

*EXODUS* AND THE LITERARY REPRESENTATIONS OF PILGRIMAGE  
IN ANGLO-SAXON ENGLAND

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Abstract

This thesis examines the literary representations of pilgrimage in Anglo-Saxon England by focusing upon the dense and difficult Old English poem, *Exodus*, that, since it bridges the vernacular and Latinate literary worlds, provides a lens through which the complex interaction between mimesis and metaphor, as well as the literal and figurative types of exegesis (often conceptualized as the letter and the spirit of scripture), can be analysed in order to reveal a sophisticated literary depiction of the physical act of pilgrimage rooted in Anglo-Saxon religious practice in the landscape.

*Exodus* undoubtedly contains both complex metaphors and literal depictions of biblical events; yet these literal descriptions have often been subsumed into a figurative reading of pilgrimage which emphasizes a person's interior spiritual progress, allegorized as a Christian's journey through life towards the heavenly homeland ('life pilgrimage'), rather than physically journeying to a holy place. The realistic depiction in the poem is generally seen simply to derive from the historical account embedded within the scriptural book of Exodus, where the poetic reinterpretation has been rendered into the idiom and diction of Old English heroic poetry. Few critics have considered whether the Old English *Exodus* might contain a literary representation of a journey undertaken for religious motives to a holy place rooted in the practices of the contemporary Anglo-Saxon Church (the 'material practice of pilgrimage'). This thesis proposes that, by revisiting the literary-historical accounts of Anglo-Saxon pilgrimage in Anglo-Latin hagiography and letters, and by introducing the idea of a

processional pilgrimage akin to a Rogation as depicted in historiographical writings and anonymous homilies, the Old English *Exodus* can profitably be read as an example of the material practice of pilgrimage, particularly suited to its putative eighth-century context.

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## Abbreviations

<i>ASE</i>	<i>Anglo-Saxon England</i>
<i>ASL</i>	<i>Anglo-Saxon Library</i> (ed. Lapidge)
<i>ASNSL</i>	<i>Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen</i>
<i>ASPR</i>	The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records (ed. Krapp and Dobbie)
<i>ASSAH</i>	<i>Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History</i>
<i>Bede, HA</i>	<i>Historia abbatum auctore Baeda in Venerabilis Baedae Opera Historica</i> , vol. 1 (ed. Plummer)
<i>Bede, HE</i>	Bede, <i>Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum</i> (ed. Colgrave and Mynors)
<i>BSIVV</i>	<i>Biblia Sacra Iuxta Vulgatam Versionem</i> (ed. Weber and Gryson)
<i>BT</i>	<i>An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary</i> (ed. Bosworth and Toller)
<i>BTS</i>	<i>An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary: Supplement</i> (ed. Toller and Campbell)
<i>CASD</i>	<i>A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary</i> (ed. Clark Hall)
<i>CCCC</i>	Corpus Christi College, Cambridge
<i>CCEME</i>	<i>Christianization and Commonwealth in Early Medieval Europe: a Ritual Interpretation</i> (Ristuccia)
<i>CCSL</i>	Corpus Christianorum Series Latina
<i>CED</i>	<i>Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents Relating to Great Britain and Ireland</i> (ed. Haddan and Stubbs)
<i>CSASE</i>	Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England
<i>CSEL</i>	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum
<i>DLD</i>	<i>Database of Latin Dictionaries</i>
<i>DMLBS</i>	<i>Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources</i>
<i>DOE</i>	<i>Dictionary of Old English: A to I</i> (online)
<i>DOEWC</i>	<i>Dictionary of Old English Web Corpus</i>
<i>DRCB</i>	<i>The Douay–Rheims Catholic Bible</i> (online)
<i>EETS</i>	Early English Text Society

O.S.	Original Series
S.S.	Supplementary Series
<i>ELN</i>	<i>English Language Notes</i>
<i>EOERH</i>	<i>Eleven Old English Rogationtide Homilies</i> (ed. Bazire and Cross)
<i>FMLS</i>	<i>Forum for Modern Language Studies</i>
<i>GEL</i>	<i>A Greek–English Lexicon</i> (ed. Liddell and Scott)
HBS	Henry Bradshaw Society
<i>HNE</i>	<i>Hymnus sancti Nynie episcopi</i> (ed. Strecker)
<i>HSM</i>	<i>Hymnus S. Mugentii in The Irish Liber Hymnorum</i> (ed. Bernard and Atkinson)
<i>JECS</i>	<i>Journal of Early Christian Studies</i>
<i>JEGP</i>	<i>Journal of English and Germanic Philology</i>
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
AA	Auctores Antiquissimi
E	Epistolae
ES	Epistolae Selectae
PLAC	Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini
SRG	Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum
SRM	Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum
SS	Scriptores
<i>MLN</i>	<i>Modern Language Notes</i>
<i>MLQ</i>	<i>Modern Language Quarterly</i>
<i>MLR</i>	<i>Modern Language Review</i>
<i>MNE</i>	<i>Miracula Nynie episcopi</i> (ed. Strecker)
<i>NM</i>	<i>Neuphilologische Mitteilungen</i>
<i>NQ</i>	<i>Notes and Queries</i>
<i>OCD</i>	<i>The Oxford Classical Dictionary</i> (ed. Hornblower <i>et al.</i> )
OCT	Oxford Classical Texts
<i>ODCC</i>	<i>The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church</i> (ed. Cross and Livingstone)

<i>OED</i>	<i>Oxford English Dictionary</i> (online)
<i>OEHE</i>	<i>The Old English Version of Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People</i> (ed. Miller)
<i>OERC</i>	'The Old English Rogationtide Corpus: a Literary History' (Sellers)
<i>OMT</i>	Oxford Medieval Texts
<i>PL</i>	<i>Patrologia Latina, The Full Text Database</i> (online)
<i>PMLA</i>	<i>Publications of the Modern Language Association</i>
<i>RE</i>	<i>Registrum Epistularum</i> (ed. Norberg)
<i>RES</i>	<i>Review of English Studies</i>
<i>REAL</i>	<i>The Yearbook of Research in English and American Literature</i>
<i>SDAS</i>	<i>The Student's Dictionary of Anglo-Saxon</i> (ed. Sweet)
<i>SEL</i>	<i>Studies in English Literature</i>
<i>SELIM</i>	<i>Journal of the Spanish Society for Medieval English Language and Literature</i>
<i>SEMA</i>	<i>Studies in the Early Middle Ages</i>
<i>TTH</i>	<i>Translated Texts for Historians</i>
<i>VH</i>	<i>Vercelli Homilies</i> (ed. Scragg)
<i>Vita Bonifatii</i>	<i>Vita Sancti Bonifatii auctore Willibaldo</i> (ed. Levison)
<i>Vita Ceolfridi</i>	<i>Vita sanctissimi Ceolfridi abbatis in Abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow</i> (ed. Grocock and Wood)
<i>Vita Willibaldi</i>	<i>Vitae Willibaldi episcopi Eichstetensis</i> (ed. Holder-Egger)
<i>Vita Wynnebaldi</i>	<i>Vitae Wynnebaldi abbatis Heidenheimensis</i> (ed. Holder-Egger)
<i>VLD</i>	<i>Vetus Latina Database</i> (online)
<i>VSLÅ</i>	<i>Vetenskaps-Societeten i Lund Årsbok</i>
<i>WBEASE</i>	<i>The Wiley–Blackwell Encyclopedia of Anglo-Saxon England</i> (ed. Lapidge, et al.)

## Introduction

The Old English *Exodus* has long been recognized as an idiosyncratic biblical paraphrase of the Israelites' journey out of Egypt, a poem that consciously refashions the Old Testament account (Ex. 13:20–14:31) for an Anglo-Saxon Christian audience.<sup>1</sup> Moving beyond the exclusively allegorical interpretations of *Exodus*, this thesis examines whether the poem can be read as a literary representation of an Anglo-Saxon pilgrimage.<sup>2</sup>

Examining the role of pilgrimage in *Exodus* begins with a recognition of how little is known about the poem's composition. The poem survives in a single manuscript, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Junius 11 (hereafter 'Junius'), that also contains three other biblical poetic paraphrases: *Genesis A* and *B* (before c. 725 AD and c. 900 AD, respectively) and *Daniel* (before c. 725), and the religious poem *Christ and Satan* (of uncertain date).<sup>3</sup> *Exodus* is generally thought to have been composed in the eighth or early ninth century (before c. 825),<sup>4</sup> and appears to have a close relationship with *Beowulf*, which is thought by many to

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<sup>1</sup> P.J. Lucas, ed., *Exodus* (Exeter, 1994), pp. 51–55.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. C.D. Wright, 'Genesis A ad litteram', in *Old English Literature and the Old Testament*, ed. M. Fox and M. Sharma (Toronto, 2012), pp. 121–71. Modern conceptions of 'literature' were unknown to the early medieval period, so the term 'literary' is intentionally expansive to encapsulate the elements of imaginative content and attention to style, form or manner of expression that differentiate such writings from chronicles, charters, laws, and pilgrim itineraries, catalogues and guidebooks. Where there is overlap in a work or genre, such as epistles, hagiography and, even, historiography, the term literary-historical is used or implied. See Ziolkowski, J.M., 'Towards a History of Medieval Latin Literature', in *Medieval Latin: an Introduction and Bibliographical Guide*, ed. F.A.C. Mantello and A.G. Rigg (Washington D.C., 1996), pp. 505–36, at 512.

<sup>3</sup> H.R. Broderick, 'Observations on the Method of Illustration in MS Junius 11 and the Relationship of the Drawing to the Text', *Scriptorium* 37.2 (1983), 161–77; J.R. Hall, "'The Old English Epic of Redemption": Twenty-Five-Year Retrospective', in *The Poems of MS Junius 11: Basic Readings*, ed. R.M. Liuzza (London, 2002), pp. 53–68; L. Lockett, 'An Integrated Re-examination of the Dating of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Junius 11', *ASE* 31 (2002), 141–73; B.C. Raw, 'Construction of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 11', *ASE* 13 (1984), 187–207; P. Remley, *Old English Biblical Verse*, CSASE 16 (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 12–58, 94–167, 231–333. For dating evidence, see A.N. Doane, ed., *The Saxon Genesis: an Edition of the West Saxon Genesis B and the Old Saxon Vatican Genesis* (Madison, 1991), pp. 47–54; R.D. Fulk, *History of Old English Meter* (Philadelphia, 1992), pp. 297–8, 391–2, 394–6.

<sup>4</sup> Fulk, *History*, pp. 3, 62–4, 391–2; E.B. Irving, Jr., 'On the Dating of the Old English Poems *Genesis* and *Exodus*', *Anglia* 77 (1959), 1–11; Irving, ed., *The Old English Exodus* (Hamden, 1970), 20–8;

date from around 700,<sup>5</sup> and with which *Exodus* uniquely shares some twenty-seven half-lines.<sup>6</sup> Lapidge and Orchard have raised the possibility of affinities between the Anglo-Latin poetry of Aldhelm (d. 709×710) and Old English poetry, and it has been argued that Aldhelm's influence may have extended to parts of *Exodus*.<sup>7</sup> Therefore, the thesis will focus upon eighth-century literary representations of pilgrimage, but, as will be discussed, will also have recourse to sources from the tenth century.<sup>8</sup>

Unfortunately, *Exodus* is an incomplete poem, with two lacunae in the text: the first consists of four missing pages between lines 141 and 142, while there are also two missing pages between lines 446 and 447.<sup>9</sup> In addition to the lacunae there are also a great number of textual cruces, many of which seem to be due to scribal error.<sup>10</sup> Furthermore, perhaps attesting to the antiquity and difficulty of the text, there have been assertions that the various parts of *Exodus* are interpolations, most notable among them being the Patriarchal Digression (362–446); however, many scholars have argued powerfully for the unity of the poem.<sup>11</sup> The

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E.B. Irving, 'Exodus Retraced', in *Old English Studies in Honour of John C. Pope*, ed. R.B. Burlin (Toronto, 1974), 203–23, at 209; Lucas, *Exodus*, pp. 69–72, at 72; L. Neidorf, 'Lexical Evidence for the Relative Chronology of Old English Poetry', *SELIM* 20 (2013–14), 7–48. Cf. Busse who posits a tenth-century date for *Exodus*: W. Busse, 'Neo-Exegetical Criticism and Old English Poetry: a Critique of the Typological and Allegorical Appropriation of Medieval Literature', *REAL* 2 (1984), 1–54, at 38.

<sup>5</sup> Fulk, *History*, pp. 381–92; L. Neidorf, *The Transmission of Beowulf: Language, Culture and Scribal Behavior* (Ithaca, 2017), pp. 1–10.

<sup>6</sup> C. Lynch, 'Enigmatic Diction in the Old English Exodus' (unpubl. PhD dissertation, University of Cambridge, 2000), pp. 262–4.

<sup>7</sup> M. Lapidge, 'Aldhelm's Latin Poetry and Old English Verse', in *Anglo-Latin Literature 600-899*, ed. M. Lapidge (London, 1996), pp. 247–69; A. Orchard, *Poetic Art of Aldhelm*, CSASE 8 (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 102–25. See also, C. Abram, 'Aldhelm and the Two Cultures of Anglo-Saxon England', *Literature Compass* 4.5 (2007), 1354–77; L. Neidorf, 'The Composite Authorship of *The Dream of the Rood*', *ASE* 45 (2015), 51–70; P. Remley, 'Aldhelm as Old English Poet: *Exodus*, Asser, and the *Dicta Ælfredi*', in *Latin Learning and English Lore: Studies in Anglo-Saxon Literature for Michael Lapidge*, ed. K. O'Brien O'Keefe and A. Orchard, 2 vols (Toronto, 2005), vol 1, pp. 90–108. For discussion of Aldhelm and the Ruthwell Cross, see below, p. 201.

<sup>8</sup> See below, p. 111.

<sup>9</sup> Lucas, *Exodus*, pp. 13–15.

<sup>10</sup> Lucas, *Exodus*, pp. 24–7.

<sup>11</sup> D. Anlezark, 'Connecting the Patriarchs: Noah and Abraham in the Old English *Exodus*', *JEGP* 104.2 (2005), 171–88; J.W. Earl, 'Christian Tradition in the Old English *Exodus*', *NM* 71 (1970), 541–70, repr. in and cited from *The Poems of MS Junius 11: Basic Readings*, ed. R.M. Liuzza (London, 2002), pp. 161–3; S.R. Hauer, 'The Patriarch Digression in the Old English *Exodus*, Lines

narrative appears to be based upon Exodus 13:20–14:31 of the Vulgate, but also exhibits the influence of versions of the Old Latin Bible (*Vetus Latina*).<sup>12</sup> The question of other potential Latin and vernacular influences upon the poem is considered throughout the thesis, but it is apparent that *Exodus* is rooted in the Latin poetic tradition of biblical epic paraphrase of scripture, as exemplified by Juvenecus’ *Evangeliorum libri IV* (c. 330), Cyprianus’ *Heptateuchos* (c. 400–25), Sedulius’ *Carmen paschale* (c. 425–50), Avitus’ *Historia spiritalis* (c. 500), and Arator’s *Historia apostolica* (c. 544), all of which were known and widely studied in early Anglo-Saxon England.<sup>13</sup> Although *Exodus* has numerous textual problems and is in its present state only 590 lines long, the poem can be read as a coherent whole that challenges its audience to make sense of its structural narrative and multivalent religious message.

From its opening lines, *Exodus* links the idea of journeying with the possibility of salvation, but also highlights the scale of the interpretative challenge confronting its Christian audience faced with an Old Testament story (1–7):<sup>14</sup>

Hwæt, we feor ond neah gefrigen habbað  
ofer middangeard Moyses domas,  
wraeclico wordriht, wera cneorissum –  
in uprodor eadigra gehwam  
æfter bealusiðe bote lifes,

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362–446’, *Studies in Philology* 78.5 (1981), 77–90; Irving, ed., *The Old English Exodus* (Hamden, 1970), pp. 8–9, 89–90; Lucas, *Exodus*, pp. 30–33. Cf. Remley, *Biblical Verse*, pp. 168–70, 228–9.

<sup>12</sup> Remley, *Biblical Verse*, pp. 178–94.

<sup>13</sup> P. McBrine, *Biblical Epics in Late Antiquity and Anglo-Saxon England: Divina in Laude Voluntas* (Toronto, 2017), pp. 22–269; *ASL*, pp. 281, 292, 299, 319, 331. Cf. the assertion that *Exodus* may demonstrate affinities with skaldic poetry: R. Frank, ‘What Kind of Poetry is *Exodus*?’, in *Germania: Comparative Studies in the Old Germanic Languages and Literatures*, ed. D.G. Calder, and T.C. Christy (Woodbridge, 1988), pp. 191–203.

<sup>14</sup> All quotations of *Exodus* are from Lucas’ edition, unless otherwise stated. All editions of *Exodus* are cited by editor and page number. All translations of Latin and Old English are my own, unless otherwise stated. Quotations of OE poems are from ASPR, unless otherwise stated.

lifigendra gehwam langsumne ræd –  
hæleðum secgan. Gehyre se ðe wille!

[‘Listen! Far and near throughout middle-earth we have learnt the Laws of Moses, a wonderful spoken law, for all generations of men – the reward of life in Heaven for each of the blessed after the terrible journey, everlasting counsel for each of the living – spoken to men. Let him hear who will!’]<sup>15</sup>

This passage contains a series of appositional phrases (*Moyses domas, wræclico wordriht, bote lifes* and *langsumne ræd*) whose exact syntactical relationship to each other is unclear.<sup>16</sup> Such an early reference to the Laws of Moses (Ex. 19–20) in a poem about the journey to, and crossing of, the Red Sea (Ex. 13–14) is out of strict chronological sequence, and, as Earl notes, the clauses separated here by parenthetical dashes (6–8) interrupt the literal sense of the passage.<sup>17</sup> The compound *wordriht* (‘a law expressed in the form of a command; a spoken law’) is found only in *Exodus* and *Beowulf*, and has been variously interpreted to mean ‘written scripture’,<sup>18</sup> or the ‘oral precepts’ given to Moses.<sup>19</sup> The apparent dual emphasis on the written and the spoken suggests a paralleling or conflating of the Law of the Old Testament with the Word of the New Testament. The above passage is seen as an injunction to Christians to interpret *Exodus* through the New Testament,<sup>20</sup> or as emphasizing ‘pilgrim

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<sup>15</sup> All OE lexical references, unless otherwise stated, will refer to the *DOE* (Letters A–I), and, beyond this range, to *BT* and *BTS*.

<sup>16</sup> P.O.E. Gradon, *Form and Style in Early English Literature* (London, 1971), p. 157; Irving, p. 67; J.H. Wilson, *Christian Theology and Old English Poetry* (The Hague, 1974), pp. 116–17.

<sup>17</sup> Earl, ‘Christian Tradition’, p. 139. All biblical references are to *BSIVV* (Latin) and *DRCB* (English).

<sup>18</sup> Cf. *wordrihta fela* (*Beowulf* 2631b); C. Donahue, ‘*Beowulf* and Christian Tradition: a Reconsideration from a Celtic Stance’, *Traditio* 21 (1965), 55–116; Donahue, ‘*Beowulf*, Ireland and the Natural Good’, *Traditio* 7 (1949–51), 263–77. All quotations from *Beowulf* are from R.D. Fulk *et al.*, ed., *Klaeber’s Beowulf* (Toronto, 2008).

<sup>19</sup> J.B. Trahern, ‘More Scriptural Echoes in the Old English *Exodus*’, in *Anglo-Saxon Poetry: Essays in Appreciation For John C. McGalliard*, ed. L.E. Nicholson and D.W. Frese (Notre Dame, 1975), pp. 291–8, at 292–3.

<sup>20</sup> M. Luria, ‘Why Moses’ Rod is Green’, *ELN* 17 (1980), 161–3, at 163; D. Patzer, ‘*Wordriht*: the Right of Translation in *Genesis B* and *Exodus*’ (unpubl. M.A. Thesis, Univ. of Manitoba, 2005), p. 91.

law', in the form of the Decalogue that Christians must live by during their crossing (*transitus*) from this world to the next.<sup>21</sup> *Exodus* 1–7, with its obvious Old Testament allusion, is also linked with the Christian eschatological message later in the poem, known as the Homiletic Digression (516–48), where the latter's famous reference to the 'keys of the spirit' (*gastes cægon*, 525b) is interpreted as a paraphrase of the Pauline exhortation to Christians to unlock the true sense of Moses' teaching (2 Corinthians 3:14–17).<sup>22</sup> The compound *bealusiðe* (5a) is formed from the adjective *bealu* ('evil, pernicious, deadly'), and the multivalent noun *sið* ('journeying, a journey, arrival, conduct, experience, path, or time') and can thus mean a 'grievous experience' or 'evil time', as well as a 'terrible journey'.<sup>23</sup> Given its range of meanings, *bealusiðe* is thought to signify both the literal journey of the Israelites, and a person's interior spiritual progress, allegorized as a Christian's journey through life towards the heavenly homeland (so-called 'life pilgrimage').<sup>24</sup>

However, such a narrow reading of *Exodus* glosses over the fact that the poem also clearly depicts an actual communal journey of a leader and his host through a physically defined landscape. The emphasis here upon individual interpretation of scripture appears at odds with the limited direct access most of the Christian audience of *Exodus* would have had

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Cf. S. Zacher, *Rewriting the Old Testament in Anglo-Saxon Verse: Becoming the Chosen People* (London, 2013), pp. 13, 60–1.

<sup>21</sup> B.F. Huppé, *Doctrine and Poetry: Augustine's Influence on Old English Poetry* (New York, 1959), pp. 220–2, at 221. See also P.F. Ferguson, 'The Old English *Exodus* and the Patristic Tradition' (unpubl. PhD dissertation, State University of NY, 1977), pp. 28–32, 45–53, 61–2; M. Luria, 'The Old English *Exodus* as a Christian Poem: Notes Toward a Reading', *Neophilologus* 65.4 (1981), 600–6, at 601.

<sup>22</sup> J.R. Hall, 'Pauline influence on *Exodus*, 523–548', *ELN* 15 (1977), 84–8, at 85–6. Cf. A. Walton, 'Gehyre se ðe wille: the Old English *Exodus* and the Reader as Exegete', *English Studies* 94.1 (2013), 1–10.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. the phrase *bealosipa hwon* (*The Seafarer* 28b); ASPR 3, p. 144.

<sup>24</sup> Earl, 'Christian Tradition', p. 142; Ferguson, 'OE *Exodus*', p. 43; W. Helder, 'Abraham and the Old English *Exodus*', in the *Companion to Old English Poetry*, ed. H. Aertsen and R.H. Bremmer (Amsterdam, 1994), pp. 189–200, at 195; N. Howe, *Migration and Mythmaking in Anglo-Saxon England* (New Haven, 1989), p. 81; Huppé, *Doctrine*, p. 221; Lucas, p. 75; P. McBrine, 'The Journey Motif in the Poems of the Vercelli Book', in *New Readings in the Vercelli Book*, ed. S. Zacher and A. Orchard (Toronto, 2009), pp. 298–317; Sedgfield, p. 175; Tolkien, p. 36. Cf. Irving's literal reading of *Exodus* in his edition with his later allegorical emphasis: Irving, p. 67; 'Exodus Retraced', p. 212.

to the Old or New Testaments in the Anglo-Saxon period,<sup>25</sup> and neglects the fact that the singular jussive subjunctive phrase *gehyre se ðe wille* ('Let him hear who will!', 7b) might, nevertheless, be a homiletic tag,<sup>26</sup> or a 'parabolic topos',<sup>27</sup> instead of a customary formula.<sup>28</sup> Phrases such as *eadigra gehwam* ('each of the blessed'), *lifigendra gehwam* ('each of the living'), and *hæleðum secgan* ('spoken to men') suggest that the exhortation *gehyre se ðe wille* is addressed to the individual within a wider group.<sup>29</sup> The homiletic features of *Exodus* 1–7 may demonstrate that the audience is being exhorted as individuals within a congregation to begin a physical communal journey.<sup>30</sup> It is possible that *bealusiðe* and the other instances of *sið*, in simplex or compound form, may also be describing an actual religious journey experienced in time and space. Understanding the word *sið* and its compounds may be the first step in re-appraising the role of journeying in *Exodus*, and revealing its depictions of pilgrimage.

The word *sið*, in simplex form, occurs seven times in *Exodus*,<sup>31</sup> but its first occurrence in the poem describes not a 'journey', but a seminal moment, namely: 'ða wæs forma sið | þæt hine weroda God wordum nægde' ('that was the first time that the God of the hosts spoke to him [Moses] with words', 22b–3).<sup>32</sup> The half-line 22b establishes a contrast between the Egyptian enemy's earthly authority (*feonda folcriht*, 22a), and this moment of divine revelation to Moses, which precipitates the depictions of suffering in lines 30–53 and the

<sup>25</sup> R.M. Liuzza, 'Who Read the Gospels in Old English?', in *Words and Works: Studies in Medieval English Language and Literature in Honour of F. C. Robinson*, ed. P.S. Baker and N. Howe (Toronto, 1998), pp. 3–24, at 15; Zacher, *Rewriting*, p. 2.

<sup>26</sup> Ferguson, 'OE *Exodus*', p. 11, 37; B. Green, 'Gregory's *Moralia* as an Inspirational Source for the Old English Poem *Exodus*', *Classica et Mediaevalia* 32 (1980), 251–62, at p. 260.

<sup>27</sup> J.P. Hermann, *Allegories of War: Language and Violence in Old English Poetry* (Ann Arbor, 1989), pp. 62–3, n. 11.

<sup>28</sup> Sedgefield, p. 175, n.7.

<sup>29</sup> All quotations of a continuous phrase of five or less words and included in the text for discussion are italicized, those exceeding five words are contained within quotation marks.

<sup>30</sup> For discussion of Moses' role as a leader and teacher, see below, p. 116.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Howe, *Migration*, pp. 81–3.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. the phrase *forma sið* in *Beowulf* (716b, 1463b, 1527b, 2625b): Lynch, 'Enigmatic Diction', pp. 262–4.

Israelites' exodus. After this comes a series of strategic references to an experiential journey using the word *sið*: *on langne lust leofes siðes* ('in their long-held desire for their beloved journey', 53); *deormodra sið* ('journey of the strong-hearted ones', 97a); *segl siðe weold* ('the sail controlled the journey', 105a); *sið wæs gedæled* ('the journey was divided', 207b); *sæmanna sið* ('the journey of the seamen', 479a); and *sið heora* ('their journey', 510a). The first two instances of *sið* (22b, 53b) occur within an opening section (1–53) which describes the motivation for their journey, the third and fourth references (97a, 105a) occur during the poem's depiction of enigmatic signs that both aid and direct the Israelites on their journey (71b–125), the fifth reference (207b) is found in a passage describing the journeying to, and activity on, the shores of the Red Sea (126–275), where a mighty angel (*mihtig engel*, 205a) separates the pursuing Egyptians from their quarry, the Israelites, and the final two instances of *sið* (479a, 510a) are found in a passage depicting the destruction of the Egyptians (447–515), where their obliteration is so absolute that there is no messenger left to tell of their journey or experience.<sup>33</sup> Aside from the Israelites' desire for their beloved exodus (*leofes siðes*, 53b) and their resolute commitment to such wayfaring (*deormodra sið*, 97a), all the remaining references to *sið* explicitly relate to the events or stages of an actual journey, which is directed at key stages by powerful extraneous and providential forces and events in the physical landscape.

Other *sið*-compounds in *Exodus* similarly emphasize an immersive religious journey. The uniquely attested compound *laðsið* ('hateful journey', 44a), which contrasts with *leofes siðes* ('beloved journey', 53b) and potentially relates to both the Israelites and Egyptians, is, like *bealusiðe*, further evidence of the emotion experienced in relation to physical journeying. Another uniquely attested compound, *spildsiðe* ('destructive journey', 153a) prefigures how the Egyptians' desire to pursue and destroy the Israelites results in their own ironic

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<sup>33</sup> R. Marsden, 'The Death of the Messenger: the *spelboda* in the Old English *Exodus*', *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester* 77.3 (1995), 141–64.

destruction, and highlights the distinction between intentions and results, between goals and actual destinations. The compound *siðfæt* ('journey; path; way; time', 81a, 522a), which is a commonly used word in Old English poetry, is found twice in *Exodus*. In its first occurrence, the enigmatic sail is linked by divine will to the sun's celestial journey: 'hæfde witig God sunnan siðfæt segle ofertolden' ('the wise God had covered the sun's course with a sail', 80–1b).<sup>34</sup> The second reference to *siðfæt* comes towards the end of the poem and connects the Israelites' journey out of Egypt with following God's providential will (519b–22).<sup>35</sup>

Dægweorc ne mað,  
 swa gyt werðeode on gewritum findað  
 doma gehwilcne, þara ðe him Drihten bebead  
 on þam siðfate soðum wordum.

[‘The day’s work could not be concealed,<sup>36</sup> just as peoples find in scripture every law which the Lord, with true words, gave to him [Moses] (or ‘them’ [the Israelites]) on that journey.’]

These references to *siðfæt* connect physical movement with providential will and engaging with the divine in the landscape.

It is noteworthy that of the twelve references to *sið*, in simplex or compound form, four (*bealusiðe*, 5a; *sið*, 22b; *laðsið*, 44a; *leofes siðes*, 53b) come within the opening passage of *Exodus* (1–53), describing the events prompting the journey, while the next highest concentration of references (*sunnan siðfæt*, 81a; *deormodra sið*, 97a; *siðe*, 105a) are found in the extended depiction of the signs, which aid and direct the Israelites' journey (71b–125). In

<sup>34</sup> For discussion of the role of signs in *Exodus*, see below, p. 144.

<sup>35</sup> The manuscript reads *nemnað* (519b). The pronoun *him* could be a dative singular or plural and is possibly intentionally ambiguous. Cf. *Exodus* 19b–20.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. *dægweorc nemnað* ('they name it the day's work', 519b): Blackburn, p. 29; Thorpe, p. 210. Krapp and Irving also retain *nemnað*, but emend the manuscript reading *dægweorc* to *dægword* (day's words'): ASPR 1, pp. 105, 216; Irving, p. 65, 97–8, n. 561. See also below, p. 243.

sum, the use of *sið* and its compounds depicts a religious journey of multiple stages, where various events and deeds are collectively experienced in the landscape.<sup>37</sup>

Alongside allusions to an experiential journey throughout the poem, the opening passage (1–53) contains repeated references to God as the instigator, Moses as the leader and the Israelites as (at this stage) an undifferentiated, but obedient, host or army. God is referred to as *werode Drihten/weroda God* ('Lord/God of the Hosts', 8b, 23a), *soðfæst Cyning* ('righteous King', 9a), *ece Alwalda* ('eternal Omnipotent one', 11a), *sigora Waldend* ('Ruler of Victories', 16b), *Frea* ('Lord', 19b), *witig Drihten* ('wise Lord', 25b), and *Metod* ('Measurer, Creator', 52b). The early reference to heaven (*in uprodor*, 4a) followed by the statement that a wise God (*witig Drihten*, 25b) fashioned the world (*woruld worhte*, 25a), and established the circuit of the earth and the victorious kingdom of Heaven ('eorðan ymbhwyrft ond uprodor, | gesette sigerice', 26–7a) appears to be an allusion to the Creation narrative of chapter one of Genesis. Here the usual group of three elements fashioned by God, namely, the earth, sea, and sky (hereafter the 'hexameral triad') is incomplete, as there is no mention of the sea.<sup>38</sup> Instead, a few lines later, the sea is perhaps introduced as a unique form of death, rather than life, in an oblique reference to how the Egyptians are consumed by the Red Sea: *wæs ... deaðe gedrecced drihtfolca mæst* ('the greatest of multitudes was afflicted with death', 33–4).<sup>39</sup> God would appear to be both the creator and destroyer, with the sea being alluded to in these early lines as an agent of destruction. Just as God recounts to Moses how he created the world (25), he also exalted Moses (*gewyrðode*, 10a; *gewurðodne*, 31a) as the enemy of the Pharaoh (*Faraones feond*, 32a). Moses is only mentioned twice by name in *Exodus* 1–53, and then in genitives defining other things, namely the Laws bequeathed by

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<sup>37</sup> Cf. the use of *sið* in *Guthlac A* and *B* discussed, at p. 177.

<sup>38</sup> Gen. 1:1–20. Cf. Bede's version of *Cædmon's Song* (*HE* 4:24) and *Genesis A* 1–168a. *Bede, HE*, pp. 414–20. All quotations of *Genesis A* are from Doane's edition. For the role of the hexameral story in homiletic catechetical instruction, see V. Day, 'The Influence of the Catechetical *narratio* on Old English and Some Other Medieval Literature', *ASE* 3 (1974), 51–61.

<sup>39</sup> The manuscript has *gedrenced* ('drenched [or 'stained']', 34a). For further discussion of these enigmatic lines, see below, p. 130.

God and the people of Israel he is to lead: *Moyses domas* ('the laws of Moses', 2b) and *Moyses magum* ('the kinsmen of Moses', 52a). Moses is repeatedly referred to as a leader: *leoda aldor/werodes aldor* ('leader of the host', 12b, 31b), *herges wisa* ('leader of the army', 13b), *freom folctoga* ('strong leader-of-the-people', 14a); *modgum magoræsswum* ('the high-spirited counsellor', 17a).<sup>40</sup> By contrast, what mention is made of the Israelites in *Exodus* 1–53 is always as a host or as the kin of Moses: *mengeo* ('multitude, host', 48b); *Moyses magum* ('the kin of Moses', 52a); and most likely as the *maga* in the phrase *his maga feorh* ('lives of his kinsmen', 17b). This is not the language of an individual's interior spiritual progress, but a call to follow God and his appointed leader on a communal journey.

From the above brief analysis of the first section of the poem, comprising less than a tenth of the whole, it would appear as if the *Exodus*-poet is evoking the elements of an experiential long-distance communal journey led by a holy man as he exhorts his audience to piety. Furthermore, *Exodus*' very structure exhibits the elements of physical pilgrimage. The poem can be schematized into a series of six thematic sections (each containing passages and sub-passages) in the form listed in Table 1 below. All these Sections (A-F) vary considerably in terms of length, but each has an overriding focus or theme. Moreover, these Sections are also undoubtedly linked by references and imagery that recur throughout the poem, most notably *Exodus*' prevalent use of martial imagery. Consequently, discussion of the depiction of the pursuing Egyptian army (154–99) and the passage known as the Selection of Israelite Warriors (224–46) are omitted from Section D, and instead included within the general examination of the role of martial imagery in Section E, where the journey concludes with the tribes of Israel carrying banners in a triumphant martial procession.

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<sup>40</sup> Cf. *wuldres Aldor* ('Lord of Glory', 270b). For discussion of the phrase *modgum magoræsswum* as a dative singular, see below, p. 69.

**Table 1: Outline of the Narrative Structure of *Exodus***

<b>Section</b>	<b>Thematic Section of <i>Exodus</i></b>	<b>Section Theme and Contents<sup>41</sup></b>
A	1–53 (53 lines)	<b>The Motivation for Journeying</b> A homiletic exhortation to the audience (1–7); Causes and motivations for beginning the exodus (8–53)
B	54–71a (17½ lines)	<b>Journeying through a Landscape</b> Beginning of the communal journey through the landscape (54–71a)
C	71b–125 (54½ lines)	<b>Dominating Signs</b> Extended depiction of enigmatic signs, which appear at, or near, the third staging-post of their journey, and aid and direct the Israelites’ wayfaring (71b–125)
D	126–53, 200–23, 247–75 (81 lines)	<b>Ritualistic activity</b> Extended passage of processional journeying to, and ritualistic activity at, the fourth camp on the shores of the Red Sea (126–53, 200–23, 247–75)
E	276–446, 154– 99, 224–46 (240 lines)	<b>The Symbolism of Approaching Journey’s End</b> Parting of the Red Sea (276–98); Formal martial procession of the tribes of Israel across the exposed sea bed, known as the <i>transitus</i> (299–353a); Transitional passage (353b–61); Patriarchal Digression (362–446); and the earlier Depiction of the pursuing Egyptian army (154–99), and the Selection of Israelite Warriors (224–46)
F	447–590 (144 lines)	<b>Seeking the Ultimate Goal</b> Destruction of the Egyptians (447–515); Homiletic Digression on the far shore of the Red Sea (516–48); Prelude to, and then delivery of, Moses’ final speech (549–53, 554–64); Extended depiction of Israelite celebration (565–79); and Closing lines of the poem (580–90)

Table 1 clearly demonstrates that *Exodus* depicts a linear journey of multiple stages, beginning with the motivation for undertaking the exodus (Section A, 1–53), followed by a series of depictions involving: a leader and host navigating their way through the landscape (Section B, 54–71a); numerous enigmatic signs directing the Israelites’ movement (Section

<sup>41</sup> The phrases Patriarchal Digression (362–446), Selection of Israelite Warriors (224–46), Destruction of the Egyptians (447–515), and Homiletic Digression (516–48) are capitalized because they are commonly used titles for these passages of poem within *Exodus* scholarship.

C, 71b–125); ritualistic activity by the Israelites at their fourth and final encampment on the banks of the Red Sea (Section D, 126–53, 200–23, 247–75); the Israelite’s symbolic processional approach to their destination (Section E, 276–446, 154–99, 224–46); and finally, further ritualistic activity on the far shore of the Red Sea (Section F, 447–590). This narrative segmentation (Sections A–F) provides a clear parallel to the stages of a physical pilgrimage. As a consequence of the above analysis, this thesis examines whether *Exodus* can be profitably read as a journey undertaken for religious motives to a holy place rooted in the practices of the contemporary Anglo-Saxon Church (the ‘material practice of pilgrimage’). To begin such an examination requires a deeper understanding of both the literary style of *Exodus* and the role of Anglo-Saxon pilgrimage generally.

Understanding *Exodus*’ literary style and its allusions to exegetical method is fundamental to interpreting the poem’s depictions of journeying. *Exodus* is noted for its idiosyncratic vocabulary, using proportionately the greatest number of differing and uniquely attested compounds, often known as hapax legomena (hereafter ‘uniquely attested compounds’), of any surviving Old English poem.<sup>42</sup> Although an appositive style is one of the features of vernacular verse,<sup>43</sup> *Exodus* has a particularly dense paratactic style, employing a highly allusive and metaphorical diction, whilst also making considerable use of repetition.<sup>44</sup> The mix of literal and metaphorical imagery has been likened to the exegetical

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<sup>42</sup> A uniquely attested compound is defined as ‘a compound found on one or more occasions in a poem, but otherwise unattested elsewhere in the OE corpus’. Cf. the definitions of Irving (p. 99) and Lucas (p. 170). See also C.T. Carr, *Nominal Compounds in Germanic*, St Andrews University Publications 41 (Oxford, 1939), p. 414.

<sup>43</sup> Apposition (sometimes known as, parallelism or variation) is defined by Robinson as ‘syntactically parallel words or word-groups which share a common referent and which occur in a single clause’: F. C. Robinson, ‘Two Aspects of Variation in Old English Poetry’, in *Old English Poetry: Essays on Style*, ed. D.G. Calder (Berkeley, 1979), pp. 127–45, at 129; Robinson, *Beowulf and the Appositive Style* (Knoxville, 1985), pp. 1–28.

<sup>44</sup> M. Lapidge, ‘Hypallage in the Old English Exodus’, *Leeds Studies in English* 37 (2006), 31–9, at 31. See also R. T. Farrell, ‘A Reading of OE. *Exodus*’, *RES* 20.80 (1969), 401–2; D. Ferhatović, ‘*Life’s Interpreter* for the New Millennium: on Three Poetic Translations of the Old English *Exodus*’, *FMLS* 50.3 (2014), 233–46; M.R. Godden, ‘Biblical Literature’, in *The Cambridge Companion to Old English Literature*, ed. M. Godden and M. Lapidge, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 214–33, at 225;

distinction between the letter and spirit based upon the poem's exhortation in its opening lines (1–7) already discussed, and, most notably, lines 523–30a from the so-called Homiletic Digression:

Gif onlucan wile lifes wealhstod,  
beorht in breostum, banhuses weard,  
ginfæsten god Gastes cægon, 525  
run bið gerecenod, ræd forð gæð;  
hafað wislicu word on fæðme,  
wile meagollice modum tæcan,  
þæt we gesne ne syn Godes þeodscipes,  
Metodes miltsa. 530

[‘If the interpreter of life, guardian of the bone-house, wants to unlock with keys of the spirit the ample benefits bright in the breasts [of men], the mystery will be explained and counsel will go forth; he will have wise words in his breast, [and] he will want earnestly to teach minds, so that we may not be lacking God’s fellowship, the mercies (or ‘generosity’) of the Measurer.’]

The concept of the letter and spirit addressed the issue that some of the Bible’s contents could be understood literally, but other parts, which represent the mystery (*mysterium*) of the divine or may appear scandalous or trivial if read literally, could only be understood or perceived spiritually.<sup>45</sup> De Lubac outlines the following main types of figurative meanings in the medieval period: allegory (a form of extended metaphor); tropology (the moral sense); and

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Irving, pp. 32–5; Lucas, pp. 43–51; C.L. Wrenn, ‘Review of the Old English *Exodus* by E.B. Irving’, *RES* 6.22 (1955), 184–9, at 184; C.L. Wrenn, *A Study of Old English Literature* (London, 1967), p. 98.

<sup>45</sup> B. Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1952), pp. 1–26.

anagogy (the higher or mystical sense centred upon eschatology).<sup>46</sup> There was also another exegetical method, anachronistically named typology, which sought to draw parallels between the Old and New Testaments in order to identify the prefiguring or prophesying of the coming of Christ, the Church and her sacraments or the relationship between God and the individual soul as one of the chosen people.<sup>47</sup> Typological parallels were ubiquitous in patristic exegesis, involving a twofold reference: one in the Old Testament, known as the ‘type’, that ‘is an event which offers likeness to something in the future, but yet does not really fulfil this something’, and the ‘antitype’ found in the New Testament, that signals the fulfilment or promise of this fulfilment through Christ and Christianity.<sup>48</sup> Whether typology is similar to allegory, or is in fact a form of mimesis is a matter of fierce debate.<sup>49</sup> Typology and allegory are often conflated in readings of *Exodus*, but it should be no surprise that an Old Testament biblical paraphrase would employ typological references to identify the Christian community with the people of Israel, Moses as a type of Christ, and associate the

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<sup>46</sup> Regarding historical, allegorical, tropological, and anagogical senses, see H. De Lubac, trans. M. Sebanc and M. Macierowski, *Medieval Exegesis*, 3 vols (Michigan, 1998–2009), vol. 2, pp. 41–82, 83–126, 127–178, 179–226 (respectively); M.B. Parkes, ‘*Rædan, areccan, smeagan*: How the Anglo-Saxons Read’, *ASE* 26 (1997), 1–22, esp. 11–15. Bede used all four senses at varying times: G.H. Brown, ‘Bede’s Style in his Commentary on I Samuel’, in *Text, Image, Interpretation: Studies in Anglo-Saxon Literature and its Insular Context in Honour of Éamonn Ó Carragáin*, ed. A. Minnis and J. Roberts, *SEMA* 18 (Turnhout, 2007), pp. 407–30; Brown, *A Companion to Bede* (Woodbridge, 2007), pp. 33–72; A.G. Holder, ‘Allegory and History in Bede’s Interpretation of Sacred Architecture’, *The American Benedictine Review* 40.2 (1989), 115–31.

<sup>47</sup> Smalley, *Study*, p. 7.

<sup>48</sup> J. Daniélou, trans. W. Hibberd, *From Shadows to Reality: Studies in the Biblical Typology of the Fathers* (London, 1960), p. 125.

<sup>49</sup> E. Auerbach, ‘Figura’, in *Scenes from the Drama of European Literature: Six Essays*, trans. P. Valesio (Minnesota, 1984), pp. 11–78; Auerbach, trans. W.R. Trask, *Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature* (New Jersey, 2003), pp. 1–95; D.S. Berkeley, ‘Some Misapprehensions of Christian Typology in Recent Literary Scholarship’, *SEL* 18 (1978), 3–12; M.W. Bloomfield, ‘Allegory as Interpretation’, *New Literary History* 3.2 (1972), 301–17; M.W. Bloomfield, ‘Symbolism in Medieval Literature’, *Modern Philology* 56.2 (1958), 73–81; P.W. Martens, ‘Revisiting the Allegory/Typology Distinction: the Case of Origen’, *J ECS* 16.3 (2008), 283–317; P.B. Rollinson, ‘The Influence of Christian Doctrine and Exegesis on Old English Poetry: an Estimate of the Current State of Scholarship’, *ASE* 2 (1973), 271–84; F.M. Young, ‘Typology’, in *Crossing the Boundaries: Essays in Biblical Interpretation in Honour of Michael D. Goulder*, ed. S.E. Parker, P. Joyce and D.E. Orton (Leiden, 1994), pp. 29–48. For Moses as a type of Christ, see J. Daniélou, trans., *Bible and the Liturgy* (Notre Dame, 1956), pp. 93–5.

events of the exodus with the sign of the Cross, the sacraments, and the Church.<sup>50</sup> The exegetical schools in Antioch and Alexandria are thought to have shaped western biblical interpretation, and Antiochene exegesis has been demonstrated to have had a notable influence upon the late seventh-century school of Canterbury established by Archbishop Theodore and Hadrian.<sup>51</sup> Nevertheless, the notion that the dominance of the more allegorically-minded Alexandrian school led to a fundamental divide between literal and figurative interpretation in the West has been vigorously challenged by De Lubac.<sup>52</sup> As Carruthers notes, ‘the tendency to conceive of the relationships of literal and spiritual “levels” in interpretation as static hierarchies is modern’.<sup>53</sup> In sum, the concept of the letter and spirit should not be seen as representing a strict binary divide. Exegetical method was rarely confined to one sense, and was instead used as a multi-functional tool by each exegete. However, it is noteworthy that the interpretations of journeying in *Exodus* have been dominated by figurative senses, especially allegory.

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<sup>50</sup> D.G. Calder, ‘Two Notes on the Typology of the Old English Exodus’, *NM* 74 (1973), 85–9; J.R. Hall, ‘The Building of the Temple in *Exodus*: Design for Typology’, *Neophilologus* 59.4 (1975), 616–21; Helder, ‘Abraham’, p. 193; C.E. Karkov, ‘The Sign of the Cross: Poetic Performance and Liturgical Practice in the Junius 11 Manuscript’, in *The Liturgy of the Late Anglo-Saxon Church*, ed. H. Gittos and M.B. Bedingfield, HBS Subsidia 5 (London, 2005), pp. 245–69; E. McLoughlin, ‘OE *Exodus* and the Antiphony of Bangor’, *NM* 70 (1969), 658–67; J.F. Vickrey, ‘*Exodus* and the Battle in the Sea’, *Traditio* 28 (1972), 119–40, at 123. See also Ames’ reading of *Exodus* as a meditation upon the Trinity, and Christ’s presence: R.M. Ames, ‘The Old Testament *Christ* and the Old English *Exodus*’, *Studies in Medieval Culture* 10 (1977), 33–50. Cf. Sharma’s epistemological reading: M. Sharma, ‘The Economy of the Word in the Old English *Exodus*’, in *Old English Literature and the Old Testament*, ed. M. Fox and M. Sharma (Toronto, 2012), pp. 172–94.

<sup>51</sup> On the history of Western exegesis, see M. Simonetti, trans. J.A. Hughes, *Biblical Interpretation in the Early Church: an Historical Introduction to Patristic Exegesis* (Edinburgh, 1994), esp. 86–132; F.M. Young, *Biblical Exegesis and the Formation of Christian Culture* (Cambridge, 1997), *passim*. For discussion of exegesis in seventh-century school of Canterbury: B. Bischoff, and M. Lapidge, *Biblical Commentaries from the Canterbury School of Theodore and Hadrian*, CSASE 10 (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 1–274; M. Lapidge, *Archbishop Theodore: Commemorative Studies on his Life and Influence*, CSASE 11 (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 1–29; J. Stevenson, ed., *The Laterculus Malalianus and the School of Archbishop Theodore*, CSASE 14 (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 8–55; B.W. Wyly, *Figures of Authority in the Old English Exodus* (Heidelberg, 1999), pp. 19–20.

<sup>52</sup> De Lubac, *Medieval Exegesis*, vol. 2, pp. 59–69, 213–16.

<sup>53</sup> M. Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric and the Making of Images 400-1200* (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 21, 283, n. 35.

The fact that in *Exodus* the Israelites are portrayed as sailors and their excursion on land is described as a journey of the seamen (*sæmanna sið*, 479a) is seen as a clear indication that the Israelites' exodus may be interpreted allegorically, and that their crossing of the Red Sea or *transitus* ('a going over, passing over, passage, crossing') should be read as an allusion to the rite of Baptism.<sup>54</sup> In scripture, St Paul interprets the *transitus* as a type of Baptism (1 Cor. 10:2), and later patristic exegetes linked the cloud-pillar and the processional imagery of the exodus to the initiation of catechumens at Easter.<sup>55</sup> Consequently, numerous scholars have read the depictions of journeying in *Exodus* as an example of life pilgrimage.<sup>56</sup> However, Cross and Tucker, despite themselves reading *Exodus* as a life pilgrimage, acknowledge that the poem cannot be rendered into 'one consistent allegory', but should be treated as a series of 'symbolic pictures' that 'would occur naturally to a learned Christian's mind'.<sup>57</sup> Whilst using allegorical readings to address the problem of 'unrealistic collations', Cross and Tucker acknowledge that 'the poem is not symbolically about baptism' as 'there are too many unrelated events to suggest a selection for this purpose'.<sup>58</sup> Irving doubted in his earlier publications whether *Exodus* was about Baptism at all, and also highlighted the *Exodus*-poet's interest in telling a story, and the poet's fascination with geographical detail

<sup>54</sup> Lucas, pp. 58, 89, n. 80b–4, 92–3, n. 105–6a.

<sup>55</sup> 'Et omnes in Moyse baptizati sunt in nube et in mari' ('and all in Moses were baptized, in the cloud, and in the sea', 1 Cor. 10:2). See Daniélou, *Bible*, pp. 86–98; J.W. Bright, 'The Relation of the Cædmonian *Exodus* to the Liturgy', *MLN* 27.4 (1912), 97–103.

<sup>56</sup> Calder, 'Two Notes', pp. 85–7; J.E. Cross and S.I. Tucker, 'Allegorical Tradition and the Old English *Exodus*', *Neophilologus* 44.2 (1960), 122–7, at 125–6; D. Dyas, *Pilgrimage in Medieval English Literature 700–1500* (Woodbridge, 2001), pp. 18, 69, 77, 108, 110; Earl, 'Christian Tradition', p. 149; J.N. Garde, *Old English Poetry in Medieval Christian Perspective: a Doctrinal Approach* (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 39–48; W. Helder, 'Etham and the Ethiopians in the Old English *Exodus*', *Annuaire Mediaevale* 16 (1975), 5–23; Huppé, *Doctrine*, pp. 220–3; A.A. Lee, *The Guest-Hall of Eden: Four Essays on the Design of Old English Poetry* (New Haven, 1972), pp. 41–48; Lucas, pp. 55–9, 61–9; J. Mullins, 'Herimum in Mari: Anglo-Saxon Attitudes towards *Peregrinatio* and the Ideal of a Desert in the Sea', in *The Maritime World of the Anglo-Saxons*, ed. S.S. Klein, W. Schipper, and S. Lewis-Simpson (Temple, 2014), pp. 59–73; Z.P. Thundy, 'Afrisc Meowle and the Old English *Exodus*', *Neophilologus* 64 (1980), 297–30; Vickrey, 'Battle', pp. 127–8; Wilson, *Christian Theology*, pp. 110–40. For discussion of the nautical imagery, see below, p. 218.

<sup>57</sup> Cross and Tucker, 'Allegorical Tradition', p. 123. Cf. P. Portnoy, 'Verbal Seascapes in Anglo-Saxon Verse', in *The Maritime World of the Anglo-Saxons*, ed. S.S. Klein, W. Schipper, and S. Lewis-Simpson (Temple, 2014), pp. 247–73.

<sup>58</sup> Cross and Tucker, 'Allegorical Tradition', pp. 123–4.

and heroic depiction.<sup>59</sup> Rollinson has also argued that *Exodus* is a literal and historical account of a biblical story re-presented using the heroic conventions of a Germanic, if Christianized, tradition to suit its audience's poetic expectations.<sup>60</sup> Lucas' assertion that an uneasy tension exists between the literal and allegorical serves to highlight the fact that allegorical readings need not be the only means of interpreting journeying in *Exodus*.<sup>61</sup>

Allegory is by no means incompatible with the material practice of pilgrimage, but the exclusive focus on an individual's interior spiritual progress de-contextualized from the Church and communal worship is irreconcilable with such religious practice. Both Irving and Lucas have suggested that *Exodus* may be a poem which looks to different audiences at the same time, for, as the former notes, the *Exodus*-poet uses 'themes as poetic devices, with strong and simple emotional connotations rather than merely rational theological ones' which would have been 'clear to an attentive reader or listener with only the barest knowledge of Christian doctrine'.<sup>62</sup> Instead of reading the interpreter of life (*lifes wealhstod*, 523b) as each and every individual member of the audience of *Exodus*, this thesis focuses upon the notion that such a person is a Moses-figure who exhorts his Anglo-Saxon Christian community to participate in the material practice of pilgrimage in order to improve their lot in both this life and the next.<sup>63</sup> The 'keys to the spirit' (*gastes cægon*, 525b) are more likely to be those held by Saint Peter as the gate-keeper of Heaven than within the grasp of most Anglo-Saxon Christians.<sup>64</sup> There is a need then to be clear on how the terminology of the thesis differs from earlier studies.

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<sup>59</sup> Irving, pp. 15, 17–20, 29. Irving, 'Exodus Retraced', pp. 205, 209–12.

<sup>60</sup> P.B. Rollinson, 'Some Kinds of Meaning in Old English Poetry', *Annuaire Mediaevale* 11 (1970) 5–21, at 18; Rollinson, 'Influence', p. 283. See also F.C. Robinson, 'Notes on the Old English *Exodus*', *Anglia* 80 (1962), 363–78, at 378; T.A. Shippey, *Old English Verse* (London, 1972), pp. 133–55.

<sup>61</sup> Lucas, p. 61.

<sup>62</sup> Irving, 'Exodus Retraced', p. 212; P.J. Lucas, 'The Cloud in the Interpretation of the Old English *Exodus*', *English Studies* 51.4 (1970), 297–311.

<sup>63</sup> Cf. Zacher, *Rewriting*, pp. 70–9.

<sup>64</sup> The *ræd* is discussed below, p. 118.

Life pilgrimage and the material practice of pilgrimage represent more expansive terms for two examples of historical pilgrimage outlined by McGurk, namely, the ultimately Irish tradition of exile from one's homeland (known as *peregrinatio*: 'a journey to foreign places or beyond one's native environment, exile, sojourn abroad'), and a journey to a holy shrine or place.<sup>65</sup> The term 'life pilgrimage' is broadly defined as 'a figurative reading of pilgrimage which emphasizes a person's interior spiritual progress, allegorized as a Christian's journey through life towards the heavenly homeland'. Such an intentionally broad definition encompasses the eremitic contemplation of ascetic monastics as exemplified by the fourth-century Desert Fathers,<sup>66</sup> the meditative private reading of coenobitic monks and nuns in their ecclesiastic houses,<sup>67</sup> and the Irish tradition of exilic wandering for the love of God (*peregrinatio pro amore Dei*).<sup>68</sup> This thesis focuses upon Irish *peregrinatio* as a form of life pilgrimage because it involves physical journeying, but places no emphasis upon such wayfaring or any earthly destinations. Instead this sixth- and seventh-century Irish phenomenon used journeying as means of asceticism designed to induce a state of alienation in order to facilitate spiritual contemplation and to help the Christian exile in a post-lapsarian

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<sup>65</sup> P. McGurk, 'Pilgrimage', in *WBEASE*, ed. M. Lapidge, J. Blair, S. Keynes, and D. Scragg, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Chichester, 2014), p. 374 and *DMLBS*. McGurk cites a third type of A-S pilgrimage called judicial or penitential pilgrimage, where a person was effectively sentenced for grave sins to journey to Rome. This type of judicial/penitential pilgrimage was comparatively rare and is not discussed further: R.A. Aronstam, 'Penitential Pilgrimages to Rome in the Early Middle Ages', *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae* 13 (1975), 65–83; M.B. Bedingfield, 'Public Penance in Anglo-Saxon England', *ASE* 31 (2002), 223–255; S. Hamilton, 'Rites for Public Penance in Late Anglo-Saxon England', in *The Liturgy of the Late Anglo-Saxon Church*, ed. H. Gittos and M.B. Bedingfield, HBS Subsidia 5 (London, 2005), pp. 65–103.

<sup>66</sup> The fascination with the ascetic life of holy men is demonstrated by Athanasius' *Life of Antony*, Jerome's *Life of Paul the Hermit*, and Sulpicius Severus' *Life of Martin*. See further R. Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things? Saints and Worshippers from the Martyrs to the Reformation* (Princeton, 2013), pp. 19–22; D. Brakke, 'The East (2): Egypt and Palestine', in *The Oxford Handbook of Early Christian Studies*, ed. S.A. Harvey and D.G. Hunter (Oxford, 2008), pp. 344–64, at 352–3; M. Lapidge, 'The Saintly Life in Anglo-Saxon England', in *The Cambridge Companion to Old English Literature*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Cambridge, 2013), pp. 251–7.

<sup>67</sup> J. Leclercq, *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God: a Study of Monastic Culture*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (New York, 1974), pp. 18, 73–4.

<sup>68</sup> See the discussion of Anglo-Saxon *peregrinatio* at p. 28.

world to return to the heavenly homeland.<sup>69</sup> Irish *peregrinatio* has in recent years been seen as an increasingly complex and multifaceted phenomenon.<sup>70</sup> Nevertheless, this motif of exilic journeying was prominent in both Anglo-Latin and Old English writings such as Æthilwald's poem, *De trans marini itineris peregrinatione ad Wihtfridum*,<sup>71</sup> and there are numerous allusions in Old English literature to exile, which are ultimately encapsulated by the notion of *wrecca* ('one driven from his own country, a wanderer in foreign lands, an exile, a stranger,

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<sup>69</sup> Gougaud asserts that Irish *peregrinatio* cannot properly be defined as pilgrimage because of the absence of travelling to shrines: L. Gougaud, trans. M. Joynt, *Christianity in Celtic Lands: a History of the Churches of the Celts, their Origin, their Development, Influence, and Mutual Relations* (London, 1932), pp. 129–84, at 129–30; Dyas, *Pilgrimage*, pp. 95–99; M. Maher, 'Peregrinatio Pro Christo: Pilgrimage in the Irish Tradition', *Milltown Studies* 43 (1999), 5–39. For texts and discussion of otherworld journeying, including the genres of *echtrae* ('otherworldly journey') and *immram* ('voyage-tale'), see A.O. Anderson and M.O. Anderson, ed., *Adomnán's Life of Columba*, OMT (Oxford, 1991), pp. 12–235; D.N. Dumville, 'Echtrae and Immram: Some Problems of Definition', *Ériu* 27 (1976), 73–94; B. Krusch, *Vita Columbani*, MGH SRG, pp. 1–294; C. Selmer, ed., *Navigatio Sancti Brendani Abbatis* (Notre Dame, Indiana, 1959), pp. 3–82; J. Wooding, *The Otherworld Voyage in Early Irish Literature* (Dublin, 2000), *passim*, but esp. D.A. Bray, 'Allegory in the *Navigatio Sancti Brendani*', repr. in and cited from *The Otherworld Voyage in Early Irish Literature*, ed. J. Wooding (Dublin, 2000), pp. 175–86. Christian *peregrinatio* may have derived from the symbolic and spiritual imitation of Abraham, who in obedience to God left his native land and endured long hardships (Gen.12:1). See G.B. Ladner, 'Homo Viator: Mediaeval Ideas on Alienation and Order', *Speculum* 62.2 (1967), 233–59; B. McGinn, 'Ocean and Desert as Symbols of Mystical Absorption in the Christian Tradition', *The Journal of Religion* 74.2 (1994), 155–81; *ODCC*, p. 1297. Cf. the *peregrinatio* of Saint Ailbe of the *Vita Albei* which appeared to have Rome as its goal: C. Luckhardt, 'Connecting Saints: Travel and Hagiography in the Northwestern Atlantic, 500–800' (PhD dissertation, Notre Dame University, 2011), pp. 266–79.

<sup>70</sup> Irish *peregrinatio* has been associated with punishment, exile, voyaging and, possibly, ascetic martyrdom, see M.E. Byrne, 'On the Punishment of Sending Adrift', *Ériu* 11 (1932), 97–102; E. Johnston, 'Exiles from the Edge? The Irish Contexts of *Peregrinatio*', in *The Irish in Early Medieval Europe: Identity, Culture and Religion*, ed. R. Flechner and S. Meeder (London, 2016), pp. 38–52. Cf. Stancliffe, 'Red, White and Blue Martyrdom', in *Ireland in Early Medieval Europe: Studies in Memory of Kathleen Hughes*, ed. D. Whitelock, R. McKitterick and D. Dumville (Cambridge, 1982), pp. 21–46, at 38–9. For further discussion, including regarding the relationship between *peregrinatio* and missionary work, see D.A. Bullough, 'The Career of Columbanus', in *Columbanus: Studies on the Latin Writings*, ed. M. Lapidge, *Studies in Celtic History* 17 (Woodbridge, 1997), pp. 1–28; T.M. Charles-Edwards, 'The Social Background to Irish *Peregrinatio*', *Celtica* 11 (1976), 43–59; K. Hughes, 'The Changing Theory and Practice of Irish Pilgrimage', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 11 (1960), 143–51; Luckhardt, 'Connecting Saints', pp. 100–160; A. O'Hara, and I.N. Wood, trans., *Jonas of Bobbio: Life of Columbanus, Life of John of Réomé, and Life of Vedast*, TTH 64 (Liverpool, 2017), pp. 9–30, 47–54; I.N. Wood, 'The Irish in England and on the Continent in the Seventh Century', parts 1 & 2, *Peritia* 26 (2015), 171–98, and *Peritia* 27 (2016), 189–214.

<sup>71</sup> B. Miles, 'The *Carmina Rhythmica* of Æthilwald: Edition, Translation, and Commentary', *The Journal of Medieval Latin* 14 (2004), 77–83, 92–3, 96–109.

pilgrim’) and the *anhaga/anhoga* (‘solitary being’).<sup>72</sup> Further evidence of the Anglo-Saxon fascination with this motif is found in a late ninth-century entry in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle for the year 891/92, which recounts how three Irishmen, having desired for the love of God to set out in a boat, without any oars, in order to journey wherever the tides took them, arrived in England and presented themselves to King Alfred.<sup>73</sup> *Exodus* contains a number of references that could allude to the exilic wandering exemplified by Irish *peregrinatio* (all quoted here in the nominative): *wræc* (‘exile’, 383b), *wræcmon* (‘exile’, 137b), *wrecca* (‘wanderer, wretch’, 533b), *anpæð* (‘lonely path’, 58a), *bealusið* (‘grievous journey’, 5a), *eðelleas* (‘homeless’, 139a, 534b), *eðelriht* (‘right to a homeland’, 211b), *lifweg* (‘life-way’, 104b), and *nydfara* (‘one who journeys under compulsion, fugitive, exile’, 208a). However, this thesis asserts that such references are also capable of being interpreted within the context of the material practice of pilgrimage.

The predominant reading of *Exodus* as a life pilgrimage has had two unfortunate effects: firstly, it glosses over the inherent definitional uncertainty of pilgrimage and the lexical ambiguity of such Old English compounds as *wræcsið* (‘travel in a foreign land;

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<sup>72</sup> S.B. Greenfield, *Hero and Exile: the Art of Old English Poetry*, ed. G.H. Brown (London, 1989), pp. 125–31, 197–228; L.H. Frey ‘Exile and Elegy in Anglo-Saxon Christian Epic Poetry’, *JEGP* 62 (1963), 293–302; C.A. Ireland, ‘Some Analogues of the Old English *Seafarer* from Hiberno-Latin Sources’, repr. in and cited from *The Otherworld Voyage in Early Irish Literature*, ed. J. Wooding (Dublin, 2000), pp. 143–56; G.V. Smithers, ‘The Meaning of the Seafarer and the Wanderer’, *Medium Ævum* 26.3 (1957), 145–51; D. Whitelock, ‘The Interpretation of *The Seafarer*’, in *The Early Cultures of North-West Europe*, ed. C. Fox and B. Dickins (Cambridge, 1950), pp. 261–72. For discussion of the assertion that the Islands of Britain and Ireland imbued Anglo-Saxon writers with a sense of exile, see J. O’Reilly, ‘Islands and Idols at the Ends of the Earth: Exegesis and Conversion in Bede’s *Historia Ecclesiastica*’, in *Bède le Vénérable Entre Tradition et Postérité*, ed. S. Lebecq, M. Perrin and O. Szerwiniack (Lille, 2002), pp. 119–45; W. Rudolf, ‘The Spiritual Islescape of the Anglo-Saxons’, in *The Sea and Englishness in the Middle Ages: Maritime Narratives, Identity and Culture*, ed. S.I. Sobecki (Cambridge, 2011), pp. 31–57.

<sup>73</sup> For MSS A–D of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: D.N. Dumville, and M. Lapidge, ed., *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: a Collaborative Edition*, vols 1–10, 17 (Cambridge, 1985), vols 3, 4, 5, 6, pp. 54; 40; 65, 30; Dumville, *Three Men in a Boat: Scribe, Language, and Culture in the Church of Viking-Age Europe* (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 37–62. Cf. the account of an English Bishop Berhtwine who crossed the channel ‘without the help of oars’ in the seventh or eighth century and went to Rome: B. Colgrave, ‘Pilgrimages to Rome in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries’, in *Studies in Language, Literature, and Culture in the Middle Ages and Later*, ed., E. B. Atwood, A. A. Hill, and R. Willard (Austin, 1969), pp. 156–72, at 159, n. 13, citing W. Levison, *Vita Bertuini*, MGH SRM 7, pp. 177–82, at 180.

exile’) and *elðeodig* (‘foreign, strange, barbarous, one who is abroad’) as well as the use of the Latin word *peregrinatio* in Anglo-Saxon writings;<sup>74</sup> secondly, it has the effect of removing the Anglo-Saxon pilgrim from his or her world of standing crosses, churches, and shrines, and serves to position literary texts in direct conflict with historiographical descriptions and archaeological evidence.<sup>75</sup>

The other fundamental term in the thesis is the material practice of pilgrimage, which is intended to be a more representative term for the historical form of pilgrimage known as journeying to a holy place. The term the ‘material practice of pilgrimage’ seeks to emphasize not only the Cult of the Saints, but also that religiously motivated physical journeying was an expression of faith, religious practice, and membership of the Church in the landscape.<sup>76</sup> The term is intended to reflect a more nuanced and expansive understanding of the complex activity of physical pilgrimage to holy places. A central theme of this thesis is that the Anglo-Saxon notion of *peregrinatio* has been too readily seen as synonymous with the exilic wandering associated with Irish *peregrinatio*, when in fact many examples of this word denote or relate to the historical form of pilgrimage known as journeying to a holy place, here redefined as the ‘material practice pilgrimage’.<sup>77</sup>

However, nothing can disguise the fact that the Cult of the Saints, upon which many of the holy sites were based, lies at the heart of the material practice of pilgrimage and was undoubtedly the pivotal reason for the ubiquity and popularity of pilgrimage throughout the Anglo-Saxon period. The argument that the Cult of the Saints was the preoccupation of the uneducated, while the spiritually elite eschewed such things has been fundamentally

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<sup>74</sup> See below, p. 28.

<sup>75</sup> R. Ray, ‘Historiography’, in *Medieval Latin: an Introduction and Bibliographical Guide*, ed. F.A.C. Mantello and A.G. Rigg (Washington D.C., 1996), pp. 639–49.

<sup>76</sup> S. MacCormack, ‘*Loca Sancta*: the Organization of Sacred Topography in Late Antiquity’, in *The Blessings of Pilgrimage*, ed. R. Ousterhout (Urbana, 1990), pp. 7–40, at 15.

<sup>77</sup> See below, p. 63.

challenged by the ground-breaking work of Brown.<sup>78</sup> It is clear from even the briefest of surveys that the saints were worshipped throughout the Anglo-Saxon period, and that pilgrimage to Rome was a popular activity amongst the highest echelons of Anglo-Saxon society.<sup>79</sup> Saints were important to Christians for their example and leadership in life and because in death they wished to be intercessors for the living.<sup>80</sup>

The most detailed descriptions of early Anglo-Saxon pilgrimage to Rome are the eighth-century accounts in the *Vitae Willibaldi et Wynnebaldi*, and the *Vita Bonifatii*, and they are the primary focus here.<sup>81</sup> These hagiographies are part of a genre that conflates the literary, biographical and historical as part of a religious narrative, and are therefore described as literary-historical sources.<sup>82</sup> Historians have highlighted networks of ‘micro-regions’ of ‘interconnectivity’ across Christianized Europe evidenced by, among other sources, hagiographical accounts of pilgrimage, and catalogues and guidebooks to Rome and the Holy Land.<sup>83</sup> These networks of hospices, guest-houses (*xenodochia*), churches and shrines, evidence a Christianized landscape, but alongside the ecclesiastical places, there is

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<sup>78</sup> Brown, *Cult of the Saints* (Chicago, 2015), pp. 12–22. See also J. Sumption, *The Age of Pilgrimage* (New Jersey, 2003), pp. 21–97; The Cult of the Saints Project researching the cult from its origins until c. 700 throughout Christendom: <<http://cultofsaints.history.ox.ac.uk/>>. Cf. B. Bitton-Ashkelony, *Encountering the Sacred: the Debate on Christian Pilgrimage in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley, 2005), pp. 204–6; P.A. Hayward, ‘Demystifying the Role of Sanctity in Western Christendom’, in *The Cult of the Saints in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages: Essays on the Contribution of Peter Brown*, ed. J. Howard-Johnston and P.A. Hayward (Oxford, 1999), pp. 115–42.

<sup>79</sup> Lapidge, ‘Saintly Life’, p. 255; Rollason, *Saints and Relics in Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 1989), pp. 23–59.

<sup>80</sup> Gregory I’s Homily 32, PL 76:1238C.

<sup>81</sup> Later examples relating to pilgrimage are a short Latin itinerary of Archbishop Sigeric’s journey around the holy sites of Rome in 990, and list of saints ‘resting places’ known as the Old English *Secgan* (c.1030): V. Ortenberg, ‘Archbishop Sigeric’s Journey to Rome in 990’, *ASE* 19 (1990), 197–246; D. Rollason, ‘Lists of Saints’ Resting-Places in Anglo-Saxon England’, *ASE* 7 (1978), 61–93, at 61.

<sup>82</sup> D. Townsend, ‘Hagiography’, in *Medieval Latin: an Introduction and Bibliographical Guide*, ed. F.A.C. Mantello and A.G. Rigg (Washington D.C., 1996), pp. 618–28. Cf. W. Berschin, trans. S. A Schulz, ‘Biography’, in *Medieval Latin: an Introduction and Bibliographical Guide*, ed. F.A.C. Mantello and A.G. Rigg (Washington D.C., 1996), pp. 607–17. See above, p. 1, n. 2.

<sup>83</sup> P. Brown, *The Rise of Western Christendom: Triumph and Diversity, A.D. 200–1000* (Chichester, 2013), pp. 13–17; P. Horden, and N. Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea: a Study of Mediterranean History* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 5, 77–80; Luckhardt, ‘Connecting Saints’, pp. 1–44, 232–328.

also the liturgical context for the activities of worship associated with pilgrimage.<sup>84</sup> A few studies have sought to find a liturgical context for *Exodus* in the rites of Holy Week, but none have been able to establish a direct link between the poem and any specific part of the liturgy.<sup>85</sup> The aim of this thesis is to examine *Exodus* in light of the material practice of pilgrimage, and by exploiting the affinities between the pilgrimage, procession and the quasi-liturgical Rogations, to reveal how its depiction of the Israelites' journey can be read as a Christian processional pilgrimage akin to Rogation, and thus as an example of the material practice of pilgrimage.<sup>86</sup> The following chapters examine each Section of *Exodus* (A–F) in order to demonstrate the poem's narrative of a processional pilgrimage by stages to a religious destination.

Chapter Two ('Reconsidering Eighth-Century Anglo-Saxon Pilgrimage') examines, with recourse to other eighth-century writers such as Aldhelm and Bede, the aspects, themes and motivations contained within the earliest literary-historical accounts of Anglo-Saxon pilgrimage to Rome, as depicted in three related hagiographies: the *Vitae Willibaldi et Wynnebaldi* and the *Vita Bonifatii*. The examination reveals that these depictions of communal pilgrimage, with their references to *peregrinatio* and *peregrinus*, defy the usual rigid distinctions between journeying to a holy place and the exilic journeying of *peregrinatio*, and can, in fact, be interpreted as unified examples of the material practice of pilgrimage. Notably, metaphorical imagery of the difficulties of religious ascent (*ascensio tortuosa*) and martial endeavour in these texts are found to be compatible with descriptions of arduous physical journeying involving the navigating of boundaries and borders along the

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<sup>84</sup> Cf. J.F. Baldovin, *Urban Character of Christian Worship: the Origins, Development, and Meaning of Stational Liturgy* (Rome, 1987), p. 253.

<sup>85</sup> Bright, 'Relation', pp. 97–103; McLoughlin, 'Old English *Exodus*', pp. 658–67; P. Portnoy, *The Remnant: Essays on a Theme in Old English Verse* (London, 2005), pp. 184–96; Remley, *Biblical Verse*, pp. 168–230.

<sup>86</sup> R. Tekippe, 'Pilgrimage and Procession: Correlations of Meaning, Practice and Effects', in *Art and Architecture of Late Medieval Pilgrimage in Northern Europe and the British Isles*, ed. S. Blick, and R. Tekippe (Leiden 2004), pp. 693–751.

way. The motivations for such communal pilgrimage and the power of the leader to exhort pilgrims to follow him on such a journey are then explored through a case-study of a number of letters from the eighth-century ‘Bonifatian correspondence’ that make prominent reference to pilgrimage.<sup>87</sup> It is then concluded that the aspects, themes and motivations identified as being characteristic of the material practice of pilgrimage in this chapter can be profitably used to aid the analysis of the role of pilgrimage in *Exodus*.

Chapter Three (‘*Exodus* 54–71a: a Depiction of Anglo-Saxon Pilgrimage?’) analyses the images of journeying by stages depicted in Section B. After highlighting the many readings of *Exodus* 54–71a as a depiction of a symbolic landscape employing the *ascensio tortuosa* commonplace, the passage is re-appraised to reveal an emphasis upon a leader and teacher (*magoræswa*) and his host (*mægburh*) journeying through the landscape juxtaposed with martial imagery and references to hostile peoples who connote darkness and, possibly, evil. The chapter explores the connections between *Exodus* 54–71a and *Beowulf* 1408–17a which uniquely share the line *enge anpaðas, uncuð gelad* (*Exodus* 58; *Beowulf* 1410). Attention turns to the prevalence of structural imagery in Section B to reveal a motif of a Christian community journeying along borders and boundaries (characterized by the *mearc* in its simplex and compound forms) from one holy place and stronghold (*fæsten*) to the next that is fundamentally compatible with the previously discussed eighth-century depictions of Anglo-Saxon pilgrimage.

Chapter Four (‘*Exodus* and the Paradigm of a Processional Pilgrimage akin to a Rogation’) addresses the fact that some of the imagery in *Exodus*’ narrative of journeying as outlined in Table 1 cannot be fully explained using the accounts of pilgrimage presented thus far. To aid the reading of the poem as a whole over the remaining substantive chapters (Five–

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<sup>87</sup> The umbrella-term ‘Bonifatian correspondence’ is usually applied to Tangl’s edition of 150 texts that date from between late seventh and eighth centuries: M. Tangl, ed., *Die Briefe des Heiligen Bonifatius und Lullus*, MGH ES 1 (Berlin, 1955), pp. 1–289.

Nine), the quasi-liturgical practice of the Rogations and Rogationtide, with its close parallels to procession and pilgrimage, is introduced.<sup>88</sup> To address the images of song and communal journeying Chapter Four examines the example of Bede's eighth-century account of Saint Augustine's processional pilgrimage into the *mansio* of Canterbury in the sixth century, carrying a cross and singing a Rogationtide litany. This example is then contextualized by reference to two other Anglo-Saxon attestations of the Rogation litany, namely an eighth-century florilegium, *De laude Dei*, compiled by Alcuin (c. 735–19 May 804), and the undated *Hymnus S. Mugentii (HSM)*, which nonetheless appears to be linked to Alcuin's florilegium and the Anglo-Saxon see of Whithorn. Further eighth-century examples of processions and litanies are then examined to reveal an Anglo-Saxon interest in undertaking a processional pilgrimage akin to a Rogation as a means of addressing the consequences of communal sinfulness. Finally, attention turns to whether the descriptions of the Rogations in the tenth-century anonymous Rogationtide homilies, particularly those of the Vercelli Book, may have their roots in this earlier eighth-century practice.

Chapter Five ('The Motivation for Pilgrimage'), aided by this new paradigm of a processional pilgrimage akin to a Rogation and the *Vercelli Homilies 11–13* in particular, examines *Exodus* 1–53 (Section A) for the potential motivations of the Israelites' communal pilgrimage. The complex interplay between the notions of suffering, place, journeying, and the Pasch is analysed to reveal a highly sophisticated narrative of Moses, as the figure of a holy man of the Church, leading a processional pilgrimage of the Israelites, who are motivated to journey because of the fear of God (*timor Dei*). Chapter Six ('Processional Pilgrimage and Following the Signs') focuses upon Section C (71b–125) and the numerous and complex signs that dominate and define the Israelites' journey to the Red Sea, and how

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<sup>88</sup> Cf. J.M. Fitzgerald, 'Measuring Hell by Hand: Rogation Rituals in *Christ and Satan*', *RES* 68.283 (2016), 1–22; J.M. Fitzgerald, *Rebel Angels: Space and Sovereignty in Anglo-Saxon England* (Manchester, 2019), pp. 197–230.

these signs, which create the sense of movement, order, confinement and liberation of a procession, could, building upon Carruthers' work on mental images, be interpreted as the various manifestations of the *rodetacen* ('the sign, symbol, or emblem of the Cross') of *Vercelli Homilies 12* and *19*, each perhaps reflecting and evoking the different aspects and emotions of that procession, including the notion of *timor Dei*.

Chapter Seven ('*Forðweg* and the Ritualistic Journey Forth') examines Section D (126–53, 200–23, 247–75) and the ritualistic language of journeying and procession as exemplified by the use of the compound *forðweg* ('onward course, journey, departure'), which may be a calque of both the Greek word *exodus* (ἐξόδος: a 'going out, marching out, procession', < ἐξ 'out' + ὁδός 'way'),<sup>89</sup> and the Latin word *processio* ('a going forwards, advance, course, progression'). With particular reference to *The Dream of the Rood* and its eighth-century epigraphical reflex on the Ruthwell Cross, the chapter considers whether the term *forðweg* evidences a form of communal worship before the Sign of the Cross that may be similar to the Israelites' religious activity at the fourth encampment. Chapter Eight ('Processional Pilgrimage and Journey's End') focuses upon the further ritualistic activity in Section E (276–446, 154–99, 224–46), which includes potential sacramental imagery in the form of the *flumina de ventre Christi* ('flows from the side of Christ') theme and the final notable reference to the compound *forðweg* during the *transitus*. The chapter examines how the imagery of the parting of the Red Sea, the poem's nautical references, and the depictions of a martial procession with banners during the *transitus* all have parallels with the Rogation homilies, the poetry of Avitus, the *Vercelli Homilies 11–13* and *19–21*, and the eighth-century accounts of a processional pilgrimage akin to Rogation.

Chapter Nine ('The Triumph of the Message and Seeking the Holy Saints') examines Section F (447–590), which describes the Israelites' activities on the far shore of the Red Sea,

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<sup>89</sup> Remley, *Biblical Verse*, p. 176.

and whether the motif of the death of the messenger,<sup>90</sup> the images of treasure, and the *laf* ('what is left, remnant, remains, relic'), depicted at the end of *Exodus* and innovatively analysed by Portnoy, can be interpreted with the aid of the poetry of Avitus and in light of the *Vercelli Homilies 11–13* and *19–21* in order to suggest a potential destination for this processional pilgrimage.<sup>91</sup> Chapter Ten ('Conclusion') then provides the summary of the findings of the thesis, and the implications for further research.

The aim of this thesis is to examine whether *Exodus* can be read in a new way that reconciles the historiographical accounts of eighth-century Anglo-Saxon pilgrimage with the depictions of journeying in the poem. This task begins with understanding Anglo-Saxon conceptions of pilgrimage from the contemporaneous accounts of eighth-century Anglo-Latin hagiography.

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<sup>90</sup> Marsden, 'Death', pp. 141–64.

<sup>91</sup> Portnoy, *Remnant*, pp. 125–83.

## Chapter Two – Reconsidering Eighth-Century Anglo-Saxon Pilgrimage

The central assertion of this thesis is that the descriptions in *Exodus* of a communal journey led by a holy man can be interpreted as an example of eighth-century Anglo-Saxon pilgrimage. It is important to be clear on what are the characteristics of the material practice of pilgrimage and to ascertain whether such a paradigm accurately reflects the historical reality of eighth-century religious practice.

Therefore, the chapter examines the earliest and most detailed literary-historical accounts of pilgrimage, namely, the eighth-century twinned lives of the brothers Willibald and Wynnebald (*Vitae Willibaldi et Wynnebaldi*) written sometime after 787 by an Anglo-Saxon nun called Hugeburc at the monastery of Heidenheim in Alemannia, Germany, together with their potential source, the *Vita Bonifatii*, written by Willibald of Mainz (after 769).<sup>1</sup> Notably, these three *vitae* can be treated as a ‘united group’, because they are very similar accounts and they are placed together in the earliest extant witness.<sup>2</sup> The chapter focuses upon how all three *vitae* appear to juxtapose two types of pilgrimage, namely journeying to a holy place and exilic journeying designed to induce a state of alienation, known as *peregrinatio*.<sup>3</sup> After examining the evidence, the chapter concludes that these accounts of Anglo-Saxon pilgrimage (with their references to *peregrinatio* and *peregrinus*) defy such rigid classification, and can, in fact be interpreted as examples of the material practice of pilgrimage. The chapter closes with a brief examination of the motivations for

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<sup>1</sup> Hugeburc revealed her authorship and kinship to Willibald and Wynnebald through a cryptogram (deciphered by Bishoff) found in the earliest manuscript: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 1086. See J.T. Palmer, *Anglo-Saxons in a Frankish World* (Turnhout, 2009), pp. 29–30, 269; *Vita Willibaldi*, pp. 80–6. See also I.N. Wood, *The Missionary Life: Saints and the Evangelisation of Europe 400–1050* (Harlow, 2001) pp. 1–160, 247–65.

<sup>2</sup> In the earliest manuscript (Clm 1086), Hugeburc’s works (arranged in the order *Prologue*, *Vita Willibaldi*, *Vita Wynnebaldi*) are followed by the *Vita Bonifatii*. See Palmer, *Anglo-Saxons*, pp. 30, 253–5.

<sup>3</sup> For discussion of the term *peregrinatio*, see above, p. 18.

such communal pilgrimage and the power of the leader to exhort pilgrims to follow him on such a journey. The resulting conclusion is that the aspects, themes and motivations identified as being characteristics of the material practice of pilgrimage in this chapter may profitably aid the analysis of the role of pilgrimage in *Exodus*.

In the *Vita Wynnebaldi*, the eponymous Anglo-Saxon monk is described as returning to England after residing in Rome for seven years in order to exhort his kith and kin to form a holy army of divine servitude: *ad sacro divini servitutis militio* (*Vita Wynnebaldi* 3.108/32). This quotation highlights the idiosyncratic nature of Hugeburc's convoluted Latin, since an accusative preposition governs words in the ablative (*sacro ... militio*), while the masculine/neuter genitive adjective *divini* does not agree with the feminine noun *servitutis*. These grammatical problems and stylistic issues occur throughout Hugeburc's work, but given their ubiquity, further comment is only made where such idiosyncrasies have a direct bearing on the interpretation.<sup>4</sup> After the call to form a holy army, Hugeburc describes (with the passage's alliteration highlighted in bold) how Wynnebald started to evangelize to his kinsmen and women (*Vita Wynnebaldi* 3.108/36–42):<sup>5</sup>

ut in recta itineris tramite **ambulando**, de solido **veritatis via pedem** retrahendo non deviant, sed de **labentis mundi huius liminis ad angustam paradisi portam per arctam et asperam agonithetum**<sup>6</sup> **viam** ire scandereque temptarent. Et sic ammonendo atque instigando propinquorum atque cognatum **vicos et domos perviabit** eorumque

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<sup>4</sup> P. Dronke, *Women Writers of the Middle Ages: A Critical Study of Texts from Perpetua (†203) to Marguerite (†1310)* (Cambridge, 1984), p. 33. Hugeburc's convoluted Latin is believed to be influenced by Aldhelm: T.F.X Noble, and Thomas Head, trans., *Soldiers of Christ: Saints and Saints' lives from Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (London, 1995), p. 142; Palmer, *Anglo-Saxons*, pp. 252–3. For discussion of the ornate style of post-Classical Latin variously called Mannerist, Hisperic and Hermeneutic Latin, see E.R. Curtius, trans. W. R. Trask, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, Bollingen Series 36 (New York, 1953), pp. 273–301.

<sup>5</sup> All numerical citations of Anglo-Latin and OE prose will be in the form of the number of the chapter, book or letter (with any further subdivision in parentheses) followed by the page and line numbers of the respective print edition (e.g. 3.108/36–42).

<sup>6</sup> The noun *agonithetum*, understood here as genitive plural, is probably derived from *agonotheta* ('overseer of contest; champion, martyr'). Cf. the phrase *egregius ille almi Dei agonithetus* ('that outstanding overseer of the contest for the blessed God', *Vita Wynnebaldi* 7.111/23).

**m**entes **m**ultorum de secularis negotiationum curis ad divinae institutionis forma regendo provexit. Et tunc iterum, licentia postulata, **cum consilio amicorum et cum iuniorum subsidiis, fratre suo comite, sacras iterum sancti Petri perquirere properabat presidia.**

[‘So that they should attempt, by walking on journey’s correct track, by retracing their steps and by not deviating from the firm path of truth, to go and ascend, from the sinking threshold of this world, through the narrow and rough path of the martyrs toward the narrow gate of paradise. And in this manner of urging and inciting, he used to visit the settlements and dwellings of neighbouring kinsmen, and by his direction, advanced the minds of many of those kinsmen from the business of the temporal world to the example of divine teaching. And once again, after having sought permission, and with the counsel of his friends and the aid of his subordinates, he was hurrying to seek diligently the holy aid of Saint Peter with his fellow traveller.’]<sup>7</sup>

The above passage, which concludes chapter 3 of the *Vita Wynnebaldi*, describes how Wynnebald’s preaching in various settlements of Anglo-Saxon England prompts his second journey to Rome. In the following lines (which open chapter 4), Hugeburc describes how Wynnebald, as a chosen athlete of Christ, came to Rome and the church of Saint Peter for the second time (‘post haec itaque cumque electus ille Christi athletus secundo vice ad Romam sancti Petrique basilicam veniebat’, *Vita Wynnebaldi* 4.108/43–4). The allusion to athleticism derives from the New Testament reference (1 Corinthians 9:24–5) to athletes running in a contest as metaphor for all Christians who seek an incorruptible ‘prize’ (Medieval Latin

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<sup>7</sup> The idiosyncratic phrase *fratre suo comite* (‘with his fellow traveller’) has been read by Wood as referring to Wynnebald’s sibling, Willibald, but there is no evidence from Willibald’s life that he returned to England: *Vita Willibaldi* 4.102/16–18. Cf. Wood, *Missionary Life*, p. 64.

*bravium* < Gk. βραβεῖον), and was first applied to the activities of the martyrs (*agonithetae*) during the persecution of the Church.<sup>8</sup>

There is no mention of whether Wynnebald led any of those he evangelized to with him to Rome, only that once there, Wynnebald tried every day to progress greatly with his training in the spiritual life and in his understanding of the secular life ('cottidie ad meliora spiritualis vitae disciplina et secularis vitae sapientia proficiebat', *Vita Wynnebaldi* 3.108/46). It is possible that those to whom he evangelized undertook only an allegorical journey (life pilgrimage) toward God and salvation, rather than physically journeying to Rome with Wynnebald in search of further spiritual progress, which would demonstrate how these two forms of pilgrimage presented alternative, but complementary, routes to spiritual development depending upon an individual's personal circumstances. Hugeburc's misguided attempt at ornate Latin has been held to conflict with the claim in her *Prologue* that she is providing a first-hand account from the dictation of Willibald's own mouth (*de ori sui dictatione*, *Prologue* 87/22), and in the presence of two deacon witnesses.<sup>9</sup> The result, though, is a striking mix of mimetic description of journeying and religious metaphor, which could describe two entirely different types of pilgrimage, or represent a more expansive form of journeying to a holy place than has hitherto been acknowledged.

The above passage reveals Hugeburc's fondness for using alliteration (highlighted here in bold) to develop key themes. The alliteration creates a contrast between *labentis ... liminis* (sinking ... threshold) and *paradisi portam* (gate of Paradise), while the intervening phrase *ad angustam* (literally 'toward the narrow place') stresses the need to move toward

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<sup>8</sup> Cf. the phrases *Christi anthletus* (*Vita Wynnebaldi* 4.108/43, 13.117/36, 13.117/37); *Almus Altissimi anthletus* (*Vita Wynnebaldi* 13.116/28); *egregius ille almi Dei agonithetus* (*Vita Wynnebaldi* 7.111/23). Wynnebald is described as wearing the armour of God (*Vita Wynnebaldi* 7.112/13–15), which is discussed below at p. 208. The crown (*corona*) and palm (*palma*) became standard Christian symbols for heavenly glory won by martyrdom: M. Roberts, *Poetry and the Cult of the Martyrs: the Liber Peristephanon of Prudentius* (Michigan, 1993), p. 42. Cf. the phrase *ille inclitus Christi anthletus* (*Vita Willibaldi* 5.104/16).

<sup>9</sup> Only a passing mention is made to Wynnebald in the joint prologue (*Prologue* 87/35–88/1), see Palmer, *Anglo-Saxons*, p. 252.

this difficulty. The immediately following clause *per arctam et asperam agonithetum via* ('through the narrow and rough path of the martyrs') concludes Wynnebald's exhortation to his kin to undertake the narrow path to salvation, while the word *via* recalls the earlier reference to the way of truth (*veritatis via*). Collectively, these phrases allude to the Gospel of Matthew 7:13–14:

Intrate per angustam portam quia lata porta et spatiosa via quae ducit ad perditionem  
et multi sunt qui intrant per eam  
quam angusta porta et arcta via quae ducit ad vitam et pauci sunt qui inveniunt eam.

[ 'Enter ye in at the narrow gate: for wide is the gate, and broad is the way that leadeth to destruction, and many there are who go in thereat.

How narrow is the gate, and strait is the way that leadeth to life: and few there are that find it!']

This scriptural reference was the source of numerous commonplaces such as the *ascensio tortuosa* ('winding ascent') or *ignota via* ('unknown way') discussed in the following chapter,<sup>10</sup> but the key point here is that these commonplaces represented a Christian's allegorical journey toward God, and were thus a form of life pilgrimage. Yet in the passage from the *Vita Wynnebaldi*, while the alliterating *a-* words (*arctam et asperam agonithetum*) link the narrow and rough path of the martyrs with the gate of paradise (*paradisi portam*), the *p-* words in turn associate the same gate with the act of seeking the aid of Saint Peter (*Petri perquirere properabat presidia*). In *Vita Willibaldi*, Hugeburc refers to the party of pilgrims petitioning Peter, as the keeper-of-keys to Heaven's gate: 'sacra caelestis clavicularii postulaverunt presidia illiusque se commendabant pio precuum patrocinio' ('they asked the holy aid of Heaven's keeper-of-keys and commended themselves to the pious protection of

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<sup>10</sup> See below, p. 67.

his prayers', *Vita Willibaldi* 5.103/5–6).<sup>11</sup> Crucially, both this quotation and the above passage emphasize the act of petitioning Saint Peter in person, in Rome. In sum, Hugeburc appears to be connecting the allegorical imagery of a Christian's journey toward God with the actual journey to Rome as a holy place.

Furthermore, the *Vita Willibaldi* makes five references to *peregrinatio*, all of which occur in or near the description of the journey to Rome.<sup>12</sup> So, whilst Willibald exhorts his father to forsake his country (*propriamque deserere patriam*, *Vita Willibaldi* 3.90/11), he does so in the context of wishing to go to the outstanding shrines of Saint Peter, Prince of the Apostles ('*egregias adiret Petri apostolorum principis presagia*', *Vita Willibaldi* 3.90/13–14).<sup>13</sup> The journey of Willibald, Wynnebald, and their father, together with an unknown number of companions, begins at *Hamel-ea-mutha* ('Hamble-river-mouth') on the Hampshire coast, and involves a dangerous Channel crossing, followed by the continental overland journey through Rouen, *Gorthonicum*,<sup>14</sup> Lucca (where Willibald's father dies and is buried in the church of Frigidian) and over the Alps, before reaching Rome.<sup>15</sup> Upon arrival, Willibald's party give thanks for their safe journey, given the great perils of the sea and *variisque peregrinationis externarum ignominiis* (*Vita Willibaldi* 3.91/29–3.92/01), which could be translated as the 'various difficulties of foreign *peregrinatio*' or 'with the various difficulties of the *peregrinatio* of foreigners'.<sup>16</sup> Since the stated intention was to go to Rome, the

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<sup>11</sup> In subsequent chapters, the theme of Saint Peter as the gate-keeper to Heaven, and the role of the saints, generally, is directly applied to the *lifes wealhstod* (523b) and *gastes caegon* (525b) of *Exodus*, see below, pp. 118, 268.

<sup>12</sup> Found at *Vita Willibaldi* 3.91/1–3.92/2.

<sup>13</sup> *Presagia* ('presentments, forebodings') is surely an error, but the 'shrines of Saint Peter' is the gist of the phrase.

<sup>14</sup> The *Gorthonicum* might denote Cortona (in modern day Tuscany), or Cortina (north-eastern Italy); *Vita Willibaldi*, p. 92, n. 7; Noble and Head, *Soldiers of Christ*, p. 149, n. 6.

<sup>15</sup> If *Luca* and *in urbe Luca ad Sanctum Pricianum* relate to Lucca (central Italy) and the church of Saint Frigidian, then the direct route from there to Rome would not have involved any trans-alpine routes. Holder-Egger believes the reference to the Alps is a scribal error, while Talbot emends to Apennines. See Noble and Head, *Soldiers of Christ*, p. 149; *Vita Willibaldi*, p. 91, n. 10.

<sup>16</sup> The adjective *externarum* is not in grammatical agreement with its noun, *peregrinationis*, which is declined as a genitive singular. *Ignominiis* is a seemingly corrupt word, and while Talbot's translation

aforementioned quotation appears to indicate that the reference to the difficulties of *peregrinatio* relates to the act of journeying to Rome, instead of any form of exilic wandering. Yet the historical form of Anglo-Saxon pilgrimage based ultimately upon the Irish tradition of exile from one's homeland (*peregrinatio pro amore Dei*) is treated as being very different from pilgrimage to a holy place.<sup>17</sup> The *Vita Willibaldi* is a quite different work from its missionary-orientated twin, the *Vita Wynnebaldi*,<sup>18</sup> but understanding the meaning of *peregrinatio* in Hugeburc's works is vital to making sense of Anglo-Saxon notions of pilgrimage. Therefore, close attention needs to be paid to the *Vita Willibaldi* and how the hagiography has been interpreted.

Willibald became bishop of Eichstätt (or, possibly, Erfurt) and died in 787. His life is most noteworthy for its diverse descriptions of Anglo-Saxon religious practice, such as (in sequence): the petitioning of a standing cross and an act of child oblation; a pilgrimage to Rome; a detailed description of journeying to and around the Holy Land; and wayfaring, via a stay in the monastery at Cassino, to Rome, followed by missionary work in the Germanic lands.<sup>19</sup> Hugeburc's own life in Germany has been the focus of some scholarly attention, but the descriptions of journeying in the Holy Land have fundamentally shaped the reception of the work.<sup>20</sup> The *Vita Willibaldi*, also known as *The Hodoeporicon* (from the Greek *ὁδοιπορικός* – 'of or for a traveller, a guidebook'), is often viewed as a form of 'travelogue

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of 'difficulties' suits the overall sense of problems associated with journeying through unfamiliar regions, such a meaning is unattested: Noble and Head, *Soldiers of Christ*, p. 148.

<sup>17</sup> See above, p. 18.

<sup>18</sup> It should be noted that missionary endeavour has often been associated with a monk living the 'mixed life', which sought to balance the contemplative and active lives. See M.E. Mason, *Active Life and Contemplative Life: a Study of the Concepts from Plato to the Present* (Milwaukee, 1961), pp. 46–77; and below, p. 123.

<sup>19</sup> *Vita Willibaldi* 1.88, 2.89, 3.90–2, 4.92–102, 5.102–5, 6.105–6, respectively. See also M. De Jong, *In Samuel's Image: Child Oblation in the Early Medieval West*, Brill Studies in Intellectual History 12 (Leiden, 1996), pp. 47–55.

<sup>20</sup> Dronke, *Women Writers*, pp. 33–5; P. Head, 'Who is the Nun from Heidenheim? A Study of Hugeburc's *Vita Willibaldi*', *Medium Ævum* 71.1 (2002), 29–46, at 33–4, 37; O. Limor, 'Pilgrims and Authors: Adomnán's *De locis sanctis* and Hugeburc's *Hodoeporicon Sancti Willibaldi*', *Revue Bénédictine* 114 (2004), 253–75.

rather than hagiography', akin to the *Itinerarium* of Egeria or Adomnán's *De locis sanctis*, and is thus thought to be focused upon the exegesis of holy places in order to reveal divine truth in scriptural mysteries (*aenigmata*), explain variation in biblical accounts, or to provide a link to the liturgy.<sup>21</sup> Readings of the *vita* suggest that Willibald's exilic wandering is a form of *peregrinatio pro amore Dei*, and that the hagiography was intended as a meditative spiritual aid for both Hugeburc and her readers.

The fact that these two forms of pilgrimage evidently overlap has provoked discussion.<sup>22</sup> Head argues that the juxtaposition represents a conflict in eighth- and ninth-century Anglo-Saxon missionary work and pilgrimage between the ideal of Christian detachment, associated with exilic wandering and epitomized by Christ's injunction to renounce one's family and follow him (Luke 14:26) and the kinship bonds of Germanic culture.<sup>23</sup> Luckhardt asserts that Willibald simply changed his mind and undertook religious travel with kin rather than *peregrinatio*;<sup>24</sup> by contrast, Lawson argues that the use of *peregrinatio* in the *Vita Willibaldi* is 'broadly in keeping with the sense of *peregrinatio* as spiritual alienation found in physical alienation' and thus represents the 'saint's desire to travel within the framework of *peregrinatio* as a detachment from earthly possessions'.<sup>25</sup> However, Palmer takes a different tack, arguing that almost all of chapter 4, which describes Willibald's journey to the Holy Land, is written in a simpler Latin style than the rest of the life, and, consequently, represents an earlier *Itinerarium* incorporated into the *vita* by

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<sup>21</sup> Bartlett, *Why ...?*, p. 517; *GEL*, p. 1198; Luckhardt, 'Connecting Saints', p. 249. For Adomnán's *De locis sanctis*, and Bede's version; W.T. Foley, and A.G. Holder, trans. *Bede: a Biblical Miscellany*, TTH 28 (Liverpool, 1999), pp. 1–26; T. O'Loughlin, *Adomnán and the Holy Places: the Perceptions of an Insular Monk on the Locations of the Biblical Drama* (London, 2007), esp. 16–64.

<sup>22</sup> D. Webb, *Pilgrimage in Medieval England* (London, 2000), p. 6.

<sup>23</sup> Lk. 14:6: 'If any man come to me, and hate not his father, and mother, and wife, and children, and brethren, and sisters, yea and his own life also, he cannot be my disciple'. See Head, 'Who is the Nun ...?', p. 35.

<sup>24</sup> Luckhardt, 'Connecting Saints', pp. 34–44, 232–65, at 250–1.

<sup>25</sup> H.M. Lawson, 'Navigating Northumbria: Mobility, Allegory, and Writing Travel in Early Medieval Northumbria' (unpubl. PhD dissertation, University of Edinburgh, 2016), pp. 9–54, 115–59, 161–253, at 153 and 154.

Hugeburc in order to bind the wider Christian world to the communities of Heidenheim and Eichstätt.<sup>26</sup> Palmer argues that Hugeburc placed spiritual importance upon specific holy places contrary to the assertions of Jerome that ‘earthly places of worship are in many ways unimportant compared to accepting and practising genuine faith’,<sup>27</sup> and describes this distinction as being related to the difference between pilgrimage and *peregrinatio*.<sup>28</sup> Hugeburc appears then to have been focused upon pilgrimage to holy places, but in discussing the aforementioned juxtaposition Palmer asserts that ‘ultimately, in Hugeburc’s work, there is little clear or consistent account of precisely what *peregrinatio* meant beyond wandering around with some (if not just any) religious purpose’; acknowledging the variations in meaning of *peregrinatio*, Palmer concludes that the term has ‘as much to do with a literary construction of piety as it is to do with personal motivations’, and, particularly in later hagiography, can be merely a rhetorical trope.<sup>29</sup> However, another possible interpretation is that the Anglo-Saxon notion of *peregrinatio*, in some circumstances at least, might encompass pilgrimage to holy places.

Clearly, these last stages of the journeying over the Alps to Rome (hereafter the ‘Journeying Passage’) are an important clue to understanding Hugeburc’s conception of *peregrinatio* and are quoted here in full, with alliteration again highlighted in bold (*Vita Willibaldi* 3.91/22–3.92/02):

Confestimque illi **p**ergentes usque dum **p**er vastam Italie telluram **p**erniciter, **p**er concava vallium, **p**er abrupta montium, **p**er plana campestrium **a**d ardua Alpium arces **p**edestrim scandendo gressum dirigebant in **a**ltum. Cumque, lustratis Alpium cacuminis glacialique **n**ivium **n**ebulosa turbidine, **a**lmi Dei **a**dminiculo sanctorumque sustentaculo **c**um **c**unctis **c**ontribulum **c**lientello omnique collegum **c**etu **t**uti **t**oti

<sup>26</sup> Palmer, *Anglo-Saxons*, pp. 249–80.

<sup>27</sup> Palmer translates the reference to *peregrinatio* relating to the desire to journey in the Holy Land (*Vita Willibaldi* 4.92/22) as ‘pilgrimage’: Palmer, *Anglo-Saxons*, p. 253, n. 12.

<sup>28</sup> Palmer, *Anglo-Saxons*, pp. 268–9, at 268.

<sup>29</sup> Palmer, *Anglo-Saxons*, pp. 66–72, 75–6, at 71 and 75.

tumida militum evaserunt versutias, inlustraque extimplo adierunt limina egregiasque Petri apostolorum principis petiverunt presidia, immensasque ibidem omnipotenti Deo ac gratas referebant gratias, quod, magnis transmeatis mari discriminis variisque peregrinationis externarum ignominiis, per omnia prosperi, scolasticam scandere meruerunt scalam et preclaram petivere sancti Petri basilicam.

[‘Immediately and perseveringly they proceed all the while through the deserted land of Italy, through the sunken valleys, through the steep places of the mountains, through the open places of the plains towards the steep summits of the Alps, on foot and by climbing they were directing their course into the heights. When they had traversed the summits of the Alps, with their frozen snows in the whirling cloud, by the aid of the blessed God and the support of the saints, with the whole humble cohort of kinsmen and with all of their associates and with all the company safe, they evaded the arrogant cunning of soldiers, and forthwith they approached the illustrious and outstanding thresholds, and sought the aid of Saint Peter, Prince of Apostles. In the same place they were giving grateful thanks to the boundless and omnipotent God, because, having passed over the sea with its great perils and various difficulties of foreign *peregrinatio* (or ‘with the various difficulties of the *peregrinatio* of foreigners’), and being favoured throughout everything, they were worthy to ascend the Scala Sancta and seek the magnificent basilica of Saint Peter.’]

The journey to Rome was clearly a communal one. The plural participles and verbs emphasize the group of travellers: *pergentes*, *dirigebant*, *evaserunt*, *adierunt*, *petiverunt*, *referebant*, and *meruerunt*. They journey as one entity, seemingly with one goal in mind, but the reference to a ‘whole humble cohort of kinsmen and with all of their associates’ suggests a substantial, but organized group. The preceding description of Willibald exhorting his

father to join him on his *peregrinatio* (*Vita Willibaldi* 3.90/11–12) was linked with membership of an army of God: ‘illum ... ad caelestis militiae tirocinio divinum inchoare servitium, **p**ropriamque deserere **p**atriam et **p**atulas secum **p**eregrinationis **p**erquirere **r**uras **r**ogabat’ (‘he was asking him to begin a life of divine service by enlisting in the heavenly army, and forsake his own country and explore the lands of *peregrinatio* with him’, *Vita Willibaldi* 3.90/7–11). Willibald is notably a warlike soldier of Christ (*ille belliger Christi miles*, *Vita Willibaldi* 3.90/16), who cajoles his father to accompany him.<sup>30</sup> The references to the soldier of Christ (*miles Christi*) and the army of Christ (*militia Christi*), both had biblical antecedents and were ubiquitous in Latin Christian poetry and hagiography. Such martial imagery is discussed in relation to *Exodus* in a subsequent chapter, but the key point is that martial imagery is employed during the description of Willibald’s journey to Rome.<sup>31</sup>

As with the previous discussion of the life of Willibald’s brother Wynnebald (*Vita Wynnebaldi* 3.108/36–42), Hugeburc uses *p*- alliteration to highlight the goal of seeking the aid of Saint Peter in Rome: *Petri apostolorum principis petiverunt presidia* and *preclaram petivere sancti Petri basilicam*. The alliterating *p*- words also emphasize the link between the various difficulties of foreign journeying (*peregrinatio*) and being favoured throughout everything: ‘**p**eregrinationis externarum ignominiis, **p**er omnia **p**rospere’. Furthermore, in the opening lines *p*- words stress the progression on foot through the landscape: ‘**p**ergentes ... **p**er **v**astam **I**talie **t**elluram **p**erniciter, **p**er **c**oncava **v**allium, **p**er **a**brupta **m**ontium, **p**er **p**lana **c**ampestrium ... **p**edestrim’. The phrase *vastam Italiae telluram* is potentially ambiguous, since *vastus* means both ‘deserted, uninhabited, desolate’ and ‘awe-inspiring in size, extent, or scale’, and might therefore suggest a generalized out-of-the-way-place. Nevertheless, the sense of a staged journey is increased by the use of a series of prepositional clauses,

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<sup>30</sup> Cf. *ille inclitus Christi athletus* (*Vita Willibaldi* 5.104/16). For other martial references, see Prologue 86/23–4; *Vita Willibaldi* 1.88/9, 1.88/39–40, 1.88/42, 2.89/40–1, 6.106/15.

<sup>31</sup> See below p. 208.

beginning with a more complex example of hyperbaton, and based thereafter upon the basic formula of a *per* + accusative + genitive construction: *per vastam Italie telluram perneciter, per concava vallium, per abrupta montium, per plana campestrium ad ardua Alpium*.<sup>32</sup>

The passage contains a series of mimetic descriptions that may also have metaphorical connotations. The references to ascending and traversing steep summits of the Alps on foot ('*ad ardua Alpium arces pedestrim scandendo*') and, seemingly, climbing the Scala Sancta or 'holy steps' that served as the entrance to a chapel near the Lateran Basilica (*scolasticam scandere meruerunt scalam*) could refer to Cassian's ideas of spiritual ascent to achieve monastic perfection in the *scala virtutum*, and so allude to the commonplace of the *ascensio tortuosa* ('winding ascent').<sup>33</sup> The phrase *magnis transmeatis mari discriminis* ('having passed over the sea with its great perils') in the above passage recalls when Willibald decided to plough the most vast waters of the sea ('*inmanissimas maris discriminare decreverat aequoras*', *Vita Willibaldi* 3.90/4) and how he had a stormy crossing of the Channel to France (*Vita Willibaldi* 3.91/8–10). Such imagery might appear to evoke the accounts of aimless voyaging by Irish monks undertaking *peregrinatio pro amore Dei*, but it is not consistent with concomitant references to careful planning. Willibald, Wynnebald and their father only begin their journey to their appointed place of embarkation, *Hamel-*ea*-mutha*, in the summer, having readied and prepared themselves with provisions and money, and in the company of a cohort of associates ('*congrua estatis tempore prumpti ac parati, sumpturis secum vitaeque stipendiis, cum collegum cetu comitantes ad loca venerunt destinata*', *Vita Willibaldi* 3.91/3–4). There are images of evading hostile forces (*tumida militum evaserunt versutias*) in the Journeying Passage, which doubtless depict actual instances of danger, but are nevertheless

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<sup>32</sup> For discussion of the brothers' staged-journey, see Luckhardt, 'Connecting Saints', pp. 249–53; 305–6. Cf. other examples of alliterating *p*- words in chapter 3: *Vita Willibaldi* 3.91/11–14, 3.91/8–9, 3.91/19–21.

<sup>33</sup> Noble and Head, *Soldiers of Christ*, p. 149, n. 7; *ODCC*, p. 1470; *Vita Willibaldi*, p. 92, n. 1. The phrase *scolasticam scalam* could allude to the *schola Saxonum* (or *Anglorum*), which was the hostel for Anglo-Saxon pilgrims in Rome. See *WBEASE*, p. 420.

generalized.<sup>34</sup> Although Hugeburc emphasizes the act of petitioning Saint Peter in his church, the reference to the thresholds (*limina*) of the Apostles was also a poetic and hagiographical convention for reaching Rome.<sup>35</sup> Given the number of extant early medieval itineraries, pilgrim catalogues and guidebooks to Rome and the Holy Land, Hugeburc's geographical and topical allusions could represent the edited highlights of journeying there.<sup>36</sup> Wilfrid and Benedict Biscop were notable examples of what became a steady stream through the seventh and eighth centuries of Anglo-Saxon monks, bishops, and others, imbued with a sense of *Romanitas*, journeying to Rome in order to bring back papal privileges, relics, artefacts and books to England.<sup>37</sup> However, the aforementioned alliterative and syntactical emphasis upon a physical journey to petition Saint Peter in Rome suggests that these religious metaphors are intended to highlight important features or aspects of the journey itself.

The only parallel to Hugeburc's enigmatic phrase *variisque peregrinationis externarum ignominiis* (*Vita Willibaldi* 3.91/29–3.92/01) is found in the phrase *externae*

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<sup>34</sup> Cf. *Vita Wynnebaldi* 2.108/6–7, and *Vita Bonifatii* 5.20/26–7. For the inherent dangers of the overland pilgrimage, see Luckhardt, 'Connecting Saints', pp. 55, 315–17.

<sup>35</sup> Palmer, *Anglo-Saxons*, pp. 220, 235.

<sup>36</sup> W.J. Moore, 'The Saxon Pilgrims to Rome and the *Schola Saxonum*' (unpubl. PhD dissertation, University of Fribourg, 1937), pp. 90–125; É. Ó Carragáin, *The City of Rome and World of Bede*, Jarrow Lecture (Jarrow, 1994), pp. 1–81; D.A.E. Pelteret, 'Not all Roads Lead to Rome', in *England and Rome in the Early Middle Ages: Pilgrimage, Art and Politics*, ed. F. Tinti, *SEMA* 40 (Turnhout, 2014), pp. 17–41.

<sup>37</sup> Moore lists some fifty-four names of known Anglo-Saxon pilgrims who undertook the journey to Rome in the seventh and eighth centuries: Moore, 'Saxon Pilgrims', pp. 126–7. See also P.H. Blair, *The World of Bede* (Cambridge, 1970), pp. 155–83; Colgrave, 'Pilgrimages', pp. 167–69; J. Insley, 'Anglo-Saxons in Rome: the Evidence of the Names', in *Nomen et Fraternitas: Festschrift for Dieter Geuenich on his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. U. Ludwig and T. Schilip (Berlin, 2008), pp. 107–13; W. Levison, *England and the Continent in the Eighth Century* (Oxford, 1946), pp. 15–44; H. Mayr-Harting, *The Coming of Christianity to Anglo-Saxon England* (London, 1991), pp. 117–261; Palmer, *Anglo-Saxons*, pp. 215–47; Rollason, 'Lists', 61–93; A. Thacker, 'Rome of the Martyrs: Saints, Cults and Relics, Fourth to Seventh Centuries', in *Roma Felix – Formation and Reflections of Medieval Rome*, ed. É. Ó Carragáin and C.N. De Vegvar, *Church, Faith and Culture in the Medieval West* (Aldershot, 2007), pp. 13–49; A. Thacker, 'Rome: the Pilgrims' City in the Seventh Century', in *England and Rome in the Early Middle Ages: Pilgrimage, Art and Politics*, ed. F. Tinti, *SEMA* 40 (Turnhout, 2014), pp. 89–139; F. Tinti, 'Introduction: Anglo-Saxon England and Rome', in *England and Rome in the Early Middle Ages: Pilgrimage, Art and Politics*, ed. F. Tinti, *SEMA* 40 (Turnhout, 2014), pp. 1–15.

*peregrinationis participem* from Aldhelm's prose version of his *De virginitate*,<sup>38</sup> where the quotation relates to an Old Testament passage describing how the three young Hebrews, Sidrach, Misach, and Abdenago were taken against their will into Babylon and, because of their faith were saved from the fiery furnace by divine intervention (Dan. 3:12–100). Lapidge and Herren translate the phrase *externae peregrinationis participem* as 'the sharer of their journey into foreign lands', reading *peregrinatio* as a 'journey' and so emphasizing its spatial and geographical context, whilst enabling *externae* to bear the sense of 'foreignness'.<sup>39</sup> Aldhelm's purpose is to equate the theme of an involuntary journey of exile with the interior spiritual struggle of chaste people against sin, and so emphasize a form of life pilgrimage, but the pivotal point is that *peregrinatio* denotes a 'physical journey away from one's native surroundings', whereas the connotation of life pilgrimage derives from its wider context.<sup>40</sup> By contrast, Hugeburc's description of the journey by stages to Rome appears rooted in the Christian landscape, as is aptly illustrated by her description of the party's activities upon leaving Rouen (*Vita Willibaldi* 3.91/13–14):

Et illic aliquantos dierum curriculis requiescentes, iterum pergere ceperunt et multa sanctorum illic oratoria, que illis in commodu fuerunt, orando petiverunt et sic inante Gorthonicum gradatim ex parte peragrantes supervenerunt.

['And there [at Rouen] after a few days of rest, they began to proceed again and petition the many oratories of the saints yonder with prayers, and they were favourable to them, and so forward, step by step, proceeding by degrees, they arrived at Gorthonicum.']

<sup>38</sup> R. Ehwald, *Aldhelmi Opera, De Virginitate (prosa)*, MGH AA 15 (Berlin, 1919), 21.252/5–6.

<sup>39</sup> M. Lapidge and M. Herren, trans., *Aldhelm: the Prose Works* (Cambridge, 1979), p. 78.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. the use of *peregrinatio* to describe industrious bees seeking a new home in Ehwald, *De Virginitate (prosa)* 5.233/1–6.234/8, at 6.233/14–15. See A. Casiday, 'St Aldhelm's Bees (*De uirginitate prosa* cc. IV–VI): Some Observations on a Literary Tradition', *ASE* 33 (2004), 1–22.

At each of the staging-posts along the journey Willibald's party petition the saints at their shrines. This activity mirrors what are, perhaps, the two central features of pilgrimage to the holy places of the saints: one being the desire for 'spatial separation from the familiar and habitual',<sup>41</sup> while the other represents the longing, as articulated by Brown, for proximity to the sacred, which has been described as an act of leaving and the 'therapy of distance', where the pilgrims sought intimate closeness to what was not available in their immediate environment, namely a saintly intercessor who corporally resided (through his or her relics) in a tomb.<sup>42</sup>

The last part of the analysis of the Journeying Passage involves considering the collective purpose of all five references to *peregrinatio* in the *Vita Willibaldi*. When these references are analysed together a number of common themes are revealed (with alliteration and prominent words both highlighted in bold):

- 1) **peregrinationis**que temptare telluram et **ignotas externarum** requirere ruras  
(‘and to explore the land of *peregrinatio* and to seek the unknown lands of foreigners,  
*Vita Willibaldi* 2.89/32–3);
- 2) **ignotas peregrinationis** vias probare volebat atque **externas terminarum**  
telluras adire specularique optabat’ (‘he was eager to examine the unknown paths of  
*peregrinatio* and desired to approach and explore the boundaries [or ‘territory’] of  
foreign lands’, *Vita Willibaldi* 3.90/1–2);
- 3) illum ... **patulas secum peregrinationis** perquirere ruras rogabat’ (‘he  
[Willibald] was asking him [his father] to explore the open lands of *peregrinatio* with  
him’, *Vita Willibaldi* 3.90/7–12);

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<sup>41</sup> V. Turner, ‘The Center Out There: Pilgrim’s Goal’, *History of Religions* 12.3 (1973), 191–230 at 213–14; V. Turner, and E. Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture: Anthropological Perspectives* (Oxford, 1978), pp. 1–39.

<sup>42</sup> Brown, *Cult*, pp. 86–105, at 87, n. 3, citing A. Dupront, *Pèlerinages et lieux sacrés*, Mélanges F. Braudel (Toulouse, 1973), vol. 2, p. 190.

- 4) variisque **peregrinationis externarum ignominiis** ('with the various difficulties of foreign *peregrinatio* [or 'the *peregrinatio* of foreigners']'), *Vita Willibaldi* 3.91/29–3.92/1); and
- 5) maioram iam tunc **peregrinationis ignotitiam** adire optabat ('he was desiring at that very time to go to less familiar places of *peregrinatio*', *Vita Willibaldi* 4.92/21–2).

Alliterating *p*- words are used in the clause preceding Example 1 to emphasize Willibald's desire in childhood to forsake country, parents and relations (*patriam ... parentes ... propinquos deserere*, *Vita Willibaldi* 2.89/32). In Example 3, the preceding clause stresses his wish to forsake his own country (*propriamque deserere patriam*, *Vita Willibaldi* 3.90/11), but with the stated aim, two lines later, of journeying to the shrine of Saint Peter (*Vita Willibaldi* 3.90/13–14). The use of alliteration in Examples 1–3 connects the verbs of experiencing (*temptare*, *probare*, *perquirere*) with the references to land or roads, and in so doing draws attention to the other words (in bold). The exceptions are where verbs of experiencing alliterate with *peregrinationis*: ***peregrinationis ... probare*** (Example 2); and ***patulas peregrinationis perquirere*** (Example 3). Example 5, which relates to Willibald's desire to journey to the Holy Land, does not contain any alliteration unless it is vocalic, but uses the same verb phrase (*adire optabat*) as Example 2. The Examples use alliteration or repetition (or both) to highlight the words they surround, such as *externus* ('outer, of or belonging to another country, foreign, strange'), *terminus* ('boundary, boundary-line, boundary-marker, extremity, territory'), *patulas* ('open, exposed, broad'), and *igno*- words which repeatedly emphasize the theme of the unfamiliar: *ignotas* (Examples 1 and 2); *ignotitiam* (Example 5); or *ignominiis* (Example 4).<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> *Ignotitiam* is a variant of *ignorantia* ('want of knowledge, unacquaintance, ignorance'): *DLD*, *ignotitia*. All references to the *DLD* are to Lewis and Short's *Latin Dictionary*, unless otherwise stated. For discussion of *ignominiis*, see above, p. 33, n. 16.

While the verbs *requirere* ('seek') and *adire* ('go to, approach, visit; undertake') found in Examples 1, 2 and 5 indicate a desire to go to a place, *temptare*, *probare*, *speculare*, *perquirere* all connote the sensory exploration of the landscape, rather than estrangement from it.<sup>44</sup> These verbs are similar to the use of *petere* in the aforementioned clauses of the Journeying Passage, which highlight a spiritual engagement with Rome when Willibald's party petitioned Saint Peter upon reaching their destination: 'egregiasque **P**etri apostolorum principis **p**etiverunt **p**residia'; 'scholasticam **s**candere meruerunt **s**calam et **p**reclaram **p**etivere sancti **P**etri basilicam' (*Vita Willibaldi* 3.91/27–8, 3.92/1–2). The word *externus* is found with *terminus* in the phrase *externas terminarum telluras* (Example 2) and in chapter 5, where Pope Gregory III asked Willibald on returning to Rome from the Holy Land: 'quomodo septuplum annorum calculum in externis **t**erminarum **t**elluris **p**robando **p**eragraret' ('how he had spent the seven years exploring the boundaries [or territory] of foreign lands', *Vita Willibaldi* 5.103/10–11). The use of both *terminus* and *externus* may emphasize remoteness and the outer reaches of a place, but considering the Holy Land was not an unknown world, it seems rather as if the phrase depicts the navigation between the known and the unfamiliar, the friendly and the hostile, within these foreign lands. The sense that the party were navigating their way along, through and around various boundaries and territories complements both the use of the *per* + accusative + genitive construction, which emphasizes travelling through the landscape and journeying by stages, and Hugeburc's stress upon their avoiding the arrogant cunning of soldiers (*tumida militum evaserunt versutias*, *Vita Willibaldi* 3.91/26–7).

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<sup>44</sup> *Speculare* is an unknown active verbal form, but is read as the deponent verb *speculari* ('to spy out; examine, explore').

Finally, all the examples of the noun *peregrinatio* appear in the genitive case, which is the case of the complement, rendering the noun akin to an adjective qualifying other words.<sup>45</sup> This might suggest that *peregrinationis* implies an action or state of ‘journeying’ and thus connotes alienation. However, in these excerpts there is the ubiquitous sense of exploring foreign places, borders and boundaries, and the unfamiliar from the repeated references to *externus*, *terminus*, *igno-* words and the verbs *temptare*, *probare*, *speculare*, *perquirere*. The phrase *maioram peregrinationis ignotitiam* in Example 5 suggests gradations of *peregrinatio* based upon the desired degree of physical (and spiritual) remoteness from one’s native environment, but given that Example 5 is a reference to journeying in the Holy Land, this may also indicate a desire for greater physical proximity to sacred sites that witnessed the events of Christ’s Incarnation. All these examples of *peregrinatio* evidently represent the physical act of journeying away from home and the engagement with the landscape.

To summarize thus far, Hugeburc’s use of *militia Christi* imagery stresses Willibald as a holy man who instigates, and impliedly leads, a communal journey to Rome. The alliterative and syntactical patterning emphasizes journeying from staging-post to staging-post, from shrine to shrine, to reach Saint Peter in Rome. Metaphorical images, such as those alluding to ascent, or crossing stormy seas or vast lands, give religious meaning to difficult aspects of the group’s physical journey. The petitioning of the saints’ shrines highlights the prominence of the cult of the saints, while the repeated references to *externus*, *terminus*, *igno-* words and the verbs *temptare*, *probare*, *speculare*, *perquirere* within sentences containing references to *peregrinatio* highlight the act of navigating a landscape divided between the known and the unfamiliar. The shrines and churches that serve as staging-posts recall

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<sup>45</sup> B.L. Gildersleeve, and G. Lodge, *Gildersleeve’s Latin Grammar* (London, 1895), pp. 230–46, at 230.

Orosius' famous statement about the ubiquitous presence of the Church in his *Historiarum adversum paganos libri septem* (*Seven Books of History Against the Pagans* 5(2).280):<sup>46</sup>

Mihi autem prima qualiscumque motus perturbatione fugienti, quia de confugiendi statione securo, ubique patria, ubique lex et religio mea est.<sup>47</sup>

[‘However, when I flee at the first sign of any sort of trouble, I do this secure in the knowledge that I have a place to which I can flee, for I encounter my country, religion, and laws everywhere.’]<sup>48</sup>

Orosius' entire history is an assertion of divine providence, and the importance of the community of Christians comprising the Universal Church.<sup>49</sup> The quotation highlights that the shrines, churches and episcopal seats of Catholic Church were places of familiarity and physical refuge for wayfaring pilgrims.

Like the *Vita Willibaldi*, the Journeying Passage of the *Vita Wynnebaldi* (again with alliteration highlighted in bold) has similar emphasis upon a religious journey of multiple stages (*Vita Wynnebaldi* 2.108/3–11):<sup>50</sup>

Cumque illi confestim per campestria campium incerta, per densa saltuum solitaria, per concava vallium, per inornia collium cacumina, contra immensas Alpium ardua usque ad nivatas atque nebulatas rupium saxaces desudantes scandere conabant, et protinus passebantes super Alpium oneos, usque dum idonei ampla militum intrarunt terminos. Nec longum postea quod illi cum comitatu contribulum ac collegum coetu clara civium cernentes urbis Romanorum moenias, et statim gratulabundi gloriosam

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<sup>46</sup> The work was known by Theodore and Hadrian, Aldhelm, Bede and Alcuin: *ASL*, pp. 183, 221, 323.

<sup>47</sup> G. Zangemeister, ed., *Historiarum adversum paganos libri septem, accedit eiusdem liber apologeticus*, CSEL 5 (Vienna, 1882), p. 280.

<sup>48</sup> Translation from A.T. Fear, trans., *Orosius: Seven Books of History against the Pagans*, TTH 54 (Liverpool, 2010), p. 209.

<sup>49</sup> Fear, *Orosius*, pp. 1–25.

<sup>50</sup> The full description of the journey to Rome is found at *Vita Wynnebaldi* 2.107/24–2.108/11.

intraverunt basilicam sancti **P**etri apostolorum **p**rincipis, remissionem **O**mnipotentem **p**eccatorum **p**ostulantes, ut illius **p**armati **p**atrocínio **p**erennem vitae obtinerent **p**almam.

[‘And when forthwith they were attempting to ascend, labouring, through the uncertain plains of open country, through the dense solitary places of defiles, through the sunken places of valleys, through the immense peaks of high ground, [and] against the great steep places of the Alps right up to the snow-covered and cloud-filled rocky peaks, and onward they were crossing above the peaks of the Alps, right on until the prepared men entered the extensive territory of soldiers.<sup>51</sup> Not long after which, they with their retinue of kinsmen and company of fellows were discerning clearly the city walls of the Roman people, and the jubilant men at once entered the famous Basilica of Saint Peter, Prince of the Apostles, and were entreating the Omnipotent One for the forgiveness of their sins, so that they might obtain, by the protection of His shield, the everlasting palm of life.’]

Only one phrase is repeated exactly from the *Vita Willibaldi*’s Journeying Passage: *per concava vallium*, which is one of the clauses emphasizing the stages of the journey by employing the *per* + accusative + genitive construction; however, Hugeburc elaborates the form using two accusatives (an adjective and noun) and adding further alliteration: *per campestria campium incerta*,<sup>52</sup> *per densa saltuum solitaria ... per inormia collium cacumina*.<sup>53</sup> Wynnebald is not described as cajoling his father to join them on the pilgrimage, but once again there is clear emphasis upon the eponymous holy man undertaking a communal journey with numerous kinsmen and fellows (‘*cum comitatu contribulum ac*

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<sup>51</sup> *Idonei* is read as a masculine nominative plural of *idoneus*, but may denote the adverb *idonee* (‘fitly, suitably’).

<sup>52</sup> Cf. *Vita Wynnebaldi* 5.109/33–4.

<sup>53</sup> The *per* + accusative + genitive construction is used in the description of Wynnebald’s missionary journey to Thuringia (modern east-central Germany): *Vita Wynnebaldi* 4.109/15–17.

collegum coetu'),<sup>54</sup> entering both hostile territory (*idonei ampla militum intrarunt terminos*), and the basilica of Saint Peter (*basilicam sancti Petri apostolorum principis*), but there is no mention of thresholds (*limina*), or the dangerous sea journey. However, the stormy Channel crossing is described earlier in the description (*Vita Wynnebaldi* 2.107/24–8). There is a new emphasis upon the bright city walls of Rome (*clara civium ... urbis Romanorum moenias*); and more extensive use of alliterating *p*- words, with the latter highlighting the petitioning of Saint Peter in order that the party may receive God's *patrocinium* ('patronage; protection, defence') and the everlasting palm of life (*perennem vitae obtinerent palmam*).

It is noteworthy that the only reference to *peregrinatio* in the *Vita Wynnebaldi* comes prior to the pilgrimage to Rome and employs an *igno*- word, the verb of experiencing in the form of *probare* and alliterating *p*- words (*Vita Wynnebaldi* 2.107/16–18):

ignotas peregrinationis predas probare penetrareque malluit quam presentis vitae huius falsis divitiarum florere prosperibus; et sic in externis barbarorum finibus vitam ducere monachicalem magna mentis devotione cottidie anhelando desiderabat.

[‘he preferred to examine and enter the unknown meadows of *peregrinatio* than to flourish in this present life with its false prosperity of riches,<sup>55</sup> and so he was desiring, gasping daily, with great devoutness of mind to lead a monastic life in the foreign territory of the barbarians.’]

The alliteration upon *v/f* in ‘life’ (*vitae*), ‘false things’ (*falsis*), ‘to prosper’ (*florere*) and ‘on the borders’ (*finibus*), together with the repetition of *vitae ... vitam*, stresses the peripheral nature of life in contrast to the ‘great monastic mind’ (*monachicalem magna mentis*).<sup>56</sup> Thus the *Vita Wynnebaldi* appears to associate *peregrinatio* with the monastic life in foreign lands.

<sup>54</sup> Thacker, ‘Rome’, p. 123.

<sup>55</sup> Reading *pratas* for *predas*.

<sup>56</sup> For discussion of Anglo-Latin alliteration generally, and *v/f* alliteration in particular, see Orchard, *Poetic Art*, pp. 43–54, 112–14, at 49–50.

Yet, two lines later Wynnebald's desire for *peregrinatio* manifests itself as the act of journeying the simple statement: 'diu desideratum inchoaverunt iter' ('they began their long desired journey', *Vita Wynnebaldi* 2.107/20). There is no mention of the destination until using very similar phrases as appear in the *Vita Willibaldi*, it becomes apparent that the party were hurrying to avoid the arrival of winter before they had managed to approach and explore the blessed basilica of the Apostle Peter ('antequam illi almam apostoli adire specularique meruerunt basilicam Petri', *Vita Wynnebaldi* 2.107/36–7).<sup>57</sup>

Once again the account of the journey to Rome involves wayfaring from one shrine to the next to petition the saints along the route (*Vita Wynnebaldi* 2.107/32–4).<sup>58</sup>

Multisque in itinere sanctorum sacris se commendabant patrociniis et plures per viam cum sociis sanctorum petiverunt basilicas, pia postulantes illorum presidia, ut tuti alienas peragrarent barbarorum villas.

[‘And on the journey they were entrusting themselves to the many sacred protections of the saints and they [Wynnebald and Willibald] with their companions sought very many basilicas of the saints during the journey, beseeching their holy protections, in order that they, in safety, could proceed through the foreign settlements of the barbarians’.]

This wayfaring to Rome is described simply as a journey (*in itinere; per viam*). The phrase *alienas peragrarent barbarorum villas* recalls the motivation for *peregrinatio* quoted above ('ignotas peregrinationis predas ... externis barbarorum finibus', *Vita Wynnebaldi* 2.107/16–18) suggesting that *peregrinatio* involves navigating between the known and the unfamiliar.<sup>59</sup> The phrase *multisque ... sacris se commendabant patrociniis* implies a direct personal and

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<sup>57</sup> Cf. *Vita Willibaldi* 3.90/1–2, 3.92/1–2.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. *Vita Willibaldi* 3.91/13–14 (discussed above).

<sup>59</sup> Cf. the word *alienus* ('stranger') at *Vita Willibaldi* 3.90/15–16.

contractual relationship of gift-exchange between votive petitioners and their patrons, and affirms that these familiar holy places contain, what Brown calls, the *potentia* ('power') and *praesentia* ('presence') of the saints.<sup>60</sup>

The *Vita Wynnebaldi*, like the *Vita Willibaldi*, presents a depiction of journeying rooted in material religious practice. However, it is with the repeated references to *patrocinium* that the *Vita Wynnebaldi* provides further insight into the role of those who lead communal pilgrimages. Wynnebald's missionary work emphasizes how he became upon death a saintly intercessor who is now capable of providing the supporting protection of a confessor saint (*sanctique confessoris suffragante patrocinio*, *Vita Wynnebaldi* 11.115/8–9). Then, after his relics are translated by his brother Willibald, he becomes the patron (*patrono*, *Vita Wynnebaldi* 13.117/33) of the newly built church of Heidenheim (*Vita Wynnebaldi* 13.117/31–33). Hugeburc exhorts her audience to follow the saint's example so that they may merit the gift (*donativum*, *Vita Wynnebaldi* 13.117/38) along with Wynnebald. The gift, as Hugeburc exclaims, is that 'iste dudum erat externus atque ignotus, et nunc est civis in caelestibus; iste iam pridem peregrinus, et nunc est cum sanctis celicolus' ('that man once was a foreigner and unknown, and now he is a citizen in the heavenly kingdom; that man long ago was a *peregrinus*, and now he is an inhabitant of heaven with the saints', *Vita Wynnebaldi* 13.117/38–40). The means of gaining salvation is through the life of the Church, for Wynnebald's triumph is due to being an actual *peregrinus* ('foreigner, stranger, traveller, sojourner, exile'), who petitioned the saints and established the Church in the Germanic landscape.

As noted, there is also a description of Boniface journeying to Rome in the *Vita Bonifatii* that is thought to be the source of those descriptions in *Vitae Willibaldi et*

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<sup>60</sup> Cf. *Vita Willibaldi* 5.103/5–6. For discussion of *patronus*, *praesentia* and *potentia*, and gift exchange, see Brown, *Cult*, pp. 50–68, 86–105, 106–27; P.J. Geary, *Living with the Dead in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, 1994), pp. 77–92.

Wynnebaldi discussed above.<sup>61</sup> The Journeying Passage (*Vita Bonifatii* 5.20/21–5.21/07) will not be rehearsed here, but there are both notable similarities and differences between the accounts of Willibald of Mainz and Hugeburc. The *Vita Bonifatii*, like the *Vitae Willibaldi et Wynnebaldi*, uses alliteration to highlight the difficulties of evading hostile armed groups, and travelling with kith and kin. There are no allusions to ascent, but the alliterating *p*- words do link Saint Peter in Rome with the petitioning for the removal of sin. However, there are no references to ascending either the Alps or the Scala Sancta, nor is there any use of the *per* + accusative + genitive construction, although there is one instance of hyperbaton (*Alpina nivium iuga*, *Vita Bonifatii* 5.20/24). Instead, the act of praying for the favour of the saints and God is given alliterative embellishment (*multasque sanctorum ecclesias orando adierunt; sanctorum suffragante patrocino; domino Deo dispensante*, *Vita Bonifatii* 5.20/22–3, 5.20/27–8, 5.20/28). There is greater stress upon Boniface as a prominent holy man and leader when it is related how all the company of kinsmen cling to the retinue of this holy man ('*omnis quippe cohors contribunalium comitatu huius sancti viri inherens*', *Vita Bonifatii* 5.20/28–5.21/1), but there is no *militia Christi* imagery. Boniface petitions the saints, but he is also described as having collected a great number of relics in Rome (*collecta numerosa reliquiarum multitudine*, *Vita Bonifatii* 5.22/6–7) before leaving for his mission to the Germanic lands.<sup>62</sup>

There are a number of ambiguous references to *peregrinatio* in the *Vita Bonifatii*. The first example relates to Boniface's earlier journey to the Frankish lands or his failed attempt at missionary conversion, or indeed both.<sup>63</sup> However, the third, fourth and fifth examples, all of which are found in the last chapter describing his martyrdom, have a strong metaphorical

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<sup>61</sup> Boniface was christened in 675 and martyred in 754: Levison, *England*, pp.70–93; J.M. Wallace-Hadrill, 'A Background to Saint Boniface's Mission', in *England Before the Conquest: Studies in Primary Sources Presented to Dorothy Whitelock*, ed. P. Clemoes and K. Hughes (Cambridge, 1971), pp. 35–48. The description of the entire journey to Rome is found at *Vita Bonifatii* 5.20/10–5.21/07.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. *Vita Bonifatii* 6.28/1–2, 7.37/7–8, 7.37/10–11.

<sup>63</sup> *Vita Bonifatii* 5.18/13–14.

connotation of exile from God (life pilgrimage).<sup>64</sup> The second example of *peregrinatio* (with alliteration highlighted in bold) occurs in the context of Boniface's stated intention to go to Rome (*Vita Bonifatii* 5.19/17–18) and relates how Bishop Daniel directs and aids Boniface on his journey onwards (*Vita Bonifatii* 5.20/8–9):

et sanctum hunc virum per longas peregrinationis vias ire volentem ad loca  
incolomem **distinata direxit.**

[‘and he directed this holy man, who was wanting to go through the long ways of *peregrinatio*, safely to his intended places.’]

The phrase *per longas peregrinationis vias* (‘through the long ways of *peregrinatio*’, *Vita Bonifatii* 5.20/8) is linked with *per longa terrarum spatia* (‘through the considerable expanse of lands’, *Vita Bonifatii* 5.20/11) just a few lines later, and constitute the only examples of the *per* + accusative(s) + genitive construction in chapter 5. The phrase *per longa terrarum spatia* recalls an earlier reference *immensis peragratis terrae partibus* (‘having traversed the vast regions of lands’, *Vita Bonifatii* 4.16/2–3) when Boniface is beginning his abortive Frisian mission with a company of fellow monks (*fratrum comitatu*, *Vita Bonifatii* 4.16/3).<sup>65</sup> The distance in both cases is from Boniface's monastery at *Nhutselle* (‘Nursling, Winchester’, *Vita Bonifatii* 2.9/6–7) to *Lundenwich* (‘London’, *Vita Bonifatii* 4.16/6, 5.20/12). These references suggest that journeying in England was an arduous task, and that a sense of foreignness arose beyond one's immediate native territory.

All three *vitae* provide literary accounts of historical pilgrimage that combine references to *peregrinatio* with journeying to Rome as a holy place, yet the whole idea of Rome as a sacred place has been challenged. Stancliffe asserts that the phenomenon of the end of life pilgrimage to Rome by Anglo-Saxon monk-kings, who had resigned their

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<sup>64</sup> *Vita Bonifatii* 8.43/11–14, 8.45/14–16, 8.55/8–10.

<sup>65</sup> Cf. the phrase *fratre suo comite* (*Vita Wynnealdi* 3.108/41–2) quoted above.

kingdoms to embrace the religious life, was an example of life pilgrimage.<sup>66</sup> Another example would be Abbot Ceolfrith's ill-fated journey to Rome, which is recounted in Bede's *Historia Abbatum* (*HA*) and the anonymous *Vita Ceolfridi*.<sup>67</sup> Aldhelm's poetic depictions of Ine and Cædwalla in poem three of the *Carmen ecclesiastica* (*CE*) appear to validate this assertion, as Ine relinquishes his kingdom in the name of Christ (*Christi pro nomine*, *CE* 3.15/9), reigning 'donec conversus cellam migravit in alman' ('until once converted [to Christianity] he moved to his blessed cell [in Rome]', *CE* 3.15/13), while Cædwalla is described as traversing the Alps in language that could be the source of the Journeying Passage (*CE* 3.15/24–5):<sup>68</sup>

Exin nimbosas transcendit passibus Alpes  
 Aggeribus niveis et montis vertice saeptas

[‘Thence he climbed on foot the stormy Alps, surrounded by snowy ramparts and mountain summit.’]

Cædwalla is then baptized in Rome before contracting a fever and dying (*CE* 3.15/26–32).

However, Aldhelm's *Carmina ecclesiastica* is a collection of dedicatory epigrams (*tituli*) intended to be inscribed on the churches of Saints (mainly Mary and the Apostles). Lapidge has demonstrated that a number of these *tituli* for shrines or churches, including the one dedicated to Cædwalla in *Carmen ecclesiasticum* 3, were directly influenced by not only manuscript collections of *tituli* (*syllogae*), but by his own pilgrimage to Rome in 688–9.<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>66</sup> C. Stancliffe, 'Kings who Opted Out', in *Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society: Studies Presented to J.M. Wallace-Hadrill*, ed. P. Wormald, D. Bullough, and R. Collins (Oxford, 1983), pp. 154–76.

<sup>67</sup> J. O'Reilly, 'Bede on Seeing the Gods of Gods in Zion', in *Text, Image, Interpretation: Studies in Anglo-Saxon Literature and its Insular Context in Honour of Éamonn Ó Carragáin*, ed. A. Minnis and J. Roberts, *SEMA* 18 (Turnhout, 2007), pp. 3–29 esp. 12–18; *Bede*, *HA*, 16.380–21.386; *Vita Ceolfridi*, 21.99–33.115. See also Blair, *World*, pp. 191–3.

<sup>68</sup> All references are to Ehwald, *Aldhelmi Opera, Carmina Ecclesiastica*, pp. 11–32.

<sup>69</sup> M. Lapidge, 'The Career of Aldhelm', *ASE* 36 (2007), 15–69 esp. 52–64; R. Sharpe, 'King Cædwalla's Roman Epitaph', in *Latin Learning and English Lore: Studies in Anglo-Saxon Literature*

*Carmen ecclesiasticum I* is dedicated to saints Peter and Paul, where Aldhelm implores Peter, as the heavenly key-bearer (*claviger aetherius*, *CE* 1.11/6), to hear mercifully the petitionary pledges or votive offerings of the praying people (*ausculta clemens populorum vota precantum*, *CE* 1.11/8).<sup>70</sup> This recalls Hugelburc's reference to the holy aid of the heavenly key-bearer (*sacra caelestis clavicularii ... presidia*, *Vita Willibaldi* 5.103/5–6). Furthermore, Bede's description of Ine's journey to Rome appears to balance spiritual seclusion with the importance of being close to the saints: 'cupiens in vicinia sanctorum locorum ad tempus peregrinari in terris, quo familiaris a sanctis recipi mereretur in caelis' ('desiring to journey away from home in the vicinity of the places of the saints during his time on earth, so that he might merit being received as a friend by the saints in the heavens', *HE* 5:7).<sup>71</sup> Bede closes his account of Ine's journey to Rome with the statement: 'quod his temporibus plures de gente Anglorum, nobiles ignobiles, laici clerici, viri ac feminae certatim facere consuerunt' ('in respect of which many of the English, noble and humble people, laity and clergy, men and women, were wont to do likewise, *HE* 5:7). Thus it appears unlikely that these Anglo-Saxon Christians were not seeking, first and foremost, proximity to the saints and martyrs of Rome.

A similar debate exists over whether the term *peregrinus* ('foreigner, stranger') in Letters 11 and 100 of the 'Alcuin Letters' refers to a select few ascetic holy men who wished

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for Michael Lapidge, ed. K. O'Brien O'Keeffe and A. Orchard, 2 vols (Toronto, 2005), vol 1, pp. 171–93; J. Story, 'Aldhelm and Old St Peter's, Rome', *ASE* 39 (2010), 7–20.

<sup>70</sup> The phrase *claviger aetherius* occurs in another epigram dedicated to the altar of Saint Peter (*CE* 4.19/2) and in a letter by Aldhelm dated 680 (letter 4.485/6–17): W.F. Bolton, *A History of Anglo-Latin Literature 597–1066, Volume 1: 597–740* (Princeton, 1967), pp. 95–6; Story, 'Aldhelm', pp. 17–18. For discussion of *tituli* and Bede's lost *Liber Epigrammatum*, see M. Lapidge, and J. Rosier, trans., *Aldhelm: the Poetic Works* (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 35–45; M. Lapidge, 'Some Remnants of Bede's Lost *Liber Epigrammatum*', in *Anglo-Latin Literature 600-899*, ed. M. Lapidge (London, 1996), pp. 357–79. Aldhelm probably borrowed the reference from Arator (*Claviger aethereus*, *Historia apostolica* 1.66/899), see Lapidge and Rosier, *Aldhelm*, p. 233, n. 3; A.P. McKinlay, *Aratoris Subdiaconi de Actibus Apostolorum*, CSEL 72 (Vienna, 1952), p. 66.

<sup>71</sup> All quotations of Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* (*HE*) are from *Bede, HE*. Cf. Lawson, 'Navigating', pp. 130–1.

to travel to the shrines of the Apostles in Rome, or to pilgrims more generally.<sup>72</sup> Yet the fact that Charlemagne enacted various edicts or *capitularia*, as part of a series of legislative measures (dating back to the seventh century), designed to protect and afford hospitality to pilgrims journeying through the lands of Francia to the holy sites is further evidence of the general popularity of pilgrimage.<sup>73</sup> The comparative lack of references to *peregrinatio* in the above hagiographies and the emphasis upon going to places, may counter-intuitively evidence the sheer ubiquity of the material practice of pilgrimage among Anglo-Saxons. The descriptions within the *Vitae Willibaldi et Wynnebaldi* and the focus of the *Carmina ecclesiastica* strengthen the assertion that for many Anglo-Saxon pilgrims, spiritual growth was predicated upon a physical journey of pilgrimage as an expression of faith, religious practice and membership of the Church.

The final issues to be addressed concern what motivation, aside from the obvious safety in numbers, there would have been for those to follow a holy man on a communal pilgrimage, and whether the destinations of pilgrimage could involve other less prominent places than the shrines of the Apostles in Rome. Examining the Bonifatian correspondence provides an opportunity of interpreting the motivations of Anglo-Saxons less exalted than Boniface himself.<sup>74</sup> There are twenty-seven instances in twenty-one letters where a Latin term for pilgrimage appears in various forms (*peregrinatio*, *peregrinari*, *peregrinus*, *peregrinans*), the instances of which are listed in Table 2 below.

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<sup>72</sup> The ‘Alcuin Letters’ (*Alcuini epistolae*) are a miscellaneous collection of 311 letters or letter-prefaces from the period of Alcuin’s life, some 281 of which were written by Alcuin, that are edited by Dümmler. Letters 11 and 100 are dated before 792, and after 18 April 796, respectively, see Bullough, *Alcuin*, p. 35, n. 77; E. Dümmler, ed., *Epistolae Merovingici et Karolini Aevi, Epistolae, Alcuini Epistolae*, MGH E 4:2 (Berlin, 1895), pp. 37, 144–6; Lawson, ‘Navigating’, pp. 151–2; Bartlett, *Why ... ?*, pp. 413–14.

<sup>73</sup> Bartlett, *Why ... ?*, pp. 419–20, n. 61, citing Boretius, *Capitulare missorum generale, Pippini Italiae regis capitulare*, 1, MGH Capit., 33(27).96/21–7, 91(10).193/20–3.

<sup>74</sup> All references are to Tangl’s edition, see above, p. 24, n. 87. The Bonifatian correspondence is a miscellaneous collection of letters not all of which are written by or to Boniface. For further discussion, see C.E. Fell, ‘Some Implications of the Boniface Correspondence’ (Bloomington, 1990), pp. 29–43; A. Orchard, ‘Old Sources, New Resources: Finding the Right Formula for Boniface’, *ASE* 30 (2001), 15–38, at 16–17.

**Table 2: References to Pilgrimage in the Bonifatian Correspondence**

<b>Letter Number<sup>75</sup></b>	<b>Names of the Correspondent, Addressee and Attributable Date</b>	<b>No. of Examples</b>	<b>References to Tangl<sup>76</sup></b>
14	Abbess Eangyth and her daughter to Boniface (719–22)	4	14.24/29, 14.26/4, 14.26/13, 14.26/19
18	Pope Gregory II investing Boniface (1 Dec 722)	1	18.32/14
27	Boniface to Abbess Bugga (before 738)	2	27.48/6, 27.48/14
33	Boniface to Archbishop Nothelm of Canterbury (735)	2	33.57/7, 33.58/1
38	Boniface to Abbot Aldherius (732–54)	1	38.63/12
63	Boniface to Bishop Daniel of Winchester (742–6)	1	63.131/5
65	Boniface to Abbess Eadburga (742–46)	1	65.137/12
71	Lull to Dealwine (745–6)	1	71.144/19
74	Boniface to priest Herefrid (746–7)	1	74.156/4
75	Boniface to Archbishop Egbert of York (746–7)	1	75.157/3
93	Boniface to Abbot Fulrad of St Denis (752)	1	93.213/11
94	Boniface to Abbess Bugga (732–54)	1	94.214/15
104	Boniface to Cardinal-Deacon Gemmulus (c. 742–54)	2	104.228/10, 104.228/14
111	Archbishop Cuthbert of Canterbury to Lull (after 5 June 754)	1	111.239/24
112	Bishop Milred of Worcester to Lull (after 5 June 754)	1	112.244/6
119	Abbot Eanwulf to Lull (24 May 773)	1	119.255/15
123	Bishop Cyneheard of Winchester to Lull (755–80)	1	123.260/10
125	Lull to Archbishop Coena of York (767–78)	1	125.263/9
126	Lull to Abbot Cuthbert (764–86)	1	126.264/7
127	Abbot Cuthbert to Lull (764–86)	1	127.265/3
136	Bishop Meginoz of Würzburg to Lull (754–68)	1	136.275/5

<sup>75</sup> The numbering of Letters follows Tangl's edition.

<sup>76</sup> As previously stated, all citations refer to the letter number, page and line(s) of Tangl's edition.

Even from a cursory examination of Table 2 it is clear that the Bonifatian correspondence represents a significant collection of first-hand information about *peregrinatio* in letters that are almost invariably by and between Anglo-Saxons.<sup>77</sup> Boniface's voice might seem to predominate within these letters, but it should be remembered that he was part of a community who collectively understood the meaning of *peregrinatio*.<sup>78</sup> This final part of the chapter will therefore focus upon the letter which contains the greatest number of references to *peregrinatio* (4).

Letter 14 is addressed to Boniface from the Anglo-Saxon abbess Eangyth and her daughter, who complain they are beset by troubles (14.22/4–14.23/19) and state that many people have died in England due to internal strife. They add (14.24/4–8):<sup>79</sup>

Ast alii patria litora reliquerunt et equoreis campis se crediderunt et sanctorum petivere apostolorum limina Petri et Pauli et multorum martyrum virginum atque confessorum, quorum numerum et nomina Deus scit.

[‘But others have forsaken the shores of the fatherland and entrusted themselves to the watery plains and sought the thresholds of the Apostles Peter and Paul and of the many martyrs, virgins and confessors, the number and name of which [only] God knows.’]

Eangyth's primary aim is that ‘in illas terras et in illam **peregrinationem** **possumus** **pervenire**, ubi habitas’ (‘we are able arrive into those lands and into that *peregrinatio* where you dwell’, 14.24/29–30). There is alliteration (which is generally very infrequent in Letter 14) emphasizing *peregrinatio* and repeated reference to particular places (*in illas*; *in illam*). The

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<sup>77</sup> Most correspondents had ecclesiastical positions in the Anglo-Saxon Church or have Anglo-Saxon names.

<sup>78</sup> R. McKitterick, ‘Anglo-Saxon Missionaries in Germany: Personal Connections and Local Influences’, in *The Frankish Kings and Culture in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. R. McKitterick (Aldershot, 1995), pp. 1–40 esp. 7, 24, 26–7.

<sup>79</sup> Alliteration is highlighted in bold.

letter implies that Boniface had previously refused to permit them to journey to him, so Eangyth expresses the wish to go to Rome ‘et ibi peccatorum nostrorum veniam impetremus, sicut alii multi fecerunt et adhuc faciunt’ (‘and there we shall seek forgiveness of our sins, just as many others have done and still do’, 14.25/7–8).<sup>80</sup> It is noteworthy that Eangyth ranks proximity to Boniface as preferable even to Rome, suggesting that he has spiritual importance beyond mere friendship and communality.<sup>81</sup> Two further references to *peregrinatio* in Letter 14 involve Eangyth asking Boniface that if their kinsman, Denewald, directs his way ‘in illas partes terre et peregrinationem illam, in qua habitas’ (‘into those parts of the land and that *peregrinatio* in which you are dwelling’, 14.26/13–14), that he, Boniface, should in turn direct Denewald onward to the priest Berthere: ‘qui diu incoluit illam peregrinationem’ (‘who has long dwelt in that *peregrinatio*’, 14.26/18–19). Again, there is repeated emphasis on multiple places where the religious are dwelling in their *peregrinatio* (*in illas partes; peregrinationem illam; illam peregrinationem*). The reason for this desire for proximity to Boniface comes when Eangyth acknowledges that God’s secret will and direction (*eius secreta voluntas et dispensatio*, 14.25/21–2) are unknown to them, and so they implore Boniface to act like an Aaron of the Old Testament, and be their priestly intercessor (14.25/24–14.26/1). They trust in God and His mercy that through the supplications of Boniface’s mouth and inner prayers (14.26/2–3) He will reveal whether Eangyth and her daughter will stay in their native land or *in peregrinatione exulare* (‘to live in exile in

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<sup>80</sup> In a Letter 27 from Boniface to Bugga (before 738), Boniface re-iterates Bugga’s desire for a pilgrim journey (*iter peregrinum*, 27.48/6) and says, if she cannot find quiet at home on account of worldly people, she should obtain freedom of contemplation through *peregrinatio* (*per peregrinationem libertatem contemplationis*, 27.48/14–15). This appears to suggest a life pilgrimage, but, nevertheless one which, similarly to another nun, Wiethburga, is predicated upon proximity to the thresholds of Saint Peter (*invenisset iuxta limina sancti Petri*, 27.48/17–18).

<sup>81</sup> Cf. U. Schaefer, ‘Two Women in Need of a Friend’, in *Germanic Dialects: Linguistic and Philological Investigations*, ed. B. Brogyanyi and T. Krömmelbein, Amsterdam Studies in the Theory and History of Linguistic Science Series IV, vol. 38 (Amsterdam, 1986), pp. 491–524.

*peregrinatio*', 14.26.4).<sup>82</sup> In short, Boniface's power as an intercessor and his spiritual proximity to God are the reason for Eangyth and Denewald wishing to journey to him. Boniface, because of his elevated holy status stemming from creating a new Christian landscape in the Germanic lands, has become a destination of pilgrimage.

Boniface makes reference to undergoing a *peregrinatio* far away or for a long time (*longe peregrinanti*, 75.157/4–5) in a Letter to Archbishop Egbert of York, and links his *peregrinatio* references with allusions to the Christian commonplace of the storm-image (deriving from Mt. 8:23–6), where a ship is being buffeted by storms and needs to seek a safe harbour, as a metaphor for spiritual trials and tribulations on earth and the search for heavenly peace.<sup>83</sup> However, given that Orchard has demonstrated the widespread use of formulas in the Bonifatian correspondence, care should be taken before concluding that Boniface's *peregrinatio* in the Germanic lands was exclusively directed toward living in alienation and thus life pilgrimage.<sup>84</sup> For instance, Boniface uses the phrase *de uno solacio peregrinationis meae* (63.131/4–5) which is repeated on four subsequent occasions, once by Bishop

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<sup>82</sup> Boniface calls himself an exile in Letter 30 (dated 735×736) at 30.54/10–12, and the word exile is also used in relation to the banished count, Ceolla Snoding (115.249/3–4). Neither the noun *exul* nor the verb *exulare* are used in the *vitae* discussed above. Cf. A. Hicklin, 'Exiles and the Exilic Experience in Stephen of Ripon's *Vita Sancti Wilfridi*', in *Saints of North-East England, 600–1500*, ed. M. Coombe, A. Mouron, and C. Whitehead (Turnhout, 2017), pp. 89–110.

<sup>83</sup> See also 33.57/1–3, 38.63/11–15. Cf. Lull to Dealwine at 71.144/11–12. The 'storm-image' is used five times across the Bonifatian correspondence, one of which derives from Aldhelm: Orchard, 'Old Sources', p. 23. Notable examples in poetry are Virgil (*Aeneid* 1.105–6/81–123), Juvenecus' *Evangeliorum libri IV* (2.42–3/25–38), Sedulius' *Carmen paschale* 3.68–9/46–69, Arator's *Historia apostolica*, 2.138–9/1067–1092. See R.A.B. Mynors, ed., *P. Vergili Maronis Opera*, OCT (Oxford, 1969), pp. 105–6; J. Huemer, *Gai Vetti Aquilini Iuveni Evangeliorum Libri Quattuor*, CSEL 24 (Vienna, 1891), pp. 42–3; Huemer, *Sedulii Opera Omnia*, CSEL 10 (Vienna, 2007), pp. 68–9; McKinlay, *De Actibus Apostolorum*, pp. 138–9, respectively. For commentary, see Curtius, *European Literature*, pp. 128–30; R.P.H. Green, *Latin Epics of the New Testament: Juvenecus, Sedulius, Arator* (Oxford, 2006), pp. 61–63, 199–202, 333–7; McBrine, *Biblical Epics*, pp. 34–6. Pertinent prose examples by writers known in early Anglo-Saxon England are Augustine of Hippo; Caesarius of Arles; Gregory the Great; and Paulinus of Nola, in Brown, *The Ransom of the Soul* (Cambridge, MA, 2015), p.100, n. 44, citing Augustinus Hipponensis, *Sermon 56* 7(11), PL 38:381–2; Smithers, 'The Meaning of the *Seafarer*', p. 150, citing G. Morin, *Sancti Caesarii Arelatensis Sermones, Sermon 56*, p. 249; *Sancti Gregorii Papae dialogorum libri IV*, PL 77:152A–B; W. Hartel, ed., *Paulinus Nolanus, Epistulae, Carmina*, CSEL 29 (Vienna, 1999), 49(11).399/1–17, respectively. For Avitus' use of the storm-image in his *Rogation Homily 6*, see below, p. 222.

<sup>84</sup> Orchard, 'Old Sources', pp. 15–38.

Cyneheard of Winchester and thrice by Lull.<sup>85</sup> Yet in contrast, a number of references emphasize Boniface's role in drawing pagans, apostates, and Christians to him as part of his mission. In a letter to Archbishop Egbert (746–7) where he reproves Æthelbald, king of Mercia, Boniface states (75.157/15–22):

Nam catholica et apostolica Romana ecclesia, quando indignum ac vilem predicatorem ad predicandum Germaniae erroneis vel paganis gentibus direxit, praecepit mihi, ut ex auctoritate Romani pontificis, si alicubi viderem inter christianos pergens populos erroneos vel ecclesiasticas regulas mala consuetudine depravatas vel homines per invium a catholica fide abductos, ad viam salutis invitare et revocare totis viribus niterer.<sup>86</sup>

[‘For the Catholic and Apostolic Roman Church, when it directed an unworthy and poor preacher to the necessity of preaching to the misguided or pagan tribes of Germania, it instructed me that, by the authority of the Bishop of Rome, if I should see anywhere, making my way among the Christians, misguided peoples or Church ordinances which have been perverted by bad customs, or men led away from the Catholic faith along trackless ways, I should strive with all my strength to urge and recall them to the path of salvation.’]

Although Boniface refers here and elsewhere to directing or recalling men back to the path of salvation (*ad viam salutis*), the fact that on one of these occasions he states that he would either set false priests, hypocrites and seducers straight on the path of salvation or refuse and refrain from communion (*commonione*) with them (86.193/1–3) indicates that these phrases

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<sup>85</sup> See 71.144/19–20, 125.263/9, 126.264/7–8, 127.265/2–3.

<sup>86</sup> Cf. 74.156/15–18.

should be taken literally, and that there is no salvation outside of the Church.<sup>87</sup> This language also recalls the juxtaposition of the *ascensio tortuosa* ('winding ascent') commonplace with the account of Wynnebald's second pilgrimage to Rome and suggests that the language of religious metaphor and material practice seem to have been entwined together. Wallace-Hadrill asserts that in contrast to the activities of the Irish saint Columbanus, who is often seen as an exemplar of Irish continental *peregrinatio pro amore Dei*, the Frankish Church was centred upon relics and the patronage of local holy men.<sup>88</sup> Boniface was focused upon establishing, and strengthening, the Church in the landscape, and used the Gregorian mission to Anglo-Saxon England as his model.<sup>89</sup> As the *Vita Bonifatii* notes of Boniface's activities in Frisia: 'non parvum Domino populum, destructis delubrorum fanis et exstructis ecclesiarum oratoriis, praefato pontifici opitulante, adquisivit' ('with the help of the aforementioned bishop [Willibrord], having destroyed the temples of shrines and built oratories of churches, he gained not a small people for the Lord', *Vita Bonifatii* 5.24/8–10).<sup>90</sup> Here, Wallace-Hadrill's comment that 'the Frankish scene in which Boniface lived out the second half of his long life can no longer be regarded as one of degraded isolation, politically and religiously'<sup>91</sup> foregrounds the fact that, until he journeyed to the darker parts of Frisia and martyrdom, the shrine and the Church were the focus of Boniface's world.

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<sup>87</sup> Cf. 25.43/21–2, 74.156/15–17, 78.168/5–6. The phrase derives from Acts 16:17: 'qui adnuntiant vobis viam salutis' ('who preach unto you the way of salvation').

<sup>87</sup> Danielou notes the aphorism 'outside the church there is no salvation' is found first in St. Cyprian's *De unitate Ecclesiae* (3<sup>rd</sup> century): 'If anyone could have been saved outside the ark of Noah, then he who is outside the Church is saved', which perhaps derives from 2<sup>nd</sup> century statement of Tertullian: 'quod in arca non fuit, in Ecclesia non sit': *CCEME*, p. 98; Danielou, *Bible*, p. 83, citing *De idololatria liber*, ch. 24, PL 1:696B, and R. Weber *et al.*, *Cyprianus, De catholicae ecclesiae unitate*, CCSL 3, 6.214/24–5.

<sup>88</sup> Wallace-Hadrill, *The Frankish Church* (Oxford, 1983), p. 63. For discussion of Irish *peregrinatio*, see above, p. 18.

<sup>89</sup> Letters 33 and 75 of the Bonifatian correspondence both place considerable emphasis upon Pope Gregory I as sponsor of St Augustine's mission to convert the English in 597, see Mayr-Harting, *The Coming*, pp. 51–68; Howe, *Migration*, pp. 108–9, 128–30; Orchard, 'Old Sources', p. 22, n. 33.

<sup>90</sup> Willibrord (b. 658–7 November 739) was another notable Anglo-Saxon missionary to Continent; Levison, *England*, pp. 53–69.

<sup>91</sup> Wallace-Hadrill, 'Background', p. 35.

Nevertheless, no expanding Church is without a periphery. In Letter 93 (752), an aged Boniface, writing just two years before his martyrdom, seeks the support of Abbot Fulrad of Saint Denis in petitioning King Pippin on behalf of his Anglo-Saxon associates. Here Boniface refers to his far-flung disciples who are ‘pene omnes peregrini’ (‘almost all foreigners’, 93.213/11) and priests ‘per multa loca ad ministerium ecclesiae et populorum constituti’ (‘stationed throughout many places for the aid of the Church and the people’, 93.213/11–12), monks in their cells, children learning to read and older persons (93.213/12–14); all of whom demonstrate the establishment of the Church in the landscape. Boniface expresses concern that after his death the above mentioned should not be dispersed like sheep without a shepherd (93.213/15–19), and that the people near the *marca* (‘territory or boundary’) of the pagans should not lose completely the law of Christ (‘et populi prope marcam paganorum non perdant legem Christi’, 93.213/19–20). The phrase *prope marcam paganorum* is then repeated nine lines later regarding Boniface’s priests who are stationed throughout many places (doubtless within their small chapels) in the clause ‘presbiteri mei prope marcam paganorum pauperulam vitam habeant’ (‘my priests living in poverty near the *marca* of the pagans’, 93.213.28–9). The noun *marca*, which occurs nowhere else within the Bonifatian correspondence and jumps out amidst the alliterating *p*- words, is an invention of the medieval period and is probably a calque on the Old English word *mearc*, *merc*.<sup>92</sup> Boniface’s *peregrinatio* is not simply about living in a state of alienation, but involves creating the refuges of a universal Church, namely the ‘place to which I can flee’ that Orosius spoke of.<sup>93</sup> Hugeburc summarizes the legacy of Willibald’s own missionary work in the Germanic lands with the following words: ‘per vitreos Baguariorum campos cum ecclesiis atque presbiteris sanctorumque reliquiis dignas Domino delibat dona’ (‘through the bright

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<sup>92</sup> *DMLBS*, *marca* (*merca*, *mercus*). As was the case with Letter 14, alliteration is seldom used in Letter 93.

<sup>93</sup> See above, p. 46.

plains of Bavaria with churches and with priests and with the relics of the saints, he gathered fitting gifts for the Lord', *Vita Willibaldi* 6.106/17–18). Among the antiphons and sermons, Hugeburc says there is 'a bright crowd of believers proclaiming the holy miracles of Christ' ('clara credentium turba sancta strepitant Christi miracula', *Vita Willibaldi* 6.106/19–20). Navigating the *marca*, then, is the work of trailblazing missionaries and spiritual leaders, such as Boniface, Wynnebald, and Willibald, but it is also the beginning of a pilgrimage route for those that follow, such as Eangyth and Denewald, whose own *peregrinatio* impels them to seek proximity to the holy amidst the foreign: journeying from shrine to shrine until they reach their destination and always mindful of reaching the heavenly homeland. *Peregrinatio* can represent a spiritual communality intimately connected with the Church in the landscape and the work of its leaders. Furthermore, those same leaders fostered a conception of *peregrinatio* that extended beyond their own interiorized journeying to encompass their role in leading ordinary Christians into ecclesiastical space.

These historical, literary, and literary-historical descriptions of Anglo-Saxon pilgrimage to holy place, with their use of religious metaphor and references to *peregrinatio* and the *peregrinus*, are clearly compatible with the more expansive notion of the material practice of pilgrimage. Now that some of the aspects, themes and motivations of the material practice of pilgrimage have been identified, the focus can return to examining whether the beginning of the Israelites' communal journey through the landscape in lines 54–71a of *Exodus* also depicts the wayfaring of pilgrims.

### Chapter Three – *Exodus* 54–71a: a Depiction of Anglo-Saxon Pilgrimage?

The previous discussion suggested that the literary-historical accounts of pilgrimage to Rome in the *Vita Willibaldi et Wynnebaldi* and other early Anglo-Latin works clearly describe the material practice of pilgrimage. This chapter returns to *Exodus* to examine whether Section B (*Exodus* 54–71a), the opening description of the Israelites’ journey out of Egypt, can be similarly read as a depiction of Anglo-Saxon pilgrimage, as well as an allegorized journey through a mythical landscape symbolizing life pilgrimage. The chapter begins by outlining existing approaches to *Exodus* 54–71a, before undertaking a detailed analysis of the passage.

The description of the Israelites’ communal journey out of Egypt begins with the following lines (54–71a):<sup>1</sup>

Fyrd wæs gefysed, from se ðe lædde,  
modig magoræswa, mægburh heora. 55

Oferfor he mid þy folce fæstena worn,  
land ond leodgeard laðra manna,  
enge anpaðas, uncuð gelad,  
oðþæt hie on guðmyrce gearwe bæron:  
wæron land heora lyfthelme bepeaht. 60

Mearchofu mor heald – Moyses ofer þa,  
fela meringa, fyrde gelædde.  
Heht þa ymb twa niht tinfæste hæleð,  
siððan hie feondum oðfaren hæfdon,  
ymbwicigan werodes bearhtme 65  
mid ælfere Æthanes byrig,

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<sup>1</sup> The manuscript reads *magoræwa* (55a), *leodweard* (57a), *meoringa* (62a), *eht* (63a), and *tinfæstne* (63b). The emendations are commonly accepted.

mægnes mæste, mearclandum on.

Nearwe genyddon on norðwegas;

wiston him be suðan Sigelwara land,

forbærned burhhleoðu, brune leode,

70

hatum heofoncolum.

[‘The troop was made ready (or ‘impelled onwards’), it was a strong man, a bold leader of men, who led their kinsman-fortress. He passed through a multitude of strongholds (or ‘fastnesses’) with that tribe, land and territory of hostile men, [along] narrow lonely tracks, unknown paths, until they bore arms against the warlike border-dwellers: their land was covered in cloud. A wilderness containing borderland dwellings – Moses led the troop over these many dangers.’<sup>2</sup>

Then, about two nights after they had fled from the enemy, he commanded the glory-fast men to camp around the stronghold of Etham with the whole army (or ‘foreign army’), the clamour of the host, the greatest of military forces, in the marchland. Difficulties forced them onto the northerly paths; they knew that to the south of them was the land of the sun-dwellers [Ethiopians?], parched hillsides and a people dark-coloured from hot heaven’s coals.’]

It has been noted that lines 54–62 of the above passage are framed by an envelope-pattern (sometimes known as ‘ring structure’), beginning with *fyrð ... lædde* and ending with *fyrde gelædde*, suggesting that these lines need to be thought of as a coherent whole,<sup>3</sup> but the

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<sup>2</sup> For discussion of line 61a (*mearchofu mor heald*) and the potential connotations of mountainous terrain, see Lucas, p. 85; ASPR 1, p. 200; Tolkien, p. 40. Cf. Gollancz and Farrell who assert that the a-line refers to the second camp of Exodus, Soccoth (Ex. 12:37), which was understood in scripture to mean ‘tents’ in Hebrew (Gen. 33:17), and as such may allude to tabernacle: I. Gollancz, ed., *The Cædmon Manuscript of Anglo-Saxon Biblical Poetry: Junius XI in the Bodleian library* (Oxford, 1927), p. lxxxi; Farrell, ‘Eight notes’, pp. 368–9.

<sup>3</sup> A.C. Bartlett, *The Larger Rhetorical Patterns in Anglo-Saxon Poetry* (New York, 1935), pp. 9–29; H.R.P. Battles, ‘The Art of the Scop: Traditional Poetics in the Old English *Genesis A*’ (unpubl. PhD

repetition of the verb *faran* ('go, travel, proceed, make one's way') in the form of *oferfor* ('passed; traversed', 56a) and the uniquely attested compound *oðfaren* ('fled, escaped', 64b) also links lines 54–62 with 63–71a around the theme of journeying to evade danger.<sup>4</sup> Despite these references to the physical movement of the host and their leader, much attention has focused upon the symbolic nature of this landscape.

The line *enge anpaðas, uncuð gelad* has long been thought to allude to the biblical phrase *sed circumduxit per viam deserti* ('but he [Moses] led them about by the way of the desert', Ex. 13:18).<sup>5</sup> The fact that the line is shared with *Beowulf* is discussed below,<sup>6</sup> but Irving notes that 'this line is hardly a translation of the Latin [Ex. 13:18] but rather one which seems to have had associations with loneliness, exile, and making a way through unknown territory'.<sup>7</sup> The reference to Etham (*Æthanes byrig*, 66b) seems to be an allusion to Exodus 13:20:

Profectique de Soccoth castrametati sunt in Etham, in extremis finibus solitudinis.

['And marching from Succoth they encamped in Etham in the utmost coasts of the wilderness.']

Lynch similarly argues that lines 56–62 are 'an evocation of the terror of an eerily remote landscape' perhaps in response to the description of Etham as situated *in extremis finibus solitudinis* ('the utmost coasts of the wilderness').<sup>8</sup> Etham was one of the forty-two staging-posts (*mansiones*) of the Israelites' exodus to the Promised Land long equated with a Christian's journey towards God and well-known to Bede and his eighth-century

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dissertation, Illinois University, 1998), pp. 241–305; Ferguson, 'Patristic Tradition', pp. 9–26, at 16; Lucas, p. 83; Lynch 'Enigmatic Diction', pp. 20–170, esp. 27, 86–7; C. Stévanovitch, 'Envelope Patterns in *Genesis A* and *B*', *Neophilologus* 80 (1996), 465–78; Tolkien, p. 39.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *wiðfaran*, 574b.

<sup>5</sup> F. Klaeber, 'Concerning the Relations between *Exodus* and *Beowulf*', *MLN* 33 (1918), 218–24, at 219.

<sup>6</sup> See below, p. 81.

<sup>7</sup> Irving, p. 70–1, n. 58; Irving, 'New Notes', p. 296.

<sup>8</sup> Lynch, 'Enigmatic Diction', p. 199.

contemporaries.<sup>9</sup> This allegorical journey of life pilgrimage was based upon Paul's analogy between the Israelites' exodus and baptism in his First Epistle to the Corinthians (1 Cor. 10:1–4), which subsequently received detailed exegetical treatment by both Ambrose and Jerome, who outlined how the human soul proceeds by gradual and well-defined steps (*mansiones*) from being in a state of sin in Egypt through Baptism in the Red Sea to Salvation.<sup>10</sup> In patristic sacred etymology, where commentators undertook learned explications of the proper nouns and places of scripture, Etham assumed particular importance because it was the place where the sign, known as the cloud-pillar, was first revealed. Consequently, Jerome interpreted the word to mean 'fortitude and perfection' (*fortitudo atque perfectio*), 'strong or firm' (*fortis sive robustus*), and 'having concluded, or taking up, a nautical voyage' (*consummatus sive suscipiens navigationem*).<sup>11</sup>

A number of approaches to *Exodus* focus upon the patristic commonplaces of the *ascensio tortuosa* ('winding ascent') and the *ignota via* ('the unknown way') deriving from Matthew 7:13–14. Furthermore, the Israelites' exodus out of Egypt was seen as a type of victory over Hell that, as Roberts argues, influenced a number of poetic accounts of martyrdom in Prudentius' *Peristephanon*.<sup>12</sup> Vickrey, using the commonplace of the *ascensio tortuosa*,<sup>13</sup> interprets *Exodus* 54–62 as 'the difficulties that lie in the way of faith', and states that 'the obstacles to baptism or salvation which the Israelites passed through or overcame on their way to safety are, broadly, the world and the devil, i.e. Egypt and the Egyptians'.<sup>14</sup> By contrast, Helder argues that the phrase *uncuð gelad*, which is repeated at line 313b during the

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<sup>9</sup> O'Reilly, 'Bede', pp. 7–12, 18–29.

<sup>10</sup> Irving, p. 72, n. 66, citing Ambrose, *De XLII mansionibus filiorum Israel tractatus* and Jerome's *Epistola LXXVIII*. See PL 17:9–40C; I. Hilberg, *Epistulae LXXI–CXX*, CSEL 55 (Vienna, 1996), 78.49–87, respectively.

<sup>11</sup> Hilberg, *Epistulae*, ep. 78.55/4–18; Irving, pp. 72, 74, n. 81; Irving, 'New Notes', p. 298; Lucas, p. 86; F.C. Robinson, 'The Significance of Names in Old English Literature', *Anglia* 86 (1968), 14–58, at 18; M. Thiel, *Grundlagen und Gestalt der Hebräischkenntnisse des frühen Mittelalters* (Spoleto, 1973), p. 307; Tolkien, p. 41. For discussion of *Exodus*' nautical imagery, see below, p. 218.

<sup>12</sup> Roberts, *Poetry*, pp. 79–108.

<sup>13</sup> Vickery, 'Battle', p. 136.

<sup>14</sup> Vickery, 'Battle', pp. 132–38; Hermann, *Allegories*, pp. 67–8.

description of the *transitus* (*Exodus* 299–353a), represents the unknown path (*ignota via*) of the faithful, while the preceding half-line, *enge anpaðas*, refers to the narrow path to salvation or *via recta* alluded to by the *Exodus*-poet’s reference to the *rihte strate* (‘direct [or ‘straight’] road’, 126b).<sup>15</sup> Another interpretation of these verses of Matthew was the Two Ways – one strait, which leads through a narrow gate to life, and the broad one, which leads through a wide gate to perdition.<sup>16</sup> All these commonplaces stress a different aspect of the same scriptural passage in order to emphasize life pilgrimage.<sup>17</sup> However, even a cursory reading of *Exodus* 54–71a provides a sense of the orchestrated communal movement of a host through the landscape predominated by structures, alongside this metaphorical religious imagery.<sup>18</sup>

Such a conclusion means the above passage (54–71a) is comparable with the Anglo-Latin depictions of pilgrimage analysed in the previous chapter. It will be recalled that the *Vita Wynnebaldi*, with its references to the path of truth (*veritatis via*) and the narrow and rough path of the martyrs (*arctam et asperam agonithetum viam*), used *ascensio tortuosa* imagery juxtaposed with descriptions of Anglo-Saxon pilgrimage to Rome.<sup>19</sup> Therefore, lines 54–71a require further close analysis to determine whether this passage with its metaphorical imagery could nevertheless depict the material practice of pilgrimage.

Given the meaning of the verb *lædan* (‘lead, conduct, guide’), the envelope pattern created by *fyrð ... lædde* (54) and *fyrde gelædde* (62) emphasizes Moses’ role not only as leader, but as a guide and teacher of the Israelite host. The two words in the phrase *fyrð ... lædde* are not directly syntactically connected; instead, the word *fyrð* is the subject of the clause *fyrð wæs gefysed*, while the *lædde* describes how Moses, as *modig magoræswa* (‘bold

<sup>15</sup> Helder, ‘Etham’, pp. 15–16, n. 28.

<sup>16</sup> Ladner, ‘*Homo Viator*’, pp. 240–1; Roberts, *Poetry*, pp. 95–6.

<sup>17</sup> Both Lactantius’ *Divine Institutes* and Juvenus’ *Evangeliorum libri IV* make homiletic use of Mt. 7:13–14, see Green, *Latin Epics*, pp. 84–6.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. R. North, and M.D.J. Bintley, ed., *Andreas: an Edition* (Exeter, 2016), pp. 89–96.

<sup>19</sup> For discussion of the *Vita Wynnebaldi* 3.108/36–42, see above, p. 32.

leader of men’, 55a), led *mægburh heora* (‘their kinsman-fortress’, 55b). The alliterative link between *mægburh* and *magoræswa* (*modig magoræswa, mægburh heora, 55*) is established by emendation, but the other occurrences of the epithet *magoræswa* (17a, 102a) appear to relate to Moses. Thus *lædde* links two rather unusual terms, *magoræswa* and *mægburh*, which need to be investigated in turn.

Although *magoræswa* is often translated as a ‘leader, chief’,<sup>20</sup> the principal meaning of *ræswa* is ‘counsellor; one who takes thought (for the public good)’.<sup>21</sup> The *Exodus*-poet recounts how God gave not only the lives of his kinsmen (*his maga feorh, 17b*) to Moses as the bolder leader (*modgum magoræswum, 17a*),<sup>22</sup> but also a homeland to dwell in for the sons of Abraham (*onwist eðles Abrahames sunum, 18*). It is while residing at the staging-post of Etham that Moses, as the famous leader (*mære magoræswa, 102a*), issues his command for the Israelites’, who are now the *modigra mægen* (‘the troop of the brave’, 101a), to leave the camp and follow the cloud-pillar. The connection between leader, people and place is reinforced by the only other attestation of the compound, which is found in *Genesis A*, where it is said of Cush: ‘se magoræswa mægðe sinre | domas sægde’ (‘the leader delivered judgments to his tribe’, *Genesis A 1624–5a*). The preceding lines of *Genesis A* suggest that being a leader *heafodwisa* (‘chief, head, leader’, 1619b) means that Cush was, while on earth, the ‘wilna brytta and worulddugeða | broðrum sinum, botlgestreona | fæder on laste’ (‘distributor of good things, worldly prosperity, and treasure of the household (or temple), to his brothers [following] in the footsteps of his father’, *Genesis A 1620–22a*). Abraham is also described by Abimelech as a potential distributor of wealth and setter of boundaries in

<sup>20</sup> *BT*, p. 666; *CASD*, p. 228; *SDAS*, p. 113.

<sup>21</sup> *BT*, p. 785; *CASD*, p. 277; *SDAS*, p. 139. Cf. the invented biblical character of the *ræswa* in *Daniel*, who is seemingly the personification of wisdom: R.T. Farrell, ed. *Daniel and Azarias* (London, 1974), p. 35; S. Lerer, *Literacy and Power in Anglo-Saxon Literature* (Lincoln, 1991), pp. 126–57.

<sup>22</sup> Lucas states ‘*magoræswum* is dat. sg. for regular *magoræswan*’ which Tolkien attributes to error: Lucas, p. 77; Tolkien, p. 37.

*Genesis A* 2829–31.<sup>23</sup> The role of the *magoræswa* is to guide and enrich the community of people in the place they presently dwell. In *Exodus*, the Israelites are following a holy man who is both their leader and teacher.

As noted, alliteration links the *mægburh* to their bold leader (*modig magoræswa*, 55a), while the *mægburh heora* is contrasted some five lines later with the phrase *land heora* (‘their land’, 60a), which refers to the land inhabited by enigmatic *guðmyrce* (‘warlike border dwellers’, 59a) who are dispersed throughout the landscape. The compound *mægburh* is usually read to mean ‘kindred, family, relatives, tribe’ in preference to the more literal rendering ‘kinsmen-fortress’; however, the two remaining references to the *mægburh* (352a, 360a), which follow in close succession to each other, appear to support a more nuanced reading of the compound.

The remaining two references to *mægburh* are found within a passage that bridges the climatic closing lines of the *transitus* passage (299–353a), and the following transitional passage (351b–61), which itself serves to link the description of the *transitus* with the Patriarchal Digression (362–446). These lines appear to stress the Israelites’ place in God’s providential plan (351b–61):<sup>24</sup>

Cuðe æghwīlc

mægburga riht, swa him Moises bead

eorla æðelo. Him wæs an fæder,

leof leodfruma, landriht gēpah,

frod on ferhðe, freomagum leof. 355

Cende cneowsibbe cenra manna

heahfædera sum, halige þeode,

Israela cyn, onriht Godes

<sup>23</sup> See below, p. 74.

<sup>24</sup> For further discussion of these three passages, see below, p. 236.

swa þæt orþancum ealde reccað,

þa þe mægburge mæst gefrunon,

360

frumcyn feora, fæderæðelo gehwæs.

[‘Each knew the right of the tribes (or ‘kinsman-fortresses’), as Moses commanded him, the rank of the men. There was one father for them: the beloved founder of the people received the land-right, wise in spirit, [and] dear to his kinsmen. One of the Patriarchs, he begot a nation of bold men, the holy people, race of the Israelites, and the right of God, this is what the old ones expound in their wisdom, they who have known best the tribes (or ‘kinsman-fortresses), the lineage of their lives, [and] each of their ancestries.’]

The references to the *mægburga riht* (‘right of the tribes’) and *eorla æðelo* (‘rank of the men’) summarize the hierarchal nature of this formal procession of the tribes of Israel across the sea bed. The idea of the correct position of the tribes derives from an order of precedence given in Genesis 49:3–12, or, anachronistically, from the Books of Numbers and Deuteronomy.<sup>25</sup> The half-line *him wæs an fæder* introduces Abraham as the ‘father of the many tribes’ and has scriptural precedent (*patrem multarum gentium*, Ex. 17:5),<sup>26</sup> whilst also alluding to the ultimate progenitor, God, and thus linking the hexameral story with the birth of the Israelite nation. The repetition of *leof* in the phrases *leof leodfruma* (‘beloved founder of the people’, 354a) and *freomagum leof* (‘dear to his kinsmen’, 355b) links the two lines (354 and 355) and also the father (God and Abraham) to his people. The *landriht* (‘land-right’) are the rights of the individual tribes (*mægburga riht*) who, as the race of the Israelites, are themselves the *onriht* of God (358b). The enigmatic word *onriht*, which is used here as a noun, has been translated as ‘God’s peculiar people’ by Johnson, Blackburn and Kennedy,

<sup>25</sup> Lucas, pp. 117, n. 310–46, 122. Cf. Earl, ‘Christian Tradition’, p. 164, n. 59; Irving, pp. 86–7, 88.

<sup>26</sup> Irving, ‘New Notes’, p. 313; Thiel, *Grundlagen und Gestalt*, p. 224.

and understood by Tolkien as indicating that the Israelites are the ‘true/legitimate’ people of God.<sup>27</sup> Zacher argues that this passage thus represents the *Exodus*-poet’s desire to frame the Anglo-Saxons as God’s chosen people.<sup>28</sup> By contrast, Robinson, relying on Jerome’s sacred-etymological interpretation of the meaning of the word Israel as *rectus domini* (‘right of God’), rejects any sense of ‘possession, partaking of’, and asserts that the phrase *onriht Godes* is simply a translation of the name ‘Israel’.<sup>29</sup> However, such an interpretation ignores the fact that Israel was more often interpreted to mean *vir videns deum* (‘man seeing God’) or *mens videns deum* (‘mind seeing God’) by Jerome, Augustine, Gregory, and Isidore,<sup>30</sup> and so underplays the significance of these *riht*- compounds (*mægburga riht*, 352a; *landriht*, 354b; *onriht Godes*, 358b) in stressing how the Israelites partake of God’s providence. The providential meaning is further stressed in the only other surviving attestation of *onriht* in Old English poetry, which is found in the hexameral opening of *Genesis A*, where it emphasizes God’s shaping and directing hand: ‘gesette yðum heora | onrihtne ryne, rumum flode | and gefeterode’ (‘He set waves on their straight course and bound the broad flow’, 166b–8a). The *Exodus*-poet appears to be playing upon the literal sense of *mægburh* (352a, 360a) as a ‘kinsmen-fortress’ to encapsulate how each tribe is a unified structural entity, a whole section of society engaging with God and His providential will in the landscape. The term *mægburh* in the above passage (351b–61) also highlights how each kinsmen-fortress will occupy physical space in the Promised Land.

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<sup>27</sup> Blackburn, p. 53; W.S. Johnson, ‘Translation of the Old English *Exodus*’, *JEGP* 5.1 (1903), 44–57, at 52; C.W. Kennedy, trans., *The Caedmon Poems* (London, 1916), p. 110; Tolkien, p. 65.

<sup>28</sup> Zacher, *Rewriting*, p. 59. Cf. Howe, *Migration*, pp. 72–107.

<sup>29</sup> Robinson, ‘Significance’, pp. 25–6; F.C. Robinson, ‘Some Uses of Name Meanings in Old English Poetry’, *NM* 69 (1968), 161–71, at 166, n. 2.

<sup>30</sup> Thiel, *Grundlagen und Gestalt*, pp. 336–7.

In the prose attestations of *mægburh* the compound unequivocally means ‘kindred’,<sup>31</sup> but many of the poetic references could bear the sense ‘kinsmen-fortress’, most notably in *Beowulf* and *Genesis A*.<sup>32</sup> In *Beowulf*, the compound occurs in a passage where Wiglaf berates Beowulf’s men, who left him to fight the dragon with only Wiglaf as his comrade (*Beowulf* 2886b–90a):

londrihtes mot  
 þære mægburge monna æghwylc  
 idel hweorfan, syððan æðelingas  
 feorran gefricgean fleam eowerne,  
 domleasan dæd. 2890

[‘every man of the kinsman-fortress shall go deprived of their land-right, after the nobles from afar learn of your flight, an inglorious deed.’]

The passage evokes the dispossession and dispersal of the kin of Beowulf’s men from the land and structures which contain them: the emptying out or displacement of a clan as a structural entity (*burh*).

Of the eight occurrences of *mægburh* in *Genesis A*, five relate to descriptions of kindred physically establishing themselves in the landscape (*Genesis A* 1066a, 1123b, 1132a, 1695a, 1703a). One instance relates to the tribes who hubristically build the Tower of Babel that offends God (*Genesis A* 1695a).<sup>33</sup> During this activity, all the Hebrew earth-dwellers (*eorðbuend*, *Genesis A* 1648a) are described as building a stronghold (*burh*, *Genesis A* 1666a,

<sup>31</sup> For laws and the OE gloss, see F. Liebermann, ed., *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, 4 vols (Halle, 1903), Alfred’s Law 41.74 and Ine’s Law 74(1).120; *DOEWC*, *mægbur-*.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. *The Descent into Hell* 91b; *Exeter Riddle* 13 20–1; *The Fortunes of Men* 61–2; ASPR 3, pp. 155, 221; C. Williamson, ed., *The Old English Riddles of the Exeter Book* (Chapel Hill, 1977), pp. 76. By contrast, the phrase *sio mægburg* (20a) in *Exeter Riddle* 18, which may have the solution ‘sword’, appears to connote simply ‘kindred, family’: Williamson, *Riddles*, pp. 79, 197.

<sup>33</sup> See T. Major, *Undoing Babel: The Tower of Babel in Anglo-Saxon Literature* (Toronto, 2018), esp. 209–36.



[‘that you may more widely distribute wealth, the treasure of the bold ones, and set the boundary in this folk-land.’]

Here Abimelech’s *mægburge* (‘kinsman-fortress’, 2826a) is in a shifting geo-political landscape, where his kindred are implicitly threatened with exile by the supercessionist tendencies of Abraham as he establishes new strongholds and creates new boundaries in the landscape.

Given the meaning of the term *burh* (‘a high-status fortified settlement’) encompasses strongholds and minsters and was often seen as akin to the Latin *urbs* or *civitas* (‘city, major town’), the use of *mægburh* in the biblical paraphrases such as *Genesis A* and *Exodus* appears to be an attempt to encapsulate the cultural and religious identity, heritage and unity of a people by representing them as community within a stronghold.<sup>36</sup> In *Exodus*, if the Israelites are the chosen people who signify ‘man seeing God’ (*vir videns deum*) and prefigure Anglo-Saxon Christians, they do so as a community rooted in the strongholds and minsters in the landscape. Thus *Exodus* 54–71a represents a whole Christian community on the move through a foreign landscape that has parallels to the depictions of the communal pilgrimage of the monks Willibald and Wynnebald with their numerous Anglo-Saxon kinsmen and fellows.<sup>37</sup>

Another feature of *Exodus* 54–71a is the repeated use of martial imagery in relation to the Israelites.<sup>38</sup> The phrase *fyrð was gefýsed* (‘was made ready [or ‘was impelled onwards’], 54a), along with the parallel *werod was gefýsed* (221b), are passives; presumably it is God, the Prime Mover, who has impelled the Israelites to follow Moses, as the agent of God, on a

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<sup>36</sup> Cf. *DOE*, *burh*. The meaning of the term *burh* encompassed ‘hillforts, minsters and other adopted centres that are identified by the *burhtun* satellites’, see J. Blair, *Building Anglo-Saxon England* (Princeton, 2018), pp. 200–1, 232–5, at 232; Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society* (Oxford, 2005), pp. 249–50; S. Draper, ‘The Significance of Old English *burh* in Anglo-Saxon England’, *ASSAH* 15 (2008), 240–53.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. ‘cum cunctis contribulum clientello ...’, *Vita Willibaldi* 3.91/26; and ‘cum comitatu contribulum ac collegum coetu’, *Vita Wynnebaldi* 2.108/7–8. See above, pp. 36, 46.

<sup>38</sup> For discussion of martial imagery, see below, p. 225.

journey.<sup>39</sup> The Israelites are represented as a unified martial force through the repetition of the word *fyrð/fyrde* (54a, 62b) and by the use of the words and phrases *mægburh* ('kinsman-fortress', 55b); *folc* (56a); *werodes bearhtme* ('clamour of the host [or 'army']', 65b); and *mægnes mæste* ('the greatest of military forces', 67a). Further martial allusions come in the form of the words *gearwe* ('gear, arms', 59b) and *lyfthelme* ('air-helmet', 60b),<sup>40</sup> and with the use of the uniquely attested compound *ælfere* (66a), which describes the Israelites as a 'entire army' or 'foreign army', depending on whether the first element, *æl-*, is thought to mean 'entire' or 'alien'.<sup>41</sup> Given that *hæleð* is never used in *Exodus* in reference to any of the Patriarchs, and that Moses is the subject of the preceding sentences,<sup>42</sup> the emendation of *tirfæstne hæleð* to *tirfæste hæleð* ('the glory-fast men', 63b) to make the Israelites the recipients of Moses' command is understandable.<sup>43</sup> However, in *Genesis A* only God is referred to as *tirfæst* (1044a), and in *Beowulf* the term describes King Hrothgar (922a),<sup>44</sup> so to describe the Israelites as *tirfæste*, the only occurrence of the adjective in the poem, is noteworthy, not least because, as the next chapter will explore, compounds ending in *-fæst* define an elect group distinguished by their fidelity to God's providential will.<sup>45</sup>

In prose, the word *fyrð* ('army') is often associated with historical texts, especially chronicles, but of the twenty-three occurrences in poetry, ten are found in the 590 lines of *Exodus*.<sup>46</sup> By contrast, the next highest concentrations are found in *Maxims II*, where the

<sup>39</sup> The phrase *wæs gefysed* is further discussed at p. 187.

<sup>40</sup> Lucas, pp. 84–5.

<sup>41</sup> Lucas, pp. 86, 172; Irving, p. 100. Cf. Tolkien, p. 41; Irving, 'New Notes', p. 297–8.

<sup>42</sup> *Hæleð* refers to men generally (7a, 376b, 388b, 394b), the Israelites (78b, 252a) and the Egyptians (512b, 468a).

<sup>43</sup> The manuscript reading of *tirfæstne hæleð* suggests an accusative singular applying to Moses with God as the subject, see Thorpe, p. 181. Cf. the editorial emendation, *tirfæste*: ASPR 1, pp. 92, 201; Irving, pp. 46, 71–2; Lucas, p. 86; Sedgfield, pp. 87, 176–7; Tolkien, p. 3.

<sup>44</sup> The adjective *tirfæst* is also attested as qualifying the nouns meaning: army (*Maxims II* 32a); land (*The Phoenix* 69b); sign (*The Phoenix* 574a); man (*The Death of Edgar* 13a); rule (*Psalms* 95 of the Paris Psalter 9); and covenant (*The Husband's Message* 12, and *Psalms* 100 of the Paris Psalter 6). See N. Blake, *The Phoenix* (Exeter, 1990), p. 64.

<sup>45</sup> See below, p. 118.

<sup>46</sup> *DOEWC*, *fyrð*.

three occurrences refer to two truisms, namely that the army must hold together, the legion of glory-fast (*fyrð sceal ætsomne, | tirfæstra getrum*, 31b–2a), and that armies must contend with each other (*fyrð wið fyrde*, 52a).<sup>47</sup> Further clusters are found in *Genesis A* (1961b, 2044a) and *Genesis B* (408b, 689a), which both contain two references each.<sup>48</sup> In *Exodus*, the word *fyrð* refers to the Israelites on all but two occasions. These two exceptions, if the manuscript reading is accepted at line 472a, suggest the *Exodus*-poet is drawing an ironic contrast between the image of when the Pharaoh’s army set forth (*fyrð Faraonis forð ongan*, 156a) in pursuit of the Israelites, and the later reference to a doomed army soon to be consumed by the destructive waters of the Red Sea (472a).<sup>49</sup> With the exception of the reference to the tribe of Judah during the *transitus* (331a), the Israelites as a whole are described as an army (*fyrð*) when being made ready, led, quietened or described as eager (54a, 62b, 254b, 223b), but more unusually upon seeing the holy sails of the cloud-pillar (88b), upon receiving terrifying news (135), and whilst they are guarded by God’s great hand (275b).<sup>50</sup> Certain actions of Israelites are also described in martial terms, such as when they make camp by the shores of the Red Sea (*fyrðwic aras*, 129b), and sing a war-song (*fyrðleoð*, 578b) in gratitude and triumph at their salvation at the end of the poem despite the fact that no battle has been fought. The uniquely attested compound, *fyrðgetrum* (‘band of warriors’) creates a contrast between the Israelites as the people of the Creator (*Metodes folce*, 102b) and the eager military force (*fus fyrðgetrum*, 103a), and the Egyptians who are commanded to hold earnestly the military formation and unity as they process towards combat (*healdan georne | fæst fyrðgetrum*, 177b–178a). It is as if the Israelites’ eagerness to set off again upon

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<sup>47</sup> ASPR 6, pp. 56–7.

<sup>48</sup> Doane, *Saxon Genesis*, pp. 215, 225.

<sup>49</sup> The manuscript reading *witrodre fyrde* (‘doomed army’, 472a) is retained by Blackburn, Irving, and Krapp, but emended by Lucas and Tolkien to *witrodre wyrde* (‘ordained fate’), see Blackburn, p. 27; Irving, pp. 62, 93; ASPR 1, p. 104; Lucas, p. 134; Tolkien, p. 15, respectively.

<sup>50</sup> For discussion of the sign of the Cross, the fearful vigil, and God’s providential hand; see below, pp. 144, 181, 189, respectively.

the next stage of their wayfaring is being contrasted with the Egyptians' focus upon martial rigour for its own sake.<sup>51</sup>

In sum, describing the Israelites as a *fyrð* (army) provides a sense of unity of purpose to their often symbolic or ritualistic activities, but also stresses that as an army they must be directed by a notable leader.

In contrast to Moses leading the Israelites as both a *mægburh* and *fyrð*, there are images of hostile people dispersed throughout the landscape: *land ond leodgeord laðra manna* ('land and territory of hostile men, 57); *guðmyrce* ('warlike border dwellers', 59a); *feondum* ('enemies', 64a); *brune leode* ('people dark-coloured', 70b); and *Sigelwara land* ('land of the sun-dwellers', 69b). In line 68, the phrase *nearwe genyddon* (68a) means either 'difficulties forced the Israelites', or 'with difficulty they pressed', onto the northerly paths (*on norðwegas*, 68b).<sup>52</sup> These threats and difficulties in the landscape are largely seen as symbolic.

The compound *guðmyrce* is read as 'battle-blacks',<sup>53</sup> 'hostile frontier',<sup>54</sup> 'warlike border dwellers (or 'borderers')',<sup>55</sup> or even an abstract noun meaning 'the darkness of battle'.<sup>56</sup> The compound's sense of the menace derives in part from the following line which stresses a land covered by cloud or shade (*wæron land heora lyfthelme beþeapt*, 60).<sup>57</sup> By contrast, Blackburn argues that the uniquely attested compound *lyfthelme* ('air-, sky-, or cloud-protection, -summit, -helmet or covering', 60b) signals the presence of the cloud-

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<sup>51</sup> The manuscript reads *syrð getrum* (178a). Cf. Busse who argues that the word *fyrð* in *Exodus* represents a symbolic debate between two *fyrde* or communities, the reformers and the conservatives, during the late tenth-century Benedictine Reform ('Neo-Exegetical Criticism', pp. 36–54).

<sup>52</sup> Lucas, pp. 86–7.

<sup>53</sup> Blackburn, p. 173.

<sup>54</sup> Thorpe, p. 181.

<sup>55</sup> Irving, p. 110, Irving, 'New Notes', p. 297; Lucas, p. 84; Sedgfield, p. 211; Tolkien, p. 40.

<sup>56</sup> J.R. Hall, 'Two Dark Old English Compounds: *ælmyrcan* (*Andreas* 432a) and *guðmyrce* (*Exodus* 59a)', *Journal of English Linguistics* 20 (1987), 38–47.

<sup>57</sup> Hall, 'Two Dark Old English Compounds', p. 43; Irving, p. 71; Irving, 'New Notes', p. 297; Vickrey, 'Battle', p. 135; Wilson, *Christian Theology*, pp. 124–5. Lynch suggests that *lyfthelm* is used to evoke a landscape similar to the misty moor depicted in *Beowulf* (discussed below): 'Enigmatic Diction', p. 200–2.

pillar,<sup>58</sup> however, given that the reference precedes the first mention of Etham at line 66b, it is difficult to see how the audience could make the scriptural connection between the cloud-pillar and Etham (Ex. 13:20–2), other than retrospectively. Line 60 does though create a distinction between land and sky that serves to highlight how men and man-made structures, such as the *mægburh* (kinsman-fortresses) and *mearchofu* (‘borderland dwellings’), intrude between the two.<sup>59</sup> Such imagery grounds the description rather than rendering it more abstract. The *guðmyrce* is given metaphorical meaning by Vickrey, who, developing Robinson’s parallel between the reference to the Egyptians as the *eorp werod* (‘dark host’, 194a) and the fact that in sacred etymology the name Egyptian was associated with darkness (*tenebrae*), argues that the Egyptians are the *guðmyrce*.<sup>60</sup> Given the emphasis upon *mearc*-compounds in *Exodus* 54–71a,<sup>61</sup> such as *mearchofu* (‘borderland dwellings’, 61a) and *mearclandum on* (‘in the borderlands’, 67b), and the implication that these hostile peoples are dispersed through the landscape, there seems little reason why the compound *guðmyrce* cannot refer to the generic danger of ‘warlike border dwellers’ in a foreign landscape, in a similar way to the descriptions of the hostile soldiery in the Anglo-Latin *vitae* analysed in the previous chapter.<sup>62</sup> The fact that the pursuing Egyptians are later depicted (154–99) as treading the marchland (*mearc*, 160b), likened to predatory wolves (*mearcweardas* – 168a), and referred to as a *mearcpreate* (‘border-army’, 173b) only emphasizes the landscape through which the Israelites have had to navigate and its inherent dangers.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> Blackburn, p. 38.

<sup>59</sup> Cf. the only other attestation of *lyfthelm* in *Maxims II*: ‘Brim seal sealte weallan, | lyfthelm and laguflod ymb ealra landa gehwylc, | flowan firgenstreamas’ (‘The salt sea must surge, and mighty currents flow around every land, of ocean-tide and cloud-covering’, 45b–7a), where it too denotes a sense of scale and encompassment.

<sup>60</sup> Robinson, ‘Significance’, pp. 26–7; Vickrey, ‘Battle’, pp. 135–6. See also Helder, ‘Etham’, p. 9.

<sup>61</sup> The word *mearc* is further discussed below at p. 88.

<sup>62</sup> Irving, p. 71; Tolkien, p. 40. See below, p. 44.

<sup>63</sup> Cf. Sharma’s reading of *mearc*, *fæsten*, and *fæst* in *Exodus*, where he likens the first two to the division between the letter and spirit of Christian exegesis: M. Sharma, ‘Movement and Space as Metaphor in Old English Poetry’ (unpubl. PhD dissertation, University of Cambridge, 2001), pp. 100–37.

The enemy in *Exodus* 54–71a is also framed in terms of heat and fire: *forbærned burhhleoðu, brune leode | hatum heofoncolum* (70–71a).<sup>64</sup> The *sigelware* (‘sun-dwellers’) are thought to denote the Ethiopians, who were variously interpreted in Latin sacred etymology as *humilis* (‘lowly’), *caligo* (‘gloom’) *tenebrae* (‘darkness’) or as *deiecti* (‘the cast down ones’).<sup>65</sup> Although Lucas rejects outright any allegorical interpretation suggesting that the Ethiopians are darkened through sin,<sup>66</sup> this unpleasant association is made in *Rogationtide Homily 9*, where it is said of the devil’s angel that ‘se bið swa sweart swa hræfen oððe Silharewa’ (‘he will be as dark as a raven or an Ethiopian’, 9.121/11–12).<sup>67</sup> A similar link is made in Jonas of Bobbio’s seventh-century *Vita Columbani* suggesting such parallels had currency in the early medieval world.<sup>68</sup> Although the reference to the *Sigelwara land* has been interpreted positively, it does appear as if these ‘sun-dwellers’, whoever they are, and their landscape are one of the many dangers to be avoided along the route.<sup>69</sup> Such metaphorical language can intensify the association between earthly afflictions and divine punishment, a theme that will be returned throughout the thesis.

Nevertheless, the suggestion that *Exodus* 54–71a depicts a symbolic landscape appears to be re-enforced by the fact that the line *enge anpaðas, uncuð gelad* (58) is also found in *Beowulf* (1410), where it is contained with a passage which seems to describe a mythical landscape (*Beowulf* 1408–17a):

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<sup>64</sup> For the discussion of signs, heat and fire, see below, p. 149.

<sup>65</sup> Thiel, *Grundlagen und Gestalt*, p. 307. Cf. Breeze who interprets *Exodus* 68–71a as a literal reference to Ethiopians deriving from a verse in the Habakkuk 3:7 adopted by the Antiochene exegete Theodore of Mopsuestia in his commentary of on Habakkuk, which was transmitted through the Canterbury School of Theodore of Tarsus (668–690): A. Breeze, ‘The Book of Habakkuk and the Old English *Exodus*’, *ES* 75.3 (1994), 210–13.

<sup>66</sup> Lucas, p. 87, citing Jerome, *Hebr. nom.* 2, 16; Thiel, *Grundlagen und Gestalt*, p. 307. Cf. Moore’s suggestion that the reference to Ethiopians derives from an old legend recounting how they made war against Egypt during Moses’ youth: S. Moore, ‘On the Sources of the Old English *Exodus*’, *Modern Philology* 9.1 (1911), 83–108, at 23.

<sup>67</sup> *Rogationtide Homily 8* is edited from Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Hatton 114, ff. 102v–105v, untitled: *EOERH*, pp. 121–3.

<sup>68</sup> B. Krusch, ed., *Vita Columbani abbatis discipulorumque eius libri duo*, MGH SRG (Hanover, 1905), 2(19).273/31.

<sup>69</sup> Helder suggests the *Sigelwaras* are a type of the Church (‘Etham’, pp. 11–12, 19–23).

Ofereode þa æþelinga bearn  
 steap stanhliðo, stige nearwe,  
 enge anpaðas, uncuð gelad, 1410  
 neowle næssas, nicorhusa fela;  
 he feara sum beforan gengde  
 wisra monna wong sceawian,  
 oþ þæt he færinga fyrgenbeamas  
 ofer harne stan hleonian funde, 1415  
 wynleasne wudu; wæter under stod  
 dreorig ond gedrefed.

[‘Then the son of nobles traversed the steep stony hill-sides, difficult (or ‘narrow’) way(s), narrow lonely tracks, unknown paths, precipitous headlands, with many dwelling-places-of-sea-monsters; he [Beowulf] went in front, with a few experienced men, to explore the plain, until suddenly, he found mountain-trees leaning over a hoary stone, a joyless wood; water stood beneath, blood-stained and agitated.’]

The echoes between *Exodus* and *Beowulf* were noted by Klaeber and, more recently, Lynch,<sup>70</sup> who, based upon her analysis of lines shared by the two poems, concluded that the *Exodus*-poet borrowed from *Beowulf*.<sup>71</sup> The conclusion was based upon the observation that the line *enge anpaðas, uncuð gelad* appears less fitting in *Exodus* than it does in *Beowulf*. Lynch argues that in *Beowulf* there is an emphasis upon the eponymous hero travelling through the

<sup>70</sup> Klaeber, ‘Concerning’, pp. 218–24; Lynch, ‘Enigmatic Diction’, pp. 262–4.

<sup>71</sup> Lynch, ‘Enigmatic Diction’, pp. 171–256. Klaeber asserted *Beowulf* borrowed from *Exodus*, before later concluding that both poems may have borrowed from lines 524–5 of book 11 of Virgil’s *Aeneid*, which led him to return to favouring the priority of *Beowulf*. Klaeber, ‘Concerning’, pp. 218–24; F. Klaeber, ‘Beowulfiana’, *Anglia* 50 (1926), 195–244, at 202–3; Mynors, *Vergili ... Opera*, pp. 379; A. Orchard, ‘Fresh Terror, New Horror: Fear and the Unfamiliar in the Old English *Exodus*’, in *Fear in Medical and Literary Imagination, Medieval to Modern: Dreadful Passions*, ed. D. McCann and C. McKechnie-Mason (London, 2018), pp. 131–56, at 153.

aquatic landscape of the Grendelkin, where the *uncuð gelad*, echoing the earlier reference *fengelad* (1359a) in *Beowulf* 1357b–61a, is associated with a ‘watery way’.<sup>72</sup> She suggests that while the imagery in *Beowulf* 1408–17a is literal, the use of *uncuð gelad* (with its aquatic connotations) in *Exodus* is a metaphorical allusion to the later nautical references, depictions of the *transitus* (299–353a) and the Destruction of the Egyptians (447–515).<sup>73</sup> Her conclusion is that ‘the *Exodus*-poet’s use of the heroic poem, *Beowulf*, in order to allude to biblical ideas, and the *Beowulf*-poet’s use of biblical material in a poem relating the tales of pagan heroes reflects a fusion between the Christian and the heroic that is typical of Old English poetry’.<sup>74</sup> Yet, it is possible that both *Exodus* 54–71a and *Beowulf* 1408–17 have elements of the literal and symbolic in their depicted landscapes to aid their central narrative theme.

The above passage (*Beowulf* 1408–17a) not only shares a line with *Exodus*, but has been identified by Morris as a close parallel to a description given in *Blickling Homily 16* depicting Saint Paul’s vision of Hell.<sup>75</sup> Examining the potential textual relationships between *Blickling Homily 16*, the Latin apocryphal *Visio S. Pauli*, and *The Letter of Alexander to Aristotle* is beyond the scope of this thesis,<sup>76</sup> but the parallels between *Beowulf* 1408–17a and other texts do suggest that borrowing and adaptation of material across different genres and forms was far from uncommon.<sup>77</sup> Although there are references to ‘steep stony hill-sides’ (*steap stanhliðo*, *Beowulf* 1409a), ‘precipitous headlands’ (*neowle næssas*, 1411a), the plain

<sup>72</sup> D. Cronan, ‘Old English *gelad*: “a Passage across Water”’, *Neophilologus* 71.2 (1987), 316–19; Gelling, ‘Landscape of *Beowulf*’, *ASE* 31 (2002), 7–11, at 10–11; Lynch, ‘Enigmatic Diction’, pp. 186–202.

<sup>73</sup> Lynch, ‘Enigmatic Diction’, p. 189.

<sup>74</sup> Lynch, ‘Enigmatic Diction’, p. 233.

<sup>75</sup> Morris actually numbers this homily as *Blickling Homily 17*, which has been subsequently revised because the fragment numbered as *Blickling Homily 16* has been identified as part of his *Homily 4*: R. Morris, ed., *The Blickling Homilies with a Translation and Index of Words together with The Blickling Glosses*, EETS O.S. 58, 63, 73 (Oxford, 1874–80), pp. 197–210, at 209 and 211; A. Orchard, *A Critical Companion to Beowulf* (Cambridge, 2003), p. 157.

<sup>76</sup> C. Brown, ‘*Beowulf* and the Blickling Homilies and Some Textual Notes’, *PMLA* 53.4 (1938), 905–16 ‘*Beowulf*’; Orchard, *Critical Companion*, pp. 25–39, 157–8; C.D. Wright, *The Irish Tradition in Old English Literature*, CSASE 6 (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 116–36.

<sup>77</sup> Cf. the extensive borrowing by anonymous vernacular homilists, see below, p. 113.

(*wong*, 1413b), mountain-trees (*fyrgebeamas*, 1414b), and a joyless wood (*wynleasne wudu*, 1416a), the landscape clearly has mythological connotations with its references to monsters (*nicorhusa fela*) and a wooded grove with a blood-stained and agitated pool (‘*wynleasne wudu; wæter under stod | dreorig ond gedrefed*’, 1416–17a).<sup>78</sup> Although seemingly a literal reference, the half-line *ofer harne stan* (1415a), which is seen as a commonplace formula by Greenfield,<sup>79</sup> alludes to, and contrasts with, three references to *under harne stan* (887b, 2553b, 2744b), which refer to Sigemund’s and Beowulf’s respective subterranean battles with the dragon, and lastly to the dragon’s hoard itself. Each of these references to a hoary stone evokes places associated with evil where battle has to be undertaken. The reference to *harne stan* is thought to refer to a boundary marker or stone, which although naturally able to connote the divide between the familiar world of human activity and the frightening supernatural world, is fundamentally a phrase associated with the delineation of ancient physical boundaries in Anglo-Saxon charters.<sup>80</sup> Thus *Beowulf* combines literal and metaphorical imagery that contextualizes the poem’s wider quasi-historical poetic narrative of famous Germanic ancestors within the Anglo-Saxon landscape, whilst also amplifying the metaphorical symbolism of a battle between good and evil.<sup>81</sup>

With the preterite verb *ofereode*, *Beowulf* 1408–17 opens with a synonym of *Exodus*’ *oferfor* (56a), as Beowulf, leading his small number of experienced men (‘*he feara sum beforan gengde | wisra monna*’, *Beowulf* 1412–13a), traversed (*ofereode*, *Beowulf* 1408a) the land of the Grendelkin to undertake battle. By contrast, Moses leading his larger chosen community (*mægburh*) passed through (*oferfor*, 56a) a marchland dominated by the *burh*,

<sup>78</sup> Lynch, ‘Enigmatic Diction’, pp. 189–202; H. Magennis, *Images of Community in Old English Poetry*, CSASE 18 (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 121–43.

<sup>79</sup> Greenfield, *Hero*, p. 96.

<sup>80</sup> The phrase *harne stan* refers to ruins and citadels in both *Andreas* (841b) and *The Ruin* (43a). See W. Cooke, ‘Two Notes on *Beowulf* (with Glances at *Vafþrúðnismál*, *Blickling Homily 16*, and *Andreas*, Lines 839–846)’, *Medium Ævum* 72.2 (2003), 297–301; M. Swisher, ‘Beyond the Hoar Stone’, *Neophilologus* 86 (2002), 133–6.

<sup>81</sup> Orchard, *Critical Companion*, pp. 98–105, 130–202.

*fæsten* and *hof*. Irving notes that contrary to scripture, the Israelites appear to engage with the hostile landscape rather than avoid it completely, for the verb *oferfaran* as a transitive verb means to ‘pass, cross (a river, boundary); pass through, traverse; penetrate; come upon’, rather than ‘passed by’, as it is sometimes translated.<sup>82</sup> The term *oferfor*, when read as ‘traversed’ or ‘ranged over’, complements the appositional phrase *land ond leodgeard* (or indeed, *land ond leodweard*), but fits very oddly with its object, the *fæstena worn* (‘a multitude of strongholds’). The meaning of the verb *oferfor* is contingent upon understanding the meaning and function of the phrases *land ond leodgeard* and *fæstena worn*.

The phrase *land ond leodgeard* (‘land and enclosure of folk’, 57a) is another instance of editorial emendation, since Lucas’ text of *Exodus*, which is the base text for this thesis, reads *leodgeard* (‘territory of the people’ or ‘enclosure of folk’) rather than manuscript form *leodweard*, mainly because the phrase occurs in *Genesis A*, with an accompanying genitive (229a and 1773a).<sup>83</sup> However, the compound *leodweard* is attested twice within the phrase *land ond leodweard* in *Genesis A* (1180a and 1195a), and is glossed by Doane as ‘rule over the people, governance’.<sup>84</sup> In *Exodus*, Blackburn, Farrell and Tolkien retain this manuscript reading, translating *leodweard* as ‘prince, King’, the ‘people’s possession’ or ‘that which the people keeps’, and ‘rule of people, lordship’, respectively.<sup>85</sup> Irving’s revised opinion is that ‘*leodweard* may mean something more concrete’ and be the equivalent in meaning to that of *fæsten* (‘stronghold’) in the appositional phrase *a fæstena worn* (‘multitude of strongholds’, 56b), in which case the phrase would be ‘land and strongholds’.<sup>86</sup> However, the suggestion

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<sup>82</sup> Irving, p. 70, n. 57, citing Ex. 13:17–18. Cf. Lucas who glosses *oferfaran* as ‘pass by’: Lucas, p. 193.

<sup>83</sup> Lucas, p. 84. See also ASPR 1, p. 200; Doane, *Genesis A*, pp. 155, 213, 438; Irving, p. 46.

<sup>84</sup> Doane, *Genesis A*, pp. 177, 439.

<sup>85</sup> Blackburn, pp. 6, 187; R.T. Farrell, ‘Eight Notes on Old English *Exodus*’, *NM* 67 (1966), 364–75, at 367; Tolkien, p. 39.

<sup>86</sup> Irving, following Dobbie, cites the example of *Beowulf*, where *leoda fæsten* (‘stronghold of the people’, 2333a) and *eorðweard ðone* (‘that earth-guard [or ‘stronghold’], 2334b) are in apposition: Irving, ‘New Notes’, p.296, n. 57; E.V.K. Dobbie, ‘Review of the *Old English Exodus* by E. B. Irving’, *JEGP* 53.2 (1954), 229–31, at 230; Fulke *et al.*, *Klaeber’s Beowulf*, p. 80.

that *leodweard* constitutes a structure is not consistent with the other uses of *weard* and its compound forms in *Exodus*, where a person, animal or God exercises control over a thing or a place.<sup>87</sup> Therefore *leodweard* probably means something akin to ‘people-guard’ and connotes a proprietorship and control of a people contained within an area of land, whereas *leodgeard* places more emphasis upon the area itself. In either case, the sense is of a hostile population dispersed throughout the landscape.

The word *fæsten* is a homograph of two nouns of differing lexical meaning, which the *DOE* distinguishes by the use of the designations: *fæsten*<sup>1</sup> (‘firm place, firmament, fortified place, fastness, confinement, a gloss on *claustrum* (as monastic cloister), tomb, prison, hell) and *fæsten*<sup>2</sup> (‘fast, fasting’). Assuming for now that the meaning of *fæstena worn* is confined to the noun *fæsten*<sup>1</sup>, the phrase could denote either a ‘stronghold’ or as in the case of the famous border-wanderer (*mære mearcstapa*, *Beowulf* 103a), Grendel, who kept the wastelands (*se þe moras heold*, *Beowulf* 103b), a ‘fastness’ (‘place by its nature fortified against incursion’) as in phrase *fen ond fæsten* (‘fen and fastnesses’, *Beowulf* 104a). The word *fæsten* generally appears to have been of a more ambiguous and less elevated status than that of the *burh*.<sup>88</sup> The possibility that the phrase *fæstena worn* may mean a ‘multitude of fastnesses’ fits well with the line *land ond leodgeord laðra manna* (‘land and territory of hostile men, 57b), and the suggestion that the *guðmyrce* (‘warlike border dwellers’, 59a) are dispersed throughout ‘a wilderness containing borderland dwellings’ (*mearchofu mor heald*, 61a). However, in Biblical and hagiographical vernacular poetry, the *fæsten* most often denotes a stronghold, with the exception of *Guthlac A* (808b), which refers to fasting

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<sup>87</sup> Pertinent examples of *-weard* include: the Egyptians who are called the *burhweardas* (‘the guardians-of-the-stronghold’, 39a); the pursuing Pharaoh when described as the *laðne lastweard* (‘hateful guardian-of-the-track/pursuer’, 138a) and the *guðweard gumena* (‘war-guard/leader of the warriors’, 174a); and the Egyptians or wolves which are referred to as *mearcweardas* (‘guardians-of-the-borders’, 168a).

<sup>88</sup> J. Baker, ‘Old English *fæsten*’, in *A Commodity of Good Names: Essays in Honour of Margaret Gelling*, ed. O.J. Padel and D.N. Parsons (Donington, 2008), pp. 333–44.

(*fæsten*<sup>89</sup>). The *fæsten* is the refuge in *Elene* (134a) and in *Genesis A* where the stronghold is a retreat for the sinners of Sodom and Gomorrah (2006a) and Lot (2523a, 2530a, 2536a, 2592b). The other two instances of the word in *Beowulf* also refer to strongholds (2333b, 2950b).<sup>90</sup> The phrase *fæstena worn* in *Exodus* could therefore denote ‘multitude of strongholds’ belonging to the hostile peoples that the Israelites have to avoid. Either way the *fæstena worn* are often interpreted as hostile places to be avoided or as obstacles to the Israelites’ salvation.<sup>91</sup> However, such a reading underplays the deeper significance of the stronghold for the Israelites.

One of the central contrasts in *Exodus* 54–71a is between the *burh* (*mægburh*, 55b; *Æthanes byrig*, 66b) on the one hand, and the dispersed settlements of the *mearchofu* (61b) and the *land ond leodgeord laðra manna* (‘land and territory of hostile men, 57b) on the other. The significance of the *mægburh* was discussed above,<sup>92</sup> but only in *Exodus* 54–71a is Etham described as a high-status stronghold (*Æthanes byrig*, 66b), whereas in the following passage, when the Israelites actually arrive at the staging-post, it is described as the third encampment or camping place (*þridda wic*, 87b; *wicsteal*, 92b).<sup>93</sup> There is no biblical precedent for Etham being akin to a city (*burh*),<sup>94</sup> yet regardless of whether the Israelites are the *tirfæste hæleð* and who is actually giving the commands (Moses or God), it is clear that the Israelites as a host and an army camp around Etham: ‘heht ... tirfæste hæleð | ... ymbwicigean werodes bearhtme | mid ælfere Æthanes byrig, | mægnes mæste’ (63–7a).

<sup>89</sup> See *Judith* (143a), and *Andreas* (1034a, 1068b, 1177b, 1544a) and also the compound *fæstengeat* (‘fortress-gate’, *Judith* 162): Brooks, *Andreas*, pp. 33, 34, 38, 50; M.S. Griffith, ed., *Judith* (Exeter, 1997), p. 101.

<sup>90</sup> The other instances of *fæsten* are the ‘firmament’ (148a, 153a), and ‘fortress’ (1056b), based upon an interpolation by Krapp in the ASPR. See Doane, *Genesis A*, p. 316, n. 1056; ASPR 1, p. 34; P.O.E. Gradon, ed., *Cynewulf’s Elene* (Exeter, 1977), p. 134. The compound *burhfæsten* is used the phrase *beorna burhfæsten* (‘a fortified city of men’, 1680a) in *Genesis A*. The poem *Elene* is thought to date between 750 and 850: Fulk, *History*, p. 368. All quotations of *Elene* are from Gradon’s edition.

<sup>91</sup> Hall, ‘Two Dark Old English Compounds’, pp. 42–3; Helder, ‘Etham’, p. 9; Lynch, ‘Enigmatic Diction’, p. 197; Vickrey, ‘Battle’, pp. 134–5.

<sup>92</sup> See above, p. 70.

<sup>93</sup> For further discussion of the repetitious reference to Etham, see below, p. 148.

<sup>94</sup> Lucas, p. 86.

Helder suggests that Etham might be the stronghold of the devil, yet, the above analysis of *Exodus* 54–71a found only positive connotations for this third *mansio*.<sup>95</sup> Furthermore, the term *fæstena worn* may have affinities with these references to the *burh*. The alliterative stress in lines 56 and 66 highlights the paired words: *folce* and *fæstena worn*, and *ælfere* (‘entire army’ or a ‘foreign army’) and *Æthanes byrig* respectively, thus linking the Israelites with both Etham and the enigmatic *fæstena worn*.

In *Exodus*, the term *fæsten* appears twice in close succession (49a, 56b) to refer to some indistinct stronghold, and is used in two compounds *wealfæsten* (‘rampart’, 283a) and *sæfæsten* (‘sea-stronghold’, 127b) to describe the Red Sea, evidencing what Lynch has referred to as *Exodus*’ prominent use of ‘architectural metaphors’.<sup>96</sup> These references to structures do not appear to be elegiac emblems of the ‘wreckage of social cohesion’ and a ‘*topos* of mutability’ with its concomitant *ubi sunt* theme,<sup>97</sup> instead they seem to reflect ‘architectural metaphors’ that assert order, in a similar way to the symbol of the hall, and convey a sense of divine and human creation.<sup>98</sup> Wehlau, who does not analyse *Exodus*, also asserts that strongholds can emphasize spiritual strength and fastness.<sup>99</sup> The *fæsten* as a stronghold is often seen as a refuge and place to flee to in vernacular poetry. The association of the *burh* with Etham as one of the forty-two staging-posts (*mansiones*) of biblical exegesis is not an accident. The *burh* as a *civitas* was associated with a whole genre of poetry praising the city (*laus urbis*) modelled upon Rome, which in a Christian context included the possession of martyrs and saints relics, but extended in Anglo-Saxon England to include Alcuin’s *Versus de patribus regibus et sanctis Euboricensis ecclesiae*, Æthelwulf’s *De*

<sup>95</sup> Helder, ‘Etham’, pp. 6–8. Cf. Vickrey, ‘Battle’, pp. 132–7.

<sup>96</sup> Lynch ‘Enigmatic diction’, pp. 146–8, 149–53, 261, at 149.

<sup>97</sup> R.M. Liuzza, ‘The Tower of Babel: *The Wanderer* and the Ruins of History’, *Literary Imagination* 36.1 (2003), 1–35, at 4, 11.

<sup>98</sup> Magennis, *Images*, pp. 40–2; R. Wehlau, *The Riddle of Creation: Metaphor Structures in Old English Poetry* (New York, 1997), pp. 15–54.

<sup>99</sup> Wehlau, *Riddle*, pp. 40–4.

*Abbatibus*, and, arguably, *The Ruin*.<sup>100</sup> These would be equivalent to the major religious centres that served as staging-posts on Willibald and Wynnebald's pilgrimage to Rome.

If the ambiguous nature of *fæsten* in the phrase *fæstena worn* is accepted, then it can represent both the fortifications and fortress-like places of the dispersed hostile peoples that the Israelites have to avoid, and, the strongholds providing places of retreat or refuge for the Israelites during their journey of stages through the hostile landscape. Consequently, the preterite verb *oferfor* in *Exodus* 54–71a, when read as 'passed through' can make sense when applied to both the phrases *land ond leodgeard*, and *fæstena worn*. The verb describes the host led by Moses navigating its way through a landscape divided between the known and the unfamiliar, similar to that descriptions of the material practice of pilgrimage in the Anglo-Latin hagiographies discussed in the previous chapter.

The Israelites' journey along boundaries is repeatedly emphasized. For Lynch, the emphasis upon the *mearc* ('limit, boundary; territory within the boundaries') is another indicator of an alien and symbolic landscape,<sup>101</sup> but Lucas has speculated, citing the work of Ó Riain, whether such border-roads following territorial boundaries with defensive strongholds such as Etham could be Celtic in origin,<sup>102</sup> and Howe has remarked the '*mearc* is no-man's land, the zone between captivity and liberation, which must be crossed to reach the Red Sea'.<sup>103</sup> The phrase *enge anpaðas* is usually translated as 'narrow lonely paths', however, as scholars have noted, *anpæð* means 'a path for one person, narrow path, defile'

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<sup>100</sup> A. Campbell, ed., *Æthelwulf: De Abbatibus* (Oxford, 1967), pp. 2–65; Curtius, *European Literature*, pp. 157–8; P. Godman, ed., *Alcuin: The Bishops, Kings, and Saints of York*, OMT (Oxford, 1982), pp. lxxxviii–xciii; 2–135. See generally, P. Howlett, 'Two Old English Encomia', *English Studies* 57.4 (1976), 289–93; M. Schlauch, 'An Old English *Encomium Urbis*', *JEGP* 40.1 (1941), 14–28; P. Zanna, '*Descriptiones urbium* and Elegy in Latin and Vernaculars, in the Early Middle Ages. At the Crossroads between Civic Engagement, Artistic Enthusiasm and Religious Meditation', *Studi Medievali* 32.2 (1991), 523–96.

<sup>101</sup> Lynch, 'Enigmatic Diction', pp. 197–9.

<sup>102</sup> Lucas, ed., p. 84, citing P. Ó Riain, 'Boundary Association in Early Irish Society', *Studia Celtica* 7 (1972) 12–29.

<sup>103</sup> Howe, *Migration*, p. 83.

suggesting movement in single-file,<sup>104</sup> as if in procession.<sup>105</sup> Clearly, all of these images can possess a metaphorical connotation, but, given that the Introduction noted that *Exodus* emphasizes an immersive journey through its use of the word *sið*, in simplex and compound forms, the allusion to the *ascensio tortuosa* (‘winding ascent’) commonplace may be designed to give greater religious meaning to an arduous and dangerous journey.

In sum, *Exodus* 54–71a describes a host led by their spiritual leader and teacher on a circuitous martial procession, with at least parts of the journey undertaken in single file, navigating through a hostile marchland in order to reach the various staging-posts, whilst avoiding other hostile fortifications. The host appears to move to these citadels as a communal entity (*mægburh*). The *mægburh* has natural parallels to the *ecclesia* (‘assembly, congregation, church’) with its dual meaning of congregation and church. The imagery resonates with religious symbolism, but, nevertheless, appears consistent with depictions of physical communal journeying in the Anglo-Latin *vitae* with its staging-posts and shrines.<sup>106</sup> It will be recalled that Boniface made explicit references to his priests ‘stationed throughout many places for the aid of the Church and the people’ and ‘living in poverty near the *marca* of the pagans’.<sup>107</sup> All these Anglo-Latin references were suggested as examples of the material practice of pilgrimage. This potential interaction between Latin and Old English words is a reminder of blurred boundaries and suggests that, instead of depicting any specific place, *Exodus* 54–71a might be evoking a journey of pilgrimage through a partially

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<sup>104</sup> Lynch, ‘Enigmatic Diction’, p. 193; Fulke *et al.*, *Klaeber’s Beowulf*, pp. 203, n.1409, and 349.

<sup>105</sup> Cf. the numerous other references to paths in *Exodus*, which are further discussed where appropriate: *rihte stræte* (126b); *on laðra last* (‘on the path of the hated ones’, 167a) and *on leofes last* (‘on the path of the loved one’ 337a); *milpaðas* (‘mile-paths’, 171a); *haswe herestræta* (‘dusky military-roads’, 284a); *æflastum gewuna* (‘accustomed path’, 474a); *witrod* (‘war-track, road along which an army has passed’, 492b); Cf. Breeze who suggests that *milpað* may be of Welsh derivation meaning an ‘army road, highway’: A. Breeze, ‘*Exodus*, *Elene*, and *The Rune Poem: milpæð* “Army Road, Highway”’, *NQ* 38 (1991), 436–8. See also F.L. Michelet, ‘Lost at Sea: Nautical Travels in the Old English *Exodus*, the Old English *Andreas*, and Accounts of the *adventus Saxonum*’, in *The Sea and Englishness in the Middle Ages: Maritime Narratives, Identity and Culture*, ed. S.I. Sobecki (Cambridge, 2011), pp. 59–79, at 68.

<sup>106</sup> See above, p. 28.

<sup>107</sup> See above, p. 62.

Christianized landscape. The depiction of wayfaring recalls the ever-present danger of lapsing in one's devotion to God by straying down or along unknown paths both physically and symbolically; an ever-present danger that must have been continually apparent to Boniface.<sup>108</sup>

Looking at *Exodus* through the lens of the previously discussed Anglo-Latin *vitae* and Bonifatian correspondence, *Exodus* 54–71a particularly resonates with a description of an arduous physical journey of a leader and host, punctuated by a series of staging-posts.

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<sup>108</sup> See above, p. 59.

## Chapter Four – *Exodus* and the Paradigm of a Processional Pilgrimage akin to a Rogation

The preceding chapters have suggested that both *Exodus*' overall narrative structure and lines 54–71a (Section B), in particular, can be interpreted as a depiction of the material practice of pilgrimage. Although the previous accounts of communal pilgrimage studied thus far contain depictions of procession and martial imagery, Table 1 highlighted that *Exodus*' narrative makes extensive reference to enigmatic signs (Section C: 71b–125), images of ritualistic activity (Section D: 126–53, 200–23, 247–75), formal martial procession and complex religious imagery (Section E: 276–446, 154–99, 224–46), and ritualistic activity at the end of the physical journey (Section F: 447–590).<sup>1</sup> There is therefore a need to supplement these accounts of pilgrimage with a new and complementary paradigm to help make sense of this imagery. This chapter focuses upon *Exodus*' use of song and suggests that the poem may be profitably understood through the lens of the paradigm of a processional pilgrimage akin to a Rogation as described in historiographical writings and anonymous homilies, and thus as an example of the material practice of pilgrimage.

The Israelites' communal journeying contains a number of references to trumpets, voice and song co-ordinating their activities. The Israelite heralds and Moses raise their voices or use trumpets to capture the attention of the host or co-ordinate its activity,<sup>2</sup> and trumpets are also said to have sung out as the Israelites spread over the hills, when they make camp next to the Red Sea (132b), and also when they reach the far shore of the sea in the

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<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 11.

<sup>2</sup> Examples include: *stefn* ('voice, sound; summons', 99b, 257b, 276b, 551a, 575b, 579a); *sweg* ('sound, noise, 309a, 567a); and *wop* ('cry', 200b). For discussion of the word *woma* (100a, 202b), see below, pp. 184, 234.

concluding section of the poem (447–590).<sup>3</sup> However, the most prominent examples of communal song occur through the use of the word *leoð* (‘song, poem, ode, lay, verses’), which occurs in simplex or compound form on five occasions throughout *Exodus*, where they appear to be associated with religious activity, including fearful entreaty.<sup>4</sup>

The uniquely attested compound *æfenleoð* (201a) is used to describe the moment when both a cry and fear rose up to create a terrible ‘evening-song’ (*wop up ahafen, | atol æfenleoð egesan stodon*, 200b–1).<sup>5</sup> The reference derives from scripture, which describes how the Israelites ‘feared exceedingly, and cried to the Lord’ (‘et timuerunt valde clamaveruntque ad Dominum’, Ex. 14:10) on seeing the approaching Egyptians, and afterwards complained to Moses (Ex. 14:11). However, while the word *wop* (‘cry’) and the phrase *egesan stodon* (‘fear rose’) are consistent with *Exodus* 14:10 and the use of the Latin verb *clamare* (‘make a loud noise, cry aloud’), the reference to an evening-song is an addition. The phrase *atol æfenleoð* recalls the earlier reference to fear, when the Israelites first became aware of the approaching Egyptian army: *egsan stoda, | wælgryre weroda* (‘fear rose up, the deadly terror of the hosts’, 136b–137a). The repetition of *egesan stodon* (136b, 201b) emphasizes a period during which the Israelites witnessed (*hie gesawon*, 155a) the might of the approaching army of the Pharaoh (154–99). During this depiction, a Beast-of-Battle typescene is employed and it is related that the wolves sang a terrible evening-song (*wulfas sungon | atol æfenleoð*, 164b–5a).<sup>6</sup> The poem also relates how those who oversee the Israelite host (*weardas*, ‘guardians, keepers’, 221a) quickly heeded a war-song (*wigleoð*, 221a) and so martialled the Israelites to begin a new day of activity (*werod wæs gefysed*, 221b). In an extended depiction of Israelite celebration (565–79), which is associated with

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<sup>3</sup> Cf. the occasions when the trumpets of the pursuing Egyptian army (159b) and predatory wolves (164b) are each said to have sung.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Mcloughlin’s argument linking *Exodus*’ depictions of song with the Antiphony of Bangor (‘OE *Exodus*’, pp. 658–67).

<sup>5</sup> For further discussion of the ritualistic activity associated with *æfenleoð*, see below, p. 185.

<sup>6</sup> For discussion of the Beasts-of-Battle typescene, see below, p. 228.

enigmatic signs (*segnas* 566b; *wuldres beam*, 568a), the Israelites are said to have exulted in warlike speech or a song of battle (*hredðon hildespelle*, 574a), and, as a *hereþreatas* (‘band of soldiers’, 575a), raised a loud voice (*hlude stefne*, 575b) in praise of God for the miracles He has performed (575–6) during the *transitus*, and recited a song of glory (*wuldres sang*, 577a).<sup>7</sup> Yet, for all the martial vigour of this passage, the war-song (*fyrðleoð*, 578b) is sung about God’s many great miracles (*eallwundra fela*, 579b), and with *aclum stefnum* (‘with fearful voices’, 579a), suggesting that the Israelites express joy, but also their fear of God (*timor Dei*).<sup>8</sup> So while *wigleoð* is another example of song instigating or co-ordinating the activity of the journey, the other uses of *leoð*- compounds suggest a journey dominated by the Israelites’ fearful entreaties.

There also appears to be a religious connotation to the *leoð*- compounds in *Exodus*. For the second speech of Moses (278–98) is referred to as a song in the difficult clause: ‘siððan leofes leoþ læste near | sweg swiðrode ond sances bland’ (‘when the song of the beloved one, near fulfilment, ceased, and the noise and confusion of song diminished’, 308–9).<sup>9</sup> The use of *leoð* appears to elevate the status of Moses’ words to the level of song or poetry, suggesting that the Israelites’ *æfenleoð* (201a) does not constitute simply the indistinguishable wails of a frightened host, but is instead the deliberate conflation by the *Exodus*-poet of the Israelites’ scriptural complaint (Ex. 14:11) with the act of singing and the use of song. The religious import of *æfenleoð* is re-enforced by the fact that their fearful vigil appears to be directed at the mighty angel (*mihtig engel*, 205a), who is the greater force (*maran mægenes*, 215a) keeping the threat from the resolute Egyptian enemy (*feond wæs anmod*, 203b) in abeyance. In scripture, this intervening angel (Ex. 14:19–20) has a more

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Marsden, ‘Death’, pp. 161–2. For discussion of *Exodus* 565–79, and *spel*- compounds, see below, p. 240.

<sup>8</sup> The two other occurrences of *fyrðleoð* in the OE corpus are found in *Elene* 27b, and in *Beowulf* 1424a (as an emendation). Both examples differ in tone and purpose to *Exodus*. For discussion of the word *fyrð*, see above, p. 75.

<sup>9</sup> See further, A. Bammesburger, ‘Old English *læste near* (*Exodus*, Line 308b)’, *NQ* 54.4 (2007), 357–5; Irving, p. 86; Lucas, p. 117; Tolkien, p. 61–2.

limited duration, since the Israelites cross the Red Sea at night (Ex. 14:21), by contrast, in *Exodus* the fearful vigil only ends on or around dawn (*on uhttid*, 216a) and with the uniquely attested compound, *wigleoð* ('war-song', 221a), being used to impel the Israelite host on the final stage of their journey: 'snelle gemundon | weardas wigleoð (werod wæs gefysed)' ('the guardians quickly heeded the war-song, the troop was made ready', 220b–1).<sup>10</sup> It is also noteworthy that the only reference to *æfen* (108a) in *Exodus* relates how the heaven-sign rose up each evening: *heofonbeacen astah | æfena gehwam* (107b–108a). The implication is that the Israelites' song, during a night-long vigil, was a form of fearful entreaty to the divine powers, designed to avert the threat of death or affliction. Furthermore, the use of *wigleoð* and *fyrðleoð* directly links song with the unity of form and purpose associated with a journey by a martial host already noted in relation to the use of the word *fyrð*.<sup>11</sup>

The repeated use of *leoð*- words to depict a series of activities related to journeying is not replicated in any other poems across the extant vernacular corpus.<sup>12</sup> In prose, *leoð*- compounds such as *byrigleoð* (and its variants *bergels*-, *bergen*-), *licleoð* and *wopleoð* gloss Latin words for epitaph, dirge and tragedy respectively.<sup>13</sup> The range of meanings for *leoð*- compounds in poetry is more extensive: they prophesy Christ (*dryhtleoð*, *Elene* 342b); signify a dirge for the dead or a lamentation regarding imminent death (*fusleoð*, *Guthlac B* 1346b, *Christ B* 623b, *Andreas* 1549b), denote a song of grief (*hearmleoð*, *Andreas* 1127b, 1342b, *Juliana* 615b; *sorhleoð*, *Beowulf* 2460b, *Dream of the Rood* 67b) or song of terror (*gryreleoð*, *Beowulf* 786a; *The Battle of Maldon* 285a), and refer to a song of battle (*guðleoð*, *Beowulf* 1522a; *hildeleoð*, *Judith* 211b) or song of triumph (*sigeleoð*, *Elene* 124b; *Guthlac B*

<sup>10</sup> For analysis of the half-lines *fyrð/werod wæs gefysed* (54a, 221b), see below, p. 187. For discussion of *on uhttid* (216a), see below, pp. 184, n. 36, and 233.

<sup>11</sup> See above, p. 75.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. poetic compounds where *leoð*- is the first element and subject of the compound: e.g. *leoðcraeft* ('skilled in song'), *leoðgiddinga* ('song, poem'); *leoðsang* ('song, poem, poetry'), see J.B. Bessinger, *A Concordance to The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records* (Ithaca, 1978), pp. 740–1.

<sup>13</sup> See *DOEWC*, *byrigleo*-, *licleo*-, *wopleo*-.

1315a).<sup>14</sup> Only the compound *sigeleoð* in *Elene* 124b associates a martial song with enigmatic signs and a victory associated with divine providence in a similar way to *fyrðleoð* ('war-song') in *Exodus*. Three of the eleven poetic *leoð*- compounds occur in Beasts-of-Battle typescenes (*Elene* 27b, *Exodus* 165a, and *Judith* 211), but only *Exodus* compares and contrasts the malign song of wolves with an evening-song of ritualistic activity. Of the four uniquely attested poetic *leoð*- compounds, two come from *Exodus* (*dryhtleoð*, *Elene* 342b; *guðleoð*, *Beowulf* 1522a; *æfenleoð*, *Exodus* 165a, 201a; *wigleoð*, *Exodus* 221a).<sup>15</sup> *Exodus* demonstrates an innovative and sustained use of *-leoð* compounds which seem to link song with ritualistic movement and activity.

The association of song and journeying depicted in *Exodus* finds a parallel in Bede's account of Augustine's communal pilgrimage to England with some forty companions ('*virī ut ferunt ferme XL*', *HE* 1:25).<sup>16</sup> Augustine clearly saw his mission as a *peregrinatio*, because he unsuccessfully sought Pope Gregory I's permission to give up so dangerous, so toilsome and so uncertain a journey into foreign lands ('*tam periculosam, tam laboriosam, tam incertam peregrinationem*', *HE* 1:23). The object of the journey was to preach the word of God to the English race (*praedicare verbum Dei genti Anglorum*, *HE* 1:23) with the hope of heavenly reward, as Pope Gregory I's letter of encouragement to Augustine makes clear.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> C. Koban, 'Substantive Compounds in *Beowulf*' (unpubl. PhD dissertation, University of Illinois, 1963), p. 262; *DOE*, and *DOEWC*. For editions not already cited, see K. Brooks, ed., *Andreas and the Fates of the Apostles* (Oxford, 1961), pp. 36, 43, 50; A.S. Cook, ed., *The Christ of Cynewulf* (Boston, 1900), p. 24; Griffith, *Judith*, p. 103; J. Roberts, ed., *The Guthlac Poems of the Exeter Book* (Oxford, 1979), p. 122–3; M. Swanton, ed., *The Dream of the Rood*, rev. ed. (Exeter, 1987), p. 98; R. Woolf, *Juliana* (London, 1966), p. 50.

<sup>15</sup> The Beasts-of-Battle passages are *Elene* 27–30, *Exodus* 162–7, and *Judith* 205–12: M.S. Griffith, 'Convention and Originality in the Old English 'Beasts of Battle' Typescene', *ASE* 22 (1993), 179–99, at 181, 185, 193. See also below, p. 228.

<sup>16</sup> Shaw argues Bede's use of *ut ferunt* ('so they say') is one of a number examples where Bede shows caution regarding the exact details of his source: R. Shaw, *The Gregorian Mission to Kent in Bede's Ecclesiastical History: Methodology and Sources* (Oxford, 2018), pp. 39–40.

<sup>17</sup> *Bede*, *HE*, pp. 68–71. Regarding the reliability and authenticity of the collection of Gregory's letters responding to questions impliedly raised by Augustine, known as the *libellus responsionum*, see R. Flechner, 'Pope Gregory and the British: Mission as a Canonical Problem', in *En Marge*, ed. H. Bouget and M. Coumert, *Histoires de Bretagnes* 5 (Brest, 2015), pp. 47–65; P. Meyvaert, 'Bede's Text of the *Libellus Responsionum* of Gregory the Great to Augustine of Canterbury', in *England*

King Æthelberht, in his first conversations with Augustine and his party, concedes: ‘verum quia de longe huc peregrini venistis’ (‘but clearly you, as *peregrini*, have come hither from far away’, *HE* 1:25). This statement appears to be an acknowledgement that Augustine’s party are legally ‘foreigners’, deserving of protection, but also ‘pilgrims’ seeking the familiarity of Christian holy places, just as Willibald and Wynnebald were during their pilgrimage to Rome.<sup>18</sup> Bede makes clear that King Æthelberht bequeaths a *mansio* in Canterbury near to the Church of Saint Martin (*HE*, 1:25–6), where the Frankish Queen Bertha and her Roman bishop, Liudhard, were said to worship (*HE* 1:25).<sup>19</sup> Bede says that the church of St Martin was where they first began to meet to chant, pray, have mass, preach and baptize, until the King was converted to the faith and they were permitted the greater licence to preach to all and build and restore the churches (‘in hac ergo et ipsi primo convenire psallere orare missas facere praedicare et baptizare coeperunt, donec rege ad fidem converso maiorem praedicandi per omnia et ecclesias fabricandi vel restaurandi licentiam acciperent’, *HE* 1:26). The *mansio* and St Martin’s church are examples of the kind of ‘place to which I can flee’, those of which Orosius spoke when he referred to the refuges of the universal Church.<sup>20</sup>

Bede’s description of how Augustine’s party of pilgrims approached King Æthelberht for the first time on the Isle of Thanet associates song with communal journeying (*HE* 1:25):

crucem pro vexillo ferentes argenteam, et imaginem Domini Salvatoris in tabula depictam, laetanasque canentes pro sua simul et eorum, propter quos et ad quos venerant, salute aeterna Domino supplicabant.

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*Before the Conquest: Studies in Primary Sources Presented to Dorothy Whitelock*, ed. P. Clemoes and K. Hughes (Cambridge, 1971), pp. 15–33; R. Meens, ‘Ritual Purity and the Influence of Gregory the Great in the Early Middle Ages’, in *Unity and Diversity in the Church*, ed. R.N. Swanson, *Studies in Church History* 32 (Oxford, 1996), pp. 31–43.

<sup>18</sup> See above, p. 54. Cf. Lawson, ‘Navigating’, pp. 137–8.

<sup>19</sup> *HE* 1:25–6. See Shaw, *Gregorian Mission*, pp. 46–54; J.M. Wallace-Hadrill, *Bede’s Ecclesiastical History of the English People: A Historical Commentary* (Oxford, 1988), pp. 36–7; I.N. Wood, ‘Augustine’s Journey’, *Canterbury Chronicle* 92 (1998), 28–44, at 33.

<sup>20</sup> See above, p. 46.

[‘bearing as their banner a silver cross and the image of the Lord and Saviour painted on a wooden panel, and singing the litanies and entreating the Lord for their eternal salvation and for those on behalf of whom and to whom they had come.’]

Plummer notes that the Old English version of Bede’s *HE* paraphrases *laetaniisque canentes* (singing the litanies) with ‘7 wæron haligra naman rimende, 7 gebedo singende’ (‘and they were telling the names of the saints and singing prayers’).<sup>21</sup> The singing of a litany (*litanía* – ‘a public prayer to God’, from Gk. *λιτανεία*, ‘entreaty, prayer’) refers to ‘a form of prayer consisting of a series of petitions or biddings, which are sung or said by a deacon, priest, or cantors and to which the people make fixed responses’.<sup>22</sup> By the late fifth century, litanies were employed in solemn penitential processions, probably ‘because the short invocations and exclamatory answers provided a convenient form of common prayer for a multitude in motion’.<sup>23</sup> Bede is thus describing the singing of litanies and the use of holy images, crosses and banners by processing pilgrims in Anglo-Saxon England.

A few lines later, Bede describes Augustine’s entry into Canterbury using very similar language (*HE* 1:25):<sup>24</sup>

Fertur autem, quia adpropinquantes civitati more suo cum cruce sancta et imagine magni regis Domini nostri Iesu Christi hanc laetaniam consona voce modularentur: ‘Deprecamur te, Domine, in omni misericordia tua, ut auferatur furor tuus et ira tua a civitate ista et de domo sancta tua, quoniam peccavimus. Alleluia’.

[‘It is related that as they approached the city, in accordance with their custom

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<sup>21</sup> C. Plummer, ed., *Venerabilis Baedae Opera Historica*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1896), vol. 2, p. 42, with Plummer’s translation. See also *OEHE*, vol. 1 pt. 1, 1(25).58/26.

<sup>22</sup> *ODCC*, p. 990; *DLD*; *GEL*, p. 1054.

<sup>23</sup> M. Lapidge, ed., *Anglo-Saxon Litanies of the Saints*, HBS 106 (London, 1991), pp. 1–41; F.X. Weiser, *Handbook of Christian Feasts and Customs: The Year of the Lord in Liturgy and Folklore* (New York, 1958), pp. 38–46, at 39.

<sup>24</sup> Bede, *HE*, pp. 74–5, with Colgrave’s translation.

carrying the holy cross and the image of our great King and Lord, Jesus Christ, they sang this litany in unison: “We beseech Thee, O Lord, in Thy great mercy, that Thy wrath and anger may be turned away from this city and from Thy holy house, for we have sinned. Alleluia.”]

There are no surviving sources for either of these accounts in *HE* 1:25, and Bede does not define what he means by the phrase *more suo* (‘with [or ‘by’] their custom’), but the litany, *Deprecamur te ... peccavimus. Alleluia* (hereafter *Deprecamur te*), which derives from an Old Latin (*Vetus Latina*) version of the Old Testament prayer of the prophet Daniel (Dan. 9:16), has been identified as a Rogation antiphon of a later Gallican ordines of the Minor Litanies, the earliest of which are witnessed in twelfth-century antiphonaries.<sup>25</sup> Bede appears to be drawing a parallel between a communal pilgrimage into Canterbury and a Rogationtide procession (Rogation).<sup>26</sup> Clearly, Bede’s description, with its references to song during communal journeying, could prove useful in contextualizing the depictions of the religiously-motivated journeying and use of song in *Exodus*, but there is first a need to understand the potential affinities between pilgrimage and the Rogations in the eighth century.

The first point is that, like pilgrimage, Rogation processions were a popular religious activity in the early medieval world.<sup>27</sup> The Rogation homilies of Avitus, Bishop of Vienne (c. 490–518) were the first to describe a petitionary procession to a church by the founder of the

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<sup>25</sup> The implication of anachronism is fully addressed below, at p. 101. W. Bright, *Chapters of Early English Church History* (Oxford, 1897), p. 55, n. 5–6; *Bede, HA*, p. 43; G.G. Willis, *Further Essays in Early Roman Liturgy*, Alcuin Club Collections 50 (London, 1968), p. 191, citing E. Martene, *De antiquis ecclesiae ritibus* (Bassani, 1788), vol. 3, p. 189; Wood, ‘Augustine’s Journey’, p. 37.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Kramer who suggests Augustine’s procession into Canterbury served ‘to designate a circumscribed parcel of land [i.e. the *mansio*] as something belonging to the community, associating Rogationtide early on with perambulation of communal land’: J. Kramer, *Between Earth and Heaven: Liminality and the Ascension of Christ in Anglo-Saxon Literature* (Manchester, 2014), p. 152.

<sup>27</sup> Ristuccia estimates that Rogation homilies constitute about one hundred out of some two thousand extant early medieval sermons in Latin and Old English: *CCEME*, p. 120, n. 118, citing Amos, ‘The Origin and Nature of the Carolingian Sermon’ (unpubl. PhD dissertation, Michigan State University, 1983), pp. 194–7.

Rogations (the Minor Litanies) in Gaul, Bishop Mamertus.<sup>28</sup> For Avitus, the Rogations were a confession of penitence for sin and a petitioning for forgiveness (‘cum tota ista observantia confessio paenitendi pro culpa sit et rogandi pro venia’, 6.112/4–5).<sup>29</sup> Avitus drew a parallel between the fast of Ninevites (Jon. 3:1–10) and Mamertus’ penitential Rogations instituted to address the natural disasters that afflicted Vienne,<sup>30</sup> but also uses other lections (including Amos 3:1–5:17) in order to universalize the observance and emphasize the Church’s central role.<sup>31</sup> Avitus refers to solemn vigils and the singing of psalms rather than litanies, which may offer evidence, as Bishop asserts, that the word litanies in many sixth-century Rogation accounts meant ‘penitential supplications’, rather than specifically sung litanies, but there are, nevertheless, numerous references to the singing or chanting of psalms in these accounts.<sup>32</sup> In Anglo-Saxon England, canon 16 of the Council of Clovesho (747) highlights that the Rogations were processional journeys involving the bearing of crosses and relics with penitence, supplication and *timor Dei*.<sup>33</sup> Avitus compares the Church to a ship (*ecclesia est*

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<sup>28</sup> *CCEME*, pp. 48–9, at 49. All quotations of Avitus’ homilies are from Peiper, *Alcimi ... opera, ex homiliarum libro*, pp. 103–57. The five earliest and most detailed sources for the Minor litanies are as follows: two letters from Sidonius Apollinarius, bishop of Clermont (c. 431–489); four Rogationtide homilies of Avitus, Bishop of Vienne (from c. 490–518); three Rogationtide homilies of Caesarius, Bishop of Arles (470–543); a penitential sermon from the Eusebius Gallicanus Sermon Collection (late fifth to early sixth century); and the historiographical writings of Gregory, bishop of Tours (c. 539–17 November 594). See *CCEME*, pp. 24–62; P. Mohr, ed., *Sollius Apollinarius Sidonius* (Leipzig, 1895), letters 5(14).118, 7(1).139; Peiper, *Alcimi ... opera* (above); G. Morin, ed., *Sancti Caesarii Arelatensis sermones*, 2 vols, CCSL 103, 104 (Turnhout, 1953), 104, homilies 207.828–209.837; F. Glorie, ed., *Collectio Homiliarum, Sermones Extravagantes: Eusebius ‘Gallicanus’*, 3 vols, CCSL 101, 101A, 101B (Turnhout, 1970–1), 101, homily 25.294–8; Krusch, *Gregorii ... Opera* (below), respectively.

<sup>29</sup> Avitus plays upon the Latin name for the Rogations, *rogatio* (‘an asking, prayer’) and *rogare* (to ask, pray’), by relating them to Mt 7:7, where Christ said ‘ask, and it shall be given you: seek, and you shall find: knock, and it shall be opened to you’: Peiper, *Alcimi ... opera*, homily 6.111/29–6.112/20. Cf. Bede’s Rogation homily (*in litanis maioribus*) using similar pericope (Lk. 11:9–13): D. Hurst, and J. Fraipont, *Beda Venerabilis Opera: pars 3, Opera Homiletica*, CCSL 122 (Turnhout, 1955), homily 2(14).272–9.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Sidonius who describes a penitential festival, but makes no mention processions: *CCEME*, p. 43; Mohr, *Sidonius*, letter 7(1).139–7(1).141.

<sup>31</sup> *CCEME*, p. 57, n. 170, citing Peiper, *Alcimi ... opera*, homily 6.109/4–7, 6.111/3–12.

<sup>32</sup> E. Bishop, *Liturgica Historica: Papers on the Liturgy and Religious Life of the Western Church* (Oxford, 1918), pp. 128–30.

<sup>33</sup> *CED*, 3, p. 368. Although some late Anglo-Saxon liturgical books, such as *The Leofric Missal* and *The Missal of Robert Jumièges*, contain masses and prayers for the Rogations, no *ordines*

*navis*) requiring Christ to steer her through the storm of troubles toward salvation, thus in times of affliction the community must rouse Christ, as the frightened Apostles did when they were caught in a storm at sea (Mt. 8:24–5), by undertaking a Rogation procession to church to petition Him.<sup>34</sup> This is a very different use of the storm-image commonplace, which, as noted, is often associated with exilic wandering and contemplative absorption of *peregrinatio pro amore Dei*; instead Avitus uses the analogy to embrace communal worship of the Rogations.<sup>35</sup> Thus, the Rogations provide the possibility of reappraising the assertions that *Exodus*' nautical imagery represents a form of storm-image focused exclusively upon *peregrinatio pro amore Dei* and life pilgrimage.<sup>36</sup>

Furthermore, throughout the medieval period, the boundaries between pilgrimage and procession could be blurred 'as medieval Christians regularly formed processional groups to journey to cult centres, and made pilgrimages to join into processional celebrations'.<sup>37</sup> The association of pilgrimage and Rogations in particular is not without precedent. Gregory of Tours (c. 539–17 November 594) recounts a sixth-century Rogation led by Saint Gall in *The History of the Franks*:<sup>38</sup> 'rogationes illas instituit, ut media quadragesima psallendo ad basilicam beati Iuliani martyris itinere pedestri venirent. sunt autem in hoc itinere quasi stadia 360' ('he [St Gall] founded the Rogations so that in the middle of Lent people on foot, and chanting along the way should come to the church of the blessed Martyr Julian, however, there were some 360 *stadia* on this journey').<sup>39</sup> Both Wood and Gittos refer to this forty-five

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(instructions) for the Rogations survive from the Anglo-Saxon period: H. Gittos, *Liturgy, Architecture and Sacred Spaces in Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 2013), p. 136.

<sup>34</sup> CCEME, p. 56, n. 167; Peiper, *Alcimi ... opera*, homily 6.110/36–6.112/37.

<sup>35</sup> For discussion of the storm-image, see above, p. 59.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Mullins, 'Herimum in Mari', pp. 60–5. See below, p. 221.

<sup>37</sup> Tekippe, 'Pilgrimage', pp. 694–7, 711–13, 719, at 694, 713. See also Gittos, *Liturgy*, pp. 103–45.

<sup>38</sup> For the Rogations references, see B. Krusch, ed., *Gregorii Turonensis Opera*, 2 vols, MGH SRM 1.1 & 1.2 (1.1 – *Gregorii Episcopi Turonensis Historiarum Libri X*, with addenda by W. Levison and 1.2 – *Miracula et Opera Minora*) (Hanover, 1951 and 1969), *Historiarum libri X* 2(34), 4(5), 4(13), 9(6), 9(21), 10(30); *Liber vitae patrum* 4(4), 6(6), 6(7).

<sup>39</sup> Krusch, *Historiarum libri X* 4(5).138/19–21. Cf. Krusch, *Gregorii ... Opera*, 2, *Liber vitae patrum* 6(6).234/26–7.

mile (*quasi stadia 360*) journey between Clermont-Ferrand and the Church of St Julian the Martyr in Brioude (527×51) during Lent to supplicate God in order to avert a plague as a ‘Rogation pilgrimage’.<sup>40</sup> This apotropaic ‘Rogation pilgrimage’ was perhaps intended to unite two religious centres, but it also established a narrative of bishop-led long-distance journeying designed to save the afflicted people.<sup>41</sup> Another penitential Rogation toward the city of Clermont led by Bishop Quintianus during a time of drought is described by Gregory as involving the singing of an antiphon and the psalms.<sup>42</sup>

Bede’s description of a processional pilgrimage involving the singing of the litanies is a noteworthy addition to these other sixth-century examples of ‘Rogation pilgrimage’, however, the *Deprecamur te* prayer is thought to be anachronistic because the later Gallican antiphon of the Minor Litanies (pre-Ascension Rogations) was not introduced to Rome until the time of Pope Leo III (795-816) and is not found ‘among the litanic prayers (such as the *Deprecatio Gelasii*) with which Augustine will have been familiar at Rome’.<sup>43</sup> The litany is considered by some to be a later addition to the account of Augustine’s mission by the monks of Canterbury, or by Bede himself.<sup>44</sup> However, there are two counter-arguments to the charge of anachronism.

The first is that Augustine could have learned the Rogation antiphon while travelling through Gaul to England, since the surviving letters of introduction to Desiderius, Bishop of

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<sup>40</sup> A *stadium* equates to 1/8 of a mile (a furlong). See *DMLBS, stadium*, 2; Gittos, *Liturgy*, p.137; Wood, ‘Early Merovingian Devotion’, pp. 61–76.

<sup>41</sup> I.N. Wood, ‘Early Merovingian Devotion in Town and Country’, in *The Church in Town and Countryside*, ed. D. Baker, Studies in Church History 16 (Oxford, 1979), pp. 61–76, at 74; G. Nathan, ‘The Rogation Ceremonies of Late Antique Gaul: Creation, Transmission and the Role of the Bishop’, *Classica et Mediaevalia* 21 (1998), 275–303.

<sup>42</sup> The word *antepnonam* is repeated three times over five lines in Gregory’s account, while the people are said to have begun to sing psalms most devotedly (*psallere devotissime coepissent*): Krusch, *Gregorii ... Opera*, 2, *Liber vitae patrum* 4(4).226/23–4(4).227/2.

<sup>43</sup> Lapidge, *Litanies*, pp. 11–12; D.A. Bullough, *Alcuin: Achievement and Reputation: being part of the Ford Lectures delivered in Oxford in Hilary Term 1980* (Leiden, 2003), p. 6, n. 14.

<sup>44</sup> I.N. Wood, ‘The Mission of Augustine of Canterbury to the English’, *Speculum* 69 (1994), 1–17, at 4; C. Cubitt, *Anglo-Saxon Church Councils c.650–c.850*, Studies in the Early History of Britain Series (London, 1995), pp. 130, 150–1.

Vienne (originally the seat of Mamertus, the founder of the Minor Litanies), along with letters to the bishops of Arles, Lyon, Marseilles, Tours, and Autun, all relate to the central area for Rogation practice in Gaul.<sup>45</sup> The fact that Augustine could not have heard the antiphon used liturgically because he left Rome in July 596, and thus after the date for the pre-Ascension Rogation observances in Gaul, is not determinative.<sup>46</sup> For if Augustine did visit Bishop Desiderius in Vienne, it seems likely that he would have learned of the Minor Litanies as the town's most notable liturgical innovation, whatever time of year he arrived.<sup>47</sup> Furthermore, Gregory seemingly encouraged Augustine to 'make use of those Gallic customs of which God would approve'.<sup>48</sup> The assertion that the *Deprecamur te* prayer had nothing to do with Mamertus' original Rogations is important,<sup>49</sup> but recent scholarship suggests that there was considerable diversity in Rogation practice, with at least four different (pre- and post- Ascension) timings for the Minor Litanies during the sixth century.<sup>50</sup> The repeated proclamations by the Councils of Orléans (511), Tours and Lyon (567), Gironne (517), Toledo (636), and Braga (572) that the Rogations were to be held on the three days before Ascension undermine claims by writers such as Avitus of liturgical uniformity in early Rogation practice.<sup>51</sup> This lack of uniformity is also evidenced by Gregory's own account of

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<sup>45</sup> Hen, 'Liturgy', p. 46, n. 27, citing *HE* 1:24. For the letters of introduction, see *RE*, letters 6(51–2).423–5, 6(54–5).427–8, 6(59–60).432–3, 9(223).794–6, 11(45).942–3.

<sup>46</sup> The *termini pascales* (dates of Easter), which are always Sundays, range between 22 March and 25 April, with the corresponding date range for the Minor Litanies running up to Ascension being between 27 April and 31 May: C. Vogel, trans. and revised by W. G. Storey, and N. K. Rasmussen, *Medieval Liturgy: an Introduction to the Sources* (Washington D. C., 1981), p. 307; Wood, 'Mission', p. 3.

<sup>47</sup> *CCEME*, pp. 60–1.

<sup>48</sup> Wood, 'Mission', p. 3; *Bede, HE*, 1:27.

<sup>49</sup> Wood, 'Augustine's Journey', pp. 37–8.

<sup>50</sup> *CCEME*, p. 59. Cf. D. Shanzer, *Avitus of Vienne, Selected Letters and Prose*, TTH 38 (Liverpool, 2002), p. 384, n. 4; I.N. Wood, 'The Homilies of Avitus', in *Sermo doctorum: Compilers, Preachers, and their Audiences in the Early Medieval West*, ed. M. Diesenberger, Y. Hen and M. Pollheimer (Turnhout, 2013), pp. 81–97, at 87.

<sup>51</sup> *EOERH*, p. xvi; *CCEME*, pp. 24–62.

St Gall's forty-five mile 'Rogation pilgrimage', which attributes the event to sometime in Lent (527×51).<sup>52</sup>

An alternative theory asserts that Augustine may have been imitating either the stationary liturgy or the *Kyrie eleison* of Gregory I's 'sevenfold litany' (*letania septiformis*).<sup>53</sup> Lapidge argues that Bede's phrase *laetanasque canentes* refers to the chanting of the litany of the saints, and that the *Deprecamur te* prayer is, in fact, a petition from this litany, which would have been answered by the response *Kyrie eleison* ('Lord have mercy').<sup>54</sup> The *Kyrie eleison* is associated with Gregory I's penitential procession, the *letania septiformis*, which despite its differences was liturgically conflated with the rites of Major Litany (*letania maior*) up until they were fused in the tenth century.<sup>55</sup> The complex relationship between these two types of procession cannot be explored here,<sup>56</sup> but 'from sometime in the sixth century onwards' the word *letania* in the Roman liturgy first became associated with public penitential processions that included men and women of the laity from all backgrounds, similarly to Mamertus' Minor Litanies.<sup>57</sup> There is little doubt that many eighth-century

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<sup>52</sup> *CCEME*, p. 59, n. 186.

<sup>53</sup> G.G. Willis, *A History of Early Roman Liturgy to the Death of Pope Gregory the Great*, HBS Subsidia 1 (London, 1994), p. 72; Bright, *Chapters*, p. 53, Lapidge, *Litanies*, pp. 12, 25; R.W. Pfaff, *The Liturgy in Medieval England: a History* (Cambridge, 2009), p. 36. Augustine is thought to have brought some small liturgical books, *libelli missarum*, to England, but not a Gregorian Sacramentary. See H. Ashworth, 'Did St Augustine Bring the *Gregorianum* to England?', *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 72 (1958), 39–43; Hen, 'Liturgy', pp. 48–50; Y. Hen, 'Rome, Anglo-Saxon England and the Formation of the Frankish Liturgy', *Revue Bénédictine* 112 (2002), 301–22, at 308–9.

<sup>54</sup> Lapidge, *Litanies*, p. 25.

<sup>55</sup> J.A. Latham, 'Inventing Gregory "the Great": Memory, Authority, and the Afterlives of the *Letania Septiformis*', *Church History* 84.1 (2015), 1–31, at 22–3, n. 80; J. Dyer, 'Roman Processions of the Major Litany (*litaniae maiores*) from the Sixth to the Twelfth Century', in *Roma Felix – Formation and Reflections of Medieval Rome*, ed. É. Ó Carragáin and C.N. De Vegvar (Aldershot, 2007), pp. 113–37, at 14–15, n. 4.

<sup>56</sup> The earliest reference to the Major Litany, as a Roman Rogation, is found in a brief memorandum (*chartula*) dated 591: *RE*, appendix 4.1096. The *letania septiformis* is described in a sermon of Gregory I (29 August 603) and, probably, in Gregory of Tours's *The History of the Franks*. See further, J. Hill, 'The *Litaniae Miores* and *Maiores* in Rome, Francia and Anglo-Saxon England: Terminology, Texts and Traditions', *Early Medieval Europe* 9 (2000), 211–46, at 228–9; Krusch, *Historiarum libri X* 10(1).477–10(1).481; Latham, 'Inventing Gregory', pp. 1–31; Latham, 'The Making of a Papal Rome: Gregory I and the *letania septiformis*', in *The Power of Religion in Late Antiquity*, ed. A. Cain and N.E. Lenski (Farnham, 2009), pp. 293–306; *RE*, appendix 9.1102–4.

<sup>57</sup> Lapidge, *Litanies*, p. 10. See also Baldovin, *Urban Character*, pp. 158–9.

Anglo-Saxon pilgrims would have been greatly influenced by witnessing the spectacle of formal stational processions in Rome (including the Major Litany and *letania septiformis*) where large groups filed from one church to another carrying processional crosses and, sometimes, banners.<sup>58</sup>

The issue cannot be determined here, but these alternative theories highlight the extent of liturgical flux in the sixth century, and invite the possibility that Augustine's use of the *Deprecamur te* prayer was an example of liturgical innovation.<sup>59</sup> However, Shaw has recently suggested that Bede's account in *HE* 1:25 came from a written source (perhaps with oral influence), such as a single hagiographical episode or chapter (*libellus*) of a larger book of homiletic *vitae* similar to the *Dialogues* of Gregory I or Gregory of Tours' *Glory of the Confessors*, that probably originated between Archbishop Theodore's episcopate (668-690) and the time Bede obtained his sources (c.720).<sup>60</sup> Despite warning that these 'Canterbury tales' need to be used with caution, Shaw maintains that Bede did not simply make things up.<sup>61</sup> So, even if the question of anachronism cannot be settled, the fact that Bede inserted the Rogation antiphon into his history suggests that it is a witness to the contemporary practice in Bede's day, and therefore potentially contemporaneous with an eighth-century composition of *Exodus*.<sup>62</sup>

The possibility that Bede's account of Augustine's mission drew upon eighth-century Anglo-Saxon religious practice is given weight by the existence of two parallel versions of

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<sup>58</sup> Baldovin, *Urban Character*, pp.158–66, 236–9, at 163; C.L.N. De Vegvar, 'Converting the Anglo-Saxon Landscape: Crosses and Their Audiences', in *Text, Image, Interpretation: Studies in Anglo-Saxon Literature and its Insular Context in Honour of Éamonn Ó Carragáin*, ed. A. Minnis and J. Roberts, SEMA 18 (Turnhout, 2007), pp. 407–30, at 422–4; Ó Carragáin, 'City', pp. 1–81. Cf. the *Adventus* ('arrival') procession of emperors and other notable personages of the pre-Christian world: Baldovin, *Urban Character*, pp. 234–5; S. MacCormack, 'Change and Continuity in Late Antiquity: the Ceremony of *Adventus*', *Historia* 21.4 (1972), 721–52.

<sup>59</sup> Cf. Pfaff, *Liturgy*, p. 36.

<sup>60</sup> Shaw, *Gregorian Mission*, pp. 43–6, 223–39.

<sup>61</sup> Shaw, *Gregorian Mission*, pp. 241–50.

<sup>62</sup> Hill, 'Litaniae', pp. 235–6; *CCEME*, p. 34.

*Deprecamur te* prayer. The first is an undated hymn, the *Hymnus S. Mugentii (HSM)*,<sup>63</sup> found in the Irish *Liber hymnorum*.<sup>64</sup> The preface indicates that the *HSM* was composed by Mugint at Futerna (*Praefatio* 1), which is thought to refer to Whithorn (in modern day Dumfries and Galloway).<sup>65</sup> The second is found in a collection of Rogation antiphons entitled *De antiphonario* contained within a liturgical and devotional florilegium called *De laude Dei*, compiled by Alcuin (c. 735–19 May 804), which also has demonstrable connections to Whithorn.<sup>66</sup> *De laude Dei* predates the next two oldest sources of antiphons in Anglo-Saxon England, the Leofric and Wulfstan Collectars, by more than two hundred and fifty years,<sup>67</sup> and moreover, its importance for vernacular religious poetry is suggested by the possibility that the Ten ‘O’ Antiphons of *De antiphonario*, which provide the setting for the Magnificat at Vespers during the last days of Advent, may, along with the Old English Advent Lyrics (*Christ A*) of the Exeter Book, be derived from a common ancestry of continental books imported into England by the late eighth century.<sup>68</sup> The arrangement of the Rogation

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<sup>63</sup> J.H. Bernard and R. Atkinson, ed., *The Irish Liber Hymnorum*, 2 vols, HBS 13, 14 (London, 1898), vol. 1, p. 22–4; J.H. Todd, ed., *Leabhar Imuinn: the Book of Hymns of the Ancient Church of Ireland*, 2 vols, Publications of the Irish Archaeological and Celtic Society 16, 22 (Dublin, 1855–69), 1, pp. 94–104.

<sup>64</sup> Bernard and Atkinson, *Liber Hymnorum*, vol. 1, pp. x–xxxii; L. Bieler, ‘The Irish Book of Hymns: a Palaeographical Study’, *Scriptorium* 2.2 (1948), 177–98.

<sup>65</sup> Bernard and Atkinson, *Liber Hymnorum*, vol. 1, p. 22. All quotations of the *HSM* are from Bernard and Atkinson’s edition. See also Bright, *Chapters*, p. 55, n. 7; A.P. Forbes, ed., *Lives of S. Ninian and S. Kentigern, Compiled in the Twelfth Century*, the Historians of Scotland 5 (Edinburgh, 1874), pp. 292–3; Todd, *Leabhar Imuinn*, p. 105.

<sup>66</sup> *De laude Dei* is partially edited (but with *De antiphonario* contained in full) by Constantinescu from which all quotations derive: R. Constantinescu, ed., ‘Alcuin et les *Libelli Precum* de l’époque carolingienne’, *Revue d’Histoire de la Spiritualité* 50 (1974), 17–56; D.A. Bullough, ‘Alcuin and the Kingdom of Heaven: Liturgy, Theology, and the Carolingian Age’, in *Carolingian Essays: Andrew W. Mellon Lectures in Early Christian Studies*, ed. U-R. Blumenthal (Washington D.C., 1989), pp. 1–69. The manuscript is also available online <<https://www.staatsbibliothek-bamberg.de/>>.

<sup>67</sup> S. Rankin, ‘The Liturgical Background of the Old English Advent Lyrics: a Reappraisal’, in *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England: Studies Presented to Peter Clemoes on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. M. Lapidge and H. Gneuss (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 317–40, at 324.

<sup>68</sup> Constantinescu, ‘Alcuin’, pp. 40–1, 48; Bullough, ‘Kingdom of Heaven’, p. 6–7; *Cuthbertus, epistola de obitu Bedae*, in *Bede’s Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. B. Colgrave, and R.A.B. Mynors (Oxford, 1969), pp. 579–87, at 582; Rankin, ‘Liturgical Background’, pp. 318–26, 333–4.

antiphons in *De antiphonario* does not suggest any particular theme, but, according to Bullough, they do ‘belong to an earlier phase of Gallican influence’.<sup>69</sup>

The *HSM* cannot be discussed in full here, but it is significant for two reasons. The hymn contains many Rogation themes and its emphasis is not on individual repentance, but rather, as Todd notes, it is ‘altogether more general, deprecating the vengeance of the Almighty from the people, or from some city, *civitate ista*, or monastery (for so *civitas* often signified); and alluding particularly to the fear of a hostile invasion’.<sup>70</sup> The hymn, seeking to avert God’s vengeance, opens with a reference to the Old Testament book of Joel: ‘parce domine parce populo’ (‘Spare, O Lord, spare thy people’, Joel 2:17). After some Paschaltide imagery (1–3), the hymn refers to the *Deprecamur te* prayer (4–6), before exclaiming to God how ‘You spared those who were entreating the Lord in Nineveh (*in Ninuen pepercisti invocantes dominum*, 10), which, as noted above, was an early Rogation theme for Avitus (Jon. 3:1–10). There is reference to the sinfulness of the people: *quoniam peccavimus peccavimus tibi domine* (‘since we have sinned, we have failed you, Lord’, 6–7); and ‘peccavimus tibi domine peccavimus, patientiam habe in nobis’ (‘we have sinned, Lord, we have failed you, have patience with us’, 15–16). There are repeated references to the people or the city: *populo/populum* (1, 21, 23); *populum tuum conculcatum* (‘your trampled people’, 11); *dimitte peccata populi tui* (‘forgive the sins of your people’, 17); *civitate ista* (5); and *afflictae civitati tuae* (‘your afflicted city’, 13). The theme of *timor Dei* appears in the form of repeated references to the hand of God (8, 22): firstly in terms of the allusion to the fact that ‘non est qui effugiat manum tuam’ (‘there is none that can escape thy hand’, 7–8),<sup>71</sup> followed by a plea to God to remember how He stayed the hand of the angel persecuting His people (‘recordare domine, dic angelo tuo percutienti populum tuum sufficit. Contene manum tuam’,

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<sup>69</sup> Bullough, ‘Kingdom of Heaven’, p. 6.

<sup>70</sup> Todd, *Leabhar Imuinn*, vol. 1, p. 119; Bernard and Atkinson, *Liber Hymnorum*, vol. 1, pp. xxii–xxx. See discussion of *burh*, above, p. 75.

<sup>71</sup> Cf. Tobit 13:2.

20–2).<sup>72</sup> The emphasis of *HSM* is upon the earthly suffering of sinners, Paschaltide and the hand of God.<sup>73</sup>

The second noteworthy feature of *HSM* is that, although it contains no reference to procession, after the opening three lines the hymn is a conflation of seven Rogation antiphons all of which are found (with minor variations) in Alcuin's *De antiphonario* (with the equivalently numbered antiphons in Constantinescu's edition running without interruption in the following sequence: 70, 71, 73, 68, 66, 67, 75).<sup>74</sup> This might look like a coincidence were it not for the fact that both Bede and Alcuin had strong connections to Whithorn. Bede provides the earliest account of St Ninian, a Briton 'qui erat Romae regulariter fidem et mysteria veritatis edoctus' ('who was taught in accordance with the Roman faith and the mysteries of Truth', *HE* 3:4) and became a bishop in Whithorn (in the kingdom of Bernicia) long before the arrival of Columba in 565.<sup>75</sup> Both Bede and Boniface were friends with Pecthelm, the first Anglo-Saxon bishop of Whithorn, who was one of the main sources for Bede's *HE*.<sup>76</sup> The 'Alcuin Letters' provide evidence of Alcuin's friendship with both Aedilberct, a former Bishop of Whithorn (777–90), and the brethren of Whithorn.<sup>77</sup> Furthermore, the Bamberg florilegium, which is one of the two surviving witnesses of *De laude Dei*, contains two anonymous poems: the *Miracula Nynie episcopi (MNE)* on the miracles of St. Ninian, the founder of Whithorn (Casa Candida), and the alphabetic *Hymnus*

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<sup>72</sup> Cf. 2 Kings 24:16.

<sup>73</sup> For discussion of how the avenging angel and the consequences of sin may be motivations for the Israelites' pilgrimage in *Exodus*, see below, p. 132. For parallels to *Exodus*' references to the hand of God, see below, p. 189.

<sup>74</sup> Constantinescu, 'Alcuin', pp. 47–8.

<sup>75</sup> Bede, *HE*, p. 222; T.O. Clancy, 'The Real St Ninian', *The Innes Review* 52.1 (2001), 1–28; J.E. Fraser, 'Northumbrian Whithorn and the Making of St Ninian', *The Innes Review* 53.1 (2002), 40–59; I.N. Wood, 'Britain and the Continent in the Fifth and Sixth Centuries: the Evidence of Ninian', in *St Ninian and the Earliest Christianity in Scotland, Papers from the Conference Held by the Friends of the Whithorn Trust in Whithorn on September 15th 2007*, ed. J. Murray, BAR British Series 483 (Oxford, 2009), pp. 71–82.

<sup>76</sup> W. Levison, 'An Eighth-Century Poem on St. Ninian', *Antiquity* 14.55 (1940), 280–91, at 280. Pecthelm is mentioned as a source for *HE* and as first bishop in *HE* 5:13, 5:18, 5:23. For Boniface and Pecthelm, see Tangl, *Die Briefe*, 32.52.

<sup>77</sup> Dümmler, *Epistolae*, 31.72–3, 273.431–2; Levison, 'Eighth-Century Poem', p. 282.

*sancti Nynie episcopi* (*HNE*) composed in epanaleptic elegiac couplets, which are also associated with Whithorn.<sup>78</sup> Letter 273 of the Alcuin Letters, with its acknowledgment of the receipt of some metrical poems (*carmina metricae artis*) from the brethren of the monastery at Whithorn, has been held to relate to the *MNE* and *HNE* from Bamberg florilegium.<sup>79</sup> Scholars have noted that both *MNE* and *HNE* contain numerous borrowings from Latin poets, and from the Anglo-Latin writers Aldhelm and Bede.<sup>80</sup> The extensive borrowing from Bede, together with his connections to Whithorn, convinced Levison that the *MNE* and *HNE* (which he believed were written by the same author) were composed sometime in the eighth century, whereas, Lapidge has suggested that the *MNE* might have been composed at York.<sup>81</sup> This does not prove that Alcuin's *De antiphonario* either influenced or was influenced by *HSM* through the disseminating conduit of Whithorn, but they appear to suggest an Anglo-Saxon interest in the Rogations, litanies and penitential procession. Further examples seem to re-enforce this point.

The two earliest extant attestations of the litany of the saints date from the eighth century and relate to Gregory and Augustine.<sup>82</sup> *Cuthbert's epistola de obitu Bedae* (second half of the eighth century) contains a reference to a Rogation observance at Wearmouth-Jarrow: 'a tertia autem hora ambulavimus cum reliquiis sanctorum, ut consuetudo illius diei

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<sup>78</sup> Bamberg Staatsbibliothek, Misc patr. 17 (II 10) 157v–161v. See also Levison, 'Eighth-Century Poem', p. 283.

<sup>79</sup> A. Orchard, 'Wish You Were Here: Alcuin's Courtly Poetry and the Boys Back Home', in *Courts and Regions in Medieval Europe*, ed. S.R. Jones, R. Marks and A.J. Minnis (Woodbridge, 2000), pp. 21–43, at 28; Dümmler, *Epistolae*, no. 273.431/31–7.

<sup>80</sup> R. Hillier, 'Dynamic Intertextuality in the *Miracula Nynie episcopi*: Remembering Arator's *Historia apostolica*', *ASE* 44 (2015), 163–79; M. Lapidge, 'Aediluulf and the School of York', in *Anglo-Latin Literature 600–899*, ed. M. Lapidge (London, 1996), pp. 381–98, at 384–90; Levison, 'Eighth-Century Poem', pp. 280–91; W.W. MacQueen, ed., '*Miracula Nynie Episcopi*', *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*, 4<sup>th</sup> series 38 (1959–60), 21–57; Orchard, *Poetic Art*, pp. 260–3; Orchard, 'Wish', esp. 27–34; Strecker, *Miracula Nynie episcopi*, *Hymnus sancti Nynie episcopi*, pp. 943–61, 961–2.

<sup>81</sup> Levison, 'Eighth-Century Poem', p. 283–4; Lapidge, 'Aediluulf', p. 386–7.

<sup>82</sup> Bishop, *Liturgica Historica*, pp. 137–64, at 146–7, citing *Earliest Life of Gregory* (704×714), and Canon 17 of the Council of Clovesho (747). See also *CED* 3, 17.368; B. Colgrave, ed., *The Earliest Life of Gregory the Great, by an Anonymous Monk of Whitby* (Lawrence, 1968), 32.136–9; A. Thacker, 'Memorializing Gregory the Great: the Origin and Transmission of a Papal Cult in the Seventh and Early Eighth Centuries', *Early Medieval Europe* 7 (1998), 59–8.

poscebat' ('at the third canonical hour (9 o'clock) we walked with the relics of the saints as the custom of that day called for').<sup>83</sup> Bede himself wrote a Rogation homily,<sup>84</sup> and Canon 16 of the Council of Clovesho (747) fixed the pre-Ascension date of observance for the Rogations (Minor Litanies), whilst also acknowledging the inter-related practice of the Major Litany and thus, perhaps, the diversity of Rogation practices in early Anglo-Saxon England.<sup>85</sup> Canon 16 also highlights that Rogations were processional journeys involving the bearing of crosses and relics with penitence, supplication and *timor Dei*.<sup>86</sup> Bede's account in his *Historia Abbatum* (*HA*) of Ceolfrith's pilgrimage to Rome with some eighty companions begins with the pilgrims exiting the church at Wearmouth-Jarrow singing litanies (*laetaniae*, *HA* 18), while deacons carried a cross of gold (*crucem ferentes auream*, *HA* 18).<sup>87</sup> All the above examples suggest that penitential and propitiatory Rogations (whether from Gaul or Rome) and pilgrimage were imagined by eighth-century Anglo-Saxons to share a number of affinities.

Another example of eighth-century communal journeying is found in Pope Zachary's letter to Bishop Boniface (dated 31 October 745). In the letter, the Pope equates the difficulties Boniface faces in the Germanic lands from the incursions of hostile tribes with the time Rome was frequently pillaged because of its sinfulness (*ex accidentibus facinoribus*, 60.121/6–7); the pope exhorts the bishop to institute a fast (*ieiunium*) and petitionary litanies (*supplicationes ... laetaniarum*) or public penitential processions in order to gain God's aid

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<sup>83</sup> *Cuthbertus, epistola*, p. 584.

<sup>84</sup> See p. 99, n. 29.

<sup>85</sup> Regarding the issues of nomenclature for the Rogations, see Hill, 'Litaniae', pp. 211–46, esp. 229, 236–7, 241–5; C. Rauer, ed., *The Old English Martyrology: Edition, Translation and Commentary* (Cambridge, 2013), pp. 1–4, 87, 95. For the continental influences upon the Anglo-Saxon liturgy, see Cubitt, *Church Councils*, pp. 129–131; Cubitt, 'Unity and Diversity in the Early Anglo-Saxon Liturgy', in *Unity and Diversity in the Church*, ed. R.N. Swanson, *Studies in Church History* 32 (Oxford, 1996), pp. 45–57; Hen, 'Liturgy', pp. 46–7.

<sup>86</sup> *CED*, 3, p. 368. See above, p. 99.

<sup>87</sup> *Bede, HA*, p. 382; M. Gleason, 'Bede and his Fathers', *Classica et Mediaevalia* 45 (1994), 223–38; Ó Carragáin, 'City', pp. 12–14. For the reference to eighty companions, see *Bede, HA* 21.385; Thacker, 'Rome', p. 124; *Vita Ceolfridi* 34.114.

(60.121/9–12).<sup>88</sup> As McCormick notes, such ‘crisis litanies’ would not have been unfamiliar to the liturgical traditions of Gaul and its Minor Litanies.<sup>89</sup> The letter continues a few lines later with the following contextual detail (60.121/27–34):

De eo namque quod suggestisti, quod elegerunt unam civitatem omnes Francorum principes coniungentem usque ad paganorum fines et in partes Germanicarum gentium, ubi antea predicasti, quatenus ibi sedem metropolitanam perpetuo tempore habere debeas et inde ceteros episcopos ad viam instrueres rectitudinis et post tui successores perpetuo iure possideant: hoc, quod decreverunt, nos laeto suscepimus animo, eo quod ex Dei nutu factum est.

[‘Concerning that which you reported to us, namely, that all the princes of Francia have selected a city, adjoining right up to the borders of the pagan lands and in those parts of Germany you previously preached, which you may have as a metropolitan see forever and from where you might instruct all the bishops in the path of virtue and afterwards your successors-in-title may hold in perpetuity, we have received this news, which they decreed, with a joyful spirit because it was done according to God’s will.’]

The phrase *usque ad paganorum fines* (‘right up to the borders of the pagan lands’) highlights that Boniface’s new *civitas* (‘city, major town’) is very near the pagan marchlands, and thus recalls the phrase the *marca* (‘territory or boundary’) of the pagans (*prope marcam paganorum*, 93.213/19–20, 93.213/28–9), which Boniface himself used twice in Letter 93.<sup>90</sup>

It is uncertain whether Bishop Boniface in fact led a penitential procession of his community into his newly bequeathed citadel (*civitas*) on the *marca* in order to propitiate God and

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<sup>88</sup> M. McCormick, ‘The Liturgy of War in the Early Middle Ages: Crisis, Litanies, and the Carolingian Monarchy’, *Viator* 15 (1984), 1–40, at 17; Tangl, *Die Briefe*, 60.121/6–12.

<sup>89</sup> McCormick, ‘Liturgy’, pp. 15–23.

<sup>90</sup> For discussion of the *marca* and *burh*, see above, pp. 62, 75.

alleviate the sufferings of its inhabitants, but it is clear that this was a widely recognized model of addressing communal woes or afflictions.

In Bede's account, the *Deprecamur te* prayer is recited by Augustine's party as they approached the city (*civitas*) of Canterbury, in the final stage of their missionary pilgrimage, and is clearly designed to propitiate God and save the inhabitants of this *civitas* from the consequences of their sinfulness. In *Exodus*, Moses leads an entire nation, as *mægburh* ('kinsman-fortress', 55b), to escape the afflictions of Egyptians. The song (*leoð*-) is directed at facilitating their journey and averting further suffering through fearful entreaty. Thus the eighth-century examples of processional pilgrimage akin to Rogation provide a context for the communal journeying in *Exodus* that addresses the issue of song, and may well be applicable to the other features of their journey of stages. All these examples thus far have been in Latin, but, there are vernacular Rogation homilies whose roots may reach back into the early Anglo-Saxon period and so profitably develop the paradigm of a processional pilgrimage akin to a Rogation, and thus aid the interpretation of *Exodus*.

The enduring popularity of Rogations throughout the medieval period has already been noted, but apart from nine Rogationtide homilies by Ælfric, the rest are anonymous, with the earliest dating from two centuries later.<sup>91</sup> These homilies use the descriptive Old English compounds *gangdagas* ('walking days') or *bendagas* or *gebeddagas* ('supplication

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<sup>91</sup> There are eight (pre-Ascension) Rogation homilies in Ælfric's series of Catholic Homilies as well as a homily against vices and auguries in his *Lives of Saints*, which is rubricated *sermo in laetania maiore* ('sermon on the Major Litany'). Hill notes there is also some further supplementary Rogation material in *Homily 22* of his Second Catholic Series: Hill, 'Litaniae', pp. 215–6. For a list of vernacular homilies having titles in Latin or Old English which refer to Rogationtide: N.R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford, 1990), pp. 206, 529. In addition to *Homily 9* of the Blickling Homilies, Willard has speculated that *Homilies 8* and *10* may also be Rogation homilies, though none of these three provide a description of Rogationtide observance: Morris, *Blickling Homilies*, pp. 96–114; R. Willard, *The Blickling Homilies*, Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile 10 (Copenhagen, 1960), pp. 39–40.

days') for the Rogations.<sup>92</sup> Most of these homilies relate to the three-day pre-Ascension observance of the Minor Litanies, but some of the most detailed observances of the Rogations are found in the earliest extant collection of homilies, the Vercelli Book, which are thought to date from the mid to late tenth century.<sup>93</sup> It should also be noted that Scragg has recently provided evidence that a fragment found in Digby 63 is the remnant of vernacular homily composed in the Northumbrian region dating back to the middle or third quarter of the ninth century, thereby suggesting the vernacular homiletic tradition is considerably older than has been previously thought.<sup>94</sup> The descriptions of Rogation observance in vernacular homilies are themselves usual, since, as Sellers notes, they continued to emphasize fasting, penance, and, even, sackcloth and ashes, despite the fact that the Minor Litanies were approved for Roman usage in the time of Pope Leo III (795–816), and as part of this reciprocal arrangement, the Second Council of Aachen (836) aligned the Minor Litanies with Roman custom, which was celebratory in nature, by removing the element of fasting from Rogation observance throughout Gaul.<sup>95</sup>

The Vercelli Book contains two sets of Rogation homilies for the Minor Litanies, with each set comprised of three homilies for the three *feria* (non-feast days). *Vercelli Homilies*

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<sup>92</sup> Hill, 'Litaniae', p. 212; F. Tupper, 'Anglo-Saxon *Dæg-mæl*', *PMLA* 10 (1895), 111–241, at 229–33. See also M.B. Bedingfield, *The Dramatic Liturgy of Anglo-Saxon England* (Woodbridge, 2002), pp. 191–209; Kramer, *Earth and Heaven*, pp. 147–200; Blair, *Church*, pp. 454–5, 486–9.

<sup>93</sup> For discussion of the Vercelli Book, see M. Clayton, 'Homiliaries and Preaching in Anglo-Saxon England', *Peritia* 4 (1985), 207–42, at 226–9; P.J. Lucas, 'The Vercelli Book Revisited', in *The Genesis of Books: Studies in the Scribal Culture of Medieval England in Honour of A.N. Doane*, ed. M.T. Hussey and J.D. Niles, *SEMA* 9 (Turnhout, 2011), pp. 161–74; D.G. Scragg, 'The Compilation of the Vercelli Book', *ASE* 2 (1973), 189–207; Scragg, 'The Corpus of Vernacular Homilies and Prose Saints' Lives before Ælfric', *ASE* 8 (1979), 223–77, at 223–5; *VH*, p. xx; P.E. Szarmach, 'The Scribe of the Vercelli Book', *Studia Neophilologica* 51.2 (1979), 179–88; E. Treharne, 'The Form and Function of the Vercelli Book', in *Text, Image, Interpretation: Studies in Anglo-Saxon Literature and its Insular Context in Honour of Éamonn Ó Carragáin*, ed. A. Minnis and J. Roberts, *SEMA* 18 (Turnhout, 2007), pp. 253–66; S. Zacher, *Preaching the Converted: the Style and Rhetoric of the Vercelli Book Homilies* (Toronto, 2009), pp. 5–9.

<sup>94</sup> D.G. Scragg, 'A Ninth-Century Old English Homily from Northumbria', *ASE* 45 (2016), 39–49, citing Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 63, 9r.

<sup>95</sup> Concilium Aquisgranense II cap. 2 canon 10; G.D. Mansi, *et al.*, ed., *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, 53 vols (1757–98), 14, p. 678; OERC, pp. 18, 159–60; Weiser, *Handbook*, p. 42.

11–13 possess linking rubrics and are unique copies, while *Vercelli Homilies 19–21* are untitled, but have internal linguistic consistency.<sup>96</sup> *Vercelli Homily 12* provides the most detailed surviving description of Rogationtide observance in the vernacular corpus, including the following account, where the central elements of observance are highlighted in bold (*VH* 12.228/12–18):<sup>97</sup>

Ponne wið þon gesette us sanctus Petrus syðþan 7 oðerra cyricena ealdormen þa halgan gangdagas þry, to ðam þæt we **sceoldon** on Gode ælmightigum **þiowigan** mid usse gedefelice **gange** 7 mid **sange** 7 mid **ciricena socnum** 7 mid **fæstenum** 7 mid **ælmessylenum** 7 mid **halegum gebedum**. 7 we sculon beran usse **reliquias** ymb **ure land**, þa medeman Cristes **rodetacen** þe we Cristes mæl **nemnað**, on þam he sylfa prowode for mancynnes alysnesse. [emphasis added]

[‘Then, a little later, Saint Peter and the other leaders of the churches instituted these three holy days in order that we **must serve** Almighty God with our fitting **procession**, with **song**, and with **visits to churches**, and with **fasts**, and with **almsgiving**, and with **holy prayers**, we must carry out **relics** around **our land**, the worthy **sign of the Cross (rodetacen)** of Christ which we call the cross of Christ on which he himself suffered for the redemption of mankind.’]

Sellers appears to dismiss the more literal style of the *Vercelli Homilies* when he states that the *Vercelli Homilies 11–13* ‘generally juxtapose numerous observances, historical and biblical exempla, and anecdotes, with little regard for making connections between them’.<sup>98</sup>

Vernacular homilies are often seen as largely unoriginal compositions borrowing extensively,

<sup>96</sup> Scragg, ‘Corpus’, pp. 225, 232–3; *VH* pp. 219, 310. Cf. Sisam who argues that *Vercelli Homily 14* is also a Rogation homily, see C. Sisam, ed., *The Vercelli Book*, Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile 19 (Copenhagen, 1976), p. 15.

<sup>97</sup> *EOERH*, pp. xxii–xxiv, at xxii. All quotations are from *VH*.

<sup>98</sup> *OERC*, p. 122.

often verbatim, from earlier Latin versions.<sup>99</sup> Bailey notes a trend towards consolidation of the Church's intellectual heritage in the late antique period that resulted in sermons and homilies becoming 'formulaic, plagiaristic and often anonymous',<sup>100</sup> however, there can be no doubt that both Latin and anonymous vernacular homily-collections demonstrate variation in selection and arrangement of their material.<sup>101</sup> Thus there is a mix of fidelity to older ecclesiastical authorities (*auctoritates*) and the free arrangement of those sources.

The fact that *Vercelli Homilies 11 and 13* borrow from sermons of Caesarius of Arles (470–543), who was one of the key sources for the history of the early Rogations, and *Vercelli Homilies 19–21* draw their subject matter from the homiliary of St Père de Chartres demonstrates the influence of *auctoritas*,<sup>102</sup> but *Vercelli Homily 12* has no known source, nor do the descriptions of observances of the Rogations in general.<sup>103</sup> If sermons and homilies were important because of the dialogue they sought to create between preacher and audience, and the rhetorical and theological strategies they employed (which were presumably shaped over time by the audience's reception),<sup>104</sup> then their descriptions of participation and quasi-liturgical observance, whatever their source, would need to be both accurate and relevant to their lay audience. Thus the fact that *Vercelli Homily 12*'s description, by way of example,

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<sup>99</sup> OERC, p. 27; and F.M. Biggs *et al.*, *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture: A Trial Version* (Binghamton, NY, 1990), p. 124.

<sup>100</sup> L.K. Bailey, *Christianity's Quiet Success: The Eusebius Gallicanus Sermon Collection and the Power of the Church in Late Antique Gaul* (Notre Dame, Indiana, 2010), pp. 23–4, at 23; R.E. McLaughlin, 'The Word Eclipsed? Preaching in the Early Middle Ages', *Traditio* 46 (1991), 77–122, at 106–7.

<sup>101</sup> Clayton, 'Homiliaries', pp. 207–29, 241–2.

<sup>102</sup> For the sources of *Vercelli Homilies 19–21* and the possible influence of catechetical tradition upon them, see A. Conti, 'The Taunton Fragment and the Homiliary of Angers: Context for New Old English', *RES* 60.243 (2009), 1–33; J.E. Cross, ed., *Cambridge Pembroke College MS. 25: a Carolingian Sermonary used by Anglo-Saxon Preachers*, King's College London Medieval Studies 1 (London, 1987), pp. 17–173; M. Fox, 'Vercelli Homilies XIX–XXI, the Ascension Day Homily in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 162, and the Catechetical Tradition from Augustine to Wulfstan', in S. Zacher and A. Orchard, ed. *New Readings in the Vercelli Book* (Toronto, 2009), pp. 254–79; M. Gretsche, 'The Taunton Fragment: A New Text from Anglo-Saxon England', *ASE* 33 (2004), 145–93. Cf. C.D. Wright, 'Vercelli Homilies XI–XIII and the Anglo-Saxon Benedictine Reform: Tailored Sources and Implied Audiences', in *Preacher, Sermon and Audience in the Middle Ages*, ed. C. Muessig (Leiden, 2002), pp. 203–27.

<sup>103</sup> *VH*, p. 227.

<sup>104</sup> Bailey, *Quiet Success*, pp. 26–7.

shares many similarities with the penitential, supplicatory and propitiatory character of eighth-century Anglo-Saxon Rogation practice is noteworthy. The implication is that *Vercelli Homilies 11–12*, in particular, could be describing a ritual that may have changed little from that of Bede's time, and thus from the period in which *Exodus* was composed. In the subsequent chapters the paradigm of a processional pilgrimage akin to Rogation will be used to aid the examination of the remaining sections of *Exodus* (A and C–F).

## Chapter Five – The Motivation for Pilgrimage

This chapter examines Section A of *Exodus* (1–53) through the lens of the paradigm of a processional pilgrimage akin to a Rogation to suggest that the motivations for the Israelites’ journey out of Egypt are similar to that of a community undertaking a penitential and petitionary processional pilgrimage. The chapter will focus upon Moses’ role as leader of the Church, before considering whether the complex interplay of the notions of suffering, place, journeying, and the Pasch indicate that the Israelites’ willingness to journey, as directed by Moses, is prompted by the consequences of communal sin and the fear of God’s wrath.

As noted in the Introduction, the half-line *gehyre se ðe wille* (7b), which concludes the opening passage (1–7), could be a homiletic exhortation.<sup>1</sup> Given that the phrase follows the clauses ‘we feor ond neah gefrigen habbað | ofer middangeard’ (1–2a), which suggest that the Laws of Moses have been widely proclaimed, there is evidently a stress upon oral dissemination. The half-line *gehyre se ðe wille* is an obvious echo of the parabolic injunction in Matthew 11:15: ‘qui habet aures audiendi audiat’ (‘he that hath ears to hear, let him hear’),<sup>2</sup> which is found in a chapter preoccupied with proclaiming the Word (Mt. 11:1):

Et factum est cum consummasset Iesus praecipiens duodecim discipulis suis transiit inde ut doceret et praedicaret in civitatibus eorum.

[‘And it came to pass, when Jesus had made an end of commanding his twelve disciples, he passed from thence, to teach and preach in their cities.’]

The emphasis here upon the need to preach (*praedicare*) and to teach (*docere*) the Word established the two fundamentals of the early Christian apologetic: the kerygma (Greek

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. the *Proem* of *The Metres of Boethius* (1–10): ASPR 5, p. 153.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. ‘se þe earan hæbbe to gehyryne gehyre’: R.M. Liuzza, ed., *The Old English Version of the Gospels*, 2 vols, EETS O.S. 304, 314 (Oxford, 1994–2000), 1, p. 22.

*κήρυγμα* ‘proclamation, preaching’) and the *didache* (Greek *διδασχῆ*, ‘teaching’).<sup>3</sup> Jesus says to the Apostles that it is not they who speak ‘sed Spiritus Patris vestri qui loquitur in vobis’ (‘but the Spirit of your Father that speaketh in you’, Mt. 10:20). In this apostolic-missionary paradigm, the preacher, as an instrument of God, goes to populated places in order to exhort people to follow Him and to obey His teachings. Thus, the exhortation *gehyre se ðe wille* signals the *Exodus*-poet’s attempt to alert his audience to Moses’ role as an apostolic-missionary preacher, exhorting the Israelites.

In *Exodus*, Moses role as a leader and *magoræswa* (55a, 102a) has already been noted, but the fact that God imparts more knowledge (*soðwundra fela* – ‘many marvellous truths’, 24b) to Moses than all of those patriarchs who came before him (28–9), suggests that this is a new mission. Green, considering *Exodus* 30–2, argues that God’s empowerment of Moses is aimed at preparing him ‘for his approaches (*forðwegas*) to the Pharaoh’. Green argues that as part of an ‘imagistic overlap’ the *Exodus*-poet has borrowed Gregory I’s own missionary paradigm in the *Moralia in Job* to portray Moses allegorically as the ideal preacher,<sup>4</sup> and that typologically the homiletic process encapsulated by the phrase *gehyre se ðe wille* extends to the *Exodus*-poet himself, and his own homiletic address to the audience at lines 549–81.<sup>5</sup> Green’s hypothesis is credible, but it is also possible that the *Exodus*-poet may have wished Anglo-Saxon pilgrims to identify Moses with leaders of the Church in order to draw a parallel between the exodus and the material practice of pilgrimage.<sup>6</sup>

Moses appears once in the Litany of the Saints of Anglo-Saxon England, but numerous times in Old English homilies and verse.<sup>7</sup> Cynewulf’s *Elene* (750×850) refers to

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<sup>3</sup> *ODCC*, pp. 481, 929.

<sup>4</sup> Green, ‘Gregory’s *Moralia*’, pp. 252–3, at 253.

<sup>5</sup> Green, ‘Gregory’s *Moralia*’, pp. 260–1.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Wyly who associates Moses with Boniface: *Figures, passim*. See also M.S. Griffith, ‘Review of Wyly, B. W., *Figures of Authority in the Old English Exodus* (Heidelberg, 1999)’, *NQ* 47 (2000), 113–14.

<sup>7</sup> The reference is found in a ninth-century Frankish sacramentary, comprising the core of the Leofric Missal, known as Leofric A, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Bodley 579, ff. 257r–258r and 266r–

Moses in order to draw typological parallels between his Laws and the new Christian faith (*Elene*, 283b, 335b–41, 366b–8,785a).<sup>8</sup> In the *Seasons for Fasting* (c. 1000), Moses is variously described as the *mærne lareow* (‘glorious teacher’, *Seasons* 1.87/2b),<sup>9</sup> and as the authority for almsgiving and fasting (6.89/43a), nevertheless, he is subordinated to Pope Gregory I in determining the dates of the Ember fasts (12.92/87–94). The fact that the Gregory I is used by the Anglo-Saxon poet to justify a divergence in the Embertide observance from the Breton and Frankish regions gives the *Seasons for Fasting* a nationalistic slant.<sup>10</sup> Nevertheless, the poem demonstrates that Moses has been absorbed into the broader apostolic tradition of the Roman Church.

In *Exodus*, Moses is the only person associated with the notion of *ræd* (‘counsel, benefit’, 6b, 269b, 549b, 569b) as he gives the Israelites the better counsel (*ic on beteran ræd*, 269b) and is obedient or mindful of counsels (*ræda gemyndig*, 549b). Moses is an agent who disseminates the *ræd*, which is proclaimed in the opening lines (1–7) and lines 523–30a of the Homiletic Digression (516–48), but the term clearly embraces a complex notion, since the word is linked with the *ginfaesten god* (‘ample benefits’, 525a), which will go forth (*ræd forð gæð*, 526b) once it is unlocked by the enigmatic *lifes wealhstod* (‘interpreter of life’, 523b) using the *gastes cægon* (‘keys of the spirit’, 525b).<sup>11</sup> It appears that the *ræd* and the *ginfaesten god* are related and that all compounds using the element *-faest* seem to connote a

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267r. See further, Lapidge, *Litanies*, pp. 76–7, 228; R. DiNapoli, *An Index of Theme and Image to the Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church: Comprising the Homilies of Ælfric, Wulfstan, and the Blickling and Vercelli Codices* (Hockwold cum Wilton, 1995), p. 108. Cf. the *Journey Charm* of *The Metrical Charms* (No. 11): ASPR 6, p. 127.

<sup>8</sup> Fulk, *History*, p. 368.

<sup>9</sup> M.P. Richards, ed., *The Old English Poem Seasons for Fasting: a Critical Edition* (Morgantown, 2014), p. 87.

<sup>10</sup> C.B. Hilton, ‘The Old English *Seasons for Fasting*: its Place in the Vernacular Complaint Tradition’ *Neophilologus*, 70.1 (1986), 155–9, at 155.

<sup>11</sup> For a discussion that Christ himself is the *wealhstod*, see D. Haines, ‘Unlocking *Exodus* ll. 516–32’, *JEGP* 98.4 (1999), 481–98.

specially favoured state.<sup>12</sup> The patriarchs Noah and King Solomon are described as *þrymfæst þeoden* ('glory-fast prince', 363a) and *wuldorfæst cyning* ('glory-fast king', 390a), respectively. The adjective *soðfæst* ('righteous') is applied to God (*soðfæst Cyning*, 9a and *soðfæst sigora*, 434a) and the Christian souls adjudged worthy of abiding in Heaven (*soðfæstra sawla* – 'souls of the righteous', 544).<sup>13</sup> None of these compounds, with the notable exception of the *tirfæste hæleð* ('glory-fast men', 63b), are unique to *Exodus*; instead they define an exclusive group comprising of the Abraham, King Solomon, righteous souls, and God himself, using God as the epitome of righteousness (*ræd*). These examples draw upon the variant meanings of the adjective *fæst* ('firmly fixed, steadfast') to suggest a quality of fidelity to His providential will.<sup>14</sup> So, if the phrase *tirfæste hæleð* applies to the Israelites rather than Moses, the implication appears to be that the Israelites' greatest attribute and hope of salvation is their obedience to God.

Lines 527–32a appear to illuminate the enigmatic *lifes wealhstod* ('interpreter of life', 523b) as an individual who has attained the ample benefits (*ginfæsten god*):<sup>15</sup>

hafað wislicu word on fæðme,

wile meagollice modum tæcan,

þæt we gesne ne syn Godes þeodscipes,

Metodes miltsa. He us ma onlyhð,

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nu us boceras beteran secgað,

<sup>12</sup> The other five attestations of *ginnfæst* all qualify *gyfu*, *gifu* ('gift') and connote great personal attributes or the gifts of divine providence, see *Juliana* 168a; *Beowulf* 1271a, 2182a, *Genesis A* 2920a, and *The Metres of Boethius* 20.183/227a: Woolf, *Juliana*, p. 28; ASPR 5, p. 183. See also A.H. Bauer, 'The Old English *-fæst*: a Case of Grammaticalisation', *Folia Linguistica Historica* 28 (2007), 27–53 esp. 36–7, 41, 47.

<sup>13</sup> For discussion of *soðfæst* in OE poetry, see Bauer, 'Old English *-fæst*', pp. 37, n. 29, 44; F. Klaeber, trans. P. Battles, *The Christian Elements in Beowulf*, Old English Newsletter Subsidia 24 (Kalamazoo, 1996), p. 35; S. Noguchi, 'Beowulf and sothfæstra dom', in *Philologia Anglica: Essays Presented to Professor Yoshio Terasawa on the Occasion of His Sixtieth Birthday*, ed. K. Oshitari et al. (Tokyo, 1988), pp. 251–8; Wehlau, *Riddle*, p. 42; S.A.J. Bradley, trans., *Anglo-Saxon Poetry* (London, 1982), pp. 250, 269.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Wehlau's emphasis upon *fæst* and architectural metaphors, see above, p. 87.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Trahern, 'More Scriptural Echoes', pp. 297–8.

lengran lyftwynna.

[‘he will have wise words in his breast, [and] he will want earnestly to teach minds, so that we may not be lacking God’s fellowship, the mercies (or ‘generosity’) of the Measurer. He [God] will grant us more, now bookmen speak of the better, more lasting, joys of the upper skies.’]

Some editors emend *lyftwynna* (‘joys of the upper skies’, 532a) to *lifwynna* (‘joys of life’), one effect of this is to make the comparison between the earthly and heavenly life more pronounced.<sup>16</sup> The word *fæðm* also has the connotation of grasp or embrace, as elsewhere in *Exodus* (75b, 294b, 306a). The phrase *wislicu word on fæðme* (‘wise words in his breast’) suggests a fidelity to, and understanding of, these wise words, perhaps akin to *ræd*, and a desire by *lifes wealhstod* to bring men ‘now’ (*nu*), into God’s fellowship and mercy (*Metodes miltsa*); in other words, to enable men to receive the *ginfaesten god* and join the *sodfaestra sawla*. This passage describes someone blessed with greater proximity to God, like Moses, who exhorts and evangelizes others to partake in God’s mercy.

Moses is empowered by God to journey to a defined place in order to obtain earthly respite (14b–18):

Faraones cyn,  
Godes andsacan, gyrdwite band, 15  
þær him gesealde sigora Waldend  
modgum magoræs wum his maga feorh,  
onwist eðles Abrahames sunum.

[‘He [Moses] bound by rod-punishment the kin of the Pharaoh, God’s adversary (or

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<sup>16</sup> ASPR 1, pp. 106, 217; Irving, pp. 66, 98; Tolkien, pp. 17, 76, n. 531. See *Elene* 1268a, *Beowulf* 2097b, 3042b and *Christ B* 806b (Cook, *Christ*, p. 31).

‘adversaries’), when the Ruler of Victories entrusted to him, the high-spirited counsellor,<sup>17</sup> the life of his kin, and a habitation of a homeland to the sons of Abraham.’]

The uniquely attested compound *gyrdwite* (‘rod-punishment’) might be an allusion to when Moses later uses his rod to close the waters of the Red Sea and drown the Egyptian army.<sup>18</sup> Line 18 relies upon the verb *gesealde*, linking Moses’ empowerment and the conferring of Abraham’s inheritance namely, the *onwist eðles* (‘habitation of a homeland’).<sup>19</sup> The phrase *onwist eðles* might be interpreted as the heavenly homeland of a life pilgrimage, a national homeland of the *folc*,<sup>20</sup> or the ‘occupation of land or land-rights’ which, along with the *landriht* (354b), allegorically express ecclesiastical power.<sup>21</sup>

Yet the linking of Moses with Abraham is made clearer in part of the digression discussing the latter (380–3):

Pæt is se Abraham se him engla God 380  
naman niwan asceop; eac þon neah ond feor  
halige heapas in gehyld bebead,  
werpeoda geweald. He on wræce lifde.

[‘That is the Abraham to whom the God of the angels bequeathed a new name; besides that He commanded holy troops near and far, power over nations, into his keeping. He lived in exile.’]

Lucas has suggested that the reference to Abraham living *on wræce* (‘in exile’, 383b) indicates his break with the past (Gen 12:1) and has ‘overtones of punishment’, and resonates

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<sup>17</sup> For discussion of the phrase *modgum magoraeswum*, see above, p. 69.

<sup>18</sup> See below, p. 208.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Helder, ‘Abraham’, pp. 194–5.

<sup>20</sup> Howe, *Migration*, pp. 77–91, at 91. Cf. Michelet, ‘Lost’, pp. 59–79.

<sup>21</sup> Hermann, *Allegories*, pp. 79–89.

with the exilic motif.<sup>22</sup> The phrase *on wræce* also recalls that Moses was honoured by God *on westenne* ('in the wilderness', 8a), which, Green argues, relates to the secrecy of divine revelation and can be understood as echoing the phrase *in deserto* in Gregory's *Moralia*.<sup>23</sup> The words *wræc* ('exile') and *westen* ('desert, wilderness') suggest that Abraham and Moses undertook an exilic journeying to commune with God, upon which the whole notion of Irish *peregrinatio* was based, but there are also implications for the establishment of material religious practice in the landscape.<sup>24</sup>

The repetition of the phrase 'far and near' previously encountered in *Exodus* 1–2: 'feor ond neah gefrigen habbað | ofer middangeard ...' ('far and near throughout middle-earth we have heard tell of ...'), albeit with the position of the adverbs altered to suit the alliterative stress, looks like a commonplace emphasizing the 'cosmic aspect of the event',<sup>25</sup> but in the above passage, the phrase emphasizes the act of calling people from all over to gather and listen, which is the epitome of the apostolic mission. The alliterative emphasis upon *halige*, *heapas* and *gehyld* on the one hand, and *werþeoda gewæld* and *wræce* (382–383) on the other, stresses Abraham's dominion *on wræce* over a people. The purpose of Abraham living *on wræce* is to exercise his dominion in a place singled out by God. The exercise of dominion is emphasized by the later use of the phrase *on westenne* (123a), where the *westen* is no longer the place of revelation for Moses (disclosing the mysteries of God to him as an elect individual), but instead is the place where the *forengena* (120a), as the potential instrument of God's wrath, threatens and controls the Israelite host (*werod*, 123b). In the context of these opening lines of *Exodus* (1–2), the *wræc* and *westen* signify a physical space where the tribes of Israel can congregate in order to realize their status as God's chosen people. Divine revelation can therefore make any out-of-the-way place good and holy through holy people,

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<sup>22</sup> Lucas, p. 125. Cf. Irving, p. 89; Irving, 'New Notes', p. 314; Tolkien, p. 66.

<sup>23</sup> Green, 'Gregory's *Moralia*', p. 252.

<sup>24</sup> See above, p. 18.

<sup>25</sup> Earl, 'Christian Tradition', p. 167.

where *on wræce* and *on westenne* signify places set aside as holy to which the faithful can be called. This recalls the descriptions of pilgrimage to Rome involving navigation between the known and the unfamiliar in the *Vita Willibaldi et Wynnebaldi*, and the penitential processions into a city on the marchlands, suggested by Pope Zachary in his letter to Bishop Boniface.<sup>26</sup> The above imagery parallels the depictions of Israelite journeying in *Exodus* 54–71a, and suggests that Moses’ role is to take his people to these strongholds and holy spaces, affording them a refuge on earth and greater proximity to God.

Thus, instead of reading Moses using the missionary paradigm of Gregory’s *Moralia* as advocated by Green, attention could turn to the pragmatic paradigm in Gregory’s *Cura Pastoralis* (*CP*), widely known throughout the Anglo-Saxon period, with its depictions of the mixed life.<sup>27</sup> In the *CP*, Moses’ frequent entering and exiting of the Tabernacle was interpreted by Gregory as an example of balancing contemplation and worldly affairs.<sup>28</sup> The late ninth-century Old English translation of the *CP* stresses Moses’ humility and reluctance to rule as an example of the burden of spiritual guidance.<sup>29</sup> *Vercelli Homily 3* highlights how Moses strived in the world, where, as part of its theme of the forgiveness of sins, Moses is said to have *gefæste on þam westenne* (‘fasted in the wilderness’, *VH* 3.80/106) in order to gain revelation, but also prayed to God to avert his wrathful vengeance from the impious Israelites (*VH* 3.81/131–3). In *Vercelli Homily 7*’s discussion of sin, Moses is described along with other patriarchs as being illuminated by God through their toil (*VH* 7.134/22–4).<sup>30</sup> Regardless of the purpose of the compilation of the Vercelli Book, these miscellaneous references evidence that Moses’ role as leader could be understood in terms of material

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<sup>26</sup> See above pp. 45, 109.

<sup>27</sup> *ASL*, p. 307. For discussion of the mixed life, see above p. 34, n. 18.

<sup>28</sup> *CP* pt. 2 ch. 5 PL 77:33B.

<sup>29</sup> F. Leneghan, ‘Teaching the Teachers: the Vercelli Book and the Mixed Life’, *English Studies* 94.6 (2013), 627–58, at 634–5; H. Sweet, ed., *King Alfred’s West-Saxon Version of Gregory’s Pastoral Care*, 2 vols, EETS O.S. 45, 50 (London, 1871–2), 1, pp. 51–2; A. Thacker, ‘Monks, Preaching and Pastoral Care in Early Anglo-Saxon England’, in *Pastoral Care Before the Parish*, ed. J. Blair and R. Sharpe (Leicester, 1992), pp. 137–70, esp. 152–60.

<sup>30</sup> DiNapoli, *Index*, p. 108.

religious practice.<sup>31</sup> If Moses is intended to be read as a Church leader, then the communal journey in *Exodus* he is depicted as leading could represent an example of the material practice of pilgrimage. The eighth-century depictions of processional pilgrimages highlighted the role of the spiritual leader,<sup>32</sup> but the Rogationtide homilies of the Vercelli Book are particularly forthright in articulating the importance of this role.

In *Vercelli Homily 11*, amid the references to spiritual exile (*VH* 11.223/46–7) and the *gastlice cypemen* (‘spiritual merchants’, *VH* 11.224/63, 66) trading earthly things for heavenly rewards, there is an emphasis upon pastoral leadership. The homilist tells his audience that God has provided *gastlice blacernas* (‘spiritual lamps’, *VH* 11.221/11), for ‘se ðe soðfæstnesse<sup>33</sup> liht gesion wile’ (‘he who wishes to see the true-light’, *VH* 11.221/13). Here, *soðfæstness* (‘truth, faithfulness; righteousness’) recalls the *soðfæstra sawla* (‘souls of the righteous’, 544) in *Exodus* who will obtain salvation. The *gastlice blacernas*, a notion borrowed from Caesarius of Arles but not original to him,<sup>34</sup> are vital to man’s salvation for they ‘us sculon lihtan mid heofonlicre æfestnesse 7 mid haligre lare (‘shall lighten us with celestial piety and with holy preaching’, *VH* 11.221/11–12). Sellers notes that *Vercelli Homily 11*’s definition of the *gastlice blacernas* is wider than Caesarius’, and includes the Church itself: ‘heahfæderas 7 witigan 7 apostolas 7 bisceopas 7 mæssepreostas 7 oþre godcundan lareowas 7 manege Godes cyrican’ (‘Patriarchs, and prophets, and Apostles, and bishops, and priests and other religious teachers and the many churches of God’, *VH*

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<sup>31</sup> Ó Carragáin asserts that the Vercelli Book is an ascetic florilegium, whereas Leneghan has suggested that the book ‘articulates an ideal of the humble preacher which can best be understood in terms of the Gregorian model of the mixed life’: Leneghan, ‘Teaching’, pp. 627–58, at 652; É. Ó Carragáin, ‘How Did the Vercelli Collector Interpret *The Dream of the Rood*?’, in *Studies in English Language and Early Literature in Honour of Paul Christophersen*. ed. P.M. Tilling (Coleraine, 1981), pp. 63–104.

<sup>32</sup> See above, pp. 110.

<sup>33</sup> The noun *soðfæstnesse* is seen as an erroneous form by Scragg, and is translated here as if it were an adjective: *VH*, pp. 221, 459.

<sup>34</sup> R. Willard, ‘*Vercelli Homily XI* and its Sources’, *Speculum* 24.1 (1949), 76–97, at 77; OERC, p. 136.

11.221/15–11.222/17).<sup>35</sup> Sellers concludes that the author of *Vercelli Homily 11*, among others, reshaped Caesarius’ emphasis upon preaching and instruction to suit the hierarchical organization and catechetical emphasis of the Anglo-Saxon Church: a catechetical instruction which had its roots in the canons of the Council of Clovesho (747).<sup>36</sup> The attempts at establishing a uniform observance for the Rogations in Canon 16 of the Council of Clovesho suggest, as previously noted, an absence of uniformity in material religious practice, whilst also highlighting that the Rogations were a focus for communal Church-led worship.<sup>37</sup> The inclusion of *manege Godes cyrican* within *Vercelli Homily 11*’s definition of the ‘spiritual lamps’ foregrounds the role of the Church and its leaders in the observance of the Rogations. This highlights that the paradigm of a processional pilgrimage akin to a Rogation would have been focused upon the leader’s role in martialling his Christian followers on their journey.

In *Vercelli Homily 11*, the audience hear and engage with the homilist as part of an act of journeying through the landscape (*VH* 11.221/1–4):

Men ða leofestan, þis syndon halige dagas 7 halwendlice 7 ussum sawlum  
 læcedomlice, 7 us geriseð þæt we hie wel begangen mid fæstenum 7 mid gebedum 7  
 mid reliquiasocnum 7 mid usse eaðmodlice gange.

[‘Dearest men, these holy days are salutary and medicinal for our souls, and it is fitting for us that we well attend (or ‘go to’) them with fasting, and with prayers, and with visits to relics (or ‘relic-seeking’), and with our humble procession (or ‘going’).’]

These opening clauses *Men ... læcedomlice* are similar to those of *Vercelli Homily 20*, both of which are derived from Caesarius’ sermon *De letania*,<sup>38</sup> while the rest of *Vercelli Homily 11*

<sup>35</sup> OERC, pp. 128–42, at 134, n. 16.

<sup>36</sup> OERC, pp. 143–51, at 147.

<sup>37</sup> See above, p. 102.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. *VH* 20.332/1–2. See Willard, ‘*Vercelli Homily XI*’, p. 76; Morin, *sermones*, sermon 207.828–31.

is largely dependent on Caesarius' *De natale sancti Felicis*.<sup>39</sup> However, the phrases '7 us geriseð ... mid usse eaðmodlice gange' with its description of 'procession' and 'visiting relics' are not found in Caesarius' sermons.<sup>40</sup> The term *reliquiasocnum*, which is also found in *Vercelli Homilies 19* and *20*,<sup>41</sup> describe observances that are absent or differ markedly from their putative sources,<sup>42</sup> but nevertheless foreground the role of the Church and its leaders.<sup>43</sup> Furthermore, this paradigm of a processional pilgrimage akin to a Rogation appears to match Moses' role in *Exodus* 1–53 as a leader and preacher of the Church doing God's bidding by exhorting his flock to undertake a physical journey in order to gain greater proximity to God. The focus now shifts to the *Exodus*-poet's depiction of the events that prompt the Israelites' communal journey.

In scripture, the event which precipitates the exodus is the Tenth plague (Ex. 12:1–31), also known as the killing of the Egyptian firstborn. The account of how the Lord passed over each house marked with the blood of the immolated lamb (the Paschal lamb) sprinkled on its lintel and doorposts and did not kill the firstborn in those houses so marked is known as the Pasch (Greek πάσχα, 'passover'), and is the origin of the Jewish Passover and Christian Easter (Ex. 12).<sup>44</sup> *Exodus* provides a complex and unique rendering of the Tenth plague in the following lines (30–53):<sup>45</sup>

Hæfde He þa geswiðed soðum cræftum 30  
ond gewurðodne werodes aldor,  
Faraones feond, on forðwegas.  
Pa wæs ungeare ealdum witum

<sup>39</sup> Morin, *sermones*, sermon 215.855–8.

<sup>40</sup> Willard, 'Vercelli Homily XI', p. 81; P.E. Szarmach, 'Caesarius of Arles and the Vercelli Homilies', *Traditio* 26 (1970), 315–23 esp. 315, 318–19.

<sup>41</sup> *VH* 19.325/163, 20.332/3–4.

<sup>42</sup> Willard, 'Vercelli Homily XI', p. 76; *VH*, pp. 221, 311, 325, 329, 332; Cross, *Cambridge Pembroke College MS. 25*, pp. 114–15, 128.

<sup>43</sup> For the role of relics, see below, p. 263.

<sup>44</sup> *ODCC*, Pasch, and Passover, pp. 1233, 1237; Bright, 'Relation', pp. 98–9.

<sup>45</sup> The manuscript reads *ingere* (33a), *gedrenced* (34a), *dryr myde* (40b), and *freond* (45b).

deaðe gedrecced drihtfolca mæst,  
 hordwearda hryre (heaf wæs geniwad); 35  
 swæfon seledreamas since berofene.  
 Hæfde mansceaðan æt middere niht  
 frecne gefylled, frumbearna fela,  
 abrocene burhweardas. Bana wide scrað,  
 lað leodhata, land ðrysmýde 40  
 deadra hræwum – dugoð forð gewat.  
 Wop wæs wide, worulddreama lyt,  
 wæron hleahtorsmiðum handa belocene,  
 alyfed laðsið leode gretan,  
 folc ferende – feond wæs bereafod. 45  
 Hergas on helle (heofon þider becom)  
 druron, deofolgyld. Dæg wæs mære  
 ofer middangeard þa seo mengeo for.  
 Swa þæs fæsten dreah fela missera  
 ealdwerige Egypta folc, 50  
 þæs þe hie wideferð wyrnan þohton  
 Moyses magum, gif hie Metod lete,  
 on langne lust leofes siðes.

[‘He had with true powers strengthened and exalted the commander of the host, the enemy of the Pharaoh, on his onward journeys. When soon the greatest of multitudes was afflicted with death by old punishments, with the death of the guardians of the treasure (lamentation was renewed); the hall-joys slept, [and] they were deprived of

their treasure. He had severely struck down at midnight the persecutors, many of the firstborn sons, [and] destroyed the guardians of the stronghold. The slayer ranged widely, the hateful persecutor of the people, suffocated the land with the corpses of the dead – the troop departed forth.

Weeping was widespread, little of earthly joys, the hands of the laughter-smiths were bound;<sup>46</sup> they were allowed to greet the people, a marching folk, on their hateful journey – the enemy was deprived. Shrines of hell (Heaven came thither), idols, toppled. The day was famous over middle-earth when that multitude departed. So the Egyptian folk, accursed of old,<sup>47</sup> for many years experienced confinement [or ‘fast’] because they thought to deny forever the kin of Moses, if the Measurer would have let them, their long desire for the beloved journey.’]

The passage begins after Moses has communed with God (8–29), and describes how this *werodes aldor* (‘commander of the host’, 31b) and the *Faraones feond* (‘enemy of the Pharaoh’, 32a) was strengthened by God *on forðwegas* (‘on the onward journeys’, 32b). Irving takes these lines to be a summary of those that precede it and reads *on forðwegas* to mean ‘in his [Moses’] future actions’.<sup>48</sup> Lucas believes line 32 to be a literal reference to Moses’ exile in Midian,<sup>49</sup> although it is unclear whether the journey has as yet begun. The alliteration in line 32 links Moses, as the antagonist of evil, with the act of going forth.<sup>50</sup> Remley’s observation that lines 30–2 are transitional and serve to introduce the main narrative theme of the poem may suggest that the repeated references to *forðweg* (32b, 129a, 248a, 350a) have structural significance.<sup>51</sup> However, from line 33 *Exodus*’ depiction becomes more impenetrable, as no direct mention is made of the Israelite host and it becomes unclear

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<sup>46</sup> The past participle *belocene* could mean ‘locked’, ‘restrained’, ‘clasped shut’, or ‘enclosed, shut up’. For discussion, see Lucas, p. 173; Irving, p. 102.

<sup>47</sup> For further discussion of *ealdwerige* ‘accursed of old’ or ‘fatally weary’, see below, p. 136.

<sup>48</sup> Irving, p. 68.

<sup>49</sup> Lucas, p. 78.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. the reference to the Pharaoh as the adversary of God (*Godes andsaca*, 503b).

<sup>51</sup> Remley, *Biblical Verse*, p. 227. For the structural role of *forðweg* in *Exodus*, see below, p. 174.

who is the referent. It appears that the above passage (33–53) contains four themes that transcend the sequential order.

The subject of the passage from lines 37–9a appears to be the death of the Egyptian firstborn (Ex.12:29), which in scripture served as the final punishment inflicted by God upon Pharaoh because of his refusal to release the Israelites.<sup>52</sup> The Pasch emphasizes how through typology Christianity adopted the Old Testament events of the Paschal feast and the crossing of the Red Sea (the *transitus*) as a type of the death and Resurrection of Christ. The Pasch became for Christians the ‘outstanding symbol of redemption’, prefiguring the sacraments of baptism, confirmation and the Eucharist.<sup>53</sup> Daniélou demonstrates that the Pasch was often interpreted by patristic exegetes as proof of God’s providence, the unity of two Testaments and a seal of faith and Christian membership.<sup>54</sup> Yet, until the half-line *dæg wæs mære* (47b) the imagery appears wholly negative. The Pasch might be the ‘outstanding symbol of redemption’, but *Exodus* 33–45, in particular, presents no hint of redemption, only of places overthrown with death and suffering, and images of journeying focussed upon attack or escape.

There are, once again, references to structures: *hordwearda* (‘of the guardians of the treasure’, 35a),<sup>55</sup> *seledreamas* (‘hall-joys’, 36a), *burhweardas* (‘the guardians-of-the-stronghold’, 39a), *hergas on helle* (‘shrines of hell’, 46a) and, notably, *fæsten* (49a). As discussed in Chapter Three, the homograph *fæsten*, which can mean either ‘firm place, firmament, fortified place, fastness, confinement, a gloss on *claustrum* (as monastic cloister)’ (*fæsten*<sup>1</sup>) or ‘fast, fasting’ (*fæsten*<sup>2</sup>), occurs twice in *Exodus* (49a, 56b). During the discussion of Section B (54–71a) *fæsten* was viewed as an ambiguous concept capable of being seen as a

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<sup>52</sup> J.F. Vickrey, ‘*Exodus* and the Tenth Plague’, *ASNSL* 210 (1973), 41–52, at 41; Lucas, p. 52.

<sup>53</sup> Daniélou, *Bible*, pp. 162–3.

<sup>54</sup> Daniélou, *Bible*, pp. 175–6.

<sup>55</sup> For discussion of Treasure, see below, p. 256.

stronghold to be avoided, or as a place of refuge to be sought out during the journey.<sup>56</sup> Thirdly, there are a flurry of depictions of setting forth or journeying:<sup>57</sup> *bana wide scrað* (39b); *dugoð forð gewat* (41b); *alyfed laðsið leode gretan / folc ferende* (44–45a); *heofon þider becom* (46b); *þa seo mengeo for* (48b); and *on langne lust leofes siðes* (53).<sup>58</sup> Finally, there are numerous ambiguous references to suffering generally. *Exodus* 33–4 has the *drihtfolca mæst* (‘greatest of multitudes’, 34b), as the enigmatic subject of the sentence,<sup>59</sup> who are either *deaðe gedrecced* (‘afflicted with death’),<sup>60</sup> or *deaðe gedrenced* (‘drenched [or ‘stained’] in death’) if the manuscript reading is accepted.<sup>61</sup> The phrase *ealdum witum* (‘with old punishments’) might mean ‘the plagues now long ago’,<sup>62</sup> ‘terrible afflictions’,<sup>63</sup> or, even, ‘long-decided, inexorable’.<sup>64</sup> As noted above, these lines appear to allude to the Egyptians’ demise in the Red Sea, but are ambiguously phrased to depict fateful suffering and death generally.<sup>65</sup> The reference to the killing of the firstborn in lines 37–9a, and the fact that the half-line *dugoð forð gewat* (41b) interrupts the descriptions of suffering (which then continue in *Exodus* 42–5), might suggest that the Israelites march triumphantly away, while the Egyptians suffer in the Tenth Plague and, potentially, represent a type of the coming of Christ, baptism, or the Harrowing of Hell.<sup>66</sup> Yet, it is not at all certain that *Exodus* 33–45 depicts the triumph of the Israelites and the doom of the Egyptians. Indeed, the ambiguity

<sup>56</sup> See above, p. 85.

<sup>57</sup> Cf. Farrell, ‘Reading’, p. 407; Vickrey, ‘Tenth Plague’, p. 45.

<sup>58</sup> For discussion of *sið-* compounds, see above, p. 6.

<sup>59</sup> Cf. *drihtfolca mæst* (322a, 590b), see below, pp. 229, 244.

<sup>60</sup> Farrell, ‘Eight Notes’, pp. 365–7; R.K. Gordon, trans. *Anglo-Saxon Poetry* (London, 1926), p. 123; Irving, ‘New Notes’, p. 292; Lucas, p. 79; Tolkien, pp. 2, 37–8; Sedgfield, pp. 86, 176; Wrenn, ‘Review’, p. 186.

<sup>61</sup> Thorpe, p. 179; Blackburn, p. 36. Cf. ASPR 1, pp. 92, 198; A. Bammesberger, Old English *ingere* and *gere* in *Exodus*, *RES* 52 (2001), 327–30, at 330; Irving, pp. 68–9, Lucas, p. 7; Vickrey, ‘Tenth Plague’, pp. 42–4.

<sup>62</sup> Tolkien, p. 37.

<sup>63</sup> Gordon, *Poetry*, p. 123; ASPR I, p. 198.

<sup>64</sup> Irving, p. 68; Irving, ‘New Notes’, pp. 292–3.

<sup>65</sup> See above, p. 9.

<sup>66</sup> For typological parallels, see Calder, ‘Two Notes’, p. 85; Earl, ‘Christian Tradition’, pp. 166–7; Ferguson, ‘Patristic Tradition’, pp. 28–29, 53–61; Lucas, p. 82. See also K. Tamburr, *The Harrowing of Hell in Medieval England* (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 1–83.

over the meaning of the compound *mansceaðan* (37a) provides further reason to doubt that such a clear distinction between the Israelites and Egyptians was intended.

The compound *mansceaðan* is contained in a sub-passage (37–41) describing how a killer roams the habitations of the Egyptians, and is generally read as an accusative plural,<sup>67</sup> referring to the Egyptian firstborn, with an unknown subject, possibly God,<sup>68</sup> or emended to a nominative singular (*mansceaða* – ‘a harmful and wicked person, enemy; sinner’), so making the destroying angel the subject of the sentence.<sup>69</sup> Tolkien, accepting the emendation, thought that *mansceaða* referred to ‘the fell destroyer’ and that it was a parallel to the *angelos malos* (‘bad angels’) of the Psalter, who are sent by God to afflict Egypt (Psalm 77:49), but Stanley argues that the use of OE *mān-* meaning ‘evil, wicked’ is an unlikely translation of the Latin *angelos malos*, where the meaning is closer to ‘harmful or unfavourable angels’.<sup>70</sup> Robinson, using sacred etymology has read *mansceaðan*, as a ‘fairly exact counterpart for the Latin *persequens, affligens, tribulans*’, to mean ‘persecutor, afflicter’, and to refer to the Egyptian firstborn.<sup>71</sup> However, the lexical range of *Aegyptus*, as Robinson himself notes, extends beyond ‘actively afflicting others’ to include the state of affliction, confinement or suffering.<sup>72</sup> The Egyptians are described by reference to the abstract nouns: *afflictio* (pain, suffering, torment), *tenebrae* (‘darkness, gloom’), *angustia* (‘narrowness, strait’) and *tribulatio* (‘distressing’) by Ambrose, Augustine, Cassiodorus and Jerome in works known in Bede’s time.<sup>73</sup> Hall argues that *mansceaðan* plays upon the common paronomasia of *mān-* (‘man’) and *mān-* (‘criminal, evil’) to portray the Egyptians as both ‘man-harmers’ and ‘evil-

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<sup>67</sup> ASPR 1, p. 198; Lucas, pp. 79, 189; Robinson, ‘Some Uses’, p. 166.

<sup>68</sup> Sedgefield, p. 176.

<sup>69</sup> Irving, p. 69.

<sup>70</sup> Tolkien, p. 38; Irving, p. 69. Cf. E.G. Stanley, ‘Notes on the Text of *Exodus*’, *Leeds Studies in English* n.s. 16 (1985), 240–5, at 241.

<sup>71</sup> Robinson, ‘Some Uses’, pp. 166–7.

<sup>72</sup> Robinson, ‘Significance’, pp. 26–7.

<sup>73</sup> Thiel, *Grundlagen und Gestalt*, p. 292. For the reception of Ambrose, Augustine, Cassiodorus and Jerome in Anglo-Saxon England, see *ASL*, pp. 276, 280, 288, 296, 315, respectively.

harmers' who are typologically related to the Harrowing of Hell.<sup>74</sup> The appositive description of the *bana* as a *lað leodhata* ('hateful persecutor of the people') certainly seems to emphasize that the Egyptian persecutors (*mansceaðan*) are now themselves persecuted, but any emphasis upon *mǎn* humanizes the Egyptians, and highlights the contrast between human suffering and an inhuman afflicter, while the association between abstract Latin nouns and the Egyptians generalizes the notions of suffering and confinement.<sup>75</sup>

Yet the association of the *mansceaða* with the destroying angel highlights that the origin of the suffering derives from angering God. The allusion to the *angelos malos* of the Tenth Plague evokes another narrative of petitioning God for mercy. The opening line of Psalm 77 includes: 'Attendite popule meus legem meam inclinate aurem vestram in verba oris mei' ('Attend, O my people, to my law: incline your ears to the words of my mouth', Ps. 77.1) and 'Aperiam in parabola os meum eloquar propositiones ab initio' ('I will open my mouth in a parable, I will utter propositions from the beginning', Ps. 77:2). The Psalm is principally about the consequences of the Israelites' failure to listen and keep God's law (Ps. 77:10) and to proclaim it to succeeding generations (Ps. 77:6–7). This lack of fidelity to God means that He repeatedly visits vengeance upon the Israelites until David comes to lead the people (Ps. 77:72). Psalm 77 emphasizes that God's vengeance is directed at all who are disobedient. In a Christian context, the Pasch or the Harrowing of Hell likewise allowed that man can be saved, but not that he will be. Men must still be faithful to God in order to be saved. The notion that angels sent by God can inflict suffering gives added symbolism to the *atol æfenleoð* ('terrible evensong', 201a) in *Exodus* and the fearful night-long vigil the Israelites undertake, while the mighty angel (*Exodus* 205) holds the pursuing Egyptian army

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<sup>74</sup> J.R. Hall, 'Mansceaðan: Old English *Exodus* 37', *Neophilologus* 66.1 (1982), 145–8, at 146–7. See also R. Frank, 'Some Uses of Paronomasia in Old English Scriptural Verse', *Speculum* 47.2 (1972), 207–26, at 221.

<sup>75</sup> Cf. *laðne leodhatan*, *Judith* 72a: Griffith, *Judith*, p. 99.

in abeyance.<sup>76</sup> It would suggest the suffering is ultimately God's will, and that God must be petitioned and appeased. Nevertheless, the suffering is palpably real, for the depiction of the *bana* as the agent of vengeance places the emphasis firmly upon earthly affliction.

The *bana* ('killer, slayer'),<sup>77</sup> who *land ðrysmýde*<sup>78</sup> / *deadra hræwum* ('choked the land with the corpses of the dead', 40b–1a), has been read as Pharaoh or death personified,<sup>79</sup> or the destroying angel of Passover.<sup>80</sup> However, the *bana* also recalls Grendel roaming the land in *Beowulf* (103–4a): 'mære mearcstapa, se þe moras heold, | fen ond fæsten' ('the notorious border-haunter who held the wasteland, fen and stronghold [or 'fastnesses']').<sup>81</sup> The alliterative pairing of *burh-* (from *burhweardas*) and *bana*, link the 'slayer' to the preceding lines (33–9a) where the affliction of suffering is associated with places of settlement:

*hordwearda hryre* ('the death of the guardians of the treasure', 35a, 512a),<sup>82</sup> *swæfon seledreamas* ('hall-joys slept', 36a), and *abrocene burhweardas* ('destroyed the guardians of the stronghold', 39a). The sufferings continue with 'wop wæs wide, worulddreama lyt | wæron hleahtorsmiðum handa belocene' ('weeping was widespread, little of earthly joys, the hands for the laughter-smiths were bound', 42–43). The compound *burhweardas* could mean the Egyptian nation generally,<sup>83</sup> 'fortified houses',<sup>84</sup> the 'guardians of the city',<sup>85</sup> or relate to *druron deofolgyld* ('the idols fell', 47) and signify, as Vickrey notes, 'the idols of all the gods of Egypt'.<sup>86</sup> Ferguson argues that *burhweardas* is a kenning for a 'gate' allowing the past

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<sup>76</sup> See below, p. 182.

<sup>77</sup> Cf. *fyrst ferhðbana* (399a).

<sup>78</sup> Wrenn, 'Review', p. 186; Irving 'New Notes', p. 294. For discussion of the alternative readings of the manuscript's corrupt phrase, *dryr myde* (40b), using the verbs *drysmian* ('grow wet') or *dreosan* ('strew'), see Irving, p. 69; Sedgfield, p. 176; Stanley, 'Notes', p. 241.

<sup>79</sup> Sedgfield, p. 176.

<sup>80</sup> Irving, p. 69, n. 37; Lucas, p. 80.

<sup>81</sup> Fulk *et al.*, *Klaeber's Beowulf*, p. 6. Cf. the use of *manscaða* in describing Grendel's predatory roaming (*Beowulf* 712a, 737b).

<sup>82</sup> For discussion of *hordwearda hryre* (35a, 512a), see below p. 247.

<sup>83</sup> Blackburn, p. 36.

<sup>84</sup> Irving 'New Notes', p. 293.

<sup>85</sup> Lucas, p. 175.

<sup>86</sup> Vickrey, 'Tenth Plague', p. 44.

participle *abrocene* ('break apart; destroy', 39a), governing *burhweardas*, to relate to an object rather than to persons.<sup>87</sup> Yet, as noted in Chapter Three, compounds defining people in relation to the structures or the space they inhabit, such as *leodgeard* ('territory of the people' or 'enclosure of folk', 57a) and *mægburh* ('kinsmen-fortress', 55b, 352a, 360a), are fairly frequent in *Exodus*.<sup>88</sup> Such a generalized account of divinely ordained assaults upon the communal refuges of the *burh* and the *geard*,<sup>89</sup> emphasizing the suffering of victims, could have elicited powerful feelings of pity and fear in *Exodus*' Christian audience.<sup>90</sup>

If there were any doubt that *Exodus* 33–45 depicts God wreaking vengeance upon man, it is allayed when the *Exodus*-poet proclaims *heofon þider becom* ('Heaven came thither', 46b), seemingly to despoil the *hergas on helle* ('shrines of hell', 46a),<sup>91</sup> and bring down the idols (*deofolgyld*, 47a). The idea that 'Heaven came thither' has caused consternation: Blackburn, for example, emended *heofon* to *heofung* ('lamentation').<sup>92</sup> However, the idea of God literally visiting the earth, as Bright noted, resembles *þær Drihten cwom* (*Exodus* 91b) and Psalm 17:10.<sup>93</sup> These lines (*Exodus* 46–7a) also link the descriptions of the momentous day when the multitude departed (described in lines 47b–8) with God's work, which is then re-affirmed when God does not let the Egyptians prevent the Israelites from journeying (49–53), so creating a chain of events of divine providence.

Furthermore, the theme of suffering and fate seems linked to a particular use of the adjective *fæst* ('firmly fixed') and the adverb *fæste* ('firmly, fast'). The homeless

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<sup>87</sup> Ferguson, 'Patristic Tradition', pp. 57–8.

<sup>88</sup> See above, pp. 70, 84.

<sup>89</sup> Magennis, *Images*, pp. 168–88, and see above, p. 75.

<sup>90</sup> Vickrey asserts that the Israelites' obedience derives from their humility and courage, rather than fear: J.F. Vickrey, 'Exodus and the *herba humilis*', *Traditio* 31 (1975), 25–54, at 48.

<sup>91</sup> Tolkien, pp. 38–9. Cf. Krapp's reading of *hergas* as the nom. pl. of *here* ('hosts, armies'): ASPR 1, p. 199, n. 46.

<sup>92</sup> Blackburn, p. 38. Cf. Bammesburger who interprets *heofon* as the infinitive verb *heofan* ('lament') and reads line 46b to mean 'lamenting happened there': A. Bammesberger, 'Old English *Heofon þider becom* (*Exodus*, 46B)', *NM* 114.3 (2013), 275–8.

<sup>93</sup> 'He bowed the heavens, and came down: and darkness was under his feet' (Ps. 17:10): J.W. Bright, 'On the Anglo-Saxon Poem *Exodus*', *MLN* 27.1 (1912), 13–19, at 14. See also Irving, pp. 69–70; Robinson, 'Notes', pp. 364–5; Trahern, 'More Scriptural Echoes', pp. 294–5.

(*eðelleasum*, 139a) Israelites are said to have endured *wean witum fæst* ('misery fixed in punishment(s)', 140a) at the hands of the Egyptians. Of the Egyptians it is said: 'mægen wæs on cwealme | fæst gefeterod, forðganges nep | searwum asæled' ('the force was firmly fettered in death, without the power of going forth, bound by their devices', 469b–71a) and that they perished having been 'firmly surrounded' (*fæste befarene*, 498a) by the waters of the Red Sea. Christians are frightened with the 'house of evil' (*manhus*, 536b) where 'fæst under foldan, þær bið fyr ond wyrm' ('firm [or 'fixed'] under the earth, there is fire and the serpent', 537) in the 'eternally open pit' (*open ece scraef*, 538a).<sup>94</sup> The depiction in *Exodus* 33–53 of the transformation of refuges (the *sele* and *burh*) into places of suffering and confinement by an agent of God could be understood by both the Israelites and *Exodus*' Anglo-Saxon audience as the fearful consequences of sin, and as a call to undertake a penitential processional pilgrimage.<sup>95</sup>

Amid the images of suffering, *Exodus* creates uncertainty over who might be saved, by conflating the potential fates of the Israelites and the Egyptians through the use of ambiguous referents. *Exodus* 49–53 contains several cruces,<sup>96</sup> the most important of which is whether the Egyptians or Israelites are the subject of the ambiguous phrase *fæsten dreah* ('experienced confinement [or 'fast']').<sup>97</sup> By contrast, Tolkien asserts that *fæsten dreah* is a corruption, due to a repetitive copying error when the noun should be *facen* ('deceit, guile,

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<sup>94</sup> For eschatological imagery in *Exodus*, see T. Rendall, 'Bondage and Freeing from Bondage in Old English Poetry', *JEGP* 73.4 (1974), 497–512, at 506–9; R.M. Trask, 'Doomsday Imagery in the Old English *Exodus*', *Neophilologus* 57.3 (1973), 295–7, at 296.

<sup>95</sup> See A.J. Frantzen, *The Literature of Penance in Anglo-Saxon England* (New Brunswick, New Jersey, 1983), pp. 150–97; R. Meens, *Penance in Medieval Europe 600–1200* (Cambridge, 2014), pp. 12–101. See further, C. Cubitt, 'Bishops, Priests and Penance in Late Anglo-Saxon England', *Early Medieval Europe* 14.1 (2006), 41–63; M.R. Godden, 'An Old English Penitential Motif', *ASE* 2 (1973), 221–39.

<sup>96</sup> P.J. Lucas, 'An Interpretation of *Exodus* 46–53', *NQ* 16.10 (1969), 364–8, at 364.

<sup>97</sup> The Israelites are read as the subject by making *swa* a relative pronoun ('who, which') or a causal pronoun ('because') which links *fæsten dreah* to the preceding lines (47–8). See Gordon, *Poetry*, p. 124, P.G. Thomas, 'The O.E. *Exodus*', *MLR* 12.3 (1917), 343–5, at 343, Thorpe, p. 180; Wrenn, 'Review', p. 187 Cf. Blackburn, p. 38; Lucas, 'An Interpretation', pp. 365–6 (cf. Lucas, p. 82).

treachery’).<sup>98</sup> However, since places such as the *burh* have featured in *Exodus* 33–53, and there is prominent use of *fæst*, *fæste*, and *fæst*- compounds it seems prudent to pursue other possibilities.<sup>99</sup>

Lucas, retaining *fæsten dreah* and taking the Egyptian people (*Egypta folc*, 51b) as the subject, argues that the unique compound *ealdwerig* means ‘accursed/malicious as of old’ (reading the second element as *-wearg*, ‘evil, accursed’), and takes the homograph *fæsten* as meaning *fæsten*<sup>1</sup> (‘firm place, fortified place, fastness, confinement’), and as signifying a ‘(place of) confinement’.<sup>100</sup> Lucas points to similar compounds ‘used of persons with devilish attributes’ such as the *ealdgewinna* of Grendel (*Beowulf* 1776a), and *ealdfiend*, *ealdhettende*, *ealdgeniðlan* of the Assyrians (*Judith*, 315a, 320b, 228b), alongside *ealdfiend* of the Babylonians (*Daniel* 57b, 453a).<sup>101</sup> For Lucas, *dugoð forð gewat* (41b); *alyfed laðsið leode gretan / folc ferende* (44–45a); and *þa seo mengeo for* (48b), have a twofold reference, since they are simultaneously applicable to both the Egyptian firstborn and the Israelites. Lucas adds that line 49 also has a twofold reference to the Egyptians, who, being allegorically the followers of Satan,<sup>102</sup> endured confinement in hell, and the Israelites who were confined by the Egyptians.<sup>103</sup> Lucas’ reading emphasizes the importance of the word *fæsten*, but also frames the Israelites’ exodus as both an escape from sin and a life pilgrimage.

Irving also retains the manuscript-reading *fæsten dreah*, and takes the Egyptian people as the subjects, but emends *ealdwerig*, partly for metrical reasons, to *eald[or]werige* (‘fatally weary’). In so doing, Irving draws parallels between the compounds *ferhðwerig* (‘weary in mind, exhausted in spirit’) found in *Guthlac B* (1157a), *Christ B* (830a), and *Elene* (560a), and *werigfer(h)ð* (‘weary-hearted, disconsolate, depressed’) in *Judith* (249a, 290b) and

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<sup>98</sup> Tolkien, p. 39, n. 49–50.

<sup>99</sup> Cf. Sharma, ‘Movement’, pp. 123–37.

<sup>100</sup> Lucas, pp. 82–3, 179.

<sup>101</sup> Lucas, p. 83. See also Farrell, *Daniel*, pp. 50, 75; Griffith, *Judith*, pp. 103, 106.

<sup>102</sup> Cf. Farrell, ‘A Reading’, p. 408.

<sup>103</sup> Lucas, p. 82.

*Andreas* (1400a).<sup>104</sup> Irving notes that *Christ B* ‘describes sufferings in hell, as a matter of fact: “þæs hi longe sculon | ferðwerige, onfon in fyrbaðe” (‘for this reason they, the weary-of-soul, must long endure in the (bath of) flames’, 829a–30)’.<sup>105</sup> Irving also highlights the other meaning of the homograph *fæsten*, namely *fæsten*<sup>2</sup> (‘fast, fasting, scarcity of food’), to suggest that the word could mean ‘famine’,<sup>106</sup> and imply conscious wordplay by the *Exodus*-poet.

However, the whole idea of a twofold reference to both the Israelites and Egyptians has been questioned. Tolkien argued that the sudden interpolation of the half-line *dugoð forð gewat* (41b) ‘is typical of the Old English method of relating concurrent events, here the departure of the Israelites and the lamentation of Egypt’.<sup>107</sup> Boyd asserts that the Israelites’ journey is a beloved one (*leofes siðes* 53b) because they are escaping captivity, while for the Egyptians it is a *laðsið* (‘hateful journey’, 44a), ‘because their wealth has been taken from them and their shrines desecrated by God’.<sup>108</sup> Boyd’s emphasis upon the ‘Egyptians’ desire to be rid of the Israelites’ strains the meaning of her own translation of ‘alyfed laðsið leode gretan | folc ferende’ (44–5a) as ‘the people, the travelling host, were allowed to undertake a hateful journey’, where the primary inference would be that the journey was hateful to the Israelites, who are the only ones about to set forth.<sup>109</sup> Yet, the phrase *dugoð forð gewat* is capable of connoting a twofold reference, since of the five other occurrences of *dugoð* in *Exodus*, the first four are alternately distributed between the Israelites (91a, 228b) and the Egyptians (183b, 501b), with the final reference occurring when *dugoð on dreame Drihten herigað* (‘the host in bliss praise the Lord’, 547). Here the *dugoð* are the *soðfæstra sawla*

<sup>104</sup> Irving, p. 70; Irving, ‘New Notes’, p. 296. Cf. the phrase *eald and werige* (‘ancient and wearied’) in Wrenn, ‘Review’, p. 187; Stanley, ‘Notes’, p. 241. See Brooks, *Andreas*, p.45; Cook, *Christ*, p. 32; Griffith, *Judith*, pp. 104–5; Roberts, *Guthlac Poems*, p. 117.

<sup>105</sup> Irving, p. 70; Cook, *Christ*, p. 32.

<sup>106</sup> Irving, p. 70.

<sup>107</sup> Tolkien, p. 38, n. 41.

<sup>108</sup> N. Boyd, ‘A Note on the Old English *Exodus*, lines 41b–53’, *ELN* 18 (1981), 243–7, at 246.

<sup>109</sup> Boyd, ‘Note’, p. 246.

(‘souls of the righteous’): those *eadige gastas* (‘blessed souls’, 545a) who God leads to Heaven and eternal life (544–6) on Judgment Day. As *Exodus* is an incomplete poem, not too much emphasis can be placed upon such a pattern, but it suggests that there might be a deliberate conflation of the fates of the Israelites and the Egyptians until the end of the poem, where the *Exodus*-poet emphasizes that only on doomsday will God determine who exactly are to be included in the host of the *soðfæstra sawla*. Such a conclusion would tally with the earlier observation that *Exodus* depicts an immersive journey through its uses of *sið*-compounds, where acts of divine favour appear only provisional, and where the Israelites, during the extended depiction of Israelite celebration (565–79) near the conclusion of the poem, express not only exultation, but a sense of *timor Dei* as they sing their war-song (*fyrdleoð*, 578b) with fearful voices (*aclum stefnum*, 579a).<sup>110</sup>

Kruger argues that there is a twofold reference applying to the Israelites and Egyptians, which is intended to blur distinctions and push the reader toward the historical and literal. The ‘historical “now” of the poem’ symbolizes the undecided fate not of nations but ‘human actors playing out a human story’ and making choices along the way.<sup>111</sup> However, Kruger’s reading perhaps overemphasizes individual moral autonomy. Later in the poem, when the Israelites are described as being pursued by the Egyptians as part of a typescene of the Beasts-of-Battle,<sup>112</sup> the passage concludes with a verse, ‘fleah fæge gast, folc was genæged’ (‘the fated spirit fled, the people were accosted’, 169), thought to relate to the Israelites.<sup>113</sup> The word *fæge* occurs at least four times in *Exodus* (169a, 267a, 399b, 463a, 482b) and every time with alliterative emphasis. Gilliam asserts that in the context of ‘the

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<sup>110</sup> See above, pp. 6, 93.

<sup>111</sup> S.F. Kruger, ‘Oppositions and their Opposition in the Old English *Exodus*’, *Neophilologus* 78.1 (1994), 165–70, at 168.

<sup>112</sup> For discussion of the Beasts-of-Battle typescene, see below, p. 228.

<sup>113</sup> Lucas, p. 103. Cf. Tolkien who agrees with Blackburn that *gast* may stand for *gæst* (‘stranger’), and Sedgfield who reads the phrase to mean ‘ghostly apparitions’: Blackburn, p. 46; Sedgfield, p. 179; Tolkien p. 50.

Cædmonian poetry it is almost always the bad who are *fæge*'.<sup>114</sup> She omits discussion of line 399b, but acknowledges in reference to line 169a that 'some implication of condemnation' at the Israelites' lack of faith in God may be intended in this passage.<sup>115</sup> The twofold meaning of *fæge* at line 169a suggests that both the Israelites and Egyptians are contrasted and conflated as Kruger notes, but not necessarily that they have the autonomy of 'human actors' making choices along the way.<sup>116</sup> The implication is that all are subject to powerful, if not irresistible, forces of divine providence, where all are collectively fettered in death unless and until they obtain the mercies of the Measurer (*Metodes miltsa*, 530a). The half-line *gif hie Metod lete* ('if the Measurer would have let them', 52b) seemingly indicates that all actions and events in *Exodus* 49–53 are contingent upon God's providential will:<sup>117</sup> He decides who suffers and who escapes.

In this complex context, the phrase *fæsten dreah* captures multiple meanings: implying the Egyptians 'experienced confinement' (*fæsten*<sup>1</sup>), and, perhaps 'famine' (*fæsten*<sup>2</sup>) resulting from the various plagues, while the Israelites also experienced confinement in the form of enslavement at the hands of the Egyptians, and had to endure fast and fasting through faith (*fæsten*<sup>2</sup>) in order to be freed by God's instrument, Moses (30–2, 54a). This theme of piety seems to be reflected in the other particular use of *fæst* ('firmly fixed') which implies fidelity and self-sacrifice. The Egyptians are commanded 'healdan georne | fæst fyrdgetrum' ('to hold earnestly their military force fast', 177b–178a), as they endeavour to hold their formation.<sup>118</sup> The Egyptians' self-sacrifice is to earthly pursuits whereas, by contrast, the party of Israel, after being exhorted by Moses to cross the parted Red Sea, 'fæstum fæðmum freoðowære heold' ('held the covenant with firm embraces', 306). Likewise, in lines 406–25,

<sup>114</sup> D.M.E. Gillam, 'The Connotations of OE *fæge*: with a Note on *Beowulf* and *Byrhtnoð*', *Studia Germanica Gandensia* 4 (1962), 165–201, at 175.

<sup>115</sup> Gillam, 'Connotations', p. 175, n. 1.

<sup>116</sup> Kruger, 'Oppositions', p. 168.

<sup>117</sup> Cf. the phrase *gif hine metod* [MS *God*] *lete* (414b).

<sup>118</sup> See above discussion of *fyrð*, p. 75.

the firmness of Abraham's grasp upon the sword (*fæste mid folmum*, 407a), which is to be used to kill his son Isaac, can be compared to the fastness of his faith (*fæste treowe*, 423a). Here, uses of *fæst* in *Exodus* indicate the same fastness and fidelity sought by the 'spiritual lamp' from participants of the Rogations. Thus the homograph *fæsten* may provide a link by which the alternate fates of the Egyptians and Israelites might be contextualized in terms of a material religious practice, where only fasting and obedient processional pilgrimage can free man from damnation.

Therefore, *Exodus* 1–53 provides the exhortation to the audience to listen and to follow a prominent Church Leader because of profound earthly suffering inflicted upon the *burh* or *geard*. The eighth-century Anglo-Saxon depictions of a processional pilgrimage akin to a Rogation place considerable emphasis upon alleviating the suffering of the *civitas*, most notably in the uses of the *Deprecamur te* prayer: 'Deprecamur te, Domine, in omni misericordia tua, ut auferatur furor tuus et ira tua a civitate ista et de domo sancta tua, quoniam peccavimus. Alleluia' ('We beseech Thee, O Lord, in Thy great mercy, that Thy wrath and anger may be turned away from this city and from Thy holy house, for we have sinned. Alleluia').<sup>119</sup> *Vercelli Homilies 11–13* provide further potential detail regarding the petitionary Rogations and *timor Dei*.

*Vercelli Homily 11* continues in a similar vein: 'forlæten we unnytne hleahter 7 blisse' ('we must abandon useless laughter and joy', *VH* 11.224/73–4) for 'is us mycel nydpearf þæt we þæt eft mid tearum 7 mid heafe wepen 7 beten' ('there is much need that that we again with tears and with lamentation should weep and atone', *VH* 11.224/74–5). The homily correlates weeping, which is mentioned on numerous occasions,<sup>120</sup> with the need to atone for the sins of the first man, Adam: 'for þæs ærestan mannes synnum, Adames' (*VH* 11.223/46),

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<sup>119</sup> See above, p. 97.

<sup>120</sup> *VH* 11.222/27–9, 11.223/43–5, 11.224/74–7.

and for the Fall (VH 11.223/46–8).<sup>121</sup> Indeed, *Vercelli Homily 13* is focussed upon the danger for sinners of eternal damnation.<sup>122</sup> Fasting is an integral part of the descriptions of the Rogationtide observance (VH 11.221/2–3 and VH 12.228/15), and is paralleled in Jesus: ‘þe he for manna synnum fæste .xl daga 7 nihta’ (‘he who fasted forty days and nights for the sins of men’, VH 12.228/21–2). The theme of penitence and atonement is intimately associated with the fear of God (*timor Dei*) from the earliest descriptions of the Rogations. As discussed previously, Avitus, in one of his Rogation homilies draws a parallel between the afflictions that beset the Ninevites and their penitential fast (Jon. 3:1–10). The same parallel is drawn in *Vercelli Homily 19*, where Ninevites fast because of the afflictions caused through their sinfulness (VH 19.321/105–19.324/148) and the Ninevite King is said to have clothed himself in a hair-shirt and fervently cried out to God with all the dwellers of the *burh* (‘to Gode georne cleopode mid eallre þære burhware’, VH 19.323/138–9).<sup>123</sup> In *Vercelli Homily 11* the phrase ‘ondrysenlice we þæt halige godspel gehyren’ (VH 11.222/19) is exhortatory in a similar way to *gehyre se ðe wille* in *Exodus (7b)*, but the adverb *ondrysenlice* (‘fearfully’) indicates how an Anglo-Saxon audience might hear the depictions of suffering spread across *Exodus 33–53*. In *Vercelli 12* the homilist uses the aphoristic injunction, adapted from Psalm 110:10, to grab the attention of his audience: ‘snyttro fruma is dryhtnes egesa’ (‘the fear of God is the beginning of wisdom’, VH 12.229/54–5).

*Vercelli Homily 12* continues by explicitly connecting journeying, the veneration of saints’ relics and the fastness of faith with *timor Dei*, as follows (VH 12.230/72–6):

Nu we gehyrdon, men ða leofestan, hu god is þæt we hæbben dryhtnes egesan. Secan we symle mid ondrysnum egesan þa halgan reliquias dryhtnes 7 þyllicre gesamnunga.

<sup>121</sup> Rendall, ‘Bondage’, pp. 498–501.

<sup>122</sup> J.E. Cross, “‘The Dry Bones Speak’: a Theme in Some Old English Homilies”, *JEGP* 56.3 (1957), 434–9.

<sup>123</sup> P.E. Szarmach, ‘Three Versions of the Jonah Story: an Investigation of Narrative Technique in Old English Homilies’, *ASE* 1 (1972), 183–92.

7 þonne huru getilien we þæt we þonne ða halgan lare godspelles gehyren þæt hio fæste wunige / on ussum modgeþancum.

[‘Now we have heard, dearest men, how good it is that we may have the fear of God. We always with awful fears seek the holy relics of the Lord and such assembly. And when truly we strive for that [i.e. *timor Dei*], then may we hear the holy law of the Gospel, so that it remains fast in our thoughts.’]

The phrases *dryhtnes egesan* (fear of God) and *mid ondrysnum egesan* (with awful fears) are similar to the phrases *egesan stodon* (*Exodus* 136b, 201b) of the fearful vigil of the Israelites and the aforementioned depiction of the war-song sung with fearful voices (*aclum stefnum*, *Exodus* 579a).<sup>124</sup> The verbal phrase *fæste wunige* (‘shall dwell fast’) in relation to holy law recalls the ideal expressed in *Exodus* 527b, *wislicu word on fæðme* (‘wise words in his grasp’),<sup>125</sup> which marries the comprehension of God’s law with fidelity (fastness) to His teachings.

In sum, if the Pasch is the typological link in *Exodus* 30–53 that translates this wayfaring from a Judaic to a Christian journey, the images of journeying, suffering and place interact to fashion a depiction of a penitential and petitionary processional pilgrimage prompted by *timor Dei* with the homograph *fæsten* at its heart. The compounds in *Exodus* incorporating the element *fæst* denote special and virtuous qualities, as exemplified by Moses and the *soðfæstra sawla*. The uses of *fæst* (‘firmly fixed’) and *fæste* (‘firmly, fast’) emphasize the dangers of not undertaking the journey to *soðfæstness*, whilst highlighting the obedient fidelity required for membership of the elect. However, it is the notion of *fæsten* that incorporates place, journeying, suffering and the Pasch into the narrative of processional pilgrimage. In *Exodus* 33–53, secure places, refuges such as the *burh*, become places of

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<sup>124</sup> See above and below, pp. 93, 184.

<sup>125</sup> Cf. *VH* 11.222/17–20.

confinement, affliction and suffering, in other words, those *fæsten* not marked out by the blood of the Paschal lamb. The *fæsten* has ceased to be a safe and protecting stronghold and become a place of ‘confinement’ and ‘fast’ or ‘scarcity’: a place to flee, but also the way to salvation. If the Egyptians are doomed because of disobedience and sin, the Israelites must be obedient, fear God and fast. Furthermore, led by their preacher-leader Moses, they are embraced by the physical world of the Church, for, as has been seen in Chapter Three, the *fæstena worn* (56b) can become the refuges of Christendom in an uncertain landscape, where the Church and the material practice of pilgrimage are the route to salvation.

## Chapter Six – Processional Pilgrimage and Following the Signs

This chapter examines whether the numerous depictions of signs in Section C of *Exodus* (71b–125) can be read within the context of the paradigm of a processional pilgrimage akin to a Rogation. After examining the signs as depictions of the pillars of cloud and fire, *Exodus* 71b–97 and 98–125 are, for convenience, analysed in turn to determine the features and characteristics of these signs, which are then compared with Bede’s account of Augustine’s entry into Canterbury and the depiction of the *rodetacen* (‘sign of the Cross’) in *Vercelli Homilies 12* and *19*.

*Exodus* 71b–125 (Section C), with its depictions of signs, appears to correspond with the following scriptural verses (Ex. 13:21–2):<sup>1</sup>

Dominus autem praecedebat eos ad ostendendam viam per diem in columna nubis et per noctem in columna ignis ut dux esset itineris utroque tempore.

Numquam defuit columna nubis per diem nec columna ignis per noctem coram populo.

[‘And the Lord went before them to shew the way by day in a pillar of a cloud, and by night in a pillar of fire: that he might be the guide of their journey at both times.

There never failed the pillar of the cloud by day, nor the pillar of fire by night, before the people.’]

The pillars of cloud and fire have been interpreted as a type of Holy Spirit or Christ leading the faithful to salvation (often through Baptism).<sup>2</sup> Yet, there are some seventeen signs over

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<sup>1</sup> See also Ex.14:19, 24, 40:34–6.

<sup>2</sup> P.J. Lucas, ‘Old English Christian Poetry: the Cross in *Exodus*’, in *Famulus Christi, Essays in Commemoration of the Thirteenth Centenary of the Birth of Bede*, ed. G. Bonner (London, 1976), pp. 193– 209, at 194; Daniélou, *Bible*, pp. 92–3; Daniélou, *From Shadows*, p. 200.

the space of the fifty-five lines of *Exodus* 71b–125, all of which could represent the pillars (listed here in the nominative case and with uniquely attested compounds indicated by ‘\*’):<sup>3</sup>

* <i>heofoncolu</i> (‘heaven-coals’, 71a);	* <i>bælc</i> (‘beam, ship’s yard, spar’, 73a);
<i>halige nett</i> (‘holy net’, 74a);	* <i>wederwolcen</i> (‘weather-cloud’, 75a);
* <i>dægsceld</i> (‘day-shield’, 79b);	<i>segl</i> (‘sail’, 81b, 89b, 105a);
* <i>mæstrap</i> (‘halyard’, 82a);	* <i>seglrod</i> (‘sailyard’, 83a);
<i>feldhus</i> (‘field-house’, 85b);	* <i>lyftwundor</i> (‘sky-marvel’, 90a);
<i>fyr ond wolcen ... beamas twegen</i> (‘fire and cloud ... two beams’, 93b, 94b);	
* <i>heofonbeacen</i> (‘heaven-sign’, 107b);	<i>oðer wundor</i> (‘second marvel’, 108b);
<i>byrnende beam</i> (‘burning beam’, 111a);	<i>heofoncandel</i> (‘heaven-candle’, 115b);
* <i>nihtweard</i> (‘night-guardian’, 116a); and	<i>foregenga</i> (‘fore-runner’, 120a).

Nine of the seventeen signs are indicated by uniquely attested compounds; while there are twenty-five uniquely attested compounds in total across the fifty-five lines (71b–125).<sup>4</sup>

*Exodus* has the highest number of different compounds in relation to the length of the poem in the vernacular corpus.<sup>5</sup> Clearly, these fifty-five lines of *Exodus* with their swift succession, if not procession, of signs (all of which are quite similar to each other) is radically different to the scriptural account. Moore argues that the *Exodus*-poet regarded the pillar of cloud and of fire as two entities rather than one, whilst asserting that the Vulgate reference was often interpreted as representing one pillar that is a cloud by day and fire by night.<sup>6</sup> Whatever the case, the numerous guises the signs assume in *Exodus* only highlight how free and unique a vernacular biblical paraphrase of scripture the poem is, and thus how great an interpretative problem *Exodus* presents to its audience(s), whether contemporary or modern.

<sup>3</sup> The phrase *lifes latþeow* (‘guide of life’, 104a) has been excluded from the list because it is unclear whether it represents God, the Holy Ghost, Moses, or the cloud-pillar.

<sup>4</sup> Fourteen percent of the poem’s uniquely attested compounds are found in *Exodus* 71b–125, which represents nine percent of the total number of extant lines.

<sup>5</sup> Carr, *Nominal Compounds*, p. 412–13.

<sup>6</sup> Moore, ‘Sources’, pp. 87, 102. Cf. Lucas, p. 91, n. 93–7.

Lucas, focusing upon *Exodus* 71b–97, argues that the repeated references to signs in lines such as the *bælce* (73a), *nette* (74a), *wederwolcen* (75a), *dægsceldes hleo* (79b), *segle* (81b), *mæstrapas* (82a), *feldhusa mæst* (85b), *seglas* (89b), and *beamas* (94b) demonstrate the central theme of a holy covenant (*halige heahtreowe*, 388a) between God and the Israelites.<sup>7</sup> Although there are various metaphorical terms, the central concern, Lucas asserts, was ‘God’s presence and His power in controlling the Israelite journey from misery to beatitude’.<sup>8</sup> In a later article ranging across the poem, Lucas argues that the *beamas twegen*, the subsequent reference to *wuldres beam* (568a), and all the aforementioned signs represent the Cross in a poetic account in which the Israelites actual land journey and the allegorical sea-voyage of all Christians (life pilgrimage) are merged.<sup>9</sup> Despite highlighting parallels to the *wuldres beam* in *The Dream of the Rood* and *Elene*, the cult of the Veneration of the Cross and the likeness of the *fana* (248b) to a banner or *vexillum*, Lucas does not view any of this imagery in *Exodus* 71b–125 as alluding to the actual carrying of processional crosses by worshippers and pilgrims.<sup>10</sup> However, these signs could be read as a combination of celestial signs and processional crosses associated with the Israelites’ communal journeying.

To make sense of these signs, the opening section of *Exodus* 71b–125 needs to be closely examined, and so is quoted in full (71b–97):<sup>11</sup>

Ðær halig God

wið færbyrne folc gescylde,

<sup>7</sup> Lucas, ‘Cloud’, pp. 297–311, at 299, citing Cross and Tucker, ‘Allegorical Tradition’, p. 123 and Smithers, ‘Meaning’, p. 149. Cf. M. Wilcox, ‘Creating the Cloud–Tent–Ship Conceit in *Exodus*’, *ASE* 40 (2011), 103–50, at 103–5 (discussed below).

<sup>8</sup> Lucas, ‘Cloud’, pp. 297–311, at 310. See also S.R. Hauer, ‘The *Segl* in the Old English *Exodus*’ *ASNSL* 225 140.2 (1988), 334–9.

<sup>9</sup> Lucas, ‘Christian Poetry’, pp. 193–209. For discussion of OE words that denote a ‘cross’, see R.H. Bremmer, ‘Old English “Cross” Words’, in *Cross and Cruciform in the Anglo-Saxon World: Studies to Honor the Memory of Timothy Reuter*, ed. S.L. Keefer, K.L. Jolly, C.E. Karkov, *Medieval European Studies* 9 (Morgantown, 2010), pp. 204–32.

<sup>10</sup> For discussion of banners of the cross, see below, p. 228. See also Lucas, ‘Christian Poetry’, pp. 198–203.

<sup>11</sup> The manuscript reads *dæg scealdes* (79) over a line division, and *swegle* (81b).

bælce oferbrædde byrnendne heofon,  
 halgan nette, hatwendne lyft.

Hæfde wederwolcen widum fæðmum 75  
 eorðan ond uprodor efne gedæled,  
 lædde leodwerod, ligfyr adranc  
 hate heofontorht. Hæleð wafedon,  
 drihta gedrymost. Dægsceldes hleo  
 wand ofer wolcnum; hæfde witig God 80  
 sunnan siðfæt segle ofertolden,  
 swa þa mæstrapas men ne cuðon,  
 ne ða seglrode geseon meahton  
 eorðbuende ealle cræfte,  
 hu afæstnod wæs feldhusa mæst, 85  
 siððan He mid wuldre geweorðode  
 þeodenholde. Þa wæs þridda wic  
 folce to frofre. Fyrd eall geseah  
 hu þær hlifedon halige seglas,  
 lyftwundor leoht; leode ongeton, 90  
 dugoð Israhela, þæt þær Drihten cwom,  
 weroda Drihten, wicsteal metan.

Him beforan foran fyr ond wolcen  
 in beorhtrodor, beamas twegen,  
 þara æghwæðer efngedælde 95  
 heahþegnunga Haliges Gastes  
 deormodra sið dagum ond nihtum.

[‘There holy God shielded the folk against the terrible heat, by means of a spar (or ‘yard’) covered over, the burning heaven, hot sky, with a holy net.

The weather-cloud had evenly divided heaven and earth with a wide embrace, led the host of people and quenched the flaming fire, bright-in-heaven with heat. The men marvelled, a most joyful of hosts. The protection of the day-shield revolved across the sky. The wise God had covered the sun’s course with a sail, so the men, earth dwellers with all their many skills, could not perceive the mast-rope, neither could they see the sail-yard, nor how the greatest of field-houses was fastened, then he honoured with glory those loyal to the Lord. The third camp was a comfort to the people. The army all saw how the holy sails, the bright sky-marvel, towered there; the people, the troop of Israel, perceived that God, the Lord of the hosts, came there to mark-out the place-of-encampment.

Two beams, fire and cloud, went before them in the bright sky, they divided equally between them the high-service of the Holy Spirit, the journey of the brave-minded ones, by day and night.’]

The passage abruptly introduces the enigmatic sign. Whereas Etham is mentioned in the earlier passage (*Exodus* 54–71a) as a high-status fortified settlement (*Æthanes byrig*, 66b), in the above passage Etham is described simply as a *wic* (‘dwelling-place, lodging, station, or *mansio*’, 87b) and *wicsteal* (‘camping-place’, 92b). The emphasis upon architectural structures, with the notable exception of the *feldhusa mæst* (‘greatest of field-houses’, 85b) is absent,<sup>12</sup> and there is no mention of Moses or the Israelites camping around the Etham (*ymbwicgean*, 65a); instead, dispensing with the description of the landscape, the above passage focuses upon the dominance of the sign.

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<sup>12</sup> For discussion of the nautical connotations of the phrases *feldhusa mæst* (85b) and *flotan feldhusum* (133a, 223a), see below, p. 218.

Line 71 marks the abrupt change from the theme of journeying to describing the enigmatic celestial sign with a striking juxtaposition: *hatum heofoncolum. Dær halig God* (71).<sup>13</sup> This creates an antithesis between the oppressive heat in the a-line, and the form of relief, namely ‘holy God’ in the b-line. The antithesis is made more explicit in the following line, where there is a contrast between ‘terrible heat’ and ‘folk shielded’: *wið færbryne folc gescylde* (72). There is then chiasmus in lines 73–4, so that the relief now comes in a-line, followed by the oppressive heat of ‘burning heaven’ (*byrnendne heofon*, 73b) or the ‘hot sky’ (*hatwendne lyft*, 74b) occurring in the b-lines. Amid the antitheses, the chiasmus introduces a repetition between the aforementioned ‘shielded folk’ (*folc gescylde*, 72b) and the phrase ‘by means of a spar (or ‘yard’) covered over’ of the third line (*bælce oferbrædde*, 73a).<sup>14</sup>

Throughout, there is an alarming emphasis upon Heaven being hot, with the phrases ‘hot heaven-coals’ (*hatum heofoncolum*, 71a); ‘burning heaven’ (*byrnendne heofon*, 73b), ‘hot sky’ (*hatwendne lyft*, 74b), and ‘bright-in-heaven with heat’ (*hate heofontorht*, 78a): Hell after all, and not Heaven, is traditionally hot and ablaze. The threefold reference to Heaven (*heofon*) distributed over eight lines (71a; 73b; 78a) is noteworthy. The alliterative stress in lines 71–4 drives home the alarming image of a fiery Heaven: ‘hot’, ‘heaven-coals’, and ‘holy’ (71); ‘terrible heat’ and ‘folk’ (72); ‘spar’, ‘covered over’ and ‘burning’ (73); before returning to the theme of ‘holy’ and ‘hot’ (74). The dative plural compound *heofoncolum* (‘heaven-coals’) appears to signify the pillar of fire as heavenly fire. While lines 71–4 do suggest that the cloud, in the form of the *bælce* (‘beam, ship’s yard, spar’, 73a) and *halgan nett* (‘holy-net’, 74a), is both a source of shelter from heat (which is not mentioned in the biblical Exodus),<sup>15</sup> and a defence against foes,<sup>16</sup> there is an unequivocal association of God and

<sup>13</sup> ASPR 1, p. 93; Bright, p. 6; Irving, p. 47; Lucas, p. 87; Sedgefield, p. 87; Tolkien, p. 3. Cf. Thorpe, p. 182.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. the phrase *folc gescylde* with *dægsceldes hleo* (79b) discussed below, at p. 153.

<sup>15</sup> Moore, ‘Sources’, p. 89; J.W. Bright, ‘Notes on the Cædmonian *Exodus*’, *MLN* 17.7 (1902), 212–13, at 212; Lucas, p. 88.

<sup>16</sup> Blackburn, p. 39.

heaven with heat and fire, which suggests that the Israelites are being shielded from the full might of God.

There are notable parallels to the hot heaven imagery found here in *Exodus* in *Genesis B* and the *Old English Metrical Psalms (OEMP)* and both relate to punishment for wrongdoing.<sup>17</sup> In *Genesis B*, during the recriminations between Adam and Eve after they have both eaten from the apple, Adam bemoans the consequences of the Fall by highlighting that, among other things, they will have no protection ‘hwilum of heofnum hate scineð, | blicð þeos beorhte sunne and wit here baru standað’ (‘while it shines hot from Heaven, this bright sun blazes, and we two stand here naked’, *Genesis B* 810–11).<sup>18</sup> Psalm 104 refers to seventh plague to afflict Egypt, when (*OEMP* 104:28):<sup>19</sup>

Sette him regnas    reþe swylce,  
hate of heofenum    hagol byrnende,  
se lige forgeaf    land Egypta.

[‘He [God] assigned such fierce rains to them, hot from the heavens, burning hail, He gave flame to the land of the Egyptians.’]

The *Genesis B* quotation has no biblical parallel,<sup>20</sup> but Irving, having originally asserted that this image of a fiery Heaven could relate to the description of the sun in the district of the Red Sea given by the Greek historian Diodorus Siculus, notes that Psalms 10:7 and 139:11 refer to God using coals of fire to punish sinners.<sup>21</sup> The holy net (*halgan nette*) in *Exodus* 74a protects the Israelites from heavenly might and contrasts with the immediately preceding reference to those people and lands who are characterized by such affliction, and impliedly

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<sup>17</sup> *DOEWC*, boolean search, *hat* and *heof-*.

<sup>18</sup> Doane, *Saxon Genesis*, p. 229.

<sup>19</sup> *ASPR* 5, p. 81. Cf. Vulgate Ps. 104:32.

<sup>20</sup> Doane, *Saxon Genesis*, p. 93.

<sup>21</sup> Irving, pp. 18–19, 73; Irving, ‘*Exodus* Retraced’, pp. 206–7. See ‘Cadent super eos carbones’ (‘burning coals shall fall upon them’, Ps. 139:11). Cf. *fyres glede* (‘coals of fire’, *OEMP* 139:10): *ASPR* 5, p. 137.

associated with evil as a result: ‘Sigelwara land, | forbærned burhhleoðu, brune leode | hatum heofoncolum’ (‘the land of the sun-dwellers, the parched hillsides, a people dark-coloured by hot heaven’s coals’, 69b–71a).<sup>22</sup> The crucial point is that a heavenly sign protects the Israelites from divine wrath only by God’s will. The sign evokes a sense of *timor Dei*.

In addition, the sign appears to connect Heaven and earth. *Exodus* 75–6 introduce the self-alliterating uniquely attested compound *wederwolcen* (weather-cloud), where the ironic contrasting of the phrases *fæðmum widum* and *efne gedæled* suggest this divine sign bridges the two worlds: ‘hæfde wederwolcen widum fæðmum | eorðan ond uprodor efne gedæled’ (‘the weather-cloud had with a wide embrace evenly divided heaven and earth’, 75–6). It is noteworthy that the only other use of *gedælan* in *Exodus* relates to how the journey (*sið*) was divided (*sið wæs gedæled*, 207b) by another divine agent, the mighty angel (*mihtig engel*, 205a).<sup>23</sup> In *Exodus* 71b–97, the uniquely attested compound *efngedælde* (95b) also refers to how the two beams (*beamas twegen*, 94b) of cloud and fire (*fyr ond wolcen*, 93b) divided equally between themselves the task of leading the Israelites (93–7). The noun *uprodor* (‘firmament on high, sky; heaven’) occurs five times in *Exodus* suggesting these repetitions could be formulaic, but the fact that none of the six other attestations in Old English verse are repeated within the same poem suggests that these multiple references in *Exodus* merit further investigation.<sup>24</sup>

The first example of *uprodor* is part of *Exodus*’ exhortatory homiletic opening, and represents the place that can only be reached by obedience to the laws of Moses (*Moyses*

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<sup>22</sup> See above, p. 80. Cf. the argument that these references are part of an attempt by the *Exodus*-poet to make the scriptural narrative of the sun comprehensible to his Anglo-Saxon audience: S. Harlan-Haughey, ‘The Burning Sun: Landscape and Knowledge in *Exodus*’, *Amsterdamer Beiträge zur älteren Germanistik* 69 (2012), 97–117.

<sup>23</sup> See above, p. 6.

<sup>24</sup> The six attestations are: *eorðan ealgrene ond uprodor* (*Christ C* 1128); *ealne ymbhwyrft 7 uprodor* (*Elene* 730); *eorðe and uproder* (*Genesis A* 99); *engla fæðmum in uprodor* (*Guthlac A* 782); *on uprodor ælbeorhta leg* (*Metres of Boethius* no. 29/50); *eorþan sceatas ond uprodor* (*The Seafarer* 105); ASPR 5, p. 201; Cook, *Cynewulf*, p. 43; I.L. See Gordon, *The Seafarer* (London, 1960) p. 46; Gradon, *Elene*, p. 54; Roberts, *Guthlac Poems*, p. 106.

*domas*, 2b): ‘in uprodor eadigra gehwam | æfter bealusiðe bote lifes’ (‘the reward of life in Heaven for each of the blessed after the grievous journey’, 4–5). The next example, relates to how God imparted *soðwundra fela* (‘many marvellous truths’, 24b) to Moses including: ‘hu þas woruld worhte witig Drihten, | eorðan ymbhwyrft ond uprodor’ (‘how the wise Lord created this world, the earth’s expanse and the sky above’, 25–6), in doing so the example highlights God and the Creator, whilst implying that only divine revelation can bridge the divide between Heaven and earth. In lines 75–6 the *wederwolcen*, as the cloud-pillar and sign of God, appears to be assuming the revelatory role bridging Heaven and earth. In the fourth example, which is found in the Patriarchal Digression (362–446), the phrase *eorðan ymbhwyrft ond uprodor* (430) is repeated (from line 26) and comes as part of a short panegyric to God, delivered by a divine voice, probably an *angelus Domini*,<sup>25</sup> that is designed to emphasize the profoundness of God’s covenant with Abraham and that it bridges the heavenly and earthly divide.<sup>26</sup> The final example describes how the Lord will lead the ‘eadige gastas, on uprodor,’ (‘blessed spirits, into heaven’, 545). Taken together, there is an envelope pattern with *eadig* at the start and end of these five examples, as the narrative moves from the goal of salvation to reaching one’s destination in Heaven. The first four examples emphasize man’s separation from Heaven and salvation, but also provide the example of something (the Laws of Moses, divine revelation, the sign of God, and the Covenant) that bridges the gap and provides the hope of reaching Heaven. These examples of *uprodor* present the goal of the heavenly homeland, but imply the need to engage with the manifestations of the divine during the journey.

However, this engagement with divine signs is a challenging task. Lines 71b–97 contain expressions of the Israelites’ awe in response to seeing the sign. The phrase *hate*

<sup>25</sup> Lucas, p. 129, citing from the description of the Abraham and Isaac episode: ‘et ecce angelus Domini de caelo clamavit’ (‘and behold an angel of the Lord from heaven called to him’, Gen. 22:11).

<sup>26</sup> M. Roberts, ‘Latin Literature of Late Antiquity’, in *Medieval Latin: an Introduction and Bibliographical Guide*, ed. F.A.C. Mantello and A.G. Rigg (Washington D.C., 1996), pp. 537–46, at 538; *OCD*, p. 1074.

*heofontorht* ('heat bright-in-Heaven', 78a) is followed by b-line *hæleð wafedon* ('the men marvelled', 78b) where the alliteration links 'heat' and 'Heaven' with 'men', whilst the unstressed verb *wāfian* ('look with wonder, be amazed, astonished, agitated; hesitate') connotes a sense of anxiety.<sup>27</sup> In the very next line (79), the image is positive and the alliteration links the words 'host', 'most joyful' and 'day'. Wilcox has emphasized the shield-like qualities of the signs, whereas Wilson has highlighted both their controlling and protective presence.<sup>28</sup> Green has asserted that the pillars of cloud and fire denote God's 'fearful guidance and control of his people' and symbolize Moses' role as a preacher.<sup>29</sup> The juxtaposition of such contradictory imagery suggests that a range of emotions is intentionally being evoked. The signs appear to be a clear example of the *Exodus*-poet's desire to employ 'themes as poetic devices, with strong and simple emotional connotations rather than merely rational theological ones', as noted in the discussion of *sið*- compounds.<sup>30</sup> Unlike Moses, who is honoured by God through divine revelation (*gewyrðode*, 10a; *gewurðodne*, 31a), the Israelites are *geweorðode* ('honoured', 86b) with *wuldre* ('glory', 86a) because they are *þeodenholde* ('faithful', 87a). Lines 82–5 demonstrate that the Israelites, as earth-dwellers, even with all their skills (*eorðbuende ealle cræfte*, 84), lack knowledge (*ne cuðon*, 82b) of the intricacies of the sign with its *mæstrapas* ('mast-ropes', 82a), and cannot see the sailyard (*ne ða seglrode geseon meahton*, 83).<sup>31</sup> The Israelites apprehend only the essentials of the sign such as the shield-like protection (*dægsceldes hleo*, 79b) it affords, or that it looks like a *segle*

<sup>27</sup> Cf. the use of *heofonbeorht* in *Christ C* 1018a which, unlike its other attestations in *Daniel* 340a and *Azarias* 56a, is associated with *timor Dei*: Cook, *Christ*, p. 39; Farrell, *Daniel*, pp. 68, 92.

<sup>28</sup> Wilcox, 'Cloud-Tent-Ship Conceit', pp. 119–23, 141–7; Wilson, *Christian Theology*, pp. 128–30. Kruger argues the Israelites 'have trouble distinguishing between the dangerous sky and the protecting pillar' ('Oppositions', p. 165–6, at 166).

<sup>29</sup> Green, 'Gregory's *Moralia*', p. 257; and see above, p. 117.

<sup>30</sup> Irving, 'Exodus Retraced', p. 212; and see above, p. 17.

<sup>31</sup> Lucas has highlighted how the ship represents the Church and the *seglrode* ('sailyard', 83a) the Cross: Lucas, pp. 89, n. 80b–84 and 90, n. 83; Lucas, 'Christian Poetry', pp. 197–8; Lucas, 'Cloud', p. 309. For the discussion of the nautical imagery of *Exodus*, see below, p. 218.

or *seglas* ('sail(s)', 81b, 89b, 105a).<sup>32</sup> This prompted Earl's remark that: 'this image suggests that the Israelites do not seem to fully understand the nature of their "voyage"'.<sup>33</sup> The Israelites' partial comprehension of the signs and their meaning is re-enforced by lines 86–97, where the holy sails are perceived (*ongeton*, 90b) as indicating God's presence and His marking out the place-of-encampment (*wicsteal metan*, 92b). The Israelites' knowledge of divine mystery is profoundly limited, but, as noted, they know (*cunnan*) to process in the correct order during the *transitus* (*Exodus* 299–353a): 'cuðe æghwilk | mægburga riht, swa him Moises bead | eorla æðelo' ('each knew the right of the tribe (or 'kinsman-fortresses'), as Moses commanded him, the birthright of the men', 351b–3a).

Furthermore, aside from the aforementioned two examples of not seeing or only partially perceiving the intricacies of the sign (83, 90b), all but three of the remaining examples of seeing and perceiving (*onseon*, *ongietan*, *geseon*, *þyncan*) in *Exodus* are collective acts of observation by the Israelites:<sup>34</sup> *fyrð eall geseah* ('the army all saw', 88b) the *halige seglas* ('holy sails', 89b); *leode ongeton* ('the people perceived', 90b) that God had appeared to mark out the third encampment (*mansio*); *forð gesawon* ('they saw in front of them', 103b) the *lifes latþeow* ('guide of life', 104a); *gesawon randwigan* ('the shield-warriors saw', 126a) the right way; *hie gesawon* ('they saw', 155a) the Egyptian army; 'freond onsegon | laðrum eagan landmanna cyme' ('the friends saw with hostile eyes the approach of the land-men [the Egyptians]', 178b–9); *wundor ongeton* ('they perceived the miracle', 552b); *gesawon hie þær weallas standan* ('they saw there the walls standing', 572b); they perceived how all the waters of the Red Sea appear bloody to them (573a);<sup>35</sup> and

<sup>32</sup> Krapp and Irving retain the manuscript reading of *dægscealdes hleo* ('protection of day-shadow'): ASPR 1, pp. 93, 202; Irving, p. 47. Cf. Irving, 'New Notes', p. 299; Lucas, 'Cloud', pp. 307–8.

<sup>33</sup> Earl, 'Christian Tradition', p. 160. See also Irving, '*Exodus* Retraced', p. 215; Lucas, 'Christian Poetry', p. 198.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. *geseon*, 207a; *wuldor gesawon halige heahtreowe*, 387b–8a; and *fær ongeton*, 453b.

<sup>35</sup> For further discussion, see below, p. 253.

*bote gesawon* ('they saw the reward', 583b).<sup>36</sup> Of the first six examples: two concern the act of seeing the sign, two relate to what is seen as a consequence of the actions of the signs, and the fifth and sixth relate to seeing the approaching enemy. The last four examples all refer to the miracle of the *transitus*. The Israelites' limited comprehension of the signs re-enforces the sense that the communal journey (*sið*) through the landscape is primarily an immersive experience.

In sum, the above passage (71b–97) emphasizes the prominence of the sign of the Cross leading the Israelite host as they approach their next staging-post at Etham, where the sign dominates the encampment and evokes a sense of *timor Dei* amongst the Israelite wayfarers. Focus turns to the remaining lines of Section C to understand how the sign directs the Israelites' journeying and the implications of this (98–125):

Pa ic on morgen gefrægn modes rofan  
 hebban herebyman hludan stefnum,  
 wuldres woman. Werod eall aras, 100  
 modigra mægen, swa him Moyses bebead,  
 mære magoræswa, Metodes folce,  
 fus fyrdgetrum. Forð gesawon  
 lifes latþeow lifweg metan;  
 segl siðe weold, sæmen æfter 105  
 foron flodwege. Folc wæs on salum,  
 hlud herges cyrm. Heofonbeacen astah  
 æfena gehwam, oðer wundor,  
 syllic æfter sunnan settrade beheold,  
 ofer leodwerum lige scinan, 110

<sup>36</sup> See also Moses' use of the verb *locian* ('to look') when he describes how the Israelites are gazing upon the miracle of the parted waters of the Red Sea (278), discussed below, at 212.

byrnende beam. Blace stodon  
 ofer sceotendum scire leoman,  
 scinon scyldhreoðan; sceado swiðredon,  
 neowle nihtscuwan neah ne mihton  
 heolstor ahydan. Heofoncandel barn; 115  
 niwe nihtweard nyde sceolde  
 wician ofer weredum, þy læs him westengryre,  
 har hæðbroga, holmegum wederum  
 on ferclamme ferhð getwæfde.  
 Hæfde foregenga fyrene loccas, 120  
 blace beamas, belegsan hweop  
 in þam herepreate, hata lige,  
 þæt he on westenne werod forbærnde,  
 nymðe hie modhwate Moyses hyrde,  
 scean scirwerod – scyldas lixton. 125

[‘Then, I heard tell in the morning the courageously-minded ones with loud voices raise their war-trumpets, a noise of wonder. All the company arose, a force of the mighty ones, as Moses, the famous leader, commanded them, the people of the Measurer, the eager military force. They saw in front of them their guide of life mark out the lifeway; the sail controlled the journey, the seamen followed after on the floodway. The people were joyful, the loud cry of the army. The Heaven-sign rose every evening, another marvel, it kept its wonderful course behind the sun, to shine with flame, a burning beam, over the army-of-the-people. Gleaming lights stood out brightly over the warriors, the shield-ornaments shone; shades, lowly night-shadows, dwindled, as they were not able to conceal themselves in a near

hiding-place. The Heaven-candle burned; need required that a new night-guard must dwell over the hosts, lest a horror-of-the-wilderness, a grey heath-terror, in the storms of the sea, take away their life in its sudden terrible grasp.

The fore-runner had fiery locks and bright beams (or ‘rays’), in the midst of the band of soldiers it threatened, with flame-terror, with hot flame, that it would burn the host in the wilderness, unless they heeded brave-hearted Moses, it [the pillar] shone brightly clad – shields gleamed.’]<sup>37</sup>

In the above passage, there is further reference to Heaven and to nautical themes. The use of the words *heofonbeacen* (107b), which is a uniquely attested compound, and *heofoncandel* (115b) to describe the pillar of fire, unequivocally link the sign to the celestial realm. Lucas notes that the words *heofonlic condel* in *Guthlac B* (1290b) ‘refers to the sign of the Cross shining in the night sky’.<sup>38</sup> In *Andreas* (243b), the *heofoncandel* heralds the new day and the start of an evangelical sea voyage to save Matthew and convert or destroy the Mermedonians using a ship that God himself will sail.<sup>39</sup> Given that the imagery of a ship and its mast has been widely seen as a patristic type of the Church and the Cross, *Exodus*’ statement that ‘the sail controlled the journey, the seamen followed after on the floodway’ (105–6a) suggests the sign is unequivocally linked to the Church and the Cross.<sup>40</sup>

Reading *Exodus* 71b–125 (Section C) as a whole it also becomes apparent that there is processional imagery throughout this extended passage that is entirely absent from the scriptural account. The *wederwolcen* bridges the earthly-heavenly divide and creates a sense of symbolic processional movement when the protecting day-shield is said to have revolved across the sky (‘dægsceldes hleo | wand over wolcnum’, 79b–80a). In the next line, the *segl*

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<sup>37</sup> The translation of *scean scirwerod* follows Lucas and Irving, but could be read as ‘the bright troop shone’: Lucas, p. 96; Irving, pp. 76–7; Irving ‘New Notes’, p. 302.

<sup>38</sup> Lucas, ed., p. 94; Roberts, *Guthlac Poems*, p. 121.

<sup>39</sup> Brooks, *Andreas*, p. 8.

<sup>40</sup> Daniélou, *From Shadows*, pp. 175–201; Earl, ‘Christian Tradition’, pp. 158–60; R.E. Kaske, ‘A Poem of the Cross in the Exeter Book: *Riddle 60* and *The Husband’s Message*’, *Traditio* 23 (1967), 41–71; Lucas, ‘Christian Poetry’, pp. 195. See below, p. 220.

gains the notion of movement from having covered (*ofertolden*) the *sunnan siðfæt* ('sun's course', 81a). The sense of co-ordinated movement continues with the lines: 'segl siðe weold, sæmen æfter | foron flodwege' ('the sail controlled the journey, the seamen followed after on the floodway', 105–6a). The metaphor perhaps suits the idea of procession, as a filling sail will draw a ship forward. This *oðer wundor* ('second marvel', 108b) seems to have risen up when the sun sets and is said to have *sylic æfter sunnan settrade beheold* ('kept its wonderful course behind the sun', 109). The primary meaning of *behealdan* is probably 'to hold to, keep to (a course)',<sup>41</sup> though the possibility that the *heofonbeacen* could be said to have 'beheld' the sun has caused puzzlement.<sup>42</sup> Irving asserts that the sign is personified,<sup>43</sup> and certainly the verb resonates with idea of 'seeing with a purpose', as if the *heofonbeacen* is co-ordinating its own rising up with the setting of the sun. This 'rising up' is itself alliteratively connected with the *hlud herges cyrm* ('the loud cry of the host', 107a).<sup>44</sup> From early times in Christianity, the sun's ascent in the East was a symbol of Christ's Incarnation and Ascension.<sup>45</sup> There appears then to be a sense of a series of things rising and moving in a co-ordinated way. This procession both includes and excludes, since the heaven-beacon stands, with *scire leoman* ('gleaming rays', 112b), over the people (*ofer leodwerum*, 110a) emphatically including the host, while it also diminishes and thus excludes the shadow (113b–115a). In *Exodus*, there is a strong sense of a celestial procession drawing the earthly along, but with the host of the Israelites at the very back of the line, moving along always on the earthly plane controlled by the signs. Although perhaps in reality it was somewhat more

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<sup>41</sup> DOE, *behealdan*, f.2.

<sup>42</sup> ASPR 1, p. 203; Blackburn, p. 41.

<sup>43</sup> Irving, p. 75; Irving, 'New Notes', p. 301.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. the phrase *hlud herges cyrm* in *Andreas* 1156a: Brooks, *Andreas*, p. 37; Lucas, p. 93; B.F. Huppé, *The Web of Words: Structural Analyses of the OE Poems Vainglory, The Wonder of Creation, The Dream of the Rood, and Judith* (Albany, 1970), p. 181.

<sup>45</sup> Daniélou, *Bible*, pp. 31–2. The association of Christ with the sun is discussed further in relation to the *dægwoma* (344b), see below, p. 232.

of a chaotic affair,<sup>46</sup> this sense of form, order, co-ordination and hierarchy is the essence of a physical procession.<sup>47</sup>

Given that the medieval Church placed great importance on the liturgy being coherent and harmonious,<sup>48</sup> these successive series of signs and the controlled movement of Israelites in *Exodus* have motivated critics to seek specific examples of procession in the liturgy. Bright asserted that references to *heofonbeacen* (107b) and *heofoncandel* (11b) related to the Paschal candle, which would have been at the head of a procession from the church to the Baptistry during the time of the Paschal Vigil.<sup>49</sup> For Bright, the cloud-pillar represented the unlit Paschal Candle and so symbolized Christ lifeless in his tomb, and the fire-pillar the new light of Christ (the Second Adam) when resurrected; he also noted that prophecy 8 of the ‘twelve prophecies’, which are part of the liturgy of the Paschal Vigil (Isaiah 4:5–6), refers to a cloud-pillar whose essential function was that of protection.<sup>50</sup> However, it is difficult to correlate the liturgy of the Paschal vigil with the depictions of *Exodus*, especially given the images of the beacon or candle in vernacular poetry and liturgy, albeit from late Anglo-Saxon sources, are so ubiquitous.<sup>51</sup> There appears to be no obvious precedent for referring to the cloud-pillar using multiple signs or the sense of procession created by the signs.

However, Christian-Latin poets such as Prudentius and the biblical epic poet Avitus provide depictions of the cloud-pillar that give a sense of profound religious purpose to the

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<sup>46</sup> Gittos, *Liturgy*, pp. 103–5.

<sup>47</sup> See above, p. 99.

<sup>48</sup> S.J. Harris, ‘The Liturgical Context of Ælfric’s Homilies for Rogation’, in *The Old English Homily: Precedent, Practice and Appropriation*, ed. A.J. Kleist, SEMA 17 (Turnhout, 2007), pp. 143–69, at 146.

<sup>49</sup> Bright, ‘Relation’, pp. 97–103.

<sup>50</sup> Bright, ‘Relation’, pp. 98–100. See also Bedingfield, *Dramatic Liturgy*, pp. 139–56; McLoughlin, ‘OE *Exodus*’, pp. 658–67.

<sup>51</sup> E. Okasha, ‘*Beacen* in Old English Poetry’, *NQ* 23 (1976), 200–7. For liturgical discussion of the festivals of the Epiphany and Candlemas in A-S England, see Bedingfield, *Dramatic Liturgy*, pp. 42–72; Gittos, *Liturgy*, pp. 110–22.

Israelites' journeying.<sup>52</sup> Avitus, in book five of his *Historia spiritalis* (*HS*),<sup>53</sup> *De transitu maris rubri*, provides an account of how the Israelites are almost transfixed by the cloud-pillar (*HS* 5.265/417–18):<sup>54</sup>

Cunctorum ante oculos per caelum visa moveri

Arripuitque viam populo spectante columna

[‘Having been seen to move through the sky before the eyes of all, the column apprehended the way for the onlooking people.’]

In *De transitu Maris Rubri*, the pillar first appears at night as an upright pillar (*stanti adsimulata columnae*, *HS* V.265/403) and a flame (*flamma*, *HS* V.265/404) and is then referred to as a *columna* (‘pillar’, *HS* 5.265/418, 5.266/441, 5.267/467) or a *flammea columna* (‘fiery pillar’, *HS* 5.266/425) that by day is turned into a *nubes* (‘cloud’, *HS* 5.265/426, 431, 437),<sup>55</sup> Although initially inducing fear in the Israelites, the heavenly beacon quickly becomes an object of love (*HS* 5.265/401–14).<sup>56</sup> The aspects and qualities of the *columna* and *nubes* (all of which are benign) are described by Avitus, but he does not use multiple terms for this biblical phenomenon or so explicitly link the pillars with the sign of the Cross as the

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<sup>52</sup> For exegesis and Latin Christian biblical poetry generally, see R.P.H. Green, ‘The *Evangeliorum Libri* of Juvenius: Exegesis by Stealth?’, in *Poetry and Exegesis in Premodern Latin Christianity: the Encounter between Classical and Christian Strategies of Interpretation*, ed. W. Otten and K. Pollmann (Leiden, 2007), pp. 65–80; Green, *Latin Epics, passim*; G. Malsbury, ‘Epic Exegesis and the Use of Vergil in the Early Biblical Poets’, *Florilegium* 7 (1985), 55–83; D.J. Nodes, *Doctrine and Exegesis in Biblical Latin Poetry*, ARCA (Classical and Medieval Texts, Papers and Monographs) 31 (Leeds, 1993), pp. 1–20, 129–33.

<sup>53</sup> This is the title commonly used by scholars for the whole work of six books, but Avitus did supply the title *De spiritalis historiae gestis* in a letter to Bishop Sidonius Apollinarius: Peiper, *Alcimi ... opera, Epistolarum ad diversos*, letter 51.80/21–2. All quotations of Avitus’ *HS* are from Peiper’s edition.

<sup>54</sup> McBrine, *Biblical Epics*, p. 163; M. Roberts, ‘Rhetoric and Poetic Imitation in Avitus’ Account of the Crossing of the Red Sea (*de spiritalis historiae gestis*, 5.371–702)’, *Traditio* 39 (1983), 29–80, at 57, 59. Cf. Cyprianus’ description of the pillar in his *Heptateuchos*: R. Peiper, ed., *Cypriani Galli Poetae Heptateuchos*, CSEL 23 (Vienna, 1891), *Exodus* 13(21).71/414–17; McBrine, *Biblical Epics*, pp. 86–8.

<sup>55</sup> The *nubes* (*HS* 5.266/431) is compared to *densum ... tegmen* (‘thick covering or protection’, *HS* 5.266/432), which Wilcox translates as ‘shield’ in order to draw a parallel with *Exodus*-poet’s use of *daegsceld* (79b): Wilcox, ‘Cloud-Tent-Ship Conceit’, p. 146.

<sup>56</sup> Roberts, ‘Rhetoric’, pp. 58–9.

reference to *beamas twegen* (94b) in *Exodus* appears to do.<sup>57</sup> In the poem, *Peristephanon*, Prudentius describes how the martyr Eulalia of Merida, accompanied by a host of angels (*angelico comitata choro*, *Pe* 3.279/48), is led in her physical journey towards her persecutors by a leader of light (*lucis ... ducem*, *Pe* 3.279/50), which he calls a *columniferum radium* ('column-bearing ray', *Pe* 3.279/52) in a clear parallel to the pillars of Exodus (Ex. 13:21–2).<sup>58</sup> Prudentius uses the pillar to transformed physical journeying into a spiritual journey of faith, liberation and salvation in arguably a very different way to *Exodus*' depiction. Nevertheless, these examples from Christian-Latin poetry hint at the providential purpose the numerous signs may be imbued with in *Exodus*.

In a new approach, Miranda Wilcox has argued that the *Exodus* 71b–92 borrowed metaphors and typologies from the *Historia apostolica* of the Latin New Testament biblical poet Arator, as well as from Bede's biblical commentary on the Acts of the Apostles (*Expositio actuum apostolorum*).<sup>59</sup> Wilcox proposes that *Exodus* contains a complex tripartite conceit of the cloud–tent–ship, where the cloud connotes God's protection to his people, the ship symbolizes both Peter fishing in the gospel of Matthew, and the Church, finally, the tent conveys imagery from the Pauline epistles, the Acts of the Apostles, and the metaphor of life pilgrimage.<sup>60</sup> At the same time, Wilcox concludes that:<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> For discussion of Avitus' depiction of the cloud-pillar as rhetorical ecphrasis, see Roberts, 'Rhetoric', pp. 56–62.

<sup>58</sup> Cunningham, *Prudentii ... carmina, Peristephanon* 3, pp. 278–85; P.C. Miller, 'Relics, Rhetoric and Mental Spectacles in Late Ancient Christianity', in *Seeing the Invisible in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages: Papers from 'Verbal and Pictorial Imaging: Representing and Accessing Experience of the Invisible, 400–1000'* (Utrecht, 11–13 December 2003), ed. G. De Nie, K.F. Morrison and M. Mostert, *Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy* 14 (Turnhout, 2005), pp. 25–52; Roberts, *Poetry*, pp. 102–4.

<sup>59</sup> Wilcox, 'Cloud-Tent-Ship Conceit', pp. 103–50. See also M. Lapidge, 'Versifying the Bible in the Middle Ages', in *Text in the Community: Essays on Medieval Works, Manuscripts, Authors and Readers*, ed. J. Mann and M. Nolan (Notre Dame, 2006), pp. 11–40, at 20–2.

<sup>60</sup> Wilcox, 'Cloud-Tent-Ship Conceit', pp. 127–8, 148. Cf. Zacher's pillar/Tabernacle/ship imagistic construct: Zacher, *Rewriting*, pp. 61–70.

<sup>61</sup> Wilcox, 'Cloud-Tent-Ship Conceit', p. 150.

the poem invites its audience to identify itself as an ecclesiastical community parallel to the Jewish converts, early Christians and Israelites. The process of identification with these scriptural communities encourages the Anglo-Saxon audience to recognize that their church is led by leaders – priests and bishops – who preach and catechize as the scriptural leaders did, to protect their communities against corruption, indolence and greed.

Wilcox adds that ‘divine protection and guidance only result when an ecclesiastical community faithfully obeys its leaders’.<sup>62</sup> Wilcox asserts that the target audience of the *Exodus*-poet are ‘Anglo-Saxon Christians’, but her use of the phrase ‘ecclesiastical community’ appears to reveal an emphasis more upon the ‘ecclesiastical’ than the ‘lay’, where Latin biblical poetry and individual meditative reading seem central, rather than paraenesis and material religious practice, and where typology is part of a sophisticated allegoresis.<sup>63</sup> Too little emphasis appears to be placed upon the dominance of the signs over the Israelite host.<sup>64</sup> None of the Latin paraphrases tally with the numerous signs in *Exodus* and the series of contrasting themes they create: illumination and burning, protection and suffering, confinement and liberation, which seem to ground and control as much as exalt and elevate.

No sign in *Exodus* 98–125 captures the sense of dominance and control as profoundly as the *forengena*, with its *fyrene loccas*, | *blace beamas* (‘fiery locks [and] bright rays’, 120b–121a). This sign is said to have threatened the host with *belegsan* (‘terror of fire’, 121b) and *hatan lige* (‘hot flame’, 122b) and being burned *on westenne* (‘in the wilderness’, 123a) unless the Israelites obeyed (*hyrde*, 124b) Moses.<sup>65</sup> Lucas notes there may be a potential allusion to the pillar as a cross in *Christ C* (1101–6) where a *reade rod* (‘red cross’, 1101)

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<sup>62</sup> Wilcox, ‘Cloud-Tent-Ship Conceit’, p. 150.

<sup>63</sup> Wilcox, ‘Cloud-Tent-Ship Conceit’, p. 150.

<sup>64</sup> Lucas, p. 95, n. 121b–3.

<sup>65</sup> Irving, p. 74, n. 123–4; Irving, ‘New Notes’, p. 302. Cf. A. Bammesberger, ‘Two Textual Notes on the Old English *Exodus*’, *NQ* 65.1 (2018), 1–2, at 1.

shines brightly over terrified sinners.<sup>66</sup> The intimidating role of the *forengenga* seems in sharp contrast to Avitus' *De transitu maris rubri*, where the appearance of the fiery column is distinguished from the threatening portents that prefigure a dismal year of diseases, wars and disasters.<sup>67</sup> Although Moses is mentioned at the beginning and end of *Exodus* 98–125, creating an envelope pattern (*Moyses bebead*, 101b; *Moyses hyrde*, 124b), it is the signs that dominate the passage, as they direct and menace the Israelite host into heeding (*hyrde*) Moses. The reference to the fire-pillar coercing the Israelites into obedience is without biblical precedent.<sup>68</sup> Wilcox argues that 'only when the audience appreciate the danger that the heat poses to the Israelites can they appreciate the cloud's miraculous and marvellous protective shade'.<sup>69</sup> However, the signs could be designed to evoke *timor Dei* and also be interacting more directly with the wayfaring Israelites than has hitherto been acknowledged.

Lucas has argued that the *forengenga* is the *segn ofer sweoton* (127a) and is both a pillar (celestial sign) and battle-standard in the shape of a cross, such as a *labarum* or *vexillum*.<sup>70</sup> The second half of Section C links the martial processing host to the signs that help direct and control their movement. Hawk has demonstrated that the celestial cross, which is found in thirteen vernacular texts, has profound links to portentous and eschatological themes, and suggests that these celestial signs were imitated in liturgy and by the use of processional banners and crosses more generally.<sup>71</sup> Hawk's list of thirteen texts referring to the celestial cross includes two Rogation homilies: *Vercelli Homily 21* and

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<sup>66</sup> Lucas, p. 95, n. 121b–3.

<sup>67</sup> Avitus distinguishes the *columna flammae* by saying 'Non tamen ut moto dirum micat ignis in axe, | prodita cum terris caeli portenta minantur | seu morbis tristem bellisque aut cladibus annum' ('[it was] not however like a flame beaming dreadfully in the agitated heavens, as in when the revealed celestial omens threaten the earth with a dismal year of diseases, wars and disasters', 5.265/405–7): Roberts, 'Rhetoric', p. 58.

<sup>68</sup> Blackburn, p. 42, n.124; Lucas, p. 95, n. 121b–3.

<sup>69</sup> Wilcox, 'Cloud-Tent-Ship Conceit', p. 142.

<sup>70</sup> Lucas, 'Christian Poetry', pp. 199–200.

<sup>71</sup> B.W. Hawk, 'Id est, crux Christi: Tracing the Old English Motif of the Celestial Rood', *ASE* 40 (2011), 43–73, at 43–4. For discussion of Fortunatus' *vexilla regis* and banners generally, see below, p. 228.

*Rogationtide Homily 10* (discussed below).<sup>72</sup> In *Exodus* though, signs such as the *foregenga*, are more ambiguous, connoting fire and menace rather than explicitly imitating the sign of the Cross. Rogation homilies likewise have numerous generic fiery celestial signs that provoke *timor Dei* in the afflicted community. *Rogationtide Homily 3* refers to an apocalyptic *fyrentacen* ('fiery sign') that will manifest itself in the Heavens, while from earth a flame of sulphur will rise up.<sup>73</sup> *Rogationtide Homily 10* recounts the series of events onlookers will see on Doomsday: 'þonne hi sceawiað Godes Sunu cumendne on heofones wolcnum on micclum mægne and on þæm mestan Godes þrymme' ('then they see the Son of God coming on the clouds of heaven in a great host, and in the greatest throng of God', 10.133/94–6).<sup>74</sup>

Furthermore, other Rogations homilies directly relate fiery signs and their consequences with sinfulness. *Vercelli Homily 19* provides a unique account of the common Rogation pericope of Jonah and the fast of Ninevites involving a 'fiery mass' (*VH* 19.323/141–19.324/145):<sup>75</sup>

7 hie ða swa dydon, 7 him ða God his mildheortnesse forgeaf, 7 him from þæt fyrene clyne adyde þe ofer þa ceastre wæs on þam genipe hangiende, þæt sceolde forniman ealle þa burhware 7 forbærnan binnan feowertigum dagum butan hie to Gode gecyrran woldon.

[‘And they then so did, and then God in his kindness forgave them, and He destroyed that fiery mass which was hanging over that city in that cloud, that would have

<sup>72</sup> Hawk, ‘*Crux Christi*’, pp. 43–4, 64–6.

<sup>73</sup> *Rogationtide Homily 3* is edited from Corpus Christi College, Cambridge MS 162, pp. 422–31, *In Quarta Feria In Letania Maiore*; *EOERH*, pp. 47–55, at 49; J. Roberts, ‘Guthlac of Crowland and the Seals of the Cross’, in *The Place of the Cross in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. C.E. Karkov *et al.* (Woodbridge, 2006), pp. 113–28, at 127–8.

<sup>74</sup> *Rogationtide Homily 10* is edited from Bodleian MS Hatton 114 ff. 105v–111r, untitled; *EOERH*, pp. 130–5.

<sup>75</sup> *EOERH*, p. 10; OERC, pp. 62–3; Szarmach, ‘Three Versions’, pp. 186, 188.

destroyed and burned up all the city-dwellers within forty days had they not have turned to God.’]

Bazire and Cross note that two versions of this homily substitute or gloss *egeslice fyr* (‘fearful fire’) for *fyrene clyne*.<sup>76</sup> This sense of ‘fearful (or ‘terrible) fire’ is similar to the use of the compound *belegsan* (‘flame-terror’) in the *Exodus*-poet’s description of the *foregenga*.<sup>77</sup> They also highlight that fiery prodigies are found in other Rogation homilies where they are referred to as *divinus ignis* (‘divine fire’) and *ignis de coelo* (‘fire from Heaven’).<sup>78</sup> On other occasions, the Rogation homilies make explicit mention of celestial crosses as the prodigies of Doomsday, as the homilist of *Vercelli Homily 21* relates: ‘on ðam dæge dryhtnes rod byð blode flowende betweox wolcnum’ (‘on that day the Rood of the Lord will be flowing with blood between the clouds’, *VH* 21.358/165–6). For Doomsday would be a time of fiery rain (*se fyrena ren*, *VH* 21.359/197) and the fierce rood (*seo reðe rod*, *VH* 21.359/199). There is of course always an eschatological undercurrent in accounts of fiery prodigies. In *Vercelli Homily 20*, the Rogation homilist explicitly concludes with references to all the punishments, miseries, boundless dangers, terrible fires that will be present on the Last Day (*endedæg*, *VH* 20.342/191–2). However, the use of both generic celestial signs of fire and fierce roods would all denote the same message of divine wrath, which would have been readily comprehensible to those communities blighted by plague, famine or some other tribulation.

Further examples of fearful prodigies plaguing communities are found in the accounts of both Gregory of Tours and pseudo-Bede. The former, during his account of Mamertus’ institution of the Rogations says ‘subito palatium regale intramuraneum divino igne

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<sup>76</sup> Bazire and Cross’s translation; *EOERH*, p. 10, 21, n. 134, citing CCCC MS 162, pp. 403–12 and CCCC MS 303 pp. 215–19.

<sup>77</sup> Orchard, ‘Fresh Terror’, pp. 133–4.

<sup>78</sup> *EOERH*, p. 11.

succenditur' ('suddenly the heart of the royal palace was set ablaze by divine fire').<sup>79</sup> Even more dramatically, pseudo-Bede recounts the disasters of Vienne with 'subito descendit ignis de coelo, et incendit ecclesiam' ('suddenly fire from heaven descended and burnt a church'), an account which, it has been suggested, may have influenced the homilist of *Vercelli Homily 19*.<sup>80</sup> In describing Gregory's *letania septiformis* (sevenfold litany), pseudo-Bede, alongside referring to the flooding of Rome and the appearance of a serpent and plague, says 'et insuper sagittae igneae descendebant de coelo, et percutiebant homines, et statim moriebantur' ('and overhead fiery arrows were descending from heaven and smiting men, and they died at once', PL 94:499B). As a result, Gregory says to the people of Rome 'ut agerent poenitentiam de malefactis, et invocarent misericordiam Dei' ('that they should do penance on account of these evils and call upon the mercy of God', PL 94:499B). These references to wrathful heavenly prodigies menacing a sinful population into a state of *timor Dei* that prompt a penitential procession help provide a context for the descriptions of hot, blazing and, by turns, threatening signs in Section C (71b–125). This raises the issue of how the Israelites, and indeed the majority of the Anglo-Saxon audience, may have viewed these depictions of the ambivalent celestial signs.

In reading *Exodus* in light of the typological and allegorical references of Arator and Bede's commentary *Expositio actuum apostolorum*, Wilcox creates the inference that the poem is suitable for a highly sophisticated audience immersed in Christian-Latin learning and culture.<sup>81</sup> Clearly, obedience was a feature of the monastic and secular forms (*cursus*) of the

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<sup>79</sup> Krusch, *Historiarum libri X*, 2(34).83/12–13.

<sup>80</sup> OERC, p. 63 and *Homily 97, De majori litania*, PL 94:499A–D, at 499C.

<sup>81</sup> For Augustine's theory of seeing as a means of spiritual training, and Alcuin's similar treatment of the subject, see M. Miles, 'Vision: the Eye of the Body and the Eye of the Mind in Saint Augustine's *De trinitate* and *Confessions*', *Journal of Religion* 63.2 (1983), 125–42; T.F.X Noble, 'The Vocabulary of Vision and Worship in the Early Carolingian Period', in *Seeing the Invisible in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages: Papers from 'Verbal and Pictorial Imaging: Representing and Accessing Experience of the Invisible, 400–1000'* (Utrecht, 11–13 December 2003), ed. G. De Nie, K.F. Morrison and M. Mostert, *Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy* 14 (Turnhout, 2005), pp. 213–37, at 217–21.

Divine Office in eighth-century Anglo-Saxon England,<sup>82</sup> which extended to the acts of *ruminatio* and *lectio divina* described by Leclercq and Parkes.<sup>83</sup> However, the preponderant emphasis upon monastic judgment (Latin *iudicium*) during the act of reading reflects the fact that what has survived from Anglo-Saxon England derives from the monks themselves, or their scriptoria.<sup>84</sup> There is evidence to suggest that *Exodus*' narrative was also designed to be readily comprehensible to a general and less educated Anglo-Saxon audience.

Hawk highlights how a description in Ælfric's homily, *Exaltatio Sanctae Crucis*, which appears to have a variety of sources including a sermon by Rabanus Maurus and the anonymous *Passio Sanctae Longini*, unequivocally links the procession of the Cross into Jerusalem with the appearance of the celestial rood.<sup>85</sup> An earlier example of a divine sign occurs in the previously discussed 'Rogation pilgrimage' of Saint Gall, where Gregory of Tour's describes how the community processed between Clermont-Ferrand and the Church of St Julian the Martyr in Brioude during Lent to supplicate God in order to avert a plague.<sup>86</sup> This communal journey was prompted by Saint Gall's angelic vision (*apparuit ei angelus Domini, Historiarum libri X* 4(5).138/12), with the result that a Tau cross appeared marked out on the walls of houses and churches that served to avert the plague (*Historiarum libri X* 4(5).138/21–4). If the signs in *Exodus* are repeated typological references to the pillar as the Cross, they might represent for the poem's Anglo-Saxon audience the various instantiations of actual crosses used during a processional pilgrimage through the landscape. As Carruthers has asserted: 'Christians have always begun an act of meditation or worship with the sign of

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<sup>82</sup> J.D. Billett, *The Divine Office in Anglo-Saxon England 597–c. 1000*, HBS Subsidia 7 (London, 2014), pp. 13–148, esp. 13–30.

<sup>83</sup> Leclercq, *Love of Learning*, esp. 18, 73–4; Parkes, 'Rædan', pp. 15–20.

<sup>84</sup> Parkes, 'Rædan', p. 15.

<sup>85</sup> Hawk, 'Crux Christi', pp. 68–9; W.W. Skeat, *Ælfric's Lives of the Saints*, 4 vols, EETS O.S. 76, 82, 94, 114 (London, 1881–1900) repr. in 2 vols (London, 1966), 2, 17.149/90–3.

<sup>86</sup> See above, p. 99.

the Cross'.<sup>87</sup> These signs would represent in *Exodus* both celestial signs and processional crosses, as the two might interact and mimic each other during the act of journeying through the landscape in order to propitiate a wrathful God.

Bede's account of Augustine's processional entry into Canterbury (*HE* 1:25) singing the *Deprecamur te* antiphon and carrying a processional cross (*cum cruce sancta*) and bearing as their banner a silver cross (*crucem pro vexillo ferentes argenteam*) provides a good example of the prominent use of an actual cross by pilgrims processing toward their final destination intent on saving the sinful city of Canterbury.<sup>88</sup> Another example is Ceolfrith's final and ultimately unsuccessful pilgrimage to Rome involved carrying a golden cross and adoring the same cross after having ceremonially traversed a river ('*crucem ferentes auream, transiit flumen, adorat crucem*', *HA* 17).<sup>89</sup> The First Commentary on the Pentateuch (PentI), deriving from the seventh-century Canterbury school of Theodore and Hadrian, with its inclination for Antiochene exegesis focused upon the literal and historical senses, creates a typological link between the scriptural pillars of cloud and fire (*columna nubis, columna ignis*, Ex.13:21) and Christ's life.<sup>90</sup> The PentI makes clear that the pillar 'significat Christi incarnationem ac diuinitatem eius' ('signifies the incarnation of Christ and His divinity', PentI Ex.346/250).<sup>91</sup> The context is fundamentally monastic, but, as noted, Augustine was accompanied by forty companions, some of whom were Frankish interpreters (*de gente Francorum interpretes*, *HE* 1:25), while Ceolfrith had more than eighty companions, including, potentially, a number of hired retainers (*empticios*).<sup>92</sup> For such companions, a

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<sup>87</sup> Carruthers, *Craft of Thought*, p. 168. See also B.C. Raw, *Anglo-Saxon Crucifixion Iconography and the Art of the Monastic Revival*, CSASE 1 (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 40–2.

<sup>88</sup> See above, p. 96.

<sup>89</sup> All references to *Bede*, *HA*, p. 382.

<sup>90</sup> Bischoff, *Biblical Commentaries*, pp. 298–385.

<sup>91</sup> Bischoff, *Biblical Commentaries*, p. 346.

<sup>92</sup> P. Meyvaert, 'Bede and the Church Paintings at Wearmouth–Jarrow', *ASE* 8 (1979), 63–77, at 75–6; *Bede*, *HE*, p. 72; *Bede*, *HA*, 21.385; *Vita Ceolfridi*, p. 114. Meyvaert also observes that Wilfrid on a trip from Gaul back to Anglo-Saxon England had a retinue of *comitatus* numbering 120. Colgrave,

silver processional cross reflecting the light of the sun would doubtless have been an attempt to link the terrestrial and heavenly domains through material religious practice.<sup>93</sup>

The conflation of celestial and terrestrial signs noted by Hawk is demonstrated by later vernacular references such as are found in *Vercelli Homily 12*, where the homilist, during his description of the observance of Rogations, uses enigmatic and convoluted language to describe a processional cross: ‘þa medeman Cristes rodetacen þe we Cristes mæl nemnað’ (‘the worthy sign of the rood of Christ which we name the Cross of Christ’, *VH* 12.228/14–15). The carrying of *his rodetacna* (‘his signs of the rood’, *VH* 19.320/94) by the processional party is also mentioned in *Vercelli Homily 19* and in *Rogationtide Homily 8*, where the homilist says we shall *Cristes rodetacen forðberan* (‘bring forth the sign of the rood of Christ’, 8.112/111).<sup>94</sup> Lenker, in her study of the compound *rodetacen* and *Cristes mæl*, demonstrates that, while the phrase *Cristes mæl* may have a more colloquial register, with its meaning restricted to the manual gesture of the cross or the cross as a material object, the compound *rodetacen* was a loan-translation with a wide semantic range covering: the sign of the Cross as a manual gesture; blessing with the sign of the Cross; the cross as a material object; and the Crosses of the Crucifixion.<sup>95</sup> Lenker states that twenty-one of the one hundred and fifty-seven attestations of *rodetacen*, in either compound form or as a syntactic phrase, relate to the cross as a material object, including the two references in the aforementioned Rogationtide Vercelli homilies.<sup>96</sup> The fact that most of the attestations of *rodetacen* (115) relate to the act of imitating the sign of the Cross demonstrates that the compound retained

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ed., *The Life of Bishop Wilfrid by Eddius Stephanus: Text, Translation and Notes* (Cambridge, 1927), 13.28.

<sup>93</sup> For further discussion regarding banners, the sun and *dægwoma*, see below, pp. 228, 232.

<sup>94</sup> *Rogationtide Homily 8* is edited from Bodleian MS Hatton 114 ff. 97\*v–102v, *De letania maiore; EOERH*, pp. 109–114.

<sup>95</sup> U. Lenker, ‘Signifying Christ in Anglo-Saxon England: Old English Terms for the Sign of the Cross’, in *Cross and Cruciform in the Anglo-Saxon World: Studies to Honor the Memory of Timothy Reuter*, ed. S.L. Keefer, K.L. Jolly, C.E. Karkov, *Medieval European Studies* 9 (Morgantown, 2010), pp. 233–75.

<sup>96</sup> Lenker, ‘Signifying Christ’, pp. 254, 260.

the generic connotation of a ‘sign, symbol, or emblem of the Cross’ representing Christ’s Incarnation, and the Christian faith generally. In other words, the sign of the Cross was never just a physical object such as crucifix or a processional cross, but a transcendental symbol. Notably, the *Old English Heptateuch* refers to the pillars of cloud and fire as *swert tacn*, *on sweres gelicnysse* (‘a dark sign, like a pillar’) and *byrnende swer* (‘burning pillar’),<sup>97</sup> and there are a number of riddles concerning the Cross and the Eucharist in the Exeter Book (numbers 28a, 28b, 46 and 47) that are focused upon the meaning of religious signs and symbols.<sup>98</sup> Furthermore, *Exodus* itself uses the word *tacn* in the phrase *grene tacne* (281a), where it is generally considered to be a typological reference to the sign of the Cross.<sup>99</sup> Lucas’ and Hawk’s assertions that a terrestrial sign of the Cross could represent a celestial cross suggests that in the minds of many participants of processions, the terrestrial and heavenly signs were mutually interrelated forms capable of interacting with each other.

The Introduction and Chapter Two discussed how important contact with saint’s relics, living holy men and holy places were for pilgrims from the late-Antique period onwards.<sup>100</sup> Alongside topographical guides to the place-names of the bible, such as Adomnán’s and Bede’s *De locis sanctis*, there were the visual depictions of a martyr’s death at his shrine recounted by Prudentius and the biblical wall-paintings at Nola described and justified by Bishop Paulinus. Although these depictions may not have been prevalent in the late-antique world,<sup>101</sup> references by Paulinus of Nola to the recollection of the biblical past through objects and places and by Jerome in his letters to the virgin Paula to the ‘eyes of

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<sup>97</sup> Marsden, R., ed., *The Old English Heptateuch and Ælfric’s Libellus De Veteri Testamento et Novo*, vol. 1 EETS OS 330 (Oxford, 2007), Ex. 13:21–2, p. 108; McBrine, *Biblical Epics*, pp. 330–1.

<sup>98</sup> M. Salvator-Bello, *Isidorean Perceptions of Order*, pp. 369–71; Williamson, *OE Riddles*, pp. 85–6, 97, 102–3.

<sup>99</sup> See below, p. 208.

<sup>100</sup> See above, pp. 21, 28.

<sup>101</sup> Henderson, *Vision*, p. 72; E.D. Hunt, *Holy Land Pilgrimage in the Later Roman Empire, AD 312–460* (Oxford, 1982), p. 104.

faith' seem to capture the importance of seeing.<sup>102</sup> As already noted images and crosses coalesce in Bede's account of Augustine's processional pilgrimage to Canterbury, with his references to 'bearing as their banner a silver cross and the image of the Lord and Saviour on a wooden panel' ('*crucem pro vexillo ferentes argenteam, et imaginem Domini Salvatoris in tabula depictam*', *HE* 1:25), and 'carrying the holy cross and the image of our great Lord and King, Jesus Christ' (*cum cruce sancta et imagine magni regis Domini nostri Iesu Christi*', *HE* 1:25). The *imaginem ... in tabula depictam* provoked the comment from Colgrave that paintings on panels were known as early as the sixth century and were brought by Benedict Biscop to Wearmouth–Jarrow from Rome.<sup>103</sup>

However, the use of an icon would be very unusual, for, as Brown has noted, human figures of the Western Church, from Rome to Bede's Wearmouth–Jarrow, served not as icons, but as narratives for the illiterate.<sup>104</sup> Bede's use of the terms *imago* and *pictura* in the context of descriptions of the interior decoration of churches at Wearmouth–Jarrow seemed to be designed to facilitate lay contemplation and typological parallels.<sup>105</sup> However, the *Vita Ceofridi*'s reference to '*historiarum canonicarum picturam merito venerandam*' ('a representation of the biblical stories worthy of veneration', *Vita Ceofridi* 9.86), using the word *pictura*, certainly seems to come close to describing an icon,<sup>106</sup> and Bede's phrase *imaginem ... in tabula depictam* in the context of a processional journey has led Henderson to

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<sup>102</sup> G. Frank, *The Memory of the Eyes: Pilgrims to Living Saints in Christian Late Antiquity* (Berkeley, 2000), pp. 1–34, 102–33; Hunt, *Holy Land*, pp. 132–49.

<sup>103</sup> *Bede*, *HE*, p. 75, n. 3, citing *Bede*, *HA* 6.369, and 9.373.

<sup>104</sup> The role of religious *imagines* ('images') was not an uncontentious one, but was negotiated, or perhaps fudged, by Gregory I's famous distinction between images to aid the teaching of the illiterate and images as adoration outlined in his letters to Serenus, bishop of Marseilles. See Bartlett, *Why ... ?*, pp. 471–90, esp. 473–4; Blair, *The World of Bede*, 172–4; Brown, *Rise of Western Christendom*, p. 459; C.M. Chazelle, 'Pictures, Books, and the Illiterate: Pope Gregory I's Letters to Serenus of Marseilles', *Word & Image* 6.3 (1990), 139–53; Noble, 'Vocabulary', pp. 221–6, 231–5; *RE*, 2, letters 9(209).768 (599 AD), 11(10).873–6 (600 AD).

<sup>105</sup> *Bede*, *HA* 6.369–70, 9.373; Blair, *World*, pp. 172–4, 179; Meyvaert, 'Bede', pp. 63–77, at 69–70; G. Henderson, *Vision and Image in Early Christian England* (Cambridge, 1999), p. 73. Cf. Portnoy, 'Verbal Seascapes', pp. 266–73.

<sup>106</sup> *Vita Ceofridi*, p. 86.

conclude that it appears to be a holy image akin to an icon (and perhaps similar to Jovian bearded type of Christ found on Justin II's Vatican Cross of Byzantine origin), rather than a religious artwork.<sup>107</sup> The inescapable conclusion is that contemplation based upon a visual object, particularly the cross, appears to have been of considerable importance in the Anglo-Saxon contemplation.

Furthermore, a number of studies have highlighted the prominent role of visual imagery and objects in processions. Gittos, developing Mary Carruthers' concept of the 'machines for thinking', which was itself influenced by Baldovin's observations of the stationary liturgy, has asserted that processions linked holy places, the liturgy and the saints by creating 'pathways (*ductus*)' in order to elicit emotional responses and stimulate contemplation. Carruthers has also asserted that the *imagines* and *picturae* described by Bede are markers of various *ductus* serving as 'routes of meditation' upon various matters.<sup>108</sup> However, these concepts are often slanted toward the monastic geography and world-view with clerics who 'are trained in the arts of memory'.<sup>109</sup> Similarly, Carruthers has referred to crosses as an *allegoria*, 'an ornament that initiates meditative thinking'.<sup>110</sup> Tekippe, focussing upon the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, emphasizes how religious objects served as visual aids to the basic life-journey metaphor that formed the essence of procession and pilgrimage.<sup>111</sup> However, if one were to equate the Anglo-Saxon notion of the *rodetacen* with *Exodus*' use of multiple signs for the pillars of cloud and fire as a typological representation of the cross described above, it is tempting to see the *Exodus*-poet using all these signs of the Cross on a more elementary and immediate level to capture and evoke in his audience more

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<sup>107</sup> Henderson, *Vision*, pp. 63–4.

<sup>108</sup> Carruthers, *Craft of Thought*, p. 204.

<sup>109</sup> Gittos, *Liturgy*, pp. 106–10, 276–7, at 276; Carruthers, *Craft of Thought*, pp. 56, 258, 261, 276. See also Baldovin, *Urban Character*, p. 267.

<sup>110</sup> Carruthers, *Craft of Thought*, p. 168. For monastic contemplation of the cross in late Anglo-Saxon England, Raw, *Crucifixion Iconography*, pp. 111–252; O'Reilly, 'Early Medieval Text and Image: The Wounded and Exalted Christ', *Peritia* 6–7 (1987–88), 72–118 esp. 72–6, 111; Zacher, *Rewriting*, pp. 61–70.

<sup>111</sup> See above, p. 100.

generally the multi-sensory experience of being on a processional pilgrimage akin to a Rogation in early Anglo-Saxon England. Changes in topographical location and meteorology combined with whatever litanies, prayers, homilies, and other liturgical readings were being recited at any particular stage of a procession would have profoundly altered how the participants of the procession perceived each *rodetacen* (processional cross), and doubtless served to evoke feelings of *timor Dei* and penitence within them. Thus, Section C (*Exodus* 71b–125) highlights the central place of the sign of the Cross in both motivating and directing the Israelites' processional pilgrimage.

## Chapter Seven – *Forðweg* and the Ritualistic Journey Forth

This chapter analyses the images of procession and ritualistic activity in Section D of *Exodus* (126–53, 200–23, 247–75), which describes the Israelites’ journey to, and activities at, the fourth encampment on the banks of the Red Sea.<sup>1</sup> Within Section D, attention focuses upon the meaning and distribution of the compound *forðweg* (‘onward course, journey, departure’) and whether, despite the compound’s prominent association with death and heavenly ascent,<sup>2</sup> the term is, in fact, also an important structural device for emphasizing the theme of a communal processional journeying and its concomitant ritualistic activity. Attention then turns to the role of *forðweg* in *The Dream of the Rood* and its eighth-century epigraphical reflex on the Ruthwell Cross, and to whether the term provides an example of early Anglo-Saxon material religious practice centred upon the sign of the Cross in the landscape that may contextualize Section D as one of the stages of processional pilgrimage akin to a Rogation.

*Exodus* contains few words that denote a procession as clearly as the compound *gangdagas* (‘walking days’) does in the anonymous Rogation homilies.<sup>3</sup> However, the theme of a divinely willed journey (*sið*) of a host led by a prominent leader against the enemy of God pervades *Exodus* from its opening lines, and in lines 30–32, Moses is explicitly prepared for such onward journeys by God: ‘He had strengthened with righteous might and exalted the

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<sup>1</sup> Both the depiction of the pursuing Egyptian army (154–99) and the passage known as the Selection of Israelite Warriors (224–46) are omitted from Section D, and instead are included within the general examination of the role of martial imagery in Section E, where the journey concludes with the tribes of Israel carrying banners in a triumphant martial procession. For discussion of the schematic outline, see above, p. 11.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Wilson, *Christian Theology*, p. 117, who argues that *forðweg* in *Exodus* is an OE euphemism for death, similar to *forðferan* (‘fare forth’), and thus alludes to the allegorical and exilic journey of the *peregrinus* (life pilgrimage). See also Michelet, ‘Lost at Sea’, p. 68.

<sup>3</sup> The verb *gan* is twice used to refer to the processional march during the *transitus* (299–353a): *fyrmeſt eode* (‘the first to advance’, 310b); *eode unforht* (‘dauntless advance’, 335a); and then to describe how *ræd forð gæð* (‘wisdom goes forth’, 526b). The compounds *forðgang* (470b) and *ongangan* (156b) relate to Egyptian marching, while *ofergangað* (562b) is used figuratively in Moses’ statement that the Israelites will ‘overcome’ every enemy, if they observe holy law.

commander of the host, the enemy of the Pharaoh, on the onward journeys'.<sup>4</sup> Line 32 directly links he who is the adversary of God (*Godes andsaca*, 503b) with the onward journeys: *faraones feond, on forðwegas* (32). The compound *forðweg* is one of only four compounds (excluding verb compounds) to be found on four occasions in *Exodus*:<sup>5</sup> twice in the plural (*on forðwegas*, 32b, 350a) and twice in the singular (*fus on forðweg*, 129a; *fus forðwegas*, 248a).<sup>6</sup> All these examples bear alliterative stress, and on three occasions participate in double alliteration (32, 129, 248). Of the ten other attestations of *forðweg* in Old English, all of which are poetic, only the *Guthlac* poems,<sup>7</sup> with three occurrences, contain multiple references.<sup>8</sup> The four occurrences of *forðweg* in *Exodus* are clearly a significant poetic feature, not least because Remley suggests that the compound could be a calque on the Greek word *exodus*, which means 'a going out or forth' (from *ἐξόδος* going out, < ἐξ out + ὁδός way).<sup>9</sup> Remley made the assertion as part of his study of the parallels between *Exodus* and Scripture, where he concluded that the *Exodus*-poet in all likelihood 'participated regularly in the psalmody of the Divine Office and privately fulfilled the obligations of *lectio divina*'.<sup>10</sup> However, it is also possible that *forðweg* may be a calque on *processio*, the Latin word for

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<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 128.

<sup>5</sup> The other compounds are *cneowmæg* (21b, 185b, 318b, 435b), *dægweorc* (151a, 315a, 507a, 519b), and *garsecg* (281b, 345a, 431a, 490a). All appear important. The term *cneowmæg* ('kinsman, kinsfolk') refers to the Egyptians (185b), and to occasions where God gave Moses, the Israelites or the kin of Abraham superiority over other tribes (21b, 318b, 435b) in order to emphasize how the Israelites are God's elect. The compounds *garsecg* and *dægweorc* are further discussed at pp. 211, 243, respectively.

<sup>6</sup> *Forðwegas* is a genitive singular. See Irving, p.83; Irving 'New Notes', p. 307; Lucas, p. 110.

<sup>7</sup> *Guthlac A* (1–818) is considered to be contemporaneous with *Genesis A*, *Beowulf*, *Exodus* and *Daniel*, while *Guthlac B* (819–1379) is thought to have been composed after c. 850. See Fulk, *History*, pp. 399–402, at 402.

<sup>8</sup> *DOE*, *forðweg*: *Beowulf*, 2625a; *DotR*, 125a; *Genesis A* 2814a; *Guthlac A* 36b–37a; *Guthlac A* 801a; *Guthlac B* 945a; *Menologium*, 218a; *Riddle 28a* 3a; *Riddle 28b* 3a; and *The Wanderer* 81a. *Guthlac A* 36b–37a is technically a two-word phrase extending across verse line, so may not be a compound form. There is also one attestation of the verbal compound, *forðwegan*, in the interlineal gloss of *The Vespasian Psalter*, Hymn 11.8 (discussed further below): S.M. Kuhn, ed., *Vespasian Psalter* (Ann Arbor, 1965), p. 158.

<sup>9</sup> *GEL*, p. 596; Remley, *Biblical Verse*, p. 176.

<sup>10</sup> Remley, *Biblical Verse*, pp. 175–8, at 178.

procession ('a going forwards, advance, course, progression'), and, as such, could provide evidence of material religious practice in the poem.<sup>11</sup>

Examining the references to *forðweg* alongside one another is instructive (32, 129, 248, 350):<sup>12</sup>

**F**araones feond, on forðwegas

[‘the enemy of the Pharaoh, on the onward journeys’.]

**f**us on forðweg. **F**yrdwic aras

[‘eager for the onward course. The military camp arose’]

**f**us forðwegas. **F**ana up gerad

[‘eager for the onward course. The banner rode up’]

on forðwegas, folc æfter wolcne

[‘on the onward courses, the folk following the cloud.’]

The possibility that *forðweg* 32b indicates the impending forward movement of the Israelites’ journey need not be rehearsed, but the fact that *forðweg* 129a and 248a alliterate with the respective acts of setting up camp (*fyrdwic aras*, 129b) and raising a banner (*fana up gerad*, 248b) associates the desire for onward movement with the religious activity of a processional journey.<sup>13</sup> The rare word *fana* (‘banner’, 248b) in the third example associates *forðweg* with

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<sup>11</sup> *DLD*, *processio*. The only gloss evidence comes from a tenth-century monastic rule of the English Benedictine Reform movement, the *Regularis Concordia*, which translates *processio* as *embegang* (‘a going around or about, circuit’): *DOEWC*, *processio*.

<sup>12</sup> Alliteration is marked in bold. For editorial discussion of *forðweg*, see Irving, pp. 68, 77, 83; Irving, ‘New Notes’, p. 307, 313; Lucas, p. 32, 96, 110. The phrase *fana up gerad* (248b) is based upon an emendation of the manuscript from *rad* to *gerad* on metrical grounds: Irving, p. 83; Lucas, p. 110.

<sup>13</sup> *Forðweg* 32b was discussed at p. 128.

an army processing into battle.<sup>14</sup> The martial theme is re-enforced by the final use of *forðweg* (350a) in the *transitus* passage (299–353a), where the tribes of Israel conclude their journey with a regimented procession across the Red Sea that involves the carrying of military standards.<sup>15</sup> In these examples, *forðweg* is associated with the forward movement and ritualistic activities of a processional journey, which is very noteworthy, since the compound is usually thought to connote the desire for death and the spiritual ascent of the soul to Heaven.

In *Guthlac A*, which is a poem focused upon an eremite's monastic asceticism, *forðweg* is used twice to describe the eponymous holy man's desire for his soul to ascend to Heaven (*Guthlac A* 36b–7a, 801a).<sup>16</sup> Likewise, in *Guthlac B*, which is the saint's death-legend, the compound *forðweg* (945a) is used to refer to the saint's onward journey of spiritual ascent. The compound *forðsið* ('onward course, journey, departure', 939a, 1050a, 1148a, 1181b, 1346a) and noun *sið* ('going, journey, coming, course, fate, path, time') in *Guthlac B* (1045a, 1077b, 1375b) are also employed to describe the same desire for death. This is not to say that the word *sið* has a purely metaphorical meaning, any more than it does in *Exodus*, for all other uses of *sið* in the *Guthlac* poems refer to intended or actual physical journeying by Guthlac (*Guthlac A* 354b, 726b),<sup>17</sup> devils (*Guthlac A* 144b, 302a), or Guthlac's servant (*Guthlac B* 1175b), while the one occurrence of the compound *siðfæt* (1378a) also describes a physical journey by the servant to tell Guthlac's sister of his master's death, where he is said

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<sup>14</sup> The word *fana* is attested in *The Metres of Boethius, Solomon and Saturn Pater Noster Prose*, where it refers to Pater Noster's golden standard (*gyldene fonan*, 108), and as a gloss on Latin *vexillum* and *labarum* ('banner') in Aldhelm's prose *De virginitate*. See D. Anlezark, ed., *The Old English Dialogues of Solomon and Saturn*, Anglo-Saxon Texts 7 (Cambridge, 2009), p.76; ASPR 5, p. 153; DOE, *fana* 1. For discussion of martial banners in *Exodus*, see below, p. 228.

<sup>15</sup> Given the complexity of the *transitus*, *forðweg* 350a is analysed as part of the discussion of Section E, see below, p. 224.

<sup>16</sup> All quotations are from Roberts, *Guthlac Poems*.

<sup>17</sup> The devils hope that loneliness will impel Guthlac to journey from Crowland back to his homeland (353–5a), while Guthlac is said to have begun his beloved journey (*leofne sið*, 726b) back to his Isle from Hell thanks to the intercession of Saint Bartholomew (726b–8).

to have sung a dirge (*fusleoð agol*, 1346b).<sup>18</sup> Nevertheless, when the words *sið*, *forðsið* and *forðweg* are used in relation to *Guthlac*, they describe his desire for the onward journey of spiritual ascent.

In a notable phrase in *Guthlac B*, the verb *fysan* (‘make ready, cause to hasten, impel/incite’) indicates how Guthlac yearns for death: *hreper innan born, | afysed on forðsið* (‘his heart burned within, impelled on the onward course’, 938b–9a), yet by contrast, in *Exodus* the host of the Israelites are only ever impelled onwards on their linear journey: *fyrð wæs gefysed* (54a) and *werod wæs gefysed* (221b).<sup>19</sup> The alliteration in lines 129 and 248 of the above examples of *Exodus* suggests that any desire for ascent on the part of the Israelites is restricted, and redirected into the ritualistic earthly activity of raising camp or a banner (*fyrðwic aras*, 129b; *fana up gerad*, 248b). Thus it appears as if the use of *forðweg* in *Exodus* is further evidence of procession and processional activity. The task is therefore to examine in turn these two references to *forðweg* (129a, 248b) within the wider context of Section D.

The phrase *fus on forðweg* (129a) appears in the following passage (126–140a):<sup>20</sup>

Gesawon randwigan rihte stræte,  
 segn ofer sweoton, oðþæt sæfæsten  
 landes æt ende leodmægne forstod,  
 fus on forðweg. Fyrðwic aras;  
 wyrpton hie werige, wiste genægdon 130  
 modige meteþegnas, hyra mægen beton.  
 Bræddon æfter beorgum, siððan byme sang,  
 flotan feldhusum. Ða wæs feorðe wic,

<sup>18</sup> For discussion of the *sið*- compounds in *Exodus*, see above, p. 6.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. the use of *forðweg* in *Genesis A* to depict the action of divine providential will upon obedient Abraham: ‘waldend scufeð, | frea, forðwegas folmum sinum | willan þinne’ (‘the Lord God advances your purpose on the onward courses with his hands’, *Genesis A* 2813b–15a): Doane, *Genesis A*, p. 275.

<sup>20</sup> The manuscript reads *leo mægne* (128b).

randwigena ræst, be þan Readan Sæ.

    Dær on fyrd hyra færsPELL becwom, 135  
oht inlende. Egsan stodaN,  
wælgryre weroda. Wræcmon gebad  
laðne lastweard, se ðe him lange ær  
eðelleasum onnied gescraf,  
wean witum fæst. 140

[‘The shield-warriors saw the direct road, the sign over the company, until the sea-stronghold at land’s end opposed the people’s army, eager for the onward course. The military-camp arose; the weary-ones rested, while the high-spirited food-attendants approached with nourishment and restored their strength. When the trumpet sang, they spread out over the hill-sides, sailors with their field-houses. That was the fourth camp, a rest for the shield-warriors by the Red Sea.

There came to their army the terrifying news of a hostile pursuit from inland. Fears rose up, deadly terror of the troops. The exile awaited the hateful pursuer, who had long before assigned oppression to the homeless ones, misery fixed in punishments.’]

While the above passage describes much martial activity, there are also a number of features that suggest the imagery is ritualistic.

Many commentators take *sæfæsten* as the subject of *forstod*, and *fus on forðweg* as relating to the Israelites;<sup>21</sup> they also read the *segn* as alluding to the pillar and accept the emendation *leodmægne*.<sup>22</sup> A notable exception is Robinson, who argues that the phrase *segn ofer sweoton* refers to a battle-standard of the tribe of Judah which is later referred to in

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<sup>21</sup> ASPR 1, p. 204; Bright, ‘On ... *Exodus*’, p. 15; Irving, p. 77; Lucas, p. 96. Cf. Blackburn, p. 42; Sedgefield, p. 178; Tolkien, p. 46.

<sup>22</sup> ASPR 1, p. 204; Irving, p. 77; Irving, ‘New Notes’, pp. 302–3; Lucas, p. 96.

*Exodus* 319b–22, he retains the manuscript-reading of *leomægne* (‘lion host [or ‘tribe’], 128b) as an allusion to the tribe of Judah, and asserts that all instances of the word *segn* in *Exodus* denote battle-standards.<sup>23</sup> By contrast, Lucas, with reference to *Exodus* 40:34–5 and *Numbers* 9:17–23, views the *segn* as denoting the pillar, ‘seen as a battle-standard, which is raised when leading the host and made to descend when they rest’, while Irving argues that the pillar is clearly called a *fana* (‘banner’) at line 248b.<sup>24</sup> The question of whether the sign over the company is a celestial sign, martial banner, processional cross, or, indeed, all three is addressed below, but the key inference is that the sign of the Cross, which was such a dominant feature of *Exodus* 71b–125 (Section C), continues to oversee the Israelites’ martial activities.

The substantive *randwigan* creates an envelope pattern for lines 126–34 with *gesawon randwigan rihte stræte* (‘the shield-warriors saw the direct road’, 126) and ‘randwigena ræst, be þan Readan Sæ’ (‘a rest for the shield-warriors by the Red Sea’, 134).<sup>25</sup> In both cases *randwigan* participates in the alliteration, linking the ‘shield’ and the ‘direct (or ‘straight’)’ in line 126, and ‘shield (-warriors)’, ‘rest’ and the ‘Red (Sea)’ in line 134. There are also three examples of strong-linked interlinear alliteration (highlighted in bold): the first, connects the ‘road’ with the ‘sign’, ‘army’ and ‘sea (-stronghold)’: ‘stræte | **segn** ofer sweoton oðþæt sæfæsten’ (126b–7); the second, links being ‘opposed’ with ‘desire’, the ‘onward (course)’ and the ‘military (camp)’ – ‘forstod | **fus** on forðweg fyrdwic aras’ (128b–9); and the last example, associates being ‘restored’ (by receiving food from the food-attendants) with ‘having spread out’ over the ‘hills’, and the noise of a ‘trumpet’: ‘**beton.** | **Bræddon** æfter beorgum, siððan byme sang’ (131b–2).<sup>26</sup> Although the sea opposed the Israelites, there is no pause in their activity. The interlinear alliteration (126b–7) links the journey with the

<sup>23</sup> Robinson, ‘Notes and Emendations’, pp. 356–9.

<sup>24</sup> Lucas, p. 96; Lucas, ‘OE Christian Poetry’, pp. 199–200.

<sup>25</sup> For discussion of shields, see below, p. 227.

<sup>26</sup> See A. Orchard, ‘Artful Alliteration in Anglo-Saxon Song and Story’, *Anglia* 113 (1995), 429–63, at 433.

dominating sign and the stronghold (*burh*), which it will be recalled were the two pre-eminent features in the depiction of the third camp, Etham.<sup>27</sup>

The refreshment of the Israelites by the food-attendants (*meteþegnas*, 131a) and the act of spreading out over the hill-sides, like sailors with their field-houses (*flotan feldhusum*, 133a, 223a), which echoes the phrase *feldhusa mæst* ('greatest of field-houses', 85b), has been interpreted as an allusion to the Israelites as 'tabernacled sailors' demonstrating *Exodus*' allegorical narrative of Baptism.<sup>28</sup> The exegetical notion that ships such as the Noah's Ark and the Tabernacle are types of the Church is explored in the following chapter, but it should be noted here that there may also be Eucharistic imagery in these lines. Although the compound *meteþegnas* does not appear to be attested as referring to priests administering the sacrament, given the already noted prominence of song (in the form of *leoð*- compounds) it is perhaps noteworthy that the only reference to the compound verb, *forðwegan* ('advance, carry (something) forwards'), is found in a ninth-century translation of the late-antique Ambrosian hymn to morning (*Hymnum ad matutinos*), where *mete* ('meat, food') is used as an Old English gloss for the Latin *cibus* ('food') in the line 'crist us sie mete 7 drync' ('Christ is food and drink for us', *Hymn 11* 6).<sup>29</sup> There is a sense that the journeying under the sign of the Cross as depicted in lines 126–34 does not conclude, but instead transforms into ritualistic activities at this fourth staging-post.

The references to an exile (*wræcmon*, 137b) and the homeless ones (*eðelleasum*, 139a) have been interpreted as evidence of life pilgrimage,<sup>30</sup> but Wilson, during his allegorical reading, suggests that the fearful vigil of the Israelites and their subsequent

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<sup>27</sup> See above, pp. 86, 148.

<sup>28</sup> Wilson, *Christian Theology*, pp. 128–33. Nautical imagery is discussed below, at p. 218.

<sup>29</sup> Kuhn, *Vespasian Psalter*, pp. vi, 158; J. Stevenson, ed., *The Latin Hymns of the Anglo-Saxon Church: with an Interlinear Anglo-Saxon Gloss*, Publications of the Surtees Society 23 (Durham, 1851), pp. 15–16; A.S. Walpole, *Early Latin Hymns: with Introduction and Notes* (Cambridge, 1922), pp. 35–9. Ambrose's *Hymnum ad matutinos* is discussed further in regard to desire for heavenly ascent, *forðweg* (350a) and the *dægwoma* (*Exodus* 344b), at p. 232.

<sup>30</sup> Lucas, p. 97.

strengthening of faith (*Exodus* 224–46) may parallel the effect of religious instruction upon catechumens.<sup>31</sup> Ultimately, the references to terrifying news (*færspell*), fear (*egesa*), being an exile (*wræcmon*) amidst a host of the homeless (*eðelleasum*), and a hateful pursuer (*laðne lastweard*) could all relate to aspects of a long-distance pilgrimage, such as that of journeying from England to Rome and navigating one’s way through and around the numerous dangers along the way.

The depiction of a fearful vigil is interrupted by a digression (140b–53), which includes the poem’s first lacuna.<sup>32</sup> The digression appears to re-iterate the afflictions that motivated the Israelites to undertake their exodus, expanding upon lines 50b–53 and once again emphasizing how the Egyptians’ desire for vengeance was ultimately prevented by God (150–3). *Exodus*’ narrative then juxtaposes this allusion to the destruction of the Egyptians with an extended depiction of the martial prowess of the Pharaoh’s army as it pursues the Israelites (154–99).<sup>33</sup> The narrative then returns to the Israelites at the fourth encampment (200–23):<sup>34</sup>

Forþon wæs in wicum	wop up ahafen,	200
atol æfenleoð,	egesan stodon,	
weredon wælnet;	þa se woma cwom	
flugon frecne spel.	Feond wæs anmod,	
werud wæs wigblac,	oðþæt wlance forsceaf	
mihtig engel,	se ða menigeo beheold,	205
þæt þær gelaðe mid him	leng ne mihton	
geseon tosomne:	sið wæs gedæled.	
Hæfde nydfara	nihlangne fyrst,	

<sup>31</sup> Wilson, *Christian Theology*, p. 120.

<sup>32</sup> See above, p. 2.

<sup>33</sup> *Exodus* 154–99 is examined below, at p. 203.

<sup>34</sup> The manuscript reads *benum* (216b).

þeah ðe him on healfa gehwam hettend seomedon,  
 mægen oððe merestream; nahton maran hwyrft. 210  
 Wæron orwenan eðelrihtes,  
 sæton æfter beorgum in blacum reafum  
 wean on wenum; wæccende bad  
 eall seo sibgedriht somod ætgædere  
 maran mægenes, oð Moyses bebead 215  
 eorlas on uhttid ærnum bemum  
 folc somnigean, frecan arisan,  
 habban heora hlencan, hycgan on ellen,  
 beran beorht searo, beacnum cigean  
 sweot sande near. Snelle gemundon 220  
 weardas wigleoð (werod wæs gefysed),  
 brudon ofer burgum – byman gehyrdon –  
 flotan feldhusum: fyrd wæs on ofste.

[‘Therefore a cry rose up in the camps, a terrible evening-song, terrors rose up, corselets defended; then the noise (or ‘tumult’) came, dangerous news flew.<sup>35</sup> The enemy was resolute, the troop was bright-in-arms, until the mighty angel repelled the proud ones, who then kept the multitude, so that the enemies collectively were no longer able to see each other: the journey was divided.

The exile (or ‘one who travels out of necessity’) had the whole night [to himself]; though their enemies were lying-in-wait for them on each side, the army on the one and the sea on the other; they did not have greater movement. They, despairing of the

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<sup>35</sup> The underlying theme of a message (*spel*, 203a) is discussed at p. 240.

rightful homeland, sat over the hills in dark clothing, in expectation of misery; all that host of kinsmen abided together, watching for the greater force, until, around dawn,<sup>36</sup> Moses commanded the nobles with brazen trumpets to gather the people, the warriors to arise and don their armour, to have a thought for courage, wear bright armour, [and] summon the troop near the sand with signals. The watchers (or ‘keepers’) quickly remembered the war-song (the troop was impelled), they moved over the hills – heard the trumpets – sailors with their field-houses: the army was in haste.’]

This passage is important for two reasons: there are numerous repetitions of words and phrases from *Exodus* 126–140a suggesting these two passages are linked and serve to create the wider generic theme of Section D, and there are also further prominent depictions of ritualistic and processional activity seemingly motivated by *timor Dei* and focused upon petitioning the divine powers.

The notion of a fearful vigil finds scriptural precedent with the verse ‘cumque appropinquasset Pharaon levantes filii Israel oculos viderunt Aegyptios post se et timuerunt valde clamaveruntque ad Dominum’ (‘And when Pharaoh drew near, the children of Israel, lifting up their eyes, saw the Egyptians behind them: and they feared exceedingly, and cried to the Lord’, Ex. 14:10), but this sense of fear is greatly amplified in *Exodus*. There are repetitions of phrases describing the rising up of fear: *færspell becwom* (135b); *woma cwom* (202b); *wop up ahafen* (200b); *egsan/egesan stodon* (‘terrors rose up’ 136b, 201b). Orchard has highlighted how the reference to *egesan stodon* (201b) and the ambiguous *wælnet* (202a) is repeated at line 491b during the Destruction of the Egyptians (447–515), where it is unequivocally associated with uniquely attested compounds employing the simplex *wæl* (‘slaughter’).<sup>37</sup> The phrase *egesan stodon* repeats the earlier half-line from *Exodus* 126–140a:

<sup>36</sup> The phrase on *uhttid* is somewhat ambiguous meaning ‘during (‘at’ or ‘about’) early morning time, the time before daybreak’.

<sup>37</sup> Orchard, ‘Fresh Terror’, pp. 141–3.

*egsan stodan, wælgryre weroda* ('terrors rose up, fear of slaughter by the Egyptian troops', 136b–7a), where there are two references to fear: *egsan* and *wælgryre* ('deadly terror [or 'slaughter-terror']"). The word *gryre* ('fear, terror') occurs twice in simplex form elsewhere in *Exodus*. The first example describes how God gives Moses the power over weapons in order to combat the terror of his enemies (*wið wraðra gryre*, 20b), while the second depicts the terror of the doomed Egyptians (490a). The element is also used in the compound *westengryre* to describe how the *heofoncandel* (115b), as the *nihtweard* ('night-guardian', 116a), protected the Israelites against the horror-of-the-wilderness (*westengryre*, 117b).<sup>38</sup> McLoughlin noted how similar fears of night and darkness expressed in these lines (115b–19) regarding the *heofoncandel* have parallels to the night and morning prayers of the Antiphony of Bangor and their petitions for divine illumination.<sup>39</sup> *Exodus* appears to be stressing, through the use of these words of fear, that only God or one of his intercessors can ameliorate the causes of this fear. The description in the above passage of the mighty angel (*mihtig engel*, 205a),<sup>40</sup> holding back the Egyptian threat, but not abating it, is a less reassuring image than the *heofoncandel* (115b), and suggests once again that the certainty of God's protection is not guaranteed.<sup>41</sup> The Israelites' fearful vigil is then as much an expression of *timor Dei*, as fear at the presence of the Egyptian army. Furthermore, if Breeze is correct in his assertion that Lucas' reading of *wælnet* (202a) as 'net of death' has a biblical parallel in Habakkuk 1:14–17, where it describes the vengeance taken upon the sinful Hebrews by the Chaldeans, then this would be further evidence of the consequences of sinfulness prompting expressions of *timor Dei*.<sup>42</sup>

The close repetition of the previously discussed phrase *atol æfenleoð* ('terrible evensong', 165a, 201a), which is unique to *Exodus*, creates a contrast between the sounds of

<sup>38</sup> Orchard, 'Fresh Terror', pp. 134–7.

<sup>39</sup> McLoughlin, 'OE *Exodus*', pp. 663–4.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Exodus 14:19–20, see Lucas, pp. 106–7.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. the discussion of the word *fæge*, see above, p. 138.

<sup>42</sup> Breeze, 'Book of Habakkuk', p. 213; Lucas, p. 106.

the Beasts-of-Battle that allude to the vengeful might of the pursuing Egyptian army, and the fearful lament of the Israelites. Wilson notes there is a shift in grammatical number in lines 135–40a where the plural phrase *egsan stoda*n (‘terrors rose up’, 136b) is followed by the singular clause *wræcmon gebad* (‘the exile awaited’, 137b) and then by another plural phrase in the form of ‘the homeless ones’ (*eðelleasum*, 139a).<sup>43</sup> Wilson argues that these shifts in grammatical number universalize the *Exodus*-poet’s theme of exilic *peregrinatio* (life pilgrimage), but these changes in number could also intimate individual religious reflection within the wider communal vigil.<sup>44</sup> In the above passage (200–23), the description of the exile who had a night-long respite (*hæfde nydfara nihtlangne fyrst*, 208) implies a time of fearful wakefulness, juxtaposing the lone watcher with the Israelites’ collective despair for the comfort of a restful home (or rightful homeland): *wæron orwenan eðelrihtes* (211). Similarly, the half-line 213b, *wæccende bad* (literally, ‘the watching one abided’), is contrasted with the image of all the gathered host of kinsmen (*eall seo sibgedriht somod ætgædere*, 214) who remain there until Moses rouses them around dawn (*on uhttid*, 216a). Although ‘the watching one abided’ could allude to the mighty angel, the contrast between the singular noun *nydfara* (208a) and the plural verb *wæron* (211a) highlight individual expressions of fear within the context of a communal vigil.

Furthermore, the half-line *nahton maran hwyrft* (‘they did not have greater movement’, 210b) highlights that the Israelites had no means of escape, but, given the repetition of *maran* in the *maran mægenes* (‘the greater force’, 215a) after the description of the intervening mighty angel (*mihtig engel*, 205a), it is possible that *Exodus* is indicating a connection between the confinement of the Israelites, who have no ‘greater movement’, and the ‘greater force’, in the form of the mighty angel, who is maintaining this fragile stand-off between the Israelites and the dangers they are beset by. The Israelites, in a similar way to

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<sup>43</sup> Wilson, *Christian Theology*, p. 120.

<sup>44</sup> Wilson, *Christian Theology*, pp. 120–21.

their partial comprehension of the signs in *Exodus* 71b–125, may be aware that some unfathomable divine force or sign is keeping these dangers at bay. The comparative adjective *maran* ('greater') could refer to the fact that the Israelites had no greater way of remaining safe other than that provided by the mighty angel as the 'greater force'. The communal vigil of the Israelites would therefore be focused upon petitioning God to maintain this uneasy truce.<sup>45</sup>

The final indications of ritualistic activity by the Israelites are the multiple references to hills during their fourth camp. The sentence 'bræddon æfter beorgum, siððan byme sang, | flotan feldhusum' ('When the trumpet sang, they spread out over the hill-sides, sailors with their field-houses', 132–3a) is repeated in part by the statement that the Israelites sat along the hills (*sæton æfter beorgum*, 212a) during the fearful vigil, and then by the lines 'brudon ofer burgum – byman gehyrdon – | flotan feldhusum' ('they moved over the hills – heard the trumpets – sailors with their field-houses', 222–3a). The fact that lines 222–3a are sandwiched between *werod wæs gefysed* ('the troop was impelled', 221b) and *fyrð wæs on ofste* ('the army was in haste', 223b) further emphasizes that the sense of forward processional movement is transferred into the ritualistic activity on the hillsides of the fourth encampment in *Exodus* 126–140a. Wilson has speculated that repetition of *beorgum-burgum* (*beorg*, 'hill'; *burh*, 'a high-status fortified settlement') may be playing upon the theme of exile from the city of God,<sup>46</sup> but the reference to hill-sides may also allude to the Crucifixion and the creation of the sacraments.<sup>47</sup> The fusion between the sign and banners, noted at the beginning of *Exodus* 126–140a in relation to the phrase *segn ofer sweoton* (127a), returns in the form of the noun *beacen*, when Moses commands his warriors to have a thought for

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<sup>45</sup> The phrase *atol æfenleoð* (165a, 201a) and the role of song were discussed at p. 92.

<sup>46</sup> Wilson, *Christian Theology*, pp. 133–4.

<sup>47</sup> See below, p. 209.

courage (*hycgan on ellen*, 218b), wear bright armour, and summon the troop near the sand with the signals: ‘beran beorht searo, beacnum cigean | sweet sande near’ (219–20a).

In sum, *Exodus* 126–53 and 200–23 are focused upon the onward movement of a processional journey, which when frustrated, moves seamlessly to the religious activity at this fourth camp or staging-post which is dominated by a fearful vigil.

The only sense of upward movement or ascent comes from setting up camp, the rising up of fear, and when the warriors are commanded to arise (*freca arisan*, 217b) at the conclusion of the vigil. After the vigil, the Israelites are rallied with a depiction of the selection of Israelite warriors (224–46).<sup>48</sup> The following lines appear to establish for the first time a direct link between the martial banner and the celestial sign of the Cross (247–55):<sup>49</sup>

Pa wæs handrofra here ætgædere,  
fus forðwegas. Fana up gerad,  
beama beorhtost; bidon ealle þa gen  
hwonne siðboda sæstreamum neah 250  
leoht ofer lindum lyftedoras bræc.  
Ahleop þa for hæleðum hildecalla,  
bald beodohata, bord up ahof,  
heht þa folctogan fyrde gestillan  
þenden modiges meðel monige gehyrdon. 255

[‘There the army of the strong-armed was together, eager for the onward course. The banner rode up, brightest of beams; they all abided until the messenger-of-the-journey near the sea-streams broke the cloud-barriers, shining light over their shields.

Then the war-herald, bold announcer-of-battle, leaped forward before the warriors,

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<sup>48</sup> This martial imagery is discussed below, at p. 225.

<sup>49</sup> The manuscript reads *rad* (248b), *buton* (249b), *beod hata* (253a), and *hof* (253b).

and raised up his shield, he commanded the leaders of the people to quieten the army while many heard the speech of the bold one.’]

Irving argues that *fana* (‘banner, standard’, 248b) denotes the pillar, presumably, because the following clause refers to the messenger-of-the-journey breaking the cloud-barrier.<sup>50</sup>

However, there could be intentional conflation between the celestial sign and the military standard. The phrase *handrofra here* (‘the army of the strong-armed’) recalls the description *mode rofra* (‘of the brave hearted’, 226a) when the Israelites re-discover their confidence and re-assert their martial prowess (*Exodus* 224–46) after the night-long fearful vigil. The alliterative link between the ‘hand’ and the ‘army’ alludes to a theme of the providential hand of God, which sometimes works through agents such as Moses, that restrains and ultimately destroys the Egyptians (43b, 480a, 486a, 493b) and aids the Israelites (262b, 275b, 280b, 416b). As Lucas argues, Moses is given the *handlean* (‘reward’, 19a) of being able to save his people when God empowers him, while Moses in his first speech (259–75) makes clear that it is a bold and powerful (*modig ond mægenrof*, 275a) God who protects the Israelite army (*fyrð*, 274b) with the great hand (*mid þære miclan hand*, 275b).<sup>51</sup> Just as the *bana* (39b) appeared to be the persecuting angel of the Pasch, the Israelites understood, even if they did not perceive the *mihtig engel* (205a), that God was holding the dangers in abeyance during their fearful vigil. These assertions seem to be supported by Moses’ own words (269b–72):

Ic on beteran ræd

þæt ge gewurðien wuldres Aldor, 270

ond eow Liffrean lissa bidde,

sigora gesynto, þær ge siðien.

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<sup>50</sup> Irving, ‘New Notes’, p. 303.

<sup>51</sup> Lucas, p. 77.

[‘I give the better counsel so that you can honour the Lord of Glory and may entreat the Lord of life for grace, victory and salvation wherever you may go.’]

The journey appears to have enabled the Israelites collectively to entreat God for aid.

The above analysis of *Exodus* revealed a number of occasions where verbs denoting a rising or upward movement are used to describe the actions of the Israelites (listed in Table 3 below). The great majority of the examples from Table 3 occur in passages relating to *forðweg* 129a (*Exodus* 126–140a; 200–23), *forðweg* 248a (247–55), *forðweg* 350a (299–353a), the extended depiction of Israelite celebration (565–79) and the enigmatic closing lines (580–90). The raising of signs (banners or processional crosses), the collective crying out, the lifting up of hands and the rising in unison are all intimately related to the forward movement of a martial processional journey with its attendant ritualistic activity co-ordinated by manifestations of the sign of the Cross.

**Table 3: Verbs of Rising Used to Describe Israelite Activity**

Verb Denoting Rising or Upward Movement (quoted in the infinitive)	Description of Activity
<i>ahebban</i> (200b, 253b)	The Israelites raised a cry (200b), and the herald of the Israelites lifted up a shield (253b)
<i>arisan</i> (100b, 129b, 217b, 299b)	The Israelites warriors ( <i>freca</i> ) rise (217b); the Israelites all arose as a host ( <i>arisan</i> , 100b, 299b); and the fourth encampment arose ( <i>arisan</i> , 129b)
<i>hebban</i> (99a, 276a, 301a, 575a, 582a)	The Israelites with loud voices raise their war-trumpets (99a); the troop ( <i>herecist</i> or <i>herepreat</i> ) on separate occasions raised ‘signs’ ( <i>segnas</i> , 301a), a ‘loud cry/cries’ ( <i>hlude stefne</i> 276b, 575b) and their ‘hands’ ( <i>handas</i> , 582a)
<i>ræran</i> (325b)	The Israelites raised their spears for battle
<i>ridan up</i> (248b–51), <i>aræran</i> (319b–22)	A sign ( <i>fana</i> or <i>beacon</i> ) was raised up
<i>standan</i> (136b, 201b, 566b)	Terrors rose up amongst the Israelites ( <i>standan</i> , 136b, 201b), and banners rose up (566b)
<i>stigan</i> (319b)	The Israelites ascend (or ‘descend’) onto the seabed

In sum, Section D depicts the desired forward movement and activity of a procession, involving symbolic acts of raising voices or signs that appear designed to connect with the celestial sign of the Cross, but this is quite different from Guthlac's individual desire for death and the spiritual ascent of the soul. The question is whether *Exodus*' imagery can be contextualized by examples of early Anglo-Saxon material religious practice.

To answer this question the focus shifts to the example of the sign of the Cross mediating and impelling Christian religious activity in *The Dream of the Rood (DotR)*, where the narrator speaks of his engagement with a vision of the Cross (*DotR* 122–31a):<sup>52</sup>

Gebæd ic me þa to þan beame bliðe mode,  
 elne mycle, þær ic ana wæs  
 mæte werede. Wæs modsefa  
 afysed on forðwege; feala ealra gebad 125  
 langung-hwila. Is me nu lifes hyht  
 þæt ic þone sigebeam secan mote  
 ana oftor þonne ealle men,  
 well weorþian. Me is willa to ðam  
 mycel on mode, ond min mundbyrd is 130  
 geriht to þære rode.

[‘I myself prayed there to that beam where I was alone in moderate company, with jubilant mind and great courage. The spirit was impelled on the onward course; it endured very many times of longing.’<sup>53</sup> For me it is my life’s desire that I shall seek

<sup>52</sup> All quotations of *The Dream of the Rood* are from Swanton’s edition.

<sup>53</sup> This last clause ‘it endured ... periods of longing’ is taken from R. Marsden’s edition: *The Cambridge Old English Reader*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Cambridge, 2015), p. 201.

the victory-beam, alone more often than all men, to honour it well. For me the desire  
for that is greatly heartfelt, and my hope-of-protection is directed towards the rood.’]

*The Dream of the Rood* survives in the tenth-century Vercelli Book,<sup>54</sup> and in two epigraphical reflexes, one on the Ruthwell Cross (where the inscription is dated to the early eighth century) and the other on the eleventh-century Brussels Reliquary Cross.<sup>55</sup> The poem’s date of composition and its structural integrity are the subject of debate,<sup>56</sup> and it has been demonstrated that *The Dream of the Rood* is rooted within Latin and Germanic heroic literary traditions and early Christological and doctrinal concerns.<sup>57</sup> However, the eighth-century

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<sup>54</sup> For discussion of *Vercelli Book*, see p. 112, n. 93.

<sup>55</sup> A. Campbell, *OE Grammar* (Oxford, 1977), p. 4, n. 2; D.R. Howlett, ‘Three Forms in the Ruthwell Text of *The Dream of the Rood*’, *English Studies* 55.1 (1974), 1–5; D. MacLean, ‘The Date of the Ruthwell Cross’, in *The Ruthwell Cross: Papers from the Colloquium Sponsored by the Index of Christian Art, Princeton University, 8 December 1989*, ed. B. Cassidy (New Jersey, 1992), pp. 49–70; É. Ó Carragáin and R. North, ‘*The Dream of the Rood* and Anglo-Saxon Northumbria’, in *Beowulf & Other Stories: a New Introduction to Old English, Old Icelandic and Anglo-Norman Literatures*, ed. R. North and J. Allard, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (London, 2012), pp. 160–88; A. Orchard, ‘*The Dream of the Rood*: Cross-References’, in *New Readings in the Vercelli Book*, ed. S. Zacher and A. Orchard (Toronto, 2009), pp. 225–53. Cf. Ó Carragáin who in an article hints at a potentially early (seventh- or eighth-century) date for the *DotR*: É. Ó Carragáin, ‘Sources or Analogues? Using Liturgical Evidence to Date *The Dream of the Rood*’, in *Cross and Cruciform in the Anglo-Saxon World: Studies to Honor the Memory of Timothy Reuter*, ed. S.L. Keefer, K.L. Jolly, C.E. Karkov, *Medieval European Studies* 9 (Morgantown, 2010), pp. 135–65.

<sup>56</sup> It has been asserted that the second half of the poem (from line 78) is an addition of inferior quality: J.A. Burrow, ‘An Approach to *The Dream of the Rood*’, *Neophilologus* 43.2 (1959), 123–33, at 130; B. Dickins and A.S.C. Ross, *The Dream of the Rood* (London, 1954), pp. 17–18; Neidorf, ‘Composite Authorship’, pp. 51–70.

<sup>57</sup> B.K. Braswell, ‘*The Dream of the Rood* and Aldhelm on Sacred Prosopopoeia’, *Mediaeval Studies* 40 (1978), 461–7; M. Brzezinski, ‘The Harrowing of Hell, The Last Judgment, and *The Dream of the Rood*’, *NM* 89 (1988), 252–65; M.D. Cherniss, ‘The Cross as Christ’s Weapon: the Influence of Heroic Literary Tradition on *The Dream of the Rood*’, *ASE* 2 (1973), 241–52; T.D. Hill, ‘The Cross as Symbolic Body: An Anglo-Latin Liturgical Analogue to *The Dream of the Rood*’, *Neophilologus* 77.2 (1993), 297–301; A.D. Horgan, ‘*The Dream of the Rood* and Christian Tradition’ *NM* 79 (1978), 11–20; E.B. Irving, ‘Crucifixion Witnessed, or Dramatic Interaction in *The Dream of the Rood*’, in *Modes of Interpretation in Old English Literature: Essays in Honour of Stanley B. Greenfield*, ed. P.R. Brown, G.R. Crampton, and F.C. Robinson (Toronto, 1986), pp. 101–113; A.L. Klinck, ‘Christ as Soldier and Servant in *The Dream of the Rood*’, *Florilegium* 4 (1982), 109–16; É. Ó Carragáin, *Ritual and the Rood: Liturgical Images and the Old English Poems of the Dream of the Rood Tradition* (London, 2005), *passim*; Orchard, ‘Cross-References’, pp. 129–35; B.C. Raw, ‘The Cross in *The Dream of the Rood*: Martyr, Patron and Image of Christ’, *Leeds Studies in English* n.s. 38 (2007), 1–15; M. Schlauch, ‘*The Dream of the Rood* as Prosopopoeia’, in *Essays and Studies in Honour of Carleton Brown*, ed. P.W. Long (New York, 1940), 23–34; P.B. Taylor, ‘Text and Texture of *The Dream of the Rood*’, *NM* 75 (1974), 193–201; C.J. Wolf, ‘Christ as Hero in *The Dream of the Rood*’, *NM* 71 (1970), 202–10; R. Woolf, ‘Doctrinal Influences on *The Dream of the Rood*’, *Medium Aevum* 21.1 (1958), 137–53.

epigraphical inscription on the Ruthwell Cross strengthens the assertion that the poem, or at least that part of the poem, had an early Anglo-Saxon material religious context.

The above passage (*DotR* 122–31a) presents an intense relationship with the sign of the Cross. Consequently, the passage is often interpreted as depicting the monastic contemplation of either a metaphorical or physical cross,<sup>58</sup> where *forðweg* emphasizes the desire of an exile to journey to God (life pilgrimage).<sup>59</sup> In a classic reading of the above passage, John Fleming interpreted *forðweg* as indicating meditation upon the cross, imitating the carvings on the Ruthwell Cross, which depict John the Baptist, the Saints Paul and Antony and Christ *in deserto* (in the desert), as a form of asceticism performed by a *miles Dei* and a lordless exile, as part of a spiritual and mystical journey *per crucem ad lucem* ('through the cross to the light').<sup>60</sup> Fleming interprets the repetition of *ana* ('alone', 123b, 128a) as affirming the solitariness of this spiritual endeavour to return to the eternal community of saints, and the compound *langunghwila* as being synonymous with monastic *accidia* ('an anxiety or weariness of heart') indicating the narrator-monk's self-doubt over the renunciation of earthly ties.<sup>61</sup> The line *ic þone sigbeam secan mote* can be thus rendered as a form of 'going to the cross' as exemplified by the life of St Lambert, where a penitent prostrates himself before the cross with his arms stretched out.<sup>62</sup> Finally, Fleming interprets

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<sup>58</sup> Orchard, 'Dream', p. 250.

<sup>59</sup> R.B. Burlin, 'The Ruthwell Cross, *The Dream of the Rood* and the *Vita Contemplativa*', *Studies in Philology* 65.1 (1968), 23–43; J. Canuteson, 'The Crucifixion and the Second Coming in *The Dream of the Rood*', *Modern Philology* 66.4 (1969), 293–7; McBrine, 'Journey Motif', pp. 307–8; É. Ó Carragáin, 'Crucifixion as Annunciation: The Relation of *The Dream of the Rood* to the Liturgy Reconsidered', *English Studies* 63.6 (1982), 487–505, at 505.

<sup>60</sup> J.V. Fleming, 'The Dream of the Rood and Anglo-Saxon Monasticism', *Traditio* 22 (1966), 43–73, at 60, 63. The dominance of the Benedictine rule ('Benedictine Hypothesis') in early Anglo-Saxon has been largely refuted by recent scholarship: Billett, *Divine Office*, pp. 4–10; S. Foot, *Monastic Life in Anglo-Saxon England, c. 600–900* (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 191–205.

<sup>61</sup> Fleming, 'Dream', pp. 47, 62–3. Fleming follows Dickins and Ross' reading of *langunghwila*: Dickins–Ross, *Dream*, p. 32. Cf. *langung-hwila* as 'times of longing': Swanton, *Dream*, p. 136.

<sup>62</sup> Fleming, 'Dream', pp. 65–6. Cf. the dying Guthlac's prostrate position (*hlingendne*, 1147b) in his holy house as he is eager for heavenly ascent (*fusne on forðsið*, 1148a) in the above discussion of *Guthlac B* 1145b–50a.

*ond min mundbyrd is geriht to þære rode* as ‘my protection is firm in the cross’ (130b–31a).<sup>63</sup>

Such a reading accords with the narrator-dreamer’s hope for the day when the *Dryhtnes rod* (‘rood of the Lord’, 136b), which he previously beheld on earth (*on eorðan*, 137), may fetch him *on þysson lænan life* (‘from this transitory life’, 138).<sup>64</sup>

However, it is possible that the paradoxical phrase *þær ic ana wæs mæte werede* (‘there I was alone in moderate company’, 123b–4a) might reflect an individual alone with his thoughts amidst a crowd during an act of communal religious worship, as was suggested in relation to lines 135–40a and 208–15 of *Exodus* discussed above. Furthermore, the worshippers could be lay Christians engaged in the material practice of pilgrimage, instead of coenobitic monks performing the Divine Office.<sup>65</sup>

This assertion turns upon the meaning of the *mæte weorode/werede* (69b, 124a),<sup>66</sup> which occurs twice in the poem. The first is in the following passage (*DotR* 67b–72a):<sup>67</sup>

Ongunnon him þa sorhleod galan,  
earme on þa æfentide; þa hie woldon eft siðian  
meðe fram þam mæran þeodne; reste he ðær mæte weorode.  
Hwæðere we ðær hreotende gode hwile 70  
stodon on staðole, syððan stefn up gewat  
hilderinca

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<sup>63</sup> Fleming, ‘*Dream*’, p. 66.

<sup>64</sup> For discussion of *on* as meaning ‘from’, see Swanton, *Dream*, p. 138; Dickins and Ross, *Dream*, p. 34. Swanton suggests that the repetition of *on þysson lænan life/ on þyssum lænum life* (109a, 138) represents a Christian formula found in *Beowulf* (*lænan lifes*, 2845) and *The Seafarer* (‘þonne þis deade lif | læne on londe’, 65b–6a): Swanton, *Dream*, p. 134; Gordon, *The Seafarer*, p. 42.

<sup>65</sup> For the Divine Office, see above p. 167.

<sup>66</sup> Cf. the contrasting assertions that the repetition of *mæte werede* is evidence of the work of two separate poets or an example of OE litotes: Neidorf, ‘Composite Authorship’, pp. 63–4; Swanton, *Dream*, pp. 128–9, respectively.

<sup>67</sup> The manuscript reads *reotende* (70a), which Swanton and Krapp emend to *hreotende* (‘weeping’) and *greotende* (‘cry, lament’), respectively. The word *stefn* (71b) is supplied: Swanton, *Dream*, p. 129.

[‘Then, wretched, they began to sing a dirge for him in the evening time, when they were again to journey tired from the famous prince; He rested there in moderate company. However, we stood there a good while, weeping, in the place, after the voice of the warriors went up.’]

The fact that Christ rested (in his tomb) is linked syntactically with the *mæte weorode*, whilst the alliteration emphasizes *meðe* (‘tired’) *mæran* (‘famous, illustrious, great’) and *mæte* (‘moderate’). The unstressed verb *reste* repeats an earlier reference just after the Deposition, where Christ is described as having rested Himself for a while because He was tired after His great struggle: ‘ond he hine ðær hwile reste | meðe æfter ðam miclan gewinne’ (64b–5a). The magnitude of Christ’s greatness or illustriousness is reflected by the fact that all creation, which is also twice described as famous or great (*ond eall þeos mære gesceaft*, 12b, 82b), has sought to honour the Rood, as the instrument of Christ’s suffering. Such lines highlight that the most prominent event of the Incarnation is Christ’s great struggle on the Cross. The Rood relates, in the first person, how ‘eall ic wæs mid blode bestemed, | begoten of þæs guman sidan’ (‘I was all wet with blood having poured out from the man’s side’, 48b–9a), and later, ‘eall ic wæs mid strælum forwundod’ (‘I was badly wounded with darts’, 62b). An event that is echoed in the narrator-dreamer’s earlier observation: ‘þæt hit ærest ongan | swætān on þa swiðran healfe’ (‘that it [the Rood] first began to bleed on the right side’, 19b–20a).<sup>68</sup> The theory that the moment Christ was speared represents the creation of the Church, and her sacraments, is discussed in the next chapter,<sup>69</sup> but the above passage links the famous prince (*mæran þeodne*, 69b) with moderate company (*mæte weorode*), associating Christ with the laments of His first followers, and thus the creation of the Christian liturgy or litany and the

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<sup>68</sup> Dickins and Ross, *Dream*, p. 29; Swanton, *Dream*, pp. 125–6.

<sup>69</sup> For the *flumina de ventre Christi*, see below, p. 204.

army of Christ (*militia Christi*).<sup>70</sup> The dirge (*sorhleod*) in the eventide (*æfentide*) by His followers becomes the cry of the warriors (*stefn / hilderinca*, 71b–72a), as the language used for the Roman soldiers (*hilderincas*, 61b) who crucified Christ is appropriated.<sup>71</sup> *The Dream of the Rood* makes clear that the individual will be assembled with a *mænigo* (‘multitude’, 112a) of Christians on Doomsday, while Christ, as the God of the hosts (*weruda God*, 51b), ascended to Heaven with a multitude (*mid manigeo*, 151b), and a host of souls (*gasta weorode*, 152a). Thus, the phrase *þær ic ana wæs mæte werede* indicates that the narrator-dreamer is also one of a number engaged in a quasi-liturgical act before the Cross, whilst suggesting that the statement *ana oftor þonne ealle men* (‘alone more often than all men’, 128) may indicate that the individual lay Christian can only stand out through the act of communal worship.<sup>72</sup>

Samuels suggests that *The Dream of the Rood* creates a ‘participatory audience’ of the Good Friday evening Mass,<sup>73</sup> where aloneness (*ana*) transitions into participation in a communal audience.<sup>74</sup> She reads the repeated references to *fus* (21b, 57a) along with *afysed on forðwege* (125a), and the reference to *deað he þær byrigde* (‘there He tasted death’, *DotR* 101a), as connoting the desire to hasten toward an eternal life as mediated by the sacramentalized cross.<sup>75</sup> However, the word *fus* (*DotR* 21b) is often thought to indicate that the cross is ‘brilliant, shining; flashing; shifting, changing; doomed’ rather than eager, particularly as it is contained with the line: ‘forht ic wæs for þære fæggran gesyhðe. Geseah ic

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<sup>70</sup> Cf. M.L. Del Mastro, ‘*The Dream of the Rood* and the *Militia Christi*: Perspective in Paradox’, *The American Benedictine Review* 27.2 (1976), 171–86.

<sup>71</sup> Cf. *fusleoð* (*Guthlac B* 1346b).

<sup>72</sup> Cf. B. Mize, ‘The Mental Container and the Cross of Christ: Revelation and Community in *The Dream of the Rood*’, *Studies in Philology* 107.2 (2010), 131–78; P. Samuels, ‘The Audience Written into the Script of *The Dream of the Rood*’, *MLQ* 49.4 (1988), 311–20.

<sup>73</sup> Samuels, ‘Audience’, pp. 319–20, citing the O.B. Hardison, *Christian Rite and Christian Drama in the Middle Ages* (Baltimore, 1965), pp. 44, 83, 131.

<sup>74</sup> Samuels, ‘Audience’, pp. 314–15.

<sup>75</sup> Samuel’s translation: ‘Audience’, pp. 318–9.

þæt fuse beacon’ (‘I was afraid before that beautiful sight. I saw that brilliant beacon’, *DotR* 21), and is immediately followed by (*DotR* 22–3):<sup>76</sup>

wendan wædum ond bleom; hwilum hit wæs mid wætan bestemed,  
beswyled mid swates gange, hwilum mid since gegyrwed

[‘altered in respect to dress and colours, at times it was stained with wetness,  
drenched with flow of blood, at times adorned with treasure.’]

The cross is both an image of awful suffering and a resplendent treasure.<sup>77</sup> Thus, in contrast to Guthlac’s heart desiring to be impelled on the onward course (*afysed on forðsið*, *Guthlac B* 939a), the phrase *afysed on forðwege* in *The Dream of the Rood* reflects the fact that the narrator-dreamer is impelled by a need, both individual and communal, to petition the cross. The sense of fear involved in the act of entreating the cross is positively encouraged by the Rood itself: ‘ond ic hælæn mæg | æghwylcne anra þara þe him bið egesa to me’ (‘that I am able to heal each one of those who are in fear of me’, *DotR* 85b–6). The ability of the celestial signs connoting the cross to evoke fear in those who saw them was noted in the previous chapter as a prominent feature of both the numerous signs in *Exodus* 71b–125, and in Anglo-Saxon literature more generally.<sup>78</sup> So, for example, Bolton has noted that physical instantiations of the Cross in *The Dream of the Rood* and Tatwine’s *aenigma IX, De cruce Christi* are intended to evoke veneration and fear.<sup>79</sup>

In *Exodus* 126–140a and 200–23, the fear of the Israelites is said to have stood or risen up (*egsan/egesan stodon*, 136b, 201b), prior to this moment the only thing that is described using the verb *standan* are the gleaming beams from the Heaven-candle, which are said to

<sup>76</sup> *DOE*, 2.e; Dickins and Ross, *Dream*, p. 23; Swanton, *Dream*, p. 114, n. 21.

<sup>77</sup> For the association between the sign of the Cross and treasure, see below, p. 258.

<sup>78</sup> See above, p. 152.

<sup>79</sup> Tatwine’s Cross says ‘sed modo me gaudens orbis veneratur et ornat’ (‘but now the rejoicing world reveres and adorns me’, *De crux Christi* 3): W.F. Bolton, ‘Tatwine’s *De Cruce Christi* and *The Dream of the Rood*’, *ASNSL* 200 (1963), 344–6; F. Glorie, and M. De Marco, *Tatwini Opera Omnia*, 2 vols, CCSL 133, 133A (Turnhout, 1968), 1, p. 176.

have stood bright (111b–13a). In *The Dream of the Rood*, only the Rood and its jewels stand fast (7b, 38b, 43b), while Christ’s followers stand as part of their vigil to the dead Christ (63b, 71a). The sense of divine presence in *The Dream of the Rood* comes from the narrator-dreamer beholding the angel of the Lord as part of his interaction with the Cross (9b), while the Israelites may not be aware of the presence of the mighty angel (*mihtig engel*, 205a) during their fearful vigil of the nearby Egyptians, this would add to the sense of *timor Dei* in the audience.<sup>80</sup> Given the dominance of the images of the sign of the Cross during the Israelites’ processional journey, there are clear parallels to the religious engagement the narrator-dreamer has with the standing cross in *The Dream of the Rood*.

References to worshippers seeking out a physical cross as part of religious material practice are numerous. Ó Carragáin has asked whether lines 57–8 of the second *titulus* of the Ruthwell Cross, describing Christians journeying from afar to gather at the Rood, might recall for an Anglo-Saxon audience the symbolic pilgrimage to Jerusalem enacted during the Good Friday synaxis and stational liturgical procession in Rome.<sup>81</sup> Holloway maintains that for its northerly Anglo-Saxon community the Ruthwell Cross represented, in metonymy, Jerusalem and the surrounding Holy places.<sup>82</sup> Holloway, whilst drawing parallels to the Easter rite of *Adoratio Crucis* described in the tenth-century *Regularis Concordia*, argues that *in deserto* images of the Ruthwell Cross allude to how Christian pilgrims in the Holy Land sought out both the shrines of the holy men in the Egyptian desert and the staging-posts (*mansiones*) of the Israelites’ exodus as holy places.<sup>83</sup> In *The Dream of the Rood*, as with *Exodus*, the central difficulty of correlating a substantial section of the poem with a particular

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<sup>80</sup> Cf. R. Boenig, ‘The *engel dryhtnes* and Mimesis in *The Dream of the Rood*’, *NM* 86 (1985), 442–6.

<sup>81</sup> Ó Carragáin, *Ritual*, pp. 209–11. Cf. J. Hawkes, ‘“Hail the Conquering Hero”: Coming and Going at Ruthwell: *adventus* and transition’, in *The Art, Literature and Material Culture of the Medieval World*, ed. M. Boulton, J. Hawkes, and M. Hermann (Dublin, 2015), pp. 82–96.

<sup>82</sup> J.B. Holloway, ‘*The Dream of the Rood* and Liturgical Drama’, *Comparative Drama* 18.1 (1984), 19–37, at 27 and 34.

<sup>83</sup> Holloway, ‘*Dream*’, pp. 24–6, 30–4.

liturgical observance remains,<sup>84</sup> especially given that the religious imagery in the poem encompasses the Passion and Crucifixion, Baptism, The Harrowing of Hell and the Ascension.<sup>85</sup> The Eucharistic imagery of the Ruthwell Cross has led Ó Carragáin to speculate that standing crosses were part of ecclesiastical space, and may even have been intended to stand behind an outdoor altar.<sup>86</sup> He refers to lines 721–5 of the poem *De abbatibus* (c. 803–21) by Æthelwulf (sometimes Aediluulf) that describe a holy cross rising up from the top of a very wondrous table.<sup>87</sup> Hill, citing Collingwood’s incomplete list of 130 Northumbrian crosses, highlights how potentially numerous these standing crosses were throughout the landscape, extending beyond ecclesiastical space.<sup>88</sup> Hugeburc relates how standing crosses were a physical focus of daily worship (*Vita Willibaldi*, 1.88/32–5), and describes how Willibald’s parents were prompted by fear to petition the cross: they are *timidi* (‘fearful’, *Vita Willibaldi* 1.88/21) and *extasi* (‘in a stupor’, *Vita Willibaldi* 1.88/21) when they offer Willibald to God before the standing cross (*Vita Willibaldi*, 1.88/30–2, 35–7). Bede provides an account of how Oswald, having erected a cross at Heavenfield, exhorted his army to petition the cross on bended knee (*flectamus omnes genua*, *HE* 3:2) in order that God may mercifully defend them from the arrogant and warlike enemy (‘ut nos ab hoste superbo ac

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<sup>84</sup> H.R. Patch, ‘Liturgical Influence in *The Dream of the Rood*’, *PMLA* 34.2 (1919), 233–57, at 233; Woolf, ‘Doctrinal Influences’, p. 137.

<sup>85</sup> For the numerous potential liturgical influences, see E.R. Anderson, ‘Liturgical Influence in *The Dream of the Rood*’, *Neophilologus* 73.2 (1989), 293–304; N.A. Lee, ‘The Unity of *The Dream of the Rood*’, *Neophilologus* 56 (1972), 469–86; Patch, ‘Liturgical Influence’, pp. 233–57; M. McGillivray, ‘*Dream of the Rood* 9–12 and the Christmas Liturgy’, *NQ* 52.1 (2005), 1–2.

<sup>86</sup> Ó Carragáin, *Ritual*, p. 70, n. 140.

<sup>87</sup> Ó Carragáin, *Ritual*, pp. 23–4, n. 46, and citing the arguments of Bailey, p.32, n. 117; Campbell, *Æthelwulf*, 56–7/721–25. For dating, see Campbell, *Æthelwulf*, p. xxiii. See also R. Gallagher, ‘Aediluulf’s *De Abbatibus*: a Soteriological Reading’, *Quaestio Insularis* 9 (2008), 129–43; Lapidge, ‘Aediluulf’, pp. 381–98.

<sup>88</sup> R. Hill, ‘Christianity and Geography in Early Northumbria’, in *Papers read at the third winter and summer meetings of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, ed. G.J. Cuming, *Studies in Church History* 3 (Leiden, 1966), pp. 126–39, at 136; W.G. Collingwood, *Northumbrian Crosses of the Pre-Norman Age* (London, 1927), pp. 185–96; R.N. Bailey, ‘Crosses, Stone’, in *WBEASE*, ed. M. Lapidge, J. Blair, S. Keynes, and D. Scragg, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Chichester, 2014), p. 132; J. Blair, ‘Monastic sites’, in *WBEASE*, ed. M. Lapidge, J. Blair, S. Keynes, and D. Scragg, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Chichester, 2014), p. 326.

feroce sua miseratione defendat’, *HE* 3:2).<sup>89</sup> Furthermore, the phrase *ond min mundbyrd is geriht to þære rode* (‘and my allegiance is directed towards the rood’, *DotR* 130b–31a), perhaps indicates that the friendless narrator-dreamer (*DotR* 131b–3) may be petitioning God or His saints through the Cross, where *mundbyrd* (‘protection, patronage’) is equivalent to the Latin term *patrocinium* (‘patronage, protection’), which it will be recalled was used repeatedly in the *Vita Wynnebaldi* to refer to the protection offered by a saintly intercessor when petitioned.<sup>90</sup>

De Vegvar has suggested how standing crosses could, if they were not vegetal crosses, have been stations in the landscape for the penitential and propitiatory Rogations.<sup>91</sup> Braswell has highlighted that in Aldhelm’s *De metris et enigmatibus ac pedum regulis*, which was written in the form of a letter addressed to Aldfrith, king of Northumbria (c. 685–705), the poet spoke of how the talking trees of the Old Testament may illustrate the rhetorical trope of prosopopoeia (*De metris* 7.76/1–7.77/18).<sup>92</sup> He speculates that *The Dream of the Rood* may have been written at the Northumbrian court for three main reasons: firstly, because Aldfrith was also aware of the cult of the cross in the East, since it is recounted in Adomnán’s *De locis sanctis*, which was dedicated to him; secondly, the king would have been one of the few men powerful enough to commission such a grand monument as the Ruthwell Cross; and, finally, as Bede notes, Drythelm related his vision of the Afterlife to the king (*HE* 5:12).<sup>93</sup> Howlett has sought to reconstruct the inscriptions of the Ruthwell Cross

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<sup>89</sup> D. MacLean, ‘King Oswald’s Wooden Cross at Heavenfield in Context’, in *The Insular Tradition*, ed. C.E. Karkov, R.T. Farrell, M. Ryan (New York, 1997), pp. 79–97.

<sup>90</sup> See *BT*, pp. 700–1; *BTS*, p. 643; *DMLBS*, *patrocinium*, 1 and 2; C.A. Jones, ‘Old English Words for Relics of the Saints’, *Florilegium* 26 (2009), 85–129, at 91–2; and see above, p. 49. Cf. Jones (‘Relics’, p. 92) who asserts that *mundbyrd* might mean ‘relic’ and permit the secondary translation of *DotR* 129b–31a as ‘my relic is right at the (reliquary-) cross’. For further discussion of relics, see below, p. 263.

<sup>91</sup> De Vegvar, ‘Converting’, pp. 420–6.

<sup>92</sup> Braswell, ‘*Dream*’, pp. 461–7; Ehwald, *Aldhelmi Opera, De metris et enigmatibus*, pp. 59–204, at 61, n. 1 and 76–77; Orchard, ‘*Dream*’, pp. 237–46.

<sup>93</sup> Braswell, ‘*Dream*’, pp. 464–6; D. Meehan, ed., *Adamnan’s De locis sanctis*, *Scriptores Latini Hiberniae* 3 (Dublin, 1983), pp. 108–10. Aldhelm may have been schooled in Ireland along with

with lines 39–65 of *The Dream of the Rood*, and has argued that it is influenced by Bede’s *In Lucae Evangelium expositio*, which would place the inscriptions in the second quarter of the eighth century.<sup>94</sup> As a result, he asserts that of the four Northumbrian episcopal sees: York, Lindisfarne, Hexham and Whithorn (Saint Ninian’s foundation, *Candida Casa*), Whithorn was not only the closest to Ruthwell, but its first bishop had connections with Bede, Boniface, and Aldhelm.<sup>95</sup> The potential connection to Whithorn recalls the association between the Rogation antiphons of Alcuin’s *De antiphonario*, the *Hymnus S. Mugentii* (*HSM*) and the potential eighth-century Anglo-Saxon interest in the Rogations, litanies and penitential procession.<sup>96</sup> Clearly, Howlett’s reconstructed Ruthwell text (39–65) does not include *The Dream of the Rood* 122–31a and the phrase *afysed on forðwege* (*DotR* 125a), but the purpose of the inscription would be to evoke the Crucifixion,<sup>97</sup> not to depict the acts of religious worship such an evocation prompted.<sup>98</sup> Furthermore, the reconstructed Ruthwell text’s putative connection to Aldhelm may demonstrate Aldhelm’s own interest in epigraphical inscriptions on the holy churches and shrines of Rome visited by Anglo-Saxon pilgrims.<sup>99</sup> Thus *The Dream of the Rood* and the eighth-century group of runic *tituli* from a poem of common origin with it on the Ruthwell Cross potentially provide a material religious context for the Israelites’ ritualistic engagement with the sign of the Cross.

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Aldfrith, see Lapidge, ‘Career’, pp. 43–8; E. Thornbury, *Becoming a Poet in Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge, 2014), pp. 149–50.

<sup>94</sup> D.R. Howlett, ‘Inscriptions and Design of the Ruthwell Cross’, in *The Ruthwell Cross: Papers from the Colloquium Sponsored by the Index of Christian Art, Princeton University, 8 December 1989*, ed. B. Cassidy (New Jersey, 1992), pp. 71–93; Howlett, *British Books in Biblical Style* (Dublin, 1997), pp. 290–301; Orchard, ‘*Dream*’, pp. 240–3.

<sup>95</sup> Howlett, ‘Inscriptions’, p. 92.

<sup>96</sup> See above, p. 106.

<sup>97</sup> P.E. Szarmach, ‘*The Dream of the Rood* as Ekphrasis’, in *Text, Image, Interpretation: Studies in Anglo-Saxon Literature and its Insular Context in Honour of Éamonn Ó Carragáin*, ed. A. Minnis and J. Roberts, SEMA 18 (Turnhout, 2007), pp. 267–88; Neidorf, ‘Composite Authorship’, pp. 51–70.

<sup>98</sup> Raw (‘Cross’, p. 1) and Ó Carragáin (*Ritual*, p. 331) note that the *DotR* is more concerned with individual devotion. See also C.B. Kendall, ‘From Sign to Vision: The Ruthwell Cross and *The Dream of the Rood*’, in Karkov, C.E., S.L. Keefer and K.L. Jolly, *The Place of the Cross in Anglo-Saxon England* (Woodbridge, 2006), pp. 129–44.

<sup>99</sup> See above, p. 53.

In sum, the analysis of this chapter suggests that Section D (126–53, 200–23, 247–75) depicts how the processional journeying of Israelites following the sign of the Cross seamlessly transforms into the ritualistic activity of raising signs, and undertaking a vigil petitioning God at the fourth encampment. Such activity is comparable to the communal act of entreating the sign of the Cross the in landscape during a processional pilgrimage akin to a Rogation.

## Chapter Eight – Processional Pilgrimage and Journey’s End

This chapter examines the possibility that Section E (276–446, 154–99, 224–46), aided by the final reference to *forðweg* (350a), depicts the formal stage of a processional pilgrimage akin to a Rogation as the participants approach journey’s end. As stated in the Introduction, Section E includes, as part of its discussion of this martial procession at the conclusion of the journey, an analysis of the depiction of the pursuing Egyptian army (154–99) and the passage known as the Selection of Israelite Warriors (224–46), which were both omitted from the discussion of Section D. The analysis begins by considering whether depictions such as the Parting of the Red Sea (*Exodus* 276–98), the previously discussed transitional passage (353b–61), the Patriarchal Digression (362–446) and the poem’s nautical imagery represent the creation of the sacraments and the church, rather than being exclusively focused upon the rite of Baptism. The analysis concludes by bringing together all of *Exodus*’ martial imagery (154–99, 224–46) to examine the possibility that the *transitus* passage (299–353a) depicts a formal hierarchical procession of the faithful centred upon the harmonious union of processional crosses and banners with the celestial sign of the Cross that parallels the paradigm of a processional pilgrimage akin to a Rogation.

The Introduction highlighted the debate as to the role and significance of the theme of Baptism in *Exodus*, given its nautical imagery and its emphasis upon the *transitus*.<sup>1</sup> However, the debate is not confined to *Exodus*, since there was never a uniform patristic exegetical interpretation of this event,<sup>2</sup> which had ancient eschatological associations.<sup>3</sup> The central problem is that neither the narratives of the Flood nor the crossing of the Red Sea are exactly comparable with the baptismal rite: in Genesis, Noah and his family, with God’s help, escape

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<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 16.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Roberts, ‘Rhetoric’, p. 79.

<sup>3</sup> Daniélou, *Bible*, pp. 87–8, 94–5; Daniélou, *From Shadows*, pp. 184–5.

the Deluge rather than being saved by it, and in Exodus ‘the Israelites are freed not so much by the water [which they avoided by crossing a dry seabed] as by the destruction of the Egyptians effected by the water’.<sup>4</sup> Consequently, there is no clear baptismal parallel by which *Exodus* can be judged.

Furthermore, the *transitus* also contains Eucharistic and ecclesiological meaning. The image of a sea reddened by the blood of protagonists was a commonplace of Latin epic poetry,<sup>5</sup> but this image was Christianized to prefigure the account in John 19:34 of the water and blood that flowed from Christ’s side when he was pierced by a soldier’s spear at the Crucifixion.<sup>6</sup> The event, which became known as *flumina de ventre Christi* (‘the flows from the side of Christ’), was an antitype for not only Baptism (particularly the twofold power of Baptism through blood and water), but the Eucharist, martyrdom, the New Testament and the birth of the Church.<sup>7</sup> The *flumina de ventre Christi* theme is found in Arator’s *Historia apostolica* (2.82/89–95) and Sedulius’ *Carmen paschale* (5.135–6/287–94),<sup>8</sup> while the lance which pierced the side of Christ became a holy relic.<sup>9</sup> The theme is also found in the *Vercelli Homily 1* and the *Dream of the Rood* (*DotR* 19b–20a, 48b–9a).<sup>10</sup> The *flumina de ventre Christi* theme is a good example of where the dividing line between typology and allegory becomes blurred, since as an antitype the term signifies so many things.<sup>11</sup> Nevertheless, the broader sacramental implications of the theme are significant. The sacraments are the means by which Christians partake of the ‘mystery of Christ’ (Latin *sacramentum* ‘secret,

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<sup>4</sup> R. Hillier, *Arator on the Acts of the Apostles: a Baptismal Commentary* (Oxford, 1993), p. 158. Cf. D. Anlezark, *Water and Fire: the Myth of the Flood in Anglo-Saxon England* (Manchester, 2006), pp. 21–43.

<sup>5</sup> Roberts, ‘Rhetoric’, p. 56.

<sup>6</sup> ‘Sed unus militum lancea latus eius aperuit et continuo exivit sanguis et aqua’ (‘But one of the soldiers with a spear opened his side, and immediately there came out blood and water’, Jn. 19:34).

<sup>7</sup> Hillier, *Arator*, pp. 170–9.

<sup>8</sup> Hillier, *Arator*, pp. 170, 177–9; McBrine, *Biblical Epics*, pp. 110, 208.

<sup>9</sup> Meehan, *Adamnan’s De locis sanctis*, 1(8).50–2.

<sup>10</sup> Patch, ‘Liturgical Influence’, p. 250; *VH* 1.38/258–62.

<sup>11</sup> See above, p. 14.

mystery’).<sup>12</sup> They are evidence of the Incarnation of Christ as communicated through the Church, as His Body.<sup>13</sup> The presence of *flumina de ventre Christi* imagery in any depiction of the *transitus* widens the subject-matter beyond Baptism to embrace the Incarnation, and the Church and its sacraments. As a consequence, the *transitus* would have relevance to almost any quasi-liturgical event focused upon the life of Christ and the Mass, including a processional pilgrimage akin to a Rogation. Therefore, if the *transitus* passage in *Exodus* contains *flumina de ventre Christi* imagery, then Section E (276–446, 154–99, 224–46), may, as a whole, also depict yet another stage in this processional pilgrimage to its Anglo-Saxon audience.

Given that *Exodus* thus far has depicted a journey implicitly dominated by the sign of the Cross, the first task is to explore whether the *flumina de ventre Christi* theme might aid the interpretation of *Exodus*’ account of the parting of the Red Sea. After some introductory lines (276–7), the account begins with Moses’ second speech, which reads as follows (*Exodus* 278–98):<sup>14</sup>

‘Hwæt ge nu eagam to on lociað,  
 folca leofost, færwundra sum  
 nu ic sylfa sloh ond þeos swiðre hand 280  
 grene tacne garsecges deop.  
 Yð up færeð, ofstum wyrceð  
 wæter on wealfæsten. Wegas syndon dryge,  
 haswe herestræta, holm gerymed,  
 ealde staðolas, þa ic ær ne gefrægn 285  
 ofer middangeard men geferan,

<sup>12</sup> A. Souter, ed., *A Glossary of Later Latin to 600 A.D.* (Oxford, 1949), p. 360.

<sup>13</sup> *ODCC*, pp. 1445–6. Cf. the sacrament of Lent in Ó Carragáin, *Ritual*, pp. 120–6.

<sup>14</sup> The manuscript reads *hu* for *nu* (280a), *7* for *on* (283a), *þeahton* (288b), *bring* (290b), and *span* (291a). The word *tid* (288a) is supplied.

fage feldas, þa forð heonon  
in ece tid yðe þeccað.  
Sælde sægrundas suðwind fornam,  
bæðweges blæst; brim is areafod,<sup>15</sup> 290  
sand sæcir spaw. Ic wat soð gere  
þæt eow mihtig God miltse gecyðde,  
eorlas ærglade. Ofest is selost  
þæt ge of feonda fæðme weorðen  
nu se Agend up arærde 295  
reade streamas in randgebeorh.  
Syndon þa foreweallas fægre gesteppe,  
wrætlicu wægfaru, oð wolcna hrof.’

[‘Listen! now you are looking with your eyes, dearest of peoples, at one of the awe-inspiring wonders, now I myself, and this right (or ‘stronger’) hand, have struck the deep of the sea with the green sign. The wave travels up, quickly the water makes itself into a wall-stronghold. The ways are dry, dusky military-roads, the sea has opened up, old foundations, I have never heard tell before over the middle-earth, that men went over these dappled (or ‘hostile’) fields, which henceforth into eternity the waves will cover. The South Wind took away the bound sea-grounds, the blast of the bath-way; the sea was torn asunder, the sea-ebbing spewed sand. I well know the truth that Almighty God revealed His mercy to you, long-fortunate warriors. Haste is best for you who wish to be out of the grasp of your foes. Now the Possessor has erected

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<sup>15</sup> Cf. Kretzschmar who argues lines 290b–1a refer to the Israelites and not the sea: W.A. Kretzschmar, ‘A Reappraisal of *Exodus* 290B-291A’, *Neophilologus* 66.1 (1982), 140–4.

the red waters into a shield-protection. The outer-walls are beautifully raised up to the roof of the clouds, a wondrous sea-passage.’]

It is important to compare the above passage with the Vulgate’s reference to the parting of the Red Sea, which comes in the form of God’s instruction to Moses, followed by Moses’ act of parting the waters (Ex.14:16, 21):

Tu autem eleva virgam tuam et extende manum super mare et divide illud ut  
gradiantur filii Israel in medio mari per siccum

[‘But lift thou up thy rod, and stretch forth thy hand over the sea, and divide it: that the children of Israel may go through the midst of the sea on dry ground.’]

Cumque extendisset Moyses manum super mare abstulit illud Dominus flante vento  
vehementi et urente tota nocte et vertit in siccum divisaque est aqua

[‘And when Moses had stretched forth his hand over the sea, the Lord took it away by a strong and burning wind blowing all the night, and turned it into dry ground: and the water was divided.’]

Clearly, there are marked differences between the two accounts, which may in part relate to the *Exodus*-poet’s use of a version of the *Vetus Latina*.<sup>16</sup> Both accounts emphasize the role of Moses’ hand and the action of the wind in parting the Red Sea, with the notable difference being *Exodus*’ emphasis once again upon the role of the sign. The Vulgate makes no mention of Moses striking the sea with his rod, but this act is described in some versions of *Vetus Latina*, and in book five of Avitus’ *Historia spiritalis* (HS 5.272/659–61).<sup>17</sup> The phrase *peos swiðre hand* (‘this stronger [or ‘right’] hand’), given the aforementioned references by Moses to God working through his hand, appears to emphasize that the patriarch has been

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<sup>16</sup> See above, p. 3, n. 12.

<sup>17</sup> See *VLD*, Ex. 14:21, including ref. CAr ant 2, 334 – Josephus’ *Antiquitates Judaicae* 2(16).215/338; F. Blatt, *The Latin Josephus* (Copenhagen, 1958), p. 215; J.R. Hall, ‘OE *Exodus* and the *Antiquitates Judaicae*’, *ASNSL* 216 (1979), 341–4, at 342–3.

empowered by God.<sup>18</sup> The unique compound *suðwind* may allude to the unnamed strong burning wind of scripture (Ex. 14:21).<sup>19</sup> However, the reference to the *grene tacne* ('green sign', 281a) alludes to Moses' rod, which is described as a *virga* ('shoot, twig; rod; staff') in Exodus 14:16, and later becomes a symbol of salvation (Ex. 17:5–6, 9–13). A number of editors emend *tacne* to *tane* ('rod, twig'),<sup>20</sup> but there may be intentional paranomasia upon *tacne* and *tan* and *grene* and *virga*.<sup>21</sup> Since the cross was identified with the green tree in the early medieval period,<sup>22</sup> the *grene tacne* may be a type of the Cross, just as Moses was a type of Christ.<sup>23</sup> Whether the 'green sign' can be paralleled with the *gyrdwite* (15b) is less certain given its potential authoritative and disciplinary connotations.<sup>24</sup> In sum, lines 278–81 employ Moses and the *virga* (*grene tacne*) as direct equivalents to Christ and the Cross in order to allude to the Crucifixion. Other direct Christological references have also been noted in *Exodus* 278–98.

Hall employs the themes of *flumina de ventre Christi* and *militia Christi* in his reading of *Exodus* 293–8. He focuses upon Christian martial imagery as expressed by Saint Paul in his letter to the Ephesians 6:10–20, where he describes how the breastplate of justice, shield of faith, helmet of salvation, and sword of the Spirit comprise the armour of God (*armaturam Dei*) with which to withstand the deceits of the Devil.<sup>25</sup> Analysing lines 295–6, Hall

<sup>18</sup> Irving, p. 85; Lucas, p. 114.

<sup>19</sup> J.E. Cross and S.I. Tucker, 'Appendix on *Exodus* ll. 289–90', *Neophilologus* 44.1 (1960), 38–9; Irving 'New Notes', p. 310; Remley, *Biblical Verse*, pp. 179–83. The words *suðwind* and *blæst* ('blowing') may allude to the breath of God, which is described in a *Vercelli Homily 19* (VH 19.315–16/13–15, 24–5).

<sup>20</sup> Sedgefield, p. 93; Tolkien, pp. 9, 60; Irving, 'New Notes', p. 309 (cf. Irving, p. 55); J.P. Hermann, 'The Green Rod of Moses in the Old English *Exodus*', *ELN* 12.4 (1975), 241–3, at 241.

<sup>21</sup> Hermann, 'Green Rod', pp. 241–3; Hermann, *Allegories*, p. 88.

<sup>22</sup> T.N. Hall, 'The Cross as Green Tree in the *Vindicta Salvatoris* and the Green Rod of Moses in *Exodus*', *English Studies* 72.4 (1991), 297–307, at 299–302; Patch, 'Liturgical Influence', p. 247, n. 49.

<sup>23</sup> Hall, 'Cross', pp. 305–7; Luria, 'Why', pp. 161–3; Luria, 'Christian Poem', p. 603. For discussion of Moses as a type of Christ, see Daniélou, *Bible*, pp. 93–5.

<sup>24</sup> Lucas, pp. 76, 281. Cf. T.D. Hill, 'The *virga* of Moses and the Old English *Exodus*', in *Old English Literature in Context Ten Essays*, ed. J.D. Niles (Cambridge, 1980), pp. 57–65, at 58–61.

<sup>25</sup> For discussion of *militia Christi* imagery, see Daniélou, *Bible*, pp. 54–69; A. Harnack, trans. D. McI. Gracie, *Militia Christi: The Christian Religion and the Military in the First Three Centuries*

concludes that the raised up waters of the Red Sea (*up arærde*, 295b) parallel how the blood of the Crucifixion elevated man, while the *randgebeorh* ('shield-protection') of the waters connotes the shield of faith.<sup>26</sup> Hall, following Isaacs, relates the line *wrætlicu wægfaru, oð wolcna hrof* ('a wonderful sea-path up to the roof of the heavens', 298) and the green ground of the seabed (*ofer grenne grund*, 312a) as the path to Heaven through Baptism (discussed below).<sup>27</sup> Hall believes that the references to blood in the Red Sea (449a, 463b and 573a) connote the twofold power of Baptism through blood and water that destroys evil.<sup>28</sup>

However, only one of the references to blood used to refer to the destruction of the Egyptians (*blod*, 449a, 463b; *blodig*, 329a, 573a; *blodegesa*, 478b) appears to demonstrate a direct link with the *flumina de ventre Christi* theme.<sup>29</sup> The reference to blood in the line *wæron beorhhliðu blode bestemed* ('the hill-sides were bedewed [or 'wet'] with blood', 449) is where Hall argues that *beorhhliðu* (449a) connotes the metaphorical mountainous waves of the Red Sea which has had 'its water consecrated with Christ's blood' destroying the devil and sins.<sup>30</sup> Yet other references to hills in *Exodus* appear to have a literal sense.<sup>31</sup> In the Patriarchal Digression (362–446), Abraham is depicted as ascending Mount Zion (*Seone beorh*, 386b) in order to sacrifice his son Isaac in obedience to God, but instead, because of his loyalty, Isaac is spared and Abraham receives God's holy high-covenant (*halige*

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(Philadelphia, 1981), pp. 9–64; J. Hill, 'The Soldier of Christ in Old English Prose and Poetry', *Leeds Studies in English* n.s. 12 (1981), 57–80; Roberts, *Poetry*, pp. 39–77.

<sup>26</sup> J.R. Hall, 'Old English *Exodus* 296a: *reade streamas*', *Explicator* 39.3 (1981), 26–27, at 27.

<sup>27</sup> N.D. Isaacs, *Structural Principles in Old English Poetry* (Knoxville, 1968), p. 157; Hall, 'Reade Streamas', p. 27.

<sup>28</sup> Hall, 'Reade Streamas', p. 27.

<sup>29</sup> For discussion of *Exodus* 573a as a post-factum assertion long after the Destruction, see below, p. 253.

<sup>30</sup> Hall, 'Reade Streamas', p. 27; Hall, 'Exodus 449a: *beorhhliðu*', *American Notes and Queries* 22 (1984), 94–7. Cf. Stanley who renders *beorhhliðu* as shore-slopes ('Notes', p. 243).

<sup>31</sup> Cf. the phrases *burhhleoðu* ('hill-sides', 70), *æfter beorgum* ('over the hill-sides', 132a, 212a), *ofer burgum* (222a), and *sæbeorga sand* ('sand of sea-dunes', 442a). Regarding the phrase *sæbeorga sand*, see Frank, 'Kind of Poetry', pp. 198–9; J.R. Hall, 'Old English *sæbeorg*: *Exodus* 442a, *Andreas* 308a', *Papers of Language and Literature* 25 (1989), 127–34; Stanley, 'Notes', p. 243.

*heah treowe*, 388a).<sup>32</sup> The substitution of a lamb for Isaac, which is sacrificed in his place, became a type of Christ who, as the *Agnus Dei* or Paschal Lamb, sacrificed himself for mankind on Calvary (Golgotha), which was thought to be a spur of a rock.<sup>33</sup> The image of a hill covered with blood is evoked in *The Dream of the Rood* and in Howlett's reconstructed Ruthwell text (39–65), where the Cross stands on a hill (32b, 50a) and describes how it was wet with blood (*mid blode bestemed*, *DotR* 48b).<sup>34</sup> Line 449 could have allusions to the Crucifixion on Calvary and *flumina de ventre Christi* theme, but it is not certain. The line (449) is thought by others to have an eschatological meaning,<sup>35</sup> while the Destruction generally is thought to connote Doomsday or the help of God.<sup>36</sup> The references to *bilswaðu blodige* (329a), *dreore* (151b), *heolfre* (450a, 477b), *Readan Sæ* (134b), and *reade streamas* (296a) again lack a direct Christological allusion. The phrase *ecgum reodan* (413b), which relates to Abraham's willing sacrifice of Isaac and the repeated references to swords (*ecg*, *ecgum*, *mece*, 408b, 413b, 414a), has an *Agnus Dei* connotation, but lacks a clear link to the *transitus* passage.<sup>37</sup> However, the line *grene tacne garsecgas deop* ('with the green sign, the deep of the sea', 281) may be a *flumina de ventre Christi* image, for if the phrase *grene tacne* means the 'sign of the Cross', then *grene* alone could allude to the 'green tree' or Cross, and the alliterative stress upon *grene* and *gar-* would emphasize the words 'cross' and 'spear', and thus serve as a direct reference to the Crucifixion and John 19:34. Therefore, the role of the spear in *Exodus* needs to be examined.

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<sup>32</sup> For discussion of the Patriarchal Digression, see below, p. 219. Abraham actually ascended Mount Moriah in the scriptural account: Lucas, p. 125.

<sup>33</sup> Gen. 22:1–14; *ODCC*, *Agnus Dei*, Calvary, and Paschal lamb, pp. 29, 268, 1234 (respectively); Daniélou, *From Shadows*, pp. 129, 161–3.

<sup>34</sup> Howlett, 'Inscriptions', pp. 87–8, and see above, p. 200. The Cross is described as *treow* in the *DotR* (4b, 14b, 17b, 25b), but not on the Ruthwell Cross.

<sup>35</sup> Irving, 'New Notes', p. 316, n. 449; Lucas, p. 132, n. 447–515, 449–50a; Trask, 'Doomsday', pp. 295, 297, n. 6.

<sup>36</sup> Anlezark, *Water*, pp. 112–73, 195–209; Irving, 'New Notes', p. 316, n. 446–515; Isaacs, *Structural Principles*, pp. 155–6; Trask, 'Doomsday', pp. 295–6. For the Help of God, see Farrell, 'Reading', pp. 404–6.

<sup>37</sup> For discussion of the manuscript reading *eagum reodan* ('with red eyes', 413b), see Lucas, p. 128; Irving, p. 91; Tolkien, p. 67.

*Exodus* has three spear-words: the unique compound *eoferholt* ('boar-spear', 157a),<sup>38</sup> *garas/gares* (158a, 240a) and *scaftum* (344a), while the element *gar* appears in the following compounds: *garberendra* ('of spear-bearers', 231a); *garbeames* ('of the spear-shaft', 246a); *garheape* ('spear-troop', 321a); *garwudu* ('spear-wood', 325b); *garfare* ('moving of spears [or 'martial company']', 343a); and *garsecg* ('sea', 281b, 345a, 431a, 490b). With the exception of *scaftum* and possibly *garbeames* (discussed below), all these examples bear alliterative stress. In *Exodus*, references to spears are distributed in five clusters, all of which are discussed in detail later. The words *eoferholt* (157a) and *garas trymedon* ('they arrayed their spears', 158a) are found in the depiction of the pursuing Egyptian army (154–99). The next passage, known as the Selection of Israelite Warriors (227–46), refers to a famous host of spear-bearers (*garberendra*, 231a) and, possibly, the grip of a spear-shaft (*garbeames feng*, 246a).<sup>39</sup> If the emendation *licwunde spor* ('the mark of bodily wound', 239b) is accepted, and given that, as Earl notes, all the references to the noun *beam* ('tree, beam, cloud-pillar, gallows, cross') in simplex form relate to the sign of the Cross (94b, 111a, 121a, 249a, 568a), the term *garbeames* could allude to the 'spear' and the 'cross' as part of *militia Christi* depiction, and so suggest further *flumina de ventre Christi* imagery in this passage.<sup>40</sup> Next comes the line *grene tacne garsecges deop* (281) of *Exodus* 278–98. The compound *garsecg* is usually translated in as 'ocean, sea'; however, one of the many possible meanings of this very problematic term is 'spear-man'.<sup>41</sup> Thus Moses' act of

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<sup>38</sup> The manuscript reads *oferholt* (157a), which has been variously interpreted as: 'forest of spears' or 'wood of defence'; 'upper wood' or 'boar-spear'; or 'shield' or 'the covering or protecting wood'; see Blackburn, p. 198; Sedgefield, p. 178; Irving, p. 79 (respectively).

<sup>39</sup> Irving, p. 83; Lucas, pp. 110.

<sup>40</sup> Earl, 'Christian Tradition', p. 160.

<sup>41</sup> F.G. Cassidy, 'Old English *garsecg* – an Eke-Name?', *Names* 20 (1972), 95–100; R.L.M. Derolez, '–And that Difficult Word, *Garsecg*' (Gummere)', *MLQ* 7.4 (1946), 445–52; L.G. Heller, 'Greek Triton and Old English *garsecg*', *Names* 21 (1973), 75–7. Suggested alternative meanings include: a narwhal (in *Beowulf* at least); a primeval wind; or the bottommost strake on the hull of a ship; see F. Candelaria, '*Garsecg* in *Beowulf*', *ELN* 1.4 (1964), 243–4; T. Gardner, 'Old English *Garsecg*', *ASNSL* 202 (1965), 431–6; R. Smith, '*Garsecg* in Old English Poetry', *ELN* 24.3 (1987), 14–18 (respectively).

striking the deep of the Red Sea (*garsecges deop*) with his sign of the Cross (*grene tacne*) may be a symbolic re-enactment of the soldier piercing Christ and the creation of the sacraments.

The fourth passage describes the tribe of Judah and their golden banner (310–30), believed to allude to the Cross, and refers to the *garheape* ('spear-troop', 321a), and *garwudu* ('spear-wood', 325b). Finally, in *Exodus* 340–53a there is reference to the words *garfare* (343a), *deawig sceaftum* ('dewy spears', 344a) and *garsecg* (345a) all in close proximity.<sup>42</sup> The adjective *deawig* is used to gloss Latin *roscidus* ('covered with or soaked in dew, moist, wet'), but its use in the compound *deawigfeðere/deawigfeðera* ('dewy-feathered', *Exodus* 163a; *Genesis A* 1984b) contained within the Beasts-of-Battle typescenes of *Exodus* 161–9 and *Genesis A* 1983a–5a is thought to connote a sense of feathers bedewed with blood.<sup>43</sup> Therefore it seems likely that the phrase *deawig sceaftum* may then be understood as 'bloodied (or 'bloody') spears'. The alliterative associations created in lines 343–5 are also noteworthy: *garfare* and *guðcyste* ('spear' and 'battle', 343); *deawig* and *dægwoma* ('bloody' and 'day', 344); and *garsecge* and *Godes* ('spear' and 'of God', 345).<sup>44</sup> The use of these clusters is suggestive of a *flumina de ventre Christi* theme, but the examples will be returned to later during the discussion of the images of processional journeying in the *transitus* passage.

The parting of the Red Sea (278–98) appears to exhibit some homiletic influences. The interjection *Hwæt* ('Listen!', 1a, 278a) is repeated from the opening homiletic lines of *Exodus* (1–7), and exhorts the audience to look or heed (*lociað*, 278b) and then act: 'ofest is selost þæt ge of feonda fæðme weorðen' ('haste is best for you who wish to be out of the grasp of your foes', 293b–4), because, although God has *miltse gecyðde* ('revealed His

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<sup>42</sup> Tolkien (pp. 11, 63) reads the phrase as a compound *deawigsceaftan* ('with spears bedewed').

<sup>43</sup> *DOE*, *deawig*, see Griffith, 'Convention', pp. 190.

<sup>44</sup> The manuscript reads *gar secges*.

mercy', 292b), salvation is not guaranteed. *Hwæt* is a frequently used word in Old English poetry,<sup>45</sup> but the presence of long passages of direct speech (269–75, 278–98) is a feature of Latin epic poetry generally, and Latin Old Testament poetic paraphrase in particular.<sup>46</sup>

The parting of the Red Sea is presented, as Shippey notes, as a 'retrospective' upon an event achieved "offstage" and out of sight of the audience.<sup>47</sup> Such an idiosyncratic and cursory treatment of this seminal biblical event has provoked puzzlement, but Shippey asserts that such sudden unexpressed change is not uncommon in Old English poetic narrative.<sup>48</sup> Moses presents an ecphrastic description of the miracle, referring to a *wealfæsten* ('wall-stronghold', 283a) and *wrætlicu wægfaru* ('a wondrous sea-passage', 298a) in order to highlight its importance and structural presence.<sup>49</sup> The contrast between the "offstage" (278–81) event and what is presented to the audience (282–98) emphasizes the mystery of a miracle that cannot be fully understood in a similar way to the enigmatic description of the *segl* (80a–87a), and, possibly, the mighty angel (204b–7) previously discussed in regard to Sections C (71b–125) and D (126–53, 200–23, 247–75) of *Exodus*, respectively.<sup>50</sup> The transformational and miraculous aspects of the beginning of Section E along with the potential *flumina de ventre Christi* theme might call to mind the Mass, when the celebrant having uttered the Eucharistic prayer (the *anaphora*) then presents the host, which has become by the miracle of transubstantiation the body and blood of Christ, to the

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<sup>45</sup> E.G. Stanley, 'Hwæt', in *Essays on Anglo-Saxon and Related themes in Memory of Lynne Grundy*, ed. J. Roberts and J. Nelson, King's College London Medieval Studies 17 (London, 2000), pp. 525–56.

<sup>46</sup> Roberts, 'Rhetoric', p. 31; Roberts, *Biblical Epic*, pp. 193–4.

<sup>47</sup> Shippey, *Verse*, p. 138–9.

<sup>48</sup> Irving, p. 85, n. 280; Shippey, *Verse*, p. 139.

<sup>49</sup> Ecphrasis was a staple of Latin Christian Poetry, but is notably used in the *DotR*: Bartlett, *Rhetorical Patterns*, pp. 80–4; Roberts, *Biblical Epic*, pp. 161, 206–13; M. Roberts, *The Jeweled Style: Poetry and Poetics in Late Antiquity* (Ithaca, 1989), pp. 38–9, 55–6, 133–4; Szarmach, 'Dream', pp. 267–88.

<sup>50</sup> See above, pp. 152, 186.

communicants to partake of this mystery (*sacramentum*).<sup>51</sup> The congregation, when confronted during the part of the liturgy known as *sursum corda* ('lift up your hearts'), were meant to be in 'holy fear' of the host, since at this moment the heavenly and earthly liturgies were briefly united.<sup>52</sup> A sense of *timor Dei* could be implied by Moses' opening statement 'Listen! now you are looking with your eyes, dearest of people, at one of the awe-inspiring wonders'. Finally, the trifurcation of religious practice implicit in the acts of listening (*hwæt*, 278a), seeing or heeding (*lociað*, 278b) and acting (*ofest*, 293b) in *Exodus* 278–98 has parallels to the thought, word, deed triad noted in *Beowulf* by Orchard, and originally observed by Sim-Williams in Irish texts, where the triad was thought to have been influenced, in part, by the communicant's confession of sins during the *confiteor* of the Mass: 'quia peccavi nimis cogitatione, verbo et opere' ('since I have sinned too much by thought, word and deed').<sup>53</sup>

The Mass was a crucial part of all pilgrimages: Ceolfrith participated in a Mass at the outset of his final, and ultimately unsuccessful, pilgrimage to Rome,<sup>54</sup> and doubtless the rite would have been celebrated at various staging-posts along the route and upon reaching journey's end.<sup>55</sup> The Rogationtide Vercelli homilies emphasize the importance of Mass: *Vercelli Homily 13* explains how the Rogations can prepare sinners for the Ascension Mass (*VH* 13.234/12–17), while *Vercelli Homily 19* emphasizes that during Rogationtide no man should take food or water before the ninth hour, and 'ær he mæssan hæbbe gehyred, 7 barefotum Cristes bec 7 his rodetacna 7 oðre halige reliquias eadmodlice gegret hæbbe'

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<sup>51</sup> *ODCC*, pp. 57, 573–4; L. Duchesne, L., trans. M. L. McClure, *Christian Worship: Its Origin and Evolution: A Study of the Latin Liturgy up to the Time of Charlemagne* (London, 1931), pp. 176–8; Daniélou, *Bible*, pp. 127–41.

<sup>52</sup> *ODCC*, p. 1572; Daniélou, *Bible*, p. 139.

<sup>53</sup> Orchard, *Critical Companion*, pp. 55, 73, 146, 218, 255; P. Sims-Williams, 'Thought, Word and Deed: an Irish Triad', *Ériu* 29 (1978), 78–111, at 79.

<sup>54</sup> *Et communicantibus qui aderant* ('and with those who were present taking communion'), *Bede, HA* 17.382.

<sup>55</sup> Saints' shrines served as staging-posts on Willibald, Wynnebald and Boniface's journeys to Rome, while Augustine upon reaching Canterbury doubtless had Mass at Saint Martin's Church, see above, p. 41, and below, p. 268, n. 128, respectively.

(‘before he has heard mass and, with bare feet, humbly visited [or ‘venerated’] the book of Christ and his *rodetacen* and other holy relics’, *VH* 19.320/93–4).<sup>56</sup> It is possible that *Exodus* 278–98 is inviting its audience to create a typological link between the Old Testament miracle of the parting of the Red Sea and the Christological miracle of the birth of the sacraments.

A final noteworthy aspect of *Exodus* 278–98 is how different its description of the parting of the waters of the Red Sea is to that of the Vulgate, which mentions only that the Sea was turned into dry ground (*vertit in siccum*, Ex. 14:21), and the waters were as walls (Ex.14:22, 29):

erat enim aqua quasi murus a dextra eorum et leva.

[‘for the water was as a wall on their right hand and on their left.’]; and

et aquae eis erant quasi pro muro a dextris et a sinistris

[‘and the waters were to them as a wall on the right hand and on the left.’]

The Old English *Heptateuch* likewise refers to a *drie stræt* (Ex. 14:21), and water like high walls (*swilce twegen hege weallas*, Ex. 14:22),<sup>57</sup> while versions of *Vetus Latina* refer to a mountain of water.<sup>58</sup> Of the accounts of the *transitus* by Latin poets, Avitus combines the biblical *murus* (‘wall’) with classical references to a mountain of water and late-antique images of the back wall of a theatre (*scaena*),<sup>59</sup> while Cyprianus and Sidonius describe waters like mountains, fortifications and ramparts.<sup>60</sup> However, *Exodus* 278–98 has a highly varied panoply of images to describe the parted waters of Red Sea and the exposed seabed:

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<sup>56</sup> For the importance of the Gospel, *rodetacen* and holy relics, see below, p. 264.

<sup>57</sup> R. Marsden, *Heptateuch*, p. 109.

<sup>58</sup> For descriptions of the waters of the Red Sea as walls, mountains and cliffs: *VLD*, Ex. 14:22. Cf. above discussion of *beorhliðu* (*Exodus* 449a).

<sup>59</sup> Roberts, ‘Rhetoric’ pp. 73–77; Peiper, *Alcimi ... opera*, p. 270.

<sup>60</sup> For a list of the poetic references to the *transitus* in Latin Christian poetry: Roberts, ‘Rhetoric’, p. 74, n. 94. See Peiper, *Heptateuchos*, *Exodus* 14(22).73/485–7, and *Iesu naue* 2(10).158/50; Mohr, *Sidonius*, poem 16.322/9. Sidonius may have been known to Aldhelm: *ASL*, pp. 128, 178; Orchard, *Poetic Art*, pp. 142–3, 215–16, 233.

*wealfæsten* ('wall-stronghold', 283a); *wegas syndon dryge* ('the ways were dry', 283b); *haswe herestræta* ('dusky military-roads', 284a); *ealde staðolas* ('old foundations', 285a), *fage feldas* ('dappled fields', 287a); *sægrundas* ('sea-grounds', 289a); *randgebeorh* ('shield-protection', 296b); *wrætlicu wægfaru* ('wondrous sea-passage', 298a); and 'foreweallas ... fægre gesteppe ... oð wolcna hrof' ('outer-walls ... beautifully raised up ... to the roof of the clouds', 297–8). These are supplemented by references to: *sæfæsten* ('sea-stronghold', 127b); *sæweall* ('sea-wall', 302b); *randbyrig* ('shield-fortification/stronghold', 464a); *holmweall* ('sea-wall', 468b); the repetition of *weal(l)fæsten* ('sea-stronghold', 484a); and *meretorras* ('sea-towers', 485a). Olsen has noted how *Andreas* (c. 9<sup>th</sup> century),<sup>61</sup> uses *bæðweg* ('bath-way') in the half-lines *breacan ofer bæðweg* and *brecað ofer bæðweg* ('to break/breaking over the bath-way', *Andreas* 223a, 513a), *gelad* (*Andreas* 190b), and *herestræta/herestræte* (200b, 831b), among other words, to create parallels between the movement over land and an often hostile sea.<sup>62</sup> It appears as if *Exodus* 278–98 conflates images of land and sea using a wider range of themes, including structures, fields, ground, and roads, to evoke individual aspects or characteristics of the parted waters and the exposed sea-bed.<sup>63</sup> The focus now turns to examining how this stage of the Israelites' journey might have been understood by the poem's Anglo-Saxon audience.

The phrase *fage feldas* ('dappled fields', 287a) is often linked with *ofer grenne grund* ('over green ground', 312a) and, by comparison to similar phrases *grene stræte* in the poem *Christ and Satan* (287b) and Psalm 141 of the Paris Psalter (4.1a), is thought to allude to Paradise.<sup>64</sup> Such a parallel is an uneasy one, since the other instances of *fah, fag* in *Exodus*

<sup>61</sup> Fulk, *History*, p. 61–4.

<sup>62</sup> K.E. Olsen, 'The Dichotomy of Land and Sea in the Old English *Andreas*', *English Studies* 79.5 (1998), 385–94. For discussion of *gelad* and architectural metaphors, see above, pp. 82, 87.

<sup>63</sup> Lynch, 'Enigmatic Diction', pp. 149–52.

<sup>64</sup> M.D. Clubb, ed., *Christ and Satan: an Old English Poem* (New Haven, 1925), p. 19; ASPR 5, p. 139; H.T. Keenan, '*Exodus* 312a: Further Notes on the Eschatological "Green Ground"', *NM* 74 (1973), 217–19; Keenan, '*Exodus* 312a: the Green Street of Paradise', *NM* 71 (1970), 455–60; Irving, 'New Notes', pp. 31–12; Lucas, pp. 114–5, 118; K. Sajavaara, 'The Withered Footprints on the Green

have an eschatological tone: the Red Sea is described as a *fah feðegast* ('hostile [or 'bright'] warlike-spirit [or '-guest']', 476a), and the coming of Doomsday as *dæg dædum fah* ('a hostile day to the deeds [of men]', 542a).<sup>65</sup> Therefore, the phrase *fage feldas* may suggest paronomasia upon the two homonyms *fah, fag*<sup>1</sup> ('bright, varigated') and *fah, fag*<sup>2</sup> ('hostile') in order to reflect ambivalently the saving and destructive (eschatological) elements of the *transitus*,<sup>66</sup> especially given the early-medieval preoccupation with visions of the afterlife.<sup>67</sup>

Old English literature appears to have clearly distinguished between paradise, described as green meadow, and Heaven, depicted as a treasure-filled hall or stronghold (with the Ascension scenes in *Christ B* being essentially based upon the bejewelled heavenly Jerusalem of Revelation).<sup>68</sup> *Exodus* 278–98 presents the ambiguous *fage feldas* ('dappled fields', 287a) alongside structural references to the *wealfæsten* (283a); *randgebeorh* (296b); and *foreweallas* (297a) that have little celestial connotation, with the exception of the line *wrætlicu wægfaru, oð wolcna hrof* ('a wondrous sea-passage up to the roof of the clouds', 298). The phrase *wolcna hrof* is mentioned in order to contrast the life lived on earth in *Judith* (66b–7a), and in *Elene* (750×850) to refer to the celestial source of Constantine's vision of the Cross: 'geseah he frætwum beorht | wliti wuldres treo ofer wolcan hrof' ('he saw bright with adornments, the beautiful tree of glory over the roof of the clouds', *Elene* 88b–9).<sup>69</sup> References to the *ealde staðolas* ('old foundations', 285a) of the Red Sea might allude to the

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Street of Paradise', *NM* 76 (1975), 34–8. Cf. the assertion that references to 'green' are formulaic: A.N. Doane, 'The Green Street of Paradise', *NM* 74 (1973), 456–65.

<sup>65</sup> Lucas, p. 135.

<sup>66</sup> Lucas, p. 115; Irving, 'New Notes', pp. 309; Tolkien, p. 60. *Fage feldas* contrasts with the benign place of repose known as the *refrigerium* or *refrigerium interim*: P. Brown, *Ransom of the Soul* (Cambridge, MA, 2015), pp. 8–13, 18–19, 36–7, 41–2, 129; A.J. Kabir, *Paradise, Death and Doomsday in Anglo-Saxon Literature*, CSASE 32 (Cambridge, 2001), pp.121–2.

<sup>67</sup> Cf. the Anglo-Latin visions of Drythelm and the Monk of Wenlock exploring the afterlife, which were doubtless influenced by *Visio Sancti Pauli* and *Visio Fursei*: *Bede*, *HE* 5:12, pp. 488–99; Tangl, *Die Briefe*, letter 10.7–15.

<sup>68</sup> Rev. 21:11–21. See also P. Clemoes, 'Cynewulf's Image of the Ascension', in *England Before the Conquest: Studies in Primary Sources Presented to Dorothy Whitelock*, ed. P. Clemoes and K. Hughes (Cambridge, 1971), pp. 293–304; Kabir, *Paradise*, pp. 141–66.

<sup>69</sup> Griffith, *Judith*, p. 98.

foundations of the Church or, perhaps, to former notable Christians as living stones of the Church, with Christ as the capstone or cornerstone (*caput anguli*).<sup>70</sup> The sense that the phrase *haswe herestræta* ('dusky military-roads', 284a) alludes to well-trodden highways is re-enforced by the only other instances of *herestræt* in vernacular poetry, where it occurs without distinction to refer to the military roads both on land (*Andreas* 831–33) and sea (*Andreas* 200b–1).<sup>71</sup> The images in *Exodus* 278–98 appear to give prominence to the earthly route through which salvation should be urgently sought (*ofest is selost*, 293b).

In sum, *Exodus* 278–98, in depicting the miracle of the parting of the Red Sea, might be a poetic evocation of the role of the Church, and the Incarnation as a prelude to the *transitus*. However, as noted in the Introduction, the association of *Exodus*' nautical imagery with Baptism has meant that references to the Church and the Incarnation are absorbed within the baptismal theme and examples of the procession of catechumens at Easter.<sup>72</sup> Therefore any potential allusions to material religious practice need to accommodate the poem's nautical imagery to which attention now turns.

The prominent nautical references in *Exodus* are as follows: *feldhusa mæst* ('greatest of field-houses', 85b); *segl* ('sail', 81b, 89b, 105a); *mæstrapas* ('halyard', 82a); *segrode* ('sailyard', 83a); *sæmen* (105b); *holmegum wederum* ('in the storms of the sea', 118b),<sup>73</sup> which is used to describe the Israelites' desert environment; *flota(n)*, 133a, 331b, 223a);

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<sup>70</sup> Christ is described as the capstone or cornerstone (*caput anguli*) in 1 Peter 2:7, Ephesians 2:20 and Ps. 117:22–3. See further, Brooks, *Andreas*, pp. 23–6; Brown, *Companion*, p. 66; R.B. Burlin, *The Old English Advent: A Typological Commentary* (New Haven, 1968), pp. 56–66; Green, *Latin Epics*, pp. 170–1; M.A. Malamud, *The Origin of Sin: an English Translation of the Hamartigenia* (Ithaca, 2011), p. 26, n. 70–1; P.R. Szittyá, 'The Living Stone and the Patriarchs: Typological Imagery in *Andreas*, Lines 706–810', *JEGP* 72.2 (1973), 167–74; Wehlau, *Riddle*, pp. 25–8. Cf. Novacich's discussion of *staðolas* as symbolizing the exegetical search for the foundational meaning of the poem, akin to reading an OE riddle: S.E. Novacich, 'The Old English *Exodus* and the Red Sea', *Exemplaria* 23.1 (2011), 50–66.

<sup>71</sup> Olsen, 'Dichotomy', pp. 390–1. See also L.J. Kiser, '*Andreas* and the *lifes weg*: Convention and Innovation in Old English Metaphor', *NM* 85 (1984), 65–75.

<sup>72</sup> See above, p. 16.

<sup>73</sup> Cf. the use of the storm-image (deriving from Mt. 8:23–6) in Anglo-Latin writings and the Avitus' Rogation homily, see above, p. 59, and below, p. 222.

*sæwicingas* (333a); *flodwege* (106a), which is used in conjunction with *lifweg* (104b); and the *sæmanna sið* ('journey of the seamen', 479a). Given the Egyptians are described as land-men (*landmanna*, 179b) the use of such nautical imagery in relation to the Israelites is read as evidence of life pilgrimage, alluding to the allegorical journey of all earth-dwellers (*eorðbuende*, 84a).<sup>74</sup> However, a number of these references have more literal connotations. The compounds *lifweg* and *flodweg* literally mean 'the road to safety' and 'path (or 'wave') of the ocean', while the term *landmann* also denotes a 'native of a country' and is used in the Anglo-Welsh *Dunsæte* agreement (c. tenth or eleventh century) to describe eighth-century border-trading of cattle.<sup>75</sup> An equivalent word 'land-dwellers' is used in *Judith* (*landbuende*, 226a; *londbuendum*, 314a) to refer to the native populations of Hebrews who have been subjugated by the foreign Assyrian conquerors. As noted, the terms *wræcmon* (137b) and *eðelleasum* (139a) can simply denote being a stranger away from home on a long-distance journey, as well as connoting the exilic wandering associated with Irish *peregrinatio pro amore Dei* and the desire to return to the heavenly homeland.<sup>76</sup>

The description of the Deluge (362–79) contained within *Exodus*' Patriarchal Digression (362–446) has been linked to baptismal themes.<sup>77</sup> Liturgical readings associate the Patriarchal Digression with twelve Easter Vigil Lections, but lack any direct evidence of connection between the two.<sup>78</sup> However, the most notable typological references in the Digression relate to the Cross and Crucifixion, and the creation of the sacraments and the

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<sup>74</sup> Lucas, pp. 89, n. 80b–84, 92, n. 105–6a, 118b, 133, 178b–9. See also Hauer, 'Patriarch Digression', pp. 84–5; Wilcox, 'Cloud-Tent-Ship Conceit', pp. 107–16, 137–41; Wilson, *Christian Theology*, pp. 118–19.

<sup>75</sup> L. Brady, *Writing the Welsh Borderlands in Anglo-Saxon England* (Manchester, 2017), pp. 1–6, 94–6, at 95.

<sup>76</sup> See above, p. 18.

<sup>77</sup> J.R. Hall, 'Niwe flodas: Old English *Exodus*', *NQ* 220 (1975), 243–4; Helder, 'Abraham', pp. 189–200; Lucas, pp. 122–3; Wilson, *Christian Theology*, pp. 137–40.

<sup>78</sup> Remley, *Biblical Verse*, pp. 168–230, esp. 187–95, 216–30; Portnoy, *Remnant*, pp. 119–23, 184–218. Cf. Anlezark, 'Connecting', p. 172; Cross and Tucker, 'Allegorical Tradition', p. 123. However, Lucas asserts that lines 113a–15a were inspired by a statement from the *Exultet* of the Paschal Vigil: Lucas, p. 94.

Church. Noah's Ark or the *maðmhorda mæst* ('greatest of treasure-hoards', 368a) appears to be a type of the Church.<sup>79</sup> Hall argues that the word used to describe the place where Abraham is to be killed, *meðelstede* ('meeting-place', 397a), links the building of the Solomon's temple (389–96), as a type of the Church and a figure for Christ's body (the *sancta ecclesia*), with the sacrifice of Isaac and the Crucifixion (380–88, 397–446).<sup>80</sup> Lucas argues that the Ship of the Church (*maðmhorda mæst*, 368a) together with the Mast of the Cross (*segllrode*, 83a) was a patristic commonplace.<sup>81</sup> Thus the Patriarchal Digression appears to be juxtaposing series of Old Testament events that prefigure the Church and the Cross. Furthermore, McEntire has highlighted, that references to God marking the Ark with the sign of the Cross, which conflate the images of the Church and the Cross, in *Genesis A* are an example of *navis crucis* theme: 'segnade | earce innan agenum spedum' ('He marked inside the Ark with his own innate powers', *Genesis A* 1365b–66).<sup>82</sup> McEntire argues that *navis crucis* ('the ship of the Cross'), as a vehicle of salvation, has parallels both to lines 135b–40a of *The Dream of the Rood*, where the narrator-dreamer hopes that the Rood of his Lord (*Dryhtnes rod*, *DotR* 136b) shall bring (*gebringe*, *DotR* 139a) him to joy in the heavens (*dream on heofonum*, *DotR* 140a), and in the iconography of the Armagh and Kells standing crosses which link the Cross as a vehicle of salvation and the Ark.<sup>83</sup> McEntire suggests that the compound *holmwudu* ('sea-wood', *DotR* 91a) equates to the *navis crucis* and that the injunction the Rood gives the narrator-dreamer to proclaim the Cross in *The Dream of the Rood* (*DotR* 95–100) highlights its role in catechesis, and as a destination of pilgrimage.<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>79</sup> Anlezark, *Water*, pp. 53–7; Daniélou, *Bible*, pp. 83–5; Earl, 'Christian Tradition', pp. 159; Hall, 'Building', p. 619; Karkov, 'Sign', pp. 258–9; Kaske, 'Poem', pp. 54–5; Shippey, *Verse*, p. 136.

<sup>80</sup> Hall, 'Building', pp. 616–20; Helder, 'Abraham', p. 197.

<sup>81</sup> Lucas, 'Christian Poetry', p. 197–8; Lucas, pp. 58, 67–9, 89, n. 80b–4, 122, n. 362–76.

<sup>82</sup> S. McEntire, 'The Devotional Context of the Cross Before A.D. 1000', in *Old English Literature: Critical Essays*, ed. R.M. Liuzza (New Haven, 2002), pp. 392–403, at 397–8. See also Doane, *Genesis A*, pp. 189, 331–3, n. 1363–7a and 1376b–81a; Portnoy, *Remnant*, pp. 129–30.

<sup>83</sup> McEntire, 'Devotional Context', p. 397.

<sup>84</sup> C.T. Berkhout, 'The Problem of OE *Holmwudu*', *Mediaeval Studies* 36 (1974), 429–33; McEntire, 'Devotional Context', pp. 392–4, 398.

However, Swanton notes that *holmwudu* may mean ‘cross on the hill’, and thus refer to the place of the Crucifixion: the hill of Golgotha (*beorg, DotR 32b*).<sup>85</sup> The theme of the ‘cross on the hill’, given the association of Abraham and Isaac’s ascent onto the highland of Mount Zion (*heahlond stigon ... on Seone beorh, 385b–6b*) with the Crucifixion, suggests that the aforementioned reference in *Exodus* to the hill-sides being wet with blood (*wæron beorhhliðu blode bestemed, 449*) may be an allusion to the Crucifixion and the *flumina de ventre Christi* theme.<sup>86</sup> The Patriarchal Digression uses nautical imagery to highlight the role of the Church as the vehicle of salvation, whilst juxtaposing and paralleling this theme with the Cross as the fundamental reason for, and instrument of, salvation.

Fundamentally, the Patriarchal Digression (362–446) is essentially focused upon three themes: the Cross, sacraments and the Church. Clearly, if the Israelites’ descent onto the seabed (*on sund stigon, 319b*) is an allegorical *descensus ad inferos*, where each catechumen descends to fight with the devil before emerging newly baptized and triumphant, then what follows in the Patriarchal Digression and the rest of *Exodus* would relate to life pilgrimage focused upon a post-Baptismal battle with sinfulness in order to attain salvation.<sup>87</sup> However, it is noteworthy that the first of *Exodus*’ three references to sins (*synnum, 336a, synfullra sweot, 497a, wommum, 533a*) is found in the *transitus* passage. Reuben loses his right of primacy (*frumbearnes riht, 338a*) in the procession because ‘he his ealdordom | synnum aswefede’ (‘he destroyed his authority in sins’, 335b–6a’).<sup>88</sup> Why Reuben’s sin or authority is so noteworthy, when all catechumens would be seen as equally tainted with sin, is unclear, but the emphasis is clearly upon Reuben’s demotion within the hierarchical order of what appears to be a processional rite. Furthermore, if *Exodus 278–98* has a more Eucharistic

<sup>85</sup> Swanton, *Dream*, pp. 132, n. 91, 145.

<sup>86</sup> See above, p. 209. The fact that three of the four references to the feminine noun *treow* (‘truth, faith, covenant’) in *Exodus* occur during the reference to the Ark (Church) and the Abraham and Isaac (Crucifixion) episodes (366b, 423a, 426b) suggests a paronomastic allusion to the neuter noun *treow* (‘tree, beam, rood’).

<sup>87</sup> Roberts, *Poetry*, pp. 181–2; Earl, ‘Christian Tradition’, pp. 165–7.

<sup>88</sup> Lucas, p. 120; Irving, p. 88.

theme than has hitherto been acknowledged, then the *transitus*, along with the entire journey out of Egypt could represent post-Baptismal material religious practice.

It is in the context of post-baptismal religious activity that the Rogations can aid the interpretation of the *transitus* (299–353a) and the imagery of the Patriarchal Digression (362–446). For Avitus, as noted, in Rogation *Homily 6* declares that ‘ecclesia est navis, quae nos per varios casus velut inter marinos gurgites ducit’ (‘the Church is a ship which leads us through the various misfortunes like sailors through the raging waters’, 6.112/12–13).<sup>89</sup>

*Rogation Homily 6* proclaims that (6.108/4–6):

Currit quidem tramite vitali non per Gallias tantummodo, sed paene per orbem totum rogationalis observantiae flumen irriguum et infectam vitiis terram uberi fluxu annuae satisfactionis expurgat.

[‘Indeed the well-watered river of Rogation observance runs in a path of life, not only through Gaul but almost through the whole world, and it cleanses the land infected with vice by an abounding flowing of yearly reparation.’]

For Avitus, the Rogations were conceived by Mamertus as the means of addressing the consequences of post-Baptismal sinfulness (6.109/4–6.111/12).<sup>90</sup> Avitus stresses that for many Christians the fight against sin must be a communal one (6.111/23–28):<sup>91</sup>

Periculosius agitur singulare certamen, in quo vires altrinsecus experiri posse paucorum est. At vero cum contra hostem communem multitudinis pugnat adsensus, trahit etiam timidum militem virtus aliena. Robustis bellantibus infirmitas delitescit, et quodam unitatis suffragio laus fit invalidis in exercitu fortium computari. Denique cum victoria contigerit, totis acquiritur: et cum paucorum dextra pugnaverit, omnium gloria triumphavit.

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<sup>89</sup> *CCEME*, p. 56, n. 167. See above, p. 99.

<sup>90</sup> For the late-Antique preoccupation with Original Sin, see Bailey, *Quiet Success*, pp. 85–7.

<sup>91</sup> See also *CCEME*, p. 111.

[‘Lone combat, in which the strength on the other side is tested, seems too dangerous and is for the able few. But certainly, when the assenting crowd fights against the universal enemy, the bravery of a stranger pulls forth even the fearful soldier.

Feebleness skulks from strong warriors, and it becomes one day a source of glory for the weak to be counted in an army of the bold. Lastly, when victory has come to pass it is won by all; and when the right hand of the few has contended, the glory of all has triumphed.’]

Avitus refers to how the Ninevites’ were forced to fight against the drawn sword of the roused Godhead (6.111/30–2), and equates the collective martial endeavour of the Ninevites for God’s favour with the Rogations.<sup>92</sup> As noted, the eighth-century Anglo-Saxon examples of processional pilgrimages akin to a Rogation emphasize collective action in response to communal sin.<sup>93</sup>

Kramer has noted how later Anglo-Saxon accounts of the Rogations (Minor Litanies) emphasized communal religious practice in the three days prior to the Ascension, evoking themes of ascent, liminality and the metaphor of *totus Christus* (‘whole of Christ’).<sup>94</sup> Some scholars have focused upon the details of the Major Litany found in the Leofric Missal, where a number of Roman stations (or stopping-places, one of which was a standing cross) are listed, in order to highlight the prominent role of formal processions to churches.<sup>95</sup> Kramer highlighted that in *Vercelli Homily 20*, the homilist exhorts his audience to forgo idle speech when processing (‘we ut gangen mid þam haligdome’, *VH* 20.332/5–6) or going in to

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<sup>92</sup> See above, pp. 99, 164.

<sup>93</sup> See above, p. 99.

<sup>94</sup> The *totus Christus* theme represents an early exhortation to unity by Saint Paul who used the metaphor of the body for human society with Christ as its head (1 Cor 12:12–27). See Bailey, *Quiet Success*, p. 40; Kramer, *Earth and Heaven*, pp. 147–200; Bedingfield, *Dramatic Liturgy*, pp. 191–209.

<sup>95</sup> Bedingfield, *Dramatic Liturgy*, pp. 195–6; Harris, ‘Liturgical Context’, pp. 143–69 esp. 163; Kramer, *Earth and Heaven*, p. 172; N. Orchard, *The Leofric Missal*, 2 vols, HBS 113–114 (London, 2002), 1, pp. 191–2.

churches (VH 20.332/6), which he equates to God’s temple (*Godes temple*, VH 20.332/7).<sup>96</sup> There are also references to the act of going to churches as ‘church-seeking’ (*mid ciricena socnum*, VH 12.228/14–15; *mid cyricsocnum*, VH 19.325/162) as if they were stations of a procession.<sup>97</sup> Martial imagery, although not common, is present in *Vercelli homily 20* (VH 20.340/141–5):

Dis syndon, men ða leofestan, þa ehta heafodleahtras mid heora herum þe  
dæghwamlice ongean mancyn winnað. 7 hi synd swiðe strange deofles cempen  
ongean mennisc cynn, þa beoð eaðelice, Gode gefultumigendum, fram Cristes  
cempum feohtendum þurh halige mægenu oferswiþed.

[‘These are, dearly beloved, the eight capital sins with their armies which daily contend against mankind, and they are very strong warriors of the Devil against the race of men, which will be easily overcome by God and the warriors of Christ, helping and fighting, through holy troops.’]

Here, *halige mægenu* (‘holy troops’) as a late West Saxon accusative plural and the application of the word *cempa* (‘warrior’) to both the Devil and Christ’s antagonists reinforces the sense of physical warfare.<sup>98</sup>

The emphasis the Rogations place upon a communal penitential procession in response to the consequences of post-baptismal sin presents a means of reading the *transitus* in *Exodus* as an act of material religious practice, instead of an allegorical *descensus ad inferos*.<sup>99</sup> To explore this possibility, the focus moves to the *transitus* itself and in particular its culminating lines, which include *forðweg* at line 350a (340–53a):<sup>100</sup>

<sup>96</sup> Kramer, *Earth and Heaven*, p. 172. See also VH 19.319/77–8, 19.319/81–5.

<sup>97</sup> Blair, *Church*, pp. 430–2, 486–7. The only poetic *socn-* compounds are *landsocn* (‘search for land’) and *cyricsocn*, which are found in *Genesis A* 1665b, 1699a and *The Rewards of Piety* 41, respectively.

<sup>98</sup> For *accidence*, see VH, p. lxiii–iv.

<sup>99</sup> See above, p. 221, and below, p. 226.

<sup>100</sup> The manuscript reads *gar secges* (345a), *mære torht* (346a), and *wolcnum* (350b), while *foron* (340a) is supplied.

Ðær æfter him foron folca þryðum 340  
 sunu Simeones, sweotum comon,  
 þridde þeodmægen (þufas wundon  
 ofer garfare) guðcyste onþrang,  
 deawig scaftum. Dægwoma becwom  
 ofer garsecge, Godes beacna sum, 345  
 morgen meretorht. Mægen forð gewat.  
 Ða þær folcmægen for æfter oðrum  
 isernhergum (an wisode  
 mægenþrymmum mæst, þy he mære wearð)  
 on forðwegas, folc æfter wolcne, 350  
 cynn æfter cynne. Cuðe æghwile  
 mægburga riht, swa him Moises bead  
 eorla æðelo.

[‘Then after them went the sons of Simeon, in throngs of peoples, the third mighty host came in companies (banners fluttered over the moving of spears (or ‘martial company’) the war-band pressed forward with dewy spears. The *dægwoma* came over the sea, one of the signs of God, a sea-bright morning. The army went forth.

Then there the people’s force went following another in iron-clad armies (one man, greatest in might, directed, for which he became illustrious) on the onward courses, the folk following the cloud, kin following kin. Each knew the right of the tribes (or ‘kinsman-fortresses’), as Moses commanded him, the rank of the men.’]

In order to understand the depictions of procession in this complex passage the role of martial imagery in *Exodus* as a whole needs to be examined.

*Exodus* 340–4a represents the last of three descriptions of individual Israelite tribes processing across the seabed of the Red Sea: Judah (310–30), Reuben (331–39), and Simeon (340–4a). Attention has focused upon the description of tribe of Judah fighting in battle (326b–30) despite the fact that their Egyptian enemies are far behind them.<sup>101</sup> The Vulgate description of the *transitus* is confined to a couple of verses (Ex. 14:22, 29) with only the verb *pergere* (‘proceed’) to suggest martial procession.<sup>102</sup> Such imagery, in the style of an allegorical *descensus ad inferos*, is thought to signify that the Israelites are soldiers of God (*milites Dei*) fighting worldly evil.<sup>103</sup> However, any contrast between the martial depictions of Egyptians and Israelites may also relate to a more literal distinction between the martial endeavours of a secular soldiery and a communal procession of Christians as the army of God (*militia Dei*). Significantly depictions of swords, shields, spears and banners all furnish contrasts between the Egyptians and Israelites.

The Egyptians’ aggression is asserted by references to swords as they represent the *hare heorawulfas* (‘grey sword-wolves’, 181a) and *sweordwigendra side hergas* (‘vast armies of sword-warriors’, 260) who seek vengeance upon the Israelites through their swords (*billum*, 199a). The Egyptians are contrasted with Abraham’s willing sacrifice of Isaac in the Patriarchal Digression (362–446), where a blade, as the potential instrument of the killing, is mentioned on four occasions: *ecg*, *ecgum* (408b, 413b); *mece* (414a); and *sweorde* (420a). The sword ultimately symbolises God’s providential will and vengeance when the *alde mece*

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<sup>101</sup> Earl, ‘Christian Tradition’, pp. 164–5; Helder, ‘Etham’, p. 5; Irving, p. 87, n. 330.

<sup>102</sup> ‘Filiis autem Israhel perrexerunt per medium sicci maris’ (‘but the children of Israel marched through the midst of the sea upon dry land’, Ex.14:29). Martial imagery is similarly absent from the *Vetus Latina* and the OE Heptateuch: *VLD*; Marsden, *Heptateuch*, p. 109–10.

<sup>103</sup> Cross and Tucker, ‘Allegorical Tradition’, p. 125–6; Garde, *Poetry*, p. 46; J.R. Hall, ‘Old English *Exodus* and the Sea of Contradiction’, *Mediaevalia* 9 (1983), 22–44, at 31–3; Hermann, *Allegories*, pp. 69–76, 83–5; J.P. Hermann, ‘The Selection of Warriors in the Old English *Exodus*, Lines 233–40a’, *ELN* 14.1 (1976), 1–5; N. Speirs, ‘The Two Armies of the Old English *Exodus: twa þusendo*, line 184b, and *cista*, lines 229b and 230a’, *NQ* 34 (1987), 145–6; Wilson, *Christian Theology*, pp. 135–6; Vickrey, ‘Battle’, pp. 121–9.

(‘old sword’, 495b) is used by, seemingly, the *flodweard* (‘guardian-of-the-flood’, 494b) to strike the waters of the Red Sea and destroy the Egyptians.<sup>104</sup>

The depictions of Egyptian and Israelite shields provide an even stronger contrast. The first reference to the Egyptian shields states how they shone (*blicon bordhreoðan*, 159a) in order to emphasize the splendour and prowess of the Pharaoh’s army, but, later, the phrase *wigbord scinon* (‘the shields shone’, 467b) contrasts the Egyptians’ earthly might with their powerlessness in the face of God’s wrath.<sup>105</sup> References to Israelite shields are more complex, but they appear to interact with the various celestial signs in the poem.<sup>106</sup> The Israelites benefit from the *dægsceldes hleo* (‘protection of the day-shield’, 79b), and their shields gain lustre from the signs which shine above them (111b–13, 125, 250–1) or have innate brightness only when their association with the sign becomes blurred (219–20a, 301–2a). The ambiguous raising of the banner/sign is also linked with shield-covers at line 320 (*ofer bordhreoðan beacen aræred*, 320), and an Israelite war-herald is said to have raised his shield in order to summon the host (253–4).<sup>107</sup> The Israelites are saved by the shield-protection (*in randgebeorh*, 296b) given by the parted waters of the Red Sea, while the Egyptians are damned when this shield-fortification (*randbyrig*, 464a) is broken.<sup>108</sup> The Israelites are also defined by their shields: they are the *randwigan* (‘shield-warriors’, 126a), who see the *rihte stræte* (126b) and enjoy the rest of shield-warriors (*randwigena ræst*, 134a) at their fourth encampment by the Red Sea. They are part of the unreckonable number of Abraham’s race and kinsmen, the shield-warriors (*þines cynnes ond cneowmaga*, | *randwiggendra*, 435–6) and the heirs of God’s Covenant with man. The elite Israelite warriors are defined by the syntactically incomplete line: *alesen under lindum leoda duguðe*

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<sup>104</sup> The manuscript reads *flod wearde sloh* (494b).

<sup>105</sup> Cf. the similar comparison made by Avitus, see Roberts, ‘Rhetoric’, pp. 42, 47–56; Hermann, *Allegories*, p. 68.

<sup>106</sup> References to Israelite shields include: *bord*, 253b; *bordhreoða*, 236a, 320a; *lind*, 228a, 239a, 251a, 301b; *rand*, 332b; *scyld*, 125b; *scyldhreoðan*, 113a.

<sup>107</sup> See Table 3, p. 190.

<sup>108</sup> Lucas, p. 116, n. 295–6.

(‘chosen under the shields of the trusted retainers of the people’, 228). The special status of these men is contrasted with the *geoguðe* (‘untried soldiers’, 235a) who remained *under bordhreoðan* (‘under the shield-cover’, 236a) and who have not endured the *licwunde spor* (‘mark of bodily wound’, 239b) and *bealubenne* (‘baleful wound’, 238a).<sup>109</sup>

In sum, while the description of the pursuing Egyptian army (*Exodus* 154–99), with its Beasts-of-Battle typescene (162–7), lacks symbolism beyond that of the might and menace of an un-Christian secular army,<sup>110</sup> the absence of references to the Israelite sword, together with the numerous associations between Israelite shields and the enigmatic signs of the Cross, suggests that the Israelites are defined by the shield of faith mentioned in Paul’s metaphor of the armour of God (*armaturam Dei*) in Ephesians 6:10–20.<sup>111</sup> The distinction between the martial imagery of the Egyptians and Israelites gains greater significance when the interaction between the banner and the sign is examined.

*Exodus* uses three words that unequivocally mean ‘banner or (battle-)standard’: *puf* (160a, 342b), *cumbol* (175b) and *fana* (248b), but a number of words, used in singular or plural, such as *beacen* (219b, 320b, 345b), *segl* (81b, 89b, 105a), and *segn* (127a, 172b, 302a, 319a, 566b, 585b) are to some degree ambiguous signs, but all possess banner-like qualities. Only three of the words relate to the Egyptians: *pufas* (160a) *cumbol* (175b) *segn* (172b), and they occur in a depiction of Egyptians as a pursuing army (154–99). After the opaque references to *segl*, comes the aforementioned phrase *fana up gerad, / beama beorhtost* (the banner rode up, brightest of beams, 248b–9a), where an Israelite banner is conflated with a celestial sign. Thereafter the signs appear in clusters relating to the Pharaoh as *segncyning*

<sup>109</sup> Cf. Hermann, ‘Selection’, pp. 3–4.

<sup>110</sup> For Beast-of-Battle typescenes: A. Bonjour, ‘*Beowulf* and the Beasts of Battle’, *PMLA* 72.4 (1957), 563–73; A. Breeze, ‘Habakkuk 1:8 as Source for *Exodus* 161–9’, *Neophilologus* 77.1 (1993), 161–2; D.K. Fry, ‘Old English Formulaic Themes and Type-Scenes’, *Neophilologus* 52.1 (1968), 48–54; Fry, ‘Themes and Type-Scenes in *Elene* 1–113’, *Speculum* 44.1 (1969), 35–45; Griffith, ‘Convention’, pp. 179–99; J.R. Hall, ‘*Exodus* 166b, *cwyldrof*: 162–167, The Beasts of Battle’, *Neophilologus* 74.1 (1990), 112–21; F.P. Magoun, ‘The Theme of the Beasts of Battle in Anglo-Saxon Poetry’, *NM* 56 (1955), 81–90; Robinson, ‘Notes’, pp. 365–8.

<sup>111</sup> See above, p. 208.

(172–8a), the *gyldenre leon* of the tribe of Judah (319–22), and the *transitus* passage (299–353a).<sup>112</sup>

The references to Egyptian banners are: *þufas þunian* (‘to set forth their banners’, 160a); ‘him þær segncyning wið þone segn foran, | manna þengel, mearcþreate rad’ (‘there the sign-king rode in front of his border-army with his standard, the prince of men’, 172–3); and *cumbol lixton* (‘the banners shone’, 175b). As with the shield-references, the Egyptian banners emphasize their martial prowess.<sup>113</sup> However, the reference to the banner of the tribe of Judah also appears to be imbued with religious symbolism (319–22):

Hæfdon him to segne, þa hie on sund stigon,  
ofer bordhreoðan beacen aræred 320  
in þam garheape gyldenre leon,  
drihtfolca mæst, deora cenost.

[‘They had for themselves a sign, when they ascend (or ‘descend’) onto the sea, they raised the sign over the shield-covers, the golden lion amongst the spear-troop, the greatest of beasts, [and] the greatest of multitudes.’]

Notably the Israelites appear to have ascended, rather than descended, onto the seabed of the Red Sea, just as they raised their sign.<sup>114</sup> The reason for the precedence of the tribe of Judah is unclear,<sup>115</sup> and the raised banner, the *gyldenre leon* (‘golden lion’, 321b), only has parallels in Genesis 49:9 and Revelation 5:5. Nevertheless, the golden lion is thought to be a type of

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<sup>112</sup> The clusters of signs are as follows: *cumbol* (175b) and *segn* (172b); *segn* (319a) and *beacen* (320b); and *þufas wundon* (342b) and *Godes beacna sum* (345b). For post-*transitus* references to *segn* (566b, 585b), see below, p. 252.

<sup>113</sup> Elsewhere in OE poetry *cumbol* denotes battle or the eagerness for battle, with references in *Beowulf* 2505b (*cumbles hyrde*) and *Andreas* 1204a (*cene under cumblum*) relating to pagans, while those in *Andreas* 4b (*þonne cumbol hneotan*) and *Judith* 332a (*cene under cumblum*, 332a) refer to Christian battle. *Daniel* 180a refers to the *cumbol* as an object of pagan worship.

<sup>114</sup> Cf. Avitus’ account which emphasizes the depth of the descent (*HS* 5.598–601).

<sup>115</sup> Cf. Zacher, *Rewriting*, pp. 53–61.

the Cross (*signum crucis*) with associations in both Jewish legend and Germanic tradition.<sup>116</sup>

Wright notes that the aforementioned reference the *segncyning* riding *wið þone segn foran* (172) creates the sense that the Pharaoh is against the *segn* of Judah.<sup>117</sup> It has also been noted, almost in passing, by Hauer that the lion-standard as ‘the visible sign of God’s favour’ could represent a ‘crozier in a Church procession’.<sup>118</sup>

The use of the term *þufas* (342b) in *Exodus* 340–53a appears to be a direct reference to a processional banner. The phrase *þufas wundon* (‘banners fluttered’, 342b) recalls the earlier phrase *þufas þunian* (‘set forth their banners’, 160a), which describes Egyptian standards, but here it is syntactically connected to the compound *garfare* which, as noted above, is part of a chain of alliterative associations created in lines 343–5 that suggest a *flumina de ventre Christi* theme: *garfare* and *guðcyste* (‘spear’ and ‘battle’, 343); *deawig* and *dægwoma* (‘bloody’ and ‘(the tumult of the) day [meaning unclear: see below]’, 344); and *garsecge* and *Godes* (‘spear’ and ‘of God’, 345). The word *þuf* probably derives from Latin *tufa*, and in the only Anglo-Latin reference, Bede describes how the *tufa*, known to the English as a *thuuf*, was a type of *vexillum* (*genus vexilli*, *HE* 2:16) that was customarily carried before King Edwin when he went on progress: *ante eum ferri solebat* (*HE* 2:16).<sup>119</sup> Edwin’s progress is directly associated with the time of great peace that descended upon his kingdom following his conversion to Christianity.<sup>120</sup> It is thought that Fortunatus’ hymn to the Cross, *Vexilla regis prodeunt*, may have circulated in early Anglo-Saxon England, so the

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<sup>116</sup> Cf. *eoforcumble/eoforcumbul* (‘boar-banner’, *Elene*, 76a, 259a): R.J. Cramp, ‘*Beowulf* and Archaeology’, *Medieval Archaeology* 1 (1957), 57–77, at 59–60; S.R. Hauer, ‘The Lion Standard in *Exodus*’ *ASNSL* 221 136.2 (1984), 306–11; Lucas, p. 100, n. 157; Lucas, ‘Christian Poetry’, pp. 200–1; C.D. Wright, ‘The Lion Standard in *Exodus*: Jewish Legend, Germanic Tradition, and Christian Typology’, in *The Poems of MS Junius 11: Basic Readings*, ed. R.M. Liuzza (London, 2002), pp. 188–202.

<sup>117</sup> Wright, ‘Lion’, p. 196.

<sup>118</sup> Hauer, ‘Lion’, pp. 306–11, at 308.

<sup>119</sup> Bede, *HE*, p. 192–3. See also R.M. Deansley, ‘Roman Traditionalist Influence among the Anglo-Saxons’, *English Historical Review* 58.230 (1943), 129–46, at 136–42; C.W. Jones, ‘Bede and Vegetius’, *Classical Review*, 46.6 (1932), 248–9; Wallace-Hadrill, *Historical Commentary*, pp. 80–1.

<sup>120</sup> *Bede*, *HE*, pp. 174–88.

notion of a Christianized and quasi-liturgical royal progress with a *labarum/vexillum* cannot be discounted.<sup>121</sup> As previously noted, Hawk has asserted that Fortunatus' *vexilla regis* represents an image of the celestial cross and a symbol of victory.<sup>122</sup> The only attestation of *þuf* in vernacular poetry is in *Elene*, where Constantine's *labarum*, variously described as the sign (*tacen*, 104b) in the likeness of Christ's Cross, a *heorucumbul* (107a), *halige treo* (107b), and a *beacen Godes* (109a), is given the name *þuf* after Constantine's victory in battle: 'þa wæs þuf hafen | segn for sweetum, sigeleoð galen' ('then the *þuf* was raised, the sign before the troops, and a song of victory was chanted', 123b–4).<sup>123</sup> The only reference to Rogationtide processional banners is found in Goscelin's *Life of Wihthburh* (c.1106), which describes how the people of Dereham, Norfolk, would process (*procederent*) with banners and crosses (*cum vexillis et crucibus*).<sup>124</sup> However, Goscelin's reference to *vexillum* recalls Bede's account of the journeying of Augustine and his companions to meet King Æthelberht of Kent on the Isle of Thanet *crucem pro vexillo ferentes argenteam* ('bearing as their banner a silver cross') during their *peregrinatio* to England and Canterbury (*HE* 1:25).<sup>125</sup> This implies that in Bede's time, the Cross could have had associations with a religious processional banner. It seems clear that the *transitus* in *Exodus* depicts a religious procession in contrast to the secular martial imagery of the Egyptians, but not necessarily a simple binary between good and evil: for as noted in the discussion of Section A (1–53), it is by no means

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<sup>121</sup> Deansley, 'Roman', pp. 143–4; M. Lapidge, 'Appendix: Knowledge of the Poems in the Earlier Period', *ASE* 8 (1976), 287–95; Leo, *Fortunati ... opera poetica*, 1, *carminum libri* 6(1).34–5; I.B. Milfull, 'Hymns to the Cross: Context for the Reception of *Vexilla regis prodeunt*', in *The Place of the Cross in Anglo-Saxon England*, C.E. Karkov et al. (Woodbridge, 2006), pp. 43–57; Wallace-Hadrill, 'Historical Commentary', p. 84; J. Szövérfy, '*Crux Fidelis* ... Prolegomena to a History of the Holy Cross Hymns', *Traditio* 22 (1966), 1–41; I.N. Wood, 'Constantinian Crosses in Northumbria', in *The Place of the Cross in Anglo-Saxon England*, C.E. Karkov et al. (Woodbridge, 2006), pp. 3–13 Cf. Sedulius description of streaming banners of the Cross: Huemer, *Sedulii Opera Omnia, Carmen paschale*, 1.40–1/337–43; Raw, 'Cross', p. 9.

<sup>122</sup> Hawk, '*Crux Christi*', pp. 57–8. See also O. Nicholson, 'Constantine's Vision of the Cross', *Vigiliae Christianae* 54.3 (2000), 309–23.

<sup>123</sup> Gradon, *Elene*, p. 31.

<sup>124</sup> Gittos, *Liturgy*, p. 138, citing Goscelin, *Vita Sancte Wihthurge Virginis*, ch. 5 in *Goscelin of Saint-Bertin*, ed. R. Love (Oxford, 2004), pp. 53–93, at 60–3; *CCEME*, p. 111, n. 74.

<sup>125</sup> See above, p. 96.

certain who ultimately will be saved, and who will be damned. The wider context of this processional and martial imagery in *Exodus* 340–53a is provided by the curious reference to the *dægwoma*.

The meaning of lines 344b–6a is rather unclear: ‘the *dægwoma* came over the sea, one of the signs of God, sea-bright morning’. Hall retains the manuscript-reading *mæretorht* (‘splendidly bright’, 346a), which, he argues, alludes to the fame (*mære*, 47b) Moses gained when he led the exodus (47b–8), and asserts that the *dægwoma* is the ‘light rising’ over the Red Sea as a sign of God (*Godes beacna sum*, 345b) heralding the ‘morning of redemption’.<sup>126</sup> For Hall, the morning is a type of Christ’s Resurrection and His Harrowing of Hell resulting in the deliverance of mankind and has parallels to the writings of Rabanus Maurus (780 – 4 February 856), and Wulfstan (d. 28 May 1023).<sup>127</sup> Moses leading the Israelites to the Promised Land prefigures Christ’s Resurrection and His freeing of mankind, but this says little about material religious practice. The religious prominence given to dawn is notably found in the vernacular interlineal gloss of the Ambrosian hymn to morning (*Hymnum ad matutinos*) mentioned in relation to the previous discussion of *forðweg*.<sup>128</sup> The hymn declares in Latin that ‘aurora cursus provehit aurora totus prodeat’ (‘the dawn advances its course, may dawn fully come forth’), which is glossed as ‘degred ryne forðwegeð degred all forðypeð’.<sup>129</sup> Yet the significance of dawn in ancient Christianity also lay in its symbolism of ascent, since the Ascension of Christ was thought to have taken place in the east (with His descent into Hell occurring in the west), and it is for this reason that the celebrant during the consecration of the Eucharist, the catechumen during the baptismal rite, and the Christian in act of prayer at the moment of death (especially in the case of martyrdom) would all face

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<sup>126</sup> J.R. Hall, ‘Old English *Exodus* 344b–351a: the Leader and the Light’, *ELN* 18.3 (1981), 163–6, at 166.

<sup>127</sup> Hall, ‘Leader’, p. 165.

<sup>128</sup> See above, p. 181.

<sup>129</sup> Kuhn, *Vespasian Psalter*, p. 158.

east.<sup>130</sup> Alongside the allusions to light, Christians looked in the direction of the morning sun (east) as a matter of ritualistic observance, and in hopeful expectation of their ascent one day to the celestial kingdom.

Furthermore, if *dægwoma* means ‘crack of dawn, daybreak’ then its occurrence in *Exodus* is unusual for two reasons.<sup>131</sup> Firstly, the Vulgate says that the Red Sea was parted at night (Ex.14:21), and that God closed the waters upon the Egyptians as morning came (Ex. 14:24, 27),<sup>132</sup> which suggests that in scripture the Israelites crossed at night.<sup>133</sup> Secondly, in *Exodus*, as previously noted, dawn may have broken with the phrase *on uhttid* (216a), some one hundred and twenty-eight lines before the reference to *dægwoma* (344b), when Moses first mustered the Israelites for the *transitus*.<sup>134</sup> The repeated emphasis upon dawn seems therefore to highlight the religious significance of this moment. Notably, book five of Avitus’ *Historia spiritalis* provides a parallel for *Exodus* because dawn similarly occurs before the events of the Israelite *transitus* (*HS* 5.270/589–601, 638–40) and is depicted as follows (*HS* 5.270/581–3):<sup>135</sup>

Iam matutinum pervenerat horrida tempus

Vix acies primosque nitens aurora rubores

Spargebat mundo

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<sup>130</sup> Daniélou, *Bible*, pp. 30–3, 313–14.

<sup>131</sup> DOE, *dægwoma*; T.P. Dunning and A.J. Bliss, *The Wanderer*, p. 71.

<sup>132</sup> ‘Iamque advenerat vigilia matutina’ (‘And now the morning watch was come’, Ex. 14:24); Farrell, ‘Reading’, p. 413.

<sup>133</sup> Farrell, ‘Reading’, p. 413. Versions of the *Vetus Latina*, when they make reference to time, concur with the Vulgate. The OE Heptateuch describes the Egyptians crossing at dawn (*on dægred*); VLD, Ex. 14:21, 24; Marsden, *Heptateuch*, Ex. 14:21–25, p. 109.

<sup>134</sup> Cf. Remley who argues that *Exodus* 344b–353a may be the only scripturally derived dawn scene (Ex. 14:24, 27), which could once have marked the commencement of the final climatic sequence of *Exodus*’ central narrative (*Biblical Verse*, pp. 196–7, 224–5).

<sup>135</sup> For Lapidge’s criticism of Moore’s view that Avitus did not influence the *Exodus*-poet, see Lapidge, ‘Hypallage’, p. 36; Lapidge, ‘Versifying’, pp. 27–8; Moore, ‘Sources’, pp. 83–108. Gorst has also demonstrated connections between the OE poem, *The Phoenix*, and Avitus’ *De origine mundi*: E.K.C. Gorst, ‘Latin Sources of the Old English *Phoenix*’, *NQ* 53 (2006), 136–42.

[‘Forthwith the rough thing had arrived at the morning hour, and scarcely was brightness, shining dawn, casting its first blush upon the world.’]

The above passage is a poetic temporal periphrasis, which was common to Latin biblical epic, where the adjective *horridus* (‘rough, bristling, horrid’) is used to suggest the burst of noise and activity of the coming day.<sup>136</sup> However, in the only other poetic attestation of *dægwoma* in Old English, the compound describes the noise or tumult of the day in a phrase signifying, not dawn, but dusk: ‘dægwoman bitweon 7 þære deorcan niht’ (‘between the *dægwoma* and the dark night’, *Guthlac B* 1218).<sup>137</sup> The second element of the compound, *woma*, is thought to mean ‘sound, noise, tumult, terror’, based upon various readings of the compound *hildewoman* (‘sound of battle’, *Andreas* 218b, *Juliana* 136a, 663b) and the phrases *wiges woman* (‘sound of war’, *Andreas* 1355a, *Elene* 19a) and *wintres woma* (‘tumult of winter’, *The Wanderer* 103a), while phrases such as *swefnes woma* (‘woma of a dream’, *Daniel* 110b, 118b, 538b, *Elene* 71b) and *dægreðwoma* (‘dawn/daybreak-woma’, *Andreas* 125a) suggest a sense of ‘one who speaks, harbinger, herald’.<sup>138</sup> In *Exodus*, *woma* connotes a wondrous disturbance (*wuldres woma*, 100a) created by the sounding of trumpets (99) or, in the context of *forðweg* at line 129a, frightful news (*þa se woma cwom*, 202b).<sup>139</sup> The evidence suggests that *dægwoma* literally means ‘tumult of the day’, the significance of which becomes clear when the phrase *Godes beacna sum* (345b) is better understood.

There are three other occasions in the vernacular poetic corpus where the word *beacen* is found in the same clause as the word *God* (*Beowulf* 570a, and *Elene* 109a,

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<sup>136</sup> Roberts, *Biblical Epic*, p. 208, n. 132.

<sup>137</sup> Roberts, *Guthlac Poems*, pp. 119, 175, n. 1218.

<sup>138</sup> Brooks *Andreas*, pp. 67, n. 125; Gradon, *Elene*, p. 26, n. 19a; R.F. Leslie, *The Wanderer* (Manchester, 1966), p. 87, n. 103a; Lucas, p. 92, n. 100; North and Bintley, *Andreas*, pp. 224–5; Roberts, *Guthlac Poems*, p. 178, n. 1292; Woolf, *Juliana*, pp. 27, 52. Cf. Dunning and Bliss, *Wanderer*, p. 71.

<sup>139</sup> See above, p. 184.

1193b).<sup>140</sup> *Beowulf* 569b–73 describes the providential appearance of dawn that rewards the courageous hero who is not fated, in this case Beowulf, who is guided back to shore after his epic battle with sea-monsters. At *Elene* 1193b–4a, the wise man counsels Empress Helena that the nails of the Cross are a sign that shall be named as holy to God. However, it is the first reference to God’s *beacen* in *Elene* that appears pertinent when read in its wider context (*Elene* 105–110a):<sup>141</sup>

Heht þa on uhtan mid ærdæge 105

wigend wreccan 7 wæpenþræce,

hebban heorucumbul 7 þæt halige treo

him beforan ferian on feonda gemang,

beran beacen Godes. Byman sungon

hlude for hergum 110

[‘Then he [Constantine] commanded at dawn, with daybreak, his warriors to rouse themselves and to raise the battle-standard for a storm-of-weapons and to carry before them the Holy Tree into the multitude of the enemy, to bear God’s sign. The trumpets sang loudly before the armies.’]

The passage depicts the dawn march to battle with the sun rising in the East.<sup>142</sup> Given Hawk’s assertion that the Fortunatus’ *vexilla regis* presents an image of the celestial cross, and the earlier discussion of how processional crosses were used to link with celestial signs, this moment in *Elene* with its images of ascent is clearly intended to be a moment of profound

<sup>140</sup> *DOEWC*, boolean search, *beac-* and *god-*. Cf. the clause ‘siððan he beacen onget, swutol tacen godes’ (‘when he perceived the sign, God’s clear symbol’, *Daniel* 487–8a), which describes when King Nebuchadnezzar perceives God’s clear sign, but through arrogance does not heed its meaning. See Farrell, *Daniel*, p. 77.

<sup>141</sup> Cf. discussion of the role of the Cross as *sigebeacen* (‘sign of victory’) in *Elene*: C.T. Vaccaro, ‘*Crux Christi/Cristes Rod*: Interpreting the Anglo-Saxon Cross’ (unpubl. PhD dissertation, City University of NY, 2003), pp. 43–86.

<sup>142</sup> Cf. *Judith* 200b–4a.

religious importance where the terrestrial and heavenly worlds are connected.<sup>143</sup> The banner has been made to mirror Constantine's vision of the Cross (*Cristes rode ... tacen gewyrcean, Elene* 103b–4b) in order to evoke ritualistically Christ's Ascension and God's providential will. The *dægwoma* in *Exodus* 340–53a is the tumult of the day's processional and ritualistic activity orientated towards the east, where the banner (*þuf*), as one of the signs of God (*Godes beacna sum*, 345b), spiritually ascends to merge with the celestial cross and briefly unite Heaven and the faithful.<sup>144</sup> The half-line *mægen forð gewat* ('The host [or 'army'] went forth', 346b) immediately follows the rising up of the *dægwoma*, while martial references like *mægen* (346b), *mægenþrymmum* (349a), *isernhergum* ('iron-clad army', 348a), and *folcmægen for* (347) stress a regimented procession of a people led by Moses (348–9, 352).<sup>145</sup> The depiction of the Israelites on the onward courses (*on forðwegas*, 350a) in a formal regimented and hierarchical procession of tribes (*cynn æfter cynne*, 351a), united but differentiated, following the cloud (*folc æfter wolcne*, 350b), which, given that *wolcen* is thought to be the cloud-pillar (79b–80a, 93–7) and thus a sign of the Cross, appears to be the pivotal religious moment of the journey thus far.<sup>146</sup> The transitional passage (353b–61) that immediately follows *Exodus* 340–53a, as noted in the earlier discussion of *mægburh*, encapsulates how each tribe is a unified structural entity, a whole section of society engaging

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<sup>143</sup> See above, p. 163.

<sup>144</sup> Ó Carragáin comments that the broad sides of standing crosses may have been orientated on an east-west axis in order to be illuminated by the sun's rays, and so evoke the theological symbolism of the rising and setting sun discussed above. If so, it is possible that golden processional crosses or banners may have been used to create a similar effect, especially at key moments of the procession, such as reaching one's destination: Ó Carragáin, *Ritual*, p. 47; É. Ó Carragáin, 'High Crosses, the Sun's Course, and Local Theologies at Kells and Monasterboice', in *Insular and Anglo-Saxon Art and Thought in the Early Medieval Period*, ed. C. Hourihane (New Jersey, 2011), pp. 149–73.

<sup>145</sup> Ristuccia, during his discussion of the *ordo* (instruction) for Rogationtide composed by the Carolingian lay abbot Angilbert of Saint Riquier (c. 800), notes that, although Rogations were a procession of all the Church community, such processing could be organized according to social status and involve a congregation marching in ordered ranks with military standards (CCEME, pp. 28, 108–11).

<sup>146</sup> Blackburn, Irving and Sedgefield retain the MS *wolcnum*, while Tolkien also transposes the half-lines: *folc æfter folcum on forðwegas* (350). All the following editors explicitly, excepting Sedgefield, believe that *wolcne/wolcnum* refers to the cloud-pillar: Blackburn, p. 52; Irving, pp. 58, 88; Irving, 'New Notes', p. 313; Lucas, p. 122; Sedgefield, p. 95; Tolkien, p. 64.

with God and His providential will in the landscape.<sup>147</sup> The Patriarchal Digression (362–446), with its focus upon the Cross, sacraments and Church, then stresses how Old Testament history prefigures the events of Christ’s Incarnation, which served to reconnect the heavenly and terrestrial worlds after the tragedy of the Fall.

In sum, lines 340–53a of Section E (276–446, 154–99, 224–46),<sup>148</sup> which contains the final reference to *forðweg* (350a), represents the moment when the onward movement of the processional pilgrimage akin to a Rogation, drawing near its destination, is truly conflated with the desire for heavenly ascent. Material religious practice is being used to establish a spiritual connection between the processing host and the divine as journey’s end is reached. The final issue is therefore to determine what might be the destination and purpose of this processional pilgrimage.

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<sup>147</sup> See above, p. 70.

<sup>148</sup> See above, p. 203.

## Chapter Nine – The Triumph of the Message and Seeking the Holy Saints

The previous chapter examined how Section E (276–446, 154–99, 224–46) depicted the conclusion of the Israelites’ physical journey. However, the poem does not end with the triumphant arrival at the final destination; instead the narrative continues for some 144 lines with the Destruction of the Egyptians (447–515), the Homiletic Digression (516–48), the prelude to, and then delivery of, Moses’ final speech (549–53, 554–64), an extended depiction of Israelite celebration (565–79), before concluding with eleven cryptic lines (580–90). This chapter examines whether these final passages, collectively considered as Section F (447–590) can be cogently read as the ultimate goal of a processional pilgrimage akin to a Rogation, namely to secure proximity to the saints that reside in the church or shrine at journey’s end.

Section F begins after the poem’s second lacuna (between lines 446 and 447), which separates the Destruction of the Egyptians (hereafter the ‘Destruction’) from the preceding Patriarchal Digression (362–446).<sup>1</sup> It has long been noted that the Destruction, with its dramatic repetitions, marks another notable divergence from the scriptural account (Ex.14:24–8) and provides a sense of vividness to the scene.<sup>2</sup> Olsen argues that these repetitions not only re-enforce the graphic nature of the imagery, but convey a shift from describing the bloody conflict between the sea and the Egyptians to focusing upon the central battle between God and the Egyptians.<sup>3</sup> Given that, as Hall observes, the Red Sea is inherently threatening to both the Egyptians and Israelites, the Destruction is doubtless

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<sup>1</sup> The missing portion probably corresponds to Ex. 14:23–6, namely the completion of the crossing by the Israelites and the entry of the Egyptians into the Red Sea: Lucas, pp. 14–15, 131, n. 446–7. Cf. Vickrey who believes this missing portion depicts a sea battle between the Israelites and Egyptians (‘Battle’, p. 125).

<sup>2</sup> Marsden ‘Death’, p. 141.

<sup>3</sup> K.E. Olsen, ‘The Dual Function of the Repetitions in *Exodus* 447–515’, in *Loyal Letters: Studies on Mediaeval Alliterative Poetry and Prose*, ed. L.A.J.R. Houwen and A.A. MacDonald (Groningen, 1994), pp. 55–70.

designed to evoke a general sense of fear in *Exodus*' audience.<sup>4</sup> However, to understand the meaning and purpose of the Destruction requires an examination of its closing lines (506b–15):<sup>5</sup>

Egyptum wearð  
þæs dægweorces deop lean gesceod,  
forðam þæs heriges ham eft ne com  
ealles ungrundes ænig to lafe,  
þætte sið heora secgan moste, 510  
bodigean æfter burgum bealospella mæst,  
hordwarda hryre, hæleða cwenum,  
ac þa mægenþreatas meredeað geswealh,  
eac þon spelbodan. Se ðe sped ahte  
ageat gylp wera. Hie wið God wunnon. 515

[‘A deep recompense was given to the Egyptians for that day’s work, since no survivor from all that vast army came home again so that he could tell of their journey, [and] announce throughout the high-status fortified settlements [of Egypt] the most terrible news of the death of the treasure-guardians to the wives of the warriors, but sea-death devoured the powerful band, so too the news-heralds. He, who possessed power, poured away the boasts of men. They fought against God.’]

The statement that no one is left (*ne ... ænig to lafe*, 508b–9) to relay the news back to Egypt differs from scripture, which says only that no one survived (Ex. 14:28), and introduces the theme of the death of the messenger.<sup>6</sup> Hall has attributed this reference to Josephus: ‘et isti

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<sup>4</sup> Hall, ‘Sea of Contradiction’, pp. 25–44.

<sup>5</sup> The manuscript reads *heoro* (510a), while the words *eac þon* are supplied.

<sup>6</sup> Marsden ‘Death’, pp. 141–64.

quidem ita sunt perdit, ut omnino neque nuntius calamitatis relinqueretur ipsorum' ('they were so utterly destroyed that assuredly no messenger of that disaster returned', *Antiquitates Judaicae* 2(16).215/344),<sup>7</sup> while Marsden believes that the death of the messenger theme has parallels in the book of Judith 5:13, Psalm 105:11 of the Paris Psalter and the motif of the messenger of God (*godes spelboda*) found in the Old Testament poems *Genesis A* (2496a), and *Daniel* (532a, 742a), as well as in *Christ A* (336a) *Guthlac A* (40b), and *The Phoenix* (571b).<sup>8</sup> Marsden concluded that the death of the *spelboda* is 'a chilling reminder of the great eschatological unknown' for *Exodus'* Anglo-Saxon audience.<sup>9</sup> Yet beside the eschatological uncertainty there is a message of hope, based in part upon the notion of *spel*. As Marsden notes, although usually glossed as 'news', *spel* has a range of senses ('story, account, history; discourse; saying, dictum, message; speech, language of prose'), which extends, in the case of the titles of the Rogationtide *Vercelli Homilies 11–13*, to mean a 'homily'.<sup>10</sup> Given that the opening lines of *Exodus* (1–7), the previous extended speeches of Moses (259–75, 278–98), the Patriarchal Digression (362–446) and the Homiletic Digression (516–48) have all been noted as displaying, to varying degrees, a homiletic tone or influence, the possibility that the term *spel*, in both simplex and compound form, might relate to an underlying homiletic message rooted in material religious practice is noteworthy, especially since, as noted, the date of the earliest homilies has recently been revised back the middle or third quarter of the ninth century.<sup>11</sup>

The homiletic theme becomes more significant when the words connoting a 'message' or 'narrative' in *Exodus* are considered (where uniquely attested compounds are

<sup>7</sup> Hall, '*Antiquitates Judaicae*', p. 343; Blatt, *Latin Josephus*, p. 215.

<sup>8</sup> Marsden, 'Death', pp. 141–64 esp. 143–7. See Blake, *Phoenix*, p. 64; Cook, *Christ*, p. 12; Roberts, *Guthlac Poems*, p. 84.

<sup>9</sup> Marsden, 'Death', p. 163.

<sup>10</sup> Marsden, 'Death', pp. 152–3. The term *larspel* ('homily') is used as the title to *Vercelli Homily 14*. Cf. *Blickling Homily 15* (the manuscript was written in 971) which has the title *Spel be Petrus & Paulus* in a later hand: Morris, *Blickling Homilies*, pp. v, 171.

<sup>11</sup> See above, pp. 3–5, 112, 119, 189, 205, 219.

indicated by ‘\*’): *færsPELL* (‘terrifying news’, 135b); *frecne spel* (‘terrible news’, 203a); \**siðboda* (‘the messenger of the journey, one who announces that a journey is to begin’, 250a); \**hildecalla* (‘war-herald’ 252b); *bald* \**beodohata* (‘bold announcer of battle?’ 253a);<sup>12</sup> *nacud* \**nydboda* (‘naked messenger of necessity [‘distress’ or ‘violence’]’, 475a); \**bealospella mæst* (‘most terrible news’, 511b); *spelbodan* (‘news-heralds’, 514a); *deop ærende* (‘profound message’, 519a); \**hildespelle* (‘warlike speech, song of battle’, 574a). When the number of repeated references to signs in Section C (71b–125) is recalled, it is possible that the high proportion of uniquely attested compounds in this list (60%) may be facilitating the re-iteration of a particular theme.<sup>13</sup> Furthermore, as with the references to banners or potential banners, these words are distributed in distinct clusters:<sup>14</sup> *færsPELL* and *spel* relate to the fearful vigil (135–223); *siðboda* and *hildecalla* relate to calling the Israelites to attention to hear Moses’ first speech (259–75); *beodohata*, *nydboda*, and *bealospella* are found during the Destruction (447–515); *ærende* is found in the opening section the Homiletic Digression (516–48); and the final reference, *hildespelle*, is located within the extended depiction of Israelite celebration (565–79). Words conveying the sense ‘messenger’ (with elements such as *-boda*, *-calla*, and, possibly, *-hata*) are positive and exhortatory in relation to the Israelites,<sup>15</sup> whereas the *nacud nydboda* visits destruction upon the Egyptians.<sup>16</sup> The Destruction presents a new phase in the message, as one narrative perishes and the other triumphs. However, to make sense of *Exodus*’ depiction of the death of the messenger theme it is helpful to turn once again to a work which was known and widely studied in early Anglo-Saxon England, namely Avitus’ *Historia spiritalis* (*HS*).

<sup>12</sup> For discussion of the manuscript *beohata* (‘hater of bees?’), see Farrell, ‘Eight Notes’, pp. 374–5; Lucas, p. 111.

<sup>13</sup> See the analysis of signs at p. 145.

<sup>14</sup> See above, p. 228.

<sup>15</sup> E.G. Stanley, ‘Old English *-calla*, *ceallian*’, in *Medieval Literature and Civilization: Studies in Memory of G. N. Garmonsway*, ed. D.A. Pearsall and R.A. Waldron (London, 1969), pp. 94–9.

<sup>16</sup> Lucas, p. 135; Tolkien, p. 72.

Although the accounts of the Egyptians' destruction in *Exodus* (447–515) and *HS* (*HS* 5.272/659–5.273/703) appear quite different, they both include a death of messenger theme. During Avitus' account of the destruction of the Egyptians, which is the most detailed in Latin poetry, he depicts the Pharaoh as both a witness (*superstes*) watching the obliteration of his own race and the last man (*ultimus*) shipwrecked in his chariot by the advancing waves ('inspector cladis propriae gentisque superstes | ultimus ingressis per currum naufragat undis', *HS* 5.273/696–7).<sup>17</sup> The sea is said to have fought on behalf of the Israelites (*HS* 5.273/698–703), who had prosecuted their struggles by sight alone (*Israhel solo peragens certamina visu*, *HS* 5.273/699), with the closing lines depicting how the foul corpses (*taetra cadavera*, *HS* 5.273/702) were cast upon the length of the shoreline as the sea displayed its victory over the shore ('litore iactantur tum taetra cadavera toto | exposuitque suum pelagus super arva triumphum', *HS* 5.273/702–3). Avitus' 'soteriological peroration' (706–16) then explains the baptismal significance of these events:<sup>18</sup> the guilt of Original Sin, which is the subject of book two of the *HS*, has been cleansed and destroyed by the sacred baptismal waters ('cum purgata sacris deletur culpa fluentis', *HS* 5.273/706), as the Red Sea becomes effectively a font (*lympha lavacri*, lit. 'water of the washing place', *HS* 5.273/707) sending forth or releasing the new offspring of this birth (*HS* 5.273/707–8). The peroration then signals that Avitus' sixth and final book, comprising an essay on virginity, *De virginitate*, can begin.

In sum, Avitus highlights that Pharaoh himself is both the last witness and survivor (*superstes* / *ultimus*) of his race: the last person to attest that the Egyptian narrative has perished. Avitus, doubtless influenced by the opening verse of Exodus 14:31, but ignoring

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<sup>17</sup> Prudentius and Cyprianus describe how the Egyptian armour and bodies float in the waters of the Red Sea, while the Latin version of Josephus' *Antiquitates Judaicae* (2(16).216/349) describes how the Egyptian arms were carried up to the Israelites camp by wind and tide. See Blatt, *Latin Josephus*, p. 216; Cunningham, *Prudentii ... carmina*, *Cathemerinon* 5.25/77–80; Irving, p. 96, n. 547; Peiper, *Cypriani heptateuchos*, *Exodus* 14(31).74/501–503.

<sup>18</sup> For Avitus' soteriological theory in *HS*, see Peiper, *Alcimi ... opera*, 5.273/706–16; Roberts, 'Rhetoric', pp. 77–80, at 78.

any reference to spoliation of Egyptian possessions, focuses upon the place of death when he describes how the vanquished Egyptians are foul corpses (*taetra cadavera*, HS 5.273/702) on the seashore (*litore*, HS 5.273/702).<sup>19</sup> The *Exodus*-poet also appears to introduce his own ‘soteriological peroration’ when he too focuses upon the shore of the Red Sea (516–19):<sup>20</sup>

Panon Israhelum ece rædas  
on merehwearfe Moses sægde,  
heahþungen wer, halige spræce,  
deop ærende. Dægweorc ne mað

[‘Thence, Moses, the noble man, said in holy speech the eternal counsels, the deep message, to the Israelites on seashore. The day’s work did not remain concealed.’]

The peroration contains a number of repetitions or echoes of the preceding lines (506b–15): *deop lean* (‘deep recompense’, 507b) and *deop ærende* (‘profound message’, 519a); *meredeað* (‘sea-death’, 513b) and *on merehwearfe* (‘on the sea shore’, 517a); and *þæs dægweorces* (‘for that day’s work, 507a) and *dægweorc* (519a).<sup>21</sup> The alliterative association between phrase *deop ærende* and *dægweorc* recalls not only the term *deop lean* (‘deep recompense’, 507b) in *Exodus* 506b–15 (*þæs dægweorces deop lean gesceod*, 507), which describes the punishment God metes out to the Egyptians by drowning them in the Red Sea, but also the earlier reference to the profound reward (*deop lean*, 315b) that God gives the tribe of Judah who led the *transitus* of the Israelite tribes (*þæs dægweorces deop lean forgeald*, 315).<sup>22</sup> All these lines (315, 507, 519) place alliterative emphasis upon ‘deep’ and ‘day’, while the preceding lines to *Exodus* 519 link the ‘Israelites’ with the ‘eternal’ (516);

<sup>19</sup> ‘Et viderunt Aegyptios mortuos super litus maris’ (‘And they saw the Egyptians dead upon the sea shore’, Ex. 14:31).

<sup>20</sup> The manuscript reads *moyse* (517b), and *nemnað* (519b).

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Earl, ‘Christian Tradition’, pp. 146–7, 156.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. *þæt dægweorc* (‘that day’s work’, 151a) of Israelites, which the Egyptians wished to repay with blood on their destructive journey (*spildsiðe*, 153a).

‘Moses’ with the ‘sea’ (517), and ‘high’ with the ‘holy’ (518). The profound message (*deop ærende*) and the eternal counsels (*ece rædas*), which were first introduced as the *langsumne ræd* (‘everlasting counsel’, 6b) in *Exodus* 1–7, are linked with the day’s work (*dægweorc*) performed on the seashore (*on merehwearfe*). The adjective *deop* is also linked with the *garsecges deop* (281b) that Moses strikes with his *grene tacne* (281a), when he initiates the miracle of the parting of the Red Sea in *Exodus* 278–98,<sup>23</sup> and the deepest of deluges (*þone deopestan drencefloda*, 364) that Noah and his sons sailed over (*oferlað*, 362b) during the Patriarchal Digression (362–446).<sup>24</sup> In the above passage (516–19), miraculous mysteries are linked by speech to places where they were revealed, but, unlike Avitus, there is no mention of bodies on the seashore or a clear indication of what this all means.

Instead, after this peroration, the remainder of the Homiletic Digression (516–48), the final speech of Moses (554–64), and the extended depiction of Israelite celebration (565–79) all intervene, before any further reference is made to the Israelites being on the shore in the closing lines of *Exodus* (580–90) with the half lines *on geofones staðe* (‘on the shore of the sea’, 581a).<sup>25</sup> There is further reference to being on the seashore using the cryptic compound phrase *on yðlafe* (586a), but throughout *Exodus* 580–90 there are depictions of the receipt of treasure (discussed below). Only in the closing lines does the *Exodus*-poet seemingly introduce a reference to the dead bodies of the Egyptians with the lines: ‘werigend lagon | on deaðstede, drihtfolca mæst’ (‘the defenders [or ‘protectors’] lay in the place-of-death, the greatest of multitudes’, 589b–90). However, the compound *yðlafe* (lit. ‘what is left by the waves’, 586a) along with the compound *sælafe* (‘sea-leavings’, 585a) a line earlier establishes a link between the place and the enigmatic *laf* (‘what is left, remnant, remains, relic, remainder; inheritance, legacy, heirloom; relict, widow’) to indicate that something is

<sup>23</sup> See above, p. 210.

<sup>24</sup> The manuscript reads *dren floda* (364b).

<sup>25</sup> Cf. the phrase *folc wæs on lande* (567b).

left in this place-of-death (*on deaðstede*, 590a). To interpret the death of the messenger theme in *Exodus* requires understanding of the meaning of the words *laf* and *deaðstede*.

Portnoy, in her study of the meaning and distribution of the word *laf*, argued that in *Beowulf* the word is a *heiti* for a ‘sword’, whereas in Junius 11, the noun means ‘remnant’ and is used to create a biblical theme of Christian survival in *Genesis A*, *Exodus* and *Daniel*.<sup>26</sup> The word *laf* occurs on four occasions in *Exodus* (370b, 405a, 408a, 509b), thrice in the Patriarchal Digression (362–446) and once in the Destruction (447–515); and then a further three times in *laf*- compounds (*yrfelafe*, 403b; *sælafe*, 585a; *yðlafe*, 586a). Portnoy makes two pivotal observations: firstly, that the word *laf* creates a contrast between the survival of the eternal remnant and the obliteration of the Egyptians; and, secondly, that the Ark in *Genesis A* is depicted as a treasure-chest (*cofan*, *Genesis A*, 1464b).<sup>27</sup> Regarding *Exodus*, Portnoy reads the *ece laf* (‘eternal remnant’, 370b), which was lead over the sea-streams in the *maðmhorda mæst* (‘greatest of treasure-hoards’, 368a), as the ‘remnant’ that bears the ‘seed’ of eternal life, while Isaac, as the *yrfelafe* (‘remnant of heritage’, 403b), denotes both ‘treasure’ and an ‘heir’; both are then contrasted with the fated Egyptians, since God preserves the *ece laf* and *yrfelafe* from the sea and sword, respectively.<sup>28</sup> The *sælafe*, as the ‘remnant of the sea’, denotes the Israelites as both ‘survivors’ and ‘treasure’,<sup>29</sup> while the *yðlafe*, as the ‘remnant of the wave’, can be read as meaning ‘sand’, ‘shore’, ‘Joseph’s Egyptian treasure’, or ‘the Israelites’, and indicates that the people of Israel are safe and have ‘their deserved reward’.<sup>30</sup> The Israelites, as the *sælafe* and *yðlafe*, are the ‘final remnants’ and the ‘spiritual ancestors of the audience’, their celebration on the banks of the Red Sea is a reminder to the poem’s audience of the patriarchal “legacy” and of the need to join the

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<sup>26</sup> Portnoy, *Remnant*, pp. 1–73, 74–93, 94–183.

<sup>27</sup> Portnoy, *Remnant*, pp. 145, 155–6.

<sup>28</sup> Portnoy, *Remnant*, pp. 125–83, esp. 145–62, at 162. See also Anlezark, ‘Connecting’, pp. 181–6; Ferguson, ‘Patristic Tradition’, p. 153–4.

<sup>29</sup> Howe, *Migration*, p. 87.

<sup>30</sup> Portnoy, *Remnant*, p. 161.

Patriarchs as part of the ‘holy remnant’.<sup>31</sup> Portnoy’s reading of *laf* in *Exodus* emphasizes how the remnant is not the detritus, the foul corpses described by Avitus, but the Israelites, and by typological corollary Christians, who have survived the destruction. The above reading, although important, renders the *laf* into a somewhat abstract notion, disassociating the noun from the physical remains of the Egyptians, and, impliedly, makes the place-of-death (*on deaðstede*, 590a) simply the scene of the Egyptians’ destruction and the Israelite survival.<sup>32</sup> However, the uniquely attested compound *deaðstede* (‘place-of-death’, 590a) has been interpreted as a scriptural allusion to Hell, but on comparison with other similar surviving compounds its meaning appears less clear.<sup>33</sup>

Other compounds in the vernacular corpus using the element *deað-* and indicating a place are *deaðbedd*, *deaðreced*, *deaðsele*, and *deaðwic*. All are uniquely attested compounds, with the exception of *deaðsele*, which occurs in three poems. The word *deaðsele* (‘hall of death’) refers to either Hell (in *Christ C* 1536a; *Guthlac B* 1075a) or oblivion more generally (*The Whale* 30a).<sup>34</sup> In *Beowulf* the *deaðbedde* (*Beowulf* 2901b) refers to the place where Beowulf dwells in death, in contrast to the dwelling-place of death (*deapwic*, *Beowulf* 1275b), where Grendel resides and wishes to return when mortally wounded. Finally, *deaðræced* (‘hall of death, grave, sepulchre’, *The Phoenix* 48b) is used in a depiction of the resurrection of the dead at Doomsday: ‘þonne deaðræced, | hæleþa heolstorcofan onhliden weorþað’ (‘when the halls of death, those graves of warriors, shall be opened’, 48b–9).<sup>35</sup> While all denote a place of resting for the dead, not all connote Hell. The only other compound to employ the element *-stede* in *Exodus* is *meðelstede* (‘meeting-place’, 397a,

<sup>31</sup> Portnoy, *Remnant*, p. 162.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Portnoy, *Remnant*, p. 161.

<sup>33</sup> Irving, ‘New Notes’, p. 324, n. 589–90, citing Rev. 20:13.

<sup>34</sup> *Christ C*, using language reminiscent of *Exodus*, sees Christ on Doomsday use the sword of victory (*sigemece*, *Christ C* 1530a) with his stronger or right hand (*mid þære swiðran hond*, 1530b) to condemn the army of the sinful (*synfulra here*, 1532b) and fated souls (*fæge gæstas*, 1533b) into the deep abyss (*deope dæl*, 1531a), and the Devil’s hall-of-death (*deaðsele deofles*, 1536a): Cook, *Christ*, p. 57.

<sup>35</sup> Blake, *Phoenix*, p. 50.

543a), which refers to the place Abraham takes Isaac to sacrifice him. As discussed in the previous chapter, this is the place associated with Mount Zion (*heahlond stigon ... on Seone beorh*, 385b–6b), Solomon’s temple, the Church, the Cross and the Crucifixion (380–446).<sup>36</sup> The compound *meðelstede* is also found in the Homiletic Digression, where it describes the gathering place for souls on Doomsday (543a). The *meðelstede* is a liminal space linked to both life and death. The noun *werigend* (‘defender, protector’) is usually read as a nominative plural, which, perhaps, in light of all treasure imagery in *Exodus* 580–90 (discussed below) and the earlier phrase *hordwearda hryre* (‘the death of the guardians of the treasure’, 35a, 512a), is thought to refer to the Egyptians.<sup>37</sup> However, as Tolkien has noted, the theme of the gathering of booty from the Egyptians is deduced from Exodus 14:31.<sup>38</sup> It is also unclear why the Egyptians should be referred to as defenders or protectors (*werigend*, 589b).<sup>39</sup> Consequently, these interpretative difficulties have led to suggestions that lines 580–90 are corrupt or that some are missing.<sup>40</sup>

Clearly, the receipt of treasure, the remnant (*laf*) and the place-of-death (*deaðstede*) may all relate simply to the triumph of the Israelites over the Egyptians. However, given the number of locations that have evident religious significance in *Exodus*, such as *burh*, *fæsten*, *beorh*, *feldhus*, *staðolas*, *tempel* and *wic*, and that the term *laf* and the notions of treasure in *Exodus* 580–90 are seemingly positive images, it is possible that both *deaðstede* and *werigend* have a positive meaning for the Israelites and are associated with the material practice of pilgrimage. If *Exodus* 516–19 and 580–90 are linked, this suggests that the intervening passages may provide the all-important context for the poem’s enigmatic

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<sup>36</sup> See previous section at pp. 209, 219.

<sup>37</sup> Blackburn, p. 64; Lucas, p. 148; Sedgfield, p. 183, n. 475. Thorpe reads *werigend* (589b) as the participle ‘cursing’ (p. 215).

<sup>38</sup> Tolkien, p. 79.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. J.F. Vickrey, ‘*Exodus* and the Treasure of Pharaoh’, *ASE* 1 (1972), 159–65, at 162.

<sup>40</sup> Earl, ‘Christian Tradition’, p. 168; Tolkien, p. 79.



[‘So, mindful of counsels, the mildest of men spoke in loud voice, strengthened by might – the army quietly awaited the will of the appointed one (they had perceived a wonder), the Word of salvation of the bold one – he spoke to the many.’]

The verbs *reordode* (549a) and *spræc* (553b) create an envelope pattern emphasizing the unity of the above passage. It is not clear what the *wundor* (‘miracle, marvel, portent’) describes here, but, generally, the word and its compounds depict a divine mystery or miracle. In the wilderness God gave Moses the power to work miracles (8–11), and the pillar was a second marvel (*oðer wundor*, 108b). As part of a compound *wundor* relates how God told Moses *soðwundra fela* (‘many marvellous truths’, 24b), describes the cloud-pillar as *lyftwundor* (‘sky-marvel’, 90a) and describes the parted Red Sea as *færwundra sum* (‘some inspiring wonder’, 279b). The final *wundor*- compound is unique to *Exodus*, and occurs when the Israelites sing their war-song (*fyrðleoð*, 578b) of the many great miracles (*eallwundra fela*, 579b) they have witnessed, but, seemingly, only partially perceived.<sup>44</sup>

Clearly Moses, as the agent of God, is associated with divine power. The phrase *manna mildost* in the above passage has been compared with the closing lines of *Beowulf*, and with Anglo-Saxon notions of saintliness:<sup>45</sup> Wright notes that Moses was first labelled the ‘mildest of men’ (*vir mitissimus*) in scripture (Num.12:3), a theme which was then adopted by patristic writers such as Gregory and Isidore of Seville, and developed into an Anglo-Saxon motif of idealized ‘mild’ kings such as Bede’s account of the king and martyr, Oswald (*HE* 3:6); whereas Richards and Wieland argue that phrase *manna mildost* is a Christian

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<sup>44</sup> For discussion of *leoð*- compounds and of the Israelites’ comprehension of divine signs, see above, pp. 92, 152.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. ‘cwædon þæt he wære wyruldcyninga | manna mildost ond monðwærust, leodum liðost ond lofgeornost’ (‘they said that of worldly kings, he was mildest of men and the gentlest, most gracious to people and most eager for glory’, *Beowulf* 3180b–2). See Lynch, ‘Enigmatic Diction’, pp. 246–53; M.P. Richards, ‘A Re-Examination of *Beowulf* ll.3180–3182’, *ELN* 10 (1973), 163–7; Robinson, *Beowulf*, pp. 81, 102–3, n. 54; G. Wieland, ‘*Manna Mildost*: Moses and *Beowulf*’, *Pacific Coast Philology* 23 (1988), 86–93; C.D. Wright, ‘Moses, *manna mildost*, *Exodus* 550a’, *NQ* 31.4 (1984), 440–3.

statement of spiritual excellence or saintliness.<sup>46</sup> Given that *Exodus* is a paraphrase focused upon drawing typological parallels between the Old and New Testaments, where Moses is fashioned as *magoræswa* (55a, 102a) who instructs and counsels the Israelites, the possibility that the *Exodus*-poet was associating Moses with the saints and saintliness cannot be simply dismissed.<sup>47</sup> Moses in his final speech (554–64) uses the phrase *beorselas beorna* (‘beer-halls of the warriors’, 564a) to describe warriors residing in Heaven.<sup>48</sup> The only similar compound that appears to associate a place of drinking with Heaven is *gebeorscipe*, which is found in a Lenten homily by Ælfric, and Rogationtide *Vercelli Homily 21*, where the word also refers to the faithful being called forth on Doomsday to *heofonlican gebeorscipe* (‘heavenly feast’) with the Patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob and all the holy host (*VH* 21.356/117–19).<sup>49</sup> It is clear that Moses is being presented as a unifying intercessor, transcending the earthly and heavenly.

Following Moses’ final speech, the emphasis shifts to the communal acts of the Israelites, which are described in an extended depiction of Israelite celebration (565–79):<sup>50</sup>

Æfter þam wordum – werod wæs on salum – 565  
 sungon sigebyman (segnas stodon)  
 fægerne sweg. Folc wæs on lande;  
 hæfde wuldres beam werud gelæded,

<sup>46</sup> Richards, ‘Re-Examination’, p. 167; Wieland, ‘*Manna Mildost*’, p. 91; Wright, ‘Moses’, p. 442, citing Klaeber, ‘*Beowulfiana*’, pp. 223–4. Bede states that ‘quo regni culmine sublimatus, nihilominus (quod mirum dictu est) pauperibus et peregrinis semper humilis benignus et largus fuit’ (‘Although elevated to the summit of power, nevertheless (which is wonderful to tell) he [King Oswald] was humble, mild and bountiful to the poor and strangers (*peregrini*)’, *HE* 3:4): *Bede, HE*, p. 230.

<sup>47</sup> For discussion of Moses as a *magoræswa*, see above, p. 69.

<sup>48</sup> For associations between the beer-hall and the terrestrial and heavenly Church (i.e. the Churches Militant and Triumphant), see Helder, ‘Abraham’, p. 199; W. Helder, ‘The Song of Creation in *Beowulf* and the Interpretation of Heorot’, *English Studies in Canada* 13.3 (1987), 243–55.

<sup>49</sup> Cf. *beorsele* in *Beowulf* 482a, 492a, 1094a, 2635a, and *The Rune Poem* 40a: ASPR 6, p. 29. See *DOE*, *beorscipe*, *beorsetl* (by emendation), *beorðegu*, and *gebeorscipe*.

<sup>50</sup> The manuscript reads *on fægerne* (567a), *gefeon* (570a), and *galan* (578b), while the word *herge* (574b) is supplied. Lucas also supplies *lindwigan* (570a), but this has not been accepted. See also Tolkien, pp. 18, 78.

halige heapas, on hild Godes.

Life gefegon þa hie oðlæded hæfdon 570

feorh of feonda dome, þeah ðe hie hit frecne geneðdon,

weras under wætera hrofas. Gesawon hie þær weallas standan,

ealle him brimu blodige þuhton, þurh þa heora beadosearo wægon.

Hreðdon hildespelle, siððan hie þam herge wiðforon;

hofon hereþreatas hlude stefne – 575

for þam dædweorce Drihten heredon –

weras wuldres sang; wif on oðrum,

folcsweota mæst, fyrdleoð golan

aclum stefnum, eallwundra fela

[‘After these words – the troop was in raptures – the trumpets-of-victory sounded a beautiful sound (the banners stood). The folk was on the land; the beam of glory had led the troop, the holy company, into God’s protection. They rejoiced in life they who had carried off life from the jurisdiction of their enemies, though they daringly risked it [that life], men under the roofs of water. They saw the walls standing there, all the waters seemed bloody to them, through which they carried their war-gear. They exulted in warlike speech (or ‘song of battle’), since they had escaped the army; the band of soldiers raised a loud voice – they praised the Lord for that deed – the men singing of glory (or ‘Heaven’); the women among them, a very great body of people, sang a war-song of many all-marvels (or ‘great miracles’) with fearful voices.’]

Earl has argued that the reference to the Israelites being on land (*folc wæs on lande*, 567b) signifies that they have reached the Promised Land, while the phrase *on hild Godes* (‘into God’s protection’, 569b) should be translated as ‘in God’s battle’ and thus as further evidence

of anachronistic martial imagery.<sup>51</sup> The above passage (565–79), which is thought to allude to the scriptural Song of the Sea (Ex. 15:1–18),<sup>52</sup> is focused upon ritualistic celebration. The opening line repeats two earlier and separate half-lines: *Æfter þam wordum* (299a, 565a), which initiated the *transitus* passage (299–353a) after Moses’ second speech (278–98), and *folc/werod wæs on salum* (106b, 565b) that expressed the Israelites’ joy that their procession was led and marked out by the pillars of cloud and fire (*Exodus* 98–125). These repetitions serve to recall the act of the processing across the Red Sea following the sign of the Cross. The tautologous, but uniquely attested, compound *dædweorc* is thought by Tolkien to be an error for *dægweorc* (151a, 315a, 507a, 519b), but whatever the case the compound continues the emphasis upon divine miraculous acts performed in the physical landscape.<sup>53</sup> Furthermore, the passage contains re-iterations of the themes of song, verbs of rising used in relation to Israelite activity, structural imagery, and of the notion of message or messenger.

As previously noted, the above passage concludes the theme of song, exemplified by the repetition of *leoð*- compounds, with its references to *fyrðleoð* (578b), *sungon sigebyman* (566a), and *wuldres sang* (577a).<sup>54</sup> The phrase *segnas stodon* (‘banners stood’, 566b) also completes the repetition of verb *standan* in relation to the activity of the Israelites, and contrasts with the earlier references to the fear of the Israelites that rose up (*egsan/egesan stodan*, 136b, 201b).<sup>55</sup> Notably, the only other examples of the use of the verb *standan* refer to: the burning beam (*byrnende beam*, 111a) with its gleaming rays of sunlight (*blace stodon ... scire leoman*, 111b–12b), which stands over the Israelites, the fear of Egyptians (*egesan stodan*, 491a) at their impending doom during the Destruction (447–515), and the towering walls of the parted Red Sea (*streamas stodon*, 460a, *weallas standan*, 572b). Thus fear, the sign of the Cross, and the walls of the Red Sea stand prominently above all else. In *Exodus*

<sup>51</sup> Earl, ‘Christian Tradition’, p. 155. See above, p. 226.

<sup>52</sup> Irving, p. 96, n. 542–6.

<sup>53</sup> Tolkien, p. 78.

<sup>54</sup> See above, p. 92.

<sup>55</sup> See above, p. 184.

565–79, the signs (*segnas*, 566b) are unequivocally linked with the beam of glory (*wuldres beam*, 568a), which Earl notes is also found in *The Dream of the Rood* 97b and *Elene* 217b,<sup>56</sup> while the Israelites recall how they passed under the roofs of water (*wætera hrofas*, 572a) and saw the upstanding walls (*weallas standan*, 572b), and so evoke the ecclesial imagery of *Exodus* 278–98.<sup>57</sup> Only at the end of the poem and in light of the preceding spear imagery can the following statement constitute a clear allusion to the *flumina de ventre Christi* theme: *ealle him brimu blodige þuhton* (‘all the waters seemed bloody to them’, 573a).<sup>58</sup> The above passage appears to be a culminating moment of high ritual, where the imagery of the Cross and the Church coalesce with acts of divine revelation.

The extended depiction of Israelite celebration (565–79) also contains the last of the aforementioned list of nouns denoting a message or messenger. The compound *hildespell* (‘warlike speech, song of battle’, 574a) appears in the phrase *hreðdon hildespelle* (574a), often rendered as ‘they exulted in the song of battle’. The *hildespelle* (‘battle-narrative [‘-homily’, ‘-tale’, or ‘-message’]’) marks the triumphant conclusion of *Exodus*’ narrative, for the Israelites are now *on hild Godes* (‘under God’s protection’, 569b). *Exodus* 565–79 provide the first instance where the homograph *hild*, means ‘observance, keeping; safekeeping, protection, watchful care’, rather than ‘battle, war’.<sup>59</sup> The phrase *on hild Godes* also stresses the idea of watchfulness and observance, which have been among the central themes of the Israelites activities throughout their processional journey. The words *gesawon* (‘saw’, 572b), *þuhton* (‘seemed’, 573a) and *dædworce* (‘deed, action’, 576a) suggest reflection, while the numerous references to ritualistic singing, when combined with the phrase *aclum stefnum* (‘with fearful voices’, 579a), emphasize that the Israelites’ observance

<sup>56</sup> Earl, ‘Christian Tradition’, p. 160.

<sup>57</sup> See above, p. 205.

<sup>58</sup> For discussion of the *flumina de ventre Christi* theme, see above, p. 204.

<sup>59</sup> The other instances of *hild* (162b, 181b, 241b, 505b) convey the threat of battle, or highlight the ineffectual nature of human warfare, either because of old age or insuperable odds: Irving, ‘New Notes’, p. 322. Cf. *gehyld*, which is used when God commended the Israelites into Abraham’s protection (*in gehyld bebead*, 382b).

is motivated by both gratitude and *timor Dei*. Providence is not just about present safety, but what is to come, and it appears as if *hildespelle*, and all the attendant ritualistic activity of *Exodus* 565–79, may prompt, and be the preconditions for, the images of the *laf*, the place-of-death (*deaðstede*) and the treasure that follow in *Exodus* 580–90, and to which the focus now turns.

After the ritualistic imagery, the closing lines of *Exodus* see the focus return once more to the shore of the Red Sea (580–90):<sup>60</sup>

Ʒa wæs eðfynde Afrisc meowle 580  
on geofones staðe golde geweorðod.

Handa hofon halswurðunge,  
bliðe wæron, bote gesawon,  
heddon herereafes – hæft wæs onsæled.

Ongunnon sælafe segnum dælan 585  
on yðlafe ealde madmas,  
reaf ond randas; heo on riht sceodon  
gold ond godweb, Iosepes gestreon,  
wera wuldorgesteald. Werigend lagon  
on deaðstede, drihtfolca mæst. 590

[‘Then the African woman was easily found, she was honoured on the shore of the sea with gold.

Hands raised the neck-ornament, they were joyful, they saw a restoration, and took care of the spoil – captivity was loosened.

They began to divide the sea-leavings, the old treasures, by the banners on the sea-

<sup>60</sup> The manuscript reads *hand ahofon* (582a), *sceo* (587b), and *mæ* (590b).

shore, spoil (or ‘raiment’) and shields; they rightly divided gold and fine (purple) cloth, the treasure of Joseph, glorious possessions of men. The defenders lay in the place-of-death, the greatest of multitudes.’]

The passage has three structural elements: the description of the *Afrisc meowle* (580–1); the seizure and distribution of treasure or treasure-like items, including the *laf* (582–89a); and the aforementioned closing lines (589b–90). Each is discussed in turn in order to understand its potential relevance as the ultimate goal of a processional pilgrimage akin to a Rogation.

The identity of the *Afrisc meowle* is a vexed issue. The phrase can be read in the singular,<sup>61</sup> plural,<sup>62</sup> or treated as a collective noun.<sup>63</sup> Some editors emend *Afrisc* to *Ebrisc* (Hebrew),<sup>64</sup> while others, based upon the scriptural reference to the dead Egyptians on the seashore (Ex.14:31), emend *meowle* to *neowle* (‘prone, prostrate’).<sup>65</sup> Irving notes that the term *Afrisc* was ‘as a rule’ reserved by classical and medieval geographers for Libyans and Mauretians,<sup>66</sup> but Robinson, makes perhaps the most significant contribution in arguing that the African woman is Moses’ Ethiopian wife, described in Numbers 12:1, who is a type of ‘the Church gathered out of the nations’.<sup>67</sup> Robinson also equates the Madianite wife of Moses in Exodus 2:15–22, 3:1, 4:18–26, 18:1–6 with Moses’ Ethiopian wife.<sup>68</sup> Other readings equate the *Afrisc meowle* with the African maiden of the Song of Songs (Cant. 1–8), Myriam (Exodus 15:20–1),<sup>69</sup> or conflate the Ethiopian wife, as a type of the Church, with

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<sup>61</sup> Gordon, *Poetry*, p. 131; Irving, p. 117; Lucas, p. 147.

<sup>62</sup> Irving, ‘New Notes’, p. 323; Z.P. Thundy, ‘*Afrisc Meowle* and the Old English *Exodus*’, *Neophilologus* 64 (1980), 297–306, at 301–2.

<sup>63</sup> J.F. Vickrey, ‘*Exodus* and the Robe of Joseph’, *Studies in Philology* 86.1 (1989), 1–17, at 5.

<sup>64</sup> Bright, ‘Notes’, p. 19; Irving, pp. 65, 96, n. 547.

<sup>65</sup> ASPR 1, pp. 107; Blackburn, p. 63. Cf. *Ebrisc neowle* (‘the Hebrew prostrate in prayer’): Gollancz, *Cædmon Manuscript*, p. lxxv.

<sup>66</sup> Irving, p. 96, n. 547. Cf. Irving, ‘New Notes’, p. 323.

<sup>67</sup> Robinson, ‘Notes’, pp. 375–6. Cf. Lucas, p. 147.

<sup>68</sup> Robinson, ‘Notes’, pp. 374–5.

<sup>69</sup> Huppé, *Doctrine*, p. 223; Helder, ‘Etham’, pp. 21–2; Vickrey, ‘Robe’, pp. 7–8; Ferguson, ‘Patristic Tradition’, pp. 150–2, at 151, n. 171.

Miriam as a type of the Synagogue.<sup>70</sup> The adjective *eðfynde* ('easily found, easy to find') suggests that the African woman is present and honoured on the sea shore (*on geofones staðe*, 580a), a reference which may derive from Deuteronomy 1:1, Psalm 104:37 or Wisdom 10:19.<sup>71</sup> Given the fact that *Afrisc meowle* is honoured, it seems likely that she should be interpreted as a type of the Church.

If the identity of the *Afrisc meowle* appears vexed, the meaning of the depictions of treasure is similarly difficult. Once again, the *Exodus*-poet does not rely on one word for treasure, but instead employs numerous references to treasure-like items:<sup>72</sup> *golde*, *halswurðunge*, *herereafes*, *ealde madmas*, *reaf ond randas*, *gold ond godweb*, *Iosepes gestreon*, and *wera wuldorgesteald*. Although treasure is referred to throughout *Exodus*, nowhere else in the poem is there such a concentration of references as here in *Exodus* 580–90.<sup>73</sup> However, only the phrase *Iosepes gestreon* ('the treasure of Joseph', 588b) has a scriptural connotation, relating to Joseph's acquisition of all the land of Egypt, described in Genesis 47:20, which may be alluded to in *Exodus* 135–41.<sup>74</sup> Since Joseph was a type of Christ, Vickrey translates the phrase *Iosepes gestreon* as 'Christ's acquisition'.<sup>75</sup> The unique compound *halswurðunge* could mean both *hǣlswurðung* ('neck-ornament') and *hālswurðung* ('salvation-worship; thanksgiving for safety') rendering the phrase *handa hofon halswurðunge* as 'hands raised the neck-ornament', 'they raised the neck-ornament with (or 'in') the hand' or, even, 'they lifted their hands in thanksgiving'; but there could be

<sup>70</sup> E.E. Martin, 'Allegory and the African Woman in the Old English *Exodus*', *JEGP* 81.1 (1982), 1–15.

<sup>71</sup> Earl, 'Christian Tradition', pp. 145, 158; Irving, 'New Notes', p. 323, respectively.

<sup>72</sup> Cf. the depiction of signs in *Exodus* 71b–125 discussed, at p. 145.

<sup>73</sup> Thundy cites the following lines from Irving's edition as examples of the motif of treasure (Lucas' lineation is provided in parentheses where there is variation, while questionable examples are indicated by '\*'): 21–2\*; 30–6; 46–7; 142–3; 153\*; 186\*; 211\*; 354\*; 368; 391–2\*; 512; 548 (581); 554–5 (587–9). See Thundy, '*Afrisc Meowle*', pp. 303–4, at 297, n. 4.

<sup>74</sup> Gollancz, *Cædmon Manuscript*, p. lxix; Irving, p. 97, n. 555.

<sup>75</sup> Vickrey, 'Treasure', pp. 161–2.

paronomasia involving some or all these senses.<sup>76</sup> The compound *herereafes* ('plunder, booty, 584a) appears to be a generic term for booty, but is only found elsewhere in *Judith* (316a), where it describes battlefield spoliation (as discussed below). The noun *reaf* (587a) may mean 'spoil, booty', given that it is linked with *randas* ('shields'),<sup>77</sup> but can, as in the case of the earlier reference in *Exodus*, denote 'raiment, garment': *in blacum reafum* ('in dark clothing', 212b). The word *madmas* in *ealde madmas* ('old treasures', 586b) is the generic word for treasure, occurring in the earlier phrase *æfter maðmum* ('after [obtaining] the treasure', 143a), and as *maðmhorda mæst* ('greatest of treasure-hoards', 368a) in the Patriarchal Digression (362–446).<sup>78</sup> The compound *wuldorgesteald* ('glorious possessions', 589a) in *Genesis A* (64b) and *Andreas* (1686a) denotes Heaven, and, possibly, the splendid treasures of the Gospels in *Exeter Riddle 24* (16a).<sup>79</sup>

References to gold and treasure in Old English are so ubiquitous as to amount to a commonplace.<sup>80</sup> However, there was undisputedly a late-antique post-persecution association between the triumphant Church militant, its *communio* of martyrs and saints, and scripture on the one hand and treasure, particularly in the form of gold, on the other.<sup>81</sup> Vickrey suggests that gold in *Exodus* could allegorically represent the elect or the 'spiritual beauty of the elect' in patristic exegesis.<sup>82</sup> The Anglo-Saxon accounts demonstrate that both scripture and church interiors could be adorned with gold.<sup>83</sup> DiNapoli notes that in the Vercelli Homilies gold signifies such things as royalty, the transfigured body of the blessed, a golden ring around the

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<sup>76</sup> Vickrey, 'Treasure', p. 13, n. 30. See also Blackburn, p. 63; Irving, p. 97, n. 549.

<sup>77</sup> Cf. *Exeter Riddle 9 2*; *Exeter Riddle 11 7a*; *Guthlac A 132a*; *The Battle of Maldon (reaf and hringas, 161a)*; *Waldere II 20b*. For quotations from the riddles, see Williamson, *Riddles*, pp. 73, 75, 163–6, 168–70.

<sup>78</sup> Cf. E.M. Tyler, *Old English Poetics: The Aesthetics of the Familiar in Anglo-Saxon England* (York, 2006), pp. 25–7.

<sup>79</sup> Williamson, *Riddles*, pp. 83, 211–15.

<sup>80</sup> Tyler, *Poetics*, pp. 9–100.

<sup>81</sup> D. Janes, *Gold and God in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 1–17, 42–93.

<sup>82</sup> Vickrey, 'Treasure', p. 15, n. 36; Janes, *Gold*, pp. 74–5.

<sup>83</sup> Henderson cites Boniface's request to Eadburh, Abbess of Minster in Thanet, for a copy of St Peter's Epistles written in gold: Henderson, *Vision*, p. 122, n. 2, citing Tangl, *Die Briefe*, 35.60/14–19.

sun at Christ's nativity, the discovery of hoards during the Last Days, and the chosen that are purified like gold.<sup>84</sup> If the *Afrisc meowle* is a type of the Church, the fact that she is honoured with gold (*golde geweordod*, 581) is noteworthy, particularly given that gold is associated with the banner of Judah's tribe, the golden lion (*gyldenne leon*, 321b). Imagery of the adornment of the Cross or a bejewelled Cross (*crux gemmata*) is found in *The Dream of the Rood*, Æthelwulf's *De abbatibus* and Aldhelm's *Carmina ecclesiasticum* 3.<sup>85</sup> The final reference to gold occurs in the phrase *gold ond godweb* (588a), which can only be rendered less opaque by understanding the meaning of the enigmatic noun *godweb*.

The compound *godweb* ('fine [purple] cloth', 588a), regularly glossed the colour purple and red,<sup>86</sup> which was a luxury item in Anglo-Saxon material culture, used to adorn churches and dye parchment intended to receive the scriptures.<sup>87</sup> The compound *godweb* is used in describing the Gospel accounts of how Christ was dressed in the imperial cloth of the Roman Empire in order to mock him during His scourging and Crucifixion. The gospels themselves differed on whether the cloak was purple or red, with *Vercelli Homily 1* relating how Christ was evilly dressed in red cloth (*yumbsweopon mid reade hrægle yfelice*, *VH* 1.28/148) and adorned in fine clothing of good red fabric ('wise þæt hie hæfdon godwebbenne gírlan reades godwebbes', *VH* 1.28/149).<sup>88</sup> Purple was also associated by Bede with martyrdom and the veils of the Tabernacle, while he refers to purple cloth being used to mock Christ during the Passion.<sup>89</sup> The purple cloth was also associated with the adorning of

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<sup>84</sup> DiNapoli, *Index*, pp. 45–6.

<sup>85</sup> See the following: *DotR* 7a, 16a, 23b, 77; *De Abbatibus* 22.57/725; *CE* 3.18/77–8. For the Anglo-Latin quotations, see Campbell, *Æthelwulf*, p. 57; Ehwald, *Aldhelmi Opera, Carmina Ecclesiastica*, pp. 11–32, at 18. Cf. Constantine's vision of a celestial bejewelled Cross (*crux gemmata*) in *Elene* 88b–90: Wood, 'Constantinian Crosses', pp. 1–13.

<sup>86</sup> Patch, 'Liturgical Influence', p. 248.

<sup>87</sup> Henderson, *Vision*, pp. 122–35, at 122, n. 3 and 124, n. 20, citing B. Colgrave, ed., *Life of Bishop Wilfrid* 17.34–6, and (for purple textiles described in Wilfrid's epitaph) Bede, *HE* (5:19), pp. 528–9; Colgrave, *Life* 17.6–7.

<sup>88</sup> Jn. 19:2 Cf. Mt. 27:28; Henderson, *Vision*, p. 129.

<sup>89</sup> Henderson, *Vision*, pp. 126–7, 129–30, citing Hurst, *Opera exegetica, de tabernaculo*, bk. 2, pp. 45–6.

the Cross to stress Christ's victory over death (known as a trophy-cross).<sup>90</sup> Some poetic references reveal that *godweb* was simply a luxury item.<sup>91</sup> Elsewhere the compound occurs in a number of religious contexts. In *Christ C*, the noun *godweb* denotes the curtain separating off the most sacred area (Holy of Holies) in Jerusalem called the *godwebba cyst* ('best of fine cloths', 1134).<sup>92</sup> The prose work *Solomon and Saturn Pater Noster Prose (SSPNP)* describes how twelve precious (purple) cloths hung on the golden standard of the allegorically personified Pater Noster ('hafað gyldene fonan, ond seo fane is mid xii godwebbum utan ymbhangen', *SSPNP* 108–9).<sup>93</sup> An Old English interlineal gloss translation of Fortunatus' *vexilla regis prodeunt* in the Durham Hymnal relates how the Cross, variously described as *treow* ('tree', 16, 17), *rode* ('Cross', 2) and *gufanan* ('war-banner', 1) was adorned with the purple of the King (*gefrætwod cynges mid godewebbe*, 18).<sup>94</sup> The term *godweb* is also found in *Old English Version of Bede's Ecclesiastical History (OEHE)* where it is recounted that the banner (*segn*) of the martyred King Oswald, which he once raised at Heavenfield (*halige tacn Cristes rode arærde*),<sup>95</sup> was adorned with gold and fine (purple) cloth and set upon his sepulchre ('his segen, se wæs mid golde 7 mid godwebbe gefrætwad, 7 ofer his byrgenne geseted').<sup>96</sup> As well as the aforementioned reference in *Vercelli Homily 1*, the compound *godweb* occurs on three other occasions in the collected homilies of the Vercelli Book to represent the dangers of the allure of earthly finery and the concomitant threat of eternal damnation on Doomsday (*VH* 2.52/1–6, 10.209/220–4, 21.358/160–4). This more negative image of treasure will be returned to later, but, notably, the precious items depicted in *Exodus*

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<sup>90</sup> Raw, 'Cross', pp. 7–11.

<sup>91</sup> See *The Metres of Boethius* (... *ne hi siarocræftum godweb giredon*, '... they did not adorn their fine cloth with great fineries', 8.24b–25a), and *Exeter Riddle 33*, *geolo godwebb* ('fine yellow [silk] cloth', 10a): ASPR 5, p. 162; Williamson, *Riddles*, pp. 88, 243–8.

<sup>92</sup> Cook, *Christ*, pp. 43, 197.

<sup>93</sup> Anlezark, *Dialogues*, p. 76.

<sup>94</sup> Patch, 'Liturgical Influence', p. 248; Stevenson, *Latin Hymns*, p. 78.

<sup>95</sup> *OEHE*, pt. I.1, 3(2).154/20–1.

<sup>96</sup> *OEHE*, pt. I.1, 3(11).184/1–2; Vickrey, 'Robe', pp. 11, n. 27, and 13, n. 31. Cf. 'vexillum eius super tumbam auro et purpura conpositum adposuerunt' ('They placed his banner made of gold and purple above the tomb', *HE* 3:11): *Bede, HE*, p. 246.

580–90 all appear to have positive and tangible benefit to those receiving them.<sup>97</sup> Given that typological parallels appear to lie at the heart of the poem, it is not surprising that many readings of treasure in *Exodus* 580–90 have focused upon the allusions to the Church and Cross.

A number of interpretations of lines 580–90 rely upon the scriptural event preceding the exodus of the Israelites, known as the spoliation of the Egyptians (*et spoliaverunt Aegyptios*, Ex. 12:36).<sup>98</sup> The spoliation describes when the Israelites asked for and obtained ‘vessels of silver and gold, and very much raiment’ from the Egyptians (Ex. 12:36) after they had been blighted by the ten plagues, this treasure was interpreted by Augustine as signifying pagan wisdom, which was carried away and adapted to sacred ends. Thundy argues that the theme of the spoliation of the Egyptians means that the *Afrisc meowle*, as a type of the Church, has been adorned on an allegorical level by pagan art and literature.<sup>99</sup> Using the synoptic Gospel motif of the strong man being despoiled of his goods by the stronger man (Lk. 11:21–2, Mt. 12:29, Mk. 3:27), Vickrey argued that *Exodus* 580–90 summarized how Christ has despoiled the Devil (Pharaoh) of his treasure (mankind) and given this treasure to His Church.<sup>100</sup> However, Vickrey struggled with how the Israelites as Christians can represent both those taking the treasure and the treasure itself, and conceded that there may not be one consistent allegory in *Exodus* 580–90.<sup>101</sup> Subsequently, Vickrey argued that (based upon a retrograde chronology moving from effect to cause) the adorning of the *Afrisc meowle* and the taking up of the treasure are ‘one and the same’ event.<sup>102</sup> He focused upon the

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<sup>97</sup> Cf. the two earlier references to deprivation of treasure, the first of which probably relates to the Egyptians (35–6), while the second describes Reuben’s deprivation of rank and wealth due to sin (337b–9a).

<sup>98</sup> Huppé, *Doctrine*, pp. 4–6, n. 4, citing *De doctrina Christiana* PL 34:60; Wilson, *Christian theology*, pp. 136–7. Cf. Walton’s ‘gold out of Egypt’ topos, which he asserts is an exhortation to read the poem exegetically using the fourfold sense (*‘Gehyre’*, pp. 2–4, at 2).

<sup>99</sup> Thundy, *‘Afrisc Meowle’*, pp. 297–306, at 302.

<sup>100</sup> Vickrey, *‘Treasure’*, pp. 159–65 esp. 160; Vickrey, *‘Herba Humilis’*, p. 30–2.

<sup>101</sup> Vickrey, *‘Treasure’*, pp. 162–3.

<sup>102</sup> Cross, *‘Review’*, p. 187; Vickrey, *‘Robe’*, pp. 2–7, at 6.

*godweb* ('splendid fabric', 588a) as a symbol of Joseph's coat of many colours (*tunicam polymitam*, Gen. 37:3), which typologically represents 'those persons so gathered' by the *Afrisc meowle*, who is herself a type of the Church, as a result, the Church and her congregation represent 'the perfection of the Body of Christ' (*totus Christus*).<sup>103</sup> In equating the Israelites with treasure, Vickrey addresses Isaacs' assertion that the *deaðstede* ('place-of-death', 590a) is both the Red Sea and Hell,<sup>104</sup> The half-line *hæft wæs onsæled* ('captivity was loosened', 584b) seems to derive from Ephesians 4:8: 'ascendens in altum captivam duxit captivitatem' ('ascending on high, He led captivity captive'), and is thought to allude to the apocryphal event of Christ's Harrowing of Hell and subsequent ascent into Heaven (sometimes known as the descent-ascent motif). These apocryphal accounts were designed to address the problem of the pre-Christian good, such as the Patriarchs, who because they were never baptised would theoretically be condemned to Hell and eternal death, and so incorporate them into the Christian New Testament soteriological theology.<sup>105</sup> Vickrey reads *Exodus* as an allegorical battle waged against the devil and sin, where the good are saved by Christ either through Baptism and life pilgrimage or the Harrowing.<sup>106</sup>

However, as with the preceding passages, *Exodus* 580–90 does appear to depict ritualistic and reverent activity that could evoke acts of material religious practice. The possibility of reward (*bote gesawon*, 583b), the act of dividing up of sea-leavings (*sælafe*, 585a) by the signs (*segnum*, 585b) occur in the context of the Church (*Afrisc meowle*, 580b) being honoured (*geweorðod*, 581b), while the Israelites are said to have raised their hands (*handa hofon*, 582a). The *sælafe* (585a) is translated above as if it were an accusative, appositive to *ealde madmas* (586b), denoting 'spoils of the sea',<sup>107</sup> but it can also read as a nominative plural to denote the Israelites as 'sea-survivors': 'the remnant of the sea [the

<sup>103</sup> Vickrey, 'Robe', pp. 1–17.

<sup>104</sup> Isaacs, *Structural Principles*, p. 156.

<sup>105</sup> Kramer, *Earth and Heaven*, pp. 36–8; Vickrey, 'Battle', p. 131; Vickrey, 'Treasure', p. 161.

<sup>106</sup> Vickrey, 'Battle', 119–40; Vickrey, 'Tenth Plague', pp. 41–52.

<sup>107</sup> ASPR 1, p. 218; Blackburn, p. 204; Irving, pp. 97; Sedgfield, p. 183, n. 466.

Israelites] began to divide to the bannered tribes, on the remnant of the wave, ancient treasures'.<sup>108</sup> The dative plural phrase *segnum dælan* is metonymically read to mean 'to divide according to the "tribes" (or 'among the divisions of the Israelite army')'.<sup>109</sup> Since the term *segn* (127a, 172b, 302a, 319a, 566b, 585b) appears to allude to the sign of the Cross, this act of dividing the *sælafe* could be a religious act. Furthermore, the depictions of treasure seem to emphasize these items as physical and tangible objects, suggesting the possibility of reward implied by *bote gesawon* (583b) need not exclusively relate to the post-mortem spiritual prize. Vickrey notes that, although these items of treasure are meant to derive from the Egyptian army, the only piece of armour described in *Exodus* 580–90 are shields (*randas*, 587a), which are rarely found in other such spoliation depictions, perhaps because the (wooden) shield was of comparatively low value.<sup>110</sup> As was previously discussed, the Israelite shield appears to be the clearest example of an item of the armour of God (*armaturam Dei*) as described by Saint Paul in Ephesians 6:10–20.<sup>111</sup> Either these are not Egyptian shields or they have been appropriated and transformed into something entirely new and beneficial. Perhaps then, like the *flumina de ventre Christi* theme, the treasure represents the tangible remainder stemming from the deep message of the New Testament (*deop ærende*, 519a) that survives the Destruction (447–515), and negates death.

Although no further mention is made of Moses after his final speech (554–64), there are, within the references to treasure, intimations of the elect (*gold*) and martyrdom (*godwebb*) alongside possible allusions to the Church and the Cross. Furthermore, as was discussed, Portnoy has argued that the *ece laf* ('eternal remnant', 370b), which was lead over the sea-streams in the *maðmhorda mæst* ('greatest of treasure-hoards', 368a), is the 'remnant'

<sup>108</sup> Lucas, p. 148; Portnoy, *Remnant*, p. 161, with Portnoy's translation.

<sup>109</sup> ASPR 1, p. 218; Blackburn, pp. 63, 209; Irving, p. 97, n. 552–3; Lucas, p. 196; Sedgefield, p. 183, n. 471. Thorpe reads *segnum* as meaning 'in nets' (p. 215).

<sup>110</sup> Shields are mentioned in *Judith* (*bord*, 317a). See Vickrey, 'Robe', pp. 9–11, n. 26, citing Brady's assertion that shields were not a costly or rare item: C. Brady, 'Weapons in *Beowulf*: an Analysis of the Nominal Compounds and an Evaluation of the Poet's Use of them', *ASE* 8 (1979), 79–141, at 124.

<sup>111</sup> For discussion of *armaturam Dei*, see p. 208.

that bears the ‘seed’ of eternal life,<sup>112</sup> and that the compounds *sælafe* and *yðlafe* are the Israelites who represent the ‘final remnants’, the ‘spiritual ancestors of the audience’, and, potentially, part of ‘the patriarchal “legacy”’ and thus the ‘holy remnant’.<sup>113</sup> If the Ark, as the greatest of treasure-hoards (*maðmhorda mæst*, 368a), represents the Church and the Cross, then, the eternal remnant (*ece laf*) represents the survival of the faithful through history.<sup>114</sup> However the *sælafe* need not be specifying all the faithful, only those who have definitely been saved. The fact that the treasure referred to in *Exodus* 580–90 is the subject of ritualistic and reverent activity suggests that the *sælafe* has an elevated status. Reading the compound *sælafe* as an accusative plural means that the ‘sea-leavings’ could be the physical manifestation of the elect amongst the faithful: those who have unequivocally triumphed over death, and provide a physical testament to the truth of the deep message of (*deop ærende*, 519a). To understand how the *laf* might connote the elect involves turning again to the Rogationtide homilies that have thus far provided a lens through which the Israelites’ processional journey can be interpreted.

From Portnoy’s survey, the only instances where *laf* could connote the elect either on its own or in a phrase with a partitive genitive is when it refers to the remains or relics of the saints.<sup>115</sup> In simplex form, the word *laf* serves as a loan translation for ‘(saints) relics’ only in the Rogationtide *Vercelli Homily 12* (*VH* 12.229/29) and two other examples which probably date from the eleventh century.<sup>116</sup> As Wright notes, the reference in *Vercelli Homily 12* in fact ‘occurs in collocation with a more familiar relic-term’ (*halige reliquias*), but the fact that the *laf* is equated with the remnant of holy men provides a potentially new avenue for

<sup>112</sup> Portnoy, *Remnant*, pp. 149–51.

<sup>113</sup> Portnoy, *Remnant*, p. 162; and see above, p. 245.

<sup>114</sup> For discussion of the Ark as type of the Church, see above, p. 220.

<sup>115</sup> Portnoy, *Remnant*, pp. 34–73, esp. 42, 68. Portnoy only attributes the sense ‘remains, relic’ to the term *laf* in poetry to *The Phoenix* (*eft yrfeweard ealdre lafe*, 376), a reading that is challenged by Jones. See Portnoy, *Remnant*, pp. 57–9; Blake, *Phoenix*, p. 59; Jones, ‘Relics’, p. 93, n. 33.

<sup>116</sup> Jones, ‘Relics’, p. 93, n. 33, citing *DOEWC*: Logeman, H. *The Rule of St. Benet*, EETS 90 (London, 1888), ch. 58, p. 97, l. 14, and Liebermann, F. *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen, Judicia Dei VII* (Halle, 1903–16), p. 413–14; Portnoy, *Remnant*, Appendix A, pp. 38–54.

understanding its role in *Exodus*. Furthermore, the homily also demonstrates a concurrence of three images, namely the sign of the Cross, the notion of a message or narrative (*spel*), and the *laf*, that appear to have influenced *Exodus* 580–90.

After referring to how holy relics (*halige reliquias*), the sign of the Cross of Christ (*Cristes rodetacen*) and the Gospels (*godspel*) should be carried in procession around the community's land (*VH* 12.228/16–20), the anonymous Vercelli homilist says (*VH* 12.229/28–32):<sup>117</sup>

Eac we sculon beran oðre halige reliquias, þæt syndon haligra manna lafe, hyra feaxes oððe hyra lices dæl oððe hrægles, 7 mid þam halignessum eallum we sculon eaðmodlice gangan ymb ure land on þissum halgum dagum.

[‘Also we must carry other holy relics, that are the remnants of holy men, their hair or part of their body or garment, and with all those holy relics we shall humbly go around our land on these holy days.’]

The phrase the remnants of holy men (*haligra manna lafe*) highlights that relics are not seen in the abstract, but are the foundation of the Cult of the Saints. The patriarchs and saints (particularly Peter and Paul) are referred to in the Rogationtide Vercelli homilies as personages of importance,<sup>118</sup> and saint's relics, *reliquias*, were a source of holy awe: ‘secan we symle mid ondrysnum egesan þa halgan reliquias dryhtnes 7 þyllicre gesamnunge’ (‘we always seek with revered fear the holy relics of the Lord and such congregation’, *VH* 12.230/73–4).<sup>119</sup> There are further references to relic-seeking or visiting shrines (*mid reliquiasocnum*, *VH* 11.221/3, 19.325/163, 20.332/3–4) that are the only such references in the entire vernacular corpus. The phrase ‘we ut gangen mid þam haligdome’ (‘we go forth

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<sup>117</sup> Jones, ‘Relics’, p. 93, n. 33.

<sup>118</sup> See *VH* 19.320/99–100, 21.356/117–19, 21.362/253–7.

<sup>119</sup> The OE translation for Latin *reliquiae*, *reliquias* is mentioned prominently in Rogationtide homilies, which collectively contribute roughly a quarter of all attestations of the word *reliquias*: Jones, ‘Relics’, pp. 93–100, at 97.

with holy relics' *VH* 20.332/5–6), through its use of *haligdom* stresses the quality of holiness the saints bestowed upon a Rogation and its participants. Clearly many of the examples of a processional pilgrimage akin to a Rogation involve travelling to shrines rather than carrying relics, but there were numerous references in Chapter Two to the translation of saints' relics by Boniface, Willibald, Benedict Biscop and others, which would have involved journeying with relics.<sup>120</sup> The above passage reinforces the argument that the *potentia* ('power') and *praesentia* ('presence') of the saints derived from their potential accessibility and proximity to petitioning pilgrims.<sup>121</sup>

It is perhaps unsurprising, given the importance and ubiquity of the Cult of the Saints in material religious worship and Anglo-Saxon pilgrimage, that relics were also equated with an earthly and heavenly treasure: the *Menologium* refers to the relics of the Rogationtide as *halige gehyrste* ('holy adornments', *Menologium* 74).<sup>122</sup> Reference to *godweb* in three Vercelli Homilies (*VH* 2.52/1–6, 10.209/220–4, 21.358/160–4) contrasted transitory finery with the threat of eternal damnation on Doomsday and placed treasure in a negative context in order to emphasize the need to follow Jesus' injunction in the synoptic Gospels to the Christian to sell whatever he or she owns and give it to the poor in order to have treasure in Heaven (*thesaurum in caelo*, Mt. 19:21, Mk.10.21, Lk.18.22). The theme of treasure in

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<sup>120</sup> See above, p. 40.

<sup>121</sup> See above, p. 50.

<sup>122</sup> C. Hahn, 'Metaphor and Meaning in Early Medieval Reliquaries', in *Seeing the Invisible in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages: Papers from 'Verbal and Pictorial Imaging: Representing and Accessing Experience of the Invisible, 400–1000'* (Utrecht, 11–13 December 2003), ed. G. De Nie, K.F. Morrison and M. Mostert, *Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy* 14 (Turnhout, 2005), pp. 239–63 esp. 244–9; Hahn, *Strange Beauty: Issues in the Making and Meaning of Reliquaries, 400–circa 1204* (Pennsylvania, 2012), pp. 73–102, 145–60; Jones, 'Relics', pp. 109–115, at 111, n. 101; K. Karasawa, ed. *The Old English Metrical Calendar (Menologium)* (Cambridge, 2015), pp. 70–2, 76, 98, n. 68b–75a. Jones notes how an anonymous Rogation homily fuses the image of the Ark with a relic or reliquary: Jones, 'Relics', pp. 99–109, at 99, n. 56 and 104, citing *EOERH, Rogationtide Homily 4* (CCCC MS 303 pp. 223–6, *In vigilia ascensionis*), pp. 62–4.

Heaven was used to prompt Christian almsgiving,<sup>123</sup> but the intercession of the saints was thought essential for accumulating one's treasure in Heaven.<sup>124</sup> The introduction noted how saints were thought by Gregory to want to be intercessors for the living, this sense is also conveyed in the closing chapters of the *Vita Wynnebaldi* as the eponymous saint actively aids his petitioners, and *Vercelli Homily 12* is no less assertive regarding their intercessory power (*VH 12.229/37–9*):<sup>125</sup>

7 we wiorðian his þa halgan ealle 7 us to ðam mundbyrden geornlice, 7 wilnigan we hiora miltse, ge on þas tid ge on æghwylce, for ðan hiera miht is mid Gode mycelo.

[‘And we honour all His holy ones, and to the end that they should eagerly protect (or patronize) us, and we petition for their mercy, not only at this time but also every time, because their power is great with the God.’]

The *laf* appears to be connected along with the Cross and Scripture as three vital elements to the Rogation processions. For *Vercelli Homily 12* uses the phrase *oðre halige reliquias* (‘other holy relics’, *VH 12.229/29*) in describing the remnants of holy men (*haligra manna lafe*), and appears, as Jones notes, to suggest that the relics of holy men are part of a category of ‘relics’ that implicitly includes the two previously named items that are carried in the same procession namely, the *rodetacen*, and the *godspel* (*VH 12.228/16–20*). To suggest that the sign of the Cross and the Gospel are both a species of relic might appear anomalous were it not for a similar statement in *Vercelli Homily 19*, where the homilist exhorts that no man should take food or drink before the ninth hour and before he has heard Mass ‘7 barefotum Cristes bec 7 his rodetacna 7 oðre halige reliquias eadmodlice gegret hæbbe’ (‘and has humbly greeted with bare feet Christ’s book and his signs of the Cross (*rodetacen*) and other

<sup>123</sup> Cf. the following quotation: ‘we sculon ceapian mid þyssum eorðlicum þingum þa hiofenlican goldhordas’ (‘we must buy with these earthly things the heavenly gold-hoards’, *VH 11.224/63–5*). See also *VH 11.225/101–3*.

<sup>124</sup> Brown, *Ransom*, pp. 115–211.

<sup>125</sup> Cf. *VH 19.317/52, 19.318/57*. For examples from the *Vita Wynnebaldi*, see above, p. 50.

holy relics', *VH* 19.320/93–4).<sup>126</sup> These statements appear to equate relics (*lafe*) with processional crosses (*rodetacen*) and the Gospel (*godspel*). Jones speculates such statements either acknowledge the fact that crosses could double as reliquaries, and Gospel books could have had relic status or housed fragmentary relics, or they were expanding the category of *reliquias* to include the *rodetacen* and *godspel* through a 'misunderstanding' based upon the fact that all three of these objects were at various times used as *res sacrae* (sacred objects) for such rituals as the swearing of oaths.<sup>127</sup> However, the equating of relics, the *rodetacen* and the Gospel may be because all ultimately derive from the Incarnation. For in between the description of processing with the *halige reliquias*, *Cristes rodetacen*, and *godspel* (*VH* 12.228/16–20) and the account of remnants of holy men used to bless the land (*VH* 12.229/28–32) in *Vercelli Homily 12*, there is an emphasis upon the events of Christ's Incarnation: the forty days and nights of fasting in the desert for man's sins and 'sio halige Cristes þrowung 7 his æriste 7 his upastignesse 7 [his] worda lare 7 his wundra weorc 7 se towarda dom, 7 eac ma gæstlycra geryna' ('the suffering of Holy Christ [the Passion and Crucifixion], his resurrection, ascension, teaching, miracles, and the approaching judgment, and also more spiritual mysteries', *VH* 12.228/25–12.229/27). The Church, its saints and sacraments derive from the Incarnation and the event of the *flumina de ventre Christi* in particular, and suggest that the *halige reliquias*, *Cristes rodetacen*, and *godspel* derive their power from Christ, and were thus the three most essential aspects of Rogationtide processions, at least as attested in the *Vercelli Homilies* (*VH* 12.228/16–18 and *VH* 19.320/93–4).

In Bede's account of Augustine's processional pilgrimage into Canterbury, the party sing the Rogation litany *Deprecamur te* (deriving from Dan. 9:16) and carry a processional cross and the image of Christ as they seek their *mansio* in Canterbury near to the Church of

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<sup>126</sup> Jones, 'Relics', p. 97.

<sup>127</sup> Jones, 'Relics', pp. 97–8, at 98, n. 53.

Saint Martin.<sup>128</sup> Images of treasure, the *laf*, the sign of the Cross and the Christian narrative of the Incarnation of Christ, in the form of the birth of the sacraments and the triumph over death, all coalesce in *Exodus* 580–90. Christianity emphasizes that life comes from death, and, as noted in the Introduction, the *Gastes cægon* ('keys to the spirit', 525b) are the keys to life everlasting.<sup>129</sup> These keys could be an allusion to Saint Peter, who was the epitome of the saintly intercessors, since he was the gate-keeper to Heaven for Christian souls. Both Aldhelm and Hugeburc used and understood such phrases as *caelestis clavicularii* ('Heaven's keeper-of-keys', *Vita Willibaldi*, 5.103/5) and *claviger aetherius* ('the heavenly key-bearer', *CE* 1.11/6, 4.19/2) in the context of St Peter's church in Rome, which was the primary destination of Anglo-Saxon pilgrimage.<sup>130</sup> An Anglo-Saxon audience hearing *Exodus* 580–90 would have been confronted with an impressionist ecphrastic description of the triumph of the Church and its saints designed to evoke the physical presence of the remains of the saints.<sup>131</sup> The sentence *ongunnon sælafe segnum dælan* (585) could indicate the distribution of relics, as the Israelites' processional journey has culminated amidst the remnants of the most elect (*drihtfolca mæst*), the saints, who in their place-of-death (*on deaðstede*) have attained eternal life through Christ and become the protectors and defenders (*werigend*) of all Anglo-Saxon pilgrims who present themselves at their shrine. The relics of the saints would provide a fitting destination for any Anglo-Saxon Christian audience, and a powerful closing image to *Exodus*' narrative of pilgrimage.

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<sup>128</sup> It is unclear whether Saint Martin's Church possessed any relics, but Brooks suggests that the Church's site may have been in *memoria* of Romano-British saints or martyrs: N. Brooks, *The Early History of the Church of Canterbury*, Studies in the Early History of Britain Series (London, 1984), p. 17.

<sup>129</sup> See above, p. 13.

<sup>130</sup> See above, pp. 32, 54.

<sup>131</sup> For a discussion of ecphrastic descriptions of relics used by late-antique poets such as Prudentius, Asterius of Amaseia and Paulinus of Nola: P.C. Miller, '*The Little Blue Flower is Red: Relics and the Poetizing of the Body*', *J ECS* 8.2 (2000), 213–36; Miller, 'Relics', pp. 25–52.

## Conclusion

The aim of this thesis has been to demonstrate that *Exodus* can be read in an eighth-century context as depicting a multi-stage communal processional pilgrimage of a leader and his host through a physically defined landscape. Thus, in addition to being read as an individually interior spiritual progress, allegorized as Christian's journey through life towards the heavenly homeland (life pilgrimage), *Exodus* can also be interpreted as evoking an eighth-century example of the material practice of pilgrimage, namely, a processional pilgrimage akin to Rogation.

The Introduction explored how *Exodus*' repeated use of the term *sið* ('journey, experience, time'), in simplex and compound form, demonstrated the poem's pervasive emphasis upon an immersive communal journey experienced in time and space. In order to contextualize this notion of the *sið* and test the historicity of the more expansive term of the material practice of pilgrimage, Chapter Two examined the historical accounts of eighth-century Anglo-Saxon pilgrimage to Rome in the form of the *Vitae Willibaldi et Wynnebaldi* and *Vita Bonifatii*, to demonstrate that these depictions routinely juxtaposed, even conflated, metaphorical religious imagery, such as the *ascensio tortuosa* ('winding ascent') commonplace and *militia Christi* references, with descriptions of long-distance journeying to a holy place without any sense of contradiction, thereby justifying the thesis' use of the more expansive term 'the material practice of pilgrimage'. Such accounts, through the use of repetition and alliteration in particular, depicted pilgrims navigating the boundaries of an unfamiliar and quasi-hostile landscape, and journeying from staging-post to staging-post, from shrine to shrine, until the destination was reached. Letters from the Bonifatian correspondence depicting pilgrimage demonstrated the draw of the trailblazing missionary

and holy man in the marchland (*marca*) for Christian pilgrims seeking proximity to the sacred.

Chapter Three examined how *Exodus*' clearest description of journeying through a landscape (Section B, lines 54–71a) is often read, using the *ascensio tortuosa* commonplace or the allegorical journey of the well-defined steps (*mansiones*) of spiritual ascent from sin to salvation, as evidence of the depiction of life pilgrimage. However, close analysis of *Beowulf* 1408–17a, which notably shares a line with *Exodus* (*Beowulf* 1410; *Exodus* 58), revealed the mixing of literal and metaphorical, secular and religious, imagery in a description that, given *Beowulf*'s parallels with *Blickling Homily 16* and *Visio S. Pauli*, as well as *The Letter of Alexander to Aristotle*, crossed genre and form. The free adaptation and conflation of metaphorical and literal imagery by the *Beowulf*-poet enlivens the historical events of the Germanic past rather than rendering the narrative more abstract. A number of critics have argued that *Exodus* re-presents the literal and historical account of a biblical story using the heroic conventions of Germanic poetry.<sup>1</sup> However, *Exodus*' prominent use of structural references (*mægburh*, *burh*, and *fæsten*), together with its images of navigating the *mearc* (comparable to Latin *marca*) clearly presents an evocation of wayfaring pilgrims similar to the previously analysed Anglo-Latin accounts of the material practice of pilgrimage.

Chapter Four introduced the paradigm of a processional pilgrimage akin to a Rogation as a specific example of eighth-century material religious practice in order to unlock some of *Exodus*' densest imagery, starting with its references to ritualistic song. By exploring the affinities between pilgrimage, procession and the quasi-liturgical Rogations, Chapter Four identified an eighth-century Anglo-Saxon interest in penitential processional pilgrimages led by a holy man or bishop and involving the singing of Rogation litanies and the carrying of processional crosses, all of which were designed to address the consequences of the

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<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 17.

communal sinfulness of those living in a *burh* or *civitas*. Furthermore, the chapter suggested the possibility that the later tenth-century Rogationtide homilies of the Vercelli Book, with their detailed accounts of Rogation observance and their penitential, supplicatory and propitiatory character, may allude to and represent earlier eighth-century practice.

Chapter Five applied the paradigm of a processional pilgrimage akin to a Rogation to the complex imagery of Section A of *Exodus* (1–53) in order to suggest a motivation for the Israelites' journey. The analysis revealed the spiritual empowerment of a holy man who, aided by paschal imagery and the fear of God (*timor Dei*), could lead his afflicted people on a communal penitential pilgrimage in order to ameliorate their earthly suffering. Chapter Six revealed that the enigmatic signs in Section C of *Exodus* (71b–125) mimic the sense of movement, order, confinement and liberation of a procession, and thus can profitably be interpreted as the various manifestations of the *rodetacen* ('the sign, symbol, or emblem of the Cross'), perhaps evoking for many of the poem's Anglo-Saxon audience the unifying multi-sensory experience of following a processional cross (*rodetacen*) through the landscape, where changes of topography and meteorology conflate the perception of terrestrial and celestial signs and prompt a sense of *timor Dei*.

Chapter Seven, focusing upon Section D (126–53, 200–23, 247–75) and with reference to the apparent calque *forðweg* ('onward course, journey, departure', 32b, 129a, 248a, 350a), highlighted how the Israelites' processional activity, together with the *Exodus*-poet's use of verbs of rising, denoting the ritualistic upward movement of Israelite signs (perhaps banners or processional crosses), their collective crying out, the lifting up of hands and their rising in unison as a host, was directed towards, and co-ordinated by, manifestations of the celestial sign of the Cross. Rather than being examples of individual expressions of the desire for death (*forðweg*), as epitomized by the vernacular verse hagiography *Guthlac B*, the instances of *forðweg* and the channelling of individual fears through a communal night-long

vigil petitioning God seems comparable to eighth-century depictions of communal entreaties at standing crosses.<sup>2</sup> Chapter Eight examined Section E (276–446, 154–99, 224–46) and revealed how, after the parting of the Red Sea with its sacramental connotations, the processional pilgrimage of the Israelites reached its climax during the *transitus*. The Israelites process across the Red Sea to their destination on the far shore as the united, but differentiated, tribes of Israel led and directed by the sign of the Cross. At this moment, the Israelites’ banners (*bufas*), as one of the signs of God (*Godes beacna sum*, 345b), spiritually ascended to merge with the celestial cross and briefly unite Heaven and the faithful. *Exodus*’ depiction of a triumphant processional approach to the journey’s final destination, with its attendant nautical and *militia Christi* imagery, was seen as consonant with descriptions of Rogationtide observance in Avitus’ *Homily 6*, and with Augustine’s processional entrance into Canterbury in particular.

Chapter Nine highlighted, through comparison with Avitus’ *Historia spiritualis 5*, how Section F (447–590) overturns the death of the messenger theme with a new spiritual message emphasizing how holiness overreaches death and can survive in a tangible and physical form in the place-of-death (*on deaðstede*, 590a). After the Israelites’ ritualistic activity (516–79), images of treasure, the *laf*, the sign of the Cross and the Christian narrative of the Incarnation of Christ all coalesce in the closing lines of *Exodus* (580–90) to indicate how the Church and her saints conquer physical death through Christ. The *gastes cægon* (‘keys to the spirit’, 525b) are the keys to the life everlasting for all Christians, but the *lifes wealhstod* (‘interpreter of life’, 523b) who is to use these keys is one of the elect, one of the holy men and saints of the Church. The closing lines reveal the destination of the Israelites’ processional pilgrimage to be akin to a shrine, where they reverently entreat the physical

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<sup>2</sup> Cf. the juxtaposition of the phrases *wæccende bad* (‘the watching one abided’, 213b) and *eall seo sibgedriht somod atgædere* (‘all the gathered host of kinsmen’ 214) with *þær ic ana wæs mæte werede* (‘there I was alone in moderate company’, *DotR* 123b-4a) at pp. 186, 194.

remnants (*laf*) of the saints, as the most elect (*drihtfolca mæst*) who have conquered death and attained eternal life through Christ, in their place-of-death (*on deaðstede*). Just as Hugeburc recounted how Wynnebald in death became a confessor saint, *patronus* and an intercessor for petitioning pilgrims in the *Vita Wynnebaldi*, these saints, through their relics, have become the protectors and defenders (*werigend*) of all Anglo-Saxon pilgrims who present themselves at their shrine.<sup>3</sup>

In sum, *Exodus* can be read as an evocation of the stages of a processional pilgrimage of the faithful led by a holy man to petition and propitiate God through His saints and angelic intercessors in order to address both present and future afflictions caused by communal sinfulness.

The analysis has revealed how the notion of *sið* as an immersive and experiential journey through the landscape predicated upon *timor Dei* and focused upon the sign of the Cross is a central theme of *Exodus*. Section A (1–53) highlighted that the Israelites' motivation for beginning their exodus was rooted in present suffering and affliction and the will of the leader. The use of religious metaphors and typological references allow for a different emphasis to be placed upon each stage of this linear journey, while the use of repetition highlights varying aspects of same feature. Thus, in Section B (54–71a), the first references to Etham emphasize its role as a high-status fortified settlement of Christendom (*burh*) that the pilgrims strive to reach as they navigate their way through an unfamiliar landscape, while in Section C (71b–125), Etham is depicted as an encampment (*wic*) facilitating the image of the omnipresent enigmatic signs that dominate and direct the Israelites' activities from on high. The communal act of pilgrims navigating their way through the landscape seeking the *burh* in Section B (54–71a) is translated and transposed into the act of obediently and fearfully following the sign of the Cross in Section C (71b–

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<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 50.

125). Sections D (126–53, 200–23, 247–75) and E (276–446, 154–99, 224–46) with their depictions of ritualistic activity at the fourth encampment and the processional approach to the final destination emphasize further material religious practice co-ordinated and dominated by the sign of the Cross. Section F (447–590) highlighted how the sign, the message and the *laf* (‘remnant’) all coalesced to unite the earthly and heavenly domains.

The links between eighth-century depictions of Anglo-Saxon pilgrimage and *Exodus* require more research, but the analyses of historiographical, hagiographical and poetic sources throughout the thesis have revealed an emphasis upon the material practice of pilgrimage and offered sometimes striking parallels to *Exodus*’ narrative of communal journeying by a leader and an obedient host. The paradigm of a processional pilgrimage akin to a Rogation provides a useful lens through which *Exodus* may be read that gives new contextual meaning to its depictions of signs, treasure and the *laf*, offering the possibility that for the first time historiographical depictions of Anglo-Saxon pilgrimage can be reconciled with those in an Old English poem. Furthermore, this analysis provides a more nuanced reading of the notion of Anglo-Saxon *peregrinatio*, orientating the term within material religious practice, and, by implication, inviting a fundamental re-appraisal of such lexically ambiguous Old English compounds as *wræcsið* (‘travel in a foreign land; exile’) and *elðeodig* (‘foreign, strange, barbarous, one who is abroad’). Above all, while the question of the intended audience(s) of the *Exodus*-poet can never be definitively answered, the analysis suggests that for all the complex exegetical references in the poem, *Exodus* is first and foremost a call to the individual to join the congregation of the faithful on a pilgrimage of the sort depicted and evoked in the poem. As well as focusing on interiority, the poem primarily appears to be an exhortation to communal obedience and worship predicated upon *timor Dei* and rooted in the material religious practice of eighth-century Anglo-Saxon England.

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