles* conflate time and space by introducing most of the accounts of each year with 'her'. In context of the events related it means 'now', 'at this time', 'in this year', and therefore has a communal chronological appeal, but in the manuscript context it applies to its place on the page 'here', 'on this line', 'in this space', and therefore appeals to the visual application of the single reader. Reference here will therefore be to 'audience' rather than 'reader', which encompasses all possible modes of reception.

⁵³ Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe, 'Orality and the Developing Text of Cædmon's *Hymn*', *Speculum*, 62 (1987), 1-20, p. 16.

⁵⁴ Bede, *The Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, Book IV, chapter 24 and *Beowulf*, lines 86-98.

⁵⁵ O'Keeffe, p. 3.

⁵⁶ Lois Bragg, *The Lyric Speakers of Old English Poetry* (London: Associated University Presses, 1991), p. 28.

These complexities of narrativity and the relationship between a text and its audience allow landscape to function on three different levels of meaning in Old English poetry. Firstly, within the narrative it is the source of both space and place and as such it provides a context for the events and activities that are the subject of the narrative. The materiality of this context is essential to answer the unspoken questions of the audience as to where and when the events in the story to be unfolded take place. It is not, however, a neutral setting but a positive element in the narration: landscape ‘reveals much about the characters that the poet cannot or will not say directly.’⁵⁷ As an active constituent it allows for the conflation of ideas and traditions from other cultures with vernacular ones, so that, for instance, the importance of trees as physical objects in the landscape and as symbols to both Germanic and Christian traditions is implicated in their position and use in the poetic corpus. Landscape may be symbolic, allegorical, metaphorical, or analogical in function at the same time as it is contextual.

Secondly, landscape is a factor in the way in which the text itself is constituted. It shapes the form of the text so that it reflects and refracts the functions it performs as part of the narrative; this textual landscape is a counterpart to any conceptual role that it provides narratively. By the provision of a structure for the text, landscape also allows for the control of dramatic tension which is an essential element to any successful story-telling. Raising, lowering, releasing, and recreating tension is consistently associated with landscape; audience expectations can be aroused, fulfilled, denied, refuted, in a word controlled, by the form of the landscape.

Thirdly, it controls audience response and creates a community of understanding between text and audience. Landscape is the connecting factor so that the shared experience of landscape in daily life allows the suspension of disbelief and

⁵⁷ Nicholas Howe, ‘The Landscape of Anglo-Saxon England Inherited, Invented, Imagined’, in *Inventing Medieval Landscapes*, ed. by John Howe and Michael Wolfe (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2002), 91-112, p. 105.

the extension of existing perceptions into the fictive experience. However distant or imaginary the setting of any tale, landscape provides a context for acceptance and comprehension. Its role in the measurement of what is right in the ordering of Anglo-Saxon society allows for the extension of this understanding to other times and places, so that wherever and whenever the narrative is set the same value judgements apply with equal validity. Landscape reaches beyond the text to develop a relationship with the audience.

The following chapters argue the case for understanding landscape as an active participant in the relationship between text and audience that is the basis of the Old English poetic corpus. The function of landscape in any individual text is incremental rather than immediate, so each chapter analyses some specified poems, or parts of them, to enable the full import to be shown. Some of the texts chosen, for instance *Beowulf* or *Andreas*, have been the focus of a great deal of critical study; others, like *The Menologium* and *The Metrical Epilogue to the Pastoral Care*, have received comparatively little attention from scholars. Each poem has been selected to illustrate particular points of literary landscape use, but that is not to say that other texts do not also exhibit the same use of landscape as a narrative device.

Chapter one discusses the organization, control and empowering of community through the landscapes of *Maxims II*, *The Wife's Lament*, and *Exodus*. Chapter two shows how the relationship between land and water is a signifying factor in the establishment or restoration of harmonious relations within and between communities, using *The Metrical Epilogue to the Pastoral Care*, and parts of *Genesis* and *Andreas*. The flexible nature of Old English poetry is demonstrated in chapter three through the treatment of landscape and the threatening other. The trope of the threatening other as a pollution of the landscape is present in both *Beowulf* and the

Æcerbot charm, but the means of combatting the threat is presented differently in them.

These first three chapters explore the processes by which the verse of the Anglo-Saxon period develops and explains the concept of community through the medium of landscape. Chapter four considers the way in which landscape is instrumental in the positioning of a community in terms of place and time through an analysis of *Durham* and *The Menologium*. Finally, this thesis moves beyond the world as we know it in chapter five to show that the Old English poetic corpus mediates understanding of the extra-terrestrial worlds of heaven and hell through their respective landscapes, concentrating, in the main, on *Genesis* and *Christ and Satan*.

Collectively, these chapters present the case for understanding the landscapes of the Old English poetic corpus in a new light, one in which they are not separate from humanity or from any aspect, be it physical, mental, emotional or spiritual, of human society but are rather conjoined with them as threads that are woven into the whole cloth that is the fabric of existence. Landscape is universal in its application as a mediator of comprehension for the audience for literary landscapes throughout the cosmos.

Chapter I.

LANDSCAPE AND COMMUNITY: COMPOSITION, CONTROL, AND POWER.

Landscape itself can be considered as an aspect of community that models both its unity and the interdependence of its multiple parts; landscape has geology, topography, flora, and fauna to which may be added weather and the seasons. In Anglo-Saxon culture as it is portrayed in the poetry the ideal of human society was the communal one, offering to everyone a place and a purpose, where duties, obligations, and rewards are interactive constituents which bind and hold that community together. In this chapter it will be argued that landscape is used both as an expression of community and as an exposition of its operations in the poetry of the period.

What the idea of community means, how such a community functions, and the working out of this in relation to the individual, can all be expressed through the landscape. Explaining and checking the understanding of the concept of community by means of the landscape, *Maxims II* provides an exemplar of the structure of community, while *The Wife's Lament* shows landscape as a colluding partner in the way in which a community controls its erring members and *Exodus* reveals how such a human community works in unison with its landscape to create a community of nationhood. Collectively, these texts address and express the correct position, function, and relationships of individuals and whole communities through the landscape.

In its workings, the poetic landscape provides a model for the human community, functioning as a space in which every feature and every denizen has both position and purpose. Most Old English poetry is concerned only with the higher echelons of the social hierarchy, but the sense of orderliness here, where separate components neatly interlock to create a greater whole, is also symptomatic of that

which pertains to the lower echelons. This can be seen at work outside of the poetic corpus: in *Rectitudines Singularum Personarum*, for example, we have an account of estate management from the later Anglo-Saxon period; in it are details of what is expected of each type of worker on the estate, together with the perquisites that go with every position. So, the ‘gebur’ for instance, ‘must perform all the duties which appertain to him throughout the year. And they are to give him tools for his work and utensils for his house.’¹ There is an implicit obligation on the parts of both the worker and the lord of the estate which results in interactive co-operation. The document places each type of person in the social hierarchy and provides for a particular physical space for each individual rank to occupy and use within the landscape. The clearest and most detailed poetic understanding of landscape as the expression of community structure is in *Maxims II*. In this text form and content combine to define and authorise the human community within the wider context of the world.

Landscape as the expression of exclusion from a society whilst remaining within the space occupied by that society is a feature of the Old English poetic corpus especially in relation to female function and position. In this type of separation the landscape is used as a physical focus for the conceptual idea of division and the portrayal of the psychological state of the individual who is deemed unfit to belong to that society. The poetic community has been shown to be a shared space of interactive relationships in *Maxims II* but the landscapes in *The Wife’s Lament* are negatives of the interlocked co-operative responsiveness that characterises both landscape and community when they are functioning harmoniously. They create spaces that deny relationships: ‘exile is the reverse of society.’²

Finally, landscape is instrumental in the creation of any individual community

¹ Michael Swanton, trans., *Anglo-Saxon Prose* (London: Dent, 1975), p. 22.

² Jennifer Neville, *Representations of the Natural World in Old English Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 84.

by delineating its boundaries and therefore focussing it on a particular place: ‘it appears that people’s sense of both personal and cultural identity is ultimately bound up with place identity.’³ In Old English poetry this concept of shared identity becomes a fusion of people and place, which enables the landscape of a place to function as the expression of communal purpose. An analysis of *Exodus* reveals the way in which the power that emanates from the Egyptian community that comprises both people and landscape is used to structure the poem and create the poetic conceit that transposes travel by land and by sea.

The expression of community in *Maxims II*.

Maxims II is a text that expresses the fundamental orderliness of the world through the workings of the landscape. The human community is a component of this and, in consequence, its order is based on the structure of the landscape. The text creates this orderliness by a seemingly random sequence of assertions. The poem therefore appears as a compilation of miscellanea to some scholars, with Dobbie asserting that ‘it is evident that the poet had no idea in mind beyond putting a number of unrelated ideas into alliterative form.’⁴ It is a plain text which uses few of the techniques that in general characterise Old English poetry, such as envelope patterning, chiasmus, litotes, allusive referencing and so on. The gnomes are brief and assertive, leading Hansen to conclude that their true significance is obscured by their apparent simplicity: ‘gnomic poems affirm that the meaning of any utterance includes the subliminal.’⁵

What will be argued here is that the observations on the landscape in *Maxims II* are an inherent component of the meaning, despite the fact that many of them

³ Anne Buttimer, ‘Home, Reach and the Sense of Place,’ in *The Human Experience of Space and Place*, ed. by Anne Buttimer and David Seaman (London: Croom Helm, 1980), pp.166-187, p. 167.

⁴ *ASPR* Vol VI, p. lxvi.

⁵ Elaine Tuttle Hansen, *The Solomon Complex* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), p. 157.

appear to be merely statements of the obvious; such apparent banality has led Cavill to comment: ‘there is an element of truism about each gnome.’⁶ This is particularly so in those gnomes which deal with landscape denizens and topography. The poem appeals to no higher authority for its contents, no recognised source of wisdom, neither does it infer any appreciation that there may be reason behind these assertions. It is a text that deals entirely with how things are, not why they should be so. That being the case, its authority comes from the simplicity of observed truth; the appeal is to commonly held knowledge. Reliance on the unassailability of those gnomes concerning the landscape is the basis for understanding both the contents of *Maxims II* and its particular form. There is reason behind both structure and content of this text; indeed, the form contributes largely to comprehension of the content.

Landscape, in *Maxims II*, is the basis of the workings of the physical world, wherein relationships depend on spatial awareness and interaction. From the observed community of the landscape the poem draws on and uses the well-known and familiar to set up the right climate of expectations: ‘many of the ranks and beasts and objects listed are stock images of Old English poetry, set down here under their most useful aspects.’⁷ This is paralleled in the text by interactions in the metaphysical space that is the human community, presented here as one of innate order. The Anglo-Saxon ideal of social control as it appears in the poetry of the period was based on responsive and interactive co-operation which enabled it to function efficiently. Reciprocal interaction between the physical and metaphysical spaces thus constructed creates the functioning universal community in *Maxims II*. By the use of a consistent syntactical patterning the text constructs a totality where such entities as God, stars, monsters,

⁶ Paul Cavill, *Maxims in Old English Poetry* (Cambridge: Brewer, 1976), p.1. For a comprehensive survey of the history of criticism concerning this text see Katie Long, “*Truth is Trickiest*”: *Reading Old English Wisdom as Poetry* (Unpublished PhD thesis, University College Dublin, 2009), pp. 156-162.

⁷ T. A. Shippey, *Poems of Wisdom and Learning in Old English* (Cambridge: Brewer, 1976), p. 15.

and weather, which lie outside the normal confines of either landscape or humanity, all have their appointed places.

The majority of the gnomic assertions in *Maxims II* include the demanding ‘sceal’ (must)⁸ rather than the more neutral ‘byþ’ (is), ‘sceal’ occurring thirty-seven times compared with the ten of ‘byþ.’⁹ Where it appears ‘sceal’ in general indicates a relationship, more often than not a spatial one, between two things, in such a way that they are necessarily bound up together. It is the balancing of this inevitability of relationship that sets out the conditions under which the community of landscape functions and that in turn provides a paradigm for the workings and structure of the human community.

Those things that ‘must’ be something in terms of landscape features are rivers, woods, hills, and the sea. Rivers, which must end in the sea after travelling downwards, have two entries: ‘stream sceal on yðum/mencgan mereflode’ (a river must mingle with the sea current in the waves, lines 23-24) and ‘ea of dune sceal/flodgræg feran’ (a river grey as the sea must travel downhill, lines 30-31).¹⁰ Since ‘stream’ can also refer to ocean currents, and ‘mereflod’ can also refer more simply just to the sea, the first occurrence could perhaps also be rendered ‘a current in the sea must mingle with the waves’; both statements are perfectly accurate as far as the behaviour of the water is concerned. In fact, it does not really matter whether this is a reference to the ultimate destination of the river or the way in which sea currents are mixed and changed by the action of waves, what does matter is that this is the way in

⁸ The possibility of translating ‘sceal’ in other terms and the implications of this are discussed below.

⁹ These numbers include the ‘sceolan’ of line 14 and ‘beop’ of line 1.

¹⁰ There are multiple modern editions of most of these poems and a correspondant lack of unanimity concerning the titles by which they are known and emendations by editors. For the sake of consistency and simplicity all references to titles, line numbering, and punctuation here will be to those of the *Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records* series unless otherwise stated, although other editions have been consulted. Biblical quotations are from the Douay Rheims version. Translations are my own unless otherwise indicated.

which water behaves. All rivers move downwards following what we now know to be gravitational attraction; all rivers end in the sea; both the fresh water from the rivers and the sea currents are churned and mixed by waves.¹¹ Water, in the sea or in the river, has to obey the constraints imposed by gravity, wind, and its own chemical composition, all of which, in this context, have the force of law. The sea itself is identifiable by its composition ‘brim sceal sealte weallan’ (the sea must seethe with salt, line 43). By contrast, the wood and the hill are both signified by appearance: ‘wudu sceal on foldan/ blædum blowan’ (a wood must flourish with fruits on earth, lines 33-34) and ‘beorh sceal on eorþan/ grene standan’ (a hill must stand green on earth, lines 34-35). Both appearance and composition, however, identify the topography in terms of human understanding and use.

In the context of *Maxims II* these simple, evident, straightforward truths are given greater weight and significance than commonsense observations partly by the things with which they are tantalizingly juxtaposed and partly by the use of ‘sceal.’ They must do this or appear as that because of the natural law of how the world works, but also because that is how they are recognisable for what they are; their qualities define them. A wood that does not produce flowers or fruits is not a wood but a collection of dead trees; something standing out high like a hill but coloured the grey of granite or the white of chalk is not a hill, but a cliff; a piece of standing water is not a river because it does not run downhill; if the water is not salty then it is not the sea. The space that each occupies, the qualities it possesses, the way it behaves and interacts with other elements, all help to identify the thing concerned and in doing so, they collectively identify what is normal, usual, and to be expected.

¹¹ In fact to say that we now know the compelling force to be gravitational attraction does not, of itself, explain what it is or how it works. A modern version of a maxim might be ‘gravity must hold the universe together’ which is perfectly true, as far as our understanding goes, but is no more illuminating than the Old English maxims in terms of how and why.

Topographical elements are identified individually by appearance and behaviour. They also relate to each other in ways that create a functioning space for animate inhabitants:

Lyfthelm and laguflod ymb ealra landa gehwylc,
flowan firgenstreamas. Feoh sceal on eorðan
tydran and tyman.

(Cloud and sea-flood, immense currents, flow all around each land. Cattle must beget and propagate on earth, lines 46-48). Most editors take lines 46 and 47a as the qualifying phrase for the previous ‘sceal’ gnome, which is ‘brim sceal sealte wellan’, and therefore avoid the problems caused by the omission of the compelling ‘sceal’ in these lines. Reading them as the commencement of a new pronouncement, however, allows the text to develop and clarify the interrelationship of the constituent elements of the world. From concentrating on defining individual things the poem has altered the focus to a wider understanding of these parts as contributions to the whole. Air, water, land, the sky, and cattle are spatially related; the nature of each one is to interact with the others. The word ‘feoh’ in this extract is a synecdoche for the animal kingdom which lives on the land, but other gnomes in *Maxims II* extend the generality of this into some specific examples and their relationships to the space offered by the landscape.

Landscape relates to its aquatic, ambulant, and volatile denizens in *Maxims II* through their spatial use and orientation. They are locatable by their landscape: ‘wulf sceal on bearowe/ earm anhaga, eofor sceal on holte,/ toðmægnes trum’ (the wretched solitary wolf must be in the wood, the boar, secure of tooth-power, must be in the wood, lines 18-20). Woodland, as discussed above, has its own rules of appearance but in relation to the boar and the wolf it provides the space for occupation and hence

definition. Animals also occupy space in the landscape that is not otherwise mentioned in the text: ‘bera sceal on hæðe,/ eald and egesful’ (the old and fearful bear must be on the heath, lines 29-30) and ‘draca sceal on hlæwe,/ frod, frætsum wlaanc’ (the old dragon must be in a barrow, proud of treasures, lines 26-27).

The landscape is still the focus of their definition, but now it is a reciprocal identification; the animal signifies the landscape while the landscape reciprocally identifies them in terms of habitat. A monster, however fearful, is not a dragon unless it has a barrow with treasure in; these are the signifiers of that particular type of being. They serve as marks of identity: ‘if a dragon does not live in a mound, old and proud of its treasures, you can hardly be sure it *is* a dragon.’¹² It also serves as a warning to humans that that is where an encounter with these animals can be expected. The statements identify their surroundings, the space that they use. These lines are descriptive and definitive but they are also functional in relation to humanity: whether hopeful of finding them while hunting or fearful of finding them while travelling the text clarifies and reminds the audience of which particular physical space they need to seek.

Denizens of the other elements, air and water, have equally fixed patterns of appearance and behaviour: ‘fugel uppe sceal/ lacan on lyfte. Leax sceal on wæle/ mid sceote scriðan’ (a bird must fly aloft in the air. Salmon must glide with trout in a river, lines 38-40) and ‘fisc sceal on wætere/ cynren cennan’ (fish must beget kindred in water, lines 27-28). Hill considers that the first fifty lines of the poem are indicative of the disorder of the world, concluded by a paraphrase of Ecclesiasticus 33:15 in lines fifty to fifty-seven. This passage deals with the natural antagonisms of the world, good against evil, light against dark, youth against age, and so on, summarised in

¹² Cavill, p. 47.

‘pyssse worulde gewinn’ (the strife of this world, line 55) so that, for Hill, the point of the poem is ‘that the disorder which characterizes the world of experience is still part of God’s providential order’.¹³ In his view such gnomes as these are incidental to the main thematic strand of the poem as they ‘do not seem to bear any figurative or symbolic significance’ and are not to be taken too seriously, as they ‘can best be understood as a kind of playful juxtaposition’.¹⁴

However, in the context of the other gnomic assertions concerning the landscape, these seemingly tritely obvious statements provide a basis of understanding as they define by appearance and behaviour. They are, in fact, part of the way that the text creates order and organisation from apparently unconnected and unnecessarily banal observations. As with the land-dwelling animals, fish and birds are identified by their use of the space afforded by the landscape; their movements and behaviour in relation to it are at once constrained and enabled by the landscape. As with those on the bear, boar, and wolf, these lines can also be seen as relative to people; defining both species and type by habitat and behaviour facilitates human contact or avoidance.

There are two different orders of being specified here; the generic categories of fish and birds and the species-specific salmon and trout. Levels of specificity have also been apparent in the lines on topography, which include both the vegetation of woodland and the inanimate hill, and in those concerning animals, which range from the generality of livestock to the precision of boar. The text subtly equates differences of categorisation by using the same syntactic approach for all of them. Place and function, behaviour and appearance are thus linked in the delineation of how things must be. Where something is, how it appears, what it does, all these signal what that something is. Thus, *Maxims II* marks out the signs of what happens when things work

¹³ Hill, p. 447.

¹⁴ Thomas D. Hill, ‘Notes on the Old English “Maxims” I and II’, *Notes and Queries* (1970), 445-447, p. 446.

properly; the reciprocity that is inherent in the functioning of the landscape. The laws of the natural world mean that things must happen in this way, appear the way they do, behave as they do; what is right and fitting ‘must’ be so. Whether the subject of the gnome has a narrow or wide-ranging function and whether recognition comes from appearance or behaviour or habitat does not alter the form. Uniformity of syntax overrides differences of order and modes of definition. Landscape is presented as a united entity wherein disparate species and features interlock and interrelate to form the whole.

Gnomes concerning human society follow the same syntactical pattern as those of the landscape. Definition and recognition are mutually linked by spatial relationships in the metaphysical space that forms the human community as delineated in *Maxims II*. Types, classes, and categories of people are defined by appearance, behaviour, and context. The physical space that is the landscape provides a gnostic paradigm for the interrelated elements that compose the conceptual communal space: ‘gnomic poetry clearly is intended to prescribe societal norms by describing and commenting on appropriate behaviour.’¹⁵

The opening statement of *Maxims II*, ‘cynning sceal rice healdan’ (a king must have a kingdom), carries the same weight and force as the later assertions about rivers, hills and so on, with an equal positivity. The apparent triteness of this opening statement has led people to interpret it in various ways as ‘healdan’ has many possible shades of meaning which cause considerable differences in translation. Some translations imply the concept of the kingdom as a unit, self-contained and sealed, a piece of land that is also a community. Higley sees it as the exercise of kingly

¹⁵ Susan E. Deskis, ‘The Gnostic Woman in Old English Poetry’, *Philological Quarterly*, 73:2 (1994), 133-149, p. 145. Although the focus of this article is the depiction of women, this observation could be held to apply equally to all members of society.

authority, ‘a king must a kingdom govern,’¹⁶ as do Long and Bjork with ‘a king must rule [his] kingdom,’¹⁷ while Hadas takes a more ceremonial view ‘a king must reign over his realm,’¹⁸ and Larrington leans to the practical ‘a king shall maintain his kingdom’.¹⁹ Shippey, in line with the more historical view of a king as a war-leader, translates ‘a king is to guard his kingdom,’²⁰ and this is a view of kingship which acknowledges by implication that any kingdom has borders and is therefore vulnerable to attack; it is still a unit but no longer a sealed one. A king must guard and secure his community against what lies beyond his borders.

All six translations shift the emphasis from the king to the kingdom, which must be ruled over, governed, looked after, and guarded. The king, in these versions, is there for the sake of the kingdom. The emphasis in the remainder of the text, however, suggests that in this gnome the person of the king should be the focus. It is about something much more fundamental than ruling or guarding a kingdom. The fact that the text uses ‘healdan’ rather than ‘wealdan’ here is a means of conveying what it is to be a king; that is to say, you must have and hold a kingdom or you are not a king. The text implies no authority for this, human or divine, nor any further qualification: ‘there is no value judgement attached to it; there is nothing to say, for example, that a king should rule his kingdom well. There is no direction from the text as to how to receive this statement’.²¹ It is precisely this lack of direction that points up the significance of the line, *how* a king rules is not the issue here; what matters is what a king *is*. As a hill is defined by appearance of greenness and height, so a king is

¹⁶ Sarah Lynn Higley, *Between Languages* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1993), p. 272.

¹⁷ Katie Long, “‘Truth is Trickiest’: Reading Old English Wisdom as Poetry” (unpublished PhD thesis, University College Dublin, 2009), p. 170, Robert E. Bjork, *Old English Shorter Poems Vol. II Wisdom and Lyric* (London: Harvard University Press, 2014), p. 175.

¹⁸ Rachel Hadas, in *The Word Exchange*, ed. by Greg Delanty and Michael Matto (London: Norton, 2011), p. 217.

¹⁹ Carolyne Larrington, *A Store of Common Sense* (Oxford: Clarendon 1993), p. 130.

²⁰ Shippey, p. 77.

²¹ Long, p. 169.

marked out in relation to a kingdom, a particular portion of landscape: one who has a kingdom is a king, what he does with that kingdom is of no relevance to recognition of his position.

Society is built up in the text by associations that interrelate categories of people, artefacts, and qualities. Scattered throughout the text are gnomes which demonstrate a fully functioning society: ‘ellen sceal on eorle’ (courage must be in a warrior, line 16); ‘til sceal on eðle/ domes wrycean’ (the good must gain glory in the homeland, lines 20-21); ‘gim sceal on hringe/ standan steap and geap’ (a jewel must stand high and wide on a ring, lines 22-23); ‘cynung sceal on healle/ beagas dælan’ (a king must distribute rings in hall, lines 28-29); ‘treow sceal on eorle’ (fidelity must be in a warrior, lines 32-33); ‘duru sceal on healle/ rum recedes muð’ (a door must be in a hall, wide mouth of the building, lines 36-37). When assembled together, as here, they can be seen to contextualise the subject matter of each one in relation to all the others. In the same way that gnomes concerning the landscape focussed on the interactive associations of different categories, so these lines construct the human community by the relationship of qualities, performance, appearance, and artefacts.

The gnomes that specify definitive rules for individual features and denizens of the landscape are gathered into a unity by the lines discussed above where air and water surround the land and animals reproduce on it. The gnomes on human society are similarly focussed around the ‘cynung sceal on healle/ beagas dælan.’ This maxim is the still centre which is supported and explained by the others. Courage in a warrior produces the good, which can be either the deeds he does or the man himself, the good is rewarded by glory and the glory is shown by the presentation of gifts in the hall. The succinct account of the workings of Anglo-Saxon society in these lines from *Maxims II* validates and places both hall and king in relation to the rest of the

community.

As with the landscape, these are identifying markers, things to look for, a means of recognising relationships and checking performance by behaviour and appearance. Tangible symbols of glory, offered and received in public ceremonies, establish the position and power of both donor and recipient:

Every presentation was a badge of honour for the recipient and a mark of nobility and largesse for the donor; this was an economy of prestige in which gold necklaces, ring-hilted swords, battle-coats, helmets and horses were the currency.²²

This currency of prestige is the reason why a jewel must stand high and wide on a ring. It is not the jewel which is defined by its setting, nor the ring which is defined by the size of the jewel. What this gnome defines is the standard of generosity expected. The jewel must stand high and wide to mark the value of the gift, as the hills must stand green; the nature of both hill and generosity is marked by how they stand.

Hence ‘geongne æþeling sceolan gode gesiðas/ byldan to beaduwe and to beahgife’ (good companions must urge a young prince to battle and ring-giving, lines 14-15), specifies the behaviour of both companions and prince in terms of the other, but also refers to the communal standard of expectation. There is an unspoken corollary to these gnomes concerning behaviour and rewards in society which is that they can only function in a community and with community assent. So, while the good man must gain honour, it behoves society to grant him honour; a king has, by implication, a faithful band of united followers to whom to give the treasure and a hall in which to do so. There is balance and reciprocity in the workings of the human community through the operations of the compelling ‘sceal’ so that loyalty in a follower is rewarded by rings in the hall and fame in the homeland just as the hills

²² Stephen Pollington, ‘The Mead-Hall Community’, *Journal of Medieval History*, 37:1 (2011), 19-33, p. 27.

stand out green because of their height and this allows the rivers to run downwards while the river provides water for the fish to reproduce in.

The human community is shown as a sub-set of the universal community, structured in the same way, and interactive as a component of the wider category. Human society, in the ideal form as envisaged in *Maxims II*, is a conceptual parallel to the landscape by its structure of interlocked components. The metaphysical landscape of humanity is itself a component of the physical; the interactions between them are represented in *Maxims II* by the gnomes concerning the hawk and the mast. The hawk provides an immediate and clear association: ‘hafuc sceal on glofe/ wilde gewunian’ (the wild hawk must remain on the glove, lines 17-18); here a human, an artefact and a creature are all bound together. People thus have a direct and continuing contact with the creature and through that an interactive relationship with the landscape which is not only the source of the bird but also the arena for its use by mankind.

The mast is also the instrument of the associative link between people and the landscape, but here the inferred element is the landscape, whereas in the lines on the hawk the inferred element was the person wearing the glove. Following the well-established syntactical pattern the mast is defined by context and function: ‘mæst sceal on ceole/ segelgyrd seomian’ (a mast must hang the sailyard on a ship, lines 24-25). The straightforward relationship here is between the ship and the mast: a mast can only function as a mast in a ship, it ceases to have function if removed, but equally the ship needs a mast before it can sail; neither is capable of fulfilling its purpose when incomplete. Furthermore, the ship cannot sail alone, it requires a human to launch, guide, and steer it. Neither is it functional, however skilful the sailor, without wind and water, those elements that surround all lands. Humanity is interacting with the landscape by means of the mast in the ship, forming an intricate

interlaced pattern that encompasses different categories of component.

Landscape is also a means whereby the productive and useful members of society can be distinguished from those that are less so. *Maxims II* is a pragmatic text, recognising that within any community there are undesirable elements. In this context landscape is both practical and symbolic since even these unwanted ones have their identifying markers of place and behaviour: ‘þeof sceal gangan þystrum wederum. Þyrs sceal on fenne gewunian/ ana innan lande’ (a thief must go forth in gloomy weather. A monster must live in the fen, alone in the land, lines 42-43a). Here the unpleasant weather and unusable land provide a space in which the thief and giant can operate: ‘the thief and the *þyrs* roam in the same murky hinterland’.²³ They may not be ideal members of the community, but there is, in fact, nothing in the text itself to suggest this. The gnomes concerning them are given in the same manner as those which deal with kings, nobles, and warriors in human society, the rivers, bear, and boar that occupy the landscape, and the mast, ring, and shield boss that lie between the two, having been created by men from materials to be found in the landscape. Recognisably defined by the space they occupy, and consequently identifiable, thief and monster are simply a part of the world; the poem offers no condemnation.

In addition to that which is part of this world, *Maxims II* also offers observations on the community and landscape of heaven: ‘God sceal on heofonum,/ dæda demend (God, judge of deeds, must be in heaven, lines 35-36); ‘scur sceal on heofonum,/ winde geblanden, in þas wnm oruld cuman’ (a shower must come, mixed with wind, into this world from heaven, lines 40-41); ‘tungol sceal on heofenum/ beorhte scinan, swa him bebead meotud’ (a star must shine brightly in the heavens, as the creator commanded it, lines 48-49). Heaven has features, an occupant, and a

²³ Larrington, p. 134.

spatial relationship with this world. As with the rivers and wood on earth, so the poem identifies the heavens in terms that enable recognition and definition. Appearance, position, and behaviour all contribute, following the pattern established by the text in defining markers of earthly things. Heaven is thus part of the landscape of this world, structured in the same way.

The text thus offers to the undesirable, omnipotent, or inanimate, accommodating spaces within a wider communal landscape. There is an equality of opportunity in the arrangement of creation which is enabled by the form of the poem. Neither condemnation nor praise has any function in *Maxims II*; the order of the world is deducible by observation and experience of the external spatial relationships. By extension, these then apply to the metaphysical spatial relationships of the human community. That community interacts with the physical world, resulting in a seamlessly harmonious order of being that is enabled to encompass all orders, types, and categories of its component elements through the same basic structure.

The manner in which component parts of landscape and humanity interlock is itself provided with an exemplar by the physical structure of *Maxims II*. The form of the verse explains the content, and both together indicate the purpose, which is the necessity of place for the balanced workings of any society, human, animal or landscape. Cavill, after surveying, (and largely dismissing), the views of previous scholarly writing on the subject, concludes that both *Maxims I* and *Maxims II* have a social function and should therefore be seen in a social context. Both ‘are poetic and purposive’ and they ‘do not lack a context for interpretation but in some sense *constitute* a context for the interpretation of Old English poetry:’ that is, ‘the purpose of the poems is educational in the sense of presenting what everybody knows’.²⁴ By

²⁴ Cavill, pp. 158 and 183 respectively.

this presentation of commonly held knowledge in such a form the text allows the audience to recognise and understand the unifying validity of this knowledge in the further understanding of the world. The irrefutable gnomonic assertions about such features as hills and rivers provide the basis for comprehension of the remainder; the metaphysical space of the human community is structured according to the rules of the observed landscape.

Based on the landscape, creation is shown to reveal the interlocking of disparate elements of a community and the interlocking of entire communities to form the wider one that is the world as known to humanity. Their relationship is shown by the physical form and structure of the text as well as the syntactical and semantic repetition. With only four exceptions, the text begins with a ‘sceal’ gnome in the second half of a line, and for the vast majority of these, that is for twenty-seven out of the thirty-seven instances, the gnome requires a full line to complete the meaning, so the form expressed in half lines is b-a. Of those remaining, either they use the a-line only (lines 1a, 16a, 42a), or start on the b-line but use more than the first part of the following line (lines 40b, 43b, 45b), or in the more generalised observations of lines 50-51, there is a gnome in the a-line, followed by one in the b-line. That is to say, there are no gnomes of the ‘sceal’ type referring to the interactive workings of the world which stand alone as whole lines. Given the metrical requirements of Old English verse, this ensures that the alliteration and the stressed syllables function across the gnomonic boundaries, so each one is physically bound into its position in the text by those which precede and follow it.

This complex arrangement of gnomes makes a significant contribution to the way that the text can be received. Howe, discussing the possible structure of *Maxims II*, after observing that ‘there is little apparent reason for the order of the individual

maxims' goes on to add 'one could easily alter the order of the poem without significantly affecting its sense'.²⁵ In the case of the 'sceal' gnomes it would only be possible to do this by changing large portions of the text, not altering individual maxims; to take out any one means leaving a jagged gap in the text. The sequence may not have an immediate appeal to a modern idea of logical order but it is intricately dovetailed metrically. It is this which mirrors the order of the world as revealed in the contents of the text. The communal nature of the world is such that each separate component cannot stand alone, each must interlock with others for its existence.

The metrical demands of the verse form enable humanity to be presented as part of the landscape. Alliteration and stress are instrumental in creating a dual aspect of understanding for the wolf, which is at once a wild animal and a dispossessed human. The gnome begins 'wulf sceal' but because of the intricacy of the text the line in which it occurs is 'wilde gewunian wulf sceal on bearowe' (the wild wolf must live in the wood, line 18). This would be a perfectly acceptable definition by context as compared with the rest of the poem, but it would restrict the meaning to solely that of the animal, while it would also violate the standard pattern of the gnomic pronouncements in the text. However, the gnome extends the possibilities of meaning to include people by the qualifying phrase for the wolf gnome in the following line which is 'earn anhaga'²⁶ (wretched solitary, line 19), thus placing wolves in the context of the landscape as an indication of their status within the human community.

The Anglo-Saxon ideal of society was the communal one and therefore to be

²⁵ Nicholas Howe, *The Old English Catalogue Poems* (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1985), p. 164.

²⁶ That is, if the normal editorial practice of emending the manuscript reading of 'earn' is followed. Bollard, in 'The Cotton Maxims', *Neophilologus*, 57 (1973), 179-187 is the only editor who does not do so, commenting that it is 'debateable whether "earn anhaga" is a sentiment which an Anglo-Saxon would apply to a wolf,' p. 186.

alone suggested a person without status or position. Solitary strangers wandering in woodland were assumed to have nefarious intent. This was so firmly grounded in Anglo-Saxon belief that it was early on enshrined in law. One of the items of the seventh century lawcode of Ine of Kent reads:

Gif feorcund mon oððe fremde butan wege geond
wudu gonge and ne hrieme ne horn blæwe for ðeof he
bið to profianne.

(If a man who comes from afar or is a stranger is outside of the path through the wood and does not shout nor blow a horn he is assumed to be a thief).²⁷ The unknown and solitary person from beyond the confines of a settlement is to be regarded as a threat, since this is the antithesis of community. Even Beowulf and his men, on their unheralded arrival in Denmark, are challenged by the coastguard:

Nu ge feorbuend,
mereliðende, mine gehyrað
anfealdne geþoht: ofost is selest
to gecyðanne hwanan eowre cyme syndon.

(now you foreigners, sea-voyagers, pay attention to my frank opinion: you would do best to announce quickly where you are coming from, lines 254-257).²⁸ To be a member of a community argues that a person is a known participator in communal activities:

It is important not only to belong but to be seen to belong:
participating in the social rituals of conversation, worship, gift-giving
and fighting is participating in the meaningful world. Being alone is
the denial of meaning because meaning is socially constructed.²⁹

²⁷ Text from F. L. Attenborough, *The Laws of the Earliest English Kings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922), p. 42.

²⁸ Text and translation from Michael Swanton ed. and trans., *Beowulf* revd. ed. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), pp. 46 and 47.

²⁹ Cavill, p. 182.

The literary formula for this is ‘*earn anhaga*’ which occurs in two other poems besides *Maxims II*, *The Wanderer*, and *Beowulf*. In both it refers to people. Beowulf is described thus as the sole survivor of the battle in Frisia which saw the death of Hygelac (line 2367), and the outcast protagonist of *The Wanderer* is ‘*earnne anhogan*’ (line 40). So the phrase in *Maxims II* turns the concept away from the animal in the woodland to an outcast person.

Even a cursory examination of the Old English poetic corpus reveals that the wolf is also a poetic symbol of outcast status.³⁰ *Riddle Fifty-Five* refers to the wooden structure which is its solution as ‘*wulfheafedtreo*’ (wolfhead tree, line 12), that is, a gallows. *Maxims I* makes the link between the outcast human and the wolf explicit: ‘*wineleas wonsælig mon genimeð him wulfas to geferan/ felafrecne deor*’ (a friendless unhappy man takes wolves, very treacherous beasts, as comrades for himself, lines 146-147). By extension it is an opprobrious epithet for undesirable humans; in *The Battle of Maldon* the Danes are ‘*wælwulfas*’ (slaughter-wolves, line 96) and the approaching Egyptians in *Exodus* are ‘*hare heoruwulfas*’ (grey battle-wolves, line 181). In *Wulf and Eadwacer* the title persona may be interpreted as either man or animal; if that Wulf is taken to be a person there is considerable ambiguity about the ‘*uncerne earnne hwelp/ bireð wulf to wuda*’ (wolf bears our wretched whelp to the woods, lines 16-17). Most modern editors capitalise all other occurrences of the word in the text, so that, in this line, it appears to be an animal that is removing the offspring of a human, but this imposes meaning by modern printing conventions only. There is in fact nothing in the text that implies that this ‘wulf’ is different from the one apostrophised in lines four, nine, and thirteen. Danielli, considering instances from Norse analogues as well as the Anglo-Saxon evidence, concludes ‘the kenning

³⁰ There is a large body of work on this subject, some of which is cited below. For a good overview see Alexander Pluskowski, *Wolves and the Wilderness in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2006).

Wulf stands for war, violence, treason, crime, cruelty, blood revenge, shape shifting and bestial behaviour.³¹ Fanagan regards this use of ‘wulf’ as indicative of deliberate subtlety on the part of the text so that both man and animal are invoked: ‘such is the skill and intention of the poet, both are simultaneously correct’.³² The wolf in *Wulf and Eadwacer* is an ambiguous creature, the name symbolising all that is outcast, alone, wretched, and friendless which is borne out by the content of the narrative.

This poetic formulaic use of wolves enables the gnome in *Maxims II* to use landscape to express the reverse of the gnomes concerning the positive side of the human community, courage, ring-giving, and the place of the hall. However, it still retains authenticity if considered purely as a definitive assertion concerning the wild animal. The human community has been shown to be a subset of the world, structured according to the same principles, but the metaphysical space it occupies interacts with the physical space at its boundaries.

Some parts of the human community become the landscape in the interlocked gnomic assertions of *Maxims II*. The army is a united community of its own in the poem ‘fyrd sceal ætsomne/ tirfæstra getrum’ (an army must be together, a troop of glorious ones, lines 31-32), but since this starts, as is customary, on the b-line, the whole of the line reads ‘flodgræg feran fyrd sceal ætsomne’ (sea-grey the army must go together, line 31). When Beowulf’s men leave their weapons outside Heorot these are described as ‘æscholt ufan græg’ (ashwood grey at the top, line 330), the grey being the metal spearheads; hence an army moving with upraised spears could indeed be described as sea-grey movement. The unity of the world is also a unity of thought. The unity of thought restructures separation by category into a catalogue that is a

³¹ Sonja Danielli, ‘*Wulf Min Wulf*: An Eclectic Analysis of the Wolf-man’, *Neophilologus*, 91 (2007), 505-524, p. 522.

³² John M. Fanagan, ‘*Wulf and Eadwacer*: A Solution to the Critics’ Riddle’, *Neophilologus*, 60 (1976), 130-137, p. 132.

single united order of being.

One aspect of the controlling form of the text is its consistent use of 'seal'. Thus far, 'seal' has been treated as if there can only be one possibility of meaning and implication by always considering the translation to be 'must.' However, given that there is considerable difference in the subject matter of these gnomes, and that common human experience would suggest some of them might better be regarded as desirable rather than inevitable, not all scholars would agree with the idea that 'seal' has a fixed meaning in the text.

For the lines discussed above there are inhibiting implicit caveats against a too-literal understanding. Obviously a jewel set in a necklace or a sword pommel rather than a ring remains a jewel, for example; even when set in a ring it remains a jewel if it is inset rather than standing out. In the same way, a boar need not spend the entirety of its existence within the confines of woodland and fidelity is not the sole prerogative of warriors. Within the context of the poem, however, all these assertions are equally valid, although the attempts of some scholars to insist on the necessity of either constancy or variety for meanings of 'seal' can obscure this.

Greenfield and Evert, seeking consistency in lines 14-54a, which contain the majority of 'seal' instances, consider that 'if there *is* a single meaning for *seal* that would make good sense in all the gnomes in this passage, such would seem more suitable to the poem's design.' They therefore translate as 'is typically,' which does make good sense for most of the passage, but falls foul of lines 27b-28a when it results in 'the fish typically produces its offspring in water.'³³ Howe, on the other hand, sees no necessity to attempt such consistency:

³³Stanley B. Greenfield and Richard Evert, 'Maxims II: Gnome and Poem', in *Anglo-Saxon Poetry: Essays in Appreciation*, ed. by Lewis E. Nicholson and Dolores Warwick Frese (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1975), pp. 337-354, pp. 346 and 348 respectively.

any argument for a fixed meaning of *sceal* renders the poet of *Maxims II* a bit obtuse; it portrays him as unable or unwilling to make discriminations between highly different aspects of the world around him. A poet who attributes wisdom to a man with the same degree of certainty as he attributes a boss to a shield is not entirely to be trusted. For not even in the most idealized view do these two attributes (wisdom and boss) belong to the same order of experience and certainty. To insist upon an invariable sense for *sceal* deprives the poem of its interest and value.³⁴

The polarity of these views, that there should or should not be a fixed interpretation of ‘*sceal*’, undermines the subtleties of the text in using the word in this way. The landscape sets the standards for the human community by the way in which everything in it is defined and ordered in terms of position, appearance, and function and also by the way in which the different parts of it, animate or topographical, depend on, and relate to, each other. It is in this sense that the text connects what Howe regards as ‘highly different aspects of the world’ (see above). In the same way that a boss has no function unless it is part of a shield, so wisdom is only a functionless concept if it does not reside in a man, and any animal, however fishlike, that produces its offspring on land is not a fish. That the common human experience would suggest that wisdom does not, in fact, reside in every man, does not alter the fundamental principle that in the ideal community as envisaged by the Anglo-Saxon viewpoint it should. Both have the same inevitable rightness as rivers running downhill and hills standing out green. Landscape provides implicit parallels by juxtaposition.

By not drawing explicit parallels or connections between these oddly juxtaposed and seemingly inconsequential snippets of information, the poem ensures that each statement or gnome carries the same weight and force. There is no ranking of the gnomes or direct comparison between them, neither is there any hint of

³⁴ Howe, *The Old English Catalogue Poems*, p. 164.

progression from one to the next, despite the attempts by some scholars to see such links.³⁵ The categorisation that Howe considers to be a means of distinguishing the attributes of wisdom and shield bosses is superseded in *Maxims II* by the syntactical uniformity of context. The poem denies the possibility of categorisation by its form and the alliterative links between the gnomes.

What is unassailably true, such as the fact that rivers run downhill, fish reproduce in water, stars appear in the sky, and the defining characteristic of a king is that he has a kingdom, sets the standard for the remainder. Landscape offers a means by which human society can be measured. The apparent self-sufficiency of any individual statement concerning object, feature, creature or person is belied by the metrical context which demands that each is completed by another. Different orders of experience, being, behaviour, location, and appearance are thus shown to be interdependent by the gnomic and poetic construction of the text. The boundaries of these apparently separate categories are negated by *Maxims II* by the way in which they are expressed. The physical form of the poem is an exemplar of the ideal of community.

The poem provides, largely through the syntactic and semantic means discussed above, a way of understanding the human community in terms of the landscape, and the world as a composite of both communities in combination. The sense of humans and landscape working together, acting and reacting on one another to provide a greater community, provides the connective unity of *Maxims II*. The human community is expressed by the landscape; the compelling ‘sceal,’ in denying the possibility of categorisation, authorises the Anglo-Saxon ideal society. There is a

³⁵ See, for example, Larrington on the possibility of a thought-sequence induced by paronomasia in lines 32b-34a, p. 132 and Audrey L. Meaney, ‘The *Ides* of the Cotton Gnostic Poem’, in *New Readings on Women in Old English Literature*, ed. by Helen Damico and Alexandra Hennessy Olsen (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1990), pp.158-175 at pp. 165-166.

synthesis of landscape and human community which together make up the wider community that is the Anglo-Saxon world. Its structure is an interweaving of the two.

Landscape is the basis of this model of the ideal, containing as it does a great variety of individual items of different orders of being. Nothing in it stands alone, everything is linked, connected, dependant on others for its form, its being, its definition, place, and purpose. Syntax, semantics, and the demands of the metrical form all combine in the text to produce the image of a universal community, which operates within a landscape that may function on the macrocosmic or microcosmic scale. The generalities refer to the workings of the world, explaining how things are, while the finer details are a culturally constructed set of ideas. The paradigm of the landscape in *Maxims II* extends beyond the human community to embrace the wider communal nature of God's creation.

When the poetic focus narrows to the human community the cultural norms are also delineated through the landscape; as a partner to humanity landscape can be constructive in enforcing societal rules for behaviour. The human component of a community in *Maxims II* is almost wholly masculine, with women mentioned only in connection with secrecy and deception (lines 43-45). In contrast, *The Wife's Lament* shows landscape as policing a community where the rules have been broken: the landscape that surrounds the protagonist of *The Wife's Lament* is presented as complicit with her community in controlling her position.

The imprisoning landscape of *The Wife's Lament*.

The Wife's Lament presents to an audience which is within a community a personalized view of what lies outside it. The comprehension of the woman's plight is formulated through the landscape, rather than by any explicit denunciation of her solitary position. The individuality in this text conflicts with the communal ideal of

Anglo-Saxon England: 'recognition and identification came through others, through the community which surrounded and contained the individual.'³⁶ The essential basis of identity is lost for the protagonist of *The Wife's Lament* who is devoid of the context of human society and the bonds of kinship, power and obligations which derive from it. To be a member of a human community is to have a specified place and function, a position by which to be identified. This is as true for the female members of society as for the male: in the Old English poetic corpus women are assigned particular tasks, in contexts which, as shown below, focus on interiors.³⁷ The landscape of those women excluded from society therefore denies them a function: 'the insistence on community in Old English poetry is such that in many poems it appears that the life of the individual has no meaning away from community'.³⁸ In presenting the protagonist through a surrounding landscape the poem demonstrates her unfitness to be part of her community; an external setting is one in which she is unable to fulfil any of society's expectations.

The position of women in the heroic world depicted in Old English poetry was small but important. Magennis refers to their role as 'an honoured but subordinate one, as *ides* 'lady' and as patriarchal family member, mother, daughter or wife.'³⁹ It is important too, to remember that 'the portrait of women in Old English literature reflects predominantly, or perhaps even exclusively, male attitudes.'⁴⁰ This is not to say that the female role is necessarily presented negatively; Belanoff regards their

³⁶ Pauline E. Head, *Representation and Design* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1997), p. 35.

³⁷ Not all critics would accept the protagonist of *The Wife's Lament* as female; see Rudolph C. Bambas 'Another View of the Old English "Wife's Lament"', *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 62 (1963), 303-309 which makes the case for a masculine speaker.

³⁸ Hugh Magennis, *Images of Community in Old English Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p.32.

³⁹ Hugh Magennis, "'No Sex Please, We're Anglo-Saxons'?: Attitudes to Sexuality in Old English Prose and Poetry', *Leeds Studies in English*, n.s. 26 (1995), 1-27, p. 11.

⁴⁰ Susan E. Deskis, 'The Gnostic Women in Old English Poetry', *Philological Quarterly*, 73 (1994), 133-149, p. 133.

representation as almost wholly positive ‘within the resources available to Anglo-Saxon poets was a traditional image of the female: an intelligent, strong-minded, usually glowing or shining, verbally adept woman, whose actions are resolute and self-initiated.’⁴¹ Their function was essentially to provide the heroes, to perpetuate the order of society with grace and dignity during ceremonies in the hall, and to ensure a background of domestic comfort. The female role is therefore expressed in terms of its importance in ensuring these cultural constraints by means of their relationship to their masculine counterparts. In *Dream of the Rood* the cross is able to explain its own importance relative to other trees by drawing an explicit parallel between itself and Mary because of their relationship to Christ:

Hwæt, me þa geweorþode wuldres ealdor
ofer holtwudu heofonrices weard
swylce swa he his modor eac Marian sylfe
æelmihtig god for ealle men
geweorþode ofer ealle wifa cynn

(listen, the prince of glory, guardian of the heavenly kingdom, honoured me then over the trees of the wood just as, before all men, he, almighty God, also honoured his mother Mary herself over all the race of women, lines 90-94). Mary’s continuing position regarding humankind stems from her function as a mother and this provides the basis for understanding the relative significance of the cross. The symbolic status of Mary as a direct consequence of her relationship with Christ is paralleled by that of the tree. All other trees and all other women are equated in subordination to them both. The importance of Mary is not for what she is but for the son she has borne; her significance lies only in her relationship to Christ.

⁴¹ Pat Belanoff, ‘The Fall (?) of the Old English Female Poetic Image’, *PMLA*, 104 (1989), 822-831, p. 822.

Maxims I is the most explicit of the poems as far as the duties of women is concerned, in both higher and lower echelons of Anglo-Saxon society. Landscape is excluded from any possibility of significance in this regard since all these duties are contextualised by man-made surroundings. The occupations of a woman are solely domestic and ceremonial as expressed in this poem; in both spheres of operation they take place indoors. It is, in fact, much more detailed as to the duties and attitudes of the wife of a noble than it is as regards the nobleman himself:

Guð sceal in eorle,
wig weaxen, ond wif geþeon
leof mid hyre leodum, leohtmod wesan,
rune healdan, rumheort beon
mearum ond maþmum meodorædenne
for gesiðmægen symle æghwær
eodor æþelinge ærest gegretan,
forman fulle to frean hond
ricene geræcan, ond him ræd witan
boldagendum bæm ætsomne.

(martial ability and valour must flourish in a nobleman and his wife thrive, loved by her people, must be light-hearted, keep secrets, in every way be liberal at the feast for the warrior band with horses and treasures in the mead-fellowship saluting first the lord of the nobles; must present the cup first to the ruler, to the lord's hand, and know what counsel to offer as rulers of the hall, both together, lines 83-92).⁴² The ceremonial duties, offering the cup in the correct social sequence, ensuring that customs of generosity to followers are adhered to, are the public counterpart of the

⁴² Text and punctuation from Bernard Muir, *The Exeter Anthology of Old English Poetry*, rev 2nd edn (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2000), pp. 252-253.

personal duties, keeping secrets, offering advice, remaining cheerful. In both public and private domains the place of a noble-woman is that of enabling society to continue smoothly; she is to consider custom and practice, to guide conduct, and to aid in maintaining order through these duties.

The sailor's wife is expected to be equally supportive of her husband when he returns from voyaging:

heo hine in laðap
wæsceð his warig hrægl ond him syleþ wæde niwe,
liþ him on londe þæs his lufu bædeð.

(she invites him in, washes his dirty clothing and gives him fresh apparel, yields to him on land what his love expects, lines 97-99). In general, 'fæmne æt hyre bordan geriseð' (a woman belongs at her distaff, line 62).⁴³ These are private functions, but the public face of society is implicit in these lines too. Clean, clothed, and satisfied, the sailor, who has fulfilled his own function as bread-winner, is now able to be fully part of the land-bound community because the woman has correctly performed her role. Both are essential to the continued harmony of the group, in responsive co-operation.

All of these female roles are ones which are centred on buildings, they take place indoors, away from any kind of landscape, in a man-made environment. Therefore the very fact that the female protagonist of *The Wife's Lament* is in a position where all that is visible is the external landscape, rather than being contained within buildings, immediately denies her the functions assigned to females in society. The bonds of community are strained, if not broken, by a woman being out of doors,

⁴³ 'bordan' is most often taken as 'embroidery' but in glosses also refers to a staff or stick; hence could here be a reference to a distaff. This would also widen the reference to include all women since weaving and spinning would necessarily have been tasks undertaken in all households whereas embroidery is a somewhat more specialised occupation.

devoid of hall, distaff, private duties, and public ceremonies. The landscape that surrounds her ensures that she has been abstracted from any communal role.

The protagonist of *The Wife's Lament* does have a hall but it is an 'eorðsele' (earth hall, line 29) and an 'eorðscræfe' and 'eorðscrafu' (earth cave, lines 28 and 36).⁴⁴ It is not a building wherein to enact ceremonies, entertain companions or perform domestic duties but a part of the landscape: 'she is outside the bounds of the civilized life of society symbolized by the hall in Old English poetry, both secular and sacred'.⁴⁵ The space that she occupies is one that denies cultural expectations: 'it is a difference not only of space or proximity, but also social status, degree, perhaps rank'.⁴⁶ Her physical situation being literally outside rather than inside graphically depicts her psychological standing as an outsider as far as the community is concerned. Her function is denied by the simple fact of the presence of landscape because it instantly debars her from fulfilling the duties that society both expects and demands.

In addition to the denial of function to the protagonist through the landscape, *The Wife's Lament* also denies function to the landscape itself. There is an unusually strong insistence in the poem on the specifics of the landscape, in particular the presence of the 'actreo' (oaktree, lines 28 and 36). In both lines it is closely associated with the earth cave or earth hall, which leads to the suggestion that there is some

⁴⁴ There is some critical debate as to the correct interpretation of these words: see Emily Jensen, 'The Wife's Lament "Eorðscræf": Literal or Figurative Sign?', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 9 (1990), 449-457; Earl R. Anderson, 'The Uncarpeted World of Old English Poetry', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 26 (1997), 65-80, and Paul Battles, 'Of Graves, Caves, and Subterranean Dwellings: "Eorðscræf" and "Eorðsele" in *The Wife's Lament*', *Philological Quarterly*, 73 (1994), 267-286. Battle comments 'it makes a difference whether we are to imagine her living in a hovel, a grave, or a heathen sanctuary' (p. 267) but these differences do not affect the impact that the landscape has on the inhibition of social function.

⁴⁵ Nicholas Howe, 'The Landscape of Anglo-Saxon England: Inherited, Invented, Imagined', in *Inventing Medieval Landscape*, ed. by John Howe and Michael Wolfe (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2002), pp. 91-112, p. 106.

⁴⁶ Shari Horner, *The Discourse of Enclosure* (New York: State University of New York Press, 2001), p. 45.

allusive link between the two:

the collocation of the *actreo* and the *eorðscræf* would remain obscure, but for their striking analogues, not only from Nordic prose and Middle English, but the Bible and Poetic Edda; though, admittedly, *WfL* is the only instance where precisely these two elements are specifically combined, so interpreting the collocation must be difficult.⁴⁷

Ultimately, Hall sees the collocation as essentially one which combined ideas of pagan sites with caves, concluding ‘this seems to point to the speaker’s oak-tree as primarily a place of sanctuary rather than banishment – though, of course, the two phenomena may be closely associated, in both narrative and emotional terms’.⁴⁸ The landscape in this case would appear to be used in a way that subverts its original designation as an especially sacred place for a community to one which can be used only by those judged unfit to belong to that community.

There is also a more practical denial of usage as far as the oak tree is concerned. *The Rune Poem* is clear as to the importance of the oak:

Ac byþ on eorþan elda bearnum
flæsces fodor, fereþ gelome
ofer ganotes bæþ; garsecg fandap
hwæþer ac hæbbe æpele treowe

(the oak leaves fodder on the ground to make flesh for the children of men, and often travels across the gannet’s bath; the ocean tests whether the oak will keep faith nobly, lines 77-80).⁴⁹ That is, it provides acorns to fatten pigs and the wood with which to make ships; the ocean will test the sea-worthiness of each vessel. Oaks thus have a dual use in Anglo-Saxon terms, both aspects being of considerable importance and

⁴⁷ Alaric Hall, ‘The Images and Structure of *The Wife’s Lament*’, *Leeds Studies in English*, ns 33 (2002) 1-29, p. 9.

⁴⁸ Hall, p. 11.

⁴⁹ Translation from T. Shippey, *Poems of Wisdom and Learning in Old English* (Cambridge: Brewer, 1976), p.85.

easily appreciated by all levels of society. Yet neither is available to the speaker of *The Wife's Lament*. She sits beneath the oak, but cannot utilize the fruit for food nor the wood for ship-building; all she can do, apparently, is to sit and weep. The oak is unable to fulfil its own role as a part of society due to her estrangement; she inhibits the normal exploitation of the resources it offers by her presence which effectively bars this particular place from communal usage. The bonds between the community and the landscape that defines and contains it are broken by the situation that results from her exclusion from society. While the protagonist is denied her proper role and function by the landscape, her presence in it also denies the landscape its proper role and function as a support and help to humanity. Both woman and landscape are shown to be bereft of purpose when community is absent from the narrative.

The protagonist of *The Wife's Lament* has been ordered to a specific location: 'het mec hlaford min herheard niman' (my lord commanded me to occupy this sanctuary, line 15) and 'heht mec mon wunian on wuda bearwe' (the man commanded me to live in this grove of trees, line 27). In both lines the instruction is precise, she must occupy that particular part of the landscape. By this insistence the poem implies a local site, one which is itself under the control of the man. The landscape is reconstructed by the text into a man-made feature, a prison, a place of solitary confinement. It has been assigned a function to perform on behalf of the community, colluding in the imposition of societal rules and control.

The trees themselves are only one feature of a landscape that is apparently designed to enclose and confine:

sindon dena dimme, duna uphea
bitre burgtunas, brerum beweaxne
wic wynna leas.

(there are dark valleys, lofty hills, bitter town-enclosures overgrown with brambles, a place devoid of joy, lines 30-32). The *hapax legomenon* ‘burgtun’ is not easy to translate, both elements of the compound would normally refer to a settlement of some kind, made by men and for them, rather than a natural feature of the landscape. Its context here suggests an ironic inversion of the natural landscape into a fortified enclosure, but one which is fortified against escape from within rather than invasion from without. The bitterness with which the protagonist endows them is ambiguously ironic. The tone of the remainder of the text suggests that this is a transferred epithet of her own feelings but it also includes the possibility that, as the landscape is deprived of its natural function in relation to humanity, it is itself bitter. This would render it a rare example of the personification of landscape in Old English poetry, but the closeness of her identification with the landscape throughout the poem allows for both interpretations.

Howe considers the landscape as purely an emanation of the protagonist:

The power of this lament comes, on repeated readings, not so much from what the woman reveals about herself as from the way she speaks of, and thus through, her landscape. The ominous oak tree, the earth cave that seems a lonely inversion of the meadhall, the dark valleys and high hills, the site overgrown with briars – this is where she finds herself in both the most literal and psychological senses.⁵⁰

While the landscape of *The Wife’s Lament* is literal and psychological it is also figurative of her position relative to her community; that is, it has become desolate from a former state of socially interactive usefulness. The landscape has been converted by the text into a built environment while at the same time it is endowed with the qualities of an animate being. The text thus ensures that the landscape both encloses and is symbolic of enclosure.

⁵⁰ Howe, ‘The Landscape of Anglo-Saxon England’, p. 92.

Since it is also ‘brerum beweaxne’ the ‘burgtun’ is a ruined landscape, abandoned and reverting to its natural state. Unlike the other mentions of ruins in the Old English poetic corpus, in *The Wanderer* and *The Ruin*, this is distinguished by returning vegetation, not piles of defunct masonry. The brambles are an imprisoning feature of the physical landscape used by the poem as a metaphor for the woman’s situation. She has moved from life within a community, where she had both place and purpose, to her present position, where she is abandoned and deserted yet still constrained. Her previous experience was in the human context of buildings and interiors, now she has only the ‘eorðsele’ (earth-hall, line 29) and the surrounding landscape, which is a forbidding bramble-covered enclosure, ruined and desolate. Landscape is more than a single enclosure in *The Wife’s Lament*, it is a series of them: she ‘lives confined to an “earth-cave” under an oak tree, within a grove, surrounded by thorny branches – contained, in other words, by at least three layers of barriers’.⁵¹ The existence of the landscape ensures that the usual role of women in society is denied her, but landscape does more than that, it imprisons and restricts physically as it symbolises the communal will.

The protagonist of *The Wife’s Lament* remains in a landscape associated with her community but without function, purpose or company. Landscape imprisons her in a way that makes absolute and inevitable the link between the external physical realities of the individual and the internal psychological perceptions of society which are then carried over so that they are conveyed to the audience by that individual. The landscape holds her apart and contains her in solitary confinement. It is the external landscape which enables the audience, itself part of a community, to fully appreciate the consequences of being separated from the group.

⁵¹ Horner, p. 49.

The structure of the human community is expressed by the content and the form of *Maxims II*, using the landscape as an exemplar. In *The Wife's Lament* the landscape is shown to be instrumental in policing individuals within a community. Landscape and humanity form a composite whole which functions as a single entity; in *Maxims II* and *The Wife's Lament* the size, status, and type of community is undefined. A community which is also specified as a nation is marked out by the land it occupies in a more particular way. A national identity is therefore based on interactions with landscape in Old English poetry, and it will be shown below that in *Exodus* this relationship is a source of power.

The landscape of power in *Exodus*.

In *Maxims II*, community is shown to be a conceptual space, where reciprocal relationships structure a whole from individual components, modelled on the physical space that is the landscape. *Exodus* is focussed on the relationship of a community with its own place; it is a text that co-opts the audience in partnership, demanding and manipulating the audience response to create an aesthetic that is a fusion of landscape and people into a single entity. That single entity occurs when a community has a base, a place to belong to, in effect its own landscape. There is a flow of relationship between the landscape and the people in *Exodus* which is developed by the poem into a partnership of conjoined power.

By a peculiar irony the text demonstrates this fusion in the relationship of the Egyptians and the landscape through which they pursue the fleeing Hebrews: these two strands are interwoven by the text so that the power of the Egyptian forces and the power of the Egyptian landscape interact in combined opposition to the Hebrews. The land itself is inimical to the Hebraic presence within it; the fugitive Israelites are made alien and other by their status in relation to the landscape quite as much as they

are by the enmity of Pharaoh and his army. The text demands a particular type of response from the audience in the development of this imagery; it is, in effect, created by the audience from the promptings of the text. What the audience has to understand from the narrative is a suspension of the normal relationships of land and water; this change in perception comes directly from the strengthened bonds of power between community and landscape as far as the Egyptians are concerned. By a skilful use of language, the text sets up the situation that demands the creation by the audience of a particular narrative world wherein the landscape of the Egyptian army pursues the Hebrews over the sea of the desert to the land fortress of the Red Sea. The combined power of landscape and community is so overwhelming that it requires miraculous intervention to circumvent it. The consistency of the narrative is maintained by the text when such miraculous circumvention is achieved through accepting the waters of the Red Sea as man-made boundary defences which are then breached to provide an escape route over dry land.

The story that is told in the poem is short and straightforward, so much so that it is summarised in lines one to twenty-two. The remainder of the text in effect expands on this by working it out in detail. This combination of narrative simplicity with semantic and syntactical complexity results in a text that can be read on many levels of understanding. Howe regards the text of *Exodus* as a way of making the biblical story relevant to Anglo-Saxon history: 'the journey of the Israelites across the Red Sea offered the poet of the OE *Exodus* a model for reconciling the remembered pagan past of the Anglo-Saxons with their enduring Christian present.'⁵² Wilcox sees the text as infused with the exegetical tradition, particularly that of Arator's *Historia Apostolica* and Bede's *Exposito Actuum Apostolorum*, which links the Biblical books

⁵² Nicholas Howe, *Migration and Mythmaking in Anglo-Saxon England* (London: Yale University Press, 1989), p. 72.

of Exodus and the Acts of the Apostles, and extending it so that it becomes a point of identification for the audience: ‘the audience’s identification with the poem also encourages them to conclude that divine protection and guidance only result when an ecclesiastical community faithfully obeys its leaders.’⁵³ Michelet, however, considers the meaning of the poem to be centred on the journey and the seeking of new land and the consequent re-ordering of spatial control: ‘*Exodus* constantly emphasises the territorial aspects inherent in the Hebrews’ escape from Egypt.’⁵⁴ Cross and Tucker focus on the allegorical possibilities of the text: ‘the one general allegory that would cover the events of the poem is the equation of the Israelites’ journey from Egypt to the Promised Land with the journey from earthly exile to the heavenly home.’⁵⁵ Godden comments that, whilst the story in *Exodus* is full of drama and excitement, it is nonetheless not to be understood as a straightforward narrative: ‘the method is highly oblique and allusive, almost in the manner of an extended riddle.’⁵⁶ Earl takes the more comprehensive view that, while the traditions of exegesis ‘provide structural and thematic unity,’ the poem draws on all available associations and traditions, exegetical, patristic, allegorical, and historical to present its overall themes of ‘covenant and fulfillment, judgement and salvation, baptism and Easter.’⁵⁷

For all of these different levels of understanding, and all the alternative ways in which it can be approached, however, there remains the same basic structural theme to the text. That theme is the common need of human societies to have a land of their

⁵³ Miranda Wilcox, ‘Creating the Cloud-Tent-Ship Conceit in *Exodus*’, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 40 (2011), 103-150, p. 150.

⁵⁴ Fabienne L. Michelet, *Creation Migration and Conquest* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 208.

⁵⁵ J. E. Cross and S. I. Tucker, ‘Allegorical Tradition and the Old English *Exodus*’, *Neophilologus* 44 (1960), 122-127, p. 123.

⁵⁶ Malcolm Godden, ‘Biblical Literature: The Old Testament’, in *The Cambridge Companion to Old English Literature*, ed. by Malcolm Godden and Michael Lapidge (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 206-226, p. 217.

⁵⁷ Earl, James W., ‘Christian Tradition in the Old English *Exodus*’, *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 71 (1970) 541-570, p. 570.

own. The landscape of *Exodus* is not one of Hebraic exile but one of Egyptian power, created by the fusion of the people of Egypt with their own land; the identification of the Egyptian community with the landscape. It draws power from its place, so that there is a conceptual and physical unification of people and land. This underlies the narrative of the Hebrews' journey through the desert as a homeless fugitive tribe, where the emphasis is on the overwhelming power of their opponents whose connection with the land is explicit: they are 'landmanna' (landmen, line 179), 'ingemen' (native men, line 190), and they come from 'inlende' (inland, line 136). The goal of the Israelites is a land of their own. The culmination of the poetic version comes some way from the end of the poem: 'folc wæs on lande' (the people were on land, line 567), where the inference is that now the Israelites have a land of their own, beyond the confines of Egypt. They are not yet in the homeland that God has promised them as far as the biblical account is concerned but the poem gives no hint of any further developments to the story; the important, even triumphant, conclusion to the poetic text is the arrival of the Hebrews on another shore. Whether considered as the homeland of the Church reached by baptism, the homeland of heaven reached by journeying through life on earth under the protection of the Church, the homeland of England reached by migration from the continent, the historical homeland of the Israelites as promised by God, or the homeland of a satisfying conclusion to the story of a displaced people, land is the significant factor. *Exodus* is predicated on the desire and need for land.

Without resorting to personification, the poem yet manages to convey the antagonism of the land to the fleeing Israelites from the outset of the journey. There are 'enge anpaðas, uncuð gelad' (narrow single-track paths, unknown ways, line 58), there is no visibility since the land is 'lyfthelme beþeagt' (covered by cloud, line 60)

in the initial stages of the journey. At the same time there are ‘fæstenna worn’ (many strongholds, line 56) and it is a land of ‘laðra manna’ (hateful peoples, line 57). The unpleasantness of the start of the journey is thus compounded of landscape and human features in equal measure. The community that is Egypt extends beyond the society of the people who live there to include the land itself. Even the route is dictated by a combination of the two:

nearwe genyddon on norðwegas;
wiston him be suðan Sigelwara land
forbærned burhhleoðu

(difficulties forced them onto northern paths; they knew that to the south was the land of the Ethiopians, scorched mountain slopes, lines 68-70). These difficulties are the narrow tracks and cloud-covered land as well as the hostility of the inhabitants; the southern route is barred by the landscape quite as much as it is by the human element. There even appears to be a subliminal link between the two in the appearance of the word ‘burhhleoð,’ since ‘burh’ is usually applied to fortified human settlements; hence it would mean ‘townslopes’, while the mountain slopes would usually be ‘beorhhleoð.’ The varied spellings of ‘burh’ and ‘beorh’ do make identification dependant on context on occasions: ‘AS scribes sometimes associated or confused ‘beorh(-)’ and ‘burh(-)’.⁵⁸ Given the subtle complexity of the poem’s language and syntax as a whole, it is possible to see the ‘burhhleoð’ as referring to both natural and human formations, uniting the obstacles into an interdependence of landscape and community. The landscape is instrumental in putting difficulties in the way, it makes the journey awkward and unpleasant; it is as significant a force in attempting to thwart the people of Moses in their flight as any human agency. There is thus an alignment of

⁵⁸ Peter J. Lucas, ed., *Exodus* revd. ed. (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1994), p. 87.

the Egyptian community with the landscape of which it is a part.

A little later, the army of the Israelites is in the ‘westen’ (desert, line 123) and there it is threatened by ‘westengryre’ (desert-terror, line 117) and ‘har hæðbroga’ (grey heath-terror, line 118). The obscurity of this threat allows for a variety of interpretative possibilities. As a transferred epithet it is symptomatic of the natural fear felt by a community in a landscape that is desert, heath, or wasteland; effectively empty, barren, pathless, offering no means of sustenance, no shelter or succour. Specified terrors of such places in the remainder of the Old English poetic corpus suggests that the possibilities here are animate: in *The Rune Poem* the aurochs is both ‘felafrecne deor’ and ‘morstapa’ (very dangerous animal and moorstepper, lines 5 and 6), in *Maxims II* the bear is ‘on hæðe’ and ‘egesfull’ (on the heath and terrible, lines 29 and 30), while to be eaten by a wolf who is ‘har hæðstapa’ (grey heathstepper, line 13) is one of the possible *Fates of Men*. Since the Hebrews are unaware of pursuit at this point in the narrative it is necessarily the landscape from which they need to be defended by the ‘niwe nihtweard’ (new night-guardian, line 116): ‘it is against the natural world, against the heat of the sun and the *har hæðbroga* (a wolf? a monster? a sandstorm?), that God’s aid is needed’.⁵⁹

Such terrors are made to seem all the more fearful in the text because of their vague and unspecified nature; neither desert-terror nor heath-terror is given any further mention or definition. The text thereby grants to these unformulated threats a particular emphatic horror by their very obscurity; it is unclear how the landscape is threatening the Israelites, or what with, and the threat is all the more potent for that. The final triumph of the landscape over the community it seeks to endanger and hinder is that it comes to an end; the Hebrews journey ‘oðpæt sæfæsten/ landes æt

⁵⁹ Neville, p. 173. She does not, however, make the connection with the power of the landscape itself, dealing with the threat as literal, emanating from a geographical understanding, not a construction of linguistic application only.

ende leodmægne forstod' (until the sea stronghold at the end of the land stood in the way of the people's troop, lines 127-128). There is a finality about 'landes æt ende' which hints at more than just the shoreline at the edge of the water; it is a more final and complete separation of elements than a sea-shore. It implies that there is no more land to be reached; 'landes æt ende' inhibits the conception of a further shore beyond the water. The land stops, yielding to the stronghold of the sea; the boundary is a physical rather than a conceptual line to the lands of the Egyptians and it is defended by a stronghold, which would more usually refer to a man-made feature, that is yet part of the landscape. Any forward movement by the fleeing people of Moses has been halted by the implacable barrier that is the fortress of the sea.

The bonds which bind the community and the landscape are further tightened when the Egyptian army is sighted by the Israelites since the oncoming foe is made a feature of the landscape by the text. The narrative voice alters its position from omniscient detachment to providing description of the sight as if from within the Israelite camp, so that the audience is drawn closer in to the action of the narrative by the increase of dramatic tension. What the protagonists see is 'of suðwegum/ fyrð Faronais forð ongan/ oferholt wegan' (from southern ways the army of Pharaoh advance forwards, the beyond-forest moving, lines 155-157). Editors in recent years have uniformly emended the manuscript reading of 'oferholt' to 'eoforholt' (boar-spear), Lucas commenting that 'earlier editors' attempts to make sense of MS "oferholt" are unsatisfactory' and therefore the emendation is necessary.⁶⁰ It becomes unnecessary, however, when the compound is broken into its constituent parts.

'Ofer' is used as an intensifier elsewhere in the Old English poetic corpus; its base meaning 'over' turning from a physical location to a more abstract sense that

⁶⁰ Lucas, p. 100.

encompasses ‘beyond’, ‘excessively,’ ‘extremely,’ or ‘more than.’ *The Rune Poem* uses it three times; the aurochs is ‘oferhyrned’ (over-horned, line 4), ice is ‘oferceald’ (over-cold, line 29) and the ash tree is ‘oferheah’ (over-high, line 81). All of these suggest extremes: the aurochs has particularly large horns, ice is exceptionally cold, the ash is a tree notable for its height. It carries the same sense of excess in contexts other than those of natural phenomena and in other texts.⁶¹ The second element of the compound ‘oferholt’ can then be taken in its usual sense as referring to woodland or forest rather than metonymically for spear. The wood of the spears, shields and standards, all of which are specified in the succeeding lines, is a synecdoche for the whole battle array. What is being emphasised in this unique compound is the size and strength of Pharaoh’s force and the consequent terror that the sight of it creates in the beleaguered Israelites. With a forest composed of men before them and the impregnable stronghold of the sea behind them, the Israelites are indeed trapped by a community that is compounded of humans and landscape fused into a single entity. The fusion has been achieved by the interweaving of the idea of the natural organism that is the forest in fact here applying to mankind while the idea of the human defensive buildings, the stronghold, here applying to the natural feature of the landscape that is the sea.

This reading of the text also gives greater force to the ‘wælnet’ (slaughter net, line 202) which is another unique compound that has puzzled critics. Lucas considers the ‘wælnet’ to be a purely practical and physical description, a parallel to the ‘wæhlencan’ (slaughter mailcoat, line 176) donned by the opposing Egyptians and hence a reference to the similarly armed Hebrews, thus yielding the meaning ‘corslets

⁶¹ In *Judgement Day II* those who avoid ill-health in this world and enter into heavenly bliss in the next are ‘sælig ond ofer sælig’ (happy and more than happy, l. 247). In *Judith* Holofernes plys his retinue with wine until they are not only drunk but ‘oferdrencte’ (over drowned, l. 31) in it, while in *Elene* Constantine is anxious before the battle because his troops are few in number as compared with the ‘ofermægene’ (greater force, l. 64) of his attackers.

hindered [the Israelites in their desire to run away]'.⁶² While 'mail coat' is a suitably realistic interpretation of the literal meaning 'slaughter net', this reading does attribute cowardice rather than terror to the Israelites, and does not fully accord with the situation as presented by the narrative. The phrase 'weredon wælnet' (slaughter nets hindered, line 202) is an interjection in the midst of the account of the despairing cries of the panicking Israelites. This follows immediately upon the extended description of Pharaoh's army from the first sighting in line 154 to a reiteration of their intent as regards their foes which finishes at line 199. As far as the narrative position is concerned the panic that is described as 'wæs wop up ahafen/ atol æfenleoð, egesan stodon' (lamentation, a terrible evensong was raised, fear rose up, lines 200-201) comes immediately after the first sight of the pursuing Egyptians in line 155 and is a response to it. The fear is a direct response to the realisation that they are now in a vulnerable position trapped between their antagonists in front and the water behind them, with no possibility of escape. The slaughter net is composed of the landscape, as they are caught between the forest and the sea, yet this landscape is composed of the metaphorical forest and the metaphorical stronghold which are also the physical realities of the opposing army and the sea. They are effectively caught in the net of the communal entity that results from the bonds between landscape and inhabitants, trapped in the net woven by the text from disparate threads of physical reality and metaphoric abstraction.

The panic of the Israelites that results from being trapped in a net is a direct transference from reality which would probably be familiar to any Anglo-Saxon; fish and animals are trapped in nets by both the fisherman and the hunter in Ælfric's *Colloquy*. The fisherman merely refers to casting his nets 'wyrpe max mine on ea'

⁶² Lucas, p. 106.

(cast my net into the river, line 91), but the hunter specifies the fate of the prey ‘ic ofslea hig on þam maxum’ (I kill them in the nets, line 60).⁶³ The net in *Exodus* is at once a physical and a metaphysical method for entrapping the Hebraic prey. Both text and audience have woven the net around the Hebrews by the narrative, a net that is woven afresh with each recounting of the story. These events move across the intervening time because, however trapped the original protagonists were, their legacy to the audience now is the narrative; effectively the events themselves are trapped within the text. *Exodus* has a riddle-like quality here, at this crisis in the narrative there is apparently no way out for the Israelites. The audience is thus complicit in creating the ‘wælnet’ since each individual traps the protagonists in a net of comprehension by understanding the purport of the poem and bringing to it the practical experience of how nets work. Only the text can release those trapped since they are now caught in a net that has been woven not only between the forest of Egyptians and the fortress of the sea but also between the text and the audience.

The ‘wælnet’ that entraps the Hebrews stands in opposition to the ‘halgan nette’ (holy net, line 74) which is part of the complex conceit through which the text explains the pillar of cloud that protects the Israelites. That pillar of cloud is, of course, directly from the biblical account but the poem expands on its extent and purpose; in so doing it begins the detachment of the travellers from the landscape through which they are moving. This is the beginning of the poem’s emphasis on the landless state of the Israelites, as compared with the closely intertwined relationship of the landscape with the Egyptians already discussed.

The feature is a ‘wederwolcen’ (cloud, line 75), thus making the biblical reference clear to the audience, but then it is in rapid succession a ‘dægsceald’ (day-

⁶³ Text from G. A. Garmonsway, ed., *Ælfric’s Colloquy* (London: Methuen, 1961), pp. 26 and 23 respectively.

shield, line 79), a 'segle' (sail, lines 81 and 89), and a 'feldhus' (tent, line 85). Wilcox has commented that these disparate images 'have eluded convincing interpretation'.⁶⁴ When considered in relation to the Hebrews' interaction with the landscape, however, they become a rich and complex metaphor for the situation that the narrative has created. All of these nouns are associated with ideas of impermanence, transience, and movement: clouds and nets, similarly, are insubstantial; they have nothing solid or firm about them. This series of images indicates a lack of permanence and stability which exactly fits with the Israelite position. They are a people without a fixed homeland, a fugitive band, moving continuously through the desert.

The text insists on their landless status by continuing the metaphor of the sail and developing it thematically so that what is an overland journey becomes a voyage. By altering the place of the elements land and water, yet maintaining their appositive nature, the relationship between the Israelites and the landscape is made clear: there is none. Rootless and homeless, they are as definitively separated from land as sailors are on a ship. Their movements are those of life at sea: 'segl siðe weold, sæmen æfter/ foron flodwege' (the sail controlled the journey, behind seamen went on the sea-path, lines 105-106), where direction and speed of travel are dictated by wind and current rather than the fixed paths of land and the vessel has to follow where the sail leads. Even the desert-terror and the grey heath terror (discussed above), emanate from 'holmegum wederum' (seastorms, line 118).

This complex interlocking of the disparate elements of land, water, and humanity has the effect of drawing the audience into the poem. By these constant shifts of image and metaphor from land to sea the text creates a sense of dramatic flux which increases the tension as it develops in the audience a lack of stability. There is

⁶⁴ Wilcox, p. 105.

no solid ground to the narrative of the desert crossing which thus reflects the status of the protagonists in such a way that it is shared by the audience rather than explicitly told to them. The close proximity of ‘westen,’ ‘hæð’ and ‘holm’ in lines 117-118 deepens the mystery of whether the text is set on land or at sea so that the audience has lost any points of reference to its own experience, and thereby itself lost any connection with either element. The structure of the poem is such that the hallmark of the Israelites at this juncture in the narrative, that is as a landless people, is conveyed by these confusing references. In fact, apart from the ‘holmegum wederum’ and the ‘flodwege’ discussed above, the text never actually refers to the land the Israelites are crossing as the sea. Instead it forces the audience to reconfigure the ‘westen’ landscape as a sea by the references to sails, mastropes, and sailyards, and by describing the people as sailors. The text appeals to the normal experience in daily life, where a seaman who is on a journey controlled by a sail is perforce on the sea, and to its symbolic poetic status: ‘the poet strikingly conceives the desert crossing as a traditionally symbolic sea-voyage’.⁶⁵

The antagonists that ensnare the Israelites are the poem and the audience as much as the landscape and inhabitants within the narrative. In *Exodus* the narrative structure ensures that the insubstantial but real ‘halgan nette’ kept the Israelites safe while the unreal but substantial ‘wælnet’ imprisons them. By using the power of the composite entity that results from the fusion of the landscape and community of the Egyptians the text demands the complicity of the audience in thus ensnaring their opponents. Having been drawn into the poem and placed with the Hebrew protagonists by the unstable nature of the desert landscape, the audience is now associated with the power that the narrative voice has to control events. There is no

⁶⁵ Maxwell Luria, ‘The Old English *Exodus* as a Christian Poem’, *Neophilologus*, 65 (1981), 600-606, p. 601.

indication within the poem that either the Egyptians or Israelites saw themselves as sailors or features of the landscape; the illusion is external to the narrative of events as recounted. The enclosing net which is created by the text with the complicity of the audience, is predicated on the power of the landscape to create and contain a community. In doing so, the landscape also empowers that community to include or to exclude. The Israelites, as non-members of the Egyptian community, are ultimately excluded not only from the land but also by the land.

Conclusion.

Community is created and defined by landscape. By focussing it in a particular place, landscape enables a society to gain a sense of identity. This in turn develops communal responsibility and reciprocity between members, a relationship which extends to the interactions between humans and landscape in a way that provides a definition of the ideal of community. The form of *Maxims II* provides a textual expression of this concept; by its interrelated gnomic statements it enables the reality of the landscape of daily life, that is outside the text, to inspire the hope of what human society should be as expressed within the text. It offers an ideal as both exemplar and challenge to the audience, as Stanley puts it: ‘the poem will not produce finer feelings: it succeeds in provoking thought’.⁶⁶

Landscape defines the place that is occupied by a society and contains it within the limits of that place; this containing and identification empowers a society to expel and exclude. Boundaries either concrete or abstract develop from landscape so that in the Old English poetic corpus it becomes the standard by which to judge and measure the workings of society and also the instrument of expulsion. *The Wife’s Lament* denies function to both protagonist and landscape through their enforced

⁶⁶ E. G. Stanley, ‘The *Gnomes* of Cotton MS Tiberius B.I’, *Notes and Queries*, 62 (2015), 190-199, p. 199.

juxtaposition. Landscape and protagonist are reciprocally symbolic of each other. Landscape is variously a symbol and a metaphor for society and the individual, but the human community and its landscape are so closely allied with each other that narrative expression of either can be used as an image of the other.

Power is expressed through the close connection between landscape that is a functioning component of a nation. Rejection by the land of the Egyptians is a compelling force in *Exodus* that is developed by the text's use of metaphor into a narrative device that causes the audience to re-create desert as sea, and sea as a man-made fortress. The topographical features of the landscape that define and delineate the land of Egypt are identified with its inhabitants: 'Egypt' is a national identity of place.

This chapter has argued that landscape offers a means by which community can be constructed, policed, and empowered. Any malfunction of the community as a whole is addressed through the imbalance of the elements that construct the landscape and the application of this is the subject of the next chapter.

Chapter II.

REFLECTIONS IN THE WATER: LANDSCAPES OF HARMONY AND DISPUTE.

Landscapes that contain, or consist wholly of, water are frequent in the Old English poetic corpus. This chapter will argue that the presence of water, and its relationship to land in these texts, is proportionate to the levels of harmony and discord in the narratives. That is to say, ideally harmonious communities have landscapes wherein the water is both decorative and functional, whereas strife and discord are represented by landscapes where either the water is uncontrolled, and overwhelms the land, or entirely absent, resulting in a barren and arid landscape. The chapter will focus on three texts, *The Metrical Epilogue to the Pastoral Care*, *Genesis*, and *Andreas*. *The Metrical Epilogue to the Pastoral Care* provides for the establishment of an ideal community of the Christian Church through the metaphor of a landscape in which the essential element of water is properly channelled and controlled while *Genesis* expands on the biblical account of the flood, presenting it in a martial context, wherein the imbalanced landscape is the means of restoring amity and accord between God and his creation. The narrative of *Andreas* brings about changes to the society of the Mermedonians through their landscape; the ability of the saint to effect this control is itself brought about by a threatened imbalance between land and water.

In *Maxims I* discordant elements of the watery landscape are compared to dissension among men:

Storm oft holm gebringep

geofon in grimmum sælum; onginnað grome fundian

fealwe on feorran to londe, hwæper he fæste stonde.

Weallas him wiþre healdað, him biþ wind gemæne.
 Swa biþ sæ smilte, þonne hy sund ne weceð,
 swa beoþ þeoda geþwære þonne hy geþingad habbað;
 gesittað him on gesundum þingum, ond mid gesiþum healdap
 cene men gecynde rice.

(a storm often brings the sea, the ocean, into fierce conditions; angry, tawny, [it] begins to hasten from afar to the land, [tests] whether it will stand fast. Walls hold, stand against it, wind is common to them. As the sea is serene when it [i.e. a storm] does not arouse the sea, so peoples are united when they have agreed, they settle in prosperous conditions and brave men with companions hold the lawful kingdom, lines 50-57). This passage suggests that balance and co-operation bring harmony to humanity as well as to the landscape.

Even in these few lines from *Maxims I* there are four words for sea: ‘holm’ (line 50), ‘geofon’ (line 51), ‘sæ’ (line 54), and ‘sund’ (line 54). Such a profusion of words necessitates some consideration of the lexis of water as it appears in the poetic corpus, before its role in the narratives is discussed. The frequency with which water is present in the narratives of Old English poetry, together with the metrical requirements of the verse form, ensures that the vocabulary with which the presence of water is indicated is extensive and varied. This renders translation difficult since the Modern English words for water categorise according to size and type, albeit in a somewhat indefinite way: rivulet, stream, brook, burn, river, sea, ocean, flood, all indicate water but as slightly different features of the landscape, to which may also be added fountain, well, and spring. The Old English approach, in poetry at least, does not utilise the same categorisation. Hence, a text may use any one of ‘brim’, ‘flod’, ‘garsecg’, ‘geofon’, ‘holm’, ‘lagu’, ‘mere’, ‘sund’, ‘wæter’, ‘sæ’, when referring to the

sea. These can also be used compounded: *Azarias*, for instance, uses ‘brimflod’ (line 38), ‘geofonflod’ (line 125), and ‘laguflod’ (line 129), while *Andreas* has ‘sæholm’ (line 529), and *The Phoenix* ‘mereflod’ (line 42) and all of them refer to the sea.

These words can also, however, be used of water other than the sea. The text of *Beowulf* uses the same vocabulary, ‘mere’ (lines 1362 and 1603), ‘wæter’ (lines 1415, 1425, 1514, 1619, and 1631), ‘flod’ (lines 1361, 1422, 1497, and 1516), ‘sund’ (lines 1426 and 1444), ‘holm’ (lines 1421, 1435, and 1592), ‘brim’ (lines 1494 and 1594), and ‘lagu’ (line 1630) to refer to the body of water inhabited by Grendel’s Mother which from the narrative context would appear to be an inland lake.

Other words for water in Old English poetry have an equally confusing profusion of application. In *Elene* the word ‘egstream’ is used twice: on its first appearance (line 66) it refers to the river Danube which marks ‘Romwara rices ende’ (the end of the Roman kingdom, line 59) its second usage, in line 241, however, is in reference to the sea on which Elene has just embarked on the journey to find the True Cross. When the text of *Beowulf* mentions ‘firgenstream’ (lines 1359 and 2138), it is apparent from the context that these are streams of water rushing down the steep rocky approach to the body of water where Grendel’s Mother resides, so a literal translation of ‘mountain streams’ is appropriate but the ‘firgendstream’ (line 1573) in *Andreas* is a reference to the immensity and force of the flood rather than having any connection with topography. The flood in *Andreas* is variously ‘wæter’, ‘flod’, ‘firgendstream’, ‘brim’, and ‘stream’ within five lines (1572-1576), a curious collection of types of water feature to modern understanding, but here simply used as variants that not only comply with the demands of the verse form but also incrementally increase the perception of just how large and powerful a body of water *Andreas* was able to call forth.

In *Genesis* the Garden of Eden is irrigated by a ‘wylleburne’ (well-burn, line 212) which appears to combine the standing water of a well with the moving water of a stream; contextually it appears to indicate a bubbling spring that flows out into a stream. The same water is, however, also a ‘lagu’ (line 211), which, as shown above, is more generally used of the sea in the poetic corpus, but here relies on the context for a more fundamental understanding of water as an essential element for fertile ground. The later ‘willeburnan’ (line 1373) refers to the initiation of the flood, a context that leads Anlezark to translate as ‘vast cataracts’ rather than bubbling springs.¹ The vocabulary of water in Old English poetry is therefore used in relation to its function in the narrative and the constraints imposed by the necessity for compliance with alliteration and stress rather than in any precise differentiation of meaning which is directly translatable into modern terminology.

The desirable landscape of balanced elements.

Landscapes that are presented as the ideal in Old English poetry are characterised by the presence of running water; they are attractive both aesthetically and practically. Rich, fertile lands are well-watered ones, so that whilst it is a decorative element in and for itself, water is also the means by which the land achieves productivity and becomes a desirable place. Water is the base element of creation in *Genesis*:

þis rume land
gestapelode strangum mihtum,
Frea ælmihtig. Folde wæs þa gyta
græs ungrene; garsecg þeahte
sweart synnihte, side and wide,

¹ Daniel Anlezark, ed. and trans., *Old Testament Narratives* (Harvard University Press: Cambridge Massachusetts, 2011), p. 17.

wonne wegas.

(The Lord almighty with resolute power established this spacious land. The earth was then yet ungreen with grass; perpetual night concealed the sea, the dark waves, far and wide, lines 114-119). ‘Folde’ in this context refers to the whole world, rather than its more usual applications of ‘land’ or ‘country’. Creation is the act of God on the dark water; it changes an unpromising wholly aquatic landscape into one of multiple elements in co-operative union: it ‘is more an act of transformation from dark, hostile uselessness to bright, safe fruitfulness than creation *ex nihilo*’.² The sky arises from the water: ‘heht þa lifes weard/ on mereflode middum weorðan/ hyhtlic heofontimber’ (The guardian of life commanded the joyful heavenly structure to arise in the midst of the seawater, lines 144-146), and the dry land is formed by the absence of water:

Frea engla heht

þurh his word wesan wæter gemæne,
þa nu under roderum heora ryne healdað,
stow gestefnde. Ða stod hraðe
holm under heofonum swa se halga bebead,
sid ætsomne, ða gesundrod wæs
lago wið lande.

(the lord of angels commanded the waters by his word to be gathered, that now hold their course under the skies, fixed in place. As the holy one ordered, the extensive water quickly stood, together under the heavens, when the water was separated from the land, lines 157-163). This text follows the biblical account in sequence but it extends the references to water and realigns the focus so that the water acquires an embryonic animation; God orders the water to move aside and it responds, so that

² Jennifer Neville, *Representations of the Natural World in Old English Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999, p. 62.

land is revealed rather than created. Landscape is changed by the movement of water, which, in *Genesis*, is an agent of God in creation. Later in the same poem the account of the attack on Lot and his household by the citizens of Sodom embroiders the biblical account by a description of night falling on the landscape:

Pa com æfter niht
on last dæge, lagustreamas wreah
þrym mid þystro þisses lifes,
sæs and sidland.

(Then afterwards, behind the day, came night, covered with darkness the glory of this life, the flowing waters, the sea and the broad land, lines 2450-2453). Water is the glory of life: the whole community of earth, land, humans, animate beings, and vegetation, is united by this phrase. The pairing of day and night, light and dark, land and water, in this passage looks back to the creation passages; it provides a vignette of the earth as God created it, pure and unsullied, which contrasts with the intentions of the Sodomites. The landscape is a reproach to the actions of humankind.

In these ideal landscapes water is beneficent, it decorates the landscape and is part of its appeal even while it is performing the useful function of irrigation. In the book of Genesis 2.10, the landscape of Eden is pragmatically watered ‘and a river went out of the place of pleasure to water paradise’. The Old English poem *Genesis* expands on this single mention of a river in its account of the landscape of Eden:

Neorxnawong stod
god and gastlic, gifena gefylled
fremum forðweardum. Fægere leohte
þæt liðe land lago yrnende,
wylleburne. Nalles wolcnu ða giet

ofer rumne grund regnas bæron,
wann mid winde, hwæðre wæstmum stod
folde gefrætwod.

(paradise stood, filled with everlasting benefits of grace, good and holy. A bubbling spring, flowing water, pleasantly irrigated that calm land. Not at all did the skies, dark with wind, yet bear rain to shed over the spacious ground, nonetheless the land stood adorned with produce, lines 208-215). The landscape here is one that is fruitful and fertile despite the absence of rain; water comes from the earth to nourish the vegetation. Later in the same poem, Lot chooses to settle in a landscape that is very similar to that of Eden:

Him þa Loth gewat land sceawigan
be Iordane, grene eorðan.
Seo wæs wætrum weaht and wæstmum þeaht,
lagostreamum leoht, and gelic Godes
neorxnawange

(Then Lot went and himself examined the land by Jordan, the green earth. It was given life by water and covered over with produce, irrigated with streams, and like the paradise of God, lines 1920-1924). The desirability of Jordan is derived from the practical applications of its greenness; it promises to be able to support Lot's people, but the emphasis on the water and the explicit comparison with Eden render it an ideal landscape in terms of the Old English poetic corpus. Both Eden and Jordan are places that are fruitful because the elements are suitably balanced.

The landscape inhabited by the phoenix has the same attributes of luxuriant well-watered vegetation. Details of the verdant growth abound throughout the opening passages, with trees, fruits, and blossoms all specified: 'wealdas grene' (line 13);

‘blostmum’ (line 21); ‘sunbearo’ (line 33); ‘wuduholt’ (line 34); ‘blede’ and ‘beamas’ (line 35); ‘wudu’ (line 37); ‘bledum’ (line 38); ‘leaf’ (line 39); ‘wuda’ (line 65); ‘bearwas’ and ‘bledum’ (line 71); ‘holtes’ (line 73); ‘blostman’ (line 74); ‘wudubeama’ (line 75); ‘treowum’ and ‘telgan’ (line 76); ‘ofett’ (line 77); ‘græswonge’ (line 78); ‘bearwa’ (line 80); and ‘holt’ (line 81). The lovely and fertile land is further ornamented by running water:

ac þær lagustreamas,
wundrum wrætlice wyllan onspringað
fægum foldwylmum. Foldan leccap
wæter wynsumu of þæs wuda midle,³

(there waterstreams, wonderfully ornamental wells, spring forth in pleasant earth-waters. The joyful waters from the middle of the wood moisten the soil, lines 62-65). In Phoenixland, as in Eden, the land and the water combine to produce a landscape that is in harmony with itself. There is a balance between them; in *Genesis* the water that was the initial element of creation is gathered together to reveal the land and then God ‘gesette yðum heora/ onrihtne ryne, rumum flode,/ and gefetero’ (set for the waves, the wide waters, their proper extent, and bound, lines 165-167). Unfortunately for us the manuscript has lost at least one folio at this point and so exactly what was bound is unknown. At least with this fragment of a sentence the text implies that the water was given fixed boundaries in relation to the land, so that the elements remained separate and in proportion. This harmonious balance is reflected in the Edenic landscape as well as that of the land where the phoenix lives.

Water in the idealised landscape of *The Phoenix* occupies the same position as when earth was established in *Genesis*; holding its course and place in relation to the

³ Text from N. Blake ed., *The Phoenix* revd. ed. (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1990).

land. When the balance of community relationships is disturbed then the water ceases to be a feature of the land and instead appears in the unregulated forms of rain, hail, and snow. Water is effectively taken out of the landscape, decoratively or functionally, and becomes a source of unpleasantness. The positive glories of the landscape in *The Phoenix* are given prominence in the text by intervening lists of negatives; those things that the land does not have or experience are as instrumental in producing the ideal landscape as its attributes. Amongst these, as with the account of Eden, is a lack of air-borne water.

The negative catalogues of *The Phoenix* occupy a large portion of the eighty-four line introduction to the land of the phoenix. The first of them is an extended list of the positive catalogue in *Genesis*, where Adam laments the evils that are about to fall on the humans after eating the apple:

Gesweorc up færeð,
cymeð hægles scur hefone getenge,
færeð forst on gemang, se byð fyrnum ceald.

(a cloud will come up, a shower of hail come hastening from the sky, frost come in its midst, it is extremely cold, lines 807-809). Water, in the form of hail and frost, is included twice; the undisciplined water, in an altered form, is no longer a factor in the fertility of the soil but instead a part of the punishment that humans must henceforth suffer. In *The Phoenix* the emphasis on water as absent in this form is dwelt on in more detail; in Phoenixland:

Ne mæg þær ren ne snaw,
ne forstes fnæst, ne fyres blæst
ne hægles hryre, ne hrimes dryre
ne sunnan hætu, ne sincaldu,

ne wearm weder, ne winterscur

wihte gewyrdan

(Neither rain nor snow, nor the breath of frost, nor the blast of fire, nor the descent of hail, or the fall of hoar-frost, nor heat of the sun, nor perpetual cold, nor warm weather nor winter shower, can injure there, lines 14-19). This is an exhaustive list, largely focussing on water and encompassing every kind of form in which the water might appear. The text affirms the lack of water, despite the insistence on luxuriant greenery, by a second catalogue of negatives:

ne wintergeweorp, ne wedra gebregd,

hreoþ under heofonum, ne se hearda forste,

caldum cylegicelum, cnyseð ænigne.

Þær ne hægl ne hrim hreosað to foldan,

ne windig wolcen, ne þær wæter fealleþ

lyfte gebysgad.

(no winterstorm, nor change of weather, nor the hard frost with cold icicles, fierce beneath the heavens, oppresses anyone. There no hail nor frost nor windy cloud falls on the earth, nor [does] water which occupies the sky fall here, lines 57-62). This list, however, is at the end of another piling up of negatives which concern things that relate to human values and the experience of life. It comprises such things as enmity, sorrow, aging, injury, and poverty, and the oppressive water follows the final item which is 'ne swa leger' (nor sad illness, line 56). So the uncontrolled water, in all its forms, is associated with the general hardships of life on earth. The first catalogue in *The Phoenix* is concerned with the weather, the second with undesirable features of the landscape, such as stony cliffs and steep mountains, and the third with human miseries; they are separate categories of the things that make life difficult, awkward,

or unpleasant on earth. The inclusion of the water at the end of the third list, however, brackets water which falls from the sky with the misfortunes of humanity; the ideal landscape is devoid of undisciplined water in every possible form in which it may be encountered.

The discord between man and God that results from the disobedience of Adam and Eve is signified by the unbalanced elements, and the harmonious community of bird and landscape in *The Phoenix* is symbolised by the absence of all unpleasant aspects. Water is thus indicative of the state of the community in a particular landscape; the balance between the elements of land and water is reflective of the discord or concord appertaining to that community. The control of water, its channelling and distribution, is both literally and metaphorically a determinant for establishing harmonious relationships within and between communities.

The instructive harmony of metaphor: *The Metrical Epilogue to the Pastoral Care*

The Metrical Epilogue to the Pastoral Care is an extended conceit on the theme of a well-watered landscape. Creation arises, and is formed, from water as the original element. It is the glory of life and the source of all life. Life is centred on it in both a practical and symbolic way. A well-watered landscape is literally that which is ordained by God as the ideal. Such landscapes are full of water which is not only both decorative and functional, but also moving so that it is a landscape in which the elements are in harmonious composition; this enables the landscape to function successfully aesthetically as well as practically. Just such an ideal landscape of rightly proportioned elements is that produced by the metaphorical application of spiritual truths in *The Metrical Epilogue to the Pastoral Care*.

The point at issue in this text is not so much that it is a metaphorical ideal landscape, with water flowing freely and clearly across the land, but what it is that the

water represents. It provides an ideally composed and balanced landscape that changes in composition depending on whether the text is read in or out of its manuscript context. The Old English version of the *Pastoral Care* is a somewhat complex arrangement of pieces:

It opens with a long prose preface written in the voice of King Alfred and addressed to the individual bishops. Next comes a short verse preface written in the voice of the book and apparently addressed to readers in general. Then, after a list of the sixty-five chapters and their subjects, comes another prose preface, addressed to a “beloved brother.” At the end there is a short prose epilogue, addressed to “the good man John.” And finally there is a long verse epilogue apparently addressed to the readers in the voice of the translator.⁴

The prose preface and epilogue addressed to the “beloved brother” and “the good man John” respectively are part of the original text, being ‘versions of Gregory’s own prologue and epilogue, addressed originally to John, bishop of Ravenna’.⁵ The Old English additions are a long prose preface and the verse prologue and epilogue, with the prose preface outside the confines of the metrical lines. The *Pastoral Care* is thus flanked by the Old English verses, which separate the text of Gregory from that of Alfred. Dobbie distinguishes the concluding verse lines from the preface ‘which obviously belongs where it is’ and asserts ‘there is nothing in the metrical epilogue to connect it inescapably with the *Pastoral Care*, except perhaps the mention of Gregory in l.23’.⁶ *The Metrical Preface to the Pastoral Care* is a personal explanation by the text of why and how it came into being. Using prosopopoeia the *Pastoral Care* in this text is its own advocate; it is a ‘searoðonca hord’ (hoard of sagacity, line7), written by ‘Romwara betest’ (best of Romans, line 9) and ‘monna modwelegost’ (most wise of men in spirit, line10) which was brought to England by Augustine and ‘siððan min on

⁴Malcolm Godden, ‘Prologues and Epilogues in the Old English *Pastoral Care*, and Their Carolingian Models’, *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 110 (2011), 441-473, p. 441.

⁵ Godden, p. 442.

⁶ *ASPR* vol. VI, p. cxii.

englisc Ælfred kyning/ awende worda gehwelc' (afterwards King Alfred translated each one of my words into English, lines 11-12). This preface, although using the metre, alliteration, formula, and stress that marks the form of Old English verse, is lacking in such things as the allusive referencing, use of images and symbols, and complexity of language that is the hallmark of the content. It is a prose preface in metrical form, straightforward to the point of being blunt in its purpose: it is to be sent to the bishops 'forðæm hi his sume ðorfton,/ ða ðe lædenspræce læste cuðon' (for the reason that some of them, those who knew least Latin, required it, lines 15-16). If Dobbie's assertion is accepted, and the poem which follows the main body of text is not connected with it, then the verse lines of the epilogue form a poem which is self-justifying. As the opening words are 'ðis is' (this is, line 1), then without the manuscript context it can only refer forwards to the rest of the poem. Such a reading would result in this short poem itself being the 'wereda God/ to frofre gehet foldbuendum' (the lord of hosts promised as a comfort to earth-dwellers, lines 1-2), an exceptionally large claim.

The manuscript context is therefore crucial to the full import of the meaning. Whobrey has shown that the text of the poem is closely identified with the contents of the *Pastoral Care*: 'it has become clear that the poet of the epilogue draws the majority of his material from the *Cura Pastoralis* itself'.⁷ Without the explicit personal pronouns of the Preface, *The Metrical Epilogue to the Pastoral Care* is nonetheless a statement by the text itself, regarding its place in regulating and instructing the Christian community: 'ðis' is the beginning of a poetic precis of Gregory's work. Unlike the preface, however, this is a poem in terms of content as well as form, and by the use of poetic allusion and metaphor transforms the words of

⁷ William T. Whobrey, 'King Alfred's Metrical Epilogue to the "Pastoral Care"', *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 90 (1991), 175-186, p. 185.

Gregory into holy writ. Landscape is the medium through which this transformation is effected; it provides a way of understanding the community of the Church as one of harmony and order and thus able to fulfil its purpose of both worship and spiritual leadership. *The Metrical Epilogue to the Pastoral Care* provides a conceptual landscape through which the dissemination of the message of Christianity becomes identified with the message itself.

The opening statement makes a definite connection with the main body of the text: ‘ðis is nu se wæterscipe ðe us wereda God/ to frofre gehet foldbuendum’ (this is now the water that the God of hosts promised for consolation to us, earthdwellers, lines 1-2). The manuscript context is ‘ðis’; the landscape is a textual creation. Now, ‘wæterscipe’ is more than just the element; as noted in the introduction, the suffix denotes a state of being, so that what is offered to humanity is not so much a gift as something which alters their whole experience of living. As the earth is made green and fertile in the Garden of Eden and Phoenixland by the flowing water, so humanity can reach its full potential only with this life-giving grace. Phoenixland and Eden are harmonious communities of land, water and vegetation; in both cases the animate elements are an active constituent of the co-operative co-existence of the whole. The actions of Adam and Eve destroyed the community of Eden, now mankind is offered, through the *Pastoral Care*, the possibility of recreating the Edenic harmony of landscape by the water of Christian teaching. The landscape of *The Metrical Epilogue* is a vision of that community of harmony which can be produced through the agency of spiritual watering.

Thus we can read the poem as a metaphorical landscape of the teaching and dissemination of the Christian message which is promulgated by the *Pastoral Care*; not the tenets of faith but the responsibility of bishops (to whom the *Pastoral Care* is

directed), to nurture faith in themselves as well as their flock. Gregory's work is a handbook of instructions for bishops. The office of bishop in Anglo-Saxon England was one which carried considerable power and authority of its own and not only in an ecclesiastical context. Several sections in the extant lawcodes provide examples of a bishop's power under the law being paralleled with the royal power. The laws of Wihtred include 'biscopes word and cyninges sie unlægne buton aþe' (the word of a bishop and a king without oath may not be questioned', while those of Ine provide equal payment for breaking into the property of a king or a bishop, and one of Alfred's includes a provision for king and bishop to be the witnesses required for swearing a particular oath.⁸ The *Pastoral Care* therefore requires a particularly powerful authoritative stance if it is to be heeded by the bishops, and *The Metrical Epilogue to the Pastoral Care* is instrumental in constructing that power through the metaphorical landscape. Harbus considers that Anglo-Saxon culture was 'one that established authoritative status rather than individual identity'⁹ in its written texts; hence the anonymity of many works was overset, in their own time, by their association with, and citation of, known authoritative sources. By including his own name and title in his prefaces Alfred 'conflates textual and royal authority through metaphoric language'.¹⁰ In the case of *The Metrical Preface to the Pastoral Care* metaphor is absent, whereas the concluding epilogue is wholly metaphoric: 'the metaphor is clear and consistent, although extended, simple but effective'.¹¹

The landscape of the epilogue is another aspect of the authority that the translation has by virtue of its origins and the transference of that authority to Alfred.

⁸ F. L. Attenborough, *Laws of the Earliest English Kings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922), pp. 27, 45, and 82 respectively.

⁹ Antonina Harbus, 'Metaphors of Authority in Alfred's Prefaces', *Neophilologus*, 91 (2007), 717-727, p. 718.

¹⁰ Harbus, p. 719.

¹¹ J. E. Cross, 'The Metrical Epilogue to the Old English version of Gregory's *Cura Pastoralis*', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 70 (1969), 381-386, p. 383.

Harbus suggests that ‘in his verse epilogue Alfred constructs the entire text as a river of living water to refresh the spirit and himself as divinely appointed director of that water’.¹² This assertion fails, however, when the concluding verse is read alone, as the only authority cited in it is Gregory. Godden makes a similar claim when referring to the preface as ‘an implicit eulogy of Alfred as the third in a line of great evangelists, bringing wisdom from Italy to the bishops of Wessex’.¹³ The preface, however, only mentions ‘ðis ærendgewrit’ (this message, line 1), without further detail of what the message was. It is only when the prefatory verse is taken together with the concluding one that the specific authority of Alfred is combined with that of Gregory in providing the metaphorical landscape.

Water is, of course, an important and frequently occurring metaphor in the Bible. In the Gospel of St. John 7.37 and 4.14 Jesus himself said ‘if any man thirst let him come to me and drink’ and ‘the water that I will give him, shall become in him a fountain of water, springing up into life everlasting’. The ideal landscape in the verse epilogue is one in which such life-giving water is channelled and available for use. The text commands the audience: ‘Fylle nu his fætels, se ðe fæstne hider/ kylle brohte,’ (let him who has hither brought a sound flagon, now fill his vessel, lines 25-26) and warns against using leaking a vessel lest ‘him lifes drync forloren weorðe’, (the drink of life becomes lost to him, line 30). As Whobrey observes, these lines appear to owe their inspiration directly to the gospel story: ‘the tenth-century addition of verses 13 and 14 of the fourth chapter of John in the manuscript is evidence that the scribe recognised this familiar story in the epilogue’.¹⁴ This enables the text of the translated *Pastoral Care* to assume the authority of holy writ: the line runs directly from Jesus to John to Gregory to Augustine to Alfred. The verse epilogue provides a

¹² Harbus, p. 723.

¹³ Godden, p. 462.

¹⁴ Whobrey, p. 184.

landscape of the authority of both Church and royal power, authenticated by Alfred, Augustine, and Gregory.

Once again, the landscape element is related to enclosure, although, this time the water in it is directed, controlled, and confined in the mind:

Sume hine weriað on gewitlocan
wisdomes stream, welerum gehæftað,
ðæt he on unnyt ut ne tofloweð.
Ac se wæl wunað on weres breostum
ðurh dryhtnes giefe diop and stille

(one keeps the stream of wisdom in mind, imprisons it with lips, that it may not flow away out in uselessness. But through the gift of God the spring remains in the breast of the man, deep and still, lines 13-17). The metaphorical water of the Christian message is held in physical containment, but through this control and confinement remains an inexhaustible source of spiritual nourishment. Mize observes that the concept of the mind as a container is common in Old English poetry, but here is given an innovative turn: ‘altering the representation of wisdom from a figurative kind of wealth, a mental treasure, to a liquid that can be collected and held in the vessel of the mind allows the extension of the conceit in new directions’.¹⁵ The stream of wisdom, however, has to be collected and secured; it is only a potential source of metaphorical water until it is utilised and that is the responsibility of the individual.

The text is insistent on the need for action in response to the proffered landscape of contained water:

Ac hladað iow nu drincan, nu iow Dryhten geaf
ðæt iow Gregorius gegiered hafað

¹⁵ Britt Mize, ‘Manipulations of the Mind-as-Container Motif in *Beowulf*, *Homiletic Fragment II*, and Alfred’s *Metrical Epilogue to the Pastoral Care*’, *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 107 (2008), 25-56, p. 50.

to durum iowrum Dryhtnes welle.

(but now draw you to drink, now God has granted you that Gregory has directed [to] you the well of God by your doors, lines 21-23). The repetition of 'iow' emphasises the necessity of a personal response from each individual, and the opening phrase of this passage is a command to do so.

It also allows for an addition to the composition of the ideal landscape which now includes habitations. Bringing the water to 'durum iowrum' suggests a building, but *Maxims II* equates doors and mouths: 'duru sceal on healle/ rum recedes muð' (a door must be in a hall, the wide mouth of the building, lines 36-37). Considering the mind as contained within the body thus allows the epilogue to represent people as features of the ideal landscape. Bodies and buildings are intertwined in this line; people with vessels to gather the water from their doorsteps are contained in the buildings, but the mind is contained in the body which is nourished through the mouth. The landscape of the epilogue is peopled with containers: land and water, body and buildings, mind and body, form a series of vessels.

The landscape of *the Metrical Epilogue to the Pastoral Care* is also a vernacular one, drawing on the traditional imagery of the Old English poetic corpus. The water in this text is variously described: it is a 'stream' (line 14), a 'welsprynge' (line 7), a 'well' (lines 16 and 24), a 'rið' (line 19), and a 'burna' (line 28), in addition to the 'wæterscipe' (lines 1 and 7), and 'wæter' (lines 5, 20, and 29). It moves; verbs of movement in this poem include 'fleowen' (line 5), 'tofloweð' (lines 15 and 21), and 'torinnan' (line 19), in addition to the sense of movement inherent in 'welsprynge', 'rið', 'stream', and 'burna'. Yet these produce contradictions of application; the water is both flowing freely and held confined. It is still and quiet while it is also moving. Godden comments that 'it uses an extended and elaborate

image of water that is not without ambiguity.’¹⁶ The metaphorical liquid of Gregory’s writing is an adaptable element, encompassing the variety of forms in which water is encountered allows the text to provide for an equal variety of usage and application from the recipients.

The water in line five is an outpouring from God, a spring whose source is the Holy Ghost, the essence of which is that it does not remain in heaven, still and contained, but flows freely through mankind:

He cwæð ðæt He wolde ðæt on worulde forð
of ðæm innoðum a libbendu
wætru fleowen, ðe wel on Hine
gelifden under lyfte. Is hit lytel two
ðæt ðæs wæterscipes welsprynge is
on heofonrice, ðæt is halig gæst

(he said that he desired that henceforth in the world living waters should always flow from the breasts of those under the sky who well believed in him. It is of little doubt that the wellspring of this water is in heaven, that is, the Holy Ghost, lines 3-8). The wordplay of ‘wel/welsprynge’ makes an associative link between faith and the outpouring of comfort for mankind. Yet freely flowing water is in direct contradiction to the deep and still water that is held in the minds of some men in lines thirteen to seventeen (see above), and is moreover explicitly condemned in the following lines: ‘nis ðæt rædlic ðing/ gif swa hlutor wæter, hlud and undiop,/ tofloweð æfter feldum’ (nor is that a wise thing if such pure water flows away loud and shallow over the fields, lines 19-21). This is a précis of the final part of chapter twenty-four of Book III of the *Pastoral Care* in which Gregory uses the metaphor of wells and running

¹⁶Godden, p. 465.

streams for containing or dissipating wisdom.

Water flowing freely over the fields and land is, as shown above, a feature of the ideal landscape; it is therefore an apparently incongruous image that is presented by the text at this point. The folly of such a course is validated by the following phrase, which is an addition to Gregory's own imagery, 'oð hit to fenne werð' (until it becomes a fen, line 21). This realigns Gregory's teaching with vernacular poetic tradition since marsh and fen is a type of landscape that is always associated in Old English poetry with that which is monstrous, perverted, or evil. It is where monsters occur in *Maxims II*,¹⁷ the haunt of devils in *Guthlac*, and the home of the infamous Grendel in *Beowulf*.¹⁸ The implication behind these lines is therefore that to fail to use the water of the spirit is to give rise to a place of potential stagnation where spiritual monsters may flourish; bishops, if they do not guard, guide, and channel the gift of God do not merely waste it, they positively encourage evil-doers.

The inclusion of the boggy landscape in these lines is a means of reconciling these different aspects of water in the landscape, the still and the flowing. Gregory's work is insistent on the variety of ways in which the spirit may be channelled and used, and the necessity of understanding different applications both for the life of the individual and for the steering of others. Whether it is utilised for meditation or for teaching however, the point is that it must be used, not allowed to stagnate. *The Metrical Epilogue to the Pastoral Care* recreates this key concept of Gregory in miniature by invoking the formulaic understanding of stagnant water as the haunt of the monstrous and perverted, and applying it straightforwardly to the image of spiritual water. It resolves the ambiguity of the water metaphor into one of consistency through the landscape of traditional vernacular poetry. The verse

¹⁷ See chapter one, p. 47.

¹⁸ See chapter three for a more detailed discussion of the significance of the marsh as it relates to Grendel, especially pp. 129-134.

assimilates Gregory's writing through this tradition into an Anglo-Saxon landscape of learning and application.

Spiritual water in *The Metrical Epilogue to the Pastoral Care* is a source of power for good in man if it is channelled and directed aright. The power of actual water can also be a means of instigating spiritual change through the disciplining of errant communities of mankind: incorrect behaviour by whole communities is as threatening to the universal community as that of individuals to smaller communities is shown to be through the landscapes of *The Wife's Lament* and *Wulf and Eadwacer*. Through the changes to the landscape that it can bring about, water facilitates punishment and correction. It is this aspect of water in relation to land that will be the focus of the remainder of this chapter; the physical power of water to cleanse and renew a landscape and by this means to restore its communities to balance and accord.

The landscape of dispute in *Genesis*.

Dissension between human communities leads to battle, and a context of fighting; the winning of glory through martial prowess and successful defence of lands and people is one of the key elements that define a good leader in the heroic code as presented in the Old English poetic corpus. Discord between humanity and God is presented in *Genesis* in the same terms; the flood, which is presented in the Bible as a retributive punishment, is given the attributes of a physical fight in the Old English poem. The landscape in this treatment is not the battlefield, but is an active participant in the proceedings. The strife is not over the possession of land but one in which the landscape is both the cause and the aggressor.

In *Genesis* the narrative of the flood, the actual events, are those contained in the biblical version, but the Old English verse refocuses them into a (somewhat one-sided) war. The war is waged against the defilement of the landscape: God

geseah unrihte eorðan fulle,
side sælwongas synnum gehladene,
widlum gewemde

(saw the earth full of evil, the broad happy plains burdened with sins, defiled with filth, lines 1292-1294). The sins of man are a pollution of the landscape, an offence against creation that changes it: 'sælwongas synnum gehladene' is an oxymoronic phrase that introduces dissonance into the landscape. The response to this besmirched landscape is presented initially as straightforward reprisal by an outraged Lord:

Hreaw hine swiðe
þæt he folcmægþa fruman aweahte,
æðelinga ord, þa he Adam sceop,
cwæð þæt he wolde for wera synnum
eall aæðan þæt on eorðan wæs,
forleosan lica gehwilec þara þe lifes gast
fæðmum þeahte.

(the origin of princes greatly regretted that he had awoken the first of nations, when he created Adam, he said that he wished to destroy everything that was on earth because of the sins of men, annihilate each body that contained life's spirit in its bosom, lines 1276-1282).¹⁹ The intended destruction here is of the earth's denizens rather than the landscape itself, punishment by death for unacceptable behaviour within the human-divine community as established by God.

The process of recreating this retributive punishment into a battle situation begins here with God as 'æðelinga ord' because 'ord' also means a point and hence is used in other poems as a metonym for spear. Byrhtnoð warns the Vikings in *The*

¹⁹ Translation Daniel Anlezark, *Old Testament Narratives* (London: Harvard University Press, 2011), p. 93.

Battle of Maldon that they will be opposed by ‘ord and ecg’ (point and edge, line 60), that is by spear and sword. In *Elene* the nails inserted in the bridle of Constantine’s horse will grant him success whenever men ‘berað bord and ord’ (carry board and point, line 1186) in battle. ‘Ord’ has a second battle context of meaning since it can also refer to the front rank of an army: in *The Battle of Maldon*, the Vikings are on one side of the river with the ‘Eastseaxena ord’ (the East Saxon vanguard, line 69) facing them across the water. *Genesis* therefore subtly hints at battle from the very onset of the narrative: God is both a spear and the front rank of his army. The troops that follow him are the water that changes the landscape, so that the landscape is at once antagonist and victim.

The landscape that God has created in *Genesis* is the medium by which he destroys it. From causing the water to move aside and become bounded in order to reveal the land, so now, in anger and vengeance, he returns the landscape of earth to one that is wholly aquatic. In a reversal of his actions at creation when he curtailed and bounded the water (see above), he now removes those restraints:

Drihten sende

regn from roderum and eac rume let

willeburnan on woruld þringan

of ædra gehwære, egorstreamas

swearte swogan.

(the Lord sent rain from the skies and also set free the streams to press forwards into the world, widely from every spring, let the dark waters howl, lines 1371-1375). As shown above, words for water are used in a general rather than a precise way in the Old English poetic corpus, so, although rain, streams, and springs could be considered as different types of water, the text is more likely relying on the variety of vocabulary

for effect. The immensity of the flood is shown textually by the incremental piling up of different terms for water; ‘regn’, ‘willeburnan’, ‘ædra’, ‘egorstreamas’ are not to be considered as separate categories or types of water with which the earth is being overwhelmed, but rather as indicative of the quantity. The text, by including both rain and springs, encircles the land with water, attacks it from above and below. The landscape is covered by water which pervades it as the varied vocabulary of water pervades the text, unrestrained and indiscriminate.

This passage initiates the battle; the water presses forwards, and it howls. This is a significant phrase since it adumbrates the otherwise missing formulaic beasts of battle. This accompanies descriptions of battles on land in *Beowulf*, *Brunanburh*, *Elene*, *Exodus*, *Finnsburh*, *Genesis*, *Judith*, and *The Battle of Maldon*. These beasts are the wolf and birds, the latter sometimes specified as the raven and eagle. They occur as a regular enhancement to the anticipation of battle in the narratives to the extent that they can be considered a typescene, a feature of the narrative structure that is formulaic in its appearance. The regularity of their employment at such times leads Griffith to conclude:

the poets felt the beasts to be a compulsory element of battle narration. They do not advance the action, but they are symbolically essential to it, and cannot be eliminated without destroying its poetic coherence. The predictability of their appearance is powerfully suggestive of formulaic status.²⁰

In *Elene* the wolf sends up a ‘wælrune’ (battlesong, line 28) and the eagle ‘sang ahof’ (raised a song, line 29) on the eve of the battle with the wolf also raising song at the commencement of proceedings. Both birds and wolves anticipate the next day’s battle in *Exodus* with noise: the wolf ‘sungon/ atol æfenleod’ (sang a terrible evensong, line 166) and ‘hreopan herefugolas’ (birds of prey screeched, line 163). In *The Fight at*

²⁰ M. S. Griffith, ‘Convention and Originality in the Old English “Beasts of Battle” Typescene’, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 22 (1993), 179-199, p. 184.

Finnsburh the eve of battle is again signalled by the cry of birds, ‘fugelas singað’ (birds sing, line 5). Noise made the beasts of battle is a precursor to combat in these texts, so the sound made by the water is another subtle indication to the audience that this punishment by God is to be seen in a martial context. The howling of the water renders it animate; it signals an impending fight, recreating the flooding landscape as a battlefield.

Most unusually for Old English poetry, the waters in *Genesis* are personified into a standing army, with God as the leader and commander. They are lethal waters, ‘wælstreamas’ (slaughter-streams, line 1300) and ‘wælregn’ (slaughter-rain, line 1350), and the water is also a weapon wielded by its leader, God. The concept of troops as the personal armaments of a commander is inherent in many of the references to fighting in Old English poetry, though it is rarely so specific as it is in *Genesis*. In *Elene* Constantine is ‘guðwearð gumena’ (war-defence of the warriors, line 14), and his victories in battle are accounted personal ones; he is the solace of his people when he ‘wæpen ahof/ wið hetendum’ (raised weapons against the enemy, lines 17-18). The claim of Hrothgar in *Beowulf* is that he has kept this people safe by ‘æscum and ecgum’ (ashes and edges, line 1772), that is, by spears and swords. While Constantine and Hrothgar are being lauded as skilful fighters in their own right, both have achieved their success predominantly by their prowess as leaders; their weapons include the victorious armies they led as well as their personal accoutrements of spear and sword. In *Genesis*, however, God uses the water as an agent of destruction:

Strang wæs and reðe

se ðe wætrum weold; wreah and þeahte

manfæðu bearn middangeardes

wonnan wæge, wera eðelland;

(strong and terrible was he who commanded the waters; covered and concealed with a dark wave the men of strife of the earth, the homeland of men, lines 1376-1379). The destruction encompasses the polluted earth as well as the inhabitants; the earth is invaded by the army of a watery landscape. After the flood God assures Noah that:

Ic eow treowa þæs
mine selle, þæt ic on middangeard
næfre egorhere eft gelæde,
wæter ofer widland

(I myself give you this promise, that I [will] never again lead a water-army on earth, water over the wide land, lines 1535- 1538). This emphasises not only the pledge to mankind but also the martial context; ‘egorhere’ and ‘lædan’ place God in the vanguard of an aggressive landscape which he controls and directs.

As faithful followers should be, these troops are disciplined. It is an ‘edmodne flod’ (obedient flood, line 1405), and in the best traditions of the heroic code, the water takes its leader’s emotions and antagonism for its own so that its attack is not a passive one but motivated by anger: ‘nið wæs reðe’ (the hatred was severe, line 1383). The flooded landscape is determinedly aggressive in the manner of an invading army: it forces entry ‘sæs up stigon/ ofer stæðweallas’ (the seas scaled up over the shore-walls, lines 1375-1376); it seizes people, ‘mere swiðe grap/ on fæge folc’ (the sea quickly grasped the accursed people, lines 1381-1382), and destroys them, ‘wuldorcyniges/ yða wræcon arleasra feorh/ of flæschoman’ (the waves of the king of glory banished life from the bodies of the wicked, lines 1384-1386).

It is also dark, something that is repeatedly mentioned throughout the narrative of the flood. The water is ‘sweart’ (lines 1300, 1326, 1355, and 1414), and ‘wann’ (lines 1301, 1379, and 1430). In this, the retributive landscape contrasts with the decorative,

ornamental, happy, shining streams of the ideal landscape and instead recalls the landscape at creation, which is also ‘swear’ (lines 109 and 134), ‘wann’ (lines 110 and 119), and in addition is ‘deorc’ (lines 108 and 133) and ‘dim’ (line 105). The darkness that existed before God created light is returned to the earth through the changing landscape, now a landscape of symbolic darkness of discord and strife.

It is a destruction of the landscape by the landscape that in *Genesis* becomes a conflict that is prosecuted by a powerful and skilful commander who leads his troops to victory: God is acknowledged as ‘wuldorcynning’ (king of glory, line 1384) by the text; the martial context ensures that the glory is that which accrues to earthly kings in this position. The lack of accord between God and humanity results in a landscape that is out of proportion; the balanced elements of the Edenic landscape are altered so that water is completely dominant. Victory results in a changed landscape, one in which the pollution of, and by, men has been removed.

The return of light and land is a restoration of balance and harmony:

hæfde soð metod
 eaforum egstream eft gecyrred
 torhtne ryne regn gestilled

(the true creator had stilled the rain, turned back the bright course of the waterstreams for [his] heirs, lines 1414-1416). The landscape is balanced, with the water back in the right courses and once more a decorative feature with the epithet ‘torht’. When Noah leaves the ark, God commissions him, as he had earlier in the text commissioned Adam and Eve, giving him dominion over all the rest of creation. The two speeches have words and phrases, even one complete line in common: ‘tymað nu’ (propagate now, lines 196 and 1512); ‘holmes hlæste’ (bounty of the sea, line 1515) for the earlier ‘brimhlæste’ (bounty of the sea, line 200); and ‘wilde deor on geweald

geseald' (wild animals into [their] power, lines 202 and 1516). This time, however, there is an additional phrase, Noah is commanded to 'tires brucað/ mid gefean fryðo' (partake of glory with joyful peace, lines 1512-1513). There is a reciprocity anticipated, in which the peacefulness of humanity will be in balance with the restored and newly fertile landscape.

The flood in *Genesis* is a pitched battle with the landscape, by the landscape, for the landscape. The sinfulness of humanity is a pollution of the landscape which has been cleansed and redeemed through the invading army of water. God as the commander of victorious troops has re-established an equitable relationship between land and water, which shadows and reflects that between divinity and humanity. The same trope is evident in *Andreas*; destruction and restoration of a landscape by the saint results in the emergence of an altered community, whose errant behaviour has been corrected.

Conversion through coercion: changing hearts by changing landscape in *Andreas*.

Saints customarily modify not only the people they are converting but also 'the very land on which they live'.²¹ As was shown in chapter one, landscape is part of a community, so that people whose culture is not in accordance with God's will affect everything around them. Once a saint has converted and corrected a community, so that it is in sanctified amity with the divine plan, then the landscape will also become a harmonious composition of desirable features: 'in *Andreas*, as well as in *Genesis*, the establishment of a covenant between God and the people follows the flood'.²² The saint's intervention in Mermedonia has the same result as the biblical

²¹ Fabienne L. Michelet, *Creation, Migration, and Conquest* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 176.

²² Helen Appleton, 'Anglo-Saxon Landscapes: The Construction of the Environment in Old English and Related Texts' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Sydney, 2012), p. 153.

flood. The focus of *Andreas* is conversion of the Mermedonians rather than the purely punitive flood of *Genesis*, so there are three areas of interest in this process: what changes in the Mermedonian landscape, how these changes arise, and the agency of change.

The island²³ of Mermedonia has a landscape that is a mixture of contrived and natural features. It changes, during the course of the narrative, from one that is forbidding, bleak, and arid to a landscape that is fertile and pleasant to live in. The composite nature of the landscape is immediately apparent from the saint's first sight of it. Andreas is placed by his angelic conveyors on a 'herestræte' (army road, line 831) and when he looks about him he sees:

Beorgas steape,
hleodū hlifodon, ymbe harne stan
tigelfagan trafu, torras stodon,
windige weallas.

(steep mountain slopes rose up, near the grey stone stood tile-hung buildings, towers, windy walls, lines 840-843). The unyielding rock, the lack of colour, the defensive towers, and the road designed for an army on the march, are all symbolic of the Mermedonians themselves and the difficulties facing the saint, through the 'juxtaposition of natural and urban features.'²⁴ Swisher identifies the formula 'har stan' in *Beowulf* and the *Blickling Homily 17* as one which signifies 'the crossing of a threshold from the natural to the supernatural world.'²⁵ The appearance of 'har stan' is

²³ Whether Mermedonia is literally an island or simply an area of land near water is a question that has been addressed by others, particularly in the commentaries on the text: see the editions of Brooks (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961), p. 62, and North and Bintley (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2016), p. 219, for example. Since the precise situation of Mermedonia does not affect the argument here, it will be referred to as an island for convenience.

²⁴ Alexandra Bolintineanu, 'The Land of Mermedonia in the Old English *Andreas*', *Neophilologus*, 93 (2009), 149-164, p. 155.

²⁵ Michael Swisher, 'Beyond the Hoar Stone', *Neophilologus*, 86 (2002), 133-136, p. 133.

therefore a signal of danger to the audience: ‘it does indicate the point beyond which the hero must later do battle,’²⁶ even if in this case it is with the unnatural, cannibalistic Mermedonians rather than truly supernatural beings. The landscape of Mermedonia is as inimical to the saint’s presence as the inhabitants will later prove themselves. In poetic terms the features of the landscape that are identified by the text are a signal to the audience: ‘through traditional phraseology the poet tells his audience, nonetheless, to expect the worst.’²⁷ There is a sense of impending threat and physical danger to Andreas from the island itself; it is both symbolically and literally in accord with its denizens. It is an unbalanced land, no water or vegetation, devoid of all softness and colour, containing only rocky slopes and stone buildings.

This impression of the land of Mermedonia is confirmed later in the poem when Andreas has been captured by the citizens. His sufferings are inflicted by the landscape as much as the people when he is dragged:

æfter dunscreafum
ymb stanhleoðo, stærcedferþpe,
efne swa wide swa wegas tolagon
enta ærgeweorc innan burgum
stræte stanfage. Storm upp aras
æfter ceasterhofum cirm unlytel
hæðnes heriges.

(through hill-caves, around stony slopes, the hard-hearted [dragged him] fully as widely as the paths extended, the previous work of giants, stone-paved roads into the town. A storm rose up over the city dwellings, no small outcry from the heathen crowd, lines 1232-1238). The buildings, the stone roads, and the rocky hillsides are

²⁶ Swisher, p. 135.

²⁷ Lori Ann Garner, ‘The Old English *Andreas* and the Mermedonian Cityscape’, *Essays in Medieval Studies*, 24 (2007), 53-63, p. 56.

conflated in these lines: ‘the distinction between natural rock and masonry architecture becomes blurred and unclear’.²⁸ As with the earlier passage, the identification of the inhabitants and their works with the land that they occupy is complete: hard-hearted men utilising hard stone to inflict pain. What falls on Andreas is not a storm of wind, rain, and thunder but a storm of men. The Mermedonians have become indistinguishable from an oppressive landscape. The man-made storm of sound, until the final phrase, makes it appear that the weather, too, is in accord with the people and their landscape. *Andreas* is a text that is heavily ironic throughout much of the narrative, as much by the manner of its phrasing as its content; this is a minor, but pointed, example of how the text raises expectations in the audience through the first line and a half, only to frustrate and re-direct them with the concluding words. Mermedonia is a fully realised community in the terms of the Old English poetic corpus; it comprises landscape, denizens, and weather as a united whole. The undesirable nature of the Mermedonian community is shown by the landscape: the lack of anything other than stone makes it the opposite of a landscape wherein land and water are in balanced harmony.²⁹

The battle, which has already been adumbrated by the ‘herestræte’ and the ‘harstan’ (see above) on the saint’s arrival in Mermedonia, is fought with the landscape itself. The water, hitherto conspicuously absent as a feature, appears as the foe at night, after the saint has been dragged through the rocky landscape. Then:

Snaw eorðan band
wintergeworpum. Weder coledon
heardum hægelscurum, swylce hrim and forst,

²⁸ Richard North and Michael J. Bintley, *Andreas: An Edition* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2016), p. 92.

²⁹ It is also, of course, symbolic of the fact that the fertilising water of the Christian message has yet to reach them, see above on *The Metrical Epilogue to the Pastoral Care*.

hare hildstapan, hæleða eðel
lucon, leoda gesetu. Land wæron freorig;
cealdum cylegicelum clang wæteres þrym
ofer eastreamas is brycgade
blæce brimrade.

(snow bound the earth in wintry drifts. Skies grew cold with hard hail-showers, also the grey warriors, rime and frost, locked up the homeland of heroes, the habitations of people. Lands were frozen, the force of the water shrank with cold icicles over the river currents, ice bridged the dark sea-road, lines 1255-1262). The landscape, of which the saint himself must now be accounted a feature, is locked up and held at bay by the invading army of frozen water. It is completely covered over by the water in a foreshadowing of the later flood. The victim here is Andreas, who suffers throughout the ‘wintercealdan niht’ (winter-cold night, line 1265), in an ironic reversion of the sufferings of the Mermedonians later in the narrative who themselves become victims of a landscape overrun with water.

The landscape of Mermedonia becomes an attractive town set in a pleasantly fruitful hinterland through the actions of the saint. The sufferings of Andreas bring about a change to the barren, rocky, bleakness of Mermedonia in a symbolic prediction of the spiritual changes to the Mermedonians. Calling on God to end his torment, the saint is commanded to look back over his tracks and then ‘geseh he geblowene bearwas standan/ blædum gehrodene swa he ær his blod aget’ (he saw flourishing woods stand adorned with blossoms as far as before he shed his blood, lines 1448-1449). Andreas was told by God earlier in the narrative that ‘wættre gelicost/ faran flode blod’ (blood will flow just like water in flood, lines 953-954), and the flourishing woods are nourished by the comingling of water and blood. The

blood flowing like water has resulted in a green and fertile land: ‘the immediate result of the hero’s struggle, once again in Old English poetry, is the appearance of a green, blossoming plain, part of the original Paradise.’³⁰ The changed landscape of Mermedonia is a physical symbol of the impending change in the inhabitants; it typifies the change in the hearts and minds of the Mermedonians which is to follow.

Once that change has been accomplished then there are further improvements to the landscape that are a physical embodiment of the social and spiritual changes. The island of Mermedonia appears in the narrative of *Andreas* as a predominantly urban space; the landscape is one in which buildings and roads are the significant features. Building on the symbolic foundations of the blossoming woods, the text allows Andreas to deliberately alter this landscape, both positively and negatively. He commands its inhabitants to ‘ciricean getimbran’ (build a church, line 1633) and ‘herigeas preade/ deofulgild todraf and gedwolan fylde’ (subdued the temples, destroyed devil-worship and overturned error, lines 1687-1688); Andreas causes anguish to Satan when the Mermedonians ‘hweorfan higebliðe fram helltrafum’ (turn with joyful heart from the hell-dwellings, line 1691). The people and the temples of the urban landscape are conflated in this account, as Andreas destroys the buildings of the town together with the mental conceptions that they represent. The landscape of buildings is turned to Christian use so that it becomes a space in which the Mermedonian community can worship God. Through the destruction and restoration of the landscape the flood has transformed the habitation of men into a place of light and splendour, which is itself symbolic of the changed nature of their hearts and minds; it is now ‘a positively charged, and unambiguously heroic urban space’.³¹

When Andreas is determined to leave the island to continue his mission

³⁰ Alvin A. Lee, *The Guest-hall of Eden* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972), p. 94.

³¹ Garner, p. 61.

elsewhere he leaves a town that has all the desirable attributes an Anglo-Saxon might wish for:

Sæde his fusne hige
þæt he þa goldburg ofgifan wolde
secga seledream and sincgestreon
beorht beagselu

([he] said that his eager mind wished to leave the gold-town, the hall-joys of men, treasure, and the bright ring-hall, lines 1654-1657). God, instructing the saint to remain longer in Mermedonia, commands him ‘wuna in þære winbyrig wigendra hleo/ salu sinchroden seofon nihta fyrst’ (stay in this wine-town, the defence of warriors, the treasure-adorned halls, for a period of seven nights, lines 1672-1673). Gold, treasures, ring-giving, wine, and conviviality are ‘all elements commonly found within the halls of Anglo-Saxon heroic verse.’³² The cleansing power of water has transformed the town, so that afterwards ‘Mermedonia loses its forbidding aspect and is presented as a place of admirable community.’³³ The landscape of the island is now in accord, not only with its inhabitants but with the divine.

These changes to the Mermedonian landscape detailed above are consequent upon the conversion of the Mermedonians, and their acceptance into the divinely sanctioned community of Christianity. How the conversion is effected is the next point to be considered. Andreas causes the Mermedonians to accept the truth of Christianity through the destruction of their landscape. The balance between land and water is overturned, with water dominating the land. By means of the flood:

Andreas makes himself master of the city through the power of God,
and when the waters swell forth to encompass Mermedonia, he takes
possession of the forbidding landscape and all the terms that had

³² Garner, p. 61.

³³ Hugh Magennis, *Images of Community in Old English Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 174.

been associated with it with all their associated mythologies of death and desolation.³⁴

In keeping with the ironic nature of *Andreas*, however, this destruction is presented in the text as a parodic inversion of the communal life of the hall, the ideal way of living as it appears in Old English poetry. The harmonious town of gold and treasure-filled halls is created through the agency of the landscape's impersonation of an evening in the hall. The invasion of the landscape by the flood water is not given the wholly martial aspects that it has in *Genesis*; instead, it is given a context of community. There is still an element of battle about the disappearance of the urban landscape of Mermedonia under the flood: men die through the 'guðræs' (battle rush, line 1531) of the waters which 'hlynsodon' (roared, line 1545). In the main, however, the imagery is that of the comforts provided by the hall, that centre and heart of any Anglo-Saxon poetic community. There are servants, foamy, tawny liquid, a feast-day, mead, beer, and firelight. The exterior urban space that is the centre of Mermedonian society is presented in the text, at this point in the narrative, as an interior landscape of wholly desirable features.

The water is 'famige' (foamy, line 1524) on its first appearance, and this is swiftly followed by the drink such an epithet might imply, mead. The mead, however, appears in the uniquely compounded form 'meoduserwen' (line 1526) that has given rise to varied critical interpretations. The only analogue to this compound is 'ealuserwen' in *Beowulf* (line 779), and this has led some critics, particularly those who regard *Andreas* as an inferior imitation of *Beowulf*, to see the word in *Andreas* as inadequate, deriving solely from a Beowulfian original. Stanley asserts that 'the fact that the element "meodu-", which is necessary for the metre, is unsuitable in the

³⁴ Michael J. Bintley, 'Demythologising Urban Landscape in *Andreas*', *Leeds Studies in English* 40 (2009) 105-118, p. 116.

context, since mead is not a bitter drink it suggests strongly that the *Andreas* poet was influenced by *Beowulf* at this time.³⁵ Battles, in disposing of this argument, points out that the mead in *Andreas* is metaphorical not actual, and ‘is therefore ironically described as bitter.’³⁶ In fact, the mead itself is not described in this way, the text is more subtly ironic since the ‘biter’ is part of the phrase ‘biter beorþegu’ (bitter beer-drinking, line 1533), that is, the effect of the flood on the Mermedonians, and hence is a pun on the dual aspects of bitter. ‘Meoduscerven’ is now taken by most to mean ‘mead-dispensing’ or ‘mead-sharing’, the ‘-scerven’ element being taken as in opposition to the more widely attested ‘bescerven’ (to deprive), thus ironically equating the flood water with generous dispensation: ‘it fits better into the poet’s contextual image of paganism as a party getting out of hand.’³⁷

The sharing of mead, and the beer drinking combine to invoke a sense of delight in the audience, as they doubtless would have for those involved, but this is contradicted by other elements of the phrasing in this passage: the ‘guðræs’, the ‘flodes fær’ (assault of the flood, line 1530), while what the Mermedonians actually drink is ‘sealtes swelg’ (a swallow of salt, line 1532),³⁸ and the beer itself is ‘sorgbyrþen’ (brewing of sorrow).³⁹ ‘Meoduscerven’, and ‘biter beorþegu’, are the means by which the text relates the exterior landscape of the flooding town in terms of Anglo-Saxon perception as to a desirable interior scene, while the elements of salt, battle, assault, and sorrow relocate the events outside the hall.

³⁵ Eric Gerald Stanley, ‘Beowulf’, in *Continuations and Beginnings: Studies in Old English Literature*, ed. by E. G. Stanley (London: Nelson, 1966), p. 111.

³⁶ Paul Battles, ‘Dying for a Drink: “Sleeping after the Feast” Scenes in *Beowulf*, *Andreas* and the Old English Poetic Tradition’, *Modern Philology*, 112 (2015), 435-457, p. 454.

³⁷ North and Bintley, p. 296.

³⁸ That is, if the emendation by Brooks of the MS reading ‘sealtes sweg’ is accepted, rather than that of Krapp who emends to ‘sealtne weg’. ‘Swelg’ is more in keeping with the connotations of drinking and the parodic inversions of the text.

³⁹ Again, if the MS reading ‘byrþen’ is taken as metathesis for ‘bryþen’; the MS reading, as Brooks observes, ‘gives poor sense’. Kenneth R. Brooks ed., *Andreas and The Fates of the Apostles* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1961), note p. 114.

The immensity of the flood is evoked by a further metaphorical application of the language associated with social occasions:

Byrlas ne gældon
ombehtþegnas. Þær wæs ælcum genog
fram dāges orde drync sona gearu.
Weox wāteres þrym.

(servants, the cupbearers, did not linger. There was sufficient drink for everyone ready at once, from the beginning of the day. The force of the water grew, lines 1533-1536).

This is a collision of associative ideas; joys and delights of the hall, generosity, conviviality, and comradeship are presented only to be denied and turned back on themselves by the final phrase. By intruding a specified time into the depiction the text refers back to the earlier lines ‘meoduscerwen weorð/ æfter symbledæg slæpe tobrugon/ searuhabbende’ (after the feast-day [there] was a sharing of mead, the armed men started from sleep, lines 1526-1528). Taking both passages together what is suggested here is a ‘morning after the feast’ scene, one that occurs in other Old English poems, as well as in other traditions, as a time when disasters happen: ‘feasting, sleeping, and danger powerfully attract one another; the three motifs form a deadly triangle, wherein the presence of any two suffices to summon the third.’⁴⁰ The text of *Andreas* simply realigns the chronology of the traditional scene so that the feasting is the danger which follows sleeping.

Resetting the urban landscape of the town as a hall interior continues through the attempts of the inhabitants to flee. There are ‘blacan lige’ (bright flames, line 1541) and ‘flugon fyrgnastas’ (fire-sparks flew, line 1546); fire brings light into a hall as *The Rune Poem* reminds us:

⁴⁰ Battles, p. 437. Battles identifies twelve instances of the deployment of this theme in the Old English poetic corpus.

Cen byþ cwicera gehwam cūþ on fyre,

blac and beorhtlic, byrneþ oftust

ðær hi æþelingas inne restap

(the torch is familiar fire to all the living, pale and bright, it burns most often where nobles rest themselves inside, lines 16-18). The brightness of the flames in *Andreas* are an indication of the fierceness of the fire, however; the phrase which follows ‘blacan lige’ is ‘hatan heaðowælme’ (in hot fierce billows, line 1542). There is a tension developed in these lines between the joys associated with drinking together in the hall and what is happening in the narrative present; the fear and horror of the rapidly-flooding landscape is heightened by the convivial context in which it is set. The climax of the flood is a confusion of fire and water: ‘þurh lyftgelac leges blæstas/ weallas ymbwurpon wæter mycladon’ (blasts of fire flew through the air, surrounded the walls, the water increased, lines 1552-1553). The interior has become an exterior again in these lines: the constant fluctuations between joy and horror continually evoked through the skilful deployment of traditional phraseology have now been united into a depiction of a landscape that is hellish in its intermingling of disparate elements. The physical destruction of the Mermedonian landscape in the narrative is accompanied by a destruction of the expectations and ideals that the text has raised in the audience through the imagery of hall-joys.

The agency of change is the final aspect to be considered here and this is also one that is derived from the landscape: the saint’s ability to direct the water which he commands to both emerge from, and return to, the earth. Landscape is the means of establishing his power to do this through the events on the journey to Mermedonia. These make him a type of Christ which is confirmed, later in the narrative, by the symbolic redemption of the landscape through the blossoming woods that spring from

his blood. The text creates Andreas as such a typological figure through another disturbance of the equilibrium between land and water in which the land is represented by the ship on his travels to the island. It is presented in martial terms; the battle with the elements is a translation of the saint's spiritual battle into physical events.

The audience is prepared for impending danger to the saint and his companions by continual textual hints of terror and discomfort related to water throughout the preceding lines. Andreas is initially reluctant to accept the commission since, he says, one of God's angels could more easily deal with the 'waroðfaruða gewinn and wæterbrogan' (strife of the surf and water-terror, line 197), and 'yða gewealc' (tossing of the waves, line 259). *Andreas* is not the only text to associate travel by water with cold and distressing continual motion. The unpleasant movement of the sea is emphasised in *The Seafarer*, where the protagonist numbers among his miseries 'atol yða gewealc' (the terrible tossing of the waves, line 6) and 'sealtyða gelac' (rolling of the salt-waves, line 35). It is stated rather more emphatically in *The Rune Poem*:

Lagu byþ leodum langsum geþuht
gif hi sculan neþan on nacan tealtum
and hi sæyþa swyþe bregap
and se brimhengest bridles ne gymeð.

(the sea seems very long to people if they have to venture in unsteady boats and the mighty seawaves frighten them and the seahorse does not care about the bridle, lines 63-66). The translation here of 'langsum' as 'very long' is intended to convey both a physical and temporal sense of length; time and distance appear equally lengthy in a vessel so tossed by the waves that it is difficult to steer effectively. In *Andreas* the

captain of the vessel they find on the strand warns them ‘is se drohtað strang/ þam þe lagolade lange cunnap’ (the life is arduous for those who long test the seaways, lines 313-314). The water that Andreas and his companions are to travel on is transformed into an ordeal rather than a means of transportation by the text even before the protagonists have embarked.

The physical discomfort of sea travel is escalated by the text into a threat. When Andreas and his companions arrive on the shore to seek a vessel the water is immediately intimidating: ‘garsecg hlynede/ beoton brimstreamas’ (the ocean roared, seacurents threatened, lines 238-239). Once the voyage is under way the hints of opposition by the water become a reality; the sea is a dangerous antagonist and all the indications are that a battle is about to commence. The battle is with the sea itself, which is described in full force:

Ða gedrefed wearð,
onhrered hwælmere. Hornfisc plegode,
glad geond garsecg, ond se græga mæw
wælgifre wand. Wedercandel swearc,
windas weoxon, wægas grundon,
streamas styredon, strengas gurron,
wædo gewætte. Wæteregsa stod
þreata þryðum.

(then the whalesea became disturbed and troubled. The garfish played, glided through the ocean and the gray seagull circled, bloodthirsty. The weather candle grew dark, winds grew, waves crashed together, currents were stirred up, ropes creaked, clothes became wet. Water-peril arose with the force of armies, lines 369-376). The storm is violent and threatening and the grimly ironic contrast between the fearfulness of the

land-dwelling people and the denizens of the sea is emphasised by the happy, playful fish.

The misery of the passengers on board is enhanced by the inconspicuous but realistically accurate detail of ‘wædo gewætte’. The water is now not only causing the boat’s motion and sound to be affected by the storm, but is also inflicting discomfort onto the passengers individually. Collectively and severally they are oppressed and threatened by the water in the form of the army that is the sea tempest. Most editors take ‘wædo’ as a reference to the boat and therefore translate as ‘sails’, but it is possible to see this passage as using the same technique as that employed in the passage from *Exodus*, discussed on page 73. That is, the narrative voice shifts its stance within these lines, so that 369-372a are given from a detached objective view, but then the position changes to that of the viewpoint of the protagonists within the boat. They see it getting dark, hear the waves crashing and the ropes creaking, feel the wind and their wet clothes. The sentence following this one emphasises the terror they felt, so these lines are a way of communicating their feelings to the audience; it is not only frighteningly dark and noisy but they are having to sit uncomfortably in wet clothes. The text uses this passage to narrow the focus to the people in the boat, which then, in the wider context of the narrative as a whole, leads on to Andreas and the captain and their conversation.

The introduction of ‘þreata þryðum’ changes the nature of the threat from that of a storm at sea to a battle. Water has become an opponent to the community of the ship in the use of ‘garsecg’, a not infrequent word for the sea: in *The Phoenix* the sun rises ‘ofer garsecg’ (over the ocean, line 289), and in *The Whale* the animal is ‘garsecges gæst’ (spirit of the sea, line 29). However, ‘gar’ alone is a spear, and ‘secg’ as word means ‘man’ or ‘warrior’ so when split into its constituent elements and

treated as a compound, the word acquires a quite different interpretation. The ‘spearman’ here is the water, but its presence in this form is yet another indication that in these lines the narrative is preparing the audience for conflict; the spear is a precursor of battle. In *The Battle of Maldon* the Viking messenger advises Byrthnoth to pay tribute to avoid ‘þisne garræs’ (this spear-rush, line 32). The introduction of ‘garsecg’, which although from the context clearly refers to the water, at this point increases the antagonism of the water and the threat to the ship-borne community from the landscape; the sea is now a personal, physical foe.

The presence of an attacking army in *Andreas* is implied not only by the ‘þreata þryðum’ and the ‘spearman’ of the ocean but also by the delight of the sea-creatures, which stands as an aquatic equivalent of the ‘Battle Beasts’ motif. There are formulaic links from these land battle beasts to the sea beasts in *Andreas*. The ‘græga mæw’ has a linguistic analogy with the wolf, who in *Finnsburh* is ‘græghama’ (grey-clothed, line 6), and in *Brunanburh* is ‘græg deor’ (grey animal, line 64). The seagull is also ‘wælgifre’, which adjective is used for the raven in *Judith* where it is ‘wælgifre fugel’ (bloodthirsty bird, lines 207 and 295-296). The delight of the fish has parallels with the beasts of battle too: in *Elene* ‘wulf sang ahof’ (wolf raised a song, line 112) and in *Genesis* ‘sang se wanna fugel’ (the black bird sang, line 1983), both anticipating the feast of corpses that will result from the battle about to take place. Singing and playing are both ways of showing pleasure; the fish is unable to sing like the birds but yet has the means to demonstrate delight. Hence the bloodthirsty grey seagull and the playful fish in *Andreas*, prepare the audience for the battle inference of ‘þreata þryðum’. As has been discussed earlier, another significant indicator of imminent battle is noise from the battle beasts; here, as in *Genesis*, the noise is contributed by the roaring water rather than the cry of the wolf or eagle, but all the elements that go to complete this formulaic

scene are present at this point in *Andreas*. This is an impending battle between the water and the small community on board the ship.

The expectation of a forthcoming battle scene is further enhanced when Andreas himself describes what is happening. Ostensibly, in the narrative context, he is addressing the ship's captain, but this is a technique that increases the dramatic tension of the piece for the audience:

Garsecg hlymmeð,
geofon geotende. Grund is onhrered,
deope gedrefed, duguð is geswenced,
modigra mægen myclum gebysgod.

(the sea roars, the surging ocean. The seabed is disturbed, deeply stirred up, the troop is troubled, the host of the brave ones greatly afflicted, lines 392-395). The battle theme is subtly reinforced by the use of 'duguð' and 'mægen'; the saint and his companions have been transformed, through the agency of the threatening water, into an army on the defensive. The sea is out of control, a threatening external antagonist. Battle is imminent.

The poem however frustrates expectations and releases the tension despite the presence of thematic battle beasts:

perhaps the strongest testimony to the coherence of the theme's effective dynamics is that the slaughter often considered to be both a logical and necessary component of the theme need not even be present for it to function.⁴¹

The battle does not ensue due to the saint's ability to control the water, to change its relationship to the community on board. Andreas stills the storm on the voyage, through the power of his faith. By relating his experience of the storm on the Sea of Galilee, and Christ's miraculous intervention that calmed the waves, to the ship's

⁴¹ Mark C. Amodio, *Writing the Oral Tradition* (Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2004), p. 53.

captain, the saint signals the calming of the storm within the narrative. In seeking to reassure his men Andreas tells them that:

Wæteregesa sceal,
geðyd ond gepreatod þurh þryðcining,
lagu lacende, liðra wyrðan.
Swa gesælde iu,

(the water-terror, the moving sea, rebuked and urged by the king of glory, must become calmer. So it happened formerly, lines 435-437). By the end of the saint's speech to his men:

Mere sweoðorade,
yða ongin eft oncyrde,
hreoh holmþracu.

(the sea abated, the assault of the waves, the rough restless sea, again changed, lines 465-467). The spirit of Christ, which originally calmed the waters of Galilee, has worked through Andreas to calm the sea by his narration of the previous experience.

His words to his companions, meant only to comfort and encourage, have become a speech-act by the power of his faith. God himself, as the sea captain, acknowledges this:

Forþan is gesyne, soð orgete,
cuð oncnawan, þæt ðu cyninges eart
þegen geþungen, þrymsittendes,
forþan þe sona sæholm oncneow,
garsecges begang, þæt ðu gife hæfdes
haliges gastes.

(therefore the truth is visible, manifest, known and understood, that you are the excellent thegn of the king who sits in glory, because at once the sea, the extent of the ocean, recognised that you had the gift of the Holy Spirit, lines 526-531). The water has become a transformative medium for Andreas, through the response of the sea. The water in the form of a threatening army has been miraculously changed into a medium that demonstrates power and control through faith which prefigures the transformative role that it will have in the conversion of the Mermedonians.

The balance between the ship and the water is miraculously restored; the latter is now once again a medium of transportation rather than an opposing foe. The landscape surrounding the boat is calm and the small community that is aboard the vessel is equally at peace. The saint's companions have fallen asleep as the waves subsided, and, later in the text, relate how during this time they were part of the joyful, perfect, community of heaven. In the narrative a long conversation between Andreas and the ship's captain ensues in which the accord between man and God, and God and the physical world, is emphasised. The landscape has thus become a harmonious partnership between the water and the 'land' of the ship which typifies the total accord between the heavenly community, the earthly ship-borne community, and that of God with his creation.

Conclusion.

In changing the landscape of Mermedonian, Andreas changes the inhabitants: the totality of their change of attitude is expressed through the imagery of the hall; changes in the landscape destroy the heart and centre of their culture. This is enabled by the power that the saint acquires through his experiences on board the ship; thwarting the threatened overturning of the balance between the elements makes him a type of Christ. The deliberate calling forth of the water is a parallel to the actions of

God in *Genesis*, altering the landscape to cleanse it of polluting sin. The resultant landscape of glorious buildings and fertile groves is a sign of a harmonious community, where water is controlled and channelled as it is in *The Metrical Epilogue to the Pastoral Care*. Water, in these texts, is shown to be an ambiguous element: its inclusion in the ideal landscapes of Eden and Phoenixland reveals it as a constituent of all that is desirable, fertile, green, and pleasant, yet when unrestrained it becomes an agent of death and destruction. Maintaining a balance between land and water produces the ideal landscape, which supports and enables the ideally harmonious community of mankind that leads to accord between the worlds of earth and heaven.

This chapter has demonstrated that landscape can act both as a physical weapon for the correction of erring communities and a symbol of a properly functioning society. It is a poetic expression of the balanced proportionality that was shown in chapter one to be a feature of the construction of both human society and the whole entity of being that is creation. The following chapter will argue that landscape is the means by which the texts further develop this understanding in response to a communal threat.

Chapter III.

CLEANSING THE COMPROMISED LANDSCAPE.

Things which threaten a community in the poetic corpus come in several guises: invasion and dispossession, depredations by raiding, or crop failure can all result in the disintegration of any community. In the world of the Anglo-Saxons these possible dangers can come from human agency, enemies, sorcery or witchcraft, but also from malevolent beings, monsters, and devils. All these different classes of threat will be discussed here in the general category of “other” which thus is to be taken as meaning any agency external and inimical to a community. The other intrudes an alien presence into communal life.

The human community is identified by place and, therefore, the land it possesses. Hence, whatever is conceived of as a threat to a community is figured as a threat to the landscape in these texts. As a result, the conflicts that arise from the presence of the other, whether they are with the forces of the natural world itself, supernatural forces or other humans, are inevitably played out in landscapes that the poetry configures as compromised and in need of cleansing or reclaiming. Such landscapes are both the place where, and the reason why, such conflicts arise. This chapter argues that symbolic cleansing and restoration of the landscape represents a return from, and a rejection of, dangerous otherness.

Response to such threat therefore becomes a conflict or contest in and over the landscape. Such conflict may be construed as verbal, mental, or physical, but whatever mechanism is constructed as a defence against the invading other, it is focussed on the landscape. Thus the landscape becomes not only the arena of conflict but also provides visible and tangible evidence of the result. Landscapes that are cleansed, renewed, or reclaimed in Old English poetry display the success of the

heroic or communal efforts against a perceived external threat. The symbolism of their constituents, such as fertility, fields, trees, birds, greenness, and brightness, are at the same time the desired achievement of the conflict.

This chapter will focus on two texts where reclaiming the landscape and restoring it to a state of fertile desirability is a significant factor in ensuring the health of a community. First, it will examine the landscape as it appears in *Beowulf* whereby the threat to the Danish community from the monstrous Grendelkin is figured as despoliation of the imaginary landscape of the narrative. Grendel and his mother are both described by the landscapes associated with them rather than directly, and these landscapes are materially altered by the monsters' destruction at the hands of Beowulf. Secondly, the chapter will explore the processes by which any threat to a community that a failure of fertility in actual physical landscape produces may be remedied by use of the *Æcerbot* charm: deploying this charm results in the poetic creation of both a conceptual defence against malevolent influences and a fruitful landscape which are then symbolically implanted into the fields under threat. The other is thus nullified by a combination of verbal construction and physical action. In *Beowulf* the removal of the monstrous other results in a symbolically cleansed and renewed landscape, whereas in the *Æcerbot* charm the restoration of the landscape is the means, rather than the consequence, of combatting the threat.

Symbolising otherness: the monstrous landscapes of the Grendelkin in *Beowulf*.

Perception of the other as necessarily a pollution of the landscape is the way in which *Beowulf* constructs those parts of the text that deal with the depredations of Grendel and his mother. On his arrival Beowulf states his reason for coming: 'þæt ic mote ana and minra eorla gedryht,/ þes hearda heap, Heorot fælsian' (that I, alone with my band of warriors, this brave troop, may cleanse Heorot, lines 431-432).

Beowulf gives Grendel his mortal wound inside the physical bounds of the hall; on the following morning ‘hæfde þa gefælsod se þe ær feorran com’ (he who earlier came from afar had cleansed [Heorot], line 825). The rejoicing that ensues is premature, however, and the threat to the Danes remains until he has also cleansed the surrounding landscape of their contaminating influential presence. Grendel and his mother are delineated in the text by their respective landscapes as different embodiments of the other: Grendel as the naturally perverse and his mother as the supernatural.

Grendel is defined by landscape. He is ‘mearcstapa, se þe moras heold/ fen ond fæsten’ (border-stepper, he who held the marshes, fen and fastness, lines 103-104) on his first appearance in the text. Thereafter he is said to rule ‘mistige moras’ (misty marshes, line 163); he has ‘morhopu’ (marsh refuges, line 450) and ‘fenhopu’ (fen refuges, line 714). He comes to Heorot ‘of more’ (from the marsh, line 710), and he flees to ‘fenhleodū’ (fen-slopes, line 820) and is said to have perished in ‘fenfreoðo’ (fen-refuge, line 851). Surveying the Old English poetic corpus, it is apparent that this is landscape that is consistently associated with undesirable otherness, firstly in terms of human society and secondly as the antithesis of the ideal landscape as envisioned by Christianity wherein land and water are separate states of being as ordained by God at Creation.¹ Swanton considers Grendel’s identification with undesirable landscape as consequent on a more general attitude:

Anglo-Saxon society felt itself closely surrounded by the whole paraphernalia of common pagan fear: hobgoblins, trolls, elves, things that go bump in the night, which dwelt in barren lands, swamps and deep forests, approaching human awareness only in darkness - and against which the warmth of the hall and its companionship offered the sole security.²

¹ See chapter two for the inherent rightness of the correct balance between land and water and the metaphorical perversion of the Christian message if it is allowed to run uselessly into a fen, p. 100.

² Michael Swanton, *English Poetry before Chaucer*, revd ed. (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2002), p. 60.

Marsh and fen are representative of the other in relation to humanity as regards the plants and animals that live there and also in respect of their connotations of the solitary and the outlaw.

The Rune Poem contains warnings of the physical dangers of moor and fen in two stanzas. The first concerns their animal inhabitants:

Ur byþ anmod and oferhyrned
felafrecne deor, feohteþ mid hornum
mære morstapa; þæt is modig wiht

(the aurochs is a very dangerous animal, bold and big-horned, the renowned moor-stepper fights with horns; that is an arrogant creature, lines 4-6). The second deals with the vegetation:

Eolhx-secg eard hæfþ oftust on fenne
wexeð on wature, wundap grimme,
blode breneð beorna gehwylcne
ðe him ænigne onfeng gedeð.

(*Eolh-sedge* most often has its place in a fen, grows in the water, wounds fiercely, reddens with blood everyone who lays hold of it lines 41-44).³ Even the plants are inimical to human presence. Moor and fen are thus places where danger emanates from the landscape; in poetic terms, they are an embodiment of otherness. In *The Rune Poem* this otherness is neither supernatural nor deliberately malevolent, but a quality of that particular type of landscape, part of its very nature.

Fen is also a landscape of isolation. The protagonist of *Wulf and Eadwacer* is imprisoned by it: 'fæst is þæt eglond fenne biworpen' (secure is that island, surrounded by fen, line 5). Guthlac, seeking a closer union with the heavenly

³ Translation Robert E. Bjork, *Old English Shorter Poems Vol II Wisdom and Lyric* (London: Harvard University Press, 2014), p.129.

community, retreats to fenland and renounces ‘worulde wyntnum’ (joys of the world, line 105). He finds there a land ‘bimipen fore monnum’ (hidden from men, line 147) and inhabited by devils which he resolves to reclaim: ‘þæt land gode/ fægre gefreopode, sibpan feond oferwon/ Cristes cempa’ (that fair land to protect for God after Christ’s champion had defeated the fiend, lines 151-153). *Maxims II* specifies place, denizen and isolation ‘þyrs sceal on fenne gewunian/ ana innan lande’ (a monster must live in the fen, alone in the land, lines 42-43), as was discussed in chapter one. The landscape is part of the definition of the other; the solitary monster is the epitome of dangerous otherness which is expressed by his surroundings. Moor and fen, separately or in combination, are a poetic synecdoche for all that is undesirable in Anglo-Saxon understanding, and therefore Grendel’s association with them marks him as other to humanity.

Grendel is ‘of all the monsters...most consistently depicted in human terms.’⁴ In narrative terms he is described by his association with the landscape rather than directly. He is symbolized by the landscape of marsh and fen as antithetical and other to human society and culture by a landscape that makes him: ‘the epitome of outlawry and the antithesis of societal order.’⁵ His intrusion into the society of Heorot is that of the landscape; the dangers of marsh and fen are brought into the hall community by his presence there. The regularity with which some mention of marsh or fen is included on every appearance of Grendel in the narrative constantly reiterates and reinforces his natural antipathy to the ordered and hierarchical community of the Danes.

In addition to making Grendel the embodiment of the other as regards human

⁴ Andy Orchard, *Pride and Prodigies: Studies in the Monsters of the Beowulf-Manuscript* (Woodbridge: Brewer, 1995), p. 30.

⁵ Sarah Lynn Higley, *Between Languages* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1993), p. 245.

society by landscape, the text also uses it to express otherness in terms of religion. There is a pointedly Christian approach to the first sustained description of landscape that the audience encounters in *Beowulf*. The text presents the alien otherness of Grendel to the audience in relation to the Christian ideal of landscape as delineated by the song of the scop in Heorot:

Ðær wæs hearpan sweg,
swutol sang scopes. Sægde, se þe cuþe
frumsceaft fira feorran reccan;
cwæð þæt se ælmihtiga eorðan worhte,
wlitebeorhtne wang, swa wæter bebugeð,
gesette sigehrepig sunnan ond monan
leoman to leohte landbuendum,
ond gefræt Wade foldan sceatas
leomum ond leafum, lif eac gesceop
cynna gehwylcum, þara ðe cwide hwyrfaþ.

(There was the sound of the harp, the clear song of the minstrel. He who knew how to recount the creation of men from long ago spoke; said that the Almighty made earth a beautiful plain, surrounded by water, established triumphantly the light of the sun and moon for illumination to land-dwellers and adorned the regions of the earth with branches and leaves, [he] also created life for each of those kinds of thing that, alive, moves about, lines 89-98). This passage clearly owes its inspiration to the first chapter of Genesis, particularly verses 9-10 and 15-18. Despite the assertion that the scop is singing of the creation of men, in fact in the paraphrase of his song as given in the text, he is really singing of the creation of the earth for men.

The song concentrates on those features of the landscape that are the Christian

ideal; the adornment with plants, the separation of land and water, above all the emphasis on light. Not only are both sun and moon specified but the double alliteration in ‘leoman to leohte landbuendum’ binds up the noun of light and brightness with the people it is designed to serve. Even the land has a radiance conferred on it by the compound adjective ‘wlitebeorhtne’, where both elements have connotations of beauty, not so much of form as of brightness, shining, brilliance, radiance. This is part of a ‘formulaic system for the ideal landscape’ since ‘all ideal landscapes in Old English poetry utilise at least one phrase consisting of an adjective of greenness, light, or space and a noun denoting an open area of vegetation.’⁶ Everything in the song is pure and precise; land, water, plants, and light have distinct being, even the sound of the voice which recounts their origin is clear.

The ideal landscape of creation is immediately contrasted with the landscape inhabited by Grendel who is: ‘mearcstapa, se þe moras heold,/ fen ond fæsten’ (border-stepper, he who held the marshes, fen and fastness, lines 103-104). These are places which are characterised by the fact that water and land are not clearly separated but constantly intermingled; a landscape that is therefore, in Christian terms, perverted. It is further perverted by the fact that these are ‘mistige moras’ (misty marshes, line 162), lacking in radiance, brightness or light. Grendel as a monster is delineated by the landscape that is his natural habitat; one which is neither land nor water, neither light nor dark; he is a ‘mearcstapa’ (border-stepper, line 103) in the sense that he is a denizen of this undefined region where the borders between land and water, light and dark, are blurred. This shadowy, swampy, ill-defined region is reflected in the person of Grendel. The text invokes the lurking threat of the indefinably frightening other by obfuscation and imprecision. Grendel is as shadowy

⁶ Ananya Jahanara Kabir, *Paradise, Death and Doomsday in Anglo-Saxon Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001) p. 144.

and ill-defined as the landscape he comes from. The clearcut divisions specified by the song of the scop emphasise the perversion of the landscape that is associated with Grendel, and hence the perverted monstrosity of Grendel himself.

The presence of landscape in the narrative whenever Grendel is mentioned disassociates him from the devil, with whom he is otherwise verbally conjoined. Grendel is 'se ellengæst' (powerful spirit, line 86), and 'wiht unhælo' (evil creature, line 120) and 'se þe þystrum bad' (he who lived in darkness, line 87), all phrases which could apply equally to either devil or earthly monster. The movement from the creation landscape to that of Grendel is beautifully subtle; the passage quoted above continues:

Swa ða drihtguman dreamum lifdon,
eadiglice, oððæt an ongan
fyrene fremman feond on helle.

(Thus those men lived happily in joys until a certain fiend from hell began to perpetrate wicked deeds, lines 99-102). This appears to be a continuation of the minstrel's song of creation, about to move the story forwards to the fall of mankind. However, the next line, 'wæs se grimma gæst Grendel haten' (the grim creature was called Grendel, line 103), turns the narrative away from the song and back into the main thread of the text by making the previous lines also relevant to the situation of the Danes in Heorot. The intrusion of the landscape of marsh and fen in the following two lines completes the identification of this monster as something other than the devil. By an especially deft manipulation of audience perception the far-distant past of creation has moved into the present of the narrative; the evil creatures in both are differentiated in their otherness only by landscape.

The landscape which defines Grendel, however, is not one in which he ever

actually appears during the narrative. The narrative voice says that he comes from, and flees to, marsh and fen, Beowulf refers to his marsh refuge, and Hrothgar refers to both monsters being seen on the marsh, but the narrative never takes the audience there.⁷ In fact, the only marsh or fen which is present in the text, as opposed to simply referring to it, is the ‘myrcan mor’ (dark marsh, line 1405) which is given a passing mention only as part of the route which the party of Danes and Geats traverses on the way to the mere, and does not, apparently, have particular associations with Grendel. For Estes the marshland is where the monsters (implicitly both of them) live, and has a separate place in the narrative from the mere: ‘the monsters’ dwelling-place, moreover, is a marsh, a fen, a swamp: a space/place that is, much like the mere, neither wholly land nor wholly water.’⁸ The poem, however, never shows Grendel in or near a marsh or fen, and his fenland retreat is in actual fact the mere, since that is where Beowulf later finds the body. Despite this, the frequency with which some reference is made to marsh, fen, mist, or half-light, whenever Grendel appears ensures that the audience is constantly reminded of his alterity. Like so much of the landscape of *Beowulf* Grendel’s fen is not so much part of the topography of the region as it is part of the mental landscape of the poem. The fen is present in the text only as symbolic of the otherness of Grendel.

If Grendel’s alterity is articulated through association with symbolic landscape, that which his mother inhabits is all too real a presence in the narrative. Her being is centred on it. She is variously a ‘brimwylf’ (water-wolf, line 1506) and a ‘merewif’ (lake-wife, line 1519) who ‘wæteregean wunian scolde/ cealde streamas’ (had to dwell in the water-terror, cold currents, lines 1260-1261). She, too, is defined

⁷ Reference to marsh and fen in the narrative voice occurs in lines 103-104, 162, 720, 764, 820 and 850: by Beowulf in line 450; by Hroðgar in line 1348.

⁸ Heide Estes, ‘Beowulf and the Sea: An Ecofeminist Reading’, in *The Maritime World of the Anglo-Saxons*, ed. by Stacy S. Klein, William Schipper, and Shannon Lewis-Simpson (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2014), pp.209-226, p.218.

in terms of the landscape she lives in, an aquatic antagonist whose otherness is part of her environment. The landscape around Heorot has been polluted by her presence and this is true in particular of the mere which is her home and dwelling place.

The mere itself is such an extraordinary and apparently complex setting that it is not surprising that it has attracted a considerable amount of critical attention and a variety of different explanations of where it is and from what it may be derived. It ‘defies natural geography by incorporating standing water, the open sea, the bare rocks of the Danish headlands and overhanging trees.’⁹ Anlezark considers it as in the ‘Classical tradition of poisoned locales, broadly definable as the “Avernian” tradition, available to Old English poets in a range of works including Latin epic poetry’,¹⁰ while Orchard has pointed out the links between this episode and *The Letter of Alexander to Aristotle*¹¹ and Puhvel sees links with Celtic traditions.¹²

Osborn views the link with *Grettsisaga* as first proposed by Klaeber as a little more tenuous, ‘almost certainly no such direct connection exists between *Beowulf* and *Grettissaga*, the probability being rather that a similar folktale tradition informs both medieval worlds,’ but she also follows a succession of scholars, this time Sarrazin, Lawrence and Niles, in attempting to anchor *Beowulf* geographically in Denmark. This necessitates altering it somewhat: ‘the *Beowulf* poet must alter features of the benign Danish landscape to make the same fierce monster plot fit upon it’ so that ‘if, as some scholars have suggested, the *Beowulf* poet located his Danish hall Heorot in the area of Gamle Leire’, the difficult rocky path that Beowulf has to traverse to get to the mere has the effect of increasing the apparent distance from Heorot since the

⁹ Charlotte Ball, ‘Monstrous Landscapes: The Interdependence of Meaning between Monster and Landscape in *Beowulf*’, *Hortulus*, 5.1, (2009) p. 1.

¹⁰ Daniel Anlezark, ‘Poisoned Places: the Avernian Tradition in Old English Poetry’, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 38 (2010), 103-126, p. 104.

¹¹ Orchard, pp. 45-47.

¹² Martin Puhvel, *Beowulf and Celtic Tradition* (Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1979), p.74.

reality of landscape around Gamle Leire is that of gentle rolling terrain with the lake a very short distance away.¹³

While none of these theories as to where the various elements in the poem may have come from are without justification, they do not, of themselves, explain why they are all present at this point in the text. What is so special about this particular landscape that it draws upon and includes elements from the Christian Bible, the traditions that informed the later Norse sagas, Celtic, and classical stories, and traveller's tales? Attempting to anchor such a complexity of allusions in a landscape which occurs in actuality in the world as we know it is one reason why the arguments of Osborn *et al* as detailed above fail to convince; there is simply too much to be accounted for.

Part of the reason why critics have found the mere a difficult landscape to comprehend lies in the fact that it occurs so often in the text. Unusually, among the normally notably brief mentions of landscape in Old English poetry, it appears three times. It is first mentioned as the end of the trail of blood that Grendel left as he fled Heorot after his encounter with Beowulf; the trail stops at 'nicera mere' (water-monsters' lake, line 845). This appears to prove that Grendel's death is certain, the threat has been lifted, and the men of Heorot return in triumph. The mere is solely a place that ends their search and is given no significance or weight of anxiety or terror in itself. Subsequent events prove this to be a premature celebration by the protagonists and the mere and its surroundings appear again in two much more detailed descriptions (lines 1345-1376 and 1414-1417). Most scholars appear to conflate these two passages and attempt to discuss the mere as if both have an equally factual existence within the world of the narrative, but they occur in markedly

¹³ Marijane Osborn, 'Manipulating Waterfalls: Mythic Places in *Beowulf* and *Grettissaga*, Lawrence and Purnell', in *Myths in Early Northwest Europe*, ed. by Stephen O. Glosecki (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), pp. 197-224, pp. 197 and 207 respectively.

different situations and only the second of them is a description of the place itself.¹⁴

The first mention is during the speech by Hrothgar, standing in Heorot desolate after the nighttime visit of Grendel's Mother has resulted in the loss of Æschere.

What he describes here is a landscape in which straightforward features are presented in a combination which renders them unnatural. As it is direct speech rather than a description in the narrative voice, it develops the understanding of the other as a perversion of landscape by the mind of Hroðgar within the context of the narrative. The 'windige næssas' (windy headlands, line 1358), the 'fyrgenstream' (mountain stream, line 1359), and the 'wudu wyrtrum fæst wæter oferhelmað' (trees overshadow the water held fast by the roots, line 1364), are all typical features of a landscape; even the 'wulfhleopu' (wolf-slopes, line 1358) and the 'frecne fengelad' (dangerous fen-crossing, line 1359) could not be said to be particularly strange; wolves were not uncommon in Anglo-Saxon England and paths through fens are notoriously dangerous and difficult to find.

These features suggest a landscape which is somewhat bleak and rugged, with flat fenland areas, containing animals and places which are dangerous for humans, but not fearful beyond the normal. Hroðgar, however, makes them so:

Hie dygel lond

warigeað, wulfhleopu, windige næssas,

frecne gelad, ðær fyrgenstream

under næssa genipu niþer gewiteð,

flod under foldan.

(They inhabit a hidden land, wolf-slopes, windy headlands, dangerous fen-crossing

¹⁴ This conflation of the two passages can be seen, for instance, in Abram, where his closely-argued case for 'fyr on flode' in line 1366 being a kenning for 'gold' appears to ignore the circumstances in which the phrase is uttered, and the context in which it occurs. Christopher Abram, 'New Light on the Illumination of Grendel's Mere', *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 109 (2010), 198-216.

where the mountain stream goes downwards under the darkness of the headlands, water under the earth, lines 1357-1361). Here we have fens on headlands, mountain streams in fens, water pouring down rocks in those fens to disappear under the earth, wolves haunting slopes instead of their usual woodland habitat; it is an unnatural confusion of normality. Even the ‘hrinde bearwas’ (trees with frost, line 1363) become unnatural when the inference here is that they are always frost-covered, despite hanging over the most unnatural aspect of the scene ‘fyr on flode’ (fire in the water, line 1366). Fire in or on the water is indeed a fearful wonder and this is simply another of the details that Hroðgar is piling up in his description. Fire and water and frost are all known, natural, and acceptable but in this conjunction they become unnatural, and alarming in their incomprehensible strangeness; frost that is (apparently) not melted by fire and fire that is not quenched by water.

The water too behaves unusually:

Ponon yðgeblond up astigeð
 won to wolcnum, þonne wind styreþ
 lað gewidru, oðþæt lyft ðrysmæþ,
 roderas reotað.

(From that place a wave surge mounts up black to the heavens when the wind rouses malignant storms until the skies becomes dark, the heavens weep, lines 1373-1376). The water is rising up to the clouds instead of descending from them and the clouds are stained dark by the water. Air has been displaced by water. The mere as Hroðgar describes it is a place where the elements are out of control, unconfined by the rules that usually appertain to them. The mere is the source of all this uncontrolled confusion of elements, as evinced by the stag who can be driven by hounds to the brink but will stand at bay on the bank rather than enter the water:

Deah þe hæðstapa hundum geswenced
heorot hornum trum holtwudu sece
feorran geflymed ær he feorh seleð
aldor on ofre ær he in wille
hafelan hydan.

(Although the heath-stepper, the strong-horned stag, harassed by hounds, put to flight from afar, should seek the forest yet it rather gives up life on the brink than is willing to hide its head in there, 1368-1372). The narrative, through Hroðgar's visionary speech, locates the other in this re-arrangement of natural forces and elements.

What is other in Hrothgar's description of the mere is not only external to the Danish community, it is also external to normality in a way that brings together a combination of religious attitudes and approaches. The multiplicity of references that express the threat to the community as externalised other in relation to the landscape draw on a powerfully evocative combination of conceptualisation in terms of other worlds. Russom, citing and following a succession of scholars including Tolkien, Dronke, Taylor, and Klaeber, sees analogues with Norse myths as well as the Christian hell and the widely recognised common features with Blickling Homily 17 and the *Visio Pauli*: 'from any cultural perspective available to the audience of *Beowulf* Grendel's mere is the entrance to the underworld.'¹⁵ It is a landscape so imbued with the other that its presence on this earth can only be understood through its relationship with the other worlds whose existence is predicated in religious terms, be those terms Christian or pagan.

It is a landscape that inspires terror in the audience by evoking the unknown, raising the dramatic tension of the narrative by investing the monsters, as denizens of

¹⁵ Geoffrey Russom, 'At the Center of *Beowulf*', in *Myths in Early Northwest Europe*, ed. by Stephen O. Glosecki (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), pp. 225-240, p. 232.

the mere, as ‘something beyond the limits of the natural and social order with which they are familiar.’¹⁶ That which is mysterious and threatening to the communities of this world can be understood by and through relating it to these other worlds through a landscape which is symbolically figured by Hroðgar’s speech. The mere as described here has no geographical location; it is designed only to instil terror. Butts regards it as a physical explanation of the human understanding of the monstrous other; it is ‘less to describe a particular topography than it is to communicate some sense of man’s imaginative and psychological response to Grendel.’¹⁷ Its purpose is fulfilled through Hrothgar’s speech, so that this psychological landscape, as with Grendel’s marsh and fen, has no appearance in the narrative ‘now’ of the poem.

The third time that the mere appears in the text occurs when Beowulf, with accompanying Danes and Geats, journeys there in his attempts to free the landscape, and hence his hosts, of their antagonist. The passage that introduces it is given in the narrative voice through the perspective of Beowulf and differs markedly from the earlier description by Hroðgar. The landscape which is part of the narrative on arrival at the mere ceases to be the supernatural one that was prefigured in the text by Hroðgar and instead becomes a landscape of symbolic sacrifice. In the first instance it is concise; Beowulf journeys until:

he færinga fyrgenbeamas
ofer harne stan hleonian funde,
wynleasne wudu; wæter under stod
dreorig and gedrefed.

(he suddenly found mountain trees, a joyless wood, lean over grey stone; water stood beneath, blood-stained and turbid, lines 1414-1417). The supernatural elements are

¹⁶Richard Butts, ‘The Analogical Mere: Landscape and Terror in *Beowulf*’, *English Studies* 68 (1987), 113-121, p. 113.

¹⁷Butts, p. 113.

absent, there is no fire, frost, or water rising to the skies. All that communicates any kind of unease to the audience is the bloodstained water and the attribution of feelings to the wood. This, on one level, is a straightforward description of what appears to the protagonists, it is what is actually there as landscape before them. The text, however, describes these landscape features in such a way as to allude to the crucifixion. The landscape as revealed by the narrative voice is a projection of the other onto a landscape that is symbolic of the crucifixion.

It places the surroundings of the mere in the context of the unredeemed world before the crucifixion. The poem focuses the events at the mere onto the landscape, and it does so in ways that allow it to be symbolic in the context of audience perception and understanding. The constituents of the landscape here are those which have significance to non-Christian belief systems: ‘the commonest markers of a pagan site are, often *in combination*, tree, rock and water.’¹⁸ When Beowulf arrives at the mere he sees exactly those elements, ‘fyrgenbeamas’, ‘wudu’ and ‘wæter’ are what comes into view (lines 1415 and 1416) as discussed above. In this landscape, finding that the water has a supernatural guardian spirit is inevitable to the pagan world-view as presented by Dowden. The text figures it as a landscape which relates to this non-Christian process of othering, whereby the landscape is the focus for the emergence of the other into the world of men. The presence of the other is signalled by the features of the landscape which themselves thereby acquire a symbolic significance even while they remain physical aspects of the land. The essentially non-Christian concept of a landscape which contains inherent threats (source of all ritual and votive practices as specifics against malevolent spirits) is then given Christian reference points.

The crucifixion is figured onto this landscape by means of the trees and the

¹⁸Ken Dowden, *European Paganism* (London: Routledge, 2000), p. 35.

water; it relates the events of the narrative so that they become charged with ritualistic symbolism. Landscape is the focus and instigator of these events which therefore become a purification of a polluted and unclean place. In *The Dream of the Rood* the cross is frequently referred to as a tree and an unhappy one, 'sare ic wæs mid sorgum gedrefed' (I was sorely troubled with sorrows, line 59) and appears to the dreamer 'hit wæs mid wætan bestemed/beswyled mid swates gange' (it was wet with moisture, soaked with blood flowing, lines 22-23). This is itself an allusion to St. John's gospel 19.34: 'but one of the soldiers with a spear pierced his side, and immediately there came out blood and water.' The associative links with the 'wynleasne wudu' (unhappy wood, line 1416) and the 'flod blode weol' (water welled with blood, line 1422) in *Beowulf*, like the allusion in *The Dream of the Rood*, refer directly to holy writ. Relating the appearance of the landscape to the event of the crucifixion continues throughout the narrative of scenes at the mere. The blood and water mixture that later results from Beowulf's killing of the monster in the underwater cave is, like Christ's death on the cross, an apparent signal of failure.

When they see 'brim blode fah' (water stained with blood, line 1594) it causes the Danes to leave - 'næs ofgeafon/ hwate Scyldingas' (the bold Scyldings left the headland, lines 1600-1601) - since it seems clear 'þæt hine seo brimwyrf abroten hæfde' (that the seawolf had destroyed him, line 1599). The apparently gratuitous statement 'ða com non dæges' (then came the ninth hour of the day, line 1600) which follows is a reference to Matthew 27.46: 'and about the ninth hour' which is the time of Christ's death. Landscape is the means of refocussing the narrative into Christian symbolism by the blood of sacrifice.

The absence of the (apparently dead) hero from the narrative, with the landscape deserted by all but a faithful few, is reminiscent of the aftermath of the

crucifixion. In *Dream of the Rood* the disciples remain after Christ's death 'earme on þa æfentide' (wretched in the evening, line 67), so in *Beowulf* the Geats remain:

Gistas setan

modes seoce, and on mere staredon;
wiston ond ne wendon, þæt hie heora winedrihten
selfne gesawon.

(the guests sat, sick at heart, and stared at the mere; wished, but did not expect, that they might see their lord and friend himself, lines 1602-1605). These allusions to a Christian understanding of the restoration of the Danish community through the cleansing of the landscape in this scene relate the narrative events to those of the crucifixion which itself restored the community of all mankind. The landscape is symbolic of sacrifice so that the narrative voice becomes a mechanism for conveying the necessity of destroying by means of the landscape that which has perverted it by malice from within. The landscape of the text is changed by the death of both monsters; destruction of the beings results in the restoration of the landscape that they had polluted by their presence.

Landscape despoiled by the other and cleansed by the removal of the monsters extends to that which lies between Heorot and the mere. In the course of the narrative, the protagonists journey to and from the mere more than once. The landscape of these travels varies so greatly in the textual accounts that some critics have found the same difficulty in comprehending the surroundings of Heorot as they have in dealing with the mere. As far as the story goes, on each occasion the men are travelling between the hall and the mere. If the setting were solely one of imagined or remembered geography, then the only differences between them should be in terms of the direction faced by the traveller; the route itself would remain unchanged. This is not the case as

presented in the text: the landscape that has to be traversed in course of a journey to or from the mere is one that consists, at different points in the text, of wide open spaces, or narrow rocky paths, or flowery meadowland. Braswell goes so far as to suggest that what is intended by the text is that there are two routes to the mere; one a spacious road, suitable for horses, while the narrow rocky path that the men follow on the second day is an alternative shorter route.¹⁹ These variations are, however, better explained when the landscape is regarded as figurative of the position of the other in relation to the landscape in the perception of the protagonists. Consistencies in the landscape of *Beowulf* are not those of cartographical imperative but of narrative necessity. The function of the landscape in service of the narrative is to be understood in terms of what is happening, not where the action is taking place.

The return to Heorot on the morning after the fight with Grendel in the hall is described in some detail as one of light, bright, wide, open spaces. The landscape at the mere itself is spoiled by Grendel: ‘ðær wæs on blode brim weallende’ (there the water welled with blood, line 847). The besmirching of the mere has thus the effect of cleansing and restoring the landscape; the blood is given a subliminal sacrificial interpretation by the narrative, which appears to have reached a triumphant climax at this point. The initial journey, whose purpose is to check that Grendel is dead is entirely devoid of landscape except for the traces of Grendel’s passage: these are the ‘lastas’ (tracks, line 841), ‘trode’ (traces, line 843) and ‘feorhlastas’ (life-tracks, line 846). The latter makes it clear to all that the trail they are following is one composed largely of Grendel’s blood. Once the mere with its bloodied waters has confirmed their hopes of his death, however, the text concentrates on the details of the joyful return to Heorot.

¹⁹ Laurel Braswell, ‘The Horn at Grendel’s Mere’, *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 74 (1973), 466-472, p. 466.

The freedom from worry and fear that the death of Grendel apparently offers the Danes is mirrored in the landscape, which is open, wide, familiar and safe. It is a cleansed, pristine landscape. The paths are ‘fægere’ (pleasant, line 866), and ‘cuð’ (known, line 867). They are also broad, clear, and flat, something which is indicated in the text by the way they are used. Horses are mentioned four times, (lines 855, 856, 865 and 917); twice they are racing, ‘geflit faran’ (go in contest, line 865) and ‘hwilum flitende’ (at times competing, line 916). This adumbrates a landscape of open spaces, flat land, no rocks or trees to restrict movement, no narrow paths or awkward hills to negotiate. The landscape is offering the same sense of wide, unobstructed, physical space that is the complement of the mental understanding that the men have; now that the terror inspired by Grendel has been removed their lives will be unconstricted and free. Man and landscape are equally part of a harmonious joyful scene. That harmony extends to both elements since the same descriptive terminology is applied to land and horses.

The men ride ‘fealwe mearas’ (tawny horses, line 865) and follow a ‘fealwe stræte’ (tawny road, line 916). This latter phrase has given rise to some conjecture, since ‘fealu’ is a term more usually applied to horses, the sea, or plants where it appears to be a reference to the colour but without a definition encompassing a particular hue. The use of colour terminology in Old English is problematic for the translator since the spectrum range of a term appears to be subordinate to the brightness or vividness of the hue in question: ‘the same words may be used of objects that differ in hue but are alike in brightness’.²⁰ ‘Fealu’ occurs in situations where the colour is not bright or strong: ‘often pale but always unsaturated’.²¹ It does, however, usually have connotations of shining or gleaming; the objects to which it

²⁰ George Jack ed. *Beowulf: A Student Edition*, rev. edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), note to line 865, p. 77.

²¹ DOE.

refers, sea waves, blossoms, and horses have a natural sheen to them. So it is used in *The Phoenix*, for instance, for the unfading flowers the ‘fealwe blostmas’ on the plateau (line 74) while the flames that consume the bird are ‘fealo lig’ (line 218) and the bird itself has ‘fealwe fotas’ (line 311). Flowers, flames, and bird all gleam associatively; it is clear from this usage, as well as the other instances in the corpus, that precision of hue is not indicated by ‘fealu’.

The second component of the phrase, ‘stræte’ indicates a road rather than a meandering path. It is found in circumstances that suggest a relatively straight passage: in *Andreas* the ‘herestræte’ (army road, line 831) is the direct road from the coast to the Mermedonian city; in *Christ and Satan* the ‘grene stræte’ (green road, line 286) is the direct path to heaven that is created by righteousness, and the ‘rancstræte’ (splendid road, line 2112)²² of *Genesis* is a reference to the swathe cut through the enemy by Abraham’s victorious forces.

So, both ‘fealu’ and ‘stræte’ are acceptable, commonly used words, they only become difficult of comprehension when in conjunction: ‘the composition of the “street” is unknown’.²³ The composition of the “street” is not a factor in the relevance of ‘fealu’, however; its importance lies in the associative link between the men, their environment and their psychological state. ‘Fealu’ does not refer to the materials of which the road is made but to its appearance and its texture. It gleams as do the horses, so that the land appears to be partaking of the joy that the protagonists feel. It is a suitable texture for racing horses on, another indication that land and men are in harmony. The wide open road is a suitable vehicle for both men and horses to display their feelings, joyfully exploiting their freedom of physical movement as an

²² Exactly what is to be understood by the compound is unclear since ‘ranc’ has shades of meaning that range from ‘arrogant’ through ‘showy’ to ‘brave’; the point at issue here, however, is not the precise meaning in context, but the fact that it clearly refers to something that is both wide and straight.

²³ DOE.

indication of their mental freedom from stress and anxiety. In *Beowulf* the application of 'fealu' to both land and horses, together with the connotations of the 'stræte' combine to produce a composite image which encapsulates the psychological position in terms of the physical one: the significant factors being lack of restriction, freedom, and light. The shining horses on the shining street bring a literal brightness to the scene, 'fealu' is a means of introducing light which is both symbolic and actual in the narrative context. The threat imposed by the continued presence of Grendel has enclosed and restricted the community as well as the landscape; now that there is no opposing other the landscape is restored as well as the human element within it.

When, on the following day, the same men are retracing their path to the mere in an atmosphere of terror which is redoubled by its renewal, the landscape is entirely different in both composition and connotations. Every indication of wide spaces, open land, and broad paths has been replaced by landscape features that enclose and restrict. The fear of the Danes, in addition to the lurking unseen presence of Grendel's mother, has resulted in a land that is despoiled. The first mention is of 'waldswapum' (forest paths, line 1403), so that the men are entering a landscape which is dark and confining, where vision and movement are restricted. Then appears the 'myrcan mor' (murky marsh), line 1405), a landscape of uncertainty, marshes in actuality being places where paths are hard to find, and the surface can be treacherous. Finally, there is the forbidding landscape of stone; this has 'steap stanhliðo' (steep stone slopes, line 1409), and 'neowle næssas' (precipitous cliffs, line 1411) where the travellers are forced to go singly through the 'stige nearwe/ enge anpaðas' (narrow ways, constrained single-file paths, lines 1409-1410). These are features which control the travellers; their view of their surroundings is limited, their movement is restricted, and their route is dictated by a landscape which consists largely of obstacles that impede

progress.

It is a landscape not in harmony with itself; woodland, marshland and barren rocky slopes are quite separate types of landscape, which have few connecting features and are inhabited by different species, both plant and animal. The landscape is one that, in reality, would produce constant anxiety in the traveller. Woodland is easy to get lost in, with its lack of visibility or guiding features; marshland has equally few guiding features, is awkward to traverse, and there is a constant danger of bog and swamp to entrap the unwary; stony slopes are an effort to climb, and easy to fall on, stone is an unforgiving surface on which to land, and single-file paths offer no opportunity for support by fellow travellers such as fighting two abreast, or escape routes if danger threatens. Since the paths in *Beowulf* are also bounded by the haunts of water-monsters, ‘nicorhusa fela’ (many water-monster houses, line 1411) this is a further cause for anxiety: landscape has dictated the route and provided dangers on that route without offering any compensating possibility of alternatives. The landscape of the approach to the mere combines several different types of unpleasant landscape, all of which are difficult for the traveller in reality. In the context of the narrative these features are figurative of the contaminating presence of the threatening other; it produces a landscape that is inimical to mankind.

The landscape around Heorot when the travellers return is characterised by its association with mead. Mead, of course, is made from fermented honey and therefore is not normally to be considered as a feature of any kind of landscape. It is presented in the Old English poetic corpus as a synecdoche for the whole idea of community; the close companionship of the hall, the hall as a place to build the bonds of loyalty, the safety to be found by being a part of a closely-knit group: everything implied by the word community is represented by mead. *The Seafarer* laments his exile since now he

has ‘mæw singende fore meodudrince’ (the singing seagull instead of the mead-drink, line 22). In *The Husband’s Message* the recipient is reminded that they were promised a place in ‘meoduburgum’ (mead-towns, line 17) and now that promise is to be fulfilled, as the sender has overcome earlier hardships and now has ‘meododreama’ (mead-joys, line 45). The significance of mead is apparent from the very first lines of *Beowulf* when the victorious Scyld is said to have ‘meodosetla ofteah’ (taken away the mead-benches, line 5) from his defeated opponents: he has destroyed their communities by doing so. After the first journey back from the mere, the company is met by Hrothgar and Wealtheow on the ‘medostigge’ (mead-path, line 924). The Geats returning on the second occasion ‘meodowongas træd’ (trode the mead-plains, line 1643). Clearly, both references are to the hall where the mead is dispensed and drunk rather than to any path or field composed of mead.

The path on which Hrothgar stands is an invitation to the feasting and celebrations that will follow, it is a path to mead; the celebratory mood of the travellers is now part of the landscape of welcome. Mead is made from honey and honey comes from flowers so that the ‘meoduwongas’ of the second journey adumbrate a landscape that is open, flowery, summery, and pleasant. After the antagonism of the landscape during the outward journey, this is a landscape of warmth and delight, it is in tune with the retinue that is approaching Heorot. In contrast to the overturned benches of Scyld’s defeated enemies this is a scene of victory, where the meadhall is standing ready to greet the travellers. Both mead references indicate the physical landscape surrounding the travellers as a means of locating them psychologically; nearing the hall and safety, they are relaxing mentally from the previous strains and terror. The mead-plains are a sign of harmonious relations between the community and its surroundings; they are a symbol of life in the hall whilst also being a constituent element of it:

The consumption of alcohol was a critical aspect of the Anglo-Saxon version of the idealised “good life”, not because alcohol was considered an end in itself, but rather because the participation in public ceremonies in which special foods and drinks were consumed in a highly structured and ritualised manner was a conspicuous statement of “involvement”, of belonging to the host community.²⁴

Narrative tension is released by the landscape becoming a physical embodiment of the inner, mental state of the protagonists. By the compounds ‘medostigge’ and ‘meodowongas’ the safety of the hall community has become part of the landscape around it; plain and path alike are transformed into conceptual places of security. The landscape has been renewed and cleansed, made fertile and productive by the despatch of the communal threat.

The landscapes of *Beowulf* are landscapes of the mind and imagination; they are functional elements of the narrative in relation to the threat to the community from an external other. In this they are at once symbolic of the threat and its delineation in the text and they are the threat itself in undermining the communal life of the hall. The landscape is the focus of the threatening other in *Beowulf*: ‘throughout *Beowulf*, the poet creates landscape from the meanings of the monsters, and constructs the monsters around the meanings already implicit in the landscape.’²⁵ In despatching the monsters, Beowulf restores the landscape to a state of practical functionality in support of the community.

Change by charm: healing and defending the landscape in *Æcerbot*.

The Danish community is symbolically figured in the changing landscapes of *Beowulf*, beleaguered and under threat from the other it is unpleasant, unnatural, and inimical to humanity. Removal of the other results in a landscape that is pristine, shining, and productive. Reversing this situation, the charm normally known as

²⁴ Stephen Pollington, ‘The Mead-Hall Community’, *Journal of Medieval History*, 37 (2011), 19-33, p. 21.

²⁵ Ball, final paragraph.

Æcerbot uses the imaginative creation of a fertile and productive landscape through the poetic passages it contains to nullify a threat from the other by implanting the poetic landscape into the actual landscape. The threat to the community here is one of physical deprivation: ‘if a field fails to produce, the owner may starve; if enough fields fail, the whole community may be destroyed.’²⁶ The symbolic figuring of the other as monstrous landscape which is cleansed by despatch of the other in *Beowulf* is inverted in *Æcerbot* so that the other has directly affected the landscape and only by the restoration of the landscape to fruitfulness and fertility can the threat be removed.

Æcerbot is the closest approximation in Old English to a dramatic script; Niles refers to it as such: ‘the *Æcerbot* text is the script of a major communal rite.’²⁷ It contains prose instructions for actions interspersed with speeches in Latin and the vernacular. As with other charms its performative elements combined with the spoken ones require words and actions to be undertaken at specific times and in relation to each other. This aspect distinguishes charms from other Old English texts: ‘Anglo-Saxon charms constitute a definable oral genre that may be distinguished from other kinds of traditionally oral materials such as epic poetry because texts of charms include specific directions for performance.’²⁸ Most charms do have some instructions and this places a barrier between text and audience since reading or hearing is not the same as doing: ‘the manuscript’s subordinate role to the larger living tradition requires us to shift our defaults from print to performance.’²⁹ The fixed and static nature of the written text obscures the possibilities inherent in it through the interaction of the verbal with the physical movements of the performers. *Æcerbot* is

²⁶ Thomas D. Hill, ‘The *Æcerbot* Charm and its Christian user’, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 6 (1977), 213-221, p. 214.

²⁷ John D. Niles, ‘The *Æcerbot* Ritual in Context’, in *Old English Literature in Context*, ed. by John D. Niles (Cambridge: Brewer, 1980), pp. 44-56, p. 45.

²⁸ Lea Olsan, ‘The Inscription of Charms in Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts’, *Oral Tradition*, 14 (1999), 401-419, p. 401.

²⁹ Lori Ann Garner, ‘Anglo-Saxon Charms in Performance’, *Oral Tradition*, 19 (2004), 20-42, p. 22.

unusual among the surviving charms of the period in that the instructions are particularly detailed throughout, for both words and actions. Where and when the words are to be said, the posture and position of the speaker, and the actions that accompany the speeches, are related to the landscape and are all essential elements of the charm if it is to be efficacious.

The *Æcerbot* charm employs acts and words together in the text. It combines within its lines prayers, liturgical chants, and biblical quotations, with vernacular prose and verse. Those individuals specified for the performance, or the enabling of it, include the speaker, the priest, a stranger, and someone who makes a loaf; the words to be spoken use two languages, Latin and the vernacular, so that the communal aspect includes the linguistic community. *Æcerbot* is a truly communal undertaking in conception as well as in performance. Therefore it reveals something of the conceptualisation of the land as a symbol of community life in Anglo-Saxon England: ‘in such an age the battle for survival was waged not just with the plough and sickle, but by spiritual means.’³⁰

The deployment of the *Æcerbot* charm results in a land that has been cleansed by act and speech, and given a circle of protection within which have been enacted and spoken the rituals by which it can now become fruitful. The defence of the land against further depredation by antagonists is built of words by the deeds of the performer and his community; the actual landscape encircled by the blessed and relaid sods is symbolic of the power of the words as written in the text. In designating the threat to the community as antagonism by an external other to the landscape, the text allows for the understanding of land as at once symbolic and actual.

Æcerbot cleans the land, hallows it, and creates a fruitful productive landscape

³⁰Niles, p. 55.

verbally. This is then implanted in the landscape by a ritual which has distinctly sacramental overtones: ‘Christian ritual is used like charms and herbs as a way of tapping the God-given potential power of nature.’³¹ The power of the charm lies in the words, and this, in Arthur’s view, is why *Æcerbot* came to be included in the only manuscript in which it appears, British Museum Cotton Caligula A.VII, which also contains the Saxon *Heliand*. The significance in the proximity of *Æcerbot* and *Heliand*, he concludes, is that they are associated texts because both emphasise the power of words:

The *Heliand* contains many different instances that develop the gospel accounts in significant ways and emphasize how words are used to alter the material and spiritual worlds. The poem shows how divine words can heal, resurrect and transform material elements into divine species. The *Æcerbot* is a charm ritual for the revival of agricultural produce. It uses language in a very similar way to the *Heliand* so that its words heal the earth, resurrect crops and consecrate the land and community.³²

Æcerbot does more than simply heal the land. In consecrating the land and community, the spoken words create a hallowed circle of power which protects and defends the landscape within it against any future threat.

The whole charm, words and actions working together, operates on three levels. The first is the verbal creation, consecration, healing, and defence of the land, the second is the implanting of this desirable linguistic landscape into the physical one, and the third is the establishment of a sacramental relationship between the land, the people, and God. These are not sequential in text or performance, neither are they distinct or separate in either speech or action; the healing command ‘hal wes þu, folde’ (be well you, earth) does not appear until line sixty-nine of a text which is only

³¹ Karen Louise Jolly, ‘Anglo-Saxon Charms in the Context of a Christian World View’, *Journal of Medieval History*, 11 (1985), 279-293, p. 284.

³² Ciaran Arthur, ‘Ploughing through Cotton Caligula A.VII: Reading the Sacred Words of the *Heliand* and the *Æcerbot*’, *The Review of English Studies*, 65 (2013), 1-17, p. 2.

eighty-two lines in total, for instance.³³ Indeed much of the complexity of this text arises from the application of the poetic vernacular to ritualistic actions mediated by the Latin liturgy, so that simple statements acquire sacramental implications. Hence, while what is spoken is the source of power, it is only by encasing that power in the land through the performance in and around the speeches that the charm is completed.

The spoken words create the landscape that is desired; one of bountiful crops, ‘ful æcer fodres fira cinne’ (full field of food for the race of man, line 75), and ‘fodre gefylled firum to nytte’ (filled with food for the use of men, line 71). A landscape that is enriched beyond grassland ‘wlitigian þas wancgturf’ (beautify this grassy plain, line 36) to one that shines with fruitfulness:

æcera wexendra and wridendra,
eacniendra and elniendra
sceafra hehra, scirra wæstma
and þæra bradan berewæstma,
and þæra hwitan hwætewæstma,
and ealra eorþan wæstma

(growing and flourishing, increasing and strengthening, fields of high stalks, gleaming produce and the broad barley-fruits, and the white wheat-fruits, and all the fruits of the earth, lines 55-58). The assonance of wexendra/ wridendra/ eacniendra/ elniendra in the first two lines evokes verbally the beginning of the agricultural year, growth. This is followed by the endings of the next four lines wæstma/ berewæstma/ hwætewæstma/ wæstma where the emphasis is on the final aspect, harvest. The whole agricultural cycle is contained in these lines with a landscape that is ‘beorhtblowende’ (brightly blowing, line 76): through growth to harvest, the seasonal bounty of a fertile

³³ Line numbers here are those of *ASPR*, which includes the prose instructions in addition to the poetic passages.

landscape is encapsulated in these spoken words.

They are to be spoken over the plough, which has been ritually anointed, and the seed to be sown, which has been placed on the plough. The ‘-wæstma’, occurring at the end of the last four lines, gives prominence to the desired conclusion of the agricultural cycle, which the plough is instrumental in beginning. Both implement and seeds are charged with the power to complete the process that ends in a landscape whose changed appearance signifies a successful outcome. This ritual of standing over the plough and the seeds while speaking words that hallow and safeguard is analogous to that of the priest at the eucharist blessing the bread and the wine. In the liturgical use, the bread and wine are symbolically changed by the word, made mystically into the body and blood of Christ, which is the instrument of redemption. In *Æcerbot* the plough and the seeds become imbued with the power to restore the land from its previously cursed infertile state; they become, in other words, the instrument of fulfilment and change.

As envisaged by the poetic creation, this is a landscape for use, that provides for the community that depends upon it, a working landscape that is a functional part of communal living: The produce is as dependent on the efforts of man as it is necessary for his existence:

þu gebletsod weorþ
þæs haligan noman þe ðas heofon gesceop
and ðas eorþan þe we on lifiaþ;
se god, se þas grundas geworhte, geunne us growende gife,
þæt us corna gehwylc cume to nytte.

(you are hallowed by that holy name of him who created heaven and this earth that we live on, that God, the one who made the ground, bestow on us the gift of growing, that

every grain may come for our use, lines 77-80). Landscape is the focus of the charm; as ideally envisaged by these spoken words it is the basis of the community it supports.

The spoken words create a landscape sanctified by faith: ‘gefyllan þas foldan mid fæste geleafan’ (fill up this earth with firm faith, line 35). Thus it is protected and defended from the threat of the other:

Geunne him ece drihten
and his halige, þe on heofonum synt,
þæt hys yrp si gefriþod wið ealra feonda gehwæne,
and heo si geborgen wið ealra bealwa gehwylc
þara lyblaca geond land sawen

(may the eternal God, and his holy ones who are in heaven, grant him that his crop may be guarded against all and every enemy, and it may be defended against all and every harm sown throughout the land by witchcraft, lines 59-63). Many of the charms that survive are remedies against a specific threat in which the other may be a disease, or loss of cattle, or a delayed birth, or the dangers of a journey. The words of the remedy therefore include what type of other is the antagonist as a preliminary to proceedings. In the case of *Æcerbot*, however, the other is unspecified, it is a charm with a wider application than most since it heals the land from whatever is the cause of infertility, and, further, secures it against future incursions. It is a charm that contains both reactive and pro-active elements which are implanted into a changed landscape. The words protect and defend the landscape for the future as well as nullifying past harm.

The carefully crafted landscape of ideal, ongoing, productive fertility is created and guarded by the spoken word and it is then charged with power:

Hal wes þu, folde, fira modor.

Beo þu growende on godes fæþme,

fodre gefylled firum to nytte

(be well, earth, mother of men. Grow in the embrace of God, filled with food for the use of men, lines 69-71). Shaped and formed by the declarations of the speaker, consecrated by faith, guarded by God, this poetic landscape is mapped onto the actual landscape by ritual actions to complete the charm. This speech is to be spoken as the first furrow is cut, so that the action of opening up the soil to receive the seeds is accompanied by the command to be fruitful and plenteous. The earth is addressed as it is being turned; so that the plough opens up the soil not only for the seeds but for the reception of the words, which are thus symbolically deposited in the earth. The power of the charm to restore the landscape becomes part of the fabric of the land; the earth is imbued with it.

The notion of opening up to seed and consequent fertility results in the landscape being implicitly personified; the earlier 'fira modor' is confirmed by the subsequent actions and words. This is not, however, a straightforward translation of human identity onto the landscape, rather it is a means by which the landscape is co-opted as a partner to the human community. In the establishment of a covenantal relationship the landscape is restored from its former state of inert infertility and becomes instead a working constituent of human society, and both are held within the protective embrace of God. The landscape that is empowered by the words and actions of the charm is the particular portion of land that is associated with the community thus discharging the power of the spoken word into the land awakens its potential usefulness as part of that society.

The power of the words is focussed onto the land in question by the ritual, so

that it becomes symbolically and actually the landscape of the poetic word. As a remedy, the whole of *Æcerbot* is a method for building a defence against a perceived but unknown other through the combination of words and actions; the charm has to be both said and done to be fully effective, but the words are the factor that invokes power, the actions are related symbolically to the words. The relationship between words and actions, here as in other charms, is the channel by which the power is directed: ‘the fundamental structure underlying charms is bipartite: power is first built up, then it is discharged.’³⁴ Since the other is unknown in *Æcerbot* the power is focussed into healing the land through the actions accompanying the words rather than directed against a specific enemy.

The landscape that is thus enclosed and protected by words and actions in combination is also established in a covenantal relationship with God, against the threatening other, through the imposition of the poetic landscape onto the physical reality. The vernacular speeches are supplemented in *Æcerbot* by words from the Bible and the liturgy which also combine with the actions and the Old English words to bring the land into the position that humanity holds in its relationship with the divinity. By mapping the landscape created by the spoken word onto the particular portion of land under threat through the symbolism of the actions the text develops an understanding of the land in terms of the sacraments of baptism and the eucharist.

The land is physically imbued with the poetic landscape by the first of the speeches in the text, which combines Latin words from Genesis with their vernacular equivalent: ‘*crescite*, wexe, *et multiplicamini*, and gemænigfealda, *et replete*, and gefylle, *terre*, þas eorðan’ (*crescite*, grow, *et multiplicamini*, and multiply, *et replete*, and fill, *terre*, this earth, lines 10-12). Using the Latin original gives a particular

³⁴ Jonathan Roper, ‘English Orature, English Literature; the Case of Charms’, *Folklore*, 24 (2003), 50-61, p. 51.

discernment to the text: ‘the exotic, ritualistic sound of Latin was, no doubt, intended as much to differentiate the language of the *Charms* from ordinary speech as to intensify the power of the charm itself.’³⁵ The Latin quotation is addressed in Genesis 1. 28 to the first humans. It is repeated after the earth has been cleansed and renewed by the flood to Noah and his sons, in the first verse of chapter nine. The first part of it however, the command to grow and multiply, is also addressed to the birds and fishes in the twenty-second verse of chapter one. In *Æcerbot* these words are addressed to the four sods to be cut from the boundaries of the fields, whilst holy water is dripped onto them. Adapted in purpose as they are, however, these are the words actually used by God in the Bible, so they are imbued with divine power; because it is in the vernacular as well it also redirects the power to these particular fields, this individual piece of landscape.

The speech, moreover, is to be said three times, simultaneously with the application of the water. The Christian God is a trinity so the threefold repetition symbolically invokes the godhead. As spoken by God these words were a command to Adam and Eve and to Noah; by using the words of God in the trinitarian form of God and refocusing the power of the command to the fields concerned through the use of the vernacular, the charm brings the landscape directly under the power of God. What was previously infertile has now received a precise instruction from the source of all power to change its state; the land is ordered to be fertile and productive by God. Each saying of the *crescite* sequence is to be followed by the Latin invocation *in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti sit benedicti* (in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit be blessed) and the Lord’s Prayer. The latter is again words spoken by Christ in person, while the former is a speech-act which creates the state of

³⁵ Judith A. Vaughan-Sterling, ‘The Anglo-Saxon “Metrical Charms”: Poetry as Ritual’, *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 82 (1983), 186-200, p. 193.

blessing by the utterance.

It is also what happens in the sacrament of baptism; the person is sprinkled with holy water, to symbolically wash away sin, and blessed by the speech-act of the priest. In *Æcerbot*, therefore, the land is baptised in actuality, thus cleansing this individual portion of landscape. The solo speaker is representative of the priest as the sods are representative of the land; the newly-baptised land is given a new beginning, healed and restored from the threatening other by sacramental intervention, now able to fulfil its proper function as part of the earthly community in the same way as a newly-baptised person is washed clean of sin, and brought into the community of the Church.

The command *crescite* and the Lord's Prayer are to be repeated nine times later in the day when the sods are returned to their places, which multiplies the threefold repetition by a threefold repetition; an incremental heaping up of speech-act, command, and power. In the course of the ritual the sods are removed from the four sides of the fields, blessed and commanded in the words of God and Christ, and returned to their positions with crosses buried beneath them. These crosses have the names of the four evangelists written on the arms, so that both Christ himself, symbolised by the cross, and the evangelists who revealed his actions by means of the word, are brought into play as defenders of the land. The actions of the charm create a landscape which is embedded with words of holiness that encircle it. The land is symbolised by the sods and the holy words of power are symbolised by the crosses and the writing. The many repetitions of the words muster a symbolic rampart of defence against any future attack by witchcraft, sorcery, or cursing.

It is the piling up of words in the text and in performance that both creates and strengthens this barrier against opposition. *Æcerbot* is essentially adversarial in

design, a contest of words that results in power over the landscape:

Nu ic bidde ðone waldend, se ðe ðas woruld gesceop,
þæt ne sy nan to þæs cwidol wif ne to þæs cræftig man
þæt awendan ne mæge word þus gecwedene

(now I pray the Lord, he who created this world, that there may be no woman so eloquent, nor any man so knowledgeable that he may change the words thus spoken, lines 64-66). Such deliberation is a response to the threat to the land for which this is a remedy, it is designed to encourage fertility in fields despite the implicit acknowledgement of other words having been previously said which have resulted in infertility. The words of the charm are there to structure an opposition to an unseen and unknown opponent. There are four negatives in lines sixty-five and sixty-six of the passage quoted above, diffusing any opposing power by aggregated negation.

To create a powerful defence the *crescite* invocation is repeated fifteen times during the whole course of the remedy, including a slightly shortened version to be said three times as the concluding part of the ritual. The form of the text is linked associatively to its function by this incremental approach to both the positive construction of a hallowed circle surrounding the land and the negative aggression that denies power to an opponent: 'formal verbal repetition, as such, was never quite free of ritualistic associations.'³⁶ The actions that accompany the words join the reality of the sods with the immateriality of the concept of fertility. The re-planted sods become themselves symbolic of the land of which they are a part by this fusion of act, speech-act, and invocation, so that the words of the text become implanted in the landscape.

The final actions of the charm are eucharistic in their implications and in the

³⁶ Peter Clemons, *Interactions of Thought and Language in Old English Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 110.

accompanying speech. The instructions are

nim þonne ælces cynnes melo and abacæ man innewerdre

handa bradne hlaf and gecned hine mid meolce and mid

haligwætere and lecege under þa forman furh

(then take every kind of flour and bake a loaf as broad as the inward [side of] a man's hand and knead it with milk and with holy water and place it under the first furrow, lines 73-75). The words to be spoken as this is done begin:

ful æcer fodres fira cinne,

beorhtblowende,

(field full of food for the race of men, bright-blooming, line 76), lines which move between times and states. The field is literally full of food since the loaf has been buried in it, so this is addressed to the land in its present state, while the bright-blooming looks ahead in time to the later growth of the crop, the hoped for result of the performance. The blessing is a speech-act that converts the land from its former condition to one that is hallowed, and projects the latter state forwards through the agricultural cycle to the harvest: 'the purpose of such rites was a sort of pre-modern insurance – for what would sheer effort of cultivation avail if mischance or weather or plant disease spoiled the crop?'³⁷ As with the earlier blessing, 'hal wes þu, folde' (be well, earth, line 69), this is a speech-act of conversion from the previous state of infertility, a focussing of power onto and into the fields, both in the present time and for the future.

The ceremonial receiving of bread and wine is the climax of the eucharist, a ritual re-enactment of the covenant sealed between God and humanity by the sacrifice of Christ on the cross. It nullifies the opposing other that in Christian terms is

³⁷ Bill Griffiths, *Aspects of Anglo-Saxon Magic* (Hockton-cum-Wilton: Anglo-Saxon Books, 1996), p. 173.

subsumed under the idea of the devil. Hence, in feeding the field with bread, the land is itself brought into the covenant with Christ and the influence of the other, witchcraft, sorcery or devilish practices, is cast out. The earth is the recipient of God's gift to mankind through the sacrifice of Christ, so, like humans after receiving the Eucharist, it is cleansed and restored. The power of the words completes the actions that are symbolically sacramental. By including the brightly blooming fields of the future harvest the poetic landscape of shining fertility is created and implanted with the loaf; the words transcend the time that must elapse before the crop is ready, but ensure that the land will continue in a state of blessing, restored and protected by a sacred covenant.

The final lines of the speech to be said over the first furrow combine the petitions of the people and the land itself:

geunne us growende gife

þæt us corna gehwylc cume to nytte

(bestow on us the gift of growing, that every grain may come for our use, lines 79-80). The fields themselves are the subject of the growth, so the first phrase of this petition is spoken on behalf of the land, it is that which desires the gift. The speaker identifies himself with the land, speaking for it. The land, as the recent recipient of the bread is now liturgically in a state of grace, if the sacramental implications are considered. It is clean and healed, but not yet fully restored to use. Hence the further petition by the land, mediated through the human voice, is for the benefit of the land, in order that it may then benefit the human community it supports. The second line changes the status of the speaker to that of representative of humanity, so that the corn may be available for their use, something that does not apply to the land. In this short piece of verse, therefore, is contained the present state of the land, its future

state, the voice of the land, and the voice of the people.

The sacramental implications of actions and words extend to the position of the person who utters the words and performs the majority of the actions. The speaker is a lone voice but speaking on behalf of the community that depends on the land, and in the first speech of the text appeals to the community of earth and heaven for strength. He is, effectively, in the position of the priest, one who intercedes for his people with the divinity. The words invoke God not only as ‘miclan drihten’ (great lord, line 27), and ‘domine’ (teacher, line 27), both of which could apply equally to earthbound beings, but also as ‘haligan heofonrices weard’ (holy guardian of the heavenly kingdom, line 28). It is not the power of God as the almighty that is being invoked so much as his role as protector and defender of heaven; the power that he wields as lord, teacher and guardian of the heavenly community is invoked on behalf of an earthly community. Heaven itself is also apostrophised and in terms that impose the societal values of the Anglo-Saxons onto the cosmos: ‘heofones meaht and heahreced’ (heaven’s might and high hall, line 31). The land of heaven is envisaged as a larger version of the earthly one, centred on the hall as the seat of judgement, safety and companionship.

The words also appeal to Saint Mary and the physical world ‘eorðan ic bidde and upheofon’ (earth I pray and sky, line 29); the community of heaven, the power of God as defender and protector, the entirety of the universe, this and other worlds, is invoked:

Eastweard ic stande, arena ic me bidde,
bidde ic þone mæran domine bidde ðone miclan drihten,
bidde ic þone haligan heofonrices weard,
eorðan ic bidde and upheofon

and ða soþan sancta Marian

and heofones meaht and heahreced

(eastward I stand, I ask grace for myself, I ask the glorious teacher, ask the great lord, I ask the holy guardian of the heavenly kingdom, earth I ask and sky and the true holy Mary and heaven's might and high hall, lines 26-31). The force of the charm is such that it draws on power from all these sources and then focuses it on the land under consideration 'aweccan þas wæstmas us to woruldnýtte' (arouse these plants to our worldly use, line 34), through the intercession of the speaker.

This initial invocation is not for the healing of the land as such, it is instead for the speaker, that he may have faith and grace to perform successfully:

Þæt ic mote þis gealdor mid gife drihtnes

toðum ontynan þurh trumne geþanc,

(that by the grace of the lord I may through fixed purpose reveal by teeth this charm, lines 32-33). There are five instances of 'bidde' in the first four lines of this speech, an insistent accretion of petitioning, individual pleas to each of the sources of power and strength. The singular 'ic' and the plural 'us' relate both individual and community to the land; healing and restoration of the land depends on the physical act of the spoken word. The identity of the speaker is crucial; the charm is 'hu ðu meaht þine aceras' (how *you* might *your* fields..., line 1, my italics), yet this individuality masks the nature of agriculture at this period: 'under the manorial system, agriculture was essentially a communal enterprise.'³⁸ It seems likely, therefore, that the singular 'ðu' is addressed not to an individual person but to anyone, an individual or a community which is being considered as a whole: the charm is a remedy for a beleaguered community, any speech is to be said on behalf of all. The landscape

³⁸Niles, p. 45.

under consideration is to be cleansed and restored by personal pronouncement and communal endeavour, empowered by the universal community of earth, sky, heaven, God and the saints.

This poetic prayer for aid is said immediately after the sods have been returned to their places on the boundary of the fields, and the performer is therefore within the hallowed circle of implanted words described above. The sods are dug out, blessed and replanted, but the treatment of them also enables the blessing to be transferred, through this treatment, to the remainder of the land. The first thing to be done with them is to anoint them with holy water which is dripped through a melange of symbolically representative elements of all the things that live on the land. The instructions for the composition of this mixture are quite specific:

nim þonne ele and hunig and beorman, and ælces feos
meolc þe on þæm land sy, and ælces treocynnnes dæl þe on
þæm land sy gewexen, butan heardan beaman, and ælc
namcupre wyrte dæl, butan glappan anon

(then take oil and honey and yeast, and milk of each of the types of cattle that might be on the land, and a part of every kind of tree that might grow on the land, except hard trees, and a part of every well-known plant, except only 'glappan', lines 5-8).³⁹ The sods are made representative of the whole plot, and every plant and animal on it by physical contact and symbolic baptism. The conceptual landscape of the poetry and the actual landscape of reality are both focussed onto the sods that thus become at once instruments of healing and the means by which the land is defended against the

³⁹ Which plant is indicated by 'glappan', what is to be understood by 'heardan beaman', and why these should be excluded remains a matter for debate: see F. P. Magoun 'OE Charm A13: BUTAN HEARDAN BEAMAN', *Modern Language Notes*, 58 (1943), 33-34; Bruce A. Rosenberg, 'The Meaning of *Æcerbot*', *The Journal of American Folklore*, 79 (1966), 428-463; John D. Niles, 'The *Æcerbot* Ritual in Context' in *Old English Literature in Context*, ed. by John D. Niles (Cambridge: Brewer, 1980), pp. 44-56. Since it does not affect the argument in this chapter the matter will not be discussed here.

threat of the other.

The speaker as the mediating intercessor between the land and God is also the mediator between the humans and the other. By the creation of the poetic symbolically fruitful, fertile land that is the object of the remedy in the spoken words he facilitates the implanting of this into the actual landscape through the ritual actions he performs. There are seven instances of 'ic' in lines twenty-six to thirty-two, and one 'us'; so that although the speeches in the text are to be said by a single individual the remedy is to nullify any threat from the other to the land on behalf of all who live there. The only words to be spoken during the ritual which are not included in the text, apart from the liturgical chants, are those which follow the sympathetic ritual that comes after this first vernacular utterance.

Following this the instructions are to 'wende þe þonne III sunganges, astrece þonne on andlang and arim þær letanius' (turn then three times sungoing, stretch then along [the ground] and there recite the Litany, lines 39-49). Moving in the direction of the sun then lying full length along the ground brings the power of the earth's movement into the remedy: 'active analogy between being and being could be induced by the one imitating the action(s) of the other.'⁴⁰ The one lying down then says the Sanctus, the Benedicite, followed by a threefold repetition of the Magnificat and the Lord's Prayer, so that the prayers are coming directly from the earth through the mouthpiece of the human. Land and people are jointly both praising and petitioning the Lord in partnership. Then

bebeod hit Criste and sancta Marian and þære halgan rode
to lofe and to weorþinga and to are þam þe þæt land age
and eallon þam þe him underðeodde synt

⁴⁰Clemons, p. 108.

(entrust it to Christ and Saint Mary and the holy cross in praise and worship and for the prosperity of him who owns the property and all those who are under him, lines 43-45). This is clearly to be an extempore prayer as a petition from the human for the land. The speaker in contact with the land provides not only the poetic landscape that is the desired outcome but is also the channel through which that conceptual vision can be transmitted to the physical. Since it is a vernacular utterance it stands apart from the previous liturgical ones and therefore is specific in directing benefits to the land with which the speaker is in physical contact. The land, in effect, is handed over to God.

Æcerbot heals the land by physical, symbolic and sacramental means, and nullifies all the antagonism of the other through prayer, poetry and actions. These focus the spoken word onto the precise portion of land in question through the mediation of the speaker and the actions of the community. Traces of non-Christian symbolic words and actions such as addressing the earth as ‘fira modor’ (line 69) and turning three times with the sun (line 39) hint at an older understanding of the landscape that has been incorporated into a Christian ritual and framework as Bintley has observed:

The *Æcerbot Charm* is a complex, multi-layered, and multi-faceted piece of magical literature, which seems likely to preserve a number of traditions that had been part of pre-Christian native religion, yet which were subordinated into a post-conversion liturgical framework that comfortably realigned ancient ritual with contemporary Christian practice.⁴¹

Land and people are conjoined symbolically in the poetic landscape and physically by the ritual actions; representative of each other sacramentally they unite to cleanse, heal and restore a consecrated landscape of fertile productivity which nullifies any

⁴¹ Michael D. J. Bintley, ‘Brungen of Bearwe: Ploughing Common Furrows in Exeter Book *Riddle* 21, *The Dream of the Rood*, and the *Æcerbot Charm*’, in *Trees and Timber in the Anglo-Saxon World*, ed. by Michael D. J. Bintley and Michael G. Shapland (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 144-157, p.153.

threat that the other has presented in the past or can attempt in the future.

Conclusion.

The poetic creation of landscapes in both *Beowulf* and *Æcerbot* is directly related to the presence or absence of the other. The threat of alterity to the communities involved is, in each case, represented by landscapes that are figured in terms of fertility or despoliation. As a narrative account, *Beowulf* expresses the nature of monstrosity by means of landscapes that are undesirable, alien to humanity, and unnatural. It is only by the despatch of the monsters that the landscape is returned to a state that is able to be used by mankind. In this, it reflects the inner mental state of the threatened Danes; wide open spaces that allow freedom of movement, shining flowery lands that hold the promise of the delights of the mead-hall in their composition.

Æcerbot creates the poetic landscape of fertility, heavy with produce, in order to restore a landscape that has been despoiled by the activities of an unknown but postulated other. In sacramental actions through the ritual of performance this verbal creation is superimposed on the physical landscape to create in actuality the desired outcome; healing of the land by the nullification of any threat that the other is able to make. The community in both texts is restored to harmony and prosperity with, and by means of, the landscape.

Chapter IV.

PLACES IN TIME: LANDSCAPE AND THE POSITIONING OF COMMUNITY.

Landscape is an active participant in the definition of a community and also in how it functions, as previous chapters have demonstrated. The right behaviour and constitution, of both the individual and community is delineated and serviced by the landscape. This chapter will focus on the way in which time positions a community through landscape. As so often with the landscapes in the poems, each occurrence of landscape or topography in relation to time or place has to be considered individually in the context of the text as well as in the context of the remainder of the poetic corpus. In that corpus, as well as in the reality of the experienced world, landscape displays opposing facets in its relationship to time, being both mutable and stable.

Most obviously, it measures and displays the passage of time in itself. Different times and seasons are demonstrated in the landscape through all the senses: the scent of ripening blackberries, the sound of the cuckoo, the feel of frosty ground, sucking nectar from a cowslip bell, the sight of leafless trees, all of these are seasonal sensory experiences. This way of sensing the changing landscape of the seasons is the most significant indicator of time in any agriculturally-based society, such as that of Anglo-Saxon England: ‘in an agrarian community, time was determined above all by the rhythms of nature.’¹ This is not time understood as precise, objective or independent, it owes nothing to the calculations of humanity, but rather it is a ‘subjective and qualitative experience which constituted part of the human condition.’² Such experience is primarily individual and personal and becomes

¹ A. J. Guarevich, *Categories of Medieval Culture*, trans by G. L. Campbell (London: Routledge, 1985), p. 94.

² Lilla Kopár, ‘Spatial Understanding of Time in Early Germanic Cultures: the Evidence of Old English Time Words and Norse Mythology’, in *Interfaces between Language and Culture in Medieval England* ed. by Alaric Hall *et al* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), pp.203-230, p. 205.

communal through expression and usage in daily life. Thus the physicality of time is a sub-conscious sensory dimension of life, which is necessarily experienced rather than calculated since seasons are inexact in their times of arrival and departure.

Human response to seasonal variation is thus rooted in the practical: life in the Anglo-Saxon period, and indeed well beyond it, ‘involved regular exposure to seasonal extremes through their tactile representatives, heat, and above all, cold.’³ These seasonal changes are also the major preoccupation of those concerned with agriculture, which at this period was most of the population: ‘the vast majority of Anglo-Saxons were involved in farming.’⁴ The economics of the time depended therefore on the understanding and use of how changes to the landscape through the seasons could be exploited for food production and this, in turn, affected cultural perceptions and expressions of time:

since agricultural production was especially closely tied to the solar year while the economic year in turn played a central role in shaping the social calendar, the agricultural cycle may be seen as an interface elastically subjecting the cultural year to the material demands of the seasons.⁵

This apparently changing landscape, however, is one that is based on permanence and stability. Hills may appear visually as bright green in spring or white with the snows of winter, but whatever their appearance they stand out as hills: the landscape has an enduring quality that transcends seasonal alterations and the impositions of men. The boundary clauses of Anglo-Saxon charters guarantee the limits of the estate and they do so largely in relation to the topography of the landscape; hills, valleys, rivers, trees, and other features are all frequent markers of the boundary, a lasting confirmation of the extent of the lands being granted.

³ P.S. Langeslag, *Seasons in the Literatures of the Medieval North* (Cambridge: Brewer, 2015), p. 2.

⁴ Debby Banham and Rosamund Faith, *Anglo-Saxon Farms and Farming* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), p. 2.

⁵ Langeslag, p. 17.

Landscape is a fixed and permanent feature of the estate, not mutable or seasonal: this is shown by the way in which these boundary markers can often still be followed today. The estate communities that they defined are no longer extant but the landscape endures.

So the expression of time through landscape has opposing possibilities of continuity or variability. Both are addressed throughout the Old English poetic corpus, but this chapter will focus on two poems, *Durham* and *The Menologium*. They both, most unusually in the poetic corpus of Anglo-Saxon England, focus on places which are identifiable geographically. *Durham* employs the unchanging topography of the landscape around the town to present a place in which time is enclosed. The physical actuality of the town is transformed in *Durham* into a diachronic expression of Anglo-Saxon Christianity. *The Menologium* exploits the potential in the varied seasonal landscape to develop the concept of the island of Britain as a sacred place through the medium of passing, cyclical time.

The active landscape and the community of time in *Durham*.

Durham is unusual amongst the Old English poetic corpus in several ways; firstly, it refers to a landscape that is cartographical with a specific and known geographical location within Britain. Secondly, *Durham* is given a heading in the only surviving manuscript in which it appears, Cambridge University Library MS. Ff i. 27.⁶ Thirdly, another work in that manuscript, namely Symeon of Durham's *Libellus de Exordio atque procursu istius, hoc est Dunelmensis, ecclesiae*, relies on the poem for authentication of its claim that relics of Bede are buried in the minster at Durham rather than at Jarrow. This enables the poem to be dateable to within a fairly brief

⁶ There is also a transcript by Hickes from the subsequently burned MS. Cotton Vitellius D.xx. What Fry considered to be a third version in Stanford University Library MS Misc OI0 [J1] has been shown by O'Donnell to be derived from the Cambridge MS. Daniel Paul O'Donnell, 'Junius' Knowledge of the Old English Poem *Durham*', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 30 (2001), 231-245.

time-span: the relic hunter who purloined the relics of Bede was operating in the second quarter of the eleventh century,⁷ so it cannot have been written before that date, but equally must have come into being before Symeon's work was finished in the early years of the twelfth century. Finally, it is a text which has an exceptionally large portion of its content devoted to the landscape; seven of its total of twenty-two lines are wholly concerned with the landscape in the immediate vicinity of the town.

This emphasis on the landscape is predicated by the heading in the manuscript, 'de situ Dunelmi et de sanctorum reliquiis quae ibidem continentur carmen compositum' (the song which has been composed about the situation of Durham and the relics of the saints kept contained in that very place). It is a poem about the site and the relics, something that the modern title of 'Durham' obscures, since it feeds into an urban-centred perception of the contents. The town itself is almost wholly absent from the poem, appearing only in lines one and nine as 'burch' and 'byri' respectively. The content is otherwise focussed entirely on the relics within the town and the landscape around it.

The audience is conducted through this landscape to the relics as if a traveller, coming trustingly to a place of safety, is arriving at the town. Much like the cities of *Maxims II*, which 'beoð feorran gesyne' (are visible from afar, line 1), it can be seen first as it is 'steppa gestaðolad' (fixed on high, line 2). Coming closer there is water 'Weor ymbeornad' (the Wear surrounds [it]), line 3). Once over the water, the landscape, not the town, is the focus of the text, the travelling audience is aware of 'ðær gewexen is wudufæsten micel/ wuniað in ðem wycum wilda deor monige,/ in deope dalum deora ungerim' (there is grown a great woodland fortress, many wild

⁷ See H. S. Offler, 'The Date of *Durham (Carmen de situ Dunelmi)*', *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 61 (1962), 591-594 for further details. See also Calvin B. Kendall, 'Let Us Now Praise a Famous City: Wordplay in the OE *Durham*', *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 87 (1988), 507-521 for an attempt to date the poem more precisely.

animals live in that habitation, in the deep valleys uncounted animals, lines 6-8). This is a richly fertile landscape, varied in topography, capable of supporting a large population of wildlife. It apparently owes nothing to the hand of mankind. The detail in the textual landscape contrasts sharply with the entrance into the town; all the attention the text gives it is ‘is in ðere byri eac’ (moreover, in that town is, line 9). The town itself is not described, only the specified ‘inhabitants’, all eight of them; the urban landscape is bypassed in favour of its denizens.⁸ The only mention of any other content of the town is ‘ðem minstre’ (that minster, line 18). The audience is taken slowly through the approaches, then swiftly passed into the minster, and left there with the relics, and together with them ‘domes bideð’ (waits for judgement, line 21). This phrase is the closing one of the poem, the audience is left waiting in the minster for the end of time.

The text stops, in fact, in the heart and centre of a series of enclosing concentric circles. The hyperbolic ‘ymbeornad’ of the Wear separates the town from other places; the water encircles the land.⁹ The stones also surround the site ‘stanas ymbutan’ (stones around [it], line 2), making an inner enclosure within the water; both stones and river have the ‘ymb’ prefix on the words that describe their relationship to the town, which emphasises that these are not merely adjacent features of the landscape but encircling ones. The word used for the woodland is ‘wudufæsten’, another protective enclosure. A consideration of ‘fæsten’ as it appears as an element in place-names has led Baker to the conclusion that such places were not necessarily actual fortified strongholds but that what they ‘seem to have in common is *suitability* for use as strongholds, and this appropriateness derives

⁸ This militates somewhat against the view that *Durham* is a vernacular attempt at an *encomium urbis*, see Margaret Schlauch, ‘An Old English “Encomium Urbis”’, *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 40:1 (1941), 14-18. See also Kendall (fn.4, above) for placing the poem in a quite different genre.

⁹ The Wear loops around the town but does not actually make Durham an island site.

from their inaccessibility.¹⁰ The ‘wudufæsten’ that surrounds the town therefore applies to the reality of the site, its physical location, but also includes the sense of a place which is enclosed since ‘fæsten’ appears commonly, in this sense, in the second element in Old English poetic compounds. The first town to be built in *Genesis* is a ‘weallfæsten’ (walled stronghold, line 1056); when the sea is held back in *Exodus* it is both a ‘sæfæsten’ (sea stronghold, line 127) and a ‘wealfæsten’ (walled stronghold, lines 282 and 482). The sea in *Exodus* is enclosed, walled up, restrained from hindering the Israelites’ passage rather than being fortified or defensible but the word still applies. In *Genesis* the ark is both ‘þellfæsten’ (planked stronghold, line 1478) and, the only other occurrence of this compound apart from *Durham*, a ‘wudufæsten’ (wood stronghold, line 1310). The link with *Genesis* suggests a refuge, a place of safety and the association is furthered in *Durham* by the ‘wilda deor monige’ and the ‘deora ungerim’ which inhabit this ‘wudufæsten’. The landscape of its surroundings holds the town securely: ‘the woods, like the stones, are portrayed as securing the site’.¹¹

The situation of Durham is thus presented in the text as one which is composed of concentric protective enclosures by the landscape. It is encircled by wood, stone, and water. Held within these is the innermost circle which is not the town itself but the relics, which are ‘in the center of the poem, just as in the center of the church’.¹² These too are presented in a circular form, beginning and ending with Cuthbert, so that this list of relics forms an enclosed inner circle within the encircling landscape of the first eight lines. The named personages are Cuthbert, Oswald, Aidan,

¹⁰ John Baker, ‘Old English *fæsten*’, in *A Commodity of Good Names*, ed. by O. J. Padel and David N. Parsons (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2008), 333-344, p. 334.

¹¹ Helen Appleton, ‘Anglo-Saxon Landscapes: The Construction of the Environment in Old English and Related Texts’ (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Sydney, 2012), p. 115.

¹² Seth Lerer, *Literacy and Power in Anglo-Saxon Literature* (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1991), p. 202.

Eadberht, Eadfrith, Æðelwold, Bede, and Boisil, who, as the saint's teacher, returns the text to Cuthbert. Cuthbert is the obvious starting point for any consideration of relics in Durham, but then the text moves back in time to Oswald, who instigated the see of Lindisfarne, then forwards through Aidan, Eadberht, Eadfrith, Æthelwold, and Bede, finally exploiting the alliterative possibilities of the collocation 'Beda and Boisil' (line 15) to return in time and personal association to Cuthbert. The relics form a circle in which time is also cyclical, moving through time as indicated by the names to return to its starting point.

Relics and landscape are further conjoined by the text into a single entity. Both town and Bede are 'breom' (renowned, lines 1 and 15), so that the contents are paralleled with the site. There are other parallels between the two that are implicit in the text: 'wilda deor monige' (many wild animals, line 7) in the woodland, 'feola fisca kyn' (many kinds of fish, line 5) in the river, and 'monia wundrum' (many wonders, line 20) in the minster; there are 'deora ungerim' (uncounted animals, line 8) in the 'deope dalum' (deep valleys, line 8) and 'unarimeda reliquia' (uncounted relics, line 19) in the minster. The links between town, woodland, and miracles go deeper than mere verbal associations. Durham itself is 'wundrum gewæxen' (miraculously grown, line 3), which considering the circumstances of its founding is a literal exactitude (see below). The wood is 'gewexen' (grown, line 6), similarly literal, and around the relics 'wundrum gewurðað' (miracles come to pass, line 20). The paronomasia of 'gewæxen' and 'gewurðað' and the literality of the first two occurrences of these phrases authenticate the third, so that the miracles that occur within the minster become part of a natural sequence, which encompasses both the land and the built environment; they have grown together. Abounding beneficence in the landscape surrounding the town is equalled only by the multiplicity of miracles and relics within

it. Relics and landscape are united in the formation of an island enclosure. They have equal weighting in the text as features of the islanded land.

This island of town and relics has particular application to Cuthbert personally but also to Northumbria and the whole island of Britain; it is both a microcosmic and macrocosmic landscape and place. The island thus created by the text is a fertile, well-wooded landscape, enclosed by equally bountiful water; ‘ðer inne wunað/ feola fisca kyn’ (there in live many kinds of fish, lines 4-5). The best known of the relics kept at Durham are those of Cuthbert, one of the earliest and most revered of Britain’s indigenous saints. The town is not merely associated with Cuthbert but was miraculously founded posthumously by him as a resting place for his earthly remains, according to the tradition related in Symeon’s work. This explains, for Appleton, the unusual detail with which the text describes the landscape and the particular details on which it concentrates:

The twice-mentioned wild beasts recall the multiple nature-miracles associated with the saint, such as the sea creatures that warm his feet and the eagle that brings him a fish, and linking back to the helpful beasts of the Antonian tradition. The creatures also create the impression that the woods and the dales are bountiful, reflecting the fertility associated with the presence of the saint, which benefits the wild animals as well as him. Cuthbert’s power and centrality is attested by transformed space where the wild creatures and environment support him.¹³

A landscape of fertility is frequently a physical symbol of saintly presence and beneficence. Guthlac, for example, triumphed over the devils in his refuge in the fens and his victory is signalled, in both prose and poetic versions of his trials, by a landscape which becomes a *locus amoenus*, a pleasant place to live supported by the natural environment.

Durham transforms the landscape around what is, in reality, a town on the

¹³ Appleton, p. 111.

mainland, into an island, but in doing so it becomes an island which is affected by the habitation of the saint. Grossi, examining the contents of both manuscripts in which the poem survives, observes that ‘what is certain is that in the case of each codex, *Durham* contributed to an anthology of writings pertaining to St. Cuthbert’.¹⁴ Cuthbert’s life was spent, insofar as he was able to control it, on Lindisfarne or the smaller and more isolated Farne. Since the resting place of his remains is not a small, bare island the text initiates an understanding of it that yet enables the landscape to refer back to these Northumbrian coastal islands under Cuthbert’s stewardship. Farne, small, remote, rocky, and barren, responded to Cuthbert’s presence; the demons he vanquished there ‘personify his triumph over his chosen landscape and his adaptation of it to his personal needs.’¹⁵ In *Durham* the image is reversed; a fertile landscape is miraculously transformed into an island refuge for the relics.

This delightful island of an individual town is also applicable to the whole of the island of Britain. Bede notes: ‘the island is rich in crops and in trees’ and also that ‘it is remarkable too for its rivers which abound in fish’.¹⁶ The landscape of *Durham* is rich in trees and is encircled by water abounding with fish; it has become a metonym for the whole of Britain by its sense of fertile plenty. This is the land that the Anglo-Saxons regarded as rightfully theirs under divine authority. *Durham* presents relics and surroundings as combined in representing both Anglo-Saxon land and culture: the landscape encircles and contains a microcosm of Anglo-Saxon society, through the identifying tags attached to each name in the list of relics. After Cuthbert, the saint, the text includes royalty, ‘cyninges heafud/ Osuuald, Engle leo’

¹⁴ Joseph Grossi, ‘Presenting the Future in the Old English *Durham*’, *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 111 (2012), 42-73, p. 52.

¹⁵ Kelly M. Wickham-Crowley, ‘Living on the *Ecg*: The Mutable Boundaries of Land and Water in Anglo-Saxon Contexts’, in *A Place to Believe In*, ed. by Clare A. Lees and Gillian M. Overing (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006), pp. 85-110, p. 95.

¹⁶ Judith McClure and Roger Collins, ed and trans., Bede *Eccelesiastical History*, Book I chapter one, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 9.

(the head of the king, Oswald, lion of the English, line 12), nobility ‘Eadberch and Eadfrið, aðele geferes’ (Eadberch and Eadfrith, noble companions, line 13), bishops Aidan and Æthewold (lines 12 and 14), a scholar, Bede (line 15) and an abbot, Boisil (line 15). In fact Eadberht succeeded Cuthbert at Lindisfarne and was himself followed by Eadfrith, but by including them as ‘noble companions’ the list becomes representative of the most senior and respected ranks in the Anglo-Saxon social and religious hierarchy. The innermost circle contained within the physical concentric circles of the landscape is a conceptual one of Anglo-Saxon learning, rule, and order.

It also encloses power. The power comes primarily from the reference to Oswald as ‘lion of the English’, a reading that has been contested, despite the fact that it occurs in both the surviving manuscript and the Hickes transcript. Dobbie asserts that one of the indications of a transitional period from Old to Middle English is ‘the loss of initial *h*- before a consonant as in *leo*, l.12.’¹⁷ Robinson, agreeing with the manuscript evidence, has observed that Alcuin’s poem on York compares Oswald’s action against Cadwalla at Heavensfield to that of a lion and concludes ‘if an eighth-century Anglo-Saxon poet characterises Oswald figuratively as a lion, we are misguided to doubt the manuscripts of the later encomium when we find the King so characterized there.’¹⁸ This mention of the relics of Oswald, whose fame includes his physical prowess in battle, especially when aided by the divine authorisation of his actions, brings the weight of secular power into the sphere of authority for the possession of Britain. It substantiates the Anglo-Saxon claim in terms of the glory and fame to be won on the battlefield, in addition to sanction by heavenly revelation. The power that the landscape holds within the innermost circle of *Durham* is both earthly and divine in origin.

¹⁷ ASPR VI, p.xliv.

¹⁸ Fred C. Robinson, ‘The Royal Epithet “Engle leo” in the Old English *Durham* Poem’, *Medium Ævum*, 37 (1968), 249-251, p. 251.

The final quality that is of significance to Anglo-Saxon society is fame and this too is enshrined in *Durham* by the surrounding landscape. Prowess in battle, in glorious deeds of valour, are the basis of the enduring fame that is the objective of every warrior, according to the heroic code as enshrined on the Old English poetic corpus. *The Fortunes of Men*, although it details many skills and gifts, only attaches the idea of glory to two of them: ‘sumum guþe blæd,/ gewealdenne wigplegan, sumum wyrp oþþe scyte,/ torhtlicne tiir’ (to one the glory of combat, commanding the warplay, to one glorious fame at throwing or shooting, lines 68-70). The final word of *Beowulf*, the climax of an encomiastic series of epithets that include gentleness, courtesy, and kindness, is ‘lofgeornost’ (most eager for renown, line 3182): it is his desire for fame that is, ultimately, his most notable, and admirable, characteristic. *Durham* encloses fame within the concentric protection of the landscape, in the form of the physical renown won by Oswald, but also by extending this most central tenet of the heroic code to include the fame that comes from scholarship.

Bede is ‘breoma bocera’ (famous scholar, line 15), so that the heroic code of brave deeds leading to fame is extended into the sphere of learning and study. The text ensures that both types of fame are enshrined in the minster of Durham in the persons of Oswald and Bede. It furthers this dual conception of what are to be considered as honourable attainments by reporting that the miracles that occur there are ‘ðes ðe writ seggeð’ (those which the writings tell, line 20), a reference to writing that applies to the poem, which is itself a writing that tells of miracles and carries the fame forwards and outwards to its audience. *Durham* is a part of the continuing tradition of ensuring that the renown that is the sought-for ideal (in this case, knowledge of the relics and the miracles they are responsible for) is not lost but celebrated and perpetuated. The renown of the relics is enclosed within the writing of

the text, so that the poem and the minster contain a development of the tradition; one in which the fame results from scholarship and writing, rather than martial prowess. The landscape that surrounds the minster physically and is conjoined with it textually is guardian to the essential values of Anglo-Saxon culture and understanding. It is a landscape of enclosure that is under Cuthbert's jurisdiction, personally established by him, but is at the same time a place that holds the entirety of Anglo-Saxon society securely within it.

The relics, however, all have a specific geographical association within Britain. They all relate to individuals who were active in the kingdom of Northumbria at a time when it was at the height of its power. Earthly power and wealth, together with the spiritual riches provided by saints and scholars, were the significant indicators of Northumbrian prestige and authority. It was a period that retained its fame, however much the kingdom of Northumbria was later eclipsed by the rise of first Mercia and then Wessex. The renown that heroism demanded is enshrined in the minster at Durham, conjoining the sacred and secular in the perpetuation of past glories. The town is protected by its landscape which encloses both town and relics.

The Northumbrian associations of the relics call attention to a specific period in the Anglo-Saxon past, so that the power contained within the church at Durham is allusively linked with the early power of Northumbria as an independent kingdom. *Durham* asserts Northumbrian power by using the Anglo-Saxon verse-form as well as the language. It subtly denies Norman power by this vernacular usage and also by the constant use of the present tense. Despite the association of the named relics with the now-eclipsed days of Northumbrian glory, *Durham* is not concerned with invoking the past but with establishing the present. An analysis of the text refutes Howe's concept of *Durham* as a text that is wholly concerned with the past; he sees in it a somewhat

defiant response to Norman overlordship: ‘in the absence of political continuity, the poet can evoke only scholarly and spiritual continuity’, going on to add that it ‘has little, if any sense of the present’.¹⁹ On the contrary, this chapter suggests that the poem is concentrated on the present, in which the landscape holds and contains a still existing past.

Lines one, nine, and fourteen all begin ‘is’, so that the dominant impression when seeing the text for the first time is of the present, this is how things are now. The town is famous, the relics are there. Within the list of Northumbrian notables there is a chiasmus; following the mention of Eadbert and Eadfrith then the present is emphasised again with ‘is ðer inne midd heom’ (in there with them is, line 14) before the second part of the list completes the circle. The rest of the text is almost all in the present tense; only the lines concerning Boisil as teacher of Cuthbert refer specifically to past events, with the single reference to future events is the ‘domes bideð’ (awaits judgement, line 21), but even here the waiting is now, it is what is being done at present. This sense of the present extends to the landscape. ‘Gewexen is wudufæsten’ (the wood stronghold is grown, line 6); the wood is there, the river is there, the waves are there, and the fish and the animals, they are all there now, as part of the present. The town is there, its fame is current, not lost in obscurity, and the miracles are still happening. *Durham* as a text is entirely concerned with the present state of affairs; in both the enclosing landscape and the relics in the minster at the centre of the enclosures, is a sense of the present.

The insistence on the situation and contents of the town as an existing one extends to the relics. That these are relics is nowhere mentioned in the text; the named persons are treated textually as if these are living persons. ‘In ðere byri eac’ (also in that town, line 9) is a phrase that could as easily be followed by a list of living inhabitants or

¹⁹ Nicholas Howe, *An Angle on this Earth: Sense of Place in Anglo-Saxon England* (Manchester: Manchester Centre for Anglo-Saxon Studies, 2000), pp. 24-25.

notable existing buildings. Although the people listed are long dead, a fact which must have been well known to any contemporary audience, the only overt suggestion in the text that these are bones or bodies is the reference to ‘cyninges heafud’ (head of the king, line 11) in connection with Oswald. Otherwise they are treated as if they were there, physically present as a gathering of particular men. This impression is given further emphasis by ‘eardiað æt ðem eadige in in ðem minstre/ unarimeda reliquia’ (numberless relics dwell with the blessed within that minster, lines 18-19). ‘Eardian’ is rarely used other than in connection with living beings; by employing it here the poem brings the relics into the same position as the woods, river and stones. It turns them from inert remains to present occupants of the minster. The text is most insistent on the immediacy of the situation it describes; from the surrounding landscape it consistently creates a present in which is contained an unspoken but glorious past.

A circle seals a portion of space, locking it away from what is outside the periphery. Concentric circles of landscape in *Durham* enclose and protect an island that is presented in the text as a physical island but also an island of Anglo-Saxon time and, within that, an island of Northumbrian time. The text of *Durham* constructs this island of time through the features of the surrounding landscape. The physical and conceptual aspects are compounded by the poem so that the place is at once real, symbolic, and metonymic. It presents site and relics as an island of unadulterated Anglo-Saxon, and, more precisely, Northumbrian, learning and authority.

Whether *Durham* was written in response to Norman power or not, it asserts definitively the enduring power of Northumbrian saints and scholars into the present of the text. There is little approbation or praise in *Durham*, especially for the town itself, but there is a constant insistence on the fusion of past and present time. The old days of scholarship and saintliness remain, sealed in by landscape. Past, present and future

time, in combination with mankind, are held together in the hallowed landscape of the text. *Durham* is a poem that utilises the landscape to make an island of time held in a physical place. In *Durham* the landscape encircles and protects what it is itself protected by, a beneficent island of nature as a place under the jurisdiction of Cuthbert. The surrounding landscape contains a time that combines power, wealth, prestige, authority, scholarship, and saintliness as a distilled essence of Anglo-Saxon England. Landscape in *Durham* is a purposive enclosure of a community that relates to a particular time.

Static landscape and the gifts of time in *The Menologium*.

The Menologium utilises landscape, through a different configuration of time and place, to establish the island of Britain as a community of sacred symbolism. It has a landscape that is very largely human-centric, whose topography is composed predominantly of man-made buildings. The words used are ‘tun’, ‘wic’, ‘burh’, and ‘geard’: ‘tun’ is by far the most frequently used, appearing eleven times (lines 8, 16, 28, 34, 78, 89, 108, 138, 183, 195, and 219), in comparison with the twice of ‘wic’ (lines 24 and 29) and the sole uses of ‘burh’ (line 75) and ‘geard’ (line 109). Of these words, only ‘geard’ has the sense of an individual enclosure, residence or dwelling place; the others are more often used in respect of multiple buildings. In the two most recently published translations Karasawa²⁰ goes along with the most obvious modern equivalent word for ‘tun’ and translates it as ‘town’ throughout, while Jones²¹ uses ‘dwellings’ but varies it in two places by ‘abodes’ and ‘homes’. Karasawa’s version feeds into the modern urban concept of a completely man-made environment, which is inappropriate in context, and Jones’ gives a constant sense of human habitation,

²⁰ Kasutomo Karasawa, ed and trans., *The Old English Metrical Calendar (Menologium)* (Woodbridge: Brewer, 2015).

²¹ Christopher A. Jones, *Old English Shorter Poems: Religious and Didactic* (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2012).

which restricts the meaning to specific buildings that are lived in by people.

Considered in the context of the remainder of the text, however, what these words refer to are settlements, groups of buildings that include homes certainly but have a somewhat wider, more general, application. In the first place, in *The Menologium* these are synonymous terms: Spring comes at once ‘on tun’ (line 28) and ‘to wicum’ (line 29), and May comes ‘in burh’ (line 75) and ‘on tun’ (line 78). ‘Tun’, ‘wic’, and ‘burh’ can all refer to groups of buildings, such as those of the estate. ‘Tun’, for instance, is used in this sense in *Gerefa* where the reeve must know all that goes on ‘ge in tune ge in dune’, that is, in the buildings and on the land. Therefore in *The Menologium* the sense of each instance of these words has the wider application of buildings used by humanity rather than the narrower one of homes or the space occupied by a wholly urban community. Manors, settlements, barns, byres, pigsties, towns, and individual cottages, whatever is occupied by man and the operations of humanity, all are included under the flexible usage of ‘tun’, ‘wic’ and ‘burh’. They apply to all habitations and constructions of mankind, in the most general sense, having simply the base meaning of settlements of buildings, whatever finer shades of meaning they may have in other contexts. What is contained in *The Menologium* is a landscape of community, a fusion of place and people.

Settlements become places, portions of space that are named and have a meaning and function in human society. There is an association with humanity always, often explicitly in *The Menologium*, as in the phrase ‘us to tune’ which appears three times, (lines 8, 34, and 108). Even where people are not specified as being in the settlement, they are always included in the event indicated by a phrase in the adjacent lines, so that October, which simply comes ‘on tun’ (line 183) also ‘on folc fereð’ (comes to people, line 182). Hence, the presence of ‘tun’, ‘wic’, ‘burh’,

and ‘geard’ in this text signals places occupied and used by people, so that the buildings are effectively a synecdoche for ‘human society’. It is the human use of the buildings that is significant, not the buildings as features of topography; *The Menologium* regards landscape as primarily of human making and use; it consists of places and people in combination.

While the landscape in *Durham* is active and positive *The Menologium* shows it as static, a passive recipient of the flow of time. The start of each month is heralded by a verb expressive of travel or action. ‘Cuman’ (to come) is used for the beginning of the months of January (line 7), March (lines 31 and 33), April (line 72), May (line 77), and July (line 130). ‘Bringan’ (to bring) is used of May (line 78), June (line 106), August (line 138), November (line 193), and December (line 218). ‘Faran’ (to go, travel) is the verb used for the beginning of September and October (lines 165 and 182) and ‘sigan’ (to advance) is applied to February (line 16). All the months are moving through the landscape, the purely human nomenclature of time as monthly divisions has become animate and purposeful.

The animation extends to personification in some cases, as landscape is visited by monthly incursions. The length of February is flexible to account for leap-years but after it, ‘hrime gehyrsted hagscurnum færð/ geond middangeard Martius reðe/ Hlyda healic’ (fierce March, decorated with frost in hail-showers, goes throughout middle-earth, [the] notable Hlyda, lines 35-37). June brings the long days of summer:

Pænne monað bringð

ymb twa and feower tiida lange,

Ærra Liða, us to tune

Iunius on gearð,

(then after two and four days the month *Ærra Liða* brings to us in town, June to our

enclosures, long days, lines 106-109). The communal landscape itself simply receives passively what the time has to offer. It is the same with November:

And þæs ofstum bringð
embe feower niht, folce genihtsum,
Blotmonað on tun, beornum to wiste,
Nouembris, niða bearnum
eadignesse, swa nan oðer na deð
monað maran miltse drihtnes.

(and then after four nights Blotmonað speedily brings abundance to people, to settlements, November with plenty for men, blessedness for the children of men, as no other month does [more] greatly by mercy of the lord, lines 193-198). The conjoined community of people and landscape is granted the plenty that the month, unasked, bears to it. The landscape is an inert partner in the annual cycle that is contained in *The Menologium*.

In the passages quoted above, as in the references to the other months in this poem, each month is given two names, deriving from two different traditions. The apparent inactivity of the landscape in the text conceals the more positive role it has in the nomenclature that derives from the indigenous culture of the Anglo-Saxons. The vernacular poetry of Anglo-Saxon England is in itself a fusion of cultures: ‘the Germanic tradition became fused with, and enriched by, the Christianized Latin culture of the ancient world, forming a durable amalgam.’²² Inclusion of the vernacular naming tradition in the annual cycle of months enables *The Menologium* to relate to landscape in a more direct way than the Latinate tradition allows. The Germanic names are at variance with the Latin ones since the latter refer only to

²² Charles W. Kennedy, *The Earliest English Poetry* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1948), p. 20.

conceptual time; that is, the human construction of time regulation that imposes order and consistency and uses this structure as a way of celebrating its own society so that July, for instance, ‘was called “Julius” in honour of the dictator Julius Caesar.’²³

In contrast, several of the vernacular months have names that reflect seasonal agricultural occupations at that time and are consequently expressive of the landscape; May, for example, being known as ‘þrymilce’ (three milk) because ‘in that month the cattle were milked three times a day’ and August as ‘weodmonað’ (month of tares) since ‘they are very plentiful then.’²⁴ Bede designates November as ‘Blotmonað’, the time when ‘the cattle which were to be slaughtered were consecrated to their gods.’²⁵ This is an explanation for what is otherwise an oddity to a modern audience, the delight in the arrival of November and its associations with abundance and plenty. Clearly neither Bede nor *The Menologium* think it necessary to specify the reason for the slaughtering of cattle at that time: no Anglo-Saxon would have had need for the text to be explicit on this point. Cattle are slaughtered then because they carry the maximum of flesh after the abundance of summer grazing and harvest plenty, while fodder will become an increasingly scarce commodity over the succeeding months. There is a small cycle in this involving landscape and nomenclature, wherein the landscape responding to the seasons gives rise to the occupation, the occupation gives rise to the name, and then the name itself explains the season. Utilising both the vernacular and the imported schemata throughout *The Menologium* allows them equal validity so that they become not competing alternatives but reference points for one another. Hence, the Christianised Latin tradition acquires a significance for landscape usage by association with the existing culture as revealed in the way that the months

²³ Faith Wallis, ed. and trans., *Bede: The Reckoning of Time* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1999), p. 47.

²⁴ Bede, p. 54.

²⁵ Bede, p. 54.

acquired seasonally expressive names.

Division of time by naming each month is only one possible way of measuring and understanding time as it affects the community of humanity and landscape. In *The Menologium* movement in time is not restricted to the purely human construct of the monthly cycle. The annual seasonal changes to the landscape are a way of marking time that is a natural cycle; mankind has affixed names to the seasons but the latter would continue regardless of whether or not people existed to note and specify them. In *The Menologium* the landscape is a recipient of these seasonal alterations. Autumn is as generous a visitor as November: ‘swa þæs hærfest cymð// wlitig, wæstmum hladen’ (harvest comes, beautiful, laden with fruits, lines 140-142). Here harvest is described as a welcome and bountiful guest, bringing with it the fruits that are, effectively, a gift from time to the landscape.

Seasons are aspects of time that are, like the passage of the months, regarded in this text as a sequential flow through and over a landscape community composed of buildings and people. The landscape of settled towns and villages suffers months and seasons; these come and go, bring and remove, while the landscape remains stoically receptive of their attentions. Superimposed on this annual cycle is yet another schema for the reckoning of time, that of the Christian Calendar which is a round of commemorative days. This, like the months, is a human construction that facilitates the communal life of believers through its agreed times for penitence, remembrance, and celebration. The poem is intended as a guide, a reckoner, that will allow for the proper observation of these festivals. Most unusually for an Old English poem, the audience is aware of the purpose of the text since it is quite explicit on this point:

Nu ge findan magon

haligra tiida þe man healdan sceal,

swa bebugeð gebod geond Brytenricu

Sexna kyninges on þas sylfan tiid.

(now you may find the holy times which men must keep as far as the command of the Saxon king reaches throughout the kingdom of Britain at this same time, lines 228-231).

The poem explains its own function concerning time, which is to enable the correct use of time in marking the Church year. Christian festivals are, on the whole, individual days and therefore require calculation through other relationships of time so that they can be observed accurately. The inclusion of months and seasons, and the different associations they have with the landscape, into the religious cycle allows these different kinds of time to overlay and intertwine with each other; *The Menologium* is an amalgam of ‘several overlapping schemata for calculating time.’²⁶ The months, the seasons, and the Christian festivals are separate cycles of time but the poem makes all of them act as reference points for the others; as a text it ‘consists of a chain of interdependent entries defining each other’.²⁷

In this complex chain of time, the seasons, which in life are marked by slow and imprecise changes to the landscape, are given definite days for starting and finishing. *The Menologium* relies on this seasonal dating for subdivisions of a year which is otherwise structured around the astronomical cycle of solstice and equinox: ‘as reflected in the terms *midwinter* and *midsumor*, the solstices were conceived to be the midpoints of winter and summer, whereas the equinoxes were also conceived to be located in the middle of spring and autumn.’²⁸ The year is thus seen as primarily divided into four quarters. By locating the dates for the commencement of each season midway through the period between solstice and equinox the text further

²⁶ Jones, p. xxvii.

²⁷ Karasawa, p. 40.

²⁸ Karasawa, p. 37.

sections off the year into eight periods of roughly equal lengths. So, according to *The Menologium* there is one period from December 21st to February 7th that is midwinter to the start of spring, a second from February 7th to March 21st, from the beginning of spring to the equinox, and so on throughout the year. This imposition of precise time onto the irregularity of the seasonal changes to the landscape enables the poem to relate the appearance of the landscape to the months as well as the seasons.

As it receives or loses months, seasons, and religious festivals the landscape of community becomes the medium through which the fusion of these various time schemata counter-balance one another until the whole cycle of the year, whatever measurements it is divided into, is a Christian Church year. Landscape, passive as it is, nonetheless acquires significance through the layering of time. It becomes malleable in relation to the Christian year, moulded into a place of spiritual understanding because of the cross-referencing of these, initially alternative, cycles of time. Thus, the time that flows over and through the unresisting landscape of *The Menologium*'s year is neither the natural cycle of seasons, nor the human construction of the calculated, named months which 'foregleawe,/ ealde upwitan, æror fundan' (far-seeing, the sages of old earlier found by study, lines 165-166), nor the sacred cycle of the Church. It is, rather a fusion of all these, a blend of schemata that is united by the text into a single strand of time, and this enables the poem to imbue the landscape with meaning, so that it is a landscape 'symbolizing spiritual truths.'²⁹ Sacral significance is bestowed on the landscape by the proximate relationships of time: the intercalation of alternative cycles for measuring and recording it brings the seasonally adjusted landscape into religious focus.

The Menologium, in associating landscape variously with months as well as

²⁹ Alvin A. Lee, *The Guest-Hall of Eden* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972), p. 130.

seasons, still retains the conventions of seasonal referencing that occur elsewhere in the Old English poetic corpus, while instilling the symbolic religious significance. Spring is a time of freedom and movement. In *The Seafarer* this is an impulsion to return to life at sea:

Bearwas blostmum nimað, byrig fægriað,
wongas wlitigað, woruld onetteð;
ealle þa gemoniað modes fusne
sefan to siþe, þam þe swa þenceð
on flodwegas feor gewitan.

(woods bear blossoms, towns become fair, the plains brighten, the world hastens; all those urge the eager of spirit, the heart to venture, for him who thinks to depart far on the paths of the sea, lines 48-52). The woodland blossoms, the lovely towns, the shining land are images of delight and pleasure, but here tinged with sadness since their advent is the initiative for the sailing season and the protagonist will have to leave them, propelled away from the land through the medium of time as signalled by the changed appearance of the landscape. The sounds of the landscape are equally signals for movement in *The Husband's Message* where the recipient is charged 'þæt þu lagu drefde/ siþþan þu gehyrde on hliþes oran/ galan geomorne geac on bearwe' (that you stir up the sea when you have heard the sad cuckoo call in the wood on the bank of the hillside, lines 21-23). The sign of the time to sail is the unambiguous springtime call of the bird, behind whose arrival is the necessity of growth and the additional supply of food that this produces. In these texts the landscape is the arbiter of time, on which the activities of man are dependent. Conventional usage enables *Beowulf* to present the arrival of spring as an ironic comment on the slaughter-stained results it produces in the Finnsburh episode: 'ða wæs winter scacen,/ fæger foldan

bearn' (then was the winter gone, the bosom of the earth lovely, lines 1136-1137).

These texts, for different purposes and in different ways, yet use the same imagery of the springtime landscape as *The Menologium* uses in connection with the arrival of May, the decorative vegetation of woods and flowers, a burgeoning landscape.

The first of May is the feast of Saint Philip and Saint James, but in *The Menologium* this is subordinated to the arrival of the month, and a short panegyric to the beauties of the landscape:

Swylce in burh raþe
embe siex niht þæs, smicere on gearwum,
wudum and wyrstum cymeð wlitig scriðan
Þrymilce on tun, þearfe bringeð
Maius micle geond menigo gehwær.

(likewise, in the settlement, after six nights, beautiful in clothing, to woods and plants, quickly comes fair þrymilce to glide to the settlement, May brings great benefits everywhere throughout the multitudes, lines 75-79). The inclusion of the vernacular 'threemilk' name subliminally brings in the richness of new grass and the subsequent benefits for mankind in the way of food and drink that this allows. By positioning this burgeoning of spring before mention of the saint's day, the text subtly associates it with the previous entries. These are for Easter, the Ascension, and Rogation. This is a miniature of the Christian faith, the death of Christ as redemption for all mankind, his ascension into heaven following his days on earth after his resurrection, and the prayerful penitence of rogation, when the example of the saints is upheld by the processions of relics. This encapsulation of Christianity is followed by a landscape that brings the rewards of beauty and plenty to mankind, but it does require *The Menologium* to depart from its hitherto strictly numerical date sequence.

In strict calendrical terms, of course, the feast of the Ascension takes place forty days after Easter; consequently, it is only very rarely that it occurs before the first of May. *The Menologium*, however, brackets the two festivals of Easter and Ascension together through the fact that the date of the second is dependent on the date of the first, and that changes year by year:

Ne magon we þa tide be getale healdan
 dagaena rimes, ne drihtnes stige
 on heofenas up, forþan þe hwearfað aa
 wisra gewyrdum, ac sceal wintrum frod
 on circule cræfte findan
 halige dagas.

(we may not hold that time [Easter] by days of counting or calculation, nor that of the lord's path upwards to the heavens, because it changes always by the rules of the wise; but [one] wise in winters must discover by skill the holy days in the cycle, lines 64-68). Rogation, by way of contrast, does have a fixed date, April 25th, although the calendar is somewhat complicated by the fact that this is what is known as the Major Rogation, 'a day observed by fasting, ceremonial processions, litanic prayers, and preaching on penitential themes'.³⁰ The period known as Rogationtide is not confined to a particular date, since it occupies the three days immediately preceding the Ascension. It does, however, appear to have been observed in the same fashion as the Major Rogation, and in most liturgical calendars Rogationtide is given greater prominence, since these days 'are commonly designated *litaniae maiores* in Anglo-Saxon texts and were evidently the more important festival.'³¹

By its concentration on the Major Rogation, not to mention its complete

³⁰ Jones, p. 409.

³¹ Appleton, p. 156.

omission of Rogationtide, *The Menologium* manages to include the variable dating of Easter and the Ascension, while returning to a sequence of fixed dates with the Major Rogation. It also connects the three festivals thematically as well as sequentially through the focus on Rogation as a celebration of relics:

Sculan we hwæðere gyt
martira gemynd ma areccan,
wrecan wordum forð, wisse gesingan,
þæt embe nihgontyne niht and fifum,
þæs þe Eastermonað to us cymeð,
þæt man reliquias ræran onginneð,
halige gehyrste; þæt is healic dæg,
bentiid bremu.

(we must relate yet further the remembrance of the martyrs, henceforth utter in words and with certainty sing that after nineteen nights and five of that with which Eastermonth comes to us, that men endeavour to raise up relics, the holy treasures; that is a high day, a glorious prayer-time, lines 68-75). Christ's death and resurrection not only redeems mankind but also sets the example for all Christians; the emphasis that this text places on the Major Rogation as a commemoration of martyrs allows for a direct line of connection that flows from Christ to the martyrs to the people raising relics. The prayer and the procession of relics thus follow, in *The Menologium*, directly on from the festivals of Easter and the Ascension, so that the next lines, on the arrival of May and the delights and richness of the landscape acquire a two-fold significance.

Parading the relics enlarges the land over which they have a sanctifying influence: 'in the Rogation tradition the saints' blessing is made to encompass a

greater area as they are taken out from the centre, sanctifying the space as they progress through it.³² So when May arrives it is not only beautifully clothed in woods and plants but comes ‘rape’ (speedily, line 75). The springtime landscape is symbolic of the saintly sphere of influence with which the processions of Rogation have surrounded it. Saints are notable for their ability to influence a landscape by their holy presence, as Cuthbert does on the islands of his lifetime and the mainland surrounding Durham after his death (see above): ‘the piety of a saint has a transformative effect on the landscape around them.’³³ The immediate, earthly landscape, people and settlements, in the time as specified by *The Menologium* is now under the protection of the relics that have been paraded through and around it, and showing the munificent fertility that is the result of saintly endeavour and presence.

By altering the usual linear progression of time through the variable dates of Easter and the Ascension *The Menologium* also relates the landscape to a wider Christian significance. The foundation of Christianity is the necessity for the redemption of all humanity because of the original sin of Adam and Eve, a sin that was brought about by their interaction with the landscape of Eden. Restoring to the people possibility of access to heaven through the sacrifice of Christ also restores the landscape, in this text, to an Edenic promise of both beauty and utility. The gifts that May brings are more than the simple earthly ones of delight to the senses and the satisfaction of the appetite. They are the direct result of Easter and the Ascension, the promise of attainment to the glorious landscape of heaven, a place beyond earthly sight, but presaged by the landscape that *The Menologium* determinedly connects with those festivals. The landscape thus becomes symbolic of the eternal, ideal, community of heaven. Redemption, prayer, and penitence are followed by the glorious spring

³² Appleton, p. 160.

³³ Appleton, p. 122.

landscape of growth and plenty, which is thus a harbinger of the rewards of heavenly glories.

Also celebrated in May is the invention of the true cross. St. Helena's role in the invention of the cross is here paralleled with that of the landscape, as a passive recipient, since the event is presented here as a revelation by God rather than a human discovery:

And þæs embe twa niht þætte tæhte god
Elenan eadigre æpelust beama,
on þam þrowode þeoden engla
for manna lufan, meotud on galgan
be fæder leafe.

(and it is two nights after that God showed to blessed Helena the most noble of trees, that the lord of angels suffered on for the love of man, the creator on the gallows by leave of the Father, lines 83-87).

The sunbright summer days which follow this feast day bring with them the only positive action of the landscape in this text:

þænne wängas hraðe
blostmum blowað, swylce blis astihð
geond middangeard manigra hada
cwicera cynna, cýninge lof secgað
mænifealdlice, mærne bremað,
ælmihigne.

(then plains quickly flourish with blossoms, just as joy rises in many orders of living races throughout earth, [as they] manifoldly speak praise to the king, gloriously honour the almighty, lines 90-95). Like the arrival of May, there is a rapid response to

this joyful Christian event; landscape in time is the medium through which the importance of the recovery of the cross is explained. The mute land shows its own praises to God in communion with its voiced denizens as the whole community of creation is united in celebration and thanksgiving. In Christian terms, Christ's death and resurrection is for the redemption of mankind alone; the significance of the instrument of his death, which is also thereby the means of restoration, is one that relates to humanity rather than to the landscape.

The Menologium, however, as do other texts in the Old English poetic corpus, treats the landscape as part of the world community that is all of creation, so that the Christian redemption applies to the whole rather than solely to the human component. Landscape is therefore also a participant in the sorrow and the joy that the events in the Christian calendar bring to humanity. In *The Dream of the Rood* 'weop eal gesceaft' (all creation wept, line 55) at the moment of Christ's death, while 'wongas beofiað/ for þam ærende þæt he to us eallum wat' (the plains will tremble because of the message that he will cause us all to know, lines 112-113) at the end of time in *Judgement Day I. Elene* establishes, with *The Menologium*, a definite link between the movement of time from spring to summer, as the saint herself enjoins people to hold in their hearts the glorious day

in ðam sio halige rod
gemeted wæs, mærost beama
þara þe of eorðan up aweoxe,
geloden under leafum; þæs þa lencten agan
butan syx nihtum ær sumeres cyme
on Maius monað

(on which was found the holy rood, the most famous tree of those which grew up

from earth, grew beneath leaves; Spring had but six days from then before the coming of Summer in the month of May, lines 1223-1228). The emphasis on growth and leaves connects the rood with the tree from which it was fashioned and, through that, with the growth of all plants at that season of the year. The annual season of springtime becomes a symbol of the springing hope of mankind through the sacrifice of Christ and the presence of the holy artefact in *Elene* as it does in *The Menologium*.

The intercalation of different time schemata and the assignment of precise dates for the start of each season enables *The Menologium* to endow this landscape of praise and growth with an anticipatory significance. By its division of the year into equal segments, Summer begins in the three-week-long gap between the celebration of the discovery of the cross and the feast of St. Augustine at the end of the month. It is an occasion for joy:

Swylce ymb fyrst wucan
butan anre niht þætte yldum bringð
sigelbeorhte dagas sumor to tune,
wearme gewyderu.

(likewise it is after the space of a week except one night that summer brings to men in settlements sunbright days, warm weather, lines 87-90). As the one who is particularly celebrated for bringing Christianity to England, Augustine is especially honoured. The sunbright days and warm weather, together with the growth and praise of the whole landscape as detailed above, thus look forward to his feast day, which is the next day of rejoicing. The invention of the true cross and the arrival of Christianity in England are both symbolised by the responsive landscape. The lengthening days and the heat of summer presage the autumnal bounty in terms of the agricultural year, but they are also a source of delight and pleasure in themselves while still acquiring

the sacral implications that marked the burgeoning spring landscape. Inert as it is, landscape is moulded by the seasons in ways that are positive for summer and autumn, whose sunshine and fruitfulness are wrought by the actions of time; this is symbolic of the fruits of faith that Augustine brought so that the communal benefits of the arrival of summer are both physical and spiritual. Through spring and summer, landscape in *The Menologium* is an exemplar of the Christian response both to the revelation of Christ's sacrifice and the actions of the saints who followed him.

The Menologium bestows spiritual understanding onto the summer landscape which is thus representative of all creation; the vocal, joyful, praise is an aural counterpart of the blossoming plants, as the entirety of the world celebrates its maker and redeemer. Landscape marks the time through the balancing of the different schemata, so that the season is allied with the calendrical month in establishing the day of the feast of the invention whilst observance of the day is symbolised by the appearance of the landscape. The feast of St. Augustine, which marks the advent of Christianity to the Anglo-Saxons, is allied with the other events of the Christian year by the landscape. The time of the year, the arrival of May and summer, is made manifest in the landscape as a correlation to the Church festivals; the communal landscape of inhabited settlements acquires sacred significance through its passive acceptance of, and its immediate response to, the gifts of time.

The season of winter, in contrast to those of summer and autumn, is seen by *The Menologium* as undesirable and antagonistic to a landscape that cannot avoid or evade it. This, too, becomes a landscape of spiritual response to the annual cycle of the Christian calendar in *The Menologium*. The representation of winter as a season of imprisonment is a common theme throughout the Old English poetic corpus. In *The Wanderer* 'hrið hreosende hrusan bindeð' (the snow-storm falling binds the earth, line

102), and in *The Seafarer* ‘hrim hrusan bond’ (rime bound the earth, line 32). *The Ruin* presents buildings that have been ‘ældo undereotone’ (undermined by old age, line 6), which are not only collapsed but frosted with ‘hrim on lime’ (rime on mortar, line 4). The frost is a physical contributor to the decay of the walls, but in the context of a text that is otherwise seasonless in its attribution, the ice is symbolic of time as the container of the past, holding it in stasis. The landscape of ruins in *The Ruin* has the same inactivity as that in *The Menologium*; it can only accept whatever time brings to it. *Maxims I* presents wintry antagonism to landscape in more detail: ‘wæter helm wegan, wundrum lucan/ eorþan cipas, (water [must] wear a helmet, strangely enclose the shoots of the earth, lines 71-73). In these texts winter with its frost and snow locks up, binds, and encloses; the season is a prison, chaining a defenceless landscape. In both *The Wanderer* and *The Seafarer*, however, the binding, enclosing cold is symbolic of the protagonists’ situation and position, while in *Maxims I* it is simply a function of the way in which the world works. In *The Menologium* the season is animatedly antagonistic.

This text develops the usual concept of the confining fetters of frost as seen in the other poems into an invasion by the inclusion of martial terminology:

Syþþan wintres dæg wide ganged
on syx nihtum, sigelbeortne genimð
hærfest mid herige hrimes and snawes,
forste gefeterad, be frean hæse

(afterwards the winter’s day widely comes in six nights, and seizes, by the Lord’s command, the sun-bright autumn with a troop of rime and snow fettered with frost, lines 202-205).³⁴ Winter effectively captures autumn and imprisons the earth; the

³⁴ Translation Karasawa, p.85.

onset of the season is a deliberate, actively hostile action against a landscape that offers no resistance and has no means of defence against it. It is a raid on the landscape by the forces of time as marked by the onset of the season, the army of frost and snow. The ‘sigelbeorhte’ days which heralded the arrival of summer in line eighty-nine are taken prisoner by the short, dark days of winter in what Langeslag considers ‘the most elaborate of binding images in Old English poetry.’³⁵ The inert landscape has only to await the appropriate season for what each one brings; it cannot evade them or alter the consequences, whether these be the positive gifts of summer and autumn or the destructive intrusion of winter.

The season of winter is the dark negative of the sunny, flower-filled growth of spring and summer. *The Menologium* develops the conventional imagery of winter as an imprisoning enclosure into a specific invasion, as shown above but also extends it beyond imprisonment to capture and dispatch. By the fettering with frost the landscape is not changed but removed: ‘þæt us wunian ne moton wangas grene/ foldan frætwe (so that the green plains, the decorations of the earth, may not remain with us, lines 206-207). The negative use of ‘wunian’ denies a simple change in the appearance of the landscape, from the green land of summer to the white frost-covered aspect of winter. By using this verb the text insists that winter reverses the gifts of summer by taking away the landscape with both its decorative and useful functions. It is not that the plains are no longer green or flowering or fruiting, but that they are no longer present.

The earth without green plains is a feature of the landscape as it was during the early stages of creation in *Genesis*. In that text, God first establishes land in the dark void, but ‘folde wæs þa gyt/ græs ungrene’ (the land was yet ungreen with

³⁵ Langeslag, p.147.

grass, lines 116-117) and it is lightless, with ‘sweart synnihte’ (black continuous night, line 118). *The Menologium* recreates this empty, dark, landscape as the consequence of the attack by winter: the earth is bare. The vegetation is ornamental, as it is in the song of the minstrel in *Beowulf*; while singing in Heorot he tells how during the creation God ‘gefræt Wade foldan sceatas/ leomum ond leafum’ (decorated the surface of the earth with branches and leaves, lines 96-97). Held in the grip of winter, the landscape is returned to a primeval state, barren and unornamented with the grassy plains, and this is ‘be frean hæse’ (by command of the lord, line 205). Landscape, as has been noted, is static in *The Menologium*, suffering passively the onset of times and seasons. God, through the direction of time, has removed the glorious, green, flowering, fruiting, beautiful plains of other seasons and left the earth in darkness.

This is approximately the position of humanity after the expulsion from Eden. Neither in the biblical book of Genesis nor in the Old English poem *Genesis* is there any hint that the sin of Adam and Eve will ever be forgiven, and no hope of redemption is held out to the race of man. The lightless emptiness of the winter landscape is symbolic of the status of people before the arrival of Christ, they are cut off from their creator, in permanent exile from Eden with its light and the glories of vegetation, fruits and trees. The removal of autumn by winter is a figuring onto the landscape of the original sin of mankind; it results in the withholding of all that is beneficial and delightful to man, both practically and aesthetically.

It is into this landscape of hopeless darkness ‘þætte fæder engla/ his sunu sende on þas sidan gesceaft/ folcum to frofre’ (that the father of angels sent his son to this broad creation as consolation to people, lines 226-228). This is towards the end of the text, but *The Menologium*, in presenting an annual cycle, does so by including Christmas as both initiating and concluding the time sequence. Stylistically, this

enables the feast to be defined in the same way as the other notable days of the poem, that is, by its position between two others; the feast of Saint Laurence, for instance, is located through its position as three nights after the arrival of autumn, but it can also be identified as happening five nights before the commemoration of the death of the Blessed Virgin Mary. If Christmas only appears at the start of the poem 'the twofold definition is impossible since no entry precedes it. Only by mentioning it again at the end of the work can it be defined twofold in the same way as all the other entries.'³⁶

The Menologium demands of the audience not only participation in finding the festivals it includes but, in addition, a circular understanding of the Church year; the text requires that the final date entry is considered in the context of the first, for full comprehension.

Spiritually, it also enables the significance of the festival to be defined in two ways. The Christ who is born at the beginning of the poem is not referred to as having any role as a comforter of people:

Crist wæs acennyd, cyninga wuldor,
on midne winter, mære þeoden,
ece ælmihtig

(Christ was born in mid winter, the glory of kings, the great prince, the eternal almighty, lines 1-3). The landscape of *The Menologium* is one of occupation and habitations, the Christ who is born in these lines is remote from most people, a prince, a king, powerful, and transcending time in his glory. The circular nature of time in this text means that this description of a glorious, powerful, leader needs to be seen as a counterpart to the later description of Christ as the consolation of people; it is a royal authority that bestows the gift of comfort in person not a subordinate son. Into

³⁶ Karasawa, p. 28.

the empty darkness of the winter landscape Christ brings both comfort and glory to a race that is figuratively in the position in which the seasonal landscape has placed it physically.

It is significant too, that the winter is the only month or season which is given a departure date as well as that of arrival. This occurs, in the precise seasonal timings of this poem, just after the presentation of Christ in the temple, a feast which is also known as the Purification of the Virgin Mary ‘as it is often called *Purificatio Sancte Marie* “Purification of St. Mary” or *Ypapanti Domini* “the Meeting of the Lord” in Anglo-Saxon calendars.’³⁷ *The Menologium* avoids all reference to Mary, however, other than her role in presenting Christ to the people, so that the festival is one of revelation of the person of Christ to the populace. It is after this ‘þæt afered byð/ winter of wicum’ (that winter is removed from the settlements, lines 24-25). As with the onset of winter, the season is marked by force, here it is taken away rather than leaving; the inert landscape which suffered the capture of the green plains is restored by the despatch of the imprisoning season. The symbolic darkness of winter has been removed by the arrival of the Saviour into the society of man. The landscape of winter has acquired a spiritual meaning through the proximate coinciding of Church and seasonal time.

Landscape in *The Menologium* is that of settlements and their inhabitants, a populated, built environment decorated by vegetation. Its static reception of the movement of time allows the intercalation of different time schemata to bestow spiritual meaning on what the text identifies as a particular place, the island of Britain. The landscape is the indigenous, familiar one in which the Anglo-Saxons lived, and in which their society functioned. By granting spiritual significance to the landscape the

³⁷ Karasawa, p. 90.

text also bestows it onto the Anglo-Saxons; the audience as well as the island is hallowed by the poem into a sanctified communal place of Christian purpose and understanding.

‘Bryten’ appears six times in this text, which, as Karasawa observes ‘is unparalleled in Old English poetry.’³⁸ It is used in connection with Twelfth Night, the feast of St. Gregory, the feast of St. Augustine (twice), the feast of St. Bartholomew, as well as in the final challenge to the audience. The first reference invokes both the place and the people through an allusion to the society that appertains to the remainder of the poetic corpus, that which is imbued with the heroic ethos.

That Twelfth Night is the celebration of the baptism of Christ is somewhat overshadowed by what follows, it is the day:

þæne twelfta dæg tireadige
hæleð heaðurofe hatað on Brytene
in foldan her

(that battle-brave men, glory-blessed, call twelfth day here in the land of Britain, lines 13-15). The association of glory and battle is present throughout the Old English poetic corpus. The defeated Elamites in *Genesis* are said to have been denied victory which is the ‘æsctir were’ (the ash-glory of men, line 2069) and once the Vikings have crossed the river in *The Battle of Maldon* ‘þa wæs feohte neh/ tir æt getohte’ (then the fight was near, glory through the battle, lines 103-104). This is the concept that underpins the heroic society: glory, bravery and battle as an indissoluble triumvirate. Any connection with the Christian commemoration of Christ’s baptism lies solely in its application to a geographical location; that it, the reference as to where the feast is celebrated acquires precedence in meaning over the more usual

³⁸Karasawa, p. 13.

when of *The Menologium*. The inclusion of the ‘treadige’ and ‘headurofe’ brings the focus of the text immediately onto Britain, an emphasis confirmed by the next line. It is not merely that that is what the day is called in Britain, rather it is very specific about where Britain is, ‘in foldan her’.

October, like the other months, is given its vernacular name but in this case alone the name is identified with a particular place and landscape: October is ‘winterfylleð’ as that is what it is known as by ‘igbuende Engle and Seaxe/ weras mid wifum’ (island-dwellers, Angles and Saxons, men with women, lines 185-186). The centrality of the island to Anglo-Saxon identity is an affirmation that also occurs in the final lines of *The Battle of Brunanburh*:

Engle and Seaxe up becoman
ofer brad brimu Brytenne sohtan,
wlance wigsmiþas, wealas ofercoman,
eorlas arhwate, eard begeatan.

(Angles and Saxons, proud war-smiths, nobles eager for glory, sought Britain over the wide water, overcame the Welsh, gained the land, lines 70-73). Hence the land of Britain is the signifying marker of Angles and Saxons; it is their sought-for and earned heritage. *The Menologium* does not look back to the conquest of the land, instead it uses ‘igbuend’ as the indicator of habitation and homeland for Anglo-Saxon identity.

It was St. Gregory who originated the evangelising mission to England led by St. Augustine in the late sixth century, so any text that is concerned with the island as a physical part of the Church might be expected to emphasise his special connections with both place and people. *The Menologium* does so twice. On the feast day of St. Gregory he is said to be ‘se halga’ (the holy one, line 37) and ‘breme in Brytene’

(honoured in Britain, line 40). The celebration of the feast of St. Augustine himself includes Gregory as the instigator of Augustine's mission; the latter came 'swa him se gleawe behead/ Gregorius' (as the wise one, Gregory, commanded him, lines 100-101). Gregory is honoured for himself, as one of the saints, but his special relationship to the island of Britain is emphasised by the repetition; the settled landscape in the text is a Christian one because of Gregory's command to Augustine.

It is with the section on St. Augustine that the text most explicitly makes the physical landscape of Britain a sacred place. Augustine himself, as befits the saint who was regarded as the man who initiated the faith of Christendom among the Anglo-Saxons, is given prominence in the text. Both his mission and his burial place are included:

Pæs embe eahta and nigon
dogera rimes þætte drihten nam
in oðer leoht Augustinus,
bliðne on breostum, þæs þe he on Brytene her
eaðmode him eorlas funde
to Godes willan, swa him se gleawa behead
Gregorius. Ne hyrde ic guman a fyrn
ænigne ær æfre bringan
ofer sealtne mere selran lare,
bisceop bremran. Nu on Brytene rest
on Cantwarum cynestole neah,
mynstre mærum.

(then after a count of eight and nine days [it was] that the Lord received Augustine, joyful in heart, into the other light, he who found for himself here in Britain men

submissive to the will of God, as the wise one, Gregory, commanded him. Never have I heard before of any man long ago ever bringing better teaching over the salt sea, [or] a more famous bishop. Now he rests in Britain among the men of Kent, near the king's seat, in the famous minster, lines 95-106). Not only has the conceptual landscape of Britain been changed by Augustine's mission but the physical landscape has also. Augustine is now quite literally a part of the land of Britain and his legacy ensures that the history of the Anglo-Saxon people finds a place for itself within the overarching space of Church history. The saint remains among the people of Kent; he is now a part of their landscape as well as part of their inheritance of the Christian faith. It is the insistence on the geographical reality of both the island of Britain as a whole and the precise place of Canterbury as the burial place of the saint that renders the landscape in the text more than just a symbolic landscape for the illustration of Christian truths. The landscape of Britain is hallowed by *The Menologium*, as the physical reality of the land becomes a place within the sacred space of the Church.

The feast of St. Bartholomew is the only other saint's day associated with Britain in the text; it is celebrated 'in Brytene her' (here in Britain, line 155). As with the reference to *Twelfth Night*, the 'her' is an explicit indication that this is a text for, by, and about the island's people, and concerns their landscape alone. Bartholomew's only special connection with Britain appears to be the somewhat tenuous one that he was the guardian angel of St. Guthlac, sent by God to deliver Guthlac from the tormenting devils. The Old English poem *Guthlac* describes his intervention on Guthlac's behalf (lines 684-724). The reference to his status in Britain ensures that references to the island are scattered fairly regularly throughout the poem. Britain is mentioned by name in lines 14, 40, 98, 104, 155 and 230. Mention of Britain in connection with St. Bartholomew (line 155) fills the lengthy gap that would otherwise

ensue between its appearance in connection with St. Augustine and the final lines addressed directly to the audience (lines 104 and 230 respectively). The text carefully ensures that the island and landscape of Britain is never long absent from the narrative and hence from the consciousness of the audience.

The Menologium develops an understanding of the landscape of Britain as a physical reality which, by the operations of time and the mind of man, is recreated as a conceptual place of sacred symbolism. As a text, it gives equal weight to the saints' days, the seasons, the solstices, the months, and the equinoctial days. The landscape is static, accepting whatever is brought to it through the medium of time, as measured by each individual cycle. The seamless blending of different time schemata is centred on the island of Britain which thus becomes the focus of the Christian year: the interactive operations of time and the landscape function to structure the island as a particular place, hallowed by the commemorative Church cycle. *The Menologium* establishes the settled communal landscape of Britain as a specifically Christian place by means of the actions of time.

Conclusion.

Landscape relates time, place, and community to each other in these texts. It is purposive and enduring in *Durham*, water, stone, and wood uniting in defence of a community that is composed of Anglo-Saxon values and Northumbrian power. In *Durham* the active landscape holds a community of time in stasis. Landscape is not stable in *The Menologium* but constantly altering under the operations of time. The static element of the triumvirate here is the landscape, passively accepting whatever is visited upon it by the passage of time.

Durham uses the stability of landscape to make a community of time in a particular place. *The Menologium* makes a sacred community of a particular place

through the medium of time. Landscape is active in *Durham*, enclosing, containing, securing, protecting. It is static in *The Menologium*, times, seasons, months, come and go, arrive, bring, depart, are removed and seized from it. Empowering and passive, mutable and stable, landscape is the medium through which a community is positioned in place and time in both *Durham* and *The Menologium*. The differences in balance between these elements allows for a flexible understanding of the place-time continuum as it establishes, locates, and identifies a community through its landscape.

These four chapters have shown how the landscapes of Old English poetry facilitate a deeper understanding of the communities of earth as regards their structure and function. It is the arbiter of whether a community is properly constructed, or is imbalanced or under threat from an external other or correctly positioned in terms of both space and time. The final chapter will consider the landscapes of the extra-terrestrial worlds of heaven and hell and seek to show how landscape is the mode through which the concept of community that applies on earth is translated into the possibility of glory or degradation in the afterlife.

Chapter V.

LANDSCAPES OF THE WORD: HEAVEN AND HELL.

The other worlds of heaven and hell are mentioned frequently in Old English poetry, the delights of the one contrasting sharply with the unspeakable torments of the other. The landscape in these worlds which are beyond earthly sight is inevitably developed from the human mind, mediated by the culture in which it was produced. Many Old English poems contain references to both heaven and hell, but these are usually intended as either enticement or warning to the audience, whose ultimate fate will be to inhabit one of them. The texts are written by, to, about, and for, those living on earth; those for whom the promise of heaven and the threat of hell has significance to the conduct of their daily lives. So the references in most poems look forward to the future; the landscapes of heaven and hell are not present in the narrative 'now'.

The only poems that have narratives that are set, at least in part, in these regions are *Genesis*¹ and *Christ and Satan*. This chapter will argue that the understanding of heaven and hell in the Old English poetic corpus is based on conditions here on earth: the landscape in them is an expression of the cultural norms that understand society as defined and policed by its landscape. The cosmic struggle of good against evil is re-imagined in *Genesis* and *Christ and Satan* as a dispute over land and territory which is expressed in earthly, Anglo-Saxon, practical terminology. The unfailing strife between the forces of good and evil is predicated on a territorial challenge which results in the construction of a totally new landscape, that of hell. Further, the consequent polarity of heaven and hell is expressed through their respective landscapes as extensions of earthly communities wherein the concept of

¹ The poem known as *Genesis* is now thought to contain within it an interpolated version of the Old Saxon poem on the same subject, and the two are differentiated in some critical literature by the designations of *Genesis A* and *Genesis B*. Since the focus here, the landscapes of heaven and hell, does not significantly change from one to the other, the whole poem will be referred to simply as *Genesis* in this chapter.

what it means to be a community is taken to extremes: that of heaven being a community of ideal unity whilst that of hell is one of total disparity.

Heaven and hell provide for the extremes of right and wrong, in terms of location, function, space, and behaviour. Landscape is the medium for expressing the consequences of life on earth so that good deeds result in membership of a perfect community, one in which landscape is totally in accord with every other element and, by contrast, evil actions lead to incarceration in a society where all, including the landscape, is dysfunctional.

Dividing the cosmological landscape.

When considering the landscapes of these two other worlds, it is first necessary to acknowledge that there is a fundamental difference between them. In Christian doctrine, heaven exists, it always has, and always will. By contrast, the creation, purpose, and ultimate fate of hell are all addressed in the two poems, *Genesis* and *Christ and Satan* and therefore within a single manuscript, Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Junius 11. Finnegan has conjectured that the original plan for the manuscript was based on the ‘ages of man.’² The event which started the whole narrative, that is, the angelic rebellion, is re-visited in the final poem and this time brought to its ultimate conclusion. The power structures of heaven and hell and their depiction in terms of the boundaries and landscapes of both are the concerns of the individual poems with which the manuscript begins and ends: they ‘portray a warfare, expressed in terms of the Christian faith, between the powers of light and the powers of darkness.’³ The end of the manuscript is a return to the beginning and it is the addition of *Christ and Satan* which completes the circle.

² Robert Emmett Finnegan, *Christ and Satan: A Critical Edition* (Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1977), p. 11.

³ Charles W. Kennedy, *The Earliest English Poetry* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1948), p. 197.

Even given the inclusion of *Christ and Satan* as necessary to round off the cycle of history, the space devoted to the attempted rebellion of Satan and his followers and their subsequent incarceration in hell appears disproportionately large: *Genesis* 20-77, *Genesis* 246-440, and *Christ and Satan* 19-382 all deal with it in some way. These events are briefly referred to in biblical texts, such as Luke 10.18, where Christ says ‘I saw Satan like lightning fall from heaven’, but there they are allowed no more attention than that. The extended treatment accorded them in MS Junius 11 is particularly striking in that the Old Testament narratives in that collection of poems function as a prefiguring of the New in Christian exegetical tradition⁴ and the angelic rebellion does not sit comfortably in this scheme. ‘The poet’s job is to open the passage not only to the event, but to the true events behind it,’⁵ but in this case the ‘true events’, Satan’s antagonism and the resultant division of the cosmos, are at the forefront and, however much a part of the received Christian position they might be, they are not biblical texts requiring interpretation.

The significance accorded these narratives in Junius 11 may well lie in the extra-terrestrial nature of the episodes. The other Old Testament narratives in the Junius manuscript, *Exodus* and *Daniel*, deal with the history of mankind on earth; the narratives set in heaven and hell deal with the wider implications of this history in the cosmic scheme of things. The adversarial role of Satan in both *Genesis* and *Christ and Satan* is that of a challenger to the perceptions of power in his own society of heaven and an important element in this is that power is presented in terms of land; power in heaven comes from possession of land, just as it does on earth. Implicit in the portrayal of the angelic rebellion is the same underlying understanding of the communities on earth: there is a right place and function for Lucifer in heaven and by

⁴ See Doane, 1978, pp. 38-58; Hall, 2002, pp. 26-41; Huppe, 1959; Remley, 1996, pp. 49-66; Shepherd, 1966, pp. 22-3 for a more detailed examination of this tradition.

⁵ A. N. Doane, *Genesis A: a New Edition* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1978), p. 51.

his hunger for power he perverts the hierarchical nature of his own society. The position of Satan in regard to the landscape of heaven can be understood as an exemplar for mankind regarding their own attitude to God, that is, joyful service not greedy independence; such an attitude has implications for man beyond earthly confines, just as it had for Satan who was always beyond them.

Very little critical attention has been paid to the landscape of heaven as it was before the attempted rebellion by Lucifer. In part this is because the poems themselves do not dwell on it. Heaven is a land of unimaginable joys, undefined because indefinable. There are brief references to heaven in many of the texts which comprise the surviving Old English poetic corpus, but these are either in relation to it as the ultimate hope of humanity or as the abode of God and always consider heaven as it is now, after the creation of both hell and earth. The opening sequences of *Genesis*, which are the only lines in the poetic corpus that relate to the earlier situation of heaven are concerned with the rebellious angels and their fate far more than they are with the heaven from which the rebels were expelled, and, of course, any mention of it otherwise, in this and other poems, is as it is after the rebellion. These are, for the most part, references that reinforce the Christian tenets of belief in contexts that are not concerned with detail. In fact, any detail that is there is essentially typological in Christian terms.

The only detail of heaven as it was before the angelic rebellion is in *Genesis*:

Heagum þrymmum

soðfæst and swiðfeorm sweglbosmas heold,

þa wæron gesette wide and side

þurh geweald Godes wuldres bearnum,

gasta weardum.

(the righteous and abundant in might, in high glory he ruled the bosom of the skies, which were fixed far and wide through the might of God, for the sons of glory, guardians of spirits, lines 8-12). There are several points to be noted about the nature of the language used here. The unique compound, 'sweglbošmas' for heaven brings together the ideas of the height of the sky with the concept of enclosure in terms of safety and closeness; that the heavens are held securely by God is reinforced subliminally by the inclusion of 'fæst' as the latter element of 'soðfæst.' The lines present the landscape of heaven as one in which truth with power and security are united in the firm hold of God. Frank has commented on the paronomasia in the opening lines of *Genesis*:

The Old English poet opens his work not with the first verse of the Book of Genesis but with a threefold play on "word":

Us is right micel þæt we rodera *weard*, *wereda* wuldorcining,
wordum herigen (*Gen*1-2) [It is our great duty to praise in
words the Guardian of Heaven, the Glorious King of Hosts]
His triple paronomasia seems to be trying to persuade us that the
poet's literary and Christian purposes are one, that nothing could be
more natural or right in English than the *weard*, king of *weroda*,
should be praised in *wordum*.⁶

The wordplay in lines ten to twelve of the poem relies on a continuation of this paronomasia with a heavier reliance on the alliterative possibilities.

The running alliterative patterning of 'wide', 'geweald', 'wuldres', and 'weardum', extending as it does over three lines, brings together different aspects of the heavenly kingdom. Guardianship, rule, and glory are linked with the expanse where they operate, so that these fundamental elements of heaven are also the constituents of the landscape. It is a land where form and content are combined and this is demonstrated by the unity of form and content in the text. These lines relate back to the paronomasia of the opening lines to extend the union of words and

⁶ Roberta Frank, 'Some Uses of Paronomasia in Old English Scriptural Verse', in *The Poems of MS Junius 11*, ed. by R. M. Liuzza (London: Routledge, 2002), pp. 69-98, p. 13.

purpose to the union of form, extent, and content that is the landscape of heaven.

Heaven is a space of glory held safely in the embrace of God. Satan seeks to divide this space, quite literally. The landscape of heaven is the cause of Satan's attempt at rebellion, as changes to that landscape are the object: his desire is for a place that is his own, a specified territory within heaven. Hell is created as a result of the failure of Satan and his followers, but the creation of hell necessarily creates boundaries for heaven where none have existed before. Hence, landscape is not only the cause of the strife in heaven but also the result of it. The angelic conflict arises out of a concern with territorial power and autonomy which results in the limitation of lands within the cosmos.

Satan's ambitions are to impose divisions, since according to *Genesis* he and his followers:

Hæfdon gielp micel
þæt hie wið drihtne dælan meahton
wuldorfæstan wic werodes þrymme
sid and swegltorht.

(had great arrogance, that they might divide with God the glorious town, by the power of the host, wide and heaven-bright, lines 25-28). The definite split in the concept of heaven from a singular to a composite entity comes with 'dælan meahton' (might divide, line 26). 'Dælan' can mean to share as well as to divide, but even sharing usually involves some division into "yours" and "mine". The true nature of Satan's ambitions is signified precisely a few lines later 'he on norðdæle / ham and heahsetl heofona rices / agan wolde' (he desired to possess home and highseat in the northern part of the kingdom of heaven, lines 32-34). The use of 'agan' rules out any possibility of sharing the rule of heaven; Satan's desire is for autonomy, for an

establishment of his own.

The landscape of heaven is here a 'wic'. 'Wic' has several possible shades of meaning and when it is used of earthly places these are usually definable by context. The common thread that unites these finer shades of meaning is that they refer to an inhabited, made place, with structures. For instance in *Exodus*, when the Hebrews are journeying through the desert and pitch their tents by the shores of the Red Sea it is the fourth time they have done so and the poem puts it thus 'þa wæs feorðe wic' (that was the fourth encampment, line 133). Here 'wic' is clearly the tented village that was established for the night. 'Wic' may be a single dwelling or a collection of them but it does always have connotations of habitation and making. In the context of earth and humanity it is something imposed on the landscape. A 'wic' is a human construct, physically as well as mentally. In this context it is the place made to be the home of the heavenly community, but it is a place with all that that implies, in the human mind, of other places.

This desire of Satan for land of his own is expressed even more emphatically later in the same text:

Pohte þurh his anes cræft

hu he him strenglicran stol geworhte,
heahran on heofonum; cwæð þæt hine his hige speone
þæt he west and norð wyrcean ongunne,
trymede getimbro; cwæð him tweo þuhte
þæt he gode wolde geongra weorðan.

(he thought how, through his singular skill, he would make himself a stronger seat,
higher in the heavens; said that his heart persuaded him that he should begin to make
preparation for building in the west and north; said that to him it seemed doubtful that

he wished to remain a vassal to God, lines 272-277). Landscape is the central focus of Satan's ambitions. Heaven is a single entity, a unity, it is a singular whole as God has designed it, but Satan by his desire for autonomy is attempting to turn it into something which approaches the earthly idea of a kingdom or a federation. That is, a place that has different owners for specified parts, comprising individually owned sections which have their own boundaries and internal rules: an entity which is a composite whole. Ironically, it is Satan's attempt to alter heaven that brings its environs into slightly sharper focus.

This passage is instrumental in turning the wide, long, shining, whole-sky-embracing singular space of the heavens as described above in *Genesis* lines eight to twelve into a place. By introducing the concept of compass points the poem reorders the formless space of the earlier 'sweglbosmas' into relational space, definable by both distance and direction. The even glory of the heavenly landscape now has direction; since 'dæl' can refer to depths as well as portions, and Satan is desirous of a 'heahsetl', it has the beginnings of topography. Direction, height and depth impose control on the idea of the heavenly landscape as surely as Satan wishes to impose actual physical control. Thus, the concept of movement from one to the other, once the idea of naming different parts of the space is introduced, becomes possible. These directions in themselves depend on interrelated referencing: the idea of 'north' is meaningless unless there is a corresponding 'south'. Naming parts of a place ultimately depends on the relationships of those places with each other; they exist only in reference to other places, but this in turn implies the existence of space between places. Michelet sees the Anglo-Saxon concept of space as defined in terms of in or out – whether kingdom, place, city, religious community or the Christian faith – and boundaries are central to this idea, since the possibility of in or out only appears

with demarcation, whether this be physical or mental: ‘the opposition inside/outside is foregrounded’.⁷ The relational space that is now a feature of the cosmos therefore has the concept of boundaries inherent within it.

The directional landscape of north and west enables *Genesis* to infer the dark side of Satan’s ambitions. In the exegetical tradition these carry a somewhat deeper significance than mere directions. North is associated, in the Christian tradition, with the attributes of darkness and evil. In Jeremiah, for instance, the north is consistently the source of evil and destruction: ‘and the Lord said to me: from the north shall an evil break forth upon all the inhabitants of the land’ (1:14) and ‘strengthen yourselves, stay not: for I bring evil from the north and great destruction’ (4:6). There are other instances throughout much of the Old Testament. The development and occurrences of this sinister aspect of the north are referred to by Doane⁸ and have been examined exhaustively by Salmon and Hill. Salmon identifies mention of the north in these terms in the writings of Tertullian, Jerome, Augustine, Gregory the Great, Isidore, Lactantius, and Paterius.⁹ Hill adds Bede, the *Visio Pauli* and the *Life of Wilfrid* by Eddius Stephanus to the list as well as the Old Irish *Leabhar Breac*.¹⁰ It is also present in the Norse tradition: the hall dripping with venom on ‘dead body shore’ has a north-facing door in *Völuspá* and the friendly hall that Rig comes to has a south-facing door in *Rígsþula*.¹¹

In these references, however, there is little connection with Satan and the north that is overt and explicit. Lactantius, for example, in his *Divine Institutes* is concerned

⁷ Fabienne Michelet, *Creation, Migration and Conquest* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 24. See also Britt Mize, ‘The Representation of the Mind as an Enclosure in Old English Poetry’, *Anglo-Saxon England* 35 (2006), pp. 57-89 on the Anglo-Saxon concept of the mind as an enclosed space.

⁸ A. N. Doane, *The Saxon Genesis* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1991), p. 261.

⁹ Paul Salmon, ‘The Site of Lucifer’s Throne’, *Anglia*, 81 (1963), 118-123, pp. 119, 121, 122.

¹⁰ Thomas D. Hill, ‘Some Remarks on “The Site of Lucifer’s Throne”’, *Anglia*, 87 (1969), 302-311, pp. 305, 306, 307, 310.

¹¹ Ursula Dronke, ed. and trans, *The Poetic Edda vol. II* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1997), pp. 17 and 186.

with the way in which the world and firmament which is God's handiwork functions as a type of the right way and purposes of God in its daily operations. In this exposition, the east is associated with God because it is the source of day, light, and warmth while the west is opposed to it, being the source of darkness and cold. The north is linked with the west because of its geographical associations with darkness and cold while the south is associated with the east similarly, the link being light and warmth which are the sources of life. Neither is it an entirely consistent tradition; Hill points out that Bede's account of Drythelm sees him transported to the northeast for his vision of hell and this is also the location of Satan's ambitions in the Old Irish text.¹² The combination of 'west and norð' (*Genesis* line 275a) is unparalleled as a collocation in this context.¹³ From the ideas of Lactantius referred to above, however, it is not an unlikely one and certainly what evidence there is appears to bear out the contention that 'there is indeed no patristic support for locating Lucifer's throne anywhere but in the north.'¹⁴

The idea that north and west are undesirable compass points, by contrast with the desirable south and east, is apparently taken as a given in Old English poetry. *Genesis* implicitly locates hell in the west since one of the torments it suffers is an icy wind from the east 'cymeð on uhtan easterne wind' (there comes at daybreak an east wind, line 315). The devil authenticates his origins as coming from God to Eve by saying that it is a message that 'he easten hider/ on þysne sið sendeð' (he hither sent from the east on this journey, lines 55-56), while a little later in the same poem, in her falsely enhanced vision after eating the apple, Eve sees God in the 'suð ond east' (south and east, line 667). *Christ* describes the incandescent light of God coming on Judgement Day from the 'supaneastan' (south-east, line 900) while Christ himself

¹² Hill, p. 305.

¹³ Doane, *Saxon Genesis*, p. 261.

¹⁴ Salmon, p. 120.

then comes 'eastan from roderum' (from easterly skies, line 906). Clearly, to any audience with knowledge of the exegetical background of Christian teaching the inclusion of the north and west in *Genesis* would have meaning beyond that of simple direction; any 'detail which is both traditional and adds verisimilitude is significant'.¹⁵

To an audience without such knowledge of the scholastic tradition these directions could also have meanings which were both traditional and based on experience. *The Wanderer* speaks of the battering storms and darkness that come from the north 'on andan' (with malice, line 105). This last reference also calls up the practical associations that the north had for an Anglo-Saxon. It was the source of the icy blasts of winter, with all that that brings with it in the way of darkness, cold, and additional difficulties and unpleasant conditions for daily life. England has sea on its eastern and southern sides: the north and west have borders beyond which, in Anglo-Saxon times, were the unsubdued Picts and Britons and were therefore a perennial source of conflict. The connection between west and north with menace and unpleasantness in Anglo-Saxon culture is therefore easily understood. In addition, Rome and Jerusalem, those sources of the light of learning, the Christian faith, and also the location of the seat of the Pope, are to the south and east of England. To a less well-educated audience the inclusion of the west and north would therefore have significance and implications, while to those accustomed to an exegetical understanding of texts it would provide a natural reinforcement of the received position of Christian tradition.

The directional references of *Genesis* impose an earthly understanding onto the proposed changes to the landscape of heaven; darkness, cold, and malice are implicated in the site of Satan's choice. *Christ and Satan*, while not including the

¹⁵ Hill, p. 310.

compass points of *Genesis* does emphasise the intention to alter the appearance of the heavenly landscape. The phrase ‘agan wolde’ occurs again (wished to possess, line 369) and he ‘wolde in heofonum hehseld wyrcean’ (wished to build a highseat in the heavens, line 371). In this he is usurping the creative function of God. By building his own highseat Satan will signify more than a simple alteration in what is there, visibly, on the ground; he will fundamentally alter the hierarchy of heaven. In *Genesis* he specifies a ‘godlecran stol/ hearran on heofne’ (a more splendid seat, higher in heaven, lines 281-282). If Satan’s plans were to come to fruition, the result would be not merely a new building in the landscape of heaven, but the sudden appearance of an alternative power.

This alternative power is expressed in terms of height, physical as well as psychological. In *Genesis*, Satan aspires to a ‘heahsetl’ (high seat, line 33), and a seat that is ‘heahran on heofonum’ (higher in the heavens, line 274) and in *Christ and Satan* he intends to ‘heofonum hehseld wyrcean’ (make a highseat in the heavens, line 372). The emphasis on height is a further indication of his temerity since the landscape of height is associated, in biblical exegesis, with the lofty heights of the sublime truth of God’s law and word. Bede in *De tabernaculo* expounds on this in his commentary on the book of Exodus 24:12-17, relating the significance of Moses going up the mountain to receive the tablets of the law to Christ instructing his disciples on the heights in the gospels, ‘so that it might be evident even from the topography of the place that he was giving them lofty things’ and ‘the Lord gave the precepts of both the law and the gospel on a mountain, so that he might in this way commend the sublimity of both testaments’.¹⁶ In aspiring to a ‘heahsetl’ that is ‘heahran in heofonum’ Satan is implicitly seeking to establish a higher law on

¹⁶Arthur G. Holder, ed. and trans., Bede, *On the Tabernacle* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1994), p. 2.

symbolically higher ground. The physical site of his intended home is an external signifier of the heights of power to which he aspires. In the immediate context of the poem the 'heahsetl' also provides an ironic contrast with the 'deop' (deep, line 40) into which Satan is exiled only a few lines later.

The enormity of Satan's desire for power against God in Christian terms, is paralleled by its significance in terms of the heroic ethos, developed in a pagan culture, which is present throughout the corpus of Old English poetry. These two approaches, the Christian and the heroic, are successfully combined in *Genesis*:

integration of old and new systems of belief is well demonstrated in poems like the Old English poetic *Genesis*, where the Old Testament God effortlessly assumes not only the attributes of the ideal Anglo-Saxon lord who protects and rewards his thegns, but also the attributes of the Anglo-Saxon hero.¹⁷

Heroes, in this sense, are always heroes of their community, they belong to a particular society; the age of the maverick outlaw doing heroic deeds and righting wrongs while simply passing through has not yet dawned.

The community was the central axis around which heroic life revolved. While it is true that a faithful and senior retainer could hope to be given land, in both the Anglo-Saxon heroic ethos of the poetic corpus and in the actuality as shown by the surviving charters, the crucial point is that it is a gift within the lord's power, not a right. Beowulf is rewarded with land by Hygelac but only after Beowulf has made over to him the gifts he received from Hrothgar (*Beowulf* lines 2144-2151 and 2194-2196). Satan, in not only claiming land he has not been given but also seeking autonomy instead of remaining a loyal member of the 'duguð', offends against the conventions of heroic society. In this type of society, the community is presented as a place where the code is 'of immutable certitude... one's place is defined and one's

¹⁷ Jennifer Neville, *Representations of the Natural World in Old English Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 149.

obligations are clear' and so 'life outside the ordered society has neither attraction nor meaning'.¹⁸ To break it therefore, to shatter the conventions and seek to fundamentally alter the power structures and relationships, is to destroy the central tenet on which society is based; it is the most heinous of crimes.

The alterations that Satan plans to make to the heavenly environs will have precisely this effect; it is not simply that he is looking for control over one small part of heaven. By aspiring to total control of his own, on his own terms, in his own place, he is destroying the fundamental basis of the heavenly community. In *Christ and Satan* the rebellious leader speaks of his ambitions to control the land: 'þæt ic wolde towioerpan wuldres leoman/ bearn helendes, agan me burga gewald/ eall to æhte' (that I might blot out the light of glory, the son of the Saviour, have for myself control of the towns, all the land in possession, lines 85-87). Satan has offended against the heroic ethos by a failure of loyalty; in his desire to alter the landscape he is seeking to break the bonds of the communal structure. By relating his ambitions to the acquisition of land the texts convey to the audience that Satan's desire is inherently wrong in terms of both Christian understanding and earthly, Anglo-Saxon values. Landscape is the fundamental cause of the angelic rebellion; Satan's desire for autonomy is expressed as relational to the landscape.

Satan has offended against the conventions by asserting rights over the landscape which threaten the sovereignty of God, and God responds with the anger which is only to be expected of a supreme ruler thus challenged. Neville, analysing *Genesis* 51b-64, compares the attitudes and actions of God to those of Beowulf; both are enraged, grasp enemies firmly with a strong hand, avenge insults. She concludes that:

¹⁸ Hugh Magennis, *Images of Community in Old English Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 105.

However inappropriate the martial vocabulary of traditional poetry may appear to modern critics in other contexts, in this case the triumphant power of the Old Testament God functions comfortably within poetic language and formulae apparently designed for secular heroes. The poem retains intact and uncontradicted both the Christian dogma of the fall of the angels and the conventions of Germanic heroism.¹⁹

The hunger for land, the desire for autonomy, and the grasping at power are as undesirable in terms of the tenets of Christian belief as they are in relation to earthly kingdoms. Changing the power structures by altering the landscape and imposing boundaries offends against both the individual ruler and the structure of society in earthly as well as heavenly contexts.

The situation as presented in the text that deals in detail with the rebellion in heaven, namely *Genesis*, is precisely that as presented in terms of kingship in *Maxims I*: ‘cýning biþ anwealdes georn;/ lað se þe londes monað, leof se þe mare beodeð’ (a king is desirous of power; hateful [is] the one who claims land, dear is the one who offers more, lines 57-8). Kingship, power, and authority go with the possession of land, so Satan’s urge for power is presented as a hunger for land of his own and the concomitant response of God is that of any earthly king. In *Genesis* ‘heofona heahcýning honda arærde/ hehste wið þam herge’ (the high-king of heaven raised his most powerful hand against that army, lines 50-51) and ‘grap on wraðe/ faum folmum and him on fæðm gebræc’ (seized [them] in anger with hostile hands and broke them in his grasp, lines 61-2). The reaction of God in these lines is a physical one; the rebellion is put down by force. It is the reaction of any earthly leader to a usurper attempting to seize control of his land. Christian understanding and the tenets of heroic action unite in a physical rather than spiritual response to a threat to God’s own land.

¹⁹ Neville, pp. 150-151.

Further, he banishes the traitors, again with physical violence, and expels them from his land, ‘hine on helle wearp/ on þa deopan dala’ (threw him into hell, into that deep abyss, lines 304-305). The concept of exile was a familiarly horrifying one to any Anglo-Saxon. To be without the support and comfort of a community is misery according to *Maxims I* ‘earn biþ se þe sceal ana lifgan’ (wretched is he who must live alone, line 172): while the narrator of *Resignation* makes a more explicit connection with land when he attributes his sufferings to his exile state ‘forþon ic afysed eom/ earn of minum eple’ (therefore I am wretched, driven from my homeland, lines 89-90). Those on the losing side in any conflict in Anglo-Saxon England suffered this fate. Oslac, in *The Death of Edgar* is expelled and ‘hama bereafod’ (deprived of home, line 28) and *The Death of Edward* relates how Edward in his youth was ‘lande bereafod/ wunode wræclastum wide geond eorðan’ (deprived of land, lived in the exile-paths throughout the wide world, lines 16-17). The action of God on the discovery of the treachery of Satan in *Genesis* is in similar vein to those earthly rulers; he ‘sceop þam werlogan/ wræcligne ham’ (made for that traitor a home in exile, lines 36-37). Hell is a landscape of exile.

The landscape of the cosmos provides for a spatial relationship between heaven and hell. Satan is exiled ‘on þa deopan dala þær he to deofle wearð / se feond mid geferum eallum’ (into that deep dale where he became a devil, the fiend with all his companions, 305-306a). The extent of the fall from heaven and the impossibility of return is given force by the ‘deopan dala’ and is expressed also in physical terms by ‘feollon þa ufon of heofonum/ þurhlonge swa þreo niht and dagas’ (they fell from above in heaven continually through three days and nights, line 307). The distance that they fall downwards is symbolic of their estrangement from God: ‘all relationships are vertical, running from above to below; all beings are distributed on

various planes according to their degree of perfection which depends on their relative proximity to God.²⁰ The aspiration of Satan for autonomy was expressed earlier in terms of height, the response of God and the consequent punishment of his erring follower is considered by the texts only in relation to depths, the correspondent symbolical landscape of failure and ignominy.

The complete separation of the rebellious angels from the ideals of heaven, mentally, spiritually and emotionally, is shown not by any attempt to penetrate and describe the internal workings of the mind but by external, physical circumstances. The distance between heaven and hell is symbolic of the differences of mind and morals which divide them. The space that now intervenes between heaven and hell is transformative space, altering the nature of the beings exposed to it. This is reinforced by the text making it quite clear that when they left heaven they were all angels: ‘Feollon...þa englas of heofonum to helle and heo ealle forsceop / drihten to deoflum’ (those angels fell from heaven to hell and the Lord changed them all into devils, 306-309a). The antagonism between God and Satan is expressed in terms of land, originating in an attempt to alter the landscape of heaven. Landscape is the means by which *Genesis* and *Christ and Satan* present the root cause of the enmity between good and evil.

The land that results from the failed rebellion is, in fact, what Satan desired from the outset, a place and a land of his own. It is, however, with the irony that characterises so much of Old English poetry, presented in terms that correspond with the relationship of earthly communities to their own land. Landscape and community on earth, as shown in the preceding chapters, are closely bound together: landscape is the medium through which the mental, physical, or psychological state of the

²⁰ A. J. Guarevich, *Categories of Medieval Culture*, trans. by G. L. Campbell (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1985), p. 70.

community it supports is both displayed and altered. Satan, a disaffected malcontent, is made master of a land whose most consistent characteristic is disunity.

Disunited: the landscape of hell.

The horrors of hell are constructed by God in *Genesis* in a way which endows them with embryonic animation: ‘heht þa geond þæt rædleas hof/ weaxan witebrogan’ (then he commanded the tormenting dread to flourish throughout that miserable enclosure, lines 44-45). Later in the same text Satan sees the landscape of hell as an antagonist: ‘ic a ne geseah/ laðran landscepe’ (I never saw a land more loathsome, lines 375-376).²¹ As the heaven that Satan was expelled from is an embodiment of unity in the glory and power of God’s word so hell is an inversion of this, an entity that under instructions from God becomes the foe of God’s foes. There is a further ironic twist in *Genesis* in that God gives to Satan his heart’s desire, autonomy over his own realm, but it is over the hostile landscape of hell, ‘het hine þære sweartan helle/ grundes gyman’ (commanded him to take charge of that black deep of hell, lines 345-346). The desire for a homeland is a counterbalance to the fear of exile throughout the Old English poetic corpus; in these lines *Genesis* subtly compounds them, so that what Satan rules over is his own land, but it is a landscape of hostility: he is effectively in exile in his homeland.

The landscape of hell is an ironic, parodic, inversion of the landscape of heaven. Just as the landscapes of heaven reveal its true nature to be one of harmonious singularity (see below), so the landscapes of hell display the essence of hell to be one of dissonance. The landscape of hell, in contrast to that of heaven, is one of disparity, contradiction, and disunity. It combines features that should not be found in combination, either naturally or conceptually, so in *Genesis* it is ‘geondfolen fyre and

²¹ For the meaning of ‘landscape’ as ‘a state of being land’ see Introduction, pp 14-15.

færcyle' (filled with fire and intense cold, line 43) and in *Christ and Satan* it is composed of 'cyle and fyr' (cold and fire, line 334). *Judgement Day II* is more graphic in the union of these elements: 'se þrosma lig and se þrece gicela/ swiðe hat and ceald' (the fire of smoke and the force of ice, extremely hot and cold, lines 192-193). The darkness of hell, which is symbolic of the darkness of mind and situation of the inhabitants, is not lit up by the flames in *Genesis* where it is composed of 'brand and brade ligas/ swilce eac þa biteran recas/ þrosm and þystro' (fire and broad flames also, moreover, bitter smoke, vapour and darkness, lines 325-326), the latter echoed in the 'sweartan mistas' (black mists, line 391).

Christ and *Elene* compound the elements of water and fire in the term 'fyrbæð' (firebath, lines 830 and 948 respectively). *Elene* also uses 'bæð' of the sea in the 'bæðweg' (sea-road, line 244) that her ships travel over on their journey, and is not alone in using 'bæð' in this way; hence the landscape of hell can be seen not as a confined container of fire but as a vast expanse of either liquid fire or flaming water. *The Whale* relates how the devil will take any tempted and captured souls to hell where is a 'grundleasne wylm/ under mistglome' (groundless turbulence beneath misty twilight, lines 46-47). The landscape is one of uncertainty, it is murky and shifting, containing nothing that is clear, sure or positive. It is disconcerting and disquieting by its ominous vagueness. Satan complains, in *Christ and Satan*, that in hell 'flor is on welme/ attre onæled' (the floor is billowing with burning poison, lines 39-40). Something that has connotations of firmness and flatness is here moving and unstable. The elements combine unnaturally to form the landscape of hell.

The idea of a floor of course, represents an interior landscape, and hell combines in its landscape the discomforts of the external world within what should be the protective embrace of the hall. There are evenings by the fireside in hell, the

earthly ideal of ease, companionship, laughter and warmth. *The Rune Poem* describes how there is ‘plega and hlehter/ ðær wigan sittap/ on beorsele bliþe ætsomne’ (sport and laughter when men sit cheerful together in the beerhall, lines 38-40), and the fire of torches ‘byrneþ oftust/ ðær hi æþelingas inne restap’ (burns always where nobles rest themselves indoors, lines 17-18). In *Genesis*, this life of comfort and relaxation is parodied in hell: there are evenings but they are ‘ungemet lange’ (immoderately long, line 313) with ‘fyr edneowe’ (renewed fire, line 314), but it is the fire of torture and there is an unpleasant dawn to follow: ‘þonne cymeð on uhtan easterne wind/ forst fyrnum cald’ (then comes in the dawn an east wind, frost with tormenting cold, lines 315-316). Wind, part of the outside world, is here part of the interior features of the hall, as it is in *Christ and Satan*. The two occurrences of the ‘windsele’ (windhall, lines 319 and 384) have been discussed in the introduction, but it is also a ‘windige sele’ (windy hall, line 135). Conceptually, the exterior landscape is brought within the building, so that there is no aspect of earthly life that is not brought into unnatural conjunction in hell.

The rebellious ones were sent ‘niðer under nessas in ðone neowlan grund’ (down beneath the headlands into that deep-down ground, lines 31 and 90) in *Christ and Satan*, so that the structure of the text here again forces into association another opposition, this time of heights and depths. The alliterative association of ‘niðer, nessas, neowlan’ brings the words into a lexical unity which is denied by the opposition of their meanings, depth to height to depth. The form of the text is at variance with the content and this creates a fundamental contradiction in a way that evokes the essential disunity of the hellish landscape without resorting to actual description. The landscape is created in the text by the juxtaposition of words that force the audience to conjoin things for themselves that do not naturally co-exist so

that the words in the poem become the instrument of creation.

Many references to hell in the Old English poetic corpus contain some mention of depth. These are, as shown above, literal depths; the degradation of the rebels is proportional to the iniquity of their intent, and the moral depths to which they have sunk are demonstrated symbolically by the physical extent of their fall. The ambitions of Satan were centred on height, aspiring to a high seat and to be higher in heaven, both physically and psychologically. Height is, however, what he loses through those ambitions; in *Genesis* ‘þa wearð se mihtiga gebolgen/ hehsta heofones waldend, wearp hine of þan hean stole’ (then was the mighty highest lord of heaven angered, threw him from the high seat, lines 299-300). The high ground, in both the physical and the metaphorical sense, has been reclaimed by God, who is the rightful ruler. The landscape of hell is one that contrasts with heaven in its topography as well as its content. In creating the landscape of hell as one comprised principally of depths the texts have given physical form to Satan’s offence in both codes of behaviour, Christian and Anglo-Saxon heroic.

The walls of heaven are there to protect and safeguard that which is within them, as shown above. They deny ingress to those who do not have the key of understanding with which to unlock the gates. One of the homiletic asides in *Christ and Satan* is specific about the need for spiritual understanding:

Deman we on eorðan, æror lifigend,
onlucan mid listum locan waldendes,
ongeotan gastlice.

(beforehand while living on earth let us think to unlock with skill the lock of the ruler, let us understand [this] spiritually, lines 298-300). The importance of a spiritual understanding is emphasised by the form of the text which itself requires to be

understood metaphorically; Finnegan notes that ‘the play on the words “onlucan” and “locan”, l. 299, is particularly felicitous.’²² The walls of hell, by inversion, are to confine and restrain. In *Elene* and *Juliana* hell is an ‘engan ham’ (constricted home, lines 920 and 322 respectively) and in *Genesis* is an ‘ænga styde’ (constricted place, line 356). All three of these references are in direct speeches by Satan himself or one of his fellow devils. The landscapes of hell are a parodic inversion of those of heaven by their narrow confines which provide a direct contrast with the broad, wide, open spaces of heaven.

The imprisoning nature of the landscape of hell is portrayed most graphically in *Christ and Satan*. The emphasis there is directed at the later failure of what in *Genesis* is presented as the sole achievement of Satan. At his instigation one of his followers has contrived the downfall of Adam and Eve and the devils therefore depart from the text of *Genesis* on a note of triumph. In *Christ and Satan*, however, that victory is destroyed after Christ’s crucifixion by his sole appearance in hell, from which he liberates the righteous. The most likely source for this is the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, ‘an apocryphal composition originally written in Greek, probably before the fifth century, and subsequently done into Latin.’²³ It was clearly popular in Anglo-Saxon England, since three manuscripts survive which contain the text in Old English.²⁴ *Christ and Satan* expands considerably on the *Gospel*, making it an episode full of drama, noise and conflict.²⁵ Christ arrives with avenging fury, invading hell, breaking in: ‘þa him egða becom / dyne for deman þa he duru in helle / bræc and begde’ (then horror came to them [the devils] the din before the Judge when he

²²Finnegan, p. 104.

²³Finnegan, p. 49.

²⁴ These are: Cambridge University Library MS li. II. 11; British Museum Cotton Vitellius A XV and Cotton Vespasian D XIV.

²⁵ For a discussion of whether the *Gospel* was the immediate source and differing critical opinions on this point see Finnegan, pp. 49-50.

shattered and bowed down the doors to hell, 378b-380a). As with the expulsion from heaven there is nothing spiritual about these events; Christ violently and physically attacks the stronghold of his enemy, and land is the focus of his actions. Judgement Day, the end of all things, is paralleled with the rebellion in heaven, which was the beginning of history, by being focussed on an antagonism over land. The triumph of Christ is presented in terms of earthly invasion of territory. Satan cannot keep his own boundaries secure against the resolute determination of Christ to rescue his people. As the lord of hell, in earthly terms he is a failure, since he has been forcibly invaded by Christ, his defences shattered.

Landscape is also the instrument for the final degradation and punishment of the devils. Christ thrusts them further down into hell: ‘heo furðor sceaf / in þæt neowle genip’ (he thrust them further into that deep/low darkness, 443b-444a). The continual emphasis throughout the manuscript on the contrast between the heights of heaven and the depths of hell is brought out again. However deep the ‘deopan dala’ of *Genesis* 305, into which the rebels originally fell, there are still further depths in hell. Going further in and further down are the only directional possibilities available to the denizens of hell. The groundless nature of the hellish landscape is bottomless in its horror and confining possibilities.

Hell is not invaded by Christ in the usual sense of invasion as applied to earthly kingdoms. On earth the invader seeks to destroy the heartland of a place: that part of the landscape which is the central focus for the community. There are instances of this even within the poetic corpus; Beowulf destroys both Grendel’s mother and the dragon in their own lairs, and his encounter with Grendel is during the latter’s invasion of Heorot, the hall that is at the centre of the community of the Danes. The situation is different in the extra-terrestrial land that is hell. Christ does

not dispossess the owners and rulers of it, nor does he take it for his own. The inhabitants of hell are impelled towards the centre of their domain: they are pushed in not out. The vanquished are confined within the heartlands of their place and the boundary recedes from them instead of being brought closer. Its landscape is not to be sacked, looted, pillaged, burnt, ruined, or suffer any of the usual earthly fates. In a complete reversal of earth-bound invasive practice, the enemy is not to be captured, overrun, dispossessed, exiled or annihilated. The sole difference is that it is despoiled of its captives; hell is otherwise left unchanged, its power base unaltered, its inhabitants confined in the same land and boundaries they had before, but simply ‘lower down’.

This will be the ultimate position of hell at Judgement Day and ever afterwards. Landscape, in the form of height versus depth, is the basis of differentiating between good and evil: ‘from our medieval Christian ancestors we have inherited a directional prejudice that connotes “up” as positive and “down” as negative.’²⁶ The poem *Christ* describes how the limits of hell will then be fixed for all eternity:

ðonne halig gæst helle biluceð
 morþorhusa mæst þurh meaht godes
 fyres fylle ond feonda here
 cyninges worde.

(then the Holy Spirit will lock up hell, greatest of houses of torment, full of fire and the army of devils, through the might of God and at the word of the King, 1623-1623a).

The nature of hell is such that remaining in a landscape which is unchanged is the

²⁶ Paul C. Bauschatz, *The Well and the Tree* (Massachusetts: University of Massachusetts Press, 1982), p. 25.

worst fate that can befall its citizens.

The words of God are conspicuously absent from the texts of both *Genesis* and *Christ and Satan* when God is instructing either Satan or the landscape itself, the content alone is reported in the narrative voice. This distances the audience, as it does the rebels, from the Godhead and enables the texts to focus on the landscape of hell through the immediacy of the direct speeches of those who inhabit hell. This effect is part of the textual structure since a large proportion of the descriptions of hell are in direct speech. The portion of *Genesis* devoted to the angelic rebellion and the events in Eden which finish with the speech of the tempter after his success with Adam and Eve runs from line one to line seven hundred and sixty-five, of which one hundred and thirty-four lines are in direct speech. These speeches, moreover, are either by Satan himself or the lesser devil sent to Eden, so they can be construed as authentic accounts of hell by those who have experienced it within the context of the poem.

In *Christ and Satan* the proportions are even more striking. Something over half of the poem is set in hell, up to the incursion by Christ in line 378. This part has one hundred and seventy-three lines of direct speech in it, by both Satan and the other devils which are authenticated not only by the context of the poem but by the narrator specifically: ‘ðā get ic furðor gefregen feond ondetan’ (then I further heard the fiends confess, line 223). In burying these descriptions of hell in direct speech within the poem the form of the words becomes also the expression of hell, part of the description in itself. The words are not those of the narrator directly addressing the audience but a speech within a speech, or, in the written context, a text within a text. Descriptions of hell are indirect, channelled through the third party of the narrative voice, buried in a second layer of reporting; in this way they become what they are describing, deep within the layers of text as Satan is deep within the abyss of hell. In

addition to the unnaturally combined features mentioned above, hell is consistently referred to in terms of depth; it is deep as well as dark. In *Genesis* it is ‘deop’ (deep, line 40), and a ‘deopan dala’ (deep gorge, lines 305 and 421). *Christ and Satan* calls it ‘atole scræf’ (horrible pit, lines 26, 73, and 128) and ‘laðe scræf’ (loathsome pit, line 724), in addition to the ‘niðer under nessas in ðone neowlan grund’ phrase discussed above. So in relating the events and references to the landscape of hell predominantly in direct speech the poem provides a verbal landscape of depth. The words are within the speech within the text, a double layering of reporting; if the poem was delivered orally then they would equally be a speech within a speech. In both cases the effect is to recreate the situation of hell by the construction of the text; the landscape is deep within the layering of the poetic form.

Even the manner of Satan’s speech is affected by his surroundings, so that it becomes unnatural: ‘he spearcaðe, þonne he spreocan ongan/ fyre and attre’ (he threw out sparks, with fire and poison when he began to speak, lines 78-79),²⁷ and ‘word spearcum fleah/ attre gelicost, þonne he ut þorhðraf’ (the word flew with sparks, most like poison, when he struck it out, lines 161-162). Satan is so much a part of the hellish landscape that he has become imbued with the fire and poison which are its main constituents. It is an ironic contrast to the fusion of elements in the heavens whereby the inhabitants are the landscape quite as much as the buildings and plants. Satan’s words issue with fire and poison literally as well as metaphorically; they effectively become part of the landscape of hell. He is now the embodiment of his surroundings. This combination of speech, person, and landscape extends to the contents, what he says includes:

²⁷ ‘spearcaðe’ is given in all editions but the manuscript reading appears to be ‘swearcaðe’ with the ‘c’ having been later altered to ‘t’. This would render the translation ‘he blackened with fire and poison, when he began to speak’. This approach is taken by Bradley (1997, p.89) and Kennedy (MS Junius 11 cd-rom). Both versions, however, show the effects of hell on Satan, the one in his appearance, the other in the form of his speech.

Ne mæg ic þæt gehicgan hu ic nu in ðæm becom
in þis neowle genip niðsynnum fah
aworpen of worulde.

(I cannot think how I came to this, in this deep darkness, outlawed by grievous sins, cast off from the world, lines 178-180). The literal form of his speech, sparking with fire and venom, presented as words in the text, is symbolic of his character in addition to being allegorical of its contents which display the fire of anger and the venom of lies; Satan is, of course, perfectly well aware of how and why he is in hell. The landscape of hell is in the words that he speaks and the way in which he says them, rather than in the 'neowle genip' in which he resides.

Hell is a landscape wherein each element is related to the others only by dissonance; it is a parody of the heavenly landscape in which place and denizens are conjoined into a singular unity of being. The word of creation in heaven results in joy and glory, but it is otherwise in hell. The landscape of hell is an instrument that the texts employ as revelatory of Satan's lack of power as compared to that of God. The narrative voice rather than direct speech is used in *Genesis* when Satan declares his intention to alter the landscape of heaven by building in the west and the north (see above). His words do not effect any change to the landscape, they are not the words of creation, in fact Satan is so lacking in power that the words themselves are not reported, only their paraphrase. Later in the same poem, when Satan is in hell he is equally unable to control the landscape of fetters and shackles that confine him, and what he laments is power over his hands, since that is how he is constrained. Words are still available to him:

Ahte ic minra handa gewæld
and moste ane tid ute weorðan

wesan ane winterstunde, þonne ic mid þys werode-

Ac licgað me ymbe irenbenda,

rideð racentan sal.

(had I control of my hands and became able, for one moment, to be outside for one winter-hour, then I with this company - but iron bonds lie around me, a collar of chains chafes, lines 368-372). The disjunction in sense between ‘werode’ and ‘ac’ does not result from a fault in the manuscript; ‘werode’ does not come at the end of a page or even at the end of a line, the text as written flows smoothly from ‘werode’ to ‘ac’. The apparent dislocation between the two words is expressive of the power that the landscape of hell has over its inhabitants. Far from having the power to create, or even to alter, the landscape, some of Satan’s words do not even have the power to be part of the text. The persistence of the landscape of fire and iron is a physical symbol of his inability to create.

Those sections of *Genesis* and *Christ and Satan* that focus on hell as a place are more numerous and comprise a greater proportion of the whole than those that focus on heaven. The texts also use direct speech for many of the descriptions of hell, giving them an authenticity within the narrative. By constructing the landscape of hell largely through direct speech the poems subtly demonstrate the perversion of every aspect of community within it. The landscape and the occupants are united in hell by an inversion of the use of the word of God in the construction of the heavenly landscape. The fusion of different elements into one in heaven is ironically given greater emphasis by the profusion of words to describe the landscape of hell in *Genesis* and *Christ and Satan*.

This formation of hell by the word is carried further in the relationship between the different speeches and the narrative voice in *Christ and Satan*. In this

case, it is not the structure of the individual lines and phrases that become the landscape of hell, but the format of the poem demonstrates the futile sterility surrounding the devils; the horror beyond horrors that is hell has an additional depth to its malignancy in that it is endless. Within the finite text of *Christ and Satan* is a representation of the eternal nature of the landscape of hell through its form rather more than its content. The creative power of God, as portrayed in the Old English poetic corpus, is that of the word. The text of *Christ and Satan* utilises the power of the earthly word to create hell as a perverted landscape of pointless verbosity. There is no possibility of hope or amelioration. The landscape of suffering is changeless in its ordering.

Satan himself speaks in long, rambling speeches which go over the same ground repetitively: lamenting the lost joys of heaven, and his power there, railing against his fate, describing the torments he is undergoing, the fire, snakes, venom, smoke and darkness. The speech by the other devils, reiterating the same sentiments yet again, is introduced as ‘cwædon eft hraðe oðre worde’ (they spoke again, hastily, in other words, line 227). They are ‘obsessed by the chronology of their past crimes’ but in an ‘aimless static existence.’²⁸ Indeed, so apparently aimlessly repetitive is the poem at this point that Bradley omits the fifty lines which form the whole of section seven in his translation since ‘they contain a further reiteration of the horrors of hell contrasted with the joys of heaven.’²⁹ This section, together with the remainder of the poem as set in hell, in fact appears to have been carefully constructed to produce that effect. The landscape of hell is not so much described as evoked by these speeches. They do not go forward or move the narrative on in any way; they are not only repetitive, but hopeless, aimless, pointless. They reflect the smoke of the hellish

²⁸ Constance D. Harsh, ‘*Christ and Satan*: the Measured Power of Christ’, *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 90 (1989), 243-253, pp. 246-247.

²⁹ S. A. J. Bradley, *Anglo-Saxon Poetry* (London: J. M. Dent, 1977), p. 95.

landscape in this, coiling back on themselves as smoke does, while the heat and passion with which they speak reflects the fire in the heart of the smoke.

The text entangles the audience with this landscape too. These speeches continue from line thirty-four to line two hundred and seventy-eight, with a reiteration of their content given in the narrative voice in lines three hundred and fifteen to three hundred and thirty-four, so for almost half of the poem there is no development in the narrative, no movement; the landscape of hell is made visible by the form and structure of the text, not by description. Hell leaves its imprint not only on its inhabitants but on the text itself. The narrative begins to move forwards only after line three hundred and sixty-five when the text describes the harrowing of hell; again the structure mirrors the setting in that the endlessly repetitive nature of hell is disturbed only by the sudden, unexpected incursion of Christ which was predicted neither in the text nor in hell itself.

Hell is a landscape of uneasy contrasts, of unearthly combinations of elements; it is a landscape that does not conjoin its factors, as the landscape and community of heaven do, nor does it have a complex structure of interlocking elements as the landscape and community on earth do. Hell is the opposite; a landscape that is in opposition to itself, heights and depths, fire and ice, internal and external features, are all present in a form that denies community. The antagonism between the elements is symbolic of the antagonism of the inhabitants; the landscape of hell, through its inversion of the concept of a hall-based community, stands at the other extreme to the landscape of heaven which is a sublime realisation of the earthly ideal.

Landscape in heaven was thus the cause of angelic dissatisfaction in *Genesis* and *Christ and Satan* but the landscape of hell is a consequence of the failed rebellion. As a direct result of Satan's ambitions, hell comes into existence as a separate entity.

Heaven, which before existed alone, is now one of two places within a hitherto unified space. The failed rebellion results in expulsion but expulsion is only possible if there is a fixed area to be expelled from. By the act of expulsion God establishes another place, outside heaven, and thereby also establishes a fixed boundary for heaven; hell is now a possible alternative location where before there was none. Heaven has now become an element in a composite cosmos. As such, its landscape and inhabitants require a defensible boundary that will protect them. The landscape of all creation is now composed of two communities which are polarised at the extremes of the ideal and the unideal. Heaven becomes a place because of Satan; God expels the rebellious ones but this necessarily results in the redefinition of heaven, as a specific place with a boundary marking its limits. The activities of Satan and his followers do permanently change the landscape of heaven, but not internally in the way that they had anticipated; it becomes instead a bounded place with an outside. The boundaries of heaven come into being through Satan, so that it is now a place which contains and protects in safety those within.

Unity of being: the landscape of heaven.

Fortification is one of the connotations of the word frequently used for the landscape of heaven, 'burh'.³⁰ Heaven in these occurrences is a town which is a protective enclosure; limited in extent but providing a safe place for its citizens. It is precisely that in the 'sceldbyrig' (shield-town, line 308) of *Christ and Satan*. There are two other instances of this compound in the poetic corpus (*Judith*, line 304 and *Maldon*, line 243), and both relate to the shield-wall, the battle-formation of overlapping shields to form a defensive wall in actual battle conditions. Heaven as a 'sceldbyrig' is more than a refuge, it is a defence, keeping hostile forces at bay. It is

³⁰ 'Burh', in a variety of forms, occurs in *Christ and Satan* 362, 457, 612; *Elene* 821; *Christ* 519, 530, 553; *Guthlac* 1191; *The Phoenix* 633, 666; *Juliana* 665.

an enclosure whose primary function is exclusion rather than inclusion.

Christ is both guardian and ruler of the town; in the Ascension scene in *Christ and Satan*, Christ ascends to be ‘burhleoda fruma’ (ruler of the town-people, line 560) while *Andreas* describes Christ as ‘burhweard’ (town guardian, line 660). Later in *Andreas* the saint relates Christ’s identification of the angel sculptures on the walls as being that of ‘burgwar’ (town men, line 718), and the same word is used of heaven’s denizens in *Christ* (line 742). The landscape of heaven is now becoming the point of identification for its citizens.

References to the landscape of heaven apart from this defensive containing sense occur throughout the Old English poetic corpus, each emphasising an aspect that is relevant to the narrative of the text in which it appears. Therefore they do not have the consistency which characterises a known place, but rather depend on their immediate context, so that heaven is at once a country, a town, and a single building . What does emerge from these scattered and usually brief phrases, however, is a sense that heaven is a space in which denizens and landscape are not so much interrelated as fused into unity; each element of which it is composed is a part of all the other elements. Anticipating the concepts of modern physics, heaven is presented in the Old English poetic corpus as a singularity. The sense of unity is built up by the integration of place with persons and landscape but at base the conceptualisation of the heavenly space is one of careful construction and design; the landscape is that of buildings rather more than topographical features or artefacts.

In *Genesis*, the minor devil talks of how his master, Satan, has abandoned the ‘on heofonrice heahgetimbro/ godlice geardas’ (high buildings and fair dwellings of the heavenly kingdom, lines 739-740). In *Christ and Satan* the narrative voice speaks of how the fallen angels will ‘nales swegles leoht/ habban in heofonum

heahgetimbrad' (not at all have the light of the sky in the high-built heavens, lines 28-29), a line that is almost exactly repeated in *Guthlac*. There the devils tell the saint that, because his unworthiness, he will 'nales drhytnes leoht/ habban in heofonum heahgetimbru' (not at all have the light of the lord in the lofty buildings of the heavens, lines 583-584). *Christ*, speaking of the sorrow of all creation at the crucifixion includes 'heofones eac heahgetimbro' (also the high buildings of heaven, line 1181) in the universal grief. *Judgement Day I* is a little more explicit in specifying God as the builder: 'þæt is sigedryhten þe þone sele frætweð/ timbreð torhtlice' (that is the Lord of victory who ornaments the hall, builds gloriously, lines 92-93).

Buildings on earth are indicative of control and order, a symbol of mankind's imposition of his ways and culture onto the landscape. They do, however, also reveal the failure of a society when ruined and in decay. Ruined buildings and towns are a feature of Old English poetry; in *The Ruin*, *The Wanderer* and *Beowulf* they are symptomatic of the transience of life and the impermanence of mankind and all his works. The heavenly buildings do not suffer this fate; the angel who welcomes the soul to heaven after death in the introduction to *Guthlac* speaks of it as a place where the buildings 'no tydriað' (do not decay at all, line 18). Heaven is constructed in these texts as an environment of high buildings which is permanent not transient.

The most significant building in an Anglo-Saxon settlement was the hall, around which the communal life of their society was based. It is therefore unsurprising that in some texts heaven is conceived of as an eternal version of the building which was the heart and centre of Anglo-Saxon culture. The landscape of heaven is specifically a single building, holding within its walls the society of the heavenly community. In *Christ* after the resurrection the angels rejoice at the return of

Christ to the ‘beorhtra bolda’ (brighter buildings, line 742) and towards the end of *The Fates of the Apostles* mankind is instructed to pray ‘þæt we þæs botles brucan motan’ (that we may enjoy that hall, line 117). In *Andreas*, when Matthew has been captured by the Mermedonians, God reassures him that heaven, ‘boldwela fægrost’ (fairest of rich halls, line 103), will be open to him. The uncorrected manuscript version of *Christ and Satan* includes among the laments of Satan for what he has lost ‘nis her eadiges tir, wloncra winsele,/ ne worulde dream’ (here is not the glory of the blessed, the wine-hall of the proud nor earthly joy, lines 92-93).³¹ Even the amendment to this, ‘winsele’ becoming ‘wynsele’, retains the element of building in its meaning so that whatever type of hall Satan is regretting, the hall of heaven is still a centre of conviviality and fellowship.

The landscape of heaven is, effectively, a hall, with all that that implies of comfort, ease, safety, and the benefits of communal life. The earthly ideal hall is Heorot in *Beowulf* which is a place where Hrothgar can ‘gedælan/ geongum and ealdum swylc him God sealde’ (share out with young and old whatever God gave to him, lines 71-72). In accordance with this purpose Heorot is a ‘folcstede’ (people-place, line 76). Heaven, in Old English poetry, is a gloriously magnified version of an earthly built environment. The landscape is an interior rather than exterior one, its sole feature being seating. The texts develop this simple basic meaning into a more complex understanding of the heavenly landscape, using words that combine the concepts of rest, rule, and place.

The most frequently occurring word here is ‘stol’ which has only the single meaning of ‘a thing to sit on’ whatever synonyms of chair, bench, throne or seat may

³¹ See Introduction, pp.27-28, for a discussion of the emendation of ‘winsele’.

be used in translation.³² The other words used, ‘seld’ and ‘setle’ also have a secondary meaning of not only the thing to sit on but the place where one does it, an understanding that appears in modern parlance in the phrase ‘country seat’. In *Genesis* the expulsion of Satan and his followers leaves empty the ‘swegltorhtan seld’ (sky-bright seats, line 95) that they once held; the phrase encompasses both meanings so that the landscape of heaven is now one of empty halls with vacated seats. Hence ‘seld’,³³ with twelve mentions, and ‘setl’ with eight,³⁴ both confirm the conceptualisation of the heavenly environment as one of buildings and artefacts that promote comfort, ease, and security. It is the place, as *The Dream of the Rood* puts it, ‘þær is Drhythnes folc/ geseted to symle’ (where the people of the Lord are established at the feast, lines 140-141), a true home.

The hall, in terms of earthly communities, is envisioned in the Old English poetic corpus as the heart and centre of any community. It is the place where ceremonies are enacted, gifts given, valour rewarded, and the bonds of community forged and strengthened. Comfort, ease, and safety are all to be found there: so strong was this association that *Andreas* can use an ironic inversion of the image of a convivial evening in hall to raise and then frustrate audience response in the episode of the flood in Mermedonia, as was demonstrated in chapter two. Heaven, as an enlarged celestial hall is a land that has no peripheries, everything in it, and everywhere in the landscape, is at the centre of being. The unity of the landscape of heaven is not so much focussed on the heartland of the hall as a centre, but rather is wholly a place of comfort, ease, and security. There are no outlying regions or remote

³² ‘Stol’ alone or as part of a compound occurs in *Genesis* 8, 260, 273, 281, 300, 366, 566, 749: *Christ and Satan* 297: *Christ* 397, 572, 1216: *Vainglory* 62.

³³ ‘Seld’ alone or as part of a compound occurs in *Genesis* 95: *Christ and Satan* 47, 172, 186, 201, 233, 371, 587, 611: *Guthlac* 585.

³⁴ ‘Setl’ alone or as part of a compound occurs in *Genesis* 33, 86: *Daniel* 219: *Christ* 1217: *Guthlac* 785: *The Phoenix* 515: *Judgement Day II* 118, 124.

wildernesses; every part of it is the centre.

Heaven is thus a place of belonging. The final line of *The Dream of the Rood* sees Christ returning triumphantly ‘þær his eþel wæs’ (where his homeland was, line 156). In *Genesis* heaven is ‘wuldres eþel’ (home of glory, line 83). It is a landscape of the interior, one of glory, comfort, and joy. *The Rune Poem* encapsulates all of these scattered references in a stanza on the nature of the ideal home:

Eþel byþ oferleof æghwylcum men
gif he mot þær rihtes and gerysena on
brucan on bolde bledum oftast

(home is very dear to each man if he is able to enjoy there in the hall rights and decencies in prosperity most often, lines 71-73). The context of the remainder of *The Rune Poem* would suggest that the text refers to earthly home and homeland here, but as what is most desirable it is a concise description of the heavenly landscape. Through the inclusion of both home and homeland by the use of ‘eþel’ heaven is both a country and a place. Order, safety, comfort, and enjoyment in the hall may be aimed for on earth but will be achieved in the glorious hall of heaven.

Thus far, the landscape of heaven has consisted only of buildings and seating, but these are intertwined so that the contents of the buildings are also the buildings themselves. The inhabitants are also part of the construction of the heavenly landscape. When endeavouring to persuade Eve to eat the apple Satan seeks to reassure her that he is a genuine messenger from God by insisting that ‘ic cann ealle swa geare engla gebyrdo/ heah heofona gehlidu’ (I know completely the ranks of angels, the high roofs of heaven, lines 583-584). The angelic host is a physical element by apposition in the construction of the built landscape; ‘heah’ applying conceptually to the high orders of beings that are the angels as well as the lofty vaults

of the heavenly hall.

The inhabitants of heaven are not only identified with the landscape, they are the landscape. A homiletic aside in *Christ and Satan* offers a vision of combined glory:

Tæceð us se torhta trumlicne ham
beorhte burhweallas. Beorhte scinað
gesælige sawle sorgum bedælde
þær heo æfre forð wunian moten
cestre and cynestol.

(The glorious one shows us that durable home, the bright townwalls. Bright shine the souls of the blessed, free from sorrows, where they are able to ever hence inhabit the city and the kingly seat, lines 293-297). The repetition of ‘beorhte’ carries the concept from the place to the inhabitants so they become conjoined in shining radiance. By wrapping the alliterative ‘scinað/ gesælige sawle sorgum’ in the envelope of ‘beorhte burhweallas beorhte.. bedælde’ the text encapsulates the concept of the shining souls as part of the brightness of the heavenly landscape. *Christ and Satan* returns to the thematic concept whereby the denizens of heaven are also the structure of the heavenly hall much later in the text:

Þær is geat gylden gimum gefrætewod,
wynnum bewunden, þæm þe in wuldres leoht
gongan moten to godes rice,
and ymb weallas wlitige scinað
engla gastas and eadige sawla
þa ðe heonon ferað.

(there is a golden gate, ornamented with jewels, wound about with joy, for those who

may go into the kingdom of God in the light of glory, and around the walls the spirits of angels and blessed souls, those who journey from here, shine in radiance, lines 647-652). The gates of heaven, composed of gold and jewels, are a physical symbol of glory and the ‘wynnum bewunden’ becomes the mechanism by which the gates of heaven partake of its basic joy; it is a built environment of feeling and emotion. The gates are symbolic of the word of God which in *Solomon and Saturn* is itself equally symbolically constructed: ‘gylden is se godes cwide, gimum astæned’ (the word of God is golden, adorned with jewels, line 63). The souls shine as the gold and jewels do, there is a fusion of brilliance and light in both the constructed landscape of heaven and those who enter it.

The protective enclosures of the heavenly landscape deprive the souls of sorrow by, effectively, making those souls part of the enclosure that protects them. The radiant unity of heaven is a refuge that excludes sorrows; in Christian understanding the joy of being in God’s presence banishes everything else, so that the heavenly landscape is defended by what it contains, a totality of joy. The text includes its spiritual meaning in its physical construction by enclosing the souls in brightness.

Another hortatory passage in *Christ and Satan* introduces vegetation into the landscapes of heaven. Those who are saved arrive in heaven ‘bringað to bearme blostman stences/ wyrte wynsume (þæt synd word godes)’ (bringing at their bosoms fragrant flowers and pleasant plants – those are the words of God, lines 356-357). Flowers are a constituent of the heavenly landscape in *Judgement Day II*, where the denizens not only ‘betweoh rosena reade heapas/ þær symle scinað’ (shine always there between heaps of red roses, lines 288-289) but are also ‘blostmum behangen’ (hung around with flowers, line 291). The blossoms that both texts associate with heavenly citizens are another sign of God’s favour and redemption. They are a

contrast with the disobedient Adam and Eve who ‘heora lichoman leafum beþeah-ton/ weredon mid ðy wealde’ (covered their bodies with leaves, clothed with the forest, *Genesis* lines 845-846). Covering themselves with leaves enabled Adam and Eve to employ the landscape to become an interface between God and mankind, it separates them. The blossoms that are the word of God clothing the righteous in heaven spiritually transform the barrier into a conduit, re-establishing the union with God. The flowers that bedeck the righteous are symbolic of forgiveness, the plants that in Eden were a symbol of shame have been transformed in heaven into a sign of glory and honour.

This is vegetation of a symbolic nature but it serves a further function in delineating heaven as a place where the landscape and the inhabitants are conjoined in its construction. The landscape of heaven is one of control and order; plants, buildings, and citizens are combined in an environment which is simultaneously organic and built through the power of God’s word. Heaven is a manifestation of the word of God. It also harks back to the original Eden: *Genesis* 2:8 describes it thus ‘And the Lord God had planted a paradise of pleasure from the beginning’. Eden is thus envisioned as symbolic of the landscape of heaven. Heaven, with its burgeoning yet not rampant vegetation is a celestial garden, a living manifestation of God’s word. God’s words are used, in *Christ and Satan* and in *Genesis*, as instruments of creation, in a way that echoes the Biblical source of this concept closely. In *Genesis* the power of the word of God is emphasised by his raising of the skies, ‘roderas fæsten þæt se rica ahof/ up from eorðan þurh his agen word’ (the stronghold of the skies that the king raised up from earth through his own word, 148-9), and his subduing and controlling of the waters:

Frea engla heht

þurh his word wesān wæter gemæne
þa nu under roderum heora ryne healdað
stowe gestefnde

(The lord of the angels commanded the waters to be gathered together that now hold their course under the skies, regulated their position through his word, lines 157-160). These instances follow the source, Genesis 1: 3, 5, 6, and 9, very closely. In Genesis God creates earth by speaking and the opening words of the Gospel of St. John develop this into a unity of language and deity. Hence the words of God that the righteous carry with them in *Christ and Satan* are also creative acts symbolising the landscape of heaven. It is a complex conceit whereby the plants and flowers symbolise the landscape but the landscape itself is a symbol of the power contained in the words of God, so that in bearing them the blessed are thereby also the landscape of the heavens.

In *The Phoenix* the heavenly landscape is changed and created anew by the vegetation of good deeds performed by Christ's followers on earth. During their earthly sojourn the righteous can defend themselves against spiritual danger with the symbolic plants of virtuous acts: 'þær him nest wyrceð wið niþa gehwam/ dædum domlicum dryhtnes cempa' (there the soldier of the lord builds himself a nest by glorious actions against any attack, lines 451-452). As, earlier in the text, the bird gathered the fragrant plants to build a physical nest so the acts of Christian kindness build up into a shelter and defence against devilish wiles. These then become the heavenly landscape: 'beoð him of þam wyrtrum wic gestapelad/ in wuldres byrig weorca to leane' (as reward for [their] works from those plants is established a house for them in the town of glory, lines 474-475). The heavenly landscape is composed of buildings of vegetation developed from the acts of the righteous on earth, a

continually developing and expanding landscape formed both for and from the inhabitants.

All of these elements come together in another description of heaven in a third passage from *Christ and Satan*:

Is þær wlitig and wynsum, wæstmas scinað
beorhte ofer burgum. Ðær is brade lond
hyhtlicra ham in heofonrice
Criste gecwemra.

(It is beautiful and joyful there, fruits shine brightly over towns. There is a broad land, a more joyful home in the kingdom of heaven for those agreeable to Christ, lines 213-216). This scene has all the elements of a built environment with natural features, combined with the ideas of joy and space; it is composed of buildings, inhabitants, and vegetation, in an equal partnership. The fruits that shine over the towns can be taken symbolically as the words of God, as in the preceding extract, but they can also be construed as if the towns themselves are growing, burgeoning organically.

As the plants are the word of God (see above) the landscape of heaven is constructed by, and of, the word. That which on earth grows naturally is entwined in these lines with that which is built; hence the landscape here is composed of the creative acts of the word of God. It is a fusion of all creative elements and delineates the heavenly landscape as one of singular unity by use of the word. Formative to the construction of the poem, the words in the text are also forming the landscape of heaven. It is a landscape of familiarity since towns, halls, walls and doors are all common constituents of the everyday world, but exalted by the continual references to shining, light, and brightness into a more glorious version of earthly delights. In the Old English poetic corpus the hall, the town, the inhabitants, the plants, flowers, and

fruits, are all interchangeable elements in the landscape of heaven that is the creation by means of the word within the texts.

In the heavenly landscape things that occupy separate categories in the human mind-set are conjoined into one single harmonious entity. *Solomon and Saturn* speaks of the word of God, in this case specifically the Pater Noster as, ‘scyppendes seld’ (the hall of the creator, line 79). Buildings grow and flourish, people are blossoms, plants are words and deeds; the shining glory of heaven transcends earthly categorisation. In *Maxims II* the ideal of an earthly community is displayed as a complex organisation of disparate elements that each have a place and purpose that interlock together make a whole (see chapter one). The heavenly community takes this ideal one stage further into a unity of being. Heaven is a fortified place, an enclosure whose purposes are defence and protection for those inside against possible aggression. Re-imagining the understanding of good and evil in the Christian worldview as a territorial dispute necessitates a landscape for heaven that is a power base; one that does not confine its denizens but rather ensures their safety. The landscape that is heaven also protects it in a divided cosmos.

Conclusion.

The possession and control of landscape in the other worlds of heaven and hell in the Old English poetic corpus is modelled on that of earth. The antagonism between warring powers of good and evil is based on a territorial dispute. Desire for land is the cause of the attempted rebellion, while the creation of new lands and the appearance of boundaries and demarcation is the result. The opposing communities that ensue take the idea of what a community is, how it operates, and its relationship with its landscape to extremes. Heaven is such a unified community that it can hardly be said to be one; the buildings, vegetation, and inhabitants are not separated classifications

but each partakes of the nature of the others. It is a single entity that denies the categorisation of earthly communities. Hell, by contrast, can only be said to be unified by the disjunction between every element; antagonism is the nature of its existence. The landscapes of heaven and hell embody the essential characteristics of each; landscape is thus the key to understanding the full import of what it is to be an inhabitant of either place.

Conclusion.

The landscapes of Old English poetry have been shown to be instrumental in the construction of community. They are the medium for expressing what a community is, the way that it functions, and whether each separate component of which it is composed is in the right location. As an active constituent of both daily life and the narrative experience, landscape provides a means of judging and measuring both individual elements and whole communities as to whether or not they are working smoothly and harmoniously: when they are not, landscape is the mode through which what is wrong can be understood and is not infrequently the mechanism by which malfunctions can be corrected. Thus, the textual form becomes part of the meaning, transforming the context of the narrative, that is, the text itself, into a component of the narrative. There is an interactive relationship between form and content in the landscapes that control the poetry of the Anglo-Saxon period.

Landscape moulds the contours of human society; settlements, as well as routes between them, are dependent on the landscape: 'land types and the possibilities they presented were the cause of human location and not *vice versa*'.¹ Landscape controls where, when, and how human society can function. For the Anglo-Saxons landscape was fundamental to life and the construction of society; the constitution of an estate is based legally on the bounds which are delineated by the verbal landscape contained in the final clauses of charters. Representation of landscape on parchment was as a linguistic rather than visual conception, in respect of the actual landscapes as conveyed by charter as well as those of the imagination as part of poetic narratives.

This study has shown that the landscapes of Old English poetry follow this tradition, one in which the appeal is to the verbal rather than the visual or

¹ Christopher Grocock, 'To eat, to wear, to work: The Place of Sheep and Cattle in the Economy', in *The Material Culture of Daily Living in the Anglo-Saxon World*, ed. by Maren Clegg Hyer and Gale R. Owen-Crocker (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2011), 73-92, p. 75.

cartographic. The foregoing chapters have revealed another application of this verbal construct, where it is a source for conveying understanding and explaining conceptual abstractions. A linguistic landscape is the method which the Anglo-Saxons used to describe their estates and places. It thus shaped the contours of their daily life, and their understanding of the workings of society. In the same way, it shapes and moulds the contours of both the texts and their narratives that comprise the poetic corpus.

Landscape expresses the Anglo-Saxon understanding of community; both its structure and function are delineated and explained by recourse to the model of the landscape. By the creation of place and position it empowers a community so that exclusion and expulsion are shaped by the relationship of individuals and whole communities to the landscape in their respective spheres. Landscape facilitates control of the erring, in respect of both individuals and whole communities. It is both physically and symbolically a means of expressing power over humans and by humans. These workings of landscapes in Old English poetry are explored in the first three chapters, using poems chosen for the way in which they exemplify this understanding. Landscape is significant as an element of the narrative itself, where it has an interactive relationship with the protagonists in the expression of much that the text does not otherwise make explicit. It is the foundation of the relationship between the audience and the text, which allows for the suspension of disbelief and the subsequent co-operative effort to build the fictive experience through its associations with the daily life and experience of the audience. In this way the message of the text can be received and understood not as a passive instruction or explanation but as a construction that unites text and audience; the poetic narrative is built between them.

The composition of a community was explored through the analysis of *Maxims II*, wherein each element is defined in terms of place, position, appearance, or

behaviour relative to other communal elements: the essence of community is that each individual element has its own place and purpose within the whole.

The misery that ensues when place and purpose are not correctly aligned is graphically illustrated by *The Wife's Lament*, wherein the protagonist and her landscape deny function to each other, so that each is both cause and symbol of unhappiness to the other. The text demonstrates the policing of a community by the landscape, which is the arbiter of what is right on the level of the individual as well as the nation. In *Exodus* humanity and landscape function together to create an understanding of national community and identity. The power that comes from the rightness of people and place being conjoined is exemplified by the poem's re-creation of the desert as a seascape. The Hebrews are re-constructed by the narrative as sailors; hence they are already beyond the boundaries of the land in the psychological understanding of the audience. The importance of the Hebraic search for a land of their own is exemplified by close links between the Egyptians and their land, something that resonates with the Anglo-Saxon desire to establish their own homeland of Britain as their rightful place.

Chapter two reveals the landscape to be both the means of demonstrating that a community is malfunctioning and the instrument through which it can be corrected. That the floods in both *Genesis* and *Andreas* are represented in terms of the human agencies of an army and an evening of communal enjoyment in the hall is a demonstration of how flexible the narrative use of landscape can be. The control of water to create a desirable landscape where the elements of land and water are in harmonious balance is a metaphor for the proper dissemination of the Christian message in *The Metrical Epilogue to the Pastoral Care*. By choosing to explain this through the landscape the text aligns the message of Gregory with that of holy writ

and authenticates both the original and Alfred's Old English version by the associative power of authoritative biblical tradition.

Dangers to a community originating in an external other are revealed by the effects on the landscape, which is spoiled and polluted when under threat but is returned to a state of fruitful fertility once the threat has been removed. In the case of *Beowulf*, the threat is from an external other to the Danes, but is expressed in terms of an unproductive landscape which the removal of the threat restores to fruitful normality. The situation is reversed in the *Æcerbot* charm, where communal action and speech is essential to thwart the threatening other and restore the landscape and consequently the community.

Landscape as the medium for positioning a community in place and time is explored in chapter four. It allows for the enclosing of time in a particular place in *Durham*, wherein the right composition of Anglo-Saxon society and power is held in stasis by the surrounding landscape. The close associative links between a nation and its homeland, which were demonstrated in chapter one by *Exodus*, appear in a slightly different form in *The Menologium*. The sense of Britain as the divinely sanctioned homeland of the Anglo-Saxon nation is shown by the operations of time on the landscape of this text. Through the juxtaposition of the flexible seasonal landscape and the rigidity of the fixed calendar, the poem ensures that the audience has to construct for itself an annual British cycle from differing time schemata: thus the audience response hallows the land as a place of Christian significance.

Changes through time are not a feature of the other worlds of heaven and hell, both being essentially ageless and changeless. Necessarily imaginative constructions, these worlds are shown in opposing terms as regards their landscape, and it is through this opposition that some understanding of the nature of each can be achieved. The

extreme unity of heaven and the contrasting extreme disorder of hell show that they stand at either end of the community continuum. Heaven is the ideal union of all it contains, while hell is notable for the complete disparity which exists between every element.

This study has considered the landscapes and communities of earth and the worlds beyond as portrayed in the Old English poetic corpus. It has, however, left some aspects unexplored and some texts remain to be analysed. A further consideration is the relationship of the landscape as presented in the Old English version with that in the Latin source in texts such as *The Phoenix*. Such an approach is likely to yield further insights into the linguistic appreciation of landscape as an aspect of Anglo-Saxon indigenous culture.

Nor is there any attempt here to consider poems by genre; such a method is to impose a modern conception of what constitutes any individual genre onto an essentially unordered corpus in twenty-first century understanding. The expression of what is right in the ordering of the cosmos, mediated through landscape, is a common factor that unites the surviving corpus. Consequently, whether a poem is considered by modern critics as an elegy, a lyric, a biblical narrative, or a wisdom poem may be to separate out texts into categorisations that are significant only to current preconceptions of how literature functions. Even modern scholarship is not unanimous in attribution by genre; see, for example, the claims of Schlauch and Kendall as to the genre to which *Durham* should be assigned,² and Long has commented that ‘there is yet no consensus as to what it means when a poem is classified as wisdom.’³

² Chapter IV, p. 175, fn 8.

³ Katie Long, “‘Truth is Trickiest’: Reading Old English Wisdom as Poetry’ (unpublished PhD thesis, University College Dublin, 2009), p.1.

The ordering of poems from the period that remains relevant is that of the manuscript context. The sequence in each manuscript as well as the contents may be significant in ways that it is not possible to discern when the poems are regarded and studied as separate items: ‘medieval books often constituted composite artefacts in which each component text depended on its environment for part of its meaning.’⁴ In the texts analysed in the course of this thesis, for instance, *The Menologium* and *Maxims II* both appear in the same manuscript, British Library MS. Cotton Tiberius B.i, in which they are flanked by the only other texts, the Old English translation of Orosius and the ‘C’ text of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. The landscapes in the poems may therefore be significant in additional ways to those explored here if the proximity of the prose texts and their contents is taken into account.

The toponymic vocabulary used in the formation of place-names is, as mentioned in the introduction, precisely differentiated.⁵ The vocabulary of landscape in the poetic corpus, while it uses that some of that employed in place-names, does treat some of these terms as synonymous. The use of ‘beorg’ in the poetry applies to eminences both large and small. *The Whale* describes the animal as surrounded by ‘sondbeorgum’ (sand-hills, line 10) which contextually can only mean minor protuberances that the sailors can navigate through to tie up against the whale as they mistake it for land. *Christ*, however, refers to ‘Syne beorg’ (mount Sion, lines 875 and 899) which cannot be considered a small hill, and neither can the mention in *Genesis* where the depth of the flood is such that it completely covered the ‘hea beorgas’ (high mountains, line 1387). The same poem later says that the flood stood ‘deop ofer dunum’ (deep over the mountains, line 1398), and when the ark finally comes to rest it ‘ðā on dunum gesæt’ (then sat on the mountains, line 1421). *Seasons for Fasting*

⁴ Fred C. Robinson, ‘Old English Literature in Its Most Immediate Context’, in *Old English Literature in Context*, ed. by John D. Niles (Cambridge: Brewer, 1980), 11-29, p. 11.

⁵ See Introduction, pp. 18-19.

speaks of Elijah journeying to ‘Horeb dun’ (mount Horeb, line 127). The same can be said of other topographical descriptions; the vocabulary of water has already been shown to be used indiscriminately in the poetry in chapter two. Woodland terms, similarly, are used as variants rather than with a precise differentiation: the wolf is a denizen of the ‘bearowe’ in *Maxims II* (line 18), but of the ‘holt’ in *Elene* (line 113), and the ‘weald’ in *The Battle of Brunanburh* (line 65). Clearly it is not that wolves are occupying different types of woodland, but rather that the verse constraints require certain syllables or initial letters, and the sense need only be that the wolf inhabits wooded areas in general.

Poetic vocabulary therefore responds to the patterns of stress and alliteration demanded by the verse form, rather than relying on precise differentiations of meaning. Studying topographic vocabulary in the poetic corpus yields an entirely opposite conclusion to that of Gelling.⁶ The register of place-names and poetry is differentiated by precision in one case and generality in the other. This suggests that there was an understood, if unspoken, recognition of a different application of terminology dependent on context. Poetic places are specific to the text which contains them, often imaginary, and therefore have landscapes that relate to the narrative rather than to a particular topology. There is therefore space for further study of the relationships between these varying applications of general and specific language use.

These are, however, further explorations of what this study has shown to be the essentially linguistic basis of the landscapes that appear in Old English poetry. The visual aspect of landscape is only rarely in evidence or of significance. Analysis and close readings of the texts has revealed that landscapes are fundamental to both

⁶ See Introduction, p.19 .

form and content, and require a co-operative, interactive audience for their full deployment. Landscape has been demonstrated as the medium for conveying complex and abstract concepts through its close association with the daily life and experience of Anglo-Saxon society; it shaped the contours of their lives physically. The poetry of the period develops this subliminal relationship into verbal landscapes that demand a shift away from modern perceptions of the essentially visual connotations of the term. Landscape shapes the contours of the text as it shapes the meaning and expression of the narratives within the texts. As landscape is a dominant factor in everyday life, so it is in the creation of worlds of the imagination and in the construction of textual space and form. Old English poetry is predicated on the idea of community and the structure and functioning of a community is predicated on the landscape. The ways in which Anglo-Saxon communities function, inclusion and exclusion from them, threats and defence to them, time, and their imaginative constructions of other worlds are all delineated and explained by use of the linguistic landscape. It is the basis on which society is built and by which it is controlled, literally, psychologically, and conceptually. It shapes the textual space, whether of performance or on the page. For the Anglo-Saxons landscape was fundamental to life and the construction of society: in their poetry it shaped their thoughts, coloured their expressions, and influenced their perceptions.

Appendix

Database: Words related to landscape and their occurrences in
Old English Poetry

line	word	feature	associated with	poem	Ms
2	myrce	placename	battle	5 Boroughs	ASC
3	dor	rivername	battle/boundary	5 Boroughs	ASC
4	hwitanwyllesgeat	placename	battle/boundary	5 Boroughs	ASC
4	ea	river		5 Boroughs	ASC
5	brimstream	river	boundary	5 Boroughs	ASC
5	burg	town		5 Boroughs	ASC
6	ligoraceaster	placename		5 Boroughs	ASC
6	lincylene	placename		5 Boroughs	ASC
7	snotingaham	placename		5 Boroughs	ASC
7	stanford	placename		5 Boroughs	ASC
8	deoraby	placename		5 Boroughs	ASC
66	dust	fine powder	grind plants	9 Herbs	Harley 585
11	linsetcorn	linseed grains		Against a Wen	Royal 4Axiv
5	wætre	water	quench fire	Almsgiving	Exeter
7	burg	town	water/flames	Almsgiving	Exeter
16	eðle	homeland		Andreas	Vercelli
17	blæd	fruits/prosperity		Andreas	Vercelli
21	eðle	homeland		Andreas	Vercelli
40	byrig	town	great	Andreas	Vercelli
41	ceastre	town		Andreas	Vercelli
74	eðelleas	exiled/homeless		Andreas	Vercelli
78	burg	town	Matthew	Andreas	Vercelli
84	blædgifa	fruit/glorygive	God	Andreas	Vercelli
103	blæd	fruits/glories	brightness	Andreas	Vercelli
103	boldwela	splendid house		Andreas	Vercelli
111	burg	town	heathens	Andreas	Vercelli
120	eðelrice	heaven		Andreas	Vercelli
121	stow	place	God	Andreas	Vercelli
176	eard	country		Andreas	Vercelli
176	eðel	homeland		Andreas	Vercelli
184	burgwar	towndweller		Andreas	Vercelli
190	gelad	watercrossing	deep	Andreas	Vercelli
195	holm	sea	salt/vastness	Andreas	Vercelli
196	sæstream	sea	salt/vastness	Andreas	Vercelli
198	widland	country	sea/paths	Andreas	Vercelli
200	herestæta	armypaths	seaways	Andreas	Vercelli
209	burgwar	towndweller		Andreas	Vercelli
223	bæðweg	seaways		Andreas	Vercelli
226	eðel	heaven		Andreas	Vercelli
231	burg	town		Andreas	Vercelli
236	sandhleodū	sandhills		Andreas	Vercelli
238	greote	shingle	sandhleodū	Andreas	Vercelli
239	brimstream	sea currents	storm/noise	Andreas	Vercelli
254	greote	shingle		Andreas	Vercelli
263	waroðe	seashore		Andreas	Vercelli
274	eðel	sea	whales	Andreas	Vercelli
280	eard	dwelling		Andreas	Vercelli
281	ceastre	town		Andreas	Vercelli
287	byrig	town	great	Andreas	Vercelli
293	bæð	sea	fish	Andreas	Vercelli
306	waroðe	seashore		Andreas	Vercelli

line	word	feature	associated with	poem	Ms
308	sæborgas	seacliffs		Andreas	Vercelli
310	cleofu	cliffs	seashore	Andreas	Vercelli
331	grund	earth	journey	Andreas	Vercelli
335	burg	town		Andreas	Vercelli
348	brimstream	sea currents		Andreas	Vercelli
356	blæd	glory/splendour		Andreas	Vercelli
373	grundon	rub together	waves	Andreas	Vercelli
393	grund	seabottom	storm	Andreas	Vercelli
400	eard	land/shore	ship	Andreas	Vercelli
425	grund	seabottom	storm	Andreas	Vercelli
432	eðelrice	country/land	Ethiopians	Andreas	Vercelli
442	brim	sea	wave/storm	Andreas	Vercelli
444	brim	sea	wave/storm	Andreas	Vercelli
496	brimstæðo	seashore	wave/cold	Andreas	Vercelli
504	brim	sea	speed/sail	Andreas	Vercelli
513	bæðweg	sea	journey/ship	Andreas	Vercelli
513	brimhengest	ship		Andreas	Vercelli
519	brim	sea	binding by God	Andreas	Vercelli
524	boldwela	splendid house		Andreas	Vercelli
525	eðel	heaven	angels	Andreas	Vercelli
535	blæd	glory/splendour		Andreas	Vercelli
581	burhstede	town		Andreas	Vercelli
583	grundwæg	earth	Christ	Andreas	Vercelli
599	eard	dwelling	Heaven	Andreas	Vercelli
640	grund	earth	Christ	Andreas	Vercelli
642	eðel	heaven	angels	Andreas	Vercelli
656	blædgifa	fruit/glorygive	God	Andreas	Vercelli
656	bold	house		Andreas	Vercelli
660	burhweard	town defender		Andreas	Vercelli
699	westenne	desert/wildplace	miracles	Andreas	Vercelli
718	burgwar	town dweller		Andreas	Vercelli
719	ceastre	town		Andreas	Vercelli
747	grund	earth/land	cf sea/creation	Andreas	Vercelli
769	blæd	glory/happiness		Andreas	Vercelli
775	foldweg	earthpaths	plains	Andreas	Vercelli
776	grundas	ground/plains	green	Andreas	Vercelli
828	ceastre	town		Andreas	Vercelli
833	burhweall	town wall		Andreas	Vercelli
839	wang	land	hills/stone	Andreas	Vercelli
840	beorg	mountains/hills	cliffs/rocks/city	Andreas	Vercelli
840	burggeat	town gate	rocky slopes	Andreas	Vercelli
841	stan	stone	cliffs/grey	Andreas	Vercelli
842	hleoðu	cliffs	hills/cliffs	Andreas	Vercelli
842	trafu	buildings	tiles/hills	Andreas	Vercelli
842	torran	towers	buildings/hills	Andreas	Vercelli
843	weall	walls	buildings/hills	Andreas	Vercelli
903	brimstream	sea currents		Andreas	Vercelli
929	ceastre	town		Andreas	Vercelli
939	ceastre	town		Andreas	Vercelli
940	burglocan	fortified town		Andreas	Vercelli
973	byrig	town	great	Andreas	Vercelli

line	word	feature	associated with	poem	Ms
982	burh	town		Andreas	Vercelli
993	hlinduru	prison door		Andreas	Vercelli
999	duru	door	prison	Andreas	Vercelli
1025	eard	homeland		Andreas	Vercelli
1038	burglocan	fortified town		Andreas	Vercelli
1058	ceastre	town		Andreas	Vercelli
1065	burhlocan	town		Andreas	Vercelli
1094	burgwar	towndweller		Andreas	Vercelli
1120	burh	town		Andreas	Vercelli
1125	ceastrewar	towndweller		Andreas	Vercelli
1155	burg	town		Andreas	Vercelli
1159	weste	empty/deserted	winehalls	Andreas	Vercelli
1174	ceastre	town		Andreas	Vercelli
1201	burhsittend	towndweller		Andreas	Vercelli
1229	landsceare	countryside	hills/rocks	Andreas	Vercelli
1232	dunscræfum	hillcave	stone	Andreas	Vercelli
1232	stanhleodū	stonecliffs	hillcave	Andreas	Vercelli
1235	burg	town	ruins outside town	Andreas	Vercelli
1236	stræte	street	stonepaved	Andreas	Vercelli
1255	eorðe	earth	snow	Andreas	Vercelli
1257	hægelscurrum	hail	earth/snow	Andreas	Vercelli
1257	hrim	frost	earth/hail	Andreas	Vercelli
1257	forst	frost	earth/hail	Andreas	Vercelli
1258	eðel	land/country		Andreas	Vercelli
1260	cylegicelum	icicles	earth/snow	Andreas	Vercelli
1260	wæteres	waters	rivers	Andreas	Vercelli
1261	eastreamas	river	ice	Andreas	Vercelli
1261	is	ice	rivers	Andreas	Vercelli
1262	brimrade	sea	ice	Andreas	Vercelli
1305	næss	headland	rock/dark	Andreas	Vercelli
1306	beorg	cliffs	dark/rock	Andreas	Vercelli
1448	bearwas	woods	blossoms	Andreas	Vercelli
1449	blæd	fruits	trees	Andreas	Vercelli
1491	byrig	town	heathens	Andreas	Vercelli
1503	streamas	rivers	flood/retribution	Andreas	Vercelli
1504	ea	river	flood	Andreas	Vercelli
1523	stream	flood	earth	Andreas	Vercelli
1528	grund	seabottom	flood	Andreas	Vercelli
1533	beorþegu	flood		Andreas	Vercelli
1538	beorg	mountains/hills	refuge/flood	Andreas	Vercelli
1539	dunscræf	hill/mountain cave		Andreas	Vercelli
1541	lig	fire	flood/retribution	Andreas	Vercelli
1541	burh	town		Andreas	Vercelli
1543	brim	sea/flood	fury/power	Andreas	Vercelli
1547	burg	town	flood	Andreas	Vercelli
1552	lyftgelac	wind	fire/flood	Andreas	Vercelli
1574	brim	sea/flood	rising/power	Andreas	Vercelli
1580	streamræcce	flood	currents	Andreas	Vercelli
1581	sigewang	ground	dry	Andreas	Vercelli
1583	burgwar	towndweller		Andreas	Vercelli
1587	beorg	mountain	fissure/flood	Andreas	Vercelli

line	word	feature	associated with	poem	Ms
1587	brimrad	sea/flood	subsiding	Andreas	Vercelli
1589	eorðscræf	abyss	flood	Andreas	Vercelli
1590	grund	ground	flood	Andreas	Vercelli
1600	grund	abyss	Hell	Andreas	Vercelli
1616	flodes	flood	devastation/death	Andreas	Vercelli
1624	greot	sand	sea	Andreas	Vercelli
1629	flod	flood		Andreas	Vercelli
1635	flod	flood	rebirth	Andreas	Vercelli
1637	winburg	festive town	after conversion	Andreas	Vercelli
1640	bæð	water	baptism	Andreas	Vercelli
1649	byrig	town	bright/radiant	Andreas	Vercelli
1655	goldburg	rich town		Andreas	Vercelli
1657	brimpisan	ship		Andreas	Vercelli
1672	winbyrig	festive town		Andreas	Vercelli
1677	ceastre	town		Andreas	Vercelli
1697	wederburg	exposed town		Andreas	Vercelli
1699	brimpisan	ship		Andreas	Vercelli
1710	næsse	shore	mooring	Andreas	Vercelli
1710	brim	sea	næse/headland	Andreas	Vercelli
1712	ofre	shore		Andreas	Vercelli
1714	seolhpaðu	sea/sealpath	ship	Andreas	Vercelli
1719	blæd	glory/splendour		Andreas	Vercelli
19	burgsittend	towndweller		Azarius	Exeter
21	grund	country/land		Azarius	Exeter
38	brimflod	sea	sand	Azarius	Exeter
39	sond	sand	sea/shore	Azarius	Exeter
39	waropa	shore	sea/sand	Azarius	Exeter
39	wæteres	water/sea	salt	Azarius	Exeter
40	yþe	sea	seabed	Azarius	Exeter
40	eargrund	seabed	sand/water	Azarius	Exeter
83	wyrte	plant/root	rain/tree/growth	Azarius	Exeter
83	wudubearwas	woods	rain/plant/growth	Azarius	Exeter
84	tanum	shoots	woods/sun/rain	Azarius	Exeter
110	wæstmum	fruit/produce	sanctuary/glory	Azarius	Exeter
111	bled	fruits	sanctuary/glory	Azarius	Exeter
117	duna	hills	high	Azarius	Exeter
120	moras	hills/mor	wudige	Azarius	Exeter
122	sæs	sea	water	Azarius	Exeter
122	wætre	waters	seas	Azarius	Exeter
123	holm	island/sea	hea	Azarius	Exeter
124	wæter	water/sea	depth	Azarius	Exeter
125	geofonflod	seas	currents	Azarius	Exeter
126	merestream	sea/currents	movement	Azarius	Exeter
127	wæter	water/currents	movement	Azarius	Exeter
129	laguflod	sea	movement	Azarius	Exeter
131	sunde	sea	movement/journey	Azarius	Exeter
136	wæter	river	cliff	Azarius	Exeter
137	clif	cliff	water	Azarius	Exeter
140	fisc	fish	birds	Azarius	Exeter
140	fuglas	birds	fish	Azarius	Exeter
141	wægās	waves	wildness	Azarius	Exeter

line	word	feature	associated with	poem	Ms
142	brim	sea	broad	Azarius	Exeter
143	heofonfuglas	birds	sky	Azarius	Exeter
145	deor	wild animals	cattle	Azarius	Exeter
145	nytan	cattle	wild animals	Azarius	Exeter
178	blæd	spirit	shining angel	Azarius	Exeter
181	ade	fire		Azarius	Exeter
10	hronrade	sea	travel	Beowulf	Nowell
18	blæd	glory/renown		Beowulf	Nowell
28	brim	sea	seashore	Beowulf	Nowell
37	feorwegum	far ways	jewels	Beowulf	Nowell
42	flod	sea/currents	travel	Beowulf	Nowell
46	yðe	wave	travel	Beowulf	Nowell
47	holm	sea	travel	Beowulf	Nowell
48	garsecg	sea	travel	Beowulf	Nowell
53	burg	town/stronghold		Beowulf	Nowell
56	eard	land	leader	Beowulf	Nowell
81	sele	hall	high/wide	Beowulf	Nowell
82	horngeap	widegabled	high	Beowulf	Nowell
92	eorðe	earth	creation	Beowulf	Nowell
93	wang	plain/ground	brightness	Beowulf	Nowell
93	wæter	water/sea	enclosing	Beowulf	Nowell
95	landbuendum	landlivers	light	Beowulf	Nowell
96	foldan	earth	areas/foilage	Beowulf	Nowell
97	leomum	branches	leaves	Beowulf	Nowell
97	leafum	leaves	branches	Beowulf	Nowell
103	nearcstapa	moor-stepper	fen/moras	Beowulf	Nowell
104	fen	fen/marsh	moors	Beowulf	Nowell
104	fæsten	fen/marsh	enclosure	Beowulf	Nowell
104	eard	homeland	monsters/Cain	Beowulf	Nowell
132	last	tracks	Grendel's	Beowulf	Nowell
145	idel	desolate	Grendel	Beowulf	Nowell
162	moras	moor/marsh	misty	Beowulf	Nowell
163	hwyrftum	mental path		Beowulf	Nowell
200	swanrade	sea(path)		Beowulf	Nowell
209	landgemyrcu	land boundary	seashore	Beowulf	Nowell
211	beorg	seacliff	boat/waves	Beowulf	Nowell
212	streamas	current/tide	boat	Beowulf	Nowell
213	sund	sea/tide	sand	Beowulf	Nowell
213	sande	sand	sea/tide	Beowulf	Nowell
217	wægholm	sea	boat/journey	Beowulf	Nowell
221	land	coast	first sighting	Beowulf	Nowell
222	brimclif	seacliffs	bright/headlands	Beowulf	Nowell
222	beorg	clif/hill	steep/sæness	Beowulf	Nowell
223	sænessas	headlands	wide/beorge	Beowulf	Nowell
223	sund	sea		Beowulf	Nowell
225	wang	land/ground		Beowulf	Nowell
229	weall	wall/defence	coastguard	Beowulf	Nowell
230	holmclifu	seacliffs	coastguard	Beowulf	Nowell
230	holmclif	seacliff		Beowulf	Nowell
234	waroðe	seashore	coastguard	Beowulf	Nowell
239	lagustræte	sea roads	coastguard	Beowulf	Nowell

line	word	feature	associated with	poem	Ms
240	holmas	sea	coastguard	Beowulf	Nowell
242	land	country	Danes	Beowulf	Nowell
248	eorðe	earth	Bw might	Beowulf	Nowell
253	land	country	Danes	Beowulf	Nowell
269	leodegebyrg	people protector		Beowulf	Nowell
295	sande	shore/beach		Beowulf	Nowell
298	wedermearc	coast/boundary	country	Beowulf	Nowell
303	efor	boar	on helmet	Beowulf	Nowell
307	sæl	hall	timbered	Beowulf	Nowell
311	landa	countries	radiance	Beowulf	Nowell
318	sæ	sea	coast	Beowulf	Nowell
320	stræt	road	stone	Beowulf	Nowell
320	stanfah	stonepaved	road	Beowulf	Nowell
320	stig	path	guide/lead	Beowulf	Nowell
330	æscholt	spearforest		Beowulf	Nowell
362	geofen	sea	travel	Beowulf	Nowell
393	sæwylm	seasurge	travel	Beowulf	Nowell
410	ebelturf	native turf		Beowulf	Nowell
413	idel	desolate	Grendel	Beowulf	Nowell
413	unnyt	waste	Grendel	Beowulf	Nowell
421	yð	waves	watermonsters	Beowulf	Nowell
448	byrgen	grave/tomb		Beowulf	Nowell
450	morhop	moorland	Grendel	Beowulf	Nowell
464	yð	waves	motion/fight	Beowulf	Nowell
466	gimmerice	kingdom	rich	Beowulf	Nowell
467	hordburh	treasure town		Beowulf	Nowell
471	wætres	sea	hrycg/ridge	Beowulf	Nowell
507	sæ	sea	wide	Beowulf	Nowell
507	sund	sea		Beowulf	Nowell
509	wæter	sea	deep	Beowulf	Nowell
512	sund	sea		Beowulf	Nowell
513	eagorstream	tides		Beowulf	Nowell
514	merestræta	seaways	swimming	Beowulf	Nowell
515	garsecg	sea	swimming	Beowulf	Nowell
515	geofon	sea	waves	Beowulf	Nowell
515	yð	waves	sea/winter/swell	Beowulf	Nowell
516	wæter	seawater		Beowulf	Nowell
519	holm	sea	coast	Beowulf	Nowell
522	freoðoburh	peaceful town		Beowulf	Nowell
533	merestrenge	seastrength	Beowulf swimming	Beowulf	Nowell
537	garsecg	sea		Beowulf	Nowell
542	flodyþ	seawaves		Beowulf	Nowell
543	holm	sea		Beowulf	Nowell
544	sæ	sea		Beowulf	Nowell
545	flod	sea(tide)		Beowulf	Nowell
546	wado	waters	surging/tide	Beowulf	Nowell
548	yþ	wave		Beowulf	Nowell
553	grund	seabed		Beowulf	Nowell
564	sægrund	seabed		Beowulf	Nowell
566	yðlaf	seashore		Beowulf	Nowell
568	ford	sea	high	Beowulf	Nowell

line	word	feature	associated with	poem	Ms
568	brimlīþend	sailor		Beowulf	Nowell
570	brim	sea		Beowulf	Nowell
571	sænessas	promontory	wind	Beowulf	Nowell
572	weallas	cliffs	wind	Beowulf	Nowell
579	sæ	sea	currents	Beowulf	Nowell
580	flod	sea	currents	Beowulf	Nowell
616	ēbelweard	landguardian		Beowulf	Nowell
632	holm	sea	travel	Beowulf	Nowell
692	eardlufan	loved homeland		Beowulf	Nowell
693	freoburh	noble town		Beowulf	Nowell
710	mor	moor/waste	Grendel	Beowulf	Nowell
710	misthleopum	misty slopes	Grendel	Beowulf	Nowell
721	duru	door		Beowulf	Nowell
764	fenhopu	fen retreat	Grendel	Beowulf	Nowell
773	foldbold	earthly house		Beowulf	Nowell
820	fenhleodū	fen slopes	Grendel	Beowulf	Nowell
841	last	tracks	Grendel	Beowulf	Nowell
845	mere	lake	Grendel	Beowulf	Nowell
847	brim	lake	Grendel's blood	Beowulf	Nowell
848	yð	waves	motion	Beowulf	Nowell
851	fenfreodū	fen refuge	Grendel	Beowulf	Nowell
855	mere	lake	journey	Beowulf	Nowell
859	eormengrund	wide world	fame	Beowulf	Nowell
866	foldwegas	paths	journey	Beowulf	Nowell
887	stan	stone	grey/fighting	Beowulf	Nowell
892	draca	dragon	Sigemund	Beowulf	Nowell
912	hleoburh	protecting town		Beowulf	Nowell
916	stræte	path	yellow? Fealwe	Beowulf	Nowell
924	medostigg	meadhall path	Heorot	Beowulf	Nowell
997	bold	house		Beowulf	Nowell
1006	grundbuendra	earthdwellers		Beowulf	Nowell
1006	stow	place	grave/after death	Beowulf	Nowell
1013	blædagande	renown		Beowulf	Nowell
1051	brimlad	seapaths	travel	Beowulf	Nowell
1110	ade	fire/pyre		Beowulf	Nowell
1114	ade	fire/pyre		Beowulf	Nowell
1124	blæd	glory/renown		Beowulf	Nowell
1127	heaburh	great town		Beowulf	Nowell
1129	eard	homeland	Finnsburh	Beowulf	Nowell
1130	mere	sea/water	travel	Beowulf	Nowell
1131	holm	sea	winter/storms	Beowulf	Nowell
1137	foldan	earth/land	spring/beauty	Beowulf	Nowell
1199	byrig	town	bright/radiant	Beowulf	Nowell
1208	yð	waves		Beowulf	Nowell
1223	sæ	sea		Beowulf	Nowell
1224	weall	cliffs	winds	Beowulf	Nowell
1260	wæteregeſan	fearsome water	currents	Beowulf	Nowell
1261	streamas	water	flowing/cold	Beowulf	Nowell
1265	westen	wilderness		Beowulf	Nowell
1299	blædfæstne	renown		Beowulf	Nowell
1348	mearcſtapan	moorsteppers		Beowulf	Nowell

line	word	feature	associated with	poem	Ms
1348	mor	moor/waste		Beowulf	Nowell
1352	wræclast	exile paths		Beowulf	Nowell
1356	lond	land/region		Beowulf	Nowell
1358	wulfhleopu	wolf-slopes		Beowulf	Nowell
1358	næss	promontory	wind	Beowulf	Nowell
1359	fengelad	fen paths		Beowulf	Nowell
1359	fyrgenstream	mountainstream		Beowulf	Nowell
1360	næss	promontory	mist/water	Beowulf	Nowell
1361	flod	water/stream	earth	Beowulf	Nowell
1361	foldan	earth/land		Beowulf	Nowell
1362	mere	lake		Beowulf	Nowell
1363	bearwe	woods	frost	Beowulf	Nowell
1366	flod	water	fire	Beowulf	Nowell
1367	grund	lakebed		Beowulf	Nowell
1368	hæðstapa	heathstepper	stag	Beowulf	Nowell
1369	holtwudu	woods	stag	Beowulf	Nowell
1371	ofre	bank/shore	lake	Beowulf	Nowell
1372	stow	place	fear/supernatural	Beowulf	Nowell
1373	yðgeblond	surging wave	black/wind/storm	Beowulf	Nowell
1377	eard	region		Beowulf	Nowell
1387	stow	place		Beowulf	Nowell
1391	gang	trail		Beowulf	Nowell
1393	foldan	earth	depth	Beowulf	Nowell
1393	fyrgeholt	mountainwood		Beowulf	Nowell
1394	grund	seabed	gyfen	Beowulf	Nowell
1402	last	tracks		Beowulf	Nowell
1403	waldswapum	forest paths		Beowulf	Nowell
1403	gang	trail	ground	Beowulf	Nowell
1403	grund	ground	trail	Beowulf	Nowell
1405	mor	moor	murk -myrcan	Beowulf	Nowell
1409	stanhliðo	stone-slopes	steep	Beowulf	Nowell
1409	stig	path	nearwe	Beowulf	Nowell
1410	anpað	path	enge	Beowulf	Nowell
1410	gelad	way/crossing	uncuð	Beowulf	Nowell
1411	næss	headland/ness	neowle	Beowulf	Nowell
1411	nicorhus	monsterhouse	many	Beowulf	Nowell
1413	wong	ground		Beowulf	Nowell
1414	fyrgenbeam	mountaintrees	rock/water	Beowulf	Nowell
1415	stan	stone/rock	grey/water	Beowulf	Nowell
1416	wudu	wood	wynleasne	Beowulf	Nowell
1416	wæter	water	gory	Beowulf	Nowell
1421	holmclif	water cliff		Beowulf	Nowell
1422	flod	mere	blood	Beowulf	Nowell
1425	wæter	mere	monsters	Beowulf	Nowell
1426	sund	water/mere	monsters	Beowulf	Nowell
1426	sædraca	seadragons	mere	Beowulf	Nowell
1427	næshleoð	headlandslopes	monsters	Beowulf	Nowell
1429	seglrade	sailway	wyrm/wildeor	Beowulf	Nowell
1430	wildeor	wild animals		Beowulf	Nowell
1432	guðhorn	warhorn call	challenge	Beowulf	Nowell
1434	yðgewinn	wavebattle	monsters	Beowulf	Nowell

line	word	feature	associated with	poem	Ms
1435	holm	water/mere	monsters	Beowulf	Nowell
1436	sund	water/swim	monsters	Beowulf	Nowell
1437	yð	wave	monsters	Beowulf	Nowell
1439	næss	headland/crag	monsters	Beowulf	Nowell
1440	wægþora	wavetraverser	monsters	Beowulf	Nowell
1444	sund	water/mere	explore	Beowulf	Nowell
1449	meregrund	lakebottom		Beowulf	Nowell
1450	sundgebland	surging water		Beowulf	Nowell
1469	yð	wave/water	turmoil/bravery	Beowulf	Nowell
1494	brimwylm	water surge		Beowulf	Nowell
1496	grundwong	lakebottom		Beowulf	Nowell
1497	flod	water	expanse/GM	Beowulf	Nowell
1500	eard	dwelling	monsters	Beowulf	Nowell
1506	brimwylf	water/wolf/GM		Beowulf	Nowell
1506	botm	lakebottom		Beowulf	Nowell
1507	hof	dwelling/lair	GM	Beowulf	Nowell
1510	sund	water	monsters	Beowulf	Nowell
1513	niðsele	hostile hall	GM	Beowulf	Nowell
1514	wæter	water	GM/hall/land	Beowulf	Nowell
1515	hrofsele	roofed hall	GM/lakebottom	Beowulf	Nowell
1516	flod	water	GM/hall/land	Beowulf	Nowell
1516	fyrleoht	firelight	hall/lakebottom	Beowulf	Nowell
1518	grundwyrge	water monster		Beowulf	Nowell
1540	flet	floor	hall/fight	Beowulf	Nowell
1551	grund	ground/earth	wide/gynne	Beowulf	Nowell
1570	leoma	gleam/light	death/GM	Beowulf	Nowell
1570	leoht	light	death/GM	Beowulf	Nowell
1572	candel	sun/skycandle	death/GM	Beowulf	Nowell
1572	reced	hall		Beowulf	Nowell
1573	weall	wall		Beowulf	Nowell
1592	holm	water	men above	Beowulf	Nowell
1593	yðblond	surging water	men above	Beowulf	Nowell
1594	brim	water	bloodstained	Beowulf	Nowell
1600	næs	crag/headland	men above	Beowulf	Nowell
1603	mere	mere	Geats stay	Beowulf	Nowell
1608	ise	ice	cf sword	Beowulf	Nowell
1609	forste	frost	cf sword	Beowulf	Nowell
1610	wælræp	flood-fetter	cf sword	Beowulf	Nowell
1612	wic	hall/dwelling		Beowulf	Nowell
1618	sund	water/swim		Beowulf	Nowell
1619	wæter	water		Beowulf	Nowell
1620	yðgeblond	surging water		Beowulf	Nowell
1621	eard	tracts/areas	water	Beowulf	Nowell
1623	land	lakeshore		Beowulf	Nowell
1630	lagu	lake/water	bloodstained	Beowulf	Nowell
1631	wæter	water	skies/wolcnum	Beowulf	Nowell
1632	fepelast	foot-track	retrace steps	Beowulf	Nowell
1633	foldweg	earthpath	retrace steps	Beowulf	Nowell
1634	stræte	path	retrace steps	Beowulf	Nowell
1635	holmclif	watercliff		Beowulf	Nowell
1639	goldsele	goldhall/heorot		Beowulf	Nowell

line	word	feature	associated with	poem	Ms
1640	sele	hall/heorot		Beowulf	Nowell
1643	meoduwong	meadhall fields		Beowulf	Nowell
1652	sælac	seabooty		Beowulf	Nowell
1656	wæter	water	battle	Beowulf	Nowell
1662	wag	wall	GM hall	Beowulf	Nowell
1666	hus	house	GM hall	Beowulf	Nowell
1685	sæ	seas	rulers/earth	Beowulf	Nowell
1690	gifen	ocean/sea	giants/flood	Beowulf	Nowell
1693	wæter	sea/flood	giants/flood	Beowulf	Nowell
1698	flod	flood	old giants	Beowulf	Nowell
1702	eþelweard	land guardian		Beowulf	Nowell
1703	blæd	glory/renown		Beowulf	Nowell
1704	widweg	far regions	Bw fame	Beowulf	Nowell
1727	eard	home		Beowulf	Nowell
1730	eþle	homeland		Beowulf	Nowell
1731	hleoburh	protecting town		Beowulf	Nowell
1761	blæd	glory/renown		Beowulf	Nowell
1774	eþle	homeland		Beowulf	Nowell
1799	reced	hall	height/wealth	Beowulf	Nowell
1800	geap	gables	height/wealth	Beowulf	Nowell
1800	goldfah	goldstained	height/wealth	Beowulf	Nowell
1826	flod	sea	expanse	Beowulf	Nowell
1834	garholt	spearforest	metaphorical lds	Beowulf	Nowell
1861	ganotes	gannet	sea	Beowulf	Nowell
1861	bæð	sea	gannet	Beowulf	Nowell
1862	heaf	sea	trade	Beowulf	Nowell
1881	græsmoldan	grassy earth	path/travel	Beowulf	Nowell
1887	flod	sea	travel	Beowulf	Nowell
1892	hlið	cliff/slope	headland	Beowulf	Nowell
1892	nose	headland	cliff	Beowulf	Nowell
1896	sand	sand/shore		Beowulf	Nowell
1904	wæter	sea	depth/ship	Beowulf	Nowell
1904	land	country	Danes	Beowulf	Nowell
1907	yð	waves	ship	Beowulf	Nowell
1909	yð	waves	ship	Beowulf	Nowell
1910	brimstream	seacurrents	ship	Beowulf	Nowell
1911	clif	cliffs	end journey	Beowulf	Nowell
1912	næss	cliffs	end journey	Beowulf	Nowell
1913	land	shore	end journey	Beowulf	Nowell
1914	holm	sea	coast	Beowulf	Nowell
1916	faroð	sea	coast	Beowulf	Nowell
1917	sand	sand/shore	moor ship	Beowulf	Nowell
1918	yð	wave	force	Beowulf	Nowell
1924	sæweall	seawall	Hygelac's hall	Beowulf	Nowell
1925	bold	building	Hygelac's hall	Beowulf	Nowell
1926	heall	hall	Hygelac's hall	Beowulf	Nowell
1928	burhlocan	enclosed place	Hygelac's hall	Beowulf	Nowell
1960	eþel	homeland		Beowulf	Nowell
1964	sand	sand	shore/beach/space	Beowulf	Nowell
1964	sæwong	beach	shore/sand/space	Beowulf	Nowell
1965	sæm	seas	phrase/formula	Beowulf	Nowell

line	word	feature	associated with	poem	Ms
1965	waroð	shore	sand/beach/space	Beowulf	Nowell
1966	sigel	sun	time/moving west	Beowulf	Nowell
1968	burg	town/stronghold	meetings/rings	Beowulf	Nowell
1972	wordīg	precinct/court	ceremony	Beowulf	Nowell
1984	sele	hall	height	Beowulf	Nowell
1989	wæter	sea	salt	Beowulf	Nowell
2010	hringsele	ringhallæ	gifts	Beowulf	Nowell
2051	wælstow	battlefield		Beowulf	Nowell
2062	land	locality	knowledge/escape	Beowulf	Nowell
2073	grund	ground/earth	time/sunset	Beowulf	Nowell
2088	draca	dragon	skin/pouch	Beowulf	Nowell
2100	meregrund	lakebottom	G death	Beowulf	Nowell
2128	firgenstream	mountainstream	GM/mere	Beowulf	Nowell
2132	holm	water/mere	tumult/surge	Beowulf	Nowell
2135	wælm	surge/swell	mere	Beowulf	Nowell
2136	grundhryde	bottomguardian	GM/lakebottom	Beowulf	Nowell
2138	holm	water	blood	Beowulf	Nowell
2139	guðsele	warhallð	GM	Beowulf	Nowell
2165	æppelfealuwe	yellow horses	gifts of H	Beowulf	Nowell
2195	busend	thousand hides?		Beowulf	Nowell
2196	bold	hall	with land/throne	Beowulf	Nowell
2197	lond	land/estate		Beowulf	Nowell
2198	eard	dwelling	estates	Beowulf	Nowell
2198	epelriht	landrights	estates	Beowulf	Nowell
2199	rice	kingdom	wide/spacious	Beowulf	Nowell
2207	rice	kingdom	broad/spacious	Beowulf	Nowell
2210	epelweard	land guardian		Beowulf	Nowell
2211	draca	dragon	hoard	Beowulf	Nowell
2212	hof	dwelling/barrow	dragon/height	Beowulf	Nowell
2213	stanbeorh	stonebarrow	dragon/height	Beowulf	Nowell
2225	ærn	dwelling/refuge		Beowulf	Nowell
2232	eorðhus	earth-house	dragon/treasure	Beowulf	Nowell
2241	beorh	barrow/mound	treasure	Beowulf	Nowell
2242	wong	ground/land		Beowulf	Nowell
2242	wæteryð	seawaves	barrow	Beowulf	Nowell
2243	næss	headland	barrow/shore	Beowulf	Nowell
2247	hruse	earth	barrow/treasure	Beowulf	Nowell
2264	sæl	hall/courtyard	hawk/joys	Beowulf	Nowell
2265	burhstede	hall/courtyard	horse/joys	Beowulf	Nowell
2273	niðdraca	malicious dragon	hoard	Beowulf	Nowell
2276	hruse	earth	dragon/hoard	Beowulf	Nowell
2279	hruse	earth	dragon/treasure	Beowulf	Nowell
2287	stan	stone/rock	dragon/barrow	Beowulf	Nowell
2290	draca	dragon		Beowulf	Nowell
2294	grund	ground/floor	barrow	Beowulf	Nowell
2296	hlæw	barrow/mound	dragon/treasure	Beowulf	Nowell
2298	westen	wilderness	dragon/mound	Beowulf	Nowell
2299	beorh	barrow/mound	dragon/treasure	Beowulf	Nowell
2304	beorg	barrow/mound	dragon/guardian	Beowulf	Nowell
2307	weall	walls	barrow	Beowulf	Nowell
2310	land	country	dragon/revenge	Beowulf	Nowell

line	word	feature	associated with	poem	Ms
2314	hof	house	dragon/flame	Beowulf	Nowell
2320	dryhtsele	barrow/mound	dragon	Beowulf	Nowell
2322	beorg	barrow/mound	defence/walls	Beowulf	Nowell
2323	weall	walls	defence/rampart	Beowulf	Nowell
2324	bold	hall	Bw/best	Beowulf	Nowell
2333	ligdraca	fiery dragon		Beowulf	Nowell
2334	ealond	coastland	eorðweard/interior	Beowulf	Nowell
2334	eorðweard	earthguard/inte	ealond	Beowulf	Nowell
2362	holm	sea	swimming	Beowulf	Nowell
2367	sioleð	sea	expanse	Beowulf	Nowell
2380	sæ	sea		Beowulf	Nowell
2394	sæ	sea	wide	Beowulf	Nowell
2402	draca	dragon		Beowulf	Nowell
2409	wong	place/field	barrow	Beowulf	Nowell
2410	eorðsele	barrow/mound		Beowulf	Nowell
2411	hlæw	barrow/mound		Beowulf	Nowell
2411	hruse	earth/barrow	seacoast	Beowulf	Nowell
2411	holmwylm	seasurge	barrow	Beowulf	Nowell
2412	yðgewinn	wavesurge	barrow	Beowulf	Nowell
2415	eorðe	earth/ground	barrow	Beowulf	Nowell
2417	næss	headland	barrow	Beowulf	Nowell
2433	burg	town/stronghold		Beowulf	Nowell
2437	hornbogan	horn bow	backstory	Beowulf	Nowell
2452	burg	town/stronghold		Beowulf	Nowell
2456	winsele	winehall	deserted/westne	Beowulf	Nowell
2456	reste	resting place	windge	Beowulf	Nowell
2459	geard	courts/precinct		Beowulf	Nowell
2462	wong	place/land	home	Beowulf	Nowell
2462	wicstede	dwelling	land	Beowulf	Nowell
2471	lond	land/estate		Beowulf	Nowell
2471	leodbyrig	peoples town		Beowulf	Nowell
2473	wæter	sea	wide	Beowulf	Nowell
2477	heafo	seas		Beowulf	Nowell
2477	hreosnabeorh	Mareshill	placename	Beowulf	Nowell
2492	lond	estates	home/joy	Beowulf	Nowell
2493	eard	dwelling	land/joy	Beowulf	Nowell
2493	epelwyn	homeland joy		Beowulf	Nowell
2515	eorðsele	barrow/mound	dragon	Beowulf	Nowell
2524	beorg	barrow/mound	dragon	Beowulf	Nowell
2526	weall	wall/rampart		Beowulf	Nowell
2529	beorg	barrow/mound		Beowulf	Nowell
2540	stancleof	stonecliff	barrow	Beowulf	Nowell
2542	weall	wall/rampart	barrow	Beowulf	Nowell
2545	stanbogan	stone arches	barrow	Beowulf	Nowell
2545	stream	stream	barrow	Beowulf	Nowell
2546	beorg	barrow/mound	stone/stream	Beowulf	Nowell
2546	burne	stream	heat/fire/surge	Beowulf	Nowell
2549	draca	dragon		Beowulf	Nowell
2553	stan	stone/rock	grey/harne	Beowulf	Nowell
2557	stan	stone/rock	barrow	Beowulf	Nowell
2559	beorg	barrow/mound	dragon	Beowulf	Nowell

line	word	feature	associated with	poem	Ms
2561	hringboga	coiled dragon		Beowulf	Nowell
2569	gebogan	arched/coiled	dragon	Beowulf	Nowell
2580	beorg	barrow/mound	dragon/guardian	Beowulf	Nowell
2588	grundwong	earth/place		Beowulf	Nowell
2598	holt	wood	refuge	Beowulf	Nowell
2607	wicsted	dwelling place	wealth/landrights	Beowulf	Nowell
2608	folcriht	landrights	common land	Beowulf	Nowell
2654	eard	homeland		Beowulf	Nowell
2680	fyrdraca	fire dragon		Beowulf	Nowell
2712	eorðdraca	earth dragon		Beowulf	Nowell
2716	weall	wall/rampart		Beowulf	Nowell
2718	sesse	seat/bank	barrow	Beowulf	Nowell
2718	stanbogan	stone arches	barrow	Beowulf	Nowell
2718	stapul	pillar	barrow	Beowulf	Nowell
2719	eorðreced	earth-hall		Beowulf	Nowell
2749	stan	stone/rock	grey/harne	Beowulf	Nowell
2755	beorg	barrow/mound	roof/treasure	Beowulf	Nowell
2756	sesse	seat/bank	barrow	Beowulf	Nowell
2765	grund	ground/earth	gold	Beowulf	Nowell
2770	grundwong	ground/floor/le	barrow	Beowulf	Nowell
2773	hlæw	barrow/mound	treasure	Beowulf	Nowell
2802	hlæw	barrow/mound	memorial	Beowulf	Nowell
2803	nosan	headland	sea/coast	Beowulf	Nowell
2803	brim	sea	headland	Beowulf	Nowell
2805	Hronesnæs	Whale headland	placename	Beowulf	Nowell
2807	biorh	barrow/mound	Bw	Beowulf	Nowell
2808	flod	sea	mist	Beowulf	Nowell
2825	eorðdraca	earth dragon		Beowulf	Nowell
2827	wohbogan	arched/coiled	dragon	Beowulf	Nowell
2834	eorðe	ground	dead dragon	Beowulf	Nowell
2836	land	country	comparative	Beowulf	Nowell
2842	beorg	barrow/mound		Beowulf	Nowell
2846	holt	wood		Beowulf	Nowell
2854	wætre	water	revive Bw	Beowulf	Nowell
2885	epelwyn	homeland joy		Beowulf	Nowell
2892	haga	enclosure?	headland	Beowulf	Nowell
2893	ecgclif	cliff-edge	headland	Beowulf	Nowell
2898	næs	headland		Beowulf	Nowell
2925	Hrefnawudu	Ravenswood	placename	Beowulf	Nowell
2930	brimwisan	seaking		Beowulf	Nowell
2935	Hrefnesholt	Ravenswood	placename	Beowulf	Nowell
2957	eorðweall	earthrampart	defence	Beowulf	Nowell
2960	haga	enclosure	defence	Beowulf	Nowell
2984	wælstow	battlefield		Beowulf	Nowell
2995	land	estates	size/value	Beowulf	Nowell
2996	middangeard	earth	comparative	Beowulf	Nowell
3019	elland	alien land		Beowulf	Nowell
3031	Earnanæs	Eagle headland	placename	Beowulf	Nowell
3033	sand	sand	coast/shore	Beowulf	Nowell
3039	wong	ground	dead dragon	Beowulf	Nowell
3040	legdraca	fiery dragon		Beowulf	Nowell

line	word	feature	associated with	poem	Ms
3046	eorðscrafa	earthcaves	dragon	Beowulf	Nowell
3049	eorðe	earth	treasure/barrow	Beowulf	Nowell
3053	hringsele	barrow/mound	treasure	Beowulf	Nowell
3060	weall	wall/rampart	barrow	Beowulf	Nowell
3066	biorge	barrow/mound	dragon/guardian	Beowulf	Nowell
3073	wong	place	barrow	Beowulf	Nowell
3088	reced	barrow/mound	treasure	Beowulf	Nowell
3090	eorðweall	earthwall/ramp	treasure	Beowulf	Nowell
3097	beorh	barrow/mound	high/memorial	Beowulf	Nowell
3100	eorðe	earth	fame	Beowulf	Nowell
3100	burhwelan	rich town		Beowulf	Nowell
3103	weall	wall/rampart	treasure	Beowulf	Nowell
3112	boldagend	houseruler		Beowulf	Nowell
3123	inwithrof	evil roof/barrow		Beowulf	Nowell
3128	sele	barrow/mound		Beowulf	Nowell
3131	draca	dragon		Beowulf	Nowell
3132	weallclif	cliff-edge	dead dragon	Beowulf	Nowell
3132	weg	wave	tide/currents	Beowulf	Nowell
3133	flod	sea	tide/currents	Beowulf	Nowell
3136	Hronesnæs	Whale headland	placename	Beowulf	Nowell
3143	beorg	headland/hill	funeral pyre	Beowulf	Nowell
3157	hlæw	barrow/mound	memorial	Beowulf	Nowell
3157	hoe	headland	memorial	Beowulf	Nowell
3160	becn	monument/mo	memorial	Beowulf	Nowell
3161	weall	wall/rampart	barrow	Beowulf	Nowell
3163	beorg	barrow/mound	memorial/treasure	Beowulf	Nowell
3166	eorðe	earth	treasure	Beowulf	Nowell
3167	greote	dust/grit	treasure	Beowulf	Nowell
3169	hlæw	barrow/mound	memorial	Beowulf	Nowell
5	brunanburh	placename	battle	Bnb	ASC
9	land	country	treasure/homes	Bnb	ASC
12	feld	battlefield		Bnb	ASC
15	grund	ground/land	sun/day	Bnb	ASC
27	land	country	invaders	Bnb	ASC
29	campstede	battlefield		Bnb	ASC
35	flot	sea	fleeing survivors	Bnb	ASC
36	flod	sea	fealene/colour	Bnb	ASC
38	cyppe	homeland	norð	Bnb	ASC
41	folcstede	battlefield		Bnb	ASC
43	wælstow	battlefield		Bnb	ASC
49	campstede	battlefield		Bnb	ASC
51	wælfelda	battlefield		Bnb	ASC
54	dingesmere	placename		Bnb	ASC
55	difelin	placename	survivors	Bnb	ASC
56	iraland	countryside	survivors	Bnb	ASC
58	cyppe	homeland		Bnb	ASC
59	wesseaxena	placename		Bnb	ASC
64	deor	animal/wolf	grey	Bnb	ASC
66	eiglande	island	British Isles	Bnb	ASC
71	brimu	sea	invaders	Bnb	ASC
71	brytene	placename	invaders	Bnb	ASC

line	word	feature	associated with	poem	Ms
72	wealas	placename	invaders	Bnb	ASC
73	eard	country	invaders	Bnb	ASC
7	eorðbyrig	earthly town		Christ	Exeter
42	grundsceat	earth	spiritual fruits	Christ	Exeter
51	burglond	town	city-state	Christ	Exeter
52	ēpelstol	heaven	angels	Christ	Exeter
55	eardgeard	dwelling	Jerusalem	Christ	Exeter
63	eard	dwelling	Jerusalem	Christ	Exeter
66	burg	town		Christ	Exeter
144	foldan	earth	people	Christ	Exeter
145	grund	abyss	people	Christ	Exeter
257	deor	animal/wolf	darkness	Christ	Exeter
265	grund	abyss	Hell	Christ	Exeter
309	duru	door	large/ornate	Christ	Exeter
337	burgsittend	towndweller		Christ	Exeter
357	brytengrundas	lands	creation/spacious	Christ	Exeter
461	byrg	town	holy	Christ	Exeter
481	grund	earth	journey	Christ	Exeter
490	stow	place		Christ	Exeter
499	grund	earth	ascension	Christ	Exeter
516	ēpelstoll	heaven	God	Christ	Exeter
519	byrg	town	bright	Christ	Exeter
524	eard	dwelling		Christ	Exeter
530	burg	town	heaven	Christ	Exeter
534	burg	town	holy	Christ	Exeter
542	byrig	town	bright/radiant	Christ	Exeter
553	burg	town	lord's town	Christ	Exeter
562	grund	abyss		Christ	Exeter
569	byrig	town	devil	Christ	Exeter
578	ceastre	town		Christ	Exeter
605	widlond	land	space	Christ	Exeter
609	deaw	dew	rain/creation	Christ	Exeter
621	eorðe	earth	men	Christ	Exeter
625	fyr	fire	Hell	Christ	Exeter
626	eorðe	earth		Christ	Exeter
630	ēpel	heaven	angels	Christ	Exeter
636	fugel	bird	Christ	Christ	Exeter
641	stænne	stony	heart	Christ	Exeter
646	eard	dwelling		Christ	Exeter
649	grundsceat	regions of earth	bird's flight	Christ	Exeter
675	dæl	pit	heat	Christ	Exeter
677	sæ	sea	ship	Christ	Exeter
678	beam	tree	height	Christ	Exeter
682	grund	earth	gifts of men	Christ	Exeter
688	blæd	glory/splendour		Christ	Exeter
702	grund	earth	ascension	Christ	Exeter
710	blæd	glory/splendour		Christ	Exeter
716	munt	mountain	Christ	Christ	Exeter
717	dune	hills	high	Christ	Exeter
717	hyllas	hills	glory	Christ	Exeter
717	cnoll	hill/summit	glory	Christ	Exeter

line	word	feature	associated with	poem	Ms
729	byrgen	grave/tomb		Christ	Exeter
738	ealdcyðð	old homeland		Christ	Exeter
742	bold	house		Christ	Exeter
742	burgwar	towndweller		Christ	Exeter
744	grund	earth	leaps/glory	Christ	Exeter
745	heahhleopu	hills	leaps/glory	Christ	Exeter
746	munt	mountain	leaps/glory	Christ	Exeter
772	eard	dwelling	preparation for heaven	Christ	Exeter
785	grund	earth	judgement	Christ	Exeter
802	wongstede	earth	judgement	Christ	Exeter
805	eorpan	earth	beauty/pleasure	Christ	Exeter
806	flod	sea	confines/control	Christ	Exeter
807	foldan	earth	life	Christ	Exeter
809	leg	fire	bright/red	Christ	Exeter
810	wong	lands		Christ	Exeter
811	burgstede	townplaces		Christ	Exeter
850	laguflod	sea	voyage	Christ	Exeter
851	wæter	sea	cold/voyage	Christ	Exeter
852	sæ	sea	sidne	Christ	Exeter
853	stream	sea	peril	Christ	Exeter
854	yð	wave	immoderate	Christ	Exeter
855	holm	sea	wind	Christ	Exeter
856	gelad	sea-way	deep	Christ	Exeter
875	beorg	mountain		Christ	Exeter
877	blæd	glory/splendour		Christ	Exeter
899	beorg	mountain		Christ	Exeter
900	subaneastan	southeast	mountain	Christ	Exeter
930	gesceaft	creation	deep	Christ	Exeter
931	wælmfyr	fire	mæst	Christ	Exeter
931	grund	ground	widne	Christ	Exeter
932	leg	fire	noise	Christ	Exeter
932	heofonas	sky	berstað	Christ	Exeter
933	tungol	stars	skies/fall	Christ	Exeter
934	sunne	sun	colour/blood/sweart	Christ	Exeter
937	mona	moon	fall	Christ	Exeter
939	steorran	stars	scattered	Christ	Exeter
940	storm	winds	air/stars	Christ	Exeter
947	grund	earth	sidne	Christ	Exeter
949	wind	storm	noise/force	Christ	Exeter
955	æld	fire/flame		Christ	Exeter
957	leg	fire	widne	Christ	Exeter
958	fyr	fire	destroying	Christ	Exeter
965	lig	fire	sweart	Christ	Exeter
966	sæ	sea	fish	Christ	Exeter
967	eorpan	land	mountain	Christ	Exeter
967	beorg	mountain	land	Christ	Exeter
968	tunglum	stars	shining	Christ	Exeter
971	middangeard	earth	whole creation	Christ	Exeter
972	grund	ground	all land	Christ	Exeter
974	foldwong	ground	buildings fall	Christ	Exeter
977	beorg	mountain	cliffs/height	Christ	Exeter

line	word	feature	associated with	poem	Ms
977	burgweall	townwall		Christ	Exeter
978	heahcleofu	cliffs	mountains/height	Christ	Exeter
978	holm	sea	cliffs	Christ	Exeter
979	flod	sea currents	cliffs	Christ	Exeter
979	foldan	land	sea	Christ	Exeter
980	wæge	waves	water/currents	Christ	Exeter
981	wætre	sea	currents/force	Christ	Exeter
982	deor	wild animals	birds/doomsday	Christ	Exeter
983	foldan	land	animals/birds	Christ	Exeter
983	leg	flame	fyrsweartha	Christ	Exeter
984	wæter	waters	flow/currents	Christ	Exeter
985	flod	waters	impulsion	Christ	Exeter
985	fyrbæð	fire/sea	fish	Christ	Exeter
987	wægdeora	sea inhabitants	fire	Christ	Exeter
988	wæter	sea	fire	Christ	Exeter
996	epelcyning	landking	wealth	Christ	Exeter
1005	æld	fire	light	Christ	Exeter
1007	beorg	mountain	mæran	Christ	Exeter
1029	eard	dwelling	grave	Christ	Exeter
1045	eard	dwelling	eternal	Christ	Exeter
1101	rod	cross	light/red	Christ	Exeter
1128	eorðe	earth	green	Christ	Exeter
1163	sæ	sea	spacious	Christ	Exeter
1164	grund	seabed	spacious	Christ	Exeter
1167	yð	waves	firm as land	Christ	Exeter
1169	bled	fruits	trees/doomsday	Christ	Exeter
1174	beam	tree	blood/tears	Christ	Exeter
1202	eard	dwelling	eternal	Christ	Exeter
1211	blæd	glory/splendour		Christ	Exeter
1239	blæd	glorious		Christ	Exeter
1239	burg	town		Christ	Exeter
1250	lig	fire	serpents	Christ	Exeter
1256	blæd	glory/splendour		Christ	Exeter
1269	fyr	fire	torment	Christ	Exeter
1291	blæd	glory/splendour		Christ	Exeter
1342	epel	heaven	angels	Christ	Exeter
1346	blæd	glory/splendour		Christ	Exeter
1381	lam	clay	creation	Christ	Exeter
1391	blædwelan	abundant glory		Christ	Exeter
1406	epel	eden		Christ	Exeter
1417	eard	lands	unknown after death	Christ	Exeter
1461	epelrices	heaven		Christ	Exeter
1467	byrgen	grave/tomb		Christ	Exeter
1526	grund	abyss	judgement	Christ	Exeter
1531	dæl	pit	depth	Christ	Exeter
1545	grundleas	bottomless	judgement	Christ	Exeter
1586	blæd	abundance		Christ	Exeter
1593	grund	abyss	fall	Christ	Exeter
1594	leg	flame	punishment	Christ	Exeter
1635	blæd	glory/splendour		Christ	Exeter
1639	epel	heaven	eternal	Christ	Exeter

line	word	feature	associated with	poem	Ms
1662	cyle	cold	deprivation	Christ	Exeter
1675	blæd	glory/splendour		Christ	Exeter
1	engla	placename		Coronation	ASC
3	acemannesceatre	placename		Coronation	ASC
3	byrig	town	old	Coronation	ASC
4	igbuend	islandpeople		Coronation	ASC
5	baðan	placename		Coronation	ASC
3	eorðe	earth	wang	Creed	Junius 121
3	wang	fields/land		Creed	Junius 121
6	eorðe	earth	God's rule	Creed	Junius 121
7	garsecg	sea	land/creation	Creed	Junius 121
7	grund	land/ground	sea/creation	Creed	Junius 121
19	eard	land	cf sky	Creed	Junius 121
32	eþel	heaven		Creed	Junius 121
34	moldan	earth	ascension	Creed	Junius 121
56	foldan	earth	flesh/resurrection	Creed	Junius 121
11	eard	country		D Alfred	ASC
18	eligbyrig	placename		D Alfred	ASC
24	westend	westend church	burial place	D Alfred	ASC
24	stýple	steeple	burial place	D Alfred	ASC
25	suðþortice	south porch	burial place	D Alfred	ASC
1	eorð	earth	joys/death	D Edgar	ASC
2	engla	placename		D Edgar	ASC
5	moldan	country		D Edgar	ASC
6	eþeltyrf	hometurf		D Edgar	ASC
14	bryten	placename		D Edgar	ASC
16	myrceon	placename		D Edgar	ASC
18	foldan	earth	christianity	D Edgar	ASC
25	earde	country	exile	D Edgar	ASC
25	yð	waves	motion	D Edgar	ASC
26	bæð	sea	gannet's	D Edgar	ASC
27	wæter	sea	motion	D Edgar	ASC
28	eþel	sea	whale's homeland	D Edgar	ASC
35	hrusan	earth	comet	D Edgar	ASC
37	egbuend	islandpeople		D Edgar	ASC
37	eorðe	earth	produce/offspring	D Edgar	ASC
1	engla	placename		D Edward	ASC
9	walum	placename		D Edward	ASC
9	scottum	placename		D Edward	ASC
10	bryttum	placename		D Edward	ASC
12	brym	sea	cold	D Edward	ASC
16	land	country	deprived.exile	D Edward	ASC
17	eorðe	earth	deprived.exile	D Edward	ASC
20	engla	placename	lands	D Edward	ASC
20	land	country		D Edward	ASC
24	eðel	homeland	king as defender	D Edward	ASC
25	land	country	people	D Edward	ASC
27	eorðe	earth		D Edward	ASC
9	burg	town		Daniel	Junius
38	byrig	town	capital	Daniel	Junius
39	eðelland	homeland		Daniel	Junius

line	word	feature	associated with	poem	Ms
47	burhstede	town		Daniel	Junius
54	byrig	town	capital	Daniel	Junius
55	eðelweard	homeland guardian		Daniel	Junius
58	winburh	festive town		Daniel	Junius
63	burg	town		Daniel	Junius
78	eðel	homeland		Daniel	Junius
95	byrig	town		Daniel	Junius
164	blæd	fruits/prosperity		Daniel	Junius
170	feld	plain	altar/idol	Daniel	Junius
173	burg	town		Daniel	Junius
179	burhwar	towndweller		Daniel	Junius
188	byrig	town		Daniel	Junius
206	byrig	town	capital	Daniel	Junius
276	deaw	dew	furnace/weather	Daniel	Junius
298	burhsittend	towndweller		Daniel	Junius
300	grund	earth	exile/wide	Daniel	Junius
321	brimfarop	seashore	sand	Daniel	Junius
322	sand	sand	seafloor	Daniel	Junius
349	wolcna	sky	showers/weather	Daniel	Junius
371	deaw	dew	creation	Daniel	Junius
381	eorðe	earth		Daniel	Junius
381	grund	earth/depths	creation	Daniel	Junius
382	hyll	hills	soil/creation	Daniel	Junius
382	hrusan	soil	hills/creation	Daniel	Junius
382	beorg	mountains	hills/creation	Daniel	Junius
383	sæwægas	seapaths	salt/creation	Daniel	Junius
384	eastream	river	waves/creation	Daniel	Junius
384	yð	waves	river/creation	Daniel	Junius
385	wætersprync	springs	creation	Daniel	Junius
387	lagostreamas	river	creation	Daniel	Junius
388	wæterscipe	watership	creation	Daniel	Junius
388	deor	wild animals	creation	Daniel	Junius
389	neat	cattle	creation	Daniel	Junius
454	blæd	fruits/glories		Daniel	Junius
497	foldan	earth	tree	Daniel	Junius
498	wudubeam	tree	fair/shining	Daniel	Junius
499	blæd	fruit	tree/dream	Daniel	Junius
504	wilddeor	wild animals	dream tree	Daniel	Junius
507	bled	fruits	trees/animals	Daniel	Junius
511	deor	wild animals	wild/flee	Daniel	Junius
513	blæd	fruit	tree/dream	Daniel	Junius
516	bled	fruits/shoots	tree	Daniel	Junius
557	deor	wild animals	dream tree	Daniel	Junius
558	westen	wilderness	animals	Daniel	Junius
562	blæd	prosperity/glor	tree	Daniel	Junius
571	wilddeor	wild animals	thickets	Daniel	Junius
573	holt	forest	animals	Daniel	Junius
600	blæd	prosperity/glory		Daniel	Junius
611	eard	dwelling	eðel	Daniel	Junius
611	eðel	dwelling/land		Daniel	Junius
621	wildeor	wild animals	wilderness	Daniel	Junius

<u>line</u>	<u>word</u>	<u>feature</u>	<u>associated with</u>	<u>poem</u>	<u>Ms</u>
621	westen	wilderness	wild animals	Daniel	Junius
621	winburg	festive town		Daniel	Junius
623	wilddeor	wild animals	exile Neb	Daniel	Junius
637	eard	dwelling	eðel	Daniel	Junius
637	eðel	dwelling/land		Daniel	Junius
649	wilddeor	wild animals	exile Neb	Daniel	Junius
661	deor	wild animals	exile Neb	Daniel	Junius
665	burh	town	great	Daniel	Junius
672	byrig	town	warriors	Daniel	Junius
676	burg	town		Daniel	Junius
682	blæd	prosperity/glory		Daniel	Junius
693	burg	town		Daniel	Junius
698	heahbyrig	town	capital	Daniel	Junius
708	blæd	prosperity/glory		Daniel	Junius
712	burg	town		Daniel	Junius
724	burhsittend	towndweller	high/capital	Daniel	Junius
729	burhsittend	towndweller		Daniel	Junius
739	burh	town	defender	Daniel	Junius
762	blæd	glory/splendour		Daniel	Junius
15	grundleas	groundless	Meathild	Deor	Exeter
19	burg	town	merovingians	Deor	Exeter
34	blæd	properity		Deor	Exeter
3	eorðærne	earthhouse	grave	Descent Hell	Exeter
6	ræst	grave	cold	Descent Hell	Exeter
8	beorg	grave		Descent Hell	Exeter
12	eorðærne	grave		Descent Hell	Exeter
14	beorg	grave		Descent Hell	Exeter
18	burg	grave	hælendes	Descent Hell	Exeter
19	eorðæræ	grave	body	Descent Hell	Exeter
20	folde	earth/land	shook	Descent Hell	Exeter
23	moldan	earth	risen lord	Descent Hell	Exeter
34	weall	wall		Descent Hell	Exeter
34	burg	town		Descent Hell	Exeter
38	burggeat	towngate	harrowing hell	Descent Hell	Exeter
53	duru	door		Descent Hell	Exeter
56	burgwar	towndweller	harrowing hell	Descent Hell	Exeter
87	dor	gates		Descent Hell	Exeter
100	stow	place		Descent Hell	Exeter
106	wætre	river Jordan		Descent Hell	Exeter
117	sondgreot	sandgrains	sea	Descent Hell	Exeter
129	burg	city		Descent Hell	Exeter
132	burnan	river Jordan		Descent Hell	Exeter
133	wætre	river Jordan		Descent Hell	Exeter
134	burgwar	towndweller	salvation	Descent Hell	Exeter
8	foldan	earth	jewels	DR	Vercelli
29	holt	forest	felling	DR	Vercelli
30	stefn	root/stem	felling	DR	Vercelli
32	beorg	hill		DR	Vercelli
50	beorg	hill		DR	Vercelli
66	stane	stone/rock	hewn	DR	Vercelli
73	feorgbold	body		DR	Vercelli

line	word	feature	associated with	poem	Ms
91	holmwudu	forest		DR	Vercelli
149	bled	glory/blessing		DR	Vercelli
156	eþel	homeland		DR	Vercelli
1	burch	town		Durham	Ff.i.27.ULC
1	breotenrice	placename		Durham	Ff.i.27.ULC
2	gestaðolad	slopes	steep	Durham	Ff.i.27.ULC
2	stane	stones/rocks		Durham	Ff.i.27.ULC
4	ea	river	flowing/waves	Durham	Ff.i.27.ULC
4	yð	waves	current/river	Durham	Ff.i.27.ULC
5	flod	river		Durham	Ff.i.27.ULC
6	wudufæsten	wood	defence	Durham	Ff.i.27.ULC
7	deor	animals	wild/wood	Durham	Ff.i.27.ULC
8	dalum	valleys	deep	Durham	Ff.i.27.ULC
9	byri	town		Durham	Ff.i.27.ULC
12	land	land		Dwarf	Harley 585
28	weald	forest	wolf/battle	Elene	Vercelli
31	burg	mountain	eagle	Elene	Vercelli
38	stæðe	riverbank	water	Elene	Vercelli
39	wæteres	river	surge	Elene	Vercelli
113	holt	forest	wolf	Elene	Vercelli
134	burg	town	stony cliffs	Elene	Vercelli
135	stanclif	rockcaves	stede	Elene	Vercelli
137	lagostream	river	drowning	Elene	Vercelli
151	þryðbold	cities		Elene	Vercelli
152	burg	town		Elene	Vercelli
162	bold	house		Elene	Vercelli
186	byrgen	grave		Elene	Vercelli
203	leodgebyrg	people protector		Elene	Vercelli
238	brimpisan	ship		Elene	Vercelli
244	bæðweg	seapaths	journey	Elene	Vercelli
244	brimwudu	ship		Elene	Vercelli
253	brim	sea		Elene	Vercelli
274	ceastre	town		Elene	Vercelli
276	burgsittend	towndweller		Elene	Vercelli
354	blæd	prosperity/fruits		Elene	Vercelli
384	ceastre	town	guards	Elene	Vercelli
412	burg	town		Elene	Vercelli
484	byrgen	grave		Elene	Vercelli
489	blæd	glory/splendour		Elene	Vercelli
490	bæð	water	baptism	Elene	Vercelli
510	beorg	hill	death Stephen	Elene	Vercelli
529	eoforcumbel	boar effigy		Elene	Vercelli
556	leodgebyrg	people protector		Elene	Vercelli
578	beorg	hill	threat Judas	Elene	Vercelli
599	eard	dwelling		Elene	Vercelli
611	westen	desert		Elene	Vercelli
625	hrusan	soil	buried cross	Elene	Vercelli
652	byrgen	grave		Elene	Vercelli
653	stanhleoðum	rocky slopes	buried cross	Elene	Vercelli
653	stow	place	cross recovery	Elene	Vercelli
675	stow	place	cross recovery	Elene	Vercelli

line	word	feature	associated with	poem	Ms
683	stow	place	cross recovery	Elene	Vercelli
716	stow	place	cross recovery	Elene	Vercelli
717	dun	hill		Elene	Vercelli
765	dracan	dragon	darkness	Elene	Vercelli
802	stow	place	cross recovery	Elene	Vercelli
821	byrig	town	bright/radiant	Elene	Vercelli
825	blæd	glory/splendour		Elene	Vercelli
845	ceastre	town		Elene	Vercelli
864	byrig	town	renowned	Elene	Vercelli
943	grund	abyss	torment	Elene	Vercelli
948	fyrbæð	fiery water		Elene	Vercelli
950	ade	fire	flames	Elene	Vercelli
971	brim	sea		Elene	Vercelli
971	burg	town		Elene	Vercelli
991	burg	town		Elene	Vercelli
1003	brim	sea		Elene	Vercelli
1005	byrig	town	holy	Elene	Vercelli
1008	beorhliðe	mountainslope	church	Elene	Vercelli
1016	lagufæsten	sea		Elene	Vercelli
1033	bæð	water	baptism	Elene	Vercelli
1053	byrig	town	holy	Elene	Vercelli
1056	burg	town		Elene	Vercelli
1061	burg	town		Elene	Vercelli
1113	grund	pit	cross recovery	Elene	Vercelli
1174	burgagend	townruler		Elene	Vercelli
1203	byrig	town	holy	Elene	Vercelli
1204	ceastre	town		Elene	Vercelli
1225	eorðe	earth	tree	Elene	Vercelli
1227	sumeres	summer	May/spring	Elene	Vercelli
1229	duru	door		Elene	Vercelli
1262	milpaðas	roads	horses	Elene	Vercelli
1269	flodas	tides		Elene	Vercelli
1270	land	earth	beauty	Elene	Vercelli
1271	wind	winds	sky	Elene	Vercelli
1287	fyres	fire		Elene	Vercelli
1289	grund	ground	sidne	Elene	Vercelli
1290	ade	fire		Elene	Vercelli
1294	ældes	fire	light	Elene	Vercelli
1298	þrosme	smoke	heat	Elene	Vercelli
1299	grund	ground/bottom	fire	Elene	Vercelli
1300	lig	flames	fire	Elene	Vercelli
1302	gled	fire	grasp	Elene	Vercelli
1305	hellegrund	abyss		Elene	Vercelli
1	wæterscipe	waters	holy/speech	Epilogue to PC	Hatton 20
5	wætru	waters	flow/speech	Epilogue to PC	Hatton 20
7	wæterscipe	waters	spring/speech	Epilogue to PC	Hatton 20
7	welsprynge	springs	water/speech	Epilogue to PC	Hatton 20
11	eorðe	earth	learning	Epilogue to PC	Hatton 20
14	stream	flow	learning	Epilogue to PC	Hatton 20
15	unnyt	waste	knowledge	Epilogue to PC	Hatton 20
16	spring	source	learning	Epilogue to PC	Hatton 20

line	word	feature	associated with	poem	Ms
19	rið	stream	learning	Epilogue to PC	Hatton 20
20	wæter	water	learning	Epilogue to PC	Hatton 20
21	feld	land	flow/marsh	Epilogue to PC	Hatton 20
21	fen	fen	shallow	Epilogue to PC	Hatton 20
24	duru	door	well of grace	Epilogue to PC	Hatton 20
24	well	well	learning	Epilogue to PC	Hatton 20
28	burn	well/spring	learning	Epilogue to PC	Hatton 20
29	wætra	water	clear/shining	Epilogue to PC	Hatton 20
8	westenne	desert	barren	Exodus	Junius
33	mersc	marsh	salt/creation	Exodus	Junius
39	burhweard	towndefended		Exodus	Junius
58	anpað	paths	narrow	Exodus	Junius
58	gelad	watercrossing	paths	Exodus	Junius
61	morheald	mountainslope	mearchof	Exodus	Junius
66	byrig	town		Exodus	Junius
70	burhleopu	townslopes		Exodus	Junius
117	westen	desert	terror	Exodus	Junius
118	holmeg	sea	storms	Exodus	Junius
123	westen	desert		Exodus	Junius
132	beorg	hill	rest	Exodus	Junius
139	ebelleas	exiled/homeless		Exodus	Junius
163	deawigfeðer	dewyfeatheredbirds/wolf		Exodus	Junius
166	deor	animal/wolf	carefree	Exodus	Junius
210	merestream	sea		Exodus	Junius
211	eðelrihte	landrights		Exodus	Junius
212	beorg	hill	sea	Exodus	Junius
220	sande	sand	sea	Exodus	Junius
221	burg	town		Exodus	Junius
281	tacne	rod	green	Exodus	Junius
281	garsecg	sea	depth	Exodus	Junius
283	wæter	sea	walls	Exodus	Junius
287	feld	fields/land	light	Exodus	Junius
289	sægrund	seabottom	journey	Exodus	Junius
290	bæðweg	seapaths	seabed	Exodus	Junius
290	brim	sea	sand/wind	Exodus	Junius
312	grund	seafloor	green	Exodus	Junius
313	gelad	watercrossing	paths	Exodus	Junius
318	blæd	sons/increase		Exodus	Junius
344	deaw	dewy	spearshafts	Exodus	Junius
352	mægburg	tribe/city		Exodus	Junius
360	mægburg	tribe/city		Exodus	Junius
386	beorg	hill		Exodus	Junius
442	sæbeorg	seahills	descendants	Exodus	Junius
464	randbyrig	shieldwall	water	Exodus	Junius
478	brim	sea	flood/power	Exodus	Junius
503	grund	ground/abyss		Exodus	Junius
509	ungrund	infathomable	Egyptian army	Exodus	Junius
511	burg	town		Exodus	Junius
534	eðelleas	exiled/homeless		Exodus	Junius
546	blæd	fruits/prosperity		Exodus	Junius
557	burh	town	treasure/capture	Exodus	Junius

line	word	feature	associated with	poem	Ms
564	blæd	fruits/prosperity		Exodus	Junius
573	brim	sea	blood/walls	Exodus	Junius
11	romebyrig	placename		Fates Apostles	Vercelli
33	boldwela	splendid house		Fates Apostles	Vercelli
93	eardwic	dwelling	grave	Fates Apostles	Vercelli
110	eard	dwelling	grave	Fates Apostles	Vercelli
113	eard	dwelling	eðel	Fates Apostles	Vercelli
113	eðel	homeland		Fates Apostles	Vercelli
13	hæðstapa	wolf		Fates Men	Exeter
21	holt	wood	tree	Fates Men	Exeter
21	beam	tree		Fates Men	Exeter
24	wudubeam	tree		Fates Men	Exeter
24	wyrtrum	roots	tree	Fates Men	Exeter
29	uriglast	wet track	foreign/danger	Fates Men	Exeter
30	foldan	regions		Fates Men	Exeter
62	mægburg	tribe/family		Fates Men	Exeter
68	blæd	glory/renown		Fates Men	Exeter
76	lond	estates	broad	Fates Men	Exeter
1	horn	gables	battle	Finnsburh	Hickes tr
3	draca	dragon	flight/fire	Finnsburh	Hickes tr
4	heal	hall	gables	Finnsburh	Hickes tr
4	horn	gables		Finnsburh	Hickes tr
14	duru	door		Finnsburh	Hickes tr
16	duru	door		Finnsburh	Hickes tr
20	heal	hall	door	Finnsburh	Hickes tr
21	duru	door	hall	Finnsburh	Hickes tr
23	duru	door		Finnsburh	Hickes tr
28	heal	hall		Finnsburh	Hickes tr
30	buruhðelu	hall/floor	battle noise	Finnsburh	Hickes tr
42	duru	door		Finnsburh	Hickes tr
1	fisc	fish	sea/whales	Franks Casket	front
1	flod	sea	fish/whales	Franks Casket	front
1	fergenberig	mountain	sea/whales	Franks Casket	front
1	hærmbergæ	sorrow/mound	Hos	Franks Casket	right side
3	hronæs	whale	sea/fish	Franks Casket	front
42	ceastre	town		Genesis	Junius
43	fyles	fire	cold/smoke	Genesis	Junius
43	færcyle	cold	fire/smoke	Genesis	Junius
83	eðel	sky	glory	Genesis	Junius
90	wræcstow	exile place		Genesis	Junius
94	eðelstaðol	hometown		Genesis	Junius
104	grund	ground	wide/deep/dark	Genesis	Junius
106	idel	desolate	wide/empty/dark	Genesis	Junius
106	unnyt	waste	desolate/dark	Genesis	Junius
107	stow	ground	desolate/dark	Genesis	Junius
108	sweorc	mist	darkness	Genesis	Junius
109	rodor	skies		Genesis	Junius
110	weste	waste	darkness	Genesis	Junius
114	rodor	skies		Genesis	Junius
114	land	ground	spacious	Genesis	Junius
116	folde	ground	empty	Genesis	Junius

line	word	feature	associated with	poem	Ms
117	græs	grass	green	Genesis	Junius
117	garsecg	sea	waves	Genesis	Junius
119	wægas	waves		Genesis	Junius
120	holm	sea		Genesis	Junius
123	grund	ground		Genesis	Junius
125	westenne	waste		Genesis	Junius
127	laguflod	sea		Genesis	Junius
134	grund	ground		Genesis	Junius
135	timber	structure		Genesis	Junius
143	eorðe	planet		Genesis	Junius
160	stow	position	creation	Genesis	Junius
164	stow	land	dryness	Genesis	Junius
166	eorðe	place		Genesis	Junius
197	eorðe	land	allgreen	Genesis	Junius
197	ælgrene	green	fertile	Genesis	Junius
198	wæter	sea	salt	Genesis	Junius
200	blæddaga	harvest		Genesis	Junius
200	brimhlæste	seaharvest		Genesis	Junius
201	heofonfugla	birds	skies	Genesis	Junius
201	feoh	cattle		Genesis	Junius
202	deor	wild animals		Genesis	Junius
203	land	animals		Genesis	Junius
204	flod	sea	sea creatures	Genesis	Junius
207	blæd	fruit	creation	Genesis	Junius
211	lago	water	flowing	Genesis	Junius
212	wylleburn	springs	crops/stormless	Genesis	Junius
212	wolcnu	skies	dark/wind/rain	Genesis	Junius
212	land	land	gentle	Genesis	Junius
213	grund	land	spacious	Genesis	Junius
214	wæstmum	crops	land	Genesis	Junius
215	fold	land	crops	Genesis	Junius
216	eastream	rivers		Genesis	Junius
219	eorðe	planet		Genesis	Junius
220	wætre	water	rivers	Genesis	Junius
222	foldan	country	river enclosed	Genesis	Junius
223	stream	river	bright	Genesis	Junius
224	eðeltyrf	home turf	people	Genesis	Junius
226	gold	gold	people	Genesis	Junius
226	gymcunn	jewels	people	Genesis	Junius
229	land	country	vastness	Genesis	Junius
229	liodgeard	country	vastness	Genesis	Junius
230	rice	country	vastness	Genesis	Junius
232	ea	river	flowing	Genesis	Junius
235	beam	tree	fruit	Genesis	Junius
236	wæstmum	fruit	tree	Genesis	Junius
239	land	country		Genesis	Junius
256	steorran	stars	brightness	Genesis	Junius
302	grund	abyss		Genesis	Junius
305	dala	pit	deep	Genesis	Junius
311	eorðe	planet		Genesis	Junius
314	fyr	fire	night	Genesis	Junius

<u>line</u>	<u>word</u>	<u>feature</u>	<u>associated with</u>	<u>poem</u>	<u>Ms</u>
315	wind	winds	easterly/dawn	Genesis	Junius
316	forst	frost	burning cold	Genesis	Junius
325	lig	fire	wide brands	Genesis	Junius
325	recas	smoke	bitter	Genesis	Junius
326	brosmē	smoke	dark	Genesis	Junius
330	botm	bottom	fire	Genesis	Junius
333	leoht	light	absence	Genesis	Junius
333	lig	fire	lots	Genesis	Junius
334	fyres	fire	great	Genesis	Junius
334	cyle	cold	fire	Genesis	Junius
346	grund	abyss	black	Genesis	Junius
349	grund	abyss		Genesis	Junius
361	botm	bottom	fire	Genesis	Junius
365	eorðe	earth		Genesis	Junius
376	landscip	landscape	hostile	Genesis	Junius
390	grundleas	bottomless		Genesis	Junius
391	mist	mist	black	Genesis	Junius
392	land	country	light	Genesis	Junius
395	middangeard	earth		Genesis	Junius
407	grund	abyss	hostile	Genesis	Junius
419	eorðrice	earthly kingdom	riches	Genesis	Junius
421	dalo	pit	deep	Genesis	Junius
460	beam	tree	fruit	Genesis	Junius
466	wæstmum	fruit	tree	Genesis	Junius
511	geard	land	green/broad	Genesis	Junius
584	gehlidu	roofs	high	Genesis	Junius
590	wyrm	snake	devil	Genesis	Junius
593	beam	tree		Genesis	Junius
594	wæstmum	fruit		Genesis	Junius
599	ofætes	fruit		Genesis	Junius
637	æppel	apple		Genesis	Junius
638	deaðbeam	death tree		Genesis	Junius
638	ofet	fruit		Genesis	Junius
643	wæstmum	fruit		Genesis	Junius
644	treow	tree		Genesis	Junius
645	bog	branch		Genesis	Junius
646	beam	tree		Genesis	Junius
655	ofet	fruit		Genesis	Junius
667	suð	south		Genesis	Junius
675	gesceaft	creation		Genesis	Junius
677	ofætes	fruit		Genesis	Junius
690	weg	road	army	Genesis	Junius
706	ceastre	town		Genesis	Junius
719	ofet	fruit		Genesis	Junius
723	ofet	fruit		Genesis	Junius
739	heahgetimbro	building	courts	Genesis	Junius
740	geard	country	buildings	Genesis	Junius
747	fyr	fire		Genesis	Junius
753	lig	flames		Genesis	Junius
760	lig	flames		Genesis	Junius
763	lig	flames		Genesis	Junius

line	word	feature	associated with	poem	Ms
806	wind	wind	direction	Genesis	Junius
806	westan	west	wind	Genesis	Junius
806	eastan	east	wind	Genesis	Junius
807	suðan	south	wind	Genesis	Junius
807	norðan	north	wind	Genesis	Junius
807	gesweorc	clouds	wind	Genesis	Junius
808	scur	shower	clouds	Genesis	Junius
809	forst	frost	hail	Genesis	Junius
830	sæ	sea	depth	Genesis	Junius
832	flod	sea	depth	Genesis	Junius
833	merestream	sea	vastness	Genesis	Junius
834	grund	seabottom	journey	Genesis	Junius
839	weald	forest	shelter/refuge	Genesis	Junius
840	holt	forest	shelter/refuge	Genesis	Junius
841	weald	forest	green	Genesis	Junius
845	leaf	leaves	protection	Genesis	Junius
846	weald	forest	clothing	Genesis	Junius
859	beamscead	treecover	hide	Genesis	Junius
859	blæd	fruit	after fall	Genesis	Junius
860	heolstre	shade	hide	Genesis	Junius
868	leaf	leaves	hide	Genesis	Junius
878	leaf	leaves	hide	Genesis	Junius
880	æppel	apple		Genesis	Junius
881	wudubeam	tree		Genesis	Junius
883	blæd	fruit		Genesis	Junius
891	beam	tree		Genesis	Junius
891	blæd	fruit		Genesis	Junius
891	treow	tree		Genesis	Junius
891	telgum	branch		Genesis	Junius
894	wæstm	fruit		Genesis	Junius
899	wyrm	snake	shiny	Genesis	Junius
902	beam	tree	forest	Genesis	Junius
902	bearwe	forest		Genesis	Junius
902	blæd	fruit		Genesis	Junius
927	eðel	homeland	exile	Genesis	Junius
937	æple	apple	death	Genesis	Junius
957	grundwelan	groundriches		Genesis	Junius
958	sæ	sea	riches	Genesis	Junius
958	eorðe	earth	abundance	Genesis	Junius
960	wæstm	fruit	abundance	Genesis	Junius
961	land	country	labour	Genesis	Junius
962	eard	country	unfertile	Genesis	Junius
962	eðyl	country	unfertile	Genesis	Junius
987	tuddor	branch	sin	Genesis	Junius
987	twig	branch	sin	Genesis	Junius
990	wæstm	fruit	sin	Genesis	Junius
991	telgan	branch	sin	Genesis	Junius
992	hearmtan	branch	sorrow	Genesis	Junius
994	blado	fruit	sorrow	Genesis	Junius
1015	eorðe	ground	fruit	Genesis	Junius
1018	folde	ground	beauty	Genesis	Junius

line	word	feature	associated with	poem	Ms
1019	eard	land	Cain	Genesis	Junius
1033	eard	land	Cain	Genesis	Junius
1052	eastland	country	distance	Genesis	Junius
1052	eðelstow	homeland	Cain	Genesis	Junius
1057	ceastre	town	fortified	Genesis	Junius
1058	weallfæsten	stronghold	fortified	Genesis	Junius
1062	burhstede	town		Genesis	Junius
1066	mægburg	town	Cain	Genesis	Junius
1086	sulhgeweorc	plough	labour	Genesis	Junius
1087	foldan	earth	people	Genesis	Junius
1088	isenes	iron	people	Genesis	Junius
1089	burhsittend	towndweller	people	Genesis	Junius
1112	mægburg	town		Genesis	Junius
1118	eðelstæf	heir		Genesis	Junius
1129	eþelstol	town	chief	Genesis	Junius
1130	mægburg	town		Genesis	Junius
1137	græs	grass	fertile	Genesis	Junius
1145	sædberend	body	Seth	Genesis	Junius
1159	eðle	homeland	tribe	Genesis	Junius
1167	land	estates	people	Genesis	Junius
1180	land	estates	people	Genesis	Junius
1180	leodweard	people protector		Genesis	Junius
1191	gold	gold	people	Genesis	Junius
1196	land	estates	people	Genesis	Junius
1201	blæddaga	harvest	time	Genesis	Junius
1206	middangeard	planet		Genesis	Junius
1225	leodgeard	country	rule	Genesis	Junius
1236	land	country	rule	Genesis	Junius
1293	sælwong	plains	spacious	Genesis	Junius
1373	willeburn	wellspring		Genesis	Junius
1379	eðelland	homeland		Genesis	Junius
1387	beorg	mountain	height	Genesis	Junius
1388	grund	ground	mountain	Genesis	Junius
1398	dun	mountain	height	Genesis	Junius
1421	dun	mountain	height	Genesis	Junius
1429	grund	seabottom	Noah	Genesis	Junius
1442	hrefn	raven	black	Genesis	Junius
1451	culufra	dove	grey	Genesis	Junius
1464	culufra	dove		Genesis	Junius
1466	restestow	resting place	dove	Genesis	Junius
1474	blæd	fruit	flood	Genesis	Junius
1477	culufra	dove		Genesis	Junius
1480	bearwe	wood	green	Genesis	Junius
1485	eðelstol	homeland	beauty	Genesis	Junius
1514	eðelstol	homeland	fertile	Genesis	Junius
1516	ælgrene	green	fertile	Genesis	Junius
1516	deor	animals	wild	Genesis	Junius
1540	scurboga	rainbow	promise	Genesis	Junius
1549	wætre	water	flood	Genesis	Junius
1556	ham	country	labour	Genesis	Junius
1557	eorðe	earth	labour	Genesis	Junius

line	word	feature	associated with	poem	Ms
1558	wingearð	vineyard	labour	Genesis	Junius
1559	sæda	seeds	labour	Genesis	Junius
1560	wæstm	fruit	labour	Genesis	Junius
1561	fold	earth	beauty	Genesis	Junius
1575	eðel	homeland		Genesis	Junius
1607	eðeldream	home joy		Genesis	Junius
1608	blæd	fruit	sons	Genesis	Junius
1634	eðelðrym	land glory	buildings	Genesis	Junius
1648	eðelstol	homeland		Genesis	Junius
1654	eard	country	occupation	Genesis	Junius
1657	wong	plains	green	Genesis	Junius
1658	foldan	earth	beauty	Genesis	Junius
1666	burh	town		Genesis	Junius
1674	ceastre	town		Genesis	Junius
1678	burhfæsten	fortress		Genesis	Junius
1699	landsocne	homeland		Genesis	Junius
1700	stantorr	stonetower	town	Genesis	Junius
1700	burh	town	stonetower	Genesis	Junius
1735	eðeltyrf	home turf		Genesis	Junius
1737	eard	country	occupation	Genesis	Junius
1739	feorh	cattle	riches	Genesis	Junius
1750	land	country	cattle	Genesis	Junius
1751	ælgrene	allgreen	country	Genesis	Junius
1752	foldan	country	spacious	Genesis	Junius
1768	eðelmearc	homeland boundary		Genesis	Junius
1774	eðeltyrf	homeland		Genesis	Junius
1787	ælgrene	allgreen	fertile	Genesis	Junius
1821	hornsele	gabled houses	beauty	Genesis	Junius
1821	byrig	town		Genesis	Junius
1847	eðelmearc	homeland boundary		Genesis	Junius
1880	burh	town	hall	Genesis	Junius
1882	wong	plains		Genesis	Junius
1884	westan	west	Abraham	Genesis	Junius
1893	blæd	fruit	prosperity	Genesis	Junius
1896	eðelseld	homeland		Genesis	Junius
1912	stow	place	border	Genesis	Junius
1921	grene	green	fertile	Genesis	Junius
1921	eorðe	land	green	Genesis	Junius
1922	wætrum	water	fertile	Genesis	Junius
1922	wæstm	plants	fertile	Genesis	Junius
1923	lagustream	water	fertile	Genesis	Junius
1927	eard	country	occupation	Genesis	Junius
1927	eðelsetl	homeland		Genesis	Junius
1928	byrig	town		Genesis	Junius
1945	eðeleard	homeland		Genesis	Junius
1951	foldwong	planet	people	Genesis	Junius
1952	eard	country		Genesis	Junius
1968	eðelland	homeland		Genesis	Junius
1975	burh	town		Genesis	Junius
1984	deawigfeðer	birds	war	Genesis	Junius
2005	wælstow	battlefield		Genesis	Junius

line	word	feature	associated with	poem	Ms
2007	hordburh	treasuretown		Genesis	Junius
2013	byrig	town		Genesis	Junius
2056	eowdon	sheep	people	Genesis	Junius
2131	eðel	homeland		Genesis	Junius
2132	weste	desert	town	Genesis	Junius
2194	brym	sea	broad	Genesis	Junius
2195	mægburg	town		Genesis	Junius
2202	ceastre	town		Genesis	Junius
2207	sidland	country	buildings	Genesis	Junius
2208	eorðe	country	buildings	Genesis	Junius
2209	eðelmearc	homeland boundary		Genesis	Junius
2213	wæter	river	boundary	Genesis	Junius
2214	stream	river	boundary	Genesis	Junius
2214	stanbyrig	stonetown	defence	Genesis	Junius
2215	flod	river	flowing	Genesis	Junius
2215	byht	bay		Genesis	Junius
2222	mægburg	town		Genesis	Junius
2227	westen	desert	flight	Genesis	Junius
2278	wulf	wolf	danger	Genesis	Junius
2286	westen	desert	flight	Genesis	Junius
2328	burhsittend	towndweller		Genesis	Junius
2362	tan	branch	child	Genesis	Junius
2403	burg	town	highwalled	Genesis	Junius
2404	weallsteap	wall	town	Genesis	Junius
2408	byrig	town		Genesis	Junius
2427	ceastre	town		Genesis	Junius
2428	burhgeat	towngate		Genesis	Junius
2451	lagustream	water	flood	Genesis	Junius
2453	sæ	water	flood	Genesis	Junius
2453	sidland	land	flood	Genesis	Junius
2493	burhwar	towndweller		Genesis	Junius
2503	leodbyrig	town		Genesis	Junius
2519	burh	town	refuge	Genesis	Junius
2520	ceastre	town		Genesis	Junius
2524	stow	place		Genesis	Junius
2527	burh	town		Genesis	Junius
2551	grene	growth		Genesis	Junius
2551	goldburg	rich town		Genesis	Junius
2554	bearwe	forest	felling	Genesis	Junius
2560	byrig	town		Genesis	Junius
2564	burg	town		Genesis	Junius
2566	sealtstan	saltstone	Lot's wife	Genesis	Junius
2585	blæd	fruit	prosperity	Genesis	Junius
2585	burg	town		Genesis	Junius
2593	burhlocan	town		Genesis	Junius
2594	byrig	town		Genesis	Junius
2595	wælstow	battlefield		Genesis	Junius
2596	hliðe	hillside	cave	Genesis	Junius
2596	dun	hill	cave	Genesis	Junius
2597	eorðscræf	cave	hill	Genesis	Junius
2678	eðeltyrf	homeland		Genesis	Junius

line	word	feature	associated with	poem	Ms
2706	eard	country		Genesis	Junius
2708	eðeltyrf	homeland		Genesis	Junius
2725	eðelstow	homeland		Genesis	Junius
2734	eðeltyrf	homeland		Genesis	Junius
2741	hleowfeðrum	feathers	shelter/refuge	Genesis	Junius
2801	cyðð	homeland		Genesis	Junius
2806	eard	country		Genesis	Junius
2814	burh	town	height	Genesis	Junius
2816	burhsittend	towndweller		Genesis	Junius
2826	mægburg	town		Genesis	Junius
2839	burhsittend	towndweller		Genesis	Junius
2841	bearwe	wood	town	Genesis	Junius
2854	dun	hill	height	Genesis	Junius
2855	land	hill	height	Genesis	Junius
2874	foldweg	paths	desert	Genesis	Junius
2875	westen	desert	hill	Genesis	Junius
2876	wæter	water	desert	Genesis	Junius
2877	ord	mountain	desert	Genesis	Junius
2878	dun	mountain	height	Genesis	Junius
2887	weald	forest		Genesis	Junius
2897	dun	mountain	height	Genesis	Junius
2900	stow	place	height	Genesis	Junius
2915	ade	fire	sacrifice	Genesis	Junius
2929	brembrum	bramble	ram	Genesis	Junius
38	deor	wild animals	hunting	Gifts Men	Exeter
103	blæd	fruit		Gifts Men	Exeter
6	eorðe	earth		Gloria I	
18	eorðe	earth		Gloria I	
20	foldan	earth		Gloria I	
38	middangeard	earth		Gloria I	
39	grund	earth	people	Gloria I	
49	middangeard	earth	God's rule	Gloria I	
2	foldan	earth	God's rule	Gloria II	C.Titus Dxxvii
43	eorþan	earth	fruit	Guthlac	Exeter
43	blæd	fruit	earth	Guthlac	Exeter
44	wæstm	fruit	earth	Guthlac	Exeter
45	sæd	seeds	fruit	Guthlac	Exeter
62	eðel	homeland	eternal	Guthlac	Exeter
81	westen	waste	hermit	Guthlac	Exeter
84	bold	house		Guthlac	Exeter
102	beorgsepel	hilldwelling		Guthlac	Exeter
139	lond	country	hill	Guthlac	Exeter
140	beorhge	hill	country	Guthlac	Exeter
140	bold	house	hill	Guthlac	Exeter
146	lond	place	empty	Guthlac	Exeter
146	stow	place	empty	Guthlac	Exeter
148	beorg	hill	woods	Guthlac	Exeter
148	bearwe	wood	hill	Guthlac	Exeter
159	stow	place	secret	Guthlac	Exeter
174	mearclond	borderland		Guthlac	Exeter
175	biorg	hill	mearclond	Guthlac	Exeter

line	word	feature	associated with	poem	Ms
192	beorg	hill		Guthlac	Exeter
208	westenne	waste	hill	Guthlac	Exeter
209	beorg	hill	waste	Guthlac	Exeter
215	stow	place	secret	Guthlac	Exeter
216	idel	place		Guthlac	Exeter
216	æmen	place		Guthlac	Exeter
216	ebelriht	land rights		Guthlac	Exeter
220	eard	dwelling	devils	Guthlac	Exeter
232	beorg	hill	green	Guthlac	Exeter
243	setl	seat	hill	Guthlac	Exeter
251	hus	house	hill	Guthlac	Exeter
251	hleonað	shelter	house	Guthlac	Exeter
256	eard	place	devils	Guthlac	Exeter
261	epel	homeland	earth	Guthlac	Exeter
262	beorg	hill		Guthlac	Exeter
273	lond	land	waste	Guthlac	Exeter
276	deor	wild animals		Guthlac	Exeter
277	epel	homeland		Guthlac	Exeter
296	westen	waste	spacious	Guthlac	Exeter
297	eard	dwelling	secret	Guthlac	Exeter
308	eard	dwelling		Guthlac	Exeter
329	beorg	hill		Guthlac	Exeter
351	eard	dwelling	secret	Guthlac	Exeter
355	epel	homeland		Guthlac	Exeter
428	eard	dwelling	loved	Guthlac	Exeter
429	beorg	hill		Guthlac	Exeter
429	bearwe	wood	hill	Guthlac	Exeter
439	beorg	hill		Guthlac	Exeter
477	wong	plains	green	Guthlac	Exeter
563	grund	abyss		Guthlac	Exeter
656	eard	dwelling	eternal	Guthlac	Exeter
656	epellond	homeland		Guthlac	Exeter
733	beorg	hill	animals	Guthlac	Exeter
735	treofugla	treebirds	animals	Guthlac	Exeter
741	wildeor	wild animals	hill	Guthlac	Exeter
742	sigewong	plains	peace	Guthlac	Exeter
743	fuglas	birds	song	Guthlac	Exeter
743	fold	land	blossom	Guthlac	Exeter
744	geac	cuckoo	song	Guthlac	Exeter
745	eard	dwelling	loved	Guthlac	Exeter
746	wong	plains	green	Guthlac	Exeter
812	burg	town	holy	Guthlac	Exeter
847	bled	fruit		Guthlac	Exeter
852	epel	homeland		Guthlac	Exeter
853	eard	dwelling		Guthlac	Exeter
855	uncyðð	strange land		Guthlac	Exeter
876	stow	place		Guthlac	Exeter
883	burg	town	Gregory	Guthlac	Exeter
897	eard	dwelling	devils	Guthlac	Exeter
899	westen	desert		Guthlac	Exeter
907	deor	wild animals		Guthlac	Exeter

line	word	feature	associated with	poem	Ms
919	fuglas	birds	hunger	Guthlac	Exeter
935	westen	desert		Guthlac	Exeter
942	burg	town		Guthlac	Exeter
991	duru	door	death	Guthlac	Exeter
1003	eþelboda	native preacher		Guthlac	Exeter
1091	eþel	homeland		Guthlac	Exeter
1182	eard	dwelling	eternal	Guthlac	Exeter
1191	byrig	town	bright	Guthlac	Exeter
1193	beorg	hill		Guthlac	Exeter
1196	sondhof	grave		Guthlac	Exeter
1274	stow	place	flowers	Guthlac	Exeter
1275	wong	plains	flowers	Guthlac	Exeter
1275	wyrta	plants	flowers	Guthlac	Exeter
1284	burgsalu	house		Guthlac	Exeter
1292	gelad	watercrossing	dawn	Guthlac	Exeter
1309	beam	pillar	light	Guthlac	Exeter
1317	burgstede	town		Guthlac	Exeter
1324	ealond	island		Guthlac	Exeter
1326	foldwong	ground		Guthlac	Exeter
1331	brimwudu	ship		Guthlac	Exeter
1331	burgsalu	house		Guthlac	Exeter
1334	sondlond	sandy shore		Guthlac	Exeter
1335	greote	grit	shore	Guthlac	Exeter
1366	eard	dwelling	eternal	Guthlac	Exeter
1367	burg	town		Guthlac	Exeter
21	beon	bees	honey	HF I	Vercelli
7	scur	showers	creation	HF II	Exeter
7	gesceap	creation		HF II	Exeter
13	eardwic	dwelling	glory	HF III	Exeter
2	treocyn	trees		HM	Exeter
2	tudre	branch	tree	HM	Exeter
5	stream	seacurrents	salt	HM	Exeter
8	hafu	sea	wide	HM	Exeter
17	meoduburg	meadtown		HM	Exeter
18	eard	dwelling	town	HM	Exeter
21	lagu	sea	season	HM	Exeter
22	hlipe	cliff	season	HM	Exeter
23	geac	cuckoo	season	HM	Exeter
23	bearwe	wood	season	HM	Exeter
26	mere	sea	gull	HM	Exeter
26	mæw	gull	season	HM	Exeter
26	eþel	sea	gull	HM	Exeter
28	merelad	seapaths		HM	Exeter
37	eþel	homeland		HM	Exeter
38	foldan	estates	home	HM	Exeter
42	yð	wave	exile	HM	Exeter
42	gelagu	sea	exile	HM	Exeter
43	flotweg	seapaths	exile	HM	Exeter
44	merestream	seacurrents	exile	HM	Exeter
12	grund	earth	fire	JD I	Exeter
13	gled	flames	brands	JD I	Exeter

line	word	feature	associated with	poem	Ms
14	brond	firebrand	flame	JD I	Exeter
23	bold	house		JD I	Exeter
24	grund	abyss	fire	JD I	Exeter
39	eþel	sea	fish	JD I	Exeter
46	blæd	fruit		JD I	Exeter
90	bold	house		JD I	Exeter
98	greote	grit	earth	JD I	Exeter
99	lam	clay	earth	JD I	Exeter
100	foldan	earth		JD I	Exeter
1	bearwe	wood		JD II	CCCC 201
2	holt	wood	shelter/refuge	JD II	CCCC 201
3	wæterburn	stream	woods	JD II	CCCC 201
4	gehæg	enclosed mead	woods	JD II	CCCC 201
5	wynyrta	joyful plants	blossom	JD II	CCCC 201
6	wong	enclosed mead	tree	JD II	CCCC 201
7	wudubeam	tree	meadow	JD II	CCCC 201
14	eorðe	earth	death	JD II	CCCC 201
16	eorðe	earth	death	JD II	CCCC 201
27	wylspring	wellspring		JD II	CCCC 201
30	gebedstow	oratory	prayer	JD II	CCCC 201
31	eorðe	earth		JD II	CCCC 201
72	eorðe	earth	judgement	JD II	CCCC 201
86	eorðe	earth	sins	JD II	CCCC 201
98	eorðe	earth	Christ	JD II	CCCC 201
99	eorðe	earth	Christ	JD II	CCCC 201
99	dun	hill	perish	JD II	CCCC 201
101	beorg	mountain	slopes	JD II	CCCC 201
101	hliðu	slopes	mountain	JD II	CCCC 201
102	sæ	sea	flood	JD II	CCCC 201
131	foldan	earth	doomsday	JD II	CCCC 201
140	eorðe	earth	doomsday	JD II	CCCC 201
149	æmtig	empty land	doomsday	JD II	CCCC 201
166	flod	flood	doomsday	JD II	CCCC 201
168	wyrm	snake	doomsday	JD II	CCCC 201
174	stan	stone	rigid	JD II	CCCC 201
189	grund	abyss	fire	JD II	CCCC 201
189	stow	place	fire	JD II	CCCC 201
192	lig	fire	ice	JD II	CCCC 201
192	gicel	ice	fire	JD II	CCCC 201
193	cyle	cold		JD II	CCCC 201
196	cyle	cold	fire	JD II	CCCC 201
206	cyle	cold	fire	JD II	CCCC 201
206	ful	filth	fire	JD II	CCCC 201
211	wyrm	snake	fire	JD II	CCCC 201
231	scræf	cave	fire	JD II	CCCC 201
286	byrg	town		JD II	CCCC 201
291	blostm	blossom	maidens	JD II	CCCC 201
5	land	country	foe	Journey Charm	CCCC 41
32	blæd	inspiration	angels	Journey Charm	CCCC 41
35	waroþ	shore	voyage	Journey Charm	CCCC 41
40	blæd	inspiration	angels	Journey Charm	CCCC 41

line	word	feature	associated with	poem	Ms
2	grund	land		Judith	Nowell
57	burgeteld	tent		Judith	Nowell
62	blæd	fruit	glory	Judith	Nowell
113	næs	headland	torment	Judith	Nowell
118	bystrum	darkness	torment	Judith	Nowell
119	wyrnsele	serpenthall	torment	Judith	Nowell
122	blæd	fruit	glory	Judith	Nowell
137	weall	wall	shining	Judith	Nowell
137	byrig	town	bright	Judith	Nowell
141	wealgate	wallgate		Judith	Nowell
143	fæsten	stronghold		Judith	Nowell
149	byrig	town	spacious	Judith	Nowell
151	weal	wall	gate	Judith	Nowell
156	woruld	world		Judith	Nowell
156	wuldorblæd	glorious fruit	victory	Judith	Nowell
159	burhsittend	towndweller		Judith	Nowell
161	weal	wall	town	Judith	Nowell
162	fæstengeat	shut gate	town	Judith	Nowell
167	medobyrig	meadtown		Judith	Nowell
175	burhleod	towndweller		Judith	Nowell
187	burgleod	towndweller		Judith	Nowell
203	byrig	town	holy	Judith	Nowell
205	walde	forest	wolf	Judith	Nowell
220	fyrddwic	battlefield		Judith	Nowell
222	hornbogan	horn bow		Judith	Nowell
226	landbuend	inhabitants		Judith	Nowell
248	burgeteld	tent		Judith	Nowell
276	burgeteld	tent		Judith	Nowell
294	sigewong	victory plain		Judith	Nowell
302	herpað	army path		Judith	Nowell
302	scildburh	shieldwall		Judith	Nowell
307	greote	grit	warriors	Judith	Nowell
311	cyðð	homeland		Judith	Nowell
314	londbuend	inhabitants		Judith	Nowell
319	folcsted	battlefield		Judith	Nowell
320	eðelweard	inhabitants		Judith	Nowell
321	swað	paths		Judith	Nowell
326	byrig	town	bright	Judith	Nowell
348	grund	country		Judith	Nowell
6	græswong	grassland	execution	Juliana	Exeter
10	grund	earth	kingdom	Juliana	Exeter
11	burg	town		Juliana	Exeter
19	rondburg	fortified town		Juliana	Exeter
20	eard	dwelling		Juliana	Exeter
21	ceastre	town		Juliana	Exeter
41	bold	house		Juliana	Exeter
83	winburg	festive town		Juliana	Exeter
114	bold	house		Juliana	Exeter
168	blæd	fruit	glory	Juliana	Exeter
236	duru	door	prison	Juliana	Exeter
322	grund	earth	journey	Juliana	Exeter

line	word	feature	associated with	poem	Ms
376	gebedstow	oratory	prayer	Juliana	Exeter
424	eard	dwelling		Juliana	Exeter
503	boldwela	splendid house		Juliana	Exeter
555	grund	abyss	devils	Juliana	Exeter
581	bæð	bath	heat	Juliana	Exeter
597	deor	wild animals	man cf beast	Juliana	Exeter
635	londmearc	landboundary		Juliana	Exeter
636	stow	place		Juliana	Exeter
649	ferblæd	windblast		Juliana	Exeter
665	byrig	town	glory	Juliana	Exeter
673	laguflod	sea	drowning	Juliana	Exeter
673	ehstream	sea	flight	Juliana	Exeter
674	laguflod	sea	flight	Juliana	Exeter
675	swonrad	sea	drowning	Juliana	Exeter
677	land	land	shore	Juliana	Exeter
680	wæge	waves	surge	Juliana	Exeter
684	scræf	pit	deep	Juliana	Exeter
690	moldgræf	grave		Juliana	Exeter
691	burg	town		Juliana	Exeter
701	eard	dwelling	unknown	Juliana	Exeter
715	eard	earth		Juliana	Exeter
19	ceastre	town		Kentish Hymn	Vespasian D.vi
3	buruh	town		Loss Cattle	Harley 585
4	middangeard	earth		Loss Cattle	Harley 585
6	blæd	fruit	glory	LP I	Exeter
29	eard	land	best	LP II	CCCC 201
38	grund	earth		LP II	CCCC 201
61	eorðe	earth	cf heaven	LP II	CCCC 201
74	eard	land	best	LP II	CCCC 201
97	eard	land	hell/heaven	LP II	CCCC 201
120	middangeard	earth		LP II	CCCC 201
11	eorðe	earth		LP III	Junius 121
11	eard	dwelling	earth	LP III	Junius 121
17	middangeard	earth	Christ	LP III	Junius 121
23	eorþan	earth	life	LP III	Junius 121
8	holt	wood	hawk	Maldon	Hickes tr
25	stæðe	riverbank		Maldon	Hickes tr
27	brimliþend	sailor		Maldon	Hickes tr
28	ofre	riverbank		Maldon	Hickes tr
41	flotweg	sea		Maldon	Hickes tr
49	brimman	sailor		Maldon	Hickes tr
52	ēbel	homeland		Maldon	Hickes tr
53	eard	country		Maldon	Hickes tr
54	foldan	country		Maldon	Hickes tr
58	eard	country		Maldon	Hickes tr
63	easteðe	riverbank		Maldon	Hickes tr
64	wæter	river		Maldon	Hickes tr
65	flod	tide	ebb	Maldon	Hickes tr
66	lagustream	river		Maldon	Hickes tr
68	stream	river		Maldon	Hickes tr
72	flod	tide	ebb	Maldon	Hickes tr

line	word	feature	associated with	poem	Ms
74	bricge	causeway		Maldon	Hickes tr
78	bricge	causeway		Maldon	Hickes tr
85	bricgweard	causewayguard		Maldon	Hickes tr
88	ford	ford		Maldon	Hickes tr
90	land	land		Maldon	Hickes tr
91	wæter	water	cold	Maldon	Hickes tr
95	wælstow	battlefield		Maldon	Hickes tr
96	wæter	water	cold	Maldon	Hickes tr
97	Pant	river	name	Maldon	Hickes tr
98	wæter	river	shining	Maldon	Hickes tr
99	land	land		Maldon	Hickes tr
102	wihagan	battlefence	defence	Maldon	Hickes tr
107	eorþan	earth	battle	Maldon	Hickes tr
126	eorðe	earth	battle	Maldon	Hickes tr
157	eorþan	earth	battle	Maldon	Hickes tr
166	foldan	earth	battle	Maldon	Hickes tr
193	wudu	wood	refuge	Maldon	Hickes tr
222	eard	homeland		Maldon	Hickes tr
227	foldan	earth	battle	Maldon	Hickes tr
233	eorðe	earth	battle	Maldon	Hickes tr
242	scyldburch	shieldwall		Maldon	Hickes tr
275	land	land	footmeasure	Maldon	Hickes tr
277	bordweal	shieldwall		Maldon	Hickes tr
286	eorðe	earth	battle	Maldon	Hickes tr
287	grund	earth	battle	Maldon	Hickes tr
291	burgh	town		Maldon	Hickes tr
293	wælstow	battlefield		Maldon	Hickes tr
295	brimmen	sailor		Maldon	Hickes tr
303	eorþan	earth	battle	Maldon	Hickes tr
315	greote	earth	battle	Maldon	Hickes tr
2	brycgian	bridge	ice	Maxims I	Exeter
16	eard	land	broad	Maxims I	Exeter
25	beam	tree	leaves	Maxims I	Exeter
30	cyðð	homeland		Maxims I	Exeter
34	blæd	fruit	tree	Maxims I	Exeter
37	eþle	dwelling		Maxims I	Exeter
50	holm	sea	storm	Maxims I	Exeter
51	geofon	sea	storm	Maxims I	Exeter
52	lond	land	storm	Maxims I	Exeter
52	weall	cliffs	storm	Maxims I	Exeter
54	sæ	sea	calm	Maxims I	Exeter
72	eorþe	earth	growth	Maxims I	Exeter
92	boldagend	houseruler		Maxims I	Exeter
147	deor	wild animals	exile	Maxims I	Exeter
158	beam	tree	fallen	Maxims I	Exeter
159	treo	tree	growth	Maxims I	Exeter
175	eofor	boar		Maxims I	Exeter
176	deor	wild animals	companions	Maxims I	Exeter
1	ceastre	town	visible	Maxims II	C.Tiberius Bi
2	eorðe	earth	giants	Maxims II	C.Tiberius Bi
3	wealstan	stonewall	giants	Maxims II	C.Tiberius Bi

line	word	feature	associated with	poem	Ms
8	hærfest	harvest	produce	Maxims II	C.Tiberius Bi
17	hafoc	hawk	wild	Maxims II	C.Tiberius Bi
18	bearwe	wood	wolf	Maxims II	C.Tiberius Bi
19	eofor	boar	power	Maxims II	C.Tiberius Bi
19	holt	wood	boar	Maxims II	C.Tiberius Bi
23	stream	river	wave	Maxims II	C.Tiberius Bi
23	yð	wave	sea	Maxims II	C.Tiberius Bi
24	mereflod	sea	wave	Maxims II	C.Tiberius Bi
26	draca	dragon	barrow	Maxims II	C.Tiberius Bi
26	hlæw	barrow	dragon	Maxims II	C.Tiberius Bi
27	fisc	fish	water	Maxims II	C.Tiberius Bi
27	wæter	water	fish	Maxims II	C.Tiberius Bi
29	bera	bear	heath	Maxims II	C.Tiberius Bi
29	hæð	heath	boar	Maxims II	C.Tiberius Bi
30	ea	river	flow	Maxims II	C.Tiberius Bi
31	flodgræg	seagrey	flow	Maxims II	C.Tiberius Bi
33	wudu	wood	fruit	Maxims II	C.Tiberius Bi
33	foldan	earth	woods	Maxims II	C.Tiberius Bi
34	blæd	fruit	tree	Maxims II	C.Tiberius Bi
34	beorh	hill	visible	Maxims II	C.Tiberius Bi
36	duru	door	hall	Maxims II	C.Tiberius Bi
39	wæl	river	fish	Maxims II	C.Tiberius Bi
42	þyrs	monster	fen	Maxims II	C.Tiberius Bi
42	fen	fen	monster	Maxims II	C.Tiberius Bi
43	land	country	monster	Maxims II	C.Tiberius Bi
45	brim	sea	salt	Maxims II	C.Tiberius Bi
46	laguflod	seacurrents	air	Maxims II	C.Tiberius Bi
46	land	land	seacurrents	Maxims II	C.Tiberius Bi
47	firgenstream	mountain stream	land	Maxims II	C.Tiberius Bi
47	feoh	cattle	land	Maxims II	C.Tiberius Bi
47	eorðe	earth	cattle	Maxims II	C.Tiberius Bi
53	land	land	fighting	Maxims II	C.Tiberius Bi
18	wulf	wolf	alone	Maxims II	C.Tiberius Bi
36	middangeard	earth	March	Menologium	C.Tiberius Bi
53	middangeard	earth	BVM	Menologium	C.Tiberius Bi
75	burh	town		Menologium	C.Tiberius Bi
77	wudu	wood	Spring	Menologium	C.Tiberius Bi
77	wyrt	plants	Spring	Menologium	C.Tiberius Bi
90	wang	land	blossom	Menologium	C.Tiberius Bi
91	blostm	blossom	produce	Menologium	C.Tiberius Bi
92	middangeard	earth	Spring	Menologium	C.Tiberius Bi
103	mere	sea	salt	Menologium	C.Tiberius Bi
109	geard	earth	June	Menologium	C.Tiberius Bi
113	grund	ground	sun	Menologium	C.Tiberius Bi
114	foldan	earth	sun	Menologium	C.Tiberius Bi
114	wang	land	earth	Menologium	C.Tiberius Bi
138	weodmonað	weedmonth	August	Menologium	C.Tiberius Bi
140	hærfest	harvest	August	Menologium	C.Tiberius Bi
142	wæstm	fruit	harvest	Menologium	C.Tiberius Bi
143	foldan	earth	harvest	Menologium	C.Tiberius Bi
159	wæter	water	baptism	Menologium	C.Tiberius Bi

line	word	feature	associated with	poem	Ms
161	middangeard	earth	people	Menologium	C.Tiberius Bi
176	eorðe	earth	harvest	Menologium	C.Tiberius Bi
177	hærfest	harvest		Menologium	C.Tiberius Bi
204	hærfest	harvest	winter	Menologium	C.Tiberius Bi
206	wang	land	winter	Menologium	C.Tiberius Bi
206	grene	green	growth	Menologium	C.Tiberius Bi
207	foldan	earth	growth	Menologium	C.Tiberius Bi
212	sægrund	seabottom		Menologium	C.Tiberius Bi
213	brim	sea	ship	Menologium	C.Tiberius Bi
6	lond	country		Nine Herbs	Harley 585
13	lond	country		Nine Herbs	Harley 585
14	stan	stone	plant	Nine Herbs	Harley 585
20	lond	country		Nine Herbs	Harley 585
28	sæ	sea	waves	Nine Herbs	Harley 585
28	hyrgc	ridge	wave	Nine Herbs	Harley 585
32	wuldortan	glory twigs	Woden	Nine Herbs	Harley 585
52	wyrmegeblæd	snakeblister		Nine Herbs	Harley 585
52	wætergeblæd	waterblister		Nine Herbs	Harley 585
53	þorngelæd	thornblister		Nine Herbs	Harley 585
54	yscgeblæd	iceblister		Nine Herbs	Harley 585
54	attorgeblæd	poisonblister		Nine Herbs	Harley 585
59	ea	river	flowing	Nine Herbs	Harley 585
61	weod	plants	roots	Nine Herbs	Harley 585
61	wyrt	roots	plant	Nine Herbs	Harley 585
62	sæ	sea		Nine Herbs	Harley 585
62	wæter	sea	salt	Nine Herbs	Harley 585
40	grund	seabottom	wide	Order World	Exeter
40	sæ	sea	wide	Order World	Exeter
42	blæd	fruit	spirit	Order World	Exeter
71	grund	seabottom	sun	Order World	Exeter
77	æspring	spring	source	Order World	Exeter
78	grund	land	sun	Order World	Exeter
81	brim	sea	sun	Order World	Exeter
84	lagustream	water	sky	Order World	Exeter
84	lond	land	sea	Order World	Exeter
84	wæg	sea	land	Order World	Exeter
85	flod	sea	water	Order World	Exeter
85	yp	water	fish	Order World	Exeter
5	deor	wild animals		Panther	Exeter
7	brim	sea		Panther	Exeter
11	eard	dwelling		Panther	Exeter
12	dunscraf	hill cave		Panther	Exeter
12	deor	wild animals		Panther	Exeter
15	draca	dragon		Panther	Exeter
19	deor	wild animals		Panther	Exeter
25	deor	wild animals		Panther	Exeter
37	stow	place	secret	Panther	Exeter
37	dunscraf	hill cave		Panther	Exeter
45	wongstede	place		Panther	Exeter
47	wyrt	plants	scent	Panther	Exeter
47	wudubled	wood flowers	scent	Panther	Exeter

line	word	feature	associated with	poem	Ms
47	blostm	blossom	plant	Panther	Exeter
50	burgsal	house		Panther	Exeter
53	deor	wild animals		Panther	Exeter
57	draca	dragon		Panther	Exeter
58	grund	abyss	torment	Panther	Exeter
6	hellfirena	hellfire	black	Partridge	Exeter
7	wong	land	light	Phoenix	Exeter
9	iglond	island	separate	Phoenix	Exeter
12	duru	door	Heaven	Phoenix	Exeter
13	wong	land	joy	Phoenix	Exeter
13	weald	forest	green	Phoenix	Exeter
21	blostm	blossom	fertile	Phoenix	Exeter
21	beorg	hill	high	Phoenix	Exeter
21	munt	mountain	high	Phoenix	Exeter
22	stanclif	stonecliff	high	Phoenix	Exeter
24	den	valley		Phoenix	Exeter
24	dal	dale	valley	Phoenix	Exeter
24	dunsraf	hill cave		Phoenix	Exeter
25	hlæw	hill	ridge	Phoenix	Exeter
25	hlinc	ridge	hills	Phoenix	Exeter
26	feld	plain	joy	Phoenix	Exeter
31	beorg	hill	high	Phoenix	Exeter
33	sigewong	victory plain	calm	Phoenix	Exeter
33	sunbearo	sunwoods	light	Phoenix	Exeter
34	wuduholt	woods	joy	Phoenix	Exeter
34	wæstm	fruit	blossom	Phoenix	Exeter
35	bled	blossom	fruit	Phoenix	Exeter
35	beam	tree	blossom	Phoenix	Exeter
37	wudu	wood	blossom	Phoenix	Exeter
39	leaf	leaf	blossom	Phoenix	Exeter
41	wætre	sea		Phoenix	Exeter
42	mereflod	sea	flood	Phoenix	Exeter
43	wong	plain	high	Phoenix	Exeter
44	yðfar	wavejourney	flood	Phoenix	Exeter
45	wæg	wave	flood	Phoenix	Exeter
59	cylegicel	icicles	cold	Phoenix	Exeter
62	lagustream	river	beauty	Phoenix	Exeter
64	flodwylm	stream	flowing	Phoenix	Exeter
64	foldan	earth	woods	Phoenix	Exeter
65	wæter	stream	woods	Phoenix	Exeter
65	wudu	woods	water	Phoenix	Exeter
66	molddan	earth	water	Phoenix	Exeter
66	tyrf	turf	water	Phoenix	Exeter
67	bearo	woods	water	Phoenix	Exeter
67	brimceald	seacold	fountain	Phoenix	Exeter
70	lond	land	water	Phoenix	Exeter
70	laguflod	flood	woods	Phoenix	Exeter
71	beawas	woods	blossom	Phoenix	Exeter
71	bled	blossom	woods	Phoenix	Exeter
72	wæstm	fruit	woods	Phoenix	Exeter
73	holt	wood	fruit	Phoenix	Exeter

<u>line</u>	<u>word</u>	<u>feature</u>	<u>associated with</u>	<u>poem</u>	<u>Ms</u>
74	blostm	blossom	woods	Phoenix	Exeter
75	wudubeam	tree	blossom	Phoenix	Exeter
76	treow	tree	fruit	Phoenix	Exeter
77	ofett	fruit	tree	Phoenix	Exeter
78	græs Wong	grassland	green	Phoenix	Exeter
80	bearwe	wood	bright	Phoenix	Exeter
81	holt	wood	scent	Phoenix	Exeter
85	wudu	wood	beauty	Phoenix	Exeter
87	eard	dwelling		Phoenix	Exeter
94	yðmere	wavesea	dawn	Phoenix	Exeter
97	waþeman	wavesea	dawn	Phoenix	Exeter
100	firgenstream	mountainstream	dawn	Phoenix	Exeter
104	æspring	fountain	bird	Phoenix	Exeter
105	wyllestream	running stream	bird	Phoenix	Exeter
107	burn	stream	bird	Phoenix	Exeter
109	wyllgespryng	running stream	bird	Phoenix	Exeter
110	brimceald	seacold	fountain	Phoenix	Exeter
112	beam	tree	bird	Phoenix	Exeter
115	holmþræce	sea	restless	Phoenix	Exeter
118	geofon	sea	dawn	Phoenix	Exeter
118	grund	land	light	Phoenix	Exeter
120	stream	sea	salt	Phoenix	Exeter
121	fugel	birds	song	Phoenix	Exeter
122	bearwe	wood	bird	Phoenix	Exeter
122	beam	tree	bird	Phoenix	Exeter
148	bearwe	wood	bird	Phoenix	Exeter
149	wong	land	bird	Phoenix	Exeter
152	wudubearwe	wood	bird	Phoenix	Exeter
154	eorðe	earth	green	Phoenix	Exeter
155	foldan	earth	fertile	Phoenix	Exeter
157	epel	homeland		Phoenix	Exeter
158	eard	homeland		Phoenix	Exeter
161	westen	desert	empty	Phoenix	Exeter
168	scade	shady	woods	Phoenix	Exeter
169	wudubearwe	woods	shady	Phoenix	Exeter
169	stow	place	empty	Phoenix	Exeter
171	beam	tree	high	Phoenix	Exeter
171	holtwudu	woods	tree	Phoenix	Exeter
172	wyrt	roots	firm	Phoenix	Exeter
175	treow	tree		Phoenix	Exeter
188	telgum	branch	weather	Phoenix	Exeter
194	wyrt	plants	blossom	Phoenix	Exeter
194	wudubled	wood flowers	plant	Phoenix	Exeter
195	eardsted	nest	plant	Phoenix	Exeter
196	wyrt	plants	scent	Phoenix	Exeter
200	treow	tree	nest	Phoenix	Exeter
201	westen	desert	wild	Phoenix	Exeter
202	beam	tree	high	Phoenix	Exeter
205	leafscead	leafshade	scent	Phoenix	Exeter
230	ade	fire		Phoenix	Exeter
260	meledeaw	honeydew	bird	Phoenix	Exeter

line	word	feature	associated with	poem	Ms
264	eard	homeland		Phoenix	Exeter
275	eard	homeland		Phoenix	Exeter
277	cyðð	homeland		Phoenix	Exeter
279	eþellond	homeland		Phoenix	Exeter
287	ealond	river land		Phoenix	Exeter
321	eard	homeland		Phoenix	Exeter
321	eþelturf	home turf		Phoenix	Exeter
346	eard	homeland		Phoenix	Exeter
349	eþel	homeland		Phoenix	Exeter
354	eard	homeland		Phoenix	Exeter
361	eard	country		Phoenix	Exeter
362	wyllestream	running stream	woods	Phoenix	Exeter
362	wuduþolt	woods	fountain	Phoenix	Exeter
389	þurg	town		Phoenix	Exeter
391	þlæd	fruit	glory	Phoenix	Exeter
402	þeam	tree	fruit	Phoenix	Exeter
418	wong	country		Phoenix	Exeter
427	eard	dwelling		Phoenix	Exeter
427	eþel	homeland		Phoenix	Exeter
429	þolt	wood	high	Phoenix	Exeter
430	tan	shoots	plant	Phoenix	Exeter
430	wyrt	plants	shoots	Phoenix	Exeter
431	eardwic	nest		Phoenix	Exeter
432	þearwe	wood	nest	Phoenix	Exeter
439	wong	country	shining	Phoenix	Exeter
447	þeam	tree	high	Phoenix	Exeter
448	wic	town	safety	Phoenix	Exeter
456	wyrt	plants	blossom	Phoenix	Exeter
468	wicstow	living place		Phoenix	Exeter
474	wyrt	plants	town	Phoenix	Exeter
474	wic	town	plant	Phoenix	Exeter
475	þyrig	town	glory	Phoenix	Exeter
498	grund	earth	wide	Phoenix	Exeter
503	ade	fire		Phoenix	Exeter
512	þyrgen	grave		Phoenix	Exeter
529	wyrt	plants	joy	Phoenix	Exeter
543	gewyrtad	herbclad		Phoenix	Exeter
545	þyrig	town	devil	Phoenix	Exeter
549	þlæd	fruit		Phoenix	Exeter
588	þyrig	town	glory	Phoenix	Exeter
593	þam	homeland	joy	Phoenix	Exeter
599	þam	homeland	joy	Phoenix	Exeter
633	þyrig	town	great	Phoenix	Exeter
643	treow	cross		Phoenix	Exeter
653	wyrt	plants	joy	Phoenix	Exeter
654	foldwæstm	fruits of earth	joy	Phoenix	Exeter
662	þlæd	fruit	glory	Phoenix	Exeter
666	þyrig	town	bright	Phoenix	Exeter
673	earding	dwelling		Phoenix	Exeter
674	þlæddaga	harvest		Phoenix	Exeter
11	eorðe	earth		Prayer	C.Julius Aii

line	word	feature	associated with	poem	Ms
16	eorðe	earth		Prayer	C.Julius Aii
31	grund	earth		Prayer	C.Julius Aii
32	moldan	earth		Prayer	C.Julius Aii
32	middangeard	earth		Prayer	C.Julius Aii
47	byrig	town		Prayer	C.Julius Aii
85	grund	abyss	words	Precepts	Exeter
6	burg	town	bliss	Preface GD	C.Otho Ci
2	sæ	sea	salt	Preface PC	Hatton 20
9	bledhwate	tree	flourishing	RD 1	Exeter
2	firgenstream	mountainstream		RD 10	Exeter
7	brim	sea	tree	RD 10	Exeter
2	wong	land	green	RD 12	Exeter
1	turf	turf		RD 13	Exeter
9	bled	shoots	grey	RD 13	Exeter
6	græs	grass	green	RD 15	Exeter
9	bold	house		RD 15	Exeter
11	duru	door	hunting	RD 15	Exeter
18	beorg	hill	steep	RD 15	Exeter
21	dunþyrel	hillhole	secret	RD 15	Exeter
27	hyll	hill	hole	RD 15	Exeter
3	epel	homeland		RD 16	Exeter
2	yp	wave	earth	RD 2	Exeter
2	eorþan	earth	wave	RD 2	Exeter
3	grund	ground	sea	RD 2	Exeter
6	staþu	shore	wave	RD 2	Exeter
7	hleopa	shore	steep	RD 2	Exeter
7	stan	stone	shore	RD 2	Exeter
7	sond	sand	shore	RD 2	Exeter
8	ware	seaweed	sand	RD 2	Exeter
8	wæg	water	sand	RD 2	Exeter
9	hrusan	earth	storm	RD 2	Exeter
10	sægrund	seabottom	storm	RD 2	Exeter
10	sundhelm	sea	storm	RD 2	Exeter
13	brim	sea	clasp	RD 2	Exeter
2	grund	earth	grave	RD 21	Exeter
3	holt	woods		RD 21	Exeter
5	wong	earth		RD 21	Exeter
7	bearwe	woods		RD 21	Exeter
9	grene	grass		RD 21	Exeter
2	wægstæþ	shore		RD 22	Exeter
5	mere	sea		RD 22	Exeter
6	flod	sea	deep	RD 22	Exeter
7	yp	wave	current	RD 22	Exeter
7	ofra	shore	high	RD 22	Exeter
8	stream	current	strong	RD 22	Exeter
12	byht	bay	water	RD 22	Exeter
15	grund	seabottom		RD 22	Exeter
18	burn	stream		RD 22	Exeter
19	stæð	shore	steep	RD 22	Exeter
3	burgsittend	towndweller		RD 25	Exeter
2	bearwe	woods		RD 27	Exeter

line	word	feature	associated with	poem	Ms
2	burhleop	townslopes		RD 27	Exeter
3	dun	hill	town	RD 27	Exeter
1	foldan	earth	divided	RD 28	Exeter
7	duru	door	houses	RD 28	Exeter
5	byrig	town		RD 29	Exeter
12	deaw	dew	night	RD 29	Exeter
12	dust	dust	rising	RD 29	Exeter
2	salwong	fertile plain	storm	RD 3	Exeter
6	hruse	earth	storm	RD 3	Exeter
7	ebelstol	dwelling		RD 3	Exeter
18	stape	shore	storm	RD 3	Exeter
19	flod	sea	flintgrey/storm	RD 3	Exeter
20	weall	cliffs	storm	RD 3	Exeter
21	dun	hills	high	RD 3	Exeter
23	mearclond	shore	steep/rocky	RD 3	Exeter
24	hlinc	bank/cliff	high	RD 3	Exeter
25	stanhleopu	stonecliff	storm	RD 3	Exeter
25	brimgiest	sailor		RD 3	Exeter
28	cleofu	cliffs	storm	RD 3	Exeter
40	burg	town	storm	RD 3	Exeter
51	burg	town	storm	RD 3	Exeter
4	bearu	woods	blossom	RD 30a	Exeter
16	deor	animals		RD 31	Exeter
4	greote	gravel	travel	RD 32	Exeter
4	eard	land	iceberg	RD 33	Exeter
1	burg	town	men/cattle	RD 34	Exeter
5	weall	slopes	plant	RD 34	Exeter
5	wyrt	plants	slopes	RD 34	Exeter
7	wyrtrum	roots		RD 34	Exeter
8	stapolwong	fixed land	plant	RD 34	Exeter
1	wong	earth	cold	RD 35	Exeter
6	dun	earth		RD 38	Exeter
18	eofor	boar		RD 40	Exeter
25	tyrf	grass	blossom	RD 40	Exeter
28	blostm	blossom	beauty	RD 40	Exeter
31	fen	marsh	black	RD 40	Exeter
51	wong	land	green	RD 40	Exeter
61	hyrstum	wood		RD 40	Exeter
82	wong	earth	green	RD 40	Exeter
93	grund	seabottom	whale	RD 40	Exeter
106	bocwudu	beechwood	pigs	RD 40	Exeter
1	eardfæst	fixed in earth		RD 49	Exeter
9	burg	town	war	RD 5	Exeter
1	bearwe	woods	tree	RD 53	Exeter
1	beam	tree	woods	RD 53	Exeter
2	treow	tree	branches	RD 53	Exeter
3	wudu	wood	tree	RD 53	Exeter
3	wætre	water	growth	RD 53	Exeter
3	eorpe	earth	growth	RD 53	Exeter
7	burg	town	Hell	RD 55	Exeter
3	holt	woods	tree	RD 56	Exeter

<u>line</u>	<u>word</u>	<u>feature</u>	<u>associated with</u>	<u>poem</u>	<u>Ms</u>
9	treow	tree	leaves	RD 56	Exeter
2	beorghleopa	hillslopes	small creatures	RD 57	Exeter
5	bearonæs	wooded cliffs	small creatures	RD 57	Exeter
5	burgsalo	house		RD 57	Exeter
2	wong	plain	water	RD 58	Exeter
9	eorðgræf	well		RD 58	Exeter
12	lagoflod	water	carried	RD 58	Exeter
14	ealdorburg	God's town	Heaven	RD 59	Exeter
15	ceastre	town	Heaven	RD 59	Exeter
1	sond	sand	shore	RD 60	Exeter
1	sæweall	seawall	shore	RD 60	Exeter
2	merefarope	seasurge	shore	RD 60	Exeter
5	eard	dwelling		RD 60	Exeter
6	yð	wave	dark	RD 60	Exeter
7	lagufæðme	enclosing wave	shore	RD 60	Exeter
3	sæs	seas		RD 66	Exeter
4	flod	water		RD 66	Exeter
4	foldbearm	earthclasp		RD 66	Exeter
5	wong	earth	green	RD 66	Exeter
5	grund	abyss		RD 66	Exeter
7	epel	heaven	glory	RD 66	Exeter
8	eorþan	earth		RD 66	Exeter
8	eard	country	Heaven	RD 66	Exeter
9	merestream	sea		RD 66	Exeter
1	hrusan	earth	tread	RD 7	Exeter
2	wado	water	disturb	RD 7	Exeter
3	byht	dwelling		RD 7	Exeter
9	flod	water	earth	RD 7	Exeter
9	foldan	earth	water	RD 7	Exeter
12	mearcþapas	moorpaths		RD 72	Exeter
12	mor	marsh	travel	RD 72	Exeter
1	wong	land	weather	RD 73	Exeter
2	hrusan	earth	weather	RD 73	Exeter
5	eard	earth		RD 73	Exeter
25	epelfæsten	stronghold		RD 73	Exeter
3	flod	water		RD 74	Exeter
4	yþ	wave		RD 74	Exeter
5	foldan	earth		RD 74	Exeter
6	bearwe	woods		RD 79	Exeter
6	burg	town	evening	RD 8	Exeter
7	wudu	woods	weather	RD 80	Exeter
8	stream	rain	weather	RD 80	Exeter
9	hægl	hail		RD 80	Exeter
9	hrim	frost		RD 80	Exeter
10	snaw	snow		RD 80	Exeter
2	burg	town		RD 82	Exeter
3	grund	earth		RD 83	Exeter
3	grund	earth		RD 83	Exeter
30	grundbedd	earth		RD 83	Exeter
36	hrusan	earth		RD 83	Exeter
38	wæstm	plants		RD 83	Exeter

line	word	feature	associated with	poem	Ms
44	stan	stones	decay	RD 83	Exeter
45	weall	wall	stone/decay	RD 83	Exeter
47	hrusan	earth	decay	RD 83	Exeter
12	holt	woods		RD 87	Exeter
13	wudubeam	tree		RD 87	Exeter
1	beam	tree	woods	RD 91	Exeter
1	holt	woods	tree	RD 91	Exeter
2	foldan	earth	fruit	RD 91	Exeter
2	wæstm	fruit	earth	RD 91	Exeter
9	hlip	slopes		RD 92	Exeter
11	dalū	valley	depth	RD 92	Exeter
12	stanwong	stonefield	frozen hard	RD 92	Exeter
25	wudu	wood	water	RD 92	Exeter
25	wætre	water	woods	RD 92	Exeter
6	burg	town		RD 94	Exeter
10	eorðe	earth		RD 94	Exeter
8	wudu	wood	tree	RD I	Exeter
9	bearwe	wood	tree	RD I	Exeter
9	beam	tree	woods	RD I	Exeter
10	holm	sea	roofed	RD I	Exeter
14	sund	sea	storm	RD I	Exeter
90	eþle	homeland		Resignation	Exeter
106	wudu	tree	growth	Resignation	Exeter
109	eþle	homeland		Resignation	Exeter
4	blostm	blossom		Riming	Exeter
9	wæstm	produce		Riming	Exeter
30	burgsele	house		Riming	Exeter
35	blæd	fruit	glory	Riming	Exeter
53	blæd	fruit	glory	Riming	Exeter
68	foldwela	earth riches	cf age/ruin	Riming	Exeter
1	wealstan	stonewall	decoration	Ruin	Exeter
2	burgstede	town	stonewall	Ruin	Exeter
3	hrof	roofs	decay	Ruin	Exeter
3	torr	towers	decay	Ruin	Exeter
4	hrimgeat	frostgate		Ruin	Exeter
4	lime	mortar	frost	Ruin	Exeter
5	scurbeorg	building	decay	Ruin	Exeter
6	eorðgrap	grave		Ruin	Exeter
8	hrusan	earth	grave	Ruin	Exeter
9	wag	wall	decoration	Ruin	Exeter
17	lamrind	mudcrusted	ring	Ruin	Exeter
20	weallwalan	wallfoundation	metal	Ruin	Exeter
21	burgræced	townbuildings	decoration	Ruin	Exeter
21	burnsele	waterhalls	town	Ruin	Exeter
22	horngestreon	gables	high	Ruin	Exeter
27	westen	desert	decay	Ruin	Exeter
28	burgsteall	town	decay	Ruin	Exeter
29	hrusan	earth	destruction	Ruin	Exeter
29	hofu	building	decay	Ruin	Exeter
30	tigel	tiles	decay	Ruin	Exeter
31	hrof	roofs	tiles	Ruin	Exeter

line	word	feature	associated with	poem	Ms
31	wong	earth		Ruin	Exeter
32	beorg	heaps stone		Ruin	Exeter
37	burg	town	bright	Ruin	Exeter
38	stanhof	stonebuilding		Ruin	Exeter
38	stream	river	surge	Ruin	Exeter
39	weal	wall	enclosure	Ruin	Exeter
43	stan	stone	grey/heat	Ruin	Exeter
43	stream	water	stone/heat	Ruin	Exeter
45	hringmere	round pool	heat	Ruin	Exeter
49	burg	town		Ruin	Exeter
5	deor	animals	aurochs	Rune Poem	Hickes tr
6	morstapa	moorstepper	aurochs	Rune Poem	Hickes tr
6	brimhengest	ship		Rune Poem	Hickes tr
7	ðorn	thorn		Rune Poem	Hickes tr
15	milpaþ	roads	riding	Rune Poem	Hickes tr
22	hægl	hail	corn/weather	Rune Poem	Hickes tr
24	byrg	dwelling	security	Rune Poem	Hickes tr
24	blæd	glory		Rune Poem	Hickes tr
26	wæter	water	hail	Rune Poem	Hickes tr
29	is	ice	cold/beauty	Rune Poem	Hickes tr
31	flor	floor	ice	Rune Poem	Hickes tr
32	ger	year	harvest	Rune Poem	Hickes tr
34	bled	fruits of earth	harvest	Rune Poem	Hickes tr
35	eoh	yew		Rune Poem	Hickes tr
35	treow	tree	yew/roots	Rune Poem	Hickes tr
36	hrusan	earth	yew/roots	Rune Poem	Hickes tr
37	eþle	home	yew/roots	Rune Poem	Hickes tr
41	eolhxsecg	sedge		Rune Poem	Hickes tr
41	fen	marsh	sedge	Rune Poem	Hickes tr
41	eard	dwelling	sedge	Rune Poem	Hickes tr
42	wature	water	sedge	Rune Poem	Hickes tr
46	bep	sea	fish	Rune Poem	Hickes tr
47	brimhengest	ship		Rune Poem	Hickes tr
51	beorc	beech		Rune Poem	Hickes tr
51	bled	shoots	birch	Rune Poem	Hickes tr
63	lagu	sea	journey	Rune Poem	Hickes tr
69	wæg	sea	journey	Rune Poem	Hickes tr
71	eþel	homeland		Rune Poem	Hickes tr
73	bold	house		Rune Poem	Hickes tr
74	yr	yew bow		Rune Poem	Hickes tr
77	ac	oak	food/journey	Rune Poem	Hickes tr
78	bæp	sea	gannet	Rune Poem	Hickes tr
78	garsecg	sea	journey	Rune Poem	Hickes tr
81	æsc	ash	spears	Rune Poem	Hickes tr
82	stede	place		Rune Poem	Hickes tr
87	iar	eel	water	Rune Poem	Hickes tr
93	bled	glory	grave	Rune Poem	Hickes tr
16	dust	dust	death/spirit	S&B I	Vercelli
59	boldwela	splendid house		S&B I	Vercelli
71	eardungstow	living place	disgrace	S&B I	Vercelli
77	deor	wild animals	desert	S&B I	Vercelli

line	word	feature	associated with	poem	Ms
80	eorðe	earth	cattle	S&B I	Vercelli
81	feldgongende	fieldwalker	cattle	S&B I	Vercelli
82	westen	desert	snakes	S&B I	Vercelli
82	deor	wild animals		S&B I	Vercelli
104	hellegrund	abyss	Hell	S&B I	Vercelli
16	dust	dust	dead arising	S&B II	Exeter
66	eardungstow	living place	disgrace	S&B II	Exeter
77	westen	desert	wild animals	S&B II	Exeter
97	grund	abyss	Hell	S&B II	Exeter
99	dust	dust	flaming	S&B II	Exeter
1	igland	island		S&S	CCCC 422a
3	libia	placename		S&S	CCCC 422a
3	greca	placename		S&S	CCCC 422a
4	indea	placename		S&S	CCCC 422a
19	wæter	sea		S&S	CCCC 422a
20	coferflod	rivername		S&S	CCCC 422a
20	caldeas	placename		S&S	CCCC 422a
21	eorþan	earth		S&S	CCCC 422a
23	feldgongende	earthwalker		S&S	CCCC 422a
25	windes	winding path		S&S	CCCC 422a
26	draca	dragon	Hell	S&S	CCCC 422a
29	ið	wave	sinner	S&S	CCCC 422a
31	grund	abyss	treasure	S&S	CCCC 422a
33	eðel	heaven		S&S	CCCC 422a
37	duru	door	Heaven	S&S	CCCC 422a
69	foldan	earth		S&S	CCCC 422a
74	wylm	current		S&S	CCCC 422a
75	middangeard	earth		S&S	CCCC 422a
76	stan	stone		S&S	CCCC 422a
78	duru	door	deaf	S&S	CCCC 422a
80	flod	flood	Bible	S&S	CCCC 422a
81	yð	wave	fish	S&S	CCCC 422a
82	wildeor	wild animals	woods	S&S	CCCC 422a
82	holt	wood	refuge	S&S	CCCC 422a
83	westen	desert		S&S	CCCC 422a
83	geard	garden	worship	S&S	CCCC 422a
92	swaðe	path		S&S	CCCC 422a
100	flint	flint		S&S	CCCC 422a
106	eðelrice	heaven		S&S	CCCC 422a
137	stræte	path	runes	S&S	CCCC 422a
154	feldgongende	earthwalker	cattle	S&S	CCCC 422a
155	wæter	river	horse sacrifice	S&S	CCCC 422a
156	bæð	fountain	blood	S&S	CCCC 422a
174	fyre	fire	Hell	S&S	CCCC 422a
180	middangeard	earth		S&S	CCCC 422a
185	land	country		S&S	CCCC 422a
186	india	placename	sea	S&S	CCCC 422a
186	mere	sea		S&S	CCCC 422a
186	corsias	placename		S&S	CCCC 422a
187	persea	placename		S&S	CCCC 422a
187	palestinion	placename		S&S	CCCC 422a

line	word	feature	associated with	poem	Ms
188	ceastre	town		S&S	CCCC 422a
188	niniuen	placename		S&S	CCCC 422a
188	predan	placename		S&S	CCCC 422a
189	meda	placename	treasure	S&S	CCCC 422a
189	eard	country		S&S	CCCC 422a
191	gealboe	placename		S&S	CCCC 422a
191	geador	placename		S&S	CCCC 422a
192	filistina	placename	floor	S&S	CCCC 422a
192	creca	placename	stronghold	S&S	CCCC 422a
193	wudu	wood	Egypt	S&S	CCCC 422a
193	egipt	placename	woods	S&S	CCCC 422a
193	wæter	water		S&S	CCCC 422a
193	malthea	placename	water	S&S	CCCC 422a
194	cludas	rock/hill		S&S	CCCC 422a
194	coreffes	placename	rock/hill	S&S	CCCC 422a
194	caldeas	placename		S&S	CCCC 422a
195	creca	placename	trade	S&S	CCCC 422a
195	arabia	placename		S&S	CCCC 422a
196	libia	placename	learning	S&S	CCCC 422a
196	lond	country		S&S	CCCC 422a
196	syria	placename		S&S	CCCC 422a
197	piðinia	placename		S&S	CCCC 422a
197	buðanasan	placename		S&S	CCCC 422a
198	pamphilia	placename		S&S	CCCC 422a
199	macedonia	placename		S&S	CCCC 422a
199	mesopotame	placename		S&S	CCCC 422a
200	eðel	homeland	Christ	S&S	CCCC 422a
200	cappadocia	placename		S&S	CCCC 422a
201	hieryhco	placename		S&S	CCCC 422a
201	galilea	placename		S&S	CCCC 422a
201	hierusalem	placename		S&S	CCCC 422a
204	wendelsæ	placename		S&S	CCCC 422a
205	cyðð	homeland		S&S	CCCC 422a
205	coferflod	placename		S&S	CCCC 422a
210	feld	battlefield		S&S	CCCC 422a
210	land	country	forbidden	S&S	CCCC 422a
215	feld	battlefield		S&S	CCCC 422a
217	foldan	battlefield	forbidden	S&S	CCCC 422a
218	mercsted	boundary	forbidden	S&S	CCCC 422a
219	foldan	battlefield	forbidden	S&S	CCCC 422a
224	byrgen	burial place	shining swords	S&S	CCCC 422a
225	wæter	water	deep	S&S	CCCC 422a
228	grund	seabottom	deep	S&S	CCCC 422a
230	dene	valley		S&S	CCCC 422a
235	hierusalem	placename	gold/cross	S&S	CCCC 422a
236	weall	walls	shine	S&S	CCCC 422a
256	munt	mountain	fabled bird	S&S	CCCC 422a
257	weall	wall	high/golden/bird	S&S	CCCC 422a
274	foldan	earth	fabled bird	S&S	CCCC 422a
275	eorðe	earth	people	S&S	CCCC 422a
276	wæter	sea	broad	S&S	CCCC 422a

line	word	feature	associated with	poem	Ms
285	stan	stone/rock	star/question	S&S	CCCC 422a
286	wildeor	wild animals		S&S	CCCC 422a
286	wæter	water	animals/question	S&S	CCCC 422a
289	grundbuend	earthdwellers	question	S&S	CCCC 422a
290	lyftfleogend	skyfliers	question	S&S	CCCC 422a
290	laguswemmend	seaswimmers	question	S&S	CCCC 422a
292	eorðe	earth	age	S&S	CCCC 422a
297	standendne	stony valley		S&S	CCCC 422a
298	foldan	earth		S&S	CCCC 422a
300	stan	stone/rock		S&S	CCCC 422a
302	foldan	earth		S&S	CCCC 422a
306	wildeor	wild animals		S&S	CCCC 422a
306	oferbrice	cover over	snow	S&S	CCCC 422a
307	burg	town	gate	S&S	CCCC 422a
315	eorðe	earth	falling leaf	S&S	CCCC 422a
316	dust	dust	decay	S&S	CCCC 422a
324	yð	wave	flood	S&S	CCCC 422a
324	lond	land	wave/flood	S&S	CCCC 422a
338	dust	dust	people	S&S	CCCC 422a
342	munt	mountain	moors/sun	S&S	CCCC 422a
342	mor	moors	mountains/sun	S&S	CCCC 422a
343	stow	place	desert	S&S	CCCC 422a
343	westen	desert		S&S	CCCC 422a
366	eorðe	earth	fate	S&S	CCCC 422a
386	blæd	glory		S&S	CCCC 422a
394	wæter	water/sea	tides	S&S	CCCC 422a
399	stream	water/sea	tides	S&S	CCCC 422a
414	boldgetimbru	house		S&S	CCCC 422a
422	foldan	earth	stone/fire	S&S	CCCC 422a
422	stan	stone/rock	earth/fire	S&S	CCCC 422a
423	wæter	water/sea	surge/flow/fire	S&S	CCCC 422a
424	munt	mountain	moor/fire	S&S	CCCC 422a
424	mor	moor	mountain/fire	S&S	CCCC 422a
424	middangeard	earth	fire	S&S	CCCC 422a
435	middangeard	earth	people	S&S	CCCC 422a
459	foldan	earth	regions	S&S	CCCC 422a
469	wic	place	Hell	S&S	CCCC 422a
469	wælceald	deadly cold	Hell	S&S	CCCC 422a
470	wæter	water	dragons/snakes	S&S	CCCC 422a
471	deor	wild animals		S&S	CCCC 422a
477	foldan	earth		S&S	CCCC 422a
478	eorðe	earth	people	S&S	CCCC 422a
488	grund	abyss	darkness	S&S	CCCC 422a
504	eard	homeland	angel/Heaven	S&S	CCCC 422a
506	stan	stone/rock	attack	S&S	CCCC 422a
8	clif	cliffs	shore/danger	Seafarer	Exeter
14	iscealdne sæ	icecold sea	icicles/hail	Seafarer	Exeter
19	iscealdne wæg	icecold wave	sea	Seafarer	Exeter
19	ylfet	swan	song	Seafarer	Exeter
20	gannet	gannet	song	Seafarer	Exeter
21	huilpan	curlew	song	Seafarer	Exeter

line	word	feature	associated with	poem	Ms
22	mæw	seagull	song	Seafarer	Exeter
23	stanclif	stonecliff	storm	Seafarer	Exeter
24	earm	eagle	noise	Seafarer	Exeter
28	burg	town		Seafarer	Exeter
30	brimlad	seapath		Seafarer	Exeter
34	stream	current	high	Seafarer	Exeter
35	sealtyp	saltwave	tumult	Seafarer	Exeter
38	eard	land	foreign lands	Seafarer	Exeter
48	bearwe	wood	blossom	Seafarer	Exeter
48	blostm	blossom	woods	Seafarer	Exeter
48	byrig	town	spring	Seafarer	Exeter
49	wong	land	spring	Seafarer	Exeter
53	geac	cuckoo	spring/sadness	Seafarer	Exeter
60	epel	sea	whales	Seafarer	Exeter
79	blæd	glory	eternal life	Seafarer	Exeter
88	blæd	glory		Seafarer	Exeter
104	grund	land		Seafarer	Exeter
22	byrgen	grave		Seasons Fasting	Add. 43703
32	blæd	glory		Seasons Fasting	Add. 43703
32	byrgen	grave		Seasons Fasting	Add. 43703
34	eard	dwelling	Heaven	Seasons Fasting	Add. 43703
55	wang	earth/land	wide	Seasons Fasting	Add. 43703
121	westen	desert	Elijah	Seasons Fasting	Add. 43703
127	dun	mountain		Seasons Fasting	Add. 43703
132	westen	desert	earthly joys	Seasons Fasting	Add. 43703
145	wangsted	place	Elijah	Seasons Fasting	Add. 43703
155	bæð	water	baptism	Seasons Fasting	Add. 43703
1	ærn	house	plant	Sudden Stitch	Harley 585
3	hlæw	barrow		Sudden Stitch	Harley 585
27	fyrgeheafde	mountaintop		Sudden Stitch	Harley 585
1	eorþan	earth		Swarm Bees	CCCC 41
4	eorðe	earth		Swarm Bees	CCCC 41
7	greote	grit		Swarm Bees	CCCC 41
9	eorþan	earth		Swarm Bees	CCCC 41
10	wudu	woods	wild bees	Swarm Bees	CCCC 41
12	epel	homeland	bees	Swarm Bees	CCCC 41
10	land	estates	safety	Theft Cattle	CCCC 41
11	foldan	earth		Theft Cattle	CCCC 41
16	wudu	wood material		Theft Cattle	CCCC 41
6	foldan	earth		Thureth	C.Claudius Aiii
11	foldan	earth		Thureth	C.Claudius Aiii
1	æcer	field	fertile	Unfruitful Land	C.Caligula Avii
4	tyrf	turf		Unfruitful Land	C.Caligula Avii
5	ele	oil	honey/milk/yeast	Unfruitful Land	C.Caligula Avii
5	hunig	honey	oil/milk/yeast	Unfruitful Land	C.Caligula Avii
5	beorma	yeast	oil/milk/honey	Unfruitful Land	C.Caligula Avii
5	meole	milk	oil/honey/yeast	Unfruitful Land	C.Caligula Avii
6	land	land		Unfruitful Land	C.Caligula Avii
6	treocynn	trees		Unfruitful Land	C.Caligula Avii
8	beam	trees	hard	Unfruitful Land	C.Caligula Avii
8	wyrt	plants	known	Unfruitful Land	C.Caligula Avii

line	word	feature	associated with	poem	Ms
8	glappan	burdock/bogbean		Unfruitful Land	C.Caligula Avii
10	turf	turf		Unfruitful Land	C.Caligula Avii
12	eorðe	earth		Unfruitful Land	C.Caligula Avii
14	turf	turf		Unfruitful Land	C.Caligula Avii
15	turf	turf		Unfruitful Land	C.Caligula Avii
15	grene	grass	top of turf	Unfruitful Land	C.Caligula Avii
16	turf	turf		Unfruitful Land	C.Caligula Avii
18	cwicbeam	tree species	crosses	Unfruitful Land	C.Caligula Avii
27	turf	turf		Unfruitful Land	C.Caligula Avii
29	eorðe	earth	cf sky	Unfruitful Land	C.Caligula Avii
34	wæstm	crops		Unfruitful Land	C.Caligula Avii
35	foldan	earth	crops/fertile	Unfruitful Land	C.Caligula Avii
36	wangcturf	fields		Unfruitful Land	C.Caligula Avii
37	eorðrice	earth	life/alms/reward	Unfruitful Land	C.Caligula Avii
44	land	estates	owner	Unfruitful Land	C.Caligula Avii
46	sæd	seed	unknown type	Unfruitful Land	C.Caligula Avii
47	beam	plough handle		Unfruitful Land	C.Caligula Avii
51	eorðe	earth		Unfruitful Land	C.Caligula Avii
53	æcer	fields	growth	Unfruitful Land	C.Caligula Avii
55	wæstm	crops		Unfruitful Land	C.Caligula Avii
56	berewæstm	barley fruit		Unfruitful Land	C.Caligula Avii
57	hwætewæstm	wheat fruit		Unfruitful Land	C.Caligula Avii
58	eorþan	earth	crops/fertile	Unfruitful Land	C.Caligula Avii
58	wæstm	crops	earth	Unfruitful Land	C.Caligula Avii
63	land	land	witchcraft	Unfruitful Land	C.Caligula Avii
67	sulh	plough		Unfruitful Land	C.Caligula Avii
67	furh	furrow	plough	Unfruitful Land	C.Caligula Avii
69	fold	earth		Unfruitful Land	C.Caligula Avii
74	furh	furrow		Unfruitful Land	C.Caligula Avii
75	æcer	field	food	Unfruitful Land	C.Caligula Avii
78	eorþan	earth	people	Unfruitful Land	C.Caligula Avii
79	grund	earth	fertile	Unfruitful Land	C.Caligula Avii
80	corna	grain		Unfruitful Land	C.Caligula Avii
14	winburg	festive town		Vainglory	Exeter
17	æsctede	battlefield/fire	people	Vainglory	Exeter
38	burgweall	townwall		Vainglory	Exeter
50	grundfusne	hasten to hell	people	Vainglory	Exeter
56	wyrm	dragon	Hell	Vainglory	Exeter
72	eard	country	angel/Heaven	Vainglory	Exeter
4	iege	island	marsh/separation	W&E	Exeter
5	eglond	island	marsh/separation	W&E	Exeter
5	fenne	marsh	island/separation	W&E	Exeter
6	ige	island	marsh/separation	W&E	Exeter
17	wudu	woods	child/separation	W&E	Exeter
15	weall	wall/rampart	defence	Waldere	Copenhagen
19	mearc	region		Waldere	Copenhagen
4	sæ	sea	frostcold	Wanderer	Exeter
6	eardstapa	earthstepper		Wanderer	Exeter
33	blæd	fruits	glory	Wanderer	Exeter
47	brimfuglas	seabirds		Wanderer	Exeter
74	westen	desert		Wanderer	Exeter

line	word	feature	associated with	poem	Ms
76	weall	walls	wind/frost/decay	Wanderer	Exeter
77	ederas	building	snow	Wanderer	Exeter
78	winsalo	winehalls	decay	Wanderer	Exeter
80	weall	wall/rampart	corpses	Wanderer	Exeter
82	holm	sea	high	Wanderer	Exeter
84	eorðscræf	grave		Wanderer	Exeter
85	eardgeard	earth/dwelling	time	Wanderer	Exeter
86	burgwar	towndweller	ruin	Wanderer	Exeter
98	weall	wall	decoration	Wanderer	Exeter
101	stanhleop	stonecliff	storm	Wanderer	Exeter
110	idel	desolation	time	Wanderer	Exeter
15	herheard	sanctuary	exile	WFL	Exeter
27	wudu	tree	exile	WFL	Exeter
27	bearwe	woods	exile	WFL	Exeter
28	actreo	oaktree	exile	WFL	Exeter
28	eorðscræf	cave	exile	WFL	Exeter
29	eorðsele	earthhall	exile	WFL	Exeter
30	dene	valley	gloom/hills	WFL	Exeter
30	dun	hills	high/valleys	WFL	Exeter
31	burgtun	town?	briars	WFL	Exeter
31	brer	briars	growth	WFL	Exeter
36	actreo	oaktree	dawn	WFL	Exeter
36	eorðscræf	cave?	oaktree	WFL	Exeter
48	stanhlīpe	stonecliff	exile/storm/frost	WFL	Exeter
49	wætre	water	exile	WFL	Exeter
7	fyrnstream	ancient sea		Whale	Exeter
8	stane	whaleskin		Whale	Exeter
10	sondbeorg	sandhills	coast	Whale	Exeter
12	ealond	island		Whale	Exeter
21	ealond	island		Whale	Exeter
29	grund	seabottom		Whale	Exeter
46	grundleasne	groundless	Hell	Whale	Exeter
54	stenc	scent	joy/snare	Whale	Exeter
78	hlinduru	prison door	Hell	Whale	Exeter
51	grund	earth	journey	Widsith	Exeter
77	winburg	festive town		Widsith	Exeter
90	burgwar	towndweller		Widsith	Exeter
96	eþel	homeland		Widsith	Exeter
109	eþel	country		Widsith	Exeter
122	eþelstol	homeland		Widsith	Exeter
136	grund	country	journey	Widsith	Exeter
5	eorðe	earth	stone	XT&S	Junius
5	stream	current	sea	XT&S	Junius
5	sæ	sea	current	XT&S	Junius
5	stan	stone	earth	XT&S	Junius
6	wæter	water	sky	XT&S	Junius
6	wolcen	sky	sea	XT&S	Junius
10	grund	seabottom		XT&S	Junius
31	grund	abyss	Hell	XT&S	Junius
42	blæd	glory	Heaven	XT&S	Junius
86	burg	town	rebellion	XT&S	Junius

line	word	feature	associated with	poem	Ms
90	grund	abyss	Hell	XT&S	Junius
92	eard	homeland	angels/Hell	XT&S	Junius
97	draca	dragon	Hell	XT&S	Junius
97	duru	door	Hell	XT&S	Junius
111	eard	dwelling	Hell	XT&S	Junius
115	eard	dwelling	Hell	XT&S	Junius
133	grund	abyss	Hell	XT&S	Junius
135	sele	hall	wind	XT&S	Junius
138	bold	house	comfort	XT&S	Junius
138	burg	town	houses	XT&S	Junius
148	grund	abyss	Hell	XT&S	Junius
148	bold	house	Hell	XT&S	Junius
203	eard	dwelling	Heaven	XT&S	Junius
214	burg	town	bright/Heaven	XT&S	Junius
229	eard	homeland	Heaven	XT&S	Junius
258	grund	abyss	Hell	XT&S	Junius
268	grund	abyss	Hell	XT&S	Junius
278	epel	homeland		XT&S	Junius
294	burhweall	townwall	Heaven	XT&S	Junius
308	sceldbyrig	shieldtown	Heaven	XT&S	Junius
319	windsele	windhall	Hell	XT&S	Junius
334	draca	dragon	Hell	XT&S	Junius
334	næddran	snakes	Hell	XT&S	Junius
356	blostm	blossom	scent/Heaven	XT&S	Junius
357	wyrt	plants	blossom/Heaven	XT&S	Junius
362	blæd	glory	Heaven	XT&S	Junius
362	burhstyd	town		XT&S	Junius
379	duru	door	Hell	XT&S	Junius
412	blæd	glory		XT&S	Junius
416	blæd	fruit	Eden	XT&S	Junius
448	grund	abyss	Hell	XT&S	Junius
454	grund	abyss	Hell	XT&S	Junius
456	duru	door	Hell	XT&S	Junius
456	eard	homeland	Heaven	XT&S	Junius
457	burh	town	Heaven	XT&S	Junius
482	blæd	fruit	Eden	XT&S	Junius
483	grund	abyss	Hell	XT&S	Junius
504	eard	homeland	Heaven	XT&S	Junius
506	blæd	glory	Heaven	XT&S	Junius
525	bled	fruit		XT&S	Junius
544	bæð	bath	baptism	XT&S	Junius
560	burhleod	towndweller	Heaven	XT&S	Junius
592	bled	glory		XT&S	Junius
601	burg	town	salvation	XT&S	Junius
604	dust	dust	dead arising	XT&S	Junius
612	burh	town	Heaven	XT&S	Junius
622	byrig	town	Heaven	XT&S	Junius
631	grund	abyss	Hell	XT&S	Junius
635	grund	abyss	Hell	XT&S	Junius
644	bled	fruit	soul	XT&S	Junius
647	geat	gate	Heaven	XT&S	Junius

<u>line</u>	<u>word</u>	<u>feature</u>	<u>associated with</u>	<u>poem</u>	<u>Ms</u>
650	weall	walls	angels/Heaven	XT&S	Junius
681	beorh	mountain	temptation	XT&S	Junius
682	dun	mountain	temptation	XT&S	Junius
686	bold	house	temptation	XT&S	Junius
700	grund	abyss	Hell	XT&S	Junius
718	botm	bottom	Hell	XT&S	Junius
720	hellduru	helldoor	Hell	XT&S	Junius
723	grund	abyss	Hell	XT&S	Junius
23	eorðe	earth	life	Xtn Living	CCCC 201

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