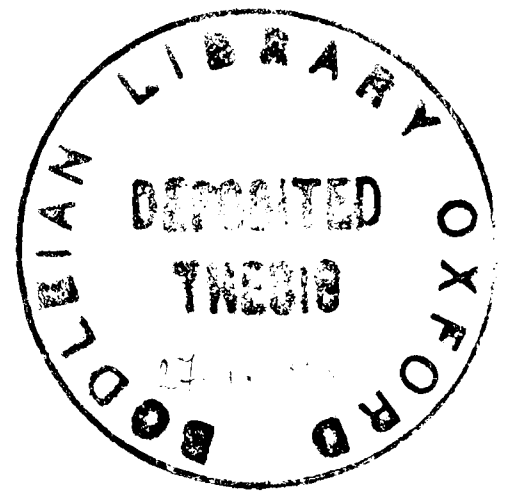


The Collocation of Words for Treasure
in Old English Verse

Elizabeth M. Tyler
Pembroke College



Thesis submitted in fulfillment of the requirement for the
degree of Doctor of Philosophy to the Faculty of English
Language and Literature, Oxford University.

Trinity Term, 1994

ABSTRACT

The Collocation of Words for Treasure in Old English Verse

Elizabeth M. Tyler
Pembroke College

Abstract of a thesis submitted in fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy to the Faculty of English Language and Literature, Oxford University.

Trinity Term, 1994

This thesis uses a study of the collocation of words for treasure to address the question of the relationship between the conventionality and originality of Old English verse. Collocation will be defined as the tendency for words to appear together. Such a definition allows for the examination of patterns of repetition beyond the half-line while also including the half-line formula thereby including stylistic features which have been considered, negatively, as constraints and restrictions on the freedom of the Old English poet, as well as other stylistic features which have been considered positively, as evidence of the rhetorical skill of the Old English poet. Rather than restrict the number of poems which I study, I have chosen to restrict the number of words to five words (maðm, hord, gestreon, sinc and frætwe) for treasure. This restriction allows for a wide spectrum of Old English verse to be examined since the words appear widely throughout the corpus. I hope thus to avoid the tendency common in scholarship to study not the whole of Old English poetry but to focus on Beowulf and verse at one time thought to be at least partly heroic. With few exceptions, the study of the style of Old English verse has largely ignored meaning. The restriction of this study to five words will allow for comments on stylistic features to be drawn with reference not only to the needs of verse form but with careful attention to the subtlety of the semantic fields of the words involved.

In Chapter One, I review past scholarship on the lexis and style of Old English Verse with particular emphasis on the question of conventionality and originality.

Chapter Two examines the place of treasure in Old English verse.

Chapter Three focuses on the semantic analysis of the five words for treasure. I devote attention to the referents of each word and also include an account of such semantic aspects as nuance, connotation and themes associated with each word.

Chapter Four consists of a study of the lexical collocations associated with each of these five words for treasure.

Chapter Five considers the implications of the collocations of words for treasure for the conventionality and originality of the style and lexis of Old English verse.

The conclusion attempts to comment on the style and quality of individual Old English poems.

Lexical collocation is an aspect of lexis and style which has been largely ignored and which offers a new vantage point from which to consider Old English poetics further.

CONTENTS

Acknowledgements	i
Abbreviations	ii
1 The Study of the Lexis and Style of Old English Verse	1
2 Treasure and Old English Verse	53
3 Some Key Words for Treasure in Old English Verse	
I Introduction	85
II <u>Maðm</u>	88
III <u>Hord</u>	99
IV <u>Gestreon</u>	121
V <u>Sinc</u>	144
VI <u>Frætwe</u>	154
VII Conclusion	177
4 The Collocations of Words for Treasure in Old English Verse	
I Introduction	181
II The Collocations of <u>Maðm</u>	195
III The Collocations of <u>Hord</u>	235
IV The Collocations of <u>Gestreon</u>	315
V The Collocations of <u>Sinc</u>	342
VI The Collocations of <u>Frætwe</u>	382
5 Some Implications Stemming from the Analysis of the Collocations Associated with Words for Treasure	
I Introduction	425
II Conceptual Collocations	427
III Formulas	441
IV Verbal Repetition	464
V Conclusion	471
Conclusion	473
Bibliography	489

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am grateful to Professors Eric Stanley and Malcolm Godden, who supervised this thesis, for their guidance, thoughtful criticism and intellectual generosity. Professor Antonette di Paolo Healey and the Dictionary of Old English at the University of Toronto provided me with access to their database and a congenial environment which made the search for collocations a much less onerous task than it might otherwise have been. Professor Peter Sawyer, both in his lectures and in conversation, provided an historical and archeological perspective on treasure which sharpened the thought behind Chapter Two. Dr. Lynda Mugglestone and Dr. Stig Topp-Jorgensen have offered encouragement and technical help with computing. The English Department at UCL has shown remarkable forbearance in waiting for the submission of this thesis. Nicola McDonald proof-read the whole of the thesis and gave intellectual companionship along the way -- as did Dr. Corinne Saunders. I would like to thank my parents, Kathleen Reed and Richard Tyler, for introducing me to the pleasures of books and learning. A great debt is owed to Andrew Wray for criticism, support and forbearance.

ABBREVIATIONS

AF Anglistische Forshungen

And Andreas

ASE Anglo-Saxon England

ASPR The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records

BAR British Archaeological Reports

BB The Battle of Brunanburh

Beo Beowulf

BM The Battle of Maldon

CCSL Corpus Christianorum: Series Latina

Chr Christ

CL Comparative Literature

CPPref The Metrical Preface to the Pastoral Care

Dan Daniel

Deo Deor

DR The Dream of the Rood

EETS The Early English Texts Society

EHR English Historical Review

El Elene

ELH English Literary History

EMS Early Medieval Studies

ES English Studies

Ex Exodus

Exh An Exhortation to Christian Living

FAP Fates of the Apostles

Fort The Fortunes of Men

GDPref The Metrical Preface of Wærferth's Translation of
Gregory's Dialogues

Gen Genesis

Gifts The Gifts of Men
Guth Guthlac
Hb The Husband's Message
HmFgI The Homiletic Fragment I
HmFgII The Homiletic Fragment II
Inst Instructions for Christians
JDI Judgment Day I
JDII Judgment Day II
JEGP Journal of English and Germanic Philology
Jud Judith
Jul Juliana
KtPs Kentish Psalm 50
LdR The Leiden Riddle
LeedsSE Leeds Studies in English
MÆ Medium Ævum
MB The Meters of Boethius
Meno The Menologium
MLQ Modern Language Quarterly
MLN Modern Language Notes
MP Modern Philology
MS Medieval Studies
MxI Maxims I
MxII Maxims II
Neophil Neophilologus
NM Neuphilologische Mitteilungen
NQ Notes and Queries
OrW The Order of the World
Pan The Panther

Part The Partridge

Ph The Phoenix

PPs The Paris Psalter

PLL Papers on Language and Literature

PMLA Publications of the Modern Language Association

PP Past and Present

PQ Philological Quarterly

RES Review of English Studies

Rid Riddle

Rim The Riming Poem

Rsq Resignation

Ruin The Ruin

SBI Soul and Body I

SBII Soul and Body II

Sea The Seafarer

Settimane Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi
sull'alto medioevo (Spoleto)

SN Studia Neophilologica

SP Studies in Philology

SS Solomon and Saturn

Th Thureth

TRHS Transactions of the Royal Historical Society

TSL Tennessee Studies in Literature

TSLL Texas Studies in Literature and Language

UTQ University of Toronto Quarterly

Vng Vainglory

VSLÅ Vetenskap^s-society~~en~~ i Lund Årsbok

Wan The Wanderer

Wh The Whale

Wid Widsith

Wld Waldere

XSt Christ and Satan

Chapter One

The Study of the Lexis and Style of Old English Verse

Our knowledge of Old English poetics is shadowy. The corpus of surviving poetry is relatively small, and the principles of verse composition have not proven easily recoverable by studying the poems themselves. The many contradictory views about the quality of Beowulf, let alone of Old English poetry generally, reminds us of how little we know about Old English poetics. There exists no treatise on poetics such as the Old Icelandic Skáldskaparmál, so our notions of Old English poetics have to be deduced from their poetry. Furthermore, since the poets and audiences are unknown to us, the social context of the poetry remains an open question. Hence it is difficult for us to know how the poems were composed and what constituted excellence in the minds of the original poets and audiences.

Three questions have dominated scholarship on the lexis and style of Old English poetry. First, what is the nature of the "wordhoard" available to the Anglo-Saxon poet? Secondly, what factors govern the poet's choice of words in a particular context? And, finally, a question which underlies these first two; what is the relationship between conventionality and originality in Old English poetry? These questions are fundamental to the literary criticism of Old English poetry because without their answers we cannot understand how the verse was composed, nor assess the quality of an individual poem.

The issue of conventionality and originality must be considered briefly at the start because it is central in virtually all scholarship on poetic lexis and style in Old English. The issue had been raised long before the introduction of Oral-Formulaic Theory in the 1950s made it a virtual obsession in studies of lexis and style. Even after scholarship began to move away from the narrow limits of inquiry defined by Oral-Formulaic Theory, conventionality and originality still remained a major preoccupation of scholars.

There is a more fundamental reason for considering conventionality at this point. One of the most obvious features of scholarship of the lexis and style of Old English poetry has been polarized opinions about conventionality. The views of Robert Creed and Arthur Brodeur on Beowulf demonstrate something of this extremism. Creed argues for almost total conventionality:

The degree of the schematization of his diction suggests that the singer of Beowulf did not need to pause in his reciting or writing to consider what word to put next. His diction was one which, in Goethe's words, did his thinking and poetizing for him.¹

Brodeur, by contrast, sees Beowulf as a highly original work:

Beowulf is the work of a great artist, a work carefully planned and organized, excellent in form and structure, and composed with a sense of style unique to the poet's age.²

¹ Creed 1959, p.363.

² Brodeur 1959, p.viii.

Many scholars present more middle of the road views -- drawing attention to the interplay between conventionality and originality rather than accepting their mutual exclusivity. These moderate views tend to be put forth by scholars who draw conclusions about conventionality from their research on lexis and style, while the more extreme views tend to be put forth by those who set out to prove their conclusions about conventionality with their analysis of lexis and style. Although this distinction between extreme and moderate views is too neat, it will be useful to bear it in mind in assessing past research on the lexis and style of Old English poetry.

Critics have long appreciated the richness of Old English poetic diction. Among its most obvious characteristics is its distinctness from prosaic diction. Both Henry Wyld and Frederick Klaeber note this distinction with enthusiasm, though Klaeber's comments are far more sober than the romantic and nationalistic sentiments of Wyld.³ In his edition of Beowulf Klaeber writes:

In the matter of diction our poem is true to its elevated character and idealizing manner. The vocabulary of Beowulf, like that of most Old English poems, is very far removed from the language of prose.⁴

Both Klaeber and Wyld identify a number of features which set poetic and prosaic diction apart. Most notably, some words appear only in poetry. Among these words are archaic

³ Wyld 1925 and Klaeber 1936.

⁴ Klaeber 1936, p.lxiii.

simplices as well as compounds, and included with these compounds are a large number of kennings.⁵

Charles T. Carr and Arthur G. Brodeur have both considered the poetic compounds and what these compounds tell us about the nature of the wordhoard available to the poet. In his book, Nominal Compounds in Germanic,⁶ Carr discusses the propensity for compounding in Old English verse within the larger context of the ease of forming nominal compounds in the Germanic languages. Carr takes a judicious view of the poetic compounds. He recognizes that the frequency of compounds in Old English verse can be interpreted in two ways -- as the result of the need for alliterating synonyms and as "evidence of the vivid imagination and originality of the Germanic poets."⁷ Although there was potential for the Germanic poet to become the victim rather than the master of his compounds, Carr considers that "the frequent use of nominal compounds springs from the spirit of the language and of the alliterative poetry."⁸

Brodeur devotes an appendix in his book The Art of Beowulf to a list and discussion of compounds formed on fifty-seven different base words.⁹ He compares the

⁵ See Marquardt 1938 for a full study of kennings in Old English poetry.

⁶ Carr 1939,

⁷ Carr 1939, p.412.

⁸ Carr 1939, p.xix.

⁹ Brodeur 1959, pp.254-71.

Beowulfian compounds formed on these base words to those found in other Old English poems and draws several conclusions. The frequent one-off appearance of compounds is primarily the result of the freedom poets had to coin new compounds, rather than of the pressure to alliterate. The Beowulf poet uses these compounds with more "precision" and "restraint" than other Old English poets. Brodeur finds in the compounds of Old English poetry much confirmation of his appreciation of the richness of Old English poetic diction in general and that of Beowulf in particular.

Although William Whallon's work builds on that of Milman Parry, Albert B. Lord and F.P. Magoun, and would perhaps be better considered in the context of a discussion of Oral-Formulaic Theory,¹⁰ his comments about the lack of thrift among kennings in Old English provide further suggestion of the richness of Old English poetic diction.¹¹ In Homer's works multiple epithets and in Beowulf kennings describing the same person are useful for fulfilling the metrical requirements of the verse. However, in Homer's poetry there are very few epithets, for the same person, which scan alike. In Beowulf, by contrast, there are multiple kennings describing the same person which alliterate alike. Here Old English poetry diverges from what Parry described as the "Law of Economy" -- expressions used as synonyms differ from each other in meter. This is in part a function of the fact that kennings in Beowulf are

¹⁰ See below, Ch.1, p.10ff.

¹¹ Whallon 1965 and 1969.

true to the situation but not specific to the person, while in Homeric verse epithets are specific to the person but not necessarily true to the circumstance. For example, feþecempa can describe both Beowulf and Wiglaf when it fulfills the metrical needs of the line, but only when they are in a situation in which it is appropriate to call them foot soldiers. By contrast, Achilles is always referred to as "swift-footed Achilles" if he needs to be mentioned in a particular metrical situation. This epithet is used regardless of whether or not Achilles is appropriately called "swift-footed" at that point. Whallon relates this "lack of economy" to the need for alliteration but still contends that even when variation and the situational specificity of the kennings are considered, there are more kennings "than are strictly speaking necessary."¹² Donald Fry argues that the key factor in the "lack of economy" in Old English is "the essential nature of variation as an aesthetic device" and concludes that "the concept of economy is not applicable to Old English poetry."¹³ The work of both Whallon and Fry underscores the richness of Old English poetic diction.

Some qualification, however, must be made to this picture of the wealth of the Anglo-Saxon wordhoard. First, Eric Stanley's article on prosaic vocabulary reminds us that there exist many words common in prose which are not found

¹² Whallon 1969, p.114.

¹³ Fry 1968c, pp.355 and 356.

in poetry.¹⁴ Secondly, it can be argued that the alliterative requirements of the verse rather than a desire for expressiveness or precision lie behind the many synonyms, near synonyms and hapax legomena of Old English poetry. For example, it is a common-place in Beowulf criticism to point out that the poet's various descriptions of the Danes as Beorht-Dene, Gar-Dene, Hring-Dene, East-Dene, Norð-Dene, Suð-Dene, and West-Dene are determined by alliteration.¹⁵ The Germanic poet, Carr writes:

sometimes coined otiose and cumbersome compounds in a desperate effort to provide the necessary alliteration.¹⁶

Klaeber, too, recognizes that the need for synonyms in alliterative verse is a factor in the use of compounds and kennings. But where the proponents of Oral-Formulaic Theory would come to view the requirement of alliteration as a force for conventionality in Old English poetry, Klaeber appreciated "the creative possibilities of the alliterative style."¹⁷ Thirdly and most fundamentally, the richness of the poetic wordhoard must be set along side the repetition of words and ~~ph~~^rases which is such a characteristic feature of Old English poetic diction. Carr was concerned to defend Beowulf against Magoun's charge that the large number of compounds which began with the same element pointed to the

¹⁴ Stanley 1971. This study, made before concordances were available, needs correction.

¹⁵ Storms 1957 offers an opposing point of view.

¹⁶ Carr 1939, p.xix.

¹⁷ Klaeber 1936, p.lxiii.

mediocrity of the poem. Both Klaeber and Wyld commented on the presence of formulas in poetic diction. But, while they commented on formulas, they did not consider them to be the most significant or characteristic feature of Old English poetry, nor did they see formulas as detracting from the merit of the poetry.¹⁸

The repetitive nature of Old English poetic diction, and uncertainty about the implications of that repetitiveness, gave rise to a debate concerning the significance of Parallelstellen. Parallelstellen include repetitions as limited as half-line formulas, and as extensive as passages in different poems with a striking number of verbal parallels. The debate, which extended from the 1880s to the 1950s, centered on whether or not Parallelstellen were evidence of literary borrowing from one text to another. Key issues in the debate were a concern to determine the authorship and chronology of Old English poems -- the concerns of German "Higher Criticism."

¹⁸ This is not the place to attempt to identify the first use of the words "formula" and "formulaic" with regard to Germanic and Old English verse. They were noted at least as early as the mid 1800s by A.F.C. Vilmar. Vilmar wrote: "Aus solchen Alliterationsformeln, die nach naturgemäßen, aber eben darum strengen Regeln geordnet waren, bestand in den ältesten Zeiten unser Vers, waren unsere sämtlichen Heldenlieder der ältesten Zeit zusammengesetzt, wie eben das schon erwähnte Hildebrandslied und Beowulf" (Vilmar 1852, p.34). The appendices to Eduard Siever's editions of The Heliand focused much attention onto the formula. In his "Formelverzeichnis" he listed formulas found in The Heliand and their Old English parallels (Sievers 1878). In his survey of the history of Oral-Formulaic Theory, J.M. Foley traces an interest in formulas back to German "Higher Criticism" of the last quarter of the nineteenth century. "Higher Criticism" was concerned with the establishment of text and authorship and with the assessment of "interrelationships among poems in the same literature or language family" (Foley 1981a, p.52).

Gregor Sarrazin regarded Parallelstellen as evidence of common authorship.¹⁹ In particular he was concerned to establish the Cynewulf canon, and to prove that Cynewulf and the Beowulf poet were the same. J. Kail responded by showing that Parallelstellen were more frequent than Sarrazin thought; according to Kail virtually all Old English poems share Parallelstellen. He then claimed that according to Sarrazin's theory virtually all Old English poetry must be the work of a single poet because they share common Parallelstellen. Kail rejected this extreme interpretation of Sarrazin's theory as absurd and suggested that Parallelstellen, rather than identifying an author, are a reflection of the formulaic nature of Old English poetic diction.²⁰

Debate regarding the significance of Parallelstellen continued in the twentieth century up to the introduction of Oral-Formulaic Theory. Claes Schaar and Leonard Peters represent the descendants of the points of view taken by Sarrazin and Kail respectively.²¹ Peters looks at Parallelstellen in his attempt to prove that Andreas was not based on Beowulf. Citing the work of Kail, he noted that many of the passages which were interpreted as proof that the Andreas poet used Beowulf were to be found in other Old

¹⁹ Sarrazin 1888 and 1892.

²⁰ Kail 1889. Sarrazin also objected to this extreme interpretation of his theory and claimed that Kail had misrepresented and misunderstood his work.

²¹ Peters 1951 and Schaar 1949 and 1956.

English poems as well, and were therefore the result of formulaic diction rather than literary borrowings.

Schaar takes a different view of the Parallelstellen. He does not repeat Sarrazin's notion that Parallelstellen can be viewed as an indication of common authorship but he does depart from the work of Kail, and even from the more general recognitions of the formulaic nature of Old English verse which we saw expressed by Klaeber and Wyld. In Schaar's view, Parallelstellen were evidence of direct literary borrowings. It was only with the introduction of Oral-Formulaic Theory, when attention was focused on the formula, that attempts such as Schaar's were finally put to rest.²²

While it had been long recognized, though to greater or lesser degrees, that the diction of Old English poetry contains formulas, it was not until the appearance of F.P. Magoun's article, "Oral-Formulaic Character of Anglo-Saxon Narrative Poetry,"²³ in 1953 that its formulaic nature became a focal point of the study of Old English poetry. Magoun applied the findings of Milman Parry and Albert B. Lord concerning Homeric verse and modern Muslim Yugoslavian

²² However, even after the introduction of Oral-Formulaic Theory, Schaar himself continued to argue that formulas were evidence of literary borrowings (Schaar 1956).

²³ Magoun 1953.

oral songs to Old English poetry.²⁴ He adopted Parry's definition of the formula as:

a group of words which is regularly employed under the same metrical conditions to express a given essential idea.²⁵

There are several very basic problems with Magoun's definition of a formula. First, he makes no distinction between formulas which are complete half-lines and formulas which form only part of a half-line. Secondly, he makes no distinction between formulas which are established by one repetition and those established by multiple repetitions. Thirdly, he does not make a distinction between formulas and formulaic systems.²⁶ Finally, the most fundamental problem and one pointed out by legions of scholars working on both sides of the oral-literary divide, is the way Magoun's wholesale adoption of Parry's definition of a formula ignored very basic differences between the nature of Old English, Homeric and Yugoslavian verse forms.²⁷

Magoun's insistence that:

²⁴ Among the many discussion of the impact of Oral-Formulaic Theory on the study of Old English verse see J.M. Foley's "The Oral Theory and Old English Poetry" for a clear and insightful survey of the debate from the view point of one working very consciously, though not uncritically, in the footsteps of Parry, Lord, Magoun and Creed (Foley 1981a).

²⁵ Magoun 1953, p.194.

²⁶ Reichl 1989, p.43. See below, Ch.1, p.17, for formulaic system.

²⁷ See for example, Watts 1969, p.124, Foley 1981b, Niles 1981, Foley 1983, p.188 and Niles 1983, pp.121-37.

Oral poetry, it may be safely said, is composed entirely of formulas, large and small, while lettered poetry is never formulaic²⁸

was to cause considerable disagreement among Old English, as well as Middle English, scholars. According to Magoun, the essential feature of the formula was its usefulness. That is, it allowed a singer²⁹ composing rapidly in front of an audience to meet the requirements of the alliterative line. His view that formulaic necessarily meant oral led him to take up the untenable position, when confronted with Cynewulf's known literacy, that Cynewulf must have dictated his poems. He could not have composed them with a pen because they are demonstrably formulaic.

Robert Creed, a follower and former student of Magoun, developed and enlarged upon Oral-Formulaic Theory. With Magoun, he accepted the application of Parry's definition of a formula to Old English verse and emphasized that the formula exists because of its usefulness in rapid composition. In an early article on Oral-Formulaic Theory, "The Making of an Anglo-Saxon Poem" he modifies Magoun's definition slightly by giving greater emphasis to the importance of metrical repetition. He defines a formula thus:

a word or group of words regularly employed under certain strictly determined metrical conditions to express a given essential idea.³⁰

²⁸ Magoun 1953, p.190.

²⁹ He preferred the term "singer" because in his view Old English poetry represents performances by scopos composing orally.

³⁰ Creed 1959, p.364.

In the course of the article, he "unmakes" four lines of Beowulf and analyzes their formulas. He then "makes again" the lines substituting what he considers to be alternative formulas for the original half-lines. His aim is to show that the making of an Old English poem:

was a process of choosing rapidly and largely on the basis of alliterative needs not between individual words but between formulas.³¹

Creed's technique and thus the conclusions he draws from it have been widely criticized. R.F. Lawrence puts the case against Creed succinctly:

It might well be objected that by this method Creed proves possible the opposite of what he believes. If he can effectively use the oral techniques in the privacy of his study, then how much more effectively might the Anglo-Saxon monk have done like-wise?³²

In a later article, "On the Possibility of Criticizing Old English Poetry,"³³ Creed explores the implications of the formulaic nature of Old English verse for literary criticism. He maintains that the close reading of text taught by New Criticism remains valid, though for different reasons. New Criticism teaches that the intention of the author was evident in the selection and placement of every individual word in a poem. Creed obviously does not agree that this is the case for Old English poetry, and he warns that the nuances of a poem and the originality of the singer are not to be found in his use of individual words which

³¹ Creed 1959, p.364.

³² Lawrence 1966, pp.177-78. See also Stevick 1962, p.398.

³³ Creed 1961.

make up formulas, but rather in how the singer combines formulas. According to Creed, close reading remains a valuable technique because it allows the critic to uncover the shared associations which the formulas had for poet and audience.

There are several elements which are central to orthodox (i.e. following Magoun closely) conceptions of Oral-Formulaic Theory. A text which is formulaic is necessarily the product of oral composition. A formula is useful to the singer who must compose rapidly within the requirements of alliterative verse. The originality of a poem is to be found in the way it combines formulas not individual words. While acknowledging the important contribution of Magoun and his followers to the understanding of the formulaic nature of Old English poetry, many critics disagreed with some or all of these tenets.

A major modification of Oral-Formulaic Theory lay in the separation of oral and formulaic. This occurred fairly soon after Magoun's introduction of the theory. The fundamental issue here was how to reconcile the fact that any Old English poem we have is written down, not sung, with the "oral" of Oral-Formulaic Theory. Magoun had adapted to Old English Lord's conviction (based on his studies of Serbian singers) that oral and literary were mutually exclusive and never overlapped.³⁴ Critics of Old English, in opposition to this sharp distinction, posited a transitional nature for Old English poetry. Old English

³⁴ Watts 1969, pp.34-35, 43-44, and 184-87.

poetry, in which the formulaic diction of oral poetry was used in written poetry, represents the transition from a completely oral tradition to a completely written one.³⁵

More than a decade after Magoun's article, Larry Benson finally laid the "oral" in oral-formulaic to rest.³⁶ He analyzed poems which we know to be translations from Latin and showed that they too were formulaic, thus disproving Magoun's dictum that formulaic necessarily meant oral.³⁷ Benson held that if such demonstrably literary texts as the translations could use the formulaic diction of oral poetry in a literary way, i.e. with "pen" and "leisure and forethought,"³⁸ then we cannot assume, on the basis of formulas, that any surviving Old English poetry is oral. It is important to note that, while Benson denies that formulaic equals oral, he does not dismiss the important insights into Old English verse offered by Oral-Formulaic Theory. He writes, in often quoted lines:

Because Old English poetry is formulaic, our study of it must begin with the exciting and useful

³⁵ Stevick 1962, pp.394-95, Schaar 1956 and Brodeur 1959, p.4.

³⁶ Benson 1966.

³⁷ In his study of the Old English Meters of Boethius, Allan Metcalf considers the presence of formulas and poetic diction in a text which is a versification from Old English prose. Like poetry which is translated from Latin, the Meters of Boethius is clearly literary. He concludes that the poet does not use poetic diction and formulas to advance the meaning of the text, but rather to fill out the verse so that it conforms to the requirements of poetry (Metcalf 1973). Robert Diamond draws similar conclusions about the presence of formulas in the Paris Psalter (Diamond 1963). Both works provide useful lists but their conclusions are of only doubtful value.

³⁸ Benson 1966, p.336.

techniques developed by students of oral verse, but because this poetry is also literature, our study need not end there.³⁹

Although oral had been successfully separated from formulaic, two main and interrelated points regarding formulas still remained controversial. There was no consensus about a basic definition of the formula, and there was a wide range of opinion about what constituted originality in poetry composed largely of formulas. Magoun's definition of formula was semantic and metrical, and depended on verbal repetition, and he only hinted at the possibility of the existence of systems producing repeated and similar formulas.⁴⁰ Frederic Cassidy, drawing on the research of two of his students, Wayne O'Neil and C. Gattiker, proposed a new definition for the formula which was based on grammatical rather than verbal repetition.⁴¹ He claimed that he defined the formula more precisely than Magoun had done. After analyzing the syntactic patterns of the half-line and of recognized formulas, he suggested that verbal formulas were produced by the repetition of twenty-five syntactical patterns into which words could be substituted. The most important implication of his theory of syntactic frames is that the poet or singer has control over individual words, and not just formulas as Magoun and Creed maintained.

³⁹ Benson 1966, p.340.

⁴⁰ See above, Ch.1, p.11.

⁴¹ Cassidy 1965.

Donald Fry defines the formula in semantic and metrical terms as did Magoun.⁴² He emphasizes, however, that formulas are not determined solely by verbal repetition but rather are the products of systems. He defines a system as:

a group of half-lines, usually loosely related metrically and semantically, which are related in form by the identical relative placement of two elements, one a variable word or element of a compound usually supplying the alliteration, and the other a constant word or element of a compound, with approximately the same distribution of non-stressed elements.⁴³

He defined a formula simply as the product of a system.⁴⁴ Fry is quick to point out, however, that while formulaic systems imply that the poet had control over individual words, the question of originality remains unanswered because the corpus of Old English poetry is too limited for us to determine the degree of conventionality involved in the use of any given system and any given word in particular context. Fry is one of the few scholars who acknowledge this uncertainty.⁴⁵

Stanley Greenfield, much influenced by results of the close textual analysis which New Criticism encouraged, was concerned to prove that Anglo-Saxon poets controlled individual words. He also insisted that the poet controlled grammatical structures as well. It is from this stand point

⁴² Fry 1967 and 1968b.

⁴³ Fry 1967, p.203.

⁴⁴ Niles praises Fry's definition of the formula. He laments, however, that, due to Fry's lack of rigor in applying this definition, its importance has been overlooked by subsequent critics (Niles 1981, p.398).

⁴⁵ Fry 1968b.

that he attacked, in his article "The Canons of Old English Criticism," not only the orthodox Oral-Formulaic definition of the formula, but also Cassidy's notion of a syntactic frame.⁴⁶

Greenfield disagreed profoundly with the conclusions which Creed drew from his unmaking and remaking of four lines from Beowulf.⁴⁷ Creed portrayed the poet as more concerned with alliteration than with subtle shades of meaning. The singer used "hwearf þa," rather than, for example, "eode þa," to describe Wulfgar's movements because although he "had no particular need to get Wulfgar from Beowulf to Hrothgar with haste; he did need to get him to Hrothgar with alliteration."⁴⁸ While Greenfield admits that there are formulas, he insists that poet chose between formulas, such as "hwearf þa" and "eode þa," on a semantic rather than alliterative basis and that this is a dictional choice. Hence Greenfield writes: "The whole notion of formula threatens to evaporate."⁴⁹

Cassidy saw in his syntactic frame theory of formulas both a firmer definition of the formula than Magoun offered, and a definition which did not restrict the poet's control over the individual word. Greenfield objects that while Cassidy has given verbal freedom back to the poet he has

⁴⁶ Greenfield 1967a. This article draws on his earlier work (Greenfield 1963 and 1967b).

⁴⁷ Creed 1959 and Greenfield 1967a. See above, Ch.1, pp.12-3.

⁴⁸ Creed 1959, p.366.

⁴⁹ Greenfield 1967a, p.145.

limited his control over grammar. First, he establishes that poets do manipulate grammar purposefully to support their meaning. Citing two passages of variation from Beowulf, Greenfield notes that the variation has greater impact when it is not accompanied by the expected grammatical parallelism. Secondly, he shows that Cassidy's syntactic frames do not, in fact, restrict the poet's control over grammar. Greenfield argues that Cassidy did not define the formula more firmly than Magoun, because the twenty-five syntactical frames which he identified can form such a large number of combinations. Again, a definition of the formula has crumbled in Greenfield's hands. According to Greenfield, formulaic theory poses no threat to originality since it restricts neither diction nor grammar.

In her book The Lyre and the Harp, Ann Chalmers Watts discusses what she terms "the imperfect application" of Parry and Lord's work on Homeric verse to the study of Old English verse. In particular she criticizes the loose way in which formulas and formulaic systems have been defined with regard to the metrical requirements of the verse. Watts traces this looseness to the problems of using Homeric verse as a model for the study of Old English verse. She writes:

Rules for one will not fit the other. Any comparative investigation, whether of epithets or of other verbal arrangements, finally ends not only in a recognition of the distinct characters of the two traditions of poetry but in uncertainty about the oral nature of Old English poetry.⁵⁰

⁵⁰ Watts 1969, p.124.

she defines a formula very rigidly as "a repeated sequence that fills one of Sievers' five basic rhythmical types" and a formulaic system as:

two or more phrases of a similar Sievers' verse-type, syntactical pattern, and lexical significance, which may differ in an important element according to alliterative substitution, or context, or type of narrative superfluity.⁵¹

She points out that it is much more difficult to provide a firm definition of that formulaic system than of a formula and acknowledges that "inevitably there must be phrases, the formulaic degree of which is not with certainty discernible at this distance of time."⁵²

Efforts to identify and define the formula have continued through the 1970s^{and} the 1980s. Foley, whose concern with oral literature leads him to emphasize what he sees as the oral/aural aspects of Old English verse -- rhythm -- as against what he sees as visible aspects -- syntax and semantics, writes that in Beowulf he has found a "purely metrical formula"⁵³ which he calls "a single rhythmic template."⁵⁴ He defines this template as:

a rhythmic underlay, one whole poetic line in length with verse (half-line) substitution, which predetermines the structure of its verbal counterpart the formula.⁵⁵

⁵¹ Watts 1969, p.144.

⁵² Watts 1969, p.144.

⁵³ Foley 1981a, p.76.

⁵⁴ Foley 1976, p.207.

⁵⁵ Foley 1976, p.219.

Anita Riedinger begins her study by looking at the context in which formulas appear. She notes that many formulas occur in very similar contexts with very similar functions. For example, "niht-langne fyrst" which appears five times in four poems, in such contexts where it "always signifies a terrifying period of time prior to a battle."⁵⁶ She then incorporates her understanding of the importance of context and function into her definition of the formula. She considers "x under (heaven)" (of which "swiðe under swegle" (GenA 1974) or "nihta under roderum" (GenA 1418a) are examples) to be a formula. Although others would consider "x under (heaven)" to be a formulaic system, Riedinger insists that because poets use the phrase over one hundred times in similar functions and context, it is a formula. She defines a formula as one general concept + one system + one function.

Recognizing that her notion of the formulas lies between what some would consider as a formula and others would consider as a formulaic system, Riedinger proposes a third term, a "set," to describe what she considers to be a formula. She defines a set as:

a group of verses usually sharing the same function and system in which one word, usually stressed, is constant, and at least one stressed word may be varied, usually synonymously, to suit the alliterative and/or narrative context.⁵⁷

Riedinger's inclusion of context in her conception of the formula breaks new ground by stepping away from attempts to

⁵⁶ Riedinger 1985, pp.295-96.

⁵⁷ Riedinger 1985, p.306.

define the formula solely on lexical, syntactic and metrical grounds. Her introduction of the "set" underscores the continued absence of any agreement about what constitutes a formula.

The most recent discussion of the formula attempts to impose order on the many definitions of the formula. Karl Reichl in his review of scholarship on the formula in Old English proposes broad definitions of the formula and formulaic system in an attempt to achieve some sort of consensus. He insists first that the formula must be a metrical unit -- in Old English the half-line -- and then defines the formula according to the "parameter of variation" and the "parameter of specification." He calls for a scale with "rigid formulas," those with almost no variation (he allows only inflectional changes), at one extreme and "variable formulas" at the other. A variable formula is one "in which the 'semantic nucleus' remains constant, while the variable part of the half-line serves to place the fixed expressions into a syntactical context." He proposes a similar scale for the formulaic system.⁵⁸ Reichl's definition attempts to show that a range of definitions for the formula which are based on lexical and metric criteria need not be incompatible.

Perhaps the most obvious feature of the oral-formulaic debate, which the preceding discussion highlights, is the complete lack of any agreement as regards a basic definition of the formula. This is as true today as it was almost

⁵⁸ Reichl 1989, pp.46-47.

thirty years ago when Robert Stevick surveyed the results of the first nine years of oral-formulaic research and commented on its "random and diverse" nature and on the need for a "specific set of purposes" and a unified and systematic approach to the study of the formula.⁵⁹

While much has been said, and agreement has been reached on the fact that a text can be formulaic and literary, the debate has cooled down without any basic definition of the formula being agreed. Most scholars, both those nurtured in the oral-formulaic school and those who view Old English as fundamentally literary, have simply sidestepped the tricky area of defining the formula and have proceeded directly to the defense of Old English poetry against charges of conventionality.

As the title of his book The Art of Beowulf indicates, Arthur Brodeur's approach to the study of Old English poetry is primarily aesthetic.⁶⁰ His aesthetic approach is evident in the passage from the preface to The Art of Beowulf quoted in the introduction to this chapter.⁶¹ While he agrees that Old English poetry is formulaic, he views Oral-Formulaic Theory as posing a threat to the appreciation of the quality and merit of the poetry. Brodeur writes in his study of the style and diction of Judith, Andreas and Exodus:

⁵⁹ Stevick 1962, p.400. See also Lawrence 1966.

⁶⁰ Brodeur 1959.

⁶¹ See above, Ch.1, p.2.

The three poems just examined, although -- like all other Anglo-Saxon poems -- they contain a very large number of traditional formulas, are all highly individual in style. Each exhibits clear evidence of its author's gift of original expression and imagery -- evidence which challenges the judgment that the language of Anglo-Saxon narrative poetry is overwhelmingly formulaic.⁶²

Both of the passages quoted above are worth considering because they reveal much about Brodeur's less than objective starting point in his studies of the style and diction of Old English poetry.

In The Art of Beowulf, Brodeur examines closely the poet's use of diction and variation, as well as considering the structure of the poem. He discusses the poet's creation of new compounds and words, and considers that the wealth of synonyms so characteristic of Old English poetic diction developed not simply to fulfill the requirements of alliteration.⁶³ Variation is the only stylistic device which Brodeur examines. He defines variation less strictly than did Paetzel, contending that the members of a variation need not be grammatically parallel to each other.⁶⁴ Brodeur concludes that the Beowulf poet, recognizing its potential, uses variation consciously in a manner unequalled in other Old English poetry.

Brodeur's approach to refuting Oral-Formulaic Theory depends on a very close reading of the text, but does not show itself to be particularly methodical. This close

⁶² Brodeur 1968, p.113.

⁶³ Brodeur 1959, pp.16 and 254-71. See above, Ch.1, pp.4-5.

⁶⁴ Paetzel 1913. See also Robinson 1961 and 1979.

reading reveals his debt to such schools of literary criticism as New Criticism and explains his concern (as with Greenfield) that the Anglo-Saxon poet be shown to have control over the individual word. Brodeur's opening remarks (quoted above) and his repeated conclusion, both when discussing diction and variation in Beowulf, that close analysis of these features reveal how and why Beowulf is the best Old English poem, point to his intuitive rather than methodological approach. He appears to set out to prove his appreciation of the high artistic merit of Beowulf. While we may agree with Brodeur's conclusions, we must recognize that his study is highly subjective.

Oral-Formulaic Theory, with its emphasis on the Germanic scop, disregarded the possibility of the influence of Latin culture and learning on Old English poetry. J.J. Campbell's attack on Oral-Formulaic Theory takes the form of a study of the influence of Latin rhetoric on the style of Old English poetry.⁶⁵ He acknowledges the contributions of Magoun and re-sounds the now familiar battle cry that a work can be both lettered and formulaic. Campbell sees Old English poets using formulas but, from the level of the half-line through larger rhetorical periods, fitting them

⁶⁵ J.J. Campbell, 1966, 1967 and 1978.

into sophisticated poetic structures learned from Latin.⁶⁶

Campbell concludes:

Criticism of all Old English poetry should therefore be wary, for in many formulaic poems a conscious rhetorical artificer is at work.⁶⁷

Although she does not mention Oral-Formulaic Theory per se, two articles by Caroline Brady in which she examines nominal compounds in Beowulf, have implications which oppose the findings of Magoun and his followers, and give further ammunition to those who are convinced that the Anglo-Saxon poet controlled individual words.⁶⁸ Her purpose, she writes:

is twofold:(1) to determine, so far as possible, the exact meaning of each of the...terms; and (2) to discern, if we can, the primary use -- whether

⁶⁶ He examines the Latin rhetorical figures which appear in the Old English version of The Phoenix, and points out that the rhetorical figures are not only found in passages which are direct translations from the Latin, but also in passages where the poet is expanding on his Latin model. He also finds evidence of the influence of Latin rhetoric in The Wanderer. The Wanderer has no known Latin source and is often cited as being especially Germanic -- "an exemplar of the best native tradition (Campbell 1966, p.201)." The rhetorical figures of The Wanderer stand as a warning that the native tradition of the Anglo-Saxon poet was a fusion of Latin and Germanic poetics.

⁶⁷ J.J. Campbell 1966, p.201. The seeming empiricism of Campbell's approach of identifying Latin rhetorical patterns in Old English poetry was called into question by Joshua Bonner. He reminds us that conscious artistry could have been a feature of Germanic oral poetry and that there are possible common Indo-European origins for the rhetorical figures found in Old English poetry and which Campbell identifies as specifically Latin in origin. Bonner's article is not convincing -- much of it relies on drawing a purely semantic distinction between modern and medieval uses of the word "rhetoric" and he cannot deny that at least some Old English poets were familiar with Latin poetry. Furthermore, his faith in Indo-European takes him into a period for which there is no evidence. But his caveat is worth considering as it draws attention to the speculative nature of much research on Old English poetry (Bonner 1976).

⁶⁸ Brady 1979 and 1982.

informative, traditional, stylistic or artistic -- to which the poet put these formations which he drew from the common stock or created to his own need.⁶⁹

In this statement we see the major preoccupations of post-Magounian criticism.

In her analysis of nominal compounds, she considers the instances of each appearance of words for warriors and weapons in light of all other appearances in the poem, and also in light of archeological and historical evidence. Her findings lead her to disagree with the prevalent view that many of the compounds found in Old English poetry have lost their distinct meanings and that they are essentially synonyms which can be substituted one for other. She concludes that the Beowulf poet handled his diction with considerable regard for the different connotations of words, as well as their stylistic and aesthetic effect. However, she sets out from the assumption that the poet used nominal compounds "for informative and aesthetic purposes"⁷⁰ rather than to fulfill the demands of meter and alliteration and hence does not give adequate consideration to the role of form in determining diction.

Scholars whose allegiance lies with the oral-formulaic approach to the study of Old English verse have also been concerned to show that poetry which they consider to be oral and formulaic is not necessarily devoid of an aesthetic dimension. An interest in aesthetics is evident in some of

⁶⁹ Brady 1979, p.79.

⁷⁰ Brady 1979, p.79.

the work by the oral-formulaic school already discussed, but it is J.M. Foley who makes the relationship between the functional utility of the formula and the "obvious artistic value" of Old English verse his central question.⁷¹ He contends that Magoun overemphasized "utility and function at the apparent expense of aesthetics."⁷² Foley suggests that the short oral epic of Christian Yugoslavs provides evidence that formulas and artistic control are not mutually exclusive in oral poetry.⁷³ He then looks at the Old English poems The Seafarer and The Wife's Lament and draws similar conclusions though he does not insist that these poems are necessarily oral. The murkiness of Foley's conception of what it entails for a poem to be formulaic quickly emerges when he begins to discuss Old English verse. He writes:

There are formulas, to be sure, but on closer examination we also find formulaic systems and, beyond the systems, less obvious relationships which we may leave in the category of predispositions. The phraseology is most productively understood not as a collection of prefabricated units ready to hand, but as a living tissue of language with genetic association. These associations will not, nor should not be expected to, submit tidily to one archetypal definition or set of definitions; they manifest themselves as a spectrum of relationships rather than as recurrences of a single type.⁷⁴

⁷¹ Foley 1983, p.184.

⁷² Foley 1983, p.186.

⁷³ Parry and Lord's work was based on the study of the longer epics of Muslim Yugoslavs.

⁷⁴ Foley 1983, p.206.

He concludes that the conventionality inherent in oral verse is essential to the way Old English poets, in shorter poems, reveal their highly developed artistic skill. His very vague notion of what constitutes formulaic language and thus what it means for a text to be oral, however, may leave the reader unconvinced that The Seafarer and The Wife's Lament could be oral traditional (he does not insist that they are oral) poems.

Alain Renoir's work makes especially sharp the way that even scholars who place themselves within the oral-formulaic school have had to avoid the question of the definition of the formula before going on to consider its literary implications and the potential for the artistic control of formulaic material. In a book length study entitled A Key to Old Poems: The Oral Formulaic Approach to the Interpretation of West-Germanic Verse, Renoir acknowledges that a poem which appears to be formulaic could be the product of either oral or written composition. In a forward to the book, Albert Lord states that Renoir's aim is to use the presence of "oral formulaic rhetoric" in a text not "as a test for 'orality,' but as a tool for interpretation."⁷⁵ Initially this may seem an attractive approach but his interpretations of poems are marred by the absence of any clear definition of a formula or even of what it means to be

⁷⁵ Renoir 1988, p.ix.

formulaic.⁷⁶ He attempts to put any uneasiness with these problems to rest:

The main purpose of the present study, however, is not the examination of the mechanics and circumstances of oral-formulaic composition, but rather the exposition of some crucial ways in which an awareness of the principles and practices of oral-formulaic composition can help with the interpretation of poems composed within the context of the oral-formulaic tradition. For this purpose, the shirking of problems relating to the actual modes of composition of texts under examination seems as pragmatically admissible as it is scientifically reprehensible.⁷⁷

However, the lack of clear definition makes it difficult to identify "oral-formulaic rhetoric" and thus to concur with Renoir that it is indeed, as his title suggests, "a key to old poems."

The study of the formulaic theme and typescene looked at first as though it would provide the Oral-Formulaic Theory with proof that the conventionality of Old English poetry extended beyond the half-line formula to larger narrative units. Following up on Lord's suggestion, in The Singer of Tales, that themes existed in Beowulf, Magoun describes the appearance of the theme of the "Beasts of Battle" in twelve Old English poems.⁷⁸ He applies Lord's definitions of a theme as:

⁷⁶ This seems especially odd in light of his lengthy review of the history of Oral-Formulaic Theory.

⁷⁷ Renoir 1988, p.66.

⁷⁸ Eric Stanley lists a further two in his article of the same year. Stanley 1955, pp.483-84.

a subject unit, a group of ideas, regularly employed by a singer, not merely in any given poem, but in the poetry as a whole

and as a "recurrent element of narration or description in traditional oral poetry"⁷⁹ to the study of Old English.

Lord and Magoun contend that themes were useful to the singer in much the same way that formulas were -- aiding rapid composition by providing pre-fabricated units.

Magoun's initial effort was followed up by several others who echoed its sentiments by emphasizing the conventionality of the formulaic theme.⁸⁰

However, both critics who would place themselves either within or without the oral-formulaic school have seen the potential for originality in the theme and typescene. In an article, "The Formulaic Expression of the Theme of 'Exile'," published in the same year as Magoun's, Greenfield laid the ground for studies of theme which stress the inventive handling of a theme rather than its conventionality.⁸¹ In this early article, Greenfield accepted Magoun's definition of the formula, and described how specific formulas and formulaic systems are repeatedly associated with the theme of exile in Old English poetry. However, he departed from the orthodox Oral-Formulaic Theory in the possibilities he saw for originality in formulaic poetry. He wrote:

⁷⁹ Magoun 1955, p.82.

⁸⁰ See, for example, Diamond 1961.

⁸¹ Greenfield 1955.

originality in the handling of conventional formulas may be defined as the degree of tension achieved between the inherited body of meanings in which a particular formula participates and the specific meaning of that formula in its individual context.⁸²

While for the most part rejecting Greenfield's early acceptance of the oral-formulaic definition of the formula, other scholars have continued to cite examples of a poet handling a formulaic theme in a creative manner.⁸³

Adrien Bonjour uses Magoun's article on the "Beasts of Battle" as a starting point. He analyzes many of the instances of this theme and sees originality when he gets to Beowulf. The Beowulf poet, he argues, breaks with convention by not linking the "Beasts of Battle" with an actual battle. The absence of a battle shows the poet using the "Beasts" for a prophetic function pointing to the future collapse of the Geatish nation. The Beowulf poet "really gives us a measure of his art in turning a highly conventional theme into a thing of arresting beauty and originality."⁸⁴ He concludes by proposing that such art may imply that the Beowulf poet was "a lettered author."

In his article, "The Hero on the Beach," David Crowne asserted that repeated verbal formulas were not a necessary part of a recurrent theme and suggested that themes were comprised of elements rather than formulas.⁸⁵ The theme of

⁸² Greenfield 1955, p.205.

⁸³ See, for example, Clark 1965a, Clark 1965b, Taylor 1965, and Heinemann 1970.

⁸⁴ Bonjour 1957, p.571.

⁸⁵ Crowne 1960.

the hero on the beach includes four elements: 1) the hero on the beach 2) with retainers 3) in the presence of flashing lights and 4) a journey. He considered the Beowulf poet's handling of this theme in his description of the swimming contest with Breca as particularly skillful, because he uses all four elements of the theme, but does not put them together to create a "hero on the beach" scene. Crowne's article has been considered by many, particularly those within the oral-formulaic school, as seminal.⁸⁶ However, it has been convincingly argued by other scholars that Crowne simply systematizes the obvious and contributes little to the study of the formulaic theme.⁸⁷

As he did with regard to the formula, Donald Fry draws attention to the very inexact use of the terms "theme" and "typescene" in Old English studies.⁸⁸ He describes the confusion caused by inexactness and contradiction not only among scholars but also within the work of one scholar,

⁸⁶ See for example, Foley 1981a, p.82 and Renoir 1988, p.97.

⁸⁷ Dane 1982, Richardson 1987 and Griffith 1993. Griffith writes:

Their [Dane and Richardson] attack exposes the illusoriness of the supposed fixed content, for, in heroic literature, hero and retainers form a social unit, and the latter are almost never seen apart from the former; furthermore, heroes must be somewhere, and if they are seen on beaches it is extremely likely that journeys are about to begin. These ideas are immanent in heroic narrative and do not constitute motifs of a specific theme. The remaining motif, the flashing light, occurs in a bewildering array of guises -- the sun, a shining seacliff, a gleaming helmet, a flickering flame -- and so the commonality of the idea may be doubted. But, in any case, a motif is not a theme (Griffith 1993, p.181).

⁸⁸ See above, Ch.1, p.17.

Lord. Fry distinguishes theme and typescene and offers two definitions. A typescene is:

a recurring stereotyped presentation of conventional details used to describe a certain narrative event, requiring neither verbatim repetition nor a specific formula content.⁸⁹

A theme is:

a recurring concatenation of details and ideas, not restricted to a specific event, verbatim repetition, or certain formulas, which forms and underlying structure for an action or description.⁹⁰

Mark Griffith's recent "Convention and Originality in the Old English 'Beasts of Battle' Typescenes" is a dense and tightly argued article which challenges many of the findings of previous scholars. His close analysis of the "Beasts of Battle" typescenes reveal a rigor and precision not seen in many articles on the theme or typescene. He illustrates that, pace Bonjour, this typescene is a compulsory element of descriptions of battle and thus highly formulaic. He looks closely at the diction of the "Beasts of Battle" typescenes and compares it with the diction of typescenes associated with the sea to show that the former is surprisingly economic. He regards the "Beasts of Battle" as a "rhetorical tour de force" which allows a poet to demonstrate that "he could create a more compact style that was dramatically appropriate to the urgency of the subject matter."⁹¹ He concludes that

⁸⁹ Fry 1968a, p.53.

⁹⁰ Fry 1968a, p.53.

⁹¹ Griffith 1993, p.189.

the elements and motifs of the typescene as revealed by formulaic analysis look to be...functional and necessary components of poetic form, in which apparently original aspects on closer scrutiny seem to be generated by convention.⁹²

Yet within this conventionality the Beowulf poet radically transformed" the typescene and that Cynewulf "tailors the typescene to suit his own poetic requirements."⁹³

Griffith's comments are illustrated convincingly and precisely from the texts. The exciting implications of his article for the relationship between conventionality and originality are difficult to extend, however, since he considers only the "Beasts of Battle" typescene which is, as he has shown unusual.

Although it has received the bulk of scholarly attention, the formula is not the only feature of Old English verse which restricts the poet's control over his wordhoard and his inventiveness, and acts as a force for conventionality. Alliterative rank, that is the "difference in the alliterative frequency of synonyms,"⁹⁴ like the formula, has been seen as a double-edged sword. On one hand, it helps the poet to fulfill the requirement of alliteration, but on the other hand it can function as a possible constraint on lexical choice. Synonyms and near synonyms alliterate with different frequency -- high rank

⁹² Griffith 1993, p.197.

⁹³ Griffith 1993, pp.196 and 194.

⁹⁴ Cronan 1986, p.145.

words almost always appear in alliterating position, while low rank words rarely or never do.

Both T.A. Shippey and Marie Borroff have emphasized the "technical" aspect of alliterative rank. In their view, by aiding the poet to fulfill the structural requirements of the alliterative line, alliterative rank functions similarly to the formula. Shippey views alliterative rank as related to the use of formulas and the need for synonyms which alliterate on different letters, as such alliterative rank is "highly functional, but meaningless."⁹⁵ Borroff discusses the appearance in Middle English alliterative verse of a group of words which are both archaic and of high rank. She explains their survival from Old English in terms of their usefulness in providing synonyms with which to alliterate. The fact that they are archaic and alliterate gives them a certain stylistic effect, but Borroff sees this as distinct from the reason -- their value as "technical aids" -- for their survival.⁹⁶

Dennis Cronan, considering Old English verse, emphasizes the stylistic aspects of alliterative rank rather than its usefulness. He notes a number of characteristics of high rank words, and then goes on to make the point that while Old English verse requires alliterative synonyms, there is nothing in the structure of the verse which demands that a word alliterate 100% of the time. He maintains that the use of a poetic word which always alliterates does have

⁹⁵ Shippey 1972, pp.102-3.

⁹⁶ Borroff 1962, pp.56-60.

a stylistic effect of which poets and audience were aware.⁹⁷

Cronan opposes Shippey's and Borroff's view of alliterative rank as simply restricting the poet's control over words. His observations are the result of a more thorough study, and he provides the valuable insight that high alliterative rank is associated almost exclusively with poetic words. However, in his emphasis on the stylistic potential of alliterative rank, he does not give adequate weight to the role of convention in determining high and low rank. Although the individual poet may have been conscious of the stylistic effect of using a high rank word, he was not free to use high rank word in non-alliterating position or low rank word in alliterating position. Hence alliterative rank seems largely a force for conventionality in Old English poetry.

Along with formulas and alliterative rank, collocation is also a potential source for conventionality in Old English poetry. However, since scholarship on collocation has been virtually exclusively concerned with how the tendency can be exploited in inventive and original ways, I will consider it below in connection with other scholarship which emphasizes the freedom of the poet.⁹⁸

⁹⁷ Cronan 1986.

⁹⁸ See below, Ch.1, pp.45ff.

The study of deliberate repetition has proven a particularly fertile ground for scholars who wished to emphasize the freedom of the poet, within the restrictions of old English poetic convention, to select and use vocabulary for stylistic, structural and thematic effect. In the mid 1930s, two studies of the technique of deliberate verbal repetition appeared within a year of each other, although the technique had been recognized earlier. John Beaty, in "The Echo-Word in Beowulf with a Note on The Finnsburg Fragment," discussed repetitions of entire words or root syllables in different syntactical positions within seventeen lines of each other.⁹⁹ This feature of Old English poetry serves to bind several lines together, much as alliteration holds individual lines together. Beaty could profitably have extended his study beyond Beowulf and The Finnsburg Fragment. In a much more sophisticated work, The Larger Rhetorical Patterns in Anglo-Saxon Poetry, Adeline Bartlett explores the implications of verbal repetition for the structure of Old English poetry.¹⁰⁰ She describes how the repetition of one or more words at the beginning and end of a passage formed an envelope pattern which helped to define that passage as a distinct unit which she called a "verse paragraph." Furthermore, she insists that a "verse paragraph" must also form a logical unit.

Beaty's and Bartlett's studies were built upon in the wake of Oral-Formulaic Theory by scholars wishing to

⁹⁹ Beaty 1934.

¹⁰⁰ Bartlett 1935.

emphasize the originality and conscious artistry of Old English poetry. James Rosier further extended Beatty's echo word into "a habit of Old English composition."¹⁰¹ He calls this habit "generative composition," a term which he defines as a:

process [which] involves a form used in one verse re-used at least once a few lines later, i.e., the form within a few lines is generated, and generated often in a lexical shape, in syntax and reference, different from that of the original occurrence.¹⁰²

This technique can be used to create cohesion within a poem (as for example in The Wanderer, which has a high density of repeated words), or to define units within a larger poem. Repeating words which occur in separate units serve as links. Rosier notes that while this stylistic feature can be used "randomly," some poets use it with precision to create meaning and structure; hence, the technique suggests the possibility for inventiveness in Old English poetry.

Eugene Kintgen, in his article "Echoic Repetition in Old English Poetry, Especially The Dream of the Rood," sets out the various types of verbal repetition available to the Old English poet.¹⁰³ He describes four types of verbal repetition: 1) the repetition of simplices; 2) echoes in "which one or both of the echoing elements is part of a compound;" 3) echoes "between two etymologically related and phonetically similar elements" and 4) echoes which combine

¹⁰¹ Rosier 1977, p.193.

¹⁰² Rosier 1977, p.201.

¹⁰³ Kintgen 1974. See Kintgen 1975 for the application of his study of echoic repetition to The Wanderer.

2) and 3). He views verbal repetition as related to the phenomena of syntactic and narrative repetitions.¹⁰⁴

Like Kintgen's work, Muriel Cornell's article "Varieties of Repetition in Old English Poetry" is essentially an exercise in classification of the various types of repetition which other scholars have recognized.¹⁰⁵ She distinguishes and relates three levels of repetition. Alliterative repetition has either a semantic or rhythmical force. This alliterative repetition binds half-lines to each other and can, when the same alliteration is repeated in more than one line, bind several lines to each other. Repetition of words includes simplices, compound elements and synonyms. Verbal repetition also extends to repeated phrases and clauses. After laying out the principles of verbal repetition, Cornell looks at the use of the technique in The Wanderer and The Seafarer. Emphasizing the freedom of the poet, she notes that their different uses of repetition depend "on the theme of each poem and on the stylistic preference of each poet."¹⁰⁶

The study of repetition, begun by Beaty and Bartlett, has been seen by many scholars as a tool to delineate and uncover the often obscure themes and structures of Old English poetry. This often involves looking at the repetition of key words as an indicator of theme. Stanley

¹⁰⁴ Calder 1979, p.53.

¹⁰⁵ Cornell 1981.

¹⁰⁶ Cornell 1981, p.307.

Kahrl, in his article, "Feuds in Beowulf: A Tragic Necessity," looks at the repetition of the word fæhð.¹⁰⁷ Kahrl took the work of John Leyerle as a starting point. Leyerle described the style and structure of Old English poetry as an analogue to the interlace commonly found in Anglo-Saxon art. The thematic and narrative strands of the poem are woven together, he says, in much the same way as the individual strands of interlace. The narrative strands interrupt each other as they pass over and under each other lending the style of Old English poetry a patterned quality.¹⁰⁸ Kahrl extends Leyerle's notion to the verbal level. The separate strands of the interlace are the long strings of repetitions of the same word. The pulling together of these strands produces the poem. On the basis of the repetition of the word, Kahrl deduces that feud is a central theme in Beowulf. Key to Kahrl's argument is his supposition that, at any one instance of the word fæhð, the poet could rely on his audience to retain some idea of the associations he had already developed around the word.

David Hamilton, addressing the thorny question of the relationship between Beowulf and Andreas, argues for the latter's independence based on its distinctive use of repetition.¹⁰⁹ He writes that the author of Andreas develops the allegorical level of his poem through the repetition of words for food and drink. Hamilton concludes

¹⁰⁷ Kahrl 1972.

¹⁰⁸ Leyerle 1967.

¹⁰⁹ Hamilton 1972.

that "all the action adheres to an open and consistent allegorical progression. Repetition enhances this design by isolating the dominant motif."¹¹⁰

Roberta Frank's, article "Some Uses of Paronomasia in Old English Scriptural Verse," looks at wordplay in the repetition of etymologically and phonologically related words.¹¹¹ She is particularly interested in the way scriptural poets use such wordplay to make subtle theological points. In her conclusion, she also relates wordplay to Bartlett's study of the verse paragraph, and suggests that the examination of the poet's use of wordplay would be a way to move away from an emphasis on the formulaic nature of Old English poetry and to look for originality.

Constance Hieatt's research explores the potential of repetition both to convey meaning and to unify and organize the structure of a poem. In her article "Dream Frame and Verbal Echo in The Dream of the Rood,"¹¹² she notes that although lexical generation (Rosier's generative composition) is common in Old English poetry, the technique has produced a noticeably dense number of verbal repetitions in The Dream of the Rood. Hieatt argues that this is particularly suited to a dream vision because it produces "dreamlike transferences and parallels" which lend the poem unity. She asserts with an elaborate diagram precisely how

¹¹⁰ Hamilton 1972, p.158.

¹¹¹ Frank 1972. See also Frank 1968.

¹¹² Hieatt 1971.

the complex and dense verbal repetitions which echo back and forth across the poem create unity.

In her article "Envelope Pattern and the Structure of Beowulf,"¹¹³ Hieatt extends Bartlett's notion of the envelope pattern into a device which unites not just verse paragraphs but the entire text of Beowulf. Again with an elaborate diagram, she shows Beowulf's structure to be highly sophisticated. The structure is comprised of a large number of overlapping envelope patterns contained within the larger envelope pattern, created by the funerals of Scyld and Beowulf at the beginning and end of the poem respectively. All of the envelope patterns which she notes are produced by verbal echoes in the text. She recognizes the similarity between her overlapping envelope patterns and Leyerle's notion of interlace. But she notes that Leyerle's notion describes an intertwining of narrative and thematic units, which Hieatt sees as potentially subjectively defined in comparison to her units, which are defined by verbal repetitions.

Hieatt maintains that the division of the poem into interlocking envelopes makes the theme of the proper use of gifts and hoards more apparent. Hieatt's argument is attractive particularly since the existence of the verbal envelopes she describes cannot be denied. However, her theory does depend for its effectiveness on the audience being able to recognize as significant verbal echoes which are separated by many hundreds of lines. Hieatt's notion of

¹¹³ Hieatt 1975.

interlocking envelopes is so complex that it would require a scholarly poet as author, and perhaps even a scholarly audience to be apprehended. Such an author and audience are not impossible and admittedly it is not possible to describe the style of Old English poems without making assumptions about audience; yet the implications of audience are not considered in Hieatt's article. Furthermore, Hieatt does not address the possibility that some repetition may be accidental and some part of a rhetorical design. Instead she views as intentional any repetition which supports her reading of the poem.

John Niles also takes Bartlett's envelope pattern as a starting point in his discussion of the structure of Beowulf; ¹¹⁴ and like Hieatt he sees in verbal echoes a basic principle of Old English verse composition, and style as an analogue for structure. He identifies the ring pattern as a sub-class of the envelope pattern. A ring pattern, in its simplest form, is a verse paragraph defined by a chiasmas of verbal repetitions. Niles extends the ring to explain the structure of Beowulf as a whole which he sees as a set of concentric circles. These circles are formed not by verbal echoes as in Hieatt's theory, but by events which repeat each other; for example, Grendel's rejoicing before he attacks Heorot is paired with Beowulf's rejoicing after he defeats Grendel. The outer-most of the concentric rings is formed by the funeral of Scyld and Beowulf.

¹¹⁴ Niles 1979.

Both Niles and Hieatt have to resort to the use of intricate diagrams in order to illustrate the significance of the verbal parallels they find in Beowulf. This seems to suggest that Niles and Hieatt have fallen victim to the propensity of the human mind for finding meaningful patterns in random distribution -- much like the constellations. Because the patterns are so complex and obscure, it is doubtful that the poet could have relied on them to convey his meaning.

While collocation is mentioned in passing in many studies of Old English style, there has been very little in the way of extended discussion on the topic. Randolph Quirk, in an attempt to redress the oral-formulaic emphasis on the restrictiveness of convention in Old English poetry, made a preliminary study of collocation.¹¹⁵ Quirk defines collocation in terms of congruous words which we expect to find together, rather than on the basis of words appearing together on more than one occasion. Central to his argument is the notion from contemporary linguistic theory that:

fundamental to linguistic expression [is]...the expectation that a sequence of words will show lexical congruity, together with (and as a condition of) lexical and grammatical complementarity.¹¹⁶

Formulas, simply one kind of habitual collocation, are stylized manifestations of this fact.¹¹⁷ Quirk agrees

¹¹⁵ Quirk 1963.

¹¹⁶ Quirk 1963, pp.150-51.

¹¹⁷ Quirk 1963 p.150.

with Oral-Formulaic Theory that alliteration plays a major role in collocating two words. But alliteration is not the only factor since, primarily due to variation, the various elements of habitual collocations can occur on separate lines. Collocated words can appear together in a half-line formula or on different lines and without any lexical or grammatical connection.

Habitual collocation may appear at first to restrict inventiveness in much the same way as the formula. However, Quirk argues that the opposite is in fact the case. Habitual collocation allows the skillful poet to draw subtle nuances and achieve a high degree of originality when he breaks expectations by not fulfilling a habitual collocation. For example, the Beowulf poet uses sæl three times in a congruous way and then when Hrothgar announces the attack of Grendel's mother to Beowulf, sæl is collocated with sorh. The critic needs to be aware of this potential in order to be able to assess the quality of Old English poetry.

What Quirk, with his notion of lexical congruity, does not address is the possibility that two words which are lexically incongruous - as sæl and sorh in the lines above - could also be a habitual collocation. That is two such words could be used so often by a particular poet or in Old English poetry as a whole that they could be habitually collocated although incongruous in meaning. Quirk's theory also depends upon the ability of the literary critic to reconstruct the expectations of the poet and audience.

However, as W.K. Wimsatt points out in his book The Verbal Icon "the design or intention of the author is neither available nor desirable as a standard for judging the success of literary art."¹¹⁸

Quirk's study of collocation has been followed up by Mariann Reinhard and Eugene Kintgen. Concerned to reveal the potential for originality within the highly traditional framework of Old English poetry, Reinhard examines the semantic relevance of the alliterative collocations in Beowulf.¹¹⁹ Like Quirk, she defines collocation without reference to repetition. A habitual alliterative collocation is the alliteration of two congruous words, and an unusual alliterative collocation is the alliteration of two incongruous words. Her primary concern, however, is with alliteration rather than with collocation; she wants to make the point that words alliterate not simply to fulfill the metrical requirements of Old English verse, and she concludes that alliteration has a semantic as well as metrical function. Kintgen takes Quirk's work as a starting point and links it with the technique of deliberate verbal repetition.¹²⁰ He examines the phenomenon of the collocation of words which are semantically, alliteratively and also phonetically related. Lif, lof, leof, lofu and geleafa all tend to collocate and they attract such phonetically related words as leoht. He links this tendency

¹¹⁸ Wimsatt 1954, p.3.

¹¹⁹ Reinhard 1976.

¹²⁰ Kintgen 1977.

with the tendency of etymologically and phonetically related words to repeat in Old English poetry.

Thomas Gardner also examines the tendency of words to appear together.¹²¹ His collocations, though he does not himself use the word, are determined solely by repetition and he makes no reference to Quirk's notion of the expectation of lexical congruity. He considers a range of ways that words associate themselves with each other in Beowulf. Related phrases and compounds often occur within a limited number of lines of each other; or when they are more widely separated, they occur in very similar contexts. For example, Gardner considers that there is an element of wordplay in the poet's use of "manna mægen-cræft" (Beo 380) and "forþan hie mægenes cræft" (Beo 418). The Beowulf poet is also fond of taking "rigidly formulaic material" and shuffling the elements around.¹²² The result is that the elements of a formula may continue to be associated with each other -- near to each other in the text -- but no longer ^{form} part of a half-line formula. Like the related compounds and phrases, the scrambled formulas recur in similar contexts and Gardner views the technique as intentional.

Gardner is also interested in the Beowulf poet's habit of repeating clusters of words in unrelated contexts. The poet repeats clusters of words which have no inherent reason for being associated with each other and which cannot be

¹²¹ Gardner 1973.

¹²² Gardner 1973, p.115.

considered parts of a theme or type scene because they appear in dissimilar contexts. Often the presence of repeating word clusters provides the only link between otherwise unrelated passages.

In Gardner's view, these fractured formulas and repeating word clusters indicate that the Beowulf poet controlled individual words in a sophisticated and literary way and that he was concerned with devices that were larger than a line. In particular, he accounts for the repeating clusters as evidence that the poet must have been able to look backwards and forwards comparing passages as he composed the poem. Gardner sees potential for the skillful poet in the use of these techniques of wordplay to create humor and irony and to convey theme. Furthermore, he maintains that the audience would be aware of such wordplay. Like Hieatt's interpretation of verbal repetition in Beowulf, Gardner's repeating clusters theory requires both a scholarly author and audience.

Research into lexis and style has greatly extended our understanding of Old English verse; most obviously, perhaps, the recognition that it can be at once formulaic and literary has become fundamental to our perception of the poetry. A concern, whether explicit or implicit, of virtually all the research surveyed has been the issue of conventionality and originality and three features of these approaches to this issue stand out. First, a common tendency is to study not the whole of Old English verse but

to focus on Beowulf and verse at one time thought to be at least partly heroic. This tendency obscures our understanding of Old English poetics. Secondly, with few exceptions, the study of the style of Old English verse has largely ignored meaning.¹²³ Comments on stylistic features such as formulas, alliteration, compounding, variation and deliberate verbal repetition tend to be drawn with reference to verse form but without careful attention to the subtlety of the semantic fields of the words involved. Finally, the formulaic and literary features of Old English style have generally been considered in isolation. On the one hand, many studies which want to emphasize the conventional and oral nature of the verse tend to isolate features of Old English style, such as the formula, which support this view -- take, for example, the followers of Oral-Formulaic Theory. On the other hand, many studies which want to emphasize the original and literary nature of the verse isolate those features of Old English style, such as deliberate verbal repetition, which support this view -- take, for example, those who draw attention to the influence of Latin rhetoric in Old English verse. Such an approach has neglected possible points of overlap, contact and influence between stylistic features. But more importantly, the outcomes of such studies are predetermined; by virtue of their choice of stylistic features, they have made a priori

¹²³ A notable exception to this tendency is the work of Caroline Brady, see above, Ch.1, pp.26-7.

assumptions as to the conventionality and originality of the verse which prejudice their conclusions.

This thesis will attempt to move away from these three problems by addressing the question of conventionality and originality through a study of the collocation of words for treasure in Old English verse. Collocation will be defined not in terms of expectation but as the tendency for words to appear together. Such a definition will allow for the examination of patterns of repetition beyond the half-line while also including the half-line formula. Rather than restrict the number of poems which I will study, I have chosen to restrict the number of words. Taking into account the entire corpus of verse, I will look at five Old English words (maðm, hord, gestreon, sinc and frætwe) which can be translated by the Modern English word for "treasure."¹²⁴ Thus I will be able to include a wide variety of poems (long, short, secular, religious, gnomic, riddles, translation, versification of prose, for example) and to consider, extensively, the meanings of the five words for treasure. Chapter Two will examine the place of treasure in Old English verse; a large part of this discussion will entail a comparison of the presentation of treasure in verse with its presentation in other records both written and archeological. Chapter Three will focus on the semantic analysis of the five words for treasure. I will devote attention to the referents of each word and also include an account of such semantic aspects as nuance, connotation and

¹²⁴ See below, Ch.3.

themes associated with each word. This analysis will provide evidence concerning the degree to which these words for treasure can be considered as alliterative synonyms. Chapter Four, which will draw on the semantic analysis of the preceding chapter, will consist of a study of the lexical collocations associated with these five words for treasure. Chapter Five will consider the implications of the collocations of words for treasure for the conventionality and originality of the style and lexis of Old English verse. The conclusion will attempt to comment on the style and quality of individual Old English poems.

This study of the collocation of words for treasure in Old English verse has three major advantages. First, its scope is wide, including the whole range of Old English poetry. Secondly, the existence of a large body of primary and secondary source material of relevance to the place of treasure in Anglo-Saxon society along with the limiting of the discussion to a relatively small number of words will allow style and semantics to be studied together. Finally, collocation is a stylistic feature which makes no a priori assumptions with regard to conventionality and originality. Although our knowledge of Old English poetics will always remain partial, a study of how the language of treasure is handled in different poems has the potential to provide insight into techniques of verse composition, the relationship of conventionality and originality, and the assessment of the quality of individual poems -- questions fundamental to the literary criticism of Old English poetry.

Chapter Two

Treasure and Old English Verse

Descriptions of and references to treasure appear widely in Old English verse; very few poems do not mention treasure in one form or another. In so-called "heroic" verse, from Beowulf to The Battle of Maldon, treasure is especially found in the context of gift-giving. In heroic, elegiac and religious verse, treasure, as a symbol for wealth, occurs in connection with the theme of transience. The topos of "the just" storing up treasure for themselves in heaven, itself frequently described in terms of treasure, by doing good works and especially giving alms appears widely in religious verse. As the critical interest in the moral connotations of treasure in Beowulf attests,¹ treasure is a theme and image of central importance for the interpretation of Old English verse. This chapter will not, however, be concerned with exploring in detail the meaning or meanings of treasure in individual Old English poems nor will it even attempt to define treasure, which appears literally, metaphorically and symbolically in verse, as both tasks are theses in themselves. Instead, this chapter will focus on the implications of the prevalence of treasure in verse for the nature of the Old English poetic form.

A pleasure in the description of treasure is one of the most widespread features of Old English verse, and is shared

¹ See for example: Anderson 1977, Cherniss 1972, pp.81-99, Conder 1973, C. Donahue 1975, pp.92-96, Goldsmith 1970, pp.92-96, Greenfield 1974, Leisi 1952, Leyerle 1967, p.13, Quirk 1963, pp.168-71, Turville-Petre 1975, p.281.

by secular and religious verse alike. As well as its thematic importance, the splendor of the treasure in Beowulf is often noted. The poet mixes lines describing the treasure with which Hrothgar rewarded Beowulf for his defeat of Grendel with lines explaining the treasure's lineage and significance. He writes:

Forgeaf þa Beowulfe bearn Healfdenes
segen gyldenne sigores to leane;
hroden hildecumbor, helm ond byrnan,
mære maðpumsweord manige gesawon
beforan beorn beran. Beowulf gepah
ful on flette; no he þære feohgyfte
for sceotendum scamigan ðorfte.
Ne gefrægn ic freondlicor feower madmas
golde gegyrede gumman fela
in ealobence oðrum gesellan.
Ymb þæs helmes hrof heafodbeorge
wirum bewunden walu utan heold,
þæt him fela laf frecne ne meahton
scurheard scepðan, þonne scyldfreca
ongean gramum gangan scolde.
Heht ða eorla hleo eahta mearas
fætedhleore on flet teon,
in under eoderas. Þara anum stod
sadol searwum fah, since gewurþad;
þæt wæs hildesetl heahcyninges,
ðonne sweorda gelac sunu Healfdenes
efnan wolde. Næfre on ore læg
widcupes wig, ðonne walu feollon.
Ond ða Beowulfe bega gehwæpres
eodor Ingwina onweald geteah,
wicga ond wæpna, het hine wel brucan.
Swa manlice mære þeoden,
hordweard hæleþa, heaporæsas geald
mearum ond madmum, swa hy næfre man lyhð,
se þe secgan wile soð æfter rihte.
(Beo 1020-49)

The Old English Phoenix, so literary and clerical, ending as it does in a mac^aronic verse, stands as evidence that this fondness for lingering descriptions of treasure extends beyond secular verse. While the Latin original inspires the depiction of the bird, whose beauty is compared to precious stones and gold, as like treasure (Ph 291-313), the account,

much amplified from the Latin original, of the groves of paradise in terms of treasure is the poet's own. The Phoenix poet writes:

Sindon þa bearwas bledum gehongne,
wlitigum wæstmum, þær no waniað o,
halge under heofonum, holtes frætwe.
Ne feallað þær on foldan fealwe blostman,
wudubeama wlite, ac þær wrætlice
on þam treowum symle telgan gehladene,
ofett edniwe, in ealle tid
on þam græswonge grene stondap,
gehroden hyhtlice haliges meahtum,
beorhtast bearwa...

(Ph 71-80)

while the Latin has only:

Hic genus arboreum procero stipite surgens
Non lapsura solo mitia poma gerit.
(Riese 1906, 29-30)²

Many words in the Old English passage besides the obvious frætwe are associated, though not exclusively, with treasure, especially jewelry: gehong, wlitig, wlite, wrætlice, gehladene, and gehroden. Furthermore, just a few lines later fyrngeweorc (Ph 84) denotes the whole of paradise. At least in Beowulf, ancient geweorc often refers to treasure. The cup stolen from the dragon's hoard is fyrngeweorc (Beo 2286) and the golden hilt taken from Grendel's mother's lair and presented to Hrothgar is "enta ærgeweorc" (Beo 1679).

The "holtes frætwe" of paradise are just one of the fourteen repetitions of frætwe (or related verbs) in The Phoenix, repetitions which D. Calder argues are central to the poem's meaning. He writes: "its wide distribution makes

² A species of tree rises upwards here with a lofty trunk and bears ripe fruit which never falls to the ground (Allen/Calder 1976, p.115).

frætwe the leitmotif of the description of paradise and, beyond that, the key image of the poem."³ For Calder, attention to the repetitions of frætwe, with a variety of referents, shows that the poem "is a rendering of the relationship between beauty and salvation that unites all differing allegorical perspectives in one symbolic vision."⁴ Lactantius' poem conveys the beauty of paradise and of the bird, but it is the author of the Old English Phoenix who conceives of this beauty specifically in terms of treasure, thus showing that he shares with the Beowulf poet a common aesthetic -- both enjoy extended descriptions of treasure. Furthermore in neither poem is treasure simply gratuitous embellishment; in Beowulf and The Phoenix alike, treasure is integrated into the thematic concerns of the poem.

These passages from Beowulf and The Phoenix are not isolated, but rather provide the most lavish examples of treasure in secular and religious contexts and indicate its potential for thematic development. The corpus includes numerous further instances of treasure. The poet of Genesis A makes a passing reference to treasure in the addition of:

	Longe siððan
Geared gumum	gold brittade
	(<u>GenA</u> 1180-81)

to an Old Testament genealogy. In Andreas treasure occurs in place of a simple mention of payment when Andreas says to the mariner:

³ Calder 1972b, p.170.

⁴ Calder 1972b, p.168.

(And 474-78)

Mod Pýringum ic wæs ond mid Þrowendum,
ond mid Burgendum, þær ic beag gepah;
me þær Guðhere forgeaf glædlicne mappum
songes to leane.

þonne ic sinc wege
 þurh hlutterne dæg, hondweorc smipa,
 gold ofer geardas...
 ...Cyning mec gyrweð
 since ond seolfre ond mec on sele weorpað.
 (Rid20 6-10)

geteode.
(MxI 67-70)

þær iu beorn monig
 glædmod ond goldbeorht gleoma gefrætwed,
 wlonc ond wingal wighyrstum scan;
 seah on sinc, on sylfor, on searogimmas,
 on ead, on æht, on eorcanstan.
 (Ruin 32-36)

Þær is geat gylden gimum gefrætewod.
(XSt 647)

Treasure appears in such a variety of contexts from the peripheral to the thematically central across the range of Old English verse that it appears to be a part of poetic expression.

Depictions of treasure are not, however, all of one piece. In contrast to secular verse, religious verse offers many examples of the outright condemnation of treasure,⁵ usually standing as a symbol for worldliness, as in The Meters of Boethius:

Hwæt bið ðæm welegan woruldgitsere
on his mode ðe bet, þeah he micel age
goldes and gimma and gooda gehwæs,
æhta unrim, and him mon erigen scyle
æghwelce dæg æcera ðusend,
ðeah ðes middangeard and þis manna cyn
sy under sunnan suð, west and east
his anwalde eall underðieded?
Ne mot he þara hyrsta hionane lædan

⁵ The negative portrayal of treasure in religious contexts has its roots in biblical injunctions against the laying up of treasure and warnings about the transience of earthly wealth. Psalm 49, on the futility of riches, admonishes:

noli timere cum ditatus fuerit vir
cum multiplicata fuerit gloria domus eius
neque enim moriens tollet omnia
nec descendet post eum gloria eius
(Ps 47: 17-18)

According to the Gospel of Matthew, Christ warned in his Sermon on the Mount:

nolite thesaurize vobis thesauros in terra
ubi erugos et tinea demolitur
ubi fures effodiunt et furantur
Thesaurizate autem vobis thesauros in caelo
ubi neque erugo neque tinea demolitur
et ubi fures non effodiunt nec furantur
ubi enim est thesaurus tuus ibi est et cor tuum
(Mt 6:19-21)

Paul also warns Timothy against the temptation of worldly possessions, especially money, and reminds him of its transience (1Tim 6:9-10).

of ðisse worulde wuhte þon mare,
hordgestreona, ðonne he hiðer brohte.
(MB 14:1-11)

More sobering still, the Judgement Day sequence in Christ III includes the destruction of treasure; a conventional image made all the sharper by its association here with sin:⁶

Seopeð swearta leg synne on fordonnum,
and goldfrætwe gleda forswelgað,
eall ærgestreon epelcyninga.
(ChrIII 994-96)

In these and many other religious instances, treasure has not been excised or ignored; it remains a part of the poetry. Religious verse also includes many examples of treasure which carry no negative moral connotations. Less than 100 lines later, Christ III has lost or cast off such damning connotations as the just present their souls to God in heaven:

berað breosta hord fore bearn godes,
feores frætwe. Wile fæder eahtan
hu gesunde suna sawle bringen
of þam eðle þe hi on lifdon.
(ChrIII 1072-75)

Holy people and God are routinely denoted metaphorically in the language of treasure. For example, in The Homiletic Fragment II, a poem about as far removed from the heroic ethos of Beowulf as possible, Mary, in whose breast the Holy Spirit is said to dwell at the Annunciation, is referred to as a hordfæt (HmFgII 18). Noah's ark is twice a treasure, once as simply a hord (GenA 1439) and once as "maðma hord" (Ex 368). For Cynewulf, Christ's virtue is a goldhord

⁶ For other examples of the destruction of treasure on Judgment Day see Ph 508 and ChrII 807.

(ChrII 787) and the poet of The Order of the World describes God, the creator, as a guardian of treasure:

Hwæt, on frympe gescop fæder ælmihtig,
heah hordes weard, heofon and eorðan,
sæs sidne grund, sweotule gesceafte.
(OrW 38-40)

The images of the earth at creation and of paradise as treasure appear elsewhere in Old English verse. The Vulgate says only that the heavens are the work of God's hands:

initio terram tu fundasti Domine
et opera manuum tuarum sunt caeli.
(Ps101.26)⁷

But the versifier of The Paris Psalter perceives of the earth as treasure or an ornament:

Æt fruman þu, drihten, geworhtest
eorþan frætwe and upheofen;
þæt is heahgeweorc handa þinra.
(PPs 101.22)

The treasure of religious verse cannot be described as inherently evil and as totally different from the treasure of secular verse. The use of treasure metaphor to describe God and holy people or concepts such as Christ's virtue does not find a parallel in secular contexts. No hero is ever denoted as a treasure, nor are any secular or military values such as courage or loyalty. But these positive religious applications of treasure language do find a secular counterpart in the tendency of treasure, especially though not exclusively in Beowulf, to reflect the moral worth of its giver or owner.⁸ Beowulf's request that

⁷ In the beginning, O Lord, thou foundest the earth: and the heavens are the works of thy hands (Ps 101.26).

⁸ Leisi 1952.

Hrothgar send his treasure back to Hygelac should he die in the fight with Grendel's mother:

Mæg þonne on þam golde ongitan Geata dryhten,
geseon sunu Hrædles, þonne he on þæt sinc
 starað,
þæt ic gumcystum godne funde
beaga bryttan, breac þonne moste
 (Beo 1484-87)

makes no reference to material benefit.

The attitude towards hoarded treasure shows a further overlapping in the presentation of treasure in secular and religious verse. The poet of the grimly didactic

Instructions for Christians insists:

Ne dereð mycel wela manna ænegum,
gif he to swiðe ne bið sylfe beleapen
on þes feos lufan mid feondes larum,
for þi heo synd þearflicu þegna gehwilcum
to habbanne her on weorulde;
mid þam bið þe earman oftost geholpen
and þa mettruman myclum gehælede
and þa nacodan eac niowum gewerede;
of þam cumað monige men to heofonum.
(Inst 141-49)

The poet of Solomon and Saturn condemns not treasure as such
but its hiding:

Lytle hwile leaf beoð grene;
 ðonne hie eft fealewiað, feallað on eorðan
 and forweorniað, weorðað to duste.
 Swa ðonne gefeallað ða ðe fyrena ær
 lange læstað, lufiað him in mane,
 hydað heahgestreon...
 and wenað wanhogan ðæt hie wille wuldorcining,
 ælmihtig god, ece gehiran.

(SS 314-22)⁹

For both poets, treasure remains fundamentally positive, and the issue is what one does with treasure, not with any intrinsic evil in treasure. Many critics find a similar

⁹ Thomas Hill points out a similarity between Ælfric's attitude toward hoarding and that found in Solomon and Saturn (Hill 1970, pp.573-74).

attitude towards treasure in Beowulf.¹⁰ Hrothgar, in his "Sermon," holds up the hoarder Heremod as an anti-exemplum:

nallas on gylp seleð
fædde beagas, ond he þa forðgesceaft
forgyteð and forgymeð, þæs þe him ær god sealde,
wuldres waldend, weorðmynda dæl.
Hit on endestæf eft gelimpeð
þæt se lichoma læne gedreoseð,
fæge gefealleð; fehð oþer to,
se þe un murnlice madmas dælep,
eorles ærgestreon, egesan ne gymeð.
(Beo 1749-57)¹¹

The dragon's hoard in Beowulf stands as a particularly apt image for useless treasure. The poet underscores the uselessness of treasure separated from such social functions as gift-giving when he describes the dragon's hoard. The hoard is not the glittering treasure of Heorot or of Hrothgar's gifts to Beowulf, but, rather, it is decayed. Wiglaf finds helmets, "eald ond omig" (Beo 2763), and ancient cups "hyrstum behroren^e" (Beo 2762). The adjective feormendlease (Beo 2761) is especially telling -- treasure without a polisher, treasure separated from society becomes dull. The Beowulf poet states explicitly:

þa wæs gesyne þæt se sið ne ðah
þam ðe unrihte inne gehydde
wræte under wealle.
(Beo 3058-60)¹²

¹⁰ See for example: Conder 1973 and Leyerle 1967, p.13. Greenfield argues that the hoard has too many meanings in the poem for its significance to be solvable; but among the associations he admits is that of uselessness (Greenfield 1974).

¹¹ The sentiments expressed here are not far from Ælfric's comment: "On idel swinceð se ðe gold hordað" (Godden 1979, p.63).

¹² See also the poet's comment on the treasure buried with Beowulf:

forleton eorla gestreon eorðan healdan,

For the Beowulf poet, treasure properly used is given and received, so that it fosters the bonds which hold society together; it is in terms of the rendering useless of treasure that he recounts the betrayal of Beowulf by his retainers:

þæt, la, mæg secgan se ðe wyle soð specan
 þæt se mondryhten se eow ða maðmas geaf,
 eoredgeatwe, þe ge þær on standað,
 þonne he on ealubence oft gesealde
 healsittendum helm ond byrnan,
 þeoden his þegnum, swylce he þrydlicost
 ower feor oððe neah findan meahte,
 þæt he genunga guðgewædu
 wraðe forwurpe, ða hyne wig beget.
(Beo 2864-72)

For the Instructions for Christians poet, treasure properly used is given to the poor as alms:

Ne doð þa ærran yfel ænegum monna
 laðes nawiht, gif him ne licað
 þinga gehwilce ða he þonne doð,
 gif he his ælmyssan alning dæleð.
 Nis þæt þearfan hand þæt ðe þince her,
 ac hit is madmceoste Godes ælmihtiges.
(Inst 184-89)

The condemnation of hoarded treasure as well as the positive depiction of treasure in both religious and secular verse illustrates that, at least with regard to treasure, while there is scope for variety, the two cannot be understood as reflecting radically different sensibilities. Treasure is a concern across the corpus of Old English verse.

Treasure is almost ubiquitous in Old English verse occurring in a variety of contexts from the secular to the religious, the mundane to the thematically central. The

gold on greote, þær hit nu gen lifað
 eldum swa unnyt swa hi[t æro]r wæs.
(Beo 3166-68)

notion that treasure has a negative connotation in religious verse and a positive connotation in secular verse is far too simplistic, as both types of verse can draw on both of these facets of treasure. The power which the image of treasure carries throughout the corpus is predicated on its being widespread and on the interaction of this dual nature. I would suggest that the prevalence of treasure in Old English verse is a feature of the genre of poetry just as such stylistic phenomena as formulas, variation and kennings. This understanding, however, requires further inquiry which will be pursued by looking closely at the portrayal of treasure through a detailed analysis of the place of weapons, silver and gold, and ring-giving leaders in Old English verse.

Weapons are central to the first description of treasure we encounter in Beowulf, and an identification between the two runs throughout secular verse. As the poet recounts the funeral of Scyld Scefing, he pauses over the treasure accompanying the king:

þær wæs madma fela
 of feorwegum, frætwa, gelæded;
 ne hyrde ic cymlicor ceol gegyrwan
 hildewæpnum ond heaðowædum,
 billum ond byrnum; him on bearme læg
 madma mænigo, þa him mid scoldon
 on flodes æht feor gewitan.
 (Beo 36-42)

In Waldere A the hero's sword is spoken of as a treasure:

Ne murn ðu for ði mece; ðe wearð maðma cyst
 gifeðe to geoce, mid ðy ðu Guðhere scealt
 beot forbigan.
 (WldA 24-26)

Not only do these two examples make it particularly explicit that weapons are treasure, they are typical of the presentation of weapons in verse, as the high concentration of weapons among the referents of maðm in verse underscores. Maðm occurs 72 times in Old English verse and among the instances where maðm is specified, it refers most often to war equipment -- armor and/or weapons. In total there are 28 possible references to maðm as war equipment representing 82% of instances of identifiable maðm, and 39% of all instances of maðm.¹³

Prose offers a striking contrast to the verse. Save for the guðfana and the firdwæn among the "circlicum madmum" given by Bishop Leofric to Exeter Cathedral in a post-Conquest charter,¹⁴ instances of war equipment explicitly denoted with a Latin or Old English term for treasure are (as far as I can tell) absent outside of Old English verse. Much of this difference is no doubt attributable to the ecclesiastical nature and preoccupations of many of the sources for the period. But even sources which are concerned with the activities of lay people, if only from a clerical point of view, are virtually silent about weapons. Despite his interest in kingship and his concern to present Alfred as a strong warrior as well as a learned man, Asser does not mention weapons in his Life of King Alfred, although he makes frequent references to hunting and warfare

¹³ See below, Ch. 3, pp.92-4.

¹⁴ Robertson 1956, p.228.

as well as Alfred's love of treasure.¹⁵ Despite all the attention focused on the Vikings and defence, The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle rarely mentions weapons. This is in part a function of the somewhat distant perspective of the earlier portions of The Chronicle -- we rarely see close ups of action -- but even when it becomes a more detailed and narrative source, there is no interest in weapons. Weapons are not among the treasure given to Prince Edgar by King Malcolm;¹⁶ nor does the chronicler mention any weapons among the treasure which William the Conqueror left to his son.¹⁷ The wills are the sole exception but still present a contrast to the verse. They mention many weapons but are pragmatic documents concerned with who gets what, and uninterested in whether or not the inventoried objects constituted treasure. As almost all of the wills of men include mention of a "heriot" (weapons bequeathed or returned to one's lord at death), reference to weapons are abundant and make even clearer the absence of any suggestion that they are treasure.

The most obvious reason behind this divergence between poetry and prose is that the two types of discourse reflect different material cultures: the weapons of verse are high status fantasy weapons decorated with gold, and bear little relationship to the work-a-day weapons of prose and the

¹⁵ Stevenson 1904, pp.24-25, 26-31, 32-34, 43-47, 59-62, 76-79.

¹⁶ Plummer 1892, I, p.209.

¹⁷ Plummer 1892, I, p.222.

Anglo-Saxon battle field. To a large extent this is true. Poets often mention weapons ornamented with gold. As the Beowulf poet says of the hero's gift to the shoreguard:

He þam batwearde bunden golde
swurd gesealde, þæt he syðþan wæs
on meodubence maþme þy weorþra,
yrfelafe.

(Beo 1900-3)

A close look at the handling of one item of war equipment, the helmet, in verse and prose provides further, more specific evidence of differing material cultures. The wills frequently list helmets among the heriots, and a law code of Cnut demands the provision of helmets suggesting that helmets were common in late Anglo-Saxon England.¹⁸ These helmets were probably of a type not known from the archeological record, but familiar in form from their depiction on the heads of Anglo-Saxon soldiers on the Bayeux Tapestry; they were conical in shape and may have been made of hardened leather.¹⁹ Contrast these leather helmets with those mentioned in Beowulf, for example:

ac se hwita helm hafelan werede,
se þe meregrundas mengan scolde,
secan sundgebland since geweorðad,
befongen freawrasnum, swa hine fyrndagum
worhte wæpna smið, wundrum teode,
besette swinlicum, þæt hine syðþan no
brond ne beadomecas bitan ne meahton.

(Beo 1448-54)

The helmet here described more closely corresponds to a type of which only three examples survive (Sutton Hoo, Benty Grange and Coppergate). The rarity of Anglo-Saxon helmets

¹⁸ Liebermann 1903, I, p.358.

¹⁹ Brooks 1978, p.85.

and the quality of the workmanship on these pieces confirm their high status. The Sutton Hoo and Benty Grange helmets incorporate precious materials although the Coppergate helmet does not. These helmets are also of a much earlier date than Cnut's: Sutton Hoo, before c.625, Benty Grange, mid-seventh century and Coppergate, second half of the eighth century.²⁰ Which type of helmet various Old English poets had in mind when they used the term helm cannot be determined with certainty but it is unlikely that the poet of Judith, probably writing in the tenth century, had in mind the near contemporary leather cones, when he or she described the plunder the Bethulians presented to their heroine:

helmas ond hupseax, hare byrnan,
guðsceorp gumena golde gefrætwod,
mærra madma þonne mon ænig
asecgan mæge searoþoncelra.
(Jud 327-30)

The helmets of verse, then, are prestige objects and probably, after the eighth century, archaic.

But the division between poetry and prose is not so neat that the former has all the fancy, and the latter all the ordinary war equipment. Treasure-decorated weapons are not the exclusive preserve of poetry. War equipment decorated with gold and silver appears outside of Old English verse, and since gold and silver are the substances most consistently and frequently denoted as treasure, there can be little doubt that these weapons constituted treasure

²⁰ Cramp 1957, pp.119-23, Webster/Backhouse 1991, pp.59-62 and Schoenfeld/Schulman 1992, pp.19-20.

for the Anglo-Saxons. Such weapons occur in the wills. For example, Ælfgar left a sword with four pounds of silver on its sheath to the king and likewise Ælfheah gave a sword to the king which had eighty mancuses of gold on its scabbard. Wilfric mentions two silver hilted swords in his will and in Wulfsize's there is not a sword but unusually, a spear inlaid with gold. The will of the Ætheling Æthelstan offers several examples of treasure decorated swords: three silver hilted swords are certainly such weapons and it is possible that the swords described as inlaid and notched also belong to this category.²¹ Archeological evidence also corroborates the existence of swords decorated with treasure. Among the most famous and spectacular are the Fetter Lane Sword pommel of c.800,²² the Abingdon Sword of the late ninth century²³ and an Anglo-Scandinavian sword, now in Stockholm, dating from c.1000.²⁴

While prose has treasure-decorated weapons, ordinary weapons are not excluded from verse. Decoration does not seem essential to maðm denoted weapons. Of the 11 instances in Old English verse where we can identify the precise item of war equipment designated as maðm, 6 are described as decorated while 5 are not so described.²⁵ It seems likely

²¹ Whitelock 1930, pp.6, 22, 46, 74.

²² Wilson 1964, pp.148-49.

²³ Hinton 1974, pp.1-7.

²⁴ Backhouse/Turner/Webster 1984, pp.103-4.

²⁵ The eleven are: Rid55 13, Jud 329, Beo 1027, 1048, 1528, 1902, 2055, 2166, 2193, 2640, 2865, WldA 24,. Those decorated are Rid55 13, Beo 1027, 1048, 1528, 1902, 2193. See

then that decoration was not essential for war equipment to be considered as treasure. The strong possibility exists that the value of weapons, regardless of their ornamentation, accounts for their status in verse as treasure. Swords required very pure ores and many hours of labor to produce, which may account for their value as well as their prestige.²⁶ In his will, Bishop Theodred gave a sword worth 120 mancuses of gold to the king and similarly Brihtic gave a sword worth 80 mancuses. It is, of course, possible that these swords were decorated with treasure but it is not stated.²⁷ Different material cultures appear to be part of the picture, with verse tending to the extraordinary and the archaic and to viewing weapons as treasure as would a warrior rather than a monk, but is not in itself sufficient to account for the divergent conceptions of treasure found in verse and prose. Moreover, such a solution begs the question of why verse and prose would present different material cultures.

The portrayal of gold and sylfor also reveals a similar verse-prose split, and, since unlike weapons they are not associated almost solely with secular contexts, a study of their portrayal allows for a broader base from which to consider the place of treasure in Old English verse. The spectacular treasure found at Sutton Hoo has often been used to illuminate the treasure described in Beowulf and is often cited as proof that the treasure of Beowulf cannot be dismissed as mere poetic fantasy. Roberta Franks has recently commented that, despite the fact that comparisons between the treasure of Sutton Hoo and the treasure of Beowulf have become

below, Ch.3, p.94-5.

²⁶ Davidson 1962, pp.15-96.

²⁷ Whitelock 1930, pp.2-4 and 26.

customary, the poet makes no mention of silver.²⁸ The Sutton Hoo ship burial included many silver bowls and two silver spoons. This absence of silver is, however, a much wider phenomenon in Old English verse -- silver occurs only 27 times in the corpus of 30,000 lines while gold occurs 184 times.²⁹

Outside of Old English verse, in Old English prose and in Anglo-Latin prose and verse, references to silver are plentiful in texts as diverse as documents such as wills, charters and law codes, religious works such as homilies, Alfred's translations, and saints' lives and ^{Anglo-Latin} poetry. Bede recounts that, during an Easter feast, Oswald broke up a silver dish to dispense as alms.³⁰ In Boethius' De Consolatione Philosophiae, Philosophy says:

Et esset (...) infiniti stuporis omnibusque
horribilius monstris, si, uti tu aestimas, in
tanti velut patrisfamilias dispositissima domo
vilia vasa colerentur, pretiosa sordescerent.³¹
(Tester 1973, p.314)

The paterfamilias of the Latin version becomes a king in the Old English version and the "vasa...pretiosa" are understood as golden and silver:

Gif hit swa is swa ðu sægest, ðonne is þæt
egeslicre ðonne ænig oðer broga, 7 is endeleas
wundor, ðæm gelicost ðe on sumes cyninges hirede

²⁸ Frank 1992, p.55.

²⁹ Bessinger/Smith 1978.

³⁰ Colgrave/Mynors 1969, p.230.

³¹ It would indeed be a matter of boundless wonder more dreadful than any evil omens if, as you think, as it were in the most well arranged house of so great a master the worthless vessels were cherished while the precious ones were allowed to get filthy (Tester 1973, p.315).

sien gyldenu fatu 7 selfrenu forsewen, 7 treowenu
mon weorðige.

(Sedgefield 1899, p.104)

For King Alfred it seems a natural assumption that the dishes used at the royal table, simply denoted as "precious" in the Latin, would be made of gold and silver. Ælfric's homilies include numerous references to silver. For example he comments on the nature of precious metals and gems:

"Gold, and seolfor, and deorwurðe stanas beoð on fyre afandode, ac hi ne beoð swa-ðeah mid ðam fyre fornumene."³²

The charter recording Leofric's donation to Exeter Cathedral includes "silfrenum sworrodum...7 .v. silfrene caliceas...7 .i. silfren pipe...7 .i. silfren storcylle mid silfrenum storsticcan" but never makes mention of gold.³³ Anglo-Latin verse shares with Old English verse a love of lavish descriptions of treasure but does not eschew reference to silver. Alcuin describes with relish and pleasure the treasured ornament that successive generations of Northumbrian kings had donated to the cathedral at York. His descriptions of the gifts of King Oswald and the work of Archbishop Æthelbert deserve quoting at length:

Nec minus interea vario ornamenta decore
addidit ecclesiis, Fidei fervore repletus.
Namque ubi bellipotens sumpsit baptismatis undam
Eduuin rex, praesul grandem construxerat aram,
textit et argento, gemmis simul undique et auro,
atque dicavit eam sancti sub nomine Pauli
doctoris mundi, nimium quem doctor amabat.
Hoc altare farum supra suspenderat altum,
qui tenet ordinibus tria grandia vasa novenis,
et sublime crucis vexillum erexit ad aram
et totum textit pretiosis valde metallis.

³² Thorpe 1846, II, p.590.

³³ Robertson 1956, p.226.

Omnia magna satis, pulchro molimine structa,
 argentique meri compensant pondera multa.
 Ast altare aliud fecit, vestivit et illud
 argento puro, pretiosis atque lapillis,
 martyribusque crucique simul dedicaverat ipsum.
 Iussit ut obrizo non parvi ponderis auro
 ampulla maior fieret, qua vina sacerdos
 funderet in calcicem, solemnia sacra celebrans.
 Ast nova basilicae mirae structura diebus
 praesulis huius erat iam coepta, peracta, sacrata.
 Haec nimis alta domus solidis suffulta columnis,
 suppositae quae stant curvatis arcubus, intus
 emicat egregiis laquearibus atque fenestris.
 Pulchraque porticibus fulget circumdata multis,
 plurima diversis retinens solaria tectis,
 quae triginta tenet variis ornatibus aras.³⁴
 (Godman 1982, 1488-1514)

Here, as elsewhere in the poem, Alcuin, like other Anglo-Latin poets, refers to silver. The archeological record confirms the abundance of silver in Anglo-Saxon England. Of the 155 objects in the British Museum catalogue of metalwork

³⁴ He also endowed the churches with ornaments
 of varied beauty, filled with zeal for the Faith.
 In the spot where Edwin, the warrior king, was baptized
 the bishop raised a great altar
 and covered it with gold, silver, and jewels,
 dedicating it in the name of St. Paul,
 the universal teacher, whom he loved with all his heart.
 High above this altar he hung a chandelier,
 which held three great vessels, each with nine tiers.
 At the altar he erected the noble standard of the cross
 covering it entirely with most precious metals.
 It was all on a grand scale and built on a lovely
 design,
 weighing many pounds in pure silver.
 He erected another altar and covered it too
 with pure silver and precious stones,
 dedicating it both to the martyrs and to the Cross.
 He ordered a large cruet to be made in pure gold
 and of great weight, from which the priest
 celebrating holy mass could pour wine into the chalice.
 During his bishopric a new basilica of wondrous design
 was begun, completed, and consecrated.
 This lofty building, supported by strong columns,
 themselves bolstering curving arches, gleams
 inside with fine inlaid ceiling and windows.
 It shines in its beauty, surrounded by many a chapel
 with many galleries in its various quarters,
 and thirty altars decorated with different finery.
 (Godman 1982, 1488-1514)

dated from 700-1100 only 12 are gold and these as mostly finger rings.³⁵ After the seventh century the supply of gold in Western Europe markedly decreased, and most surviving jewelry after this date -- even the most obviously high status pieces as the Fuller disc broach -- were made of silver.³⁶

The existence of both verse and prose accounts of the Battle of Maldon provides a particularly pointed example of the exclusion of silver in Old English verse. The poet describes how the Vikings demanded tribute in the form of gold:

Ne þurfe we us spillan, gif ge spedap to þam;
we willað wið þam golde grið fæstnian.
(BM 34-35)

But the terms used by his contemporary, The Chronicle writer, indicate that it was largely silver the Vikings took away:

Her wæs G[ypes]wic ge hergod. 7 æfter þam swiðe
raðe wæs Brihtnoð ealdorman ofslægen æt Mældune.
7 on þam geare man ge rædde þæt man geald ærest
gafol Deniscan mannum. for þam mycclan brogan þe
hi worhtan be þam sæ riman. þæt wæs ærest x
þusend punda.

(Plummer 1892, I, p.127)

Æthelred's treaty (991 or 994) with the Vikings speaks of gold and silver: "Twa and twentig ðuse[n]d punda goldes 7 seolfres man gesealde ðam here of Ænglalande wið friðe" (Liebermann 1903, I, p.224).³⁷ Peter Sawyer has recently

³⁵ Wilson 1964, p.10.

³⁶ Wilson 1964, p.10, Hinton 1978, p.135 and Hinton 1990, pp.52 and 61.

³⁷ See Whitelock 1979, p.437 for the dates of the treaty.

pointed out that since charters, such as this one of Æthelred's, do not set out the proportions of gold and silver, the weights or sums of money they specify are meaningless. He has suggested that the weight or sum refers only to the silver and the inclusion of gold is merely symbolic.³⁸

Comparison with vernacular and Latin prose, with Latin verse and the archeological record suggests that the predominance of gold and the avoidance of silver in Old English verse amounts to a poetic convention. Although silver was the primary precious metal in Anglo-Saxon England, in vernacular verse religious and secular poets alike avoid it. Never is silver given in the hall; never does it appear in heaven. Even the poet of the late Battle of Maldon knows what is expected of verse as clearly as did the Beowulf poet. The treasure of verse has more to do with a imaginative ideal than with reality and, as the decrease in availability of gold after 700 AD and the old-fashioned helmets of Judith suggest, there is^a strong archaic element to that ideal.

To comment that Old English poetry is imaginative literature is, however, fast becoming a commonplace. As the historian Richard Abels says of The Battle of Maldon:

Even if one grants that the piece was written within a few years of the battle...we still cannot regard the poem as an accurate depiction of combat. It is above all else a work of literary

³⁸ Sawyer 1993.

imagination, heavily influenced by the conventions of heroic poetry.³⁹

and as the literary critic Roberta Frank has said, a bit closer to our concern with treasure:

...the material culture of Beowulf is the conventional apparatus of heroic poetry.⁴⁰

An analysis of the alliteration, collocation and formulas associated with the 27 instances of silver in Old English verse can take these comments a step further, and allow for the consideration of the extent to which the gold convention is part of the poetics of Old English verse.

16 of the 27 instances of silver occur with gold and in fifteen of those gold precedes silver; nine times in the half-line formula "gold ond sylfor", twice in the half-line formula "ne gold ne sylfor" and once in the similar half-line "gold ne sylfor."⁴¹ In the remaining four instances, gold and silver occur on separate lines. Only in the Old English Psalm 67 does silver come before gold:

fiðeru beop culfran	fægeres seolfres
and hire bæc scineð	beorhtan golde.
	(<u>PPs</u> 67.13)

but the versifier of the psalms simply follows the order of the psalter here. A glance at the five instances, four from The Paris Psalter and one from Genesis A, in which gold and silver appear in passages translated from the

³⁹ Abels 1991, p.147.

⁴⁰ Frank 1992, p.53.

⁴¹ gold ond sylfor: GenA 1769, DR 77, Rid 14.2 PPs 104. 32, 113.12, 118.72, 134.15, SS 31, and Inst 122; ne gold ne sylfor: SBI 58 and SBI 55; and gold ne sylfor: And 338.

Latin, underscores the precedence of gold.⁴² In four cases silver, argentem, is mentioned before gold, aurus, in the Latin but the Old English poet has swapped the two around and used the half-line "gold ond sylfor."⁴³ Two points can be made from this. First, there is a tendency to specify silver only as a coordinate of gold; and secondly, the conventions of Old English poetic diction exert a strong pressure -- since gold comes before silver in the established half-line "gold ond sylfor," the versifier will conform to the norms of Old English poetic diction rather than render his source more faithfully.

But what of those other instances of silver which do not occur in a neat half-line with gold? Eight occur on the same verse line as sinc, a term for treasure found only in verse.⁴⁴ This figure contrasts markedly with those for the appearance of silver with any other word for treasure. For example, maðm never collocates with silver although it collocates 21 times with gold.⁴⁵ Furthermore in all eight of the appearances of the sinc and silver collocation, the two elements always appear on the same line. This coupled with the scarcity of collocations of silver with any other treasure word indicates that verse form, in this case alliteration, rather than the reality of Anglo-Saxon

⁴² GenA 1769, PPs 104.32, 113.12, 118.72, 134.15.

⁴³ GenA 1769, PPs 104.32, 113.12, 134.15.

⁴⁴ Dan 60, XSt 577, Rid20 10, Rid55 4, Ruin 35, Rid67 15, PPs 67.27, MB 21:21.

⁴⁵ See below Chapter 4, pp.213-19 for a full discussion of these collocations.

treasure, represents the stronger factor in the appearance of silver.

We are left then with four cases where silver neither alliterates with sinc nor appears in a passage with gold.⁴⁶ Two of these appear in Old English verse translated from the Vulgate where silver appears alone.⁴⁷ For example, the Psalmist compares the trials of the Israelites to the testing of silver by fire; a metaphor which the versifier of The Paris Psalter maintains:

Ure costade god clæne fyre
soðe dome, swa man seolfor deð,
þonne man hit aseoeð swyðe mid fyre.
(PPs 65.9)

This leaves only two instances of silver by itself in all of Old English verse, from the poems Solomon and Saturn and Genesis A -- hardly a norm.

Translation has repeatedly been mentioned in the examination of the 27 instances of silver, and it is worth counting the translated instances -- they are eleven in all, representing roughly 40% of the occurrences of silver in verse. Also, in the preceding discussion the same poems were referred to over and over again. Occurrences of silver are not evenly spread throughout the corpus of Old English verse, but group together in a limited number of texts -- most notably The Paris Psalter (with 7), The Riddles (with 4), Solomon and Saturn (with 3) and Genesis A (with 3). Despite the fact that the vast majority of the precious

⁴⁶ GenA 2720, 2732, PPs 65.9, SS 143.

⁴⁷ GenA 2732 and PPs 65.9.

metal available in England after the seventh century, including that used in prestige jewelry, was silver, silver is the exception for Old English verse -- often prompted by a Latin original and appearing repeatedly in a small number of texts. The alliteration, collocations and formulas surrounding the 27 appearances of silver illustrates the pressure which verse form and poetic convention could exert on how and what is said and is not said in Old English verse. But, more importantly, they illustrate how a convention of subject matter, an avoidance of silver, could become part of stylistic and lexical convention -- part of the poetics of Old English verse.

Thus far the discussion has been focused on the place in Old English verse of objects or materials considered to be treasure; a look at the function of treasure also contributes to an understanding of how Old English poets handled treasure. A full discussion of political, economic, social and religious developments affecting the function of and attitude towards treasure in Anglo-Saxon England is not possible within the limits of this chapter. A brief consideration the place of the dispensing of treasure to the exercise of kingship in the Anglo-Saxon period is, however, sufficient to draw attention to the conventionality of treasure in verse and in particular further underscores its archaic nature. Again, the contrast between verse and prose accounts of treasure will be of central importance.

The evolution over the seven hundred years of Anglo-Saxon history from the rulership of small areas by war-

leaders who rewarded their followers with gold treasure acquired as plunder, to the rulership of England by one king whose revenues derived from sources such as taxation and control of the silver coinage, and who interacted with his subjects through a nascent administrative bureaucracy, takes kings far away from the ring-givers and hoard-guardians of verse, despite the fact that such figures appear even in late Old English verse.⁴⁸ The Battle of Brunanburh from the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle for 937 describes King Æthelstan as a beahgifa (BB 2) and depicts his role as protector of his kingdom in terms of the defense of treasure. He and his brother Edmund:

wip lapra gehwæne land ealgodon,
hord and hamas.
(BB 9-10)

This view has much in common with the Beowulf poet's vision of sixth-century kingship. Unable to trust her own sons with the kingdom, Hygd offers it to Beowulf:

þær him Hygd gebead hord ond rice,
beagas ond bregostol, bearne ne truwode
þæt he wið ælfylcum epelstolas
healdan cuðe, ða wæs Hygelac dead.
(Beo 2369-72)

The similarity between Beowulf and Brunanburh in which control of the nation's hoard becomes almost a shorthand for kingship suggests a convention. This impression is strengthened by comparing the verse and prose accounts of

⁴⁸ These developments have been studied and discussed by a number of historians, see especially: Abels 1988, J. Campbell 1986a, 1986b, 1986c, Claude 1973, Grierson 1959, Grierson 1961, Hollister 1978, Loyn 1957, Loyn 1984, Nelson 1986, Sawyer 1965, Sawyer 1977, Spufford 1988, Wormald 1979.

Alfred's reign which offer contrasting pictures of the king's control of treasure.

The Metrical Preface to Wærferth's Translation of Gregory's Dialogues portrays Alfred as a ring-giver:

and eac swa his beahgifan, þe him ðas bysene forgeaf,
þæt is se selesða sinc[...]
Ælfryð mid Englum, ealra cyninga
þara þe he sið oððe ær fore secgan hyrde,
oððe he iorðcyninga ær ænigne gefrugne.
(GDPref 23-27)

This poem, which appears in a manuscript of the eleventh century is either contemporary with or later than the text it accompanies. The earlier ninth century manuscript of the Dialogues does not include the verse preface but the ninth century Hatton manuscript of the Alfredian translation of The Pastoral Care, intended for Bishop Wærferth of Worcester, does contain a verse preface and prologue indicating that the appending of such verse to a copy of one of the books "ða ðe niedbeðearfosta sien eallum monnum to wiotonne" (Sweet 1871, p.7) does not represent a tradition completely apart from the concerns that group expressed in its prose. Asser's portrait of Alfred emphasizes his generosity, especially to strangers,⁴⁹ and records Alfred's gift of treasure to Guthrum on the occasion of the latter's baptism,⁵⁰ and it is likely that the treasury comprised a chest, or chests, which accompanied the king in the charge of a royal official;⁵¹ ^{however,} Alfred cannot be described as a

⁴⁹ Stevenson 1904, pp.59-60 and 67.

⁵⁰ Stevenson 1904, p.47.

⁵¹ Keynes/Lapidge 1983, pp.273-74.

simple treasure-giver. Alfred's will testifies that by the end of his life, he was a remarkably wealthy man leaving behind him 500,000 silver pennies.⁵² Such wealth, as well as Asser's detailed account of Alfred's allocation of his funds, is evidence of a developing treasury. Asser describes at some length and with interest how Alfred divided up, among secular and ecclesiastical interests, tax revenue which came to fiscus every year.⁵³ Some organization would have been necessary to keep the revenues and expenditures straight and Alfred's translation of Boethius suggests that he was familiar with just such organization. Boethius writes:

Atqui praetura magna olim potestas nunc inane
nomen et senatorii census gravis sarcina; si quis
populi quondam curasset annonam, magnus habebatur,
nunc ea praefectura quid abiectius?⁵⁴

(Tester 1973, p.248)

Alfred expands this and gets rid of the unfamiliar praefectura substituting the, presumably, familiar maðmhirdas and thus giving a definition of a treasurer:

Hit wæs gio giond ealle Romana mearce þæt
heretogan 7 domeras, 7 þa maðmhirdas þe þæt fioh
hioldon þe mon þam ferdmonnum on geare sellan
sceolde, 7 þa wisestan witan, hæfdon mæstne
weorðscipe; nu þonne oðer twega, oððe þara nan
nis, oððe hi nænne weorþscipe nabbað, gif hiora
ænig is.

(Sedgefield 1899, p.64)

⁵² Nelson 1986, p.38.

⁵³ Stevenson 1904, pp.85-9.

⁵⁴ The praetorship was once an office of great power, now it is an empty name and a heavy burden on the resources of the Senatorial order. Once, when a man had charge of the public corn-dole, he was held to be great; now is there anything lower than that prefectship (Tester 1973, p.249)?

Thanks to Asser we know more about Alfred's expenditure than his sources of revenue, but land taxes (in kind), customary dues on kings' estates, the profits of the judicial process and coinage, which Alfred manipulated and controlled just as his predecessors did, were the sources of wealth.⁵⁵ Much of this must have been paid in coin or bullion, as the laws suggest, for Alfred to have accumulated such a hoard of coins. The picture of a king receiving treasure as plunder from his retainers which he then dispensed is hardly sufficient and underscores that the portrayal of Alfred as a ring-giver is peculiar to verse.⁵⁶ A striking picture emerges of the changing nature and function of treasure in Anglo-Saxon England contrasted with the static portrayal of treasure in Old English verse, which appears to be governed more by archaic poetic convention than reality.

If parts can be said to reveal anything about the whole then the portrayal of weapons, ^{of} silver and gold, and even of late Anglo-Saxon kings as ring-givers, offer much insight into the treasure of Old English verse. Treasure involves imaginative fantasy rooted in the archaic which becomes embedded in the inherited poetic diction. The archaic element is of great importance since it suggests that treasure, like such features as alliteration and meter, became a part of the poetic form when verse was oral, and *when* the world and concerns of the Germanic aristocratic warrior

⁵⁵ Loyn 1984, p.67.

⁵⁶ For a wide-ranging discussion of the economic position of Alfred, see Madicott 1989.

no doubt produced heroic poetry. The formulas and alliterative pairs associated with gold and silver, the outdated helmets of Judith and the gold of The Battle of Maldon, both demonstrably late poems, and the designation of Alfred as beaggifa and "sinces brytta" all testify to the strength of the conventions associated with treasure. The rules of the genre of poetry became defined, and these poetic conventions associated with treasure were as much a part of composing poetry as the alliterative verse form. The strength of the conventions associated with weapons, gold and silver and kingship taken together with the virtual ubiquity of treasure in Old English verse suggests that treasure was itself a poetic convention. The lack of silver and the abundance of gold in even the most literary religious verse such as The Phoenix, and the presence of treasure in such meditative verse as The Homiletic Fragment II shows that love of gold and descriptions of treasure are not limited to verse which can be interpreted as reflecting the concerns of a Germanic aristocratic warrior. Once an individual, whether a monk or a scop in a hall, decided to compose verse, there were set ways of saying things and even set things to say. A picture emerges of treasure as an integral part of the Old English poetic discourse.

Chapter Three

Some Key Words for Treasure in Old English Verse

I. Introduction

The Anglo-Saxon vocabulary for treasure is one of richness and diversity. No one Old English word corresponds directly to our Modern English word "treasure," and furthermore there is a seemingly uncountable number of objects which can be considered as treasures. Beyond these nouns are numerous adjectives and verbs associated with treasure. In the following pages, I have been concerned to discuss the referents of, and the themes and contexts associated with, the Old English words for "treasure." When discussing the referents of a word for treasure, I have distinguished between two groups of appearances: 1) appearances of the word as a simplex or as the second and determining element in a compound and 2) appearances of the word as the first or limiting element of a compound.¹ I have tried to avoid commenting on themes and contexts associated with a particular collocation, rather than an individual word since this forms the substance of Chapter Four. However, this distinction cannot always be rigidly maintained. Though style has a bearing on the discussion, I have tried to avoid commenting on such stylistic features as Parallelstellen, formulas, deliberate verbal repetition, verse paragraphs and other word collocations which I will consider later.

¹ See Carr 1939, p.xxviii where he writes that the first element in a compound word is virtually exclusively the limiter and the second element is the determiner.

To isolate a group of Old English words which mean "treasure," presents considerable difficulties. The Modern English concept of treasure is narrow and has a correspondingly small lexical field, while in Old English both the concept and the lexical field are broad. Each Old English word which might be translated as "treasure" in fact carries with it many varied associations, conveys different facets of treasure and shades off into other concepts. That is not to say that distinctions cannot be drawn among the many nouns connected with treasure in Old English Verse, but rather that we must draw such distinctions with care, and recognize that they are neither hard nor fast. These nouns for treasure can be divided into four categories: 1) words which can be roughly translated by the Modern English "treasure," 2) general words which can be applied to, or include, treasure but whose meanings are broader than simply treasure; among these words are terms for wealth, prosperity, possessions, rewards, gifts and ornaments, 3) words for objects or substances which are examples of "treasure" -- in this group are included terms for gold, silver, precious gems, jewelry, money and rings, and 4) words for objects which are sometimes, but not necessarily, treasures; in this category are found, for example, books, cups and dishes, and clasps. These categories are fairly broadly defined and often overlap each other.

From among the many nouns associated with treasure I have tried to choose those words which convey the meaning "treasure" rather than words which are often applied to

treasure but carry little or no connotation of treasure in themselves. These words come obviously from category one but also from category two. When dealing with words from category two much difficulty arises, because there are no precise dividing lines between treasure and wealth, possessions or ornaments since these semantic fields overlap. While some words seemed to mean at one and the same time treasure and wealth, or treasure and possessions, or treasure and ornament, (for example, gestreon and frætwe, respectively), other words meant simply wealth, possessions, or ornament and could be applied to an object that is treasure, (for example, wela, æht, and gleng, respectively).

The criteria for distinguishing words for treasure from words often applied to treasure were quite crude. I considered their definitions in four major dictionaries, Bosworth and Toller, Sweet, Grein, and Clark Hall and I took into account how often a possible treasure word could be shown to refer to treasure. This method is inevitably conservative since it excludes instances where the context suggested that treasure was a possible reading but where there was no other language to support an identification as treasure. Following these criteria the following words were chosen as treasure words: maðm, sinc, hord, gestreon, frætwe, hyrst, and possibly feoh. Hyrst, however, was excluded from this study because it appeared so infrequently (seventeen times) that no meaningful conclusions could be drawn from assessing its collocations. Similarly, there

were too few instances of feoh denoting movable wealth which was not cattle and this word was also excluded. All of the words within this group can denote "treasure;" however, many of them also have other referents which are associated with their own individual semantic fields. Hord refers not simply to treasure but hoarded treasure and a repository for treasure, frætwe refers to treasure but also ornament and gestreon is broader than simply treasure, extending to possessions. Even maðm and sinc, which are closest to our word "treasure", have differing shades of meaning.

II. MADM

Maðm occurs 72 times in Old English Verse. A selection of Anglo-Saxon dictionaries all agree that maðm is used to refer to "treasure."² 59 of the 72 occurrences of maðm, or 82%, are as a simplex or as the second element of a compound; all are literal. All of the 16 appearances of maðm in the singular could refer to single objects of treasure rather than groups of objects of treasure, and in cases where the object denoted by maðm was identifiable, the object was always singular.³ The poet of The Gifts of Men writes:

	sum searocræftig
goldes ond gimma,	ponne him gumena weard

² Bosworth and Toller: "A precious or valuable thing (often refers to gifts), a treasure, jewel, ornament." Sweet: "anything precious, treasure, gift." Grein "cimelium, res pretiosa, Kleinod, eig. das Geschenke." Clark Hall: "treasure, object of value, jewel, ornament, gift."

³ And 1113, Gifts 60, Wid 4, 66, MxI 154, Rid55 13, Beo 169, 1052, 1198, 1528, 1902, 2055, 2173, 2193, 3016, MB 21:20.

hateð him to mærpum mæppum renian.
(Gifts 58-60)

Compound words with maðm as its second element are also used to describe single objects. In the majority of its occurrences, 43 of these 59 instances, or 73%, maðm occurs in the plural and describes a number of treasures:⁴

Næs ic fæge þa gyt,
ac me eorla hleo eft gesealde
maðma menigeo, maga Healfdenes.
(Beo 2141-43)

Although some of the singular occurrences of maðm could possibly be a collective noun referring to a numbers of objects of treasure, these instances can just as easily be read with maðm referring to a single object; this seems especially likely since in its other occurrences the word refers to a single object or single objects. The fact that maðm refers to a treasure object rather than a group of treasures distinguishes it from other words for treasure: sinc, gestreon, and hord.

A consideration of its 59 appearances as a simplex or as the second element of a compound shows that many references to maðm (at least 26, or 44%) do not include any further elaboration which indicates what precisely the treasure is.⁵ For example, Hrothgar tells Beowulf that he

⁴ GenB 409, Ex 143, 586, And 309, El 1258, Sea 99, Fort 62, MxI 87, Hus 45, Beo 36, 41, 385, 472, 1027, 1048, 1482, 1756, 1784, 1860, 1867, 1898, 2103, 2143, 2145, 2166, 2236, 2414, 2490, 2640, 2779, 2788, 2799, 2843, 2865, 2993, 3011, 3131, Jud 319, 329, 340, WldA 24, WldB 6, Th 8.

⁵ GenB 409, Ex 143, And 309, 1113, El 1258, Gifts 60, Sea 99, Wid 4, 66, Fort 62, MxI 87, 154, Hb 45, Beo 169, 472, 1052, 1756, 1784, 1860, 1867, 2143, 2236, 3016, MB 21:20, WldB 6, Th 8.

settled a feud with his father by sending "ealde madmas" (Beo 472). These madmas are not further described. Some of these unspecified treasures are further described as being gold, dyre, and frætwe, but this does not tell us exactly what they are. In 34 of these 59 instances, or 58%, it is possible to identify the maðm more specifically.⁶ For example, we can identify the maðm in the following passage from Beowulf as the sword Hrunting:

ða wæs forma sið
deorum madme, þæt his dom alæg.
(Beo 1527-28)

This category also includes less precisely identifiable instances of maðm. For example, references to the contents of the dragon's hoard in Beowulf which the reader or listener knows to include war equipment, jewellery, cups, etc. are included. These instances are useful in a consideration of the referents of maðm. In one of these 34 occurrences maðm or a compound can be jewelry or a precious object that is worn (Beo 2173). Rings are twice denoted as maðm (Beo 2640, 2993). In a passage which is difficult to interpret, Hrothgar's (or in another, now thought less likely interpretation, God's) throne, his gifstol (Beo 168), appears to be equated with mapðum (Beo 169) in what Klaeber terms a "somewhat loose variation."⁷ On two occasions,

⁶ Ex 586, Rid55 13, Beo 36, 41, 169, 385, 1027, 1048, 1198, 1482, 1528, 1898, 1902, 2055, 2103, 2145, 2166, 2173, 2193, 2414, 2490, 2640, 2779, 2788, 2799, 2843, 2865, 2993, 3011, 3131, Jud 318, 329, 340, WldA 24.

⁷ See Klaeber 1936, pp.134-35 note to line 168f. Howren 1956, p.318 sees mapðum and gifstol as distinct objects of gretan.

both in Beowulf, it is possible that maðm might refer to land. Looking back over his life before he goes to attack the dragon, Beowulf comments that he earned the maðmas (Beo 2490) that Hygelac gave him. Two lines later he says that Hygelac "me lond forgeaf, / eard, eðelwyn" (Beo 2492-93). Later the poet tells us that Hygelac rewarded Wulf and Eofor:⁸

mid ofermaðmum,
sealde hiora gehwæðrum hund þusenda
landes ond locenra beaga.
(Beo 2993-95)

Although both beag and land depend on þusend, þusend is not necessarily the equivalent of ofermaðmum.

The use of maðm to denote land may indicate that it does not denote treasure in all of its poetic occurrences but that its semantic field is broader. For example, it is possible that maðm can refer for example to any valuable gift regardless of whether or not it is treasure. Maðm does not, however, include all valuable gifts. The four appearances of the half-line "mearum ond maðmum" (MxI 87, Beo 1048, 1898, 2166) and the appearance of the half-line "ne meara ne maðma" (Hb 45) in The Husband's Message suggest that although horses and treasure are frequently given together as gifts, maðm excludes horses.

The use of maðm to denote both land and treasure would be particularly striking in light of the different functions the exchange of land and that of movable wealth played in

⁸ Klaeber writes: "þusend is sometimes used 'of value without expressing the unit' (B.-T.). In this case, as also, e.g., repeatedly in Bede, the hid ('familia') is evidently understood" (Klaeber 1936, p.207).

Instances of maðm where the treasure has been specifically described within the same passage as being comprised of war equipment have also been included. For example, Hrothgar gives Beowulf the following:

segen gyldenne sigores to leane;
hroden hildecumbor, helm ond byrnan,
mære maðpumsweord.

(Beo 1021-23)

Only four lines later and without having mentioned any additional treasure in the meantime, the poet tells us:

ne gefrægn ic freondlicor feower madmas
gold gegyrede.

(Beo 1027-28)

Swords in particular are singled out as being treasure. In five of the 11 instances of maðm, or 45%, identified as exhibiting a close connection of war equipment and maðm, that equipment includes only a sword.¹¹

I have not included among the 11 instances of maðm taken as referring directly to war equipment occurrences where maðm includes but does not refer solely to war equipment or where maðm appears as one element of an enumeration. There are at least six such instances, as, for example, in Judith when maðm appears as yet another item at the end of an enumeration of various types of weapons and armor:

heolfrig herereaf, hyrsta scyne,
bord and bradswyrd, brune helmas,
dyre madmas.

(Jud 316-18)¹²

¹¹ Rid55 13, Beo 1528, 1902, 2193, WldA 24. Beo 2055 may also fall into this category.

¹² See also: Ex 586, Beo 36, 41, 1898; Jud 340.

There are at least a further 11 appearances of maðm, all in Beowulf, which can be found to include war equipment only by referring to other sections of the poem as much as 1000 lines earlier.¹³ For example, Beowulf tells Hygelac that for killing Grendel, Hrothgar rewarded him with "manegum maðmum" (Beo 2103). By referring back to lines 1020ff. we discover that those maðmas include war equipment. In total, then, there are 28 possible references to maðm as war equipment. This represents a very considerable proportion, 82%, of the appearances of maðm, as an identifiable simplex or second element of a compound, and represents 47% of all appearances of the word as a simplex or second element of a compound and 39% of all instances of maðm in poetry.

At this point we must ask if all the above war equipment was considered as treasure because it was decorated with gold, silver, or jewels or otherwise ornamented or simply because it was armor or a weapon. In other words is war equipment -- a byrnie, a sword, a helmet -- intrinsically a treasure, or is it only its decoration that makes it so? This is of some importance to our understanding of the meaning of maðm in particular, and of Anglo-Saxon conceptions of treasure, in general. Of the 11 instance of maðm, considered as certainly identified with war equipment, six are described as decorated while 5 are not so described.¹⁴ These figures make the point that

¹³ Beo 1482, 2103, 2146, 2414, 2640, 2779, 2788, 2799, 2843, 3011, 3131.

¹⁴ Those decorated are: Rid55 13, Beo 1027, 1048, 1528, 1902, 2193.

while most war equipment -- in poetry at least -- was ornamented, war equipment was considered as a treasure apart from any decoration it might carry. This conclusion holds only if it is assumed that calling a piece of armor or a weapon maðm does not imply that it is decorated with precious material rather than being itself a treasure.

Gift-giving is the major theme associated with maðm with 47% or 35 of its 72 appearances occurring in this context.¹⁵ Only sinc (37%) is given anywhere near as often as maðm. Gift-giving is associated with other words for treasure, but not to the extent that it is with maðm. The great majority of treasure is given to bind a king and followers together. Kings or lords are frequently seen rewarding their retainers for service. Beowulf tells Hygelac:

Me þone wælræs wine Scildunga
fættan golde fela leanode,
manegum maðmum.
(Beo 2101-3)

Kings are also seen twice giving gifts and battle gear, described as treasure, in hopes that their men will support them in battle.¹⁶ The source of the treasure of kings is apparent when poets describe men bringing their booty back to their leader; see for example, Beowulf presenting the gifts which Hrothgar gave him to Hygelac (Beo 2166).

¹⁵ GenB 409, El 1258, Wid 4, 66, MxI 87, 154, Fort 62, Beo 169, 385, 472, 1023, 1027, 1048, 1052, 1198, 1301, 1482, 1756, 1784, 1860, 1902, 1931, 2103, 2143, 2146, 2166, 2173, 2193, 2490, 2640, 2865, 2993, WldB 6, Th 8, Inst 189.

¹⁶ Beo 2640 and 2865.

Treasure passes between leaders to settle feuds.¹⁷

Treasure-giving does not take place only between kings and their followers. Judith is rewarded by the Bethulians for the murder of Holofernes and the downfall of his nation (Jud 340) and Widsith is rewarded for his poetry (Wid 4). And finally, women are seen giving treasure in the hall as well as receiving treasure themselves.¹⁸ Treasure-giving functions on many levels to hold together and foster the bonds of society.

Plunder is a context which we will see associated, though never extensively, with all the words for treasure. Maðm is plundered in six instances, representing 8% of its occurrences.¹⁹

Four instances of maðm, or 6%, occur in contexts which emphasize the transitory nature of earthly treasure.²⁰ The Seafarer poet's comments are typical. In an often discussed passage he writes:

peah þe græf wille golde stregan
broþor his geborenum, byrgan to deadum,
maþmum mislicum þæt hine mid wille;
ne mæg þære sawle þe biþ synna ful
gold to geoce for godes egсан,
þonne he hit ær hydeð þenden he her leofað.
(Sea 97-102)^{20a}

Although the Seafarer expresses this theme of transience in religious terms, it also appears, though less frequently, in

¹⁷ See, for example, Beo 472.

¹⁸ See, for example, Beo 2173.

¹⁹ Sea 99, Beo 36, 41, 2236, 3011.

²⁰ El 1258, Sea 99, Fort 62, Beo 1756.

20a Krapp and Dobbie comment that: "This passage has caused much trouble to edd. and commentators" (Krapp/Dobbie 1936, p.297). However the passage is edited, transience and treasure remain linked here.

secular contexts, or at least contexts not explicitly religious. The Ruin most obviously springs to mind.²¹ Moral condemnation of treasure also appears apart from the theme of transience. Maðm is twice contrasted with God, or, with the happiness man finds through knowledge of God.²² These six negative views of maðm account for 8% of the word's appearances.

Only one of the six negative views was expressed in a secular context, and this negative view of treasure is more prevalent in religious contexts. Maðm occurs 18 times or 25% of the time in religious poems.²³ Many of these occurrences have no particular religious significance -- they appear in circumstances that could just *as* well have arisen in secular poems. For example, the poet of Andreas describes how the Mermedonians craved meat so much that "næs him to maðme wynn,/ hyht to hordgestreonum" (And 1113-14). Seven instances of maðm in religious poems occur in religious contexts -- this represents 39% of all the religious occurrences and 10% of all the occurrences of maðm.²⁴ There is a further occurrence in a religious

²¹ See also, Beo 1756.

²² Jul 36 and MB 21:20.

²³ GenB 409, Ex 143, 368, 586, And 309, 1114, El 1258, Jul 36, Wan 92, Sea 99, Fort 62, Jud 318, 329, 340, MB 21:20, SS 189, Th 8, Inst 189.

²⁴ While all of the categories I have designated in this essay are subjective, that of "religious context" is particularly so. It is difficult to tease apart which words appear in religious contexts and which do not. Nonetheless, the distinction, though not black and white, remains a useful one to make. Instances of maðm in religious contexts include: Ex 368, El 1258, Jul 36, Sea 99, Fort 62, MB 21:20, Inst 189.

context in a secular poem. In Beowulf God keeps Grendel away from the throne which was equated with maþðum (Beo 169).²⁵ These eight occurrences in a religious context account for 11% of the appearances of maðm. Five of the occurrences discussed above, in connection with transience and other negatively portrayed treasure, account for five of these eight appearances of treasure in a religious context. In total 63% of the appearances of maðm in religious context are negatively portrayed.

In the remaining two instances of maðm in religious contexts in religious poems, the word is used metaphorically. These, the only metaphoric uses of maðm, represent 3% of the occurrences of maðm and 25% of its occurrences in religious contexts. Noah's ark is described in Exodus as "maðmhorda mæst" (Ex 368). The poet of Instructions for Christians writes that the hand which seeks alms:

Nis þæt pearfan hand þæt ðe þince her,
ac hit is madmceoste Godes ælmihtiges.
(Inst 188-89)

In both instances, maðm is portrayed positively as connected either to God or his saints. These are the only instances where maðm is used metaphorically -- far fewer than for other common words for treasure: hord (47%) and frætwe (40%) and even gestreon (6%-14%) but in line with sinc (1%). The low number of occurrences of maðm in the riddles is also likely to contribute to the scarcity of metaphorical

²⁵ See above, Ch.3, pp.90-1. Regardless of how these lines are interpreted, God is involved.

appearances since as we shall see, the riddles are fond of metaphoric language. It may well be that the compounding of maðm in both instances has much to do with its metaphorical rather than literal use. This seems especially likely in the case of maðmhord since hord is very frequently used metaphorically and, in one of those instances, Noah's ark is again described as a hord (GenA 1439). Furthermore, in both of its metaphorical appearances, maðm is the limiting rather than determining element in the compound.

III. HORD

Hord appears 112 times in Old English Verse. Of those appearances, 47 are simplices and 59 are compounds; hord is the first element in 42 cases and the second element in 17 cases.²⁶ The major dictionaries agree that hord does refer to "treasure" or a "treasure hoard."²⁷ According to The Oxford English Dictionary there are two main meanings for hoard. First, it is "an accumulation or collection of anything valuable hidden away or laid by for preservation or future use; a stock, a store, esp. of money; a treasure;" and secondly, it is "the place in which anything is hidden, hoarded, or stored up; a repository; a hiding-place, store;

²⁶ SBI 103 and SBI 97 are taken as one occurrence.

²⁷ Bosworth and Toller: "hoard, treasure." Toller: "Add: I. an accumulation of valuable things hidden away or laid by for preservation or future use... II. a valuable article... III. of non material things, (1) that are valued... (2) that are concealed. IV. a place where treasure is deposited; the condition of being deposited." Sweet: "treasure, hoard, what is deposited." Grein: "thesaurus, gaza, der verwahrte Schatz." Clark Hall: "'hoard,' treasure."

a treasury."²⁸ A hoard is both the contained and the container. Hord appears with both meanings in Old English verse. In Maxims I, hord follows the first meaning: "hord in streonum bidan" (MaxI 67): while in Beowulf, at the funeral of the brother and son of Hildeburh, the second meaning is clear:

Ad wæs geæfned, ond icge gold
ahæfen of horde.
(Beo 1107-8)

However, in most cases, though we may suspect that it is the treasure itself that is being discussed, it is difficult or impossible to make a distinction between the two meanings of hord. For example, before he goes to fight the dragon, Beowulf says:

Nu sceall billes ecg,
hond ond heard sweord, ymb hord wigan.
(Beo 2508-9)

The meaning of hord as both treasure and repository of treasure distinguishes it from maðm, gestreon, sinc, and frætwe which refer only to the treasures themselves.

Hord refers almost exclusively to a group of treasures rather than a single object. This distinguishes it from maðm but is in line with sinc^{frætwe} and gestreon, which are used in the singular to describe a collection of treasures. As a simplex or as the second, and determining, element in a compound, hord occurs 33 times in contexts

²⁸ Simpson/Weiner 1989, viii, p.271.

where it is certainly used literally and appears virtually always to refer to a plural number of objects.²⁹

It remains unclear whether or not the objects referred to by hord must be precious -- treasures -- or whether they can be more ordinary goods. In 61 occurrences, or 54%, hord is certainly literal and while hord is often used in contexts where its contents are not identifiable, in no case is it used in contexts where it could not denote treasure.³⁰ There are many references, 53, or 47%, to hoards whose contents are certainly not treasures, however, all of these appear to be metaphorical hoards.³¹ This large number of hoards which are not precious objects but are apparently metaphorical raises the question of whether a hoard need necessarily contain treasures to be a literal

²⁹ Dan 2, MaxI 67, 204, Rid53 11, Beo 887, 894, 912, 921, 1108, 2212, 2216, 2221, 2276, 2283, 2284, 2319, 2369, 2509, 2547, 2744, 2768, 2773, 2781, 2799, 2826, 2955, 3004, 3011, 3056, 3084, 3126, 3164, BB 10.

³⁰ GenA 2007, Ex 35, 512, Dan 2, 65, 674, And 1114, Jul 22, 43, MxI 67, 204, Rid53 11, Rid84 23, Beo 467, 887, 894, 912, 921, 952, 1047, 1108, 1198, 1852, 1899, 2212, 2216, 2221, 2245, 2270, 2276, 2279, 2282, 2283, 2293, 2302, 2319, 2344, 2369, 2509, 2547, 2554, 2593, 2744, 2768, 2773, 2781, 2799, 2826, 2831, 2955, 3004, 3011, 3056, 3084, 3092, 3126, 3164, MB 14:11, BB 10. Rid11 9 and Rid91 9 can be read as both literal and metaphorical.

³¹ GenA 1439, 1608, Ex 368, And 172, 316, 601, 671, 1182, SBI 103/SBI 97, HmFqI 6, El 790, 1091, ChrII 787, ChrIII 1047, 1055, 1072, GuthB 944, 956, 1029, 1144, 1266, Ph 221, Wan 14, Sea 55, Vng 3, Wid 1, Fort 34, OrW 19, 39, Rim 46, Rid17 10, Rid31 21, Rid42 11, HmFqII 3, 18, Rid84 54, Rid93 28, Beo 259, 1719, 2422, 2792, PPs 77.49, 118.2, 134.8, MB 6:1, WldB 22, KtPs50 28, 71, 151, 155, CPPref 7. Rid11 9 and Rid91 9 can be read as both literal and metaphorical. 61 instances of hord are used literally. 61 plus 53 equals 114 -- two more than the total number of appearances of hord -- this reflects the use of hord in at least these two instances in circumstances which can be read both literally and metaphorically.

hoard in Old English verse. This is of particular importance given the large number of instances of hord which are to be considered metaphorical if hord is defined narrowly. Only 19 of these possible metaphorical instances refer to something which may be tangible: air (Rid31 21);³² wind (PPs 134.8); ink (Rid93 28);³³ the cross (El 790); Noah's ark and its contents (GenA 1439, Ex 368); creation (OrW 39); female genitals (Rid91 9);³⁴ the nails of the cross (El 1091) and a beehive or ballista (Rid17 10)³⁵; the body (SBI 103/SBII 97, GuthB 944, 956, 1029, 1266, Fort 34, and possibly And 1182, GuthB 1144, Ph 221).³⁶ Two of these 19 could be considered precious, on religious grounds, as relics; another four appear in riddles; a further four all appear in religious contexts. This pattern of religious and riddling appearances for metaphorically used treasure words will become more familiar as we consider other words for "treasure." The remainder of the metaphoric hoards all denote something abstract such as sin or wisdom.

A consideration of the use of the word goldhord may be helpful as we try to distinguish between literal and metaphorical uses of hord. In Elene, goldhord (El 790) and

³² Williamson 1977, p.235.

³³ Williamson 1977, p.393.

³⁴ See below, Ch.3, pp.118-19.

³⁵ See Pinsker/Ziegler 1985, p.178 for beehive and Williamson 1977, pp.179-80 for ballista.

³⁶ For the meaning of breosthord, lichord, and sawlhord, see below, Ch.3, pp. 114-16 and Ch.4, pp. 236-41, 259-61, 266-67.

hord (El 1091) describe the cross and nails with which Christ was crucified. If we extend the definition of literal treasure to include anything hoarded, than conceivably the nails could be considered literally as a treasure hoard. Furthermore, it is possible to describe the nails as precious, because of their connection to Christ, even though they are not made from any valuable material. However, this does not hold true for the use of goldhord to describe the cross of Christ. Even if the cross is precious it is neither gold nor gold-clad at the point when it was found in the ground. Hence it can only be considered as a goldhord in a metaphorical sense. This clearly metaphorical use of goldhord sheds light on the possibly literal hord of nails, suggesting that Cynewulf did not intend hord to be understood literally here, and supports the fairly narrow definition of hord suggested above. Goldhord also appears in other poems. In the Paris Psalter, the versifier writes of a goldhord of wind (PPs 134.8). Goldhord translates the Latin word thesaurus (which need not refer to precious objects, indeed it can include anything),³⁷ but even if it were possible to include hoarded winds under the definition of a literal hoard, winds certainly do not belong in a goldhord. Goldhord (ChrII 787) is also applied to

³⁷ The Oxford Latin Dictionary defines thesaurus as "1) A place in which money, valuables or sim. are stored, a treasure-chamber, vault, etc. b) a place for storing supplies, repository, c) (transf.) a repository, a store-house (of qualities and other immaterial things) 2) (often pl.) Precious objects or a collection of them (esp. as buried or concealed), treasure. b) (leg.) treasure-trove." Niermeyer defines thesaurus as "1) cash 2) treasure-trove."

Christ's virtue.³⁸ Here goldhord can only be understood as metaphorical. There seems then to be a conventional association of the term goldhord with the metaphorical rather than the literal. The appearance of goldhord in metaphoric contexts is part of a larger phenomenon since the vast majority of -hord compounds occur as metaphors. Many -hord compounds are associated with the mind, the body, or the soul; an association which accounts for 9 of the 14 terms which are first elements of -hord compounds. In fact, with the exception of goldhord (Dan 2) in the opening line of Daniel and the three instances of beahhord (Beo 894, 921, 2826) and one of wyrmhord (Beo 2221) all from Beowulf, -hord, even when compounded with such terms as gold and maðm, always appears metaphorically.³⁹ The link of -hord compounds with metaphorical contexts is very striking, occurring as it does in almost every type of Old English poem, and with twelve different first elements. Clearly there were conventions connected to poetic diction which cannot be described as formulaic, yet which were known by generations of Anglo-Saxon poets. The four instances of goldhord support a narrow definition of a literal hord for Old English verse as denoting precious objects or the repository of precious objects. While we cannot say with complete certainty that an Old English verse hord contains

³⁸ This use of goldhord is discussed briefly by André Crépin. Crépin 1969, pp.258-59.

³⁹ See above, Ch.3, p.98 for maðmhord denoting the ark. See below, Ch.3, pp.108-17.

only objects which could be considered treasures, this seems a likely conclusion to draw.

Many references to hoards are associated with ^{particular} contexts and themes. The most frequent of these themes, and linked obviously to the meaning of hord, is that of guarding or holding a hoard.⁴⁰ At least 27 of the 112 instances of hord, or 24%, can be said to be connected with this theme.⁴¹ For example, in The Battle of Brunanburh, Athelstan and Edmund often in battle:

wip lapra gehwæne land ealgodon,
hord and hamas.
(BB 9-10)

Guarding and holding also appear in metaphorical and religious contexts. The poet of The Order of the World calls God: "heah hordes weard" (OrW 39). The metaphorical occurrences will be discussed below.

The kenning hordweard accounts for nine, or 33%, of the instances in which a hoard is guarded.⁴² There are a further 3 where similar terms are used in genitive phrases rather than as a compound word: "hordes weard" (OrW 39), "beahhorda weard" (Beo 921) and "hordes hyrde" (Beo 887). These 12 instances account for 11% of the occurrences of

⁴⁰ In some cases holding and guarding a hord can be distinguished from each other but in others they cannot; hence I have grouped them together.

⁴¹ Ex 35, 512, Dan 65, HmFgI 6, Jul 22, 43, Wan 14, OrW 39, HmFgII 3, Rid91 9, Beo 467, 887, 912, 921, 1047, 1852, 2212, 2279, 2293, 2302, 2344, 2554, 2593, 2826, 2955, 3004, BB 10.

⁴² Ex 35, 512, Dan 65, Beo 1047, 1852, 2293, 2302, 2554, 2593.

hord. The guardians of hoards are seen associated with treasure -- giving, defending, etc. -- but hordweard can also be used when there is no treasure immediately involved, and it is tempting to see the kenning as nothing more than a convenience. But where a close follower of Oral-Formulaic Theory would emphasize the role played by the needs of alliteration and meter in the choice of hordweard in such contexts, meaning also plays a role in determining the use of the term. The slaughter of the Egyptians in the Red Sea at the end of Exodus is called "hordwearda hryre" (Ex 512). The appropriateness of this kenning becomes clear, a little later, in the final lines of the poem, when the Jews pick up the treasure of the slaughtered Egyptians from the banks of the Red Sea. This instance of "hordwearda hryre" may also echo the same phrase used at the opening of the poem (Ex 35), when the destruction of Egyptians is discussed in terms of loss of wealth and hall joy.⁴³ Another instance of hordweard which occurs without any apparent association with treasure, points to the connection between the guarding or holding of a hoard with the exercise of kingship. For example,

Hrothgar praises Beowulf by telling him that he would be the best king of the Geats should Hygelac die:

þæt þe Sægeats selran næbben
to geceosenne cyning ænigne,
hordweard hæleþa, gyf þu healdan wylt
maga rice.

(Beo 1850-53)⁴⁴

In at least five occasions, accounting for 4% of its appearances, hoards are linked with kingship.

⁴³ See below, Ch.4, p.306-7.

⁴⁴ See also: Beo 467, 3004, BB 10.

Plundering is also associated with hoards; there are nine such occurrences representing 8% of the appearances of hord.⁴⁵ This figure is in line with those for other treasure words.

Hord is used at least seven times in contexts which are connected with gift-giving.⁴⁶ This represents only 6% of the occurrences of hord, and stands in sharp contrast to maðm and sinc which were associated with treasure giving in 47% and 37% of their appearances respectively, and is less even than gestreon which was a gift in 12% of its appearances. The figure has more in common with that for frætwe at 7%. This difference cannot be attributed to the fact that hord is a group of treasures while maðm is a single object and much more easily given, since sinc which also refers to more than one object is also frequently a present, and frætwe is often a single object. But this lack of association with gift-giving is not especially surprising as hoards are, by definition, hoarded rather than given.

Fifty-three of the 112 occurrences of hord, or 47%, occur in metaphorical contexts.⁴⁷ This percentage is notably high when compared to the figures for gestreon (6%-14%), maðm (3%), and sinc (1%) but is comparable to that for frætwe (40%). Many of the metaphors involve themes we have already seen associated with hoards -- unlocking, hiding and

⁴⁵ GenA 2006, GuthB 944, Rid53 11, Beo 2216, 2221, 2283, 2284, 2773, 3126.

⁴⁶ Dan 2, ChrIII 1072, MxI 67, 204, Beo 952, 1047, 1198.

⁴⁷ See above Ch.3, p.101.

guarding for example. While many of the metaphors are straightforward and readily understandable, others, particularly in the riddles, involve several layers of meaning, and entail wordplay.

The use of hord to denote the mind, the soul, the life spirit, the body and such possibly related notions as speaking, sin and wisdom is widespread in Old English verse, accounting for some 42 instances of hord or 37% of the word's appearances.⁴⁸ These instances include both compounds and simplex occurrences of hord, for example, breosthord, lichord, modhord, "sawle hord" and "balaniða hord." These apparently metaphorical uses of hord are marked by an overlapping not only of concepts, but also of collocations and some formulas.⁴⁹ Often it is virtually impossible to distinguish between two, or sometimes, three of these categories. The root of this confusion is multifaceted and deserves some general discussion, which will illustrate the difficulty of attempting to identify the specific referents of each of these metaphorical instances of hord. While the body and the soul are certainly separate entities and there is a spirit, a mortal life force, associated with the body, the relationship between the mind

⁴⁸ GenA 1608, And 172, 316, 601, 671, 1182, SBI 103/SBII 97, HmFgI 6, ChrIII 1047, 1055, 1072, GuthB 944, 955, 1029, 1144, 1266, Ph 221, Wan 14, Sea 55, Vng 3, Wid 1, Fort 34, OrW 19, Rim 46, Rid11 9, Rid42 11, HmFgII 3, 18, Rid84 54, Beo 259, 1719, 2422, 2792, PPs 77.49, 118.2, MB 6.1, KtPs 28, 72, 150, 151, CPPref 7, WldB 22.

⁴⁹ These collocations and formulas will be discussed in Chapter 4.

and the soul, the mind and the body, and the mind and this spirit are not always clear.

Passages describing the separation of the body and the soul at death, and their reuniting at Judgement Day are widespread, and a few examples will suffice. Only instances where the soul is denoted by sawol or gast will be considered here, since it is certain that soul is included in their semantic fields.⁵⁰ Sawol and gast denote what M. Soland terms "theologische Seele."⁵¹ In Guthlac B the poet describes the saint's death in terms of the separate fates of the body and soul:

Da wæs Guðlaces gæst gelæded
eadiġ on upweg. Englas feredun
to þam longan gefean, lic colode,
belifd under lyfte.

(GuthB 1305-8)

On Judgement Day, The Phoenix poet describes the reuniting of body and soul and the entry of the just into heaven:

Swa nu æfter deaðe þurh dryhtnes miht
somod siþiaþ sawla mid lice,
fægre gefrætwed, fugle gelicast,
in eadwelum æpelum stencum,
þær seo soþfæste sunne lihteð
wlitig ofer weoredum in wuldres byrig.

(Ph 583-88)

The body and the soul are distinct, and the soul has an existence separate from the body. Both of these examples, and especially their contexts of death and Judgement Day, are typical and can easily be multiplied.⁵²

⁵⁰ Godden 1985, p.289, Moffat 1990, pp.18-19, North 1991, p.65.

⁵¹ Soland 1979, p.106.

⁵² Godden 1985, p.289.

In some passages of Old English verse it may be difficult to distinguish feorh and lif from, on the one hand, the body, denoted by such terms as lic, lichama and flæsc, and, on the other hand, from the soul. Clark Hall's entry for feorh ("life, principle of life, soul, spirit") illustrates the overlapping of feorh and the soul. In some instances feorh and lif are said to be finite and therefore cannot be identified with the soul. The phoenix dies on the pyre: "þonne him weorpeð / ende lifes" (Ph 364-5) and the poet of Guthlac B uses the term feorhcwealm (GuthB 915). Yet verse also provides instances where feorh, lif and sawol seem in some way equivalent. Soul comes close to the notion of life force when, after Beowulf is attacked by the dragon, the poet writes: "he geblodegod wearð / sawuldior" (Beo 2692-3).⁵³ Other passages testify that lif and feorh, as well as sawol, though associated with the body, are not to be identified with it. For example, the poet of The Fortunes of Men paints a grim picture of a dead body which has lost its sawol, its lif and its feorh:

þær him hrefn nimeþ heafodsyne,
 sliteð salwigpad sawelleasne;
 noþer he þy facne mæg folmum biwergan,
 lapum lyftsceapan, biþ his lif scæcen,
 ond he feleleas, feores orwena,
 blac on beame bideð wyrde,
 bewegen wælmiste.

(Fort 36-42)⁵⁴

Difficulty also arises in determining the precise semantic field of words for the mind and the soul; in

⁵³ See also: GenA 1520, Beo 801, 852.

⁵⁴ See also: Sea 94-96.

particular whether they are distinct or overlapping. This problem has received considerable attention in recent scholarship.⁵⁵ The soul and the mind have been shown to be separate entities, with sawol and gast denoting the former and mod, hyge, ferhð, and sefa and their compounds denoting the latter.⁵⁶ In the past, translators, lexicographers and critics have included the soul in the semantic field of "mind" words. For example, Mackie translates:

monað modes lust mæla gehwylce
ferð to feran
(Sea 36-37)

as

Hearts desire ever urges
my soul towards departing...
(Sea 36-37)

It is easy to find passages of Old English verse which illustrate why such confusion exists. Guthlac welcomes death which will take him to heaven and God:

þam ic georne gæstgerynum,
in þas dreorgan tid dædum cwemde,
mode ond mægene.
(GuthB 1084-86)

Here the relationship between the mind and the soul depends on whether gæstgerynum, dædum, "mode and mægene" are considered as in variation, and then whether they are considered as having the same referent or as enumerating each other; variation leaves no way to be certain. In the first part of the Soul and Body poem, when the damned soul addresses its body, the poet maintains the association of

⁵⁵ Soland 1979, Godden 1985, Moffat 1990, North 1991.

⁵⁶ Godden 1985, p.289.

the mind or at least thinking not with the soul but with the body. Twice the soul tells the body "lyt gepohtest" (SBI 23, 26) to what his behavior while alive would condemn the soul after death and rails at the body:

...þu ne hogodest her on life,
syððan ic ðe on worulde wunian sceolde,
þæt ðu wære þurh flæsc and þurh fyrenlustas
strange gestryned and gestaðolod þurh me,
and ic wæs gast on ðe from gode sended.
(SBI 42-46)

But in the second part of the poem, the blessed soul seems to have a ferhð and a hyge and a hreðer. The narrator introduces the saved soul's speech:

Donne bið hyhtlicre þæt sio halige sawl
færeð to ðam flæsce, frofre bewunden.
Bið þæt ærende eadiglicre
funden on ferhðe.
(SBI 127-30)

The soul speaks of how he "langaþ...on minum hige hearde" (SBI 152-53) over the body's fate. The different relationships between the soul and the mind in the two parts of this poem stem from the presentation of the damned soul as entirely innocent and the body as guilty. Hence the soul is presented as a positive, but ignored, moral force during the body's life-time, and the body is thus presented as having a will or mind of its own which governed its behavior. In the second part of the poem, possibly by a different poet, where the soul congratulates the body for having lived a good life, there is no need for such a dichotomy to account for the soul's innocence, and the soul can be associated, if not identified, with, whatever controlled the body's behavior in life. The poem's most recent editor, Douglas Moffat, suggests that the attribution

of a mind to the blessed soul can be understood in terms of the early medieval depictions of the soul as a homunculus, or that "the change in focus in The Blessed Soul with the required expressions of empathy by the soul for the body necessitated the use of this terminology."⁵⁷ This suggestion is possible, but seems to seek to explain away rather than to admit the possibility of perceptions of the soul and the mind which were divergent from the usual presentation in Old English verse. The Anglo-Saxon vernacular tradition was, after all, both "unsystematised" by "conscious philosophical enquiry,"⁵⁸ and exposed to the influence of the classical and patristic tradition which identified the mind and the soul. In each part of the poem, the soul and the body are separate, but the differing situations have revealed the possibility of differing conceptions of the place of the mind, the ferhð, and thinking in relation to the body and the soul; although it must be emphasized that in no place are the soul and the mind identified, rather the soul is said to have a mind.

The situation is further complicated because the heart or the breast is the location of both the mind and the soul.⁵⁹ This would cause little problem but the heart and the breast, like mod, sefa, hyge and ferhð are each locations and faculties. In a description of Judgement Day after the body and soul have been rejoined, the poet of

⁵⁷ Moffat 1990, pp.18-9.

⁵⁸ North 1991, p.63.

⁵⁹ Godden 1985, pp.290-91.

Christ III associates thinking with the hreper and the heorte:

Ne bið þær wiht forholen
monna gehygda, ac se mæra dæg
hreperlocena hord, heortan gepohtas,
ealle ætyweð.

(ChrIII 1053-56)⁶⁰

But the poet also describes the soul in terms of the breost. In the same section of Christ III where "hreperlocena hord" and "heortan gepohtas" (ChrIII 1055) could not be hidden, the poet writes that those to be judged:

berað breosta hord fore bearn godes,
feores frætwe. Wile fæder eahtan
hu gesunde suna sawla bringen
of þam eðle þe hi on lifdon.

(ChrIII 1072-75)⁶¹

The problems of the relationships of the mind, the soul, the body, and the life spirit, and the use of terms like hreper and breost for the mind and the soul as both location and faculty become even more acute when hord, especially in such compounds as breosthord, feorhhord, lichord and sawlhord, is taken into consideration. The picture is further complicated because the semantic field of hord encompasses both container and contained -- on a literal level both treasury and treasure -- which serves to multiply the possible referents of each compound. For example, out of context breosthord can be rendered in several ways. If, on the one hand, hord is taken to be the contained, the result is "the hoard of the breast," where breast indicates where the hoard is located, in which case

⁶⁰ See also: GuthB 1127-32.

⁶¹ See also: GuthB 1263-65.

breosthord could denote either the mind, the soul or even the life force. Breost could also be taken as a faculty in which case it would stand either for sawl or mod and indicate the nature of the contained and again breosthord would mean either the mind or the soul. If, on the other hand, hord is construed as container, the result is very different. Breost might indicate the nature of the container in which case the compound would be metonymic for the body. But breost might also be understood as a faculty -- either the soul or the mind -- with hoard as its container in which case the result is also body. A similar range of possibilities exist for other hord compounds and constructions. Context is fundamental to determining whether the hord is container or contained, and many instances reflect an ambiguity in the use of hord. While context, variation or apposition provide hints as to how best to interpret an individual occurrence of hord, seemingly vague applications of hord terms appear repeatedly and literary critics who confidently read "soul" or "body" or "mind" are in many cases imposing a precision on poetic diction which the texts cannot bear and which was not a feature of Old English verse. The uncertainty surrounding the use and the meaning of hord is itself revealing about the nature of Old English poetics. The individual referents of each instance of hord applied to the soul, the mind, the body and the life force have not been considered here, as such a discussion would be too lengthy and not directly related to the main concerns of this thesis. Furthermore,

such a discussion would entail an examination of the collocations associated with hord, which is undertaken in Chapter Four, in which context some specific instances of hord denoting the mind, the soul and the body are taken up.⁶²

Although this frequency of references to the mind, the body, the soul, etc. as hord might suggest that these metaphors are no more than convenient conventions, supplying the Old English poets with useful synonyms, and are even perhaps dead metaphors, this is not the case. Many (though not all)⁶³ of these instances of hord are accompanied by other language which we have seen associated with a hord when used literally. Hoards are closed,⁶⁴ opened or revealed,⁶⁵ and there is a hord which cannot be hidden.⁶⁶ Furthermore, it has been suggested by a recent editor of the riddles, Craig Williamson, that the poet of Riddle 11 is referring to the soul, rather than the literal jeweled cup of wine, when he writes "horda deorast" (Rid11 9).⁶⁷ If this is in fact the case we have an instance where the ability of the audience to solve and understand the riddle

⁶² See below, Ch.4, pp.236-98.

⁶³ HmFgI 6, Rim 46, PPs 118.2.

⁶⁴ Wan 14, HmFgII 3.

⁶⁵ And 172, ChrIII 1055, Rid42 11.

⁶⁶ ChrIII 1047.

⁶⁷ Williamson 1977, pp.165-66. Pinsker/Ziegler 1985, pp.165-66 have rejected Williamson's interpretation.

depends on the idea of the soul as a treasure hoard being a common and not entirely dead metaphor.

As we saw, by far the most common context for hord was to be guarded or held. This context also appears when riddlers use hord metaphorically.⁶⁸ In Riddle 31 the poet disguises the bagpipes with treasure language:

frætweð hyrstum.
Hafað hyre on halse, þonne hio hord warað,
bær, beagum deall.
(Rid31 20-22)

The treasure guarded -- air in the bellows -- is hardly a precious one. In the second ink horn riddle, Riddle 93, a plundering enemy guards a hoard:

Nu min hord warað hīpende feond,
se þe ær wide bær wulfes gehlepan.
(Rid93 28-29)

The enemy turns out to be a quill, the feather of a raven who is a comrade of the wolf among the beasts of battle.⁶⁹ Whether one solves Riddle 17, as is more usual, as ballista, or accepts Bierbaumer and Wannagat's solution "beehive," wombhord (Rid17 10) must be read metaphorically and in each case it can be understood as guarding a treasure -- either the literal treasure of a town or the metaphorical treasure, honey, of the beehive.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ In addition to those examples discussed in this paragraph, see also: OrW 19.

⁶⁹ Helga Göbel writes that in Riddle 93 the kenning "wulfes gehlepan" is the raven and that the "hīpende feond" who plunders the hord is a raven feather (Göbel 1980, p.137).

⁷⁰ Bierbaumer/Wannagat 1981, pp.379-82 as referred to in Pinsker/Ziegler 1985, p.178.

The theme of the guarded hoard is also present in Riddle 91. It is possible to read Riddle 91 as a double entendre in which male genitals are substituted for the innocent solution of the key. In particular, such phrases as "ic hnitan sceal...hearde wið heardum" (Rid91 4-5) and "hwilum ic under bæc bregde nebbe, / hyrde þæs hordes" (Rid91 8-9) lend themselves to a sexual interpretation. There are, however, difficulties with such a reading. It cannot possibly apply to the opening two lines of the riddle:

Min heafod is homere gepuren,
searopila wund, sworfen feole.
 (Rid91 1-2)

As Williams has pointed out: "If the first two lines referred to a male instrument, the image would be too excruciating to contemplate -- hammered, wounded, filed!"⁷¹ Moreover, the phrase "hindan pyrel" (Rid91 5) does not seem appropriate for a description of male genitals. Edith Williams has suggested that "keyhole" is a more apt solution than "key." Although this is attractive, explaining how the first two lines of the riddle as well as the phrase "hindan pyrel" relate to a sexual theme, it relies on tortured syntax and word definitions otherwise attested only in prose to account for the lines 6 to 11.⁷² If there is a double

⁷¹ Williams 1990, p.142. See also Pinsker/Ziegler 1985, p.330.

⁷² Gleißner points out that the readings of nebbe (Rid91 8) as "countenance" and hyrde (Rid91 9) as "door," on which Williams' solution relies, are restricted to prose. Furthermore, he considers her innovative reading of modwynne (Rid91 7) as dependent on "forð ascufan" (Rid91 6) rather than freopað (Rid91 7), as well as, her reading of awrecan (Rid91

entendre to this riddle, it may involve wordplay on "key" rather than "keyhole." However, such double entendre is by no means fully developed, and does not account for the entire riddle. It is perhaps no more than an off-color aside intended to mislead the sexually experienced while causing the sexually innocent no such problems. Alternatively, the double entendre could involve oblique and confusing references to both male and female genitals.

Hord appears in religious poetry in 53 of its 112 occurrences or 47%, a figure in the middle range for treasure words.⁷³ Of these, 35, which represent 66% of religious occurrences or 29% of all occurrences, can reasonably be said to appear in religious contexts.⁷⁴ Although hord in religious poems can carry with it negative moral connotations, such as the miser and his hoard, or the hoards of sin, it is more frequently associated with God and holy people. Christ's virtue is referred to as a goldhord

11) as dependent on wile (Rid91 9) rather than as is usual on het (Rid91 10) as very doubtful (Gleißner 1984, p.407).

⁷³ GenA 1439, 1608, 2007, Ex 35, 368, 512, Dan 2, 65, 674, And 172, 316, 601, 671, 1114, 1182, SBI 103/SBII 97, HmFgI 6, El 790, 1091, ChrII 787, ChrIII 1047, 1055, 1072, GuthB 944, 956, 1029, 1144, 1266, Ph 221, Jul 22, 43, Wan 14, Sea 55, Fort 34, OrW 19, 39, Vng 3, Rid11 9 (if Williamson is correct), Rim 46, HmFgII 3, 18, Rid84 23, 54, PPs 77.49, 118.23, 134.8, MB 6:1, 14:11, KtPs 28, 71, 151, 155, CPPref 7.

⁷⁴ GenA 1439, 1608, Ex 368, Dan 2, And 172, 671, 1182, SBI 103/SBII 97, HmFgI 6, El 790, 1091, ChrII 787, ChrIII 1047, 1055, 1072, GuthB 944, 956, 1029, 1144, 1266, Ph 221, Fort 34, OrW 19, 39, Rid11 9 (if Williamson correct), HmFgII 3, 18, PPs 77.49, 118.2, 134.8, KtPs 28, 71, 151, 155, CPPref 7. The same caveat, discussed in connection with maðm, concerning the difficulty of distinguishing between the two categories of religious and religious context applies to hord and to the other words for treasure.

(ChrII 787). Noah's ark with its passengers is twice referred to as a hoard, once in Genesis A where it is simply hord (GenA 1439) and as maðmhord (Ex 368) in Exodus. This calls to mind an instance in Andreas where Christ and Andrew, passengers in a boat, are called heahgestreon (And 362).⁷⁵ And as we have seen God was "hordes Weard" (OrW 39).

Fifty-three of the 112 occurrences of hord, or 47%, are metaphoric. Of these 53, 42, or 79%,⁷⁶ are in religious poems and 33, or 67%,⁷⁷ are in religious contexts. This leaves only 11 metaphorical appearances of hord which are not in religious poems and 20 which are not in religious contexts. Looking at it from the opposite direction, of the 53 religious occurrences of hord, 40, or 75% are metaphorical.⁷⁸ Even more significantly, of the 35 occurrences of hord in a religious context, 34 or 97%, are

⁷⁵ See below, Ch.3, p.138.

⁷⁶ GenA 1439, 1608, Ex 368, And 172, 316, 601, 671, 1182, SBI 103/SBII 97, HmFgI 6, El 790, 1091, ChrII 787, ChrIII 1047, 1055, 1072, GuthB 944, 956, 1029, 1144, 1266, Ph 221, Wan 14, Sea 55, Vng 3, Fort 34, OrW 19, 39, Rim 46, Rid11 9 (if Williamson correct), HmFgII 3, 18, Rid 84 54, PPs 77.49, 118.2, 134.8, MB 6:1, KtPs 28, 71, 151, 155, CPPref 7.

⁷⁷ GenA 1439, 1608, Ex 368, And 172, 1182, SBI 103/SBII 97, HmFgI 6, El 790, 1091, ChrII 787, ChrIII 1047, 1055, 1072, GuthB 944, 956, 1029, 1144, 1266, Ph 221, Fort 34, OrW 19, 39, Rid11 9, HmFgII 3, 18, PPs 77.49, 118.23, 134.8, KtPs 28, 71, 151, 155, CPPref 7.

⁷⁸ GenA 1439, 1608, Ex 368, And 172, 316, 601, 671, 1182, SBI 103/SBII 97, HmFgI 6, El 790, 1091, ChrII 787, ChrIII 1047, 1055, 1072, GuthB 944, 955, 1029, 1144, 1266, Ph 221, Sea 55, Vng 3, Fort 34, OrW 19, 39, Rim 46, Rid11 9 (if Williamson is correct), HmFgII 3, 18, PPs 77.49, 118.2, 134.8, MB 6:1, KtPs 28, 71, 151, 155, CPPref 7.

metaphorical.⁷⁹ Of the 11 metaphorical occurrences in non-religious poems, two might be considered to occur in religious contexts.⁸⁰ A further five occur in riddles where wordplay often blurs the distinction between literal and metaphorical.⁸¹ There are only four remaining instances, two of wordhord (Wid 1, Beo 259) and two of breosthord (Beo 1719, 2792) which all pertain to speaking. A consideration of the overlap between metaphorical and religious occurrences suggests that this high percentage of religious occurrences may be related to the high percentage of metaphorical occurrences. This will be born out by the similar pattern found for frætwe which has both a high number of religious and metaphorical occurrences.⁸²

IV. GESTREON

The word gestreon or its compounds appears 65 times in the corpus of Old English verse. Most dictionaries agree that gestreon includes, but is not limited to treasure.⁸³

⁷⁹ GenA 1439, 1608, Ex 368, And 172, 671 1182, SBI 103/SBII 97, HmFgI 6, El 790, 1091, ChrII 787, ChrIII 1047, 1055, 1072, GuthB 944, 956, 1029, 1144, 1266, Ph 221, Fort 34, OrW 19, 39, Rid11 9 (if Williamson correct), HmFgII 3, 18, PPs 77.49, 118.2, 134.8, KtPs 28, 71, 151, 155, CPPref 7.

⁸⁰ Wid 1, Rid17 10, Rid31 21, Rid42 11, Rid91 9, Rid93 28, Beo 259, 1719, 2422, 2792, WldB 22.

⁸¹ Rid17 10, Rid31 21, Rid42 11, Rid91 9, Rid93 28.

⁸² See below, Ch.3, pp.175-77.

⁸³ Bosworth and Toller: "Gain, product, emolument, wealth, riches, treasure, usury, business." Toller: "Add: I. as verbal abstract. 1) getting by effort, gaining, acquiring by dealing, traffic, commerce... 1a) of getting by violence, rapine, robbery... 2) begetting of children, procreation, production... II. of material or non-material objects, what is

This distinguishes it from hord, maðm, sinc and frætwe all of which appear to refer only to precious objects. Gestreon appears 19 times as a simplex, one time without the prefix ge and 45 times as compound where it is always the second or determining element. Like hord, gestreon is essentially a collective noun; there are no instances where it clearly denotes a single object. The related verbs +strienan and astrienan (hereafter referred to as gestrienan) appear 22 times in the corpus.⁸⁴

In most poetic occurrences, the referent of the noun is obviously treasure -- either the context makes it clear or it is compounded with another word for treasure. Thirty-two of the 56 certainly literal occurrences of gestreon, or 57%, can be almost certainly regarded as treasure.⁸⁵ For example, it is clear that the Daniel poet is referring to treasure in the following passage:

Gehlodon him to huðe hordwearda gestreon,
feoh and frætwa, swilc þær funden wæs,
and þa mid þam æhtum eft siðedon.
(Dan 65-67)

got by effort, gain, profit, advantage, acquisition... III. interest, usury, revenue... IV. possession, property, wealth... IVa. of costly things, as collective, treasures, wealth, treasure." Sweet: "Gain, profit; usury; procreation; property, wealth." Grein: "Thesaurus, opes, divitiæ." Clark Hall "Gain, acquisition, property, treasure: ...traffic, usury: procreation." Only Sweet does not include treasure in his definition.

⁸⁴ Bosworth and Toller: "To gain, get, obtain, acquire." Grein: "1. lucrari, acquirere...2. gignere." Sweet: "acquire; ?augment; beget." Clark Hall "to acquire, gain, amass...beget...increase, augment?"

⁸⁵ GenA 1208, Ex 588, Dan 61, 65, 703, 756, And 1114, 1656, ChrIII 996, Jul 22, 42, Beo 44, 1092, 1218, 1226, 1381, 1458, 1757, 1899, 1920, 1931, 2037, 2232, 2240, 2244, 2302, 3092, 3166, MB 8:58, 14.11, SS 32, Inst 40.

However, there are instances where, while it is possible that treasure is meant or included, it is likely that its referents are more mundane. The Genesis A poet writes that God takes a man's possessions when he dies:

ponne him god heora
æhta and ætwist eorðan gestreona
on genimeð and heora aldor somed.
(GenA 1207-09)

While these two instances seem clear cut, one is treasure, one is not, in most cases it is impossible to make such distinctions with complete certainty, for example, the five verse occurrences of feohgestreon. The joining of gestreon with feoh does not make the resulting compound a treasure word since, like gestreon, feoh has a semantic field that is broader than treasure or precious objects. One of the five instances is used metaphorically to denote souls (El 910). Two can certainly be considered treasure words since in one case feohgestreon is identified with gold and silver (SS 33) and in the another case feohgestreon is kept in a hordcofa (Jul 42). The remaining occurrence may be treasure but we cannot be certain. Later in Juliana, feohgestreon varies æhtspedig (Jul 101-2). Andreas tells Christ that he has neither "fæted gold," feohgestreon, wela, wist, "wira gespann" land nor "locenra beaga" (And 301-3). Feohgestreon is associated both with treasure words and with more general terms for possessions or wealth. Of the 24 instances of gestreon, or 43%, which did not definitely refer to treasure, many may refer to treasure, while others seem more

likely to refer simply to possessions.⁸⁶ I have, therefore, deliberately avoided attempting to draw distinctions which do not exist and have not excluded any occurrences of gestreon from my figures or from my discussion.

Treasure is much less closely associated with the semantic field of gestrienan which denotes the begetting of children in 11 of its 22 occurrences.⁸⁷ Only one instance of gestrienan is linked with treasure. Beowulf thanks God for the treasure he was able to gestrynan (Beo 2798) for his people. In a further three instances the verb is associated with undifferentiated possessions.⁸⁸

In most of its occurrences, gestreon refers to treasure in a general way. The poet does not elaborate on what comprises the gestreon. What elaboration there is^{is} usually limited to general terms such as gold, frætwe and hyrst.⁸⁹ Only rarely, on eight (12%) occasions, can we tell with any certainty exactly what a given gestreon denotes.⁹⁰ This use of gestreon as a general term for otherwise unspecified

⁸⁶ GenA 1071, 1075, 1177, 1621, 1879, 1930, 1981, 2148, 2718, 2831, Dan 665, And 301, FAP 83, ChrII 812, ChrIII 1570, GuthA 70, 78, Jul 102, Gifts 31, MxI 67, Hb 46, MB 1:23, SS 319, Inst 120.

⁸⁷ GenA 966, 1118, 1138, 1152, 1171, 1201, 1220, 1233, 1239, 1603, SBI 45.

⁸⁸ GenA 970, MxI 143, Exh 23.

⁸⁹ Dan 61, 65, ChrIII 996, Ph 255, Jul 42, Beo 1092, 1381, 1920, 1931, 2302, 3166, MB 14:11, Inst 120. At Beo 2798 gestrienan is associated with frætwe.

⁹⁰ Dan 703, 756, And 362, El 910, Ph 255, Beo 1458, 2037 and possibly Ruin 22.

treasure must be considered as part of the word's meaning and contrasts with the use of maðm and hord. While we were able to discuss at some length the instances of maðm and hord which referred to literal and identifiable treasure, with gestreon we are restricted to four such instances. The sacred vessels of the Jews are twice "Isræla gestreon" (Dan 703, 756). A great number of occurrences of maðm refers directly to war equipment but gestreon is used only twice, both in Beowulf, in this context. The Heathobard weapons which the Danes carry are "Heaðabeardna gestreon" (Beo 2037) and Hrunting is described as "þæt wæs an foran ealdgestreona" (Beo 1458).

The remaining four instances of identified gestreon are likely to be metaphorical. In The Phoenix, the poet uses woruldgestreon (Ph 255) to describe the earth's vegetation as part of an extended metaphor which compares the rebirth of the phoenix to the coming of spring. Gestreon is not the only treasure word used in this passage; the fruit are also described as frætwe (Ph 257) which is almost certainly used metaphorically.⁹¹ Similarly, æhtgestreon, (Ph 506), which is not certainly identifiable, but is likely to be vegetation, would be metaphorical. We have already seen people and souls denoted metaphorically with treasure words and the pattern continues with gestreon: Christ and his disciples are described as heahgestreon (And 362)⁹² and souls are feohgestreon (El 910). At least one and possibly

⁹¹ See below, Ch.3, pp.160-62.

⁹² See below, Ch.3, p.138.

two occurrences of the verb gestrienan, when associated with something identifiable, also refer to the soul. God demands men to go "gasta streonan" (And 331) in Andreas, while Augustine is described as "he moncynnes mæst gestriende" (CPPref 8) in the Preface to the Pastoral Care. There is a final instance of identifiable gestreon which may be used metaphorically though its precise meaning is not obvious. The poet of The Ruin tells us that:

Beorht wæron burgræced, burnsele monige,
heah horngestreon.

(Ruin 21-22)

It is unclear whether the term horngestreon indicates that there are a large number, and hence a wealth or treasure, of gables or if those gables were decorated with treasure. There are, however, descriptions of gold-decorated buildings both in verse and prose, and evidence that some Roman buildings were roofed with gilded metal tiles. Furthermore, the poet of The Ruin may have been influenced by a poem such as Venantius Fortunatus' De excidio Thoringiae, in which he refers to golden roofs; if this is the case hordgestreon could be read literally.⁹³

There are 4 further instances of unspecified gestreon which may perhaps be used metaphorically, all of which appear in The Riddles. Few editors agree about the solutions for Riddle 28 and Riddle 17. Riddle 28 has been solved as a harp,⁹⁴ John Barleycorn or another alcoholic beverage,⁹⁵ a

⁹³ Dodwell 1982, p.30 and Wentersdorf 1977, pp.172-73. Despite Wentersdorf's faith in a literal reading, it seems best not to dismiss either possibility.

⁹⁴ Trautmann 1915, pp.89-90.

yew-horn,⁹⁶ and most recently as parchment.⁹⁷ In any case, if we read gestreon as simply "possession" then it is used literally and if we read it as "treasure" it is used metaphorically. The traditional, though not wholly satisfactory, solution for Riddle 17 has been ballista, in which case the dryhtgestreon (Rid17 3) it guards must be read literally. If, however, we accept the solution of Bierbaumer and Wannagat, "bee-hive," then dryhtgestreon denotes honey and may be used metaphorically.⁹⁸

In Riddle 20, the sword riddle, there are two metaphoric uses of gestreon, if parts of the riddle are read as a double entendre; this, however, is a point of much debate and little agreement among critics.⁹⁹ The difficulty in determining whether such instances of gestreon are literal or metaphorical reflects the way poets manipulate this distinction as a rhetorical device in order to hide but also hint at a riddle's solution. There are then, at the outside only nine (14%) possible metaphorical uses of gestreon in verse and perhaps as few as four (6%) instances. It seems wisest not to class instances of the verb gestrienan as either literal or metaphorical. The verb is associated with both concrete objects, as when Beowulf

⁹⁵ Mackie 1934, p.241 and Tuppper 1910, pp.135-36.

⁹⁶ Williamson 1977, pp.218-26.

⁹⁷ Pinsker/Ziegler 1985, pp.212-14.

⁹⁸ Bierbaumer/Wannagat 1981, pp.379-82 in Pinsker/Ziegler 1985, p.178.

⁹⁹ See below, Ch.3, pp.139-41.

applies it to treasure (Beo 2798), to more abstract notions such as hælo (ChrIII 1574), and to terms such as blæd (Ph 392) which is neither clearly abstract nor concrete. I find no evidence in the verse that the verb should be read metaphorically when used with an abstract noun.

The most striking theme associated with gestreon is that of treasure as corrupt because it is transitory and can lead man away from God. There are 14 instances, or 22%, of gestreon used in this context as well as a further instance of the related verb, making 17% of all of the ^aappearances of the noun and verb.¹⁰⁰ The author of Instructions for Christians is insistent about the dangers of wealth, commenting both on its transience and on the fact that it lures people from God:

Gif þu þisses eorðlican weles ane gewilnost
 orsorhnesse, ne bið þær oht between þe
 and þam neatum ðe naht ne witen.
 Hit is idelnisse þæt þu her on locest,
 and eal þæt þu her sceawast hit is sceaduwa
 gelic;
 æll hit gewiteð swa þe wanna scur.
 Ac þu scealt þæt selfre lif symble lufian
 and æfre fleon unrihte gestreon,
 forþan heo hit forgyldað þam ðe hit georna lufað
 on þam endedæge mid ece wita.
 (Inst 33-42)

The poet of the Meters of Boethius admonishes that wealth cannot accompany us after death:

ne mot he þara hyrsta hionane lædan
 of ðisse worulde wuhte þon mare,
 hordgestreona, ðonne he hiðer brohte.
 (MB 14: 9-11)

¹⁰⁰ GenA 1208, And 1656, FAP 83, ChrIII 1570, GuthA 70, 78, Ph 506, Beo 1757, MB 8:58, 14:11. SS 32, 319, Exh 23, Inst 40, 120.

When the word gestreon is used to denote treasure, the sentiments expressed in the above passages are *almost exclusively* limited to religious poetry. There is one similar comment in a secular poem which uses the word gestreon, but even it has religious overtones. The Beowulf poet tells how Heremod was covetous and gave no rings:

ond he þa forðgesceaft
 forgyteð ond forgymeð, þæs þe him ær god sealde,
 wuldres waldend, weorðmynda dæl.
 Hit on endestæf eft gelimpeð
 þæt se lichoma læne gedreoseð,
 fæge gefealleð; fehð oþer to,
 se þe unmunlice madmas dælep,
 eorles ærgestreon, egesan ne gymeð.
 Bebeorh þe ðone bealonið, Beowulf leofa,
 secg betsta, ond þe þæt selre geceos,
 ece rædas.

(Beo 1750-60)

Not only is transitory treasure referred to as gestreon but, it is set against and deprives one of the "ece rædas" (Beo 1760) distributed by God. There are of course many comments on the transience of earthly wealth in secular poems, indeed it is a popular topos throughout Old English verse, but none includes the word gestreon.

The high percentage of associations of gestreon with the theme of the transience of earthly treasure is perhaps linked to the high density (41%) of occurrences of gestreon in religious poems (63%).¹⁰¹ However, this does not provide a complete explanation, since frætwe has a similarly high number of religious appearances without a corresponding

¹⁰¹ GenA 1071, 1075, 1177, 1208, 1621, 1879, 1930, 1981, 2148, 2718, 2831, Ex 588, Dan 61, 65, 665, 703, 756, And 301, 362, 1114, 1656, FAp 83, El 910, ChrII 812, ChrIII 996, 1570, GuthA 70, 78, Ph 255, 506, Jul 22, 42, 102, Gifts 31, MB 1:23, 8:58, 14:11, SS 32, 319, Inst 40, 120.

emphasis on transience. The negative connotations of gestreon are best explained by the word's semantic field which extends to the concepts of gain and acquisition rather than just property. The frequency of gestreon in religious poems must be kept in mind when considering differences in themes of the various treasure words.

Gestreon is also seen in a negative light when it accompanies the dead at a funeral, as it does on 3 occasions, or 5%, all in Beowulf.¹⁰² The Beowulf poet tells us that when treasure was buried with Beowulf:

forleton eorla gestreon eorðan healdan,
gold on greote, þær hit nu gen lifað
eldum swa unnyt, swa h[it æro]r wæs.
(Beo 3166-68)

The burying of treasure by the last survivor is also portrayed similarly. This is treasure denoted as eorlgestreon (Beo 2245) when it is buried, and is earlier ærgestreon (Beo 2232) and longgestreon (Beo 2240). The moral connotation of the treasure sent out to sea with Scyld Scefing appears positive in its immediate context, but must be reconsidered, if not reinterpreted, in light of the subsequent condemnation of useless treasure in the poem. Perhaps significantly, Scyld's treasure is also referred to with a gestreon compound -- beodgestreon (Beo 44). *The misuse of* idle treasure -- hoarded and hidden -- *can be found to be* berated in both ^areligious and secular contexts. Hrothgar uses Heremod's hoarding of treasure, ærgestreon (Beo 1757), as a

¹⁰² Beo 44, 2244, 3166.

negative example. Solomon explains to Saturn that just as the leaf falls to earth and becomes dust:

Swa ðonne gefeallað ða ðe fyrena ær
lange læstað, lifiað him in mane,
hydað heahgestreon.

(SS 317-19)

Gestreon is associated with gift-giving on eight occasions, or in 12% of its appearances, although it appears in that context only in Genesis A and Beowulf.¹⁰³ Treasure is given as a reward, and in the genealogies of Genesis A as one generation succeeds the next, it gives out treasure. While eight occurrences represents a fairly significant cluster for gestreon, (only two are larger -- transience and treasure of the earth) it is not as significant a theme for gestreon as it was for maðm (47%) and sinc (37%) and is more in line with those less frequently given treasures: hord (6%) and frætwe (7%).

Gestreon appears four times, 6%, in the genealogies of Genesis A.¹⁰⁴ A common pattern in the genealogies is for the poet to expand on the "et A genuit B" of the Vulgate by describing how "B" succeeded "A" and came into his treasure or possessions. The Genesis A poet writes:

Siððan Methusal magum dælde,
bearn æfter bearne broðrum sinum
æðelinga gestreon, oðpæt aldorgedal
frod fyrndagum fremman sceolde,
lif oflætan. Lamah onfeng
æfter fæder dæge fletgestealdum,
botlgestreonium.

(GenA 1069-75)

¹⁰³ GenA 1071, 1621, 2831, Beo 1092, 1218, 1381, 1757, 1931.

¹⁰⁴ GenA 1071, 1177, 1621, 1879.

Almost half of the 11 occurrences of gestreon or its compounds in Genesis A appear in the genealogies.¹⁰⁵ In a further instance the verb gestrienan appears associated with the passing on of possessions in a genealogy of Genesis A (GenA 970). Perhaps the acquired or worldly nature of bequeathed wealth is being emphasized and thus gestreon is chosen. We must note, even if we cannot explain why, the association of succeeding to the treasure or possessions of one's father with the word gestreon. Maðm, sinc, hord and frætwe, are certainly not used in the genealogical sections of Genesis A, and indeed hord occurs only once in the poem and maðm not at all. The verb gestirenan also occurs frequently in genealogical contexts when it is associated with the begetting of children rather than the acquisition of goods. It occurs eight times in this context in Genesis A, accounting for 36% of the the verb's appearances.¹⁰⁶ There is no evidence for gestreon being used with the meaning "procreation" in these genealogical passages.

Gestreon is used to describe the treasure of a people 6 times, representing 9% of its appearances.¹⁰⁷ While this figure is not high it stands out from the other treasure words which are not used in this context. This theme emerges both in compounds containing gestreon as well as in

¹⁰⁵ GenA 1071, 1075, 1177, 1208, 1621, 1879, 1930, 1981, 2148, 2718, 2831. Those in genealogies: GenA 1071, 1075, 1177, 1208, 1621.

¹⁰⁶ GenA 1118, 1138, 1152, 1171, 1201, 1233, 1239, 1603.

¹⁰⁷ Gen 1981, Dan 703, 756, Beo 44, 2037 and Beo 1218 accepting the common emendation of beogestreona to beodgestreona.

For example, the Genesis A poet uses a similar term when he tells how the people of Sodom and Gomorrah:

The Daniel poet describes treasure, including the holy vessels, stolen by the Babylonians from the Temple at Jerusalem, as "Isræla gestreon" (Dan 703 and 756) and a secular poet, that of Beowulf, refers to the Heathobard treasure possessed by the Danes as "Heaðabardna gestreon" (Beo 2037).¹⁰⁹

We have noted that both hord and maðm are connected with plundering and this theme reappears, in a minor way with gestreon. Gestreon is plundered only three times,¹¹⁰ or 5%, and both literal instances occur in the same passage of Daniel:

The metaphorical instance will be discussed below.

¹⁰⁸ See below, Chapter 4, pp.336-38.

¹⁰⁹ S.M. Ingersoll regards the beod prefix as essentially an intensifier and writes that it "achieves" this "force with nouns by the implication that something is general or public, hence widespread, great, important or powerful" (Ingersoll 1978, p.140). But the particular association of one treasure word with beod points away from this interpretation which seems to level off the semantic specificity of Old English poetic diction.

¹¹⁰ Dan 61, 65, El 910.

Worldliness, both in the negative sense of materialism and in the neutral sense of simply being of this world, is commonly linked with gestreon.¹¹¹ The Genesis A poet tells us that Abraham and his followers:

þæt hie to Bethlem
on cuðe wic ceapas læddon,
eadge eorðwelan oðre siðe,
wif on willan and heora woruldgestreon.
(GenA 1876-79)

Our suspicion that woruldgestreon was used simply for metrical and alliterative reasons must be allayed by the appearance of "eadge eorðwelan" in the preceding line. The strength of the association of earth and world with gestreon is further underscored by the fact that it continues even when gestreon is compounded with another element, as for example in The Husband's Message:

nis him wilna gad,
ne meara ne maðma ne meadodreama,
ænges ofer eorþan eorlgestreona.
(Hb 44-46)

This association of the world or earth with gestreon fits in well and overlaps with a distinctive theme we noted above -- that of treasure as transitory and opposed to God. The Guthlac A poet tells us that when a man serves God during his lifetime:

swa þas woruldgestreon
on þa mæran god bimutad weorþað.
(GuthA 70-71)

The emphasis on the worldly aspect of gestreon perhaps explains why it is so often used in a negative context as we

¹¹¹ Ingersoll admits the meaning "worldly" but stresses the intensifying function of woruld as a prefix, Ingersoll 1978, p.142.

have seen above. Again, "the acquired" aspect of the semantic field of gestreon seems key to its connection with worldliness. This association is reflected in the high rate of collocation of gestreon with woruld and eorpe, which will be discussed more extensively in this context in Chapter Four.¹¹²

The connection of gestreon with ær and eald may also carry negative connotations with it. Ærgestreon and ealdgestreon each appear four times, for a total of eight, representing 12% of the occurrences of gestreon in Old English verse.¹¹³ Of these eight, five appear with possibly negative moral connotations. Ærgestreon on two occasions and ealdgestreon on one occasion are destroyed on Judgement Day.¹¹⁴ The treasure which Heremod hoarded and his successor distributed is ærgestreon (Beo 1757). A.N.Doane draws attention to the negative allusions involved in the passage in Genesis A, where the king of Sodom offers Abraham treasure in return for the rescue of his city and people. Abraham refuses the gift and calls the king and his followers with the term willgesteallum (GenA 2147). Doane writes that in all three of its occurrences in Genesis A,¹¹⁵ will-ge- has sinister and ironic overtones. Probably the poet makes Abraham reject the king of Sodom's offer in

¹¹² See below, Ch.4, pp.324-28 and 338-41.

¹¹³ eald: ChrII 812, ChrIII 1570, Beo 1381, 1458. ær: Gen 2148, ChrIII 996, Beo 1757, 2232.

¹¹⁴ ChrII 812, ChrIII 996, 1570.

¹¹⁵ GenA 971, 2147, 2608.

this way because of the traditional distaste for this people."¹¹⁶ The treasure which the king offers is called ærgestreon (GenA 2148). Such sinister connotations are also appropriately applied to the treasure of the dragon. The Beowulf poet tells us that the stolen cup came from an "eorð[h]use ærgestreona" (Beo 2232). In light of its failure against Grendel's mother, it is possible to read the description of Hrunting as "an foran ealdgestreona" (Beo 1458) in an ominous light. Graham Caie maintains that eald and ær carry this negative connotation with them even when not applied to treasure, and claims that both terms have "overtones of sinfulness." He points out that Satan is described as both ealdfeond (Dan 57, 454, ChrI 567, GuthA 365, Ph 449) and ealdgeniðla (And 1048 and Jud 11) and the world "about to be purged of its evil" is described as ealdan moldan (ChrIII 888) and aerworuld (ChrIII 936).¹¹⁷

Caie's comments are, however, overstated. A glance at the use of eald and ær in Beowulf show that they are not used in as consistent a way as Caie suggests. Eald is used in ways which fit in with Caie's thesis. For example, the strife between Grendel and the Danes is ealdgewin (Beo 1781) and the dragon's hoard is "eald enta geweorc" (Beo 2774). Both Hrunting and the swords which Beowulf's retainers do not use to defend him are "ealde lafe" (Beo 795, 1488).¹¹⁸ But other instances of eald occur without any possible

¹¹⁶ Doane 1978, pp.301-2.

¹¹⁷ Caie 1976, p.169.

¹¹⁸ See also: Beo 2330, 2763.

negative resonance. The treasures sent by Hrothgar to the Wylfings to seal the peace between them are "ealde madmas" (Beo 472) and Hrothgar hopes that his friendship with Beowulf will join their two peoples together in the "ealde wisan" (Beo 1865). Furthermore, ær is frequently compounded with god making a sinister overtone unlikely. In his Beowulfstudien, Johannes Hoops shows that ær functions as an intensifier in such compounds as ærgod, ærglæd, ærleof, æræt. In the seven instances in Beowulf in which ærgod appears, the word indicates that the object or person so described has been good for a long time. Hrothgar is described as "mære þeoden / æþeling ærgod" (Beo 129-30). Ergod, which varies mære, can hardly carry the connotation of moral corruption which Caie suggests.¹¹⁹ The cluster of instances of ealdgestreon and ærgestreon in contexts in which the word seems to have negative moral overtones does not appear to be wholly attributable to the "sinful overtones" of eald and ær but rather to the connotations of gestreon.

Hord was used to describe both God and holy people and the pattern continues with gestreon. Although gestreon is used metaphorically much more rarely than hord, it too is used in this sense. The poet describes Andreas and Christ sitting together in a boat:

Gesæt him þa se halga helmwearde neah,
 æðele þe æðelum. Æfre ic ne hyrde
 þon cymlicor ceol gehladenne
 heahgestreorum. Hæleð in sæton,
 þeodnas þrymfulle, þegnas wlitige.
(And 359-63)

¹¹⁹ Hoops 1932, p.20.

This passage has been something of a crux in the debate about the possible dependence of Andreas on Beowulf. Schaar and others, who see the Andreas poet as a poor adaptor of Beowulf, argue that this passage shows the Andreas poet at his worst -- clumsily fitting something which he borrowed from Beowulf into an unsuitable place in his narrative. They ask why Christ and Andreas are inappropriately accompanied by treasure on their journey across the sea and see the lines as a blundered borrowing of:¹²⁰

þær wæs madma fela
of feorwegum, frætwa, gelæded;
ne hyrde ic cymlicor ceol gegyrwan
hildewæpnum ond heaðowædum,
billum ond byrnum; him on bearme læg
on flodes æht feor gewitan.
(Beo 36-42)

Hans Schabram and William Gobar both argue convincingly that Christ and Andreas are themselves metaphorically described as treasure.¹²¹ This reading is supported by the convention we have seen connected with hord of describing holy people as treasure. If the Andreas poet has borrowed from Beowulf he has done so with some skill and an eye for how the traditional and the heroic can be made to serve new masters in religious poetry.

In Elene, Judas, a Jew, revealed to Helen the location of the three crosses of Christ and the thieves, and Christ's cross is identified because it raises a man from the dead.

¹²⁰ Schaar 1949, p.243.

¹²¹ Gobar 1972 and Schabram 1965 and 1981.

satan then laments that souls are being stolen from him.¹²²

The souls are described metaphorically as plundered possessions or treasures:

Hwæt is þis, la, manna, þe minne eft
þurh fyrngeflit folgaþ wyrdeð,
iceð ealdne nið, æhta strudeð?

...

... Nu cwom elpeodig,
ðone ic ær on firenum fæstne talde,
hafað mec bereafod rihta gehwylces,
feohgestreona.

(El 902-10)

We have seen souls described as metaphoric treasure repeatedly when we looked at the word hord.

There may be as many as three instances of gestreon, or 5%, which are used metaphorically as part of doubles entendres. The solution to Riddle 20 is generally accepted to be a "sword" though some editors have made a case for a

¹²² This image of the Church, or the faithful, plundering souls from the devil has other parallels both in Old English verse and Latin sources. In Christ I Christ plunders hell:

hafað nu se halga helle bireafod
ealles þæs gafoles þe hi geardagum
in þæt orlege unryhte swealg
(ChrI 558-60)

and a few lines later the poet writes:

þær he of hæfte ahlod hupa mæste
of feonda byrig folces unrim.
(ChrI 568-69)

Isaiah 45:2-3 seems to be the biblical source for the plundering of hell: "I will go before thee and will humble the great ones of the earth. I will break in pieces the gates of brass and will burst the bars of iron. And I will give thee hidden treasures and the concealed riches of secret places: that thou mayest know that I am the Lord who call thee by thy name, the God of Israel." In a biblical commentary on Job 29:17 ("I used to break the fangs of wicked men, and snatch their prey from between their jaws."), Gregory the Great calls those saved from sin by the Church "plunder:" "Ecclesia diabolo prædam eripit, cum aliquem ab errore aut peccato revocat" (Adriaen 1979, p.993). From Whitman 1977, p.9.

"falcon."¹²³ Throughout the riddle, the sword is described in terms of a celibate warrior and beginning at line 17, it is possible to see the riddle as, at least in parts, a double entendre.

After line 17, the poet's description of the warrior and his weapon in negative terms -- in terms of what he is not or does not do -- may create a shadow warrior and weapon. It is with this shadow warrior and weapon that suggestions of double entendre are founded; the warrior is no bachelor or celibate and his weapon is a phallus. In light of the shadow warrior and weapon, phrases such as "wip bryde ne mot / hæmed habban" (Rid20 27-28), hyhtplega (Rid20 28), "on hagostealde" (Rid20 31) and bearngestreon (Rid20 27) and, as I will argue possibly also, "hælepa gestreona" (Rid20 31) can take on a sexual connotation. Hæmed means "cohabitation: marriage: adultery, fornication" and a related compound hæmedlac, meaning "coition" appears in Riddle 42. Similarly, hyhtplega, meaning "joyous play, sport," may also refer to sexual intercourse. Hagosteald means "celibacy." The two instances of gestreon will be discussed in some detail.

Regardless of whether or not we accept Riddle 20 as a double entendre, bearngestreon, a hapax legomenon, means "procreation of children" and is thus connected with sexuality. The term is used literally to describe the warrior and metaphorically to describe the sword. The

¹²³ Sword: Tupper 1910, pp.110-11, Mackie 1934, p.240, Krapp/Dobbie 1936, p.332. Falcon: Trautmann 1915, pp.80-83 and more recently Pinsker/Ziegler 1985, p.184.

celibate warrior, devoted to the service of his lord who gave him rings, does not have children, literal bearngestreon (Rid 20 27), unless he departs from his lord. H.E. Davidson and Craig Williamson have both explained the seeming impossibility¹²⁴ of a sword being described as having children. After a sword breaks it can be melted down to make a new weapon or weapons -- its children. Such weapons, particularly if they are also swords, would have been regarded as treasures in Anglo-Saxon England making gestreon a fitting designation. The frequent use of gestrienan with the meaning "to beget children," where children are often denoted as bearn (see for example (GenA 1171)), although limited to Genesis A, also suggests that an Anglo-Saxon poet could rely on his audience to perceive the double entendre.

Hælepa gestreon may also have a sexual meaning though it is certainly less obvious than those for the terms detailed above. The poet describes how the warrior cannot marry because of his allegiance to his lord and he laments:

forþon ic brucan sceal
on hagostealde hælepa gestreona.
(Rid20 30-31)

The shadow warrior by contrast, and the weapon he stands for, may be sexually active and the treasure might then refer to the woman he enjoys. Gestreon may not be the only treasure word used in this context; if we accept a double entendre in Riddle 91, hord (Rid91 9) may refer also to female genitals.¹²⁵ If the poet does indeed set up a

¹²⁴ Davidson 1962, pp.153-54 and Williamson 1977, p.197.

¹²⁵ See above, Ch.3, pp.118-19.

shadow warrior, then his use of the word hagosteald invites this interpretation; however, outside such a context there would be little reason for reading gestreon in a sexual light, and gestreon would be used literally here.

While recent editors reject Donald Kay's solution of the riddle as first a "phallus" and only secondarily a "sword," there is little agreement among them regarding the extent to which the poem may be considered a double entendre.¹²⁶ Although Williamson readily admits that "phallus" cannot be applied to the whole of the poem, he does go through some fairly impressive contortions to explain how the double entendre hangs together for the whole of the poem after line 17. While Gleißner's interpretation lies closer to the truth, he seems to go too far in the opposite direction when he writes:

Je nach Standpunkt kann man vielleicht
bearngestreon, hæmed und hyhtplega als obzön
ansehen; zweideutig machen diese Wörter Rätsel 20
wohl nicht.¹²⁷

It appears likely that there are indeed some sexual hints or overtones in the second part of the riddle which turn parts of the riddle into a double entendre but that they are most likely no more than hints to distract and mislead rather than a complete alternative solution.¹²⁸

Gestreon appears in religious verse in 41 of its 65 occurrences (for 63%), and in 17 of its occurrences (for

¹²⁶ Kay 1968, Williamson 1977, pp.193-99, Gleißner 1984, pp.342-48, Pinsker/Ziegler 1985, pp.184-89.

¹²⁷ Gleißner 1984, p.347.

¹²⁸ Much like Riddle 91, see above, Ch.3, pp.118-19.

26%) can be considered as in religious contexts.¹²⁹ There are some positive associations for gestreon in religious contexts, Christ and the disciples are heahgestreon (And 362) and in Guthlac A those who despise woruldgestreon (GuthA 70) will be rewarded with "ryhtra gestreona" (GuthA 78) in heaven. However, the emphasis on gestreon in religious poems is overwhelmingly negative -- with its transience and worldliness often stressed by poets. Hord exhibited a close correspondence between metaphorical and religious occurrences, and although gestreon is used metaphorically in a much more limited way than hord, there is a similar pattern.¹³⁰ Of the nine possibly metaphoric instances of gestreon, four, or 44%, appear in religious poems.¹³¹ Three of these four, 75% (33% of the nine), appear in religious contexts.¹³² Another four, 33%,¹³³ appear in riddles and only one in a secular poem, the Ruin.¹³⁴ The correlation between the figures for metaphorical occurrences of hord and gestreon suggest that

¹²⁹ GenA 1208, Dan 703, 756, And 362, El 910, ChrII 812, ChrIII 996, 1570, GuthA 70, 78, Ph 506, MB 8:58, 14:11, SS 32, 319, Inst 40, 120.

¹³⁰ All but one (MxI 143) instance of gestrienan can be said to occur in a religious context; however, I have not included gestrienan in this discussion of metaphor and religious context since it is impossible to determine whether such a distinction exists with regard to the verb.

¹³¹ And 362, El 910, Ph 255, 506.

¹³² And 362, El 910, Ph 506.

¹³³ Rid17 10, Rid20 27, 31, Rid28 3.

¹³⁴ Ruin 22. A poem whose theme, although secular, is transience.

metaphors, at least those involving treasure words, are most likely to appear in religious poems and riddles. However, while there is a clear pattern of a connection between metaphoric uses of treasure language and religious poems, a high number of religious appearances of a word does not necessarily mean a high number of metaphoric appearances. Gestreon is used in religious poems in 63% of its appearances, and 26% of its occurrences are in religious contexts; yet gestreon is used less often metaphorically than was hord, which appeared in religious poems in 47% of its occurrences and in religious contexts, 29%.

V. SINC

The word sinc appears 78 times in Old English verse -- in 47 cases as a simplex, 29 as the first element in a compound and in two cases as the second element in a compound. Sinc does not occur in prose. There is agreement among the major dictionaries that treasure is at the center of its definition.¹³⁵ As the poet of Maxims II tells us: "sinc byð deorost" (MxII 10). In register, sinc seems to be closest to maðm; however, unlike the latter, sinc only rarely denotes a single object of treasure rather than a mass or group of treasures. Waldere B illustrates this collective sense of sinc. Theodoric thought of sending a

¹³⁵ Bosworth and Toller: "(used only in poetry) Treasure, gold, silver, jewels." Sweet: "Treasure, anything precious, gold, jewels." Grein: "Thesaurus, opes, divitiæ, res pretiosæ." Clark Hall: "Treasure, riches, gold, valuables, jewel."

sword to Widia "and eac sinc micel / maðma mid ði mece (WldB 5-6)." Here a singular sinc is comprised of plural maþmas.

There is only one instance in Old English Verse where the simplex sinc appears in plural case: "sinca baldor" (Beo 2428) and in only 3 of its simplex occurrences does it refer to a single object.¹³⁶ We must beware, however, of placing too much weight on the usage of sinc in The Riddles since the poets of The Riddles often played with the norm in order to deceive and amuse their audiences. The appearance of sinc, as a single object in Beowulf is scarcely more straightforward. Here sinc (Beo 2023) in the possible compound [næ]gledsinc refers to a cup and, while sinc, as part of the compound sincfæt,¹³⁷ is commonly applied to cups in Beowulf, only here is it the second and determining rather than modifying element in a compound. Furthermore, it is unclear whether or not sinc is a simplex modified by [næ]gled or whether the two elements form a compound. And finally, [næ]gled is itself an emendation.¹³⁸

Sinc, like gestreon, is used as a general word for treasure. Of its 47 simplex appearances and two appearances as a second element in a compound, for only four instances, or 8%, can we make a reasonable guess as to what specific

¹³⁶ Rid48 4, Rid55 4, and Beo 2023. While it is possible to read "sinc on cwene" (MxI 126) and "ic sinc wege" (Rid20 6) as single objects, they can also be read as referring to more than one object.

¹³⁷ Beo 622, 1200, 2231, 2300.

¹³⁸ See Klaeber 1936, p.76.

treasure sinc denotes. In Maxims I, it is likely, though not certain, that sinc is jewelry:

gold geriseþ on guman sweorde,
sellic sigesceorp, sinc on cwene.
(MxI 125-26)

The sinc which Hrothgar gave out at Heorot may have been rings, but equally the treasure could be more general:

He beot ne aleh, beagas dælde,
sinc æt symle.
(Beo 80-81)

[Næ]gledsinc refers to the cup the thief stole from the dragon's cave, but, as discussed above, it is uncertain whether the word is a simplex or compound. Finally in Riddle 48, sinc (Rid48 4) denotes either a chalice or a paten, but this identification requires being able to solve the riddle.¹³⁹

On two occasions, sinc refers to a group of treasures some of which we can identify as war equipment. Both the dragon's hoard and the gifts given to Beowulf by Hrothgar are called sinc.¹⁴⁰ On only one occasion does sinc refer solely to war equipment, but in this instance it is the first element of a compound with maðm.¹⁴¹ There are no instances where sinc as a simplex or as the second element in a compound refers directly to war equipment. This contrasts sharply with maðm, which referred to weapons and armor in at least 19%, and perhaps has many as 39% of its

¹³⁹ Williamson 1977, pp.287-88.

¹⁴⁰ Beo 1485 and 2746.

¹⁴¹ Beo 2193.

appearances.¹⁴² While there are groups of treasure denoted by sinc which may contain war equipment, no group of treasure solely composed of war equipment is called a sinc. Clearly war equipment is much less central to the meaning of sinc than it was to maðm, and the two words cannot be regarded as alliterative synonyms.

Gift-giving is the most common context in which to find the word sinc. A connection between sinc and treasure giving can be shown in 29 instances or 37% of the word's appearances.¹⁴³ This corresponds most closely to maðm which appears 47% of the time in the context of gift-giving. A high percentage, 59% (17 of the 29), of these instances of sinc refer to the kennings sincgeofa and "sinces brytta."¹⁴⁴ These kennings are applied to a wide range of men -- historic, legendary, living and even Christ. In the metrical preface to Wærferth's translation of Gregory the Great's Dialogues, Alfred is "se selesða sinc[...] brytta" (GDPref 24). The Beowulf poet uses the term for both Hrothgar (Beo 607, 1170) and Hygelac (Beo 1922, 2071). The poet of Christ I calls Christ on the day of the transfiguration a sincgiefa (ChrI 460). Boethius, in his

¹⁴² See above, Ch.3, p.92-94.

¹⁴³ GenA 1725, 1857, 2728, And 1509, El 194, 264, ChrI 460, GuthB 1352, Wan 25, 34, Beo 81, 607, 1012, 1038, 1170, 1226, 1342, 1485, 1922, 2071, 2311, 2383, 2884, Jud 30, 339, MB 1:50, WldB 5, BM 278, GDPref 24.

¹⁴⁴ GenA 1857, 2728, El 194, ChrI 460, GuthB 1352, Wan 25, Beo 607, 1012, 1170, 1342, 1922, 2071, 2311, Jud 30, MB 1:50, BM 278, GDPref 24.

role as consul of Rome, is described by Alfred as sincgeofa (MB 1:50). Despite this wide range of poems, "sinces brytta" and sincgeofa are not simply synonyms for leader which can be used in any context.¹⁴⁵

While there are many instances of kings and leaders giving sinc or being referred to as givers of sinc, only rarely do we see sinc being guarded or defended.¹⁴⁶ This is in sharp contrast to the use of hord which was often protected by the king or leader, and was, furthermore, often not just a group of precious objects, but the treasure of a people. In Beowulf Hygelac dies while he "sinc ealgode" (Beo 1204) but this is a very specific treasure, the wælreaf (Beo 1205) of the following line, rather than the hord of the Geatish people. In the guarding instance in Genesis A, the usage of sinc comes close to what we have seen for hord. The King of Salem accompanies the King of Sodom to offer Abraham a reward for rescuing them from their enemies. The Genesis A poet calls the King of Salem: "Solomia sinces hyrde" (GenA 2101). Here we have a king portrayed as a protector of his people's treasure.

Sinc appears frequently, on 13 occasions (representing 17% of its appearances), describing an object as decorated or ornamented with treasure. Four times sinc is included in a noun + adjective or participle compound: sincfag¹⁴⁷ and

¹⁴⁵ See below, Ch.4, pp.361-64.

¹⁴⁶ GenA 2101 and Beo 1204.

¹⁴⁷ Rid14 15 and Beo 167.

sinchroden.¹⁴⁸ Six times sinc is a noun in the dative case accompanied by a past participle: +gyrwed,¹⁴⁹ gewurpad,¹⁵⁰ and "gebunden...since."¹⁵¹ Twice sinc appears in combination with fag where they are not compounded.¹⁵² When Riddle 20 is solved, "ic sinc wege,"¹⁵³ which appears at first to be a warrior wearing or bearing treasure, becomes a sword ornamented with treasure. Sinc is also used in six additional instances in noun + noun compounds in which sinc is the first element. This usage is virtually restricted to Beowulf, appearing once in Waldere A, and to the compound sincfæt¹⁵⁴ with sincmaðpum¹⁵⁵ occurring once. It is impossible to tell whether the object described with a sinc + noun compound is so described because it is a treasure in its own right or because it is ornamented with treasure. When both the uses of sinc to describe an object as decorated with treasure and an object as a treasure are considered, there are 19 instances of sinc, or 24%, in which it describes or modifies another object. Here it is similar to frætwe which is associated with ornamentation. Although maðm is the first element in many compounds and this could

¹⁴⁸ And 1673 and Hb 14.

¹⁴⁹ DR 23, Rid20 9-10, Rid67 14-15.

¹⁵⁰ Beo 1038 and 1450.

¹⁵¹ ChrI 308-9.

¹⁵² Beo 1615, 2217.

¹⁵³ Rid20 6.

¹⁵⁴ Beo 622, 1200, 2231, 2300, WldA 28.

¹⁵⁵ Beo 2193.

perhaps indicate that an object is decorated with treasure,¹⁵⁶ it is never explicitly ornamentation.

Gestreon and hord are not used in this way, illustrating the importance of decoration to the semantic field of sinc.

Although sinc was not used as a simplex to denote war equipment, it is used frequently to refer to the ornamentation on a piece of war equipment. In fact, the majority of objects described as sinc decorated are either weapons, armor or other objects associated with battle. Swords are described as carrying sinc (Rid20 6), and as "gyrweð / since" (Rid20 9-10), a hilt as "since fage" (Beo 1615), a helmet as "since geweorðad" (Beo 1450), a saddle is similarly "since gewurpað" (Beo 1038) and a horn, which is sometimes used in war, as sincfag (Rid14 15). Several religious objects are sinc ornamented: a cross is "since gegyrwed" (DR 23), the doors of heaven are "gebunden...since" (ChrI 308-9) and a Bible is "gegierwed...since" (Rid67 14-15). In The Husband's Message a woman is called sinchroden (Hb 14). Halls are twice referred to as sinc ornamented: "salu sinchroden" (And 1673) and "sincfage sel" (Beo 167).

The theme of the transience of worldly treasure and the opposition of such treasure to God was associated with the word gestreon in 22% of its appearances. This theme is also connected with sinc, though far less extensively, and the theme is less explicitly expressed. Sinc occurs in connection with transience on 7 occasions representing 9% of

¹⁵⁶ See for example, Beo 1023 and 2405.

its appearances.¹⁵⁷ When Wiglaf first enters the barrow after the death of the dragon he sees a treasure which is described as decayed or rotted. The adjectives feormendlease (Beo 2761), "hyrstum behrorene" (Beo 2762) and "eald ond omig" (Beo 2763) stand out from the glitter, light and beauty which has thus far characterized treasure in Beowulf. This description is followed by a gnomic statement which insists on the negative power of sinc:

Sinc eaðe mæg,
gold on grund[e] gumcynnes gehwone
oferhigian, hyde se ðe wylle!
(Beo 2764-66)

The passage can perhaps be read as critical of the quest for treasure. Other instances are less explicit. In The Ruin sinc is included among the treasures which once existed in the now ruined city (Ruin 35). In Christ and Satan treasure is again a force for evil. Judas betrays Christ for "seolfres sinc" (XSt 577). Sinc is also a force for evil in The Riming Poem. The first part of the poem tells of the earthly wealth and power the speaker enjoyed as an advisor to kings. The first hint of trouble comes in the lines:¹⁵⁸

gold gearwade, gim hwearfade,
sinc searwade, sib nearwade.
(Rim 36-37)

Gold and gems are given, and yet treasure causes disharmony rather than peace. The speaker is soon an exile and all the pleasures of the first part of the poem have passed. The

¹⁵⁷ XSt 577, And 1656, Wan 34, Rim 37, Ruin 35, Beo 2764, MB 21:21.

¹⁵⁸ See Macrae-Gibson 1983, p.47, for the negative sense of searwade and nearwade.

end of the poem makes explicit the opposition of worldly pleasure -- which includes treasure --to a Christian life. The treachery of the sinc seems all the more harsh because of its connection to a decline in sibb, presumably "peace." Here treasure has caused discord rather than strengthening the bonds of society.¹⁵⁹ Sinc appears in other passages which portray treasure in a negative or transient light, but in compounds where sinc qualifies another noun rather than stands on its own. For example, when Andreas prays to God to allow him to leave all of the worldly pleasure of Marmedonia he includes sincgestreon (And 1656) among these pleasures. Sinc does not appear to have a special connection to this transient or otherwise negative treasure -- as did gestreon -- but it is simply another treasure word used in the expression of a familiar theme.

All the treasure words we have so far considered have been associated, usually not extensively, with plundering. Sinc is plundered on four out of its 78 occurrences, that is 5%, a figure in line with those for gestreon and frætwe.¹⁶⁰

The portion of the appearances of sinc which occur in religious poems, 47% or 37 instances,¹⁶¹ is not particularly high when compared with other words denoting treasure: frætwe (66%), gestreon (63%), hord (47%) and maðm

¹⁵⁹ See above, Ch.4, pp.375-77.

¹⁶⁰ GenA 2017, Ex 36, Dan 60, Beo 2746.

¹⁶¹ GenA 1725, 1857, 2017, 2090, 2101, 2405, 2666, 2728, Ex 36, Dan 60, XSt 577, And 272, 477, 478, 1509, 1656, 1673, DR 23, El 194, 264, 1218, ChrI 309, ChrII 460, GuthB 1352, Rim 17, 37, Wan 25, 34, Jud 30, 339, PPs 67.27. MB 1:50, 21:21, GDPref 24. Rid48 4, Rid55 4, Rid67 15 depend on the solution.

(25%). Of those 37, 15, or 40% representing 20% of the total occurrences of sinc, might be considered as appearing in a religious context.¹⁶² In religious contexts sinc is portrayed in a negative light when attached to the themes of transience and worldliness. This is balanced fairly equally by sinc in positive religious contexts. Christ himself is a sincgiefa (ChrII 460) and religious objects such as the cross in The Dream of the Rood (DR 23) are decorated with sinc. In Christ I, the poet writes that the door of heaven:

eal wæs gebunden
deoran since duru ormæte.
(ChrI 308-9)

The metaphorical use of sinc is very limited, occurring only once. Cynewulf calls Elene a sincgim (El 264) and the "hlaforðes gifu" (El 265). This occurs in a religious poem but not in a religious context. Gim with which sinc is here compounded often occurs metaphorically, and this may well account for the metaphoric use of sincgim. This virtual absence of metaphoric appearances of sinc sets it in contrast especially to hord but also gestreon; however, maðm is likewise used metaphorically only once, giving further weight to the sense that they are of a similar register. The similarity between the figure for religious occurrences of hord (47%) and sinc (47%) and the dissimilarity in their figures for metaphorical occurrences (47% and 1% respectively) reaffirm the observation that while metaphorical occurrences tend to appear in religious and

¹⁶² GenA 2666, Ex 36, XSt 577, And 1509, 1656, 1673, DR 23, ChrI 309, ChrII 460, GuthB 1352, PPs 67.27, MB 21:21. Rid48 4, Rid55 4, Rid67 15 depend on the solutions.

riddling contexts, a high number of metaphoric appearances does not necessarily follow on from a high number of religious appearances.

VI. FRÆTWE

Frætwe appears 59 times in Old English verse and the related verb +frætw(i)an (hereafter frætwan) 31 times.¹⁶³ Goldfrætwe (ChrIII 995) is its only compound occurrence. Frætwe appears only in the plural and although it can refer to both a plural and singular number of objects, it is more commonly used for more than one treasure.¹⁶⁴ The main dictionaries of Old English disagree as to the centrality of treasure to the meaning of frætwe.¹⁶⁵ Hence an attempt will be made to assess how central treasure is to the semantic field of frætwe and the degree to which it is associated with frætwan. It is important to note at the outset that various English words which appear in the definitions for frætwe and frætwan are not mutually exclusive. That is, if we determine that a word refers to or denotes "treasure," that does not necessarily imply that it cannot also mean "ornament" or "armor" and so forth.

¹⁶³ Taking the Leiden Riddle and Riddle 35 as one.

¹⁶⁴ Grimm 1912, pp. 113-14.

¹⁶⁵ Frætwe: Bosworth and Toller: "Ornaments, adornments, decorations, treasures." Sweet: "Ornaments, trappings, armour, treasures." Grein: "Ornamenta, ornatus, res pretiosæ." Clark Hall: "treasures, ornaments, trappings, armour." Frætwan: Bosworth and Toller: "To adorn, deck, embroider, trim." Sweet: "adorn." Grein: "ornare, exornare." Clark Hall "To ornament, adorn."

of the 59 appearances of frætwe, 25, or 42%, refer to specific objects.¹⁶⁶ These appearances offer some insight into the kinds of objects frætwe can denote and in particular into how often that object is a treasure. However, in the majority, 33, or 56%, of the appearances of frætwe, the specific identity of the object cannot be stated with any certainty. These instances stand as evidence for the use of frætwe as a general term which tells about the nature or character of the object rather than indicating the object's precise identity. By considering the context and accompanying language in each of these 33 occurrences of frætwe, we can attempt to assess in how many cases the word frætwe refers to treasure.

The 25 instances in which it is possible to determine the specific identity of the frætwe provide evidence of what kinds of objects frætwe can denote and in particular how often that object is a treasure. Ten of these 25 are certainly literal occurrences.¹⁶⁷ Literal frætwe most frequently (in six instances) denotes war equipment, either armor or weapons.¹⁶⁸ Jewelry is twice referred to as

¹⁶⁶ GenB 443, FAP 102, ChrIII 995, 1073, 1635, GuthB 1059, Ph 73, 200, 257, 309, 330, 335, Pan 29, 48, Rid7 6, Rid13 10, Rid40 46, Beo 214, 962, 1207, 2163, 2503, 2620, 2989, Meno 207.

¹⁶⁷ GenB 443, ChrIII 995, Rid40 46, Beo 214, 962, 1207, 2163, 2503, 2620, 2989.

¹⁶⁸ GenB 443, Beo 214, 2163, 2620, 2989. I have included here Beo 962 where the only clue as to the identity of the frætwe is the syntax. See Klaeber's note. I have not included Rim 38, where although the construction is the same as Beo 962, we can not be sure that specifically armor rather than some other ornament is denoted.

frætwe¹⁶⁹. In Riddle 40 the solution, water, is said to be more beautiful than "frætsum goldes" (Rid40 46), even if that frætwe is covered with wirum (Rid40 47). Gold also occurs in connection with frætwe when the poet of Christ III warns that on Judgement Day fire will destroy goldfrætwe (ChrIII 995). We can say with certainty that in these two instances of gold, the frætwe in question are treasures. There can, indeed, be little doubt that virtually all of these objects are treasures. As we have seen in our discussion of maðm, war equipment was considered as treasure. In the description of Broding's necklace, frætwe (Beo 1207) is varied with eorclanstanas (Beo 1208) and the necklace is "sigle ond sincfæt" (Beo 1200). Only Dæghrefn's breostweorðung (Beo 2504), called a frætwe (Beo 2503) and presumably a piece of jewelry, is not referred to by another word which clearly denotes treasure. Jewelry, however, is frequently considered as treasure and hence, treasure seems an appropriate reading here. In 18 of the 31 (58%) occurrences of frætwan, both the object adorned, and, more importantly, what that object is adorned with are identified.¹⁷⁰ In ten of these instances, frætwan is

¹⁶⁹ Beo 1207, 2503

¹⁷⁰ GenA 215, XSt 647, And 1518, El 742, 1198, GuthA 806, Ph 239, 274, Ruin 33, Rid14 11, Rid31 2, 20, Rid32 2, LdR 10/Rid35 10, Rid53 8, Beo 96, Jud 171, 328. I am not considering here instances of frætwan where only the object adorned and not what is used to adorn it are identified. There are no instances where the object used as adornment is specified while the object which is adorned is specified.

undoubtedly used literally.¹⁷¹ However, only four of these ten are certainly treasures; God "gimmum gefrætewod" the golden gates of heaven (XSt 647); Judith is "golde gefrætewod" as is Holofernes' armor (Jud 171, 328); and Elene orders a bridle to be frætwan with the nails of the Cross (El 1198), which were earlier described as treasure. All ten of the identifiable and literal instances of frætwe denote objects which are treasures, while in four of the ten instances where frætwan is associated with the literal and identifiable, treasure is certain.

However, the above discussion accounts for only ten of the 25 identified frætwe and four of the ten instances where frætwan is used identifiably. It is uncertain whether many of the remaining instances of identified frætwe and frætwan occur literally or metaphorically.¹⁷² Frætwe appears to be used metaphorically in the three instances where it describes life or the soul.¹⁷³ Similarly, the use of frætwan to describe the ornamentation of the souls of the just with meditations is metaphorical (GuthA 806). However, the ground is less firm when we consider descriptions of nature (vegetation,¹⁷⁴ fur,¹⁷⁵ feathers,¹⁷⁶ wings¹⁷⁷ and

¹⁷¹ XSt 647, El 1198, Rid14 11, Rid31 2, Rid32 2, LdR 10/Rid35 10, Rid53 8, Ruin 33, Jud 171, 328.

¹⁷² GenA 215, FAP 102, El 742, ChrIII 1073, 1635, GuthA 806, GuthB 1059, Ph 73, 200, 239, 257, 274, 309, 330, 335, Pan 29, 48, Rid7 6, Rid13 10, Beo 96, Meno 207.

¹⁷³ ChrIII 1073, 1635, GuthB 1059.

¹⁷⁴ GenA 215, Ph 73, 200, 274, Pan 48, Beo 96, Meno 207.

¹⁷⁵ Pan 29.

even egg shells¹⁷⁶) as frætwe or in connection with frætwan. Our modern understanding of "treasure" and of "ornament" lead us to see these natural frætwe and instances of frætwan as metaphors but we cannot assume that the modern definitions of "ornament" and "treasure" correspond to the Anglo-Saxon definitions of frætwe and frætwan. At this point in our discussion, we do not know if treasure was a necessary quality of frætwe and frætwan or if they always carried with them the connotation of treasure. Furthermore we do not know if the Anglo-Saxon understanding of ornament was broad enough to include all or any of these possibly metaphorical instances as literal. Hence we cannot use the definition of frætwe as a way to distinguish between metaphorical and literal uses of the word. Context offers a more useful and secure way of attempting to make this distinction.

The poems provide some evidence for understanding these natural frætwe and frætwan as metaphors. Feathers and eggshells or eggskins appear as frætwe in The Riddles.¹⁷⁹ The Riddles are notable for their frequent metaphoric use of words and especially for their blurring of the distinction between the metaphorical and the literal; frætwe and frætwan, which occur 12 times in The Riddles, seem to have been a

¹⁷⁶ Ph 239, 309, 330, 335, Rid7 6.

¹⁷⁷ El 742.

¹⁷⁸ Rid13 10.

¹⁷⁹ Rid7 6, Rid13 10. For the interpretation eggshell or eggskin see Pinsker/Ziegler 1985, p.170.

particular favorite of the riddlers.¹⁸⁰ The Phoenix poet uses frætwe or frætwan in connection with the feathers of the bird on four occasions.¹⁸¹ A living bird can only be described as treasure metaphorically, a fact the poet recognizes when he says that the bird's eyes are like gems set in gold (Ph 301-304) and its bill shone like glass or a gem (Ph 300). The poet may be using frætwe (Ph 309) for feathers in a similarly metaphorical way. The poet also writes that God gave the phoenix "frætwe fægerran ofer fugla cyn" (Ph 330). These are not the feathers of a normal everyday bird described as frætwe but rather, the poet uses frætwe metaphorically to emphasize the extraordinariness of the bird. Several lines later, the poet describes how people saw the frætwe (Ph 335) of the phoenix. The verb frætwan also occurs with feathers (Ph 239). The association of angels' wings with frætwan (El 742) might also be understood in terms of the extraordinary. The portrayal of the colors of the panther's coat as frætwe (Pan 29) occurs as part of an extended simile which compares the panther's fur to Joseph's coat of many colors. This use in a simile does not necessitate the word's classification as metaphor but it does point in this direction.

¹⁸⁰ Rid7 6, Rid13 10, Rid14 7, 11, Rid28 6, Rid31 2, 20, Rid32 2, Rid35 10/LdR 10, Rid40 46, Rid53 8, Rid61 8.

¹⁸¹ Ph 309 refers exclusively to feathers while Ph 330 and 335 refer to all the coverings of the phoenix including feathers. Feathers are the object of frætwan in Ph 239.

Identifiable frætwe occur five times referring to vegetation¹⁸² and in a further three instances the verb frætwan is linked with vegetation.¹⁸³ The poet of The Phoenix uses the word on three occasions. Describing the plants of paradise shortly after their creation, he writes:

Sindon þa bearwas bledum gehongne,
 wlitigum wæstmum, þær no waniað o,
 halge under heofonum, holtes frætwe.
 ne feallað þær on foldan fealwe blostman,
 wudubeama wlite, ac þær wrætlice
 on þam treowum symle telgan gehladene,
 ofett edniwe, in ealle tid
 on þam græswonge grene stondap,
 gehroden hyhtlice haliges meahtum,
 beorhtast bearwa.

(Ph 71-80)

The language of this passage from The Phoenix suggests that frætwe has the connotation of treasure in this instance and that, since leaves and fruit are not literal treasure, frætwe is being used metaphorically.¹⁸⁴

The Phoenix poet uses frætwe a second time for vegetation to describe the herbs and flowers with which the phoenix builds its nest. The poet insists that these are no ordinary plants but "þa swetestan...wyrta wynsume ond wudubleda" (Ph 193-94) and "æpelstenca gehwone, wyrta wynsumra" (Ph 195-96). The poet's insistence that the plants of the phoenix's nest are no common plants is intensified by the use of frætwe for plants which appeared earlier in the poem in a metaphorical context and with

¹⁸² Ph 73, 200, 257, Pan 48, Meno 207.

¹⁸³ GenA 215, Ph 274, Beo 96.

¹⁸⁴ This language is discussed in Chapter 2. See above, Ch.2, p.55.

overtones of treasure. This previous metaphoric occurrence coupled with the uniqueness of the present plants suggests that it is neither far fetched nor inappropriate to read frætwe as metaphorical in this case as well. Frætwe is also used by the Phoenix poet for vegetation as part of a simile. The poet compares the springtime awakening of the wæstmas (Ph 255) -- the "foldan frætwe" (Ph 257) -- to the rising of the phoenix from her ashes. Furthermore, the frætwe of the narrative section are revealed as having a symbolic or allegorical meaning in the significatio section of the poem.¹⁸⁵

There are only two instances of frætwe referring to vegetation which can be read as metaphorical but where the texts do not allow us to assert such a reading with much certainty. Frætwe appear as vegetation in The Menologium where the "wangas grene" (Meno 206) which pass away with the coming of winter are "foldan frætuwe" (Meno 207). Although the poet does earlier use language associated with wealth and possibly sometimes with treasure to describe vegetation (the harvest comprising wæstmum (Meno 142) is "wela...fægere" (Meno 142-43)), there is nothing in the surrounding text to support the interpretation of frætwe as a metaphor in this instance, although nothing rules out such a reading. The poet of The Panther writes that the animal's breath was sweeter than:

¹⁸⁵ See below, Ch. 4, pp. 385, 395, 404, 411, 415-16 for a full discussion.

wyrta blostmum ond wudubledum
eallum æpelicra eorþan frætwum.
(Pan 47-48)

It is not immediately clear to what "eorþan frætwe" refer. It seems likely that they are also plants and flowers of some sort rather than any other natural or man made ornament found on the earth, since the sense of the passage requires that these "eorþan frætwe" have a scent. It is difficult to find evidence in the text for reading frætwe in The Panther as metaphorical, although, likewise, there is no evidence which precludes a metaphorical reading. The Panther, like The Phoenix, is allegorical, although frætwe functions less centrally to the allegory of The Panther. The three instances where frætwan occurs with vegetation share similarities with the clearly metaphorical frætwe denoting vegetation. In The Phoenix, when the re-born bird covers the bones and ash left from his previous body with wyrtum (Ph 273), they are said to be gefrætwed (Ph 274). The allegorical significance of these relics and the herbs are later revealed in the significatio section. Like the "holtes frætwe" (Ph 73) which appear in the newly created paradise, frætwan occurs in Beowulf linked with "leomum ond leafum" (Beo 97) and in Genesis A with wæstmum (GenA 214) in the context of creation and may likewise be considered metaphorical.

The contexts in which most instances of frætwe and frætwan are used to describe nature (The Riddles, as part of a simile, as part of allegories, and to denote plants portrayed as extraordinary) support the modern suspicion

that these appearances represent metaphorical uses of the word rather than indicating that the Anglo-Saxon definition of literal frætwe and frætwan were broad enough to include them. If this narrow interpretation of the literal meaning of frætwe is indeed correct, then in a total of 23 instances, or 39%, frætwe can be said to be used clearly metaphorically¹⁸⁶ and in a total of 11 instances or 35% of its 31 appearances, frætwan is metaphorical.¹⁸⁷ In several instances of frætwan the literal and the metaphorical cannot be certainly separated. In Riddle 31 the obvious and literal reading of "frætweð hyrstum" (Rid31 20) misleads, while a metaphorical reading of the half-line as denoting air leads to the possible solution of bagpipes.¹⁸⁸ The difficulty in interpreting frætwan applied to the saved in heaven (JDII 277 and XSt 307) and to a hall which God prepares in heaven for the saved (JDI 92) revolves around whether or not the Anglo-Saxons perceived of heaven as literally or metaphorically a place of treasure. These four instances have not been counted as either literal or metaphorical.

Thus far, with an eye to assessing how central treasure is to the definitions of frætwe and frætwan, we have considered in detail only those instances of the words where

¹⁸⁶ FAP 102, El 1270, ChrII 805, 807, ChrIII 1073, 1635, GuthB 1059, 1282, Ph 73, 95, 150, 200, 257, 309, 330, 335, 508, Pan 29, 48, Rid7 6, Rid13 10, PPs 101.22, Meno 207.

¹⁸⁷ GenA 215, And 1518, SBI 137, El 742, GuthA 806, Ph 116, 239, 274, 585, Rsq 72, Beo 96.

¹⁸⁸ Williamson 1977, p.235 and Pinsker/Ziegler 1985, p.225.

the objects involved can be certainly identified. There are, however, a further seven instances of the 33 unidentifiable occurrences of frætwe which need to be considered since, although the frætwe is not precisely specified, it is likely that the object is a treasure.¹⁸⁹ There is one case where unspecified frætwe is varied with another word which denotes treasure; in the description of the treasure placed on Scyld Scefing's boat madma (Beo 36) varies frætwa (Beo 37). Two additional occurrences of frætwe vary gestreon. In these cases the text supports a reading of the gestreon in question as treasures rather than simply property. In Daniel, the gestreon belong to the hordweardas (Dan 65). In Beowulf, it is likely that the gestreon (Beo 1920) are treasure since they are described as æbelinga (Beo 1920) and associated with fætgold (Beo 1921) as well as the frætwe (Beo 1921). In a further four instances of frætwe, references to the same objects with another treasure word and within a few lines suggest that the frætwe are treasure. Wiglaf brings Beowulf frætwe (Beo 2784) from the hoard; these same objects are referred to as maðmum (Beo 2788) just four lines later. Beowulf then thanks God for the frætwa (Beo 2794) which he has won for his people; he calls the same objects "maðma hord" (Beo 2799) in the same speech. Sigemund takes "beorhte frætwa" (Beo 896) from a barrow we know to contain treasure since the poet called it a beahhord (Beo 894). Similarly, the dragon who once guarded a hoard of treasure, is called a

¹⁸⁹ Dan 66, Beo 37, 896, 1921, 2784, 2794, 3133.

"frætwa hyrde" (Beo 3133) when he is pushed over the cliff into the sea.

There remain six instances which must be considered. In all the cases, while frætwe cannot be certainly identified with treasure, the word is strongly associated with treasure.¹⁹⁰ For example, the use of frætwe to denote the treasure of two dragons in Beowulf leads to an identification of the frætwe associated with the dragon in Maxims II as treasure:

Draca sceal on hlæwe,
frod, frætwum wlanc.
(MxII 26-27)¹⁹¹

As we have seen, treasure-giving was an major theme in Old English verse, especially the giving of treasure by a leader to his retainers. In light of this context, it seems likely that in the lines describing the consequence of Hygelac's death:

nalles frætwe geof
ealdor dugoðe.
(Beo 2919-20)

frætwe denotes treasure rather than simply ornaments.

Only four of the 16 certainly literal frætwan were associated with an identifiable object.¹⁹² However, in a further six occurrences a strong case can be made for a

¹⁹⁰ GenA 2130, And 337, El 88, Rid14 7, Beo 2919, MxII 27.

¹⁹¹ The association of dragons with treasure troves is not of course limited to Old English verse. See Chaney 1970, pp.129-30.

¹⁹² XSt 647, El 1198, Jud 171, 328.

reading of treasure.¹⁹³ In these six instances, the adorning objects are hyrst, geatwe, gleomu or wrætt; these words have semantic fields that include but are not restricted to treasure. In two of these occurrences the link with treasure is more obvious. The "godwebb geatwum frætwað" of Riddle 35 is usually taken as referring to embroidery and thus possibly treasure.¹⁹⁴ In Riddle 14 the horn in question is war equipment and thus treasure. Furthermore, although the repetition of hwilum may imply that these descriptions refer to the horn at three separate times, the same horn is earlier described as covered with "golde ond sylfore" (Rid14 2) and later as sincfag (Rid14 15) suggesting that the hyrst which decorate it are treasures.

Thus far we have looked at the 59 appearances of frætwe and the 31 of frætwan in several categories, and determined that of these 59 frætwe, 36 occurrences are literal and of the 31 frætwan, 16 are literal.¹⁹⁵ A consideration of the 25 identifiable instances of frætwe showed that ten were literal occurrences. In no case did any of these ten

¹⁹³ Rid14 11, Rid31 2, Rid32 2, LdR 10/Rid35 10, Rid53 8, Ruin 33.

¹⁹⁴ Pinsker/Ziegler 1985, p.234. Dodwell describes the luxury of some Anglo-Saxon textiles which were embroidered or woven with gold thread. Dodwell 1982, pp.128ff.

¹⁹⁵ Nouns: GenB 443, GenA 2130, 2190, 2830, Dan 66, 710, And 337, El 88, 1270, ChrII 522, 556, ChrIII 995, Ph 610, Jul 118, 564, Rim 38, Rid14 7, Rid40 46, Beo 37, 214, 896, 962, 1207, 1921, 2054, 2163, 2503, 2620, 2784, 2794, 2919, 2989, 3133, PPs 143.15, MxII 27, Th 2. Verbs: XSt 647, And 715, El 1198, Rim 6, Rid14 11, Rid28 6, Rid31 2, Rid32 2, Rid53 8, LdR 10/Rid35 10, Rid61 8, Ruin 33, Beo 96, 992, Jud 171, 328.

instances of identifiable frætwe refer to objects which were not treasures. In an additional seven instances of frætwe, although the exact object or objects denoted could not be determined, there was evidence in the surrounding text indicating that the frætwe were treasure.¹⁹⁶ A further six instances could have been treasure and were certainly associated with treasure.¹⁹⁷ These figures account for 23 of the literal occurrences of frætwe or 64%. Among the remaining instances of literal frætwe there is no case where a reading as treasure is impossible or even inappropriate. Similarly in no case was treasure an unlikely association for frætwan although such a reading was certain in only four of its ten literal and identifiable occurrences. This suggests that not only is "treasure" among the readings for frætwe, but also that it is possible that the word cannot be used without carrying the connotation "treasure."

Frætwe appear in connection with themes and contexts we have already come to associate with treasure as well as in some new ones. On four occasions, representing 7% of its appearances, frætwe are given as gifts.¹⁹⁸ For example, Abimelech tells Abraham:

Hafa þe wunden gold
 þæt ær agen wæs ussum folce,
 feoh and frætwa!

(GenA 2128-30)

¹⁹⁶ Dan 66, Beo 37, 896, 1921, 2784, 2794, 3133.

¹⁹⁷ GenA 2130, And 337, El 88, Rid14 7, Beo 2919, MaxII 26.

¹⁹⁸ GenA 2130, 2830, Beo 2919, 2989.

This is far less frequent than the use of maðm in such a context. In two instances there is a link between frætwan and gift-giving, although the association is less direct than with the noun. The bridle Elene orders to be ornamented with the nails of the cross is a "gife unscynde" (El 1200) sent to Constantine, and in a metaphorical context the marble tablets inscribed with the Ten Commandments are said to be "gefrætwoðe...giofum" (And 1518-19). These two instances represent 6% of the occurrences of frætwan. A total of six of the 90 instances of frætwe and frætwan or 7% appear in the context of gift-giving. This low number of associations with treasure-giving is more puzzling than the similarly low figures we saw associated with hord, gestreon and sinc. All refer collectively to a number of objects rather than to a single object which is more likely to be given. However, as we have seen, plural frætwe do describe a single object of the sort we would expect to be given, and is used for war equipment and jewelry which are given as gifts. Perhaps the reason lies in the specific connection of frætwe and ornament. This explanation is not, however, wholly satisfying since ornaments could certainly be given.

We have seen that maðm, hord, gestreon and sinc are all plundered, although in no case does plundering represent a particularly important theme. This pattern continues for frætwe which is plunder three times, or 5% of its appearances.¹⁹⁹ The verb frætwan is once associated with plunder when the mail coat plundered from Holofernes is

¹⁹⁹ Dan 66, 710, Beo 2989.

"golde gefrætewod" (Jud 328). These four instances represent 4% of the occurrences of the noun and verb, a figure very similar to those for maðm, gestreon and sinc.

The remaining themes and contexts associated with frætwe are found largely in religious poems and the majority of instances are metaphoric. Old English religious poets most frequently associated frætwe and frætwan with the earth -- eorpe, lond and folde.²⁰⁰ Nine instances of frætwe, representing 15% of the total appearances of the word, occur in this context.²⁰¹ Three instances of frætwan are also associated with the land.²⁰² These instances represent 10% of the appearances of frætwan and together with the nine instances associated with frætwe account for 13% of the appearances of the two words. Of these 12, in six instances frætwe or frætwan metaphorically designate or pertain to plants and flowers.²⁰³

"Londes frætwe" and related phases can not be said, however, to refer exclusively to vegetation. The Guthlac B poet describes how

prong niht ofer tiht
londes frætwa.
(GuthB 1281-82).

These frætwe could as well be rivers, hills and fields as vegetation. Likewise, vegetation is too narrow an

²⁰⁰ See below, Ch.4, pp.406-12 for a discussion of these collocations.

²⁰¹ El 1270, ChrII 805, GuthB 1282, Ph 150, 257, 508, Pan 48, PPs 101.22, Meno 207.

²⁰² GenA 215, Ph 116, Beo 96.

²⁰³ GenA 215, Ph 257, 274, Pan 48, Beo 96, Meno 207.

interpretation for the "eorþan frætwe" (PPs 101.22) God made at creation since they juxtapose upheofen (PPs 101.22) and for the "londes frætwe" (Ph 150) which the phoenix enjoys in paradise. Although these three instances of frætwe do not refer solely to vegetation, they do refer to natural phenomena. In descriptions of Judgement Day, phrases such as "londes frætwe" do not refer exclusively to natural phenomena; rather, in these instances eorþe, lond and folde may also carry the connotation of "worldly" or "temporal." In his runic "signature" at the end of Christ II, Cynewulf writes that "eorþan frætwe" (ChrII 805) will be destroyed by flood, and frætwe (ChrII 807) by fire. But these frætwe are not only the wongas (ChrII 810), natural features, but also burgstede (ChrII 811) and hoarded ealdgestreon (ChrII 812). Similarly also in Cynewulf's runic "signature" to Elene and in the second part of The Phoenix, in which the allegory is explained, worldly treasure or ornament can be read as easily as natural phenomena.²⁰⁴

As well as these four just discussed, a further two instances of frætwe are destroyed on Judgement Day.²⁰⁵ In his runic "signature" to The Fates of the Apostles, Cynewulf meditates on his own transience as well as that of the world, and seeks the prayers of his readers. He writes that at the Last Judgement:

²⁰⁴ El 1270 and Ph 508.

²⁰⁵ Graham Caie suggests Isaiah 3:18-26 "In that day, the Lord will take away the ornaments of shoes, and little moons; And chains, and necklaces, and bracelets, and bonnets:..." as a possible sources for the destruction of frætwe on Judgment Day. Caie 1976, p.168.

1 on eðle, þ sceal gedreosan,
 læne lices frætwa. æfter tohreosan
 (FAp 100-02)

"Lices frætwe" replaces the "landes frætwe" (El 1270) of the Elene runic "signature" and the "eorpan frætwe" (ChrII 805) of the Christ II runic "signature." It is difficult to know whether "lices frætwe" refers metaphorically to the body or literally to ornaments such as jewelry worn on a person's body. In Christ III, the fires of Judgement Day destroy goldfrætwe (ChrIII 995), the only appearance of frætwe in a compound word in Old English verse:

Seopeð swearta leg synne on fordonum,
and goldfrætwe gleda forswelgað,
eall ærgestreon eþelcyninga.
(ChrIII 994-96)

In a total of six instances, or 10% of the time, frætwe are destroyed on Judgement Day.²⁰⁶ Frætwan also occurs in the context of Judgement Day on four occasions, or in 13% of its appearances.²⁰⁷ The association is broader than simply the destruction of ornamentation. For example, after burning on the pyre, the phoenix wraps the "fægre gefrætwed" (Ph 274) remnants of his body in herbs; in the significatio section, the pyre is identified with the fires of Judgement Day (Ph

²⁰⁶ This last instance stands out from the other frætwe destroyed at the Last Judgment because it can refer only to literal treasure. In the four instances when "londes frætwe" (or a similar phrase) were destroyed on Judgment Day, frætwe was used metaphorically to denote features of the earth as well as man made phenomena such as cities. The homogeneity of the other 5 instances of frætwe destroyed on Judgment Day is not, however, surprising. 4 of the 5 appear in Cynewulf "signatures" and one appears in The Phoenix which has been attributed to a Cynewulf school.

²⁰⁷ Ph 274, 585, JDI 92, JDII 277.

518-34). In Judgement Day I God "þone sele frætweð" (JDI 92) to which the saved are invited in heaven. These four instances of frætwan and the six of frætwe associated with Judgement Day account for 11% of the appearances of the two words.

The connection of frætwe to paradise and creation should be underscored as well as the connection to Judgement Day. As we have already seen, The Phoenix poet used frætwe four times in connection with the natural phenomena of paradise.²⁰⁸ This association is not limited to The Phoenix. Psalm 101 describes how at creation, God made ornaments or treasures for the earth. The versifier of The Paris Psalter writes:

Æt fruman þu, drihten, geworhtest
 eorpan frætwe and upheofen;
 þæt is heahgeweorc handa þinra.
 (PPs 101.22)

In The Paris Psalter the image of treasure or ornament is amplified when the versifier refers to creation as the heahgeweorc -- geweorc and its compounds are often used to describe treasure.²⁰⁹ These five instances represent 8%

²⁰⁸ Ph 73, 150, 200, 257.

²⁰⁹ Although ornatus in The Vulgate version of The Book of Genesis describes creation in general and not just its vegetation, it is almost certainly the source of the Genesis A appearance of frætwan in the creation story, and possibly also the more general association of frætwe with Creation. The Vulgate describes the completion of Creation: "Igitur perfecti sunt caeli et terra et omnis ornatus eorum." which the Old English Heptatuch translates as "Eornostlice ða wæron fulfremode heofonas 7 eorðe 7 eall heora frætewung" (Genesis 2.1) (Crawford 1922, p.85 and Klaeber 1911-1912, p.115). Cook notes the lexical parallel between the "eorpan frætwe" (ChrII 805) destroyed on Judgement Day and the Old English Genesis but he does not draw attention to the context of Creation (Cook 1900, p.164, note to l.805).

of the appearances of frætwe. Similar language, involving frætwan rather than frætwe, is associated with creation in both Beowulf and Genesis A. The Beowulf poet writes that at creation, God: "gefrætweade foldan sceatas / leomum ond leafum" (Beo 96-97) and the poet of Genesis A writes that after creating the earth and the heavens, God looked down on creation and saw that "wæstmum stod / folde gefrætwod" (GenA 214-15). These two instances represent 6% of the 31 occurrences of frætwan and the 7 instances of frætwe and frætwan account for 8% of all 90 of their occurrences.

Transience is commonly associated with treasure words, in particular with gestreon; it is interesting to note that with respect to frætwe the theme of transience only appears in the context of the Last Judgement. Hence the six instances of frætwe associated with Judgement Day correspond to the six instances of frætwe (10%) associated with transience. This figure compares most closely with that for maðm and transience -- 6%. There are, however, some similarities in the handling of transient frætwe and the handling of transient gestreon. Similarly to frætwe, gestreon was frequently associated with the world or the earth and that association overlapped with the use of gestreon in the theme of transience.²¹⁰ Furthermore, as with frætwe, Old English poets did not restrict their use of the connection of gestreon with the earth or world to negative portrayals of treasure, but also used phrases such as woruldgestreon (Ph 255) to describe the bounty of the

²¹⁰ See above, Ch.3, pp.128-30.

earth's plants and flowers.²¹¹ The one instance of frætwan associated with transience occurs in the secular context of The Ruin, when the poet describes how formerly a man who "gleoma gefrætweð" (Ruin 33) used to look on treasure and the city. These seven instances of frætwe and frætwan account for 8% of the appearances of the two words.

The soul is described metaphorically as a frætwe in four instances, representing 7% of the occurrences of frætwe.²¹² While this does not represent a particularly high portion of the appearances of frætwe, the use of a treasure word for the soul is not limited to frætwe. The soul was repeatedly associated with hord. The poet of Christ III may twice use frætwe to describe the soul. The first instance of such a reading is clear; the "weoroda mæst" (ChrIII 1069):

berað breosta hord fore bearn godes,
feores frætwe. Wile fader eahtan
hu gesunde suna sawle bringen
of þam eðle þe he on lifdon.
(ChrIII 1072-75)

Later, the soul, good works or thoughts are all tenable translations for frætwe:

þonne þa gecorenan fore Crist berað
beorhte frætwe.
(ChrIII 1634-35)

In Guthlac B, despite the weeping of Guthlac's servant, the "deore frætwe" (GuthB 1059), which varies feorg (GuthB 1058), cannot remain in the saint's body any longer than fate ordains; here frætwe could denote either the soul or

²¹¹ See above, Ch.3, p.125.

²¹² ChrIII 1073, 1635, GuthB 1059, Ph 610.

simply life. In a related instance, the souls and the bodies of the righteous, united in heaven after the Last Judgement, are not described as frætwe but are said to be covered with frætwwm (Ph 610). The last instance of frætwe has more in common with some of the four appearances of the verb frætwan when applied to the soul. The soul which returns to praise the body in Soul and Body I is said to be "fægere gefrætewod" (SBI 137); similarly the poet of The Phoenix describes how after death "somod sipiaþ sawla mid lice, fægere gefrætwed" (Ph 585) to heaven. The notions that the souls of just men are ornamented with good thoughts (GuthA 807) and that the pilgrim must frætwan himself "on ferðweg" and "gæst gearwian" (Rsq 72-74) may be related to these beautiful souls of heaven. In two further instances "fægere gefrætwed" is applied to men in heaven with no distinction made between body and soul (XSt 307, JDII 277). The four instances of frætwan and the four of frætwe associated with the soul account for 9% of the appearances of the two words.

The themes and contexts just considered use frætwe (though not exclusively) metaphorically. The bulk of these themes and contexts, frætwe of the earth, Judgement Day, paradise, transience, and the soul, were religious and included frætwe portrayed in both a positive and negative light. Religious poems account for 39, or 66%, of the occurrences of frætwe.²¹³ This figure is almost identical

²¹³ GenB 443, GenA 2130, 2190, 2830, Dan 66, 710, And 337, FAP 102, El 88, 1270, ChrII 507, 522, 556, 805, 807, ChrIII 995, 1073, 1635, GuthB 1059, 1282, Ph 73, 95, 150, 200, 257,

to that of gestreon (63%) and significantly higher than those for sinc (47%), hord (47%), and maðm (25%). Of the 39 religious occurrences, at least 23 (59% of religious poem appearances and 39% of all occurrences) appear in religious contexts.²¹⁴

There are 23 (39%) instances of frætwe which can possibly be read metaphorically.²¹⁵ This figure is virtually identical to that for hord (47%) and widely different from that for gestreon (6-14%), maðm (3%), and sinc (1%). When the verb frætwan is also considered, a further 11 instances are definitely metaphorical (and possibly 15, given the four which could be either metaphorical or literal) and hence 38% (and possibly as many as 42%) of the combined appearances of the noun and verb are metaphorical -- figures which do not diverge significantly from those for frætwe alone.²¹⁶ The pattern of these metaphorical appearances also has much in common with that found for hord, and the correspondence of religious and metaphorical occurrences becomes even tighter with frætwe.

309, 330, 335, 508, 610, Jul 118, 564, Pan 29, 48, Rim 38, Rid40 46, PPs 101.22, 143.15, Th 2.

²¹⁴ Dan 710, XSt 307, And 337, FAP 102, El 88, 1270, ChrII 507, 522, 556, 805, 807, ChrIII 995, 1073, 1635, GuthB 1059, Ph 73, 95, 330, 508, 585, 610, Jul 564, PPs 101.22. See also GuthB 1282, Ph 335, Pan 29, 48, and Th 2 which might be considered as occurring in religious contexts.

²¹⁵ FAP 102, El 1270, ChrII 805, 807, ChrIII 1073, 1635, GuthB 1059, 1282, Ph 73, 95, 150, 200, 257, 309, 330, 335, 508, Pan 29, 48, Rid7 6, Rid13 10, PPs 101.22, Meno 207.

²¹⁶ GenA 215, XSt 307, And 1518, SBI 137, El 742, GuthA 806, Ph 116, 239, 274, 585, Rid31 20, JDI 92, Rsq 72, Beo 96, JDI 277.

of its 23 metaphorical appearances, 21 (91%) occur in religious poems.²¹⁷ Of these 21, 12, or 57%, appear in religious contexts as well as in religious poems.²¹⁸ There remain only two instances of metaphorical uses which do not occur in a religious poem; both of these appear in The Riddles which are fond of metaphoric language. Of the 11 certainly metaphorical appearances of frætwan, all occur in religious contexts even in Beowulf where the word occurs in the "Song of Creation."²¹⁹ Of the four which could be either literal or metaphorical, three occur in a religious context and one in The Riddles.²²⁰

VII. Conclusion

The foregoing study has identified five Old English words which may be translated by the Modern English word "treasure:" maðm, hord, gestreon, sinc and frætwe. A consideration of these words has highlighted the complexity of the concept of treasure in Anglo-Saxon England. Each word is etymologically distinct and has a broader semantic field than our word treasure, overlapping and shading into other concepts, such as wealth, possession and ornament, which Modern English denotes with separate words. Close

²¹⁷ FAp 102, El 1270, ChrII 805, 807, ChrIII 1073, 1635, GuthB 1059, 1282, Ph 73, 95, 150, 200, 257, 309, 330, 335, 508, Pan 29, 48, PPs 101.22, Meno 207.

²¹⁸ FAp 102, El 1270, ChrII 805, 807, ChrIII 1073, 1635, GuthB 1059, Ph 73, 95, 330, 508, PPs 101.22.

²¹⁹ GenA 215, And 1518, SBI 137, El 742, GuthA 806, Rsg 72, Ph 116, 239, 274, 585, Beo 96.

²²⁰ XSt 307, Rid31 20, JDI 92, JDII 277.

consideration of these five words for treasure reveals that they do not form a group of interchangeable synonyms.

The differences in meaning among the words are mirrored in their different patterns of usage. In the majority of their occurrences, each of the treasure words appear to be repeatedly associated with specific themes and contexts. Some of these themes and contexts are common to all five words, and no one word is associated with such themes and contexts significantly more than the others. For example, maðm (7%), hord (8%), gestreon (5%), sinc (5%) and frætwe (5%) can all be plundered. However, some themes and contexts are linked with one, two or perhaps three treasure words either exclusively or with a far greater frequency than with the other words. These themes and contexts account for the majority of the appearances of the five treasure words. Transience is most often connected with gestreon. Similarly, treasure giving is particularly associated with maðm and sinc, and guarding and kingship with hord. Ornamentation is connected with frætwe, and sinc. Often these connections to themes and contexts are a function of the different semantic fields of the individual words. The meaning of hord not just as treasure but as a repository for treasure, suggests that it is more likely to be guarded and the meaning of frætwe as ornament no doubt explains its association with decoration. But the connections of gestreon and frætwe with transience, of hord with kingship, of sinc with decoration, and of maðm and sinc with treasure-giving are less obviously attributable to

meaning. In these areas usage is more complex than simply a function of meaning.

Similarly, a look at religious and metaphorical uses of these six words for treasure underscores their different usages. Appearances in religious poems range from 66% for frætwe to 25% for maðm. Appearances in religious contexts vary in a similar fashion, from 39% for frætwe to 10% for maðm. The difference in figures for metaphorical occurrences is even wider. Maðm and sinc are both used metaphorically in less than 3% of their appearances (and in all these metaphoric instances, the words appear as the first and limiting element in a compound), while frætwe and hord are used metaphorically at least 39% and 40% of the time, respectively. The great majority of metaphoric occurrences are in religious poems. Those that are not in religious poems are usually found in riddles where the poets cleverly twist the literal and metaphorical meanings of the words into paradoxes which hide the solutions. Very few metaphorical uses appear in secular poems. However, it is not a question of a simple correlation between religious and metaphorical instances of a word. A high number of metaphorical uses does not necessarily follow from a high number of religious appearances. Frætwe and gestreon appear in religious verse 66% and 63% of the time respectively, but while frætwe appears as a metaphor in 39% of its occurrences, gestreon does so in only 6%-14% of its occurrences.

The preceding chapter has drawn attention to the different semantic fields of five words for treasure which appear in Old English verse. It has also brought to light a number of patterns of usage. The fact that semantic fields overlap and some themes and contexts are common to all or some of the words for treasure suggests there was scope for using them interchangeably to fulfill the alliteration and meter. The bulk of the evidence in this chapter, however, points towards the primacy of meaning over the requirements of verse form as an influence on a poet's choice of a particular word in a particular situation. The study of referents, themes and contexts also forms a necessary corollary to a study of collocation since if any understanding of the nature of Old English poetics is to be reached, meaning cannot be ignored.

Chapter Four
The Collocations of Words for Treasure
in Old English Verse

I. Introduction

While past studies of collocation have suffered from several limitations -- reliance on intuition about what words usually collocated, the restriction to a single poem, or group of poems, dependence on a particular critical assumption about poetic technique ¹ it is possible to set up a study of collocation differently. I have chosen to define collocation very broadly as the tendency of words to appear together, and will consider as a collocation any two or more words which appear together more than once. Further, I will consider collocations which occur from those as close together as the elements of a compound word, to those which occur as widely separated as the first and last words of a verse paragraph. Collocations defined by repetition are more easily proven than those defined by fulfilled expectation. (as Quirk and his followers did) However, a high degree of uncertainty will remain, owing to the small volume of Old English poetry which has survived.

Collocation, when defined in terms of repetition, is related both to the notion of formulaic diction and to the techniques of deliberate verbal repetition. So defined, collocation includes stylistic features² which have been considered, negatively, as constraints and restrictions on

¹ See above, Ch.1, pp.45-9.

² For example, the need to create compound words, formulas, Parallelstellen.

the freedom of the Old English poet, as well as other stylistic features³ which have been considered, positively, as evidence of the rhetorical skill, the poetic art even, of the Old English poet. Collocation, manifested especially in alliterative pairs, is itself a feature of Old English poetry. The fact that collocation includes both types of stylistic features is of particular importance to the question of the conventionality and originality of Old English verse. Hence, the study of collocation will provide a particularly useful perspective from which to address questions of the relationship between the formulaic and literary natures of the poetry.

The restriction of the study of collocation to the five words for treasure considered in the last chapter is in part practical -- examining all the words which appear in Old English poetry is obviously impossible, but also these five words appear across the corpus of Old English verse and thus I will be able to consider a wide variety of poems. An assessment of how collocation is handled in such a range of poems may provide insight into techniques of verse composition and the conventionality and originality of individual poems. More importantly, by limiting the study of collocation to these treasure words, I will be able to draw on the material in Chapter Two and Chapter Three to integrate the study of style and semantics, taking into account not only such semantic aspects as fields, but also

For example, the ability to create compound words, word play, verse paragraphs.

of nuance, connotation and association with particular contexts.

Originally, I had intended to define the range within which I would look for collocations in terms of numbers of lines, probably within ten lines to either side of the treasure word in question. I envisaged carrying this out using the Old English corpus in the Oxford Text Archive as a database and the Oxford Concordance Program to search this database. It became evident, however, that the limitations of the software made its use for any large scale search for collocations unworkable. First, it could only search for one variant spelling of a word at a time, although a wild card character could be used for most inflectional endings. This meant that for example, maðm had to be searched as maðm*, maþm*, maððum, maþþum, maþðum, maðþum, madm* and maddum. If one were looking for its collocation with a word such as frætwe which had itself a number of variant spellings, a related verb and another related noun, the process was extremely time consuming since frætwe had to be searched as frætw*, frætew*, frætu*, gefrætw* and gefrætew*. The computer had to be asked to find:

maðm* and frætw*
maðm* and frætew*
maðm* and gefrætw*
maðm* and gefrætew*

maþm* and frætw*
maþm* and frætew*
maþm* and gefrætw*
maþm* and gefrætew*

maððum and frætw*
maððum and frætew*
maððum and gefrætw*
maððum and gefrætew*

mabbum and frætw*
mabbum and frætew*
mabbum and gefrætw*
mabbum and gefrætew*

maðpum and frætw*
maðpum and frætew*
maðpum and gefrætw*
maðpum and gefrætew*

mabðum and frætw*
mabðum and frætew*
mabðum and gefrætw*
mabðum and gefrætew*

madm* and frætw*
madm* and frætew*
madm* and gefrætw*
madm* and gefrætew*

maddum and frætw*
maddum and frætew*
maddum and gefrætw*
maddum and gefrætew*

Such a method also relied on my knowing and catching every spelling variant, and taking into account every inflectional ending. A further difficulty arose because the computer could only retain the term maðm (or any of its variants) for two searches. That is, following the above list of maðm and frætwe collocations, after I had asked the computer if maðm* collocated with frætw* and frætew*, maðm had to be entered again, and I had to wait while the computer again found every instance of maðm*. More problematic still, no wildcard character could be used as the first element in a term; for example, the computer could not search for *maðm. Hence all compounds with a term for treasure as their second element such as ofermaðm had to be searched for separately as ofermaðm*, ofermapm*, ofermabbum, ofermaððum, ofermapðum, ofermaðpum, ofermadm* and ofermaððum. The use of the

database and software available in Oxford thus proved prohibitively inefficient.

The database and software used at the Dictionary of Old English at the University of Toronto was a much more practical tool for making the kind of search outlined above. For example, to carry out the above search for the collocation of maðm and frætwe, all the variant spellings of maðm could be entered, in one step, as: `ma(\*\*|dd|\*|d)u?m` and all the variant spellings of frætwe, in a second step, as: `fr(\$|e)tt?e?w\u.`⁴ The computer was able to search for these terms even if they were preceded by ge or they were the second element of a compound. The computer could then be asked for all the instances when any member of either of these terms appeared together; this proved to be much faster than using the Oxford database and software. There was, however, a major disadvantage. Given the nature of the Dictionary of Old English database, the range within which a collocation could be search^{ed} for could not be specified in terms of numbers of lines but was restricted to within the space of a sentence as edited in The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Record (hereafter ASPR).

The more time I spent with these two computer systems, the more it became clear that there were problems more fundamental than inefficiency or limited range in using them to find collocations. Instead of my telling the computer

⁴ * = ð or þ
 \\$ = æ
 | = or
 ? = preceding letter may or may not be there.

which collocations to look for, which assumed that I knew all the terms which collocated with any particular word for treasure, I needed a computer which could generate a list of words which collocated with each term for treasure, and which indicated the frequency of the collocation and the location of each instance.

It quickly became evident that the most feasible way for me to generate such a list was to resort to slips of paper. The method adopted was to use the Toronto database and software to search for each instance of all six of the treasure words. The computer displayed the entire ASPR sentence for each occurrence of a treasure word. I then copied each word from each sentence onto a separate slip of paper (along with its location). After I did this for each instance of maðm (including variant spellings and compounds), I sorted out the slips of paper, grouping together etymologically related nouns, adjectives, adverbs and verbs, to create a list of all the words with which maðm collocated; this list indicated both frequency and location. I excluded such words as particle^s, pronouns, prepositions, conjunctions, many of which seldom carry stress and which would be of greater interest to a study concerned to discuss the style of Old English verse in terms of syntax or meter rather than diction. Then, using the ASPR, I recorded the context, both lexical and thematic, of each occurrence of each collocation. The same procedure was followed for each of the remaining four words for treasure.

The limiting of the search for collocations to ASPR sentences was necessitated by a number of practical considerations. It permitted the efficient searching of the corpus for treasure-words since either the Toronto database or Microfiche Concordance could be used. Once the collocations had been identified, it allowed for the use of the computer to double check these figures. In terms of the time-scale and page-limit of a D.Phil thesis, it became clear that the preferred range, of within ten lines on either side of a treasure-word, would produce more collocations than could be reasonably and thoroughly considered. In cases where an ASPR sentence began with or ended at the caesura, I included the full metrical line so as not to exclude alliterative pairs or possible full-line formulas.

There is, of course, a glaring drawback to using the ASPR sentence as a starting point. It is a changeable and inaccurate unit -- one editor's full stop is another editor's semi-colon. Critics have become increasingly aware that the sense unit of Old English verse is not the modern sentence but something more akin to the modern paragraph.⁵ The method used to find the collocations may thus be especially insensitive to the ways Anglo-Saxon poets signalled the beginnings and ends of sense units, such as verse paragraphs, which would certainly be of relevance to this study. Although this limitation of range to the sentence will skew the findings and make this study perhaps

⁵ Mitchell 1980.

more suggestive than conclusive, it will still allow for the examination of the relationship between such features as deliberate verbal repetition, echo-words, formulas and Parallelstellen, all of which are defined by lexical repetition and which are the focus of this study.

After having identified the collocations and noted their contexts, the next step was to distinguish which collocations I would discuss in full, and which I would use as the background against which to carry out this discussion. The vast majority of collocations which attracted attention involved nouns and adjectives and only occasionally verbs, which merely reflects the fact that nouns and adjectives always carry primary stress and verbs are subordinate.⁶ Collocations with a high frequency obviously attracted attention. In many cases these frequent collocations were associated with very static or definite lexical, contextual or thematic conventions. But in other cases, a frequent collocation was basically self-explanatory on semantic grounds and called for little in the way of further discussion. Into such a category fell collocations with 1) such widespread and semantically light words as ænig, fela, sel, heah, and lang, 2) with verbs, especially common verbs like cuman and agan, and 3) with some common nouns often with broad semantic fields such as mod and its derivatives. Subject matter too could account for many frequent collocations; for example, words denoting members of a Germanic aristocracy and describing warfare, often

⁶ Godden 1992, p.493.

collocated with words for treasure. Variation, enumeration and apposition accounted for many of the collocations of treasure words with each other, most of which rarely appeared in formulaic or conventional expression or in passages of rhetorical note. Such collocations offer insight into the style of Old English verse but call for little further discussion on an individual basis. In contrast, come collocations with a low frequency stood out. They may have created, or have been part of, a formula, or ~~have~~ appear^{ed} as part of a larger collocation of multiple repetitions (Parallelstelle). Some collocations were rare yet associated with only very specific contexts. Special attention has been given to alliterating collocations which would be useful in fulfilling the requirements for alliteration, so often considered a force for the commonplace and formulaic in Old English verse.

Whether frequent or rare, the collocations most likely to be singled out were those attached to some sort of lexical or thematic or contextual convention. Since the surviving corpus of verse, from which so much is presumed to have been lost, is small, an infrequent number of collocations is not a reliable indicator of originality. It seems more realistic to discuss originality in terms of a deviation from or manipulation of conventionality.

After having identified which collocations merited further study, I then examined them and the passages in which they occurred more closely, to consider the semantic influences on their collocations and the participation of

one or both collocates in such features as compounds, formulas, alliterative pairs, Parallelstellen, verbal repetitions and various types of wordplay. While formulas and formulaic systems (once definitions have been decided on), alliterative pairs and Parallelstellen either exist or not, the identification of instances of such features of Old English verse as wordplay and the distinguishing of rhetorical repetition from the merely repetitious, requires the exercise of judgement and the constant questioning of whether one is reading into a passage what is not there. For example, the poets appear to use the formula "wordhord onleac" and the related phrase "wordhord onwreoh" with little or no sense of their etymological link to treasure. The perhaps overly attentive critic can find examples of wordplay in Andreas and Widsith. The lines:

Ða him Andreas ðurh ondsware,
 wis on gewitte, wordhord onleac
 (And 315-16)

apply to Andreas trying to persuade Christ, disguised as an unhelpful sailor, to offer him a free passage to Mermedonia. Andreas tells the seaman that he has "beaga lyt, / sincweorðunga" (And 271-72) with which to pay for his passage. The sailor asks the apostle how he expects to undertake such a journey "maðmum bedæled" (And 309). Then the introductory lines just quoted precede Andreas' comment that:

Ne gedafenað þe, nu þe dryhten geaf
welan ond wiste ond woruldspede,
ðæt ðu ondsware mid oferhygdum,
sece sarcwide.

(And 317-20)

In these circumstances, we could read Andreas' wordhord as pointing up the contrast between his poverty and not only the payment which the sailor demands, but also the sailor's presumed wealth. Later in the same poem, the devil is said to "hordlocan onspeon" (And 671) a phrase which introduces his speech insulting Andreas' belief in Christ. The insults include a possible reference to Christ's poverty describing him as "eadiges orhlytte" (And 680), although eadig does not necessarily denote anything material here. Such a reading is very strained, and likewise, in light of the frequency of the association, in Andreas, of hord with speaking,⁷ without the remotest hint of playing on the notion, even the first instance seems strained as well.

Similar circumstances present themselves in Widsith, whose opening line reads: "Widsið maðolade, wordhord onleac" (Wid 1). This line invites various interpretations. Firstly, the poet could be setting up a pun on the source of wealth; a point which his comment "oft he on flette gepah / mynelice mappum" (Wid 3-4), as well as his mention of rewards received in courts across time and the Germanic world, might indicate. The poet's choice of the name Widsith shows he had an eye for a pun. Yet here too, wordhord could have been prompted by the literal treasure following it. Indeed, none of these possibilities is really mutually exclusive and a combination of factors could be said to have ^finfluenced this poet's choice of words in a given context.

⁷ And 167, 315, 601, 669.

These examples bring into sharper focus the issue of our ability to discern the poet's intention, mentioned earlier as an unreliable ground on which to identify expected and unexpected collocations.⁸ On the first level, the question is one of whether we can distinguish repetitiousness from verbal repetition for rhetorical effect, chance from clever wordplay. Chance, especially with such a small corpus, constantly dogs our efforts, as does our distance from the verse and lack of knowledge about modes of composition. It is difficult to know when we are reading a text and when we are reading into a text. This is further complicated since different poets would have had different abilities and what we might see as unconscious repetitiousness was in fact a deliberate -- albeit clumsy and flat -- verbal repetition by a poor poet. The fact that convention can be so strong in Old English verse means that it is often difficult to distinguish between deliberate verbal repetition and similar circumstances calling up similar language. But the problem is in fact more subtle. Even when a passage of verbal repetition seems to have an evident and patently deliberate rhetorical effect, we still cannot be sure if it was part of the conscious rhetorical design of the poet. An excellent poet can create a rhetorical effect, recall an image, etc. without doing so intentionally. Hence, while I will not give up making comments that "x" use of a convention, "y" instance of wordplay or "z" case of repetition contributes to the

⁸ See above, Ch.1, p.46.

thematic or rhetorical design of a poem, I will avoid attributing them to the conscious plan of a poet. This has some ramification for terminology; in particular I will replace the more common expression "deliberate verbal repetition" with "rhetorical verbal repetition."

The preceding discussion of methodology and approach make it obvious that this study of collocation makes no pretence to offer an objective way to analyze the style of Old English verse. Rather, it treats collocation as a literary critical tool for finding those features of the verse which might shed light on its conventionality and/or originality. Subjective judgement is exercised in deciding which collocations to examine fully and in the interpretation of the poets' handling of those collocations. This study is determinedly not statistical. Although frequency tables of collocations are a valuable starting point since they suggest what is normal and what is different within the corpus, statistics remain unreliable, since we do not know the degree to which or in what manner, the surviving corpus is representative of the verse of Anglo-Saxon England. Moreover, statistics cannot take into account the semantic and sociological factors involved in a collocation, identify wordplay or interpret verbal repetition. This study does not attempt to negate the aesthetic and literary judgement of the critic but simply to provide a way of exercising that judgement without making a

priori assumptions about the conventionality and originality of Old English verse.⁹

A study of the collocation of a select group of words, in this case words for treasure, does not provide a map or overview of the style of the individual poems which make up the corpus; rather, it compares small parts of poems and ~~various~~ ^{sections} within poems with each other. Occasionally, when the language of treasure is thematically and rhetorically central to a poem, its collocations may offer insight into the overall style and meaning of a poem. But a poem in which treasure-language is incidental or minor will remain peripheral in this study, even though it may be especially relevant to a consideration of style. In effect, a study of the collocations of words for treasure shines a shaft of light through many Old English poems and sets side by side the ways in which they handle the language of treasure.

The following analysis of collocations is divided into five sections, (one for each of the words for treasure

⁹ The approach to the study of collocation discussed in the preceding pages differs from, and is more intuitive than, the more purely statistical approach used by students of linguistics who have generally seen the study of collocation as a way to approach the study of semantics and grammar rather than style (Firth 1951, pp. 194-214, Firth 1957, pp. 179-81, Lyons 1977, vol. 1, pp. 261-65, Palmer 1981, pp. 75-9 and Sinclair 1966). The nature both of my inquiry and of Old English verse point away from such a linguistic approach. The kinds of questions I am posing are essentially stylistic rather than semantic. In verse normal patterns of use cannot be assumed to be more prevalent, and the small corpus of Old English verse, ^{as} already stated, ^{is} of questionable value as a representative sample.

considered), and within each section alphabetically. An overview of the material presented in this chapter will be found the next chapter.

II. The Collocations of Maðm

BEARM and MADM

Bearm and maðm collocate on four occasions, all in Beowulf.¹⁰ The number of collocations is not in itself striking, nor even is the triple collocation of maðm and bearm with forms of licgan and lecgan. Bearm appears ten times in Beowulf.¹¹ Of these nine certain appearances of bearm, eight collocate with some form of treasure either in the arms of a person or in a ship.¹² The frequent, almost exclusive, collocation of bearm with treasure, variously denoted, is largely restricted to Beowulf, outside of which bearm collocates with a possible treasure, a sword, only once.¹³ But on several occasions, notably in Christ and Satan, objects are given into the bearm of someone. The use of bearm to describe the loading of a ship is not entirely limited to Beowulf; in Exodus, seed taken into the ark is

¹⁰ Beo 36, 36, 2190, 2403.

¹¹ This includes bearm at line 21 which is an emendation. The emended appearance at line 21 collocates with treasure, as do the other Beowulf occurrences, but the sense of the lines are somewhat different, referring to a son who is "on fæder bearme" giving treasure.

¹² The remaining Beowulf appearance of bearm describes the earth, which appears in five further instances in Old English verse.

¹³ MxII, 25.

said to be "on bearm scipes" (Ex 375). The collocation is in some cases connected to a formulaic system attested by the half-lines "him on bearme læg" (Beo 40) and "him to bearme cwom" (Beo 2404). The verb licgan, or the similar verbs, alecgan and lecgan, appear with bearm on three occasions.¹⁴ The half-line, "on bearm scipes" (Beo 35, Ex 375) appears to be a formula which is part of the same formulaic system as "on bearm nacan" (Beo 214). The formula is related to the half-line "bær on bearm scipes" (Beo 896) and thus part of a wider convention. The maðm and bearm collocation in Beowulf, although bearm is disproportionately linked to treasure (when compared to its use outside of Beowulf), is, therefore, conventional in language and context and even in some cases formulaic.

The Beowulf poet uses the collocation as part of a smaller passage, notable for its apparent rhetorical verbal repetition, within the lines describing the lavish treasure of Scyld Scefing's funeral. Lines 34-42 focus closely on Scyld and his treasure as it is being loaded onto the boat, and these lines show dense verbal repetition. Within those lines, most of the repetitions apply both to Scyld and to his treasure.

Scyld is placed "on bearm scipes" (Beo 35) while the treasure lies "him [Scyld] on bearme" (Beo 40). The repetitions extend beyond the parallel of Scyld and the treasure. Maðm appears twice with a word describing its abundance -- "madma fela" (Beo 36) are

¹⁴ Beo 40, 2194, SS 433.

taken to the ship and "madma mænigo" (Beo 41) lie on Scyld. The treasure given to Scyld is said to come "of feorwegum" (Beo 37) and that it will "feor gewitan" (Beo 42) with him. The verbal repetition extends, though less densely, throughout the entire section (Beo 26-50) depicting Scyld's funeral. Again, most notable are those applied to both Scyld and the treasure. Scyld is a beoden (Beo 34), lord of the nation, and his treasure is beodgestreon (Beo 44), national treasure. In the opening lines of the section Scyld departed, gewat (Beo 26), while further on, the treasure gewitan (Beo 42) with Scyld. The adjective fela denotes both Scyld "fela hrór" (Beo 27) and, as noted, the treasure (Beo 36). Several other repetitions mark the passage; the verb beran describes both Scyld's companions taking him to the boat (ætbaron Beo 28) and the sea taking the boat (beran Beo 48). Feran (Beo 27), applied to the movements of Scyld, is echoed by the related noun fær (Beo 33) applied to the ship carrying Scyld away.

These verbal repetitions exhibit a density which suggests rhetorical effect but it is worth probing further to see if they contribute to the structure or meaning of the lines. Although the repetitions do serve to focus attention on the treasure, they are more sophisticated than simply a reflection of an uncontrolled enthusiasm for the description of treasure. The majority of the verbal repetitions in lines 26-50 draw a link between Scyld and his treasure. Given the centrality of treasure to the authority of kings in Anglo-Saxon England, especially in the early period, and

its often positive moral connotations, this parallel draws attention to the power and worth of Scyld. The verbal repetitions also participate in a larger structural pattern. The repetitions of bearm, feor, madma, and manig/fela pivot around two and a half-lines of text (Beo 38a-41a) introduced by the expression "ne hyrde ic" and followed by a detailed listing of the treasure which previously and subsequently is denoted by more general terms such as maðm, frætwe, and gestreon. These lines, occurring exactly half-way through the passage (Beo 26-52) devoted to Scyld's funeral, function as an ornamental inset in a larger passage which stops to enjoy the treasure. But these lines are not static, they also mark a transition in the passage from a concentration on Scyld, with his body being brought to the ship as he commanded when alive, to a concentration on the treasure, with its detailed description, and the observation that it was not less than the treasure provided to Scyld when he was sent forth on a boat as a child. The use of peod (Beo 44) to denote the gestreon of Scyld's childhood journey, echoing the reference to Scyld as peoden (Beo 34), further incorporates the flashback to Scyld's youth, already relevant because it is about treasure, into the passage as a whole. The relationships just outlined, especially the tight unity and balance of lines 34a-42b, become sharper when modern punctuation, which tends to split up the parallel units created by the repetition of key words, is removed. Both Klaeber and Dobbie place a full stop at the caesura of line 36 which, although supported by the syntax

of the lines, separates the first and second occurrences of "on bearme" and maðm and thus detract from the cohesion and symmetry of the lines.¹⁵

The rhetorical verbal repetition of this passage serves a number of ends, involving both the structure and meaning of the passage. At the center of this repetition lies the conventional collocation of bearm and maðm, which includes the formulaic expression ^{preposition +} "bearm scipes", and points to an example of the convergence of artistry with convention, which suggests that formulaic language can be used not just to fulfill the alliterative and metrical requirements of the line, but as part of a larger and rhetorical pattern. The nature of the collocation of bearm and maðm, which is limited to Beowulf, may simply reflect the small size of the corpus of Anglo-Saxon verse or it could point to the ability of individual poets to establish their own conventions to be used either rhetorically or as an aid to verse composition.

BENC and MADM

Four passages in Beowulf share the collocation of maðm, benc and sellan; and in these passages benc compounds twice with ealo and twice with meadu.¹⁶ The semantic root of the collocation lies in the hall and bench as the location of gift-giving. Some parts of the collocation fulfill the requirements for even the strictest definition of a formula. The phrase "on meodubence" which appears at Beowulf line

¹⁵ Klaeber 1936, p.2 and Dobbie 1953, p.4.

¹⁶ Beo 1027, 1050, 1900, 2862.

1902, also occurs, apart from the collocation of maðm and benc, in The Fortunes of Man (Fort 48). But related to this formula, which is defined by exact lexical repetition and is, of course, metrically identical, is the half-line "in ealobence," which also scans alike.¹⁷ The syntactically ordinary and expected combination of on and meodubenc appears more widely than as just a formulaic half-line. Besides the three already discussed, three other instances of the nine total occurrences of ealo/meadobenc in Old English verse include the preposition on or in. The substitution of ealo, on two occasions, for the more common meodu, produces a classic example of the way Anglo-Saxon poets used the device of compounding to fulfill the alliterative requirements of the line. Indeed, a glance at the surrounding lines reveals no evidence to suggest that anything but alliteration determined the selection of ealo over meodu.

The collocation has other features, which, though conventional, cannot be linked to the demands of the verse form. The collocation of maðm and ealo/meodubenc does not occur with any verb other than sellan, despite the Beowulf poet's use of a wide variety of verbs to express the giving of treasure.¹⁸ Further verbal parallels link three of the occurrences of the triple collocation, with lines 1050ff.

¹⁷ Some definitions of formula would extend to include "in ealobence" with "on meodubence."

¹⁸ In two cases (Beo 1900 and 2862) sellan takes maðm as its direct object while in the other cases maðm and the direct objects of sellan have the same referent.

and 1900ff. the most nearly identical. In both cases, benc combines with meodu and the resulting compound alliterates and appears in the same line with maðm. Moreover, in both cases, yrfelaf varies, and occurs immediately after, maðm as the first element on the next line. Although its components are common enough in Beowulf, the compound yrfelaf occurs only in these two passages and the presence of yrfelaf is driven not by verse form but by variation. The formula "mearum and maðmum" also appears in connection with the maðm, benc, sellan and yrfelaf collocation. Immediately before this account of the giving of gifts to Beowulf's companions at lines 1050ff., the poet sums up the gifts Beowulf himself has just received with the formula "mearum and madmum" (Beo 1048). Three lines separate this half-line formula from the collocation meodubenc, maðm, sellan and yrfelaf. Almost nine hundred lines later the poet uses "mearum and maðmum" (Beo 1898) in his description of the loading of Beowulf's treasure onto his ship; two lines later the collocation of meodubenc, maðm, sellan and yrfelaf again appears, as the poet's attention switches to the golden sword Beowulf gives to the boat guard. This collocation of eight words, maðm (two times), benc, sellan, yrfelaf, mearh and meodu occurs in two similar passages where there has been a move from one instance of treasure to another. However, to argue that the poet tried to create a direct correspondence between the two passages and used style to do this seems far-fetched, since, it implies that the poet could rely on his audience to pick up verbal repetitions,

admittedly close ones, separated by some 900 lines. Even if we posit an audience which reads rather than listens to the text, these two passages were found by using a computer and slips of paper, not through a close reading of the text. Perhaps more progress can be made by focusing on the immediate contexts of these Parallelstellen, in which we see a summing up of one man's gift of treasure and the turning to another man's (or men's) gift of treasure. The Parallelstellen, which include a formula and an alliterative pair, seem best understood as the result of the poet using similar language in similar circumstances.

While the reappearance of the eight member collocation at lines 1050ff. and 1900ff. appears to be without rhetorical effect, a comparison of appearances of the meodu/ealobenc, maðm, and sellan collocation at lines 1027ff. and 1050ff. where it recurs within twenty-five lines, shows the Beowulf poet using the collocation as a part of a rhetorical verbal repetition. At lines 1027ff. the collocation describes the gifts given by Hrothgar to Beowulf, and at lines 1050ff. Hrothgar's gifts to Beowulf's men. The passage (Beo 1020-1054) narrating the gift-giving after the defeat of Grendel is long, and may strike the modern reader as a typical example of Anglo-Saxon enthusiasm for treasure and gift-giving -- long winded, with occasional repetitions caused simply by the sustained description of treasure, and driven largely by variation and enumeration. Indeed, the repeated collocation may appear clumsy in this context, as if the poet could not think of another way to

say the same thing, but it remains possible to interpret the repetition as functioning structurally by helping to hold together a long passage of gift-giving. The Beowulf poet, although here without any great felicity, uses conventional language in the maðm, benc and sellan collocation, not just to get from half-line to half-line within the confines of alliteration and meter, but with an eye to a larger rhetorical unit, and this is part of the ordinary, work-a-day, style of the poem rather than a virtuoso section in which the poet has temporarily pulled out all the stops.

By contrast, the collocation of maðm, benc and sellan also appears in the opening lines of Wiglaf's rebuke, among the most poignant and memorable lines of the poem. The passage shows very little lexical repetition but the poet exhibits his rhetorical control otherwise, for example ending the passage with a generalizing gnomic statement. Much of the strength of these lines lies in the bringing together of such traditional images as the hall, treasure-giving, homeland and bonds of loyalty to emphasize the comitatus' rejection of the values of the heroic code in their betrayal of Beowulf. The poet's use of highly conventional language to describe the treasure-giving fits in well with this by implicitly linking the treasure-giving which took place between Beowulf and his men to a wider set of behavioral norms -- the so called heroic code -- making it clear that all understood the obligations and expectations incumbent upon Beowulf's gifts. This interpretation is more realistic than attempting to argue

that such widely separated verbal repetitions in Beowulf as the four instances of maðm, benc, and sellan are a conscious structural device. The collocation adds power to Wiglaf's speech when interpreted as an apt application of conventional language which contributes to the sense that the heroic code has a broader currency than simply Beowulf. The possibility exists as well that the Beowulf poet uses conventional language to create the illusion that the heroic code had such a currency.

BEORHT and MADM

Maðm and beorht collocate with each other on six occasions and, although on only one occasion does the beorht modify the maðm, the collocation is significant with regard to rhetorical verbal repetition.¹⁹ Half of the instances of this collocation appear in Judith, where they contribute to the dense verbal repetitions of the passage describing the plundering of the Assyrian treasure by the Bethulians. The Assyrian treasure is taken to Bethulia, a "beorhtan byrig" (Jud 326), and fourteen lines later "beorhtra maðma" (Jud 340) are among the plundered wealth given to Judith, who is described, on the same line, as a "beorhtan idese" (Jud 340). The structural function of the repetitions in the three treasure itemizations will be discussed further but of particular relevance here is that the triple use of beorht also has a moral force.²⁰ It is a common-place in the

¹⁹ Beo 1197, 2172, Jud 323, 334, 334, MB 21:20.

²⁰ See below Ch.4, p.209.

literary criticism of Old English verse that color terms and terms for shininess carry moral connotation.²¹ The three-fold use of beorht in Judith contributes to the sense that although the victory is presented in very material terms with the gaining of treasure, there is a spiritual victory in the defeat of the Assyrians by God's people.

BYCGAN and FEORH and MADM

Although bycgan and feorh each collocate with maðm on only two occasions, they occur together and are joined by hord; hence in Beowulf the fourway collocation of maðm, feorh, bycgan and hord appears twice.²² Bycgan, in various forms, occurs 17 times in Old English verse. Within Beowulf, the five appearances of bycgan always involve death and the surrender of life or a body part. At lines 2799ff. the sentence is simple; Beowulf says that he bebohte the "maðma hord" with his feorhlege. At line 3010, the messenger proclaims that "maðma hord" was gecea[po]d and now "sylfes feore / beagas [geboh]te." "Maðma hord" is not the direct object of the verb gebohte, but "maðma hord" and beagas have same referent, with the part referring to the whole. The contexts of these two passages are similar. In the first, Beowulf tells Wiglaf that he has fulfilled the need of the people in giving his life for his people, and goes on to describe the pyre which will burn in his memory. In the second, the messenger informs the Geats that the

²¹ Barley 1974, pp.17-8 and Calder 1972a, p.228.

²² Beo 2799 and 3010.

treasure Beowulf bought with his life will burn on his funeral pyre. These repeated appearances of the collocation invite two interpretations: as a intentional verbal parallel, or as the poet using similar language to describe similar circumstances. Alliteration and meter do not contribute to the parallel since none of the words occur in the same line; hence it cannot be asserted that the formula or the verse form produced these lines. The parallels occur just over two hundred lines apart, not nearly as far apart as other Parallelstellen, and, whether or not intentional, they may function to sharpen the tragedy of Beowulf's death by underscoring the confounding of Beowulf's hopes that the treasure will help the Geats. It remains possible that, as the six uses of bycgan in Old English verse to describe Christ's death to redeem mankind suggest, the diction of the parallels was standard for describing the giving up of life for the advantage of others and appears in both passages independently and with little weight. However, although the language may not be specifically Christian, the connection with the language of Christ's death may also imply that the language of the maðm, bycgan and feorh collocation is highly charged and resonant, and thus would make it more likely that the poet was using it consciously in both instances, and that he may even have intended to draw a parallel between Beowulf and Christ.

DYRE and MAÐM

The collocation of dyre and maðm occurs four times, three times in Beowulf and once in Judith.²³ The semantic connection of the two words is obvious. By all definitions, whether metrical or lexical, the collocation constitutes a formula -- always appearing in the same half-line with dyre modifying maðm, and in all instances scanning alike. Further the collocation does not appear outside of this half-line formula and it thus must be considered highly formulaic. In "The Lament of the Last Survivor" the collocation of maðm and dyre points to the interplay between the formula, the need for alliteration, and artistry. The collocation occurs in the introduction to "The Lament," a passage which has received considerable critical attention as an essential digression which sets the tone for the second part of the poem.²⁴ Although modern punctuation separates the two words with a full stop, dyre appears on the same line and alliterates with deað (Beo 2236). The number of verbal repetitions is not especially dense in this passage, yet deað appears three times, 1) alliterating with dyre (Beo 2236) and referring to the death of the survivor's kin, 2) in "The Lament" itself (and coupled with the word fornam as at Beo 2236), again referring to the death of the survivor's kin (Beo 2249), and 3) in the line immediately after "The Lament" referring to the inevitable death of the survivor himself (Beo 2269). The lines

²³ Beo 152, 2231, 3126, Jud 313.

²⁴ Bonjour 1950, pp.68-9.

preceding and following "The Lament" are even more closely linked than the repetition of deað suggests. The lines 2236-39, which include the word deað, explain the fate of the kinsman of the last survivor and contain five verbal parallels with the lines 2267-71, immediately following "The Lament", which tell of the survivor's grief which lasts until his own death. Lines 2267-72 are the last lines related to the survivor before the poet's attention moves to the dragon. These lines, appended after "The Lament", could easily appear to have little connection to the survivor's speech and even less connection to the lines introducing the speech. But, by using the same language to describe the death of the survivor and of his kin the poet not only pulls the passage ("The Lament" and the lines before and after it) together into a unit, perhaps of the type Bartlett calls an envelope, but also makes a conceptual link between the common fate of the last survivor and his kin. While "deore madmas" (Beo 2236) does not appear to be part of this unit, its appearance alliterating with deað suggests that, although the formula provided a useful half-line that fulfilled the poet's need for a "d," the poet's need for a "d" was caused by his rhetorical repetition of deað, and we can see the poet with one eye on the line and with one eye on a larger pattern.

The formula "dyre maðmas" (Jud 318) occurs in Judith, a late Anglo-Saxon poem notable for its particularly frequent rhetorical verbal repetition.²⁵ Lines 313-341 chronicle

²⁵ Tyler 1992.

the capture of the Assyrian treasure by the Bethulians and has three distinct parts, in each of which the poet catalogues, lingers over and describes the treasure. First, at the defeat of the Assyrians, their armor and weapons become the booty of the Bethulians (Jud 314-18). Second, the Bethulians carry this booty back to their city (Jud 325-30) and third, the Bethulians give Holofernes' war gear and other treasures to Judith (Jud 334-41). At first glance, this passage may appear to be a typical example of an excitement for treasure getting the better of a poet, and leading him into almost inevitable repetitiousness as he describes the same items three times within 28 lines. However, a clear pattern, which structures the passage and moves it forward, emerges behind the verbal repetition. Little word-for-word repetition appears in lines 316-18 and 327-29, save for helm and swyrd. Against this not strikingly dense repetition, the appearances of maðm (Jud 318, 329, 340), including the formula "dyre maðmas," three times and always as the end of each of the descriptions of treasure stands out. Hence, the formulaic collocation dyre and maðm participates in the larger structure of the poem, and while the poet may well have chosen dyre simply for alliteration, the formula as a whole was used with foresight. This foresight is underscored by considering briefly the alliteration of dyre with domlice. Dom, in various forms, appears four times in the last 154 lines of the poem. In the first instance, Judith urges the Bethulians on, telling them that they "dom agon" (Jud 196). Then as the Assyrian

retainers stand outside the golden tent coughing in a feeble attempt to rouse the slain Holofernes, the poet tells us that "wearð...dom geswiðrod" (Jud 265-66). Focusing again on the glory of the Bethulians, the poet tells us that they were "dome gedyrrod" (Jud 299). Finally, as the Bethulians are about to plunder the Assyrian booty, the poet comments that they conquered their enemy domlice (Jud 318). The Judith poet used what was undoubtedly a formula, "deore maðmas," almost certainly motivated by the need for alliteration, but the appearance of "deore maðmas" relates also to the poet's desire to continue the repetition of the words dom and maðm.

EORL and MAðM

The collocation of eorl and maðm occurs on ten occasions, six of which are found in Beowulf.²⁶ At root, the collocation reflects the commonplace association of treasure and the aristocracy, and no comment is needed to explain the appearance together of the two words. This common link encompasses a number of syntactical relationships between the two words. The appearance of the collocation in Beowulf is more particular, and merits separate discussion. In four of its six appearances in Beowulf, eorl is part of a kenning: three times "eorla hleo" and once "eorla drihten" and in all four cases, the hleo or drihten gives treasure. These instances of "eorla hleo"

²⁶ Hb 43, MxI 83, Rid55.7, Beo 1050, 1753, 1866, 2141, 2190, 3014, Jud 334.

account for three of the kenning's eight appearances in Old English verse, six of which occur in Beowulf. However, four of the remaining examples of the kenning also refer to a leader giving a gift, though not designated as maðm. Hence in seven of its eight occurrences the kenning occurs in the context of gift giving. But it remains to be considered why in three of the six appearances of the collocation of eorl and maðm, the kenning "eorla hleo" occurs. Although the kennings were no doubt useful for coping with the rigid form of Old English verse, alliteration and meter play no part in the collocation of eorl and maðm, or of the kenning and maðm, since they do not occur in the same line. The 75% (6 out of 8) appearance of the kenning "eorla hleo" with gift-giving, 63% (5 out of 8) with treasure-giving and 38% (3 out of 8) specifically with maðm giving may be connected to W. Whallon's insight that Old English poets used kennings that were appropriate, not only to the person but to the situation and not just, as with the epithets in Homeric verse, to the person alone.²⁷ But the use of "eorla hleo" further suggests that the situation does not involve just simply the use of kennings such as sinces brytta for a leader actually giving treasure. It works more subtly, with appropriateness extending to include conventional links between a kenning and a particular situation -- such as "eorla hleo" and gift-giving -- the connection of which is not readily apparent to the modern critic. The collocation of maðm and "eorla hleo" points to a conventionality in Old

²⁷ See above, Ch. 1, pp.5-6.

English verse which involves the need to cope with the verse form, hence the popularity of kennings in verse, but which appears as more complex, involving not just alliteration and meter, but also semantic and conceptual factors surrounding the kenning.

In two cases, "eorla hleo" and maðm collocate as part of a wider Parallelstelle. Immediately following Hrothgar's farewell speech to Beowulf, the poet tells his audience:

Da git him eorla hleo inne gesealde,
mago Healfdenes, maþmas XII
(Beo 1866-67)

and almost three hundred lines later Beowulf tells Hygelac about his fight with Grendel's mother, insisting that he was not a doomed man:

ac me eorla hleo eft gesealde
maðma menigeo, maga Healfdenes.
(Beo 2142-43)

The verbal parallels have been underlined and the passages, many of which can be described in terms of the formula, are obviously very similar. In particular the combination of gesealde and an adverb or conjunction beginning with a vowel appears widely in Old English verse and the entire line finds a very close parallel, involving the only appearance of "eorla hleo" outside of Beowulf. Deor laments that Heorrenda has taken the "londryht...þæt me eorla hleo ær gesealde" (Deo 40-41). "Maga Healfdenes," a kenning limited to these two instances in Beowulf, can be called a formula and alliterates in both instances with maðm. Two conventional lines include formulas repeated one after the other and appear in very similar contexts -- in both cases

applied to Hrothgar giving treasure to Beowulf. Yet even if we can confidently attribute the cohesion within the individual lines to formulaic language, we must still try to identify the factors pulling together the two lines on separate occasions, since, while the verse form may contribute to the individual lines, it does not, at least as we understand it, account for the repeated linking of the two lines. Nothing indicates that the poet used verbal repetition consciously to draw a parallel between the two instances of treasure giving, since although one occurs in Beowulf's retelling, they do not refer to the same occasion of treasure giving. The passage results from a conceptual link between "eorla hleo" and treasure, the variation of hleo and mago, and the alliteration of mago and maðm -- from a series of broad conventions not entirely attributable to the needs of alliteration and meter -- and suggests that Parallelstellen are multifaceted features of Old English verse.

GOLD and MADM

Gold (or its adjectival form) collocates with maðm on 21 occasions and represents the most frequent collocate of maðm.²⁸ Although the semantic connection between the two terms is clear, the collocation of maðm and gold stands out. It is part of the widespread abundance of gold in Old

²⁸ El 1256, Gifts 58, Sea 97, 97, MxI 154, Rid55 7, Beo 1020, 1027, 1050, 1900, 2101, 2190, 2413, 2747, 2756, 3010, 3014, Jud 323, 334, MB 21:20, WldB 24.

English verse which contrasts with a dearth of silver and marks the verse as archaic and fanciful.

The collocation of gold and maðm is far less Beowulf bound than many we have thus far examined, with 11, almost half, of its appearances in Beowulf; the remaining 10 occur in a wide range of verse from Cynewulf's "signature" in Elene, reliant on visual reading to be perceived, to the metrical translation of Boethius' Consolation of Philosophy, to Maxims I. The combination of the apparent archaicness of the gold and maðm collocation and its prevalence in a wide range of verse suggests that there were established and conventional ways of discussing treasure in Old English verse which continued undiminished even in such late poems as Judith. This, despite the fact that, as far as can be ascertained from the surviving corpus, gold and maðm never appear together in any phrase which can be classified as in anyway a formula. The conventional link of gold and maðm then is maintained and perpetuated not because it makes it easier to fulfill the metrical and alliterative requirements of the line, which is so often given credit for exerting a strong conservative force on Old English verse; rather the evidence begins to indicate that there were traditional ways of describing treasure in verse throughout the Anglo-Saxon period.²⁹

Despite the variety of situations which produce the collocation of gold and maðm, a general pattern can be seen behind many of the instances of the collocation. Maðm and

²⁹ See above, Ch.2, pp.70-9.

gold often appear together in "thin" references, that is when treasure is simply mentioned, rather than as one of many objects in a long listing of treasure. In Beowulf's retelling of his adventures in Denmark, he speaks of the treasure which Hrothgar gave him after his defeat of Grendel and after his defeat of Grendel's mother as maðm (Beo 2103 and 2143); in the first instance the maðmum are varied by "fættan golde." In neither of these passages does the poet linger over the treasure but rather designates it in general terms and moves on. Such an approach is entirely called for since the treasure has already been described at length.³⁰ Perhaps the use of maðm and gold in situations where the poet desires to make the most basic reference to treasure also stands behind Maxims I: "Mappum opres wearð,/ gold mon sceal gifan" (MxI 154-5). It is as though maðm and gold call each other up in such circumstances, and yet they do not combine in a formulaic manner.

The appearance of the collocation of maðm and gold in The Meters of Boethius provides an opportunity to examine closely how at least one poet, admittedly not composing in the most typical circumstances, chooses his words. In Meter 21, the versifier of the prose Boethius, in the context of a discussion of mankind's search for true happiness, writes that worldly treasure, rather than providing light, blinds us to "soðra gesælða" (MB 21:25). The Latin original very specifically locates that treasure as the product of the

³⁰ See also: El 1256 and Beo 2756-59.

golden sands of the river Tagus and of the rutilant³¹ banks of the river Hermus and of the Indus with its emeralds and other gems.³² These references to presumably unfamiliar rivers are removed, first in the Old English prose version, and do not appear in the meter. Alfred changes the Latin and also extends the gold, silver and gems to represent all wealth by adding "andwearda wela" to his list of treasure. He writes: "þa gylden an stanas, 7 þa seolfrenan, 7 ælces cynnes gimmas, 7 eall þes andwearda wela" (Sedgfield 1899, p.89) blind the eye to true happiness. In order to get this into verse the poet separates the gold and silver and has them refer to different objects writing "gylden maðm" (MB 21:20) and "sylofren sincstan" (MB 21:21) which takes him further from the original Latin, in which gold and rutilant referred to the banks and bed of the river. This is just one of the changes which the poet makes, but we can see how the need to fulfill the alliterative and metrical requirements of the verse pulls the poet away from his Latin source -- the maðm and gold collocation continues but the syntactic relationship between them changes.

There is some limited evidence for the inclusion of several instances of this collocation in larger rhetorical patterns. In the passage from Judith, where, as previously discussed, there is a three-fold repetition of maðm, gold appears twice, although the syntactical relationships between the gold object and the maðm are different in both

³¹ ruddy-glowing

³² Tester 1973, pp.286-87.

cases. In each, an object is described as decorated with gold in a phrase which involves gold in the dative dependent on a past participle: "golde gefrætewod" (Jud 328) and "gerenode readum golde" (Jud 338). Alone, the repetition of the collocation of maðm and gold in Judith would attract little attention but it does form part of a dense network of tightly woven verbal repetitions.³³

The maðm and gold collocation appears twice in the space of eight lines in Beowulf. The messenger tells the Geats of Beowulf's death and of the fate of the treasure. He first describes the treasure as "maðma hord" (Beo 3011), "gold unrime" (Beo 3012) and beagas (Beo 3011) bought by Beowulf with his life, and explains that it will all burn on the pyre; he then goes on to say that nobles will not wear maððum (Beo 3016), maidens will not wear hringweorðung (Beo 3017) and all will, deprived of gold (Beo 3108), go into exile. In both statements, maðm and gold repeat exactly, and both beagas and hringweorðung refer to circular forms of treasure. This verbal parallel virtually encapsulates within eight lines one of the central tragedies of the second part of Beowulf, in the destruction of the very treasure which Beowulf thought his death had gained for his people, and shows the Beowulf poet using repetition in a controlled and purposeful manner to contribute to meaning.

Similarly, earlier in the poem, the Beowulf poet also used the maðm and gold collocation in a context which may indicate attention to a larger rhetorical design. We have

³³ See above, Ch.4, pp.208-10.

already seen in the discussion of the collocation of maðm and benc the four-fold repetition of maðm in the passage recounting the gift-giving which followed the defeat of Grendel.³⁴ The relationship between maðm and gold varies in each instance. At lines 1020ff. four gifts given to Beowulf are listed, the first is a "segen gyldenne" (Beo 1021) and the fourth is a "mære maðþumsweord" (Beo 1023). At lines 1027ff. "feower madmas" (Beo 1027) are "golde gegyrede" (Beo 1028) and at line 1050ff maþðum (Beo 1052) is given to Beowulf's companions and gold (Beo 1054) paid for the Geat whom Grendel killed. The other occurrence of maðm appears in the formula "mearum and maðmum" (Beo 1048), used by the poet when he sums up the gifts given to Beowulf. One could well consider that the repetition had more to do with inattention on the part of a poet, or a need to use the same words again and again simply because the subject was, again and again, treasure, rather than as an effective structural device, and indeed it is difficult to distinguish them. But while it would not seem appropriate to single this passage out as an example of the Beowulf poet at his best or at his most subtle, it does seem reasonable to see the repetition of maðm and especially the three-fold repetition of the maðm and gold collocation as contributing to the cohesion and unity of this passage. The first and last appearance of the collocation may well be said to form an envelope which encloses the treasure giving.

³⁴ See above, Ch.4, pp.202-3.

Despite its apparently archaic nature the connection of maðm and gold is not maintained by any formula or conventional language since the two words never appear together on the same line nor do they even form part of a Paralelstelle. The nature of the collocation challenges established understandings of formulas as survivals from earlier oral verse and challenges the intimate link of oral and formulaic. The link between the two terms of the collocation must be semantic. The denoting of treasure as gold appears to be a way of praising the treasure and indicating that it is outstanding or special. Yet the collocation appears to be too ordinary, rather than conventional, to attract the attention of poets, and hence is not frequently used rhetorically.³⁵

HIERAN and MADM

Maðm and hyrde collocate five times, all in Beowulf.³⁶ "Ic hyrde" appears widely in Beowulf, not surprisingly since characters often tell each other what they have heard, as for example, Beowulf saying to Unferth regarding the swimming contest with Breca:

no ic wiht fram þe
swylcra searoniða secgan hyrde,
billa brogan.

(Beo 581-83)

However, in five instances the ic and hyrde are part of one of two formulaic expressions ("Ne/nænig ic...hyrde" +

³⁵ A very similar picture emerges from a consideration of the collocation of gold with the other words for treasure.

³⁶ Beo 36, 36, 1197, 2163, 2172.

comparison or "hyrde ic þæt"). The first appearance of the "hyrde ic þæt" pattern, occurs in the faulty line "hyrde ic þæt * * * wæs Onelan cwen" (Beo 62). The remaining four instances all occur in passages relating to items of treasure, and function not only as transition, but also as a way of praising or drawing attention to extraordinary treasure. We have already seen how the lines:

Ne hyrde ic cymlicor ceol gegyrwan
 hilde³wæpnum and heaðowædum,
 billum ond byrnum.

(Beo 38-40)

detail Scyld's treasure and are enveloped by the lines "þær wæs madma fela" (Beo 36) and "him on bearme læg / madma mænigo" (Beo 40-41). Similarly, after Beowulf receives a necklace from Wealtheow, the poet comments:

nænigne ic under swegle selran hyrde
 hordmaððum hælepa.

(Beo 1197-98)

Later, after Beowulf's return to Geatland, two appearances of "hyrde ic þæt" collocating with maðm occur within ten lines of each other, and punctuate the passage by highlighting the treasure given by Beowulf to Hygelac and then to Hygd. It is possible to see the poet using such a formulaic expression as "hyrde ic þæt," as he has used other devices, to lend structure to a long account of treasure-giving.³⁷ While "ne ic hyrde" and "hyrde ic þæt" are conventional phrases that a poet uses to supply a half-line which will not disturb the sense of the passage or line, at Beowulf 2163

³⁷ Beo 2163 and 2172.

and 2172 their use is governed by rhetoric as well as verse form.

More striking patterns emerge around the collocation of formulaic "ic hyrde" expressions and maðm. First, the collocation is restricted to Beowulf and within the poem, 80% of the "ic hyrde" formulas appear not only with treasure, but with treasure denoted as maðm. While "ic hyrde" expressions occur throughout Old English verse and seem a classic example of the kind of formula a poet would rely on for filling out alliteration and meter rather than for contributing to the sense of his line, the Beowulf poet uses the formulaic phrases consistently to draw attention to and praise exceptional treasure. We see then, the collocation of maðm with an "ic hyrde" formula being used as part of a larger convention, not solely determined by the desperate attempt of an Anglo-Saxon poet to keep up his alliteration and meter, but as one which can be employed rhetorically. The restriction of this conventional link of "ic hyrde" and similar expressions with maðm to Beowulf may indicate that the Beowulf poet, if not Old English poets in general, created, whether consciously or not, their own conventions. This possibility might indicate that the weight of traditional diction left considerable scope for individuality on the part of the Anglo-Saxon poet, and that the situation is more complex than simply poets controlling formulas or formulas controlling poets.

These insights can perhaps be taken a step further, although the discussion becomes almost purely speculative.

critics have often seen the use of "ic hyrde" expressions as part of the oral and heroic ethos, linked to story-telling in the hall and the importance of fame, and they have interpreted their appearances, especially in late Old English verse, not only in terms of a useful half-line but as a conscious signal on the part of the poet that he is casting his poem in a heroic mode. The Beowulf poet's creation of a convention of exceptional treasure around the "ic hyrde" formulas suggests that perhaps he used them to create the impression that his poem participates in an older tradition of heroic verse -- in effect, that the poem is consciously archaic. The fact that the formula is linked with treasure, and especially remarkable treasure, adds further weight to this argument since, as we have seen, such treasure was itself archaic after the early Anglo-Saxon period.

HORD and MADM

Maðm and hord, two words with overlapping semantic fields, collocate on eleven occasions, eight of which are in Beowulf, appearing in a variety of contexts and with a wide range of relationships between the two words.³⁸ The wide range of contexts in which we find the collocation of maðm and hord may constitute a factor in the absence of formulas, or indeed lack of any language which strikes us as notably conventional. The exception to this apparent lack of

³⁸ Ex 366, And 1112, Wid 1, Beo 1046, 1197, 1896, 2777, 2788, 2799, 3010, 3126.

commonplace uses of maðm and hord are two passages, already discussed under bycgan, which do stand out as being part of a larger convention.³⁹ Both refer to Beowulf's purchase of "maðma hord" with his life. Maðm as a genitive dependent on hord appears only here, and this may further contribute to our appreciation of the closeness of the parallel of the two passages. The unusual metaphorical use of maðm in a description of Noah's ark in Exodus has already been considered.⁴⁰

The collocation of maðm and hord appears three times within the space of 20 lines from Beowulf 2779-2799. However, there seems little that relates the three occurrences: the "maðma mundbora" (Beo 2779) stands before the hoard, as Wiglaf brings maðm (Beo 2778) to Beowulf words break threw his breosthord (Beo 2792), and Beowulf exchanges his life for the "maðma hord." A larger rhetorical pattern, defined by verbal repetition and a logical unit, does not seem to account for the repetition of maðm and hord. The passage, which includes Wiglaf passing by the dead dragon, "maðma mundbora," as he comes out of the barrow, his return to Beowulf with the treasure, and Beowulf's speech of thanksgiving for the treasure, illustrates the important role subject matter plays in verbal repetition. Maðm and hord repeat because they are obvious words to use in the circumstances and they need not necessarily be part of a structural pattern. The collocation of maðm and hord in

³⁹ See above, Ch.4, pp.205-6.

⁴⁰ See above, Ch.3, pp.98 and 102.

Andreas provides further evidence of the way maðm and hord naturally call each other up.

Two features stand out when we consider the collocation of maðm and hord. Firstly, there seems to be a dearth of formulaic and highly conventional language surrounding the collocation. Yet, the seemingly opposite, that the collocation is not used rhetorically, is true, since the collocation does not appear to participate in larger patterns and units. Much of this may well be attributable to the limited size of the corpus of Old English verse. But a possible tendency seems perceptible here. We have seen that very conventional language has repeatedly appeared as part of a rhetorical verbal repetition, while in connection with maðm and hord we encountered just the opposite -- not just an absence of conventional language linking the members of the collocation, but also an absence of rhetorical patterning. Like the collocation of maðm and gold, the collocation of maðm and hord seems to be ordinary rather than conventional feature.

LAF and MADM

The nouns maðm and laf collocate with each other in six instances, all but two of which occur in Beowulf.⁴¹ In all but one case, laf forms the second element of a compound, and it is easy to see how it would thus be useful in providing for alliteration. The collocation is often dependent on variation which appears in four instances, with

⁴¹ Ex 585, 585, Beo 1050, 1900, 2190, 2231.

a fifth instance in which maðm and laf, though not in variation, have the same referent.⁴² Two instances of maðm and laf point to the role of variation in fostering conventional language that is not part of a formula. We have already discussed at some length the close parallel between Beo 1050ff. and 1900ff. which includes the collocation of maðm and yrfelaf in exactly the same positions on two adjacent lines of verse.⁴³

On first glance, the lines:

ongunnon sælafe segnum dælan
on yðlafe, ealde madmas,
reaf and randas
(Ex 585-87)

would seem to include a blundering repetition of the element laf in two contexts, the first referring either to the Jews or the treasure and the second referring to the shore. This is the kind of detail often pounced on by critics, especially those concerned with the oral element of Old English verse, who wish to emphasize a potential for the poets, overwhelmed by the constraints of alliteration and meter, not to be aware of blocks of text larger than the line. While this may be true, it is also possible to link the repetition of laf to tendencies termed "echo word" by Beaty and "generative composition" by Rosier.⁴⁴ But the passage may be more sophisticated still. The first elements of both laf compounds refer to the sea; only the "on"

⁴² Ex 585, Beo 1050, 1900, 2190, 2231.

⁴³ See above, Ch.4, pp.200-3.

⁴⁴ Beaty 1934 and Rosier 1977. See above Ch.1, pp.37-9.

pronoun before yðlaf distinguishes the first laf compound as jetsam and the second as the shore. Furthermore, a potential ambiguity exists since sælaf could either vary maðmas, and thus refer to the treasure thrown up on the beach, or it could refer to the Jewish people safe on the shore after the parting of the Red Sea, and thus serve to contrast the fates of the Egyptians and God's chosen people.⁴⁵ Indeed the lines can be read either way, or even perhaps both ways, and coming so near to the end⁴¹ the text would be a fitting verbal ornament and signal to the poem's conclusion. Such ambiguity and wordplay have been identified as a feature of Old English religious verse by Roberta Frank.⁴⁶ The common collocation and variation of maðm and laf can appear in a highly conventional Parallelstelle in Beowulf but also spawn clever wordplay in Exodus.

MANIG (etc.) and MAðM

Maðm collocates on 16 occasions with terms beginning with "m" and expressing either greatness of size or number.⁴⁷ This includes menigu, manig, micel, ma, mara, and mæst. The half-line "madma mænigo" appears twice in Beowulf; first describing the treasure of Scyld's burial (Beo 41) and secondly the treasure which Beowulf receives

⁴⁵ Lucas 1977, p.148.

⁴⁶ Frank comments on the language of treasure in the closing lines of Exodus (Frank 1968, pp.73-6).

⁴⁷ Ex 142, 366, Jul 35, Wid 1, Beo 36, 1020, 1050, 1612, 1612, 1855, 2101, 2141, 2638, 2756, WldB 4, Th 5.

of these two words would alone carry little weight, however, further parallels between Beowulf's description of his two fights occur. These parallels are made all the more striking by the poet's streamlining of Beowulf's account to the very basics, as Beowulf himself says:

To lang ys to reccenne, hu i[c ð]am leodsceaðan
yfla gehwylces hondlean forgeald
(Beo 2093-94)

so as not to bore the audience who, unlike Hygelac, have already heard the story. Although the run-up to each fight and the fights themselves were different, the versions, reduced to the key elements, which Beowulf presents to Hygelac, emphasize the similarities. Before Beowulf fights Grendel or his mother, the respective monster kills a man, in the first case a Dane and in the second case a Geat, and the poet draws attention to the absence of a body in both instances. Grendel "lic eall forswealg" (Beo 2080) and his mother, when she murdered Æschere, "pæt lic ætbær/feondes fæð[mum un]der firgenstream" (Beo 2127-28). Another clear parallel is the language used to describe the fights; save for the mention of Grendel's glove, the attention given to the combat is sparse. The common features stick out because, in the retelling, the accounts of the two fights and the treasure given afterwards are abbreviated and "maðma menigeo" (Beo 2143) and "manegum maðmum" (Beo 2103) are not isolated repetitions but part of a larger rhetorical pattern which provides structure. The appearance at Beowulf line 2143ff. of a Parallelstelle, which includes an instance of the formula "maðma menigo" which also functions

rhetorically, points to the complexity of Parallelstellen. It shows a blending of the conventional with the literary and original in a way which cannot be easily teased apart.

MEARH and MADM

Maðm appears in collocation with mearh on seven occasions in six of which the two elements alliterate, and in all of which enumeration fosters the collocation.⁵⁰ Four of those seven occur as the formula "mearum and maðmum" and one in the half-line "ne meara ne maðma." The formula shows remarkable stability, always appearing in the first half of the line and, further, with mearh as the first element in all instances, even though the formula would scan the same regardless of the order of its elements, and provide the same alliteration. There is an obvious semantic and very specific contextual pull between horses and weapons since they were both necessary to a warrior. The collocation and the formula are closely linked to Beowulf (four of seven appear there) but ^{are} much less Beowulf restricted than maðm and other "m" word collocations which appear in the same line.

The collocation is not cut off from rhetorical patterning. In The Husband's Message, the horse and treasure form part of two overlapping figures of speech, anaphora and polysyndeton,⁵¹ admittedly much more limited than some examples, in which each element is introduced by the conjunction "ne:" "ne meara, ne maðma, ne meododreama"

⁵⁰ Beo 1046, 1896, 2163, 2163, MxI, 83, Hb 43, Wan 92.

⁵¹ J.J. Campbell 1966, p.196.

(Hb 45). Regardless of whether one can confidently interpret this as influenced by Latin rhetoric, we can see the poet fitting a conventional collocation into a larger pattern which literary critics have identified as an ornamental rather than compulsory feature of the verse form.

The appearance of the collocation mearh and maðm in The Wanderer, where the pull between the two elements, which is no doubt fostered by alliteration, is not maintained by the formulaic, places the formula into the context of a wider lexical convention. Yet the conventional does not exclude the rhetorical and literary for, in The Wanderer, maðm and mearh are linked in the often commented upon ubi sunt passage in which the poet asks "Hwær cwom mearg? Hwær cwom mago? Hwær cwom mappumgyfa?" (Wan 92). As the label ubi sunt passage indicates, literary historians have found parallels for this rhetorical device in Latin.⁵² "Hwær cwom" and "Hwær syndon" passages also feature widely in Old English homilies, as for example "Hwær com þisse worulde wela? Hwær com þissere eorðan fægernys?" (Napier 1883, pp.148-49) and "Hwær synt þa cyningas þe geo wæron. 7 þa welegan þisse weorolde. Hwær is nu heora gold 7 heora hrægelfegetwodnes?" (Thorpe 1840, II, p.396). The coming together of the "hwær cwom" pattern and the lament for the passing of wealth deserves highlighting here, as it constitutes a semantic, as well as rhetorical, point of contact between the passages from the homilies and the line

⁵² See for example, Cross 1956.

from The Wanderer, and strengthens a perception of these lines in the poem as homiletic. This carries important implications for the interpretation of The Wanderer, making its Christian message fully integrated into the body of the poem and not solely dependent on the explicitly Christian lines which frame the text. If the audience is aware of the homiletic content and form of the "hwær cwom" passage, then the lines neatly express the potential gap between the audience and poet, on the one hand, and the wanderer, on the other hand, since, in one possible interpretation, the wanderer perceives only transience, and the Christian audience and poet know that true stability lie with God.⁵³ But the passage also testifies to the inextricable meshing of the Christian and Germanic and aristocratic (though not necessarily pagan) elements which critics have so often sought to unravel but which are an integral part of the poem and the source of much of its force, weight, and meaning.⁵⁴ We see, then, in The Wanderer a conventional collocation used in a highly literary manner to great effect.

As well as appearing in rhetorical contexts, the members of the maðm and mearh collocation and formula also form a part of other conventional collocations. A consideration of the words which complete the alliteration begun by the collocation of mearh and maðm shows how sets of collocations can overlap with each other, and further

⁵³ Greenfield/Calder 1986, pp.284-85.

⁵⁴ Although such interpretations might seem out of date, they have not altogether disappeared. See for example, Hollowell 1983.

underscores the multiple nature of the factors which produce and maintain a formula, and thus point away from understanding the formula as an isolated feature of the diction of Old English verse. In two cases, a compound beginning with meadu completes the line begun by the mearh and maðm collocation:⁵⁵ in Maxims I "mearum and maþmum, meodorædenne" (MxI 87), and in The Husband's Message "ne meara ne maðma ne meododreama" (Hb 45). The collocation of maðm and meadu on the same line is as widespread, though not so formulaic, as that of maðm and mearh. Mead, horses and treasure are all part of the hall joys associated with the Germanic aristocracy; hence, as with the simple collocations of maðm and mearh, both alliteration and sense combine in pulling the elements together. Similarly mago which occurs in the middle of the first "hwær cwom" line in The Wanderer also collocates and often alliterates with maðm on other occasions, all in Beowulf.⁵⁶ Kinship, like treasure and horses, was an important and often commented on feature of Germanic society. Hence, we can see Old English poets drawing on two conventional collocations to complete their lines with alliteration.

MOD and MADM

Mod, in various forms, collocates with maðm on 11 occasions, of which five alliterate.⁵⁷ Five of the

⁵⁵ The collocation of maðm and meodu occurs six times and always alliterate. El 1256, Fort 58, MxI 83, Hb 43, Beo 1050, 1900.

⁵⁶ Beo 1480, 1866, 2141, 2756.

⁵⁷ And 1112, MxI, 83, Beo 384, 1050, 1925, 2756, 3010, 3014, Jud 323, 334, MB 21:20.

collocations occur outside of Beowulf making it less Beowulf specific than many. The high number of collocations does not call for extensive discussion. Mod is itself a common word in Old English whose use in compounds and in the adjective modig determines that it appears with a wide variety of meanings. It may, however, be significant that of the five instances of maðm and mod alliterating, four occur in Beowulf, the other in Andreas, and this despite the fact that mod occurs in Beowulf in a wide variety of forms. We can perhaps interpret this as evidence of individual poets having their own vocabularies and their own "stock" of alliterating pairs. While it may be argued that Beowulf's concentration on treasure far surpasses ^{that of} other poems, and that this is enough to account for the pattern of use of mod and maðm, it must equally be considered that this pattern accounts for four of the six of the Beowulf instances of the collocation, and only one of the five of the non-Beowulf examples. The pairing of mod and maðm in Beowulf include nothing, however, which we can describe as formulaic, and this evidence may point to collocations which are useful for fulfilling alliteration not being held together by anything as static as formula and might suggest that the formula is part of a larger set of strategies and devices for coping with alliteration.

SELLAN and MADDM

Initially, the eleven collocations of maðm and sellan would seem to merit little comment.⁵⁸ Sellan, a very

⁵⁸ Beo 1027, 1050, 1480, 1866, 1900, 2141, 2172, 2190, 2490, 2862, 2989.

common verb, quite obviously pairs with maðm in the context of gift-giving. Yet, there are distinctive patterns associated with the collocation's usage. The verb sellan collocates only with maðm in Beowulf; even noting the centrality of treasure-giving to the poem, the restricted collocation stands out since treasure is often given in other poems. Sellan and maðm appear together in the same line only three times, although seven of the instances of sellan refer directly to maðm. The closest thing to a formula linking maðm and sellan is the alliteration of maðm with me as the direct object of sellan in a relative clause, but the full lines cannot be described as formulas: "swylce þu ða maðmas, þe þu me sealdest" (Beo 1480) and "Ic him þa maðmas, þe he me sealde" (Beo 2490). Despite the minimal role which formulas play in pulling maðm and sellan together, the diction surrounding the collocation is often strikingly conventional. We have already discussed the collocation of benc, either an ale- or mead-bench, with maðm and have noted the use of the verb sellan to describe the giving of treasure on the bench.⁵⁹ These instances account for four of the eleven appearances of collocation of maðm and sellan, certainly a significant proportion. Two further instances of maðm and sellan also occur in passages of notable parallelism which have been previously commented on; gesealde (Beo 1866, 2141) is the verb in both cases when the "eorla hleo" (Beo 1866, 2141), varied by "mago Healfdenes,"

⁵⁹ See above, Ch.4, pp.199-204 where the rhetorical aspects of this passage are considered.

gives "maðma mænigo."⁶⁰ Hence six of the eleven appearances of the maðm and sellan collocation occur in highly repetitious passages in Beowulf; even though sellan is a very common verb and we would not expect to find it in such restricted contexts. Again it appears, and this time in a context where the two elements of the collocation do not alliterate, that the Beowulf poet had a *number* of passages, which might contain formulas, but which extend beyond the line and thus cannot be called formulaic, which may be individual to himself. These Parallelstellen seem to be part of an individual poetic diction which is certainly useful in composing lines quickly but whose usefulness cannot be solely attributed to the power of the verse form.

III. The Collocations of Hord

The following discussion will be organized around the collocations rather than the concepts mind, thoughts, soul or body, since the implication of the collocations is the prime concern, and although one set of collocations often overlaps with several other sets, this overlapping is more easily described than the blurring of the concepts to which these collocations apply. Collocations which relate to a hoard as the mind, the body or the soul are dealt with first, beginning with those words which compound with hord, and then considering the others. Collocations of hord not

⁶⁰ See above, Ch.4, pp.212-13.

related to the mind, the body or the soul are dealt with at the end.

BREOST and HORD

Breost and hord collocate on seven occasions, in all of which hord is used metaphorically to denote the concepts mind, body, soul, thoughts and possibly life-spirit.⁶¹ In four instances the compound breosthord appears, in Christ III and Genesis A, breost as a genitive plural depends on hord, "breosta hord," and in The Riming Poem, brondhord and breost occur on the same line. However, the two elements of the collocation never establish a formula, nor in fact does any instance of the collocation appear to be part of another formula. Further, there are no repeating alliterative pairs among the seven instances. Beyond the propensity for compounding there is little about the diction surrounding the collocation which can be said to be conventional.

The possible ways of construing breosthord depending on whether it is a container (body) or contained (soul, mind, or spirit) have been outlined in Chapter 3.⁶² The Guthlac B poet repeatedly uses -hord compounds in his extended account of the saint's death. The first appearance is that of breosthord:

Wæs þam bancofan
æfter nihtglome neah geþrunge,
breosthord onboren. Wæs se bliþa gæst
fus on forðweg.

(GuthB 942-45)

⁶¹ GenA 1606, ChrIII 1069, GuthB 942, Sea 53, Rim 45, Beo 1716, 2788.

⁶² See above, Ch.3, pp.113-16.

The syntax of this sentence is confusing and some editors have assumed a missing line between 942 and 943. Krapp and Dobbie write that "the subject of Wæs...gebrungen is carried over from adl, l.940."⁶³ However, in light of their punctuation, see lines quoted above, this seems odd. "Wæs þam bancofan...gebrungen" is an impersonal construction and "wæs...breosthord onboren" is not, although it depends on the same wæs.⁶⁴ Onboren then agrees with breosthord while gebrungen does not agree with "þam bancofan." Participles after wesan, do not, however, always show agreement with the subject;⁶⁵ it seems unnecessary, then, to posit any missing lines, but the syntax will contribute to the difficulty in interpreting breosthord in this passage.

Cogent arguments for the translation of breosthord, in this passage, as "soul" and as "body" and also possibly as "mind" or "spirit" can be put forth depending on whether one reads breosthord as the vessel, that is the body or breast, which holds the soul, or the mind or the spirit, or as the treasure of the breast, that is the soul, or the mind or the spirit. Jane Roberts' confident and swift identification of breosthord as soul,⁶⁶ which makes no mention of these various possibilities, seems hasty. The combination of the impersonal construction and the personal construction mean

⁶³ Krapp/Dobbie 1936, p.267.

⁶⁴ See Roberts 1979, pp.164-65, notes to ll.942b-44a. This use of gebrungen contrasts with Sea 8 and parallels GenA 2511 and Jud 287.

⁶⁵ Mitchell/Robinson 1992, §187 (d).

⁶⁶ See Roberts 1979, p.165 note to l.956 and glossary.

that "wæs þam bancofan...gebrungen" and "wæs...breosthord onboren" cannot be said to be in strict variation, and it is possible to read them as having different referents, either the body, on one hand, or the soul, the spirit or the mind, on the other. Even if bancofa and breosthord were in strict variation, such a relationship would not determine whether they shared a referent or, having different referents, participated in an enumeration. Bancofa and breosthord are, however, very similar compounds, both combining a part of the body with a word which can denote a container, which gives weight to interpreting them as sharing the same referent. Bancofa, where cofa unlike hord does not denote both container and contained but just the former, is more easily construed and clearly refers to the body. The two terms are linked by an overlapping syntactical construction, since both bancofa and breosthord are governed by the same wæs and modified by a past participle, gebrungen and onboren respectively, denoting oppression and diminishment. Furthermore, context seems to tip the balance in favor of a reading breosthord as body. Although we can detect some hints that the mind of Guthlac needed encouragement in his illness in such statements as:

he [God] his modsefan
 wið þam færhagan fæste trymede
 feonda gewinna,
 (GuthB 959-61)

the overriding tone of the passage is of Guthlac's strength in the face of death. God's strengthening of Guthlac's mind seems to have been effective since the poet goes on to write:

Næs he forht sepeah,
 ne seo adlþracu egle on mode,
 ne deaðgedal, ac hine dryhtnes lof
 born in breostum, brondhat lufu
 sigorfæst in sefan, seo him sara gehwylc
 symle forswiðde. Næs him sorgcearu
 on þæs lænan tid, þeah his lic ond gæst
 hyra somwiste, sinhiwan tu,
 deore gedælden.

(GuthB 961-69)

In view of the immediately surrounding lines, it is difficult to see how Guthlac's soul could be said to be "plundered, carried off, diminished" when the lines describing the breosthord are preceded and followed by expressions of the soul's vitality in its eagerness for death: "Wæs se bliþa gæst / fus on forðweg" (GuthB 944-45). It is much easier to see the body as diminished. As we look at the hord collocations of Guthlac B it will become evident that the divergent attitude towards the body and the soul on the part of Guthlac and his servant is of thematic importance.

The interpretation of breosthord is further complicated by the overlapping and uncertain semantic fields of some words associated with the mind and the soul, a problem particularly evident in this passage. Bancofa (GuthB 942 and 954), leomu (GuthB 956), and lic (GuthB 967) definitely refer to the body, deormod (GuthB 952), "heard ond hygerof" (GuthB 953), modsefa (GuthB 959), mod (GuthB 962) and sefa (GuthB 965) to the mind, and just gæst (GuthB 944 and 967) unambiguously to the soul. Confusion arises with the terms breost and hreþer. "In breostum," associated as it is at line 954 with deormod and hygerof, and at line 964 with "on mode" and "in sefan," is best understood as the mind. But

guthlac's hreper, which seems most analogous to breost, is said to be "afysed on forðsið" (GuthB 939), while just six lines later it is the gæst which is "fus on forðweg" (GuthB 945). The mind could be eager for death but it seems much more likely that hreper denotes the soul here. The soul, the mind, and the body then can all be put forward as the meaning of breosthord in this passage from Guthlac B although the balance of favor seems to lie with the body.

A consideration of other instances of breosthord shows that such ambiguity is not restricted to the Guthlac B poet. In The Seafarer the sound of the cuckoo's cry "sorge beodeð / bitter in breosthord" (Sea 54-55); here again it seems difficult to distinguish between the heart or breast (that is the body), on the one hand, and the mind, on the other hand -- between container and contained -- but the use of the preposition in points to the former. The soul cannot be in question since it only leaves the body at death.⁶⁷ The Beowulf poet uses breosthord both ways. Hrothgar narrates the story of Heremod who had power over men but "hwæpere him on ferhpe greow / breosthord blodreow" (Beo 1718-19) where the breosthord is contained "on ferhpe;" in contrast, the poet describes the speaking of the dying Beowulf: "wordes ord / breosthord purhbræc" (Beo 2791-92) where the hord again becomes the container. Both cases of breosthord from Beowulf are associated with mental activity; the first seems best translated as thoughts, and the second with mind as a location. Clearly the same word has different meanings in

⁶⁷ North 1991, p.103.

different contexts and each instance of a -hord compound must be considered individually.

Similar interpretative difficulties could surround "breosta hord," but in Genesis A, "breosta hord" varies gast and is eager to go "to godes dome" (GenA 1608-10); hence "soul" is the obvious meaning. Likewise the contexts of the "breosta hord" in Christ III, where the just in heaven:

berað breosta hord fore bearn godes,
feores frætwe. Wile fæder eahtan
hu gesunde suna sawle bringen
of þam eðle þe hi on lifdon
(ChrIII 1072-75)

indicates that hord denotes the soul.

The hord and breost collocation of The Riming Poem presents, in line with the whole poem, an interpretative puzzle, and while the lines have received considerable critical attention,⁶⁸ there is little critical consensus as to their meaning. The poet writes:

Scripeð nu deop in feore
brondhord geblowen, breostum in forgrowen,
flyhtum toflowen.
(Rim 45-47)

There is general critical agreement that brondhord, since it is "breostum in," denotes metaphorical treasure, and refers to the mind. The collocation of hord and breost (although the two elements are less closely associated than the breosthord and "breosta hord" which accounts for all the other instances of the collocation) also supports such an understanding of brondhord which, despite the bedeviling uncertainties of the passage, is without question said to be

⁶⁸ See Macrae-Gibson 1983, pp.48-50.

located in the breast. Furthermore, the brondhord in the breast shows similarities with Heremod's breosthord located "on ferhpe" which also undergoes a negative transformation to become blodreow (Beo 1718-19). Macrae-Gibson suggests, as well, that reference to physical treasure is so frequent in the poem that a connection between literal and metaphorical treasure cannot be ruled out here, that is, a connection between the cessation of treasure-giving and the state of the speaker's mind. Macrae-Gibson writes: "it would appear that what is departed is both the external treasure and the internal comfort the narrator got from it."⁶⁹ The ambiguous nature of treasure just a few lines earlier:

gold gearwade, gim hwearfade,
sinc searwade, sib nearwade
(Rim 36-37)

where sib and sinc collocate, in an oddly negative context in which treasure undermines rather than fosters kinship, supports Macrae-Gibson's perception of a link between the literal and the metaphorical, even if only the metaphorical meaning is actually present in line 46.⁷⁰

The predominance of breosthord and "breosta hord" among the collocations of breost and hord may offer insight into the compositional technique of The Riming Poem. Although the need to fulfill the requirements of rhyme, as well as of alliteration and meter, may pull the poem away from conventional diction and formulas, it is also possible that

⁶⁹ Macrae-Gibson 1983, p.49.

⁷⁰ See below, Ch.4, p.p.375-77.

the poet used those conventions with their conceptual aspects as a starting point. In this case, the poet begins with the compound breosthord and its association with the mind, but modifies it in line with the demands of the rhyme.⁷¹

Other instances of the collocation of breost and hord may offer evidence for the way in which words can call each other up or trigger each other with little regard for context. In some instances of the collocation of hord and breost we can find little evidence that the poet used breosthord or breosta hord with an eye to anything larger than the line. The collocation occurs in passages which include references to literal treasure but in which there is no apparent wordplay on, or thematic relationship between, literal and metaphorical treasure. Hrothgar describes the growing cruelty of Heremod and his niggardliness as a treasure-giver:

hwæpere him on ferhpe greow
breosthord blodreow. Nallas beagas geaf
Denum æfter dome.
(Beo 1718-20)

Hord collocates not only with breost, but also with beagas.

Later Wiglaf sprinkles a dying Beowulf with water:

"oðpæt wordes ord breosthord purhbræc" (Beo 2791-92).

Treasure follows immediately as Beowulf thanks God for granting him frætwa (Beo 2794) as he gazes at the "maðma hord" (Beo 2799) which he won for his people. In a genealogical passage, which fleshes out considerably the

⁷¹ See below, Ch.4, pp.356 and 375-77.

bare list of names found in the Bible, the Genesis A poet describes the succession of generations in terms of death and the passing on of worldly goods and control of the kingdom to descendants. The terms for these possessions include ead, botlgestreon and "beorht wela." It is in this context that the poet describes the death of Japheth as:

He wæs selfa til,
heold a rice, eðeldreamas,
blæd mid bearnum, oðþæt breosta hord,
gast ellorfus gangan sceolde
to godes dome.

(GenA 1606-10)

As well as the presence of riches and treasure in the passage the connection with the phrase "heold a rice" should be noted. As will be discussed later, hord and rice often collocate -- a fact which appears to stem from the importance of holding a kingdom's treasure for maintaining leadership and political control.⁷² The presence of literal treasure language or other language, such as rice, often associated with literal hoards, may call up the metaphorical use of hord in these passages where such instances of breost and hord seem to be used simply to convey the notions mind, body or soul and without any exploitation, thematic or stylistic, of the literal roots of the terms.⁷³

The graceful and tightly controlled style of The Seafarer has been praised by critics. Whilst repetitions of hord do not form part of the poet's scheme, the collocation

⁷² See below, Ch.4, pp.307-11.

⁷³ See below Ch.4, p.252 for another example of triggering.

of bitter and breost occurs not only in the "bitter in breosthord" of line 55 but in the opening lines, where the poet explains that he "oft þrowade, / bittre breostceare" (Sea 3-4). Much of the poem focuses on the state of the seafarer's mind contrasted with that of an untroubled land dweller and hence terms for the mind are naturally abundant and repetitive; but, just at the point of the mens absentia cogitans passage,⁷⁴ the poet distinguishes between the location of the mind and the mind itself, and it is here that breosthord occurs:

Swylc geac monað geomran reorde,
 singeð sumeres weard, sorge beodeð
 bitter in breosthord. þæt se beorn ne wat,
 esteadig secg, hwæt þa sume dreogað
 þe þa wræclastas widost lecgað.
 Forþon nu min hyge hweorfeð ofer hreperlocan,
 min modsefa mid mereflode
 ofer hwales epel hweorfeð wide,
 eorþan sceatas, cymeð eft to me
 gifre ond grædig, gielleð anfloga,
 hweteð on hwælweg hreper unwearnum
 ofer holma gelagu.

(Sea 53-64)

The breosthord of line 55 is echoed in the hreperloca of line 58, where the hyge and modsefa are said to hweorfan.

The poet is in control of his diction when he uses

breosthord and hreperloca to denote the location of the mind. Only here and not elsewhere in the poem does the poet draw the distinction between the mind and its location; a distinction which contributes to the meaning of the passage in which the seafarer hopes to escape sorrow by letting his mind fly free from his body.

⁷⁴ Clemoes 1969.

In Christ III,⁷⁵ the "breosta hord" (ChrIII 1072) metaphor cannot be said to be dead unless "feores frætwe" (ChrIII 1073) which varies it and also describes the soul is likewise dead; nor is the image of the hord limited simply to these lines but occurs twice before in the same passage to describe how men cannot hide the hoard of their "heortan gepohtas" (ChrIII 1047, 1055) from God on Judgement Day. The description of Guthlac's body as a breosthord (ChrIII 944) can also be shown to be part of a wider design in which the word hord appears repeatedly. Terms for the mind, the soul and the body recur frequently in Guthlac B -- not surprisingly given that the saint's death is the poem's subject. But the poet uses these terms carefully to convey Guthlac's perception of his death as a happy separation of his soul from a body which is no more than a container, and to contrast this with his servant's distress that Guthlac's spirit should give up his body.⁷⁶

The collocation of breost and hord illustrates something of the stylistic variety of Old English poetry. The tendency, in Beowulf and Genesis A, of breost and hord to appear together in the vicinity of other treasure language was remarked on and at the same time the apparent absence of rhetorical or thematic design influencing the choice of the words breost or hord was noted.⁷⁷ However, in four religious poems from the Exeter Book, Christ III,

⁷⁵ See Ch.4, p.241 for quotation.

⁷⁶ Rosier 1970, pp.84-8 and Bjork 1985, pp.90-1 and 93.

⁷⁷ See above, Ch.4, pp.243-45.

Guthlac B, The Seafarer and The Riming Poem we saw the collocation of hord and breost fully integrated into a sophisticated rhetorical pattern. Whilst all Anglo-Saxon poets appear to inherit not just a wordhoard, but other larger conventions, they show considerable diversity in the way they control or are controlled by that conventionality.

FEORH and HORD

Feorh and hord collocate on ten occasions, of which seven are metaphorical instances of hord.⁷⁸ The three literal instances all occur in Beowulf. Twice it is said that Beowulf bought the hord with his feorh (Beo 2800 and 3013) and earlier Hrothgar insisted that if Hygelac should die while Beowulf kept his feorh (Beo 1849) he would be the best hordweard (Beo 1852). Of the seven metaphorical occurrences, the compound feorhhord accounts for four while looser relationships between the two elements account for the remaining three. Feorh denotes a mortal life-force or spirit and also the soul, but not the body.⁷⁹

The appearance of the collocation in Christ III has already been considered with reference to "breosta hord" but a few points will be made here. "Feores frætwe" (ChrIII 1073) varies "breosta hord" (ChrIII 1072) which are borne before God by the just in heaven. Other comments in the surrounding lines indicate that both phrases are best

⁷⁸ And 1180, ChrIII 1069, GuthB 1141, Ph 219, Rim 45, Beo 1845, 2419, 2799, 3010, WldB 18.

⁷⁹ See above, Ch.3, p.110.

understood as soul.⁸⁰ The appearance of the collocation in The Riming Poem has likewise also been discussed.⁸¹ The lines have been a crux but some critics have suggested that the hapax legomenon brondhord has a metaphorical facet which denotes the mind. The hord appears to be the "contained" since it is located "breostum in" (Ruin 46) which varies the "in feore" (Ruin 45) of the previous line. The notion that brondhord, referring to the mind, could be located in the seemingly non-material feorh points up the difficulty of precisely translating the term feorh with any single Modern English word. As Beowulf "hælo ahead" to his men before his fight with the dragon, the poet comments that he will soon die:

Him wæs geomor sefa,
 wæfre and wælfus, wyrd ungemete neah,
 se ðone gomelan gretan sceolde,
 secean sawle hord, sundur gedælan
 lif wið lice, no þon lange wæs
 feorh æþelinges flæsce bewunden.
(Beo 2419-24)

The phrase "sawle hord," with soul as a dependent genitive, can be rendered as either the body or soul, depending on whether hord is construed as a container (i.e. the body

⁸⁰ See above, Ch.4, p.241.

⁸¹ See above, Ch.4, pp.241-42.

containing the soul), or the contained (i.e. with sawle indicating the kind of hoard).⁸² Either reading would be appropriate in these lines. Lif and feorh are opposed to the body, but it is not possible in this passage to be certain that the poet conceives of feorh and lif as separate from the soul.

The four instances of the compound feorhhord cannot all be understood as having the same referent, although the majority seem to denote the body. Two interpretations are possible. Either hord is a container and feorh denotes what is contained, in which case the compound refers to the body, or hord is contained and feorh modifies hord, in which case the compound refers to the mortal spirit or life-force or even the soul. In Andreas, the devil urges the residents of Mermedonia to kill the saint:

Læteð wæpnes spor
 iren ecgheard, ealdorgeard sceoran,
 fæges feorhhord. Gað fromlice
 þæt ge wiðerfeohrend wiges gehnægan.
 (And 1180-83)

Waldere B offers an almost identical situation, with a body attacked in combat:

Standeð me her on eaxelum Ælfheres laf,
 god and geapneb, golde geweorðod,
 ealles unscende æðelinges reaf

⁸² Klaeber reads sawol here as "lebensprinzip," "leben" and relates the phrase secean sawle to the Latin. He writes: "Die Verbindung sawle secean ist offenbar aus dem lat. animam quaerere zu erklären (was schon von Gering und Holthausen bemerkt wurde): Mat.II 20 quaerebant animam pueri (ws. Übers.: þæs cildes sawle sohton), Ps. XXXIV 4, LXXXV 14 (Par.Ps. sohton mine sawle), I.Reg.XX 1, XXII 23, Rom. XI 3, etc. York Miss. I 28, 61, 63, 65, 73, 76; Greg., Hom. in Evang., I, hom. 14, § 3 mortes animarum quaerit." Klaeber 1911-1912, p. 464-65.

to habbanne, þonne hand wereð
feorhhord feondum.

(WldB 18-22)

The occurrence of feorhhord in Guthlac B is somewhat
ambiguous:

Com se seofeða dæg
ældum ondweard, þæs þe him in gesonc,
hat, heortan neah, hildescurum
flacor flanþracu, feorhhord onleac,
searocægum gesoht.

(GuthB 1141-45)

While it might seem that only the body can be harmed by a
weapon, there are instances where the soul, more or less
equivalent to feorh and lif, can experience physical attack.
Likewise, the meaning of feorhhord in The Phoenix is not
clear-cut:

þonne fyr þigeð
lænne lichoman; lif bið on siðe,
fæges feorhhord, þonne flæs and ban
adleg æleð. Hwæpre him eft cymeð
æfter fyrstmeorce feorh edniwe,
siþþan þa yslan eft onginnað
æfter ligþræce lucan togædre,
geclungne to cleowenne.

(Ph 219-26)

Other instances of lif and lichama in Old English verse show
that the two are not identical, the first being a mortal
spirit and the second the body.⁸³ But whether feorhhord is
to be identified with lif or with lichama or if it
introduces the notion of the soul in this passage is
uncertain. Lif and feorhhord vary each other, but that does
not indicate whether they share the same referent or
enumerate each other. As usual, the uncertainty lies with
whether hord denotes a container or the contained. If the

⁸³ See above, Ch.3, p.110.

former, then the compound refers to the body as the vessel holding feorh. If the latter, and feorh tells us the nature of the treasure, then the compound refers to the mortal spirit or the soul. N.F. Blake's identification of feorhhord as "soul, spirit" errs because it does not include the possibility of the body which a close examination of the text reveals to be equally, if not more, probable.⁸⁴

Feorhhord occurs as part of an identifiable formula on two occasions. The half-line "fæges feorhhord" appears in both Andreas and The Phoenix, poems not noted for their stylistic similarities. Although "fæges feorhhord" accounts for half of the instances of feorhhord, it is difficult to make further remarks about its conventionality, since while both instances involve death, or the threat of death, it would be better not to put too much weight on the role of context in giving rise to this formula since the collocation of feorh and hord is itself often associated with death. "Feorhhord onleac" (GuthB 1144) is part of a larger formulaic system which will be considered in a discussion of the collocation of hord and onlucan.⁸⁵ Otherwise the only apparent conventions surrounding the collocation of feorh and hord is that feorh and flæsc alliterate on two occasions (Ph 221, Beo 2424). Given the close contextual and conceptual links between many of the instances of feorh and hord collocation, such conventional aspects of the diction are not, especially by comparison, striking.

⁸⁴ Blake 1990, p.109.

⁸⁵ See below, Ch.4, p.296.

In some instances, especially where there seems to be no wordplay or other rhetorical device connected with the collocation, it is possible to put forward the suggestion that the presence of other treasure language has influenced the poet's choice of a metaphorical hoard for the soul or body -- or whatever is being denoted. The strongest case exists for Waldere B (see the lines already quoted) where laf, gold and reaf precede mention of feorhhord (WldB 18-22). In Beowulf there is some mention of treasure in the lines preceding and following those predicting Beowulf's death: see, for example, goldmaðmas (Beo 2414), goldwine (Beo 2419) and "sinca baldor" (Beo 2428), but treasure language is so prevalent in the poem that, although it is not outside the realm of possibility, this does not represent an especially convincing case. Finally, in Andreas, weapons, which are treasure in verse, "wæpnes spor" and "iren ecgheard" (And 1180-81) might have encouraged the poet's designation of the saint's body as a feorhhord.⁸⁶

Some passages offer evidence of rhetorical design. The Riming Poem has already been discussed, as has the repetition of -hord compounds for the body in Guthlac B, and the implications of the variation of "breosta hord" and "feores frætwe."⁸⁷ Particularly in Guthlac B, where not only the verb onlucan appears, but also searocæga (GuthB 1141-45), and in Christ III with "feores frætwe" varying

⁸⁶ See above, Ch.4, pp.244-45 for another example of triggering.

⁸⁷ See above, Ch.4, pp.236-40, 241-42, 246.

"breosta hord" (ChrIII 1072), the metaphor of likening the soul to a treasure or the body to a treasury, cannot be said to be dead, in contrast to the just discussed examples from Beowulf, Waldere B and Andreas. The only possible wordplay in the Andreas instance would lie with the portrayal of the devil, at the beginning of the speech in which he incites the Mermedonians to attack Andreas' feorhhord, as a "morpres brytta" (And 1170). Brytta often appears as part of a formula for treasurer-giver as in "sinces brytta" and "goldes brytta," but many other non-treasure words occur as part of the same formulaic system. Although "sinces brytta" is the most common product of the system, it cannot be assumed that it represents the source of all the other related formulas and that there is any connotation of treasure surrounding the use of brytta at line 1170. While hord is of no special significance in The Phoenix, it is in keeping with frequent designation of the bird in terms of treasure, particularly frætwe. The poem's concern with the renewal of life after both the fire in the phoenix's nest and the fire of Judgement Day, results in the frequent appearance of feorh as well as lif, which lends an air of appropriateness to the use of the compound in the poem. This points to the way that the requirements of alliteration and meter, which may have prompted the use of feorhhord here, and the thematic and rhetorical facets of the poem are not mutually exclusive and both can simultaneously influence a poet's choice of words.

As with the collocation of breosta and hord, we have found evidence for a variety of stylistic contexts for the feorh and hord collocation which again suggests the diversity of possible responses individual poets could make to their inherited and shared wordhoard.

FLÆSC and HORD

Flæsc collocates with hord on three occasions.⁸⁸ Only in Soul and Body does the collocation form the compound flæschord. The two elements do not themselves establish or participate in any formulas. After foretelling how wyrd would seek out Beowulf's "sawle hord" (Beo 2422), the poet continues with the more physical aspects of Beowulf's death, when his feorh will no longer be "flæsce bewunden" (Beo 2424). The feorh of Beowulf is described as "flæsce bewunden" and thus⁸⁹ not to be identified with the body; rather it denotes either some life-force, or spirit, or the soul. The half-line "flæsce bewunden," though not attested elsewhere, is part of the same formulaic system as "flæsce bifongen" which occurs five times,⁸⁹ sometimes in connection with death. The difficult passage from The Phoenix which includes the collocation of flæsc with feorhhord, in which we cannot be certain if flæsc and hord are paralleled or opposed, has already been discussed.⁹⁰

⁸⁸ SBI 103/SBII 97, Ph 219, Beo 2419.

⁸⁹ SBI 103/SBII 97, GuthB 994, Ph 259, 535, and Vng 48.

⁹⁰ See above, Ch.4, pp.250-51.

The appearance of flæschord in the first part of Soul and Body ^{and Body} must be considered in light of the poet's conception of the body and the soul, which is implied by the nature of the soul's attack on the body. Throughout this section of the poem, the soul attacks the body for its behavior and desires while it was alive. The soul speaks as though, if it were not for its physical decay, the body could speak -- as though it had something to say for itself distinct from the soul. The soul itself is presented as innocently damned to hell on account of this behavior, the implication being that the body possessed some life-force or will which was not soul, and which was responsible for the body. This notion is quite distinct from the understanding of the soul as justly accountable for the life led by the body on earth.⁹¹ Hence when looking at the compound flæschord three possible referents must be considered: the soul, the life-force and the body. If hord denotes a container, the first element flæsc could indicate that the container itself is made of flesh (in which case it could contain either the soul or the life-force) or that the container was filled with flesh; in either case the result of the compound is the body. When hord is understood as the contents, flæsc indicates where the hord is contained or even whose hord it is, then the compound denotes either the soul or the life-force. The context of the compound's appearance in Soul and Body precludes the compound meaning the soul:

⁹¹ Moffat 1990, pp.39-40.

Fyrnað þus þæt flæschord, sceall þonne feran
 onweg,
secan hellegrund, nallæs heofondreamas,
dædum gedrefed.

(SBI 103-105)

The most obvious reading of the first half-line quoted here is "thus it reviles the fläschord" with "it" referring to the soul, which berates either the body or the life-force. It is impossible to tell which is denoted by fläschord. It is perhaps overly specific to distinguish sharply between the body and the life-force, and the compound could well include both, but it must be noted that if that is the case, the body is not solely of the flesh but has a spiritual, intangible, facet as well.

The insight which the collocation of flæsc and hord gives into the conventionality or originality of the style of the poems in which it appears does not supplement the comments already made concerning The Phoenix and Beowulf in connection with the collocation of feorh and hord.⁹²

Fläschord appears only in Soul and Body. While we cannot know if it was coined especially by the poet or if other examples have been lost, given the poem's ghoulish interest in the sinful body's decay as it becomes "wyrmmum to wiste" (SBI 25), the choice of fläschord rather than any other -hord compound shows the poet choosing words in line with the overall thematic concerns of the poem. He may have been drawing as well on the possible negative nuances of flæsc.⁹³ Likewise, verbal repetition suggests a poet

⁹² See above, Ch.4, 247-54.

⁹³ Moffat 1990, pp.18-9.

controlling his wordhoard rather than vice verse. Fläschord alliterates with the verb fyrenap echoing two earlier instances in the poem where flæsc and fyren alliterate (SBI 34 and 44). In the first case, the soul complains of his situation when the body was alive:

flæsce befangen, Ne meahte ic ðe of cuman,
pine geprungon. ond me fyrenlustas

(SBI 33-35)

Ten lines later, the soul laments that when the body was *alive* and they were united:

...þu ne hogodest her on life,
syððan ic ðe on worulde wunian sceolde,
þæt ðu wære þurh flæsc ond þurh fyrenlustas
strange gestryned ond gestaðold þurh me,
ond ic wæs gast on ðe fram gode sended.

(SBI 42-46)

Had the body realized this, the soul would not be suffering the torments of hell. While it is difficult to see that the repetition of flæsc and fyren creates any sharply defined structural unit, it does serve to contrast what was, with what could have been, and to emphasize the opposition between the flesh and its fyrenlustas, on the one hand, and the desires of the soul, on the other hand. The collocation of flæsc and fyren recurs sixty-nine lines later in the half-line "fyrnað þus þæt fläschord" (SBI 103), which are the first words after the soul's long chastisement of the body and which refer back to that long speech. In the first two cases, fyren and flæsc oppressed the soul, and now the poet uses the same language to describe how the soul treats the body, effectively emphasizing the reversal in the relationship between the soul and the body after death.

Although fyren and flæsc might be expected to repeat in a poem emphasizing the connection of the body and sin, they appear to be employed as an alliterating pair to advance the thematic concerns of the poem.

GREOT and HORD

Greot and hord collocate only twice in Old English verse.⁹⁴ At the end of Beowulf, the treasure formerly taken from the hord (Beo 3164) is referred to as "gold on greote" (Beo 3167) and buried again with the dead hero. There appears to be little link between this occurrence and that of the compound greothord in Guthlac B which relates to the soul and body topos:

to þam soþan gefean	Nu of hreþerlocan
Nis seo tid latu,	sawel fundað.
greothord gnornað	tydrað þis banfæt,
on ecne gearð.	gæst hine fyseð
	(<u>GuthB</u> 1263-67)

Without reference to its context, greothord could be construed in several ways, but body seems the most likely since the soul does not grieve (gnornað) in the face of death. The use of greothord, as well as banfæt and hreþerloca here is in line with the poet's concern to describe the saint's death, when the saint or the narrator's voice is being used, in terms of the felicitous separation of the soul from the body.⁹⁵

⁹⁴ GuthB 1265 and Beo 3163.

⁹⁵ See above, Ch.4, p.246.

LIC and HORD

Lic and hord collocate four times.⁹⁶ Two of these form the compound lichord which occurs in identical full lines in Guthlac B. In Beowulf "sawle hord" (Beo 2422) collocates with lic (Beo 2423) in lines where it is impossible to determine whether hord denotes the body or the soul.⁹⁷ In The Phoenix the collocation with lichama does not shed any further light on feorhhord which remains difficult to interpret (Ph 219-22). We can simply point out that both hord and homa, the second elements of the compound, are locations and could both be understood in terms of a vessel. But lichama appears widely (seventy times in Old English verse), and the Anglo-Saxon poets do not seem aware of the implications of its two elements and treat the compound as a single word.

The usual hord as container or contained question again lies at the root of the interpretative difficulty of lichord in Guthlac B. If hord is the container, than lic can either reveal what that hord contains or modify the nature of the container -- in either case giving the meaning as "body," though in the latter laying more emphasis on the body as a container of the soul, or the mind, or the life-spirit. If hord denotes, instead, the contained, lic may then convey where the hord is contained -- whose hoard it is -- in which case we must read soul, or mind, or life-spirit; or else lic may indicate the nature of the hoard, that it is corporeal,

⁹⁶ GuthB 954, 1025, Ph 219, Beo 2419.

⁹⁷ See above, Ch.4, pp.248-49.

in which case we must read body. As with breosthord, lichord is difficult to construe in Guthlac B, since the poet is concerned with the state of the saint's body, mind, and soul, and refers to all three in the same passage. The compound occurs twice in two virtually identical passages. First the poet writes:

Wæs se bancofa
adle onæled, inbendum fæst,
lichord onlocen. Leomu hefegedon,
sarum gesohte.
(GuthB 954-57)

Then he writes:

Ic wille secgan þæt me sar gehran,
wærc in gewod in ðisse wonnan niht,
lichord onleac. Leomu hefegiað
sarum gesohte.
(GuthB 1027-30)

The poem's editors have disagreed as to how best to translate the term. Thorpe writes that the poet replaced lichoma for lichord "obviously for the sake of the metaphor with onleac"⁹⁸ and likewise Gollancz translates lichord as "frame."⁹⁹ Jane Roberts, drawing a parallel to the earlier breosthord which she argues means "soul," departs from other editors and reads lichord too as "soul."¹⁰⁰ There is much to be said for drawing attention to the parallel with the lines which contain breosthord and occur only twelve lines earlier.¹⁰¹ As with breosthord, lichord is in apposition with bancofa; the two words depend on a single wæs and are

⁹⁸ Thorpe 1842, p.506.

⁹⁹ Gollancz 1895, p.163.

¹⁰⁰ See above, Ch.4, pp.236-40.

¹⁰¹ Roberts 1979, p.165, note to l.956.

both modified by past participles. The similar syntax of the two passages may suggest that the two hord compounds share the same referent. But it is possible, as discussed earlier, that breosthord denotes the body, hence the parallel is not decisive evidence for reading lichord as soul. Moreover, the syntactic parallels within the lines containing lichord seem to suggest that lichord and bancofa share a referent which would have to be "the body." Finally, Robert Bjork writes in his analysis of lines 1027-47 that "the speech is relatively equally divided between the concepts of physical death (lines 1027-38a) and eternal life (1038b-47)."¹⁰² Lichord occurs in the passage concerned with the decay of the body.

The implications of the appearance of hord in The Phoenix and Beowulf for the style of both poems has already been touched on, and the collocation with lic adds little further insight save that it may be worth noting that the half-line "læne lichoman" appears again in The Phoenix at line 489.¹⁰³ Little store, however, can be set by this since, the transience of the body is a general concern in the poem and I can find no evident attempt by the poet to parallel the two passages.

Of greater importance to this present discussion is the repetition of not just an entire line, but a line-and-a-half within 73 lines in Guthlac B. The importance of -hord compounds (and other vessel compounds such as -fæt and -

¹⁰² Bjork 1985, p.95.

¹⁰³ See above, Ch.4, pp.243, 246-47, 252-54.

cofa) to the poem's thematic concerns have already been commented on, and the formula "lichord onleac" will be considered later when the system of which it is one part is examined in detail.¹⁰⁴ The repetition of one and a half-lines seems clumsy to modern sensibilities, an indication that the poet was not fully in command of his diction, an impression which the presence of a common formula in the recurring line confirms. Indeed, there is little to point us away from such an impression, although the situation is perhaps not quite so clear-cut. The first instance of the line and half-line occurs in the narrator's account of the first attack of illness on Guthlac, while the second occurs when Guthlac first explains his illness -- in terms of a release of the soul from the body -- to his grieving servant. In other words, both passages recount precisely the same event, not just the illness in general which will be mentioned again and again in the poem, but the initial attack of the illness. Despite the Guthlac B poet's frequent use of hord compounds in his description of the saint's disease, only here does he repeat lichord. This may indicate that the repetition is part of a rhetorical design dependent on verbal repetition, or equally it may indicate the integral and weighty role of context in such extended repetitions -- confronted with the same situation the same words come to the poet's mind. Such a repeating line and half points to the way in which even repetitions which seem to have some rhetorical effect can be nonetheless

¹⁰⁴ See below, Ch.4, pp.296-97.

repetitious.¹⁰⁵ While we find it difficult, impossible in this case, to distinguish between these two possibilities, (one indicating originality and a poet controlling his wordhoard, the other conventionality and the wordhoard and verse form controlling a poet), importantly draw attention to the complexity involved in interpreting verbal repetition.

MOD and HORD

Hord collocates ten times with mod, and its derivatives.¹⁰⁶
~~Mod and related terms~~
 have broad semantic fields, tend to form compounds and occur with a range of meanings. In most cases, the hord concerned is literal as in:

Ne scel anes hwæt
 meltan mid þam modigan, ac þær is maðma hord,
 gold unrime, grimme gecea[po]d
 (Beo 3010-12)

and mod is so common in Old English verse that little comment is warranted. Further, in many instances where hord is used metaphorically to denote the mind, it not surprisingly collocates with mod, with a variety of relationships between the two words. Hence it does not seem necessary to suggest any sort of convention lying behind the collocation. In several instances the collocation is part

¹⁰⁵ Bjork sees the "nearly verbatim echoing of lines" here as part of the deliberate rhetorical strategy of the poem. He does not address the issue of intentionality nor the possibility that the rhetorical and the repetitious are not mutually exclusive (Bjork 1985, p.95).

¹⁰⁶ And 167, 1112, ChrII 785, OrW 17, HmFgII 1, 11, Beo 2278, 2293, 3010, CPPref 5.

of the mind-hoard topos. In the metrical preface to the Old English version of The Pastoral Care, we read:

Ryhtspell monig
Gregorius gleawmod gindwod
ðurh sefan snyttro, searoðonca hord.
(CPPref 5-7)

Here, the poet explicitly speaks of the mind as a container, a "searoðonca hord." The collocation appears twice in The Homiletic Fragment II of the Exeter Book, where the mind of the person addressed and the mind of Mary are described as the location of treasure: hordloca (HmFgII 3) and hordfæt (HmFgII 18) respectively; whether hord expresses the nature of the loca and fæt or, as seems more likely, what is contained inside the place, cannot be distinguished (this point will be further discussed under hord and loca). Finally mod and hord collocate as part of the familiar formulaic systems "-hord onleac" in Andreas (And 172). Modhord is the most difficult of the -hord compounds to construe, since it can be understood as "container of the mind," in which case as the body or breast, or with mod modifying the nature of the container as the mind. If hord is instead the contained, the result is either thoughts or the like, with mod indicating where the hord is located or, modhord is, somewhat indeterminately, mind or thought, with mod simply indicating that the nature of the hord is cerebral.

The only readily apparent formula connected with the collocation is "-hord onleac" which will be discussed extensively later; however, a few points remain pertinent here. Although modhord represents a hapax legomenon, it can

hardly be viewed as evidence of a particular creativity on the part of the Andreas poet who seems fond of the formulaic system and does not appear to use it with any sense of wordplay.¹⁰⁷ Other hord compounds feorhhord (And 1182) and hordloca (And 671) also occur in the poem. By contrast, in The Homiletic Fragment II the poet uses the repetition of both mod and hord to create a verse paragraph which not only serves to define the poem as a unit but which also contributes to the meaning of the poem. The repetitions draw a parallel between the person addressed by the poem, who is told "heald hordlocan, hyge fæste bind," (HmFgII 3) and exhorted to believe in God, and the Virgin Mary, in whose hordfæt, (HmFgII 18) the poet tells us, the Holy Spirit created life which is identified as Christ. The structural parallel also points away from reading hordfæt as referring to Mary's womb and calls for a more spiritual understanding of Christ's conception. Krapp and Dobbie labelled the poem a fragment in their edition of the Exeter Book, but note themselves:

There is nothing in the manuscript to indicate that this poem is a fragment, and it might be regarded as complete in itself, but the incomplete development of the theme of the Nativity in the closing lines makes it quite likely that matter has been lost at the end, and it has been generally assumed that the poem is incomplete at the beginning also.¹⁰⁸

The repetition of mod and hord may suggest that the poem is complete as it stands.

¹⁰⁷ And 167, 315, 601.

¹⁰⁸ Krapp/Dobbie 1936, p.lxiv.

SAWL and HORD

Sawl and hord collocate three times in Old English verse;¹⁰⁹ twice as the compound sawlhord and once with sawl as a genitive dependent on hord. Given the widespread association of hord with the separation of the body and the soul at death, the collocation of the soul and hoard is best understood as part of that larger convention. The expression "sawle hord" (Beo 2422) could refer to either the body or the soul.¹¹⁰ An attempt to translate sawlhord without reference to its context cannot determine body or soul, since sawl could tell what the hord as body contained, or sawl could explain the nature of the hord which would thus be the soul. The poet of The Fortunes of Men tells us:

Sum sceal on geapum galgan ridan,
seomian æt swylte, oppæt sawlhord,
bancofa blodig, abrocen weorpeð.
(Fort 33-35)

The variation with "bancofa blodig," its depiction as abrocen and the concern of the passage as a whole with the situation of a dead body as it hangs on the gallows leaves no doubt that body is the appropriate reading for sawlhord. The instances of sawlhord in The Paris Psalter is difficult to interpret, especially if the half-line "oð sawlhord" is left unemended:

He æbyligðe on hi bitter and yrre,
sarlic sende oð sawlhord
and þæt wið yfele englas sende.
(PPs 77.49)

¹⁰⁹ Fort 33, Beo 2419, PPs 77.49.

¹¹⁰ See above, Ch.4, pp.248-49.

If oð is changed to on than sawlhord can be read as varying and having the same referent as hi. But it remains impossible to distinguish whether sawlhord should be read spiritually or corporeally; some comment, however, can be made concerning the versifier's mode of composition. Sawlhord finds no parallel in the Latin text, which simply refers to "in eis," translated by the Old English "in hi." Hence the compound provides evidence of the versifier resorting to conventional diction to fulfill the requirements of his vernacular verse.

WORD and HORD

Word and hord collocate with each other 14 times.¹¹¹ Although the compound wordhord accounts for seven of these occurrences, the association of the two elements has a wider currency expressed in a variety of syntactic and morphological relationships and found in a full range of Old English verse. Wordhord is the most common of the -hord compounds, and it is possible that rhyme plays a role in the attraction of the two elements, a comment which would also apply to the hapax legomenon hordword (Rid84 54). As with all the other -hord compounds, wordhord can be interpreted either as a container or as contained, and it is worth considering the two readings briefly at the outset although each individual instance will have to be discussed in its context. If wordhord refers to a container and we take word

¹¹¹ And 167, 315, 601, 669, HmFgI 3, Vng 3, OrW 17, Wid 1, Rid84 54, 54, Beo 258, 2788, MB 6:1, KtPs 26.

as denoting its contents, then we must ask what contains words -- the mouth and the mind suggesting themselves immediately, and given the association of both the compound and the collocation with wisdom and even the breast, the latter seems the more tenable. The prevalent association of wordhord with words for opening also lends weight to this reading, though not necessarily in every case. If word modifies the nature of the container the term would become nonsense. The other viable option is hord as the contained and word indicating the nature of what is contained in which case we have a hoard or collection of words, a reading which would suit some of the contexts in which the compound appears. If we understand word as denoting where the hoard, as a container, is located, we again come up with a nonsense term.

Five of the seven instances of wordhord appear in the formula, "wordhord onleac,"¹¹² which occurs in poems representing a range of Old English verse.¹¹³ A similar expression in Vainglory "wordhord onwreah" (Vng 3) does not so obviously refer to either container or contained.

Onwreon, which Bosworth and Toller define as "to uncover, disclose," is equally applicable to the mind as a container of words, parallel to a treasury, or to a collection of words, although the context which describes the speaker as witega (Vng 3) and "beorn boca gleaw" (Vng 4) points to a

¹¹² See below, Ch.4, pp.294-98.

¹¹³ And 315, 601, Wid 1, Beo 258, MB 6:1. See above, Ch.4, pp. for a discussion of the compound in Andreas and Widsith.

connection with mental activity. A comparison of this instance of onwreon with its other occurrences in Old English verse shows that the half-line "wordhord onwreah" was not simply a convenient way to express "he said." The verb onwreon is used in 19 of its 21 appearances to describe the revelation of theological truth either about God or about how life ought to be led. For example, between the Resurrection and the Ascension, Christ revealed many mysteries to the Apostles:

pær him tacna fela tires brytta
onwrah, wuldres helm, wordgerymmum.
(ChrI 462-63)

In Elene, the verb is applied to discovering the location of the cross and the nails. On two occasions, it is sin which is revealed. The instance of onwreon in Vainglory stands firmly within the association of the verb with theological truth:

Wordhord onwreah witgan larum
beorn boca gleaw, bodan ærcwide,
pæt ic soðlice sippan meahte
ongitan bi þam gealdre godes agen bearn,
wilgest on wicum, ond þone wacran swa some,
scyldum bescyredne, on gescead witan.
(Vng 3-8)

The poet of Vainglory has skillfully combined onwreon with the "wordhord onleac" formulaic system in a manner which shows him building on the inherited wordhoard but also controlling that diction.

Thus far wordhord has appeared only in the context of speaking; in The Order of the World, however, while still perhaps including the notion of speaking, the meaning is less specific. A man wise in book-knowledge exhorts his

audience that understanding of the divine can be found through a contemplation of the natural world. The poem opens with a question as the poet asks if "þu, fus hæle" (OrW 1) are willing to listen to a learned man's teachings about God's creation. He then goes on with the somewhat gnomic but also cryptic statement that it is readily apparent to "wera cneorissum" (OrW 7):

þæt gearu iu, gliwes cræfte,
mid gieddingum guman oft wrecan,
rincas rædfæste; cupon ryht spreca,
þæt a fricgende fira cynnes
ond secgende searoruna gespon
a gemyndge mæst monna wiston.
Forþon scyle ascian, se þe on elne leofað,
deophydig mon, dygelra gesceafta,
bewritan in gewitte wordhordes cræft,
fæstnian ferðsefan, þencan forð teala;
ne sceal þæs apreotan þegn modigne,
þæt he wislice woruld fulgonge.
(OrW 11-22)

These lines seem to say that poetry, (or whatever else "gliwes cræfte" and "mid gieddingum" might denote, such as philosophy or ornate language), not just in its making but also in its fricgend, secgend and its gemyndig by men, is a way of acquiring a knowledge of God through creation. Hence he calls on all who are "deophydig dygelra gesceafta" to "bewritan in gewitte wordhordes cræft." "Wordhordes cræft" seems best understood as skill in poetry, but in light of all the other instances of the compound -- the connection of wordhord with speaking -- and the comments about all men asking, speaking and remembering this poetry, what is at issue here is not just skill with words, with the notion, lurking in the background, that man discovers much through composing poetry, but more specifically with the speaking of

interpretation also gets away from the anachronistically modern and potentially heretical reading of N.D. Isaacs. Isaacs' reading implies a parallel between a poet composing verse and God making creation, which would have the poet of The Order of the World writing about writing. A parallel between creation and a riddle would be more orthodox and more of a piece with the poet's doctrinally sound knowledge that man's understanding of the universe, and God through it, is necessarily limited. As he says with regard to the sun: "nænig fira þæs frod leofað" who can "þurh his agene sped witan" (OrW 76-77) its setting.¹¹⁴

The only appearance of wordhord outside of the formula "wordhord onleac" might suggest that even when the inherited diction of Anglo-Saxon poetry includes not just an expression but a strong convention associated with its use, an individual poet, perhaps here even coining the term wordhord anew, does have the freedom to control his diction. In this case he picks up on other associations of a word, here that of hord with riddles, rather than using an expression only as part of a formula.

Thus far we have only considered the collocation of hord and word in the compound wordhord, and while this is its most prevalent form, the collocation has a more general nature. The order of the two elements is reversed in the compound hordword (Rid84 54), which appears in the damaged closing lines of Riddle 84 whose solution "water" virtually

¹¹⁴ Isaacs 1968, pp.71-82.

all editors accept. As too often stated already, hord can carry with it connotations of treasury, a container, or treasure, the contained. Whether such connotations exist must be assessed at each individual instance, in many of which, as is the case here, a certain determination cannot be made. With a very high portion of the identifiable instances of hord demonstrably denoting treasure,¹¹⁵ the likelihood is strong that it does so here as well. In *this* case, hord either indicates that words come from a treasury or themselves have the character of treasure, the compound's appearance with the verb onhlidan supporting the former rather the latter reading. The compound occurs in the poet's call to his audience to solve the riddle:

Hordword onhlid, hælepum ge[....
 wreoh, wordum geopena
 hu mislic sy mægen þara cy[...].
(Rid84 54-56)

The context of hordword links up with the association of speaking and thinking seen with wordhord. Here, with the use of hordword, the poet calls not only for a solution to be articulated, but as the strong connection to hord with the mind suggests, also ^{to be} figured out. Without the hord element nothing in these lines would indicate mental activity and although the compound is a hapax legomenon, the poet seems able to rely on the conventional association of hord and the mind to convey this aspect.¹¹⁶ Besides drawing on conventional diction, the poet manipulates verbal

¹¹⁵ See above, Ch.3, p.101.

¹¹⁶ See below, Ch.4, p.277-80 for the parallel with Riddle 42.

repetition, though it does not involve hord. These closing lines, in a riddle full of verbal repetitions (see for example especially wlite/wlitig, wuldor, wundur, wyn and mægen) echo:

næning oprum mæg
 wlite and wisan wordum gecypan,
 hu mislic biþ mægen þara cynna,
 fyrr forðgesceaft.

(Rid84 6-9)

If successive editors are correct and "cynna" (Rid84 56) is the poem's last word, then the entire final line virtually repeats line 8; word, and depending on the acceptance of emendation, gecypan (Rid84 7 and 54) also repeat. The meaning of these two passages which seem to be almost mirror images of each other, is not, however, the same. Rather than calling for a solution, the earlier passage comments on the impossibility of man describing the nature of the riddled creature and perhaps by extension all of creation. The last lines ask not for a solution -- the solution "water" is obvious (as the lack of editorial disagreement and the parallel with Latin riddles indicates) -- but for an explanation of "hu myslic sy mægen þara cy[nna]" (Rid84 56) just what the earlier lines declared impossible. This verbal envelope seems to ~~make~~ *make* this riddle, with its strong interest in creation, into a parallel to The Order of the World, which presented creation as a ponderable but unsolvable riddle and insisted on the role of "wordhordes craft" in its contemplation. A consideration of the repetition of line 8 and line 56 is key to understanding the meaning of the riddle, which does not ask us to solve it but

rather to contemplate the creature's nature, through which men contemplate God, the Creator, who is likewise unknowable.

The three remaining instances of the word and hord collocation all testify that the connection of speaking with the opening of a hoard, to which the compound wordhord and its associated formula attest, is rooted in a larger conceptual convention. Further, all three instances underscore the intrinsic connection between speaking and mental activity, which suggests that the conventional link of hord with speaking is best understood as an offshoot of the mind-hoard convention. The Andreas poet, so fond of hord compounds and the "-hord onleac" formula, describes how God "modhord onleac ...ond þus wordum cwæð" (And 172-73). Later, the devil's huscword, spoken when he "hordlocan onspeon" comes from his inwitðanc (And 669-71). Finally, in Beowulf, in an image which conveys the difficulty with which the dying hero speaks, the poet describes how the "wordes ord / breosthord þurhbræc" (Beo 2791-92). This image for speaking is a strange one until we remember that the breast is the seat of the mind. The collocation of hord and word in The Homiletic Fragment I, which shares comparatively few collocations with the other poems, remains nonetheless firmly rooted in the knowledge that speaking is simply the articulation of thoughts: one man speaks behind the back of another "mid æfþancum / ond mid teonwordum" which reveals that he "hafað in his heortan, hord unclæne" (HmFgI 2-6). The frequent overlap of the collocation of hord and word

with the collocation of hord and terms associated with wisdom such as wis and wit,¹¹⁷ in part no doubt a function of word alliterating with wis and wit, also indicates the inseparable link in Old English poetry of speaking and thought.

BINDAN, BEND and HORD

Hord collocates twice with the noun bend and twice with the verb bindan.¹¹⁸ The collocation is always associated with the mind or body as a hoard topos. The Wanderer and The Homiletic Fragment II provide the closest parallels:

Ic to soþe wat
 þæt biþ in eorle indryhten þeaw,
 þæt he his ferðlocan fæste binde,
 healde his hordcofan, hycge swa he wille
 (Wan 11-14)

and

Gefeoh nu on ferðe and to frofre geþeoh
 dryhtne þinum, and þinne dom arær,
 heald hordlocan, hyge fæste bind,
 mid modsefan.

(HmFgII 1-4)

Not only are the instructions the same in both of these sets of lines, with a number of verbal parallels (loca, fæst, hycgan/hyge) present, the two passages share a further context since in both poems the transience of the temporal world prompts the injunction to hold fast the mind. As the poet of the Homiletic Fragment II says:

¹¹⁷ Wit: Ex 33, And 315, OrW 17, PPs 118.2 And 669, KtPs 26, Vng 3, Sea 55. Wis: MB 6:1, PPs 118.2, OrW 17, And 315, Beo 258.

¹¹⁸ GuthB 954, HmFgII 2, Wan 11, Rid42 11.

swa þeos woruld fareð,
scurum scyndeð ond gesceap dreogeð.
(HmFgII 6-7)

In the Homiletic Fragment II, the answer to this transience is explicit:

An is geleafa, an lifgende,
an is fulwiht, an fæder ece.
(HmFgII 8-9)

Furthermore, the lexical repetition of hord, in the hordloca of whomever the poem addresses and the hordfæt of Mary, in which is found both the Holy Spirit and the Christ child, spiritualizing the incarnation, underscores the importance of faith in God rather than the transient. In one possible reading of the poem, at the heart of The Wanderer, lies the contrast between the poem's central figure, who never progresses beyond a vaguely comforting recognition that transience is a universal rather than personal experience, and the message of the poem stated in the poem's concluding lines:

wel bið þam þe him are seceð,
frofre to fæder on heofonum, þær us eal seo
fæstnung stondeð
(Wan 113-14)

which give the answer to transience.¹¹⁹

At the end of Riddle 42 the collocation occurs in the context of an invitation to solve the riddle. Language of the mind is cleverly used in Riddle 42. The hapax legomenon hordgæt appears in a passage which has formed a crux, with

¹¹⁹ See above Ch.4, p.231.

textual and literary critical questions firmly intertwined.¹²⁰ Although it does not solve all the problems, an understanding of the sophisticated and seemingly original use of mind-hord metaphor does make the passage clearer. After telling the riddle proper, the riddler asks if anyone has been able to find the solution:

hwylc þæs hordgates
cægan cræfte þa clamme onleac
þe þa rædellan wið rynemenn
hygefæste heold heortan bewrigene
orþoncbendum?

(Rid42 11-15)

Read literally, these lines make only limited sense:

Who, with the help of a key, has opened the lock
of the treasury door which had securely protected
the riddle, concealed in its heart with cunning
bonds against the riddle-solvers.

While it is clear that a solution is solicited, the reader or hearer may reasonably wonder to what or whom the key, lock and treasury door refer. Reinhard Gleißner maintains that hordgeat, clamm, rædelle, rynemenn, "hygefæste healdan," "heortan bewreon" and orþoncbenda belong to two semantic groups: that of "Verborgenheit, Geheimnis, Verschluß," and that of "Ratio, Verstand."¹²¹ Moreover, given its use here in association with "hygefæste heold" and "heortan bewrigene," hordgeat is analogous to the kennings hordcofa and hordloca, meaning "the breast, thought."¹²² Hygefæst is, of course, reminiscent of well known phrases

¹²⁰ For a full explanation of the textual difficulties see Gleißner 1984, pp.271-283, Pinsker/Ziegler, 1985, pp.255-56 and Williamson 1977, p.277.

¹²¹ Gleißner 1984, p.281.

¹²² Gleißner 1984, p.276.

from The Wanderer. The Wanderer *knows* that "his ferðlocan fæste binde" (Wan 13) and the righteous "in hyra breostcofan bindað fæst" (Wan 18) sadness. Gleißner postulates that given its context with such words as heorte and hygefæst, it is likely that the poet has engaged in some word play in his use of orponcbend. The word should not be read simply as "skillfully made bonds" but as referring to the mind or intellect. The passage in question can thus be read:

Who, with the help of a key, has opened the lock of the mind's door (presumably of the Riddler) which firm in thought had protected the riddle, concealed in the heart with intellectual bonds against the experienced riddle-solvers.

Here the riddler clearly asks if anyone among his audience has come up with a solution. Other editors and translators have seen that the mind comes into play, but it is Gleißner who insists on the extensiveness of the language of the mind, of which the collocation of bend and hord is a part, which makes sense of these lines.¹²³ Given the parallel

¹²³ My translations of lines 11a-15b of Riddle 42 takes hwylc as an interrogative, as has Mackie following Tupper, and I have agreed with Krapp and Dobbie, Gleißner and Pinsker and Ziegler that hwylc refers to the listeners rather than the rune letters. My second, or metaphorical, translation incorporates Gleißner's suggestion regarding the connection of the language of this passage to the language of the mind. I have not, however, accepted his suggestion that hordgates be taken as dependent on cagan. He translates the first lines: "Wer hat mit der Macht des Verstandestürschlüssels die Fessel aufgeschlossen?" (Gleißner 1984 p. 281). This interpretation is unnecessary to support his argument that the poet is writing about the mind here and, as he himself acknowledges, runs counter to the more obvious reading, that hordgates depends on pa clamme, accepted by all other editors and translators. I have agreed with Gleißner's interpretation that in light of its association with such words as heorte and hygefæst, it is likely that there is wordplay on the idea of the mind involved in the poet's use of orponcbend. Gleißner,

with The Homiletic Fragment II and The Wanderer, the collocation of hord and bend in the riddle provides further support for R. Gleißner's translation and interpretation of these lines.

In Guthlac B the collocation occurs in connection with a physical, corporeal even, rather than mental hoard. The meaning of the compound lichord has already been considered,¹²⁴ but the addition of the "inbendum fæst" (GuthB 955) shows that the metaphor is certainly not dead in the hands of the Guthlac B poet, as he extends it and makes it more tangible. Again we see the Guthlac B poet using language most poets apply to a hoard as soul or mind, to a hoard as body.

These four passages provide evidence of the way in which a convention can be associated with a number of specific words yet have very little about it which can be called formulaic. In addition to hord and bend, cofa¹²⁵, fæst,¹²⁶ loc,¹²⁷ healdan,¹²⁸ and hyge¹²⁹ are all

seeing orponcbend as a comment on the nature of riddles in general which at once tries to hide the solution and yet asks the audience to use their minds to solve it, suggests that orponcbend be read as "die Zusammenfassung der beiden Momente des Rationalen und des Geheimnisvollen in einem Wort" (Gleißner 1984, p.282).

¹²⁴ See above, Ch.4, pp.259-61.

¹²⁵ bancofa: GuthB 954, hordcofa: Wan 14.

¹²⁶ GuthB 955, Wan 13, Rid42 14, HmFgII 3.

¹²⁷ onlocen: GuthB 956, ferðloca: Wan 13, hordloca: HmFgII 3.

¹²⁸ Wan 14, Rid42 14, HmFgII 3.

¹²⁹ Wan 14, Rid42 14, HmFgII 3.

repeated, several in all four poems under consideration. On two occasions hyge, healdan and hord form an alliterating triplet.¹³⁰ But the closest we get to a formula, and this is perhaps better described as a formulaic system, are the half-lines "hygefæste heold" (Rid42 14) and "hyge fæste bind" (HmFgII 3), which do not have parallels elsewhere. These lexical parallels simply illustrate that formulas are not the only way in which Old English poetry perpetuated the conventional association of specific words with a concept.

Despite the apparent conventionality, or at least lexical overlap, behind these four instances of the collocation of hord and bindan or bend, each reveals a degree of rhetorical sophistication either in its wordplay or its verbal repetition. Here, as in other places, the Guthlac B poet has a sharp eye for bringing to life or subverting an otherwise possibly dead metaphor. He uses the most formulaic of expressions, "-hord onleac," but adds fetters, making the image much more visual. The wordplay of the poet of Riddle 42 operates in the opposite direction. While the literal is clearly not in question, since the riddler explicitly states that it is a riddle which is to be unlocked, as Gleißner shows, a clear reading of the closing lines depends on recognizing the convention of hord denoting the mind, and bringing that to bear on the understanding of the clever, presumably, coined, orponcbend.¹³¹ Critics

¹³⁰ Wan 14, HmFgII 3.

¹³¹ See above, Ch.4, pp.273-75 for the parallel with Riddle 84.

have long commented on and appreciated the rhetorical sophistication of The Wanderer to which the repetition of the element bind contributes to a linking of the exile's mental state with the weather and the landscape.¹³² The technique of The Homiletic Fragment II, a straightforward piece, contrasts sharply with "the obliqueness of approach" found in such poems as The Wanderer,¹³³ yet here too the poet extends the image of the mind as a hordloca, and uses hord as part of a verbal paragraph which works on the level of both style and meaning.¹³⁴ These four instances of hord and its collocation with bindan or bend are remarkable since they all appear in contexts of some rhetorical display - which certainly cannot be said of many instances in which hord denotes the mind, the soul or the body. The poets do not seem to be simply absent-mindedly filling out their verse lines with whatever words hord triggered in their minds, but are manipulating their inherited conventions and diction with considerable skill and insight.

FÆST and HORD

Fæst and hord collocate eight times in Old English verse with fæst as adjective, adverb, noun and verb.¹³⁵ The source of this collocation seems largely semantic, since

¹³² Wan 24, 57, 13, 18, 102, 40. Irving 1967, p.160.

¹³³ Stanley 1962, p.55.

¹³⁴ See above, Ch.4, p.265.

¹³⁵ GuthB 954, Jul 41, Wan 11, OrW 17, Rid42 11, HmFgII 1, Beo 918, 2949.

the keeping safe or guarding of a hoard is an obvious notion. It represents one of the few collocations which crosses the literal-metaphorical divide, though given the commonness of fæst by itself and as a morpheme, and its usefulness as a filler, too much weight should not be attached to this. The collocation is, however, associated more frequently with metaphorical hoards of the body or the mind. Only the two examples from Beowulf and the one from Juliana refer to literal hoards. In none of these literal instances does fæst apply to the hord.

All of the metaphorical instances of the hord/fæst collocation have already been discussed in other contexts so just a few relevant points will be made here. In line with the generalness of the notion of protecting a hoard,¹³⁶ its metaphoric contexts are varied, though limited to the mind or body as a hoard topos. In Guthlac B the body is held "inbendum fæst" (GuthB 955). The Wanderer and The Homiletic Fragment II urge the importance of holding one's mind fast as a way of coping with transience. In Riddle 42, with its collocation of hordgeat (Rid42 11) and hygefæst (Rid42 14), the invocation to solve the riddle is almost as cryptic as the riddle itself. Most of the overlapping lexis has been mentioned in other contexts: "hyge fæste bind" (HmFg II 3) and "hygefæste heold" (Rid42 14) are as close as we get to a formula. Fæst and bindan or bend occur together in The Wanderer 13, Guthlac B 955, and Homiletic Fragment II 3,

¹³⁶ See above, Ch.3, pp.105-7. At least 27 of the 112 instances of hord are guarded or held making it the most common theme or context associated with the word.

hyge occurs in one form or another in four instances: The Wanderer 14, The Order of the World 17, Riddle 42 14, Homiletic Fragment II 3. As commented on earlier, this points to the potential conventionality of poetic diction extending beyond the formulaic.

Despite the obviousness of the collocation of hord and fæst, there are indications that fæst was used in The Wanderer, The Order of the World and Guthlac B with concern for units larger than the verse line. In The Wanderer the poet twice applies fæst (Wan 13 and 18) to what the exile, whose greatest consolation is the recognition of the universality of transience, must do with his mind. This contrasts with the consolation the Christian finds in God -- "þær us eal seo fæstnung stondeð" (Wan 115) -- the poem's last half-line. Fæst occurs five times in the 102 lines of The Order of the World. "Rincas rædfæste" who speak ryht (OrW 13) in verse and the "deophydg mon" must "wordhordes cræft, / fæstnian ferðsefan" (OrW 18-20). The poet picks up on these comments when he introduces his verses on creation with "gehyr nu þis herespel ond þinne hyge gefæstna" (OrW 37). He then tells how creatures fæstlice fulfill "frea ece word" (OrW 50). Finally, God keeps his creatures "bestryped fæste" (OrW 87). The message here seems similar to that expressed in the final half-line of The Wanderer. The Guthlac B poet uses fæst three times within just ten lines in a manner which reinforces the distinction he constantly draws between the sorry state of the saint's body and the ecstatic state of his soul in the face of death. At

line 955, his body is described as "adle onæled, inbendum fæst" yet five lines later God "fæste trymede" (GuthB 960) his spirit which then is portrayed as sigorfæst (GuthB 965) in its love for God. Old English poets were capable of using even the most mundane language for rhetorical effect which conveyed meaning.

HEORTE and HORD

Heorte and hord collocate nine times which divide into two literal and seven metaphorical instances.¹³⁷ Both literal instances occur in Beowulf. The last survivor mourned "oððæt deaðes wylm / hran æt heortan" (Beo 2269-70). The half-line is finished with a mention of the dragon's finding of the hoard which belongs to a separate syntactical unit: "Hordwynne fond / eald uhtsceaða opene standan" (Beo 2270-71). Later heorte appears in a verbal form as "hyrte hyne hordweard" (Beo 2593) during the dragon's fight with Beowulf.

The connection between heorte and hord is much tighter in the metaphorical contexts, where it appears five times in connection with the mind, soul or body as a hoard topos.¹³⁸ In The Homiletic Fragment I, The Paris Psalter and probably in Riddle 42 the hoard -- the mind -- is envisaged as located in the heart. The man who speaks badly of others:

¹³⁷ HmFgII 3, ChrIII 1047, 1053, GuthB 1141, Rid42 11, Beo 2270, 2593, PPs 118.2, KtPs 26.

¹³⁸ In The Kentish Psalms, hord occurs metaphorically in lines introducing a speech containing the word heorte. There appears to be no connection between the two words.

"hafað in heortan, hord unclæne" (HmFgI 6) (with hord as either the mind or thoughts); in the Psalter we find "heortan hordcofa" (PPs 118.2) with hordcofa a container, and thus the mind. The Paris Psalter instance of the collocation allows for some discussion of verse composition. The Latin "in toto corde" suggests the notion of the heart, but the versifier makes this fit into the Old English verse form by using conventional poetic diction. The relationship between hord and heorte in Riddle 42 depends on the translation of the difficult passage. If we follow the translation put forth earlier,¹³⁹ the term hordgeat (Rid42 11) refers to the mind's door which conceals the solution "heortan bewrigene" (Rid42 14), and so again the mind is located in the heart. In both instances from Christ III, hord varies gepohtas (hord varies "heortan gepohtas" (ChrIII 1047) and "hreþerlocena hord" varies "heortan gepohtas" (ChrIII 1055)) and we can construe hord as "the contained," referring to thoughts. In Guthlac B the image is more physical and involves a mixed or perhaps, less pejoratively, a double metaphor. The attack of the saint's disease is described as "flacor flanpracu" (GuthB 1144) which land "heortan neah" (GuthB 1143) where flanpracu is metaphorical but heorte is literal. But a further layer of metaphor is added when the poet compares these arrows to keys -- searocæg (GuthB 1145) which "feorhhord onleac" (GuthB 1144) a metaphoric term for the body. The collocation of heorte and hord in Guthlac B is the only case

¹³⁹ See above, Ch.4, p.279.

in which the body rather than the mind is at issue, and shows the Guthlac B poet using the inherited wordhoard with considerable freedom as he visualizes a possibly dead metaphor in two different ways. The conventional seems to attract the subverting attention of the Guthlac B poet.

Six of the nine instances of the collocation involve the alliteration of hord and heorte, which suggests that as well as the connection with the mind as a hoard topos, the collocation provides a useful pair for fulfilling the alliterative requirements of the line. The two Beowulf instances fall into this category, and again we are in the position of wondering if the literal had been generated by the more widespread metaphorical. The poet of Christ III uses the formulaic half-line "heortan gepohtas" (ChrIII 1047 and 1055) which also occurs in The Seafarer (Sea 34) and in Maxims I (MxI 3), where it is part of a hypermetric line. Although all three instances of this formula are obviously connected with the mind, there is little else linking them, and we have a formula where there seems to be no contextual link other than that required by the meanings of the two words involved. The repetition of hord and "heortan gepohtas" (ChrIII 1047, 1055) within eight lines is part of a consistently developed image in this section of the poem, where the hord and "heortan gepohtas" which cannot be hidden are also referred to as "breosta hord" (ChrIII 1072) and "feores frætwe" (ChrIII 1073) when men bring their souls before God. In this passage hord refers both to thoughts and, here, the soul. Yet even within this framework the

precise repetition of the half-line "heortan gepohtas" does not appear to have been exploited for stylistic effect or to convey meaning, and must, along with the frequent occurrences of hord, I think, be interpreted as a feature of Old English verse which contemporaries tolerated but which may offend modern literary sensibilities.

Other poems, however, use the collocation of hord and heorte in a manner which suggests rhetorical design. The Guthlac B poet's sense of wordplay, with his double metaphor, in the face of poetic convention, once again makes itself apparent, and Riddle 42's use of wordplay -- including the heorte and hord collocation -- relies on his audience's recognition of convention to express its comment on the nature of riddles in general.¹⁴⁰ So we see what we have seen so many times before in connection with the widespread mind-hoard topos -- some poets seem to rely on convention whilst others are able to manipulate and play with that same convention.

HYGE and HORD

Hyge collocates with hord on 14 occasions four of which are the names Hygelac and Hygd in Beowulf, which in these instances show no signs of wordplay or other rhetorical device.¹⁴¹ Of the remaining nine occurrences, three appear with literal, and six with metaphorical hoards. As with

¹⁴⁰ See above, Ch.4, pp.277-80 and 283-84.

¹⁴¹ And 315, ChrIII 1053, Jul 41, Wan 11, OrW 17, MxI 203, Rid42 11, HmFgII 1, Beo 258, 918, 2200, 2367, 2367, 2949.

fæst, the associations with the metaphorical outnumber those with the literal but here the semantic reason is clear, given the prevalence of the mind-hoard topos which accounts for all of these metaphorical occurrences. In the literal instances the relationships between the hord and hyge are varied but there is no identification between the two. In Maxims I, hyge is best construed in terms of courage:

Helm sceal cenum,
ond a þæs heanan hyge hord unginnoſt.
(MxI 203-4)

The six metaphorical instances have been extensively considered. Andreas line 316, where "wordhord onleac" introduces a speech which includes hyge with no apparent connection between hord and hyge will not be discussed further. Hord in Riddle 42, The Wanderer, The Order of the World and The Homiletic Fragment also collocates with fæst, under which they are discussed. In Christ III, gehygda (ChrIII 1054), included here as a variant of hyge, denoting thoughts, share the same referents as "hreperlocena hord" and "heortan gepohtas" (ChrIII 1055), all of which cannot be hidden from God at Judgement Day. As with fæst we see that the mind-hoard topos is wide enough to allow for a number of different relationships between hord and hyge.

The repeating words associated with a metaphorical hord in Riddle 42, The Wanderer, The Order of the World and The Homiletic Fragment II have already been listed under hord and fæst, to which should be added heorte¹⁴² and loc.¹⁴³

¹⁴² ChrIII 1055, Rid42 14.

¹⁴³ ChrIII 1055, GuthB 956, Wan 13, HmFgII 3.

When the literal instances are considered only Juliana lines 41ff. (loca, hogian, and fæst) and Beowulf lines 918ff. (fæst and hyge) show any overlap.¹⁴⁴ We might well wonder if these can be said to have been triggered by the more widespread metaphorical link between hyge and hord but again an answer seems impossible to pursue. Formulas involving two elements are limited to the frequently mentioned "hygefæste heold" and "hyge fæste bind." The alliteration of hord and hyge may play some part in their collocation since they occur as an alliterating pair four times: twice metaphorically and twice literally.¹⁴⁵ The hyge and hord alliteration in Maxims I tempts one to ask if the conventional metaphorical association of hyge and hord with the mind in some way lies behind the hyge/hord collocation in literal contexts. Although I am not convinced that such a question can be answered, it is worth noting the possibility of two-way traffic in influence between the literal and the metaphoric.

Only one poem shows evidence that the collocation, or at least one element of it, participates in some sort of larger rhetorical design. In The Wanderer, hyge appears three times, but this seems more a function of the poem's focus on mental states.¹⁴⁶ In Maxims I, the repetition of hyge creates a contrast between the brave and the cowardly man:

¹⁴⁴ See above, Ch.4, pp.282-84.

¹⁴⁵ Wan 11, MxI 203, HmFgII 1, Beo 2367.

¹⁴⁶ Wan 14, 16, 72.

hyge heardum men. Helm sceal cenum
ond a þæs heanan hyge hord unginnoſt
(MxI 203-4)

but the presence of hyge in the verb ahogodan at line 200 seems to have no connection, and perhaps offers more evidence for the tolerance of Old English verse for repetition. The poet of Juliana describes how Juliana "hogde georne" (Jul 29) to remain a virgin and that she "from hogde" (Jul 34) her suitor whose hordlocan she wiðhogde (Jul 42). The verbs build up a picture of a spiritually determined woman, who is contrasted with her father who is said to be hygeblind (Jul 60), and the suitor who reports to the father that Juliana bade him "on hyge hergan" (Jul 77) God. The pattern of hyge repetitions continues. But the repetition of hyge in Juliana is difficult to relate to the hord, since the two words are not connected as part of the mind-hoard topos. In The Order of the World the connection with hord is more integral and works in a fashion similar to the repetition of fæst.¹⁴⁷ "Hycgende mon" (OrW 10) knows that in the past truth was found through "gliwes cræfte" (OrW 11) and gieddingum (OrW 12). Hence now "deophydg mon" seeks after "dygelra gesceafta" (OrW 18) through "wordhordes cræft" (OrW 19). Hyge repeats as the poet appeals to his audience to listen to his poem about creation: "gehyr nu þis herespel ond þinne hyge gefæstna" (OrW 37); the hyge of this appeal echoes the hyge of the first line following his poetic explication of

¹⁴⁷ See above, Ch.4, p.284.

creation, thus creating an envelope: "forþon scyle mon gehycgan þæt he meotude hyre" (OrW 98).

LOCA and HORD

Loca and hord collocate with each other five times in Old English verse,¹⁴⁸ four instances of which are metaphorical and one literal. Loca can denote "an enclosed place, enclosure, stronghold" (Bosworth-Toller) hence when it is compounded with hord in hordloca (Jul 43, HmFgII 3, and And 671), loca denotes the container and hord the treasure, whether literal or metaphorical, contained therein. In Juliana the treasure is literal, while in both Andreas and The Homiletic Fragment II the mind is denoted. The priest insulting Andreas "huscworde ongan...hordlocan onspeon" (And 669-71) while, as we have seen, The Homiletic Fragment II urges its reader or hearer, "heald hordlocan," varied by hyge when confronted with transience (HmFgII 3). Similarly in Christ III, hord, in the expression "hreperlocena hord" (ChrIII 1055), denotes what is contained, again the mind or thoughts. In The Wanderer, where again the mind is meant, and the context parallel to The Homiletic Fragment II, hord and loca are less closely identified, being linked as part of a variation of two phrases: "his ferðlocan...binde" (Wan 13) and "healde his hordcofan" (Wan 14). All the metaphorical instances occur in the context of the mind, although the absence of the body may simply be chance, since loca, which occurs far more

¹⁴⁸ And 669, ChrIII 1053, Jul 41, Wan 11, HmFg 1.

frequently in a compound than as a simplex, widely occurs as denoting both the body and the mind.

A couple of formulaic systems occur in connection with the hord and loca collocation. The half-line "under hordlocan" (Jul 43) is related to the half-line from Christ II "under banloca" (ChrII 769), while the half-line "hordlocan onspeon" (And 671) from Andreas parallels "ferðlocan onspeon" (Jul 79) from Juliana and "wordlocan onspeon" (And 470), also in Andreas. All three onspeon formulas occur in the specific context of speaking, and suggest the importance of context as an element of some formulaic systems (although perhaps there is no other context in which these formulas could appear). Yet in the "under x-loca" formulaic system -- of which we have admittedly only two examples -- context appears to be of no importance. This contrast, thus, between these two formulaic systems may be instructive of the nature of formulas, indicating not only the variety of factors which give rise to them, but also perhaps the need to distinguish between more specialized combinations and such obvious prepositional constructions, more likely to be produced by chance. There are other small overlaps between the diction of several of these passages (all listed previously). Fæst occurs four times (all but And 669), bindan/bend twice both times collocating with fæst (Wan 13, HmFgII 3), hyge three times (Jul 42, Wan 14, HmFgII 3) and healdan twice (HmFgII 3, Wan 14). As usual, The Homiletic Fragment II and The

Wanderer, which are conceptually closest to each other show the highest number of verbal parallels.

While Andreas and Christ III, show no sign of the hord and loca collocation participating in a rhetorical pattern or device, as we have seen, there is clear evidence for such use in the envelope pattern enclosing The Homiletic Fragment II.¹⁴⁹ The repetition of ferðloca (Wan 13 and 33) in The Wanderer draws attention to the physical reality of the exile's grief. At line 13 he "ferðlocan fæste binde" while at line 33 we are told of his "ferðloca freorig," connecting his mind to the frozen landscape in much the same way as the repetition of bind functioned. The poet plays with the dividing line between the mental and the physical; the location of his mind or spirit, his breast, can be literally frozen, but the sense that his mind or spirit is also metaphorically frozen weaves together the mental and physical state of the exile, tying the former firmly to his external circumstances.¹⁵⁰ As we have come to expect, we find conventional collocations associated with the mind-hoard topos in a range of stylistic contexts from verbal envelope to the simply repetitious.

LUCAN and HORD

The verb lucan collocates with hord 11 times in Old English verse (accounting for ten of the 17 appearances of

¹⁴⁹ See above, Ch.4, pp.265 and 282.

¹⁵⁰ See above, Ch.4, pp.281-82. Irving 1967, p.160.

onlucan).¹⁵¹ Nine of these are part of the "-hord onleac" formulaic system, ^{umb}two occur outside this system: one in Riddle 42 shares a conceptual link with many in the formulaic system, while in Beowulf the collocation has no connection to the other ten instances. In the only instance of hord collocating with lucan rather than onlucan, the Beowulf poet describes the standard which flies "ofer horde" as "gelocen" (Beo 2768-69).

"-Hord onleac" is among the best attested formulaic systems of Old English verse, where it appears in a range of poems from philosophical translation in The Meters of Boethius to religious verse such as Andreas and secular verse such as Widsith. Its occurrences can be divided into two categories 1) speaking and 2) the body and death. Speaking is the more common and widespread context accounting for six instances. Of these, all but one take the form "wordhord onleac," (the other being the form "modhord onleac"). As discussed above, while there is some slight evidence for the "wordhord onleac" formula being involved in wordplay, the evidence is really stronger for interpreting it as a dead metaphor, whose value lies in its alliterative and metrical usefulness. The Andreas poet in particular exploits this potential, using the system three times and introducing the only substitution of the first element to provide alliteration with meotud (And 172).¹⁵²

¹⁵¹ And 167, 315, 601, GuthB 954, 1025, 1141, Wid 1, Rid42 11, Beo 258, 2767, MB 6:1.

¹⁵² See above, Ch.4, pp.190-91 and 275.

The Guthlac B poet appears to have found a different potential in the formulaic system. He uses it three times as part of his emphasis on Guthlac's death as a positive event which frees the soul from the body.¹⁵³ The first two instances might suggest that the Guthlac B poet's language could be as tired as that of the Andreas poet since a full line and a half repeat within 75 lines:

lichord onlocen. Leomu hefegdon,
sarum gesohte
(GuthB 956-57)

and

lichord onleac. Leomu hefegiað,
sarum gesohte
(GuthB 1029-30)

and the related half-line "breosthord onboren" (GuthB 944) also occurs.¹⁵⁴ But in the first instance the addition of the half-line "inbendum fæst" (GuthB 955) shows that the poet had a very physical image of the expression, a picture he makes even more visual in the mixed metaphor of the arrows and keys:¹⁵⁵

com se seofeða dæg
ældum ondweard, þæs þe him in gesonc,
hat, heortan neah, hildescurum
flacor flanþracu, feorhhord onleac,
searocægum gesoht.
(GuthB 1141-45)

The Guthlac B poet's handling of "-hord onleac" parallels his handling of the "landes frætwe" formula.¹⁵⁶ In both he

¹⁵³ See above, Ch.4, pp.246 and 258.

¹⁵⁴ See above, Ch.4, pp.259-63 for a discussion of the structural significance of this repeat.

¹⁵⁵ See above, Ch.4, pp.286-87.

¹⁵⁶ See below, Ch.4, pp.410-11.

stands a common convention on its head. In the case of frætwe he uses it for sunset rather than sunrise. With the hord convention he breaks expectations in two ways. First, he changes the usual context of the "-hord onleac" formula, using it for the body rather than the mind in a poem in which the contrast between the body and the soul or mind is central to the poem's theme. Secondly, he takes the dead metaphor used by poets simply to convey "he speaks" without any connotation of a literal treasure hoard, and brings it alive when he applies it to the body. It looks as though the Guthlac B poet had a sharp eye for exploiting the most conventional elements of his inherited wordhoard.

The remaining instance of the collocation occurs in the by now too-frequently discussed invocation to solve Riddle 42. With regard to the present discussion of the collocation of hord and onlucan, what is most striking is the way the poet has taken up a conventional topos, that of the mind as a hoard, and used many of the words associated with that topos. Yet he uses these words in a way which suggests not so much a dependence on the inherited diction, but as E.G. Stanley has put forward in a recent paper on the use of heroic diction in The Riddles, a bookishness and self-awareness in his response to that diction.¹⁵⁷

Hordgeat and orponcbend are not elsewhere attested, and his lines give the only example of the collocation of hord and onlucan which are not part of the "-hord onleac" formulaic system. The riddler is clearly suffused with the

¹⁵⁷ Stanley 1995. See above, Ch.4, pp.273-74 and 277-80.

conventions of Old English verse: first, to be able to subvert them indicates a thorough knowledge; and secondly, it is only in light of the mind-hoard topos that these lines can be understood, and so the poet can be said to rely on convention to convey meaning. Both the Guthlac B poet and the poet of Riddle 42 attest to the very creative possibilities which a meeting of conventionality and originality produce, and underscore the reductionism involved in separating these two features of Old English verse.

DOM and HORD

Dom and hord collocate on six occasions occurring in three very different Old English poems, Beowulf (three times), Homiletic Fragment II (twice) and Genesis A (once), which illustrates something of the notoriously wide semantic field of dom.¹⁵⁸ In two of the Beowulf instances, dom denotes something like our modern word "choice" or the notion of "according to one's own judgment:"

Hæfde æglæca elne gegongen
 þæt he beahhordes brucan moste
 selfes dome

(Beo 893-95)

and

Da ic on hlæwe gefrægen hord reafian,
 eald enta geweorc, anne mannan,
 him on bearm hladon bunan ond discas
 sylfes dome.

(Beo 2773-76)

¹⁵⁸ GenA 1606, HmFgII 1, 11, Beo 884, 893, 2773.

The Beowulf poet also uses dom in a way most closely parallel to our modern notion of secular glory or reputation when he says of Sigemund:

Sigemunde gesprong
æfter deaðdæge dom unlytel.
(Beo 884-85)

In the first of its appearances in The Homiletic Fragment II a similar translation seems appropriate, though in a religious context:

Gefeoh nu on ferðe ond to frofre gepeoh
dryhtne þinum, ond þinne dom arær.
(HmFgII 1-2)

The meaning of dom in its second appearance in The Homiletic Fragment II is difficult to pin down, but seems something akin to our modern terms "glory" and "splendor:"

se þas foldan gesceop,
duguðe ond dreamas. Dom sippan weox,
þeah þeos læne gesceaft longe stode
heolstre gehyded, helme [.]edylged.
(HmFgII 10-13)

Finally in Genesis A the context is again judgement, but this time it is God's judgement. Noah ruled well:

oðþæt breosta hord,
gast ellorfus gangan sceolde
to godes dome.
(GenA 1608-10)

Only in Beowulf 885 and 2776 does dom carry the same meaning, and it is only here that we find any identifiable convention linking the two elements of the collocation. In both instances, dom is part of the formula "sylfes dome" which occurs only in these Beowulf instances, although, given the limited nature of the poetic corpus, we cannot

Addenda to the Bibliography

Primary Sources

Bately, Janet M., ed. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. Manuscript A. Cambridge, 1986.

Secondary Sources

Wrenn C.L. "Sutton Hoo and Beowulf." In Mélanges de Linguistique et de Philologie: Fernand Mossé in Memoriam Paris, 1959, pp.495-507. Rpr. in An Anthology of Beowulf Criticism, ed. Lewis E. Nicholson. Notre Dame, Indiana, 1963, pp.311-30.

know how widespread : the half-line was.¹⁵⁹ Context appears to play a key role in this formula, since in both cases it applies to a warrior, Sigemund or Wiglaf, plundering a hoard and taking away his choice of various treasures. *Bonjour* has often commented on the thematic significance of the inclusion of the Sigemund and dragon digression, suggesting that it foreshadows but contrasts Beowulf's less successful fight with the dragon.¹⁶⁰ Whilst it is not far-fetched to envisage an Anglo-Saxon audience, whether of readers or listeners, picking up this parallel, it does seem far-fetched to see the lexical repetition of the formula "sylfes dome" as a deliberate verbal repetition, separated as the two instances are by almost 2,000 lines of verse, supporting or even contributing to the thematic parallel. What seems far more likely is that the very similar contexts of the two scenes trigger the use of the formula, which again points to the importance of context to the generation and continuation of some formulas. Dom also repeats within ten lines of the Sigemund episode, but I can find no rhetorical design behind this repetition, which involves distinct facets of the semantic field of dom and may simply be a further example of the tendency for and tolerance of verbal repetition throughout Old English verse.

The instance of the dom and hord collocation in The Homiletic Fragment II seems more likely to involve a

¹⁵⁹ Although in Old English sylfes dom is restricted to Beowulf, the expression finds numerous parallels in Old Norse (Fritzner 1896, pp.260-61).

¹⁶⁰ *Bonjour* 1950, pp.46-48.

repetition of dom with a rhetorical effect. We have already considered the repetition of hord and mod which both created an envelope and contributed to the poem's meaning.¹⁶¹ In light of the poet's evident use of verbal repetition, it is tempting to ask what meaning the repetition of dom could convey. The first dom is that of the person to whom the poem is addressed and the second dom refers to creation. These opening lines call on the audience to raise up or establish their dom. The rest of the poem, which explains how to do this, comments that the dom of creation "weox" (HmFgII 11) with the Incarnation. Just as the dom of creation increases with Christ, the faith the poem urges on its audience increases with belief in Christ. Because The Homiletic Fragment II is a short text, comprising only twenty lines, rhetorical verbal repetition is an especially effective stylistic device for conveying meaning.¹⁶²

FOLC and HORD

Folc and hord collocate eight times in Old English verse;¹⁶³ a figure in line with the collocation of folc and other words for treasure. Folc is so common a word that neither the number of instances nor the wide variety of syntactic and semantic relationships between the two elements of the compound is of any note. For example in

¹⁶¹ See above, Ch.4, pp.265, 282, 294.

¹⁶² See above, Ch.4, p.265 for Homilectic Fragment II not being a fragment.

¹⁶³ Ex 33, And 601, Wid 1, Beo 465, 904, 1845, 2593, 2999.

Andreas "wordhord onleac" (And 601) introduces a speech which includes the word folc, while in Widsith the wandering minstrel "wordhord onleac" (Wid 1) and "mægpa ofer eorþan, / folca geondferde" (Wid 2-3) and in Beowulf a king is expected to control both folc (Beo 910) and the hord (Beo 911). The collocation is, however, most frequent in Beowulf where it appears five times and is used very consistently, four times, in the context of kingship at points when the poet is most explicitly concerned with what makes a good king.¹⁶⁴ Hrothgar tells the newly arrived Beowulf about himself as king of the Danes:

ða ic furpum weold folce Deniga
ond on geoguðe heold ginne rice,
hordburh hælepa.

(Beo 465-67)

In Hrothgar's sermon the dismayed followers of Heremod had expected that he would:

hord ond hleoburh, folc gehealdan,
eþel Scyldinga. hælepa rice,

(Beo 911-13)

As Hrothgar bids Beowulf farewell he comments prophetically that if the Geatish king, "ealdor ðinne, / folces hyrde" (Beo 1848-49) were to die:

þæt þe Sægeatas selran næbben
to geceosenne cyning ænigne,
hordweard hælepa, gyf þu healdan wylt
maga rice.

(Beo 1850-53)

Finally with the threat of a Swedish attack looming, the messenger foretells that these enemies will attack the Geats:

¹⁶⁴ Beo 465, 904, 1845, 2999.

þone ðe ær geheold
 wið hettendum hord ond rice
 æfter hæleða hryre, hwate Scildingas,
 folcred fremede oððe furður gen
 eorlscipe efnde.

(Beo 3003-7)

Although in all these passages the relationship, both syntactic and semantic, between hord and folc differs and they are not linked in any conventional phrases or formula, the contextual link is strong and the collocation appears to be part of a Beowulf restricted shorthand for leadership.¹⁶⁵ The restriction to Beowulf deserves some comment, since while the nature of good kingship is of paramount importance in the poem, kings and leaders do appear more widely in Old English verse from Genesis B to The Meters of Boethius. The collocation may be part of a particularly Beowulfian conception of leadership, a conception which shows strong archaic elements. Control of treasure remained throughout Anglo-Saxon England an element of a king's power, but it became, as early as Alfred, a sophisticated business of collecting taxes and tolls and minting money rather than simply the gaining of and keeping control of a hoard.¹⁶⁶ Not only is the Beowulf poet's portrayal of what comprises treasure, with his exclusion of silver and emphasis on gold, archaic, but, more deeply, so too is his presentation of the function of treasure.

¹⁶⁵ Compare this with the association of gestreon and terms denoting a people or nation. See gestreon section, Ch.3, pp.132-33 and the discussion of the gestreon and beod collocation, Ch.4, pp.336-38.

¹⁶⁶ See above, Ch.2, pp.81-3.

HÆLED and HORD

Hælep and hord collocate 12 times, of which eight form alliterating pairs in Old English verse.¹⁶⁷ Hælep is a common and widely appearing poetic term for "man," and alliteration seems largely responsible for its higher rate of collocation with hord as compared to maðm, sinc, frætwe and gestreon. Yet notably, eight of the collocation's 12 appearances occur in Beowulf with a further two in one riddle and one in Exodus and one in Daniel. Of the eight in Beowulf, five alliterate but, more importantly, four instances establish a formulaic system which does not occur outside of Beowulf. "Hordweard hælepa" (Beo 1047 and 1852), referring first to Hrothgar and then to Beowulf is a formula according to any definition. "Hordmaððum hælepa" (Beo 1198) and "hordburh hælepa" (Beo 467) which both scan the same as "hordweard hælepa" flesh out the formulaic system. These figures suggest once again that the diction of an individual poet could include personal formulaic systems. Perhaps it would be better to say that the diction of individual poets varied and contained either personal solutions for fulfilling the requirements of alliteration and meter, or that individual poets could favor a useful collocation or formulaic system which also appears elsewhere in the corpus.

Not surprisingly, given the very general meaning of hælep, there is little in the way of contextual linking between appearances of the collocation save an occasional

¹⁶⁷ Ex 506, Dan 65, Rid84 21, 54, Beo 465, 904, 1046, 1197, 1845, 2221, 2244, 2999.

vague association with kingship but this seems more a reflection of hord than of the collocation itself. Context does not even appear to be a component of the formula "hordweard hælepa." The Beowulf instances of the collocation do not appear to be used for discernable rhetorical effect. Since the collocation is so Beowulf restricted, its double appearance in Riddle 84 is more noteworthy, yet it remains difficult to see any design behind its occurrence firstly to describe how water is "hordum gehroden hælepum dyre" (Beo 23) and then in the closing invocation to solve the riddle.

HEAH and HORD

Heah and hord collocate in 11 instances in a wide range of Old English verse.¹⁶⁸ The fact that eight of these alliterate, and heah appears much less frequently with other treasure words suggests that alliteration is a strong factor in this collocation.¹⁶⁹ Heah is a small and common word, and would thus be useful for fulfilling the requirements of verse form. The words appear together in a wide variety of semantic, morphological and syntactical situations, and in no case is a formulaic relationship established between the two elements. Such a pattern suggests the way Old English poets filled out their verse lines, producing a common collocation which was independently generated rather than

¹⁶⁸ GenA 1438, 1438, Dan 671, ChrII 785, OrW 38, Rid11 8, Beo 918, 2200, 2302, 2767, 3084.

¹⁶⁹ The high figure for gestreon includes four instances of heahgestreon. See below, Ch.4, pp.330-32.

rooted in the poetic tradition and full of nuances and connotations.

HRYRE and HORD

Hryre and hord collocate three times in Old English verse.¹⁷⁰ Two of these appear at the beginning and end of Exodus in the formula "hordwearda hryre." The formula appears first at the opening of the poem, when the destruction of the Egyptians is discussed in terms of the loss of wealth and hall-joy (Ex 35). The formula reappears close to the end of the poem, when the slaughter of the Egyptians in the Red Sea is called "hordwearda hryre" (Ex 512) just before the Jews pick up the treasure of the slaughtered Egyptians from the banks of the Red Sea. The poet has created a thematic envelope around his poem, beginning and ending it by portraying the destruction of the Egyptians in terms of a separation from treasure, and it is not difficult to imagine that his audience would have been aware of this recurring image. The question arises of whether or not to regard the two appearances of this formula as a rhetorical verbal repetition, creating an envelope around the beginning and end of a poem, or to regard it as a case of similar circumstances calling up similar language. In view of the almost 500 lines separating the two occurrences the latter seems more likely. However, even if the poet deliberately used the same half-line, it is unlikely that the audience would have picked up on it, and

¹⁷⁰ Ex 33, 506, Beo 2999.

while the repeated formula is part of and contributes to the thematic envelope, it is not solely responsible for nor does it create that envelope. This can be contrasted to the verbal envelope which defines the beginning and end of the short poem, The Homiletic Fragment II, and which is integral to how the poet conveys his meaning.¹⁷¹

RICE and HORD

Rice and hord collocate seven times in Old English verse,¹⁷² a figure in line with those for most of the other treasure words. The consistent contexts in which hord and rice appear offer a contrast to the collocation of rice with other treasure words, as does the similarity of grammatical and semantic relationships in many of its instances.

In 5 of the 7 instances the context is not only the exercise of kingship, as we saw associated with the collocation of folc and hord, but with kingship at the point when one leader succeeds another.¹⁷³ Early in the poem when Beowulf and Hrothgar exchange accounts of their pasts, Hrothgar says:

Da ic furpum weold folce Deniga
ond on geogoðe heold ginne rice,
hordburh hælepa; ða wæs Heregar dead,
min yldra mæg unlifigende,
bearn Healfdenes.

(Beo 465-69)

The people look to Heremod as a bote for their difficulties:

¹⁷¹ See above, Ch.4, pp.265, 282, 294, 301.

¹⁷² GenA 1606, Beo 465, 904, 1845, 2200, 2367, 2999.

¹⁷³ See above, Ch.3, pp.105-6.

þæt þæt ðeodnes bearn geþeon scolde,
fæderæpelum onfon, folc gehealdan,
hord ond hleoburh, hælepa rice,
eðel Scyldinga.

(Beo 910-13)

Hrothgar anticipates that Beowulf would be the best king of the Geats:

þæt þe Sægeatas selran næbben
to geceosenne cyning ænigne,
hordweard hælepa, gyf þu healdan wylt
maga rice.

(Beo 1850-53)

Hygd shares this sentiment when she urges Beowulf to succeed her husband in the place of her son/s:

þær him Hygd gebead hord ond rice,
beagas ond bregostol, bearne ne truwode
þæt he wið ælfylcum eþelstolas
healdan cuðe, ða wæs Hygelac dead.

(Beo 2367-70)

Finally the messenger prophesies that the Swedes will renew their feud with the Geats:

syððan hie gefricgeað frean userne
ealdorleasne, þone ðe ær geheold
wið hettendum hord and rice
æfter hæleða hryre, hwate Scildingas,
folcred fremede oððe furður gen
eorlscipe efnde.

(Beo 3002-4)

These passages also show close lexical as well as contextual and syntactical similarities. Hord and rice are elements in an enumeration three times, and once in a variation. The verb healdan appears in all five passages governing hord and rice three times, rice once, eþelstolas once. The formulaic half-line "þa wæs x dead" where "x" represents a three syllable personal name beginning with "h" occurs twice. On two occasions the formula "hord and rice" appears.

The two instances which do not fit into this pattern include a further occurrence from Beowulf and the only occurrence of the collocation outside of Beowulf. In Beowulf, not using rice as a simple noun but rather as a verb, the dragon who is said to rics[i]lan (Beo 2211) the night, is the same who "hord beweotode" (Beo 2212). In Genesis A, in a genealogical section describing the death of successive generations of Jewish leaders, a context virtually identical to that of the hord and rice collocation in Beowulf, we find an overlap of the convention of the soul as the hoard of the breast with that of the passing on of a kingdom:

he wæs selfa til,
 heold a rice, eðeldreamas,
 blæd mid bearnum, oðþæt breosta hord,
 gast ellorfus, gangan sceolde
 to godes dome.

(GenA 1606-10)

This overlap raises two points. First, we may have further evidence for the literal giving rise to the metaphorical. In this case, the phrase "heold a rice" may have suggested hord to the poet, who, rather than continuing with the hord and rice convention, switched to the soul as a hoard. This would be similar to other cases identified where a metaphorical use of hord occurs in the context of a description of literal treasure, for example when Beowulf utters his dying words.¹⁷⁴ Such an interpretation relies either on the association of hord and rice with royal succession being more widespread in Old English verse than

¹⁷⁴ See above, Ch.4, p.243.

just the attested incidence in Beowulf or on the Genesis A poet being deeply imbued with the language of the Beowulf poet. Finally, of course, the association of the hord and rice collocation with royal succession in Genesis A could be chance.

The restriction to Beowulf of the collocation when both hord and rice are controlled by the king brings to mind the restriction to Beowulf of the collocation of hord and folc when associated with kingship. Again we note the archaic depiction of the role of treasure in the exercise of kingship in Beowulf. Similar archaic portrayals of kingship or leadership appear in Old English verse, as for example, the demonstrably late and probably archaic The Battle of Brunanburh:

Bordweal clufan,
heowan heapolinde hamora lafan,
afaran Eadweardes, swa him geæpele was
from cneomægum, þæt hi æt campe oft
wip lapra gehwæne land ealgodon,
hord and hamas.

(BB 5-10)

Hord and rice is not only more frequent but is conceptually, syntactically and lexically fairly static, and twice includes the formula hord and rice. Its exclusive appearance in Beowulf raises the possibility that individual Old English poets created their own conventions. This highlights the potential for stylistic variety within the corpus of Old English verse despite the strong influence of an inherited poetic diction and convention. The existence of well-established poetic conventions may have encouraged poets to create their own conventions. Perhaps this is part

of what makes Beowulf such a convincing heroic poem and one constantly begging for an early date even though many of its features indicate a date of composition well after any "Heroic Age."

WEARD and HORD

Hord and weard collocate twenty times in Old English verse;¹⁷⁵ in one case as a verb and twice in ondweard, which should be discounted, and the total taken as eighteen. At the core, semantics provides the source for the collocation and explains the contrast with the much lower figures for other treasure words since guarding and protecting is integral to the term hord.¹⁷⁶

The collocation is generated by a number of semantic relationships. In Brunanburh, weard is the second element of the name Eadweard (BB 7), in The Seafarer the cuckoo "sumeres weard, sorge beodeð / bitter in breosthord" (Sea 54-55). In other cases hord is part of the "wordhord onleac" (And 172, 601) formula. If we take away these instances of almost no connection between the two words and the two cases of ondweard, fourteen remain. For example, in Beowulf Hrothgar is "beahhorda weard" (Beo 921) and in The Order of the World God is "heah hordes weard" (OrW 39) while in Juliana the two terms are less closely linked: the suitor who "eard weardade" (20) is the same who "heold

¹⁷⁵ Ex 33, 506, Dan 65, And 167, 601, ChrIII 1069, GuthB 1141, Jul 19, Sea 53, OrW 38, Beo 918, 1046, 1845, 2293, 3126, 2302, 2554, 2593, 2208, BB 5.

¹⁷⁶ See above, Ch.3, pp.105-6.

hordgestreon" (Jul 22). Beowulf is an epelweard (Beo 2210) and the dragon "hord beweotode" (Beo 2212). Also in Beowulf the hoard stands orwearde (Beo 3127) ready for plundering after the dragon's death. In a number of instances, there is little or no link between the two words. At the center of the fourteen instances where hord and weard are closely linked are nine instances of the epithet hordweard, of which six appear in Beowulf.¹⁷⁷ In Exodus and Daniel hordweard appears in the plural, referring to a group of people, either Egyptians or Jews, while in Beowulf the kenning occurs in the singular, denoting either a king or the dragon. Beyond the notion of protection, context does not appear to play a large role in calling up the kenning, but it is worth noting that the Beowulf poet ceases to use hordweard for king before he takes up hordweard for the dragon; and things work similarly with the instances of the collocation where the two elements are not compounded.

Two formulas, both involving the epithet hordweard occur: "hordwearda hryre" (Ex 35, 512) and "hordweard hæleþa" (Beo 1047, 1852). Both have already been discussed elsewhere, so just a few points need to be made here.¹⁷⁸ Both appearances of each formula occur in the same poem, so it is difficult to say whether they are personal formulas or part of the inherited wordhoard. "Hordwearda hryre" may occur as part of a rhetorical parallel which places a

¹⁷⁷ Ex 35, 512, Dan 65, Beo 1047, 1852, 2293, 2302, 2554, 2593.

¹⁷⁸ See above, Ch.4, pp.304-5 and 306-7.

slaughter of Egyptians at the beginning and end of the poem. The two instances of "hordwearda hælepa" account for both the cases in Beowulf where the epithet denotes a king rather than a dragon. We have already mentioned the possibility of rhetorical verbal repetition of hordweard in Exodus; there is evidence to support such an understanding of all four of the occurrences of hordweard for dragon in Beowulf.

Hordweard occurs twice, within nine lines, as the dragon searches for the thief in a passage extending from 2293b-2311b. Many of the repetitions may stem simply from the subject matter, especially terms for the barrow and the cup. Beorg occurs twice, as does fæt. Verbs for seeking, finding and turning around: secan, forms of findan and of hweorfan, which all occur twice, are also perhaps best understood in this category, although such an explanation does not exclude their repetition for stylistic effect, such as creating cohesion. Other repetitions seem to have a clearer structural function. The use of hordweard to denote the dragon seeking out whomever disturbed his sleep (Beo 2293) and then nine lines later (Beo 2302) to denote the dragon waiting for evening to seek his revenge, not only punctuates the passage by dividing it into two virtually equal sections, but also firmly connects the breaching of the hoard with the dragon's attacks. Of an even clearer structural and thematic significance is the repetition of sare (Beo 2295 and 2311). The dragon is said to be "sare geteode" by the thief's incursion and the passage ends with

the foreboding allusion to Beowulf's death as the result of the dragon's attack:

Wæs se fruma egeslic
leodum on lande, swa hyt lungre wearð
on hyra sincgifan sare geendod.
(Beo 2309-11)

The repetition serves to juxtapose and link the seemingly trivial disturbing of the dragon with the tragic outcome of the poem. The two instances of sare, occurring at the beginning and end of the passage, are also key to marking the lines 2293b-2311b as a verse paragraph; a verse paragraph which is also defined by the preceding gnomic statement and also possibly by the beginning of a new fitt at line 2312. This passage, with its two instances of hordweard, points up the unstable and dynamic relationship between repetitiveness and deliberate verbal repetition in Old English verse; the two can exist side by side and are not clearly distinct phenomena.

Later there is clear evidence for a verse paragraph in the account of Beowulf's first single-handed attempt to defeat the dragon. We learn of Beowulf's difficulties in even approaching the hoard because of the tremendous heat of the dragon, then he lets out a yell which arouses the dragon: "Hete wæs onhrered, hordweard oncnio / mannes reorde" (Beo 2554-55). The poet then goes on to the fight in which Beowulf's sword fails and his death again is foreshadowed. The description of Beowulf's lone battle against the dragon ends with the lines:

Hyrtē hyne hordweard (hreðer æðme weoll)
niwan stefne; nearo ðrowode,
fyre befongen, se ðe ær folce weold.
(Beo 2593-95)

in which the dragon renews his attack. The poet switches his attention to the flight of Beowulf's companions, as he introduces the only loyal retainer, Wiglaf, and it is 73 lines before the description of the battle with the dragon resumes at line 2669.

In considering hord and weard we have again found a cluster in Beowulf which accounts for half of the collocation's appearances, including six out of nine of the instances of the epithet hordweard. It seems as if we can see particular poets using the inherited poetic diction in individual ways but in this case -- where the guarding of a hoard generates the collocation -- we can perhaps attribute the frequency of the collocation in Beowulf to the poem's subject matter.

IV. The Collocations of Gestreon

Some preliminary comments on gestreon:

As will become apparent in the following discussion, gestreon carries with it less poetic force, and poets tended to use it as a work-a-day word. No doubt this stems, in part, from its more general, less elevated, semantic field - it can mean "treasure" but it can also mean simply "possessions." Alliterative rank provides a further clue. The number of words which gestreon can possibly alliterate with is limited since they must begin with "st" rather than

simply "s."¹⁷⁹ Gestreon appears as a simplex in 19 of its 63 appearances, a much lower figure than we find for other treasure words. In only one of these 19 instances does gestreon alliterate, and in any case it is extraneous since in Daniel line 61 the poet does not need the second accented syllable of the first half-line to alliterate. In fact, in 12 of its 19 appearances gestreon occupies the final syllable of the verse line, and thus cannot alliterate. The commonness of gestreon at the end of a line may suggest the usefulness of having a word for treasure with a low alliterative rank -- as useful, for metrical purposes, as having a range of terms beginnings with different letters which can denote treasure. The low alliterative rank of gestreon, coupled with its lack of poetic force, may explain why, especially as a simplex, it does not stand out or attract much attention. It is against this background that the collocations of gestreon should be interpreted.

ÆHT and GESTREON

The nouns æht and gestreon appear together on 11 occasions, making æht among the most common collocates of gestreon.¹⁸⁰ The similarity in the semantic fields of the two words, both of which can denote "possessions," accounts for the greater attraction of the two words. With the

¹⁷⁹ See the evidence for this supplied by W. Lehmann and V. Dailey in their indices of all the alliterations found in Christ, Guthlac, Elene, Juliana, Fates of the Apostles and The Dream of the Rood (Lehmann and Dailey 1960).

¹⁸⁰ GenA 1203, 1873, 1927, Dan 65, 753, FAP 79, Ph 503, Jul 41, 99, Gifts 30, Beo 2244.

exception of Daniel 753ff. when the "Isræla gestreon" are said to be "in his æhte," and Beowulf 2244ff when gestreon occurs in the introduction to a speech and æht in the speech itself, the two words always have the same referent. In The Phoenix they form the compound æhtgestreon (Ph 506); on three occasions they vary each other, either as simplices or in compounds;¹⁸¹ in three other occasions gestreon or a compound is part of a group of æht;¹⁸² and finally A.N. Doane, Genesis A's editor, translates the line "æhta ond ætwist eorðan gestreona" (GenA 1208) as "possessions and provision of the goods of the earth."¹⁸³ Despite the close referential and often grammatical and syntactical relationship between the two elements, the collocation is not linked by any formulas, nor is it associated with any formulas or other lexical conventions such as alliterative pairings. This further suggests that it is their common semantic fields, rather than any customary connection of the two words, which produces their collocation.

Only in the Junius manuscript can we detect any common context for the collocation. Twice in Genesis A, the poet uses the collocation to describe the movement of possessions as a group of people undertakes a journey. Abraham, returning with Lot to their homeland, "æhte lædde" (GenA 1873). When the poet further elaborates on that æht, he includes woruldgestreon (GenA 1879), and just over fifty

¹⁸¹ FAP 79, Jul 99, Gifts 30.

¹⁸² GenA 1873, 1927, Dan 65.

¹⁸³ Doane 1978, p.255, notes to line 1208.

lines later when Abraham and Lot separate, Lot "æhte since [ealle lādde]" (GenA 1929) which includes botlgestreon (GenA 1930) into the East. The collocation also appears in Daniel when the Babylonians plunder the "gestreon, / feoh and frætwa" (Dan 65-66), also denoted as æht (Dan 67) of the Israelites. The verb lædan occurs again, but this time applied to the Israelites rather than their possessions. If the editorial emendation of Genesis A 1929 is correct, than all three journeys involve a double collocation of æht, gestreon and lædan. Yet too much should not be made of this as any sort of convention. Lædan commonly appears with gestreon and other treasure words', one instance of the collocation of lædan and gestreon is the result of an editorial emendation and in the other two cases the verb takes different objects -- once possessions and once people. Furthermore, the two passages in Genesis A occur closely together, and it is just as likely that the poet had the same language still in his head, or was using verbal repetition to structure his account of the two journeys which take place within ten verses of each other in the biblical account. Other verbal parallels between the two passages, particularly alliteration of beagas and Bethlem in both, which does not occur elsewhere, may indicate a rhetorical verbal repetition, but it is not obvious enough to identify it as such, rather than repetitiousness, with any confidence.

In both The Fates of the Apostles and Genesis A, the poets express death in terms of a separation from earthly

possessions denoted as gestreon. After describing the martyrdom of many of the Apostles, the poet comments:

 þa gedæled wearð
lif wið lice, ond þas lænan gestreon,
idle æhtwelan, ealle forhogodan.
 (FAp 82-84)

The same notion of death appears in connection with the bodily assumption of Enoch into heaven. He does not experience death as other men do:

 þonne him god heora
æhta and ætwist eorðan gestreona
on genimeð and heora aldor somed.
 (GenA 1207-9)

The association of gestreon with acquired and earthly possessions seems sufficient to account for this parallel without the need to resort to some notion of conventionality behind the collocation of gestreon and æht.

The collocation of æht and gestreon appears in the opening section of Juliana in association with the repetition of other treasure words. Æht appears four times (Jul 18, 37, 101, 115), one of which collocates with gestreon (Jul 101). Also æht as the third person singular of agan collocates with gestreon (Jul 44).¹⁸⁴ Sped (Jul 39, 101) appears twice while hord (Jul 22, 43) and feoh (Jul 42, 101) and gestreon (Jul 22, 42, 102) each occur three times. The repetition of this fairly limited vocabulary for wealth and treasure may be said to contribute to the cohesion of the passage.¹⁸⁵ This vocabulary is concerned to convey the

¹⁸⁴ See Beaty and Rosier on the notion that an echo word need not be a lexical repetition (Beaty 1934 and Rosier 1977).

¹⁸⁵ Talentino writes that treasure is the theme in Juliana (Talentino 1970, p.93).

wealth of Juliana's suitor and to make clear that it is treasure, without attributing to it any positive quality, for example, its beauty or pedigree, in which context the repetition of such general terms as æht and gestreon is not surprising.

The overwhelming impression from the above discussion is that gestreon and æht collocate on largely semantic grounds and that their collocation is associated with little or nothing in the way of formulaic or conventional language on the one hand or wordplay and rhetorical patterning on the other.

ÆR and GESTREON

Ær and gestreon collocate eleven times in Old English verse, and a verb form of gestreon collocates with ær twice.¹⁸⁶ If it were not that in four instances the two words form the compound ærgestreon,¹⁸⁷ little cause for comment would arise, since ær is such a common word and too much significance should not be attached to a word, which functioning as an adverb, conjunction, preposition or adjective, simply conveys the sense of "before." Even in these lines from Beowulf, in which the poet insists on the uselessness of the treasure of Beowulf's barrow, by reminding the reader that it will be performing the same function as it did before as part of the dragon's hoard, it

¹⁸⁶ GenA 1146, 2139, 2793, Dan 703, El 907, ChrIII 994, Beo 1380, 1753, 2231, 2236, 3163, 3163, SS 317.

¹⁸⁷ GenA 2139, ChrIII 994, Beo 1753, 2231.

is difficult to attach high semantic or stylistic weight to ær which possibly occurs twice:

Hi on beorg dydon beg ond siglu,
eall swylce hyrsta, swylce on horde ær
niðhedige men genumen hæfdon,
forleton eorla gestreon eorðan healdan,
gold on greote, þær hit nu gen lifað
eldum swa unnyt swa h[it ær]or wæs.
(Beo 3163-68)

The four cases of ærgestreon seem best interpreted in light not of ær but of the frequent compounding of gestreon with words which make it more specifically treasure, or raise its register, as for example sincgestreon and other compounds, which emphasize the age or pedigree of gestreon such as longgestreon and ealdgestreon.¹⁸⁸ In two instances, the ærgestreon compound takes up the entire half-line, and can thus be termed as a formula,¹⁸⁹ but it is difficult to identify any contextual similarity between the two, beyond a vague negative moral connotation. This negative moral connotation extends to the other instances of ærgestreon but is best interpreted as a function of the worldly element in the semantic field of gestreon.¹⁹⁰ I see no evidence of wordplay or other rhetorical devices in connection with the collocation.¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁸ Hoops 1932, pp.20-24 and Ingersoll 1978, p.128.

¹⁸⁹ GenA 2139 and Beo 2231.

¹⁹⁰ See above, Ch.3, pp.135-37.

¹⁹¹ The collocation of eald and gestreon parallels that of ærgestreon. It occurs as a compound which appears to raise the register of gestreon and on two occasions that compound is inflected and fills an entire half-line and is thus a formula.

BOTL and GESTREON

Botl and gestreon collocate three times -- always as a compound and only in Genesis A.¹⁹² In two instances, it occurs in genealogical passages which are expanded from the Bible. In both these cases an inflected form of the word takes up an entire half-line, and this compound can thus be considered as a formula, possibly with a contextual component, although two occurrences offer only slight evidence. The final appearance of the collocation also occurs in a passage of amplificatio. The biblical account simply states that Lot departs for the Jordan valley which the Old English verse extends to mention possessions including botlgestreona although in a half-line of type B, rather than as above, type A. The salient point associated with this collocation, at least for our purposes, is the restriction of the compound to Genesis A and the tendency of the Genesis A poet to add possessions to his narrative even when they are not mentioned in the biblical account.

BROÐOR and GESTREON

Broðor collocates three times with gestreon and once with a related verb.¹⁹³ Of interest here are the two cases in Genesis A where broðor is part of the half-line formula "broðrum sinum" (GenA 1070, 1621). Both instances of the collocation of gestreon and the formula occur in genealogical sections where the worldly goods are passed

¹⁹² GenA 1073, 1619, 1927.

¹⁹³ GenA 970, 1069, 1619, SS 330.

from one generation to the next, as well as, distributed to brothers. However, the very commonness of the possessive adjective and noun construction points away from the formula being conventional; the half-line could just as well have occurred independently in both places.

DREAM and GESTREON

Dream and gestreon collocate five times, showing an association much stronger than that between dream and any of the other terms for treasure.¹⁹⁴ This association, however, does not seem to be maintained or fostered by any convention or formula, nor does it seem to inspire wordplay or other rhetorical flourishes on the part of Anglo-Saxon poets. In four instances both the gestreon and the dream are experienced on earth. In Genesis A and The Husband's Message there is no sense of a negative moral connotation to gestreon, while in Andreas the saint declares to God that he wants to give up "secga seledream" and sincgestreon (And 1656). In The Ruin earthly pleasures are less pejoratively presented but the context remains transience. In The Fates of the Apostles, the apostles attain "dream æfter deaðe" (FAp 82) when they give up the "lænan gestreon" (FAp 83) of this world. Gestreon, then is associated with the pleasure of this world which can, of course, be two-edged in Old English verse. The contexts of the collocation of dream and gestreon reflect the worldliness of gestreon.

¹⁹⁴ GenA 1175, And 1654, FAp 79, Ruin 21, Hb 43.

EORÐE and GESTREON

Eorðe and gestreon collocate with each other 16 times in a wide range of Old English verse, where it is found in varied contexts; in addition on three occasions related verbs collocate with eorpe.¹⁹⁵ Only gold collocates with gestreon as frequently. Eorðe is a common word appearing in Old English verse 664 times, and it is tempting to dismiss the frequency of its collocation with gestreon as of little significance. However, the contrast with the four other treasure words suggests otherwise.

The connection of gestreon with notions of worldliness and transience has been noted, and a number of the gestreon and eorpe collocations fall clearly into this category. For example, Instructions for Christians warns:

þæt God nelle gumena gehwylcne
healan and gehyran, þeah he heahgestreon
on eorðrice age mycelne
goldes and seolfres.

(Inst 119-22)

In other contexts it is less clear if worldliness is at issue, as when Juliana's father admonishes her that her suitor "is betra þonne þu, / æþlera for eorþan, æhtspedigra / feohgestreona" (Jul 100-2). In other cases, especially where eorpe refers physically to the ground or land, the collocation occurs without reference to worldliness, for example, in Beowulf the treasure denoted as ærgestreon is buried "in ðam eorð[hu]se" (Beo 2232). Finally, the collocation can indicate the acquired and tangible nature of

¹⁹⁵ GenA 1873, 1203, 2139, 2139, Dan 661, 753, XSt 595, And 329, ChrII 811, Ph 503, Jul 41, 99, Gifts 30, Hb 43, Beo 2231, 3163, MB 8:58, Exh 22, Inst 117.

gestreon without carrying with it any apparent moral comment. Abraham returns to Bethlehem bringing:

eadge eorðwelan oðre siðe,
wif ond willan and heora woruldgestreon.
(GenA 1878-79)

Here materiality seems to be just a facet of gestreon and it is hard to uncover any pejorative sense, although it is easy to see how a word with such a semantic field would lend itself to an association with transience and opposition to God. These different senses with which gestreon and eorðe collocate cannot, of course, be rigidly distinguished; the categories mentioned simply map out the range, and it is certainly possible that more than one sense is present in any given instance.

The high frequency of this collocation makes all the more striking the absence of any conventional diction connected to it. The eorðe collocation tends to overlap with the woruld collocation on obvious semantic grounds, but this overlap does not generate any formulas or lines which show similar language.¹⁹⁶ The only formula which can be said to occur in connection with the collocation is the use of ærgestreon in an oblique case and filling up an entire half-line on two occasions (GenA 2148 and Beo 2232).¹⁹⁷

At the other end of the spectrum, although the collocation is frequent, it is only rarely used by poets with an eye for rhetorical effect. The Meters of Boethius

¹⁹⁶ GenA 1873, 2139, Gifts 30, MB 8:58, Inst 117. (See below, Ch.4, pp.338-41).

¹⁹⁷ See above, Ch.4, pp.320-21 ær and gestreon.

is somewhat atypical; eorþe appears repeatedly in a meter which emphasizes the pure state of mankind at the beginning of the world before greed and desire for more than is necessary to maintain life set in. The first and last (the last one collocating with gestreon) occurrences of eorþe underscore this transformation. The poet creates a verse paragraph enclosing the meter with his lament for the passing of the first age on earth and his bemoaning of the first miser. In the first lines of the meter, after the introduction indicating that wisdom is speaking, the poet writes:

Hwæt, sio forme eld foldbuendum
geond eorðan sceat æghwan dohte,
þa þa anra gehwæm on eorðwæstmum
genoh ðuhte.

(MB 8:4-7)

Here the earth simply provides for man's needs. The meter ends with the lines:

Eala, hwæt se forma feohgitsere
wære on worulde, se þas wongstedas
grof æfter golde and æfter gimcynnum.
Hwæt, he frecnu gestreon funde mænegum
bewrigen on weorulde, wætere oððe eorðan.

(MB 8:55-59)

The frequent appearance of eorþe in The Phoenix results from the focus on nature in paradise and does not appear to be part of the poem's larger rhetorical design (to which as the frætwe collocations illustrated, rhetorical verbal repetition is key). Yet it is not simply idleness which prompts the poet's description of the destruction of "eorþan æhtgestreon" (Ph 506) on Judgement Day. He insists on the vegetative quality of what is destroyed calling it also londwelan (Ph 505), "londes frætwe" (Ph 508) and even

applying the adjective æpplede to gold (Ph 506). While this language does not preclude other wealth, and treasure is clearly present, the vegetative connotation is central to the way the poet draws together the multilayered symbolism of the poem to which the presence of eorþe contributes, carrying as it does both connotations of worldliness, appropriate to this passage's focus on transience, and nature. There may also be some resonance of an earlier metaphoric use of gestreon. Earlier in the poem, woruldgestreon (Ph 255) was used metaphorically for "bounty of the earth" and in particular "fruit." While this is too narrow an interpretation for "eorþan æhtgestreon" (Ph 506) there are some marked similarities in the language of the two passages. Besides the linking of both instances of gestreon to the world or the earth, in both passages gestreon is varied with a phrase meaning ornament or treasure of the earth: "foldan frætwe" (Ph 257) and "londes frætwe" (Ph 508). Throughout The Phoenix, frætwe is used to describe vegetation.¹⁹⁸ The earlier happy associations of gestreon with the bounty of the earth or the world make its destruction on Judgement Day a more powerful image of transience.

Terms for the world or earth are common in The Gifts of Men but these repetitions, rather than being part of a rhetorical pattern, are simply part of the poet's insistence that people see God as the source of what he describes as "gifts." The collocation appears twice (Jul 41, 99) in

¹⁹⁸ See above, Ch.3, pp.160-61.

descriptions of the suitor's wealth in the opening section of Juliana, and seems to draw attention to the suitor's treasure as a thing of this world which does not present any temptation for Juliana, whose mind is on the spiritual. In both instances, eorðe alliterates with æht (once as a verb, once as the first element of a compound) and the compound feohgestreon appears. Yet in the context of the repetition of other treasure words and the fact that these verbal parallels do not seem to define any meaningful structural unit, it is hard to see the reappearance of the collocation twice in the same passage as creating anything more than cohesion, at most. Similarly in Christ II, the presence of eorpe (ChrII 814) collocating with ealdgestreon (ChrII 812) in a passage with repeating instances of eorpe, woruld, middangeard etc. is of thematic importance as Cynewulf dwells on the destruction of the world and God's judging of each man according to his deeds on earth. But the poet does not appear to control these repetitions for thematic effect.

On the whole, a consideration of the use of the eorðe and gestreon collocation with regard for rhetorical effects such as wordplay or verbal repetition turns up very little. The two words, but especially eorpe, may repeat for thematic reasons but appear to be too common or general for poets to use them as lynch-pins in larger rhetorical patterns, nor do poets find them attractive for wordplay. The collocation of the two words appears to be ordinary rather than conventional -- an important distinction to make.

GOD, GOD and GESTREON

The collocations of gōd and god with gestreon, while frequent, do not merit much comment, which given the commonness of both words is of no surprise.¹⁹⁹ It is worth noting, however, the apparent attraction between the two words gōd and god distinguished only by the length of their vowel.²⁰⁰ In two passages in separate poems, gestreon collocates with both gōd and god, and in two additional passages the verb strienan collocates with god and god.²⁰¹ Gōd can, of course, be applied widely, and also stand as a substantive, so perhaps it is only to be expected that the two words would occur together; yet this is not sufficient to account for the high proportion of the instances of god (three out of eight) and gōd (two out of five) collocating with gestreon which occur this way. In Guthlac A woruldgestreon (GuthA 70) is turned into "mæran god" (GuthA 71), presumably in heaven, for those who have "godes egsa" (GuthA 72). In The Paris Psalter, gōd applies both to righteous people and also to the eternal reward such people find in heaven:

Nele god æfre gode bedælan,
þa ðe heortan gehygd healdað clæne;
þæt bið eadig mann, se þe him ecean godes
to mundbyrde miht gestreoneð.
(PPs 83.12)

¹⁹⁹ God: Ex 587, GuthA 70, Jul 99, PPs 83.12, Exh 22, Inst 117. God: GenA 965, 1146, 1203, Dan 661, 753, SBI 42, GuthA 70, PPs 83.12, 83.12, SS 317, Exh 22, Inst 117.

²⁰⁰ Frank writes that "plays on God and good are frequent in OE poetry and prose" (Frank 1972, p.220, note 40).

²⁰¹ GuthA 70, PPs 83.12, Inst 117, Exh 22.

In both examples, paronomasia emphasizes that God is the source of the goodness of heaven. The wordplay in the remaining two examples carries a different force, since gōd and god are opposed. In Instructions for Christians god (Inst 119) is unimpressed by those who have heahgestreon (Inst 122) and "godes fele" (Inst 122) in this world. The wordplay becomes almost baroque in An Exhortation to Christian Living, where gōd and god first alliterate, and then god appears three further times emphasizing the message that possessions, goods, lead man away from God:

And þeah þu æfter þinum ende ealle gesyllle
 þæt þu on eorðan ær gestryndes
 goda gehwylces, wylle gode cweman,
 ne mihtu mid þæm eallum sawle þine
 ut alysan, gif heo inne wyrð
 feondum befangen, frofre bedæled,
 welena forwyrned; ac þu wuldres god,
 ece ælmihtigne, ealninga bidde
 þæt he þe ne forlæte laðum to handa,
 feondum to frofre, ac þu fleoh þanan,
 syle ælmessan oft and gelome
 digolice; þæt bið drihtnes lac
 gumena gehwylces þe on god gelyfð.
 (Exh 22-34)

In none of these cases does the collocation of gōd and god with gestreon or a related verb participate in the wordplay; the number of instances of the collocation which includes this gōd and god wordplay simply acts as a pointer to what was a larger phenomenon.

HEAH and GESTREON

Heah and gestreon collocate on nine occasions.²⁰²

Heah is of course a very common word, applicable in a wide

²⁰² Dan 661, 661, And 360, Ruin 21, Beo 1085, 1925, 2300, SS 317, Inst 117.

variety of situations, as the variety of relationships between the two words attests. Yet only hord, where alliteration is a factor, shows anywhere near such a frequent collocation with heah. Four, almost half of the collocations, take the form of the compound heahgestreon. No doubt because its meaning is more general, gestreon tends to compound more frequently than do the other words for treasure. The compounding with heah may function, as in the case of other gestreon compounds, to raise the register or make gestreon more specifically treasure. Two of the four instances of the collocation must be considered a formula, since both are inflected forms occupying the entire half-line. The dragon discovers that someone has plundered his heahgestreon (Beo 2302), and in Andreas the boat carrying Christ and Andreas is described as "gehladenne / heahgestreonum" (And 361-62), where heahgestreon denotes these holy men.²⁰³ The other two instances of the compound, in Solomon and Saturn and Instructions for Christians, both appear in passages emphasizing the amassing of worldly wealth as being somehow in opposition to attaining life in heaven. But this theme is commonly associated with gestreon, and no case for a special attraction between it and heahgestreon seems tenable.

Other than the wordplay involved in the metaphorical use of heahgestreon in Andreas, I can find no evidence that the compound is used with an eye to rhetorical effect. Even when gestreon is compounded in such a way as to make its

²⁰³ See above, Ch.3, pp.137-38.

meaning more specifically treasure, the word still seems to remain too ordinary to draw the attention of the poets.

HORD and GESTREON

Hord and gestreon collocate 11 times in a wide range of Old English verse.²⁰⁴ In five of these instances the two elements form the compound hordgestreon which, since on three occasions, all in oblique cases, it takes up an entire half-line, can be considered as a formula. The semantic link between the two words is obvious, and the tendency to compound is attributable to the general nature of the semantic field of gestreon which becomes more specifically treasure when compounded with hord. Beyond the semantic link there appears little connection between the two elements of the collocation; treasure is as specific as the contextual link between the two elements gets. The frequent appearance together of gestreon and hord, sometimes even in a formulaic compound, illustrates one kind of collocation in which there seems to be no other attraction than a close semantic relationship between the two words.

LIC and GESTREON

Lic and gestreon collocate on four occasions.²⁰⁵ While there is no evidence of formulaic or conventional language connected with the collocation, there is a

²⁰⁴ Dan 65, And 1112, Jul 19, 41, MxI 67, Beo 1896, 2245, 2302, 3090, 3163, MB 14:9.

²⁰⁵ GenA 1203 (lichoma), 1619, FAp 79, Beo 1753 (lichoma).

contextual link in all four instances. Each case involves the death of a lic and its separation in one way or another from the gestreon it possessed in life. In The Fates of the Apostles this is a positive outcome of death as the martyred Apostles:

 þa gedæled wearð
lif wið lice, ond þas lænan gestreon,
idle æhtwelan, ealle forhogodan.
 (FAp 82-84)

In a genealogical section from Genesis A, the situation is the matter-of-fact outcome of death. Chus gave out the botlgestreona (GenA 1621) of his father, Cham, when the latter "forð gewat /... of lice" (GenA 1622-23) while the Beowulf poet uses the same situation to comment on the transience of treasure:

Hit on endestæf eft gelimpeð
þæt se lichoma læne gedreoseð,
fæge gefealleð; fehð oper to,
se þe unmunlice madmas dælep,
eorles ærgestreon.
 (Beo 1753-57)

The circumstances are the same as in Genesis A, but the sentiments echo those put forward in The Fates of the Apostles. The collocation also occurs earlier in Genesis A in the lines recounting Enoch's bodily assumption into heaven:

 Se rinc heonon
on lichoman lisse sohte,
drihtnes duguðe, nales deaðe swealt
middangeardes, swa her men doþ,
geonge and ealde, þonne him god heora
æhta and ætwist eorðan gestreona
on genimeð and heora aldor somed.
 (GenA 1203-9)

Here, the Genesis A poet turns the normal expectations on their heads in order to express the extraordinary nature of

Enoch's death, an unusual instance of wordplay in the poem, based on a term for treasure.

While the fact that the same context encompasses all four instances of the collocation of lic and gestreon points to a certain conventionality, the lack of any other lexical parallels between the four passages may suggest that the similar contexts of the collocation result from the earthly, acquired, nature of gestreon. This facet of gestreon makes it, as we have seen, a particularly appropriate word for use in genealogies, which accounts for both Genesis A occurrences of the collocation, and in passages which focus on the transience of treasure, which accounts for the collocation in Beowulf and The Fates of the Apostles.

SINC and GESTREON

Sinc and gestreon collocate with each other on five occasions, four of which appear in Beowulf and one in Andreas.²⁰⁶ In three cases the two elements form the compound sincgestreon, while in the other two instances there exists no direct relationship between the two collocates. The compounding is not surprising given the strong tendency for gestreon to appear in compounds. Other than chance, however, it is not apparent why the collocation should be so Beowulf restricted, given that both elements occur widely elsewhere. Two instances of the compound in Beowulf can be described as a formula since they each take up an entire half-line. The formula reoccurs in Beowulf

²⁰⁶ Beo 1080, 1225, 1920, 2231, And 1654.

within 134 lines, and nowhere else, and while chance is an important possibility, it might also be suggested that some formulas may be individual temporary solutions which are coined and remembered only for a short time.

The two occurrences of the sincgestreon formula do not seem to take part in any rhetorical verbal repetition. However, the two Beowulf instances of the collocation where sinc and gestreon are not a compound appear in passages where gestreon repeats. Gestreon occurs three times in the passages recounting Beowulf's departure from Denmark and his arrival in Geatland, and although the passage does show evidence of patterning through lexical repetition (see for example, weard), gestreon does not appear to function centrally.²⁰⁷ There is so much treasure language in this passage as a whole that it is hard to place much weight on these repetitions of gestreon. Similarly, in the run up to the "Lay of the Last Survivor" gestreon appears three times.²⁰⁸ The three gestreon compounds occur within twelve lines and are only used to describe treasure being acted on by the last survivor, and in each case the gestreon compound takes up the entire b half-line, and hence the compounds can be described in terms of a formula with lexical substitution. Whether these repetitions, occurring as they do in a passage which shows considerable verbal repetitions, should be described as part of the design or as a poet using repetitive language when faced with an extended passage

²⁰⁷ Beo 1899, 1920, 1931.

²⁰⁸ Beo 2232, 2240, 2244.

focused on treasure is impossible to determine. The dividing line between artistry and Homer nodding is, as ever, blurred.

ÞEOD and GESTREON

Þeod and gestreon collocate five times in Old English verse.²⁰⁹ Of interest here are the two instances, both from Beowulf, where the collocation forms the compound Þeodgestreon which in its inflected forms takes up an entire half-line and thus constitutes a formula. We have already seen the tendency of gestreon to compound in ways which make it more specific and also raise its register. In both cases Þeodgestreon clearly denotes treasure. The compound is also part of a larger phenomenon of gestreon compounding with terms like folc and Þeod, or linking up with tribal or national names in the genitive.²¹⁰ Both constructions indicate that the gestreon belongs to a people. Its first appearance describes how Scyld Scefing was not provided with any lesser treasure, Þeodgestreon (Beo 44), when sent out in a ship after his death than that with which he arrived as an unknown infant. The treasure of the two different peoples who send Scyld out at the beginning and end of his life were both spectacular and the noun is especially appropriate given the opening section's emphasis on the glory of the Danes, as the poem's opening lines, including Þeod, insist:

²⁰⁹ Dan 753, And 1112, El 907, Beo 43, 1215 (assuming the emendation is correct).

²¹⁰ See above, Ch.3, pp.132-33.

Hwæt! We Gardena in geardagum,
beodcyninga, þrym gefrunon,
hu ða æðelingas ellen fremedon.
(Beo 1-3)

Later beodgestreon (Beo 1218) denotes the hrægl (Beo 1217) which Wealhtheow gives to Beowulf. In light of Wealhtheow's pleas that Beowulf remain loyal to her sons and not attempt to overthrow them, that her gift is not just any treasure but treasure associated with the tribe is apt. beod has an intensifying function but does not lose the sense of "national."²¹¹

beodgestreon is not used with wordplay, but then the Beowulf poet's use of treasure language has not uncovered much interest in this rhetorical device. The Beowulf poet has shown a greater tendency to create ver~~s~~ paragraphs. The beodgestreon of line 44 may echo the beod of the poem's opening lines; of more interest, beod occurs at the beginning and end of Wealhtheow's speech to Beowulf. She offers him beodgestreon hoping that it will cement the unity and loyalty she finds amongst Beowulf and the nobles of her hall. Her last lines are:

þegnas syndon gepwære, þeod ealgearo,
druncne dryhtguman doð swa ic bidde.
(Beo 1230-31)

beod may define the unit of Wealhtheow's speech and the repetitions certainly reinforce the meaning of the passage, linking Wealhtheow's gift of treasure to her expectation that Beowulf will remain loyal to her beod. We have some slight evidence that beodgestreon is a word of more impact

²¹¹ Ingersoll 1978, p.140.

than gestreon, which may account for it capturing the Beowulf poet's attention for use in a verse paragraph.

WORULD and GESTREON

Woruld and gestreon collocate 13 times in Old English verse and a related verb collocates with woruld twice.²¹² At first glance, it is easy to dismiss these in light of the frequent and widespread appearances of woruld in the poetic corpus. Yet comparison with other treasure words points away from this instinct. The situation with regard to gestreon and woruld collocations is much the same as for eorpe. The collocation occurred in contexts ranging from the pejorative, where gestreon was associated with transience, to instances where gestreon was of this world without that facet of its semantic field carrying any negative connotation. Likewise with woruld, on the one hand the Guthlac A poet writes:

swa þas woruldgestreon
on þa mæran god bimutad weorþað,
ðonne þæt gegyrnað þa þe him godes egsa
hleonaþ ofer heafdum,
(GuthA 70-73)

while on the other hand the Genesis A poet writes of Abraham and Lot:

þæt hie to Bethlem
on cuðe wic ceapas læddon,
eadge eorðwelan oðre siðe,
wif and willan and heora woruldgestreon.
(GenA 1876-79)

²¹² GenA 1117, 1175, 1220, 1619, 1873, 2139, 2717, And 299, SBI 42 GuthA 70, Ph 253, Gifts 30, MB 8:58, 14:9, Inst 117.

The other occurrences range between these, and it is not always possible to distinguish a gestreon which is simply of this world from one which is also worldly. The high proportion of the appearances of this collocation which occur in Genesis A, a poem generally unconcerned with such abstractions as transience, may account for many, though not all, of these instances which seem to lack a negative moral context. It is worth remembering that without Genesis A our notion of the collocation of gestreon could be very different. This clustering in Genesis A might indicate a particular poet's penchant for certain words, but this view must be balanced by a recognition that the subject matter of the biblical Genesis is full of the involvement of people with their possessions and genealogies. The poet of Genesis A habitually amplifies these passages by noting that at the death of one generation, the possessions pass to the next generation; this amplificatio may be responsible for calling up the word gestreon.

Amidst the wide variety of relationships between the two elements of the woruld and gestreon collocation are six occurrences of the compound woruldgestreon.²¹³ Unlike compounding with heah, sinc or peod for example, compounding with woruld does not seem to raise the status of gestreon to make the resulting word formation unambiguously treasure. With the exception of the instance from Guthlac A, the compound does not carry with it an obviously negative connotation. The compound simply emphasizes an intrinsic

²¹³ GenA 1177, 1879, 2718, GuthA 70, Ph 255, Gifts 31.

element of the nature of gestreon rather than changing or adding to it. This might indicate that the compound's value is primarily alliterative and metric.

Three of the instances of woruldgestreon, all inflected, can be considered as a formula since they take up the entire half-line. Unlike many formulas we have seen, these three instances seems to share little in the way of contextual or thematic overlapping. Such gestreon constructions have been the most consistent and almost the only source of gestreon formulas, and it might well be asked if such compounds are more likely than other formulas to be the result of individual coinings, rather than recourse to the conventional diction of the Anglo-Saxon wordhoard.

Although no evidence for figures of speech involving wordplay has been found, there is some evidence that the collocation is connected with instances of rhetorical verbal repetition. Meter 8 and Meter 14 may be framed by verse paragraphs, as both end with lines including the woruld and gestreon collocation and both begin with lines including woruld. In the perfect woruld before greed, no one sought "welige hamas" (MB 8:8), but the meter ends lamenting the first "feohgitsere / wære on worulde" (MB 8:55-56) who found gestreon (MB 8:58) hidden "on weorulde" (MB 8:59). In meter 14, a miser, a woruldgitsere (MB 14:1), puts his faith in acquiring gold and gems, but the meter ends with the sober reminder that he cannot take:

of ðisse worulde wuhte þone mare,
hordgestreona, ðonne he hiðer brohte.
(MB 14:10-11)

A triple repetition of woruld occurs in the exchange between Andreas and the sailor over the former's inability to pay for his passage. The gestreon and woruld collocation occurs when the saint explains that he has no feohgestreon (And 301) with which to satisfy the sailor's "willan in worulde" (And 304). When the sailor expresses his wonder that Andreas dares to attempt to travel with no means of sustenance, Andreas rebukes him, a man who enjoys woruldspede (And 318), for asking such a question. After protesting that he is travelling to do God's will, the sailor relents and agrees to transport him, and, as soon as the journey begins, Andreas prays to God, using the same half-line which appeared at line 304, that he grant the sailor's "willan in worulde" (And 356) for his act of sybbe (And 358).²¹⁴ Whether or not the poet intended or could rely on his audience to pick up on these repetitions cannot be determined but the repetitions nonetheless function as part of a larger juxtaposition of the skipper's apparently material preoccupations with the spiritual concerns of Andreas.

²¹⁴ Bjork assumes the repetitions in Andreas are a deliberate rhetorical strategy (Bjork 1985, pp.110-24).

v. The Collocations of Sinc

BEAG and SINC

Beag and sinc collocate with each other eleven times in Old English verse.²¹⁵ As was the case with maðm and gold and hord, the collocation of treasure words with each other seems to show little that is not satisfactorily attributable to their related semantic fields and to variation. The collocation of beag and sinc most often occurs within a variation or enumeration which accounts for six of their appearances;²¹⁶ in two other instances beag and sinc share the same referent.²¹⁷ With the exception of the instance in Andreas, the collocation of beag and sinc does not occur in a formula or other conventional phrasing.

Beag and sinc occur in Parallelstellen in Andreas:

Wolde ic þe biddan, þeh ic þe beaga lyt,
sincweorðunga, syllan meahte
(And 271-72)

and

Ic wille þe,
eorl unforcuð, anre nu gena
bene biddan, þeah ic þe beaga lyt,
sincweorðunga, syllan mihte,
fætedsinces.

(And 474-78)

The immediate contexts of the two Parallelstellen show similarities, as the "anre nu gena" of line 475 suggests, since in both cases Andreas is seeking a favor from Christ

²¹⁵ And 270, 474, 474, 1654, Beo 80, 620, 1484, Jud 334, WldA 28, 28, GDPref 16.

²¹⁶ And 270, 474, 474, Beo 80, Jud 334, WldA 28.

²¹⁷ Beo 1484 and GDPref 16.

disguised as a helmsman. But beyond this there seems little connection between the two instances, and Andreas' dismay at not being able to offer treasure seems more appropriate in the first instance, when he seeks passage, than in the second when he wants Christ to explain his sailing skills. It is possible that the Andreas poet repeats these lines to structure his long account of the sea journey to Mermedonia but, in general the narrative technique of Andreas follows an obvious plot rather than relying on digressions and allusion as in Beowulf.²¹⁸

The appearance of beag twice in line 29 of Waldere A is a rare instance of the repetition of the same word within a line. It is not possible to know, at this point, whether this represented a stylistic device or a slip for the Old English poet, or even whether it would have attracted little or any attention. In the context of Waldere there is some evidence for rhetorical verbal repetition in the first fragment, with swyrd appearing three times (WldA 5, 13, 28), bill (WldA 17) and mece (WldA 24) once each; and while no other words reoccur on the same line, dæg occurs at line 7 and line 8 and gedreosan at line 4 and line 7. The half-line "feohtan sohtest" (WldA 18 and 20) is repeated within two lines and the verb secan, in its infinitive, occurs twice more at line 27 and line 30. In this context it may be possible to interpret the repetition of beag as part of the poet's design, but the fragmentary state of the

²¹⁸ This contrasts with Bjork's view of the control which the poet of Andreas exercises over verbal repetition (Bjork 1985, pp.110-24).

manuscript, which breaks off two and a half-lines after the beag repetition, prohibits any conclusions.

BRYTTA and SINC

The nouns sinc and brytta collocate with each other on 11 occasions with an additional two instances of the collocation of sinc and the verb bryttian.²¹⁹ These figures show a high frequency for sinc collocations. In 10 of the 13 instances the two nouns appear next to each other, with sinc in the genitive dependent on brytta.²²⁰ In nine of these ten instances, the epithet stands alone in a half-line and thus, according to any criteria, is a formula. The conventional linking of the two elements extends beyond the formula, given the two instances where the verb bryttian governs sinc,²²¹ the instance in which the epithet occurs in a different metrical context in the hypermetric half-line "swiðmod sinces brytta" (Jud 30), and the instance in which sinc collocates with "beaga bryttan" (Beo 1487). As this last example , "sinces brytta" is part of a larger formulaic system including lif, morðor, synn, and tir as well as gold and beag -- all two syllable words ^(when in the genitive) always in the genitive. The inclusion of gold and beagas in the following lines from Beowulf suggests that there is a

²¹⁹ GenA 1724, 1857 2727 El 194, Wan 17, Beo 607, 1168, 1484, 1920, 2069, 2379, Jud 28, GDPref 16. These figures assume we accept the emendation of GDPref but not of GenA 2642.

²²⁰ GenA 1857, 2727, El 194, Wan 17, Beo 607, 1168, 1920, 2069, Jud 28, GDPref 16.

²²¹ GenA 1724 and Beo 2379.

measure of alliterative usefulness involved in the way poets used the formulaic system:

Mæg þonne on þæm golde ongitan Geata dryhten,
geseon sunu Hrædles, þonne he on þæt sinc
 starað,
þæt ic gumcystum godne funde
beaga bryttan, breac þonne moste.
 (Beo 1484-87)

Gold, beagas and sinc all seem to have the same general referent and to function interchangeably here. Both the more general collocation and the formulaic epithet appear in a wide variety of poems. Although six, almost half, of its instances are in Beowulf, the kenning also occurs in religious poetry both narrative and meditative, in a Cynewulf poem and in the poetic epilogue to the translation of Gregory's Dialogues and in texts assigned dates, both early, Genesis A, and late, Judith. Such a wide currency for both the collocation and the kenning suggest that it was part of the general poetic diction available to the Old English poet, and this coupled with its gift-giving context may suggest an archaic character.

The Genesis A poet uses the collocation on three occasions,²²² two of which are in the kenning "sinces brytta." A contextual similarity links these two instances, as both involve Abraham and Sarah and a foreign king. In the first case a "sinces brytta," the Pharaoh, having been told that Abraham and Sarah are brother and sister, is attracted to Sarah and orders his men to treat Abraham well. God, however, sends plagues to punish the Pharaoh, who

²²² GenA 1724, 1857, 2727.

consequently sends his captives home. 870 lines later a similar situation arises when Abraham again tells a foreign king, this time Abimlech, that Sarah is his sister. Eventually, Abraham admits that Sarah is his wife and Abimlech returns her along with a gift of cattle, servants and silver. Then, denoted as "sinces brytta," Abimlech tells Sarah that Abraham has no cause to reproach her and makes her a gift of silver. To interpret this as an attempt to use verbal repetition to deliberately parallel these two episodes is not credible and it seems more likely that similar circumstances prompted the use of similar language.

The appearance of the kenning in Judith points, however, to a greater complexity. The Judith poet uses brytta kennings twice to describe Holofernes, "sinces brytta" (Jud 30) and "morðres brytta" (Jud 90), and once to describe God, "tires brytta" (Jud 93). The application of "sinces brytta" to Holofernes during the banquet scene seems somehow inappropriate, unsettling even. In marked contrast to Beowulfian banquets, treasure-giving, as well as a sense of comitatus and the mannered ceremony which are also elements of hall joy, *are* absent from Holofernes' drunken party.²²³ The later reference to Holofernes as "morðres brytta" seems more fitting and confirms the irony of the earlier kenning. The appearance of two of the brytta kennings within three lines of each other, and within Judith's prayer to God for mercy, juxtaposes God and Holofernes and contributes to the sense of Judith as God's

²²³ Swanton 1987, pp.156 and 158.

champion. All three of the brytta kennings in Judith are attested elsewhere in Old English verse, and so again we encounter evidence for the use of highly conventional, even formulaic, language as part of a larger rhetorical pattern. Both the conventionality and the rhetorical verbal repetition involved are more extensive. All three of the kennings in Judith occur in hypermetric lines and two in half-lines where a mod compound acts as an adjective: Holofernes is "swiðmod since**s** brytta" (Jud 30) and God "torhtmod tires brytta" (Jud 93). The density of the words mod and ferhð and their compound and adjectival forms (at least thirty-one times in the 350 lines of Judith) points to artistry on the part of a poet who uses the repetitions to convey the spiritual contrast between Holofernes and Judith and their followers, and to stress Holofernes' status as enemy of God.²²⁴ Yet, there may be a more conventional element to the appearance of a mod compound with brytta in a hypermetric line, since the only instance of brytta in such a line outside of Judith is the half-line "gamolferhð goldes brytta" (GenA 2868) from Genesis A. All three instances of a brytta epithet in a hypermetric line collocate with a word describing the state of the mind or spirit.

The hypermetric line "swiðmod since**s** ahte" (Jud 339) accounts for one of the thirty-one instances of mod and ferhð in Judith. Although this half-line repeats two words exactly from line 30, it can only be considered a formula under the loosest of definitions, since although the half-

²²⁴ Tyler 1992, p.17.

lines scan alike, the varied elements, ahte and brytta do not perform the same syntactical functions. The half-lines do seem to participate in a rhetorical verbal repetition which again calls attention to the ironic application of "swiðmod since brytta" (Jud 30) to describe Holofernes. Treasure-giving forms the center of the Bethulian victory celebration when the treasure that Holofernes had hoarded, "eal þæt se rinca baldor / swiðmod since ahte" (Jud 338-39), is given to Judith by the Bethulians as a reward. The repetition of "swiðmod since" indicates that the poet had in mind a larger rhetorical pattern, founded on the repetition of a number of words, when he used the conventional kenning "since brytta," and hence stands as evidence for pressures larger than the alliterative and metrical exerting a force on word choice.

Judith has a linear plot which may account for the verbal repetition being generally overlooked. In The Wanderer, by contrast, a poem which has often puzzled modern readers, consideration of the verbal repetitions and echoes has stood at the center of critical interpretations which, rejecting the notion of Christian interpolations into an otherwise pagan poem, interpret the text as a structural and conceptual unity. The powerful alternation in The Wanderer of the harsh reality of the sea journey and the absence of hall-joys, with the memories and dreams of hall joys, which creates and conveys the sense of anxiety leading up to and breaking with the recognition of the general nature of

transience, has gained critical admiration.²²⁵ Those hall-joys are expressed largely in terms of treasure-giving and the occurrence of "sinces brytta," though not a lynch pin, fits into a larger rhetorical pattern involving verbal repetition. The exile explains how he came to be at sea following of the death of his goldwine (Wan 22), and that he "sohte sele dreorig sinces bryttan" (Wan 25). He then repeats the terms goldwine, sinc and sele when he remembers the past:

gemon he selesecgas and sincþege,
hu hine on geoguðe his goldwine
wenede to wiste.

(Wan 34-36)

Goldwine and "sinces brytta" are common kennings for treasure-giver, and their use helps to contribute to the universality of the message of The Wanderer.

Sinces brytta is among the most common formulas, and occurs as part of a widely attested formulaic system, making it perhaps a classic example of the way the inherited wordhoard was a source of conventionality in Old English verse. However, we find that poets could pick up on this convention and manipulate it for rhetorical effects, such as irony, and rhetorical verbal repetition, which they use to convey the meaning of their poems.

BURG and SINC

The two nouns sinc and burg collocate on eight occasions in a wide spectrum of Old English verse.²²⁶ The

²²⁵ For example, Dunning/Bliss 1969, pp.83-4 and Irving 1967, pp.159-60.

²²⁶ And 1654, 1672, Rim 30, Rid55 1, Hb 13, Ruin 31, Beo 1197, 2884.

association of the burg with treasure is of no great note, since such fortified castles or palaces would, like the hall, have been the realm of the Anglo-Saxon aristocracy. The burg in verse may have some symbolic weight as a place of aristocratic pleasure, as does the hall, in the view of many critics. Although no formulaic, or indeed rigidly conventional, relationship is discernable between the two elements of the collocation, there may be a link between sinc, or, as is more likely, with treasure in general, and the formula "to þære byrhtan byrig" and its variants. The half-line "to (or in) ðære byrhtan byrig" occurs six times, and the half-line "on þas beorhtan byrig," once.²²⁷ Given the restriction of the limits of a collocation to one sentence as edited in the ASPR, in only two cases can sinc be said to collocate with the formula (Beo 1197 and Ruin 31); in Andreas, however, sinc also occurs within seven lines of "in þære beorhtan byrig" (And 1649), which, as the poet relates a few lines later, is decorated with treasure. The Judith occurrence of the formula also comes within the context of treasure in the passage in which plunder taken from the Assyrians by the Bethulians is described three times, although only in the third instance does sinc denote any of that treasure. These four instances of the "beorhtan burg" formula may suggest that there is some sort of conventional linking between the two which is in no way maintained or perpetuated by alliteration and meter.

²²⁷ And 1649, El 821, ChrII 519, GuthB 1191, Ruin 37, Beo 1199, Jud 326.

All four instances of the burg formula appearing near sinc can be said to occur in, and in some cases be essential to, passages marked by rhetorical verbal repetition. The Ruin is comprised of a series of alternations which begin with a meditation on the ruins of a Roman city, and include imaginative descriptions of both the past splendor of the buildings and their inhabitants and their death and destruction. The poet, relying in part on lexical repetition, weaves these meditations and imaginings tightly together into a unified and moving poem. Central are the five instances of burg. In the opening lines the poet refers to the ruins of the burgstede (Ruin 2). Nineteen lines on, having considered the death of the "waldend wyrhtan" (Ruin 7), in his first imaginative recollection of the past glory of the buildings and people, he includes mention of a burgræced (Ruin 21). The second consideration of the death of the people and the ruin of the buildings refers to how "brosnade burgsteall" (Ruin 28). An extended passage of five and a half-lines describes how, before there were "beorn monig," themselves ornamented with treasure, and culminates its list of treasure with the bright city:

þær iu beorn monig
 glædmod ond goldbeorht gleoma gefrætweð,
 wlonc ond wingal wighyrstum scan;
 seah on sinc, on sylfor, on searogimmas,
 on ead, on æht, on eorcanstan,
 on þas beorhtan burg bradan rices.
 (Ruin 32-37)

The last visible word of the poem, which appears on the final existing line of the text, is burg (Ruin 49).²²⁸

Like burg, the other significant element, beorht, of the formulaic half-line "on þas beorhtan burg" also repeats. It occurs four times, twice alliterating with burg, within lines depicting the former glory of the ruin and its people.²²⁹ The poet's use of "beorhtan burg" in the context of treasure, in part denoted as sinc, is not only conventional, but fits in with a pattern of verbal repetitions which structure the poem.

A passage in Andreas, extending especially from lines 1630 to 1674, includes two collocations of burg and sinc, as well as the formula "in þære beorhtan byrig." The two collocations of burg and sinc occur within lines in which God seems to throw Andreas' own words back to him when he asks to leave Mermedonia.²³⁰ Andreas:

Sægde his fusne hige,
þæt he þa goldburg ofgifan wolde,
secga seledream ond sincgestreon,
beorht beagselu, ond him brimpisan
æt sæs faroðe secan wolde.
(And 1654-58)

God tells him of the people's distress and orders him to stay:

²²⁸ Chambers et al. 1933.

²²⁹ Ruin 21, 33, 37, 40.

²³⁰ This verbal repetition might support Bjork's reading of Andreas. He argues that: "In Andreas the use of common formulas and diction verbally link God, Christ, and Andreas, and typologically connect the last two" (Bjork 1985, p.114).

Is him fus hyge
gað geomriende, geohðo mænað
weras wif samod...

...
Wuna in þære winbyrig, wigendra hleo,
salu sinchroden, seofon nihta fyrst.

(And 1664-1673)

There are other verbal echoes in the passage. Most weighty is God's insistence that Andreas, who at line 1633 had commanded a "circlean getimbran," stay in Mermedonia and "ah him naman minne / on ferðlocan fæst getimbre" (And 1670-71). Burg, which ^{was} repeated in God and Andreas' exchange of words, also occurs at line 1637 when Andreas calls all the people together, and at line 1649 in the formula "in þære beorhtan byrig," in the description of the consecration of a bishop to take Andreas' place. The poet of Andreas incorporates these verbal repetitions into a straightforward narrative, where, although they appear to have some structural purpose and contribute to the poem's meaning, they are far less essential than those of the more sophisticated meditative poem, The Ruin.

Finally, the "to þære beorhtan byrig" formula collocates with sinc in Beowulf, in a passage which shows some restricted verbal repetition.²³¹ The passage recounts Wealhtheow's gift of a gold necklace to Beowulf, which is subsequently given to Hygelac. The contrast between Hama, who carried off a similar necklace, and Hygelac, who dies wearing Wealhtheow's necklace, is sharp. Hama "geceas ecne

²³¹ The appearance of the formula in Judith will be discussed in the sinc and beorht section. See below, Ch.4, p.358.

ræd" (Beo 1201) while Hygelac "for wlenco wean ahsode, / fæhðe to Frysum" (Beo 1207). The poet tells us that Hama ætweag the "Brosinga mene" (Beo 1198-99) while Hygelac the "frætwe wæg" (Beo 1207) on his journey to attack the Frisians. "Sigle ond sincfæt" (Beo 1200) describes or varies Hama's necklace, while Hygelac "sinc ealgode" (Beo 1204). In isolation, the repetition of beag (Beo 1195 and 1211) and hring (Beo 1195 and 1202) would be best attributed to the subject matter, but given the nature of the passage as well as the other repetitions, poetic art seems to have played a role as well.

BEOHRT and SINC²³²

Beorht and sinc collocate with each other in nine instances in a range of Old English verse.²³³ In seven of the nine instances there is also some connection with the noun burg; this connection has already been discussed (see burg and sinc), but becomes much more clearly defined in light of this high proportion of the sinc/beorht collocations which occur with burg. On three occasions, beorht and burg, when collocating with sinc, appear on the same line,²³⁴ and in two of these instances the formula

²³² The nature of the material dictates that the discussion of beorht follow that of burg and hence beorht is not in its proper place in the alphabetical sequence.

²³³ And 1654, Rim 30, Ruin 31, 31, Beo 607, 1197, Jud 334, 334, MB 21:20.

²³⁴ Beo 1197, Rim 30, Ruin 31.

"in/to þære beorhtan byrig" occurs.²³⁵ In a further four instances, the collocation of sinc and beorht occurs in a passage which includes the "beorhtan burg" formula.²³⁶ The two instances of the beorht and sinc collocation which appear without connection to burg further confirm the impression of an established convention standing behind the collocation of burg and beorht and treasure. In Beowulf, beorht (Beo 609) occurs in the compound Beorhtdena, but critics have long noticed that the poet's various descriptions of the Danes as Beorht-Dene, Gar-Dene, Hring-Dene, East-Dene, Norð-Dene, Suð-Dene, and West-Dene are determined by alliteration.²³⁷ There is nothing in the collocation of sinc and beorht to contradict this judgement. The appearance of the collocation in The Meters of Boethius seems unusual. The poet of The Meters, presumably King Alfred, subverts the common positive moral connotation of the brightness of treasure, when he writes that treasures do not improve the spirit:

ac hi swiðor get
monna gehwelces modes eagan
ablendað on breostum, þonne hi hi beorhtran
gedon.
(MB 21:25-27)

The Latin meter, in which bright stones blind, also presents another influence for this unusual use of beorht. Beorht does not occur in the prose rendition of the Latin meter,

²³⁵ Beo 1199 and Ruin 31.

²³⁶ Jud 334, 334, And 1654, Ruin 31.

²³⁷ See above, Ch.1, p.7.

but appears in the meter to complete the alliteration begun with ablendað and breostum.

All seven instances of the collocation of beorht and sinc which show a link with burg occur in passages where a case can be made for rhetorical verbal repetition or other artistry which extends beyond alliteration and meter. The rhyme of The Riming Poem is an obvious rhetorical feature, concerning which Macrae-Gibson comments: "in cases where the rhyme end-links two half-lines one may strongly suspect influence from Latin."²³⁸ The appearance of such a conventional collocation in The Riming Poem provides further evidence that the poet's mode of composition was rooted in the common inherited wordhoard.²³⁹ The instances of the sinc and beorht in Andreas (And 1654) and Beowulf (Beo 1197), are part of, though not key to, passages of rhetorical verbal repetition which have already been discussed.²⁴⁰ Judith and The Ruin, which each include two instances of beorht collocating with one instance of sinc, have already been mentioned but merit further consideration here. In The Ruin, the poet uses the adjective beorht at least four times; more may be obscured by the damage to the manuscript. In two cases beorht alliterates with burg, one of which is in the formula involving bright cities. Beorht appears in each of the extant sections of the poem in which

²³⁸ Macrae-Gibson 1983, p.23.

²³⁹ See above, Ch.4, pp.242-43 and below, Ch.4, pp.375-77.

²⁴⁰ See above, Ch.4, pp.352-54.

the past splendor of the buildings and their inhabitants are imagined. The repetitions not only contribute to the overall structure of the poem, but, importantly, forge a link between the buildings, whose ruins remain, and the people, which lends a sense of reality to the people, who are after all only imaginatively recalled. The repetition also contributes to the progression from the contemplation of the present ruin to thoughts of its former glory to a vision of the magnificent life of the city's inhabitants. Three instances of beorht describe the building and one the people. A similar juxtaposing of the city with its people arises from the use of treasure language to describe the past people and the fabric of the buildings themselves. The inhabitants:

glædmod and goldbeorht gleoma gefrætwed,
 wlonc ond wingal wighyrstum scan.
(Ruin 33-34)

while the poet uses words and phrases applied to treasure for the building: hring (Ruin 19, 45), beag (Ruin 17, 31), "wirum wundrum" (Ruin 20) and horngestreon (Ruin 22).²⁴¹

The collocation of sinc with beorht, and especially with the beorht burg formula, fits into a larger rhetorical pattern which is key to the meaning of the poem, since much of the elegiac power of the poem lies not simply with the sadness of a ruin, but with the transience of the way of life which went with it.

The moral connotations of beorht have already been touched on here with respect to The Meters of Boethius, and

²⁴¹ See below, Ch.4, pp.391-92.

discussed at length in connection with the collocation of beorht and maðm.²⁴² Beorht occurs five times in Judith.

Prior to the plundering of the Assyrian treasure, Judith was twice described as beorht (Jud 58 and 254), with clearly moral overtones. In the final lines of the poem the treasure is brought "to ðære beorhtan byrig, Bethuliam" (Jud 326) and

...eal þæt se rinca baldor
swiðmod sinces ahte oððe sundoryrfes,
beaga and beorhtra maðma, hi þæt þære beorhtan
idese
ageafon gearoþoncolre.

(Jud 338-42)

Although the primary link of beorht here is with maðm, the collocation of sinc and beorht is brought about by a rhetorical device through which the poet associates the victory of the Bethulians over the Assyrians with the goodness of Judith. This fits in with the poet's comprehensive use of lexical repetition, especially of words associated with the spirit or the mind to portray the conflict as more than simply physical, but as one between God's enemies and his people.²⁴³

DRINCAN and SINC

Sinc and drincan collocate with each other on three occasions, all in The Riddles.²⁴⁴ None of the other words for treasure collocates with drincan. In all three cases,

²⁴² See above, Ch.4, pp.204-5.

²⁴³ Tyler 1992. See above, Ch.4, p.347.

²⁴⁴ Rid20 9, Rid55 1, Rid67 13.

If there is indeed a conventional link between the drincan formula and treasure, its presence here would add to the confusion with which the poet hides the riddle's solution. While it is possible to attribute much of the attraction between sinc and the drincan formula to the hall being the place of treasure-giving, the appearance of the formula in Beowulf underscores that this is not necessarily so, and that the formula could be useful in other contexts. The limitation of the apparent conventionality of treasure with the drincan formula to The Riddles lends further evidence to the trend we saw emerging with regard to Beowulf, that of individual poets having a personal diction which involves its own convention. This depends, of course, on assuming one author for all the riddles discussed here; it might be more defensible to see a link between some riddles and a specific wordhoard.

The instances of sinc when collocating with drinking formulas do not appear to occur as part of any particularly sophisticated verbal repetitions. Verbal repetitions may envelope each of the riddles in question (wir, Rid20 4 and 32; healle, Rid55 1 and 13; and wiht, Rid677 2 and 16). The incomplete Riddle 20 is marked by a number of lexical repetitions which progress through the poem, creating cohesion from line to line and across the poem, and creating juxtapositions which contribute to the paradox of the sword/warrior/phallus' situation;²⁴⁶ see for example,

²⁴⁶ See above, Ch.3, pp.139-42 for a discussion of the double entendre.

gierwan lines 2 and 9, sinc lines 6 and 10, wyrnan lines 11 and 29, and gestreon lines 27 and 31. Although these repetitions, including the instance of sinc, are part of the poet's art they do not seem fundamental to the meaning of the poem. The poet or poets of The Riddles are notably clever but, if the evidence of these riddles is at all representative, they rely on devices other than lexical repetition, most notably punning, to amuse and confuse.

GIEFA and SINC

Sinc and giefa collocate on eight occasions in a wide range of Old English verse.²⁴⁷ The semantic link between the two words, which would seem to be a sufficient explanation of their collocation, does not indicate why the attraction between the two words does not extend beyond their compounding in the kenning sincgiefa, which accounts for seven of the collocation's eight appearances. However, this tendency fits into a larger pattern, since giefa never appears in verse other than as the second element of a compound.²⁴⁸ Giefa compounds with a number of words, many, though not all of which, are treasure or wealth words. In the one case where sinc and giefa collocate but do not compound, giefa compounds with beag and the resulting word has the same referent as "sinc[...] brytta" (GDPref 24).

²⁴⁷ ChrI 458, GuthB 1351, Beo 1011, 1337, 2309, MB 1:49, BM 277, GDPref 16.

²⁴⁸ As a simplex giefa is also rare in prose (Healey/Venezky 1980).

Although the kenning occurs in both secular and religious poetry, it never appears out of context. Treasure-givers in Beowulf and The Battle of Maldon deserve no further comment; however, the kennings are also appropriate in their religious appearances. The use of sincgeofa in Christ I is not empty of heroic resonance. In the same few lines where the poet uses the epithet, he also describes Christ as peoden (ChrI 457) and a hlaford (ChrI 461), and his disciples as his pegna (ChrI 457) and his hæleð (ChrI 461). Likewise, the word sincgeofa retains its heroic overtones when it describes Boethius. The first chapter of The Meters of Boethius provides the historical background to Boethius' writing of the De Consolatione Philosophiae and recounts the sack of Rome by the Goths in the traditional heroic style associated with Beowulf -- a style in which sincgeofa is not out of context.²⁴⁹ Sincgeofa does not appear in the remaining chapters of The Meters in which the heroic style, no longer appropriate to the material, is abandoned. The poet of Guthlac B was at ease with the traditional diction of Old English verse, and Jane Roberts notes the "effectiveness" of the "conventional" vocabulary in the poem, which results from the "quick recognition of known or simple imagery."²⁵⁰ In lines which owe little to Felix's Life of Guthlac, the much emphasized sorrow of Guthlac's grieving servant seems rooted in his sense of the death of his lord, rather than in Guthlac's joy

²⁴⁹ Griffith 1984, pp.183-85.

²⁵⁰ Roberts 1979, p.57.

at having gone to his reward in heaven, despite the fact that the servant knows Guthlac went to heaven.²⁵¹ He informs Guthlac's sister of his death in lines redolent of The Wanderer which sharpens the sense that he does not fully comprehend the meaning of the saint's death:

Ellen biþ selast þam þe oftost sceal
 dreogan dryhtenbealu, deope behycgan
 proht þeodengedal, þonne seo prag cymeð,
 wefen wyrdstafum. þæt wat se þe sceal
 aswæman sarigferð, wat his sincgiefan
 holdne biheledne.

(GuthB 1348-53)

The use of ^{the}sincgiefan kenning may be influenced by the need to alliterate with sarigferð but the presence of sarig continues the repetition of sorg, which occurs throughout the description of the servant's response to Guthlac's death.²⁵² The alliteration of sincgiefan with sarig, then, shows the poet was working with a larger unit; one which did not have to conform to the requirements of the verse. Sincgiefan did not become simply an alliteratively useful term for leader but retains its primary meaning of "treasure-giver." In the majority of its occurrences, the designation "treasure-giver" is appropriate and is often accompanied by other treasure language and, moreover, even when they are perhaps used simply as a convenient synonym, they only appear in heroic contexts where a "treasure-giver" would not be out of place. Sincgeofa cannot be used in any poem to designate a leader, but only in poems or contexts

²⁵¹ This final fitt of Guthlac B is much amplified from Felix's account (Roberts 1979, p.47).

²⁵² GuthB 1330, 1335, 1356.

where it would not be odd to find a "treasure-giver." The sinc and giefa collocation shows religious poets taking over not just the diction and form of Old English verse but its larger conventions, which they used appropriately and sometimes powerfully.

GEMUNAN and SINC

Gemunan and sinc collocate five times in a range of Old English verse.²⁵³ The relationship between the two words cannot be described as conventional in any way, but the collocation does appear to participate in rhetorical verbal repetitions. Both gemunan, or related words, and sinc, or other treasure words, repeat in The Wanderer, and hence their collocation at line 34 can be seen as in part the result of the convergence of two sets of verbal repetitions in a poem admired for its structural sophistication. In Beowulf's speech before his boast and then attack on the dragon, sinc appears twice in the ASPR sentence, starting at line 2428, which also includes gemunan: Beowulf explains that Hrethel gave him sinc and remembered sibb. Gemunan occurs twice more and gemyndgian once in this same speech. The first appearance is in the sentence immediately preceding line 2428 as Beowulf opens his speech by remembering his youth, "ic þæt eall gemon" (Beo 2427). The remaining "remembering words" appear in the two digressions in the speech: every morning Hrethel gemyndgað (Beo 2450) the accidental fratricide of his son, and in the Swedish-

²⁵³ Wan 34, Hb 13, Beo 2428, 2428, GDPref 16.

geatish wars digression, Beowulf comments "hond gemunde / fæhðo genoge, feorhsweng ne ofteah" (Beo 2488-89). It is difficult to know whether such repetitions should be considered as part of the artistry of the poem. Gemunan can be interpreted as setting the tone of the speech, and its appearance in the two digressions can be seen as integrating these passages, but the poet seems to gain little meaning from the repetitions.

SÆL and SINC

Sæl, meaning happiness, and sinc, collocate with each other on three occasions; twice in Beowulf and once in Elene.²⁵⁴ All three instances are very similar, with two establishing a full-line formula: "ða wæs on sælum since brytta."²⁵⁵ This full-line formula results from the overlap of two half-line formulas; "since brytta" is attested ten times and "þa wæs on sælum" is linked most closely to "hwæðre was on sælum" (SS 177), but also with "folc wæs on sælum" (Ex 106) and "werod wæs on salum" (Ex 565) which also scan as a Sievers A type. These five A types account for five of the eight instances of "on sælum." The link between "on sælum" and "since brytta," at least in Beowulf, is not, however solely determined by the convergence of two formulas, since at line 1170, "þu on sælum wes," a Sievers type B, completes the line. There may be a more general association of sinc and sæl, although

²⁵⁴ El 194, Beo 607, 1170.

²⁵⁵ El 194 and Beo 607.

chance, and the lexical, if not the syntactical and the metrical, similarity of the half-lines containing sæl also need to be noted.

Context may function in the collocation of sinc and sæl in Beowulf. Both instances of the collocation occur during banquets where there is much joy either at Beowulf's promise or prowess. Although the first passage describes the banqueting and the second passage is a speech of Wealhtheow's made during a banquet, there are correspondences between the two. In the descriptive passage, Hrothgar is said to be happy and confident in Beowulf, and then immediately Wealhtheow comes forth with a cup of ale which she gives to the king and the men on the benches. In Wealhtheow's speech she comes forward and tells Hrothgar to accept the ale cup and to be happy and then to speak kind words to the Geats for cleansing Heorot. Both passages end in an analogous manner, with Hrothgar retiring to sleep and the other men bedding down in the hall before the attack of Grendel or his mother. The Beowulf poet seems to parallel the two passages: line 1168 is the first appearance of Wealhtheow since the last banquet, but the five hundred or more lines separating the two sections must raise doubts that there is an intentional use of lexical repetition to create a parallel; rather, it seems more likely that similar contexts and a more general or thematic paralleling called up similar language. This relationship of context and collocation appears limited to Beowulf, since

when the full-line formula occurs in Elene it applies to Constantine's rejoicing in his new found Christian faith.

The appearance of the full-line formula at line 607 in Beowulf shows evidence of taking part in a set of lexical repetitions which lend cohesion to the passage. Beowulf's first boast (Beo 601-6) is followed by "þa wæs on salum since brytta," referring to Hrothgar's happiness, while Beowulf's second boast (Beo 632-38) is followed by reference to Wealhtheow's pleasure and then the joy of the whole people "þeod on salum" (Beo 643). The banquet ends there as Hrothgar entrusts the hall to Beowulf and leaves for bed. Within the parallel marked by the two instances of sæl other repetitions appear. Hrothgar "geoce gelyfde" (Beo 608) when he heard Beowulf's boast and Wealhtheow "eorl gelyfde" (Beo 627) after listening to Beowulf. Wealhtheow grette (Beo 614) the men in the hall and grette (Beo 625) Beowulf. Wealhtheow is both goldhroden (Beo 614) and beaghroden (Beo 623). Words are uttered again and again. First "word wæron wynsume" (Beo 612) describing the joy of all in the hall over Beowulf's promise to defeat Grendel, then Wealhtheow "wisfæst wordum" (Beo 626) thanks God, then at Beowulf's second boast, "þa word wel licodon" the queen (Beo 639), and finally the noise of the men rejoicing just before Hrothgar's departure is described as bryðword (Beo 643), forming an envelope with the first words of line 612. The repetitions of sæl, then, one of which occurs within a full-line formula, show the apparently conventional collocation

of sinc and sæl used with concern for both the needs of verse form and of a larger rhetorical pattern.

SEL and SINC

Sel and sinc collocate with each other on eight occasions.²⁵⁶ While the semantic connection of "better" and "best" with treasure would seem clear, only three times does sel refer directly to sinc. Alliteration, which accounts for six of the eight instances of the collocation is the stronger link, highlighting the pressure of verse form on word choice. The two words are much more likely to come together when they alliterate, regardless of referents, than when they do not. Although sel and sinc are a useful alliterating pair they do not seem to form part of more rigid or stable conventions. Given the general, light semantic field of sel, and its frequency, the absence of convention is not surprising since the two elements could easily crop up together independently.

SELE, SÆL and SINC

Sele and sinc collocate on eleven occasions, and in addition the semantically similar and morphologically related word sæl, also meaning hall, collocates with sinc on three occasions.²⁵⁷ The obvious contextual link between

²⁵⁶ And 1508, MxI 125, Beo 1011, 1197, 2190, 2379, MB 1:49, GDPref 16.

²⁵⁷ Sele: GenA 1857, Ex 33, And 1654, Wan 17, 34, Rim 16, 30, Rid20 9, Beo 80, 166, 1080 and sæl: GenA 2405, And 1654, 1672.

treasure and hall as well as the alliterative usefulness (nine of the eleven and two of the three alliterate) no doubt encourages the collocation, which appears widely in old English verse. With the exception of "sele hlifade" (Beo 81) and "salo hlifian" (GenA 2405), none of the collocations can be described in terms of a formula. However, as well as these two instances a notable number of lines share double collocations: seledream and sinc,²⁵⁸ secg, sinc and sele,²⁵⁹ brytta, sinc and sele,²⁶⁰ and niht, sinc and sele/sæl.²⁶¹ The varying contexts, in addition to the syntactic differences between the sets of double collocations, and the fact that, unlike the alliterative pair sinc and sele/salu, they each appear only twice, may point away from any formalized convention standing behind these repetitions and towards chance as an important factor.

Despite the frequency of the collocation, the Old English poet had considerable scope for innovation and control in how he used it -- only twice do we find a sæl adorned with sinc. Syntax, compounding, and, more importantly, sense contribute to the variety in the ways the words appear together. Syntax separates treasure from hall:

He beot ne aleh, beagas dælde,
sinc æt symle. Sele hlifade
heah ond horngeap.
(Beo 80-82)

²⁵⁸ Ex 36 and And 1656.

²⁵⁹ Wan 34 and And 1656.

²⁶⁰ GenA 1857 and Wan 25.

²⁶¹ And 1673 and Beo 167.

Treasure is seen in a hall (Rim 16); a sword is decorated with treasure and then "on sele weorþað" (Rid20 10); Andreas is eager to leave behind "secga seledream ond sincgestreon" (And 1656) and a hall is even seen over treasure: "gesawon ofer since salo hlifan" (GenA 2405). This odd statement that a hall is seen over treasure may well strike us as senseless and at first glance we might think it has more to do with the alliteration of sinc and sæl than meaning. But the sense is reaffirmed in the next line when the poet varies "ofer since salo" with "reced ofer readum golde" (GenA 2406).

Three instances of the sinc and sele collocation being repeated within close proximity also stand out. In The Wanderer, in which the importance of rhetorical verbal repetition has already been noted,²⁶² the sele and sinc collocation appears at lines 25 and 34: in the first instance referring to the seeking of a new hall and treasure-giver, and in the second to his memories of past hall companions and treasure-giving. This repetition fits in with the frequent alternation between past and present in the poem. Although the repetition of sele and sæl at Andreas 1656-57 suggests inattention on the part of the poet and the general tolerance of Old English verse for repetition, we noted earlier that in these same lines God uses Andreas' own words -- throwing them back perhaps -- to

²⁶² See above, Ch.4, pp.348-49.

refuse Andreas' request to leave Mermedonia,²⁶³ and that the sinc and sele/sæl collocation forms part of this exchange of words illustrates that repetitiveness and rhetorical verbal repetition are not mutually exclusive, even within a passage. These instances show the poets handling the common collocation of sinc and sele/sæl in a way which shows them looking beyond the alliterative and metrical requirements of an individual line. The variety of uses for the collocation of sinc and sele/sæl seems to offer evidence for alliteratively useful and contextually related word pairs in Old English, which are not maintained by formulas, and which could be applied by Anglo-Saxon poets for rhetorical effect.

SEOLFOR and SINC

Seolfor and sinc collocate with each other on nine occasions in a range of Old English verse.²⁶⁴ This figure is less than half of the 21 collocations of gold and sinc and reflects the many fewer instances of silver compared with gold in Old English verse. Yet gold was extremely scarce in Anglo-Saxon England after 700, and silver the prestige precious metal, illustrating the gap between historical treasure and poetic treasure, and the tendency for poetry to describe exceptional treasure becomes

²⁶³ See above, Ch.4, pp.352-53.

²⁶⁴ GenA 2727, Dan 58, XSt 573, Rid20.9, Rid55 1, Ruin 31, Rid 67 13, PPs 67.27, MB 21:20.

sharper.²⁶⁵ The fact that in eight of the nine appearances of the seolfor and sinc collocations the two elements appear on the same line, coupled with the total absence of any instances of the collocation of seolfor and maðm, indicates that verse form, alliteration, is a strong factor in this collocation. There may be a sense in which the collocation of sinc and seolfor represents a deviation from the poetic norm which is encouraged by alliteration.

The evident alliterative usefulness of the seolfor and sinc collocation is regularized by convention, which accounts for six of the collocation's eight instances. On three occasions the two elements of the collocation create the formula "since and seolfre." More remarkable are the conventional (though on the evidence of the surviving corpus not formulaic) relationships between sinc, searo, and seolfor, which form a double alliterative collocation on three occasions,²⁶⁶ and with gimmas a triple collocation on two occasions.²⁶⁷ None of the three lines scanſalike, nor do the elements appear in similar syntactic or ordinal relationships, yet the double collocation accounts for half of the appearances of searo with sinc, and the triple collocation for two-thirds of the appearances of gimmas with sinc. The appearance of the triple collocation in The Meters of Boethius also suggests that it is a poetic convention. Although the original Latin verse speaks only

²⁶⁵ See above, Ch.2, pp.70-9.

²⁶⁶ Rid55 1, Ruin 31, MB 21:20.

²⁶⁷ Ruin 31 and MB 21:20.

of gold and not silver, silver appears in the prose intermediary stage, as do gems, but when versifying, Alfred adds searo and sinc to supply the alliteration. The extensiveness of the conventionality of the sinc and seolfor collocation is further emphasized since one of the two non-conventional or non-formulaic, as far as we can tell, instances of the collocation occurs in The Paris Psalter where seolfor is a translation of argentum. It appears that the poetic wordhoard may have contained word associations, alliterative pairings, as well as formulas.

The collocation of sinc and seolfor does not appear to form part of any patterns established by rhetorical verbal repetitions or as part of another rhetorical design, which may add further weight to the notion that the alliterative requirements of the line were the most important factor in bringing sinc and seolfor together. This may show that poets would not want to draw attention to such ordinary treasure, and hence would not use references to it as key elements in larger rhetorical patterns.

SEARO and SINC²⁶⁸

Searo and sinc collocate with each other on seven occasions, six of which alliterate; in addition the related verb searwian collocates and alliterates with sinc once.²⁶⁹

²⁶⁸ The nature of the material dictates that the discussion of searo follow that of seolfor and hence searo is not in its proper place in the alphabetical sequence.

²⁶⁹ Rim 30, Rid55 1, Ruin 31, Beo 1037, 1197, 1443, 2764, MB 21.20.

Four times searo is the first element of a compound which reflects its much more frequent appearance as a compound than as a simplex. Although the collocation never appears as a formula or as part of a formula, three of its six instances occur as part of the wider convention of searo, sinc and seolfer which has already been considered, and two of these extend to a triple collocation of searo, sinc, seolfer and gimmas.²⁷⁰ While the association of sinc, searo and seolfer may have been chance, it does occur in half of the collocation's appearances and may provide further evidence for the existence of alliterative associations which were useful for fulfilling the verse form yet which were not maintained by a formula.²⁷¹

There is evidence for the use of this conventional collocation in literary or rhetorical contexts. The appearance in The Meters of Boethius has already been discussed.²⁷² If one identifies the "on...on" series in The Ruin as influenced by Latin rhetoric, then we see the convergence of a perhaps useful triple collocation with the literary. Five of the six appearances of the collocation occur in contexts where searo is applied to treasure. In Beowulf, however, searo is compounded with niðas (Beo 1200) in the passage which describes the history of the Broosing neck ring and its owners, and the fate of Hygelac when he

²⁷⁰ Rid55 1, Ruin 31, MB 20:21. See above, Ch.4, p.372.

²⁷¹ For example, see also heah and hord Ch.4, pp.305-6 and sele/sæl and sinc Ch.4, pp.368-71.

²⁷² See above, Ch.4, pp.372-73.

wears the ring which Beowulf gave to Hygd. The unusual use of the collocation, which occurs among the lines which provide the first hint of Hygelac's death and strikes a foreboding note, may contribute to the building up of the sense of impending doom in the second part of the poem. The context of the collocation suggests that the Beowulf poet has effectively used a conventional collocation in an unusual manner. We have already seen the poet of The Riming Poem make similar use of "sinc searwade" (Rim 37) and a glance at the collocation of sinc and searo confirms the ambiguity of that half-line and the collocation of sinc and sibb.²⁷³

SIBB and SINC

Sibb and sinc collocate on four occasions, of which three alliterate.²⁷⁴ On the evidence of the corpus, no formula or less rigid convention links the two elements. Although four non-formulaic instances perhaps do not provide sufficient evidence, it is possible to read the instance of the collocation in The Riming Poem as an example of what might be termed an unfulfilled, or perhaps better in this case, thwarted expectation which lends particular power to a line.²⁷⁵ Genesis A and Beowulf have sinc and sibb

²⁷³ See above, Ch.4, pp.241-42 and below, Ch.4, pp.375-77.

²⁷⁴ GenA 1724, Rim 30, Beo 2428, 2428.

²⁷⁵ This comment about expectation is based on the evidence of how the other collocations of sinc and sibb work, and not on the two collocates having incongruous semantic fields.

collocating in the positive context of treasure-giving and peace or kinship flourishing together. The instance in The Riming Poem, "sinc searwade, sib nearwade" (Rim 37), in contrast, seems to confound these expectations. The scholarly debate regarding whether searwade and nearwade should be read in a favorable or unfavorable sense may strengthen a case for reading the line as intentionally ambiguous.²⁷⁶ If they have a positive sense then the collocation of sinc and sibb would work in line with the Beowulf and Genesis A examples; if, however, they can also be read with a negative sense, the collocation of sinc and sibb contributes to the ominous tone of the lines, as they hint at the trouble to come but do not yet state it explicitly or overtly. Coming at the end of a series of ten lines in which every half-line ends with a verb in the past tense singular so that the same sound rhymes twenty times and builds up an almost frenzied account of the pleasures which the narrator experiences in the hall, the potentially ambiguous line is ideally placed to signal an impending change for the worse. If this interpretation stands, the poet has cleverly played with the expectations which the collocation of sinc and sibb sets up, and he does so while maintaining, with considerable rhetorical effect, a rhyme over many lines. His use of the sinc and sibb collocation in these lines also provides further evidence that the poet of The Riming Poem used the conventional

²⁷⁶ Macrae-Gibson discusses this debate (Macrae-Gibson 1983, p.47).

diction of Old English verse as his starting point, and exploited it both to fulfill verse requirements and to convey meaning.²⁷⁷

SUD and SINC

Suð and sinc collocate only twice, both times as an alliterating pair and both times in the same passage of Genesis A.²⁷⁸ The passage describes the attack of the Northmen on Lot and his Southmen, and their subsequent rescue as Abraham leads an army to defeat the Northmen. The first instance of the collocation occurs after the battle between the North and Southmen, when Lot, his possessions and his people are taken into captivity:

We þæt soð magon
secgan furður, hwelc siððan wearð
æfter þæm gehnæste herewulfa sið,
þara þe læddon Loth and leoda god,
suðmonna sinc, sigore gulpon.
(GenA 2013-17)

The poet's focus immediately switches when he describes the news of the defeat reaching Abraham, who then gathers an army together, engages the Northmen in battle, and puts them to flight. The entire episode ends with lines recounting how Abraham brings Lot, his treasure and his people home again:

Abraham ferede
suðmonna eft sinc and bryda,
æðelinga bearn, oðle nior,
mægeð heora magum. Næfre mon ealra
lifigendra her lytle werede

²⁷⁷ See above, Ch.4, pp.242-43 and 356.

²⁷⁸ GenA 2013 and 2089.

þon wurðlicor wigsið ateah,
 þara þe wið swa miclum mægene geræsde.
 (GenA 2089-95)

The fighting and restitution of Lot now over, the poet turns to describe the news reaching the Sodomites. Their kings come to ask for their people back, but offer Abraham their possessions which Abraham insists on returning along with the people. Both verbal repetition and manuscript layout may suggest that the Old English poet and the scribe saw this repetition as structuring the poet's account. The first instance of suðmonna and sinc occurs precisely on the last line of fitt xxviii; the next fitt is numbered xxviii and indicated by a large capital letter in the manuscript.²⁷⁹ Similarly, suðmonna and sinc occur at the end of this fitt, with only the comment about Abraham's feat never again being paralleled intervening between it and the beginning of the next fitt which, although it lacks a fitt number, does begin with a large capital. Furthermore, lines 2013-17, containing suðmonna and sinc, do not add any new information, nor are they based on the biblical text, but simply recapitulate the events of the fitt. Even the leading away of Lot and his possessions has already been mentioned in the immediately preceding lines:

Hettend læddon
 ut mid æhtum Abrahames mæg
 of Sodoma byrig.
 (GenA 2011-13)

Although the Bible views the episode of Abraham's refusal to take the possessions of the Sodomites as part of the episode

²⁷⁹ Gollancz 1927.

beginning with the attack on Lot, including all these events in chapter 14, the Old English poet does not seem to make any attempt to use lexical repetition to link this into the previous mention of those same goods. He refers to them as "wunden gold" (GenA 2128), and "feoh and frætwa" (GenA 2130), and as woruldfeoh (GenA 2142), and sceat and scilling (GenA 2144), and ærgestreon (GenA 2148).

A look at the biblical account of this episode may suggest a possible source for the poet's use of lexical repetition in his first mention of Lot's possessions. The bible uses the term substantia for Lot's goods (Gen 14.12 and Gen. 14.16) in both cases. In Genesis A the poet renders the first substantia as æht (GenA 2012) but then immediately as sinc (GenA 2017) in the lines coming at the end of the fitt. Likewise he renders this second substantia as sinc (GenA 2089). While 82 lines separate the two instances of sinc and suðmonna, only two verses separate the two instances of substantia, which may well have suggested the possibility of rhetorical verbal repetition to the Old English poet. When the goods are offered to Abraham and he rejects them, the Latin terms are cetera (Gen. 14.21) and "quod a filo subteminis usque ad corrigiam caligae non accipiam ex omnibus quae tua sunt" (Gen. 14.23).²⁸⁰ But the divergence between the two accounts also provides insights into the Genesis A poet's conception of his narrative. Chapter 14 in the Bible involves two battles,

²⁸⁰ That from the very woof thread unto the shoe latchet, I will not take of any things that are thine. (Gen 14.2)

that against Lot and that led by Abraham against Lot's oppressors, and after each the fate of Lot and his goods is mentioned. Both battles are recounted matter-of-factly and with virtually no detail. By contrast, the battle sections in Genesis A are much expanded, and reveal the Old English poetic fondness for lingering and detailed battle scenes. No battle intervenes between Abraham's retrieval of Lot and his people and goods and Melchizedek's presenting of those goods to Abraham, and hence the Old English poet does not continue the structural pattern of a long battle followed by comment on the capture or rescue of people and possession in both of which the suðmonna and sinc appears.

The two instances²⁸¹ of the suðmonna and sinc collocation from Genesis A illustrate something of the complexity of verbal repetition in Old English verse. Here it involves an interplay between a Latin source, the conventional poetic treatment of battle scenes, and the common feature of lexical repetitions appearing in similar contexts, which never allows us to banish the possibility that similar language has been triggered by similar circumstances rather than being a component of a larger rhetorical design.

SWEORD and SINC

Sweord and sinc collocate on seven occasions of which four alliterate.²⁸¹ There is no evidence for the association of the collocation with a formula or other

²⁸¹ MxI 125, Beo 1037, 1615, 2190, 2884, Jud 334, WldA 28.

association of sinc with decoration. Although maðm collocates with weorþ six times, this never results in the sense of an object being decorated with maðm. All five instances of sinc and weorþ collocating to indicate decoration can be interpreted as formulas. The compound sincweorþung, which occurs three times, always inflected and taking up the entire half-line, accounts for all of the instances of sinc and weorþung compounding.²⁸⁴ This compound fits in with the wider phenomenon of weorþung compounds, many of which denote jewelry; weorþung occurs as a simplex only once in verse. Two of these sincweorþung instances occur in a Parallelstelle in Andreas (And 270 and 474), whose potential for design has been discussed earlier.²⁸⁵ Of the six instances of weorþian and sinc collocating, two establish the formula "since gewurþad" which fits into a larger formulaic system of two syllable words in the dative + weorþian as a past participle. The chief impetus behind these formulas seems to be the ornament component of the semantic field of sinc.

VI. The Collocations of Frætwe

EDELE and FRÆTWE

Frætwe and frætwan (hereafter referred to collectively as frætwe) collocate eleven times with the adjective æpele

²⁸⁴ And 270, 474, El 1217.

²⁸⁵ See above, Ch.4, pp.342-43.

or with the related noun æbeling.²⁸⁶ The link of æbele and frætwe would seem to be adequately accounted for by the semantic link, widely attested, between treasure and nobility, both social and moral, as well as the high frequency of æbele. Yet, frætwe collocates much more frequently with æbele than did either maðm or sinc, although it is in line with gestreon and hord. While only once, in The Phoenix, can frætwe (Ph 200) and æbele (207) be said to have the same referent, the two elements participate both in formulas and passages structured around verbal repetitions. Although there exists no formulaic relationship between æbele and frætwe, they are often found as part of other formulas which will be discussed later. The half-line formula "frætsum blican" occurs at The Phoenix line 95, and Christ II line 522; the half-line "londes/eorpan frætwe" at The Panther line 48, Guthlac B line 1282; the half-line "æpelum stencum" at The Phoenix line 586; and the half-line æbelinga gestreon at Beowulf line 1920.

The appearances of æbele and frætwe fall into two main groups: those referring to the literal treasure of men on earth,²⁸⁷ and those possibly referring metaphorically to treasure.²⁸⁸ It is not entirely clear how to read the description of Christ as "frætsum blican" (ChrII 522), since we cannot be sure whether Anglo-Saxon poets conceived of

²⁸⁶ Dan 703, El 1197, ChrII 517, GuthB 1278, Ph 90, 199, 583, Pan 44, Beo 1920, 2501, PPs 143.15.

²⁸⁷ Dan 703, El 1197, Beo 1920, 2501, PPs 143:15.

²⁸⁸ GuthB 1278, Ph 90, 199, 583, Pan 44.

heaven in terms of treasure or whether they use treasure language metaphorically or even symbolically in an attempt to convey the splendor of heaven. The five appearances of the collocation where frætwe is clearly metaphorical all refer to nature, ^{a point} which suggests a possible convention behind the collocation.²⁸⁹

All of the instances of the æþele and frætwe collocation denoting natural phenomena appear to be used for rhetorical effect. Æðele occurs 21 times and frætwe 14 times in The Phoenix, and while their collocation shows no sign of being repeated deliberately, it occurs as a result of the overlap of the repetition of æþele and frætwe -- repetitions which form part of the poem's artistry.²⁹⁰

²⁸⁹ See above, Ch.3, pp.157-63.

²⁹⁰ Frætwe appears 14 times in The Phoenix and many of its collocations are discussed in the following pages. Rather than repeat in each section an argument for the artistry and significance of those repetitions, I will address those two issues here briefly. Two features of The Phoenix immediately strike the reader: first, what has been called, unsympathetically, by N. Blake, the poem's verbosity (Blake 1990, p.25), which includes very dense verbal repetition not at all limited to frætwe, and secondly, the impossibility of reading the poem as a straightforward allegory comprising a narrative, ll.1-380, and significatio ll. 381-end. D. Calder writes that the repetition of frætwe applied to, for example, the phoenix, the sun, the earth's vegetation and the just in heaven, sets up a series of identifications which seem contradictory and could well lead one to wonder if the poet simply had frætwe and its collocations stuck in his head. Yet, Calder shows that frætwe is the poem's "leit-motif" and that its repetition lies at the center of the poem's meaning. Calder links these different referents of frætwe to the difficulty of reading the poem as a straightforward allegory; just as the phoenix is identified with Adam and Eve, with just men and with Christ, so too frætwe has numerous referents which make no sense if we attempt to understand the poem as a single allegory. For Calder, attention to the repetitions of frætwe, with a variety of referents, shows that the poem "is a rendering of the relationship between beauty and salvation

Just as frætwe has a variety of referents which are linked together by repetition, so too does æbele function, denoting the land of paradise, God as maker of paradise, the sun, the phoenix, the scent of the herbs and blossoms of the phoenix's nest and the herbs and blossoms themselves, Christ and the just in heaven; many of these referents are shared with frætwe. Also, like frætwe, it occurs with the same referents both in the narrative and significatio sections of the poem, thus helping to weave the two parts of the poem into a unity. The repetitions of æbele, like frætwe, structure the poem and lie at the center of its meaning; and the triple collocation of the two words must be viewed as part of a rhetorical strategy which encompasses the entire work.

The Panther is the first of three poems in The Physiologus which is enclosed in a verse paragraph defined by two instances of æbele. The Physiologus opens with the generalizing statement that the world is full of creatures which are both unrimu (Pan 2) and æbelu (Pan 2) and closes with an exhortation which has relevance for the entire poem (not just The Partridge, to which modern editors restrict it):

that unites all differing allegorical perspectives in one symbolic vision" (Calder 1972b, p.168). It is against this background of the centrality of the rhetorical verbal repetition of frætwe that the appearances of the frætwe collocations must be considered. Not only the repetition of frætwe but also of its collocations will illustrate The Phoenix poet's sophisticated exploitation of a poetic style in which lexical repetition, like formulas, can be the norm; a norm which can be a force for flatness but which is here handled for rhetorical effect, and lies at the very heart of the poem's message.

gode oliccan
 þæt swa æpelne eardwica cyst
 in wuldres wlite wunian motan. Finit:
 (Part 12-16)

Within this large envelope there is a smaller envelope which encloses The Panther section, the æpelu of line 2 being echoed in the final half-line of the poem: "þæt is æpele stenc" (Pan 74). Given these two interlocking verse paragraphs it is easy to see the description of the scent of the Panther's breath as "eallum æpelicra eorþan frætwum" (Pan 44) as not only the result of the need to fulfill the alliterative and metrical requirements of the verse form but also as part of the overall structure of the poem.²⁹¹

Finally in Guthlac B, æpele, which appears only eight times in the poem as a whole, occurs five times within 36 lines. The first of these five describes the sun, "se æpela glæm" (GuthB 1278), setting as Guthlac awaits his death. But Guthlac does not wait in darkness, rather:

wuldres scima,
 æpele ymb æpelne, ondlonge niht
 scan scirweded;
 (GuthB 1286-88)

the second æpele denotes Guthlac. Just before dying, the saint receives the eucharist and is renewed "þy æpelan gyfle" (GuthB 1301). After Guthlac dies and is taken to heaven, his hermitage is bathed by a very bright light which is described as "sunnan beorhtra, / æpeltungla wlite" (GuthB 1133-14), and the occurrence includes the last instance of æpele in the poem. These instances of æpele all appear

²⁹¹ See below pp.414-20 for the repetition of stenc in both The Panther and The Whale.

within a passage which associates Guthlac with extraordinary light, and indeed the first and last instance of the adjective are key to defining this passage. They both refer to the sun, but in each case in a way which minimizes or negates the radiance of the sun in favor of a light shining directly from heaven. Although "se æpela glæm" (GuthB 1278), the sun, sets and the "londes frætwa" (GuthB 1282) are covered in darkness, "cwon leohta mæst" (GuthB 1282) from heaven. The heavenly light which surrounds Guthlac's "halge hus" (GuthB 1310) after his death is brighter than the sun, the æpeltungla (GuthB 1314). This dulling of the sun's brightness, of natural light, serves to enhance and to emphasize the glorious nature of Guthlac's parting from the earth. This linking of æpele and light draw on the positive moral connotation of shininess in Anglo-Saxon England. The repetition of æpele twice in the half-line "æpele ymb æpelne" (GuthB 1287) referring, first, to the heavenly light and, secondly, to Guthlac, clearly attests to the association of Guthlac with light and draws attention to his fitness for the paradise of a heavenly home. The designation of the eucharist which Guthlac receives before he dies as "æpelan gyfle" (GuthB 1301) links it with heaven which has been described in this passage exclusively in terms of light. The occurrence of "londes frætwa" (GuthB 1282) in collocation with the first æpele is not incidental

to this emphasis on light and nobility, and will be discussed below.²⁹²

The appearance of æpele and frætwe in The Paris psalter contributes to the sense of a convention behind the collocation. The mention of ornamentation in the Latin original suggests frætwe to the versifier. Frætwe may bring with it æpele which is not suggested by the Latin: "filiae eorum compositae circum ornatae ut similitudo templi" (Ps. 143.12).²⁹³ The collocation of æpele and frætwe reveals something of the continuum of possible responses to Old English diction. The versifier of The Paris Psalter is controlled by his inherited wordhoard while the poets of Guthlac B, The Phoenix and The Panther are evident masters.

BEARM and FRÆTWE

Bearm and frætwe or frætwan collocate three times; all in Beowulf.²⁹⁴ The association of bearm with ships and treasure in Beowulf has already been examined.²⁹⁵ In the opening section of Beowulf, the poet describes the loading of Scyld's ship with maðm and frætwe:

²⁹² Rosier notes the poet's use in Guthlac B of the motif, widespread in Old English verse, of light overcoming darkness (Rosier 1970, p.90). Bjork also comments on light overcoming darkness in this passage, and the place of æpele within this (Bjork 1985, p.93). Calder emphasizes the thematic importance of the paradise lost by Adam and Eve and regained by Guthlac (Calder 1972a). See below, Ch.4, p.410-11.

²⁹³ Their daughters decked out, adorned round about after the similitude of a temple.

²⁹⁴ Beo 36, 211, 893.

²⁹⁵ See above, Ch.4, pp.195-99.

Aledon þa leofne þeoden,
 beaga bryttan, on bearm scipes,
 mærne be mæste. þær wæs madma fela
 of feorwegum, frætwa, gelæded;
 ne hyrde ic cymlicor ceol gegyrwan
 hildewæpnum ond heaðowædum,
 billum ond byrnum; him on bearme læg
 madma mænigo, þa him mid scoldon
 on flodes æht feor gewitan.
 (Beo 34-42)

These lines show a blending or confusing of Scyld and his treasure and his boat as the poet describes Scyld as a "beaga bryttan" being placed "on bearm scipes" and then how "him (Scyld) on bearme læg / madma mænigo."²⁹⁶ While this passage exhibits the connection of maðm and frætwe with the loading of a ship, denoted as bearm scipes, the two other Beowulf instances which share in the collocation are much closer parallels. Beowulf's men load his ship in preparation for the journey to Denmark:

Beornas gearwe
 on stefn stigon; streamas wundon,
 sund wið sande; secgas bæron
 on bearm nacan beorhte frætwe,
 guðsearo geatolic; guman ut scufon,
 weras on wilsioð, wudu bundenne.
 (Beo 211-16)

More than six hundred lines later, Sigemund loads his ship with the spoils he has taken from the defeated dragon's hoard:

Hæfde aglæca elne gegongen
 þæt he beahhordes brucan moste
 selfes dome; sæbat gehleod,
 bær on bearm scipes beorhte frætwa,
 Wælses eafera.
 (Beo 893-97)

In both passages, frætwe, as part of the half-line formula "beorhte frætwe" is the object of the same verb, beran. The

²⁹⁶ See above, Ch.4, pp.197-99.

formula "beorhte frætwe" alliterates in each case with bearm. Both lines preceding that containing bearm and frætwe alliterate on "s." These parallels show that while a formula is key, the conventionality is more complex, involving lexical repetitions, the alliterative pair of bearm and beorht, and the alliteration of "s." The tendency to associate words in a conventional way extends beyond the formulaic.

The close lexical repetitions of this passage, as well as the strong contextual link with the loading of a ship, coupled with the limitation of the association of bearm with treasure to Beowulf may provide further evidence for the individuality of each poet's wordhoard and the ability of poets to create their own conventions. Contrasting the appearance of the bearm and frætwe collocation in the opening passage of the poem with its two later appearances suggests the stylistic range possible within one poem, presumably the work of one poet. While the two later descriptions of the loading of a ship with treasure show a number of lexical and stylistic overlaps, there is no evidence that the poet was juxtaposing the two passages; rather similar circumstances call up similar language. Yet in the opening lines of the poem we find that the similar circumstances and similar language (though not as closely as Beowulf lines 211ff. and Beowulf lines 893ff.) surrounding the bearm and frætwe collocation have been incorporated into a passage of rhetorical skill which involves a possible anthropomorphizing of the ship and the careful use of

lexical repetitions applied to both Scyld and his ship. One poet can provide evidence for the dynamic relationship between the conventionality and originality of Old English verse.

BEORHT and FRÆTWE

Beorht collocates with frætwe and frætwan 18 times. While the semantic link of the two elements is obvious, it should be pointed out that beorht collocates much more frequently with frætwe than with maðm, sinc, hord, gestreon and feoh.²⁹⁷ Such variation in frequency of collocation suggests that appearance and beauty is a stronger component of the semantic field of frætwe than of other treasure words, despite the strong link of sinc with ornamentation. Although the collocation includes a wide range of relationships between frætwe and beorht, as well as overlapping with a number of established formulas, on four occasions beorht and frætwe establish a formula themselves: "beorhte frætwe."²⁹⁸ As the range of poems suggests, and a closer look at the passages in those poems confirms, there is little in the way of shared contexts among these formulas or instances of the collocation, reflecting perhaps the very basic nature and wide applicability of the connection between

²⁹⁷ Dan 703, El 88, 88, ChrII 506, 517, ChrIII 1634, GuthA 796, Ph 234, Pan 19, 19, Rid14 3, Ruin 31, 31, Beo 90, 211, 893, Jud 323, Meno 202.

²⁹⁸ Dan 710, ChrIII 1635, Beo 214, 896. At Daniel 710 "beorhte frætwe" does not fulfill the alliteration of the line, consequently some editors have accepted the emendation "torhte frætwe."

the two words. The strongest convention behind the collocation of beorht and frætwe appears to be the spiritual and moral connotation of brightness as well as the simple fact that treasure is indeed shiny.

There is some evidence for the use of the collocation or formula for verbal artistry (for the repetition of beorht in The Ruin see the sinc collocations sections).²⁹⁹

Beorht, appears widely in The Phoenix, and given the poem's concern with beauty and its use of treasure as a motif for beauty, the repetition of beorht is entirely expected. But as with æpele and frætwe the poet's application of beorht to a number of seemingly diverse referents highlights the way in which the poem is not a single level allegory, but one which explores a number of symbolic relationships between paradise, the phoenix, heaven, Christ and mankind's good works as these lines illustrate:

 bisses fugles gecynd fela gelices
 bi þam gecornum Cristes þegnum
 beacnað in burgum, hu hi beorhtne gefean
 purh fæder fultum on þas frecnan tid
 healdap under heofonum, ond him heanne blæd
 in þam uplican eðle gestrynap.
 (Ph 387-92).

In Christ III, the threefold repetition of beorht (ChrIII 1635, 1646, 1657) in the closing description of the joy which the just will experience in heaven, along with the term leoht, conveys the Anglo-Saxon poetic conception of heaven as a place of light. The application of beorht to the faith of the chosen, who are also said to be "beorhte mid lisse" (ChrIII 1646), draws on the moral and spiritual

²⁹⁹ See above, Ch.4, p.357.

connotations of brightness, and emphasizes that the chosen belong in heaven. An earlier instance of beorht at line 1630 describing the fate of the damned who ignore God's commands:

hy bræcon cyninges word,
beorht boca bibod; forþon hy abidan sceolon
in sinnehte

(ChrIII 1629-31)

anticipates the brightness of heaven and juxtaposes it with the darkness of hell, while contributing to cohesion as the poem switches focus from hell and the damned to heaven and the saved.

In other cases the collocation of beorht and frætwe seems to point up aspects of Old English style which encourage conventionality. The convention of placing treasure in the bearm of a ship has already ^{been} discussed and the parallels between Beowulf lines 211 and 893 considered.³⁰⁰ The collocation and alliteration of the formula "beorhte frætwe" with bearm on both occasions may lend further weight to seeing individual sets of collocations which come to the author's mind when confronting a similar situation. Six of the 18 occurrences of the collocation actually involve two instances of beorht for one of frætwe or frætwan. In Elene, beorht appears twice in an ASPR sentence (although in clauses separated by the modern punctuation mark ";"), where it describes first the cross as it appears to Constantine, and then the letters inscribed on that Cross. The poet of The Ruin describes the

³⁰⁰ See above, Ch.4, pp.388-91.

glory of both the former city and its former inhabitants with beorht, but this may be part of a larger strategy of using the same words for the ruin and its imagined splendor as well as that of its citizens.³⁰¹ Within three lines both Joseph's coat and the panther's fur are said to be "beorhtra" (Pan 24 and 26); whether this is a conscious use of the same lexis to draw an even tighter parallel between Joseph and the panther -- both types of Christ -- or is simply redundant, is difficult to say. The possible readings of these three cases illustrate the fine line and the interrelationship between the rhetorical and the repetitious in Old English verse.

BLICAN and FRÆTWE

Frætwe collocates with the verb blican on five occasions, all of which are formulaic, since "frætsum blican" or once "frætsum bliceð" accounts for the entire half-line.³⁰² The formula refers twice to Christ, though within fifteen lines in Christ II (ChrII 506 and 517), once to the sun (Ph 90), once to angels (Jul 563) and once to the panther. This range may seem so wide as to prohibit any contextual facet to the formula, but its use in The Phoenix where the sun is a symbol for Christ may indicate otherwise. Blican appears four times in The Phoenix, three times directly describing the sun (Ph 95, 115, 186) and including the formula "frætsum blican;" the fourth instance (Ph 599)

³⁰¹ See above Ch.4, pp.356-57.

³⁰² ChrII 506, 517, Ph 90, Jul 563, Pan 19.

occurs in a metaphor describing the good works of the just shining like the sun. In The Phoenix, the sun symbolizes Christ; the poet writes:

lædeþ sippan
fugel on fotum to frean geardum,
sunnan togeanes
(Ph 577-79)

and hence the description of the sun as "frætwum blican" may be associated not only with the convention of describing paradise in terms of treasure, but also with the application of that formula to Christ. The use of "frætwum blican" for the sun in the first part of the poem may represent an early hint as to the significatio of the sun worshipped by the phoenix. The panther who is said to "frætwum blican" is an allegorical representation of Christ. Juliana, then, contains the only instance of this formula not linked in any way to Christ. The instance of "frætwum blican" in The Phoenix is consistent with the poet's use of lexical repetition to weave together the two parts of the poem. In Christ II, where "frætwum blican" applies directly to Christ without any intervening allegory or symbol, the formula occurs twice in a passage, extending from lines 491-529, which is dense with verbal echoes. The repetitions do nothing more than create cohesion in the passage and the re-occurrence of "frætwum blican" seems more a sign of rhetorical flatness than flair or skill.

BREOST and FRÆTWE

Breost and frætwe collocate four times in three passages in Old English verse.³⁰³ The appearance of the

³⁰³ ChrIII 1069, GuthA 796, 796, Beo 2501.

collocation in Beowulf, where frætwe and breostweorðung vary each other occurs in a literal, rather than metaphorical context. In Guthlac A and Christ III, the context is the behavior of the just in heaven, in Guthlac A after the death of an individual and in Christ III on Judgement Day. The obvious source of this collocation is twofold; 1) the breast is seen as the location of the soul, and 2) frætwe is frequently used metaphorically for the soul.³⁰⁴ This is most clear in Christ III, where the poem reads:

berað breosta hord fore bearn godes,
feores frætwe
(ChrIII 1072-73)

in lines which show the overlap of the soul as a hord with the soul as a frætwe. The poet of Guthlac A describes how those who are eventually among the elect in heaven act while alive; among other things they "sawle frætwað / halgum gehygdum" (GuthA 806-7):

þæt beoð husulweras,
cempan gecorene, Criste leofe,
berað in breostum beorhtne geleafan,
haligne hyht, heortan clæne
weorðiað waldend, habbað wisne gepoht,
fusne on forðweg to fæder eðle,
gearwað gæstes hus, ond mid gleawnesse
feond oferfeohtað ond firenlustas
forberað in breostum, broþorsibbe
georne bigongað, in godes willan
swencað hi sylfe, sawle frætwað
halgum gehygdum, heofoncyniges bibod
fremmað on foldan.
(GuthA 796-808)

These two instances of breost, as well as that of heorte, "gastes hus," and sawle all share the same general referent, and reflect the poet's concern with the spiritual state of

³⁰⁴ See above, Ch.3, pp.174-75.

the saved. The link of the Guthlac A passage to the more wide-spread mind or soul as a hord topos is illustrated by his use of the verb frætwan with thoughts. However, the Guthlac A poet's use of the frætwe image but not the hoard image taps into the positive moral connotation of the beauty of brightness which suffuses this entire passage: the faith of the just is said to be beorht, and while the verb gearwian means to prepare, which is an appropriate reading here, its semantic field also includes the notion of adorning. A look at the collocation of beorht and frætwe shows the Christ III and Guthlac A poets drawing on the same larger convention but developing it in different ways.

FÆGER and FRÆTWE

Frætwe and frætwan collocate with the adjective fæger and the adverb fægre 17 times in the corpus of Old English verse.³⁰⁵ There are obvious semantic and alliterative reasons for this, which are emphasized by the contrast with other words for treasure, of which only hord and gestreon, with two each, occur with fæger.³⁰⁶ Of the 13 instances

³⁰⁵ XSt 305, El 739, SBI 132, ChrI 506, Ph 234, 266, 322, 322, 583, 605, Pan 19, Rid28 1, Rid40 46, Rid53 3, Beo 2989, JDII 92, Th 1.

³⁰⁶ Wlitig and frætwe offer a point of comparison. Wlitig, wlitigian and white with frætwe collocate 13 times. The contrast between this figure and those for other treasure words (hord (3), maðm (0), sinc (0), gestreon (0) and feoh (0)) makes even sharper the importance of beauty to the semantic field of frætwe. The connection is much broader than simply wlitig and frætwe having the same referent, but the collocation does indicate something of the attraction, in a larger, less direct way, of beauty and frætwe.

where fæger and frætwe alliterate, in 6 they appear in the same half-line, and in 7 they are on separate sides of the cæsure. None of those instances in which fæger and frætwe are in separate half-lines can be described as formulaic. These figures suggest that fæger and frætwe form a useful alliterative pair even when not so rigidly associated as in a formula. Six instances of the fæger and frætwe collocation appear in The Phoenix, but it would be mistaken to interpret this as the particular alliterative solution of one Anglo-Saxon poet, since fæger appears 20 times in the poem to whose theme Calder has argued beauty is central.³⁰⁷ So in The Phoenix we see the convergence of a useful alliterative pair, thematic concerns and a use of verbal repetition. Four instances of the collocation appear in the formula "fægre gefrætweð" (XSt 307, SBI 137, Ph 274, 585) with the possibly related half-lines "fægere frætuað" (JDII 277) and "fægrum frætsum" (Ph 610) each appearing once.

The contexts in which the collocation appears would seem to be very wide ranging, not surprising given the general nature of the link between ornament and beauty. For example, in Riddle 40 the water says "ic eom fægere frætsum goldes" (Rid40 46). The book in Thureth speaks of the lord "þe me fægre þus frætsum belegde" (Th 2), and in heaven the just are "fægrum frætsum" (Ph 610). However, the contexts become much more specific when just the six formulaic instances, or more loosely the six instances in which both elements occur in the same half-line, are considered. These

³⁰⁷ See above, Ch.4, pp.384-85.

six are limited to explicitly religious poems, The Phoenix, Soul and Body I, Solomon and Saturn and Judgment Day II.

Five of these six instances refer to heaven or existence after death, largely, though not exclusively, Judgement Day.

In The Phoenix "sawla mid lice" are "fægre gefrætweð" (Ph 584-85) as they journey to heaven. Later, when they get to heaven they are "bitolden / fægum frætweð" (Ph 609-10). In Christ and Satan, the saved are "fægre gefrætewod" (XSt 305), while in Soul and Body I the soul, addressing the body, comes "fægere gefrætewod" (SBI 137) from heaven.³⁰⁸

In Judgment Day II God "fægere frætuað" (JDII 277) the blessed. Here the Old English lines in which the half-line occurs:

þær a andweard ealle weorðap
and fehþ and geblyssað fæder ætsomne,
wuldrap and wel hylt,
fægere frætuað and freolice lufað
and on heofonsetle hean geregnað
(JDII 274-78)

translate fairly closely the Latin:

Semper adest præsens, cunctos fovet, implet, honorat,
Glorificat, servat, veneratur, diligit, ornat,
Collocat Altithrono, lætosque in sede polorum.
(Lumby 1876, p.26, l.139-41)

We find then a convergence of the Old English conventional association of fæger and frætwe with Judgement Day, heaven, and an almost literal translation in a manner which offers insight into the translator's method of composition. The fact that the conventional association of frætwe with the just in heaven finds a parallel in the use of the Latin

³⁰⁸ See sunne and frætwe for discussion of the overlap of sunne and the fægre gefrætweð formula, below, Ch.4, pp.422-23.

ornare may suggest that the Old English convention has a Latin source, in which case we would have evidence for the development of a formula arising from the stimulus of translation rather than of oral composition.

The presence of the formulaic half-line "fægere gefrætewod" (SBI 137) in the final section of Soul and Body I, the section not found in Soul and Body II, carries implications for the relationship between these two poems. There is no scholarly consensus as to whether lines 127-166, and whatever lines have been lost after them, have been added to Soul and Body I by a second poet or whether such a section, in which the soul addresses a body which will ultimately be saved because of the good life it led, is missing from Soul and Body II. Structural arguments have been put forward both for and against the unity of Soul and Body I³⁰⁹ and metrical arguments made for disunity.³¹⁰

The poet's most recent editor writes:

There is not enough evidence to decide finally for or against the authenticity of The Blessed Soul. On balance, however, what evidence there is does point toward it being a later, less inspired addition, probably not by the same poet.³¹¹

Both Orton and Ferguson's structural grounds for and against Soul and Body I as the original text are largely concerned with thematic repetitions and parallels rather than with the style, to which verbal repetition draws attention. The

³⁰⁹ Ferguson 1970 and Orton 1979a.

³¹⁰ Orton 1979b.

³¹¹ Moffat 1990, p.44.

"fægere gefrætewod" half-line is best discussed in light of the place of verbal repetition in the poem.

"Fægere gefrætewod," describing the saved soul returning to the good body, picks up on the damned soul's furious remark to its former body:

Ne magon þe nu heonon adon hyrsta þa readan
ne gold ne seolfor ne þinra goda nan,
ne þinre bryde beag ne þin boldwela,
ne nan þara goda þe ðu iu ahtest.
(SBI 57-60)

The good soul is associated with treasure which carries a positive moral connotation, and the bad body with treasure which carries a negative moral connotation. These are the only two places in the poem which refer to treasure, and although no exact lexical repetition is involved, the echo is part of a larger strategy used to link the two parts of the poem.³¹²

Like the first section found in both the Vercelli and Exeter Books, this section found only in the Vercelli Book shows the poet using verbal repetition for thematic and stylistic ends. For example, the lines introducing this speech of the good soul include a description of the soul as "frofre bewunden" (SBI 128), which is echoed when the soul speaks of itself as "arum bewunden" (SBI 138). Lust appears twice (SBI 131, 134) in these introductory lines, and the soul uses leof twice in its address (SBI 135, 152). Repetition of the syllables fæst and full creates a chiasmus which underscores the connection between the body's holy

³¹² Bartlett writes that the repetition of an idea rather than specific lexis can define a verse paragraph (Bartlett 1935, p.9).

life and its fate on Judgement Day, which is also supported by the repetition of sealdan:

Fæstest ðu on foldan ond gefyldest me
godes lichoman, gastes dryncas.
Wære ðu on wædle, sealdest me wilna geniht.
Forðon ðu ne þearft sceamian, þonne sceadene
beop
þa synfullan ond þa soðfæstan
on þam mæran dæge, þæs ðu me geafe,
ne ðe hreowan þearf her on life
ealles swa mycles swa ðu me sealdest
on gemotstede manna ond engla.
(SBI 142-150)

Many of the words in the Blessed Soul section are repeated from the Damned Soul section and serve to tie the two sections together. The repetitions of lust within the former have already been mentioned, but lust also appears in the latter as the second element of fyrenlustas (SBI 34 and 44). As with treasure, the negative associations of lust in the first part of the poem have become positive in the second part. Not only words but half-lines and a full line repeat. Continuing the positive and negative contrast, the blessed soul is distressed that the body has become "wyrnum to wiste" (SBI 154) recalling the earlier instances of the half-line (SBI 25, 122), in the damned soul's address and the narrator's account of the destruction of the sinful body in which the dominant sentiment is that the body got what it deserved. Most striking is the repetition of the full line "godes lichoman, gastes drynce" (SBI 41, 143) first uttered by the angry soul condemning the body for the spiritual deprivation it experienced during the latter's life time, and then uttered by the consoling soul when he tells the body he has nothing to fear from Judgement Day because he

filled the soul with spiritual nourishment. The "fægere gefrætewod" formula is part of an overall framework which uses verbal repetition to create a structural and thematic whole out of the two separate addresses.

It is not possible to say whether the repetitions within the Blessed Soul section on the one hand, and the Damned Soul section on the other, and between the two sections, imply that the latter is part of a whole or an extension by another poet. The situation is made murkier by the incompleteness of the Damned Soul section. If the poem in the Vercelli Book is a unity, then we can almost watch the poet's rhetorical strategy at work. If, however, the poem is not a unity, we have something potentially more interesting, evidence that one poet could recognize and continue another poet's rhetorical strategy, based on verbal repetition, and continue it. In either case, we find a convergence of the formula "fægere gefrætewod," used in its most conventional context, that of a saved soul, and the stylistic design of a poem.

The only divergence from this pattern of frætwe and fæger in heaven on Judgement Day occurs with the application of the formula, "fægre gefrætweð," to the relics of ash and bone, wælreaf, remaining after the fire, which the phoenix wraps in herbs and takes back with him to his "eadig eþellond" (Ph 279) -- paradise. The application of the formula here raises the question of the allegorical or symbolic significance of the wælreaf. The poet explicitly

links the wælreaf with the body and soul "fægre gefrætwed," when he expounds the symbolic significance:

Bana lafe,
ascan ond yslan, ealle gesomnað
æfter ligbyrne, lædeþ sippan
fugel on fotum to frean geardum,
sunnan togeanes. þær hi sippan forð
wuniað wintra fela, wæstmum geniwad,
ealles edgiong, þær ænig ne mæg
in þam leodscype læppum hwopan.
Swa nu æfter deaðe þurh dryhtnes miht
somod sipiaþ sawla mid lice,
fægre gefrætwed, fugle gelicast,
in eadwelum æpelum stencum,
þær seo soþfæste sunne lihteð
wlitig ofer weoredum in wuldres byrig.
(Ph 575-88)

Whether this constitutes a conscious repetition of the formula for both symbol and symbolized or whether the poet, knowing the symbolism behind wælreaf, unconsciously applied the appropriate formula there, is essentially indeterminable. He did the same thing with his application of the formula "frætwum blican," which other poets use for Christ, to the sun which the audience later discovers represents Christ.³¹³ But regardless of whether ^{the collocation represents} the poet's convention, topoi and formula or a deliberate rhetorical device, the result is a richly textured poem whose multi-layered symbolism is, in part, held together and controlled by the poem's style, especially verbal repetition.

³¹³ See above, Ch.4, pp.394-95.

FRUM and FRÆTWE

Frum and frætwe or its related verb collocate five times, which contrasts with other treasure words, except for hord (two times), which do not appear with frum.³¹⁴ In part, this is a function of alliteration on "f," as the relatively high rate of collocation with frætwe also shows; yet alliteration accounts for only two instances. The conventional association of treasure with creation also influences the collocation; indeed only ChristII 506, where frumbearn refers to Christ and alliterates with frætwe, does not share this association. In Beowulf, the scop who knows the "frumsceaft fira" (Beo 91) tells how God "gefrætwade foldan sceatas" (Beo 96), and in The Paris Psalter the Psalmist prays:

Æt fruman þu, drihten, geworhtest
eorþan frætwe.

(PPs 101.22)

The collocation of frum and frætwe illustrates the importance of context over alliteration.

HYRST and FRÆTWE

The verb frætwan collocates five times with hyrst: once in The Ruin and four times in The Riddles.³¹⁵ In all three cases in The Riddles, hyrst is the object (direct or indirect) of frætwan but they are never two members of a formula. In Riddle 14, the decoration of a horn is described as "hyrstum frætwed" (Rid14 11) in Riddle 31 a

³¹⁴ ChrI 506, Ph 234, 322, Beo 90, PPs 101.22.

³¹⁵ Rid14 3, 3, Rid31 18, Rid53 3, Ruin 31.

bagpipe is described as "frætweð hyrstum" (Rid31 20) and in Riddle 53 the battering ram is "wonnum hyrstum / foran gefrætweð" (Rid53 7-8). Semantics plays a role here but the association of the collocation with The Riddles should be noted since it might indicate lexical distinctiveness marking The Riddles off from other poems.

LAND, EORDE, FOLDE and FRÆTWE

Frætwe and other related verbs and nouns appear 89 times in verse. Of those 89, in 23 instances it collocates with one or more of three words for land: folde, land or eorpe.³¹⁶ 12 of those instances there is clear syntactic and semantic link between the two words. These 12 instances account for 13% of the total appearances of frætwe. Two-thirds of these occurrences fall into the pattern frætwe with folde, eorpe or land as a dependent genitive singular which creates a formulaic system. In The Phoenix, the bird can use or enjoy the "londes frætwa" (Ph 150) he finds in paradise. The resurrection of the phoenix from the fire is compared to the way the sun awakens the "foldan frætwe" (Ph 257) in the spring. Towards the end of the poem, when the symbolism is explained, "londes frætwe" (Ph 508) are destroyed on Judgement Day. In The Panther, the allegorist tells that the scent coming from the Panther's mouth is sweeter than all the "eorpan frætwe" (Pan 48). Twice in

³¹⁶ Eorpe: ChrII 804, Ph 199, 331, 503, Pan 44, Rid53 3, Beo 90, PPs 101.22. Folde: GenA 212, GuthA 796, Ph 253, Rid7 6, Rid28 1, Beo 90, Meno 202. Land: GuthB 1278, El 1269, Ph 116, 147, 503, 503, Rid13 9, Beo 90, 2913, 2989.

Cynewulf "signatures," at the end of Elene (El 1270) and Christ II (ChrII 805), "landes frætwe" or "eorþan frætwa" are destroyed on Judgement Day. The Paris Psalter versifier describes God making "eorþan frætwe" (PPs 101.22) at creation. The Guthlac B poet tells us how night fell on the "londes frætwa" (GuthB 1282) after the sun set. Finally, in The Menologium, "foldan frætuwe" (Meno 207) do not remain in winter. We might quickly ask if the link between frætwe and land is simply formulaic -- whether defined metrically, syntactically, or lexically. But while the association of frætwe and the various terms for land finds expression in the formulaic, the association is broader since the words also appear in lexically and semantically, but not syntactically related, expressions. In the "Song of Creation," Hrothgar's scop sings in Heorot of how, at creation, God "gefræt Wade foldan sceatas / leomum ond leafum" (Beo 96-97). The Phoenix poet describes how the "lond beoð gefrætwað" (Ph 116) when the sun shines; and the Genesis A poet tells that despite the absence of rain "hwæðre wæstmum stod / folde gefrætwað" (GenA 214-15) in paradise. It is evident that the lexical collocation is broader than just the formulaic link of land and frætwe.

This consideration of the collocations of terms for land and frætwe also makes clear that there is a conceptual link among the occurrences of the collocation. Obviously, most instances refer to nature. Only in the two Cynewulf "signatures" does the collocation not refer exclusively to natural phenomena; rather in these instances eorþe and land

may also carry connotations of "worldly" or "temporal."³¹⁷ Further, more specific contexts can be identified. The collocation occurs in descriptions of creation in its appearance in The Paris Psalter, Beowulf and perhaps even Genesis A, although this last might be more precisely considered as a description of newly created paradise. Other appearances in the context of paradise are the first three in The Phoenix.³¹⁸ F. Klaeber examines the theme of Creation in Beowulf and points out, quoting Brandl, that creation is "dies beliebte Thema" in Old English verse, and a glance at his list of references to creation in the corpus reveals that the theme can be a set piece with which many stock phrases, including landes frætwe, are associated.³¹⁹ The appearance of the formula in the translation of the Psalter, where it is not suggested by the Latin, points to the usefulness of such a convention to the struggling poet.³²⁰ Yet within this set framework, there is scope for variety or diversity. In The Paris Psalter, God makes "eorþan frætwe and upheofen" (PPs 101:22); in Beowulf God gefrætwaðe (Beo 96) the earth with leaves and branches; in Genesis A the earth was gefrætwoð (GenA 215) with fruits despite the absence of rain; and in the first appearance in The Phoenix, which occurs shortly after the account of

³¹⁷ See above, Ch.3, p.170.

³¹⁸ See above, Ch.3, p.172.

³¹⁹ Klaeber 1911-1912, p.113.

³²⁰ See above, Ch.2, p.60.

creation, the rising sun causes the lond to be gefrætwað (Ph 116).

A consideration of the possible source of, or at least analogue for, the verse collocation and its association with creation, shows that this conception of creation and paradise is not simply a useful poetic convention but that it has a wider currency. The Vulgate describes the completion of creation: "Igitur perfecti sunt caeli et terra et omnis ornatus eorum" (Gen 2.1)³²¹ which the Old English Heptatuch renders: "Eornostlice ða wæron fulfremede heofonas 7 eorðe 7 ealle heora frætewung" (Crawford 1922, p.85) collocating eorpe and frætwe.³²² This illustrates clearly that the collocation is not limited to the poetic formula, and points to the importance of context in both the use of the collocation and the formula.

The remaining chief context associated with the collocation is Judgement Day, which accounts for the two Cynewulf "signatures," and also its last appearance in The Phoenix. Cynewulf describes how "landes frætwe / gewitap under wolcnum winde gelicost" (El 1270-71) and "biþ se . . . scæcen / eorpan frætwa" (ChrII 804-5) on Judgement Day. In The Phoenix the fires of Judgement Day "grædig swelgað / londes frætwe" (Ph 507-8). Not all the appearances of land and frætwe fall neatly into these contexts. In The Menologium and Guthlac B there seems

³²¹ So the heaven and the earth were finished, and all the furniture of them.

³²² See above, Ch.3, p.172.

almost an inversion of the expected contexts. In The Menologium, rather than a paradise spring such as we saw in The Phoenix, we find winter when "us wunian ne moton wangas grene, foldan frætuwe" (Meno 206-7). In Guthlac B, rather than the glittering paradisaal sunshine of The Phoenix at line 116 or of Beowulf at line 96, as the sun goes down, "prong niht ofer tiht / londes frætwa" (GuthB 1281-82). The Panther poet, though still firmly within the nature context, sounds a different note when he explains that the scent of the Panther's breath is better than that of plants and flowers or of any "eorþan frætwe" (Pan 48). Even given the possibility that a large portion of Old English verse is lost to us, the limited range of contexts in which the collocation land and frætwe appear is suggestive and deserves note. The convention which brings these terms together into a collocation cannot be described simply as a half-line formula which successive generations of Old English poets found useful and maintained. The conventionality extends from the lexical and syntactical to the thematic and conceptual, from which it cannot be divided.

In Genesis A, the context and use of the formula appears as mundane as the rest of the poem; while, as we have already discussed, the Guthlac B poet sees in the convention the potential for wordplay, and inverts the expected association of land and frætwe with sunlight and with paradise to describe a sunset, and thus lends further emphasis to the brightness of the heavenly light which

shines for Guthlac.³²³ In The Phoenix the rhetorical verbal repetition of the word frætwe, which appears 14 times, and the collocation of land and frætwe, which appears 4 times, reveals something of the long admired stylistic sophistication and originality of the poem. The poet's use of the collocation "landes frætwe" in his description of Judgement Day as well as of paradise weaves the poem together. Furthermore, if the happy association of paradise and creation with "landes frætwe" was a wide-spread convention with which both poets and audiences were familiar, then the destruction of such frætwe at the Last Judgement becomes an especially sharp symbol for the transience of all earthly wealth and happiness. The Phoenix poet certainly achieves such a sharpness by using the collocation in both contexts. The Beowulf occurrence is especially striking, and challenges the notion that Beowulf is somehow cut off from religious verse. The poet, whose concerns are apparently with the secular world, knows in exactly which religious context the collocation of land and frætwe belongs. But it is not simply a question of knowing the convention. Literary critics have long observed a paralleling, in which the language of treasure is central, of the building of Heorot by Hrothgar (Beo 67-81) and the scop's song of God's creation of the world (Beo 90-98).³²⁴ King Hrothgar decides to build Heorot as a place for his court to gather and receive gifts: "ond þær on innan eall

³²³ See above, Ch.4, pp.386-88.

³²⁴ See for example, Taylor 1966, pp.120-23.

gedælan, geongum ond ealdum, swylc him god sealde" (Beo 71-72). The building is itself a treasure; the poet describes its building: "Ða ic wide gefrægn weorc gebannan / manigre mægpe..., / folcstede frætwan" (Beo 74-76). Later the hall is repeatedly said to be decorated with gold (cf. Beo 308, 715, 927). The word frætwan is echoed in the Song of Creation only twenty lines later. Such a juxtaposition is typical of what Fred C. Robinson has called the "appositive style" of Beowulf, which the poet brilliantly controls to express the ambiguous situation of the Danes and Geats -- much loved ancestors who lived on the side of good but were pagan.³²⁵ The Beowulf poet can handle a poetic convention with considerable rhetorical skill to convey one of the central paradoxes of his poem.

The collocation of frætwe with terms for the land illustrates the potential for creativity in Old English verse when convention converges with rhetorical skill. The creativity involves a range of individual responses to convention and draws attention to the possibility for variety and originality among poets who worked within the confines of a traditional inherited poetic diction.

SOD and FRÆTWE

Soð and frætwe or related verbs collocate five times.³²⁶ In four cases, frætwe or frætwan appears in the

³²⁵ Robinson 1985.

³²⁶ XSt 305, SBI 132, Ph 322, 583, 605.

same half-line with fæger.³²⁷ The overlap with frætwe and fæger half-lines might appear less remarkable when we consider that three times it occurs in The Phoenix, which includes four of the seven instances of the half-line. But the fact that only one of the poem's fæger/frætwe half-lines occurs without soð lends further weight to the attraction between the terms -- as least for The Phoenix poet. In three of the four instances of the frætwe and soð collocation not only is frætwe in the same half-line as fæger, but soð is the first element of the compound soðfæst.³²⁸ This phenomenon occurs twice in The Phoenix and once in Christ and Satan in a passage which shares a number of lexical overlaps with The Phoenix lines 605ff.³²⁹ A contextual similarity links these three occurrences, since all refer to heaven after Judgement Day. In The Phoenix (Ph 605ff.) and Christ and Satan, it is the just who are soðfæst, but at The Phoenix lines 583ff., it is the sun which is soðfæst. This application of the same adjective to different referents between which the poet wishes to draw a connection, is typical of the stylistic technique of The Phoenix and cannot be interpreted as mere repetitiveness.

STENC and FRÆTWE

Stenc and frætwe collocate three times, appearing twice in The Phoenix and once in The Panther, poems in which we

³²⁷ See above, Ch.4, pp. for a discussion of frætwe and fæger. In its only other instance the two elements are separated, in that one occurs in an introduction to a speech, and one in the body of a speech (SBI 132).

³²⁸ XSt 305, Ph 583, 605.

³²⁹ See below, Ch.4, pp.420-24.

have already noted lexical and stylistic similarities.³³⁰

In the collocation's first occurrence in The Phoenix, six lines separate the two elements. The phoenix brings "torhte frætwe" (Ph 200), herbs and blossoms, to his nest where he then lives surrounded by "halgum stencum" (Ph 206). These herbs are explicitly identified as symbols for the good works of men which protect them at Judgement Day (Ph 526-40), and the poet may be giving them the same symbolic value sixty lines later when he writes:

somod sipiað sawla mid lice,
fægre gefrætwed, fugle gelicast,
in eadwelum æpelum stencum,
þær seo soþfæste sunne lihteð
wlitig ofer weoredum in wuldres byrig.
(Ph 584-88)

In The Panther, frætwe and stenc collocate in an allegory which is later explained. After sleeping in a cave for three days, the Panther roars and "stenc ut cymeð" (Pan 44) which is, among other qualities, "eallum æpelicra eorþan frætsum" (Pan 48). The significatio which follows describes Christ's resurrection after three days of death. The poet comments "þæt wæs swete stenc, / wlitig and wynsum geond woruld ealle" (Pan 64-65) indicating that the roar and the stenc represent the resurrection.

Obviously, The Panther and The Phoenix appearances share an allegorical context, and in both cases the poet uses the term stenc to tie together allegory and

³³⁰ Ph 199, 583, Pan 44.

explanation, but otherwise there seems little that is unusual or noteworthy. However, when we consider the other instances of stenc in Old English verse, it becomes clear that both poems participate in a larger convention or topos, defined both thematically and lexically. Stenc occurs 19 times in Old English verse and in 9 instances, the context is definitely heaven or paradise. It is possible that because stenc and frætwe are associated with Christ's resurrection in The Panther that that occurrence of the collocation is also linked to this theme. The appearances of the collocation in Riddle 40 (Rid40 23) and The Paris Psalter (PPs 132.2) do not follow this pattern, either thematically or lexically, nor does The Whale (Wh 65), which does, however, share some verbal parallels with those we have identified as connected to heaven or paradise. The Whale will be considered later in this section when discussing the overall structure of the Old English Physiologus.

The convention by which stenc is associated with heaven or paradise is most extensive in The Phoenix, where the lexical repetition which accompanies the convention blends in with and contributes to the dense verbal repetition of the poem as a whole. The stenc of the herbs is a fundamental characteristic of paradise, thus the poet introduces it from the beginning:

wlitig is se wong eall, wynnum geblissad
mid þam fægrestum foldan stencum.
Ænlic is þæt iglond, æpele se wyrhta.
(Ph 7-9)

The poet continues to refer to the stenc of the flora of paradise (Ph 81, 195, 206) and stenc crosses the divide between the narrative and the significatio when the poet describes how in heaven:

somod sipiap sawla mid lice,
fægre gefrætweð, fugle gelicast,
in eadwelum æpelum stencum.
(Ph 584-86)

Finally, the symbolic meaning of the herbs and their smell is made explicit, when in heaven the saved:

 þær hi dryhtne to giefre
worda and weorca wynsumne stenc.
(Ph 658-59)

In Christ and Satan the smell of herbs and blossoms also functions symbolically in heaven:

 þonne beoð þa eadigan þe of eorðan cumað,
 bringað to bearme blostman stences,
 wyrte wynsume (þæt synd word godes).
(XSt 355-57)

The Guthlac B poet does not use the stenc of flowers as an element in a description of heaven or paradise, but in a description of the saint's hermitage after his death. The hermitage is filled with bright light, the song of angels and sweet smells:

Swa se burgstede wæs blissum gefylled,
swetum stencum ond sweglwundrum,
eadges yrfestol, engla hleoðres,
eal innanweard. þær wæs ænlicra
ond wynsumra þonne hit in worulde mæge
stefn areccan, hu se stenc and se sweg,
heofonlic hleoþor ond se halga song,
gehyred wæs, heahprym godes,
breahtem æfter breahtme.
(GuthB 1317-25)

Although this is not, strictly speaking, a description of heaven, it functions as a visible sign to those on earth that Guthlac has gone to heaven and regained the paradise

lost by Adam and Eve. The Guthlac B poet's use of the conventions associated with land and frætwe and æpele and frætwe functioned similarly.³³¹

In The Panther we have not heaven or paradise but the resurrection. The Panther roars and then:

After þære stefne stenc ut cymeð
of þam wongstede, wynsumra steam,
swettra ond swipra swæcca gehwylcum,
wyrta blostmum ond wudubledum,
eallum æpelicra eorþan frætwum.
(Pan 44-48)

Later the stenc is explained when the poet follows his comments on Christ's resurrection with "þæt wæs swete stenc / wlitig and wynsum / geond woruld ealle" (Ph 64-65). The importance of the stenc, which attracts other animals to the Panther and the faithful to Christ, in the poem is given weight by the last half-line of the poem. This half-line refers back to the message of the whole poem and not to the words of St. Paul which immediately precede it; the poem ends "þæt is æpele stenc" (Ph 74).

Even the short and selective quotations included in the above discussion hint at the striking similarity of diction shared by these passages.³³² There are many other verbal parallels shared by two or three of these passages. While we may well discount the repetition of wyrt or even swete as inevitable given the subject matter, others are not so

³³¹ See above, Ch.4, pp.386-88 and 410-11.

³³² Frætwe: Ph 200, 585, Pan 48, wyrt: XSt 357, Ph 194, 196, 653, Pan 47, PPs 132.2, wynn: XSt 357, GuthB 1321, Ph 7, 82, 194, 196, 203, 653, 659, Pan 45, 65, Wh 54, swete: GuthB 1318, Ph 199, Pan 46, Wh 57, 65, Rid40 30, æpele: Ph 9, 207, Pan 48, 74.

easily dismissed. The most notable recurring element, wynn, appears 12 times, even including Guthlac B, where the scent is a heavenly one and not associated with flowers or herbs and hence words such as wyrt and blostm do not occur. As well as verbal parallels the poems share a number of alliterative pairs and several formulas.³³³ In the Paris Psalter and Riddle 40, both translations, appearances of stenc show few lexical parallels which, with the exception of æbele, are limited to one word such as blostm, wyrt, and swete, which is connected with stenc itself rather than with a larger theme. The absence of a comparison of the stenc of the whale to the scent of flowers means that words like wyrt, blostm and frætwe (so often associated with vegetation) do not appear here, but The Whale includes both wynsum and swete. Although each instance of the thematic convention is dense with lexical parallels and there are a number of repeated alliterating pairs, there is little in the way of formulas.

The repetitions of stenc in The Physiologus shed light on how the poet shaped his entire poem as a whole rather than simply put together three separate poems on the panther, the whale and the partridge. We have already noted how the poem opens with seven and half-lines describing the multitude of species on earth and introducing the poem as a

³³³ Wynsum and word alliterate: XSt 357 and Ph 659, wynn and wong: Ph 7, Pan 45, wyrt and woruld: GuthB 1321, Pan 65, stefn and stenc: GuthB 1322, Pan 44, 54, wlitig and wynn: Ph 7, 203, Pan 65, æbele and eorpe: Ph 207, Pan 48, wyrt and wynn: XSt 357, Ph 194, 196, wudu and wyrta: Ph 194 and Pan 46.

whole. Ann Squires comments on how The Partridge fits into the poem as a whole and speculates:

It seems reasonable to assume that The Partridge expressed dramatically the choice which each man must make to turn from the false partridge-devil parent who has stolen him, to the true parent, who is Christ...The final prayer [the final lines of the entire Physiologus attached by editor's to The Whale] is no conventional coda but a succinct summary of the central theme and chief motifs.³³⁴

The use of stenc and its identification with both the attraction of following Christ and the lure of the devil serves to emphasize that "the panther and the whale represent opposing poles with equal and opposite magnetism in the tug-of-war for the human soul."³³⁵ Hence, while the appearance of a "wynsum stenc" (Wh 54) in The Whale may appear to have no connection to the convention of stenc associated with heaven or paradise, the poet's choice not only to describe Christ's resurrection and the temptation of the devil in terms of stenc but to include wynn suggest that these words, otherwise associated strictly with descriptions of heaven and paradise, appear here as part of the rhetorical strategy of The Physiologus. This strategy uses verbal repetition to contribute to a juxtaposition and contrasting of the panther and the whale, and thus of heaven and hell, and the fate of the damned and the saved. The frætwe and stenc collocation in The Physiologus shows two features of its style which we have found in other Old English poems. First, rather than stating explicitly that a belief in Christ's resurrection is

³³⁴ Squires 1988, p.24.

³³⁵ Squires 1988, p.26.

the way to heaven, the poet relies on the conventional association of a certain lexis with heaven when he applies it to the panther's roar which symbolizes Christ's resurrection. Secondly, we see in The Physiologus the importance of rhetorical verbal repetition, especially of vocabulary associated with a convention, to the thematic development and unity of a poem.

SUNNE and FRÆTWE

Sunne collocates five times with frætwe or frætwan.³³⁶ The absence of collocation of sunne with other words for treasure may suggest this is worthy of consideration. One might argue that the metaphoric uses of frætwe to describe vegetation was sufficient to account for the difference, but the situation is somewhat more complicated than such a simple answer indicates. Besides the five collocations of frætwe with sunne, there are an additional two instances where frætwe collocates with kennings for the sun, which will be included in the following discussion.³³⁷

These seven collocations include a wide range of grammatical and semantic relationships between the sun and frætwe. In The Phoenix (Ph 90ff.), the sunne shines with frætwe, later the sun awakens woruldgestreon so that foldan frætwe again grow in the earth (Ph 253ff.), and finally the soul is gefrætwed in heaven where the sun shines (Ph 584ff.). In Beowulf, God established the sun and gefrætwed

³³⁶ XSt 305, Ph 90, 253, 583, Beo 90.

³³⁷ Ph 116 and GuthB 1278.

the earth (Beo 90ff.), while in Christ and Satan the faithful are said to be gefrætweð like the sun (XSt 305ff.). In The Phoenix (116) the "lond beoð gefrætweð" (Ph 116) when the sun, denoted by the kennings "swegles tapur" (Ph 114), "leohtes leoma" (Ph 116), "wuldres gim" (Ph 117) and "mærost tungla" (Ph 119), rises, while just the opposite occurs in Guthlac B, where, the sun, "æpela glæm," sets as nights falls on "landes frætwe" (GuthB 1278ff.).

Yet, despite this diversity, the frætwe and sun collocation still fits into a number of contexts which we have already seen to be closely related. The Phoenix (Ph 585ff.) and Christ and Satan refer to the just in heaven, Beowulf to the creation of paradise, The Phoenix (90ff. and 116ff.) to paradise and to springtime as a metaphor for the regeneration of the phoenix (Ph 257ff.); the ^{appearance here} of language used elsewhere in the poem for paradise to denote the earthly serves to link the fallen world with paradise. Only the Guthlac B instance stands apart from the heaven or paradise association and may give further weight to the perception of the poet's inversion of a convention, for rhetorical effect, in his description of the sun setting.³³⁸

Within the broad association between heaven and paradise there are more specific contexts as well. The already extensively considered "landes frætwe" accounts for four of the seven instances of frætwe collocating with sun: at Beowulf lines 90ff. and The Phoenix lines 257ff. with

³³⁸ See above, Ch.4, pp.386-88 and 410-11.

sunne and at The Phoenix lines 116ff. and Guthlac B lines 1278ff. with a kenning. Explicitly symbolic instances of the sun are limited to The Phoenix, and typically for that poem the sun as symbol works on several levels. Two instances of frætwe and sunne occur in similes (Ph 583 and XSt 305) -- a rhetorical figure not widespread in Old English verse. In The Phoenix the sun renews the earth in spring time "swa se fugel weorðeþ, / ...geong edniwe" (Ph 257-58). The poet of Christ and Satan depicts the holy in heaven "sunnan gelice, / fægre gefrætewod" (XSt 306-7).

Besides context, the seven instances of frætwe and the sun share many verbal parallels (although only frætwe and the sun are common to all seven). Obviously, four share the collocation with land, eorþe and frætwe (GuthB 1278, Ph 116, 253, Beo 90). Given the subject matter -- sunshine -- the frequency of words such as leoht and scinan and hader is unremarkable but the repetition of words such as æþele, fæder, lif and soðfæst as well as others is more significant. The sun and frætwe collocation also overlaps with a number of formulas and formulaic systems -- "foldan frætwe" (Ph 257), "landes frætwe" (GuthB 1282), "frætwe blican" (Ph 95), "sið behealdan" (Ph 90, 114) and "fægre gefrætweod" (XSt 307 and Ph 585).³³⁹ The closest verbal parallel outside of those within The Phoenix occurs between The Phoenix and Christ and Satan. In Christ and Satan:

³³⁹ Not all in the same ASPR sentences.

Soðfæste men, sunnan gelice,
 fægre gefrætewod in heora fæder rice
 scinað in sceldbyrig.
 (XSt 306-8)

While in The Phoenix:

somod sipiap sawla mid lice,
 fægre gefrætwed, fugle gelicast,
 in eadwelum æpelum stencum,
 þær seo soðfæste sunne lihteð
 wlitig ofer weoredum in wuldres byrig.
 (Ph 584-88)

The context of both is the blessed existence of the just in heaven, and both use a simile. In both soðfæst alliterates with sunne; the formula "fægre gefrætwed" appears; gelice/gelicast expresses the simile and all is said to take place in a byrig. Yet, despite these similarities, Christ and Satan is a translation of the Vulgate: "tunc iusti fulgebunt sicut sol in regno Patris eorum" (Mt 13:43),³⁴⁰ which suggests the simile of the saved shining like the sun.³⁴¹ The Phoenix, with its similar context and lexis, actually means something different -- with the truthful living in a heaven which is bright with sunshine, rather than being like the sun themselves. The parallel lexis of The Phoenix and Christ and Satan is indicative of the way translators can remain true to their source and nonetheless integrate their verse with the conventional diction of the Old English poetic tradition. The role of the Beowulf, Guthlac B and Phoenix passages in the poems as a whole have already been considered, and points to a use of frætwe, as

³⁴⁰ Finnegan 1977, p.104. Then shall the just shine as the sun in the kingdom of their Father.

³⁴¹ Finnegan 1977, p.104.

well as its collocation with the sun, to fulfill larger rhetorical schemes, rather than simply the immediate needs of the verse form.

Chapter Five
Some Implications Stemming from the Analysis of the
Collocations Associated with Words for Treasure

I. Introduction

The chief concern of the preceding chapter was to examine the collocations associated with five words for treasure, to shed light on the relationship between the conventionality and originality of the style of Old English verse. A central element of this analysis involved drawing on semantic aspects of these treasure words. Several general features or characteristics of Old English verse stood out from this analysis of the collocations associated with words for treasure: 1) the conceptual conventions associated with particular collocations, 2) the lexical convention of the formula and 3) the stylistic convention of verbal repetition. This chapter will be concerned to take an overview of these three features in order to consider their implications for the style of Old English verse.

Collocation has proven particularly useful for identifying conventions which are associated with particular pairs or groups of words. Given the small size nature of the corpus and the factor of chance, I have not used an absence or a low rate of collocation between words as an indication of originality. Instead, I have given attention to the conventions (conceptual, lexical and stylistic) associated with frequently occurring collocations, and occasionally with less frequently occurring collocations when the convention seemed very strong. Originality,

whether intentional or unconscious, has been discussed in terms of a deviation from convention. The reference to words which frequently collocate but do not appear to participate in any convention has, however, provided some scope for comparison. Although interpretation from absence is dangerous, a number of collocations which occur at a very high rate, but without any apparent convention linking them, attract notice and merit comment, even if only cautious comment.

Collocation, when defined in terms of the tendency of words to appear together, includes many features of Old English verse and a wide range of relationships between two or more words can be called a collocation. Asking why words collocate, that is asking why particular words appear together in particular contexts, is the most basic of questions and any answers must involve verse form, semantics, message, inspiration or felicity with words, intention and accident, among other factors. Although an attempt to discuss the style and lexis of Old English verse in terms of the three features listed above is inevitably reductive, the three features chosen which represent conceptual convention, lexical convention and stylistic convention, respectively, will allow for a broad approach to assessing the weight and interplay of these various factors and will provide several different perspectives from which to view the relationship of conventionality and originality.

II. Conceptual Conventions

Conventional associations between lexis and a theme, subject or context can be considered in two categories. Semantic conventions do not extend beyond what is attributable to the semantic fields of the elements in a collocation. Generally their semantic fields are overlapping or contextually related. The association of maðm and benc, and of maðm and meodu with gift-giving in the hall can be explained in terms of common context, while the repeated collocation of sinc, seolfor, gimmas to describe treasure is obviously connected to their related semantic fields. Most frequent collocations fall into this latter category and emphasize the importance of semantics, as well as alliteration and meter, to poetic word choice. Conceptual convention describes the attachment of a context, theme or subject to a collocation which cannot be explained solely in terms of the semantic fields of the words involved; examples include the association of the frætwe and fæger collocation with Judgement Day and of the hord and breost collocation with the mind, the soul and the body. Some of these conceptual conventions occur only twice while others are more common and widespread. Semantic and conceptual conventions are not entirely discrete categories. Many conceptual conventions involve words which are semantically complementary; for example, frætwe and fæger occur together in part because beauty is an aspect of the semantic field of frætwe.¹ Our incomplete knowledge of the

¹ See above, Ch.4, p.397.

semantic fields and nuances of Old English vocabulary further contributes to the confusion between a conceptual and semantic convention.

In many cases of such conceptual conventions, especially when they are restricted to one poem, it is difficult to decide whether a similar situation has led a poet or poets to put together the same words or whether the conceptual convention is an intrinsic part of the collocation. For example, the half-line sylfes dom occurs twice in Beowulf, always in the context of the plundering of a hoard, first by Sigemund and second by Wiglaf, but there is no way to know whether that context is inherent to the collocation or if the poet, confronted with similar situations has produced the same formula.² The difficulty of distinguishing between a conceptual convention, similar circumstances calling up similar language, and a semantic convention, may indicate something of the process involved in the development of conceptual conventions, and furthermore accentuates the subjectivity entailed in identifying conventions, since chance and the knowledge and perceptiveness of the critic all play a part.

A study of collocation brings to the surface many collocations with conceptual associations, and underscores the staticness of their relationship. The collocation of frætwe and eorpe, or folde or land is repeatedly associated with paradise and creation.³ The formula to þære bryhtan

² See above, Ch.4, pp.298-300.

³ See above, Ch.3, pp.172-73 and Ch.4, p.408.

burg often appears in the context of treasure.⁴ A wide range of hord collocations is linked to the topoi of the body, the mind and the soul being described as a hoard.⁵ Although hord is the treasure word overwhelmingly used to denote the soul the collocation of breost and feorh with frætwe denoting the soul, shows that the link between the soul and treasure is broader.⁶ Stenc and frætwe collocate with each other three times as part of a conventional and frequent association of stenc with heaven and paradise, which includes numerous repeating words which produce multiple collocations.⁷ Most of these conceptual collocations entail a thematic or contextual association, but a functional association is also possible. Maðm and hyran collocate in Beowulf with hyran always occurring in an "ic hyrde" expression, and with such expressions limited to this context. In each case the collocation functions to emphasize the extraordinary nature of the treasure.⁸

Poems as different as The Riming Poem, The Riddles, Guthlac B and Beowulf provide compelling evidence of the potential strength of the link between a conceptual convention and a collocation. The recognition of the conceptual convention of the mind as a hoard, and its association with specific lexis is necessary for

⁴ See above, Ch.4, p.350-51.

⁵ See above, Ch.4, pp.236-98.

⁶ See above, Ch.4, pp.174-75 and 396-97.

⁷ See above, Ch.4, pp.414-20.

⁸ See above, Ch.4, pp.220-22.

understanding passages in both The Riming Poem (45-47)⁹ and in Riddle 42 (11-15)¹⁰. Much of the subverting wordplay found in Guthlac B depends on the audience's awareness of conceptual conventions and associated lexis.¹¹ Although the conceptual association is religious, even the Beowulf poet knows that creation is the appropriate context for the use of the collocation of frætwan and folde.¹²

In Beowulf, Genesis A and Waldere B, the presence of literal treasure may influence the use of hord for the mind, the soul or the body. Breosthord at line 1719 and again at line 2792 of Beowulf, "breosta hord" at line 1608 of Genesis A, and feorhhord at line 1182 of Andreas and line 22 of Waldere B all appear in the context of literal treasure. This phenomenon, whereby metaphorical uses of the word occasionally occurred in passages which also mentioned literal treasure, further highlights the strength of the association between themes or contexts and specific words, and suggests the power of conceptual convention to influence a poet's choice of words.¹³

The preceding examples and the more detailed discussion of individual collocations in the last chapter also underline the variety of connections between collocations and conceptual conventions. Some words which consistently

⁹ See above, Ch.4, pp.241-42.

¹⁰ See above, Ch.4, pp.273-74, 283, 288, 297.

¹¹ See above, Ch.4, pp.386-88, 410-11, 416-17.

¹² See above, Ch.4, pp.410 and 411-12.

¹³ See above, Ch.4, pp. 243-44 and 252-53.

collocate in association with a conceptual convention are linked to each other in a range of syntactical relationships,¹⁴ while the elements of other such collocations are linked together more closely as members of an alliterative pair, a kenning, a compound word, or a formula.¹⁵ Some conceptual associations were linked with only one treasure word while others were more broadly linked with treasure;¹⁶ likewise some conceptual collocations were reflected in the collocation of only two words, while others were reflected in collocations involving three or more words.¹⁷ In a few cases, the connection between a conceptual convention and a number of words resulted in a more complex Parallelstelle.¹⁸ The variety of collocations and variety of conceptual conventions associated with them suggests that conceptual conventions associated with

¹⁴ See for example the collocation of land (etc.) and frætwe, Ch.4, pp.406-12 and of stenc and frætwe Ch.4, pp.414-20.

¹⁵ See for example, the collocation of fæger and frætwe, Ch.4, pp.399-404, -hord compounds associated with the mind, body and soul, Ch.4, pp.236-76, frætwe and blican, Ch.4, pp.394-95.

¹⁶ Many of the collocations of frætwe illustrate the link of frætwe to paradise, creation and Judgement Day, see Ch.4, pp.397-404, 406-12, 414-20, 420-24. The formulaic system of which "to þære byrhtan byrig" collocates with more than one treasure word, see Ch.4, pp.350-51.

¹⁷ Most conceptual conventions in this study are associated with a collocation of two words. The collocation of stenc and frætwe provides examples involving three or more words, see Ch.4, pp.417-18.

¹⁸ See for example the collocation of bycgan, feorh, maðm and hord, Ch.4, pp.205-6.

specific lexis is a mode, rather than a single stylistic device.

Against this wide variety of relationships between collocation and conceptual convention must be set the tendency for a number of collocations with conceptual associations to appear only in one poem. The most obvious and perhaps even the most significant factor is chance, but this cannot be measured and thus it cannot be known how many apparently restricted conventions are not, in fact, so. Subject matter which may be restricted to, or predominate in, one poem can also play a part. This may be an especially important factor in the number of restricted conceptual conventions found in Beowulf. Furthermore, the whole issue of whether a conceptual convention is inherently linked with certain words or whether a similar context has triggered similar language may be especially pertinent when considering restricted conventional collocations, since the latter are more likely to occur within one poem than across the corpus. But another possibility may account for some of these restricted conventional collocations. Evidence remains that the presence of collocations with conventional associations as a feature of the Old English poetic form may have encouraged individual poets to create their own. For example, this seems very likely when the poet of Guthlac B uses the "-hord onleac" formulaic system to describe death rather than speaking.

A sideways glance at words which collocate with great frequency but without any association with a theme, subject

or context beyond that demanded by the semantic fields of the words involved can shed light on our understanding of the connection between collocation and conceptual convention. Treasure words, the five with which this study has been concerned, as well as less general treasure words, for example, gold and beag, often collocate with each other. The most striking are the rates at which gold occurs as a collocate of a treasure word. Yet in no case could any of these collocations be said to be associated with a conceptual convention, a feature which is mirrored by a lack of lexical convention joining the two words.¹⁹ Sinc and sele/sæl, which have complementary semantic fields, since treasure is often given in a hall, often collocate without any conceptual convention. They occur in a number of syntactical relationships and are never linked in a formula.²⁰ Gestreon collocates repeatedly with eorpe and woruld in syntactically varied situations, which include the compound woruldgestreon on six occasions, of which three are formulaic. Although the theme of transience is found widely throughout Old English verse, often associated with gestreon, its collocation with woruld and eorpe is only occasionally associated with this theme -- certainly not frequently enough or in similar enough circumstances to label this conceptual association as conventional.²¹ Even collocations which suggest something of the individuality of

¹⁹ See below, Ch.4, pp.213-19.

²⁰ See above, Ch.4, pp.368-71.

²¹ See above, Ch.4, pp. 324-28 and 338-41.

the diction of an Anglo-Saxon poet can be free of convention. Hord and hæleð collocate with each other 12 times; eight of these occur in Beowulf and four of these are part of a formulaic system and yet there is no convention.²²

Generally the words which collocate frequently but without convention have complementary or overlapping semantic fields so that it is not hard to see why they would appear together frequently, and with sinc and sele/sæl and hord and hæleð alliteration was also a factor. But this is also true of many of the words which collocate in association with a conceptual convention, and does not in any case negate the possibility of a collocation having a convention which cannot be explained solely in terms of the semantic fields of the collocates; frætwe and fæger provide the most obvious contrast. Although formulas themselves seem to have a higher incidence of association with a conceptual convention than do simple collocations, the presence of formulas does not seem to be the key factor, since they occur in both types of collocations -- those with conceptual conventions ^{and} those without.²³ The existence of such frequent but conventionless collocations draws attention to the distinction between ordinariness and conventionality, and underscores the fact that the links between conceptual conventions and specific lexis are

²² See above, Ch.4, pp.304-5.

²³ Contrast for example "dyre maðmas" (Ch.4, pp.208-10) and "frætweum blican" (Ch.4, pp.394-95).

special and to be noted as a feature of Old English verse, rather than the norm, and thus they may function to attract attention to the lexis associated with them.

The presence of conceptual conventions associated with particular lexical collocations or sets of collocations might seem to be primarily a further indication of the fundamental conventionality of Old English verse. However, the responses of Anglo-Saxon poets to these conceptual conventions reveals that the situation is multi-faceted. There is no doubt that these conventional associations can lend a homogeneous character to much Old English verse. The use of hord to denote the mind, the soul and the body provides some of the most solid evidence for this, involving a number of overlapping lexical collocations which include alliterative pairs, compounds and formulas. The variety of hord compounds denoting the body, mind and soul often appears to be used primarily on alliterative grounds and with no sense of their literal meaning. The section on hord in the last chapter includes many examples of hord conceptual collocations and associated lexis which occurred frequently and across the spectrum of Old English verse, the "wordhord onleac" formula being only the most extreme and obvious case.²⁴ The convention is so strong, as are its links with a particular lexis, as to produce such closely parallel passages as those from The Wanderer and The Homiletic Fragment II:

²⁴ See above, Ch.4, pp. 190-91, 268 294-98.

Ic to soþe wat
þæt biþ in eorle indryhten þeaw,
þæt he is ferðlocan fæste binde,
healde his hordcofan, hycge swa he wille.
(Wan 11-14)

and

Gefeoh nu on ferðe ond to frofre geþeoh
dryhtne þinum, ond þinne dom arær,
heald hordlocan, hyge fæste bind.
(HmFgII 1-3)

Other less common conventions can have a similar effect on the style of Old English verse, as for example the association of the collocation of eorþe or folde, or land and frætwe with paradise and creation appearing across a range of Old English poems, and giving the impression that there were set ways of describing paradise and creation, on which poets could rely as an aid to composing verse.²⁵

Translation offers some insight into the power and usefulness of these conceptual conventions. Although the Latin mentions only terra, the translator of The Paris Psalter describes how at creation God made "eorþan frætwe" (PPs 101.22); a conceptual convention provides the versifier with a ready made stock half-line appropriate to the context. Nothing in the "in toto corde" of the Latin suggests using the hoard-mind topos with which the hord and heorte and the hord and cofa collocations are linked. But the conceptual convention behind the half-line "heortan hordcofa" (PPs 118.2) helps the Old English versifier to get from Latin to Old English verse.²⁶ This practice is not limited to the frequently stumbling versifier of The Paris

²⁵ See above, Ch.4, pp.406-12.

²⁶ See above, Ch.4, p.286.

psalter. The half-line "fægere frætuað" (JDII 277), with its conventional association of heaven and Judgement Day, neatly translates both the meaning and the context of the ornat of the Latin original De Die Judicii.²⁷ Just the conventional links between lexis and theme or context, which a study of treasure words has uncovered, shows something of the compositional techniques of the Old English poets, and reveals the important role such conventions play in how poems translated from Latin verse, with its very different poetics, can be so much of a piece with the rest of Old English verse.

Conceptual associations can also act as a potential force for conventionality, within a single poem rather than across the corpus, when a convention causes a poet to repeat the same diction in the same context. Hord appears 4 times in the compounds wordhord, modhord, and hordloca all in the contexts of speaking in Andreas.²⁸ The connection between treasure, as maðm or frætwe, and bearm in Beowulf leads to the lexical similarities in the descriptions of Beowulf's men loading their ship for the voyage to Denmark (Beo 211-16), and of Sigemund loading his ship with treasure plundered from the dragon's hoard (Beo 893-97).²⁹ The conventional association of frætwe with the soul, which is reflected in the contexts of its collocations with beran in Christ III, contributes to the repetition found in:

²⁷ See above, Ch.4, pp.399-400.

²⁸ See above, Ch.4, p.191.

²⁹ See above, Ch.4, pp.388-91.

berað breosta hord fore bearn godes,
feores frætwe
(ChrIII 1072-73)

and

þonne þa gecorenan fore Crist berað
beorhte frætwe.
(ChrIII 1634-35)

Given the almost 600 intervening lines, this repetition seems best interpreted in terms of a convention encouraging the use of similar language in similar contexts rather than artistry.³⁰

Alongside these examples of the potential for convention to become conventionality, an analysis of the conceptual associations of the collocations of treasure words disclosed many instances where a poet's handling of conceptual convention revealed rhetorical skill. The poets of both The Phoenix and The Panther repeatedly draw on the meaning of a symbol before its full significance is explained by using the conventional associations of several collocations (see fæger and frætwe,³¹ blican and frætwe,³² stenc and frætwe,³³ woruld and gestreon,³⁴ and eorþe and gestreon³⁵). A consideration of the conventional associations of collocations leads to a recognition of the keen eye of the poet of Guthlac B for subverting the

³⁰ See above, Ch.4, pp. 241, 246, 248, 392-93, 396.

³¹ See above, Ch.4, pp.397-404.

³² See above, Ch.4, pp.414-20.

³³ See above, Ch.4, pp.394-95.

³⁴ See above, Ch.4, pp.338-41.

³⁵ See above, Ch.4, pp.324-28.

expected association of a collocation in a way which contributed to the meaning of his poem.³⁶ The wit of the poet of Guthlac B is firmly rooted in convention.

The Riming Poem and The Riddles shows that reliance on convention can also help a poet to be innovative. The collocation of breost and hord shows that conceptual convention is central to how the rhyming poet manages to rhyme, scan and alliterate without his verse being pulled into nonsense.³⁷ (He uses other, lexical and semantic, conventional collocations such as sibb and sinc in a similar fashion.)³⁸ The riddlers used the conceptual conventions associated with a number of formulas but linked them with the words which made up the formulas rather than the formulas themselves, thus playing with conceptual collocations in a way which hinted at, but did not reveal, the meaning of their riddles.³⁹ The reliance of wordplay on conceptual convention indicates that convention could catch the attention of an audience who would recognize it and be able to interpret the meaning of the deviation.

Much of the evidence from the study of individual collocations suggests that there was an attraction between rhetorical verbal repetition and conceptual convention.⁴⁰ This sense of there being an interplay between rhetorical

³⁶ See above, Ch.4, pp.386-88, 410-11, 416-17.

³⁷ See above, Ch.4, pp.241-43.

³⁸ See above, Ch.4, pp.375-77.

³⁹ See above, Ch.4, pp.273-74, 277-80, 297-98, 359-61.

⁴⁰ See further below, Ch.5, pp.464-71.

verbal repetition and conceptual convention is reinforced when words which collocate frequently without any conceptual convention are considered. These collocations are much less likely to appear in passages where verbal repetition has a rhetorical effect.⁴¹ The relationship between conceptual convention and rhetorical verbal repetition is by no means exclusive. But the greater tendency for conceptually associated conventional collocations to appear thus suggests that such conventions may have functioned to bring the lexis of a collocation into the foreground, so that, if such a collocation was repeated, an audience would be more likely to notice the meaning being conveyed, or recognize the shape of a verse paragraph defined by such a repetition. In these contexts, convention, here conceptual, is integral to originality. Furthermore, the inclination of Old English poets to use conventional language in rhetorical ways shows a convergence of those features of Old English style often *considered* separately as either conventional or original, and traced respectively to the oral and Germanic origins of Old English verse, or to later Latin and literate influences on the verse.

An overview of the place of conceptual convention and associated lexis in Old English verse emphasizes two points: the static *nature* of these conventions and the variety of

⁴¹ There are numerous examples of this type of collocation; see for example gold and maðm, Ch.4, pp.213-19, hord and maðm, pp.222-24, laf and maðm, pp.224-26, hord and gestreon, p.332, beag and sinc, pp.342-44 and seolfor and sinc, pp.371-73. The collocation of weard and hord offers an example which does not involve two treasure words, see above, Ch.4, pp.311-15.

responses to convention. Convention appears to control the versifier of The Paris Psalter, and even the Beowulf poet, so seemingly secular, knows that the collocation of foldan and frætwe is appropriate to a description of creation. In contrast, convention elicits wordplay in Guthlac B, and the riddlers found much potential for clever deception in the strength of the lexical associations of conceptual conventions. This strength of conceptual conventions goes some way to explaining what critics have perceived as the homogeneity of Old English verse, and yet the responses of individual poets to these conventions shed light on a surprising stylistic diversity within the corpus of Old English verse. Most importantly, the interdependence of the conventionality and originality emerges as a striking feature of the style of Old English verse, and points to a propensity for familiarity to give prominence to language.

III. Formulas

Since the introduction of Oral-Formulaic Theory, the formula and formulaic system have been the focal point of much of the debate about the style of Old English verse. A study of collocation does not provide material from which to offer a reassessment involving redefinition of the formula; however, it does shed some light on the formula by pointing up the connections, or lack of connections, between formulas and other lexical, semantic, thematic and to a lesser extent syntactical conventions. The following discussion will consider both formulas which include one of the words for

treasure (maðm, hord, sinc, gestreon and frætwe) and formulas associated with one or more of these treasure words. Ann Watt's very narrow definition of a formula and formulaic system will be used, though not necessarily accepted, here, since the lexical units it identifies as formulas and systems are unlikely to be disputed.⁴²

Although syntax is not the concern of this study, a few general points are useful at the start of this discussion of formulas. Formulas, even if defined very narrowly in terms of lexical, metrical and syntactic repetitions of half-lines, occur in many different syntactic units: noun + noun, adjective + noun, inflected compound, prepositional phrase, conjugated verb + infinitive and noun + verb to name only a few. While the possibility of syntactically defined formulas has been considered,⁴³ little of the discussion of formulas and formulaic systems takes into account the relative frequency of such constructions, which is of importance when trying to consider whether a given instance of a formula is a part of the traditional wordhoard or if it represents an independent coining. For example, possessive adjective + noun, as in the half-line "broðrum sinum" which collocates twice with gestreon, may be less formulaic or conventional than a noun + noun formula such as "hord and rice."⁴⁴ This study of collocation does not permit any

⁴² See above, Ch.1, p.20.

⁴³ Cassidy 1965. See above, Ch.1, p.16.

⁴⁴ See above, Ch.4, pp.307-11 and 322-23.

conclusions to be made but does suggest this might be a profitable line of further inquiry.

Connected to the syntactic variety of formulas, and more relevant to this study of collocation, is the fact that half-lines can be lexically identical but syntactically distinct. For example, frætwe and its related verbs collocate with the adjective fæger and the adverb fægre 17 times. Four instances of the collocation establish the formula "fægre gefrætwed."⁴⁵ The collocation also occurs in the half-lines "fægere frætuað" (JDII 277) and "fægrum frætwum" (Ph 610), each of which is metrically identical and attested only once. The two elements in these half-lines remain in the same order and the half-lines are of the same Sievers type as the formula "fægre gefrætwed," although they have one less unstressed syllable. While these six instances of the collocation cannot all be the same formula, they are more closely related than being two elements of an alliterative pair.⁴⁶ The collocation of frætwe or related words and eorpe, folde and land, which includes the formulaic system of "x" in the genitive singular dependent on frætwe, cannot be described solely in terms of the formulaic since it is related lexically, semantically and conceptually, but not syntactically, to other expressions.⁴⁷ Both of these examples illustrate the absence of firm lines dividing a strictly defined formula

⁴⁵ XSt 307, SBI 137, Ph 274, 585.

⁴⁶ See above, Ch.4, pp.397-98.

⁴⁷ See above, Ch.4, pp.406-7.

from other types of lexical collocations of a different syntactic identity.

The wide range of types of semantic fields of each member of a formula and the relationship between these semantic fields have also evoked little mention in discussions of the formula.⁴⁸ A study of collocation allows for the relationships between the semantic fields of collocates, including those which make up formulas, to be considered. On the one hand, manig (and its related noun) and maðm collocate frequently and create the formula "madma menigu" and related half-lines. But manig has a very light or widely applicable semantic field and, setting aside the factor of alliteration, the formula should perhaps be regarded as less conventional and more prone to arise spontaneously without reference to inherited poetic diction than some other formulas.⁴⁹ The formula since gegyrede, part of a formulaic system, presents a different situation. Sinc is often used to denote ornamentation, and the verb +gierwan includes "to adorn" in its semantic field.⁵⁰ Other words have less closely linked semantic fields but share a context which seems a large factor in their attraction. Maðm and mearh are both given as gifts, control of both a hord and a rice are central to the exercise of kingship; both sets of words appear in a collocation as well

⁴⁸ An exception is Watts who touches on the issue of there being a range of semantic relationships between the elements of different formulas (Watts 1969, pp.81ff.).

⁴⁹ See above, Ch.4, pp.226-28.

⁵⁰ See above, Ch.3, pp.148-50.

as a formula.⁵¹ In contrast, there are the formulas which involve words whose semantic fields show little in the way of obvious connection and which rarely occur together apart from as a formula; take, for example, the formulas "fi(e)ðrum gefrætweð"⁵² and "since bereafod"⁵³ or the formulaic system behind the formulas "swiðmod since brytta," "torhtmod tires brytta" and "gamolferhð goldes brytta."⁵⁴ A formulaic system can cut across semantic categories; for example inflected forms of gestreon compound with ær, bearn, botl, dryht, eald, eorl, feoh, folc, heah, hord, maðm, sinc, beod and woruld in a widespread formulaic system.⁵⁵ The assigning of formulas to either category of semantic relationship between elements or to any of the divisions in between is extremely subjective, but the recognition that different kinds of semantic fields and different frequencies of words play a part in the conventionality of a formula or formulaic system is lacking from definitions and discussions.

The study of the collocation of words for treasure also provides an opportunity to consider formulas and formulaic systems in a lexical context. Many widely attested and seemingly rigid formulas are actually one manifestation of a

⁵¹ See above, Ch.4, pp. 229-32 and 307-11.

⁵² This formula occurs two times: El 742 and Ph 239.

⁵³ This formula occurs two times: Ex 36 and Beo 2746.

⁵⁴ See above, Ch.4, pp.347-48.

⁵⁵ Many of these collocations are considered in Ch.4, pp.322-41.

broader and looser attraction between its terms. Beorht and frætwe establish two formulas themselves, "beorhte frætwe" and "frætweum beorhte," but these formulas are part of a wider collocation of these two words largely accounted for by the inclusion of beauty in the semantic field of frætwe.⁵⁶ Woruldgestreona, which is one instance of a widespread formulaic system, occurs three times but woruld and gestreon collocate 12 times, seemingly drawn together by the importance of worldliness to the semantic field of gestreon.⁵⁷ In a more complex example, the formulaic system illustrated by the formulas eorðan frætwe, foldan frætwe and landes frætwe shows lexical and semantic affinities, though not syntactic, with a variety of expressions found both in verse and prose. Both the formulas and the other instances of the collocation also share a conceptual link.⁵⁸ There are, in contrast, a number of formulas which account for all or nearly all the instances of two words collocating. These formulas are less common than the first type. Maðm and dyre collocate four times and always appear as the formula "deore madmas" (with only inflectional variations). This despite dyre and maðm seeming as semantically ordinary as beorht and frætwe, and dyre being a common word.⁵⁹ Likewise, frætwe and blican collocate five times always as a formula which appears to

⁵⁶ See above, Ch.4, pp.391-94.

⁵⁷ See above, Ch.4, pp.338-41.

⁵⁸ See above, Ch.4, pp.406-12.

⁵⁹ See above, Ch.4, pp.207-11.

involve a conceptual link with Christ in four cases.⁶⁰ The formulaic system "-hord onleac" occurs nine times accounting for all but one of the ten instances of the collocation of onlucan and hord; that sole exception appears in Riddle 42 and in a passage marked by wordplay.⁶¹ Chance, of course, plays an unquantifiable role in the contrast between formulas with and without a lexical context attested by other collocations of the same terms, and many formulas and formulaic systems fall between the two extremes. Yet the contrast remains, suggesting in some cases that the formula comes first, that is the collocation is maintained by the formula, and in other cases that the collocation comes first, that is, the formula arises out of a collocational context and is perhaps less conventional or formulaic. The distinction provides further evidence for the complexity of the feature labelled as the formula for which scholars have labored to find a single definition.

Alliterative pairs, one type of collocation, also provide further contextual perspective on the formula. Alliterative pairs are two alliterating words which occur on the same line; they can include formulas. Like many formulas they are useful for supplying alliteration but unlike the formula they have no metrical dimension. Many formulas are composed of two elements much more commonly found together as alliterative pairs. Sinc and seolfor collocate nine times and in eight cases they form an

⁶⁰ See above, Ch.4, pp.394-95.

⁶¹ See above, Ch.4, pp.294-98.

alliterative pair, while in only three instances do they appear in the formula "since and seolfre."⁶² Fæger and frætwe, which combine four times as the formula "fægre gefrætweð," appear 13 times as an alliterative pair.⁶³ Other formulas comprised of alliterating elements are not at all, or only rarely, part of a looser alliterative pair. Fæge and feorhhord collocate only in the half-line "fæges feorhhord," and feoh and frætwe only in the half-line "feoh and frætwe."⁶⁴ Both formulas occur only twice, and this type of formula, with two alliterating elements which do not also occur as an alliterative pair, are much rarer than those which do (at least as far as a study of the collocation of words for treasure can reveal). There are also instances where an alliterative pair never occurs as a formula. The most extreme example I have found is that of the collocation of sinc with sele and sæl, two distinct but morphologically related words, both meaning "hall." Sinc and sele collocate 11 times, nine of which alliterate, while sinc and sæl collocate three times and alliterate two times. Despite this high rate of collocation and alliteration the terms never occur together as a formula.⁶⁵ Heah and hord occur as an alliterative pair in eight of their 11

⁶² See above, Ch.2, pp.70-9 and Ch.4, pp.371-73.

⁶³ See above, Ch.4, pp.397-98.

⁶⁴ See above, Ch.4, p.251. "Feoh and frætwa" occurs twice: Gen 2130 and Dan 66.

⁶⁵ See above, Ch.4, pp.368-71.

occurrences without ever producing a formula.⁶⁶ In these three categories (an alliterative pair which is sometimes a formula, a formula with no related alliterative pairs and an alliterative pair which never occurs as a formula) chance is a factor. As with formulas and lexically related collocations, alliterative pairs which sometimes form a formula are the most common type, suggesting that the presence of an alliterative pair encourages the production of formulas, and that this factor should also be taken into account in assessing the conventionality of a formula. The three relationships between a formula and an alliterative pair, which parallel those found between formulas and collocations, also suggest a variety of possible factors involved in the creation of the formula, which definitions of the formula tend to suppress. These three distinctions have implications for the relationship between the formula and the inherited wordhoard, suggesting a fluidity rather than the existence of formulas simply as useful prefabricated units.

Some attention has recently been given to the role of context or theme as an element in the formula. Anita Riedinger has put forth a definition for the formula and the formulaic system which includes context as an element,⁶⁷ and a study of collocation provides ample evidence that context and theme are often associated with formulas. Riedinger's inclusion of context in her definition of a

⁶⁶ See above, Ch.4, pp.305-6.

⁶⁷ Riedinger 1985. See above, Ch.1, pp.21-22.

formula does not take into account the distinction between what have been termed in this study conceptual conventions and semantic conventions. Likewise, she does not distinguish between the possibilities of a context being inherent in a formula, and similar circumstances encouraging the use of similar language which might produce a formula. Moreover, it is more common to find formulas, many, but not all of which, are associated with a context, than to find a formula exclusively associated with a context. For example, "frætsum blican" is applied once without any reference to Christ, and the formulaic system of which "landes frætwe" is a part is almost always applied to features of nature, but several instances diverge from this pattern.⁶⁸ According to Riedinger's definition such contextless formulas are not actually formulas. Although it is difficult to agree with Riedinger's definition of a formula, it does raise the question of whether formulas with a contextual facet (termed a semantic or conceptual convention in this present study) represent a different feature of the style of Old English verse from that of a contextless formula. In any case, the different role of context in different formulas provides further evidence that formulas arise from a variety of stimuli which are difficult to contain in a single definition.

As previously noted in connection with conceptual conventions, treasure words often collocate with each other

⁶⁸ See above, Ch.4, pp.394-95 and 406-7.

but only rarely occur together as a formula;⁶⁹ the collocation of gold with the five treasure words of this study offered the sharpest example. Gold and various treasure words occurred in a wide variety of syntactical relationships but only gold and frætwe were ever linked in a formula -- and that occurred only twice, both in Judith. These high collocations of treasure words are generated by description which involved variation, enumeration, and other listings and references to the same or similar objects. The absence of either conceptual or lexical conventions associated with gold collocations may indicate that, even though descriptions of treasure were widespread in Old English verse, they had not become conventionalized set pieces. This further suggests that some situations, in this case extended descriptions, although a common feature of Old English verse, did not encourage the creation or maintenance of formulas. Moreover, the emphasis on gold in Old English verse reflects its archaic vision of treasure, and yet it is virtually absent from formulaic expressions, calling into question the expectation that formulas are survivals from earlier oral verse.⁷⁰ The absence of formulas associated with some of the most frequent collocations suggests that formulas would stand out; they were not such an ordinary

⁶⁹ See above, Ch.5, p.440 and Ch.4, gold and maðm, pp.213-19, hord and maðm, pp.222-24, laf and maðm, pp.224-26, hord and gestreon, pp.332, and beag and sinc, pp.342-44. Seolfor and sinc pp.311-15 are the exception.

⁷⁰ See above, Ch.4, pp.218-19.

feature of Old English verse that they are likely to have gone unnoticed by the Anglo-Saxons themselves.

The need to fulfill the requirements of alliteration and meter has been seen by some critics as key to the presence of formulas,⁷¹ but formulas can also participate in larger rhetorical patterns which may have as much influence on a poet's choice of particular words in a particular context as the formal demands of the verse.⁷² Some formulas seem to repeat in a passage without any reference to rhetorical effect. For example, see the repetition of "heortan gepohtas" (ChrIII 1047, 1055) within eight lines and in both cases alliterating with hord in Christ III.⁷³ A formula or formulaic system may contain a word which appears repeatedly in a passage without any apparent stylistic or thematic impact, as the x-gestreon-formula seems to occur three times within 12 lines in the passage preceding the "Lament of the Last Survivor".⁷⁴ In other instances, a case can be made for a formula recurring as part of the rhetorical design of a poem. The poet of The Phoenix repeatedly uses the same formula in the narrative and significatio sections of his poem, weaving together the two sections. In several instances, he uses the same formula for the symbol and the symbolized, adding a further

⁷¹ See especially Magoun 1953. See above, Ch.1, pp.10-12.

⁷² See especially Benson 1966. See above, Ch.1, pp.15-16.

⁷³ See above, Ch.4, pp. 287-88.

⁷⁴ See above, Ch.4, p.335.

level of sophistication to his use of conventional language.⁷⁵ Similarly, the poet of Judith uses the formulaic system behind "swiðmod since brytta" and "torhtmod tires brytta" along with the repetition of brytta in "morðres brytta" to advance the thematic concerns of the poem and not just to cope with alliteration.⁷⁶ In other cases, one element of a formula contributes to a larger rhetorical pattern; the genitival formula "madma mænigo" (Beo 41) functions as just part of the dense verbal repetition, including the repetition of maðm which marks the opening section of Beowulf and serves to link Scyld Scefing with his treasure.⁷⁷ As the previous chapter illustrates, the corpus of Old English verse includes ample evidence that formulas can be produced and used not solely as an aid to meeting the requirements of verse form but with a concern for style, structure and theme. We might ask, unanswerably, if a formula produced for rhetorical reasons is different from one produced for alliterative and metrical reasons.

From time to time it has been noted that a formula or formulaic system appears only in one poem, and although the cases where all but one instance of a formula are so limited indicate that chance is an important factor, this phenomenon nonetheless deserves more general comment. Examples of such formulas and systems include "syððan morgen com" (Beo 1077,

⁷⁵ See above, Ch.4, pp. 384-85, 394-95, 403-4, 410-11, 412-13, 414, 420-22.

⁷⁶ See above, Ch.4, pp.346-49.

⁷⁷ See above, Ch.4, pp.196-99 and 226-27.

1784, 2103, 2124), "preposition + hyra sincgifan" (Beo 1012, 2311), "since gewurpad" (Beo 1038, 1450), "feohtan sohtest" (WldA 18, 20), "lic/feorh -hord onleac" (GuthB 956, 1029, 1144), "hordwearda hryre" (Ex 35, 512), "hordwearda hælepa" (Beo 1047, 1852), "hord and rice" (Beo 2369, 3004) "golde gefrætewod" (Jud 171, 328), and botlgestreon- (GenA 1075, 1621).⁷⁸

A number of factors, which need to be considered before any conclusions can be drawn from the restricted nature of these formulas, set the different entries in this list apart from each other. The syntactic relationships among the elements may vary in commonness, so that some formulas are more likely to have been re coined independently of each other than to have existed as a ready-made unit in the mind of the poet; formulas such as "on hyra sincgifan" (Beo 1012) and "ymb hyra sincgyfan" (Beo 2311), which furthermore contains the common compound sincgiefa, might fall into this category.⁷⁹ Formulas which, although restricted, are part of a widely attested formulaic system such as botlgestreon-, "since gewurpad," and "golde gefrætewod" are less unusual than formulas or formulaic systems which occur only in one poem. Restricted formulas which include two elements not otherwise,⁸⁰ or only rarely, collocating, might be said to be more individual than those which are based around two

⁷⁸ Not all of these formulas have been discussed in detail in Ch.4.

⁷⁹ See above, Ch.4, pp.361-64.

⁸⁰ See above, Ch.4, pp.322 and 381-82.

elements which are frequent collocates of each other; contrast, for example, "golde gefrætewod" (frætwe and gold collocate 14 times) with "hordwearda hryre" (hord and hryre collocate only three times).⁸¹ The fact that a conceptual convention plays a role in some formulas but not in others may also distinguish different kinds of restricted formulas from each other. The formula "hord and rice" occurs twice, only in Beowulf; in both cases they are said to be controlled by a king, a context shared only by the other instances of the collocation which occur in Beowulf.⁸² In contrast, "hordwearda hælepa" also appears only in Beowulf but without a conceptual or semantic convention, as is also the case in the frequent instances where hord collocates with either weard or with hælep.⁸³ Hence "hordwearda hælepa" and "hord and rice" although both restricted to Beowulf may be different kinds of formulas. The two instances of "hordwearda hryre" both describe the death of the Egyptians: first as the Israelites flee from Egypt and second when the waters of the Red Sea close over them. The association with the death of an enemy is not shared by any other instance of the collocation of the words which make up this formula. These two instances of the slaughter of the Egyptians form a thematic envelope around the poem; hence we have an example of a similar situation, calling up similar

⁸¹ See above, Ch.4, pp.306-7 and 311-12.

⁸² See above, Ch.4, pp.307-11.

⁸³ See above, Ch.4, pp.304-5 and 311-15.

language, creating a repetition which could be interpreted as rhetorical.⁸⁴

The mention of "hordwearda hryre" in Exodus raises the issue of the stylistic context in which restricted formulas occur.⁸⁵ Some occur so closely together, not elsewhere and with seemingly little or no rhetorical impact, that they seem best interpreted as repetitious -- as instances where the poet may simply have got the formula stuck in his head; see, for example, "golde gefrætewod" (Jud 171, 328) and "feohtan sohtest" (WldA 18, 20).⁸⁶ Such ephemeral constructions might well be considered a different kind of formula from those which are more widespread in the corpus or even more widely separated in one poem. Other restricted formulas recur in the context of wordplay. The association of "-hord onleac" with the separation of the body and soul in Guthlac B which generates the formula "lichord onleac" twice and "feorhhord onleac" once has two features of relevance here. First, it shows the Guthlac B poet steeped in, if not aware of, the most conventional of Old English poetic diction, the "wordhord onleac" formula. But it also shows him capable of transforming what may have been a dead metaphor and formula by changing its context and extending it.⁸⁷ The impetus behind the creation of these restricted

⁸⁴ See above, Ch.4, pp.306-7 and 312-13.

⁸⁵ Watts touches on this question briefly (Watts 1969, p.92ff.).

⁸⁶ See above, Ch.4, pp.343-44.

⁸⁷ See above, Ch.4, pp.247-54, 259-63, 296-97.

formulas and thus their nature, differs radically from "feohtan gesohtest" which seems merely repetitious in Waldere A or from "botlgestreona," where the poet of Genesis A uses a formulaic system to produce a formula whose prime purpose seems to be to fulfill the alliterative and metrical requirements of the verse.⁸⁸

Restricted formulas arise for a number of different reasons -- many of which simply reflect the different reasons why formulas occur at all. Some may not be restricted in any way, and show only the role of chance, while others suggest that poets could coin their own formulas, or that, even if they did not create the formula themselves, their favoring of a particular formula indicates a potential source of variety in the diction of individual poets. In a tradition where formulas and formulaic systems were common, attesting to the absence of an aesthetic which was offended by formulas, poets may have experienced a freedom to create their own.

Looking at a formula in its lexical, alliterative, syntactic, conceptual and stylistic contexts shows how definitions of the formula tend to separate obviously related expressions. Frætwe and fæger provide a useful example: they occur together as a formula with metrical, alliterative, lexical, semantic and even conceptual identity; they occur together in half-lines which overlap alliteratively, metrically, semantically and conceptually with the formula but differ syntactically; they occur

⁸⁸ See above, Ch.4, pp.322 and 343-44.

together still as an alliterative pair but divided by the caesura; and they occur as a collocation but on separate lines. The formula does not have a separate identity, but rather shades off into different expressions with which it shares an affinity in one or more facets.⁸⁹

This study of collocation has also drawn attention to the fact that the debate concerning the definition of the formula has been almost entirely concerned with its formal characteristics, that is with the degree to which two units must share lexical, syntactic, metrical and semantic identity to be considered a formula. These definitions are not concerned with the different impetuses which lead to the use or creation of a formula. Furthermore, these definitions of a formula which are interested only with its form cannot take into account non-formal factors which influence their use and formation. For example, some formulas share a conceptual convention, and rhetorical concerns can lead to the use, and even to the coining of, formulas. This variety of possible impetuses, formal and non-formal, illustrates that even two instances of a formula defined in the most narrow of terms, that is as two identical half-lines, might not represent the same or even a related phenomenon. The clearest solution seems to be the adoption of a narrow definition of the formula,⁹⁰ but for discussion of formulas to include consideration of the ways,

⁸⁹ See above, Ch.4, pp.397-404.

⁹⁰ Such a definition is offered by Watts 1969 pp.90 and 144. See above, Ch.1, pp.19-20.

both in form and impetus, in which they are related, often closely, to other features of Old English poetic diction and style. That two instances of a formally identical formula can arise for entirely different reason suggests that the absence of a definition of a formula may be more fundamental than simply the product of scholarly disagreement. The way formulas shade off into different expressions, the strong possibility that poets could coin their own formulas, and the employment of both inherited and newly coined formulas for both formal (alliterative and metrical) and non-formal (semantic, thematic, stylistic) reasons point away from the formula being a single entity and towards it^{as} being an aspect of a wider formulaic mode. Such a formulaic mode reflects a fluid relationship between conventionality and originality; the presence of inherited formulas, which perhaps arose originally from the pressures of oral composition, led to there being an absence of a taboo against the formula, which in turn allowed poets to use the formula rhetorically or even to create new ones themselves.

Thus far the discussion of the formula has been concerned with factors and contexts involved in their creation and use and with the problem of definition. Regardless of how one defines the formula, one must agree that the lexical conventions of the formula and the formulaic system as defined narrowly by Watts do recur throughout the corpus of Old English verse. Two widely occurring formulaic systems allow not only for a

consideration of the interplay between the factors which give rise to formulas but also for a more detailed consideration of how poets work within the formulaic mode.

The formulaic system, based on an inflected compound of which gestreon is the second element, is attested 29 times, and incorporates 15 of the 17 compounds in which gestreon is the second element. All instances of the system scan as a Sievers type A, with only woruldgestreona showing resolution. In all instances the two elements of the system are part of a wider collocation, although the degree of identification and nature of association between the two collocates varies in each case. The range of relationships between the semantic fields of the two elements in the formulaic system are also wide; for example, heah, ær and long are light and common, maðm, hord, and sinc have semantic fields which overlap with that of gestreon, and there seems no obvious semantic reason why gestreon should appear with folc and beod. This range in the relationship of formula to collocation and in the semantic fields of the elements making up the formula shows that even formulas produced by the same system are not necessarily the result of a convergence of the same factors. In addition to the semantic variety within the formulaic system, there is virtually no (or only minimal) evidence for an association between any of its formulas and a conceptual convention.⁹¹

Eight of the formulas are restricted to one poem, these

⁹¹ See above, Ch.4, pp.316-17, 320-21, 322, 330-32, 332, 334-36, 336-38, 340.

include five hapax legomena; more substantial is the clustering of instances of gestreon formulas in Beowulf and Genesis A. The system appears in Beowulf 13 times and in Genesis A six times, pointing to the individual character of particular poets' wordhoards even when they are composing firmly within the traditional poetic diction. Yet these repetitions in Genesis A and Beowulf do not appear to be exploited for rhetorical effect.⁹² In fact, in the great majority of instances where the formulaic system occurs there is little evidence for its participation in any rhetorical device; the sole exceptions were the metaphorical use of heahgestreon in Andreas to denote Christ and his companions (And 362) and the possible rhetorical verbal repetition of woruldgestreon in the verse paragraphs of The Meters of Boethius (MB 8 and 14) in their repetition in Andreas (And 301-58).⁹³ This tendency appears to be a reflection of the lack of poetic weight of the simplex gestreon.⁹⁴

Although the instances in The Meters of Boethius and Andreas indicate the possibility for this formulaic system to attract a rhetorical response, they are not striking examples and might as well be interpreted as repetitive. The semantic diversity of the gestreon formulas and their lack of conceptual convention suggest that the prime impetus

⁹² See for example the repetition of gestreon compounds in the lines preceding the "Lament of the Last Survivor." See above, Ch.4, p.335.

⁹³ See above, Ch.4, pp.340-41.

⁹⁴ See above, Ch.4, pp.315-16.

behind these formulas was alliteration and meter. This formal usefulness coincides with a flatness of response to the formula as attested by their virtual absence from wordplay and rhetorical verbal repetition, which may indicate that such formulas and formulaic systems did not foreground the lexis involved.

Hord collocates with the verb onlucan on ten occasions all of which are metaphoric.⁹⁵ Nine of these establish the formulaic system "-hord onleac" in which word, mod, feorh and lic all appear as first elements. The system is associated with two contexts: six describe speaking and three describe either the body or the soul at the point of death. Five of the speaking instances involve the compound wordhord and one the compound modhord. "Wordhord onleac" occurs across the genres of Old English verse appearing in Andreas, Widsith, Beowulf and The Meters of Boethius and seems likely to reflect the ubiquitous need for a variety of ways of saying "he said." The "modhord onleac" variant further indicates the alliterative usefulness of the system.

The collocation of wordhord and onlucan in Riddle 42 might initially seem irrelevant to an understanding of the "-hord onleac" formulaic system. However, the fact that the only occurrence of the collocation apart from the system occurs in the riddles, which have shown a creative combination of a reliance on the conceptual conventions associated with collocations, formulaic systems and formulas

⁹⁵ See above, Ch.4, pp.236-76 and 294-98, for a full discussion of the "-hord onleac" formula and various -hord compounds considered here.

and wordplay suggests that in this case the formulaic system is more established than the collocation. The "wordhord onleac" formula overlaps with the half-line "wordhord onwreah" (Vng 3) used by the poet of Vainglory which scans alike and has a very similar context. Other than in "wordhordes cræft" (OrW 19), it is the only occurrence of wordhord outside of the "-hord onleac" system. The appearance of wordhord in the half-line "wordhord onwreah" illustrates that, like formulas, formulaic systems are not sharply delineated features of Old English style, since one could just as easily define a formulaic system *such as* "wordhord on-", which would exclude "modhord onleac."

The "-hord onleac" formulaic system evokes a variety of responses from Old English poets. Despite the spread of genres in which the system appears, Andreas accounts for half of its occurrences when associated with speaking, but the poet's use of hord for speaking cannot be described solely in terms of the formula. First he uses not just the formula but also the formulaic system and, more tellingly, he appears to have latched on to a more general association of speaking with the term hord since he also uses the half-line "hordlocan onspeon" (And 671) in this context. The poet of Andreas seems to have discovered in the conceptual association of hord and speaking a convenient way of producing expressions which alliterate on different letters, all conveying the notion "he said." His repeated use of this convenient solution does not result in either wordplay or rhetorical verbal repetition, but only lends a sense of

to
flatness his verse. The poet of Vainglory substitutes onwreon, usually associated with the revelation of theological truth, for onlucan, in a manner entirely appropriate to the themes of his poem and shows that semantic precision and formulaic language are not mutually exclusive features of Old English verse. The wordplay involved in the Guthlac B poet's manipulation of the "-hord onleac" system and in the riddler's use of the hord and onlucan collocation in Riddle 42, which have already been mentioned, provides evidence for a rhetorical response to the formulaic system. The contrast between the response to the "-hord onleac" system in Andreas, on the one hand, and Vainglory, Guthlac B and Riddle 42 on the other, reveals the presence of different stylistic sensibilities among poets, all of whom are working within the same inherited poetic diction, and forcefully makes the point that formulas can be a factor either for conventionality or a source of innovation. The contrast with the gestreon system suggests the importance of conceptual convention in making a formula or system rhetorically attractive.

IV. Verbal Repetition

Verbal repetition is a characteristic of Old English verse which occurs within single poems and includes passages dense with repeated words and separate passages which share lexis. At one end of the spectrum are many examples of a tolerance in Old English verse for repetitive language, which strikes the modern reader as redundant, that is bad

style. It must, of course, be admitted that in some of these cases there may be a point to the repetitions which have simply been missed. The occasional recurrence of words on the same or successive lines is an extreme example of repetitiousness. In Waldere A beag occurs twice on the same line with no apparent structural or thematic effect:

Forsoc he ðam swurde and ðam syncfatum,
beaga mænigo, nu sceal bega leas
hworfan fram ðisse hilde.

(WldA 28-30)⁹⁶

Collocations are also repeated in close proximity to each other, as for example sinc and gold collocating three times within 41 lines in Beowulf where they do not define a verse paragraph (Beo 1881-1922). Although their semantic source, in the poet's concern with the existence of men on earth, is clear, there seems no rhetorical point to the many repetitions of terms for world -- folde, molde, middangeard, woruld, land and eorpe in the Gifts of Men⁹⁷. While there is no question that they use appropriate language, two Parallelstellen in Beowulf which are built around a combination of alliterative pairs, formulas and conceptual conventions, do not involve any paralleling of events which contributes to the meaning of the poem; the first Parallelstellen (Beo 1050ff. and 1900ff.) links Hrothgar's rewarding of Beowulf's followers after Grendel's death with Beowulf's rewarding of the shoreguard, and the second (Beo 1866ff. and 2142ff.), Hrothgar's giving of gifts

⁹⁶ See also And 165.

⁹⁷ See above, Ch.4, p.327.

to Beowulf on his departure with Beowulf's account of how Hrothgar rewarded him for slaying Grendel's mother.⁹⁸ The presence of repetitiousness in so many different poems, many of which are among the most admired of Old English verse, brings into sharp focus the tolerance of, we might even think delight in, repetitiveness found in Old English verse.

At the other end of the spectrum are those cases where the repetition appears to participate in the rhetorical design of the poem. The repetition of æpele with line 1287 of Guthlac B applied to heavenly light, and then to Guthlac himself, fits in with three other instances of æpele in the same passage, and with the poet's concern to make clear that Guthlac is among the just and will soon be in heaven.⁹⁹

The 14 instances of frætwe in The Phoenix are intimately linked with the poem's theme and used by the poet to convey meaning not explicitly stated.¹⁰⁰ The dense lexical repetition in the opening section of Beowulf function to identify Scyld Scefing with his treasure.¹⁰¹ The repetition of the collocation of mod and hord in Homiletic Fragment II creates a neat verbal envelope which helps to define the structure of the poem and links the person addressed by the poem and Mary in a way which underscores the poem's message that Christ is the source of salvation. The verbal paragraph marked by the repetition of the

⁹⁸ See above, Ch.4, pp.200-2 and 212-13.

⁹⁹ See above, Ch.4, pp.386-87.

¹⁰⁰ See above, Ch.4, pp.384-85.

¹⁰¹ See above, Ch.4, pp.196-99.

collocation of sinc and suðmonna which structures the account of Abraham's rescue of Lot in Genesis A shows a complex interaction of verbal repetition and the influence of a source text.

This drawing together of examples of rhetorical verbal repetition also illustrates the diversity of types or manifestations of this feature of Old English verse and of the uses to which it is put. The chief contrast lies between verse paragraphs, defined either by repetitions at the beginning and end, or by dense verbal repetition and more widely separated lexical parallels. Verse paragraphs are numerous and, while all must create a logical unit, some poets exploit them primarily for structural purposes while others are more alive to their thematic potential. The Beowulf poet tends to use verse paragraphs as a structural device with which he creates the blocks that make up his poem.¹⁰² The poet of The Meters of Boethius handles verbal repetition in a similar fashion.¹⁰³ The occasional repetitions of brytta in Judith are thematically important but of little consequence structurally.¹⁰⁴ Other poets use verse paragraphs to convey or enhance the meaning of the poem in addition to their use as structural devices. We have seen an example of this in The Homiletic Fragment II, and a parallel example is found in the repetition of beorht

¹⁰² For example, see above, Ch.4, pp.196-99, 207-8, 217, 218-19, 226-28, 313-15, 337-38, 366-68.

¹⁰³ See above, Ch.4, pp.325-26 and 340.

¹⁰⁴ See above, Ch.4, pp.346-48.

in The Ruin.¹⁰⁵ In The Phoenix the poet exploits verbal repetition to advance the meaning and to support the structure of his poem by using it to relate narrative and significatio sections.¹⁰⁶ His frætwæ repetitions do not create verbal paragraphs but rather function as a string which runs throughout the poem, pulling it together. Verbal repetition occurs in poems with strong narrative such as Genesis A and Judith and in poems without an evident plot such The Wanderer or The Homiletic Fragment II. This diversity of types of rhetorical verbal repetition can exist within one poem as well as across the corpus.

Although rhetorical verbal repetition is by no means exclusive to conventionally associated lexis, there exists a striking convergence of verbal repetition, especially that which works effectively, and convention whether lexical or conceptual. Alliterative pairs, formulas, formulaic systems and conceptually related collocations are common in passages of rhetorical verbal repetition. In part, this finding is a circular argument and may seem to be predetermined by the parameters of this study, since it looks first for a convention attached to a collocation and then for how that convention is handled. However, the inclusion in this study of the collocations which were very frequent but apparently without lexical or conceptual conventions allows for some sort of comparison. Very little evidence for the

¹⁰⁵ See above, Ch.4, pp.265, 281-82, 293-94, 306-7, 356-57.

¹⁰⁶ See above, Ch.5, p.452.

involvement of these collocations in rhetorical verbal repetition could be found. Lexical and conceptual conventions may serve to foreground the words associated with them, making them more likely to draw the attention of the audience and thus more useful in rhetorical verbal repetition.¹⁰⁷ This tendency provides further insight into the nature of the relationship between convention and originality.

The problem of ambiguous verbal repetition -- that which is neither clearly repetitive nor clearly rhetorical in effect -- was touched on briefly in the first chapter, in terms of our not being able to distinguish between intention and accident, and in terms of the possibility that deliberate verbal repetition could result in either successful rhetoric or repetitiousness. Not all rhetorically successful repetition can be said to be intentional nor can all repetitive repetition be said to be unconscious. Having discussed the relationship of semantic conventions, conceptual conventions and lexis, a further source of the ambiguity involved in interpreting verbal repetition can now be considered. Owing to overlapping or complementary semantic fields, or to the presence of a conceptual convention, similar circumstances may call up

¹⁰⁷ Whitman comments on the way formulas foreground themselves. A formula, he writes, is "a poetic atom, a fragment of technically transformed speech whose structure is already that of art, not logic." (Whitman 1958, pp.110, as quoted, but with an error corrected, by Watts 1969, p.41.) Drawing on Whitman's work, Watts comments: "On a more complicated level, one may notice that formulae that in themselves are neutral acquire by repetition and context a symbolic weight" (Watts 1969, p.42).

similar language which can result in repetitiousness or rhetoric and be either accidental or intentional. The added non-semantic element of the conceptual convention often gives such repetitions a more felicitous effect than those involving just a semantic or contextual overlap between words. It is difficult to determine the source of the repetition of maðm, hord, bycgan and feorh applied to the death of Beowulf. These words appear when Beowulf tells Wiglaf that he has bought the treasure with his life for the advantage of his people and then gives instructions for his pyre. The same words appear more than two hundred lines later when the messenger informs the Geats that the treasure Beowulf bought with his life will burn with him on the pyre.¹⁰⁸ If the lexical repetition involved was noticed, it would serve to intensify the tragedy of Beowulf's death.

The ambiguity of so many instances of verbal repetition, and the presence of both repetitiousness and rhetorical verbal repetition in the individual poems, points to an integral relationship between the toleration of repetitiousness and the rhetorical exploitation of repetition, and suggests that they are not distinct phenomena but different facets of the absence of an aesthetic taboo against repetition. The notion of a continuum from repetitiousness to rhetorical verbal repetition which is variously manifested in different types of verbal repetition is valuable, because it pulls away from

¹⁰⁸ See above, Ch.4, pp.205-6.

extreme interpretations of repetition such as, on the one hand, Oral-Formulaic Theory which insists repetition is an indication of immediate oral composition and, on the other hand, interpretations of individual poems which see every instance of a repeated word, even if separated by many hundreds of lines, as conscious design.¹⁰⁹ The variety of types of rhetorical verbal repetition and the ambiguity of much verbal repetition suggest that it is a larger tendency rather than a defined feature or rhetorical device. The different manifestation of types of verbal repetition and the presence of a continuum between repetitiousness and rhetorical verbal repetition -- both features being found across the corpus and within individual poems -- are weighty examples of the stylistic variety possible in Old English verse and ^{argue} that that variety has its roots in a convergence of convention and rhetoric which can lead to both conventionality and originality. Again, as with conceptual conventions and formulas, the key to this lies with familiarity -- in the case of verbal repetition, created by language being repeated within a passage or within a poem, and functioning to bring language into the foreground.

V. Conclusion

Conceptual conventions, formulas and verbal repetition, features of Old English verse to which a study of collocation leads, all attest that Old English poetics

¹⁰⁹ Hieatt 1971 and 1975, Kahrl 1972 and Leyerle 1967. See above, Ch.1, pp.41-44.

involved an aesthetic which found pleasure in the familiar. On the whole, this points to word-choice as traditional rather than novel, pleasing by recognition rather than surprise and involves poets drawing on listener's familiarity with traditional motifs and reworking them into their own ^{that is, the poets,} narrative. The toleration for, and perhaps even satisfaction in, the familiar, which this aesthetic shows, could result in conventionality expressed in a homogeneity of theme and language throughout the corpus and in repetitiousness within individual poems. This aesthetic of the familiar may have grown out of the experience of oral poetry, in which the metrical and alliterative requirements of the verse form encouraged such features as conceptual convention, formulas and verbal repetition as an aide to or consequence of immediate oral composition. However, as these features exist in written Old English verse, they in fact draw attention away from the pressures of alliteration and meter on word-choice. The relationships of conceptual conventions and formulas with wordplay and the interrelationship of repetitiousness and rhetorical verbal repetition all point to familiarity as fundamental to the way language is brought into the foreground in Old English verse. Such language becomes essential to wordplay and rhetorical verbal repetition since it attracts the attention of both poets and audiences and becomes a source of innovation which remains nonetheless rooted in the recognition of the traditional. The originality and conventionality of Old English verse are thus closely related and both are facets of an aesthetic of the familiar.

Conclusion

Old English poems share a common aesthetic of the familiar, which involves a dynamic relationship between semantic, conceptual, lexical and stylistic convention and originality. By way of conclusion I shall consider the implications of the convergence of this aesthetic with the place of treasure in the poetics of Old English verse for the style, meaning and quality of individual poems.

A few caveats about the limitations of using a study of words for treasure as a way of approaching the style of individual poems must be made at the beginning of this discussion. The discussion is limited to those poems which use the five words this study analyzes and, in practice, to those poems which use such language with some frequency, since it is senseless to extrapolate from one instance of a treasure word to comment on the style of the poem in which it occurs. As a result, the poems in which treasure language is most prevalent become the focus of discussion, which may have a distorting effect on any conclusions drawn. In addition, some poems which might otherwise invite comparison are not commented on in any depth or at all. For example, Beowulf is not compared with other verse, also often termed heroic, such as Widsith and The Waldere and likewise, there is little ground on which to compare Genesis A and the other biblical poems, Exodus and Daniel. Finally, although a study of words for treasure does point to stylistic variety and some of the ways that variety was

manifested, the handling of treasure language does not necessarily give an accurate view of ^{the} style of any one given poem.

The centrality of treasure in Beowulf, which accounts for the high proportion of the appearances of the five treasure words examined, brings that poem to the heart of this study. Treasure is not only frequently mentioned in Beowulf, but is a powerful image, as the many interpretations of the poem which have focused on its meaning witness. The poet's use of verbal repetition reflects and conveys that power and centrality. In the opening section of the poem, the dense lexical repetition which identified Scyld Scefing with his treasure functions on two levels. It brings treasure to the fore from the outset of the poem and also emphasizes its symbolic value -- the worth of Scyld is reflected in his treasure. Repetitions of frætwe, separated by only nineteen lines, in the description of Hrothgar calling for the building and decoration of his hall and in the description of God ornamenting the earth with plants in "The Song of Creation" (Beo 81-98) relate those two events. The Sigemund digression (Beo 874-97) shares in that use of language with the account of Wiglaf plundering the dragon's hoard (Beo 2773-76).¹ The repetition of maðm, hord, feorh and bycgan in Beowulf's thanksgiving for the treasure and in the announcement that it will burn on his pyre lend a further

¹ See above, Ch.4, pp.299-300 and 411-12.

level of pointlessness to his death.² Such repetitions serve to draw parallels between otherwise separate episodes and digressions in Beowulf and depend on the use of conceptual convention, formulas and verbal repetition to foreground language. These instances show the artistry of the Beowulf poet and suggest ways in which it was achieved. These examples also reveal the poet using treasure language in a straightforward, explicit manner. Conceptual conventions and formulas draw attention to treasure language in Beowulf, although they are not used in a surprising way but rather in their most familiar form; the poet uses treasure language at face value, and does not attempt with metaphor to turn it into something else. The collocation of frætwan and folde (Beo 96) in "The Song of Creation" shows that it was not the case that the Beowulf poet did not know how treasure was handled in religious verse, or that it represents some sort of ur-poem untouched or barely touched by Christianity and displaying a primitive fascination with treasure.³ The poet uses style in a sophisticated manner to put literal treasure, as a charged and changing symbol, at the center of the poem.

Treasure language, though frequent in Genesis A, does not appear on a scale comparable with Beowulf, nor is it of thematic importance. Repetition involving treasure language relates to the immediate needs of the passage in which it occurs, rather than to the thematic concerns of the poem as

² See above, Ch.4, pp.205-6 and Ch.5, p.470.

³ See above, Ch.4, pp.411-12.

a whole. The immediacy of the poet's vision is apparent even in instances which show him at his most rhetorical.⁴ The repetition of the collocation of suðmonna and sinc helps to structure the account of Abraham's rescue of Lot, but has no further function. This repetition may have been encouraged by the repetition of substantia in the Vulgate and is part of a wider tendency of the poet to turn possessions into treasure.⁵ His elliptical reference to Enoch's death in terms of God not taking away his gestreon, to indicate that Enoch did not die but was taken into heaven, works because the poet so frequently describes death in terms of one man handing his gestreon over to his heir. While this instance reveals a poet with some eye for a rhetorical use of language, it also points up the dominant feature of repetitiousness in his use of gestreon.⁶ In most cases where the poet mentions gestreon it represents an addition to the biblical text which made no reference to either possessions or treasure. This is especially evident in genealogical contexts where he repeatedly expresses one generation replacing the last in terms of gestreon changing hands, when the Bible simply indicates that one man died and another man succeeded him.⁷ The place of treasure in Old English poetics encourages the poet to add treasure to his

⁴ This view contradicts that of C.B. Hieatt who see verbal repetition as indicating "a striking artistic and thematic coherence in Genesis A" (Hieatt 1980).

⁵ See above, Ch.4, pp.322, 323, 339, 379-80.

⁶ See above, Ch.4, pp.332-34 and Ch.5, pp.460-62.

⁷ See above, Ch.3, pp.131-32 and Ch.4, pp.322-23 and 339.

narrative, and because he makes nothing of these additions they pull the poem towards the conventional. Like the Beowulf poet, he handles the language of treasure without wordplay or metaphor, but his repetitions of treasure language are not part of an attempt to emphasize any thematic importance of treasure and are merely repetitious.

Judith shares with both Beowulf and Genesis A an obvious pleasure in the description of literal treasure. While Judith, like Genesis A, has a fast-moving, linear plot, the poet's use of treasure language shows that, like the Beowulf poet, he uses verbal repetition to advance the meaning of his poem. Treasure language juxtaposes Holofernes and God, with the former denoted as a "swiðmod sincebrytta" and "morpres brytta" and the latter as "torhtmod tires brytta."⁸ This involves not just lexical repetition, but also relies on a formulaic system to draw attention to the repetition; the effect serves to present Holofernes as God's enemy. Later in the extended descriptions of the treasure plundered from the Assyrians, the poet applies beorht, which carries a positive moral connotation, both to that treasure and to Judith to whom it is given.⁹ These repetitions, along with others, bring a spiritual level to the poem, by underscoring that it is not a battle between two warring nations, but between God's enemies and God's people. The focus on treasure, like the interest in battle, in Judith may seem to take a biblical

⁸ See above, Ch.4, pp.346-47.

⁹ See above, Ch.4, pp.204-5 and 357-58.

story and turn it into something more akin to secular Old English verse, but with verbal repetition, the poet converts the seeming materiality of the victory into a spiritual triumph; that is, he has used style to transform the Old English verse obsession with treasure to a religious end.¹⁰

Andreas has often been disparaged by critics, many of whom have viewed it as a poor attempt to use the heroic mode as a model for religious verse.¹¹ Treasure, while not central, does appear repeatedly, with the poet occasionally lingering over it, though without the lavishness of such descriptions in Beowulf. Furthermore, as in Beowulf, treasure, although literal, has a symbolic value, representing here the lure of the material world from which the saint tries to escape.¹² The Parallelstelle created by the two instances where Andreas explains to a disguised Christ that he has no treasure to offer him in return for his services may have some structural effect, but does not work, as ^{do}many ^{of the} repetitions in Beowulf, to juxtapose events and deepen the explicit meaning of the two instances by relating them to each other.¹³ The repetition of treasure lexis in Andreas' request to leave Mermedonia, and God's refusal to grant that request, can be interpreted as God

¹⁰ See above, Ch.4, pp.204-5, 346-48, 358.

¹¹ The potential incongruity of the heroic diction in Andreas has been addressed by many critics see for example, Brook 1961, pp. xxiii-xxvii, Brodeur 1968, pp.67-105, Hamilton 1975, Hill 1981, pp.71-73, Irving 1983 and Shippey 1972, pp.119-26.

¹² See for example, lines 1654-1658.

¹³ See above, Ch.4, pp.342-43

throwing Andreas' words back at him, but these repetitions still seem to teeter between effective rhetoric and repetitiousness.¹⁴ The interpretation of heahgestreon as referring to Christ and Andreas, rather than any treasure incongruously accompanying them, shows the Andreas poet engaged in metaphorical wordplay.¹⁵ But this is difficult to recognize, and runs counter to the usual tendency of poets to use gestreon and the widespread x-gestreon- formulaic system without rhetorical effect.¹⁶ The instances of verbal repetition or wordplay involving treasure language are consistently ambiguous in Andreas, requiring effort to interpret them in terms of rhetoric rather than repetitiousness and, as his fondness for the "wordhoard" formulaic system reminds us, repetition was a habit for this poet. A consideration of the poet's treatment of treasure language provides more concrete evidence to support the rather impressionistic opinions that Andreas is in some ways an unsuccessful poem. The convergence of treasure with some symbolic meaning and repetition, which can only be described as ambiguous, reveals the failure of the Andreas poet to use style to enhance the meaning of his poem, and suggests some of the reasons that the secular wordhoard of Old English verse sits uneasily with this poem.

¹⁴ See above, Ch.4, pp.352-53.

¹⁵ See above, Ch.3, pp.137-38 and 311.

¹⁶ See above, Ch.5, pp.460-62.

Guthlac B, like Andreas, is a saint's life in which treasure figures without being central; but here the two poems diverge. Much of the language of treasure in Guthlac B is used metaphorically and associated with a conceptual convention. These conventions do not lead to flatness; but rather elicit wordplay from a poet who uses treasure language associated with heaven and paradise for Guthlac's dwelling, and separates the "-hord onleac" from its usual association with speaking and uses it to describe death in terms of the release of the soul.¹⁷ He also handles literal treasure language with acute sensitivity to the meaning and tone of his poem. His application of the epithet sincgiefa to the saint is no slip into the secular, but, coming as it does from the mouth of Guthlac's servant, further points to his inability to understand the significance of the saint's life and death.¹⁸ The description of Guthlac as a treasure-giver, of his soul as a treasure, and of his hermitage transformed into treasure as he lies dying do not pull the poem towards the secular. Treasure is not at the center of Guthlac B, but its treatment shows the poet using style to re-cast conventional aspects of Old English poetics, rooted in the secular world, to convey meaning in a religious poem.

The lavish, almost Beowulfian descriptions of treasure in The Phoenix might well lead one to assume that the poet had become caught up in the conventional poetic enthusiasm

¹⁷ See above, Ch.4, pp.296-98, 386-87, 410-11.

¹⁸ See above, Ch.4, pp.362-63.

for treasure, and thus lost sight of his own subject matter. But its style shows that treasure is in no way superfluous to the religious message of the poem. Much of the treasure in the poem is metaphorical, and associated with religious conceptual conventions found widely in Old English verse. This language finds its closest parallels in the Judgement Day scenes of Christ II, Christ III, Christ and Satan and the Cynewulf signatures, reflecting the way religious verse, apart from biblical narrative, developed its own conventions to adapt treasure to its own themes and contexts. Neither the convention of extended treasure descriptions nor the use of religious conceptual conventions, however, draw the poem into conventionality. The poet, focusing around the 14 repetitions of frætwe, uses treasure lexis associated with metaphoric conceptual conventions in religious verse to describe literal treasure, thus juxtaposing the narrative and significatio sections of his poem in a manner reminiscent of the importance of juxtaposition to the meaning of Beowulf but uniquely suited to the needs of allegory in The Phoenix. The poet uses convention to foreground treasure, so that the poem almost glitters, but his sophisticated style converts a seemingly secular obsession with treasure into the sacred.

The Wanderer is a religious poem in which treasure is again of thematic importance but seems to remain oddly secular; hence the many early attempts to interpret the poem as a secular Germanic work into which a meddling monk has

interpolated Christian sentiments.¹⁹ The language of treasure is semantically, conceptually, lexically and stylistically highly conventional. The mind as a hoard topos, the only metaphorical treasure to appear widely in secular as well as religious verse, appears. Among other common treasure language, the poet uses the kenning "sinces brytta" and in two instances separated by only 9 lines the common alliterative pair sinc and sele.²⁰ Yet on closer inspection, the hord convention reveals subtlety. Hord collocates with bind, which recurs repeatedly in the poem, serving to link the exile's mental state with the weather and the landscape.²¹ This coming together of a conventional conceptual convention and verbal repetition creates one of the principal images of the poem. The level of sophistication indicated here prompts the reconsideration of the presence of such conventional and literal treasure language of which sinces brytta and sele are examples. This treasure, which, as in Andreas represents worldly pleasures, is more troubling here because of its prominence created by the repetition of highly conventional treasure language. In one possible reading of the poem, although the message of the poem is Christian, the pathos of the wanderer lies in the fact that he does not recognize this message, and thus

¹⁹ Stanley 1975 and Shippey 1972, p.54. However, the recent article by Hollowell shares the view of those earlier critics who would read the poem as purely Germanic (Hollowell 1983).

²⁰ See above, Ch.4, pp.348-49.

²¹ See above, Ch.4, pp.281-82 and 294.

treasure as no more than treasure, is appropriate in lines which convey not the thoughts of the poet but the thoughts of the wanderer. The prominence of secular treasure in The Wanderer proves to be entirely appropriate, and shows the poet using style to further the meaning of his poem.²²

His use of treasure language shows the poet of The Paris Psalter to be well-versed in both the lexical and conceptual conventions of Old English poetry. The eorpe and frætwe collocation appears in the context of creation;²³ two times he uses hord for the mind and the soul;²⁴ faced with argentum in his original, he produces the alliterative pair of sinc and seolfer;²⁵ the translation of thesaurus, when it refers to a treasury of wind, by goldhord is consonant with the almost invariable use of -hord compounds for metaphoric rather than literal treasure.²⁶ In general, his reliance on such convention does not make for precise translation but neither does it result in total loss of the meaning of the Latin. While the needs of the Old English verse form may dictate the use of the lexical and conceptual conventions, close translation does not allow for rhetorical verbal repetition or wordplay. Even the gōd and god repetitions which collocate with gestrienan in Psalm 83 and are potentially an instance of wordplay find their source in

²² See above, Ch.4, pp.230-32 and 277.

²³ See above, Ch.4, p.407.

²⁴ See above, Ch.4, pp.266-67 and 285-86.

²⁵ See above, Ch.2, pp.76-9 and Ch.4, p.373.

²⁶ See above, Ch.3, pp.102-5.

the Latin.²⁷ The relationship between the Latin original and The Meters of Boethius is less tight than that between the Old English and Latin psalters, since Alfred made conscious changes to both the prose and poetry of Boethius. But the Latin text, through the intermediary Old English prose translation, still exerts a strong pressure on the Old English poetic version. Like the versifier of The Paris Psalter, Alfred shows more than a superficial knowledge of his inherited wordhoard and its conventions. He uses the "wordhord onleac" formula and alliterates it with wis.²⁸ Sinc, seolfer and searo form an alliterating triplet, as they do elsewhere in the corpus, and gestreon collocates with woruld.²⁹ Although we found some attempts at verse paragraph,³⁰ on the whole the Latin original again precludes rhetorical verbal repetition or wordplay. Even the oddly negative moral connotation of maðm and sinc when collocating with beorht finds its source in Latin, although it may have more weight in Old English since it runs counter to the expected.³¹ The Paris Psalter, and to a lesser extent The Meters of Boethius, show translation acting as a straitjacket. The translators use inherited poetic diction and conceptual conventions in order to scan and alliterate but the need to follow the Latin original does not allow for

²⁷ See above, Ch.4, p.329.

²⁸ See above, Ch.4, pp.275-76 and 295.

²⁹ See above, Ch.4, pp.340-41 and 372-73.

³⁰ See above, Ch.4, pp. 326 and 340 and Ch.5, p.467.

³¹ See above, Ch.4, pp.355-56.

the kinds of manipulation of language, that is wordplay and rhetorical verbal repetition, which bring the conventions of Old English verse alive, for the ways in which Old English poets could achieve originality.⁴ The Paris Psalter and The Meters of Boethius highlighted the importance of style to originality, and to the ability of Old English poets to use the vernacular verse form successfully for different kinds of poetry. They showed us verse where the variable of style, as expressed in rhetorical verbal repetition and wordplay, was eliminated while the inherited wordhoard, with its conceptual and lexical conventions, remained. The Riddles tell the same story but from the opposite perspective. The variable of style returns, but extends to a willingness to disrupt the conventions of the inherited wordhoard. The Riddles are the only secular verse to use the metaphorical language of treasure extensively, apart from the topoi of the mind, body and soul as a hoard. Perhaps, given their learned and thus clerical nature, the riddlers were aware of the widespread metaphoric use of treasure language in religious verse. However, if it were not an inherent part of treasure language for the riddlers, their use of metaphor shows a stylistic adaptation of the norm of poetic form to suit the needs of riddling. Frætwe denotes natural phenomena as it does in religious verse, but because frætwe also appears literally in The Riddles, it remains useful for hiding a solution.³² The riddler's treatment of the mind-hoard topos in Riddle 42 shows an

³² See above, Ch.3, pp.157-59, 162, 177.

inclination, also found else where in The Riddles, not only to play with, but to break up, such lexical convention as the formula. As discussed, a recognition of the conceptual convention of the mind as a hoard is key to understanding the lines in which it appears, but the poet does not make this recognition easy; he pulls apart the formulas and lexical patterns associated with the convention, so that just the words and the conceptual convention remain.³³ This suggests either a scholarly knowledge of poetic language which took into account lexis and conceptual convention but not the formulas, which seems unlikely, or else it suggests wordplay. This type of wordplay is not unrelated to the wit of the poet of Guthlac B or the hinting of the poet of The Phoenix, in that it relies on a shared knowledge of conceptual convention associated with particular language, but The Riddles response to convention is much more radical.

This working from within convention is further manifested in ^{the} restricted diction and conventions of The Riddles, although this statement may initially seem self-contradictory. Frætwe and hyrst are used repeatedly to describe feathers and other natural coverings,³⁴ the cluster of the þær guman druncon formulas and related half-lines in The Riddles,³⁵ as well as the four instances of

³³ See above, Ch.4, pp.272-74, 277-80, 297-98.

³⁴ See above, Ch.3, pp.157-58 and Ch.4, pp.405-6.

³⁵ See above, Ch.4, pp.358-61.

silver, rare in Old English verse,³⁶ all indicate the individuality of the diction of The Riddles. But their repetition shows the riddlers establishing their own conventions. This tendency to create conventions shows The Riddles participating in the aesthetic of the familiar on which the poetics of Old English verse rest. However, extraordinary stylistic freedom allows the adaptation of conceptual and lexical convention to the very particular need of The Riddles to (simultaneously) convey and hide meaning.

A study of maðm, hord, gestreon, sinc and frætwe shows a wide range of Old English verse using the same conventions and sharing in the same aesthetic of the familiar. Such a poetics can lead to highly conventional poetry, as Andreas, Genesis A, The Paris Psalter and The Meters of Boethius attest. A superficial reading of the corpus might suggest that this conventionality extended to include virtually all Old English verse and that it leads to homogeneity. But as the repetitiousness of Andreas and Genesis A and the exclusion of rhetorical verbal repetition and wordplay from The Psalter and The Meters demonstrates, their flatness results from a failure to exploit the way convention draws language into the foreground. The successful exploitation of the conventions associated with treasure in Beowulf, The Wanderer, The Phoenix, Guthlac B, and The Riddles provides a sharp contrast. These poems show how the intimacy of the

³⁶ See above, Ch.2, pp.76-9.

relationship between conventionality and originality can allow a poet to work firmly within the conventions of Old English verse, while using style to adapt convention, often in strikingly original ways, to convey his own specific meaning.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

(1) Concordances, Computer Programs, Dictionaries, Databases, Grammars.

Bessinger, Jess B. and P.H. Smith, eds. A Concordance to the Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records. Ithaca and London, 1978.

Bosworth, Joseph, ed. An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary. Oxford, 1882-92. With a Supplement by T.N. Toller. Oxford, 1921. Enlarged Addenda and Corrigenda to the Supplement by Alistair Campbell. Oxford, 1972

Clark Hall, J.R., ed. A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary. 4th ed. with supplement by H.D. Meritt. Cambridge, 1960.

Dictionary of Old English Database. Dictionary of Old English, University of Toronto.

Fritzner, Johan, ed. Ordbog over det gamle norske Sprog, 2nd ed. Vol. 3. Christiana, 1896.

Glare, P.G.W., ed. Oxford Latin Dictionary. Oxford, 1982.

Grein, C.M.W., ed. Sprachschatz der angelsächsischen Dichter, revised by J.J. Köhler, assisted by F. Holthausen. Heidelberg, 1912.

Healey, Antonette di Paolo and Richard L. Venezky, eds. A Microfiche Concordance to Old English. Toronto, 1980.

Niermeyer, J.F., ed. Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus. Leiden, 1976.

Oxford Text Archive. Oxford University Computing Service.

Oxford Concordance Program. Oxford University Computing Service.

Simpson, J.A. and E.S.C. Weiner, eds. The Oxford English Dictionary. 2nd ed. Oxford, 1989.

Sweet, Henry, ed. The Student's Dictionary of Anglo-Saxon. Oxford, 1896.

(2) Primary Sources.

Adriaen, Marci, ed. S. Gregorii Magni: Moralia in Iob. CCSL 143, 143A, 143B. Turnholt, 1979-1985.

- Allen, Michael J.B. and Daniel G. Calder, eds. Sources and Analogues of Old English Poetry: The Major Latin Texts in Translation. Cambridge and Totowa, NJ, 1976.
- Blake, N.F., ed. The Phoenix. Rev. ed. Exeter, 1990.
- Brooks, Kenneth R., ed. Andreas and the Fates of the Apostles. Oxford, 1961.
- Chambers, R.W., Max Förster and Robin Flowers, eds. The Exeter Book of Old English Poetry. Bradford, 1933.
- Colgrave, Bertram and R.A.B. Mynors, eds. Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People. Oxford, 1969.
- Cook, Albert S., ed. The Christ of Cynewulf. Boston, 1900.
- Crawford, S.J., ed. The Old English Version of the Heptateuch, Ælfric's Treatise on the Old and New Testament and his Preface to Genesis. EETS 160. London, 1922.
- Doane, A.N., ed. Genesis A: A New Edition. Madison, 1978.
- Dunning, T.P. and A.J. Bliss, eds. The Wanderer. London, 1969.
- Finnegan, Robert Emmett, ed. Christ and Satan: A Critical Edition. Waterloo, Ontario, 1977.
- Godden M.R., ed. Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: The Second Series, Text. EETS ss 5. London, 1979.
- Godman, Peter, ed. Alcuin: The Bishops, Kings and Saints of York. Oxford, 1982.
- Gollancz, Israel, ed. The Cædmon Manuscript of Anglo-Saxon Biblical Poetry: Junius XI in the Bodleian Library. Oxford, 1927.
- _____, ed. The Exeter Book. Part I. Poems I-VIII. EETS 104. London, 1895.
- The Holy Bible. Douay Version. London, 1956.
- Keynes, Simon and Michael Lapidge, eds. Alfred the Great: Asser's Life of King Alfred and Other Contemporary Sources. Harmondsworth, 1983.
- Klaeber F., ed. Beowulf and The Fight at Finnsburg, 3rd ed. Boston, 1936, with first and second supplement, 1950.
- Krapp, George Philip, and E.V.K. Dobbie, eds. The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records. 6 vols. New York, 1931-53.

- Liebermann, Felix, ed. Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen. 3 vols. Halle, 1903-16.
- Lucas, Peter J., ed. Exodus. London, 1977.
- Lumby, J. Rawson, ed. Be Domes Dæge, De Die Judici, An Old English Version of the Latin Poem Ascribed to Bede. EETS 65. London, 1876.
- Mackie, W.S., ed. The Exeter Book. Part II. Poems IX-XXXII. EETS 194. London, 1934.
- Macrae-Gibson, O.D., ed. The Old English Riming Poem. Cambridge, 1983.
- Moffat, Douglas, ed. The Old English Soul and Body. Wolfeboro, NH and Woodbridge, 1990.
- Napier, Arthur, ed. Wulfstan: Sammlung der ihm zugeschriebenen Homilien nebst Untersuchungen über ihre Echtheit I Text und Varianten. Berlin, 1883.
- Pinsker, Hans and Waltraud Ziegler, eds. Die altenglischen Rätsel des Exeterbuchs. AF 183. Heidelberg, 1985.
- Plummer, Charles, ed. Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel, with supplementary extracts from the others. A revised text...on the basis of an edition by John Earle, M.A. 2 vols. Oxford, 1892-9.
- Riese, A., ed. Carmen de Ave Phoenice. In Anthologia Latina pars prima, 2nd ed. Vol. 2. Leipzig, 1906. Rpr. in Blake 1990, pp.92-96.
- Roberts, Jane, ed. The Guthlac Poems of the Exeter Book. Oxford, 1979.
- Robertson, A.J., ed. Anglo-Saxon Charters, 2nd ed. Cambridge, 1956.
- Rosier, J.L., ed. "'Instructions for Christians': A Poem in Old English." Anglia 82 (1964): 4-22; 84 (1966): 74.
- Sedgefield, Walter John, ed. King Alfred's Old English Version of Boethius De Consolatione Philosophiae. Oxford, 1899.
- Sievers, Eduard. Heliand. Halle, 1878.
- Squires, Ann, ed. The Old English Physiologus. Durham, 1988.
- Stevenson, W.H., ed. Asser's Life of King Alfred. Oxford, 1904.

- Sweet, Henry, ed. King Alfred's West-Saxon Version of Gregory's Pastoral Care. EETS 45. London, 1871.
- Tester, S.J. ed. Boethius The Consolation of Philosophy. Boethius The Theological Tractes [and] The Consolation of Philosophy. Cambridge, MA, 1973.
- Thorpe, Benjamin, ed. Ancient Laws and Institutes of England; comprising Laws enacted under the Anglo-Saxon Kings from Æthelbirht to Cnut...also, Monumenta Ecclesiastica Anglicana from the Seventh to the Tenth Century. London, 1840.
- _____, ed. Codex Exoniensis: A Collection of Anglo-Saxon Poetry. London, 1842.
- _____, ed. The Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church. The First Part, Containing the Sermones Catholici, or Homilies of Ælfric. 2 vols. London, 1844-46.
- Trautmann, Moritz, ed. Die altenglischen Rätsel (die Rätsel des Exeterbuchs). Heidelberg, 1915.
- Tupper, Frederick, Jr., ed. The Riddles of the Exeter Book. Boston, 1910.
- Weber, Robert, ed. Le Psautier romain et les autres anciens psautiers latins. Collectanea Biblica Latina. Vol. 10. Rome and Vatican City, 1953.
- Whitelock, Dorothy, ed. Anglo-Saxon Wills. Cambridge, 1930.
- _____, ed. English Historical Documents c. 500-1042. 2nd ed. London and New York, 1979.
- Williamson, Craig, ed. The Old English Riddles of the Exeter Book. Chapel Hill, 1977.

(3) Secondary Sources.

- Abels, Richard. "English Tactics, Strategy and Military Organization in the Late Tenth Century." In The Battle of Maldon AD 991, ed. D.Scragg. Oxford, 1991, pp.143-55.
- _____. Lordship and Military Obligation in Anglo-Saxon England. London, 1988.
- Anderson, Earl R. "Treasure Trove in Beowulf: A Legal View of the Dragon's Hoard." Mediaevalia 3 (1977): 141-64.
- Backhouse Janet, D.H. Turner and Leslie Webster, eds. The Golden Age of Anglo-Saxon Art. London, 1984.

- Barley, N.F. "Old English Colour Classification: Where do Matters Stand?" ASE 3 (1974): 15-28.
- Bartlett, Adeline C. The Larger Rhetorical Patterns in Anglo-Saxon Poetry. New York, 1935.
- Beaty, John O. "The Echo-Word in Beowulf with a Note on the Finnsburg Fragment." PMLA 49 (1934): 365-73.
- Benson, Larry D. "The Literary Character of Anglo-Saxon Formulaic Poetry." PMLA 81 (1966): 334-341.
- Bessinger, Jess B. and Robert P. Creed, eds. Franciplegius: Medieval and Linguistic Studies in Honor of Francis Peabody Magoun, Jr. New York, 1965.
- ____ and Stanley J. Kahrl, eds. Essential Articles for the Study of Old English Poetry. Hamden, CT, 1968.
- Bierbaumer, Peter and Elke Wannagat. "Ein neuer Lösungsvorschlag für ein altenglisches Rätsel (Krapp-Dobbie 17)." Anglia 99 (1981): 379-82.
- Bjork, Robert E. The Old English Verse Saints' Lives: A Study in Direct Discourse and the Iconography of Style. Toronto, Buffalo and London, 1985.
- Bonjour, Adrien. "Beowulf and The Beasts of Battle." PMLA 72 (1957): 563-73.
- ____. The Digressions in Beowulf. Oxford, 1950.
- Bonner, Joshua H. "Toward a Unified Critical Approach to Old English Poetic Composition." MP 73 (1976): 219-28.
- Borroff, Marie. Sir Gawain and the Green Knight: A Stylistic and Metrical Study. New Haven, 1962. Rpr. Hamden, CT, 1973.
- Brady, Caroline. "'Warriors' in Beowulf: An Analysis of the Nominal Compounds and an Evaluation of the Poet's Use of Them." ASE 11 (1982): 199-246.
- ____. "'Weapons' in Beowulf: An Analysis of the Nominal Compounds and an Evaluation of the Poet's Use of Them." ASE 8 (1979): 79-141.
- Brodeur, Arthur G. The Art of Beowulf. Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1959.
- ____. "A Study of Diction and Style in Three Anglo-Saxon Narrative Poems." In Nordica et Anglica: Studies in Honor of Stefán Einarsson, ed. Allan H. Orrick. The Hague and Paris, 1968, pp.97-114.

- Brooks, N.P. "Arms, Status and Warfare in Late-Saxon England." In Hill 1978, pp.81-104.
- Caie, Graham D. The Judgment Day Theme in Old English Poetry. Copenhagen, 1976.
- Calder, Daniel G., ed. Old English Poetry: Essays on Style. Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1979.
- _____. "The Study of Style in Old English Poetry: A Historical Introduction." In Calder 1979, pp.1-65.
- _____. "Theme and Strategy in Guthlac B." PLL 8 (1972a): 227-42.
- _____. "The Vision of Paradise: A Symbolic Reading of the Old English Phoenix." ASE 1 (1972b): 167-81.
- Campbell, J. "Bede's Reges and Principes." In Campbell 1986, pp.85-98. (1986a).
- _____. Essays in Anglo-Saxon History. London, 1986.
- _____. "Early Anglo-Saxon Society According to Written Sources." In Campbell 1986, pp.131-38. (1986b).
- _____. "Observations on English Government from the Tenth to the Twelfth Century." In Campbell 1986, pp.155-70. (1986c).
- Campbell, J.J. "Adaptations of Classical Rhetoric in Old English Literature." In Medieval Eloquence: Studies in the Theory and Practice of Medieval Rhetoric, ed. J.J. Murphy. Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1978, pp.173-97.
- _____. "Knowledge of Rhetorical Figures in Anglo-Saxon England." JEGP 66 (1967): 1-20.
- _____. "Learned Rhetoric in Old English Poetry." MP 63 (1966): 189-201.
- Carr, Charles T. Nominal Compounds in Germanic. London, 1939.
- Cassidy, Frederic G. "How Free was the Anglo-Saxon Scop?" In Bessinger/Creed 1965, pp.75-85.
- Chaney, William A. The Cult of Kingship in Anglo-Saxon England: The Transition from Paganism to Christianity. Manchester, 1970.
- Charles-Edwards, T.M. "The Distinction between Land and Moveable Wealth in Anglo-Saxon England." In Medieval Settlement: Continuity and Change, ed. P.H. Sawyer. London, 1976, pp.180-87.

- Cherniss, Michael D. Ingeld and Christ. The Hague and Paris, 1972.
- Clark, George. "Beowulf's Armor." ELH 32 (1965a): 409-41.
- . "The Traveler Recognizes His Goal: a Theme in Anglo-Saxon Poetry." JEGP 64 (1965b): 645-59.
- Claude, Dietrich. "Beiträge zur Geschichte der frühmittelalterlichen Königsschätze." EMS 7 (1973): 5-24.
- Clemoes, P.A.M. "Mens absentia cogitans in The Seafarer and The Wanderer." In Medieval Literature and Civilization: Studies in Memory of G.N. Garmonsway, eds., Derek Pearsall and Ronald A. Waldron. London, 1969.
- Conder, Edward I. "Unnyt Gold in Beowulf 3168." PQ 52 (1973): 296-99.
- Cornell, Muriel. "Varieties of Repetition in Old English Poetry, Especially in The Wanderer and The Seafarer." Neophil 65 (1981): 292-307.
- Cramp, R. "Beowulf and Archaeology." Medieval Archaeology 1 (1957). Rpr. in The Beowulf Poet: A Collection of Critical Essays, ed. D.K. Fry. Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1968, pp.114-40.
- Creed, Robert P. "The Making of an Anglo-Saxon Poem." ELH 26 (1959): 445-54. Rpr. in Bessinger/Kahrl 1968, pp.363-73.
- , ed. Old English Poetry: Fifteen Essays. Providence, RI, 1967.
- . "On the Possibility of Criticizing Old English Poetry." TSL 3 (1961): 97-106.
- Crépin, André. Poétique vieil-anglaise: Désignation du Dieu chrétien. Unpublished dissertation. Paris and Amiens, 1969.
- Cronan, Dennis. "Alliterative Rank in Old English Poetry." SN 58 (1986): 145-158.
- Cross, James E. "'Ubi Sunt' Passages in Old English -- Sources and Relationships." VSL (1956): 25-44.
- Crowne, David K. "The Hero on the Beach: An Example of Composition by Theme in Anglo-Saxon Poetry." NM 61 (1960): 362-72.

- Dane, J.A. "Finnsburgh and Iliad IX: a Greek Survival of the Medieval Germanic Oral-Formulaic Theme, the Hero on the Beach." Neophil 66 (1982): 443-9.
- Davidson, H.R. Ellis. The Sword in Anglo-Saxon England: Its Archaeology and Literature. Oxford, 1962.
- Diamond, Robert E. The Diction of the Anglo-Saxon Metrical Psalms. The Hague, 1963.
- . "Theme as Ornament in Anglo-Saxon Poetry." PMLA 76 (1961): 461-68. Rpr. in Bessinger/Kahrl 1968, pp.374-92.
- Dodwell, C.R. Anglo-Saxon Art: A New Perspective. Manchester, 1982.
- Donahue, Charles. "Potlatch and Charity: Notes on the Heroic in Beowulf." In Nicholson/Frese 1975, pp.23-40.
- Ferguson, Mary Heyward. "The Structure of the Soul's Address to the Body in Old English." JEGP 69 (1970): 72-80.
- Firth, J.R. "Modes and Meaning." Essays and Studies of The English Association. N.S. 4 (1951): 118-49. Rpr. in J.R.Frith, Papers in Linguistics 1934-1951. London, 1957, pp.190-215.
- . "A Synopsis of Linguistic Theory, 1930-1955." Studies in Linguistic Analysis, (Special Volume of the Philological Society), Oxford, 1957, pp.1-31. Rpr. in Selected Papers of J.R. Frith 1952-59, ed. F.R. Palmer. London, 1968, pp.168-205.
- Foley, John Miles. "Formula and Theme in Old English Poetry." In Oral Literature and the Formula, eds. Benjamin A. Stolz and Richard S. Shannon. Ann Arbor, MI, 1976, pp. 207-32.
- . "Literary Art and Oral Tradition in Old English and Serbian Poetry." ASE 12 (1983): 183-214.
- . "The Oral Theory in Context." In Foley 1981, pp. 27-122. (1981a)
- , ed. Oral Traditional Literature: A Festschrift for Albert Bates Lord. Columbus, OH, 1981.
- . "Tradition-dependent and -independent Features in Oral Literature: a Comparative View of the Formula." In Foley 1981, pp.262-81. (1981b)
- Frank, Roberta. "Beowulf and Sutton Hoo: The Odd Couple." In Kendall/Wells 1992, pp.47-64.

- _____. "Some Uses of Paronomasia in Old English Scriptural Verse." Speculum 47 (1972): 207-226.
- _____. Wordplay in Old English Poetry. Unpublished disseration. Harvard, 1968.
- Fry, Donald K. "Old English Formulas and Systems." ES 48 (1967): 193-204.
- _____. "Old English Formulaic Themes and Type-scenes." Neophil 52 (1968a): 48-54.
- _____. "Some Aesthetic Implications of a New Definition of the Formula." NM 69 (1968b): 516-22.
- _____. "Variation and Economy in Beowulf." MP 65 (1968c): 353-356.
- Gardner, Thomas. "How Free was the Beowulf Poet?" MP 71 (1973): 111-127.
- Gleißner, Reinhard. Die "zweideutigen" altenglischen Rätsel des Exeter Book in ihrem zeitgenössischen Kontext. Frankfurt, 1984.
- Göbel, Helga. Studien zu den altenglischen Schriftwesenrätseln. Würzburg, 1980.
- Gober, Wallace G. "Andreas, Lines 360-362." NM 73 (1972): 672-74.
- Godden, M.R. "Anglo-Saxons on the Mind." In Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England: Studies Presented to Peter Clemoes, eds. Michael Lapidge and Helmut Gneuss. Cambridge, 1985. pp.271-98.
- _____. "Literary Language." In The Cambridge History of the English Language, Volume I: The Beginnings to 1066, ed. Richard M. Hogg. Cambridge, 1992, pp.490-535.
- Goldsmith, Margaret E. The Mode and Meaning of Beowulf. London, 1970.
- Greenfield, Stanley B. "The Canons of Old English Criticism." ELH 34 (1967a): 141-55.
- _____. "The Formulaic Expression of the Theme of 'Exile' in Anglo-Saxon Poetry." Speculum 30 (1955):200-6. Rpr. in Bessinger/Kahrl 1968, pp.352-62.
- _____. "'Gifstol" and Goldhoard in Beowulf." In Old English Studies in Honour of John C. Pope, eds. Robert B. Burlin and Edward B. Irving, Jr. Toronto and Buffalo, 1974, pp.107-17.

- _____. "Grendel's Approach to Heorot: Syntax and Poetry." In Creed 1967, pp. 275-84. (1967b)
- _____. "Syntactic Analysis and Old English Poetry." NM 64 (1963): 373-78.
- _____ and Daniel G. Calder. A New Critical History of Old English Literature. New York and London, 1986.
- Grierson, Philip. "Commerce in the Dark Ages: A Critique of the Evidence." TRHS, 5th series, 9 (1959): 123-40.
- _____. "La Fonction Sociale de la Monnaie en Angleterre aux VIIe-VIIIe Siècles." Settimane 8 (1961): 341-85.
- Griffith, Mark S. "Convention and Originality in the Old English 'Beasts of Battle' Typescene." ASE 22 (1993): 179-99.
- _____. The Method of Composition of Old English Verse Translation with Particular Reference to the Metres of Boethius, The Paris Psalter and Judgment Day II. Unpublished disseration. Oxford, 1984.
- Grimm, P. Beiträge zum Pluralgebrauch in der altenglischen Poesie. Halle, 1912.
- Hamilton, David. "Andreas and Beowulf: Placing the Hero." In Nicholson/Frese 1975, pp.81-98.
- _____. "The Diet and Digestion of Allegory in Andreas." ASE 1 (1972): 147-58.
- Heinemann, F.J. "Judith 236-291a: a Mock Heroic Approach-to-Battle Type-Scene." NM 71 (1970): 83-96.
- Hieatt, Constance B. "Divisions: Theme and Structure of Genesis A." NM 81 (1980): 243-51.
- _____. "Dream Frame and Verbal Echo in The Dream of the Rood." NM 72 (1971): 251-63.
- _____. "Envelope Patterns and the Structure of Beowulf." English Studies in Canada 1 (1975): 249-65.
- Hill, David, ed. Ethelred the Unready: Papers from the Millenary Conference. BAR British Series 59. Oxford, 1978.
- Hill, Joyce. "The Soldier of Christ in Old English Prose and Poetry." LeedsSE 12 (1981): 57-80.
- Hill, Thomas D. "The Falling Leaf and Buried Treasure: Two Notes on the Imagery of 'Solomon and Saturn' 314-22." NM 71 (1970): 571-76.

- Hinton, David. Archaeology, Economy and Society: England from the Fifth to the Fifteenth Century. London, 1990.
- _____. A Catalogue of the Anglo-Saxon Ornamental Metalwork, 700-1100, in the Department of the Antiquities Ashmolean Museum. Oxford, 1974.
- _____. "Late Saxon Treasure and Bullion." In D. Hill 1978, pp.135-58.
- Hollister, C. Warren. "The Origins of the English Treasury." EHR 93 (1978): 262-73.
- Hollowell, Ida M. "On the Identity of the Wanderer." In The Old English Elegies: New Essays in Criticism and Research, ed. Martin Green. Rutherford, NJ and London, 1983, pp.82-95.
- Hoops, Johannes. Beowulfstudien. AF 74. Heidelberg, 1932.
- Howren, R. "A Note on Beowulf 168-9." MLN 71 (1956): 317-18.
- Ingersoll, S.M. Intensive and Restrictive Modification in Old English. AF 124. Heidelberg, 1978.
- Irving, Edward B., Jr. "Image and Meaning in the Elegies." In Old English Poetry: Fifteen Essays, ed. Robert P. Creed. Providence, 1967, pp.153-66.
- _____. "A Reading of Andreas: the Poem as Poem." ASE 12 (1983): 215-37.
- Issacs, Neil D. Structural Principles in Old English Poetry. Knoxville, TN, 1968.
- Kahrl, Stanley J. "Feuds in Beowulf: A Tragic Necessity?" MP 69 (1972): 189-98.
- Kail, J. "Über die Parallelstellen in der angelsächsischen Poesie." Anglia 12 (1889): 21-40.
- Kay, Donald. "Riddle 20: A Revaluation." TSL 13 (1968): 133-39.
- Kendall, Calvin B. and Peter S. Wells, eds. Voyage to the Other World: The Legacy of Sutton Hoo. Minneapolis, 1992.
- Kintgen, Eugene R. "Echoic Repetition in Old English Poetry, Especially The Dream of the Rood." NM 75 (1974): 202-23.
- _____. "Lif, Lof, Leof, Lufu, and Geleafa in Old English Poetry." NM 78 (1977): 309-16.

- _____. "Wordplay in The Wanderer." Neophil 59 (1975): 119-27.
- Klaeber, F. "Die christlichen Elemente im Beowulf." Anglia 35 (1911-12): 111-36, 249-70, 453-82 and 36 (1912): 169-99.
- Lawrence, Roy F. "The Formulaic Theory and Its Application to English Alliterative Poetry." In Essays on Style and Language: Linguistic and Critical Approaches to Literary Style, ed. Roger Fowler. London, 1966.
- Lehmann, W.P. and Virginia F. Dailey. The Alliterations of the Christ, Guthlac, Elene, Juliana, Fates of the Apostles, Dream of the Rood. Austin, TX, 1960.
- Leisi, Ernst. "Gold und Manneswert im Beowulf." Anglia 71 (1952): 259-73.
- Leyerle, John. "The Interlace Structure of Beowulf." UTO 37 (1967): 1-17.
- Loyn, H.R. The Governance of Anglo-Saxon England 500-1087. London, 1984.
- _____. "The King and the Structure of Society in Late Anglo-Saxon England." History 42 (1957): 87-100.
- Lyons, J. Semantics. Vol. 1. Cambridge, 1977.
- Madicott, J.R. "Trade, Industry and the Wealth of King Alfred." PP 123 (1989): 3-51.
- Magoun, Francis P., Jr. "Oral-Formulaic Character of Anglo-Saxon Narrative Poetry." Speculum 28 (1953): 446-67. Rpr. in Nicholson 1963, pp.189-221.
- _____. "The Theme of the Beasts of Battle in Anglo-Saxon Poetry." NM 56 (1955): 81-90.
- Marquardt, Hertha. Die altenglischen Kenningar: Ein Beitrag zur Stilkunde altgermanischer Dichtung. Schriften der Königsberger Gelehrten Gesellschaft, Geisteswissenschaftliche Klasse, 14.3 (Halle, 1938), pp.103-340.
- Metcalf, Allan A. Poetic Diction in the Old English Meters of Boethius. The Hague and Paris, 1973.
- Mitchell, Bruce. "The Dangers of Disguise: Old English Texts in Modern Punctuation." RES 31 (1980): 385-413.
- _____ and Fred C. Robinson. A Guide to Old English. 5th ed. Oxford, 1992.

- Nelson, Janet. "Wealth and Wisdom: The Politics of Alfred the Great." In Kings and Kingship, ed. J. Rosenthal. Acta 11 (1986): 31-52.
- Nicholson, Lewis, E., ed. An Anthology of Beowulf Criticism. Notre Dame, 1963.
- _____. and Dolores Warwick Frese, eds. Anglo-Saxon Poetry: Essays in Appreciation For John C. McGalliard. Notre Dame and London, 1975.
- Niles, John D. Beowulf: The Poem and Its Traditions. Cambridge, MA and London, 1983.
- _____. "Formula and Formulaic System in Beowulf." In Foley 1981, pp. 394-415.
- _____. "Ring Composition and the Structure of Beowulf." PMLA 94 (1979): 924-35.
- North, Richard. Pagan Words and Christian Meanings. Amsterdam and Atlanta, 1991.
- Orton, Peter R. "Disunity in the Vercelli Book Soul and Body." Neophil 63 (1979a): 450-60.
- _____. "The Old English Soul and Body: A Further Examination." MAE 48 (1979b): 173-97.
- Paetzel, Walther. Die Variationen in der altgermanischen Alliterationspoesie. Berlin, 1913.
- Palmer, F.R. Semantics, 2nd ed. Cambridge, 1981.
- Peters, Leonard J. "The Relationship of the Old English Andreas to Beowulf." PMLA 66 (1951): 844-63.
- Quirk, Randolph. "Poetic Language and Old English Metre." In Early English and Norse Studies, eds. Arthur Brown and Peter Foote. London, 1963, pp.150-71.
- Reichl, Karl. "Formulaic Diction in Old English Epic Poetry." In Traditions of Heroic and Epic Poetry, Volume Two: Characteristics and Techniques, ed. J.B. Hainsworth. London, 1989, pp.42-70.
- Reinhard, Mariann. On the Semantic Relevance of the Alliterative Collocations in "Beowulf." Schweizer Anglistische Arbeiten 92. Bern, 1976.
- Renoir, Alain. A Key to Old Poems: The Oral Formulaic Approach to the Interpretation of West-Germanic Verse. University Park, PA and London, 1988.
- Richardson, J. "The Critic on the Beach." Neophil 71 (1987): 114-19.

Riedinger, Anita. "The Old English Formula in Context." Speculum 60 (1985): 294-317.

Robinson, Fred C. Beowulf and the Appositive Style. Knoxville, TN, 1985.

———. "Two Aspects of Variation in Old English Poetry." In Calder 1979, pp.127-45.

———. Variation: A Study in the Diction of Beowulf. Unpublished dissertation. University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill. 1961.

Rosier, James L. "Death and Transfiguration: Guthlac B." In Philological Essays: Studies in Old and Middle English Language and Literature in Honour of Herbert Dean Meritt, ed. James L. Rosier. The Hague and Paris, 1970, pp.82-92.

———. "Generative Composition in Beowulf." ES 58 (1977): 193-203.

Sarrazin, Gregor. 'Beowulf'-studien. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte altgermanischer Sage und Dichtung. Berlin, 1888.

———. "Parallelstellen in altenglischer Dichtung." Anglia 14 (1892): 186-92.

Sawyer, P.H. Ford Lectures in History. 26 March 1993.

———. "Kings and Merchants." In Early Medieval Kingship, eds. P.H. Sawyer and I.N. Wood. Leeds, 1977, pp.139-58.

———. "The Wealth of England in the Eleventh Century." TRHS, 5th series, 15 (1965): 145-64.

Schaar, Claes. Critical Studies in the Cynewulf Group. Lund Studies in English 17. Lund, 1949. Rpr. New York, 1967.

———. "On a New Theory of Old English Poetic Diction." Neophil 40 (1956): 301-5.

Schabram, Hans. "Andreas 303A und 360B-362A Bemerkungen zur Zählebigkeit in philologischer Fehltritteile." Geschichtlichkeit und Neuanfang im sprachlichen Kunstwerk: Studien zur englischen Philologie zu Ehren von Fritz N. Schulze. Eds. Peter Erlebach, Wolfgang G. Müller and Klaus Reuter. Tübingen, 1981, pp.39-47.

———. "Andreas und Beowulf: Parallelstellen als Zeugnis für literarische Abhängigkeit." Nachrichten der Giessener Hochschulgesellschaft 34 (1965): 201-18.

- Schoenfeld, Edward and Schulman, Jana. "Sutton Hoo: An Economic Assessment." In Kendall/Wells 1992, pp.15-27.
- Shippey, T.A. Old English Verse. London, 1972.
- Sinclair, J. McH. "Beginning the Study of Lexis." In In Memory of J.R. Frith, eds. C.E. Bazell, J.C. Catford, M.A.K. Halliday and R.H. Robbins. London, 1966, pp.410-30.
- Soland, Magrit. Altenglische Ausdrücke für "Lieb" und "Seele:" eine semantische Analyse. Zurich, 1979.
- Spufford, Peter. Money and Its Use in Medieval Europe. Cambridge, 1988.
- Stanley, Eric G. "Old English Poetic Diction and the Interpretation of The Wanderer, The Seafarer, and The Penitent's Prayer." Anglia 73 (1955), pp. 413-66. Rpr. in Bessinger/Kahrl 1968, pp.458-514.
- _____. Review of The Seafarer edited by Ida L. Gordon. MÆ 31 (1962): 54-60.
- _____. "Heroic Aspects of the Exeter Book Riddles." In Prosody and Poetics in the Early Middle Ages: Essays in Honour of C.B. Hieatt, ed. M. Jane Toswell. Toronto, 1995.
- _____. The Search for Anglo-Saxon Paganism. Cambridge and Totowa, NJ, 1975.
- _____. "Studies in the Prosaic Vocabulary of Old English Verse." NM 72 (1971): 385-418.
- Stevick, Robert D. "The Oral-Formulaic Analyses of Old English Verse." Speculum 37 (1962): 382-89. Rpr. in Bessinger/Kahrl 1968, pp.393-403.
- Storms, G. Compounded Nouns of Peoples in Beowulf: A Study in the Diction of a Great Poem. Utrecht and Nijmegen, 1957.
- Swanton, Michael. English Literature Before Chaucer. London, 1987.
- Talentino, Arnold V. A Study of Compound Hapax Legomena in Old English Poetry. Unpublished disseration. State University of New York, Binghamton, 1970.
- Taylor, Paul Beekman. "Heorot, Earth, and Asgard: Christian Poetry and Pagan Myth." TSL 11 (1966): 119-30.
- _____. "Themes of Death in Beowulf." In Creed 1967, pp. 249-74.

- Turville-Petre, Joan. Review of Cherniss 1972. MAE 44 (1975): 280-82.
- Tyler, Elizabeth M. "Style and Meaning in Judith." NQ 237 (1992): 16-19.
- Vilmar, A.F.C. Geschichte der deutschen National-Literatur, 5th ed. Marburg, 1852.
- Watts, Ann Chalmers. The Lyre and the Harp: A Comparative Reconsideration of Oral Tradition in Homer and Old English Epic Poetry. New Haven, 1969.
- Webster, Leslie and Janet Backhouse, eds. The Making of England: Anglo-Saxon Art and Culture AD 600-900. London, 1991.
- Wentersdorf, Karl P. "Observations on The Ruin." MAE 46 (1977): 171-80.
- Whallon, William. Formula, Character, and Context: Studies in Homeric, Old English and Old Testament Poetry. Cambridge, MA, 1969.
- _____. "Formulas for Heroes in the Iliad and in Beowulf." MP 63 (1965): 95-104.
- Whitman, Cedric H. Homer and the Heroic Tradition. Cambridge, MA, 1958.
- Whitman, F.H. "Significant Motifs in Riddle 53." MAE 4 (1977): 1-11.
- Williams, Edith Whitehurst. "What's So New About the Sexual Revolution? Some Comments on Anglo-Saxon Attitudes toward Sexuality in Women Based on Four Exeter Book Riddles." In New Readings on Women in Old English Literature eds. Helen Damico and Alexandra Hennessey Olsen. Bloomington and Indianapolis, 1990. pp.137-45.
- Wilson, David M. Anglo-Saxon Ornamental Metalwork 700-1100 in the British Museum. London, 1964.
- Wimsatt, W.K. The Verbal Icon. Lexington, KY, 1954.
- Wormald, Patrick. "Bede, 'Beowulf' and the Conversion of the Anglo-Saxon Aristocracy." In Bede and Anglo-Saxon England, ed. Robert T. Farrell. BAR, British Series 46. Oxford, 1979, pp.32-95.
- Wyld, Henry Cecil. "Diction and Imagery in Anglo-Saxon Poetry." Essays and Studies 11 (1925): 49-91. Rpr.in Bessinger/Kahrl 1968, pp.183-227.