THE CONNOTATIONS OF THE OLD ENGLISH TERMS SCEACAN, FÆGE, ÆGLÆCA :

A STUDY IN THE METHOD OF DETERMINING THE POETIC VALUES OF OLD ENGLISH WORDS.

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Abstract.

The purpose of this thesis is to propose a method for obtaining more precise understanding of the connotations of Old English poetic words. The linguistic theories upon which the method is based are the symbolic theory of language and the contextual theory of meaning. These theories are summarized in Chapter I and related to the two kinds of meaning, generally called denotation and connotation. The problem of distinguishing denotation and connotation in theory and in practice is then discussed, and the particular problems which arise during the attempt to establish the denotation of a noun, adjective and verb are examined. The further difficulty of translation from Old English into New English is also considered. Next, a method is described whereby the connotations of an Old English poetic term can be collected and classified, and the use of symbols and charts to record these connotations in Chapters II, III and IV is explained. The manner in which the study of connotative meaning throws light on the acquisition of new meaning or the process of modification in meaning is illustrated with reference to the terms (sceacan, fæge and æglæca) under consideration in the three following chapters. Chapters II, III and IV give practical demonstration

Abstract continued.

of the method outlined in Chapter I. In these chapters the evidence for the connotations of an Old English verb, sceacan, adjective, fæge and noun, æglæca , respectively, is presented, and examined, and the connotative meanings so established are charted. In Chapter V the connotative values obtained and recorded for each term in this way are used to elucidate the meaning of that term in difficult and important passages of poetry.

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CONTENTS.

List of Abbreviations.

N.E.	:	New English.
O.E.	:	Old English.
O.F.	:	Old French.
O.E.D.	:	The Oxford English Dictionary.
P.M.L.A.	:	Publications of the Modern Language Association of America.

Chapter I.

Aim And Method.

It is undeniable that despite the best efforts of several generations of lexicographers and exegetical critics our understanding of the use of language in Old English poetry, especially of its associative and emotional values, is still imperfect. The reasons for this situation need only be mentioned: the distance in time which separates that poetry from us, with all the differences, social, historical and cultural which this implies, is one; another is the relatively small number of Old English poetic texts which have survived. Those who respond strongly to Old English poetry, and from the strength of their response acquire a sense of its excellence, will not be content to let such a situation continue. They will wish to know, if this can be discovered, how the strength of the effect is achieved, and continues to operate over so many centuries. It has therefore seemed profitable to inquire whether a method might be devised for extending knowledge of the connotative values of Old English poetic terms.

In so far as such a method must begin with collecting and

examining all the occurrences of any term in Old English poetry it does not differ from that of lexicography. But lexicography is concerned with primary meanings, or denotation, and does not take fully or generally into account any meanings of a word implied in addition to the primary meaning, that is, the connotations of a word. Yet such connotations are an essential part of the function of a word in the poetry of any age. There have been attempts to systemize the study of the connotative values of terms in modern language.[1] Of these

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1 For the general study of connotative meaning see C. Bally Traité de Stylistique Francaise (Geneva and Paris, 1951) and J. R. Firth Papers In Linguistics 1934 - 1951 (London 1957) pp. 190 - 215 and for the particular study of connotations in specific literary contexts see W. Empson The Structure Of Complex Words (London 1951).

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several have recommended themselves as possibly applicable, after modification, to the study of the connotations of Old English poetic terms. This thesis is an attempt to make such an application, in effect, to devise a method, which, extending the processes of lexicography by the employment of further techniques, will serve to establish at least some more precise knowledge of the

connotations of Old English poetic terms. The development of the method is set out in the present Chapter. Chapters II - IV will demonstrate its application to an Old English verb sceacan, an adjective fæge, and a noun, æglæca. In Chapter V illustrations will be offered of elucidations of meaning achieved, in the case of occurrences of each of the terms in important and difficult passages of poetry.

The linguistic theories upon which the proposed method for examining the connotations of Old English poetic terms is based, are first the symbolic theory of language and second the contextual theory of meaning expounded by C. K. Ogden, and I. A. Richards in The Meaning Of Meaning.[2]

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2 C. K. Ogden and I. A. Richards, The Meaning Of Meaning (London 1938).

Ogden and Richards begin their investigation into meaning by a consideration of the "relations of thoughts, words and things".[3]

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3 C. K. Ogden and I. A. Richards, op. cit. p.10.

The manner in which the symbolic theory accounts for this

relationship may be summarized briefly. Words are symbols which represent 'things'. The technical term given to the 'things' symbolized by words is 'referent'[4] A word does not

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4 See S. K. Ogden and I. A. Richards, op. cit. p. 9, footnote 1.

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resemble its referent and there is no causal relation between them. When a word is used as a symbol for its referent a thought or 'act of reference'[5] takes place. Between this thought and the

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5 This is Ogden and Richard's technical term for the thought involved in using words to refer to things. See The Meaning Of Meaning p. 9.

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symbol it employes there is a causal relation.

The symbolic theory thus accounts for what is generally recognized as the denotative function of words. It does not account for their connotative meaning. To explain the nature of this kind of meaning and the process whereby it has been acquired Ogden and Richards put forward the contextual theory of meaning according to which a word takes its meaning from its

'psychological context'.[6] In Interpretation In Teaching Richards

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6 See C. K. Ogden and I. A. Richards op. cit. pp. 52 - 59; 62 - 63; 68 - 69; 105.

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states briefly and clearly what he means by this type of context:

> "(1) A word, like any other sign, gets whatever meaning it has through belonging to a recurrent group of events, which may be called its context. Thus a word's context, in this sense, is a certain recurrent pattern of past groups of events, and to say that its meaning depends upon its context would be to point to the process by which it has acquired its meaning."[7]

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7 I. A. Richards Interpretation In Teaching (London N.D.) p. viii.

To trace this process whereby a word has acquired its meaning and to reconstruct the psychological context of an Old English term is not entirely possible. It is, however, possible, by means of the method proposed here, to catch glimpses of the process, and to see a word acquiring connotative meanings through repeated association with a set of events which become past events when these connotations have become recognized as part of the total meaning of the word. Instances where an O.E. word can be shown to have

acquired connotations in this way will be given later in this chapter when the use of the terms denotation and connotation throughout this thesis has been explained and the method for investigating and recording connotative meaning has been described.

This examination of the connotations of sceacan, fæge and æglæca is based on Richard's definition of denotation and connotation :

> "The connotation of a name... is the set of properties that anything must have if the name is to apply to it; the properties implied by the name. The denotation of a name is just the things the name applies to; the things which have these properties which entitle them to be called by the name. "[8]

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8 I. A. Richards, Interpretation In Teaching, pp. 372 - 373.

It is recognized that the distinction between these terms is not easy to apply[9] but the existence of a distinction will not be

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9 The distinction has been called the " pons asinorum of Logic ". See I. A. Richards, Interpretation In Teaching, p. 376.

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denied and the terms are serviceable in the present method. The principal difficulty in the use of the terms denotation and connotation arises when the terms are applied to abstractions but their use, and their distinction, in the case of non-abstract referents also requires care and qualification. The employment of any symbol inevitably implies what it symbolizes, that is, the existence of a referent symbolized by a word is implied by the use of that word, before the properties of the referent can be implied.[10]

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10 This is called an 'Existence Assertion', see W. Empson op. cit. p. 39: "I propose to distinguish five ways in which a word can carry a doctrine. The most obvious and irreducible type is the Existence Assertion, which says that what the word means is really there and worth naming."

Thus æglæca denoting 'monster' implies the existence of a creature with monstrous characteristics before it implies the characteristics whereby monsters are classified as 'monsters'.[11]

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11 For these characteristics see Chart VI, Chapter IV, p. 172 below.

The same difficulty will, however, arise in the case of any terms adopted to signify these two distinct kinds of meaning.

Accordingly, in the proposed method, establishing denotation

must be the first step in determining connotation. To that end every occurrence in poetry of the three terms under consideration here has been collected. The practical difficulties of distinguishing denotation and connotation then became immediately apparent. A word can be translated from one language to another only by denotative substitution. Thus the O.E. name for a referent (e.g. ǽglæca) is replaced by the approximate N.E. name for that referent (monster). But such an act of translation can take place only after some identification of the connotations of the word; that is, it has to be ascertained that the characteristics of the creature denoted by the term ǽglæca are sufficiently like those denoted by N.E. "monster", for the modern word to be substitued .

According to Richards "a statement of the connotation of a word is what is usually meant in logic by a definition".[12] In fact a word

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12 I.A. Richards, Interpretation In Teaching p. 385.

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cannot be translated until it has been so defined. This process of passing through connotation to denotation is not always obvious; in dealing with the denotation of ǽglæca it takes place almost unnoticed. In translation the method of determining the denotative substitute of a noun is through a consideration of its referents. When the creatures symbolized by ǽglæca in O.E. poetry are listed, they can be seen to fall naturally into three clear categories: those in the first category are

'monsters', those in the second 'devils', those in the third can be classed only as 'men'. In the case of the first two groups the process of identifying the characteristics of the referents symbolized by the O.E. and N.E. words appears to coincide with the act of denotative substitution. In fact, a mental process of this nature takes place; Grendel, his mother, the dragon, the sea-beasts and the whale are all called æglæca. All these creatures have in common the properties associated with monstrosity; therefore all these creatures are monsters and therefore an æglæca is a monster. A similar process produces the denotative substitution 'devil' for the æglæca of the second category. The fact that this process does not yield one adequate modern substitute to symbolize all the human referents of the third group is an indication that the word is being used metaphorically in the relevant contexts.

Difficulties arise, also, over the denotation of an adjective. The adjective fæge symbolizes a state of existence the nature of which can be determined only by a consideration of the nouns to which the term is applied. This is a process similar to that which produces the identification æglæca 'monster', or æglæca 'devil', but it is much slower,

since the characteristics of the referent of this O.E. term are not so easily apprehended as those of an æglæca. It will be seen[13] that fæge is essentially concerned with man and

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13 See pp. 83-86, Chapter III below.

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particularly with man subject to supernatural power and liable to die. A definition of fæge in terms of the chief properties of the referent is thus achieved. But no single N.E. word can be substituted to symbolize the referent of fæge. Denotation has to be stated in terms of the word's connotations. Fæge can be expressed in N.E. only by periphrasis, such as doomed to death.

Establishing the denotation of a verb presents further problems, since a verb, strictly speaking, is not one word, but as many words as there are numbers, persons, tenses, moods and voices belonging to the verb. With every variation of subject and object strict meaning changes. One common element of meaning does emerge, however, from a study of the occurrences of the verb sceacan in O.E. poetry. It will be observed that however the verb is used it involves some type of movement. This common element provides a clue to the denotation of the

word, which can be translated as 'to move'. This translation is subject to the rule that the type of movement is modified with variations in conjugation and changes of subject and object. The various types of movement are implications of sceacan and provide the basis for examining its connotations.

When the denotation of a term has been established, the first step towards investigating its connotations is necessarily an attempt to discover more precisely the chief characteristics whereby the referent of the term is classified. These characteristics are also part of the meaning of the word. Thus having bestial characteristics[14] is both one of the

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14 See Chart VI Chapter IV below, p. 172.

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properties of the creature denoted by æglæca, and also a meaning implied by the use ofthe term æglæca. A technical term referring simultaneously to the properties of the referent and the implied meanings of a word is obviously needed here and a convenient label is Empson's 'Implication'.[15] The major

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15 W. Empson op. cit. p.15. "We assume that the Sense of the word now in view is clearly listed, as in N.E.D., with a

Footnote 15 (continued)

number attached to it, which may be generalised as "A". Then "A/1" is its first or main Implication, part of what is sometimes called the "connotation" of the word in this use".

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implications of a word correspond to the chief characteristics of its referent. The first step in determining connotation is the collection and classification of evidence suggesting these characteristics.

The search for evidence of the characteristics of the referent begins with the verbal contexts of the terms under consideration. In the following pages 'verbal context' is used to indicate more or less the immediate verbal setting of a word, that is, those lines of the poem in which the sentence containing the term under discussion occurs, and some lines preceding and following that sentence; 'literary context' is used to signify the larger setting of a word in the poem where it occurs. As an instance, lines 64 - 80 of The Seafarer are the verbal context of fæge (71); whereas the

whole poem provides the literary context of the word.[16]

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16 The verbal and literary contexts of a word correspond to Richard's definition of the second meaning of context: "(2) In another, though a connected, sense, a word's context is the words which surround it in the utterance, and the other contemporaneous signs which govern its interpretation." Interpretation In Teaching, p. viii.

In the case of the O.E. noun æglæca, examined in Chapter V below, it will be seen that, owing to the stylistic features of O.E. poetry, it is possible to establish the major implications of æglæca 'monster' by collecting and classifying words used in parallelism to, and variation from, æglæca in the verbal contexts of the term. These words can be sorted into groups denoting or suggesting bestial, sinister, hostile sinful, characteristics. Such properties of 'monster' are the major implications of æglæca. The major implications of sceacan are also established from evidence afforded by the verbal contexts in which the term occurs.[17]

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17 See pp. 42-45, Chapter II below.

The limitations of this type of verbal evidence become apparent, however, when an attempt is made to use it to establish the implications of *æglæca* 'devil'. They prove still more serious when applied to the adjective *fæge*. Very little verbal evidence can be discovered from parallelism or variation for the supernatural characteristics of the devils called *æglæcan*, yet these creatures clearly possess supernatural powers. But evidence collected from the literary contexts of *æglæca*, that is, from the behaviour of the devils throughout the poems in which they are called *æglæcan*, confirms the existence of their supernatural characteristics and establishes the possession of these as a major implication of *æglæca*.

The implications of *fæge* are collected almost entirely from the literary contexts of the word. The first major implication emerges during the attempt to establish denotation, when it is seen that the word can be translated into N.E. only by definition in terms of its properties. A detailed examination of the situation in which men are called *fæge* reveals that they frequently die in battle, are killed in hand-to-hand conflict, and suffer what the poet regarded as a division from life. These prove to be the

major implications of fæge.[18]

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18 See pp. 110 - 133, Chapter III below.

Evidence of implications collected from the 'literary context' of a term are sometimes found in a 'verbal context' at some distance from the 'verbal context' of the term under discussion. Thus after it has been observed that a number of fæge men are surprised and overwhelmed in their sleep as in Beowulf 1241 (1251 ff.); 3025 (3021 ff.); Andreas 1530 (1526 ff.); Judith 247 (246) it will be recalled that Hondscioh, called fæge at Beowulf 2077, is also overtaken by his fate while sleeping:

> Ne þæt se aglæca yldan þohte,
> ac he gefeng hraðe forman siðe
> slæpendne rinc.
>
> Beowulf 2077 (739 - 741)[19]

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19 The system of reference to the presence of implications is as follows: the use of the word under discussion is first noted by the title of the poem in which it occurs and a line reference. This is followed by a further line reference, in parenthesis, to the presence of the implication under

Footnote 19 (continued)

discussion. For instance, in the reference given for evidence of the connection of fæge with the notion of sudden disaster overtaking a sleeping man, the line reference 2077 is to the occurrence of fæge, the line references in parenthesis are to the notion of attack made on a sleeping man. The whole reference is thus Beowulf 2077 (739 - 741).

Similarly, the wicked, called fæge in Christ 1517 / 1533, will be taken unawares, by the advent of Judgement Day, while they are sleeping:

Ðonne mid fere foldbuende
se micla dæg mechtan dryhtnes
æt midre niht mægne bihleomeð,
scire gesceafte, swa oft sceaða fæcne,
þeof þristlice, þe on þystre fareð,
on sweartre niht, sorglease hæleð
semninga forfehð slæpe gebundne,
eorlas ungearwe yfles genægeð.

Christ 1517 / 1533 (867 - 874)

Confirmations of this kind are obviously most welcome as establishing the efficiency of the proposed method. On the whole the difficulties of distinguishing denotation and connotation do

not prove insuperable and in general the method recommends itself by its practicability, which is to be judged by the results in the case of each term studied, and by the value of those results for interpreting the passages of poetry to which they are applied in Chapter V.

An account will now be given of the mechanics of presentation adopted in this thesis. Since this investigation is concerned solely with the poetic values of Old English terms, only the occurrences of scencan, fæge and æglæca in O.E. poetry have been collected and used to establish denotation. In each Chapter a chart of these poetic uses of the word is given. These charts give the poem in which the term under consideration appears, the number of times the term is used in that poem, the line references, and, where this is available, information about date and authorship. This information, the titles of poems (except for Brunanburh and Maldon which are given short titles for convenience in charting and reference) and the use of the terms 'Cædmonian' and 'Cynewulfian', follow G.P. Krapp and E. Van Kirk Dobbie, The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records, A Collective Edition (London and New York, 1931 - 1954).[20]

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20 Henceforward referred to as The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records.

The occurrences of sceacan, fæge and æglæca in O.E. poetry have been collected from the texts in this edition. Quotations from O.E. poems used throughout this thesis are taken from the texts in The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records, except in cases where an emendation by another editor has been adopted. When reference has been made to the work in which the emendation is proposed. Contexts Exodus 399, Elene 1236 and Christ And Satan 383, where the reading fæge is possible, but doubtful, have not been included in the chart of the occurrences of fæge and have not been used to provide evidence of connotations. Statements made about fæge throughout Chapter III should be understood to embrace all compounds of the adjective; statements made about sceacan in Chapter II, however, refer solely to that form of the verb and do not embrace its compounds. References to the occurrence of these terms in O.E. prose are taken from the examples recorded by J.Bosworth and T.N. Toller, An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary[21] (London, 1954).

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21 Henceforward referred to as Bosworth and Toller.

When this information concerning the occurrence of a word has been collected and arranged, the ground is clear for establishing denotation and applying the method of determining connotation.

To register the connotations of a term as they are discovered symbols are employed. This practice, as well as the form of Charts II, IV, VI and VII, is adopted from Empson's analysis of meaning and his chart of the word ' honest ' in The Structure of Complex Words.[22] Both

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22 W. Empson, op. cit. pp. 15 - 24.

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symbols and chart, however, are modified considerably to meet the particular requirements of the type of connotative meaning revealed by study of the terms investigated here. Whereas Empson employs ' A ' for what is here called the denotation of a word, and lists the implications of that word as ' A / 1 ', ' A / 2 ' etc., in this thesis, the denotation of a term is labelled 1 and the major implications of that term are labelled 1 A, 1B etc. A historical change in denotation,

such as the use of æglæca, originally denoting 'monster', to denote 'devil', is recognized by the label '2', and the set of implications belonging to the new referent are labelled 2A, 2B etc.[23]

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23 See Charts VI and VII, Chapter IV pp. 172; 188, below.

Two other signs are borrowed from Empson, his plus sign [+], for the 'warmer and fuller' use of a word and his exclamation mark [!], to signify the presence of emotion.[24] The plus sign

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24 W. Empson op. cit. pp. 16 - 19.

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is used to signify an extension of meaning revealed by the further analysis of each major implication of a term. Charted under this sign are the minor implications of the referent of the term under consideration. For example, the characteristics of an æglæca recorded under 1A as bestial are further analysed and defined under 1A+ as 'unfamiliar bestial characteristics similar to those of a wild beast; having the quality of strength; having the nature of the type of wild beast that preys on human flesh'.

The value of such symbols must be recognized as only approximate. Ultimately, the meaning of a word lies in its psychological context, in which men have had past experience of the referent. Meaning of this kind cannot be completely determined, measured and recorded. Nevertheless, whatever emerges from the psychological context to find reiterated expression in the verbal and literary contexts of a term can be examined, classified and recorded. To meet this qualification the term 'association' is used in the following chapters in a semi-technical sense. It applies to the meanings charted under the plus signs, as an indication that these meanings are not necessarily always, in the strict sense, characteristics of the referent of the word under discussion, but have been acquired by their frequent recurrence, or association in verbal and literary contexts with that word. For example, a state in which men are brought to death during a personal, hand-to-hand encounter with the enemy is one of the major implications of the state of being fæge. The poets frequently describe such encounters in detail, mentioning not only the weapons used by the victor but also their points or edges and the penetration which mortally wounds the fæge man. Through the frequent relation of fæge to the notion of weapons and

wounds, the word acquires, by association, the minor implication, 'liable to suffer wounds inflicted by the point or edge of a weapon'. That a meaning so acquired by association undoubtedly becomes attached to the word and is part of the word's connotation, is attested by the carrying over of the association of fæge with death inflicted by a weapon, and mortal wounds, from heroic contexts to religious contexts. There the weapon is sometimes the victorious sword wielded by God and brandished over the wicked fæge, sometimes the arrows of temptation wielded by the devil: both are equally fatal to the fæge. The sword of God consigns them to eternal damnation, the wounds of sin cause spiritual corruption and mortal decay.[25]

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25 See the discusion of implication 1C4- of fæge, Chapter III pp. 126- 131, below.

The examination of the emotions attached to the various implications of the referent of the terms sceacan, fæge and æglæca, affords the deepest insight into the nature of the 'psychological context' of these words. Although part of the total meaning of a word, emotions cannot be regarded entirely as properties of the referent symbolized by that word.

Undoubtedly, if the apprehension of a referent and the properties of that referent, evoke an emotion in the apprehender, then it is one of the characteristics of the referent to have evoked that emotion. The existence of some quality which evokes emotion precedes the emotion itself, which, in turn, creates the quality of evoking that emotion. The apprehension of the bestial qualities of an ǽglæca with a feeling of horror, or the apprehension of its sinister characteristics, with a lack of understanding,[26] is intimately connected with the psychology of

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26 See Chapter IV pp.157; 164, below.

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men who composed poems about ǽglæcan, or listened to other men's poems about them. It is from the 'psychological context' - that "recurrent pattern of past groups of events, where men have encountered monsters and monstrosity before," that the feeling of horror or of inability to understand, an ǽglæca arises.

Emotions which arise in this way from the 'psychological context,' and which find reiterated expression in the verbal and literary contexts of a word, become part of the connotative value of the word. Emotions roused by the apprehension of the

referent of the term under discussion, and expressed by the poet or his characters, or implicit in the actions of his characters, can be collected from the verbal and literary contexts of a term in the same manner as the other implications of the term are collected. Tracing the emotions attached to the implications of a noun like *aglæca* is facilitated by its frequent collocation with the adjectives *atol* and *earm*. These not only establish the contextual existence of the emotions of horror and pity but also indicate that the emotions roused by the apprehension of the referent of *aglæca* are strongly pejorative. In the case of an apparently neutral adjective, such as *fæge*, the difficulties are greater. An emotion present in battle contexts is often unexpressed. An instance occurs in *Beowulf* 1522 - 1528:

Ða se gist onfand
þæt se beadoleoma bitan nolde,
aldre sceþðan, ac seo ecg geswac
ðeodne æt þearfe; ðolode ær fela
hondgemota, helm oft gescær,
fæges fyrdhrægl; ða wæs forma sið
deorum madme, þæt his dom alæg.

Here only the explicit praise of the precious weapon implies that the feeling of excitement in battle is stronger than any

emotion concerning the fate of the fæge man. (See the discussion of Emotion 1B! Chapter III pp. 122 - 125, below). Such an emotion is, of course, connected with the recurrence of the word fæge at line 1568 and Beowulf's triumph at defeating his opponent with the sword which he finds in the mere: 1569 Sweord wæs swatig, secg weorce gefeh, and with the hero's use of the term fæge when relating this episode to Hygelac:

"ond ic hæfde becearf
in ðam guðsele Grendles moder
eacnum eagum, unsofte þonan
feorh oðferede. Næs ic fæge þa gyt,
ac me eorla hleo eft gesealde
maðma menigeo, maga Healfdenes". Beowulf 2138 - 2143

Or an emotion is concealed by litotes, or Beowulf 841 - 846:

No his lifgedal
sarlic þuhte secga senegum
þara þe tirleases trode sceawode,
hu he werigmod on weg þanon,
niða ofercumen, on nicera mere
fæge ond geflymed feorhlastas bær.

Here the true state of the warriors' feelings must be something corresponding to Beowulf's own feeling at lines 827 - 828:

nihtweorce gefeh,
ellenmærþum.

Similarly, whether fæge is applied to a good or bad man will determine which of two sets of distinct feelings it arouses. Here again the association of the word with recurrent patterns of events modifies its meaning. Beowulf is never called fæge; Grendel and his mother are called fæge. In religious contexts the righteous are ususally shown as finally triumphant over the wicked. It is therefore the wicked who are usually defeated and called fæge in these contexts.[27] From these observations the pejorative emotion 1 A! is added to the connotative values of fæge.

27 For discussion of the complexity of emotions roused by fæge see Chapter III pp. 100 - 109, below.

During the course of investigating and charting the connotations of sceacan and fæge interesting glimpses of the process of acquiring meaning from connection with a recurrent set of events can be obtained. A notion of haste occurs in several sceacan contexts : Beowulf, 3118 (3119, fæðergearwum fus) ; Genesis A 135 (138 him arn on last) : Juliana 630 (630 on fleam sceacan); Judith 291 (291 on fleam sceacan); The Descent Into Hell 29 (33 Fysde hine þa to fore frea moncynnes). The editors of the O. E. D.

express doubt over the recognition of this notion of haste :

> " It is not clear that the notion of rapidity of movement, which may be found in some of the examples, is other than merely contextual. " [28]

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28 See The Oxford English Dictionary edited by J.Murray, H. Bradley , W. A. Craigie, C. T. Onions, (Oxford 1933) s. v. shake .

This suggests that associations of a word gathered from its frequent use in connection with a particular set of events do not constitute meaning. Yet the notion of haste is still connected with shake in the colloquial N. E. phrase ' in a couple of shakes ', and undoubtedly contributes to the connotative values of the verb.

While considering the evidence for Implication 10 [29] of Page

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29 See Chapter III p. 128, below for a discussion of this implication.

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it will be noticed that, in the religious poems, several

of the people of whom fæge is used are drowning or about to be drowned [Genesis A 1265; 1382; Andreas 1530 ; Exodus ; 267; 463; Psalm 135 verse 15]. At some stage in its history the adjective must have acquired, from frequent recurrence in contexts where the people it describes are drowned, the meaning a state in which doomed men are drowned and finally the meaning 'drowned' itself. Such a process would account for the dialectal use of the modern form fey for 'drowned'.[30]

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30 See J. Wright, The English Dialect Dictionary, (Oxford 1900) where fey is given under the list of words " kept back for want of further information ". No explanation of the origin of the sense 'drowned' is offered there.

An interesting, although incidental, contribution to the study of meaning has been made during the investigation of the connotations of the two distinct referents ('monster' and 'devil') of æglæca. Comparison of the two sets of implications discovered for these referents and shown on Charts VI and VII illustrates clearly the process of semantic transfer by which æglæca, originally symbolizing 'monster', was used to symbolize the referent 'devil'. Similar characteristics in the two referents (see implications 1B, 1C, 1D ; 2A, 2B, 2C on Charts

VI and VII) lead to the unintentional application of the term, originally belonging to the first, 'monster', to the second, 'devil'.[31]

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31 For an account of transfer as the unintentional use of a word to denote a referent other than the usual one, see G. Stern, Meaning And Change Of Meaning (Gothenburg 1931) pp. 342 - 343.

The application of æglæca to Sigemund, Beowulf, the Mermedonians and Saint Andrew can not, however, be accounted for by this process of transfer. The chief characteristics of these human referents do not resemble those of an æglæca to an extent which warrants the unintentional application of the term æglæca to them. The problem here lies in the fact that the 'thing said', that is, the term employed, about these men does not appear to correspond with what the poet intended his reader or hearer to understand by the term. The only solution seems to lie in the recognition that these uses were metaphoric and that the apparent tension between what was said and what is intended, corresponds to the distinction between

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the vehicle and tenor of a metaphor.

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32 Tenor and vehicle are Richards' convenient terms for the 'thing meant' and the 'thing said'. See I. A. Richards The Philosophy Of Rhetoric pp. 89 - 101. He uses the distinction between the two as the basis for determining whether a term is used metaphorically or literally:

"Whether, therefore, a word is being used literally or metaphorically is not always, or indeed as a rule, an easy matter to settle. We may provisionally settle it by deciding whether, in the given instance, the word gives us two ideas or one; whether... it presents both a tenor and a vehicle which co-operate in an inclusive meaning. If we cannot distinguish tenor from vehicle then we may provisionally take the word to be literal; if we can distinguish at least two co-operating uses, then we have metaphor."

I. A. Richards, The Philosophy Of Rhetoric (London, 1936) p. 119.

Æglæca in these contexts was not therefore the result of a historic change in denotation, and the connotations of the term

when used to symbolize human referents are not recorded on a separate chart. The connotative values of æglæca recorded on Charts VI and VII are, however, of great value in revealing the grounds on which these human referents can be called æglæcan. Richards has described the process of metaphor as a 'transaction between contexts'.[33] In revealing the nature of

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33 I. A. Richards, The Philosophy Of Rhetoric p. 94.

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the psychological contexts of the two referents generally symbolized by the term æglæca the charts show clearly the basis on which the 'transaction' has in each case been made. Thus it will be shown that Sigemund is called æglæca primarily by virtue of characteristics which can be identified with those charted under 1A and 1B on Chart VI and, once this basis for identification of 'man' and 'monster' has been ascertained, it will be seen that it is possible to trace other similarities in characteristics, such as hostility and sin (1C and 1D) which had not appeared obvious before.

A method for investigating and recording the connotations of Anglo-Saxon poetic words has now been proposed and explained.

Its value in revealing the nature of the psychological context from which the terms sceacan, fæge and æglæca acquired their meaning has been shown. The three following chapters will now demonstrate the application of this method. In each chaper the implications which emerge from collection and classification of the recurrent associations of the word under discusion are presented together with the evidence for their existence in the verbal or literary contexts of the word. As each implication is revealed by the argument, it is recorded on a chart under the symbols described above. The reader can watch every step in the process of the accumulation of connotative meanings.

Chapter II

The Connotations of the O.E. verb Sceacan.

The purpose of this chapter is to give practical demonstration of the method, outlined in Chapter I above, for establishing the connotations of an Anglo-Saxon poetic verb. The term sceacan, which occurs in both O.E. poetry and prose, has been chosen for this demonstration because in poetry it has some associations which are not present in its prosaic uses and which have not accompanied it in its progress into N.E. These associations have been considered briefly by Professor Wyld,[1] who pointed out the frequency

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1 See H.C. Wyld, 'Diction and Imagery in Anglo-Saxon Poetry', Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association, vol. XI (Oxford, 1925), pp. 49-91.

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with which the verb is used in poetry with the subjects time, life, prosperity and light.[2] The following investigation is greatly

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2 Ibid., p. 85.

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indebted to his discussion of the word and his ideas have provided many invaluable clues to the connotations of sceacan; it is hoped, however, that some fresh implications have been discovered and

that these will contribute to our understanding and appreciation of its meaning.

Chart I on the following page is a complete list of the occurrences of sceacan in O.E. poetry. References to the occurrence of sceacan in O.E. prose are taken from those recorded by Bosworth and Toller.[3]

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3 Bosworth and Toller, op. cit., s.v. sceacan.

Chart I

Occurrences of Sceacan in O.E. poetry.

Poem	Occurs	Lines	Century	Author
Beowulf	8 times	1124; 1136; 1802; 2254; 2306; 2727; 2742; 3118.	7th-8th	Unknown
Genesis A	once	135	7th-8th	Cædmonian
Exodus	once	176	7th-8th	Cædmonian
Widsith	once	141	8th ?	Unknown
Juliana	once	630	8th-9th	Cynewulf
Elene	once	633	8th-9th	Cynewulf
Christ	once	804	8th-9th	Cynewulf
Andreas	twice	1139; 1594.	8th-9th	Cynewulfian
Christ and Satan	once	262	8th-9th	Cynewulfian
The Fortunes Of Men	once	39	8th-9th	Unknown
Judgement Day I	once	45	8th-9th	Unknown
The Descent Into Hell	once	29	8th-9th	Unknown
Riddle 20 Riddle 93	once once	14 13	? ?	Unknown
Judith	once	291	10th	Unknown

Denotation

The denotation of sceacan can be established by a consideration of other verbs used in the verbal contexts[4] of sceacan in acts of

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4 For a definition of this term and its use throughout this thesis see pp.18-14 above.

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reference to the action symbolized by it, and by the adverbs and adverbial phrases used to modify it. The list given below reveals the factor common to all of these. They are all concerned with some form of movement. They can be conveniently grouped according to the type of motion which they express:

	Context	Verb, Adverb or Adverbial Phrase
I	Christ 804 (797)	cwacað / he shall tremble

There can be little doubt that this is the type of movement involved in Exodus 176 (174-176; guðweard gumena ... wælhlencan sceoc); Riddle 93 (13-14, hwilum hara scoc / forst of feaxe).

	Context	Verb, Adverb or Adverbial Phrase
II	Juliana 630 (630)	on fleam / in flight
	Judith 291 (291)	on fleam / in flight
	Christ and Satan 262 (263)	fleogan / to fly

The Christ and Satan context with fleogan is included in this group

because, although to fly with wings is undoubtedly the type of movement required by the sense of the passage, the verb is used there of devils who have been overcome by God, and has strong associations with defeat and flight. The same implication of flight in defeat may be present too in Judgement Day I 45 (18, fleogað). An implication of flight with wings is, however, present in Beowulf 3118 (3119 feðer - gearwum fus).

	Context	Verb, Adverb or Adverbial Phrase
III	Beowulf 1136 (1133)	com / it came
	Beowulf 1803 (1803)	com / it came
	Beowulf 2254 (2254)	ellor / elsewhither
	Beowulf 2306 (2303)	cwom / it came
	Genesis A 135 (135)	gewat / it went

Sceacan is, of course, used in antithesis to cuman in Beowulf 1136 and 2306, not in parallelism. Thus the idea, expressed or implied by this group, is that of passing or departure. This is obviously the type of movement required by the sense of the passage in Elene 633, and, if the emendation is se fyrst or se fyrst is be accepted, in Descent Into Hell 29.

	Context	Verb, Adverb or Adverbial Phrase
IV	Beowulf 1124 (1113)	on wæle crungon / they fell in death
	(1123)	guð fornam / war carried off
	Beowulf 2254 (2236)	deað fornam / death carried off

Context	Verb, Adverb or Adverbial Phrase
Beowulf 2254 (2249)	guðdeað fornam / death in battle carried them off
(2251)	lif ofgeaf / he gave up life
(2256)	swefað / they sleep in death
(2265-2266)	Bealocwealm hafað fela feorhcynna forð onsended / violent death has sent away many of the race of the living
Beowulf 2727 (2726)	He dæghwila gedrogen hæfde / he had lived through the days of his life
Beowulf 2742 (2750)	ic ... mæge ... min (lif) alætan / I may give up my life
Andreas 1594 (1600)	under grund hruron / they perished in the deep

The phrases in this group show that one of the main poetic uses of sceacan is in euphemistic phrases for death, that is, to express either a departure from life, as in Beowulf 2254 duguð ellor sceoc, or the departure of life itself as in Widsith 141 (141-142) oþþæt eal scæceð, leoht ond lif somod.

It is clear from the list above that sceacan always denotes some type of movement and the four groups contained in the list indicate the different types of movement involved. A consideration of these leads directly on to the discussion of connotations.

Connotation.

The four types of movement expressed by sceacan, which were discovered in the process of establishing its denotation, are reliable guides to the four major implications of the verb. (See Chart II, p. 78, below.)

Implication 1A.

The presence of this implication of sceacan emerged during the course of establishing denotation. It may be charted under 1A as movement in which something, or someone, shakes, or is shaken.[5] Although sceacan is used in this sense in O.E. prose and although this sense has become the sole meaning of its modern descendant, N.E. shake,[6] it is rarely, as the paucity of

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5 See the examples of the prosaic use of the verb given by Bosworth and Toller s.v. sceacan.

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6 This statement refers only to the use of shake in Modern Received Standard English. Colloquial and dialectal uses of the variant shack are considered under 1A! and 1B+

examples in group I on page 42 suggests, the most prominent implication of the verb in O.E. poetry. The presence of an implication of the type of movement expressed by N.E. shaking may, however, have been intended by the Anglo-Saxon scops and appreciated by their audiences, in contexts where other implications appear to be dominant, more often than the modern reader realizes.[7]

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7 H. C. Wyld, op. cit. p. 87, writes of some passages of O.E. poetry in which sceacan occurs, "if we can preserve some of the ideas associated with 'shaking' the effect is distinctly enhanced."

Implication 1A +

The associations of 1A+ are essentially those connected with the picture of a flower in full blossom that has been blasted and shattered, often before its time. They appear to have arisen from the frequent use of sceacan with blæd, which is connected with blawan 'to blow' (of wind) and the confusion of this word with its homophone, blæd, from blowan 'to blow as a

flower, flourish'.[8] The contexts in which this association is

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8 See H. C. Wyld, op. cit., pp. 87-88: "The phrase... wæs hire blæd scacen is doubly figurative... The word [blæd] is etymologically connected with blawan 'to blow' (of wind), and is apparently often confused with an originally different word bled from blowan 'to blow as a flower, flourish.' The two verbs, which are identical in all parts except the Infinitive and Present Indicative, are ultimately from the same base. The noun means 'a blowing, that which blows or flourishes', hence 'shoot of a plant, flower, fruit.' In a figurative sense it means 'period of flourishing, prosperity, fame'; it is equivalent to the German blütezeit. It also undoubtedly has the sense of 'flower of age, beauty,' and so on. In the passage [Beowulf II22-24, wæs hira blæd scacen] we might legitimately translate 'the flower of their life was shattered.'

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most obvious, and most easily recognized and felt to be present by the modern reader, are those concerned with the events of Judgement Day. These are Christ 804 (804-805):

Biþ se. Þ. scæcen

eorþan frætwa

and Judgement Day I 45 (45-46):

Ne tytaþ her tungul, ac biþ tyr scæcen,
eorþan blædas,

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9 Since the stars were closely associated with the eorþan blædas at the time of their creation (see Sir Israel Gollancz (Editor), The Cædmon Manuscript Of Anglo-Saxon Biblical Poetry Junius XI In The Bodleian Library (London MCMXXVII), p.7), it is perhaps natural that their fate should be linked on Judgement Day. The blasting of the glory of the stars is also one of the signs of approaching Judgement in Christ 932-940, where they fall to the earth. In Judgement Day I 45, they are perhaps felt to have been shaken down from heaven and their brightness destroyed.

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where the eorþan frætwa and eorþan blædas refer both to the vain pleasures of earth, which will pass on Judgement Day, and to the destruction of growing things by the floods and fires which will herald that occasion.

The image of the shaken flower is strongly reinforced by the presence, in many contexts, of the idea of men being cut off in their prime. Many of those involved in sceacan contexts are killed. This may happen in fighting, as in Beowulf II24 (where Hnæf and his nephew have been killed ~~in~~

in a feud); 2254 (2249-2252); 2727/2742[10] (where Beowulf has

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10 The use of sceacan here in connection with the aged king is to be noted. Although Beowulf is old the poet obviously wishes to give the impression of a man cut off at the height of his fame and glory. By contrast with Hrothgar who had been a great and good king, but is allowed to wither into the helplessness of old age (see Beowulf 2105-2114) the flower of Beowulf's life is represented as blasted before it begins the natural process of decay.

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just started to feel the fatal wound inflicted by the dragon); Judith 291 (the Assyrians are first put to flight and finally killed by the pursuing Israelites.) and Riddle 20 (17-19 where the sword, personified as a warrior, sees itself as possibly 'dying' in battle)[11]. The killing does not always occur in

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11 It is possible that Widsith 141 belongs in this list too. The manner in which the great warriors and rulers, of whom the poet is speaking at the end of the poem, die, is not stated explicitly, but the lines imply the performance of heroic deeds in war and suggest the possibility of death on the battlefield.

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fighting: in The Fortunes Of Men 39 the man whose life is scæcen is hanged; in Andreas 1594, fourteen of the heathen are killed when Saint Andrew causes the subsiding flood to overwhelm them.

Closely connected with the idea of men being cut off in their prime is the idea of the good, the great, the noble and the worthy being destroyed. This idea of the flower of the nobility, the best and highest in the kingdom, being destroyed is present in Beowulf 1124 (Hnæf, King of the Danes and his nephew, a prince, the son of Hildeburh and Finn, have their life shattered.[12] Hnæf is called betst beadorinca in line 1109); 2254 (where the dead warriors for whom the treasure is buried are called æþelan cynnes 2234; duguðe 2238; eorla 2248; duguð 2254); 2727/2742 (where the dying Beowulf speaks of the achievements of his own reign, 2732-2743);[13] Widsith 141 (the whole poem is

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12 See H. C. Wyld, op. cit. p. 88, for this translation of Beowulf 1124.

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13 Beowulf is clearly represented as the ideal king. Compare ll. 2732-2736 with ll. 4-11, where Scyld is praised for similar exploits. See also ll. 3169-3182 where Beowulf's praises are sung by those who mourn him.

concerned with the great, and the closing lines with se þe fore dugupe wile dom aræran,/ eorlscipe æfnan, 140-141); Judith 291 (the Assyrians are called eorlas 273; ealdorduguðe 309).

Implication 1A is movement in which the greatest and best are 'shaken' and destroyed in their prime.

Emotion 1A:

The emotion attached to this implication is a sense of loss at the shattering of the life of the good and noble. This is clear from the number of sceacan contexts in which mourning for those so 'shaken' is described. This mourning may be represented by the conventional symbol of the woman lamenting beside the funeral pyre as in Beowulf 1124 (1117-18 Ides gnornode,/geomrode giddum); 2727/2742 (3150-3155 swylce giomorgyd Geatisc meowle /... bundenheorde/ song sorgcearig swiðe geneahhe/ þæt hio hyre heofundagas hearde ondrede, / wælfylla worn, werudes egesan,/ hynðo ond hæftnyd.)[14]; or by

14 It is interesting to note, in this connection that, in The Fortunes Of Men 39, the sceacan context, where the man whose life is scæcen is hanged, is immediately followed by a description of the fate of a man on a funeral pyre with the woman lamenting over him: reoteð meowle,/seo hyre bearn gesyhð brondas þeccan, 46-47. In Riddle 20 14 where Implication IA is hardly felt to be present, the picture of a woman's grief is nevertheless introduced (32 ff.)

grief at the graveside as in The Descent Into Hell 29 (4-6 Woldan werigu wif wope bimænan/ æþelinges deað ane hwile,/ reonge bereotan. See also line 9 ff.) In other contexts it is the grief of warrior for warrior that is reported: Beowulf 2254 (2247-2266; 2267-2269 Swa giomormod giohðo mænde / an æfter eallum, unbliðe hwearf /dæges ond nihtes); 2727/2742 (3169-3172 Þa ymbe hlæw riodan hildediore /æþelinga bearn, ealra twelfe,/woldon ceare cwiðan ond kyning mænan,/wordgyd wrecan ond ymb wer sprecan). In a few other contexts of sceacan, especially those where Implication IA is not dominant, the lamenting is done by those who are, or are in danger of being, 'shaken': Juliana 630 (632-634 'Wa me forworhtum! Nu is wen micel/þæt heo eft wille earme gehynan/yflum yrmþum, swa heo mec ær dyde'); Christ 804 (833-837 Þeodegsa bið/hlud gehyred bi heofonwoman,/cwaniendra cirm, cerge reotað/fore onsyne eces deman/þa þe hyra weorcum wace truwiað); Andreas 1594 (1548; 1554-1557 Þær wæs wop wera wide gehyred, earmlic ylda gedræg. Þa þær an onganh,/feasceaft hæleð, folc gadorigean,/ hean, hygegeomor, heofende spræc); Christ And Satan 262 (36 ff. et passim); Judith 291 (280-291).

The emotion attached to this implication is a sense of

loss[15] at the 'shaking' and destruction of the noblest and best.

15 This implication seems to be connected with the modern dialectal use of shack, a variant of shake, for the fallen grains of corn, (or acorns or beech-mast) left lying on the ground. The ideaof wastage is still present in the modern usage, although it has become the wastage of refuse whereas, in O.E., it was the loss of the best. Shack can be used as verb or substantive. (See O.E.D. and The English Dialect Dictionary s.v. shake and shack.)

Implication 1B

This implication of sceacan is established by the second group of verbs and adverbial phrases given in the discussion of denotation.[16] These have in common, besides the implication of

16 See p.43, for a discussion of contexts included there.

movement, the notion of flight. Thus we can impute to sceacan the implication of flight and the notion of movement. Sceacan is found in several O.E. prose contexts where it denotes movement which implies flight. An example of this use of the

verb in prose occurs in the O.E. Genesis 31, 27,[17] Hwi woldest ðu

17 For this reference and other examples of this use of sceacan in O.E. prose, see Bosworth and Toller, op. cit., s.v. sceacan.

sceacan butan minre gewitnesse cur ignorante me fugere voluisti?

Implication 1B then is movement in which someone is involved in flight.

Implication 1B+

The idea of flight is closely connected with the idea of defeat. Defeat is associated with sceacan in Beowulf 1124 (Hnæf and his nephew have been overcome in fight); 1136 (where the departure of winter hastens the defeat and death of Finn); 2254 (the warriors for whom the treasure is buried have been overcome in battle 2249 ff.; 2306 (2707); 2727/2742 (Beowulf,[18]

18 There is irony here, for, although the time appears to have arrived when the dragon can take vengeance upon, and overcome man, he is, in fact, finally defeated himself.

undefeated in the fight against the dragon, is nevertheless overcome by the wounds he received in the fight, 2724 ff.);

Juliana 630 (The devil is overcome by the saint, 632-6 34); Christ 804 (sinners will be overcome and judged by God, 827-829); Andreas 1594 (the heathen are overcome by the power of God working through the saint, 1591-95); Christ And Satan 26 2 (the rebel angels have been defeated by God and driven out from heaven, 254 et passim); Riddle 20, 14 (the sword mentions the possibility of being overcome in battle, 17-19), Judith 291 (the Assyrians are defeated by the Isrealites 291 ff.): Judgement Day I 45 (the wicked will be overcome and sent to Hell, 9ff.); The Descent Into Hell 29 (the devils are defeated by the arrival of Christ to free the souls of the just).

In a few of the religious contexts of sceacan, flight and defeat are associated with fear. In Christ 804 (797) the bold are made fearful by the advent of Judgement Day; in Juliana 630 (320) the devil fears the righteous Juliana, in Andreas 1594 (1549: 1595-1596) the heathen fear drowning. This association of sceacan is not present in the heroic contexts such as Beowulf or Widsith.

Another association of this implication is misery suffered during, or caused by, absence from home. Hnæf (Beowulf 1124 (1079) 7, is killed during absence from home; Hengist waits

uneasily in 'exile'[19] until winter is scacen, /Beowulf 1136/;

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19 He is called wrecca at line 1137.

Beowulf and the Geats hasten to prepare for their departure for home[20] /Beowulf 1803 (1803 ff.)/. The devil, overcome by Juliana,

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20 There is, of course, no misery in exile involved here but the visiting Geats have in some measure been dependent on foreign charity.

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is doubly in exile; he has left hell to seek out the saint and tempt her to destruction /Juliana 630 (443; 452)/ and he is, in common with all devils, an exile from heaven. He is actually called wræcca at line 351. In Christ And Satan, too, the rebel angels are regarded as exiles,

> Cuð is wide
> þæt wreclastas wunian moton,
> grimme grundas
>
> 26_2 (256-258),

and wanderers,[21]

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21 It is to be noted in this connection that, in The Fortunes Of Men, although the immediate context of sceacan does not include the idea of exile, it is preceded by several lines (27-32) on that subject.

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sume on lyft scacan,

fleogan ofer foldan; fyr bið ymbutan

on æghwylcum, þeh he uppe seo. 262 (262-264).

In Judith the Assyrians are defeated in a foreign land [Judith 291 (310-311)].

1B+ is movement in which someone, who may be fearful, is defeated and put to flight, possibly in a foreign land.[22]

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22 This implication of wandering far from home seems to be strongest in contexts where sceacan is associated with evil, as in Juliana 630, where it is used in connection with a devil, and Judith 291, where it is used in connection with the heathen who are wicked. This pejorative association of exile and wandering with evil in O.E. poetry appears to linger in the modern colloquial and dialectal shack, a variant of shake, which, used substantivally, means vagabond or disreputable person, used verbally, means to rove or to wander as a vagabond. See O.E.D. and The English Dialect Dictionary s.v. shack / shake, verb and noun.

Emotion 1B!

The emotion attached to this implication naturally accompanies the idea of defeat. It is the humbling of pride,

sometimes accompanied by shame and disgrace. Since a warrior's pride in strength and valour was considered no sin but actually commendable under the heroic code, this emotion, like the implications of fear and flight, is absent from the heroic contexts of sceacan. It is, however, prominent in the religious contexts of the word: Juliana 630 (444-445; 632-634) humiliates the devil who tries to corrupt her. In Christ 804 (814) the poet speaks of man's pride on earth, implying that this will be brought to an end on Judgement Day. In Andreas 1594 (1571-1572) the heathen are humbled by the power of God working through the saint. In Christ And Satan 262 (50/196 et passim) the rebel angels are suffering humiliation in hell for their former pride. The hanging man, in The Fortunes Of Men, 39 (42 Bið him werig noma) is disgraced by the shameful manner of his death.[23] The

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23 See Beowulf 2444-2465 where the distress of the father of a man who is hanged is used as a comparison to emphasize the helplessness of a father who cannot avenge his child's death by waging a feud. See also Sir William Peterson (Translator), The Dialogues of Publius Cornelius Tacitus: Germania, (London and New York 1932) pp. 272/273-274/275; 280/281. chapters 6 and 12. Among the continental Germans hanging was the ultimate disgrace. Those who ran away from battle were punished in that way, some even preferring to hang themselves, out of shame. Traitors, too, were hanged.

Emotion 1B: is a sense of humiliation accompanying defeat.

Implication 1C

The third implication of sceacan is established from the third group of verbs, and adverbs given in the discussion of denotation (above, p.43). It is to depart in the sense of to pass and is particularly prominent in contexts of sceacan

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24 Sometimes it has the sense to pass over as in Beowulf 3118 (3117-3118, þonne stræla storm strengum gebæded /scoc ofer scildweall); Genesis A 135 (135-136, Þa seo tid gewat ofer timber sceacan / middangeardes).

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involving time. The manner in which time is involved in these contexts varies: in Beowulf 1136 (1136 Ða wæs winter scacen) it is the passing of the seasons, in Beowulf 1803 (18 03 -4 Ða com beorht scacan / scima ofer sceadwa adopting Klaeber's emendation); 2306 (2303-2307 oððæt æfen cwom;/...þa wæs dæg sceacen / wyrme on willan) and Genesis A 135 (135-138 Þa seo tid gewat ofer timber sceacan /middangeardes, metod æfter sceaf/scirum sciman, scippend ure, /æfen ærest), it is the alternation of day and night. In The Descent Into Hell 29 (26-29, "Hæfde me gehaten hælend user,/ þa he me on þisne sið

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sendan wolde,/ þæt he me gesohte ymb siex monað,/ ealles

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25 See The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records, vol. III, p.357, notes on lines 28; 29.

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folces fruma. Nu is se fyrst sceacen."), it is the passing of months and in Elene 633 (633-34 Is nu worn sceacen,/ CC oððe ma geteled rime.), the passing of years. In Beowulf 2727 (2727-2728 ða wæs eall sceacen/dogorgerimes) it is the end of the span of life.

Implication ŦC is movement which involves the passing of time.

Implication ŦC+

One of the most prominent associations of ŦC+ is of the end of a certain period of time and the arrival of an appointed, or portentous, day. This idea is present in Beowulf 1124 (1077-1079, syþðan morgen com, / ða heo under swegle geseon meahte / morþorbealo maga); 1136 (where the departure of winter and the arrival of spring prompt Hengist to action); 2306 (2302-2309, Hordweard onbad/ earfoðlice oððæt æfen cwom:/ wæs ða gebolgen beorges hyrde,/ wolde se laða lige forgyldan/ drincfæt dyre. Þa wæs dæg sceacen/ wyrme on willan; no on

wealle læg,/bidan wolde, ac mid bæle for,/fyre gefysed,[26] where the dragon impatiently awaits the arrival of night before

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26 It is significant that the dragon, a creature of evil and darkness, waits for the arrival of night to accomplish his purpose whereas men wait for the arrival of daylight (Beowulf 1803).

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beginning to take vengeance for the rifling of the hoard); 2727 (2725-2728, wisse he gearwe /þæt he dæghwila gedrogen hæfde,/ eorðan wynne; ða wæs eall sceacen/ dogorgerimes, deað ungemete neah); Elene 633 (632-634, "Hu mæg ic þæt findan þæt swa fyrn gewearð / wintra gangum? Is nu worn sceacen, CC oððe ma geteled rime", where, although Judas is, at the moment of speaking unaware of this, the time when the True Cross remains buried is over and the day when it is to be revealed has come); Christ 804 (782 Is þam dome neah; where it is the approach of Judgement Day which will bring about the "shaking" of the joys of earth); Judith 291 (285-288, "Her ys geswutelod ure sylfra forwyrd, / toweard getacnod þæt þære tide ys / mid niðum neah geðrungen, þe we sculon nyde losian, / somod æt sæcce forweorðan, where the time of the destruction of the glory of the Assyrians has arrived.); Judgement Day I 45 (34-36, Sceal se dæg weor þan /

þæt we forð berað firena gehwylce,/ þeawas ond geþohtas; where it is the arrival of Judgement Day that is meant); The Descent Into Hell 29 (where the whole poem is concerned with the arrival of the day when Christ frees the souls of the just from hell).

The passing of time inevitably involves the notion of change and contrast. This is present in the antithesis between season and season as in Beowulf 1136 (1131-1136, holm storme weol,/ won wið winde, winter yþe beleac / isgebinde, oþþæt oþer com/ gear in geardas, swa nu gyt deð,/ þa ðe syngales sele bewitiað,/ wuldortorhtan weder. Ða wæs winter scacen,/ fæger foldan bearm) or between night and day, with its contrast between light and dark, as in Beowulf 1803 (1803-1804, Ða com beorht scacan / scima ofer sceadwa); 2306 (2302-2307, Hordweard onbad / earfoðlice, oðþæt æfen cwom;/...þa wæs dæg sceacen /wyrme on willan); Genesis 135 (126-144, where God is dividing the light from the dark and naming night and day). The seasons follow each other in inevitable succession,[27] bringing with them change in weather

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27 See Beowulf 1136 (1132-1136, winter yþe beleac / isgebinde, oþ-ðæt oþer com / gear in geardas, swa nu gyt deð,/ þa ðe syngales sele bewitiað,/ wuldortorhtan weder.

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and change in the alternation of light and dark. Nor is the idea

of change absent from those contexts of sceacan where these implications of time and its passing and arrival are not necessarily the most prominent connotations of the verb. In three contexts someone is[28] roused from inaction to action:

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28 The sword, in Riddle 20, 14, is personified as a warrior and that context of sceacan is therefore included here.

Beowulf 1136 (1136-1141, Ða wæs winter scacen,/ fæger foldan bearm. Fundode wrecca,/ gist of geardum; he to gyrnwræce / swiðor þohte þonne to sælade, / gif he torngemot þurhteon mihte,/ þæt he Eotena bearn inne gemunde); 2306 (2306-2309, Þa wæs dæg sceacen/ wyrme on willan; no on wealle læg,/ bidan wolde, ac mid bæle for,/ fyre gefysed.); Riddle 20, 14 (9-17, Cyning.../... healdeð mec on heaþore, hwilum læteð eft / radwerigne on gerum sceacan,/ orlegfromne. Oft ic oþrum scod / frecne æt his freonde; fah eom ic wide/ wæpnum awyrged). In each example the change involved brings about havoc and misery. In several other contexts there is a complete reversal of fortune and the people concerned are brought fom happiness to misery and grief. Such contexts are: Beowulf 1124 (1076-1080, Nalles holinga Hoces dohtor/ meotodsceaft bemearn, syþðan morgen com, / ða heo under swegle geseon meahte / morþorbealo maga, þær heo ær

mæste heold / worolde wynne); 2254 (2252-2260 Ic nah hwa sweord wege / oððe feormie fæted wæge, / dryncfæt deore; duguð ellor sceoc. / Sceal se heardra helm hyrsted golde / fætum befeallen; feormynd swefað,/ þa ðe beadogriman bywan sceoldon;/ ge swylce seo herepad, sio æt hilde gebad / ofer borda gebræc bite irena, / brosnað æfter beorne); 2727/2742 (2732-2743, Ic ðas leode heold / fiftig wintra; næs se folccyning,/ymbesittendra ænig ðara, / þe mec guðwinum gretan dorste,/ egesan ðeon.../...Ic ðæs ealles mæg/ forhbennum seoc gefean habban;/ for ðam me witan ne ðearf waldend fira / morðorbealo maga, þonne min sceaceð / lif of lice); Juliana 630[29] (630-34, Feond moncynnes ongon þa on fleam sceacan,/

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29 The devil cannot properly be said to be brought from happiness to misery, but he is certainly rendered more wretched by Juliana's treatment of him.

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wita neosan, ond þæt word acwæð: /"Wa me forworhtum! Nu is wen micel / þæt heo mec eft wille earmne gehynan / yflum yrmþum, swa heo mec ær dyde".); Christ[30] 804 (825-33, Rodor bið

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30 Here, as in several religious contexts [see Andreas 1594 (1613 ff.) and Judgement Day I 45 (62 ff.)] the good, or repentant, are helped and blessed. In The Descent Into Hell too the good profit by the change and the wicked suffer.

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onhrered, / ond þas miclan gemetu middangeardes/ beofiað þonne, Beorht cyning leanað / þas þe hy on eorþan eargum dædum / lifdon leahtrum fa. Þæs hi longe sculon / ferðwerige onfon in fyrbaðe,/ wælmum biwrecene, wraþlic ondlean,/ þonne mægna cyning on gemot cymeð, þrymma mæste.); Andreas 1594 (1522 ff.); Christ And Satan 262 (254-258, Ða gewearð usic þæt we woldon swa / drihten adrifan of þam deoran ham,/ cyning of cestre. Cuð is wide / þæt wreclastas wunian moton, grimme grundas); Judith 291 (272-3, þa wæs hyra tires æt ende,/ eades ond ellendæda,); Judgement Day I 45 (68-77), no þæs gilpan þearf / synfull sawel, þæt hyre sie swegl ongean,/ þonne he gehyrweð ful oft halge lare,/ brigdeð on bysmer. Ne con he þæs brogan dæl,/ yfles ondgiet, ær hit hine on fealleð).

Implication 1C+ is movement connected with the passing of time and the arrival of a portentous day, involving change usually for the worse.

Emotion 1C!

The emotion attached to this implication of the passing of time and the arrival of a portentous day is a sense of urgency. This is present in some contexts in the form of impatience or restlessness /Beowulf 1136 (1150-1151, ne meahte wæfre mod /

forhabban in hreþre): 1803 (1803-1807, Ða com beorht scacan / scima ofer sceadwa; scaþan onetton,/ wæron æþelingas eft to leodum / fuse to farenne; wolde feor þanon / cume collenferhð ceolas neosan): 2306 (2302-2307, Hordweard onbad / earfoðlice oððæt æfen cwom;); 2742 (2743-2751, "Nu ðu lungre geong / hord sceawian under harne stan, / Wiglaf leofa, nu se wyrm ligeð,/ swefeð sare wund, since bereafod. / Bio nu on ofoste, þæt ic ærwelan,/ goldæht ongite, gearo sceawige/ swegle searogimmas, þæt ic þy seft mæge/ æfter maððumwelan min alætan / lif ond leodscipe, þone ic longe heold".)7

In other contexts a sense of urgency is present in the idea of sudden, or imminent, danger. /Beowulf 1124 (1068 ða hie se fær begeat); 2727 (2728 deað ungemete neah); Christ 804 (782-785, Is þam dome neah / þæt we gelice sceolon leanum hleotan,/ swa we widfeorh weorcum hlodun/ geond sidne grund); Andreas 1594 (1529-1530 Duguð wearð afyrhted / þurh þæs flodes fær); Judgement Day I 45 (34-37, Sceal se dæg weorþan / þæt we forð berað firena gehwylce,/ þeawæs ond geþohtas; þæt bið þearlic gemot,/ heardlic heremaegen)7

Connected with this suggestion of the pressure of time is the notion of the importance of what has been achieved during life.

A heroic warrior could comfort himself, when death pressed upon him, with the knowledge that he had achieved all that a man could do:

Ic ðas leode heold
fiftig wintra; næs se folccyning,
ymbesittendra ænig ðara,
þe mec guðwinum gretan dorste,
egesan ðeon. Ic on earde bad
mælgesceafta, heold min tela,
ne sohte searoniðas, ne me swor fela
aða on unriht. Ic ðæs ealles mæg
feorhbennum seoc gefean habban;
for ðam me witan ne ðearf waldend fira
morðorbealo maga, þonne min sceaceð
lif of lice.

Beowulf 2727/2742 (2732-2743)

The application of this notion, as the need to perform great deeds during life against the day of death, is explicit in the closing lines of Widsith. The urgency of this need is implicit in the adverbial clause of time:

simle suð oþþe norð sumne gemetað
gydda gleawne, geofum unhneawne,
se þe fore duguþe wile dom aræran,
eorlscipe efnan, oþþæt eal scæceð,
leoht ond lif somod; lof se gewyrceð,
hafað under heofonum heahfæstne dom.

In the religious contexts although the nature of the deeds is different they are equally important at the time of death or Judgement. In Christ And Satan 262 (22 ff.) it is the rebel angels who suffer God's Judgement for their former presumption. They endure eternal suffering as a result of deeds performed in heaven when they lived happily, in their natural state, with God. In Andreas 1594 (1609-1612,

"Ne beoð ge to forhte, þeh þe fell curen
synnigra cynn. Swylt þrowode,
witu be gewyrhtum")

the saint claims that the wicked have perished (1594, in forwyrd sceacan) on account of, and will suffer according to, their evil deeds. In Christ 804 (782 ff.) and Judgement Day I 45 (30 ff.), the poets are concerned with the advent of Judgement Day and the need to live righteously on earth in order to earn mercy then.

Emotion 1C: is a sense of urgency connected with the passing of time and the arrival of a portentous day.

Implication 1D

The fourth, and most interesting, major implication of sceacan is the implication of death. This can be established from the contexts where the verb is used in expressions for the departure of life /Beowulf 2742 (2742-43; þonne min sceaceð / lif of lice); Widsith 141 (141-142, oþþæt eal scæceð,/ leoht ond lif somod;); The Fortunes Of Men 39 (39, biþ his lif scæcen)/, or the departure of the days of one's life /Beowulf 2727 (2725-2728, wisse he gearwe / þæt he dæghwila gedrogen hæfde/ eorðan wynne; ða wæs eall sceacen / dogorgerimes, deað ungemete neah), or in expressions for the departure from life as in Beowulf 2254 (2254, duguð ellor sceoc); Andreas 1594 (1591-95, Nalas he þær yðe ane þisencte,/ach þæs weorodes eac ða wyrrestan,/ faa folcsceaðan, feowertyne / gewiton mid þy wæge in forwyrd sceacan / under eorþan grund), and also from the presence of death in most sceacen contexts. The idea of death is present in Beowulf 1124 (Hnæf and his nephew are dead); 2254 (the sole survivor of a noble company mourns the death of his companions and finally dies himself); Andreas 1594 (where fourteen of the heathen die by drowning); The Fortunes Of Men 39 (here the poem is concerned with death by hanging); The Descent Into Hell 29 (1-3 Christ is 'dead' and buried). Death

is imminent, or threatened, or mentioned as a possibility, in other contexts such as: Beowulf 1136 (1151-1152 Ða wæs heal roden / feonda feorum, swilce Fin slægen, where the departure of winter and the arrival of spring prompt Hengest to vengeance); 2306 (2309-2311, Wæs se fruma egeslic / leodum on lande, swa hyt lungre wearð / on hyra sincgifan sare geendod, where the departure of day gives the dragon, a creature of darkness, an opportunity of attacking by night and finally brings about the encounter with Beowulf which results in death for both man and monster); 2727/ 2742 (2728 deað ungemete neah; 2749-2751, "þæt ic þy seft mæge/ æfter maððumwelan min alætan / lif ond leodscipe, þone ic longe heold"); 3118 (3117-3118, þonne stræla storm strengum gebæded/ scoc ofer scildweall); Widsith 141 (140-143, se þe fore duguþe wile dom aræran,/ eorlscipe æfnan, oþþæt eal scæceð,/ leoht ond lif somod; lof se gewyrceð,/ hafað under heofonum heahfæstne dom); Andreas 1139 (1139-1143, þrymman sceocan, modige maguþegnas morðres on luste, woldon æninga, ellenrofe, on þam hysebeorðre heafolan gescenan, garum agetan); Riddle 20, 14 (17-19, Ic me wenan ne þearf/þæt me bearn wræce on bonan feore,/ gif me gromra hwylc guþe genæged;); Judith 291 (291-96, Him mon feaht on last,/ mægeneacen folc, oð se mæsta dæl / þæs heriges læg hilde gesæged/ on þam sigewonge, sweordum geheawen,/ wulfum to willan ond eac

wælgifrum / fuſglum to frofre)[31]; Judgement Day I 45 (2-3 feores

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31 In some religious contexts this implication of the menace or imminence of death becomes the danger or imminence of Judgement and hell. This happens in Christ 804 (801-804, Þær sceal forht monig/ on þam wongstede werig bidan / hwæt him æfter dædum wille / wraþra wita); Judgement Day I 45 (passim). Where devils are involved in sceacan contexts the implication is of hell and its torments as in Juliana 630 (630-631, Feond moncynnes ongon þa on fleam sceacan,/ wita neosan,); Christ And Satan 262 (passim).

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bið æt|ende / anra gehwylcum).

Implication 1D is movement which involves death.

Implication 1D+

Most prominent among the associations of death in sceacan contexts is the idea of loss that is involved in death. Loss of earthly possessions is often explicit as in Beowulf 1136 (1154-1155, Sceotend Scyldinga to scypon feredon / eal ingesteald eorðcyninges); 2727/2742, (2750-51, ic... mæge / ... min alætan / lif ond leodscipe); Widsith, 141 (140-143, the death of kings

implies the loss of kingdom); Christ 804 (804-807, Bið se .þ. scæcen/ eorþan fræetwa.Ð. wæs longe /.Þ. flodum bilocen, lifwynna dæl,/.Ƿ. on foldan); Christ And Satan 262 (114-117, Ne ðurfon we þes wenan, þæt us wuldorcyning / æfre wille eard alefan,/ æðel to æhte, swa he ær dyde,/ ecne onwald). Together with the implication of loss of possessions goes the idea of the loss or destruction of treasure. This idea is found in Beowulf 1124 (1102, loss of treasure-giver; 1107, treasure is destroyed on Hnæf's funeral pyre); 1136 (1154-1157, Finn's treasure is captured and taken away by the Danes); 2254 (2232 ff. Heroes of old died, leaving the treasure which they could no longer care for and enjoy. The sole survivor of a noble company cannot enjoy it for long. He too dies, leaving it buried in the earth); 2306 (2278 ff. The dragon seizes and holds the hoard for three hundred years until the ornamented cup is stolen. Then the dragon, in his turn loses the treasure); 2727/2742 (3006-3021, the treasure is recaptured by Beowulf but he dies before he can enjoy it. The Geats place it on their king's funeral pyre and so it is finally lost to man); Widsith 141 (The whde poem celebrates kings and great men and their generosity. That they can earn the scop's gratitude and admiration by their valour and liberality during life, thus earning remembrance in song, but lose everything

except fame and glory in death, is the theme of the closing lines, 131 ff.); Christ 804 (807-814, earthly treasures are destroyed by the fire of Judgement Day); Judith 291 (323 ff. The Hebrews capture the treasures of the defeated Assyrians).

Other losses which those involved in sceacan contexts suffer are less tangible. They include loss of joy (Beowulf 1124 (1076-1080, Nalles holinga Hoces dohtor/ meotodsceaft bemearn, syþðan morgen com, ða heo under swegle geseon meahte / morþorbealo maga, þær heo mæste heold/ worolde wynne); 2254 (2252 implies the loss of the joys the departed warriors knew in hall and ll. 2260-2265 specify these joys: Ne mæg byrnan hring / æfter wigfruman wide feran,/ hæleðum be healfe, Næs hearpan wyn,/ gomen gleobeames, ne god hafoc/ geond sæl swingeð, ne se swifta mearh / burhstede beateð); 2727/42 (3020-3021, nu se herewise hleahtor alegde, gamen ond gleodream); Christ And Satan 262 (Passim, 45 song, 92-95, the joys of Hall).[32] Judgement Day I

32 In Andreas 1594, when the wicked perish in the flood, the poet does not directly mention their loss of the joys of hall, but comments, ironically, on the bitter beer-drinking, 1532-1535, Þæt wæs sorgbyrþen,/ biter beorþegu. Byrlas ne gældon,/ ombehtþegnas. Þeer wæs ælcum genog / fram dæges orde drync sona gearu.

45 (77-80, Lyt þæt geþenceð,/ se þe him wines glæd wilna bruceð,/ siteð him symbelgal, siþ ne bemurneð,/ hu him æfter þisse worulde weorðan mote, implies the loss of this joy when Judgement comes); Christ 804 (804 Biþ se .þ. scæcen).

In some contexts glory is lost with possessions, treasure and joy. This implication is found in religious contexts such as Judith 291 (26 5 -267, Assyria wearð/ on ðam dægeweorce dom geswiðrod,/ bælc forbiged/); Christ And Satan 262 (36-37, "Hwær com engla ðrym,/ þe we on heofonum habban sceoldan? et passim); Judgement Day I 45 (52-54, Ne bið nænges eorles tir / leng on þissum life, siþþan leohtes weard / ofer ealne foldan fæþm fyr onsendeð.)[33]

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33 The idea of the loss of glory at death appears to be primarily a religious implication of sceacan. The heroic attitude to death and glory is that stated in the closing lines of Widsith, simle suð oþþe norð sumne gemetað / gydda gleawne, geofum unhneawne,/ se þe fore duguþe wile dom aræran,/ eorlscipe æfnan, oðþæt eal scæceð, /leoht ond lif somod; lof se gewyrceð, hafað under heofonum heahfæstne dom, 138-143).

Another association of this implication is the absence or loss of light. This implication is most completely expressed

in Widsith 141 (141-142) where the poet says simply, oþþæt eal scæceð, leoht ond lif somod. Light is absent from Beowulf 2306 (2302-209, where the dragon waits for night before attacking the Geats); Genesis A 135 (138 ff. where the first night succeeds the first day); Christ And Satan 262 (passim); Judgement Day I 45 (45 Ne tytaþ her tungul where the stars are extinguished on Judgement Day).

ᛏD+ is movement which involves death, the loss of possessions (particularly of treasure), joys, light and (possibly) glory.

Emotion ᛏD!

This emotion is particularly strong in the Beowulf contexts. Beneath it lies the thought that when the best and noblest are 'shaken' (see IA+) they leave behind them too few survivors to enable the line of kings to be continued, or the glory of the race to be sustained. The great ones may achieve lasting renown before they depart but the men who live after them can only admire without hope of emulation. This is explicit in Beowulf 1124 (1080-1085 Wig ealle fornam/ Finnes þegnas nemne feaum anum,/ þæt he ne mehte on þæm meðelstede / wig Hengeste wiht gefeohtan,/ ne þa wealafe wige forþringan / þeodnes ðegna); 2254 (2232-2241, þær wæs swylcra fela / in ðam eorðhuse ærgestreona,/ swa hy on geardagum gumena nathwylc,/ eormenlafe æðelan cynnes,/ þanchycgende

þær gehyðde,/ deore maðmas. Ealle hie deað fornam / ærran mælum, ond se an ða gen / leoda duguðe, se ðær lengest hwearf,/ weard winegeormor wende þæs ylcan,/ þæt he lytel fæc longgestreona/ brucan moste.); 2727 (2729-2732, "Nu ic suna minum syllan wolde/ guðgewædu, þær me gifeðe swa/ ænig yrfeweard æfter wurde/ lice gelenge"; 2813-2820, "Þu eart endelaf usses cynnes, / Wægmundinga. Ealle wyrd forsweop / mine magas to metodsceafte,/ eorlas on elne; ic him æfter sceal"). Even the sword, the subject of Riddle 20, sees itself as the end of its line, as 'dying' childless, and therefore unavenged, if it is destroyed in battle; Riddle 20 14 (17-19). In Judith 291 (291-296; 307-311, þær on greot gefeoll / se hyhsta dæl heafodgerimes/ Assiria ealdorduguðe,/ laðan cynnes. Lythwon becom / cwicera to cyððe.) the power of the Assyrians is broken by the destruction of the greater part of their army.

The idea of total destruction seems to be connected in the poets' minds with the picture of a great warrior on his funeral pyre devoured by the flames. This picture is present in Beowulf 1124 (1122-1124, Lig ealle forswealg,/ gæsta gifrost, þara ðe þær guð fornam/ bega folces: wæs hira blæd scacen); 2727/2742 (2802-2803, "Hatað heaðomære hlæw gewyrcean / beorhtne æfter

bæle æt brimes nosan)[34]. Sceacan occurs in the context of a hero

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34 It is possible that context Beowulf 2254 belongs in this list too. F.Klæber, Beowulf And The Fight At Finnsburg (London 1941) in his note on these lines suggests that the treasure was placed in the barrow by the survivor of the noble company who provided the place as a grave for himself. It appears from the circumstances that there was no one left to cremate or bury him and lines 2265-2270 certainly suggest that he remained grieving near the treasure until his death. He may, however, have cremated his companions and placed their remains in the barrow, as Beowulf instructs Wiglaf in ll.2802 ff.

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on his funeral pyre in Beowulf 3118 (3114-3119) and The Fortunes Of Men 39 (43-47). In other contexts fire, although not the fire of a funeral pyre, is present as a destructive element. [Beowulf 2306 (2309, fyre gefysed); Christ 804 (807 - 814, Þonne frætwe sculon / byrnan on bæle; blac rasetteð/recen reada leg, reþe scriþeð / geond woruld wide. Wongas hreossað,/ burgstede berstað , Brond bið on tyhte, / æleð ealdgestreon unmurnlice,/ gæsta gifrast, þæt geo guman heoldan,/ þenden him on eorþan onmedla wæs); Judgement Day I 45 (46 ff.); Andreas 1594 (1540-1542, Him þæt engel forstod,/ se ða burh oferbrægd blacan lige ,/hatan heaðowælme.); Christ And Satan 262 (passim).

Emotion 1 D: is a sense of finality and total destruction in death.

Chart II:

The Major Implications Of O.E. Sceacan.

Denotation: to move.

Implication ᛏA	Implication ᛏB	Implication ᛏC	Implication ᛏD
Movement in which something, or someone, shakes or is shaken.	Movement in which someone is involved in flight.	Movement which involves the passing of time.	Movement which involves death.
ᛏA+ Movement in which the greatest and best are 'shaken' and destroyed in their prime.	ᛏB+ Movement in which someone, who may be fearful, is defeated and put to flight, possibly in a foreign land.	ᛏC+ Movement connected with the passing of time and the arrival of a portentous day, involving change usually for the worse.	ᛏD+ Movement which involves death, the loss of possessions (particularly of treasure), joys, light and (possibly) glory.
ᛏA! A sense of loss at the 'shaking' and destruction of the noblest and best.	ᛏB! A sense of humiliation accompanying defeat.	ᛏC! A sense of urgency connected with the passing of time and the arrival of a portentous day.	ᛏD! A sense of finality and total destruction in death.

Chapter III

The Connotations Of The O.E. Adjective Fæge.

The purpose of this chapter is to give practical demonstration of the method, outlined in Chapter I above, for establishing the connotations of an Anglo-Saxon poetic adjective. The term fæge has been chosen for this demonstration for several reasons: it symbolizes a referent interesting in itself, occurs in heroic and religious verse throughout the O.E. period and is used sufficiently often for some conclusions to be drawn from a scrutiny of these contexts.

Scholars have hitherto disagreed about the connotations of fæge. For Professor Bonjour, commenting on the common connotation of the theme of the Beasts of Battle and that of the fæge men,[1] the word is obviously steeped in the pagan and

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1 Adrien Bonjour, '" Beowulf" And The Beasts Of Battle', Publications Of The Modern Language Association, LXXII (Sept., 1957) pp. 565-566.

barbaric associations of the heroic outlook on life and death, whereas, according to Dr. B. J. Timmer,[2] fæge, like lof and dom,

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2 B. J. Timmer, 'Heathen And Christian Elements in Old English Poetry,' Neophilologus, XXIX (Groningen, July, 1944) p. 181.

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has "passed entirely into the Christian terminology and... lost all heathen associations". It is hoped that the following investigation will reveal more clearly and precisely than has been done hitherto exactly what implications fæge had for the Anglo-Saxon scop and his audience, and offer some explanation for such diverse modern responses to the word.

Chart III on the following page gives a complete list of those occurrences of fæge and its compounds in O.E. poetry which are accepted by the editors of The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records.

Chart III

Occurrences of fæge in O.E. Poetry.

Poem	Occurs	Lines	Century	Author
Beowulf	12 times	573; 846; 850; 1241; 1527; 1568; 1755; 2077; 2141; 2291; 2975; 3025.	7th-8th	Unknown
Genesis A	twice	1265; 1382.	7th-8th	Cædmonian
Exodus	4 times	169; 267; 463; 482.	7th-8th	Cædmonian
The Seafarer	once	71	?	Unknown
Juliana	once	489	8th-9th	Cynewulf
Elene	twice	117; 880	8th-9th	Cynewulf
Christ	twice	1517; 1533	8th-9th	Cynewulfian *
Andreas	5 times	154; 1085; 1182; 1332; 1530.	8th-9th	Cynewulfian
Guthlac A	twice	310; 560	8th-9th	Cynewulfian
Guthlac B	3 times	1031; 1058; 1346.	8th-9th	Cynewulfian
The Phoenix	once	221	8th-9th	Cynewulfian
Maxims I	once	27	8th-10th	Unknown
The Fortunes Of Men	once	44	8th-9th?	Unknown
Charm 6	once	11	?	Unknown
Psalm 135 Paris Psalter	once	Verse 15	9th-10th	Unknown
Solomon And Saturn	3 times	158; 333; 335.	9th-10th	Unknown
Judith	4 times	19; 195; 209; 247	10th	Unknown
Brunanburh	twice	12; 28	10th	Unknown
Maldon	4 times	105; 119; 125; 297	10th	Unknown

* Fæge does not occur in that part of the poem which contains the runic signature of Cynewulf.

Denotation.

The referent denoted by O.E. fæge is a complex state which cannot be translated into N.E. by any single word. Its descendant, N.E. fey,[3] is too unfamiliar to modern ears, and has

3 See H. C. Wyld, 'Experiments In Translating Beowulf', Studies In English Philology: a miscellany in honor of Frederick Klaeber, (Minneapolis, MCMXXIX) pp. 217-218 where the writer criticizes translators who retain O.E. poetical words in modernized form.

long since acquired Celtic associations from its frequent appearance in the works of Scottish poets[4] and extra connotations

4 See Sir William Craigie (Editor) A Dictionary Of The Older Scottish Tongue, (Chicago and London 1937-1951) s.v. fey 1: "One of Douglas's favourite words". See also the O.E.D. fey 1 and 2, and W. Grant and D. B. Murison (Editors) The Scottish National Dictionary s.v. fey 1 and 2, for evidence of the word's popularity with Scottish writers.

from contact with its homophone fay (O.F. fae < Latin fata.)[5]

5 See The Scottish National Dictionary, s.v. fey 4.

Fæge is an adjective which symbolizes the abstract notion[6]

6 See Arne Rudskoger, Fair, Foul, Nice, Proper: A Contribution To The Study Of Polysemy (Göteborg, 1952), p. 20.

of a state or condition. Its denotation must be established by an analysis of the essential features of this state or condition. Such an analysis will reveal the major implications of the word and these can then be used to define in N.E. what fæge denoted for the Anglo-Saxons.

Analysis Of The Essential Features Of The State Of Being Fæge.

An adjective naturally takes some of its meaning from the nouns it qualifies, especially from those with which it is used in frequent collocation.[7] It is with these nouns that the search

7 This is still true of fæge even where it appears in collocation with a noun with which it is not in grammatical agreement. This happens in Andreas 154 fæges flæschoman where fæge is used as a substantive to qualify flæschoma. Compare Beowulf 1568 fægne flæschoman where fæge is used adjectivally and is in grammatical agreement with flæschoma. In both examples fæge acquires some meaning from flæschoma.

for the implications of fæge can begin.[8] They can be divided

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8 See A. Rudskoger, op. cit. pp. 1-2.

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conveniently into the following groups:

Fæge Used With Terms For Man, Warrior, Or Group Of Men.

Beowulf	573	unfægne eorl
Genesis A	1265	fæge þeoda
	1382	fæge folc
Elene	117	fæge folc
Christ	1517	fæge folc
The Fortunes Of Men	44	fægne monnan
Psalm 135	Verse 15	fæge werud
Solomon And Saturn	158	fæges mannes
Judith	195	fæge frumgaras
	247	slegefæge hæleð
Maldon	105	fæge men
	119	fæge cempa

Fæge Used With Terms For The Human Body.

Beowulf	1568	fægne flæschoman
Exodus	267	fæge ferhŏlocan
Elene	880	fæge hus
Andreas	154	fæges flæschoman
	1085	fægra flæschaman
Guthlac B	1031	fæge flæschoma
Maldon	297	fæges feorhhus

Fæge Used With Terms For The Human Soul

Exodus	169	fæge gast
Christ	1533	fæge gæstas
Andreas	1182	fæges feorhhord
	1332	fæges ferŏ
Guthlac A	560	fæge gæstas
The Phœnix	221	fæges feorhhord

All these nouns are essentially concerned with humanity. Fæge[9] is always used of man, or of his body or soul.[10] The first

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9 Fæge, applied to Grendel might seem an exception, but the monster is undoubtedly regarded as not only anthropomorphic but as having a soul (Beowulf ll. 850-852). This is also true of Grendel's mother who is considered to share her son 's nature (Beowulf ll. 1345 ff.). She is the only feminine character in the whole of the poetic corpus of whom fæge is used (Beowulf 1568). The adjective is never applied to women or to devils. When fæge is used of the Phoenix (The Phoenix 221) it signifies, allegorically, both the death of man and the Passion of Christ suffering as man during the Atonement. Such uses of fæge do not invalidate the conclusion that fæge is essentially concerned with mankind.

10 The fægum stæfnum of Exodus 463 is merely an example of transferred epithet.

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major implication of fæge is a state in which men are involved.

Even a brief consideration of the condition of men involved in fæge contexts reveals clearly that the word is intimately

connected with the notion of mortality. This close association with death is explicit in the verbal context[11] in Maxims I 27

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11 See Chapter I, pp.18-19, above for discussion and definition of the terms verbal, and literary, contexts.

(27 Fus sceal feran, fæge sweltan) and in the use of the compound deaðfæge in Beowulf 850 (850). The literary contexts of fæge provide more evidence.

I Fæge is used negatively of a man who passes through mortal danger unscathed:

Beowulf 573; 2141; 2291; 2975.

Guthlac A 310.

II Fæge is used of someone to whom mortal harm is intended but who escapes death:

Andreas 154; 1182; 1332.

III Fæge is used of those who are dying:

Beowulf 846/50.

Exodus 463; 482.

Andreas 1530

Guthlac B 1031; 1058.

The Phoenix 221

IV Fæge is used in connection with those who are being killed:

Beowulf 1527; 1568; 2077.

Genesis A 1382

Juliana 489

Brunanburh 12

Maldon 119; 297

V Fæge is used proleptically of those who are to die, although they may be unaware of mortal danger:

Beowulf 1241; 1755; 3025.

Genesis A 1265.

Exodus 267

The Seafarer 71

Elene 117

Psalm 135, verse 15[12]

Solomon And Saturn 158

Judith 19; 195; 209; 247

Brunanburh 28

Maldon 105; 125

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12 Psalm 135 is included in this list because in the biblical story of the Exodus to which verse 15 alludes the Egyptians are in no apparent danger until God takes action against them.

VI Fæge is used of the dead, or of the bodies or souls of those who have died:

Elene 880

Christ 1517; 1533.

Andreas 1085

Guthlac A 560

Guthlac B 1346

In Charm 6, too, although this context hardly fits into any of these categories, the possibility of death is certainly present. The second major implication of fæge then is a state in which men are involved in death.

Another important feature of the state of being fæge which emerges from a study of its contexts is the idea of compulsion, of a force outside man and beyond his control, which brings him, irresistibly, to his death. The name given to this force varies; only once /Beowulf 1241 (1233 ff.)/ is this compulsion attributed solely to the operation of Wyrd. In several contexts Wyrd and God are both operating against a fæge man or intervening on behalf of the unfæge:

Beowulf 573[13] (570 God; 572 Wyrd)[14]

846/50 (811 God; 734 Wyrd)

Exodus 463/482 (485 God; 458 Wyrd)

The Seafarer 71 (103 God; 115 Wyrd)

Andreas 1530 (1498 ff. God; 1561 Wyrd)

Guthlac B 1058 (1067 God; 1057 Wyrd)[15]

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13 The idea of the intervention of Wyrd on behalf of a courageous man (here Beowulf himself) is connected in the poet's mind with the coming of the sun, here called beorht beacen godes.

14 Cf Andreas 454 ff where, in using the same formula, the poet replaces Wyrd by lifgende god.

15 Probably Solomon And Saturn 333/345 (337 God; 334 Wyrd) belongs here too, for the discussion passes immediately from the consideration of the 'four ropes' of a fæge man (gewurdene wyrda) to the question "Who will judge Christ on Judgement Day?", which, if it has any connection with the preceding topic, implies Christ's power over the fæge.

In other contexts the power of God is in conflict with the power of the devil over a fæge man. In Beowulf 1755 the devil is represented as destroying the proud man (1741 ff.) whose conscience is not vigilant; in Juliana 489 a devil relates how

he destroys those whom he finds butan godes tacne (Juliana 491): in Solomon And Saturn 158 we are told how the devil's attempts to destroy a fæge man in battle by the use of black magic[16] can be thwarted.

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16 See R. J. Menner (Editor), The Poetical Dialogues of Solomon And Saturn (London and New York MDCCCXLI), p. 117, note on line 161.

When servants of the devil, or the devil himself, menace the saints as in Andreas 154 (139 ff); 1182; 1332: Guthlac A 310 (266 ff.) the power which ultimately saves the righteous and renders them unfæge is God's. There is no question of the Dualist heresy in these uses of the word fæge. Devils in these contexts have no power that is not allowed them by God. When a sinner appears to be rendered fæge by the devil, it is clear that he suffers because he has offended God /Beowulf 1755 (1750 ff.): Juliana 489 (490 ff.)/; wherever a good man is in danger of being made fæge by the devil he is saved by divine help or comfort /Andreas 154 (161 ff.); 1182 (1206 ff.); 1332 (1335 ff.): Guthlac A 310 (310 ff)/.

In other contexts a man may be rendered fæge or unfæge

by God alone. This is explicit in the God / meotud ana wat formula of the gnomic verses, Maxims I 27 (29); The Fortunes Of Men 44 (8) and of The Battle Of Maldon 105 (94). God may be saving those in His favour from the state of being fæge, as in Beowulf 2291; or rendering His enemies fæge as in Beowulf 1568 (1553 ff.); 2141 (1553 ff.; 1659 ff.); Genesis A 1265 (1265 ff.); 1382 (1383 ff.); Exodus 267 (261 ff.); Elene 117 (144 ff.); Christ 1517/1533 (1515 ff.); Andreas 1085 (996); Guthlac A 560.[17] Psalm 135, verse 15 (passim); Judith 19 (183 ff.); 195 (195 ff.). Instances such as Guthlac B 1031; 1058; 1346 and The Phoenix 221, where the good are rendered fæge by God, do not invalidate the general rule that God saves those who hold his favour from becoming fæge, since, in these contexts, being fæge is, ultimately, beneficial to those who are brought to that state. In both Guthlac B and The Phoenix reference is made to the joy in Heaven of those previously called fæge: Guthlac B 1031 (1036 ff.); 1058 (1076 ff.); 1346 (1357 ff.); The Phoenix 221 (381 ff.).

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17 Here the fæge gæstas are the wicked and the damned who could have been rendered fæge only by God.

The third major implication of fæge is the notion of fatality. In combination with the first two implications, concern with mankind, and death, it may be formulated as a state in which men are brought to death (or near to death) by the operation[a] of powers outside and beyond human control.[18] [19]

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18 There are some traces of magic in a few fæge contexts; in Solomon And Saturn 158 the devil uses magic runes carved on a sword to render a man fæge in battle. (See R. J. Menner, op. cit. p. 117, note on line 161). There is a runic inscription too on the sword with which Beowulf kills Grendel's mother [Beowulf 1568 (1687 ff.)]. This sword is also engraved with the story of the destruction of the race of giants in the flood (Beowulf 1688 f.) and since Grendel and his mother are regarded as descended from Cain, from whom the giants were also descended, there is at least a possibility of sympathetic magic being involved in the use of the sword. In Charm 6 (as in Solomon And Saturn 158 where the Pater Noster is said to be potent protection against the wiles of the devil) some kind of White Magic is involved in the mother's attempts to save her expected child from being fæge.

19 Occasionally, as in Andreas 1085; 1530, these powers may work through human agency.

This provides the required definition of fæge in N.E., in terms of its major implications. This definition can now safely and conveniently be represented by the shorthand version doomed to death, which can also be accepted as the most adequate modern equivalent to the concept denoted by O.E. fæge.

Connotation.

The major implications of fæge, concern with mankind, death and fatality are so intimately connected with each other in the total meaning of the word that it is impossible and profitless to attempt to separate them. Each implication is a triple implication, involving associations and emotions connected with all three notions.[20] The examination of such implications will therefore be a lengthy business, but it is hoped that the richness and complexity of connotative meaning established in the process will justify the undertaking.

20 See Chart IV, p.145, below.

Implication 1A.

The definition of fæge in terms of its three major implications (given above, p.93) will provide the starting point for further investigation into the meaning of the word and may

be charted under 1A.[21] It is to be noted that 1A is primarily

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21 See Chart IV, p.145, below.

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concerned with the cause of the death which befalls the fæge, that is, with the intervention of supernatural power to bring about this death.

Implication 1A +

This implication concerns the nature of the fæge themselves and that of the agencies which render them fæge. One essential attribute which emerges from a study of the contexts is hostility, usually the wrath of God against the wicked:

Beowulf 846/50 (711); 1241 (1234)

Genesis A 1265 (1270ff.); 1382 (1376).

Exodus 267 (261 ff.); 463 (479 ff.) 482 (485 ff.)

The Seafarer 71 (106).

Juliana 489 (492).

Elene 117 (92 ff.).

Christ 1517/1533 (1519 et passim).

Andreas 1530 (1530 ff.).

Maxims I 27 (35).

Psalm 135 verse 15 (verses 10; 15).

Judith 19/195/209/247 (195 ff.).

Another essential attribute of the agency operating against the fæge is might. The might of both God and Wyrd is mentioned in The Seafarer 71 (115-117);[22] God is frequently called

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22 Throughout this chapter the writer is accepting a Christian interpretation of The Seafarer and therefore takes meotud in these lines to be a term applied to the Christian Deity.

ælmihtig /Genesis A 1265/1382 (1359; 1361); Elene 117 (145); Andreas 1182 (1190); Guthlac A 310 (242); Maxims I 27 (10); Solomon And Saturn 333/335 (322); Judith 19 (7); 247 (300)/ or mihtig /Beowulf 1755 (1725); Exodus 169 (152); 267 (26_2); 463/482 (485); Christ 1517/1533 (1527); The Fortunes Of Men 44 (64); Psalm 135 verse 15 (verse 12); Judith 195 (198)/. God's miht is mentioned in Andreas 154 (162); 1182 (1207); 132 (1336); Guthlac A 310 (240); The Fortunes Of Men 44 (1; 58); Solomon And Saturn 333/335 (329).

When the devil is the power acting against a fæge person, and that person is a sinner, as in Beowulf 1755 and Juliana 489, then it is assumed that the devil is allowed to prevail only against the wicked. In other contexts, where the devil pits his strength against good men, his victims are always able to comfort themselves and discomfit him, by reminding him of the

limitation of his power and the omnipotence of God /Andreas 1182 (1185 ff.); 1332 (1375 ff.); Guthlac A 310 (312 ff.)/. The position is made explicit by the devil himself in Juliana 489 (490 ff.) where he claims that he can destroy those whom he finds butan godes tacne, having previously confessed to the saint that, against the righteous protected by the Christian armour of faith, his attacks cannot avail.[23]

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23 Juliana 489 (382 ff.) and cf. Christ 1517/1533 (779 ff.).

Fæge is often associated with fear. This association, as might be expected, is less prominent in heroic contexts, where the immediate adversary of a fæge person is often not God Himself but a human warrior, than in the religious poems where God is a direct agent in the action. Whereas it would be unbecoming for a warrior to show fear of human enemies, it is acceptable for the wicked to show fear at falling into the hands of the living God, or into the hands of his servants. It is right too for all Christians to fear His Judgement; Dol bið se þe him his dryhten ne ondrædeþ says the poet of The Seafarer 71 (106).

Forht is linked with fæge in Beowulf 2975 næs he fæge þa git (2967 Næs he forht swa ðeh) and Guthlac A 310 (309-10 Nis min breostsefa / forht ne fæge), where the unfæge are also

unafraid. Behind Beowulf 573 (572-3 Wyrd oft nereð / unfægne eorl, þonne his ellen deah), and Genesis A 1265/1382 (1287 ff. Drihten wiste / þæt þæs æþelinges ellen dohte / breostgehygdum), there is the same association of ideas expressed positively. Having courage, being unafraid, is associated with the unfæge man.

In religious contexts sinners show fear when the might of God's wrath descends upon them:

Exodus 463/482 (447)

Elene 117 (113)

Christ 1517/1533 (1559 ff.)

Andreas 1530 (1529 ff.; 1548 ff.)

Judith 247 (245).

In Exodus 169 (136) fear is associated with the idea of being fæge when the Children of Israel watch in trepidation the advance of the Egyptian host and imagine themselves already defeated in battle. Support for identifying this connotation of fæge is found in the denotation cowardly of Modern German feige.[24]

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24 Cf. also O.E.D. s.v. fey 4, timid.

The fæge are often ignorant and unsuspecting of their approaching fate:

Beowulf 846/50 (730 ff.); 1241 (1233); 1755 (1733); 2077 (741).

Exodus 463/482 (453)

The Seafarer 71 (106)

Juliana 489 (484)

Christ 1517/1533 (867 ff.).

Andreas 1530 (1526 ff.)

Maxims I 27 (29; 35)

The Fortunes Of Men 44 (8-9)

Judith 19 (20-21); 247 (246-247).[25]

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25 In support of the identification of this connotation of ignorance on the part of a fæge person see J. Wright, The English Dialect Dictionary (Oxford and New York 1898-1905) s.v. fey, for the dialectal use of fey to denote someone who rises from a sick bed, although near to death, and behaves as if nothing were wrong.

In several contexts this fate overtakes the fæge man while he is sleeping: Beowulf 1241 (1251 ff.); 2077 (741); 3025 (3021 ff.); Andreas 1530 (1526 ff.); Judith 247 (246 ff.). The idea of the sleeping man becoming fæge is used figuratively in Beowulf 1755,

where because the sinner's conscience is asleep the devil can attack and destroy his victim, and in Christ 1517/1533 (867 ff.), where the sudden, unexpected arrival of Judgement Day finds sinners sleeping and unprepared.

The idea of compulsion, of a fæge man driven to his fate by forces outside his control, is frequently, in these contexts, expressed by the verb sculan, for example, in Beowulf 846/50 (805 ; 819); 1241 (1386.); 3025 (3021); The Seafarer 71 (74); Christ 1517/1533 (1513 et passim); Guthlac B 1031 (1030); 1346 (1284); Maxims I 27 (27); The Fortunes Of Men 44 (43 et passim); Solomon And Saturn 158 (159); Judith 19 (63); 247 (287); Maldon 105 (105).

↑A+ is a state in which men (particularly sinners), who are ignorant of their approaching fate, are brought to terror and death, by the hostility and might of supernatural powers (often by God).

Emotion ↑A↑

The emotions attached to the implications of a word like fæge, which passes from pagan and heroic to Christian terminology, are difficult to disentangle. The task is complicated by the absence of any purely pagan usage in the extant poetry. A brief

chronological survey of the type of person of whom fæge is used, is, however, profitable. In Beowulf the good (Beowulf 1341; 2077) and the bad (846/50; 1568; 1755) and those who are neither good nor bad, (Beowulf 1537; 3025) are all called fæge. In the Cædmonian poetry it is almost always the bad who are fæge[26]

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26 Exodus 169 appears to be an exception to this but the word here refers to the fearful souls of the Children of Israel, who, as they watch the advance of Pharaoh's army, are already imagining themselves defeated in battle. Some implication of condemnation at their lack of faith in God, who has already done so much for them, may be intended in this passage. Later Moses exhorts and encourages his followers to trust God who is fighting for them and accuses them of letting God's law depart from their hearts: Eow is lar godes / abroden of breostum (Exodus 268-269).

(Genesis A 1265; 1382; Exodus 267; 463; 482) and this is also true of the majority of Cynewulfian contexts: Juliana 489; Elene 117; Christ 1517; 1533; Andreas 1085; 1530; Guthlac A 560. Where the saints are called fæge, the use seems a special one. Matthew, Andrew and Guthlac are not destroyed by the devils who menace them; in the two poems where the good are allowed to die (Guthlac B 1021; 1058; 1346; The Phoenix 221),

the poet makes it clear that this death is divinely appointed and actually the beginning of a life of joy in heaven with the blessed: Guthlac B 1031 (1036 ff.); 1058 (1076 ff.); 1346 (1357 ff.); The Phoenix 221 (381 ff.). When the saints are called fæge, this state is limited to their mortal bodies. In Judith it is only the bad who are fæge; in Brunanburh and Maldon fæge is used of the fallen, irrespective of their character.

It is obvious from this summary that fæge must have suffered some modification in its emotional content in passing from pagan or secular to specifically Christian usage. From within the framework of the Christian world-order, divinely appointed, governed by mercy and supreme justice, a man's death cannot be regarded with the same fatalistic pessimism as that which pervades the Æschere and Hondscioh contexts /Beowulf 1241 (1384 ff.); 2077 (2076 ff.)/ for death must be regarded as an entry to eternal felicity or eternal damnation. There is a dichotomy of feeling in The Fortunes Of Men where the gloom of the opening lines (1-57) is scarcely dispelled by the comforting reflections that God is responsible for all (ll. 64 ff.; 93 ff.); nor by the closing lines:

> Forþon him nu ealles þonc æghwa secge,
> þæs þe he fore his miltsum monnum scrifeð.

This dichotomy finds its most articulate expression, and at the same time, its most complete resolution, in The Seafarer. The old pessimism is represented in the apparent hopelessness of the following lines:

Simle þreora sum þinga gewhylce,
ær his tid aga, to tweon weorþeð;
adl oþþe yldo oþþe ecghete
fægum fromweardum feorh oðþringeð, The Seafarer 71 (68-71)

and also of 11.80 ff. A direct statement of the Christian faith in ultimate justice finds expression in lines 106-107:

Dol bið se þe him his dryhten ne ondrædeþ; cymeð him se deað unþinged.

Eadig bið se þe eaþmod leofaþ; cymeð him seo ar of heofonum.

Suffering and faith are reconciled in the poet's view of the divine purpose of both. By contrast there is a terrible finality in the only words of comfort that Beowulf can give Hrothgar over Æshere's death:

Ure æghwylc sceal ende gebidan
worolde lifes; wyrce se þe mote
domes ær deaþe; þæt bið drihtguman
unlifgendum æfter selest.

(Beowulf 1386-1389)

The poet of The Seafarer repeats these sentiments, but, in his specifically religious treatment, the good deeds performed on earth are those which will earn a man his reward in heaven:

Forþon þæt bið eorla gehwam æftercweþendra
lof lifgendra lastworda betst,
þæt he gewyrce, ær he on weg scyle,
fremum on foldan wiþ feonda niþ,
deorum dædum deofle togeanes,
þæt hine ælda bearn æfter hergen,
ond his lof siþþan lifge mid englum
awa to ealdre, ecan lifes blæd,
dream mid dugeþum.

(The Seafarer ll. 72-80).

From this meagre evidence it may be hazarded that the pagan and secular emotions attached to this implication of fæge were fatalistic and pessimistic, and that they suffered some modification in being transferred to Christian contexts.

When a Christian poet uses fæge of the wicked, the emotions attached to the word are not pessimistic or fatalistic. The feelings of the Christian towards the damned are always problematic. The paradoxical situation of the disciple extending compassion towards those who appear to be beyond the compassion

of the Deity, has to be avoided. In the terminology of the old blood-feud, the Anglo-Saxon preachers and poets found suitable means of expressing and directing these emotions.[27] The devil

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27 See R. E. Woolf, 'The Devil In Old English Poetry', The Review Of English Studies, New Series, vol. IV (London 1953) pp.1-12, where it is pointed out that it was considered legitimate for Christians of the O.E. period to regard the relationship between God and the devil in terms of the blood-feud. For an example of this see J. Ure (Editor) The Benedictine Office (Edinburgh, 1957) p. 82 and his wiðerwinnan, þæt is deofol sylfne, he besencte and eall his gegenge on helle-susle. The importance of the feud itself, in O.E. literature, which has been examined by B. S. Phillpotts, 'Wyrd And Providence In Anglo-Saxon Thought' Essays And Studies XIII (Oxford, 1928) pp. 8-11, requires no discussion here.

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might properly be regarded as the rebellious thane who becomes the adversary of the Almighty. Christians, and particularly the saints, who are sometimes called wuldres/cristes cempa e.g. Guthlac A 310 (324); Andreas 1085 (991), could therefore consider themselves in a state of feud both with the devil himself and with the wicked or heathen who were his servants.

In the religious poetry based on the Old Testament the adversaries of God are the races which displease Him, either by disobedience and sin, as in Genesis A 1265 and 1382,[28] or by persecuting His

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28 These are the giants from whom Grendel is descended, Grendel too is called hæþene sawle : Beowulf 846 / 850 (852).

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chosen people, as in Exodus 267; 463; 482; Judith 19; 195; 209; 297; Psalm 135 verse 15. All these nations are called fæge. The O.E. poets and liturgical writers[29] adopted the tone of the Hebrew scripture

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29 For an example of this in liturgical writing see J. Ure, op. cit., p. 82: On dægred hit gewearð þæt þurh Godes mihte Moyses gelædde þæt Israhelitisce folc of Egipta lande eall unwemme ofer ða Readan Sæ, and æfter ðam sona seo sylfe sæ besencte and adrencte Godes wiðerwinnan, Pharaonem and eall his gegenge.

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towards them. Throughout Exodus Pharoah is regarded as Godes andsaca (Exodus 15; 503) and the whole Egyptian host are in a state of feud both with God [Exodus 463 / 482 (515) Hie wið god wunnon!] and with the Children of Israel because of the loss of their Firstborn.

In the poetry based on saints' lives it is generally the heathen who are called fæge, as in Elene 117; Andreas 1085; 1530. It is clear from Andreas 139-142 that the Mermedonians are regarded as the devil's servants; the devil appears twice during the course of the poem to

exhort and encourage them in their persecution of Saint Andrew [Andreas 1182; (1168 ff.; 1296 ff.)]. In Christ 1517 / 1533 the fæge are the wicked who are the enemies of God (þa ær wiþ gode wunnon 1526;[30] godes ondsacan 1593).

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30 Cf. Solomon and Saturn 333 / 335 (329) where, in the light of this phrase in Christ and the similar expression in Exodus 463 / 482 (515), it would appear that fæge is used there of the plight of the wicked on Judgement Day too.

It is very important to note in this connection the frequent occurrence of the word friþ in fæge contexts. Friþ was a "security guaranteed by law to those under special protection,"[31] and was used

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31 See Bosworth and Toller, op. cit., s.v. friþ.

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for the king's peace or for the right of all within the pale of the law. In Genesis A the feud between God and the fæge þeoda is represented by the use of the terms fæhðe (1351); gewrecan (1274); wræc (1380), together with the suggestion that it was man, who, by his sin, lost the right to God's protection, þa ær on friðe wæron (1262). Noah, however, remains guiltless and within the pale of divine law. God makes a Covenant with him, granting him peace and protection þu scealt friþ habban / mid sunum þinum (Genesis A 1299-1300).

Friðelease is used in Elene 117 (127) for the heathen whom Constantine is allowed to overcome under the sign of the Cross. Guthlac declares to the devils who tempt and threaten him that he is not fæge because he is protected by God:

nis min breostsefa
forht ne fæge, ac me friðe healdeð
ofer monna cyn se þe mægna gehwæs
weorcum wealdeð.

Guthlac A 310 (309-312).

Both Matthew and Andrew are regarded by their enemies, whether men or devils, as fæge; both are saved from them or given strength to resist them by the intervention of God [Andreas 154 (161 ff.); 1182 (1208 ff.); 1332 (1335 ff.)]; and both hold God's special protection. This is granted to Matthew at line 97 ff. and later in the poem to Andrew,

Ic þe friðe healde,
þæt þe ne moton mangeniðlan,
grame grynsmiðas, gaste gesceððan.

Andreas 915-917.

Judith too has God's friþ :

Heo ðær ða gearwe funde
mundbryd æt ðam mæran þeodne, þa heo ahte mæste þearfe,
hyldo þæs hehstan deman, þæt he hie wið þæs hehstan brogan
gefriðode, frymða waldend.

Judith 2-5.

Judith is the champion of God and of God's people against the fæge

Holofernes and his fæge men. In Maldon 125, Byrhtnoth kills a fæge man (130-148), and is then killed himself. He prays with his dying breath that his soul may travel to God, mid friþe ferian(Maldon 179).[32]

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32 Presumably the friþ of God for characters in poems based on the Old Testament is the Covenant made with the Patriarchs, Noah, Abraham and Moses, although this is nowhere made explicit, and the word used in Genesis A 1760 and Exodus 433 for the Covenant with Abraham is freoðo. Friðotacen is however used of the Circumcision in Genesis A 2371. The rebel angels live on friðe (Genesis A 19) before the Fall, but have peace taken from them when they lose God's favour (Genesis A 57). In the poetry based on the saints' lives the Cross is the sign of those who are within the law and protected by God's friþ.Constantine overcomes the heathen when he takes the Cross to battle. Other Christians are protected by the sign of the cross made on the forehead at baptism (this may be the explanation of the cross which appears on Andrew's countenance [Andreas 1332 (1337 ff.)] and puts to flight the devils who are attacking him) while sinners lacking this sign [Juliana 489(491) butan godes tacne] are unprotected against the assaults of the devil.

The chief emotion attached to the implication 1 A of fæge is, from the evidence of the majority of contexts,most of them religious, condemnation for the sinners who are justly overwhelmed by God as a punishment for their wickedness.

Implication IB.

The number of terms suggesting warrior or army with which fæge is used in collocation[33] suggests that to be fæge was a state

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33 See the list given above, p. 84, where, among the nouns, cempa and frumgar denote fighting men, eorl and hæleð imply it and werud (Psalm 135) and folc (Elene 117) both imply army.

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naturally associated with warfare and fighting. Closer investigation of the literary contexts in which it is used reveals the strength of this association. It is used of combatants in a pitched battle in Beowulf 1527; 2975; 3025; Exodus 169; 267;[34] Elene 117; Solomon and

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34 No pitched battle takes place in Exodus 169 but the fearful Israelite army is imagining what will happen to it if it encounters the Egyptians in battle. See E.B. Irving, The Old English Exodus (London and Yale, 1953), p. 80, note on line 169a. Similarly, at line 267, there is no actual battle but the Israelites are still expecting to have to fight the Egyptians. In fact, Pharoah and his troops are not rendered fæge in battle, but by the direct intervention of God.

Saturn 158; Judith 195; 209; 247; Brunanburh 12; 28; Maldon 105; 119; 125; 297, and of those involved in a personal fight against an enemy in Beowulf 573; 846 / 850; 1568; 2141. In other contexts words suggesting battle or strife appear even when there has been no fighting:

Beowulf 2077 (þær was Hondscio hild onsæge 2076-) ; Andreas 1085 (Andrew is called cristes cempa and hæle hildedeor when the heathen guards are killed; 991; 1002; 1090-1092 suggest war: Durupegnum wearð / in ane tid eallum ætsomne / þurh heard gelac hildbedd styred.)[35]

35 For the translation of styred adopted here see The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records, vol. II, p. 117, note on line 1092.

1530 (The sea which overwhelms the heathen is called guðræs 1531); Maxims I 27 (27-28 Fus sceal feran, fæge sweltan / ond dogra gehwam ymb gedal sacan / middangeardes.)

Still more convincing evidence of this implication is provided by the fact that fæge is often used of combatants in battles or encounters which are not purely physical (though physical suffering is often involved)[36] but which take place on a spiritual plane.

36 E.g. Andreas 1182; the devil is exhorting the heathen to attack the saint. The poet describes their advance to the attack as if they were setting out for battle. (ll.1201-1205.)

Such encounters are those between the devil and the fæge sinner whom he ruins at Beowulf 1755; between God and the wicked who are damned on Judgement Day in Christ 1517 (1526); possibly also between the fæge man of lines 333 / 335 of Solomon and Saturn and God (329). On a larger scale is the conflict between Saint Andrew and the devil

who attacks him twice; Andreas 1182 (1182-1183: "Gað fromlice / þæt ge wiðerfeohtend wiges gehnægan,") and 1332 (1343-1344; 1349-1356). The devils who threaten Guthlac with war in Guthlac A 310 (280-291) are boldly answered by the Saint who declares that he will not undertake to fight them with worldly weapons:

> No ic eow sweord ongean
> mid gebolgne hond oðberan þence,
> worulde wæpen, ne sceal þes wong gode
> þurh blodgyte gebuen weorðan,
> ac ic minum Criste cweman þence
> leofran lace.
>
> Guthlac A 310 (302-307).

In Guthlac B the metaphor of an armed warrior approaching the fight is used to describe the onset of death: Guthlac himself regards the coming struggle in these terms:-

> "Wiga nealæceð,
> unlæt laces."
>
> Guthlac B 1031 (1033-1034).

The same idea recurs later:

> Deað nealæcte,
> stop stalgongum, strong ond hreðe
> sohte sawelhus. Com se seofeða dæg
> ældum ondweard, þæs þe him in gesonc,
> hat, heortan neah, hildescurum

flacor flanþracu, feorhhord onleac,

searocrægum gesoht.

Guthlac B 1058 (1139-1145).

Implication 1 B is primarily concerned with the circumstances in which the operations of supernatural powers bring men to their death. It is a state in which men are brought to death either in battle or while involved in conflict.

Implication 1 B 1

This implication is connected with the circumstances of the death of a fighting man on the Anglo-Saxon battlefield. Some of these circumstances are immediately obvious; others become clear only after a consideration of the nature of Anglo-Saxon warfare. A warrior is, of course, likely to die fighting, to be killed, by bloodshed and violence, in the thick of battle and during an encounter with the enemy. These are the essential implications of war and they are certainly present in the fæge contexts[37] but there

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37 See above, pp.110-113, discussion under 1 B for fæge men being involved in battle and fighting. See also discussions under 1 A 1 for evidence of enmity against the fæge. Blood is mentioned in Beowulf 846 / 850 (847); 1241 (1422-1423); 1568 (1569); 2077 (2082; 739-745); Andreas 154 (159); 1085 (996; 1003); 1182 (1238-1241)

Footnote 37 (continued)

and violence is present in Beowulf 573; 846 / 850; 1241; 1527; 1568; 1755; 2077; 2141; 3025; Genesis A 1265 / 1382; Exodus 169; 267; 463 / 482; Juliana 489; Elene 117; Christ 1517 / 1533; Andreas 154; 1182; 1332; 1530; Guthlac A 310; Guthlac B 1031; 1058; Seafarer 71; Solomon and Saturn 158; Judith 19; 195; 209; 247; Brunanburh 12; 28; Maldon 105; 119; 125; 297.

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are others which, although probably evident to the scop, possibly a warrior himself,[38] and to his audience, a modern reader might well miss.

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38 See Beowulf 2105-2114.

One such implication has to do with the sound of battle. The twentieth-century reader of Anglo-Saxon poetry must appreciate the continuous and purposeful use of noise, especially of the human voice, on the early medieval battlefield. Tacitus[39] describes the noise

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39 See Sir William Peterson (translator), The Dialogues of Publius Cornelius Tacitus, Germania (London and New York, 1932), pp. 268/269. It is not safe to assume identical conditions for the continental Germans of the 1st Century A.D. and the Anglo-Saxons of 6th - 8th Century England but it must be remembered that both in the diction he employed and in the heroic code reflected in that diction, the scop was often dealing in deliberate archaism.

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made by the continental Germans on their way to battle. They sang

the praises of great men, presumably to inspire themselves and their comrades to rival their heroes in valour; they performed a chant called barritus which was made by putting the shield in front of the mouth while shouting into it to make the tone harsher. The aim of the barritus was to dismay the enemy by the volume of sound from which, it was thought, the outcome of the battle might be forecast. The barritus is not mentioned explicitly in the fæge contexts, but there are several passages where that may be the type of battle noise that the poet intends us to imagine. Thus Exodus 169 (200-202)

> Forþon wæs in wicum wop up ahafen,
> atol ofenleoð, egesan stodon,
> weredon wælnet, þa se woma cwom [40] ,

40 Indication of the archaic flavour of the account of warfare in this passage is found in woma / 'noise of battle', cognate with Icelandic Omi, one of the names of Odin, and connected with the idea of resounding noise. This is further suggestive of the method described by Tacitus of producing the barritus. See Bosworth and Toller s.v. woma. ~~Wælnet too seems reminiscent of the idea of the Valkyries fettering a doomed man.~~

suggests the panic that might have been caused among an ill-prepared army on hearing the noise of the barritus made by approaching enemy forces. A similar noise seems implied in Andreas 154 (138); 1182 (1202); Maldon 105 (106) and in Judith 209 (204-205 dynedan scildas, / hlude

hlummon); 209 (223-224 styrmdon hlude / grame guðfreccan).

The noise in Elene 117 (109-110) and Exodus 169 (159) is that of the trumpets sounding before battle. In the other Exodus contexts there is noise and confusion but no battle: Exodus 463 / 482 (450; 462 ff.; 490). In Solomon and Saturn 333 / 335 (326), the wicked hear the noise of Judgement Day, which implies the sound of the Last Trump summoning the dead to judgement.

Another implication is of a supernatural power presiding over battle. This idea is found in Tacitus.[41] In Anglo-Saxon poetry

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41 See Sir William Peterson, op. cit., p. 274 / 275. The dispensing of victory is an attribute of Odin, sig-fǫður being one of his names. See Bosworth and Toller s.v. sigor.

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terms for God as Dispenser of Victory occur in some fæge contexts: Genesis A 1265 (1270); 1382 (1408 sigora waldend); Christ 1517 (1516 sigora weard); Andreas 1085 (987 sigora weard). In other contexts God's control over victory is explicitly stated: Beowulf 1568 (1553-1554); Elene 117 (144-147). In Solomon and Saturn 158 a fighting man is warned to invoke divine protection by saying the Pater Noster before drawing his sword, to prevent himself from becoming fæge. In Exodus 267 (269-272) Moses exhorts the Children of Israel to pray to God for victory. A fæge man, then, is subject to the decrees of a supernatural power that dispenses victory. Also present

in this implication of fæge is the picture of the warrior's death on the wælstow . The conflict rages round the slain as, helpless amid the rush and press of battle, no longer able to wield their weapons, they fall [42] to the ground. The notion of the rush and press of battle

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42 Words for falling are present in Beowulf 846 / 850 (1337); 1755 (1754-1755); Exodus 482 (482; 500); Elene 117 (115; 126-127); Christ 1517 / 1533 (1523; 1525; 1531. The falling here is not done in the contexts of a pitched battle but it is the result of strife with God.); Andreas 1085 (995); Guthlac A 310 (283); Guthlac B 1031 / 1058 (1093); Psalm 135 15 (15); Judith 247 (307). The idea is most frequently reiterated in poems celebrating battles such as Brunanburh 12 / 28 (12 / 17); Maldon 105 (111); 119 (119); 297 (286 / 287 / 292 / 302) where it is associated with fæge in the formula wæl feol on eorðan; 125 (126); 297 (303). In religious contexts such as Exodus 169 (169) [Bouterwek's emendation has been adopted here. See The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records, vol. I, p. 206, note on line 169.] and Andreas 1182 (1183); 1332 (1333); 1530 (1571) fæge is associated with being bowed down or humbled in defeat. In Solomon and Saturn 333 / 335 (315 ff.) the ideas of falling and of being humbled are united in the metaphor of the falling leaf in which the poet describes the final downfall of those who are not sufficiently aware of the dangers of the coming Judgement Day.

is present in the use of words and phrases like þrǽcwiges, Exodus 169 (182); borda gebrec ond beorna geþrec, Elene 117 (114); on gramra gemang, Elene 117 (118); þrungon þrǽchearde, Elene 117 (123); in sceaþena gemong, Judith 195 (193); in heardra gemang, Judith 209 (225); on geþrange, Maldon 297 (299); stið gemot, Maldon 297 (301). The frequent appearance of the element rǽs in compounds used in fǽge contexts confirms the identity of this association. Its use once in a genuine battle context, Maldon 105 (111 beaduræs) and very often in contexts where there has been no pitched battle, adds to the impression of strife surrounding the fǽge: Beowulf 573 (557 heaþoræs); 846 / 850 (824 wælræs); 2077 (2072 hondræs); 2975 (2947 wælræs); Andreas 1085 (995 deaðræs); 1332 (1334 rǽsdon); 1530 (1531 guðræs).

The fate of the body after it has fallen in battle is also implied in the fǽge contexts. Tacitus[43] observes that the continental

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43 See Sir William Peterson, op. cit., pp. 272 / 273.

Germans brought in the bodies of the slain even while the outcome of the battle was uncertain. The victors rejoiced at the chance of plunder. Good weapons and armour were highly valued and scarce;[44]

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44 See Sir William Peterson, op. cit., pp. 270 / 271 - 272 / 273.

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a leader needed a good supply of both to maintain his comitatus , and keen warriors were naturally anxious to obtain them.[45] Furthermore,

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45 See Sir William Peterson, op.cit. p. 284/285.

the distribution of arms by a lord to his retainers was symbolic of the ties of loyalty and obligation between them[46] and to allow the

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46 See D. Whitelock, The Beginnings of English Society (Penguin Books, 1952) p. 35 ff. for a discussion of the nature of the heriot : "The lord's gift of armour and horses to the man who entered his service developed into the legal due called 'heriot', which means literally 'war-gear', and which was paid to the death of his man, representing originally the return on the follower's death of the lord's gift. This payment was remitted when the man fell 'before his lord' on a campaign. To the end of the period it tended to be paid in kind, a fact which suggests that it was felt to have symbolic significance."

Beowulf asks Hrothgar to send his corslet back to Hygelac if he is killed by Grendel (452-455); and Wiglaf reminds the cowards who desert Beowulf of the arms they have received from their lord in the past (2633 ff.; 2864 ff.).

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enemy to claim what rightfully belonged to one's lord was not only wasteful, but ignominious. The acquisition of plunder by the victorious, usually in the form of armour and weapons stripped from the slain, is associated with fæge in Beowulf 2975 (2985 ff.); Exodus 463 / 482 (585 ff.); Elene 117 (149); Judith 247 (313 ff.).

The grim fate that might befall the body of a fæge man whose comrades were unable to remove him from the wælstow is implied in the

association of the word fæge with the theme of the Beasts of Battle.[47]

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47 Aurien Tonjour, op. cit., p. 566 has already pointed out the association and common connotation of the two themes and suggests that the origin of the Beasts theme is to be found in the fate which undoubtedly befell unburied corpses. (p. 565) See Genesis A 2087 ff. where carrion birds tear the bodies of the slain.

The Beasts are present, either as grim omens of the fate awaiting the fæge or as devouring the slain in Beowulf 3025 (3024-3027); Exodus 169 (162-169); Elene 117 (110-113); Judith 205 (205-212); 247 (295-296); Brunanburh 12 / 28 (60-65); Maldon 105 (106-107). In other poems, where the conditions of battle and the Beasts themselves are absent from the contexts, fæge is sometimes used of people who do suffer, or are threatened with, some kind of physical outrage after death. This applies to the unfæge Beowulf of line 573 who would have been eaten by the sea-monsters had he been fæge; to Grendel at lines 846 / 850, whom Beowulf later decapitates after death (1590); to Hondscioh, 2077 (739-745) and Æschere, 1241 (1420-1421) who are eaten by monsters. Similarly, in Andreas 154 Saint Matthew is threatened by cannibals (147-154) who are called wælwulfas (149) and grædige guðrincas (155); the fæge doorkeepers are eaten by their own people, 1085 (1088-1090). In Genesis A, The Phoenix and The Fortunes of Men the elements which are directly responsible for destroying the bodies of the fæge are said to swallow them:

sweart wæter,

wonne wælstreamas werodum swelgað

Genesis A 1265 / 1383 (1300-1301) :

fealo lig feormað ond fenix byrneð,

fyrngearum frod, þonne fyr þigeð

lænne lichoman; lif bið on siðe,

fæges feorhhord, þonne flæsc ond ban

adleg æleð.

The Phoenix 221 (218-222);

fretan frecne lig fægne monnan.

The Fortunes of Men 44 (44) .

In Juliana the devil describes the fate of those who succumb to temptation:

"Ic þære sawle ma

geornor gyme ymb þæs gæstes forwyrd

þonne þæs lichoman, se þe on legre sceal

weorðan in worulde wyrme to hroþor,

bifolen in foldan."

Juliana 489 (413-417).

In Christ

Ne mæg þæt hate dæl of heoloðcynne

in sinnihte synne forbærnan

to widan feore, wom of þære sawle,

ac þær se deopa seað dreorge fedeð,

grundleas giemeð gæsta on þeostre,

> ælcð hy mid þy ealdan lige, ond mid þy egsan forste,
> wraþum wyrmum ond mid wita fela,
> frecnum feorhgenum, folcum scendeð.
>
> Christ 1517 / 1533 (1541-1548).

The fæge, who are the damned, are devoured by the jaws of hell.[48]

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48 For an Anglo-Saxon pictorial representation of hell as a monstrous mouth see Sir Israel Gollancz (editor), The Cædmon Manuscript (London, MCMXXVII), p. 3, where the jaws are open to receive the falling rebel angels.

Since the fæge gæstas of Guthlac A 560 also pass through the gate of hell this implication may also be present in that context.

Implication 1 B+ is a state in which fighting men, subject to the Dispenser of Victory, fall, amid the rush of conflict, on to the wælstow, where their bodies are liable to outrage or depredation after death.

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Emotion 1 B!

Emotion 1 B!, like emotion 1 A!, is a complex mixture of the secular, originally pagan, and the Christian attitudes towards the implication of warfare and bloodshed. The extant heroic poetry from

the Anglo-Saxon period, such as Beowulf, The Battle of Finnsburh and Waldere, bears witness to the pagan spirit, to the glorification of war and the thirst for renown. The greatest glory may have been achieved in the final test of defeat,[49] but certainly great honour

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49 See B.S. Phillpotts, op. cit., p. 13.

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and prestige were to be gained by victory. The Beowulf poet insists that both Scyld (4-6) and Beowulf (2345 ff.; 2511 ff.) were often victorious. Older men lament their loss of strength and recall the days when they, too, shared the glories of war (Beowulf 2105 ff.). This joy in fighting[50] and excitement in the heat of battle is found

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50 See Sir William Peterson, op. cit., pp. 282 / 283 - 284 / 285 for an account of the warlike nature of the continental Germanic tribes.

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in some of the fæge contexts. It may take the specific form of rejoicing over the death of an enemy, as in Beowulf 846 / 850 (841 ff.); 1568 (1569), or it may be implied in the praise accorded to a weapon which does the killing, as in Beowulf 1527 ff. . It may be implied too in the thanks and rewards given to a man who renders another fæge, as in Beowulf 1568 / 2141 (2142-2143); Maldon 119 (120-121).

According to strict Christian doctrine it was not possible for a Christian to share wholeheartedly these heroic sentiments. There were, however, as has been noted under Emotion I A! , certain circumstances

in which it was permissible for a good Christian to fight and enjoy the sensation of overcoming his enemies. Over the wicked and unenlightened, the Gentiles of the Old Testament stories and the heathen of hagiography, when they became fæge, Christians might lawfully exult. Such exultation over defeated opponents is lawful because these are also the enemies of God. In a universe ordered and directed by a righteous and omnipotent Deity, the good do not lose their battles; only the bad can be truly fæge. Guthlac, Matthew and Andrew[51] are

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51 For discussion of the application of fæge to the Phoenix, and to Guthlac in Guthlac B see p.92

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regarded by their enemies as fæge but God protects them and they are not truly so; the heathen too, if they admit the error of their ways and receive baptism, are saved from being fæge: Andreas 1530 (1609 ff.). Over the unrepentant, however, the good may exult. In Exodus 463 / 482 (574 ff.) the Jews rejoice and thank God for the destruction of their enemies; in Judith 195 / 209 (225-235); 247 (304 ff.), the army of the chosen people is exhilarated by the heat of battle. Similarly, in Elene 117 (138 ff.; 148 ff.), Constantine and his followers glory in battle and are honoured by their victory in it. In Brunanburh[52]

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52 See A. Campbell (editor), The Battle of Brunanburh (1938), pp. 41-2, where the editor comments on the whole tone of the poem as a panegyric of victory, breathing exultation and triumph.

and Maldon the enemy are heathen; Byrhtnoth thanks God as he exults over his defeated foe:

Se eorl wæs þe bliþra,
hloh þa, modi man, sæde metode þanc
ðæs dægweorces þe him drihten forgeaf
Maldon 125 (146-148).

Saint Andrew too thanks God when the heathen doorkeepers die: Andreas 1085 (946 ff.). The excitement of battle is most explicit in Maldon:

Swa stemnetton stiðhicgende
hysas æt hilde, hogodon georne
hwa þær mid orde ærost mihte
on fægean men feorh gewinnan,
wigan mid wæpnum; wæl feol on eorðan.
Maldon 125 (122-126).

The emotion attached to this implication of fæge is a mixture of excitement in the heat of battle mingled with righteous exultation over defeated enemies.

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Implication 1 C.

The third major implication of fæge arises directly from 1 B, and concerns the manner of death suffered by a fæge person. 1 C, like 1 B, is intimately connected with the conditions of Anglo-Saxon

warfare.[53] Once a shield-wall had been broken, either as a result

53 The Battle of Maldon provides a number of examples of hand-to-hand encounters after the breaking of a shield-wall. Here, of course, the wall is broken deliberately by the Englishmen who wish only to die fighting now that their lord is dead.

of enemy attack or in order to pursue the enemy, a battle would resolve itself into many hand-to-hand encounters. The fæge person is or has been involved in such encounters in Beowulf 846 / 850; 1527; 1568; 2141; 2975; Juliana 489; Andreas 1182; 1332; Guthlac B 1031; 1058 (where the encounter is with death); Maldon 119 (117-119).

Even in religious poetry it is possible to find traces of this association of fæge with a personal encounter. In Exodus 267 (262; 275); 463 (480); 482 (485); Christ 1517 / 1533 (1530), it is the hand of God, or of Moses, His servant, which strikes the fæge.

Implication 1 C is a state in which men are brought to death during a personal, hand-to-hand, encounter with the enemy.

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Implication 1 C+.

1 C+ is chiefly concerned with the weapons used against fæge and the wounds suffered by them. The weapons involved most frequently are the sword (Beowulf 1527 (1520 / 1523 / 1524);[54] 1568 (1563);

54 Where an implication is reinforced by variation only one reference will, in future, be made to the presence of the implication.

Exodus 169 (159); 465 / 482 (485); Seafarer 71 (70); Juliana 489 (488); Elene 117 (122); Christ 1517 / 1533 (1530); Andreas 1182 (1181); Guthlac A 310 (302); Solomon and Saturn 158 (162); Judith 195 (194); 247 (246); Brunanburh 15 / 28 (4; 6; 30); Maldon 119 (118)[55];

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55 At context Beowulf 846 / 850 (849) Grendel's blood is called heorodreor, although his wounds were not made by the sword.

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the spear [Beowulf 3025 (3021); Exodus 169 (158); Elene 117 (118); Andreas 1332 (1330); Brunanburh 12 (18); Maldon 105 (108); 297 (296).]; and the arrow [Beowulf 1755 (1746); Elene 117 (116); Maldon 105 (109); Guthlac B 1058 (1144).] Sometimes reference is made to the points [Andreas 1332 (1330); Maldon 105 (110); 125 (124).] or to the edges [Beowulf 1527 (1524); 1568 (1558); Andreas 1182 (1181); Seafarer 71 (70); Solomon and Saturn 158 (165); Judith 195 / 209 (231); Brunanburh 12 (4)] of these weapons as they shatter the helmet [Beowulf 2975(2973)] or penetrate the corslet [Beowulf 1527 (1527)], cutting and maiming the body and piercing it to the life [feorh]. The idea of penetration is present in Beowulf 1568 (1566-1568); 1755 (1745); Andreas 1182 (1180-1182); 1332 (1330-1332); Guthlac B 1058 (1139-1145); Elene 117 (122); Maldon 125 (124-126); 297 (296-297). The wounds inflicted on the fæge are also part of the association of death. These may be merely mentioned or implied, as in Beowulf 1755 (1745); 2975 (2976); Exodus 482 (492); Christ 1517 / 1533 (1313; 1321); Andreas 1182 (1180); Brunanburh 12 (18); 28 (43); Maldon 105 (113 / 115); 297 (303); or they

may be specified, as in Beowulf 846 / 850 (815 ff.);1568(1566-1567); 2077(739-745); Andreas 154(150-154); Solomon and Saturn 333 / 335 (339); Guthlac A 310 (284).

In religious passages where there are no pitched battles this implication is not always apparent, but there is some evidence of its presence. God is once pictured as wielding a sword which He brandishes over the wicked [Christ 1517 / 1533(1530)]; a sword is used against the fæge Egyptians [Exodus 463 / 482 (495)] who suffer wælbenn [Exodus 463 / 482 (492)] in the Red Sea. Sinners are frequently drowned [Genesis A 1265; 1382; Exodus 267;463; 482; Andreas 1530; Psalm 135 (verse 15)] but even when God wields the elements against the wicked, the association of fæge with an edged weapon persists, especially by the frequent occurrence of slean in these contexts: Genesis A 1265 / 1332 (1267); Exodus 463/482 (485;494); Psalm 135, verse 15 (verse 10).

In those contexts where the fæge are involved in spiritual conflict the wounds inflicted are often the wounds of sin and the weapons used are the fiery darts of the wicked. The devil, aided by man's corrupt nature, inflicts his wounds on the soul to bring about its downfall and damnation. The wicked who are fæge suffer, therefore, a death of the soul as well as the death of the body. This idea is explicit in Beowulf 1755 (1735-1757) where the arrows shot by the devil (1743 bona) are the arrows (1746 biteran stræle) of temptation (1747 wom wundorbebodum) which pierce the fæge man to the heart (1745-1746 þonne bið on hreþre under helm drepen/biteran stræle and cause him to sin (1750-1752). When the spirit has been corrupted,

the body sinks in ruin. The man is dead, and damned too, since he neglected the Judgement to come.

In Andreas 1182; 1332; Guthlac A 310, the saints are regarded as fæge by the devils who try to tempt them to destruction. They may be threatened with mortal weapons, as in Andreas 1182 (1180 ff.); 1332 (1330 ff.), or with physical suffering, as in Guthlac A 310 (284 ff.) but the real intention is to reach the soul. This is clear from the Andreas contexts. The devil says,

" Lætað wæpnes spor
iren ecgheard, ealdorgeard sceoran,
fæges feorhhord "

Andreas 1182 (1180-1182)

and Andrew retorts,

"Hwæt, ðu deofles strǽl,
icest þine yrmðo."

Andreas 1182 (1189-1190).

Later, the devil attacks his victim again,

"Lætað gares ord,
earh ættre gemæl, in gedufan
in fæges ferð."

Andreas 1332 (1330-1332).

The idea of a sinful man being wounded by devils is not confined to the poetry. Bede tells the story of a man whose sins were revealed to him before death. The devils struck him with their

tridents and their blows penetrated his body. By this he knew that he was damned and that the devils would be waiting to drag him to hell after his death.[56]

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56 C. Plummer (editor), Venerabilis Bædæ Opera Historica, vol I (Oxford, 1896), book V, cap. 13, pp. 311-313. See also Leo Sherley-Price (translator), Bede, A History of the English Church and People (Penguin Books, 1955), pp. 290-292.

The idea of the wounds caused by sin may be behind the obscure reference to niehtes wunde in Solomon and Saturn 333 / 335 (339), since the debaters have just spoken of the fæge man and the Judgement Day,[57] and it is certainly present in Christ 1517 / 1533

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57 See E.Van Kirk Dobbie (editor), The Anglo-Saxon Minor Poems, vol. VI in The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records, p. 167, note on line 339, where Holthausen's suggested emendation to niðes is given. Some support for this is to be found in The Seafarer 71 (75 wið feonda niþ, where the poet says that men must strive against the malice of the devil before they die), a fæge context which, like Solomon and Saturn 333 / 335, contains essentially eschatological associations.

(1313; 1321) where the wicked have been wounded by sin before their damnation. In Juliana, at the opening of the debate between the saint and the devil, the tempter explains the nature of his attacks

upon men in terms of assault with arrows and the wounds inflicted on the soul [Juliana 489 (350-417)]. The righteous, he tells her, are protected by the Christian armour of Faith and he cannot prevail against that [Juliana 489 (382-393)]. He then explains his method of attack upon those weak in faith and finally declares his desire to ruin the soul:

> Ic þære sawle ma
> geornor gyme ymb þæs gæstas forwyrd
> þonne þæs lichoman, se þe on legre sceal
> weorðan in worulde wyrme to hroþor,
> bifolen in foldan.
>
> Juliana 489 (413-417).

In Guthlac B 1031 / 1058 (1033-1034; 1139-1156) the saint is attacked by death who employs the arrows of pain to overcome his victim. Death, however, can only prevail against the body; the soul of Guthlac is taken to heaven to enjoy the happiness of the blest.

Implication 1 C+ is a state in which combatants are likely to be brought to death at the hands of the enemy through wounds inflicted by the penetration of the point, or edge, of a weapon.

* * * * *

Emotion 1 C:

The emotion attached to this implication of fæge is a solemn awareness of the transience of human life and the helplessness of

mortality against the power of death and the power that wields death. The presence of this feeling is attested by the frequency of the idea that a fæge person has reached the end of an allotted span [Beowulf 846 / 850 (821-823); 1241 (1386 ff.); 1755 (1753); The Seafarer 71 (68 ff.) Guthlac B 1031 (1034 ff.); 1058 (1057 ff.); Phoenix 221 (146 ff.); Solomon and Saturn 333 / 335 (323 ff.); Judith 19 (64-67; 183 ff.); 209 / 247 (285 ff.); Maldon 105 (104-105)]; by the recurrence of the word læne in connection with the plight of the fæge [Beowulf 1755 (1754); Exodus 267 (268); Christ 1517 / 1533 (1558; 1585); Phoenix 221 (220); Maxims I 27 (6); The Seafarer 71 (66); Solomon and Saturn 333 / 335 (328)]; and by the use of ece, contrasting the permanence of God or life in Heaven with the transience of man and his life on earth [Beowulf 1755 (1760); Exodus 267 (273); The Seafarer 71 (79); Guthlac B 1031 / 1058 (1182; 1186); Maxims I 27 (8); Psalm 135, verse 15 (verse 1); Brunanburh 12 / 18 (16)].

The passing of earthly blessings, such as wealth [Beowulf 1755 (1755 ff.); The Seafarer 71 (66 ff.)] or happiness [Beowulf 846 /850 (850)] or health and strength [The Seafarer 71 (70); Guthlac B 1031 / 1058 (1023 ff.)] is mentioned in some contexts of fæge. The vulnerability of the human body is implied by its frequent use in collocation with fæge or in close proximity to it: Beowulf 846 / 850 (815-816 Licsar gebad / atol æglæca); 1568 (1568 fægne flæschoman); 1755 (1754 þæt se lichoma læne gedreoseð, / fæge gefealleð); 2077 (2080 lic eall forswealg); Genesis A 1265 (1279-1282 cwæð þæt he wolde for wera synnum / eall aweðan þæt on eorðan wæs, / forleosan lica

gewhilc þara þe lifes gast / fæhmum þeahte.); 1382 (1384-1386 wuldorcyninges / yða wræcon arleasra feorh / of flæschoman); Exodus 267 (267 fæge ferhðlocan); Juliana 489 (487-490 þæt hi in winsele / þurh sweordgripe sawle forletan / of flæschoman fæge scyndan, / sarum gesohte.); Andreas 154 (154 fæges flæschoman); 1085 (1085 fægra flæschaman); 1182 (1181 ealdorgeard sceoran); Guthlac B 1031 (1030 ff. Sceal þis sawelhus, / fæge flæschoma, foldærne biþeaht, / leomu lames gepacan, legerbedde fæst / wunian wælræste); 1346 (1366 ff. Nu se eorðan dæl, / banhus abrocen burgum in innan / wunað wælræste); The Seafarer 71 (94-96 Ne mæg him þonne se flæschoma, þonne him þæt feorg losað, / ne swete forswelgan ne sar gefelan, / ne hond onhreran ne mid hyge þencan.); Maldon 297 (297 fæges feorhhus).

Emotion 1 C! is recognition of the transcience and vulnerability of mortality.

* * * * *

Implication 1 D.

Whereas implication 1 C is concerned with the manner in which death was inflicted or threatened, 1 D is concerned with the manner of suffering death. Death, the unknown, has to be explained by men in terms of life, which is known and familiar. The idea which recurs most frequently in the fæge contexts in reference to death is of a separation from life. This is expressed in the use of the word gedal,

by itself in Maxims I 27 (28); Guthlac A 310 (235); and as the second element of a compound formed with one of the words for life or soul [Beowulf 846 / 850 (841 lifgedal); Guthlac B 1035 sawelgedales); The Fortunes of Men 44 (45) lifgedal)]. Sometimes this notion of division or separation is more strongly expressed as an involuntary yielding up, or deprivation of, life [Beowulf 846 / 850 (851-852 feorh alegde,/ hæþene sawle); 1568 (2140-2141 unsofte þonan / feorh oðferede); Genesis A 1382 (1384 ff. wuldorcyninges / yða wræcon arleasra feorh / of flæschoman); Exodus 463 / 482 (497 ff. Sawlum lunnon / fæste befarene); The Seafarer 71 (70-71 adl oþþe yldo oþþe ecghete / fægum fromweardum feorh oðþringeð); Juliana 489 (487-488 þæt hi in winsele / þurh sweordgripe sawle forletan); Andreas 1085 (1084 gaste berofene); 1530 (1629 feorh aleton); Guthlac B 1058 (1057-1059 Wyrd ne meahte / in fægum leng feorg gehealdan, / deore frætwe, þonne him gedemed wæs); Judith 19 (185-186 ic him ealdor oðþrong / þurh godes fultum); Maldon 125 (125 on fægean men feorh gewinnan).

Implication 1 D is then a state in which men are liable to suffer death which is a separation from life.

* * * * *

Implication 1 D+

Implication 1 D+ is concerned with the circumstances of death as the Anglo-Saxon poets knew them. Most prominent among these, as they emerge from the fæge contexts, is a belief in the existence of the body

and soul as distinct and separable entities. The tortuous problem of defining and distinguishing between the physical and mental or spiritual aspects of human nature, which faces the modern thinker, does not appear in these contexts. The body was regarded as the outer, protective, covering of the life[58] within. This is clear

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58 That the life is identified with the soul is suggested by Beowulf 846 / 850 (851-852 feorh alegde, / hæbene sawle).

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from such compounds as lichoma [Beowulf 1755 (1754)]; flæschoma [Genesis A 1382 (1386)] and feorhhus [Maldon 297 (297)], which recur in fæge contexts.[59] If an enemy's weapon pierced the body and

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59 See p. 85, above for a complete list of these compounds used with fæge.

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penetrated to the life (I C+), the body's destruction was accomplished (I C!) and it fell, helpless, to the ground,' often becoming a victim to outrage after death (I B+), while the sóul departed elsewhere. This division of body and soul in death is a feature of several fæge contexts : The Seafarer 71 (58 ff.); Elene 880 (887-889 where the fæge man has body and soul joined together when he is restored to life. He sona aras / gaste gegearwod geador bu samod / lic ond sawl); Andreas 154 (147-154); 1530 (1628); Christ 1517 / 1533 (1325-1326; 1579-1580); Guthlac B 1031 (1030-1038); The Phoenix 221 (220-222); Judith 19 (111 ff.).

It is not possible to discover from the extant literature exactly what were the pagan beliefs about the nature of the soul's adventures after death.[60] Bede's account of Coifi's acceptance of

60 B.S. Phillpotts, op. cit., p. 15 states that, "For Northern peoples there was no reward in a future life, since the doctrine of Valhöll never seems to have made much headway against the far older beliefs that the dead man lived on in his grave-mound or led a shadowy existence in Hell."

Christianity and rejection of his old gods, together with the pagan nobleman's comparison at the Northumbrian council of life in this world with the flight of a sparrow through the meadhall,[61] suggest that

61 Bede, op. cit., Vol. I, Book II, cap. 13, pp. 111-113, and Leo Sherley-Price, op. cit., pp. 124-126.

the belief in an after life was vague. Possibly there were no clearly formed ideas on the subject. The nobleman particularly states that man is ignorant of his fate after death, and urges that, if the new faith can offer any reliable guidance on this point, it should be adopted. Bede adds that his advice was seconded. It appears to have impressed the audience more than Coifi's plea that they should accept the new teaching because the old gods had not taken care even

of the priest who served them.[62] Later, when Paulinus has expounded

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62 Coifi's argument implies that all the heathen deities were expected to do was to protect their devotees in this world. They appear to have owed them no such obligation after death. Bede, op. cit., Book III, cap. XXX, p. 19[illegible] explains the relapse of Sighere and the East Saxons into paganism in this way: Nam et ipse rex et plurimi de plebe sive optimatibus, diligentes hanc vitam, et futuram non quaerentes, sive etiam non esse credentes, coeperunt fana, quae derelicta erant, restaurare, et adorare simulacra, quasi per haec possent a mortalitate defendi. Later, when they have been restored to the faith, Bede says of them: ac nomen Christi, cui contradixerant, confiteri gauderent, magis cum fide resurrectionis in illo mori, quam in perfidiae sordibus inter idola uiuere cupientes. See Leo Sherley-Price, op. cit., p. 197. It is noteworthy, in this connection, that when the Beowulf poet mentions the heathen practices of the Danes, he is not so much concerned to deny the efficacy of such measures, as to stress the folly of ignoring the peril of the soul in the life to come: Wa bið þæm ðe sceal / þurh sliðne nið sawle bescufan / in fyres fæþm, frofre ne wenan, / wihte gewendan! / Beowulf 183-186 /

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the new faith, Coifi hastens to acclaim it: "Nunc autem aperte profiteor, quia in hac praedicatione ueritas claret illa, quae nobis uitae, salutis,

et beatitudinis aeternae dona ualet tribuere." [63]

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63 On the appeal of these aspects of the Christian Faith to the Anglo-Saxon converts, see B.S. Phillpotts, op. cit., p. 16.

In several fæge contexts there is mention of the fate of the soul after death. When the body and soul were parted at death, the soul went on the Journey of the Dead. Whether belief in such a journey was, or was not, a feature of the old religion of the Anglo-Saxons, the idea is clearly present in the Christian conception of death.[64] The

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64 See G.V. Smithers, 'The Meaning of The Seafarer and The Wanderer', Medium Ævum, vol. XXVI, No. 3 (Oxford, 1957), pp. 139-140 for a discussion on this point.

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implication, about to depart on a journey, lingers in the modern usage of fey for a person who behaves wildly before setting out on a journey.[65]

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65 See The English Dialect Dictionary, s.v. fey.

The idea of the soul setting out on such a journey is present in Beowulf 846 / 850 (805-808); 1241 (1241 fus; 2123 feorh uðgenge.); The Seafarer 71 (71 fromweardum; 58-64);[66] Exodus 169 (169 fleah fæge

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66 See G.V. Smithers, op. cit., pp. 137-153 for this interpretation of these lines.

gast);[67] Juliana 489 (488-489); Christ 1517 / 1533 (1549-1554);

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67 There may be some half-felt, half-forgotten, heathen implication here. The souls of the slain were supposed to fly to Valhalla with the Valkyries. Earlier in the passage the Birds of Prey, the herefugolas (162) are called wonn wælceasega (164), [for the change from plural to singular, see Vol. I of The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records, p. 206, note on line 164] a compound similar in its elements to the word Valkyrie itself.

Andreas 154 (187-188); 1530 (1613-1619); Guthlac A 560 (566); Guthlac B 1031 (1036 ff.); 1058 (1057 ff.); 1346 (1345-1346; 1357); The Phoenix 221 (220); Judith 119 (111-117).

In some fæge contexts the soul sets out on this journey and travels to God for judgement and is then consigned to heaven or hell. In others, the judgement has been made and the soul's final destination is stated. In Beowulf 846 / 850 (805-808); Christ 1517 / 1533 (1519 ff.); Andreas 154 (154-156); 1530 (1613-1619); Guthlac A 560 (557-563); Judith 19 (111 ff.) the fæge go to hell, while in Guthlac B 1031 (1034 ff.); 1058 (1077 ff.); 1346 (1356 ff.); The Phoenix 221 (381 ff.), it is to heaven that the fæge go. The idea of judgement awaiting the fæge is also present in some contexts where the fæge person's ultimate destination, heaven or hell, is not mentioned, though it may be implicit:

Beowulf 1755 (1750-1752); The Seafarer 71 (39 ff.); Maxims I 27 (35-36);[68]

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68 For the interpretation of these lines as a reference to anxiety for the plight of the soul hereafter, see O.S. Anderson, The Seafarer An Interpretation, (Lund, 1937) and C.V. Smithers, op. cit.

In Solomon and Saturn fæge occurs in a discussion of the nature of Judgement Day. Lines 315-329 are devoted to a description of the life of the wicked and their ignorance of the approach of Judgement Day, and after the question about the four ropes of a fæge man,[69] the subject of Judgement Day recurs.

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69 R.J. Menner, op. cit., p. 132, note on line 325a, suggests the possible heathen associations of fæges rapas and connects them in this passage with the fetters of sin found elsewhere in O.E. poetry. No safe conclusion can be drawn from this usage, however, since fæge is not used with these ideas elsewhere, except possibly at Exodus 169 (202). Where it appears to carry implication of sin, it is usually connected with the wounds made by sin, not with its binding qualities. See 1 C+ pp. 126-131.

Closely associated with the idea of Judgement is the idea of damnation. This may be present as a fact or merely as a threat. The wicked who have suffered the wounds of the devil which cause spiritual corruption (1 C+) are the truly fæge. They are dead, or dying, and damned. The righteous are sometimes called fæge when they

are threatened with death and, in that they are tempted to sin, they are threatened with damnation too.

Implication 1 D+ is a state in which the soul, after parting from the body, goes on the Journey of the Dead and is liable to be judged and sent to heaven or hell.

* * * * *

Emotion 1 D!

The emotions attached to this implication vary according to whether a wicked or a righteous person is facing judgement. Awe is likely to be present whether saint or sinner is concerned, but whereas the death of a righteous man can be regarded as a merciful release from the trials of this world, terror and apprehension are roused at the contemplation of the final condemnation of the wicked and their sufferings in hell. The apprehension of the Christian concerning the Judgement to come is expressed in The Seafarer :

> Forþon nis þæs modwlonc mon ofer eorþan,
> ne his gifena þæs god, ne in geoguþe to þæs hwæt,
> ne in his dædum to þæs deor, ne him his dryhten to þæs hold,
> þæt he a his sæfore sorge næbbe,
> to hwon hine dryhten gedon wille.

The Seafarer 71 (39-43).

This apprehensiveness concerning the plight of the soul and the recognition of its vulnerability correspond to the concern for the transience of the body in I C! . It is revealed in the use of fæge in collocation with, or in close proximity to, words for the soul, such as gast : Exodus 16[illegible]; Christ 1533; Guthlac A 560; ferð: Andreas 1332; The Phoenix [illegible]91; breostsefa: Guthlac A 310 (309). In Beowulf 1755, the soul's vulnerability is linked with the destruction of the mortal body:

> Þonne bið on hreþre under helm drepen
> biteran stræle (him bebeorgan ne con),
> wom wundorbebodum wergan gastes;
>
> Beowulf 1745-1747.

> Hit on endestæf eft gelimpeð
> þæt se lichoma læne gedreoseð,
> fæge gefealleð;
>
> Beowulf 1755 (1753-1755).

Emotion 1 D! is recognition of the vulnerability of the human soul and apprehensiveness concerning its fate in the next world.

* * * * *

A Note on Byrhtnoth and Beowulf

The Beowulf poet makes no secret of the fact that the outcome of the dragon-fight will be death for his hero (Beowulf 2309-2311; 2341-2345), and yet he never uses the term fæge to describe him. Similarly, fæge is never used specifically of Byrhtnoth, the hero of The Battle of Maldon, although it is used generally of the slain. The explanation of this lies in the connotation of fæge.

Chart IV, p. 145 below, shows clearly that several of the implications of fæge, discovered in the course of this chapter, do not correspond to the state of either Byrhtnoth or Beowulf at the time of death. The essential difference between their condition and that of the fæge man is that neither of these great men is, ultimately, subject to fate. Both rise above whatever power brings them to death by deliberately choosing to die for a cause. They die for their people and not merely for the sake of a heroic exploit that will add to their own glory. Both accept the burden of leadership, and the result of this acceptance is that Byrhtnoth is among the first to fall in battle, adding example to exhortation (Maldon 127-129), and Beowulf dies, deserted by all but Wiglaf. Both men pay with their lives for a choice which they, in their eminent position, had to make alone. Byrhtnoth allows the Vikings the advantage of crossing the water to fight the English army (Maldon 89-90); Beowulf chooses to fight the dragon against the advice of lesser men (Beowulf 3079-3084). In

making their choice, and courageously accepting the consequence of that choice, Byrhtnoth and Beowulf surpass the normal man who, ignorant of his approaching fate and terrified when death comes upon him, (See Chart IV, 1 A+), can be called fæge. They become masters of their own fate. [70]

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70 Beowulf is certainly not unaware of his approaching death. His state of mind at 2419-2423 has been compared to that of Christ in St. Mark xiv, verses 33 ff. (See F. Klaeber, op. cit., p. 212, note on lines 2419-2423) and at 2818 it is explicitly stated that he bæl cure. Such a statement contains some irony, it is true, but an irony usually works both ways, its mis-statement being less effective if not also, to some extent, true.

* * *

Chart IV

The Major Implications of O.E. Fæge.

Denotation: Doomed to death.

Implication 1A	Implication 1B	Implication 1C	Implication 1D
A state in which men are brought to death (or near to death) by the operation of powers outside and beyond human control.	A state in which men are brought to death either in battle or while involved in conflict.	A state in which men are brought to death during a personal, hand-to-hand encounter with the enemy.	A state in which men are liable to suffer death which is a separation from life.
1A+	1B+	1C+	1D+
A state in which men (particularly sinners), who are ignorant of their approaching fate, are brought to terror and death, by the hostility and might of supernatural powers (often by God.)	A state in which fighting men, subject to the Dispenser of Victory, fall, amid the rush of conflict, on to the wealstow, where their bodies are liable to outrage or depredation after death.	A state in which combatants are likely to be brought to death at the hands of the enemy through wounds inflicted by the penetration of the point, or edge, of a weapon.	A state in which the soul, after parting from the body, goes on the Journey of the Dead and is liable to be judged and sent to heaven or hell.
1A!	1B!	1C!	1D!
Condemnation for the sinners who are justly overwhelmed by God as a punishment for their wickedness.	Excitement in the heat of battle mingled with righteous exultation over defeated enemies.	Recognition of the transience and vulnerability of mortality.	Recognition of the vulnerability of the human soul and apprehensiveness concerning its fate in the next world.

Chapter IV

The Connotations of the O.E. noun Æglæca

The purpose of this chapter is to demonstrate the method, outlined in Chapter I, for establishing the connotations of an Anglo-Saxon poetic noun. The term æglæca has been chosen for this demonstration because it occurs sufficiently often in O.E. heroic and religious verse for its connotations to be established with some certainty and because these connotations contribute to the understanding of some complex, metaphorical uses of the word.[1]

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1 See Chapter V, pp.210-234 below.

The chart on the following page gives a list of the occurrences of æglæca in O.E. poetry. Bosworth and Toller do not record any occurrence of this word in O.E. prose.

Chart IV

Occurrences Of Æglæca In O.E. Poetry.

Poem	Occurs	Lines	Century	Author
Beowulf	19 times*	159; 425; 433; 556; 592; 646; 732; 739; 816; 893; 989; 1000; 1269; 1512; 2520; 2534; 2557; 2592; 2905.	7th-8th	Unknown
Juliana	3 times	268; 319; 430.	8th-9th	Cynewulf
Elene	once	901.	8th-9th	Cynewulf
Andreas	3 times	1131; 1312; 1359.	8th-9th	Cynewulfian
Guthlac A	once	575.	8th-9th	Cynewulfian
The Phoenix	once	442.	8th-9th	Cynewulfian
Christ And Satan	5 times	73; 160; 446; 578; 712.	8th-9th	Cynewulfian
The Whale	once	52.	8th-9th	Cynewulfian

* aglæcwif occurs once in Beowulf, line 1259.

Denotation

The denotation of æglæca can be established by an examination of the referents it symbolizes. These can be divided into three groups:

I Æglæca Used To Symbolize The Referent 'Monster'.

Referent	Context	Occurs
Grendel's mother	Beowulf 1259 (aglæcwif)	1
Grendel	Beowulf 159; 425; 433; 592; 646; 732; 739; 816; 989; 1000; 1269.	11
The Dragon	Beowulf 2520; 2534; 2557; 2592; 2905.	5
The Sea-monsters	Beowulf 556; 1512.	2
The Whale	The Whale 52	1

II Æglæca Used To Symbolize The Referent 'Devil'.

Referent	Context	Occurs
A devil	Juliana 268; 319; 430.	3
A devil	Elene 901.	1
A devil	Andreas 1312.	1
Devils	Guthlac A 575.	1

Referent	Context	Occurs
Devils	The Phoenix 442[2]	1
Satan	Christ And Satan 160; 446; 578; 712.	4
The Fallen Angels	Christ And Satan. 73	1
The devil	The Whale 52[3]	1

III Æglæca Used To Symbolize A Referent Who Is A Human Being.

Referent	Context	Occurs
Sigemund	Beowulf 893.	1
Beowulf	Beowulf 2592.[4]	1
The Mermedonians	Andreas 1131.	1
Saint Andrew	Andreas 1359.	1

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2 One of the meanings of earme aglæcan in The Phoenix 442 is the devils in hell who hold the souls of the just in captivity until Christ brings them out of hell.

3 Context The Whale 52 occurs in group I and group II because in that poem æglæca is used literally to symbolize the whale and allegorically to symbolize the devil.

4 Context Beowulf 2592 occurs in group I and group III because the poet uses aglæcean there to refer to both combatants during the dragon fight.

The majority of examples in group I are taken from Beowulf and represent the earlier, heroic and secular uses of æglæca to denote a monster; all the examples in group II are from the Cynewulfian poetry and represent the later, religious, specifically Christian use of the word to denote devil.[5] This change in

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5 Since æglæca does not occur in the Cædmonian poetry, there is a chronological gap between groups I and II for which there is no evidence of the way in which æglæca was used. Possibly during that time the word had equivocal meaning. For definition and discussion of equivocal see C. L. Barber, The Idea Of Honour In The English Drama 1591 -1700 (Gothenburg, 1957) p. 52 and G. Stern, op. cit., p. 356.

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denotation was probaby the result of semantic transfer[6] which

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6 For discussion and definition of 'transfer' see pp. 34 - 35, Chapter I above.

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was brought about by the apprehension of similar characteristics in the two classes of referents, monsters and devils.[7]

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7 Cf. Chart VI, p. 172, and Chart VII p. 188, below.

Transfer does not, however, account for the application of æglæca to the human referents of group III. In these four contexts the term æglæca has been applied to a class of referents (men) which appears to have totally different characteristics from either of the classes of referents (monsters or devils) usually denoted by that term. The process involved in these examples of the use of æglæca is metaphoric.[8]

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8 For a discussion of the nature of metaphor and a consideration of the distinction between metaphor and transfer see W. Empson, op. cit., pp. 331 - 349.

These complex uses of the word will presently be considered in the light of the connotations discovered in this chapter.[9]

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9 Chapter V, pp. 220-234, below.

Connotation.

The connotations of æglæca can be discovered from an investigation of the properties whereby the referents it symbolizes are classified. The discussion of the denotation of æglæca above revealed that the word is used to symbolize two

classes of referents, 'monsters' and 'devils'. The major implications of the referents belonging to these two classes will accordingly be considered separately. The major implications of æglæca denoting 'monster' will be charted under the headings 1A, 1B, 1C and 1D; the major implications of æglæca denoting 'devil' will be charted under the headings 2A, 2B, 2C, and 2D.[10]

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10 See Chart VI p. 172 and Chart VII p. 188 below

The Connotations Of Æglæca Denoting 'Monster'.

Implication 1A.

The chiefcharacteristics of an æglæca are revealed by the words used in parallelism and variation to the word æglæca, or used in acts of reference to a creature which is

regarded as having the nature of an æglæca.[11] The first major

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11 Beowulf 425 provides an example of a word used in an act of reference to a creature not itself called æglæca, but clearly regarded as having a nature similar to that of a creature called æglæca in the same context. Beowulf cites his adventures against, and victory over, the sea-monsters,

" þær ic fife geband,
yðde eotena cyn ond on yðum slog
niceras nihtes,

Beowulf 425 (420 - 422)

and obviously feels that these past exploits have fitted him to deal with Grendel whom he names æglæca:

ond nu wið Grendel sceal,
wið þam aglæcan, ana gehegan
ðing wið þyrse.

Beowulf 425 (424 - 426).

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implication of æglæca is established by the number of words used in these ways which denote a type of beast or refer to animal characteristics. Such words occur in Beowulf 425 (422 niceras); 556 (540 hronfixas; 549 merefixa; 558 meredeor; 575 niceras); 1513 (1510 sædeor); 2520 (2519 wyrme; 2528 guðflogan); 2557

(2549 dracan; 2567 wyrm); 2905 (2902 wyrmes).

Implication 1A is a monstrous creature with bestial characteristics.

Implication IA-r

The appearance of nicor, hronfisc, draca and wyrm in the list of creatures given under IA above, denoted by words used in variation with æglæca, indicates that the animal characteristics of an æglæca were those of unfamiliar wild beasts. Nicor does not occur outside Beowulf in O.E. poetry. It is used in O.E. prose to gloss 'hippopotamus', an animal which cannot have been known to many Anglo-Saxons and must have sounded as weird and foreign as any mythical beast; in the Blickling Homilies it is used for one of the shapes assumed by devils.[12] Although the smaller whales which are found in

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12 For references to the appearance of nicor in O.E. prose see B. & T. s.v. nicor.

British waters must have been known to some of the Beowulf poet's audience, the characteristics attributed to that creature in the poem The Whale, suggest that to many, the hronfixas (Beowulf 540)

used in variation with æglæca (Beowulf 556), would have sounded as strange and phantastic as the nicor or the draca. Of the draca it may be argued that both scop and audience believed in its existence but since few men would have claimed to have seen a dragon, or would even expect to see one, such a creture must have been surrounded by mystery and wonder. Wyrm, used in Beowulf, of the dragon, 2520 (2519); 2557 (2567), in variation with æglæca, also had strange connotations, being associated in the minds of Christian poets with the torments of hell,[13] the corruption

13 See Christ And Satan 102 et passim; Christ 1250; 1547; Judith 115; 119; Exodus 537.

of the body in the grave,[14] and with the devil tempting Adam and

14 See The Fates Of The Apostles 95; Juliana 416; The Phoenix 565; Body And Soul II 22 et passim; The Riming Poem 75.

Eve in Paradise.[15]

15 See Genesis A 904; Genesis B 491; Guthlac B 846.

Not only is an ǽglæca an unfamiliar type of wild beast but it also has great strength and size. This implication is found in contexts Beowulf 159 (194 - 198); 425 (415 - 426); 1269 (1269 - 1271) where the poet, mentioning the great strength of his hero, implies the need for such great strength to overcome the ǽglæca. At context 989 (980 - 990) men gaze in horror at Grendel's strong claw. The sea-ǽglæcan are also strong. The beast which Beowulf kills is called mihtig meredeor, Beowulf 556 (558).

Another characteristic of the Beowulfian ǽglæcan is their predilection for human flesh. In several contexts where Grendel is called ǽglæca he is also mentioned as eating people: Beowulf 159 (120 - 125); 425 / 433 (442 - 451); 732 / 739 (730 - 745); and the sea-beasts would eat Beowulf if they could kill him, Beowulf 556 (562 - 564).

Implication 1A-1 is an unfamiliar type of wild beast, having great strength and likely to prey on human flesh.

Emotion ÍA!

The emotion attached to this implication of bestial qualities is one of horror roused by the strangeness and great strength of the creatures called æglæca. This is most strongly felt at context 989 when Unferth is silenced by the sight of Grendel's monstrous claws and men gaze in awe at their hideous strength:

Ða wæs swigra secg, sunu Ecglafes,
on gylpspræce guðgeweorca,
siþðan æþelingas eorles cræfte
ofer heanne hrof hand sceawedon,
feondes fingras. Foran æghwylc wæs,
stiðra nægla gewhylc, style gelicost,
hæþenes handsporu hilderinces,
egl, unheoru. Æghwylc gecwæð
þæt him heardra nan hrinan wolde
iren ærgod, þæt ðæs ahlæcan
blodge beadufolme onberan wolde.

Beowulf 989 (980 - 990).

Emotion ÍA! is rousing human horror.

Implication 1B.

The second major implication of æglæca which emerges from a study of the words used in acts of reference to creatures called æglæca is the possession of unnatural or sinister characteristics. Such words are present in Beowulf 159 (160 deorc deaþscua; 163 helrunan; 165 atol angengea); 425 (421 eotena cyn:[16] 426 þyrse);

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16 Eotena cyn is included in this list because Beowulf clearly feels that his former exploits against them have fitted him for the coming struggle with the æglæca Grendel, Beowulf 425 (421). Cf. niceras 425 (422) discussed on p. 153, above.

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433 (449 angenga); 732 / 739 (761 eoten); 816 (807 ellorgast); 1259 (1260 se þe wæteregesan wunian scolde); 1269 (1274 helle gast); 1512 (1500 ælwihta; 1509 wundra); 2557 (2560 gryregieste).

Implication 1B is a monstrous creature with sinister characteristics.

Implication 1B+

The list given under 1A above reveals the nature of the sinister qualities which an æglæca may possess: they may have the strange, inhuman characteristics of an eoten /Beowulf 425 (421); 732 / 739 (761 eoten)/ or a þyrse /Beowulf 425 (426)/; they may be credited with the black-magical powers of a spirit of hell, /Beowulf 159 (163)/. They may be lonely /Beowulf 159 (165 angengea); 433 (449 angenga) and alien /Beowulf 816 (807 ellorgast); 1512 (1500 ælwihta)/ creatures, dwelling in dismal places far way from the society of men and the joys of hall. The strangeness or dreariness of places where æglæcan are to be found is mentioned in Beowulf 159 (161 - 163, Grendel haunts the marshes by night); 425 / 433 (450 Beowulf speaks of Grendel staining the marshy pools with the blood of his victim if he is victorious in the coming fight); 556 (562 - 564, the æglæcan in this context live in the sea); 816 (819 - 821, Grendel makes his way to his joyless home under the fen-cliffs); 1259 (1260 - 1261, Grendel's mother lives in the cold streams); 1512 (1408 - 1417, where Geats and Danes visit the mere); 2520 / 2534 / 2557 / 2905 (2210 - 2214, the dragon lives in a burial mound).

One of the characteristics of the Beowulfian æglæcan which renders them uncanny and sinister in the sight of men, is their indifference to weapons.[17] Apart from Grendel's mother none of

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17 Beowulf ll. 1545 ff.

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the creatures called æglæca in Beowulf uses ordinary weapons and only the sea-æglæcan are vulnerable to them.[18] The

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18 Beowulf 556 (555 - 558); 1512 (1425 - 1441; the sea-monster killed in these lines is probably of the same nature as the æglæcan which attack Beowulf when he descends into the mere).

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implication of indifference towards, or invulnerability to, weapons wielded by man, is present in Beowulf 433 (433 - 441, where Beowulf proclaims that, since Grendel does not care for weapons, he will fight him unarmed); 816 (798 - 805, where Beowulf's companions are unable to harm the monster with their weapons); 646 (677 - 687, where Beowulf declares that he will not kill Grendel with the sword, although he could do so if he chose, because Grendel has no prowess with weapons); 989 (987 - 990, where men gaze in wonder at the strength of Grendel's hand and declare that no sword could have inflicted

the wound which had been made by Beowulf with his own hands); 2520 (2518 - 2524, where Beowulf claims that he would prefer to fight the dragon, who obviously cannot fight with human weapons, without a sword as he previously fought with Grendel); 2557 (2575 - 2586, Beowulf's sword fails him in the fight, and until the hero is able to strike the creature in its lower, vulnerable, parts, the dragon[19]

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19 See F. Kleber, op. cit. p. 219 note on 2697 ff.

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appears to be invulnerable); 2905 (2904 - 2906, where the messenger says that the sword could not wound the monster, although at line 2700, the poet says that the sword sank in). In the fight with Grendel's mother, who is called æglæcwif at line 1259, Unferth's sword, Hrunting, fails Beowulf (ll. 1518 - 1528) and he is able to overcome the female monster only after God has directed his attention to the ancient sword hanging on the wall (ll. 1659 - 1668).

Implication 1B-½ is a sinister creature, living in dismal places, scorning prowess with ordinary weapons and possibly invulnerable to them.

Emotion 1B:

The emotion attached to this implication of æglæca is the feeling that such creatures are outside the range of human understanding. That an æglæca is an alien creature about which men know very little is explicit in:

men ne cunnon
hwyder helrunan hwyrftum scriþað.

Beowulf 159 (162 - 163)

and

ic ne wat hweder
atol æse wlanc eftsiðas teah,
fylle gefægnod.

Beowulf 1259 (1331 - 1333).

That an æglæca is not deserving of human sympathy may be felt in Beowulf's contempt for his opponent's lack of prowess with the sword:

Hæbbe ic eac geahsod þæt se æglæca
for his wonhydum wæpna ne recceð.
Ic þæt þonne forhicge (swa me Higelac sie,
min mondrihten, modes bliðe),
þæt ic sweord bere oþðe sidne scyld,
geolorand to guþe, ac ic mid grape sceal
fon wið feonde ond ymb feorh sacan,
lað wið laþum;

Beowulf 433 (433 - 440),

and:

"No ic me an herewæsmun hnagran talige,
guþgeweorca, þonne Grendel hine;
forþan ic hine sweorde swebban nelle,
aldre beneotan þeah ic eal mæge.
Nat he þara goda þæt he me ongean slea,
rand geheawe, þeah ðe he rof sie
niþ◡geweorca; ac wit on niht sculon
secge ofersittan, gif he gesecean dear
wig ofer wæpen, ond siþðan witig god
on swa hwæþ◡ere hond, halig dryhten,
mærðo deme, swa him gemet þince."

Beowulf 646 (677 - 687).

In several passages where men and æglæcan are in conflict the poet directs his audience's sympathy away from the æglæca and towards the men by employing ameliorative terms for the heroes: Beowulf 159 (160 duguþe ond geogoþe); 425 (431 eorla gedryht; 432 hearda heap); 816 (813 se modega mæg); 1512 (1512 eorl); 2557 (2560 Geata dryhten; 2563 god guðcyning; 2567 winia bealdor). These terms could never be applied to æglæcan, creatures which do not live by the same code as man.

Æglæcan do not live in hall, under the protection of a friendly lord, within the security of the comitatus. Their way of life is alien to man and man can only rejoice in their destruction:

Licsar gebad
atol æglæca; him on eaxle wearð
syndolh sweotol, seonowe onsprungon,
burston banlocan. Beowulfe wearð
guðhreð gyfeþe; scolde Grendel þonan
feorhseoc fleon under fenhleoðu,
secean wynleas wic; wiste þe geornor
þæt his aldres wæs ende gegongen,
dogera dægrim. Denum eallum wearð
æfter þam wælræse willa gelumpen.
Hæfde þa gefælsod se þe ær feorran com,
snotor ond swyðferhð, sele Hroðgares,
genered wið niðe; nihtweorce gefeh,
ellenmærþum.

Beowulf 816 (815 - 828).

Emotion 1B: is outside the range of human understanding.

Implication 1C

The third major implication which emerges from a study of words used in variation from and parallelism to æglæca is that of enmity between monster and man: Beowulf 433 (439 feonde); 556 (554 feondscaða; 578 fara); 646 (660 wraþum); 732 / 739 (723bealohydig; 725 feond; 748 feond); 989 (984 feondes); 1269 (1273 feond;1276 mancynnes feond); 2557 (2565 bealohycgendra); 2905 (2903 ealdorgewinna).

Implication 1C is a monstrous creature hostile to man.

Implication 1C+

Closely associated with the implication of hostility towards man are the harmful characteristics of an æglæca. This association is present in Beowulf 159 (158 banan); 556 (554 feondscaða); 732 (712 manscaða); 739 (737 manscaða); 816 (792 cwealmcuman; 801 synscaðan); 2520 (2514 mansceaða).

An æglæca is also an actively hostile creature. This implication is present in Beowulf 159 (159 - 161, where Grendel, unprovoked, ravages Heorot); 556 (549 - 560, where the sea-beasts atack Beowulf); 592 (590 - 594, where Beowulf speaks of Grendel's former attacks on Heorot); 646 (646 - 651, where

Grendel's attack that night is predicted, 732 / 739 (710 - 745, where Grendel enters Heorot and attacks Hondscioh); 1269 (1269 where the poet speaks of Grendel's last act of aggression, the attack on Beowulf himself); 1512 (1506 - 1512 where the sea-monsters attack Beowulf as Grendel's mother carries him to the bottom of the mere); 2520 / 2534 (2302 - 2309 where the dragon attacks the Geats).

Among the words used in variation or parallelism with æglæca which denote hostile or harmful characteristics are several compounds with verbal elements in the second half. -scaða < sceþþan 'to harm' in Beowulf 556 (554 feondscaða); 732 (712 manscaða); 739 (737 manscaða); 816 (801 synscaðan); 2520 (2514 mansceaða); -cuma < cuman 'to come' in Beowulf 816 (792 cwealmcuman); -floga < fleogan 'to fly' in Beowulf 2520 (2528 guþflogan); -hycgende < gehycgan 'to resolve' in Beowulf 2557 (2565 bealohycgendra); -gewinna < winnan 'to contend' in Beowulf 2905 (2903 ealdorgewinna). The presence of these verbal elements causes the æglæcan to appear more as actively malignant than as lonely or strange. Moreover, they suggest that the verbal second element in æg - læca < lacan was still felt in the

meaning of the compound.[20]

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20 See F. Holtausen 'Etymologien', Indogermanische Forschungen und Anzeiger vol. 20 (Strassburg, 1906 - 1907) pp. 316 - 332, for a discussion of the etymology of the compound.

Another association of the implication of hostility is that of danger. When an æglæca attacks, it is with the intention of murdering his victim as in Beowulf 159 (158 where Grendel is called banan); 556 (559 - 564, where the sea-beasts wish to kill and eat Beowulf); 732 / 739 (710 - 745 where Grendel kills Hondscioh); 893 (890 - 892, where Sigemund overcomes and kills the dragon. When a man fights against an æglæca it is a fight to the death: Beowulf 425 / 433 (438 - 441, where Beowulf anticipates a struggle to the death with Grendel); 816 (850, where Grendel has been overcome in fight and is dying); 1000 (1000 - 1002, where the poet speaks of the dying Grendel's flight from Heorot); 1269 (1269 - 1278, where again the poet speaks of the dying Grendel's flight); 2520 - 2534 (2518 - 2537, where Beowulf declares his intention of fighting to the death against the dragon); 2557 / 2592 / 2905 (2688 - 2708,

where Beowulf and the dragon fight to the death).

Implication IC- is a hostile creature, actively malignant, harmful and dangerous to man.

Emotion IC:

The emotion attached to the implication of hostility towards man is rousing human hatred. Men naturally hate a creature that is hostile and harmful towards them. This antagonism between man and monster finds expression in the occurrence of the adjective lað or of compounds formed with it in Beowulf 425 / 433 (438 - 440 "ac ic mid grape sceal / fon wiþ feonde ond ymb feorh sacan, / lað wiþ laþum"); 556 (550 - 551 þær me wiþ laðum licsyrce min, / heard hondlocen, helpe gefremede; 559 laðgeteonan); 816 (814 - 815 wæs gehwæþer oðrum / lifigende lað); 989 (974 laðgeteona); 1269 (1257 laþum); 2905 (2910, leofes ond laðes, Beowulf and the æglæca).

Emotion IC: is rousing human hatred.

Implication 1D

The fourth major implication which emerges from a study of the words used in parallelism and variation with æglæca is that of wickedness. This implication is closely connected with 1C since a creature which is injurious to man is likely to sin in the act of causing injury. This connection between the notions of sin and injury is attested by the fact that several of the compounds used in variation from æglæca indicate the harmful characteristics of the creature in their second element and its evil characteristics in their first element: Beowulf 556 (563 manfordædlan); 732 / 739 (712 manscaða; 737 manscaða); 816 (801 synscaðan); 2520 (2514 mansceaða).

Implication 1D is a monstrous creature which is evil.

Implication 1D-1

This implication of æglæca is chiefly present in those contexts where the word is applied to Grendel. One of Grendel's physical characteristics is his almost human form (Beowulf 1351 - 1352 oðer earmsceapen / on weres wæstmum wræclastas træd). He is also capable of thought and can therefore be credited with a deliberate intention of sinning: Beowulf 159

(154 - 156 sibbe ne wolde / wið manna hwone mægenes Deniga, / feorhbealo feorran, fea þingian); 592 (595 - 597 Ac he hafað onfunden þæt he þa fæhðe ne þearf, / atole ecgþræce eower leode / swiðe onsittan, Sigescyldinga); 646 (646 - 647, wiste þæm ahlæcan / to þæm heahsele hilde gebinged); 732 / 739 (712 - 734, where Grendel deliberately attacks Heorot with murderous intent). An aglæca then may be capable of thought and therefore deliberately sinful.

The notion of deliberate sin is associated with the notion of moral guilt. This association, like that of deliberate sin, is found only in those contexts where Grendel is the aglæca concerned: 732 / 739 (711 godes yrre bær); 816 (811 he wæs fag wið god); 989 (977 - 989, "Þær abidan sceal / maga mane fah miclan domes, / hu him scir metod scrifan wille"); 1000 (1000 - 1001 se aglæca, / fyrendædum fag).

An implication connected with moral guilt is the notion of damnation. Grendel is deliberately sinful, therefore morally guilty and therefore damned. Grendel's damnation is implied in some contexts in the use of terms suggesting connections with hell /Beowulf 159 (163 helrunan); 732 / 739 (788 helle hæfton); 1269 (1273 - 1274 ðy he þone feond

ofercwom, / gehnægde helle gast)7; in others it is explicit: Beowulf 816 (805 - 808, where Grendel is said to journey into the power of fiends); 989 (972 - 979, where Grendel's death and judgement are mentioned).

Implication ᛏᛞᚾ is an evil creature, which may be capable of thought and deliberate sin, morally guilty, and, possibly, damned.

Emotion ᛏᛞᛁ

The emotion attached to the implication of evil in an æglæca is condemnation. This feeling is present in a number of contexts: Beowulf 159 (144 - 146 Swa rixode ond wið rihte wan,/ ana wið eallum, oðþæt idel stod / husa selest); 425 / 433 (433 - 434, Beowulf's tone condemns Grendel for scorning prowess with human weapons); 732 / 739 (711 godes yrre bær); 1269 (1267 heorowearh hetelic).

Emotion ᛏᛞᛁ is rousing condemnation.

Chart VI:

The Major Implications Of O.E. Æglæca.

Denotation: Monster

Implication 1A	Implication 1B	Implication 1C	Implication 1D
A monstrous creature with bestial characteristics	A monstrous creature with sinister characteristics	A monstrous creature hostile to man.	A monstrous creature which is evil.
1A+	1B+	1C+	1D+
An unfamiliar type of wild beast, having great strength and likely to prey on human flesh.	A sinister creature, living in dismal places, scorning prowess with ordinary weapons and possibly invulnerable to them.	A hostile creature, actively malignant, harmful and dangerous to man.	An evil creature, which may be capable of thought and deliberate sin, morally guilty, and, possibly, damned.
1A!	1B!	1C!	1D!
Rousing human horror.	Outside the range of human understanding.	Rousing human hatred.	Rousing condemnation.

The Connotations Of Æglæca Denoting Devil.

Outside Beowulf æglæca occurs only in religious poetry, where it is applied to devils.[21] The implications of the term

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21 Except in Andreas 1131; 1359.

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when used in Christian contexts differ, in some ways, from those found in its heroic contexts. Apart from the allegoric use of æglæca to symbolize the double referent monster = devil in The Whale 52, there is no trace in the religious poems of heroic Implication 1A, a monstrous creature with bestial characteristics. Implications corresponding to 1B, 1C, and 1D are, however, found.

Implication 2A

Corresponding to the sinister characteristics of the æglæcan in Beowulf are the uncanny, preternatural characteristics of the æglæcan of the religious verse. These include such powers as the ability to enter prisons at will /Juliana 268 (242 - 246, where a devil appears to Juliana in prison); Andreas 1312 (1311 - 1315, where the devil appears to Andrew

in prison)/; of appearing suddenly to men /Elene 901 (898 - 899, where the devil appears to Judas)/; and of transporting their human victim out of this world as in Guthlac A 575 (557 - 576).

Implication 2A is a devilish creature with supernatural characteristics.

Implication 2A-1

The associations of the implication of having supernatural characteristics are connected with hell. The Beowulfian monsters live in remote and dreary places;[22] the æglæcan of the religious

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22 See pp. 159 above.

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poetry live in hell. In some contexts the devils themselves speak of their home: Juliana 268/319/430 (321 - 324); Elene 901 (919 - 921); Christ And Satan 73/160/446/578/712 (48 - 50 et passim); in others, the saints who resist and overcome the devils, remind them of the wretched place from which these spirits have come: Juliana 268/319/430 (422 - 424); Elene 901 (939 - 952); Andreas 1312 (1376 - 1385); Guthlac A

575 (612 - 617).

Implication 2A-1 is a supernatural creature whose home is in hell.

Emotion 2A!

The emotion attached to the implication of supernatural qualities is beyond human sympathy. Just as it is impossible for a hero to understand the sinister nature and alien way of life of the monsters in Beowulf, so it is impossible for the Christian to sympathize with devils. The æglæcan of the religious poetry are often in direct conflict with God /Christ And Satan 73 / 160 / 446 / 578 / 712 (22 - 24 et passim)/ or indirectly in conflict with Him, when they attack or tempt a saint, as in Juliana 268 (247 - 266); Elene 901 (902 - 933); Andreas 1312 (1296 - 1375); Guthlac A 575 (557 - 589), or when they harm the souls of men as in The Phoenix 442 (440 - 442); The Whale 52 (62 - 81). In some contexts sympathy is directed away from an æglæca by the use ameliorative terms for its opponents: Juliana 319 (315 seo halge); Elene 901 (934 gleawhydig; 935 hæleð hildedeor); Andreas 1312 (1315 þam halgan); Guthlac A 575 (558 wuldres

cempan; 569 godes orettan; 576 meotudes cempan); The Phoenix 442 (438 yldran usse); Christ And Satan 73 / 160 / 446 / 578 / 712 (450 drihten god; 569 nergende Crist; 573 god lifigende; 574 torhtne; 575 drihten hælend).

Emotion 2A! is beyond human sympathy.

Implication 2B

The majority of the creatures called æglæca in Beowulf are hostile to man. Grendel, his mother, and, possibly, the dragon (ll. 2302 - 2309), are deliberately sinful in that they deliberately harm men, and are therefore also hostile to God. The æglæcan of the religious verse resemble these monsters in being hostile to God and man. This implication of hostility is present in: Juliana 268 (269 wuldres wiþerbreca); 319 (317 feond moncynnes); 430 (348 sawla feond); Elene 901 (899; 953 feond); Andreas 1312 (1296 - 1374, where devils attack Andrew); Guthlac A 575 (566 feonda); The Phoenix 442 (441 helttende); Christ And Satan 73 / 160 / 446 / 578 / 712 (throughout the poem the devils are in conflict with God); The Whale 52 (62 - 81, where the poet explains how the devil deceives and harms mankind).

Implication 2B is a devilish creature which is hostile to man and God.

Implication 2B4-

As with the æglæcan in Beowulf the hostile characteristics of the æglæcan in religious poetry are closely associated with their injurious characteristics. The implication harmful is present in Juliana 268 (245 gæstgeniðla); 319 / 430 (461 - 510) where, during his conversation with Juliana, the devil tells the saint how he betrays and destroys men); Elene 901 (941 morðres manfrea); Andreas 1312 (1296 - 1387, where the devils attack Andrew); Guthlac A 575 (557 - 589, where the devils tempt Guthlac to despair); The Phoenix 442 (441 hearmra); Christ And Satan 73 / 160 / 446 / 578 / 712 (throughout the poem the devils are defeated and helpless but full of venom and spite); The Whale 52 (62 - 81, the Whale, called æglæca, signifies the devil who injures men).

Like the æglæcan in Beowulf the æglæcan of religious verse are aggressive. Unprovoked, they attack saints, as in Juliana 268 (242 - 268); Elene 901 (902 - 933); Andreas 1312 (1296 - 1374); Guthlac A 575 (557 - 589), and harm men, as in The Phoenix 442 (437 - 442) and The Whale 52 (62 - 81). Throughout Christ And Satan, the æglæcan strive, unprovoked, against God and in Christ And Satan 712 (683 - 688) Satan has

been attacking and tempting Christ Himself.

Unlike the æglæcan in Beowulf the æglæcan in the religious poems are articulate in their aggression. The implication of hostile speech is present in Elene 901 (924 - 933 where the devil threatens Judas with persecution); Andreas 1312 (1314 - 1315, deoful deaðreow duguðum bereafod, / ongan þa þam h lgan hospword sprecan); Guthlac A 575 (569 - 589, where devils threaten Guthlac with damnation to make him despair); Christ And Satan (where the æglæcan are articulate throughout the poem).

An æglæca cannot harm or endanger God, who is omnipotent and who has already overcome him and thrust him down to hell, but he can be harmful and dangerous to man. He can cause, or attempt to cause, physical suffering as in Andreas 1312 (1330 - 1333), and he brings the human soul to damnation if his victim is weak in faith. The devil explains to Juliana that the soul's destruction is his real object; he cares little for the fate of the body: Juliana 26 8 / 319 (413 - 417). The æglæcan in Guthlac A 575 (557 - 589) and Andreas 1312 (1330 -1333) try to bring the saints' souls to damnation by threats which will cause them to despair. In

The Whale 52 (62 - 81) the devil snares the souls of men. In Elene 901 (905 - 907) the devil laments his loss of power over souls.

Implication 2B+- is a hostile creature, often verbally, and sometimes physically, aggressive; harmful, and capable of endangering the souls of men.

Emotion 2B!

The æglæcan of the religious poetry, like those of Beowulf, are hostile and maleficent, and, therefore, presumably, hateful to God and man. This hatred is, however, explicit only in Guthlac A 575 (577 Criste laðe); Christ And Satan 712 (714 laþan). Much stronger than hatred in the religious contexts of æglæca is the feeling of contempt. The saints are contemptuous of their tempters in Juliana 268 (317 - 318 "Þu scealt furþor gen, feond moncynnes, / siþfæt secgan, hwa þec sende to me".); 319 (347 - 350, "Þu me furþor scealt / secgan, sawla feond, hu þu soðfæstum / þurh synna slide swiþast sceþþe, /fæcne bifongen"); 430 (418 - 420, "Saga, earmsceapen, unclæne gæst, / hu þu þec geþyde, þystra stihtend, / on clænra gemong?"); Elene 901 (939 - 941, "Ne þearft ðu swa swiðe synna gemyndig, / sar niwigan ond sæce

ræran, / morðres manfrea): Andreas 1312 (1375 - 1378, "Hwæt me eaðe ælmihtig god, / niða neregend, se ðe in niedum iu / gefæstnode fyrnum clommum!); Guthlac A 575 (592 - 595, "Doð efne swa, gif eow dryhten Crist, / lifes leohtfruma lyfan wylle, / weowda waldend, þæt ge his wergengan / in þone laðan leg lædan moten). In Christ And Satan the attitude of Christ towards Satan is very similar to that of the saints towards their tempters: Christ And Satan 712 (690 - 693, "Gewit þu, awyrgda, in þæt witescræf, / Satanus seolf; þe is susl weotod / gearo togegnes, nalles godes rice").

Emotion 2B! is rousing hatred and contempt.

Implication 2C.

Like the Beowulfian æglæcan the religious æglæcan are evil. This implication is present in Juliana 268 (311 - 315); 319 (321 - 344); 430 (460 - 530), where the devil confesses his own sins to Juliana, and in Elene 901 (898 ligesynnig; 901 yfela gemyndig; 939 synna gemyndig; 941 morðres manfrea); Andreas 1312 (1312 yfela gemyndig; 1313 morðres manfrea); Guthlac A 575 (550 synna hyrdas); Christ And Satan 73 (65 firenfulle); 160(159 firna herde); The Whale 52

(41 - 44 he him feorgbona / þurh sliþen searo siþþan weorþeð, / wloncum ond heanum, þe his willan her / firenum fremmað.

Implication 2C is a devilish creature with sinful characteristics.

Implication 2C+

The evil nature of the æglæcan in religious poetry is expressed through two major sins; they strive against God and they tempt man to damnation. In some contexts the æglæcan themselves speak of their strife against God: Juliana 268 (289); Elene 901 (902 - 933); in others the saints remind them of it: Juliana 430 (418 - 428); 901 (939 - 952); Andreas 1312 (1375 - 1385); Guthlac A 575 (623 - 636). Throughout Christ And Satan, the æglæcan are seen in opposition to God.

Æglæcan are involved in tempting or persecuting man in Juliana 268 (247 - 266); 319 (321 - 344); 430 (438 - 443); Elene 901 (924 - 933); Andreas 1312 (1330 - 1335); Guthlac A 575 (574 - 576). In Christ And Satan 712 Satan has been tempting Christ Himself.

Æglæcan try to tempt men to damnation by treachery and deceit. The implication of guile is present in Juliana 268 (242 - 266 where the devil poses as the messenger of God); 319 (325 - 327, where the devil confesses that he misleads the righteous þurh misgedwield); 430 (456 - 460 where Juliana commands the devil to confess more of his deeds that he has accomplished by deceit); Elene 901 (898 ligesynnig); Guthlac A 575 (557 - 589 where the devils try to betray Guthlac into the sin of despair by deceit); Christ And Satan 73 (65 - 67 where the Fallen Angels address Satan with treacherous words); 160 (53 - 64 where the Fallen Angels accuse Satan of bringing them to misery through his deceit); 712 (683 -688 where Satan tries to tempt Christ by deceit); The Whale 52 (49 - 81 where the Whale's deceitful manner of attracting and devouring smaller creatures is compared with the manner in which men are deceived by the attractions of sin and brought to hell).

The devils are conscious of their sin and therefore morally guilty. An implication of guilt-stained is present in Juliana 430 (418 unclæne gæst); Elene 901 (924 fah); Christ And Satan 73 (33 scyldige werud); 160 (155 dædum fah).

As a result of their sin and guilt the æglæcan are damned. This implication is present in Juliana 268 (246 helle hæftling);

319 / 430 (422 - 424 where Juliana reminds her tempter that he belongs in hell; 429 se werga); Elene 901 (926 wearhtreafum); Andreas 1312 (1342 helle hæftling); Guthlac A 575 (612 - 617; 623 - 684); Christ And Satan 73 / 160 / 446 / 578 / 712 (passim).

Implication 2C+ is an evil creature, the adversary of God and tempter of man, guileful, guiltstained and damned.

Emotion 2C!

The emotion attached to this implication is condemnation. The æglæcan have deliberately striven against God and betrayed man; they deserve damnation. The saints who have to contend with them express this condemnation in the satisfaction with which they refer to the æglæca's defeat and consignment to hell and its everlasting torments: Juliana 430 (420 - 424); Elene 901 (939 - 952); Andreas 1312 (1375 - 1385); Guthlac A 575 (612 - 636). In Christ And Satan the poet's condemnation of the æglæcan is explicit in ll. 19 - 33 and implicit in his treatment of the æglæcan throughout the poem.

Emotion 2C! is rousing condemnation.

Implication 2D.

The fourth major implication of æglæca in the religious poetry is the implication of wretchedness. This implication is present in some of those contexts of æglæca in Beowulf where the term is applied to Grendel or his mother after Grendel's death: Beowulf 816 (805 - 808); 989 (973 feasceaft guma); 1000 (1002 aldres orwena); 1259 (1259 yrmþe gemunde); 1269 (1274 - 1275 þa he hean gewat, / dreame bedæled, deaþwic seon). The implication is stronger in the religious poems: Juliana 268 (260 se wræcmæcga): 319 (319 - 344 where the devil explains his wretchedness to Juliana); 430 (526 - 530, where the devil tells Juliana that he must suffer for having failed to cause her to sin). In Elene 901 (939 - 950); Andreas 1312 (1376 - 1385); Guthlac A 575 (612 - 636) the saints speak of the misery and suffering of the æglæcan who tempt them. The implication of wretchedness is also present in The Phoenix 442 (442 earme aglæcan): Christ And Satan 73 (73 earme æglecan); 160 (161 witum werig); 446 (earm aglæca); 578 (578 earm æglæca); 712 (712 earm æglece).

Implication 2D is a devilish creature which is wretched.

Implication 2D+

The wretchedness of the devils who are called æglæca in the religious poetry is connected with the torments which they suffer in hell. These torments include fire /Juliana 268 / 319 (336); 430 (391); Elene 901 (949 - 950); Andreas 1312 (1376 - 1378); Guthlac A 575 (624); Christ And Satan 73 / 160 / 446 / 578 / 712 (passim)/; darkness /Juliana 268 / 319 (333); Juliana 430 (419); Guthlac A 575 (635); Christ And Satan 73 / 160 / 446 / 578 /712 (passim)/ and fetters /Juliana 268 / 319 (336); Andreas 1312 (1376 - 1381); Guthlac A 575 (596 - 598); Christ And Satan 73 / 160 / 446 / 578 /712 (passim)/.

Other torments which the æglæcan endure are connected with the notion of exile from heaven /Elene 901 (945 - 952); Andreas 1312 (1380; 1383); Guthlac A 575 (623 - 624); Christ And Satan 73 / 160 /446 / 578 / 712 (passim); the loss of joy and glory /Juliana 430 (390 hroþra bidæled); Elene 901 (923 goda geasne; 944 domes leasne); Andreas 1312 (1314 duguðum bereafod); Guthlac A 575 (625 - 628)/ and the knowledge that their suffering will be endless /Elene 901 (952); Andreas 1312 (1382 - 1385); Guthlac A 575 (632 - 636); Christ And Satan

73 / 160 / 446 / 578 / 712 (passim)7.

Implication 2D+ is a wretched creature condemned to endure the torments of fire, fetters and darkness in hell, deprived of joy and glory and exiled from heaven.

Emotion 2D!

The emotion attached to the implication of wretchedness and suffering is one of mingled horror and pity.[23]

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23 This pity is partly contemptuous (see Emotion 2B! pp. 179-180, above. Its presence does not negate Emotion IA! 'Beyond human sympathy'. The æglæcan do not deserve compassion but they nevertheless awaken it.

These two feelings (of which the combination is psychologically accurate) are present in the two adjectives, atol 'dire' or 'terrible' and earm 'wretched' or 'pitiful', used in collocation with æglæca. Atol is used in collocation with æglæca in Beowulf 592; 732; 816. In Beowulf 159 (165); 732 / 739 (2074); 1259 (1332); 2557 (2670); it is used of a monster elsewhere called æglæca. Although earm is never used

of the Beowulfian æglæcan, Grendel is called earmsceapen (Beowulf 1351). Atol æglæca occurs three times in the religious poetry /Elene 901 (901); Andreas 1312 (1312); Christ And Satan 1607. The collocation of earm and æglæca occurs seven times in the religious poetry: Juliana 430 430 earm aglæca); Guthlac A 575 (575 earme aglæcan); The Phoenix 442 (442 earme aglæcan); Christ And Satan 73 (73 earme æglecan); 446 (446 earm aglæca); 578 (578 earm æglæca); 712 (712 earm æglece).

Emotion 2D! is rousing mingled horror and pity.

Chart VII:

The Major Implications Of C. E. Egloca.

Denotation Devil

Implication 2A	Implication 2B	Implication 2C	Implication 2D
A devilish creature with supernatural characteristics.	A devilish creature which is hostile to man and God.	A devilish creature with sinful characteristics.	A devilish creature which is wretched.
2A+	2B+	2C+	2D+
A supernatural creature whose home is in hell.	A hostile creature, often verbally, and sometimes physically, aggressive, harmful, and capable of endangering the souls of men.	An evil creature, the adversary of God and tempter of man, guileful, guilt-stained and damned.	A wretched creature condemned to endure the torments of fire, fetters and darkness, in hell, deprived of joy and glory and exiled from heaven.
2A!	2B!	2C!	2D!
Beyond human sympathy.	Rousing hatred and contempt.	Rousing condemnation.	Rousing mingled horror and pity.

Chapter V

Conclusion.

In Chapter I a method was proposed for investigating the connotations of O.E. poetic terms. Chapters II, III and IV gave practical demonstration of this method by applying it to three Old English words, a verb sceacan; an adjective, fæge; and a noun, æglæca. At the end of each demonstration the connotations found for the term under discussion were given in tabular form. The present chapter will show how knowledge of the connotations of these Anglo-Saxon poetic terms, as revealed in the preceding chapters, contributes to the understanding of passages of poetry where the terms occur.

Sceacan: Beowulf lines 1124; 1136.

Lig ealle forswealg,
gæsta gifrost, þara ðe þær guð fornam
bega folces; wæs hira blæd scacen.
Gewiton him ða wigend wica neosian,
freondum befeallen, Frysland geseon,
hamas ond heaburh. Hengest ða gyt
wælfagne winter wunode mid Finne
eal unhiltme. Eard gemunde,

þeah þe he ne meahte on mere drifan
hringedstefnan; holm storme weol,
won wiþ winde, winter yþe beleac
isgebinde, oþðæt oþer com
gear in geardas, swa nu gyt deð,
þa ðe syngales sele bewitiað,
wildortorhtan weder. Ða wæs winter scacen,
fæger foldan bearm. Fundode wrecca,
gist of geardum; he to gyrnwræce
swiðor þohte þonne to sælade,
gif he torngemot þurhteon mihte
þæt he Eotena bearn inne gemunde.
Swa he ne forwyrnde woroldrædenne,
þonne him Hunlafing hildeleoman,
billa selest, on bearm dyde,
þæs wæron mid Eotenum ecge cuðe.
Swylce ferhðfrecan Fin eft begeat
sweordbealo sliðen æt his selfes ham,
siþðan grimme gripe Guðlaf ond Oslaf
æfter sæsiðe, sorge, mændon,
ætwiton weana dæl; ne meahte wæfre mod
forhabban in hreþre. Ða wæs heal roden
feonda feorum, swilce Fin clægen,
cyning on corþre, ond seo cwen numen.

Sceotend Scyldinga to scypon feredon
eal ingesteald eorðcyninges,
swylce hie æt Finnes ham findan meahton
sigla, searogimma. Hie on sælade
drihtlice wif to Denum feredon,
læddon to leodum.

Beowulf 1122 - 1159.

The total meaning of lines 1122 - 1124 is undoubtedly complex. Translation into New English is rendered difficult by two circumstances. First, the lines are grammatically ambiguous. The antecedent of hira blæd may be either ealle... þara ðe þær guð fornam bega folces or bega folces. B. Thorpe, taking the antecedent of hira blæd to be bega folces, punctuated the lines as follows:

Lig ealle forswealg,
gæsta gifrost,
þara þe þær guð fornam:
bega folces wæs
hira blæd scacen.

He translated: "of both nations was their prosperity departed". J. R. Clark Hall, R. A. Williams, R. K. Gordon and G. Bone have also taken hira blæd to refer to bega folces. H. C. Wyld and

J. Earle took hira blæd to refer to ealle... þara ðe þær guð fornam bega folces.[1]

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1 See B. Thorpe The Anglo-Saxon Poems Of Beowulf, The Scôp Or Gleeman's Tale, And The Fight At Finnesburg (Oxford 1855) p. 75; J. R. Cl rk Hall, Beowulf And The Finnesburg Fragment (revised by C. L. Wrenn) (1950); R. A. Williams, The Finn Episode In Beowulf (Cambridge 1924) p. 110; R. K. Gordon, Anglo-Saxon Poetry (London and New York, 1957) p. 24; G. Bone, Beowulf (Oxford 1945) p. 39; H. C. Wyld, Diction And Imagery In Anglo-Saxon Poetry, p. 88; J. Earle, The Deeds Of Beowulf (Oxford 1892) p. 36.

The second difficulty lies in the metaphoric nature of the word blæd.[2] Wyld and Earle in their translations both recognized

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2 See Chapter II p.47 above

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the nature of the metaphor of the shattered flower, blasted in its prime.[3] For them, however, the metaphor appears to apply only to

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3 See H. C. Wyld, Diction And Imagery In Anglo-Saxon Poetry, p.88 and J. Earle op. cit. p. 36.

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the warriors who have been killed on both sides in the slaughter at Finnsburh.

The connotations of the verb sceacan, discovered in Chapter II above add, not only to the understanding of the meaning of the term at line 1124, but to the understanding of the meaning and force of the whole passage and especially to the appreciation of the second use of sceacan at line 1136. This repetition, of the verb, in echoing the tragic connotations present at the first climax of the drama at Finnsburh (1124), casts its shadow forward across the intervening lines (1137 - 1151) and anticipates the approaching catastrophe. (1151 - 1159).

The following analysis of the possible meanings of Beowulf 1122 - 1124, taking into account both the grammatical ambiguity and the metaphorical difficulty in translating, is made in the light of the connotative values of sceacan shown on Chart II p.78 above. It suggests both that the grammatical ambiguity is itself an indication of the complexity and depth of the poet's intended meaning and that recognition of the presence of the flower metaphor greatly enhances the poetic value of these lines. The revelation of the process by which strength, depth of feeling and complexity of meaning, all characteristics of great poetry, are achieved, is one of the services which the study of connotation can render to criticism of O.E. poetry.

Analysis Of The Implications Of 'wæs hira blæd scacen'.

Beowulf 1124.

In this analysis the presence of the major implications of sceacan are indicated by the suggested translation of these lines given under 1A, 1B, 1C and 1D below. Further implications and complexity of meaning are examined in the discussion under 1A-, 1B-, 1C- and 1D- below where the structure of meanings created by the grammatical ambiguity in these lines and the metaphorical nature of blæd[4] are brought out, and the manner in which the connotations of sceacan comprehend the tragic plight of the personalities involved in the conflict at Finnsburh, is shown.

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4 See Chart II, Chapter II p.78 above.

1A.

"Flame, the greediest of spirits, consumed all of those whom war carried off there of both peoples; their glory was shaken".

1A

(a) Taking bega folces as the antecedent of hira blæd, this means 'their glory,' i.e. the flower of valour, the greatest and best men of both nations (including a King, Hnæf, and a prince, his nephew), has been shaken and destroyed like a flower blasted in its prime.'

(b) Taking ealle... þara ðe þær guð fornam bega folces as the antecedent of hira blæd this means 'their glory', i.e. "the flower of their life was shattered."[5] Hnæf's life, and the

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5 For this translation see H. C. Wyld, Diction And Imagery In Anglo-Saxon Poetry p. 88.

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lives of the Danish and Frisian dead, have been ended suddenly, like that of a flower blasted before its time. The warriors have been cut off in their prime.

1B

"Flame, the greediest of spirits, consumed all of those whom war carried off there of both peoples; their glory had departed".

-184-

(a) Taking bega folces as the antecedent of hira blæd, this means 'their glory, i.e. their fame and renown for valour, had departed'. It had been diminished, certainly, by the setbacks and defeat suffered by both nations in the past slaughter. The Frisians have lost many fighting men (1080 - 1081) and the Danes have lost their leader, Hnæf. Defeat in a foreign land also contributes to the humiliation and loss of glory of the Danes. No one, on either side, is put to flight, but, if Finn had not lost so many of his men in the first fight, Hengist and his followers might well have had to choose between death and flight. The notion of fear, present in the motives with which the survivors on both sides come to terms and in the nature of those terms themselves (1080 - 1106), also diminishes the glory of both peoples.

(b) Taking ealle ... þara ðe þær guð fornam bega folces as the antecedent of hira blæd, this means 'their glory, i.e. the fame and renown of the dead on both sides, had departed'. There is no suggestion that the dead were fearful but they have been overcome in fight and their lives have fled from them. The Danish dead have been overcome in a foreign land.

1C.

"Flame, the greediest of spirits, consumed all of those whom war carried off there of both peoples; their glory had passed."

1C-1-

(a) Taking bega folces as the antecedent of hira blæd, this means, 'their glory, i.e. the time of the flourishing of the flower of valour of both nations was over.' With its blasting came the arrival of a portentous day, involving change for the worse in the affairs of both nations.

(b) Taking ealle ... þara þe þær guð fornam bega folces as the antecedent of hira blæd this means 'their glory, i.e. the length of the days of their life, was over.' The passing of their span of life brought about the arrival of another portentous day involving change for the worse, the day when Hengist finally took vengeance on Finn.

1D.

"Flame, the greediest of spirits, consumed all of those whom war carried off there of both people; their life had departed."

~~1D+~~

(a) Taking bega folces as the antecedent of hira blæd, this means 'their life, i.e. their vital elements, their leading men and warriors, had departed.' Loss of life, involving also loss of possessions, joys, light and glory, had been suffered by both nations.

(b) Taking ealle ... þara þe þær guð fornam bega folces as the antecedent of hira blæd this means, 'their life, i.e. the life of Hnæf and the dead on both sides, had gone and with it they had lost possessions, joys, light and glory.'

The Emotions.

The emotions chiefly in evidence in this context of sceacan are obviously 1A!, a sense of loss at the "shaking" and destruction of the noblest and best, and 1D!, a sense of finality and total destruction in death. Emotion 1B! is also present. Hengist and the Danes have been left leaderless in a foreign land and compelled by circumstances to come to terms with those whom they hold responsible for Hnæf's death. Under such conditions the Danes are certainly defeated and humiliated. Both the injured pride of the Danes themselves and the awareness of the Frisians that idle taunts must not be allowed to bring this pride to

bitterness and thoughts of vengeance can be recognized in the peace terms:

Ða hie getruwedon on twa healfa
fæste frioðuwære. Fin Hengeste
elne, unflitme aðum benemde
þæt he þa wealafe weotena dome
arum heolde, þæt ðær ænig mon
wordum ne worcum wære ne bræce,
ne þurh inwitsearo æfre gemænden
ðeah hie hira beaggyfan banan folgedon
ðeodenlease, þa him swa geþearfod wæs;
gyf þonne Frysna hwylc frecnan spræce
ðæs morþorhetes myndgiend wære,
þonne hit sweordes ecg seðan scolde.

Beowulf 1095 - 1106

After the first climax of grief and loss, at line 1124, there is a relaxation of tension (1125 - 1135) while the poet focuses attention on Hengist, his activities and feelings during the uneasy truce between Danes and Frisians. Hengest's feelings during the winter are those of the exile longing for home (1129 - 1133). Line 1136 Ða wæs winter scacen ironically echoes line 1124 wæs hira blæd scacen; the emotions and

implications which were felt during the first climax are called into play again by the repetition of the verb. This time the verb is used as an introduction to the approaching climax of misery. It has proleptic force in calling up the implications of the catastrophe before the catastrophe itself arrives, casting its shadows forward over lines 1138 - 1145, so that the reader or listener is mentally prepared, although unconscious of this preparation, for the final, overwhelming, tragedy of ll. 1151 - 1159. The preparation works in the following manner:

1c.

'Then winter had departed.'

1c+

'Then, with the passing of an interval of time (winter) during which Hengest meditates on the possibility of returning home, spring, normally a season of rejoicing, arrived, bringing with it the portentous day, involving change for the worse, when Hengest changed his mind and began to meditate on vengeance (1137 - 1141).

1C½- and 1A½-.

Then winter had departed bringing about the arrival of a portentous day on which the best and noblest of the Frisians (the King and his companions, cyning on corþre, line 1153) were to be 'shaken' and destroyed like a flower blasted in its prime.

1C½- and 1A½- and 1D½-.

Then the departure of winter brought about the arrival of a portentous day on which the flower of valour of the Frisians were to be shattered in death and to lose life, possessions, joys, light and glory.

1C½- and 1A½- and 1D½- and 1B½-

Then the departure of winter brought about the portentous day when the noblest of the Frisians were to be shattered in death, leaving the queen, Hildeburh, to suffer the consequences of their defeat. Hildeburh was taken back to her own people

but, since there is no indication, in the episode, that she hated Finn, or wished to leave the Frisians, her return home was to be, ironically, in the nature of an exile.

The Emotions.

After the final climax of misery and destruction (ll.1151. - 1153) the poet finishes the lay:

> Sceotend Scyldinga to scypon feredon
> eal ingesteald eorðcyninges,
> swylce hie æt Finnes ham findan meahton
> sigla, searogimma. Hie on sælade
> drihtlice wif to Denum feredon,
> læddon to leodum.
>
> Beowulf 1154 - 1159

Although there is now a complete relaxation of tension, this passage continues to add to the meaning, by redirecting attention to Hildeburh with whose grief (**1A!** and **1D!**) the episode opened (Beowulf 1071 - 1080). In the figure of the Queen, suffering more misery than anyone else concerned in the feud, because of her conflicting loyalties towards husband and kin, the emotions **1A!**, **1B!** and **1D!** roused by the use of

sceacan at line 1136, are fully realized. There is an implication of defeat and capture in line 1153 ond seo cwen numen, as well as the accompanying emotion of humiliation (1B!). It is Hildeburh who most keenly experiences the sense of loss at the destruction of the noblest and best of both Frisians and Danes (1A!) and, having lost brother, son and husband, the feeling of finality and total destruction in death.

This examination, by demonstrating the application of the connotative values of the term sceacan to the reading of Beowulf lines 1122 - 1159, has shown one of the important means by which this passage achieves its emotional force. The term sceacan, applied directly, or indirectly, to all the participants in the action, implies their tragic situations. The force of the implication is increased by the ironic use of the same term in line 1136: the defeat and humiliation of winter which should have been a time of joy, precipitates the final catastrophe, the completion of the course of events caught up in the use of sceacan at line 1124. It is this single term, used twice and with great complexity of meaning, which now appears to contain and to signify the force of the tragic dilemmas of the personalities involved in the Episode, and by its connotative values, to define and communicate these to the reader.

Fæge: Its Connotations and Poetic Value in The Seafarer.

Forþon me hatran sind
dryhtnes dreamas þonne þis deade lif,
læne on londe. Ic gelyfe no
þæt him eorðwelan ece stondað.
Simle þreora sum þinga gehwylce,
ær his tid aga, to tweon weorþeð;
odl oþþe yldo oþþe ecghete
fægum fromweardum feorh oðþringeð.

The Seafarer 64 - 71.

G. V. Smithers writes of the difficulties of interpreting[6]

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6 G. V. Smithers, op. cit. p. 149

The Wanderer and The Seafarer;

> Many of us, in the earliest stages of our study of these poems have probably been impressed by their flavour of remote (and especially of heroic and Germanic) antiquity.

This 'flavour' presents problems to the twentieth century critic and scholar which did not exist for the Anglo-Saxon Scop and his audience. 'Flavour', however, need not remain

undefined. It resides in the implications and associations of the poetic diction employed, and is, in fact, the sum of the connotative value of the words. The connotations of fæge, revealed in Chapter III and shown on Chart IV p. 145 above, contribute to a fuller understanding of the total meaning of The Seafarer, and offer solutions to some of the problems which beset a modern reader faced with a poem written in heroic diction but dealing with a Christian, eschatological, theme.

Fæge occurs at line 71 after that portion of The Seafarer which is specifically concerned with the sea (1 - 64) and the overtly Christian, elegiac and homiletic portion, 64 - 124.

Occupying this position, and following what may be the climax of the poem (ll. 64 - 67),[7] the word provides links,

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7 D. Whitelock, 'The Interpretation of "The Seafarer"', The Early Cultures of North-West Europe (H. M. Chadwick Memorial Studies) edited by Sir Cyril Fox and Bruce Dickins, (Cambridge, 1950), p. 266.

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through its connotations, with all sections of The Seafarer.

Implications ᛏA and ᛏA-ᚩ- of fæge are in harmony with the theme of the poem. The latter part of The Seafarer is specifically concerned with death (ll. 72 ff.; 94ff.), and with the powers that control man's fate (103; 106; 108). Nor is the idea of death absent from the first part of the poem. A suggestion that the Seafarer's plight is that of a man at the point of death (of a fæge man, in fact) occurs in lines 19 - 27 where the voyaging soul, the feasceaftig ferð misses the gamen and hleahtor of men, those very joys which Beowulf is said to have laid aside when he died, (Beowulf 3020 - 3021). Like Beowulf, who loses gleadream, (line 44) the seafaring man is said to have no thoughts of the harp.

The associations of ᛏA-ᚩ are also linked with ideas expressed throughout the poem. There is the hostility of God (line 106), the might of God and Wyrd (115 / 116), the ignorance of man concerning his fate 106; 39 - 43), and the compulsion that brings men to their death. That combination of pessimism, faith and condemnation of the wicked which was noted under ᛏA![8] also pervades the poem. The seafaring portion

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8 See pp. 102 - 104 above.

is pessimistic in outlook, as are lines 66 - 71 and 80 - 102, but the condemnation of the wicked and the hope of justice for the righteous are expressed in lines 106 - 107:

Dol bip se þe him his dryhten ne ondrædeþ: cymeð him se deað unpinged.
Eadig bið se þe eaþmod leofaþ: cymeð him seo ar of heofonum.

Implication 1B and 1B-½ and their associations with death on the battle field, the God of Victory, The Beasts of Battle and the emotion of excitement in the heat of battle, mingled with exultation over defeated enemies, are essentially heroic and barbaric,[9] and,

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9 See the references to the continental, pagan, Germans, described by Tacitus, referred to in the discussion of this implication on pp. 110-122, Chapter III above.

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probably, originally pagan. It is implications of this nature in a word such as fæge, which provide that 'flavour' of remote antiquity in The Seafarer which fascinates the modern mind even while creating problems of interpretation. How far the Anglo-Saxons themselves felt this fascination or found difficulty in reconciling a heroic diction, having pagan implications of this nature, with an eschatological theme, it is impossible to say.

Although possibly less self-conscious in their apprehension of this difficulty and less quick to recognize the pagan implications in a word than a modern antiquarian, they were certainly nearer to paganism and probably more sensitive to its presence in the 'flavour' of a word. The labours and martyrdom of Saint Boniface in Germany[10] and the suffering endured during

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10 See F. M. Stenton, Anglo-Saxon England (Oxford 1950) pp. 167 - 171.

Viking raids[11] on this country bear witness to Anglo-Saxon contact

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11 See F. M. Stenton, op. cit. p. 427.

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with heathendom after their conversion and during the historical period.

The problem in The Seafarer is to discover how far these implications were present, without modification, in poet and listener's mind. That such implications were quite strongly felt we can be reasonably certain, for the "realizing of life as conflict is perhaps the most typical of all Anglo-Saxon

poetic attitudes".[1] The nature of the modification of these

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12 See J. I. Young, "Glæd Wæs Ic Gliwum": Ungloomy Aspects Of Anglo-Saxon Poetry, The Early Cultures Of North-West Europe (H. M. Chadwick Memorial Studies) edited by Sir Cyril Fox and Bruce Dickins (Cambridge, 1950). p. 275.

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implications in some religious contexts has already been shown in the discussion of IB in Chapter III, pp.110-122, above, where it was seen that even in a Christian world, divinely ordered, fæge men were still engaged in conflict, although this conflict had become a spiritual struggle. There are indications that this type of conflict was associated with the fæge of The Seafarer, line 71. Ecghete (line 70) undoubtedly suggests physical death in a real battle as one of the possible causes of a fæge man's death, but the poet immediately goes on to declare that men must achieve salvation by performing good deeds here on earth wiδ feonda niþ / deorum dædum deofle togeanes, (75 - 76) thereby implying spiritual conflict between the fæge man and the devil. The idea of falling in death and of being humbled is present in lines 86 and 88 [Cf. Andreas 1182 (1183)]. There is no pitched battle in this context and therefore no barritus and no sound of trumpets, but there is, for the

seafaring man, as there was for the fæge of Beowulf 3025, the hostile crying of the birds.[13] Here they are the sea birds

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13 See M. E. Goldsmith "The Seafarer" And The Birds," Review Of English Studies (Oxford 1954), where it is explained that the eagle mentioned at line 24 is the Sea-Eagle and not the Golden Eagle.

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not the birds of carrion as in the Beowulf passage, although one of them is called an eagle; for the lonely seafaring man they add to the sinister menace of the sea. He derives no comfort from their presence, noticing only the absence of other men (11. 19 - 26).

There is nothing in The Seafarer to correspond with Emotion 1B; and it seems safe to conclude, that, while this implication of fæge is by no means absent from the word in this context, it is, to a great extent, modified to suit the poet's Christian purpose, or at least partly suspended in favour of other major implications of the word which are more directly relevant to the primarily eschatological theme.

The presence of ecghete (70) in the verbal context of fæge implies that 1C, a heroic implication like 1B, was also felt here.

Similarly, ecghwylc implies the presence of wæpn, of a weapon, the sword, with its sharp, cutting edges. The wounds which such a weapon might inflict are not mentioned, nor is there any specific reference in the poem to the wounds of sin, with which fæge, in religious contexts, became associated.[14] There

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14 See the discussion under wæpn Chapter III above pp. 125 - 131.

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is, however, later in the poem an implied reference in the comment that gold cannot help the sinful soul when it faces[15]

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15 For the identification ofthe fæge man with the sinful man and of both with the Seafarer himself, see G. V. Smithers, op. cit. pp. 148 - 149, where it is suggested th t the poem is concerned with the spiritual history of man, of Adam, and of all men as the descendants of Adam.

God's wrath:

> ne mæg þære sawle þe bið synna ful
> gold to geoce for godes egsan,
> þonne he hit ær hydeð þenden her leofað.
>
> (The Seafarer 100 - 102)

The greed and avarice of which this man is guilty are precisely the sins committed by the fæge man of Beowulf 1755, when assailed by the arrows of temptation which penetrate to his heart, bringing both body and soul to ruin. In The Seafarer, too, both body and soul of the sinner are destroyed (94 - 102). Again in Solomon And Saturn the wicked (317 - 319) who may also be fæge 333 / 335, are guilty of hoarding treasure.[16]

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16 There may be some pagan associations here, for, although the reference to buried treasure in The Seafarer may be an echo of Psalm XLIX, 6 - 20 (See R. J. Menner, op. cit. p. 131, note on line 310a) there is also the possibility of the poet's being aware of the fact that devotees of the cult of Othin were allowed to enjoy in the next world what they had buried for themselves in this. See D. E. Martin-Clarke, 'Significant Objects At Sutton-Hoo', The Early Cultures of North-West Europe; (H. M. Chadwick Memorial Studies) edited by Sir Cyril Fox and Bruce Dickins (Cambridge, 1950) p. 112, footnote 1.)

Heroic implication 1C, like 1B, appears to be present in fæge in this context in a modified form. Neither 1B nor 1C is the

dominant implication here, and their contribution to the 'flavour' of the poem need not preclude acceptance of an essentially Christian and eschatological interpretation.

Emotion 1C! is not specifically heroic and is by no means at variance with the theme of The Seafarer. The idea of the transience of mortality is explicit in the verbal context (ll. 64 - 71) and is further developed in:

> Blæd is gehnæged,
> eorþan indryhto ealdaŏ ond searaŏ,
> swa nu monna gehwylc geond middangeard.
>
> (The Seafarer 80 - 102.)

Implication 1D of fæge is essentially eschatological and is particularly relevant to the understanding of The Seafarer. That it is the dominant impliction of the word in this context is suggested by the fact that some of its associations, particularly those of 1D+ reveal clearly the connections between the seafaring portion of the poem and the explicitly eschatological sections. 1D is present in the verbal context of fæge in the idea of an involuntary division from life for the fæge man (ll. 70 - 71). A fæge man is liable to suffer, or have suffered the division of body and soul. Their different fates after death

are clearly recognized in the second half of the poem where the body's decay and the departure of the soul are mentioned:

Ne mæg him þonne se flæschoma, þonne him þæt feorg losaþ,
ne swete forswelgan ne sar gefelan,
ne hond onhreran ne mid hyge þencan.
Þeah þe he græf wille golde stregan
broþor his geborenum, brygan be deadum,
maþmum mislicum þæt hine mid wille,
ne mæg þære sawle þe biþ synna ful
gold to geoce for godes egsan,
þonne he hit ær bydeð penden he her leofaþ.

(The Seafarer 94 - 102)

Nor is the idea of the division of body and soul absent from the first part of The Seafarer. The plight of the seafaring man in the early part of the poem is that of a man whose heart (34), mind (36) or soul (37), are, or wish to be, elsewhere. This is even more explicit in the following passage:

Forþon nu min hyge hweorfeð ofer hreþerlocan,
min modsefa mid mereflode
ofer hwæles eþel hweorfeð wide,
eorþan sceatas, cymeð eft to me
gifre ond grædig, gielleð anfloga,
hweteð on hwælweg hreþer unwearnum
ofer holma gelagu.

(The Seafarer 58 - 64).

Like the fæge man, liable to suffer the division of body and soul, the Seafarer sees himself on the brink of death. Similarly, the soul of a fæge person is likely to be setting out on the Journey Of The Dead. This implication is clearly felt in the use of such phrases as ær he on weg scyle (74), and later, þæt hine mid wille (99); but it is also connected with the earlier part of the poem, since the sea-voyage concerning which the Seafarer expresses anxiety:

> Forþon nis þæs modwlonc mon ofer eorþan,
> ne his gifena þæs god, ne in geoguþe to þæs hwæt,
> ne in his dædum to þæs deor, ne him his dryhten to þæs hold,
> þæt he a his seafore sorge næbbe,
> to hwon hine dryhten gedon wille.
>
> (The Seafarer 39 - 43)

is none other than the journey which the soul must make to Judgement.[17]

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17 Cf. Beowulf 26 - 52, the sea-burial of Scyld Scefing, for a parallel example of the Journey Of The Dead made by sea. This journey is not necessarily unChristian. The Beowulf poet says that Scyld departed on frean wære (27).

Emotion ÞD! is reflected in the use of the adjective feasceaft to describe the seafarer's soul, and also in the following lines:

> Forþon nis þæs modwlonc mon ofer eorþan,
> ne his gifena þæs god, ne in geoguþe to þæs hwæt,
> ne in his dædum to þæs deor, ne him his dryhten to þæs hold,
> þæt he a his sæfere sorge næbbe,
> to hwon hine dryhten gedon wille.
>
> (The Seafarer 39 - 43)

The associations of fæge with the idea of Judgement, and its connection, in two poems /Christ 1517 / 1533 and Solomon And Saturn 333 / 335/, with Judgement Day itself, have already been noted.[18] This link between the theme of The Seafarer and the

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18 See Chapter III pp. 134-141, above.

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connotations of fæge is not confined to the second part of the poem. It was revealed, during the discussion of IC-1-, that in certain religious contexts /Genesis A 1265; 1382; Exodus 267; 463; 482; Andreas 1530; Psalm 155 (verse 15)/ a number of the wicked who are fæge are overwhelmed by God using[19]

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19 See Chapter I pp. 33-34, above and Chapter III p 128 above.

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the sea to destroy them. In Solomon And Saturn the coming of Judgement Day is specifically connected with the covering of the earth with water:

> Sona bið gesiene, siððan flowan mot
> yð ofer eall lond, ne wile heo awa ðæs
> siðes geswican, sioððan hire sæl cymeð,
> ðæt heo domes dæges dyn gehiere."

Solomon And Saturn 333 / 335
(323 - 326)

There is thus a clear association of fæge both with the sea and with Judgement Day.[20] This strengthens the case of those who wish to interpret The Seafarer as it stands as one complete poem with an essentially Christian and eschatological theme,[21]

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20 For the belief that one of the portents of Judgement Day would be a flood, see R. J. Menner, op. cit., 131, note on line 314.

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21 For such attempts at interpretation see O. S. Anderson, The Seafarer, An Interpretation, (Lund, 1937) and G. V. Smithers op. cit.

and might console those who have been worried by the absence of any reference to the sea in the second part of the poem.[22]

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22 See D. Whitelock, The Early Cultures Of North-West Europe, (H. M. Chadwick Memorial Studies) edited by Sir Cyril Fox and Bruce Dickins (Cambridge, 1950) p. 261.

The emergence of this connection between the sea, fæge and Judgement Day, is an important element in the complex operation of the sea-symbol in The Seafarer. Whether the poem is to be regarded as an allegory or not, the references to the sea are evidently to be meaningful on several levels of interpretation. On a literal level, taken as the physical element of water, the sea must have represented to poet and audience the hardship, loneliness and suffering endured in small boats in ill-charted waters. From this association it is no great step to the meaning proposed by Miss Whitelock, awareness of the trials of the peregrinus[23] in his voluntary exile and distant travel.

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23 Ibid.

On a non-literal level, the essential concern of fæge with the

human predicament applies further to the connection, proposed by Smithers, between the sea and man's life here in the world. On the mythological level, the sea of this poem is the sea crossed by the Dead, whether pagan or Christian, on their way to the Abode of the Dead (which may be heaven or hell in a religious context), while on the eschatological level, it is the sea which floods the earth at the end of the world, bringing all things to their end on Judgement Day.

The connection between fæge and the sea proves an argument for the unity of The Seafarer. The term fæge, used in the middle of the poem and soon after the beginning of the second section links the symbolism of lines 1 - 64 with the eschatology of the second; the meanings and the connotations of the term apply to both sections of the poem.

Æglæca: Four Metaphorical Uses Of The Term.

The usual denotative and connotative values of æglæca have been shown in Chapter III pp. 151 - 188, above. During the discussion of the denotation of the term, four contexts appeared (Beowulf 893; 2592. Andreas 1131; 1359) where æglæca is used to symbolize a human referent. Æglæca denoting monster or devil cannot have been used literally of Sigemund, Beowulf, the Mermedonians or Saint Andrew. These uses must be metaphoric. With the aid of the connotations of the word, shown on Charts VI and VII in Chapter IV, pp. 172, 188, above, the basis on which such metaphors are built can be established.

Andreas 1131 - 1132

Hæfdon æglæcan

sæcce gesohte.

In this context the heathen Mermedonian warriors are called 'monsters'. Æglæcan is the vehicle of the metaphor and þrymmen 'warriors' (1139), used in variation from æglæcan, the tenor. The basis on which that "transaction between contexts"[24] which enables one word to take the place of

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24 I. A. Richards, The Philosophy Of Rhetoric, p. 94 and Chapter I. pp. 34 - 37, above.

another in metaphor, has been made here is Implication 1C-1- of æglæca. It is chiefly in respect to these characteristics that the Mermedonian warriors can be momentarily identified with monsters. Like the Beowulfian æglæcan these warriors are hostile, actively malignant, harmful and dangerous. They have already attacked and blinded Saint Matthew without provocation (40 ff.); at line 1131, they are preparing to attack and kill a defenceless youth and later they will attack and persecute Saint Andrew (1219 ff.).

Implication 1C-1- provides the most important grounds for identification of these men and monsters. The other connotations of æglæca shown on Chart VI, Chapter IV p. 172 above also reveal similarities between these particular men and 'monsters', which contribute to the understanding of the meaning of æglæca in this context and add to the total effectiveness of the metaphor. With the aid of Chart VI these similarities can be analysed:

1A+

Æglæcan are likely to prey on human flesh. The Mermedonians are cannibals:[25] they intended to eat Saint

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25 G. P. Krapp, Andreas And The Fates Of The Apostles (Boston, New York, Chicago, London, 1906) p. 79, note on lines 23 - 25, mentions Grendel's man-eating habits in connection with the cannibalism of the Mermedonians.

Matthew and his fellow prisoners, (129 ff.) and, when cheated of their victims, devoured the dead heathen doorkeepers (1088 ff.). At line 1131 they are preparing to murder a youth for food.

1B+

Like the Beowulfian æglæcan the Mermedonians have strange and sinister characteristics. Not only do they eat human flesh but some of them have black-magical powers:

Syððan him geblendan bitere to_somne,
dryas þurh dwolcræft, drync unhcorne,
se onwende gewit, wera ingeþanc,
heortan on hreðre, (hyge wæs oncyrred),

Þæt hie ne murndan æfter mandreame,
hæleþ heorogrædige, ac hie hig ond gæs
for meteleaste meðe gedrehte.

Andreas 33 - 39

The Mermedonians live in a land as strange, distant and dismal in its own way as any of the dreary and remote haunts of other æglæcan:

Eal wæs þæt mearcland morðre bewunden,
feondes facne, folcstede gumena,
hæleða eðel. Næs þær hlafes wist
werum on þam wonge, ne wæteres drync
to bruconne, ah hie blod ond fel,
fira flæschoman, feorrancumenra,
ðegon geond þa þeonde. Swelc wæs þeaw hira
þæt hie æghwylcne ellðeodigra
dydan him to mose meteþearfendum,
þara þe þæt ealand utan sohte.

Andreas 19 - 28

ID-I

The Mermedonians are men, capable of thought and of deliberate sin. They are morally guilty of the crimes they commit against Saint Matthew and Saint Andrew and are in danger

of damnation if they do not repent and receive baptism from the saints who are sent to save them. Fourteen of the most wicked are finally destroyed and damned by the power of the spirit working through Andrew:

> Nalas he þær yðe ane bisencte,
> ach þæs weorodes eac ða wyrrestan,
> faa folcsceaðan, feowertyne
> gewiton mid þy wæge in forwyrd sceacan
> under eorþan grund.

Andreas 1591 - 1595.

Others are in danger of damnation until the saint prays that God will save their spirits from suffering misery and torment in the power of fiends (1613 - 1619). They then repent and are baptized (1630 - 1632).

Andreas 1359

> "Utan gangan eft,
> þæt we þysmrigen bendum fæstne,
> oðwitan him his wræcsið. Habbað word gearu
> wið þam aglæcan eall getrahtod!"

Andreas 1356 - 1359

At first sight the context here seems prepared for the application of æglæca to the devil who is attacking Andrew (see Chart VII p.188, above) rather than to the saint himself. The term has been used of the devil a few lines earlier (1312 atol æglæca) and is used of devils in similar circumstances, in Juliana 268 / 319 / 430; Elene 901: Guthlac A 575. Words used in acts of reference to devils throughout the passage recall the connotations of æglæca denoting 'devil' (Chart VII, p. above):

line 1341	ealdgeniðla	Implication 2B
1342	helle hæftling	2A-½
1345	earmsceapen	2D
1346	fyrnsceapa	2B-½
1361	witum bewæled	2D-½

Yet here the term is used by the devil of the saint. The employment of a term so pejorative by a creature to whom it is so obviously applicable, to refer to a good man to whom it is inapplicable, must be in some way ironic. A part of the effectiveness of the irony results from the fact that the devil is not entirely unjustified in calling Andreas æglæca if the conflict between man and the devil is viewed from the point of view of the devil. Implication 2A (Chart VII, p. 188 above)

provides the basis for the devil's identification of Andrew with an æglæca. The devils who tempt the saint cannot understand or sympathize with him any more than men can understand or sympathize with actual æglæcan. Sustained by faith and aided by the power of the spirit Andrew has performed miracles in Mermedonia; he has freed Saint Matthew from prison and caused the death of the heathen guards (981 ff.); he has prevented the heathen from killing and eating a harmless victim (1135 ff.); and he will eventually overcome the hostility of the he then by producing a sudden flood (1498 ff.). God has already helped him to dismay the devils themselves (1335 ff.) and he is able, because of his great faith, to withstand all their onslaughts (1376 ff.).

Andrew has also some characteristics which belong to the Beowulfian æglæcan. He is uncanny in that he is lonely, a traveller from afar, bringing news of a strange faith to the heathen; the devils call him anhaga (1351). Furthermore, Andrew has exhibited characteristics of an æglæca (1B+-) in resisting the weapons of the Mermedonians (1135) and in being invulnerable to the weapons of the devils (1180 ff.; 1330 ff.).

He appears to scorn the use of ordinary weapons,[26] preferring to

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26 Cf. Saint Guthlac's refusal to use ordinary weapons when he is attacked by devils. Guthlac A 302 - 307.

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overwhelm the heathen by miraculous means (994 ff.; 1498 ff.), or to overcome them with kindness (1612 ff. where he saves many by prayer from damnation).

Other implications of æglæca also help to explain the nature of the irony in the devil's use of the word in this context. Andrew is good and not evil but, because he opposes the wickedness of the Mermedonians and resists the attacks of the devil, the devil regards him as hostile (2B) to man (evil man) and devil, just as men regard æglæcan as hostile to man (good man) and God.

Andrew is also wretched (2D); endures the torments of blows (1274 ff.) and the misery of exile in a strange and unfriendly land (2D+). There is a suggestion, too, that the devil regards Andrew as one who misleads men:

> Þu þe, Andreas, aclæccræftum
> lange feredes! Hwæt, ðu leoda feala
> forleolce ond forlærdest!
>
> Andreas 1362 - 1364

In the same manner men regard æglæcan as guileful tempters (2C+).

Beowulf 893; 2592.

Hwæþre him gesælde ðæt swurd þurhwod
wrætlicne wyrm, þæt hit on weallle ætstod,
dryhtlic iren; draca morðre swealt.
Hæfde aglæca elne gegongen
þæt he beahhordes brucan moste
selfes dome sæbat gehleod,
bær on bearm scipes beorhte frætwa,
Wælses eafera. Wyrm hæt gemealt.

Beowulf 890 - 897

Næs ða long to ðon
þæt ða aglæcean hy eft gemetton.
Hyrte hyne hordweard (hreðer æðme weoll)
niwan stefne; nearo ðrowode,
fyre befongen, se ðe ær folce weold.

Beowulf 2591 - 2595

The two most complex and interesting metaphorical uses of æglæca occur in Beowulf 893, where the term is applied to Sigemund, and Beowulf 2592 where æglæcan symbolizes both Beowulf and the dragon when they are engaged in combat. The

qualities of Sigemund[27] which enable the poet to identify him with

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27 The dragon-slaying is elsewhere attributed to Sigemund's son, Siegfried, see F. Klaeber, op. cit. pp. 159 - 160 note on 875 - 900. After slaying his dragon Siegfried was said to have understood the birds; a power both unnatural to men and uncanny.

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a monster are those characteristics of an æglæcan which are charted under 1B+. Sigemund is, in many respects, a sinister and mysterious creature. Men do not generally know very much about him:

Welhwylc gecwæð
þæt he fram Sigemundes secgan hyrde
ellendædum, uncuþes fela,
Wælsinges gewin, wide siðas,
þara þe gumena bearn gearwe ne wiston,
fæhðe ond fyrena, buton Fitela mid hine,
þonne he swulces hwæt secgan wolde,
eam his nefan,

Beowulf 874 - 881

Sigemund lives in strange places, away from the haunts of men. He is sometimes solitary (887 - 889). He commits the unnatural

crime of incest. His sister disguises herself as a witch. Sigemund is, in effect, almost inhuman. He is as strange and sinister among men as æglæcan are among beasts. Some of the hero's characteristics are even similar to those charted under 1A+: Sigemund has great strength; he has killed giants (883 - 884). He has bestial qualities; he has lived as a werewulf and will during such transformations have lived on human flesh. It is even possible that the poet who attributed Siegfried's dragon-fight to Sigemund was sufficiently familiar with the details of that event to know that Siegfried, like Grendel (739 - 745), drank the blood of his defeated victim and ate the dragon's heart.

Sigemund has also some of the characteristics of æglæca charted under 1C+ and 1D+. He is implacably hostile (1C+) in waging the feud against Siggeir,[28] and probably considered

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28 See F. Klæber, op. cit. p. 159, note on 875 - 900.

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sinful (1D+) in some respects, because guilty of incest. These implications are present in fæhðe ond fyrena (879).

Although Sigemund showed many of the characteristics of an æglæca, the poet does not deny him his audience's sympathy.

The pejorative emotions usually attached to those implications of æglæca which correspond to the qualities of Sigemund are not present. He is represented as an admirable figure. This is achieved by the employment ofheroic and ameliorative terms to describe him: Beowulf 886 wiges heard ; 888 æþelinges bearn; 898 wreccena wide mærost; 899 wigendra hleo. The whole passage is unmistakably heroic in tone; Sigemund is a great fighter (883 - 884); he is very famous (884 - 885); he ventures against the dragon alone (887 - 889); he gains treasure by bravery (893 - 897).

Implicit in the scop's song celebrating Sigemund is the comparison between the achievements of Beowulf (870 - 874) against the monster, Grendel, and Sigemund's victory over the dragon. The scop celebrates Beowulf's heroism and Sigemund 's famous exploit. He then contrasts the fame of Sigemund with the ill-fame of Heremod. Similarly, Hrothgar, in praising Beowulf after the fight against Grendel's mother, dispraises Heremod (Beowulf 1707 - 1722). Tacit comparison of the two heroes, Sigemund and Beowulf, is also present in the use of similar words and phrases in the narration of their deeds and accomplishments: Beowulf 888 ana geneðde (Sigemund); 538 aldrum neðdon (Beowulf); 895 selfes dome (Sigemund);

2147 on minne sylfes dom (Beowulf); 2776 sylfes dome (Beowulf); 884 - 885 Sigemunde gesprong / æfter deaðdæge dom unlytel (Sigemund), 953 - 955"Þu þe self hafast / dædum gefremed þæt þin dom lyfað / awa to aldre" (Beowulf).

The implicit comparison of Sigemund and Beowulf here anticipates the time when Beowulf, too, will slay a dragon. Like Sigemund, Beowulf has some of the qualities of an æglæca. He has superhuman strength, particularly in his handgrip (1269 ff.; 2501 ff.); he has more than human ability to perform feats in, or under, water: Beowulf 530ff. where he swims against Breca, outstrips him and fights against sea-æglæcan; 1492 ff. where he fights Grendel's mother at the bottom of the mere; 2355 where Beowulf escapes by sea after Hygelac's death, carrying thirty suits of armour. Such qualities set him apart from other men (he is called earm anhaga at line 2368) and render him uncanny and almost inhuman (1A and 1B) though not sinister. Beowulf is never evil (1D) but he is, like Sigemund, and like the æglæcan, implacably hostile (1C). His hostility, however, is always directed against evil. For his evil opponents he has the same qualities as an æglæca has for men. Beowulf is to Grendel, the inferior creature whom he has overcome, what Grendel is to the ordinary

man whom he overcomes. Beowulf typifies goodness which is superior to evil just as Grendel is superior to ordinary men.

The use of aglæcan, at line 2592, of Beowulf and the dragon in combat, can now be more completely understood. The earlier application of the term to Sigemund during the panegyric to Beowulf prepared for its later application to Beowulf himself.

In the dragon fight Beowulf shares some of the characteristics of his opponent. The dragon cannot wield ordinary weapons, and Beowulf himself, although he does eventually use conventional arms against his adversary, declares that he would prefer to fight without them as he once fought against Grendel (2518 ff.). The dragon is a solitary, sinister creature; Beowulf is alone and deserted by all his followers except Wiglaf. He accepts his lot and believes that it is his duty to face the monster alone:

> Nis þæt eower sið
> ne gemet mannes, nefne min anes,
> þæt he wið aglæcean eofoðo dæle,
> eorlscype efne.
>
> Beowulf 2532 - 2535

In facing the dragon Beowulf revisits once more a terrible place where monsters live. Throughout the fight he is superhumanly

strong and brave and successful. Such prowess is uncanny, if not sinister. He is, like Sigemund in his feuding, like Grendel and the dragon in theirs, implacably hostile.

This analysis of the meaning of æglæca in Beowulf 2592 indicates that the dragon fight is an altogether exceptional occasion. The exceptional nature of the combatants, both of whom are superhuman and moved by implacable hostility, is shown by the application of æglæca to both. Beowulf, the champion of good, a 'monster' among men, challenges the traditional incarnation of evil, the dragon.

Knowledge of the connotative values of sceacan, fæge and æglæca, as set out on Charts II, IV, VI and VII, has now been shown to contribute to the fuller understanding both of the use of these terms, and of their meaning in several important contexts.

The ambiguity of Beowulf 1122 - 1124 has been analysed, and shown to be the product of a designed complexity of meaning and emotional value. The ironic repetition of the verb at line 1136 now appears as a deliberate echo of the implications

called up by its use at the first climax of the tragedy at Finnsburh (1124). These implications cast their shadow forward over the following lines, preparing the audience for the grim and final catastrophe.

It has been demonstrated that fæge (The Seafarer line 71), while undoubtedly contributing a 'flavour of remote antiquity', and probably of paganism too, is not, connotatively, at variance with the essentially Christian, and primarily eschatological, theme of The Seafarer, but by its implications sums up and contains precisely those notions of death, the Journey of the Dead, and Judgement, with which the poem is concerned.

It has also been shown that the connotative values of æglæca afford some explanation of the metaphorical process whereby æglæca, properly denoting 'monster' or 'devil', is, in four contexts, applied to human referents. When the basis of these metaphorical transactions is understood, it appears that other implications of the term elucidate the meaning and illustrate the total effectiveness of the metaphors. The poets responsible for these apparently discrepant uses have not, then, been careless or wayward artists, but very much the

contrary. The method proposed in Chapter I pp. 11 - 32, above for studying the connotations of O.E. poetic terms is thus seen to have contributed to the understanding both of the art of the Old English poets, and of Old English poetry itself.

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