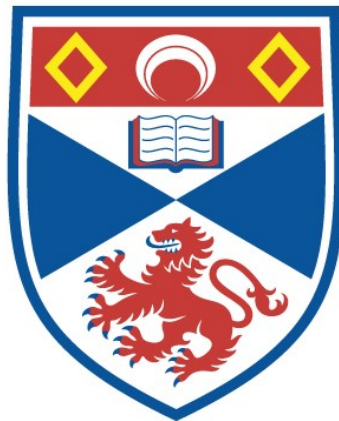


**THE STYLE, LITERARY METHODS AND PATRISTIC  
BACKGROUND OF ANGLO-SAXON POETRY AS  
EXEMPLIFIED IN GENESIS A**

Alexander Murray Kinloch

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD  
at the  
University of St Andrews



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The Style, Literary Methods and Patristic  
Background of Anglo-Saxon Poetry as exemplified  
in Genesis A

being a Thesis presented by

Alexander Murray Kinloch

to the University of St. Andrews

in application for the degree of Ph.D.



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DECLARATION.

I hereby declare that the following Thesis is based on the results of research carried out by me, that the Thesis is my own composition, and that it has not previously been presented for a Higher Degree.

The research was carried out in St. Andrews, Hull and Aberystwyth.

CERTIFICATE.

I certify that Alexander Murray Kinloch has spent nine terms at Research Work in St. Andrews, Hull and Aberystwyth, that he has fulfilled the conditions of Ordinance No. 16 (St. Andrews) and that he is qualified to submit the accompanying thesis in application for the degree of Ph.D.

## CAREER.

I matriculated in the university of St. Andrews in 1941, and, excluding war service, followed courses leading to graduation in Classics and later in English until 1950.

On 1st October 1950 I commenced the research on The Style, Literary Methods and Patristic Background of Anglo-Saxon Poetry as exemplified in Genesis A, which is now being submitted as a Ph.D. thesis.

I was appointed in October 1950 to a Ramsay Research Scholarship which I held at the University of St. Andrews until 1952. Since then I have been employed as an Assistant Lecturer in the University College of Hull, and the University College of Wales, where I am at present a Lecturer.

1

INDEX.

Preface.	ii - ix
List of Abbreviations.	x - xi
Commentary on the Text.	1 - 374
The style and literary methods of the poet of <u>Genesis A.</u>	375 - 391
Germanic influence on the poet's reading of the Bible.	392 - 399
The attitude of the poet and his audience to Christianity.	400 - 412
The A.S. poet's use of his Vulgate text.	413 - 419
The A.S. poet's use of patristic writings.	420 - 430
The extent of the poet's reading.	431 - 435
Appendix I.	
Lists of commentators consulted.	436 - 452
Appendix II.	
Names in <u>Genesis A.</u>	453 - 459
Appendix III.	
Name forming in <u>Genesis A.</u>	460 - 461
Appendix IV.	
The declension of names in <u>Genesis A.</u>	462 - 465
Bibliography.	466 - 471



## PREFACE.

This thesis was undertaken because the importance of the subject was threefold - literary, conceptual and practical. The literary importance of the subject arose from the fact that, in much of his poem, the poet followed very closely the detail of a known source which provided him with his raw material. As an excellent text of this source was now available, it was possible to place the raw material side by side with the poem and to observe the process of composition carefully and minutely over a wide extent of its sustained activity. In the Vulgate Genesis the student was presented with the essence of what the poet of Genesis A was about to say: and the differences between the two works represented the exercising of the poet's powers of composition. Thus, a knowledge of what the poet intended to say would, in comparison with his final expression of this material, yield considerable knowledge of A.S. style and literary methods.

Another aspect of the literary importance of this subject lay in the quality of the poet's source. The A.S. poets had before written epic poetry based upon subject matter which was almost wholly pagan, and was Christian only in those details which Christian theology had altered or added. Genesis A, whatever the exact date of its composition, is certainly the earliest poem of any magnitude in which the basis is material which is Christian in bulk and in detail. The poet was thus faced with the problem of fitting material of a totally new ethos into an old poetic style, and into a vocabulary in which pagan ideas were still suspended. A comparison of source and poem would show the reciprocal effect of the material and style upon each other.

The same tension between the old and the

new provided the conceptual importance of the subject. During the period before the conversion by Augustine, Christianity in England was the religion of enemies, slaves and 'welisc' barbarians, and in consequence can have aroused little interest, despite the presence of the isolated Liudhard in Kent. It came to the peoples of the north as something new, and would inevitably affect them deeply. A poem devoted to Christianity by a poet from the newly Christian civilization would display something of the effect which the conversion had had upon the men of his own day, and this also would appear from the comparison of the source and the poem, and a careful consideration of the addition of comment by the poet, either overt in the sense of the poem, or implied in the mood or tone of his work.

But the conversion of A.S. England was a gradual process, and at first Christianity ebbed as frequently and as strongly as it flowed, especially in the north of England; even Theodore and Hadrian were not able to exorcise paganism completely from men's minds. Some pagan elements remained alive in A.S. culture long after the day of the missionaries, and pagan habits of thought persisted long. Partly in the light of these, the A.S. mind made its own assessment and valuation of Christian ideas and Biblical material; and the assessment and valuation were naturally to be reflected in the first Christian epic poem.

The practical importance of the subject rested principally upon the fact that relatively little work had been done in this field. Those works which dealt with Christianity in A.S. England were mostly devoted to a purely historical or ecclesiological treatment of the subject. Those which extended their view to include A.S. poetry, and those which examined specifically the Christian element in A.S.

poetry, were with few exceptions devoted to poems other than Genesis A. The few works which bore at all directly upon the subject of this thesis were all written long before the publication of a text of the Vulgate with an adequate and complete textual apparatus. The only one which was of any length was designed for the observation of outstanding differences of factual content, and avoided any attempt at the explanation or interpretation of these differences.

There was however, a further practical reason for undertaking this work: this was that little attempt had been made to estimate whether the A.S. poet had used any Christian material other than the Vulgate. (That such material was available has been briefly argued in the following pages of this Preface, but requires little support). Research had already shown that in two isolated instances a possible source might be found for extra-Biblical material in Genesis A. But no consistent examination of the whole poem had been made with this object in view. There was no record of what commentators had been examined in the course of the search for any indication that the poet had used them: more important, there was no record of what commentators the poet had in fact read, nor any statement at all of the use he had made of his reading. A complete examination of the patristic background to the A.S. poem as shown in Genesis A had still to be made.

It was plain then from the content of Genesis A that its author had used the Biblical Genesis as the immediate source of his poem, and accordingly the required method of conducting this examination was to compare Genesis A verse by verse and word by word with the Vulgate Genesis. It should be added that all variant readings of all manuscripts

v

of the Vulgate Genesis were likewise considered: although the majority of these came from manuscripts which post-dated the composition of Genesis A, the possibility that the A.S. poet had used an archetypal manuscript now lost had to be taken into account. Ultimately it became clear that something akin to this had indeed happened and that the poet had probably used a text no longer surviving but related to the so-called Ashburnham Codex or Codex Parisinus (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, inter Latinos noviter adquisitos, 2334). This was deduced principally from the forms of the names in the poem, as is set out in Appendix II.

The possibility that the poet had used an Old Latin Genesis could not at first simply be ignored, and this text was hence examined in parallel with the other two. However, the occurrence of a genealogy in which the Old Latin Genesis gave forms which differed widely from those common to the Vulgate Genesis and the A.S. Genesis A established that the poet must have used a Vulgate Genesis as his source: in consequence, references to the Old Latin Genesis have been restricted to footnotes.

As the comparison was made, it became evident that much Vulgate material had been omitted by the A.S. poet. While some omissions were obviously due to lacunae in Genesis A, others were not. The first explanation sought was that these others might be due to lacunae in the poet's Biblical text; but this explanation could not be accepted. Intrinsically it was unsatisfactory, as the poet could well have supplied his knowledge from elsewhere: at the beginning of this study it became clear that the material omitted by the A.S. poet did not consistently coincide with the lacunae in any one Vulgate manuscript, though some affinity with the Codex Parisinus appeared; finally, the

explanation was rejected because the poet was using a lost text and the exact details of its composition were no longer ascertainable.

Accordingly, an attempt has been made to account for such omissions in terms of the poet's known aims and methods and with reference to the general conditions of A.S. poetry (e.g. its oral recitation). But great caution has been required, as the evidence for the reason for any particular omission is necessarily indirect or negative.

At the same time, as the comparison progressed, the many changes which the poet had made to the Vulgate material became plain. In magnitude and importance they ranged from changes of individual words, through changes of expression and emphasis to striking transpositions of Biblical material and the addition of material which was found to come from other sources altogether; nor could consideration be limited to the content of the poem; changes in mood and tone had also to be regarded.

In the consideration of each change made by the poet, help was sought from the content and circumstances of the change itself, and also from comparison with similar changes in other parts of the poem. This done, the reason which prompted the poet to make that particular change was sought, and an attempt was made to decide whether his motives arose from considerations of style, from his background as a Germanic poet, or from some other origin. At the end of the study, the information thus obtained was collated under various headings of the conclusions.

It soon became evident however, that the material which the poet was adding was derived from sources beyond the Vulgate, and beyond the poet's own background, mental or cultural. As had been planned, the patristic

commentators were included as possible sources for motive or content of alteration or addition.

There is at first sight little evidence for assessing how much patristic writing was available to the A.S. poet. Alcuin's verses on the contents of his library at York and four random bequests each of a few books by various donors to various foundations alone remain to testify to the existence of any libraries at all in A.S. England. The first surviving library catalogue is as late as 1095 and the first catalogue from Whitby is later still by almost a century.

But this impression of scarcity is at once contradicted by the list of patristic writers whose works are either quoted or cited by Bede. The list is most impressive, and, along with Ambrose, Augustine, Gregory and Jerome, it includes many lesser writers. Beyond its intrinsic value, this list is important in the contrast it offers to the scarcity of formal records. For the contrast establishes a cogent probability that the list of patristic works available to monasteries in England included many more works than those whose existence is to be traced either through the meagre records or through quotation or citation in the works of Bede or others. For this reason it is unsafe to assume that any patristic work in existence before the year 700 was unknown to the A.S. poet until the work has been compared with Genesis A.

A fresh problem is posed by the poet's reference to Seth as sædberendes (l.1145a). This has been traced ultimately to a legend which makes no other appearance in English till after the Norman Conquest. The emergence of such a 'source' implies either that some patristic works available to the A.S. poet have since been lost or forgotten,

or that a continuing tradition of verbal commentary existed alongside the written work. Both alternatives are possible and both probable, the latter more so from the conservative nature of the early Catholic teaching. As there is now no way of finding how long such verbal commentary would take to appear in writing, no patristic work could safely be ignored, irrespective of its date in relation to the poet.

Accordingly the scope of this enquiry has included all the patristic works written in Latin up to the year 1300. But within this compass some selection had to be made, as it was patently impossible for all the commentators prior to this year to be read in detail: the selection was based upon the various indices to works, subject matter, persons, topics and words in Migne's Patrologia Latina, supplemented by other reading where necessary. Complete lists of all texts consulted have been included in Appendix I.

Quotation from older works was regarded by many patristic writers as their most powerful argument: indeed some works, such as Bede's Commentarius in Genesis, are largely composed of quotations, seldom acknowledged: others, such as Walafrid Strabo's Glossa Ordinaria have verbatim quotation of older authorities as their object. In these circumstances, it has not often been possible to identify certainly which commentator the A.S. poet had in mind. Where a decision has been reached it has been based on verbal correspondence and thereafter upon the historical order of the commentators. Full quotations from the commentators are given at the relevant points in the commentary on the text.

Some of the information gained from this collation of Genesis A and the commentators has been included

where appropriate in the other chapters of the conclusions: but most of it has been reserved for the chapter on the poet's use of the patristic writings. A summary of the extent of the poet's reading of the commentators is also included.



LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.

- Anglia Zeitschrift für Englische Philologie, Halle, 1878-
- Beiträge Beiträge zur Geschichte der Deutschen Sprache und Literatur, Halle, 1874-
- Beuron Vetus Latina, die Reste der Altlateinischen Bibel, nach Petrus Sabatier neu gesammelt, hsg. von der Erzabtei Beuron, Freiburg, 1950-
- BS Biblia Sacra, iuxta Latinam Vulgatam Versionem cura et studio Monachorum Sancti Benedicti, Aidano Gasquet praeside, Rome, 1926-
- BT An Anglo Saxon Dictionary, ed J. Bosworth and T.N. Toller, Oxford, 1882.
- ES Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association, London, 1914-
- Germania Germania, Vierteljahrsschrift für deutsche Alterthumskunde, Stuttgart, 1856-92.
- Gollancz The Caedmon manuscript of Anglo-Saxon Biblical Poetry edited with an Introduction by Sir I. Gollancz, London, 1927.
- Grein Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Poesie hsg. von C.W.M. Grein, Göttingen, 1857.
- HE Bede Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum, ed. C. Plummer, Oxford, 1896.
- Heinze Zur Altenglischen Genesis, Berlin, 1889.
- Holthausen Die Ältere Genesis ed. F. Holthausen, Heidelberg, 1914.
- Hönncher Über die Quellen der angelsächsischen Genesis, Anglia, Vol.8, pp.41-84.
- HT Biblia Sacra Latina Veteris Testamenti, Hieronymo Interprete, ed. Th. Heyse and C de Tischendorf, Leipzig, 1873.

- ICC Gen A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Genesis  
ed. John Skinner, (Vol. I of The International Critical Commentary), Edinburgh, 1912.
- JEGP Journal of English and Germanic Philology, Evanston, Ill., 1903-5, Urbana, Ill., 1905-
- Knox The Old Testament newly translated from the Latin Vulgate, by R.A. Knox, London, 1949.
- Krapp The Junius manuscript, ed. G.P. Krapp, Columbia, university Press, 1931.
- LXX The Septuagint.
- Migne PL, or MPL, Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Patrologia Latina ed. J.P. Migne, Paris 1847-
- MLN Modern Language Notes, Baltimore, 1885-
- ML Rev Modern Language Review, Cambridge, 1906-
- M Phil Modern Philology, Chicago, Ill., 1902-
- PMLA Publications of the Modern Language Association of America, Baltimore, 1889-. Vols. 1-3 appeared as Proc. Mod. Lang. Ass. q.v.
- Proc. Mod. Lang. Ass. Proceedings of the Modern Language Association of America, Baltimore, 1889-91.
- Rahlfs Septuaginta id est Vetus Testamentum Graece iuxta LXX interpretes ed. A. Rahlfs, Stuttgart, 1935.
- Sabatier Bibliorum Sacrorum Latinae Versionis Antiquae seu Vetus Itala, Rheims, 1739-49.
- Thorpe Caedmon's Metrical Paraphrase of Parts of the Holy Scriptures, in Anglo-Saxon, London, 1832.
- VL Vetus Latina.
- Wulker Bibliothek der angelstichsichen Poesie, Leipzig, 1894.

Commentary on the Text.

Lines 1-12a:

The resemblance between the opening lines of Genesis A, 11.1-12a

Us is riht micel ðæt we rodera weard,  
wereda wuldorcining; wordum herigen,  
modum lufien! He is magna sped,  
heafod ealra heangesceafta,  
free almihhtig. Nes him frume sifre,  
or geworden, ne nu ende cymb  
ecean drihtnes; ac he bið a rice  
ofer heofenstolas. Heagum þrymmum  
soðfest and swiðfeorm sweglbošmas heold,  
þa wæron gesette wide and side  
purh geweald godes wuldres bearnum,  
gasta weardum.

and the Hymn ascribed to Caedmon has often been discussed; but the most probable explanation of the similarity is that of L. Michel who suggests that these lines of Genesis A are related to the praefatio in the liturgy, referring particularly to the Divine Liturgy of James.<sup>1</sup> This text and Genesis A do not correspond very closely, but Michel's case can be strengthened by the fact that the ideas in the opening lines of Genesis A are common in other liturgical texts; for example a praefatio from the so-called Missale Gothicum reads Dignum et justum est aequum et justum est nos tibi hic et ubique gratias agere, tibi laudes dicere et hostias immolare, et confiteri misericordias tuas Domine sancte, Pater omnipotens, aeterne Deus, quoniam magnus es tu, et faciens mirabilia; tu es Deus solus. Tu fecisti caelos in intellectus; tu formasti terram super aquas.....<sup>2</sup> and Gregory the Great's Sacramentary gives Vere dignum et

---

1. L. Michel. Genesis A and the Praefatio in Modern Language Notes, Baltimore, Vol.62, pp.545-550.  
2. Migne, P.L. Vol.72, Col.276.

iustum est, aequum et salutare nos tibi semper et ubique gratias agere Domine Sancte, Pater omnipotens, aeterne Deus per Christum Dominum nostrum. Per quem majestatem tuam laudant angeli adorant dominationes.....<sup>1</sup> No more exact source has been traced so far; indeed, from the frequency with which these ideas occur in Christian writings<sup>2</sup>, it seems doubtful if any one praefatio can be isolated as the source of these lines of Genesis A; at the same time it seems certain that the A.S. poet turned to some extra-Biblical work for the expression of his own aim and purpose in writing his poem - the praise of the Deity, and the spreading of Christianity.

Lines 12b-34a.

The passages following need not be quoted in detail as there is no known source with which to compare them. They must come from some source other than the Vulgate Genesis, in which there is no mention either of the Angels or their Fall; and the inclusion of this material testifies to the width of the poet's religious knowledge.

The first passage, ll.12b-24a, contains several interesting points, of which the most striking is the A.S. poet's interest in psychology, expressed in beorhte blisse (l.14a), swibe gesalige (l.18a), for oferhygde (l.22b) Hæfdon gielp micel (l.25b), æfst and oferhygd, and þas engles mod (l.29), and nipes ofpyrsted (l.32a). The result of these lines which reproduce similar interests of A.S. pagan

1. Migne, P.L. Vol.78, col.25.

2. For a full list of writings consulted to find the exact source of these lines, see App. I, Lists I and II.

poetry is to bring the material in this poem more closely into the A.S. world. The A.S. poet's purpose of glorifying God appears in this passage also, in the phrases wuldor-fæstan wic werodes brymme / sid and swegltorht (ll.27-28a). Finally an A.S. influence, exercised through the vocabulary in 'heroic' words like aldor (1.20a), siblufan (1.24b) and werodes (1.27b), is crystallised in Satan's determination to build ham and heahsetl (1.33a). As a realistic poetic expression it is a proof of the poet's skill: as a device to familiarise his material for his audience it shows his aptness in expressing metaphysical ideas in terms the audience will readily understand.

Lines 34b-45a.

Another method of familiarisation is seen in the immediately subsequent lines which describe Hell - the substitution of equivalent ideas; for among the expressions used in connection with the rebellious angels are wraecligne ham (1.37a) and wraena (1.39b). Exile, the worst of fates<sup>1</sup> in the A.S. heroic world has been added to the pains of Hell, the worst of punishments in the Christian world.<sup>2</sup> The most moving idea from the one world has been made to correspond with the most moving idea from

- 
1. Death could at least be noble: it could lead to fame and the lof lifgendra, lastworda betst, but the mention of exile is always accompanied by reference to its sorrows and trials. The attitude to death in the Seafarer, ll. 72-79a, is fatalistic but stoical: the attitude to exile in the Wanderer, the Wifes's Complaint, the Fortunes of Men, (ll.27-32) etc, is without exception gloomy and despairing. Deor alone shows a more resilient spirit.
  2. It is interesting to note that no such substitution appears in Genesis B: but the idea of exile in substitution as the greatest of punishments reappears later in Genesis A (cf. infra pp.5,50,347. ) and this tends to discount Sievers tripartite division of the Genesis poems. (Beitrag, Vol.50,pp.426 sq.)

the other. Finally, it is a mark of the poet's skill that he retains the more abstract and vague expression witebrogan (l.45a) until it has been well authenticated by the more precise torments of ll.42-44a

synnihte bescaid, susle geinod,  
geondfolen fyre and fercyle,  
rece and reade lege.

Lines 45b-51a.

Amongst other material, these lines tell of the ultimate defeat of the rebelling angels, although their attempt against God has not yet taken place. Such an anticipation, destroying the dramatic suspense of the situation, is common in A.S. poetry; and it is probable that the passage was deliberately given this function to bring the A.S. poem nearer to the familiar pagan poems in the attitude shown to the material of which it is composed.

Lines 51b-64.

There follows the account of the strife between God and the rebelling angels: and despite the eagerness which A.S. poets usually show to describe battles, there is no battle here: the poet is too good a theologian to permit the angels to war against omnipotence. Instead, the A.S. delight in battle is transmuted into rejoicing in God's victory: but the idea of battle remains present, expressed with skilful subtlety through the diction of the passage, in (mod) getwafde (l.53b), besloh (synsceaþan) (l.55a), feond (l.57a), (torn) gewrac (l.58b), etc, to satisfy the emotion which the situation might arouse in the poet's audience. At the same time, the poet again focusses attention on the psychological aspect of the conflict in þa he gebolgen wearð (l.54b), Hefde styrne mod (l.60b), gegromed grymme (l.61a) etc: The two interests are allied

in grap on wrabe (1.61b). Thus the poet has retained the emotion which would please his audience, included the psychological comments which would interest them, and shifted the conflict out of physical realms to suit the metaphysical aspect of his material, providing an instance of how the Germanic and Biblical worlds affect each other.

Lines 65-77.

The battle over, the poet gives the account of the punishment of the Fallen Angels, and again exile is present to his mind, as the expression twice shows. The angels go on langne sið (1.68b) and on wrace (1.71b). The poet however stresses the idea of distance as well as the idea of exile, and it is just possible that he may be evoking some race-memory from the migration days: but on the other hand he may simply be using the always heroic idea of vast distance.

Lines 78-91.

There follows a long bridge passage which leads ultimately to the use of the Vulgate Genesis Ch.I,v.1. The first part of this bridge passage, in ll.77-91 forms a connecting link not only in content, but psychologically as well: for it allows the gradual discharge of the emotion which has been raised by the account of the strife and the punishment, until the tranquillity of the description of Heaven, with which it closes, does not seem out of place. In including it, the poet shows considerable skill in the construction of his poem. Moreover, it performs the same connecting function stylistically as the imagery of battle is at first maintained then gradually abandoned in the metaphors from military organisation in peoden his begnum (1.80a) duguða mid drihtne (1.81a) and finally in orlegnið (1.84b).

Lines 92-102.

The second section of the bridge passage transfers the interest of the poem from Heaven to the question of who shall occupy it, and the poet is careful to lay emphasis upon God's wish that inhabitants might ultimately be found for it. This wish is an essential part of the motivation of the whole poem and the poet's emphasis on it shows at once the wide view he takes of his material, and the care he exercises over the structure of his poem.

Lines 103-111.

The bridge passage concludes appropriately with an imaginative description of Chaos just before the Creation. The passage is not without relationship to the Vulgate Ch.I, v.2; the phrase idel and unnyt (1.106a) echoes the inanis et vacua of the Latin, and the poet's whole concept of Chaos seems founded upon the tenebrae super faciem abyssi: but the poet is not yet ready to deal with the Bible in detail, and instead, again with structural ingenuity, he uses the cyclic technique to emphasise the universal darkness in which the Creator shaped the universe.<sup>1</sup>

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1. It may not be purely coincidental that the two final lines of this passage, 11.110-111, both alliterate upon the same sound, the semivowel w: the device may have suggested itself as a type of structural punctuation.



Lines 112-116a.

The A.S. poet commences to follow the Vulgate closely in 11.112-116a,

Her ærest gesceop ece drihten,  
helm eallwihta, heofon and eorðan,  
rodor arerde, and þis rume land  
gestapelode strangum mihtum,  
frea ælmihtig.

which are based on the Vulgate Ch.I, v.1,

In principio creavit Deus caelum et terram.

The main difference is that the poet seeks emphasis for the Creation in the cyclic movement of A.S. epic style, using this familiar technique to serve the new material.

These lines also should be compared with Caedmon's Hymn: the phrases ærest gesceop, ece drihten, frea ælmihtig are common to both, while strangum mihtum (Genesis A, 1.115b) is similar to metudes myhte (Caedmon's Hymn, 1.2a). But ece drihten and frea ælmihtig are the common currency of A.S. religious poetry; and gesceop seems the natural word for creavit, while the idea in mihtum is suggested by almost every commentator who mentions this verse of the Bible.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, the "echo" of the Vulgate caelum et terram in the A.S. heofon and eorðan (Genesis A, 1.113b) is of the type which elsewhere occurs when the poet is closely translating his source.<sup>2</sup> There is in fact no need to suppose any connection whatsoever between the two poems.

Lines 116b-121a.

In the next lines of the A.S. poem, the Vulgate, v.2

terra autem erat inanis et vacua

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1. For commentators consulted on Genesis in general, see App. I, List III; for those on the Creation, App. I, List IV.

2. cf. infra p.48.

et tenebrae super faciem abyssi  
et spiritus Dei ferebatur super aquas

appears as ll.116b-121a,

Folde was þa gyta  
grea ungrene; garsecg þeahte  
sweart synnihte, side and wide,  
wonne wegas. þa was wuldortorht  
heofonweardes gast ofer holm boren  
miclum spedum.

and the A.S. poet is not simply translating but rearranging, and as he does so, introducing as much visible detail as he can. For at least some of this detail he turned to the commentators, who give him warrant<sup>1</sup> for translating abyssi as garsecg (l.117b); the suggestion of the appropriate visual detail is a function they often perform for the poet. Lines 121b-125.

The poet's handling of the following verse from the Vulgate, v.3,

dixitque Deus fiat lux et facta est lux  
forms the basis for ll.121b-125,

Metod engla heht,  
lifes brytta, leont forþ cuman

- 
1. The first identification of faciem abyssi with aquas is in the Genesis Metrica attributed to Tertullian, ll.1-2, Principio Dominus coelum terramque creavit Namque erat informis, fluctuque abscondita tellus in Migne, PL, Vol.2, col.1097. The ultimate decision is also latent in Bede Commentarius in Genesim, Inanis autem erat terra... et incomposita, nondum a maria distincta, Migne, PL, Vol.91, col.192, and in a comment of his which ultimately found its way into the Glossa Ordinaria of Walafrid Strabo: si autem queritur ubi (sc. lux) est facta cum abyssus omnem terrae altitudinem tegeret?.... Nec mirum lucem in aquis posset lucere. Migne, PL, Vol.113, col.71. Cf. Bede Hexaemeron Migne, PL, Vol.91, col.17. But the clearest statement does not appear until the time of Rupertus Abbas super faciem abyssi id est super profunditatem aquarum (de Trinitate et Operibus eius, Migne, PL, Vol.167, col.205.) See also Hilarius de St. Victor, Adnotationes Elucidatoriae, Migne PL, Vol.175, col.36.

ofer rumne grund. Repe was gefylled  
heahcininges has; him was halig leoht  
ofer westenne, swa se wyrhta bebed.

and is interesting as it shows the poet reinforcing as it were the character of God by the use of several phrases reminiscent of kennings, and giving up the idea of creation in favour of the idea of bringing forth. These two changes seem to imply that A.S. audiences were too sceptical to accept miracles unless they were first prepared for the acceptance. At the same time, this passage contains another addition of visual detail in the phrase rumne grund, again probably suggested by the patristic commentary.<sup>1</sup>  
Lines 126-134.

The remaining happenings during the first days light are now given in ll.126-134,

pa gesundrode sigora waldend  
ofer laguflode leoht wið þeostrum,  
sceade wið sciman. Sceop þa þem naman,  
lifes brytta. Leoht was ærest  
purh drihtnes word dæg genemned,  
whitebeorhte gesceaft. Wel licode  
freaan æt frymbe forþbero tid,  
dæg æresta; geseah deorc sceado  
sweart swiðrian geond sidne grund.

based with some variation upon v.4 and the opening phrase of v.5

et vidit Deus lucem quod esset bona  
et divisit lucem ac tenebras  
5.appelavitque lucem diem.

The change is principally one of order. The naming of

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1. Cf. Bede Hexaameron, Migne, PL. Vol.91, col.17, quoted almost verbatim by Hrabanus Maurus, Commentarius in Genesis in superioribus ejusdem terrae partibus, quas et nunc divina lux solis illustrare consuevit tunc principalis illa lux emicuit, Migne, PL. Vol.107, col.448: the coincidences of divina lux with halig leont (1.124b) and of emicuit with forþcuman (1.122b) are not to be completely ignored.

night is temporarily omitted, and God's judgment on his works comes at the end of the incident. Both testify to the A.S. poet's possession of an ability to give a distinct form to the incidents in his poem.

Lines 134-143b.

The naming of night, with the rest of v.5,

(appellavitque)... et tenebras noctem  
factumque est vespere et mane dies unus

is given in somewhat extended form in ll.135-140a

þa seo tid gewat ofer timber sceacan  
middangeardes, metod after sceaf  
scirum sciman, scippend ure,  
æfen ærest. Him arn on last,  
þrang þystre genip, þam þe se þeoden self  
sceop nihte naman.

and the additions form a picture of a type popular in A.S. secular poetry. Again the poet is using an old poetic style perhaps for the propagandist purpose of commending his material to his audience.

The poet's comment on the work of the first day follows in ll.140b-143a

Nergend ure  
hie gesundrode; siððan æfre  
drugon and dydon drihtnes willan,  
ece ofer eorðan.

again inspired from patristic commentary, probably indeed from a remark which is first found in Bede, Hexameron: factum est vespere occidente paulatim luce post expletum spatium diurnae longitudinis, atque inferiores mundi partes subeunte, quod nunc usitato solis circuitu noctibus agi solet.<sup>1</sup>

1. Migne, PL, Vol.91, Col.17. This idea also found its way in a slightly altered form into Hrabanus Maurus Glossa Ordinaria, Migne, PL, Vol.113, Col.71.

Its inclusion here was probably suggested again by the poet's sense of form, as it "rounds off" the account of the first night most excellently.

Lines 143b-153.

There follows now the account of the work of the second day, in ll.143b-153,

ða com ober dag,  
leht æfter þeostrum. Heht þa lifes weard  
on mereflode middum weorðan  
hyhtlic heofontimber. Holmas ðælde  
waldend ure and geworhte þa  
roderas fæsten; þæt se rica ahof  
up from eorðan þurh his agen word,  
frea ælmihtig. Flod<sup>1</sup> was aðeald  
under heahrodore halgum mihtum,  
water of wætrum, þam þe wuniab gyt  
under fæstene folca krofes.

based upon vv.6 and 7,

6. Dixit quoque Deus

fiat firmamentum in medio aquarum  
et dividat aquas ab aquis

7. et fecit Deus firmamentum

divisitque aquas quae erant sub firmamento  
ab his quae erant super firmamentum  
et factum est ita.

with little change save the transmutation to a more poetic expression and a repetitious content emphasising God's power, (þæt se rica ahof / up from eorðan, ll.148b-149a) again probably with a commendatory purpose in the poet's mind.

Lines 154-155a.

In the Vulgate, the following verse, v.8 is partly devoted to God's naming of the heavens, and partly to marking the division into days:

vocavitque Deus firmamentum caelum  
et factum est vespere et mane dies secundus

---

1. MS. fold; but the emendation seems correct.

but the A.S. poet omits the first part, probably to avoid the monotony which would threaten from a frequent repetition of the naming process. The second phrase, he replaces by 11.154-155a

þa com ofer foldan fus sibian  
mare mergen þridða.

whose greater picturesqueness strengthens the conclusion that the poet was concerned to give his poem variety.

Lines 155b-168a.

The poet now makes an addition in 11.155b-157a

Nearon metode þa gyta  
widlond ne wegas nytte, ac stod bewrigen fæste  
folde mid flode.

and the usefulness of the summary it gives of how far Creation has progressed, is a tribute to the narrative skill of the A.S. poet. He then goes on to render vv.9 and 10

9. Dixit vero Deus  
congregentur aquae quae sub caelo sunt in  
locum unum et appareat arida  
factumque est ita  
10. et vocavit aridam terram

as 11.157b-168a,

Frea, engla heht  
þurh his word we san water gemene,  
þa nu under roderum heora ryne healdað,  
stowe gestefnde. þa stod hraðe  
holm under heofonum, swa se halga bebed,  
sid æt somne, þa gesundrod was  
lago wið lande. Geseah þa lifes weard  
drige stowe, dugoba hyrde,  
wide æteowde, þa se wuldorcynig  
eorðan nemde. Gesette yðum heora  
onrihtne ryne, rumum flode,  
and gefetero

and beyond the necessity of translation he makes little change in the material, save to add another "familiarising"

phrase, Gesette yōum heora / onrihtne ryne, rumum flode / and gefetero ... (ll.166b-168a) which again possibly stems from the commentators<sup>1</sup>; but there is a lacuna of several pages in the MS. after gefetero and certainty about the poet's source or purpose is hence impossible.<sup>2</sup>

Lines 169-175.

The A.S. text resumes in ll.169-175

Ne buhte þa gerysne    rodora wearde,  
 þat Adam leng    and ware  
 neorknawonges,    niwre gesceafte,  
 hyrde and healdend.    Forþon him heahcýning,  
 frea almihtig    fultum tiode  
 wif aweahte    and þa wræde sealde,  
 lifes leoftrump,    leofum rince.

which are almost exactly equivalent to the Vulgate Ch.II, v.18.

dixit quoque Dominus Deus  
 Non est bonum esse hominem solum  
 faciamus ei adiutorem<sup>†</sup> similem sui

save that the A.S. poem has given more and more exact details: the type of adiutorem for example is given at once though

1. Bede is a good representative for this comment; his Commentarius in Genesis, gives ipsa autem congregatio aquarum in unum ipsa confirmatio est in illam formam quam videmus. Migne, P.L. Vol.91, col.195. But this is not quite the sense of the poet's comment, which is better served by the unusual phrase Bede quotes later in the same work, congregentur aquae in locum unum. Migne, P.L. Vol.91, col.196. But Eustathius in Hexameron S. Basilii Latina Metaphrasis is equally good. Congregentur aquae; Etenim oportebat eas dicurrere properanter ut devenirent ad propriam regionem: et postquam ventum esset, stare in conceptaculis deputatis, atque ultra non tendere. Migne, P.L. Vol.53, col.904.

2. The usual view is that the missing material is that contained in Vulgate Ch.I, v.11 to Ch.II, v.18 (see e.g. Krapp, notes p.162-3). But as the poet later uses some of this material (v. infra p. 16 ) it seems more probable that these pages contained only an eclectic version at most.

it cannot be by the Vulgate, - a change plainly directed towards the achievement of a clearer narrative.

Lines 176-185a.

At this point, the A.S. poet omits two verses from the Vulgate, vv.19 and 20.

19. formatis igitur Dominus Deus de humo cunctis  
animantibus terrae et universis volatilibus caeli  
adduxit ea ad Adam ut videret quid vocaret ea  
omne enim quod vocavit Adam animas viventis  
ipsum est nomen eius

20. appellavitque Adam nominibus suis cuncta animantia  
et universa volatilia caeli et omnes bestias terrae  
Adam vero non inveniebatur adiutor similis eius

and unless they appeared in the lacuna, as is not impossible, the motive for the poet's omission of these verses must be his desire to keep Adam at the height of solitary eminence which most epic heroes occupy; and the motive for his omission of these verses reappears later in his treatment of the occupants of the Ark.<sup>1</sup>

After this omission, the poet recounts the making of Eve given by the Vulgate in the following verses, vv.21-22.

21. inmisit ergo Dominus Deus soporem in Adam  
cumque obdormisset tulit unam de costis eius et  
replevit carnem pro ea

22. et aedificavit Dominus Deus costam quam tulerat  
de Adam in mulierem  
et adduxit eam ad Adam.

which the poet reproduces as ll.176-185a,

He þæt andweorc of Adames  
lice aledode, and him listum ateah  
rib of sidan. He was reste fast,  
and softe swaf, sar ne wiste,  
earfoda dæl, ne þær enig com  
blod of benne, ac him brego engla  
of lice ateah liodende ban,  
wer unwundod, of þam worhte god  
freolice fæmnan. Feorn in gedyde,  
eccc saula.

1. cf. infra p. 119.



His principal change is to add sar ne wiste / earfoða ðal (11.179b-180a) and the addition seems again to be a concession to a sceptical habit of mind.<sup>1</sup> He also adds physical detail not given in the Bible in his comment ne þar enig com / blod of benne (11.180b-181a) again possibly to make a strange happening more striking, as wounds from which blood did flow must have been common in the A.S. world.

Lines 185b-191.

The comment which the poet now adds in 11.185b-191,

Heo wæron englum gelice,  
 þa wæs Ewe, Adames bryd,  
 gaste gegearwod. Hie on geogode bu  
 wlitebeorht wæron on woruld cenned  
 meotodes mihtum. Man ne cuðon  
 don ne dreogan, ac him drihtnes wæs  
 þam on breostum byrnende lufu

has its source not in the Vulgate but in the frequent commentaries which discuss Adam and Eve in Paradise, though they are in general more epexegetic than descriptive.<sup>2</sup> But there is a remarkable likeness of thought between the A.S. poem and Bede's comment qui (sc. Adam) quoniam pulcherrimam hanc novitatem in se divinae imaginis peccando corruptit.

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1. The commentators, writing for a more credulous audience hardly mention this point, till the time of Remigius Expositio super Genesim, Numquid vigilante Adam sine dolore Dominus costam ejus auferre non potuit quam eo dormiente abstulisse dicitur. Migne, P.L. Vol.131, col.63. It would be interesting to think that this comment may have originated in England.
  2. See for example, Hrabanus Maurus, Commentarius in Genesim, Migne, P.L. Vol.107, col.459; Angelomus Luxoviensis. Commentarius in Genesim, Migne PL. Vol.115, col.155. Bruno Astens, Expositio in Genesim. Migne P.L. Vol.164, col.158.
  3. He is discussing Ch.I. v.26: Hexaameron. Migne PL. Vol.91 col.29.

and the commentary thus probably inspired the thought if not the language of the poem at this point, the purpose of its inclusion being again Christian propaganda in its emphasis on the happiness of prelapsarian man.

In this passage, the poet's enthusiasm seems for once to have carried him too far: his comment Heo weron englum gelice (l.185b) directly contradicts Church doctrine: and the doctrine, too, is implied by Bede just before the passage quoted above.<sup>1</sup> But the firm statement of that doctrine does not appear until much later, and the A.S. poet was probably too engrossed in his composition to be aware of his heresy.

Up to this point, the poet has consistently altered the expression of the Bible, in that wherever the Bible gives God's commands, the poet has given the resultant event as an action by God; and the gain in the effectiveness of the narrative is considerable.  
Lines 192-195a.

Creation completed, the poet now recounts how God blessed Adam and Eve its masters, in ll.192-195a,

þa gebletsode bliðheort cyning,  
metod alwihta, monna cynnes  
ða forman twa, fæder and moder,  
wif and wæpned.

verses for whose source he turned back to part of Ch.I,  
vv.27 and 28,

27.et creavit Deus hominem ad imaginem suam  
ad imaginem Dei creavit illum  
masculum et feminam creavit illos  
28.benedixit illis Deus (et ait)

.....

---

1. Neque enim angelis/a Deo dici poterat Faciamus hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram quia nulla prorsus ratio sivit ut Dei et angelorum unam esse et eandemque imaginem sive similitudinem credamus. Bede, Hexameron, Migne, P.L., Vol.91, Col.29.

as is shown plainly by the echo of masculum et feminam in wif and wæpned (1.195a). The purpose of the poet's rearrangement of the Vulgate material is plain: it is designed to give a better narrative order. The facts of the rearrangement, a careful interpolation of verses closely reproduced, show that the poet kept the plan of his poem in advance of its composition, and worked with his eye closely upon the minutiae of the Biblical text.

Lines 195b-205.

The same conclusion appears from the account of the Blessing itself, which the poet now gives in 11.195b-205,

He þa worde cwæð:  
 "Temeð nu and wexað, tudre fyllað  
 eorðan ealgrene, incre cynne,  
 sunum and dohtrum. Inc sceal sealt water  
 wunian on gewælde and eall worulde gesceaft.  
 Brucað bleddaga and brimhlæste  
 and heofonfugla. Inc is halig feoh  
 and wilde deor on geweald geseald,  
 and lifigende, ða ðe land tredað,  
 feorheaceno cynn, ðe ðe flod wecceað  
 geond hronrade. Inc hyrað eall."

and which he obviously took from Ch.I, using the remainder of v.28, and verses 29 and 30,

et ait  
 crescite et multiplicamini et replete  
 terram et subicite eam  
 et dominemini piscibus maris et volatilibus caeli.  
 et universis animantibus quae moventur super terram  
 29. dixitque Deus  
 ecce dedi vobis omnem herbam adferentem semen  
 super terram  
 et universa ligna quae habent in semetipsis  
 sementem generis sui  
 ut sint vobis in escam 30. et cunctis  
 animantibus terrae  
 omnique volucris caeli et universis quae  
 moventur in terra  
 et in quibus est anima vivens ut habeant ad vescendum

but the mainspring of his thought is v.28. From v.29 he takes nothing, while from v.30, he takes the only new idea it introduces, anima vivens which he reproduces as feor-heaceno cynn (l.204a). By this omission of the crop foods, he leaves out what was probably less important to the A.S. world than to the Biblical world, and certainly less impressive poetically; by his substitution of more vivid and realistic details, such as land tredað (l.203b) for moventur super terram he improves the expression of the thought; and by transmuting the merely repetitive quality of v.30 into the cyclic movement of A.S. poetry in ll.203-205, he improves the shaping of that thought, and thus moulds both the content and the form of his raw material to suit Germanic civilization.

Lines 206-215a.

There follows in the A.S. poem a composite passage, whose opening phrase, in ll.206-208a,

pa sceawode scyppend ure  
his weorca wlite and his westma blnd.  
niwra gesceafta.

depends upon the first phrase of Ch.I, v.31,

viditque Deus cuncta quae fecit et erant valde bona  
while the rest of the passage, in ll.208b-215a

Neorxnawong stod  
god and gastlic, gifene gefylled  
fremum forðwardum. Engere leante  
þæt libe lend lago yrnende,  
nylleburne. Nalles wolcnu ða giet  
ofer rumne grund rognas beron,  
wonn mid winde, hwæðre westmum stod  
folde gefretwod.

depends upon Ch.II, verses 8 and 9,

8.Plantaverat autem Dominus Deus paradysum  
voluptatis a principio  
in quo posuit hominem quem formaverat  
9.produxitque Dominus Deus de humo omne lignum  
pulchrum visu et ad vescendum suave  
.....

though he does not follow his source closely. In fact the detail he chooses seems to depend rather upon the patristic descriptions which are frequent and which lay emphasis upon the points which the poet mentions,<sup>1</sup> but none has been found which resembles the poem closely enough to be the source. The composition of the passage from two widely separated Vulgate extracts, shows again the poet's meticulous method of working: while the purpose of the passage seems to be that of a "bridge" to allow him to resume the thread of the Vulgate narrative; there is little new or potentially poetic material in Ch. II verses 1-7 and it seems probable that these verses were not used in the lacuna between ll. 168 and 169, but completely omitted. The inclusion of this passage in the A.S. poem has made the narrative plainer, more orderly and more continuous. The differences in detailed content between the passage and the original show the appeal which nature poetry had for the A.S. world.

The final phrases of this verse of the Vulgate,

lignum etiam vitae in medio paradisi  
lignumque scientiae boni et mali

are omitted by the poet. His next lines continue the description of Paradise with the detail of the rivers, and it seems probable that his narrative sense suggested that the mention of the trees should be delayed until the account of the Temptation of Man when they could partake of the unity of that incident: although that incident is

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1. See for example Avitus de Initio Mundi Migne P.L. Vol. 59, col. 328, Eugenius Toletanensis Dracontii Hexameron Emendatum Migne, P.L. Vol. 87, col. 372. Bede Commentarius in Genesis, Migne, P.L. Vol. 91, col. 206. Irabanus Maurus de Universo, Migne P.L. Vol. 111 col. 334.

itself lost<sup>1</sup> it seems almost certain that this was the reason for the poet's omission of these two phrases, and is again proof of the minute care and detailed foresight with which he worked.

Lines 215b-234.

There follows a long passage giving further detail of Paradise, in ll.215b-234

Neoldon forðryne  
 eastreamas heora eðele feower  
 of þam niwan neorxnawonge.  
 þa weron eðelede drihtnes mintum  
 ealle of anum, þa he þas eorðan geaceop,  
 watre whitebeorhtum, and on woruld sende.  
 þara anne hatað ylde, eorðbuende,  
 Fison folcweras; se<sup>2</sup> foldan dæl  
 brade bebugeð beorhtum streamum  
 ebeleac<sup>3</sup> utan. On þare eðyltyrf  
 niððas findað nean and feorran  
 gold and gymcynn, gumpeoda bearn,  
 ða selestan, þas þe us secgað bec.  
 þonne seo eftre Ethiopia  
 land and liodgeard beligeð uton,  
 ginno rice, þare is Geon noma.  
 þridde is Tigris, seo wið þeodscipe,  
 ea inflede, Assirie belid.  
 swilce is seo feorðe, þa nu geond folc monig  
 weras Sufraten wide nennað.

and depending on the subsequent verses in the Vulgate,  
 vv.10-14,

10.et fluvius egrediebatur de loco voluptatis ad  
 inrigendum paradisum

1. Cf. infra p.21.

2. MS. sæ but the emendation is accepted by most edd. See Krapp, notes, p.163.

3. MS. he beleac. To support this Krapp and other edd. cite Vulgate Ch.II, v.11 as omnem terram Hevilath (e.g. Krapp, notes, p.164). But this form is found in Genesis only once and then only as an emendation: all MSS at this point have forms without the aspirate. (See BS. apparatus critici, pp.147 and 250).

- qui inde dividitur in quattuor capita
11. nomen uni Phison  
ipse est qui circuit omnem terram Evilath  
ubi nascitur aurum
  12. et aurum terrae illius optimum est  
ibique invenitur bdellium et lapis onychinus
  13. et nomen fluvio secundo Geon  
ipse est qui circuit omnem terram Aethiopiae
  14. nomen vero fluminis tertii Tigris  
ipse vadit contra Assyrios  
fluvius autem quartus ipse est Eufrates.

The A.S. poem shows relatively little change from the Latin: the names of the precious stones have been generalised, probably for poetic convenience, and the poet has added þas þe us secgað þec (l. 227b) using the familiarity of the epic "tag" to reinforce the superlative selestan (l. 227a); but otherwise his source has here appealed to him so that he has used it with little change.

Lines 235-245.

After wide neamað the closing words of l. 234, there is a blank space, and a leaf is thought to have been lost<sup>1</sup>. The next lines, at the top of f. 13 of the MS, are usually held to belong to Genesis B<sup>2</sup>; but they seem in fact to stand well as part of Genesis A. The first two lines, ll. 235-236

"ac niotað inc þas oðres ealles, forlotað þone  
anne þeam,  
wariað inc wið þone westra. Ne wyrð inc wilna god".

form the end of a passage depending upon Ch. 11, v. 17,

de ligno autem scientiae boni et mali ne comedas  
in quocumque enim die comederis ex eo morte morieris

but the lacuna makes it unwise to decide the character of

1. Gollancz p. 1c. , Krapp p. xxxix, n. 3.

2. Holthausen p. 9, Krapp p. xxv, and notes p. 164.

the passage<sup>1</sup> though it should be noted that his addition of ne wyrð inc wilna god shows no little psychological insight.

The remaining lines of this opening section of Genesis A, 11.237-245

Unigon þa mid heafdom heofoncyninge  
 georne togenes and seðon ealles þanc,  
 lista and þara lara. He let heo þæt land buan,  
 hwerf him þa to heofenum halig drihten,  
 stiðferhð cyning. Stod his handgeweorc  
 somed on sande, nyston sorge wiht  
 to begornianne, butan heo godes willan  
 lengest læsten. Heo wæron leof gode  
 ðenden heo his halige word healdan woldon.

are an addition by the A.S. poet, with no Vulgate equivalent. But they form an effective and almost dramatic vignette to "round off" satisfactorily the account of Creation; and the addition of these lines is a mark of the A.S. poet's care for the structure of his poem.

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1. After wide nemað approximately one-third of MS. f.12 is left blank to prepare for the illustration (cf. Gollancz p.11) on the first of the two following lost folios, which thus belongs to Genesis A. The illustration on p.13 which probably represents Adam and Eve in Paradise is fittingly placed at the end of the account of Creation and thus again belongs to Genesis A. The terms of 1.235a (þæs oðres ealles) presume a previous mention of the trees in Paradise in general and of the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil in particular; and the poet has previously omitted these items almost certainly to mention them here. (v. supra p.13 ) in what would be their logical place: Finally, 11.238-245 form a vignette, a technique common in Genesis A. (cf. for example 11.1699b-1701: Him on laste bu / stiðlic stantor and seo steape burh / samed sawworht on Sennar stod).



Lines 852-857.

After the end of the Genesis B, the Genesis A resumes with ll.852-854

pa' com feras frea almihtig  
ofer midne dæg, mere peoden,  
on neorxnawang neode sine

which correspond closely to the first phrase of the Vulgate Ch.III, v.8,

Et cum audissent vocem Domini Dei deambulantis in  
paradiso ad auram post meridiem.

At this point, both the poem and its source are describing God's arrival in Paradise to interview Adam and Eve.

They have eaten of the fruit of the forbidden tree and are awaiting His wrath in apprehensive concealment as He arrives. To the account of this arrival as the Vulgate gives it, the A.S. poet adds the following three lines, ll.855-857:

wolde neosian nergend usser,  
bilwit fæder, hwæt his bearn dyde  
wiste forworhte pa(m) he ær wite sealde.

As Heinze saw<sup>1</sup>, these lines add the idea that the love of God for Adam and Eve is like that of a father for his children. This idea did not develop until comparatively late in the Biblical period<sup>2</sup>, and therefore must have been added

1. Op. cit. p.46.

2. Dictionary of the Bible ed. J. Hastings et.al. Edinburgh 1900 v.s. Love: The term 'love'. (vb.  $\square$   $\square$   $\square$   $\square$  noun  $\square$   $\square$   $\square$   $\square$ ) used of God's love for His people, is not found, if Dt. be late, till the time of the prophets. Hosea is the first who develops the idea, (under the images of marriage and sonship, Hos. 3<sup>1</sup>, 11<sup>1</sup>, 14<sup>9</sup>).

by the A.S. poet from some other part of the Bible. But his motive for this addition is not quite so easily seen; it cannot have been only the poet's desire to explain God's visit to Paradise; the last two words of l.854, neode sine would do this adequately for the satisfaction of any member of the early Christian Church. It seems rather as if the poet had wished to lay special emphasis on God's fatherliness, possibly for Christian propaganda.

The final phrase of this addition, pa(m) he ær wite sealde appears to be a reference to Ch.ii, v.9, (de humo omne lignum pulchrum visu) though the reason for such a reference cannot now be deduced<sup>1</sup>.

Lines 858-871.

The following lines, ll.858-871,

Gewitan him þa gangan geomermode  
 under beamsceade blæde bereafod,  
 hyddon hie on heolstre, þa hie halig word  
 drihtnes gehyrdon, and ondredon him.  
 þa sona ongann swegles aldor  
 weard ahsian woruldgesceafta,  
 het him recene to rice þeoden  
 his sunu gangan. Him þa sylfa onewæð,  
 hean hleoðrade hægles þearfa:  
 "Ic wreo me her wæda leasne,  
 liffrea min, leafum þecce.  
 soylfull mine sceaben is me sare,  
 frecne on ferhðe; ne dear nu forð gen  
 for ðe andweardne. Ic eom eall eall nacod".

agree quite closely with the corresponding passage from the Vulgate, namely the second phrase of v.8, and vv.9-10,

abscondit se Adam et uxor eius a facie Domini Dei in medio ligni paradisi.

- 9.vocavitque Dominus Deus Adam, et dixit ei: ubi es?  
 10.qui ait: vocem tuam audivi in paradiso: et timui, eo quod nudus essem, et abscondi me.

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1. MS. l.857, pa; but our suggestion would support pa(m), and oppose the punctuation of Krapp and Dobbie, who place a semicolon after l.856.

except that the A.S. poet wishing to rouse the feelings of his audience, makes more of Adam's emotion, which he changes from fear to shame, to bring his poem more closely in line with current Germanic thought.

Lines 872-881.

In these lines we are given God's answer, corresponding to the brief account of this in the Vulgate in Ch.III, v.11.

Cui dixit: Quis enim indicavit tibi quod nudus esses, nisi quod ex ligno de quo praeceperam tibi ne comederes, comedisti?

The A.S. expands this reply in ll.872-881

Him ða eðre god andswarede:  
 "Saga me þæt, sunu min, for hwon secest ðu  
 sceade sceomiende? þu sceonde et me  
 furðum ne anfenge, ac gefean eallum.  
 For hwon wast þu wean and wrihst sceome,  
 gesyhst sorge, and þin sylf þecest  
 lic mid leafum, sagest lifceare  
 hean hygegeomor, þæt þe sie hragles þearf,  
 nympe ðu eppel anne byrgde  
 of ðam wudubeame þe ic þe wordum forbæd?"

The matter of this expansion adds two further ideas to those which are contained in the Vulgate. The first is the idea of 'shame', sceonde (l.874), while the second is that of 'sorrow', sorge (l.877) and lifceare (l.878). To the development of these ideas the poet allots 9 lines, but these lines add nothing fresh to the material content of the words sceond and sorg; nor have these two ideas any further part to play in the poem. They are simply a reflection upon what has happened previously in the poem<sup>1</sup>,

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1. It is interesting and noteworthy that lines 880-1  
 nympe ðu eppel anne byrgde  
 of ðam wudubeame þe ic þe wordum forbæd?  
 might possibly be taken to provide some internal evidence confirming the hypothesis that even before the Genesis B was interpolated, the Genesis A contained a version of the entire Vulgate Genesis.

and it may be assumed that the inclusion of this addition is aesthetic and not intellectual in origin. The source from which this aesthetic impulse comes is the material provided by the vocabulary and style of the A.S. pagan epic poems. The hypothesis that there was a fairly large corpus of stock words and phrases upon which both pagan and Christian writers drew is by no means recent; it was applied to this poem by Merrill and McClumpha in an article which cited many parallels between this poem and Beowulf<sup>1</sup>. Although this article cited no passage exactly parallel to that under consideration at present, our assumption that the poet is here drawing upon this common thesaurus of heroic terms rests upon evidence which we may reasonably accept. Lifcearu is apparently not found outside Caedmon's poems (v.BT.p.639) but this does not detract from its value as an epic compound, for it is almost certainly formed on the pattern of cearseld (Seafarer 1.5) and breostcearu (ibid.4). The poet then has made this addition with a view to incorporating into his poem some of the words from the epic thesaurus in common use by both pagan and Christian poets to approximate the style of his poem as closely as might be to that of the pagan epic poetry with which his audience would be familiar from many sources.

It is interesting to note the care with which this addition is inserted. The line which immediately precedes it, 1.872, Him ða ædre god andswarede balances the Vulgate Ch.III, v.11, Cui dixit, while the last part of this same verse nisi quod ex lignode quo praeceperam tibi ne comederes comedisti is rendered by what is in the A.S. the

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1. 'The Parallelisms of the Anglo-Saxon Genesis'. MLN.Vol.5 pp.164 et sqq.

final couplet of God's speech, namely ll.880-881:

nympe ðu appæl ænne byrgde  
of ðam wudubeame þe ic þe wordum forbead.

Between these two the expansion is inserted; and hence from its careful placing it appears to be deliberate; for the addition occurs between the rendering of the Vulgate dixit and the rendering of the second half of the same verse, nisi etc. Here in fact we see the A.S. poet at work to "epicise" by stylistic means the Christian material of his source.

Lines 882-895a.

As we have seen from ll.880-881, the poet's return to his source is equally deliberate. From this point he follows the Vulgate with little alteration during the exchange between God and Adam, but when he reaches in ll.888-895a God's question to Eve, he again expands the material with which his source provides him. In the Vulgate, God's question occupies only half a verse, (ch.III, v.13.)

Et dixit Dominus Deus ad mulierem: Quare hoc fecisti?  
In the A.S. poem on the other hand, God's question occupies 8½ lines, ll.888-895a:

Hwæt druge þu, dohtor, dugeþa genohra,  
niwra gesceafta neorxnawanges,  
growendra gifa, þa þu gitsiende  
on beam gripe, blæda name  
on treowes telgum, and me on teonan  
mte þa unfreme, Adame sealdest  
wæstm þa inc weron wordum minum  
fæste forbodene?

That the poet should add these reproaches to Eve may strike us as odd when we recall that the Germanic epic poets were generally chivalrous in their attitude to women. One possible explanation is that the poet was influenced here by the poor esteem in which Eve was held throughout the

early Christian Church; but a more plausible explanation is that he is again concerned to reproduce the epic style; he has chosen God's speech as a suitable medium through which to invoke it, as we have seen him do in ll.873-881. Lines 895b-914.

From l.895 the A.S. poem follows its source without adding or omitting anything of great import. Eve's reply (ll.897-905) is again cast in rhetorical style, but its content is simply a brief recapitulation of events which the poet has already narrated; in essence, her reply is Me nadre beswac (l.897) which agrees perfectly with the Serpens deceptit me of the Vulgate Ch.III, v.13. The same rhetorical quality can be seen in ll.903-917, in which God curses the serpent for the evil it has done and once again there is no significant difference between the two accounts. In the Vulgate, the curse contains three main elements, (Ch.III, vv.14 and 15).

- (1) super pectus tuum
- (11) et terram comedes cunctis diebus vitae tuae
- (111) inimicitias ponam inter te et mulierem, et semen tuum et semen illius; ipsa conteret caput tuum, et tu insidiaberis calcaneo eius

and all three are repeated in the A.S.

- (1) þu scealt wideferhð werig þinum  
breostum bearm tredan bradre eorðan,  
faran febeleas, þenden þe feorh wunað  
gast on innan. (11.906-909a)
- (11) þu scealt gret etan  
þine lifdagas. (11.909b-910a)
- (111) Swa þu laðlice  
wrohte onstealdest, þe þæt wif feoð,  
hatað under heofnum and þin heafod tredeð  
fah mid fotum sinum. þu scealt fiersna setan  
tohtan niwre; (11.910b-914a)

There is a certain amount of inevitable expansion due to the A.S. poetic style, where the more barely factual account

given in the Vulgate is clothed with the repetitions of epic style - faran feðeleas (1.908) and under heofnum (1.912): but otherwise the correspondence between the two accounts is sufficiently close.

Lines 914b-924.

The A.S. poet first makes an addition in ll.914b-917

tuddor bið gemæne  
incrum orlegnið a þenden standeð  
woruld under wolcnum. Nu þu wast and canst,  
lað leodsceaða, hu þu lifian scealt.

and its purpose is simply to round off God's speech to Adam. Thereafter there is a close correspondence between the A.S. in ll.918-924

þa to ðuan god yrringa sprec:  
"Wend þe from wynne! þu scealt wepnedmen  
wesan on gewearde, mid weres egsan  
hearde genearwad, hean þrowian  
þinra dæda gedwild, deaðes bidan,  
and þurh wop and heaf on woruld cennan  
þurh sar micel sunu and dohtor".

and the Latin in v.16

mulieri quoque dixit:  
multiplicabo aerumnas tuas, et conceptus tuos:  
in dolore paries filios, et sub viri potestate  
eris, et ipse dominabitur tui.

Lines 925-930a.

When the narrative reaches God's punishment upon Adam, the Vulgate gives this in three parts:-

- (i) maledicta terra in opere tuo
- (ii) in laboribus comedes ex ea cunctis diebus vitae tuae.  
Spinās et tribulos germinabit tibi, et comedes  
herbam terrae.  
In sudore vultus tui vesceres pane,
- (iii) donec revertaris in terram de qua sumptus es:  
quia pulvis es, et in pulverem reverteris.

The greatest amount of space is allotted to the second of these three elements. This predominance however, is

counterbalanced by the manner of presentation of the curse in the Vulgate, as compensatory emphasis is given to the first element by its primary position and the arresting style in which it is propounded, while weight is given to the third element by the almost ritual rhythm of its statement. As a result of this balance, all three elements appear to have more or less the same importance.

The A.S. poet has treated the whole passage with considerable freedom; his first change is to introduce into the passage an idea which seems to us to be a most noteworthy addition - the idea that part of the curse pronounced upon Adam was the sentence of exile. After two lines which redirect our attention to Adam, the A.S. poet commences his account of the curse upon him with this idea in ll.927-930a

pu scealt oðerne eðel secean,  
 wynleasran wic, and on wræc hweorfan  
 nacod niedwædle, neorxnawanges  
 dugeðum bedæled;

The ultimate origin of this idea lies in the Bible itself; the expulsion of Adam from paradise was indeed an exile and is in fact recounted only a few verses later in this same chapter<sup>1</sup>. But there is certainly no mention of exile as an organic part of the curse upon Adam, whereas in the A.S. poem we find exile included not merely as an organic part of the curse but as the opening and almost as the most emphatic part of it. It is allotted considerable space, and is treated with epic dignity, being expressed in terms chosen from the Germanic pagan poetry - wynleas (l.928a) is found in Beowulf (l.1416) and dugeðum bedæled (l.930a) is not unlike the phrase salum bedæled in Deor (l.28b); and we may thus see in these expressions an attempt by the

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1.Ch.III, v.23. et emisit eum Dominus Deus de paradiso voluptatis.



poet to raise these lines of his poem to something approaching epic dignity of treatment, again by introducing what has already been seen to be the greatest disaster from the Germanic world for death, the greatest disaster in the Biblical world.

The A.S. poet omits all reference to the curse upon the earth, (maledicta est terra - Ch. III, v. 17). There is no indication in the A.S. poem that the earth in any way shares in the outcome of the Fall of Man. Here the poet may have felt the cursing of the earth to be part of the second element of the curse, - he may have regarded this phrase as the means through which the second element of the curse was to be achieved; hence his omission of any reference to this phrase at this point may rest upon the ground that his later treatment of the second element in extenso would be quite ample for his purpose.

Lines 930b-931a.

After omitting the first element of the curse and substituting for it, or transmuting it into, the doom of exile, the A.S. poet might be expected to deal with the decree of labour, the second element of the curse in the Vulgate. Instead of this, he alters the order of the three elements of the curse, and the decree of labour does not appear at this point. In its place is a reference to the decree of death, which in the Vulgate account is reserved to be the final element; in the A.S. however, the poet gives a brief anticipatory glance at this element in ll. 930b-931a.

þe is gedal wited

lices and sawle.

and to a reader accustomed to the rules which govern the use of suspense in more modern works, such anticipation strikes an odd note; but it would sound a good deal less strange to an A.S. ear; for anticipation was a recognised

A.S. literary device, and the poet's sudden introduction of this allusion to death out of its Biblical order may have been made because the poet either consciously desired to introduce or perhaps unconsciously did introduce into his poem yet another feature of A.S. pagan poetic style. Lines 931b-935.

The next lines in the A.S. contain what appears a more or less close rendering of the second element of the curse as it is contained in the Latin:

in laboribus comedes ex ea cunctis diebus vitae tuae.  
Spinas et tribulos germinabit tibi, et comedes herbam  
terrae.

In sudore vultus tui vesceris pane

and the A.S. version, ll.931b-935,

Hwæt, þu laðlice  
wrohte onstealdest; forðon þu winnan scealt  
and on eorðan þe þine andliffe  
selfa gemæcan, wegan swatig hleor,  
þinne hlaf etan, þenden þu her leofast.

contains little additional material, beyond the retrospective reference to Adam's sin, in ll.931b-932a, Hwæt þu laðlice wrohte onstealdest:

Lines 936-938.

The last part of the curse in the A.S. version is death, this being also the final element of the curse in the Vulgate; in this latter version it is given, as we have quoted it above, in Ch.III, v.19:

donec revertaris in terram de qua sumptus es:  
quia pulvis es, et in pulverem reverteris.

This appears in the A.S. poem as ll.936-938:

cōþæt þe to heortan hearde gripeð  
adl unliðe þe þu on eple ær  
selfa forswulge; forþon þu sweltan scealt.

The A.S. poet has maintained the matter of the original, but has altered the imagery through which it is expressed;

for the Biblical imagery of the return to dust he has substituted the imagery of the approach of old age. Of the two, the A.S. imagery is the more vivid, or at least it would appear so to the audience of the poet's own day; and the explanation of the change may be that the A.S. poet was searching for a more familiar and telling medium of expression than that which his source provided. Lines 939-940.

Subsequent to the account of the curse upon Adam, the A.S. poet adds a couplet referring to the general significance of the passage which he has just rendered, and says in ll.939-940.

Hwæt, we nu gehyrað hwar us hearmstefas  
wraðe onwocan and woruldyrmðo

with the very natural motive of introducing into his poem at this point a slight pause or possibly even something of a "chapter ending".

The next verse in the Vulgate recounts how Adam gave to his wife the name Eve, and adds his reason for doing so - the fact that she was the mother of all living things. (Ch. III, v.20). This verse is omitted by the A.S. poet probably because dramatic necessity has already compelled him to use Eve's name; it is also doubtful how far the A.S. world would have been interested in the Biblical etymology, more particularly in view of the fact that by the time this poem was composed much of the etymological significance must have disappeared from A.S. personal names.<sup>1</sup>

Lines 941-943.

Having omitted this verse however,

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1. To speak of the significance of Old English personal names is, however, to beg an important question. Most compound names can be translated, but the translation often/

the poet returns to his source to include the first part of Ch.III, v.21:

Fecit quoque Dominus Deus Adae et uxori eius  
tunicas pelliceas,  
et induit eos:

a passage which he reproduces quite closely in the next lines of the A.S. poem, ll.941-943a:

Hie þa wuldres weard wadum gyrede,  
scyppend usser; het heora sceome þeccan  
frea frumhrægle;

Lines 943b-951.

After this brief glance at his source however, the A.S. poet seems to have decided to make several changes in the material presented to him therein. He has already used Ch.III, v.21; and so with ll.943b-951,

het hie from hweorfan  
neorxnawange on nearore lif.  
Him on laste beleac liðsa and wynta  
hihtfulne ham halig engel  
be frean hæse fyrene sweorde;  
ne meg þær inwitfull ænig geferan  
womscyldig mon, ac se weard hafað  
miht and strengþo, se þæt mære lif  
dugodum deore drihtne healdeð

we must compare Ch.III, vv.22-24.

22.et ait

Ecce Adam quasi unus ex nobis factus est, sciens  
bonum et malum;  
nunc ergo ne forte mittat manum suam,  
et sumat etiam de ligno vitae,

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/ often makes nonsense. The men who coined the names Friþuwulf, 'peace-wolf' and Wigfrif, 'war-peace' were not concerned about their meaning. These are ancient names, and they prove that at an early time the sense which a compound name bore was a matter of little importance. Introduction to the survey of English Place-Names Part I, ed. A. Mawer and F.M. Stenton.

- et comedat, et vivat in aeternum,  
 23. Et emisit eum Dominus Deus de paradiso voluptatis,  
 ut operaretur terram de qua sumptus est.  
 24. Eiecitque Adam,  
 et collocavit ante paradisum voluptatis  
 Cherubim, et flammeum gladium atque versatilem,  
 ad custodiendam viam ligni vitae

It will probably be observed initially that the A.S. poet has omitted all reference to Ch. III, v. 22 of the Vulgate. This omission may seem strange to any reader who subscribes to the modern view, that v. 22 is required as part of the motivation for the expulsion of Adam from paradise<sup>1</sup>; this view however, was not always so widely held as it is now, and Bede for example suggests another motive quite as adequate. Sic autem dimittitur de paradiso beatitudinis, ut operaretur terram, id est, ut in corpore isto laboret, et collocet sibi meritum redeundi ad vitam quae paradisi nomine significatur.<sup>2</sup> Bede's view here would seem to imply some grammatical separation between v. 22 and v. 23, and is hence given a certain amount of support by these MSS. of the Bible which contain such a break; while MSS. G and A commence v. 23 with the word emisit and thus allow vv. 22 and 23 to be construed as parts of one sentence, O and some others start v. 23 with et emisit and thus allow

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1. It appears that this is the view held by Mgr. Ronald Knox for example, who reads this passage as 22. He said, too, here is Adam become like one of ourselves, with knowledge of good and evil; now he has only to lift his hand and gather fruit to eat from the tree of life as well, and he will live endlessly. 23. So the Lord God drove him out from that garden of delight, to cultivate the ground from which he came. (The Old Testament. Translated from the Latin Vulgate by Mgr. Ronald Knox. London 1949 p.5. This work is hereinafter cited as Knox.
2. Bede. Commentarius in Genesim, Migne, P.L. Vol. 90, Col. 245.

v.23 to stand alone and self-contained as the reason for the expulsion from paradise.<sup>1</sup>

It seems at least possible therefore that the A.S. poet may have taken Bede's view or something closely approaching it<sup>2</sup>, and our tentative reconstruction of his modus operandi gains some support from the phrase on nearore lif (1.944b) which seems a possible rendering of the ut operaretur terram of the Vulgate Ch.III, v.23.

1. We have here followed the normal and traditional apparatus critici for the textual criticism of Biblical MSS., as it is given in Biblia Sacra iuxta latinam vulgatam versionem, Aidano Gasquet, Rome 1926 and thereafter, pp.xii, sqq. (hereinafter referred to as B.S.) By this system:

G : Codex Parisinus inter Latinos noviter adquisitos No. 2334, Bibliothéque Nationale, Paris; ibid. pp.xii-xiv.

A : Codex Amiatinus, Laurentian Library, Florence; ibid. pp.xx-xxvi.

Q : Codex Ottobianus Latinus, Vatican Library; ibid. pp. xxxi-xxxii.

The actual reading of Q is et emissit; its supporting texts vary from emisitque to et misit, but the general reading et emisit has been thought accurate enough for our purpose. We should note that this is also the reading of the VL and the LXX, and agrees with the tradition of the Masoretic text of the Hebrew.

2. This may be the view which Heinze wished to indicate when he said c.III, v.22 ... liess er vielleicht deshalb weg, weil diese Stelle zu irrtümlicher Auffassung auch in der Übertragung Verlassung geben konnte. (op.cit. p.25)

Unfortunately he appears to have said nothing more than this, as he goes on at once to discuss Ch.IV, v.7.

It is possible that this explanation is rather too vague and general to be a satisfactory comment upon this particular passage of the A.S. poem; it might apply to almost any passage in which the A.S. poet for any reason omitted to indicate that he was following the usual epegesis of his Latin source.

If then this general hypothesis of the poet's interpretation of v.23 be granted, his omission of v.22 loses a little of its strangeness, as this verse is no longer essential for the motivation of the expulsion from paradise, and the omission of inessential material was a fundamental principle of our poet's art.

This same principle seems to have governed the subsequent development of this passage. For if it be accepted that ll.943b-944

het hie from hweorfan  
neorxnawange on nearore lif

are the rendering of

Et emisit eum Dominus Deus de paradiso voluptatis  
ut operaretur terram,

from Ch.III, v.23 and if, as seems likely, the next lines of the A.S. poem, ll.945-947

Him on laste beleac liðsa and wynna  
hihtfulne ham halig engel  
be frean hase fyrene sweorde;

are the A.S. rendering of the latter part of the Vulgate Ch.III, v.24.

et collocavit ante paradisum voluptatis  
Cherubim, et flammeum gladium versatilem,  
ad custodiendam viam ligni vitae.

then we must explain the omission of the closing words of v.23 and the opening phrase of v.24, namely

(terra) de qua sumptus est

24. Elecitque Adam

but this principle of artistic selection appears to help materially with this explanation. For neither of these phrases from the Latin could be called essential, at this point, since the first is mainly epexegetical in intention while the second has just been announced in the preceding verse; hence it may well be that the poet omits them on this same ground.

Merely to invoke this principle however, does not fully satisfy our purpose, as we should also take some account of the end to which the poet's selection has been made; probably he wished to gain speed for his narrative, for the cumulative effect of the alterations made by the poet is that the clothing of Adam and Eve, the expulsion from paradise, and the establishment of the Angel with the fiery sword follow each other as events with no interspersed comment to slow the pace of the narrative. Moreover, when the poet does pause to include some exegesis, the form in which this is expressed reaffirms the conclusion that the poet is striving for speedy narrative. His exegesis is contained in ll.948-951,

ne meġ þær inwitfull    enig geferan  
womscyldig mon,    ac se weard hafað  
miht and strengðo,    se þæt mere lif  
dugeþum deore    drihtne healded

and while these lines add no fresh ideas to those which are already contained in the Vulgate, they represent the importation into the poem of visual detail which is not given in the source (Ch. III, v.24.)

et collocavit ante paradisum voluptatis  
Cherubim et flammeum gladium atque versatilem  
ad custodiendam viam ligni vitae.

The phrase inwitfull womscyldig mon is of course implied in the material of the Latin version, but it was left to the A.S. poet to include it, and to combine it with geferan in a more colourful and dramatic picture. The introduction of such detail would give greater realism to the poem, and would produce in the audience the other emotional and psychological effects which are the usual result of such realism; moreover this would be well known to the poet, and his knowledge of this would provide sufficient warranty



for his reshaping of this whole passage.

Lines 952-960.

Instead of going on now to the birth of Cam, the poet inserts praise of God's mercy in leaving still some blessings to Adam and Eve, in ll.952-960.

No hwaðre ælmihtig ealra wolde  
 Adame and Euan arna ofteon,  
 fæder æt frymðe, þeah þe hie him from swice,  
 ac he him to frofre let hwaðere forð wesan  
 hyrstedne hrof halgum tunglum  
 and him grundwelan ginne sealde;  
 het þam sinhiwum ses and eorðan  
 tuddorteondra teohha gehwilcre  
 to woruldnytte westmas feden.

and their introduction was probably inspired by the patristic commentary. The words of Dracontius are almost close enough to be a definite source.

Ac totum quod mundus habet, sub jura tenerent  
Et quod floret humus, viridis quod germinat herba  
Quod spicat messis, quod ramis parturit arbor  
Quod gemmant vites, quod amoena comantia frondent  
Flumina quod mittunt fontes, quod fluctuat aequor  
Quod pelagi trahit unda, fretum quod littora tundit  
Murmure quod venti flantes vaga marmora crispant  
Quod generant terrae quod flumina pontus et aer  
Usibus humanis data sunt haec cuncta venire!

The A.S. poet has just described God's anger and here deals with the other side of His character, His mercy. The poet found in God's expulsion of Adam and Eve, something which revolted his A.S. mind; and his purpose in introducing this passage is his desire for the working of at least a temporary change in this character.

Lines 961-964.

The following lines, ll.961-964 state briefly that Adam and Eve still found the world outside

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1. Carmen de Deo, I, 572 sq., Migne, P.L. Vol.60, Col.747.

paradise a more sorrowful place than was paradise itself. These lines thus represent yet another addition to the Vulgate source material; but this addition is a commonplace, and it would seem quite reasonable to regard it as no more than a useful connecting link to allow the A.S. poet to resume the thread of his narrative after the addition made in ll.952-960.

Lines 965-969.

This resumption of the thread of the story takes place in ll.965-969a,

Ongunnon hie þa be godes hæse  
 bearn astrienan, swa him metod bebead,  
 Adames and Euan aforan wæron  
 freolicu twa frumbearn cenned,  
 Cain and Abel.

The Vulgate account is contained in Ch.IV, v.1,

Adam vero cognovit Havam uxorem suam  
 quae concepit et peperit Cain dicens  
 possedi hominem per Dominum.

There is no significant difference between the two versions, with the possible exception of the A.S. phrase be godes hæse; this may be only the poet's phrase for per Dominum, but it may also be the first brief heralding of the Covenant theme: this theme is that God makes an overt or at least a tacit covenant with each of the successive leaders of the Jews. Although the evidence for this is scanty, such an interpretation of the passage is at least possible.

As well as containing the last part of the account of the birth of Cain and Abel, Ch.IV, v.2 of the Vulgate goes on to give the account of the work each of the two brothers chose:

rursusque peperit fratrem eius Abel  
 fuit autem Abel pastor ovium, et Cain agricola.

but before the A.S. poet goes on to render the second half of this verse he inserts as 1.969b the words Us cyðað bec, a direct mention of his source. We meet such additions quite frequently and their point and purpose might well be that the poet wishes to give to his material the authority and weight of antiquity and learning. We would suggest however, that this explanation might be bettered by the more precise statement that the A.S. poet is here copying consciously or unconsciously the methods of the A.S. pagan poets, with whom an appeal to the past was a recognised literary device.<sup>1</sup>

Lines 970-975a.

These lines of the A.S. poem now repeat the difference in the interests of the two brothers with little change of the material given in the Vulgate as already quoted from Ch. IV, v.2,

Fuit autem Abel pastor ovium et Cain agricola.  
save that this material is expressed in a style less compact than that of the Vulgate. For the Latin phrase et Cain agricola, for example, the A.S. poet writes oðer his to eorðan elnes tilode (1972) which slightly expands the expression without adding anything to the material expressed.

Lines 975b-979a.

It will possibly have been observed that so far the usual relationship between the two texts is that the Latin account is usually expanded by the author of the A.S.; at this point, however, this method seems to have been abandoned, and here the detail in the Bible is

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1. See e.g. Beowulf, 11.1-2.

Hwat we gardena in geardagum  
þeodcyninga þrym gefrunon  
Text from Beowulf and Judith ed. E. van K. Dobbie,  
London, 1953 p.3.

presented by the A.S. poet in a more condensed form. The incident is the sacrifice made by Cain and Abel, given in the Vulgate in Ch. IV, vv.3, 4 and 5.

- (3) Factum est autem post multos dies  
 ut offerret Cain de fructibus terrae munera Domino  
 (4) Abel quoque obtulit de primogenitis gregis sui et  
 adipibus eorum;  
 et respexit Dominus ad Abel et ad munera eius.  
 (5) Ad Cain vero, et ad munera illius non respexit.

This account is detailed but brief; the A.S. account however, in 11.975b-979a,

Hie þa drihtne lac  
 begen brohton. Brego engla beseah  
 on Abeles giold eagam sinum  
 cyning eallwihta, Caines ne wolde  
 tiber sceawian.

although cumulative is yet more brief. The poet has achieved this brevity by omitting the details of the composition of the offerings, probably because, after the conversion, the Christian Church was extremely hostile to sacrificing;<sup>1</sup> the poet is anxious not to offend in any way the religious thought of his day.

Lines 979b-982a.

The customary economy of the Vulgate narrative appears again in the remaining portion of Ch. IV, v.5,

iratusque est Cain vehementer, et concidit  
 vultus eius.

and in rendering this the A.S. poet reverts to his old

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1. The state had to give its aid as well in prohibiting sacrifice. See Wihtrud, Laws, 12 and 13.

practive of expanding the material in the Vulgate: but before considering the A.S. statement of this incident it would perhaps be as well to continue to the end of the Latin account of the incident, as it is given in Ch.IV, vv. 6, 7 and 8.

- (6) Dixitque Dominus ad eum  
Quare mestus es ? et cur concidit facies  
tua?
- (7) Nonne si bene egeris recipies:  
Sin autem male, statim in foribus peccatum  
aderit?  
Sed sub te erit appetitus eius, et tu  
dominaberis illius.
- (8) Dixitque Cain ad Abel fratrem suum:  
Egrediamur foras  
Cumque essent in agro,  
Consurrexit Cain adversus fratrem suum  
interfecit eum.

The main incidents of this passage are retained by the A.S. poet, but in other respects he treats it very differently from the way in which it is treated in the Vulgate. In the first place he expands the picture of Cain's grief and anger, and in place of the single verse which is allotted to this in the Vulgate, the A.S. poet accords three lines to it, namely 11.979b-982a,

Ðæt was torn were  
hefig wt heortan. Hygewalm asteah  
beorne on breostum, hlatende nið  
yrre for æfstum.

Although the change could easily be explained by the poet's desire to import emotion into his poem, and to give adequate motivation to the murder of Abel<sup>1</sup>, its

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1. His use of nið (1981b) would alone establish sufficient  
motive/

effect is not limited to these results alone: for, secondly, the skill with which the A.S. poet has moulded the information given to him in his source should also be noted. In the Vulgate Cain's emotion is simply mentioned and yet this has given to the poet both the inspiration and the opportunity for building into the character of Cain a well observed psychological process consisting first of grief and then of anger. That the poem gains by this change can hardly be considered doubtful, since its effect is to give to Cain's character the greater authenticity of a more fully explained and natural psychology.

Lines 982b-986.

Having established Cain's character, the A.S. poet continues his narrative with as much speed as possible, and in the next lines of his poem he gives us at once the picture of the actual murder of Abel, as ll.982b-986,

He þa unraðen  
folmun gefromede, freomag ofsloh,  
broðor sinne, and his blod ageat,  
Cain Abeles. Cwealmdreore swealh  
þæs middangeard, monnes swate.

and we would accord a double significance to these lines. In the first place, it appears noticeable that the A.S. poet omits any reference at all to the exchange between God and Cain, contained in the Vulgate Ch.IV, vv. 6 and 7 as above. In the Vulgate this verse explains more thoroughly Cain's reason for killing Abel. The A.S. poet

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/motive, as we may see from Juliana where the word is twice alleged (ll. 203 and 452) as the motive for the speaker's action.

however, has already established a fully developed motive<sup>1</sup> for this act from the expansion of the Vulgate account of Cain's grief, (see ll.979b-982a, and our note thereon) and he thus has no need of the material contained in those verses which are at present under discussion. Moreover, we have already seen that the poet is here generally concerned with the rapidity of his narrative, and it may well have seemed to him that the fact that this material was inessential presented him with yet another chance to expedite the movement of his poem. That he should wish to do so here may appear all the more likely when we reflect that he is approaching one of the highlights of his poem - the murder of Abel - and may reasonably be supposed to have wished the introduction to this highlight to be as brief and dramatic as could be achieved; and perhaps we should note in passing that in order to do this he does not seem to have scrupled to emancipate himself completely from the text of the Vulgate where he thought there was any necessity that he should do so.<sup>2</sup>

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1. cf. Heinze. Dem Dichter lag in der Erzählung von dem Brudermord ein echt episches Motiv vor, das er auch ganz in dem glänzenden Stile des altenglischen Epos handelt hat (vg. ae. Gen. v.978 ff.) op. cit. p.25.

2. That this verse was omitted by the A.S. poet is in fact a matter for some regret; for the two early western versions of the Bible differ in their reading of Ch. IV, v.7. The LXX reads οὐκ ἔαν ὁρθῶς προβενέγκης ὁρθῶς δὲ μὴ διλῆς ἡμαρτίας; ἡ σὺ χαλῶν πρὸς δὲ ἡ ἀποβροφῆ αὐτοῦ, καὶ σὺ ἀρῆεις αὐτοῦ. (Septuagint, ed. A. Rahlfs, Stuttgart, 1935 (hereinafter referred to as Rahlfs) p.5.) The European text of the VL follows the LXX and reads nonne si recte offeras recte autem non divides peccasti quiesce ad te conversio eius et tu dominaberis eius. (Vetus Latina, die Reste der Altlateinischen Bibel, nach Petrus Sabatier neu gesammelt und herausgegeben, von der Erzabtei Beuron. Freiburg 1951. Hereinafter referred to as Beuron.) The Vulgate text however reads as we have/

secondly, the A.S. poet makes considerable addition to the account of the deed itself as this is given in the Bible. As a glance at the A.S. passage quoted above will show, his method is to add to this whatever detail the bare and condensed account in the Latin suggests; and at the risk of seeming to labour the obvious, we should add that that detail is for the most part picturesque and realistic. Blod (1.984) and monnes swate (1.986) are, moreover, exactly those picturesque terms which the facts of the Vulgate account would suggest to a lively imagination. Hence we have here a perfect example of the manner in which the bare account of the Vulgate has moved the A.S. poet to add concrete detail, making his account more graphic and vivid to the A.S. mind.

Lines 987-1001.

Continuing with our inspection of the A.S. poem, we find that the description of the murder of Abel is followed by a long passage which has no corresponding original in the Latin source. The passage is ll.987-1001,

after walswenge wea was aered,  
 tregena tuddor. Of ðam twige siððan  
 ludon leðwende leng swa swiðor --

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have given it, viz. Nonne si bene egeris recipies; sin autem male, statim in foribus peccatum aderit? Sed sub te erit appetitus eius et tu dominaberis illius. As Mgr. Ronald Knox remarks, The Greek interpreters give quite a different meaning to the whole verse. (Knox. p.5. note) Had the A.S. poet chosen to include this verse in his rendering of the book of Genesis, his translation might have afforded us proof positive that his source actually was the Vulgate and not VL.



reðe wastme. Rehton wide  
 geond werpeoda wrohtes telgan,  
 hrinon hearmtanas hearde and sere  
 drihta bearnum, (doð gieta swa),  
 of þam brad blado bealwa gehwilces  
 sprytan ongunnon. We þæt spell wagon,  
 walgriame wyrd, wope cwioan,  
 nales holunge; ac us hearde sceod  
 freolecu færne þurh forman gylt  
 þe wið metod ofre men gefremeden,  
 eorðuende, siððan Adam wearð  
 of Godes muðe gaste eacen.

and it is so far distant from the Vulgate in content and  
 in style that at first sight its nearest analogue would  
 seem to be some description of Yggdrasil, the ashtree  
 which supports the world. We shall not press this compar-  
 ison too far however, as its basis is really unsound; for  
 the chief function of Yggdrasil seems to have been cosmo-  
 logical,<sup>1</sup> while the chief aim of this passage appears to  
 be moral, and it seems reasonable to assume that the  
 explanation of its inclusion at this point may lie in its

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1. Probably the best description is that in the Grimnismal  
 stanzas 31 and 35.

31. Þrjár retr standa  
 á þrjá vega  
 undan aski Yggdrasils.  
 Hel þyr und einni  
 annarri hrímpursar  
 þriðju mennzkir menn.

32. Askur Yggdrasils  
 drygir erfiði  
 meira en menn viti  
 hjortr þitr ofan  
 en á hliðu fúnar  
 skirðir Nifhoggr neðan.

(R.C. Boer, Die Edda, Bd. I, pp. 54-55, The Hague, 1922.)  
 Both trees are similar in growth and width of spread, but  
Yggdrasil appears to be a physical tree, its symbolical  
 meaning being that of the universe, (cf. H.A. Bellows, The  
Poetic Edda, New York, 1923.), while the tree in the A.S.  
 poem seems to be mainly a metaphysical concept.

moral function. The didactic and moralising qualities of A.S. pagan poetry are too well known to require emphasis here; and their occurrence after scenes of battle or violent action is likewise a commonplace of criticism. In view of this it does not seem too bold to advance the suggestion that the A.S. poet is once again appealing to the poetic mores of the past; his source has just provided him with an excellent opportunity for description of combat, - an opportunity which he has used to the full, - and it is possible that his addition here of ll.987-1001 may have been made in deference to an audience who expected that he should next include just such a moralising passage as this.

Lines 1002-1013a.

In the following line, l.1002, the A.S. poet returns to his source, and for the next few lines, ll.1002-1013a, he appears to have followed more or less verbatim the corresponding passage from the Vulgate. (Ch.IV, vv.9 and 10.); his one deviation is that in l.1003 he refers to Cain as cystleasa although Cain has not yet been formally cursed, but we may fairly dismiss this as poetic license. So close indeed is his allegiance to the Vulgate in this passage that in places we seem actually to hear the Latin "echoing through the A.S."; as an instance we may cite the Latin phrase from v.10 vox sanguinis fratris tui clamat ad me de terra and compare it with the A.S. line 1012b-1013a and his blod to me cleopað and cigeð.

Lines 1013b-1021.

In both accounts this passage is followed by the details of God's curse upon Cain, and here again exact comparison is demanded that we may observe the terms through which each account presents this curse. In the Vulgate the curse is contained in Ch.IV, vv.11 and 12, and

we may divide the material of these two verses into four elements. The first of these consists of a general malediction upon Cain:

(11) Nunc igitur maledictus eris super terram  
and this is followed by the second element which is not so truly part of the curse, as of the circumstances surrounding it:

Quae aperuit os suum, et suscepit sanguinem  
fratris tui de manu tua.

The third element is again properly part of the curse;

(12) Cum operatus fueris eam, non tibi fructos  
suos dabit

while the fourth element, which has passed into tradition as the 'Curse of Cain' is:

vagus et profugus eris super terram.

At this point it would seem reasonable to expect that it might be the fourth element which would first inspire the A.S. mind, and this is indeed what appears to have happened; for in the A.S. poem the curse is contained in ll.1013b-1021, and this section of the poem opens with a description of the punishment by exile, in ll.1013b-1015a

                                  þu þæs cwealmes scealt  
wite winnan     and on wrec hweorfan,  
awyrged to widan aldre.

The A.S. poet then, has here altered the order of appearance of the four elements in the curse mentioning first in his poem that which was last in the Vulgate; and as this is not the only alteration which he makes to the order of these elements, it would perhaps be most convenient to examine first the A.S. account of this event in toto, and to leave the detailed changes for investigation in a later paragraph.

After the fourth element, the A.S. poet

proceeds at once to give an account of what is in the Latin the third element, namely the punishment through the barrenness of the earth, a punishment which he sets forth in ll.1015b-1016a.

Ne seleð þe westmas eorðe  
writige to woruldnytte.

He then inserts the A.S. rendering of the circumstances surrounding this curse - the second element in the structure of this passage in the Vulgate; thus he has in ll.1016b-1017a,

ac heo waldreore swealh  
halge of handum þinum;

He next returns to and expands the third element, in ll. 1017b-1018a,

forþon heo þe hroðra oftihð,  
glomes grene folde.

and to complete his rendering of the curse upon Cain the A.S. poet returns to the last element - the punishment by exile and gives a final expansion of this in ll.1018b-1021,

þu scealt geomor hweorfan,  
arleas of earde þinum, swa þu Abele wurde  
to feorhbanan; forþon þu flema scealt  
widlast wrocan, winemagam lað.

From this can be deduced a definite pattern in the A.S. poet's arrangement of the elements of the curse; he has placed the same idea at the beginning and at the end of the passage, enclosing the other ideas within this framework. The idea which he has chosen to provide this framework moreover, is that of exile; and by this rearrangement he has given added prominence to this idea --- an idea already familiar to the Germanic world --- and has thus succeeded in bringing the Biblical world into closer approx-

imation with his own.

The detailed changes which he makes in the expression of this passage show that he has followed his usual practice. In general he has substituted concrete terms for the more abstract terms of the Vulgate; to give two examples of this, he substitutes wæstmæs (l.1015b) and hroðra (l.1017b) for the less concrete Vulgate term fructos suos (v.12), and in ll.1018-1019 he substitutes for the Vulgate vagus et profugus (v.12) the phrase geomor hweorfan of earde pinum, an alternative which is certainly more dynamic and detailed if not precisely more concrete; and the omission of the first element of the curse maledictus eris super terram (v.11) is probably due to the fact that this phrase is entirely abstract in character. The expression in his source has once more given him the inspiration for the adoption of a more concrete, more picturesque and hence more graphic style.

Lines 1022-1035.

Cain's reply to God after the curse is given in the Vulgate in Ch.Iv, vv.13 and 14 in the following terms:

13. Dixitque Cain ad Dominum  
Maiores est iniquitas mea quam ut veniam merear,
14. Ecce eicis me hodie a facie terrae  
et a facie tua abscondar,  
et ero vagus et profugus in terra  
omnis igitur qui invenerit me occidet me.

most of which is reproduced in the A.S. as ll.1022-1035 with relatively little change, save what is demanded by the more repetitive poetic style of the A.S. verse; the last line of the Latin however is the basis for considerable

expansion and addition by the A.S. poet, for in the A.S. poem this clause appears to have been expanded through 11.1028-1035,

hwonne me gemitte manscyldigne,  
 se me feor oððe neah fahðe gemonige,  
 broðorcwealmes. Ic his blod ageat,  
 dreor on eorðan. þu to dæge þissum  
 ademest me fram duguðe and adrifest from  
 earde minum. Me to aldorbanan  
 weorbeð wraðra sum. Ic awyrged sceal,  
 þeoden, of gesyhðe þinre hweorfan.

It is true that some of the ideas in this passage do not depend entirely upon omnis igitur qui invenerit me, occidet me; the phrase ic his blod ageat for instance depends generally upon all that precedes, rather than upon this Latin phrase in particular. It does seem revealing however, that the poet should have chosen this particular A.S. phrase for inclusion here thus close to the idea of the murder which will one day be perpetrated against Cain; his mind seems temporarily dominated by the image of a deed of murder. The character common to all these expansions shows how the poet has once more realised in picturesque terms the image which the brief outline of the Vulgate account presents to his mind.

Lines 1036-1043a.

Cain's fear that any who meet him will attack him is met by God with the reply that any who do will suffer sevenfold punishment; this is narrated by the Vulgate in Ch.IV, v.15,

Dixitque ei Dominus  
 Nequequam ita fiet  
 sed omnis qui occiderit Cain, septuplum punietur

and by the A.S. in 11.1036-1043a

Him þa selfa oncwæð sigora drihten:  
 "Ne þearft ðu þe ondrædan deaðes brogan,

feorhwealm nu giet, þeah þu from scyle  
 freomagum feor fah gewitan.  
 gif þe monna hwelc mundum sinum  
 aldre beneoteð, hine on cymeð  
 after þære synne seofonfeald wracu,  
 wite after weorce."

For the Latin ita fiet we have two expressions in the A.S. deaðes brogan (l.1037b) and feorhwealm (l.1038a), and for occiderit, we have mundum sinum aldre beneoteð (l.1040b - 1041a).<sup>1</sup> Thus, in both examples, the A.S. version gives a more exhaustive description than that which is provided by the Latin source, and the poet has once again been stimulated by his source into producing for his audience not a bare record of events, but rather a series of imaginative concepts whose effect is to make it all the more easy for his audience to realise the story he is telling.

Lines 1043b-1047a.

God now sets the sign upon Cain, and in the Vulgate this incident is narrated in the last part of v.15, while in the A.S. it occupies ll.1043b-1047a; the only real difference is that for the interficeret of the Vulgate is substituted in the A.S. mid gubbræce gretan dorste (l.1046) an addition which again shows the A.S. poet inserting graphic detail. The word gubbræce moreover is a compound of the common epic type,<sup>2</sup> and we would suggest that in using this the poet was probably attempting to evoke in his audience the memories of epic combats with which they would already be familiar; and he may have

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1. There is also the addition of þeah þu from scyle freomagum feor fah gewitan (ll.1038b-1039), another mention of the idea of exile to which the poet returns once more; the motive for this may well be imagined to be that given in our remarks on ll.1018b-1021. q.v. pp.50-1, supra or in ll.1049b-1057. v. infra p.55.

2. cf. gubcraft, gubhreb, gubreow etc.

hoped in consequence that by making this addition he would present to them a picture already realised.

Lines 1047b-1049a.

At this point the A.S. poet makes another addition, this time without any warranty from his source, and we have in ll.1047b-1049a,

Heht þa fram hweorfan  
meder and magum manscyldigne,  
cnosle sinum.

but the very appositeness of this addition completely justifies its inclusion; it consists of a brief reference to Cain's departure into exile, and in this we would be bold enough to see yet another deliberate attempt on the part of the poet to approximate to each other the two worlds with which he is concerned - the Biblical and the Germanic - through the theme of exile.

Lines 1049b-1057.

This conclusion is strengthened by the opening lines of the next passage in his poem. The relevant passage of the Vulgate is Ch.IV, vv.16 and 17, the passage which recounts the details and end of Cain's journey into exile.

Egressusque Cain a facie Domini habitavit profugus  
in terra ad orientalem plagam Eden.  
Cognovit autem Cain uxorem suam  
Quae concepit et peperit Enoch  
et aedificavit civitatem, vocavitque nomen eius  
ex nomine filii sui Enoch.<sup>1</sup>

In the A.S. poem, this passage is expanded to occupy ll.1049b-1057

Him þa Cain gewat  
gongan geomormod gode of gesyhðe,

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1. On the form of this name see App.II, p.454.



wineleas wrecca, and him þa wic geceas  
 eastlandum on, ebelstowe  
 fædergeardum feor, þær him freolecu wæg,  
 ides after ebelum eaforan fedde.  
 Se eresta was Enos haten,  
 frumbearn Caines. Sibðan fæsten ongon  
 mid þam cneomagum ceastre timbran;

but there is only one significant addition in the A.S.  
 version. This is contained in ll.1050-1051a

gongan geomormod gode of gesyhpe  
 wineleas wrecca

and together with an 'echo' in l.1053, fædergeardum feor  
 it emphasises the idea of doleful exile which seems to  
 strengthen the conclusion that the A.S. poet is here  
 seeking to equate the world of his source and that of his  
 audience through the frequent repetition of this idea.  
 This expansion also imports into the poem an emotional tone  
 which is absent from the Latin. The Vulgate's expression  
profugus is the technical word for an exile, but it poss-  
 esses none of the overtones of emotion which the words used  
 by the A.S. poet must have possessed from frequent occur-  
 rence in A.S. pagan epic poetry.

Lines 1058-1060.

At the close of this passage, the A.S.  
 poet adds in ll.1058-1060 a comment upon the city which  
 Cain has built.

þæt was under wolcnum weallfæstenna  
 ærest ealra þara þe ebelingas,  
 swordberende, settan heton.

but this is no more than a comment of the sort the poet  
 might well add to give variety to the plain narrative of  
 the Vulgate.

Lines 1061-1075a.

The account of this city is followed  
 by the detail of the descendants of Cain who successively

ruled over it, an account which is carried as far as the end of the history of Lamech. Taking the genealogy first, this is given in the Vulgate with the usual Biblical brevity, within the compass of one verse, Ch.IV, v.18,

Porro Henoch genuit Irad  
et Irad genuit Maviael  
et Maviael genuit Mathusael  
et Mathusael genuit Lamech.

but in the A.S. it is given at greater length and occupies rather more than 14 lines, ll.1061-1075a.

þanon his eaforan ærest wocan,  
bearn from bryde, on þam burhstede.  
Se yldesta was Iared haten,  
sunu Enoses. Sibban wocan,  
þa þas cynnes oncowrim icton,  
mægburg Caines. Malalehel was  
æfter Iarede yrfes hyrde  
fæder on laste, oðæt he forð gewat.  
Sibban Mathusal magum dælde,  
bearn æfter bearne broðrum sinum  
æbelinga gestreon, oðæt aldorgedal  
frod fyrndagum fremman sceolde,  
lif oflstan. Lameh onfeng  
æfter fæder dæge fletgestealdum,  
botlgestreonum.

1. The form of the names Iared (1.1063b) and Malalehel (1.1066) is noteworthy here, as it has a special interest deriving from the fact that the Vulgate and the VL differ at this point. The LXX gives this verse as ἐγέννηθη δὲ τῷ Ἐνώχ Γαϊδάδ, καὶ Γαϊδάδ ἐγέννησεν τὸν Μαίηλ, καὶ Μαίηλ ἐγέννησεν τὸν Μαθουάλα, καὶ Μαθουάλα ἐγέννησεν τὸν Λαμέχ, and it was apparently this text which acted as the source for the VL, which has Enoch genuit Gaidad Gaidad genuit Mevia Mevia genuit Mathusael Mathusael genuit Lamech. The Vulgate on the other hand reads porro Enoch genuit Irad et Irad genuit Maviahel et Maviahel genuit Mathusael et Mathusael genuit Lamech. The significant point here is the use of Irad (Vulgate) for Gaidad (VL and LXX). Even supposing that the A.S. poet derived the name he uses here Iared (1.1063b) not from this verse of the Vulgate, but from Ch.V, vv.7-21, as Hönncher (op. cit. p.60) suggests, and as the name Malalehel (1.1066b) would seem to indicate, it is less likely that he would have done so had he been using the VL with the form Gaidad rather than the Vulgate with the form Irad. See also App. II.

The interest of these lines is that they change the character of the passage as a whole. Additions are contained first in ll.1069-1071a,

siððan Mathusal magum ðælde  
 bearn æfter bearne,<sup>1</sup> broðrum sinum  
 æðelinga gestreon,

and finally in ll.1073b-1075a

Lameh onfeng  
 æfter fæder ðege fletgestealdum,  
 botigestreonum.

The second of these additions shows how the A.S. poet is attempting to bring his poem more close to the normal A.S. life; onfeng (l.1073b) is the usual word for succeeding to a Kingdom in the A.S. world, as its frequent use in prose makes plain.<sup>2</sup> The A.S. poet is filling into his account in everyday and matter of fact language the episodes which the Vulgate suppresses. The first of the two quotations given above shows a slightly different process at work, however; dividing treasure, which is the subject of ll.1069-1071a, is a well known epic action. It has passed into such common currency that it is recorded in the Gnomic Poems as the function of a king: cyning sceal on heahe / beagas ðelan,<sup>3</sup> As these poems occupy almost the place of proverbs in modern English life, we might hence venture to suggest that the A.S. poet is not here

1. Merrill and McClumpha, op.cit. p.166, cite a parallel between this phrase and l.1920 of Beowulf, but the idea occurs frequently therein, although the phraseology varies. See for example l.2786.

2. her feng Aƿpered Aƿpelbryhtes bropur to Wesseaxna rice, The Parker Chronicle, ed. A.H. Smith, London 1935, p.24

3. The A.S. Minor Poems, ed E. van K. Dobbie, New York, 1952, p.56.

concerned to epicise his diction, but to use this passage to set the rulers of the city of Cain before his audience as if they were the chieftains of an early Germanic tribe. Lines 1075b-1081.

The Vulgate now gives the details of Lamech's two wives, and the family he had by them, set forth thus in Ch.IV, vv.19-22:

(Lamech)

19. qui accepit duas uxores  
nomen uni Ada et nomen alteri Sella
20. genuitque Ada Iabel qui fuit pater habitantium  
in tentoriis, atque pastorum.
21. Et nomen fratris eius Iubal: ipse fuit pater  
canentium cithara et organo
22. Sella quoque genuit Tubalcain,  
qui fuit malleator et faber in cuncta opera  
aeris et ferri.

Thus the relationships and the occupations of the family of Lamech seem fairly clear; Ada's sons are Iabel the shepherd and Iubal the musician, while Sella's offspring is Tubalcain the smith. The A.S. account of this passage opens with a correct statement of the names of the wives, in ll.1075b-1077a,

Him bryda twa  
idesa on eðle eaforan feddon  
Ada and Sella.

but this accuracy is not quite so well maintained in the lines which follow, ll.1077b-1081.

para anum was  
Iabal noma, se þurh gleawne gepanc  
herbuendra hearpan ærest  
handum sinum hlyn awehte,  
swinsigende sweg, sunu Lamehes.

for there is confusion between the names and occupations of the two sons of Ada; to the name of the shepherd the

poet has added the occupation of the musician, while the occupation of the shepherd and the name of the musician have been totally omitted. It might of course be argued that this arrangement was deliberate, but the lack of confirmatory evidence makes this rather hazardous; it seems more probable that the poet's eye was misled by the recurrence of the same word groups; and instead of the Latin quoted above, he may have read (20) genuitque Ada Iabel . . . qui fuit pater canentium cithara etc.<sup>1</sup>  
 Lines 1082-1089.

The account of Sella's son Tubalcain the smith occupies the next eight lines, ll.1082-1089

Swylce on bare magðe maga was haten  
 on þa ilcan tid Tubal Cain,  
 se þurh snytro sped smiðcrafterga was  
 and þurh modes gemynd monna ærest,  
 sunu Lamehes, sulhgeweorces  
 fruma was ofer foldan, siððan folca beara  
 æres cuðon and isernes,  
 burhsittende, brucan wide.

and indeed it seems almost a natural expansion for the poet to make; Tubalcain, with his reputation as the first worker

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1. cf. on this point Hönninger, (op. cit. p.58), who simply remarks Weggelassen ist bei ihm (the poet) v.20, without offering any explanation of why this verse should have been chosen for omission. If we may be permitted an argument a priori, the account of the first shepherd would seem more likely to be included to interest an A.S. audience, than the account of the first harper --- despite the interest the latter would have for the poet himself. The same critic adds (ibid. p.60), Jabal endlich für Jubal ist entweder aus versehen des Schreibers entstanden oder es beruht auf Verwechslung mit dem in der Vulgate vorhergenannten Jabal but the second of these alternatives does not adequately explain why the poet omitted the rest of v.20.

in brass and iron, would make a double appeal to the A.S. mind; he would appeal to the men who invested their swords and weapons with magical powers, and personalities and names of their own, and he would appeal to the men who knew the legend of Weland the Smith.<sup>1</sup> Of these two motives, the latter appears to be given overt support by the poet's use of smiðcraftiga (l.1084b); and thus the poet seems to strive to introduce yet another Biblical personage into the Germanic world.

Lines 1090-1103.

After a short introduction of three lines, (ll.1090-1092), based upon the opening phrase of the Vulgate Ch.IV, v.23, dixitque Lamech uxoribus suis Adae et Sellae the poet embarks upon the so-called "Lamech Episode". In the Vulgate it is narrated, in Ch.IV, vv.23 and 24, as

audite vocem meam uxores Lamech.  
 auscultate sermonem meum  
 quoniam occidi virum in vulnus meum  
 et adolescentulum in livorem meum  
 24. Septuplum ultio dabitur de Cain  
 de Lamech vero septuagies septies.

and in the A.S. poem, the same event occupies ll.1093-1103,

Ic on morðor ofslon minra sumne  
 hyldemaga; honda gewemde  
 on Gaines cwealme mine,  
 fylde mid folnum fæder Enoses,  
 orðbanan Abeles, eorðan sealde  
 waldreor weres. Wat ic gearwe

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1. Even if the Deor had perished, and we did not know of his mention in l.1 of this poem, or in l.455 of Beowulf we might still presume an A.S. acquaintance with him from his popularity among other Germanic tribes.

þæt þam lichryre on last cymed  
 sobcyninges seofonfeald wracu,  
 micel æfter mane. Min sceal swiðor  
 mid grimme gryre golden wurðan  
 fyll and feorhwealm, þonne ic forð scio.

It will possibly be most convenient to make our comparison here in two stages, taking first 11.1093-1098a, and thereafter 11.1098b-1103. In the first of these two groups the difference which emerges is that the A.S. poet has definitely identified Lamech's victim as Cain himself, - honda gewemde / on Caines cwealme mine, (11.1094b-1095a). This identification can however be deduced from the account in the Vulgate<sup>1</sup> - it is implied by the first phrase of v.24, although it may have come from the patristic commentary.<sup>2</sup>

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1. The modern view of the 'Lamech Episode' appears to be entirely different, at least as exemplified by Mgr Ronald Knox's translation of this verse, which runs: It was to his wives, Ada and Sella, that Lamech uttered the saying, Listen to these words of mine, you wives of Lamech, note my saying well. The man that wounds me, the stripling who deals me a blow, I reward with death. For Cain, sevenfold vengeance was to be taken; for Lamech it shall be seventy times as much. As a footnote to this he adds The second half of this verse may also be rendered 'I have slain a man to my own wounding, a stripling to my hurt' but this does not suit the context. (Knox.p.6) This view is endorsed by J. Skinner in A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Genesis. (The first volume in the series The International Critical Commentary ed. Driver, Plummer and Briggs, hereinafter cited as ICC Gen.) Edinburgh, 1910, p.121, where he says 23b. The meaning is that (the tribe?) Lamech habitually avenges the slightest personal injury by the death of man or child of the tribe to which the assailant belongs. But as the passage quoted by Hönncher (see note 2) shows, this view was not always so popular.
2. Hönncher, op. cit. p.59 suggests Bede, and quotes virum vel adolescentulum, quem dicit, Cain significat, quem idem Lamech, sed non sponte, interfecit, sicut Hieronymus

Whatever the source of the idea may have been, the poet's motive in making much of the identification seems to have been the desire to present to his audience the direct opposition of the two men, Lamech and Cain.

Concerning the second part of the account his change is from a factual to a more poetic statement; but the change of aesthetic feeling does not stop with that, for with the introduction of the idea of supernatural vengeance we are almost in the realms of wyrd, since it is possible to read into on last cymeð (l.1099b) and sobcyninges (l.1100a) something of a reference to the inexorable quality associated with the wyrd of the pagan poetry; but the evidence for this is rather scanty for further deduction.

Lines 1104-1116.

At the end of this incident, the Vulgate leaves its genealogy of the race of Cain, returns to Adam and Eve, and the birth of their third son Seth is narrated, occupying the last two verses of Ch.IV:

25. Cognovit quoque adhuc Adam uxorem suam et peperit  
 filium  
 Vocavitque nomen eius Seth, dicens:  
 posuit mihi Deus semen aliud pro Abel quem occidit  
 Cain.
26. sed et Seth natus est filius quem vocavit Enos.  
 iste coepit invocare nomen Domini.

but it seems as though the first alone had been used by the poet. The lines in which he renders it, follow immediately upon the closing line of the 'Lamech Episode' and we find that in these lines (ll.1104-1116) the A.S. poet has apparently made more than one addition to the material provided for him in the Vulgate. The first of these, ll.1107-1108,

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in quodam Hebraeo volumine scriptum testatur. Bede,  
Hexaameron, Migne, PL. Vol.91, Col.76.



Se was eadig and his yldrum ðah  
 freolic to frofre, fæder and meder

seemsto be simply an imaginative comment on the part of the poet clothing the mere name in the Vulgate with some semblance of a character; he again adds graphic detail, although this time the detail appears to originate within his own imagination only. The other addition which contributes materially to the enlargement of this passage is found in ll.1114b-1116

and me cearsorge  
 mid þys magotimbre of mode asceaf  
 þeoden usser. Him þæs þanc sie.

and by contrast it seems to lie a little nearer to the Vulgate source - the Latin and the A.S. have at least the idea of consolation in common. The prevailing note in the passage is that set by the word cearsorge (l.1114b) and the importance of this word and hence of the passage as a whole lies in the emotional overtones which the word brings with it from the pagan epic poetry. Cearsorg is one of the emotions which most of the pagan epics bewail, and its use here shows an early meeting of the pagan and Christian backgrounds to epic poetry, in the idea of God's freeing Adam from this emotion. As yet, however, the poet does not seem conscious of any conflict between the weltanschauung of epic poetry and that of Christianity: the A.S. poet does not wish to stress here God's character as the God who is the final judge of men's deeds, so much as he wishes to portray him as the God who brings consolation for the woes of this world - a suggestion which we might further support from the expression Him þæs þanc sie in line 1116b. The poet in fact is expanding his source to give his audience a clearer picture of God's character.

The second of the two verses quoted, (sed et Seth natus est etc.) is not immediately used by the A.S. poet. Lines 1117-1121a,

Adam hæfde, þa he eft ongan  
 him to eðelstæfe oðres strienan  
 bearnes be bryde, beorn ellenrof,  
 XXX and C þisses lifes  
 wintra on worulde

are in fact based on Ch.V, v.3

vixit autem centum triginta annis  
 et genuit ad similitudinem etc

and will be considered in a later paragraph. His omission of the birth of Enos, Seth's son, thus avoids the repetition of the Biblical account, and the story of the descendants of Adam is presented as one continuous narrative. The second phrase of this verse, iste coepit invocare nomen Domini appears much later as the source of 11.1135-1136a, se nemde god nibba bearna / ærest ealra: and this careful rearranging shows how the poet planned his narrative well in advance and did not simply translate verse by verse.

The next chapter in the Vulgate, Ch.V, seems superfluous in that it rehearses once again the genealogy of the leaders of Israel, going back to Adam as its starting point.<sup>1</sup> But there is first a rapid reference to the original Creation, in vv.1 and 2,

Hic est liber generationis Adam  
 In die, qua creavit Deus hominem  
 ad similitudinem Dei fecit illum  
 2. Masculum et feminam creavit eos,  
 et benedixit illis: et vocavit nomen eorum  
 Adam, in die qua creati sunt.

a reference which the A.S. poet omits for a reason which will

1.As might be expected, the repetition is due to the fact that the Hebrew Book of Genesis depends upon 3 different sources, usually denoted by J, E, and P. Ch.IV, vv.25 and 26 belong to J, while Ch.V, vv.1-29 belong mostly to P. See Skinner, op. cit. pp.xxxiv-xliii and 124-129.

probably be quite apparent. His poem is based upon the events of the book of Genesis, and it may fairly lay claim to some sort of narrative unity; to include a reference to his source does not disturb this unity, as we have already seen, but to refer to a book within a book would at least threaten to do so. He may well have felt too, that the same reasoning applied to the rest of these two verses; he is here primarily concerned with matters of genealogy and descent, and to include among such a reference to Creation may well have seemed to him to be either unskilful or impractical; and if we transfer our point of view from the immediate to the more distant, we should deduce from this omission that the poet's attitude to his material is here primarily aesthetic, or at least sufficiently so to prevent his source material from governing his poem when he feels that a change should be made.

Lines 1117-1242a.

Introduction. The remainder of this chapter in the Bible consists of 29 verses, and they divide themselves naturally into a number of groups, each group consisting of three verses, the first group being devoted to Adam, and each group thereafter to one of his descendants, thus

vv.	3-5	Adam
	6-8	Seth
	9-11	Enos
	12-14	Cainan
	15-17	Malaleel
	18-20	Iared
	21-24	Enoch
	25-27	Mathousala
	28-31	Lamech
	31	Noe Sem Cham and Japeth. <sup>1</sup>

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1. It will be seen that this last differs materially from that/

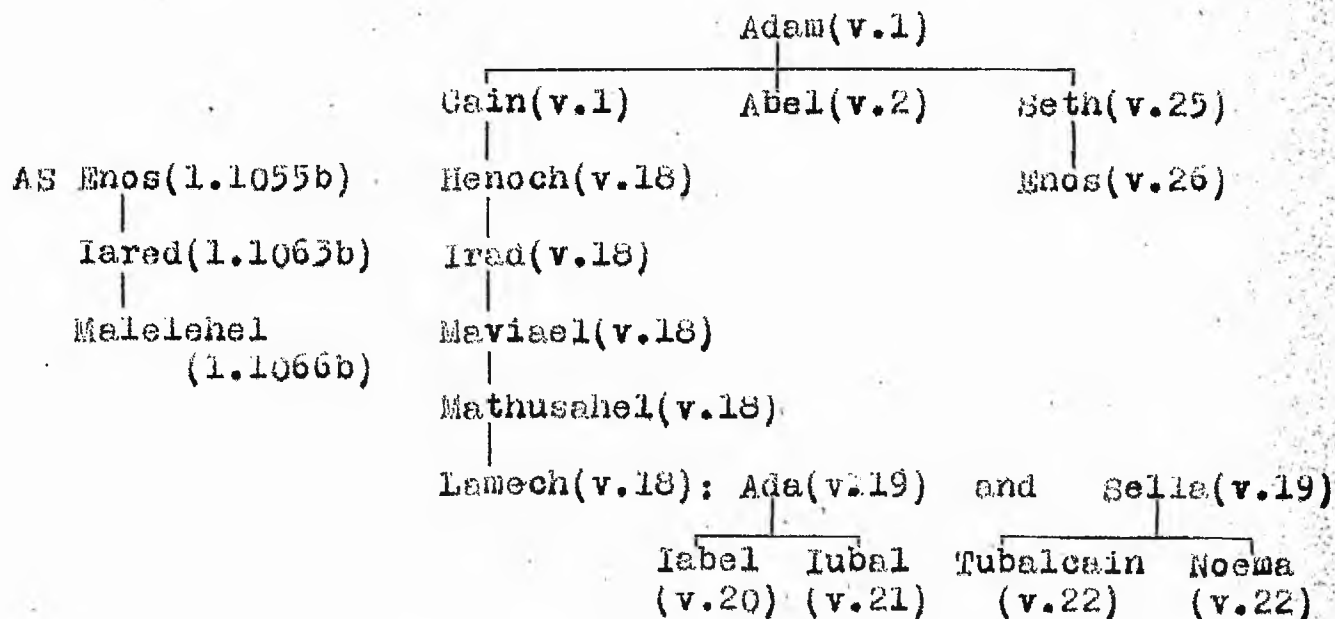
Each of these groups moreover gives exactly the same information, and uses almost exactly the same form of words; as an illustration both of the material and of the form in which it is given let us quote vv.12-14, and 15-17.

12. vixit quoque Cainan septuaginta annis et genuit Malalehel.
13. et vixit Cainan postquam genuit Malalehel octingentis quadraginta annis  
genuitque filios et filias
14. et facti sunt omnes dies Cainan nongenti decem anni et mortuus est
15. vixit autem Malalehel sexaginta quinque annis et genuit Jared.
16. et vixit Malalehel postquam genuit Jared octingentis triginta annis  
et genuit filios et filias
17. et facti sunt omnes dies Malalehel octingenti nonaginta quinque anni et mortuus est

The pattern which emerges then is that each successive

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that given in Ch.IV, which gave the line of descent as



Why the A.S. poet should have used the name forms from Ch.V throughout is difficult to understand, and by what method he contrived to do this and yet to take the line of descent from Ch.IV. is even more difficult. Honncher (loc. cit.) remarks on this fact, but offers no hypothesis which might remove this contradiction.

leader of the Jewish race is named; his age at the birth of his first child is told, followed by the number of years he lived after this, and the age at which he died. As the same form of words is used throughout most of the rest of the chapter exhaustive quotation is not necessary.

We should note that the group allotted to Adam contains extra material in the phrase et genuit ad similitudinem et imaginem suam vocavitque nomen eius Seth (v.3). This however seems little more than a change in the usual form of the words, and the A.S. poet treats it as such and disregards it. In the group allotted to Lamech and his son Noah we are given the interpretation of the name Noah, iste consolabitur nos ab operibus et laboribus manuum nostrarum in terra cui maledixit Dominus (v.29) - additional material which the A.S. poet again disregards, possibly because he did not wish Noah to gain prominence in the poem until he reached the account of the Flood. We might accept his silence as due to the desire to give his poem proportion. The last exception is the group which refers to Enoch, son of Jared,<sup>1</sup> (vv.21-24), but as this group differs materially from the others, vv.21-24 and the corresponding lines of the A.S., ll.1197-1217a have been left out of consideration till the end of this section.

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1. The term Enoch, son of Jared, may seem cumbersome, but as most early writers are somewhat arbitrary in the spelling of this name and also in that of Enos and frequently confuse the two, it has been thought best to add the descent where it is not clear from the immediate context.

Lines 1117-1242a.

Factual Basis. Perhaps our best approach to the comparison of these two long passages will be to look first at the basic factual material common to both. At first sight, this material appears rather unpoetic and intractable in character, and from the numerous expansions and additions it ultimately received at the poet's hands it may be assumed that in general the poet shared this opinion: but before these changes are considered, it should be noted that he does preserve the factual material of the years and offspring of the Israelite leaders more or less intact. The order of descent is maintained also, and the names likewise; the years of the leaders he keeps too, save that he alters the figures given in the Vulgate for the events in Jared's life, and the age of Lamech at the birth of Noah. He omits some of the figures referring to Henoch son of Jared, Mathusalah and Lamech. These are the main alterations he makes to the basic facts of the chapter; but none of them is of great importance, and the main facts remain unchanged.

The first of these minor changes mentioned above refers to Jared, of whom it is related in the Vulgate that he was 162 years of age when his son Enoch was born. (Ch.V, v.18).

vixitque Jared centum sexaginta duobus annis et genuit Henoch.

and that after he had lived for 800 years more, Jared died at the age of 962. (Ch.V, vv.19 and 20).

19. et vixit lared postquam genuit Henoch octingentis  
annis  
et genuit filios et filias  
20. et facti sunt omnes dies lared nongenti sexaginta  
duo anni et mortuus est

and both the early versions of the Bible, - the LXX and the VL - agree with those figures.<sup>1</sup> In the A.S. however, the figures are given as 165, 800 and 965 respectively in ll. 1184-1193.

Fif and hundteontig on fyore lifde  
wintra gebidenra on woruldrice  
and syxtig eac þa seo sæl gewearð  
þæt his wif sunu on woruld brohte;  
se eafora was Enoc haten,  
freolic frumbearn. Fæder her þa gyt  
his cynnes forð cneorim icte  
eaforan eahtahund; ealra hefde  
V and syxtig, þa he forð gewat  
and nigonhund eac nihtgerimes

and on this point Hönninger remarks bei Zeared findet sich sogar die irrtümliche angabe 165 für 162 nach der Vulgata und demgemäss als ganze lebenszeit 965 statt 962. Diese abweichung durchaus nicht etwa apokryph oder bei den auslegern zu finden, erkläre ich mir als ein versehen bezüglich des folgenden v.21. - porro Henoch vixit sexaginta quinque annos<sup>2</sup> - a conclusion which we may safely accept.

No explanation is so readily forthcoming, however, for his alteration to the age at which Lamech's son was born. In the Vulgate this age is given as 182, vixit autem Lamech centum octoginta duobus annis et genuit filium (v.28)<sup>3</sup> but in the A.S. it is twa and hundteontig

1. Beuron, pp.96-97, and Rahlfs p.7.

2. op. cit. p.59

3. The LXX (Rahlfs p.8) has 186, while the VL (Beuron.p.99) has various figures none of which reproduce the A.S. 102.

(1.1227a).<sup>1</sup> On the whole, the simplest explanation of this change seems to be in the assumption that the poet missed the octoginta in the Vulgate and read this figure as centum duobus annis.<sup>2</sup>

For the A.S. poet's omissions of figures which are given in the Vulgate a few suggestions may be advanced, though the evidence for them is scanty. Thus the poet's reason for omitting the fact that Enoch's son was born when Enoch was 65 years of age (Vulgate v.21) may be that he had already used this figure mistakenly in writing of Jared (cf. supra pp.68-9). His omission of the first two figures given about Mathuselah (Vulgate vv.25 and 26) may be due to the fact that he adds a comment upon this character in 11.1219-1220a,

se on lichoman lengest pissas  
worulddreama breac.<sup>3</sup>

- 
1. This is the reading given by Krapp, p.39. Hönninger apparently used Bouterwek's text and hence says und bei Lamech endlich die erste zahl 182 nach der Vulgate zu 200 abgerundet und die folgende 595 zerlegt worden. (op. cit. p.60)
  2. If any text had been found to differ from the Vulgate and to agree with the A.S. poet with regard to both Jared and Lamech, - there might have been a case for asking if the A.S. poet had perhaps taken his figures from such a text and not from the Vulgate. But there appear to be only two texts which differ from the Vulgate figure of 165 for Jared's age at the birth of Enoch, the Computatio Anni 452 (v. T.Mommsen, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Berlin 1892, Vol.1, p.151.) and the Chronica Maiora of Isidore (ibid. Vol.2, p.426), neither of which agrees with the figure of 102, for the age at which Noah begat Lamech. The first text gives this age as 189, while the second gives a variety of figures, but none of them 102 or easily capable of being misread as 102.
  3. Cf. infra p. 86.



and does not wish the character of Mathuselah to assume undue proportions in comparison with the others in the genealogy. His omission of Lamech's age at his death (Vulgate v.31) may be due to his having already altered the figure for Lamech's age when his son was born; he would then find that this altered figure together with the number of years which Lamech lived afterwards did not tally with the total given in the Vulgate. Finally it should be noted that the poet omits the central figure of those given for Meleleel (Vulgate v.16) although the other two are correctly given; again the reason for the omission may be one of artistic proportions, although this does not explain why such a proportion was chosen, nor why this selection of the available material was made.

Thus a different hypothesis is required to explain each separate change which the poet has made; and the main deduction from this is that the changes are individually and collectively unimportant: for had the poet had any definite consistent aim in making these changes, this aim must surely have emerged from close reading of the poem. As no such aim appears, he must have accepted the main facts of the Bible unaltered.

Lines 1117-1242a.

In Detail.

Among these facts from the Vulgate, the A.S. poet places many expansions and additions, and since many of these bear a close mutual resemblance, they can best be examined in homogeneous groups: this will permit of a more orderly summary of our conclusions, and will hence give a more accurate view of the A.S. poet's treatment of this chapter as a whole.





(2) There are some occasions however, upon which the poet's avoidance of this repetition of vixit etc. leads him to make additions which seem to enjoy a peculiar character which may perhaps be best seen by the examination of these instances when they are all collected:

.....	pa he eft ongan oðres strienan bearnes be bryde, beorn ellenrof.	(11.1117b-1119)
	ær he be wife her purh gebedscipe bearn astrynde	(11.1147b-1148)
	pa wearð on eðle eafora feded mago Cainanes.	(11.1159-1160a)
	Him bryd sunu meowle to monnum brohte.	(11.1171b-1172a)
.....	pa he forð gewat, nihtgerimes, wine frod wintres, pa he þas woruld ofgeaf and Geared þa gleawum læfde land and leodweard, leofum rince.	(11.1192b-1196)
	pa seo tid gewearð þæt se eorl ongan eðele cennan, sunu and dohtor.	(11.1227b-1229a)
	heold þæt folc teala, bearna strynde, him byras wocan, eaforan and idesa.	(11.1232b-1234a)

In each case it may be observed that the poet's expansion here includes the advancing of concrete or dynamic detail, as for instance bearnes be bryde (1.1119a) or þæt se eorl ongan eðele cennan / sunu and dohtor (11.1228-1229a), and although most if not all of the detail he adds is implied in the source, it was left to him to state it overtly. The motive which induced him to this Ausführung was no doubt the added plausibility and interest which such additions

give to the passage as a whole; while the Vulgate passage is at the best a record interesting mainly to the genealogist and the historian, the A.S. poet has succeeded in working a second change in the character of his material here, and has transmuted it into what appears as a record of former men and women, by the addition of concrete and picturesque detail.

(3) So far the material which the poet has added has all been derived directly or indirectly from the Latin source before him: the rest of our remarks upon these passages however will be based upon material which he seems to have added without prompting from the Vulgate. He does not seem always to have rested content with expanding the Vulgate account along the lines we have indicated but he appears to have made considerable efforts to import into this passage something of the style of epic poetry, and to make it not merely a catalogue, but something approaching the 'epic catalogue' of classical poetry. We would not of course go so far here as to suggest that this is due to the direct or even to the indirect influence of Latin or Greek epic poetry: our hypothesis is merely that he is striving to "epicise" his material, by giving to the figures in the catalogue a more detailed treatment than that which they receive in the Vulgate, and by choosing for this added detail material with epic associations. For a detailed examination of this hypothesis we should cite those passages which add material of this sort - fresh material with epic associations of one kind or another: these passages are

leod weardode,  
eafora after yldrum; eþelstol heold  
and wif begeat.

(11.1128b-1130a)

and lissa breac  
 Malalehel lange,      mondreama her,  
 woruldgestreona.      (11.1175b-1177a).

Longe siððan  
 Geared gumum      gold brittade  
 Se eorl was eðele,      æfest hæled,  
 and se frumgar his      freomagum leof.      (11.1180b-1183)  
 freolic frumbearn.      (1.1189a)

Enoch siððan      ealdordom anof,  
 freoðosped folces wisa,      nalles feallan let  
 dom and drintscipe  
 benden he hyrde was      heafodmaga  
 Breac blæddega,      (11.1197-1201a)

Sunu æfter heold,  
 Lamech leodgeard,      lange siððan  
 woruld bryttade.      (11.1224b-1226a)

se niððum ær  
 land bryttade      siððan Lamech gewat.      (11.1235b-1236)

If we consider their content, it seems fairly plain that these are additions by the A.S. poet: the first tells how the son succeeded to the throne and rule of his father; the second tells how one of the leaders of the Israelites enjoyed the treasure of his fathers; the third tells how a prince was dear to his people, all of which are events which the Vulgate omits completely. The remaining additions, along with those three we have just mentioned, postulate a background of royalty rather more appropriate to Germanic days than to the early days of the Jewish people. The same desire for a more epic atmosphere can be seen in the style too; 11.1175b-1177a contain the word woruldgestreona (1.1177a) which is one of the epic parallels cited by Merrill and McClumpha,<sup>1</sup> while most of the others contain compounds of

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1. op. cit. p.166.

the epic type. The poet's motive in making these additions would seem to be made fairly plain by the character of the additions themselves; he seems to want to import into his poem something of the old atmosphere of the epic, even although he must change the ethos of his source to do so.<sup>1</sup>

(4) Besides wishing that this passage should bear some relationship to the old epic poetry in atmosphere and style, the A.S. poet makes four changes whose mutual resemblance seems to indicate yet another factor at work in his remoulding of this chapter from the Vulgate; the changes which we should include in this category are

- pa he of worulde gewat (1.1143b)
- sibban corbe swealh (11.1144b-1145b)
- ..... Sethes lice
- þære oneorisse was Cainan sibban  
after Enose aldordema,  
weard and wisa. (11.1155-1157a)
- Him on laste heold land and yrfe  
..... missera worn (11.1167-1168)

and their distinguishing characteristic is not that they add any information which is new and unrealised in the Biblical account, - the material in them is derived directly from the Vulgate - but that they alter the position of the events by including in the account of the reign of one king a reference to the death of the preceding, or a reference to the connection between the two. It would seem reasonable enough to conclude that the poet's reason for doing this may have been the memory of the variety of event, and the frequently interlaced pattern of the action in the heroic

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1. for further parallels, see Merrill and McClumpha. loc.cit.

poems of pagan days;<sup>1</sup> if this conclusion be too bold to be acceptable, we would suggest instead that the A.S. poet may simply have felt that the material as it stood was too repetitive and unpoetic to remain unchanged, and made his amendments for this reason alone without any epic attachments whatsoever. At least we may safely conclude that the poet did not scruple to interfere with the strict order of events as it is given in the source, and that he adds to the variety of his narrative thereby.

(5) Some of the material which the poet adds is certainly new in one sense if not in another; that is to say, it is new in the sense that it is not contained in the corresponding passage in the Vulgate, but it is not new in that it appears to derive not from the poet's own consciousness, nor even from his own world-picture, but from some or other of the early commentators or patristic writers. The first of these passages is the remark in 1.1138a, Seth was geselig, which has certainly no warrant from the corresponding verse in the Vulgate, which follows the usual et genuit . . . et vixit form; we are not on perfectly certain ground however, when we attribute this addition to patristic influence since we have been unable to locate any commentator<sup>2</sup> who makes any remark which would serve to explain why Seth particularly should be chosen as geselig. On the other hand we have seen that the poet is frequently concerned to import an epic atmosphere into his poem, and if he is going to invent characteristic epithets,

1. The Fight at Finnesburh with its tantalising references to what has preceded in the same epic is an excellent example of this.

2. The principal commentators who have written about this verse were examined; works both known to have been written before the A.S. Genesis and thought to have been written after it were included in the examination, in the hope of finding an analogue at least. For a list of the works consulted, see Appendix I, List V.



we might reasonably expect the poet to choose some phrase such as wine frod wintres (l.1194a) which expresses a qualification common in epic poetry. The adjective gesaelig however, which the poet here uses for seth can hardly be called a common characteristic epithet of pagan epic poems, and as it has no such purpose we are hence inclined to regard it as having its origin in some commentary hitherto unexamined.

The next addition of this type occurs in l.1145a, where seth is referred to as sadberendes and for the identification of the source of this word scholarship is indebted to Professor S. Moore, who in a note on this line<sup>1</sup> suggested that this idea might derive from an early legend of the history of the Cross-Wood before Christ, a legend in which seth appears in just such a character. While Professor Moore did not offer a definite source, he seems to us to have established a probable enough analogue by referring to the later existence in English of a version of the story translated from an earlier Latin account; failing absolute evidence to the contrary, it seems to us that his conclusions may safely be accepted and that sadberendes (l.1145a) may thus be included among those additions which are made by the A.S. poet from patristic sources.

In the same category of patristic addition we would place the A.S. poet's two comments upon Enos, son of seth; the first occurs in l.1146a and tells us that He was leof gode, and the second, in l.1151b, tells us that Enos lived on friðo drintnes. A somewhat parallel view of this Enos, son of seth, is given in the Liber de Genesi

formerly attributed to Juvencus, which has in ll.194-6

Enochum is deinde creat, cui candida corda  
 largitus Dominus, hoc se poscente rogari <sup>1</sup>  
 Annuit et placidae suscepit munera mentis.

This poem is usually found in MSS containing the works of the latter<sup>2</sup>; Juvencus in turn was known to Bede and figured in the patristic collection available to him when writing his historical and religious works,<sup>3</sup> and we may fairly deduce from this that his work would at least be available in England, if not necessarily widely known. We would not go so far as to suggest that the A.S. poet is here quoting directly from the Liber de Genesi of course, since there is no verbal correspondence, nor indeed any very close correspondence of idea; but the fact that this view of Enos, son of Seth, was current among patristic writers,<sup>4</sup> and more especially current among those whose works were known in England seems to us to suggest that it may have been from this source and from this or some analogous view of the character of Enos that the A.S. poet drew the inspiration for the phrases He was leof gode and on friðo drihtnes, and it is upon these grounds that we should place these additions in this section devoted to additions from patristic sources.

The A.S. account of Enoch, son of Jared may perhaps be most conveniently examined here since most of the significant additions to it in the A.S. account

1. Migne PL. Vol.19, Col.354

2. Migne PL. Vol.19, Col.19 sqq.

3. See M.L.W. Laistner, The Library of the Venerable Bede in Bede, His Life, Times and Writings, ed. A.H. Thompson, Oxford, 1935.

4. See App.I, List VI for those consulted.

seem to belong to this section of our study of ll.1117-1242a. - the addition of comment from patristic sources. As we have already said in our introduction to the examination of these lines,<sup>1</sup> the Vulgate account of Enoch, son of Jared (Ch.V,vv.21-24) does not follow the form of words usual throughout the rest of Ch.V; it will perhaps be simplest to quote it in full,

21. porro Enoch vixit sexaginta quinque annis et genuit Mathusalam.
22. et ambulavit Enoch cum Deo postquam genuit Mathusalam trecentis annis.  
et genuit filios et filias
23. et facti sunt omnes dies Enoch trecenti sexaginta quinque anni
24. ambulavitque cum Deo et non apparuit quia tulit eum Deus.

In the A.S., this material occupies ll.1197-1217a.

Enoch siððan ealdordom anof,  
 freoðosped folces wisa, nalles feallan let  
 dom and drihtscipe,  
 þenden he hyrde was heafodmaga.  
 Brecc blæddaga, bearna strynde  
 Preomand wintra. Him was þeoden hold,  
 rodera waldend. Se rinc neonon  
 on lichoman lisse sohte,  
 drihtnes duguðe, nales deaðe swealt  
 middangeardes, swa her men dop,  
 geonge and ealde, þonne him god neora  
 wæhte and ætwist eorðan gestreona  
 on genimeð and neora aldor sowed,  
 ac he cwic gewat mid cyning engla  
 of pyssum lanan life feran  
 on þam gearwum þe his gast onfeng  
 ær hine to monnum modor brohte.  
 He þam yldestan eaforan lafde  
 folc, frumbearne; V and syxtig  
 wintra hæfde þa he woruld ofgeaf  
 and eac III hund.

which is incidentally the longest section allotted to any of the Jewish leaders. As will be seen it starts by

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1. cf. supra p. 67.

following the Vulgate closely, except for the omission of Enoch's age when he beget Mathusalah.<sup>1</sup> In 11.1206b-1209,

Swa her men dop  
geonge and ealde þonne him god heora  
mhte and etwist eorþan gestreona  
on genimeþ and heora aldor somed:

the A.S. poet adds material of his own, and as this does not seem to be of patristic origin, it will be treated later<sup>2</sup>; but he also adds three ideas

(i) Him was beoden hold / rodera waldend  
(11.1202b-1203a)

(iia) se rinc heonan  
on lichoman lisse sohte  
ðrihtnes duguþe, nales deaðe swealt  
middangeardes  
(11.1203b-1206a)

(iib)ac he cwic gewat  
(1.1210a)

(iii)on þam gearwum þe his gest onfeng  
ær hine to monnum modor brohte  
(11.1212-1213)

which do not translate, but rather explain the corresponding parts of the Vulgate account:

22.et ambulavit Enoch cum Deo postquam genuit  
Mathusalam trecentis annis

and

24.ambulavitque cum Deo et non apparuit quia  
tulit eum Deus.

As it was held that these ideas might be derived from patristic sources, the more important of those were examined<sup>3</sup> with reference to each idea in turn. The

1. Cf. supra, pp.68-9.

2. Vide infra, p.86.

3. See Appx. I, List VII, for a list of those sources consulted.

closest similarity to the A.S. poem was found oddly enough once again in the Liber de Genesi attributed to Juvencus, ll.205-210

Enochus cui cura fuit servire Potenti  
Et mentem sociare Deo, sa junior istis  
Ter centum explicitis si quinque adungere cures  
Sexies et denos subita caligine tectus  
Abditus et Domino multum miserante remotus  
Felicem placide vivit cum tempore vitam.<sup>1</sup>

The principal agreement seems to be between l.205-206, of the Liber de Genesi and the first idea (i) added to the A.S. poem<sup>2</sup>, but it is noteworthy that it is possible, but no more than this, that ll.208-210 of this same passage (subita caligine tectus et sqq) might have suggested the second additional idea - (iia and iib) - found in the A.S. The remark that Enoch did not suffer death however, occurs in some form or another in most of the commentators examined, although in none did the form of words used correspond closely enough with that in the A.S. poem to justify an inference of direct connection between the two.

The striking aspect of the third addition made at this point, is its equation of the gearwe of the soul before birth with that of the soul after death - or at least after "translation". Perhaps the nearest patristic comment would be that of Augustine

1. Migne PL. Vol.19, Col.354.

2. Most of the other commentators give the relationship between Enoch and God "in reverse" as it were, eg. the Epistle to the Donatists, Corpus Vindobonense Vol.52, p.282, tamquam Enoch deo placens transferetur. The Italian text of VI also reads placuit autem Enoch deo (Beuron p.97.)

in the Liber de Peccato Originale, which has vel cum quaeritur ubi sit nunc Elias vel Enoch, an ibi an alibi alibi; quos tamen non dubitamus in quibus nati sunt corporibus vivere;<sup>1</sup> when the idea expressed herein is closely compared with that of the A.S. however, it appears doubtful if the correspondence is in fact great enough to justify the assumption that the A.S. poet had Augustine's work before him when he wrote his poem; if he had, then he seems to have misunderstood it slightly since Augustine's phraseology indicates the human body, while that of the A.S. poet seems to point to something less definite. Moreover, if an examination of the actual mode of expression in the two texts is carried out, the conclusion seems to be that actual verbal "echoes" do not exist, and that direct influence is hence made less probable. Perhaps the most satisfactory hypothesis, though it should be regarded as no more than most tentative, is that the poet is recollecting and using stories and criticisms from Biblical lore and learning acquired at various times and stored in his memory until he came to write this poem; and indeed it seems to us that the difference between what St. Augustine says, and what is given in the A.S. might be due to just such a slightly inaccurate reminiscence.

To decide the poet's motive in making these allusions would perhaps be easier if we did but know how widespread was the knowledge of the legends to which he is referring. The evidence for such knowledge however, is hardly forthcoming after the lapse of so much

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1. Migne PL. Vol.44, Col.398.

time, but perhaps we may be permitted to assume that the poet's audience would know them, from the very fact that the poet makes use of them; if this assumption be granted, then the poet's motive in referring to the legends becomes easier to appreciate. Perhaps our readiest approach to this problem is to recall that at the time when the A.S. poet was writing the Genesis, the Christian religion must still have been something of a novelty to the A.S. people; in consequence the A.S. poet is introducing his audience to what is in a sense a new world-picture, and as a Christian he must have wished that this world-picture should be at least as complete and satisfying as that of the pagan epics, with which his poem naturally invites comparison. Since the epic poems have frequent "cross-references" showing that they have wide backgrounds of epic legend behind them, the A.S. poet may well have wished to claim the same feature for Christianity. Hence, if we assume the reasonably broadcast knowledge of the legends he cites, we may see in his citation of them his desire that the picture presented by the Christian world should be in no way inferior to that presented by the Germanic pagan world.<sup>1</sup>

(6) There remain still to be considered those additions which appear not to derive from patristic or other sources, but to be the poet's own comment upon the biblical material. The first of these we would see

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1. For Christianity must be shown to excel paganism not only in its opinions or doctrines, but also as a social life. Hence the importance of recording the successions of bishops, the works of illustrious fathers, doctrinal disputes and decisions, the fortitude of the martyrs and the sanctity of the saints. J.H.S. Burleigh, The City of God, (Croall Lectures) London 1944. pp.1945.

in 1.1118a him to epelstafe as the poet's comment upon Adam's rearing of children. Our reason for characterising this comment as belonging to the poet and not to any patristic writer is that the idea which it expresses is Germanic enough to be that of the poet, and at the same time rather too commonplace in literature as a whole to be ascribed specifically to any one source.

The second of these additions is purely Germanic in thought and expression; it is contained in 11.1206b-1209,

swe her men dop  
geonge and ealde, þonne him god heora  
hte and etwist eorðan gestreona  
on genimeð and heora aldor somed.

and its collocation of the idea of loss of life with that of loss of gestreona (1.1208b) is so close that it might almost have been a quotation from Hrothgar's speech in Beowulf 11.1700-1784; this and its insertion as a reflective passage in the middle of a passage of narrative seem to us to be sufficient to allow us to advance the hypothesis that it is in fact an addition from the poet's own thought and not from any patristic source.

The third and last of these additions is contained in 11.1219-1220a;

se on lichoman lengest þisse  
worulddreama breac

and is a comment upon the age of Mathusalah. A comment of this type springs almost spontaneously from the text, and is found in not a few of the early Latin writers of the Christian church.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand we may not

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1. eg. Juvencus. Liber in Genesi, Migne PL. Vol.19, Col.351.



unreasonably assume that a comment of this type would suggest itself with equal readiness to the A.S. poet, without necessarily evoking in his mind more than perhaps a vague reminiscence of any definite commentator or commentary;

The poet does not appear to have had any very definite purpose in mind in making these three comments, as it would be difficult to find one homogeneous reason behind them all. The method of their insertion however, has already been noticed in our comment upon the second of the three - namely the A.S. habit of varying narrative with reflection and moralising, so that whatever the poet's motive for including these additions may have been, their significance for us is that they show us that he had successfully wrought the material in his source into something which would yield to the normal process of A.S. poetic composition.

(7) We should note also that in his treatment of this passage the poet thrice makes direct reference to his source, in 11.1121b, Us gewritu secgab, and again in 1.1173b, mine gefraege, and finally in 1.1239b, bas be bec cwebab, probably with the motives we have already suggested for this - his desire to reproduce this stylistic feature from the Germanic pagan epics.

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Hieronimus. Liber Hebraicarum Quaestionum in Genesi, Migne PL. Vol.23, Col.996. Augustine Quaestiones in Heptateuchum, Migne PL. Vol.34, Cols.548-551, de Civitate Dei, Migne PL. Vol.41, Cols.448-452, de Peccato Originale, Migne PL. Vol.44, Col.398. Hrabanus Maurus Commentarius in Genesim, Migne PL. Vol.107, Col.510.

We should note the total effect of the poet's reshaping of the material in Ch.V of the Vulgate. The material which we investigated under section (1) above, showed that he has varied the expression and hence given to the chapter a more poetic character than it possesses in the Vulgate; likewise the material collected in section (6) showed much the same result as the poet applied the normal methods of the A.S. poetic technique to the material in his source. In section (4) the order of the events was altered from the strict pattern it followed in the Vulgate to one which gave more variety to the narrative and in section (2) graphic detail was added to give this narrative greater human interest. In section (3) the quotations adduced showed his attempt to bring this passage within the epic world; and similarly in section (7) the poet imitated a particular stylistic device of that epic world. Finally, in section (5) the additions he made show that he felt the need for Christianity to create a complete epic world of its own.

Lines 1242b-1245a.

At this point we may resume our former method of detailed collation of the A.S. text with its Latin source, by applying this method to the lines which follow the A.S. account of this genealogy, ll.1242b-1245a,

peoda tymdon  
 rume under roderum, rim mielaide  
 monna magbe geond middangeard  
 sunum and dontrum

and their source in the Vulgate, Ch.VI, v.1.

1. Cumque coepissent homines multiplicari super terram  
 et filias procreassent

and apart from the poetic repetition of the A.S. account there seems to be little difference between the two.

Lines 1245b-1252.

In Ch.VI, v2, the "sons of God" are opposed to the "daughters of men", and we have

2.videntes filii Dei filias eorum quod essent pulchrae  
acceperunt uxores sibi ex omnibus quas elegerant

and the common interpretation of these terms is that the filii Dei are the race of Seth, while the filiae (hominum) are the race of Cain.<sup>1</sup> But before he renders this passage, the A.S. poet inserts an addition in ll.1245b-1247

Da giet was Sethes cynn,  
leofes leodfruman on lufan swiðe  
drihtne dyre and domeadig

which appears to have as its purpose the heralding of what is to come later in the poem; and the A.S. poet's motive for adding these lines was probably the deliberate destruction of suspense common in A.S. epic poetry.

Having made this concession to epic style, the A.S. poet goes on to render the Vulgate Ch.VI, v.2, which we have quoted above, and gives it in ll.1248-1252.

oððæt bearn godes bryda ongunnon  
on Gaines cynne secan,  
wergum folce, and him þær wif curon  
ofer metodes est monna eaforan,  
scyldfulra magð scyne and fægere

and it will be seen that the main change he makes is to

1. Knox, p.8, n.1, 'Sons of God' appears to mean angels in Job 1.2; 38, 7; elsewhere its meaning is doubtful. The Fathers mostly understand this phrase of Seth's descendants, and the 'daughters of men' as descended from Cain; but cf. ICC Gen. p.141. 1, 2. The sense of these vv. is perfectly clear. The sons of God (אֱלֹהִים בְּנֵי) are everywhere in OT. members (but probably inferior members) of the divine order, or (using the word with some freedom,) angels.

substitute for the filiae (hominum) the already discussed patristic interpretation, on Caines cynne secan (l.1249). It is doubtful if his motive for including the patristic comment were simply the clarifying of the Vulgate phraseology; it seems rather more likely to us that his motive would be the desire for a more concrete and picturesque expression, a contention which we would presume to see confirmed by his expansion of the character of the daughters of men, in l.1252, the last quoted above.

Lines 1253-1262.

There follows in the Vulgate another verse which has given rise to some discussion among the Fathers, namely Ch.VI, v.3.

3.dixitque Deus non permanebit spiritus meus in homine  
in aeternum quia caro est.  
eruntque dies illius centum viginti annorum

The A.S. poet completely ignores the first half of this verse, possibly because of its primarily theological interest: in his version the lines which follow, ll.1253-1262, are devoted to a description of God's anger against men for choosing wives from the race of Cain, - a description cast in the form of a speech by God. The detailed content of the speech has nothing requiring special notice, but we should be careful to appreciate how the A.S. poem gains by the substitution of this passage for the verse in the Vulgate. The gain in good order is great, since this speech by God makes an excellent bridge between the account of the behaviour of Seth's descendants and the beginning of the account of the Flood; there is a gain too in the ethical completeness of the poem since these lines tell us that not only the race of Cain but also that of Seth has angered God, and hence we felt that the Flood is the more justified in that the taint of sin seems to have spread through the whole of mankind.

The poet thus saw his material as a whole, and did not hesitate to alter the material in the Vulgate where he felt it inadequate in comparison with his own imaginative conception.

Lines 1263-1269.

The A.S. poet then returns to his source in l.1263 to use the figure 120 from the second half of the verse of the Vulgate quoted above, giving to it not the obvious and superficial significance of the duration of man's life, but the deeper and more recondite sense which the Fathers saw in it - the space of time allotted to mankind for repentance before the Flood.<sup>1</sup>

Siððan hundtwelftig geteled rime  
wintra on worulde wræce bişgodon  
fæge peoda hwonne frea wolde  
on werlogan wite settan  
and on deað slea dædum scyldige  
gigantwæcgas gode unleofe,  
micle mansceaðan, metode laðe.

The following verse of the Vulgate, Ch.VI, v.4,

4.gigantes autem erant super terram in diebus illis  
postquam enim ingressi sunt filii Dei ad filias  
hominum illaeque genuerunt  
isti sunt potentes a saeculo viri famosi

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1. Both views are found in the works of the Fathers: that which the poet takes was probably the more widely accepted having behind it the authority of Hieronymus Non igitur humana vita ut multi errant in centum viginti anni ad poenitentiam dati sunt. Quaestiones in Genesi, Migne PL. Vol.23, Col.93. It is interesting to note that Bede takes this view - and indeed quotes these very words. (Quaestiones in Genesim, Migne PL, Vol.93, Col.252).

has plainly been ignored by the A.S. poet save to cull from it the figure of the giants, (gigantumgigas, line 1268a). Along with this he has made the change of substituting for the account of the creation of the giants a notice of the misdeeds of men and of God's determination to punish them. Again his motive seems to have been the gaining of greater homogeneity for his narrative; he is here leading up to the account of the Flood, and the introduction of the history of the giants at this point would be irrelevant. Hence we may deduce again that the Vulgate material does not exercise so great a hold over the poet as to dull his aesthetic sense; when he feels that the narrative requires unification of interest, he makes alterations freely.

Lines 1270-1284.

The Vulgate now proceeds to give God's resolve to punish mankind, and to this purpose it allots Ch.VI, vv.5, 6 and 7.

- 5.videns autem Deus quod multa malitia hominum esset  
intertra  
et cuncta cogitatio cordis intenta esset ad malum  
omni tempore  
6.paenituit eum quod hominem fecisset in terra  
et tactus dolore cordis intrinsecus  
7.delebo inquit hominem quem creavi a facie terrae  
ab homine usque ad animalia a reptili usque ad  
volucres caeli  
paenitet enim me fecisse eos.

These lines show a four element structure, namely

- i. God sees the evil of the world: v.5.
  - ii. He repents of having made man: v.6.
  - iii. He is touched with inner grief: v.6
  - iv. And He resolves to destroy all living things: v.7
- but this structure is not perfectly preserved in the A.S.

poem. The passage concerned in the A.S., ll.1270-1284 does show apparently a four element structure, but the elements differ somewhat from those in the Vulgate, being:

- i. God sees the evil of the world: ll.1270-1273a.
- ii. He resolves to punish man: ll.1273b-1276a
- iii. He repents of having made man: ll.1276b-1278
- iv. He will destroy all living things in the Flood: ll.1279-1284.

The second element, ll.1273b-1276a,

He þæt unfægere  
wera cneorissum      gewrecaþ þohte  
forgripan gumcynne      grimme and sare  
heardum mihtum.

is thus technically an addition with the object of bringing God's sternness more clearly before his audience. In this purpose too we might see the reason for the A.S. poet's omission of what is given as the third element in the Vulgate - God's being touched by grief. Thus both his addition and his omission render more stern the already august character of God, which thus altered, might possibly be felt to resemble more closely that of a hero of the pagan epics - a character more or less hypostated from the Germanic national traits. For our purpose however, it will suffice to note that the poet does make a change in God's character where he appears to have felt that dramatic ends demanded this.

Lines 1285-1406.

Introduction. The rest of this chapter in the Vulgate, (Ch.VI, vv.8-22) and the whole of the following chapter

(Ch.VII, vv.1-24) tell of the building of the Ark, of the coming of the Flood, and of the rise of the waters to cover the land completely: with a surprisingly modern sense of dramatic propriety, Chapter VII finishes with the waters at their height:

obtineruntque aquae terras centum quinquaginta diebus. Throughout this section the narrative in the Bible is anything but straightforward, as it repeats the same information and the same events more than once, and not always in the same form; as will readily be conjectured, this is due to the fact that the Hebrew text is here a conflation of two texts, - a conflation in which the sources have been used cumulatively rather than exclusively.<sup>1</sup> This Hebrew text, with all its faults, the Vulgate follows without deviation, and in consequence an abstract of this portion of the Vulgate might be made up as follows:-

Ch.VI.vv. 8-12. Introductory Matter.

vv.13-21. God's Speech to Noah:-

i.e. v.13. He foretells the end of mankind.

vv.14-16. Directions for Building the Ark.

v.17. The Flood is foretold.

v.18. God's Treaty with Noah.

vv.19-21. The Lading prescribed for the Ark.

then v.22. Fecit ergo Noe omnia quae praeceperat illi Deus.

Ch.VII,vv.1-4. God's Speech to Noah.

i.e. vv.1-3. The Lading prescribed for the Ark.

v.4. The Flood is foretold.

then v.5. Noah does as he is bidden (viz. he lades the Ark.)

v.6. Noah is 600 years old when the Flood comes.

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1. cf. ICC. Gen. p.147.



- vv.7-9. All enter the Ark.  
 vv.10-12. The Flood comes in Noah's 600th year.  
 vv.13-16. All enter the Ark.  
 v.17. The Flood comes.  
 The Lord shuts them in from the outside.  
 vv.18-20. Description of the Flood.  
 vv.21-23. Description of the Havoc it works.  
 v.24. Obtinueruntque aquae terras centam  
quingenta diebus.

From this it will be seen that there is a certain amount of duplication in this account: for convenience of future reference, we might summarise the instances of duplication as follows.

The Foretelling of the Flood.	Ch.VI,v.17.	Ch.VII,v.4
The Lading prescribed.	VI,v.19-21.	VII,v.1-3
The Lading carried out.	VII,v.5	VII,v.7-9 VII,v.13-16.
The Flood comes.	VII,v.10-12.	VII,v.17
Noah's Age.	VII,v.6.	VII,v.11

Fortunately for the unity of his poem, the A.S. poet appears to have handled this material more selectively, with the result that while he presents the complete story up to the covering of the land by the Flood, much of the duplication of the Biblical account is avoided in the A.S. version. Since it is desirable that we should not lose sight of his handling of the Genesis narrative as a whole, perhaps our best approach to the examination of the A.S. poet's account of the first part of the story of the Flood, ll.1285-1406, will be to conduct our study under 3 headings viz:-

- (i) The A.S. poet's selection of his material.
- (ii) A detailed examination of the verses used as they

are in the Vulgate, and as they appear in the A.S. including minor additions.

(iii) A detailed examination of the A.S. poet's two major additions.

- a system by which we may hope that we shall omit little of significance in the relationship of source and poem.

Lines 1285-1406.

(1) The A.S. poet's selection of his material. The Introductory Matter in the Vulgate, in Ch. VI, vv. 8-12.

8. Noe vero invenit gratiam coram Domino.

9. Hae sunt generationes Noe.

Noe vir iustus atque perfectus fuit in generationibus suis.

cum Deo ambulavit.

10. et genuit tres filios Sem Ham et Iafeth.

11. corrupta est autem terra coram Deo et repleta est iniquitate.

12. cumque vidisset Deus terram esse corruptam omnis quippe caro corruerat viam suam super terram

appears in ll. 1285-1294a of the A.S. poem.

Noe was god, nergende leof,  
 swiðe geselig, sunu Lameches,  
 domfest and gedefe. Drihten wiste  
 þæt þæs eðelinges ellen dohte  
 breostgehygdum; forðon him brego smgde,  
 halig æt hleoðre, helm allwihta,  
 hwæt he fah werum fremman wolde;  
 geseah unrihte eorðan fulle,  
 side sælwongas synnum gehladene,  
 widlum gewende.

although with some significant addition, as we shall see later; thereafter the A.S. poet takes from v. 13 of the Vulgate only the indication that God is speaking dixit ad Noe, and goes straight to v. 17

ecce ego adducam diluuii aquas super terram  
 ut interficiam omnem carnem  
 in que spiritus vitae est subter caelum  
 universa quae in terra sunt consumentur

and in ll.1294b-1299a, God speaks and the Flood is foretold:-

pa waldend spræc  
 nergend usser, and to Noe cwæð:  
 "Ic wille mid flode folc acwellan  
 and cynna gehwile cucra wuhta,  
 þara þe lyft and flod lædað and fedað,  
 feoh and fuglas.

There follows in ll.1299b-1302a:

þu scealt frið habban  
 mid sunum þinum, ðonne sweart wæter,  
 wonne wælstreamas werodum swelgað,  
 sceaðum scyldfullum.

a quick glance at the Vulgate Ch.VI, v.18, God's Treaty with Noah and his kin

ponamque foedus meum tecum  
 et ingredieris arcam tu et filii tui  
 uxor tua et uxores filiorum tuorum tecum

and thereafter the poet returns to vv.14-16 of the Vulgate,

14 fac tibi arcam de lignis levigatis  
 mansiunculas in arca facies  
 et bitumine linies intrinsecus et extrinsecus 15 et  
 sic facies eam  
 trecentorum cubitorum erit longitudo arcae  
 quinquaginta cubitorum latitudo  
 et triginta cubitorum altitudo illius  
 16 fenestram in arca facies et in cubito consummabis  
 summitatem  
 ostium autem arcae pones ex latere deorsum  
 cenacula et tristega facies in ea

to give in ll.1302b-1310a the directions for building the Ark.

Ongyn þe scip wyrcan,  
 merehus micel. On þam þu monegum scealt  
 reste geryman, and rihte setl  
 ælcum æfter agenum eorðan tudre.  
 Gescype scylfan on scipes bosme,  
 þu þæt færgewyrce fiftiges wid,  
 ðrittiges heah and þreohund lang  
 elngemeta, and wid yða gewyrce  
 gefeg fæste.

He omits vv.19 and 20 in which the Lading of the Ark is

prescribed for the first time, but makes use of v.21

tolles igitur tecum ex omnibus ovis quae mandii  
possunt et comportabis apud te  
et erunt tibi quam illis in cibum.

so that in ll.1310b-1313a,

þær sceal fæsl wesan  
cwiclifigendra cynna gehwilces  
on þæt wudufæsten wocor geleded  
eorðan tudres;

Noah is warned to take food adequate for all. In line  
1313b the poet adds a characteristically practical comment  
earu sceal þy mare and the final verse of the Vulgate  
chapter, v.22 (fecit ergo Noe omnia quae praeceperat illi  
Deus) is reflected in ll.1314-1317a.

Noe fremede swa hine nergend hent,  
hyrde þam halgan neofoncynige,  
ongan ofostlice þæt hof wyrcean,  
micle merciæste.

At this point the A.S. poet makes a  
long addition, ll.1317b-1326, describing the Building of  
the Ark,

magum sægde  
þæt was þrealic þing þeodum toward,  
rebe wite. Hie ne rohton þis!  
Geseah þa ymb wintra worn werfæst metod  
gefonhusa mest georo hlifigean,  
innan and utan eorðan lime  
gefastnod wið flode, fæst Noes,  
þy selestan. þæt is syndrig cynn;  
symle bið þy heardra þe hit hroon wæter,  
swearte sæstreamas swidor beated.

and thereafter its Lading is given, with the first and  
second verses of the following chapter, Ch.VII, vv.1 & 2.

1 dixitque Dominus ad eum  
ingredere tu et omnis domus tua arcam  
te enim vidi iustum coram me in generatione hac  
2 ex omnibus animantibus mundis tolles septena septena  
masculum et feminam  
de animantibus vero non mundis duo duo masculum et  
feminam.

acting as the source for two passages from the A.S. poem,  
namely 11.1327-1329.

ða to Noe cwmð nergend usser:  
"Ic þe þæs mine, monna leofost,  
wære gesylle, þæt þu weg nimest

11.1332b-1341

lud, swa ic þe hate,  
under earce bord eaforan þine,  
frumgeran þry, and eower feower wif.  
Ond þu seofone genim on þæt sundreced  
tudra gehwilces geteled rimes,  
þara þe to mete mannum lifige,  
and þara oðerra sloces twa.  
Swilce þu of eallum eorðan westmum  
wiste under wegbord werodum gelede,  
þam þe mid sceolon mereflod nesan.

The intervening lines, 11.1330-1332a

and feora fmsl þe þu ferian scealt  
geond deop water deग्रimes worn  
on lides bosme.

are technically an addition since they are not found in  
the source at this point, but they do not in fact disturb  
the narrative, since they are simply devoted to an Ausführung  
of the Lading of the Ark, the subject which is here being  
handled and which thus occupies completely 11.1327-1341.  
In giving this detailed account of the Lading of the Ark  
the poet makes no use of v.3 of the Vulgate,

sed et de volatilibus caeli septena septena masculum  
et feminam  
ut salvetur semen super faciem universae terrae

- an omission which will be examined in detail later, while  
it will be sufficient to note here that its omission makes  
no organic difference to the narrative as a whole.

There follow two additions by the  
A.S. poet, the first of which in 11.1342-1344

Fed freolice feora woere  
oð ic þære lafe lagosiða eft  
reorde under roderum ryman willie.

contains what we may call directions for the conduct of the voyage: the second, which occupies 11.1345-1348a

Gewit þu nu mid niwum on þæt hof gangan,  
gasta werode. Ic þe godne wat,  
feasthydigne; þu eart freoðo wyrðe,  
ara mid eaforum.

contains a reference-back to the reasons for excepting Noah and his family from the universal destruction. Direct use of the source is seen once again in the following lines, 11.1348b-1355

ic on andwlitan  
nu ofor seofon niht sigan læte  
wallregn ufan widre eorðan.  
Feowertig daga feaðe ic wille  
on weras stolan and mid wegpreate  
ehta and agend eall acwellan  
þa beutan beoð earce bordum  
þonne sweart racu stigan onginneð.

which depend with some expansion upon Ch.VII, v.4

adhuc enim et post dies septem ego pluam super terram  
quadraginta diebus et quadraginta noctibus  
et delebo omnem substantiam quam feci de superficie  
terrae

announcing the date and duration of the Flood and completing as they do the account of God's speech to Noah.

This is followed in 11.1356-1362

Him þa Noe gewat, swa hine nergend het,  
under earce bord eaforan lædan,  
weras on wegþæl and heora wif somed;  
and eall þæt to fæste fræa ælmihtig  
Habban wolde under hrof gefor  
to heora ætgifan, swa him ælmihtig  
werode drihten þurh his word ahead.

by the account of the Entry into the Ark, an account which might come with almost equal readiness from any of the three rehearsals of the incident in the Vulgate<sup>1</sup>; perhaps the

1. Ch.VII, v.5; Ch.VII, vv.7-9; Ch.VII, vv.12-16. v. supra  
p. 95.

most likely source is vv.13-16,

13. In articulo diei illius ingressus est Noe et Sem  
et Ham et Iafeth filii eius  
uxor illius et tres uxores filiorum eius cum eis  
in arcam

14. ipsi et omne animal secundum genus suum  
universaque iumenta in genus suum  
et omne quod movetur super terram in genere suo  
cunctumque volatile secundum genus suum  
universae aves omnesque volucres

15. †ingressat<sup>1</sup> sunt ad Noe in arcam bina et bina  
ex omni carne in qua erat spiritus vitae

16. et quae ingressa sunt masculus et femina ex omni  
carne introierunt  
sicut praeceperat ei Deus  
et inclusit eum Dominus de foris

since the graphic final clause of this passage is the  
subject of the next lines in the A.S. poem, ll.1363-1367a,

Him on hoh beleac heofonrices weard  
merehuses muð mundum sinum,  
sigora waldend, and segnade  
earce innan aegenum spedum  
nergend usser.

Lastly, the A.S. poet appears to have felt the need of an  
episode or incident which might give finality and complete-  
ness to his account of all these actions and ll.1367b-1371a

Noe hafde,  
sunu Lameches, syxhund wintra  
þa he mid bearnum under bord gestah,  
gleaw mid geogobe, be godes hase,  
dugeðum dyrum.

make reference to Noah's age at the time when he entered  
the Ark along with his children, a reference which once  
again might come equally well from either of the instances

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1. ingressa restituiimus contra codices universos, ob proximum  
bina et bina et ex parall. v.16: et quae ingressa sunt  
masculus et femina ex omni carne introierunt. BS, p.167.

in which this information is given in the Vulgate, from Ch.VII, v.6.

erat sescentorum annorum quando diluvii aquae inundaverunt super terram

or v.11

Anno sescentesimo vitae Noe mense secundo  
septimodecimo die mensis  
rupti sunt omnes fontes abyssi magnae.

As will be seen from these two quotations, there is no evidence for a decision in favour of either.

From this point onwards, in ll.1371b-1406 the poet appears to have taken little account of the form of his source. The general subject of these lines is a description of the Flood, and an account of the havoc it creates; thus far they might be said to be based upon Ch.VII, vv.17-24.

- 17.factumque est diluvium quadraginta diebus super terram  
et multiplicatae sunt aquae et elevaverunt arcam  
in sublime a terra
- 18.vehementer inundaverunt et omnia repleverunt in  
superficie terrae  
porro arca ferebatur super aquas
- 19.et aquae praevaluerunt nimis super terram  
opertique sunt omnes montes excelsi sub universo  
caelo
- 20.quindecim cubitis altior fuit aqua super montes  
quos operuerat
- 21.consumptaque est omnis caro quae movebatur super terram  
volucrum animantium bestiarum omniumque reptilium  
quae reptant super terram  
universi homines
- 22.et cuncta in quibus spiraculum  
vitae est in terra mortua sunt
- 23.et delevit omnem substantiam quae erat super terram  
ab homine usque ad pecus  
tam reptile quam volucres caeli et deleta sunt de terra  
remansit autem solus Noe et qui cum eo erant in arca
- 24.obtinueruntque aquae terras centum quinquaginta diebus



but beyond a general resemblance of content and idea there is little similarity to be found between the two accounts, Latin and A.S., as indeed a close comparison of the two will show in due course: in consequence there seems to be little point in exhaustive quotation of the lines concerned.

To aid us in reaching a general conclusion about the A.S. poet's handling of this whole section of his material, it will possibly be best to tabulate in abstract his story of the Flood up to this point, that we may the more conveniently compare the A.S. with the Biblical narrative given in like form on p. 95.: thus we have -

11.1285-1294a. Introductory Matter

1294b

God's Speech to Noah:-

1294b-1299a. The Flood is foretold.

1299b-1302a. God's Treaty with Noah.

1302b-1310a. Directions for Building the Ark.

1310b-1313b. Noah is warned to take ample food.

1314 -1317a. Noe fremede swa hine nergend heht etc.

1317b-1326. The Building of the Ark.

1327

God Speaks to Noah.

1327 -1341. The Lading prescribed for the Ark.

1342 -1344. Directions for the Voyage.

1345 -1348a. Reference back to the goodness of Noah.

1348b-1355. Date and Duration of the Flood.

1356 -1362. Entry into the Ark.

1363 -1367a. The Lord shuts the Ark from the outside.

1367b-1371a. Noah's Age at this time.

1371b-1406. Description of Flood and how it works.

In order to achieve this sequence, the A.S. poet has used some of the verses of the Vulgate but has not scrupled to reject others; that we may have the picture of his selectivity fully before us, we should note those verses he has

rejected, and the material contained in them; those rejected verses are

Ch.VI,vv.9 -10. The Account of the Generations of Noah.

19-20. The Lading Prescribed for the Ark

Ch.VII,v.3. Seven pairs of birds to be included in the Lading of the Ark.

vv.5-12. Embarkation,

Arrival of Flood.

(but from this last-mentioned passage the poet does use the account of Noah's age at this time.) Comparison of this tabulation of material omitted with the preceding tabulation of the story of the Flood as the A.S. poet gives it will show that the material he has omitted is either irrelevant, as for instance Ch.VI,vv.9-10, or given elsewhere in his account of the Flood, e.g. Ch.VI, vv.19 and 20, and Ch.VII,vv.5-11. The one omission which cannot be so explained is that of Ch.VII,v.3.

Sed et de volatilibus caeli septena septena masculum  
et feminam

ut salvetur semen super faciem universae terrae

- the verse which recounts how the birds were taken into the Ark. Although it is theoretically possible to argue that the A.S. poet did not know of the presence of the birds in the Ark, and was in ignorance both of this verse and of the phrase de volucribus iuxta genus suum in v.20; and further that his account of the sending forth of the raven and the dove (ll.1438b-1482) is based solely upon the Vulgate Ch.VIII,vv.6-12, yet it seems a little hazardous to suggest that the poet should have made so much of these incidents if he did not well know that the birds were included among the Ark's passengers from the beginning. A more reasonable explanation might be forthcoming if we examine again the passage which gives the detail of the

## Lading of the Ark, ll.1328-1341.

Ic þe þess mine, monna leofost,  
 ware gesylle, þæt þu weg nimest  
 and feora fæsl þe þu ferial scealt  
 geond deop water deग्रimes worn  
 on lides bosme. Læd, swa ic þe hate,  
 under earce bord eaforen þine,  
 frumgeran þry, and eower feower wif.  
 Oad þu seofone genim on þæt sundreced  
 tudra gehwilces geteled rimes,  
 þara þe to mete mannum lifige,  
 and þara oðerra selces twa.  
 Swilce þu of eallum eorðan westmum  
 wiste under wegbord werodum gelæde,  
 þam þe mid sceolon mereflod nesan.

when it may possibly be observed that the poet has given his account of the contents of the Ark in rather general terms; the human beings alone are mentioned in detail. Perhaps the most satisfactory explanation would be to assume that he felt that the word animantibus (Ch.VII, v.2.) gave adequate authority for the inclusion of the birds without further specific mention of these. Thus his omission of this verse is hardly to be reckoned among the more important omissions; we may indeed go so far as to hold that his motive for omitting Ch.VII, v.3 was the desire to give to his description of the Lading of the Ark that peculiar characteristic which in fact it bears - a characteristic which we shall examine in more detail in due course.

We have arrived at this conclusion, then, that those parts of the Vulgate account which are omitted by the A.S. poet may be regarded as either explicable or unimportant omissions; our main deduction would be that the fact that certain events appear twice in the Vulgate story has evidently not warranted their repetition in the A.S. account.

The poet's major additions - as distinct

from those minor additions which we shall examine shortly under our second heading, - are two: the account of the Building of the Ark, given in ll.1317b-1326, and quoted above on p. 98 and the description of the Flood, which occupies ll.1371b-1406, mentioned on p.102 above; these two additions will be studied in detail later under our third heading, but meanwhile we should note that in the first of these additions, an aspect of the story present by implication only in the Biblical account has been brought out into full narrative status, as it were, by the A.S. poet; and the effect of this addition is to make the A.S. poem more orderly, less episodic and more nearly complete in its narrative than is the Biblical version of the story. In the second addition, the A.S. poet has so greatly expanded his material that the description of the Flood now occupies such a large part of the story that it has become a fitting climax and final scene to this part of the poem; the balance and movement of the poem are greatly improved since no one episode is now dominant, and all are subordinate to the final picture - that of the Flood itself.

When we come to consider the A.S. poet's selection of his material in a wider perspective, and to examine what the significance of these two additions may be for our own enquiry, we should notice the evidence they contain of the genuine narrative skill of the Germanic poet; one might almost say that he handles his material with the skill of a poet accustomed to working upon the large canvas of an epic cycle. It does not indeed seem

too outrageous to suggest that a long tradition of Germanic poetry either heard by the poet, and possibly even in part increased by him, may be the basis for his success in this; given the sympathetic situation of a patriarch-hero (Noah) acting for his people in a straightforward way at the Lord's direct command and with no emotional or doctrinal difficulties to combat, the Germanic tradition and the Biblical material are fused into a perfect though temporary artistic unity. Nor should we lose sight of the fact that this success should tell us something of the poet's attitude to his material, for in order to achieve this success he has had to make those changes, omissions, and additions which we have already examined in this larger aspect. In view of the fact that his changes blend together so well in the final result, it would seem somewhat unlikely that they were the outcome of mere chance and not of deliberate planning. Although we would not go so far as to deduce that the poet must have planned this whole episode ab initio, we would at least advance the hypothesis that he must have been able at some time or another during the composition of this part of the poem to emancipate himself from the Biblical narrative, and to view his material with detachment and to see it as a whole.

Lines 1285-1406.

(ii) A detailed examination of the verses used as they are in the Vulgate and as they appear in the A.S., including minor additions. Returning to the beginning of the relation of this incident we find that we must compare the Vulgate, Ch.VI, vv.8-12.

8.Noë vero invenit gratiam coram Domino

9.Hæc sunt generationes Noë

Noë vir iustus et perfectus erat in generationibus  
suis cum Deo ambulavit

10. et genuit tres filios, Sem Ham et Iafeth

11. Corrupta est autem terra coram Deo et repleta est iniquitate.

12. cumque videret Deus terram esse corruptam  
omnis quippe caro corruperat viam suam super terram

with 11.1285-1294a of the A.S. poem.

Noe was god, nergende leof,  
swiðe geselig, sunu Lameches,  
domfest and godefe. Drihten wiste  
þæt þæs æðelinges ellen dohte  
breostgehygdum; forðon him brego sægde,  
halig æt hleoðre, helm allwihta,  
hwæt he fah werum fremman wolde;  
geseah unrihte eorðan fulle,  
side sælwongas synnum gehladene,  
widlum gewemde.

since 1.1285a Noe was god appears to depend directly upon the opening sentence of v.3. Noe vero invenit gratiam etc. The two lines which follow in the A.S. poem seem to us to add little to this, being simply a glance at the conventional good man of the Bible, though it is interesting to note that gedefe (1.1287a) meaning 'meek'<sup>1</sup> is an idea imported into this passage by the poet, since its first emergence in the Bible is in Numbers Ch. XII, v. 3.<sup>2</sup>

erat enim Moyses vir mitissimus super omnes homines  
qui morabantur in terra<sup>3</sup>

The significance of the introduction of this idea into the A.S. poem is not only that the poet is importing into this poem ideas not directly suggested by the Vulgate at this point, but also that he does not yet yield anything to the consciousness of the psychological opposition which was to emerge between the new Christian hero and the older German

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1. BT. p. 384.

2. See Concordance to the Old & New Testament. A. Cruden.  
London 1889 p. 309

3. HT. p. 133

pagan heroic figure.<sup>1</sup> That the consciousness of the opposition may in fact have been in his mind might be deduced from the following lines, ll.1287b-1289a.

Drihten wiste  
þæt þæs eþelinges ellen dohte  
breostgehygdum;

in which it appears as if the A.S. poet were trying to "bolster up" the character of his hero by evoking memories of the characteristic qualities of the pagan heroes; but this collocation may have happened purely by accident while the poet was in the process of expanding his account of Noah's character - an expansion which in any event might be based upon v.9. Noe vir iustus et perfectus erat . . . cum Deo ambulavit.

The information given in vv.9 and 10 of the Vulgate about the offspring of Noah is omitted probably as irrelevant, as we have already suggested<sup>2</sup>; the A.S. poet inserts instead in ll.1289b-1291 two lines which help to bring the A.S. poem stylistically closer to its Germanic models by forestalling the action of the poem. Thereafter the account of the corruption of the earth described in vv.11 and 12 of the passage quoted above from the Vulgate, is repeated with little change in ll.1292-1294a of the A.S.: there is indeed only one alteration of note, the substitution of side sælwongas (l.1293a) for the less picturesque Biblical word terra. It is a

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1. The old idea of resistance was stimulated by the thought of Fame, the one certain and enduring reward of the morally and physically valiant. But what is Fame, when all that matters is the whereabouts of the soul in the next world? B.S. Phillpotts, Wyrd and Providence in A.S. Thought. Essays and Studies, Vol.13, Oxford, 1938. p.23.

2. See p.104.

change which we might expect a poet to make, instancing as it does the poet's habit of substituting wherever possible the concrete and picturesque for the more general and abstract.

From the following verse, Ch.VI, v.13, the poet takes only the announcement that God speaks to Noah, the words dixit ad Noe giving the basis for the A.S. 11.1294b-1295.

þa waldend spræc  
 nergend usser, and tã Noe cwæð

and the remainder of this verse in the Vulgate

. . . . finis universae carnis venit coram me  
 repleta est terra iniquitate a facie eorum  
 et ego disperdam eos cum terra

being omitted in all probability because the material it gives has already been rehearsed in 11.1292-1294a as mentioned in the preceding paragraph. For the material of the speech the poet seems to go first to v.17 where we have

ecce ego adducam diluvii aquas super terram  
 to act as a base for 1.1296a ic wille mid flode, while the rest of the verse

ut interficiam omnem carnem  
 in qua spiritus vitae est subter caelum  
 universa quae in terra sunt consumerentur

is more freely rendered in 11.1296b-1299a.

folc acwellan  
 and cynna gehwile cuora wuhta,  
 þara þe lyft and flod ladað and fedað,  
 feoh and fuglas.

The main difference between the two renderings seems to be that while the Vulgate uses the more theological term carnem in qua spiritus vitae est the A.S. poetic version prefers the more concrete words folc (1.1296b),



lyft and flod lædað and fedað (1.1298), feoh and fuglas (1.1299a). Again the change results in a more picturesque expression, one which we might fairly presume to hold a more ready appeal to an audience unfamiliar with poems of a philosophical content.

Following this, the poet goes on to v.18, for the announcement that God will grant exemption to Noah and his sons,

ponam foedus meum tecum  
et ingredieris arcam tu et filii tui  
uxor tua et uxores filiorum tuorum tecum

an announcement which is reproduced in 11.1299b-1302a.

pu scealt frið habban  
mid sunum þinum, ðonne sweart wæter,  
wonne wælstreamas werodum swelgað,  
sceaðum scyldfullum.

From these lines it will be apparent that the A.S. poet has omitted all reference to the wives of Noah's sons, and that the picture of the waters' swelling' with the multitudes of the evil doers is an addition of his own. The result of this small but significant change is that the lines which we are considering are converted into a small but dynamic and effective vignette, and that the main impression they leave is no longer of people to be saved but of the Flood itself. Apart from the fact that such a vignette would again help the Germanic audience to realise the situation the poet is creating, the alteration of the intention of these lines is illustrative of the poet's skill in freeing himself from a too slavish following of the Vulgate, and of creating for himself the opportunity to bridge the gap between this part of his narrative and that which he has decided shall follow at once - the directions for Building the Ark: in the fact that this bridging is done through an addition, and is hence deliberate,



cubit<sup>1</sup>, as is also the instruction that the Ark should be lined within and without with pitch. The mansiunculas (v.14) of the Vulgate account however become the rihte setl of the A.S.: the "cabins"<sup>2</sup> have become "benches"<sup>3</sup>. In the same way the fenestra(v.16) "window", the ostium (v.16) "door" and the cenacula (v.16) and tristega (v.16) "upper decks" have been omitted altogether: and the significant point about these alterations and omissions is that they affect those parts of the Ark which would not be found on an open and benched ship of the type familiar in Germanic civilization.<sup>4</sup> It would seem in fact as if the ship in the Biblical concept were decked in and covered, while the A.S. poet has envisaged simply the normal ship of his own times. Whether he has done this because he was himself unable to conceive of a ship with a deck, or whether he has done it because he felt that his audience would be more ready to accept Noah as a hero if he sailed in a ship built on familiar lines is a question which hardly admits of decision now; but whichever is the correct solution, both alike point to a compromise effected between the Christian world picture and the Germanic, whereby the

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1. BT. cubitalis mensura ulnae mensura. p.248.
  2. Mansiuncula 'small house'. Mediaeval Latin Word-List, J.H. Baxter and Chas. Johnson, London, 1934, p.257.
  3. BT gives a stall for animals but quotes only this passage in support of this meaning, p.867.
  4. The Sutton Hoo ship was a great open rowing boat, some 80 feet long as traced in the ground....It was clinker built without permanent decking, and there is no indication of a mast or other provision for sailing....the ship was old when buried, as the hull showed traces of repair. R.L.S. Bruce-Mitford and T.D. Kendrick, The Sutton Hoo Ship Burial. London, 1947, p.37.

elements common to both were used to create the picture which would be most readily intelligible to the poet's audience.

We have already noted that the A.S. poet omits vv.19-20 of this chapter of the Vulgate,<sup>1</sup> and he seems to have reproduced v.21

tolles igitur tecum ex omnibus escis quae mand  
possunt et comportabis apud te  
et erunt tam tibi quam illis in cibum

more or less as it stands in ll.1310b-1313a.

þær sceal fæsl wesæn  
cwiclifigendra cynna gehwilces  
on þæt wudufæsten wocor geleded  
eorðen tudres;

but he adds after this in l.1313b the enlightening comment  
eare sceal þy mare.

As has already been noticed<sup>2</sup>, there is an intriguing hint of practicality about this comment and an imaginative reader might almost go so far as to suggest that the poet's realisation that food is the most bulky store of all springs from first hand experience of ships and the sea; but regarded in a more sober spirit such a comment is too light a foundation upon which to base such a biographical structure and we must be content simply to regard it as the most convenient way of rounding off God's speech to Noah.

The final verse of this chapter,  
Ch.VI, v.22 is also used by the A.S. poet, and we have

Fecit ergo Noe omnia quae praeceperat illi Deus

1. See supra p. 104.

2. See supra p. 98.

as the fairly obvious source of the A.S. ll.1314-1317a

Noe fremede swa hine nergend heht,  
hyrde þam halgan heofoncynige,  
ongan ofostlice þæt hof wyrcan,  
micle mercieste.

Allowing for the repetition of the A.S. poet there seems to be little difference between the two versions, save that in the A.S. the idea is expressed through an imagery more concrete and hence in all probability more appealing to the A.S. mind. The idea comes from his source, but he uses it so as to make the poem more readily adapted to the mind of the audience.

There follows upon this the interpolation by the A.S. poet in which he describes the Building of the Ark: it is contained in ll.1317b-1326, and has been quoted above (p.98) and as it will be fully examined under heading 3, at this present point it need only be mentioned for the sake of continuity.

The A.S. poet returns to make direct use of his source again in l.1327.

þa to Noe cwæð nergend usser  
which represents the opening phrase of Ch.VII, v.1

dixitque Dominus ad eum

both in form and in position, since both the Latin work and the A.S. proceed to describe God's speech in which He prescribes to Noah the Lading of the Ark. The rest of this verse in the Vulgate however,

ingredere tu et omnis domus tua arcam  
te enim vidi iustum coram me in generatione hac

is not used by the A.S. poet with the same precision, in the form in which it ultimately appears in his poem.

This verse is the source for the next 7 lines of the A.S. poem, ll.1328-1334.

Ic þe þæs mine, monna leofost,  
 were gesylle, þæt þu weg nimest  
 and feora fæsl þe þu ferial scealt  
 geond deop water dagrimes worn  
 on lides bosme. læd, swa ic þe hate,  
 under earce bord eaforan þine,  
 frumgaran þry, and eower feower wif.

but it will be observed that the A.S. poet has made several changes in the matter on which he is here engaged. In the first place he has omitted or drastically curtailed the praise of Noah which takes up the second half of the verse in the Latin form, and this appears only as monna leofost (l.1328b) presumably because his narrative sense has suggested to him that such a break in the narrative would here be inopportune, despite its Biblical authority. In the second place God's stated Covenant with Noah is introduced in the words were gesylle, while the Vulgate expression domus tua is expanded and given in detail as ll.1332b-1334.

læd, swa ic þe hate,  
 under earce bord eaforan þine,  
 frumgaran þry, and eower feower wif.

two alterations which seem to suggest that the A.S. poet here had in mind not so much the Vulgate Ch.VII, v.1, as Ch.VI, v.18

ponamque foedus meum tecum  
 et ingredieris arcam tu et filii tui  
 uxor tua et uxores filiorum tuorum tecum

This last quoted verse has hitherto been accorded rather cavalier treatment by the poet,<sup>1</sup> despite the importance of the

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1. cf. supra p.111.

announcement of the covenant contained therein. The result of the change is to place the announcement of this covenant, together with the detailed account of the people to whom it applies at a most important part of the narrative of this episode as a whole - at the head of the list of those who are to be admitted to the Ark. Such a result is its own justification, and it is almost superfluous to remark upon the poet's skill in bringing this about.

In the middle of this account of Ch.VII, v.1, the A.S. poet inserts an addition, ll.1330-1332a

and feora fæsl þe þu ferlan scealt  
geond deop water ðagrimes worn  
on lides bosme.

the purpose of which is not, we must admit, immediately clear. There seems to be no particular reason for their presence, either from Ch.VI, v.18 or from Ch.VII, v.1, nor do they fill any particular role in the poem. Whatever may have been their original purpose, it appears at the moment to be hidden from critical enquiry.

The prescription of the lading of the Ark is continued in the Vulgate in Ch.VII, vv.2 and 3.

2. ex omnibus animantibus mundis tolles septena septena  
masculum et feminam  
de animantibus vero non mundis duoduo masculum et  
feminam.
3. sed et de volatilibus caeli septena septena masculum  
et feminam  
ut salvetur semen super faciem universae terrae

and the first of these two verses is rendered with more or less accuracy as part of ll.1335-1341 of the A.S. poem.

Ond þu seofone genim on þæt sundreced  
tudra gehwilces geteled rimes,  
þara þe to mete mannum lifige,  
and þara oðerra selces twa  
Swilce þu of eallum eorðan westmum  
wiste under wegþord werodum gelæde,  
þam þe mid sceolon mereflod nesan

The fact that these lines omit the repeated masculum et feminam of the Vulgate may possibly not surprise the reader very much: the omission of v.3 however, together with the rather generalised method of referring to the animals taken into the Ark - tudra gehwiloes (1.1336a) - and the fact that this is followed immediately by a reference to their existence as food for man do seem to call for some explanation. The poet's primary interest is with the human personages in the Ark: the peculiar characteristic with which he invests the prescribing of the Lading of the Ark is that it shall reduce the importance of the animals present to that of mere food for the human passengers. It is this which explains his omission of v.3; and this conclusion appears to us to gain added authority from the addition which he makes in ll.1342-1344.

Fed freolice feora woore  
 oð ic þære lafe lagosida eft  
 reorde under roderum ryman wille.

These lines have already been characterised as directions for the Voyage, but they agree peculiarly well with the change of emphasis suggested above. The reason for this change of emphasis seems to lie not so much in the negative change of the reduction of the role of the animals as in the more positive one of the increased emphasis placed upon the human figures. Such a change might of course have doctrinal reason or purpose behind it, but it seems more reasonable and more in keeping with the general aesthetic of the poet as it has emerged so far to account the change to be principally dictated by the poet's desire to make his poem yet more like the usual Germanic epic. This would demand that the attention



of the audience should be concentrated upon a few figures rather than upon many<sup>1</sup>, and it seems possible that we may account to this, the reduction he has made in the role of the animals: and he has not scrupled to make what appears to be quite a radical alteration to the Biblical material in order that his dramatic personages may stand in a sharper relief.

The following lines provide another instance of the addition of fresh material by the poet. Giving as they do a brief rehearsal of what has already been said, ll.1345-1348a

Gewit þu nu mid hiwum on þæt hof gangan,  
gasta werode. Ic þe godne wat,  
fæsthydigne; þu eart freoðo wyrðe,  
ara mid eaforum.

are an excellent rhetorical device for marking the end of the prescription of the Lading of the Ark. This seems indeed to be their purpose, and as they are not found in the Vulgate, we would suggest that they offer some evidence of the poet's desire to order and arrange his material in a more methodical fashion than that in which it is given in his source.

Returning to the Vulgate, we find next the 'advance notice' of the arrival of the Flood. It is given in Ch.VII, v.4,

adhuc enim et post dies septem ego pluam super terram  
quadraginta diebus et quadraginta noctibus  
et delebo omnem substantiam quam feci de superficie  
terrae

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1. This provides an interesting parallel to the method by which apparently the Eddic poems were constructed, cf. B.S.Phillpotts, The Eddic poems deal with individuals, and individuals only. Gunnar and Sigurd, Brynhild and Attila stand out starkly against a dim bas-relief of undifferentiated warriors. (Eddas and Sagas, London 1931, p.149).

and in the A.S. poem in ll.1347b-1355 but with some expansion, as it appears. This expansion with its epic words like fahðe (l.1351b), stælan (l.1352a), wagbreate (l.1352b), and sweart racu (l.1355a), reveals to us something of the A.S. attitude to God: fahðo and stælan are both common in A.S. poetry, for example in Beowulf where fahðo occurs frequently<sup>1</sup> and where the phrase fahðe gestæled itself is found (Beowulf l.1340)<sup>2</sup> while wagbreate and sweart racu both have the true epic ring. The most important aspect of the passage is not this epic quality however, but the fact that through this quality the A.S. poet reveals to us his conception of God as a Germanic chieftain.<sup>3</sup> Assuming that the poet knew the temper of his audience well, we may find the passage enlightening since it shows us the figure which the audience would expect God to present, and hence provides another instance in which the A.S. poet has moulded his material so that it may be the more like that which his audience would be accustomed by tradition to understand.<sup>4</sup>

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1. In Beowulf ed. F. Klaeber, New York, 1922, the glossary cites 23 occurrences of fahðo (p.326)
  2. Curiously enough, Merrill & McClumpha, op.cit. do not mention this parallel.
  3. The third feature of OE poetry, the Teutonic element is clearly seen as the Englishman begins to make the Bible story his own. God, the Almighty, is represented as a Teutonic chieftain surrounded by his host. E. Dale, National Life & Character in English Poetry, Cambridge, 1902, p.100.
  4. There is an interesting parallel in the warlike qualities associated with Othin as those appear in the Egilssaga in the rather reproachful address to him by Egils after the latter has lost his sons.

Atta ek gott  
við geira drottinn

gJordumst/

This in turn casts an interesting light upon the relationship between the A.S. mind and Christianity. For if this figuring of the Deity as warlike were confined only to those poems derived from O.T. origins then we might perhaps account it to be inspired by the character of Jehovah as he is presented in the O.T. but the allocation of warlike qualities is not confined to such poems, but occurs also in poems which derive ultimately from N.T. origins, e.g.

Andreas 11.871-872

Utan ymbe æbelne englas stodon  
 þegnas ymb þeoden þusendmelum 1.

or again in 11.884-885a.

Eow þegnodon þrymsittende  
 halige heahenglas 2.

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1. The Vercelli Book ed. G.P.Krapp, New York, 1932. p.27.

2. ibid.

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gjorðumst tryggar  
 at trua honum

sör vinað  
 vagna runni  
 sigrhofundr  
 um sleit við mik

Blotk-a ek af því  
 broðurvillis  
 goðjarðar  
 at ek gjarn sja

þu hefir Mimisvinr  
 mer of fengnar  
 bolva þætr  
 er hit þetra telk

Gefumk iþrott  
 ulfs of bagi  
 vigi vanr  
 vammí firrða

in which the notable point is the warlike flavour of all the kennings. (Text from E. porþarson, Sagan af Agli Skallagrímssyni, Reykjavík, 1856.)

The only way in which it seems possible to give a consistent explanation for the persistence of this militaristic conception of God appears to be to refer the psychology behind it to the days of A.S. paganism. There seems to be little doubt that some at least of the Germanic deities - and we have already cited the example of Othin - were warlike in character, and it seems more than probable that God became more comprehensible to the A.S. mind as He was more approximated to these earlier deities. This present passage from Genesis A shows an instance of the continuance of this warlike tradition of A.S. pagan deities working upon the Biblical material to change the idea of God therein expressed into something more closely resembling the type of deity to which the A.S. audience would be accustomed. It is possible that the poet himself may have held a rather more spiritual view of God than that which is portrayed here, and the fact that he is acquainted with the comment as well as with the text of the Bible itself seems to make this likely; it cannot however be certain, since the Genesis A shares in the customary objectivity of A.S. poetry.

At the same time it should be noted that there is no necessary disagreement between the rather unsophisticated Christianity which is here postulated for the A.S. world, and Miss Whitelock's view that the A.S. audience for Beowulf were Christians, whose conversion was neither partial nor superficial. He (sc. the Beowulf poet) expects them to understand his allusions to Biblical events without his troubling to be specific about them.<sup>1</sup> It would certainly seem possible for the Anglo-Saxons of this period to be well

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1. The Audience of Beowulf, ed. D. Whitelock. Oxford 1951, p.5.

instructed in Biblical history without their necessarily attaining to a very spiritual conception of God.

The second speech of God being ended, there comes the Entry into the Ark. In the A.S. poem this occupies ll.1356-1362

Him þa Noe gewat,      sƿa hine nergend het,  
 under earce bord      eforan ladan,  
 weras on wegþal      and heora wif soƿed;  
 and eall þæt to fæste      frea eldrihtig  
 habban wolde      under hrof gefor  
 to heora ætgifan      sƿa him eldrihtig  
 werode drihten      þurh his word ahead.

- a passage which is probably based upon Ch.VII, vv.15-16, as we have already deduced.<sup>1</sup>

13. in articulo diei illius ingressus est Noe et Sem  
 et Ham et Iafeth filii eius  
 uxor illius et tres uxores filiorum eius cum eis  
 in arcam

14. ipsi et omne animal secundum genus suum  
 universaque iumenta in genus suum  
 et omne quod movetur super terram in genere suo  
 cunctumque volatile secundum genus suum  
 universae aves omnesque volucres

15. ingressae sunt ad Noe in arcam bina et bina  
 ex omni carne in qua erat spiritus vitae

16. et quae ingressae sunt masculus et femina ex omni  
 carne introierunt  
 sicut praeceperat ei Deus  
 et inclusit eum Dominus de foris.

The change which has taken place in these lines may seem quite extensive if it is examined in detail: but when the totality of its effect is considered it may possibly be held that all the changes of detail are made with the one object - that of reducing the importance of the animals, and of regarding them simply as food for the human "heroes".

1. cf. supra pp.100-101.

The Entry into the Ark being thus carried out, God closes the door of the Ark behind its passengers, as is related in the closing section of v.16 above,

et inclusit eum Deus de foris

an act which is narrated in the A.S. poem in ll.1363-1367b

Him on hoh belesc heofonrices weard  
 merehuses muð mundum sinum,  
 sigora waldend, and segnade  
 earce innan agenum spedum  
 nergend usser.

but with the significant addition of God's blessing of the Ark. Of this point of the Blessing of the Ark, the Vulgate says nothing and Augustine and Bede are alike silent, but although no grounds can be shown for the supposition,<sup>1</sup> none the less this addition does seem to suggest the influence of a patristic commentator. For it seems mainly doctrinal in import; and although the A.S. poet has taken many liberties with his material in allocating motives and even in adding incidents, he has not so far made any alteration which could not be deduced from the text. It is upon this ground, namely that this addition is at variance with the general character of his other additions, that we should venture to suggest that the A.S. poet may here have used some commentator whose work remains as yet unidentified.

In the Vulgate, the end of the account of the Entry into the Ark is signalled by this incident of the locking of the door of the Ark: in the A.S. poem however, the poet effects his closure by recounting Noah's

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1. The incident is not mentioned by any of the other commentators examined in connection with the Flood. For the account of these, see Appx.I/List.VIII.

age, at the time when the deluge came. This he does in  
11.1367b-1371a

Noe hæfde,  
sunu Lameches, syxhund wintra  
þa he mid bearnum under bord gestah,  
gleaw mid geogobe, þe godes hæse,  
dugeðum dyrum.

- a passage which might have been based upon either of the rehearsals of this in the Vulgate.<sup>1</sup> The device is an excellent one, as it lowers the speed of the action for just long enough to prepare the reader for the graphic description of the Flood which is to follow in 11.1371b-1406. Regarding it more narrowly however, and recalling that in order to include it at this point the A.S. poet has chosen either v.6 or v.11, rather than the immediately subsequent v.17, we would see it as an instance of the poet's free and skilful ordering of his material to provide a poem with well-timed psychological as well as purely narrative appeal.<sup>2</sup>

With these lines we have now completed the detailed examination of the verses used by the A.S. poet, comparing their form in the poem with their original form in the source: we may now examine the two major additions which the poet has made, 11.1317b-1326 which deal with the Building of the Ark, and 11.1371b-1406, which contain the description of the Flood and of the havoc it causes. These two however, will be examined under a separate heading, namely:-

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1. See supra p.102.

2. With regard to our contention that the A.S. poet has deliberately decreased the importance of the animals in the Ark to the benefit of that of the men and women, we should note that the latter only are mentioned in this final passage.

Lines 1285-1406.

(iii) A detailed examination of the A.S. poet's two major additions: Taking the first of these passages, that which describes the Building of the Ark, we find it in ll.1317b-1326, as

Magum sægde  
 Ðæt was þrealic þing þeodum toward,  
 reðe wite. Hie ne rohton þæs!  
 Geseah þa ymb wintra worn werfast metod  
 geofonhusa mest gearo hlifigean,  
 innan and utan eorðan lime  
 gefæstnod wið flode, far Noes  
 þy selestan. Ðæt is syndrig cynn;  
 symle bið þy heardra þe hit hreoh water,  
 swearte sæstreamas swiðor beatað.

We have of course already examined the part which the description of the Building of the Ark plays in the account of the Flood as a whole<sup>1</sup>: here we are concerned with the individual ideas which we find in the passage on the Building of the Ark, and with the expression of the ideas as the A.S. poet shaped it. The first of these ideas is that of Noah foretelling Cassandra-wise the coming of the Flood, and of his meeting with the fate of most Cassandras, in ll.1317b-1319.

Magum sægde  
 Ðæt was þrealic þing þeodum toward  
 reðe wite. Hie ne rohton þæs!

This incident does not appear in the corresponding part of the Vulgate: its origin in fact is in the New Testament, in I Peter III, v.20

qui increduli fuerant aliquando quando expectabant  
 Dei patientiam in diebus Noe cum fabricaretur:  
 in qua pauci, id est octo animae salvae factae sunt  
 per aquam<sup>2</sup>

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1. cf. supra p. 106.

2. Text from Biblia Sacra Vulgatae Editionis Clementis VIII  
 auctoritate edita Paris 1883, p.1213



In this, both the material and its place of origin are of significance for our present study: the material shows the A.S. poet once again concerned to include in his poem any vignette which will appeal to the human interests of his audience, while the place from which he has selected it is interesting from the distance at which it lies from the book of Genesis. It is possible of course that the A.S. poet found this information or perhaps some reference to it, in a commentary upon Genesis, but if so, then his knowledge of patristic literature must have been quite wide; for the first to mention this incident of the incredulous is the not very well known Philastrius,<sup>1</sup> while Augustine who is alone among the most popular commentators in mentioning it,<sup>2</sup> omits it from his commentary and uses it only to point an occasion in a sermon.<sup>3</sup> But however it found its way into the A.S. verse, the significance of its presence there is that it shows that the A.S. poet is drawing either upon the Bible as a whole or upon patristic writings as well.

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1. Philastrius de Haeresibus Ch.132, Migne PL. Vol.12, Col.1264
  2. Augustine and Philastrius are almost the only two commentators who do mention this point. For a list of those who make no reference to it, see Appx. I List IX.
  3. Ergo fratres et modo aedificatur arca, et illi centum anni tempora ista sunt totus tractus temporis illo annorum numero significatus est. Si ergo digne perierunt, qui Noe aedificante arcam dissimulaverunt; quid digni sunt qui Christo aedificante Ecclesiam a salute dissimulant? Et tamen quia homine aedificante arcam non crediderunt homines datum est illis cavendum exemplum posteris. Augustine, Sermo 361, Migne PL. Vol.39, Col. 1611.

The remainder of the passage is devoted to the picture of the Ark itself, and in this picture the A.S. poet again seizes upon the one detail which might be sure to appeal to his audience - the fact that the Ark was lined with pitch: through this detail he directs their attention to a visualisation of the concrete and since he does so in an addition, we can see again how he deliberately chooses that facet of any situation which presents the best opportunity for the presentation of concrete detail.

It is now our task to examine the second major addition which the A.S. poet makes, much longer and more complicated, being 11.1371b-1406

Drihten sende  
 regn from roderum and eac rume let  
 villedurnan on woruld bringan  
 of ædra gehwære, egorstreamas  
 swearte swogan. Sæs up stigon  
 ofer stæðweallas. Strang was and reðe  
 se ðe wætrum weold; wraeh and þeahte  
 manfehðu bearn middangeardes  
 wonnan wege, wera eðelland;  
 hof hergode, hygeteonan wræc  
 metod on monnum. Mere swiðe grap  
 on fege folc feowertig daga,  
 nihta oðer swilc. Nið was reðe,  
 wællgrim werum; wuldorcyninges  
 yða wracon arleasra feorh  
 of flæschoman. Flod ealle wraeh,  
 hreoh under heofonum hea beorgas  
 geond sidne grund and on sund ahof  
 earce from eorðan and þa sæðelo mid,  
 þa segnade selfa drihten,  
 scyppend usser, þa he þæt scip beleac.  
 Siððan wide rad wolcnum under  
 ofer holmes hrincg hof seleste,  
 for mid fearme. Hære ne moston  
 wægliðendum wætres brogan  
 hæste hrinon, ac hie halig god  
 ferede and neredede, Fiftena stod  
 deop ofer dunum se drenceflod  
 monnes elna; þæt is wero wyrd!  
 þam æt niehstan was nan to gedale,

nymbe heof was ahafen on þa hean lyft,  
 þa se egorhere eorðan tuddor  
 eall acwealde, buton þat earce bord  
 heold heofona frea, þa hine halig god  
 ece upp forlet edmodne flod  
 streamum stigan, stiðferhð cyning.

As we have already seen,<sup>1</sup> this passage is apparently based upon Ch.VII, vv.17-24 of the Vulgate, but the relationship between the A.S. passage and its Latin source is by no means so straightforward as it is throughout the rest of the A.S. poem. The first phrase in the Vulgate, v.17

factumque est diluuium quadraginta diebus super terram  
 does not appear until we are some distance through the passage in the A.S. poem, to be exact in ll.1381b-1383a

Mere swiðe grap  
 on fæge folc feowertig daga,  
 nihta oðer swilc.

The following phrase

et multiplicatae sunt aquae

is nowhere exactly rendered, while the final phrase

et elevaverunt arcam in sublime a terra

is delayed for some five lines and does not appear until ll.1388b-1389a

and on sund ahof

earce from eorðan

It is indeed more probable that the final phrase of v.17 is treated like the phrase which precedes it,

et multiplicatae sunt aquae

and totally omitted, while ll.1386b-1389

Flod ealle wraeh,  
 hreoh under heofonum hea beorgas  
 geond sidne grund and on sund ahof  
 earce from eorðan and þa eðelo mid

are in fact founded upon Ch.VII, v.18

1. See above p. 102.

vehementer inundaverunt et omnia repleverunt in  
superficie terrae  
porro arca ferebatur super aquas.

but even this view does not provide a much more orderly  
relationship between poem and source, as it demands that  
we seek in the latter half of v.19

opertique sunt omnes montes excelsi sub universo caelo  
for the source of l.1387

hreoeh under heofonum hea beorgas.

The opening phrase of v.19

et aquae praevaluerunt nimis super terram  
gives a Latin idiom which does not seem to have been used  
at all by the A.S. poet, as is readily understandable, and  
v.20

quindecim cubitis altior fuit aqua super montes quos  
operuerat

does not appear till ll.1397b-1399a

Fiftena stod  
deop ofer dunum se drencflod  
monnes elna.

The first phrase of v.21

consumpta est omnis caro quae movebatur super terram  
is not used with a close enough correspondence to allow  
us to trace the exact verse of the A.S. which is indebted  
to it, while the second phrase of the same verse

volucrum animantium bestiarum omniumque reptilium  
quae reptant super terram

seems almost to be contradicted by a curious passage in  
the A.S., ll.1400-1401

þam æt niehstan was nan to gedale,  
nympe heof was ahafen on þa hean lyft

for which we can at the moment advance no explanation. The  
remaining verses of Ch.VII of the Vulgate are couched in  
such general terms that to trace them in the A.S. is almost

impossible.

universi homines 22 et cuncta in quibus spiraculum  
 vitae est in terra mortua sunt  
 23et delevit omnem substantiam quae erat super terram ab  
 homine usque ad pecus  
 tam reptile quam volucres caeli  
 et deleta sunt de terra  
 remansit autem solus Noe et qui cum eo erant in arca  
 24obtinueruntque aquae terras centum quinquaginta diebus

It will be seen that there are only two definite statements in this passage which we might hope to identify, namely remansit etc (v.23) and obtinueruntque etc (v.24) and the A.S. poet appears to have used neither of these.

Thus, in ll.1371b-1406 the A.S. poet has made an addition which draws little save perhaps its general inspiration from the Vulgate text. The general motive which led him to make this addition has already been examined, on p.106, and we are here concerned with the minutiae of detail of the expression. The first point we should observe is the excellence of the picture of the gradual rising of the waters: first the willeburnan (l.1373a) then the egorstreamas (l.1374b) and lastly the sas (l.1375b), giving a picture at once detailed and dramatic and in the proper sense of the word, dynamic; and since it is a picture of the sea, its appeal to the audience would be all the more sure. In the following lines, ll.1376b-1381, the diction contains a definitely epic quality - a quality exemplified in words like manfahbu (l.1378a), wonnan wege (l.1379a) edelland (l.1379b), hergode (l.1380a) etc: the peculiar characteristic of all these words is the imagery of battle and raiding which lies behind them; their significance for this study is that they show again the A.S. habit of regarding God as a warrior chieftain. Thereafter in ll.1381b-1383a the poet uses the material

probably from the Vulgate Ch.VII, vv.18& 19 as we have seen in the preceding paragraph; and in ll.1383b-1386a

Nið was reðe,  
wellgrim werum; wuldorcyninges  
yða wnecon arleasra feorh  
of fleschoman

the vignette of the sea and the idea of God as a warring chieftain are united in the idea that the waves are his weapon. Lines 1386b-1391 seem to be included partly with the object of noting the extent of the Flood as it is given in Ch.VII, v.20 - again a concrete detail - and partly with the idea of making a slight drop in the dramatic tension.

The remaining lines of the passage, ll.1392-1406

Siððan wide rad wolcnum under  
ofer holmes hring hof seleste,  
for mid fearme. Ære ne moston  
wegliðendum wetres brogan  
hæste hrinon, ac hie halig god  
ferede and nerede. Fiftena stod  
deop ofer dunum se drencflod  
monnes elna; þæt is mæro wyrd!  
þam æt niehstan was nan to gedale,  
nymbe heof was ahafen on þa hean lyft,  
þa se egorhere eorðan tudor  
eall acwealde, buton þæt earce bord  
heold heofona frea, þa hine halig god  
ece upp forlet edmodne flod  
streamum stigan, stiðferhð cyning.

apart from the 'couplet' which gives the detail of the depths of the Flood, seems to us to be included mainly that this passage, which is as it were the closing scene of the first part of the story of the Flood, may fulfil its proper part in the grand design of the poem as a whole, and bring before men's eyes a realised idea of the material extent of the Flood coupled with an impression of the universal destruction it causes.

With this examination of the last of the two major additions made by the A.S. poet, our examination

of the whole of the first part of the story of the Flood is likewise completed under the three heads at first proposed: we may now examine the remainder of the story of the Flood, which in the Vulgate occupies Ch.VIII, vv.1-19, and in the A.S. poem, ll.1407-1496, at which point we approach the account of Noah's offering to the Lord. As these lines in the A.S. poem are much more closely based upon the Vulgate than the lines which we have just examined, namely ll.1245-1406, there will no longer be any need for a three-fold approach to our material which can indeed be handled by the more historical method which we have hitherto followed - a close collation of the A.S. text with its Latin source.

Lines 1407-1414a.

The verb gemunde in l.1407 shows us that the A.S. poet is again closely following his source, as it repeats exactly the opening expression of Ch.VIII, v.1

Recordatus est autem Deus Nos cunctorumque animantium  
et omnium iumentorum quae erant cum eo in arca

lines which the A.S. poet uses in ll.1407-1410

þa gemunde god merelibende,  
sigora waldend sunu Lameches  
and ealle þa wocre þe he wif watre beleac  
lifes lechtfruma, on lides bosme.

The close correspondence between the two versions is shown by the A.S. poet's use of wocre (l.1409a) a term generalised<sup>1</sup> to balance the equally generalised Latin terms in the source. An almost equally close correspondence may be seen in the A.S. poet's use of the second part of this same verse, Ch.VIII, v.1; for the Latin:

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1. BT (p.1260) gives wocer as the equivalent of Latin augumentum, fructus.

(Deus) adduxit spiritum super terram et imminutae  
sunt aquae

the A.S. poet has in ll.1411-1414a

Gelædde þa wigend weroda drihten  
worde ofer widland. Willflod ongan  
lytligan eft. Lago ebbade,  
sweart under swegle.

The most significant points in these latter lines are two, both occurring near the beginning of the passage quoted. The first is the use of wigend (l.1411a) for God, - an idea which lies at the base of the metaphor which occupies ll.1411 and 1412a; the idea is again that of God as a Germanic chieftain but here it is expressed with greater anthropomorphism than has been given to it hitherto. This shows how far the A.S. poet is prepared to alter his material in order that its final form may be that which will be most acceptable to his audience.

The second point of interest lies in his use of the word worde in l.1412a. This is the MS reading as given in Krapp, p.44, a reading which is supported by Holthausen<sup>1</sup> but which does not agree with the older editorial tradition which emended this to wind, an emendation first proposed by Thorpe in a footnote to p.85 of his edition.<sup>2</sup> For arbitrating between the two it would seem wise to appeal to the tradition of patristic comment, but this is unfortunately not very enlightening. The reading of the MS worde seems to gain support from Ambrosius' comment when he says Non puto hoc ita dictum ut spiritum nomine ventum accipiamus...

1. Die Altere Genesis hsgb. v. F. Holthausen, Heidelberg, 1914.

2. Caedmon's Metrical Paraphrase by B. Thorpe, London 1832.



.... spiritus igitur divina virtute invisibilis diluvium illud repressum esse non dubium, and clinches the matter with coelesti operatione non flatu<sup>1</sup>: this view we find recurring again in patristic writings; it is echoed by Alcuin<sup>2</sup> and Hrabanus Maurus<sup>3</sup>, so that it seems to have enjoyed a fairly wide currency. It is possible to support the view of the older editors from the same source however, for we find in Iuvencus the couplet

Nubibus in piceis coepit constringere nimbos  
Jamque relabenti decrescit in aequore pontus<sup>4</sup>

while Bede says bluntly et eduxit spiritum, id est ventum,<sup>5</sup> and other commentators again can be found in whom this second view is current. (eg. Bruno Astens, Expositio in Genesim, Migne PL, Vol.164, Col.181; Angelomus Expositio super Genesim, Migne PL, Vol.131, Col.77). Hence it seems difficult to decide which tradition the A.S. poet was following, nor is there here any indication to show that he was following either patristic tradition, as each of the two readings proposed for the A. S. could equally well be inspired by the text of the Vulgate, unaided by the criticism; in view of this it would seem rather hazardous to base any conclusions upon this particular line from the A.S. poem.

1. de Noe et arca, Migne PL, Vol.14, Col.1388.
2. Interrogationes et Responsiones in Genesim, (Int.125) Migne PL. Vol.100, Col.530.
3. Commentarius in Genesim, Migne PL. Vol.107, Col.519.
4. Liber in Genesim, Migne PL. Vol.19, Col.354.
5. Commentarius in Genesim, Migne PL., Vol.91, Col.226.

Lines 1414b-1416.

The next lines of the A.S. poem,

ll.1414b-1416

Hafde soð metod  
 eaforum egstream eft gecyrred,  
 torhtne rýne, regn gestilled

exhibit an extensive alteration made by the A.S. poet, and they show in yet greater detail something of the relationship between the A.S. poet and God as He is presented in the Vulgate. The passage upon which these lines are based, is Ch.VIII, v.2,

et clausi sunt fontes abyssi et cataractae caeli  
 et prohibitae sunt pluviae de caelo

and it should be noted that the verse is cast entirely in the passive voice and all mention of God is absent. This the A.S. poet has altered, making the cessation of the Flood and the consequent salvation of Noah and his family the direct action of God, and introducing also the relationship of God and man as that of the Creator and his children. It is by no means startling that the A.S. poet should have used this idea, since he had presumably the whole Bible before him when he wrote, or had at all events met this relationship at some time in his religious life. It is none the less significant that he should add it here, however in a passage in which he is otherwise fairly closely bound to his text, and it indicates that the idea must have come quite naturally to him and indeed must have been almost habitual with him; his approach to God in other words is much more personal and less severe than was that which would be presented to him by his Latin source. His source is not simply rousing in him the ideas which it contains itself, but is evoking his whole separate religious consciousness.

Lines 1417-1424a.

The idea behind Ch.VIII, v.2, is repeated by the vulgate in the opening phrase of v.3,

3.reversaeque aquae de terra euntes et redeuntes  
but the poet does not seem to have used this idea, as the following lines, ll.1417-1424a

For famig scip L and C  
nihta under roderun, siððan nægledbord,  
far seleste, flod up ahof,  
obðnt ringetal reðre þrage  
daga forð gewat. þa on dunum gesæt  
heah mid hleste holmerna mest,  
earc Noes, þe Armenia  
hatene syndon.

seem to be based upon the second phrase of v.3, and thereafter upon v.4 of this chapter.

(3)et coeperunt minui post centum quinquaginta dies  
4.requievitque arca mense septimo vicesima septima die  
mensis super montes Armeniae.

From this passage the poet has chosen the exact figure of the duration of the Flood, and the precise detail of the locality whereon the Ark came to rest. The duration of the Flood, and hence of the voyage is one which we might expect the A.S. poet to use, since his audience were especially interested in the sea and in voyaging. The detail would be impressive moreover, since the Ark stayed at sea without touching land - for the very good reason that there was no land for it to touch - for 150 days. Comparing this with other voyages in A.S. literature, it will be remembered that Beowulf's voyage to the court of Hrothgar lasted only one or two days as the voyagers arrive Ymb antid opres dogores (Beowulf, l.219): but they can yet refer to themselves as feorran cumene (ibid l.1819a). Onthere's voyage does not seem to have lasted much more than

15 days on the outward journey, and even then he was constantly in touch with land, deserted though it may have been, butan fiscerum ond fugelerum ond huntum. The Germanic ship, long, narrow and open, though it must have been exhilarating to handle, is obviously not suited to long-continued sea voyages. Hence we can well understand how a voyage of 150 days would stir the A.S. imagination, which may be partly why the A.S. poet chose this detail for inclusion in his poem.

The other detail which he chooses for his poem is the landing of the Ark super montes Armeniae (v.4) which he renders in ll.1421b-1424a

pe on dunum geset  
 heah mid hlaeste holmaerna mast,  
 eare Noes, pe Armenia  
 hatene syndon.

and his choice of this detail rather than the disregarded mense septimo vicesima septima die mensis seems to us to show that his interest here lies mainly in the outline of the narrative and not in the less important details thereof. The exact time and date of the Ark's landing would be of greater interest to the theologian than to the poet while the actual place of its landing would add another concrete detail to the narrative thus making it more realistic and at the same time displaying the poet's narrative skill in his choice of the one item rather than the other.  
Lines 1424b-1430.

A period of waiting is now given by the next verse in the Vulgate, Ch.VIII, vv. 5 and 6,

5.at vero aquae ibant et decrecebant usque ad decimum  
 mensem  
 decimo enim mense prima die mensis apparuerunt  
 cacumina montium

6. cumque transissent quadraginta dies aperiens Noe  
fenestram arcae

and the A.S. poet uses the idea of a delay, but expresses it  
through a different medium. Lines 1424b-1430,

þær se halga bad,  
sunu Lameches, soðra gehata  
lange þrage, hwonne him lifes weard  
frea ðlmihtig freccenra siða  
reste ageafe, þæra he rume dreah  
þa hine on sunde geond sidne grund  
wonna yða wide þæron.

give first of all a statement of the fact that Noah waited,  
(se halga bad 1.1424b) and thereafter a rapid account of the  
toils he has endured. The poet's change of medium should not  
be forgotten however: by introducing the phrase sunu Lameches  
(1.1425a) he makes a closer connection between the man and the  
trials he has endured. The trials too are cast into epic  
form, and embrace two elements common to most A.S. accounts of  
hard and dangerous living - they happen over a large geograph-  
ical area þæra he rume dreah, (1.1428b) and they happen at  
sea, geond sidne grund, (1.1429b). The poet has reminded us  
of the figure and the πολύτροπος personality of his hero<sup>1</sup>, and  
has cast the dangers he endured into a Germanic form; he has  
thus given him a personality at once more sharply defined and  
more sympathetic with the Germanic world.

Lines 1431-1435.

There follow in the A.S. poem five lines  
which show both the imaginative psychological insight of the  
poet and an appeal to the Germanic world in which he lived and  
wrote. The lines are 11.1431-1435,

Holm was he nonweard; hæleð langode,  
wæglifende, swilce wif heora,  
hwonne hie of nearwe ofer nægledbord  
ofer streamstaðe steppan mosten

1. Cf. Augustine, Sermo Supposita 106, Virtus Charitatis quae omnia tolerat emittit in sancto Noe. Migne PL. Vol. 39, Col. 1952.

and of enge ut mhta ladan

and although they start with a quick half line of recapitulation Holm was heononweard (l.1431a) they are devoted mainly to an attempt to recapture what must have been the emotion of the Ark's passengers when they touch land but are faced with yet a further period of waiting. Since the feeling would be one known or at least remembered by an A.S. audience of the 7th or 8th century, the poet shows imaginative skill in recognising the psychological kinship between the characters in his material and the audience of his own day.

Lines 1436-1442.

We come now to the sending forth of the Raven, an incident which the Vulgate dismisses with characteristic brevity, allotting to it only the latter part of v.6, and the whole of v.7,

aperiens Noe fenestram arcae quam fecerat dimisit corvum  
7. qui egrediebatur et revertebatur donec siccarentur  
aquae super terram.

In contrast to this brevity, the A.S. poet commences by adding Noah's reason for sending forth the Raven in ll.1436-1438a,

þa fandode forðweard scipes  
hwæðer sincende sæflod þa gyt  
were under wolcnum

thus giving his poem a more complete structure of cause and effect, as well as realising fully the psychology of Noah.<sup>1</sup>

But even while developing the psychology of his characters, the A.S. poet does not lose sight of the dramatic situation, for he recapitulates it in ll.1438b-1442,

Let þa ymb worn daga  
þæs þe heah hlioðo horde onfengon  
and mðelum eac eorðan tudres  
sunu Lameches sweartne fleogan  
hrefn ofer heahflod of huse ut

- a passage which seems to us to show that whatever other

1. It is possible that this chain of causality was one of the canons of criticism of A.S. literature, although it is doubtful if such dogmata were ever precisely formulated.

interests his material may have raised in him, its narrative appeal was never far from his consciousness.

Lines 1443-1446a.

This narrative interest is well maintained in the following lines, ll.1443-1446a,

Noe tealde þæt he on need hine,  
 gif he on þære lade land ne funde,  
 ofer sid water secan wolde  
 on wegþele.

since its phrase ofer sid water, (l.1445a) keeps the dramatic situation firmly before the audience; but perhaps the most noticeable quality about these lines, again an addition by the A.S. poet, is that they help further in the task of realising the figure of Noah. By giving us Noah's actual thoughts as the word tealde (l.1443a) indicates, the poet brings him before us as a more human and credible character, and this determination to realise the figures of the Biblical story by attributing motives to them seems to have weighed so strongly with him that he was prepared to advance such motives even when they were not stated in the text of the Bible.

Lines 1446b-1448.

With the closing lines of the Raven episode, we appear to be again in the realm of Biblical legend and commentary<sup>1</sup>: the lines concerned are ll.1446b-1448,

Eft him seo wen gelesh,  
 ac se feonde gespearn fleotende hreaw;  
 salwigfeðera secan nolde.

The reading given above for l.1447a se feonde is that of Krapp<sup>2</sup>; other readings have been suggested such as se feornh<sup>3</sup> the MS reading se feond being deemed unsatisfactory as the

1. For the list of additional commentators consulted in connection with these lines, see App. I, List X.

2. op.cit. p.45; see also his notes p.178 where the origin of this reading - "a suggestion by Grein" - is given.

3. Holthausen, Zur AE Literatur XIII, Anglia, Beiblatt XXIII, p.88; his edition reads se feond(e)!

connection between the Raven and the devil was not obvious.<sup>1</sup> This connection however was first demonstrated by S. Moore who pointed out that Jewish legend as early as the third century AD had held that the Raven was hateful to God.<sup>2</sup> This appears to be quite correct, the reason for its hatefulness being recorded on fol.108, col.2 of the sanhedrin<sup>3</sup> but such a recherche source need hardly have been sought as the identification of the Raven and the devil is found in a Commentary on Job normally ascribed to Philippus Presbyter which reads arbitror quod hic corvus adversariam partem significat, sicut et pulli eius ut quemadmodum superius leaenam et catulos eius intelleximus diabolum et turbam perditorum eius ita et hic corvum eundem cum pullis eius intelligamus.....Possumus et ita sentira quod corvum, id est diabolum.....Sed quando diabolo corvi nomen aptamus, dicimus eum nigrum criminibus atque teterrimum et qui in tenebris nequitiarum omnino commoretur.<sup>4</sup> This commentary must have been known in England, as the Bodleian MS is written in Anglo-Saxon characters; further than this, it was

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1. This assumes that feond means 'raven' and is not simply a present participle in apposition to se; such a highly Latinate construction would seem to us to require an immediate source either in text or comment, but in fact neither text nor - as will appear directly - comment, provide such a source.
  2. The Old English Genesis 11.1145 and 1446-8. ML Rev.VI, pp.199-202.
  3. See P.I. Hershon, Genesis with a Talmudical Commentary, London, 1883, p.212.
  4. Migne PL. Vol.26, Col.810-811.



known to Bede, who mentions both the work and its author in his tract Unciarum<sup>1</sup> and who himself identifies the Raven and the devil in a comment on this very verse of the Bible when he writes corvus dimissus et non reversus figuram peccatoris vel diaboli tenet ad regnum Dei non revertentis.<sup>2</sup> Thus the identification of the Raven and the devil seems to have been current in England shortly after the probable date of origin of the poem, and hence it may well have been known to the A.S. poet from patristic sources without going farther afield.

With regard to the rest of the passage quoted, - the fleotende hreaw - the origin of his inspiration seems even more plain. Augustine raises the question as a conjecture: unde conicitur a multis quod cadaveri potuit corvus insidere quod columba naturaliter refugit<sup>3</sup> while Bede raises the same point in a form which resembles even more strikingly the form used in the A.S. poem: quod post dies quadraginta emissus corvus non est reversus aut aquis utique interceptus an aliquo supernatanti corpore illectus significat.<sup>4</sup> The similarity between the two accounts is such that it can hardly be passed over without remark and

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1. Migne PL. Vol. 90, Col. 700.

2. Commentarius in Genesim, Migne, PL. Vol. 91, Col. 226.

3. Quaestiones in Genesim, Migne, PL. Vol. 34, Col. 551.

4. Quaestiones super Genesim, Migne, PL. Vol. 93, Col. 296. From Bede this comment passes into the hands of later commentators and becomes a commonplace of criticism, being mentioned by most of the later writers given in App. II, Lists III and VIII.

while the usually accepted date of origin of the A.S. Genesis would seem to preclude any possibility that Bede is actually the source of this addition by the A.S. poet, it seems almost certain that a patristic source of some sort should be sought.<sup>1</sup> The significance of this point for our own study is that it shows us that the A.S. poet must have read his text with one eye also upon the comment: indeed his consciousness of the comment must have been almost habitual for his mental identification of the Raven and the devil is so complete that to the name of the devil (se feond) he adds the functions of the Raven (gespearn fletende hreaw). We should note from this however that the passages he selects from the comment are not those of theological interest, but those which will provide him with graphic concrete and picturesque detail: his attitude to the comment in fact reproduces his attitude to the Vulgate - its appeal is literary and aesthetic rather than primarily religious.<sup>2</sup>

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1. So close is the correspondence between Bede's phraseology and that of the A.S. poet that one can hardly afford to neglect completely the possibility of some connection between these two. It may well be that the comment which appears in writing in Bede's Quaestiones had existed for some time in the verbal teaching tradition of the monastery and thence entered the poet's consciousness: or again, there may even have been a reverse influence, namely that Bede had read this A.S. poem and received the suggestion thence. Both these possibilities however belong solely to the realm of conjecture and hence cannot properly be given place in our present study.
  2. The inclusion of this item of patristic lore may be due in part at least to the position held by the Raven in A.S. cosmology as the messenger of the Gods, and the frequenter of battles, as it appears for example in the Battle of Maldon 1.106 or Judith 11.205-209a.

Lines 1449-1454.

After the failure of the Raven, Noah decides to send forth the first Dove, as is recounted in the Vulgate, in Ch.VIII, v.v. 8 and 9.

- 8.emisit quoque columbam post eum ut videret si iam  
cessassent aquae super faciem terrae.  
9.quae cum non invenisset ubi requiesceret pes eius,  
reversa est ad eum in arcam.  
aquae enim erant super universam terram  
extenditque manum et adprehensam intulit in arcam.

The first of these two verses is given by the A.S. poet in ll.1449-1454,

He þa ymb seofon niht sweartum hrefne  
of earce forlet æfter fleogan  
ofer heah wæter haswe culufra  
on fandunga hwæðer famig sæ  
deop þa gytæ dæl anigne  
grenre eorðan ofgifen hefde

and as will probably be seen the correspondence between the A.S. account and the Latin original is fairly close. The phrase ymb seofon niht (l.1449a) seems to be an addition probably from v.10 of the Vulgate, expectatis autem ultra septem diebus aliis rursum dimisit columbam ex arca, although the poet may have added it himself without inspiration from his source, to give added definition to the events in his narrative. One addition which is typical of his general treatment of this passage is the phrase grenre eorðan (l.1454a) as his rendering of super faciem terrae (v.8). From this we can see that he is again preoccupied to add concrete detail.

Lines 1455-1460a.

The first two phrases of v.9

quae cum non invenisset ubi requiesceret pes eius  
reversa est ad eum in arcam  
aquae enim erant super universam terram

are the source of the next passage in the A.S. poem, ll.1455-1460a,

Heo wide hire willan sohte  
 and rume fleah. Nohweðere reste fand,  
 þæt heo for flode fotum ne meahte  
 land gespornan ne on leaf treowes  
 steppan for streamum, ac wæron steap hleoðo  
 bewrigen mid wætrum.

The A.S. poet seems indeed to have treated this passage from the Vulgate quite freely, but closer examination will show that he has in fact followed much the course he might be expected to choose and has seized upon the one concrete and graphic detail in the Latin and translated it more or less literally: hence for requiesceret pes eius we have fotum ne meahte / land gespornan (ll.1457b-1458a). Again he has provided further detail to help the imagination of his audience, and the expansion which is contained in the remaining lines of the A.S. passage we have quoted above, (ne on leaf treowes etc) seems to be devoted to the same introduction of concrete and picturesque detail. It should be noted, however, that the imagined scenery is wholly A.S. in character; none of the features the poet enumerates are common in the Biblical countries, while all of them, the leaves of the tree, the cliffs, and the streams, are common in A.S. poetic descriptions of nature. Despite the rather gloomy apprehension with which the race as a whole seems to have regarded nature<sup>1</sup>, the A.S. poets seem to have felt a real professional joy in the rather "impressionistic" description of nature in which they so excelled. It seems as if the same influence had perhaps been at work here, and that the A.S. poet had

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1. This sensitiveness to the terrible - this feeling for superhuman forces in nature, which are often almost personified, is thoroughly Teutonic. On the one hand it connects with the liking for nature descriptions; on the other with human impotence under the unknown irresistible Wyrd. A.H. Skemp, The Transformation of Scripture in Anglo-Saxon Poetry, M. Phil. IV, p.440.

tired of the Flood scenery with which he has been occupied - he totally omits the Vulgate's repetition of aquae enim erant super terrae (v.9) - and had given way to his delight in steap hleoþo for a few lines. For our purpose, as well as noting his substitution of Germanic for Biblical scenery we should note the emergence of this typically A.S. delight in 'scenic' poetry even in the midst of an epic founded on and dealing with matters both Biblical and foreign.

Lines 1460b-1463.

The last phrase of v.9 in the Vulgate contains the delightfully tender picture already quoted of Noah receiving the Dove on its return to the Ark.

extenditque manum et adpraehensam intulit in arcam  
and the A.S. poet makes the most of this in his corresponding picture in ll.1460b-1463,

Gewat se wilde fugel  
on æfenne earce secan  
ofer wonne wæg, werig sigan,  
hungri to handa halgum rince.

He is ready as usual with the addition of telling detail, neither werig (l.1462b) nor hungri (l.1463a) being given in the Biblical account: both are most appropriate however, as a moment's reflection will probably tell us. At the same time they show us his ready response to the appeal of the Vulgate narrative wherever this touches what must have been his own experience if he were at all aware of country affairs which he would no doubt be forced to be by the manner of life in his day. The material in the Vulgate evokes a ready response at any point at which it impinges upon the common experiences of the A.S. poet and his audience.

Lines 1464-1471a.

Another Dove - the second - is now sent for the same purpose, an incident which the Vulgate records

in the following verse, Ch.VIII, vv.10-11,

10.expectatis autem ultra septem diebus aliis rursum  
dimisit columbam ex arca.

11.at illa venit ad eum ad vesperam  
portans ramum olivae virentibus foliis in ore suo  
intellexit ergo Noe quod cessassent aquae super  
terram.

The first of these verses the A.S. poet handles quite literally, giving in ll.1464-1465a,

þa wes culufre eft of cofen sended  
ymb wucan wilde.

but before continuing to v.11 he inserts some lines of addition, ll.1465b-1471a,

Seo wide fleah  
oðþæt heo rungal restestowe  
fægere funde and þa fotum stop  
on beam hyre; gefeah bliðemod  
þæs þe heo gesittan swiðe werig  
on treowes telgum torhtum moste  
Heo feðera onsceoc.

In the main they are devoted to a picture of the Dove flying about until she fotum stop on beam hyre, and found a resting place on treowes telgum torhtum moste, a typical introduction of concrete detail. It is also characteristic of him that he should add heo feðera onsceoc (l.1471a) for we have already seen<sup>1</sup> that we should expect him to have a sympathetic eye for nature and the ways of birds. But perhaps the most important aspect of this addition by the A.S. poet is the emotion and feelings of the Dove which he pictures in gefeah bliðemod (l.1468b) and swiðe werig (l.1469b). The A.S. poet's considerable sympathy with nature might be sufficient to explain this addition; but incidental references to the state of mind of the hero and other characters are common in A.S. poetry, and these adjectives

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1.cf. p.147 supra.



the Biblical Noah to hold towards the fact that God Himself has preserved him from the disaster of the Flood. Herein then we may observe a double process at work; the poem demands that the bond between Noah and the audience shall be strengthened and accordingly we are given Noah's attitude to what has happened, while the tradition to which the audience is accustomed is Germanic and in consequence the attitude ascribed to Noah is that of a Germanic hero.

Lines 1476b-1479a.

A third Dove is now sent forth, as is recounted in the Vulgate in v.12 of this same chapter.

expectavitque nihilominus septem alios dies et emisit  
columbam  
quae non est reversa ultra ad eum

and the A.S. poet likewise completes his account of the sending forth of the three Doves in ll.1476b-1479a.

  þa gyt se eadega wer  
ymb wucan þridan     wilde culufan  
ane sende.     Seo eft ne com  
to lide fleogan.

and allowing for the difference of expression between the prose of the Latin and the poetry of the A.S. - a difference which changes nihilominus into þa gyt se eadega wer - the two versions do not seem to differ greatly.

Lines 1479b-1482.

There follows in the A.S. however, an interesting addition, ll.1479b-1482

  ac heo land begeat  
grene bearwas;     nolde gladu æfre  
under salwed bord     syððan ætywan  
on þellfestenne,     þa hire pearf ne was

In the opening lines of this quotation, ac heo land begeat, grene bearwas; (ll.1479b-1480a) we can see that the A.S. poet has advanced into the narrative an incident which the Vulgate simply leaves to be implied. It seems fairly



plain that this is the reason why the third Dove did not return to the Ark; at least it seems to be the natural reason which would spring to the mind of anyone reading the Vulgate, and in consequence it does not seem necessary to look for patristic influence at this point. It is perhaps fanciful to see much in the reason for the addition, but it does appear at least possible that the poet may have made it in deference to the conditions of poetry in his own day. If we accept the fact that Germanic poetry of the period at which the A.S. Genesis A was composed, was intended to be recited or sung and not to be read, then we can see that the overt statement of the reason why the third Dove did not return to the Ark, since it makes the poem more instantly comprehensible than the Vulgate is, may have been added to meet the needs of the audience - and the word has here its full derivational meaning - for whom the poem was composed. The form of the events in the Latin never so affects the A.S. poet that he forgets the conditions of his art.

The rest of this addition, namely 11.1480b -1482, is devoted to another short vignette which seems to indicate once again the A.S. poet's fondness for and sympathy with nature and the birds. It is possible of course that there may be an intended resemblance between the feelings ascribed to the Dove in these lines:

nolde gladu sfre  
 under salwed bord    syððan stywan  
 on pellfæstenne,    þa hire þearf ne was.

and the feelings of any sailor of olden days after a long voyage, but it seems more likely that the poet himself is speaking. It is perhaps true that to assume such feeling for birds so early in the A.S. civilisation is rather dangerous, but on the other hand a poet who is familiar

with the commentators has possibly met this tenderness in the Latin poets who were popular in this period; and Alcuin's Heu, cuculus nobis fuerat cantare suetus is perhaps not so far distant.

At this point the Vulgate gives the exact date at which the Flood decreased and that at which the earth was 'arefacta', in Ch.VIII, vv. 13 and 14

13.igitur sescentesimo primo anno primo mense prima  
die mensis  
imminutae sunt aquae super terram  
et aperiens Noe tectum arcae aspexit viditque quod  
exsiccata esset superficies terrae.

14.mense secundo septima vicesima die mensis arefacta  
est terra.

The most probable reason for the omission of these two verses is the A.S. poet's desire to avoid needless repetition. He has already given us the fact that the land is dry, in ll.1480b-1481a; and hence he neither wishes to slow the movement of his poem by repeating the statement that the land is dry, nor to include a point of primarily theological interest like the date and time of the diminution of the waters. That he should omit also the picture of Noah opening the covering of the Ark is natural enough when we recall that the poet may have visualised an Ark made in the open fashion of an A.S. ship. In brief, we can see that his concern for the orderliness of his narrative here takes precedence over the actual wording of his source.

Lines 1483-1484.

With v.15 in the Vulgate,

locutus est autem Deus ad Noe dicens  
and ll.1483-1484 of the A.S. poem,

þa to Noe spræc nergend usser.  
heofonrices weard, halgan reorde

the two versions again coincide, as comparisons will show.  
Lines 1485-1492.

The speech of God to Noah, as it is given in the Vulgate in vv. 16 and 17 of this chapter

16. egredere de arca tu et uxor tua  
 filii tui et uxores filiorum tuorum tecum  
 17. cuncta animalia quae sunt apud te ex omni carne  
 tam in volatilibus quam in bestiis  
 et in universis reptilibus quae reptant super terram  
 educ tecum et ingredimini super terram  
 crescite et multiplicamini super terram

appears in the following lines of the A.S., ll. 1485-1492 as

þe is eðelstol eft gerymed,  
 lisse on lande, lagosiða rest  
 fæger on foldan. Gewit on freðo gangan  
 ut of earce, and on eorðan bearn  
 of þam hean hofe hiwan læd þu  
 and ealle þa wocre þe ic wægbrea on  
 liðe nerede þenden lago hæfde <sup>1</sup>  
 brymme geþeahne þridan eþyl.

and though it seems fairly apparent that the Latin passage is the source of the A.S. poem at this point, the relationship between the two is not perfectly straightforward. In the first place the A.S. poet has curtailed the catalogue tu et uxor tua, filii tui etc., which occupies so much of the Latin; in the A.S. version he gives this briefly as hiwan læd þu / and ealle þa wocre (ll. 1489b-1490a) and in a more vivid fashion by evoking a memory of the trials through which God has led this company þe ic wægbrea on etc. This alteration, on the whole, is one which we might fairly expect the poet to make for a variety of reasons - a catalogue is not so readily poetic as a more general statement -

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1. We have accepted Krapp's reading liðe for hliðe in l. 1491a, as the former appears to make better sense. See Krapp, p. 46, and notes p. 178.

and the mention of God's having led the Ark and its passengers through so many vicissitudes hints at the figure of the Germanic chieftain and his leadership of his thegns. Finally, the substitution of a generalised expression for a catalogue agrees well enough with the A.S. poet's determination to reduce the dramatic status of the animals etc in the Ark and to minimise the part they play in comparison with that played by the men and women,<sup>1</sup> to suggest that the A.S. poet had always before him a complete and consistent view of his material.

The A.S. poet also develops a contrast from the simple ingredimini super terram of the Vulgate, which becomes on eorðan bearm / of þam hean hofe (ll.1488b-1489a) in his hands; it seems as if he were emphasising the contrast between the hardships of life in the Ark and the easier life which lies before its passengers in their new home; this conjecture however rests upon rather tenuous evidence as the conjunction of eorðan bearm and hean hofe may be quite fortuitous. There seems to be a definite appeal to Germanic feelings, in the opening lines of the passage quoted from the A.S., ll.1485-1487a,

þe is eðelstol eft gerymed  
 lisse on lande lagosiða rest  
 feger on foldan

with its use of eðelstol and lagosiða, to mention only two of its evocative words. If exile was a cataclysm in the Germanic world the return from exile would be a correspondingly joyful occasion, and it is just such a

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1. cf. supra p.118.

return which is pictured here. The poet moreover draws attention to it by his use of these "epic" words to which we have referred, and by observing this use of them we can see once again how the dramatic situation in the Vulgate has provided the A.S. poet with the medium for an appeal to the emotions of his audience.

The closing lines of this speech, ll.

1491b-1492

brymme geþeantne penden lago hæfde  
þriddan eðyl þriddan eðyl

have been the subject of a certain amount of scholarly comment which has centred mostly in the question of why the A.S. poet should have deemed the Flood to cover only a third of the earth.<sup>1</sup> The point is admittedly puzzling and we do not claim to have found the solution: it may be of some assistance to future critics if we draw attention to the following quotation from the works of Hrabanus Maurus.

Quindecim cubitis altior fuit aqua super montes quos operuerat. Verunt quidam non esse hæc gesta, sed solas rerum significandarum figuras esse contendunt. Primum opinantur tam magnam non potuisse, itemque aliud tantum in superioribus fieri diluuium ut altissimos montes quindecim cubitos aqua crescendo transcenderet propter Olympi verticem montis, super quem perhibentur nubes non posse concreescere quod tam sublime jam coelum sit, ubi non ibi sit aer isti crassior ubi venti nebulae imbresque gignuntur. Nec attendunt omnium elementorum crassimam terram ibi esse potuisse. An

1. Thorpe, Caedmon's Metrical Paraphrase, London, 1832, p.90 translates a third of the country but also adds I doubt the accuracy of my translation of this verse, and Mason Genesis A translated from the Old English, New York, 1915, p.59 has to emend to ðryðe and translates while the deluge held sway and covered your home with its abundance.

forte negant verticem montis esse terram? Cur igitur usque ad illa coeli spatia terris exaltari licuisse et aquis exaltari non licuisse contendunt? Cum isti mensores et pensores elementorum aquam terris perhibeant superiores atque leviores? Quid itaque rationis afferunt quare terra gravior et inferior locum coeli tranquillioris invaserit per volumina tot annorum et aqua levior ac superior permissa non sit hoc facere saltem ad tempus exiguum?<sup>1</sup> This passage of course must have been written later than the A.S. Genesis A, which probably dates from around the turn of the 7th and 8th centuries,<sup>2</sup> while Hrabanus was not born till 776; but we should notice that he does not claim the contention for his own, but prefaces it with Ferunt quidam - "Some say..." As is usual among patristic writers, others repeat this view either independently or with actual quotation of the words of Hrabanus: the general conclusion reached is that the mountains in days gone by were not so high as in later (i.e. patristic) days. This conclusion may seem to have been developed too late to be of service to the A.S. poet: but the disputatious style in which the quotation from Hrabanus is written makes it more than likely that the matter had been under debate already, possibly in earlier days. The position may in fact be that Hrabanus is simply the first to record in writing an argument which has actually a long tradition behind it, and it is likewise possible that the

1. Commentarius in Genesim. Bk. II, Migne. PL, Vol. 107, Col. 573

2. No direct evidence is available for dating Genesis A, the Older Genesis, although the end of the seventh or the beginning of the eighth century is generally accepted as a probable time for the original composition of the poem. Krapp. p. xxv. Holthausen agrees Die Gen. dürfte zu Anfang des 8. Jahrs. im nördlichen England von einem geistlichen Dichter verfasst sein. Holthausen p. ix.

A.S. poet may have received the tradition from some source not hitherto identified, and that briddan ebyl may be the reading as the A.S. poet wrote it. This conclusion however seems much too hypothetical to serve as the basis for any further reasoning.

The last phrase of the Vulgate account of God's speech, given in the final phrase of v.17

crescite et multiplicamini super terram is totally omitted here by the A.S. poet, whose next line is He fremede swa (l.1493a) and plainly based on Egressus est ergo Noe - the opening of v.18 in the Vulgate. The reason for this omission becomes fairly plain however, since the phrase crescite et multiplicamini is repeated more than once in succeeding verses of the Vulgate;<sup>1</sup> hence it may be assumed that the A.S. poet has omitted this idea here because he intends to make use of one of its later occurrences<sup>2</sup> and wishes to avoid duplication and confusion in his poem.

Lines 1493-1496.

There follows in the Vulgate the account of the exit from the Ark, given in the usual catalogue form and occupying Ch.VIII, vv.18 and 19.

18. Egressus est ergo Noe et filii eius  
uxor illius et uxores filiorum eius cum eo  
19. sed et omnia animantia iumenta et reptilia quae  
repunt super terram  
secundum genus suum arcam egressa sunt

- a catalogue which the A.S. poet reduces materially, for he sums it up in four lines, ll.1493-1496

He fremede swa and frean hyrde,  
stah ofer streamweall, swa him seo stefn bebed,  
lustum miclum, and alædde þa  
of wegþele wraðra lafe

1. Ch. IX, v.1; Ch. IX, v.7.

2. As in fact he does in l.1512 tymað nu and tiedrað, on which cf. infra p. 162.

and even in this short space his principal interest seems to be not solely the passengers who descended from the Ark but also the emotions of Noah who led them. Of his own accord he adds lustum miclum (l.1495b) and thus we see him making yet another addition to bring Noah's character before us more sympathetically and in greater detail: to the A.S. poet the figures of the Bible seem to have appeared as men like himself, real and emotional, and he does his best to ensure that his audience shall have the same intimate feeling for them.

In this same passage the A.S. poet uses a strange expression for the survivors whom he leads from the Ark; in l.1496b he calls them wraðra lafe - the rest of the rebellious. Holthausen in his note on this line<sup>1</sup> remarks hier von der Sündern, which is probably the most apposite comment which could be made, although it does not go very far towards explaining why the poet should choose this odd expression to refer to the very people who had not been rebellious. It might indeed be possible to read the phrase in the sense "those left alive after the wrath of God", although there is warrant for this neither in the Bible nor in the commentaries<sup>2</sup>; if so, the phrase with its reference to the wrath of God might well be seen as another attempt by the A.S. poet to use the figure of God to give his poem an added epic quality.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Holthausen, p.95.

2. See App. I, Lists III, VIII-XI.

3. BT, p.1271 does not record any similar use of laf: but on the other hand we have in l.2005b of this poem the expression wapne laf used to refer to those who survive the attack by the Elamites. This use of laf may in fact be an idiosyncrasy of the Genesis poet.



Lines 1497-1510a.

We come now to the account of Noah's sacrifice to God. In the Vulgate this is given in Ch. VIII, vv. 20 and 21, although only the first section of the latter verse is used, viz:

20. aedificavit autem Noe altare Domino.  
 et tollens de cunctis pecoribus et volucribus mundis  
 obtulit holocausta super altare.  
 21. odoratusque est Dominus odorem suavitatis (et ait  
 ad eum).

a passage which is given by the A.S. poet in the corresponding lines in his poem, ll. 1497-1510a, as:

þa Noe ongan nergende lac  
 rædfæst reðran, and recene genam  
 on eallum dæl æhtum sinum,  
 ðam ðe him to dugeðum drihten sealde,  
 gleaw to þam gielde, and þa gode selfum  
 torhtmod hæle tiber on sægde,  
 cyninge engla. Huru cub dyde  
 nergend usser, þa he Noe  
 gebletsade and his bearn somed,  
 þæt he þæt gyld on þenc agifen hæfde  
 and on geogobhade godum dædum  
 ær gecearnod þæt him ealra was  
 ara este ælmihtig god,  
 domfæst dugeþa.

an account which is plainly somewhat expanded, and hence merits examination. The first result to be cited from such an examination is the more patently Germanic atmosphere which the A.S. poet gives to the passage by adding to it terms and ideas which bring it nearer to the expression common in epic poetry. To substantiate this there is the phrase rædfæst reðran (l. 1498a) - a good example of the use of repetition so common among A.S. pagan poets; line 1500, ðam ðe him to dugeðum / drihten sealde seems to have an echo of the pagan custom of the "wages" paid by the King to the members of the gesip in the form of rings and

brooches, - a custom to which we have already found reference in this poem.<sup>1</sup> Indeed a desire to express the relationship between God and Noah as that between a Germanic chief and his thanes might well explain all the additional material found in this passage, including that in ll.1503b-1510a,

Huru cuð dyde  
 nergend usser, þa he Noe  
 gebletsade and his bearn sowed,  
 þæt he þæt gyld on þanc agifen hæfde  
 and on geogoðhade godum dædum  
 ær geearnod þæt him ealra was  
 ara este ælmihtig god,  
 domfæst dugeþa.

which from its context, seems certainly not to be based upon the Vulgate. We have some warrant for equating the good deeds of Noah in his youth with the brave fighting of a young member of the gesip, in ll.1507-1508a

and on geogoðhade godum dædum  
 ær geearnod

and the idea of the mutual gratitude and respect between God and Noah, expressed in the giving of gifts, seems to us sufficient warrant for assuming that this chief and thane idea underlies the whole passage. It has this advantage moreover, that it supplements quite satisfactorily the only comment hitherto made on this passage, that of Ebert whose remark Auch den zu starken anthropomorphismus c.8, v.21, wo Gott den duft von Noah's opfer riecht, durfte wol als zu unchristlich der dichter nicht seinen lesern bieten;<sup>2</sup> this remark may well be accurate so far as it goes, but as it suggests no motive for the poet's addition of the details already quoted above it seems to us that a more thorough explanation of the A.S. poet's alterations is found by

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1. cf. supra p. 76.

2. A. Ebert, Zur angelsächsischen Genesis, Anglia, Vol.V, p.129.

regarding the passage as an attempt by the A.S. poet to show the relations between his hero and his God as something like the relationship of chief and thane, round which so much of the old epic poetry is written and which would appeal to the mind of the A.S. audience as the noblest of all relationships.<sup>1</sup>

Lines 1510b-1511.

As we saw above, the next words of v.21 in the Vulgate announce a speech by God,

et ait (sc. Dominus) ad eum

- an announcement which the A.S. poet makes in a more epic manner in ll.1510b-1511.

pa gyt drihten cwæð,  
wuldris aldor word to Noe

- and with this we are launched upon God's speeches to Noah, after the latter has made his offering: these speeches are five in number and they are distributed as follows through the subsequent verses of the Vulgate.

I	Ch. VIII,	vv. 21-22
II	IX,	1-7
III		8-11
IV		12-16
V		17

Despite these formal divisions however, the content of the speeches is a continuous whole, as there is hardly any duplication<sup>2</sup> and no intervening dialogue: hence it seems

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1. The patristic commentators (those given in App.I, Lists III and VIII with the addition of Tertullian, who appears as List XI q.v.) were consulted to discover if any of them provided motives of the kind given in the A.S. poem at this point, but none of this or of a similar kind could be found.
  2. With the exception of I, they all come from the same ultimate source -P- in the Hebrew. See ICC Gen. p.148.

that the A.S. poet has acted quite naturally in "telescoping" them all into one uninterrupted speech by God, stretching from l.1511 to l.1542; if a motive be asked it may probably be supplied from the fact that the Genesis A gains in order and clarity by the avoidance of the repeated breaks found in the narrative given in the Vulgate.

The first of God's speeches, Speech I, occupies the remaining verses of Ch.VIII of the Vulgate, namely the latter part of v.21, and the whole of v.22.

(21) Sensus enim et cogitatio humani cordis in malum  
prona sunt ab adulescentia sua.  
non igitur ultra percutiam omnem animantem sicut feci.  
22. cunctis diebus terrae sementis et messis frigus et  
aestas  
aestas et hiemps nox et dies non requiescent.

but this is totally omitted by the A.S. poet as he has in his next line, l.1512

tymað nu and tiedrað, tires brucað.

His omission of this speech seems again to find a motive in the desire for a more orderly narrative, as the ideas in this first speech are more or less echoed in subsequent verses in the following chapter; v.11, for example, reads

statuam pactum meum vobiscum  
et nequaquam ultra interficietur  
omnis caro aquis diluvii neque erit deinceps  
diluvium dissipans terram.

The only idea which is really omitted is that expressed in v.21,

sensus enim et cogitatio humani cordis in malum prona  
sunt ab adulescentia sua

and as with most other omissions there is little evidence to explain why the omission was made; in fact all that can be suggested here is that the idea is not one which an epic poet would welcome in his poetry, and that the A.S. poet has

omitted it for this reason. If this can be accepted it is of no small significance, since it indicates to us that the A.S. poet was prepared to omit from his poem ideas which he felt to be unsuitable even although they might be - as this one certainly is <sup>1</sup> of considerable importance to the early Christian Church: again we should add however that such a conclusion would require further authentication before being used as the basis for any important statement about the state of A.S. Christianity.

Lines 1512-1514a

The A.S. poet then has announced that God is about to speak, and omitting what is given in the Vulgate as Speech I, he goes at once to Speech II, (Ch. IX, vv. 1-7) as seems fairly plain if we compare the opening of God's speech in the A.S, ll.1512-1514a.

"Tymað nu and tiedrað, tires brucað  
mid gefean fryðo; fyllað eorðan,  
eall geiceað.

with the opening verse of Speech II in the Latin, Ch. IX, v.1

Benedixitque Deus Noe et filiis eius et dixit ad eos.  
Crescite et multiplicamini et implete terram.

The differences between the two appear to be mainly technical: the addition of the idea in mid gefean fryðo (l.1513a) is probably no more than a reminiscence of the closing verses of

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1. cf. S. Harent Nor can it be said..... that St. Augustine himself acknowledges the absence of this doctrine in the writings of the Fathers. St. Augustine invokes the testimony of eleven fathers, Greek as well as Latin (contra Jul II x.33). Baseless also is the assertion that before St. Augustine this doctrine was unknown to the Jews and to the Christians; as we have already shown, it was taught by St. Paul. It is found in the fourth book of Esdras..... The Catholic Encyclopedia Vol. XI, p.313.

Ch.VIII quoted above; the omission of Benedixit Deus Noe et filiis eius et dixit ad eos is probably due to the fact that the speech has already been announced in 11.1510b-1511, as we have seen.<sup>1</sup> The phrase Tymað nu and tiedrað seems ex natura well fitted to be the opening of God's benediction to the human race and others newly released from the Ark,<sup>2</sup> which probably explains why the introduction of this idea is delayed till this point, although the Vulgate has already announced it in Ch.VIII, v.17, in much the same terms, viz, crescite et multiplicamini super terram. We have already noted the omission of this phrase,<sup>3</sup> and it would appear that we must pay tribute to the A.S. poet's psychological skill in making this change.

Lines 1514b-1517.

The same fairly close following of the source which we have seen in 11.1512-1514a appears also in the immediately subsequent lines, 11.1514b-1517,

Now is eðelstol  
and holmes hlest and heofonfugas  
and wildu deor on geweald geseald,  
eorðe elgrene and eacen feoh.

1. It could be argued that in fact Benedixit etc is the source of 11.1510b-1511, and that the phrase omitted is the et ait ad eum of Ch.VIII, v.21, but the result to the poem is the same whichever view is taken. The absence from the A.S. poem of any reference to blessing seems to us to argue for the view we have adopted however.
2. Wherein according to the early Church no intercourse between male and female might take place: see for example et littera quidem significat in ingressu abstinentiam generationis in egressu usum; Ambrosius de Noe et Arca xxi, Migne PL, Vol.14, Col.361; or again quando ingreditur in eam (sc. arcam) Noe tam ipse quam filii eius ab uxoribus separantur: quando vero egreditur in terra junguntur paria Hieronymus adversus Jovinianum I, Migne PL. Vol.23, Col.246. App.I, List XII.
3. cf. supra p.161.

based upon the Vulgate vv. 2 and 3:

2. et terror vester ac tremor sit super cuncta animalia  
terrae  
et super omnes volucres caeli cum universis quae  
moventur in terra  
omnes pisces maris manus vestrae traditi sunt  
3. et omne quod movetur et vivit<sup>1</sup> erit vobis in cibum  
quasi holera virentia tradidi vobis omnia

where the main difference seems to be that the A.S. poet gives a more concrete and concise statement --- wildu deor (1.1516a) and eorðe mlgrene (1.1517a) for example --- then does the Vulgate. He adds however the phrase in 1.1514b eow is eðelstol, an addition probably dictated by a desire to bring home to his audience in the terms most readily comprehensible to them, something of the comfort which God is offering to mankind in the person of Noah. He is not in fact simply "translating" but "transplanting" his material from one soil to another.

Lines 1518-1520.

There is again a fairly close correspondence between the following verse of the Vulgate, Ch. IX, v. 4,

excepto quod carnem cum sanguine non comedetis  
and its translation in 11.1518-1520

Næfre ge mid blode beodgereordu  
unarlice eowre picgeað  
besmiten mid synne sawldreore

although the more vivid and dramatic form which the A.S. poem takes will be noticed from its use of beodgereordu (1.1518b) and sawldreore (1.1520b)<sup>2</sup> - a change which shows

1. On the significance of the daggers see the apparatus critici of BS p. 72, which has 3. vivit 0; vivet GA errante archetype.

2. We have adopted here the "classic" punctuation and taken 1.1520 besmiten mid synne sawldreore as the final phrase of a /

the determination of the poet to make even the least tractable parts of his material more acceptable to his audience.

Lines 1521-1523a.

The following lines in the A.S., ll.1521-1531 deal with God's prohibition of murder and with the vengeance which He will extract from the murderer: in the Vulgate this is contained in vv. 5 & 6, thus:

5. sanguinem enim animarum vestrarum requirem de manu  
 cunctarum bestiarum et de manu hominis  
 de manu viri et fratris eius requirem animam hominis  
 6. quicumque effuderit humanum sanguinem fundetur sanguis  
 illius  
 ad imaginem quippe Dei factus est homo

As will appear from the quotation, the A.S. poet does not preserve the Biblical order, but commences his account of these "dooms" with the first phrase of v.6 which appears in his poem as ll.1521-1523a,

elc hine selfa ærest begrindeð

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of a sentence beginning in l.1518 Næfre ge mid blode etc: it seems to us however that this use of sawldreore for the killing of animals is rather striking even for A.S. poetry (BT. p.819 quotes only this and one other usage, -Beowulf, l.2693- but neither is decisive) and that the line in question would better be regarded as the proleptic first clause of the sentence which occupies in the present arrangement ll.1521-1523a. We would in fact punctuate

Næfre ge mid blode beodgereordu  
 unarlice eowre picgeað.  
 Besmiten mid synne sawldreore  
 elc hine selfa ærest begrindeð  
 Gestes dugeðum þara þe mid gares orde  
 oðrum eolder oðpringeð

and translate "Never shall ye impiously take your table meals with blood. Smitten with sin (and) with blood of life, each man himself first depriveth of his soul's flourishing who etc. There is nothing in the punctuation of the MS. (f.75) and it seems to us to make sense equally as good as if not better than the present received reading.



gastes dugedum þæra þe mid gæres orde  
oðrum aldor oðþringeð.

and has probably been chosen to stand first because of its more dramatic form, showing the appeal which the dramatic element in his source, - even though confined to the expression - made to the A.S. poet's artistic sense. Indeed the fact that he goes to the trouble of extracting this phrase from its proper place would seem to indicate that this artistic consciousness must have led the poet to examine his source verse by verse and - in places such as this, - phrase by phrase: so that here we would seem able to reconstruct his method of working as well as the relationship between the source and the poem.

Lines 1523b-1528a.

We come now to the main body of the prohibition of murder: in the Vulgate this is given in the phrase already quoted from v.5

de manu viri et fratris eius requiram animam hominis and we should note that the "obvious" translation of this extract - which would seem to demand that viri et fratris eius should be read as one phrase - does not give the correct sense; Hieronymus in fact was here attempting to reproduce the very elliptical style of the Hebrew,<sup>1</sup> and his Latinity is obscure in consequence. The meaning which is given to it by the church is noted by the commentators, to whom we must here turn for enlightenment. Ambrosius quotes the verse as: Sanguinem hominis de manu fratris eius exquiram and adds An non frater est quem rationabilis naturae quidam uterus

1. See ICC Gen. pp.171-2 (footnote) לְיָד אִישׁ וְלְיָד אֶחָיו from the hand of one man that of another'. The full expression would be וְלְיָד אִישׁ וְלְיָד אֶחָיו... but all languages use breviloquence in the expression of reciprocity.

effundit et eiusdem matris generatio copulavit? Eodem enim natura omnium mater est hominum et ideo fratres sumus omnes una atque eadem matre generati cognationisque eodem jure devincti:<sup>1</sup> Augustine writes Quid est: Et de manu fratris exquiram animam hominis? An omnem hominem fratrem omnis hominis intelligi voluit, secundum cognationem ex uno ductam<sup>2</sup>; while the modern interpretation follows the same lines: whoever takes the life of his brother-man shall answer for it to me<sup>3</sup>. The view of the A.S. poet, which he gives us in ll.1523b-1528a

Ne þearf he þy edleane gefeon  
 moðgeþance, ac ic monnes feorn  
 to slagan sece swiðor micle,  
 and to broðor banan, þas þe blodgyte,  
 wealfyll weres wepnum gespedeð,  
 morð mid mundum.

has likewise caused some comment,<sup>4</sup> but there does not seem to be anything in these lines which need conflict with the views expressed by the commentators as quoted above: indeed the commentators on the Latin Vulgate help with the unravelling of the A.S. poem, which is itself none too clear at this point; for whether broðor banan (l.1526a) should be printed as one word<sup>5</sup> or as two<sup>6</sup> it seems most likely that

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1. de Noe et Arca xxvi. Migne PL. Vol.14, Col.405.
  2. Quaestiones in Genesim xvi. Migne PL. Vol.34, Col.551. Augustine is quoted verbatim by Hrabanus Maurus Commentarius in Genesim II.8, Migne PL. Vol.107, Col.525, and most subsequent commentators draw upon the same source. For a complete record of the commentators consulted on this point see App. I, Lists III and VIII.
  3. Knox, p.11.
  4. See Krapp, notes p.179 for a record of the various suggestions which have been made.
  5. e.g. Holthausen, p.34.
  6. Krapp, p.47.

its meaning is 'one who slays his brother': for if we follow Professor Kock and, ignoring the commentators, read broðor banan, the translation of et fratris eius as equivalent to 'and from the brother of the slayer!'<sup>1</sup> then we are attributing to the A.S. poet doctrinal innovation of a startling order.<sup>2</sup>

It seems safest on the whole to assume that the A.S. poet met the same difficulty which faces all who take the *prima facie* translation of the Latin and that

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1. Jubilee Jaunts and Jottings, Lunds Universitets Årsskrift, 1, 14, 26, p. 31.
  2. If the passage quoted above from Ambrosius be studied further, we shall find that the idea of 'the slayer of his brother' is given even greater emphasis: for his subsequent paragraph reads, ideoque et Dominus fratrem appellavit et eum fratrem a quo sanguis fratris exquiritur, significans magis ab his periculum pertimescendum qui fraterno sibi iure sociantur. Hinc etenim insidiae, hinc pericula frequentiora hominibus comparantur, et ut specialia comprehendamus, quod fratribus specialibus in haereditatis divisione frequenter odia succrescunt. Deinde si fratri amplius collatum fuerit a parentibus fratres alii indignantur magis, et gratiam a parentibus collatam parricida auferre conantur. Ista magis bella suspecta, bella non civium tantum, sed singularum domorum. Illos ergo Deus ad ultionis iudicium comprehendit quos magis insidiarios sibi esse cognovit. (op. cit.) Although the excursus upon hatred between brothers is suggestive in view of the A.S. poet's separate and several mention of slagan (l. 1525e) and broðor (l. 1526a), we would not go so far as to suggest that there is any very direct connection between Ambrosius and the A.S. poet, although there is no reason why the poet should not have known of this work, a copy of which was in Bede's library at Jarrow. (see H. I. W. Laistner, A Catalogue of Authors and Works in Bede's Library, in Bede, His Life, Times and Writings, ed. A. H. Thompson, Oxford, 1935, p. 263 sqq.) At the same time this later quotation from Ambrosius appears to weigh heavily against Kock's suggestion.

he turned in consequence to the comment to provide him with the key to the orthodox meaning. In this connection, his preservation of the orthodox view affords a marked contrast to his habit of altering the factual details of his source, as he has elsewhere been observed to do. He seems in fact to display a dichotomy in his attitude to his source, and to divide the historical passages quite sharply from the theological, altering the former where he thinks fit but treating the latter with respect. The historical passages in fact appealed to him as a Germanic poet, while the others impressed him as a Christian.

It should also be noted that this passage contains more than one of those additional phrases by which the poet appears to have thought to bring this work stylistically nearer to the epics of pagan inspiration: the opening hemistich Ne ðearf he þy edleane gefeon (l.1523b) and the closing phrase wallfyll weres wapnum gespedeð morð mid mundum both belong to this category and are additions of this type, indicating that the poet felt that the gulf which separated his material and his audience was one which would require much bridging.

Lines 1528b-1531.

The treatment of these two verses is now completed in the A.S. poem by rendering the final phrase of v.6 which appears as ll.1528b-1531

Monn was to godes  
 anlicnesse mrest gesceapen.  
 elc hafað magwite metodes and engla  
 para þe healdan wile halige þeawas.

a rendering whose most noteworthy point is the conditional quality of the second statement of the idea; but it would perhaps be somewhat hazardous to see in this anything beyond

a more poetic manner of expression than that which is given in the Vulgate.

Lines 1532-1535a.

Speech II is brought to a close in the Vulgate by a repetition of the idea with which it opened, and v.7 reads:

vos autem crescite et multiplicamini et ingredimini  
super terram et implete eam

an idea which the A.S. poet also uses for the second time in ll.1532-1535a

Weaxað and wridað, wilna brucað,  
ara on eorðan; eðelum fyllað  
sowre fromcynne foldan sceatas,  
teamum and tudre.

but it is significant that while the Vulgate is content to repeat the already-used formula, the A.S. poet completely rephrases the idea, no doubt with the object of giving variety to his poem;<sup>1</sup> he seems in fact to be conscious of a certain artistic standard, and this change shows how he endeavours to maintain that standard.

Lines 1535b-1538a.

Speech III in the Vulgate starts in v.8 with a repetition of the announcement that God is speaking

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1. cf. A.H. Tolman: Hence our second great principle of A.S. poetical style is: Repetition of the thought with variation of the expression. This repetition with variation takes many forms. A noun may have three or four appositional phrases scattered through all parts of the sentence, or there may be a complete parallelism of successive sentences which is a favourite form of expression. But parallelism is evidently not a principle with the A.S. poet. The principle is as we have stated it. He is as well satisfied to repeat a subject or object three or four times and other elements of the sentence not at all, as he is to construct a complete parallelism. The Style of Anglo-Saxon Poetry, Proc. Mod. Lang. Assoc. (later PMLA) Vol.III, p.24.

haec quoque dixit Deus ad Noe et ad filios eius cum eo  
 - an announcement which is of course omitted by the A.S.  
 poet as he is running all the speeches together into one:  
 thereafter the following verse, v.9. opens by giving God's  
 announcement of His Covenant to Noah and his descendants  
 (vobiscum et cum semine vestro post vos) and goes on to  
 give a catalogue of animals etc. who are to be included in  
 the pact, and the catalogue is continued throughout and  
 concluded in v.10. The whole theme is restated again in  
 v.11 without the catalogue, and we have;

statuam pactum meum vobiscum  
 et nequaquam ultra interficietur omnis caro aquis  
 diluvii neque erit deinceps diluvium dissipans terram

and it seems to have been this verse which the A.S. poet  
 chose as the basis for his announcement of the Covenant with  
 Noah: this at least we may deduce from the fact that in the  
 A.S. poem the following lines, ll.1535b-1538a

ic eow treowa þæs  
 mine selle, þæt ic on middangeard  
 næfre egorhere eft gebede,  
 water ofer widland.

contain no reference either to the descendants of Noah or  
 to the animals and other animæ viventes who share in the  
 Covenant. The A.S. poet has omitted vv9 and 10 and the  
 catalogue they contain in favour of the more simple and  
 direct statement of the Covenant contained in v.11: although  
 the lack of evidence sometimes makes it difficult for us to  
 give a reason for an omission, as we have had occasion to  
 remark before, it will probably be conceded that the reason  
 for the omission is the resultant gain in the speed of the  
 narrative, in which we see again the A.S. poet's control  
 of his material and maintenance of his artistic standards,  
 despite the authority of the Bible.

Lines 1538b-1542.

Speeches IV and V of the Vulgate occupy respectively Ch. IX, vv. 12-16, and v. 17, and contain in all 5 ideas, as may probably most easily be seen by quotation, thus:

12. dixitque Deus hoc signum foederis . . . . . (i)  
 quod do inter me et vos.  
 et ad omnem animam viventem quae est vobiscum  
 in generationes sempiternas.
13. arcum meum ponam in nubibus . . . . . (ii)  
 et erit signum foederis inter me et inter  
 terram.
14. cumque obduxero nubibus caelum  
 apparebit arcus meus in nubibus . . . . . (iii)
15. et recordabor foederis mei vobiscum . . . . . (iv)  
 et cum omni anima vivente quae carnem  
 vegetat  
 et non erunt ultra aquae diluvii ad delendam  
 universam carnem
16. eritque arcus in nubibus et videbo illum et  
 recordabor foederis sempiterni.  
 quod pactum est inter Deum et inter omnem  
 animam viventem universae carnis quae est  
 super terram.
17. dixitque Deus ad Noe  
 hoc erit signum foederis quod constitui . . . . . (v)  
 inter me et inter omnem carnem super  
 terram.

and it is perhaps no exaggeration to say that those phrases alone are important which bear opposite them the Roman numeral indicating the number of the idea: the remaining parts of the Latin are more or less concerned only to give and repeat the catalogue of those with whom the pact is made. Nor are all the numbered ideas mutually independent and original; idea (iii) repeats idea (ii), while idea (v) repeats idea (i) and we are thus left with ideas

- (i) dixitque Deus hoc signum foederis. (v. 12)  
 (ii) arcum meum ponam in nubibus. (v. 13)  
 (iv) et recordabor foederis mei vobiscum. (v. 15)

as the *ossia* of this passage, and significantly enough it is just these ideas that the A.S. poet expresses in the next and final lines of God's speech, ll.1538b-1542. Idea (i) appears to us to be the source of ll.1538b-1540a,

Ge on wolcnum þess  
oft and gelome andgiettacen  
magon sceawigan

while idea (ii) with its reference to the rainbow seems to lie behind ll.1540b-1541a

þonne ic scurbogan  
minne iewe

and idea (iii), transmuted from God's remembering into the result of this remembering, is probably the source of ll.1541b-1542,

þæt ic monnum þas  
wære gelæste þenden woruld standeð.

The A.S. poet has thus cut out the catalogues in the Vulgate and presented to us only the main ideas which are found in the Vulgate text - the sign of the Covenant, the manner of its appearance, and the result to mankind. This cavalier treatment of the catalogues is perhaps no more than what we should expect from what we have previously seen of his method of working and of his concern for presenting a speedy narrative: nor should we omit to remark that it points to the conclusion that his work is intended to be partly artistic as well as partly theological. We would not of course suggest that there is no theological interest whatsoever in his poem or that he has completely secularised the material in his source; the propaganda value of his poem is probably not the least of his reasons for its preservation to modern times; but in view of the thoroughness with which early mediaeval commentators treated the Bible, writing whole paragraphs on each phrase, and finding a figura for almost every word in the Old Testament, it seems fairly clearly



shown by this passage that the material which the Vulgate presented to the A.S. poet here appealed primarily to his aesthetic sense, rather than to his religious feelings.<sup>1</sup> His aesthetic sense moreover seems to have been constantly and consistently at work, for he again reduces the role played by the animals as against that fulfilled by Noah: this reduction has already appeared in his treatment of the Flood<sup>2</sup> and his excision of the catalogues has the same effect here. The persistence of this habit shows that our poet took a comprehensive view of his material; a particular aspect of that view is that he seems to wish that Noah should stand out from the other animae viventes much as Beowulf stands out from the other thanes who accompany him to the court of Hrothgar.<sup>3</sup> In this way, too, the A.S. poet is approximating his poem to the style and manner of an epic.

Lines 1543-1554.

It was probably the same desire for an epic atmosphere which led the poet to give a sympathetic treatment to the Vulgate, Ch. IX, vv. 18 and 19.

18. Erant igitur filii Noe qui egressi sunt de arca Sem  
Ham et Iafeth  
porro Ham ipse est pater Chanaan

which are reproduced as ll. 1543-1552a

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1. cf. A.H. Skemp, op.cit. M.Phil. IV, p.425. This group (sc. Genesis, Exodus, Daniel and Judith) where apparently the whole reverent aim of the poet is to transfer his original as he realises it into A.S. verse . . . .

2. cf. supra p.118.

3. In fact we know only one of them by name - the unfortunate Hondscioh who is killed by Grendel - see ll. 2106 ff.

þa was se snotra sunu lamehes  
 of fere acumen flode on laste  
 mid his eaforum þrim, yrfes hyrde  
 (and heora feower wif;  
 nemde waron Percoba, Olla  
 Olliuu, Olliuani),  
 werfast metode, wætra lafe.  
 Hæleð hygerofe hatene waron,  
 suna Noes Sem and Cham,  
 lafeð þridða.

The main interest in this passage lies in the scene the A.S. poet has imagined for us: his purpose seems to have been to picture a band of adventurous warriors stepping forth in a new country - hæleð hygerofe - a situation which might perhaps have evoked the racial memory of the Anglo-Saxons' arrival in Britain. It is a situation, moreover, which might be expected to appeal to any action-loving audience by persuading them to imagine themselves into the situation the poet describes. He has thus completed his account of the voyage of the Ark by creating a picture which will lead his audience to realise his material yet more closely. The rapid glance at the social consequences of the Flood, which we are given in the following verse of the Vulgate, v.19

tres isti sunt filii Noe et ab his disseminatum est  
 omne hominum genus super universam terram

is so literally translated by the A.S. poet in ll.1552b-1554

from þam gumrincum  
 folc geludon and gefylled wearð  
 eall þes middangeard monna bearnum.

that it forms no more than a pendant to the vignette just completed in the preceding lines.

We may not leave this section of the A.S. poem however without at least passing reference to the names Percoba, Olla, Olliva and Ollivani. (ll.1547b-1548a) Honncher<sup>1</sup> and Holthausen<sup>2</sup> both refer to Genesis Ch.23, v.4,

1. Op. cit. p.66

2. Notes, p.95.

and Ch. 36, v.2, where the three last names are found: but there is nothing in either chapter which might lead the poet to transfer the names to Noah's sons: perhaps the best suggestion is that of Gollancz who regards the names as an insertion by a later scribe.<sup>1</sup> His theory about the name Phuarfara, refers this form to the form phiarphara found in a note to Aelfric's Heptateuch;<sup>2</sup> the note in question reads phiarphara · semes wif parsia · and cahmes wif cataphua · iafetbes wif fura,<sup>3</sup> and is plainly connected with Petrus Comestor's remark : Uxor Noe Phuarphara, uxor Sem Pharphia, uxor Cham Cathaflua, uxor Japheth fliva.<sup>4</sup> From our point of view, the importance of this quotation from Petrus Comestor is that it provides a separate tradition giving alternative names for the wives of Shem, Ham, and Japheth: and while it is certain that our poet lived and died long before the time of Comestor, it is just possible that this tradition might

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1. op. cit. p.lxiii. I am convinced that the true solution of the problem is to be found in regarding the words 'heora feower wif Percoba Olla Olliva Ollivani nemde weron' as a late addition placed originally in the margin of the manuscript as a supplementary statement to that in ll.1550-2, that the sons of Noah 'hatene weron' Shem, Ham, and Japheth. A scribe, incorporating these words in the text, has placed them after l.1545 thus upsetting the grammar.
  2. op. cit. p.lxvii. Of this cantankerous wife of Noah, various names are found, and one of them, which occurs in the French Mistere du Viel Testament, Phuarfara, has baffled inquiry..... 'Phuarfara' may be safely identified with the form 'phiarphara' found as a late Old English note in MS. Claud. B. iv. of Aelfric's Heptateuch.
  3. The Heptateuch, ed. S.J. Crawford, E.E.T.S. No.160, p.421.
  4. Historia Scholastica, Migne PL. Vol.198, Col.1084, Additio 7

have reached him: if this possibility can be accepted, the fact that he did not use these particular names provides at least a hypothetical confirmation of Gollancz' interpolation theory.<sup>1</sup>

Lines 1555-1561.

Both the Vulgate and the Genesis A now start upon the story of Noah's vineyard: the introduction to this occupies one verse only in the Latin, v.20

coepitque Noe vir agricola exercere terram  
et plantavit vineam

an account which gives hardly more than the barest essential detail.<sup>2</sup> The A.S. poem gives a more expanded account however and allots some 7 lines in all to this scene setting, namely ll.1555-1561

þa Noe ongan niwan stefne  
mid hleomegum ham staðelian  
and to eorðan him ætes tilian;  
won and worhte, wingeard sette,  
seow sæda fela, sohte georne  
þa him wlitebeorhte westmas brohte,  
geartorhte gife, grene folde.

What seems to have happened in the latter lines of the above quotation is that by the use of phrases like won and worhte

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1. There is of course yet another tradition of these names, viz the African tradition, represented by the anonymous Liber de Genealogiis Patriarcharum: Noe autem genuit Sem, qui...sortitus est uxorem nomine Norea...Redeamus et ad Cham filium Noe qui...sortitus est uxorem nomine Ause ex semine gigantum...Tertius vero filio Noe nomine Japhet...Huic erat uxor nomine Ruth. Migne PL, Vol.59, Col.525-7.
  2. Mgr. Knox translates vineam as a vine (Knox, p.12) somewhat oddly in view of the fact that vinea is used to mean a vineyard as early as the days of Cicero (de Senectute, xv, 54). Because of the Ciceronian use we have not thought it necessary to comment on the equation of vineam and wingeard (l.1558b).

(1.1558a), seow sode fela (1.1559a) and sohte georne (1.1559b) the A.S. poet had made the material in the Vulgate serve as the source of a small but effective picture of agricultural life: the Vulgate has provided him with an opportunity which he was probably glad to use, since it follows upon a passage of primarily abstract and theological interest. He has made a definite addition to the material in his source, however, in the opening lines of the passage

þa noe ongan niwan stefne  
mid hleomagum ham stabelian  
and to eorðan him astes tilian

and it is noticeable that he carefully links the farming picture to that which precedes it - the founding of a home. The reason for this linkage is probably to be sought in the traditional character of the Germanic epic hero: from the opening lines of Beowulf it seems fairly likely that the founding of a home would be a recognised and "legitimate" action for a hero, but it is doubtful if the same could be said of tilling the soil. Hence it might possibly be said that the poet's addition of the description of Noah as a home-founder is dictated by his decision to present a picture of him as a soil-tiller and that the whole passage shows a compromise between the Biblical type of hero and the Germanic parallel.

Lines 1562-1576.

From this we pass to the account of Noah's drunkenness given in the Vulgate in v.21

bibensque vinum  
inebriatus est et nudatus est in  
tabernaculo suo

and in the A.S. poem in ll.1562-1576

þa þæt geeode, þæt se eadega wer  
on his wicum wearð wine druncen,

swaf symbelwerig, and him selfa sceaf  
 reaf of lice. Swa gerysne ne was,  
 lag þa limnacod. He lyt ongeat  
 þæt him on his inne swa earne gelamp,  
 þa him on hreðre heafodswima  
 on þæs halgan hofe heortan clypte.  
 Swiðe on slope sefa nearwode  
 þæt he ne mihte on gemynd drepem  
 hine handum self mid hrægle wrym  
 and sceome þeccan, swa gesceapu weron  
 werum and wifum, siððan wuldres þegn  
 ussum fader and meder fyrene sweorde  
 on laste beleac lifes eðel.

It will probably be quite readily agreed that the picture is quite effective and would itself explain and justify the lengthy expansion which the A.S. poet has made here: but it seems to us that the picture is in fact somewhat too detailed to be wholly imaginative and that symbelwerig (l.1564a) and him selfa sceaf / reaf of lice (ll.1564b-1565a) and heafodswima (l.1568b) suggest that the poet may have been writing from the knowledge of scenes which must have been fairly frequent in A.S. life in the not over-refined period in which he lived. The implication of this is that the Bible must have had some immediacy of application for the poet since he could thus read a scene from the daily life of his own day into one single verse. Perhaps indeed the frequency of such scenes in A.S. life may account for his addition of the reference to the commands from the days of Adam and Eve, for otherwise it is difficult to see any marked motive for this addition, but if we accept drunkenness and consequent antics as being common and hence little regarded in A.S. life, then the immediacy of the application of the Bible explains the need for a reference to the commands to Adam and

Eve.<sup>1</sup>

Lines 1577-1584a.

As Noah lies asleep, the first to come in is Ham whose conduct the Vulgate gives in the next verse, v.22

quod cum vidisset Ham pater Chanaan  
verenda scilicet patris sui esse nuda  
nuntiavit duobus fratribus suis foras

and the A.S. in the next lines, ll.1577-1584a,

þa com ærest Cam in sibian,  
eafora noes, þær his aldor læg,  
ferhðe forstolen. þær he freondlice  
on his agenum fæder are ne wolde  
gesceawian, ne þa sceonde huru  
hleomagum helan, ac he hlihende  
broðrum sægde, hu se beorn hine  
reste on recede.

in which it will probably be observed that the A.S. poet has expanded the Biblical account; his expansion takes the form principally of the addition of an adverse comment on Ham's behaviour;

þær he freondlice  
on his agenum fæder are ne wolde  
gesceawian ne þa sceonde huru  
hleomagum helan.

There is nothing of great originality in this comment, and it could easily be deduced from the context of the story; but although it does not correspond at all closely to the

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1. cf. D. Whitelock. In the hall men amused themselves with feasting and drinking, often beyond measure. Abbot Ælfric writes reproachfully to an Oxfordshire thane who has plied him too heartily with strong drink when he was his guest. The beginnings of English Society, Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 1952, p.90.

terms used by those patristic writers who have censured Cham,<sup>1</sup> it is possible that it may have been inspired from patristic sources.<sup>2</sup> His addition of hlihende (l.1582b) certainly seems to spring from this origin, for there is no mention of this in the Vulgate, but it becomes common in commentators from Caius Marius Victor onwards:<sup>3</sup> thus it seems that the A.S. poet has once again consulted the patristic writers to give variety to the bare narrative of the Bible.

Lines 1584b-1588a.

The brothers Sem and Japheth now enter the tent, as is recounted in the Vulgate, v.23,

at vero Sem et iafeth pallium imposuerunt humeris suis  
et incedentes retrorsum operuerunt verecunda patris sui  
faciesque eorum aversae erant et patris sui vivilia  
non viderunt

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1. See for example Avitus, de Diluvio Mundi, Migne PL, vol.59, col.352; Marius Victor, Commentarius in Genesim, Bk.III, Migne.PL, vol.61, col.958. Walafrid Strabo, Glossa Ordinaria, Migne.PL, vol.113, col.112 etc, and App.I, List XIII.
  2. Curiously enough, in view of the possible connection between the A.S. Exodus and Avitus' poem de Transitu Maris Rubri the closest correspondence with the genesis here is found in the same author's de Diluvio Mundi:  
Distectum petit misero spectamine patrem  
Materiamque sui risit deformior orthus  
Et plus jam turpis nudato simplice nequam (Migne, loc. cit).
  3. Caius Marius Victor, Commentarius in Genesim, Bk.III, uni tibi Cham teterrime risum / Movet origo (Migne, loc.cit): so too Isidore Hispalensis, Quaesto in Genesim, Quam nuditatem id est passionem Cham videns Cham derisit. (Migne.PL, vol.83, col.235.) a phrase quoted almost verbatim by Bede Commentarius in Genesim, quam nuditatem id est passionem videns Cham derisit. (Migne.PL, vol.91, col.228.)



and by the A.S. poet in ll.1584b-1588a,

Hie þa raðe stopon,  
 heora and wlitan in bewrigenum  
 under loðum listum, þæt hie leofum men  
 geoce gefremede; gode wæron begen,  
 Sem and Iafeð.

a passage which is almost a direct translation of the Latin source save for the poet's comment gode wæron begen (l.1587b), a comment which may have been added to allow his audience to "catch up" with what may have been an unfamiliar situation: the comment however is too short and generalised and the evidence too slight to invite further investigation.

Lines 1588b-1596a.

We are now told of Noah's awakening and of what happened thereupon, in the Vulgate in vv.24-27

24.evigilans autem Noe ex vino  
 cum didicisset quae fecerat ei filius suus minor  
 25.ait maledictus Chanaan  
 servus servorum erit fratribus suis 26.dixitque  
 benedictus Dominus Deus Sem, sit Chanaan servus eius  
 27.dilatet Deus Iafeth et habitet in tabernaculis Sem  
 sitque Chanaan servus eius

and in the A.S. poem in ll.1588b-1596a

þa of slæpe onbrægd  
 sunu Lamehes, and þa sona ongeat  
 þæt him cynegodum Cham ne wolde,  
 þa him was are þearf, ænige cyðan  
 hyldo and treowa. þæt þam halgan was  
 sar on mode, ongan þa his selfes bearn  
 wordum wyrgean, cweð, he wasan sceolde  
 heen under heofnum, hleomaga þeow,  
 Cham on eorþan;

This passage displays two notable differences from the version in the Latin. The first is that it recapitulates the whole incident þæt him cynegodum Cham ne wolde / ...ænige cyðan / hyldo and treowa (ll.1590-1592a) and gives a glance at Noah's state of mind - sar on mode (l.1593a), a thoroughness which may possibly derive from an attempt to overcome

the A.S. casualness towards drunkenness,<sup>1</sup> and which may hence show one facet of the effect of Christianity upon the A.S. world. The second difference is that while the Vulgate gives the generic name of Chanaan as the object of the curse, the A.S. poet substitutes Cham throughout: but there is one text of the Vulgate, - G, the Codex Parisinus - which alone reads Cham in v.26, for the Chanaan of all the other Biblical texts.<sup>2</sup> It seems probable therefore that this was the text the A.S. poet used in composing Genesis A<sup>3</sup>.  
Lines 1596b-1597.

In the subsequent phrases, the A.S. poet adds a comment apparently his own, occupying ll.1596b-1597

him þa cwyde syððan  
 and his fromcynne      frecne scodon.

and restoring to the A.S. poem the generic quality which it had omitted from the curse: but this generic application stems not so much from the language of v.27 of the Vulgate as from the patristic interpretation of Chanaan<sup>4</sup>, stressing its historical ("in futuro") import. Hence the Bible must have appeared to the A.S. poet as a historical whole, and his selection of his material has been partly affected by this.

Lines 1598-1601.

With this we have reached the end of

1. cf. supra p. 181.

2. BS. p.175, apparatus critici.

3. cf. App. II, Names in Genesis A, p. 457-8.

4. See for example Bede Commentarius in Genesim, Peccante autem Cham, posteritas illius damnatur, quia reprobi hic quidem delinquunt, sed in futuro damnationem excipiunt (Migne.PL. Vol.91, Col.228): this is later quoted in the Glossa Ordinaria, (Migne PL. Vol.113, Col.112) etc.

Noah's life, and the Vulgate gives this with its usual detail in the last two verses of Ch. IX, vv. 28 and 29.

28. vixit autem Noe post diluuium trecentis quinquaginta annis

29. et impleti sunt omnes dies eius nongentorum quinquaginta annorum et mortuus est

while the A.S. poet reproduces no more than the first of these figures, in ll. 1598-1601

þa nyttaðe Noe siððan  
mid sunum sinum sidan riceas  
þreohund wintra þisses lifes,  
freomen æfter flode, and fiftig eac, þa he forð gewat.

and again the evidence seems insufficient to suggest why he did not give the total for all the years of Noah's life.<sup>1</sup>

There now follows both in the Latin and in the A.S. poem a long account of the descendants of Noah after the Flood, just as Chapters IV and V of the Vulgate and ll. 1117-1242 of the A.S. poem give an account of the generations between Adam and the Flood.<sup>2</sup> Although Ch. X does not display all the regular and repetitive characteristics of Chs. IV and V, it will not be necessary to quote much of Ch. X in detail, since it can be quite adequately described.

1. Because of the length of l. 1601, freomen æfter flode, and fiftig eac þa he forð gewat, this part of the MS has occasioned some difficulty. (See Krapp (Notes) p. 180. With all deference to the authority of the MS, we might suggest that the scribe has here been guilty of "skipping" and that l. 1601 should stop at eac; thereafter we would postulate the loss of a line of A.S., translating the first phrase of v. 29 et impleti sunt omnes dies eius nongentorum while and fiftig eac, þa he forð gewat would be the final line of the account of Noah's life. The confusion would then be due to the scribe's having copied and fiftig eac from l. 1601 and subsequently dropping his eye to the same phrase in the new line which we propose.

2. See supra pp. 65-88.

Lines 1602-1614.

the first section of this genealogy is devoted to the sons of Japheth, and extends through vv.1-5 of the Vulgate and ll.1602-1614 of the A.S. poem: the Vulgate passage is no more than a list of names, save for v.5

ab his divisae sunt insulae gentium in regionibus suis  
unusquisque secundum linguam suam  
et familias suas in nationibus suis

The A.S. poet in ll.1602-1614.

Siððan his eaforan ead bryttedon,  
bearna stryndon; him was beorht wela.  
þa wearð lafeðe geogoð afeded,  
hyhtlic heorðwerod heafodmaga,  
sunu and dohtra. He was selfe til,  
neold a rice, eðeldreamas,  
blad mid bearnum, oððet breosta hord,  
gast ellorfus gangan sceolde  
to godes dome. Geomor siððan  
fader flettgesteald freondum dælde,  
swasum and gesibbum, sunu lafeðes;  
þas teames was tuddor gefylled  
unlytel dæl eorðan gesceafta.

treats the family of Japheth in a different fashion. In the first place he omits all the names,<sup>1</sup> save for those who actually ruled. This might well imply that he doubted the ability of his audience to master so many 'foreign' names as they were recited, or again it might imply that he was concerned to preserve the speed of his poem; in either case it shows that he is writing not primarily as a theologian but as a conscious artist, able to preserve the structure of his source, while he excludes incidental details. At the same time, the summarising of the account of the other descendants of Japheth,

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1. There are actually 21 names in all in these 5 verses.

þa wearð lafeðe geogob afeded  
 hyhtlic heorðwerod heafodmaga  
 sunu and dohtra (11.1604-1606a)

enables him to present the descendants of Japheth as a more compact and homogeneous family; and the effect of the change seems to us to be that Japheth thereby becomes more likely to appeal to the A.S. mind as a good chieftain; for in a society where warfare and battle were so frequent, it was of some importance that the royal family should be large. The picture of Japheth himself appears to make the same appeal to Germanic feeling: it contains the comment He was selfa til (1.1606b) an addition recalling the Halga til of Beowulf.<sup>1</sup> The account of Japheth's death, 11.1608b-1610a

obbat breosta hord,  
 gast ellorfus gangan sceolde  
 to godes dome.

is again an addition, and its phrases breosta hord and gast ellor recall the pagan epics,<sup>2</sup> and appear to renew the same appeal. Finally the omission of the Vulgate comment in v.5 quoted above, seems to suggest the same conclusion - that the A.S. poet was unwilling to remind his listeners of the ultimate separation of the family. Lines 1615-1639.

The account of the descendants of Noah's second son, Ham, is given in the Vulgate in vv. 6-20: it contains a long list of names of rulers and cities but only one - Nimrod - is elaborated: this is done in vv.8-10,

8.porro Chus genuit Nemrod  
 ipse coepit esse potens in terra

1. Beowulf. 1.61.

2. cf. Beowulf, 1.1719, breosthord cited in Merrill and McClumpha, op. cit. p.167.

9. et erat robustus venator coram Domino

†ob†<sup>1</sup> hoc exivit proverbium quasi Nemrod robustus  
venator coram Domino

10. fuit autem principium regni eius Babylon et Arach et  
Archad et Qhalanne in terra Senaar.

The A.S. poet allots ll. 1615-1639 to Ham's offspring, again confining himself to naming only those of prime importance - Cham, Chus, Chanaan and Nimrod. (This last demands acceptance of the emendation of MS. fæderne breðer (l. 1628) to fæder Nebrobes first suggested by Cosijn<sup>2</sup> and possibly authenticated from patristic comment where the forms Nembroth<sup>3</sup> and Nebrot<sup>4</sup> are both recorded.) On the last named, the A.S. poet writes in ll. 1630b-1635a

	Swa us gewritu secgeað,
þæt he moncynnes	mæste hæfde
on þam mældagum	mægen and strengo.
Se wes Babylones	bregorices fruma,
mærest mæbelinga;	mælbrym onhof,
rymde and mærdæ.	

more or less a translation of vv. 8 and 10 quoted above. The most significant point however is the omission of v. 9: it would be natural to suppose that the idea of a robustus venator might appeal to the A.S. mind, but consideration of the material in the commentaries provides a reason for its omission by the A.S. poet. For the Fathers interpret the phrase robustus venator to the detriment of its possessor,

1. The significance of the daggers is given by BS in the apparatus critici on p. 177: restituimus iuxta loc. parallel Gen. 29, 35.
2. P.J. Cosijn. Anglosexonica in Beiträge zur Geschichte der Deutschen Sprache und Literatur. Vol. 19, p. 450.
3. Augustine, Questiones in Genesis, Migne PL, Vol. 34, Col. 551.
4. (Anonymus) de Genealogiis Patriarcharum, Migne PL. Vol. 59 Col. 526.

and Nimrod becomes a type of villainy, signifying the introduction of tyranny after the flood, while his hunting is interpreted as seducing souls away from God. The longest indictment of him is that in Marius Victor's Commentarius in Genesim<sup>1</sup> and it includes the accusation that he introduced idol-worship:<sup>2</sup> hence it seems reasonable that the A.S.

1. Ergo res hominum cunctas eventaque rerum  
Quae Domino fuerat par assignare supremo  
Assignare vasis persuasit subdolis astra  
Atque avium spectare libras, motusque volantum,  
Et studio ingenti magicae aethera intulit artis  
Et plures orare deos idolaque muta  
Aut magis idolis letitantes sancti in ipsis  
Suasit adorari, multo magis dignus aduri.  
Inque nefanda prior descendit crimina nimroth,  
Impietatis apex Cham serpe e semine natus  
Mole et monte gigas, Babylonis regna gubernans,  
Perstruxit hic animos capiens, venator iniquus,  
A veris Domini speris traxit ad ignem.  
Nec modo plus aequo cupidus, nec arte sagaci  
Ille caput scelerum, mundi infensissimus hostis,  
Illudit curis hominum, nec mentibus ipsis  
Irruit, et sensus penitus descendit in omnes,  
Mox et in affectus: nam cum patris unica proles  
Spem generis letho secum traxisset acervo  
Infelix Nimroth, lacrymas noctesque diemque  
Continuus, hebetique trahens plangere querelas  
Dum furit, et raptum cuserit per singula natum  
Effecta moestum solatur imagine luctum  
Et Perio effectam filii de marmore formam  
Credidit infelix incluso vivere sensu  
Et questus sudire suos. Mox inde diestis  
Arcibusque aris divinos addit honores  
Inque loco jubet esse Dei, tum protinus omnes  
Amplexae gentes aethera hoc, crimenque secutae  
Pro diis quascumque suis caros habuere ponentes  
Post etiam simili reges in honore locarunt  
Dixeruntque deos.

Signe, PL. vol. 61, col. 958.

2. See more specifically 11.6-8 of the quotation in n.1, supra.

poet would hasten to omit detailed reference to this odious custom, which may not have been so far from the minds of some of his audience: and this omission gives a further instance of the poet's awareness of the view of the commentators, and of the effect of this upon the resultant poem.

There is also the problem of why the A.S. poet should have transferred into this section of his poem, which deals with Ham's sons, the comment in ll.1635b-1636,

Reord was þa gieta  
eorðbuendum an gemene

which appears to us to be an obvious translation of v.1 of the following chapter of the Bible, Ch.XI,

erat autem terra labii unius et sermonum eorundem and the answer may well be once again in the realm of patristic commentary. The commentators identified Babylon with the Tower of Babel and a typical comment is that of Hieronymus, Nemrod filius Chus arripuit insuetam primus in populo tyrannidem regnavitque in Babylone, quae ab eo quod ibi confusae sunt linguae turrim aedificantium BABEL (.....) appellata. Babel enim interpretatur confusio.<sup>1</sup> It seems possible that the displacing of the A.S. poet's translation of Ch.XI, v.1 is due to the patristic identification of Babylon with confusio<sup>2</sup>: for unless the A.S. poet knew this

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1. Quaestiones in Genesim, Migne PL. Vol.23, Col.1002.

2. This identification becomes more frequent with later writers and finds its way into the Glossa Ordinaria of Walafrid Strabo. (Migne PL. Vol.113, Col.113.)



and made this transfer in consequence of this knowledge,<sup>1</sup>  
the transfer is difficult to explain.<sup>2</sup>

Finally we should note that the A.S. poet is still concerned to evoke Germanic sentiments in his audience throughout his account of the progeny of Ham: hence we find terms like woruld dugeda (1.1620b) and wrest eðelings eðeldrym onhof (1.1634) both of which seem included for this purpose.

Lines 1640-1648.

The descendants of Sem are now given: the Vulgate describes them in vv.21-30 giving little save a procession of ungarnished names, all of which the A.S. poet omits, in his corresponding passage, ll.1640-1648

pa wearð Seme suna and dohtre  
on woruldrice worn efeded,  
freora bearna, ær þon froð eare  
wintrum walreste werodes aldor.  
On þære magðe wæron men tile,  
þara an was Eber haten,  
eafora Semes; of þam eorle woc  
unrim peoda, þa nu eðelings,  
ealle eorðbuend, Ebrei hatað.

Thus he singles out Heber only for mention, for obvious

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1. it is possible of course that the poet could have obtained this knowledge from Ch.XI, v.9: et idcirco vocatum est nomen eius Babel quia ibi confusum est labium universae terrae, but this would not explain why the poet should have transferred this remark to its present place in the poem.

2. It is interesting to speculate upon how much the insertion of a line and a half out of place would mean to the audience: they would have to be well read indeed in Biblical matters, and very quick of thought to appreciate the point to the full.

reasons<sup>1</sup>.

We have left till now consideration of two factors which appear in the A.S. poet's treatment of the passage 11.1602-1648 as a whole. The first of these is that each leader mentioned by the A.S. poet is given the characteristics of a Germanic king: Japheth heold a rice (1.1607a); Geomor flettgesteald freondum dalde (1.1611); Chus was wilna brytta .../...botlgestreona (11.1620-1621); Nimrod yrfestole weold (1.1629b); Heber is an eorl (1.1646b). While this might simply imply an appeal to Germanic feelings, its significance becomes deeper if we remember that the poet has singled out for special mention those members of each 'clan' who are most important for the continuity of the whole. The effect of these two qualities is such that the whole passage in the A.S. poem, although based upon a most factual chapter of the Vulgate, comes to have something of the characteristics of the genealogy which opens Beowulf: and hence we would deduce that biblical history must have been a most sympathetic subject for our poet to handle.

Lines 1649-1654.

The next line of the A.S. poem, 1.1649

Gewiton him þa easten cehta leden

seems to be based upon the second verse of the following chapter, Ch.XI, v.2.

cumque proficiscerentur ab oriente

verse 1 (erat autem terra labii unius et sermonum eorunden)

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1. But his comment is interestingly reminiscent of patristic expatiation: cf. Eucherius, Liber instructionum De Japheth qui in lingua nostra latitudinem sonat, gentium nascitur multitudo, de Sem Hebraei. Migne. PL, Vol.50, Col.777. See also Bede Quaestiones super Genesim, Heber, a quo Hebraei.....Migne. PL, Vol.93, Col.301.

being already used in 11.1635b-1636. (Reord was gieta etc.)  
 The A.S. poet has added to the bare statement cumque proficiscerentur of the Vulgate: this occupies in all 11.1649-1654.

Gewiton him þa eastan ehta ladan,  
 feoh and feorwe. Folc was anmod;  
 rofe rincas sohton rumre land,  
 obþæt hie becomon corþrum miclum,  
 folc ferende, þær hie fæstlice  
 eþelinga bearn, eard genamon.

and is devoted to a picture of migration: this would be an activity not unfamiliar to the A.S. mind, in which the memory of their own migrations seems to have lingered for some time.<sup>1</sup> The Bible in fact has touched a chord of the A.S. race memory and the A.S. poet has seized upon this.  
Lines 1655-1660.

The wanderers arrive at Senaar, as we are told in the second half of v.2

invenerunt campum in terra Senaar et habitaverunt in eo

which the A.S. poet gives next in 11.1655-1660

Gesetton þa Sennar sidne and widne  
 leoda neswan; leofum mannum  
 heora geardegum grene wongas,  
 fægre foldan, him forþwearde  
 on ðære dagtide dugube wæron,  
 wilne gehwilces weaxende sped.

and the additional material appears to us to have been inserted by the poet in an attempt to realise imaginatively

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1. cf. Bede who mentions the origin of his race more than once: see for example quarum in Germania plurimas noverat esse nationes, a quibus Angli vel Saxones, qui nunc Britanniam incolunt, genus et originem duxisse noscuntur. HE. p.296.

for his audience something more than the mere name of the country which is all that the Bible gives.

Lines 1661-1667.

The A.S. poet then goes on to relate the doings of the wanderers now settled in Senaar, in  
ll.1661-1667

þa þar mon menig be his meowine,  
 mōeling anmod, oðerne bād  
 þas hie him to werðe, ær seo menigeo eft  
 geond foldan bearm tofaran sceolde,  
 leoda mege on landsoene  
 burh geworhte and to besone torr  
 up arerde to rodortunglum

lines which are based more or less literally upon vv.3 and 4 of the vulgate:

3. dixitque alter ad proximum suum

venite faciamus lateres et coquamus eos igni  
 habueruntque lateres pro saxis  
 et bitumen pro cemento

4. et dixerunt venite faciamus nobis civitatem et turrem  
 cuius culmen pertingat ad caelum  
 et celebremus nomen nostrum antequam dividamur in  
 universas terras

as the use of the A.S. menig...oðerne (ll.1661-1662), and the inclusion of the temporal-preventative clause ær seo menigeo ..... on landsoene (ll.1663-1665) will show. He omits however the clause telling us of the possibilities of making bricks, an omission for which the main reason would seem to us to be the fact that the operation would be foreign to the A.S. world.<sup>1</sup> At the same time the poet has given

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1. cf. D. Whitelock, The Beginnings of English Society, Harmondsworth, 1952, p.15: They themselves were accustomed to build only in timber, or lath and plaster, and it seems clear that they did not retain the services of Britons skilled in masonry, if indeed any such existed by the time of the invasion.

as a reported decision that which in the Vulgate is given as the subject of a discussion - the building of the Tower; the increase in the clarity of the narrative seems to be ample justification for the change to a less dramatic statement.

Lines 1668-1678a.

There follows in the A.S. poem a passage of 10½ lines, ll.1668-1678a

þæs þe hie gesohton      Sennera feld,  
 swa þa foremeahtige      folces mæswan,  
 þa yldestan      oft and gelome  
 libsum gewunedon;      larum sohton  
 weras to weorce      and to wrohtscipe,  
 oðbet for wlence      and for wonhygdum  
 cyðdon cneft heora,      ceastre worhton  
 and to heofnum up      hlædre mærdon,  
 strengum stepton      stænenne weall  
 ofer monna gemet,      mearða georne,  
 hæleb mid honda.

which has no basis at all in the Vulgate and is hence a completely imaginative addition by the A.S. poet. From the content of these lines the poet's object in including them would seem to be his desire to present to his audience a concrete picturesque and effective vignette of the Israelites at work: work of this kind of course (strengum stepton / stænenne weall - l.1676) would raise the prestige of the Israelites in the eyes of the A.S. audience;<sup>1</sup> and the interesting point is that it can be seen from this that the

1.cf. Ruin, ll.19-20

hygerof gebond  
 weallwelan wirum      wundrum togedre  
 wherein the attitude to the great builders of the past is one of respectful admiration (Text from The Anglo-Saxon Minor Poems ed. E. van K. Dobbie and G.P. Krapp, New York 1936, p.228.)

patriarchs must have aroused respect in the A.S. mind not solely as the elite of God but also as mighty men in their own right, being masters of a technique the A.S. audience did not know.<sup>1</sup>

Lines 1678b-1686.

In the subsequent lines in the A.S. poem,  
ll.1678b-1686

pa com halig god  
were cneorissa weorc sceawigan,  
beorna burhfæsten, and þæt beacen sowed,  
þe to roderum up ræran ongunnon  
Adames eaforan, and þæs unredes  
stioferhð cyning steore gefremede,  
þa he rebemod reorde gesette  
eorðbuendum ungelice,  
þæt hie þære space sped ne anton.

which appear to be based almost literally upon the corresponding verses of the Vulgate, vv.5-7

5.descendit autem Dominus ut videret civitatem et  
turrem quam aedificabant filii Adam 6.et  
dixit  
ecce unus est populus et unum labium  
omnibus  
coeperuntque hoc facere nec desistent a  
cogitationibus suis donec eas opere  
compleant  
7.venite igitur descendamus et confundamus  
ibi linguam eorum  
ut non audiat unusquisque vocem  
proximi sui

the only change is that God's thoughts are given as a fait accompli in the A.S. poem, with the happy and probably deliberate result of a gain in the power of the narrative,

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1. cf. also Whitelock. op. cit. p.16. Nevertheless, even in their partly derelict condition, the monuments of Roman civilization were impressive enough to a people unaccustomed to stone buildings, paved roads and massive ramparts.

which is thus presented as a series of events unbroken by reflections of any sort.<sup>1</sup>

Lines 1687-1696.

The consequences of God's action appear in the following verse of the Vulgate, Ch.XI, v.8, thus

atque ita divisit eos Dominus ex illo loco  
in universas terras  
et cessaverunt aedificare civitatem

but before he uses this verse the A.S. poet inserts in 11.1687-1696

þa hie gemetton mihtum spedge,  
teoche æt torre, getalum myclum,  
weorces wisan, ne þær wermegeða  
ænig wiste hwæt ober cweð.  
Ne meakte hie gewurðan weall stenenne  
up forð timbran, ac hie earmlice  
heapum tohlocon, hleoðrum gedelde;  
was oberre æghwile worden  
megeburh fremde, sibban metod tobræd  
þurh his mihta sped monna spræce.

- a perfect picture of the resultant confusion - and one which would almost certainly appeal to the A.S. audience, accustomed as they must have been to communal work; that the poet should display such precise and sympathetic imaginative power seems to emphasise the reality with which the Biblical story and personages must have appeared to him.

Lines 1697-1701.

The story of the Tower of Babel is now concluded in the vulgate in Ch.XI, vv.8 and 9

8.atque ita divisit eos Dominus illo loco in  
universas terras  
et cessaverunt aedificare civitatem

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1. We would suggest, although very diffidently, that there is also a gain in verisimilitude for the modern reader, less habituated than the A.S. audience to supernatural "speaking characters."

9. et idcirco vocatum est nomen eius Babel  
 quia ibi confusum est labium universae terrae  
 et inde dispersit eos Dominus super faciem  
 cunctarum regionum

In the parallel passage in the A.S. poem, ll. 1697-1701

Toforan þa on feower wegas  
 æbelinga bearn ungeþeode  
 on landsocne. Him on laste bu  
 stiblic stantorr and seo steape burh  
 samod samworht on Sennar stod.

the poet has seized upon the action (toforan, l. 1697a) and contrasted it with the static picture of the Tower (him on laste bu . . . . . stod, ll. 1699b-1701) and has thus provided a much more dramatic ending for the whole incident, using his descriptive power to do so: his simultaneous omission of the passage giving the etymology of the name Babel<sup>1</sup> shows us that he will omit the less important elements in the Biblical material, where concern for his narrative demands this.

Lines 1702-1711.

There follows in the Vulgate another liber genealogus extending from v. 10. Hae generationes Sem etc. to v. 26 vixitque Thare septuaginta annis et genuit Abram et Nahor et Aran written with the same repetition that we saw in Ch. V. Thereafter v. 27 takes up the tale again, repeating the information already given about the sons of Terah,

Hae sunt autem generationes Thare  
 Thare genuit Abram et Nahor et Aran  
 porro Aran genuit Loth<sup>2</sup>

- 
1. He has already given the substance of this in ll. 1635b-1636, q.v. p. 190, supra.
  2. Despite this apparent repetition, both vv. 10-26 and v. 27 belong to the same source in the Hebrew - P: see ICC Gen, p. 235.



and this seems to have been the first verse used by the A.S. poet after his account of the Tower of Babel, for immediately after the picture of the Tower standing deserted in Senear, we have ll.1702-1711,

Weox þa under wolcnum and wriðade  
 megburh Semes, oðæt mon awoc  
 on þære cneorisse, cynebearna rim,  
 þancolmod wer, þeawum hydig.  
 Wurdon þam eðelinge eaforan acende,  
 in Babilone bearn afeded  
 freolicu tu, and þa frumgaran,  
 hælēð higerofe, hatene wæron  
 Abraham and Aaron; þam eorlum wes  
 fræa engla þam freond and aldor.

From the phrase megburh semes (l.1703a) we know that the A.S. poet must in all probability have had this genealogy - or at least the first verse of it - before him when he wrote and hence there seems to be no possibility of a lacuna in his Biblical MS.<sup>1</sup> Since this is so the poet must have decided that the balance of his poem did not allow him to include this genealogy. Nor need this in any way contradict the contention that he possesses a distinct historical sense: for none of these figures has any further part to play in the development of the Genesis story and hence the poem loses nothing in completeness by their omission.

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1. In fact, one of the principal MSS. of the Vulgate does lack most of this genealogy. (MS. G, Codex Parisinus, Paris B.N. lat. int. nov. adq. 2334): see BS, apparatus critici pp.184 ff. (desunt G etc.); and the poet's own MS. was probably related to this; cf. infra App.II, Names in Genesis A, p.458; but the exact contents of this MS. cannot now be determined.

Lines 1712-1713.

The following two lines, ll.1712-1713,

þa wearð Aarone eafora feded  
leoflic on life, þam was Loth noma.

give a rendering - again very nearly literal - of the last phrase of this verse, porro Aran genuit Loth (v.27); the following verse of the Vulgate, v.28,

mortuusque est Aran ante Thare patrem suum  
in terra nativitatis suae in Ur Chaldeorum

is totally omitted, presumably because the poet did not wish to distract attention from the coming introduction of the character of Abraham<sup>1</sup>; for Abraham is to be the chief protagonist throughout the rest of the poem.

Lines 1714-1718.

To introduce Abraham, the poet in ll.1714-1718,

þa magorincas metode gepungon,  
Abraham and Loth, unforcublice,  
swa him from yldrum eðelu weron  
on woruldrice; forðon hie wide nu  
dugebum demað drihtfolca bearn.

seems to refer to a patristic legend first mentioned by Hieronymus: Et mortuus est Aran ante patrem suum in terra qua natus est in regione Chaldaeorum . . . . . Tradunt autem Hebraei ex hac occasione, istiusmodi fabulam: Quod Abraham in ignem missus sit, quia ignem adorare noluerit, quem Chaldaei colunt, et Dei auxilio liberatus, de idolatriae igne profugerit<sup>2</sup>; From Hieronymus, the legend gained

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1. For a list of the commentators consulted in connection with Abraham generally, see App.I List XIV.
  2. Liber Hebraicarum Quaestionum in Genesim, MPL. Vol.23, Col. 1005.

common currency,<sup>1</sup> and it is probably this story which lies behind the tribute which Claudius Marius Victor pays to Abraham, in the lines,

Huic meritis parem, et sanctis virtutibus aequans  
 Aut longe superans, successit filius Abram  
 Vir coeli dignus, nam primo a limine vitae  
 Verum mente Deum venerans, gentilia semper  
 Aversatus erat.....<sup>2</sup>

which are not totally unlike the lines from Genesis A which we are now considering. The reference to Abraham's judging of men however, - forðon hie wide nu / ducedum demað driht-  
 folca bearn (ll.1717b-1718) - seems to bring us in touch with a totally different tradition as it is not mentioned in the Vulgate nor in any of the patristic commentators;<sup>3</sup> it appears in fact that the A.S. poet at this point drew upon a tradition which has not survived in writing: (and this would seem to confirm our hypothesis that an oral tradition existed in the monasteries, side by side with that which the patristic writings have preserved.

Lines 1719-1723.

At the following verse, however, v.29, the A.S. poet seems to have recommenced the close use of his

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1. It is also quoted by Prosperius Aquitanus Chronicum Integrum i MPL, Vol.51, Col.537; Alcuinus Epistola 85 MPL, Vol.100, Col.272 and Interrogationes et Responsiones in Genesim Int. 152, MPL, Vol.100, Col.534; Hrabanus Maurus Commentarius in Genesim xi, MPL, Vol.107, Col.531; Walafrid Strabo Glosse Ordinaria MPL, Vol.113, Col.115; Angelomus Luxoviensis Commentarius in Genesim, MPL, Vol.115, Col.168.

2. Commentarius in Genesim, Migne, PL, Vol.61, Col.961.

3. Nor does this tradition appear in the Apocrypha or Pseudo-epigrapha. The closest analogue is the Jewish story that on Judgment Day Abraham will sit at the Gate of Hell to stop the circumcised from entering Hell. See S. Ginzberg, Legends of the Jews, Vol.1, London 1911, p.306.

source, for both accounts now give the details of Abraham's marriage with Sarah; the Vulgate has

duxerunt autem Abram et Nahor uxores  
nomen autem uxoris Abram Sarai  
et nomen uxoris Nahor Melcha  
filia Aran patris Melchae et patris Teschae

while the A.S. poet in ll.1719-1723 gives us

be þas meles was mearc egongen.  
þæt him Abraham idese brohte,  
wif to hame, þær he wic ente,  
feger and freolic. Seo fæmne was  
Sarra haten, þas þe us secgeað bec.

His motive for the addition of the final hemistich þas þe us secgeað bec can hardly be deduced, though it is possible that it was suggested by the alliteration. His addition, of the line 1722a feger and freolic is perhaps more significant: both adjectives are commonly applied to Germanic women, and hence this addition provides a further example of the A.S. poet's endeavour to bring all his characters within the Germanic sphere, even though he must add qualities for which he has no immediate authority in his source.

As well as this, the poet omits all reference to Nahor, who is simply passed over swa he no wære and again the approach of the story of Abraham seems to be the reason for this omission. It seems that the A.S. poet is again endeavouring to concentrate attention upon his principal protagonist by omitting all reference even to those to whom the Bible gives temporary equality with that protagonist. In other words the attitude of the A.S. poet here is primarily aesthetic rather than historical or theological.

Lines 1724-1729.

The next lines are an addition by the A.S. poet, and we have in ll.1724-1726a,

Hie þa wintra fela woruld bryttedon  
 sinc ætsumne, sibbe heoldon  
 geara mengeo

and their effect is to hold our attention for the moment on Abraham and Sarah and to impress upon us their historical reality. It is a tribute to the skill of the A.S. poet that he should have done this; for his following lines ll.1726b-1729,

Abrahame þa gyt      Nohwære gifede wearð  
 whitebeorht ides      Ðæt him yrfeweard  
 Sarra Abrahame,      suna and dohtra.

are a translation in the more epic phrasing of the immediately subsequent verse in the Vulgate, v.30,

erat autem Sarai sterilis nec habebat liberos.

In the Vulgate the announcement of Sarah's sterility follows so rapidly upon her introduction into the narrative that there is no time to appreciate her as an actual person; it is this defect which the A.S. poet removes from the story by the insertion of ll.1724-1726a; and the significance of the addition is the proof it affords to us of the close and critical way in which he read the Vulgate when he composed his poem.

Lines 1730-1738a.

The next episode recounted is the start of the journey to Chanaan, and in the Vulgate this occupies v.31,

tulit itaque Thare Abram filium suum et Loth filium  
 Aran filium filii sui  
 et Sarai nurum suam uxorem Abram filii sui  
 et eduxit eos de Ur Chaldeorum ut irent in terram  
 Chanaan  
 veneruntque usque Haran et habitaverunt ibi

while in the A.S. poem the same event is given in ll.1730-1738a,

Gewat him þa mid cnosle. ofer Caldea folc  
 feran mid feorme fæder Abrahames;  
 snotor mid gesibbum secean wolde  
 Cananea land. Hine cneowmagas,  
 metode gecorene mid sibdon  
 of þære eðeltyrf, Abraham and Loth.  
 Him þa cynegode on Carren  
 eðelinga bearn eard genamon,  
 weras mid wifum.

with the difference that the catalogue of names in the Vulgate is omitted from the A.S. poem, and Terah, although he is officially the leader of the expedition is mentioned only as fæder Abrahames (l.1731b). Abraham and Lot alone are mentioned, and the gain in speed and in concentration on the main figures of the A.S. poem is surely sufficient reason for the change.

The poet's use of the phrase metode gecorene (l.1734a) for the Jewish people is interesting. As it stands, it can hardly have been suggested by the Latin quoted above; it appears rather to be based upon such phrases as filii Iacob electi eius which are found in the later part of the OT.<sup>1</sup> But as the earliest of these is that quoted above from I Paralipomenon, Ch.XVI, v.13, we see again that the poet was not limited to his immediate source for his choice of material.

Lines 1738b-1743.

This same concentration upon the main figures of the poem seems to provide sufficient motive for the A.S. poet's omission of Terah's name in the lines in which the death of the latter is given, ll.1738b-1743

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1. The word electi is used for the Jews in I Paralipomenon, XVI, 13; Psalms (numbered according to the Vulgate) LXXXVIII, 4; CIV, 6 and 43; CV, 5 and 23; Isaiah, XLIII, 20; and LXV, 15; in the NT. it is found in I Peter, 11, 9.

On þam wicum his  
 foder Abrahames feorh gesealde,  
 werfest hale; wintra hæfde  
 twa hundteontig, geteled rime,  
 and fife eac, þa he forð gewat  
 misserum frod metodsceaft seon.

which are based upon the next verse of the Vulgate, the last in Ch.XI, v.32

et facti sunt dies There ducentorum quinque  
 annorum et mortuus est in Haran.

and if we glance back over the whole account of the journey to Haran we may see that in the A.S. poem it serves as an excellent introduction to the figure of Abraham. The significance of this is that the A.S. poet is here determined to present his characters in the status which he wishes them to have even though he may have to alter or suppress material from the Vulgate to do so.

Lines 1744-1752a.

The following two lines of the A.S., ll.1744-1745 herald a speech by God to Abraham

þa se halga spræc, heofonrices weard,  
 to Abrahame, ece drihten;

formally balancing the opening phrase of the following chapter of the Vulgate, Ch.XII, v.1.

Dixit autem Dominus ad Abram

although the poet's phraseology is more formal as befits his conception of God as a chieftain. The speech itself follows, the first part, occupying ll.1746-1752a,

Gewit þu nu feran and þine fare ladan,  
 ceapas to cnosle. Carran ofgif,  
 foder eðelstol. Far, swa ic þe hate,  
 monna leofost, and þu minum wel  
 larum hyre, and þæt land gesec  
 þe ic þe ælgrene yran wille,  
 brade foldan.

based upon the remainder of Ch.XII, v.1

egredere de terra tua et de cognatione tua et  
de domo patris tui  
in terram quam monstrabo tibi

and the echo of domo patris tui in fæder eðelstol (l.1748a)  
shows how closely the poet is reading his Vulgate.  
Lines 1752b-1753.

The A.S. poet now sums up the practical  
result of God's promise, giving in ll.1752b-1753

þu gebletsað scealt  
on mundbyrde minre lifigan.

a glance at what is to come in the manner of the pagan  
poems whose methods he follows.

Lines 1754-1766.

The remainder of God's speech is given  
in the Vulgate in vv2 and 3

2. faciamque te in gentem magnam  
et benedicam tibi et magnificabo nomen tuum  
erisque benedictus
3. benedicam benedictibus tibi et maledicam  
maledicentibus tibi  
atque in te benedicentur universae cognationes terrae.

The A.S. poet changes the order of these verses, and in  
consequence the next lines deal with the opening phrase  
of v.3 above, reading in ll.1754-1758

Gif þe ænig eorðbuendra  
mid wean greteð, ic hine wergðo on  
mine sette and modhete,  
longsumne nið; lisse selle  
wilna westme þam þe wurðisð.

The poet gives a more explicit statement, obtained by  
substituting modhete (l.1756b) and longsumne nið (l.1757a)  
for the generalised terms of the Vulgate: he appears  
to wish to move his audience - for whom such terms would be





another example of the A.S. poet's knowledge of the patristic writers and of the effect of this upon the composition of his poetry.

Lines 1767-1773a.

In obedience to this command, Abraham leaves Heran, and sets out for Chanaan. His departure forms the next topic for the A.S. poet and in ll.1767-1773a we have

Him þa Abraham gewat ehta leðan  
of Egipta eðelneorce,  
gumcystum god, golde and seolfre  
swiðfeorn and geselig, swa him sigore weard,  
waldend usser þurh his word abead,  
ceapas from Caran; sohton Cananes  
lohd and leodgeard.

an account which follows, in general, the corresponding passage in the Vulgate - the first phrase of Ch.XII, v.4

egressus est itaque Abram sicut praeceperat ei  
Dominus et iuit cum eo loth

the main difference being that in the A.S. version the figure of Abraham is endowed with golde and seolfre (l.1769b) and is said to be swiðfeorn and geselig (l.1770) and is thus elevated to epic dignity; Lot, on the other hand, is not even mentioned by name, but completely ignored: both these alterations however can be quite reasonably explained by the one hypothesis - namely that the A.S. poet is again altering his material in order to make the figure of Abraham stand out as the figure of Beowulf for instance stands out from among his companions.<sup>1</sup>

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1. The phrase of Egipta (l.1768a) has provoked some discussion summarised in the notes in Krepp p.182; unfortunately the A.S. poet does not appear to have been following the Vulgate verbatim (see for example his omission of the reference/

Lines 1773b-1776a.

At this point the Vulgate interrupts the account of Abraham's departure to give his age, and in the second phrase of v.4 we have

septuaginta quinque annorum erat Abram cum  
egrederetur de Haran

but the A.S. poet momentarily disregards this, and in the next lines in his poem, ll.1773b-1776a

pa com leof gode  
on pa ebelturf idesa ladan,  
swase gebeddand and his suhtrian  
wif on willan

he completes his account of the departure of Abraham, basing it with some alterations and omissions which we shall consider directly upon Ch.XII, v.5

tulitque Sarai uxorem suam et Loth filium  
fratris sui  
universamque substantiam quam possederant  
et animas quas fecerant in Haran  
et egressi sunt ut irent in terram Chanaan  
(cumque venissent in eam).

The fact that he should have used this verse first, and subsequently returned to render the latter phrase of v.4 is interesting in that it would seem to indicate that the

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reference to Lot), and consequently we can cast no light upon the likelihood or otherwise of the phrase in question. It is perhaps possible to argue in favour of the proposed on Egipta (Walker, Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Poesie Leipzig 1894) by citing the fact that Abraham's journey did in fact end in Egypt (Gen.XII,10.) together with the A.S. poet's habit of viewing his material as a whole; but such evidence may perhaps seem rather too hypothetical to serve as a basis for textual criticism, although we would suggest that before the argument for any suggested emendation is accepted, it should take account of Abraham's final destination; his halt in Egypt was only temporary. cf. Krapp. loc.cit. and Gen.XII.9 perrexitque Abraham vadens.....

poet read the Vulgate carefully verse by verse but did not by any means translate slavishly. We have here in fact fresh evidence that this composition was planned ahead both carefully and skilfully, the Bible being regarded only as the starting point, and not as the final authority upon either the material or its presentation.

This same conclusion seems to be supported by the treatment which the A.S. poet allots to the detailed contents of this verse - the catalogue of all who went with Abraham from Haran: for he leaves out the inanimate items such as universam substantiam, and mentions only the main figures; and even these are seen from the point of view of Abraham, Sarah being swase gebeddan (l.1775a), while Lot is and his suhtrien (l.1775b). The effect of these alterations is of course to increase the standing and importance of Abraham at the expense of Sarah and Lot, and their significance is that the final criterion for the form which any episode will take in the A.S. poem appears to be not its form in the Vulgate but the A.S. poet's attitude to his material at that point.

Lines 1776b-1778.

Having thus given the details of Abraham's company on the setting out from Haran, the A.S. poet now retraces his steps in the Vulgate and the latter phrase of v.4.

septuaginta quinque annorum erat Abram cum  
egrederetur de Haran

(already quoted) is given in the following lines of the A.S. poem, as ll.1776b-1778

Wintro hæfde  
fif and hundseofontig þe he faran sceolde,  
Carran ofgifen and cneowagas

and it is interesting to note in the last line of the above quotation what appears to be an attempt by the A.S. poet to use the mention of Abraham's age to import some emotional colouring into his poem through the pathos evoked by the picture of the old man leaving country and kinsmen. This emotion of course is neither expressed nor implied in the Vulgate and is an addition made by the A.S. poet probably with this object of arousing the emotional interest of the audience on Abraham's behalf.<sup>1</sup>

Lines 1779-1784a.

Finally Abraham reaches Chanaan, and journeys through it as far as Sichem: this the Vulgate gives in the last phrase of v.5 and in v.6:

cumque venissent in eam  
6. pertransiuit Abram terram usque ad locum  
Sichem usque ad conuallem illustrem  
Chananaus autem tunc erat in terra

and the A.S. poet in ll.1779-1784a

Him þa faren gewat fæder ælmihtiges  
lare gemyndig land seeawian  
geond þa folcsceare be frean huse  
Abraham wide, oððet ellenrof  
to Sicem com siðe spedig,  
cynne Cananeis.

From this he has omitted the place name *Illustrem*<sup>2</sup> as the

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1. It is also rather inappropriate, in view of the span of life and adventure yet lying ahead of Abraham: hence we would not press the point too far, as the poet and his audience may not have felt it acutely.
  2. If in fact it was a place name: the Codex Amiatinus reads ad conuallem illustrem which is the reading also adopted by Bede, Commentarius in Genesis, MPL. Vol.91, Col.231.; as also by Remigius Commentarius in Genesis, MPL. Vol.131, Col.93.

name would probably be meaningless to his audience, and his care for his narrative overrode his fidelity to his text. We should also note his addition of feder almihtiges / lare gemyndig (ll.1779b-1880a), a phrase of a type which the A.S. poet uses again later<sup>1</sup> with the same apparent motive - the authentication of the character to whom it refers. For our purpose, the main significance of this addition is the form this character takes - that of a man mindful of God's commands. The hero of the poem is not only a great fighter as Abraham later shows himself to be when he rescues Lot from enemy hands, but also a man of religious consciousness - the religious consciousness which was finally to dethrone courage as the distinguishing characteristic of the central figure of an A.S. heroic poem: so that although the inclusion of this remark has no warranty from the Vulgate at this point, its inspiration is ultimately from Biblical sources, and it is a sign of the approaching completeness of the dominion of Christianity over A.S. poetry.

Lines 1784b-1793a.

There follows God's promise that the seed of Abraham shall inherit this land, and in ll.1784b-1793a

pa hine cyning engla  
 Abrahame ieweð selfe,  
 domfest wereda, and drihten cweð:  
 þis is seo eorðe þe ic ælgrene  
 tudre þinum torhte wille  
 westmun gewlo on gewæld don,  
 rume rice. þa se rinc gode  
 wibed worhte and þa wældende

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1. þa se halga ongan/ara gemyndig Abraham sprecan, (ll.1898b-1899); and (sc. Loth) hine fægre heold/...../...lare gemyndig (ll.1941b-1943); heht þæt segn wegan/...../...wære gemyndig, (ll.2372b-2374). Krapp, pp. 57, 59 and 71 respectively.

lifes lechtfruman. lac onsegde  
gasta helme.

we have the account of this, followed by the account of Abraham's building an altar to God; all this seems to follow quite readily from the corresponding passage from the Vulgate, Ch.XII, v.7

Apparuitque Dominus Abram et dixit ei  
Semini tuo dabo terram hanc  
qui aedificavit ibi altare Domino  
qui apparuerat ei

from which the A.S. shows little variation. The remark westmum gewlo (l.1789a), and the kennings for God in ll.1792a and 1793a contain no organic addition, and seem due solely to the more poetic expression of the A.S. version.

Lines 1793b-1804.

There follows in the Genesis A a passage which gives the details of Abraham's further journeying after he leaves Sychem, a passage occupying ll.1793b-1804

Him þa gyt gewat  
Abraham eastan eagam wliton  
on landa cyst, (lisse gemunde  
heofonweardes gehat, þa him þurh halig word  
sigora selfcynig soð gecyðde),  
oðþæt drihtweras dugubum geforan  
þær is botlwela Bethlem haten.  
Beorn bliðemod and his broðor sunu  
forð oferforan folcmæro land  
easten mid eantum, æfæste men  
weallsteapan hleoðu, and him þa wic curon  
þær him whitebeorhte wongas gepunton.

and containing more than one puzzle for the critic. Its basis is found in the first and second phrases of v.8

et inde transgrediens ad montem qui erat contra  
orientem Bethel tetendit ibi tabernaculum suum  
ab occidente habens Bethel et ab oriente Ai

which seem a rather scanty basis for the quotation of some 10 lines which we have just given: naturally the expansion

is due to additions by the A.S. poet, and it is in the character of these expansions that the confusion lies. The first difficulty lies in the word *eastan* (l.1794a) "from the east"; the difficulty is that Abraham is not travelling from the east, but from the north and is journeying due south as the Vulgate tells us with some emphasis in the very next verse vadens et ultra progrediens ad meridiem (v.9). Several explanations of such a change of direction at once offer themselves, but on close examination none seems really suitable<sup>1</sup>; the possibility that the A.S. poet mistook the meaning of v.8 seems to be denied by the explicit wording of v.9, while the possibility of an error in the MS. seems to be banished by the repetition of this same direction in l.1802a eastan mid mhtum. The only explanation in fact which will fit the use of eastan is that the A.S. poet regards Abraham's journey as commencing in Ur of the Chaldees<sup>2</sup> and finishing in Egypt, an explanation which would also cover the mention of Egypt in l.1768a<sup>3</sup>. This explanation however seems to imply that the A.S. poet had access either to a map or at least to an accurate description of the Middle East, a circumstance perhaps a little unlikely. The sole support which can be advanced for this, is

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1. Holthausen (Notes, p.96) simply remarks eastan: richtiger ware norþan.
  2. The exact location of Ur of the Chaldees has not so far been determined: Chaldea, however, anciently lay south of Babylonia, where the Euphrates runs into the Persian Gulf, (see G.A.Smith, The Historical Geography of the Holy Land London 1891. (Revised edn,) 1931, Plate II); from this region a journey to Egypt is certainly eastan, but it is doubtful if the A.S. poet could reasonably be held to know this.
  3. cf. supra p.208.



that the poet in l.1803a adds the expression weallsteapan hleoðu to the account given in the Vulgate, adding it singularly enough at the point in which it is most appropriate, since the route from Sichem to Bethel lies along the Hills of Ephraim. This alone however is hardly sufficient evidence to prove that the A.S. poet knew the geography of the Middle East with any accuracy, as he may well have added weallsteapan hleoðu to the account given in the Vulgate in order to add epic dignity to Abraham's journey: Hence we would not regard as more than tentative our suggestion that his use of eastan may be due to the fact that he is regarding Abraham's journey as a move from Ararat to Egypt and is here viewing that journey as a whole.<sup>1</sup>

These same lines contain a passage which most recent editors<sup>2</sup> have enclosed in parentheses, ll.1795b-1797

lisse gemunde  
heofonweardes gehat,    þa him þurh halig word  
sigora selfcýning    soð gecýðde,

presumably to indicate that these lines are suspect, although there seems no immediate reason why they should not in fact be part of the poem. If we seek a motive for his addition

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1. the more so in that there was some uncertainty about the route even in patristic times: see for example Hieronymus, Liber Hebraicarum Quaestionum in Genesisim, Et in praesenti et in plurimis aliis locis, pro deserto, ad Austrum scriptum est in Hebraeo... Idcirco profectus de Aegypto est, ut non desertum ingrederetur, quod cum Aegypto reliquerat: sed ut per Austrum, qui Aquiloni contrarius est, veniret ad domum Deum ubi fuerat tabernaculum eius in medio Bethel et Ai. MPL. Vol.23, Col,1006-7. The same debate appears in Bede, Quaestiones super Genesisim, MPL.Vol.93, Col,303, and in Hrabanus Maurus, Commentarius in Genesisim, Ch.XIII, MPL. Vol. 107, Col,535. See also App. I List XV.

2. Grein, Wulker, Holthausen, Krapp.

of these lines, there is his desire to bring the mind of Abraham plainly before the audience - a desire which he shows again in l.1800a with the words beorn bliðesod. Moreover he is here dealing with a long record of journeyings, and would no doubt wish that it should be broken up and variegated as much as possible, so that the audience may not lose interest in a part of the poem which is essential for the understanding of the whole, although it contains comparatively little action and none of the stirring type beloved of the Anglo-Saxons. For the ultimate support for the hypothesis that these lines do belong to the poem we might turn to the poet's addition of l.1804.

þær him wlitebeorhte wonges gepunton.

a line which accords with the love of nature which we have already seen in our poet and which does serve excellently this very purpose of giving variety to what would otherwise be the rather uneventful account of Abraham's journey to Chanaan. The whole passage is a natural part of the poem, and the additions it contains appear homogeneous if we take the point of view that the poet is adding detail about Abraham's state of mind in order to avoid monotony; and for our purpose, the significance of this is the indication it once again gives us of the consciousness of his artistry.

Lines 1805-1810.

The next lines in the A.S. poem, ll.1805-1810,

Abraham þa oðere siðe  
 wibed worhte. He þær wordum god  
 torhtum cigde, tiber onsegde  
 his liffrean, him þæs lean ageaf

nalles hneawlice      purh his hand metend,  
on þam gledstýde      gumcystum til<sup>1</sup>

bring us more or less an unembellished account of the final phrase of Ch.XII, v.8

aedificavit quoque ibi altare Domino et invocavit  
nomen eius

save that the poet adds to it the comment that God rewarded Abraham for his sacrifice. Comments of this type are quite frequent in Germanic epic poetry<sup>2</sup> and hence it may be enlightening to study the motive which led our poet to include this comment at this point. The result of the addition would probably be that God would appear to the audience as more just, because the mention of the reward is so closely bound up with that of the sacrifice. It is true of course that it is perhaps rather naive to see any very direct connection between God's justice and a quick return for sacrifice; but it seems at least possible that the A.S. mind, accustomed to the idea of a king who rewards service with gifts, would have worked in this way: at all events it was their failure in this direction which led to the downfall of the old pagan gods, if we are to believe Bede's report of the speech of Coifi: ego autem tibi verissime quod certum didici, profiteor, quia nihil omnino virtutis habet, nihil utilitatis religio illa, quam hucusque tenuimus. Nullus enim tuorum studiosius quam ego culturae deorum nostrorum se subdidit; et nihilominus multi sunt, qui

1. Krepp, p.55 places ll.1808b-1809 in parenthesis, but again with no explanation of why this has been done.

2. cf. Beowulf, 1.114b, he him ðæs lean forgeald; 1.1220b ic þe þæs lean geman; 1.1584b, he him þæs lean forgeald; text from Klaeber's edn. p.5, 46 and 59 respectively.

ampliora a te beneficia quam ego, et maiores accipiunt dignitates, magisque prosperantur in omnibus, quae agenda vel adquirenda disponunt. Si autem dii aliquid valerent, me potius iuvare vellent, qui illis impensius servire curavi.<sup>1</sup>

It seems possible then that the A.S. poet may have included this comment from a desire to bring before his audience the idea that the Christian god is just; and if this is so, his desire would be due, not to the text immediately before him, which, as we have seen, makes no mention of reward at this point; more probably he wished Christianity to rival the older religions more completely.  
Lines 1811-1816a.

According to the A.S. poet, in ll.1811-1816a,

ðær mæshora þrage siððæn  
 wicum wunode and wilna breac,  
 beorn mid bryde, oðpæt brohprea  
 Cananea wearð cynne getenge,  
 hunger se hearda, hamsittendum,  
 wælgim werum.

Abraham now dwells some time in Chanaan remaining there in fact until a famine overtakes that land. This however is not the account given by the Vulgate, which has in the next two verses of Ch.XII, vv. 9 and 10.

9. perrexitque Abram vadens et ultra progrediens ad meridiem

10. Facta est autem fames in terra descenditque Abram in Aegyptum ut peregrinaretur ibi praevaluerat enim fames in terra.

It is perhaps best to explain the discrepancy between the two accounts by assuming again that the A.S. poet is concerned that his story of the journey to Egypt shall not

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1. HE, II, 13. (Vol.1, p.111).

be without incident of some kind - even although he must invent this and does not invent anything of great moment.<sup>1</sup> Certainly the type of expression employed - wilna breac (l.1812b) - seems to suggest an addition by the A.S. poet from the general vocabulary of A.S. heroic poetry rather than an addition suggested by a patristic source: and possibly this conclusion is strengthened by his use in l.1816a of the word walgrim, a compound of the common Germanic epic type.<sup>2</sup>

Lines 1816b-1819.

The account of Abraham's move away from Bethel occupies ll.1816b-1819

Him þa wishydig  
 Abraham gewat on Egypte,  
 drihtne gecoren, drohtað secan,  
 fleah wærfæst wean; was þæt wite to strang.

and is simply a more repetitive statement of the phrase descenditque Abram (v.10), the A.S. poem adding nothing to

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1. One text of the Vulgate,  $\Psi^F$ , the Codex Vaticanus Latinus 12958, reads v.9 as perrexitque Abram vadens et ultra non progrediens ad meridiem (See BS. apparatus critici, p.187) but the text is unfortunately much too late to have been used by our poet being of the twelfth century. The Vetus Latina gives a similar statement: Et abiit Abram et demoratus est in deserto (Bibliorum Sacrorum Versiones Antiquae, ed. P.Sabatier, Paris, 1751, p.40) but this one instance of agreement between the Genesis A and the Vetus Latina seems scarcely enough to suggest that in general the A.S. poet used this text rather than the Vulgate. There may in fact have been a separate patristic tradition, stemming from the Vetus Latina, communicated verbally to the A.S. poet, and here used by him to give variety to his narrative.

2. cf. walgryre, walnip, walms etc.

the Latin.

Lines 1820-1823.

When the travellers approach Egypt, Abraham prepares to tell Sarah the plot he has hatched to safeguard his life in Egypt: the Vulgate gives the preparatory matter in two phrases of the following verse, v.11

cumque prope esset ut ingrederetur Aegyptum  
dixit Sarai uxori sui

but the A.S. poet expands this slightly and allots to it  
ll.1820-1823

Abraham mabelode, geseah Egypta  
hornsele hwite and hea byrig  
beorhte blican; ongan þa his bryd frea,  
wishydig wer, wordum laran;

- a passage which seems to us to be of no little interest. In the first place, the description of the dwellings of the Egyptians is an addition by the A.S. poet; the phrase hornsele hwite (l.1821a) is excellently typical of the concrete detail which it is the A.S. poet's habit to add, so that we may see here another example of his imagination at work to make his material more readily comprehensible to his audience: nor would we omit to mention the vivid and realistic phrase beorhte blican (l.1822a) with which he concludes his picture of the first view Abraham has of Egypt.<sup>1</sup> This same passage also contains the A.S. poet's

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1. The realism of this passage is indeed skilful; so much so that one is tempted to wonder how far it is based upon books and pure imagination, and how far it may be the outcome of some possible personal experience. We know of A.S. pilgrims to the Holy Lands as early as the eighth century, (See D. Whitelock, op. cit. p.176) and it is not totally impossible that our poet may have met such a one of whom no record survives; indeed we might even go so far as to say that our poet had himself made such a pilgrimage. This hypothesis would certainly explain most satisfactorily the vivid and accurate phrase he uses here, and it wouldlike-

addition of wishidig wer (1.1823a) as an extension of Abraham's character, in which his choice of adjective significantly prophesies the type of Christian epic hero whose main virtue will be his moral insight; thus, this extension shows that Christianity is already affecting the Germanic conception of the ideal epic qualities.

Lines 1824-1843.

Abraham's speech to his wife Sarah, giving his plan for his preservation, follows in 11.1824-1843, and it opens by giving in 11.1824-1833a and 11.1837b-1838a

Sibban Egypte eagan moton  
 on pinne wite witan wance monige,  
 þonne ebelinga eorlas wenad,  
 meg selfscieno, þæt þu min sie  
 beorht gebedda, þe wile beorna sum  
 him geagnian. Ic me onegan meg  
 þæt me wraðra sum wæpnes ecge  
 for freondmynde feore beneote.  
 Saga þu, Sarra, þæt þu sie sweostor min,  
 lices mege, .....  
 ..... swe þu minum scealt  
 feore gebeorgan,

a more or less literal rendering of the corresponding passage in the Vulgate, Ch.XII, vv.11-13

- (11).....  
 novi quod pulchra sis mulier  
 (12)et quod cum viderint te Aegyptii dicturi  
 sunt uxor ipsius est  
 et interficient me et te reservabunt  
 (13)dic ergo obsecro te quod soror mea sis  
 ut bene sit mihi propter te et vivat anima  
 mea ob gratiam tui

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wise explain his knowledge of the geography of the Holy Land (cf. supra p.214.); but the evidence unfortunately appears insufficient to justify this interesting speculation, without confirmation from other sources.

The only real additions to the A.S. account at this stage are the phrases meġ ealfscieno (l.1827a), and þat me wraðra sum wæpnes ege (l.1830). The main purpose of these seems to be to add an epic ring to the style of the poem; and both the epic compound in the first phrase, and the epic vagueness of thought in the second help to achieve this end.

Most of the rest of this section of the poem seems to be an addition by the A.S. poet, consisting of ll.1833b-1837a, and ll.1838b-1843,

þonne þe leodweras  
 fremde frigen    hwæt sie freondlufu  
 ellþeodigra    uncer twega,  
 feorren cumenra,    þu him fæste hel  
 soðan spræce;    . . . . .  
 . . . . .    gif me freoðo drihten  
 on woruldrice,    waldend usser  
 an ealmihtig,    swa he ær dyde,  
 lengran lifes.    Se us þas lade sceop  
 þat we on Egiptum    are sceolde  
 fremena friclan    and us fremu secan.

It is obvious that these lines give the circumstances and surroundings which the A.S. poet builds round this plan. The first addition gives again one of those vignettes which show how the poet added detail - this time dynamic detail - to the material in the Vulgate in order to give his poem an added appeal for his audience, by bringing home to them again the fact that they are listening to a story of real people who lived in a real world wherein strangers are questioned and travellers are frequently in danger. The second addition þu him fæste hel / soðan spræce (ll.1836b-1837a) is interesting in that it shows that the A.S. poet realised the quality of Abraham's stratagem. It should be noted



however that at this stage the A.S. poet shows no condemnation of Abraham's course of action: all he seems to wish to do at this point is to "round off" the situation before Abraham is made to acknowledge that the whole future lies in God's hands. This acknowledgment occupies the remainder of the passage quoted and illustrates excellently that resignation to God's will which was to become a prominent feature of A.S. religious life and poetry<sup>1</sup>. The addition with which we are concerned here is thus almost certainly the outcome of the general influence of Christianity upon the poet's feelings leading him to make this addition in order to bring his poem into more close agreement with the religious tone of his day.

Lines 1844-1851a.

When Abraham arrives in Egypt things fall out as he had prophesied, as the Vulgate indicates briefly in the following verse, Ch.XII, v.14

cum itaque ingressus esset Abram Aegyptum  
viderunt Aegyptii mulierem quod esset pulchra nimis

a passage which the A.S. poet again expands, allotting to it the next lines from his poem, ll.1844-1851a

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1. In life it is well exemplified by Bede's account of the death of Caedmon, HE. IV. 22; in literature we find the same dependence on God in Andreas for example, where it is expressed at some length in ll.1284-1292

ic gelyfe to ðe, min liffruma,  
þæt ðu mildheort me for þinum mægenspedum  
nerigend fira, næfre wille,  
ece ælmihtig, anforlætan,  
swa ic þæt gefremme, þenden feorh leofað  
min on moldan, þæt ic, meotud, þinum  
larum leofwendum lyt geswice.  
þu eart gescyldend wið sceaðan weapnum  
ece eadfruma, eallum þinum;

(Text from The Vercelli Book, ed. G.P. Krapp, New York, 1932, pp.38-39).

þa com ellenrof eorl siðian  
 Abraham mid sahtum on Egypte,  
 þær him foloweras fremde wæron,  
 wine uncuðe. Wordum spræcon  
 ymb þæs wifes wite wlonce monige,  
 duguðum dealle; him drihtlicu meG,  
 on wite modgum menegum ðunte,  
 cyninges þegnum.

There appears to be little worthy of remark in the language or expression of this passage, but the content requires noting. There is first the atmosphere which the A.S. poet creates by his emphasising the fact that Abraham is now among strangers: it has already been observed on several previous occasions how much the A.S. audience were affected by the idea of exile, and it is here used again by the poet, presumably with the object of heightening the emotional tension of the incident he is about to relate. The second expansion adds again a more detailed and picturesque description of what is happening than that given in the Vulgate. The Latin text is content to note that the Egyptians saw that Sarah was beautiful, but the A.S. poet brings his audience nearer to the object by adding the more realistic detail that the report of her beauty goes from mouth to mouth: and as he does so we can see the emergence in his work of the desire for a more dramatic and better realised narrative. The Vulgate in fact has provided him with a series of events which his imagination is moulding into dramatic and dynamic form, the form in which it will appeal most to his audience.

Lines 1851b-1859a.

From this point until the punishment of Pharaoh by God, the A.S. poem follows the source more or less literally: thus the immediately subsequent lines, 11.1851b-1857a,

Hie þæt ead̄ dydon  
 heora folcfeora þæt fægerro lyt  
 for eðelinge idesa sunnon,  
 ac hie Sarran swiðor micle,  
 wynsumne wite wordum heredon,  
 oððæt he ledan hent leoflic wif to  
 his selfes sele.

give little save a more repetitive account of the material  
 contained in v.15,

et nuntiaverunt principes Pharaoni et laudaverunt  
 eam apud illum.  
 et sublata est mulier in domum Pharaonis

although the A.S. poet again seizes the chance to make his  
 material more dynamic by making the order for the seizure  
 of Sarah originate from Pharaoh himself. The same change  
 is seen in the next lines too, where the since brytta in  
 the A.S. poem gives us an order in ll.1857b-1859a,

Since brytta,  
 eðelinge helm heht Abrahame  
 duguðum stepan.

that which is simply stated as a fact in the Vulgate, v.16,

Abram vero bene usi sunt propter illam  
 fueruntque ei oves et boves et asini et servi  
 et famulae et asinae et cameli.

Moreover, the A.S. poet omits the details contained in the  
 latter half of this verse. At first sight it may seem that  
 his decision to do this accords ill with his more usual  
 habit of including concrete detail wherever possible:  
 more probably however, he was moved to make this omission  
 by the fact that these particular details by being both  
 concrete and unimportant disturb the flow of the narrative  
 by attracting undue attention to themselves. Nor do  
 they show the type of gift to which the A.S. audience would  
 be accustomed - weapons, ornaments and jewels being more us-  
 ual in A.S. gift-giving. It follows then that his reason for

omitting these details would probably derive from the realization that they are doubly inapt, so that we see from this omission the A.S. poet's narrative skill and also his determination to make his poem more readily acceptable by excluding that which would strike his audience as *outré*.

Lines 1859b-1864.

The A.S. poet returns to a more literal treatment in his rendering of v.17

flagellavit autem Dominus Pharaonem plagis  
maximis et domum eius  
propter Sarai uxorem Abram

a verse which appears as ll.1859b-1864

Hwæbere drihten wearð,  
frea Faraone fah and yrre  
for wifmyne; þæs wraðe ongeald  
hearde mid hiwum hægstaldra wyn.  
Ongat hwæbere gumena aldor  
hwæt him waldend wraec witeswingum;

in which even the metaphor in flagellavit appears to have been kept in the word witeswingum (l.1864b)

Lines 1865-1872.

As the skein of Abraham's plot is unravelled the A.S. poet takes matters once more into his own hands, and treats the Vulgate narrative rather more freely again. This narrative, giving the end of the plot and of Abraham's visit to Egypt is contained in the three final verses of the chapter, Ch.XII, vv 18-20:

- (18) vocavitque Pharaon Abram et dixit ei  
quidnam est quod fecisti mihi  
quare non indicasti quod uxor tua esset  
(19) quam ob causam dixisti esse sororem tuam  
ut tollerem eam mihi in uxorem  
nunc igitur ecce coniux tua accipe eam et vade  
(20) praecepitque Pharaon super Abram viris  
et deduxerunt eum et uxorem illius et omnia  
quae habebat

The A.S. account of this, which occupies ll.1865-1872, keeps the essentials, and we have thus the summoning of Abraham.

heht him Abraham to egesum geðreadne  
brego Egipto (1865-1866a)

the return of his wife

wif to gewælde; and his bryd ageaf, (1866b-1867a)

his dismissal

heht him wine ceosan;  
ellor æbelingas, obre dugeðe (1867b-1868)

and finally his escorting from the country

Abead þa þeodcýning þegnum sinum,  
ombihtscealcum, þæt hie hine arlice  
ealles onsundne eft gebróhten  
of þære folcsceare, þæt he on friðe wære. (1869-1872)

but in all this, there is one significant omission - the speech in the Vulgate in which Pharaoh upbraids Abraham for misleading him is not mentioned by the A.S. poet, nor does he make any attempt to give its substance in any other way: it seems possible that the A.S. poet felt that Pharaoh's speech was too convincing and too damnatory to be allowed to stand in a poem of which Abraham was the hero. The poet seems to have reached the position of Juvencus, for while other commentators either excuse Abraham as does Tertullian<sup>1</sup> or attempt to explain the whole incident away, like Eucherius<sup>2</sup>

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1. de Cultu Feminarum, II,2. timendum tamen est vel propter inuriam et violentiam spectatorum quae etiam pater fidel Abraham in uxoris suae specie pertimuit et sororem mentitus Saram salutem contumelia redemit. MPL, vol.1, Col.1433.
  2. Liber Instructionum. Int: Quomodo occurrendum est arguentibus, quod Abraham fratris sui Saram filiam sibi in matrimonium sumpserit? Resp: Quod quae a Domino tunc non fuerant interdicta, adhuc non putabantur illicita. MPL, vol.50, col.777.



seem to have the object of making the poem more epic in tone - the simple fact of Abraham's expulsion is expressed through the wider context of choosing companions: and distance is effectively suggested by ellor (l.1868a). Finally, the escorting of Abraham from Egypt is given slightly more full treatment, and the figures of the ombihtscealcas are added that the whole incident may be rounded off on a scale which suits its general treatment, showing again that the A.S. poet has a feeling for homogeneity, within the various sections of his narrative.

Lines 1873-1876a.

Abraham now makes the return journey, as the Vulgate tells us in the first verse of the following chapter, Ch.XIII, v.1,

Ascendit ergo Abram de Aegypto  
ipse et uxor eius et omnia quae habebat  
et Loth cum eo ad australem plagam

a verse which the A.S. poet summarises in the two subsequent lines of his poem ll.1873-1874.

þa Abraham ehte lædde  
of Egypta eðelmeorce;

and to which he adds in ll.1875-1876a

hie ellenrofe idese feredon,  
bryd and begas.

The changes involved are (i) the omission of all mention of Lot, (ii) the mention of the homecoming of Sarah, and (iii) the omission of any rendering of the phrase ad australem plagam. The first two both appear to be part of one simple change made in order to connect the homecoming more closely to the original outward journey by keeping the same persons before the audience: the third change is probably due to the fact that the A.S. poet regarded the mention of Bethlem (l.1876b) as sufficiently accurate for his purposes.

The totality of the changes would thus seem to indicate that the A.S. poet is again concerned for the purity and continuity of his narrative and is altering the Biblical narrative to suit his own ends.

Lines 1876b-1879.

The following two verses in the Vulgate interrupt the account of the homecoming to remark that Abraham was wealthy, and then resume it again to give the location in which he finally settled:

(2)erat autem dives valde in possessione argenti et auri

(3)reversusque est per iter quo venerat a meridie in Bethel

usque ad locum ubi prius fixerat tabernaculum inter Bethel et Ai.

This the A.S. poet gives in ll.1876b-1879

  [æt hie to Bethlem  
on cuðe wic    ceapas leddon,  
eadge eorðwelan    oðre siðe,  
wif on willan    and heora woruldgestreon

and it will be seen that he has written with his eyes closely upon the Vulgate when the phrase on cuðe wic (l.1877a) is compared with the Latin per iter quo venerat (v.4) and the phrase oðre siðe (l.1878b) with the Latin ad locum ubi prius fixerat. At the same time, he has inserted the mention of Abraham's wealth, which depends upon v.2, into the middle of the account of the settling in Bethel, which depends on v.3: his reason for doing this was probably that the order he finally adopted is more like that of normal A.S. poetry in that it allots ceapas (l.1877b) and eorðwelan (l.1878a) to different lines, thus dividing them up according to the usual method of A.S. poetic style.<sup>1</sup> Hence we may see in

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1. Cf. for example the opening lines of the Seafarer,  
Mæg ic be me sylfum    soðgied wrecan  
sipas secgan /



this alteration yet another example of how the A.S. poet moulds his material into a form to which his audience are accustomed.

Lines 1880-1884.

The next lines of the A.S. poem,  
ll.1880-1881,

Ongunnon him þa bytlian and heora burh meran  
and sele settan, salo niwian.

are an addition by the A.S. poet, and contain an account of the action which would follow naturally upon the return to the old habitation --- the rebuilding of the old city; the series of events is thus brought into line with what must have been an experience not unknown to the A.S. audience; and it is probably to make this sequence more vivid that he alters the meaning of the first phrase of v.4, viz.

in loco altaris quod fecerat prius  
and renders this in ll.1882-1884 as

Weras on wonge wibed setton  
neah þam þe Abraham eror rerde  
his waldende þa westan com.

thus elevating what is in the Vulgate a mere geographical identification into a fully realised action. We have thus fresh evidence of the poet's desire that his poem shall impinge as closely as possible upon the active life of his audience. He does not forget the need for geographical location however, for l.1884b þa westan com refers us to

---

sīðas secgan hu ic geswincdagum  
earfoðhwile oft þrowade  
bitre breostceare gebiden hæbbe  
gecunnad in ceole cearselda fela  
atol yþa gewealc

(Text from The Exeter Book, ed. G.P. Krapp & E. van K. Dobbie, N.Y. 1936).  
which show excellently the 'interlacing' of the sense-pattern so common in A.S. poetry.

the direction of Abraham's present journey. Despite the rather awkward grammar, this interpretation of the text is possible and gives a satisfactory meaning without requiring emendation<sup>1</sup>, when it is remembered that the poet changed the direction of the original journey into eastan, (ll.1794a and 1802a).<sup>2</sup> What is important here is his consistency in remembering his change - again an indication of the methodical care with which he wrote.

Lines 1885-1889.

The second phrase of this verse,

et invocavit ibi nomen Domini

becomes in ll.1885-1889

þær se eadga eft ecan drihtnes  
niwan stefne noman weorbade;  
tilmodig eorl tiber onsegde  
þeodne engla, þancode swiðe  
lifes lechtfruman lisse and ara.

To give thanks to God after a long journey is quite common among seafaring peoples<sup>3</sup>, and the significance of these lines is that they show the extension of this custom to the land-faring Abraham, and thus give a further example of the A.S. poet's desire to approximate his two worlds.

Lines 1890-1896a.

Abraham and Lot now find that the land will not support the flocks of both, as is told in vv. 5 and 6.

5. Sed et Loth qui erat cum Abram fuerunt greges ovium  
et armenta et tabernacula

6. nec poterat eos capere terra ut habitarent simul

---

1. cf. Grein, who reads þa he west ancom.

2. cf. supra p. 208-214.

3. cf. the thanksgiving of the Geats when they arrive at the court of Hrothgar. (Beowulf, ll. 225b-226).

erat quippe substantia eorum multa  
et non quibant habitare communiter.

This the A.S. poet expresses in ll.1890-1894a

Wunedon on þam wicum, hoefdon wilna geniht  
Abraham and Loth. Ead bryttedon,  
oðæt hie on þam lande ne meahton leng somed.  
blædes brucan and heora begra þær  
wente habban

adding, with typical Germanic disregard for dramatic suspense,  
ll.1894b-1896a

ac sceoldon arfaeste,  
þa rincas þy rumor secan  
ellor eðelseld.

The addition, which is probably due to a desire that fore-  
warning may make comprehension more easy, probably explains  
why the poet made such an alteration from the Biblical  
expression when he rendered vv.5 and 6; the main statement  
in ll.1894b-1896a, our second quotation above, makes an  
excellent grammatical unity with the preceding subordinate  
clause given in our first quotation, and the whole alteration  
may thus be regarded as having its origin in a common device  
of Germanic poetry, that of anticipating what is to follow.  
Lines 1896b-1900a.

The Vulgate then mentions briefly the  
quarrels between the shepherds of the two chieftains, giving  
this as the first phrase of v.7.

unde et facta est rixa inter pastores gregum Abram  
et Loth

a phrase which the A.S. poet renders with equal brevity in  
ll.1896b-1898a

Oft wæron teonan  
werfastra wera weredum gemene,  
heardum hearmplega.

The second half of v.7 of the Vulgate.

eo autem tempore Chananeus et Pherzeus habitabant  
in illa terra

is temporarily disregarded by the A.S. poet no doubt with the object of improving the sequence of his narrative, for he proceeds at once to give the speech in which Abraham is to solve the problem which has arisen, a speech which in the Vulgate commences in v.8

dixit ergo Abram ad Loth: Ne quaeso sit iurgium  
inter me et te  
et inter pastores meos et pastores tuos  
fratres enim sumus.

In the A.S. poem there is the customary formal announcement that a speech is about to be made, and in ll.1898b-1900a we have:

pa se halge ongan  
ara gemyndig Abraham sprecan  
fagre to Lothe;

a passage which is interesting not only because of the addition of the characteristic Christian ara gemyndig (l.1899a) but also because the A.S. poet in adding also the word fagre (l.1900a) allows one of his few direct comments upon the events of the narrative, and, meaning as the word does rather more than its MnE derivative fair, the comment is that of a mature mind.

Lines 1900b-1911a.

In his rendering of this first verse of Abraham's speech the A.S. poet commences by altering the order of the elements of which the Biblical version consists, and taking the final phrase of v.8 fratres enim sumus as his opening sentence in ll.1900b-1901

Io eom fædera þin  
sibgebyrdum, þu min suhterga

and by surrounding the first and second elements of the same verse, viz Ne quaeso sit iurgium inter me et te, et inter pastores meos et pastores tuos, in a much compressed form as ll.1902-1903

Ne sceolon unc betweonan teonan weaxan,  
wroht wribian - ne þæt wille god!

by another and more moralising reference to brotherly  
relationship in ll.1904-1906a

Ac wit synt gemagas; unc gemæne ne sceal  
elles awiht, nympe eall tela  
lufu langsumu.

Thus his alteration not only makes this idea the opening  
premiss of Abraham's case, but keeps it before his audience  
as the dominant theme. His reason for so doing need hardly  
cause us much speculation, for when we recall the importance  
of family relationships to the early Germanic peoples<sup>1</sup> we  
can see at once that his aim is to explain the thoughts and  
actions of the Biblical leaders in terms of the civilization  
of his audience.

The latter phrase of v.7, which the  
A.S. poet earlier omitted<sup>2</sup> is now brought into the account,  
and

eo autem tempore Chananeus et Pherzeus  
habitabant in illa terra

becomes as ll.1906b-1911

Nu þu, Loth, gepenc,  
þæt unc modige ymb meorce sittað,  
þeoda þrymfæste þegnum and gesibbum,  
folc Cananea and Feretia,  
rofum rincum. Ne willað rumor unc  
landriht heora;

---

1. cf. The family group appears as an important feature in all  
legislation. The individual .... is not merely a unit whose  
welfare concerns the state alone: he is a member of a group  
or kindred, organised in a joint association for mutual  
protection, and liable also to take up the responsibility  
for all the misdoings of its competent personages.

C. Oman, England before the Norman Conquest, London, 1910  
p.356.

2. cf. supra p.233.

The expression of the A.S. version is here much more concrete than is that of the Latin, and the excellence alone of the resultant vignette would provide ample justification and motive for the alteration, even without the additional consideration that the situation so pictured is one which must have lingered in the A.S. race-memory from the time when individual bands of settlers fought amongst each other and against the native inhabitants of Britain. At the same time, the change in the position of this phrase could be well justified on grounds of narrative and logical suitability alone: for Abraham has stated the premiss of brotherly love upon which he is going to argue, and is now proceeding to reason from the circumstances in which the brothers find themselves.

Lines 1911b-1919.

The remainder of Abraham's speech, - the main part of his argument culminating in his offer to Lot - is given by the Vulgate in the following verse, v.9,

ecce universa terra coram te est  
 recede a me obsecro  
 si ad sinistram ieris ego ad dexteram tenebo  
 si tu dexteram elegeris ego ad sinistram pergam,

The A.S. poet must certainly have read this verse as is shown by the hemistich on hwilce healf (l.1918a) and also by the general sense of ll.1911b-1919

forðon wit lædan sculon,  
 teon of þisse stowe, and unc stabolwanges  
 rumor secan. Ic ned sprece,  
 bearn Arones, begra uncer,  
 soðne secge. Ic þe selfes dom  
 life, leofa. Leorna þe seolfa

and gepancmeta þine mode  
 on hwilce healfe þu wille hwyrft don,  
 cyrran mid ceape, nu ic þe cyst ahead.

but he has altered and expanded the expression of the idea in the Vulgate: however, this is a turning point in his story, and thus his reason for the alteration was probably his wish to emphasise it in consequence. Also the rather rhetorical character of the addition in ll.1913b-1915a,

                                  Ic mæd sprece,  
 bearn Arones, begra uncer,  
 sobne secge.

suggests that the A.S. poet may have had in mind the speeches in the tribal assembly of Germanic life: his purpose may once again be seen as the desire to approximate the two civilisations with which he is concerned.

Lines 1920-1926.

The reason which prompts Lot to his choice is recorded in the Vulgate in v.10,

elevatis itaque Loth oculis  
 vidit omnem circa regionem Iordanis quae universa  
 irrigabatur  
 antequam subverteret Dominus Sodomam et Gomorram  
 sicut paradisus Domini et sicut Aegyptus venientibus  
 in Segor

which the A.S. poet records in the corresponding lines of the poem, ll.1920-1926

Him þa Loth gewat land sceawigan  
 be Iordane, grene eorðan,  
 Seo was wætrum weaht and wæstmum þeaht,  
 lagostreamum lecht, and gelic godes  
 neorxnawange, obbet nergend god  
 for wera synnum wylme gesealde  
 Sodoman and Gomorran, sweartan lige.

In this passage there are two noticeable points. The first

of these is the A.S. poet's expansion of quae universa irrigabatur into seo was wætrum weaht and westmum þeaht / lagostreamum lecht (ll.1921-1922a) which shows us how ready he is to seize upon even the most factual phrase of the Vulgate for poetic expansion; evidently the A.S. poet felt that his material required such poetic ornament and did not scruple to add this despite the sacred nature of his source. His attitude to his source here at least is aesthetic rather than religious. The second alteration he makes is to omit the geographical particularising of sicut Aegyptus venientibus in Segor, an omission which may have sprung naturally from his deference to his audience, whose knowledge of Biblical geography would not be very great.<sup>1</sup>

Lines 1927-1944.

The A.S. poet now completes the story of Lot; to do this, he takes the material in v.ll,

elegitque sibi Loth regionem circa Iordanem et  
recessit ab oriente  
divisique sunt alterutrum a fratre suo

and renders it loosely as ll.1927-1931a,

Him þa eard geceas and eðelsetl  
sunu Arones on Sodome byrig;  
mhte sine ealle lædde,<sup>2</sup>  
beagas from Bethlem and botlgestreon,  
welan, wunden gold.

- 
1. The ignorance of course may quite well have been the poet's. Even though he had met a pilgrim returned from this area a suggestion advanced tentatively on p.220 supra, such a one need not have given him adequate detail to enable him to deal with such a lengthy geographical range as this.
  2. ealle lædde is not in the MS but appears to be generally accepted conjecture. See Krapp, notes p.185.



with little change save his description of Lot's wealth in heroic terms e.g. beagas (l.1930a) and wunden gold (l.1931a)<sup>1</sup>, a description introduced no doubt to assimilate to the normal heroic mode. The poet then takes the second phrase of v.12

Loth moratus est in oppidis quae erant circa  
Jordanem et habitavit in Sodomis

which he translates as ll.1931b-1932

Wunode siððan

... he Iordane geara mæneg

the mention of Jordan here probably accounting for its omission from ll.1927-1931a. Transferring his interest from Lot to Lot's neighbours, the poet takes v.13

homines autem Sodomitae pessimi erant et  
peccatores coram Domino nimis

and expands it slightly as ll.1933-1937a

þar folstedo fægre wæron,  
men arleas, metode laðe.  
Wæron sodomisc cynn, synnum þriste,  
dædum gedwolene; drugon heora selfra  
ecne unred.

but the expansion is so short and couched in such general terms that there seems to be little possibility of identifying any particular patristic source.

The last lines from this group however, ll.1937b-1944

Alfre ne wolde

þam leodþeatum Loth onfon,  
ec he þære mægðe monwisan fleah,  
þeah þe he on þam lende lifian sceolde,

1. cf. for example Beowulf ll.1380 sq.

Ic þe þa fæhðe feo leanige  
ealdgestreonum swa ic ar dyde  
wund[unum] golde gyf þu on weg cymest  
(Text from Klaeber's edn. p.52.)

facen and fyrene, and hine fægre heold,  
 beawfest and gepyldig on þam beoðscipe,  
 emne þon gelicost, lara gemyndig,  
 þe he ne cuðe hwæt þa cynn dydon.

may possibly be patristic in origin; for we find Lot's solitary rectitude emphasised by at least one work, the anonymous Sodoma formerly attributed to Tertullian, which gives

illie de stirpe plorum  
 Transvena loth adorat, sapiens justique colonus  
 Unus erat meminisse Deum<sup>1</sup>

but the correspondence with Genesis A is not specially close, nor is the idea very frequently expressed by the commentators. It may be safer to conclude that the addition was inspired by and indicates the A.S. poet's desire that the heroes he presented to his audience should be free from any suspicion of evil conduct.

Finally, we should notice the deliberation with which this section of the Genesis A is planned, in relation to the source; the omission of the first phrase of v.12 Abram habitavit in terra Chanaan and the addition of the poet's remarks upon Sodom after the mention of Lot's dwelling there serve to maintain the good order of the narrative, thus showing us that the poet's concern for this object is sometimes the dominating factor in his attitude to his source.

Lines 1945-1959.

The A.S. poet now returns to Abraham and makes use of the omitted phrase from v.12

Abram habitavit in terra Chanaan

to introduce him into the poem again in ll.1945-1946a

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1. M.P.L. Vol.2, col.1159.

Abraham wunode ebeleardum  
 Cananea forð.

The mention of Abraham is now made the object of a long addition by the poet, in ll.1946b-1959.

Hine cyning engla,  
 metod moncynnes mundbyrde heold,  
 wilna wastmum and worulddugeðum,  
 lufum and lissum; forþon his lof secgað  
 wide under wolcnum wera cneorisse,  
 foldwonga bearn. He frean hyrde  
 estum on eble, þenden he eardes breac,  
 halig and higefrod; næfre hleowlora  
 æt edwihstan æfre weorðeð  
 feorhberendra forht and acol,  
 mon for metode, þe him æfter a  
 þurh gemynda sped mode and dædum,  
 worde and gewitte, wise þance,  
 oð his ealdorgedal oleccan wile.

This passage has no overt connection with the corresponding verses of the Vulgate, Ch.XIII, vv.14-18, in which God reassures Abraham that he and his seed will inherit the earth. The A.S. poet might well be expected to include these verses of the Vulgate, since they are in a way a reflection of the Covenant of God with Abraham, but none the less they are omitted, their place being taken by the A.S. passage quoted above. The only clue to the transference which has taken place lies in the moralising and didactic tone of this passage, particularly in the closing lines: it may well be that the A.S. poet has reflected that the next incident in his poem is to be the battle of the Four Kings, and that he wishes to impress the lesson of duty and piety on his audience ere their emotions are roused by the scene of battle to follow. As with most omissions, however, the evidence is toothin, and the conclusion too hypothetical for

us to base any further reasoning upon it.<sup>1</sup>

Lines 1960-1964a.

There now follows, as we have said, the account of the battle of the Four Kings. In the Vulgate this commences in the opening lines of the following chapter, viz. Ch.XIV, v.1

1. Factum est autem in illo tempore ut Amrafel rex Senaar  
et Arloch rex Ponti,  
et Chodorlahomor rex Elamitarum  
et Thadal rex Gentium

which the A.S. poet gives in ll.1960-1964a

ða ic aldor gefragn Elamitarna  
fromne folctogan, fyrd gebedan,  
Orlahomar; him Ambrafel  
of Sennar side worulde  
for on fultum.<sup>2</sup>

It is noticeable that he commences this section with the epic formula ða ic (aldor) gefragn (l.1960a) possibly acting upon subconscious inspiration from the material he is about to handle but equally possibly in a renewed endeavour to import an epic atmosphere into his diction. The principal interest however lies in the problem of how the A.S. poet originally treated this passage. Holthausen, working apparently upon the tacit assumption that he treated it literally assumed a lacuna after l.1963 and remarked in his notes In der von mir angenommenen Lücke

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1. Krapp, notes p.185 observes that This whole passage, from l.1953 to l.1959, seems a bit suspicious, as possibly a hortatory interpolation, and perhaps the line (scil.1956) never did alliterate. His comment must surely have been penned in haste; for corrupt would be a more accurate description than suspicious; as moralising passages are surely common enough at turning points in A.S. poetry for us to accept the general sense of this passage, although the details (æt edwintan, wfre etc) may be obscure.

2. On the forms of the names, see App. II, pp.455 and 458.

werden die Namen der zwei anderen Könige gestanden haben.<sup>1</sup>  
 If this is so, then the A.S. poet appears to have followed the Biblical text quite literally, and the passage needs no further comment.

Lines 1964b-1966.

The second verse of this chapter in the Vulgate gives the names of the Kings from the south who opposed this invasion, in v.2

inirent bellum contra Bara regem Sodomorum  
 et contra Bersa regem Gomorrae  
 et contra Senaeb regem Adamae  
 et contra Semeber regem Seboim  
 contraque regem Balae ipsa est Segor.

From this verse the A.S. poet chooses only the operative names Sodom and Gomorra and ll.1964b-1966

Gewiton his feower þa  
 þeodecyningas þrymme micle  
 secan sub þanon Sodoman and Gomorran.

give a greatly simplified picture of the situation, the simplification being prompted no doubt by the poet's care for the comprehensibility of his narrative at this point.  
Lines 1967-1972.

The subsequent verses in the Vulgate, vv. 3-7, give the geographical details of the campaign<sup>2</sup> and as they are simply a catalogue of names, the poet accords them cavalier treatment and omits them, again most probably acting upon the same principle of obtaining an easily comprehensible narrative. In their place he inserts

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1. op. cit. p.97.

2. v.4 and the first part of v.5 in fact give the motive for the war, but this will be considered later.

11.1967-1972

þa was gubhorgum þa iordane  
 wera ebelland wide geondsended,  
 folde feondum. Seecolde forht monig  
 blachleor ides bifiende gan  
 on fremdes feoðm; feollon wergend  
 bryða and beaga, bennum sece.

an imaginative realisation which gives in fact a much better idea of the campaign than a rehearsal of its detail could supply. We should notice the skill with which he chooses his material and selects the fate of the women for special mention, for the Germanic tribes seem to have held their womenfolk in specially high regard.<sup>1</sup> By choosing this facet of the situation he ensures that his audience shall appreciate to the full the sufferings of the peoples of the south, and at the same time he shows how deep is his imaginative sympathy with his source.

Lines 1973-1976b.

In vv.8 and 9 of the Vulgate we learn of the opposing forces, viz those of the Kings of the south, thus

8. et egressi sunt rex Sodomorum et rex Gomorrae  
 rexque Adamae et rex Seboim  
 necnon et rex Balae quae est Negor  
 et direxerunt contra eos aciem in valle Silventri  
 9. scilicet adversum Chodorlahomor regem Elamitarum

---

1. cf. Tacitus, Germania c.8 memoriae proditur quaedam acies inclinatas iam et labantes a feminis restitutas constantia precum et oblectu pectorum et monstrata cominus captivitate, quem longe impotentius feminarum suarum nomine timent, adeo ut efficacius obligentur animi civitatum, quibus inter obsides puellae quoque nobiles imperantur (ed. Andresen Leipzig 1928. p.226-7)

et Thadal regem gentium  
 et Amrafel regem Senaar  
 et Arioch regem Ponti  
 quattuor reges adversus quinque

When we compare with this the subsequent lines of the A.S. poem, viz ll.1973-1976b

Him þa togeanes mid guðþræce  
 fife foran folccyningas  
 sweotum suðon, woldon Sodome burh  
 wraðum werian;

it becomes evident from the phrase fife.....folccyningas (l.1974) that these lines are based upon the Latin quoted above. The correspondence however does not seem to us to be close enough to allow us to pronounce either of the two Latin verses to be the direct source of the A.S. lines, but whichever verse he may have used, the A.S. poet has again effected a simplification great enough to convince us that concern for the comprehensibility of his narrative continues to be his governing motive.

Lines 1976b-1981.

Now that he has mentioned both armies, the A.S. poet turns to the cause of the conflict; this is found in vv. 4 and 5 of this chapter of the Vulgate, as

4. duodecim enim annis servierant Chodorlahomor  
 et tertio decimo anno recesserunt ab eo  
 5. igitur anno quartodecimo venit Chodorlahomor  
 et reges qui erant cum eo

and the A.S. poet reproduces the substance of these verses although he omits the exact figures of the Biblical account and writes in ll.1976b-1981

þa wintra XII

nordmonnum 3r niede sceoldon  
 gombon gielden and gafol sellan,  
 oððæt þa leode leng ne woldon  
 Blamitarna aldor swiðan  
 folgestreonum, ac him from swicon.

and we may judge again that his omission of the figures is due to a desire to avoid their rather repetitious effect as well as to simplify the narrative.

Lines 1982-2006a.

Battle is now joined, and the Vulgate records battle and result in the compass of one short verse, v.10

vallis autem Silvestris habebat puteos multos  
 bituminis  
 itaque rex Sodomorum et Gomorrae terga vorterunt  
 cecideruntque ibi  
 et qui remanserant fugerunt ad montem

but the A.S. poet thus presented with the opportunity for the description of a battle seizes his chance with an eagerness which is made manifest when we reflect that his description extends over more than 20 lines, ll.1982-2006a. The passage is somewhat long for quotation in full, so we shall commence by citing sufficient phrases to display the character of the diction. hæleð onetton.....modum þryðge (ll.1985b-1986) has an epic ring about it, as have Handum brugdon / hæleð of seodum hringmaled sword / eadum dihtig (ll.1991b-1993a)<sup>1</sup> and leafum bedrorene / fyrðgesteallum (ll.1993b-1999a); weold walstowe (l.2005a) provides a definite parallel with epic verse as it occurs in Maldon l.95.<sup>2</sup> Along with these

1. An almost exact parallel for this phrase is found in Beowulf ll.1286-7 and 1564. See Gerrill & McClumpha, op.cit. U.L.N. p.167.

2. The A.S. Minor Poems ed. E. van K. Dobbie. New York 1942, p.9



there is the reference to the pagan bird of battle, in  
11.1983b-1984

Sang se wanna fugel  
under deorebsceaftum, deawigfebera,

At the same time, there is evident delight in the poet's description of the battle, despite the fact that Abraham's kin are on the losing side. The A.S. poet is here so carried away by his material that for the moment he forgets his Christianity and completely emancipates his poem from the morality of its source.<sup>1</sup>

He does not completely abandon the events described in that source, however: for the last phrase of v.10 et qui remanserant fugerunt ad montem provides an interesting closure for his account of the battle, in 11.2005b-2006a

Gewat seo wepna laf  
fæsten secan.

where the A.S. poet seems to have substituted the natural Germanic action<sup>2</sup> for the corresponding Biblical natural course: he is again striving to bring together the two worlds with which he is concerned.

1. Despite or perhaps because of the popularity of the epic phrases used, this passage does not give the impression of being written from first hand experience: the incidents are all generic to all battles and could quite well come from any locus classicus for the description of warfare. There is nothing to compare with Byrhtwold's speech in Maldon, 11.312-313, (E. van K. Dobbie, op. cit. p.15) with the flash from the Egyptian shields in Exodus 11.467b-468a, (Krapp p.104) or the glare from the houses in Egypt in Genesis itself, 11.1820-1822a. (Krapp. p.55).

2. cf. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. Much of the activity of Alfred's struggle against the Danes consisted of the building and destruction of such strongholds: see for example, the entries for an 892, 893, 895 etc op.cit. ed. A.H. Smith, London 1935, pp.42 sqq.

Lines 2006b-2011a.

The account of the subsequent plundering of Sodom is given in the Vulgate in v.11

tulerunt autem omnem substantiam Sodomorum et Gomorrae  
et universae quae ad cibum pertinent et abierunt

and the emphasis laid upon the removal of the foodstuffs stamps the account as emanating from typical desert country.

The A.S. poet however translates the circumstances into terms of his own civilisation, so that ll.2006b-2011a

Fynd gold strudon,  
ahyðdan þa mid herge hordburh wera,  
Sodomen and Gomorran, þa sæl ageald,  
mære ceastra. Mægð sibedon,  
fæmnan and wuduwan, freondum beslægene,  
from hleowstole.

read like the account of the sack of a Germanic stronghold.

The poet is thus consistent in representing the whole incident in those Germanic terms which will make the readiest appeal to his audience.

Lines 2011b-2013a.

With the plunder, the raiders take away Lot as a captive, as the Vulgate tells in v.12

necon et Loth et substantiam eius  
filium fratris Abram, qui habitabat in Sodomis

an incident which is recorded by the A.S. poet in ll.2011b-2013a

Hettend læddon  
ut mid mhtum Abrahames mæg  
of Sodoma byrig.

without significant change.

Lines 2013b-2017.

There now follows a passage which appears to be entirely heathen both in inspiration and in expression.

## Lines 2013b-2017

We bat soð wagon  
 secgan furður, hwele siððan wearð  
 after þam gehnaste herewulfa sið,  
 þara þe leddon loth and leoda god,  
 submonna sinc, sigore gulpon.

have no source in the Vulgate where the next verse deals with the messenger to Abraham: moreover the opening phrase we bat soð wagon / secgan furður (ll.2013b-2014a) recalls the phraseology of pagan poetry,<sup>1</sup> as does the compound herewulfa (l.2015b). We would add also that the drop in the tension of the poem through the forecast of events to come is again typical of pagan poetry: it seems true to say that the poet is still enlarging freely upon his source and is inspired by the incidents he finds in it to write a poem which is at this point virtually original.

Lines 2018-2027.

A messenger who has escaped from the slaughter now announces the sad state of affairs to Abraham, as the Vulgate tells in v.13.

et ecce unus qui evaserat nuntiavit Abram Hebreo  
 qui habitabat in convalle Mambre Amorrei  
 fratris Eschol et fratris Aner  
 nisi enim popigerant foedus cum Abram

and the A.S. in ll.2018-2023

Him þa secg hraðe gewat siðian,  
 an gara laf, se ða guðe genas,  
 Abraham secan. Se þat orlegweorc  
 þam Ebriscan eorle geoyðe,  
 forslegen swiðe Sodoma folc,  
 leoda duguðe end Lothes sið.

a passage in which the only significant change is the

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1. See especially the opening lines of the Seafarer: *Wag ic be me sylfum soðgied wrecan / sibas secgan.* (The Exeter Book, ed. G.P. Krapp and E. van K. Dobbie, New York 1936, p.143.)

introduction of the speech of the messenger; this however brings in no new material, being simply a rapid recapitulation of events already related. There is no mention in this A.S. passage of the three confederates of Abraham, until they appear in ll.2024-2027,

þa þæt inwitspell Abraham sægde  
 freondum sinum; þæd him fultumes  
 werfaest hæleb willgeþoftan,  
 Ansr and Manre, Escol þridan,

Apart from their use of the names of the three men, these lines are an addition by the A.S. poet, and the motive which prompted him to add them seems fairly plain, since they give added liveliness to the poem in the vignette they provide of the three confederates and Abraham's announcement to them. Lines 2028-2038.

Abraham's speech and the reply of the three confederates are now the basis for a long addition by the A.S. poet, occupying ll.2028-2038

cwæð þæt him wære weorce on mæde,  
 sorga sarost, þæt his suhtriga  
 þeowmyd þolode; þæd him þæncrofe  
 þa rincas þæs ræd æhiogan,  
 þæt his hyldemæg ahreded wurde,  
 beorn mid bryde. Him þa broþor þry  
 æt spræce þære spedum miclum  
 haldon hygesorge heardum wordum,  
 ellenrofe, and Abrahame  
 treowa sealdon, þæt hie his torn mid him  
 gewærc on wræþum, obbe on wæl feollan.

and its importance for our study is twofold. In the first place the introduction of reported dialogue shows that the poet's attitude to his source at this point is one of complete superiority; the source is appearing to him

simply as what it is - an unadorned record of events which he himself must fill out into the picture of a civilization which will be satisfyingly complete.

Secondly, this shows us the type of civilization he is attempting to create: for the picture of a chieftain calling his allies to his aid in a battle of vengeance is surely one which must have been familiar to the Anglo-Saxon world, while the final phrases, (ll.2037b-2038)

þæt hie his torn mid<sup>1</sup> his  
gewracon on wraðum oððe on wel feollan<sup>2</sup>

recall the fact that for a German warrior to survive his chief was a fate far worse than death in battle.

Lines 2039-2044.

Abraham now gathers his men, as the  
Vulgate tells us in v.14

quod cum audisset Abrem captum videlicet Loth fratrem  
suum  
numeravit expeditos vernaculos suos trecentos decem  
et octo  
et persecutus est eos usque Dan

but from this verse the A.S. poet takes only the action of assembling the men and the figure of 318, the relevant lines being ll.2039-2044

þa se halge heht his heordwerod  
wepna onfon. He þar wigena fand,  
esseberendra, XVIII  
and CCC eac þeodenholdra,  
þara þe he wiste þæt meante wel eghwylc  
on fyrd wegan fealwe linde.

At first sight the two accounts appear to differ widely, but in fact these differences are simple enough to explain: the phrase quod cum audisset etc has been omitted from the A.S.

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1.Ms. feallen but see Krapp, notes p.186.

account, presumably because the poet has already made use of this announcement to form the vignette noticed in ll.2018-2023<sup>1</sup>, while the expansion of the character of the men at arms has the customary object of putting the material into the terms most easily comprehensible.

Lines 2045-2050.

The final phrase of this verse, v.14, is expanded by the A.S. poet in a way which appears to merit special mention: it occupies ll.2045-2050

Him þa Abraham gewat and þa eorlas þry  
 þe him ar treowe sealdon mid heora fologetrume;  
 wolde his mæg hura,  
 Loth alynnan of laðscipe.  
 Hincas wæron rofe, rendas wægon  
 forð fromlice on foldwege.

and it is noteworthy because the prominence which the poet gives to this action improves the balance of his story and displays excellently his skill as a narrator. Again, he appears to have regarded his source merely as the skeleton which he must clothe with the flesh and blood of descriptions of deeds.

Lines 2051-2067e.

Abraham's plan of campaign is given in the opening phrase of v.15 as a fait accompli,  
 et divisis sociis inruit super eos nocte  
 but the A.S. poet makes two distinct stages of the campaign, a plan in ll.2051-2059

Hildewulfes herewicum neh  
 gefaren hæfdon. þa he his frumgaren,  
 wishydig wer, wordum sægde,  
 þares afere, him was þearf micel  
 þæt hie on twa healfa  
 grimme gūðgemot gystum eowdon

1. cf. supra p.249.



which is otherwise pagan in thought and expression, as a glance at the preceding lines will show. It appears almost as if the A.S. poet had felt that the whole episode required Christianising despite the fact that its ultimate source lies in the Bible: one is almost tempted to deduce that the poet regarded his source at least at this point as a completely secular document.

Lines 2067b-2075a.

The second phrase of v.15, percussitque eos appears to be the source of ll.2067b-2075a

sigor eft ahwearf  
of norðmonna niðgeteone,  
æstir were. Abraham sealde  
wig to wedde, nalles wunden gold,  
for his suhtrigan, sloh and fylde  
feond on fitte. Him on fultum gras  
heofonrices weard. Herges wurdon  
feower on fleame, folcgyningas,  
leode raswan.

and the main interest of these lines is that they show the length to which the A.S. poet will expand even the slightest account of anything in the Vulgate which will prove congenial to his audience - as such a glorifying account of Abraham's courageous actions was bound to be. These lines also contain within their obviously pagan expression another of the Christianising phrases, --- him on fultum gras / heofonrices weard. (ll.2072b-2073a) --- of the type we noticed in ll.2057-2059: again one is tempted to deduce that the A.S. poet here regards his source as no more than a repository of excellent material without particular religious significance.

Lines 2075b-2083a.

Having defeated the Elamites, Abraham pursues them, as the Vulgate tells in the remainder of this



same verse, v.15

et persecutus est  
usque Hoba quae est ad laevam Damasci

a passage which plainly forms the source of the A.S. poem  
in lines 2075b-2083a

Him on laste stod  
hihtlic heordwærod, and hælēð lagon,  
on swaðe sæton, þa þe Sodoma  
and Gomorra golde berofan,  
bestrudon stigwitu. Him þæt stide geald  
fæder Lothos. Wleonde wæron  
Wlamitarna aldordugude  
dome bedrorene, oðþæt hie Damasco  
unfeor wæron.

The A.S. poet has not used the name Hoba, in all probability  
because the name would convey little either to him or to  
his audience. His visualisation of the scene as the  
pursuit takes place - and hælēð lagon / on swaðe sæton  
(ll.2076b-2077a) - was no doubt calculated to appeal to  
the feelings of a Germanic audience, but it is too general-  
ised to contain anything which would throw any particular  
light upon either the poet or the relationship between him  
and his source.

Lines 2083b-2092a.

The Vulgate now tells of the complete  
success of Abraham's expedition, giving in v.16

reduxitque omnem substantiam et Loth fratrem suum  
cum substantia illius  
mulieres quoque et populum

which the A.S. poet records in ll.2083b-2092a

Gewat him Abraham ða  
on þa wigrode wibertræd seon  
leðra monna. Loth was shreded,  
eorl mid ehtum, idesa hwurfon,  
wif on willan. Wide gesawon  
freora feornbanan fuglas slitan

on ecgwale. Abraham ferede  
 submonna eft sine and bryda,  
 obelinga bearn, oðle nior  
 maged heora magum.<sup>1</sup>

a passage in which the A.S. poet once again starts to follow his source more closely. He inserts however the curious phrase which forms ll.2037b-2039c

wide gesawon  
 freora feorhbanan fuglas slitan  
 on ecgwale.

These birds are almost certainly descendants of the birds of Othin; but the A.S. poet has particularised their actions, so that they are no longer religious symbols, but can be regarded by us as a vignette of concrete action deliberately included to appeal to the visual imagination of the audience.

Lines 2092b-2095.

To conclude his account of the battles, the A.S. poet once again leaves his source and adds in ll.2092b-2095

Næfre mon ealra  
 lifigendra her lytle werede  
 þon wurdlicor wigsid aeah,  
 þara þe wið swa miclum magne gersode.

a comment typically Germanic in thought and expression? its addition need not delay us long however, as it is almost suggested by the very nature of the narrative which demands some such intermediate phrase to lower the tension raised by the account of the battle and pursuit.

1. We have followed Krapp's reading : op.cit. p.63 and notes pp.136-7.

2. cf. for example, Beowulf, ll.2493b-2496.

þæt he to Gifðum Næs him enig þearf  
 oððe to Gar-Denum oððe in Swiorice secean þurfe  
 wyrsan wigfreca, weorðe gecypan;

Lines 2096-2100a:

The incident is not yet at an end however, and the drop in tension has been only momentary, for as the Vulgate tells us in Ch.XIV, v.17

Aggressus est autem rex Sodomorum in occursum eius  
postquam reversus est a caede Chodorlahomor et  
regum qui cum eo erant  
in valle Save quae est vallis/regis.

The A.S. poet however seems to have been little content with this account, for his next lines, ll.2096-2100a

þa was suð þanon      þodoma folce  
guðspell wegen,      hwelc gromra weard  
feonda frowlad.      Gewat him frea leoda,  
eorlum bedroren,      Abraham secan,  
freonda feesceaft

appear to bear little resemblance to the Latin: in fact the vignette of the waiting men of Sodom is his own addition, and seems probably to have been dictated by his care for the continuity of his narrative. It may have been inspired in part by his own experience: indeed waiting in suspense for news is a common situation in A.S. poetry, so much so that it must almost certainly have played a large part in Anglo-Saxon daily life.<sup>1</sup> Thus we can see that the A.S. poet is using as his source not merely the Bible but also his own experience, and is welding the two into a whole which will

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1. This theme occurs often in A.S. poetry; for example it is this which gives the Wife's Lament much of its poignancy: a ic wite wona minra wraecsiba (l.5); and it seems to be implied by the Gnomic Poetry I, ll.94b-96 ... leaf wilcuma / Erysan wife, þonne flota stended; / bið his ceol cumen ond hyre ceorl to ham. (texts from The Exeter Book ed. G.F. Krapp and Evan K. Dobbie, Columbia 1936). Its occurrence in the Gnomic poems seems especially significant.

engage the attention and sympathy of his audience.

It is interesting to note also that the A.S. poet did not use the whole of this verse from the Vulgate: for egressus est autem rex Sodomorum in occursum eius alone provides the basis for the rest of the A.S. passage quoted above. The geographical location of the meeting (in valle Sabe) is omitted, possibly to give a less parochial application to the sentiment.

Lines 2100b-2105a.

The next verse of the Vulgate, Ch.XIV,

v.18

at vero Melchisedech rex Salem proferens  
panem et vinum  
erat enim sacerdos Dei altissimi

is maintained in ll.2100b-2105a,

Him ferede mid  
Solomia sinceð hyrde;  
þæt wæs se mæra Melchisedec,  
leode bisceop. Se mid læcum com  
fyrdrinca fruman fægre gretan,  
Abraham arlice

without significant change save that the panem et vinum of the Biblical account is weakened to mid læcum (l.2103b) in the A.S. poem. The reason for this is no doubt that to give panem et vinum might strike an A.S. audience as curious, and the poet would no doubt wish to avoid this.

Lines 2105b-2119.

The following lines of the A.S. poem,

ll.2105b-2109a

and him on sette  
godes bletsunge, and swa gyðdode:  
"Wæs þu gewurðod on wera rime  
for þæs eogum þe ðe mæca tix  
æt gude forgeaf!"

seem to be plainly based upon the next verse in the Vulgate,

v.19

benedixit ei et ait.

benedictus Abraham Deo excelso qui creavit caelum  
et terram

and the main addition by the A.S. poet is his attribution of Abraham's victory to God, be ðe msca tir / et gude forgeaf (ll.2108b-2109a). God's power as giver of victory is a commonplace of A.S. poetry as the kennings for him show<sup>1</sup>, but in this instance the poet seems intent upon developing something more striking than simply a kenning. In the following lines, ll.2109b-2119

"þat is god selfa,  
se ðe hettendra herge prymmas  
on gewæld gebroec, and þe wopnum læt  
rancstrate forð rume wyrcean,  
hude chreddan and hæleð fylian.  
On swæde sæton; ne meanton siðwerod  
gude spowan, ac hie god flymde,  
se ðe et feohtan mid frumgarum  
wif ofermygnes egsen sceolde  
handum sinum, and halogu treow,  
seo þu wið rodora weard rihte healdest".

he goes on to write what is apparently a song of thanksgiving for victory. This song is inspired from v.20 of the Vulgate,

et benedictus Deus excelsus quo protegente  
hostes in manibus tuis sunt

but only at some distance, and only from parts of the verse. Its real significance seems to be in its dramatic position rather than its content, which gives it a certain resemblance to the songs which epic bards were wont to compose under similar circumstances: the A.S. poet in fact is again

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1. eg. sigora Wældend, Beowulf l.2875a: see also on swe hwæbere hond halig drihten / marpa deme, ibid. ll.586-587e

concerned to bring the habits of the earlier civilization into line with those of the civilization for which he is writing.

The poet has made two omissions in passing: the final phrase of v.19, qui creavit caelum et terram and the opening phrase of v.20, et benedictus Deus excelsus are alike omitted, but the reasons for the omissions seem plain. The first of these phrases recalls the Creation but the mention of this would be inept at this point in the poem. The second glorifies God, but the A.S. poet probably felt it not impious to omit this phrase when he was about to write a long battle song to His glory. Thus we can see that the poet completely dominates his source material and rearranges it to suit his own aesthetic convenience.  
Lines 2120-2123a.

The last phrase of v.20 in the Vulgate, et dedit ei decimas ex omnibus is ambiguous as it stands, the giver and the receiver not being clearly indicated, but the A.S. poet has no doubt and writes in ll.2120-2123a

Him þa se beorn . bletsunga lean  
purh hand ageaf, and þas hereteames  
ealles teoðan sceat Abraham sealde  
godes bisceope.

The ambiguity is noted by several commentators<sup>1</sup> and the

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1. The Commentarius in Genesim attributed to Eucherius is the first text to mention both ambiguity and solution, nec esse mirum, si Melchisedech victori Abraham processerit obviam... et benedixerit ei cum abnepoti suo hoc iure deberet; et decimas praedae atque victoriae acceperit ab eo, sive quoniam habetur ambiguum utrum ipse dederit ei decimas substantiae suae, et habitatem largitatem ostenderit in nepotem..... quamquam Apostola in Epistola ad Hebraeos apertissime definiat, non Abram suscepisse a Melchisedech  
decimas/

solution indicated from St. Paul's Epistle to the Hebrews Ch.VII, vv.1-2, Hic enim Melchisedech, rex Salem, sacerdos Dei summi; qui obviavit Abrahae regresso a caede regum, et benedixit ei: 2. cui et decimas omnium divisit Abraham,....

and though there is no verbal correspondence close enough to indicate any one commentator as the A.S. poet's source, the correctness of his solution testifies as to his wide scriptural knowledge, and his care for the accuracy of his poem, evidently another quality which he regarded as more important than a literal rendering of his source.

Lines 2123b-2125.

The King of Sodom now speaks, and his speech is introduced in ll.2123b-2125

be sprac gubcynng  
Sodoma aldor, secgum befyllod,  
to Abrahame (him wes ara pearf)

which contrasts with the more brief statement in the Vulgate in the opening phrase of v.21

dixit autem rex Sodomorum ad Abram.

The effect of the A.S. poet's additions is to help his audience to realise more clearly the figure of the King of Sodom: he is again introducing a vignette of the two contrasting figures of Abraham and the King, in his desire to make the most of what concrete detail his source suggests to him.

Lines 2126-2135.

The speech of the King of Sodom is reported with such brevity by the Vulgate, that it occupies

decimas divitiarum ejus, sed de spoliis hostium partem accepisse pontificem. MPL. Vol.50, Col.950. For a list of the other commentators consulted in this connection, see App. I List XVI.

only the latter half of this same verse, v.21

da mihi animas cetera tolle tibi

but in the A.S. poem it occupies 10 lines in all, ll.2126-2135

"Forgif me mennen minra leoda,  
 þe þu ahreddest herges cneftum  
 wera welclommum! Hafa þe wunden gold  
 þæt ær agen was ussum folce,  
 feoh and frætwa! Læt me freo lædan  
 eft on eðel eþelinga bearn,  
 on weste wic wif and cnihtas,  
 earne wydewan! Eaðoran syndon deade,  
 folgesibas, nymbe fea ane,  
 þe me mid sceoldon mearce healdan."

This long addition by the A.S. poet is interesting for more than one reason. In the first place, the expansion is of such length that it seems to us that the situation in the Biblical account has made an appeal to the race-memory of the poet and his audience: otherwise there would be little point in rehearsing the disasters suffered by Abraham's allies. At the same time the details weste wic (l.2132a) and nymbe fea ane / þe mid me sceoldon mearce healdan (ll.2134b-2135) suggest a wide imaginative sympathy between the A.S. poet and his Latin source material. There is of course no immediate inspiration for this sympathy, and hence we must conclude that the Latin source in its totality inspired the A.S. poet - if not his audience also - to see a picture of a complete civilization and thus did more than provide him with a sequence of heroic events.

Lines 2136-2149a.

Abraham replies: in the Vulgate his reply is introduced with the usual brevity in the opening phrase of the following verse, v.22, qui respondit ei: in the A.S. poem this is developed into three lines, ll.2136-



2138,

Him þa Abraham andswarode  
 eðre for eorlum, elne gewurðod,  
 dome and sigore, drihtlice spræc:

but the additions have little to tell us.<sup>1</sup> The actual terms of his reply are given in the Vulgate in the rest of v.22 together with v.23:

levo manum meam ad  
 Dominum Deum excelsum possessorem caeli et terrae  
 23. quod a filo subteminis usque ad corrigiam caligae  
 non accipiam ex omnibus quae tuae sunt  
 ne dicas ego ditavi Abram

a passage which the A.S. poet reproduces in ll.2139-2149a

Ic þe gehate, hœleða waldend,  
 for þam halgan, þe heofona is  
 and þisse eorðan agendfrea,  
 wordum minum, nis woruldfæoh,  
 þe ic me agan wille,  
 sceat ne scilling, þæs ic on sceotendum,  
 þeoden mæra, þines ahredde,  
 eðelunga helm, þy læs þu eft cweðe  
 þæt ic wurde, willgesteallum,  
 eadig on eorðan ærgestreonum  
 Sodoma rices.

Despite the more extended statement in the A.S. version there is in fact relatively little difference between the two versions as we see when we compare possessore(v.22) with agendfrea (l.2141b) and ne dicas etc (v.23) with the corresponding part of the A.S. quotation.

Lines 2149b-2155a.

Abraham adds one qualification to all this - he does not wish to deprive Aner, Eschol and Mambre

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1. But one should pay at least a passing tribute to the literary skill of the A.S. poet: the long and emotional speech which has just been given seems to demand an emphasising of the change of speaker in order that this change shall not be overwhelmed by the surrounding rhetoric.

of their fair portion of the booty: in the Vulgate this proviso is given in the final verse of this chapter, Ch.XIV, v.24

exceptis his quae comederunt iuvenes  
 et partibus virorum qui venerunt mecum Aner, Eschol  
 et Mambre  
 isti accipient partes suas.

The corresponding passage in the A.S. poem, ll.2149b-2155a

ac þu selfa most heonan  
 huðe ledan, þe ic þe eot hilde gesloh,  
 ealle buton dole þissa drihtwera,  
 Aneres and Mamres and Escoles.  
 Nelle ic þa rincas, rihte benaman,  
 ac hie me fulleodon eot asþreace,  
 fuhton þe efter frofre.

shows no essential difference from this, but it is not however without interest for us. The omission of the reference to that part which has been eaten by Abraham's army may be explained by the A.S. poet's desire not to introduce too many complicated issues at this point;<sup>1</sup> the fact that the A.S. poet prefaced this part of the speech with Abraham's preliminary instruction to the King of Sodom to lead away the booty is probably to be explained by the poet's desire to bind the speech together by anticipating, at the beginning of this passage, the material of ll.2155b-2156b<sup>2</sup>; and finally the word rihte (l.2153b) may quite possibly be the A.S. poet's interpretation of Abraham's actions, rather than a revelation of any Germanic tribal custom: in either case it would be interesting but since we have no way of deciding which of the two it represents, it

1. Moreover food would not have the same importance in Germanic civilization as it had in Biblical: the literature of the former is free from those accounts of famine so frequent in the Bible.

2. vide infra. p.265.

will perhaps be safer to leave it without comment.

Lines 2155b-2161.

The A.S. poem now gives the close of Abraham's speech, in an addition by the poet, occupying ll. 2155b-2161,

Gewit þu ferian nu  
ham hýrsted gold and healsmaged,  
leoda idesa. þu þe laðra ne þearft  
hæleða hildþrace hwile onsittan,  
norðmanna wig; ac nefuglas  
under beorhhleopum blodige sittað,  
þeodherga wale þicce gefylled.<sup>1</sup>

The purpose of the addition seems to be simply the provision of another vignette based upon concrete detail and aimed at catching the imagination of the audience. Its effect moreover is to emphasise the warlike and magnanimous character of Abraham; the A.S. poet has thus added to his source to produce a vignette which will make Abraham a figure more likely to resemble his audience's conception of a Germanic epic hero.

Lines 2162-2164.

The whole episode of this war is now brought to a close in ll. 2162-2164.

Gewat him þa se healdend ham sibian  
mid þy hereteame þe him se halga forgeaf,  
Eþrea leod arna gemyndig.

In a certain sense these lines divide the poem into sections - almost like the Middle English "fittes" - and they show us that the A.S. poet is still concerned for the aesthetic proportioning of his poem and is prepared to add to the details given in the Vulgate to ensure this.

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1. The text is from Krapp, p.65. MS in line 2159 reads eacne fuglas

Lines 2165-2167.

The A.S. poet now deals with what is in one sense the central episode of the whole poem, - God's Covenant with Abraham. In the Vulgate the account of this occupies the whole of Ch.XV, and commences when God appears to Abraham, v.1,

His itaque transactis  
factus est sermo Domini ad Abram per visionem dicens.

The A.S. poet records this in ll.2165-2167,

þa gen Abrahame eowde selfa  
heofona heahcynning halige spræce  
trymede tilmodigne and him to reordode;

the only change being from per visionem to eowde selfa (l.2165b) and it is noteworthy that the change is quite in accordance with the commentators' view of God's appearance in visions,<sup>1</sup> so that we see the accuracy of the poet's

1. cf. Augustine de Civitate Dei, Bk.16, Ch.29, Est quidem divinae potestatis, et invisibilis, incorporalis incommutabilisque naturae sine ulla sui mutatione etiam mortalibus aspectibus apparere, non per ea quod est, sed per aliquid quod sibi subditum est. MPL. Vol.41, Col.508. A clearer statement of the same view is given later by Rupertus Abbas, in his de Trinitate et Operibus Ejus Bk.V, c.38, when commenting on Genesis, Ch.XVIII, v.1, "In ipso", inquit, "fervore diei" Satius exprimi non potuit qualitas vel proprietas ejus quae nunc apparuit visionis, idem enim est ac si dictum fuisset: Non jam in usu noctis, non in aliqua spirituali solummodo visione, sed homine, hujus solis in aspectu oculorum vel sensu communi. Nam revera ad communis pertinent sensus cuncta haec quae in hac visione narrantur. MPL. Vol.167, Col.401. See also Hilarius, de Trinitate, Lib.IV, c.25, MPL. Vol.10, Col.115; Augustine, de Genesi ad Litteram, c.XII, MPL. Vol.34, Col.458; Paterius, Expositio Veteris et Novi Testamenti, Super Genesis, c.45. MPL. Vol.79, Col.701.

knowledge as well as his purpose in using the commentaries to help him to word his poem in accordance with orthodoxy. Lines 2168-2172.

God's speech to Abraham occupies the rest of v.1,

noli timere Abram  
ego protector tuus et merces tua magna nimis

which the A.S. poet reproduces in ll.2168-2172

Meda syndon micla pina! Ne let þu þe þin mod asealcan,  
werfæst willan mines! Ne þearft þu þe wiht ondrædan,  
þenden þu mine lare læstest, ac ic þe lifigende her  
wið weana gehwam wreo and scylde  
folmum minum; ne þearft þu forht wesan.

and despite the prima facie agreement of the two passages quoted, they differ significantly. The A.S. poet has chosen the "reward" clause to introduce the speech, and he has added to the material in his source, the clause þenden þu mine lare læstest (l.2170a): these two additions both appear to arise from the chief-and-warrior relationship which lay at the very root of Anglo-Saxon society.<sup>1</sup> Hence this is possibly one of the most convincing examples of the A.S. poet's habit of seeing God as the "Lord-in-chief" to whom all men owe allegiance: and it illustrates again how the Latin source inspires the A.S. poet to equate events in his source with the conditions of his own civilisation, and thus to bring the Biblical world nearer the Germanic.

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1. cf. The bond between lord and retainer went deeper than material benefits on either side. The giving of arms and treasure, which was ceremonially performed, had a symbolic significance, . . . . D. Whitelock, The Beginnings of English Society, Harmsworth, Middlesex, 1952.

Lines 2173-2186.

Abraham now makes two speeches which occupy in the Vulgate vv 2 and 3.

2. dixitque Abram Domine Deus quid dabis mihi  
ego vadam absque liberis  
et filius procuratoris domus meae iste Damascus  
Eliezer

3. addiditque Abram  
mihi autem non dedisti semen et ecce vernaculus  
meus heres meus erit

while the A.S. poet condenses both into one speech, introduced in ll. 2173-2174

Abraham þa andswarode,  
dædrof drihtne sinum, frægn hine dægrime frod:

and reported in ll. 2175-2186

Hwæt gifest þu me, gasta waldend,  
freomanna to frofre, nu ic þus/feasceaft eom?  
Ne þearf ic yrfestol eaforan bytlian  
ænegum minra, ac me æfter sculon  
mine woruldmagas welan bryttian.  
Ne sealdest þu me sunu; forðon mec sorg dreceð  
on sefan swiðe. Ic sylf ne mæg  
næd ahyrgan. Geð gerefa min  
fægen freobearnum; fæste mynteð  
ingebancum þæt me æfter sie  
eaforan sine yrfewardas.  
Geseoð þæt me of bryde bearn ne wocon.

The only addition he has made is to put into Abraham's mouth the lament that he need build no yrfestol: this seems plainly to be an inference from the thought in the Vulgate, and it shows something of the A.S. poet's attitude to his source, for in his attempt to sympathise with the Biblical author he has extended the reasoning along Germanic lines. We should note at the same time the insertion of forðon me sorg dreceð / on sefan swiðe (ll. 2180b-2181): this introduces Abraham's sorrow, which is not in the Vulgate, and thus shows again that when the A.S. poet wrote,

he was familiar with this episode as a whole and did not simply translate it verse by verse, as it unfolds itself in the Vulgate.

Lines 2187-2190.

The Covenant is now set forth in full: its first premiss is that the son of Eliezer shall not inherit the goods of Abraham, given in the Vulgate in v.4

statimque sermo Domini factus est ad eum dicens  
non erit hic heres tuus sed qui egredietur de utero  
tuo ipsum habebis heredem

which the A.S. poet renders in ll.2187-2190

Him þa ædre god andswarode:  
Næfre gerefan nedað þine  
eafora yrfe, ac þin agen bearn  
fretwa healdeð, þonne þin flasc ligeð.

without any significant change.

Lines 2191-2196a.

The promise is now made more concrete as is related in v.5

eduxitque eum foras et ait illi  
suspice caelum et numera stellas si potes  
et dixit ei sic erit semen tuum

and in the A.S. poem in ll.2191-2196a

Sceawa heofon, and hyrste gerim,  
rodores tungel, þa nu rume heora  
wuldorfæstne wlite wide dalað  
ofer brad brymu beorhte scinan.  
Swilc bið megburge menigo þinre  
folcbearnum frome.

The change made here by the A.S. poet can hardly be dismissed as a mere extension of the idea in the Vulgate, since it introduces a new factor - ofer brad brymu (l.219) the resultant vignette is both typical of A.S. poetry as whole and illustrative of the common method of our poet.<sup>1</sup>

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1.cf. The Anglo-Saxon poetry is marked by a distinct fondness for/

His source has provided him with congenial material, and he has expanded it in the way which will make the readiest appeal to an audience traditionally interested in nature poetry.

The A.S. poet omits to use the phrase eduxitque eum foras, and the reason for this omission may well lie in what Ebert, in connection with ll.1497 sq., called the zu starken anthropomorphismus<sup>1</sup> of the Hebrew concept of God. The consequence of this however is of some importance, for it indicates that our poet did not visualise God as a person; he seems rather to have thought of Him in terms of hypostatized qualities. The religious thought of the circles in which the poet moved seems thus to be fairly sophisticated; it is certainly more advanced than the pagan thought of the Old Norse peoples as this appears in the Lay of Grimnir, for instance. If it be granted that A.S. pagan thought must at some time have been of the same cast as that of the Scandinavians,<sup>2</sup> then it

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for description of nature. In the paraphrases such passages are regularly expanded - eg. in the Genesis the account of Creation, the account of the Flood; the passage of the Red Sea in the Exodus; and the Azarias, where the whole poem expands and describes the natural phenomena which in the Vulgate are simply exhorted to praise. A.H. Skemp, The Transformation of Scripture in Anglo-Saxon Poetry. M. Phil., Vol.IV, p.435.

1. Ebert, op.cit. Anglia Vol.V, p.129, cf. p.160 supra of our study.
2. cf. First, it will now be clear that the central notion of Beowulf's fights with the monsters may have been suggested by legend and folklore and the beliefs of later Germanic paganism - since doubtless the beliefs of the pagan Norsemen would be shared by the immediately pre-Christian Anglo-Saxons, at least in fundamentals. Beowulf, ed. C.L.Wrenn, London, 1953, p.62



is possible that this advance is due to Christianity and its educative value - due in fact to the Latin background to Anglo-Saxon.

Lines 2196b-2200.

Another addition by the A.S. poet follows in ll.2196b-2200

Ne læt þu þin fernð wesan  
 sorgum aæled.      Gien þe sunu weorðeð,  
 bearn of bryde      þurh gebyrd cumen,  
 se þe æfter bið      yrfeð hyrde,  
 gode mære.      Ne geomra þu!

and the key to its presence seems to lie in the method of Anglo-Saxon poetry. For the normal milieu of our poet is what we may call "the grand style" and in consequence when special emphasis is required it must be gained by repetition as appears to be done here. The significance of this is the light which it casts upon the poet's purpose; for if the poet emphasised the Covenant of God with Abraham as the main point of his poem, and more particularly if he emphasised this aspect of it - that God will give Abraham offspring - then the present ending of the Genesis A with the sacrifice of Isaac may not be much different from that of the original. God has fulfilled His promise, and by preventing Isaac's death, He has given the fulfilment His final authorisation.

Lines 2201-2204a.

The A.S. poet now gives the first part of the speech in which God guarantees the Covenant, in ll.2201-2204a,

Ic eom se waldend      se þe for wintra fele  
 of Caldea      ceastre alædde,



the A.S. repugnance to the description of sacrifices in literature has been remarked by more than one commentator.<sup>1</sup>

To return to the passage quoted, we can now see that it depends upon the closing verses of this chapter, Ch.XV, vv. 18-21

18. in die illo pepigit Dominus cum Abram foedus dicens  
 semini tuo dabo terram hanc  
 a fluvio Aegypti usque ad fluvium magnum flumen  
 Eufraten  
 19. Cineos et Cenezeos et Cedmoneos  
 20. et Ettheos et Pherezeos  
 Rafaim quoque 21. et Amorreos et Chananeos et Gergesseos  
 et Iebuseos.

The correspondence between the two passages, however, is not very close as the long list of tribal names is omitted. The omission of these can hardly be due to anything more than their meaninglessness<sup>2</sup> for the average warrior of the gesib.<sup>3</sup>

1. Cf. for example, As long as the fate of Christianity in England was in any way insecure, its more pious adherents could hardly enjoy hearing of the practices of a heathenism from which they had only recently been released, even if purely heathen poems were still being listened to by their less religiously minded contemporaries. D. Whitelock, The Audience of Beowulf, Oxford, 1954, p.12.
2. As Göttinger said with regard to Ch.XI, vv. 10-26, Blosse Namenregister liessen sich natürlich nicht in den bringen. (Über die Dichtungen des Angelsächsen Caedmon, Göttingen, 1860) but he gives no support for his natürlich.
3. This same reason militates against the emendation Wendelse adopted by Krapp (p.68), and Holthausen (p.60). The poet tends to omit names given in the Bible, rather than to introduce names from elsewhere; the only name he introduces is the well-known Nilus. Admittedly, this passage contains the introduction, but this fact supports neither MS reading nor emendation.

Lines 2216-2226.

Abraham now cohabits with Agar, as suggested by Sarah, as the Vulgate records in Ch.XVI, vv.1-2,

1. Igitur Sarai uxor Abram non genuerat liberos  
sed habens ancillam Aegyptiam nomine Agar. 2. dixit  
marito suo  
ecce conclusit me Deus ne parerem  
ingredere ad ancillam meam si forte  
saltem ex illa suscipiam filios

and the A.S. poet reproduces the first phrase of this in ll.2216-2219a

pa was Sarran sar on mode,  
þæt him Abrahama ænig ne wearð  
þurh gebedscipe bearn gemæne,  
freolic to frofre.

This passage contains the usual "Germanising" expressions such as freolic to frofre (l.2219a) but the principal interest of these lines is the picture they give of Sarah's emotion; and the picture is consistently maintained as the poet, temporarily omitting the second phrase sed habens ancillam etc, announces Sarah's speech, translating dixit marito suo (v.2) as ll.2219b-2220,

Ongann þa fernþcearig  
to were sinum wordum mæþlan;

and adding fernþcearig (l.2219b) to the material given in his source. The speech itself contains an added expression of the same regret, the Vulgate giving only ecce conclusit me Deus etc. (v.2) while the A.S. poem has in ll.2221-2226,

Me þæs forwyrnde waldend heofona,  
þæt ic mægburge moste þinre  
rim nielian roderum under  
eaforum þinum. Nu ic eom orwena  
þæt unc se ebylstaf æfre weorðe  
gifeðe ætgædere. Ic eom geomorfred!

Considering the relatively high standards which the Anglo-Saxons seem to have observed they may well have found the morality of this incident puzzling: the added emphasis given to the part which Sarah plays represents the poet's attempt to gloss over the difficulty by presenting the preservation of Abraham's line as so important as to override at least temporarily everything else.<sup>1</sup> The significance which such an explanation enjoys is that it shows something of the A.S. attitude to the Bible, for the poet would have felt the need of the additions he has made only if he were writing for an audience who were alert to criticise a story even of Biblical authority.

Lines 2227-2230.

The previously disregarded phrase of v.1, sed habens ancillam aegyptiam nomine Agar is now recorded along with the following phrase of v.2, ingredere ad ancillam and the two together appear as ll.2227-2230

Drihten min, do swa ic þe bidde!  
Her is fæmne, freolecu mæg,

- 
1. cf. Tacitus, Germanis, Ch.17, nam prope soli barbarorum singulis uxoribus contenti sunt, exceptis admodum paucis, qui non libidine sed ob nobilitatem pluribus nuptiis ambiuntur. (ed. G. Anderson, Leipzig, 1928). It is possible too, that Tacitus' ob nobilitatem may represent some situation such as that in which Abraham now finds himself. Moreover, it is Alcuin, himself an Englishman, who finds it necessary to defend Abraham here: see his Interrogationes et Responsiones in Genesim, Int.171 Quomodo defenditur Abraham adulterii reus non esse, dum vivente legitima uxore sua, conjunctus est ancillae suae? Resp: Nondum promulgata erat unius uxoris lex evangelica ... Etiam et Sara, cum prolem de se habere non potuit, de ancilla habere voluit. MPL.Vol.100, Col.538. For other commentators consulted on this point, see App. I, List XVII.

ides Egyptisc, an on gewealde.  
 Hat þe þa recene reste gestigan,

When both the Latin phrases are taken into account, there does not appear to be much difference between the totality of expression of the Latin and the A.S. The difference of order is probably due to the A.S. poet's better dramatic sense which has shown him the propriety of combining both references to Agar, and putting the first mention of her into Sarah's mouth. Such a change as this illustrates well the A.S. poet's primarily aesthetic approach to his material: even when he is following his source as closely as he follows it here, the Vulgate seems to have appeared to him as little more than a collection of excellent stories and dramatic situations.<sup>1</sup>

Lines 2231-2233.

The final phrase of the Latin quoted on p. 274 supra, si forte saltem ex illa suscipiam filios becomes in our poem ll. 2231-2233

and afanda hwaðer frea wille  
 enigne þe yrfewearda  
 on woruld lætan þurh þæt wif cuman.

in which the main change from the Latin is the mention of God in l. 2231b frea. This change would seem to reinforce the suggestion advanced above<sup>2</sup> that the A.S. audience may

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1. The change in order could also be due to the less highly organised Germanic grammar: sed habens ancillam etc has almost the force of a very weak causal clause, and if the A.S. poet were to attempt to reproduce this nuance of meaning, the þa þa or for þon which would be required, together with the elevation of a phrase into a clause would detract considerably from the speed of his poem. In our opinion however, this explanation is hardly to be preferred, as it would then be necessary to assume that the poet was incapable of managing his language.

2. cf. p. 275. supra.

have found Sarah's plan somewhat outrageous: if this were so, then the mention of God would help to authenticate it, as it were.

Lines 2234-2236.

Abraham agrees to this proposal, as the Vulgate recounts in the final phrase of v.2

cumque ille adquiesceret deprecanti

and the A.S. poet in ll.2234-2235a

þa se eadega wer idese larum  
gebefode

an expression which is almost an exact translation of the Latin source; and the poet's rendering of the first and last phrases of v.3

tulit Agar Aegyptiam ancillam suam

· · · · ·  
et dedit eam viro suo uxorem

which he now gives in ll.2235b-2236

heht him þeowmennen  
on bedd gen bryde larum.

restores Abraham to the dominant position he usually holds without losing sight of Sarah's motivating of this agreement,<sup>1</sup> thus showing us his determination that his figures shall enjoy the position he wishes them to have, irrespective of their importance in the Bible, and showing at the same time, his control over his source-material.

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1. We cannot agree with the emendation of larum to lastum, laste, (proposed by Mason, Yale Studies in English, vol.48, and supported by Holthausen Englische Studien, vol.51): by removing the reference to Sarah, it lessens the audience's consciousness of her responsibility and so conflicts with what has been said on pp.275-6 above.

It will no doubt have been noticed that the A.S. poet has omitted all mention of the medial phrase of v.3

post annos decem quam habitare  
cooperant in terra Chanean

and indeed it appears to us that the very ineptness of this phrase, at least from a narrative point of view is sufficient to motivate his action. The first phrase of v.4,

qui ingressus est ad eam

is likewise omitted from the A.S. probably because the A.S. poet felt that the action it portrays had already been given adequately in ll.2235b-2236, which we have quoted above.<sup>1</sup>

Lines 2237-2243.

Agar now rebelled against her mistress, as the Vulgate tells us in the final phrase of v.4

at illa concepisse se videns despexit  
dominam suam

a phrase which the A.S. poet expands considerably, making it the source of ll.2237-2243

Hire mod astah    þa heo was magotimbre  
be Abrahame    eacen worden.  
Ongan æfpancum    agendfrea  
halsfæst herian,    higeþrybe was,  
was læbwendo,    lustum ne wolde  
þeowdom þolian,    ac heo þriste ongan  
wið Sarran    swiðe winnan.

The object of the A.S. poet in making this expansion is not at once plain; but other similar expansions may suggest that he wished to introduce into his poem another of those vignettes in which he delights, although the expressions

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1. v. supra p.277.



through which he seeks to convey this particular example are so vague that the vignette seems to us at least to fail of its purpose.

Lines 2244-2246.

Sarah now prepares to complain to Abraham, and her speech is heralded in the usual formal fashion of the A.S. poem in ll.2244-2246

þa ic þæt wif gefrægn wordum cyðan  
 hire mandrihtne modes sorge,  
 sarferhð sægde and swiðe cwæð;

an expansion of the more compressed Vulgate phrase in v.5  
 dixitque Sarai ad Abram.

Not only is the A.S. expanded into the formal announcement of a speech, which we might attribute simply to the A.S. poet's desire to give his poem something of the traditional style of the Germanic epic, but also this passage introduces the idea of Sarah's sadness, probably with the idea of giving her added realism in the eyes of his audience. For the A.S. poet the Bible is not only a source of religious inspiration, but as we have already had occasion to remark, a record of the deeds of real men and women.

Lines 2247-2252a.

The first phrase of Sarah's speech to Abraham, which starts with the second phrase of v.5

iniquè agis contra me

is rendered almost literally by the A.S. poet in l.2247

Ne fremest þu gerysnu and riht wið me.<sup>1</sup>

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1. cf. the gloss on the MS Cotton Tiberius c.2. of Bede's HE, fol.80 recto; in aequitate is glossed in rehtnes, cited in H.D.Merritt, Old English Glosses, New York 1945, p.30: also the gloss on the Advocates MS 18.7.7. of Sedulius Carmen Paschale, fol.30 verso; iniquè is glossed unrihtre, cited ibid p.42.

and the substance of her complaint, which the Vulgate records in the rest of v.5

ego dedi ancillam meam in sinum tuum  
quae videns quod conceperit despectui me habet

the A.S. poet handles in ll.2248-2252a

þafodest þu gena þæt me þeowmennen,  
siððan Agar ðe, idese laste,  
beddreste gesteh, swa ic bena was,  
drehte dogora gehwam dedum and wordum  
unarlice.

wherein the main difference between the two versions is the more concrete and detailed expression of the A.S. poem - a change which shows the ability of the A.S. poet to see the actions which lie behind the narrative in his source.

Lines 2252b-2254a.

The A.S. poet adds to Sarah's complaint however, and in ll.2252b-2254a we have

gif ic mot for þe þæt Agar sceal ongielðan,  
Abraham leofa.<sup>1</sup> mine wealdan,

- a passage which has no support in the Vulgate account, although it might be deduced as Sarah's automatic reaction to Agar's conduct. The desire that outrageous conduct shall be punished is a noticeable trait of the Germanic character,<sup>2</sup>

1. The text is that of Krapp, p.67: the word ongielðan (l.2252) is not in the MS, but most edd. agree in supplying this or some similar word. See Krapp, notes, p.189

2. Sarah's attitude here is analogous to that of the old Heatho- bard warrior in Beowulf, ll.2053-2056.

Nu her þara banena byre nathwylces  
fretwum hremig on flet geð  
morðres gylpeð ond þone mæðpum byreð,  
þone þe ðu mid rihte radan sceoldost.

(Text from Klaeber, p.77).

and the reason for the poet's addition of this passage may well be that he wishes Sarah's character to appear to his audience as thoroughly Germanic. If this is so, then he is emancipating himself completely from his source which is thus providing him simply with the inspiration for original work.

Lines 2254b-2255.

This addition made, the complaint is closed as Sarah declares that God will judge whether Abraham has treated her well or not, the relevant phrase from the Vulgate being the close of v.5

iudicet Dominus inter me et te

which the A.S. poet translates in ll.2254b-2255

drihtna drihten, þess sie almihtig,<sup>1</sup>  
dema mid unc twih.

without significant change.

Lines 2256-2260.

In the Vulgate Abraham's reply is brief and to the point, being given in v.6 as

cul respondens Abram  
ecce est ancilla tua in manu tua est utere  
ea ut libet

but in the A.S. poem we have first the formal introduction of his speech, in ll.2256-2257

Hire þa eadre andswarode  
wishidig wer wordum sinum;

the significant change being the addition of the "characteristic epithet "wishidig wer" (l.2257a) which shows that the A.S. poet is always concerned to approximate his material to the Germanic style. The rest of his reply occupies

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1. The word drihtna (l.2255a) is not in the text, but all edd. agree in adding it; see Krapp, p.189 notes.

11.2258-2260

Ne forlote ic þe, þenden wit lifiað bu,  
 arna lease, ac þu þin agen most  
 mennem ateon, swa þin mod freoð

of which the latter portion is patently a translation of the Latin. The first part of this reply however represents an addition by the A.S. poet, probably with the idea of impressing upon his audience the nobility of Abraham's character: the poet in fact may feel that Abraham's character is still suspect, as a result of his cohabitation with Agar, and it is thus possible to see in this addition fresh proof of the critical attitude of the A.S. audience to the Bible.

Lines 2261-2270a.

Sarah now takes her revenge upon the unfortunate Agar, and the story is quickly told; in the final phrase of v.6, and in v.7

(6). . . . .  
 adfligente igitur eam Sarai fugam iniit  
 7. cumque invenisset illam angelus Domini  
 iuxta fontem aquee in solitudine qui est  
 in via Sur in deserto

we have the material which the A.S. poet uses for 11.2261-70a

þa weard unblide Abrahames cwen,  
 hire worcbeowe wrað on mode,  
 heard and hreðe, higeteonan spræc  
 fræne an fæmnan. Heo þa fleon gewat  
 þree and þeowdom; þolian ne wolde  
 yfel and ondlean, þæs ðe ær dyde  
 to Sarran, ac heo on sið gewat  
 westen secan. þær hie wuldres þegn,  
 engel drihtnes an gemitte  
 geomormode.

The A.S. poet has made more of the enmity between Sarah and Agar, and his doing so seems to indicate that he feels

under no obligation to reproduce his source when to alter it suited him better; and we should also note his omission of all detailed reference to the desert and to Sur which he probably omitted because he did not wish his poem to be encumbered with names which would be meaningless to his audience.

Lines 2270b-2276a.

The angel now questions Agar about her purpose, as the Vulgate tells in the following verse, v.8,

dixit ad eam

Agar ancilla Sarai unde venis et quo vadis

which the A.S. poet translates more or less as it stands<sup>1</sup> in ll.2270b-2272

se hie georne frægn:

Hwider fundast þu, feascraft ides,  
siðas dreogan? þec Sarre ah.

the phrase ancilla Sarai being almost certainly echoed in þec Sarre ah (l.2272b). The rest of this verse, which gives Agar's reply

quæ respondit a facie Sarai dominae meae  
ego fugio

is used by the A.S. poet in the subsequent lines, ll.2273-2276a,

Heo him ædre andswarode:  
Ic fleah wean, wana wilna gehwilces,  
hlæfdigan hete, hean of wicum,  
tregan and teonan

in which he has slightly expanded the Latin account, putting into Agar's mouth just that extra speech which will elevate

---

1. At least if we accept siðas dreogan as the equivalent of the angel's question to Agar: if it does not exactly translate the expression it certainly translates the sense.

the whole episode from narrative into dialogue: thus we can see that even when he is following his source quite closely, his attitude towards it is that it may at any moment require addition to make it more interesting to his audience.

Lines 2276b-2279.

This conclusion is reinforced by the immediately subsequent lines of the A.S. poem, ll.2276b-2279

Nu sceal tearighleor  
on westenne witodes biden.  
hwonne of heortan hunger oððe wulf  
sawle and sorge somed abregde.

for when we examine them we find that after following his source thus closely the A.S. poet abandons it to add this account of the fate which Agar imagines will await her. It is further noticeable that the fate takes a Germanic form - hunger oððe wulf (l.2278b) - indicating again the A.S. poet's desire that his poem shall meet the experience of his audience as readily and as frequently as possible.

Another and less obvious consideration may well have affected the poet in his decision to make this addition. Germanic poets are notably fair-minded in their attitude to women; even the unpleasant Thryth has some redeeming features<sup>1</sup>: it is hence possible that the A.S. poet may have felt that he ought to enlist the sympathy of his audience somewhat upon Agar's behalf, - as this rather doleful passage undoubtedly does - but this whole explanation is rather too hypothetical in character to serve as a satisfactory basis for further deduction.

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1. Beowulf, l.1925 ff.

Lines 2280-2288.

The angel now tells Agar to return to her mistress, as we learn in v.9 of the Vulgate,

dixitque ei angelus Domini  
revertere ad dominam tuam et humiliare  
sub manibus ipsius

which the A.S. poet handles in ll.2280-2284

Hire þa se engel andswarode:  
Ne ceara þu feor heonan fleame dælan  
somwist incre, ac þu sece eft,  
earna þe ara, eadmod ongin  
dreogen after dugeðum, wes drintenhold

without significant change, as comparison will show.

The following verse of the Vulgate, v.10,

et rursum multiplicans inquit multiplicabo  
semen tuum et non numerabitur prae multitudine

is temporarily omitted by the A.S. poet, for in the subsequent lines, ll.2285-2288

þu scealt, Agar, Abrahame sunu  
on woruld bringen. Ic þe wordum nu  
minum sece, þæt se magorinc sceal  
mid yldum wesan Ismahel haten

we see the equivalent of v.11.

ac deinceps ecce concepisti et paries filium  
vocabisque nomen eius Ismahel  
eo quod audierit Dominus afflictionem tuam

again without significant change, for the omission of the final phrase of this verse seems to us to signify no more than that the A.S. poet rightly did not consider the etymology of Ishmael's name to be of sufficient importance to warrant its inclusion in his poem. We should note incidentally that it is at those points in which the Vulgate is most dramatic that the A.S. poet accepts his source more or less literally - a conclusion which accords well enough with the fact that we have already observed

that many of the changes he makes are due to the desire for a more dramatic statement or situation than that given in the Vulgate.

Lines 2289-2292.

The same literal acceptance of the Vulgate source is seen again in the A.S. poet's rendering of v.12

hic erit ferus homo  
manus eius contra omnes et manus omnium contra eum  
et e regione universorum fratrum suorum figet tabernacula

as ll.2289-2292

Se bið unhyre,      wrlæggifre,  
and wiberbreca      wera oneorissum,  
magum sinum;      hine monige on  
wraðe winnað      mid wæpenþraçe

which is a statement only slightly more poetic than that in the Vulgate. The final phrase of the Latin, however, appears to have been omitted from the A.S. poem, as no mention is made of any region in which Ishmael shall settle, and it must be confessed that the reason for the omission is not immediately obvious: while many reasons suggest themselves there does not appear to be any one of them which is of such compelling force that it must be accepted to the exclusion of all others and the problem must be left unsolved.

Lines 2293-2295.

The A.S. poet now returns to God's promise that Ishmael shall have progeny, and uses the previously omitted v.10,

et rursum multiplicans inquit multiplicabo semen  
tuum et non numerabitur prae multitudine

and in the A.S. poem, ll.2293-2294a, translate it



Of þam frumgeran folc awæcniað,  
 þeod unmete.

The reason for the A.S. poet's change in the order of the verses from that of the Bible seems to us to be due here to his realisation that the logical position for the account of the ultimate fate of Ishmael's progeny is at the end of the prophecy rather than in the middle of it: although the change is of relatively little importance yet its very minuteness illustrates the constancy of the A.S. poet's regard for the propriety of the arrangement of his narrative. The same concern is further illustrated by the addition which the poet makes in ll.2294b-2295

Gewit þu þinne eft  
 waldend secan; wuna þam þe agon

which although it is brief is yet necessary and sufficient to keep the narrative clear: and this same clarity depending as it does upon a temporal sequence of events shows us in turn how clear is the A.S. poet's realisation of the events with which he is concerned: his source must in fact have impressed him not only with its divinity but also with its realism.

Lines 2296-2298.

Now that he has brought the angel's speech to its proper conclusion, the A.S. poet adds a short passage, in ll.2296-2298

Heo þa ædre gewat engles larum  
 hire hlefordum, swa se halga beþeod,  
 godes ærendgast, gleawan sprace

presumably with the object of relating the prophecy satisfactorily to the rest of the narrative, showing us again his care that his poem shall have the continuity of incident necessary for an epic.

Lines 2299-2303.

The A.S. poet resumes his use of his source at v.15 peperitque Abrae filium. This is reflected in the subsequent line of the A.S. poem þa wearð Abrahame Ismael geboren (l.2299), but before we proceed to compare the two corresponding passages following these phrases, we should note that the A.S. poet has omitted all reference to vv.13 and 14 of the Vulgate viz:

13.vocavit autem nomen Domini qui loquebatur  
ad eam: Tu Deus qui vidisti me  
dixit enim profecto hinc vidi posteriora  
videntis me

14.propterea appellavit puteum illum puteum  
Viventis et videntis me  
ipse est inter Cades et Barad

and again the omission appears to be part of his deliberate excision of all etymological material.

The A.S. poet then turns again to his source for the two final verses of this chapter, vv.15 and 16

15.peperitque Abrae filium qui vocavit nomen  
eius Ishmahel

16.octoginta et sex annorum erat quando  
peperit ei Agar Ishmahelem

which the A.S. poet reports briefly and more or less literally as ll.2299-2301a

þa wearð Abrahame Ismael geboren,  
efne þa he on worulde wintra hæfde  
VI and LXXX.

after which he makes an addition in ll.2301b-2303

Sunu weox and ðah  
swa se engel ær þurh his agen word,  
fæle freoðoscealc, fæmnan sægde.

which seems quite plainly to have the object simply of "rounding off" the incident so that his poem may not appear

to be too headlong in its movement.<sup>1</sup>

Lines 2304-2305.

The A.S. poet now commences to deal with the following chapter of the Vulgate, Ch. XVII, as we see when we compare the opening phrase of this chapter,

Postquam vero nonaginta et novem annorum  
esse coeperat  
apparuit ei Dominus dixitque ad eum

with the immediately subsequent lines of the A.S. poem,  
ll. 2304-2305,

þa se ðeoden ymb XIII gear  
ece drihten, wið Abrahame sprac:

and it is noteworthy that the A.S. poet alters the expression of Abraham's age possibly to avoid the repetition of cumbersome large numbers: he also omits the actual appearing of God, but this may be due to poetic convenience as much as to any other cause, and it would hence be hazardous to base any conclusions upon this omission.

Lines 2306-2311.

The Vulgate now gives a long rambling and disorderly account of God's Covenant with Abraham spread through the rest of v.1 and vv. 2-10,

ego Deus omnipotens

- 
1. It was probably this sort of passage which led Serrazin to remark Natürlich muss jene Paraphrase sich stückweise aus einzelnen Liedern oder Fitten zusammengesetzt haben, die von Tag zu Tag gedichtet wurden. Und in der älteren Genesis-Dichtung haben wir in der Tat Fitten oder Abschnitte von 70-90 Versen, welche sehr wohl die Tagesleistung eines auch nur mässig begabten Dichters darstellen könnten, (G. Serrazin, Von Kadmon bis Kynewulf, Berlin 1913, p.19) although his linking of the Fitten with the Tagesleistung requires further evidence.

- ambula coram me et esto perfectus  
 2. ponamque foedus meum inter me et te  
 et multiplicabo te vehementer nimis  
 3. . . . . 4. . . . .  
 ego sum et pactum meum tecum  
 erisque pater multarum gentium  
 5. . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 6. faciamque te crescere vehementissime  
 et ponam in gentibus regesque ex te  
 egredientur  
 7. et statuem pactum meum inter me et te  
 et inter semen tuum post te  
 in generationibus suis foedere sempiterno  
 ut sim Deus tuus et seminis tui post te  
 8. daboque tibi et semini tuo terram  
 peregrinationis tuae  
 omnem terram Chanaan in possessionem  
 aeternam eroque Deus eorum  
 9. dixit iterum Deus ad Abraham  
 et tu custodies pactum meum  
 et semen post te in generationibus suis  
 10. hoc est pactum meum quod observabitis  
 inter me et vos et semen tuum post te  
 circumcidetur etc.

The A.S. poet makes no attempt to reproduce this: we have  
 instead in ll. 2306-2311

Loofa, swa ic þe lare, læst uncre wel  
 treowædenne! Ic þe on tida gehwone  
 dugudum stepe. Wes þu dedum from  
 willan mines! Ic þe were forð  
 soðe gelæste, þe ic þe sealde geo  
 frofre to wedde, þes þin ferhð bemearn

a summary of the pact in general terms, together with an  
 addition by the poet, in the closing phrase of the quotation  
 just made: þe ic þe sealde geo / frofre to wedde þes þin  
ferhð bemearn (ll. 2310b-2311). The addition is probably  
 a reference back to ll. 2180sq<sup>1</sup> made by the poet with the

---

1. Ne sealdest þu me sunu; forðon mec sorg dreced / on sefan  
swide. Vide supra pp. 268-9.

intention of linking the parts of his poem more firmly together. At the same time the poet's abandonment of the text in favour of a summary of the main features of the pact seems to indicate his concern for the continuity of his narrative; and finally we must add that it seems to afford added proof that the poet worked with a written copy of the Vulgate before him

The fact that the poet has made four omissions does not seem to us to deny this conclusion. The first of these omissions is v.3

cecidit Abram pronus in faciem

which the poet may well have omitted in order that he might use such an action at the end of God's speech, where indeed it seems more fitting, in ll.2338-2339, Abraham ba ofestum legde / hlor on eorban; if anything, such care for detail gives fresh support to the idea of a poet working from a MS before him. The second omission cuts out the break in God's speech made by the dixitque ei Deus, the opening phrase of v.4; and here it seems quite natural to explain the omission as due to the A.S. poet's desire for a narrative free from pointless interruptions. The third omission consists of the whole of v.5

nec ultra vocabitur nomen tuum Abram  
sed appellaberis Abraham  
quia patrem multarum gentium constitui te

corresponding to his subsequent omission of v.15 which gives the change of Sarah's name<sup>1</sup>, and due we would suggest to his observed dislike of etymological material. Finally the last omission, v.8

daboque tibi et semini tuo terram peregrinationis tue

---

1. cf. infra p.294.

omnem terram Chanaan in possessionem  
aeternam eroque Deus eorum

seems quite justified on the grounds that he is dealing with the Covenant as a whole and not with the details thereof.

Lines 2312-2319a.

The poet turns to his source again for the account of the Circumcision,<sup>1</sup> which he gives in ll.2312-2319a,

pu scealt halgian      hired pinne.  
Sete sigores taen      soð on gehwilone  
wæpnedcynnes,      gif þu wille on us  
hlaford habban      obbe holdne freond  
þinum fromcynne.      Ic þæs folces beo  
hyrde and healdend,      gif ge hyrað me  
breostgehygdum      and bebodu willað  
min fullian.

taking his material from the last phrase of v.10 and from v.11,

10.....

circumcidetur ex vobis omne masculinum

11.et circumcidetis carnem praeputii vestri  
ut sit in signum foederis inter me et vos

but the A.S. poet has altered and expanded his source. Principally his alteration seems to aim at emphasising the two-sidedness of the pact, and it seems quite legitimate to assume that this shows that the propagation of the idea of the service of God was part of the poet's end in writing his poem.<sup>2</sup> At the same time, the alteration enables the poet to avoid reproducing the direct and detailed statement

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1. For a list of the commentators consulted in connection with the circumcision, see App. I List XV.III.
  2. This did in fact become part of the doctrine of the early Church: see for example John, VIII, 39, si filii Abrahae estis opera Abrahae facite.

of the Vulgate circumcidetis carnem praeputii vestri (v.11) but there is no evidence to show the reason for his avoidance.<sup>1</sup> Lines 2319b-2325a.

The regulations for the execution of the pact are taken from the first part of v.12, and from v.14,

12.infans octo dierum circumcidetur in vobis,

. . . . .

14.masculus cuius praeputii caro circumcisa non fuerit  
delebitur anima illa de populo suo  
quia pactum meum irritum fecit

and set out in ll.2319b-2325a

Seal monna gehwile  
þære cneorisse cildisc wes an  
wæpnædcynnes, þæs þe on woruld cymð,  
ymb seofon niht sigores tæne  
geagnod me, oððe of eorðan  
þurh feondscipe feor adæled,  
adrifen from duguðum.

with little real change.

Meanwhile however the poet has omitted the final phrases of v.12

(infans octo dierum circumcidetur in vobis)  
omne masculinum in generationibus vestris  
tam vernaculus quam empticius circumcidetur  
et quicumque non fuerit de stirpe vestra

and v.13

eritque pactum meum in carne vestra in foedus aeternum

- 
1. The only evidence for deliberate avoidance lies in the fact that the poet does appear to be following the text closely in v.10: wæpnædcyn seems to have been wider in its connotation than its form suggests, for in the Gloss on the MS Cotton Tiberius C.2, of Bede's HE, fol.69r, it is used to gloss virilis (cited in H.D.Merritt, Old English Glosses, New York, 1945, p.8): but this still does not entitle us to assume any particular reason - e.g. the susceptibilities of his audience - for his avoidance of particular words, deliberate though this may seem to be.

the latter verse being probably omitted from concern for the clarity of his narrative. The former verse however seems to intend that the pact shall include not only the echt Jews but all those connected with them; in the A.S. poem only the Jews themselves are mentioned; it is not perhaps too fanciful to see in this a reflection of the old Germanic distinction between their own nation and the 'welisc' peoples. If this is so, then it would appear that the A.S. poet and possibly his audience with him identified themselves with the Jews of the O.T. story, and regarded the heroes therein much in the light of heroes of their own race of the epic and post-epic ages. Abraham in fact would be to them a divinely-aided Offa I in whose adventures they would take a partisan interest.

The poet also omits all reference to v.15 or the first phrase of v.16

15. Dixit quoque Deus ad Abraham  
 Sarai uxorem tuam non vocabis Sarai sed Sarraim  
 16. et benedicam ei . . . .

presumably because he has already omitted the corresponding verse referring to Abraham<sup>1</sup> and the change of Sarah's name is meaningless unless the change of Abraham's name is given also; and in this there is further evidence that the poet looked at his material as a whole.

Lines 2325b-2327a.

In place of a reference to this verse, we find another addition in ll.2325b-2327a

Doð swa ic hate!  
 Ic eow treowige, gif ge þæt tacen gegap  
 soðgeleafan.

1. cf. supra, p.291.



with which we would compare a remark from the Commentarius in Epistolas ad Romanos IV., attributed to Ambrosius.

Manifestavit non ideo Abraham gloriam apud Deum habere quia circumciscus est, aut quia abstinuit se ab iniquitate; sed quia Deo credidit; hinc et justificatus est, laudis suae praemium in futuro consecutus.<sup>1</sup> (MPL, Vol.17, col.86.) This may not be the direct source of the poet's addition, but the addition shows none the less that the poet is aware of the correct doctrine of the Church and anxious to keep his poem true to it.

Lines 2327b-2332a.

The A.S. poet now resumes his direct following of the Vulgate in ll.2327b-2332a

þu scealt sunu agan,  
 bearn be bryde þinre, þone sculon burhsittende  
 ealle Isaac haten. Ne þearf þe þæs eaforan sceomigan,  
 ac ic þam magorince mine sylle  
 godcunde gife gastes mihtum,  
 freondsped fremum.

wherein he translates the next part of v.16

(et benedicam ei) et ex illa dabo tibi filium adding a reference to a special godcunde gife (l.2331a), a comment of a type which seems almost certain to have originated from patristic thought. The first commentator to mention a special gift to Isaac is Walafrid Strabo in the Glossa Ordinaria: Declaratur promissio de vocatione gentium in Isaac filio promissionis, id est gratiae, non naturae, quia de sene patre et sterile matre,<sup>2</sup> but the fact

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1. This remark is echoed by most of the other commentators on App. I, List XIV.
  2. MPL. Vol.113, col.124; see also Martinus Legionensis, Sermo XIII, MPL. Vol.208, col.744, for a later and more sophisticated statement of the same idea.

that this idea makes a late appearance in written commentary need not deter us from postulating such a source for this addition; and it is possible that the addition may have been made by the poet to align his poem with the doctrine of his day.

Lines 2332b-2337.

The remainder of v.16,  
 . . . . . (filium) cui benedicturus sum  
 eritque in nationes et reges populorum orientur ex eo  
 occupies the poet in ll.2332b-2337

He onfon sceal  
 blisse minre and bletsunge,  
 lufan and lisse. Of þam leodfruman  
 brad folc cumað, bregowearda fela  
 rofe arisað, rices hyrdas,  
 woruldeyningas wide mære.

which show no significant change from their source.

Lines 2338-2346.

In his handling of v.17  
 cecidit Abraham in faciem et risit dicens in corde suo  
 putasne centenario nascetur filius et Sara nonagenaria  
 pariet

given in ll.2338-2346,

Abraham ða ofestum legde  
 hleor on eorðen, and mid hucse bewand  
 þa hleoþorcwydas on hige sinum,  
 modgeþance. He þæs waldages  
 self ne wende þæt him Sarra,  
 bryd blondenfeax bringan mehte  
 on woruld sunu; wiste gearwe  
 þæt þæt wif huru wintra hæfde  
 efne C, / geteled rimes.

the only difficulty is the A.S. poet's use of blondenfeax (l.2343a). This difficulty may however be linked with the fact that Abimelech subsequently abducts Sarah (Genesis, Ch.XI, v.2), on which Remigius in his Commentarius in Genesis

remarks Quaeri potest in illa jam aetate quomodo amari poterat Sara, cum esset anus decrepita? Sed hoc mirandum potius quam quaerendum, quod tantus decor formae in ea fuerit ut nec senectus ejusdem pulchritudinem potuerit derogare<sup>1</sup>, and it may well be that the tradition behind this remark explains the A.S. poet's use of blondenfeax<sup>2</sup>. But if so, the tradition must have been oral, for the earlier tradition of Zeno<sup>3</sup> and Bucherius<sup>4</sup> lays stress here upon Sarah's physical unattractiveness. Thus we may perhaps see in this passage from Genesis A some warrant for assuming the possible existence of an independent verbal tradition of Biblical commentary with which the A.S. poet would also be acquainted.

Lines 2347-2352.

A similarly close resemblance between poem and source may possibly be seen in the next passage also: the Vulgate, v.13

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1. MPL. Vol.131, col.193.

2. Thorpe, p.141, n., presumably unaware of Remigius view, remarks: Perhaps white-haired, in allusion to her age, though this translation suits but ill with what follows respecting Abimelech.

3. Liber Tractatus, Tr. XI, Ecce enim, charissimi, in Sara attractis aetate nervis, et deficiente sanguinis succo, arescentibus venis, dura cum visceribus cutis deformis ac luridus pallor jam pene vultus perdit humanos, nec ullus in membris voluptati motus. MPL. Vol.11, col.423

4. Commentarius in Genesim, ambo enim seniores erant, sicut Scriptura testatur. MPL. Vol.50, col.957.

dixitque ad Deum utinam Ishmael vivat coram te  
is essentially unaltered in the corresponding passage of  
the A.S. poem, ll.2347-2352

He þa metode oncwæð missarum frod:  
Lifge Ismael larum swilce,  
þeoden, þinum, and þe þanc wege,  
heardmædne hyge, heortan strange,  
to dreoganne deges and nihtes  
wordum and dædum willan þinne.

although we should note the addition of the Germanic characteristics heardmædne hyge and heortan strange in l.2350, whose purpose we may assume to be the gaining of the audience's respect for Ishmael. If this is indeed so, then the implication of this line is that the A.S. heroic poetry is not yet ready for the newer type of epic hero - the man whose virtue is moral insight:<sup>1</sup> yet the new type of hero is well pictured in the lines which follow:

to dreoganne deges and nihtes  
wordum and dædum willan þine (ll.2351-2352)

and so it seems that at this stage in the development of A.S. poetic thought, the poet appears to be still unconscious of any inherent unsuitability in the characters with which his source presents him.

Lines 2353-2369.

Abraham appears to have misunderstood God: the reference is to Issac, not to Ishmael, as appears in God's speech in vv.19-21,

19.et ait Deus ad Abraham

---

1. cf. Under this influence all the ideals of the race are changing. In the monastery the hero . . . is no longer merely "the spear-keen man, for gifts and the war widely honoured" like Offa, but is also the Christian warrior, fighting his battle alone in seclusion against the powers of darkness, and winning his victory over the temptations of Satan and all his host. E. Dale, op.cit. p.91.

Sarra uxor tua pariet tibi filium vocabisque nomen  
 eius Isaac  
 et constituam pactum meum illi in foedus  
 sempiternum et semini eius post eum  
 20. super Ishmael quoque exaudivi te  
 ecce benedicam ei et augebo et multiplicabo eum valde  
 duodecim duces generabit et faciam illum in  
 gentem magnam  
 21. pactum vero meum statuam ad Isaac  
 quem pariet tibi. Sarra tempore isto in anno altero.

In the A.S. poem, the speech is announced in ll. 2353-2354

Him þa fægere frea ælmihtig,  
 ece drihten, andswarode

and the birth of Isaac foretold in ll. 2355-2357

þe sceal wintrum frod on woruld bringen  
 Sarra sunu, soð forð gan  
 wyrd æfter þissum wordgemearcum.

but we are not instantly told of this son or of his fate:  
 instead of the latter part of v. 19 (v. supra), the poet deals  
 with v. 20, and we hear of Ishmael's fate in ll. 2358-2362,

Ic Ismael estum wille  
 bletsian nu, swa þu bena eart  
 þinum frumbearne, þæt feorhdaga  
 on woruldrice worn gebide,  
 tanum tudre. þu þæs tida beo!

It is noteworthy that all this verse is translated save  
duodecim duces generabit: the omission of this might  
 perhaps be taken to imply that the A.S. poet had no intention  
 of handling the history of these duodecim duces and hence  
 left the account of Ishmael's progeny in suitably general  
 terms: the significance of this is again to persuade us  
 that his original intention was to end the poem with or  
 shortly after the sacrifice of Isaac.

The remaining lines from this section  
 of the A.S. poem, ll. 2363-2369

Hwæðre ic Isace, eaforan þinum,  
 geongum bearne, þam þe gen nis

on woruld cumen, willa spedum  
 dugeba gehwilcre on dagum wille  
 swiðor stepan and him soðe to  
 modes were mine gelestan,  
 halige higstreowa, and him hold wesan

contain the reference to Isaac which makes matters clear. It can hardly be decided whether these lines owe their origin to v.19 or v.21 although the correspondence of sense between bearne þam þe gen nis etc (l.2364 sq.) and tempore isto in anno altero (v.21) inclines one to accept the latter verse as the source. The important point however is that the A.S. poet does render in these lines all the principal points from the Vulgate account. His rearrangement of the order of events can probably be accepted as due to the poet's concern for the continuity of the narrative.

In the Vulgate the interview is terminated by God's ascent from Abraham, as narrated in v.22

Cumque finitus esset sermo loquentis cum eo  
 ascendit Deus ab Abraham

but this is not recorded in the A.S. poem, an omission due probably to the A.S. poet's dislike of an anthropomorphic conception of God.<sup>1</sup>

Lines 2370-2377a.

Like the rest of this chapter in the Vulgate, the account of Abraham's execution of God's commands is somewhat confused; in fact it is given twice, the first time in vv.23-25

23. tulit autem Abraham Ismahelem filium suum  
 et omnes vernaculos domus suae universosque  
 quos emerat  
 cunctos mares ex omnibus viris domus suae  
 et circumcidit carnem praeputii eorum

---

1. cf. supra p. 160.

statim in ipsa die sicut praeceperat ei Dominus  
 24. nonaginta novem erat annorum quando  
 circumcidit carnem praeputii sui  
 25. et Ismahel filius eius tredecim annos  
 impleverat tempore circumcisionis suae

and again in the subsequent and final verses of this chapter,  
 vv. 26 and 27

26. eadem die circumcisis est Abraham et  
 Ismahel filius eius  
 27. et omnes viri domus illius  
 tam vernaculi quam empticii et alienigenae  
 pariter circumcisi sunt,

The A.S. poet however seems to have understood that this  
 repetition need not be regarded as canonical, for he gives  
 the account once only in ll. 2370-2377a,

Abraham fremede swa him se eca bebed,  
 sette fribotacen be frean hase  
 on his selfes sunu, heht þæt segn wegan  
 heah gehwilcne, þe his hina was  
 wepnedcynnes, were gemyndig,  
 gleaw on mode, þa him god sealde  
 soðe treowa, and þa seolf onfeng  
 torhtum tacne.

His account is evidently summary, but the mention of the  
wepnedcynn, (L2374a) would probably suffice for his audience  
 for as we have seen<sup>1</sup>, the welisc nations were probably of  
 little importance in the Germanic attitude to the pact of  
 God with Abraham.

Lines 2377b-2381.

There follows a brief comment by the  
 A.S. poet upon God's subsequent advancement of Abraham; it  
 occupies ll. 2377b-2381

A his tir metod,  
 domfost cyning, dugeðum iecte  
 on woruldrice; he him þæs worhte to,

---

1. cf. supra p. 294.

sibban he on fere furðum meante  
his waldendes willan fremman.

and the reason for its inclusion seems fairly plain when the length of the whole poem is taken into account. An "intermission" such as this would help to make the structure of events clearer to an audience who would hear the poem sung or recited and would hence have been unable to "revise". But this single example of an "intermission" does not prove that the poem was designed principally for oral presentation, although if such a decision could be reached it might show that the poet was writing for a lay audience, rather than for the audience of the cloister, which would be at least partially literate.

There is no means of knowing how far this "intermission" may have extended; for at this point there is a lacuna in the MS, a leaf having been cut out. The usual presumption is that this leaf contained the material given in the Vulgate in Genesis Ch. XVIII, vv. 1-11,<sup>1</sup> but it may well have contained also an extension of the "intermission" which has just been mentioned; this however must remain in the realms of conjecture, since the contents of one page of the MS varies in content from 10 to 30 lines or more, and since the A.S. poet's handling of his source is not consistent enough to allow us to make deductions from the Latin text alone.

Lines 2382-2386.

The verses in question relate how God, as one of three angels, appeared to Abraham in the valley of

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1. See e.g. Krapp, notes, p. 190. Between p. 108 and p. 109 a leaf has been cut out of the MS, on which must have been the paraphrase of Genesis XVIII, 1-11.



Membre<sup>1</sup> and foretold again that Sarah should have a son:  
Sarah is incredulous, as appears in vv.10 to 12

10. . . . .

quo audito Sarra risit post ostium tabernaculi

11. erant autem ambo senes propectaque aetatis  
et desierant Sarrae fieri muliebria

12. quae risit occulte dicens

postquam consenui et dominus meus vetulus  
est voluptati operam dabo

and it is at this point that the A.S. text resumes, giving  
in ll.2382-2386

þe þæt wif ahlōh	wereda drihtnes
nalles glædlice,	ac heo gearum frōd
þone hleoþorcwyde	husce belegde
on sefan swiðe.	Sob ne gelyfde,
þæt þære spræce	sped folgode.

although comparison will show that the A.S. poet probably summarised the quoted verses and did not use any individual verse for his source: His purpose in doing so may again be conjectured to have been care for the speed of his narrative, which is undoubtedly increased by the omission of Sarah's inward reasonings. In view of this it is perhaps more credible that his "intermission" discussed in the foregoing paragraph may have extended further than is now apparent: but the matter still rests upon conjecture and lack of evidence forbids further speculation.

Lines 2387-2389.

God counters Sarah's scorn however, as we are told in the following verses, vv.13 and 14

13. dixit autem Dominus ad Abraham

quare risit Sarra dicens num vere paritura sum anus

14. numquid Deo est quicquam difficile

iuxta condictum reverterar ad te

hoc eodem tempore vita comite et habebit Sarra filium

---

1. For a list of the commentators consulted in connection with this visit, see App. I List XIX.

and v.15 adds that Sarah<sup>is</sup> terrified

negavit Sarra dicens non risi timore perterrita  
Dominus autem non est inquitita sed risisti.

The A.S. poet treats these verses in ll.2387-2398 but he makes some changes in the process: the first is that he provides a physical explanation of God's knowing that Sarah laughed, giving it in ll.2387-2389

þa þæt gehyrde heofona waldend,  
þæt on bure ahof bryð Abrahames  
hihtleasne hleahtor, þa cwæð halig god:

Along with this we would note that he omits v.15 altogether making no reference to the terror she shows in that verse. If we are intended to assume from the Biblical narrative that Sarah's terror arose because she suddenly realised who this stranger was, when he divined her inmost thoughts,<sup>1</sup> then it is possible that the A.S. poet may have misread his Bible or at least may have failed to see the implications of the text: owing to his physical explanation of God's knowledge he has found no reason for Sarah's alarm and has omitted it accordingly.

Lines 2390-2391a.

The poet's next departure from his text in his handling of these verses is to put into God's speech the natural deduction from Sarah's laugh, given in ll.2390-2391a

Ne wile Sarran soð gelyfan  
wordum minum.

and there is no doubt that his direct statement is naturally clearer and more easily comprehensible than the oblique phrases of the Vulgate. Such a change illustrates

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1. This is certainly the view of modern commentary. Cf. Sarah denied it startled by the unexpected exposure of her secret thoughts into fear of the mysterious guests.  
ICC Gen. p.302.

excellently the manner in which the poet dominates his material and moulds it to suit the needs of his audience. Lines.2391b-2398.

The remainder of God's speech, given in 11.2391b-2398

Sceal seo wyrd swa þeah  
forð steallian swa ic þe æt frymðe gehet.  
Soð ic þe secge, on þas sylfan tid  
of idese bið eafora wæned.  
þonne ic þas ilcan oðre siðe  
wic gesece, þe beoð wordgehat  
min gelæsted. þu on mægen wlitest,  
þin agen bearn, Abraham leofa!

follows the Vulgate text although the order and proportion of the elements are changed. Pride of place in both accounts is given to luxta condictum and its corresponding phrase sceal seo wyrd swa þeah / forð steallian swa ic þe æt frymðe gehet (11.2391b-2392), and the expansion of the concise expression in the Vulgate may be due to the emphasis which the A.S. poet wished to place on the Covenant theme. The following phrase of the Latin, reverter ad te appears to have formed the basis of the A.S. þonne ic þas ilcan oðre siðe / wic gesece etc, - the final lines of God's speech in the A.S. poem, while the final phrase of God's speech, hoc eodem tempore etc, gives the origin of the intervening lines in the A.S. poem - Soð ic þe secge on þas sylfan tid / of idese bið eafora wæned. The change however does not greatly affect the quality or the clarity of the poem and it is difficult to see why it should have been made.

Lines 2399-2404.

The Spirits now journey to Sodom, Abraham going with them as is recorded in v.16

Cum ergo surrexissent inde viri direxerunt oculos suos contra Sodomam

et Abraham simul gradiebatur deducens eos  
and in the A.S. poem in ll.2399-2404,

Gewiton him þa ædre ellorfuse  
æfter þære spræce spedum feran  
of þam hleoðorstede, halige gestas,<sup>1</sup>  
lastas legdon, (him was leontes' mæg<sup>1</sup>  
sylfe on gesiððe), oððæt hie on Sodomem,  
weallstespe burg, witan mehton.

The A.S. poet appears to have changed little, save to add the phrase in parenthesis: here we would defend our retention of the MS reading leontes mæg (l.2402b) by instancing the expression of the Commentarius in Genesim attributed to Juvencus, where in l.539 the expression lux vera is used for God<sup>2</sup>; in the same way Dracontius in his Carmen de Deo, writes in ll.128-129

Clarus ubique Deus nunquam maculabilis auctor  
Quem non obscurabant quacunq̄ue ex parte tenebrae<sup>3</sup>

two citations which would appear to show that leontes mæg might well be the A.S. poet's expression for God here, and would show his acquaintanceship with this patristic idea if not actually with the two commentators cited. This explanation is the more convincing when we reflect that he does not usually refer to persons not mentioned in the Bible<sup>4</sup>, even

1. Grein, Germania, Vol.10, p.418; Holthausen, p.67, Krepp, p.72, both amend to Lothes mæg.

2. Dumque Deum trina positum sub imagine pascit  
Dulcia sanctificis debebat gaudia dictis;  
Quid rerum nunc Sarra gerit; namque abdita tectis  
Tunc erat, et coeptas iteret lux vera loquelas  
MPL, Vol.19, Col.360.

3. MPL, Vol.60, Col.697.

4. The only instances of his doing so in Genesis A are his mention of Thare in ll.2054a and 2834b: but on these v. supra, p.253, n.

in this genealogising fashion. That the poet should mention God as among those who journeyed to Sodom is quite natural since He has been identified as among the angels who have just appeared to Abraham.<sup>1</sup>

Lines 2405-2406a.

In the Vulgate we are told nothing of the appearance of Sodom, but the A.S. poet in ll.2405-2406a

Gesawon ofer since salo hlifian,  
reced ofer readum golde

gives us a small but effective vignette of it. He is again including that type of concrete detail which would make an instant appeal to his audience, and illustrating again his dominion over his source.

Lines 2406b-2407.

The A.S. poem now announces a speech by God, giving the formal preamble in ll.2406b-2407

Ongan þa rodera waldend,  
arfest wið Abraham sprecan, sægde him unlytel spell:  
and from the following lines, ic on þisse byrig bearhtm  
gehyre / synnigra cyrm swiðe hludne (ll.2408-2409) it  
appears that the speech is that foretelling the fate of  
Sodom and Gomorrah. As this does not appear in the Vulgate  
until v.20 sq. Dixit itaque Dominus clamor Sodomorum et  
Gomorrhæ multiplicatus est we have to explain his omission  
of vv.17-19

17. dixitque Dominus  
num celare potero Abraham quae gesturus sum
18. cum futurus sit in gentem magnam ac robustissimam  
et benedicendae sint in illo omnes nationes terrae
19. scio enim quod praecepturus sit filiis suis et  
domui suae post se  
ut custodiant viam Domini et faciant iustitiam  
et iudicium

---

1. cf. supra, p.303, l.2382.

ut adducat Dominus propter Abraham omnia quae locutus  
est ad eum.

The character of the passage itself provides the explanation for its omission: for although its inclusion might be expected from its reference to the Covenant theme, it is unconnected with any of the events at this point of the poem and hence would probably not fit into the structure: the poet is not following his source slavishly as the raw material for an original composition, even when that raw material consists of speeches by the Deity, and it occupies for him the position of a completely secular document.

Lines 2408-2418.

Returning to the speech we find in

vv.20 sq.

(20.dixit itaque Dominus)

clamor Sodomorum et Gomorrae multiplicatus est  
et peccatum earum aggravatum est nimis

21.descendam et videbo utrum clamorem qui  
venit ad me opere compleverint  
an non est ita ut sciam.

which the A.S. poet renders in ll.2408-2416a,

Ic on þisse byrig bearhtm gehyre,  
synnigra cyrm swiþe hludne,  
ealgalra gylp, yfele spræce  
werod under weallum habban; forþon werlogona sint,  
folces firena hefige. Ic wille fandigan nu,  
mago Eþrea, hwæt þa men don,  
gif hie swa swiþe synna fremmaþ  
þeawum and geþancum, swa hie on þweorh sprecaþ  
facen and inwit;

apparently without any essential change; but at the end of the speech, the A.S. poet adds a comment of his own in ll.2416b-2418,

þæt sceal fyr wrecan,  
swefyl and sweart lig sare and grimme,  
hat and hæste hæbnum folce.

This comment is of the type common in A.S. epic poetry - the short forecast of the future development of the story; and we may probably assume with safety that it ended with l.2418 and was designed to satisfy the expectations of an audience who would be accustomed to find such comments in the poetry to which they listened.

Lines 2419-2424a.

But this can rest upon assumption only, for after l.2418 there is another lacuna in the MS: immediately after this line there is a space for an illustration and thereafter one leaf from the MS is missing. The usual presumption is that this lost leaf contained the material given in the Vulgate in Ch.XVIII, vv.22-33;<sup>1</sup> but this cannot be unreservedly accepted for the lines immediately preceding the lacuna are an addition by the A.S. poet, while at the other end there is no definite correspondence to the Latin source before ll.2424b-2325, (ac him to sende / stibmod cuning strange twegen). Moreover, just before the lacuna the A.S. poet has omitted a speech by God (vv.17-19 of this same chapter of the Vulgate); it seems accordingly to be none too sure what may have been the contents of the lacuna; and at the same time there cannot be any great certainty about the lines immediately preceding it. Furthermore, a closer examination of those lines which intervene between the end of the lacuna and the reference to the Vulgate text in ll.2424b-2425, that is to say, ll.2419-2424a,

Weras basnedon witelaces,

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1. See e.g. Krapp, notes p.191.

wean under weallum, and heora wif somed.  
 Dugubum wlance drihtne guldon  
 god mid gnyrne, obbat gasta helm,  
 lifes lechtfruma leng ne wolde  
 torn prowigean,<sup>1</sup>

suggests that the A.S. poet has been describing, in general terms at least, the presumption of the men of Sodom, for his expression weas basnedon (l.2419a) is otherwise rather vague. Had the previous sentence in the A.S. poem, - the final sentence lost in the lacuna - dealt with Ch.XVIII, v.33,

ablitque Dominus postquam cessavit loqui ad Abraham  
 et ille reversus est in locum suum.

then the change of subject and location to weas basnedon would have been somewhat abrupt and confusing. Though such changes are not unknown in A.S. poetry, they are not frequent in Genesis A where the poet has in general too much regard for the continuity of his narrative to indulge in them. If it can be assumed then that he was engaged in some description of Sodom, the source of his information of its wickedness should be sought, for the Vulgate gives no details at this point: the answer lies probably in general Biblical and patristic tradition, although the language of the A.S. poem is too vague to allow any one description of Sodom,<sup>2</sup> to be isolated as the poet's source here. The implication of this is that the Biblical material must have appeared to the poet as the history of a complete civilization, as an epic cycle which he might and did treat with the freedom normally granted to an epic poet. It is the secular rather than the religious quality of his source which is here uppermost.

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1. The reading is that of Krapp, p.72. There is nothing in the Vulgate text which would help to decide in favour of this or any other variant.

2. See for example the anonymous Sodoma, MPL.Vol.2, Col.1159 sq.



Lines 2424b-2431a.

A sequence of events now starts, and the A.S. poet follows his source quite closely in the next lines. The opening phrases of Ch.XIX, v.1,

Veneruntque duo angeli Sodomam vespere  
et sedente Loth in foribus civitatis

are recounted in ll.2424b-2431a

ac him to sende  
stidmod cyning strange twægen  
aras sine, þa on ofentid  
siðe gesohton Sodoma ceastre.  
Hie þa æt burhgeate beorn gemitton  
sylfne sittan sunu Arones,  
þæt þam gleawan wero geonge þuhton  
men for his eagum.

with little change save at the end. The expression sunu Arones (l.2429b) is a typical A.S. patronymic derivative and shows the poet's intention to present the patriarchs in the fashion of Germanic chieftains. His addition of the statement that the angels appeared to Lot<sup>1</sup> as geonge men is curious, for taken along with his physical explanation of God's divining Sarah's incredulity in ll.2387-2389<sup>2</sup> it seems to imply an almost deliberately prosaic and incredulous quality in the A.S. mind. It appears in fact as if the A.S. mind prescribed certain conditions under which God and his ministers must act and the A.S. poet supplied these when the source did not overtly provide them.<sup>3</sup>

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1. For the list of commentators consulted in connection with this incident, see App. I List XX.
  2. See p. 304 supra.
  3. The poet's attitude could well have come from the commentary: e.g. Gregorius Magnus, Liber Moralium, XIVIII, 1,7: Aliquando imaginibus et ante corporeos oculos ad tempus ex aere assumptis per angelos loquitur Deus, sicut Abraham

non/

This in turn implies that the A.S. attitude to the Latin source and possibly to Christianity as a whole was not one of instant credulity: along with the acceptance of God as the supreme and only Deity there may have gone a selectively critical attitude to his ways upon the earth - an attitude which would gradually wither with the spread of patristic knowledge and commentary, and Catholic authority.

Lines 2431b-2435a.

The remainder of Ch.XIX, v.1, and the first phrase of v.2,

(1) . . . . .

qui cum vidisset surrexit et iuit obviam eis  
 adorevitque pronus in terra (2) et dixit  
 obsecro domini declinate in domum pueri vestri et  
 manete ibi  
 lavate pedes vestros et mane proficiscimini in viam  
 vestram

together give the source of ll.2431b-2435a

Aras þa metodes þeow  
 gastum togeanes, gretan eode  
 cumen cuðlice, cynna gemunde  
 riht and gerisno, and þam rincum bead  
 nihtfeormunge.

in which the A.S. poet shows some changes. He has stressed that lot cynna gemunde / riht and gerisno (ll.2433b-2434a) and has substituted nihtfeormunge (l.2435a) for the Biblical

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non solum tres viros videre potuit, sed etiam habitaculo terreno suscipere, et non solum suscipere, sed eorum usibus etiam cibos adhibere. Nisi enim angeli quaedam nobis internuntiantes ad tempus ex aere corpore sumerent, exterioribus profecto nostris obtutibus non apparerent; nec cibos cum Abraham caperent, nisi propter nos solidum aliquid ex coelesti elemento gestarent. MPL. Vol.76, Col.450. The same passage is quoted in Paterius Expositio Veteris et Novi Testamenti, Gen.c.XLV, MPL. Vol.79, Col.701, and (without great change) in Alcuin Interrogationes et Responsiones in Genesim, Int.187.MPL. Vol.100, Col.540.

footwashing: the object of both changes seems to us to be the poet's desire to present the patriarch as a chieftain well versed in the customs of Germanic social intercourse: the process of the gradual familiarisation of his material is again at work. The other changes he has made are to omit both Lot's bow (adoravit pronus in terra, v.2) and his reference to the angels' departure; but as Lot's bow is mentioned later, and the reference to the departure is unimportant, these changes demand no further consideration.

Lines 2435b-2440.

The poet now handles the angel's reply, given in the Vulgate in the final phrase of v.2, qui dixerunt minime sed in platea manebimus and in the A.S. poem in ll.2435b-2440,

	Him þa nergendes
ebele ærendracan	andswarodon;
Hafa arna þanc,	þara þe þu unc budest!
Wit þe þisse strate	stille þencað
sæles bidan,	sibban sunnan eft
forð to morgen	metod up forlet.

and the last line appears to contain an echo of the reference to the angels' departure, et mane proficiscimini in viam vestram omitted from the previous A.S. passage. The effect of the change is to give greater emphasis to the reply of the angels and to make it balance more evenly with the flanking accounts of Lot's actions.

Lines 2441-2447a.

The second account of Lot's actions occupies the following lines, ll.2441-2447a

þa to fotum Loth	
þam giestum hneah,	and him georne beað
reste and gereorda	and his recedes hleo
and þegnunge.	Hic on þanc curon
æbelinges est,	eodon sona,
swa him se Ebrisca	eorl wisade,
in undor edoras.	

commences with the delayed mention of Lot's bow, then records the first phrase of the Vulgate, v.3

compulit eos oppido ut deverterent ad eum  
and finally adds the acceptance of the angels, in the sentence last quoted. The poet's treatment of his source here is free and its cumulative effect is firstly to bring the actions performed within the familiar Germanic world, by substituting recedes hleow (1.2443b) and þegnunge (1.2444a) secondly, his treatment avoids the cumbersome compulit of the Vulgate; and finally he has altered the balance of the whole incident which the Vulgate gives as the abstract of a conversation and expanded it into a social vignette in which each side observes the proprieties. In fact the poet is again endeavouring to approximate his two worlds, and so to validate the Biblical world by reference to the Germanic. Lines 2447b-2450a.

Lot now entertains the strangers till evening, as we learn in the remainder of v.3, and the first phrase of v.4

ingressisque domum illius fecit convivium  
et coxit azyma et comederunt

4. prius autem quam irent cubitum

and in the A.S. poem in ll.2447b-2450a

þær him se eðela geaf,  
gleawferhð hæle, giestliðnyse  
fægre on flette, oððæt forð gewat  
wifenscama.

the principal difference between the two accounts being the substitution in the A.S. poem of giestliðnyse (1.2448b) for the more concrete coxit azyma (v.3) of the Vulgate. Granted that this is a reversal of the more usual process whereby the A.S. poet substitutes concrete terms for abstract<sup>1</sup> it seems

1. cf. supra, p. 51. for example.

quite explicable if we account it again part of the process of familiarisation of foreign material by the substitution of 'equivalent' terms: also, cooking being a less dignified activity, it would not figure in Anglo-Saxon entertainment with the same importance which it held in Biblical lands; hence probably comes the A.S. poet's use of a vague term.

Lines 2450b-2453a.

Darkness is now falling and the A.S. poet makes a characteristic<sup>1</sup> addition in ll.2450b-2453a,

þa com æfter niht  
on last dæge. Lagustreamas wraeh,  
brym mid bystro þisses lifes,  
ses and sidland.

We would venture to suggest that the origin of this addition is that the A.S. poet is attempting to raise in his audience a realisation of the dramatic atmosphere of the situation, - an atmosphere which has been suggested to him by the time indicated in the phrase prius autem quam irent cubitum (v.4) which has itself been discarded as too vague to achieve this effect in literal translation.

Lines 2453b-2457a.

The arrival of the citizens of Sodom to beset Lot's house needs no dramatisation, and hence the remainder of v.4

viri civitatis vallaverunt domum  
a puero usque ad senem omnis populus simul

is translated in ll.2453b-2457a

Comon Sodomware,  
geonge and ealde, gode unleofe

---

1. cf. The Anglo-Saxon poet is perhaps even happier in describing the coming of night. He revels in shadows, in mists and darkness and strange halflights. H.C. Wyld, Diction and Imagery in Anglo-Saxon Poetry, in ES. Vol. XI, p.67.

corðrum miclum cuman aesian,  
 þat hie behafdon herges mægne  
 Loth mid giestum.

with comparatively little expansion.

Lines 2457b-2461.

The demands of the people are given in  
 the next verse of the Vulgate, v.5,

Vocaveruntque Loth et dixerunt ei  
 ubi sunt viri qui introierunt ad te nocte  
 educ illos huc ut cognoscamus eos

and in the A.S. poem in ll.2457b-2461

Meton ladan ut  
 of þam hean hofe halige aras,  
 veras to gewealde, wordum cwædon  
 þæt mid þam heledum hænæn wolden  
 unscornlice, arna ne gylden.

In this the changes appear to be the rendering of the  
 direct speech in the Vulgate as indirect in the poem  
 together with the more overt statement of the intentions  
 of the men of Sodom. Both appear to aid the rapidity of  
 the narrative and to have been made with this in view.  
 We would hazard that the deftness with which the narrative  
 is here conducted shows that the source at this point is  
 completely congenial to the poet.

Lines 2462-2465.

The next lines see an omission which we  
 venture to think is rather unusual and indeed almost a  
 reproach to the poet: the Vulgate records in v.6,

egressus ad eos Loth post tergum adcludens  
 ostium ait

while the A.S. poem has in ll.2462-2465

þa aras hraðe, se ðe oft mæd ongeat,  
 Loth on recede, eode lungre ut,  
 sprac þa ofer ealle eðelingsa gedriht  
 sunu Arones, snytra gemyndig:

making no mention of the striking detail adcludens ostium.

That the poet should have omitted this detail with its telling realism remains to us rather curious, and owing to lack of evidence we must admit to being at a loss what explanation to suggest.

Lines 2466-2475.

Lot now tries to placate the citizens of Sodom, his offer being recorded in vv.7 and 8

7.nolite quaeso fratres mei nolite malum hoc facere  
8.habeo duas filias quae necdum cognoverunt virum  
educam eas ad vos et abutimini eis sicut placuerit  
vobis  
dummodo viris istis nihil faciatis mali  
quia ingressi sunt sub umbraculum tegminis mei.

The A.S. poet uses all this as we shall see, but alters the order of the individual elements: he starts with the existence of the daughters, translating the first phrase of v.8, and weaves into this the prohibition in v.7, giving in ll.2466-2470a

Her syndon inne unwenne twa  
dohtor mine. Doð, swa ic eow bidde  
(ne can þara idesa owðer gieta  
þurh gebedscipe beorna neawest)  
and geswicad þare synne.

and thereafter he offers them to the men of Sodom, on the condition that they shall do no harm to his guests, thus translating educam eas ad vos ... dummodo viris istis nihil mali faciatis (v.8) as ll.2470b-2472

ic eow sylle þa,  
ær ge sceonde wið gesceapu fremmen,  
ungifre yfel ylða bearnum.

He appears to have omitted the phrase abutimini eis sicut placuerit vobis as the rest of his offer contains no mention of this, ll.2473-2475

Onfoð þæm fæmnum, letað frið ægon  
gistes mine, þa ic for gode wille

gemundbyrdan, gif ic mot, for eow.

being largely an addition by the poet, although we may see in gistas (1.2474a) a reflection of the final phrase of v.8, quia ingressi sunt etc. The outcome of these changes is to place the offer of the daughters in the first part of his speech; hence the poet seems to have tried to make the "bait" more effective and the speech as a whole more orderly. He did not perhaps succeed as well as he might have done, but for our purpose it is sufficient to note that he made the attempt, as this shows that he is always concerned to make his narrative as plain as possible, an aim as much aesthetic as religious. His omission of the phrase abutimini eis sicut placuerit vobis might in our view be expected. Lot's offer of his daughters was apparently disapproved in Hebrew times<sup>1</sup> and could hardly meet with the approbation of the Germanic people with their stern morality; admittedly the phrase is artistically unnecessary, but it does appear that the source at this point was too uncongenial to admit of the A.S. poet's handling all that it offered.

Lines 2476-2484a.

The men of Sodom will have none of this however, as we learn in the Vulgate in the opening phrases of v.9,

at illi dixerunt recede illuc  
 et rursus ingressus es inquit ut advena numquid  
 ut iudices  
 te ergo ipsum magis quam hos adfligemus

---

1. cf. Lot's readiness to sacrifice the honour of his daughters though abhorrent to Hebrew morality, (cf. Ju. Ch. 19, vv. 25 and 30), shows him as a courageous champion of the obligations of hospitality in a situation of extreme embarrassment and is recorded to his credit. ICC Gen. p. 307.



and in the A.S. in ll.2476-2484a

Him þa seo menigeo þurh gemene word,  
 arlease cyn, andswarode:  
 þis þinceð gerisne and riht micel,  
 þæt þu ðe aferige of þisse folcsceare.  
 þu þas werðeode wræccan laste  
 freonda feasceaft feorran gesohtest,  
 wineþearfende. Wilt ðu, gif þu most,  
 wesan usser her aldordema,  
 leodum lareow? <sup>1</sup>

and beyond expanding the speech into a more poetic form,  
 the A.S. poet seems to have made little change.

Lines 2484b-2489a.

The two sides come to blows, but the  
 guests play their part manfully, as we learn in the latter  
 part of v.9, together with v.10,

Vimque faciebant Loth vehementissime  
 iamque prope erat ut refringerent fores  
 10.et ecce miserunt manum viri et introduxerunt ad se  
 Loth clausuruntque ostium.

The A.S. poet records this incident in ll.2484b-2489a

þa ic on Lothe gefrægn  
 hæðne heremæcgas handum gripan,  
 faum folmum. Him fylston wel  
 gystas sine, and hine of gromra þa,  
 cuman arfæste, clommum abrugdon  
 in under eðoras,

and it is again curious to note that he does not mention  
 the door at all: again we are at a loss to suggest why  
 this should be, as a fight in the narrow confines of a  
 doorway might be expected to appeal to the A.S. warrior. <sup>2</sup>

- 
1. wine þearfende l.2482a: MS þine þearfende: the emendation was proposed by Cosijn (Beiträge XIX p.455), accepted by Holthausen and Krepp, and seems essential to the sense.
  2. See for example the stirring extract from the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle quoted under the title of Cynewulf and Cyneheard in Sweet, Anglo-Saxon Reader, (10th Edn.), pp.1-3.

Lines 2489b-2498a.

The strangers now show their supernatural character by striking the rioters with blindness, as we read in v.11,

et eos qui foris erant percusserunt caecitate a  
minimo usque ad maximum.  
ita ut ostium invenire non possent.

This the A.S. poet renders without great change in ll.2489b-2495a,

and þa ofstlice  
ænra gehwīlcum ymstandendra  
folces Sōdome fæste forseton  
heafodsiena. Weard eal here sona  
burhwærena blind. Abrecan ne mehton  
reðemode reced æfter gistum  
swa hie fundedon,

but he then adds in ll.2495b-2498a

ac þær frome wæron  
godes spellboda. Hefde gistmagen  
stīðe strenges, styrnde swīðe  
werode mid wite.

which is plainly a comment of his own, since the following verse in the Vulgate starts the account of Lot's dialogue with the angels. This gratuitous addition, and the fact that the poet has treated the foregoing passage almost literally suggest that the source was at this point most congenial to the poet: and it is easy to understand why, since the strangers have in fact fulfilled to perfection the obligations which Anglo-Saxon rules of hospitality laid upon guests: having enjoyed his hospitality they must repay their host by supporting him in battle.<sup>1</sup>

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1. cf. Besides fugitives and voluntary guests, even hostages were expected to repay the host's hospitality with service in time of war. D.Whitelock, op.cit., p.34.

Lines 2498b-2510a.

The purpose of the strangers' visit now emerges in vv.12 and 13,

12.dixerunt autem ad Loth

habes hic tuorum quempiam generum aut filios  
aut filias

omnes qui tui sunt educ de urbe hac

13.delebimus enim locum istum

eo quod increverit clamor eorum coram Domino  
qui misit nos ut perdamus illos

which the A.S. poet records in ll.2498b-2510a

Sprecon wordum þa

fale freoðoscealcas fægre to Lothe:

Gif þu sunu age oððe swæne mæg,

Oððe on þissum folcum freond ænigne

eac þissum idesum þe we her on wlitað,

elæde of þysse leodbyrig, þa ðe leofe sien,

ofestum miclum, and þin ealdor nere,

þy læs þu forweorðe mid þyssum werlogan

Unc hit waldend heht for wera synnum

Sodoma and Gomorra sweartan lige,

fyre gesyllan and þas folc slean,

cynn on ceastrum mid cwealþree

and his torn wrecan.

a passage containing some additions which we should note. The first of these is the phrase freond ænigne (l.2501b) and it would seem to imply that the poet is interpreting God's mercy in more liberal terms than those given in the Vulgate at this point; but his criticism of the Biblical attitude may have been unconscious, and we should deem it unwise to base any conclusions upon this. The addition of and þin ealdor nere / þy læs þu forweorðe mid þyssum werlogan (ll.2504b-2505) we may take along with the forecast of the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, in ll.2507-2508a, Sodoma and Gomorra sweartan lige / fyre gesyllan and with the mention of God's purpose, in l.2510a, and his torn wrecan: the poet's reason for making these additions seems probably

to have been the added urgency which they give to the situation at this point in the poem. If any sense of urgency arises from the Biblical account, it must come from an intellectual apprehension of the situation, but the A.S. poet, using a different medium, could hardly depend upon this for his effect; hence these additions show us how the poet's Latin source was gradually embellished as it was transferred from its own medium to that of Anglo-Saxon epic poetry.

Lines 2510b-2512.

The same process of gradual embellishment is seen in the remaining lines of this speech, ll. 2510b-2512,

	bære tide is
neah gebrungen.	Gewit þu nergean þin
feorh foldwege.	þe is frea milde.

These are an addition by our poet, and they would appear to have been written into the poem with the object of showing openly the latent drama of the situation. The poet appears concerned to evoke as much emotion as possible from his source, and the way in which he expounds this situation and its emotions seems to show that he found his source here to be completely satisfactory.

Lines 2513-2518.

After l. 2512, there is another break in the MS, and the next surviving lines, numbered ll. 2513-2518,

Him þa ædre Loth	andswarode:
Ne mæg ic mid idesum	aldornere mine
swa feor heonon	feðegange
siðe gesecan.	Git me sibblufan
and freondscipe	fægre cyðað;
treowe and hylde	tibiab me.

deal with the matter given in the Vulgate in the same  
Ch.XIX, in vv.18 and 19,

18.dixitque Loth ad eos  
 queso Domine mi. 19.quia invenit servus tuus  
 gratiam coram te  
 et magnificasti misericordiam tuam quam  
 fecisti mecum  
 ut salveres animam meam  
 nec possum in monte salvari ne forte  
 apprehendat me malum et moriar

but we would remark that in the poet's handling of these  
 verses there are two important points. The first is that  
 he has altered the order of the elements so that Lot's  
 reference to miseriordiam in terms of sibblufan freondscipe  
treowe and hyldo (ll.2516b-2518) now follows the plea for  
 his safety: the reason for this is probably that the  
 A.S. poet wished Lot's feeling of danger to be emphasised  
 and hence placed it first in his speech.

This however depends upon what has  
 preceded in the lost leaf, and here we cannot altogether  
 agree with the verdict of Krapp: frea milde (sc. are) the  
concluding words on p.116, which contains only 10 lines of  
writing. A leaf has been cut out of the manuscript between  
p.116 and p.117, on which was the matter of Genesis XIX,  
14-17. Most of the missing leaf must have been left blank  
for illustration, and this was probably the reason why it  
was cut out.<sup>1</sup> The expansions and additions which the poet  
 has made in ll.2498b-2510, and the additions which he  
 subsequently makes in ll.2535-2540a, as we shall presently  
 see, seem to render it by no means certain that his handling  
 of vv.14-17 did not contain additions which would extend it  
 quite adequately over the missing leaf: and to link this  
 up with our main argument we would add that this dubiety

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1. Krapp. Notes, p.192.

renders the exact significance of his change in the internal order of Lot's speech somewhat imprecise.

The second point to be noted from 11.2513-2518 is the excuse which Lot gives for changing his destination, for this phrase seems to indicate that the A.S. poet may actually have visualised Lot as a man advanced in years; he presents us with a small vignette through which Lot emerges as a character and not merely a name; the significance of this is that this part of his source must have appeared to the A.S. poet as both congenial and important.

Lines 2519-2526a.

The following lines of the poem,

11.2519-2526a,

Ic wat hea burh    her ane neah,  
 lytle ceastre.    Lyfab we þar  
 are and reste,    þæt we aldornere  
 on Sigor up    secan moten.  
 Gif git þæt fæston    fyre willað  
 steape forstandan,    on þære stowe we  
 gesunde magon    sæles bidan,  
 feorh generigan.

appear to be based upon the Vulgate v.20,

est civitas haec iuxta ad quam possum fugere  
 parva et salvabor in ea  
 numquid non modica est et vivet anima mea.

Apart from the A.S. poet's characteristic insertion of the concrete detail are and reste (l.2521a) the earlier part of the passage just quoted contains little worthy of remark, but in the latter lines of the section, 11.2523-2526a, the A.S. poet appears almost to have abandoned the wording of the Vulgate in order to close Lot's speech with a passage which shall summarise the whole situation briefly and clearly --- even adding from v.22 the name of Lot's

refuge. The effect of this is to emphasise once again the selective and individualising quality of God's justice, and it may possibly be the contrast which this presented to the indiscriminating operations of the pagan wyrd which made this passage, as we have seen, both congenial and important to the A.S. poet.

Lines 2526b-2527.

The reply of the angels is announced in v.21 with the words dixitque ad eum: but the A.S. poet alters the singular to the plural, and thus ll.2526b-2527

Him þa freondlice

englas arfæste andswaredon

do not destroy his realised picture of the angels as a group: his source apparently does not govern him so rigidly as to rob him of his dramatic vision.

Lines 2528-2534.

The detail of their reply we find in the Vulgate in the remainder of v.21 and the first part of v.22,

ecce etiam in hoc suscepi preces tuas  
 ut non subvertam urbem pro qua locutus es  
 22.festina et salvare ibi quia non potero facere  
 quicquam donec ingrediaris illuc  
 idcirco vocatum est nomen urbis illius Segor.

The A.S. poet retells this in ll.2528-2534

þu scealt þære bene, nu þu ymb burh sprycest,  
 tida weorðan. Teng recene to  
 þam fæstene; wit þe friðe healdað  
 and mundbyrde. Ne moton wyt  
 on werlogum wrecan torn godes,  
 swebban synnig cynn, ær ðon þu on Segor þin  
 bearn geleda and bryd somed.

his main change being to alter the order of the elements, but the alteration is neither so lengthy nor so thorough

that we need delay over it. More noticeable is his omission of the etymology of Segor, an omission made probably out of deference to an audience to whom such knowledge would make no appeal.

Lines 2535-2541.

Now that his boon is granted, Lot enters Segor at dawn the following day, as the Vulgate tells briefly in v.23

sol egressus est super terram et Lot ingressus est in Segor

but the A.S. poet is not content with such brevity and the account of Lot's journey is extended to cover ll.2535-2541

þa onette Abrahames mæg  
to þam festenne. Feðe ne sparode  
eorl mid idesum, ac he ofstum forð  
lastas legde, oððæt he geledde  
bryd mid hearnum under burhlocan  
in Segor his. þa sunne up,  
folca friðcandel, furðum eode.<sup>1</sup>

The expansion thus made develops the account of Lot's journey

1. Holthausen (p.73) and Krapp (p.75) both punctuate with a new sentence at þa sunne up, etc, and continue it beyond the end of our quotation above, the whole being

þa sunne up  
folca friðcandel furðum eode  
þa ic sendan gefragn swegles aldor  
swefl of heofnum and sweartne lig  
werum to wite weallende fyr  
þas hie on ordagum drihten tyndon  
lange þrage.

but this latter material springs as we shall see from the subsequent verse in the Vulgate and it seems more likely that the sentence division in the A.S. poem corresponded originally with the verse division of the Vulgate. Also, if the punctuation given by Holthausen and Krapp is adopted, Lot's entry into Segor does not necessarily coincide with the start of the destruction and some of the sense of urgency of the whole account is lost in consequence.



into a vignette by no means lacking in dramatic appeal; from it we can see that at this point the source has fired the poet's imagination so that he is producing what is all but original poetry.

Lines 2542-2548a.

The destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah is now accomplished by the means recorded in the Vulgate in v.24,

igitur Dominus pluit super Sodomam et Gomorram  
sulphur et ignem a Domino de caelo.

and by the A.S. poet in ll.2542-2548a,

þa ic sendan gefnegn swegles aldor  
swefl of heofnum and swartne lig  
werum to wite, weallonde fyr,  
þas hie on erdegam drinten tyndon  
lange þrage. Him þas lean forgeald  
gasta waldend! grap heahþrea  
on heðencynn.

with the addition however of a reference to God's purpose in the destruction. This addition seems to show how the material in the source could present the poet with an excellent opportunity to satisfy those didactic and moralising impulses which lie behind so much A.S. writing:<sup>1</sup> but such a passage as this should not be mistaken for the only purpose of the poem; this seems to have been aesthetic as well as propagandist, for the Genesis A as a whole contains remarkably few of these moralising passages and they are never intruded where they would disturb the unity of mood. The Vulgate seems to have presented to the poet not solely a medium for exhorting or converting his fellows, but also

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1. The Wanderer and the Seafarer are loci classici for this: but the point has frequently been advanced elsewhere.

a record of stirring events in which he can find both unity and variety of mood and on which he can embroider whatever reflections he wishes.

Lines 2548b-2562a.

The results of God's action appear in v.25,

et subvertit civitates has et omnem circa regionem  
universos habitatores urbium et cuncta terrae virentia  
and in the A.S. poem in a slightly more imaginative fashion  
in ll.2548b-2551,

Hlynn wearð on ceastrum  
cirm arleasra cwealmes on ore,  
laðen cynnes. Lig eall fornam  
þæt he grenes fond goldburgum in

No account is taken of the phrase omnem circa regionem,  
until the following lines, ll.2552-2562a

swylce þær ymbuten unlytel ðæl  
sidre foldan geondsended was  
bryne and brogan. Bearwas wurdon  
to axen and to yslan, eorðan westma,  
efne swa wide swa ða witelac  
reðe gerahton rum land wera.  
Strudende fyr steapes and geapes,  
swogende leg, forsweah eall geador  
þæt on Sodoma byrig seegas ahton  
and on Gomorra. Eall þæt god spilde,  
frea mid þy folce.

where it becomes the subject of a long descriptive addition. In this passage we cannot forbear from remarking upon the poet's strikingly effective addition of concrete detail in Bearwas wurdon / to axen and to yslan (ll.2554b-2555a); but the main interest seems rather to lie in the spaciousness of his description as a whole. We would venture to suggest that the passage is the outcome of the interest and sympathy which his source has already raised, perhaps by the breadth of vision concealed in the phrase omnem circa regionem

moving his poetic talent to produce description of a type which would have a sure and instant appeal to his audience. It must be emphasised that it is not so much the wording of the source which produces this effect as the cumulative emotion evoked by the whole incident in the Vulgate speaking almost directly from the Latin background to the A.S. mind; Lines 2562b-2567a.

The episode finishes with the transfiguration of Lot's wife: the Vulgate notes this briefly in the final verse of Ch.XIX, v.26,

respiciensque uxor eius post se versa est in statuam  
salis,

which the A.S. poet expands somewhat to form ll.2562b-2567a

þa þæt fyrgebrec,  
leoda lifgedal, Lothes gehyrde  
bryd on burgum, under bæc beseah  
wið þæs walfylles. Us gewritu secgað  
þæt heo on sealtstones sone wurde  
anlicnesse.

The main point of interest is the poet's remark Us gewritu secgað (l.2565b). The phrase is almost certainly a concession to A.S. scepticism, which requires assurance for the miracle. The word gewritu commonly refers to the Vulgate<sup>1</sup>, and it is indicative of the poet's attitude to his source however, that he chooses this phrase as (presumably) the highest authority to which he can appeal: whatever his attitude may have been as a poet, his attitude here qua controversialist is that of complete acceptance of Biblical authenticity.

Lines 2567a-2575.

Now that he has established the authenticity of the miracle, the A.S. poet makes an addition in ll.2567b-2575,

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1. See for example, the A.S. version of Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica, bk.4, Ch.22.

æfre siððan  
 se monlica (þæt is mere spell)  
 stille wunode, þær hie strang begeat  
 wite, þæs heo wordum wuldres begna  
 hyran ne wolde. Nu sceal heard and steap  
 on þam wicum wyrde bidan,  
 drihtnes domes, hwonne dogora rim,  
 woruld gewite. þæt is wundra sum,  
 þara ðe geworhte wuldres aldor.

- an addition which appears to be designed to satisfy the A.S. love of moralising still further: the poet probably felt that his poem must present a philosophy as satisfying as any given in the pagan epics, and included these lines to increase the resemblance between his poem and these earlier works. We should note too that wyrd, the principal subject of pagan moralising is here made equivalent to drihtnes dom (ll.2572b-2573a), for thus the decrees of fate are adapted to become the instrument of God, and the pagan morality which would be familiar to the audience is not cancelled but rather used and transcended.  
Lines 2576-2586.

Referring again to his source, the A.S. poet first of all translates the Vulgate, v.27

Abraham autem consurgens mane ubi steterat prius  
 cum Domino

in ll.2576-2579e

Him þe Abraham gewat ana gangan  
 mid ærðege þæt he eft gestod  
 þær wordum ær wið his waldend spræc  
 frod frumgara.

the only additions being the phrase Him...gewat (l.2576a) required no doubt by the compact expression of the Latin, and the phrase frod frumgara (l.2579b) added probably as a reminiscence of pagan poetry. The following verse of the Vulgate, however, v.28

intuitus est Sodomam et Gomorram

et universam terram regionis illius  
viditque ascendentem favillam de terra quasi  
fornacis fumum

is condensed by the A.S. poet into ll.2579b-2580

He geseah from foldan up  
wide fleogan welgrimne rec

and it seems to us that the poet has made this condensation deliberately to avoid drawing a second picture of the havoc wrought by God, and thus detracting from the effect of the lines which follow, ll.2581-2586

Hie þæs wlenco onwod and wingedrync  
þæt hie firendæda to frece wurdon,  
synna þriste, soð ofergeaton,  
drihtnes domas, and hwa him dugeda forgeaf,  
bled on burgum. Forþon him brego engla  
wylmhatne lig to wraece sende.

These lines are typical of the moralising tendency of all Anglo-Saxon poetry, and their deliberate inclusion here, provides another example of the congeniality of the material which the A.S. poet found in his source.

Lines 2587-2590.

The A.S. poet now turns to his source again, to v.29,

cum enim subverteret Deus civitates regionis illius  
recordatus est Abrahæ et liberavit Loth de subversione  
urbium in quibus habitaverat.

but he does not treat it literally. In ll.2587-2590,

Waldend usser gemunde warfest þa  
Abraham arlice, swa he oft dyde  
leafne mannan. Loth generede,  
mæg þæs oðres, þa seo manegeo forwearð

he compresses the reference to the destruction (cum enim etc.) into one hemistich þa seo manegeo forwearð (l.2590b); the Lord's action in saving Lot is briefly recorded, but the main content of the passage consists of three additions made by the A.S. poet. These are warfest, (l.2587b) a

reminder of God's Covenant with Abraham; swa he oft dyde / leofne mannan (ll.2588b-2589b) a comment on the Lord's relationship with Abraham, and thus indirectly applying to the Covenant, and finally meag ðæs oðres (l.2590a), a kenning describing Lot in terms of Abraham. The cumulative effect of the changes is to alter the balance from what it is in the source, so that Abraham becomes a more dominant figure at the expense of Lot and the Covenant is recalled: and as there is no mention of the Covenant in the Vulgate at this point, the A.S. poet's alterations seem to indicate that he intends the Covenant to be at least one of the themes of his poem.

Lines 2591-2599.

The story of Lot's final settlement is now given by the Vulgate in v.30,

Ascendit Loth de Segor et mansit in monte  
duae quoque filiae eius cum eo  
timuerat enim manere in Segor  
et mansit in spelunca ipse et duae filiae eius

and this is reproduced by the A.S. poet in ll.2591-2599

Ne dorste þa ðædrof hæle  
for frean egesan on þam festenne  
leng eardigean, ac him Loth gewat  
of byrig gangan and his bearn somed  
welstowe fyrr wic sceewian,  
oðþat hie be hliðe heare dune  
eorðscraf fundon. þær se eadega Loth  
warfast wunode, waldende leof,  
degrimes worn and his dohtor twa.

The expression in the A.S. poem is expanded somewhat by the addition of a few phrases such as warfast (l.2598a)<sup>1</sup>,

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1. Applied as here to Lot, it can hardly mean more than 'righteous', although it is often used of those whom God specially protects, e.g. Daniel (l.194a) Andreas (ll.1273b and 1310a).

but there appears to be little of real importance therein; the ordering of the material however is considerably improved, by the grouping of closely related elements, showing the A.S. poet's skill in narrative and his concern for its management.

Lines 2600-2606.

There is general agreement that a leaf is missing from the MS between and his dohtor twa (1.2599b), and hie dydon swa (1.2600a), and that this leaf contained the material given in the Vulgate in vv.31-32,<sup>1</sup>

31.dixitque maior ad minorem  
 pater noster senex est et nullus virorum remansit  
 in terra  
 qui possit ingredi ad nos iuxta morem universae terrae  
 32.veni inebriemus eum vino dormiamusque cum eo  
 ut servare possimus ex patre nostro semen

and the A.S. poet's habit of adding to the material in his source makes it impossible to judge whether the material in these two verses might not have been adequate to fill the postulated lacuna.<sup>2</sup> After this lacuna, 1.2600a hie dydon swa seems to be exactly founded upon the opening phrase of v.33, dederunt itaque patri suo bibere vinum nocte illa, but thereafter the versions differ again. The Latin has in vv.33-35,

33.dederunt itaque patri suo bibere vinum nocte illa

- 
1. Gollancz, p.lviii, Two leaves have been cut out between pp.116-17 and 122-3 . . . .The latter was the right hand leaf of the middle sheet corresponding to Gen.XIX.31-2.
  2. Owing to the poet's varying treatment of his source-material, we cannot fully accept Gollancz' statement referring to this lacuna, In both cases much space must have been left for illustrating, though the latter subject hardly lends itself to such treatment; . . . Gollancz, id.

- et ingressa est maior dormivitque cum patre  
 at ille non sensit nec quando accubuit filia  
 nec quando surrexit
34. altera quoque die dixit maior ad minorem  
 ecce dormivi heri cum patre meo  
 demus ei bibere vinum etiam hac nocte  
 et dormies cum eo, ut salvemus semen de patre nostro
35. dederunt etiam et illa nocte patri vinum  
 ingressaque minor filia dormivit cum eo  
 et nec tunc quidem sensit quando concubuerit vel  
 quando illa surrexerit.

which gives the account of the incident twice: the A.S.  
 poem however, in ll.2600-2606

Hie dydon swa; drunconum eode  
 seo yldre to ear on reste  
 heora bega fæder. Ne wiste blondenfeax  
 hwonne him fæmnan to bryde him bu wæron,  
 on ferhðcofan fæste genearwod  
 mode and gemynde, þæt he mægða sið  
 wine druncen gewitan ne mehte.

recounts the story but once, the younger sister's part  
 being indicated only by bu (l.2603b); but so close is the  
 repetition in the Vulgate that this is all that is required,  
 and the A.S. poet's rearrangement seems to indicate again  
 a care for his narrative. He does however add a comment  
 on Lot's drunkenness, in ll.2604-2606

on ferhðcofan fæste genearwod  
 mode and gemynde, þæt he mægða sið  
 wine druncen gewitan ne mehte.

perhaps intending to exculpate Lot - gewitan ne mehte  
 (l.2606b) - from the more serious fault of incest. The  
 same problem troubled the commentators,<sup>1</sup> but no commentator  
 uses an expression resembling the poet's closely enough to

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1. See for example Ambrosius de Abraham, I.6, MPL. Vol.14,  
 col.463; Hrabanus Maurus, Commentarius in Genesim, XIX,  
 35, MPL, Vol.107, col.559; Remigius of Auxerre, Comment-  
arius in Genesim, XIX,35. MPL.Vol.131, col.93.



suggest a possible source.<sup>1</sup>

Lines 2607-2620.

In due course the daughters brought forth offspring, as the Vulgate records in the final verses of this chapter, vv.36-38

36.conceperunt ergo duae filiae Loth de patre suo  
37.peperitque maior filium et vocavit nomen eius Moab  
ipse est pater Moabitarum usque in praesentem diem  
38.minor quoque peperit filium et vocavit nomen eius  
Ammon, id est filius populi mei  
ipse est pater Ammonitarum usque hodie.

The material in these verses is recorded by the A.S. poet in ll.2607-2620

Iðesa wurdon eaene, eaforan brohtan.  
willgesweostor on woruld sunu  
heora ealdan fæder. þara eðelinga  
modor oðerne Moab nemde,  
Lothes dohtor, seo on life was  
wintrum yldre. Us gewritu secgeað,  
godcunde bec, þæt seo gingre  
hire agen bearn Ammon hete.  
Of þam frumgarum folces unrim,  
brymfæste twa þeoda awocan.  
Oðre þara megða Moabitare  
eorðbuende ealle hatað  
widmære cynn, oðre weras nemnað  
eðelinga bearn Ammonitare

with little addition save Us gewritu secgeað (l.2612b)

It would perhaps be fanciful to see in this addition an appeal to authority intended to imply a special dispensation to Lot's daughters; the addition may be of no more import than the Chaucerian as it telles and in consequence we would draw no inference from it. The ordering of the material however is distinctly better in the A.S. poem than it is in the Vulgate: again the poet has grouped like with like;

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1. The closest is Ambrosius, loc.cit. Sane discimus vitandam ebrietatem per quam crimina cavere (col.464) non possumus.

moreover, this has enabled him to conclude the tale of Lot with a reference to the great tribes which descended from his oddly-acquired grandchildren. The result is to hint at the existence of a background of Christian legend as rich as that which lies behind the pagan epics. The poet's haste to seize such an opportunity is again a testimony to the A.S. habit of evaluating Christianity at least partially by comparison with the pagan world.

Lines 2621-2623a.

Abraham's move to Gerar follows, given in the Vulgate in the first verse of the following chapter, Ch.XX, v.1,

Profectus inde Abraham in terram australem  
habitavit inter Cades et Sur  
et peregrinatus est in Geraris

and in the A.S. poem in ll.2621-2623a

Gewat him pa mid bryde broðor Arones  
under Abimelech achte ledan  
mid his hiwum.

The A.S. poet has omitted the Biblical names, and has added concrete detail, mid his hiwum (l.2623a) for example, that will appeal to his audience; he has also introduced the name of Abimelech who is to figure largely in the coming episode. The result of the change is a decided gain in speed and clarity; and the fact that he can single out one verse and show such care to make it appeal to his audience, shows that he is writing with all his material in view, and with his audience always in mind.

Lines 2623b-2632a.

The Vulgate recounts Abraham's conduct with neither introduction nor explanation, - perhaps the

brevity of the account rendered both unnecessary - giving in v.2,

dixitque de Sarra uxore sua Soror mea est  
misit ergo Abimelech rex Geraræ et tulit eam.

The A.S. poet however adds - after the account of Abraham's conduct which he gives in ll.2623b-2625

Heleðum sægde  
ðæt Sarra his sweostor wære,  
Abraham wordum (bearh his aldre),

- a comment of his own, in ll.2626-2627

þy he wiste gearwe ðæt he winemaga,  
on folce lyt freonda hæfde.

This seems to be an excuse which might appeal to a Germanic audience; it has already been seen that exile was an appelling thought to the Germanic tribesman, and Abraham's situation and the expression of the excuse are both calculated to arouse this idea. That the poet should have solved the problem of Abraham's conduct by reinstating this problem in Germanic terms indicates that he felt the Biblical world as particularly relevant to the Germanic world of his own day, (in a historical as well as an ethical sense), and also that he himself had a deep imaginative sympathy with both these worlds.

The second part of this same verse from the Vulgate is translated more or less literally in ll.2628-2629

þa se þeoden his þegnas sende,  
heht hie bringan to him selfum.

but thereafter the poet again makes an addition, in ll.2630-2632a,

þa was ellþeodig oðre siðe  
wif Abrahames from wære leded  
on fremdes fæðm.

- an addition which summarises Sarah's plight. The significance of this addition appears to us to lie in its importance for a listening as opposed to a reading audience: it tends in fact to the establishment of the presumption that the poem was intended to be read aloud, and written with this carefully in view.

Lines 2632b-2637.

The A.S. poem now recounts God's intervention to save Sarah, in ll.2632b-2637

Him þær fylste þa  
eccc drihten, swa he oft dyde,  
neregend usser. Com nihtes self,  
þær se waldend læg wine druncen.  
Ungan þa soðcynig þurh swefn sprecan  
to þam æðelinge and him yrre hweop

a passage based upon the corresponding phrase from the Vulgate, the first phrase of v.3,

venit autem Deus ad Abimelech per somnium noctis  
et ait ei

though with three significant additions. The first is the poet's comment in ll.2632b-2634a

Him þær fylste þa  
eccc drihten swa he oft dyde  
neregend usser

- a comment which seems to us to be made perhaps to remind the audience of the special relationship between God and Abraham: and the same may well be true of the third addition yrre (l.2637b). The poet's reemphasising of this relationship here may perhaps indicate that he is himself, or felt his audience might still be, dubious about Abraham's conduct; Abraham's character may still have required reinforcing by God's authority: in other words, the poet remains at this point an independent and thoughtful artist. The second addition is the curious remark that Abimelech was wine druncen (l.2635b), an allegation for which no source can

be found<sup>1</sup>, except that already postulated<sup>2</sup>, namely that such conduct was so common in the A.S. world as to be almost natural. This would be a slender foundation, however, upon which to build further reasoning.

Lines 2638-2666a.

There follows the debate of God and Abimelech. It commences in the Vulgate with God's speech in the second phrase of v.3:

en morieris propter mulierem quam tulisti habet enim  
virum

which the A.S. poet renders in ll.2638-2641a

þu Abrahames idese gename,  
bryde æt beorne. þe abregdan sceal  
for þære dæde deað of breostum  
sawle þine.

and although the phraseology of the poem is expanded, the content and tone of the speech remain unaltered, and it need not delay us. The first phrase of v.4,

Abimelech vero non tetigerat eam

is omitted by the poet (for reasons which will appear below) and after announcing Abimelech's reply in ll.2641b-2642

Him sýmbelwerig  
sinces brytta þurh slæp oncwæð

in which the A.S. poet has added both concrete detail, (sýmbelwerig, l.2641b) and an "epicising" tag (sinces brytta

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1. These commentators who deal especially with this point are Bruno Astens, Expositio in Genesis, XX, MPL, Vol.164, col. 198; Rupertus Abbas, de Trinitate et Operibus Ejus, XXI, MPL, Vol.167, col.415; Petrus Comestor, Historia Scholastica, Gen.IV, MPL, Vol.198, col.1102. The latter refers correctly to Josephus' note that Abimelech was afflicted with illness to prevent his despoiling Sarah. (Josephus, I, 12).

2. cf. supra p. 180.

l.2642a) to the unadorned et ait (v.4) of the Vulgate, the poet goes on to render the rest of v.4,

Domine num gentem  
ignorantem et iustam interficies

as ll.2643-2648a

Hwæt, þu æfre, engla beoden,  
þurh þin yrre wilt aldre letan,  
heah beheowan, þene be her leofað  
rihtum þeawum, bið on ræde fæst,  
modgeþance, and him miltse  
to þe seceð?

making several changes as he does so. Domine is taken from its place at the head and embodied within the reply, the reply itself is given at greater length: but it is not till ll.2647b-2648a (and him miltse / to þe seceð) that the A.S. poet adds anything to the Vulgate account: the advice to pray for mercy from God seems to have been common in A.S. verse<sup>1</sup> and it is doubtful if we need postulate any source beyond common poetic habit and the poet's already known desire to give moral suasion.

The rest of Abimelech's reply, given in the Vulgate in v.5,

nonne ipse dixit mihi soror mea est  
et ipsa ait frater meus est

is given by the A.S. poet in the following passage, ll.2648b-2652

Me segde ær  
þæt wif hire wordum selfa  
unfrigendum, þæt heo Abrahames  
sweostor wære. Næbbe ic synne wið hie  
fæcna ænig gefremed gene.

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1. See for example the opening lines of the Wanderer

Oft him anhaga are gebideð  
metudes miltse

(Text from The Exeter Book, ed. G.P.Krapp and E.van K.Dobbie, New York, 1936, p.134).



11.2653-2654,

Him þa ædre eft ece drihten,  
soðfast metod, þurh þæt swefn oncwæð:

in which the addition of a reference to swefn (1.2654b) is a concession to A.S. scepticism, but also a testimony to the poet's dramatic imagination, 11.2655-2666a:

Agif Abrahame idese sine,  
wif to gewealde, gif þu on worulde leng,  
æðelunga helm, aldres recce.  
He is god and gleaw, mag self wið god spreca,  
geseon sweglcýning. þu sweltan scealt  
mid feo and mid feorme, gif ðu þam frumgaran  
bryde wýrnest. He abiddan mag,  
gif he ofstum me ærendu wile  
þeawfast and gepýldig þin abeodan,  
þæt ic þe lissa lifigendum giet  
on dagum læte duguba brucan  
sinces gesundne.

differ from the Vulgate in several places. The poet's addition of the threat gif þu on worulde leng / æðelunga helm aldres recce (11.2656b-2657), is difficult to explain, as it serves no useful end: the poet may have felt that to mingle threat and directive would be more realistic, but the evidence for a decision is lacking. Secondly, he transfers the idea contained in orabit pro te et uives to be the final idea in God's speech, expanding it in 11.2661b-2666a

He abiddan mag  
gif he ofstum me ærendu wile  
þeawfast and gepýldig þin abeodan,  
þæt ic þe lissa lifigendum giet  
on dagum læte duguba brucan  
sinces gesundne

and his doing so shows again his excellent sense of order: the prohibition stated, the solution of the difficulty is



shown: Abraham moreover has been reinstated as a powerful figure. In fact we are once more presented with evidence that the poet views his material as a whole.

Lines 2666b-2672a.

Abimelech awakens in terror, and both versions of the story are brief and alike: the Vulgate has in v.8,

statiq[ue] de nocte consurgens Abimelech vocavit  
omnes servos suos  
et locutus est universa verba haec in auribus eorum  
timueruntque omnes viri valde

a passage which the A.S. poet reproduces without significant change in ll.2666b-2672a

þa slæpe tobrægd  
forht fólces weard. Heht him fetigean to  
gesprecan sine, spedum sægde  
eorlum Abimelech, egesan geðread,  
waldendes word. Weras him ondredon  
for þære dæde drihtnes handa  
sweng after swefne.

Lines 2672b-2690.

Abimelech now sends for Abraham, and addresses him, as the Vulgate tells in the first phrase of v.9,

vocavit autem Abimelech etiam Abraham et dixit ei  
which the A.S. poet reproduces in ll.2672b-2674

Heht sylf cyning  
him þa Abraham to ofstum miclum.  
þa reordode rice þeoden:

without any significant change. The speech itself is given by the Vulgate in the rest of v.9 and v.10,

(9. . . . .)

quid fecisti nobis quid peccavimus in te  
quia induxisti super me et super regnum meum  
peccatum grande  
quae non debuisti facere fecisti nobis.

10. rursumque exostulans ait quid vidisti ut hoc faceres  
and it appears to us to bear a marked tone of just accusation.  
In the A.S. poem, which gives the same speech in the corresponding passage, ll. 2675-2690

Mago Ebreā, þas þu me wylle  
wordum secean, hu geworhte ic þæt,  
siððan þu usic under, Abraham, þine  
on þas eðelturf mhta læddest,  
þæt þu me þus swiðe searo renodest?  
þu ellpeodig usic woldest  
on þisse folcsceare facne besyrwan,  
synnum besmitan, sægdest wordum  
þæt Sarra þin sweostor wære,  
lices mæge, woldest laðlice  
burh þæt wif on me wrohte alecgean,  
ormate yfel. We þe arlice  
gefeormedon, and þe freondlice  
on þisse werpeode wic getæhton,  
land to lissum. þu us leanast nu,  
unfreondlice fremena þancast!

there are three features which do not appear in the Latin speech: the first is the accusation of fraud, facne besyrwan (l. 2681b), the second is the overt mention of the statement about Sarah sægdest wordum / þæt Sarra þin sweostor wære (ll. 2682b-2683) and the last is the contrast implied throughout the speech by words like ellpeodig (l. 2680a) and overtly stated in the closing lines ll. 2686b-2690

We þe arlice  
gefeormedon, and þe freondlice  
on þisse werpeode wic getæhton,  
land to lissum. þu us leanast nu,  
unfreondlice fremena þancast.

Though all three features are technically additions, they do not really add any new material to the accusations: what they do is to give to the A.S. the same tone as is shown in the Latin and in doing so they demonstrate to us the accuracy of the A.S. poet's Latin scholarship, in detecting and

reproducing not only the sense but also the tone of his source.

Lines 2691-2716.

Abraham's reply follows, given in the Vulgate in vv.11-13,

11. respondit Abraham  
cogitavi mecum dicens forsitan non est timor  
Dei in loco isto  
et interficient me propter uxorem meam
12. alia autem et vera soror mea est  
filia patris mei et non filia matris meae  
et duxi eam uxorem
13. postquam autem eduxit me Deus de domo patris  
mei dixi ad eam  
hanc misericordiam facies mecum  
in omni loco ad quem ingredieris dices  
quod frater tuus sim

and in the corresponding passage of the A.S. poem, ll.2691-2716, which is best examined piecemeal. The first section, ll.2691-2695

Abraham þa andswarode:  
Ne dýde ic for facne ne for feondscipe  
ne for white þess ic þe wena uþe.  
Ac ic me, gumens baldor, gubbordes sweng  
leodmaga fear lare gebearh.

is probably based upon v.11; the correspondence is not very close, but both accounts imply that one reason for Abraham's conduct is that he is in a foreign land where there will be no help for him, from God (in the Vulgate) or kinsmen (in the A.S. poem). To this the poet adds the mention of fraud (facne l.2692a) and enmity (feondscipe, l.2692b) and the reason for his divergence from the Vulgate here lies in the expansions which he has made to the previous speech, in which Abimelech attacked Abraham, (ll.2675-2690, quoted above) as the repetition of facne (ll.2681b-2692a) shows. At the same time Abimelech is addressed as

gumena baldor (1.2694a) a more favourable phrase than any yet applied to him; the poet seems to be preparing for the eventual rapprochement which is to take place between Abraham and Abimelech; and his treatment of this verse shows us that as he composed he bore in mind both what he had written and what he was still to write.

The poet now omits v.12, and goes straight on to render the first phrase of v.13,

postquam autem eduxit me Deus de domo patris mei  
in 11.2696-2697

sibðan me se halga of hyrde frean,  
mines fæder fyrr elædde.

as comparison of the two versions seems to show.<sup>1</sup> The omitted verse raises the question of marriage within the forbidden degrees and also draws attention again to the cowardice of Abraham's conduct. The commentators avoid the first difficulty by announcing that the law relating to consanguineous marriage did not then exist<sup>2</sup>; and they attempt to explain the second by holding that if

1. The punctuation in Holthausen, p.78, commencing a new sentence with sibðan (1.2695 according to his numbering, 1.2696 according to Krapp's), seems preferable to that of Krapp p.80, in view of the commencement of a new verse in the Bible, and a new topic in the speech itself.
2. See Agustine, Contra Faustum Manichaeum XXII, 35. Cum igitur Abraham eo tempore viveret in rebus humanis, quo . . . . filios autem fratrum aliosque longinquiore gradu generis consanguineos, nulla lege, nulla potestate prohibita consuetudo iungebat. MPL. Vol.42, Col.422. For other commentators who give this explanation, see App.I. List XXI.

Abraham had not done all he himself could to save his life, he would have been guilty of tempting God<sup>1</sup>: but both answers could well have been judged too subtle by the poet, and the reference to Sarah's sistership omitted because Abraham's conduct was already questionable.

This explanation appears more likely in that there follows an addition by the A.S. poet, ll.2698-2703,

Ic fele siððan folca gesohte,  
wina uncuðra, and þis wif mid me,  
freonda feasceaft. Ic þas fares a  
on wenum sæt hwonne me wraðra sum  
ellpeodigne aldre beheowe,  
se ðe him þas idese eft agan wolde.

having no source in the Vulgate: the reason for the addition of these lines seems to be the need that Abraham should justify himself: and the poet shows his skill in evoking again the one plea which might have some validity with the Germanic audience - the excuse of exile<sup>2</sup>.

The poet returns to the source, this time to the latter part of v.13,

. . . dixi ad eam  
hanc misericordiam facies mecum

- 
1. See Augustine ibid. c.36. Sed si interrogatus Abraham, illam feminam indicaret uxorem, duas res tuendas committeret Deo, et suam vitam, et conjugis pudicitiam. Pertinet autem ad sanam doctrinam, quando habet quod faciat homo, non tentare Dominum Deum suum. MPL. Vol.42, col.423. He returns to the same idea in Contra Secundum Manichaeum, 23. (MPL. Vol.42. col.599)
  2. Abraham's plea that this is his normal practice is justified historically at least, since he has employed the same ruse before: see the Vulgate, Ch.X, vv.10-20, the A.S. Genesis ll.1824 sqq. discussed supra p.221 ff: but there is no verbal similarity between the two accounts.

in omni loco ad quem ingrediemur dices quod  
frater tuus sim

for the basis for ll.2704-2710a

Forþon ic wigsmiðum wordum sagde  
Ðæt Sarra min sweostor were  
eghwer eorðan þær wit earde leas  
mid weelandum winnan sceoldon.  
Ic þæt ilce dreaþ on þisse eðyltyrf,  
siððan ic þina, þeoden mæra,  
mundbyrde geceas.

As is shown by his use of the phrase eghwer eorðan (1.2706a) Sarah's part in the pact has been a most noteworthy omission, for it indicates that Abraham by now feels more sure of himself. Further, Sarah's part in the bargain has been suppressed and Abraham describes the arrangement as an accomplished fact which he presents to the wigsmiðum (1.2704b): this change seems to make plainer the indication that Abraham's self-confidence is returning. Nor does there appear to be any psychological contradiction in what follows. Abraham's speech closes with ll.2710b-2716,

Ne was me on mode cub,  
hwæder on þyssum folce frean almhtiges  
egesa were, þa ic her ærest com.  
Forþon ic þegnum þinum dyrnde  
and sylfum þe swiðost micle  
soðan spræce, þæt me Sarra  
bryde laste beddreste gestah.

- lines which use the omitted phrase of v.11

cogitavi mecum dicens forsitan non est  
timor Dei in loco isto

and although they are again excusatory in content they end with an open avowal of and reference to the truth - soðan spræce (1.2715a) - and the tone is still that of a speaker who is sure of his ground. The change in the order, enabling

Abraham to make a declaration of this type is again important: for Abraham started his speech weakly with a denial; he then passed through the stage of explanation, took the responsibility on his own shoulders alone and has finally gained enough confidence to lay the whole situation open to Abimelech. In these lines, the A.S. poet has given an excellent example of subtle psychological observation combined with architectonic skill.

Lines 2717-2726.

The poet now resumes close attendance on his source, and so ll.2717-2726

þa ongan Abimeleh Abraham swiðan  
 woruldgestraonum and him his wif ageaf.  
 Sealde him to bote, þas þe he his bryd genam,  
 gangende feoh and glæd seolfor  
 and weorcþeos. Spræc þa wordum eac  
 to Abrahame æbelinga helm:  
 Wuna mid usic and þe wic geceos  
 on þissum lande þær þe leofost sie,  
 ebelstowe, þe ic agan sceal.  
 Wes us fæle freond, we ðe feoh sylleð!<sup>1</sup>

show relatively little difference from the Vulgate vv.14 and 15.

14.tulit igitur Abimelech oves et boves et servos et  
 ancillas et dedit Abraham  
 reddiditque illi Sarram uxorem suam 15.et ait  
 terra coram vobis est ubicunque tibi  
 placuerit habita

upon which they depend.

Lines 2727-2735.

Abraham pacified, Abimelech turns to

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1.Grein's reading weorcþeos (l.2721a) for MS weorc feos seems the more justified in that the A.S. poet has made no other alterations from his source at this point.

Sarah, and addresses her, in v.16

Sarrae autem dixit  
 ecce mille argenteos dedi fratri tuo  
 hoc erit tibi in velamen oculorum  
 ad omnes qui tecum sunt et quocumque perrexeris  
 mementoque te deprehensam

which the A.S. poet recounts in ll.2727-2735

Cwæð þa eft raðe oðre worde  
 to Sarraen sinces brytta;  
 "Ne þearf ðe on edwit Abraham settan,  
 ðin freadrihtan, þæt þu flettpaðas,  
 meg ælfscieno, mine træde,  
 æc him hygeteonan hwitan seolfre  
 deope bete. Ne ceasta incit duguða  
 of ðisse eðyltyrf ellor secan,  
 winas uncube, æc wuniað her".

with some alterations, the first being his omission of Abimelech's jesting remark dedi fratri tuo<sup>1</sup> (v.16): this of course is consistent with his omission of v.12, (vere soror mea est etc) already discussed<sup>2</sup>, and such consistency assures us again of the poet's careful consideration of his source. The main difference however lies in the emphasis laid by repetition on Abimelech's request that Abraham and Sarah should settle in his land and this emphasis indicates that the request is intended to be a suitable statement of Abimelech's final attitude to Abraham; and as such it shows us the A.S. poet's care for the clarity of his narrative.

Lines 2736-2741.

The A.S. poet now adds some lines with no parallel in the Vulgate, and we have in ll.2736-2741,

1. cf. Rupertus Abbas, de Trinitate et Operibus Ejus, XX, Haec ubi jocose dixit . . . MPL. Vol.167, Col.416.

2. cf. supra p.346.



Abraham fremede swa hine his aldor hent,  
 onfeng freondscipe be frean huse,  
 lufum and liissum. He was leof gode.  
 Forðon he sibbe geselig dreah  
 and his scippende under sceade gefor,  
 hleowfebrum þeah, her þenden lifde.

Their content seems to us to explain their insertion here: for by emphasising again the special relationship between God and Abraham, they give the character of the latter the final authentication it needs to reestablish it firmly in our regard.

Lines 2742-2759.

In the Vulgate, the two final verses simply recount how the Lord removed His curse of barrenness from Abimelech and his people, the passage being vv.17 and 18,

17. orante autem Abraham sanavit Deus  
 Abimelech et uxorem ancillasque eius et pepererunt  
 18. concluderat enim Dominus omnem vulvam  
 domus Abimelech  
 propter Sarram uxorem Abraham.

The corresponding passage in the A.S. Genesis, 11.2742-2759,

þa gien was yrre god Abimelehe  
 for þære synne þe he wið Sarrai  
 and wið Abrahame ær gefremede,  
 þa he gedælde him deore twa,  
 wif and wopned. He þæs weorc gehleat,  
 frecne wite. Ne meah-ton freo ne þeowe  
 heora bregowearðas bearnum ecan  
 monrim mægeð, ac him þæt metod forstod,  
 oðþæt se halga his hlaforde  
 Abraham ongan arna biddan  
 ecne drihten. Him engla helm  
 getigðode, tuddorspeð onleac  
 folc cynige freora and þeowra,  
 wera and wifa; let weaxan eft  
 heora ringetel rodora waldend,  
 ead and æhta. ælmihtig wearð  
 milde on mode, moncynnes wearð,  
 Abimeleche, swa hine Abraham bæd.

is based upon these verses as is shown by its general sense

as well as by the repeated mention of freo ne beowe (1.2747b), freora and beowra (1.2754b) both equivalent to uxorem ancill-  
asque eius (v.17); but it is significant that the A.S. poet has altered the order of events so that the material presented in v.18 of the Vulgate precedes that given in v.17: His narrative is thus better ordered, and this seems to provide adequate cause for this alteration. He has also made one important addition, - 1.2742, pa gien was yrre god Abim-  
elehe - which emphasises both God's anger and its persistence (gien). The result of this addition is two-fold; the mention of God's emotion makes God a more personal figure, while the idea of its persistence makes Him a deity who is feared the more: and this added personalisation of the deity seems to explain satisfactorily why the poet added this line. Finally, the emphasis laid on Abraham's part in the change by its position at the end of the incident (swe hine Abraham bed, 1.2759b) seems to show specially the closeness of the relationship between Abraham and God, and thus to complete the reestablishment of Abraham in the esteem of the audience before the poet passes on to the next topic, the birth of Isaac: and the narrative is improved by this defining of Abraham's position.

Lines 2760-2764a.

The next chapter, Ch.XXI, commences the history of Isaac, with whom God fulfills his earlier promise, as we are reminded in v.1

1.Visitavit autem Dominus Sarram sicut  
promiserat et implevit quae locutus est

which the A.S. poet records in ll.2760-2764a,

pa com feran frea ælmihtig  
to Sarrai, swe he self gecwæð,

waldend usser, hefde wordbeot  
 leofum gelmsted, lifes aldor  
 eaforan and idese.

without significant change.

Lines 2764b-2767.

But a change is to be noted in the circumstances surrounding the birth of Isaac: the Vulgate merely records in vv.2 and 3

2. conceptit et peperit filium in senectute sua  
 tempore quo praedixerat ei Deus  
 3. vocavitque Abraham nomen filii sui quem  
 genuit ei Sarra Isaac

but the A.S. poet alters the timing, in ll.2764b-2767

Abrahame woc  
 bearn of bryde, þone brego engla,  
ær ðy magotudre modor were  
 eacan be eorle, Isaac nemde.

by the addition of ær (l.2766a). This curious alteration was presumably inspired by the patristic commentary, for we find in Hieronymus' Liber Hebraicarum Quaestionum in Genesim, 17, 70, the remark Sciendum tamen quod quattuor in Veteri Testamento absque ullo velamine nominibus suis antequam nascerentur, vocati sunt: Ismael, Isaac, Salomon, et Josias<sup>1</sup>; and thereafter this becomes a commonplace in the patristic writings.<sup>2</sup> The poet's addition would thus seem to have been made to bring his poem into closer agreement with the doctrine of his day, showing again the effect which the patristic writings exercised upon him.

1. MPL. Vol.23, col.1014.

2. See for example Rucherius Commentarius in Genesim (att) MPL. Vol.50, col.958; Paterius, Expositio Veteris et Novi Testamenti, Gen.c.XLV, MPL. Vol.79, col.701; Alcuin, Interrogationes et Responsiones in Genesim, Int.177, MPL, Vol.100, col.540.

Lines 2768-2771.

Isaac is now circumcised, as the Vulgate records in v.4,

et circumcidet eum octavo die sicut  
praeceperat ei Deus

and the A.S. poet in ll.2768-2771

Hine Abraham on mid his agene hand  
beacen sette, swa him behead metod,  
wuldortorht ymb wucan, þas þe hine on woruld  
to moncynne modor brohte.

without significant change.

Lines 2772-2777.

The account of Isaac's birth is concluded when the date of his birth is given, in the way usual in the Vulgate, in v.5,

cum centum esset annorum  
hac quippe aetate patris natus est Isaac

round which the A.S. poet builds in ll.2772-2777

Cniht weox and þag, swa him cynde wæron  
æbele from yldrum. Abraham hæfde  
wintra hundteontig þe him wif sunu  
on þanc geber. He þas þrage bad,  
siþþan him ærest þurh his agen word  
þone dægwillan drihten bodode.

a picture of the inherent nobility of Isaac, and praise of Abraham's patience. His addition of the first can probably be accounted to his desire that his characters should impress his audience by their consistent nobility, and in this we might see perhaps an attempt to persuade the latter towards a more firm acceptance of the faith of the Bible: but such a conclusion would seem to us to require more evidence and we would rather advance as the poet's reason for this addition the general aesthetic desirability of noble characters in an epic story. The emphasis laid on Abraham's patience

however is more easy to explain; it is a quality not usually awarded to the Germanic warrior<sup>1</sup> but it is a quality for which Abraham is frequently lauded by the patristic commentators<sup>2</sup> and thus the poet's debt to them is emphasised once more.

Lines 2778-2791a.

The age of Sarah and the consequent miraculousness of Isaac's birth are the subject of the next two verses in the Vulgate, vv.6 and 7:

6.dixitque Sarra risum fecit mihi Deus  
 qui cumque audierit conridebit mihi  
 7.rursumque ait  
 quis auditorum crederet Abraham quod Sarra lactaret  
 filium  
 quem peperit ei iam seni

but the A.S. poet makes no mention of Sarah's astonishment. As before, it is perhaps dangerous to try to explain an omission, but it seems at least possible that the A.S. poem is again showing a dislike of emphasising that which is overtly miraculous, - though whether the dislike is engendered by the poet, his audience or both, it is difficult to tell.

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- 1.cf. for example R.E.Woolf, The Devil in Old English Poetry, RES, Vol.IV, No.13, 1953, p.6. The Anglo-Saxons were, of course, familiar with the Augustinian doctrine that the devil had fallen through pride, the engles oferhygd and yet pride was a prominent characteristic of Germanic heroes.....
2. See for example Tertullian, Liber de Patientia, VI, Ipsa adeo est, quae fidem et subsequitur et antecedit. Denique Abraham Deo credidit, et iustitiae deputatus ab illo est: sed fidem ejus patientia probavit, cum filium immolare jussus est. . . Merito ergo benedictus, quia et fidelis; merito (1371) fidelis quia et patiens. MPL. Vol.2, col.1370: See also Cyprianus, de Bono Patientiae, c.10, MPL. Vol.4, col.652; Hilarius, Tractatus in Psalmum 138, MPL. Vol.9, col.794; Augustine, Sermo Supposita, 7, MPL. Vol.39, col.1752

The following verses of the Vulgate,

vv. 8, 9 and 10,

8. crevit igitur puer et ablactatus est  
fecitque Abraham grande convivium  
in die ablactationis eius
9. cumque vidisset Sarra filium Agar Aegyptiae ludentem cum  
Isaac filius eius<sup>1</sup>  
dixit ad Abraham
10. eice ancillam hanc et filium eius  
non enim erit heres filius ancillae cum filio meo Isaac

are reproduced by the A.S. poet as ll. 2778-2791a

þa seo wyrd gewearð þæt þæt wif geseah  
for Abrahame Ismael plegan,  
ðær hie æt swæsendum sæton bu tu,  
halig on hige, and heora hiwan eall,  
druncon and drymdon. þa cwæð drihtlecu mæg,  
bryd to beorne: "Forgif me, beaga weard,  
min swes frea, hat siðian  
Agar ellor and Ismael  
lædan mid hie! Ne beoð we leng somed  
willum minum, gif ic wealdan mot.  
Nefre Ismael wið Isace,  
wið min agen bearn yrfe deled  
on laste þe, þonne þu of lice  
aldor asendest."

- the first significant change being that he reduces the grande convivium (v.8) to the level of æt swæsendum, (l.2780a); the A.S. audience would be unfamiliar with the occasion of the feast - Isaac's ablactatio (v.8); and the reason for the alteration would again seem to be the poet's desire to approximate the two worlds with which he deals. Apart from this, the poet makes two other changes, both additions, namely ne beoð we leng somed / willum minum (ll.2786b-2878a) and on laste þe þonne þu of lice / aldor asendest (ll.2790-2791a); and both seem

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1. Thus A, the Codex Amiatinus; the other MSS. vary in clarity of expression though not in sense. G, probably the archetype of the poet's MS., lacks the passage altogether. (See BS, apparatus critici, p.224). From the details recorded in Genesis A it seems likely that the poet was not using a text of the A type.

to us to be intended to supply the usual A.S. emphasis given by repetition to solemn ideas<sup>1</sup>: in other words the A.S. poet is again trying to reproduce his material in the familiar epic style.

Lines 2791b-2795a.

Abraham is naturally saddened by the choice which faces him, as the Vulgate tells in v.11

dure accepit hoc Abraham pro filio suo

and the A.S. poem more specifically in ll.2791b-2793a

þa wes Abraham  
weorce on mode þæt he on wræc drife  
his selfes sunu,

and, although there is no warrant for this in the Vulgate, God knows of Abraham's depression and comes to comfort him, as the poem tells in ll.2793b-2795a

þa com soð metod  
freom on fultum, wiste fernð guman  
cearum on clomum.

and the addition seems to us to suggest that the A.S. poet saw and wished to present Christianity as a more sympathetic and consolatory creed than the silent stoicism enshrined in the pagan poetry.

Lines 2795b-2803.

God's instructions to Abraham are now expressed in the two following verses of the Vulgate, vv.12 and 13,

12.cui dixit Deus  
non tibi videatur asperum super puero et super  
ancilla tua

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1.cf. A.H.Tolmen, The style of Anglo-Saxon Poetry, PMLA, Vol.3, p.24. Hence our second great principle of A.S. poetical style is: Repetition of the thought with variation of the expression. (already quoted, supra, p.171)

omnia quae dixerit tibi Sarra audi vocem eius  
 quia in Isaac vocabitur tibi semen.  
 13. sed et filium ancillae faciam in gentem magnam  
 quia semen tuum est

which the A.S. poet records in ll.2795b-2803

Cyning engla sprac  
 to Abrahame, ece drihten:  
 Let þe aslupan sorge of breostum,  
 modgewinnan, and mægeð hire,  
 bryde þinre! Hat bu tu aweg  
 Agar feran and Ismael,  
 cniht of cyððe! Ic his cynn gedo  
 brad and bresne bearna tudre,  
 westmum spedig, swa ic þe wordum gehet.

with a more or less close adherence to the Vulgate text,  
 as the echo of audi vocem eius (v.12) in and mægeð hire  
 (1.2798b) shows. But the detail in ll.2799b-2801a

Hat bu tu aweg  
 Agar feran and Ismael,  
 cniht of cyððe.

is an addition by the A.S. poet, while one phrase of the  
 Vulgate v.12, quia in Isaac vocabitur tibi semen has been  
 omitted. In both cases the reason appears to be the poet's  
 desire for a clear narrative; the precision of the  
 reference to Ishmael is increased and the promise with  
 respect to Isaac is passed over; the result is a concent-  
 ration of the interest upon Ishmael, but the significance  
 of this is difficult to estimate in view of the coming  
 lacuna after l.2806.

Lines 2804-2806.

The detail of Abraham's expulsion of  
 Agar and Ishmael follows, in the A.S. poem in ll.2804-2806,

þa se wer hyrde his waldende,  
 draf of wicum dreorigmod tu,  
 idese of earde and his agen bearna.

which are based upon the Vulgate, v.14,





frea on forðwegas folnum sinum  
willan þinne. þat is wide cuð  
burhsittendum.

- an addition which is reminiscent of the references to God in Beowulf<sup>1</sup>. Such an addition in this poem - whose very source and contents remove all doubt of the Christianity of its inspiration - appears to have a three-fold interest: in the first place, it serves once more to bring God directly before the audience as a being affecting their daily lives; secondly, the practicality of the appeal with its mention of Abraham's success would be sure to attract the A.S. warriors of the poet's day; and while both these points hint that the A.S. poet was perhaps endeavouring to persuade his audience into a more firm acceptance of Christianity, the fact that the attribution of all success to God was a tenet stemming from patristic origin<sup>2</sup> shows finally, that he called upon patristic precedent to help him in his proselytising.

Lines 2816b-2831.

Abimelech's speech is completed by a prayer for a pact of friendship, as we learn in v.23,

iure ergo per Dominum ne noceras mihi et posteris meis  
stirpique meae  
sed iuxta misericordiam quam feci tibi  
facies mihi et terrae in qua versatus es advena

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1. Cf. for example Beowulf 11.1553b-1555 and halig God/ geweold wiggigor; witig Drihten / rodera Radend hit on ryht gascod or again in 11.1716-1718a, ðeah þe hine mihtig God mægenes wynnnum / eafepum stepte ofer ealle men / forð gefremede: Beowulf, ed. F.Klaeber, New York 1950, pp.58 and 64 respect.

2. It is as early as Ambrosius, see de Abraham I,3, Sed qui vincit non debet arrogare victoriam, sed deferre Deo, MPL. Vol. 14, col.448.

which is reproduced by the poet as 11.2816b-2823

Ic þe bidde nu,  
 wine Ebrea, wordum minum,  
 þæt þu tilmodig treowa selle,  
 mera pina, þæt þu wille me  
 wesan fæle fræond fremena to leane,  
 þara þe ic to duguðum ðe gedon hæbbe,  
 sibban ðu feasceaft feorran come  
 on þas werþeode wræccan laste.

without significant change. But to this, he adds 11.2824-2831,

Gyld me mid hyldo, þæt ic þe hæneaw ne wes  
 landes and lissa. Wes þissum leodum nu  
 and megburge minre arfæst,  
 gif þe alwalda, ure drihten,  
 scirian wille, se ðe gesceapu healdeð,  
 þæt þu randwigum rumor mote  
 on ðisse folcsceare frætwa ðalan,  
 modigra gestreon, mearce settan.

- a more rhetorical repetition of the same ideas: in fact his rhetoric seems to have carried him away, for at the end of the passage Abimelech, as will be noticed, addresses Abraham as if the latter were a monarch (frætwa ðalan 1.2830b). Thus it seems to us that the purpose of the passage is revealed - the reglorification of Abraham, whose part in the action has latterly been rather secondary: again the A.S. poet is revealing his determination that his characters shall have the proportion which he desires to allot to them, be it that of the Vulgate or not.

Lines 2832-2833.

The whole situation is concluded with brevity in both texts, in the Vulgate in v.24,

dixitque Abraham ego iurabo

of which the A.S. poem 11.2832-2833

ða Abraham Abimelehe

were sealde þæt he wolde swe  
are almost a translation<sup>1</sup>.

Lines 2834-2845.

Most of the rest of this chapter in the Vulgate is taken up with the story of the dispute between Abraham and Abimelech over the well at the place subsequently called Beersheba. This dispute is omitted by the A.S. poet and although they are only hypotheses, it may be as well to advance what appear to be his reasons for the omission. Firstly, the dispute is an interruption in the continuity of the narrative of the Jewish people: secondly, it adds nothing to that narrative, save the etymology of the name Beersheba<sup>2</sup> and as we have seen<sup>3</sup> the A.S. poet has little interest in etymologies. Finally, and perhaps most strikingly, it contrasts with the nobility of the tone of the preceding passage and it may well be that it was for this reason that the A.S. poet omitted it. If so, then it would show us his aesthetic sense still at work to direct the selection of his material, but the evidence is too negative to allow us to draw any conclusion.

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1. It may be due to his desire for a close rendering that the A.S. poet has employed the syntactically unusual retention of common order in the principal clause of a demonstrative sentence cf. S.O. Andrew, Syntax and Style in Old English, Cambridge 1940, p.18 . . . sentences of the form 'þa he com' are, both in prose and verse, always subordinate clauses....

2. v. 31 Idcirco vocatus est locus ille Bersabee quia ibi uterque iuravit.

3. cf. supra p.291 and p.294 for example.

Ch. XXI is now brought to a close by the account of Abraham's settlement in Palestine, in the last phrase of v. 33, together with v. 34

(33) Abraham vero plantavit nemus in Bersabee  
 et invocavit ibi nomen Domini Dei aeterni  
 34. et fuit colonus terrae Philistinorum diebus multis.

which the A.S. poet records in ll. 2834-2845

Siððan was se eadega eafora pares  
 in Filistea folce eardfest,  
 leod Ebreas lange þrage,  
 feascraft mid fremdum. Him frea engla  
 wic getahte þæt weras hatab  
 burhsittende Bersabea lond.  
 þær se halga heahsteap reced,  
 burh timbrede and bearo sette,  
 weobedd worhte, and his waldende  
 on þam glædsteðe gild onsegde,  
 lac geneahe, þam þe lif forgeaf,  
 gesæliglic swegle under.

though with some differences from the Vulgate account, as will have been seen. In the first place, the order of events has been changed so that the length of Abraham's stay is given before his building and sacrificing. This change is for the better, as the narrative is made clearer thereby, which seems to supply the A.S. poet's reason for making the alteration. There is also the poet's illustrative reference to Abraham as eafora pares (l. 2834b) which perhaps shows the meeting of the A.S. love of genealogy with the terseness of the Vulgate, and there is the vignette of Abraham's heahsteap reced (l. 2840b) belonging to a type we have already met.<sup>1</sup> But probably the most interesting change made by the A.S. poet is his translation of invocavit ibi nomen domini Dei (v. 33) as

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1. cf. supra p. 195.

weobedd worhte (l.2842a), the more so as he made no such translation when he met the phrase previously in Ch.IV, v.26, rendered in Genesis A, ll.1135-1136a. Our first search would be among the commentators who mention this verse from the Vulgate:<sup>1</sup> but none of these give this particular interpretation to the phrase in question, and it seems almost as if we here meet a comment included by the A.S. poet from a purely verbal tradition of patristic commentary.

Lines 2846-2849.

The following chapter in the Vulgate, Ch.XXII, begins the story of the sacrifice of Isaac<sup>2</sup> and we have in v.1

Quae postquam gesta sunt  
temptavit Deus Abraham et dixit ad eum  
Abraham ille respondit adsum

of which the first two phrases are recorded by the A.S. poet in ll.2846-2849

þa þas rinces se rica ongan  
cynig costigan, cunnode georne  
hwilc þas æðelinges ellen were,  
stiðum wordum spræc him stefne to:

but as will be made clear in the following paragraph, the A.S. poet continues by translating material from the Vulgate v.2, (tolle filium tuum unigenitum etc.), and it must be admitted that there seems to be no reason for the omission.

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1. For a list of these, see App. I, List XIV.
  2. For a list of the commentators who deal with this point, see App. I, List XXII.

of the exchange between God and Abraham in v.1, more especially when its suitably dramatic character is noticed.<sup>1</sup>

Lines 2850-2859.

Whatever the reason, the exchange is omitted, and for the source of the next lines, 111.2850-2859,

Gewit þu ofestlice, Abraham, feran,  
 lastes lecgan and þe læde mid  
 þin agen bearn. þu scealt Isaac me  
 onsecgan, sunu ðinne, sylf to tibre.  
 Sibðan þu gestigest steape dune,  
 hrincg þæs hean landes, þe ic þe heonon getæce,  
 up þinum agnum fotum, þær þu scealt ad gegan,  
 þelfyr bearne þinum, and blotan sylf  
 sunu mid sweordes ege, and þonne sweartan lige  
 leofes lic forbærnan and me lac bebeodan.

the A.S. poet has gone forward to Ch.XXII, v.2,

ait ei tolle filium tuum unigenitum quem  
 diligis Isaac  
 et vade in terram visionis atque offer eum ibi  
 holocaustum  
 super unum montium quem monstravero tibi.

Correspondence of poem with source is closer here than it appears to be at first sight; the phrase hrincg þæs hean landes (l.2855a) was probably prompted by the precision of unum montium; the future perfect sense of monstravero is retained by heonon(l.2855b); and the emphasis of unigenitum quem diligis seems to lie behind the repetition of þin agen bearn (l.2852a), sunu ðinne (l.2853a) etc.<sup>2</sup> The main

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1. All the main Vulgate texts include this exchange: so too does the VL. See Sabatier, op.cit., ad loc.
  2. Whether the poem was designed to be sung, recited or read this passage does appear to suggest that the audience would understand its lines in groups rather than in units, a fact which marches well with the usual "cyclic" movement of other A.S. verse.

difference between the Latin and A.S. versions is that the latter delays the specification of the Sacrifice as a holocaustum, and then expands it to form another vignette which, adorned with traditional phrases like sweartan lige 1.2858b, would almost certainly stir the memories of the A.S. audience.

Lines 2860-2870a.

Abraham's obedience is instant, as we learn from the opening phrases of the next verse in the Vulgate, v.3,

igitur Abraham de nocte consurgens  
stravit asinum suum  
ducens secum duos iuvenes et Isaac filium suum  
cumque concidisset ligna in holocaustum

. . . .

and from the corresponding part of the A.S. poem, ll.2860-2870a

Ne forset he þy siðe, ac sona ongan  
fysan to fore. Him was frean engla  
word ondrysne and his waldend leof.  
þa se eadga Abraham sine  
nintreste ofgeaf. Nalles nergendes  
hæse wiðhogode, ac hine se halga wer  
gyrde gægen sweorde, cyðde þæt him gasta weardes  
egesa on breostum wunode. Ongan þa his esolas betan  
gamolferhð goldes brytta, heht hine geonge twegen  
men mid sibian. Mæg was his agen þridde  
and he feorða sylf.

into which the poet has woven additions of his own. The first of these is in ll.2860-2862

Ne forset he þy siðe, ac sona ongan  
fysan to fore. Him was frean engla  
word ondrysne and his waldend leof.

- an idea repeated in ll.2866b-2867a

cyðde þæt him gasta weardes  
egesa on breostum wunode.



The inspiration behind these additions probably lies in the patristic view of Abraham, for his name is often linked with the quality of obedience, particularly in connection with the sacrifice of Isaac<sup>1</sup>; while the emphasis which these additions lay on the quality of obedience may indicate again that doctrinal instruction was at least part of the purpose behind the composition of Genesis A. A different explanation is demanded by the second addition, ac hine se hallga wer / gyrde gregan sweorde (1.2865b-2866a) which adds to those preparations given in the Vulgate the preparation which a Germanic hero would naturally make before setting out on a journey. We would place beside this the fact that the poet does not translate the last phrase quoted above (cumque concidisset etc), probably because wood abounded in the Germanic landscape, and no such preparation was required; and the two phenomena would seem to indicate that here the poet has exchanged the world picture of the Bible for that of his own day and his own audience.

Lines 2870b-2875a.

The A.S. poet now uses the final phrase

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1. See for example, Augustine, Sermones, I, 2, Deus discere dicitur, cum facit ut discamus: Ergo impleta Abraham devotionis obedientia, audit a Deo, Nunc cognovi quoniam tu times Dominum. MPL. Vol. 38, col. 29; Gregorius Magnus, Liber Moralium Praefatio VI, ad manifestandam obedientiam venit Abraham. MPL. Vol. 75, col. 524; and again in Homiliae in Ezechielem, II, 3 subire oboedientiae virtutem nitimur? Aspiceret Abraham debemus . . . qui paratus exstitit ut pro aeterna haereditate dilectum quem acceperat occideret haerodem. MPL. Vol. 76, col. 969. In fact Abraham did finally become the figura of this quality: cf. infra p. 370 n. 2. For a list of the other commentators consulted on this point, see APP. I, List XXIII

of v.3,

abiit ad locum quem praeceperat ei Deus  
as 11.2870b-2875a

pa he fus gewat  
from his agenum hofe Isaac ledan,  
bearn unweaxen, swa him behead metod.  
Efstes þa swiðe and onette  
forð foldwege, swa him free tehte  
wegas ofer westen

- a passage which is interesting because of the A.S. poet's addition of the final clause. It seems indeed as if he had either been aware of the difficulty of pathfinding in the desert, or as if his source had made a considerable imaginative appeal to him: in either event, from the audience's point of view the addition might once again have evoked the race memory of the days when the same problem of pathfinding faced them in England; and in this we would see the poet's reason for this particular addition.  
Lines 2875b-2879.

When Abraham approaches the appointed spot, the fact is briefly noted by the Vulgate as v.4,  
die autem tertio elevatis oculis vidit locum procul  
but the A.S. poet expands this slightly to form 11.2875b-2879,

oðæt wuldortorht,  
dages briddan up ofer deop water  
ord arænde. þa se eadega wer  
geseah hlifigan hea dune  
swa him sægde ær swegles aldor.

showing again a keen appreciation of natural scenery, and thus achieving another affinity with the pagan epics.<sup>1</sup>

1. His method seems not unlike that of the Beowulf poet, as described by W.J. Sedgefield, The Scenery in Beowulf in JEGP, Vol. 35, 1936, p. 161. That he had any particular place in view is unlikely; it is more probable that he combined things he had himself seen or heard from friends into one composite picture.

Lines 2880-2888a.

Abraham now excuses himself and his son bidding the others await their return, as the Vulgate tells in v.5,

dixitque ad pueros suos  
expectate hic cum asino ego et puer illuc usque proper-  
antes postquam adoraverimus revertemur ad vos

which the A.S. poet records in ll.2880-2884.

ða Abraham spræc to his ombihtum:  
Rincas mine, restað incit  
her on þissum wicum. Wit eft cumað,  
siððan wit ærende uncer twega  
gastcyninge agifen habbað.

without significant change<sup>1</sup>: and the same close observance of the Latin text is seen in his translation of v.6,

tulit quoque ligna holocausti et imposuit  
super Isaac filium suum  
ipse vero portabat in manibus ignem et gladium

as ll.2885-2888a

Gewat him þa se æðeling and his agen sunu  
to þæs gemearces þe him metod tohte,  
wadan ofer wealdas. Wudu þær sunu,  
fæder fyr and sweord.

in which there is little save direct translation.

Lines 2888b-2896.

The exchange between Abraham and Isaac as they approach the place of the sacrifice is spread through vv.6, 7 and the first phrase of v.8,

(6)cumque duo pergerent simul

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picture: the poets appear to share this method of imagin-  
ative compounding of source and observation.

1. The rendering of adoraverimus (v.5) by ærende ...gastcyninge (ll.2883a-2884a) is perhaps rather unusual: but it is at least a possible metaphorisation.



opening phrase of v.12,

pergebant ergo pariter

9.veneruntque ad locum quem ostenderat ei Deus  
in quo aedificavit altare et desuper ligna composuit  
cumque conligasset Isaac filium suum  
posuit eum in altare super struem lignorum

10.extenditque manum et arripuit gladium ut immolaret  
filium suum

11.et ecce angelus Domini de caelo clamavit dicens  
Abraham Abraham

qui respondit adsum 12.dixitque ei

which he records as 11.2897-2913

Gestah þa stiðhydig steape dune  
up mid his eaforan, swa him se eca bebed,  
þæt he on hrofe gestod hean landes  
on þære stowe þe him se stranga to,  
werfæst metod wordum tæhte.  
Ongan þa ad hladan, æled weccan,  
and gefeterode fet and honde  
bearne sinum and þa on bæl ahof  
Issac geongne, and þa ædre gegrap  
sweord be gehiltum, wolde his sunu cwellan  
folmum sinum, fyre sencen<sup>1</sup>  
mages dreore. þa methodes ðegn,  
ufan engla sum, Abraham hlude  
stefne cygde. He stille gebad  
ares spræc and þam engle oncwæð  
Him þa ofstum to ufan of roderum  
wuldorgast godes wordum melde:

and if we may regard He stille gebad / ares spræc (11.2910b-  
2911a) as the equivalent of the first exchange between  
Abraham and the Angel,<sup>2</sup> there remains only one change to be

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1.As the MS reading appears satisfactory we have adopted it  
here in preference to the various emendations suggested;  
for a list of these see Krapp, notes, p.196.

2.The perfective force of the prefix ge- in gebad (1.2910b)  
encourages this; cf. Wanderer, 1.1. Oft him anhaga are  
gebided (Text from The Exeter Book, ed.G.P.Krapp and E.van  
K.Dobbie, New York, 1936, p.134).

noted - the fact that in the Vulgate no mention is made of the lighting of the fire, while in the A.S. poem, Abraham "ongan . . . . mled weccan"(1.2902): later he would fyre sencan / meges dreore (11.2907b-2908a) and finally the angel speaks ofstum (1.2912a), the haste being plainly intended to save Isaac's life.

At this stage we would remark upon two noteworthy features which have appeared in the A.S. poem between 1.2880 and 1.2913. The first is the comparatively small number of significant differences between source and poem - in fact only two in the course of more than thirty lines - while the second is the unusual absence of repetition from the style of the poem: the "cyclic" movement is temporarily abandoned in favour of a directly sequential narrative. The significance of these features may well be that the A.S. poet felt that at this point his source required no embellishment and would carry its own appeal to the audience for whom he was composing. His writing in such a plain straightforward style seems to us to mark him as a man of some originality, for it was not until long after his day that the cyclic method of narrative gave way to another.<sup>1</sup>

Lines 2914-2926a.

The speech of the angel occupies the rest of v.12,

non extendas manum tuam super puerum neque facias  
illi quicquam

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1. It survives even as late as the Battle of Maldon: see for example 11.113-115.

Wund wearð Wulfmar . . . welreste geceas  
Byrhtnōdes mæg: he mid bilium wearð  
his swuster sunu swiðe forheawen  
(text from The Anglo-Saxon Minor Poems ed. E. van K. Dobbie,  
New York, 1942, p.10.)

nunc cognovi quod timeas Dominum et non peperceris  
filio tuo unigenito propter me

and correspondingly, 11.2914-2922:

Abraham leofa, ne sleah þin agen bearn,  
ac þu cwicne abregd cniht of ade,  
eaforan þinne! Him an wuldres god!  
Mago Ebres, þu medum scealt  
þurh þæs halgen hand, heofoncyniges,  
soðum sigorleanum selfa onfon,  
ginfestum gifum. þe wile gasta weard  
lissum gyldan þæt þe was leofre his  
sibb and hylde þonne þin sylfes bearn

wherein those lines promising Abraham reward for his conduct are again added by the poet; it seems not too hazardous to suggest that his object may have been to emphasise for his audience the practical rewards which would follow obedience, the quality which he has just attributed to Abraham in one of the only two digressions noted above between 11.2880 and 2913. The lesson is reemphasised by the addition of 11.2923-2926a,

Ad stod onæled. Hæfde Abraham  
metod moncynnes, mæge Lothes,  
breost geblissad, þa he him his bearn forgeaf,  
Isaac cwicne.

which give Abraham's emotion - unrecorded in the Vulgate, where there is no equivalent for this last quoted passage - and thus bring the whole matter more personally before the minds of the audience.

Lines 2926b-2934a.

To complete the sacrifice, a ram is provided by God, as the Vulgate recounts in v.13,

levavit Abraham oculos viditque post tergum  
arietem inter vepres haerentem cornibus  
quem adsumens obtulit holocaustum pro filio

and the poem in 11.2926b-2934a,

ða se eadega bewlat,  
rine ofer exle, and him þær rom geseah

unfeor þanon enne standan,  
 broðor Arones, bremsrum festne.  
 þone Abraham genam and hine on ad ahof  
 ofestum miclum for his agen bearn.  
 Abregd þa mid þy bille, brynegield onhread,  
 reccendne weg rommes blode,  
 onbleot þæt lac gode,

the main change being the greater wealth of concrete detail of the sacrifice given by the A.S. poet. His object would again be to create a vignette to evoke the race memory of his audience; on reflection it need not seem strange that he should have chosen such a subject for his evocation; for the substitution of the ram for the almost completed human sacrifice of Isaac would ultimately serve to inhibit any real or latent tendency to human sacrifice in his audience.

Lines 2934b-2936.

The closing lines of the poem, ll.2934b-2936,

sægde leana þanc  
 and ealra þara sælða þe he him sið and ær,  
 gifena drihten, forgifen hæfde.

have again no direct source in the Vulgate at this point, but as it is not definitely known whether anything has been lost from the original, it seems hazardous to ascribe any special end to them.



The style and literary methods of the poet of Genesis A.

The A.S. poet's choice of the Vulgate as the principal source for his poem was plainly wise, for in many places he was able to use the material in it with no alteration beyond that demanded by translation and poetic expression. In some places whole incidents, such as the fight of Lot and the Angels against the men of Sodom, are accepted without significant change; in others, as in the catalogue of the Jewish rulers, little but the addition of an adjective here and there was needed to make the material read like Germanic history; in yet others the omission of a few geographical references took away from the source any parochial quality which might have robbed it of this appeal.

The imaginative sympathy which he always displays with his source is remarkable and takes many forms. It makes the battle of Sodom and Gomorrah against the Five Kings vividly realistic and reinforces this effect by details such as the fate and emotions of the captured Israelite women, and the final view of the battlefield.<sup>1</sup> It inspires the breadth of the imaginative vision of Sodom laid waste by God, and it leads the poet to bring out more fully the drama so often latent in the Biblical account, for example when he adds urgency to the haste of Lot's departure from Sodom.<sup>2</sup>

To a less skilful poet, the amount of material his source gave him would have been embarrassing: but there is ample evidence in his handling of it that the poet's knowledge of his material was consistent in detail and comprehensive in plan. His consistency extends even to those

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1. 11.1967-1972, p.244; 11.2075b-2083a, p.255.

2. 11.2548b-2562a, pp.328-9; 11.2510b-2512, p.322.

details some distance apart from each other, as for example the changing of Abraham's name and the - later - changing of Sarah's,<sup>1</sup> or the directions of Abraham's journeys to and from Egypt.<sup>2</sup> The comprehensiveness of his planning is shown positively when for example he spreads the taint of sin through all Adam's race to justify their coming destruction in the Flood,<sup>3</sup> and in a negative sense it appears in his omission of phrases which occur with the unnecessary repetition of God's blessing to Noah crescite et multiplicamini.<sup>4</sup> It is seen also in the consistency of his treatment of the contents of the Ark, and in the completeness of his omission of the fact that Sarah is Abraham's sister.

Such comprehensive planning must certainly be the result of acquaintance with a long epic tradition; either the poet of Genesis A had already practised epic poetry himself or he must have had a profound knowledge of the technique of those who did; and it seems at least doubtful that a poet whose work started when he was already proeuctioris aetatis, as Bede says of Caedmon,<sup>5</sup> would be able to achieve this.

The same able handling of detail and design make it unlikely that the poet omitted Biblical material at random; and one of his few otherwise unaccountable omissions leaves out God's prophecy about Isaac's children.<sup>6</sup> In consequence it seems possible that he may

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1. Vulgate, Ch.XVII, v.5 and v.15.

2. ll.1794a and 1802a cf. l.1884b; pp.213-5 cf. p.231-2.

3. ll.1253-1262, pp.90-91.

4. Before l.1493, p.157.

5. Historia Ecclesiastica, iv. 24.

6. ll.2358-2362, p.299.

have intended that his poem should finish with the final establishment of Abraham's love for God, with Isaac as no more than a minor figure.

The poet is likewise consistent in his attitude to his source in that he keeps one object always before him: he is writing a poem which shall be also active propaganda for Christianity. Since he is writing poetry, his attitude to his source is necessarily partially aesthetic. The poet omits persons (like Nahor)<sup>1</sup> and catalogues, (like the contents of the Ark) and adds actions and expands incidents, like the quarrel of Sarah and Agar,<sup>2</sup> when he feels it necessary, for aesthetic reasons alone. The extent and power of his feeling are great enough to lead him even to change the character of his source by transforming a genealogy into a more reflective and moralising passage;<sup>3</sup> and it extends even to omitting speeches by the Deity, or altering them as he does when he wishes to assimilate God's character to that of an epic hero.<sup>4</sup>

The first aim of his aesthetic alterations was to give an epic dignity to his language and hence to his poem; this is constantly noticeable from his account of the expulsion of Adam from Paradise onwards through the Curse of Cain to the end of the poem. He uses the old pagan epic vocabulary to do this and at the same time makes skilful play with its overtones, for example when writing of Cain as an exile.<sup>5</sup> Wealth is consistently estimated in the epic

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1. 11.1719-1723, p.202.

2. 11.1538b-1542, p.175; 11.2261-2270a, p.282.

3. 11.1117-1242a, detail (6), p.87.

4. 11.2406b-2407, p.307-8; 11.1270-1284, p.93.

5. 11.927-930a, p.30; 11.1050-1051a, p.55.

terms of beagas etc, and epic terms like manfshou are used of God. He adds so much epic stylistic decoration to the Biblical catalogues, that they change their nature from Jewish history to Germanic; where the language of the Vulgate is repetitive and monotonous, in the catalogues (and elsewhere), epic phraseology - ebeistol heold for example - is used for variety, and there is almost the force of an epic characteristic epithet in comments like wishydig wer.

Along with this, he adopts the usual epic method - cyclic repetition - to emphasise the important, for example in Abraham's complaint against Ishmael's expected inheritance of Abraham's wealth;<sup>1</sup> and where necessary he alters the Biblical order to achieve this. But it is noteworthy that in the tension of the sacrifice of Isaac, he is confident enough to abandon this cyclic movement for the innovation of straightforward narration.<sup>2</sup>

The same object - to raise his work to epic level - lies behind his handling of the overcrowded Biblical canvas, and single figures of little intrinsic importance are seen only in relation to a greater figure. Terah appears as fader Abrahames and his death is omitted. The description and function of the animals in the Ark are reduced so that attention can be concentrated on the more important human figures. Sometimes the reduction of lesser figures reaches complete exclusion, as of Lot, who, in the Biblical account only, accompanies Abraham on the journey from Ur.<sup>3</sup> Thus, the poet reduces the scope of his canvas

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1. 11.2778-2791a. p.356-7.

2. 11.2880-2913, p.369-372.

3. 11.1731b, p.204; 11.1342-1344 and 1356-1362, pp.118-9 and 123; 11.1767-1773a, p.208.

to proportions which will have an epic unity of interest.<sup>1</sup>

The importance of the structure in the narrative as a whole is a truism of the criticism of epic poetry, and despite the limitations imposed by his source which are bound to make his narrative episodic, the A.S. poet does his best to ensure at least that the episodes shall not overlap. He retains material on the birth of Enos, Seth's son, until a later position in the Bible, and emphasises the passage of time before Noah sends out the Raven, to ensure that the incident shall have requisite proportion in the poem as a whole.<sup>2</sup> At the same time, the poet tries where possible to bind smaller episodes of the Bible into one larger whole, and adds for example, a final picture of the Flood to subsume those preceding episodes which have dealt with the preparations for the Flood.<sup>3</sup> At the end of the Curse on Adam he adds two lines which deliberately call attention to the amount of the story which has so far been told: and Abraham's return home is so phrased as to perform the same function after the Battle of the Five Kings.<sup>4</sup> Finally the long catalogue of Shem's

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1. Cf. A.H. Skemp: A.S. poetry, like early Teutonic poetry generally, centred round the deeds of heroes, to whom the other figures are subordinated; and it was from this standpoint that the persons and incidents of the scriptural stories were regarded. The Transformation of Scripture in Anglo-Saxon Poetry, in Modern Philology, Vol.4, p.451.

2. ll.1117-1121a, p.64; ll.1436-1442, pp.140-1.

3. ll.1371-1406, pp.106-7.

4. ll.939-940, p.33; ll.2162-2164. p.265.

descendants, which would have seriously disturbed the balance of his narrative, is completely omitted, as in the preceding catalogue of the descendants of Japhet only the names of the actual rulers are given.<sup>1</sup>

Since excellence of structure within the episode is also required by epic poetry, this too affects the poet's handling of his source. He changes the order of events to ensure that an important idea shall occur at the start of the episode which concerns it, as when the announcement of God's Covenant with Noah is placed at the head of the list of those who enter the Ark, and Lot's offer of his daughters to the men of Sodom is placed -- somewhat uncomfortably -- at the beginning of a speech.<sup>2</sup> The process is extended to produce a "framing" effect, when the idea of exile is used by the poet both at the beginning and at the end of the Curse on Cain.<sup>3</sup> But the poet's principal care was that the terminations of his episodes should be clear. To achieve this, the account of the Tower of Babel is rounded off by the poet's final picture of the solitary tower; for the same reason, he adds a brief factual comment of his own after the birth of Isaac, and a more rhetorical one at the end of the Lading of the Ark.<sup>4</sup> But his most usual method

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1.11.1602-1614, p.186. This episodic structure in Genesis A has already been noticed by G.Sarrazin, who, however, linked it with his theories of the construction and performance of the poem: Natürlich muss jene Paraphrase sich stückweise aus einzelnen Liedern oder Fitten zusammengesetzt haben, die von Tag zu Tag gedichtet wurden. Und in der älteren Genesis-Dichtung haben wir in der Tat Fitten oder Abschnitte von 70-90 Versen, welche sehr wohl die Tagesleistung eines auch nur massig begabten Dichters darstellen könnten. Von Kadmon bis Kynewulf. Berlin, 1913, p.19.

2.11.1332b-1334, pp.116-7; 11.2473-2475, pp.317-8.

3.11.1013b-1021, p.50;

4.11.1697-1701, p.198; 11.2301b-2303, pp.288-9; 11.1345-1348a, p.119.

of signalling the end of an episode is to relax the tension of his poem. At the end of the entry into the Ark he uses an obvious and slightly pedestrian device and gives the unimportant detail of Noah's age, and at the end of the Battle of the Five Kings, he adds a generalising Germanic and reflective comment of his own to ease the tension of the narrative.<sup>1</sup>

Within most episodes, he seems to strive to achieve a unity of content or form; from the account of Lot's dwelling in Sodom for example, he omits reference to Abraham's dwelling place.<sup>2</sup> Other rearrangements, like those which deal with Lot's offspring, show him giving an episode internal coherence by organising events in homogeneous groups - he divides Abraham's actions before battle into plan and execution; or sometimes he prefers a causal order and gives the reason for Abraham's prayer for the health of Abimelech's people before he gives the prayer itself.<sup>3</sup>

Though his methods may differ thus, these successive reorganisations have all the same aesthetic purpose behind them, and he looks aside from this aim only where the narrative demands variety: to achieve this the poet breaks the unity given by one King's reign, in a genealogy, to insert into it an event concerning his successor, or even adds an entirely un-Biblical episode of famine.<sup>4</sup>

In an epic however, continuity of narrative is probably of even greater importance; certainly, the

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1. 11.1367b-1371a, p.125; 11.2092-2095, p.256.

2. 11.1937b-1944, p.240.

3. 11.2051-2067a, pp.252-3; 11.2742-2759, p.352.

4. 11.1117-1242a, detail (4) p.77; 11.1811-1816a, p.218.

poet of Genesis A seems to have thought so, judged from his efforts to give his poem this quality. At the merely mechanical level, he more than once joins several speeches together to form one long continuous speech; he gives as a decision the discussion preceding the building of the Tower of Babel, and presents God's planning to visit Babel as an action being performed.<sup>1</sup> But he treats his source more freely when, to avoid losing his theme, he summarises a diffuse and complex account of God's Covenant with Abraham, or rearranges it so as to separate God's promise to Ishmael from his promise to Isaac;<sup>2</sup> and he treats it more freely still when he openly describes in his poem the actual building of the Ark or the Dove's reason for not returning to it, both of which are merely implied in the Bible.<sup>3</sup> In places he goes even further from his source and substitutes his own material for the Biblical as when he provides his description of God's anger at man in place of the Biblical material - the first half of Ch.VI, v.3,<sup>4</sup> - again to give continuity. He carries this freedom to its extremes and adds a comment on life outside Paradise, or a summarising introduction to a speech by God, or omits details of people and things,<sup>5</sup> all without reference to the contents of his source, and all with the same object of narrative continuity.

But merely to ensure a continuous narrative was not enough. The material in the source had to be refined to remove all that would have lowered the quality of

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1. 11.1661-1667, pp. 194-5; 11.1678b-1686, p.196.

2. 11.2363-2369, p.300.

3. 11.1317b-1326, p.126; 11.1479b-1482, pp.151-2.

4. 11.1252-1262, pp.90-1.

5. 11.961-964, p.39; 11.2304-2305, p.289; 11.1117-1121a, p.64.



the narrative; and the first things to be omitted are those which are in any way repetitive. Thus, on a larger scale, the catalogue of those concerned in God's Covenant with Noah, and the doubling of the account of Lot's incest with his daughters are both omitted<sup>1</sup>; on a lesser scale, the catalogue of those circumcised is omitted, repeated statements that the land is dry again after the Flood, and a repeated statement of Abraham's character for justice are alike ignored, and individual actions are assumed when Abraham cohabits with Agar.<sup>2</sup> When material was too important to omit, it was carefully transferred to a more suitable position; thus, the second element in the curse of Adam is omitted till it is handled in full.<sup>3</sup> Finally, it is not surprising that the poet's care for the continuity of his narrative has already rendered unnecessary the few back-references in the Bible: these are consequently omitted.

Whether it is repetitive or not, any material in his source which would be inappropriate at the corresponding point in the poem is also omitted. The names of the three sons of Noah are omitted when they occur in the middle of the account of their father's immunity from the anger which caused the Flood; praise of Noah is omitted when it occurs in the middle of orders about the Lading of the Ark. Even when it results in complete loss of something from the story as with the origin of the Giants, this principle is still maintained; and it is applied also to a speech by God where the Covenant is mentioned in it.<sup>4</sup>

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1. 11.1538b-1542, p.174; 11.2600-2606, p.334.

2. 11.2370-2377a, p.301; after 1.1482, p.152; 11.2201-2204a, p.272; 11.2235b-2236, p.277.

3. 11.931b-935, p.32.

4. 1.1289, p.109; 1.1328b, p.116; 11.1263-1269, p.92;  
11. 2407, p.307.

Material which would be meaningless to an Anglo-Saxon audience is likewise rigorously excluded from the narrative; it is principally place-names like Hoba which are thus omitted, but the personal names of the allies of Sodom and Gomorrah are likewise omitted. Even when the Bible makes things plain by giving the etymology of a name as it does with Eve, Ishmael and others, the poet still omits this material, which would likewise have little meaning; nor did they seem to be interested even in etymology which would have been comprehensible from an immediately preceding incident, like that of the Well mentioned in Agar's flight.<sup>1</sup> All material which, though not etymological itself, depends on this type of material is also omitted and so the changing of the names of Sarah and Abraham does not appear in the poem. In one place it seems to have been simply the outlandish form of the names, irrespective of their etymology, which led to the omission of one rehearsal of the names of the enemies of Sodom and Gomorrah.<sup>2</sup>

A similar consideration for the knowledge and understanding of his audience appears in the poet's reduction of some of the geographical detail of Abraham's wanderings and the concealment of the rest of it under the

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1. 11.2299-2303, p.288.

2. 11.1973-1976, p.245. Other A.S. poets display the same reluctance to give names when they would be inopportune: the Battle of Maldon is an example. Cf. E.V. Gordon; Yet when it is said that it (sc. the poem) was made so soon after the battle that the poet did not know the names even of the viking leaders, we feel that assumption has been carried too far. Not only is the poem incomplete, but it is not clear that it was to the poet's purpose to name the viking leaders..... Their names might interest a writer taking a general historical view, but were inessential to the poet of the heroic defeat. The Battle of Maldon, London, 1937, p.22.

much discussed direction eastan<sup>1</sup>.

The cumulative result of all these omissions is a narrative which moves more steadily and more rapidly than the Bible on which it is based. This is a natural effect for a poet to wish, and may have been partly responsible for his decision to omit the material discussed in foregoing paragraphs.

In characterisation, the poet again faced the need to adapt his source extensively. He is limited by the fact that his source is historical and introduces the multitude of characters required, with no thought of their relative importance, and with no one character predominating. This makes it impossible for the poet to achieve the usual Germanic epic form which seems to have demanded one predominant hero. However, the poet does his best to approach this form without losing the historical quality of his source, by concentrating our attention successively on Adam, Noah and then Abraham. His first care is to ensure that they do not overlap; he omits all comment on Noah while Adam is the dominant figure. He ensures that the "entry" of Abraham shall not be encumbered by the mention of Aran whose death he omits; and the stature of even such an important character as Lot is reduced to serve Abraham's predominance and the command to Agar to cohabit with Abraham is transferred from Sarah to Abraham<sup>2</sup>. He is careful to ensure that the stature and repute of his hero shall be what he wishes it to be, and throughout Abraham's unworthy dealings with Abimelech, the poet is careful to make additions which

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1. 11.1873-1876a, pp.229-30; 11.1920-1926, p.238.

2. 11.1117-1242a, introduction, p.67; 11.1712-1713, p.200; 1.2590a, p.332; 11.2235b-2236, p.277.

redeem him at least in part; and Abraham is again restored to prominence when the history of Ishmael is over.<sup>1</sup> His additions to ensure that the audience understand the characters of the figures in the poem take many forms. He adds an imaginative description of Cain's grief and anger; he adds to a speech to express more fully the character of the speaker, and provides a vignette to illustrate Abraham's character at the division of the spoils of the Battle of the Five Kings.<sup>2</sup>

With this goes an interest in psychology, much greater than any shown by his source.<sup>3</sup> Wherever possible he shows the psychology of his characters but he does so skilfully, and with very little alteration of his source. To show Sarah's grief at her childlessness, he merely changes the emphasis which the Bible gives to the facts it tells: a mere change in order is sufficient to give Cain's emotions the more convincing order of grief followed by anger, and to show Abraham's progress from excuse to self-confidence before Abimelech.<sup>4</sup> The additions he makes for this purpose are generally very brief: Noah's character is explained beyond Biblical limits by the brief addition of listum miclum and

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1. 11.2736-2741, p.351; 11.2824-2831, p.361.

2. 11.979b-982a, p.43; 11.2123-2125a, p.261; 11.2155b-2161, p.265.

3. He shares his interest with the Beowulf poet: Cf. F.Klaeber, But he (sc. the author of Beowulf) takes the keenest interest in the inner significance of the happenings, the underlying motives, the manifestation of character. He loses no opportunity of disclosing what is going on in the minds of his actors. Beowulf and the Fight at Finnsburg, New York, 1950, p.lviii.

4. 11.2219b-2220, p.274; 11.979b-982a, p.43; 11.2691-2716, pp.345-9.

the poet's comments on Abraham's character are equally concise, and like beorn bliþemod are usually in the epic manner.<sup>1</sup> The poet's understanding of psychology was not limited to the psychology of his characters, who are to some extent under his control; it extended to include a sympathetic knowledge of what would appeal to his audience, as is shown by his display of the emotions of the Ark's disembarking passengers.<sup>2</sup> He never allows his interest in psychology to disturb his narrative; the repetition of Abimelech's request that Abraham shall settle in his land serves the double purpose of showing how convincingly Abraham has defended himself (thus justifying the psychological advance he made), and of advancing the narrative.<sup>3</sup> The poet's interest in psychology is thus properly and skilfully subordinated.

The poet's greater interest in psychology has the happy result that besides the emotion which arises from the situations and actions of the three successive heroes, the Genesis A evokes an emotional response more frequent and more varied than that evoked by its source. The poet's more extended treatment of Cain's grief, for example, has this result; in other places, the poet uses varied means to achieve this. He imagines the state of mind of the first two Doves; elsewhere he looks at the Flood

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1. Perhaps it was their brevity which misled G. Sarrazin; Nur selten wird, abweichend von der Quelle, in der Genesis, der Gemütsbewegung der handelnden Personen gedacht, und dann eigentlich nur mit formelhaften Adjektiven oder ganz kurzen Wendungen . . . . Von Kādmon bis Kynewulf. op.cit. p.47.

2. 11.1431-1435, p.140.

3. 11.2727-2735, p.250.

through Noah's eyes, and later adds a vignette of Abraham as an old man, leaving country and kinsmen in Haran.<sup>1</sup> In the early stages of the poem, he uses the psychology of God to satisfy the emotions which anticipation of a battle between God and the rebel angels would raise in his audience; and by extending the use of psychological imagery he manages the gradual discharge of these emotions.<sup>2</sup>

While poem and source are being compared, it is possible to observe the characteristics of the poet's expression. He is much more precise in his language; for the generalised Latin terra he substitutes some phrase such as side salwongas; indeed, his alterations and additions in the direction of precision and limitation are too frequent to be the outcome of any deliberate stylistic plan; they appear rather to be the outcome of his habitual mode of thought. Often the incidental detail he adds is not only precise but physical; it is the poet who adds blod and later monnes swate to the account of the death of Abel. Cain himself fears not hostility but an aldorbanan; and from an otherwise omitted passage, he chooses the one physical detail - fotum ne meachte land gespornan. This physical quality in the poet's mode of thought leads to the addition of vivid detail as when Abraham sees the hornsele hwite of Egypt; and the two qualities - physicality and vividness - combine to produce dynamic phrases like gubrace gretan or geomor hweorfan. He has also the widely-seeing inward eye necessary for the decoration of an epic canvas and uses it to visualise Sodom before and the world of ashes after the fire.<sup>3</sup>

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1. 11.1462b-1463a, p.147; 11.1468b-1469, p.148; 11.1474b-1476a, p.149; 11.1776b - 1778, p.211.

2. 11.51b-91, pp.4-5.

3. 11.2405-2406a, p.307.

Sometimes the poet appears to put his ability to handle detail to a special use as when he deliberately holds our attention on Abraham and Sarah to impress their reality upon the audience. Added detail less physical in quality also helps to bring the characters and the audience into greater sympathy; Abimelech for example, goes to rest symbol-werig. Finally, through the detail he chooses the poet makes part of his appeal to the Germanic life and thought of his audience, - the Ark is lined with pitch, and the length of its voyage given to impress the audience.<sup>1</sup>

Since his source was such a bare record, the addition of detail was a task which faced the poet constantly, and he evolved a technical form to contain his additions. The form he used was the vignette, - the small word-picture, usually limited to 3 or 4 lines and with a minute but perfect unity of its own. Many of the examples quoted in the foregoing paragraphs on the poet's addition of detail, like Cain's complaint that anyone may become his slayer (feorhbanan) are themselves found in vignettes. The form is used to add idealised physical detail to the surroundings of Sodom and Gomorrah as Lot sees them (lagustreamum leont); another such vignette, with its unity in the style of the poem, adds the realism of Noah's planting of his vine: a similar vignette shows Abraham being questioned by Abimelech's men on his first journey; and another gives the picture, imaginative but realistic, of the fame of Sarah's beauty flying from mouth to mouth.<sup>2</sup> To add realistic detail is again the object of the

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1. 11.1320-1326, p.128.

2. 11.1036-1043a, p.53; 11.1920-1926, p.238; 11.1555-1561, p.179; 11.1833b-1837a, p.222; 11.1844-1851a, p.224.

vignette of Abraham in conference with his three confederates but the vignettes of the workmen at the Tower of Babel, and of Lot hastening to Segor<sup>1</sup> have a different object, and seem to be designed to give the poem greater dramatic appeal. So good is his sense of precise expression and formal unity that only once - in his picture of Agar's rebellion against Sarah, - does he fail to make his vignette fulfil the object of its addition,<sup>2</sup>

There is only one vignette which, given an internal unity by its subject matter, extends for more than 3 or 4 lines: this is the picture of the rising Flood. It shows the poet to have possessed a singular ability to write description with an organic growing movement: but it is the only passage of its type in the poem.

In the remaining stylistic alterations which the poet makes, the relationship between source and poem is changed in a more specifically Germanic direction. The first of these is the poet's use of us secgab bec, there being six occurrences in all.<sup>3</sup> The form of the expression comes from the poet's using a written source (and confirms his method of working), and represents an appeal to that source: but the content must have recalled the hwæt we gefrugnon appeal of older pagan poetry. The particularly pagan subject of battle provokes two pagan appeals in more specifically traditional wording of þa ic aldor gefragn and we þæt soð wæron secgan furbur.<sup>4</sup>

1. 11.2018-2028, p.250; 11.1687-1696, p.197; 11.2535-2541, p.326.

2. 11.2237-2243, pp.278-9.

3. 11.969b, p.41; 1121b, p.87; 1173b, p.87, 1723b, p.202, 2565b, p.328, 2612b, p.335.

4. 11.1960a, 2013b-2014a.



There is an unusual quality about this appeal to the older tradition when it is used of the fate of Lot's wife;<sup>1</sup> it then seems a concession to Anglo Saxon scepticism. At other times, these phrases show how the style of Genesis A reflects the influence of the pagan epics upon the relationship between source and poem.

The poet is equally true to Germanic tradition in his dislike of suspense. Coming disaster is foreshadowed for the descendants of Cain, and again foretold to Noah long before the Flood starts. Abraham's ultimate separation from Lot is mentioned before the disagreements between their shepherds take place; and death is the first and not the last element in the curse upon Adam.<sup>2</sup>

Finally, the poem is clearly affected by a more narrowly A.S. aesthetic in the delight the poet shows in nature and scenery. His earth is always green. His imaginative sympathy with the Second Dove feels her weariness after her flight across the face of the flood water, and the delight of the Third Dove at her final release from the Ark. He shows an expected sureness of touch in his picture of the gradual rise of the Flood to its height.<sup>3</sup> There is an analogous sense of perspective in Abraham's first sight of the hill on which Isaac is to be sacrificed; and this sense rises almost to sublimity when God commands Abraham to look at the stars in the sky.<sup>4</sup>

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1. 1.2565b.

2. 11.1289b-1291, p.109; 11.1894b-1896a, p.233; 11.930-931a, p.31;

3. 11.1468b-1469, p.148; 11.1480b-1482, pp.151-2; 11.1386b-1391, pp.131-2.

4. 11.2875b-2879, p.368; 11.2191-2196a, p.269.

Germanic influence on the poet's reading of the Bible.

Although the poet had the praise of God as his purpose, and although he was working from a revealed and definite text, his wish to make Christianity more familiar and appealing led him to change this material in many places. The Germanic mind appears to have preferred a concrete statement to an abstract, and it has already been shown that the A.S. poet follows this as an almost inflexible rule.<sup>1</sup> Sometimes only the substitution of a different expression is required to achieve this, as when carnew in qua spiritus vitae est is translated by folc...feoh and fuglas (1.1299a); but frequently the added phrase bears a specially Germanic imprint, as when the new land after the Flood is referred to as epelstol.<sup>2</sup> The other techniques by which he makes his poem interesting for his audience are affected in the same way, and a specifically Germanic element appears in them too. The emotions of the voyagers as the Flood recedes, and later when they are able to leave the Ark are important for their own sake, but appear more so when they are seen in relation to the emotions shown by Beowulf and his companions when their voyages end in safety:<sup>3</sup> so too, the vignette of the haleb hygerof going forth after the Flood is effective in itself but more so in its relation to Germanic life in the migration period, while the men who await news of the Battle of the Five Kings are added by the poet not only for their intrinsic interest but for the familiarity of their predicament.<sup>4</sup>

1. Cf. supra p. 388.

2. 1.1514b, p.165.

3. 11.1431-1435, pp.140-141.

4. 11.1543-1552a, p.176; 11.2096-2100a, p.257.

In some alterations then, a double purpose is apparent: but many show him to be engaged only in giving his material a distinctly Germanic ethos. This is achieved sometimes by no more than an extension of the Biblical thought along Germanic lines, as when Abraham is moved by his childlessness to lament that he need find no yrfestol or when the distinction between Jews and non-Jews is drawn upon Germanic lines, and the latter are dismissed as welisc.<sup>1</sup> A further stage in the treatment of a Biblical idea is seen when punishments are mentioned. The rebel angels cannot be punished by death, so their dismissal from heaven is seen and presented as an exile; death yields pride of place to such another exile in the Curse on Adam; exile is the frame of the Curse on Cain, and fear of death which in the Bible explains Abraham's cowardly conduct in Egypt is reinforced in the A.S. account by the fear always felt by an exile.<sup>2</sup> In fact, a complete substitution has taken place, and for death, the greatest punishment in the Biblical world, the A.S. poet has used exile, the greatest punishment in the Germanic.<sup>3</sup>

Among the characteristically Germanic thought patterns which affected the poet's reading of his

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1. 11.2177a, p.268; 11.2319b-2325a, p.294.

2. 11.927-930a, p.30; 11.1015b-1021, p.50; 11.2626-2627, p.337.

3. Cf. C.C.Ferrell, There was something that the Anglo-Saxon dreaded far more than the hardships of the wintry ocean. It was separation from home and loved ones. No punishment could have seemed worse to him. Both the wanderer and the seafarer speak of the dark days when they were exiles, deprived of home, eble bideled (W.20), far from free kinsmen freomagum feor (W.21), bereft of his dear relatives winemagum bidroren. (S.16) Old Germanic Life in the Wanderer and Seafarer, in MLN. Vol.9, p.203.

Bible was the habit of genealogising. The genealogies in the Vulgate may appear intractable as material for poetry; but the A.S. poet has accepted two of them with little change, adding only the few epithets needed to "epicise" the figures in them.<sup>1</sup> Patronymic reference of the 'sunu Lamehes' type is common and extends even into uselessness when Abraham is referred to through his narrowly-famed father Thare.<sup>2</sup>

Such changes belong to the realm of conscious thought; but Germanic influence extends deeper than this and penetrates in some places to the intellectual background and mental climate of the whole poem. The Bible says little of Tubal Cain, but he is one of those upon whom the A.S. poet enlarges, inspired by memories of Weland the Smith, and by the A.S. interest in weapons in general.<sup>3</sup> Perhaps some Germanic sense of fairness led the A.S. poet to see the good points in Agar, given no place in the Vulgate account; and the generally high estimation which A.S. women enjoyed led the poet to characterise Sarah as feger and freolic, and to give special prominence to their fate, passed over in silence in the Bible, after the Battle of the Five Kings.<sup>4</sup> However, lying less near to the surface

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1. A.H.Skemp: The patriarchs also are described in phrases expressing the Teutonic conception of the chief's function. Liberality, in that conception, was one of the most essential virtues of a leader. Gifts were the reward of the brave warrior. The Transformation of Scripture in Anglo-Saxon Poetry, in Modern Philology, Vol.4, p.454.

2. 11.1059-1075a, p.57; 1.1425a, p.139; 11.2424b-2431a, p.311.

3. 11.1082-1089, p.59-60.

4. 11.2276b-2279, p.284; 1.1722a, p.202; 11.1967-1972, p.244.

of the poet's thought, these connections are less certain.

This Germanic influence is extended by the poet from his own thinking to that of his characters. Noah regards the receding of the Flood as a Germanic hero might;<sup>1</sup> Abraham, as fadera, feels the more keenly the tensions between his shepherds and those of Lot his suhterga;<sup>2</sup> Agar driven into the desert, imagines her fate in Germanic terms as hunger oððe wulf, and Sarah is typically Germanic in demanding that Agar's outrageous conduct shall be punished.<sup>3</sup> Their feelings too are similarly affected, and the emotions of the passengers leaving the Ark are expressed as those of returning exiles, and when Abraham dismisses Lot, to live in the Jordan valley, his speech has a tone not unlike that of Hrothgar's speeches.<sup>4</sup>

As the mental life of his characters reflects Germanic influence, so do their actions. Little change is required to bring Noah's planting of his vineyard - or his drunkenness - within the orbit of Germanic experience.<sup>5</sup> The survivors of the first battle against the Five Kings flee to a fasten and not to the Biblical mountain, and when Abraham joins the battle, he follows what must have been a common Germanic custom and holds a council of war, not re-

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1. 11.1474b-1476a, p.149.

2. 11.1900-1906a, pp.234-5. This seems to have been and to have remained a constant element in Germanic thought, as E.V.Gordon saw. Cf. his remark: Tacitus describes the same military nucleus of society (sc. as that of the Battle of Maldon) ... the special bond between uncle and sister's son The Battle of Maldon, London 1937, p.26.

3. 1.2278b, p.284; 11.2252b-2254a, p.280-1;

4. 11.1485-1487a, pp.154-5; 11.1913b-1915a, p.237.

5. 11.1555-1558, pp.178-9; 11.1562-1576, pp.179-80.

corded in the Bible. This process reaches its logical conclusion in the added description of the workmen building the Tower of Babel - connecting them perhaps with the mighty long-dead architects of the Ruin.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, a knowledge of social custom is the stamp of a hero in Genesis A as much as in Beowulf, as Lot shows when he greets his divine visitors in the valley of Mambre. But the social customs followed are not those of the Bible, but rather those of Germanic civilisation of the poet's own day, for Lot offers them not footwashing but nihfœrmung.<sup>2</sup> The same change extends to material life. Abraham's preparations before he goes on the journey to sacrifice Isaac are the 'grey' sword of A.S. epic poetry and not the wood-fuel of the Biblical desert. The plunder after the Battle of the Five Kings consists of weapons, and not of food, more important in an unfertile land. The Ark is an open undecked vessel, and the poet, with an un-Biblical practicality, realises how much space the fodder will occupy. With these material changes goes the fact that when the scenery is described, it is the scenery of A.S. England.<sup>3</sup>

The strength of the Germanic influence on the poet's attitude to his material is thus great; even stronger proof of this is given when it can force the poet to give detail less striking than that of the Vulgate. For the Vulgate's compelling reminder in the Curse on Adam that man is dust, the poet prefers a reference to old age, poet-

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1. 11.2005b-2006a, p.247; 11.2024-2027, p.2501 11.1668-1678a, p.195.

2. 11.2431b-2435a, pp.312-3.

3. 11.2865b-2866a, p.367; 11.2006-2011a, p.248; 11.1302b-1310a, and notes thereon, p.112-4; 11.1458b-1460, pp.146-7.

ically less effective, though more familiar to the Germanic audience: the panem et vinum brought to Abraham by Melchisedec appear only as mid lacum, while Lot's cooking azyma is weakened to giestlibnyse. The final stage of Germanic influence is reached when the poet must make omissions from the Bible to meet it. Bricks, which were uncommon in A.S. life, are omitted from the account of the building of the Tower of Babel. Cattle, not a common gift in the Germanic epic world, are not mentioned in the poet's account of Abimelech's gift to Abraham.<sup>1</sup>

But there were many occasions upon which the poet deliberately changed his material to enable him to use Germanic influence not from the present but from the past, in the form of the A.S. race-memory. Perhaps the most obvious evocations are those which recall the migration period, from which the haleb hygerof going forth after the Flood have already been mentioned. Several minor expansions in the expression are due to this, as when the colourless proficiscerentur of the Vulgate is translated by gnta ledan or God is said to show Abraham the way across the desert;<sup>2</sup> the memory of refounding old cities, more probably, and of disagreements between herdsmen, (or hired men of some description) less probably have the same source.<sup>3</sup> The topic of sacrifice, which the poet normally avoided, makes a similar appeal on the one occasion when the incompleteness of the ceremony of the sacrifice of Isaac gave license to the

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1. 11.936-938, p.33; 1.2103b, p.258; 1.2448b, p.314;  
11.1661-1667, p.194; 11.1857b-1859a, p.226.

2. 11.2870b-2875a, p.368.

3. 11.1880-1881, p.231; 11.1906b-1911a, p.236.

poet; and it was probably from the same source, rather than from any battle of his own immediate day that the poet sought the details to add to the account of the disastrous battle against the Five Kings.<sup>1</sup>

As well as showing the influence of Germanic thought and life in general, the poem also shows the influence of Germanic moral and religious thinking. That this element in a poem avowedly Christian and propagandist is yet pagan in origin can be seen from the hint given early in the poem that Yggdrasil lies somewhere behind the poet's thought, as well as by the fact that there is a distinct moralising tendency emergent throughout the poem, nowhere more so than in the account of the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah;<sup>2</sup> and the spirit of that moralising is the spirit of an ill reward for an ill people. Although it may be objected that this is perfectly good Old Testament morality, it seems strange that it should occur so frequently in a poem which evoked in the poet a consciousness of religion far beyond the book of Genesis, as his stressing of God's fatherly relationship to Noah shows.<sup>3</sup> It seems much more likely that this severity comes from an unconscious

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1. 11.2126-2135, p.262. With this last point, G.Sarrazin disagrees: Freilich könnte man sagen dass auch die Ereignisse der Gegenwart, die Kämpfe zwischen Northumbriern und Merciern, welche in den 700er Jahren wieder begannen, lebendige Schilderung unmittelbar beeinflusst haben mögen. Von Kādmon bis Kynewulf, Berlin 1913, p.36.

2. 11.987-1001, pp.47-8; 11.2542-2548a, p.327.

3. 11.1414b-1416, p.136.



paganism rather than from a conscious Christianity. This paganism, however, is not all to be accounted bad; his sense of pure ethics shows an advance on the Biblical book of Genesis when he is careful to spread the taint of sin through the race of Seth as well as of Cain, so that none shall perish innocent in the Flood.<sup>1</sup> But it is in moral criticism that his paganism is most noticeable, and, to modern thought, most justifiable. It leads him for example to reduce the details of Lot's unattractive offer of his daughters to the men of Sodom. It leads him also to continued criticism of his Biblical source during Abraham's dealing with Agar. To satisfy his moral sense he is obliged to dwell upon Sarah's part in the affair, and to reinforce Abraham's character as far as he can; finally, he is compelled to add a mention of God as the instigator of the scheme, before his conscience is quietened.<sup>2</sup> Almost the same process is repeated in Abraham's deception of Abimelech,<sup>3</sup> and the fact that here he shows his prime concern to be for the character of his hero, who by virtue of his position as such looks back to pagan times, makes it more certain that this strain of moral criticism is pagan rather than Christian in origin.

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1. 11.1253-1262, pp.90-1.

2. 11.2473-2475, p.318; 11.2221-2226, p.275; 11.2258-2260, p.282; 11.2231-2233, p.276-7.

3. 11.2632b-2634a, p.338; 11.2648b-2652, p.341.

The attitude of the poet and his audience to Christianity.

In his attitude to Christianity, so far as this is illustrated by his choice of material, the poet displays wholehearted acceptance of the new religion. There is no reason to doubt that the Germanic legends had a wide enough currency for all A.S. poets to have known them; and where else would the poet of Genesis A have found his poetic vocabulary? There was thus no reason why he should not have chosen some legend from this corpus, and embodied his Christianity in it<sup>1</sup> or, as the Beowulf poet did when faced with the same situation, embroidered his Christianity through it. But the A.S. poet did not choose such an alternative, and his choice indicates that Christianity was his whole world, and he felt no need to look outside it in his choice of subject.

Nor did the poet feel any but the slightest need to look beyond the Christian world for material to import into his poem. There are no references to pagan deities, and as will be noted later, few references to pagan customs, avoidances which again he shares with the Beowulf poet.<sup>2</sup> He works entirely within the Christian world, and that world deeply informs his poem. It is possible in theory at least to eracinate the Christian element from Beowulf,<sup>3</sup> but

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1. Cf. F. Klaeber, Die Waltersage wurde auch von Christlichen dichtern besungen, die kein bedenken trugen, den glauben ihrer zeit gelegentlich hervorzukehren, aber doch blieben waldere .... und Ekkehard's waltharius (ungeachtet des klassischen gewandes) unzweifelhafte germanische heldendichtungen .... Die Christlichen Elemente im Beowulf IV, in Anglia, Vol.36, p.195.
  2. Cf. F. Klaeber; Keine deutliche spur findet sich von gott-ern, die ja ubrigens in den dem Beowulf vorausliegenden liedern und sagen gar nicht aufgetreten zu sein brauchen. Op.cit. IV, p.170.
  3. Cf. F.A.Blackburn, it would require but little skill to remove the Christian tone of the whole, with the exception of  
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even to state such a possibility for Genesis A is to arrive at a contradiction in terms.

The poet's avowed purpose is to praise God and to spread Christianity.<sup>1</sup> Consequently he is always concerned to bring God, the central figure of the Christian religion before the mind of his audience: he is careful to give God's motive in creating the world,<sup>2</sup> and again to give his motive for visiting Adam and Eve in Paradise;<sup>3</sup> and when the poet wishes a psychology in place of a battle to support the interest of the struggle between God and the rebelling angels, it is natural that it should be God's psychology that he chooses to expand.<sup>4</sup>

As Christian propaganda is thus part of the poet's purpose, he regards Christianity partly as a source of dogmata, more than does the Beowulf poet for example.<sup>5</sup> But, compared to the author of Beowulf, the author of Genesis A is unequivocally Christian, and can afford to pass over in silence much which the Beowulf poet does mention. Despite his moral purpose, his content of moral reflection need be less, since the moral interpretation of any material

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two or three passages, by making a few verbal changes and giving to certain words the older meaning instead of the later one. The Christian Coloring in the Beowulf, in PMLA, Vol.12, p.217.

1. 11.1-12a, pp.1-2.
2. 11.92-102, p.6.
3. 11.855-857, p.23.
4. 11.51b-64, pp.4-5.
5. Cf. F. Kleeber: Ihrem allgemeinen charakter nach sind die christlichen motive nicht ausgesprochen kirchlich, dogmatisch. op.cit.III, Anglia, Vol.35, p.480.

from the Bible would be automatic in the mind of a cleric; for the lay minds, for whom his poem was probably written, the interpretation was possibly less important, in the poet's view than a simple interested knowledge of the contents of the book of Genesis.<sup>1</sup> At the same time, the quality of his dogmata is different from that of the Beowulf. The Beowulf poet seeks principally for counsel for practical living; but the poet of Genesis A took little special care for this side of Christianity, as his source supplied him with it; the actions of all his heroes were automatically the expression of practical Christianity. Lot, for example, although living among sinners, preserved his own purity;<sup>2</sup> and the poet could take it for granted that the Jewish patriarchs would go to heaven: the poet had to give special mention of the fate only of those whose departure was in some way extraordinary, like that of Enoch, son of Geared.<sup>3</sup> In addition to this, the character of his source saved him from the dilemma of having to clothe his heroes in orthodox Catholic garb to bring out some special aspect of Christian dogma: his heroes were already themselves the expression of that dogma.<sup>4</sup>

An excellent example of the poet's attitude to Christianity combining with his Christian propagandist

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1. cf. the instruction given to Caedmon when he was received into Whitby Abbey. Bede, Historia Ecclesiastica, iv, 24.

2. ll.1937b-1944, pp.239-40.

3. ll.1203b-1213, pp.81-4.

4. cf. M.P.Hamilton: At the same time, lovers of heroic verse who were equipped to follow Beowulf in its bridled allusions its irony and its rich vocabulary could hardly have relished a story presenting Scandinavians of pre-conversion days as orthodox Catholics. The Religious Principle in Beowulf, in P.M.L.A, Vol.61, p.310.

purpose is given by his statement of the need to give thanks to God. His source aided him, as it already contained ideas which expressed this dogma or, like Abimelech's reply to God,<sup>1</sup> could easily be made to do so: (and such expressions agreed more naturally with the ethos of the poem than do like expressions in a poem such as Beowulf, wherein they must be allocated only to suitable parts of the poem.<sup>2</sup>)

In his attitude to Christianity, the poet does not go out of his way to emphasise liturgical ceremony. There is no mention of priests, nor of any of the ritual of the church, and the few doctrines to which he does refer seem present incidentally rather than organically. He makes a probable quotation from one of the praefationes of the mass, but this quotation evokes no liturgical ideas: the quotation exists for the sake of the poem, and the converse is untrue.<sup>3</sup> Again, the poet shares this quality with the Beowulf poet, as more than one critic has noted.<sup>4</sup> But the reason why the poet of Genesis A is thus exclusive in his attitude to Christianity

1. 11.2643-2648a, p.340.

2. Cf. F. Klaeber: Der geringe anteil dieses abschnittes (sc. II der Drachenkampf) an den christlichen motiven erklärt sich sehr natürlich aus seinem inhalt, der zum grossen teil aus einer ganz kurz resumierenden darstellung von Ia (sc. der Grendelkampf) und Ib (sc. der Kampf mit Grendels mutter) und den nebenerzählung von bryð und der Heaðobardenfehde besteht. op. cit. III, p.471.

3. 11.1-12a, pp.1-2.

4. Cf. F. Klaeber: Nie werden gottesdienst, priester, oder kirchliche ubungen wie fasten, almosengeben erwähnt. op.cit. IV, p.481. F.A.Blackburn: This method of incidental change explains the lack of all allusions to the leading doctrines of the Church and of any reference to Christ and his teaching, to say nothing of the many other things that we should expect to find, if we suppose that the work was composed in the first instance by a Christian. op.cit. p.218.

seems plain: his faith was so deep that he seldom felt any need to go outside the terms of his source to include any part of Christianity not expressed in that source. In any case, a clerical audience would naturally supply the connection with other parts of Christianity, by way of figurae etc., wherever this was needed. A lay audience would do so less readily: but, as was true of his attitude to Christian dogmata, with a lay audience the poet would probably rest content with spreading a knowledge of the stories of Adam, Noah and Abraham.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, it seems likely that the poet's attitude to Christianity was liberal enough to allow him to retain, along with it, his excellent literary sense of what would and would not constitute an aesthetic unity. But his Christianity was none the less the force which governed his emotions. The poet stood too near to paganism, and the conversion was too recent to allow him the emotional self-confidence of Guthlac for example:<sup>2</sup> but on the other hand, his Christianity has completely conquered the elegiac mood which underlies so much other Anglo-Saxon poetry; Genesis A is too thoroughly Christian in mood to afford any place for gloom.

In the course of expressing his propaganda the poet was bound to give some details of his attitude to individual aspects of the Christian religion. Of these, the first is God himself, and the first part of the poet's attitude to God is his conception of God's all-powerfulness:

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1. cf. supra p. 402

2. cf. G. Chrismann: Ein naiver und massiver eudaimonismus, die aussicht auf belohnung im himmelreich, bildet den kern des religiosen bewussteins. Religionesgeschichtliche Beiträge zum Germanischen Frühchristentum. in Beiträge zur Geschichte der Deutschen Sprache und Literatur, Vol. 35, p. 209.

God has every kind of power and is powerful over everything,<sup>1</sup> but there is no point in quoting a list of the expressions which the poet uses for God, as such a list already exists.<sup>2</sup> In any event, such a list is of doubtful value. It is not that there is any doubt that the poet used such epithets in a Christian sense;<sup>3</sup> the difficulty is rather to know how far such expressions would be meaningful even in their Christian senses; if they are to be measured by comparison with Adam's reference to Eve as freolucu ides, which occurs rather inopportunately in the speech in which he tells how she gave him the apple,<sup>4</sup> they cannot be held to be very significant.

A better measure of the poet's attitude to God is given by the actions which God performs in the poem, the more so when these actions appear in additions made by the poet. For these additions do not merely expand the character of God; they develop it beyond the O.T. conception of God altogether. It is true that in his dealings with Abimelech, God is presented as an angry and persistent deity,<sup>5</sup> but to some

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1. This seems to be the sense of alwihtra (l.193a) beside almihtig god (l.1509b) so far as there is any distinction between them.
  2. See H. Jovy: Untersuchungen zur Altenglischen Genesisdichtung in Bonner Beiträge Vol.5, p.10 sq.
  3. Cf. F.A. Blackburn: We cannot always feel certain, therefore, in reading the Beowulf, whether the word is used by the writer with full consciousness of its later (sc. Christian) sense or with its older (sc. pagan) meaning. op.cit. p.207. Blackburn seems to be mistaken in referring to the "vague and colourless Christianity of these passages" (op.cit. p. 216): their limited compass may be due primarily to A.S. poetic style which found it convenient to enclose such references to God within the compass of a half-line.
  4. l.884a.
  5. l.2742, p.352

extent this was forced upon the poet by moral considerations, and elsewhere, his God is a noticeably merciful one; although he deprives Adam and Eve of the joys of Paradise, he leaves them the beauties of the earth and of the sky.<sup>1</sup> His consoling of Adam for the loss of Abel is emphasised beyond its Biblical proportions,<sup>2</sup> and, more readily than in the Bible, God consoles Abraham for the prospective loss of Ishmael.<sup>3</sup>

The poet's theology is here more advanced than that of the Beowulf poet. For all the attributes which God displays in Beowulf<sup>4</sup> can well be explained in O.T. terms; but a merciful God consoling his worshipper is not so well consonant with a theology uninfluenced by the N.T.

Within the O.T. conception of God, the aspect of the conception of God which made most appeal to the poet was God's function as the fount of justice. As Bede tells, the unstable character of pagan divine justice was fully responsible for the conversion at least of Northumbria.<sup>5</sup> The A.S. poet, if his home was indeed in the north, had learned the lesson well, and when Abraham builds an altar God is quick to reward him, as again after his final settlement with Abimelech and after Abraham's proof of his obedience in preparing to sacrifice Isaac.<sup>6</sup> The quality of this justice

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1. 11.952-960, p.39.

2. 11.1114b-1116, p.63.

3. 11.2793b-2795a, p.357.

4. For a good list of these see F. Klaeber, op.cit.I, pp. 116 sq.

5. Bede, Historia Ecclesiastica, ii, 13.

6. 11.1805-1810, p.217; 11.2808b-2816a, pp.359-60; 11.2914-2922, p.373.



which appealed most of all to the poet was its selectiveness. The fate which goes ever as it will is plainly inferior to a justice which selects Lot for almost individual salvation from the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah.<sup>1</sup>

At the same time, despite his idea of God as merciful, the poet was attracted by God's warlike quality, in which God stands as Othinn's heir. God's purpose of punishing men by the Flood is set forth in heroic terms in which God is (most poetically) pictured as a warrior using the waves as his weapon;<sup>2</sup> throughout the account of the Flood, God is regarded as a leader, and with Noah's deeds as a warrior's service to his lord, the chief-and-thegn is established.<sup>3</sup> Allied to the poet's purpose of propaganda, this warlike attitude to Christianity results in the custom of a bardic song of victory being transmuted into a hymn of thanksgiving after the Battle of the Five Kings.<sup>4</sup>

The poet's conception of God's essential person stands likewise somewhere between the completely anthropomorphic conception of the O.T. and the almost completely spiritual conception of the N.T. He rejects for example the idea that God can smell the smoke of sacrifice,<sup>5</sup> and likewise rejects the idea that God would himself lead Abraham out to view the stars or would thereafter ascend from earth to heaven when he had finished speaking to Abraham.<sup>6</sup> However, he is

1. 11.2523-2526a, p.324.

2. 11.1383b-1386a, p.132.

3. 11.1507-1508a, p.160.

4. 11.2109b-2119, p.259-60.

5. 11.1503b-1508a, p.160. See also Ebert's comment referred to thereon.

6. 11.2191-2196a, p.270; after 1.2369, p.300.

not yet completely freed from anthropomorphism as it emerges in the idea of God leading Abraham by his spirit (which seems to be the meaning of worde in l.1412a). The idea that God regards the human race as his children agrees with this position, belonging as it does to late O.T. times.<sup>1</sup>

The poet's concept of God, then, as it appears in God's attributes, personality and actions in Genesis A, is based in the O.T., but liberalised by the more developed and more spiritualised thought of the N.T. It is a concept which might be expected from a devout and well-read Christian who had to evolve for God a character which would satisfy the dramatic demands of the book of Genesis without being theologically untrue to Christianity as a whole.

The fact that the God of Genesis A is still partly anthropomorphic and the emphasis which the poet lays on the warlike and Germanic aspect of God's character, together indicate the survival of a subconscious paganism in the poet's mind. There is no evidence that he held pagan beliefs, but it is probable that, along with the paganism which is still concealed below the surface of the A.S. poetic vocabulary, some pagan habits of mind remained in the poet's thinking. Although he accepted Catholic belief and theology without question as spiritual and intellectual truths, his method of evaluating these truths was not totally free from paganism. This paganism is most noticeable when his Catholicism impinges on the wider field of human conduct, and the sign of its existence lies in a certain independence of mind and spirit. Its most striking manifestation is the poet's obvious delight in battle, a delight which moves him even when the Israelites are on the losing side, as in the first

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1. ll.1414b-1416, p.136.

phase of the Battle of the Five Kings: so much does this intrinsically pagan emotion move him that he includes the birds of the pagan Othinn in the description of the battle:<sup>1</sup> and he is no less moved by the same emotion when the Israelites finally defeat their enemies, for after an addition of his own, he finds it necessary to make a deliberate reference to God's aiding the Israelites to change the too blatantly pagan mood of the passage, and when the birds of Othinn again intrude they are carefully particularised away from mythology.<sup>2</sup>

One peculiar feature of this re-emergent pagan strain is a slight scepticism in the poet's evaluation of the more miraculous aspects of Christianity. The miracles of large compass, the Creation for example, and the Flood, are accepted by the poet without question, although even the former contains a hint of disbelief: the poet finds it necessary to explain that Adam felt no pain when the rib was taken from his side.<sup>3</sup> Generally this system applies to most of his work, and miracles which occur in close personal relationship to human beings are more closely questioned. He is careful to indicate a possible physical explanation of Sarah's alarm at God's knowing that she laughed when the birth of Isaac was foretold. When the angels visit Lot before Sodom, the poet has them appear as young men; and God appears to Abimelech not directly, but in a dream.<sup>4</sup>

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1. 11.1982-2006a; 11.1983b-1984, p.247.

2. 11.2067b-2075a, p.254; 11.2072b-2073, p.254; 11.2087b-2089a, p.256.

3. 11.179b-180a, pp.14-15.

4. 11.2387-2389, p.304; 11.2424b-2431a, p.311; 1.2654b-p.342.

Perhaps the most significant incident is the poet's suppression of Sarah's age at the birth of Isaac, despite his earlier acceptance of the greater ages of all the patriarchs who preceded Noah.<sup>1</sup> This, together with the fact that all other instances of this scepticism occur later in the poem may indicate that the poet felt that the Flood was in some way a dividing line between a more miraculous age, and an age which was less so.

Even in these occasional pagan and sceptical moments, however, the poet is still a Christian, and wherever he is forced into controversy, his last appeal is to the Bible. The fate of Lot's wife is a case in point. Scepticism prompts the poet to reinforce his material, but the reinforcement he chooses is us gewritu secgeað - an appeal to Biblical authority.<sup>2</sup> When theology forbade him to describe a battle, as when he was handling the strife between God and the rebelling angels, he was careful to transmute the strife into psychological realms, (which well match the supra-physical material of his source).<sup>3</sup>

As a theologian the poet is perfectly traditional and orthodox. He correctly regards the mark of Cain as a protection, not as a sign of opprobrium.<sup>4</sup> He is careful

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1. 11.1117-1239, cf. 11.2778-2791a, p.355.

2. 1.2565b, p.329.

3. 11.51b-64, p.4.

4. 11.1043b-1045, p.53. Cf. O.F.Emerson: In English, however, allusions (sc. to the mark) are surprisingly few. The morppe gemearcod "marked with murder" of Beowulf 1.1265 does not seem important. Legends of Cain, especially in Old and Middle English in PMLA, Vol.21, p.869. If Emerson is correct in identifying this as a reference to the mark of Cain, then the poet of Genesis A is again more accurate in his theology than is the Beowulf poet.

to turn to the commentary wherever doubt might arise, as in the interpretation of the filias hominum,<sup>1</sup> for example when God disapproved of their being chosen as wives. There is in fact only one point in the poem in which his theology is puzzling: his statement that Adam and Eve when in Paradise were like angels is strictly a heresy<sup>2</sup> but the poet may have intended it as no more than a simile.

In his handling of the problems of evil, the poet once more shows a complete serenity induced by Christianity. His faith was deep enough for him to feel no need to denigrate the enemies of the Jews; he feels no need to stress their envy, malice and hostility in the way and with the persistence of the Beowulf poet stressing the hatred of Grendel and his dam for the Danes.<sup>3</sup> As has been noted, the poet of Genesis A can even delight in a battle in which the Jews are being defeated. Evil was present in the world, and it was personified in the enemies of the Jews, and the poet accepted it as completely explicable by the Fall of Man, as the Church taught it and as he recounts it.<sup>4</sup> Nor is there any hint of Manicheism in the poet's work: the self-reproachful tone of the speeches of Adam and Eve dispose completely of any such idea.

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1. 11.1248-1252, p.89. Vulgate Ch.VI, v.2.

2. 1.185b, p.16.

3. Cf. the Beowulf poet's attitude to Grendel, summarised by M.P.Hamilton, op. cit. p.320.

4. 11.882-902. Especially noteworthy are the repetition of teonan and God's comment æte þa unfreme (1.893a).

In practical matters, the poet's attitude is that of a devout Christian. He displays a marked reluctance to describe material sacrifice, which the Church had proscribed<sup>1</sup>, and his attitude to Noah's drunkenness is more Christian than Germanic; and the characteristics for which he specially praises Abraham, forethought, patience and resignation to the will of God, are those of the Christian ideal.<sup>2</sup>

Two other characteristics which he finds praiseworthy are yet to be mentioned. Noah is described as gedefe (l.1287a) while Abraham is lare gemyndig (l.1880a). Either of these characteristics would be completely out of place in any A.S. hero of pagan days; neither of them is a 'heroic' quality in any accepted literary sense of the word; and indeed it was these two qualities in the Christian world which led to the final collapse of the old 'heroic' poetry before the new poetry of the miraculous in which, as in Andreas for example, the Lord would guarantee the physical victory of his followers without the need for them to possess any qualities beyond these two. Whether the A.S. poet realised this is unknown, but his praise of these qualities in his heroes stamps him as unreservedly Christian in his conscious mind.

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1. ll.2204b-2215, pp.272-3. The evidence is necessarily negative.
  2. l.1593a, p.183; l.1823a, p.221; ll.2914-2922, p.373; l.1836b-1837a, p.223.

The A.S. poet's use of his Vulgate text.

If every possibility be regarded, it is not strictly essential that the author of Genesis A should have been acquainted with Latin: it is at least theoretically possible that an intermediary stood between him and the Latin text of the Vulgate book of Genesis, translating for the poet as the latter composed, and repeating in fact the process by which Caedmon composed his Hymn.<sup>1</sup> But to assume the existence of such an interpreter raises almost as many difficulties as it solves; for example, he must have been present at the writing of almost every line of Genesis A, and he must have had at least some poetic ability himself. There is, of course, nothing inherently impossible in the truth of either or both these suppositions. But it seems more consonant with the material which follows that the interpretation of the Latin should have been the work of the poet himself, without the intervention of any other person.

The very closeness with which the poet normally follows the Vulgate throughout his poem implies a good knowledge of Latin: but this has not always been acknowledged; the existent, extent and accuracy of his knowledge have all been questioned. Ebert held that the poet had omitted Genesis Ch.III, v.22, and Ch.IV, vv.1 and 7 because he could not understand the Latin.<sup>2</sup> But such an explanation is intrinsically unlikely to be true of a poet

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1. Bede, Historia Ecclesiastica, iv, 24.

2. Auch die weglassungen charakterisieren den dichter und sein werk. Sie haben verschiedene gründe. Einzelne stellen scheinen mir von dem dichter ubergangen zu sein, weil er sie selbst nicht verstanden; so c.3, v.22, wo Gott sagt Ecce Adam quasi unus ex nobis factus est u.s.w.  
Zur Angelsaechsischen Genesis, in Anglia, Vol.5, p.129.

who had the resources of the commentary available to him; and it now appears that the poet of Genesis A had access to the commentary, and used it whenever he required it; "obscure" phrases, such as those in the verses in question, would certainly have prompted him to consult some commentary, if only to ensure the orthodoxy of his poem, - his most frequent reason for such consultation.<sup>1</sup> The commentators' views in fact seem to be responsible for the poet's omission of Genesis Ch.III, v.22;<sup>2</sup> with regard to Ch.IV, v.1, the disputed phrase possedi hominem per Dominum appears to have been used by the poet in the phrase be godes huse (l.965b) and the question is rather the interpretation which he gave to it;<sup>3</sup> for the omission of Ch.IV, v.7, there are good aesthetic reasons, which agree with the poet's usual standards, as they are displayed elsewhere in the poem.<sup>4</sup>

The closeness with which the poet normally follows the Vulgate has already been mentioned: yet there are some phrases in which his attention to his text was so close that the phrasing of Genesis A can clearly be heard to echo the Latin of the Vulgate. The metaphor in the Latin phrase vox sanguinis fratris tui clamat ad me is carefully preserved in the A.S. and his blod to me / cleopað and cigeð; the metaphor of the Latin flagellavit reappears in witeswingum, and domo patris tui can be heard behind feder eðelstol.<sup>5</sup> Such echoes might still appear through the

1. Cf. the following chapter of these conclusions, pp.422 sq.

2. ll.943b-951, p.34-6.

3. ll.965-969a, p.40.

4. ll.982b-987, p.44-5.

5. Ch.IV, v.10, ll.1012b-1013a, p.48; Ch.XII, v.7, l.1864b, p.226; Ch.XII, v.1, l.1748a, p.206.



speech of an intermediary, but it seems extremely unlikely that the Latin should be strong enough to disturb the syntax of the A.S. poem if it had been studied at such a distance: and the syntax of Genesis A is twice disturbed in sympathy with the Vulgate. There is an unusual preservation of the temporal-preventative clause antequam dividemur by the oblique statement or seo mengeo eft / ....tofaran sceolde<sup>1</sup>; and the syntactical order of the Latin dixitque Abraham ego iurabo is preserved at the expense of the more usual A.S. demonstrative order in ða Abraham Abimelehe / were sealde þat he wolde swa<sup>2</sup>. His knowledge of Latin is good enough and his scholarship is accurate enough for him to succeed in reproaching Abraham in Abimelech's speech to him, thus reproducing not only the sense but also the tone of the Vulgate.<sup>3</sup>

It has already been noted that the poet of Genesis A is fond of appeals to antiquity in the manner of the old pagan poets. He obviously knew of the usual formulae for such appeals since these formulae are used in ða ic aldor gefragn and we þat soð magon secgan furður<sup>4</sup> but some of his references are couched in different terms, usually some variant of us secgað bec<sup>5</sup>. In order to achieve these phrases, the poet is twice forced to place the alliteration

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1. Ch.XI, v.4, 11.1663b-1664, p.194.

2. Ch.XXI, v.24, 11.2832-2833, pp.361-2 and n.1.

3. 11.2686b-2690, p.344.

4. 11.1960, and 2013b-2014a; see also the first chapter of these conclusions, p.390.

5. 11.969b, 1121b, 1173b, 1723b, 2565b, 2612b.

on the verb, and hence must have had some deliberate purpose in including them at all. They seem to direct the attention of the audience specifically to the Vulgate text, and when they are all considered together, their persistence and distribution suggest that the poet had a written source in mind throughout the poem. They suggest in fact that the poet worked unaided by an intermediary and with the book of Genesis open before him.

Additional proof that Genesis A was composed directly from a written text is given by a few minor errors which have crept into his poem. Instead of 962, the figure in the Vulgate, 965 is given as the age at which Gear-ed died.<sup>1</sup> The error of 5 for 2 could in theory be imported into the manuscript by a copyist, but as it agrees with the alliteration of the rest of the line it is more likely to be a misreading by the poet himself, or perhaps to reflect an error in the poet's manuscript of Genesis. The same type of blunder appears in the poet's failure to read the figure octoginta in the age of Lamech at the birth of Noah, which is recorded as twa and hundteontig, a figure with which the rest of the line alliterates.<sup>2</sup> Again, when dealing with the sons of Lamech, the poet joins the occupation of the musician Iubal to the name of the shepherd Iabel. The alliteration of the lines containing name and ascription is not perfect, but to change the name would not help.<sup>3</sup> The simplest explanation is that the poet's eye readily leapt from the phrase

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1. 1.1177b-1179a, pp.69-70.

2. pa seo tid gewat, 1.1227.

3. para anum wms / Iabel noma, se purh gleawne gepanc, 11.1077b-1078, pp.58-9.

Iabel qui fuit to the phrase Iubal ipse fuit, Ch.IV, vv.20 and 21.<sup>1</sup> There is one peculiarity of the orthography of the poem which should be added here - the spellings of Beth-lem, Mathusal, Ethiopia, Iafeth and Seth<sup>2</sup> all of which use the letters th instead of thorn. The use of th forms is not quite consistent however, as a few forms with thorn are found, as Iafeð, for example.<sup>3</sup> The presence of both forms seems to deny any possibility of scribal interference normalising or otherwise, and to suggest that the th forms are those of a poet whose normal use is ð reading from a text which does not know this symbol. His use of th, then, together with the blunders which have been described, suggest that the poet was working with a written text open before him.

The content of the poem likewise reveals something of the poet's method of working, especially if his handling of the catalogues in his source is taken into account, as he includes some of these catalogues and omits others, As they are in the Vulgate, these catalogues do not differ greatly among themselves, either in the form they take or in the quality of the extraneous details they give: for the most part they are a record of descendants, of whom some became rulers and some did not. But the content of the different catalogues differs in this respect that some of them give the genealogy of patriarchs important in the poem and it is these catalogues which the poet includes.<sup>4</sup> Such

1. These errors contrast with the copyists' blunder recorded in 1.1601, freomen after flode, and fiftig eac, pa he forð gewat. See p.185.

2. 11.1799b, 1069a, 228b, 1242a, and 1106b for example.

3. 1.1552a.

4. For a fuller discussion of the principles of the poet's selection, see the first chapter of these conclusions, pp. 379, 380, 383.

a selection can only be the outcome of a foreknowledge of the source as a whole and of the detailed content of each catalogue. Such foreknowledge could be gained through the medium of an intermediary, but it would imply exceptional co-operation and raises again the difficulty of explaining how both poet and intermediary came to perpetrate errors of the type discussed in the preceding paragraph. The poet's handling of the catalogues in his source reinforces the conclusion that it was the poet himself who read and selected from the Vulgate text.<sup>1</sup>

From the general character of the relationship between Genesis A and its source, it might be deduced that the poet translated the Vulgate carefully verse by verse, at the most two or three verses at a time. This impression is strengthened by the way in which the poet transposes material in his source. Into God's prescription for the Lading of the Ark, given in the Vulgate in Ch.VII, v.1 sq. the poet inserts a reference to God's Covenant with Noah and his house apparently from Ch.VI, v.18.<sup>2</sup> After the account of the closing of the Ark, in Ch.VII, v.16, the poet turns back to either v.6 or v.11 of the same chapter for the account of

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1. It is hence rather difficult to accept G. Sarrazin's conclusion, irrespective of its reference to Caedmon: Aus allem geht mit grosser wahrscheinlichkeit die schlussfolgerung hervor, dass die ältere Genesis, welche um die zeit Kædmons in Northumbrien gedichtet sein muss, welche ganz dem charakter, der bildung, lebensanschauung, Kædmons entspricht, wirklich wie Beda berichtet, im wesentlichen von Kædmon selbst herrührt, wenngleich sie sicher nicht von diesem dichter niedergeschrieben wurde und möglicherweise bei späteren abschriften noch umgestaltungen und interpolationen erfuhr. Zur Chronologie und Verfasserfrage AS Dichtungen, in Englische Studien, Vol.38, p.195.

2. 11.1332b-1334, p.116.

Noah's age at this time.<sup>1</sup> In chapter XII, he reproduces God's promise to bless Abraham's friends and curse his enemies, verse 3 in the Vulgate, before God's promise to multiply the seed of Abraham, verse 2 in the Vulgate. With equal care, verse 5 of the same chapter, giving the list of those who accompanied Abraham from Haran is carefully placed in the middle of verse 4 giving other details of the departure.<sup>2</sup> In his dealing with Chapter XVI, the birth, naming and career of Ishmael, in vv.11 and 12 are promised by God and the promise is sealed by the foretelling of many descendants for him, from v.10;<sup>3</sup> and on frequent occasions, the poet distributes separate phrases from one or more verses in an order which differs from the Biblical.<sup>4</sup> Such alterations have a double implication: their presence at all implies a poet able to refer back and forth in a text of the Bible open before him, while the manifest care with which individual insertions are made implies a poet who is working on one verse at a time.

Finally, although the poet seems to have composed his poem from a written text, there is at least one addition which suggests definitely that the poem was intended for recitation, even possibly for piecemeal recitation. When Sarah is seized by Abimelech, the poet adds to the Biblical account a phrase which emphasises that this is the second time that she has been abducted.<sup>5</sup> As the two abductions are in some ways alike, an audience hearing the poem in parts might well be greatly helped by exactly such an addition as this.

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1. 11.1367b-1371a, p.125.

2. 11.1754-1766, pp.206-8; 11.1773b-1778, pp.209-10.

3. 11.2285-2294a, pp.285-7.

4. 11.1521-1523a, pp.166-7, for example.

5. 11.2630-2632a, p.337.

The A.S. poet's use of patristic writings.

The first purpose to which the A.S. poet of Genesis A put the commentary was that for which it was originally written - the explanation of the text of the Bible. Wherever the text was obscure, 'vague or ambiguous, the poet used the commentary to discover the recognised meaning of the Vulgate.<sup>1</sup> The first example of this use of the commentary occurs when the poet is dealing with Ch.VI, v.3; the phrase eruntque dies illius centum viginti annorum appears to set the limit for the lifetime of a human being, but in the poet's view, expressed in ll.1263-1265a, the figure gives the time allowed to man for repentance before the Flood, this being the view of Hieronymus<sup>2</sup> and Bede.<sup>3</sup> It is especially interesting that the poet should have consulted the commentary at this point. This phrase from the Vulgate is quite comprehensible as it stands, and, unlike some later phrases, provides no overt reason for rejecting its obvious meaning; so the poet's adoption of the less obvious sense given to these words by the commentators, as well as illustrating the poet's habit of reference to the commentary, shows also how readily that habit affected him.

The need for reference to the commentary is more plainly indicated by the ambiguity in Ch.XIV, v.20 of the phrase et dedit ei decimas ex omnibus. The poet's reference to the commentary is shown by his deciding who is

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1. The availability of the commentary together with the poet's use of it finally disposes of Ebert's contention, discussed supra p.413, that the poet omitted certain verses of the Vulgate as incomprehensible.
  2. Quaestiones in Genesim, v.supra p.91.
  3. Quaestiones in Genesim, v.supra p.91.

the subject of the sentence which he writes in ll.2120-2123a. Eucherius is the first commentator to mention both the ambiguity and its solution;<sup>1</sup> and the poet's motive for consulting the commentary is provided by the ambiguity of the phrase quoted. The need for a commentary is plainest of all in Ch.IX, v.4, where the Vulgate reads de manu viri et fratris eius requiram animam hominis; this phrase is successfully translated by the poet in ll.1523b-1528a, and no solution of the dilemma posed by the Vulgate's too literal translation of the Hebrew idiom would have been possible without the help of Ambrose<sup>2</sup> or Augustine<sup>3</sup>.

In some instances, the meaning of the phrases the poet was handling was quite plain; the events related in the Bible were not in dispute. But the order in which these events occurred might be unusual. In Ch.XXI, vv.2 and 3, the Vulgate tells how Isaac is born and given his name, and though the events are narrated in that order there is no distinct statement that they happened thus. In ll. 2764b-2767 of Genesis A, the naming took place before the birth, and this reflects the view of the commentators, Hieronymus<sup>4</sup> among others.

The terse style of the Vulgate was likewise liable to leave causal relationships equally uncertain. The paratactic style of Ch.III, vv.22-24 leaves God's motive in ejecting Adam and Eve from Paradise less specific than it might have been. The relationship finally determined by the poem in ll.941-951, is at least supported, if not inspired,

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1. Commentarius in Genesim; v. supra p.260
  2. de Noe et Arca; v. supra p.167-8.
  3. Quaestiones in Genesim. v. supra p.167-8.
  4. Quaestiones in Genesim; v. supra p.353.

by the commentary, Bede<sup>1</sup> in particular. It seems likely that the poet turned to the commentary for his analysis of events as well as for his history of them.

Even when the events and their relationships to each other were clear, the poet still had use for the commentary. All the events of the Bible were not of the same value for his purpose, and he turned to the commentary to find out which elements of the Biblical story were to have special emphasis. This was specially true when the emphasis was partly a matter of aesthetic judgement, to be expressed in additions to be made by the poet. When he was building the character of Abraham, for example, the poet had a certain license as to the character he gave Abraham: he might have been expected to create a warlike Abraham, whose prowess would appeal to a Germanic audience, and to some extent the poet did fulfil such expectations. But besides these stock qualities, Abraham's patience is greatly emphasised. After the circumcision of Isaac, the poet adds special mention of the sufferings which Abraham has endured<sup>2</sup>: again, immediately before the sacrifice of Isaac, an addition by the poet emphasises Abraham's thoughtful obedience to the command of God<sup>3</sup>. Such additions of course were well warranted by the commentary perhaps by Tertullian<sup>4</sup>, Cyprianus Gallus<sup>5</sup>, or some other, and thus the poet kept the poem in line with the orthodox church

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1. Commentarius in Genesis: v. supra p.35.

2. 11.2775b-2777.

3. 11.2893b-2894.

4. Liber de Patientia: v. supra p.355.

5. de Bono Patientiae.



view of the character of Abraham. The fact that the characteristics of patience and obedience, intrinsically the opposites of the headstrong and rash qualities of pagan heroes should be included in a poem by a poet otherwise careful to make his poem as acceptable to tradition as he could, shows how great his reverence for orthodoxy was. It is possible too that the additional reproaches which the poet heaps upon Eve, in ll.888-895a, were added at the behest, overt or tacit, of the Church: thus, they may give a further example of how the church affected the poet's attitude to his characters: but no commentator can be traced who gives a definite source for this passage.<sup>1</sup>

In the slightly different form of the relative emphasis not of fact and fact but of fact and significance, the same problem was raised for the poet by God's promise of children for Isaac: the source of the problem is the failure of the Vulgate to give any guide about the attitude to be adopted to this promise. The poet has no doubt that it is to be emphasised as a godcunde gife,<sup>2</sup> again a solution almost certainly suggested to him by the commentary,<sup>3</sup> consulted to preserve his orthodoxy.

The attribution to the commentators of influence upon the character of Abraham raises momentarily a point of wider literary interest: for the same type of influence affects the character of Ishmael. As it is pictured in the Bible, Ishmael's character is fierce and warlike,

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1. v. supra, p.27.

2. l.2331a, p.295.

3. though it does not appear in writing till Walafrid Strabo: Glosse Ordinaria: but Walafrid Strabo is a most unoriginal writer.

but the poet adds that he is to "endure God's will".<sup>1</sup> No commentator has been found to suggest this, but its ultimate inspiration lies in the commentary none the less. What has happened, in fact, is that this enfeebling of the warrior-strain in the character of Ishmael has penetrated from the commentary, by way of the poet, to the Vulgate material. Consequently, it is perhaps more accurate to account the collapse of the heroic world not to Christianity in general, but more particularly to the influence of the commentary upon the Bible.

To return, however, to the poet's desire for orthodoxy, this desire led the poet to make use of the commentary for another purpose. A strain of scepticism has already been noted in his attitude to his material,<sup>2</sup> and at times, this scepticism combined with his desire for orthodoxy to lead the poet into a dilemma. Chapter XV, v.1, recounts how God appeared to Abraham after the battle of the Five Kings. The phrase used in the Vulgate, per visionem, evidently offended the poet's scepticism; instead of it he uses eowde selfa,<sup>3</sup> a phrase in perfect accordance with the views of the commentators (most probably Augustine)<sup>4</sup> who have thus enabled him to solve the dilemma in which his orthodoxy and scepticism had placed him.

In examples quoted so far, the poet has used the commentary as a guide to what to include in the content of his poem; but he seems to have used it also to guide him on what to exclude. The evidence is necessarily

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1. ll.2351-2352, p.298.

2. See the third chapter of these conclusions, p. 409.

3. l.2165b.

4. de Civitate Dei: v. supra p.266.

negative, but when he is dealing with Nimrod, in the catalogue of descendants of Cham, he omits Ch.X, v.9, telling of Nimrod's prowess as a hunter, and the probability is that this was omitted because the commentary told the poet that Nimrod's prey was the souls of men, Marius Victor telling him so in considerable detail.<sup>1</sup> This however, is the only instance on which an omission can be at all certainly explained.

The A.S. poet put the commentary to use for literary purposes as well as using it to supplement and regulate his knowledge. In one place, for example, after he has finished his account of Noah, an addition is required to signalise the completion of one part in the structure of his poem. The addition he makes successfully introduces the figure of his new hero Abraham, by a reference, in ll. 1712-1718, to his worth: and this worth was illustrated in the commentators by an anecdote which Hieronymus<sup>2</sup> and others place at the beginning of the accounts they give of him. Again, at the end of the work of the First Day, the poet adds a comment in ll.140b-143a, establishing the sun's orbit, derived from Bede<sup>3</sup> and signalling the end of the section of Genesis A which deals with that part of Creation.

An equally important aspect of the poem was the amount of concrete detail which the poet included. As the Vulgate was rather bare of such detail, the greatest part of this detail had to be sought by the poet from elsewhere. Much of it was supplied from his imagination or from

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1. Commentarius in Genesim: v. supra p.189.
  2. Quaestiones in Genesim: v. supra p.200.
  3. Hexameron: v. supra pp.10-11.

the life surrounding him; but for some of this detail he again made use of the commentators who supplement the Vulgate story by adding such detail. The vague phrase faciem abyssi in Ch.I, v.2, becomes garsecg<sup>1</sup> in the poet's hands, a visual conception first suggested by Juvenius<sup>2</sup>; and further detail - the rumne grund<sup>3</sup> - shows how Bede's commentary on the work of the First Day<sup>4</sup> may also have provided the poet with concrete detail. Later again, when Lamech for example, in Ch.IV, v.24, confesses to his wives that he has killed adulescentulum in livorem meum, it is the commentary which supplies a definite identification of Cain as Lamech's victim, and in ll.1093-1103, Cain appears in this role, in Genesis A.<sup>5</sup> In the same way, in Ch.VI, v.2, the vague phrase filiae (sc. hominum) of the Vulgate appears in more precise and realistic form as (on) Caines cynne.<sup>6</sup> His interpretation is of course warranted as orthodox by the commentators,<sup>7</sup> and to secure such orthodoxy may have been part of his use of the commentary on this verse; but his expression shows that he also used the commentary as a source of concrete detail at this point. The same motive lies behind his remark that the Raven, sent out from the Ark, settled on a fleotende hreaw (l.1448b), an explanation given by the commentary -

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1. l.117b.

2. Liber de Genesi: v. supra p.8.

3. l.123.

4. Hexaemeron: v. supra p.9.

5. Bede, Hexaemeron, for example, nominates Cain: v. supra, p.61.

6. l.1249.

Augustine<sup>1</sup>, or more probably Bede.<sup>2</sup> Just as the provision of such details was one part of the purpose of the commentary, so the poet consulted the commentary to find them.

Variety of event was also desirable for a poem as long as Genesis A. The Vulgate tends to concentrate upon two aspects of life, the military and the spiritual, and though the latter is expressed through many different episodes, the separate episodes frequently require supplement and addition. Again much of the detail was filled in by the poet from his own experience and imagination; but it was natural that for specially striking detail, and for detail which might be of importance for later Biblical history, he should turn to the safe and orthodox source of the commentary. When Noah lies drunk in his tent, Cham enters, and sees him; and the poet adds that Cham laughs to his own and his children's damnation.<sup>3</sup> The addition of the laugh is again warranted by the commentators, the earliest being Marius Victor,<sup>4</sup> who thus provides a telling detail to give the story variety.

A different type of variety is sought from the commentators to fill the preceding lines, ll.1579b-1582a, in the form of a comment on Cham's conduct, in failing to show respect to his father, a comment possibly inspired by Avitus.<sup>5</sup> This same inclusion of reflection for variety

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1. Quaestiones in Genesim: v. supra, pp.143-4.

2. Quaestiones in Genesim.

3. Ch. IX, v.21, l.1582b.

4. Commentarius in Genesim: v. supra p.182.

5. de Diluvio Mundi: but the correspondence is not close: v. supra p. 182.

is seen at the end of God's speech commanding Abraham to leave Haran. It describes the attitude which people of later days will hold towards Abraham<sup>1</sup> and again shows how the poet turned to some commentator, possibly Eucherius,<sup>2</sup> to find variety for his narrative.

The world-picture presented by that narrative also required variety: the Christian world-picture had to compete in the minds of the audience with the pagan world, with its wealth of cross-reference from one heroic story to another, and to show an equal wealth of allusion. Such wealth could well have come from within the Bible itself, but for his allusions, the poet again used the commentary. His reference to Seth as sadberende in ll.1145a is of this type.<sup>3</sup> During the account of Noah, the poet's identification of the Raven with the devil, se feond, in ll.1446b-1448, comes ultimately from the commentary either of Philippus Presbyter<sup>4</sup> or of Bede,<sup>5</sup> the first referring to the life of another hero altogether, namely Job. A similar desire for allusion is prompted by the commentary even though its material comes from the Bible, when a reference to the universality of human speech, probably from Ch.XI, v.1, is suggested to the poet by the interpretation which Hieronymus<sup>6</sup> gives for the name Babylon, Nimrod's capital city, and, in consequence,

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1. ll.1759-1762a.

2. Commentarius in Genesisim: v. supra, p.207.

3. cf. supra p.79, and see S. Moore's article in M.L. Rev. Vol.6, pp.199-202, which first identified this legend.

4. Commentarius in Librum Job: v. supra pp.142-3.

5. Commentarius in Genesisim.

6. Quaestiones in Genesisim: v. supra pp.190-1.

the poet's account of Nimrod, otherwise based on Ch.X, vv.8-10, is disturbed by this reference taken from Ch.XI, v.1. In ll.1146a and 1151b, however, there are references to Enos, son of Seth; these rather give God's attitude to that hero than evoke any story about him; but they stem from the commentary, possibly from Juvencus,<sup>1</sup> and they appear to fulfil the same allusive purpose in Genesis A. The information which the poet adds to the account of Enoch, son of Jared, seems to be of the same type.<sup>2</sup> Again probably inspired by Juvencus,<sup>3</sup> it gives details of the translation by which Enoch avoided death, and again seems rather to belong to the intellectual and theological background to Christianity than to make any use of the heroic stories which the commentators could have supplied. But the poet's general purpose is clear - he wishes his poem to have the same wealth of ancillary detail as that given by the pagan world.

Such a desire is of course partly the desire of a propagandist; but his propagandist intention is more overtly the reason for his use of the commentary in ll.2808-2816a, attributing all success to God; no indisputable source can be found for this, though the idea is as early as Ambrosius.<sup>4</sup> He turns to the commentary again in ll.2866b-2867a to emphasise the obedience of Abraham as a doctrinal point for the education of his audience, thus following the traditional purpose for which Augustine<sup>5</sup> and Gregorius Magnus<sup>6</sup>

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1. Liber de Genesi: v. supra pp.79-80.

2. ll.1197-1217a.

3. Liber de Genesi: v. supra pp.81-3.

4. de Abraham: v. supra p.360.

5. Sermones: v. supra p.367.

6. Liber Moraliu;

both used this quality.

Finally, it should be remembered that the whole problem of measuring the patristic influence on Genesis A is complicated by the possibility of a tradition of verbal commentary. This is well exemplified by the epithet blondenfeax which the poet in l.2343a applies to Sarah, although she is already old. It has a tantalising similarity to the later remarks of Remigius of Auxerre,<sup>1</sup> but the correspondence is not exact, and the idea cannot be found in any earlier commentary. The partial resemblance between the poet's statement that Abraham and Lot judge the youth and the Jewish legend of Abraham's duty on the Day of Judgment reflects the type of variation which might well creep into such a tradition of verbal commentary.<sup>2</sup> How much the poet would learn from such a commentary is now beyond discovery, as is the use which he would make of it.

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1. Commentarius in Genesim: v.supra p.296.

2. 11.1717b-1718, p.201 and n.3.



The extent of the poet's reading.

AMBROSIUS: de Abraham. This is the first work to mention specifically that all success must be attributed to God; the poet certainly knew the doctrine, but perhaps not from this source.

de Noe et Arca. The poet follows Ambrosius' interpretation of Ch. IX, v.4, but the same interpretation could be obtained from Augustinus Quaestiones in Genesim, q.v.

AUGUSTINUS: de Civitate Dei. This contains a clear statement of the doctrine on visions of God. The poet must have known the doctrine, for he follows it, though he naturally does not quote it.

Quaestiones in Genesim. This text suggests that the Raven from the Ark may have alighted on a corpse; but Bede Quaestiones in Genesim (q.v.) gives a closer correspondence to the wording of the poem. But this text was probably the source of the poet's view of Ch. IX, v.4.

Sermo Supposita I. This is less certainly a source. It is the first text to mention Abraham's obedience in preparing to sacrifice Isaac. But this quality is later mentioned in other texts more probably known to the poet.

AVITUS: de Initio Mundi. This is one of those texts which give a description of Paradise. The description mentions all the points the poet mentions but does not closely resemble the poet's statement of them. Its common authorship with the de Diluvio Mundi may be relevant, as this latter text may have inspired, though not immediately, the poet's comment on Cham's unfilial conduct.

BEDE: Commentarius in Genesim. This text may have motivated the poet's handling of God's expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise. It mentions Cham's laughing at the drunken Noah; it also records that God established the position of the waters on the Third Day; it does also give a description of Paradise but there are other sources for the first of these, and Eustathius is a better source for the second; so the poet need not have known this text for the description of Paradise alone.

Hexaemeron. This text uses emicuit and thus suggests the poet's forðcuman for the first appearance of Light. It identifies, though not perfectly clearly, faciem abyssi

with aguas; it may have inspired the poet's comment on Adam and Eve in Paradise; it establishes the sun's orbit, and it identifies Lamech's victim as Cain, and must therefore have been known to the poet.

Quaestiones in Genesim. In interpreting Ch. VI, v. 3 this text quotes Augustinus, so that neither can be given preference as a source at this point. It states the idea that the Raven alighted on a floating corpse in a form which is close enough to that of Genesis A to suggest that the poet had read it; the poet may also have obtained from this text the idea that the seed of Abraham shall fill the earth.

(CAIUS) MARIUS VICTOR; Commentarius in Genesim. This text gives the laugh of Cham at Noah. The poet must have known either this or Isidore Hispalensis Quaestio in Genesim, q.v. If anything, the balance is probably in favour of this text which gives a more detailed explanation of the phrase robustus venator which the poet omits.

CYPRIANUS GALLUS: de Bono Patientiae. This text emphasises Abraham's patience; but it is not alone in this and there is no close correspondence of wording, and the poet could have followed Hilarius Tractatus in Psalmum 138 or Tertullian Liber de Patientia, qq.v.

DRACONTIUS: Carmen de Deo. This text praises God's mercy in leaving Adam and Eve the delights of the earth, after the Fall. Its list of delights is close enough to suggest that the poet knew the text either in its original form, or in Eugenius Toletanensis Dracontii Hexaemeron Emendatum.

EUCHERIUS: Commentarius in Genesim. This text gives Abraham's seed as filling the earth; it also mentions together the ambiguity and true interpretation of the relations between Abraham and Melchisedec, and the pre-natal christening of Isaac. But the poet probably had the first from Bede, Quaestiones in Genesim, q.v., and the others could have come from other sources.

EUSTATHIUS: In Hexaemeron S. Basilii Metaphrasis. This text gives God's establishing of the waters on the Third Day in a form which shows that the poet knew it.

GREGORIUS MAGNUS: Liber Moralium. This is one of the texts which emphasise Abraham's obedience; it is probable that the poet knew this or some other work by Gregorius.

(attrib.) Liber Sacramentorum. This is one of the most probable sources of the opening lines Us is riht micel etc. The poet must have known this or some closely related sacramentary.

HIERONYMUS: Quaestiones in Genesim. (Liber Hebraecarum Quaestionum in Genesim) This gives the poet's interpretation of Ch. VI, v. 3; it may have suggested the poet's account of the universality of human speech at the time of the building of the Tower of Babel; it also tells the legend of Abraham's being cast into the furnace in Chaldea and it tells of the pre-natal christening of Isaac. It seems probable that the poet took these points from this text, in which they all occur, rather than from a selection of other texts in which only certain of them are given..

HILARIUS: Tractatus in Psalmum 138. This is one of the texts which stresses Abraham's patience; the poet must have known this or a work of Cyprianus Gallus or Tertullian, Liber de Patientia, qq.v.

HRABANUS MAURUS: de Universo. This text gives an account of Paradise; but there are earlier sources from which the poet could have obtained his information.

ISIDORE HISPALENSIS: Quaestio in Genesim. This text gives Cham's laugh, but the poet need not have known it.

IUVENCUS: (attrib.) Liber de Genesi. This text provides a partial identification of faciem abyssi with aquas; it also explains why Enos, son of Seth, was dear to God, and later comments on the fate of Enoch, son of Jared, in language which suggests that the poet had read this text.

MISSALE GOTHICUM. This so-called "Gothic" missal<sup>1</sup> is a possible source for the opening lines; but a Gallican missal is unlikely to have circulated in the north of England, and it is more probable that the poet took his inspiration from Gregorius Magnus, q.v.

PHILIPPUS PRESBYTER: (attrib.) Commentarius in Librum Job. This text identifies the Raven with the devil, and emphasises its blackness (salwigfedera). The text seems to have been popular in England, and the poet used at least the section dealing with the Raven.

RUPERTUS ABBAS: de Trinitate et Operibus Eius. This text is the first to equate faciem abyssi with aquas; it is

1. In fact it is Gallican; v.F. Cabrol, The Books of the Latin Liturgy, London, 1932, p. 89.

too late to have been used by the poet; but he must have met an earlier tradition of comment, (possibly from Bede Hexaemeron or Juvencus (attrib.) Liber de Genesi, (qq.v.) though more probably oral,) which later found its way into this work.

TERTULLIAN: Liber de Patientia. This text, together with Cyprianus Gallus de Bono Patientiae and Hilarius Commentarius in Psalmum 138, provides the emphasis which the poet lays on Abraham's patience. The poet most probably knew one of these three.

WALAFRID STRABO: Glossa Ordinaria. This text gathers much of its material from earlier work, especially from traditions which the poet knew (e.g. Augustinus Quaestiones in Genesim, Bede Quaestiones in Genesim, qq.v.). It is probable therefore that it was from some similar earlier tradition that the poet took the idea that the promise of progeny for Isaac is a special gift from God, an idea first recorded in the Glossa Ordinaria.

#### SUMMARY.

The poet probably knew the following texts in whole or in part:

Augustinus Quaestiones in Genesim.

Bede Commentarius in Genesim.  
Hexaemeron.  
Quaestiones in Genesim.

C.M.Victor Commentarius in Genesim.

or

Isidore Hispalensis Quaestio in Genesim.

Dracontius Carmen de Deo.

or

Eugenius Toletanensis Dracontii Hexaemeron Emendatum.

Eustathius in Hexaemeron S. Basilii Metaphrasis.

Gregorius Magnus Liber Moralium or other  
Liber Sacramentorum.

Hieronymus Quaestiones in Genesim.

Hilarius Tractatus in Psalmum 138.

or

Cyprianus Gallus de Bono Patientiae.

or

Tertullian Liber de Patientia.

Iuencus (attrib.) Liber de Genesi.

Philippus Presbyter (attrib.) Commentarius in Librum  
Job.

It is also to be noted that he uses a doctrine recorded in Augustinus de Civitate Dei and seems to have known traditions which appear later in Rupertus Abbas de Trinitate et Operibus Ejus and in Walafrid Strabo Glosse Ordinaria.

APPENDIX I.Lists of Commentators consulted.Notes.

1. To avoid repetition, the titles of works which appear in earlier lists have not been repeated in later lists; thus
  - (a) all works in List III have been consulted regularly throughout the whole study of Genesis A; these works thus form a part of all subsequent lists.
  - (b) List VIII in the same way forms part of Lists IX - XIII.
  - (c) List XIV forms part of all subsequent lists.
  
2. Commentators of a date later than that of Genesis A have been consulted for reasons given in the Preface.
  
3. Except where otherwise stated, all references are to J.P.Migne, Patrologiae Latinae Cursus Completus, (Paris, 1848-). Citation is by volume and column.

List I. Commentators consulted in connection with 11.  
1-12a.

Julius I Papa	<u>Liturgia a Jacobitis re-</u> <u>cepta</u>	8	719
Leo Magnus	<u>Liber Sacramentorum</u>	55	21
Germanus Parisiensis	<u>Expositio Brevis Antiqu-</u> <u>ae Liturgiae Gallicanae</u>	72	83
Anonymus	<u>Missale Gothicum</u>	72	225
	<u>Missale Bobbiensis</u>	72	447
Gregorius Magnus	<u>Liber Sacramentorum</u>	78	25
Anonymus	<u>Liturgia</u>	78	239
Protadius	<u>Liturgia</u>	80	411
	<u>Missale Mixtum, dictum</u>		
	<u>Mozarabes</u>	85	109
Alcuinus	<u>Liber Sacramentorum</u>	101	445
Amalarius	<u>Eclogae de Officio Missae</u>	105	1315
Grimaldus	<u>Liber Sacramentorum</u>	121	795
Anonymus	<u>Missae Gallicanae</u>	138	863
	<u>Sacramentarium Vetus</u>	151	829
Gelasius	<u>Liber Sacramentarium</u> , ed. H.A. Wilson, Oxford.		

List II. List of Hymn writers consulted in connection with  
11.1-12a.

Ambrosius	<u>Hymni</u>	16	473
Ambrosius (attrib)	<u>Hymni</u>	17	1200
Sedulius Scotus	<u>Hymnus</u>	19	763
Mamertius Claudianus (attrib)	<u>Hymnus de Passione Domini</u>	53	785
Secundinus	<u>Hymnus Alphabeticus</u>	53	837
Aurelius Prudentius	<u>Peristephanon</u>	60	275
Paulinus Nolanensis	<u>Poemata</u>	61	439
Drepanius Florus	<u>Psalmi et Hymni</u>	61	1084
Elpis	<u>Hymni</u>	63	537
Ennodius	<u>Carmina</u>	63	326
Eugenius Toletanensis	<u>Miscellanea</u>	87	558
Venantius Fortunatus	<u>Miscellanea</u>	88	63



List III. List of commentators consulted in connection with Genesis in general.

Zeno	<u>Tractatus de Genesi</u>	11	385
Ambrosius	<u>de Cain et Abel</u>	14	315
Juvenius (attrib)	<u>Liber de Genesi</u>	19	345
Hieronymus	<u>Quaestiones in Genesim</u>	23	983
Augustinus	<u>de Genesi ad Litteram</u>	34	245
	<u>Locutiones in Genesim</u>	34	485
	<u>Quaestiones in Genesim</u>	34	547
Eucherius	<u>Liber Instructionum</u>	50	773
Hilarius	<u>Metrum in Genesim</u>	50	1287
Anonymus	<u>de Genealogia Patriarcharum</u>	59	523
Dracontius	<u>Carmen de Deo</u>	60	679
Marius Victor	<u>Commentarius in Genesim</u>	61	937
Paterius	<u>de Expositio Veteris Testa-</u>		
	<u>menti</u>	79	685
Isidore Hispalensis	<u>Etymologiarum Libri VI et VII</u>	82	229
	<u>Quaestiones in Vetus Testa-</u>		
	<u>mentum</u>	83	207
Beda	<u>Commentarius in Genesim</u>	91	189
	<u>Quaestiones in Genesim</u>	93	223
Alcuinus	<u>Interrogationes et Responsio-</u>		
	<u>nes in Genesim</u>	100	515
Irabanus Maurus	<u>Commentarius in Genesim</u>	107	439
	<u>Commentarius in Paralipomenon</u>	109	281
	<u>Commentarius in Ecclesiasticum</u>		
	<u>Bk. X</u>	109	1081
Walafridus Strabo	<u>Glossa Ordinaria</u>	113	67
Angelomus	<u>Commentarius in Genesim</u>	115	107
Remigius	<u>Expositio super Genesim</u>	131	52
Petrus Damianus	<u>Expositio Mystica Lib. Genesi</u>	145	841
Guibertus	<u>Moralia in Genesim</u>	156	31
Bruno Astens	<u>Expositio in Genesim</u>	164	147
Rupertus Abbas	<u>Commentarius in Genesim</u>	167	199
Hildeburtus	<u>Applicationes Moraliae in</u>		
	<u>Vetus Testamentum</u>	171	1263
Hugo de St. Victor	<u>Adnotationes Elucidatoriae</u>		
	<u>in Genesim</u>	175	29
	<u>Allegoriae in Vetus Testamen-</u>		
	<u>tum</u>	175	635
Petrus Comestor	<u>Historia Scholastica</u>	198	1045

List IV. Commentators consulted in connection with the  
Creation.

Victorinus Petovensis	<u>de Fabrica Mundi</u>	5	301
Ambrosius	<u>Hexaemeron</u>	14	131
	<u>de Paradiso</u>	14	289
Hieronymus (attrib)	<u>Abbrevatio Chronicae</u>	29	915
Eustathius	<u>in Hexaemeron S. Basilii</u>		
	<u>Latina Metaphrasis</u>	53	867
Avitus	<u>de Initio Mundi</u>	59	323
Isidore Hispalensis	<u>de Natura Rerum</u>	83	963
Eugenius Toletanus	<u>Dracontii Hexaemeron Emen-</u>		
	<u>datum</u>	87	369
	<u>Monosticha de Operibus</u>		
	<u>Septimi Diei</u>	87	388
Beda	<u>Hexaemeron, Book I</u>	91	9
Irabanus Maurus	<u>de Universo, Book AI</u>	111	309
Wandalbertus Pruniensis	<u>de Creatione Mundi</u>	121	635
Honorius Augustodunensis	<u>Hexaemeron</u>	172	253
Hugo Rothmagensis	<u>Tractatus in Hexaemeron</u>	192	1247
Josephus	<u>Antiquitates Judaeorum</u>		

Lists V and VI.

List V. Commentators consulted in connection with 1.1138a  
(Seth was gesellig).

Augustinus	<u>de Civitate Dei, xv, 17-18</u>	41	460
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List VI. Commentators consulted in connection with 111151b  
(Enos, son of Seth, who lived on friðe drintnes).

Ambrosius	<u>de Paradiso</u>	14	282
Augustinus	<u>de Civitate Dei, xv, 18</u>	41	461
Hrebanus Mau- rus	<u>de Universo</u>	111	33

List VII. Commentators consulted in connection with ll.  
1197-1217 (the fate of Enoch, son of Geared)

Hilarius	<u>Commentarius in Matthaem</u> <u>xv</u>	9	1039
Ambrosius	<u>Expositio Evangelii Luci</u> <u>ii, 3</u>	15	1610
Hieronymus	<u>contra Jovinianum, i</u>	23	246
	<u>contra Iohannem Hierosolym-</u> <u>itam</u>	23	398
	<u>contra Pelagianos iii</u>	23	608
	<u>Commentarius in Amos ii 9</u>	25	1140
	<u>Commentarius in Epistolam</u> <u>ad Galatianos i 2</u>	26	380
Augustinus	<u>de Civitate Dei xv 19</u>	41	462
	<u>contra Iulianum vi 30</u>	45	1581
Gregorius Magnus	<u>Homiliae in Ezechielem ii 3</u>	76	969
Hrabanus Maurus	<u>Commentarius in Lib 4 Regum</u> <u>iv 2</u>	109	223
	<u>Enarrationes in Epistolas</u> <u>S. Pauli xxix 11</u>	112	791
Haymo	<u>de Varietate Librum iii</u>	118	891
Petrus Lombardus	<u>Collectanea in Epistolas ad</u> <u>Hebraeos xi 5</u>	192	490
Alanus de Insulis	<u>contra Haereticos i 37</u>	210	341

List VIII. Commentators consulted in connection with the  
Flood in general.

Ambrosius	<u>de Noe et Arca</u>	14	361
	<u>de Elia et Jejunia iii</u>	14	701
	<u>de Officiis Ministrorum i 25</u>	16	59
	<u>Epistolae i 58</u>	16	1181
Hieronymus	<u>Epistola 73</u>	22	677
Augustinus	<u>Enarratio in Psalmum 103</u>	37	1358
	<u>Enarratio in Psalmum 132</u>	37	1731
	<u>Sermo de Urbis Excidio</u>	40	717
	<u>de Civitate Dei xv 27sq</u>	41	473
	<u>contra Faustum Manichaeum</u>		
	<u>xii 13-14</u>	42	261
Petrus Chrysologus	<u>Sermo xii</u>	52	225
	<u>Sermo xiv</u>	52	232
	<u>Sermo lxxix</u>	52	396
	<u>Sermo cxlvii</u>	52	594
	<u>Sermo clx</u>	52	621
	<u>Sermo clxiii</u>	52	628
Maximius Turinensis	<u>Sermo xx</u>	57	576
	<u>Sermo xxxiv</u>	57	602
Avitus	<u>de Diluvio Mundi</u>	59	345
Gregorius Magnus	<u>Homiliae in Ezechielem ii 3</u>	76	969
Hrabanus Maurus	<u>Commentarius in Ecclesiast-</u>		
	<u>icum x 3</u>	109	1085
	<u>Enarrationes in Epistolas</u>		
	<u>S. Pauli xxix 11</u>	112	791
Rupertus Abbas	<u>de Glorificatione Trinitat-</u>		
	<u>is iv 33sq</u>	169	87
	<u>de Victoria Verbi Dei ii</u>		
	<u>26-9</u>	169	1266
Hugo de St. Victor	<u>Adnotationes iii 118</u>	177	694
	<u>Sermo lxxii</u>	177	1089
Herveius	<u>Commentarius in Epistolas</u>		
	<u>S. Pauli</u>	181	1546
Martinus Legionensis	<u>Sermo viii in Sexagesima</u>	208	618
Alanus de Insulis	<u>Sententiae aliae</u>	210	260
	<u>contra Haereticos i 37</u>	210	341

Lists IX - XII.

List IX. Commentators consulted in connection with l.1319  
(hie ne rohton þas).

Philaestrius	<u>de Hæresibus</u>	12	1264
Augustinus	<u>Sermo 361</u>	39	1611
	<u>Sermo supposita 106</u>	39	1952
	<u>Sermo supposita 145</u>	39	2028
	<u>Sermo supposita 165</u>	39	2068

List X. Commentator consulted in connection with l.1447  
(ac se feond gespearf fleotende hreaw).

Petrus Damianus	<u>Sermo x</u>	144	554
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List XI. Commentator consulted in connection with ll.  
1497-1509 (Noah's Offering).

Tertullian	<u>ad Marcionem ii 22</u>	2	510
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List XII. Commentator consulted in connection with ll.  
1512-1514 (God's blessing to Noah, tymaþ ond tiedrað....)

Hieronymus	<u>adversus Jovinianum i</u>	23	246
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List XIII. Commentators consulted in connection with 11.1577-1584a. (The censuring of Cham).

Tertullian	<u>Liber de Praescriptionibus</u>		
	<u>xlvi</u>	2	82
Lactantius	<u>de Origine Erroris ii 13</u>	6	327
Philæstrius	<u>Liber de Haeresibus 131</u>	12	1245
Augustinus	<u>Enarration. in Psalmum 104</u>	37	1398
	<u>de Civitate Dei xv-xvi</u>	41	477
Isidore Hispalensis	<u>Allegoriae Quaedam Sacrae</u>		
	<u>Scripturae</u>	83	103
Hrabanus Maurus	<u>de Universo ii</u>	111	34
Rupertus Abbas	<u>de Trinitate et Operibus</u>		
	<u>Eius v 37</u>	167	360

List XIV. Commentators consulted in connection with  
Abraham generally.

Tertullian	<u>de Baptismo xiii</u>	1	1215
	<u>adversus Marcionem i 10</u>	2	282
	<u>adversus Marcionem iv 13</u>	2	417
	<u>adversus Judaeos ii</u>	2	638
	<u>de Carne Christi iv-vi</u>	2	809
	<u>de Resurrectione Christi xviii</u>	2	866
Cyprianus	<u>de Mortalitate xii</u>	4	611
Hilarius	<u>Tractatus in Psalmos cxxiii 11</u>	9	673
	<u>Tractatus in Psalmos cxxxiv 5</u>	9	755
	<u>Tractatus in Psalmos cxxxviii 38</u>	9	812
Zeno	<u>Tractatus i 1</u>	11	255
	<u>Tractatus i 13</u>	11	348
Philaestrius	<u>de Haeresibus cxlvii</u>	12	1281
Ambrosius	<u>de Abraham</u>	14	419
	<u>Enarratio in Psalmum cxlviii 3</u>	15	998
	<u>de Officiis Ministrorum i 41</u>	16	91
	<u>Commentarius in Epistolam ad Romanos iii</u>	17	84
Hieronymus	<u>Commentarius in Isaiam Prophetam ii</u>	24	60
	<u>Epistola 38 ad Marcellam</u>	24	463
	<u>Commentarius in Ezechielem ii 7</u>	25	65
	<u>Commentarius in Ezechielem xi 34</u>	25	324
	<u>Commentarius in Amos ii 5</u>	25	1048
	<u>Commentarius in Zachariam ii 8</u>	25	1465
	<u>Commentarius in Zachariam ii 10-11</u>	25	1494
	<u>Translatio Homiliarum Origenis in Lucam xxxv</u>	26	319
	<u>Commentarius in Epistolam ad Galatas ii iii 15</u>	26	391
	<u>Historiarum vii 4</u>	31	1064
Orosius Augustinus	<u>Liber Confessionum ix 3</u>	32	765
	<u>Epistolae iii 164</u>	33	711
	<u>Epistolae iii 187</u>	33	834
	<u>Epistolae iii 196</u>	33	895
	<u>Tractatus in Johannis Evangelium x 2</u>	35	1465
	<u>Tractatus in Johannis Evangelium xliv 9</u>	35	1712
	<u>Expositio Epistolae ad Galatas xl</u>	35	2133
	<u>Quaestiones ex utroque Testamento mixtim i</u>	35	2323
	<u>Enarratio in Psalmos xxx 9</u>	36	244



List XIV. (contd.).

	<u>Enarratio in Psalmos xxxi</u>	36	258
	<u>Enarratio in Psalmos xlix 13</u>	36	502
	<u>Enarratio in Psalmos lxxxiv 4</u>	37	1070
	<u>Enarratio in Psalmos lxxxv 3</u>	37	1083
	<u>Enarratio in Psalmos ciii 3</u>	37	1362
	<u>Enarratio in Psalmos civ 4</u>	37	1392
	<u>Enarratio in Psalmos cxiii 5</u>	37	1476
	<u>Enarratio in Psalmos cxlviii</u>	37	1948
	<u>Sermo supposita 106</u>	39	1953
	<u>de Catechizandibus Rudibus 31</u>	40	334
	<u>de Bono Conjugali 21-22, 29</u>	40	391
	<u>Sermo 40 ad Fratrem in Exemo</u>	40	1311
	<u>de Civitate Dei i 21-26</u>	41	35
	<u>de Civitate Dei xiv 15</u>	41	423
	<u>de Civitate Dei xviii 2 and 37</u>	41	537
	<u>contra Faustum Manichaeum xxxiii 5</u>	42	514
	<u>contra Maximinum Arianorum Epis-</u>		
	<u>copum ii 26</u>	42	806
	<u>de Peccatu Originali 30</u>	44	401
	<u>de Anima et eius Origine iv 16</u>	44	538
	<u>contra duos Epistolas Pelagianorum</u>		
	<u>iii 4</u>	44	592
	<u>contra Julianum Pelagium iii 2</u>	44	712
	<u>contra Julianum Pelagium v</u>	45	1439
Prosperus	<u>Expositio in Psalmos cxxxiv</u>	51	387
Petrus Chrys-			
ologus	<u>Sermones 8, 14, 66, 90, 108, 121-4</u>	52	208
Leo Magnus	<u>Sermo 33, 3</u>	54	242
	<u>Sermo 53 3</u>	54	318
	<u>Sermo 66 2</u>	54	366
Maximus Taur-			
inensis	<u>Homilia xiii</u>	57	250
	<u>Tractatus contra Judaeos v</u>	57	798
Cassiodorus	<u>Historia Tripartita i 2</u>	69	884
Gregorius Mag-			
nus	<u>Moralium iv 32</u>	75	671
	<u>Moralium vi 37</u>	75	760
	<u>Moralium xxiii 17</u>	75	1146
	<u>Moralium xxvii 10</u>	76	408
	<u>Moralium xxviii 5</u>	76	454
	<u>Homilia in Ezechielem i 8</u>	76	861
	<u>Dialogorum i 8</u>	77	188
	<u>Expositio in Psalmos Poenitent-</u>		
	<u>iales vi</u>	79	633

List XIV (contd.).

Isidore Hispal- ensis	<u>Allegoriae Quaedam Scripturae Sacrae</u>	83	104
Alcuinus	<u>Commentarius in Ecclesiasten ii</u>	100	715
	<u>Interpretationes Nominum Hebra- icorum</u>	100	725
Agobardus	<u>de Judaicis Superstitionibus 21</u>	104	96
	<u>Epistola ad Proceres Palatii 20</u>	104	172
Hrabanus Maur- us	<u>Commentarius in Librum Iudicum ii</u>	108	1150
	<u>Enarratio in Epistolam ad Hebraeos</u>	112	792
Haymo	<u>Explicatio in Psalmos i</u>	116	195
Paschasius Radbodus	<u>Expositio in Matthaeum i</u>	120	50
Petrus Demianus	<u>Sermo xviii</u>	144	604
Rupertus Abbas	<u>de Trinitate et Operibus Eius ii</u>	167	367
	<u>de Trinitate et Operibus Eius xii</u>	167	1040
	<u>Commentarius in Osee i</u>	168	17
	<u>Commentarius in Matthaeum i</u>	168	1310
	<u>de Glorificatione Trinitate et Processione Spiritus Sancti iv 19</u>	169	94
	<u>de Divinis Officiis iii 19</u>	170	77
	<u>de Divinis Officiis vi 36</u>	170	179
	<u>Dialogus inter Christianum et Judaemum</u>	170	568
Hugo de St. Victor	<u>Quaestiones in Epistolam ad Romanos 101</u>	175	459
Herveius	<u>Commentarius in Epistolam ad Hebraeos</u>	181	1647
Bernardus Godefridus Abbas	<u>In Festo Omnium Sanctorum Sermo 4</u>	183	472
Petrus Lomb- ardus	<u>Opusculum de Iudicio Abrahae</u>	184	452
	<u>Commentarius in Epistolam ad Romanos iv</u>	191	1364
	<u>Commentarius in Epistolam ad Galatas iv</u>	192	146
	<u>Commentarius in Epistolam ad Hebraeos xi</u>	192	491
Gerholus	<u>Expositio in Cantica Annae</u>	194	1009

List XIV (contd).

Volbero	<u>Commentarius in Canticum Cant- icorum i</u>	195	1047
Ricardus de S. Victor	<u>de Emmanuele ii 8</u>	196	643
	<u>de Sacrificio Abrahæ et Mariæ</u>	196	1043
Adamus Scotus	<u>de Ordine et Habitu Canonum</u>	198	480
Philippus de Harveng	<u>Responsio de Damnatio Salomonis</u>	203	633
Petrus Cantor	<u>Verbum Abbreviatum xxii</u>	205	79
	<u>Verbum Abbreviatum lxxxvi</u>	205	255
Alanus de Ins- ulis	<u>Sermo 4</u>	210	206
	<u>Sententiæ aliaæ</u>	210	261

Lists XV - XVIII.List XV. Commentators consulted in connection with l.1802a  
(Abraham's journey).

Fulgentius	<u>ad Monimum ii 3</u>	65	180
Adamus Scotus	<u>Sermo 36</u>	198	328

List XVI. Commentators consulted in connection with ll.  
2102-2123 (Melchisedec).

Cyprianus	<u>Epistola 63</u>	4	387
Petrus Damianus	<u>contra Phylagiam</u>	145	532

List XVII. Commentators consulted in connection with ll.  
2216sq. (The Agar episode).

Hilarius	<u>de Trinitate iv 23-24</u>	10	113
Augustinus	<u>contra Adversarium Legis et Prophetarum 8-9</u>	42	656
Philippus de Harveng	<u>de Obedientia Clericorum 31</u>	203	905

List XVIII. Commentators consulted in connection with ll.  
2312sq. (The Circumcision).

Ambrosius	<u>Commentarius in Epistolam ad Romanos iv</u>	17	86
Fulgentius	<u>Epistola 17</u>	65	470

Lists XIX - XXI.

List XIX. Commentators consulted in connection with ll. 2382sq. (The visit of God to Abraham in the Valley of Mambre).

Hilarius	<u>de Trinitate iv 27</u>	10	117
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List XX. Commentators consulted in connection with ll. 2424b sq. (The visit of the Angels to Lot).

Gregorius Magnus	<u>Homiliae in Evangeliiis i 19</u>	76	1152
	<u>Epistolae ii 52</u>	77	595
Paterius	<u>Expositio Veteris et Novi Testamenti; Genesis xlv</u>	79	701

List XXI. Commentators who judge that Abraham lived before the establishment of the Forbidden Degrees (ll.2696sq).

Hieronymus	<u>Liber Hebraecarum Quaestionum in Genesim xx 12</u>	23	1017
Augustinus	<u>contra Faustum Manichaeum de Nuptiis et Concupiscentia ii 10</u>	42	422
	<u>Quaestiones in Genesim</u>	44	592
Beda	<u>Quaestiones in Genesim</u>	93	315
Herbanus Maurus	<u>Commentarius in Genesim iii 24</u>	107	560
Rupettus Abbas	<u>de Trinitate et Operibus Eius</u>	167	820

Lists XXII and XXIII.List XXII. Commentators consulted in connection with ll. 2846sq (The Sacrifice of Isaac).

Tertullian	<u>de Oratione vi</u>	1	1267
Zeno	<u>Tractatus i 6</u>	11	315
Augustinus	<u>Quaestiones in Leviticum lvi</u>	34	702
	<u>Sermo 14</u>	38	113
	<u>Sermo 19</u>	38	132
Johannes Cassianus	<u>Collationes ii 7</u>	49	534
Gregorius Magnus	<u>in Septem Psalmos Poenitent-</u>		
	<u>iales iii</u>	79	572
Hrabanus Maurus	<u>Homiliae in Evangeliiis 53</u>	110	248
Philippus de Har- veng	<u>de Obedientia Clericorum</u>		
	<u>29-35</u>	203	901

List XXIII. Commentators consulted in connection with ll. 2860sq (Abraham's obedience).

Tertullian	<u>de Patientia vi</u>	1	1370
Hilarius	<u>Tractatus in Psalmos cxxxviii</u>	9	794
Zeno	<u>Tractatus ii 10</u>	11	418
Augustinus	<u>Sermo supposita 7</u>	39	1752
Isidore Hispal- ensis	<u>de Ortu et Obitu Patrum</u>	83	133
Ricardus de S. Victor	<u>de Sacrificio David Prophetae</u>	196	1037
Adamus Scotus	<u>Sermo in die Stephani 9</u>	198	289

## APPENDIX II.

Names in Genesis A.

To establish which of the sixteen principal texts and text families of the Vulgate<sup>1</sup> was used by the A.S. poet, an examination was made of each form given in each text for each occurrence of each Biblical name which appears in the A.S. poem.

Some A.S. names however, gave no opportunity for decision between one text or another, as the equivalent Biblical name had the one form in all the Biblical texts,<sup>2</sup> or for some other reason. These names are first given below, followed by the form thought by the editors of BS to have been that of the archetype of the Vulgate.

A.S. Adam	Vgt. Adam
Abimele(c)h	Abimelech
Assirie (place)	Assyrios (person)
Bersabee (person)	Bersabee (place)
Bethlem	Bethel :A.S. form is possibly influenced by <u>Bethlehem</u> .
Cain	Cain
Cainan	No distinction is possible; the A.S. MS. twice reads <u>Cain</u> (11.1155b, 1160a)
Cananea	Usually the indeclinable s.g. <u>Chanaan</u> but the A.S. -e- suggests derivation from Vgt. <u>Chananeus</u> : most Vgt. texts vary between C- and Ch-
Chanaan (s. of Chus)	No distinction is possible: the A.S. MS. reads <u>Cham</u> (1.1617a) <sup>3</sup>
Chus	Chus, though G reads <u>Cus</u> once, (X.8)
Egipte } Egyptisc }	Aegyptum (place) and Aegyptii (person) indiscriminately.
Enoc	Enoch

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1. For a complete account of these, see BS. pp.xii-xliv.
  2. Very occasional and insignificant variants (e.g. a single instance of the spelling Aggar for Ager) have been disregarded.
  3. On the significance of this reading v. infra p.458.

Enos	
(s. of Cain)	Enoch : but the A.S. form is probably from the following name.
Enos	
(s. of Seth)	Enos
Esc(h)ol	Eschol
Kbeleac	
(MS. Hebeleac)	Evilath
Iabal	Iabel; but the A.S. poet probably confused this name with <u>Iubal</u> ; see above p.59.
Iordane	Iordan
Isa(a)c	Issac
Lameh	
(desc. of Cain)	A.S. form probably derived from the following name.
Lamech, Lamehes	
(desc. of Seth)	Lamech
Malalehel	
(desc. of Cain)	Maviahel. A.S. form probably derived from Malalehel (desc. of Seth) q.v. infra
Manre, Memres	Mambre
Mathusal	
(desc. of Cain)	Mathusahel; but the A.S. form is probably from the following name.
Mathusel	
(desc. of Seth)	Mathusalam
Nilus	Not recorded in the Vgt. Genesis.
Sarra	Sarai to XVII.15, thereafter Sarra
Sella	Sella
Sem	Sem
Sennera	derived from A.S. <u>Sennar</u> q.v. infra.
Sicem	No distinction is possible; the A.S. MS. reads <u>Siem</u> (1.1783a)
Tigris	Tigris
Thares	Thare

From each of the remaining names, something can be deduced about which text the A.S. poet used. For each name, the A.S. form is given first; this is followed by the archetypal Vulgate form. Where some other text offers a different form more like that of the A.S. poem, the text sign<sup>1</sup> is given; where the different form is less like that of the poem, the text sign is placed in brackets. The diff-

1. The text signs used are those given in BS. pp.xxii-xliv.



erent form is then shown in the final column.

G.A.O.C.A.X.Π.Σ.B.T.M.Φ.Θ.P.Ψ.Ω.

Aaron,<sup>1</sup>

Aron	Aran	(C <sup>a</sup> )							Horan								
Abel	Abel	(C)							Habel								
Abraham	(i)Abram (up to XVII.5)	(C)			(Σ <sup>m</sup> )				Habram								
	(ii)Abraham (after XVII.5)	(X)			(Π)(Σ <sup>γ</sup> )				Habraem Abraam								
									B only text with Abraham throughout								
Ada	Ada	(C)							Hada								
Agar	Agar	(C)							Hogar								
Ambrefel	Amrafel								P <sup>once only.</sup> Ambra phel								
Ammon	Ammon	(A)	(C)	(Λ)	(Σ <sup>m</sup> )	(M)		(Ω <sup>sm</sup> )	Amon								
Ammonit-are	Ammonit- arum	(A)	(C)	(X)(Π)	(T)	(Φ)(Θ)	(Ψ)		Ammanitarum								
						(M)			Amanitarum {Amonitarum Amenitarum (Ω <sup>n</sup> )Amonitarum								
Aner	Aner	(C)							Haner								
Armenia	Armenia	(Θ)				(Φ)	(P)(Ψ)		Armoenia								
Babylon- es																	
Babilone	Babylon					(M)			Babylon								
Caldea	Chaldeo- rum	G		C	Λ	X	Σ	B	P								
Carran	Haran	(G)		(Λ)	(X)(Π)	(Σ <sup>om</sup> )		(Φ)(Θ <sup>m</sup> )(P)	Caldeorum Aran								
Cham	Haw			O	C	Λ <sup>n</sup>	X	Π	Σ <sup>to</sup> B	T	M	Φ	Θ <sup>Am</sup> P	Cham			
Domasco	Damascl	(G)							Damaschi Damsci								
Eber	Eber	(C)	(C)	(Λ)		(Σ <sup>to</sup> )(B)		(Θ)	(Ω)	Heber							
Ebrei	} Hebreo			C		Σ		P	Ψ <sup>B</sup>	Ebreo							
Ebrisca		but the A.S. form may be derived from Eber															
Elamit- arna	Elamit- arum	(C)						(Φ <sup>p</sup> )		Helamitarum							
Ethiopia	Aethiop- iae			Λ <sup>n</sup>	Π <sup>p</sup>	Σ <sup>m</sup>	B	T	Ω <sup>m</sup>	Ethiopiae							
Eufraten	Eufrates					(B)(T)	(M)(Φ)		(Ψ <sup>p</sup> )	Euphrates							
Eve	Hava			C	Λ	X	Π <sup>p</sup>	Σ	B	T	M	Φ	Θ <sup>Am</sup>	P	Ψ <sup>Am</sup>	Ω <sup>Am</sup>	Hava

1. The forms with -ea- (11.1710a 1712a) may be influenced by the name of the more famous Aaron. Cf.p.460 infra.

G.A.O.C.Λ.X.Π.Σ.B.T.M.Φ.Θ.P.Ψ.Ω.

Faraone	Pharao		X	Σ	M		Farao
Feretia	Pherez-						
	eus	A O C	X	Π	Σ	M Φ <sup>A2</sup>	P Ψ <sup>SM</sup> Ω Ferezeus
Filistea	Philist-						
	inorum		X	Σ <sup>M</sup>		(Φ)	Filistinorum
Fison	Phison						(Ω) Palaest-
Geomor	Gomer	(A*)	C Λ <sup>H</sup>	X	Σ B		Fison
							Gomaer
							(Ψ) Gomer
Geon	Geon			(Π <sup>Q</sup> )	(τ)	(Φ)	(P*)(Ψ <sup>Q</sup> )(Ω) Gyon, Gion
Gomorran	Gomorram	Some Biblical texts use <u>Gomorrei</u> (person)					
Gomorre		sporadically; but there is no agreement					
		between the occurrence of this form and of					
		the A.S. person-name <u>Gomorre</u> .					
						(Φ) (P*)	Gomurram
Iafeth	Iafeth						
Iafeb		(C)	(Π)				(Ψ)(Ω <sup>SM</sup> ) Iaphet
			(Σ <sup>M</sup> )				Iafet
Iared		A.S. form probably derived from following.					
(desc.of Cain)							
Iared							
Geared (desc.of Seth)							
	Iared	(A)	(C)	(X)(Π)	(Σ)		(P) Iareth
Ismahel	Ismahel		(C)	(X)	(Σ <sup>SM</sup> )		Smahel
Loth	Loth				(Σ <sup>M</sup> )		Lot
Malale-	Malale-						
hel	hel				(B)		Malelehel
					(Σ <sup>T</sup> )		Maallehel
Melchis-	Melchis-						
edec	edech	O			Σ <sup>M</sup>		Ω <sup>M</sup> Melchisedec
			(C)(Λ <sup>V</sup> )				Melc(h)ise-
				(X)	(B)		dhec
							Melc(h)iset-
							(h)ec(h)
Moab	Moab		(C)				Mohab
Moabit-	Moabitaē						
are			(C)			(Φ <sup>RA</sup> )	Moabitae
Nebrobes	Nemrod	G					{Nebroth
							{Nebroth
							{Nebroth
							{Nebrot(h)
							{Nemroth
							{(Ω) Memroth
Noe	Noe		(C)	(Π <sup>Q</sup> )(Σ <sup>Q</sup> )(B)			Noae
Sennar	Sennaar			(Σ <sup>TQ</sup> )			Sennaar

Once only.

X Σ<sup>T\*SM</sup>

(C) (Π)(Σ<sup>Q</sup>)

(Ψ<sup>SM</sup>)

## G.A.O.C.A.X.Π.Σ.B.T.M.Φ.Θ.P.Ψ.Ω.

Seth	Seth	(C)	Sedh
Sigor	Segor		
Sogor			(φ*) Sogor
Sodome	Sodomam	(C)	Psodomam
Sodoma	{Sodomitae		
	{Sodomorum	(C)	Psodomitae
Sodomisc	} derived from two previous names		
Sodomware	}		
TubalCain	Tubalcain	(A)	(m) Thubalcain

From this it will be seen that G, A and P are the only texts which do not often provide forms which differ widely from the A.S. form.

Of these three texts, P gives better forms than do the other two in Ambrafel Caldeorum Cham Eua Ferezeus. But Ambrafel occurs once only and in a dubious and corrected form; Caldeorum it shares with G; Cham will be discussed later; Eua is a form too common in patristic writings to be attributed to any one source; Ferezeus is shared with A, and would be stronger evidence if P did not also give Pharao Philistinorum and Phison. On the other hand, P gives poor forms in Armoenia Gyon Gomurram and Iareth, the last shared with A, (The A.S. poet is normally careful to separate d and th, v. infra p. ).

A gives better forms in Haran and Ferezeus; but it is not consistent in using Haran; and it gives poorer forms in Ammanitarum Chaldeorum Gomaer Iareth and Thubalcain.

G gives better forms in Caldeorum and Nebroth Nebrod, these last being individual and specially impressive. It gives poorer forms in Pharao etc and in Damaschi, but the Ph-group are less important, while the poet normally renders Lat. medial -ch- as -c-. (v. infra p. )

On this evidence, the poet used G as his text, and this conclusion is strengthened by his treatment of the name forms of Ch:IX, v.26, in 11.1594b-1596a; alone of the Bib-



a late A.S. note to MS. Claudius B. iv of Aelfric's Hep-  
tateuch, is strengthened by the identity of the other names  
in this note, viz. semes wif parsia and Cahmes wif cataphua  
iaphetbes wif fura with the names of the patriarch's wives  
given by Petrus Comestor: Uxor Noe Phuarphara Uxor Sem  
Pharfia uxor Cham Cathaflua uxor Japheth Fliva.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Historia Scholastica, Additio 7. MPL. Vol.198 col.1084.  
But the anonymous de Genealogiis Patriarcharum gives a  
different tradition ... Sem .. qui sortitus est uxorem  
nomine Norea .... Cham ... uxorem nomine Ause .... Japhet  
... uxorem nomine Ruth. MPL.Vol.59, col.525-527.

## APPENDIX III

Name forming in Genesis A.

The A.S. poet makes little attempt to anglicise the Biblical names; the normal sound changes do not apply to Armenia Aran (Vulgate Aran / Haran) Bersabea Caldea (G. Cald-eorum); and no attempt is made to assimilate the unfamiliar diphthong in Cain. Evidence for a tendency to transliteration is given by the spellings Bethlem Ethiopia Iafeth (beside Iafeþ) Loth Mathusal Seth showing transliteration of the Biblical th, and by Iabal Iafeth Iared (beside Geared) showing transliteration of the Biblical i. The ge- in Geared is itself probably a variant for [j]. Apart from the ge in Geomor (Vulgate Gomer) and the ea in Ebeleac (MS. Hebeleac, Vulgate Evilath) all other name forms can be adequately explained as transliterations.

But within these terms, the A.S. poet makes certain changes, viz:-

Lat.-aa- > A.S. -a- Vgt. Isaac Sennear A.S. d. Isace  
(but ac. Isaac) Sennar, Sennera.

Lat.-ae- > A.S. e- Vgt. Aegyptum, Aegyptii Aethiopiae  
A.S. Egipte Egyptisc Ethiopia.

Lat.-ch (medial and final) > A.S. c, h, ch. (medial and final)  
Vgt. Abimelech, Damaschi (G) Enoch Eschol Lamech Melchisedech  
A.S. Abimelah Abimelech Damasco Enoc Enoch Eschol Escoles  
Lamech Lamehes Melchisedec.

Lat.-e- > A.S. -i- ~~ea-~~ (once only) Vgt. Segor A.S. n.  
Sigor d. Segor.

Lat.-h- > A.S. c-, ch-, or is lost. Vgt. Hava Ham Harran  
A.S. Eve Cham Cames Carran.

Lat.-mb- > A.S. -m-, -n-. Vgt. Mambre A.S. ac. Manre g. Mamres.

Lat.ph- > A.S.f-. Vgt. Pharao PHEREZEUS Philistinorum Phison  
 A.S. Faraone Feretia Filistea Fison.

Lat.-v- > A.S.-b- Vgt. Evilath. A.S. Ebeleac.

Lat.-z- > A.S.-t- Vgt. PHEREZEUS A.S. Feretia.

Lat.-y- > A.S.-i-/-y- Vgt. Aegyptum Aegyptii Assyrios Baby-  
lon. A.S. Egypte, Egyptise Assiris Babylones Babilone.

Lat.-am is lost. Vgt. Mathusalem A.S. Mathusal.

## APPENDIX IV

The Declension of Names in Genesis A.

With the exception of Babylones and Iordane all nouns distinctly recognizable as -a declension are men's names;

s.n.	Aaron	1710a	s.g.	Arones	1914a. <sup>1</sup>
	Abel	969a		Abeles	977a
	Abraham	1710a		Abrahames	1731b
	Adam	170a		Ademes	176b
	Aner	2027a		Aneres	2152a
				Babylones	1633a
	Cain	969a		Caines	978b
	Cainan	1149b		Cainanes (MS. Caines)	1160a
				Chames	1615a
	Cham	1241b		Chuses	1629a
	Chus	1617a		Enoses	1064a 1163a
	Enos (both)	1055b		Escoles	2152b
	Eschol	2027b		Iafebes	1612b
	Iafeth	1242a		Lamehes	1081b
	Lameh (both)	1073b		Lameches	1286b
				Lothes	2023b
	Loth	1713b		Noes	1240b
	Noe	1285a		Semes	1646a
	Sem	1240a		Sethes	1133b
s.ac.	Seth	1106b		Mawres	2152a
	Manre	2027a		Nebrohes	1628a
				Dares	2054a
s.n.	Iared (desc. of Cain)		s.d.	Iarede	1067a
		1063b		Abimelehe	2742b
	Abimeleh	2669a		Isace	2363a
s.ac.	Isaac	2329a		Faraone	1860a
				Iordane	1921a

To these should probably be added:

s.n.	Ismahel	2288b	Ismael	2358a
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The -i declension is reserved for the names of nations:

1. To save space only typical or significant instances are cited.



p.n.	Egypte	1824a	p.g.	Egipto	1768a
	Gomorre	1997a		Egipto	1866a
	Sodomware	1996b		Gomorra	2561a <sup>1</sup>
p.ac.	Ammonitare	2620b			
	Moabitare	2617b			

as is the -u declension

p.ac.	Sodome	2077b	p.g.	Sodome	1928b
ac.	Ebrea	2164a <sup>2</sup>			

The following nouns are also strong, though there is not enough evidence to allocate them to one declension or another.

p.g.	Bersabee	2839b	Feretia	1909b
	Caldea	1730b	Filistea	2835a
	Cananea	1733a <sup>3</sup>	Sennera	1668b
	Ethiopia	228b		

and it will be observed that all are again names of peoples.

The weak (-n) declension is mostly used for women's names:

s.n.	Eve	186a	s.g.	Buan	967a
	Ada	1077a	d.	Aden	1092a
	Sarra	1723a <sup>4</sup>		Sarran	2216a
	Selle	1077a		Sellan	1092a

It includes however three other names:

s.ac.	Gomorrān	1966b	Gomorrān	1926a	
	Sodomān	2008a <sup>5</sup>	Sodomān	1926a	
			p.g.	Elamitarne	1960b

1. but p.ac. Gomorra 2078a 2507a
2. but also Ebrei 1648b, though only once out of eight occurrences of this word in this case.
3. but also once Cananeis 1784a.
4. but also once Sarre 2272b and once Sarran 2390a
5. but also once Sodome 1975b.

but it is noteworthy that in each case the Latin equivalent is "feminine" in form viz. Gomorra, Sodoma, Elamitarum.

Some of the Biblical names are treated as indeclinable:

s.n.	Bethlem	1799b	s.ac.	Bethlem	1876b
			s.d.	Bethlem	1930a
s.n.	Sennar	1655a	s.d.	Sennar	1701b
s.ac.	Carran	1747b	s.d.	Carran	1736b
s.ac.	Sigor	2522a	s.d.	Sigor	2533b
s.d.	Domasco	2082b			
s.d.	Sicem (MS. Siem)	1783a			

and it is probable that many more would fall into this category if the evidence were sufficient. All those quoted are place-names: but three women's names are also apparently treated as indeclinable, viz,

s.n.	Agar	2249a	s.ac.	Agar	2785a
s.ac.	Moab	2610b			
s.ac.	Ammon	2614b			

Again the A.S. poet may have followed the Vulgate, in which these names are indeclinable.

Finally, many names cannot be characterised as they occur only once, or in only one case:

s.n.	Ambrafel	1962b	s.n.	Mathusal	1069a (both)
	Armenia	1423b		Melchisedec	2102b
	Chanen (MS. Cham)	1617b		Nilus	2210b
	Eber	1645b		Orlahomor	1962a
	Ebrisc	2446a		Sodomisc	1935a
	Egyptisc	2229a		Solomia	2101a
	Enoch	1188b		Tigris	231a
	Geomor	1610b		Tubal Cain	1083b
	Geon	230b	s.ac.	Assirie	232b
	Iabal	1078a		Ebeleac (MS. Hebeleac)	224a
	Iared	1174b/		Eufraten	234a
	Geared	1181a		Fison	222a
	(desc. of Seth)				
	Malalehel	1066b			
	(both)				

It is noticeable that the A.S. poet's method of forming his declensions agrees with his transliterating. The Latin stem is accepted entire, e.g. Lat. Caldeorum A.S. Calde- and the appropriate endings attached, with no syncopation of the stem or other alteration except to avoid a triphthong in the s.g. and s.d. of Noe.

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