

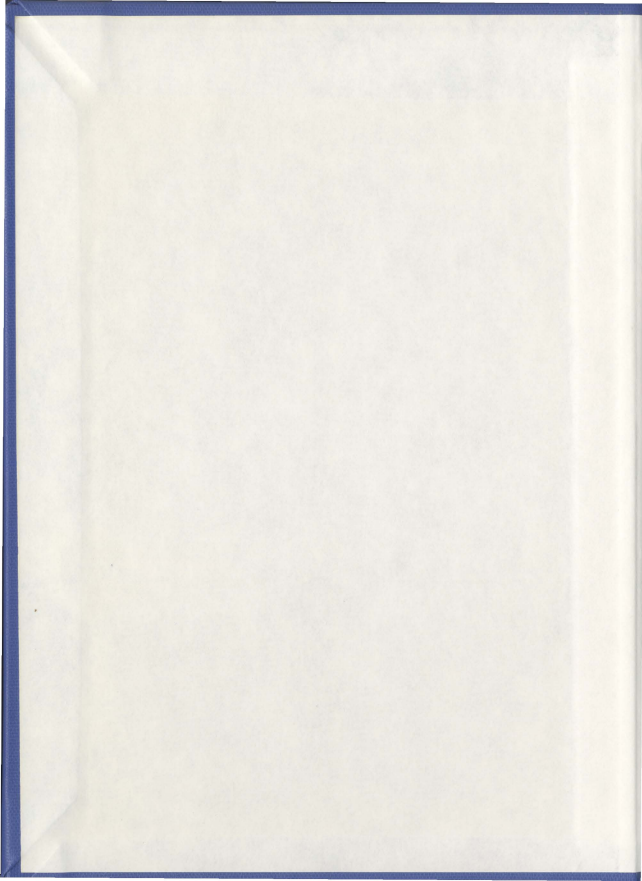
A TEXTUAL AND LITERARY STUDY OF THE
OLD ENGLISH EXODUS

CENTRE FOR NEWFOUNDLAND STUDIES

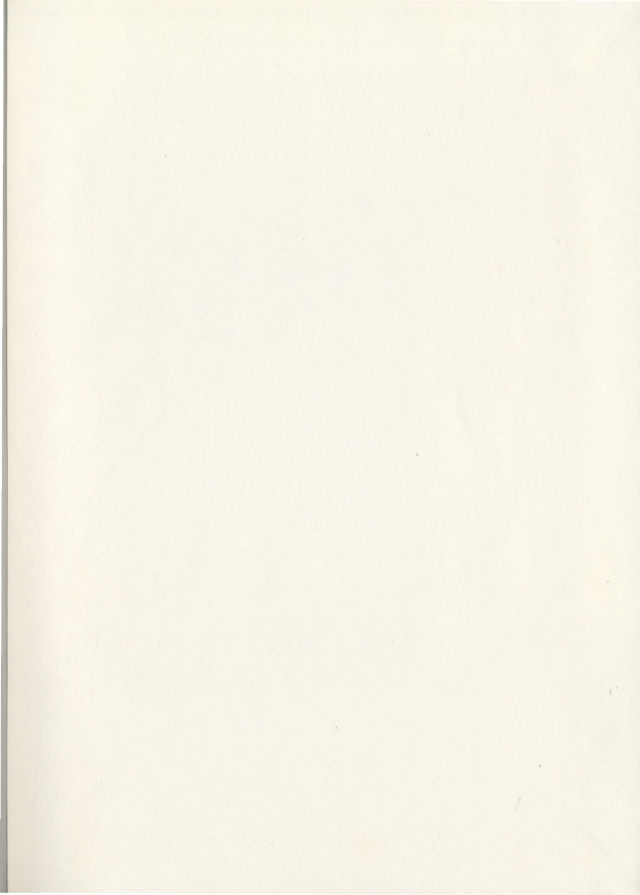
**TOTAL OF 10 PAGES ONLY
MAY BE XEROXED**

(Without Author's Permission)

ELISABETH MINNA HAMMER
(HAMBURG)







A TEXTUAL AND LITERARY STUDY OF THE
OLD ENGLISH EXODUS

by



Elisabeth Minna Hammer, M. A.
(Hamburg)

A Thesis submitted in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts

Department of
English Language and Literature
Memorial University of Newfoundland

April 1979

St. John's

Newfoundland

ABSTRACT

The main findings fall into two categories, that of "structure" and that of "spiritual symbolism."

After having shown that the poem is composed of distinct units to which appropriate titles could be given, I have explored John Leyerle's idea of "interlace structure," applying it for the first time to Exodus. The concept of "interlace" sheds new light on the art of variation which forms part of the multi-stranded verbal braids.

Aspects of spiritual symbolism have been discussed under the headings "Time and place," "The journey as a way of life," "Nautical images and their significance," "The exile," "Water and blood and the idea of baptism," "Israel and the Christian soldier," "Songs, treasure, and the reward in heaven," "Moses and Christ," and "The Egyptians and the powers of darkness." Although all these aspects have been investigated before, new material to support or to reject certain views has been presented. It could be shown that images and phrases used to describe the Egyptians correspond to those used in the Old English Genesis to describe the fallen angels.

In the Appendix a detailed investigation of small capitals and accents is presented. The tentative conclusion has been drawn that small capitals were used as punctuation marks and that accents served various

purposes but were mainly used on long vowels. Thornley's theory that accents were inserted to indicate inflections of the voice within a specific chant is rejected.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to express my gratitude to the members of my graduate studies Committee, Miss M. J. Miles-Cadman, Dr. W. J. Kirwin, and Dr. G. O. Roberts. Miss Miles-Cadman drew my attention to Exodus, and Dr. Roberts supervised my work conscientiously and encouragingly.

I am also indebted to Professor E. R. Seary and Professor D. G. Pitt, the former and present Heads of the English Department. Professor Seary accepted me as graduate student, and through his efforts I was granted a scholarship from Memorial University which enabled me to study for three years full time.

Furthermore, I am grateful to Professor E. B. Irving of the University of Pennsylvania, who kindly sent me copies of his latest studies on Exodus, and to P. J. Lucas of University College, Dublin, who informed me about his most recent work.

Miss Marguerite Jones, Information Services Librarian, Memorial University Library, has given me much valuable assistance.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	1
Part i: STRUCTURE	
a) Unity	6
b) Themes	12
c) Divisions, progression and description	20
d) The "interlace structure"	26
Part ii: SPIRITUAL SYMBOLISM	
a) Former research	55
b) Aspects of spiritual symbolism in Exodus	
1. Time and place	60
2. The journey as a way of life	74
3. Nautical images and their significance	80
4. The exile	82
5. Water and blood and the idea of baptism	85
6. Israel and the Christian soldier	87
7. Songs, treasure, and the re- ward in heaven	91
8. Moses and Christ	97
9. The Egyptians and the powers of darkness	103

APPENDIX: THE MANUSCRIPT

a) Description of MS Junius 11 with special emphasis on the <u>Exodus</u> portion	127
b) Large capitals and small capitals	
1. Large capitals	132
2. Small capitals	134
c) Accents	146
BIBLIOGRAPHY	163

TABLES AND ILLUSTRATIONS

Summary of small capitals	145
Summary of accents	156
Illustrations:	between pages:
1. Hand-drawn copy of a detail from folio 110 ^v of the St. Chad Gospels, Courtauld Institute of Art	54/55
2. Photocopy of page 148 of the MS Junius 11 in the Bodleian Library, Oxford	132/33

ABBREVIATIONS

1. Series of books

COSL	Corpus Christianorum series Latina
EETS	Early English Text Society
PL	Patrologiae cursus completus, series latina (221 vols, Paris, 1844-64). Ed. Jacques Paul Migne.

2. Journals

<u>BGDSL</u>	<u>Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur</u>
<u>ES</u>	<u>English Studies</u>
<u>JEGP</u>	<u>Journal of English and Germanic Philology</u>
<u>ME</u>	<u>Medium Ævum</u>
<u>MLN</u>	<u>Modern Language Notes</u>
<u>MLR</u>	<u>Modern Language Review</u>
<u>MP</u>	<u>Modern Philology</u>
<u>Neophil.</u>	<u>Neophilologus</u>
<u>NM</u>	<u>Neuphilologische Mitteilungen</u>
<u>N&Q</u>	<u>Notes & Queries</u>
<u>PQ</u>	<u>Philological Quarterly</u>
<u>PMLA</u>	<u>Publications of the Modern Language Association</u>
<u>RES</u>	<u>Review of English Studies</u>
<u>TPS</u>	<u>Transactions of the Philological Society</u> <u>[London]</u>
<u>UTQ</u>	<u>University of Toronto Quarterly</u>
<u>Zfda</u>	<u>Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum</u>

INTRODUCTION

The uniqueness of Old English Exodus has long been acknowledged. According to C. L. Wrenn, "there is no poem in OE at once so intrinsically interesting, so difficult and so individual in its qualities."¹ Elliott V. K. Dobbie calls it "one of the best and certainly the most difficult textually of all Old English poems."² It is therefore the more surprising that after Edward B. Irving's edition in 1953³ nearly twenty-five years passed before the poem was re-edited by Peter J. Lucas.⁴ Because of the many textual difficulties and ambiguities in Exodus former editions are still of some interest. That of Francis A. Blackburn, Exodus and Daniel (Boston: Heath, 1907), is particularly valuable because it contains the accent marks of the original poem. Blackburn

¹ Review of Irving's edition in RES, 6 (1955), 89, p. 184.

² Review of Irving's edition in JEGP, 52 (1954), 229-31, p. 229.

³ The Old English Exodus, Yale Studies in English, 122 (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1953). Irving's edition was reprinted unrevised but with an updated bibliography by Archon Books in 1970. Notes intended for a revised edition were published by Irving under the title "New Notes on the Old English Exodus," in Anglia, 90 (1972), 289-326.

⁴ Exodus (London: Methuen, 1977). The work on my thesis was completed before this edition appeared. For this reason, no further references to Lucas' edition are made.

strongly emphasizes the Northumbrian origin of the poem. Israel Gollancz presented a facsimile edition of the whole MS Junius 11 in 1927.⁵ This edition contains the most explicit description of the MS, but unfortunately it has become a rare book. More easily accessible are the editions by W. J. Sedgefield in An Anglo-Saxon Verse Book (Manchester: Univ. Press, 1922), and by G. P. Krapp in The Junius MS, ASPR, I (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1931). The former edition leaves out a substantial part of the poem, the Abraham-Noah episodes; the latter is the most widely used critical edition because it contains the complete text in its original order. Quotations in this thesis are based on Krapp's edition.

The main body of the present investigation is concerned mainly with literary aspects of Exodus. A text, however, which contains a great number of controversial passages cannot form the basis of a literary evaluation, unless it is made clear how the text is literally interpreted. Consequently, textual discussions frequently interrupt the literary investigation.

The new findings fall mainly into two categories, that of "structure" and that of "spiritual symbolism," and these aspects will be discussed in two separate parts. A division of form and content is not intended.

⁵ The Caedmon Manuscript of the Anglo-Saxon Biblical Poetry, Junius XI in the Bodleian Library (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1927).

In the part named STRUCTURE I will show the way in which the events told in the poem are presented on a mainly literal level, and this will prepare the ground for the discussion of the symbolical implications of the story in part ii.

The bulk of recent scholarship on Exodus is concerned with spiritual symbolism. J. E. Cross and S. T. Tucker can claim to have started this enquiry in their article "Allegorical Tradition and the Old English Exodus" in Neophil., 44 (1960), 122-27. The article marks the beginning of a phase of interpretation which moves away from the historical aspects of the poem towards spiritual significance. This article is in line with the investigations concerning the study of the Bible in the Middle Ages which, in the last two decades, have increased in popularity. Among the outstanding studies concerned with exegetical influence on Old English poetry, Doctrine and Poetry: Augustine's Influence on Old English Poetry by Bernard F. Huppé (New York: State Univ. of New York Press, 1959) deserves to be mentioned. In recent years increasing emphasis has been placed on patristic exegesis in studies of Exodus. The most outstanding contributions are the following: James W. Earl "Christian Tradition in the Old English Exodus" in NM, 71 (1970), 541-70) and Peter J. Lucas "The Cross in Exodus" in

Famulus Christi: Essays in Commemoration of the Thirteenth Century of the Birth of the Venerable Bede (London: Clowes, 1976), pp. 193-209.

For the detailed textual study of individual passages the most important tool has been Alistair Campbell's Old English Grammar (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959). Kenneth Sisam's essay "Dialect Origins of the Earlier Old English Verse" in his Studies in the History of Old English Literature (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953) has since its appearance had a strong influence on Old English textual studies and has been taken into consideration. Metrical aspects must also concern the textual critic, who is no longer free to dismiss a verse simply because it does not conform to any of Sievers' types.⁶

After the appearance of Francis P. Magoun's article "The Oral-formulaic Character of Anglo-Saxon Narrative Poetry" in Speculum, 28 (1953), 446-67, the oral-formulaic "school" came into being and produced many significant studies on Old English poetry. Some of the findings of this "school" proved to be relevant for the present study.

The concept of unity in a medieval poem has newly

⁶ See especially Marjorie Daunt's study "Old English Verse and English Speech Rhythm" in Essential Articles for the Study of Old English Poetry, ed. Jess B. Bessinger, Jr., and Stanley J. Kahrl (Hamden: Archon Books, 1968), pp. 289-304, rpt. from TES (1946), 56-72.

been discussed by A. K. Moore in his article "Medieval English Literature and the Question of Unity" in MP, 65 (1968), 285-300). Such a discussion is particularly relevant to Exodus, in which the narrative is interrupted by a description of Noah's flood and the story of Abraham. Moore's article and the work of John Leyerle on interlace structure,⁷ which, so far, had not been applied to Exodus, were particularly valuable for the discussion of structure.

The APPENDIX contains a detailed description of the MS features of Exodus. It will be shown that certain aspects, such as the small capitals and the accents, deserve to be reconsidered and may be useful to scholars who wish to investigate these aspects in other manuscripts.

⁷ See "The Interlace Structure of Beowulf," UTQ, 37 (1967), 1-17.

Part i: STRUCTURE

a) Unity

It is with some hesitation that I choose the title "unity" for this section. Irving regards Exodus as "essentially an organic unit," applying, as many other scholars do, the Aristotelian term to a medieval poem. Irving rightly says that the basic theme of the poem is the march of the Israelites "under God's guidance to the Promised Land."¹ With regard to the Noah-Abraham story Irving observes: "Each of these stories involves a promise on God's part, then a test of faith and obedience, and finally a reward. Thus from this point of view it may be said that the action of the poem is a single action and that the Abraham and Noah episodes serve to reinforce the central significance of that action."

Yet it could be argued that—as far as the Noah-story is concerned—neither the initial promise nor the "test of faith" are related in Exodus. It is only said that Noah kept faith: Hæfde him on hreðre hālige trēowa (366) 'He had in his heart holy faith.' Also the reward is not described directly, but may be implied by the wording eallum eorðcynne ēce lāfe (370) 'as an eternal legacy to all mankind' and by maðnhorda mæst (368) 'the greatest of treasures.'²

¹ This and the following quotation are from Irving's edition, p. 29.

² On the significance of this image see p. 35.

The Abraham-story, however, contains the test of faith in the attempted sacrifice of Isaac, the immediate reward, and a final firm promise, the promise of the land which his descendants will occupy. Thus the theme of faith (trēow) together with that of a covenant (wēr) between God and man reappears in this episode and connects it with the main story.

Before I deal with the problem of unity in connection with these episodes (362-446), attention must be drawn to another controversial passage. The description of the drowning of the Egyptians comes to an end in line 516 with the words in Moses' speech: Hīe wib God wunnon! 'They strove against God.' The text in the MS continues with the law-giving scene and is followed by homiletic reflections, which contain references to heaven and hell and to the Last Judgment (516-48).

Irving, in his edition, has taken this passage out of its context and placed it at the end of the poem, but in "New Notes" he follows the MS order. Cosijn seems to regard it as an interpolation which disturbs the continuity.³ W. A. Craigie interprets it as the end of a moralizing poem which has "no connection with the theme of the Exodus."⁴ Sedgefield regards this passage and the

³ "Anglosaxonica," BGDSL, 20 (1895), 98-116, p. 105: "Der ganze passus bis 518 stört den zusammenhang."

⁴ "Interpolations and Omissions in Anglo-Saxon Poetic Texts," Philologica, 2 (1925), 5-19, p. 9.

Noah-Abraham episodes as interpolations, and has omitted them from the text.⁵

Any discussion of unity in Exodus must deal with the difficulties posed by these sections, unless a considerable part of the text is to be dismissed as interpolation. Furthermore, the concept of unity itself has become controversial. Arthur K. Moore in his article "Medieval English Literature and the Question of Unity" thinks it worthwhile "to consider whether the medieval experience of this world and intimations of the next sort well with theories of unity which stipulate balanced structures and neat juxtapositions."⁶

If unity of plot could be claimed for Exodus, there could hardly be a disagreement about the order in which the text should be arranged. Although in this study I have favored the traditional sequence of the text, I must admit that Irving's arguments for a transposition are reasonable within the framework of his interpretation of the poem as a predominantly historical poem. Any interruption of the story which treats the journey's spiritual significance would lift the last scene beyond the level of an historical experience, but Irving, in his edition, does not wish to stress the spiritual level

⁵ Ed., p. 85: "Two passages, of some 110 lines have been omitted, being much inferior to the rest of the poem and probably later interpolations."

⁶ MP, 65 (1968), 285-300, p. 287.

of the story.⁷ Having the homiletic passage as a kind of appendix to the story may permit Irving to accept it as mere evidence that the poet was aware of the allegorical tradition; he is no longer faced with the problem of interpreting it as part of the action.

Irving's transposition increased the "unity" of action and stressed his view that the poet is mainly interested in "the story as a story."⁸ The question is: do we do justice to a medieval poem when we try to rearrange the text in terms of unity of action? Was unity of action more important to the poet than his desire to emphasize the spiritual meaning of the story?

In a poem for which organic unity is claimed each part should be related to the other parts, and its removal or transposition ought to injure the "organism" of the work of art. Possibly not many medieval poems would successfully pass a test of this nature, and it

⁷ Although Irving has since modified his view to some extent and admitted that "a liturgical model must have inevitably given the poem some of its shape" he still believes that the underlying allegorical meaning ought not to replace the primary meaning, the vigorous heroic action. See "Exodus retraced," in Old English Studies in Honour of John C. Pope, ed. Robert B. Burlin and Edward B. Irving, Jr. (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1974), pp. 203-23, pp. 205 and 209-10.

⁸ Ed., p. 29. In his recent defence of the MS order ("Exodus retraced," p. 204) Irving says that he had previously rearranged the text "to make the new conclusion resemble that of many OE poems in closing with a very general homiletic passage."

may be best to dismiss the concept of "organic" unity, and replace it by the general concept of "structure." Admittedly, any literary work will exhibit some kind of structure, and the question is not whether a certain poem has "structure," but rather what is the nature of this structure. The quality of a literary work will to a large extent depend on its structural devices.

As far as Exodus is concerned, we cannot claim that the Noah and Abraham episodes form an organic unity with the main story. We cannot even be sure whether they belonged to the original poem, and yet, considering the poem in its extant form, we find structural reasons for accepting them. The development of theme and action in the main story is not dependent on these episodes, but the theme of the episodes is related to that of the main story.⁹

A further reason for accepting these episodes as parts of the poem may be found in the presence of other matter which, strictly speaking, does not belong to the plot. After the description of the order in which the tribes begin to cross the Red Sea the poet, for example, adds these lines:

lēof lēodfruma	Him was ān fæder;
frōd on ferhðe,	landriht gepah,
Cende cneowsibbe	frēomagum lēof.
hēahfædera sum,	cēnra manna
	hālige pēode,

⁹ For a discussion of the thematic connection between the Noah-Abraham story and the main story see pp. 13-19.

Israela cyn, onriht godes,
 swā þæt orþancum ealde reccað
 þā þe mægburge mæst gefrūnon,
 frumcyn fēora, fæderæðelo gehwæs. (353-61)¹⁰

They had one father; the beloved founder of
 the people received the right to the land, wise
 in mind, beloved by his kinsmen. He begot the
 race of brave men, one patriarch the holy
 nation, the tribe of Israel, belonging to God,
 so the old ones relate in their wisdom, they
 who have learned most about families, about the
 origin of the living ones, about each pedigree.

The reference here is to Abraham, and as Irving has
 pointed out, the poet may have alluded to the etymologi-
 cal interpretation of the name Abraham explained by
 Jerome as pater videns populum.¹¹ In terms of plot,
 however, this passage presents a small digression.

Another digression may be seen in lines 22b to 29:

þæt hine weroda god þā wæs forma sīð.
 þær hē him gesægde wordum mægde,
 hū þās woruld worhte wītig drihten,
 eorðan ymbhwyrft and uprodor,
 gesette sigerīce, and his sylfes naman,
 ðone ylðo bearn ær ne cūðon,
 frōd fædera cyn, þēah hīe fela wiston.

Then was the first time that the God of hosts
 approached him with words: when he told him many
 true marvels, how the wise Lord created this world,

¹⁰ Sedgefield, ed., reads for onriht (358) anriht
 'possessing alone the right,' i. e. the privileged one
 of God," n. 358.

¹¹ See Irving, ed., n. 353b.

the circuit of the earth, and heaven, established his victorious reign and told his own name which the children of men, the wise race of patriarchs, did not know before, although they knew much.

Both these passages, which contain minor digressions from the plot, do not strike us as particularly characteristic of the poet's verbal powers, but they are, nevertheless, of a high artistic quality both in rhythm and in diction, and their originality cannot seriously be questioned.

If we accept these minor digressions, both of which are smoothly connected with the preceding passages, we may well accept matter of greater narrative independence as belonging to the same type of digression. Both the minor and the major digressions have in common that they point to Biblical-historical events which have occurred prior to the event of the Israelites' journey—in the case of the digression concerning the Last Judgment—events which have been prophesied for the future.

b) Themes

We will now enquire into the structural importance of the themes. The basic theme is that of the journey, which will be analyzed in detail in Part ii because of its symbolic implications.

The journey is more specifically seen as a voyage, and in this respect it is connected with Noah's voyage.

As a sub-theme of the journey the theme of exile appears several times.¹² The fact that Abraham also is presented as an exile connects the Abraham episode thematically with the main story. The exile-theme also occurs in the homiletic passage (516-45), which some scholars have regarded as an interpolation.

Another theme which has been seen as a unifying device in Exodus is that of the help of God. Robert T. Farrell's article "A Reading of OE. Exodus" has dealt in detail with this theme.¹³ He points out that "Noah in the flood, Abraham in exile, Isaac threatened by his father, Moses in the hands of Pharaoh, and Israel in Egypt are all linked as a series of Old Testament figures which exemplify the theme of the Help of God" (p. 404). Farrell draws an interesting parallel with the theme of deliverance in early Christian iconography and liturgy, providing evidence that the above quoted Biblical-historical events were associated.

Farrell sees the first appearance of the theme in the introductory sentence in the words Moyses dōmas which constitute "a wonderful spoken, or oral, law (wordriht) for the races of men, and offer an 'amendment for life' (bote lifes) for those in heaven" (p. 406). The next section, lines 8-53, contains a "compressed

¹² See p. 82.

¹³ RES, 20 (1969), 401-417.

history of Moses until the time of the last of the plagues" (p. 406), and in these lines Farrell sees a further development of the theme in the power which has been granted to Moses.

The next distinct unit, lines 54-140b, which could be further subdivided into three sections,¹⁴ deals with the travels of the Israelites under the pillars of cloud and fire until they arrive at the fourth camping place near the Red Sea. The last part of this section, lines 135-41, however, may present the introduction to a digression, designed to give some historical details of how the enmity between the Egyptians and the Israelites arose. After line 141 there are four missing pages in the MS. Allowing for empty space for illustrations, it would be a fair guess to say that around fifty lines or more could have been lost, enough to make up a distinct section ending with line 153.

It is true that both these sections could be interpreted as exemplifying the help of God. If the lost part contained the story of Joseph,¹⁵ there would have been ample opportunity for an account of the help of God. But it must be said that, in the poem as we have

¹⁴ See pp. 21-22.

¹⁵ See Gollancz, ed. p. lxix, who believes that the missing pages contained "the story of Joseph in Egypt, especially his service to Pharaoh, as far as Gen. xlvii : 20." Joseph's treasure is actually mentioned in l. 588.

it, the poet certainly did not stress this theme in an obvious fashion.

The next part which Farrell takes to be a distinct section begins with line 154 and ends with line 255. Farrell calls it vaguely a description of the "preparations for battle on both sides" (p. 409). Farrell connects this section with the theme of the help of God by stressing the Israelites' fear. This fear is overcome—with the help of God?—when Moses in his speech (259-98) reminds his people to follow God's counsel. In lines 299-309 the Israelites are presented as standing firm against the enemy.

Some objections could be made against this interpretation. Lines 154-255 do not present a narrative unit, but fall into different sections. Lines 154-69 contain two battle descriptions: 1. the military splendor of the approaching enemy is seen by the Israelites. 2. the traditional beasts of battle appear. Between these two parts there is evidence of textual corruption in line 161. This line is incomplete, but the loss may only be a minor one. We do not know, therefore, whether line 162, Hrēopon herefugolas hilde grādige 'the army birds called, greedy for battle,' is the actual beginning of the "beast of battle" topic.¹⁶ When the poet describes the Egyptians, this description is seen through the eyes of the Israelites (170-98). The fright-

¹⁶ MS lines 161-62 read: on hwæl . hwreopn.

ful appearance of the enemy causes fear among the Israelites until Moses calls them from their tents (200-23). Lines 224-51 describe the military order and appearance of the Israelites, and lines 252-58 introduce Moses' speech. This speech consists of two clearly distinct parts. The second part of the speech is introduced by the formula: Hōf ðā for hergum hlūde stefne (276) 'He then raised his loud voice in front of the army.' The first part aims at overcoming the Israelites' fear, urging them to have faith in God, who, in this context, is called sē ēcea Ābrahames god (273); the second part prepares the Israelites for the miracle which they are going to experience. The short section after the speeches presents the miracle itself, and the Israelites are now ready to go through the Red Sea (299). The theme of the good counsel is emphasized in the litotes: Nalles hīe gehyr[w]don hāliges lāre (307) 'By no means did they despise the holy teachings.'¹⁷

Lines 310-61 contain, with minor digressions—Judah's anticipated fights and Reuben's former sins—a description of the order in which the Israelites begin the crossing. The concluding words: Him was En fader etc. (353-61) 'they had one father ...,' which refer to Abraham, represent a suitable ending

¹⁷ L. 307a: This is Irving's emendation "for the reader's convenience." Krapp reads with the MS Nalles hīe gehyrdon.

to the description of the tribes. The Noah and Abraham episodes follow rather abruptly with Niwe flōdas Noe oferlōd (362) 'Noah travelled over new floods.'

The question whether this episode belongs to the original poem can hardly be answered by evidence of thematic relatedness. If it was an interpolation, there must have been a reason for it, and the few parallels which have been drawn between the episode and the main story may have been the very reason why a later editor combined it with Exodus. I do not wish to say that this was probably the case. Although from a thematic point of view it remains doubtful whether this passage belonged to the original poem, I cannot agree with Sedgefield, who considers this episode as inferior to the rest of the text. The fact that it does not contain images of striking originality is of little consequence because in a compressed story, probably designed as a historical flash-back, there would be less space for elaboration than in the main story. The small points which may be made against the episode are the abrupt beginning, the lack of transition from the preceding lines, and the wording niwe flōdas 'new floods' for the deluge. It may be suggested that only the short Noah-story is an interpolation (362-79). If this is the case, line 380, beginning with þæt is se Ābraham 'that is the Abraham,' would make a smooth transition after lines 356-61, which dealt with Abraham without naming him:

Gende cnēowsibbe cēnra manna
 hēahf deraesum, hālige pēode,
 Israēla cyn, onrint godes,
 swa þæt orþancum ealde reccað
 þā þe mægburge mæst gefrunon,
 frumcyn fēora, fæderæðelo gehwæs.

A certain patriarch begot the nation of bold men, the holy people, the race of the Israelites, rightfully belonging to God. So the old ones skillfully tell, those who have best known the genealogies, the origin of the living ones, the ancestry of each one.

On the other hand, the reference to Noah's people as sāleoda 'sailors' and the concept of treasure would favor the view that the passage belonged to the original poem.¹⁸

After a gap in the MS¹⁹ we find the description of the actual drowning of the Egyptians in the dramatic passage from line 447-515 which contains direct references to the help of God:

 þā se mihtiga slōh
 mid hālige hand heofonrīces weard (485-86)

Then the mighty one, the guardian of heaven,

¹⁸ For further nautical images see p. 37.

¹⁹ There can be no doubt that a portion of the text was lost (see p. 13 above) although Farrell in "A Reading" RES, 20 (1969), 401-417, p. 412, thinks that a defence of the section containing the drowning scene can be made in its present form "on the basis of the poet's use of time sequence." Farrell admits that "on the basis of the mechanical evidence it would appear possible that some lines are missing."

slew with his holy hand.

Hie wið god wunnon! (515)

They strove against God!

If the lines 516-45 which contain the account of the law-giving and the homiletic digression are accepted as belonging to the original poem, the theme of the help of God would now come to its conclusion. The theme of reward now appears and continues throughout the next section, Moses' speech (554-64). Moses proclaims to the Israelites that they will now obtain what was promised to their fathers. Thus the speech recalls the Abraham-episode in which this promise was elaborately given. The remaining section (565-90) contains the last part of the action: The Israelites praise God and collect the treasure from the shore. The theme of reward which up to then had only been a promise is now presented in the action.²⁰

The theme of the help of God in Exodus appears too vague to be of structural significance. The thematic combination of the good counsel and reward, opposed by faithlessness and punishment is certainly more obvious throughout the action, including the Abraham story and the homiletic passage, than the theme of the help of God. A further discussion of these themes will be found in Part ii.

²⁰ See further Part ii, pp. 92-97 on the significance of this scene.

(It has become customary among some Old English scholars to speak about themes and "type-scenes" in connection with the oral tradition of poems, and a certain confusion has arisen in the use of the term "theme." The oral-formulaic school applies the word "theme" to "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."²¹ The "beasts of battle" for example represent an oral-formulaic theme.

Such "themes" may determine the structure of a certain section of the poem, but unless it can be shown, as in the case of the exile-theme, that they are relevant to the action, they may be dismissed in this context. Concepts which recur within a scene and which cannot be classified as "oral-formulaic themes" are called motifs in this chapter.)

c) Divisions, progression, and description

The analysis of themes made it necessary to look into the different sections of the poem. The sectional divisions, mentioned above, although not marked in the MS,²² are remarkably clear, and it may consequently be worthwhile to inquire what contribution they may make

²¹ Albert Bates Lord, "Homer and Huxo II: Narrative Inconsistencies in Homer and Oral Poetry," Trans. and Proc. Amer. Philol. Assn., 69 (1938), 440-4¹, p. 440.

²² As will be pointed out in the Appendix, the MS is not devoid of sectional divisions, but only xlvⁱ (252) and xlviiiⁱ (447) agree with the divisions given above. See p. 134.

to the structure of the poem. The first section (1-7) is an obvious introduction not only to the action of the story but also to the story's spiritual implications. The next section relates Moses' previous relationship with God. There is also a reference to the future:

ofercōm mid bȳ campe cneōmāga fela (21) 'He overpowered in battle many tribes.' Thus both introductory passages, the general introduction and the specific introduction of Moses, are set apart from the action beginning with line 30, which deals with the slaying of the first-born Egyptian sons and introduces the image of the two journeys, the one to salvation, the other to destruction. The actual journey, told in a rather cursory manner, begins with line 54. The action slows down with the introduction of the cloud (71-97). There is little progression in the action between the description of the cloud and that of the pillar of fire, which begins with line 107b.

The description of the cloud is clearly set apart from the description of the pillar of fire by the following lines:

pā ic on morgen gefrægn modes rōfan
 hebban herebyman hiudan stefnum,
 wuldres wōman. Werod eall āras,
 mōdgra mægen, swa him Moyses bebēad,
 mære magorāswa, metodes folce,
 fūs fyrðgetrum. Forð gesawon
 lifes lātpēow lifweg metan;²³
 segl siðe weold, sēmen after

²³ L. 105: segl. Krapp reads swegl with the MS. But in l. 81 where the unusual nautical metaphor of the sail begins, Krapp emends swegl to segl. It seems likely that the image is meant to continue. All other editors emend to segl.

fōron flōdwege. Fōlc was on sālum,
hlūd herges cyrm. (98-107a)

Then, I was told, in the morning the brave men lifted the army trumpets with loud sounds, a roar of glory. The whole host arose, a force of courageous men, as Moses commanded them, the famous leader [commanded] the people of the Lord, the company [was] ready to go forth. They saw the guide in front measure out the way of life; the sail controlled their journey, the seamen behind travelled the sea way. The people were happy, loud was the noise of the army.

These lines present the activities at the beginning of a new day. There is a reference to the time of day when the people arise (on morgen, 98). That a day has passed is also implied in the fact that the third camp was mentioned in line 87, which briefly interrupted the description of the cloud, and that after the description of the pillar of fire the action continues with the arrival of the Israelites in their fourth camping place (125-34).

Although the following section, beginning with line 135, is incomplete, it is clear that it was to be a descriptive passage. It begins with the fear of the Israelites and continues with a description of the Egyptians. This account may have led to a digression, an historical flash-back. After this passage

the motif of fear appears again in line 154, now combined with a slight progression in the action:

pā him eorla mōd ortrywe wearð
 sǫðan hīe gesāwon of sūðwegum
 fyrd Faraonis forð ongangen (154-56)

Thereupon the courage of the noblemen turned into despair, when they saw the army of Pharaoh move forward on the roads in the South.

Embedded in the action of the advancing enemy is the beasts of battle scene (161-69). The words Frēond onsēgon / lāum ēagum landmanna cyme (178-79) 'The friends saw with hateful eyes the arrival of the native people' connect the following description of Pharaoh's army smoothly with the action. The action continues with line 200. The fear of the Israelites expresses itself in lamentation until an angel protects them so that they have the span of one night of peace from the persecution of the enemy. Moses summons them early next morning (215).

Again the action is interrupted by a description of the Israelites' forces (224-51). It is further interrupted by Moses' speech (including the brief introduction to the speech). Moses' speech (252-98) may be divided, as has been pointed out, into two distinct parts. The speech is structurally important because it connects the concept of fear with that of the good counsel (beteran rād, 269). It contains the important metaphor of the "dead troops" (dēade fēoan, 266) for the Egyptians, thus removing the cause of fear from the Israelites.

The second half of the speech deals with the parting

of the waters. It is Moses' account of a process which, partly, has already happened (hū ic sylfa slōh, 280 'How I myself struck') and which is still happening and visible to the Israelites: Ȫō up fære, ofstum wyrceō / water on wealfæsten. Wegas syndon dryge (282-84).²⁴ 'The wave rises up, quickly it builds the water into a bulwark. The roads are dry.' The miraculous nature of this event is emphasized by the speed with which it is happening. While the words are spoken the deed is being done. This account reflects the power of the word in the history of creation. A similar idea may have produced the image of the dead troops which refers to the still living Egyptians. Moses, who knows God's plans, can call the Egyptians dead. Their death is not only anticipated but as good as accomplished. The Israelites may, from now on, regard them as being dead. Their fear has finally been allayed, and the attacker becomes the attacked one. Thus the speech of Moses represents the turning point of the story.

After the speech the action continues. The tribes enter the path through the sea (310-61). But within this event there is the explicit description of the individual tribes with flash-backs into their history.

The action almost stands still in this section and is then completely interrupted in the Noah-Abraham

²⁴ The text quoted here follows Irving, not Krapp. Irving emends to on, following Cosijn, "Anglosaxonica," in EGDSL, 20 (1895), 98-116, p. 101. The MS has the usual abbreviation for 'and.'

story.

The following section represents the drowning scene. It contains, as far as it is preserved, the most violent action in the poem. After the drowning there is the brief account of the law-giving, which constitutes a slight advance in the narrative, but the homiletic passage and the following second speech of Moses interrupt the action once more. It is a short speech, expressing God's promise which has now been fulfilled, and it ends with a blessing Biṣ ḥower blāḏ micel! (564) 'May your glory be great!' Thus it anticipates the event which immediately follows, the praise of God and the collecting of treasure.

The above analysis of the sections demonstrates that the poem is composed of distinct units which could be entitled: introduction, last plague, the Israelites on the march, the pillars of cloud and fire, the approaching enemy (including the incomplete digression about the Egyptians), the forces of the Israelites, Moses' speech (including the miracle of the path which is being created), the march through the sea, the digression on Noah and Abraham, the drowning of the Egyptians, Moses' laws and God's eternal plan, and, introduced by Moses' second speech, songs of praise and the collecting of treasure. Among these units the one about the drowning of the Egyptians certainly presents the climax of the story, and this climax is distinctly set apart by the two enclosing units, both of which focus

on a different time, the Noah-Abraham story on the past, the homiletic passage on the future when God's plan will be fulfilled.

The Noah-Abraham story, if it is an interpolation, could not have been inserted into the story at a more convenient place. The description of the individual tribes when they enter the Red Sea passage contains small digressions into the history of the Israelites. The Noah-Abraham story continues this retrospection.

d) The "interlace structure"

The term "interlace structure" has been used by John Leyerle, in his investigation of Beowulf, to stress the analogy of the narrative technique in style and structure and the illuminations of manuscripts.²⁵ A. P. Campbell has used this term with particular reference to the time element.²⁶ In Beowulf the specific problem is how to connect or "interlace" pagan and Christian elements: The story happens in pagan times, yet the characters show Christian attitudes and beliefs. The time element in Exodus is less complex, but an interlocking of past, present, and future is definitely intended. A. P. Campbell says about the structure of Beowulf: "The poet frames his narrative in the days of old ... in this at-

²⁵ "Interlace Structure of Beowulf," UTQ, 37 (1967), 1-17.

²⁶ "The Time Element of Interlace Structure in Beowulf," NM, 70 (1969), 425-35.

mosphere the work begins and ends, for the poem is remarkably similar to a painting in which the border goes all the way round. Once or twice, in the fashion of illuminations, strands from the background strike dramatically into the main story, bringing the two periods for a moment into contrast ... Hrothgar and Beowulf are - as they come to our knowledge and present themselves in the body of the poem - men contemporary with the poet and his audience, Anglo-Saxon Christians" (pp. 431-32).

Although some critics would certainly take exception to Campbell's view, his observations are interesting and make a significant contribution to the much discussed question of pagan and Christian elements in Beowulf. The situation in Exodus is rather different. The idea of a frame presents itself in two themes in Exodus which are contained in the introduction and which are more explicitly developed in the two last sections of the poem: God's eternal counsel and his reward for those who follow it. More specifically, God's counsel is represented by the laws of Moses, and the reward is given in the form of treasure. I do not wish to imply that the poet was aware of the structural resemblance of his poem to that of a framed illumination.²⁷ The modern reader may

²⁷ However, evidence of a certain awareness of the similarity between the artistic and the literary process has been found in Alcuin's writings. See John Leyerle, "Interlace Structure," UTQ, 37 (1967), 1-17, p. 4.

be impressed by the similarity of structure in both arts, but it would be too easy a conclusion to infer that the poets learned from the artists and vice versa. Nevertheless, the resemblances do not seem to be accidental, but must be regarded as the product of the same view of life and the same perception of beauty. In the Christian view of life events are not isolated but form a pattern and are interrelated. It is therefore not surprising that this attitude is also reflected in the literary forms and in the visual arts.

John Leyerle has found that stylistic interlace is "a characteristic of Aldhelm and especially Alcuin. They weave direct statement and classical tags together to produce verbal braids in which allusive literary references from the past cross and recross with the present subject" (p. 4). If this can be said about Anglo-Latin writers, we may well inquire whether similar tendencies can be found in Old English poems. Stylistic ambiguities and allusions in Exodus have been described below in part ii in connection with their symbolical implications. The threefold parallel of the journey of the Israelites, the journey of the Egyptians to hell, and the former journey of the angels to hell are examples of such allusions. The frequent reference to the past and the inclusion of allusions to the future could be mentioned as an expression of the same "interlace" design.

There is a further stylistic counterpart to the

visual interlace design. The stylistic figure of variation seems to present the closest verbal parallel to the interweaving of designs in the illuminations. These resemblances between variation and interlace design have also been noticed by John Leyerle. He writes: "When variation on two or more subjects is combined, the result is stylistic interlace, the interweaving of two or more strands of variation" (p. 4). Leyerle quotes some lines from Beowulf and illustrates what he considers to be the different "strands" of the word pattern. The quotation is repeated here in order to show Leyerle's method of analyzing "interlace:"²⁸

Nō þæt læsest was
hondgemōt[a], þār mon Hygelāc slōh,
syððan Gēata cyning gūðe rāsum,
frēawine folca Frēslandum on,
Hrēðles eafora hiorodryncum swealt,
bille gebēaten. (2354-59)

Leyerle finds three strands of variation within this quotation: the variations on Hygelac constitute one strand (Hygelāc, Gēata cyning, frēawine folca, Hrēðles eafora), those on his slaying the second (mon ... slōh, hiorodryncum swealt, bille gebēaten), and those on the place of action the third (þār, gūðe rāsum, Frēslandum on). Leyerle speaks of a stylistic braid. He sees in this feature of style "the literary counterpart for interlace designs in art that are decorative rather

²⁸ The text is quoted from Klaeber's edition.

than structural. Designs on a sword, coffer or cross are decoration applied to an object whose structure arises from other considerations" (p. 5).

From these observations it appears that literary "interlace" is structurally more integrated than some interlace in the visual arts where it may be merely decorative. However, as Leyerle puts it, "at a structural level, literary interlace has a counterpart in tapestries where positional patterning of threads establishes the shape and design of the fabric, whether the medium is thread in textile or words in a text" (p. 5). The importance of Leyerle's observations should not be underestimated. They shed new light on a main stylistic device in Old English poetry, that of variation. They help us to appreciate the art involved in the construction of these multi-stranded verbal braids which, to former critics, often seemed to be an expression of confusion. Irving comments: "The famous description of the drowning of the Egyptians shows a different method. Unfortunately it is greatly damaged by textual corruption, but in it too we can see the same sharp perception of detail and imaginative insight into mass emotion. From the standpoint of chronological order the scene is chaotic; beginning, middle, and end seem to be presented simultaneously, but in this case the impression of confusion conveys the dominant aspect of the scene it-

self."²⁹ It will be apparent from the analysis of this passage, which will be given in detail below, that it presents a definitely structured unit in spite of the fact that there is no beginning, middle, and end.

Variation is more than a stylistic ornament.

Arthur G. Brodeur's observations concerning the importance of variation in Beowulf are equally valid if applied to Exodus: "On the one hand it could give unity to a scene, even to a sequence of scenes; on the other, transferred from phrasal to structural use, it could establish a structural unity through the poem as a whole."³⁰ Brodeur also says: "The possible uses of variation are as numerous as its forms ... It is, indeed, a notable instrument of style in the hands of a distinguished poet; it became an instrument of dramatic force and of structural form in the hands of the poet of Beowulf, and in his alone" (p. 272).³¹ It will be shown that the poet of Exodus uses variation in order to form larger structural patterns throughout the poem.

In the following discussion I accept Brodeur's

²⁹ Ed., p. 32.

³⁰ Arthur Gilchrist Brodeur, The Art of Beowulf (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1959), p. 221.

³¹ Compare also Walther Paetzel, Die Variationen in der altgermanischen Alliterationspoesie, Palaestra, 48 (Berlin: Mayer und Müller, 1913), pp. 189-90, who requires that the second member of the substantive variation, which is the most frequent one, must be in the same case as the first member, but he allows for certain exceptions.

definition of variation which slightly varies from Paetzel's formalistic definition: "Variation involves the repeated expression of the same concept or idea, not in identical terms, but in terms which, while they restate essentially the same concept or proposition, do so in a manner that emphasizes a somewhat different aspect of it" (p. 272). I have not attempted to group instances of variation found in Exodus into formalistic categories, but I have preferred to arrange them according to their common concepts. A combination of variations on more than one such concept within a sentence, a scene, or even within the whole poem, would represent "interlace." If a certain strand is to be traced through the whole poem, it must be a strong and significant one, revealing itself most probably as a theme.

The first instance of interlaced variation is found in the introductory sentence:

Hwæt! We fēor and nēah gefrigen habað
 ofer middangeard Moyses dōmas,
 wræclico wordriht, wera cnēorissum,
 in uprodor eadigra gehwam
 æfter bealusīðe bōte lifes,
 lifigendra gehwam langsumne ræd,
 hæleðum secgan. (1-7a)

Lo, far and wide throughout the world we have
 heard the laws of Moses, wonderful decrees,
 proclaim to men, to the generations of men,
 the reward of life after death to all the
 blessed in heaven, enduring counsel to all
 the living.

The following three strands are combined: 1. Moses' laws including the reward which they signify: Moyses dōmas, wræclico wordriht, bōte līfes, langsumne rād; 2. the people to whom they are given: wera cnēorissum, eadigra gehwām, līfigendra gehwām; 3. the time and place: in uprodor, æfter bealusīðe.

Only the first of these three strands is a recurring topic. It anticipates the actual law-giving episode, beginning with line 516, after the drowning of the Egyptians. In this episode we find what may be called a variation of Moyses dōmas: ēce rādas, hālige sprāce, dēop ærende 'lasting counsel,' 'holy speech,' 'a deep message.' In the same context the concept rād 'counsel' is varied with rūn 'secret:' Rūn bið gerecenod rād forð gæð (526) 'the secret will be explained, the counsel proceeds.' Thus the variation of certain important concepts contributes to the structural integration of episodes. The term variation has been used here, although the scenes under discussion are not sequential. In the same way in which a lace pattern may be interrupted by different strands and taken up again in another place, the variation of a topic may be interrupted for some time in order to appear again in connection with other strands.

The law-giving scene represents a link between the introductory sentence and the final treasure-scene in which the concept of a 'reward' (bōt) is repeated:

blīðe wæron, bōte gesāwon,
 hēddon hererēafes, hæft was on sēaled
 Ongunnon sēlāfe segnum dælan
 on yōlāfe, ealde mādmas,
 rēaf and randas. Hēo on riht sceōdon
 gold and godweb, Iōsepes gestrēon,
 wera wuldorgesteald. (583-89)

They were happy, they saw the reward, they took
 the booty, their captivity was ended. They began
 to divide the old treasures by standards on the
 seashore, clothing and shields on the beach.

Rightly they divided gold and purple cloth,
 Joseph's treasure, glorious possessions of men.

In the above translation, the word sēlāfe, usually
 seen as appositive to mādmas with the meaning 'booty
 cast ashore' has been interpreted as on sēlāfe 'on the
 seashore,' parallel to on yōlāfe 'on the beach.'³²
 Leaving out sēlāfe as a doubtful case, we find the
 following variations of bōt: hererēafes 'booty,'
ealde mādmas 'old treasures,' rēaf and randas 'clothing
 and shields,' gold and godweb 'gold and purple cloth,'
Iōsepes gestrēon 'Joseph's treasure,' wera wuldor-
gesteald 'glorious possessions of men.' The accumu-
 lation of variations in this particular passage is
 impressive. Apart from randas and godweb the poet does
 not specify the actual objects received, but he gives
 the impression of great splendor in general terms,

³² See Irving, ed., who favours the interpretation 'booty cast ashore.' Sedgefield reads 'spoil of the sea.' I wish to suggest the emendation of l. 585 to Ongunnon on sēlāfe. The word on may have been left out erroneously because the preceding word ended with the letters on.

summing them up as 'glorious possessions of men.' At this point we do not yet wish to enquire into the spiritual significance of the treasure-scene, which will be dealt with in part ii. We are only concerned with structural details, and these details lead us to believe that the treasure-scene is a kind of crescendo at the end of the poem.

There are further treasure images which link the law-giving scene and the treasure-scene with the Noah-episode. Noah's cargo—not the ark, but its content—is 'the greatest of treasures' (māōmhorda mēst, 368), and this treasure is also called ēce lāfe (370) 'eternal remnant' which, although it refers to the survivors, men and animals, in the ark, may be interpreted in more general terms as 'an eternal gift' rather than 'survivors.' The concept certainly resembles both ēce mēdas (516) 'eternal counsel' and yōlāfe (586) 'the beach.' If yōlāfe, and possibly also sēlāfe (585), means 'what is left by the waves,' then ēce lāfe signifies what is for ever left, reminding us of God's eternal plan. Thus the central ideas of treasure and an eternal gift reappear in the Abraham-Noah episode, helping to integrate and 'interlace' this episode into the main story.

The strand of variation dealing with God's law and his reward is, as we have seen, not limited to a certain passage, but represents a central theme of the poem. It is especially prominent at the beginning

and at the end.

Other instances of variation are distributed throughout the poem. The following variations refer to the Israelites:

drihta gedrymost	Hæleð wāfedon, (78-79)
------------------	---------------------------

The heroes were amazed, the most joyful people.

lāðne lāstweard,	Wræcmon gebād
ēðellēasum	sē ðe him lange ær
wēan wītum fæst.	onñied gescraf, (137-40)

The exile awaited the hated pursuer who had earlier for a long time oppressed him the man without country, had afflicted him with misery through hard tortures.

Moyses bebead	...
folc somnigean,	frecan ārīsan (215-17)

Moses ordered the people to assemble, the brave ones to rise.

	Snelle gemundon
weardas wīgleoð,	werod was gefýsed,
brūdon ofer burgum,	(býman gehýrdon),
flotan feldhūsum.	(220-23)

The guardians quickly remembered the war-song, the host was ready, they moved with their tents over the hills, the sailors, they heard the trumpet.

The following variation does not refer to the Israelites as a people, but to one tribe only:

After þære fyrde flota mōdgade,
Rūbenes sunu (331-32)

After this company the sailor behaved proudly,
the son of Reuben.

Towards the end of the poem we find a further variation
referring to the Israelites:

Hæfde wuldres bēam werud gelāded,
hālige hēapas (568-69)

The pillar of glory had guided the host,
the holy band.

Looking at the above examples of variations we find
among them four thematically significant concepts: 1. the
Israelites' qualities as warriors (hæleð, 78; freca,
217; mōdgade, 331), 2. the exile (wræcmon ... ēðellēasum,
137 and 139), 3. the sailor (flotan, 223; flota, 331),
and 4. the Israelites' holiness (hālige hēapas, 569).

The concept of the sailor also appears in form of
a variation in the Noah-Abraham episode: snottor sēleoda
(374) 'wise sailor.' However, not only does the nautical
concept establish a thematic relationship between this
episode and the main poem, but also the idea of the
exile (hē on wræce lifde, 383) reappears, and the holi-
ness of Abraham's people is described in the same way
as that of the Israelites (hālige hēapas, 382).

The protagonist of the poem, the people of Israel,
must necessarily present one of the strands of the
verbal interlace pattern. It is interesting that other
strands (the themes of the warrior—possibly in the
Christian sense, the exile, and the sailor) join in.

The antagonist, the Egyptian people, also represents a strong strand in the design. One section of this strand will be examined in detail in the scene of the drowning of the Egyptians.³³

In the visual interlace design we find distinct sections with a certain dominating strand which may be discontinued or varied in another section. Likewise in poetry we find the variations of a certain concept dominant throughout a section and then being replaced by a different, equally dominant one, in another section. This can be shown in the sections which deal with the columns of cloud and fire.

Krapp rightly divides lines 54-97 into two parts. The first part ends with line 62. It contains a general description of the way which the Israelites went until they reached the 'borderdwellers' (Gūðmyrce, 59) whose lands were covered with an 'airhelmet' (lyfthelme, 60). The second part starts with Moses' command to camp around Etham and ends with the following passage:

Him beforan fōran fȳr and wolcen
in beorhtrodor, bēamas twēgen,
þara æghwæðer efngeðælde
hēanþegnunga hūliges gastes,
deornōdra sīð dagum and nihtum. (93-97)

Before them went the fire and the cloud in the bright sky, two pillars, each of which in the service of the holy spirit divided evenly the journey of the brave ones by day and by

³³ See pp. 43-54.

night.

The concept which recurs several times in the second part is that of the cloud or clouds in various images: bælce (73) 'skin,'³⁴ halgan nette (74) 'holy net,' dægscealdes hlēo (79) 'protection against the day-shield,'³⁵ segle (81) 'sail,' feldhūsa (85) 'tent.' The preceding short section also contains a variation of the cloud concept: lyfthelme (60) 'air helmet.' A definite

³⁴ For this interpretation see F. Holthausen "Beiträge zur englischen Etymologie," Anglia, 70 (1951), 1-21, p. 16. Irving who glossed the word as 'covering, canopy' in his edition, declares later that Holthausen's interpretation "deserves consideration, for a net and a stretched skin are similar objects." See "On the Dating of the Old English Poems Genesis and Exodus," Anglia, 77 (1959), 1-11, p. 10. See also "New Notes," p. 299. However, Peter J. Lucas in his article "The Cloud in the Interpretation of the Old English Exodus," ES, 51 (1970), 297-311, p. 303, n. 22, believes the word in Exodus to be derived from *balkuz 'partition.'

³⁵ That "day shield" is a common image for the sun is well known, and the poet must not necessarily have been familiar with Diodorus who states that the Red Sea sun "takes on the form of a round shield and sends forth a light which is exceptionally bright and fiery." Quoted from Irving, ed. (Diodorus III, 48, 3; translation by Oldfather, ed. Loeb, II, p. 235). Krapp and Irving, ed., change dægscealdes hlēo to dægsceades hlēo 'protection of the day shadow,' but in "New Notes" Irving wishes to retain the MS reading as meaning 'day-shield' (p. 299). The MS reading is preserved by most editors, and Peter J. Lucas has newly defended the meaning 'day shield,' but he refers the word to the cloud. See "The Cloud in the Interpretation of the Old English Exodus," ES, 51 (1970), 297-311, pp. 307-08. When Krapp rejected the reading he may have thought of the sun as the protector ('protection of the day shield') and this seemed indeed a strange statement in the context. However, the interpretation 'protection against the day-shield,' i. e. the sun, makes good sense because it refers to the protective cover and is thus a variation of bælce, halgan nette, segle, and feldhūsa. James W. Bright was the first to suggest the reading 'protection against the sun' in "Notes on the Cædmonian Exodus," MLN, 17 (1902), 212-14, p. 14.

structural pattern of variation can be detected in this section of the poem: a significant image introduces the topic before it is fully developed in the following unit.

As we have seen, the cloud is the main topic in this section and also the main object of variation. But the technique of variation extends still further into sentences which do not necessarily follow in an uninterrupted sequence. Thus the poet states that a camp was ordered (65). Much later we learn that it was the third camp to comfort the people (87). Between these two statements which refer to the camp we find variations of the idea of protection against heat in connection with the cloud image. The following variations occur in one sentence:

gescylde - bælc oferbrædde (72-73)
 bælc - hālgan nette (73-74)
 byrnendne heofon - hātwendne lyft (73).

The content of the following sentence may be regarded as a variation of gescylde, bælc oferbrædde 'he protected, covered with a skin:'

Hæfde wederwolcen wīdum fæðmum
 eorðan and uprodor efne gedæled,
 lædde lēodwerod, ligfȳr adranc,
 hāte heofontorht. (75-78)

The cloud with its wide embrace had evenly separated earth and heaven; it led the people, the flame was quenched, heavenly bright in its heat.

This sentence contains a further nominal variation:

līgfȳr - hāte heofontorht.

The short sentence Hæleð wāfedon, / drihta gedrȳmost 'The warriors marvelled, the most joyful of troops' (78-79), containing a different variation, interrupts the description of the cloud briefly, but the following sentences restate the idea of protection which the cloud offers:

Dagscealdes hlēo
wand ofer wolcnum; hāfde wītig god
sunnan slōfæt segle ofertolden
(79-81)

The "shelter against the day shield" (i. e. the protection against the sun)³⁶ moved over the sky, the wise God had covered the course of the sun with a sail.³⁷

The reference to the third camp temporarily interrupts the variation on the cloud theme which reappears in hālige seglas, / lyftwundor lēoht (89-90) 'holy sails, a bright miracle in the air' and which then merges with the pillar of fire subject: Him beforan fōran fȳr and wolcen (93) 'in front of them travelled fire and cloud.' Significantly, the pillar of fire is introduced towards the end of this section and serves as a prelude to the topic which is fully developed in lines 98-124, a new section.

³⁶ See n. 35, p. 39.

³⁷ In line 81 the MS has swegle instead of segle. The emendation has been generally accepted.

In this section, which develops the cloud topic, we found the sentence Hæleð wāfedon, / drihta gedrȳmost (78-80) 'The warriors marvelled, the most joyful of troops' interrupting the variations on the main topic. But this sentence itself is varied in

Fyrd eall gesēah

hū p̄ar hlīfedon hālige seglas,
lyftwundor lēoht (88-90)

All the army saw how holy sails towered
there, a bright miracle in the air

and in

lēode ongēton,

dugoð Israhela, p̄at p̄ar drihten cwōm
(90-91)

The people, the retainers of Israel, perceived
that the Lord came there.

This threefold variation reveals step by step more significant details of the people's experience of the miracle which progresses from general admiration to the vision of holy sails and finally towards the vision of God.

In the new section the main subject of variation is the pillar of fire, but the poet also mentions an image referring to the cloud: segl sīðe wēold (105)³⁸ 'the sail controlled their journey,' thus connecting the two sections by means of the "interlace" variation technique.

³⁸ Krapp reads swegl with the MS.

The most interesting section which displays "interlace" in the variation technique in a condensed form is the scene of the drowning of the Egyptians (447-515). Towards the end of this section we find the oral-formulaic theme of the last survivor, which, in this case, is treated negatively: there was no last survivor to bring the message to the families (506-14). The section ends with the narrator's comment:

Sē ȝe spēd āhte, / āgēat gylp wera. Hīe wið god wunnon!

'The one who had success destroyed the boasting of men. They strove against God!' Apart from the survivor theme and these last lines the remaining section is composed of interlaced variations of the protagonist, the antagonist, and of five main concepts which express various aspects of the Egyptians' experience: their fear, the impossibility of retreat, lamentation, blood, death. Furthermore the Egyptians' pride and their weapons are mentioned, and once a figurative weapon, alde mēce (495) 'an old sword,' is found in the hands of God. Most variations contained in this section refer to the "hero" of this scene, the sea: geofon (448) 'ocean,' beorhhliðu (449) 'mountain slopes,' possibly an image for the sea wall, holm (450) 'sea,' on yðum (450) 'in the waves,' wæter (451) 'water,' yða gewēalc (456) 'the rolling of the waves,' mid wēge (458) 'with the waters,' mere (459) 'sea,' strēamas (460) 'streams,' flōd (463 and 482) 'flood,' sēs at ende (467) 'at the sea's end,' holmweall (468) 'the sea wall,'

merestreām (469) 'the stream of the sea,' waðema strēam (472) 'the stream of the waves,' sincalda sǣ (473) 'the perpetually cold sea,' sealtum yðum (473) 'with salty waves,' nacud nýðboda (475) 'the naked messenger of distress,' fāh fēðegast (476) 'the shining spirit,'³⁹ brim (478) 'surf,' lagu (483) 'waters,' weallfæsten 'bulwark' which stands in variation with wāgas in the phrases wicon weallfæsten, wāgas burston (484) 'the bulwark gave way, the waves burst,' and with meretorras, another image for the sea wall in multon meretorras (485) 'the sea towers melted.' The variations of the "sea" continue with: helpendra pað (488) 'the path of the helpers,'⁴⁰ merestreāmes mōd (489) 'the raging of the sea,' gārsecg (490) 'the ocean,' handweorc godes (493) 'the handiwork of God,' fāmigbosma (494) 'with foamy bosom,' brūn yppinge (499) 'the shining manifestation,' mōdewāga mēst (500) 'the greatest of furious waves.'

The sea is allied with two other of the known elements, air and earth. The following lines, although not stylistic variations, develop the topic of the air in combination with that of the sea and of death:

³⁹ Fāh has been interpreted as from fāg 'shining,' which seems a more suitable variation of nacud 'naked' than fāh 'hostile.'

⁴⁰ Early editors and critics have frequently emended the word helpendra, but Krapp and Irving accept it. However, in "New Notes" (p. 319) Irving suggests wāð 'the wandering' for pað, pointing out that the scribe confused these words also in Genesis 2730. In the present instance wāð would also refer to waves.

wælmist āstāh (451) 'the death mist rose,' storm up gewāt (460) 'the storm rose'—storm here is used ambiguously, referring also to the Egyptians' lament: herewōpa mæst (461) 'the greatest of army cries,' to which it stands in variation; lyft up geswearc (462) 'the air became dark,' was sēo hāwene lyft heolfre geblanden (477) 'the blue air was polluted with blood,' lyft was onhrēred (483) 'the air was roused.' The air is polluted with the smell of dead bodies and it is in a state of uproar like the sea.

The earth only plays a minor rôle: sand bāsnodon (471) 'the sands waited,' lagu land gefēol (483) 'the flood fell on the land,' unhleowan wæg (495), tentatively translated as 'the unfriendly path,' whereby wæg is interpreted as a spelling variant of weg 'path.' To these the phrase pār ær wegas lāgon / mere mōdgode (458-59) 'Where formerly paths were, the sea raged' could possibly be added.

The elements, however, are in the hands of God, who is the real moving force. He appears in four variations, sōð metod (479) 'the true Lord,' sē mihtiga (485) 'the mighty one,' heofonrīces weard (486) 'the guardian of heavens,' and flōdweard (494) 'the guardian of the flood.'⁴¹ The theme of the help of God in this passage is developed in the

⁴¹ For a quotation of the passage and a textual note see p. 47.

following lines:

Was sēo hāwene lyft heolfre geblanden,
 brim berstende blōdegeasan hwēop
 sūmanna slō, oðþæt soð metod
 þurh Moyses hand mōdge rymde,
 wide wæðde, wælfæðmum sweop.
 (477-81)

The blue air was polluted with blood, the
 crashing waters threatened the journey of the
 seamen with blood horror, until the true Lord,
 through the hand of Moses, cleared away the proud
 ones, hunted [them] widely, swept [them] away in
 a deadly embrace.

The phrase contains three variations on the help of
 God. Variations of the ideas expressed in this passage
 concerning the help of God are found in the following
 lines:

 þā se mihtiga slōh
 mid hālige hand, heofonrīces weard
 on werbēamas
 (485-87)⁴²

when the mighty one, the guardian of heaven,
 struck the sea beams with his holy hand
 and in

⁴² On werbēamas is Krapp's emendation of MS
werbēamas which lacks one metrical syllable and has
 been emended by most editors. For full variants see
 Irving's ed. In "New Notes" Irving provides evidence
 that werbēamas may be a variation of meretorras
 (p. 319). Wer- would then be a variant of wær- 'sea.'
 See also F. G. Robinson, "Notes on the Old English
 Exodus," *Anglia*, 80 (1962), 363-78.

wītroð gefēol
 hēah of heofonum handweorc godes,
 fāmigbosma flōðweard [g]eslōh
 unhlēowan weg, alde mēce. 43
 (492-95)

The handiwork of God with foamy bosom fell high from heaven on the path of the army, the guardian of the flood struck the unfriendly path with an old sword.

The Israelites are only mentioned once in sāmanna sīa (479) 'the voyage of the seamen.' Moses is also mentioned once: purh Moyses hand (480) 'through Moses' hand.' The antagonist, on the other hand, who is fighting without the help of the natural forces, and against God, is named 23 times in the following variations: folc (447) 'the people,' gāstas gēomre (448) 'troubled spirits,' Egypte (452) 'the Egyptians,' forhtigende (453) 'the frightened ones,' hereblēaðe (454) 'the ones who are pale in battle,' herges (457) 'the armies,' mægen (459, 469, and 500) 'the force,' lāðe (462) 'the hostile ones,' mōðige and mōðge (465 and 480), 'the proud ones,' cynigas on corðre (466) 'kings in a troop,' fyrde (472) 'the army,' feondum (476) 'the enemy,' fæge (482) 'the doomed ones,' wlance ðeode (487) 'the proud people,' drihte (496) 'the host,' synfullra swēot (497) 'the sinful troops,' flōðblac here (497) 'the flood pale army,' dugoð Ēgypta (501) 'the nobility of the Egyptians,' Faraon

⁴³ weg is interpreted as a spelling variant of weg in l. 495.

mid his folcum (502) 'Pharaoh with his people,' godes
andsaca (503) 'God's opponent.' To these, four pro-
 nouns can be added: manegum (489) 'many,'⁴⁴ him (455)
 'them,' hīe (499) 'they,' and hē (502) 'he.'

The first of the five main concepts relating to the experience of the Egyptians is the concept of fear and terror. As we have seen before, this concept is not limited to this passage, but appears in combination with the theme of the help of God, relating to the Israelites. The Egyptians do not have the help of God, and fear and terror are combined with variations of the sea and of another topic, that of an attempted retreat or of the impossibility of retreat. Variations of fear and terror are found in the following lines:

Folc was āfæred, flōdegsa becwōm (447)

The people were terrified, the flood terror
 came

flugon forhtigende, fār ongēton (453)
 they fled terrified, they perceived the
 sudden disaster.

The idea of fear is also expressed in the word here-
blēaðe (454) 'the ones who are pale in battle,' and
 it appears once more in combination with a blood
 image in line 491-92: egesan stōdon, / wēollon wælbenna

⁴⁴ Cosijn, "Anglosaxonica," BGDSL, 20 (1895), 98-116, p. 105, pointed out that manegum here is used as a litotes, meaning 'to everybody without exception.'

'terrors arose, deadly wounds gushed.'

The attempted retreat is expressed in the following variations:

Wæron Egypte eft oncyrde,
flugon forhtigende
(452-53)

The Egyptians turned back, they fled terrified
woldon hereblēaðe hāmas findan (454)

The ones who were pale in battle wanted to find
their homes.

The Egyptians' attempt to retreat, however, is futile. The variations on the futility of a retreat, combined with the negative "last survivor" theme, are the following:

herges to hāme, nē ðær ænig becwōm
wyrd mid wæge. ac behindan belēac
(456-58)

but nobody of the army came home, their fate
was shut in behind with the waves.

wāges æt ende cyre swiðrode
(466-67)

their retreat became impossible at the end
of the waves.

In the above translation cyre is taken as a possibly misheard substitute for cyrr.⁴⁵ It does not seem likely that the poet introduced a new concept, that of choice

⁴⁵ This reading was proposed by Dietrich, "Zu Cædmon," ZfdA, 10 (1856), 310-67, p. 359, and is contained in C. W. M. Grein's edition Bibliothek der Angelsächsischen Poesie, I (Göttingen: Wigand, 1857). Irving emends to cyrm 'cries' in "New Notes," Anglia 90 (1972), 289-324, p. 317.

—if cyre is translated 'choice,'—without a variation. On the other hand the attempted or desired retreat is described in several variations. The theme continues in a new combination in the following lines:

Mægen was on cwealme
fæste gefeterod, forðganges weg
searwum asæled

(469-71)

The troops were dying firmly chained, bound by their armor on their way forth.⁴⁶

Here the impossibility of retreat is due to their heavy armor. The last variation on the retreat is found in the following lines, which expand the negative last survivor theme:

forðam þæs heriges hām eft ne cōm
ealles ungrundes ænig to lāfe,
þætte sið heora secgan mōste,
bodigean æfter burgum bealospella mæst,
hordwearda hryre, hæleða cwēnum,
ac þa mægenbrēatas meredēað geswealh,
spelbodan ēac. (508-14)

because nobody of the army, of the vast number, was left to come home so that he could tell of their journey, announce in the towns the greatest tale of misfortune, the fall of the guardians of treasure, announce it to the wives of the heroes, but the sea-death swallowed the troops and the messenger too.

⁴⁶ Krapp reads asæled with the MS; Irving emends to asæled and points out that searwum asæled could also mean 'bound by trickery,' yet 'armor' seems to be preferable in this context. Weg: This is Krapp's emendation for MS nep. Irving, in "New Notes," suggests nēh, an Anglian form of neah (p. 317).

Another aspect of the Egyptians' experience (the cry of war or of terror) is expressed in several variations: hrēam wæs on yðum (450) 'An outcry was in the waves,' herewōpa mæst (461) 'the greatest of army cries,' Lāðe cyrmdon ... / fægum stefnum (462-63) 'the hateful ones cried with doomed voices,' gyllende gryre (490) 'yelling terror.' The idea of mourning or lamentation possibly suggesting an audible suffering is also expressed in gāstas gēomre (448) 'mournful spirits' and in gylp wearð gnornra (455) 'their boasting became more sorrowful.'

A significant part of the battle-experience is expressed in blood images which will be discussed in part ii. For the sake of a complete analysis of the passage under discussion the variations on this topic are given in full below: Wæron beorhhlifu blōde bestēmed (449) 'The mountain slopes were soaked with blood,' holm heolfre spāw (450) 'the ocean spat blood,' Wæs sēo hēwene lyft heolfre geblanden (477) 'the blue sky was mingled with blood,' blōdegesan hwēop (478) 'threatened the blood horror.'

The experience of death in this passage is dominant and has been expressed in several variations: geofon deaðe hwēop (448) 'the ocean threatened with death,' wælmist āstāh (451) 'death-mist rose,' mægen wæs ādrenced (459) 'the army was drowned;' the wording lyft up geswearc (462) 'the air blackened'

could possibly be taken as a variation of wælmist āstāh, the idea of death and dying continues as follows:

meredēaða mæst (465) 'the greatest of sea deaths,'
mōdige swulton (465) 'the brave ones died,' Mægen was
on cwealme (469) 'the army was dying,' mōdige rymde ...
wælfæðmum swēop ... fæge crungon (480-82) 'he cleared
the proud ones away ... he swept them away in a deadly
embrace ... the doomed ones fell,' bæt ðy dēaðdrepe
drihte swāfon (496) 'that the crowd died through the
death-blow,' Sāwlum lunnon (497) 'they departed from
their souls,' Mægen eall gedrēas / ða gedrencte wæron
dugoð Egypta (500-01) 'The whole army perished when the
retainers of the Egyptians were drowned.' Death in the
following line is connected with the negative last
survivor theme:

ac þa mægenprēatas meredēað geswealh
(513)

but the sea death swallowed the mighty troops.

It was necessary to analyse the passage in detail in order to show to what extent repetition is used in the composition of a scene. Not all restatements of ideas quoted above would pass as stylistic variations, but they may pass as variations on a topic or a motif. The word motif has been used here for recurring concepts which do not branch out into narrative sections. With the exception of the attempted retreat, which is combined with the negative last survivor theme, we may speak of the motifs of fear or terror, of crying,

blood, and death. It is possible that these motifs were component parts of traditional battle descriptions. To these the weapons may be added as further elements of a traditional battle-scene. Weapons in this scene are mentioned in five different places: water wæpna ful (451) 'the water was full of weapons,' Randbyrig wæron rofene (464) 'the shield-walls broke,' searwum āsāled (471) 'hindered by their armor,' and alde mēce (496) 'with an old sword.'

The scene is composed of stylistic variations on a number of topics or motifs. There is no progression of action. The death motif already occurs at the beginning: geofon dēaðe hwēop (448) 'the ocean threatened with death.' All motifs analysed above are found within the first 6 lines, and the following 60 lines or so present variations of these motifs. The only new theme added is that of the help of God, and this is already a familiar theme. The topic of the impossibility of retreat is expanded into the oral formulaic "last survivor theme." We here have a technique which does not develop ideas or events as distinct units in order to proceed to other units, but rather names the various items together and then restates them in different combinations. Including the two opposing forces and the weapons, we may count at least eight strands which are woven together from the beginning, with one further strand added in line 479, where the theme of the help

of God is reintroduced.

Obviously, the poet did not intend to write a scene in chronological order. The strands which are woven together contain features which are experienced from the beginning of the struggle between the Egyptians and the sea. However, we must keep in mind that some active fighting may have been described in the lost section. The scene represents a continuing struggle in which the same things happen from the beginning to the end. The effect is gained through the accumulation of a selected number of strands which are rewoven in different combinations. The whole scene presents a climax in the story of Exodus, but there is no climax within the scene. The unique combination of strands in this scene sets it apart from the preceding and the following ones. Furthermore, this feature presents a parallel to some interlace designs in the visual arts. Leyerle added photos of several graphical interlace designs to his article. A drawing of one of these designs has been included here to illustrate the interlace structure.



Detail from folio 110^v of the
St. Chad Gospels. Courtauld
Institute of Art

Part ii: SPIRITUAL SYMBOLISM

a) Former research

The earliest scholarly article concerned with spiritual symbolism in Exodus is that by James W. Bright, "The Relation of the Cædmonian Exodus to the Liturgy," MLN, 27 (1912), 97-103. Bright is not so much concerned with the interpretation of Exodus as with his intention of establishing a source. Subsequent scholarship has not confirmed Bright's belief that the source of the poem was the Easter Liturgy, more specifically, the readings for Holy Saturday, "a very significantly observed day in the medieval church" (p. 97). Yet the implications of spiritual symbolism in Exodus have found more and more support during the last decade. Irving now believes that a liturgical model must have influenced the poem to some extent, but he believes that one must be careful not to transfer the full meaning of any liturgical source to the poem of Exodus.¹

Whether or not the poet used the Holy Saturday readings as a direct source seems to be a question of little relevance in face of the fact that as a Christian he must have been familiar with the ceremony and its

¹ "Exodus retraced," Old English Studies in Honour of John C. Pope, ed. Robert B. Burlin and Edward B. Irving, Jr. (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1974), pp. 203-23, p. 205.

symbolism, and thus the liturgical practices possibly influenced the structure of his poem as well as its imagery and symbolism. Consequently, the material presented by Bright is still important for the interpretation of the poem.

When Irving's edition appeared in 1953 the application of allegory to medieval literature had not yet achieved quite the degree of popularity as it enjoys now. Irving then believed that Exodus presented "a radical departure" from the allegorical tradition as reflected in the commentaries on the Biblical Exodus by Jerome, Ambrose, Pseudo-Bede, and others. In Irving's opinion the poem was "historical and ... devoted to the story as story, drawing no analogies, pointing out no specific doctrine."² However, Irving was aware of the allegorical implications, but they seemed to him then "applicable only in a small way." He now comments: "Twenty years later I feel the same way, and I am pleased to note that some recent comments on the allegorical approach to the poem offer some support for such a point of view."³ From this comment it is clear that Irving still considers the presentation of the heroic action more important than the underlying symbolism.

A defence of an allegorical reading of Exodus has

² Ed., p. 15.

³ "Exodus retraced," Old English Studies in Honour of John C. Pope, p. 210.

been undertaken by J. E. Cross and S. T. Tucker in their article "Allegorical Tradition and the Old English Exodus." Cross and Tucker rightly point out that the "one general allegory that would cover the events of the poem is the equation of the Israelites' journey from Egypt to the Promised Land with the journey from earthly exile to the heavenly home."⁴ Cross and Tucker are careful not to overstress their point. They do not want to say that the poem is to be seen on one level as a religious allegory, but they maintain that "symbolic pictures would occur naturally to a learned Christian's mind." The main symbols to which they draw attention are the following: 1. the common Christian image of the exile of this world; 2. the image of the voyage of life; and 3. the military image of the Christian soldier.

In his article "An Interpretation of Exodus, 46-53" Peter J. Lucas appears to be influenced by Cross and Tucker's allegorical view, which he uses for the illumination of the controversial passage referring to the slaying of the first-born.⁵ In another more recent article Lucas makes the following statement: "The poem may be seen to communicate at three levels: narrative, allegorical, and thematic. These ... levels should ... be regarded ... as possibly interacting levels which

⁴ Neophil. 44 (1960), 122-27, p. 123.

⁵ N&Q, 6 (1969), 364-66.

it is convenient to separate for the purposes of analysis." He says further that, considered separately, neither of the two levels, the historical and the allegorical, is fully coherent and that "an uneasy tension seems to exist between the two: a shift in the narrative from one episode to another does nothing (indeed, could hardly be expected) to illuminate a possible allegorical interpretation; and allegorical hints, even though they may form a 'chain of associated notions,' are (because merely 'associated') not sufficient to provide a satisfying organic 'structure' which incorporates the non-sequential treatment of Biblical-historical events."⁶ Lucas finds the unifying factor of the poem at the thematic level, and he suggests God's covenant with his people to be the central theme.

Lucas does not refer to Robert T. Farrell's article "A Reading of OE. Exodus," in which the author propounds a similar view of thematic composition, which permits him to interpret the Noah-Abraham episode as an integral part of the poem.⁷ The two scholars seem to have come independently to a similar conclusion.

More recently, Lucas has discovered nautical images in Exodus which may refer to Christ's cross. The word

⁶ "The Cloud in the Interpretation of the Old English Exodus," ES, 51 (1970), 297-311, p. 299.

⁷ RES, 20 (1969), 401-17.

seglrode (83) 'cross-bar' is taken to be the cross.⁸

This interpretation expanded an idea expressed in Earl's article "Christian Traditions in the Old English Exodus" in which the "ship of the Church" appears as the image which underlies the nautical imagery in Exodus.⁹ The cross-bar of the ship completes this imagery.

In discussing the spiritual symbolism of Exodus I am not trying to answer the question whether the poem is historical or allegorical or whether it is historical on one level and allegorical on another. As Cross and Tucker rightly point out, "this would be an unmediaeval way of regarding the events as they are brought together and described in this particular poem."¹⁰ For a medieval Christian historical reality extended into the time before the creation of man, and every Biblical historical event had its significant place in the history of salvation, and the outcome of the history of salvation was defined by the prophecies. The poet could not possibly have been unfamiliar with the homiletic exegesis of his time.

⁸ "The Cross in Exodus," Famulus Christi: Essays in Commemoration of the Thirteenth Centenary of the Birth of the Venerable Bede, ed. Gerald Bonner (London: Clowes, 1976), pp. 193-209, p. 197-98.

⁹ NM, 71 (1970), 541-70.

¹⁰ "Allegorical Tradition and The Old English Exodus," Neophil. 44 (1960), 122-27, p. 123.

If we do not wish to label the poem as either "allegorical" or "historical," the term "typological" offers itself as a happy compromise to reconcile the deviating views. The Biblical historical events are types of other events in the history of salvation, either preceding or following the time of events described in the poem.

b) Aspects of spiritual symbolism in Exodus

1. Time and place

The poet treats time and place in Exodus with a certain vagueness. He may have done this deliberately so that the reader should become aware of the spiritual significance of Biblical historical events. The reader must use the 'keys of the spirit' (Gāstes cagon, 525). Only a few geographical terms have been used to indicate the direction in which the Israelites are traveling. They travel towards the north (on norōwegas, 68), knowing that in the south lies the land of the Ethiopians (sigelwara land, 69). The Israelites see the Egyptian army approaching from the south (of sūōwegum, 155). The only place-name given in this account is the camping place 'Etham' (Ēthān, 66), but even this name is based on a scribal correction, and we cannot be absolutely sure whether this correction presents the original reading. The MS reads æt anes with an h superscribed by an ancient hand.

The next camping place is vaguely placed near the Red Sea (134). The land of the Canaanites is named as the promised land (445) in the Abraham-episode where Mount Sion is also mentioned as the place where the sacrifice of Isaac is going to take place. The poet adds that this was the mountain where King David's son erected the famous temple (386-93).

A comparison with the account in the Vulgate shows that our poet is much less concerned with the exact historical places than the writer of the Biblical account.¹¹ In Exodus 13,5 not only the land of the Canaanites is named as the promised land but also that of four other peoples: cumque introduxerit te Dominus in terram Chananaei et Hethaei et Amorrhaei et Hevaei et Iebusaei quam iuravit patribus tuis ...¹²

Also, the description of the road on which the Israelites are travelling is more exact in the Biblical story. In the Bible God did not lead them on the road through the land of the Philistines, which was nearest (Exodus 13, 17). They travelled forth from Succoth and camped in Etham, at the edge of the desert

¹¹ Attention must be drawn to the fact that the standardization of the Vulgate was not yet complete and that the copy used by the poet may have differed slightly from the standard Vulgate we now possess. It is, however, unlikely that any Biblical text could have been as vague in Biblical historical detail as Exodus.

¹² References are to Biblia Sacra (Torino: Marietti, 1959).

(Exodus 13,20). Also, the geographical position of the next camping place near the sea is given in the Vulgate: Reversi castrametentur e regione Phihahiroth,
quae est inter Magdalum et mare contra Beelsephon
 (Exodus 14,2). This place is mentioned again in verse 9 as the place of the encounter between the Egyptian army and the people of Israel.

Undoubtedly, the geographical vagueness of the Old English poem helps to transform the unique Biblical historical event into an event of greater significance beyond place and time. This transformation becomes even more apparent if we consider the treatment of time in this poem.

With regard to Biblical time events are vaguely co-ordinated. They do not always appear in their historical sequence. There may be a causal connection between events which took place before the time of the exodus and a certain episode during the journey. This is the case when the tribe of Judah is allowed to enter the sea path first. The poet explains that Judah has taken Reuben's, the first born's, place because of Reuben's sins (335-36).

The Noah and Abraham episodes (362-446) on the other hand are not causally connected to the events of the exodus, and this may be a reason why editors have sometimes rejected them as interpolations. Their relevance to the exodus story is thematic, as has been

argued above. The Noah-story is briefly retold, linking the theme of the floodway of the Israelites to the deluge in Noah's time. The image of the sailor for Noah (seleoda, 374) connects the imagery of this passage to that of the main story, since the exodus is seen as a voyage.

The story of Abraham contains the themes of the exile and of the covenant between God and man: hē on wræce lifde (383) 'he lived in exile;' wære hīe þær fundon (387) 'they found a covenant there.'

Abraham was told to hold firm the covenant with God: þæt þū wið waldend wære hēolde (422) 'that you keep the covenant with the ruler.' The main points of this covenant are named in the Abraham-story. On God's part the covenant is a promise to Abraham that his descendants will inherit the land of the Canaanites (445). In order to integrate the Abraham-story into the poem the essential parts of the promise are again referred to by Moses in his great final speech after the Israelites' deliverance:

hafað ūs on Cananea cyn gelyfed
burh and bēagas, brāde rice;
wile nū gelæstan þæt hē lange gehēt
mid āðsware, engla drihten.
in fyrndagum fæderyncynne (556-60)

He has delivered to us the race of the Canaanites,
their town and treasures, their wide realm;
he will now fulfill what he long ago promised
with an oath, the lord of angels, in days of
old to the tribe of your fathers.

Even the geographical position is repeated: the promised land is the land between two seas: gesittað sigerīce be sēm twēonum (563) 'you will establish a realm of victory between the two seas.'¹³

As far as the Biblical historical time is concerned, these episodes present a parenthesis, but since their thematic content, God's promise and help, is timeless, the episodes contribute to the symbolism of time: Abraham can be seen as a type of Moses and of Christ. The shortness of the episodes would, in any case, not have allowed the poet to use those details of time and place which would relate to a specific historical time only.

Also the other references to former manifestations of a legal relationship between God and man and of revelations concerning God's nature and his intentions are, in the Old English poem, not expressed in precise statements as to historical place and time. Thus the typical aspect of the situation is emphasized rather than the particular and the historical. According to the Biblical account God spoke to Moses several times: at the burning bush, where God revealed his name to Moses (Exodus 3,14), in Midian (Exodus 4,19), and in Egypt before, during, and after the plagues (Exodus 6-14). In none of these meetings is the story of

¹³ Compare these lines from the promise to Abraham: ac hīe gesittað be sēm twēonum
oð Egypte incafeode
land Cananea (443-45).

creation told to Moses. The Old English Exodus sums up these interviews in such a way that the impression of only one meeting between God and Moses is given. At this meeting God revealed to Moses his own name and told him the story of the creation:

Dā was forma slō

þæt hine weroda god wordum nægde,
 þær hē him gesægde sōðwundra fela,
 hū þas woruld worhte wītig drihten,
 eorðan ymbhwyrft and uprodor,
 gesette sigerīce, and his sylfes naman,
 ðone ylde bearn ær ne cūðon,
 frōd fædera cyn, þeah hīe fela wiston. (22-29)

Then was the first time that the God of hosts approached him with words, when he told him many true marvels, how the wise Lord created this world, the circuit of the earth, and heaven, established his victorious reign and [told] his own name which the children of men, the wise race of patriarchs, did not know before, although they knew much.

God also entrusted to Moses the life of his kinsmen: his māga feorh (17) and imparted to him some of the divine power:

þone on wēstenne weroda drihten,
 sōðfæst cyning, mid his sylfes miht
 gewyrðode, and him wundra fela,
 ece alwalda, in æht forgeaf. (8-11)

Then in the desert the God of hosts, the true king, honoured him with his own power and the eternal ruler gave many miracles into his possession.

The poet seems to feel free to condense Biblical time and even to integrate later events into the time of the narrative. The law-giving scene, beginning with line 516, is an example of this kind. After the drowning of the Egyptians Moses speaks to his people, gives them ēce rēdas 'eternal counsels,' which are also called dægword. The obscure MS word dægweorc (519) for dægword seems to refer to Moses' laws, as has convincingly been explained by Gollancz, who considers it a translation of the Latin name of the Chronicles Dierum Verba.¹⁴ The controversial point whether the Ten Commandments are meant or whether any other laws are referred to need not be dealt with here. It suffices to notice that the Biblical history does not contain an account of law-giving at this time, i. e. immediately after the crossing of the Red Sea. Place and time in this scene are stated precisely: after the crossing, on the other side of the Red Sea. The typological implications of the crossing will be discussed below.¹⁵

In some cases of less significant events which have taken place prior to our main story, the time is vaguely referred to as 'then:' Dā wearð yrfe weard

¹⁴ Israel Gollancz, ed., The Cædmon Manuscript of the Anglo-Saxon Biblical Poetry, Junius XI in the Bodleian Library (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1927), p. lxxvii. A new defence of the MS reading has been presented by James W. Earl, "Christian Traditions in the Old English Exodus," NM, 71 (1970), 541-70, p. 550.

¹⁵ See pp. 84-86.

(142) 'then was the heir,' ðā hēo his mægwinum morðor fremedon (146) 'then they committed murder on his kinsmen.' We do not really learn when, in relation to other events, these things happened.

The poet being aware of the past and its relevance to the Biblical historical time of Exodus is also aware of the future: the near future which will bring the conquest of the Promised Land, and the future which is still unfulfilled, including the Last Judgment, which may have been typified in the law-giving scene.

A scene concerning the near future is described in lines 326b-330:

	pracu wæs on ðre,
heard handplega,	hægsteald mōdige
wæpna wælslihtes,	wigend unforhte,
bilswaðu blōdige,	beadumægnes ræs,
grimhelma gegrind,	þær Iūdas fōr.

An attack was on the shore, hard fighting, brave warriors, fighters without fear in the deadly slaughter of weapons, bloody wounds, the onrush of forces, the crashing of helmets, where Judah went.

At the time when the martial order of the Israelites is described as they are about to enter the passage through the Red Sea, we do not expect to find a reference to a battle. Irving believes that the scene anticipates future battles on the way to the Promised Land.¹⁶ Cross and Tucker in their article "Allegorical Tradition and

¹⁶ Ed., n. 330.

the Old English Exodus" point out that Irving's realistic interpretation does not suffice to explain why there should be an immediate fight and also point out that we should recall the homiletic exhortations to baptism: "In the Christian view the catechumen comes to his baptism as a soldier to the colours ..." (p. 125). Cross and Tucker especially draw attention to Augustine's discussion of the crossing as a type of baptism in which the Egyptians represent the dead sins of the past while the foe in front represent future difficulties to be overcome. They conclude that "it is a short step from enemies a tergo and ante faciem in the allegorical expositions to the unrealistic situation in the O. E. Exodus" (p. 126). While it is not denied that this interpretation sheds new light on the battle-scene and, in view of other typological explanations, is certainly of value for the total meaning of the poem, it is possible to find an alternative explanation for its placement.

Although Irving admits that it is possible that this passage hints at a battle between the Israelites and the Egyptian army, he does not give a reason why it should be Judah who encountered the enemy. Judah was the first one to enter the passage and must consequently have been the last one in the battle if the enemy approached from the rear. However, Irving has acknowledged that the poem originally might have con-

tained a battle-scene between the Israelites and the Egyptians in the gap of the MS between lines 446-47: "the whole atmosphere of the poem hints at that."¹⁷

There are some additional reasons why this passage may refer to the immediate fight, that is the battle in the Red Sea. Judah can be a synonym for the Israelites as Hebrews 8,8 suggests: "Behold, the days come, saith the Lord, when I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel and with the house of Judah ..."
(AV). If the poet was aware of the fact that Judah can stand for the Israelites, we are no longer faced with the problem that the tribe of Judah was furthest away from the Egyptian army. The interpretation that there was a fight between the armies is not fully supported by the Biblical account since God himself is fighting for Israel. The wording of the Vulgate, however, would not quite exclude the view that there could have been a battle in which Israel was victorious because God fought for them: Iamque advenerat vigilia matutina, et ecce respiciens Dominus super castra Aegyptiorum per columnam ignis et nubis, interfecit exercitum eorum; et subvertit rotas curruum, ferebanturque in profundum. Dixerunt ergo Aegyptii: Fugiamus Israëlem; Dominus enim pugnat pro eis contra nos (Exodus 14, 24-25).

¹⁷ Ed., n. 330.

Israel could have joined in the fight before God interfered. Only after this encounter was Moses told to stretch out his hand and order the waters to return to destroy the enemy. Consequently, there was time for a battle to take place, and an imaginative poet who undoubtedly must have known poems which contained battle-scenes may have wanted to dramatize the action by including the Israelites in the actual fight.

The fact that so many different interpretations are possible concerning the time of an action in Exodus (in this case the time of the battle which Judah fought) is significant in so far as it allows the poet to hint at several events at the same time, leaving it to the audience to find the hidden meaning.

The Abraham-episode contains a small reference to the future building of King Solomon's temple on Mount Sion (on Seone beorh, 386) where the sacrifice of Isaac was going to take place.¹⁸ This reference is certainly not only made to remind the reader of a Biblical historical fact. We must bear in mind that the temple signified the Old Testament and the Christian Church the New Testament. The temple thus was the ante-

¹⁸ The proper name in line 386 was misunderstood as onseone (MS), a mistake which was repeated in the Exeter Book, where onsyne beorg occurs twice (Christ 876 and 900). See Kenneth Sisam, "Notes on Old English Poetry," RES, 22 (1946), 257-68, p. 264.

cedent of the Christian Church.¹⁹

If we now regard the various references to places beyond this world and man's known history, we will see that the above interpretation of the temple is not at all farfetched.

The poem begins with a reference to the laws of Moses which are known 'far and near over the earth' (fēor and nēah ... ofer middangeard, 1-2). The poet connects them with the reward in heaven, the 'reward of life' (bōte lifes, 5), given to the blessed. Thus from the very beginning of the poem the historical place and time reach into eternity. Heaven and hell and the time of the Last Judgment are present in the mind of the poet:

fēst under foldan, þær bið fȳr and wȳrm (537)
firm under the earth, there will be fire and
snakes;

on þām meðelstede manegum dēmeð (543)
in that place of assembly he will judge many.

The typological identification of the Israelites with the Christian Church, each on its journey to salvation, becomes clearer if those Biblical historical details of time and place which do not contribute to the transcendental meaning are omitted. Consequently,

¹⁹ J. R. Hall, "The Building of the Temple in Exodus: Design for Typology," Neophil., 59 (1975), 616-21, points out that the use of the hyperbole in connection with Solomon is best explained if Solomon is understood as a figure of Christ and the temple as a type of the Church (p. 616).

the poet calls the promised land only the land of the Canaanites, leaving out the other countries which were promised to Israel in the Biblical account but which are insignificant in the typological view.

Also the historical time and place of the law-giving scene may become more plausible if we identify Israel with the Christian community who, at this point, reached the promised land and were given eternal rewards. The expression ēce rēðas (516) 'eternal counsels,' which, in the typological view, would signify the eternal reward, immediately recalls the reward of life after death, the bōte līfes at the beginning of the poem, which stands in variation with langsumne rēð, a long lasting benefit.

Some spiritual significance may be detected in the choice of words. The word rēð in this poem invariably seems to allude to a heavenly reward, consequently it refers to a future time. Rēð is God's counsel, and the one who follows it will be rewarded. When Moses tells his people that they must not fear the 'dead troops' (dēade fēðan, 266) of the Egyptians, he adds:

Ic on beteran rēð
 þæt gē gewurðien wuldres aldor (269-70)

I have a better counsel that you may honour
 the Lord of glory.

Significantly, the expression rēð is used in contrast to the 'dead troops,' the doomed souls whose lifespan is at an end.

Having referred to hell and to the Last Judgment

The Egyptians received a great requital for their days' work, because nobody of the army, of the vast number, was left to come home.

In all these examples the poet is not only concerned with the limited historical time of his epic but also with the history of salvation as a whole.

2. The journey as a way of life

Having established that the poet is telling his story from a point of view which elucidates the typical aspect of a particular event, we may well ask how he treats his main theme, the journey to salvation, in detail.

Even before the Israelites' journey is mentioned, we hear of an 'evil journey' (bealusīō) after which the blessed ones receive the 'reward of life' (bōte līfes, 5). The 'evil journey' is a common metaphor for death, but in this context it might be possible to see in it also a reference to life on earth. This life could be regarded as an 'evil journey,' a journey which continued until death ended it. Israel's journey is certainly a troublesome journey, and the word bealusīō may be an adequate term for it and for the Christian pilgrimage which it typifies. The reward of eternal life, which is promised to the faithful after their pilgrimage, is linked with Moses' laws (Moyses dōmas, 2). The laws are a gift of life. In order to draw attention to the spiritual significance of his story, the poet adds in the voice of the preacher:

Gehyre se ðe wille! (7) 'Listen who will!'

The references to a journey in line 41, dugōð forð gewāt 'the retainers went forth,' line 44, ālȳfed lāðsið lēode grētan—which I suggest reading as ālȳfed lēode lāðsið grētan 'the people were allowed to welcome the evil journey,'²¹—and line 45, folc ferende 'the people were travelling' are, as it seems, deliberately ambiguous, and thus evoke the memory of other instances of journeys of spiritual significance: the Israelites are travelling to the promised land, the first-born sons of the Egyptians are travelling to hell. The latter journey reminds us of another journey, the expulsion of the fallen angels to hell.²²

Unless we admit that certain aspects of the Israelites' journey point towards future or past events in the history of salvation, we increase the textual problems of this poem. For example, why should a multitude of people travel through 'narrow lonely ways' (enge ānpaðas, 58), and why should they walk over 'green ground' (grenne grund, 312) when they enter the Red Sea passage, if the poem dealt with the historical journey only?

Some critics have been willing to assume a broader semantic concept of grenne 'green,' of enge 'narrow,'

²¹ See p. 117.

²² See pp. 122-123.

and of the prefix ān- 'single';²³ others, such as Cosijn and Imelmann, have taken enge anpaðas, uncūð gelad (58) 'narrow single paths, unknown ways' as an ill applied quotation from Beowulf.²⁴ Cosijn especially considers the 'goose march' (gänsemarsch) of the multitude of people ridiculous.

A plausible explanation for grenne grund has been given by H. T. Keenan. Pointing out similar passages in Christ and Satan, in the Paris Psalter, and in the Poema Morale, he proves that the way leading to Paradise is identified as having a green color.²⁵ What applies to the path to the Paradise in Eden may equally apply to the way to Paradise which is believed to be the future dwelling place of saints. According to Bernard F. Huppé the gres ungrēne in Genesis signifies that the earth without the vivifying spirit of God is like grass without its living mark of identity, its greenness.²⁶ Two more articles supply further evidence for the interpretation of grenne grund.

²³ See, for example, Levin Schücking, Untersuchungen zur Bedeutungslehre der angelsächsischen Dichtersprache (Heidelberg: Winter, 1915), p. 40.

²⁴ Cosijn, "Anglosaxonica," BGDSL, 19 (1894), 457-61, p. 459. Imelmann, Forschungen zur altenglischen Poesie (Berlin: Weidmann 1920), p. 389.

²⁵ H. T. Keenan, "Exodus 312: 'the Green Street of Paradise,'" NM, 71 (1970), 455-60, p. 456.

²⁶ Doctrine and Poetry: Augustine's Influence on Old English Poetry (New York: State University of New York, 1959), p. 143.

A. N. Doane, in "The Green Street of Paradise: a Note on Lexis and Meaning in Old English Poetry," maintains that nearly all occurrences of grene in Old English are, in origin, formulaic.²⁷ However, Doane admits that in most cases the color green has acquired an abstract or secondary spiritual significance. It may be preferable not to call expressions like 'green grass,' 'green meadow,' 'green earth,' formulaic but simply to admit the custom of using typifying adjectives.²⁸

An important source of a 'green way to Paradise' has been discovered by Kari Sajavaara: "The interrelationship between the grenne grund 'green ground' in line 312a of the OE Exodus and the path leading to Paradise is implied by a passage in the Cursor Mundi in which Adam gives instructions to Seth of how to find the way to Paradise. The withered footprints remain to guide his way on the green grass."²⁹

The other instance where the color green occurs in Exodus further emphasizes its symbolic usage: Moses is going to strike the sea with his 'green sign' (grēne tacne, 281).³⁰

²⁷ NM, 74 (1973), 456-65, p. 456.

²⁸ Compare 'salty waves' (442, 473).

²⁹ "The Withered Footprints on the Green Street of Paradise," NM, 76 (1975), 34-38, p. 34.

³⁰ On the significance of Moses' rod see p. 98-101.

The passage in the Poema Morale which contains the epithet green, indicating a quality of the way to Paradise, may also throw some light on enge ānpaḍas. The author of this poem opposes the broad street of the world that leads to damnation with bene narewe wei and bene wei grene which leads to salvation.³¹ The images of the broad way to damnation and the narrow path to salvation are found in the gospel according to St. Matthew: "Enter ye in at the strait gate: for wide is the gate, and broad is the way, that leadeth to destruction, and many there be which go in thereat: Because strait is the gate, and narrow is the way, which leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it" (7, 13-14). The formula engeōānpa as reflects the Biblical image and may therefore be regarded as the proper formula for the journey towards salvation.

The narrow path is the 'right road' (rihte strāte, 126); it is the 'way of life' (līfweg, 104) which Moses is measuring out for his people, assisted by the blessings of the Holy Spirit (hēahþegnunga hāliges gāstes, 96) in the columns of fire and cloud.

The poet builds the two 'beams' into his great nautical image of sails spread out over the people:

	Fyrd eall geseah
hū þær hlīfedon	hālige seglas
lyftwundor lēoht;	lēode onġeton
dugoð Israhela,	þæt þær drihten cwōm,
weroda drihten,	wīcsteal metan.

³¹ Richard Morris, ed., Old English Homilies: Part II, EETS, 34 (London: N. Trübner & Co., 1868), p. 179.

Him beforan fōran fȳr and wolcen
 in beorhtrodor, beamas twēgen,
 pāra æghwæðer efngeðælde
 hēanþegnunga hāliges gāstes,
 deormōdra sīð dagum and nihtum. (88-97)

This passage has been newly translated by Peter J. Lucas as follows: "The troop all saw how the holy sails, bright miracles of the air (lyftwundor leocht), towered there (hlifedon); the people, the company of Israelites, perceived that God, the Lord of hosts, came there to mark out the camping-place. Before them in the sky went the pillars of cloud and fire, two beams (beamas), each of which shared alike the guidance of the brave-hearted people by day and by night in the high service of the Holy Spirit."³²

Lucas comments: "Evidently the Israelites, called 'seamen' ..., are seen as on board a ship. Allegorically the ship is the Church whose sails are filled with the Holy Spirit and which conveys the Christian on his journey over the sea of this life to his home in the heavenly port of eternal salvation. But the ship is merely implicit. Only certain features of it are specified: it has a mast, cross-bar (sail-rood), and rigging. Here are the essential features of a cross held upright. The image of the Ship of the Church, together with the Mast of the Cross, is a patristic commonplace ..." (p. 196).

³² "The Cross in Exodus," Famulus Christi: Essays in Commemoration of the Thirteenth Centenary of the Birth of the Venerable Bede, ed. Gerald Bonner (London: Clowes, 1976), pp. 193-209, p. 196.

The fact that the Holy Spirit is actually mentioned as the driving force of the journey in line 96 dispenses any doubt as to whether the poet was familiar with the exegetical implications of this passage.

3. Nautical images and their significance

The image of the journey has led us towards nautical images which need further explanation. Previous research has drawn attention to the medieval image of man's life as a journey or as a voyage which seems to be based on a belief formulated in St. Augustine's De Doctrina Christiana. Man as the exile on earth may either use a vehicle on land or a ship in order to travel to his heavenly homeland.³³ The poet of Exodus has chosen to interpret the Israelites' journey as a voyage. Driven, as it seems, by the holy sail, the people are seen as seamen:

segl siðe wēold, sæmen æfter
fōron flōdwege. (105-06)³⁴

The sail led the way, the seamen behind
went the watery way.

It should be noticed that the Israelites have not yet reached the sea-shore, and flōdwege seems to be an inappropriate term unless we accept its spiritual

³³ Augustine, De Doctrina Christiana, I, 4, PL, 34, ed. Migne, cols. 20-21. See also G. Enriemann, "Religionsgeschichtliche Beiträge zum germanischen Frühchristentum," BGDSL, 35 (1909), 209-39.

³⁴ Krapp reads swegl in line 105 with the MS.

meaning.³⁵ The Israelites are called sailors:
bræddon æfter beorgum ... flotan feldnūsum (132-33)
 'the sailors spread out in tents behind the hills;'
brūdon ofer burgum, ... flotan feldhūsum (222-23)
 'the sailors in tents moved over the hills;' Æfter bære
fyrde flota mōdgade / Rūbēnes sunu. Randas bāron /
sēwīcingas ofer sealtne mersc (331-33) 'Behind that
 troop the sailor, the son of Reuben, went in high
 spirits. The sea-warriors carried their shields over the
 salty marsh;' samanna slō (479) 'the way of the sea-
 men.' In snottor sǣleoda (374) 'the wise sailor' the
 term 'sailor' is also applied to Noah.³⁶

On the other hand, the Egyptians who pursue the
 Israelites are landmen: Frēond onsegon / lāðum ēagum
landmanna cyme (178-79).³⁷ As in the poem The Seafarer
 the 'dead life on land' emerges as the spiritually

³⁵ As Cross and Tucker have pointed out, there is no proof that it could mean 'journey to the sea;' see "Allegorical Tradition and the Old English Exodus," Neophil. 44 (1960), 122-27, p. 127, n. 25.

³⁶ Irving reads sēleoda with short eo. He gives sēlida with a question mark in the textual variants, the form suggested by Benjamin Thorpe, ed. and tr., Cædmon's metrical paraphrase of parts of the Holy Scriptures, in Anglo-Saxon (London: Society of Antiquaries of London, 1832). The form sǣleoda would thus be a non West-Saxon form with a-umlaut of the West-Saxon word sēlida. Lida 'sailor' is recorded in the Gnomic Verses of the Exeter Book. See Clark Hall.

³⁷ For onsēgon the MS has onsigon, West-Saxon onsāwon.

dead life of wordly prosperity.³⁸ The seafarer has rejected it, and the Israelites as seamen have no need to fear the 'dead troops' of the Egyptians, having rejected Egypt and what it may stand for.³⁹

4. The exile

Apart from being seamen the Israelites are characterized as strangers or exiles, while the Egyptians are natives and landsmen. Israel's journey is that of a stranger or an exile on earth. 'Exile' has been identified by Stanley B. Greenfield as an oral-formulaic theme in twelve different poems, but Exodus is not mentioned.⁴⁰

Greenfield found four main aspects of the theme in the various poems which he investigated: the status of exile; the exile's deprivation of joys, treasure, home, etc.; his state of mind; the movement in or into exile.

The Israelites' status as exiles is expressed in

³⁸ See I. L. Gordon, "Traditional Themes in The Wanderer and The Seafarer," RES, 5 (1954), 1-13, p. 9

³⁹ On the typology of the Egyptians see pp. 103-26.

⁴⁰ "The Formulaic Expression of the Theme of 'Exile' in Anglo-Saxon Poetry," Speculum, 30 (1955) 200-06.

the following instance: wræcmon gebād / lāðne lāstweard (137f.) 'the exile awaited the evil pursuer.' Later, in the homiletic passage, the status of exile is applied to men in general: þis is lāne drēam, / wommum āwyrgeð, wreccum ālyfed (532f.) 'this is transitory joy, corrupted with sins, granted to exiles.'⁴¹ These lines are followed by the reference to men as ēðellēase (534) 'men without country.' The state of men's deprivation was one of the characteristic features of the exile-theme, and the Israelites had been referred to as 'men without country' before this image was applied to men in general:

Wræcmon gebād

lāðne lāstweard, sē ðe him lange ær
 ēðellēasum onnīeð gescraf
 wēan wītum fæst. (137-40)

The stranger awaited the hostile pursuer who had long caused oppression, hard misery with torments to the homeless one.⁴²

The exile's state of mind is expressed in the word

⁴¹ Wreccum here is taken to be a spelling variant of wræccum. Grein, ed., in his note suggests an emendation to wræccum. Irving reads wreccum, glossing it as 'wanderer, wretch.'

⁴² The word onnīeð is a hapax legomenon and thus subject to speculation. I believe it to be a spelling variant of unnīeð 'without compulsion.' Dietrich Hofmann interprets it as from Old Norse ánauð 'suppression.' See his article "Untersuchungen zu den altenglischen Gedichten Genesis und Exodus," Anglia, 75 (1957), 1-34, p. 30.

earn (earma anbid, 534) and in the direct statement 'they were despairing about the right to their country' (Wæron orwenan eðelrihtes, 211). This statement is followed by a scene of fearful expectation:

sæton æfter beorgum in blācum rēafum,
wēan on wēnum. (212-13)

They sat behind the hills in their shining
clothes, expecting misery.⁴³

Greenfield's fourth aspect in the description of the exile is the movement in or into exile. There is no direct reference to a movement, except perhaps that the story of Abraham reminds us of his move into exile, which is told in the Bible ("Genesis" 12). The special theme of Exodus, the journey to salvation, allows only for a movement towards the promised land, in a literal and a figurative sense. Certain hardships during the movement in exile may be implicit in the image of the 'narrow paths, the unknown ways' (enge ānpaðas, uncuð gelad, 58).

There is a traditional connection between the exile theme and the "narrow land," as Greenfield has shown in his article "The Theme of Spiritual Exile in Christ I."⁴⁴

⁴³ The word blācum could also be read blacum 'black,' as Irving, ed., reads it.

⁴⁴ PQ, 32 (1953), 321-28.

The spiritual significance of the exile is directly apparent in the homiletic passage which is part of Moses' speech after the crossing of the Red Sea. Here the theme of transience is connected with that of the exile. Such a connection is found elsewhere in Old English poetry. According to I. L. Gordon the transience theme gives "the exile theme of secular elegy something of a new Christian significance."⁴⁵ In Exodus the transience theme appears when the status of exile is applied to men in general.

This life is called lāne drēam ... wreccum ālyfed (532-33) 'transitory joy ... granted to exiles,' earmra anbið, ēðellēase (534) 'the hope of the wretched, the people without country.' The very terminology of this passage recalls previous passages, adding spiritual meaning to such words as wreccmon and ēðellēase, formerly used in a context which might have been understood only historically.

5. Water and blood and the idea of baptism

That the passage through the sea itself would be associated, in the mind of the audience, with baptism, seems very likely, but we have to agree

⁴⁵ The reference is to The Seafarer in "Traditional Themes in The Wanderer and The Seafarer," RES, 5 (1954), 1-13, p. 11.

with Irving that this is not a poem about baptism. The homiletic passage referring to the keys of the spirit, however, cannot be ignored, and such a well known exegetical correspondence as that between the crossing of the Red Sea and baptism would naturally have been inferred by the contemporary audience of Exodus. It has to be stressed that this particular typological correspondence is only one of several. The poem is primarily about the exile's journey towards life, which includes baptism, typified in the passage.

The episode treating the passage through the Red Sea contains an unusual accumulation of blood-imagery, although we cannot be sure that a battle took place. The walls of water are 'spattered with blood' (blōde bestēmed, 449), 'blood pervaded the waters' (flōd blōd gewōd, 463), the blue sky was 'mingled with blood' (heolfre geblanden, 477), 'the sea spat out blood' (holm heolfre spāw, 450), 'the crashing waters threatened the journey of the seamen with blood horror' (brim berstende blōdeg-san hweop / sēanna slō, 478), 'deadly wounds gushed' (weollon wælbenna, 492). The poet imagines the Red Sea to be literally red (reade strēamas, 296), yet this would not fully account for all the images cited above.

There is possibly a reason for the mingling of water and blood. If the poet knew that the passage through the sea symbolized baptism he may have intended

to draw attention to both water and blood as the means to attaining salvation. This imagery recalls the exegetical interpretation of the Biblical scene in which the Israelites drank water from a stone (Exodus 17, 6).

Ælfric comments upon it as follows: se stān ...

hæfde Cristes getācnunge. His sīde was on ðære rode gewundud, and þær fleow ūt blōd and wæter samod; þæt blōd to ure ālysednysse, and þæt wæter to urum ful-
luhte.⁴⁶

In particular, the phrase flōd blōd gewōd (463) 'blood pervaded the waters' may imply a reference to Christ's wound in which blood and water flowed together.

6. Israel and the Christian soldier

Throughout their journey or their spiritual voyage the Israelites are seen as warriors, yet we do not actually see them engaged in a battle in the extant text. The military images are all-pervading in Exodus. Since Cross and Tucker have drawn attention to the symbolism behind these images, we will now examine them more closely and then decide to what extent this symbolism is apparent in Exodus.

There are many synonyms for warrior, such as þegn, wīgend, wiga, hæleð, hægsteald, and heaðorinc. Other words, used for the Israelites connote some military

⁴⁶ Benjamin Thorpe, ed., The Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church, II (London, 1844; rpt. New York: Johnson Reprint Corp., 1971), p. 202.

activity. Thus we have shooters (scēotendum, 112), spear-bearers (gārberendra, 231), battle-makers (gūð-fremmendra, 231), defenders (werigend, 589), defenders of the city (burhweardas, 39). Often the direct word for 'warrior' is used with a qualifying epithet or as part of a compound: wigan on hēape (311) 'warriors in a company,' randwigan and randwiggendra (126 and 436) 'shield-warriors,' sweordwīgendra (260) 'sword-warriors,' and sēwīcingas (333) 'sea-warriors.'

Other words denote a military unit, an army, or a military power: gedriht (304), folcmægen (347), bēodmægen (342), lēodmægen (128, 167, 195), beadumægnes (329), mægenbrym (541 and 349), mægenhēapum (197), mægenbrēatas (513), mægnes mæste (67). Mægen in the sense of 'military force' occurs altogether 9 times, compounds excluded. Apart from mægenbrēatas we have the following compounds with brēat as second element: wīgbrēat (243), mearcbrēat (173), herebrēat (122 and 575), and gūðbrēat (193). Herecist, herecyste is used 3 times (177, 257, 301), and the simplex cist is found twice (229 and 230). The word her(g)e for 'army' occurs further 12 times as simplex and in forðherge (225). Fyrd appears 9 times as simplex, twice in the hapax legomenon fyrdgetrum (103 and 178) and in fyrdlēoð (578) 'war song,' and fyrdwīc (129) 'military camp.' Hēap is used twice as simplex (382 and 569) and in the compounds mōdhēapum (242)

and gārheape (321). Eored (157) 'cavalry' appears once. Werod 'troop' as simplex is found 21 times, and it appears in scīrweord (125) and lēodwerod (77). Other hapax legomena denoting troops are: āngetrum (334), ælfere (66), and folcswēota (578).

There are a number of mostly direct and descriptive images which display the variety of weapons used, the materials they were made of, and other military equipment.

The words denoting warriors or military units seem to be used, without discrimination, for the Israelites and the Egyptians alike. The word here 'army' more often refers to the Egyptian army, but it is also used for the Israelites (247). The word Eored (157) 'cavalry' can only be used for the Egyptians because the Israelites have no horses.

Nothing in the vocabulary chosen to describe the Israelites as warriors suggests that the poet was familiar with St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians, Chapter 6, where the armor of the Christian soldier is described. The "shield of faith," the "helmet of salvation" and "the breastplate of righteousness" (Ephes. 6, 14-17) are not part of the Israelites' armor in Exodus. The fact that the Israelites are predominantly seen as warriors and not as civilians is not enough to identify them with the Christian soldier.

The description of military splendour was natural to a poet in the Germanic tradition, and, apart from mentioning the conquest of the heathen laws and customs (fēonda folcrist, 22), the poet gives no hints as to the significance of the military descriptions. In fact, the description of the Egyptian army is equally detailed in splendour, and their feelings of loyalty towards their own kin make them an enemy with a good cause. They intended to destroy the Israelites because of vengeance for their brothers:

Hæfdon hīe gemynted tō pām mægenhēapum
 to pām ærdege Israhela cynn
 billum abrēotan on hyra brōðorgyld.
 (197-99)

They had intended to destroy the race of the Israelites with their mighty troops with swords at dawn to avenge their brothers.⁴⁷

They are loyal to their lord (pēodenholde, 182). In this instance the poet does not exploit the quality of falsehood which, in general, he has attributed to the Egyptians.⁴⁸ The poet is clearly indebted to the Germanic tradition: he respects the virtue of loyalty. The same trend can be observed in the Old English

⁴⁷ My translation follows Irving's interpretation who considers the phrase tō pām mægenhēapum as roughly parallel with billum and who believes that tō may have been inserted erroneously because of the following line.

⁴⁸ On the character of the Egyptians see further p. 104.

Genesis: even Satan's followers are loyal to their lord.

Bearing in mind the poet's attitude to the enemy, we must not overemphasize the significance of the military images attributed to the Israelites. The poet may have been doing no more than following the tradition. In view of these observations I cannot confirm Cross and Tucker's opinion that the military appearance of the Israelites is a symbol for the Christian soldier.

7. Songs, treasure, and the reward in heaven

Having examined the possibilities of typological correspondences between the Israelites and the Christian pilgrim on their journey, we have come to the end of their pilgrimage when, after the destruction of the Egyptians, the Israelites reach the sea-shore. In the Biblical account the Promised Land is still far away at this point of the story. In Exodus, on the other hand, the Promised Land seems to have been reached. The joyous exclamation folc wæs on lande! (567) 'the people were on land!' the songs of praise, and the scene in which Israel collects treasure at the shore indicate the end of the journey.

It is at this point that the poet wishes to draw attention to the spiritual significance of the exodus story by referring to the 'keys of the spirit' (gāstes c̃æg, 525) and saying that the secret will be revealed.

Including the audience and himself in God's plan, the poet makes it known that his story is relevant to each individual so that 'we' may not be deprived of God's law (þæt wē gēsne ne sȳn godes þēodscipes, 529). He calls the joys of this life a 'transitory happiness, corrupted with sins, granted to the exile' (lāne drēam, / wommum āwyrgeð, wreccum ālȳfed, 532-33). Thus the 'exile' is no longer a reference to the Israelites only, but includes the audience and the poet himself. Equally, the account of the Last Judgment in this context reminds the audience of their future fate. After this digression the Biblical story continues with a speech of Moses who tells his people that the promises which God made a long time ago are now going to be fulfilled.

The poet does not usually resort to preaching and we may therefore ask why he considers it necessary at this point. It is possible that without encouragement to interpret the story spiritually, the following scene would not be understood as a type of the fate which the blessed ones expect after death. The Israelites are singing songs of praise:

hōfon hereprēatas	hlūde stefne,
for þām dægweorce	drihten heredon,
weras wuldres sang;	wif on oðrum,
folcswēota mæst,	fyrdleoð gōlan
āclum stefnum,	eallwundra fela.

(575-79)⁴⁹

⁴⁹ Line 578, gōlan: MS galan.

The troops, with a loud voice, honoured the Lord for the day's work, the men sang a song of glory; the women among others, the greatest of troops, sang with excited voices a martial song of many marvels.

After the singing the Israelites collect treasure at the sea shore, and this is the final scene of the poem:

pā wæs ēðfynde Afrisc mēowle
 on geofones staðe golde geweorðod.
 Handa hōfon halswurðunge,
 bliðe wæron, bōte gesāwon,
 hēddon hererēafes, hæft wæs onsæled.
 Ongunnon sālāfe segnum dælan
 on yðlāfe, ealde madmas,
 rēaf and randas. Heo on riht sceōdon
 gold and godweb, Iōsepes gestrēon,
 wera wuldorgesteald. Werigend lāgon
 on dēaðstede, drihtfolca mæst.
 (580-90)⁵⁰

Then could easily be found the African maiden on the shore of the ocean, adorned with gold. Their hands lifted up necklaces, they were happy, they saw their reward, they took the booty, their captivity was ended. The survivors began to divide the old treasures, clothing and shields, by the standards on the shore. Rightly they divided gold and purple cloth, Joseph's treasure, glorious possessions of men. The protectors lay on the place of death, the greatest

⁵⁰ Line 580, mēowle: Krapp emends to neowle, Irving reads Ebrisc mēowle. In the MS lines 587 and 590 are incomplete (sceo, mæ). On sālāfe (585) see p. 33.

of people.

Both the singing and the treasure scene adequately typify the joy in heaven, the reward of life after the 'evil journey.' Thus the theme of spiritual salvation, introduced at the beginning of the poem, finds its culmination in the final scene. Irving, however, assumed in his edition that the scribe misplaced certain pages and suggested that the homiletic passage should be regarded as the proper conclusion to this poem.⁵¹ Such an alteration in the organization of the poem weakens the typological pattern. The treasure-scene has then a less prominent place and its spiritual significance is less apparent.

Treasure, according to St. Augustine's De Doctrina Christiana, symbolizes wisdom and teachings, as Huppe points out.⁵² The treasure which the Israelites take out of Egypt signifies human learning. Heathen wisdom, although not totally irrelevant, appears to be nothing compared with the wisdom of God.⁵³

The Egyptians in Exodus are called 'the keepers of treasure' who have been 'bereaved of treasure' (hordwearda hryre hēaf was genīwad, / swāfon seledrēamas, since berofene, 35-36).⁵⁴ The treasure which the

⁵¹ See p. 9.

⁵² Doctrine and Poetry, p. 4

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 4

⁵⁴ See further p. 116.

Israelites find on the shore is called 'Joseph's treasure,' an expression which, in this context, seems to be surprising, since we do not know how the treasure came to be washed up on the shore of the Red Sea. It is, however, possible that the missing pages may have contained some clue.⁵⁵

The typological pattern of the poem may throw some light on the expression Iōsepēs gestrēon. According to St. Augustine the treasure of Solomon symbolizes "the knowledge gained from scripture."⁵⁶ The puzzling reference to Joseph's treasure may be explained similarly, since Joseph's treasure may typify that of Solomon. Such an interpretation would be in accordance with the emphasis which is placed on Moses' counsels throughout the poem. The knowledge gained from scripture, symbolized as Joseph's treasure, leads to salvation, but the wisdom of the heathens, on the other hand, was not able to save them: the Egyptians are deprived of treasure, and their keepers of treasure are destroyed.

Another puzzling and often emended expression in the treasure-scene is that of the African maiden (Afrisc mēowle, 580) who was 'easily found on the shore of the ocean.' The MS reading may be preserved

⁵⁵ See Irving's ed., note on l. 588 (555 according to his numbering). On the treasure legend see Louis Ginzberg, ed., The Legends of the Jews, II (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Soc. of America, 1956), p. 371.

⁵⁶ See Huppé, Doctrine and Poetry, p. 4.

if the poem is interpreted typologically. F. C. Robinson convincingly argues that Moses' Ethiopian wife stands for the Church.⁵⁷ More important still seems to be the evidence found by Willem Helder in Augustine's commentary on Psalm 67 (CCSL, 39, p. 879) that there is a connection between the image of spoils from a conquered enemy and the sacrifice of Christ: Christ took away the devil's vessels as spoils. "The Lord distributed them to the splendour of his house ... for the building up of the body of Christ."⁵⁸ Helder concludes: "Hence it is by no means fanciful to relate the gold-adorned African maiden on the sea-shore to the universal church in all the varied richness of its gifts. Like the Ethiopians in Psalm 73, she has every reason to rejoice at the defeat of the ancient dragon" (p. 21). Huppé, in Doctrine and Poetry, points out that the term Afrisc mēowle was probably employed "because of the African maiden of the Song of Songs, traditionally a symbol of the bride of Christ" (p. 223). In view of these findings, it may be permissible to see the gold-adorned bride of Christ, representing the Christian community, in Afrisc mēowle. The enemy is dead. The two types of journeys leading to salvation or to damnation have come to

⁵⁷ "Notes on the Old English Exodus," Anglia, 80 (1962), 363-78, p. 373.

⁵⁸ Willem Helder, "Etham and the Ethiopians in the Old English Exodus," Annale Mediaevale, 16 (1975), 5-23, p. 20-21.

an end.

8. Moses and Christ

If we are right in assuming that Israel's journey to the promised land was, in the eyes of the poet, also a type for the journey of the Christian people to salvation, we must ask whether there is any intentional parallel between Moses, the leader of his people, and Christ. In answering this question we will look at the qualities attributed to Moses and see whether they are compatible with those of Christ.

We hear that God gave Moses 'many wonders in possession' (wundra fela, 10). He was 'dear to God' (lēof Gode, 12), 'bold and wise' (horsc and hreðerglēaw, 13), 'a brave warrior' (modgum magoræswan, 17),⁶² 'a valiant leader' (freom folctoga, 14). If we take the 'brave warrior' metaphorically, the term may legitimately be used for a Christian or for Christ himself. All the other terms are equally general enough to permit the view that Moses may be a type of Christ. However, this evidence alone would not be sufficient to warrant such an identification.

There are no allusions to the weaknesses of Moses of which we learn in the actual Biblical account, of his feelings that he might be inadequate for the task,

⁶² MS magoræswum.

his lack of eloquence and his initial refusal which resulted in God's anger.⁶²

Moses' relationship to the race of Pharaoh, 'the adversary of God' (Godes andsacan, 15)⁶³ is described in these words: 'he restrained [them] with the punishment of the rod' (gyrdwīte band, 15). The poet does not enter into a specific description of the plague but leaves his statement sufficiently general not to obscure the parallel between the powers of the rod and those of the Christian cross. The green color of the rod, the symbolic color of life, contributes to this identification.

The other possible reference to Moses' rod is found in ymb ān twig (145) 'because of a branch.' Although it may not have been the original reading, I have accepted it because of its symbolic implications. It appears in the following context:

Ealles þæs forgēton siððan grame wurdon
Egypta cyn ymb ān twig. (144-45)

The race of the Egyptians forgot all that since
they became hostile because of a branch.

Although the half-verse does not agree with any of the Sievers' types, the meter has been defended by Paull F. Baum, who takes two beats as the basis for a half-line and finds "no reason why they [the three-syllable half-

⁶² See Exodus 4, 10-14.

⁶³ MS andsaca, a possible Northumbrian form; see Blackburn, n.

lines] should not occur."⁶⁴

However, most critics, including Krapp, accept 'fight' or 'counterattack' as the basic interpretation, reading andwīg, ān wīg, ānes wīg, antwīge, or antwīg.⁶⁵ The context suggests that a reason is required to explain why the Egyptians turned hostile. Moses' fight with the Egyptian, told in Exodus 2, 11-15, is such a reason, but Moses' (i. e. Aaron's) rod would also be acceptable. If Baum's metrical theory is accepted, there would be no need to emend ymb to ymbē or ān twig to āne twige, but the letters of the MS could remain intact, except that an and twig could either remain separated or drawn together as antwīg.

The question is now whether ymb ān twig should be emended to ymb antwīg or retained with the meaning 'because of a branch' with its allusion to Moses' rod and further spiritual implications. Even if we accept that an earlier version of the poem probably contained the half-line ymb antwīg, we do not know to what an extent the poem was remoulded, so that we can decide whether the alterations ought to be accepted as an integral part of the new version. In the absence of such evidence I would plead for a retention of the MS

⁶⁴ "The Character of Anglo-Saxon Verse," MP, 28 (1930-31), 143-56, p. 148.

⁶⁵ See Grein, ed.; Dietrich, "Zu Cädmon," ZfdA, 10 (1856), 310-67, p. 342; Sedgfield, ed.; Blackburn, ed.; Krapp, ed.

reading, which underlines the spiritual meaning of the story.⁶⁶

The literal rendering of twig as 'branch,' referring to the rod with which Egypt was punished, gains probability in the light of Pseudo-Bede's commentary. We read in Pseudo-Bede that Moses punished Egypt by throwing his 'twig' (deferens virgam). Then the following explanation is given: Virga vero, per quam Egyptus corripitur, Pharaon superatur, crux Christi est, per quam mundus vincitur, et princeps hujus mundi triumphatur.⁶⁷ The fact that the context in which the twig in Exodus occurs actually refers to the slaying of the first-born (the Egyptians took revenge for the death of their kinsmen), and that, according to the patristic tradition, Christ was believed to be present on the night of the Passover, strongly suggests an analogy between the power of the rod in the hands of Moses and the wondrous power of Christ's rod, which has found its poetic expression in the Dream of the Rood. In the Dream of the Rood the cross is primarily a symbol of victory and power, not of suffering. Likewise, Moses' rod as typifying the cross symbolises the power of the cross.

⁶⁶ The interpretation 'twig,' referring to Aaron's rod, is now defended by Irving, who reads ymb āne twige (from the Anglian feminine twigu). He adds: "This reading will make no one happy, but it is metrical." See "New Notes," Anglia, 90 (1972), 289-326, p. 304.

⁶⁷ Pseudo-Bede, "Explanatio in Secundum Librum Mosis," In Pentateuchum Commentarii, PL, 91, ed. Migne, p. 301.

Egypt, representing the world as the realm of the unbelievers and of God's enemy, has been overcome by the power of 'the rod,' but the enemy sets out for a new attack.

The phrase ymb ān twig in the MS carries an accent on each word. This unusual stressing may well be an expression of its spiritual significance. The metrical anomaly may have been intentional.

The context leads to a statement which may reinforce the parallel between the Passover night and Christ's sacrifice: The sentence þæt he h[il]e þæt dægweorc drēore gebohte, / Moyses lēode (151-52)⁶⁸ 'that the people of Moses paid for that day's work with blood' may at the same time refer to the Egyptians (to the slaying of the first-born), and to Christ's blood through which salvation has become possible. Israel's life was 'bought,' i. e. 'paid for,' with blood. It may be of some interest to mention in this connection that only the last of the plagues found its poetic expression in Exodus. This was the only plague which typifies a certain stage in the history of salvation: as the first Passover it represents Christ's sacrifice.

Equally, in the description of Moses' relationship to his people, an identification of Moses and Christ is possible: God gave to Moses the life of

⁶⁸ The MS has hē for hīe.

his kinsmen (gesealde ... his maga feorn, 16-17), 'that was a great requital' (heah was þæt handlēan, 19). The expression lēan in handlēan seems to point towards a requital beyond the historical time of Exodus.⁶⁹ God also gave Moses military power (wāpna gewæld, 20); Moses conquered in battle many tribes (ofercōm mid þy campe cneomaga fela, 21), the common law of the enemy (feonda folcrist, 22).⁷⁰ It is of significance that the military power given to the victorious Israelites is connected with the conquest of the heathen laws, the opposite of God's laws. Thus this conquest is seen in terms which could equally be applied to the conquest by the Christian Church of the heathen military and spiritual powers.

Further on in the poem the identification of Moses and Christ becomes again more pronounced: Moses

⁶⁹ Compare also p. 73.

⁷⁰ Sedgefield's (ed.) suggestion that folcrist here means much the same as folc or leodscipe is not convincing. He draws attention to ēðelrihtes in line 211 which, in this context, could stand for ēðel. The Israelites were afraid that they would be deprived of their homeland, of the right to their homeland. This is basically a different situation. Sedgefield's proposition ignores the fact that historically two different types of law existed: the king's law, and the common law of the people, which was a customary law, not often fixed in law books. It is probable that the poet should have this customary law in mind, especially since there would be no need to repeat the concept already expressed in cneomaga fela. Feonda folcrist is not a variation of cneomaga fela but a different object. See Sedgefield, ed., n. 22.

is the guide of life (līfes lātpeow) who is measuring out the life way (līfweg metan, 104).

9. The Egyptians and the powers of darkness

If the Israelites represent the Christian Church then Egypt must also have symbolical meaning. From our knowledge of scriptural exegesis we know that Egypt represents the world which the Christian has left behind.⁷¹ A few expressions may hint at this symbolism, for example the inge- (inca-) words which refer to the Egyptians as natives, as opposed to the Israelites, the homeless exiles. That the prefix inge- and its variant inca- can safely be interpreted as 'inside, internal, native' as opposed to ut- 'outside, external' has convincingly been shown by James L. Rosier.⁷² Other expressions seem to imply that the Egyptians are spiritually dead.⁷³ Also the reference synfulra swēot (497) 'army of the sinful' may allude to the sins of the world in the realm of Egypt.

Another typological parallel concerning the Egyptians is far more pronounced in Exodus, i. e. the paral-

⁷¹ Cross and Tucker, "Allegorical Tradition," Neophil., 44 (1960), 122-27, p. 122, give a relevant quotation concerning this symbolism from the commentary by Pelagius (Migne, P. L. LXVIII, col. 769).

⁷² See his article "Icge Gold and Incge Læfe in Beowulf," PMLA, 81 (1966), 342-46, p. 343f.

⁷³ See p. 110 below.

lel between Egypt and the forces of evil. We will now examine whether the qualities and attributes of the historical enemy of Israel are equally those of the arch-enemy of mankind.

The Egyptians differ from the Israelites in that they do not keep treaties: mānum trēowum / woldon hīe þæt feorhlēan fācne gyldan (149-50) 'they wanted to repay the gift of life with a false treaty;' Wære ne gýmdon (140) 'they did not hold the covenant,' In this aspect of falsity the Egyptians resemble the fallen angels. Examples from the Old English Genesis to demonstrate this point are given below.

Certain other characteristics of the Egyptians match those of the fallen angels: they are high-spirited (modige, 465), they boast (gylp wera, 515; gylp wearō gnornra 'their boasting became subdued,' 455), they are a proud nation (wlance ðēode, 487; wlance begnas, 170; oðþæt wlance forscēaf, 204). While mōdig is a quality which also applies to the Israelites and to Moses, wlanc is used for the characterisation of the enemy only.

A comparison with Genesis shows that similar concepts are used to describe the character of the fallen angels, although the wording may be different: God 'bent their pride' (bælc forbīgde, 54), they are a 'faithless (treaty breaking) crowd' (wærlēas werod, 67), they 'receive a hard retribution' (him þæs grim

lēan becōm, 46; pearl æfterlēan, 76), 'because they had started to strive against God' (bæs þe hēo ongunnon wið gode winnan, 77).

In Exodus Pharaoh is called 'the denier or enemy of God' (godes andsaca, 503), and the hopeless struggle of the Egyptians is summed up with the words 'they strove against God' (Hīe wið god wunnon! 515). The identification between the Egyptians and the fallen angels is now very transparent.

This identification will help to elucidate the following textually difficult passage:

Hrēopon herefugolas, hilde grādige,
deawigfēðere, ofer drihtneum,
wonn walcēasega. Wulfas sungon
atol æfenlēoð ætes on wēnan,
carlēasan dēor, cwyldrōf beodan
on lāðra lāst lēodmænes f[y]l.
Hrēopon mearcweardas middum nihtum,
flēah fāge gāst, folc was gehæged.
(162-69)⁷⁴

The army birds called, greedy in battle, the dewy feathered ones, over the dead bodies, the dark carrion eaters. The wolves sang a dire evening song, in hope of food, the pitiless animals, on the track of the hated ones, bold in killing, waited for the fall of the army. The guardians of the borderland called at midnight, the doomed spirit fled, the people were protected.

⁷⁴ L. 166, f[y]l: MS ful.

Part of the translation given above deviates substantially from the interpretations which former critics have offered. The new interpretation is based on the assumption that gehæged, in this context, has not a negative meaning as previously thought, but that it means 'protected.'

Before discussing the reasons for this interpretation, we will look at the images which suggest an identification between the Egyptians and Satan. Although the image of the wolf, which is a common image for Satan, is unambiguously used for the Egyptians in the kenning hære heorowulfas (hare heorowulfas hilde grēttan, 181 'the old army wolves greeted the battle'), the wolves in the above cited passage clearly appear among the beasts of battle whose function it is to predict slaughter. The words Hrēopon mearcweardas middum nihtum (168) undoubtedly are a variation of Wulfas sungon / atol æfenlēoð (164b-165a). The function of the wolves to foretell slaughter is emphasised in the words driht-nēum 'dead bodies,' a compound formed from driht 'people' and nēo 'corpse-bed,'⁷⁵ and in the image of the 'doomed spirit' (fæge gāst, 169).

As Adrien Bonjour pointed out, the theme of fæge men is often combined with that of the beasts of batt-

⁷⁵ That the word is a compound is strongly suggested by the MS, in which habitually compounds are separated. The etymology of this word has, to my knowledge, not yet been pointed out, but the word has generally been translated as 'dead bodies.'

le.⁷⁶ Both terms, drihtnēum and fæge gāst, in my view, refer to the Egyptians. They will provide the food for the wolves when they have fallen in battle (lēod-mægnes f[y]l, 167). In this sense the Egyptians are 'doomed.' Thus the 'doomed spirit' is a logical extension of the idea of the predicted fall of the army.

Critics have been uncertain as to the meaning of f[y]l and of fæge gāst. The MS reading ful has been interpreted as fūl 'foulness' and translated 'the dead' by Sedgefield (ed.). Farrell has recently defended ful (sic! with short u) with the basic meaning 'foulness, guilt, offence' as an appropriate description of the Egyptians' spiritual foulness.⁷⁷ In view of the frequent metaphorical use of 'fall' for dying I prefer the translation given above. The spelling ful possibly reflects an Anglian form feol 'fall.'⁷⁸

The words fæge gāst have been interpreted by Sedgefield (ed.) as follows: "'doomed souls were flitting' i. e. ghostly apparitions were seen at night."

⁷⁶ For example in the Battle of Maldon (l. 104-07). See "Beowulf and the Beasts of Battle," PMLA, 72 (1957), 561-73, p. 566-67.

⁷⁷ See Robert T. Farrell, "Eight Notes on Old English Exodus," NM, 67 (1966), 364-75, p. 372.

⁷⁸ This spelling may be best explained by assuming that the scribe mechanically replaced the eo of a possible Anglian word feol by u. Spellings with eo are not attested, but ea is found (see Clark Hall), and the Northumbrian confusion of ea and eo would easily explain the presence of eo.

Irving rejected Sedgefield's interpretation because he felt that "this sudden introduction of the supernatural is unwarranted." He translates 'the doomed spirit fled' and goes on to say: "the phrase is no more appropriate here than the rest of the battle trappings, wolves and ravens ... or possibly the poet is trying, somewhat awkwardly, to convey the emotional state of the Israelites—they felt as good as dead, or their hearts sank." After the appearance of F. C. Robinson's article "Notes on the Old English Exodus," Irving accepted Robinson's view that flēogan here is used metaphorically, possibly meaning 'advanced rapidly.'⁷⁹ Irving now thinks that the phrase refers to the wolves who may be "the devil's agents." Supplying other instances of 'doomed spirits' for devils, Irving concludes: "Hence the fæge gast here is most likely Pharaoh-Satan (a Dracula-like impressario of howling wolves?), and the word fleah might literally mean 'flew' in this context."⁸⁰

Irving's findings in support of his view may also be used to support the present interpretation. By providing instances of identification between 'doomed spirits' and devils, Irving's findings help to emphasise the spiritual symbolism of Egypt and the

⁷⁹ See Robinson's article in Anglia, 80 (1962), 363-78, p. 365, n. 2.

⁸⁰ "New Notes," Anglia, 90 (1972), 289-326, p. 305.

Egyptians. The fact that the singular form of fæge gāst is used strongly suggests that the devil is personified in the Egyptian army.

Whether we permit Robinson's interpretation 'advanced rapidly, flew' for flēah instead of 'fled' will depend on the meaning of folc was gehæged. Blackburn, in his edition, glosses gehæged with 'hemmed in,' believing the Israelites to be trapped at this point. Irving's emendation geh[ɪn]æged 'conquered, subdued' which he retains in "New Notes" only weakens the image of the enclosure. Irving believes the Israelites to be trapped.

Critics, so far, have failed to observe that the word gehægen may denote a protective enclosure in this context. The Old English compound hæghāl 'safe and sound' and the German words hegen, Gehege rather suggest that the people were guarded, protected.

From a contextual point of view, such an interpretation is permissible since it would be an anticipation of the celestial intervention in lines 204-05: the Egyptian army advanced 'until a mighty angel who protected the people drove the proud ones away' (oð- þæt wlanca forscēaf / mihtig engel, sē ða menigeo be- heold). Having thus suggested that folc was gehæged can mean that the people were protected, we have no difficulty in translating flēah fæge gāst as 'the doomed spirit fled,' which would also anticipate the

Egyptians' retreat when the angel intervened.

There is another mysterious allusion to a spirit in line 476: fāh fēðegāst. If this refers to the sea, it should perhaps be glossed 'shining warlike spirit,' not 'hostile spirit.' The use of this image seems to suggest that the struggle between the sea and the Egyptians becomes a struggle between powerful spirits.

The Egyptians are not only 'doomed to death' but they are actually referred to as 'dead.' Moses speaks to his people when they see in fear the Egyptian army approaching, saying:

Ne willað ēow andrēdan dēade fēðan,
fēge ferhōlocan; fyrst is æt ende
lānes līfes. (266-68)

Do not fear the dead troops, the doomed bodies.

The time of their transitory life is at an end.

The ambiguity of the text prevents us from determining whether the poet means that the Egyptians are spiritually dead or whether it is an anticipation of their death, which is close at hand. Does the poet wish to say that the people who are doomed to death by God are as good as dead in their present state? Possibly the poet was aware of both meanings and wanted both to be understood. In order to stress the difference between the dead Egyptians and the Israelites, the latter are called the 'people of the living ones' (līfigendra [1] ēod, 277).⁸¹

⁸¹ MS peod. Krapp reads lēod, Irving lēoð.

There is another significant and controversial passage, which contains parallels between the Egyptians and the evil forces. The text has been presented as I propose to read it and deviates substantially from Krapp and other editions:⁸²

- pā was ingere yldrum wītum
 dēaðe gedilēgiad drihtfolca mǣst;
 35 hordwearda hryre heaf was genīwad
 swāfon seledreāmas, since berofene.
 Hæfde mǣnsceaðan æt middere niht
 frēcne gefylled, frumbearna fela,
 abrocene burhweardas. Bana wīde scrað,
 40 lāð lēodhata, land drysmyde
 deadra hrǣwum, dugoð forð gewāt,
 wōp was wīde, worulddreāma lýt.
 Wæron hleahtorsmiðum handa belocene,
 ālyfed lēode lāðsið grētan;
 45 folc ferende, frēond was berēafod,
 hergas on helle. Heofon pider becōm,
 druron deofolgyld. Dæg was mǣre
 ofer middangeard pā seo mengeo fōr.
 Swā þas fæsten dreah fela missera
 50 ealdwerige, Egypta folc,
 þas be hie wīdefeð wyrnan þōnton
 Moyses mægum, gif hie metod lēte,
 on langne lust lēofes siðes.

Pages 112-122 are given over to an interpretation of this passage.

⁸² Deviations from the MS and from Krapp's text are given below:

1. 33: yldrum. MS and Krapp ealdum.
1. 34: gedilēgiad. MS gedrenced with the letters renced over an erasure in a different hand. Krapp reads gedrenced.
1. 40: drysmyde. MS dryrmyde. Krapp drysmyde. See Irving, ed., note on this line.
1. 44: lēode lāðsið: MS and Krapp lāðsið lēode.
1. 45: frēond. This reading is in the MS. Krapp emends to feond.
1. 46: Heofon. Krapp emends to Heofung.

Then the greatest of people were altogether afflicted with death during the plague to the older ones. Their wailing was renewed at the fall of the treasure wards, and their joys in the hall slept when they were bereft of treasure. He had boldly killed at midnight many of the evildoer's first-born; he had destroyed the defenders of the city. The killer went far, the hostile hater of people. The land grew dark with the bodies of the dead ones. The troop went forth, lamentation was everywhere, there was little happiness. The hands of the laughter makers were fettered, the people were allowed to welcome the evil journey. The people were travelling. Friends were bereaved, armies in hell. Heaven came down there, the idols fell. Famous was the day on earth when the multitude travelled. Thus the Egyptian people—they were accursed of old—endured confinement for many half years because they intended to hinder for ever Moses' kinsmen, if God would let them, [to go] on their long desired dear journey.

The translation of lines 33-34 is based on the emendations of MS ealdum to yl drum and of gedrenced to gedilēgiad. The word ingere is taken to mean 'completely, altogether.'

How difficult the interpretation of these lines

is, may be illustrated by a completely different translation offered by Blackburn: "Not long before that had the greatest of nations been afflicted with bitter plagues, (even) with death ..." Irving, in his edition, glosses the phrase ealdum wītum as "with ancient punishments, torments," and he applies it to the last plague, the killing of the first-born. While I acknowledge that this makes good sense out of an obscure wording, it may be considered that the copy of the scribe could have had the word ældrum, the Anglian form of ieldrum,⁸³ whereby he left out the comparative ending -r-. The many Anglian remnants in Exodus would allow us to assume that a West-Saxon scribe habitually replaced Anglian forms of his copy with West-Saxon ones. Reading yltrum for ealdum, we are now able to translate 'with the plague to the elder ones.'

A reference to this specific event would be particularly welcome because it would clearly relate these lines to lines 35-46 in which details of the slaying of the first-born are given.

That an early reader of the MS probably misunderstood the relationship of these lines to the following, is suggested by an erasure and in subsequent correction in the MS. The corrector who inserted the word gedrenced possibly wished to clarify the lines by relating them to the outcome of the Exodus story. It

⁸³ See Campbell, Old English Grammar, § 658, n. 4.

may be interesting to notice that the early corrector most likely understood ingere as 'completely, altogether.' This would fit in best with the story in which the whole army is drowned. The lines in their MS form anticipate the drowning of the Egyptians, but have nothing to do with the immediately following account of the slaying of the first-born.

In order to justify the above emendation of gedrenced to gedilēgiad, it is necessary to look closely at the MS. The letters ged are the scribe's, the letters renced are larger and appear to have been written over an erasure by a different hand. Although Irving retained the MS reading in his edition, he maintained that this word is certainly not the scribe's. In "New Notes" he suggests gedrecced.⁸⁴ Among the words which earlier editors and critics proposed as replacements the word gedēmed 'doomed' seems to fit best in meaning, yet the features of the MS suggest that the original word was probably longer.⁸⁵ Although it has been noticed by Irving that in the MS not the whole original word is replaced, but only the letters renced, no suitable word of equal length, beginning with ged, has been suggested. The word gedrecced, which is long enough

⁸⁴ Anglia, 90 (1972), 289-326, p. 293. This reading is also contained in Sedgefield's edition.

⁸⁵ The emendation of gedēmed was first suggested by Ernst J. Groth, Composition und Alter der altenglischen (angelsächsischen) Exodus, Diss. Göttingen (Göttingen: privately printed, 1883), p. 5.

to fill the erasure, begins with gedr, and it remains unexplained why the letter r after ged was deleted and then replaced by the same letter. One further objection to the reading gedrecced has been raised by Cosijn, who argues that the grammatically correct form of the past participle of gedreccan is gedreaht.⁸⁶

Because of the erasure in the MS we must look for a word longer than gedreaht, a word which has no r after the first three letters ged. The word gedilēgiad from gedilēgian 'destroy, blot out' fulfils all these requirements and may therefore be put forward as, possibly, the original word.

The difficulties concerning the interpretation of the first two lines are not yet overcome. The hapax legomenon ingere poses a certain problem. Mürkens' view that the in- in ingere is an emphatic prefix as in infrōd (Beowulf, 1874 and 2449) seems certainly a very plausible one.⁸⁷ If the word is translated 'completely, altogether,' we are able to see why the emendation to gedrenced was made: only at the time of the drowning can we speak of a complete destruction of the Egyptians. The hyperbolic expression referring to the death of the first-born may have given rise to a misunderstanding.

⁸⁶ "Anglosaxonica," BGDSL, 19 (1894), p. 458.

⁸⁷ Gerhard Mürkens, "Untersuchungen über das altenglische Exoduslied," Bonner Beiträge zur Anglistik, 2 (1899), 62-117, p. 92.

The next lines (35-36) probably refer to Exodus 12, 35-36, where we learn that the Israelites asked treasure from the Egyptians and received it as ransom.⁸⁸

Two of the topics which are introduced here, the affliction which brought suffering to all Egyptians and the subsequent absence of joy, find a more detailed expression in lines 37-42. The translation 'He had boldly killed at midnight many of the first-born of the evildoer' is based on the interpretation of mānsceaḡan as an indirect (dative) object. In the English translation the structure of the original sentence is obscured, but a German translation would preserve the original structure clearly: 'Er hatte dem Übeltäter um Mitternacht viele Erstgeboorene getötet.'

Mānsceaḡan is usually interpreted as accusative in apposition with frumbearna fela, a reading which Krapp prefers. The possibility of a dative was mentioned by Blackburn. Syntactically the sentence is incomplete, lacking a subject, and 'he' has to be understood, since it seems to be out of the question to take mānsceaḡan, emended to mānsceaḡa, as the subject because the subject is the killer of the first-born, i. e. God or his angel.

⁸⁸ On since berofene Irving points out the possibility that these words may refer to the spoiling of the Egyptians before the Israelites depart. Irving prefers to interpret lines 35-36 as an "elegiac cliché," n. 36. On since berofene see also p. 93.

In line 41 (dugoð forð gewāt) and in the following lines we find a reference to one of the great themes of our poem, that of the journey, which in this case is a journey to hell, an evil or hated journey, in juxtaposition to the happy journey of the Israelites. If we emend line 44 as proposed above to āl̥yfed lēode lāōsīð grētan, assuming that the scribe may have exchanged lēode and lāōsīð by mistake, we solve a number of problems and can translate: the people were allowed to welcome the evil journey.

Both Krapp and Irving do not emend the MS, but they agree that in line 44 was should be implied: āl̥yfed was lāōsīð. This, however, does not yet remove the difficulties. Irving takes lēode grētan as accusative with infinitive, and Krapp's punctuation suggests the same interpretation. Grētan is glossed as 'greet, welcome' since with this meaning it can have an accusative object. Yet the translation 'A hateful journey was allowed to greet the people' is not entirely convincing. If it were the other way round, that is, if the people were allowed to welcome the evil journey, this would not only make good sense but also remove the syntactical problem which forced Krapp and Irving to supply was as understood. The previous line contains the required verb wæron. From a literary point of view the irony of this line is rather effective. The Egyptians had hated

the journey of the Israelites. Now they were 'permitted' by God to welcome it, but, as the following lines suggest, the poet does not only think of the Israelites' journey which the Egyptians were forced to welcome, but also of the journey to hell, which their own people were to undertake.

There are two more instances of irony in this passage: worulddrēama lýt 'there was little happiness,' when in fact the suffering was extreme, and Swā þæs fæsten drēah fela missera ... Ēgypta folc (49-50) 'Thus the Egyptian people ... suffered imprisonment for many half-years.' If the reference is to their eternal confinement in hell, this wording is a deliberately ironic understatement, possibly alluding to and reminding the reader of the fact that also Israel had been 'imprisoned' in Egypt for 'many half-years.' The symbolism of Egypt as the world from which the Christian pilgrim escapes could also be implied.

The interpretation of fæsten as referring to hell is justifiable because of the reference to hell in line 46: hergas on helle.

The difficulties found in lines 45-48 concern mainly the point of view. Critics may deviate in their opinion as to whether lāḡsīā denotes the Israelites' journey, hateful to the Egyptians, or whether it refers to the journey of the first-born to hell, but they agree that it expresses the point of view of

the Egyptians. Peter J. Lucas believes that, beginning with folc ferende, the viewpoint changes from the Egyptians to that of the Israelites.⁸⁹ He reads hergas on helle as 'hellish shrines,' taking hergas to be the Anglian form of the West-Saxon heargas. Phonetically, there are no objections to such an interpretation, but Lucas fails to point out the syntactical difficulties involved. Unless parallels of similar structural patterns can be supplied, the interpretation of Lucas must be rejected. If hergas on helle were meant to be in apposition with dēofolgyld, it would have been easy enough for the poet to exchange the half-lines, beginning line 46 with Heofon bider becōm. Krapp, who also interprets hergas as 'altars' leaves no doubt that syntactically the phrase is connected to the preceding lines. In this case wæron must be implied because of the full-stop after helle. In order to maintain his view that the event is now seen through the eyes of the Israelites, Lucas favors Krapp's emendation of frēond to fēond. In my opinion, however, the whole event should primarily be seen through the eyes of the Egyptians, but the wording seems to be intentionally ambiguous in order to draw attention to the fact that two journeys were taking place simultaneously, that to death and that to

⁸⁹ "An Interpretation of Exodus 46-53," N&Q, 10 (1969), 364-66, p. 364.

salvation.

The rendering of the following lines (49-53) will either strengthen or weaken my interpretation. Lucas connects them with Dæg was mære / ofer middangeard pā sēo mengeo fōr, taking swā þas fæsten drēah to be a causal clause. Lucas translates: "Famous was the day throughout the world when the multitude went forth, because for many half-years it [the Israelite multitude] had put up with confinement, in that, if God had let them, those malicious as of old, the people of the Egyptians, for a long time intended to deny to Moses' kinsmen the journey cherished with long-lasting eagerness" (p. 366).

Again, in this interpretation Lucas is stretching the syntactical possibilities beyond their limits without supplying examples of similar structures. If ealdwerige Ēgypta folc were in apposition with hīe, the conjunction þas þe should precede line 50. Furthermore, the rendering of swā as 'because' is exceptional,⁹⁰ and if the usual meaning of 'thus' makes good sense, it should be given preference. The meaning of fæsten as 'place of confinement' and even of 'hell',⁹¹ agrees with the

⁹⁰ See Bruce Mitchell, "Five Notes on Old English Syntax," NM, 70 (1969), 70-84, p. 77. Mitchell only quotes two instances where swā is used with the meaning "in as much as, for, because:" Andreas 327 and 937 with the possible addition of Andreas 622.

⁹¹ See The Whale, l. 70.

idea that the 'armies were in hell' (hergas on helle, 46). If it referred to the plagues, the word swā, implying result, would be illogical, since the plagues were now over.

Another minor textual problem lies in the fact that ealdwerige is a plural. It depends with the singular folc on the singular verb drēah, unless we take it as an elliptic interpolation with the meaning 'they were cursed of old.' A disagreement in number is not unparalleled in this poem, especially when a form of wesan can be implied.⁹²

Also the words on langne lust present a syntactical problem. Krapp interprets it "freely" with 'at their pleasure, as long as they wished,' continuing the meaning of wideferð. Irving agrees with this interpretation and points out that it "cannot ... be taken as governing leofes siðes."

Taking into account the above textual considerations, my translation of lines 45-53 deviates substantially from that of Lucas. It contradicts Lucas' opinion that "these ideas from typological/allegorical exegesis are no more than subsumed in the passage under discussion."⁹³

⁹² For example in l. 327 there is a grammatical disagreement between the singular noun hægsteald and the plural adjective mōdige.

⁹³ "An Interpretation of Exodus 46-53," N&Q, 214 (1969), 364-66, p. 366.

Irving, in "New Notes," comments: "If swa has its normal sense here, it would suggest that, just as the firstborn have already journeyed to hell, so the rest of the Egyptians in a similar way are doomed to suffer imprisonment (fæsten) there forever (taking fela missera as litotes)."⁹⁴ Irving's view would support the translation offered above.

The episode of the Passover night may be taken as a typical instance of the poet's technique of surpassing the limits of the historical time and place. The account begins with the events on earth and ends in hell. The underlying idea which is brought out by the ambiguous use of the words for 'journey' and 'traveling,' is that the Israelites' journey is one to eternal bliss, while the Egyptians travel to hell.

There is, however, another typological parallel: that of the journey to hell at the time of the fall of the angels. A comparison of the passage discussed above with several passages in the Old English Genesis strengthens this interpretation. The mysterious image of the laughtermakers whose hands were fettered gains significance if we compare the Egyptians with Satan and his companions in hell.

Satan, the 'angels' guardian' (engla weard, 22) together with other 'guardians of spirits' (gāsta

⁹⁴ Anglia, 90 (1972), 289-326, p. 295.

weardum, 12) was thrown into hell, 'deprived of joy' (drēama lēas, 40). They were not allowed to 'laugh loud' (ne forfton hlūde hlihhan, 72-73). Satan says in his speech to the devils when thinking of a plan how to seduce man: 'If I only had the power of my hands' (wā lā āhte ic mīnra handa geweald, 368). Satan whose hands and feet are chained thus resembles the Egyptian laughter-makers whose hands are locked up.

Although the story of the fall of the angels does not mention that Satan had been a 'treasure-ward,' his speech to the devils reveals that the poet also uses these attributes of worldly power in order to create the image of bliss and power in heaven. Satan had once given treasure to his subordinates.⁹⁵ He now implores those whom he formerly had rewarded with 'princely treasures' to support him, repaying the old gift by helping him seduce man:

Gif ic ænegum þægne þēodenmādmās
 gēara forgeafe, þenden we on þān gōdan rīce
 gesælige sæton and næfdon ure setla geweald,
 þonne hē me nā on lēofran tīd lēanum ne meahte
 mīne gife gyldan (409-413)

If formerly I have given to any retainer princely treasures when we dwelled happily in that good realm and when we had the power of our positions, then could he not compensate me for my gift at a better time.

⁹⁵ The symbolic value of treasure, signifying wisdom, may have inspired the image of Satan as a giver of treasure. See p. 93.

Having thus established that the central images with which the Egyptians are described correspond to those which have been used in connection with the fallen angels, we may use these findings to support the literal interpretation of the textually controversial half-line heofon bider becōm (46), which we have not yet discussed.

Early critics thought it necessary to emend this line. We find the following interpretations: 1. heofon bistro becōm, 'heaven became dark,'⁹⁶ 2. heofon-bider 'heaven-service,'⁹⁷ 3. heofon in the sense of 'lamentation,'⁹⁸ 4. heofung 'lamentation,'⁹⁹ 5. heofon 'heaven.'¹⁰⁰

Irving's view that 'heaven' stands for God himself has since found support from Fred C. Robinson, Peter J. Lucas, and James W. Earl. Robinson has added new parallels from the Bible where a lowering of the

⁹⁶ Dietrich, "Zu Cādmon," ZfdA, 10 (1856), 310-67, p. 339, explains these words as referring to the plagues.

⁹⁷ Grein, ed., in Bibliothek der Angelsächsischen Poesie, I (Göttingen: Wigand, 1857).

⁹⁸ Grein, "Zur Textkritik der Angelsächsischen Dichter," Germania. Vierteljahrsschrift für Deutsche Altertumskunde, 10 (1865), 417-29, p. 418.

⁹⁹ Blackburn, ed. Supported by Krapp, ed., and Wrenn in his review of Irving's edition, RES, 6 (1955), 184-89, p. 187.

¹⁰⁰ Irving, ed. See also "New Notes," Anglia, 90 (1972), 289-326, p. 295.

heavens occurs.¹⁰¹ Lucas points out that according to the Commentary In Exodus (12. 15), formerly attributed to Bede, Christ descended on the Passover night in order to destroy the idols of the Egyptians.¹⁰² Earl points out that the "baptism rite is joined to the traditions of the battle of cosmic forces at the Harrowing of Hell."¹⁰³ Earl also sees the crossing of the Red Sea as a parallel to the harrowing of hell.

The Christian doctrine that Christ was present at the creation of the world would naturally favor the assumption of his presence at other crucial events in the Biblical history. The term 'heaven' could thus be explained as a reference to the Trinity. Whether this interpretation is accepted depends on the meaning of hergas. If 'heaven' refers to the Trinity, present at the Passover, hergas should be read as 'altars.'

Considering however the poet's view of the history of salvation as a whole, his many invitations to find the hidden meaning which will point beyond the historical event, it seems preferable not to limit our interpretation to the Biblical historical time of the Passover night. If the Egyptians are a type of

¹⁰¹ "Notes on the Old English Exodus," Anglia, 80 (1962), 363-78, p. 364-65.

¹⁰² "An Interpretation of Exodus 46-53," N&Q, 10 (1969), p. 364.

¹⁰³ James W. Earl, "Christian Traditions in the Old English Exodus," NM 71 (1970), 541-70, p. 567-68.

the evil spirits, and if hergas is read as 'troops,' the passage no longer presents problems, neither within the context of the episode of the Passover night, nor within the context of the poem as a whole.

It is further not impossible that the poet expressed himself ambiguously in order to allude to the future event of the coming of Christ into hell, the theme of the last poem in the Junius MS.

The passage discussed above contains in miniature the important aspects of spiritual symbolism which refer to the Egyptians. It also contains the relevant theme of the journey as the way to life or to death, and there is a reference to the relevant topic of treasure, the symbol of the wisdom and the eternal bliss of which the Egyptians are deprived. This topic links the passage with the great theme of the eternal counsel and the final reward given to the blessed ones. With the possible allusion to the journey of the fallen angels and to Christ's harrowing of hell this scene links the Old English Exodus to the Old English Genesis, which precedes it, and to Christ and Satan, the last poem in MS Junius 11. This scene may therefore be regarded as presenting a suitable conclusion to an investigation of Exodus.

APPENDIX: THE MANUSCRIPT

- a) Description of MS Junius 11 with special emphasis on the Exodus portion

MS Junius 11, which contains the so called Cadmonian Biblical poetry, is preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. Exodus, the second poem in this MS, is preceded by Genesis and followed by Daniel. Irving erroneously refers to the MS as Junius XI, possibly confusing the numbering of the Bodleian collection with the Cottonian one in the British Library.¹ The error also occurs in Gollancz' facsimile edition of the Junius MS.

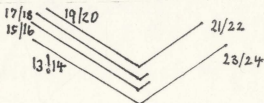
Gollancz' edition contains an explicit description of the MS, the most relevant details of which are now easily accessible in N. R. Ker's Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957). The following information on MS features and dating follows Ker, pp. 406-08. It will suffice to give only some indispensable facts and to add some new observations.

The MS is divided into two books, consisting of 17 quires which contain a total of 116 parchment folios. The size of the folios is approximately 12 3/4 inches by 7 to 7 3/4 inches. The "first book," i. e. Genesis,

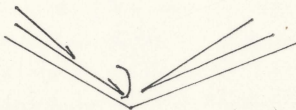
¹ C. L. Wrenn in his review of Irving's edition (see Note 1, INTRODUCTION, p. 1) points out: "Bodley always uses Arabic figures as against the Roman of the Museum in such items."

Exodus, and Daniel, was written around the year 1000, the "second," i. e. Christ and Satan, in the first half of the 11th century.

After a re-examination of the MS, a description of quire three may be presented which slightly differs from that given by Ker, who proposes the following sequence of pages: 13/14, 15/16, 17/18, 19/20, 21/22, 2 folios (4 pages) missing, 23/24. This description may be illustrated by the following diagram:



Yet the MS in its present form shows the following arrangement of pages:



It seems obvious that Ker is describing what he considers to be the original sequence of pages, not that produced by the rebinding of the MS. During the process of rebinding a parchment strip was used to hold the second and third folio of quire three together, so that the impression was created that two leaves are missing between pp. 17/18 and 19/20, whereas in fact they are missing between pp. 21/22 and 23/24. It seems likely that the bifolium, consisting of pages 18/20 and

21/22, was originally the middle one of this quire, so that the order described by Ker should be restored. This little incident, affecting the text of Genesis only, may reflect upon the question of reliability concerning the transmitted sequence of the text. Since we know that the MS folios were not yet paged when the MS was rebound, it is possible that even at this time folios became misplaced, or that, as in the above case, material was lost in a place other than where the present sequence indicates such a loss.

A further point to be discussed in connection with the description of the MS must be the original plan of the book because it affects the relationship of the individual poems to each other, especially that of Exodus and the following poem Daniel.² The Genesis portion of the MS contains a large number of illustrations and ornamented capital letters.³ That Exodus and Daniel, the other two poems of the first book, were also designed to be illustrated is clear from the numerous empty and half empty pages which interrupt the text of these poems. The first artist, who illustrated part of Genesis, including the capital on p. 73, also drew the only zoomorphic letter at the beginning of Exodus, yet he did not draw the initial

² See Robert T. Farrell, "A Reading of Old English Exodus," RES, 20 (1969), 401-17, and by the same author "The Unity of Old English Daniel," RES, 18 (1967), 117-85, p. 131.

³ A detailed description is found in Gollancz, ed., pp. [xxxix]-xlvi.

capital of Daniel. A second artist was employed to illustrate Genesis pages 73 to 88. Page 73 is the first page in the seventh quire.

It is also of interest that, in the first quire of Exodus, space is left for big capitals which were never filled in, yet, from the second quire onwards, the scribe drew his own capital letters. The conjecture that the scribe still expected the artist to continue his work when the first gathering was copied, but that he no longer expected him to do so from the second gathering onwards, may, therefore, be considered correct.⁴

Nevertheless, the same scribe drew the big capitals in Genesis after page 75, that is, in the section illustrated by the second artist. The question arises whether the first quire of Exodus was not actually written before the work on Genesis was completed or whether the big capitals of Genesis were filled in after the scribe had completed Genesis and the first quire of Exodus. The latter hypothesis must be ruled out because the capitals in Genesis after page 75 form a clear unity with the text, while the space left for the artist is normally broader and the lines are shortened in a more regular way.

The theory advanced in this study is that the text of the first quire of Exodus may actually have been

⁴ See Gollancz, ed., p. xix.

written prior to pp. 83-143 of Genesis. Since the copying of a work as voluminous as that of Genesis must have taken a considerable time, it is possible that the book was borrowed by readers during intervals of the copying process. Thus the scribe may have started a new poem before he was able to finish the former one. If this is correct, we may assume that the exemplar of Genesis which the scribe was copying was returned to him sooner than he expected, so that he was able to continue his former work before he wrote more than one quire of Exodus. This theory implies that the first artist possibly drew the capital letters at approximately the same time that the scribe started the new section, but that he remained slightly behind the scribe in his illustrating work. But it is also possible that Genesis was not available as a whole, that single pieces were collected and put together.

The theory that pages 83-142 of Genesis were written later than the first quire of Exodus would lend weight to the argument that the MS was not only designed to be a collection of Biblical poetry, but that the sequence in which the poems were to be presented was determined at an early date. Whether the original plan included Christ and Satan, the last poem in the Junius Manuscript, and possibly other poems not found in this collection, cannot be decided. It seems probable that the latter poem was not yet available at the time that the first

three were copied. This would explain the later date and the abnormal binding of the last quire, which also lacks the generously distributed blank spaces of the former poems. From a deviation of the form, however, one may not conclude that the original plan concerning the subject matter to be collected in the MS had already been given up. While there is no indication at the end of Daniel that book one of the MS was actually completed, the poem now referred to as Christ and Satan ends with the words FINIT LIBER . II . AMEN. The poem Daniel is not complete, and it is possible that one of the lost pages may have indicated the end of book one.

b) Large capitals and small capitals

1. Large capitals

The poems in the first book of the MS are subdivided into sections by Roman numerals. Exodus originally had nine sections, numbered xlii to xlviii, but the scribe often neglects to indicate the number. The beginning of each section which is not numbered is marked by a space for a large capital. A relatively well preserved page from the MS (MS p. 148, beginning with line 107) is included here as a sample. Section [xlvi] seems to be entirely lost. Irving pointed out that the section which should have been numbered xlv begins in the middle of a sentence. The last words on MS p. 147 are folc wæs on sālum (106b) 'the people were happy,'

LVD hāuget cyrum. hāwton bācti aſeah.
 æſtha geſham. oððe pundon. 7ſlic æt æt
 punnan. ſecl nade behiblo. oððe lēd pe
 num. liſe. ſcanan. byrnſide. bſam. blace. ſodon.
 oððe ſcethdum. ſcine. lēoman. ſcanon ſcylb hſeo
 dan. ſcādo ſpīdredon. nāple niht ſcapan. ſcāh
 nemihcon. hābſton ahydan. hāwton candel hāp.
 nipe. niht pſand. nyde ſcēbloe. pſcan oððe pſe.
 dume. pylaſt hum pſcāh gūne. hāp hād. hāwton
 peddum. oððe clamme. pſhō. gāpæ. hāwton
 ſone. gūga. ſynthe. loccaſ. blace. bſamaſ. beſ
 ſgan hſeo. inſam hſe. hſe. hāzan liſe. ſhe
 onpſcāhne. pſhod ſor bāwde. nymde. hie. mod
 hſe. moſt. hſe. ſcān. ſcān. pſhod. ſcylb
 lſcan. gſapōn nand piſan. ſuhte. ſcāte. ſcān
 oððe ſpſcan. oððe ſcā. ſcā. land. æt. hſe. lē
 mægne. ſor. ſcō. ſcā. on. ſcō. pſe. ſcā. piſanaſ.
 pſcāton. hſe. pſe. pſe. ſcā. mod. ge. mſe.
 pſcā. hſe. mæſt. bſan. bſcā. æt. bſcā.
 ſcā. byme. ſcā. ſcā. ſcā. hſe. hſe.
 ſcā. pſe. pſe. nand. piſcā. hſe. beſan. ſcā.
 ſcā. ſcā. hſe. ſcā. ſcā. beſcā. oht. mſe.
 de. ſcā. ſcā. pſe. hſe. pſcā. pſe. mon
 gebad. lſcā. laſt. pſcā. ſcā. hſe. lſcā.
 cōel. lſcā. on. mſe. gſcā. pſcā. pſcā. ſcā.
 pſe. nſcā. ſcā. hſe. yſcā. cyning. æt. ſcā.

the first words on MS p. 148 read [H]LŪD herges cyrm (107a) 'loud was the cry of the army.'⁵ It is obvious that while this half-verse belongs syntactically to the preceding one, metrically it belongs to Heofonbēacen āstāh (107b) 'the heavenly sign arose.' The scribe may have doubted whether it was permissible to begin a new section with a second half-verse which introduces new matter, i. e. the description of the pillars of cloud and fire.

From this possible instance of uncertainty as to where the poem should be divided into sections, it might be inferred that the exemplar had no subdivisions. Whether the scribe of the extant text subdivided his material or whether the divisions were indicated by somebody else, cannot be decided. That the scribe was concerned with matters of form, is apparent from the text. He was obviously endeavoring to present an aesthetically pleasing copy, as was customary. It is therefore possible that he deviated from his exemplar in order to improve the form of presentation. If we consider the scribe the author of the subdivisions, we must, however, assume that he either marked the divisions on his exemplar or on a separate sheet which served as a guide. Otherwise it would be difficult to explain how the sections came to be counted correctly

⁵ MS heriges. The missing large capital in l. 107 is replaced by a small marginal h by the scribe, who thus indicated to the artist which capitals were to be drawn.

in spite of the frequent omission of the Roman numerals.⁶

The practice of subdividing larger epic poems into sections is a feature which Old English has in common with Old Saxon. The Latin prose preface to the Heliand states that, as was customary, the poem is divided into vitteae 'fits.'⁷ Gollancz believes that the word vitteae in the preface to Heliand refers to summaries of the various sections which were contained in numbered register. Gollancz assumes that, similarly, a table of contents was planned for the first book of MS Junius 11 and that the sectional numerals may have arisen in connection with this plan.⁸

2. Small capitals

Apart from the large capitals discussed above, Exodus contains 20 small capitals. These capitals have been dismissed as insignificant by Irving, who does not even indicate where they occur. Yet the careful investigation by Gollancz should not be forgotten. Admittedly, the usage of the small capitals in Exodus does not corres-

⁶ The following numerals appear in Exodus: xlii, MS p. 143 (1); xlvi, p. 156 (252); xlvii, p. 160 (319); xlviii, p. 166 (447). The following numbers in square brackets do not appear where they might be expected: [xliii], p. 146 (63); [xliv], p. 148 (107); [xlv], p. 149 (142). Section [xlviii] is missing.

⁷ See Otto Behaghel, ed., Heliand und Genesis, Alt-deutsche Textbibliothek, No. 4 (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1958), p. 2.

⁸ See Gollancz, ed., p. xxxii.

spond to our usage of capitals, but their function seems to be fairly clear: Gollancz points out: "I think it would be fair to say that we have a sort of punctuation by means of these small capitals, sporadic it is true, but nonetheless logical" (p. xx). The following details illustrate how Gollancz arrived at his conclusion. Five of the twenty capitals mark the first word on a page:

- MS p. 144 (30) Hæfde,
 p. 151 (164) Wonn,
 p. 154 (208) Hæfde,
 p. 157 (276) Hōf,
 p. 163 (419) Ne.

The last of these five capitals is not preceded by blank space, but all the others are. There is only one capital, the second of the five listed above, which does not introduce a new statement, and this capital occurs after one or more missing lines in the beasts of battle scene. Four of the twenty capitals, including the last of the above mentioned five, begin a speech:

Ne (259), Hwæt (278), Ne (419), Micel (554).

According to Gollancz two of the remaining cases mark emphatic statements within the course of speech:

Ne (266), Gesittað (563).

Swā, introducing new statements, is twice written with a capital (377 and 549). Five other capitals, in Gollancz' opinion, are "evidently used for emphasis:"

Hēah (19), Him (93), Hæfde (120), Ðær (135), Ne

(415). The capital of Nymðe (124), beginning a subordinate sentence, is also interpreted as "evidently for emphasis."

Thus eighteen of the twenty small capitals have been accounted for. Gollancz believes that of the remaining two small capitals, one, ða (22), arose because of textual corruption (a confusion of the cesural marks), and the other, Rūn (526) is "altogether anomalous, unless it is put in for picturesque effect, owing to the suggestions of the word, or possibly on the supposition that the line was of the nature of a gnomic utterance" (p. xx).

It is difficult to see why in Gollancz' opinion this last capital should be anomalous because the sentence which begins with the word Rūn is certainly of major significance with regard to the spiritual interpretation of the poem.

Although Gollancz' general conclusion that the small capitals express "a sort of punctuation" is convincing, it seems to be necessary to re-examine what sort of a punctuation they represent. That they generally do not mark off paragraphs is clear from their sporadic appearance within a sentence. It is also by no means obvious that they introduce emphatic statements. Unless we find an explanation which accounts for all the positions in which they are found, the problem must be considered unsolved. The following results of a re-examination offer

a possible explanation.

The first small capital, the H of Hēah (19), is preceded by the brief narrative reference to the plagues and the statement that God gave to Moses the life of his kinsmen. The sentence reads as follows: Hēah was þat handlēan and him hold frea 'great was that gift, and the Lord was gracious to him.' The sentence beginning with the capital is clearly an evaluating comment upon the narrative. With line 20 the narrative continues, but it is not marked off by a new capital: gesealde wæpna gewæld wið wrāðra gryre 'he gave him the power of weapons against the terror of the enemies.' Krapp's punctuation does not make it clear that with line 20 the narrative continues. If I interpret the poet's intention correctly, an exclamation mark should be placed after frea (19), and a new sentence should begin with Gesealde.

The sentence introduced with capitalized Ðā (22) again interrupts the narrative: Ðā was forma sið / þæt hine weroda god wordum nægde 'That was the first time that the God of hosts approached him with words.' The text continues as follows:⁹

bār hē him gesægde sōðwundra fela,
hū þās woruld worhte wītig drihten,
eorðan ymbhwyrft and uproðor,
gesette sigerīce, and his sylfes naman,
ðone ylðo bearn ær ne cūðon,
frōd fædera cyn, þēah hīe fela wiston.
(24-29)

⁹ For a translation see p. 65.

All this is, from a narrative point of view, an interruption of the present action. Significantly enough, after this excursion into the past, the continuation of the present narrative is marked by a small capital:

Hæfde hē pā geswiðed sōðum cræftum
and gewurðodne werodes aldor,
Faraones fēond, on forðwegas.
(30-32)

He had then strengthened with true powers and honored the prince of the army, Pharaoh's enemy, on his way forward.

The capital in Him (93) is preceded by the following verses:

pā was þridða wīc
folce to frōfre. Fyrd eall geseah,
hū þær hlifedon hālige seglas,
lyftwundor lēoht. Lēode ongēton
dugoð Israhela þæt þær drihten cwōm,
weroda drihten wicsteal metan.
(87-92)

Then was the third camp as a comfort to the people. All the army saw how holy sails towered there, a bright miracle in the air. The people perceived, the retainers of Israel, that the Lord was coming there, the Lord of hosts, to measure out the camping place.

pā (87b) is apparently not written with a small capital, as we might expect. However, the graphs for p and capital p are so similar that a distinction is often difficult. Strictly speaking only one sentence (87b-88a) is a comment. The remaining verses, beginning with Fyrd eall geseah, retard the action. They reveal the impact of the

action upon the people. The action itself continues with line 93, introduced by a capital:

Him beforan fōran fȳr and wolcen
in beorhtrodor, beamas twēgen

In front of him travelled fire and a cloud in
the bright sky, two pillars.

The capital of Hafde in Hafde foregenga fȳrene loccas (120) introduces a description which is preceded by an explanation why the pillar of fire should be placed in the sky as a 'new night-guard:'

	þȳ lās him wēstengryre
hār hāð [brōgā]	holmegum wederum
[on fēr]clamme	ferhð getwāfde.
	(117-19) ¹⁰

lest the desert terror, the old heath horror,
in stormy weather, deprived them of life with
a sudden grip.

It is clear that at least a pause or a slight change in tone may be expected in order to mark these words off from the following description of the pillar of fire. It is also quite possible, or even likely, that the þ in þȳ lās was a capital in the exemplar which the scribe copied.

The same applies to the þ in þā (133) which introduces the following comment:

þā wæs fēorðe wīc,
randwigena ræst, be þan rēadan sē.

¹⁰ For other conjectural emendations of these corrupt lines see Irving's (ed.) notes on lines 117 and 118.

Then was the fourth camp, a rest for the warriors,
at the Red Sea.

After this comment the action continues, beginning with a capital in line 135: Ðær on fyrd hyra færspell becwōm 'There in their army sudden news arrived.'

The capital N of Nymðe (124) occurs in the middle of a sentence concerning the pillar of fire. The fire presents a constant threat to the Israelites. It may burn them 'unless they bravely obey Moses' (Nymðe hīe mōðhwate Moyses hyrde). The performer would possibly raise his voice to express warning, a warning which, according to the assumed eternal validity and repeatability of "typical" events, would have been felt by the poet's audience as an indirect address to themselves.

The capital which is found at the beginning of MS page 151 in the phrase Wonn wælcēasega (164) 'the dark carrion-picker' occurs within a textually corrupt passage. The traditional beasts of battle topos is incomplete since the raven (hræfn) is missing.¹¹ Possibly a line was left out before line 164 which, syntactically, belonged to Wonn wælcēasega. It, therefore, seems to be best to dismiss this capital as a scribal mistake. But it is also possible that the scribe was aware of the textual corruption of his copy, and that he tried to emend it by interpreting Wonn wælcēasega as an exclamation 'O you dark

¹¹ For a quotation and translation of the beast of battle scene see p. 105.

carrión eater.' In this case the capitalization could be explained as an indication of a change of tone.

The capital which begins MS page 154 also begins a new paragraph. It is preceded by a comment in a subordinate clause and a short main clause:

þæt þær gelāðe mid him leng ne mihton
geseon tōsomne; sīð was gedæled.

(206-07)

that there the hateful ones could no longer
be seen together with them. The journey was
divided.

The new paragraph starts with Hæfde nýdfara nihtlangne fyrst (208) 'The fugitive had the space of one night.' This sentence continues the narrative, but soon the action is again retarded by a description of the feelings of the Israelites: Wæron orwēnan ēðelrihtes (211) 'They were in despair about the right to their country.' However, this description of their feelings is not introduced by a capital.

The capital in Hōf ðā for hergum hlūde stefne (276) 'He then raised his loud voice in front of the army' begins an interruption of a direct speech. Another capital is placed at the beginning of the next part of the speech: Hwæt, gē nū ēagum to on lōciað (278) 'Behold! you see now with eyes.'¹²

The capital in Micel is pēos menigeo (554) 'large

¹² Irving, in his edition, omitted tō, but says in his "New Notes" (p. 309) that it ought to be retained.

is this crowd' and the two admonitions which begin with a capitalized Ne (259 and 419) mark the beginning of direct speeches. A new command (beginning with a capitalized Ne) is given in line 266: Ne willað ēow andrēdan dēade fēðan 'Do not be afraid of the dead troops.' The preceding part of the speech ended with an explanatory statement: þæt hīe lifigende leng ne mōton / ægnian mid yrmðum Israhela cyn (264-65) 'that, as long as they lived, they could no longer enslave in misery the race of the Israelites.'¹³ The correctness of this translation is reinforced by Liebermann's legal interpretation of ægnian 'als sein ursprüngliches Eigentum gerichtlich erklären.'¹⁴

Within a direct speech there seems to be a change of tone from a statement in a subordinate clause to a future-present, beginning with the words Gesittað sige-rīce (563) in the following context:

wile nū gelāsten þæt hē lange gehēt
mid āðsware, engla drihten,

¹³ The word ægnian presents a textual crux. Irving, in his edition, following a suggestion by Kock (Jubilee Jaunts and Jottings: 250 Contributions to the Interpretation and Prosody of Old English West Teutonic Alliterative Poetry, Lunds Universitets Årsskrift, Bd. 14, Nr. 26 [Lund: C. W. R. Gleerup, 1918], p. 26), relates the word to ægnian 'oppress,' but in his "New Notes" (p. 308) he believes that it is probably related to ægnian 'possess unjustly' which would fit in with the present interpretation.

¹⁴ F. Liebermann, Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen, II (Halle a. S.: M. Niemeyer, 1912), under ægnian.

in fyrndagum fæderyncynne,
 gif gē gehealdað halige lāre,
 þæt gē fēonda gehwone forð ofergangað,
 gesitta sigerice be ~~sem~~ twēonum,
 beorselas beorna. Bið ēower blæd micel!
 (558-64)

The quotation is given in Krapp's punctuation. However, in the following translation which takes into account the small capital in Gesittað, the text is interpreted as having a full-stop after ofergangað:

He will now fulfill what he promised long ago with an oath, the Lord of angels, to the race of the patriarchs in days gone by, that, if you keep the holy teachings, you will conquer all enemies. You will establish a victorious reign between two seas, the beerhalls of men! Your happiness will be great!

If we follow Krapp's - and also Irving's - punctuation, the phrase beginning with gesittað sigerice is a subordinate clause, depending on þæt gē in the preceding verse. If, however, the use of the other small capitals in the poem sheds some light on this passage, it becomes probable that Gesittað sigerice starts a new syntactical unit, otherwise we have no change of tone. Consequently, a full-stop should be placed after forð ofergangað (562), and the following sentence should be taken as a future-present, parallel in structure to Bið ēower blæd micel.

In addition to the capitals counted by Gollancz, which have been discussed above, there may be one more

instance in Forðon (187). The letter F seems to be slightly larger than normal. If it was meant to be a capital, it fits easily into the pattern established above. It is preceded by a comment upon Pharaoh's troops:

Hæfde him ālesen lēoda duguðe
 tīrēadigra twā þūsendo,
 þæt wæron cyningas and cnēowmāgas,
 on þæt eade riht, æðelum dēore.
 (183-86)

He had chosen two thousand glorious warriors from the flower of the people (they were kings and kinsmen) for that honoured duty, famed for their noble qualities.

With Forðon ānra gehwīlc ūt ālædde 'Forthwith' each one led out' the action continues.

Summing up the above observations, it may tentatively be concluded that capitals were designed to indicate a change of tone in the performance. A distinction in tone between the end of a narrative or descriptive passage and the beginning of a comment, or vice versa, may be expected from a skilled performer. Even more obvious seems a distinction in tone between narrative and direct speech, and between the indicative or subjunctive mood on the one hand and the imperative mood on the other. A special case of change of tone is found in the subordinate clause introduced with Nymðe (124). In this case the change of tone seems also to indicate emphasis or warning.

The following table presents a summary of the

small capitals:

Small capitals mark

1. the beginning or end of a comment

or a description within the narrative:

8 instances

2. the beginning or end of direct

speeches:

5 instances

3. a change of tone or mood:

3 instances

Other:

1 instance

The one capital which does not fit into the three categories is most likely a scribal mistake (164).

It must be admitted that the change of tone which may be indicated by small capitals is not always marked in this way, but it is marked often enough to be considered of significance.

If we are right in assuming that the small capitals are used for punctuation, the general practice of mediaeval punctuation will support what has been concluded about the difference of tone. Defining the Beneventan punctuation, E. A. Lowe says: "... it is impossible to give the exact values of the mediaeval points in terms of modern punctuation. The reason for this is that the two systems are different in principle. Our modern system is chiefly concerned with marking logical pauses. The ancient system was also concerned with indicating inflexion of the voice, so that a person reading aloud could see where the voice was to be raised and where

it was to be allowed to drop."¹⁵ Such an "inflexion of the voice" seems to be indicated by the capitals in Exodus. Yet it must be stressed that the above examination cannot claim to be more than a beginning of an inquiry into the use of small capitals in the Junius Manuscript. Future research will decide whether or not the conclusions drawn from the use of capitals in Exodus are valid for Old English poetry in general.

c) Accents

The accents in the Junius Manuscript have attracted the attention of several scholars and have given rise to speculations about their function. The question as to who put in these accents, the scribe of the extant text, a later corrector or various readers, is still unsettled. In Genesis and in Christ and Satan definite proof is found of a later corrector, who may also have added accents.¹⁶ In Exodus and in Daniel, on the other hand, few later corrections occur, yet the text is fully accentuated, and it is by no means self-evident that the accents (or most of them) are a later addition.

The only critical edition of Exodus in which the accents appear above the text is that of Francis A. Blackburn: Exodus and Daniel (Boston: Heath, 1907).

¹⁵ The Beneventan Script (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1914), p. 231.

¹⁶ See MS pages 1-26 and p. 23. Some corrections are in red ink while the original handwriting is dark brown.

Blackburn believed that the accents were not all written by the same person and that they served different purposes. Gollancz, whose discussion of the MS features is meticulously accurate, did not raise the question whether the accents were later additions. This seems to indicate that Gollancz attributed them to the scribe. Ker, on the other hand, states definitely that "there are added accents and hyphens throughout."¹⁷ However, he neglects to indicate the proportion of presumptive original accents and of later additions. From his statement it is not even clear whether he believes that all accents have been added by a later hand.

I have examined the MS carefully and I have come to the conclusion that, with regard to the Exodus portion, a definite answer cannot be given. The color of the ink used in Exodus varies slightly from brownish to black. The accent strokes are so thin that, with the mere eye, it is not possible to distinguish a difference in color between them and the script, and chemical tests have, as far as I know, not yet been applied. Consequently, it cannot be ruled out that the accent marks, or at least the vast majority of them, were put in by the scribe himself.

Many accents have faded to such extent that they would have been lost, had not the fine, sharp feather which the scribe used made an indenture on the parch-

¹⁷ Catalogue, p. 407.

ment. Although the color has faded, the imprint remains, except in places where the MS suffered external damage. Even an exposure to ultraviolet light would possibly not help a great deal to recover the lost accents, because it was not fading alone that caused the loss, but fading in combination with external damage, mainly water damage, which removed the indentations on the parchment.

As to the purpose of the accent marks scholars have failed to reach a consensus of opinion. Some critics believe them to be of phonological significance, because the majority of the accents are found on stressed or long syllables.¹⁸ According to G. C. Thornley's count, 75 % of all accents in the Junius Manuscript are over vowels and digraphs originally long.¹⁹ Yet it remains difficult to explain why so many accents are on short or unstressed prefixes and on other monosyllables with short stem vowels. The question was raised whether accents were used as a palaeographical device or whether they were mere ornaments.²⁰ The rhythmical and metrical aspect has also been investi-

¹⁸ See Wolfgang Keller, "Über die Akzente in den Angelsächsischen Handschriften," Prager Deutsche Studien, 8 (1908), 97-120, pp. 97-99.

¹⁹ "The Accents and Points of MS Junius 11," TPS (1954), 178-205, p. 178.

²⁰ See Keller, "Über die Akzente," pp. 97-99.

gated.²¹ The newest theory concerning the accents is that of G. C. Thornley who believes that the accents express a kind of intonation for the purpose of liturgical recitative.²²

Thornley rejects the theories that the accents denote metrical and rhetorical or recitative stress because these theories cannot account for some of the regularly employed accents, for example those on the prefix ā-. In the whole MS there are 46 accents on this prefix.²³ Thornley believes that their purpose was "to assist a lector who was intoning the poems" for liturgical recitative, and that not stress, but the raising or falling of the voice in a chant is marked by these accents.²⁴ It is known that the punctuation marks resemble the marks which are used to indicate the inflections of the voice in music.

Thornley's investigation begins with a comparison between the accentuation of proper names in the Greek Old Testament and that of MS Junius 11.²⁵ Since the

²¹ See Blackburn, ed., p. xv.

²² "Accents and Points," p. 185.

²³ Ibid., p. 179.

²⁴ The relevant literature is discussed by Thornley, pp. 185-87. Studies of general interest are: Gustave Reese, Music in the Middle Ages (London: Dent, 1941) and E. A. Lowe, The Beneventan Script.

²⁵ See Thornley, pp. 179-81; Thornley's Greek names are taken from the edition by Henry Barclay Swete, The Old Testament in Greek According to the Septuagint (Cambridge: Univ. Press, 1901).

comparison is of general interest and may lead to conclusions other than those drawn by Thornley himself, an extract of the names in the Septuagint which display a similar accentuation in Exodus will be given below:

Ἀβραάμ
Χανααναῖοι
Φαραώ

Ἰσραήλ
Ἰούδας
Νῶε
Συμεῶν

Ābrahām (398)

Cananēa (556)

Faraónes, Faraónis (14, 32, 156),

but compare Faraon (502)

Israēla (358)

Iūdisc (312)

Nōe (362)

Simeōnes (341)

It appears to be coincidental that, with the exception of Ābrahām (398), the accents on the proper names in Exodus which have an accentuated equivalent in the Septuagint occur on vowels preceded or followed by another vowel. If we regard all the accents on proper names in the MS which have been listed by Thornley, it is apparent that accents in this position are very frequent. It is possible that they were used in order to indicate that the two vowels in proximity are to be sounded separately. The double accents on Isáac and Áaron seem to reinforce this suggestion.²⁶ The double accent generally occurs

²⁶ These two names bear double accents throughout the MS (Genesis 1710, 1712, 2329, 2767, 2852, 2871, 2905, 2926; Daniel 313); but compare the use of one accent on Abraham, which, deviating from the Greek spelling, has an *h* between the original double vowel (Genesis 1735, 1739; Exodus 398).

if the same vowel is repeated. Liebermann in his collection Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen, II, notes in his article on "Akzente" an interesting case of a double accent. He quotes the word geéndige with the comment "Vocale getrennt zu sprechen." It seems that the danger of losing a vowel is greater in combinations with identical vowels than with vowels of different quality, and that the accents prohibit a contraction of vowels. There is only one case of a double accent on vowels of different quality in the MS, in Geón (Genesis, 230). The accentuation of this name in the Septuagint is Γηώv. In this case the first accent may indicate that the e between g and o is not a glide, but a distinct vowel.

Thornley, who notices the use of the double accent to separate vowels, however, does not use the ample evidence provided by himself to show that certain single accents were possibly also used to separate vowels. He merely concludes that the frequent agreement of accentuation of proper names in the Septuagint and in the MS suggests that the accents "must have been inserted for a purpose related to pronunciation in some form of public utterance... Unless, therefore, the accents on the names had a function differing entirely from those on other words (which seems unlikely), we must assume that all the accents were inserted to assist a lector, probably in a monastery."²⁷ So far, we may

²⁷ "Accents and Points," p. 182.

readily agree with Thornley's conclusions. Yet, what kind of lectoral assistance the accents were supposed to give must remain an unsettled question.

We have already pointed out that Thornley believed the accents to be indications of inflections of the voice within a specific chant. This conclusion would be more convincing if accents were found only in texts which could have been used for liturgical recitation. It remains, however, a fact that accents are also very frequent in legal texts, and it is unlikely that legal texts were chanted.

Since the question concerning the function of accents can by no means be considered settled, a survey of accents in Exodus has been presented below with the aim of illuminating some possible functions of accents.

1. Accents on long vowels

Of the 151 accents on long vowels in words other than proper names, 27 are on monosyllabic words. The words occur in the following lines: 6, 118, 133, 173, 187, 213, 243, 244, 248, 268, 330, 349, 399, 411, 450, 453, 461, 473, 510, 514, 520, 526 (2 words), 529, 537, 542, 546.

Another 33 accents are found on long vowels in monosyllabic elements of compounds in the following lines: 72, 203, 204, 216, 242, 246, 261, 279, 281, 289,

291, 293, 298, 302, 304, 311, 321, 325, 333, 334, 345, 374, 398, 424, 431, 490, 498, 523, 524, 536, 540, 580.²⁸

Accents on long vowels are found in polysyllabic words which are declined, inflected or otherwise related forms of monosyllabic words. There are 54 instances in the following lines: 2, 93, 129, 165, 181, 185, 187, 227, 275, 287, 299, 301, 313, 318, 325, 326, 331, 338, 340, 344, 368, 372, 385, 386, 387, 397, 400, 404, 405, 417, 440, 447, 449, 541, 455, 456 (2 words), 457, 458, 495, 460, 461, 473, 500, 503, 509, 521, 523, 524, 525, 528, 530, 536, 548.

In the following lines we find polysyllabic words which carry accents on long vowels and which are not related to monosyllabic forms: 11, 15, 162, 165, 171,²⁹ 176, 180, 194, 288, 312, 317 (2 words), 318, 349, 365, 370, 387, 393, 395, 399, 411, 453, 486, 495, 516, 519, 528, 533, 539, 543, 554, 556.

There are three instances of long prefixes which carry accents: 295 (2 prefixes), 303.

²⁸ The accents on words which carry more than one accent have been counted separately, for example, in the case of únrim (261) the second accent is counted here under "accents on long vowels in monosyllabic elements of compounds," while the accent on ún- is counted under "accents on short vowels on monosyllabic prefixes." In line 279 the element fēr- (fērwundra) is interpreted as 'sudden.' Yet genitive plural of fēr-wundor 'miracle of the journey,' is also a possibility.

²⁹ The word which carries the accent is máton, the singular of which is mat. Plural forms of verbs which differ from the singular in quantity or quality of the stem vowel are included here.

2. Accents on short vowels

Compared with the number of accents placed on long vowels, there is only a small amount of accents placed on short vowels. The words are given below.

The following accents are found on short vowels in monosyllabic words:

<u>né</u> (264)	<u>ác</u> (513)
<u>ís</u> (380)	<u>dēop</u> (519)
<u>ēac</u> (381)	<u>bé</u> (563)
<u>wórd</u> (418)	<u>sáng</u> (577)
<u>gín</u> (431)	

A further seven accents are found on short vowels in monosyllabic elements of compounds:

<u>ādranc</u> (77)	<u>oncyrde</u> (452)
<u>gebád</u> (191) ³⁰	<u>āgeat</u> (515)
<u>āndægne</u> (304)	<u>sīðgate</u> (522)
<u>unfórhte</u> (335)	

The following polysyllabic words which carry accents on short vowels seem not to be related to monosyllabic forms, but it must be stressed that they present obscure or corrupted words: órette (313), íncaðēode (444), and scéo[don] (587, MS scéo), usually interpreted as a verb, and the meaning 'separate,

³⁰ This is a doubtful case. Although Irving's emendation gebēad seems to be preferable, gebád remains a possibility, as Krapp points out.

divide' is undisputed.³¹

There are 8 instances of accents placed on short prefixes:

ónsigon (178)

únweaxenne (413)

únrim (261)

únswicendo (413)

únforhte (328)

úngrundes (509)

únforht (335)

ánbid (534)

In two instances it is difficult to determine whether the vowel is long or short: ingere (33) and mis- (373).³²

The remaining 11 accents are found in proper names on vowels probably considered to be long.

³¹ See Irving, "New Notes," p. 324. The verb form could either be related to gesceādan or to gescēon. In the first instance the weak preterite sceaddon is possible in Northumbrian, and we find many instances of single for double consonants in this poem to justify the present emendation.

³² On ingere see p. 114. The word mismicel still remains a crux, not in meaning—the translation 'of more different sizes' is warranted by the context—but in its linguistic form. The meaning of mis- as 'different, various' is found only in one Old English word, in mislic or missenlic which Irving used for his emendation missenlicra. In his article "Untersuchungen zu den altenglischen Gedichten Genesis und Exodus," (Anglia, 75 [1957], 1-34, p. 30) Hofmann supplies Old Norse words with the prefix mis- 'different, various.' Yet the existence of these words does not account for -micelra as a comparative in the genitive plural case. In his article "On the Dating of the Old English Poems Genesis and Exodus," (Anglia, 77 [1959], 1-11, p. 11) Irving pointed out that the comparative of micel is mara.

Summary of accents

1. Accents in monosyllabic words and derivatives

from monosyllabic forms, including prefixes:

on	in monosyllabic words	27	
long	in monosyllabic parts of compounds	33	
vowels	in words related to monosyllabic forms	54	
	on monosyllabic prefixes	<u>3</u>	117
on	in monosyllabic words	9	
short	in monosyllabic elements of compounds	7	
vowels	in words derived from or related to monosyllabic forms	6	
	on monosyllabic prefixes	<u>8</u>	30

2. Accents in polysyllabic words which are not

related to monosyllabic forms:

on long vowels	32	
on short vowels	<u>3</u>	35

Uncertain cases 2

Accents on proper names 11

195

===

Any conclusions which might be drawn from the above statistics must take into consideration the possibility of misplacement. Keller points out: "Flüchtigkeit ist schuld, dass so oft der Apex die Nachbarsilbe trifft. Es ist dies eine überaus häufige Erscheinung. So schreiben die Manuskripte der Benediktinerregel aworpen, afylllyde, mynichades statt áworpen, áfylllyde, mynichádes, wie wohl in der Vorlage stand Oder es werden Wörter wegen ihres ähnlichen Aussehens mit einander verwechselt, und der Korrektor versieht die kurzen Vokale von man, for, ansyn, æfest mit dem Apex, weil er an mān, fōr, ān, æfest denkt."³³

Since the overwhelming majority of accents are placed upon long vowels, we may be allowed to ask whether all or some of the accents on short vowels could possibly be misplacements. Because of the existence of phonologically similar words we have to consider the possibility that the accents on the following words could be errors:

1. ac (513), cf. āc 'oak,' name of the rune for a.
2. anbid (534), cf. ān- 'single.'³⁴
3. gebād (= gebēad, 191), cf. gebād 'awaited.'
4. siðgate (522), cf. gāt 'goat.'
5. is (431), cf. gīn (= gēn) 'yet.'

³³ "Über die Akzente," Prager Deutsche Studien, 8 (1908), 97-120.

³⁴ Accents are placed on ān in the following lines: 187, 203, 227, 304, 334, 440.

6. gīn (431), cf. gīn (= gēn) 'yet.'
7. sceō (MS form of scēodon, 534), cf. sceō 'cloud?'

The last example may display a further misplacement of the accent which, in sceō 'cloud' should be on the ē. Also the first part of the compound fýrdleoð (578) may, by mistake, have been perceived as fýr 'fire,' a word which carries an accent in line 537.

It is possible that a few accents were, by mistake, placed on adjacent syllables. Let us consider whether the following cases represent such misplacements:

1. āgeat (515) for āgeat (because of the plural pret. form āgeaton) or for āgeat (because the prefix ā- often carries an accent).³⁵
2. bē sām (563) for be sām (accents on sā are found elsewhere).³⁶
3. dēop (519) for dēop.
4. ēac (381) for ēac.

Only two of the above quoted words may be called convincing cases of misplaced accents. The word sā is usually marked with an accent, and in the case of āgeat the accent was probably intended for the prefix ā-. The plural form āgeaton with its long stem vowel could also account for the error. In the case

³⁵ See p. 149, n. 23.

³⁶ For example sā (473) and the compounds sā-
grundas (289), sācīr (291), sāweall (302), sāleoda
(374).

of ēac, dēop, and possibly also āgeat (although the accent here could have been intended for the prefix ā-) it seems more likely that the accents are used to mark the diphthong. Nevertheless, the possibility remains that not the second but the first vowel of the diphthong was meant to carry the accent. This use of accents would be supported by the accentuation of some of the proper names.

We may ask whether there is any reason to mark the diphthong in the words under discussion. In the case of ēac it is quite possible that the lack of smoothing was indicated by the accent. The word is also transmitted in the smoothed Kentish (or Mercian?) form ēc.³⁷ Similarly, it may be argued that the West-Saxon scribe or writer of accents consciously marked the West-Saxon diphthongized form āgeat, a word which had a monophthong in the non-West-Saxon dialects (āgæt).³⁸ The accent on a may have indicated that the preceding e was actually vocalized so that the vowel could be distinguished from a glide. If this is correct, the accent in dēop may also be taken to indicate that the e is not a glide.

The remaining cases of accents on short vowels cannot easily be explained as misplacements, nor is

³⁷ See Campbell, Old English Grammar, § 14, n. 2.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, § 186.

it possible to maintain that they are used to distinguish diphthongs from monophthongs.³⁹ It may be easier to find an explanation for some of them after possible functions of accents on long vowels have been considered.

Keller's study, which still seems to offer the most likely theory about Old English accents, convincingly demonstrates that the accents arose in connection with the Latin scribal tradition. In this tradition the accent presents a means by which the long vowel is distinguished from a short vowel in cases where there might otherwise be a misunderstanding. Such a misunderstanding most easily arises in monosyllabic words, because in the Latin scribal tradition word divisions were not indicated.⁴⁰

Keller states that the apex disappeared around the year 300 in Romance countries, but survived in Ireland, from which country the tradition was taken over by the Anglo-Saxons and used in its original form: "Irische Handschriften des 7. Jahrhunderts weisen, ebenso wie die ältesten angelsächsischen, die

³⁹ I am not sure whether length may have been indicated by a double vowel. Especially in names there may have been an uncertainty of how to pronounce the vowels.

⁴⁰ Keller, "Über die Akzente," Prager Deutsche Studien, 8 (1908), 99-120, p. 103. Keller's observations are based on rules formulated by Isidor, Origines I, 27, 29.

Bezeichnung der langen Vokale nach römischer Art auf. Und zwar werden besonders einsilbige Wörter ... so markiert" (p. 105). Keller demonstrates that already in the Latin manuscripts it was usual to place accents also on the short prefix a- in the word apud and on other short words (whether with long or short vowel) which were joined in writing to the following word (p. 106). The accents in Latin are further used to indicate stressed syllables in polysyllabic words. Keller points out that this quite different use of the accent may either be attributed to the Greek tradition, or it may have arisen independently to facilitate the reading of verse (p. 107-08).

To my knowledge, Keller's findings have not been applied to the Junius Manuscript. His explanations would seem to account for almost all the examples found in Exodus. Long vowels in monosyllabic words obviously predominate.

From the evidence presented above it seems that the accents on long vowels may originally have been length signs, but that the use of accents on metrically stressed words obscured this primary use. For example, the accents on long vowels in polysyllabic words unrelated to monosyllabic forms are words in a metrically stressed position. Likewise the words word (418), gin (431), sang (577) appear in metrically stressed positions. Other accents on short vowels

(in the prefixes and in very short words such as ne, ac, be) may be analogous to the Latin accents on small words. The accents on short vowels in monosyllabic elements of compounds require either a full or a half stress according to their metrical position. The three accents on short vowels in polysyllabic words appear in words whose meaning is not clearly established (órette, incaǣēode, sceō[den]).

Some of the evidence provided above may be slight, and the conclusions are consequently tentative. I presented the discussion on accents because it provides a point of comparison with other texts in which the accents are puzzling. Only if more scholars investigate the accents of a particular piece in great detail will we know why the accents are there.

In view of the above observations I cannot agree with Thornley's theory that the accents may be related to the inflections of the liturgical recitative. Keller's theory that the accents served multiple purposes may not seem entirely satisfactory, but it has the merit of taking into account all available historical evidence concerning the development of the use of accents.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. Primary Sources, Editions, and Translations

- Augustine, Saint. De Doctrina Christiana, I, 4. PL, 34. Ed. J. P. Migne. Paris: 1845.
- Bede (Pseudo-). Beda Venerabilis. "Explanatio in Secundum Librum Mosis." In Pentateuchum Commentarii. PL, 91. Ed. Migne. Paris: 1850.
- Behaghel, Otto, ed. Heliand und Genesis. Altdeutsche Textbibliothek, No. 4. Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1958.
- Bible. English. King James Version. The Holy Bible. London: The British and Foreign Bible Society, n. d.
- Bible. Latin. Vulgate. Biblia Sacra: Vulgatae editionis Sixti v Pont. Max. iussu recognita et Clementis VIII auctoritate edita. Torino: Marietti, 1959.
- Blackburn, Francis A., ed. Exodus and Daniel: Two Old English poems preserved in MS Junius 11 in the Bodleian library of the University of Oxford, England. Boston: Heath, 1907.
- Bouterwek, Karl W., ed. Cædmon's des Angelsachsen biblische Dichtungen. II. Elberfeld: Bädker, 1850.
- Ginzberg, Louis, ed. The Legends of the Jews, II. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Soc. of America, 1956.
- Gollancz, Israel, ed. The Caedmon Manuscript of the Anglo-Saxon Biblical Poetry, Junius XI in the Bodleian Library. London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1927.
- Gordon, E. V., ed. The Battle of Maldon. London: Methuen, 1937.
- Gordon, Robert K., trans. Anglo-Saxon Poetry. Everyman's Library, No. 794. London: Dent, n. d.
- Grein, C. W. M., ed. Bibliothek der Angelsächsischen Poesie. I. Göttingen: Wigand, 1857.

Irving, Edward B., Jr., ed. The Old English Exodus. Yale Studies in English, 122. New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1953. Rpt. Hamden, Connect.: Archon Books, 1970.

Manuscript Junius 11. The original MS was inspected in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Photocopies of the Exodus portion were obtained from the Bodleian Library.

Klaeber, Fr., ed. Beowulf and the Fight at Finnsburg. Boston: Heath, 1950.

Krapp, G. P., ed. The Junius MS. ASPR, I. New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1931.

Liebermann, F., Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen. II. Halle, Saale: Niemeyer, 1912.

Morris, Richard, ed. Old English Homilies: Part II. EETS, 34. London: Trübner, 1868.

Sedgefield, W. J., ed. An Anglo-Saxon Verse Book. Manchester: Univ. Press, 1922.

Swete, Henry Barclay, ed. The Old Testament in Greek According to the Septuagint. Cambridge: Univ. Press, 1901.

Thorpe, Benjamin, ed. and trans. Cædmon's metrical paraphrase of parts of the Holy Scriptures in Anglo-Saxon. London: Society of Antiquaries of London, 1832.

Thorpe, Benjamin, ed. The Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church. II. London, 1844; rpt. New York: Johnson Reprint Corp., 1971.

II. General Reference Works, Dictionaries, and Grammars

Bosworth, Joseph, and T. N. Toller. An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary. With Supplement by Toller. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1931.

Campbell, Alistair. Old English Grammar. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959.

Hall, Clark. A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary. 4th ed. with a supplement by Herbert D. Meritt. Cambridge: Univ. Press, 1960.

Holthausen, Ferdinand. Altenglisches etymologisches Wörterbuch. Germanische Bibliothek, I, 21. Heidelberg: Winter, 1934.

Ker, N. R. Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957.

Kluge, Friedrich, and Alfred Götze. Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache. 19th ed. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1963.

Sievers, Eduard, and Karl Brunner. Altenglische Grammatik. Halle, Saale: Niemeyer, 1951.

III. Textual and Literary Studies

Baum, Paull F. "The Character of Anglo-Saxon Verse." MP, 28 (1930-31), 143-56.

Bessinger, Jess B., Jr., and Robert P. Creed, eds. Franciplegius: Medieval and Linguistic Studies in Honor of F. P. Magoun. New York: New York Univ. Press, 1965.

Bessinger, Jess B., Jr., and Stanley J. Kahrl, eds. Essential Articles for the Study of Old English Poetry. The Essential Articles Series. Hamden, Connect.: Archon Books, 1968.

Bonjour, Adrien. "Beowulf and the Beasts of Battle." PMLA, 72 (1957), 563-73.

Bonjour, Adrien. The Digressions in Beowulf. Medium Ævum Monographies, No. 5. Oxford: Blackwell, 1950.

Bright, James W. "Notes on the Cædmonian Exodus." MLN, 17 (1902), 212-14.

Bright, James W. "The Relation of the Cædmonian Exodus to the Liturgy." MLN, 27 (1912), 97-103.

Brodeur, Arthur G. The Art of Beowulf. Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1959.

Calder, Daniel G. "Two Notes on the Typology of the Old English Exodus." NM, 76 (1973), 85-89.

Campbell, A. P. "The Time Element of Interlace Structure in Beowulf." NM, 70 (1969), 425-35.

- Clemons, Elinor Diederich. "A Metrical Analysis of Old English Poem Exodus." Doct. Diss. Univ. of Texas 1961.
- Cosijn, F. J. "Anglosaxonica." BGDSL, 19 (1894), 457-61, and 20 (1895), 98-116.
- Craigie, W. A. "Interpolations and Omissions in Anglo-Saxon Poetic Texts." Philologica, 2 (1925), 5-19.
- Cross, J. E., and S. I. Tucker. "Allegorical Tradition and The Old English Exodus." Neophil., 44 (1960), 122-27.
- Cross, J. E., and S. I. Tucker. "Appendix on Exodus 11. 289-90." Neophil., 44 (1960), 38-39.
- Daunt, Marjorie. "Old English Verse and English Speech Rhythm." Essential Articles for the Study of Old English Poetry. Ed. Jess B. Bessinger, Jr., and Stanley J. Kahrl. Hamden: Archon Books, 1968, pp. 289-304. Rpt. from TPS (1949), 56-72.
- Davis, Norman, and Charles L. Wrenn. English and Medieval Studies: Presented to J. R. R. Tolkien on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday. London: Allen & Unwin, 1962.
- Dietrich. "Zu Cädmön." ZfdA, 10 (1856), 310-67.
- Doane, A. N. "The Green Street of Paradise: a Note on Lexis and Meaning in Old English Poetry." NM, 74 (1973), 456-65.
- Dobbie, Elliott V. K. Review of Edward B. Irving, Jr.: The Old English Exodus. JEGP, 53 (1954), 229-31.
- Dunning, T. P. Review of Bernard F. Huppé: Doctrine and Poetry: Augustine's Influence on Old English Poetry. RES, 12 (1961), 409-12.
- Earl, James W. "Christian Tradition in the Old English Exodus." NM, 71 (1970), 541-70.
- Ehrismann, G. "Religionsgeschichtliche Beiträge zum germanischen Frühchristentum." BGDSL, 35 (1909), 209-39.
- English and Medieval Studies. See Davis, Norman, and Charles L. Wrenn.
- Essential Articles. See Bessinger, Jess B. and Stanley J. Kahrl.
- Farrell, Robert T., "Eight Notes on Old English Exodus." NM, 68 (1967), 364-75.

Farrell, Robert T., "A Reading of OE. Exodus." RES, 20 (1969), 401-17.

Farrell, Robert T. "The Unity of Old English Daniel." RES, 18 (1967), 117-35.

Franciplegius. See Bessinger, Jess B. and Robert P. Creed.

Gordon, I. L. "Traditional Themes in The Wanderer and The Seafarer." RES, 5 (1954), 1-13.

Greenfield, Stanley B. "The Formulaic Expression of the Theme of 'Exile' in Anglo-Saxon Poetry." Speculum, 30 (1955), 200-06.

Greenfield, Stanley B. "The Theme of Spiritual Exile in Christ I." FQ, 32 (1953), 321-28.

Grein. "Zur Textkritik der Angelsächsischen Dichter." Germania. Vierteljahrsschrift für Deutsche Altertumskunde, 10 (1865), 417-29.

Groth, Ernst Johannes. Composition und Alter der alt-englischen (angelsächsischen) Exodus. Diss. Göttingen. Göttingen: privately printed, 1883.

Hall, J. R. "The Building of the Temple in Exodus: Design for Typology." Neophil., 59 (1975), 616-21.

Helder, Willem. "Etham and the Ethiopians in the Old English Exodus." Annuaire Mediaevale, 16 (1975), 5-23.

Hill, Thomas D. "The fyrst ferhðbana: Old English Exodus, 399." N&Q, 21 (1974), 204-05.

Hofmann, Dietrich. "Untersuchungen zu den altenglischen Gedichten Genesis und Exodus." Anglia, 75 (1957), 1-34.

Holthausen, Ferdinand. "Beiträge zur englischen Etymologie." Anglia, 70 (1951), 1-21.

Holthausen, Ferdinand. "Zu alt- und mittelenglischen Denkmälern." Anglia Beiblatt, 29 (1918), 283.

Huppé, Bernard Felix. Doctrine and Poetry: Augustine's Influence on Old English Poetry. New York: State University of New York, 1959.

Imelmann, Rudolf Hans Robert. Forschungen zur alt-englischen Poesie. Berlin: Weidmann, 1920.

Irving, Edward B., Jr. "Exodus retraced." Old English Studies in Honour of John C. Pope. Ed. Robert B. Burlin and Edward B. Irving, Jr. Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1974, pp. 203-23.

Irving, Edward B., Jr., "New Notes on the Old English Exodus." Anglia, 90 (1972), 289-326.

Irving, Edward B., Jr., "On the Dating of the Old English Poems Genesis and Exodus." Anglia, 77 (1959), 1-11.

Keenan, H. T. "Exodus 312: 'the Green Street of Paradise.'" NM, 71 (1970), 455-60.

Keller, Wolfgang. "Über die Akzente in den angelsächsischen Handschriften." Prager Deutsche Studien, 8 (1908), 97-120.

Klaeber, Fr. "Concerning the Relation between Exodus and Beowulf." MLN, 33 (1918), 218-24.

Kock, Ernst A. Jubilee Jaunts and Jottings: 250 Contributions to the Interpretation and Prosody of Old English West Teutonic Alliterative Poetry. Lund: Universitets Årsskrift. AVD 1. Bd. 14. Nr. 26. Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1918.

Leyerle, John. "The Interlace Structure of Beowulf." UTQ, 37 (1967), 1-17.

Lord, Albert B. "Homer and Huso II: Narrative Inconsistencies in Homer and Oral Poetry." Trans. and Proc. Amer. Philol. Assn., 69 (1938), 440-41.

Lowe, E. A. The Beneventan Script. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1914.

Lucas, Peter J. "The Cloud in the Interpretation of the Old English Exodus." ES, 51 (1970), 297-311.

Lucas, Peter J. "The Cross in Exodus." Famulus Christi: Essays in Commemoration of the Thirtieth Centenary of the Birth of the Venerable Bede. Ed. Gerald Bonner. London: Clowes, 1976, pp. 193-209.

Lucas, Peter J. "Exodus 480: 'mod gerymde.'" N&Q, 214 (1969), 206-07.

Lucas, Peter J. "An Interpretation of Exodus, 46-53." N&Q, 214 (1969), 364-66.

Magoun, Francis P., Jr. "The Oral-Formulaic Character of Anglo-Saxon Narrative Poetry." Speculum, 28 (1953), 446-67.

Magoun, Francis P., Jr. "The Theme of the Beasts of Battle in Anglo-Saxon Poetry." NM, 56 (1955), 81-90.

- McLoughlin, E. "Old English Exodus and the Antiphony of Bangor." NM, 70 (1969), 658-69.
- Mirsky, A. "On the Sources of the Anglo-Saxon Genesis and Exodus." ES, 48 (1967), 385-97.
- Mitchell, Bruce. "Five Notes on Old English Syntax." NM, 70 (1969), 70-84.
- Moore, Arthur K. "Medieval English Literature and the Question of Unity." MP, 65 (1968), 285-300.
- Mürkens, Gerhard. "Untersuchungen über das altenglische Exoduslied." Bonner Beiträge zur Anglistik, 2 (1899), 62-117.
- Paetzel, Walther. Die Variationen in der altgermanischen Alliterationspoesie. Palaestra, 48. Berlin: Mayer und Müller, 1913.
- Pearsall, D. A., and R. A. Waldron. Medieval Literature and Civilization: Studies in Memory of G. N. Garmonsway. London: Athlone Press, 1909.
- Potter, Simeon. Review of Edward B. Irving, Jr.: The Old English Exodus. MS, 25 (1956), 30-33.
- Reese, Gustave. Music in the Middle Ages. London: Dent, 1941.
- Reuter, Frank M., "The Structure of the Old English Exodus." Diss. Southern Illinois University 1977.
- Robinson, Fred C. "Notes on the Old English Exodus." Anglia, 80 (1962), 363-78.
- Rosier, James L. "Ice Gold and Ice Lave in Beowulf." PMLA, 81 (1966), 342-46.
- Sajavaara, Kari. "The Withered Footprints on the Green Street of Paradise." NM, 76 (1975), 34-38.
- Schücking, Levin L. Untersuchungen zur Bedeutungslehre der angelsächsischen Dichtersprache. Heidelberg: Winter, 1915.
- Sisam, Kenneth. "The Cædmonian Exodus 492." MLN, 32 (1917), 48.
- Sisam, Kenneth. "Notes on Old English Poetry." RES, 22 (1946), 257-68.
- Sisam, Kenneth. Studies in the History of Old English Literature. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953.

- Smalley, Beryl. The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages. 1941. 2nd ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952.
- Thomas, P. G. "The O. E. 'Exodus.'" MLR, 12 (1917), 342-45.
- Thornley, G. C. "The Accents and Points of MS. Junius 11." TPS (1954), 178-205.
- Wrenn, Charles Leslie. Review of Edward B. Irving, Jr., ed.: The Old English Exodus. RES, 6 (1955), 184-89.

