

Leeds Studies in English

Article:

Jane Roberts, 'A Preliminary "Heaven" Index for Old English',
Leeds Studies in English, n.s. 16 (1985), 208-19

Permanent URL:

https://ludos.leeds.ac.uk:443/R/-?func=dbin-jump-full&object_id=123628&silole_library=GEN01



Leeds Studies in English
School of English
University of Leeds
<http://www.leeds.ac.uk/lse>

A PRELIMINARY 'HEAVEN' INDEX FOR OLD ENGLISH

By JANE ROBERTS

The call for a "theme-index for Old English literature" has been made more than once by Professor Cross,¹ most powerfully in his British Academy lecture of 1972:

But for the immediate future we should realise that we have lagged behind our friends in folk-lore studies, who have moved from the dilettantism of recording isolated stories to the professionalism of collected motif-indices where patterns are distinguished.²

Professor Cross has himself been one of the most active movers in co-ordinating international collaboration for the examination of the sources and reading matter of Anglo-Saxon writers, and we shall all benefit enormously from the projected work which is, while the work is underway, spoken of as a 'revised Ogilvy'. Because some years ago he pointed out to me that it might be possible to use thesaurus material as an aid towards drawing up theme-lists for Old English, I should like to lay before him a small portion of Old English vocabulary notionally arranged, in the hope that he will find the list interesting. Without considered examination and refinement, the list presented can do little more than indicate the scope of the materials now being edited by Christian Kay of Glasgow University and myself. Moreover, until all the Old English words within the Glasgow archive have found their most satisfying places in the complete thesaurus, the list must remain tentative. It will not be possible to answer even as efficiently as does the compiler of the *Prose Solomon and Saturn* his third question:

Saga me for hwilcum ðingum heofon sy gehaten heofon.
Ic ðe secge, for þon he behelað eall þæt hym beufan byð.
(Tell me for what reasons is Heaven called 'Heaven'.
I tell you, because it conceals everything that is above
it.)³

What can however be shown is the range of words that the compiler might have drawn on, had he thought to expand on his topic; but he leaves us with a nugget of gnomic wisdom, more appropriate, as his editors explain, to exposition in Latin.⁴

First, it is necessary to explain briefly the sources for this list, so that its preliminary nature may be clearly understood. The projected Old English thesaurus is part of the Glasgow

University Historical Thesaurus, begun in 1965 by Professor M.L. Samuels and based in the English Language Department of Glasgow University. Essentially, the Glasgow Historical Thesaurus will provide a notionally classified arrangement of the vocabulary in the *Oxford English Dictionary* and its supplements (*OED*). The major source for the Thesaurus is the *OED*, but with the addition of newly compiled Old English materials.⁵ How great a part these materials will play in the Thesaurus cannot be gauged until the Thesaurus is complete, but, with the final *OED* supplement at last being excerpted in Glasgow, the long projected archive is virtually assembled. The Old English slips were completed in 1981,⁶ and since then Christian Kay and I have been transferring them to the new classification which she and Professor Samuels have evolved. We hope to explore the possibilities of the new classification by presenting as a pilot study for the full Thesaurus a preliminary edition of the Old English slips. Strictly speaking, no section of the Old English thesaurus will be finalized until all have been finalized.⁷ Slips can unfortunately turn up in unexpected places because the Roget numbers used for initial sorting provided only a broad sorting device.⁸ Until the editing work is finished, it is therefore well to express reservations about any parts that may be drawn out for premature examination. Once finished, full examination can then more profitably be carried out in the light of the evidence available within the *Toronto Concordance to Old English*.⁹

Fortunately, Roget 971 "Heaven" has proved an efficient pigeon-hole. It lies within that final set of Roget entries, 965-90, which are termed "Religious", and is itself given over principally to two concepts: "heaven" and "mythic heaven". It is also possible to abstract from Roget 321 "Universe", as part of Roget numbers 319-23 "Matter in General", the rather more general Old English vocabulary for the heavens. From these materials a list will be presented: 'the heavens' (as part of the physical universe); 'heaven (as God's realm)'; and 'mythic heavens'. By way of preface to these lists it may be interesting to glance at the only account of the seven heavens extant in Old English:

Siofon heofonas sindon in gewritum leornode: þæt is, se lyftlica heofon, and se oferlyftlica, and se fyrena heofon, and se stronga heofon, þone we 'rodor' hatað, and se egeslica heofon, and engla heofon, and heofon þære halgan ðrinnesse.¹⁰

(Seven heavens are made known in writing: they are, the airy heaven, and the above-airy, and the fiery heaven, and the strong heaven, which we call the "firmament", and the terrible heaven, and heaven of the angels, and the holy Trinity's heaven.)

Although compounds occur in the list, phrases have not generally been noted during the compilation of vocabulary slips for the Glasgow archive. It is hardly surprising therefore that these seven phrases describing the seven heavens do not appear anywhere in the list. The adjectives that stand beside *heofon* make up unusual collocations. Two of the adjectives are rare: *lyftlic* is

apparently restricted to this passage and one other, *On wolcnum lyftlicum/in nubibus aeris*,¹¹ and *oferlyftlic* is found once again later in the same homily: "sio duru þæs oferlyftlican heofones".¹² These two adjectives are likely therefore to have been infrequent loan translations. By contrast, the adjectives *fyren*, *strong* and *egeslic* are common enough, but they do not elsewhere modify *heofon* and they do not occur in the list that follows. Even the familiar word *rodor* seems otherwise to lack the specificity with which it is assigned to a fourth heaven in "The Apocryphon of the Seven Heavens".

1. 'the heavens'

- (a) 'the firmament': *fæsten*, *fæstnes*, *heofon*, *rodor*, *staðol*, *staðolnes*, *getrym*, *trymnes*
 'bright firmament': *beorhtrodor*
 adj. 'pertaining to the firmament': *rodorlic*
- (b) 'a heaven': *heofon*
 adj. 'pertaining to a heaven': *lyftlic*, *oferlyftlic*
- (c) 'the heavens, sky': *hrof*, *lyft*, *swegl*, *sweglboesm*, *uprodor*, *wolcnu*
 adj. 'pertaining to the heavens, sky': *heofoncund*, *heofoncundlic*, *heofonisc*, *tungellic*
- (d) 'parts of the sky': *norðrodor*, *norðeastrodor*, *suðrodor*, *eastrodor*, *westrodor*
- (e) 'air surrounding the earth': *lyft*, *uplyft*
 adj. 'pertaining to air surrounding the earth': *lyften*, *lyftlic*

2. 'heaven (as God's realm)'

- (a) 'the heavens, sky': *heahrodor*, *heanes*, *hieþou*, *rodor*, *swegl*, *upheofon*, *uplyft*, *uprodor*
 adj. 'pertaining to the heavens, sky': *godcund*, *godcundlic*, *heofonlic*, *rodorlic*, *swegle*, *ufancund*, *upcund*, *uplic*
 adj. 'holy and heavenly': *heofonhalig*
- (b) 'heavenly dwelling-place': *boldwela*, *ceaster*, *eðel*, *heahreced*, *heofon*, *heofonham*, *heofonheall*, *heofonsetl*, *heofonwaru*, *(lang)ham*, *neorxnawang*, *paradis*, *upearð*, *woruldgesteald*, *wynland*
 adj. 'pertaining to the heavenly dwelling-place': *heofonlic*, *neorxnawanglic*
 'vault of heaven': *heofonhrof*, *heofonhwealf*
 'kingdom of heaven': *fæderrice*, *heofonrice*, *rice*, *prymrice*
 'court of peace': *friðgeard*, *sibgesihð*
 'a building within heaven': *heofontimber*
 'a throne of heaven': *heofonstol*
- (c) 'glory or majesty of heaven': *heofon*, *heofonþrymm*, *heofonwuldor*, *mægenþrymm*, *sweglwuldor*, *wuldorfæstlicnes*, *wuldorþrymm*
 adj. 'pertaining to the glory or majesty of heaven': *wuldorfæst*
 'celestial bliss': *goddream*, *heofon*, *heofondream*, *gesælignes*, *gesælhð*, *wuldorblæd*, *wuldordream*
 adj. 'pertaining to celestial bliss': *gesælig*
 'reward of heaven': *wuldorlean*

3. 'mythic heavens'

(a) 'the earthly paradise': *neorxnawang*, *paradis*'joyous land': *wynland*'first home': *frumstol*(b) 'dwelling-place of Enoch and Elias': *sceanfeld*, *simfeld*/
sunfeld(c) 'a paradisaal field': *scenfeld*

This bare list¹³ goes far to confirming the assumption made earlier that the mediaeval elaboration of the traditional seven heavens has not truly been absorbed into Old English writings.¹⁴ Instead, from the evidence available in Bosworth and Toller (*BT*),¹⁵ we can glimpse a simple view of the heavens. We must indeed question whether or not men then would have categorized separately the nouns here entered under 1 and 2. A twentieth-century classification may separate them, placing those nouns and adjectives grouped under 1 with vocabulary related to 'The Extra-Terrestrial Universe' and those under 2 with vocabulary related to 'The Supernatural', a division more appropriate to modern scientific thought than to the mediaeval understanding of the universe. Yet, the evidence for meaning presented through definition and citation in *BT* allowed the sorting of vocabulary into different groups, and the groups must at least indicate that some distinctions are to be made. Certainly one marked difference between the groups is the far more ordinary appearance of the words in group 1. A high proportion of the items in this group may well turn out to be 'primary' rather than 'secondary' lexical structures.¹⁶ By contrast, compounds, quite a few of them poetic and infrequent, dominate group 2. Fewer of these words might have remained in the language at 1150 AD to find their way into the *OED*. Most of them can be explained by the simple abstracted sense 'heaven', but the literal meaning of their elements, generally appropriate contextually, indicates their secondary nature. They are like phrases rather than words, and are often paralleled by phrases composed of the same elements. Of the native compound nouns, only *neorxnawang* is opaque in meaning. It ends with *wang* 'plain, field, meadow', but there is no agreed interpretation of or analysis for *neorxna-*. This compound can therefore be termed primary by comparison with so many of the other compounds of group 2. It disappears in Middle English, with *parais* coming in briefly beside the late Old English loanword *paradis*.¹⁷

The terms *neorxnawang* and *paradis* are the only instances of primary vocabulary so far sorted under 'mythic heavens'. The descriptive compound *frumstol*, although not specifically a poetic word, refers twice to the earthly paradise.¹⁸ It occurs three further times in Old English: once in Ine's laws for a home first occupied by a married couple¹⁹ and twice in the *Meters of Boethius* for a region.²⁰ Equally transparent is *wynland*, as appropriate for the phoenix's home as for God's.²¹ Two further words could be placed in this group on the slender evidence of the *Adrian and Ritheus* dialogue, unless the alternative view, that Enoch and Elias went straight to heaven, be taken;²² in which case they could be transferred to group 2. The dialogue contains two items about Enoch

and Elias, first elaborating on their sad sojourn on *neorxnawang* and secondly explaining that they live in:

. . . Malifica and Intimphonis: þæt is on simfelda
and on sceanfelda.²³
(. . . Malifica and Intimphonis; that is in Simfeld
and in Sceanfeld.)

Cross and Hill suggest that the source for *Intimphonis/on sceanfelda* may lie in a glossed Aldhelm text, pointing out that "Aldhelm's classical bent could allow him to use 'in tempis paradisi' as a name for the earthly paradise . . .".²⁴ The entry *scenfeld* in group 3(c) is based on the two instances of *scenfeldum* against *in tempis* in glosses,²⁵ so the form can hardly be said to be mainstream vocabulary. With even less right to inclusion, the single occurrence each of *simfeld/sunfeld*²⁶ must remain a puzzle. Cross and Hill argue for *sim-* as "a scribal mistranscription of 'sinn' (for 'synn') meaning 'sin'".²⁷ Wright's reading *scinfeld* might allow speculation that the first element is *scinn* 'spectre' and therefore as appropriate to *Malifica* as *synn*, unless the earthly paradise be thought of as the site of man's first sin. It is clear that neither form nor etymological sense can be established, but it seems best to retain the entry *simfeld/sunfeld* until all the Old English archive materials have been sorted. What is worth note however is the sparsity of primary vocabulary for the earthly paradise. The most important item is *neorxnawang*, with the only other significant item the late Old English loanword *paradis*.

The notions of terrestrial and celestial paradise, although essentially separate, often fuse; or, as in *The Phoenix*, they can be equated.²⁸ Their very closeness is apparent in the dual reference within the wordfield under discussion both of *neorxnawang* and of its eventual replacement *paradis*. B.O. Murdoch points to traditions in Genesis, prelapsarian perfection and the planting of Eden, which, he notes, tend to blend and be linked by the Heavenly Jerusalem:

Given the story of the Fall and subsequent expulsion from the garden of delights, it becomes man's aim to return to his homeland, the *patria paradisi*.²⁹

Moreover, *patria* itself is used figuratively for 'heaven', and phrases containing Old English words for *patria* in their turn support figurative extension.³⁰ Thus *neorxnawang*, as the English for *paradisus*, may be essentially ambiguous. It is often qualified, and though sometimes the modifying words or phrases may seem merely decorative they can serve to make it clear which *neorxnawang* is meant. So, in some contexts, the earthly paradise is designated by the addition of some such adjective as *eorðlic*. Alternatively, we find such adjectives as *godcund* or *heallic* or the phrase *godes neorxnawang* in use where the heavenly paradise is intended.

The *OED* editors compare the phrase *se halga wong* (*Phoenix* 418) with *neorxnawang* in its sense 'earthly paradise'. The phrase does not mean 'earthly paradise' but 'the blessed meadow'. It is a

simple description of the phoenix's dwelling-place, which may or may not lend itself contextually to paradisaical connotations. Similarly, it might be tempting to interpret *sigewong* (*Phoenix* 33) as the earthly paradise, yet the poem's most recent editor enters 'plain, field of victory' against it in his glossary.³¹ This poetic word appears once in an apparently straightforward battle-context in *Judith*:³²

oó se mæsta dæl
þæs heriges læg hilde gesæged
on ðam sigewonge, sweordum geheawen,

a passage that at least establishes its possible reference to actual warfare. Its three appearances in saints' lives lend themselves to the paradisaical connotations implicit in the *Phoenix* passage: *Andreas* 1581, *Guthlac A* 742 and *Guthlac B* 921. In his edition of *Andreas* Brooks glosses *sigewang* 'place of victory (i.e. of Andrew's victory over evil)',³³ and a similar sense suits the *Guthlac B* context. Of *Guthlac A* A.A. Lee writes:

. . . when the saint has triumphed in war over his enemies, his barrow, the dwelling of his newly perfected soul, is a *sele niwe* (new hall, dwelling) standing in the protection of God in the midst of a "victory plain," a very succinct correlation of the two major metaphors for Paradise in the Old English poetic mythology.³⁴

Metaphoric reference to paradise may well obtain in four of these contexts and arguably in the fifth, but it is hardly likely that *sigewang* had entered the everyday vocabulary of the Anglo-Saxons as an 'earthly paradise' word any more than *frumstol* or *simfeld/sunfeld*.

The very real ambiguities of metaphoric reference can be illustrated from *Guthlac A*. In two recent readings of the poem, conflicting views have been put forward for the connotative range of *beorg*. For C.E. Cornell, following on from L.K. Shook's interpretation of *Guthlac A*, the poet may have chosen the word *beorg* deliberately as:

. . . an ambiguous term which at times suggests *Guthlac*'s literal-historical tumulus dwelling . . . and at others carries overtones of the scenes of Christ's temptation and martyrdom or of the earthly and heavenly paradise.³⁵

For K. Wentersdorf it is more significant that *Guthlac*'s *beorg* stands on *bearwe*, and he argues that the word *bearu*:

. . . not only designates an ordinary grove but is also a technical term for a sacroneme, the combination of *beorg* and *bearu*.³⁶

Dr Cornell's argument that the *beorg* in *Guthlac A* is "invested with paradisiacal connotations"³⁷ convinces me more than Wentersdorf's reading of it as a burial mound closely connected with pagan religious beliefs. Yet it is the sense 'grave', not 'paradise', that will be found among the meanings listed for *beorg* in the standard Old English dictionaries. Sad though it may be, dictionaries list everyday meanings for words rather than all their connotative possibilities. My first reaction, on confronting so short a collection of words for 'earthly paradise' in Old English was incredulity. There are after all so many passages of Old English literature invigorated by paradisaical imagery. However, it does seem that English, then as now, did not have an unambiguous single common noun for the earthly paradise.

Postscript: a note on *neorxnawang*

Few words among the etymological puzzles that have long delighted students of Old English have given rise to so much speculation as *neorxnawang*. The bibliography is huge. The twenty-nine entries of the recent *Old English Word Studies* provide an excellent guide to the range of discussion.³⁸ It is not my purpose here to go back over ground so well trodden. Instead I should like to put forward, as briefly as possible, yet another interpretation of this tantalising word, and I shall therefore begin by bringing together two of the more recent pronouncements on its etymology. First, there is A.K. Brown's firm assessment, drawn from the summary that heads his article:

It seems unlikely that the elaborate *Neorxna-* compound was a heathen cult term . . .³⁹

And there is the equally firm statement of Hans Käsman:

Das Wort hat seine Wurzeln im Bereich der germanischen Mythologie und ist wie viele andere im christlichen Sinne umgedeutet worden, und zwar so gründlich, dass Spuren seiner heidnischen Vergangenheit in der ae. Überlieferung nicht mehr zu finden sind.⁴⁰

(The word has its roots in the sphere of Germanic mythology and has, like so many others, been reinterpreted in the Christian sense, and so thoroughly indeed, that traces of its heathen past are no longer to be found in the Old English descendant.)

Given such diametrically opposed views, it is hard to do otherwise than agree with Brown's observation:

The cumulative effect of all the discussions is that anyone who advances a new solution - at minimum, one semantically more plausible than Gardner's and Meritt's, and formally more so than Henry's - finds himself in the midst of a minor testing-ground of opinions about Old English culture.⁴¹

The word's final element *wang* is, as he points out, transparent enough, and he therefore matches the compound up to an expectation of greenness, propounding a cryptic reading that requires both reversed spelling of *groene* and inclusion of the *gyfu* rune to obtain *-x-*. It is easy to accept his claim that a penumbra of greenness attaches to the Old English word for *paradisus*, but less easy to accept his complex elucidation of the whole compound. A penumbra of greenness could as well be satisfied by the presence of some plant name element within *neorxnawang*.

In Isaiah xxxv 7 we read:

Et quæ erat arida, erit in stagnum,
et sitiens in fontes aquarum.
In cubilibus, in quibus prius dracones habitabant,
orietur viror calami et junci.⁴²
(And the parched ground shall become a pool, and
the thirsty land springs of water: in the habitation
of dragons, where each lay, shall be grass with
reeds and rushes.)

An Old English interpretation of this text is found in the words of the Bede translator:

Ba æfter Esaies witedome, in þæm cleofum, þe ær dracan
eardodon, wære upyrnende grownes hreodes & rixa: þæt is
to ongeotonne, þætte acende wæron wæstmas godra dæda,
þær ær oðþe wildeor eardedon oðþe mæn wunedon wildeorlice
lifigan.⁴³

The Isaiah verse is found among monastic canticles used within the Anglo-Saxon church, and the interlinear gloss *greennys hreodes & riscan* appears above *viror kalami et iunci*⁴⁴ (with *ricsan* in an alternate Old English version).⁴⁵ It could be that *neorxnawang* has absorbed the genitive plural of the Old English word for 'rush'. For the first element I return to *ne(o)* 'corpse', which since its proposal by both Bradley and Kluge has been among the most popular openings advanced for the compound. It was, as Brown tells us, "almost universally approved", in Bradley's explication "field of the palaces of the dead". Variations using it have been propounded by Meritt and Gardner, but their adoption of *orc* as the central element instead of Bradley's **rohsna* is, in Brown's words, "some-what startling in sense"⁴⁶ and its *-x-* remains a problem. However, with *ricsena* following *ne(o)*, word initial stress would have promoted the early loss of vowel in *ricsena*. Moreover, the resulting consonant cluster *-rcs-*, with *-n* coming at the head of the next syllable, is easily enough said, and there would have been no strong phonetic tendency towards its simplification. Although there does not seem to be a genitive plural in *-ena* for the simplex *risc* anywhere in the Toronto *Concordance*, it does appear among the variant readings for the passage quoted from Bede as *ricsena*,⁴⁷ and it is found also in the compound *earisc*:

Nim þanne earixena wyrtruman. 7 glædene more. 7 swearte

mintan . . .⁴⁸

(Then take roots of water rushes, and root of gladden,
and swart mint . . .)

There may therefore be some slender formal support for the proposal that the first part of *neorxnawang* is made up of the elements *ne(o)* and *ricsena*.

The courage to argue this etymology out on paper came with the discovery that Professor Dronke has shown the previously inexplicable *Gramision*, used twice by Bernardus Silvestris in one short passage of his *Cosmographia*, to be "a perpetually flowering, grassy, paradisaal place". He points out that Bernardus's unusual form is "probably based on *graminum elision*, a grassy Elysium", comparing the Vergilian Elysium with its *gramineis . . . palaestris*. Manuscripts frequently read *granusion*, a difficult form etymologically for the lovely mysterious garden in the east entered by Bernard's Urania and Natura on their descent to earth:

Nomen loco Gramision, quia graminum diversitatibus
perpetuo conpuescit.⁴⁹

(That place's name is Gramision, because it is always
grown with a diversity of grasses.)

Dronke's explanation of *Gramision* points to a plant rather than a colour term as a possible element for conveying part of the sense of the *locus amoenus*.

It is perhaps as well that the third question of the *Prose Solomon and Saturn* dialogue is on the naming of *heofon*. Whether or not the Anglo-Saxons could analyse *neorxnawang* we shall probably never know. Why did they not borrow the form *paradis* earlier? They could handle the meanings it carried easily enough, so perhaps it was unnecessary. Perhaps too a word beginning with *p-* might not have held much appeal for alliterative poets, who therefore in their variations invented a descriptive phrase. The germ for its origin might have been in a description of heaven as a place for the dead, with such a passage as the Isaiah one supplying a grassy, reed-grown context for the denotation of Christ's flowering kingdom. The proposed etymology is a new variation on old themes. Who better is there to judge its merits than Professor Cross?

NOTES

- ¹ J.E. Cross, "A Doomsday Passage in an Old English Sermon for Lent", *Anglia* 100 (1982) p.103.
- ² J.E. Cross, "The Literate Anglo-Saxon: on Sources and Disseminations", *Proceedings of the British Academy* 58 (1972) pp.24-5.
- ³ J.E. Cross and T.D. Hill, ed., *The "Prose Solomon and Saturn" and "Adrian and Ritheus"* (Toronto, Buffalo, London, 1982) pp.25, 62.
- ⁴ Cross & Hill, pp.62-3.
- ⁵ Details will be found in Jane Roberts, "Towards an Old English Thesaurus", *Poetica* 9 (1978) pp.56-72.
- ⁶ See Jane Roberts, "The English Historical Thesaurus", *Nottingham Linguistic Circular* 11 (1982) p.22.
- ⁷ M.L. Samuels, *Linguistic Evolution with Special Reference to English* (Cambridge, 1972) p.180.
- ⁸ *Roget's Thesaurus of English Words and Phrases*, ed. R.A. Dutch (London, 1962).
- ⁹ *A Microfiche Concordance to Old English*, ed. A.diP. Healey & R.L. Venezky (Toronto, 1980). Unless specific references are noted, Old English references throughout this article are to these microfiches.
- ¹⁰ R. Willard, "Two Apocrypha in Old English Homilies", *Beiträge zur englischen Philologie* 30 (1935) p.4.
- ¹¹ PsG1G (Rosier) 17.12 (Psalms).
- ¹² Willard, line 12.
- ¹³ It should be noted that the words in this list are normalized, appearing more or less as in the Clark Hall dictionary.
- ¹⁴ Compare Willard, p.30: "this version of the transit appears to have left no successors in English".
- ¹⁵ J. Bosworth & T.N. Toller, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* (Oxford, 1898). . Supplements (1921) by Toller and (1971) by A. Campbell.
- ¹⁶ L. Lipka, "On the Interrelation of Syntagmatic Modification and Paradigmatic Lexical Structuring in English", in Horst Geckeler et al., ed., *Logos Semantikos Studia Linguistica in Honorem Eugenio Coseriu*, III (Berlin, 1981) p.375.
- ¹⁷ H. Käsmann, *Studien zum kirchlichen Wortschatz des Mittelenglischen 1100-1350* (Tübingen, 1961) pp.197-8.
- ¹⁸ Gen A, B 963 (*Genesis*); OrW 51 (*The Order of the World*).

- 19 LawIne 38 (Liebermann).
- 20 Met 20.63, 20.125 (*The Meters of Boethius*).
- 21 Phoen 82 (*The Phoenix*); Vain 65 (*Vainglory*).
- 22 See Cross & Hill, pp.143-4.
- 23 Cross & Hill, pp.37 and 144.
- 24 Cross & Hill, p.144.
- 25 ClG1 1 (Stryker) 3302, ClG1 3 (Quinn) 1522 (*Latin-Old English Glossaries*).
- 26 Ad 20 (Cross & Hill, p.145), ClG1 1 (Stryker) 2217.
- 27 Cross & Hill, p.145.
- 28 J.E. Cross, "The Conception of the Old English *Phoenix*", in *Old English Poetry: Fifteen Essays*, ed. R.P. Creed (Providence, 1976) p.134.
- 29 *The Irish Adam and Eve Story from Saltair na Rann*, II, ed. B.O. Murdoch (Dublin, 1976) p.52.
- 30 J.E. Cross, reviewing I.L. Gordon's *Seafarer*, *JEGP* 60 (1961) p.548.
- 31 N.F. Blake, ed., *The Phoenix* (Manchester, 1964).
- 32 B.J. Timmer, ed., *Judith* (London, 1952) lines 292b-294.
- 33 K.R. Brooks, ed., *Andreas and The Fates of the Apostles* (Oxford, 1961).
- 34 A.A. Lee, *The Guest-Hall of Eden* (New Haven & London, 1972) p.181.
- 35 Cynthia E. Cornell, "Sources of the Old English Guthlac Poems", PhD thesis (University of Missouri, Columbia, 1976) p.147.
- 36 K.P. Wentersdorf, "Guthlac A: The Battle for the Beorg", *Neophilologus* 62 (1978) p.141.
- 37 Cornell, p.89.
- 38 A. Cameron, A. Kingsmill & A.C. Amos, *Old English Word Studies: a Preliminary Author and Word Index* (Toronto, Buffalo, New York, 1983).
- 39 A.K. Brown, "Neorxnawang", *Neuphilologisches Mitteilungen* 74 (1973) p.610; the article provides a useful summary of earlier discussion.
- 40 Käsman, p.196.
- 41 Brown, p.611.
- 42 Vulgate and AV versions.

- ⁴³ Bede 3 17.230.20
- ⁴⁴ MonCa 3 (Korhammer) 4.7.
- ⁴⁵ MonCa 1 (Korhammer) 4.7.
- ⁴⁶ Brown, p.611.
- ⁴⁷ T. Miller, ed., *The Old English Version of Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, EETS OS 95, 96, 110, 111 (London, 1890-98) II, 1, p.246 (MS.B.).
- ⁴⁸ T.O. Cockayne, *Leechdoms, Wortcunning and Starcraft of Early England*, Rolls Series 35 (London, 1864-6) III, p.122, lines 8-9 (*Peri didaxeon*).
- ⁴⁹ Bernardus Silvestris, *Cosmographia*, ed. P. Dronke (Leiden, 1978) pp.138 and 171.